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WILHELM MARTIN AND THE ART OF RESTORATION

IN THE NETHERLANDS IN THE EARLY 20TH
CENTURY

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Table of Content

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	2
1 Introduction	3
2 State of research	4
3 Restoration history	10
3.1 The Netherlands	13
3.2 The Frans Hals Museum Haarlem.....	14
3.2.1 Frans Hals Controversy	15
3.3 The Rijksmuseum Amsterdam	21
3.4 The Mauritshuis.....	22
3.4.1 Abraham Bredius.....	24
4 Wilhelm Martin	27
4.1 his life.....	27
4.2 his writings	30
4.2.1 Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam	39
4.3 his restorers	46
4.3.1 The Seven works of Charity	52
5 Conclusion.....	55
Bibliography.....	57
Archival sources.....	65
Appendix	68
Figures	68
Table of Figures	70
List of W. Martin's Publications	70
Martin Family tree.....	78
De Wild Family tree	79

Abstract

Wilhelm Martin, former director of the Mauritshuis, and Dutch restoration history of the twentieth century are both topics that have not been researched extensively. The purpose of this paper is to find out if Martin had as progressive ideas on restoration and conservation as he is rumoured to have had. A number of present-day scholars, name Martin as forward thinking but cannot substantiate that claim with concrete examples, seemingly adhering to an oral tradition. To understand his position in his time and his opinions, it was necessary to research the general ideas on restoration of his time and to compare him to some of his contemporaries. Using several case studies of treatments and public discussions on restorations in concurrence with Martins own biography and writings, it was possible to pinpoint his opinions and ideas and to judge whether he was more modern than his contemporaries.

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1 Introduction

*“Just as one cannot learn how to ride a horse by reading a book about the sport, is it not possible to become competent in the restoration of paintings simply by reading the following.”*¹: this is how Wilhelm Martin starts his articles about restoration and conservation in 1916. Wilhelm Martin (1876-1954) was an art historian, professor, avid writer, and director of the Mauritshuis, the Museum Mesdag and the Print Room of the University Leiden. (fig.1) While he and his writings have mostly been forgotten in favour of some of his more outgoing and exuberant contemporaries, he still stands out from them because of his interest in issues of restoration and conservation.² He was unusually outspoken about that topic which, in the early twentieth century only slowly started to get more attention and to evolve into the profession we know today. As such, Martin is often times associated with progressive ideas in the field of restoration and conservation. But was he really so progressive? Or was his interest and wish for a more scientific approach simply a symptom of his time? What exactly were his ideas, and did he have them put into practice in the museum? Did he seem only so modern in contrast to his more traditional fellow directors? I will attempt to answer these and more questions in the following thesis, to uncover the sources and the motivation of Martin’s ideas on restoration and to place them in a temporal and spatial context.

In the first chapter, I will assess previous publications on restoration in the twentieth century in general and the Dutch situation in particular. Furthermore, I will explain the theoretical foundation and concepts about restoration that circulated in the early twentieth century, which had an impact on the Netherlands: specifically on Wilhelm Martin and his colleagues. In a second chapter, I will expand on painting restoration practices in the twentieth century and the developing profession of the restorers. The situation in the Netherlands will especially be considered in detail, and the facilities in the museums, the directors and the people employed as restorers will be examined. The difficult discussion surrounding paintings by Frans Hals in Haarlem will serve as an example of Martin’s commitment to challenges of restoration and illustrate the different opinions and positions of Martin and his contemporaries. Following that the restoration history of the Mauritshuis in The Hague will be observed closely, including the role of Abraham Bredius (1855-1946), who preceded Martin as director of the Mauritshuis. In a third chapter, I will turn my attention to the person of Wilhelm Martin. After brief biographical

¹ Martin 1916a, p.11.

² In the following text restoration and conservation will mostly be referred to as “restoration” even though some practices are actually conservation treatments, as the terminology was not as precise in the early twentieth centuries and the terms were often used interchangeably.

information, his writings and opinions on restoration will be carefully analysed. Furthermore, his relationship to the restorers and other directors will become clear when looking at the case studies of some restoration treatments. This will then lead me to conclude whether Wilhelm Martin's ideas about restoration were actually as progressive as is rumoured, and how he can be positioned in the context of his time.

2 State of research

A complete history of restoration has not yet been written, though already in the 1920s Stübel realized that such a text could contribute greatly to the field of art history and restoration.³ This is due to the relatively new emergence of restoration as a profession, a lack of written sources, and the long adherence to the belief that good restorations should be invisible.⁴ While there have been people in charge of the upkeep of artworks for nearly as long as art has existed, formally trained restorers and conservators are a rather recent development that began in the late nineteenth century.⁵ The practice to record their work is even more recent; many of the earliest written accounts are from outside sources and not the restorers themselves.⁶ In the Netherlands, the earliest written account of restoration methods is from the seventeenth century, but on an European scale most records start in the mid-eighteenth century.⁷ Publications about restoration were in the past often limited to recipe books⁸ or critique of newly treated artworks.⁹ It was not until the twentieth century that the discipline came into its own and the publications became more diverse; however, with a distinct focus on the restoration of paintings. Even today the history of restoration is rarely treated as a separate study, but often included as an introduction or explanation in handbooks on paintings restoration¹⁰, ethical considerations¹¹,

³ Stübel 1926 and Marijnissen 1967, p.21.

⁴ Marijnissen 1967, p. 41.

⁵ About the beginnings of restoration Riegl 1903, pp.152-153 and Marijnissen 1967, pp.26-28. About the development of the profession Von der Goltz 2012, pp.62-64, 74-76, van Duijn 1996, pp. 8-17 and Hill Stoner 2017.

⁶ Many restorations of the past are recorded only briefly by third parties like patrons or critics. Even later many treatments can only be traced through the correspondence between ministries and directors and newspaper articles. See van Duijn/ Filedt Kok 2016 and Broos/Wadum 1998.

⁷ Theodore de Mayerne, *De Mayerne Manuscript* (MS Sloane 2052/MS Sloane 1990), 1620-1640, See Kern 2015.

⁸ Marijnissen 1967, pp. 66-72 lists many recipe books through the centuries. See also Kern 2015. One of the earliest written accounts about cleaning methods with an actual scientific basis is Pettenkofer 1870.

⁹ Most prominent in the many cleaning controversies, like at the National Gallery of London in 1846, prompting a lot of discussion in the papers. See Avery-Quash 2015.

¹⁰ See Hill Stoner/Rushfield 2012 or Thomson 1978.

¹¹ See Price 1996

case studies of singular objects¹² or specific methods¹³. The rare general studies about the development of the profession often focus on one institution¹⁴, period or country.¹⁵ An important step in the formation of a complete history of restoration, was Roger Marijnissen's dissertation and book in 1967, where he tries for the first time to bring the developments of the last two centuries into context and to show how much the appreciation of art had changed in that time.¹⁶ The publication of the records of the international congress "Restauriergeschichte" in 1989, which collected studies of restoration in different European countries was similarly important.¹⁷ A proper view on restoration history requires an explanation of the cultural, historical, and political background and must include several persons of interest from different fields, as well as scientific and technical aspects. This makes compiling a coherent text very difficult. Michael Von der Goltz does this in a rather exemplary way in his 2002 book which focuses on painting restoration in the Weimar republic.¹⁸ Isabelle Brajer and Christine Sitwell have put together overviews of restoration practices in the nineteenth century and earlier in Europe¹⁹, while David Bomford covers more diverse subjects.²⁰ Furthermore, the ongoing Burlington Magazine series "The Art of Conservation" is another important attempt at writing a complete restoration history spanning over several centuries and all of Europe, mentioning both protagonists and technical developments as well as ground breaking projects.²¹

Currently, there is no complete study of the twentieth century, mostly due to the fact that it still is very recent history. The very fragmented sources and archival materials make it difficult to get a complete picture of what happened during this period, as proper record keeping was integrated slowly in the practices of the restorers and museums. Uncovering information is a very time-consuming process and it must often be pieced together from different sources. The current quest of digitalisation of archives has helped a lot in finding information and connecting it, allowing more in depth research and shedding some light on the protagonists of the profession and their methods in the first half of the century.²² In the Netherlands this research

¹² See van Duijn 2005, Te Marvelde 2011, Broos/Wadum 1998, Friedländer/Martin 1946 and Van Duijn/ Filedt Kok 2016.

¹³ See Te Marvelde 2001, Massing 2010.

¹⁴ See Keyser 1999, van Duijn 2017, Erfteimeijer 2013, pp.219-287, Noble 2009, pp.17-33.

¹⁵ See Levy 2005, Levy-van Halm/Hendriks 1993 or van Duijn 2017. See also Von der Goltz 2012.

¹⁶ Marijnissen 1967, pp.21-80, especially pp.21-25. About Marijnissen's work, te Marvelde 2015.

¹⁷ Interlaken 1991.

¹⁸ Von der Goltz 2002.

¹⁹ Brajer 2013 and Sitwell/Staniforth 1998.

²⁰ Bomford 2004.

²¹ The Burlington Magazine, The Art of Conservation, 10/2015, 12/2015, 02/2016, 04/2016, 06/2016, 08/2016, 10/2016, 12/2016, 02/2017, 04/2017, 06/2017, 08/2017, 02/2018, 09/2018.

²² Van Duijn/te Marvelde 2016,

is very much underway, as only in the last few decades Dutch museums have worked actively to find out more about their past, becoming aware how important information of past treatments can be for current ones. First and foremost, one must name Esther van Duijn²³ and Mireille te Marvelde²⁴ as pioneers of restoration history research in their respective museums. Others have made significant efforts to shed light on the past century, collecting information from diverse sources.

Naturally, one must also turn to publications from that time to understand what was happening. In the early twentieth century, art historians and restorers alike, started thinking and publishing about restoration and conservation concepts, emancipating the discipline as a “*Kunstwissenschaft*” and building a theoretical basis. Restoration was no longer something to keep secret, but a much-needed profession that asserted itself more and more as a science. For example, Wilhelm Martin’s articles on restoration were published in 1916-1919, and his book “*Alt-holländische Bilder*” in 1918.²⁵ Gratama recorded the restorations in the Frans Hals Museum²⁶, Bell wrote about picture cleaning in 1922²⁷, Friedländer in 1919 and 1929²⁸ and restorer A.M. de Wild graduated on the topic of “scientific examination of pictures” in 1929²⁹: to name a few publications that are important for this paper. Since the late nineteenth century, restoration also became a discipline with an increasingly public profile; so-called cleaning controversies prompted articles in newspapers and engaged people in public discussions.³⁰

Of course, it is also important to research the protagonists involved in those early restoration discussions. Museum directors are of great interest as they were at the centre of the decision-making process and oversaw their respective restorers, thereby impacting their museum with their views on conservation. Many important directors from the early twentieth century in the Netherlands have not been researched extensively. In the case of the Mauritshuis, only Abraham Bredius has been properly researched as he is of utmost importance for the collection.³¹ However, Wilhelm Martin, his successor was just as valuable to the continued existence of the

²³ Van Duijn/te Marvelde 2016, Van Duijn 2006, 2017 etc.

²⁴ Te Marvelde 1999, 2013, 2015 etc.

²⁵ Martin 1916a, 1916b, 1916c, 1917, 1918a, 1918b.

²⁶ Gratama 1918 and 1920.

²⁷ Bell 1922.

²⁸ Friedländer 1919 and 1929.

²⁹ De Wild 1929.

³⁰ Cleaning-controversies took place in many major museums, like the National Gallery London in 1846 and 1946, the Louvre in and in the Netherlands on a smaller scale at the Rijksmuseum in 1932-33 and the Frans Hals Museum around 1909. See Bomford 2004, part VI: Cleaning Controversies. Discussions on restoration treatments often took place in the newspapers.

³¹ De Boer/Leistra 1991. Other biographies and obituaries of Bredius: Martin 1947, Byvanck 1947, van Gelder 1946 and Barnouw-de Ranitz 1991.

museum and has always been overlooked in favour of his more outgoing and colourful colleagues. Until recently, the only written accounts about Wilhelm Martin were entries in dictionaries.³² Very little was known about him, in a professional or private capacity, even though both his personal archive at the RKD and the archive of the Mauritshuis have much to offer on this enigmatic person.³³ Ekkart wrote a biography of him in 2008 and Franken has also taken interest in alongside his research into the de Wild family.³⁴ The de Wild family of restorers is also important for the course that restoration took in the Netherlands at that time, as they were entrusted with many high-profile treatments in the Mauritshuis and other Dutch museums.³⁵ With the increased accessibility of archival evidence, new information is resurfacing. Past restorers tend to be rather well researched by their respective institutions, as today's conservators often come in contact with the consequences of past treatments and acquire a certain feeling for the work of their precursors; unfortunately, those insights are rarely published or written up for future generations. This is also changing with the increasing awareness of restoration history in Dutch museums.³⁶

The views on restoration have changed slowly in the last centuries due to a general shift in appreciation of the past and the awareness that artworks and historical monuments needed to be preserved and kept safe. The preservation of historic monuments as a national interest started in the German-speaking countries around the turn of the last century. Alois Riegl was an Austrian art historian who became famous for forming the theoretical basis of "*Denkmalpflege*", laying down the basis for the heritage protection laws.³⁷ Based on Nietzschean ideas, he assessed what made an object worth preserving and why we attach importance to it. He defined different monuments and divided their appeal into different ranges of values according to their nature. He distinguished between 'commemorative values' and 'present-day values'.³⁸ Under the first category falls 'historic-value', which is the worth an object has as a witness to history, and 'age-value' which is the visible trace that time left on the object.³⁹ In the second category are 'art-value', the worth society accords to an artwork for

³² Scheen 1981, p. 337, Ekkart 1985, p. 378-380 and Sorensen 2018.

³³ The private archive at the RKD is not inventoried and has only been looked at by Rudi Ekkart until now. I had the privilege to be the next person to look through Martin's belongings, but there is still the potential for more research within it.

³⁴ Ekkart 2008 and Franken 2018a and 2018b.

³⁵ Van Duijn 1996, 2006, van Duijn/te Marvelde 2016, Franken 2018a and 2018b

³⁶ Ibid. And te Marvelde 2017. Other projects like the FAIC Project of Oral History Files at Winterthur Museum, Library and Archives are pioneers in the attempt to record as many interviews with restorers as possible to preserve their work and methods for the future.

³⁷ Bacher 1995, pp. 9, 16.

³⁸ Riegl 1903, pp. 144-193, Hubel 2006, pp.86-94 and Reynolds Cordileone 2014.

³⁹ Riegl 1903, pp. 151-153 and pp.163-165.

aesthetic reasons and ‘use-value’, which only applies to monuments that can be inhabited and used like originally intended.⁴⁰ With his theories he revolutionized the field of “*Denkmalpflege*”, putting many concepts into words for the first time. His ideas were later reiterated in the works of his colleagues for example, Panofsky, Benjamin and Friedländer⁴¹, thereby influencing the theory and practice of conservation of the twentieth century.⁴² His teachings, published around 1903, spread quickly not only in the Habsburg empire, but also throughout the rest of Europe. They had a profound impact on the conservation practices of the public cultural heritage of many nations and influenced debates about restoration long after the end of the empire. Riegl was later critiqued for his nationalist ideas, as he saw “*Denkmalpflege*” as a political vehicle to unite the different nations of the Habsburg empire; however, time proved that his theoretical concepts were much broader and versatile than initially thought and retained transferability to a multitude of situations. Riegl also wrote about restoration. Against the prevailing belief of the nineteenth century, he stated that conserving a monument in its present condition was more important than restoring an ‘original’ pristine past condition. He claimed that any historical development is a worthy testimony of the past and should be conserved.⁴³ Similarly, the ‘age-value’ - the patina of time - should be kept intact as it cannot be reproduced. ‘Age-value’ was particularly appreciated at the time, overriding the all-important ‘historic value’ of the nineteenth century. Because ‘age-value’ works only visually and does not require reflection or education on the part of the viewer, it was ideal for mass consumption.⁴⁴ Riegl’s many ‘values’ however often overlap or contradict each other, prompting different restoration concepts to emerge in the first half of the century.

In his 2002 book, von der Goltz sorted through the different concepts and classified four different approaches. He distinguishes between: ‘reworking-restorations’, ‘fragmentary-restorations’, ‘documentary-restorations’ and ‘completing-restorations’.⁴⁵ ‘Reworking-restoration’ means, that composition and colours are reworked, while preserving the aged appearance of the painting and its patina. The impression of a unified, aged painting is created by using overpaint and tinted varnishes.⁴⁶ Under ‘fragmentary-restoration’, we understand the

⁴⁰ Riegl 1903, pp. 180-185.

⁴¹ Meaning in the Visual Arts by Erwin Panowsky, 1955; Bücher die lebendig geblieben sind and Strenge Kunstwissenschaft by Walter Benjamin, 1929 and 1931; ‘On Restorations’ in On Art and Connoisseurship by Max J. Friedländer, 1942.

⁴² Reynolds Cordileone 2014, p.262.

⁴³ Riegl 1903, pp.162-163.

⁴⁴ Riegl 1903, p. 164 and Reynolds Cordileone 2014, pp.269, 271-272, 275.

⁴⁵ Von der Goltz 2002, pp.25-32.

⁴⁶ Von der Goltz 2002, p.26.

practice of removing all later additions to the artwork, leaving the missing areas blank and conserving the painting as a fragment.⁴⁷ ‘Documentary-restoration’ is similar to the previous concept in that all additions are removed. The damages and missing areas are then filled in a way that documents the history of the object while allowing an aesthetical appreciation.⁴⁸ Lastly, ‘completing-restoration’ aims to complete the object in the way the artist envisioned it. That means that all additions are removed and then the artwork is reconstructed on the basis of art historical research to approximate its original appearance as closely as possible.⁴⁹ In his writings, Riegl also distinguished between three different types of art historians, which can broadly be assigned to the concepts.⁵⁰ The first type is the art historian who sees an artwork only as an historical document. He prefers a painting with all traces of its age, rather than one that has been reworked by a restorer. The second type is the so called ‘radical’, who reject all restoration because they prefer to see the age of the painting even if it means having a fragment. The third type, the ‘conservatives’, honour age but prefer to see the artwork as a whole, even if it means adding to it in the manner of the ‘reworking-restoration’.

Using those contemporary concepts, which were - due to the constant cultural exchange with German-speaking countries - widely disseminated in the Netherlands, this thesis will position the different treatments of the early twentieth century within a broader theoretical framework. The directors and restorers involved can be classified into the types proposed on basis of the actions and opinions they expressed in the different situations. This way, not only Wilhelm Martin’s opinions can be categorized, but also his position can be compared to his colleagues to see how his opinion differed and if he was actually more progressive than they were. It is also important to define the term ‘progressive’; at the time, it meant being in favour of thoroughly cleaning paintings by removing any and all layers of discoloured and dirty varnish and copaiba balsam (or other natural resin coatings). It also meant not to shy away from the bare appearance of the painting once it was revealed under all those layers and to conserve the original paint layers as best as possible. Being progressive was not necessarily linked to the degree to which the painting was restored, however there was a tendency away from ‘reworking-restoration’. Unlike many earlier attempts, progressiveness also included being more open to scientific methods and improvements, both during the technical research and during the actual treatment, while still being as careful as possible with the artwork in question. Learning more about the materiality of the paintings, allowed better results and a more profound

⁴⁷ Von der Goltz 2002, p.27.

⁴⁸ Von der Goltz 2002, p.27.

⁴⁹ Von der Goltz 2002, p.30.

⁵⁰ Von der Goltz 2002, p.22.

understanding of cleaning methods, leading to a more conscious treatment in the hand of experts.

3 Restoration history

It is impossible to determine a starting point of restoration practice in history. Pinpointing the establishment of restoration as a profession is marginally easier and can be traced back to the seventeenth century.⁵¹ Before that, being an artist or a restorer was nearly synonymous; artists were continuously tasked with the upkeep of older paintings, which worked to varying degree as some had little respect to the original and reworked the objects with artistic license.⁵² The development of restoration is thus closely linked to the emergence of restoration as an independent profession and the change in the appreciation of artworks over the centuries.

In the eighteenth century, appreciation of art had already changed enough, that restoration was mostly at the service of the artwork.⁵³ The artist-restorer of the eighteenth century was basically a craftsman: often one of the less successful painters in need of employment.⁵⁴ The goal was not to conserve, but to bring the object to its most 'perfect state', even if that meant repainting or removing certain elements.⁵⁵ Restoration was a practice deeply shrouded in secrets at the time, where every practitioner had their own mixtures and recipes that were not shared.⁵⁶ Methods like (re-)lining and transfers from one support to another were invented and became popular.⁵⁷ Since the intervention of the restorer should be invisible, the often-excessive cleaning with caustic materials encouraged the trend to overpaint damaged areas liberally.⁵⁸ Many of those methods were, from a retrospective point of view, not in the best interest of the object's preservation. Only in the late eighteenth century, restorers became sensitized to the historical value of an object and its role as a witness to the past. This was partly due to the rediscovery of antiquity under the leadership of Winckelmann and the establishment of archaeology as a discipline.⁵⁹

⁵¹ At least in the Netherlands, see Kern 2015.

⁵² There is often little documentation of those early restorations, however some paintings still carry the results of them, for example the Ghent Altarpiece by the brothers van Eyck. See Dubois 2018.

⁵³ Marijnissen 1967, p.34.

⁵⁴ Te Marvelde 1996, p.183.

⁵⁵ Marijnissen 1967, p.41.

⁵⁶ This was a useful practice to separate themselves from others who worked on pictures. Being the only ones to know how to clean a painting, made it easier to establish themselves as a separate professional group. See te Marvelde 2006, p.40.

⁵⁷ Marijnissen 1967, pp.48-49.

⁵⁸ Marijnissen 1967, pp. 34-38.

⁵⁹ Marijnissen 1967, pp.42-43 and J.J. Winckelmann „*Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*“ 1764. This period was also marked by tension between classicism and romanticism.

