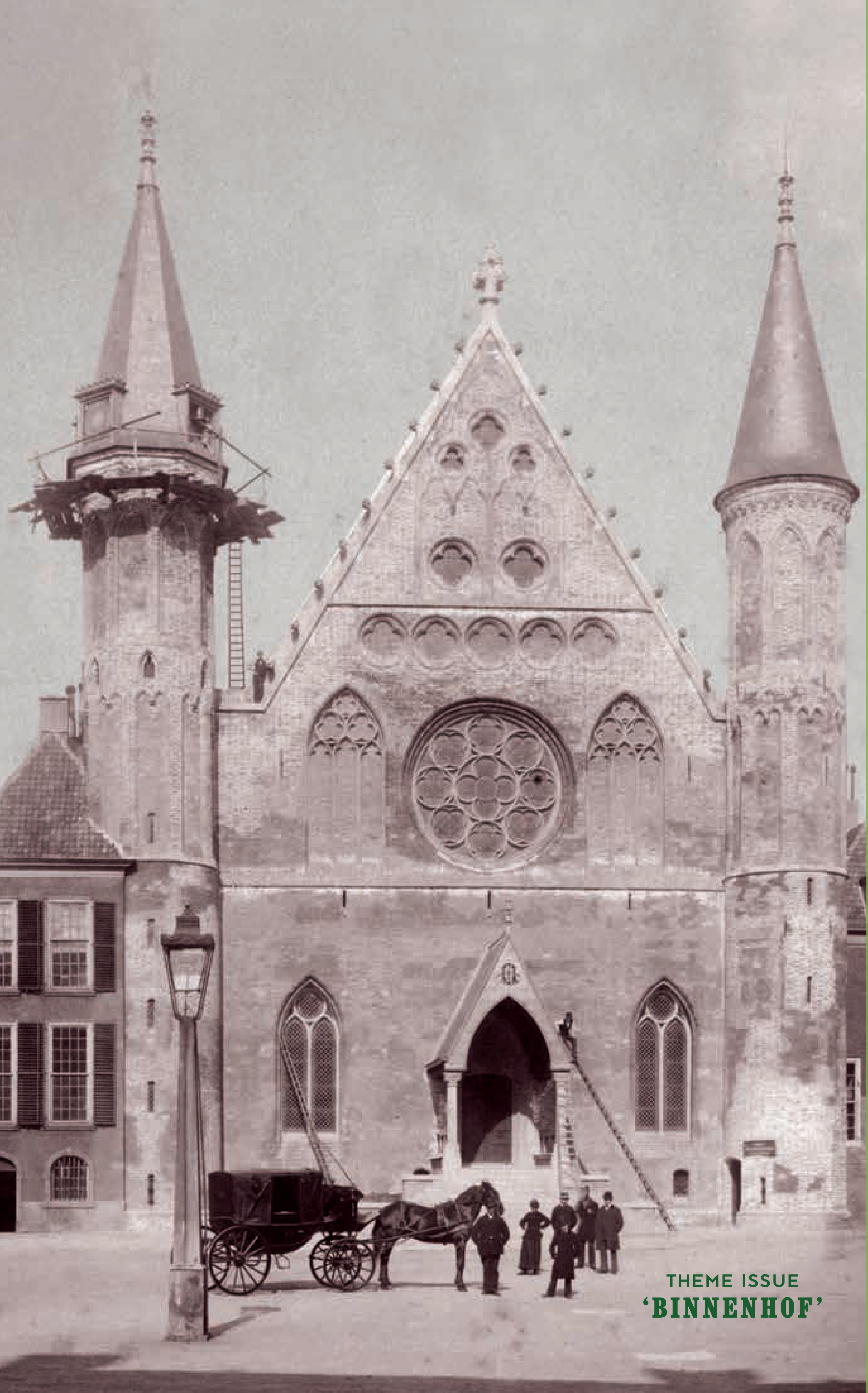

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'BINNENHOF'

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Back cover: Statenpassage, 2018 (photo Dick Valentijn, Cultural Heritage Agency)

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FOREWORD TO 'BINNENHOF' THEME ISSUE

Ever since the dismissal of OMA's Ellen van Loon as architect of a major Binnenhof renovation project in September 2019, the extreme sensitivity of any intervention in this building complex has been apparent for all to see. Yet despite exhaustive media coverage, the issue was also surrounded by [an air of] secrecy. Criticism of the plans was nothing short of scathing: megalomanic, overly ambitious and a desecration of our building complex. That 'our' referred to the users: the parliamentarians and bureaucrats, but implicitly [and by extension] every Dutch citizen as well. The Binnenhof has been the focal point of Dutch politics since the thirteenth century. As the centre of power it is imbued with enormous political and historical significance. But the complex of buildings, which evolved over the course of eight centuries, is also of considerable architectural-historical importance. The Binnenhof consists in large part made of noteworthy buildings, dating from the thirteenth to the twentieth century, and features a great variety of spaces and a complicated structure. Several meticulously preserved historical interiors are world class. This monumental ensemble is the product of successive extensions, renovations and restorations, often carried out by renowned architects, but seldom without controversy or political connotations. Prolonged intensive use, structural and technical deficiencies, new fire safety and security requirements and growing visitor numbers had made a new round of modifications unavoidable. Since 2021 the Binnenhof has been undergoing a suite of rigorous renovations by different architects and building companies, which are expected to take at least five years.

In 2015, by way of preparation for this renovation, the Rijksvastgoedbedrijf (Central Government Real Estate Agency, RVB for short), published *Objectvisie Binnenhof* to complement the *Masterplan Binnenhof* drawn up three years earlier by the Atelier Rijksbouwmeester (Office of the Government Architect). Whereas the masterplan approached the complex primarily from the perspective of functionality and use, the 'object' statement focused on the architectural quality and heritage value of the individual buildings. This was based on a previously published study of various aspects of the Binnenhof and on building history surveys carried out for this purpose. Publications about the Binnenhof are numerous and diverse. We mention a few of these as examples of different approaches and important moments in the historiography. Then, as now, modifications were often a spur to architectural-historical research, beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century. This in turn generated publications dedicated to the buildings and their restorations. *Het Binnenhof te 's-Gravenhage in plaat en schrift* by Arnold Isings appeared on the occasion of a major renovation of the Binnenhof in 1879-1882. Two works were published in 1891 in anticipation of the next phase: *De Landsgebouwen te 's-Gravenhage* by the Government Architect Cornelis Peters and the more polemical *Het Binnenhof en 's landsgebouwen in de residentie* by Victor de Stuers. In 1907 the committee responsible for the renovation of the Grafelijke Zalen (Counts' Chambers) in 1898-1904, issued its report in the form of a richly illustrated volume entitled *Beschrijving van de Grafelijke Zalen op het Binnenhof te 's-Gravenhage*. It was due to this book as much as to the actual restoration and redevelopment that the Grafelijke Zalen came to occupy a prominent position in the public perception of the entire complex. Later on in the twentieth century, restorations and renovations continued to be reported on in published works like *Van Kwartier van Hun Hoogmogenden tot Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, Kabinet van de Minister-President* by J.P.M. Goudeau (1980) and *Eerste Kamer. Reflecties over de Vergaderzaal van de 'Chambre de Réflection' (1995) en Tweede Kamer. Van doolhof naar eenheid* (1996), both edited by P.E. Spijkerman.

A different perspective on the history and significance of the complex is that of the residents, users and designers. The most important study of written sources covering the first five hundred years is still G.G. Calkoen's article 'Het Binnenhof van 1247-1747 (volgens de Rentmeesters-rekeningen van Noord-Holland)' in *Die Haghe* (1902). The year 1984 saw the publication of *Het Binnenhof. Van grafelijke residentie tot regeringscentrum*, edited by R.J. van Pelt and M.E. Tiethoff-Spliethoff, in which various authors described the complex's construction phases in relation to successive users, supplemented with chapters on prominent architects and the debates about restorations. Two articles are crucial to understanding the political significance of the thirteenth-century counts' chambers: 'De "Grote Zaal" van Floris V te Den Haag. Een onderzoek naar de betekenis van het concept' by A.J.J. Mekking (1991) and 'Die gräflichen Säle auf dem Binnenhof. Architektur- und bauhistorische Untersuchung' by E. Röell (2004). Outstanding interiors, extensions and designs have been discussed in monographs dealing successively with the seventeenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century architects Daniel Marot (1988), Pieter Post (1993), Pieter de Swart (1997) and W.N. Rose (2001). The last of these also received a good deal of attention in *De Rijksbouwmeesters. Twee eeuwen architectuur van de Rijksgebouwendienst en zijn voorlopers* edited by C.J. van der Peet and G.H.P. Steenmeijer (1995). Of interest in the context of the current renovation is *Het belang van het Binnenhof. Twee eeuwen Haagse politiek, huisvesting en herinnering* (2015), in which Diederik Smit analysed the Binnenhof's significance as the home of the Netherlands' national administration, and the many debates on this topic. Appreciation of the Binnenhof as architectural heritage is also evident in Paula van der Heiden's 2018 book, *Interieurs van het Binnenhof.*

In recent years, with an eye to the upcoming renovation, RVB commissioned several new building history surveys of those parts of the complex where interventions in the built substance were envisaged. These sub-studies, building history reports and evaluations can be found on the RVB's website. Thanks to the Binnenhof's rich, eight-hundred-year history, new research continues to produce important new insights. We highlight some of them in this thematic issue, which contains seven articles that together cover a large part of the Binnenhof complex in terms of both time and space. We begin in the very heart of the complex, the residence of the counts of Holland. Judith van Kesteren has investigated its thirteenth-century origins and refutes the claim that they lie in a hunting lodge built by Count Floris IV. Although a comparison with other courts in and beyond the county of Holland indicates some use for hunting, it is clear that from its inception this early court also had a ceremonial function. Paula van der Heiden and Hein Hundertmark re-examined the roof line and two towers in the front facade of the Grote Zaal or Ridderzaal (Great Hall or Knights' Hall). Based on an analysis of assembly marks and entablatures, they conclude that these towers were part of the original elevation built in around 1295 by Count Floris V. Mark van Gend reflects on the acrimonious debate over the restoration of the Grafelijke Zalen towards the end of the nineteenth century. He shows how the battle between the ministries of Binnenlandse Zaken en Waterstaat (Internal Affairs and Water, Trade & Industry) ended in the latter's favour, heralding a decline in the influence wielded by Victor de Stuers and Pierre Cuypers over government policy and growing receptiveness to other views on restoration ethics. Next Ronald Stenvert introduces readers to the building history of the western section of the Binnenhof, the Stadhouderlijk Kwartier. The focus here is on the power struggle between the stadholders and the States of Holland, which can be deduced from the layout and design of the buildings, and which has never before been presented in this way.

