

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA

Dutch Art

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Dutch Art

An Encyclopedia

Edited by Sheila D. Muller



First published by Garland Publishing, Inc.

This edition published 2011 by Routledge:

Routledge Routledge

Taylor & Francis Group
711 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10017
Taylor & Francis Group
2 Park Square, Milton Park
Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Dutch Art: an encyclopedia / edited by Sheila D. Muller.

p. cm. — (Garland reference library of the humanities ; vol. 1021)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-8153-0065-4 (alk. paper)

1. Art, Dutch—Encyclopedias. I. Muller, Sheila D. (Sheila

D'moch) II. Series. N6941.D88 1997

> 96–35513 CIP

Cover photo: Piet Mondrian *Composition*, 1929. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York. Photography by David Heald.

Cover design: Lawrence Wolfson Design, New York

Interior art layout: Eric J. Brearton

Contents

vii Preface

xi Acknowledgments

xiii Introduction

xvii Readers Guide and Bibliographical Note

xxiii Contributors

1 Encyclopedia

463 Index



Preface

In a conference keynote address to the Historians of Netherlandish Art in October 1993, Seymour Slive, Gleason Professor of Fine Arts Emeritus of Harvard University, surveyed the crowded Remus Auditorium of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and reflected on the thriving field of study he had helped to introduce to higher education in the United States after World War II. The small group of colleagues employed in teaching Dutch art in the 1950s included another American, J. Richard Judson (at Smith College); Julius Held (at Barnard College) and Wolfgang Stechow (at Oberlin College), both of whom had come earlier from Europe; and Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, who arrived in 1959 (and soon after was to teach at Yale University). The students they trained to become professors, curators, museum directors, and patrons continued to encourage interest until, in the 1990s, Dutch art is taught across the United States in college and university courses and is represented in many North American public and private collections.

A great deal of the attention in North America has been focused on Dutch seventeenth-century painting, which was contemporaneous with early European settlement of the continent and which fascinates today because of "Dutch Realism," a verisimilitude that has been shown to mean a great deal more than meets the eye. In the 1970s and 1980s, when many academic disciplines felt the strains of methodological and ideological discord, the study of Dutch art was enlivened by fresh investigations of seventeenth-century painting that led to different interpretations of, especially, genre painting. In the Netherlands, in addition to the study of the seventeenth century, there was also a renewal of interest in nineteenth-century art and nationalism, in twentieth-century avant-garde movements, and in contemporary art. The scholarly controversies that were at times generated by new theories and discoveries were frankly discussed in the art historical literature of the 1980s and 1990s, stimulating the interest of increasing numbers of graduate students and drawing experts from the humanities and social sciences to examine the issues raised by art historians. In the mid-1990s, the study of Dutch art is international and interdisciplinary, with the consequence that it is also the focus of greater public awareness.

The present volume is the latest in the succession of general works in English on Dutch art that have appeared since the mid-1960s, when the field became an established part of the North American academic curriculum. Including the present volume, these works, discussed below, represent the state of research on Dutch art at specific times in the last half of the twentieth century, and together they show the evolution of the field as a result of a diversity of approaches, changing perspectives, and the posing of new questions. This volume—an encyclopedic overview of knowledge that has been growing ever since Professor Seymour Slive embarked on his career—covers a greater span of time and includes more artistic developments than any of its predecessors.

In 1966, Jakob Rosenberg, Seymour Slive, and E.H. ter Kuile, three distinguished scholars, published Dutch Art and Architecture 1600-1800 in the "Pelican History of Art" series. This monumental achievement was an encapsulation of the renewed thinking on the subject in the twenty years following World War II. With separate sections for painting, sculpture, and architecture, the book has remained in print (it was issued in revised editions with an updated bibliography in 1972 and 1977 and reprinted in 1982 and 1993; the sections on painting, with some revisions, were also published separately by Yale University Press in 1993), functioning well both as a course text and a ready reference source. At heart, it is a book about the history of reputations. Dutch seventeenth- and eighteenth-century painters were more prolific and received more notice from contemporaries abroad than did Dutch sculptors and architects; therefore, the book begins with the history of painting. Rosenberg and Slive, the authors of the painting section, considered the comments made about Dutch painters by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century critics, theorists, and historians, and weighed that evidence together with patterns in the collecting of Dutch paintings in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

After the late seventeenth century, three Dutch painters

enjoyed an international reputation: Frans Hals, Rembrandt van Rijn, and Johannes Vermeer. To deal with the accumulation of fact and myth about these artists, each has a chapter in the book devoted to him. Dutch painters, on the whole, developed local reputations; the majority, therefore, are included in the chapters on towns and subject specializations. Selected for individualized treatment on the basis of their later reputation as the major masters of the Dutch School, Hals, Rembrandt, and Vermeer are allowed to retain a problematic status: They appear in the book as the exceptions to the national character of Dutch art, which was produced by minor masters in local schools.

Between 1966 and about 1980, the reaction to "Rosenberg and Slive" (as *Dutch Art and Architecture 1600–1800* was commonly called in academic circles where the primacy of painting in art history was taken for granted) could be gauged by the many monographs on painters from the local schools of Dutch art that were written as Ph.D. dissertations. Preparing *catalogues raisonnés* and other studies delineating the important contributions of minor masters to the overall character of the Dutch School had become a major academic exercise on an international scale.

The justification for the next two general works on Dutch art was the presentation of this revised image of the Dutch School. In The Netherlands, art historian, critic, and museum director R.H. Fuchs wrote Dutch Painting, published in English by Oxford University Press in 1978, in which he traced the course of development of a Dutch School of painting from its origins in the later fifteenth century in Haarlem to the 1970s. Individual artistic achievements are subsumed into the chronology and mostly into the subject categories of genre painting, history painting, portraiture, landscape, and still life, which developed local traditions and permitted the practice of naturalism and specialization for which the Dutch School is famous. The chapters on nineteenth- and twentiethcentury painting are more loosely organized in accordance with the changing later perception: "Local" had come to be seen as merely provincial by many people at that time, and, as a consequence, individual achievements had to be made to stand out. A succinct introduction to its subject, Fuchs' Dutch Painting was reprinted in 1989; however, its central argument about Dutch Realism (as mock realism that functions to disguise meaning as metaphor) reflects a trend in art historical research from the 1970s, and the importance given to formal analysis recalls the method of earlier art criticism.

The Golden Age: Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century by Dutch writer Bob Haak was published in a double edition in English (New York: Harry N. Abrams) and Dutch (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff) in 1984. It is a longer and larger book than Fuchs' although covering a shorter time, and an even more monumental work than that of Rosenberg and Slive because it restores a balance by placing the emphasis on the reputation of local schools and identifying the major and minor masters in each. Haak relied on the monographic studies written in the 1970s and early 1980s, and his book includes good reproductions for comparing a wide variety of works. The Golden Age provides the cultural context for see-

ing the art of Hals, Rembrandt, and Vermeer within the Dutch tradition, and confirms that seventeenth-century Dutch painting was of high quality generally. The ample evidence that seventeenth-century artists also diverged from tradition in very particular ways is, however, distributed through the book, making this an unwieldy tool to use in a systematic study.

In the mid-1990s the trend is away from general surveys of art history. Information is disseminated through monographs, specialized studies, dissertations, journal articles, exhibition catalogs, conference papers, and even films and video; to interpret the diversity of viewpoints and topical treatments for general use requires an encyclopedia.

Between these covers, Dutch art means primarily painting, drawing, printmaking, architecture, and sculpture. Building on the foundation of the preceding three general works, the organization of art production in local schools and by subject categories is accepted as the traditional norm, and it is extended for the time covered by the encyclopedia in order to provide historical and critical perspectives on changes that have taken place. The history of reputations still plays a role: Rembrandt, Vermeer, Vincent van Gogh, Piet Mondrian, and Karel Appel are the subjects of entries that go beyond biography to an evaluation of the national and international attention each has received. The rationale for having biographical entries is to correct inaccuracies in previous research or to add information about early masters, to recover reputations for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century artists or to make them for notable twentieth-century artists. Biography as an approach, therefore, is a reflection of the monographic studies that are still basic to art historical research, but it does not always give the complete picture. Cross-referencing among the biographies and the thematic and topical entries closes the research gap between individual reputation and cultural history.

Other kinds of concerns, raised more often since the 1980s, are addressed in entries relating to social history, gender issues, the history of ideas, and the place of government, politics, and religion in the support and development of the arts. The definition of art has been made broader to include the material culture of houses, gardens, and personal adornment in clothing, paying attention to creative expression in these forms. The exchange of influences between the fine arts and the applied arts, ceramics, coins, film, photography, postage stamps, and tiles is also examined. Various ways of writing about art and artists-in lives, literature, art theory, art criticism, and art history—are subjected to scrutiny for what they have contributed to our understanding of art in the past. The public's taste, expressed through patronage, amateurism, patriotism, critical response, and displaying works of art, is also among the subjects of study.

Readers who think something is omitted should first consult the Index, where they may find references to what they are looking for; they should also remember that what is presented is a state of research involving a reappraisal of what has gone before. One manifestation of this rapidly growing field is that the authors have written entries that include knowledge that is changing and developing. For enlisting some potential authors this was a disadvantage, because their reluctance to

digest their own works-in-progress could not be overcome. A few other scholars could not be enticed to revisit their former thoughts about a subject when they have since moved on in other directions; that work was then left to others, who brought their own perspectives to the task. The most satisfying results were when authors and editor agreed that the entries should do more than summarize knowledge in the field;

they should also highlight what is most interesting and provocative about a subject and point the direction for new thinking and research. Like the mirror of the world to which early Netherlandish art is often compared, because it reflects but does not impose a fixed point of view on that which it surveys, this encyclopedia mirrors the state of our knowledge about Dutch art in the mid-1990s.



Acknowledgments

From the time I agreed to become general editor of this Garland encyclopedia in 1991, I have sought and received advice, support, and cooperation from many people. My appreciation goes to all of them. In the 1990s, the study of Dutch art and architecture is very specialized; organizing this knowledge encyclopedically for five centuries required decisions that I would not have made before consulting with certain people. I am especially indebted to the members of my international advisory board, Walter S. Gibson, Carel Blotkamp, Rudolf Dekker, and Nancy Troy, who generously shared their expert knowledge about the state of research and scholarly methodology in different aspects of the field, and who gave me invaluable suggestions regarding contributors and entries at the crucial formative stage of this project.

I am very grateful for the early expressions of support and networking assistance I received from Svetlana Alpers, Linda Stone-Ferrier, and Alison McNeil Kettering. Their friendly counsel and introductions to other scholars and students enabled me to proceed with efficiency and enjoyment in this project.

There are numerous people in the Netherlands I wish to recognize and thank. I am obligated to Ger Luijten, who in discussing the idea of the encyclopedia with me raised probing questions about the rationale for such a book; the present Preface owes a great deal to the discussion I had with Ger Luijten in Utrecht in 1992. Rudolf E.O. Ekkart, Reindert L. Falkenburg, and J.F. Heijbroek each took time to review the prospectus and the list of entries and to offer valuable suggestions; my sincerest thanks to them for helping me to clarify my thinking on some fundamental issues. I also acknowledge the contributions made by Evert van Uitert and Peter Schatborn, who individually took the time to review early versions of the list of entries and to give me frank and good advice.

I am indebted to many others who kindly met with me in the Netherlands to offer opinions about the sort of encyclopedia coverage they would expect to see of their respective areas of specialization: John Sillevis, Annemieke Hoogenboom, Eveline Koolhaas-Grosfeld, Geert Imanse, Ilja Veldman, Graham Birtwistle, Bert Sliggers, Charles Dumas, Jan Teeuwisse, Martha Op de Coul, Johannes H. Kraan, L.J. van der Klooster, Christina Wansink, and Fred Meijer.

A very warm and special thank-you to Rudolf Dekker and Florence Koorn, to Herman Roodenburg and Christien Smits, to Wim Denslagen and Tilly Maters, and to Lotte van de Pol, for the gracious hospitality they extended to me in the Netherlands while also giving their support to this project. Thank you very much to Marijke de Kinkelder for coordinating important meetings with individual scholars at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague. My sincere thanks as well to the institutions and staff of the Rijksprentenkabinet and the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Haags Gemeentemuseum in The Hague, the Teylers Museum in Haarlem, the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, and the P.J. Meertens Institute in Amsterdam for the professional courtesies extended to me in the summer of 1992, and for allowing me to use their superior facilities for work and research.

To all of the encyclopedia contributors, who undertook the assignments to write the entries and produced outstanding work for slight compensation: I am tremendously grateful to you for generously sharing your expertise with the readers of this book. Among those who took a broad interest and helped with developing topics in an entire subject area, I am beholden to Ilja Veldman, Wim Denslagen, Cynthia Lawrence, Graham Birtwistle, Elizabeth Honig, Hans Rooseboom, Maristella Casciato, and Mariët Westermann. To Ann Jensen Adams, Stephanie Dickey, Andrea Gasten, and Valerie Lind Hedquist, whom I could, and did, call on many times for help, my heartfelt thanks.

I wish to thank and give credit to those who worked carefully to translate entries for the encyclopedia: Esther Arts Warner and Michael Arts for their translations of articles written in Dutch; Ursula Brinkmann Pimentel for translating the articles written in German; Sigrun Müller, Kennie Lyman, Flavia Stara, and Allison Brunvand for translating the articles

written in Italian. I owe thanks also to Maria Dobozy for sharing her expertise in the philology of Germanic languages.

I have many institutions to thank for their support during the several years that it has taken me to complete this project. Foremost is the University of Utah, which awarded me a teaching grant in the summer of 1992 to travel to the Netherlands, and a faculty research grant in 1994–1995 to fund assistance with translations. I wish to acknowledge the outstanding help I received in various forms from art history graduate students Ursula Brinkmann Pimentel and Wendi Miller. My thanks, too, to the Undergraduate Research Opportunities Program (UROP) and to the then director, Peter L. Goss, at the University of Utah, who supported an undergraduate assistant, Stacey Lundberg, in 1992–1993. I am

enormously grateful to my colleagues in the College of Fine Arts and in the Department of Art for their understanding, good humor, and unending generosity in giving me support in this project.

I thank the museums, research institutes, foundations, and individuals around the world who are named in connection with the illustrations in this book for giving special attention and courteous consideration to the encyclopedia when the contributors and I requested photographs of objects from their collections and the permission to reproduce them.

Finally, a warm and personal expression of gratitude to my family for their patience, love, and understanding on the many occasions when my obligations to this project seemed to take precedence over life and death.

Introduction

What is covered in an encyclopedia of Dutch art? There is no easy answer to that question. At the time that coverage begins, around the middle of the fifteenth century, and until nearly the end of the sixteenth century, it is art that comes from the Low Countries. From 1581 to 1795, the home of Dutch art is the Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Later, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Dutch art comes from the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Along with changing political orders and national borders, frequent infusions of foreign influence had an effect on the local artistic production. A few historical facts and circumstances, as well as clarification of some basic terminology, will help to focus the question of what is included in this encyclopedia.

Dutch is an adjective used in English for describing the characteristics of the inhabitants, language, or country that in 1996 is the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Willem of Orange, son of Willem V, the last stadholder of the United Provinces, was recognized as the first king of the Netherlands in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte at Waterloo. Willem I's Kingdom of the Netherlands included Belgium until the Belgians seceded in 1830 to become a separate kingdom. The date of Dutch national independence is, therefore, celebrated as 1831. After that date, the state institutions in the Netherlands responsible for the arts-museums, academies of art, schools of arts and crafts, and, later, the art history departments in the universitiesbegan to make a distinction between old Dutch art (meaning art from around the time of the old masters in the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries) and new Dutch art (meaning art from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries). This distinction continues in the titles of two important art journals published in the Netherlands: Oud Holland ("Old Holland"), founded in 1883, and Jong Holland ("Young Holland"), founded in 1985.

Napoleon made the Netherlands part of the French Empire in 1810, but, before that, in 1806, he had installed his brother Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte as king of Holland, whose capital was Amsterdam. Holland was only one of the provinces of the Netherlands, but its prosperous cities and political importance at the time of the Republic of the United Provinces gave it primacy—so much so that "Holland" is still a synonym for the Netherlands. (The old province of Holland was separated into the modern provinces of North and South Holland in 1840.) Louis-Napoleon's reign continued the French domination of the Netherlands that had begun in 1795 when a French revolutionary army invaded the region and created the short-lived Batavian Republic (so called in recognition of the ancient inhabitants, the Batavians, who had fought to resist conquest by the Roman Empire).

Dutch culture experienced many such injections of foreign influence, and artists from the Netherlands carried the reputation of Dutch art abroad. In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, artists from the counties of Holland and Zeeland in the northern part of the Low Countries were employed in the county of Flanders and the duchy of Brabant in the southern part of the Low Countries, and in France, the Rhineland, and parts of Britain, while artists from the southern region came north to work in the duchy of Guelders (Gelderland) and in the cathedral city of Utrecht. Artists from Holland and Utrecht traveled and worked abroad, particularly in Italy and England, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Between 1625 and 1650 the noble House of Orange-Nassau tried to create a French-style court in The Hague, favoring for that purpose foreign over Dutch artists, and French fashions became generally popular with the Dutch after Louis XIV's armies invaded the United Provinces at the end of the seventeenth century. When Willem III, prince of Orange and stadholder of the United Provinces, married Mary II Stuart and the two reigned as king and queen of England from 1689 to 1702, the Dutch stylistic influences that began appearing in Britain were already mixed with a French aesthetic. French culture and taste were pervasive in the eighteenth century, and, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many Dutch artists traveled, studied, and worked in France, Belgium, Germany, England, and the United States. Thus, Dutch artists' assimilation and reinterpretation of foreign influences

have continuously made contributions to the art of the Netherlands.

Dutch, as in the widely used art historical term the Dutch School, has a more limited designation, referring to the style and subject matter that were practiced with prodigious success by Dutch artists in the seventeenth century—the Golden Age of the Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Dutch artists of the seventeenth century are regarded as having perfected a style of realism, painting portraits, land-scapes, still lifes, and genre scenes in response to patronage by the middle class, who, in circumstances that were unique in Europe, were able to pursue their own inclinations in the thriving market economy of the United Provinces, free of interference from court or church.

In the nineteenth century, historians and critics began to look at the Dutch School as the cultural efflorescence of the Republic. They were responding to the fact that Dutch art in the seventeenth century was a brilliant burst of innovation and invention that cast its glow over the eighteenth century, survived the French domination, and, in an early nineteenth-century revival that was imbued with Romanticism, quickened nationalist sentiments. Significant foreign developments in painting, such as mid-nineteenth-century Realism in France and the landscapes of the French Barbizon School, were recognized as having been inspired by seventeenth-century Dutch art; consequently, in the 1870s and 1880s, when The Hague School artists (after seeing the works in France) began painting from nature the daily life of peasants and the landscape around them, they were praised not as followers of the French but as a rebirth of the Dutch School. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars, critics, and museum curators were loath to acknowledge that the character of the Dutch School could have been formed from influences seen as extraterritorial, and they identified as early Dutch School "primitives" (in the sense of belonging to the early stage in the development of a style) the fourteenth- and fifteenthcentury artists whom they discovered within the modern borders of the Netherlands.

In the twentieth century, a great deal has been written about the early modern history of the Netherlands that is directed at dismissing some of the notions of nationalism. That history begins with a revolt that started in Flanders and led to the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648) with Spain. At the time of the Revolt of the Netherlands (the term has become synonymous with the Eighty Years' War), Flanders (a part of modern Belgium) and the Netherlands had a language and culture in common as neighbors in the region of the Low Countries. (The Dutch name for the Netherlands, Nederland, means "low country," and the Latin name, Belgium, referred to the whole of the Low Countries before the Kingdom of Belgium was created in 1830.) In the Middle Ages, the Low Countries had been divided into many small states, but, beginning in the late fourteenth century, the dukes of Burgundy, relatives at odds with the kings of France, began acquiring territory and extending their influence over the region through a rich and flourishing court culture. Under the dukes of Burgundy, the Low Countries prospered and the towns,

their original charters recognized by the dukes, were free to develop their local characteristics.

In 1568, when the Revolt started, the Low Countries consisted of seventeen provinces (corresponding in area to modern Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and a small part of northern France) that were under the rule of the king of Spain. The king, Philip II, a Hapsburg, had inherited the Low Countries in 1555 from his father, Charles I, who, as Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1519–1555), had enlarged the domain of the Hapsburgs in the Low Countries by adding counties, dukedoms, and the bishopric of Utrecht to the territories he already controlled through an inheritance from his grandmother Mary, daughter of the last duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold (died 1477).

The Revolt was preceded by a fury of iconoclasm in 1566 protesting the Inquisition started by Philip II in the Low Countries. The Protestant base of the rebellion was the city of Antwerp in Flanders, but, in 1572, rebels attacking by sea seized the provinces of Holland and Zeeland and brought the Protestant Reformation (unavoidably identified with opposition to Spanish rule) to the North. After Antwerp fell to Spanish troops led by the duke of Parma in 1585, the headquarters of the Protestant anti-Spanish cause was moved to the province of Holland, where its chief defenders were the Calvinists and the leaders of the army of the United Provinces, the princes of the House of Orange-Nassau. In 1585, Maurits of Nassau was leader of the army; his father, Willem I of Orange, also known as William the Silent (Willem de Zwijger), who raised the army of the Revolt in 1568 and became a hero of the Republic, was assassinated in Delft in 1584, Maurits died in 1625 and was succeeded by his brother Frederik Hendrik, who died in 1647.

As Spanish troops overran Flanders and occupied the southern part of the Low Countries, the seven provinces (Holland, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, Gelderland, Utrecht, and Zeeland) to the north of the confluence of the Rhine, Maas, and Waal rivers, which along with the islands of Zeeland afforded a natural defensive barrier, formed a federation in 1581, the United Provinces of the Netherlands. The United Provinces acknowledged their determination to continue the Revolt until they won independence from Spain. The Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621) was a break in the Eighty Years' War during which the fluctuating wartime boundary between the southern provinces (called in this period the Spanish, or Royal, Netherlands) and the seven northern provinces was temporarily stabilized. The economy of the North thrived during the truce, emigration from the South and other areas continued, and demand was increased for the arts to play a vital role in supporting cultural identity and civic pride. The South languished in comparison, except that the arts were also well supported by the Spanish-dominated court and the Counter-Reformation Roman Catholic Church, whose religious orders commissioned many altarpieces. When the war resumed the United Provinces gained more territory, until their borders (basically the same as those of the Netherlands today) were fixed in 1648 by the Treaty of Münster-Westphalia. That treaty ended the Eighty Years' War and required Philip IV of Spain

to recognize the independence of the United Provinces.

The government of the Republic of the United Provinces consisted of representatives, elected by the towns in each of the seven provinces, who served in a body called the States General. This body met in The Hague (the seat of the old counts of Holland), where it conferred with the prince of the House of Orange-Nassau, who commanded the army for the United Provinces and whose official title was stadholder (literally, "lieutenant"). In that way, the towns, governed by oligarchies of regents from wealthy merchant families, maintained a voice in the affairs of war and state that had an effect on peace and order on the local level. About the time of the Twelve Years' Truce, it became law that only Calvinists could hold public office, as others might be sympathetic to Spain and a risk to security. Nevertheless, several times in the seventeenth century, the opposition between political and religious factions turned violent and threatened the internal stability of the United Provinces. Opposing each other were the advocates of religious tolerance, who were for ending the war (these were the regents from Amsterdam, which had replaced Antwerp in wealth and power, and from other towns, who defended the right of autonomy for local authorities to protect prosperity), and the proponents of religious orthodoxy, who wanted the war to continue (they were the Calvinist clergy and the people who looked up to the stadholders, who hoped to centralize authority in a state church and a royal House of Orange).

From the standpoint of politics, religion, and class relationships, the Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands was not without internal strains and tensions in its Golden Age; these are often necessary conditions for great creativity, as the history of art demonstrates. For understanding how Dutch art developed, it is important to remember that both sides at the start of the Eighty Years' War wanted to preserve the Low Countries; although division took place, it was not until much of the old life of Flanders-including many artists—had moved North, leaving the South with a different set of challenges to meet. Some form of control has to be imposed upon a subject to study it: The way that art is often studied is with a limited focus on an individual artist, a single theme, a period, a school, or some other defining context. Reasons for the exclusions are not always given, and often what has been excluded from the study of the Dutch School is the problematic relationship with the art and artists of the Southern Netherlands.

That was not the case with the first book on art and the lives of artists published in the United Provinces: Karel van Mander's Het Schilder-Boeck (1604). Van Mander was from the Southern Netherlands; he moved North, like many others during the Eighty Years' War, and settled in the town of Haarlem in the province of Holland around 1580. Van Mander, who was a painter, is a major source of information at the beginning of the Golden Age about the history and theory of art in the Netherlands; however, he made no distinctions between Dutch and Flemish artists and did not mention the Revolt. (In this regard, he has much in common with the painters of the seventeenth-century Dutch School, who, for

all their apparent realism, also had a tendency to gloss over the problems of the age.) What appears to have been important for van Mander, and the artists for and about whom he wrote, was elucidating the evolution to the level of perfection of a Netherlandish tradition of art, as if events had brought him and several others to Haarlem to accomplish that goal. Challenging the hegemony of Italian artists and art theory was incentive for van Mander, who was canny in adapting the arguments of his literary models, to insist that there had been a unity of purpose in the study of nature by Netherlandish artists for centuries. Later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch writers about artists and art theory followed van Mander's example, never suggesting, as is the modern tendency, that there were two schools of Netherlandish art, one Dutch and one Flemish.