In the nineteenth century, the ‘professional restorer’ slowly started to emerge. This was closely connected to the newfound awareness that artworks needed to be conserved for the future in their materiality, the establishment of art history as a discipline, and the more formalized training that restorers underwent. However, the nineteenth century was also heavily influenced by historicism, in which it was acceptable to borrow from different centuries to create a stylistically “complete state” that had never existed originally, leading to different trends in the field of restoration.⁶⁰ Many of the earlier methods were refined and the materials more carefully chosen as to not unduly damage the artworks. Cradling became a ‘standard’ treatment for wood panels – both to correct and to prevent warping - whereas transfers from one support to another became less common. In adherence to the historical value of the object, it became commonplace and desirable to have a golden-brown varnish layer (“patina”) on top of the paintings. Many restorers were still quite liberal in the cleaning of paintings and were subsequently forced to overpaint large parts and apply an artificially yellowed varnish to reconstruct the aged effect; this gave many restorers a bad reputation. In the late nineteenth century, the discipline of restoration started to become more professional, it surfaced from the shadows, and several important ideas were introduced. With the publication of Pettenkofer’s book in 1870, restoration started to turn slowly towards the sciences for help, and miraculously “regenerating” old varnishes became the favoured solution to most issues.⁶¹ This was further encouraged by the emergence of “*Denkmalpflege*” and the ideas of Riegl, which elevated restoration to a scientific practice and presented different possible concepts for treating an artwork. A few leading museums like the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, set up their own restoration studios with appointed restorers and became training institutions for a new generation of restorers. Other individuals emancipated themselves as private restorers with their own workshops and students, and worked for museums and collectors, laying down a basis for the professionalisation of the discipline.

The beginning of the twentieth century marked another shift in restoration practices towards a more scientific approach. The demands for an official training program for restorers became louder in Europe; with varying degrees of success.⁶² More scientific methods emerged which made the technical study of paintings possible: X-radiography, ultra-violet radiation, infrared

⁶⁰ One can see a tendency towards the “ruin”, or towards the complete “original” whole. See Violet-le-duc, Marijnissen 1967, pp.56-58 and “Handbuch der Gemäldekunde“ by Frimmel, 1894.

⁶¹ Pettenkofer 1870 and Noble 2009, p.23.

⁶² See Von der Goltz 2002, pp.74-77 for the situation in Germany, see Levy-van Halm 1991, p.108 for attempts in the Netherlands at having restorers trained at the art academy. In many cases the museums themselves had to become teaching institutions, as little to no support came from the government. See Hill Stoner 2017.

photography, and microscopic examinations.⁶³ The theories of Riegl and his contemporaries continued to be disseminated throughout most of Europe and sparked the development of different restoration concepts. The highest tension ran between the representatives of the “documentary-restoration”, where the damage of an object through history is documented by filling lacunas in a neutral tone instead of retouching them, and those of the “completing-restoration”, where the original state is reconstructed on the basis of art historical knowledge to better convey the idea of the painter.⁶⁴ While the Weimar republic (1918-1933) turned slowly towards a nationalistic viewpoint, using art and restoration as a political vehicle to further their own agenda of building a common national identity,⁶⁵ other countries debated those issues for the sake of the artworks and the status of museums and restorers alike. This development was sped up due to the fact that restoration became more public and was more represented in the media, where cleaning-controversies sparked long discussions. Restorers were also put on the spot during the infamous art-forgery trial of Wacker in 1932, who had forged several van Gogh paintings, as people started to feel that restoration and forgery were related too close for comfort.⁶⁶ The interest in restoration, and the demand for a more scientific character cumulated in the first international expert conference in Rome 1930, where experts had the opportunity to exchange and discuss different methods, techniques and personal experiences. An expert commission, consisting of five restorers, five art historians, two chemists and a physicist, was formed to lay down guidelines for the restoration and conservation of paintings, which resulted in the professionalisation of the discipline in general.⁶⁷ With the outbreak of the second world war, the development of the profession in Europe fell to the wayside for a time and was only resumed properly after 1945; whereas the restorers and scientists who had immigrated to the United States helped the discipline there and exchanged knowledge. As the subject of the paper is the early twentieth century, the developments after the war will not be discussed here.⁶⁸

⁶³ Von der Goltz 2002, pp.88-94.

⁶⁴ Von der Goltz 2002, pp.27-32.

⁶⁵ Von der Goltz 2002, pp.35-37 and pp.217-247 (see especially p.246).

⁶⁶ For the Wacker trial see Von der Goltz 2012, pp.118-122 and “*Van Gogh. Mythos und Wirklichkeit*” by S. Koldehoff, 2003. For other opinions on art-forgeries, see Friedländer “*Echt und unecht*”, 1928, pp.19-33 and Hofstede de Groot “*Echt of onecht. Oog of chemie*”, 1925. A. M. de Wild was part of the van Gogh forgeries research and was present during the trials as an expert. See RKD, Archive A.M. de Wild (0345), Box 3, 4 and 10.

⁶⁷ Von der Goltz 2002, pp.95-100.

⁶⁸ Unfortunately, there is no publication about recent restoration history, however there are some starting points: See Marijnissen 1967 for the European situation, publications by Morwenna Blewett for refugee-restorers from Nazi-Germany and Helmut Ruhemann (Blewett 2016), and Epley 2018 for the US-situation. The Oral history project of the FAIC collects interviews from restorers from the last decades and is a great resource for the period after 1975. Many recent publications by van Duijn (2017) and te Marvelde also (2015) include information after 1945, same as Noble 2009 and Erfteemeijer 2013 for specific museums.

3.1 The Netherlands

The Netherlands more or less faithfully followed the development of the restoration profession that took place in Europe; however, maybe due to the sheer amount of Dutch paintings, some changes were made more quickly, some practices introduced earlier, and some discussions were led more aggressively. The Netherlands always had a pioneering role in the history of restoration, and that became especially apparent once the German-speaking countries turned towards inner political problems after the first world war and pursued a nationalistic agenda. As already stated early, first “picture cleaners” and “artist-restorers” can be traced back to the seventeenth, and in some capacity even to the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century, like in the rest of Europe, a tendency towards the preservation of the object as a historical document, as well as the sometimes doubtful use of invasive treatments can be seen.⁶⁹ In the first years of the nineteenth century, under Napoleonic rule, a national public museum was established in the Louvre in Paris and the upkeep of artworks fell to the central administration. Many objects were transferred to France (some as early as 1794) and were treated there according to current fashion.⁷⁰ The artworks returned in 1815 and were restored, but the situation for restoration and conservation remained unsatisfactory in the Netherlands until the end of the century, and only the most urgent cases were treated.⁷¹ This only changed when de Stuers shook up the idle country with his polemic article “*Holland op zijn smalst*”(=*Holland at its narrowest*) and pointed out the dire condition of many artworks in public collections.⁷² Dutch museums realized that they needed trained staff to take care of the upkeep of their objects, and as such they became a driving force in the development of a profession that was still in its infancy.

Willem Anthonij Hopman (1828-1910) was the first Dutch professional who had been trained exclusively as restorer (by his father Nicolaas Hopman, a trained painter) without a previous career as an artist. After the death of his father in 1870 he took over his workshop and became very sought after by different museums like the Rijksmuseum, the Mauritshuis and the Frans Hals Museum.⁷³ He was well known for refining the Dutch wax-resin lining method and for introducing new techniques for surface cleaning.⁷⁴ He made a Dutch translation of Pettenkofer’s book on how to make old dull varnish transparent again by applying copaiba balsam to the

⁶⁹ Te Marvelde 1996 and Levy-van Halm 1991, pp.102-104.

⁷⁰ Buvelot 2014, pp.146-147 and p.167, Sitwell/Staniforth 1988, pp.63-84, Levy 2005, p.28 and van Duijn 2017.

⁷¹ Levy-van Halm/Hendriks 1993, p.378.

⁷² De Stuers 1873 and Levy-van Halm 1991.

⁷³ Van Duijn 2006, pp.34-35.

⁷⁴ On the ‘Dutch method’ see Te Marvelde 2001,

surface and exposing the painting to alcohol vapours, thus “regenerating” it.⁷⁵ Therefore he was instrumental in the dissemination of the practice in the Netherlands. He had the trust of many museum directors and carried out an enormous number of structural treatments.⁷⁶ When W. A. Hopman retired, a new trusted restorer was needed, and so the painter Carel F. L. de Wild (1870-1922) was sent to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and to the famous restorer Alois Hauser jr. (1857-1919) in Berlin to learn the trade in established workshops.⁷⁷ He, and later his brother, son and nephew, became the most famous restorers in the country and were in high demand.⁷⁸ In the beginning of the twentieth century, other restorers of different capabilities, like J. A. Hesterman (1848-1916), H. Heydenrijk (1848-1918), C. B. van Bohemen (1878-1948) or B. J. van Bommel (1868-1959), started to work in and for Dutch museums.⁷⁹ The use of the Pettenkofer method was popular for a long time and some restorers were in favour of tinted varnishes to recreate the golden tone on the paintings; only slowly new techniques and approaches were introduced.

3.2 The Frans Hals Museum Haarlem

As the location of the largest cleaning controversy of the Netherlands before the second world war, the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem plays a significant role in the development of restoration. The Frans Hals Museum is one of the oldest museums of the Netherlands, its roots going back to the late sixteenth century.⁸⁰ Back then the varied collections were housed in the town hall and the ‘Prinsenhof’, a wing of the Dominican monastery. In 1862 the paintings collection moved to the town hall as “Stedelijk Museum Haarlem”, while other parts of the collection were moved to other institutions.⁸¹ The town hall was not designed as a museum, and as such the building was not ideal to house paintings. Frequent treatments were required to combat the poor climate of the rooms, which explains why the museum had a restoration studio and an in-house restorer Frans Vos (1847-1921) comparatively early.

Until 1910 the museum was governed by a supervisory board composed of members important to the city of Haarlem and to the artworld, like Bredius and Hofstede de Groot.⁸² They decided on all actions in the museum, also matters of restoration, and hired Heydenrijk and van Bommel

⁷⁵ De Wild 1909, pp.42-46 and Hill Stoner/Rushfield 2012, pp.492-496.

⁷⁶ Van Duijn 1996, Van Duijn 2017, pp.2-3, Noble 2009, pp.18-19 and van Duijn 2006.

⁷⁷ Becht 1905 and Van Duijn/te Marvelde 2016, pp.817-819.

⁷⁸ Van Duijn/te Marvelde 2016, pp.817-819.

⁷⁹ See Van Duijn 2017 for the situation at the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

⁸⁰ Erfteijer 2013, pp.11-21.

⁸¹ Erfteijer 2013, pp.18-19.

⁸² Erfteijer 2013, pp.56-63.

on occasion. Joseph Kronig (1887-1984) became the first director of the museum in 1910, closely followed by Gerrit Gratama (1874-1965) in 1912.⁸³ (fig.2) In 1913 the collection moved again, to today's location at the 'Groot Heiligland' and the museum was renamed to *Frans Hals Museum*. In the new location restoration proceeded. Gratama, as an artist himself, had a studio in the attic of the museum and did some small restoration treatment on his own. For more complex treatments, outside restorers like Carel and Derix de Wild were hired.⁸⁴

3.2.1 Frans Hals Controversy

The early twentieth century was characterized by the Frans Hals controversy in Haarlem, which led to a lot of discussion in the press and the division of directors, restorers and artists into two camps according to their restoration ethics. The controversy began in 1906, as Frans Vos, the restorer working for the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem, came under scrutiny for his liberal use of Pettenkofer's regeneration method and overpainting.⁸⁵ He was to a certain degree a representative of the concept of 'reworking-restoration', wanting to preserve the 'age-value' of the objects. While Vos denied the accusations, the discussion gained momentum and reached a peak in 1909, when the poor climate in the exhibition rooms caused the varnish of several paintings to turn white. Vos tried to regenerate the varnish of the affected paintings, but this incident set off an avalanche of articles in the newspapers.⁸⁶

Before long the discussion involved not only the museum and its supervisory committee, but also art critics, other museum directors, artists, the press and the minister. The ministry of internal affairs was accused of not knowing what happened to the Dutch cultural heritage, after the newspaper articles became more and more outlandish.⁸⁷ The ministry turned to the supervisory committee of the Frans Hals Museum for clarification, and they tried to calm the situation by publishing a report in the "*Bulletin van den Nederlandschen oudheidkundigen Bond*", in which they explain that the room was too cold and too humid, but that only the varnish had suffered.⁸⁸ The supervisory board asked two restorers, H. Heydenrijk (Hopman's successor) from Amsterdam and Carel F. L. de Wild from The Hague for their advice in the treatment of the Hals paintings.⁸⁹ The minister was reassured, but the discussion continued in

⁸³ Erfteijer 2013, pp.64-75.

⁸⁴ Erfteijer 2013, p.221.

⁸⁵ Erfteijer 2013, p.233.

⁸⁶ On the topic of the controversy and restoration of the first Frans Hals painting, over 55 articles were published in different newspapers.

⁸⁷ Elbers 1998, pp.19-20.

⁸⁸ Frans Hals Museum 1909, pp.18-19.

⁸⁹ De Wild wrote a very detailed report on the condition of all affected Frans Hals paintings. It was published in 1910 in the "*Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*" with a foreword by W. Martin. See de Wild 1910.

the newspapers and also the art society “*Arti et Amicitiae*” was not ready to let go of the issue. They demanded the formation of an independent national supervisory board that would be tasked with keeping the cultural heritage in the best possible condition. They also condemned the use of central heating in museum as they saw that as the most prominent cause of the deterioration of paintings.⁹⁰ The minister reacted to that by asking the advice of B. W. F. van Riemsdijk (1850-1942), director of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, as well as Bredius, who was also a member of the supervisory board, and Martin.⁹¹

As it is often the case with concurring experts, the three men had great difficulties agreeing on anything, be it a time to meet, or the content of their response to the Ministry.⁹² The composition of a satisfying reply took them nearly until the end of the year. Their difficulties stemmed mostly from the fact that they had very different views on restoration. While this is not yet so apparent in these early letters, van Riemsdijk was an advocate of both the ‘reworking-restoration’ and the ‘documentary-restoration’, depending on the artwork. He was a mix of Riegl’s three types of art historians, preferring obvious signs of age and fragmentation for some works, and the ‘conservative’ approach to present a unified, aged painting for others. Martin on the other hand was clearly influenced by the newest advances in the field of restoration and was informed about new methods of varnish removal and regeneration. Bredius’ position was somewhere in between the two, but much more political, as he stood in the centre of the tension between the ministry and the supervisory board.⁹³ Unfortunately some letters from van Riemsdijk to Martin are missing, so the full scope of their disagreements has not been preserved. They were only in agreement that a national supervisory board was not necessary at all, stating that no country had one, and that it would undermine the expertise of the directors.⁹⁴ Van Riemsdijk was under the impression that the letter would be for the eyes of the minister only and conferred with J. Six, a member of the supervisory board.⁹⁵ Martin however knew it would be given to the art society as well, and was not at all in favour of van Riemsdijk’s draft.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ Elbers 1998, pp.19-20.

⁹¹ NHA, 476, 454, letter nr. 1629, 27.10.1909 and MHA, 151, 91-94, Letter nr. 1629, 27.10.1909 (Ministry of Internal affairs to van Riemsdijk, Martin and Bredius with an attachment of the letters of “*Arti et Amicitiae*”)

⁹² See correspondence NHA, 476, 454, seven letters and drafts exchanged between October and November 1909.

⁹³ Levy 2006, p.47. Bredius’ position was further made difficult as he helped his partner Joseph Kronig to become the first director of the Frans Hals Museum, a decision not everyone agreed with.

⁹⁴ Martin even sent a separate note to the minister, arguing why a national board is not desirable and that many of their accusations are completely unfounded. He argued that the supervision of restoration and the request for experts was the job of the director and that it was an affront to appoint a board to supervise him, especially as it was not proven that the board would be more qualified. (ARA, 2.04.13, 1806, letter nr. 2933, 12.11.1909 and MHA, 151, 96-99, Draft of the letter, 12.11.1909). See Elbers 1998, pp.20-21.

⁹⁵ NHA, 476, 454, Letter November 1909.

⁹⁶ NHA, 476, 454, Letter 4.11.1909, Martin writes: „Ik acht dit antwoord absoluut onvoldoende. Het zal aan Arti worden overgelegd en in ieder geval niet geheim blijven.”

The draft went back and forth a few times between the two of them, before in the end they agreed on a final version. One passage that was subjected to change was what had happened to the paintings. In Martin's draft, it said that "unforeseeable atmospheric and physical circumstances" had affected the painting, and that "it seemed as if the authorities did everything in their power to prevent a repeat of the incident".⁹⁷ This changed in the final version to a more resolute declaration, that the press had exaggerated the situation tremendously, that "only the varnish layer had undergone an inexpert treatment that had been easy to remedy", and that the authorities "counselled by approved expert would be able to prevent a repeat of the situation".⁹⁸ This assignation of blame to Vos and also the hint to the experts of the supervisory board, seem to be van Riemsdijk's addition to the draft. He had conferred with Six, and it was in the interest of the board to place the blame for the incident on Vos who was already being attacked in the papers and was a convenient scapegoat.⁹⁹ Bredius, who was part of the political agenda of the board agreed with that assessment. He left a spiteful note on one of the drafts where "physical" had been misspelled to "psychical": "psychical needs to be corrected to physical, or is this aimed at the mental state of restorer Vos?".¹⁰⁰ Vos was in a difficult position, because as an independent restorer it was easy for the supervisory board to put all the blame on him to save face.¹⁰¹ Vos quit his position but still tried to defend himself against the accusations by being vocal in the papers, and publishing a small book in December 1909, proving that he had warned the museum about the climate conditions in the exhibition rooms and recounting how he had treated the paintings with the Pettenkofer method.¹⁰² With that booklet and the reactions to it in the press, the public aspect of the Frans Hals controversy died down.¹⁰³ Behind the scenes the discussions about the restorations continued amongst the supervisory board and the related experts.

⁹⁷ NHA, 476, 454, Draft accompanying the letter of 4.11.1909, Martin writes: "[...] waren toe te schrijven aan niet te voorziene omstandigheden van buitengewoon atmosferischen en psychischen {sic!} aard. Het is ons gebleken dat de bevoegde autoriteiten alles doen wat in hun vermogen is om eene herhaling te voorkomen, [...]"

⁹⁸ ARA, 2.04.13, 1806, Letter nr. 2933, 11&12.11.1909, „Niet de schilderijen zelve, slechts de bovenste vernislaag op de schilderijen had een onoordeelkundige behandeling ondergaan. Dit euvel is gemakkelijk herstelbaar gebleken en de bevoegde autoriteiten doen al wat in hun vermogen is om ene herhaling te voorkomen. Daarbij laten zij zich voortdurend voorlichten door erkend deskundigen.”

⁹⁹ Elbers 1998, pp.22-24.

¹⁰⁰ NHA, 476, 454, Note from Bredius on the back of a draft from November 1909, "Psychisch zal toch wel physisch moeten worden of wordt er op de zielkundigen toestand van de restaurator Vos gedoeld?"

¹⁰¹ Elbers 1998, pp.22-23 and Erfteimeijer 2013, p.233.

¹⁰² Vos 1909.

¹⁰³ A few reactions to Vos' text appeared in the papers: "Het verweer van den heer Frans Vos, oud-restaurateur der Haarlemsche Halsen", Nieuwe rotterdamsche courant, Avondblad B (27.12.1909); "De geschiedenis der Haalemsche Halsen", De Tijd (28.12.1909) and "De Frans Hals schilderijen", Het nieuws van den dag (29.12.1909).

In January 1910 the supervisory board of the Frans Hals Museum asked again van Riemsdijk and Martin for their professional opinion. This time they should judge the state of the Hals paintings, specifically “*Meeting of the officers and sergeants of the calivermen civic guard (1633)*” and “*Regents of the St. Elisabeth’s Hospital (1641)*”, in order to help decide how they should be treated.¹⁰⁴ Again the two men had difficulties finding a day to visit the museum together, and it was difficult to coordinate with the board, who wanted to be present for the examination. Martin preferred looking on his own and to share his insights only afterwards, going so far as to propose visiting the museum incognito.¹⁰⁵ Martin also proposed to bring photographs of the paintings so that they could mark problematic areas, retouches and overpaint that they found;¹⁰⁶ just like Carel F. L. de Wild had done in July 1909 for his own report of the Hals paintings.¹⁰⁷ Their assessment of the paintings is that they are in urgent need of treatment: On the “*Meeting of the officers (1633)*” they noticed that the varnish was cloudy and in places white and matte, with some overpainted spots in the background: something that de Wild had not mentioned in his report.¹⁰⁸ They advised to take a picture of that condition, so that it could be compared once it had undergone treatment.¹⁰⁹ On the second painting they found a similar surface, which they attributed to the recent treatment with copaiba balsam. They advised to remove that as soon as possible, as they believed the cloudy appearance would become worse.¹¹⁰ De Wild judged the condition similarly and expressively stated that the problems were due to earlier inexpert treatments.¹¹¹

Remarkably, the first treatment that followed these reports was not on one of those paintings, but rather on the “*Regents of the old men’s alms house (1664)*”. This had been said to have been affected the worst in the initial incident but had meanwhile been treated by Heydenrijk in 1909. This change of plans may have to do with the fact that since October 1910, the Frans Hals

¹⁰⁴ NHA, 476, 454, Letter Nr.675 from 26.01.1910 and MHA, 152, 90 -91, Letter Nr.675 from 26.01.1910.

¹⁰⁵ NHA, 476, 454, Card from Martin to van Riemsdijk, 02.02.1910, “[...] dan ga ik, zoo eenigzins {sic!} mogelijk, Zaterdag incognito alleen kijken, [...]”

¹⁰⁶ NHA, 476, 454, Letter from Martin to van Riemsdijk, 28.01.1910, “Ik zal een paar foto’s laten opplakken voor dat doel. Dan kunnen we er aantekeningen van de retouches (in hoofdzaak) op maken.”

¹⁰⁷ De Wild 1910, many of those photographs with markings are still preserved in the treatment folders of the paintings in the restoration studio of the Frans Hals Museum.

¹⁰⁸ De Wild 1910, p.53.

¹⁰⁹ NHA, 476, 454, Draft of the report, 10.02.1910 and MHA, 152, 122-123, Final version of the report, 12.02.1910, “Het verdient aanbeveling naar de schilderij een fotografische opname te doen maken [...] zodat na herstel der schilderij het troebele effect, dat zij thans maakt, nog op de fotografie, zal kunnen worden geconstateerd.”

¹¹⁰ NHA, 476, 454, Draft of the report, 10.02.1910 and MHA, 152, 122-123, Final version of the report, 12.02.1910, “Evenwel is het te vrezen, dat de kwaal zal toenemen, indien het in 1909 op de schilderij gebrachte mengsel [uit copaiba balsem en alcohol] niet wordt verwijderd.”