From here we proceed clockwise past other components of the Binnenhof, which has been extended on the east and south side from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. Natasja Hogen describes the climate control design devised by W.N. Rose for the building he designed for the Departement van Koloniën (Colonial Office, 1859-1861). Although it functioned poorly in practice, the system for heating and ventilation is an important Dutch example of the pursuit of thermal comfort and a healthy indoor climate in office buildings and of the architectural integration of technical installations. Ester Vink delved into the archives in order to unravel the design history of the Departement van Justitie (Department of Justice, 1876-1885). This building has usually been attributed to Cornelis Peters, but it turns out that Cuypers and De Stuers also had a hand in its design. Finally, Paul Meurs examines the long-drawn-out realization of a new addition to the Tweede Kamer (Lower House) from 1970 to 1992. Key concerns were its integration with the listed heritage site, the desire for clarity and accessibility, and its connection with the surrounding historical buildings.

Despite the diversity of topics and approaches in the articles, there are also striking constants: strong ambitions with respect to representation, monumentality, quality, functionality and the relation with the historical context, and – from the nineteenth century – conflicting views and fierce public debates, which often resulted in more conservative compromises in the execution. In that respect, too, the current renovation is part of a rich tradition.

On behalf of the editors:
Merlijn Hurx, Eva Röell, Kees Somer


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Binnenhof from the northwest (photo Gerhard van Roon, Central Government Real Estate Agency)
1 Counts' Chambers / 2 Great Hall (Knights' Hall) / 3 Stadholder's Quarters / 4 Colonial Office /
5 Ministry of Justice / 6 Lower House

A HUNTING LODGE IN THE HAGUE

IN SEARCH OF THE HAGUE COURT OF FLORIS IV

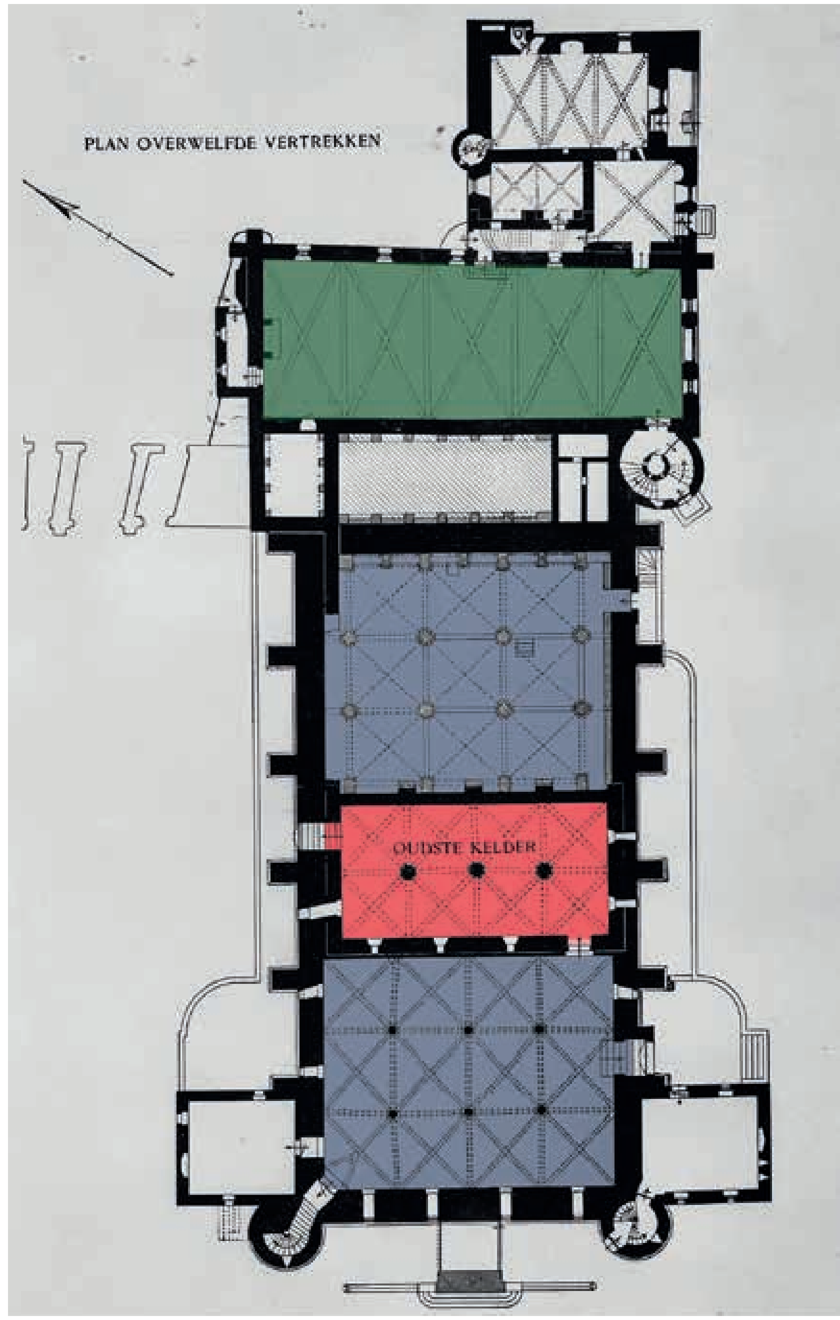
JUDITH VAN KESTEREN-LOK

▲ 1. Seal on which Floris IV is depicted as a hunter with a falcon on his hand, 1210-1234 (Utrecht Archives)

‘Hunting in particular was one of their most agreeable diversions, for which the extensive wooded and sandy terrain, known then as a *wildert* or wilderness, with its wolves, foxes and deer, provided ample opportunity: In particular ‘Het Haghehoute’ as the wooded area between ’s-Gravenzande and Leijden was then called, was one of their favourite hunting grounds, and in that Haghehoute they lost no time building a hunting lodge in which they could, if they so wished, hold a hunters’ meal or feast, or, overtaken by bad weather, find safe shelter, and that simple hunting lodge later became the accidental source of the formation of our ’s-Gravenhage.’[1]

This was how the architect and former Government Architect Cornelis Hendrik Peters (1847-1932) described origins of The Hague and the Binnenhof in 1894.[2] He is not alone in characterizing the earliest domicile of the counts of Holland in The Hague as a hunting lodge or hunting seat. Jacob de Riemer (1676-1762) had written in 1730 about the counts’ hunting lodge (*jachthuis*) and this term is still used today to designate the earliest phase of the Binnenhof.[3] There are no historical sources from the thirteenth century that refer to the origins of the Hague court. The first narrative source in which the Binnenhof is mentioned by name is the *Chronographia* penned by Jan Beke.[4] This Latin chronicle dating from the middle of the fourteenth century reports that Count Willem II (1227-1256) had started building a royal palace (‘regale palacium’) in The Hague, after being crowned King of Germany in 1248. It was from this palace that Willem is supposed to have administered justice and dealt with other important affairs.[5] There is no mention of what this complex looked like. In the Middle Dutch *Kronijk van Holland*, probably written between 1409 and 1417 by a certain ‘clerc uten laghen landen bi der see’ (Clerk in holy orders of the low lands by the sea), we read that the section built by Willem II is still known as the ‘Oude Zaal’ (Old Hall).[6] This may refer to the ‘Rolgebouw’ (fig. 2). There is evidence for the existence of a count’s residence before Willem II started building his palace, in the form of a document issued on 6 September 1242 in The Hague.[7] In addition, building history and archaeological research has shown that the middle (oldest) basement below the current Knights’ Hall (Ridderzaal) probably predates the ‘Rolgebouw’.[8]

The focus of this article is the Hague court *before* the construction of Willem II’s palace (the ‘Rolgebouw’). Based on terminological research, it explains why the interchangeable Dutch terms *jachthuis* (hunting lodge) and *jachtslot* (hunting manor) are no longer applicable to the earliest phase of the Binnenhof. Using primary source material and literature research, it also establishes where the ‘hunting lodge story’ originated. To arrive at a new definition of the earliest



2. Plan of the vaulted rooms in the Counts’ Chambers complex showing the basement below the ‘Rolgebouw’ (green) and the basements below the Knights’ Hall (blue and pink). The middle or ‘oldest basement’ (pink) is in the centre below the Knights’ Hall (Cultural Heritage Agency)

phase of the Binnenhof, I also made use of recent building history research findings and investigated whether the typological characteristics of hall construction in palaces and castles in the period from circa 1150 to 1250 match those of the first construction phase. Finally, comparative research into other noble residences within and beyond the county of Holland reveals the existence, as early as the thirteenth century, of residences that served primarily as a base for hunting. Those buildings display several similarities with the early Binnenhof.