The practice of seventeenth-century Dutch painters to describe in detail the appearance or surface of their world (a practice that, according to van Mander, originated with Jan van Eyck in Flanders in the early fifteenth century) is often compared to that of delineation in mapping, for which the Netherlands were also famous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of the maps made in the Netherlands during and long after the Eighty Years' War persisted in keeping the original outline of the Low Countries intact as a profile Leo Belgica, although the head of the lion might be depicted on the north (at Amsterdam) instead of on the south (at Antwerp). Sometimes the map of the region was enclosed in a border in which was depicted a series of views of the major towns. Correspondingly, writers of a contemporary and popular form of guidebook to Dutch towns, the beschrijvingen (literally, "descriptions"), took the civic perspective to be more encompassing than the regional one when they recounted the history of the Revolt and the Republic through the experiences of citizens and bolstered civic pride with accounts of buildings, institutions, and reputed masters in local schools.

Van Mander's motives for stressing the regionalism of art are clear to modern scholars, while those who read the town beschrijvingen as primary sources are handed down the popular notion of Dutch history and art viewed in terms of the microcosm of local experiences. Maps from the same period, which frequently appear in the backgrounds of genre paintings, acknowledge that it is possible to have both points of view. All are correctives to the interests of nineteenth-century nationalism when viewing the past. From the late Middle Ages to the twentieth century, the Dutch have had their own way of interpreting in their art and architecture the styles and movements that originated outside their borders; only in the later twentieth century have scholars attuned to international developments begun to identify this as richly problematic. At the same time, the contributions made by Dutch artists in the seventeenth century, as well as those by artists in the twentieth century to the movements of De Stijl (1917-1930) and Cobra (1948-1951), stand out more clearly when viewed on the international scene. The answer to the question, "What is covered in an encyclopedia of Dutch art?" is the complexity of facts and issues that confront anyone who studies Dutch art in the 1990s.



A Reader's Guide and Bibliographical Note

Readers who wish to follow an orderly procedure in using the Encyclopedia will find a way to begin with the asterisked (*) entries in the following lists. For those interested primarily in an introduction to or general survey of Dutch art, it is recommended that they read all of the asterisked entries from all the groupings, turning as they choose to any of the See also suggestions at the end of each entry. For those readers interested in concentrating on one or a small number of areas of Dutch art, it is recommended that they begin in a grouping with the asterisked entries and use the See also suggestions at the end of the entries to discover related topics where additional information or a different perspective may be found. For those wishing truly "encyclopedic" knowledge, it is recommended that they proceed through an entire grouping, reading the asterisked and nonasterisked entries and all of the See also suggestions. For follow-up on any topics of particular interest, readers are directed to the Index.

Biographies have not been asterisked, in the expectation that readers will find the most pertinent discussions of particular individuals and their works to be in the thematic and topical entries, and thus will be able to follow up among the selection of biographies. Readers are also directed to the Index for inquiries about individuals or subjects not covered by entries of their own.

The selected bibliography accompanying each entry suggests the best and most authoritative sources for further inquiry. Many of the titles are not in English, and some readers may wonder if and when they really need to consult these works. A few remarks follow on the state of publishing about Dutch art.

There is abundant literature on Dutch art in English, but what is available does not represent all periods and subjects. This is a reflection of the special or limited interests of scholars outside the Netherlands who study particular aspects of Dutch art and write in English; scholars in the Netherlands who study and write about the same aspects are more likely to have their works translated and published in English. More is being written and published in Dutch on the art of the

Netherlands by Dutch scholars, who are closer to collections, archives, and institutions, and who are encouraged by the national efforts in education and journalism to increase the public's knowledge of their heritage from all periods. If the bibliographies in this encyclopedia were restricted to published sources in English, there would be a significant number of entries for which, surprisingly, no research would appear to exist.

Since the 1970s, more of the research by scholars in the Netherlands has been translated into English. Government agencies and private foundations in the Netherlands have been generous in their support of translation projects for scholarly research, so that it is increasingly common to find monographs, conference papers, journal articles, and dissertations that, if not completely translated, are published in Dutch with a summary in English. Some of the summaries stick to the facts and do not capture the force of the author's argument; others are a model of succinctness in clarifying a complex point. English summaries, when known to exist, are noted for the items in the bibliographies. In addition, most art and art history journals from the Netherlands print articles that are written in English, and they often translate book and exhibition reviews and the significant discoveries of Dutch authors into English for an international readership.

Museum exhibition catalogs are valuable resources: The essays by experts present the latest scholarly findings and opinions on a subject, and they may extensively summarize past research; the bibliography is comprehensive and up to date; the plentiful photographs are generally of the highest quality and provide extraordinary opportunities for close study and visual comparison of works of art in reproduction. Dutch national and municipal museums that regularly mount major exhibitions frequently publish a catalog with the complete text in Dutch and English. Smaller museums in the Netherlands may have published little material in English, but their catalogs (even if one cannot read the Dutch text) can be important sources of picture reproductions, collection information, and additional bibliography. Many of the exhibition

catalogs produced since 1980 have assumed the importance of standard references, and they are cited in the bibliographies. Readers in the United States with access to college and university libraries or to public libraries in the major metropolitan areas should have little or no difficulty obtaining items from the bibliographies, even those in Dutch. For materials not immediately available, interlibrary loans are a useful option. Fortunately, with computers and the Internet, perusing library catalogs and databases world wide is becoming routine and easy for many people. These resources can turn up other means of access and also lead to the discovery of new sources. Finally, publications on art and architecture from the Netherlands may be ordered directly from the publisher or through a North American distributor. Dutch museums have departments of photographic services that will answer questions about reproducing the works of art in their collections.

A Note about the Spelling of Names

The Dutch language is tolerant of minor variances in the spelling of proper names. Differences of opinion exist both about artists from earlier centuries, whose names appear unpredictably and often in varying forms in archival documents, as well as about twentieth-century artists, whose professional activity has coincided with the occasional "spelling reforms" that have been promoted by progressive groups intending to make the Dutch language more logical and simple to use. A history of foreign contacts and the many foreign scholars and writers who have reported on the culture of the Netherlands have also left their mark on how Dutch proper names are spelled. Thus the problem of whether the spelling of an artist's name is based on the preponderance of archival evidence or whether it is according to the old or new styles of spelling has been further complicated by the tendency of both Dutch and foreign authors to amend a name to make it conform to the conventions of language in force at any particular time.

Readers will find consistency in the way that an artist's name is spelled throughout the text of the Encyclopedia. Spelling decisions were made by the editor, guided by the way that a name most often appears in the standard sources in the field; this is also the way that most contributors approached the problem. The exception to this is when new research has demonstrated that a change or correction of the standard is warranted, and acceptance of the change or correction has already begun to appear in scholarly publications. In the instances where research is still poised on the question of artistic identity, variant spellings are given and discussed. Common alternative spellings in current use of an artist's name may appear in the titles of works listed in the bibliography after each entry.

Overview of Groupings

Architecture

Arts (see also Architecture, Drawing, Painting, Photography, Printmaking, and Sculpture)

Biography Cultural History

Drawing, History of Drawing

Groups, Schools, Movements
Ideas, Concepts, Themes
Internationalism
Painting, History of Painting
Patronage
Photography, History of Photography
Printmaking, History of Prints
Sculpture, History of Sculpture

Entries Grouped by Major Category

Architecture

Writing about Art

Amsterdam School*
Architectural competitions
Architectural criticism, issues of style
Architectural restoration*
Classicism in architecture*

De Stijl

Functionalism in architecture*
Landscape architecture

Neo-Gothic*

North American art, Dutch influences

Postmodernism

Public housing*

Renaissance architecture

Town halls

Urban planning, before 1750

Urban planning, from 1750 to the present*

Wendingen

Arts

Applied arts*

Artists' initiatives

Atlas, atlases

Calligraphers and calligraphy

Cartography*

Ceramics*

Clothing, costume, fashion: early pictorial and historical evidence

Clothing, costume, fashion: nineteenth and twentieth

Coins, medals

Contemporary art

centuries

Feminism, feminist issues

Films, filmmaking

Graphic design*

Manuscript illumination*

Postage stamps

Roundels

Stained glass*

Tiles

Women artists

Biography

Aertsen, Pieter

Alberdingk Thijm, Josephus Albertus

Allebé, August

Alma Tadema, Laurens

Andriesse, Emmy

Andriessen, Mari Appel, Karel Armando

Backer, Jacob Adriaensz. Bakker Korff, Alexander Hugo

Bellaert, Jacob

Berckheyde, Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde, Job Adriaensz. Berlage, Hendrik Petrus Berssenbrugge, Henri Bloemaert, Abraham

Blommers, Bernardus Johannes

Bol, Ferdinand Bosboom, Johannes Bosch, Hieronymus Bramer, Leonaert Brands, Eugène

Breitner, George Hendrik

Bronner, Jan Brouwn, Stanley Cats, Jacob Chabot, Hendrik

Constant (C. A. Nieuwenhuys) Coornhert, Dirck Volkertsz.

Corneille Couzijn, Wessel Cuyp, Aelbert Daniels, René

De Hondecoeter, Melchior De Keyser, Hendrick De Klerk, Michel De Kooning, Willem De Wit, Jacob De Zwart, Willem Derkinderen, Antoon J.

Dewald, C.M.

Dijsselhof, Gerrit Willem

Dou, Gerrit

Dudok, Willem Marinus Duiker, Johannes

Dumas, Marlene Dupont, Pieter Eggers, Bartolomeus Engebrechtsz., Cornelis Erasmus, Desiderius Fernhout, Edgar R.J. Flinck, Govaert

Gabriël, Paul Joseph Constantin

Geertgen tot Sint Jans

Fortuyn/O'Brien

Gestel, Leo

Goltzius, Hendrick Gudmundsson, Sigurdur

Hals, Dirck Hals, Frans

Hammacher, A.M.W.J. Hertzberger, Herman

Herwig, Reinhardt Herman

Huizinga, Johan

Humbert de Superville, D.P.G.

Huygens, Constantijn

Israëls, Isaac Israëls, Jozef

Jongkind, Johan Barthold

Karsen, Eduard Kleyn, Pieter Rudolph Knip, Josephus Augustus Kobell, Ian Baptist II

Koch, Pyke Koekkoek, B. C. Koninck, Philips Koninck, Salomon Koolhaas, Rem

Kramer, Pieter Lodewijk (Piet) Krausz, Simon Andreas Kröller-Müller, Hélène E.L.J.

Kromhout, Willem Krop, Hildo Kruseman, Cornelis Kruyder, Herman J.

La Fargue, Paulus Constantiin

Leyster, Judith Lievens, Jan Lucebert Maes, Nicolaes Maris, Jacob Hendricus Maris, Matthijs Maris, Willem Master I.A.M. of Zwoll

Master of the Virgin among Virgins

Matham, Jacob Mauve, Anton

Mendes da Costa, Joseph Mesdag, Hendrik Willem

Metsu, Gabriel

Moesman, Johannes Hendricus

Molenaer, Jan Miense Mondrian, Piet Neuhuijs, Albert Nuyen, W.J.J. Olie, Jacob Oosterhuis, Pieter Ouborg, Pieter

Oud, Jacobus Johannes Pieter

Ouwater, Isaac Pander, Pier Post, Pieter Pothoven, Hendrik Potter, Paulus Pronk, Cornelis Quellinus, Artus I Quinkhard, Jan Maurits

Raedecker, John Regters, Tibout

Rembrandt van Rijn Robertson, Suze Bisschop Rochussen, Charles Roelofs, Willem

Roland Holst, Richard N. Ronner-Knip, Henriëtte

Rooskens, Anton Royer, Louis Ruysch, Rachel Schelfhout, Andreas Schoonhoven, J.J. Schouman, Aart

Schwartze, Thérèse van Duyl

Sluijters, Jan
Steen, Jan Havicksz.
Struycken, Peter
Tavenraat, Johannes
Ten Compe, Jan
Ter Borch, Gerard
Terbrugghen, Hendrick
Terwesten, Mattheus
Tholen, Willem Bastiaan
Thorn Prikker, Johan
Tonny, Kristians

Toorop, Charley (Annie Caroline Pontifex)

Toorop, Jan Troost, Cornelis

Van Baburen, Dirck Jaspersz. Van Brekelenkam, Quirijn Gerritsz.

Van Campen, Jacob Van de Velde, Jan II

Van den Eeckhout, Gerbrand Van den Eijnde, Hendrik Albertus

Van der Aa, Dirk

Van der Helst, Bartholomeus

Van der Heyden, Jan Van der Meer, Hans

Van der Valk, Maurits Willem

Van Doesburg, Theo Van Dongen, Kees Van Gogh, Vincent Van Golden, Daan Van Goyen, Jan Van Honthorst, Gerard Van Hove, Bart Van Huysum, Jan

Van Konijnenburg, Willem Van Leyden, Aertgen Van Leyden, Lucas Van Looy, Jacobus Van Mander, Karel Van Ojen, E.M. Van Pallandt, Charlotte

Van Ruisdael, Jacob

Van Rijn, Rembrandt (see Rembrandt van Rijn) Van Schurman, Anna Maria

Van Wesel, Adriaen

Verhulst, Rombout Vermeer, Johannes Verster, Floris Verveer, Maurits Verwey, Kees Veth, Jan

Vinckboons, David Vingboons, Philips Visch, Henk Visser, Carel Voogd, Hendrik Vosmaer, Carel Weissenbruch, Jan

Weissenbruch, Jan Hendrik Werkman, Hendrik Nicolaas

Westerik, Co Wiegers, Jan

Wijdeveld, Hendricus Theodorus

Witsen, Willem Woldringh, Meinard Wolvecamp, Theo Wouwerman, Philips Xavery, Jan Baptist Xavery, Pieter Zijl, Lambertus

Cultural History

Amateurs, art academies, and art associations before

the nineteenth century

Artists confraternities and craftsmen's guilds

Artists' initiatives

Clothing, costume, fashion: early pictorial and

historical evidence

Clothing, costume, fashion: nineteenth and twentieth

centuries Delft*

Display
Dordrecht*

Eighty Years' War

Exotica
Gouda*
Haarlem*
Jews
Leiden*
Nationalism

Non-Western cultural influences*

Protestant Reformation Religion of artists Rhetoricians' chambers

Rotterdam* Rural life and views

Utrecht*
War and warfare
Women artists*
World Wars I and II

Drawing, History of Drawing Calligraphers and calligraphy

Drawing clubs

Drawing practices and techniques*

Drawing theory*

Drawings, uses and collecting

Groups, Schools, Movements

Amsterdam Impressionists*

Amsterdam School* Artists' initiatives Avant-garde

Bergen

Cobra Movement*

Dada

De Branding De Ploeg De Stijl*

Feminism, feminist issues

Fluxus

Haarlem School, early Hague School, The*

Laren

Magic Realism

Mannerism, Mannerists

Nul-group

Pre-Rembrandtists
Rembrandt School*
Symbolism and Symbolists
Utrecht Caravaggists*

Women artists

Ideas, Concepts, Themes

Active life, active virtues Allegorical traditions* Carnal life, carnal vices

Comic modes*

Commerce and commercial life*

Contemplative life, contemplative virtues

Devotional images Didactic images Dutch history

Emblems and emblem books* Feminism, feminist issues

Gestures

Humanism, humanist themes

Humor, satire Japonisme
Last Judgment
Nationalism*
Pastoral*

Quacksalvers, quack doctors

Roman history
Sins and punishments
Theater and theatricality
Vanitas, vanitas still life
Women's worlds*

Internationalism

Belgium

Flanders, Flemish School*

France Italy* Non-Western cultural influences

North American art, Dutch influences*

North American collecting

North American painting, Dutch influences

Reputation of Dutch art abroad*

Trade, exploration, and colonization overseas

World Wars I and II

Painting, History of Painting

Animal painting
Architectural painting
Bas-relief, painting

Commerce and commercial life

Contemporary art Conversation piece

Country houses and gardens Court and official portaiture

Donor portraits Frames, painted

Framing devices within pictures

Gamepiece

Genre painting, eighteenth century* Genre painting, seventeenth century*

Group portraiture*
History painting*
History portraits
Horticulture
House interiors
Housewives and maids

Illusionism*
Landscape*

Manuscript illumination
Marine painting*

Marriage and family portraits Music, musical instruments

Musicians, musical companies, musical performers

Natural history illustration

North American painting, Dutch influences

Paintings-within-paintings

Pastoral
Portraiture*
Reverse painting
Rural life and views
Self-portraiture*
Soldiers
Still life*

Subjects, subject categories, and hierarchies*

Surrealism

Technical investigations*
Textiles, textile industry

Townscapes*

Underdrawings, underpaintings

Vanitas, vanitas still life

Patronage

Aristocracy and gentry

Churches

House of Orange-Nassau*

Religious orders and their patronage

State and municipal art collecting and collections

State patronage, public support*

Photography, History of Photography

Nature photography

Photographers, anonymous

Photography, early*

Photography, modern and contemporary*

Printmaking, History of Prints

Paper, used for prints

Prints, collecting*

Prints, early printed book and Bible illustration

Prints, modern graphic arts 1840-1945*

Prints, modern graphic arts after 1945*

Prints, printmaking and printmakers, (ca. 1500-

1900)*

Prints, publishers

Watermarks

Sculpture, History of Sculpture

Monuments to artists

Public monumental sculpture, (ca. 1550-1795)

Public monumental sculpture, (1795-1990)

Sculpture (ca. 1400-ca. 1550)*

Sculpture (1550-1795)*

Sculpture (1795-1945)*

Tomb sculpture: early modern and later sepulchral art

Tomb sculpture: medieval effigial monuments

Writing about Art

Architectural criticism, issues of style*

Archives

Art criticism, critical issues in the nineteenth century*

Art criticism, critical issues in the twentieth century*

Art history, history of the discipline

De Stijl

Huizinga, Johan

Literature, poetry: analogues with the visual

Rembrandt research*

Van Gogh, Vincent: diverse views*

Wendingen

Writers on art, eighteenth century*

Writers on art, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*

Contributors

Ann Jensen Adams

University of California
Santa Barbara
Court and official portraiture
Group portraiture
History portraits
North American collecting
Portraiture
Rembrandt research

Ingrid C. Alexander

Smithsonian Institution Technical investigations Underdrawings, underpaintings

Gretchen D. Atwater

Independent Scholar New Jersey Marine painting Trade, exploration, and colonization overseas

Jeremy D. Bangs

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Monuments to artists
Nationalism
Public monumental sculpure (1795–1990)

Shirley K. Bennett

Independent Scholar Washington, D.C. Atlas, atlases Cartography Vinckboons, David (1576–1632)

Herman van Bergeijk

Independent Scholar Delft Dudok, Willem Marinus (1884–1974)

Reita Bergsma

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam Amsterdam Impressionists Breitner, George Hendrick (1857–1923) Robertson, Suze Bisschop (1855–1922) Van Looy, Jacobus (1855–1930)

Ellinoor Bergvelt

Universiteit van Amsterdam
Knip, Josephus Augustus (1777–1847)
State and municipal art collecting and collections

Ansje Beusekom

Independent Scholar Amsterdam Films, film-making

Graham Birtwistle

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
Appel, Karel (Christiaan Karel Appel) (born 1921)
Brands, Eugène (born 1913)
Cobra Movement (1948–1951)
Constant (Constant Anton Nieuwenhuys) (born 1920)
Corneille (Corneille Guillaume Beverloo) (born 1922)
Lucebert (Lubertus Jacobus Swaanswijk) (1924–1994)
Rooskens, Anton (Joseph Antoon Rooskens) (1906–1976)
Wolvecamp, Theo (1925–1992)
World Wars I and II

Saskia de Bodt

Independent Scholar The Netherlands Belgium Roelofs, Willem (1822–1897)

Eugenie Boer

Independent Scholar

The Netherlands

Bloemaert, Abraham (1564–1651)

Genre painting, eighteenth century

Terbrugghen, Hendrick (1588–1629)

Troost, Cornelis (1696-1750)

Utrecht Caravaggists

Van Baburen, Dirck Jaspersz. (ca. 1595-1624)

Van Honthorst, Gerard (1592-1656)

Peter van den Brink

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

Backer, Jacob Adriaensz. (1608-1651)

Pastoral

Els Brinkman

Independent Scholar

Amsterdam

De Branding (1917-1926)

Ton J. Broos

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Writers on art, eighteenth century

Edwin Buijsen

Mauritshuis

The Hague

Van Goyen, Jan (1596-1656)

Maristella Casciato

University of Rome Tor Vergata

Amsterdam School

De Klerk, Michel (1884–1923)

Duiker, Johannes (1890–1935)

Functionalism in architecture

Hertzberger, Herman (born 1932)

Koolhaas, Rem (born 1944)

Public housing

Wendingen (1918-1931)

Wijdeveld, Hendricus Theodorus (1885–1987)

Alan Chong

The Cleveland Museum of Art

Cuyp, Aelbert (1620–1691)

Landscape

Petra ten-Doesschate Chu

Seton Hall University

France

Rudolf Dekker

Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam

Postage stamps

Tiles

W. F. Denslagen

Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg

Zeist

Architectural competitions

Architectural criticism, issues of style

Architectural restoration

Neo-Gothic

Postmodernism

Town halls

Stephanie S. Dickey

Herron School of Art

New York

Flinck, Govaert (1615-1660)

Lievens, Jan (1607-1674)

Rembrandt School

Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669)

Self-portraiture

Van der Helst, Bartholomeus (1613–1670)

Charles Dumas

Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie

The Hague

La Fargue, Paulus Constantijn (1729–1782)

Ouwater, Isaac (1748-1793)

Pothoven, Hendrik (1726-1807)

Pronk, Cornelis (1691-1759)

Ten Compe, Jan (1713-1761)

Rudolf E.O. Ekkart

Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie

The Hague

Quinkhard, Jan Maurits (1688-1772)

Regters, Tibout (1710-1768)

Mary Francey

University of Utah

De Kooning, Willem (born 1904)

Van Gogh, Vincent: diverse views

Wayne Franits

Syracuse University

Women's worlds

Carol J. Fresia

Independent Scholar

New York

Quacksalvers, quack doctors

Karin Gaillard

Independent Scholar

The Netherlands

Applied arts

Andrea C. Gasten

Independent Scholar Maarssenbroek Symbolism, Symbolists

Van Gogh, Vincent (1853-1890)

Walter S. Gibson

Case Western Reserve University Bosch, Hieronymus (ca. 1450–1516) Flanders, Flemish School

Amy Golahny

Lycoming College

Literature, poetry: analogues with the visual

Steven Golan

Independent Scholar North Carolina Bol, Ferdinand (1616–1680) Koninck, Salomon (1609–1656) Roman history Subjects, subject categories, and hierarchies Van den Eeckhout, Gerbrand (1621–1674)

Jane ten Brink Goldsmith

Independent Scholar Massachusetts Bramer, Leonaert (1596–1673) Delft Vermeer, Johannes (1632–1675)

Frans Grijzenhout

Independent Scholar Amsterdam Reputation of Dutch art abroad

Maartje de Haan

Museum Boymans-van Beuningen Rotterdam Dupont, Pieter (1870–1911) Prints, modern graphic arts 1840–1945 Prints, modern grapic arts after 1945 Van der Valk, Maurits Willem (1857–1935)

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Ohio State University

Emblems and emblem books

Genre painting, seventeenth century

Marlite Halbertsma

Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam Art history, history of the discipline

Ludo van Halem

Jong Holland

Brouwn, Stanley (born 1935)

Fluxus

Valerie Lind Hedquist

Central College Churches History painting Metsu, Gabriel (1629–1667) Pre-Rembrandtists Religion of artists

Paul Hefting

PTT Nederland Graphic design

Lee Hendrix

J. Paul Getty Museum Natural history illustration

Julie Berger Hochstrasser

University of California Berkeley Gamepiece Still life Vanitas, vanitas still life

Els Hoek

Independent art historian, art critic, curator Amsterdam Contemporary art (1980–1990) Dada Van Doesburg, Theo (1883–1931)

Martha Hollander

New College at Hofstra University Dou, Gerrit (1613–1675) Frames, painted Framing devices within pictures House interiors Housewives and maids Illusionism Maes, Nicolaes (1634–1693) Paintings-within-paintings

Elizabeth Alice Honig

Tufts University
Aertsen, Pieter (1508/1509–1575)
Commerce and commercial life
Van Brekelenkam, Quirijn Gerritsz. (ca. 1620/1625–ca. 1668/1669)
Van de Velde, Jan II (1593–1641)

Anita Hopmans

Universiteit van Amsterdam Avant-garde Sluijters, Jan (1881–1957) Van Dongen, Kees (1877–1968) Verwey, Kees (1900–1995)

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Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam Kromhout, Willem (1864-1940) Rotterdam

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Independent Scholar

Amsterdam

Contemporary Art (1980-1990) Van Doesburg, Theo (1883-1931)

Bram Kempers

Universiteit van Amsterdam House of Orange-Nassau Huizinga, Johan (1872-1945) State patronage, public support

J.M. Kennedy

Independent Scholar

Kansas

Eighty Years' War

Soldiers

War and warfare

Wouwerman, Philips (1619-1668)

Alison McNeil Kettering

Carleton College

Ter Borch, Gerard (1617-1681)

Women artists

Pieter Jan Klapwijk

Noordbrabandts Museum

's Hertogenbosch

Coins, medals

Florence Koorn

Haarlem Archiefdienst

Archives

Harry Kraaij

Independent Scholar

Amsterdam

Israël, Isaac (1865–1934)

Karsen, Eduard (1860–1941)

Tholen, Willem Bastiaan (1860-1931)

Verster, Floris (1861–1927)

Veth, Jan (1864-1925)

Witsen, Willem (1860-1923)

Fransje Kuyvenhoven

Rijksdientst Beeldende Kunst

The Hague

Voogd, Hendrik (1768-1839)

Cynthia Lawrence

Temple University

Berckheyde, Gerrit Adriaensz. (1638–1698)

Berckheyde, Job Adriaensz. (1630–1693)

De Keyser, Hendrick (1565-1621)

Eggers, Bartolomeus (ca. 1630-before 1692)

Public monumental sculpture (ca. 1550–1795)

Quellinus, Artus I (1609-1668)

Sculpture, 1550-1795

Tomb sculpture: early modern and later sepulchral art

Verhulst, Rombout (1624-1698)

Xavery, Jan Baptist (1697-1742)

Xavery, Pieter (ca. 1647-traceable to 1683)