¹¹¹ De Wild 1910, p.51.

Museum had a director and was not only governed by a supervisory board, changing the museum politics considerably.¹¹² This first director was the artist and art critic Joseph Kronig, who had been introduced to the board by his partner Bredius.¹¹³ The papers give more information about the situation: as one of his first official acts, Kronig wrote a letter to the city council to ask for funds for the complete restoration of the Frans Hals paintings by Carel F. L. de Wild. He listed all seven of them but insisted that the “*Regents*” be the first to be treated.¹¹⁴ The council in turn asked the opinion of the supervisory board, but while they admitted that the paintings were not in ideal condition, they could not agree on the best course of action. Some members agreed to the proceedings, some wanted to observe the situation a bit longer, and others conceded that Heydenrijk could go further with the thinning of the varnish on the “*Regents*”. The council felt the committee’s advice was not sufficient and decided to follow the directors wishes. They granted up to f 17.000, - for the aesthetic treatment of the seven paintings by restorer de Wild, starting with the “*Regents*”.¹¹⁵ It is important, that the letter from Kronig to the council states explicitly that all the dirt and all the old varnish and copaiba balsam should be removed. This progressive decision goes above and beyond all previous treatments of “*afpoeieren*” and regeneration that the supervisory committee had allowed, and probably shows Bredius’ influence.¹¹⁶ Consequently this evoked immediate reactions in the press; they proposed to invite two chemists and two other experts to the restoration, as Bredius’s trust in de Wild’s capabilities was not shared by everyone.¹¹⁷ Additionally, the necessity of the varnish removal was not universally accepted: many felt that the repeated regeneration should be enough to solve the problem.¹¹⁸ Despite the discussion,¹¹⁹ Carel F. L. de Wild treated the painting between February and September 1911. He removed as many varnish layers as he could and also the retouches and later overpaint that were between those layers. This revealed

¹¹² There are probably several factors playing into this decision, for example that the “Regents of the St. Elisabeth Hospital” still belonged to the St. Elisabeth Hospital. Further the “Regents of the Old Men Alms House” had been in deplorable condition for a while.

¹¹³ Levy 2006, p.47.

¹¹⁴ “De Haarlemsche Halsen”, Algemeen Handelsblad, Avondblad 2^{de} blad (09.02.1911).

¹¹⁵ “De Haarlemsche Halsen”, Algemeen Handelsblad, Avondblad 2^{de} blad (09.02.1911).

¹¹⁶ Under “afpoeieren” or “abpudern”, one understands historically a dry mechanical way of thinning the varnish layer. One rubs over the surface with a finger, and the brittle upper layer of the varnish falls off in a powdery substance. The remaining varnish layers become white, needing to be regenerated with the Pettenkofer method. See Martin 1918, pp.183-186 and Martin 1917, pp.360-361.

¹¹⁷ “De Haarlemsche Halsen”, De Tijd (15.02.1911), “Terwijl dr. Bredius den heer de Wild ‘een van de beste herstellere van schilderijen’ acht, verklaart prof. Dr. Six ‘huiverig’ te zijn de door den heer de Wild aanbevolen maatregelen te doen toepassen en de heer Koster ‘geen zekerheid’ te hebben, ‘dat de schilderijen van Hals bij toepassing der methode de Wild beter zullen worden’”.

¹¹⁸ C. L. Dake, „Aanteekeningen over beeldende kunsten. Frans Hals”, De Telegraaf, Ochtendblad, 2^{de} blad (14.02.1911).

¹¹⁹ “De schilderijen van Frans Hals te Haarlem”, Nieuwe rotterdamsche courant, Ochtendblad A (16.02.1911). In this article the discussions between council and board are recounted.

Frans Hals' spontaneous painting style and the surprisingly good condition of the work once again.¹²⁰ Since the removal of the many discoloured layers left the painting in much cooler tones than people were used to, a new tinted varnish was chosen to bring it closer to the accepted "golden gallery tone".¹²¹ The restoration was deemed success and also well received by the press and other earlier dissidents.¹²²

Even though the controversy had concluded, it had a lasting impact on all further restorations in the first half of the twentieth century, inciting a new sensibility for the issues of painting conservation. This first restoration served both as an example and counter-example in later discussions, depending on the viewpoint. The controversy also served to bring the restorers and their profession into the limelight and the press, making them more visible to the population at large. The Frans Hals Controversy happened relatively early in Martin's career, but already then it illustrated his dedication to problems of restoration and his support of varnish removal. The fact that he was asked to judge the condition of the paintings, shows that Martin was respected as an expert in the field. His opinions were not as outspoken as in later years but already they stood in stark contrast to those of the more conservative board members.

After Carel F. L. de Wild left for America at the end of 1911, Derix de Wild (1869-1932) - Carel's brother - restored the other six Frans Hals paintings between 1918 and 1927. Many things were handled differently under the new director of the Frans Hals Museum, Gratama. He adhered mostly to the concept of 'completing-restoration', wanting paintings to appear as original as possible. He does not fit in Riegl's types of art historians but can maybe be considered a mix of types two and three, in that he wants to see the age of the painting while at the same time adding elements to get closer to the perceived original. Those restorations of the 1920s are of special interest. Derix de Wild not only wrote a detailed report for each of his treatments, listing exactly what he did day by day, and filled a box with photographs, varnishes, and the materials he used; he was also asked by director Gratama not to apply tinted varnish. The chemist van der Sleen was asked to assist him and to analyse the varnish he had removed from the paintings to determine if paint had been damaged. This was the first incident of a scientific approach to a treatment and proper documentation, influenced by the changes in the profession and also influencing many other treatments of the time. While this turning point in

¹²⁰ For a detailed account of de Wild's work recounted by a reporter who visited his studio, see "Hals' Regenten van het Oude Mannenhuis", *Algemeen Handelsblad, Avondblad*, 2^{de} blad (12.05.1911).

¹²¹ Martin 1918b, p.3.

¹²² C. L. Dake, „Aanteekeningen over beeldende kunsten. Frans Hals", *De Telegraaf, Avondblad*, 2^{de} blad (14.11.1911).

restoration with its protagonists did not emanate from Martin, it still had some influence on his opinion and shall be further discussed in chapter four of this thesis.

3.3 The Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

As one of the most famous museums in the Netherlands, the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam naturally played a big role in the development of restoration. From 1798 onward, all artworks belonging to the Stadholders were nationalised and collected in a museum modelled after the French example. However, the French fashion of restoration and conservation had not yet reached the Netherlands and the artworks were left mostly unattended; artists were only asked to restore the most pressing paintings.¹²³ During Napoleonic rule, the collection was housed in the former city hall in Amsterdam under poor climate conditions. In 1817, the collection moved to the Trippenhuis where it was consequently neglected. Things only started to change with director J. W. Pieneman (1779-1853), a history painter himself, and the board of directors that succeeded him. Restorer Nicolaas Hopman was hired from 1844 onward for a first campaign, to treat the most damaged paintings; in 1851 he even relined the *Nightwatch* with his famous wax-resin method.¹²⁴ However, there was little money made available by the government for restoration, something that only changed after de Stuers' polemic article.¹²⁵ W. A. Hopman had the full support of the directors of the Rijksmuseum, in several consecutive cleaning campaigns he treated large parts of the collection with the Pettenkofer method and lined many paintings, something that was regarded as modern and forward-thinking at the time.¹²⁶

The museum moved to today's building in 1885. The new director of the museum, van Riemsdijk, had a more conservative and cautious approach to restoration. (fig.3) He hired the trained restorers Heydenrijk, Hopman's successor, and Hesterman when necessary but decided to get his own permanent staff in the museum, as that would be much cheaper.¹²⁷ He hired carpenter's son Greebe (1865-1946) for structural problems and painter Bakker (1882-1940) for aesthetic issues and they became the first paintings restorers on permanent payroll with a studio in the museum building. With the appointment of Schmidt-Degener (1881-1941) as director, restoration became more important and he improved the reputation of the museum on

¹²³ Van Duijn 2017, pp.1-2.

¹²⁴ Van Duijn/ Filedt Kok 2016, pp.120-121.

¹²⁵ De Stuers 1873.

¹²⁶ Van Duijn 2017, p.3.

¹²⁷ Van Duijn 2017, p.3.

an international level.¹²⁸ This newfound visibility also became apparent during the Rijksmuseum's only cleaning controversy in 1932 about Rembrandt's *Syndics*.¹²⁹ Artists and other experts debated wildly and emotionally in the papers if too many varnish layers had been removed from the painting during its treatment in 1929 and if the paint layer had been damaged.¹³⁰ But as Greebe and Bakker had at this point already been succeeded by carpenter Jenner (1896-1977) and painter Mertens (1905-1981), the controversy died down fairly soon. During the second world war the collection was stored in different bomb shelters throughout the Netherlands, and only with its return the restoration department moved into a new era of more scientific approaches.¹³¹

3.4 The Mauritshuis

The Mauritshuis in The Hague was closely linked to the development of restoration in the Netherlands as many of the protagonists worked for, or with the museum, or were in some way connected to the directors. The Mauritshuis opened as a museum in 1822, and until 1875 all the paintings in the collection were exhibited on the top floor, with objects from the royal rarity cabinet on the ground floor. In 1875 the entire building became available for the paintings collection. For those early years of the museum, no systematic records of restoration treatments are preserved; many paintings had been treated in Paris and after their return in 1816.

In 1841 Nicolaas Hopman was hired to treat the collection. He worked very efficiently, "washing" all paintings, thinning varnishes and re-varnishing two hundred and thirty-two paintings in the span of three weeks.¹³² He repeated this procedure every few years after that, following the beliefs of his time that washing and re-varnishing would be beneficial to a painting and improve its aesthetics.¹³³ This was especially necessary because back then the Mauritshuis was still heated with coal stoves placed in the middle of the exhibition rooms, leading to a very unstable climate in the museum rooms and making the varnishes grimy and opaque.¹³⁴ Some paintings were lined successfully by Hopman, whereas the "*Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp*" by Rembrandt was sent to the Belgian restorer Le Roy for lining, which proved

¹²⁸ Van Duijn 2017, p.4, Schmidt-Degener had already made a name for himself as director of the museum Boijmans van Beuningen in Rotterdam and was as such considered to be an ideal choice for the Rijksmuseum. See Duparc 1975, pp. 240-241.

¹²⁹ Van Duijn 2017, p.4.

¹³⁰ Van Duijn/ Filedt Kok 2016, p.122 and note 57.

¹³¹ For the situation after WWII, see Filedt Kok 2019.

¹³² Noble 2009, pp.18-19.

¹³³ Te Marvelde 2013

¹³⁴ Buvelot 2014, p.173.

later to have been a bad decision as it began to display blisters and cracks.¹³⁵ Willem Anthonij Hopman was tasked with fixing this problem in 1877, and he lined it according to the Dutch method wax-resin for which he had become well known.¹³⁶ Director Bredius often engaged W. A. Hopman for lining and regeneration treatments, but preferred the famous German restorer Alois Hauser jr. for more complex problems. Whereas Hopman was renowned for his structural work, Hauser was considered the best for cases with a lot of overpaint that required varnish removal and retouching.¹³⁷ Bredius admired his work and frequently brought paintings from his own collection to Berlin. He even managed to convince Hauser to come to the Mauritshuis in July 1891, where he learned the Dutch method from Hopman and treated a multitude of paintings.¹³⁸ Hauser developed a special varnish that did not blanch as quickly as the one previously in use in the museum; Hopman and Hauser were both in the habit of using tinted varnishes to keep the beloved yellow ‘gallery tone’ on the paintings, as was typical at the time.

139

With W. A. Hopman rapidly approaching retirement in 1899, director Bredius and vice-director Hofstede de Groot devised a plan to ensure the training of a new restorer. They sent C. F. L. de Wild to Vienna and Berlin in 1894 and eagerly anticipated his return. While Bredius tried to give Hopman as much work as possible before his retirement, in April 1900 de Wild was tasked with his first few varnish regenerations.¹⁴⁰ In the following ten years de Wild became a crucial figure in restoration circles, admired as a connoisseur, painter and skilled restorer; he treated and lined numerous paintings of the Mauritshuis, demonstrating his proficiency and his grasp of chemistry and painting materials.¹⁴¹ In 1908 he relined Rembrandt’s “Anatomy Lesson” and removed some of the discoloured varnish, he re-varnished it with a mixture of his own making, pointedly not using Hauser’s concoction.¹⁴² When Carel F. L. de Wild immigrated to the United

¹³⁵ Broos/ Wadum 1998, pp.46-47.

¹³⁶ Te Marvelde 2001 and Broos/Wadum 1998, p.49, Hopman regenerated the painting in 1885 and 1891 again.

¹³⁷ Van Duijn/Te Marvelde 2016, p. 815.

¹³⁸ ARA, 2.04.13, 1930, Letter Nr. 2003, 5 September 1890; Van Duijn/te Marvelde 2016, p.817 and Noble 2009, pp.24-25. It was probably at this occasion that Hauser introduced Hopman to the Pettenkofer method, see Broos/Wadum 1998, p.48, note 81.

¹³⁹ ARA, 2.04.13, 1930, Letter Nr. 1125, 6 Mei 1892 and Noble 2009, pp.25-26; Hauser probably added copaiba balsam to his varnish: see Broos/Wadum 1998, p.49.

¹⁴⁰ For Hopman see ARA, 2.04.13, 1930, Letter Nr. 1200 from Bredius, 2 Mei 1899, “De Hr. Hopman, die zich om gezondheidsredenen met 31 Dec 99 uit zijne zaken terugtrekt, staat bekend als de beste verdoeker van schilderijen en heeft als zodanig den lande onschatbare diensten bewezen. Ik acht het hoogst wenselijk, deze gelegenheid nog te baat ten nemen, hem al die schilderijen te doen verdoeken die thans daarvoor in aanmerking komen.”. For de Wild see ARA, 2.04.13, 1930, Letter Nr. 1062, 22 April 1900.

¹⁴¹ Van Duijn/Te Marvelde 2016, p. 818.

¹⁴² MHA, 355, Letter Nr. 303, 30 Mei 1907; Broos/Wadum 1998, p.49. De Wild was possibly aware of the detrimental effects of the copaiba balsam in Hauser’s varnish; he wrote a critical article on copaiba balsam in 1909, see de Wild 1909.

States in 1911, his brother Derix took over his studio and his clients. Derix, often assisted by his nephew C. F. Louis de Wild and his son A. Martin de Wild, worked for the Mauritshuis under the leadership of his friend and director W. Martin, until his death in 1932. They had a close working relationship and made some advances towards the professionalisation of the discipline together. Even though not all treatments of the de Wild family of restorers are equally well documented, it is apparent that they slowly began to employ and integrate more scientific research into their work, especially Martin de Wild who studied chemistry.¹⁴³ They strove to understand the inner workings of the paintings, and were considered specialists for seventeenth century Dutch art. Derix and his assistants lined many paintings, like the monumental “*De Stier*” by Paulus Potter, and were good at removing varnishes and overpaint and retouching and re-varnishing.¹⁴⁴ Many of the smaller paintings were transported to their own studio or treated in a room in the basement, larger pieces needed to be treated in the exhibition rooms which were closed off for the time.¹⁴⁵

J.C. Traas (1898-1984) was the first restorer who worked exclusively for the museums in the Hague, in a studio located at the Museum Mesdag. He worked there as a concierge but was interested in restoration and carried out small treatments in his own time. Like de Wild, Traas did an internship in Vienna, returning in 1928.¹⁴⁶ At first Martin was reluctant to employ him, as he strongly favoured Derix de Wild’s work, but after his death in 1932 Martin was forced to reconsider his opinion.¹⁴⁷ Traas worked for the Mauritshuis until 1962 and in that time he treated nearly all paintings of the collection, some even several times. Traas was known for his semi-transparent retouches and his affinity for tinted varnishes, which were still very much ‘en vogue’. It was only after the second world war, when the paintings returned from storage in bomb shelters, that big changes took place.¹⁴⁸

3.4.1 Abraham Bredius

Bredius played an important role in the development of the Mauritshuis as a museum and in Martin’s career; and as such also in the restoration and conservation treatments that took place. Bredius, scion of a family of wealthy merchants, was an autodidact art historian.¹⁴⁹ (fig.4) As

¹⁴³ See De Wild 1929 and van Duijn/te Marvelde 2016, pp.820-821.

¹⁴⁴ Noble 2009, p.27.

¹⁴⁵ ARA, 2.04.13, 1930, Letter Nr. 891, 18 Maart 1908.

¹⁴⁶ See Traas’ internship report from the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, present in copy at the Restoration studio of the Mauritshuis.

¹⁴⁷ Hendriks 2006, pp.13-14 and MHA, 355, Correspondence between Martin and the Ministry between 6 March 1928 and 22 March 1928, Letters Nr. C.3, C.5/1292, C.6, C.7/1510.

¹⁴⁸ Buvelot 2014, p. 225, The renovation of the building was only finished in 2014, but since 1995 the restoration studio was housed in the museum, see Noble 2009, p.30.

¹⁴⁹ De Boer/Leistra 1991, p.11.

one of the first, inspired by Wilhelm von Bode, he studied Dutch seventeenth-century paintings and their painters. He became a connoisseur, convinced that he was able to attribute paintings at a glance.¹⁵⁰ In his research he had a special predilection for delving into the archives and discovering startling facts on painters, which he published regularly.¹⁵¹ In 1880 he was appointed as vice-director of the Dutch Museum of History and Art in The Hague, and in 1889 he became director of the Mauritshuis. Bredius was the first director who was not also a painter or saw the post as a honorary function, dedicating the majority of his time to the modernisation of the museum.¹⁵² He demonstrated good taste by introducing new textile wall coverings, rearranging the museum and buying new paintings to fill gaps in the collection.¹⁵³ Due to his wealthy background, Bredius could afford to travel a lot and buy important and expensive artworks for his personal art collection, some of which he would subsequently give on loan to the museum. Bredius was very extroverted, outspoken and self-assured, qualities that made him a good advocate for the collection, but sometimes also very difficult to get along with. He had several disputes with de Stuers at the ministry, often about money for the museum and new acquisitions.¹⁵⁴ Bredius also quarrelled with him continuously about the appointment of his vice-director and repeatedly threatened to quit if his wishes were not considered.¹⁵⁵ Bredius' mercurial moods are also apparent in his correspondence and the disputes he fought in the newspapers, where he never hesitated to express his opinions.¹⁵⁶ Bredius became quickly one of the most important experts and connoisseurs for seventeenth-century paintings, and his opinion was frequently sought after by national and international experts and collectors.¹⁵⁷

Bredius was also a proponent of restoration, even though his maxim was "*Restaureer nooit, tenzij dit noodig is*" (never restore unless it is necessary).¹⁵⁸ During his directorship in the Mauritshuis he gave most treatments to W. A. Hopman and later to C. F. L. de Wild, in whom he trusted as well. However, he preferred to send the most valuable pieces and the more complex treatments to Alois Hauser jr. in Berlin, whose ethics he shared and whom he admired

¹⁵⁰ This was especially relevant for his purchase of Rembrandt paintings and was a revered and acknowledged ability at the time. See Anna Tummers "The eye of the Connoisseur", Amsterdam 2011.

¹⁵¹ See Martin 1947, p.35 or Byvanck 1947, p.195. For example his „*archief-sprokkelingen*“ which regularly appeared in Oud Holland and his seven-piece publication "*Kunstler-inventare. Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*" from 1915-1922.

¹⁵² Buvelot 2014, p.180.

¹⁵³ Martin 1947, p.32.

¹⁵⁴ Buvelot 2014, pp.180-183.

¹⁵⁵ De Boer/Leistra 1991, pp.24-26.

¹⁵⁶ De Boer/Leistra 1991, p.11.

¹⁵⁷ Buvelot 2014, p.183, Bredius was for example a member of the supervisory board of the Frans Hals Museum, see chapter 3.1.1, advised different supervisory committees, was part of the administration of the "Vereniging Rembrandt" and editor of several magazines. See De Boer/Leistra 1991, p.13 and van Gelder 1946.

¹⁵⁸ Martin 1947, p.36.

greatly and engaged often. Paintings from his personal collection were also always sent to Hauser. The German restorer was, as stated previously, particularly good at recreating a seemingly complete painting. He was famous in his time, as he was a strong representative of the “reworking-restoration” which was also favoured by von Bode.¹⁵⁹ That entailed making a painting readable while keeping an aged look and often also patina and overpaint. To achieve this, the surface was often treated with different tinted varnishes after disturbing elements had been removed, which made his practices very disputed later on.¹⁶⁰ Other restorers were often not looked at so favourably by Bredius; he often issued critique loudly in the newspapers and in letters to his friends and colleagues.¹⁶¹ Unless it was Hauser, Bredius liked to have a very close look at the work of his restorers and to strictly decide which methods they were to use. He was slow to accept new technical possibilities and methods, remaining cautious of copaiba balsam and regeneration for a long time and favouring golden varnishes whenever possible.¹⁶² He was also vocal about other conservation practices, for example he was a strict opponent of transporting paintings for temporary exhibitions, as he felt this was much too dangerous and damaging to old master paintings.¹⁶³ This is also the reason that he decided to forbid his own paintings, which he loaned and later bequeathed to the Mauritshuis, to ever leave the museum. Therefore, Bredius can be counted towards the “conservative” art historian in Riegl’s type classification, wishing for clear and complete motives while still honouring the “*Alterswert*” with its golden tone.¹⁶⁴

In 1909 Bredius retired as director, but he stayed on as an advisor until 1922. The position was initially meant as a honorary one, but Bredius took it quite seriously, keeping a very close eye on the Mauritshuis and its director, Martin.¹⁶⁵ Even after he moved to Monte Carlo, he kept involving himself in art historical discussions and used his valuable collection as leverage to assert his will, as he had given twenty five paintings, including several Rembrandt’s on loan to

¹⁵⁹ Von der Goltz 2002, p.26.

¹⁶⁰ Von der Goltz 2002, p. 26. For critique of Hauser see also Netscher 1904, p.58, “[...] pas blank gekregen oude schilderijen weder zoo rijkelijk met zijne warme saus voorziet.”

¹⁶¹ For example during the discussion surrounding the “Naardensche portretten”, see “De portretten van Naarden. Restaurateur verweert zich”, *De Telegraaf* (18.07.1938) and RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box II, Letter Bredius to Martin, 22.01.1933, “Toch is ’t een misdaad zoo als S.D. de 2 heerlijke Moro’s heeft laten verpoetsen ...”