HUNTING LODGES AND HUNTING MANORS

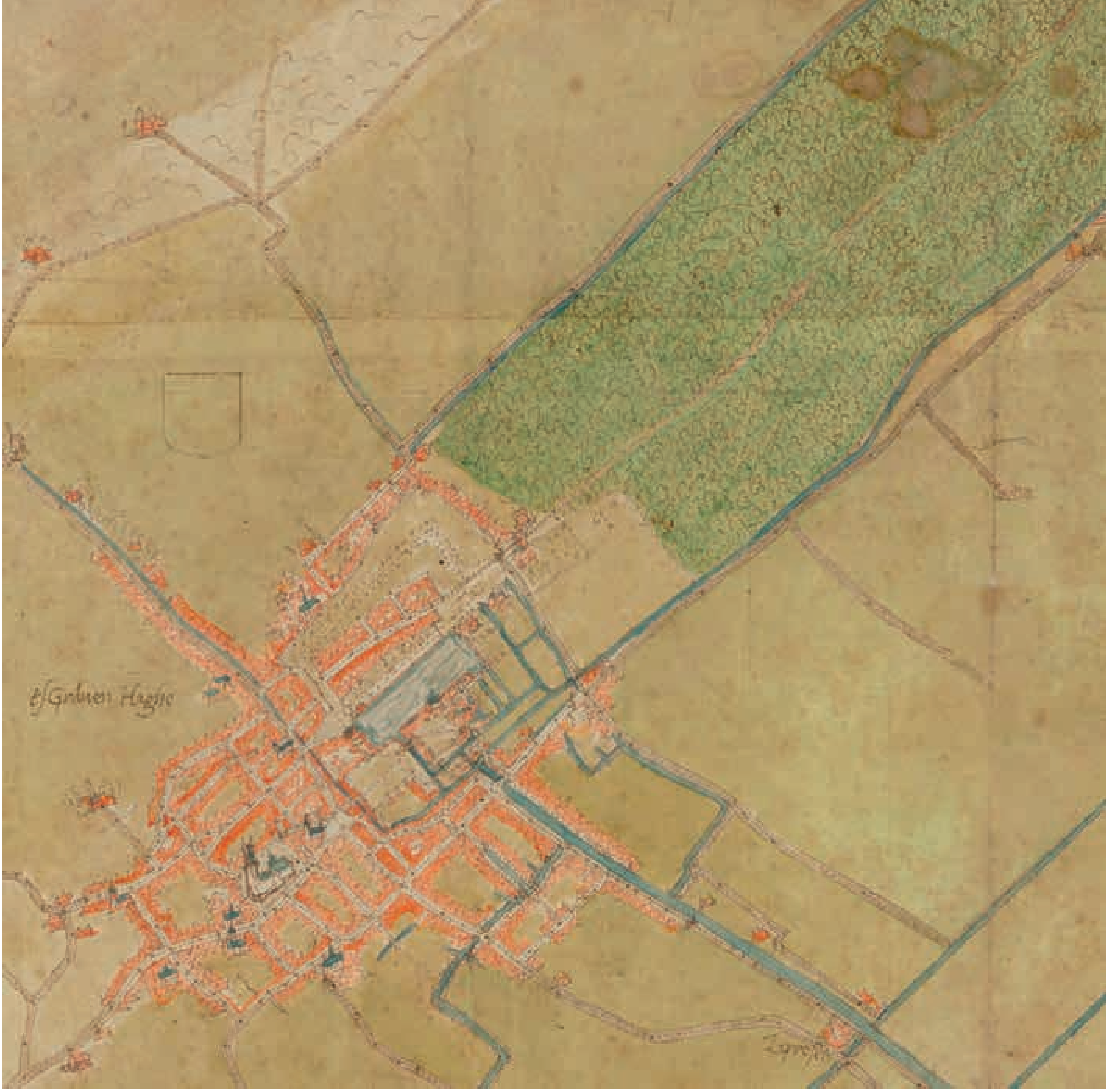
In *Bouwkundige termen. Verklarend woordenboek van de westerse architectuur- en bouwhistorie* (Architectural terms. Glossary of Western architecture and building history) a *jachtslot* is described as a 'country house occupied during the hunting season by the owner and his companions. Usually consists of a low main building plus outbuildings for staff, horses and hounds, which are sometimes arranged around a forecourt'. The hunting manor or lodge is not to be confused with a *jagershuis* (hunter's house), which is a 'house for the huntsman or master of the hunt, usually a small rustic building in or near the woods'.[9] The term *jachtslot/jachthuis* was not coined until the nineteenth century when the nouveau riche started to take up hunting.[10] The use of this term to describe the thirteenth-century Binnenhof would therefore appear to be problematical. The issue is whether residences were built for a specific purpose, such as hunting or ceremonial occasions, as early as the thirteenth century. Castles built as (or converted into) bases for hunting did exist in the early modern period, such as Venaria Reale near Turin and Chambord in the Loire valley.[11] Whether a differentiation according to function already existed in the thirteenth century is difficult to ascertain; historical sources seldom mention the principal's motive for building a castle – with one exception: castles built specifically for defence like Muiderslot and Medemblik Castle.[12] To be able to function as a base for hunting a number of specific facilities were needed: kennels for the hounds, additional stabling for the horses, a falcon mews, living quarters for the master of the hunt or gamekeeper, and extra guestrooms to accommodate the entire hunting party.[13] Even if these facilities were present, that does not necessarily mean that a particular complex was built with an eye to the hunt. Hunting rights had been in the king's gift since the eighth century, which meant that he was the owner of all the 'wildernesses' and as such free to transfer this right to his liegemen. In subsequent centuries hunting evolved into an important component of court life and a favourite pastime of the nobility.[14] Beyond that, hunting was essential for the provision of food in this period. So it is hardly surprising that many castles were built in the vicinity of these wildernesses during the Middle Ages. One early example is the imperial palace of Kaiserslautern in the middle of the Reichswald forest. As early as the twelfth century Emperor Frederik I (1122-1190), better known as Barbarossa, wanted to build a game preserve here. The wild animals in the fenced-off part of the forest, which included deer and wild boar, were kept especially for the hunt.[15]

Added to this was the thirteenth-century power structure. In this period a domain was not ruled from a single location; instead, the ruler travelled from place to place within his territory. This itinerant company – the ruler and his retinue – is also called a court or, in the case of a count, a count's court. A ruler owned various residences scattered across his domain and these too were called (counts') courts.[16] In the County of Holland there were several such residences, including in Leiden, Haarlem and The Hague. It is difficult to characterize these courts; generally speaking they functioned as economic (often agrarian) centres and some had an official administrative character.[17] Not all the places where the count resided were courts: he also stayed in abbeys and monasteries. From the end of the fourteenth century, the Counts of Holland increasingly resided in one place, a development that had started a hundred years earlier when the chancery became a permanent establishment.[18] The Hague, too, acquired the character of a permanent residence when Albrecht van Beieren (1336-1404) started to spend a large part of his time there.[19] Itinerant courts catered spontaneously to the desire to hunt since every relocation provided fresh hunting grounds. At the end of the Middle Ages, however, a need arose for houses to which rulers could retreat and live more informally. In this period there was indeed differentiation and houses were built, or existing residences were rebuilt, to act as a base for hunting.[20] Albrecht, for example, had Castle Teylingen comprehensively remodelled as a recreational hunting lodge in 1383 and 1388.[21]

DIE HAGA

Jacob de Riemer, writing in 1730, was the first to associate the origins of The Hague with 'the hunting lodge of the Counts of Holland'.[22] He was not entirely wrong since there was indeed a connection between The Hague and the counts' hunting activities. The aforementioned document of 1242, for example, was drawn up in 'Die Haga', a term denoting an enclosed (or hedged-in) area that lies outside the walls of a castle or town and is used for hunting.[23] A *haga* is therefore different from an enclosed garden, which is always linked to a house or an estate.[24] In England there were 'hayes' as early as the eleventh century, although their popularity did not really take off until the thirteenth century. There the term referred to a wooded area surrounded by a massive wall or hedge stocked primarily with red deer.[25] Although several early placenames in the Netherlands refer to hayes, little is known about them. We also know nothing more about the thirteenth-century 'Hague's haye' ('Haagse haag'); it is conceivable that this hunting ground was similar to those in England.

Historically, the area around the Binnenhof was undoubtedly heavily wooded. Before 1100 the only habitable areas in Holland were a number of long sandbanks topped by relatively high beach ridges.