Kitty de Leeuw

Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam

Clothing, costume, fashion: nineteenth and twentieth centuries

Janey L. Levy

Independent Scholar

New York

Active life, active virtues

Carnal life, carnal vices

Contemplative life, contemplative virtues

Devotional images

Didactic images

Donor portraits

Erasmus, Desiderius (died 1536)

Last Judgment

Religious orders and their patronage

Sins and punishments

John Loughman

University College Dublin

Display

Dordrecht

Anne W. Lowenthal

Independent Scholar

New York City

Italy

Mannerism, Mannerists

Roger Mandle

Rhode Island School of Design

Amateurs, art academies, and art associations before the nineteenth century

Bas-relief, painting

Cats, Jacob (1741-1799) De Wit, Jacob (1696-1754)

Krausz, Simon Andreas (1760-1825)

Diane E. Cearfoss Mankin

University of Cincinnati Architectural painting Aristocracy and gentry Conversation piece Country houses and gardens

De Hondecoeter, Melchior (1636-1695)

Marriage and family portraits Van der Heyden, Jan (1637-1712) Van Ruisdael, Jacob (1628/1629-1682) Vingboons, Philips (1607-1678)

Brigitte van Mechelen

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam Chabot, Hendrik (1894-1949) Van Golden, Daan (born 1936) Visch, Henk (born 1950) Westerik, Co (born 1924)

Fred G. Meijer

Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie The Hague Ruysch, Rachel (1664-1750) Van Huysum, Jan (1682-1749)

Walter S. Melion

Johns Hopkins University Calligraphers and Calligraphy (1550–1650) Goltzius, Hendrick (1558-1617) Van Mander, Karel (1548-1606) Writers on art, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Ios de Mevere

Centraal Museum

Utrecht Utrecht

Wendi Miller

Independent Scholar

Utah Townscapes

Sheila Muller

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Bakker Korff, Alexander Hugo (1824–1882)

Bergen De Ploeg

Israëls, Jozef (1824-1911)

Robert S. Olpin

University of Utah

North American art, Dutch influences North American painting, Dutch influences

Nadine Orenstein

Metropolitan Museum of Art Bellaert, Jacob (active 1483-1486) Master IAM of Zwoll (active ca. 1485) Matham, Jacob (1571-1631)

Paper, used for prints

Prints, printmaking, printmakers, (ca. 1500-ca. 1900)

Prints, publishers Watermarks

K.A. Ottenheym

Universiteit Utrecht

Classicism in architecture (1625–1700)

Post, Pieter (1608-1669)

Renaissance architecture (1500-1625) Van Campen, Jacob (1595-1657)

Annemiek Ouwerkerk

Rijksuniversiteit Leiden Alberdingk Thijm, Joseph Albertus (1820-1889) Art criticism, critical issues in the nineteenth century

Franco Panzini

Independent Scholar

Rome

Landscape architecture

Hanna Pennock

Mesdag Museum

The Hague

Blommers, Bernardus Johannes (1845–1914) Gabriël, Paul Joseph Constantin (1828–1903)

Hague School, The (1870-1890) Maris, Matthijs (1839-1917) Maris, Willem (1844-1910) Mauve, Anton (1838-1888)

Mesdag, Hendrik Willem (1831–1915)

Neuhuijs, Albert (1844-1914) Vosmaer, Carel (1826-1888)

Tineke Reijnders

Universiteit van Amsterdam Artists' Initiatives, (1970–1990)

Herman Roodenburg

P.J. Meertens Instituut

Amsterdam

Clothing, costume, fashion: early pictorial and historical evidence

Gestures

Hans Rooseboom

Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum

Amsterdam

Andriesse, Emmy (1914-1953) Dewald, C.M. (1868-1923)

Herwig, Reinhardt Herman (1878–1959)

Nature photography

Oosterhuis, Pieter (1816–1885)
Photographers, anonymous
Photography, early (1839–1925)
Photography, modern and contemporary (1925–1990)
Van der Meer, Hans (born 1955)
Van Ojen, E.M. (1886–1964)
Verveer, Maurits (1817–1903)
Woldringh, Meinard (1915–1968)

Bart A. Rosier

Independent Scholar

Amsterdam

Prints, early printed book and Bible illustration

Peter de Ruiter

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

Armando (born 1929)

Art criticism, critical issues in the twentieth century

Hammacher, A.M.W.J. (born 1897) Nul-group (Nul-groep) (1961–1965)

Schoonhoven, J.J. (1914-1944)

Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman

Independent Scholar

Maastricht

Reverse painting

Roundels

Stained glass

Diane G. Scillia

Kent State University

Geertgen tot Sint Jans (Gheerkin van Leyden)

(active ca. 1465-1485 or 1480-1495/1496)

Haarlem School, early (ca. 1450-1500)

Master of the Virgin among Virgins (active ca. 1480-1510)

Stacey Sell

Independent Scholar

Pennsylvania

Drawing clubs

Drawing practices and techniques

Drawing theory

Drawings, uses and collecting

Elise Lawton Smith

Millsaps College

Engebrechtsz. (or Engelbrechtsen), Cornelis (1468–1527)

Van Leyden, Aertgen (Aert Claesz.) (1498-1564)

Van Leyden, Lucas (ca. 1494-1533)

Christien F.W. Smits

Independent Scholar

Amsterdam

Ceramics

Alexandra W.M. van Smoorenburg

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Allebé, August (1838–1927)

Berssenbrugge, Henri (1873–1959)

Bosboom, Johannes (1817–1891)

De Zwart, Willem (1862-1931)

Derkinderen, Antoon J. (1859-1935)

Dijsselhof, Gerrit Willem (1866–1924)

Gestel, Leo (1881-1941)

Japonisme

Jongkind, Johan Barthold (1819-1891)

Kleyn, Pieter Rudolph (1785-1816)

Kobell, Jan Baptist II (1778–1814)

Koekkoek, B.C. (1803-1862)

Kruseman, Cornelis (1797-1857)

Maris, Jacob Hendricus (1837–1899)

Nuyen, W.J.J. (1813-1839)

Olie, Jacob (1834-1905)

Rochussen, Charles (1814-1894)

Roland Holst, Richard N. (1868-1938)

Ronner-Knip, Henriëtte (1821–1909)

Schelfhout, Andreas (1787-1870)

Schwartze, Thérèse van Duyl (1851–1918)

Tavenraat, Johannes (1809–1881)

Thorn Prikker, Johan (1868-1932)

Van Konijnenburg, Willem (1868–1943)

Weissenbruch, Jan (1822–1880)

Weissenbruch, Jan Hendrik (1824-1903)

Roy Sonnema

Georgia Southern University

Music, musical instruments

Musicians, musical companies, musical performers

Barbara Maria Stafford

University of Chicago

Humbert de Superville, D.P.G. (1770-1849)

John Steen

Independent Scholar

Utrecht

Daniels, René (born 1950)

Dumas, Marlene (born 1953)

Fernhout, Edgar R.J. (1912-1974)

Koch, Pyke (Pieter Frans Christiaan) (1901–1991)

Kruyder, Herman J. (1881–1935)

Magic Realism

Moesman, Johannes Hendricus (Joop) (1909-1988)

Ouborg, Pieter (1893-1956)

Struycken, Peter (born 1939)

Surrealism

Tonny, Kristians (1907–1977)

Toorop, Charley (Annie Caroline Pontifex) (1891–1955)

Toorop, Jan (1858-1928)

Werkman, Hendrik Nicolaas (1882–1945) Wiegers, Jan (1893–1959)

Nancy Stieber

University of Massachusetts

Boston

Berlage, Hendrik Petrus (1856–1934) Oud, Jacobus Johannes Pieter (1890–1963) Urban planning, from 1750 to the present

Katlijne Van der Stighelen

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Van Schurman, Anna Maria (1607-1678)

Linda Stone-Ferrier

University of Kansas

Horticulture

Textiles, textile industry

Shana Stuart

Independent Scholar

Iowa

Huygens, Constantijn (1596–1687)

Tours

Koninck, Philips (1619-1688)

Vern Grosvenor Swanson

Springville Art Museum

Alma Tadema, Laurens

(Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema) (1836-1912)

Frauke Syamken

Independent Scholar

Berlin

De Stijl (1917-1932)

Mondrian, Piet (1872-1944)

E. Taverne

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

Urban planning, before 1750

Harry Tummers

Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen

Sculpture, ca. 1400-ca. 1550

Tomb sculpture: medieval effigial monuments Van Wesel, Adriaen (ca. 1417–ca. 1490)

Ilja M. Veldman

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Allegorical traditions

Coornhert, Dirck Volkertsz. (1522-1590)

Humanism, humanist themes

Prints, collecting

Protestant Reformation

Grace A.H. Vlam

Salt Lake Community College

Exatica

Non-Western cultural influences

Mieke van der Wal

Drents Museum

Assen

Andriessen, Mari (1897-1979)

Bronner, Jan (1881–1972)

Couzijn, Wessel (1912-1984)

Krop, Hildo (1884-1970)

Raedecker, John (1885-1956)

Sculpture, (1795-1945)

Van Hove, Bart (1850-1914)

Van Pallandt, Charlotte (born 1898)

Amy L. Walsh

Independent Scholar

Los Angeles

Animal painting

Potter, Paulus (1625-1654)

Rural life and views

Christina J.A. Wansink

Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie

The Hague

Schouman, Aart (1710-1792)

Terwesten, Mattheus (1670-1757)

Van der Aa, Dirk (1731–1809)

Dennis P. Weller

Metropolitan Museum of Art

Haarlem

Hals, Dirck (1591-1656)

Hals, Frans (1581/1583-1666)

Leyster, Judith (1609-1660)

Molenaer, Jan Miense (1609/1610-1668)

Mirjam Westen

Gemeentemuseum

Arnhem

Feminism, feminist issues

Geraart Westerink

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

Fortuyn/O'Brien (formed 1982)

Gudmundsson, Sigurdur (born 1942)

Kramer, Pieter Lodewijk (Piet) (1881–1961)

Kröller-Müller, Hélène E. L. J. (1869–1939)

Mendes da Costa, Joseph (1863-1939)

Pander, Pier

Royer, Louis (1795–1868)

Van der Eijnde, Hendrik Albertus (1869–1939)

Visser, Carel (born 1928) Zijl, Lambertus (1866–1947)

Mariët Westermann
Rutgers University
Comic mode sixteenth and seventeenth on

Laren (ca. 1870-ca. 1925)

Comic mode, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Humor, satire

Rhetoricians' chambers Steen, Jan Havicksz (1626–1679) Theater and theatricality

Roger S. Wieck

The Pierpont Morgan Library

New York

Manuscript illumination

Dutch Art

An Encyclopedia





Active life, active virtues

Traditional Catholic thought sanctioned two primary modes of existence in the world: the life of virtuous actions, and the life devoted to contemplation of the divine. Matthew 25:35–36 listed six acts required of Christians: care of the hungry, the thirsty, the stranger, the naked, the sick, and the prisoner. Theologians later made the list conform to sacred numerology by adding a seventh act, burial of the dead. These Seven Works of Mercy occupied an important place in art.

Because Scripture explicitly links the works of mercy with salvation at the Last Judgment, artists commonly depicted them within that larger context. Saints may play an exemplary role as dispensers of chariry. Christ often appears among the recipients, since he identified himself with them.

Such images were especially appropriate for charitable institutions. Originally religious foundations that helped the donors achieve salvation through their acts, these institutions became increasingly secular in the sixteenth century. The imagery itself also became more secular, substituting portraits of institutional officials performing the works of mercy in place of exemplary saints.

This desire to honor individuals ultimately led, in the seventeenth century, to group portraits of the officials of charitable institutions. In the sixteenth century, it also affected individual portraits. Sitters were shown with attributes that attested to their life of virtuous acts.

The works of mercy also found a place in Protestant art, though their significance was altered. While rejecting the Catholic notion that salvation depended on good works, many Protestants believed that faith inevitably produced works. Protestant images might include only the biblical six acts of mercy, reflecting their stress on the authority of the Bible. Images such as these, along with the portraits, attest to the continuing importance of a virtuous life in Dutch culture.

Janey L. Levy

See also Carnal life, carnal vices; Contemplative life, contemplative virtues; Portraiture; Roman history

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Aertsen, Pieter (1508/1509-1575)

Innovative painter of still-life and peasant genre scenes, Pieter Aertsen was born in Amsterdam, but he left for Antwerp as a youth. There he may have worked in the studio of Jan Mandyn before registering as a master painter in 1535. Although his first documented work is from 1545-1546 (the Van der Biest Triptych; Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten), he evidently ran a successful studio during his Antwerp years. During that time his pupil was Joachim Beuckelaer (ca. 1535-1574), nephew of his wife, Kathelijne. By 1557, Aertsen had moved back to Amsterdam. There he received prestigious commissions, including one for the high altar of Amsterdam's Nieuwe Kerk. He also had a special patron, the merchant Jacob Rauwaert, who bought many of his works. Aertsen died in 1575. It is likely that he had remained a Catholic. Three of Aertsen's sons became artists; one was the portrait and genre painter Pieter Pietersz.

Although Aertsen produced altarpieces for many important sites, his major religious works were destroyed during the Iconoclasm of 1567. Therefore he is better known today for his still-life and genre scenes. Aertsen's *Butcher's Stall* (1551; Uppsala University) is considered the first significant still life in European art. In its background, though, is a scene of the Flight into Egypt, and many of his other apparently nonreligious works include secondary religious motifs. In these

"mixed genre" scenes, secular and sacred subjects are related on a metaphoric level. Aertsen also painted images of peasant festivity; his *Peasant Feast* (1550; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) is an important precedent to the work of Pieter Bruegel. And in works like *Peasants with Market Goods* (1569; Stockholm, Hallwyl Museum) he initiated the popular seventeenth-century genre of the market scene.

Elizabeth Alice Honig

See also Commerce and commercial life; Flanders, Flemish School; Still life

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Alberdingk Thijm, Josephus Albertus (1820–1889)

As a fervent proponent of the Roman Catholic emancipation, Josephus Albertus Alberdingk Thijm attempted to propagate his convictions in cultural politics and the domain of art history and aesthetics. In conjunction with the architect P.J.H. Cuypers, who was his brother-in-law, and the government official Victor de Stuers, Thijm was the most important promoter of the Neo-Gothic style of art and architecture in the Netherlands. Through his magazine Dietsche Warande (medieval Dutch pleasure-grounds), published after 1855, he kept in touch with the international Neo-Gothic movement. Originally a merchant of canned foods, he developed close contacts with the Amsterdam art world through his wife, who was the stepdaughter of the sculptor Louis Royer. Although self-taught, he became by great diligence and perseverance a connoisseur of medieval art and architecture. This was recognized in 1876 when, after being active as a book dealer and a publisher, he was made a professor of art history and aesthetics at the Rijksacademie in Amsterdam.

For Thijm, the Middle Ages were an exemplary period when there was a unity of religious, social, and aesthetic ideals; in medieval art he recognized a union of good, truth, and beauty. He hoped to see this revived in his own time after the restoration of the episcopal hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in 1853. In the years following, when many Catholic churches were being built and decorated, Thijm formulated his ideas in *Over de kompozitie in de kunst* (On Composition in Art) in 1857, and *De heilige linie* (The Holy Line) in 1858. These works are of interest for the knowledge of Christian iconography as well as for influencing Neo-Gothic art. Thijm's love of medieval architecture also brought him into the field of monument restoration.

In numerous articles and polemics, Thijm professed his views about art theory and history, architectural restoration and preservation, art criticism, and artistic practice. He was

the editor of several magazines: Astrea, De Spektator, the Volksalmanak voor Nederlandsche Katholieken (The People's Almanac for Dutch Catholics), and Dietsche Warande. Under one of his pseudonyms, Pauwels Foreestier, he published witty criticism of exhibitions of contemporary art. Thijm put his ideas into practice, especially, by lobbying for the statue (by Royer and Cuypers) of his literary idol, the seventeenth-century poet Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679), that was erected in Amsterdam in 1867; and by influencing development of a comprehensive program of decoration for the Rijksmuseum (opened in 1885) to complement the Neo-Gothic building designed by Cuypers.

Annemiek Ouwerkerk

Historical note on the Roman Catholic emancipation: After the revolt against Spanish occupation of the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, the Protestant faith was officially recognized as the state religion while the Catholic faith was tolerated. Only after the time of French rule was the Roman Catholic episcopal hierarchy reestablished in 1853, and Dutch Catholics were granted the same rights as the Calvinist citizens of the nation.

See also Architectural criticism, issues of style; Architectural restoration; Art criticism, critical issues in the nineteenth century; Art history, history of the discipline; Neo-Gothic; Royer, Louis

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Allebé, August (1838-1927)

August Allebé owes his renown largely to his position as professor (1870–1880) and later director (1880–1906) of the Rijksacademie in Amsterdam. His view of education, in which daily practical exercise and the aesthetic instead of the moral value of art were most important, formed for young artists an attractive alternative to both the more traditional education at The Hague Academy and the Impressionism of The Hague School. Allebé's objective attitude toward trends and individuals was so stimulating to his students that sometimes there was talk of the School of Allebé, or of the Amsterdam School. This

school consisted of such very different visual artists as E. Karsen, W.B. Tholen, J. Veth, G.H. Breitner, I. Israëls, A. Derkinderen, J. Meyer de Haan, J. Voerman, and J. Toorop.

In his own work Allebé never rose above the academic level. He painted figure pieces, animal paintings, and still lifes with a detailed technique and realistic colors. The artist received his first drawing lessons from the painter P.F. Greive, who worked in a realistic style. After studying from 1854 to 1857 at the Royal Academy in Amsterdam, and in 1858 at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, Allebé went again to study with Greive in 1860, this time to become better at painting. Not until 1868 was he successful in breaking away from this studio. He settled in Brussels, where he worked for himself for two years and became a member of the Société Belge des Aquarellistes. Back in Amsterdam, he produced few paintings because of the pressure of his responsibilities at the Rijksacademie and an increasing fear of failure. After 1900 Allebé sometimes took time off to paint and had several exhibitions, but in 1913 he permanently laid down his brushes. Alexandra W.M. van Smoorenburg

See also Belgium; Breitner, George Hendrik; Derkinderen, Antoon J.; Israëls, Isaac; Karsen, Eduard; Tholen, Willem Bastiaan; Toorop, Jan; Veth, Jan

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Allegorical traditions

Allegorical images were important in Dutch art from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The word allegory is derived from the Greek and means a symbolic representation or metaphor. The most common way of representing an allegory is a personification: A human figure portrays an abstract concept and is provided with qualifying attributes. Personifications were widely used in the sixteenth century to represent all kinds of abstract concepts: cosmic phenomena, virtues, vices, character traits, or other ideas that were difficult to depict in any other way. Popular allegories were Death (in the form of a skeleton), Time (an old man on crutches and with an hourglass), Transitoriness (a putto or cherub blowing bubbles), and Love (Venus and Amor). In the sixteenth century, allegories also became popular as a guide for daily living; the opposition between good and evil and warnings against money, ambition, and carnal pleasures were frequent moral allegorical themes.

At the end of the sixteenth century, handbooks of personifications were made for poets and visual artists. The *Iconologia* (1593) by the Italian writer Cesare Ripa was translated into Dutch with amplification and published by Jan Pietersz. Pers in 1644. The book had a great influence on Dutch art of the seventeenth century, vastly expanding the repertory of allegories. At first, these allegories appeared

mainly in prints, but later they also turned up in painting. The personification of Faith with attributes in the *Allegory of Faith* (ca. 1670; [Fig. 115] Metropolitan Museum, New York) by Johannes Vermeer is interpreted, for example, with the help of the Dutch edition of Ripa. Allegories appeared more and more often in decorative ensembles like tapestries, ceiling paintings, architectural sculpture, and in all sorts of arts and crafts. The themes in history paintings depicting stories from the Old Testament or classical antiquity could also have a moral allegorical meaning, because they expressed in a symbolic way current norms and values or referred to contemporary events.

The foundation for allegorical traditions in the Netherlands was laid in the graphic arts of the sixteenth century. Collecting prints was a way of assembling a "visual encyclopedia" of the world. Series of prints with profane allegories were especially popular. Many of these themes were developed from pure allegories into genre or landscape scenes in the seventeenth century. What follows is an account of the development of the most important allegorical themes in Dutch art.

The Seven Vices and the Seven Virtues

The canon of seven capital sins, or vices, and seven virtues was compiled by Pope Gregory I (Gregory the Great) at the end of the sixth century. Gregory formulated a system of capital sins that all stemmed from the vice of Pride. The first was Pride (Superbia), followed by Wrath (Ira), Envy (Invidia), Avarice (Avaritia), Sloth (Accedia), Gluttony (Gula), and Voluptuousness or Lust (Luxuria). Hieronymus Bosch, in the Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things (ca. 1470-1490; Madrid, Prado; Color Plate 1) ascribed to him, showed these seven sins with genre-like scenes in which men and women are portrayed sinning. The all-seeing eye of Christ in the middle, and the Four Last Things (Death, the Last Judgment, Heaven, and Hell) in the corners of the panel indicate that one should interpret the genre scenes as exhortations to avoid these sins in daily life. In the print series by Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1558), the capital sins are portrayed as female personifications with animals as attributes. Pride has a peacock, Wrath a bear, Envy a turkey, Avarice a frog, Sloth a donkey, Gluttony a swine, and Voluptuousness a rooster. This series also concludes with a print of the Last Judgment. During the course of the sixteenth century, the context of the Last Judgment falls away, as demonstrated in a series of prints illustrating the capital sins by Hendrick Goltzius, whose personifications are also paired with animals that indicate their symbolic meaning.

The seven virtues were the counterparts of the capital sins. There are three theological virtues, Faith (Fides), Hope (Spes), and Charity (Caritas); and four cardinal virtues, Fortitude (Fortitudo), Temperance (Temperantia), Justice (Justitia), and Prudence (Prudentia). They were also portrayed in a print series after drawings by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1559–1560) in which they appear as personifications with attributes. The attributes would later become conventions: Faith has a cross or a Bible, Hope an anchor, Charity a num-

ber of children; Fortitude has a pillar of strength, Temperance a horse's bit or a pitcher and a bowl, Justice a balance, and Prudence a mirror or a snake. Goltzius handled the virtues in this way in a series of prints that also include the capital sins. One can see the virtues depicted separately or in smaller groups; for example, there was a preference for Faith, Hope, and Charity, which are found in 1 Corinthians 13:13.

The Five Senses

The concept of the five senses (Sight, Hearing, Taste, Smell, and Touch) played an important role in Christian thinking, for example, in the late-medieval *summae confessorum*, the collection of penitential and devotional manuals for the clergy and the laity. The portrayal of the senses in the visual arts started in the sixteenth century. At first, it was limited to prints, but after 1600 the senses also appear in a genre-like form in painting. They remain a favorite subject in Dutch genre painting of the seventeenth century.

The basic iconographic formula was introduced in a series of prints by Cornelis Cort (1561) after designs by Frans Floris. Each of the senses is portrayed by a female figure with characteristic attributes and an animal. Since then, the attributes have had several variations, but in general the iconography is as follows: Sight (Visus) has a mirror, a rising sun, and an eagle or a lynx; Hearing (Auditus) has musical instruments and a deer; Taste (Gustus) has fruit or drink and a monkey; Smell (Olfactus) has flowers and a dog; Touch (Tactus) has a fisherman's net and a spider, a bird biting on a finger, a snake, or a turtle. In the North, Goltzius introduced the theme in two print series (ca. 1578, engraved by Philips Galle, and ca. 1586, engraved by Nicolaas Clock and Cornelis Drebbel; Fig. 1). In a series engraved by Jan Saenredam (ca. 1595-1596), Goltzius gave the theme an all-new form by portraying couples in contemporary clothing engaged in actions that were characteristic for the sense portrayed. This new iconographic type had great influence. Ca. 1600, Crispijn de Passe I made a series of the senses according to the old-fashioned model of personifications; however, after 1612 he made a print series of the senses in the form of couples. Somewhat later, some of the attributes were adjusted to fit modern time: Persons who symbolize Sight have glasses or binoculars; Smell (and sometimes also Taste) smokes a pipe; Touch is a kissing couple. Even more adapted to refer to daily life are peasant scenes that portray the senses—for example, the five paintings of the Senses by Jan Miense Molenaer (1637; The Hague). His Sight stares into an empty wine jug, Smell is changing a baby's diaper, Taste is boozing, Hearing is singing, and Touch is a peasant being hit by his wife with a slipper. In a series of etchings by Jan Both, the senses are also portrayed in genre-like scenes—Smell by children who are relieving themselves, and Touch by the painful operation of a dentist. References to the five senses can also be found in other guises in seventeenthcentury paintings of merry companies or still lifes.

The Four Seasons

In the early sixteenth century the four seasons sometimes appear in the form of classical gods. Spring is portrayed by Flora

or Venus, Summer by Ceres or Pomona, Autumn by Bacchus, and Winter by Aeolus or Janus. Another iconography was introduced in the prints of Philips Galle after designs by Maerten van Heemskerck (1563) that are based on the Metamorphoses by Ovid. There, the four seasons are described as male personifications with attributes: Spring with flowers, Summer with sheaves of wheat, Autumn with grapes, and Winter warmly dressed with a pot of fire. This scheme was copied with female figures in prints by Johannes Sadeler after Dirck Barendsz. (Fig. 2), and by Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius (1589). Some years later, Goltzius developed this allegorical scheme into scenes from daily life: In two series (ca. 1597 and 1601), engraved by Jan Saenredam, he represents the seasons as child or adult couples engaged in typical seasonal activities. In four prints of the Seasons by Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Hans Bol (1570), the four seasons are portrayed by labor on the land, after the medieval tradition of the labors of the twelve months. This iconographic type was the basis for the representation of the seasons by means of seasonal landscapes, a practice that would replace personifications in seventeenthcentury prints and paintings.