¹⁶² Martin 1947, p.36 and RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box II, Letter Bredius to Martin, 22.01.1933.

¹⁶³ Bredius 1931, pp.75-76.

¹⁶⁴ Von der Goltz 2002, p.22

¹⁶⁵ De Boer/Leistra 1991, p.25. Martin and Bredius had a difficult relationship, Martin described it in 1953: “[...] onder de directie van Dr. A. Bredius, een geniaal, maar lastige, opvliegende, door zijn rijkdommen verwenne man, wiens vertrouwen ik mocht verwerven, vermoedelijk door mijn grote geestdrift, want die eigenschap had ik met hem gemeen.” RKD, archief Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 20, Letter to the Minister 1953.

the museum.¹⁶⁶ Bredius died in 1946, in his testament he bequeathed all paintings that were on loan, to the Mauritshuis.¹⁶⁷

4 Wilhelm Martin

As director of the Mauritshuis and a learned art historian and scholar, Martin was an important figure in the art historical world of his time. He was however, unlike many of his contemporaries, a very private person who liked to stay in the background. In his many projects he often took on a role of advisor or worked his diplomacy from the shadows. This characteristic makes it sometimes difficult to pin down his concrete opinions and to find material on him today, but it also enabled him to manoeuvre his peculiar position between the Mauritshuis and Bredius as well as other diplomatic situations. In one area however, he was quite vocal: giving voice and attention to the discussion and problems surrounding restoration. He did not shy away from using his influence as a director to further the development of restoration and worked unusually closely with restorers.

Martin's many interests and projects can be reconstructed from his private archive at the RKD,¹⁶⁸ the Mauritshuis archive and the archives of many other institutions. By accumulating as many original sources as possible, one can get closer to this versatile person and get a feeling for his personality and his motives.

In order to understand Martin's motivations and his position in the art historical field of his time, as well as his opinion on restoration, it is necessary to take a closer look at his background, his biography and to analyse his writings carefully.

4.1 His life

Wilhelm Martin was born on the 20th of June 1876 in Quakenbrück, Germany. His parents were Johann Karl Ludwig Martin (1851- 1942) and Anna Christina Maria Fittica (1846- 1906). When his father, a geologist, was appointed as a Professor at the University of Leiden in 1877, the whole family moved to the Netherlands. Together with his two brothers Herman (1881- 1968) and Hans (1886-1964) and his three sisters Wilhelm attended primary and secondary school in Leiden.¹⁶⁹ With six children, money was often a bit tight in the household Martin in the Breestraat 55, but Wilhelm spent a lot of time drawing and painting in his atelier in the attic

¹⁶⁶ De Boer/Leistra 1991, p.25; RKD, archief Wilhelm Martin (0327), Letter Bredius to Martin, 26.10.1912.

¹⁶⁷ De Boer/Leistra 1991, pp.49-50.

¹⁶⁸ Ekkart 2008, p.16.

¹⁶⁹ Ekkart 1985.

and got drawing lessons - at this time thinking he would maybe become an artist.¹⁷⁰ However, in 1894 he enrolled at the University of Leiden in Dutch Literature and embarked on a more academic career, following in his father's footsteps.

Preparing for his dissertation, he received a small stipend via the University and was able to travel abroad for the first time between February and August 1900.¹⁷¹ He visited libraries, museums and private collections in all major cities around Europe, recording and judging all the artworks he saw in a notebook.¹⁷² He had chosen an art-historical topic, the first in the Netherlands, which brought him into contact with important people in the art historical community like Hofstede de Groot, Bredius, Moes and Victor de Stuers. This also facilitated his start as vice-director of the Mauritshuis in 1901, as the former vice-director van Waller, who he knew from his weekly visits to the Print Room of the Leiden University, alerted him that the position would open up, and several of his acquaintances wrote letters of recommendation.¹⁷³ He got the position of vice-director under Bredius even before he graduated that same year under the tutelage of P. J. Blok on the topic "*Het leven en de werken van Gerrit Dou beschouwd in verband met het schildersleven van zijn tijd*".¹⁷⁴

Wilhelm Martin was introduced to the 'Haagsch Historisch Gezelschap' by Hofstede de Groot in 1903, joined the editorial board of the 'Nederlandsch Spectator' and became a member of the 'Nederlandsch Oudheidkundige Bond' in 1901.¹⁷⁵ In his first years as vice-director he earned little and had to work hard to be able to afford books and reproductions of paintings. Until his marriage he lived with his parents, first in Leiden, then in the Wagenstraat 14 and on the Bierkade 13 in The Hague, spending his free time writing a lot for the different magazines.

On 9th August 1906 Wilhelm Martin married Maria Cornelia Visser, daughter of the politician Alibert Cornelis Visser, after a two-year engagement. Called "Kie" by family and friends, Martin founded a family with her which would later count one son (Rudolf *9.09.1911-†18.04.1972) and three daughters (Hetty *24.02.1913-†?, Dorothea *17.09.1915-†15.06.2009, Elsa *24.02.1924-†?).¹⁷⁶ They lived on Emmastraat 26, The Hague, until February 1916, and afterwards on Frankenslag 27, The Hague. At some point before 1927 they built a house in

¹⁷⁰ RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 20 (aanvullingen 2017), Notes for an autobiography, 1953, p.5.

¹⁷¹ RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 10/(15), Letters to his parents from his trip through Europe.

¹⁷² RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box V, "aantekening boek 1899-1901", see Ekkart 2008, p. 22.

¹⁷³ RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 20 (aanvullingen 2017), Notes for an autobiography, 1953, p.5.

¹⁷⁴ Martin 1901. Bredius took a special liking to Martin, even though he never made his job any easier by meddling a lot, see De Boer/Leistra 1991, pp.23-25.

¹⁷⁵ RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 20 (aanvullingen 2017), Notes for an autobiography, 1953, p.6.

¹⁷⁶ RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box IV, Box 7, and Box 20 (aanvullingen 2017).

Wassenaar, Wilhelminaplein 4 called the "IJsvogel" (from the French martin-pêcheur), but at the end of their life they moved back to The Hague, Nassaulaan 11.

In 1907 Martin was appointed to become extraordinary professor of art history at the University of Leiden; his inaugural speech was titled *"Eenige opmerkingen over de waardering onzer schilderkunst in onze Gouden eeuw"*. Between 1904 and 1921 he gave weekly lectures on art history and furthermore supported several students in writing art-historical dissertations (J. J. de Gelder, E. H. ter Kuile among others).¹⁷⁷ He was also member of the "Senaatscommissie" of the University and ensured the treatment of the portraits in the "Senaatskamer" together with Bredius. In 1943, during world war two, he resigned as a professor and after the liberation did not return to his post, making the return of the paintings of the Mauritshuis a priority.¹⁷⁸

Martin had become director of the Mauritshuis in 1909, after Bredius resigned. He held the position for thirty-six years, enlarging the collection with numerous acquisitions, introducing many changes and improvements to modernise the museum and ensure its smooth running.¹⁷⁹ His time at the Mauritshuis brought him a new outlook on restoration and conservation.¹⁸⁰

During the second world war, Martin oversaw the storage of the artworks of the Mauritshuis, first in the cellar of the museum, then in the Pietersberg in Limburg and other bomb shelters, checking up on them weekly, and to bring them back personally in good condition.¹⁸¹ In that time, the Mauritshuis also harboured "onderduikers", people hiding from the Nazi regime in the cellar, requiring to be fed daily while the Germans attended concerts and dinners in the museum.¹⁸² In 1945 J. G. van Gelder succeeded Martin as director, but after his quick departure after only a year, Martin had to return from retirement and continued on until 1947, finally securing the legacy of Bredius once and for all. Since 1934 he was also director of the museum Mesdag in The Hague, a function which he kept until his death, and from 1935 to 1943 director of the Print room of the University of Leiden, where he managed to extend the collection considerably.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁷ Ekkart 1985 and de Gelder 1933.

¹⁷⁸ RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 20 (aanvullingen 2017), Notes for an autobiography, 1953, p.2. "Na de bevrijding niet gebruik gemaakt van de gelegenheid om weer prof. te worden, omdat m.i. het terugbrengen v. d. schilderijen na het MH moest voorgaan."

¹⁷⁹ Buvelot 2014, pp.184-193.

¹⁸⁰ Sorensen 2018, Ter Kuile 1943 and Ekkart 1985, see also RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box (aanvullingen 2017), Letter to the Ministry 1953. For Martin's perspective on the Mauritshuis, see Martin 1948.

¹⁸¹ See MHA, inv.nr. 350-352 for the storage of paintings during wartime.

¹⁸² RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 20 (aanvullingen 2017), Letter to the Ministry 1953.

¹⁸³ Ekkart 2008, p.18.

Alongside his role as Professor and Director, Martin was constantly researching and publishing on numerous topics. Among his favourite subjects counted Jan Steen, Gerrit Dou, Rembrandt and nineteenth century painters from the Hague, with his main focus on seventeenth century Dutch paintings about which he published "*De Hollandsche schilderkunst in de zeventiende eeuw*" in two volumes (1935-1936).¹⁸⁴

During his career Martin was also involved in many different projects and commissions (for example for the Lakenhal where he helped with the restoration of Lucas van Leyden Triptych and helped appoint the new director Pelinck) and was asked for advice and expertise regularly by other people in the field.¹⁸⁵ He was working on many exhibitions abroad and in the Netherlands and was a member of the 'Rijksbureau voor Monumentenzorg' until 1948, which was in charge of the conservation of buildings and art all over the country.¹⁸⁶ Martin was also decorated with several awards and titles: knight order of Orange-Nassau (awarded on the occasion of the Rembrandt exhibition in Leiden 1906), commander of the Italian crown order (awarded during the Dutch exhibition in Rome 1928), commander of the Belgian crown order (awarded during the exhibition of Dutch Art), commander of the British crown order and the order of the Nederlandse Leeuw (awarded for working 25 years at the Mauritshuis).¹⁸⁷

Martin died rather unexpectedly ¹⁸⁸ on 10th March 1954 aged 77, and he was buried in The Hague on the cemetery Oud Eik en Duinen.¹⁸⁹ His death was followed by a lot of commemorative letters and speeches as he would be sorely missed in the art historical community.¹⁹⁰

4.2 his writings

Martin published on a wide array of topics, ranging from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, in a multitude of magazines and papers. However, some of his writings stand out as they are dedicated to restoration and conservation, a topic that had not garnered much written

¹⁸⁴ See Appendix for a list of Martin's Publications.

¹⁸⁵ RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 20 (aanvullingen 2017), Notes for an autobiography, 1953, p.4.

¹⁸⁶ Ekkart 1985 and see RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box IV for his work for the Rijksbureau voor Monumentenzorg.

¹⁸⁷ Van den Aardweg 1938, p.983 and RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 20 (aanvullingen 2017), Notes for an autobiography, 1953, p.3.

¹⁸⁸ Martin was the type of person who did not want to be surprised by his death, he wrote detailed instructions for his family about what should happen in the event of his death (going so far as to say who should be notified and where his keys were) and made some notes for a biography that he expected to be published after his death. See RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 20 (aanvullingen 2017), Notes for an autobiography 1953 and Notes on his heritage 1949.

¹⁸⁹ „Prof. dr. W. Martin begraven“, Haagsch Dagblad (15.03.1954).

¹⁹⁰ Correspondence about Martin's death with his widow and press cuttings can be found in RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box (7) and Box 22 (aanvullingen 2017). For Obituaries see van Gelder 1954 and 1955.

attention at the time. As early as 1916 Martin published a four-part series of articles about the most common issues of conservation and restoration in the magazine 'Oude Kunst'.¹⁹¹ In his 1918 book *"Alt-holländische Bilder"*, he allocated a whole chapter to issues of conservation, and in an article from the same year he detailed the problems surrounding varnish removal.¹⁹²

Restoration was an important topic for Martin, and it comes up a lot in correspondence and professional work during his lifetime. His major concern was for paintings conservation, but in his work for the 'Rijkscommissie voor Monumentenzorg' in the 1940's he also branched out to the conservation of buildings and monuments.¹⁹³ His preoccupation with this topic can also be seen in his involvement in the different cleaning controversies and discussions over the years and his often-harsh critique of dirty paintings in other collections.¹⁹⁴

It is especially exceptional that he voiced his opinions already in the early years of the twentieth century, first during the Frans Hals controversy, and then publicly with his articles. He is the first Dutch museum director and art historian to publish on restoration and conservation. Other Dutch directors and art historians tended to either remain quiet on the subjects or to sporadically voice their opinions in the newspaper when a discussion arose. Gratama was the first director after Martin to publish more extensively on the Frans Hals restorations from 1918 onward, motivated by the media circus around the controversy.¹⁹⁵ Even on an international scale he is among the first to publish about restoration in the twentieth century; a topic that had traditionally been regarded as necessary evil, and his writings helped support the emergence of the profession.¹⁹⁶

His article series from 1916 begins with the iconic comparison of horse riding and restoration, stating that both is impossible to learn by reading alone.¹⁹⁷ In general, Martin's language tends towards the flowery - possibly a by-product of his literature studies - using metaphors and comparisons to make a topic that had long been shrouded in secrecy understandable to the

¹⁹¹ Martin 1916a, 1916b, 1916c, 1917.

¹⁹² Martin 1918a, 1918b.

¹⁹³ RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box IV for his work for the Rijksbureau voor Monumentenzorg.

¹⁹⁴ A recurring topic in his correspondence, when asked to judge paintings, is that they are too dirty or under too many varnish layers, making it impossible to see the true hand of the master. For example, MHA, 148, 187, Letter from 23.03.1909 and MHA, 156, 16, Letter from 21.01.1911.

¹⁹⁵ Gratama 1918, 1920, 1922.

¹⁹⁶ An earlier publication that Martin himself recommends in his articles is "Handbuch der Gemäldekunde", by Frimmel from 1894. Other directors, like Friedländer of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin only published from 1919 onward about restoration. See Friedländer 1919 and 1929.

¹⁹⁷ Martin 1916a, p.11.

public.¹⁹⁸ His favourite stylistic device, one that has been used in older texts as well, is the comparison of the work of a restorer to the work of a medical doctor.¹⁹⁹ He further substantiates this comparison by saying that a restorer needs a specific skill set and must go through extensive training, just like any other profession. With this remark he warns against the trend of the nineteenth century to work on your own collection and to give paintings to untrained individuals. He further warns against restoration where it is not necessary and the lack of restoration when it is.²⁰⁰ At the beginning of the series, Martin states that he wrote the articles because he was asked to do so by the editor of 'Oude Kunst', van Huffel but they were also an ideal vehicle to educate the public and to turn the discussions surrounding restoration to Martin's viewpoint. That Martin was asked to write this series in the first place is telling: as a distinguished director and art historian with a known interest in restoration he was an ideal candidate. He had already made clear that restoration was important to him, and while he tried hard to keep the tone of his writing objective and to explain different viewpoints, his personal opinions are still clearly visible and his clever rhetoric proceeds to sway the reader unwittingly to his side.

In the first article, Martin explains the removal of varnish layers.²⁰¹ Even if the varnish layer is "healthy", it can be necessary to remove discoloured, dirty and thick layers to be able to appreciate the painting underneath it. He is very aware of the fact that this aesthetical cleaning is disputed and clarifies further: that while a painting can never return to its condition just after completion by the painter, it is not said that it must be viewed through the dirt of centuries.²⁰² This discussion is influenced by personal taste, fashion and the fear of removing original layers from the painting. This goes so far, that once all the old layers are removed, many choose to apply a new yellow varnish to the picture to approximate the tone of the old varnishes. In a bid to relate to his readers, Martin confesses to liking the effect of a yellow tone but that he prefers a very thin layer that still allows him to see all the details of the painting. He says, that the general reluctance to touch old varnishes has to do with the fear to remove original layers and the confusion with 'patina'. The difference lays in the intention of the artist, as it was certainly not in the artists interest to have such a thick yellow layer that all blue areas on the painting

¹⁹⁸ His writings are in general characterized by a charming combination of his sharp mind and humour, this is even more apparent in his correspondence and personal notes.

¹⁹⁹ This metaphor is certainly not one of Martin's making, it is already used much earlier when restorers are referred to as 'picture-doctors' during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Martin could know it from then, or through Carel de Wild, who was known to use this analogy liberally as well. See Netscher 1904 and Becht 1905.

²⁰⁰ Martin 1916a, p.11.

²⁰¹ Martin 1916a.

²⁰² Martin 1916a, p.11.

appear green.²⁰³ The varnish serves only to saturate the colours and to protect the surface of the painting and as such cannot be compared to ‘patina’ which is meant to change over time. Therefore, the restorer can remove all discoloured layers without problem, if it does not hurt the painting. It is the choice of the owner to apply a clear or a tinted varnish, if he likes that better, but he must be aware that he sees the work not as it was originally intended. Martin comes to the conclusion that it is best to keep the old layers if they are very thin and in good condition, as he claims that there are nearly no restorers qualified enough to remove such a layer without damaging anything. Further, as a museum director he is obligated to keep such a varnish, as it is what the visitor wants and expects, and only once the fashion changes and the removal is safe, can it be carried out.²⁰⁴ Martin continues his argumentation, saying that there should be no complaint against the thinning of thick varnishes; here he uses two Frans Hals paintings, treated by Carel de Wild as an illustration of his arguments. Most layers were in bad condition before the treatment and Martin compares it to viewing the pattern of a soup bowl through the soup.²⁰⁵ Martin employs this frankly ridiculous comparison to the best effect: no one would ever consider exhibiting bowls full of soup, so ergo it was also time for the thick layers to be removed and thinned down to the barest tone. Martin advises the reader to compare the newly restored piece to its still dirty counterpart, in order to appreciate the work of the restorer. At this point Martin slips in a small anecdote of an artist who had cleaned half of a Hals painting, and not daring to be confronted with the clean picture, had proceeded to cover it again in a thick brown varnish. This anecdote serves to remind the reader, that this reaction is mostly due to a lack of knowledge and fear, and that the removal of old varnishes is necessary to appreciate the old masters properly.²⁰⁶ He admits that this opinion is growing and cites a few positive examples he also criticises that paintings like the “*Nightwatch*” and the “*Syndics*” are still covered by thick varnishes.²⁰⁷ Also the “*Anatomy Lesson*” is used as an example: citing how the thorough cleaning of the painting would change its position in Rembrandt’s oeuvre positively, and let it become more truthful while losing some of its beautiful golden tone.²⁰⁸ Martin again drives the point home by stating that he would clean it immediately if it were his, but that as a director he is obligated to follow the taste of the visitors. Before such a cleaning could go through, one would have to convince everyone of the fact that the colour of the

²⁰³ Martin 1916a, p.12.

²⁰⁴ Martin 1916a, p.13.

²⁰⁵ Martin 1916a, p.14.

²⁰⁶ Martin 1916a, p.15.

²⁰⁷ The *Nightwatch* underwent a complete treatment in 1947 (see Van Duijn/Filedt Kok 2016), the *Syndics* in 1929 (see van Duijn 2017).

²⁰⁸ The *Anatomy lesson* has been cleaned numerous times, also in 1908 and 1925. See Broos/Wadum 1998.

painting is a result of the old varnish, not Rembrandt's intention, that the removal is a safe procedure and that the work of a capable restorer need not be feared.²⁰⁹ Martin closes his argumentation by saying that the ignorance of the public has a lasting effect on the paintings and by appealing for the swift cleaning of the "*Nightwatch*".²¹⁰

Martin's other three articles in the series follow a similar pattern and rhetoric. The second one is dedicated to different changes on a painting that should not be restored, like colour changes or the reappearance of pentimenti.²¹¹ Damages that hinder the aesthetic appreciation of the painting can be restored, but only if one is certain of how it looked before. Overpaint is often a later addition to the artwork and can be removed.²¹² Martin makes a point to talk about incorrect methods in the past were much was damaged to show in contrast how much better the methods of his time are. He underlines abilities and scientific approach of restorers and explains how the damages of the past are often blamed on today's restorers because they uncover the truth beneath layers of overpaint and varnishes.²¹³ In that context he states, that knowing about the restoration history of an object would go a long way in avoiding such surprises and lobbies for a better, possibly national training program for restorers.²¹⁴

While the first two articles explained why one should never restore unless it is necessary,²¹⁵ the third article is about restoration techniques and methods. Martin starts by giving a brief overview on the way a painting is made and the most common problems that can appear. He continues by speaking of structural treatments like cradling and lining in detail, explaining every step of the complex procedure.²¹⁶ Several times he refers to the experience and knowledge necessary of the restorer to be able to do this process and warns about the dangers. The different diagrams throughout the text serve to make the explanation both easier to follow for the reader and look more like a regulated scientific method. Martin specifically chose to speak about those dangerous and complex treatments. He warned against the problems that can arise from incorrect methods and so raised the status of the restorers to the only people qualified enough to attempt such a treatment, acknowledging once again the trained restorer as a professional.²¹⁷ Since Martin himself did not have this kind of practical know-how, it stands to reason that he must have learned those techniques by close observation and exchange with the restorers Carel

²⁰⁹ Martin 1916a, p.16.

²¹⁰ Martin 1916a, p.17.

²¹¹ Martin 1916b, pp.33-34.

²¹² Martin 1916b, p.37.

²¹³ Martin 1916b, pp.39-40.

²¹⁴ Martin 1916b, p.41.

²¹⁵ Martin 1916c, p.67, "restaureer nooit zonder noodzaak".

²¹⁶ Martin 1916c, pp.68-73.

²¹⁷ Martin 1916c, pp.67, 73-74.

and Derix de Wild, who were working for the Mauritshuis at the time. His examples throughout the articles show that Martin was very knowledgeable about the treatments carried out in the Mauritshuis and even other museums, showing his interest and involvement.