3. Jacob van Deventer, map of The Hague including the Haagse Bos, c. 1550 (National Archives)

This area, which stretched from The Hague to Haarlem and was also known as the Old Dunes, was wooded in the Middle Ages.[26] From the eleventh century onwards it was the site of extensive cultivation of wood- and peatlands.[27] Pollen analysis has revealed that in the ensuing centuries the woods were cut down at a rapid rate.[28] It is impossible to completely reconstruct the extent of the forest landscape in the thirteenth century. Some current and former placenames that originated in this period – such as Brederode, Tetrode and Keggenrode – end in '-rode', which is a reference to the 'rooien' or 'felling' of woods to make way for arable and/or dairy farming.[29] In the thirteenth century the Hague woods still offered ample opportunities for hunting. Jan Beke noted that Count Floris V (1254-1296), the son of Willem II, went hunting in the vicinity of The Hague.[30] Whether Floris IV (1210-1234), the father of Willem II and probably the first count of Holland to live in the Binnenhof, also hunted there we do not know. However, he did have himself depicted as a hunter on his seal, something that was fairly common for young men who had not yet been made a knight (fig. 1).[31] From the fourteenth century, fragmentation occurred in the area around The Hague. Sections of the forest were already known by their own name, such as the Houte, Myente, Berkenrijs, Oude bos, Korte bos and Schakenbos.[32] In Jacob van Deventer's (†1575) city plan of circa 1550 the Haagse Bos is still a prominent presence, although it is hard to say to what extent this wood still resembled that of the thirteenth century (fig. 3).[33] Until 1533 peat was extracted for the counts' court and that also entailed felling trees. The marshy ground left behind was subsequently filled up with dune sand and planted with alders. And at the end of the fifteenth century large quantities of shrubs and saplings were purchased in an effort to revitalize the wood, which was in a poor condition owing to the hunt and violent storms. The original forest was eventually completely replaced by new trees.[34]

THE HAGUE HUNTING LODGE AS FOUNDATION STORY

'Die Haga' was aware of its association with the counts' hunt quite early on and in 1639 it consolidated this by officially changing its name to 's-Gravenhage, literally the hunting grounds of the Counts of Holland.[35] This name, or names resembling it, were already being used to refer to The Hague from the fourteenth century. In *Die cronycke van Hollandt Zeelandt ende Vrieslant* from 1517, The Hague is referred to as 'Tsgrauen haech' or 'counts' haye' (fig. 4).[36] It is unclear why this new name was chosen. Lacking a city charter, The Hague had to find other ways of promoting itself and it is possible that the implied association with the counts' court was intended to lend it greater prestige and status. Stadholder Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) resided in The Hague from 1625 to 1647 and, together with his wife, Amalia van Solms (1602-1675), endeavoured to create a royal court here that would be the equal of other courts in Europe.[37] He, too, would no doubt have encouraged the association of his court with the earliest rulers of Holland.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, hunting and owning hunting lodges were the preserve of the very highest echelons of society. In the first instance that meant members of the royal family, the House of Orange, who bought up land and houses for hunting parties. Stadholder Willem III (1650-1702), for example, acquired the Soestdijk manor in 1673 and in 1684 he purchased Oude Loo castle. Once acquired, these estates were furnished with hunting-related facilities and richly decorated with depictions of the hunt.[38] The nobility and wealthy middle class followed suit in the eighteenth century, buying up dozens of landed estates with manorial hunting rights. A remarkable number of houses were named 'jachtlust' ('hunter's delight') in this period, presumably because it was deemed to be status-enhancing.[39] The connection with the hunt was also emphasized in existing castles and country houses because the hunt was a royal privilege. In the eighteenth century, for example, the lords of Castle Biljoen maintained that Karel van Gelre (1467-1538), an ardent hunter, had built the castle complex as a summer residence and hunting lodge.[40] Even earlier, in 1672, the poet Robert Keuchenius (1636-1673) had described these origins of Castle Biljoen in a panegyric to the French Sun King.[41] It is in this context that the foundation story of The Hague as the 'hunting lodge of the Counts of Holland' should be seen. It is a notion that, witness the quotation from Peters at the beginning of this article, was still commonplace at the end of the nineteenth century.

THE HAGUE COURT OF FLORIS IV

Count Floris IV is regarded as the founder of the Binnenhof. In a theory postulated in the 1950s the manor belonging to Lady Meilendis was proposed as the possible basis for the Hague court.[42] According to a

4. 'Tsgrauen haech' on f. 168v of the *Divisiekroniek* of 1517 by Cornelius Aurelius, showing one of the earliest known (not faithful) representations of the Binnenhof and The Hague (National Library of the Netherlands)


Die xviij diuisie. Tsgrauen haech

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5. The basement of the 'Rolgebouw' (photo D. Valentijn, 2017, Cultural Heritage Agency)

document from 1229, Dirk van Wassenaar (1205-1253) sold his rights to the landed estate ('curtem') of the late Lady Meilendis, presumably his mother, to Count Floris IV of Holland.[43] This *curtem* (or *curtis*) was probably an (agrarian) estate with a central farmstead.[44] It is not certain whether the Meilendis *curtis* was the actual site where the Binnenhof was later built. What *is* certain is that the land on which the Binnenhof was eventually built had at one time belonged to the Van Wassenaar family.[45]

A year later Floris IV gave away his nearby manor in Loosduinen, which was not far from the Binnenhof.[46] It is possible that he no longer had any need of it now that he had another residence in the same area. Incidentally, the count owned another manor a little further away: 's-Gravenzande. It is not known how important Loosduinen and 's-Gravenzande were for Floris IV and his father Willem I (1168?-1222), but it is worth noting that they never issued deeds or charters from either of those manors. After Floris IV's death, the 's-Gravenzande manor became the principal residence of his widow, Countess Machteld (1198-1267). It is possible that she had stayed there frequently during her marriage.[47] Apart from the heavily wooded surroundings, the Binnenhof's convenient location along the route from the manor in 's-Gravenzande to the one in Leiden and the more distant Aelbertsberg, would have been a reason for building a residence on this spot.[48]

THE EARLIEST CONSTRUCTION PHASE

If the Meilendis manor is indeed the place where the Binnenhof began, there was probably already a functioning (agrarian) landed estate on this spot. Van Veen contends that it most likely consisted of timber buildings because the deed of sale refers to a *curtis*. In other Van Wassenaar documents the word 'house' is always used for a brick building.[49] The middle basement would in that case have been built after 1229 and before 1248. Building history and archaeological research confirms this surmise.[50] De Wit argues that the vaulting of this space is 'old fashioned' compared with that in the basement of the Rolgebouw (fig. 5), which has wall-to-wall vaulting in five elongated bays.[51] According to De Wit similar vaulting would not have been problematical, yet the builders opted for eight cross rib vaults supported by three round columns in the middle of the space (figs. 6 and 7).[52] However, it is important to note that wall-to-wall rib vaulting can have the effect of significantly raising the floor level of the storey above. It is possible that the client did not want the 'bel etage' to be too high above the courtyard and consequently opted deliberately for cross rib vaulting with columns.

The most recent sub-study of the building history of the Grafelijke Zalen is the building-history research conducted by Hein Hundertmark and Paula van der Heiden (2021). This gave rise to a number of new interpretations and offers an interesting perspective on the earliest building history of the Binnenhof. The authors contend that the middle basement was part of a rectangular hall building, possibly of two or three storeys. On the eastern side of this complex there was once a completely walled, raised courtyard that ran all the way to the north-eastern corner of today's basement cloakroom. We know this because a piece of wall built of the same large bricks used in the middle basement

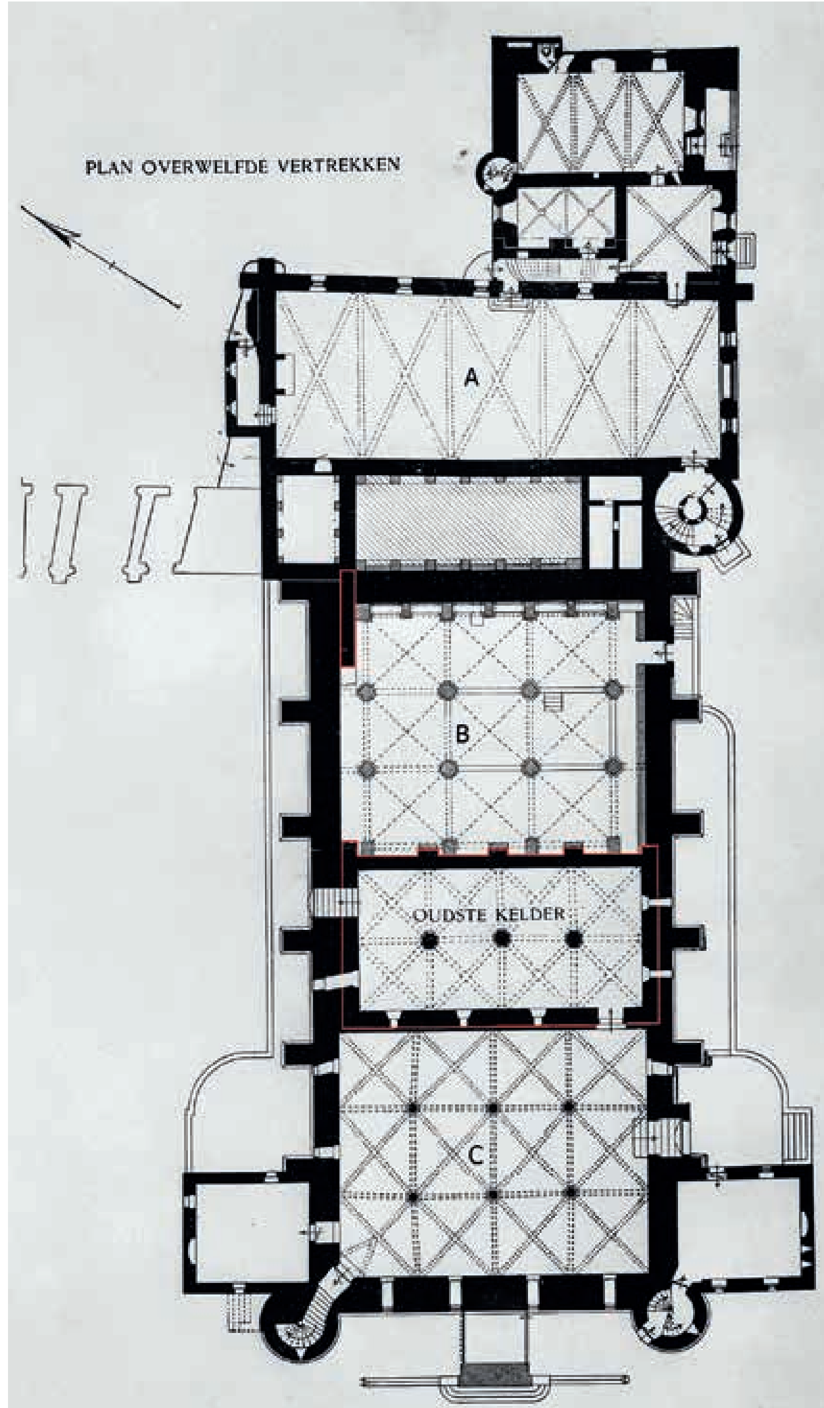
6. The vaults and a column in the middle basement (photo W. Kramer, 1899, National Archives)