The Planet Children

The seven planets that were known at the time (the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn) were thought from antiquity to have great influence on one's health, character, and choice of profession. In the fifteenth century the compositional scheme for representation was created: The planets are portrayed as classical gods in the air, mostly sitting on chariots, while their "children" on the earth are portrayed in their characteristic activities. Prints by Harman Jansz. Muller after Van Heemskerck (ca. 1568) follow this pattern faithfully, as do several print series after Maarten de Vos (1586 and later). In 1596, Goltzius changed this iconographic scheme by portraying the planet gods as statues in a landscape, while their "children" are engaged in genre-like activities around them. After that, planet gods are found mainly in decorative ensembles.

The Four Temperaments

The doctrine of the four temperaments also originated in antiquity and was based on the four humors, or fluids, that are secreted by the human body—blood, phlegm, bile, and black bile. One spoke of people having a certain temperament or character according to which fluid was in excess in their bodies: Sanguine (cheerful people, having too much blood), Phlegmatic (slow people, having too much phlegm), Choleric (badtempered people, having too much bile), and Melancholy (sad people, having too much black bile). In the Middle Ages these four temperaments were represented by one or two persons who, by means of attributes or actions, refer to the temperament. This is also the case in the prints by Pieter de Jode I after Maarten de Vos. In prints by Harman Jansz. Muller after Van Heemskerck (1566) the scheme of the planet children has been incorporated: A classical deity, who controls the temperament, is driving in the clouds; below him are the people who are engaged in their characteristic behaviors and occupations. This theme lost popularity after 1600.

The Four Elements

The idea that the entire cosmos, including everything on Earth, is constituted of four elements—Earth (Terra), Water (Acqua), Fire (Ignis), and Air (Aer)—also stems from classical antiquity. A traditional way of portraying the four elements was with animals-for example, a mole for Earth, a fish for Water, a bird or chameleon for Air, and a lizard or phoenix for Fire. An iconographic scheme introduced from Italy portrayed the elements as classical gods: Cybele as Earth, Neptune as Water, Juno as Air, and Vulcan or Jupiter as Fire. One can find this in the prints by Philips Galle (1564) and by Johannes Sadeler after Dirck Barendsz. (1587). At first, Goltzius followed the scheme of the elements as personifications with attributes that had been established by Maarten de Vos. Around 1600, several artists stopped using personifications and started to portray the elements by different professions: a hunter (Earth), a fisherman (Water), a bird hunter (Air), and a cook (Fire). Examples of this are the prints by Jacob de Gheyn II after his own designs (ca. 1597).

The Ages of Man

The span of a human life was portrayed in series of four, seven, or ten images, each describing a different age. Early in the sixteenth century, the scheme of the "stairway of life" was introduced. The stairs went up from infancy until adulthood and down from old age until death. At the end of the sixteenth century, prints and paintings in which the ages were portrayed by couples, as in the work of Jan Miense Molenaer, became popular. In the print series by Adriaan Collaert after Maarten de Vos (1581), human life is separated into seven stages and associated with the seven planets. Prints by Crispijn de Passe I and Raphael Sadeler I after Maarten de Vos (1591) divide the ages into four stages: Youth concerns itself with love; the riper age with work; middle age enjoys power, status, and acquired wealth; old age merely waits for death.

The Four Parts of the World

The four parts of the world are most often portrayed as female figures with attributes. Their traditional iconography was introduced in prints after Maarten de Vos in the sixteenth century. Europe, as Queen of the World, wears a crown and carries a scepter and a horn of plenty; weapons and instruments of art and science account for her leading position. Asia is in the company of a camel most of the time; she is adorned with flowers and jewels, and she holds a censer as a symbol of Eastern scents. Africa has dark skin; her symbols are a scorpion, a lion, an elephant, or a snake. America wears feathers and carries a bow and arrows of the indigenous people; a caiman is the animal belonging to her. In this form, the personifications can often be found among the decorations on world maps.

The Four Times of Day

The theme of four time periods in a day—Morning (Aurora), Afrernoon (Meridies), Evening (Vesper), and Night (Nox)—also belongs to tradition. In prints by Johannes Sadeler after Dirck Barendsz. (1582), and by Jacob Matham after Karel van Mander (1601), four times of day are portrayed by classical

gods in heaven, while on earth are shown human activities characteristic for the time of day. The prints by Jan Saenredam after Goltzius (ca. 1598–1599) are genre-like pictures of a family at different times of the day: In the Morning the children go to school, in the Afternoon the family is at work, in the Evening they eat and drink, and at Night they sleep. In the seventeenth century, the four periods of a day are represented as Morning, Afternoon, Evening, and Night land-scapes.

The Four Winds

In a print series (ca. 1585) by Crispijn de Passe I after Philips Galle, the four winds were depicted for the first time as the classical figures *Eurus* (East Wind), *Zephyr* (West Wind), *Boreas* (North Wind), and *Auster* (South Wind) known from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In prints (ca. 1582–1587) by Johannes Sadeler after Maarten de Vos, mythological figures were added to the four winds. In a series (ca. 1600) by Crispijn de Passe I the four winds appear as classical gods in the clouds, while on Earth, the personifications of the four seasons and the four parts of the world are portrayed.

Ilja M. Veldman

See also Active life, active virtues; Carnal life, carnal vices; Contemplative life, contemplative virtues; Emblems and emblem books; Genre painting, seventeenth century; History painting; Landscape; Last Judgment; Prints, collecting; Sins and punishments

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Alma Tadema, Laurens (Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema) (1836–1912)

Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema was one of the most renowned academic painters of late nineteenth century. Universally admired for his superb draftsmanship and "real to life" depictions of classical antiquity, he was much sought after by Victorian

collectors, who intimately connected with his vision. He so embraced the aspirations of his day that when the idealistic illusions of his age were shattered by modernism and World War I his art fell from favor. Now as the reevaluation of that era is well underway, his reputation is rebounding.

Laurens Alma Tadema was born Friday morning, January 8, 1836, in the Frisian village of Dronrijp. Later the family moved to Leeuwarden, the capital of Friesland to the north of Holland. His earliest work dates from 1849 when the artist was thirteen years old and reflects his acquaintance with the work of Bartel van der Kooi, the most significant portraitist from Friesland. Because no Dutch school would accept him, Alma Tadema entered the Royal Academy of Art at Antwerp in 1852. There he studied with Baron Gustave Wappers and Joseph Dyckmanns, and later he was an apprentice to Baron Hendrick Leys. His work during this period followed the academic interior genre style typical of the Netherlands tradition.

He married in 1862, and while on his honeymoon to Italy he ventured to Pompeii where he became enamored with life in antiquity. He was "discovered" by the famous art dealer Ernest Gambart and, to further his career, moved to Brussels in 1866. His Continental career proceeded past the death of his wife in 1869 to 1870, when he was persuaded to move with his two daughters to London, where his work was finding buyers.

He remarried in 1871 to an English woman, Laura T. Epps, who became a fine artist in her own right. They bought a home, Townshend House, in Regents Park, and Lawrence Alma-Tadema became a naturalized citizen in 1874. The next year he became an associate of the Royal Academy, and in 1879 a full academician. In the 1880s he moved to a large and fashionable home in St. John's Wood in London. He became a permanent fixture in the major exhibitions of the day, not only in the Summer Exhibition of the Royal Academy but in the Grosvenor Gallery and later in the New Gallery and elsewhere.

His reputation increased until he became one of the most famous of European painters. He won recognition at the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1878, 1889, and 1900. He was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1900 and given the Order of Merit in 1905 by King Edward VII. Except for the critic Carel Vosmaer, Alma-Tadema's work was not appreciated in his homeland. The Rijksmuseum was given his *An Egyptian Widow* (1872), and the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden was bequeathed a number of works after his death.

Unlike many artists he was able to maintain high standards of quality in his art until his death. His last picture dates from June 1912, the month of his death. Alma-Tadema's oeuvre of more than four hundred paintings covers several phases of European art: from the mid-nineteenth-century Netherlands tradition, Egyptian and Merovingian subjects, to high Victorian classical narrative pictures, such as Spring (1894; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum) and A Favorite Custom (1909; London, Tate Gallery).

To a degree, Alma-Tadema's art was more a summation of nineteenth-century values than an influence on the major fine art "isms" of the twentieth century. His career did, however, have some influence on twentieth-century cinema.

Though influenced by the Pre-Raphaelite, Japonist, aesthetic, and Impressionist movements of his day, he was basically a bourgeois painter of archeologically correct pictures of Greek and Roman maidens on marble benches. His importance, as with most artists, lies in the quality and originality of his paintings. Considered one of the finest colorists of the classical subject painters, he incorporated many of the advancements in European art up to, but not beyond, Impressionism. He developed a unique system for cataloging his paintings by placing a separate *opus* Roman numeral on each one. This system made it more difficult for forgers to pass unauthentic work as original. His last "Op." was 408.

Vern Grosvenor Swanson

See also Belgium; Mesdag, Hendrik Willem; Vosmaer, Carel

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Amateurs, art academies, and art associations before the nineteenth century

During the eighteenth century in the Netherlands, relationships among artists, collectors, and amateurs were close. Wealthy, educated Dutch people not only collected art, but became supporters of education in the arts, and also tried to become proficient in them as well. In many Dutch cities and towns, there was created a more or less public form of education in the visual arts. Many city governments attempted to give some support to these efforts. Traditional artists' guilds (the Guild of St. Luke in most towns in the Netherlands) also created learning opportunities in the arts.

The models for these academies were both Dutch and adaptations of other European models. In Haarlem after 1582 (although probably not until 1588), an art academy was begun by the artist/biographer/critic Karel van Mander, along with Hendrick Goltzius and Cornelis van Haarlem. In Utrecht at about the same time, Abraham Bloemaert created an influential workshop in which he had many pupils. In his fashion his pupils Gerard van Honthorst and Hendrick Uylenburgh (the art-dealing relative of Rembrandt) began their own academies. Rembrandt formed a workshop that functioned like a school for his assistants, most of whom eventually went off on their own. In Italy, the Carracci formed a similar academy for the teaching of drawing. During this period, the status of the artist became more professional than trade-like, and his/her acceptance as a peer in the upper ranks of society had been

established. In 1623, a loose confraternity of artists from the North residing in Rome, known as De Bentvueghels, formalized their organization in opposition to the Roman accademia. In Amsterdam, the Brotherhood of Painters was formed in 1653, and similar organizations were created in The Hague and Dordrecht around the same time, in reaction to the rather confining traditions of the guilds in those cities.

At the end of the century, a more radical model of academy was created in Holland, on the lines of the French academy, whose members' art, writings, and teachings were dedicated to promoting French and classical style in Dutch art. Called *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, it was begun by Gerard de Lairesse, Lodewijk Meijer, and Andries Pels. In Dordrecht, the artists' organization included collectors, amateur artists, and *Kunstliefhebbers* (art lovers). Exhibitions and classes were held for the public. In Utrecht, artists broke away from the guild in 1639, and by 1696 had formed into a Schilderscollegie (painters' school), permitting amateurs to attend drawing classes and lectures.

In Amsterdam in the early years of the eighteenth century, a number of informal schools were formed by artists like Arnold Boonen, Cornelis Pronk, and others. Scores of draftsmen and painters got their start in these settings. In 1743, the Amsterdam Tekencollegie (drawing school) was formed by petition of leading artists such as Jacob de Wit, Anthony Elliger, Tibout Regters, Jan Maurits Quinkhard, and Jacobus Buijs. Cornelis Ploos van Amstel, a legendary intellectual and art lover, became the first director of the academy. Public classes and lectures were given, and competitions and prizes were awarded. In The Hague, the guild was reformed as Pictura, a formal organization tied to the court of the stadholder (the hereditary [after 1747] position of head of state), and a free drawing school was created. In Haarlem, the academy, called Kunst Zij Ons Doel (Art Is Our Purpose), was founded in 1772. The director was the great collector-amateur Teyler van der Hulst, in whose house the academy met until 1781, surrounded by the great drawings and scientific and natural specimens in his collection.

In Amsterdam in 1778, a group of artists and intellectuals formed an academy called Felix Meritis, devoted to the study of the arts and sciences. In spite of the concerns of the *stadholder's* party and the clergy, in a few years the association had over 1,200 members and over one million florins in its treasury. These academies and less formal artists' studio schools are much like those in America today, serving as a focus for socialization and interaction among professionals and art lovers and encouraging development of new generations of artists and patrons.

Roger Mandle

See also Dordrecht; Drawing clubs; Haarlem; Rembrandt School; State patronage, public support; Utrecht; Van Mander, Karel

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Amsterdam Impressionists

The term refers to a generation of young artists active in the second half of the 1880s and the beginning of the 1890s. They formed an important and innovative link between the painters of The Hague School and the Symbolists in the 1890s. Because of their close relationship with a group of writers beginning at the same time, *De Tachtigers* (the writers of the 1880s), it is usual to refer to "the movement of the 1880s" and "the painters of the 1880s" (*de schilders van tachtig*). George Hendrik Breitner and Isaac Israëls are the most famous representatives of the Amsterdam Impressionists, but an equally great contribution to the movement was made by the artists Jacobus van Looy, Marius Bauer, Jan Veth, Eduard Karsen, Willem de Zwart, Suze Robertson, Jan Voerman, W.B. Tholen, Floris Verster, and Willem Witsen.

A number of these painters came out of the milieu of The Hague School, a group that specialized in landscape painting and was shown appreciation at that time. Some, like Breitner, Israëls, Tholen, De Zwart, and Witsen, were strongly influenced by the older generation at first. Because the Hagenaars (artists of The Hague School) also used an Impressionist touch, Dutch Impressionism is generally considered to have a landscape type with The Hague School and an urban type with the Amsterdam artists. Amsterdam, which was the cultural center of the Netherlands and a rising modern city in the 1880s and 1890s, played an important role in the development of the Amsterdam Impressionists. This young group of artists replaced the landscape with timely, completely modern themes like city life, street life, and entertainment in the capital city. They also brought back forgotten genres like the flower still life, the self-portrait, and the nude, or they gave them new

impetus. The great contribution of this generation was that, within a decade, it brought Dutch art up to the same level as art abroad.

Most of the Amsterdam Impressionists came from the Rijksacademie and had been students of the director, August Allebé. His liberal policy gave central importance to the free development of the individual. He stimulated his students in their development as painters, and soon they were noticed as an independent-thinking generation. During their time at the academy, Van Looy, Witsen, and Maurits Willem van der Valk founded the artists' society known as St. Lucas. It was a reaction and a form of protest against the sluggish atmosphere and the restrictions that prevailed in established societies like Arti et Amicitiae.

The Nederlandsche Etsclub was founded in 1885 for similar reasons. Artists like Veth and Witsen wanted to revive the art of etching and to increase the exhibition possibilities. Witsen played a central and stimulating role in bringing together painters and writers. He was a generous host who brought many young artists together in his studio located at the Oosterpark, and in his family's country house, Ewijkshoeve. Also with the help of his financial contribution, *De Nieuwe Gids* was founded in 1885 by Frederik van Eeden, Willem Kloos, and Albert Verwey, among others. This literary magazine, in which articles about literature, visual arts, politics, and different branches of science appeared, became the most important mouthpiece for the new generation of painters and writers.

The younger people strove for a new form of art expressive of mood (stemmingskunst), in which the senses and feelings played an important role. Their loudly exclaimed, collective credo was individualism and l'art pour l'art. The polemical pieces by the painters/critics Veth, Van der Valk, and Witsen would determine the views of Dutch art criticism for years. In them, they did away with the aesthetics of the older critics. According to them, one had to be a practicing painter to be able to evaluate art. Art did not have to be functional or be based upon a view that is shared by the world.

The thoughts of both writers and painters were focused abroad and were influenced by the writings of French authors like Flaubert, Zola, and the brothers De Goncourt. It is not known how familiar the Amsterdam painters were with the work of their French contemporaries in the 1880s. In comparison with the avant-gardists of the 1870s, the paintings of the Dutch are often darker in tone and heavier in touch. At first Breitner, Israëls, and Van Looy looked for their models on the streets or in cafés. In doing this they followed the naturalism of a writer like Emile Zola and the choice of subject of a French painter like Degas. Many paintings are snapshot-like views that show the peculiar cutoffs of the picture plane that is a noticeable influence from photography. The influence was not accidental; Breitner and Witsen would receive posthumous recognition for their contribution to the development of photography.

Soon a much stronger emphasis was placed on the process of painting, and brush strokes became more expressive. Breitner and Isaac Israëls recorded with just a few quick strokes in drawings, watercolors, and oil paintings their impressions of Amsterdam city life and the social pastimes of the city's inhabitants (Fig. 3). Light and movement played an important role in the work of the Amsterdam Impressionists; however, Breitner, Karsen, and Verster, for example, used natural daylight and artificial city lighting in totally different ways in their works.

The individualism of the 1880s created a diversity of style and opinion, which came to a head in the 1890s. Among both the writers and the painters there was a spiritual parting of ways. Many artists married, moved, or lived for short or long periods abroad. After an intense but short florescence, Amsterdam Impressionism would be replaced by the new trends in the avant-garde—an individually evaluated Symbolist art and a socially engaged art of community. The work of Witsen and Karsen went the direction of a more inner form of the art of mood, which balanced their art on the border of Impressionism and Symbolism. The same was true for some of the works by Floris Verster and Marius Bauer. Breitner and Isaac Israëls continued in the way they were going and developed into Dutch Impressionists of preeminence.

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Amsterdam School

The term Amsterdam School refers to an Expressionistic and Romantic tendency in composition that emerged from a group of young architects in that city during the first two decades of the twentieth century. These architects shared several characteristics: They were mostly born in the decade of the 1880s; they were engaged in the debate over introducing innovations to the academic tradition; they worked principally on designs for public housing commissioned by the municipalities and the building societies, according to the regulations of the woningwet (housing law). This sharing of a cultural milieu, clients, and design themes gave birth to a similarity of formal language that, if it did not constitute a true movement, determined nonetheless a mode of expression with a completely recognizable identity that profoundly marked the face of the city between the two World Wars.

The designation Amsterdam School was coined in 1916 by Jan Gratama (1877–1947) after the appearance in the city of the first new buildings inspired by a modern and imagina-

tive Romanticism, all with vibrant façades in brick that were clearly inspired by a similar expressiveness of form. But this was not a real school. Without a precise ideological identity or a recognized leader, the architects of the so-called Amsterdam School acknowledged that their own identity was exclusively in the bond of friendship and professional custom. Their journal, *Wendingen*, started by H.Th. Wijdeveld (1885–1987), played a major part in promoting the new architectural language as well as in backing up the creative choices of the young designers. The journal was always a place for open discussion and never assumed a precise ideology.

The first building to show this unedited architectural vocabulary of Romantic Expressionism and formal excesses was the Scheepvaarthuis (1912-1916; Fig. 4), an office building commissioned by six Dutch shipowning companies. The commission was given to Johan van der Mey (1878-1949) and the younger participating designers, Michel de Klerk (1884-1923) and Piet Kramer (1881-1961). The three were acquaintances from the studio of Eduard Cuypers, where they had received their professional training. The façade of the Scheepvaarthuis is completely in brick with an ascending fenestration that is crowned with a sequence of tympanums. But even more amazing than the plastic aspect is the narrative character of the architecture: A host of sculptures and signsin stone, iron, wood, or brick-makes it look like a sort of grand monument to the Golden Age of the Dutch Navy. The Expressionist energy of the form, the rich exuberance of the details, the alliance between architecture, sculpture, and the industrial arts had a profound effect at the time, especially because of the difference it posed to the figurative manner of H.P. Berlage, the recognized master of the period.

Together with its richness of form, the Scheepvaarthuis emblematized another characteristic of the Amsterdam School: the intensely creative approach of the designers to their work. This concept, deeply felt and seen, of the architect as an artist burst forth in the debates held in the cultural society Architectura et Amicitiae, to which many Dutch architects belonged and where social theories, new figurative experiences, and the role of architecture were discussed. In this setting, the young architects of the Amsterdam School defended the primacy of aesthetic values in the profession against the traditional image of the architect as a technician concerned with questions of construction and economics. Here, architects such as Cornelis Jonke Blaauw (1885–1947), Jan Frederik Staal (1879–1940), Piet Vorkink (1878–1960), and Wijdeveld joined Van der Mey, De Klerk, and Kramer.

In this "artistic" method of working, free from ideological and formal strictures, diverse references were gathered, such as exoticism, Japanese and Indonesian elements, or the taste for the aesthetic value of geometry, already experimented with by Berlage but enlarged upon in the writings and the works of the architect and theosopher Johannes Ludovicus Mattheus Lauweriks (1864–1932), who showed how it was possible to obtain harmonic proportions and spiritual content through respect for mathematical rules. Also included was the taste for organic and zoomorphic references. The architects were inspired by the conformation, at the same time geometric and

fantastic, of ocean shells and mineral crystals to seek a compromise between freedom of expression and interior order that could be applied to architecture in the same way that they arose from natural structures. Remembering his friend De Klerk, Kramer wrote in *Wendingen* VI: 9–10 (1924): "His buildings are the organisms of our time, beautiful and growing in a natural manner."

The hispid geometry of mineral crystals was transformed into the design for a chapel by Adolf Eibink and Jan Antoine Snellebrand (1915; Fig. 5) and into the competition design for a high-rise building by De Klerk (1915). The forms of marine mollusks or fossils even appear in the designs for country houses by Eibink and Snellebrand (1919–1920).

The imitation of natural forms reached its height in the resort village built between 1916 and 1918 at Park Merwijk, a coastal spot north of Amsterdam. This consisted of sixteen vacation houses (some of which have burned down), designed by Kramer, Guillaume Frédéric La Croix (1877-1923), Blaauw, Margaret Kropholler (1891-1966), and Staal, who was also responsible for coordinating the whole project. As a unit it has a strongly Romantic look, similar to the spirit of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Nearly all of the buildings have large, protective, sloped roofs, covered with straw thatch in picturesque shapes. The three Kramer houses, joined by a single façade, make up an angular slow-moving mass on the terrain. The houses by Kropholler, the first woman architect in the Netherlands, are a very imaginative rereading of the forms of traditional rural architecture and are distinguished by the feminine delicacy of their details. Staal's houses De Bark (The Ship) and De Ark (The Ark) take up literally the forms of naval architecture: main rooms like prows, terraces like lookout decks on the sterns.

Around 1920 opportunities for building public housing began to open up for the young architects of the school, following a strong commitment by the city of Amsterdam, which was then at the high point of its politics of social reform. The architecture, in its fertile inventiveness, united a solidiry and constructive quality, imposed by the subject, that brought to maturity its expressive mode. The Amsterdam School, which is remembered above all for the large residential blocks that dot the city, was not the only group involved in this type of building. La Croix, De Klerk, Gratama, and Staal were among the first to deal with this new design theme; however, in view of the cultural priority given to this type of architecture by the Municipal Aesthetic Commission, the Schoonheidscommissie, which examined new projects, many other architects adapted themselves to its expressive modes, creating both a ring of new residential quarters around the city and an exceptional uniformity of urban design.

The Amsterdam School was the matrix for the buildings of the eastern housing projects of Transvaalbuurt and Indischebuurt, of the western projects in Mercatorplein and Spaarndammerbuurt, for housing in the south of Amsterdam carried out according to Berlage's ideal plan (Fig. 138), and for housing in north Amsterdam's scarcely populated areas. The language of the Amsterdam School, spreading out into many new areas, rooted itself deeply in the culture and taste

of the urban classes. It flourished in the design elements of public places of entertainment and leisure. Business and urban décor also evinced an explicit debt to the school, winking at the formal models it had launched.

In 1923 De Klerk, who had been the preeminent creative mind of the school, died. At the same time, the liveliness that characterized the language of the group was exhausted in the repetition of schemes and in a generally new sense of architectural calm and severity. The opportunities for building public housing began to diminish because of the economic crisis in the mid-1920s, which caused the dwindling of state funds and the transition to private enterprise. In response to the different requirements of employers, the large residential blocks planned by the Amsterdam School became more sober, more regular, and more alert to the needs of a rationalized production. The so-called Second Amsterdam School was born. These were the years of the despicable façade architecture, which was the laughingstock of critics of the time, who labeled it "apron architecture" and "masked buildings." Private contractors did not ask architects to project the entire residential building (the distributive scheme of which was normalized by this time for economic reasons) but only its external façade in order to pass the test of the Municipal Aesthetic Commission, which still wanted the new constructions built according to the formal language of the Amsterdam School.

In the second half of the 1920s, the vitality of the school and its peculiar characteristics were definitely exhausted, although in the work of some architects there still remained signs of the former language. Evidence of this can be seen in the De Telegraaf building (1927–1930) by Staal and the University Laboratories (1932) by Berend Tobia Boeyinga (1886–1969), both in Amsterdam.

The formal language of the school was not restricted to Amsterdam but was propagated throughout the country by the Rijksgebouwendienst, the State Office for Construction. Signs of the school's formal language are visible in several post offices designed by Joseph Crouwel (1885-1962), the Veterinary Laboratory in Utrecht, also by Crouwel, and the laboratory of the School of Agriculture by Blaauw in Wageningen. Many other architects who had studied in Amsterdam, or merely sympathized with what the school had given rise to, were able to reuse that language in different localities. Significant examples include the bridge and the police station in Utrecht, the work of the Municipal Technical Office (1926-1928); some of the schools in Groningen constructed by the Office of Municipal Public Works at the end of the 1920s; and the first residential quarters by Willem Marinus Dudok (1884–1974), who was from 1915 the director of public works in Hilversum.

Maristella Casciato

See also Applied arts; De Klerk, Michel; Dudok, Willem Marinus; Kramer, Pieter Lodewijk; Public housing; Wendingen; Wijdeveld, Hendricus Theodorus

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Andriesse, Emmy (1914-1953)

Emmy Andriesse, as well as most other members of the socalled GFK (*Vereniging van Beoefenaars der gebonden kunsten* [Federation of Applied Arts Practitioners]) in Amsterdam after World War II, recorded the daily lives of men and women with unadorned realism. But form and content were kept in balance, and the documentary photographs of this group are not without aesthetic qualities.