The last article of the series is dedicated to “sick” varnish layers. After recapitulating the use of a varnish and some points made in the first part of this series, Martin proceeds to talk about the treatment of a damaged varnish layer.²¹⁸ He explains the removal of varnish with both the dry method of rubbing it off with the finger, and the wet method of using a solvent; warning about dangers with both options.²¹⁹ He also mentions the more problematic oil-varnishes and the different methods for their removal. Again, Martin is careful to explain that the treatments should only be done by trained restorers. Further he goes into detail about the Pettenkofer method, which he saw as valid solution if one did not dare to remove all varnish layers.²²⁰ Martin concluded his series by speaking about the general upkeep that a paintings-owner can do, like dusting with a soft cloth, keeping the humidity steady and to only entrust the artwork to trained restorers in the event that treatment is needed.²²¹

Even though some of the methods that Martin explained in his articles are no longer considered to be viable techniques, many other remarks still hold some relevance. Especially his appeal not to work on the painting yourself, and to only give it to a professional restorer, are warnings that still ring true. Similarly, some of the ideas, to remove all dirty layers of varnish or to preserve the painting the way it is, without later additions, are standard in today’s conservation policy. At the time of writing these articles, Martin stood at a turning point between coarse traditional methods and more careful modern considerations. These early writings were a first step towards the professionalisation of restorers and the slow evolution to a more scientific practice, something that needed broad public support to be carried to the decision-makers at the top. The series served as a window into the secrets of a profession, both to educate the reader and to strengthen the position of the restorers in the museum world.

In 1918 Martin published his book “Alt-holländische Bilder”. It is written in German and is mostly a guide on how to collect paintings and what one should know about them.²²² Chapter four is titled ‘Das Erhalten und Wiederherstellen von Gemälden’ (The upkeep and restoration

²¹⁸ Martin 1917, p.360.

²¹⁹ Martin 1917, p.361.

²²⁰ Martin 1917, pp.363-365.

²²¹ Martin 1917, p.365.

²²² Martin 1918a.

of paintings).²²³ This chapter reads like a translated version of the previous article series: most of the explanations, examples and illustrations, even some of the comparisons and metaphors being exactly the same. He even kept a similar structure, by discussing in a part A ‘healthy paintings’ which covers the topics of articles one and two²²⁴, and in a part B ‘sick paintings’ by reiterating articles three and four.²²⁵ Part C picks up all warnings pronounced throughout the articles to reinforce the proper way to care for paintings.²²⁶ All in all, the book and the articles are nearly congruent, with the difference that the book includes pictures of restorers at work.²²⁷ While not all restorers can be identified, Derix de Wild is clearly visible on one of them, reinforcing the assumption that Martin had help from him and his workshop in the composition of his articles and book.²²⁸ That Martin saw the need to repeat his writings in this fashion, may be due to the fact that the book was published in German and designed for collectors and therefore available to a much broader audience. The articles in ‘Oude Kunst’ catered to a smaller group of Dutch-speaking, art-lovers and art historians, whereas the book was accessible to a much broader percentage of the public; addressing collectors and would-be collectors alike as well as art enthusiasts and professionals. “Alt-holländische Bilder” was very successful and was reprinted in 1921, further cementing Martin’s status as a distinguished and knowledgeable art historian and director.

While his first four articles and book can be read as an introduction into conservation and restoration, his later article of 1918 was a response to the discussions during the Frans Hals controversy and reflects upon it.²²⁹ Martin begins by explaining the Frans Hals controversy in the broadest terms, pointing out the deplorable state the paintings were in prior to their restoration. He goes over the restoration of the “*Regents of the old men’s alms house (1664)*” at the hands of Carel de Wild in 1911 and the most recent restoration of the “*Regents of the St. Elisabeth’s Hospital (1641)*” by Derix de Wild in 1918.²³⁰ He points out that in the seven years between the treatments, thoughts and fashion about restoration had changed significantly as Gratama preferred a non-tinted varnish; a decision that Martin clearly approved of. He also observes, that the reaction of the press had changed, while there was a certain amount of outrage

²²³ Martin 1918a, pp.121-196.

²²⁴ Martin 1918a, pp.121-157, see Martin 1916a and 1916b.

²²⁵ Martin 1918a, pp.157-193, see Martin 1916c and 1917.

²²⁶ Martin 1918a, pp.193-196.

²²⁷ Martin 1918a, see fig.95, 103, 104.

²²⁸ Martin 1918a, p.191, fig. 103. This collaboration was already suspected by Van Duijn/te Marvelde 2016, see p.820.

²²⁹ Martin 1918b.

²³⁰ Martin 1918b, pp.3-4 and Gratama 1918.

in 1911, in 1918 many artists agreed wholeheartedly to the treatments; again, a development that pleased Martin immensely.²³¹ He was however aware that there were still some dissidents to this more modern approach, prompting him to explain the use of varnishes again and the way paintings were treated in the past centuries. Martin enumerates some past practices and reminds the reader that dark and discoloured varnishes were never the painter's intention, citing the practice to keep paintings in cabinets and behind curtains to protect them and early cleaning campaigns.²³² Martin reiterates that old, damaged varnishes must be removed, as they distract and disguise the actual masterpiece underneath; following more insistently his rhetoric from his previous publications. Martin is clearly a representative of the 'completing- restoration' concept, as he is in favour of seeing the artwork like the artist intended it. This requires both art historical and technical research in order to get closest to the original intention. An important factor is the respect for the artwork, as not to alter the original substance in any way by overpainting or applying tinted varnishes. A common thread in his writings is always his warning against too much restoration when it is not necessary or too little restoration when it is. Also, his appeal to remove or at least thin all damaged and discoloured varnish layers, appears in all discussed publications. Which type of varnish should be applied afterwards varies slightly. In 1916 he deemed a tinted varnish not preferred but acceptable, while in 1918 he is firmly on the side of clear varnishes if preserving the old varnish is not an option.

Apart from his publication, it was often Martin's capacity as director of the Mauritshuis that involved him in restoration problems. People would write to him to hear his professional opinion on their paintings,²³³ or supervisory boards of museums would ask for his expertise.²³⁴ But Martin was also involved in several other side-projects and discussions that had to do with restoration and conservation, as can be gleaned from his archive and correspondence. One of those is the restoration of all the paintings from the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden from 1918 onward.²³⁵ Martin and Derix de Wild compiled an extensive report and list for the supervisory board of the museum, with clear guidelines on which paintings should undergo which treatments at the hand of the de Wild restorers. This side-project was at the same time also a

²³¹ Martin 1918b, pp. 4-5, and see chapter 3.2.1 of this paper for the reaction of the press.

²³² Martin 1918b, pp. 6-9.

²³³ MHA, inv.nr. 148-402. The archive is full of letters from private owners requesting Martin's help or opinion throughout the years, and that is only the correspondence addressed to the Mauritshuis. People would also write to his personal address, but those assessments do not survive at the RKD, as Martin had most of them burned before his death.

²³⁴ Like for example the Frans Hals Museum in 1909 and 1910, the Rijksmuseum in 1918 or the Lakenhal in 1935.

²³⁵ RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 17 "Verslag omtrent den toestand der schilderijen die zich bevinden in het Fries Museum te Leeuwarden [...]", pp.1-18.

joint venture of a more personal nature, as Martin's brother Herman Martin was the director of the Fries Museum between 1916 and 1919 and probably helped secure this large commission for de Wild.²³⁶ In the first part of his report, Martin notes in detail what the best course of action would be for every type of object in the collection, explaining the treatments the artworks would undergo and assuring the board repeatedly of de Wild's outstanding abilities.²³⁷ In the second part, Martin and de Wild lists every object from the collection and details exactly what the problem is, which treatment it should get, as well as a cost estimate.²³⁸ This report is not only interesting for the restoration history of the Fries Museum, but also because it illustrates Martin's way of working with restorers and other collections. The report makes the practical side of things visible and is as such a good supplement to Martin's other more theoretical writings.

A second project was Martin's search for a cure for the ultramarine-sickness on Jan Steen's "*The Life of Man*".²³⁹ Martin wrote to several experts around the world, including director Glück from the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, restorer Hauser jr. in Berlin, chemist and artist Prof. van Itallie from Leiden and scientist and editor van Huffel, for their opinions on how to treat the Steen painting.²⁴⁰ He received extremely varied responses: Hauser was not certain that it was ultramarine-sickness and advised to coat the varnish with copaiba balsam and to regenerate it thoroughly as to be sure that the disturbances were not in the varnish layers.²⁴¹ Glück did not know any cure and did not believe that one existed, recommending to leave the painting as it was.²⁴² Van Huffel was more helpful: he carried out some analysis and tests and sent a whole report to Martin in which he confirms that the painting has the sickness because, regeneration and other environmental tests had no effect, and speculates about the causes.²⁴³ While no cure or new treatment could be found, this letter exchange shows Martin's dedication

²³⁶ "Eerste directeur Fries Museum Herman Martin (80) is in Zeist Friesland nog niet vergeten", Leeuwarder courant (24.08.1961), p.5.

²³⁷ RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 17 "Verslag omtrent den toestand der schilderijen die zich bevinden in het Fries Museum te Leeuwarden [...]", pp.1-7.

²³⁸ RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 17 "Verslag omtrent den toestand der schilderijen die zich bevinden in het Fries Museum te Leeuwarden [...]", pp.8-18.

²³⁹ Inv.nr.170. Under ultramarine-sickness one understands a pigment degradation process. The bright blue ultramarine becomes dull and grey in some cases and takes on a cloudy appearance. The complex causes of this process have not yet been completely solved, but the oxidation of the sulphur molecules in the pigment seems to play a major role. A.M. de Wild and van der Sleen also tried to discover the reason for this process in respectively 1929 and 1922. For more information on this process see also Klaas 2011.

²⁴⁰ MHA, 158, 47, Letter nr.251 to Hauser 26.07.1911; MHA, 158, 48, Letter nr. 252 to van Itallie 26.07.1911; MHA, 158, 49, Letter nr.253 to Glück, 26.07.1911.

²⁴¹ MHA, 158, 63-64, Letter nr.258 Hauser to Martin, 01.08.1911.

²⁴² MHA, 158, 66, Letter nr.259 Glück to Martin, 01.08.1911.

²⁴³ MHA, 158, 67, Letter nr.260 van Huffel to Martin 28.07.1911 and MHA, 159, 65-72, Nr.349, Report on the condition of Jan Steen nr.170, 1911.

to the conservation of the paintings and his willingness to ask for help and advice from both art historians, restorers and scientists alike, anticipating the concept of the “three-legged-stool”.²⁴⁴

4.2.1 Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam

Another side-project in which Martin involved himself was the discussion surrounding cracks on paintings in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam in 1922. The controversy started at the end of April 1922 when numerous newspapers reported that the ventilation in the museum needed to be improved in order to ameliorate the conditions for the nineteenth century paintings which started to show surface cracks.²⁴⁵ To test this theory, it was proposed to outfit one room with a mechanical ventilation system, costing f 4700, while another would be left with natural ventilation.²⁴⁶

This decision jump-started a lively discussion in the papers over the course of two months which involved many artists and art experts. First, the necessity of such a ventilation system was put into question by the city council.²⁴⁷ Some councilmen stated that there was no proof that the museum or the ventilation was responsible for the cracks. Others claimed that a constant temperature and humidity level had no effect, and that the condition could only be due to the materials used.²⁴⁸

The discussion continued with a contribution of director Baard of the Stedelijk Museum:²⁴⁹ According to Baard, the building itself was not the cause of the cracks as there were many paintings without the issue. He was however, of the opinion that some paintings are predisposed to cracking due to the use of bitumen, which does not dry properly, and the application of paint on wet layers.²⁵⁰ The director assured the council, that he had studied the phenomenon for years. He was sure that big changes in temperature over night and day and during summer and winter were important to the survival of the artworks, even though a layman may believe constant temperature to be the best. He was convinced that any constant temperature was harmful and that the natural changes in temperature are vital. In general, Baard considered central heating to be a big problem in museums as the air gets too warm and dry. The Stedelijk Museum

²⁴⁴ This concept was coined by Georg L. Stout, who standardized the museum records of painting examinations in his 1975 book “The care of pictures”. The image of the three-legged stool illustrates the need for interdisciplinarity between art historians, scientists and restorers.

²⁴⁵ While the discussion does not state clearly which paintings are the victims of the cracks, it is very clear that they are paintings from the nineteenth century and probably from the ‘Haagse school’ (Israëls, Maris etc.)

²⁴⁶ “Ventilatie Stedelijk museum te Amsterdam”, *Het Vaderland* (25.04.1922). “Stedelijk Museum”, NRC (25.04.1922). “Wijziging ventilatie Stedelijk Museum”, *Algemeen Handelsblad* (25.04.1922).

²⁴⁷ “Amsterdam Gemeenteraad”, NRC Ochtendblad C (18.05.1922) and “Ventilatiewijziging Stedelijk Museum”, *Algemeen Handelsblad* (18.05.1922).

²⁴⁸ “Amsterdam Gemeenteraad”, NRC Ochtendblad C (18.05.1922).

²⁴⁹ “Barstende schilderijen”, *Het Vaderland* (23.05.1922).

²⁵⁰ “De barstende schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum”, NRC Ochtendblad C (23.05.1922).

counteracted this by placing buckets of water next to the heaters to increase the humidity levels.²⁵¹

Understandably this article led to a number of reactions by people from the field, which can broadly be separated into two camps and lines of argumentation: Some saw the climate in the museum rooms as the cause of the cracks, others lay the blame at the feet of the painters. A third camp took issue with director Baard's opinion. In this category we see first and foremost A.M. de Wild, scion of a family of paintings restorers, who did not identify himself to the papers but admitted to his writings in his personal archive today kept in the RKD.²⁵² He listed eight arguments against the views of director Baard, starting with the rather roundabout way the director had explained the causes of the cracks, without going into detail of what precisely happened even though some research had already been done on the interactions of different layers of the paintings.²⁵³ Next he strongly criticized that artworks are used as test objects for any practices where the result is still to be determined. Further he objected to the lack of scientific character of those tests, as Baard was not clear on the temperature, humidity level or the way the ventilation would help solve the problem. He also questioned the selection of experts and the reasoning of Baard on why certain paintings are affected and others not, ending with the demand that the problem be researched properly by the chemists of TU Delft.²⁵⁴ A similar reaction came from engineer Hofmann, who pointed out several misconceptions of Baard, starting with the fact that oil paint does not actually dry, as there is no water to evaporate. He advised to keep both the temperature and the humidity constant but admitted that it is difficult in most museums because they are not equipped with the proper systems to regulate and ventilate the rooms.²⁵⁵ Hofmann was therefore in favour of the new ventilation systems in the Stedelijk Museum but sees no necessity for experiments as observations over a long period of time would be necessary to reveal the impact of the systems.²⁵⁶

Others were convinced that the environment is at fault: art dealer Abraham Preyer for example, was sure that the foremost cause for cracking paint was direct light. He admitted that high

²⁵¹ "De barstende schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum", NRC Ochtendblad C (23.05.1922).

²⁵² RKD, Archive A.M. de Wild, Box 4, folder 13.

²⁵³ A.M. de Wild (signed R.), "De barstende schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum", NRC Ochtendblad en Avondblad (27.05.1922).

²⁵⁴ A.M. de Wild (signed R.), "De barstende schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum", NRC Ochtendblad en Avondblad (27.05.1922). A.M. de Wild was also a chemist and seemed to have more trust in scientific research than in art historical musings.

²⁵⁵ That is still difficult for many museums, the system in the Mauritshuis was only installed in 1987, see Buvelot 2014, p.225.

²⁵⁶ R. Hofmann, (ingezonden), NRC (27.05.1922).

temperature was also a factor but was convinced that light was the main problem. He advised to cover the windows and to have museums in the future as enclosed as possible.²⁵⁷

Van Huffel was also very vocal in this discussion and can be placed between the two arguments.²⁵⁸ He concurred with Hofmann that the humidity is the most relevant factor, but also agreed with Baard that the quality of the materials is also important. Furthermore, he was critical that money was being employed for useless experiments while it should instead go to an able restorer to save the paintings. He claimed that the problem must lie in the specific layers of some paintings and that therefore the canvases should be removed, a new ground layer painted on, and then relined to end the problem once and for all. For panels he advised to regulate the humidity levels by closing of rooms and to diffuse water vapour through the dry parts of the museum.²⁵⁹ Similarly, W. Bloemkolk found merit with both lines of argumentation. He agreed that some paintings are predisposed to cracking due to poorly prepared grounds and the application of layers before the underlying one was dry. However, he was completely against the idea that changing humidity and temperatures could be good for the painting. He states that it has been proven that canvases warp under shifting humidity and that humidity and temperature should stay at a “normal” level.²⁶⁰ Painter W.L. Bruckman, also joined the discussion, agreeing on the points of both the too dry environment and the low-quality materials. He also warned against using an unsuitable ground and mixing unsuitable materials together.²⁶¹

Another party was convinced that the fault lay with the painters: Painter and art critic Justus Havelaar expressed his surprise that this topic garnered so much attention, even though it was not a recent one and was also common to several museums.²⁶² While he placed the responsibility for the cracking primarily with the painters, he still argues in a convoluted way,

²⁵⁷ A. Preyer, “Barstende schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum”, NRC (06.06.1922). Another opinion is expressed by art dealer Houthakker: “Barstende schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum”, NRC Avondblad B (14.06.1922).

²⁵⁸ Dr. N.G. van Huffel, “Barstende schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum”, NRC (28.05.1922), Dr. N. G. van Huffel, “Barstende schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum”, NRC (06.06.1922) reacting to the article “Barstende schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum”, NRC (04.04.1922) in which Bredius expresses his opinion that the temperature may be too constant and Dr. N.G. van Huffel, “Het barsten van schilderijen”, NRC Ochtendblad C (10.06.1922) in reaction to the article “Het barsten van schilderijen”, NRC Avondblad (07.06.1922) in which Hofstede de Groot writes that cracked paintings are not salvageable.

²⁵⁹ Dr. N.G. van Huffel, “Barstende schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum”, NRC (28.05.1922).

²⁶⁰ W. Bloemkolk, “Barstende schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum”, NRC (01.06.1922).

²⁶¹ W.L. Bruckman, “Het barsten van schilderijen”, NRC Ochtendblad C (10.06.1922).

²⁶² He refers to an article by painter Nieweg in “De Amsterdammer Weekblad” (30.04.1921), p.12, who already saw the cracks in 1921 and advised a less dry environment.

that it is the best to keep museums ventilated and not too dry.²⁶³ Even Bredius saw fit to send his opinion on the matter from Monte-Carlo; he saw the cause of the cracks as being a combination of the too dry central heating, the poorly prepared canvases and low quality materials.²⁶⁴ Hofstede de Groot agreed completely with Baard and Bredius on the fact that some paintings are predisposed to cracking due to their materiality.²⁶⁵ He made a distinction between those cracks, and those which are a consequence of the environment, stating that if the environment were the problem, all paintings would be affected. He was therefore of the opinion that the painting process was the cause of the cracks. He pointed out that since many paintings by many artists have been together in the same conditions with different effects to the paintings surface, only the materials and the manner of using them can make the difference. Further he did not believe the views of Baard on the changes in temperature and humidity, suggesting they may have been exaggerated and misunderstood by the correspondent. He pointed out that temperature had been known not to have a big influence on paintings whereas changes in humidity must be detrimental. He felt that since the materials are the cause of the cracks, the ventilation system is useless and that nothing can be done for the paintings.²⁶⁶ Painter Sara Heijberg-Ledeboer also offered her opinion on the matter, advising to paint in an expert manner with good materials and to varnish properly.²⁶⁷ Gratama, contributed as well: He referred to the work he and chemist van der Sleen undertook for the Frans Hals paintings, and explained how the built up and use of unsuitable materials can lead to the cracking of the paint layers during the drying process. He thought the solution can only be to educate painters better. Paintings can be retouched and lined to prevent the cracks from becoming too disturbing.²⁶⁸

Mid-June 1922 the newspapers reported, that the installation of the ventilation system had been put on hold for the time being, due to the intense debate taking place in the newspapers.²⁶⁹ Lastly the conflict was recapitulated in a lengthy article on 20.06.1922.²⁷⁰ After that the papers

²⁶³ Justus Havelaar, “Het barsten der schilderijen in ’t Stedelijk Museum te Amsterdam”, *Het Vaderland* (02.06.1922) and [...] het barsten van schilderijen [...], *Het Vaderland* (09.06.1922).

²⁶⁴ “Barstende schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum”, *NRC* (04.06.1922).

²⁶⁵ Hofstede de Groot, “Het barsten van schilderijen”, *NRC* (07.06.1922).

²⁶⁶ Hofstede de Groot, “Het barsten van schilderijen”, *NRC* (07.06.1922).

²⁶⁷ S. Heijberg-Ledeboer, “Het barsten van schilderijen”, *NRC* (07.06.1922). Another contribution to the discussion is an extract from “*De Bouwwereld*”, which reminds the reader of the careful thought that went into the construction of the Stedelijk Museum to keep the artworks safe, see “Het barsten van schilderijen”, *NRC Avondblad B* (10.06.1922).

²⁶⁸ G.D. Gratama, “Het barsten van schilderijen”, *NRC Avondblad B* (10.06.1922). Another contribution is by Painter Rouville, who has questionable opinions, see H.J de Rouville de Meux, “Barsten in schilderijen”, *Het Vaderland Avondblad B* (15.06.1922).

²⁶⁹ “De barstende schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum”, *NRC Ochtendblad C* (13.06.1922); “De barstende schilderijen in het Stedelijk Museum”, *Het Vaderland* (14.06.1922).

²⁷⁰ “Van schilderijen die niet buigen doch wel barsten”, *De Gooi- en Eemlander* (20.06.1922).

did not report further on this problem, leaving it unclear for the reader if the ventilation system was ever implemented or what steps were taken to prevent the further deterioration of the paintings.²⁷¹

Martin also expressed his opinion on the problem of the Stedelijk Museum. In his archive at the RKD, several handwritten pages can be found that are obviously a reaction to the discussion in the papers.²⁷² They are not dated, but a mention of the article of Sara Heijberg-Ledeboer makes it clear that it must have been written after that, so at the earliest on the 08.06.1922. His text cannot be found in any newspaper and it is also quite long, including two illustrations, so it is possible that he sent it directly to the museum, or that he wanted to publish it as an article.²⁷³ In any case it allows us to know his opinion on the matter and to position him in the discussion. Interestingly, Martin did not go into detail about the environmental factors but saw the cause of the cracks in the paintings themselves.²⁷⁴ He then continued by taking a very close look at the cracks and explained the formation of cracks in detail, bringing in a scientific approach using test-paintings.