was discovered in this corner.[53] Despite the fact that this hypothetical reconstruction is based on found building remains, such a complex (a hall building in the form of an inner bailey) would be typologically unique in European castle architecture in the first half of the thirteenth century. Furthermore, other conclusions are possible when the remains of the court of Floris IV are considered in a wider international context.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE EARLIEST BUILDING PHASE

In 2007 Judith Bangerter-Paetz published *Saalbauten auf Pfalzen und Burgen im Reich der Staufer von ca. 1150-1250*, for which she visited 28 castles in an effort to identify the typological features of hall buildings. Her findings are also relevant to the earliest construction phase of the Binnenhof. The main conclusion that can be drawn on the basis of her study is that the middle basement was from the outset built as a basement and has never had any formal or ceremonial function. Basement levels occur in nearly all hall buildings, often to compensate for a difference in level in the ground plane, as at Wartburg and Rothenburg. On the Binnenhof site, as on that of the Gelnhausen Palace, this need did not arise since both were built on flat ground. In both these complexes the basement level projects above ground level like a 'tall plinth course'.[54] There are windows in a number of walls in the middle basement, which confirms that the room extended partially above ground level (fig. 8). The small size of the windows also points to the functional use of this space. A basement used as a living or reception space would have had large windows to admit plenty of light. Examples of this include Wartburg Castle and the small hall in Vianden Castle in Luxembourg.[55] Between 1150 and 1250 it was most unusual to use stone vaulting for formal spaces. Apart from a few exceptions, like Wartburg Castle's Knights' Hall, whose stone cross rib vaulting dates back to 1160, nearly all formal and ceremonial spaces in this period had timber beamed ceilings.[56]

Unfortunately, the middle basement offers few clues to the early court of Floris IV. There are, however, parallels with the castles that Bangerter-Paetz researched. Firstly, it is virtually certain that there was (or was intended to be) a ceremonial room above the basement level. It is conceivable that this space had the same surface area as the middle basement, but that would have been very small compared with the castles studied by Bangerter-Paetz.[57] Another possibility is that the east wall of the middle basement is not an external wall but a dividing wall, given that the other walls are much thicker. In almost all the hall buildings studied, the dividing walls are thinner than the external walls.[58] The north and south walls also extend slightly beyond

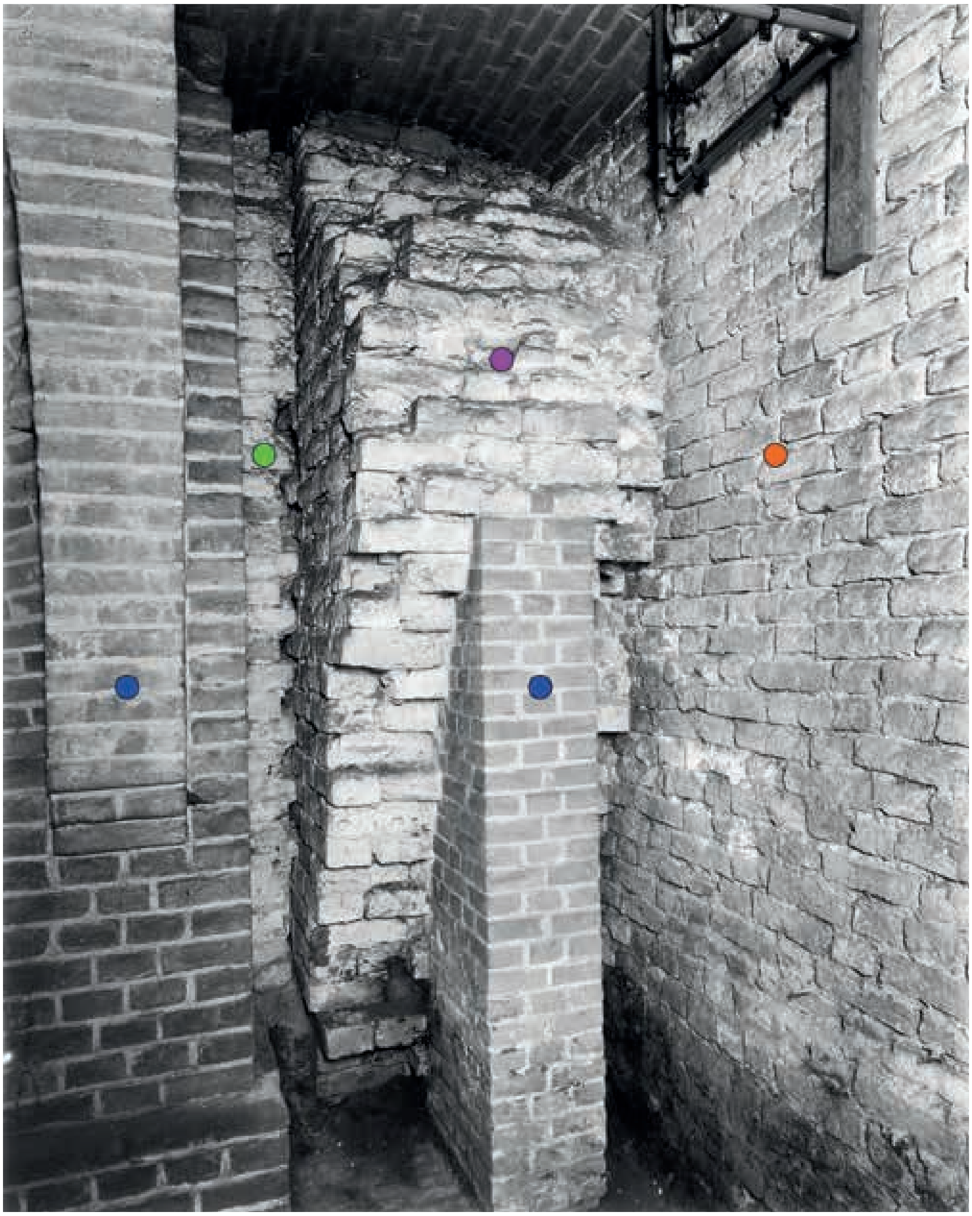


7. Plan of the vaulted rooms of the Counts' Chambers with the oldest section outlined in red, the basement room of the 'Rolgebouw' (A), the basement Cloakroom (B) and the western basement (C) (Cultural Heritage Agency)

the east wall, raising the possibility of a larger basement space topped by a larger ceremonial room (fig. 9). It might in that case involve an English-style 'hall and chamber' core. The east wall of the middle basement has three buttresses on the outer side, but this construction cannot be explained with reference to Bangerter-Paetz's research because it has not been observed in other hall buildings. It is possible that the buttresses were added to support the cross rib vaulting.

Hypotheses about this initial phase, including this analysis based on the work of Bangerter-Paetz, should be advanced with a degree of caution, given that the basement is all that is left of this court. Later constructions by Willem II and Floris V provide just as few leads to support statements about the first construction phase of the Binnenhof. Compounding this is the early death of Floris IV in 1234. The middle basement was probably part of his building plans, but there is no guarantee that those plans were realized in their entirety. After his death a guardianship battle arose around his seven-year-old son Willem II. Floris's younger brother, another Willem (1214?-1238), won this battle (fig. 10) over the objections of Floris's widow, Machteld van Brabant. Owing to the intertwined family ties, this resulted in unrest, not just in their own county, but in the surrounding domains as well. After the death of uncle Willem in 1238, the guardianship passed to Otto (†1249), another brother of Floris IV and bishop-designate of Utrecht, until Willem II reached the age of majority (12 years) in 1239.[59] If Floris IV's Hague court was not finished at the time of his death, there is every reason to question whether his building plans were carried through in full; his successors may well have had different priorities.

a 8. Window in the middle basement (photo W. Kramer, 1899, Cultural Heritage Agency)