After World War II, photographs began to occupy a more important place in newspapers and magazines than ever before as an increasing number of editors realized that photography had the ability to summarize events or feelings that would have taken many words to describe. In addition, the "photobook" had come of age in the Netherlands: Photographers collaborated with graphic designers on books illustrated by photography and, in the process, became more than the suppliers of raw pictorial material. Events like jubilees, commemorations, or the publication of an industry's annual report became increasingly an occasion to commission a photographer.

In 1951, Emmy Andriesse was commissioned by an Amsterdam publisher to make the photographs for *De wereld van Van Gogh* (The World of Van Gogh). Most of her photographs are counterbalanced by a reproduction of a drawing or painting by Van Gogh, accompanied by excerpts from his letters. The lyrical quality of Andriesse's photographs is partly conjured up by the use of Mediterranean light found in the south of France (Fig. 6). This series is one of the best examples of how the artistic use of photography can surpass its use as merely documentary.

Hans Rooseboom

See also Photography, modern and contemporary

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Andriessen, Mari (1897-1979)

Mari Silvester Andriessen worked for a while in the studio of sculptor Jan Bronner after finishing elementary school in Haarlem. From 1912 until 1916, he studied at the Kunstnijverheidsschool (School of Arts and Crafts) in Haarlem, and in 1917 he went to the Rijksacademie in Amsterdam, where Bronner, in the meantime, had become a professor. After visits to Paris and Chartres (1920) and a short study at the Academy in Munich (1922), he completed his education with Bronner in 1923. Three years later, he won the silver medal of the Prix de Rome.

In the beginning, Andriessen worked primarily for the Catholic Church. His sculpture *St. Genoveva* (St. Genevieve) received a Grand Prize at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1937. That same year he received his first big secular commission for a sculpture of *Prudentia* (Prudence) for the restored town hall of Bergen op Zoom. In the same period, he made one of the six statues of lawyers from history, *Johannes Voet* (1937), for the building of the Hoge Raad (Supreme Court) in The Hague and ten panels (1937–1942) for the entrance doors to the *raadzaal* (council hall). The three huge sculptures, *Phoenix*, *Veiligheid* (Safety), and *Snelheid* (Velociry), that he made for the Central Station in Utrecht (which are no longer there) date from 1939.

After World War II, Andriessen, who was active in the resistance, produced a number of war monuments that do not honor heroes but depict the experiences and the deprivations of ordinary people. The most important of these monuments are in Haarlem (1949); Putten (1949-1950); Amsterdam, De Dokwerker (The Dockworker, 1950-1952); Enschede (1946-1953); Rotterdam (1957); Nijmegen (1959); Scheveningen (1963-1966); and Amsterdam, Anne Frank (1975-1977). The most famous of these is De Dokwerker, erected in commemoration of the February strike of 1941 in Amsterdam. In addition, he made more than twenty other public statues, such as Cornelis Lely (1953-1954; Den Oever), Albert Plesman (1958; The Hague), and Queen Wilhelmina (1967; Utrecht). Andriessen also made many portraits, small-scale sculptures, and medallions through the years. His works can be found in the collections of the Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller in Otterlo, the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem, and the Centraal Museum in Utrecht.

Mieke van der Wal

See also Public monumental sculpture (1795–1990); Sculpture (1795–1945); World Wars I and II

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Animal painting

The appearance of animals as independent subjects in Dutch art during the seventeenth century reflects a new attitude toward nature, which encouraged the study of animals. This shift was sponsored by empirical science as well as by the Calvinist Church, which considered the study of nature as a way to know God. Knowledge of nature, especially animals, was also viewed as morally instructive by seventeenth-century Neo-Stoic writers, who saw man as having been corrupted by society. Animals appear in Dutch art as objects of scientific study but also as natural inhabitants of the countryside, and, at times, as political allegory.

Prior to the sixteenth century, interest in animals had focused on their spiritual significance. The bestiary, an illustrated collection of Christian allegories and pseudoscientific information, remained the primary handbook of knowledge concerning animals during the Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century, the translation of Aristotle's *History of Animals* into Latin transformed zoology into a science of observation and inspired encyclopedic treatises on animals, which summarized the knowledge of the Greeks. Fables and beast satires commented on society.

Renaissance exploration stimulated scientific interest in animals. Travelers described new and familiar animals, which they had actually seen, as well as fantastic beasts and races mentioned in Pliny, which they had expected to see. This blend of empirical knowledge with fantasy characterized contemporary collections and the study of natural science. Thus, in *Historiae Animalium* (1551), Conrad Gesner repeated descriptions by Aristotle and Pliny and stiff images of real and fantastic beasts but also added his own text and more-naturalistic illustrations of animals he had personally studied.

Roelandt Savery was the first true animal painter in the Northern Netherlands. In his popular paintings of Paradise, birds and beasts dominate a thickly forested landscape, in which Adam and Eve, Noah, or Orpheus often assume secondary roles. Savery made numerous sketches of animals naer het leven (after life). He derived most of the animals included in his paintings, however, from secondary sources—prints, stuffed animals and birds, as well as sculptures—contributing to the stiff, decorative quality of the often-profiled animals, which appear as additions to the landscape rather than as integral parts of it. Like his contemporary Joris Hoefnagel, Savery gave his animals a more naturalistic "appearance" by reference to actual animals. In his chapter on animals in Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const, which opens the Schilderboeck (1604), Karel van Mander promoted a similar approach, describing how to represent the horse and cow in terms of geometric forms but also recommending the study of nature.

Scientifically accurate drawings were an essential part of the empirical study of nature at the University of Leiden and elsewhere during the seventeenth century. After his move to Leiden in 1595, Jacob de Gheyn II rendered precise drawings of plants, insects, and animals, such as the study sheet with four views of a frog manipulated to reflect principles of anatomy, or another of a live mouse. At mid-century, Albert Eckhout painted *Two Tortoises* (The Hague, Mauritshuis) for a commission by Johan Maurits van Nassau to document the fauna of Brazil, while Rembrandt, Lambert Doomer, and others sketched exotic animals in Dutch menageries. Maria Sibylla Merian's delicately rendered drawings of butterflies and insects and Aart Schouman's eighteenth-century illustrations of the animals and birds in the menagerie of Willem V were likewise prized possessions of collectors and scientists.

The cattle piece was a unique development of the Northern Netherlands, where cattle, traditionally emblems of fertility and earth, represented one of the primary economic resources. Under the influence of Venetian pastorals, Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert and Abraham Bloemaert, among others, introduced monumental animals to their history and pastoral paintings. During the 1640s, Paulus Potter and Aelbert Cuyp developed a new genre in which domestic animals dominate Dutch landscapes, and human figures, where included, are secondary. Potter's emphasis on the naturalism of his rustic scenes reflects the Georgic tradition, whereas the more generalized animals and figures of Cuyp adhere more closely to the arcadian legacy of Virgil's Ecologues. Cuyp's paintings, and those of Adriaen van de Velde, are Dutch variations of the pastorals of Nicolaes Berchem, Karel du Jardin, and others, who suggested Arcadia by the diffused light, landscape, and shepherds of Italy. For both groups, as well as for artists such as Philips Wouwerman, the paintings and especially the series of prints (1636) of animals by Pieter van Laer were seminal. Van Laer's animal prints differed significantly from the model books by Crispijn de Passe I, Cornelis Bloemaert (after Abraham Bloemaert), and Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp. Like Van Laer's series, which was dedicated to a humanist, those by Potter, Berchem, and others represented animals in natural postures and were probably appreciated as independent art objects.

Some paintings of horses, cattle, and dogs were conceived as portraits of specific animals. Paulus Potter's famous painting The Bull (1647; The Hague, Mauritshuis), the realistic naturalism of which distinguishes it from the 1564 painting of a prize bull (Amsterdam Historical Museum), may have represented a particular animal. A notation in a seventeenthcentury inventory suggests that some paintings of horses may, however, have been interpreted as emblems of freedom. Likewise, dogs and other animals in characteristic postures of defense, such as the paintings of Melchior de Hondecoeter and prints by Hendrick Hondius, can be read as emblems of vigilance, a theme monumentally represented in Jan Asselijn's painting The Angry Swan (ca. 1653; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). Animals continued to serve as political metaphors. The lion of the Netherlands, the English dog, as well as the watchdog of Holland and the angry bull, were all familiar images in prints. Cornelis Saftleven in the Trial of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1663) and Paulus Potter in the Life of the Hunter (ca. 1651) employed the tradition of the "world upside down" for political satire in paintings.

The interest in animal painting declined in the late seventeenth century and was only revived a century later as an expression of the new Dutch nationalism. Many of the paintings that were produced by Jacob van Strij, Pieter Gerardus

van Os, and Jan Baptist Kobell II were either imitations or copies of seventeenth-century prototypes, especially after Potter, Cuyp, and Adriaen van de Velde. Other artists, however, worked more independently. Josephus Augustus Knip, for example, painted cattle pieces in a Southern context. The Hague School viewed the Dutch *animaliers* through the Barbizon painters. The last significant cattle painter (Fig. 56) was Willem Maris, who died in 1910.

Amy L. Walsh

See also Cuyp, Aelbert; De Hondecoeter, Melchior; Exotica; Gamepiece; Hague School, The; Italy; Knip, Josephus Augustus; Kobell, Jan Baptist II; Landscape; Maris, Willem; Natural history illustration; Non-Western cultural influences, Pastoral; Potter, Paulus; Ronner-Knip, Henriëtte; Rural life and views; Schouman, Aart; Utrecht; Van Mander, Karel; Wouwerman, Philips

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Appel, Karel (Christiaan Karel Appel) (born 1921)

Cofounder of the Dutch Experimental Group and the Cobra Movement in 1948, Karel Appel has been since the later 1950s the most celebrated Dutch artist of his generation. Though best known for his painting and sculpture, Appel has worked in many other free and applied techniques, including ceramics, stained glass, and stage design, and has also published poetry and recorded experimental music.

Appel was born in Amsterdam, took courses at the Rijksacademie during the war (1942–1944), and until 1945 underwent influences from artists such as Van Gogh, Matisse, and Picasso. From 1946 to 1948, he developed a primitive figuration in paintings, sculptures, and assemblages that linked him initially to Corneille (whom he had met at the Rijksacademie) and then to a widening circle of younger artists who in 1948 founded the Dutch Experimental Group and Cobra (Color Plate 16). In 1949, public hostility to his mural painting *Vragende kinderen* (Questioning Children), in the Amsterdam Town Hall, and to works in the Cobra/Experimental exhibition held at the Stedelijk Museum, gave Appel considerable notoriety in his native land. This negative publicity helped provoke a voluntary exile: Appel moved to Paris in 1950 and has subsequently lived mainly in France, Monaco, and New York.

Encouraged by Willem Sandberg, director of the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, Appel returned to Holland to execute mural paintings in the museum in 1951 (the "Appelbar") and 1956 (the restaurant), and in 1956–1957 he designed stained glass windows for two new Protestant churches: the Kruiskerk at Geleen and the Paaskerk at Zaandam. From then on, designs (often for windows) in collaboration with prominent Dutch architects became a recurrent feature in Appel's career, and in 1983 he also designed windows for the Temple Sholom in Chicago.

By the mid-1950s, Appel's painting was drawing the attention of critics such as Michel Tapié in France and Herbert Read in the English-speaking world. In 1954, he won the UNESCO Prize at the Venice Biennale-many other international awards were to follow-and had his first New York exhibition at the Martha Jackson Gallery. He visited the United States and Mexico in 1957, by which time his characteristic emphasis on the material qualities of paint and the physicality of the act of painting had established him as a leading European "action painter." In subsequent years, Appel went on to explore different technical and stylistic possibilities, often by responding to the international developments of the day. During the 1960s, for example, his large, colorful constructions reflected the dominant Pop Art of those years, and after a phase in the 1970s in which a revival of Expressionism and a return to Van Gogh-like vibrant stripes was discernible, his paintings of the 1980s seemed to engage in dialogue with the ascendant New Painting of young Italian and German artists. His recent work, the sculpture shown in Paleis Lange Voorhout in The Hague in 1993, includes large tableaux of objects culled from many different cultures and links Appel to a postmodern ethos of cultural pluralism. The continuing transformations in his oeuvre demonstrate both Appel's desire and his ability to rejuvenate his art.

In spite of many publications on Appel's art—some of them extravagantly large—art-historical coverage of his *oeuvre* remains fragmentary.

Graham Birtwistle

See also Cobra Movement; World Wars I and II

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Applied arts

The quality and design of industrial products became a topic of discussion in Western Europe in the course of the nineteenth century, and after the 1860s in the Netherlands. This was the start of various measures to improve the crafts and industrial design, which led to an unprecedented revival of the applied arts around the turn of the century.

The Netherlands had been slower than other countries to industrialize, and the movement for innovation in the applied arts started later than abroad. The battle against tasteless, machine-made products and the loss of traditional crafts began in Great Britain, the cradle of mechanized industry. The World Exposition in 1851 in London, at which the low quality of Western products was revealed on a broad scale, is generally seen as the turning point. In the following years important reforms in instruction in the crafts were enacted in England. In several places new drawing and applied-arts schools opened with a curriculum that was oriented toward both theory and practice. To support instruction, collections of "good" industrial design, both old and modern, were formed in several schools, modeled after the collection of a museum that opened in South Kensington in 1852-the present-day Victoria and Albert Museum. The English Arts and Crafts Movement, supported by the ideas of John Ruskin (1819-1900), William Morris (1834-1896), and Walter Crane (1845-1915), would deeply influence developments on the Continent in both a direct and an indirect way in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Dutch participation in the World Exposition of 1851 was, qualitatively as well as quantitatively, extremely meager. But even though the first negative reactions were voiced in the Netherlands at that time, it would still be a full twenty years before criticism became general and initiatives were taken to raise the level of the applied arts. The numerous national applied-arts exhibitions that were held in the nineteenth century at the instigation of private-interest organizations like the Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Nijverheid en Handel (Dutch Society for Industry and Commerce) made an important contribution to this. In the considerations pursuant to these exhibitions the importance of good drawing instruction for workers as a basic of their aesthetic education was pointed out several times and with increased emphasis. Among progressive theoreticians and artists was a growing aversion to the historical styles and excessively naturalistic ornamentation that characterized Dutch products of that time, and this gave rise to a desire for a new self-identifying national style.

With the Exhibition of Art Applied to Industry (Tentoonstelling van Kunst toegepast op Nijverheid) held in Amsterdam in 1877, this development reached a decisive phase. One of the organizers of this event, the architect J.R. de Kruyff (1844–1923), was among the most important nineteenth-century advocates of reform in Dutch industrial design.

His ideas, recorded in 1876 in a brochure published before the exhibition, are representative of the innovative thinking then dominant in progressive circles. De Kruyff defined art (and thus also art applied to industry) as "the result of three forces: reason, fantasy, and the sense of beauty." For him, a well-designed article was, in the first place, useful, it was made correctly, and it was pretty. He called "fashion" and "naturalism" the foremost causes for the decline of the national applied arts. According to him, the public had an unseemly desire for novelties, causing new trends and fads to follow each other with increasing speed and bringing more and more absurd and strange products onto the market. The improper use of raw materials and techniques, such as fashionable imitations of materials like wood in papier-mâché, he found unacceptable. Naturalism in ornamentation—the reproduction of organic forms as accurately as possible as decoration—was without a doubt the greatest offense and, therefore, utterly objectionable. However, this did not mean the rejection of nature as a source of inspiration; decorative motifs taken from nature were preferred, but they should be stylized rather than portrayed realistically. Furthermore, it was important that the ornament not be applied arbitrarily—not be "pasted on," as it were-as so often happened, but that it do justice to the function of the article. To refrain from decoration altogether was still not a consideration in this period since the desire to decorate was believed to be inherent to the human race. In order for a new national style to develop, study of the arts and crafts especially from the Netherlands' glorious past in the sixteenth and seventeenth century—the Dutch Renaissance was stimulated. The objective was not to copy old examples literally; the study should be assimilated in a style full of character and corresponding to modern times. Good vocational training and inspiring (museum) collections of industrial articles were essential in this, and their realization was also strongly advocated.

The negative opinion of Dutch applied arts and the pleas for improvement, such as in the essay by De Kruyff and several other documents of the time, were largely grafted upon foreign sources. In these first years of awareness, criticism, and cautious changes, the greatest influence did not come directly from England, but from Germany and Austria. The movement to renew the arts and crafts had already borne its first fruits there: In imitation of England, the first museums of industrial design with connected schools had been opened and vocational education had been radically revised. The driving force behind this was the German architect and art theoretician Gottfried Semper (1803-1879), whose ideas were shaped in England, where he had been involved in the World Exposition of 1851 and in the plans to reform education. In 1860-1863, he wrote his best-known and influential book, Der Stil in den technischen und tektonische Künsten, an analysis of the essence of art and style. Although there is some early evidence (1864) of a direct influence from Semper's work, his ideas entered the Netherlands at first mainly through the publications of his German and Austrian followers and through different German trade journals. Several Dutch architects and designers also became acquainted with his work while attending the Polytechnic School in Zurich, where Semper taught from 1855 until 1871, or at the industrial-design school in Vienna.

As a far-reaching consequence of the Amsterdam exhibition of 1877, the government became involved with the issues. For years the government had refrained from any interference in the arts, but this liberal posture ended with the establishment in 1875 of the Department of Arts and Sciences in the Ministry of Home Affairs. The key position in this was taken by Victor de Stuers (1843-1916), author of the sensational Holland op zijn smalst (1873), which questioned the indifference of the government with regard to art and the cultural heritage. De Stuers became the head of the new department, a position he would hold for over twenty-five years. As a result of the Amsterdam exhibition of 1877, De Stuers, who had been deeply involved in its organization, established a state committee with the goal of investigating the situation of Dutch industrial design and making recommendations for improvement. Partly on the basis of the committee's report, a state training program for teachers of drawing and a state school for industrial design were started in 1881; both were housed in the nearly completed Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. De Kruyff, who as secretary of the investigative committee had a great influence on the report, became the head of the industrial design school; W.B.G. Molkenboer (1844-1915) became the director of the school for drawing teachers. In 1878 a separate Department of Decorative Arts was created at the Polytechnic School in Delft, with A. Le Comte (1850-1921) as an inspiring and influential teacher.

An important plan had been realized earlier on the side of *private* interest: In 1877 a museum of industrial design was opened in Haarlem on the initiative of the Society of Industry and Commerce. The museum was expanded with a school two years later. The director, F.W. van Eeden, followed a Semperian policy as did his successor E.A. von Saher (1849–1918). Several years later an industrial-design museum and school were also established in Utrecht (1884–1886). In Amsterdam a third new trade school was added to the two state schools, the Quellinus School of Applied Arts and Drawing, which developed from the workshop for apprentices following the medieval example that architect P.J.H. Cuypers (1827–1921) had started during the construction of the Rijksmuseum.

In addition to his work as the architect of the Rijksmuseum, the Centraal Station in Amsterdam, and a great number of churches, Cuypers stands as the most important harbinger of the new direction in Dutch architecture and industrial design. His great example was the French architect and theoretician E.E. Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879), whose opinions about a Constructive-rationalist architecture he promulgated in the Netherlands. As a fervent Roman Catholic (this faith could again be practiced openly in the Netherlands after 1853), he chose the Gothic style for carrying out his ecclesiastical commissions because no other form of architecture so reflects the flourishing of Catholicism; in his secular architecture and interior designs, he would add some neo-renaissance elements. Cuypers' special importance for the revival of the applied arts was as a supporter and propagator of the

Gemeenschapskunst (communal art) concept: a connection of all art disciplines under the leadership of architecture in service to a higher social ideal. The idea of an all-inclusive design would continue after Cuypers on a nonreligious, social-ideological footing by a new generation of artists. The Amsterdam Stock Exchange (1898–1903) by architect H.P. Berlage (1856–1934) is one of the most famous examples of such a Gesamtkunstwerk (total work of art). Architecture, sculpture (Fig. 125), painting, and applied arts are woven into a masterly whole.

The increasing interest of artists and notably architects in the applied arts during these years was the result, on the one hand, of a changed opinion that the essence of architecture was that of a craft (Semper), and, on the other hand, of a strong social feeling. Of all of the arts, the applied arts were closest to the people, and by bringing the people into contact with beautiful, well-designed utilitarian and decorative objects, their aesthetic sense would become developed, which would eventually lead to a more beautiful, more civilized, and happier society. While the advocates of a new industrial design had cited nationalist and economic motives during the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, after 1890 social-aesthetic ideals were emphasized. The elevation of the people became the new credo. Now the English Arts and Crafts Movement had more influence, particularly the publications of the founders, which were translated into Dutch during this period. A Dutch version of Walter Crane's Claims of Decorative Art (1892) appeared in 1894 under the title Kunst en Samenleving; in 1900, John Ruskin's Stones of Venice (1853) and, in 1903, the critical lectures of William Morris on art and society were translated.

The *oeuvre* of the socialist Berlage, which is imbued with this new ideology, marks the transition between tradition and innovation. His earliest designs for architecture, interiors, and furniture in Renaissance-like style still have all of the characteristics of the then current art theories; but in the 1890s Berlage, a follower of both Semper and Viollet-le-Duc, knew how to leave nineteenth-century historicism permanently behind and to arrive at an original design in which appropriateness, uniformity in style, honest use of materials, a logical and solid construction, and a subordinated ornamentation that was enclosed in the form were the basic principles (Fig. 7).

In the beginning of the 1890s some young industrial artists who had graduated from the new Amsterdam vocational schools achieved a contemporary idiom based on the same rational principles, while simultaneously in The Hague and Delft a new trend caught on that, in contrast, served the decorative—the Dutch Art Nouveau was a fact. The so-called Amsterdam, or "constructive," direction was given the name Nieuwe Kunst (the Dutch translation of Art Nouveau), to indicate that it concerned work of a specifically Dutch character, and is clearly distinguished from The Hague, or "decorative," direction, which is more connected to the international, flowery Art Nouveau. Today the term Nieuwe Kunst is used for all Dutch industrial arts from around the turn of the century. Like the foreign Art Nouveau, the Nieuwe Kunst borrowed stylistic elements and decorative techniques from

distant and older cultures. In the Dutch applied arts of around 1900, Japanese, Egyptian, and Assyrian influences as well as techniques such as batik from the Dutch East Indies can be recognized.

One of the first branches of industry in which the new notions of art took shape was the pottery industry. In 1877 De Porceleyne Fles, the only surviving seventeenth-century Delft faïence factory, attracted A. Le Comte to become an artistic adviser, and in the 1880s and 1890s several new businesses were formed that produced useful and decorative ceramics in the new style. The Hague pottery Rozenburg (1883), for example, became internationally known through the remarkable designs of Th. Colenbrander (1841–1930) and graceful eggshell porcelain (Fig. 21). Amstelhoek (1897) and De Distel (1895) in Amsterdam made simpler earthenware with modest, geometrical decorations. New ceramics companies were started also in Utrecht, Gouda, and other places; there were more than twenty companies active in this field in the Netherlands by 1905.

Mindful of communal art, several architects and artists applied themselves to practically all of the disciplines within the applied arts. Berlage, as an industrial designer avant la lettre, made designs for furniture, wallpaper, textiles, glass, ceramics, metalworks, and graphics for mass consumption. Although many of these designs were entirely or partly made according to traditional methods, Berlage was not against machine production. If it meant that the articles became affordable for a broader public, this was also a step forward in the direction of the desired new society in which art would be naturally integrated.

Berlage also made an important link with the public in 1900 by establishing 't Binnenhuis, an undertaking with the objective of designing, making, and selling exclusively Dutch interior furnishings and articles. This Amsterdam firm, to which dozens of industrial artists contributed especially during the first year, seems to have been started initially to vie with the art gallery Arts and Crafts, which had opened two years earlier in The Hague under the artistic direction of Chr. Wegerif (1859-1920) and J. Thorn Prikker (1868-1932) and was strongly oriented toward Belgium (the designs of H. van de Velde) and England. But it was probably also established to counterbalance, although to a lesser degree, the workshop of Van Wisselingh en Co. in Amsterdam, where G.W. Dijsselhof (1866-1924), C.A. Lion Cachet (1864-1945), and Th. Nieuwenhuis (1866–1951) had the opportunity to execute extraordinarily luxurious and richly decorated furniture and interiors (Fig. 8). These artists endeavored just as much to achieve an all-inclusive design, but more from the point of view of merely aesthetics than from a social idealism, as was the case of the group around Berlage. Furniture made of expensive woods with laborious sculptural ornamentation and inlaid work was also made in the Atelier voor Architectuur, Kunstnijverheid en Decoratieve Kunst (Studio for Architecture, Industrial Art, and Decorative Art) in Amsterdam between 1895 and 1900. The studio was started by K.P.C. de Bazel (1869-1923) and J.L.M. Lauweriks (1864-1932). It is clear that this completely handmade furniture was only for an *élite*, but even the simpler designs by Berlage and his sympathizers appeared not to be reserved for ordinary people. Besides, the strictly functional character of the 't Binnenhuis style was not compatible with the taste of the masses, who desired luxury. The "civilizing work" to bring them around to it would be continued until far into the twentieth century, with exhibitions against bad taste, model homes, and publications about "responsible living," but on the whole it appears to have had little effect.

De Bazel and Lauweriks, both adherents of theosophy, were particularly important for the Amsterdam design movement with their introduction, around 1895, of designing using geometrical systems. Thanks to J.H. de Groot (1865–1932), who further worked out this method and published about it, systematic designing was applied by various colleagues. Designing according to geometric systems could lead to the well-balanced proportions in both composition and decoration that are characteristic of much of the Dutch applied arts from the period 1900–1910.

At the First International Exhibition of Modern Decorative Arts in Turin, Italy, in 1902, the Dutch entries scored a great success and won international fame. Even though the movement for innovation in industrial design had started relatively late in the nineteenth-century in the Netherlands, by the turn of the century the Dutch had completely caught up in an artistic sense and the applied arts from the Netherlands could compete with the best in Europe.