Martin was much more precise and closer to the scientific reasons for the formation of cracks than other authors, which suggests he had done some research. He was also the only voice in the discussion to point out, that the cracks themselves are not the problem, but rather that they are moving and likely to cause paint to fall off. He explained how drying cracks form, using two paintings to illustrate his point. Even though they were the same age, one was cracked and the other one was not; which he took to mean that the correct built-up was more important than the environment in which they were kept in.²⁷⁵ He further illustrated this by having two test-panels, one painted with good paint, the other with cheap diluted paint. They shared the same environmental conditions for several years, but the first one cracked only after 14 years whereas the other cracked after 5 years. Since it is unlikely that Martin started those tests himself in 1898, he must have had some help in formulating his response and access to someone who

²⁷¹ The implementation of air-conditioning is a difficult chapter in the history of the Stedelijk Museum, while they tried different temporary methods of ventilation after the second world war, a system up to modern standards was only installed during the renovation of the building in 2010-2012. See J. Lamoree, *Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam: het hart van de tijd*, 2012 and “Stedelijk Museum sluit weer de deuren”, *Het Parool* (9.10.2011)

²⁷² RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 17 “Barsten van schilderijen“, pp.1-5.

²⁷³ RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 17, two photographs of cracks. In the archive of the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam (1895-1979) (Nr. 30041) at the SAA, no incoming correspondence can be found from Martin.

²⁷⁴ RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 17 “Barsten van schilderijen“, p.1: “Bij de schilderijen zelve ligt vereeuwigt het grootste deel der oorzaak van het kwaad.”

²⁷⁵ RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 17 “Barsten van schilderijen“, p.3: “Het gaat met anderen woorden bovenal om de ‘bouwstoffen’ en de ‘bouwwijze’ van het schilderij.”

carried out those tests, possibly a restorer. He referred also to other drying tests with oil paint and bitumen, suggesting that he had familiarized himself with the topic. While there is nothing that can be done against the bitumen, he said a good relining can help with the cracking and that an able restorer can make the painting aesthetically pleasing again. In his usual fashion he lamented the lack of trained restorers. Stylistically Martins writings are very close to his other publications on restoration and conservation. He speaks with a confidence that implies broader knowledge of the topic in question and makes an effort to be scientific in his approach, going so far as to include empirical experiments, while keeping a didactic ductus. In his previous writings he barely touched on the subject of cracks, indicating that he learned more about them in the meantime. He was also quite generous with the critique of the other authors, while being respectful of director Baard's intentions. Like A.M. de Wild and Hofmann he took a progressive, scientific approach that was still quite new to his generation and analyses the painting much more closely.

Seen with today's knowledge, most arguments during the discussion are flawed in some way, even though most contain truthful facts as well. In modern museum practice it has been accepted that a constant temperature and humidity is vital to the preservation and conservation of easel paintings. Most materials are sensitive to shifts in relative humidity.²⁷⁶ Panels and canvases swell and shrink with the rise and fall of relative humidity, which can lead to warping, splitting, breaking of fibres etc., especially if the environment is too dry. High humidity above 60% also accelerates some chemical processes like corrosion of metal objects or degradation of dyes in textiles, and the growth of moulds and insect infestations. Therefore, the best relative humidity for museum rooms lies around 50% \pm 5% with an absolute range of 40-60%.²⁷⁷ Temperature is a less important factor, even though it should also be kept constant.²⁷⁸ Contrary to what Hofstede de Groot believed, being in an unsuitable environment would not have an immediate effect on all paintings in the same way, as the reaction is very much dependent on the composition of the artwork. This can vary between artists, periods and materials. However, he

²⁷⁶ Thomson 1978, pp.79-82. Relative humidity is expressed as a percentage and indicates the ratio between the amount of water in a given quantity of air and the maximum amount of water which the air can hold at that temperature. At a higher temperature the air can hold more water, whereas with dropping temperature the humidity of the air also decreases.

²⁷⁷ Hill Stoner/Rushfield 2012, pp. 672. Those are standards for central Europe, in tropical climates or climates where temperatures are below freezing for a longer period, relative humidity will have to be adjusted accordingly. See Thomson 1978, pp.86-89.

²⁷⁸ Hill Stoner/Rushfield 2012, pp.672-673.

is correct that cracks can be distinguished as drying or ageing cracks as they look different and appear in different period in a painting's lifetime.²⁷⁹

As Martin rightly pointed out, craquelure occurs in many oil paintings and is in itself not cause for concern. It can tell something about the age, the technique of an artist and give indications about the authorship of an artwork.²⁸⁰ It does become a problem, if the adhesion of the paint to the support is no longer viable and paint flakes off, or if the cracks become so wide that they disturb the composition of the painting. Drying cracks form relatively shortly after the completion of the painting due to the drying (evaporation of solvent or departure of gaseous by-products) of the paint. Factors, such as the amount of binding medium, the thickness of application, and the glossiness or the dryness of the ground or underlying layer, have an influence on the drying time and promote crack formation.²⁸¹ If a quick-drying layer is applied on top of a slow drying one, the differing surface tension can lead to cracking but also the different chemical composition of the layers plays a role.²⁸² However the mechanisms of formation of drying cracks is more complex and can happen in different ways according to materials used and the craftsmanship of the painter.²⁸³ For example bitumen, used often in nineteenth century paintings, is notorious for not drying properly, breaking up other layers, or melting in even moderately high temperatures.²⁸⁴ Similar problems can also arise if the painting is varnished too quickly, when not all layers are dried, as it may hinder the evaporation of solvents and cause tension.²⁸⁵

Ageing cracks on the other hand appear much later in a paintings lifetime (>100 years) and are directly linked to mechanical stresses.²⁸⁶ It is most often due to the support of the painting adapting to changes in humidity or temperature by shrinking or expanding, when the ageing paint layer is no longer flexible enough to accommodate those changes.²⁸⁷ Additionally, external stresses, like the keying out of a slack canvas or pressure of stretcher bars, may cause cracking.²⁸⁸ Considering the big changes in temperature and humidity that Baard advises, they could easily have influenced the formation of cracks. However, as we know that they are mostly

²⁷⁹ Keck 1969, p.12, see note 9. This was already known to some contemporaries like Laurie and earlier. See Beltinger 1993, p.14.

²⁸⁰ Hill Stoner/Rushfield 2012, p.285.

²⁸¹ Keck 1969, p.13.

²⁸² Keck 1969, pp.12-13 and Beltinger 1993, pp.14-15.

²⁸³ Hill Stoner/Rushfield 2012, pp.287-288.

²⁸⁴ Beltinger 1993, pp.15.

²⁸⁵ Keck 1969, p.16.

²⁸⁶ Keck 1969, p.12.

²⁸⁷ Hill Stoner/Rushfield 2012, pp.287-289 and Keck 1969, p.17.

²⁸⁸ Keck 1969, pp.17-20.

looking at nineteenth century paintings, it seems more likely that they are looking at drying cracks instead of ageing cracks. Without visual evidence of the crack patterns in question, it is however impossible to say for sure.

Martin was the only one in the discussion to analyse the paint layers and their reactions in his explanation instead of glossing over materiality in general terms. He realized that the composition makes a difference and proceeded to search for the culprit and to understand the process. In this way, his thinking process was much closer to today's practices and shows his understanding of restoration and of a painting in its materiality. That these observations come from an art historian is surprising, but only serves to illustrate Martin's deep involvement in the field, his dedication to restoration and his progressive scientific approach. Coming from him, who was already recognized for his knowledge, the analysis also carried more weight and may have influenced the discussion, as the professional restorers had not yet acquired the professional recognition necessary.

As stated earlier, he was considered progressive and modern in matters of restoration or conservation. This can even be substantiated by a contemporary source. During the nomination process of a new director of the Rijksmuseum after van Riemsdijk retired in 1920, the supervisory board of the Rijksmuseum decided against selecting Martin as director. He had been proposed as a possible candidate to the cautious and traditional board, but while they praised his work in the Mauritshuis and his many publications, they disqualified him for his "harsh cleaning of paintings".²⁸⁹ That showed at the same time the deeply rooted traditional ways of thinking, and that they had either not read or not understood Martin's writings on restoration.

4.3 his restorers

A reoccurring topic in Martin's writings, is his insistence that trained and trusted restorers are essential. During his directorship of the Mauritshuis and later the Museum Mesdag, Martin got to know many restorers and employed some of them. With a few he had an exceptional relationship, working with them to raise awareness for the necessity of restoration and to support its increasing professionalisation.

²⁸⁹ Duparc 1975, p.240, Letter nr.349, 14.12.1920: „De Heer Prof. D. W. Martin heeft zich in zyn bestuur van het Mauritshuis als een degelyk beheerder dier verzameling doen kennen, door zyn catalogus, zyn verschikkingen en zyn aankopen. Toch zou ons zyn voorliefde voor het scherpe schoonmaken van schilderyen weerhouden hem aantebevelen [...]"

The first restorer Martin worked with was Carel de Wild. When Martin started as vice-director of the Mauritshuis in 1901, Carel had already been employed regularly by Bredius.²⁹⁰ (fig.5) Carel de Wild was born in 1870, he worked first at a carpenters workshop before starting as a clerk at the art dealer Goupil & Cie in the Hague.²⁹¹ There he came into contact with the art world, learned about art and followed evening drawing courses at the Academy.²⁹² At the art dealer's, he was also in charge of small repairs on paintings that had been brought in, something he excelled at.²⁹³ After leaving Goupil, he worked as a painter and took on restoration projects of private collectors.²⁹⁴ Carel was discovered by Hofstede de Groot and Bredius, who were searching for a successor for W. A. Hopman.²⁹⁵ Carel was sent to Vienna in 1894, for an internship in the restoration studio of the Kunsthistorisches Museum. Carel learned different aspects of restoration, like lining, regeneration and retouching.²⁹⁶ He stayed in Vienna for about a year (November 1894 – September 1895)²⁹⁷ before moving to Berlin in January 1896 to stay with the famous restorer Alois Hauser jr. until May.²⁹⁸ There he learned the “Dutch method” of wax-resin lining that Hauser in turn had learned from W. A. Hopman in 1891.²⁹⁹ In 1896 he returned to the Hague and set up his own studio. Carel quickly became a sought after restorer, praised for his careful work and skills as a connoisseur and painter, acquiring many different museums and collectors as clients.³⁰⁰ Carel did a lot of work for the Mauritshuis between 1900 and 1911 while he was also still active as a painter.³⁰¹ He however became particularly well known due to the very public restoration of Frans Hals “*Regents of the old men's alms house (1664)*” in 1911.³⁰² This restoration also attracted the interest of Knoedler Art Dealers from New York who hired him on the spot. Carel moved to New York in autumn of that year.³⁰³ He

²⁹⁰ ARA, 2.04.13, 1930, Letter Nr. 1062, 22 April 1900.

²⁹¹ Birth register at the RHCL, 12.052 Burgerlijke Stand in Limburg: Kessel 1796-1942, 2 Kessel, 5-8 Register van geboorte, 6 (1843-1870). Becht 1905, p.369 and Netscher 1904, p.760.

²⁹² Becht 1905, p.370.

²⁹³ Becht 1905, p.370.

²⁹⁴ Netscher 1904, p.764 and Becht 1905, p.371.

²⁹⁵ Netscher 1904, p.764.

²⁹⁶ Netscher 1904, p.765.

²⁹⁷ Getuigschrift Weenen and Correspondence, RKD, Archive C.F.L. de Wild sr., Box (inv. 1-22), nr. 16 and nr. 20. There are different versions of the exact time that Carel spent abroad, but information gleaned from his diploma and his letters seem to be the most trustworthy. He also spent a month in Italy on vacation, see Becht 1905, p.372, or possibly one of his brothers, see RKD, Archive C.F.L. de Wild sr., Postcard from Rome 13.11.1895.

²⁹⁸ Netscher 1904, p. 768. It is not completely clear how long he stayed with Hauser, sources vary between 3 and 5 months.

²⁹⁹ Ibid. and Van Duijn/te Marvelde 2016, p.817.

³⁰⁰ Van Duijn/ te Marvelde 2016, p.818.

³⁰¹ Netscher 1904, p.771 and “Professor de Wild, Art Expert, Dead”, American Art News 20, 32 (06.05.1922).

³⁰² Van Duijn/ te Marvelde 2016, p.819. See chapter 3.2.1. of this paper.

³⁰³ Winterthur Museum, Library and Archives, FAIC Oral History File, telephone interview by Joyce Hill Stoner with C.F. Louis de Wild, 9th October 1977.

returned to the Netherlands in the summers, where he helped his brother and nephew with the rest of the Frans Hals restorations.³⁰⁴ In America, Carel befriended important collectors and advised them in the purchase of paintings, being acknowledged as a connoisseur.³⁰⁵ In 1921 Carel was appointed by the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia as Professor on “Care, preservation and restoration of paintings”.³⁰⁶ However, Carel could only give one lecture to a group of five students. Shortly afterwards he died on the 12th of May 1922.³⁰⁷

Bredius had played a large role in shaping Carel’s career and regarded Carel as one of the most capable restorers.³⁰⁸ He and Martin entrusted him with many sensitive treatments and recommended him to the Frans Hals Museum during the controversy. Since Bredius was often absent, it was Martin who was responsible for the Mauritshuis and worked closely with Carel.³⁰⁹ Carel lined some twenty-two paintings in his time, including Rembrandts “*Anatomy Lesson*”, and varnished many more.³¹⁰ He had a good understanding of painting materials and chemistry and devised his own recipes for adhesives and varnishes.³¹¹ Depending on the size and condition of the paintings, he often worked in the basement or a closed-off exhibition room of the Mauritshuis instead of his own studio.³¹² This would have given Martin ample opportunity to observe Carel at work and to learn more about restoration. Even though Martin was his superior in the museum and in a position where he should direct the restorer during the treatment, in the early years Martin was probably not as well versed in restoration issues yet, and both were rather new to their job. It is safe to assume, that Carel got directions from Bredius through Martin but worked independently and needed only minimal supervision.

³⁰⁴ Van Duijn/ te Marvelde 2016, p.820.

³⁰⁵ The Anderson Galleries, Household furniture important paintings objects of art, from the estate of the late C.F.L. de Wild, 18-19.01.1924 and Franken 2018.

³⁰⁶ Van Duijn/ te Marvelde 2016, p.819 and RKD, Archive C.F.L. de Wild sr., Box (inv. 23-46), nr. 43 and Box (inv 47-67), nr. 57.

³⁰⁷ “Carel F.L. de Wild” Notice of Death, NRC (13.05.1922).

³⁰⁸ Van Duijn/ te Marvelde 2016, p.817.

³⁰⁹ RKD, archief Wilhelm Martin (0327), Box 20 (aanvullingen 2017), Notes for an autobiography 1953. Martin describes working under Bredius: “[...] Bredius was gul met vrijgeven, mits hijzelf niet op reis was en ik het werk deed dat er te doen was. (Ik beantwoordde vrijwel alle brieven v.h. Mhuis, die hij kwam tekenen, + half twaalf 's ochtends).”

³¹⁰ Noble 2009, p.26.

³¹¹ Noble 2009 p.26 and MHA, Letter Nr. 303, 30 Mei 1907; Broos/Wadum 1998, p.49.

³¹² ARA, 2.04.13, 1930, Letter nr. 112, Bredius to the Minister 18.03.1908. “[...] In verband met de grootte van het doek kan dit niet worden verdoekt in de lokaliteit in het gewelfde onderhuis van het Mauritshuis, die daarvoor doorgaans gebezigd wordt, doch moet de bewerking geschieden in een der zalen der benedenverdieping, dezelfde waarin voor dertig jaar de Heer Hopman het stuk dezelfde kunstbewerking deed ondergaan. [...] Ik zal zorgdragen, dat de zaal, waarin het werk zal plaats hebben, behoorlijk voor het publiek wordt afgesloten.”

It speaks for Carel's abilities and Bredius's trust in him, that he was recommended to judge the condition of the Frans Hals paintings during the controversy, and that he was selected to treat "*Regents of the old men's alms house (1664)*" in 1911. It was this controversy that brought restoration into the limelight and made Carel well known. Martin also learned a lot during it and was confident from 1910 onwards, to voice his opinion on restoration and on the abilities of certain restorers, not only in the reports he wrote for the museum, but also in his correspondence.³¹³ A few times Carel spoke about restoration publicly, already in 1904 and 1905 he gave interviews in which he talked about his work and training;³¹⁴ during the controversy he published in 1909 and 1910.³¹⁵ Carel de Wild's work can be situated between the concepts of 'reworking-restoration' and 'completing-restoration', as he was in favour of removing later additions and old varnishes but in many cases did not dare to leave the painting in this blank state, retouching a bit more and applying a slightly tinted varnish afterwards.³¹⁶

Derix de Wild, Carel's brother was born in 1869. He first worked as a civil servant for the Post and Telegraph office in The Hague.³¹⁷ (fig.6) He trained to be a restorer in his brother's studio and assisted him with his commissions. After Carel's departure for America in 1911, Derix took over his workshop and his clients and was in high demand. He also took over Carel's work for the Frans Hals Museum and the Mauritshuis; restoring around two hundred paintings in the Mauritshuis, including most Rembrandts with the help of his son and nephew.³¹⁸ Starting around 1918 he taught his nephew Louis the profession, taking him on as an assistant. Louis stayed in The Hague till 1929, helping his uncle with numerous restorations.³¹⁹ His own son, A. Martin³²⁰ also learned the profession from Derix and helped him with his commissions, working alongside him for the Mauritshuis. In 1932 Derix became seriously sick and died shortly after on the 4th of December 1932, aged 63.³²¹

Derix was trained as a restorer, not as a painter, making his perspective on restoration different than others and possibly prompting his course towards a more scientific approach. Derix

³¹³ For the reports in the Frans Hals controversy see chapter 3.2.1 of this paper. For the correspondence: MHA, 156, 132, Letter nr. 76, 21.02.1911.

³¹⁴ Netscher 1904 and Becht 1905.

³¹⁵ De Wild 1909, report for the Frans Hals Museum and De Wild 1910, over copaiba balsam.

³¹⁶ Van Duijn/te Marvelde 2016, p.816 and

³¹⁷ This is known through the marriage certificate of his brother Frans where he was a witness and "Bij het overlijden van Derix de Wild", De Telegraaf (06.12.1932).

³¹⁸ MHA; restoration documentation and the annual reports 1912-1932.

³¹⁹ Winterthur Museum, Library and Archives, FAIC Oral History File, telephone interview by Joyce Hill Stoner with C.F. Louis de Wild, 9th October 1977.

³²⁰ Derix's son was called Angenitus Martinus de Wild and therefore always used "Martin" as his first name, or "Tinus" for his friends.

³²¹ "Familiebericht", De Telegraaf (06.12.1932).

worked his whole career with Martin, treating paintings from the Mauritshuis collection, but also many others. Derix and Martin shared similar beliefs and the drive to restore artworks in a sustainable and safe way. Martin trusted Derix and recommended him to the supervisory board of the Frans Hals Museum, praising his work for the Mauritshuis highly.³²² In the aftermath of the Frans Hals controversy, Derix restored seven Frans Hals paintings from 1918 to 1927 under the guidance of Gratama. The first painting he treated was the “*Regents of the St. Elisabeth’s Hospital (1641)*”, from which he removed all old varnish layers and overpaint.³²³ To avoid another public outcry, chemist van der Sleen was asked to assist de Wild in this and to prove scientifically that no original colour had been removed from the paintings surface. Both men were very interested in the scientific research, carrying out different analysis and documenting their findings in detail. Van der Sleen published his research in 1922, assuring the public that no damage had been dealt to the paintings.³²⁴ The scientific examination and the fear of another public discussion, must have motivated Derix to be extremely diligent in the restoration of the paintings, prompting him to write a detailed account of his actions for each restoration.³²⁵ It was unusual for the time to document restoration so precisely, even more to fill a box with the materials he used, removed varnish and photographs of the painting in different states,³²⁶ but its presence shows how seriously Derix took his work and the respect he had for the artwork. In Derix’s notes he also recorded carefully who visited the studio during his work and their remarks on the painting; several important persons, like van Riemsdijk and Martin visited regularly to view the proceedings. Their observations fit with their previous characterizations, van Riemsdijk was worried that de Wild went too far with the cleaning and would have liked to keep the oldest varnish layer. Martin in contrast enquired about the plans to varnish with a clear varnish and lamented that the “*Anatomy lesson*” had been varnished with a slightly tinted varnish some years earlier.³²⁷ Derix successfully treated all remaining Frans Hals paintings until 1927 but he never showed interest in publishing or lecturing about his work. He only ever published one small article, leaving the remaining restorations to be discussed by director

³²² MHA, 355, Letter Nr. 31 Martin to van de Poll, 23.02.1918. See Van Duijn/Te Marvelde 2016, p.820 for a translated excerpt.

³²³ A detailed report of the restoration can be found in the restoration documentation of the Frans Hals Museum.

³²⁴ Van der Sleen 1922.

³²⁵ He was probably more motivated by the discussion, as with the years the account becomes less detailed.

Where he wrote exactly what he did and used day by day in the report of the restoration of the “*Regents of the St. Elisabeth’s Hospital (1641)*” in 1918, in later restoration report from 1925 or 1927 he was much briefer, only mentioning in broad terms what he did. See restoration documentation, Frans Hals Museum.

³²⁶ See Te Marvelde 2017 for the content of the box.

³²⁷ Frans Hals Museum, Notes in the restoration documentation, “Martin vroeg of ik het durfde blanke vernis erop te zetten [...]”.

Gratama.³²⁸ It can, however, safely be assumed that he was the silent co-author in Martin's articles on restoration and conservation.³²⁹

Derix de Wild's interest in the sciences, which was later continued by his son A. Martin de Wild who studied chemistry, can also be seen in some of the work he did for the Mauritshuis. In 1916 an anonymous threat of a chemical attack was made against the museum, prompting Martin and Derix to work together to find a safe rescue method for the paintings, in the event of such an attack.³³⁰ They recreated chemical attacks with different materials on a test-painting of lesser quality from the Mauritshuis depot in de Wild's studio, to assess the damage and find the most effective counteragent.³³¹ Derix analysed the effects, but they determined that such an attack should not lead to irreparable damage.³³² The fire extinguishers that had worked best in neutralising the chemicals, were however installed in the Mauritshuis for the event of an attack.³³³ That a director and a restorer worked so closely together as to carry out damage-tests together for a day, was highly unusual for the time.³³⁴ Directors were expected to observe the work of the restorers at a respectable distance and to make decisions on what should be done.³³⁵ That Martin was so involved in the proceedings, as to participate personally, only shows the importance he placed on restoration and his modern attitude. While he certainly supported the traditional role of a director, as shown by his arguments during the Frans Hals controversy where he claimed that the creation of a national board would be an affront to the responsibilities and abilities of a director,³³⁶ he was at the same time freer and more modern in the application

³²⁸ De Wild 1924 and Gratama 1918, 1920, 1928

³²⁹ Van Duijn/te Marvelde 2016, p.820. The writings are in many instances also quite similar to some lectures given by A. M. de Wild, indicating that the theories written down by Martin were part of the de Wild workshop practice which A. Martin de Wild learned through his father. RKD, Archive A. Martin de Wild (0345), Box 3 and 9, Lectures 1938, 1942, 1959 etc.