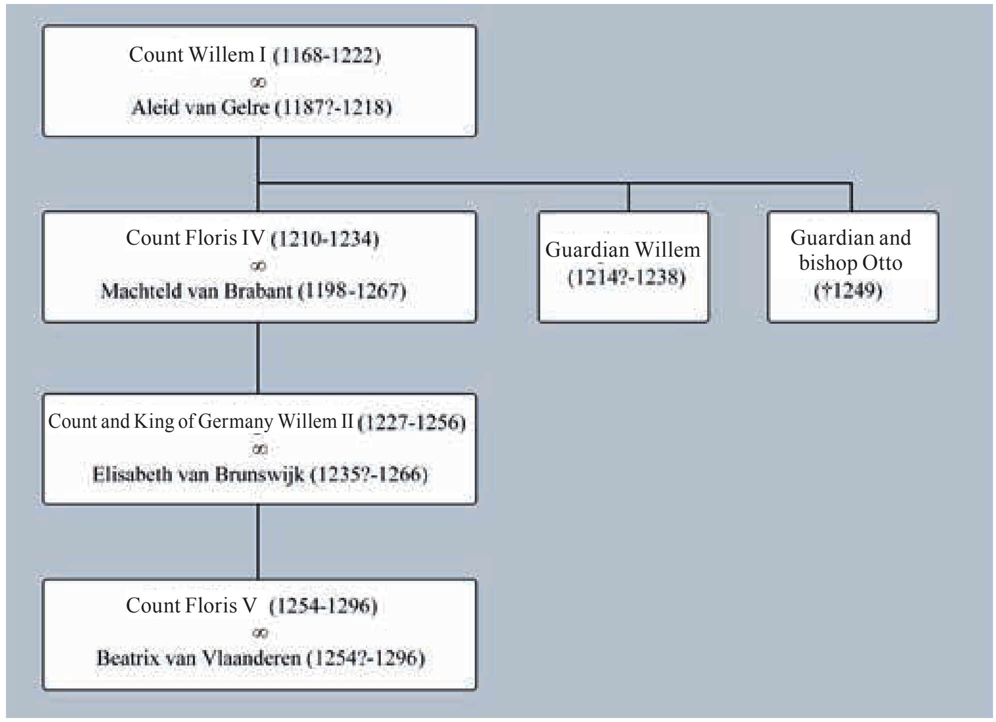


9. Exterior of the middle basement showing the east basement wall (green), the 'prolongation' of the north basement wall (purple), the outer wall of Floris V (1254-1296) (orange) and later additions (blue) (photo G.T. Delemarre, 1953, Cultural Heritage Agency)

MANORS WITH PROVISION FOR HUNTING

Although the remains of the court of Floris IV are too scanty to support any statements about the presence of hunting facilities, there are manors within and beyond the County of Holland which are known, or surmised, to have been used as a base for hunting as early as the thirteenth century. The dukes of Brabant, for example, owned several houses on the edge of the Zoniënwoud (Sonian Forest) near Brussels. One of these was Bosvoorde, which was listed as a hunting lodge (*domus venatorum*) in 1270.[60] This is probably one of the first mentions of a hunting lodge in the Low Countries in written sources. Castle Tervuren was already being used for hunting by Hendrik I of Brabant (1165-1235) in the first half of the thirteenth century. On the evidence of various documents it appears that he stayed there regularly from 1221 onwards. In 1230 a master forester was appointed, charged with looking after the forest and the game. In the same period, part of the adjacent abbey forest was fenced off to protect the game animals.[61] The counts of Gelre did not acquire hunting rights in the Veluwe until the first half of the fourteenth century, when they were granted to Count Reinald I (1255-1326). Having acquired these hunting grounds the counts appointed several *wildforsters* (gamekeepers) to assist with the hunt. The gamekeepers lived on tied smallholdings (*wildforstersgoederen*) of which the Veluwe boasted no fewer than twelve. Although the counts of Gelre already owned properties in the Veluwe in the thirteenth century, it is unclear what they consisted of and what connection they had with the counts' hunt.[62]

The presence of the hedge at the court of Floris IV suggests that here, too, someone would have been employed to maintain the hedge and the game population in the thirteenth century, although there is no



10. Family tree of the Counts of Holland (and family members) mentioned in this article (author, based on information in Cordfunke 1987, note 38)

written confirmation of this. In Holland, it is likely that the position of forester, who had responsibility for the hunt and for maintaining the count's woods, was established in the thirteenth century. The first reference to this 'houtvesterij' dates from 1314.[63]

Two houses in the county, Aelbertsberg and Vogelenzang, were probably used for the hunt. Located some ten kilometres apart in the present-day municipality of Bloemendaal, they provided a convenient base for the hunt in the Haarlemmerhout (extensive woods south of Haarlem). Vogelenzang was probably not founded until the second half of the thirteenth century, by Floris V, Aelbertsberg possibly early in the twelfth century by Floris II (†1121). Aelbertsberg was definitely a noble residence by the end of the twelfth century.[64] Archaeological research appears to confirm that these manors were used by the counts of Holland for hunting in the Haarlemmerhout. At Aelbertsberg, two wells dating from the last quarter of the twelfth century have yielded a large quantity of animal bones from horses, cattle, poultry, boars and red deer. The count was the only person permitted to hunt red deer.[65] Although this discovery points to hunting activities at Aelbertsberg, we cannot categorically state that this noble residence was built specifically for the hunt. J.W. Groesbeek, former Keeper of Public Records for North Holland, argues that Aelbertsberg must have functioned as an administrative centre, in light of the significant number of official documents drawn up here.[66] Thus the archaeological and written source material show that the counts used the Aelbertsberg residence both for the hunt and for official business. Interestingly, Floris IV never issued official documents from Aelbertsberg. It is unclear how often he stayed at this residence; perhaps he preferred to use his new court at The Hague.

CONCLUSION

The Hague owes its name to the noble hunt that took place here, probably from as early as the first half of the thirteenth century. The presence of that wilderness within their domain would have been an important motivation for the counts to establish a residence there. Whether it was the main motivation is debatable, but Castle Tervuren and Bosvoorde House show that in the thirteenth century such courts were indeed built in the vicinity of (partially) cultivated wildernesses with an eye to the hunt. Nevertheless, we cannot speak of a specialized function since official documents were also issued at the Binnenhof (and at Tervuren); the functions of hunting and administration were not mutually exclusive. Worthy of note is the use of the term 'regale palacium' to refer to the edifice Willem II had built on the Binnenhof site after being crowned King of Germany in 1248.[67] The term 'palace' was often reserved for the main residence of a ruler and implies that the Binnenhof's ceremonial function, which had definitely overtaken hunting in terms of importance by the fourteenth century, may have been predominant from as early as the second half of the thirteenth century.[68] The way the Binnenhof is referred to in fourteenth-century accounts may perhaps shed more light on the Hague court's status as the main residence of the Counts of Holland.

All that remains of the court of Floris IV is the middle basement, which is nowhere near enough to attempt a reconstruction of this court. As such, several hypotheses concerning the nature of the Hague court prior to 1250 are possible. Moreover, because of the untimely death of Floris IV, we do not know whether his building plans were fully implemented. Based on Bangerter-Paetz's research we can state that the middle basement was built originally – as a basement – in the period of Floris IV. This makes it possible to redefine the court of Floris IV, although this requires a more pragmatic approach than the nineteenth-century, nostalgia-inspired hunting lodge notion. What we know for certain is that Floris IV built a basement on the site of the Hague court: 'And this simple basement later became the accidental source of the formation of our 's-Gravenhage'.[69]

I would like to thank Merlijn Hurx, Jan Kamphuis, Dorothée Koper-Mosterd and Corjan van der Peet for their suggestions and comments after reading earlier versions of this article.

NOTES

1 C.H. Peters, 'Het Kasteel "Die Haghe"', in: A.J. Servaas van Rooijen (ed.), *Haagsch Jaarboekje voor 1894*, The Hague 1894, 5-67, there 37.

2 C.J. van der Peet and G.H.P. Steenmeijer, *De Rijksbouwmeesters. Twee eeuwen architectuur van de Rijksgebouwendienst en zijn voorlopers*, Rotterdam 1995, 266-271.

3 J. de Riemer, *Beschryving van 's-Graven-Hage, behelzende deszelfs oorsprong, benaming, gelegentheid, uitbreidingen, onheilen en luistre*, Delft 1730, 1.1, 3: 'And so all one can do, as long as there is no certainty, is to speculate about this same uncertain origin. In that respect according to traditional lore the region where 's-Graven-Hage is situated in former days consisted of forest and sandy soil, and that the Counts, drawn by the attractiveness of the place, and also to such an abundance of game as invites hunting, erected a hunting lodge there, on the northern side of the square, that became known as the Plaats.' Interestingly, De Riemer located the counts' hunting lodge not in the Binnenhof but in front of it on the Plaats. H.F.G. Hundertmark and P.C. van der Heiden, *Grafelijke Zalen Binnenhof. Bouwgeschiedenis van het grafelijk hof met koningspalts*, The Hague/Oss 2021, 14, 37, 40.

4 Jan Beke's dates of birth and death are unknown. M. Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium van verhalende historische bronnen uit de Middeleeuwen. Heiligenlevens, annalen, kronieken en andere in Nederland geschreven verhalende bronnen*, 's-Gravenhage 1981, 312. It is possible that he is the same priest mentioned in the 1344-1345 accounts of the monastery in Egmond.