Karin Gaillard

See also Architectural criticism, issues of style; Architectural restoration; Berlage, Hendrik Petrus; Ceramics; Dijsselhof, Gerrit Willem; Display; Exotica; Graphic design; Japonisme; Nationalism; Neo-Gothic; Stained glass; Thorn Prikker, Johan; Wendingen

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Architectural competitions

The best conditions for creating architecture would seem to be provided through architectural competitions: A patron has only to organize a competition and wait to select the design he likes. The competing architects must, of course, know the building requirements, the awards, and the names of the jury. This is how it should be, but in reality it is different. The results of architectural competitions are seldom satisfying, wrote the secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Architecture, W.H. Warnsinck, in 1844. The reason, he said, was that the best architects refrained from participating because the patrons were not obliged to assign the work to the winner of the competition. Patrons could use the designs and alter them as they wished without the consent of the architect who produced them

Another problem in the nineteenth century was that competitions often led to unending quarrels among the members of the jury or—if they were public competitions—in the press. This happened in 1862 when a group of Amsterdam art lovers took the initiative to found a new museum that would be named after King Willem I. Nineteen architects responded to the call, but none of their designs could win the approval of the jury. The only thing that resulted from it was a prize for Ludwig and Emil Lange, architects from Munich. The museum was eventually built, but by a protégé of the man who had a powerful position in the Ministry of the Interior, Victor de Stuers.

Architects in the Netherlands began to set up some rules for competitions in 1883, but they had to wait until the next scandal to reach a general agreement. The scandal came in 1906 when the jury of the competition for the Peace Palace in The Hague appeared to have a preference for the Dutch Renaissance style of the sixteenth century but had omitted to mention it in their program. In reaction the architectural society Architectura et Amicitia took the initiative to propose a set of regulations at the International Congress of Architects in London. Architectura et Amicitia had organized competi-

tions since its foundation in 1855, mostly for minor works. In 1856, for example, these were for a shelter for a night watchman, a hunting cabin, and a bridge on a country estate.

In 1910, the first regulations were set up in the Netherlands, becoming—at least in essence—the code for architectural competitions that still applies today. Among the new regulations were an assurance of anonymity through use of a motto, compensation to the winner in case of the work being assigned to someone else, protection of the design as the intellectual property of the architect, and standardization of the prizes. Sanctions were not applied to the regulations, however, so that inadmissible varieties of competitions have continued to occur.

The history of architectural competitions lies hidden in archives where a totally different world of architecture exists in designs that were rejected and thus remained unbuilt. This world is fascinating because it reveals the contemporary debate on architecture. The famous competition for the Stock Exchange in Amsterdam is a case in point. H.P. Berlage, who eventually designed the existing building on the Damrak (1903), did not succeed in his first attempt to win the prize. That was in 1885, when in cooperation with Th. Sanders he designed a Neo-Renaissance building. The winner then was L.M. Cordonnier, but his design turned out to be a close copy of the town hall of La Rochelle in France and had to be withdrawn.

A much-discussed competition took place in 1933. It was organized by the city of Amsterdam in order to find new ways to design inexpensive housing for the working class. Ninetytwo architects responded, but none could satisfy the criteria set by the jury. The architectural profession, nevertheless, learned from the experience, and the energy spent on this "modern" question was not lost. In this case the profession at large was stimulated, but in most cases competitions led to endless quarrels. These may be interesting for historians, but they probably don't serve the cause of architecture when the result is a mere compromise. A notorious example is the competition for a new town hall in Amsterdam, which started in 1936 and ended in 1987 with a combined design. The winner of the latest competition, Wilhelm Holzbauer from Vienna, had to adapt his design in order to combine the town hall with an opera house, which had been designed by the Dutch architect Cees Dam.

Architectural competitions nowadays have gained a more important position in the world of architecture, most likely due to a heightened public interest in the built environment.

Wim Denslagen

See also Architectural criticism, issues of style; Architectural restoration; Berlage, Hendrik Petrus; Nationalism; Public housing

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Architectural criticism, issues of style

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, Neoclassicism the style that had been preeminent throughout the Western world since the second half of the eighteenth centuryseemed to have an unshakable standing in the architectural profession. But rationalism—another legacy of the century of the Enlightenment—produced a new way of looking at the fundamentals of building that came to disturb the complacency of the architectural world. The architectural profession in the Netherlands became deeply divided on the issue of style; the architecture of the nineteenth century bears the evidence of the debates. Honesty and sincerity were to become key concepts: Architecture should not follow the dictates of an academic aestheticism any longer; it must turn away from the uninspired prescriptions of the classical orders and pursue economy of means, convenient disposition, and tautness. These views prepared the way for twentieth-century function-

The first architectural periodical in the Netherlands, by the Society for the Advancement of Architecture (founded in 1842 in Amsterdam), began in 1843 by launching an attack on the false aesthetics of Neoclassicism. A well-known supporter of the rationalistic approach was J.H. Leliman (1828–1910). According to this way of thinking, a building should not only be functional, it should also express its function; that gave it "character," which was the logical consequence of truth. Architecture not only had to serve its function adequately, but this function should also be recognizable. This notion about "character" prepared the way for later eelecticism, the free combination of historic styles.

Some architects, among them I. Gosschalk (1838–1907), believed that the advancement of architecture depended on the development of new construction techniques, particularly in iron. But when Cornelis Outshoorn (1812–1875) built the famous iron-and-glass Palace of Popular Industry in Amsterdam (1864), his colleague Leliman commented that iron was suitable only for temporary constructions like the Crystal Palace in London (Joseph Paxton, 1850), not for monumental architecture that should be built of more massive materials. In the eyes of many architects iron had only technical, not artistic, significance.

By the middle of the century, the battle over styles governed theoretical discussions of architecture. In 1854, the influential architect W.N. Rose (1801–1878) condemned the application of different historical styles, through which, for example, churches, palaces, and town halls in the Greek, Moorish, Gothic, and Renaissance styles would be erected adjacent and juxtaposed to one another. Rose searched for "underlying principles" in architecture such as truth, unity, order, relation, coherence, and proportion. What Rose built according to these principles—for example, the Colonial Ministry (1860) in The Hague (a huge, austere stuccoed block

with row upon row of identical rectangular windows)—was, however, much criticized by his contemporaries. C. Muysken (1843–1922) wrote in 1884 that the search for a new style by those who ignored all historical style forms had led only to disappointments and failures. He himself was a professed defender of the Dutch Neo-Renaissance.

The battle that was ignited over styles was sometimes fueled by political controversies between Protestants and Catholics. A famous case was the project for the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam: Protestants were strongly opposed to the Neo-Gothic design of P.J.H. Cuypers (1827–1921) and pushed to have accepted a Dutch Renaissance style, which they associated with the Protestant founding fathers of the Dutch Republic at the end of the sixteenth century. Cuypers' design, however, prevailed in the end.

In retrospect, those discussions of styles seem futile when considered against the explosive growth of new types of architecture in the second half of the nineteenth century—railway stations, factories, hospitals, prisons, schools, and housing. Nevertheless, style remained a very important issue, in particular after the middle of the century when Neoclassicism gave way to an eclecticism in which not only classical motifs were applied but also forms from the Italian Renaissance, French Empire, and even the Romanesque style. This eclecticism was strongly favored by members of the influential Society for the Advancement of Architecture. One of the first examples of this style, a new stone façade for the church of St. Francis of Assisi by Tétar van Elven M.G. (1803-1882) on the Rokin in Amsterdam (1844, destroyed in 1911), roused a fierce debate in the architectural journals. The design was condemned mainly because the outward appearance had nothing to do with the interior of the church, a fundamental mistake according to one of the critics. This condemnation voiced what the rationalists had so often pleaded for: honesty and logic in construction. It was also voiced by the champion of the revival of the Gothic style, J.A. Alberdingk Thijm (1820-1889), who subscribed to the ideas of E.E. Viollet-le-Duc that the only way to overcome "disgusting" stylistic pluralism was to study the logical and humane principles of the Gothic masters of the thirteenth century. This belief was a rejection of the position that stylistic pluralism had the strength to produce a new style in accordance with nineteenth-century life.

Eclecticism was an international architectural language, and that may have limited its influence in the Netherlands during the last quarter of the nineteenth century when there was a revival of the old Dutch style associated with the period around 1600. In a debate between some leading architects, published in the periodical *Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* in 1881, C. Muysken, president of the Society for the Advancement of Architecture, defended his use of the old Dutch style for the castle-like country house Oud Wassenaar in Wassenaar (1879). He pointed out that a lively silhouette in combination with the use of multicolored brick, stone, and slate were perfectly attuned to the surrounding landscape near the dunes. P.J.H. Cuypers defended the Gothic style by pointing out that its building system was the most logical

consequence of the rationalistic approach. Others, like J.H. Leliman, argued that the alternative of "Renaissance or Gothic" was not the only possibility; an architect must design for his clients and, therefore, must be flexible in his choice of styles.

A perceived threat to the architectural profession were the engineers from the Polytechnic School in Delft, founded in 1864. H.P. Berlage (1856–1934) was convinced that mere technical work could never become art. In part responding to the challenge from the engineers, he devoted his career to breaking free from the grip of the neo-styles and finding new ways for the architectural profession.

Wim Denslagen

See also Architectural competitions; Architectural restoration; Classicism in architecture; Functionalism in architecture; Nationalism; Neo-Gothic; Postmodernism; Renaissance architecture; Urban planning from 1750 to the present

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Architectural painting

Buildings have served as major elements in paintings, prints, and drawings since the sixteenth century in the Netherlands, particularly in the virtuoso perspective views of artists like Hans and Paul Vredeman de Vries. The golden age of this genre was the seventeenth century when artists such as Pieter Saenredam, Emanuel de Witte, Jan van der Heyden, and Job and Gerrit Berckheyde produced painstakingly detailed representations of actual and fantasy architecture as main subjects of compositions. The eighteenth century also had its great practitioners, including Cornelis Pronk, Jan Ten Compe, several members of the La Fargue family, and Hendrik Pothoven.

Various classifications exist within the architectural painting category: church interiors and exteriors, civic building interiors and exteriors, country house exteriors, palace interiors and exteriors, and townscapes. Within each of these categories a composition and its various parts can be topographically correct, imaginary, or a combination thereof. Architectural specialists such as Emanuel de Witte produced both pictures of identifiable church interiors and paintings of fictitious ones throughout their careers. The blending of fantasy and reality within one work is exemplified by Jan van der Heyden's painting in the National Gallery of London juxtaposing two accurately rendered buildings, Nijenrode Castle and the sacristy of Utrecht Cathedral, which are not located together in reality. The resulting work is an evocation of a Dutch urban setting that did not really exist. Architectural paintings of actual buildings in their own surroundings may commemorate a particular place, monument, and/or event. The Fireworks Pavilion Erected in Honor of the Freedom of Aachen by Jan Ten Compe is a 1749 painting in The Hague Historical Museum that does all three by recording the Dutch capital's contribution to celebrations of the end of the Wars of Austrian Succession.

Literature concerned with architectural painting usually centers on a particular subset of the genre, such as townscapes or church interiors. An exception is Bob Haak's basic introduction to the various forms of architectural painting in his 1984 survey of Dutch painting. The approaches to interpreting the genre are varied. Many works, including Rob Ruurs' book on Saenredam, and Arthur K. Wheelock's study of mid-century Delft painters, focus on the technical aspects of perspectival illusionism, including the manipulation of various methods of perspective and whether optic devices were used as aids. The 1977 Amsterdam and Toronto catalog grapples with how and why the stadsgezicht (townscape) developed, along with issues of topographical accuracy and the differences between the paintings, prints, and drawings of city motifs. Walter A. Liedtke in his 1982 study, traces the artistic and technical developments of church interior images from the Italianate perspectives of Vredeman de Vries, to the "realistic imaginary churches" of Dirck van Delen and others, to the influence of Pieter Saenredam, arriving at the main focus of his book: the flowering of church portraiture in Delft with Gerard Houckgeest (Fig. 42), Hendrik van Vliet, and Emanuel de Witte.

An exhibition catalog and a biography point to the wide diversity of opinion among scholars. Perspectives: Saenredam and the Architectural Painters of the Seventeenth Century, is the catalog published in conjunction with a 1991 exhibition held in Rotterdam. The exhibition organizers chose to include only works that fit their interpretation of the seventeenth-century inventory term, "perspective," or a painting whose main purpose was the demonstration of masterly perspective skills. Church interiors are the most numerous of the selections, while townscapes are excluded. The various essays explore the paintings in terms of their artistic development (Jeroen Giltaij and Walter A. Liedtke), the evidence contained in picture collection inventories concerning the artistic and socioeconomic value of "perspectives" (J.M. Montias), and the possible functions and meanings the works held for contemporaries

beyond being mere displays of technical and artistic excellence (Rob Ruurs). Ruurs suggests that an architectural painting may contain religious, social, and political symbolism, but he asserts "there is more to suggest that it was bought for its artistic rather than its spiritual value." As Montias points out, "... most of these paintings were owned by true collectors... interested in the purely artistic quality of their collections" (Ruurs, 1987: 50).

A very different conclusion is reached by Gary Schwartz and Marten J. Bok in their biography of Pieter Saenredam. They use extensive and varied archival material to "reconstruct" a "historical personality" of the artist. They also attempt to rediscover the perceptions and usage of the buildings rendered. Their goal is to better comprehend Saenredam's art and the issues surrounding its production and purposes, from a point of view as close to a Dutch seventeenth-century one as possible. They found that the paintings were significant to contemporary audiences for their "historical and religious overtones" in addition to their merits as technically superior portraits of buildings (Schwartz and Bok, 1989: 76). Further, they assert that "the main attraction of architectural paintings to their contemporary buyers lay in the buildings and their monuments" (247). What most of these scholars can agree upon is the need for further archival research to help establish a more accurate context for the artists and paintings.

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See also Berckheyde, Gerrit Adriaensz.; Berckheyde, Job Adriaensz.; Delft; House interiors; Illusionism; La Fargue, Paulus Constantijn; Ouwater, Isaac; Pothoven, Hendrik; Pronk, Cornelis; Schouman, Aart; Ten Compe, Jan; Townscapes; Van der Heyden, Jan

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Architectural restoration

Restoration of old buildings, meaning the repair of dilapidated parts or reconstruction after calamitous destruction, has always been part and parcel of the art of building. In the nineteenth century, however, restoration of old buildings acquired a special meaning under the influence of nationalistic sentiments. Restoring the remnants of the past was instrumental in the strengthening of national identity. People began to see the importance of medieval architecture, and feared that without some collective effort or governmental support much of this heritage was in danger of being demolished or disfigured by injudicious alterations.

The first to bring charges against the neglect of this heritage was J.A. Alberdingk Thijm (1820-1889) in 1848. Thijm was not alone in the struggle for the preservation of medieval art and architecture; support was also given by Christiaan Kramm, Jan Frederik Oltmans, W.C. Timmerman, F.N.M. Eyck van Zuylichem, Servaas de Jong, W.J. Hofdijk, and C. Leemans. They prepared the way for the triumph of the Gothic revival in the second half of the nineteenth century. The building of new churches in the Gothic style went hand in hand with the restoration of medieval buildings. Important work in this field was done by the architects Th. Molkenboer (1796-1863), H.J. van den Brink (1816-1883), L.C. Hezenmans (1841-1909), F.J. Nieuwenhuis (1848-1919), and Alfred Tepe (1840-1920), but the most influential architect was P.J.H. Cuypers (1827-1921). His friendship with Thijm, and later with the powerful Victor de Stuers (1843-1916), contributed enormously to the influential role he played in the restoration of medieval architecture.

De Stuers is famous for his article "Holland op zijn smalst" (Holland Most Narrow), which appeared in *De Gids* in 1873. It was this article—a fierce accusation against the widespread neglect of the national heritage—that brought about the first governmental involvement in restoration. De Stuers was to become the first appointed official for the preservation of monuments.

As far as the restoration of old buildings is concerned, De Stuers' and Cuypers' policies were authoritative between 1875 and 1916. Their attitude toward the restoration of medieval architecture was deeply influenced by the works and writings of the French architect and restorer E.E. Viollet-le-Duc. In this view, restoration meant the reconstruction of a building as it should have been in its original form. This original form could be discovered by searching for the inner logic of the building system—just as the renowned biologist Georges Cuvier (1769-1832) was able to do when reconstructing an extinct animal from a few bones. Cuvier, as Viollet-le-Duc admitted, was his great example in this scientific method. A dangerous consequence of this highly influential theory was that the actual substance and historic significance of the building was considered to be less important than the hidden rationale of its original builders. Restorations along these principles turned old buildings into new constructions of nineteenth-century invention, cleared of later additions and decorations. As a result, much of Baroque art and architecture in the Netherlands was demolished and replaced by Neo-Romanesque or Neo-Gothic work. This optimistic attitude toward the past, combining a strong belief in a scientific approach and a dangerous bias toward the Baroque, drove some architects to rectify, enlarge, or reduce old structures in a way that startled a later generation.

Cuypers did not feel the slightest reluctance to add, in 1882, four bays to the town hall of Nijmegen in the style of Herman van Herengrave, who built it in 1555. His restoration of the Romanesque church of Our Lady at Roermond (1864–1879) ended in, among other things, construction of four new towers in the spirit of the original design. In Maastricht he tore down the Baroque west tower (1767) of the Saint Servatius church and redecorated the entire interior. The much-despised eighteenth-century style having been swept out of this church and replaced by splendid new mural paintings after designs by Cuypers, there was no need to repeat the attack on the same church in the twentieth century. But, unfortunately, Cuypers' contribution was also doomed to be destroyed during the last restoration in the 1980s. The history of restoration is full of this sort of repetitious iconoclasm.

The way that architects like Cuypers restored old buildings began to meet fierce opposition at the beginning of the twentieth century. There had been some isolated criticism before. In 1861 Alberdingk Thijm and the well-known man of letters Carel Vosmaer (1826-1888) had protested the project to replace the old braced collar roof of the Ridderzaal (the Knights' Hall) in The Hague by an iron Neo-Gothic construction. In 1866 the architect J. Gosschalk protested the completion of the medieval ruin of the Castle of Brederode in Santpoort. Victor de Stuers, head of the Department for Cultural Affairs since 1875, was severely attacked in 1879 by the judge J. VerLoren, who reproached him for supporting a method of restoration in which the point of departure was not the monument in its existing form but some more or less vague idea about how it could have been originally. What seemed most objectionable to VerLoren was the falsification of an old building by adding new parts in the same style—for instance, the projected addition of an imitation sixteenth-century tower to a city gate in Hoorn.

At the end of the nineteenth century comparable protest from writers in other countries like John Ruskin, William Morris, A.N. Didron, J.P. Schmit, and A. Leroy-Beaulieu nourished a new approach to the preservation of historic buildings. One could hear the voice of Ruskin echoing in the words of the Dutch architect A.W. Weissman (1858–1923) when he said in 1886 that "one should aim at conservation, not restoration."

The new generation of the twentieth century adopted a set of restoration principles that was published in 1917. A leading role in the preparation of these *Grondbeginselen* (Fundamental Principles) was played by the art historian Jan Kalf (1873–1954), who inherited the powerful official position from Victor de Stuers in 1918. Kalf could, in his position, rely on the sympathizing support of a newly founded State Com-

mission with architects like H.P. Berlage, K.P.C. de Bazel, and J.Th.J. Cuypers, the son of P.J.H. Cuypers.

The new principles stated that, among other things, a restoration should respect the contributions of all periods, without any stylistic prejudice, and that missing parts should be rebuilt in the style of our own age. "To conserve is better than to renew" is the way Kalf summarized the new principles.

A weak spot in this new approach was the introduction of modern design in historic architecture. The stress the new generation laid on conservation was admirable, but in other respects the difference with the old method turned out to be a change in style—new design instead of imitation. This led to new discussions and, after several experiments with modern additions to old buildings, to uncertainties about the possibility of rendering life back to old architecture with the help of modern artists. The moderns also lacked the support of the general public; people did not like the incongruous modern forms. Restoration architects who believed in reconstruction based on historical research had far more success.

After World War II, Kalf was disillusioned by the fact that his principles of 1917 had lost their inspiration, so he took the initiative to form a new commission for the evaluation of the old principles. This commission of 1948 came to the conclusion that restoration architects should have the right to reconstruct the original design even when this could lead to the destruction of later additions, if the original design was of historic interest. The commission admitted that this principle had produced many mistakes in the past, but also a lot of pleasurable restorations. In that period of rebuilding when so much had been damaged during the war, there was no time to split hairs—work had to be done and one had to be pragmatic.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the decades of large-scale slum clearance, restorations were still limited to the more important monuments. This changed radically in the 1970s, when slum clearance was replaced by urban renewal. This change of policy, with financial support from the government, led to the revitalization of more than 13,000 houses in areas of historic interest between 1970 and 1985. In the 1970s and 1980s the restoration of the more important (listed) historic buildings was greatly intensified by considerable subsidies, so that in 1990 almost all major monuments had been restored (Fig. 9 and Fig. 10).

The spirit of the 1948 commission governed these restorations: Reconstruction of the original form was allowed if it contributed to the historical interest of the monument. A strange consequence of this attitude was that, for instance, the old center of Amsterdam appears older in aspect than thirty years ago. This is due to the replacement of much nineteenth-century detail by eighteenth-century reconstruction.

Wim Denslagen

See also Alberdingk Thijm, Josephus Albertus; Art history, history of the discipline; Nationalism; Neo-Gothic; Stained glass; State patronage, public support; Urban planning, from 1750 to the present; Vosmaer, Carel

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Archives

The data collected in archives are an essential resource for researching the historical and cultural background of works of art, their makers, their patrons, and their uses. Public archival repositories in the Netherlands exist at three levels: central, provincial, and local. In The Hague the General State Archives (Algemeen Rijksarchief) contains the archives of the central government from 1576 onward. In all of the capitals of the modern twelve provinces of the country are State Archives for the Province (Rijksarchieven in de Provincie); in The Hague this is combined with the Algemeen Rijksarchief. Here the archives of the provincial States in the time of the Republic (sometimes also of the medieval government) and of the more recent provincial government are kept.

Many municipalities have their own archives or participate in joint ventures with other municipalities, the Regional Archives (Streekarchieven). Where these local archives exist, the registers of the local notaries from the late sixteenth century onward (before 1811 notaries did not function in all of the provinces), the local judicial archives to 1811, and the church registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials before 1811 can be consulted there. In other cases these records are transferred to the Rijksarchieven in de Provincie. The archives of the local municipal governments in some cases go back to the thirteenth century. In many municipal archives there are also records of abolished craftsmen's guilds (including the artists' Guilds of St. Luke) and convents.

Apart from the archives from public bodies, which since the Archives Law of 1962 are required to be transferred to public repositories, private archives are kept at all levels, as well as collections of maps, drawings, prints, photographs, and films. Records containing information for genealogical research, especially, are indexed, including the church registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials, and the notarial registers before 1811. In some cases not only names are indexed but also other subjects, such as professions. The most recent guide to the archives is the multivolume survey edited by L.M.Th.L. Hustinx and published between 1979 and 1992. The archives and collections in each repository in the Netherlands are listed, and it is indicated for each archive whether an inventory or an index exists.

The last volume of this guide gives information about other institutions that keep private archives, among them the Netherlands Architecture Institute (Nederlands Architecturinstituut) in Rotterdam; the Central Register for Private Archives (Centraal Register van Particuliere Archieven) in The Hague, which collects the data of families, churches, and societies; and the Netherlands Economic History Archive

(Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief) in Amsterdam, which keeps records relating to companies and businesses.

Florence Koorn

See also Art history, history of the discipline; Rembrandt research; State patronage, public support

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Aristocracy and gentry

The United Provinces of the Netherlands were generally believed to be ruled exclusively by a wealthy, bourgeois regent class whose mercantile empires were centered in the major urban centers of Holland. In truth, the traditional nobility, whether members of the titled aristocracy or of the landed gentry, still wielded a great deal of power and influence—if not always directly in politics and economics, then certainly in art and culture.

Those individuals still considered part of the hereditary aristocracy and gentry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were dwindling in number. By making a break with Spain and becoming a republic, the United Provinces had by 1609 severed ties to any monarch with claims of sovereignty, thus eliminating any possibility of new individuals and families entering the ranks of those already endowed with titles and/or lands by past Holy Roman emperors, Spanish kings, or dukes of Burgundy. According to Nierop, though titles and privileges to lands and jurisdictions could be bought by the affluent middle class, and knighthoods and titles could be bestowed by foreign monarchs, there were still legal and social distinctions between those who inherited their status and entitlements and those whose honors were newly acquired through other means (Nierop, 1993: 22–29).

The most visible members of the high nobility living in the United Provinces were the princes of Orange-Nassau and their relatives. Though they never ruled their home country, the princes at times served officially as *stadhouder*. They emphasized their role as military commanders-in-chief by having themselves depicted leading troops into battle or by merely dressing in armor in formal portraits. In times of crisis, their influence could be enormous, as during the conflicts with Spain in the first half of the seventeenth century and during and after the *Rampjaar* (1672–1673) struggles with France and its allies. At other times, as during the *stadhouderloos* period of 1650–1672, their influence was minimal.

Yet throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, titled and untitled members of the nobility were representatives in the States General and held local, provincial, and national offices. An example was Johan van Wassenaer van Duivenvoorde (1577–1645), a member of the hereditary gentry class who held several offices in The Hague and was listed as one of its twenty wealthiest residents. Two fine portraits by Jan Mijtens of Johan and members of his family still hang in

his castle, Duivenvoorde. One of the portraits has the building itself depicted in the background.

The elegant, courtly works of artists such as Rubens and Van Dyck served as the basic models for representations of the nobility in the Northern Netherlands. This is particularly evident in images of Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) and his wife, Amalia van Solms (1602-1675) (Fig. 32). They had grand pan-European dynastic ambitions, as evidenced by the arranged marriage between their son, Willem II, and Mary Stuart, daughter of Charles I of England, and by their ambitious building projects and royal art collections and commissions. The Oranjezaal of the Huis ten Bosch in The Hague, with its classicist architecture and elaborate painted interior glorifying the career of Frederik Hendrik, is one of the main extant examples of Orangist royal aspirations. Especially after his ascension to the British throne in 1689, Willem III (1650-1702), following the lead of Louis XIV of France, initiated elaborate building, remodeling, and redecorating projects at his numerous Dutch homes and collected and commissioned art works extensively. The royal palace of Het Loo, now open to the public, is a modest villa (compared to England's Hampton Court or France's Palace of Versailles) full of the accumulated treasures of the House of Orange over the centuries.