³³⁰ MHA, 355, 29-30, Letter Nr.231 Martin to the Minister, 16.07.1916.

³³¹ MHA, 355, 32, Letter Nr.242, Martin to an unnamed party, 18.07.1916, "Met de Wild heb ik afgesproken, dat wij Donderdag of Vrijdag a.s. proeven met loog enz. zullen nemen op proefkonijntjes in zijn werkplaats." The test-paintings (probably second-rate paintings from the depot, see note 333) are called "Proefkonijntjes" in the correspondence, see van Duijn/te Marvelde 2016, p.820.

³³² MHA, 355, 32, Letter Nr.242, Martin to an unnamed party, 18.07.1916, "De Wild is, evenals ik, van meening {sic!}, dat er al heel wat moet gebeuren, voordat onherstelbare schade wordt aangebracht, [...]".

³³³ MHA, 355, 34-35, Letter Nr.244, Martin to the Minister, 23.07.1916, "Een, volgens scheikundig onderzoek van den schilderijenhersteller D. de Wild practisch {sic!} gebleken tegenmiddel staat gereed, nl. onze snelblussers [...] blijkens door mij genomen proef met een schilderij uit ons depot."

³³⁴ Friedländer and Ruhemann also worked well together, see for example R. Macbeth, *A Material History of Rogier's St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*, in: *The Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Rogier van der Weyden St. Luke drawing the virgin*, Boston 1997.

³³⁵ This can be seen through the selection process of directors over the years, see Erfteemeijer 2013, pp.66-68 and Duparc 1975, p.240, Letter nr.349, 14.12.1920 for the selection after the retirement of van Riemsdijk.

³³⁶ ARA, 2.04.13, 1806, letter nr. 2933, 12.11.1909 and MHA, 151, 96-99, Draft of the letter, 12.11.1909, See Elbers 1998, pp.20-21.

of those responsibilities, working closer with his restorers and using his influence to further the cause.

Their friendship can also be seen in other instances: it was often Martin who sent commissions his way or who recommended Derix to collectors and museums, just as it was the case with the Frans Hals Museum and the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden. He also recommended him to the many people sending their paintings for judgement to the Mauritshuis; whenever a restorer was necessary, Martin would propose de Wild's studio.³³⁷ In some cases he would even defend Derix's reputation against some slights.³³⁸ Martin was a firm believer in Derix's abilities, and was never disappointed. Derix can be considered a representative of the concept of 'completing-restoration', as he removed all later additions to a painting and tried to get closer to the original appearance of the painting. His often-scientific approach to study the chemical make-up of the artwork, and careful and precise work helped him get closer to that ideal and earned him international recognition.

4.3.1 The Seven works of Charity

Another instance in which Martin stood firmly behind Derix de Wild and had to defend him against accusations, was the restoration of the Polyptychon "*Seven works of Charity*" by the Master of Alkmaar in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.³³⁹ The museum, under the leadership of van Riemsdijk, bought the artwork in 1918 with the support of the Ministry and the Rembrandt society; it was in very bad condition with loose planks and paint and numerous retouches and overpaint, but the director was confident that a good restoration could restore it to its former glory.

As soon as it arrived in the museum however, the discussion began about which restorer should be tasked with the treatment, as each party that had facilitated the purchase wanted to have a say in the restoration. One of the conditions for the Minister's support in the acquisition had been, that different experts like Six, Hofstede de Groot, Veth and Martin would be invited to decide upon the restoration.³⁴⁰ The Rembrandt society similarly invited Bredius to represent them in the discussion.³⁴¹ Van Riemsdijk had originally intended to let the treatment simply be

³³⁷ MHA, 367-386, For example 369, 38, Letter Nr.157 Martin to Mr. van Eck, 15.04.1914.

³³⁸ MHA, 385, 59-60, Letter Nr.M48, Martin to Baron van Geen, 12.03.1930, "[...] Heer van Bohemen geenszins bekend staat als de beste schilderij-hersteller van ons land. Dit is, volgens de eenstemmige meening {sic!} der deskundigen op dit gebied, de Heer D. de Wild alhier, die iemand is van internationale reputatie en wiens telkens de meest verantwoordelijke herstellingswerken [...] worden opgedragen."

³³⁹ The seven works of Charity, inv.nr.: SK-A-2815

³⁴⁰ NHA, 476, 350, Letter Nr.780, Minister to van Riemsdijk, 5.04.1918 and NHA, 476, 350, Letter Nr.1323, Minister to van Riemsdijk, 28.05.1918.

³⁴¹ NHA, 476, 350, Letter Vereeniging Rembrandt to van Riemsdijk, 31.05.1918.

carried out by his own restorer Bakker, but found himself faced with a whole board of experts who had different ideas. The board immediately agreed that a restoration was necessary and what kind of work would be needed, but on the restorer opinions were quite divided, making it very difficult to decide anything as a majority vote was required.³⁴² Veth wanted restorer van Bommel, van Riemsdijk Bakker, Bredius and Martin Derix de Wild. Hofstede de Groot and Six were indecisive and needed to be convinced to a side to get a majority vote. Hofstede de Groot wanted to select the best restorer there was, tending towards de Wild; Six was not convinced by any option, but thought Bakker would be cheaper.³⁴³

In order to strengthen the position of his own candidate, van Riemsdijk asked a former client of Bakker to testify that he had done good work and so to prove that he was an able restorer.³⁴⁴ Others had similar ideas, Bredius wrote a short note to van Riemsdijk, reminding him that he had seen a painting treated exceptionally well by Derix de Wild, on a visit to Bredius and that he would not hesitate to employ him again.³⁴⁵ Van Riemsdijk however, had decided that Bakker was the right person for the job, not hesitating to use underhand tactics to discredit de Wild. During a confidential meeting of the board, they had examined a painting treated by de Wild to assess his abilities, and to Martin's great surprise the owner appeared in the Mauritshuis the next day enquiring after remarks that had supposedly been made about his painting, suggesting that it had not been treated as well as thought.³⁴⁶ Martin wrote to van Riemsdijk about his indiscretion and warning him about the misunderstanding that can arise. He also conferred immediately with de Wild, confirming that he did not overpaint the background like he was accused of. While Martin explicitly stated that he did not need to defend de Wild, as his work speaks for itself, it is clear that he did take on a defensive stance against van Riemsdijk in their increasingly tense correspondence.³⁴⁷ Martin also realised that they are never going to agree on de Wild but refused to change his recommendation for the "*Seven works of Charity*".³⁴⁸

³⁴² Elbers 1998, pp.42-43 and NHA, 476, 350, Letter Nr.1592 Minister to van Riemsdijk, 6.06.1918.

³⁴³ Elbers 1998, p.43.

³⁴⁴ NHA, 476, 350, Letter H.P.Bremmer to van Riemsdijk, 3.06.1918.

³⁴⁵ NHA, 476, 350, Letter Bredius to van Riemsdijk, 10.07.1918.

³⁴⁶ NHA, 476, 350, Letter Martin to van Riemsdijk, 12.07.1918.

³⁴⁷ NHA, 476, 350, Letter Martin to van Riemsdijk, 12.07.1918 and van Riemsdijk's response draft in which he reiterates that he does not trust de Wild and knows several instances where his work was subpar and would rather see Bakker work. Van Riemsdijk further fans the flames in his response to the owner of the painting in which he is quite condescending on Martin and his belief in de Wild. (NHA, 467, 350, Letter van Riemsdijk to van Meurs 14.07.1918.)

³⁴⁸ NHA, 476, 350, Letter Martin to van Riemsdijk, 17.07.1918, "Ik geloof niet, dat wij inzake het 'vertrouwen in de Wild' ooit verder zullen komen. U heeft geen vertrouwen in zijn werk, terwijl ik daarentegen, o. a. door zijn jarenlange werkzaamheid voor het Mauritshuis, zijn werk hoogschat. Ik acht hem van onze schilderijherstellers den beste en daarom zou ik de restauratie der Alkmaarschen schilderijen gaarne aan hem zien toevertrouwd."

Bredius, Martin and Hofstede de Groot were in favour of de Wild, van Riemsdijk and Six for Bakker, and Veth proposed to let both restorers work together: this is the conclusion of their report to the Minister.³⁴⁹ The Minister himself preferred Bakker, but since three out of six board members were against him, he suggested to let Bakker prove himself by working on a test-painting. The results were underwhelming, and Hofstede de Groot saw several options to resolve the problem, as he said if restorer and director are not of the same mind, nothing good can come from it.³⁵⁰ He proposed to either let van Riemsdijk and Bakker work on it, or to transfer the painting to the Mauritshuis to let Martin and de Wild take it on. A third option would be to do nothing and let the restoration wait until a better option was found.³⁵¹ This is what the Minister chose, and the paintings were kept as they were.³⁵² The board was dissolved in 1928, the restoration only took place in the 1970's.³⁵³

While the discussion was never resolved and the painting was never treated by either de Wild or Bakker, it is still interesting to illustrate how divided the opinions were on matters of restoration and restorers. It shows how much de Wild was valued by Martin and Bredius and demonstrates the difference between the traditionally minded van Riemsdijk and his supporters, and the more modern minded The Hague faction. This case study does not show Martin's opinion about restoration or his progressiveness, but illustrates clearly his high opinion of his restorers and the lengths he went to promote them and their work, and in turn the influence they had on Martin.

Retrospectively, the de Wild family of restorers, and especially Carel and Derix de Wild, stand out from other restorers of their time, not only for the huge amount of treatments they carried out, but also for their ethics and scientific approach. They were among the first to incorporate technical analysis and scientific research into their work. Even with the increasing

³⁴⁹ NHA, 467, 350, Report to the Minister, 6.11.1918. Martin writes: Ik sluit mij geheel aan bij de nota van Dr. Hofstede de Groot. De vraag is hier niet, of de Heer de Wild niet wel eens minder geslaagde restauraties heeft verricht, maar of hij thans capaciteiten bezit, om het werk, waarom het gaat, te verrichten, en of er al dan niet een hersteller in den lande is, aan wie dit werk beter ware toe te vertrouwen. Naar mijn stellige overtuiging, die o.a. gegrondvest is op mijn ervaring met den Heer de Wild bij diens zeer bekwame herstellingen, in het Mauritshuis verricht, is hij degene, aan wiens dit werk moet worden opgedragen. Ik zou niet weten in wiens handen het beter te stellen ware.

³⁵⁰ Elbers 1998, p.47.

³⁵¹ Elbers 1998, p.46-48.

³⁵² See Elbers 1998, p.48 and Johansson 2017, pp.16-17.

³⁵³ Johansson 2017, pp.24-35. For more information on the restoration of the 1970's see C.J. Bruyn, De zeven werken van Barmhartigheid van de Meester van Alkmaar gerestaureerd, in: *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 23 (1975), pp.203-226 and J.P. Filedt Kok, Master of Alkmaar, Polyptych with the Seven Works of Charity, 1504, in: J.P. Filedt Kok (ed.), *Early Netherlandish Paintings*, online coll. cat. Amsterdam 2008: hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.9048 (accessed 21 May 2019).

professionalisation of restoration, their success would not have been possible without likeminded directors such as Bredius, Gratama and Martin as their superiors.

5 Conclusion

Wilhelm Martin was an accomplished art historian, writer and director. It is surprising that he did not get a more prominent place in history, as he stood out from his contemporaries in several ways. While he tended towards a quiet and restrained way of life, his dedication and commitment to his museum and restoration is noteworthy. He involved himself deliberately in matters concerning restoration and conservation, even published about them, gaining a unique expertise.

While the lack of research on restoration history in the twentieth century makes a definitive conclusion more difficult, it is clearly visible that Martin followed the developments of his time towards a more scientific approach in restoration to a strong degree. He even took it a step further, actively encouraging interdisciplinary and technical research in his collaborations with the restorers de Wild. Martin is a strong representative for the concept of ‘completing-restoration’, valuing the artwork in the way the artist envisioned it. While he never hid his preference for clean pictures, in his early years as director, he was careful to follow the wishes of the public by conceding to a slightly tinted varnish. However, he does not fit well in Riegl’s contemporary types of art historians, which in itself shows that Martin took on a special position in the field. He could be considered a mixture of type one and three, as he did understand the painting as a historical document but also wanted to see it as originally intended. His experiences with restoration and the close contact to the de Wilds emancipated his tastes and shifted his view over the years towards a more modern practice. The fact that Martin published so extensively on restoration make him unique and very progressive and had the additional effect of removing the profession from the secrecy of the studio and into the limelight. Martin’s preference for a clear varnish rather than a tinted one made him stand out, and his support of scientific research during and before treatment show that he was ahead of his time.

To conclude, several answers were found to the questions posed at the beginning of this paper. Martin can rightfully be called progressive. The development of his opinion over time shows that his actions are more than a symptom of his time, but a conscious effort to do right by the artworks in his care. While many of his contemporaries still adhered to traditional views, Gratama, Bredius and the de Wilds also had more modern and progressive inclinations, positioning Martin in a group of people that had realized the added value of scientific research

and did not hesitate to employ them, bringing them closer to today's conservation practices. It is possible, that with the digitization of archives, new archival documents will surface about Martin and restoration, maybe making it possible in the future to add supplementary details and to pinpoint the development of Martin's opinion on restoration and conservation over a larger time period.

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C.F.L. de Wild sr., Het Rapport de Wild over de schilderijen van Frans Hals te Haarlem (with a Foreword by Wilhelm Martin), in: *Bulletin van de Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond* 3 (1910), pp. 41-56.

De Wild 1924

D. de Wild, The cleaning of the Frans Hals pictures at Haarlem, in: *Bulletin of the Bachstutz Gallery The Hague/ New York City* 8 (September 1924), unnumbered pages.

De Wild 1929

A.M. de Wild, The scientific examination of pictures. An investigation of the pigments used by the Dutch and Flemish masters from the Brothers van Eyck to the middle of the 19th century, London 1929.

De Wild 1931

A.M. de Wild, Méthodes de restauration et de conservation des peintures des écoles hollandaises et flamande, in : *Museion* 15 (1931), pp. 41-46.

Archival sources

Noord-Hollandsarchief (NHA)

From the archive of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (Nr.: 476 Archief Rijksmuseum en rechtsvoorgangers te Amsterdam, 2 Archief van het Rijksmuseum van schilderijen (1877-1945)), the following inventory numbers were consulted:

- 454: Stukken betreffende kritieken op de restauratie van schilderijen van F. Hals in het Frans Halsmuseum te Haarlem 1909-1920.
- 350: Schilderij door de Meester van Alkmaar, met stukken betreffende de restauratie, 1918-1923
- 301: Ingekomen en minuten van uitgaande stukken bij en van jhr. B. W. F. van Riemsdijk, 1909-1919.
- 293-296: Kopieboeken van uitgaande stukken, 1906-1928.

From the archive of the Frans Hals Museum (Nr.: 1374 Frans Hals Museum te Haarlem 1862-1949; 1378 Frans Hals Museum te Haarlem 1862-1953 (aanvulling)), the following inventory numbers were consulted:

- 1374/ 10-11: Ingekomen stukken en minuten van uitgaande stukken, 1906-1916.
- 1378/ 33: Raadsverslag van 26 februari 1919 waarin een krediet werd geschonken van f 12.000, - voor het restaureren van 6 schilderijen van Frans Hals
- 1378/ 34: Raadsverslag van 15 september 1909 van C.F.L. de Wild inzake de staat van de 6 Frans Hals schilderijen.

Nationaal archief (formerly: Algemeen Rijksarchief) (ARA)

From the archive of the ministry of internal affairs, department arts and sciences (1875-1918) (Nr.: 2.04.13), the following inventory numbers were consulted:

- 1806: Stukken betreffende restauratie van schilderijen en kunstvoorwerpen, het Rijksmuseum van schilderijen, 1901-1918.
- 1916: Stukken betreffende de beveiliging van het gebouw tegen brand 1875-1912
- 1929: Stukken betreffende de acquisitie van kunstvoorwerpen 1900-1918

- 1930: Stukken betreffende restauratie van schilderijen 1875-1918

From the archive of the ministry of education, arts and sciences, department arts and sciences (1918-1940) (Nr.: 2.14.45), the following inventory numbers were consulted:

- 29: Agenda's van ingekomen en uitgaande stukken 1.01 – 30.04.1928 (nrs. 1-2220)
- 41-42: Agenda's van ingekomen en uitgaande stukken 8.04 - 10.06.1931 (nrs. 2040-4079)
- 102: Klappers op de agenda's van ingekomen en uitgaande stukken 1927
- 103: Klappers op de agenda's van ingekomen en uitgaande stukken 1928
- 104: Klappers op de agenda's van ingekomen en uitgaande stukken 1929
- 105: Klappers op de agenda's van ingekomen en uitgaande stukken 1930
- 106: Klappers op de agenda's van ingekomen en uitgaande stukken 1931

Nederland Instituut voor kunstgeschiedenis (formerly: Rijksbureau voor kunsthistorische Documentatie) (RKD)

- Archive Wilhelm Martin (NL-HaRKD-0327), 1890-1954, 2,5 m.
- Archive Carel F. L. de Wild sr. (NL-HaRKD.0227), 1890-1921, 0,5 m.
- Archive C. F. Louis de Wild jr. (NL-HaRKD.0779), 1927-1957, 0,3 m.
- Archive A. Martin de Wild (NL-HaRKD.0345), ca.1920-1968, 2 m.
- Archive Abraham Bredius (NL-HaRKD-0380), ca. 1879-1930, 7,5 m.

Stadsarchief Amsterdam (SAA)

From the archive of the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam (1895-1979) (Nr. 30041), the following inventory numbers were consulted:

- 10 Brievenboeken met ingekomen stukken 1919-1929
- 11 Brievenboeken met ingekomen en uitgaande stukken 27.10.1921-24.12.1928

Museum archives

Mauritshuis Archive (MHA)

The following inventory numbers were consulted:

- 148-159: Ingekomen en minuten van uitgaande stukken jan 1909-dec 1911
- 179-189: Klappers en Indexen op de ingekomen en uitgaande stukken 1909-1948
- 210: Stukken betreffende het ontslag, de intrekking hiervan en het hernieuwde ontslag van A. Bredius als adviseur 1920-1922
- 212: Stuk betreffende de toekenning van een koninklijke onderscheiding aan A. Bredius, 1935
- 213: Briefwisseling met het Departement van Opvoeding, Wetenschap en Cultuurbescherming betreffende de opvolging van de directeur, 1941
- 349: Staat met opgave van schilderijen en hun nummering in het kader van redding maatregelen bij brand, 1925
- 350: Stukken betreffende de bomvrije berging van schilderijen te Zandvoort, 1939-1940
- 352: Stukken betreffende de overbrenging van schilderijen naar de kelder van het Mauritshuis en bomvrije bergplaatsen in Heemskerk, Zandvoort, Maastricht en Paaslo, 1939-1944
- 355: Correspondentie met restaurateurs, het Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en het Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, musea, andere overheidsinstellingen en particulieren betreffende het onderhouden en herstellen van kunstwerken 1912-1951
- 367-402: Correspondentie met derden betreffende verzoeken om inlichtingen over kunstwerken of -voorwerpen zowel in particulier - als in rijksbezit zijnde, 1912-1947

- 416: Prof. dr. W. Martin t.g.v. zijn 70ste verjaardag, Maandblad Beeldende Kunsten 22, 1946
- 417: Abraham Bredius 1855-1946 in memoriam door prof. dr W. Martin, Maandblad Beeldende Kunsten 22, 1946
- Restoration documentation, Restauratie Atelier Mauritshuis
- "Knipselboek" 1885-1927

Frans Hals Museum Archive (FHMA)

- Restoration documentation. Restauratie Atelier Frans Hals Museum

Appendix

Figures



Fig.1: Wilhelm Martin in his office at the Mauritshuis, November 1910.



Fig.2: G. D. Gratama, director of the Frans Hals Museum, ca. 1912.

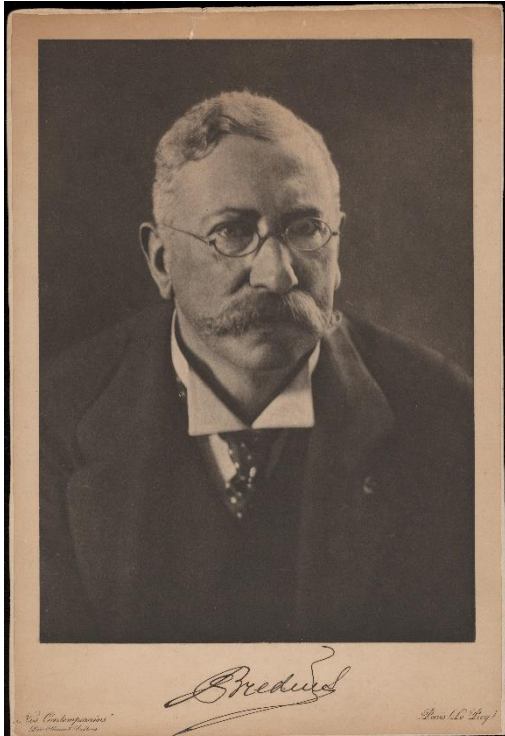


Fig.4: Abraham Bredius ca. 1915.

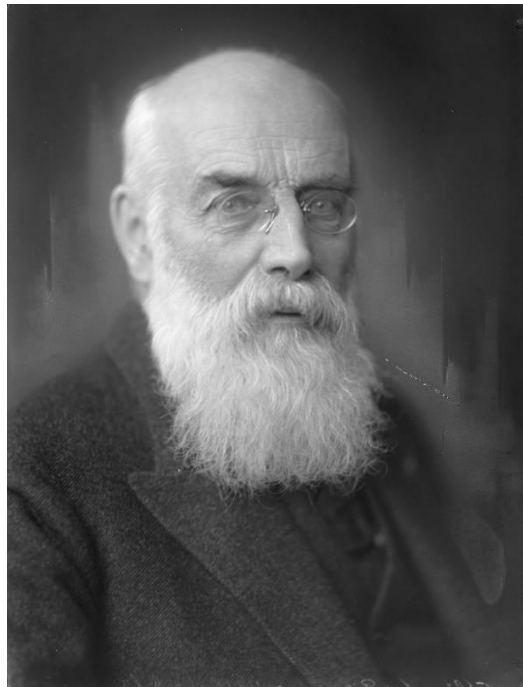


Fig.3: B.W.F. van Riemsdijk, director of the Rijksmuseum, ca.1920.