5 J. Beke, *Chronographia Johannis de Beke*, publ. by H. Bruch, 's-Gravenhage 1973, 197. LXX(g).46-48, LXX(h).1-3: 'Idem rex gloriose receptus est infra comitatum Hollandie, qui et in Haga regale palacium construxit, ubi de causis arduis regni tribunale consistorium frequentavit. Civitatenses autem et castrenses imperialis camere reddiderunt eidem benivole censum regium, ita quod indeficienti thesauro suum exuberaret ghazofilacium.' At the end of the fourteenth century Beke's chronicle was translated into Middle Dutch. This version, which is known as *Croniken van den Stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant*, contains the same passage: J. Beke, *Johannes de Beke. Croniken van den Stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant*, publ. by Bruch, 's-Gravenhage 1982, 128. LXVI.290-295: 'And when he was done there, the king travelled to the county of Holland where he was warmly received. There, in die Haghe, he built a royal palace from which he dealt with the most important affairs of the realm. The townspeople and courtiers presented the king with gifts for his imperial chamber, as a result of which his chamber was lavishly filled with treasures.'

6 B.J.L. de Geer van Jutphaas, *De kronijk van Holland*, Utrecht 1867, 99. 'After the coronation the king came directly to Den Hage and summoned competent workmen to build a royal palace on that spot that is still known today as the old hall.' The clerk's birth and death dates are unknown. J.M.C. Verbij-Schillings, 'Heraut Beyeren en de Clerc uten Laghen Landen', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 107 (1991), 23, 37-39. The clerk's chronicle has been dated stylistically to between 1409 and 1417. He copied parts of Beke's Middle Dutch translation, written after 1393, and borrowed extensively from the Hollands-Utrecht version the *Hollantsche Cronike* of Heraut Beyeren (†1414). Heraut wrote his chronicle before 25 May 1409. The 'Count Willem' to whom the clerk dedicated his chronicle must be Willem VI (1365-1417), which means that he penned his work between 1409 and 1417.

7 J.G. Kruisheer, *Oorkondenboek van Holland en Zeeland tot 1299.* II: 1222-1256, Assen/Maastricht 1986, see resources.huygens.knaw.nl. 220-221, 626.

8 C. de Wit, 'Het ontstaan van het Haagse Binnenhof', *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 53 (1954), 1-20, spec. 9-10; M.A.A. van Veen, *Het grafelijk en stadhouderlijk hof Den Haag. Een overzicht van opgravingen en waarnemingen van 1770 tot en met 2013*, The Hague 2015, 64-65, 318-319.

9 E.J. Haslinghuis and H. Janse, *Bouwkundige termen. Verklarend woordenboek van de westerse architectuur- en bouwhistorie*, Leiden 2005, 244.

10 F. Vogelzang and B. Olde Meierink, 'Jachtsloten, jachthuizen en jachtkamers', in: C. Gietman et al. (ed.), *De jacht. Een cultuurgeschiedenis van jager, dier en landschap*, Hilversum 2021, 199-200.

11 R. Peel, 'Anniversary 1: Crown of Delights', *Historic Gardens Review* 16 (2011), 17-18; J.M. Pérouse de Montclos and R. Polidori, *Les Châteaux du Val de Loire*, Paris 1997, 122, 132-137.

12 R. Gruben and N. de Jong-Lambregts, 'Dwangburchten voor West-Friesland of een oostelijke kustgordel voor het graafschap Holland? De strategische overwegingen van Willem II (1227-1256)', *Archeologische Kroniek van Noord-Holland 2019*, Haarlem 2020, 225.

13 Vogelzang and Olde Meierink 2021 (note 10), 200-201, 215.

14 A. Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland. Portret van een adellijke elite in de late Middeleeuwen*, Hilversum 2009, 344; L. Wessels, 'De jacht. Een cultuurhistorische inleiding', in: Gietman et al. 2021 (note 10), 14.

15 W. Rösener, 'Jagd, Rittertum und Fürstenhof im Hochmittelalter', in: W. Rösener (ed.), *Jagd und höfische Kultur im Mittelalter*, Göttingen 1997, 136-138.

16 M. Mostert, 'De graaf van Holland, het grafelijke hof en de hoven van de graaf (tot het einde van de 13e eeuw)', in: T. de Ridder et al. (eds.), *Graven in Holland. De hoven van de Hollandse graven tot het eind van de 13e eeuw in vergelijkend perspectief* (Westerheem, special 3, September 2014), 7-8.

17 De Ridder et al. 2014 (note 16), 270-271.

18 J.G. Kruisheer, *De oorkonden en de kanselarij van de graven van Holland tot 1299. I*, 's-Gravenhage [etc.] 1971, 194-195.

19 J. G. Smit, 'De verblijfplaatsen van de graven van Holland en Zeeland in de late middeleeuwen', *Holland* 24 (1992), 113-114, 122-123.

20 K. Maylein, *Die Jagd. Bedeutung und Ziele. Von den Treibjagden der Steinzeit bis ins 21. Jahrhundert*, Marburg 2010, 470-477; H.W. Eckardt, *Herrschaftliche*

Jagd, bäuerliche Not und bürgerliche Kritik; Göttingen 1974, 59.

21 Vogelzang and Olde Meierink 2021 (note 10), 200-201.

22 De Riemer 1730 (note 3).

23 Kruisheer 1986 (note 7); R.D. Künzel, D.P. Blok and J.M. Verhoeff, *Lexicon van Nederlandse toponiemen tot 1200*, Amsterdam 1988, 292, 339.

24 A garden (*tuin*) was also called a 'tun', which means enclosure; M.L.A.I. Philippa et al., *Etymologisch woordenboek van het Nederlands*. 4, Amsterdam 2009, 433.

25 H. Renes, 'Wildparken in Nederland. Sporen van een oude vorm van faunabeheer', *Historisch Geografisch Tijdschrift* 23 (2005), 21-23.

26 E. Vogelaar, *Bosgeschiedenis van het Oude Duinlandschap in politiek, sociaal en economisch perspectief*, Delft 2012, 3-4.

27 P.C.M. Hoppenbrouwers, 'Van Waterland tot stedenland. De Hollandse economie ca. 975-ca. 1570', in: T. de Nijs, *Geschiedenis van Holland. Deel 1: tot 1572*, Hilversum 2002, 109.

28 W.H. Zagwijn, 'Een landschap in beweging. De duinen van Holland sinds het Neolithicum', in: D.P. Hallewas, G.H. Scheepstra and P.J. Woltering (eds.), *Dynamisch landschap. Archeologie en geologie van het Nederlandse kustgebied*, Assen 1997, 111.

29 Gruben and De Jong-Lambregts 2020 (note 12), 240; R. Rentenaar, 'De Nederlandse duinen in de middeleeuwse bronnen tot omstreeks 1300', *KNAG geografisch tijdschrift* XI (1977), 5, 368-369.

30 Beke 1973 (note 5), 237. LXXV(c).9-15: 'Interea Florencius illustris comes harum tradicionum inscius paulo pridem excellentis edificii curiales mansiones sue preclara palacia contruxerat in Vogelensanc et in Haga, ubi cum proceribus et puellis infra silvarum frondosa latibula vel continuam venacioni dedit operam aut in armis militarem exercebat industriam.' Beke 1982 (note 5), 152. LXXI.78-82: 'This noble count, who knew nothing of the treachery, and had not long before then built another house and a palace, one in the Haarlemmerhout that had been given the name Vogelenzang and another in Den Haghe. From here, accompanied by lords and ladies, he rode into the woods to hunt and to engage in other chivalrous trials.'

31 Kruisheer 1971 (note 18), 52-53; Janse 2009 (note 14), 344-345.

32 J. Buis, *Historia forestis. Nederlandse bosgeschiedenis. I*, Utrecht 1985, 14.

33 B. Vannieuwenhuyze and R. Rutte, *Stedenatlas Jacob van Deventer. 226 stadplattegronden uit 1545-1575. Schakels tussen verleden en heden*, Bussum 2018, 324-325.

34 Buis 1985 (note 32), 14-15.

35 G.J.W. Berkel and K. Samplonius, *Nederlandse plaatsnamen. Herkomst en historie*, Utrecht 2006, 156-157.

36 C. Aurelius, *Die cronycke van Hollandt Zeelandt ende Vrieslant*, Leiden (J. Severszoon) 1517, f. 168v; R.A. van der Spiegel, 'Over de naam 's-Gravenhage', *Hofvijver Magazine* 3 (2013). Variations on this name were first used outside the city, probably as a way of avoiding confusion with other placenames containing the word 'haag'. Early examples are: Haga comitis, 1362; Des graven Hage, 1354; Ghreuenhaghen, 1347.

37 M.C. van der Sman, 'Voorwoord', in: M. Keblusek and J.M. Zijlmans (eds.), *Vorstelijk vertoon. Aan het hof van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia*, The Hague 1997, 7.

38 Vogelzang and Olde Meierink 2021 (note 10), 205.

39 Vogelzang and Olde Meierink 2021 (note 10), 208.

40 C. Gietman, 'Jagen en Jachtrijden', in: C. Gietman and J. Jas (eds.) *Biljoen. Kasteel – bewoners – landgoed*, Zwolle 2020, 295.

41 I.A. Nijhoff, *Geldersch Arkadia, of Wandeling over Biljoen en Beekhuizen*, Arnhem 1820, 5-6.

42 De Wit 1954 (note 8), 11-14; P.J. van Breemen, 'Over een mogelijke oorsprong van die Haghe en Haagambacht', *Jaarboekje Die Haghe* 1950 (1950), 52.

43 Kruisheer 1986 (note 7), 90-91, 489. 15 November 1229, Leiden. Dirk van Wassenaar sells his rights to the court of the recently deceased Lady Meilendis to Count Floris IV, and renounces those rights in the presence of the counts' servants; J. Kort, 'Meilendis en de hof van Den Haag', *Jaarboek Die Haghe* 2002 (2002), 12-23.