The traditional ideas of middle-class sobriety, simplicity, and frugality may have toned down slightly the degree of luxury openly demonstrated by the Dutch aristocracy and gentry as compared to noble families in the rest of Europe. Yet in the last half of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century, wealth and a taste for opulence increased among the middle-class elite of the United Provinces, making the differences between depictions of the aristocracy, gentry, and urban patriciate less and less apparent. Artists such as Jan Mijtens, Gerard van Honthorst, and Paulus Potter worked for both noble and bourgeois patrons, often using the same formats for both.

A particularly interesting example is Paulus Potter's 1653 Equestrian Portrait of Dirk Tulp in the Six Collection, Amsterdam. It is believed that the horse, body, and background (which includes the castle at Cleves) were originally painted for Johan Maurits van Nassau, relative of the Orange family and stadtholder of Cleves. But when the hoped-for commission did not materialize, Potter was evidently able to sell the large canvas to Dirk Tulp, inserting that patron's head in the place of Maurits'. An elaborate inscription and heraldic shield on the right foreground tree honor this member of an important Amsterdam regent family. Traditionally reserved for the nobility, equestrian portraits, portraits with castles or country houses in the background (Fig. 31), and heraldry were adopted by middle-class patrons in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, often blurring the distinctions between classes, if only in art and not in reality.

No sources in English deal exclusively with depictions of the Dutch aristocracy and gentry as a whole, especially those of the eighteenth century. One needs, instead, to refer to articles and books addressing specific types of Dutch painting that may include depictions of members of the nobility, such as portraiture, images of warfare, or allegorical works.

Diane E. Cearfoss Mankin

See also Classicism in architecture; Country houses and gardens; Court and official portraiture; Eighty Years' War; Gamepiece; History painting; House of Orange-Nassau; Marriage and family portraits; Pastoral; Portraiture; State and municipal art collecting and collections; War and warfare

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Armando (born 1929)

The name Armando (Latin: "by arming oneself") is not a pseudonym but a new name that he acquired around 1950. With this name he has, since then, built a reputation as a versatile artist. Armando draws, paints, is a poet, writes prose, and is a sculptor, a journalist, a theater and television producer (together with Cherry Duyns), and an actor. The coordinating theme of his multifarious but unified work is his obsessive fascination with the past, with aggression and violence, and with the beauty of evil. He wrote a few short manifestolike texts as a member of the Dutch Informal Group (1958–1960) and of the Nul-group (1961–1965).

Armando was born in Amsterdam and lived during the war (1940-1945) in Amersfoort, not far from the German Durchgangslager (transit camp). He witnessed the events in and around this camp (called by Armando "the spot") from nearby and they greatly impressed him and also had a great impact on his works of art. For example, his controversial collection of interviews, De SS-ers (1967), which he put together with Hans Sleutelaar, grew out of these experiences. He struggles continuously, in his poetry, prose, drawings, and paintings, with the past and deals with memories of World War II, which he often lifts out of the actual situation. The theme of the guilty landscape, which occupies a major place in his visual and literary works, is also a result of these early memories. He sees nature as an accomplice in what happened and calls it guilty because it grows undisturbed and erases all traces.

His early work, drawings from the early 1950s, are par-

tially influenced by Pieter Ouborg and the Cobra group (especially Constant). Soon after, he painted semiabstract and abstract paintings, which he calls *Peintures criminelles*, *Paysages criminels*, and *Espaces criminels*; they have a rough and thick layer of paint and became monochromatic and austere in the late 1950s. The work of this period coincided with his membership in the Dutch Informal Group, whose members abandoned an expressionistic and emotional concept of art.

The changes in materials around 1960 were far-reaching but were in fact also an extension of the "informal period." As a member of the Nul-group he made works that lacked altogether subjectivity and expression. He presented fragments from reality, such as a wall of automobile tires, or six rectangular tinned plates, painted in red, all the same size, and attached with nails on chipboard.

After the breakup of the Nul-group in 1965, Armando ignored his artistic calling until 1967. He then made rough drawings that suggest landscapes. In the early 1970s he also began to use photography in his work, which reinforces his themes.

Since 1979 Armando has lived and worked in Berlin, the city of the "enemy," where he also started his international career. In the 1980s he regularly exhibited his work outside of Holland, in places such as Berlin, Düsseldorf, Paris, Milan, Venice (Biennale), Kassel (Documenta 7), and New York. Titles of large black and white paintings made in series in Berlin, such as Feindbeobachting, Gefechtsfeld, Schuldige Landschaft, Fahnen, Preussisch, and Kopf (Observation of the Enemy, Battlefield, Guilty Landscape, Flags, Prussian, and Head), leave no room for doubt about their subject matters.

There is an extensive literature on and by Armando, although a first serious interdisciplinary study about his visual and literary art has yet to be written. For his versatility, in 1985 he received the Jacobus van Looy Award, which is bestowed to crown one's entire *oeuvre*. In 1989 his novel *De straat en het struikgewas* (1988) was honored with the Multatuli Prize.

Peter de Ruiter

See also Cobra Movement (1948–1951); Constant; Nul-group; Ouborg, Pieter; Schoonhoven, J.J.; World Wars I and II

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Art criticism, critical issues in the nineteenth century

Art criticism as the discussion and judgment of contemporary art in the public press began in the Netherlands in the first half of the nineteenth century. Not until around 1840 did an initially hesitant reporting develop into criticism in this sense.

For art criticism to begin, publicity must go two ways: A periodical press must exist, and exhibitions must be accessible to everyone. These conditions were met in 1808 with the first exhibition of contemporary art. In support was a series of institutions, created after the French model during France's control of the Netherlands (1795–1813), that were intended to give a structure to the art world. One of these institutions, which continued to exist after 1813, was the Koninklijk Instituut (Royal Institute). As a Dutch académie, it organized contemporary art exhibitions, modeled after the example of the French salon, that were held in a different location every two years. After the first quarter of the century, because of increased art production, these exhibitions took place more often and in various cities at the same time.

The criticism that appeared after the first exhibitions was still far from the standard of contemporary French art criticism. Dutch art criticism developed gradually, like that in other European countries. Although everything about the exhibitions was borrowed from the French, the criticism did not entirely hold with existing salon criticism. It went through the same phases as French art criticism after the middle of the eighteenth century.

During the first fifteen years, until about 1825, the reviews of the exhibitions were devoid of any critical judgment; they were merely enumeration and reporting, or, as it was termed, "impartial." Two regular exhibition reporters appeared particularly in this early period, the anonymous "B." and Jeronimo de Vries, art organizer of the city of Amsterdam. They wrote for the two large general-interest magazines, the *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* and the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*. The scrupulous restraint of these first apologetic critics is explained by good manners of the time and by a lack of experience with the genre. As soon as increasing art production made a keener art criticism desirable, "B." and De Vries could not and would not comply and stopped their work.

At that point, between 1825 and 1830, appeared the first art criticism written by literary men, distinguishing itself through a sharp, genuinely critical tone. Their criticism was not published in the well-known general-interest magazines but in a number of new, progressive journals published by young writers. In spite of the brief existence of these small magazines, their influence on art criticism was far-reaching and permanent. The best known of these critics were Jacob van Lennep, Adriaan van der Hoop, and Everard Potgieter, the publisher of the leading periodical, *Gids*. In this phase, art criticism was practiced on an ad hoc basis by various writers. It was, to be sure, a genre for which one could select from a

range of forms, such as the letter, the dialogue, or the babbling scribbled impression (this sometimes being in the form of a parody). Not until after 1840 did a single literary man devote himself to art criticism over a longer period.

In the years 1830-1840 stronger reviews were also published in the topical magazines and in the newspapers, which until then had included only reporting pieces without any critical judgments. The increasing art production was certainly also responsible for this. The quantitative supersaturation of the market made a selective art criticism necessary. This was especially demanded on the part of the professional artists with respect to the growing group of exhibiting amateurs who threatened to ruin the market. Most, naturally, saw less necessity for professional criticism of their own work. The majority of critics in this period stayed with less strict judgments. They knew well that there must be distinctions within the enormous output of art, but they were also afraid of offending through strong judgments and condemnation or of doing harm to the artists' livelihood. Instead of criticizing the works of art, they turned against the public, denouncing its unworthiness and great stupidity.

At the end of 1830 magazines specializing in the fine arts were started. The most important were *De beeldende kunsten* (1839), *De Kunstkronijk* (1840), *De spektator* (1843), and *De Nederlandsche kunstspiegel* (1844). In these genuine art magazines, art criticism occupied an obvious place. It was well informed about what was happening abroad and practiced by a number of regular professional critics. With this, art criticism became institutionalized.

Not only was mediocrity exposed, the critics also took a position and often introduced considerations of a more art-theoretical or art-historical nature. They evidenced familiarity with the German (art) philosophical tradition and with French salon criticism, readily picking up on a change in French taste. From the period after 1840 must especially be mentioned the liberal-classicist writer Carel Vosmaer and the Catholic art zealot J.A. Alberdingk Thijm, who with much engagement, knowledge, and a broad cultural vision published numerous reviews.

As criticism became more formalized and critics more or less professional, a full discussion began over the question of how and by whom works of art ought to be judged. The ageold debate over "lay judgment" (are only artists competent to make judgments about art?) was in the first instance settled in favor of the well-informed non-artist. But around 1880 this discussion was once again stirred up. In existence then was a movement of young writers who, grouping themselves around the journal De Nieuwe Gids, turned against the old established cultural magazines such as the Gids, De spektator, and the Dietsche Warande-the magazines in which Alberdingk Thijm and Vosmaer, among others, published their art criticism. Coming to the front as critics were Maurits van der Valk, Willem Witsen, and Jan Veth, all painters as well as writers, who on the basis of personal appraisal judged individual works of art. They found that art criticism must not be written from a general cultural view or from ethical conceptions, such as was the case with Alberdingk Thijm and Vosmaer, respectively.

Their art criticism was not directed at the general public, being comprised of neither reporting nor judgment, but was intended for their artist colleagues; in this regard it is best to characterize it as *critique pour la critique* ([criticism for criticism's sake]; Blotkamp, 1990). It followed that their pieces were subjective, sometimes arrogant and, indeed, badly polemicized against the old guard, of whose skill, erudition, and humor they did not always have a good notion.

Around 1890, when both Vosmaer and Alberdingk Thijm were dead, the *Nieuwe Gids* writers acknowledged that their goal was achieved: Young talent was pushed to the forefront, and criticism was practiced with other standards. A leitmotif in nearly all nineteenth-century criticism was the reevaluation of the seventeenth century; for the writers of *De Nieuwe Gids* that was more an attempt to translate the vitality of the seventeenth century into a vitalism of their own. For that and for the great involvement with which artistic quality was propagated, the art critics of *De Nieuwe Gids* are important.

It is remarkable that the continuing discussion of who is competent to make judgments about art should blaze up again in the first decades of the twentieth century. It even went so far that artists' societies such as Arti et Amicitiae in Amsterdam and Pulchri Studio and the Nederlandsche Kunstkring (Netherlands' Art Circle) in The Hague took action against criticism in the press. No critics were admitted to the expositions and even (in 1927) a joint brochure was published that included, among other things, a recommendation to prohibit criticism by law and to keep critics out of exhibitions.

Annemiek Ouwerkerk

See also Alberdingk Thijm, Josephus Albertus; Art criticism, critical issues in the twentieth century; France; Nationalism; State patronage, public support; Van der Valk, Maurits Willem; Veth, Jan; Vosmaer, Carel; Witsen, Willem

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Art criticism, critical issues in the twentieth century

The history of Dutch art criticism in the twentieth century has yet to be written, which is not as strange as it seems. There has been hardly any research done at Dutch universities into the reception of twentieth-century art. Even the history of appreciation of developments within the period—artistic avant-gardes such as Cobra and the Nul-group movement or a trend such as Magic Realism—has never been systematically studied; hence, Holland still lacks a serious study such as the one by Stephen C. Foster on the reception of American Abstract Expressionism.

Neither is there a clear view of the art-critical oeuvre of the most prominent Dutch art critics. It is assumed that during the 1920s and 1930s Kasper Niehaus was a prominent art critic of the newspaper De Telegraaf, but there is still no overview of his critical art reviews, which makes it impossible to evaluate the status and influence of his work. Ian de Vries has made a serious contribution with his dissertation (1990) on the study of the art-critical views of four critics: Albert Verwey (1865-1937), Albert Plasschaert (1874-1941), Just Havelaar (1880-1930), and Theo van Doesburg (1883-1931). De Vries placed special emphasis in his study on the aesthetic, historical, and social basis for their art criticism and on the principal intellectual influences they had undergone. A future study should consider the reception of modern art from the perspective of a larger number of art critics. Such a study would also have to include the work of prominent prewar art critics, such as Willem Steenhoff, Maria Viola, Jan Engelman, Kasper Niehaus, A.M. Hammacher, Pieter Koomen, Henry van Loon, Jo Zwartendijk, and W. Jos de Gruyter. Only then will it be possible to make more-nuanced judgments about the image of the avant-garde that was forming in the periods 1900-1920 and 1920-1940.

The same goes for the postwar developments in the visual arts and the history of their reception. After 1945 several important critics made names for themselves. A.M. Hammacher wrote in the weekly paper *De Groene Amsterdammer*, and Cees Doelman also worked for this paper and for the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*. Other names are Hans Redeker, Lambert Tegenbosch, W. Jos de Gruyter again, Charles Wentinck, Mathilde Visser, George Lampe, Cor Blok, Rudi Fuchs, Carel Blotkamp, and Anna Tilroe. They have made important contributions to building up the image of modern art in Holland in daily papers and weekly magazines (and occasionally in professional journals). But, again, there is no overview of their work.

Major changes in art criticism in Holland occurred at the end of the nineteenth century; therefore, a study should first of all be written about this period. Between 1880 and 1900 a new generation of painters came to the forefront, the Amsterdam Impressionists. Some of them, such as Willem Witsen, Maurits van der Valk, and Jan Veth, also wrote art reviews in *De Nieuwe Gids* that differ significantly from what people were used to in Holland at the time (namely, the writings of J.A. Alberdingk Thijm). Witsen, for example, focused more than was earlier done on the analysis of a work of art and attached much importance to the task of the art critic to ex-

plain it. It is noteworthy that the younger critics were very much engaged with the newer developments in the visual arts, notably with the work of George Hendrik Breitner and Isaac Israëls.

The sense of lyricism that had been so much the hallmark of the *Tachtigers* (as the writers of the 1880s called themselves) continued to determine to an important degree the standard for art criticism well into the twentieth century. This is true, for example, of H.P. Bremmer (1871–1956), who played an important role as adviser to Helene Kröller-Müller about her art collection. It is true that Bremmer was not a critic *pur sang*, but his contributions in the magazine *Beeldende Kunst*, of which he was the editor, exerted a tremendous influence on entire generations of artists and art lovers and, therefore, ought to be part of any study of prewar art criticism.

A prominent art critic such as Albert Plasschaert was, in his reviews, often interested in the expression of the feelings of the artist. Plasschaert was, like Willem Steenhoff (1863–1931), very reserved about abstract art, although Steenhoff, who wrote for years in the weekly paper *De Amsterdammer*, was very much aware of the significance of Mondrian and the qualities of the work of Kandinsky and Picasso. But the emotional expressiveness of a work of art remained very important to him, and in this sense he does not really differ from the *Tachtigers*. This is also the reason he could not support wholeheartedly the most prolific avant-garde artists around 1910–1915; he found their work ultimately too cool, not passionate and intimate enough.

In the years directly following World War II and during the 1950s, the question of the right of abstract art to exist dominated Dutch art criticism. The policies of Willem Sandberg worked as a catalyst in this respect. The notorious Cobra exhibition near the end of 1949 in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam acted as a starting signal for the many critical and often hostile reactions toward his exhibition policies. During the mid-1950s, artists such as Pieter Ouborg and Willem Hussem were still defending abstract art.

Conservatives, however, critically monitored the latest developments. It was of great importance to art critics such as J.M. Prange of the newspaper *Het Parool* to discredit the exposition policies of Sandberg as much as possible. Prange was, for example, very negative about an exhibition of Jackson Pollock (Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum, 1958). He and others saw Pollock as the personification of America: superficial and amusing. Art reviews contain expressions such as *kwasterij* (smear), *klodders* (daubed), and *zinloze bezigheid* (senseless busyness).

The art reviews of the 1950s are, therefore, often very subjective and prejudiced. This was to some degree the result of the limited understanding of art critics of the newest developments abroad. The writings of those critics who were aware of these foreign developments—such as Hammacher, the director of the Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller in Otterlo, and W. Jos de Gruyter—were much more balanced.

Around 1960 there was finally an extensive stream of information about the latest trends in the visual arts. Several art critics closely followed the art of the 1960s—Pop Art, Neo-Realism, Zero, Post-Painterly Abstraction, Hard Edge, and

Minimal Art. Those art forms at the same time called for a more objective art criticism. The first signs of this were the reviews written by George Lampe for *Vrij Nederland*, a weekly magazine. Lampe, who is an artist himself, can best be described as a transitional figure between the subjective art critic and the objective critic who wants foremost to inform his readers. He believes that the critic has to use clear and simple language to describe the most recent developments. He considers it to be his task to explain clearly what the artists are doing, what motivates them, and how and why their work develops as it does.

The polemic caused by the 1966 exhibition In het licht van Vermeer, vijf eeuwen schilderkunst (In the Light of Vermeer, Five Centuries of Painting) in the Mauritshuis in The Hague was characteristic of the state of Dutch art criticism in the 1960s. The controversy was about whether the critic should first of all inform the public about the origin and historical context of the work of art, or whether he should first of all judge the quality of the work. The older generation opted for the latter. The younger generation—including many more art-historically trained academics—used the historical background of a work of art more and more in its artistic evaluation.

A few art critics in the 1960s, such as Rudi Fuchs, gained a reputation for making in-depth formal analyses of works of art. Fuchs' formal analyses as well as those by others—following, incidentally, Clement Greenberg, notable American critic of the mid-twentieth century who expanded formal analysis to formulate an explanation of Abstract Expressionism—went so far that the poet-critic K. Schippers noticed to his dismay in his own art criticism that language had taken the place of the actual works of art.

Art criticism of the 1970s continued along the same path of providing a more factual account to inform the public. Critics used the knowledge they acquired during their arthistorical studies. They were able, therefore, more than ever before, to use the tradition of modern art to evaluate contemporary art. As a result, the qualitative appreciation of art has become secondary. This also explains the languor of art criticism in the 1980s and 1990s. The work of young artists, such as Marlene Dumas (Fig. 47), René Daniels (Fig. 29), and Henk Visch, no longer provokes the kind of fierce discussions as did, for example, the work of Pieter Ouborg in the 1950s. At most, critics agree that they are important artists. Burning issues often failed to materialize for that reason in the 1980s.

Peter de Ruiter

See also Alberdingk Thijm, Josephus Albertus; Amsterdam Impressionists; Art criticism, critical issues in the nineteenth century; Art history, history of the discipline; Avant-garde; Cobra Movement; Contemporary art; Daniels, René; Dumas, Marlene; Feminism, feminist issues; Hammacher, A.M. W.J.; Kröller-Müller, Hélène; Magic Realism; Nul-group; Ouborg, Pieter; State and municipal art collecting and collections; State patronage, public support; Van der Valk, Maurits Willem; Van Doesburg, Theo; Veth, Jan; Visch, Henk; Witsen, Willem; World Wars I and II

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Art history, history of the discipline

Art history became a professional and academic discipline in the Netherlands only after 1870. It was and is closely related with the world of museums and such national institutions as the Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg (Government Office for Monument Preservation) and the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD) (Bureau for Art Historical Documentation). This has bred a preference for the study of the national heritage, and this is encouraged because Dutch museums do not have a great deal of foreign art.

Although from the beginning of the nineteenth century the Germans developed new forms of art historical writing in which archival, biographical, cultural historical, and art historical data have been integrated, the Dutch used only the biographical model until late in the nineteenth century. The first book in which Dutch art was presented as a survey and not a series of artists' lives was Nederlands schilderkunst van de 14e tot de 18e eeuw in 1874, by the literator J. van Vloten. The pioneers in the scientific exercise of the profession were Abraham Bredius (1855-1946) and Cornelis Hofstede de Groot (1863-1930), who coupled rigorous research in the archives with a great knowledge of works of art. They, indeed, put Dutch art on the map. Bredius, who was not academically educated and rooted in the tradition of connoisseurship, was director of the Royal Picture Gallery, also called the Mauritshuis, in The Hague from 1889 until 1909. Among his most important works are the Künstler-Inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der höllandischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts (1915-1922) and his oeuvre catalog of Rembrandt (1935). Hofstede de Groot, who was educated as an art historian in Leipzig, was the assistant director of the Mauritshuis from 1891 until 1895 and director of the Prentenkabinet (Print Room) in Amsterdam from 1895 until 1898. Between 1907 and 1928 he put together the Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Meister des XVIIten Jahrhunderts.

Hofstede de Groot was in museum service for only a short time and worked primarily as a free-lance writer of articles, books, and appraiser's reports for the art trade. His portrait from 1923, in which he is sixty years old, gives a good picture of his life as an independent scholar (Fig. 11). In his home in The Hague he had access to a great private archive with documents and visual material regarding Dutch art until 1700. He left this archive to the Dutch state when he died, and in 1932 it became the basis for the RKD in The Hague. As of 1993, the RKD possessed 3.5 million photographs and reproductions, including foreign art. The RKD is the largest institution of its kind in the world; the library, with 380,000 books, periodicals, and catalogs, is the largest art historical library in the Netherlands. The RKD is also the publisher of Oud Holland, the oldest Dutch art historical journal (begun in 1883).

Through their efforts, Bredius and Hofstede de Groot set the tone for the practice of art history in the Netherlands: Their activities arose from the need of museums for attributions and systematic cataloging of their collections. The beginning of architectural history as a practice was, in the same way, connected with the protection and systematic cataloging of Dutch buildings of the past. An important role in cataloging national monuments was played by the (Koninklijke) Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond (KNOB), which was founded in 1899. Before World War II especially, the KNOB (Royal Dutch Archeological Society), through its journal Bulletin van de KNOB, was one of the most important art historical forums in the fields of Dutch architecture, sculpture, and archeology. The agitation of the KNOB against the neglect of the national patrimony in the arts resulted in 1918 in the establishment of the Rijksbureau (after 1947, Rijksdienst) voor de Monumentenzorg, which took responsibility for making an inventory of the monuments and any connected restoration.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the only institution offering a higher education in art history was the Rijksacademie in Amsterdam, where the art critic J.A. Alberdingk Thijm was appointed professor of art history in 1876. At Dutch universities art history was not a separate field of study, but part of a much broader instructional program that also included aesthetics. The first teaching chair in this area was established at the Gemeenteuniversiteit (City University) of Amsterdam, but it was occupied only by classicists. At the beginning of the twentieth century, art history became an independent academic discipline, but the appointment of ordinary professors was limited for a long time to one, Willem Vogelsang, in Utrecht in 1907. Vogelsang, who was educated abroad and later connected with the Rijksmuseum, trained numerous Dutch art historians. Vogelsang's main interests were not in archival work or the art of the seventeenth century. He promoted the formal analytical approach of Heinrich Wölfflin and researched the still underdeveloped field of Northern Netherlandish miniatures; he was also a specialist in the applied arts and sculpture.

At the other Dutch universities, only extraordinary professors or lecturers were appointed. In 1926 a specialist on the Netherlands was appointed for the subjects of aesthetics and art history in Nijmegen. Professorships of art history were created at the Universities of Amsterdam in 1917 (but this position was held by a classicist until 1928), Leiden in 1946, Nijmegen in 1955, and Groningen in 1952, and at the Free University (Vrije Universiteit) in Amsterdam in 1965. Special chairs were established in the fields of architectural history (the first one was in Utrecht in 1958), modern art (the first one at the University of Amsterdam, 1963), iconology (Utrecht, 1955), and applied arts (Leiden, 1964). The Dutch institutes in Rome (founded in 1903) and Florence (1955) function as art historical research centers.

In 1993 there were twenty-four art history chairs at Dutch universities, including the Technical Universities in Delft and Eindhoven and the Open University in Heerlen. In addition, seventeen university professors and sixty-eight associate professors have been appointed. They are mainly responsible for research and for the education of the estimated 2,500 students who have chosen art history as their major. In 1938 the Vereniging van Nederlandse Kunsthistorici (VNK) (Society of Dutch Art Historians) was founded.

Although Erwin Panofsky received his first honorary degree from the University of Utrecht in 1938, the iconological method started slowly in the Netherlands. The first iconologists and iconographers were G.J. Hoogewerff, John B. Knipping (Iconografie van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden, 1939–1940), Gerard Knuttel, and Hans van de Waal (Drie eeuwen vaderlandsche geschieduitbeelding, 1500-1800: Een iconologische studie, 1952). Van de Waal developed a classification system for pictorial material based on iconography called Iconclass. After the appointment in Utrecht of Vogelsang's successor, J.G. van Gelder, in 1946, and William S. Heckscher as a professor of iconology in 1955, the practice of iconology in the Netherlands began to correspond to the method of Panofsky. Panofsky's "disguised symbolism" became the starting point for the iconological interpretation of Dutch art of the seventeenth century by Van Gelder's and Heckscher's students, such as Joshua Bruyn, Jan Emmens, and Eddy de Jongh (Zinne-en minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw, 1967).