Fig.5: Carel F.L. de Wild.



Fig.6: Derix de Wild (right) in his studio, ca. 1918.

Table of Figures

Fig.1: RKD, Archive Wilhelm Martin (0327)

Fig.2: Erfteimeijer 2013, p.66

Fig.3: SAA, beeldbank, photo by Jacob Merkelbach.

Fig.4: Mauritshuis beeldbank

Fig.5: The Anderson Galleries, Household furniture, important paintings and objects of art from the estate of the late Carel. F.L. de Wild, New York 1924. p.1.

Fig.6: Martin 1918, p.191, fig.103.

List of W. Martin's Publications

Jaar	In	Titel
1894	De Zuidhollander 27.03.94	Kritiek op de Bosch-tentoonstelling te Leiden
1896-97	In den Nevel	Boekenbesprekingen
1898	Minerva 20.01.98	Over den band Stad.Almanack 1898
1899	Almanack L.I.C	"Een Vischpartij"
1899	NRC 26.11.99	Over de Nalatenschap van P. Potter
1900	Almanack L.I.C	"De Kattenpoort"
1901	Proefschrift	Het leven en de werken van Gerrit Dou beschouwd in verband met het schildersleven van zijn tijd
1901 (-1947?)	NRC	Berichten en Boekbesprekingen ("nieuwe aanwinsten van het Mauritshuis")
1901	Oud Holland 2	Een en ander uit den inventaris der nalatenschap van Cornelis Tromp
1901	Oud Holland 2	Een Kunsthandel in een klapperman wachthuis
1902	Kunstkroniek (Seemann) 13/12	Berichten over Holland, "holländischer Brief" (Pseudoniem Cornelis Bos "C.B.")
1902 -?	Kunstkroniek (Seemann)	Medelingen over Nederland (Pseudoniem "C.B")
1902 -?	BNOB	Aanwinsten van het Mauritshuis, Boekbesprekingen etc.
1902	Leidsch Dagblad 17.01.02	Over oude tekeningtentoonstelling Leiden
1902	Oud Holland 20/1	Bladvulling
1902		Catalogus der Tentoonstelling Langerhuizen van oude tekeningen, Leiden (15-25.01.02)
1902	BNOB	Kritiek Tekeningtentoonstelling Leiden
1902	BNOB	Kritiek Tentoonstelling Alkmaar 1901 etc.
1902		Stedelijk Museum te Leiden (met J.C.Overvoorden)
1902	Woord en Beeld	Jan Vermeer van Delft
1902	Onze Kunst 1/4	Rembrandt Literatuur
1902	Onze Kunst 1/4	Over nieuwe kunstboek
1902	Onze Kunst 1/4	Boekbesprekingen
1902	Great Masters in painting and sculpture	Gerard Dou

1902	Kroniek	Jan Vermeer van Delft
1902	BNOB	Over Floerke's Dissertatie, Tentoonstelling Oude tekeningen te Leiden etc
1902	Les Arts 12	Nieuwe Mauritshuis aanwinsten
1903	Les Arts	Over de portretten tentoonstelling in den haagse Kunstkring
1903	Elseviers Maandschrift	De vlaamsche primitieven op de tentoonstelling te Brugge
1903	Onze Kunst	Boekbesprekingen
1903	The Burlington Magazine	Boekbesprekingen
1903	BNOB	Over een schilderij van P. Lastman in het Mauritshuis
1903	BNOB	Over het legaat des Tombes in het Mauritshuis
1903	De Nederlandsche Spectator 33+36	De van Goyen-tentoonstelling te Amsterdam I-II
1903	De Nederlandsche Spectator 43	Over Cornelis Engebrectsz.
1903	De Nederlansche Spectator 52	Over Herbert & Jan van Eyck
1903	Oud Holland 21/1	Schilderijen uit een Utrechtsche Inventaris van 1693
1903 - 1904	Het Rotterdamsche Nieuwsblad	"Het Museum Boijmans" (part I – LII) (Anoniem)
1903-1904	Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers	Enkele artikelen over hollandsche schilders
1904	Openbare Les 21.10.04	Kunstwetenschap in theorie en praktijk
1904	De Nederlandsche Spectator	G.H.Marius, hollandsche Schilderkunst in het 19de eeuw
1904	De Nederlandsche Spectator	Reproducties naar oude tekeningen
1904	De Nederlandsche Spectator	Amsterdamsche Schilders
1904	De Nederlandsche Spectator	Over hollandsche landschap in de Kunst
1904	Het Museum	Over Oubaan's dissertatie
1904	Oud Holland 22/2+3	Nieuwe bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Leidsche St. Lucasgild (met Bredius) (I-II)
1904	Het Vaderland 28+29.02.04 AB	Een lezenwaardig boek over onze schilders
1904	Het Vaderland 3.03.04 AB	Katholieke Kunstkritiek
1904	Sythoff	Vertaling: Moderne Kunst, Reproducties van internationalen Meesterwerken (Anoniem)
1904-1911	Winkler Prins geïllustreerde Encyclopedie	Artikelen over hollandsche en vlaamsche schilders, graveurs en beeldhouwers
1905	Het Huis oud en	Iets over de schilderachtigheid onzer oude binnenhuizen

	nieuw 3	
1905		Beknopte Oude Nederlandsche Schilderkunst
1905	Museum 8	Boekbesprekingen
1905	Oud Holland of Burlington?	Serie over hollandsche schilders toestanden in de 17de eeuw?
1906	De Nederlandsche Spectator	Rembrandt Oorkonden
1906	Onze Eeuw 6/7	Uit Rembrandts Leidschen tijd
1907		Galerie Gustav Hoschek von Mühlheim in Prag: beschreibendes Verzeichnis der alten Gemälde
1907	Oratie	Eenige opmerkingen over de waardering onzer schilderkunst in onze Gouden Eeuw
1907		Overzicht van de werkzaamheden der Vereniging Rembrandt.
1907	Onze Kunst	Jan Vermeer, Het meisje met de fluit
1907	Art flamand	Jan Vermeer, La fille avec une flute
1907	Oud Holland 25/3	Michiel Sweerts als schilder
1907	BNOB 8	Rembrandt en Lastman
1908	Monatshefte der Kunstwissenschaft 1/9	Über den Geschmack des Holländischen Publikums im XVII Jahrhundert mit Bezug auf die damalige Malerei
1908	BNOB Dez.	Catalogus der schilderijen in de Lakenhal
1908	Onze Kunst Aug.	Boekbespreking
1908	BNOB Sept.	Een regentenstuk te Elshout
1908	BNOB Dez.	Aanwinsten van het Mauritshuis
1908		Notable Pictures in American private collections
1908	The Burlington Magazine Oct.	Art in America
1909	The Burlington Magazine 14	A picture by Hans Jordaens in the national Gallery
1909	BNOB	Rembrandts portretten van Herman Doomer en Baartjen Martens
1909	Elseviers Maandschrift 37/2	Iets over Amerikaansche schilderijverzamelingen
1909	BNOB	Een onbekend schilderij van Gerrit Dou
1909	BNOB	De werkzaamheid van dr.A. Bredius aan het Mauritshuis
1909	BNOB	Tentoonstelling van Stilleven in den rotterdamschen Kunstkring (11.09-10.10 1909)
1909	BNOB	Aanwinsten van het Mauritshuis
1909	BNOB	Tentoonstelling van Familieportretten nagelaten door Wijlen Jhr.Mr.C.H.Backer
1909	Oud Holland 27/1	Isaak Jansz Koedyck: schilder van levensgrootte figuren
1909	Onze Kunst 8/11	Jan Steen en zijn kunst op de tentoonstelling te Londen
1909	NRC 11.06.09 AB	De Jan Steen Tentoonstelling te Londen
1909	Het land van Mauve 12	Willy Sluiter
1910	Thieme-Becker Lexikon	Esaias Boursse
1910	Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft	Studien zu Jan Steen anlässlich der Ausstellung seiner Werke in London

	3/5	
1910	BNOB	Een hollandsche Fabriek van Oude schilderijen?
1910	BNOB	Stedelijk Museum te Haarlem
1910	BNOB	Mauritshuis
1911	Elseviers Maandschrift 21/42	De tentoonstelling van Oud Hollandse schilderijen te Parijs I
1911	Elseviers Maandschrift 21/42	De tentoonstelling van Oud Hollandse schilderijen te Parijs II
1911	Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft 4/10	Ausstellung altholländischer Bilder in Pariser Privatbesitz (I-II)
1911		Gerard Dou: sa vie et son oeuvre étude sur la peinture hollandaise et les marchands au dix-septième siècle
1911	BNOB	Een valse Dou
1911	BNOB	Aanwinsten van het Mauritshuis
1911	Oud Holland 29/2	Een Suzanna van Jan Lievens
1912	BNOB	Mauritshuis
1912	Museum	Boekbespreking
1912	Oud Holland 30/1	Schilderijen op Haarlem's Stadhuis in 1692
1912		Oude schilderkunst in Nederland: schilderijen van hollandsche en vlaamsche Meesters in raadhuizen, kleine stedelijke verzamelingen, kerken, hofjes, weeshuizen, senatskamers enz, en in particulier bezit I
1912		Anciennes peintures dans les pays-bas: peintures des maitres hollandais et flamands dans les hotels de ville, petites galleries municipales, églises, hospices, orphelinats, chambres de conseil et dans des collections privées I
1913		Oude schilderkunst in Nederland: schilderijen van hollandsche en vlaamsche Meesters in raadhuizen, kleine stedelijke verzamelingen, kerken, hofjes, weeshuizen, senatskamers enz, en in particulier bezit II
1913	BNOB	Het Jaarboekje voor beeldende Kunsten 1913
1913	BNOB	Mauritshuis
1913	Museum 20/6	Boekbespreking
1913	Museum 20/11-12	Boekbespreking
1913	Die Galerien Europas	Rembrandt Die Anatomie
1913		Gerard Dou des Meisters Gemälde in 247 Abbildungen
1913	Thieme-Becker Lexikon	Gerrit Dou
1913		Afbeeldingen naar schilderijen van Jan Steen in Nederlansche en buitenlandsche verzamelingen
1914		Senaatskamer der Leidschen Universiteit: Hare geschiedenis, benevens een volledige catalogus der geschilderde portretten
1914	Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek 3	Gerrit Dou

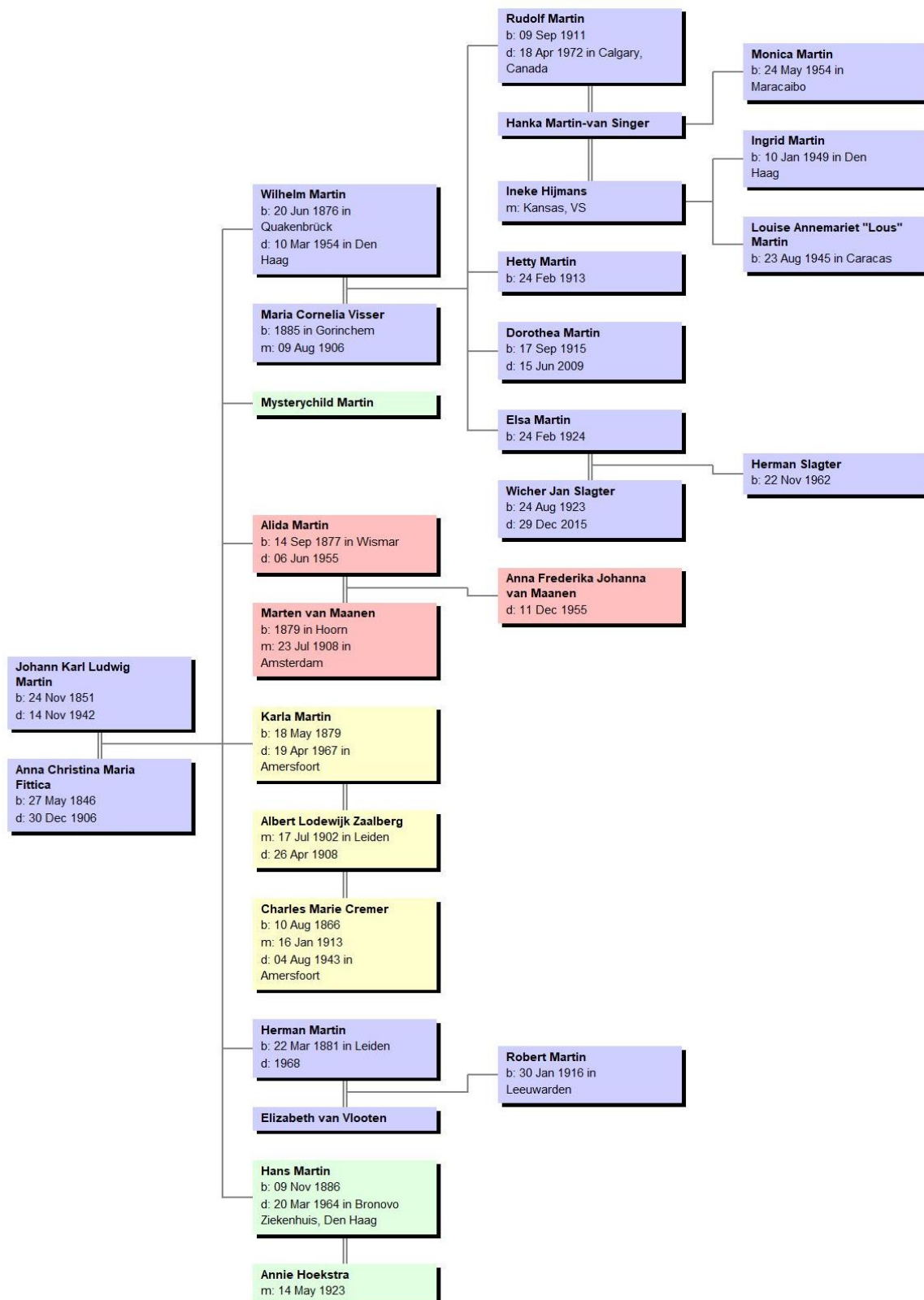
1914	BNOB	De nieuwe catalogus van het Mauritshuis
1914	BNOB	's Rijks aanwinsten uit de verzameling Steengracht
1914	BNOB	Aanwinsten van het Mauritshuis
1914	Die Galerien Europas	Rembrandt Simeon im Tempel
1914	Die Galerien Europas	Potter Der Stier
1914	Die Galerien Europas	Fabritius Der Stieglitz
1914	Die Galerien Europas	Vermeer Das Mädchen mit Kopftuch
1914	Die Galerien Europas	De Gelder Vor dem Tempel
1914	Die Galerien Europas	Van der Mijn Cornelis Ploos van Amstel
1915		Albert Neuhuys: zijn leven en zijn kunst
1915	BNOB	
1915	Eigen Haard 7 (13.02)	Het Mauritshuis en zijn Stichter
1915	Algemeen Handelsblad 17.04.15 AB	Abraham Bredius (1855-1915)
1915	Bredius Album (Gedenkboek)	Zeven onbekende schilderijen
1915	Museum (sept)	Boekbespreking
1915	Museum (oct)	Boekbespreking
1915	Oud Holland 33/1	Kunstberichten
1915	Repetitorium für Kunstwissenschaft	Verzeichnis der Gemälde des Großherzoglich hessischen Landesmuseum in Darmstadt
1915	Elseviers Maandschrift 25/50	Het determineeren van Oude hollandsche schilderijen I
1915	Elseviers Maandschrift 25/50	Het determineeren van Oude hollandsche schilderijen II
1915	Elseviers Maandschrift 25/50	Het determineeren van Oude hollandsche schilderijen III
1915	Elseviers Maandschrift 25/50	Het determineeren van Oude hollandsche schilderijen IV
1916	Oude Kunst	Over conserveeren en restaureeren van oude schilderijen I
1916	Oude Kunst	Over conserveeren en restaureeren van oude schilderijen II
1916	Oude Kunst	Over conserveeren en restaureeren van oude schilderijen III
1916	BNOB	Het etiketteren van schilderijen in Musea
1916	BNOB	Aanwinsten van het Mauritshuis
1916	Oud Holland 34/3	Nog een Sweerts
1917	BNOB	Aanwinsten van het Mauritshuis: de man met de Simson-medailje
1917	Oude Kunst	Over conserveeren en restaureeren van oude schilderijen IV

1917	Museum (Aug-sept)	Boekbespreking
1917		Johannes Bosboom
1918	Oude Kunst 3	De 17e eeuwse schilder Nicolaas Wieringa
1918		Alt-holländische Bilder
1918	Oude Kunst	Iets over gele en vuile vernislagen: naar aanleiding van den herboren Frans Hals te Haarlem
1918	Janus 23	Das Bildnis Boerhaave's von Aert de Gelder
1919	BNOB	Boerhaave's beeltenis door Aert de Gelder
1919		Het naakt in de moderne hollandsche Kunst
1919	De Kroniek 5	Zilcken's Etsen
1919		Willem Mengelberg Gedenkboek.
1919		Therese van Duyl-Schwartz (1851-1918) een gedenkboek
1920		Marius, Hollandsche schilderkunst in de negentiende eeuw (Voorwoord)
1920		Miniaturen der lateinischen Galenos Handschrift der Bibliothek in Dresden
1921	Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek 5	Jan Steen
1921	Der Kunstwanderer	Rembrandt Rätsel I
1921	Der Kunstwanderer 3/2	Rembrandt Rätsel II
1921	Oudheidkundig Jaarboek I	Het straatje van Vermeer en de Six stichting
1921		Alt-holländische Bilder (2.Auflage)
1922	Der Kunstwanderer	Zur Rembrandtforschung
1922	Onze Eeuw 22/4	Twee Hollandsche kunsthistorische standaardwerken
1922	Oudheidkundig Jaarboek II	Jan Steens Kippenhof van 't Huis Oud Teilingen
1923	Oud Holland 41	Jan van Ravesteyn's Magistraat en Schutters 1618 en het ontwerp daarvoor
1923	Oud Holland 41	Een briefje van den zeeschilder J.C. Schotel
1923	Oud Holland 41/1	Rembrandt zelf op de Nachtwacht
1923		Catalogue de la collection de peintures du Baron Janssen a Bruxelles
1924	Haagsch Maandblad	Russische kunstschatten + Bruikleen Pieter Lastman uit Rusland
1924		Jan Steen
1924	Lectures on Holland	The National Element in Dutch Art
1924	The Burlington magazine 44	Een onbekend Schilderij van Pieter Lastman
1925		Het tekenonderwijs. Antwoorden op een enquête.. (p.19 20)
1925	Oud Holland 42	Een onbekend schilderij van Pieter Lastman
1925	Oud Holland 42	Buytewech, Rembrandt en Frans Hals
1925	Haagsch Maandblad 4	Oud hollandsche schilderijen in de vreemde

1925	Oud Holland 42	Figuurstukken van Jan Davidsz de Heem
1926	De Gids 90	Jan Steen
1926		Jan Steen: Over zijn leven en zijn Kunst (naar aanleiding van de Jan Steen Tentoonstelling te Leiden)
1927	Oud Holland 44	De Narcissus te Moskou
1927	Haagsch Maandblad 8	Echte Rembrandts
1927	Haagsche Post	Bij de afbeeldingen naar werken van Jan Steen
1927/1928	Kunstwanderer	Der neuaufgefundene Jan Vermeer van Delft
1928	Medelingen van het historisch instituut te Rome 8	De tentoonstelling van Oud-Hollandsche schilderkunst in de Galleria Borghese te Rome
1928	Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst	Neues über Jan Steen
1929	Nuwe brandwag	Uit Rembrandts Leidschen tijd (reprint 1906)
1929	Haagsche Post	De tentoonstelling van Hollandsche Kunst te London 1929
1929	The Connoisseur 83/330	Dutch Art at Burlington House
1929	The Connoisseur 83/330	Last words on the Dutch exhibition
1930	Oud-Holland 47/4	Nog een schilderij van Buytewech
1930	Oud Holland 47/4	Schilderijen van Thadeus Steen
1930	Jahrbuch Wallraf Richartz 1	Ein Gemälde des Pieter Post in Wallraf-Richartz Museum der Stadt Köln
1932		De Senaatskamer der Leidsche Universiteit (2de edittion)
1934	Jaarboekje Die Haghe	De aap van 1777
1935		Musée Royal de Tableaux Mauritshuis à la Haye: catalogue raisonné des tableaux et sculptures (4 editions)
1935		De Hollandsche schilderkunst in de zeventiende eeuw: Frans Hals en zijn tijd (2 editions/ 1942)
1936		De Hollandsche schilderkunst in de zeventiende eeuw: Rembrandt en zijn tijd (2 editions/ 1937)
1937	Elseviers Maandblad 94/4	Rembrandt en de critiek 1630-1850
1937	Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde	Uit Rembrandts Leidsche jaren
1939		Supplement Catalogue raisonné.
1939		Meulenhoff 70 jaar. Voorwoord.
1940	Wetenschappelijke tijdingen 5/4	Bij de herdenking van Rubens
1944		Herleefde schoonheid: 25 jaar Monumentenzorg in Nederland 1918-1943
1946	Maandblad voor beeldende Kunsten	Een tweetal uitspraken over de restauratie van de Nachtwacht
1946	Maandblad voor	De reiniging van de Nachtwacht

	beeldende Kunsten	
1947	Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde	Abraham Bredius (1855 - 1946)
1947	Oud Holland 62	Vraagstukken betreffende Jan Steen
1947		Van Nachtwacht tot Feeststoet: Lotgevallen, inhoud en betekenis van Rembrandts Schutterstuk in het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam
1948	Historische opstellen	Een wetenschappelijk bloemstuk voor Leiden's Hortus
1949	Miscellanea Leo van Puyvelde	Een sleutel voor Rembrandts Nachtwacht
1950		De schilderkunst in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw
1951	Oud Holland 66	Nachtwacht overdenkingen
1954		Jan Steen

Martin Family tree



De Wild Family tree