In the mid-1990s, the ideas of the so-called Utrecht School are the subject of discussion and revision. Younger iconologists such as Eric Jan Sluijter, Reindert Falkenburg, and Jan Bedaux employ methods of interpretation that do not so strongly emanate from the hidden moralistic meanings in realistic-looking works of art. They study the implications that existing pictorial traditions have for certain themes, and also the relation between the representation and the daily reality in which objects and people functioned.

Hoogewerff was also a pioneer in researching the social context of art production, as shown in his *De geschiedenis van de St. Lucasgilden in Nederland* (1947). Into the 1990s, this aspect enjoys an increasing interest—for example, in the re-

search of Gary Schwartz, Annemieke Hoogenboom, Marten Jan Bok, and Bram Kempers. Social-scientific research into art production is also being done in the departments for cultural studies at several Dutch universities. The Boekman Foundation in Amsterdam is the most important archive for materials about the overlapping provinces of art, government, and society, particularly where Dutch art of the twentieth century is concerned.

The Rembrandt Research Project gave an important stimulus to strengthening the ties between art history and the restoration sciences (something that had existed longer within architecture history and was more obvious). In the scientific examination of art the Netherlands holds a unique place because of the application in the late 1960s of infrared reflectography by J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer in Groningen. With this method, drawings underneath the paint can be made visible, which allows a more accurate attribution.

In the field of architectural history, the Netherlands holds an important place internationally in research on urban planning and spatial planning, as it is done by Ed Taverne in Groningen and Auke van der Woud at the Free University in Amsterdam. The theoretical debate on architecture received new impetus with the appointment in the 1990s of Alexander Tzonis at the Technical University in Delft.

Until the 1950s, most professors in the Netherlands came from the museums or institutions like the RKD and the Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg. There is still a close cooperation between the universities and the museums, more so than between departments themselves. Working committees or seminars (werkgroepen) of art history students prepare catalogs and exhibitions—for example, Tot leering en vermaak: Betekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw, shown in the Rijksmuseum in 1976 with the cooperation of the Kunsthistorisch Instituut (Art History Institute) of the University of Utrecht. This was the first museum exhibition of iconological research on seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting. Also in cooperation with Utrecht was the 1978 exhibition Kunstenaren der Idee: Symbolistische tendenzen in Nederland in The Hague's Gemeentemuseum, in which the spiritual backgrounds of the Dutch avant-garde around 1900 were examined. Since the 1970s, faculty members and students in the art history institutes of the Universities in Groningen and Leiden have been researching Italian art in Dutch collections. A recent publication in this area was the 1989 catalog The Birth of Panel Painting: Early Italian Paintings in Dutch Collections, produced by the exhibiting Groninger Museum, Groningen, and Bonnefanten Museum, Maastricht.

New chapters in Dutch art history have been written in the catalogs of several exhibitions: Het Vaderlandsch Gevoel: Vergeten negentiende-eeuwse schilderijen over onze geschiedenis (Rijksmuseum 1978, with the Art History Institute of the University of Amsterdam) examined forgotten nineteenth-century history paintings and the patriotic sentiments expressed in them; Industrie en vormgeving in Nederland 1850–1950 (Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam 1985, with the art history departments of the Universities of Utrecht and Leiden) took a look at the relation between industrial and design

changes from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century; and, in a bulky publication, Glas in Lood in Nederland 1817–1968 (a joint production of the State Office for Visual Arts, the Free University in Amsterdam, and Leiden University in 1989) opened the window on the history of stained glass. Dutch art historians are preeminently focused on researching Dutch art and, to a lesser degree, Italian art. Extraordinary, therefore, because of the non-Dutch subject was the exhibition Entartete beeldhouwkunst: Duitse Beeldhouwers 1900–1945, dealing with so-called degenerate art and artists in Germany, that was organized by students at the Art History Institute in Nijmegen; the exhibition traveled to several Dutch and German museums in 1991–1992.

Until the 1960s, Dutch art historians showed a happy diligence for writing surveys. A book cherished by the general public was Kunstgeschiedenis (1923; reprinted 1949) by E.H. Korevaar-Hesseling. Larger, with much attention to non-Western art, was the Algemene Kunstgeschiedenis (1941-1951) compiled by F.W.S. van Thienen. Also written by professional art historians and intended for a broad audience were the illustrated books in the series De schoonheid van ons land, volumes and monographs in the series Heemschut and Palet, and the loose-leaf publications of Openbaar Kunstbezit. In addition, several surveys and reference books on Dutch art were published, among them G.H. Marius' De Hollandsche schilderkunst in de negentiende eeuw in 1903 (translated as Dutch Painters of the Nineteenth Century in 1979); W. Martin's De Hollandsche Schilderkunst in de zeventiende eeuw (1936); G.J. Hoogewerff's De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst (1936-1947); G. Knuttel's De Nederlandse schilderkunst van Van Eyck tot Van Gogh (1938). The list continued to grow with H.E. van Gelder as editor of Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden van de Middeleeuwen tot onzen tijd (1935, 2nd edition 1946); E.H. ter Kuile as editor of Duizend jaar bouwen in Nederland (1948-1957); Anne Berendsen's Het Nederlandse interieur 1450-1820 (1950); and A.B. Loosjes-Terpstra's Moderne Kunst in Nederland 1900-1914 (1959). Then, this activity decreased. Bob Haak's The Golden Age: Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century in 1984 was an exception to this. The academic world has left the popularizing of art history to the media, schools, and museums and is creating a distinct profile for itself through specialized studies.

The academic practice of art history in the Netherlands shows increasingly the tendency to concentrate on the national heritage and the foreign (that is, Italian) art connected with it. The research on sculpture and the applied arts takes a modest second place; the study of old inventories for information about houses and material culture (the so-called Rapenburg Project) being done in Leiden is exceptional as far as the scope and problems to be solved are concerned. The Nota Deltaplan Cultuurbehoud in 1990 (a government bill earmarking more future funding for the inventory, conservation, and restoration of objects of historical, art historical, and scientific value in Dutch museum collections) and the government's striving to cluster scientific research into larger contexts around some themes promote the concentration on

Dutch art. It is debated whether so strong a focus on Dutch art will serve a purpose in the long run or is desired in this international and multicultural age. The flourishing research and teaching traditions in the field of non-Western art (particularly Indian and Indonesian) at the Universities of Amsterdam and Leiden have come to an end because of government budget cuts during the 1980s.

The strong orientation to museum practice brings a certain one-sidedness to the method. Questions that are less concerned with the tangibility of objects, such as are current in the "New Art History," have received little attention in the Netherlands, though this is changing. Interest is growing in the history of the discipline, but there still does not exist a good article or book about the historiography of the history of art covering the period of the last hundred years.

Marlite Halbertsma

See also Alberdingk Thijm, Josephus Albertus; Architectural restoration; Archives; Emblems and emblem books; Feminism, feminist issues; Genre painting, seventeenth century; Rembrandt research; Reputation of Dutch art abroad; State and municipal art collecting and collections; State patronage, public support; Technical investigations; Van Gogh, Vincent: Diverse Views; Writers on art, eighteenth century; Writers on art, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

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Art museums, exhibitions

See Art history, history of the discipline; State and municipal art collecting and collections

Art schools, education

See Amateurs, art academies, and art associations before the nineteenth century; Applied arts; Art history, history of the discipline; Feminism, feminist issues; Rembrandt School; Sculpture (1795–1945); State patronage, public support

Artists' confraternities and craftsmen's guilds

The origin of independent artists' guilds derives from the medieval trade guilds of which they were members. Such guilds had strong religious affiliations and duties. St. Luke, believed to have been a painter and to have made portraits of the Virgin Mary, became the patron saint of artists' guilds. For this reason, some artists' guilds functioned as religious confraternities as well as craftsmen's guilds. Early records for these organizations remain scarce, particularly for the period prior to the mid-fifteenth century, but the guilds' activities became increasingly divorced from their religious practices during the following century.

The development of these local civic guilds forms no uniform pattern in terms of which crafts and occupations were affiliated with the guild. At Utrecht, the Saddler's Guild (active already in 1304) also included manuscript illuminators, carvers, and painters. The use of similar materials or practice of related activities justified the affiliation. Painters, for instance, might polychrome leather shields. In other instances, the guild members' occupations were more closely aligned. Painters, glassmakers, carvers, printmakers, and embroiderers all belonged to the Gouda St. Luke's Guild authorized by the city government on January 31, 1487. The Gouda St. Luke's Guild also constituted itself as a religious confraternity with the permission of the pastor of the St. Jan's Church and established an altar dedicated to St. Luke in the church.

Although the Iconoclastic riots in the Netherlands destroyed such altars during the 1560s and 1570s, guild loyalties could remain active as was the case with a relic owned by the Haarlem St. Luke's Guild. Although the guild lost its altar in the St. Bavo Cathedral, it retained the relic of St. John the Baptist, which had been given to the guild by the painter Barthel Pons in 1517. By 1627 the St. Luke's deacon, the painter Frans Pieterz. de Grebber, gave the relic to a Dominican friar for safekeeping. Five years later, Salomon de Bray and his fellow guild administrators attempted to recover it from its new home in Brussels. They argued that the relic belonged to the guild, not the confraternity of St. Luke, and that it represented property of Haarlem. Such polemics might have disguised the pro-Catholic sentiments of some guild members.

Although the external factors of government control and the particular religious and political loyalties of members could differ, the internal organizational structure of the guilds did exhibit consistency. These guilds functioned to ensure the adequacy of the training that apprentices received, the quality of the work produced, and the welfare of the crafts. Their members consisted of guild brothers, or masters, who were judged competent to run their own shop, and their servants or apprentices, known as *knechts*.

The deacons, or administrators of the guild, were chosen from among the brothers and were subject to the power and authority exercised by the city government. In some instances, the city appointed the deacons, as at Delft, and provided quarters for the guild to meet. The guild bylaws (subject to the approval of the city authorities) identified the crafts and occupations appropriate to the guild, listed the means by which one could become a master in the guild, and regulated the relationship between master and apprentices. The extent to which local governments restricted importation of works of art from out of town or curbed the number of registered masters permitted within the guild indicates local policy toward the art market as much as did their own commissions from local or foreign artists.

Guilds commonly required that artists and artisans become members prior to selling their work or taking on apprentices in the city. This meant paying yearly dues and adhering to the guild regulations about such issues as number of apprentices. Within the guild structures various occupational hierarchies existed. At Delft, for instance, printers and booksellers were quite well-to-do, with painters and glassmakers falling in the next range, and furniture makers below. Thus, Montias suggests that membership in the Delft St. Luke's Guild is fairly typical of a medium-size artistic community under effective guild control with substantial continuity in its social organization during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The exigencies of the Dutch Revolt did disrupt the functioning of the St. Luke's Guild in some cities, forcing their reconstitution during the Twelve Years' Truce with Spain (1609-1621). Under the impetus of the guild members, it became the occasion as well for augmentation or revision of the bylaws. Attention was focused upon limiting and controlling the flow of goods from the South and closer regulations of artistic practice. In some cases by the seventeenth century, the painters in such guilds attempted to distance themselves and form independent confraternities or corporations. Thus, the painters from The Hague St. Luke's Guild, who successfully applied for independent status in October of 1656, preferred to call themselves a brotherhood or confraternity rather than guild. The drawing academy, Pictura, established in 1682 under their administration, exemplifies the members' efforts to professionalize the curriculum.

By government decree in December of 1798, all craftsmen's guilds were officially dissolved. The response of the city governments, guilds, and their members demonstrated a slow compliance and differing positions over their future. In the ensuing discussions about reformulation of the guilds during the next decade, the mandate for artists to be members of such guilds was discarded. A steady decline of the existing St. Luke's Guilds took place

at Haarlem (1798), Amsterdam (1811), Leiden (1812), and Delft (1833). The philanthropic activities of the Rotterdam guild allowed its continued function until 1885.

The history of artists' confraternities and craftsmen's guilds has of necessity focused upon individual cases. Additional studies like Montias' socioeconomic study of the artists and artisans of Delft in the seventeenth century are needed, not only for an understanding of the structure of art markets and civic and private patronage, but also to reexamine the characterizations of the fine and applied arts.

Carol Janson

See also Amateurs, art academies, and art associations before the nineteenth century; Applied arts; Delft; Gouda; Haarlem; Leiden; Religion of artists; Religious orders and their patronage; Utrecht

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Artists' Initiatives (1970-1990)

Artists' initiatives became an accepted phenomenon around 1980. Other expressions for the same phenomenon are vriplaats (sanctuaries) and "the alternative circuit," and it was characterized as fabriekskunst (factory art) at a documentary exhibition in 1982 ('s Hertogenbosch, De Moriaan). What it means for the artists are spaces that they have entire control over, and over which they can set their own conditions for use in artistic expression. The initiatives differ from other artists' alliances or organizations in that a platform is made available to all artists, not only the founders of those initiatives. A characteristic feature is the experimental policy, which is focused on forms of art and methods of presentation that are often less accepted by museums. The Netherlands has many of these artists' initiatives. They are vital stimuli to the ambience of cities and have contributed to both the cooperation between artists and their headstrong attitude, which often becomes known only afterward through galleries and museums.

Many of the initiatives are housed in former factories. De Fabriek in Eindhoven derived its name from just such a factory. Several middle-size manufacturing companies were closed during the late 1970s because of economic recession, resulting in empty factory buildings. The existence of these were a sheer torment for young artists who had just left the academy and were looking for a studio. It was not uncommon at that time, with its prevailing Punk mentality (and a national housing shortage), for individuals to break into and occupy empty houses. At a certain point they also began to break into and occupy these larger empty spaces. This happened in several cities in the Netherlands, and always where there was an academy of fine arts. Once these empty spaces had been taken over, the idea of a mere studio was often abandoned for the

more idealistic notion of an exhibition location.

Artists' initiatives such as W139 in Amsterdam, the above-mentioned De Fabriek in Eindhoven, and Arris in 's Hertogenbosch were at first tolerated by their local governments, then legalized, and, subsequently, subsidized. But other places did not survive. Aorta began in Amsterdam in 1982 but was discontinued when the building was demolished in 1988. Oceaan in Arnhem was discontinued for the same reason, while Stichting Air in Amsterdam disappeared even when the state subsidy remained forthcoming. The Droparchief in Hoorn, named after the candy factory in which it was first housed, moved to a sixteenth-century church on De Achterstraat in the same city and kept its name. The address is often taken as a title of defiance or mockery and is sometimes kept after a move: V2 (Vuchterstraat 234) moved first to a different street address, and in 1994 to a different city (from 's Hertogenbosch to Rotterdam). Some initiatives have been stopped because the initiator wanted to pursue a different career.

When looking back at the last decades, it makes sense to call Agora Studio (Maastricht, 1972–1985), In-Out Center (Amsterdam, 1972-1974), and Corps de Garde (Groningen, 1976-1985) artists' initiatives although they were not called that at the time. The most important initiatives were De Zaak (Groningen, 1979–1988), Droparchief (Hoorn, 1979), HCAK (The Hague, 1980), De Fabriek (Eindhoven, 1980), Het Apollohuis (Eindhoven, 1980), Lokaal 01 (Breda, 1981), V2 ('s Hertogenbosch, 1981), W139 (Amsterdam, 1981), Stelling (Leiden, 1981), Aorta (Amsterdam, 1982-1988), Sponz (Amsterdam, 1982-1984), Makkom (Amsterdam, 1983-1988), Hooghuis (Arnhem, 1985), De Bank (Enschede, 1985), Oceaan (Arnhem, 1987–1991), Artis ('s Hertogenbosch, 1983), Air (Amsterdam, 1989-1993), Casco (Utrecht, 1990), and Het Wilde Weten (Rotterdam, 1992). But a full list would be longer. For a congress of artists' initiatives, organized by De Fabriek on March 26, 1994, eighty initiatives were contacted.

The expression "set their own conditions" means first of all a noncommercial goal, which makes a natural enemy of the art gallery as institution. The work process is often ranked higher than the work already made. It often happens that artists are given the opportunity to work for many days on a project, while the final project is shown only for a short time. The opening occurs only at the very end, or the whole project culminates in a single presentation on a Saturday evening. Although the initiatives cannot claim any exclusive rights for the installations, there is no doubt that more fire, more water, more earth, and more darkness have passed through their spaces than anywhere else.

It is mostly beginning artists who show in this circuit. The contacts are a result of friendships. The quality of the work, therefore, varies. An initiative is like a breeding ground where artists work together and discuss art, and where new points of view and new techniques take root. The initiatives from the 1970s were the cradle for performance, video, and communications art. When the In-Out Center in Amsterdam closed, the Stichting Apple (Apple Foundation), which itself is not an artists' initiative but has close affinities to them, took

up the torch. During the first half of the 1980s, the new places were characterized by a burst of different activities—Aorta, especially, caused the art world to tremble. Besides exhibitions, there were also performances by bands and poets, presentations of films, auctions, occasional fashion shows, and debates and dinners. The euphoria of such a newly conquered and freely adaptable space provokes such a neo-Dadaistic frivolity.

During the second half of the 1980s the emphasis was on the question of presentation. The well-groomed look goes hand in hand with carefully designed printed materials and with attention to theory. Some places hardly show their "underground" anymore; they have fully developed into regular institutions that can hardly be distinguished from ordinary galleries. This distinction is, of course, more difficult to realize on the smaller scale of a former local store (De Bank, Enschede; Oranjerie, Rotterdam) than it is in a former cigar factory (De Fabriek, Eindhoven; Artis, 's Hertogenbosch), a former theater (W139, Amsterdam), or an old school building (Lokaal 01, Breda). Large buildings require a thorough answer to their spatial conditions, which promotes experimentation.

But the attitude of autonomy remains the same. The self-determination that such places provide enables the artist more than anywhere else to control the context and interpretation of his or her work, resulting in an integrity that is at times also enticing to more-established artists. Different generations of artists have conscientiously created an image that radically differs from the more common image of the subservient artist who is subsidized by the government. The irony is that such initiatives were initially supported by individual contributions of BKR-users (the Beeldende Kunstenaars Regeling—Regulation for Artists of Visual Arts—which existed until 1987) and, later, through subsidies from local and state government.

Many publications have appeared in this peculiar circuit: books that describe the course of activities, but also periodicals such as the handsome journal *Drukwerk de Zaak*, which was considered by De Zaak as an extension of its platform. While most artists have withdrawn themselves at one time or other from these organizations to work independently, the founders of De Zaak think of their Initiatives as a product of their artistry.

Tineke Reijnders

See also Contemporary art (1980–1990); State patronage, public support

Atlas, atlases

The word atlas refers to a collection of maps bound together. The term was first used by Gerard Mercator (Gerard de Kremer, 1512–1594) in his atlas that was published posthumously in 1595. Credit for creating the first atlas is, however, usually given to Abraham Ortelius (Abraham Ortels, 1527–1598), who conceived of a work in 1570 in which each map was engraved to conform to a uniform size and format. Antwerp led the world in atlas production during the late 1500s, but Amsterdam became dominant in the seventeenth century. Several types of atlases were produced: world, country, sea, and city or town atlases.

The need for atlases was fueled by burgeoning global exploration, scientific advances, and international trade. As sailors, merchants, and travelers collected new information, geographers and cartographers improved their maps. Binding maps into folio volumes provided ease in handling and kept groups of maps in order. The first maps were on vellum, but printed maps became increasingly popular. Maps engraved on copper plates could be modified easily by burnishing out incorrect information and adding new data. Although not as durable as vellum maps, printed maps were ideally suited for offices where merchants charted the safest routes for their ships and geographers instructed sea captains. Sumptuous atlases consisting of many volumes were designed as gifts for royalty and for the *kunstkammer* (private art collection) of the wealthy. Costly atlases contained maps that were highly decorative and often ornamented with designs by popular artists. The maps were watercolored and gilded by special artists, in Dutch afsetter van caerten, the most famous of whom was Dirck Jansz. van Santen. Such precious maps were then gathered together with decorative frontispieces and placed in costly bindings of moroccan leather or violet velvet. Bindings of the bookbinder Albert Magnus were considered the most precious. To personalize the atlas, an owner could have his coat of arms stamped in gold on the cover. Many collectors had special cases built to hold and display their atlases.

The first comprehensive world atlas was Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, published by the Plantin Press, Antwerp, in 1570. This atlas contained fifty-three maps. By 1612 it was a commercial success, having been reprinted in several languages and in over forty editions. In competition with Ortelius' atlas was that of Gerard de Jode, the Speculum Orbis Terrarum (Mirror of the World, 1578). De Jode bound sixty-five maps in his atlas, but his efforts were overshadowed by the popularity of Ortelius' work. Mercator, the famous geographer, prepared an atlas that appeared in 1595.

The first sea atlas was published by Lucas Jansz. Waghenaer in 1584, the *Spieghel der Zeevaert* (Mirror of Navigation). It was produced in French, Latin, and German and reprinted many times. In 1592 Waghenaer published a second sea atlas, *Thresoor der Zeevaert* (Treasure of Navigation).

Atlas production in Amsterdam during the seventeenth century was dominated by several families, the most famous being those of Hondius, Visscher, Blaeu, and De Wit. Jodocus Hondius (Josse de Hondt, 1563–1612) in 1604 purchased the plates to Mercator's atlas. Hondius added additional maps and commissioned Peter Montanus to write a text to accompany the maps. The atlas was published in several languages, and in 1607 a less expensive pocket edition was issued. After Hondius' death, his wife and sons, Jodocus II and Henricus, carried on the work Jodocus had begun, expanding the Mercator-Hondius Atlas to ten volumes by 1658.

Claes Jansz. Visscher (1587–1652) published an atlas of the Netherlands in 1623. After his death in 1652, Visscher's son, Nicolaes, and his grandson, Nicolaes II, published *Atlas Contractus* in 1657, *Atlas Minor* in 1682, and *Atlas Major* in 1702. The firm was dissolved after the death of Nicolaes II's widow. Many of the copper plates were purchased by Pieter Schenk (1645-1715), who continued to publish them.

By 1630 atlas production reached an all-time high, with the atlases of Blaeu being the most highly prized. Willem Jansz. (1571–1638), who published under the name Blaeu after 1620, began as an instrument and globe maker. He had studied under the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe, and from 1634 to his death he was the official cartographer to the Dutch East India Company. Blaeu is known for a sea atlas published in 1608, Het Licht der Zeevaerdt (The Light of Navigation), Atlantis Appendix published in 1630 with sixty maps, and Atlas Novus of 1635. Joan Blaeu (1596–1673), Willem Jansz.'s son, published a monumental world atlas containing six-hundred maps, Atlas Major, and also an atlas of town plans.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, Frederick de Wit (1630–1706) produced elegant sea, world, and town atlases. The maps show high-quality engraving enriched by splendid color. In the eighteenth century the best known world atlases were those of Schenk and Valk and Covens and Mortier.

Several Dutch publishers are specifically known for their sea atlases: Jacob Colom (1600–1673), Anthonie Jacobsz. (1606/7–1650), and Pieter Goos (1615/6–1675). Johannes van Keulen (1654–1715) edited one of the most popular sea atlases, *De Nieuwe Groote Lichtende Zee-fakkel* (The New Great Sea Torch), which was revised and expanded well into the eighteenth century.

Shirley K. Bennett

See also Cartography; Exotica; Prints, collecting; Prints, publishers; Trade, exploration, and colonization overseas

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Avant-garde

If avant-garde is defined as that which is ahead of its time and rejects conventional thinking, then it is proper to speak of a Dutch avant-garde at the beginning of the twentieth century. Amsterdam Impressionism and Symbolism, however modern,

did not contend against the traditional in art. It is true that George Hendrik Breitner had a reproduction of Manet's *Olympia* hanging in his studio as an illustration of his modernity, but he himself never painted a similar commentary on the art of the past.

Jan Sluijters committed the first public assault on academic principles in 1907. His inducement was the withdrawal (on the grounds that he had made Fauvist work in Paris) in December 1906 of a four-year Prix de Rome (a national grant) that had been awarded to him earlier by the Rijksacademie. In reaction, Sluijters in 1907 purposely entered his most controversial canvases in the members' exhibition of the conservative art association in Amsterdam. Because they, too, were rejected, he launched a public battle between supporters and opponents of modern art. Among those supporting him were Piet Mondrian and the critic Conrad Kickkert. From the interaction between the work of Mondrian and Sluiters, and the orientation in the art of Vincent van Gogh, there next arose in 1908-1909 a revitalizing, strongly coloristic, disciplined way of painting-still after nature. This so-called luminism was termed Amsterdam luminism by Loosjes-Terpstra (1959) on account of its further diffusion among the artists belonging to the St. Lucas society in that city in 1908-1910. The appellation supposed, however, more homogeneity than there really was: Mondrian was already working with a concept of art formed by theosophy, while Sluijters tended toward a general expressionism.

In 1910 Kickkert, Mondrian, Sluijters, and Jan Toorop founded the Moderne Kunstkring (Modern Art Circle) with the objective of organizing exhibitions of exclusively contemporary artists and showing them in the context of the international avant-garde. It is obvious after the events that the foreign art exhibitions of the Kunstkring (at the Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum, 1911–1913) were definitive for the character of the ensuing mainstreams in Dutch modern art.

The first exhibition (1911), with entries from Braque, Picasso, and Le Fauconnier among others, was inducement for Mondrian to move to Paris. His study of Picasso's and Braque's Cubism led to later Neo-Plasticism and the ideas of De Stijl group. For the following two Kunstkring exhibitions, works were selected primarily from the Cubists of Montparnasse (especially from Henri La Fauconnier), together with works of Futurism—even then represented in the Netherlands—and the early works of Wassily Kandinsky, which were an influence on the stylistic "laggards" such as Jan Sluijters and Leo Gestel. This foreign art formed the basis for later abstractionist, partly nonfigurative, essentially expressionist conceptions of art represented in groups like Het Signaal (1916) and De Branding (1917) and the Bergen School (ca. 1913-1935). In a general sense, this expressionism is further evident as a dominant concept in a large part of Dutch modern art during the interwar period, and it was also responsible for the return to figuration at this time.

Anita Hopmans

See also Bergen; Breitner, George Hendrik; De Branding; De Stijl; Gestel, Leo; Mondrian, Piet; Sluijters, Jan; Toorop, Jan

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