44 Mostert 2014 (note 16), 9.

45 Van Breemen 1950 (note 42), 80-81.

46 Kruisheer 1986 (note 7), 98-100, 497. 19 February 1230, Utrecht. Wilbrand, Bishop of Utrecht, takes the Loosduinen chapel, relinquished by Count Floris IV and Countess Machteld for the founding of a monastery, as well as the Cistertian convent[,] under his protection, affirms this in his effects, grants [it] the right to have its own priests, to give extreme unction to the sick and to bury members of the convent and others, subject to the rights and the approval of their parish priests; and exempts it from taxes.

47 M.M. Dahmeijer-Fousert, 'Wij Machteld, Gravin van Holland... Korte levensschets van Machteld van Brabant, echtgenote van graaf Floris IV, moeder van Willem II en grootmoeder van Floris IV', *Historisch Jaarboek Westland 1988*, Naaldwijk 1988, 75, 80-85; E.H.P. Cordfunke, *Gravinnen van Holland. Huwelijk en huwelijkspolitiek van de graven van het Hollandse Huis*, Zutphen 1987, 93. Machteld established a parish church, a beguinage and probably also a hospice in 's-Gravenzande.

48 Van Veen 2015 (note 8), 61.

49 Van Veen 2015 (note 8), 60-61.

50 The basement was built using a larger brick than that used elsewhere in the complex; Van Veen 2015 (note 8), 363. Brick dimensions (length × width × depth in centimetres) in the middle basement: south wall 31-32 × 14.5-15 × 8-9 (10) and ten-course height 100-101; west wall 28-30 × 13-14 × 8 and ten-course height 98; east wall (29) 31-32 × (13) 14.5-15 × (7.5) 8-9 and ten-course height 95; Hundertmark and van der Heiden 2021 (note 3), 37. Brick dimensions: 29-30-31-31.5 × 14-14.5-15 × 8.5.

51 The Rolgebouw (literally 'scroll building') is named after one of the rooms in this building (the Rolzaal or 'scroll room') which was initially used as a court of law.

52 De Wit 1954 (note 8), 9-11.

53 Hundertmark and van der Heiden 2021 (note 3), 37-40.

54 J. Bangerter-Paetz, *Saalbauten auf Pfalzen und Burgen im Reich der Staufer von ca. 1150-1250*, Hannover 2007, 55, 299.

55 Bangerter-Paetz 2007 (note 53), 56, 579-592, 615-628.

56 Bangerter-Paetz 2007 (note 53), 134-141.

57 Bangerter-Paetz 2007 (note 53), 38, 40-41. The smallest hall buildings according to her are those in Gnandstein (7.5 × 18 metres), Eckartsburg (11 × 14.5 metres), Gutenfels (8 × 21.5 metres), Wildburg (9.5 × 18.5 metres) and Ulrichsburg (10 × 17/19 metres); De Wit 1954 (note 8), 3. Middle basement (7.88 × 5.70 metres).

58 Bangerter-Paetz 2007 (note 53), 149-150.

59 Kruisheer 1971 (note 18), 7-8; Cordfunke 1987 (note 47), 91-93.

60 Bosvoorde is mentioned in the summary of goods making up the dowry of Margaretha of France (1254-1271), the future wife of Duke Jan I van Brabant (1252/1254?-1294); A. Wauters, 'Suite à ma notice sur le duc Henri III de Brabant: les doctrines des hérétiques du XIIIe siècle, le duc Henri IV, les premières années de Jean Ier', *Bulletin de l'Académie royale des Lettres des Sciences et des Arts de Belgique II*, XL (1875), 370-374; A. de Bardzki-Granon, 'Dossier De Bezemhoek: een wijk tussen water en woud', *Erfgoed Brussel* 23-24 (2017), 33.

61 G. Berings, *Tervuren in de Middeleeuwen: aspecten van de Brabantse geschiedenis*, Tervuren 1984, 50.

62 K. Bouwer, *Voor profijt en genoegen: de geschiedenis van bos en landschap van de Zuidwest-Veluwe*, Utrecht 2008, 40-42, 59-58.

63 In that year Count Willem III (1286?-1337) mentioned the *houtvester* of Haarlem in an official document; G.H.C. Breesnee, *Inventaris van het archief van de Houtvesterij van Holland*

en West-Friesland, The Hague 1924, 7; F. van Mieris, *Groot Charterboek der Graaven van Holland, van Zeeland en Heeren van Vriesland. II*, Leiden 1754, 143.

64 J.W. Groesbeek, *Middeleeuwse kastelen van Noord-Holland. Hun bewoners en bewogen geschiedenis*, Rijswijk 1981, 51-52; P. Hoekstra, *Bloemendaal: proeve ener streekgeschiedenis*, Wormerveer 1947, 34.

65 L.H. van Wijngaarden-Bakker, 'Adellijke status en dierenresten van Aelbertsberg te Bloemendaal', *Haarlems Bodemonderzoek* 20 (1986), 55-56.

66 Groesbeek 1981 (note 63), 52-53. A.C.F. Koch, *Oorkondenboek van Holland en Zeeland tot 1299. I: Eind van de 7e eeuw tot 1222*, 's-Gravenhage 1970, see resources.huygens.knaw.nl. 590-591, 405. July 1220, Aelbertsberg. These documents included the marriage settlement between Count Willem I and his second wife Maria van Brabant (†1260). For her marriage portion, Willem I gave Maria the city of Dordrecht along with the toll and other revenues, the shire of Poortvliet and Malland and the court of Valkenburg and, as a morganatic gift, the watermills of the port of Zieriksee, the hay-farmers? of Schouwen and the servants living outside Holland.

67 Beke 1973 (note 5).

68 S. Thurley, *Houses of Power. The Places that Shaped the Tudor World*, London 2017, 16.

69 Quotation adapted by the author, see Peters 1894 (note 1).

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A HUNTING LODGE IN THE HAGUE

IN SEARCH OF THE HAGUE COURT OF FLORIS IV

JUDITH VAN KESTEREN-LOK

Since 1730 the origins of The Hague and the Binnenhof have been traced back to a hunting lodge supposed to have been built by Count Floris IV (1210-1234). That 'hunting lodge of Floris IV' is the focus of this study. It explains, based on terminological research, why the Dutch term *jachthuis/jachtslot* is not applicable to the earliest phase of the Binnenhof since the term did not come into use until the nineteenth century, when the newly rich started to take up hunting. Besides, the thirteenth-century power structure was such that rulers travelled constantly around their dominions, and so the need for hunting lodges did not yet exist; every relocation provided fresh hunting grounds. It seems unlikely that there would have been residences for a specific function like hunting or formal entertaining as early as the thirteenth century; the one did not necessarily exclude the other.

This article explores the origins of the 'hunting lodge story'. The first mention of The Hague is in a charter dating from 1242. It refers to 'die Haga' (*haag*= hedge), meaning an enclosed area for hunting. According to the chronicler Jan Beke, Willem II of Holland (1227-1256) established a 'palace' in The Hague after being crowned King of Germany in 1248. So there was already a count's hunting ground in this area before then. At the beginning of the seventeenth century The Hague changed its name to 's-Gravenhage, presumably because the aristocratic connotations (*graaf* = count) enhanced its status. The Hague had no city charter and consequently sought other ways of raising its profile. In subsequent centuries hunting, and the possession of a hunting lodge, was the preserve of the wealthy elite.

Seeking to redefine the Binnenhof's origins, I investigated whether the typological characteristics of hall construction in the thirteenth century matched those of the first phase of construction. In the event it proved difficult to reconstruct that initial construction phase since all that survives from the period is the middle basement below the Ridderzaal of the Counts' Chambers. A comparison with other residences showed that this space was originally also used for storage.

Comparative research into other courts within and beyond the County of Holland appears to confirm that from as early as the end of the thirteenth century there were houses that served chiefly as a base for hunting. One such was Bosvoorde, which was already designated a *domus venatorum* (hunting lodge) in 1270. The presence of the count's hunting ground suggests that the Binnenhof was in all likelihood also used for hunting, although not exclusively; official business was also conducted here. From 1248 onwards the Binnenhof's ceremonial function took precedence since the term 'palace' was almost always used for a principal residence.

‘A SUBSTANTIAL WALL SET BETWEEN TWO SLENDER TOWERS’ THE ORIGINAL DESIGN OF THE WEST ELEVATION OF THE RIDDERZAAL

PAGES 20-32

PAULA VAN DER HEIDEN EN HEIN HUNDERTMARK

▲ 1. The front facade of the Great Hall (photo H. Hundertmark, 2020)

► 2. The Great Hall with the largely built-in west front. The gable shoulders are visible between gable and towers. The original side wings are visible left and right of the gable and towers, with the ridge line of the roof at right angles to the Great Hall. The left wing is taller than the right one and has been largely built-in by later additions. Pen and ink drawing, maker unknown, c. 1670 (The Hague City Archives)

The front facade of the Great Hall (Ridderzaal) is the icon of the Binnenhof (fig. 1). The facade appears with great regularity on the nation's television screens whenever political matters feature in the news broadcasts, thereby making it possibly the best-known facade in the country: a readily recognizable and also imposing image made up of a triangular gable between two distinctive towers or, as Arnold Ising put it in 1879, 'a substantial wall set between two slender towers'.[1]

That impressive image was precisely what its late thirteenth-century founder had in mind. In around 1295 Floris v commissioned a monumental hall that in terms of size and design was unlike anything previously seen in Holland. Its front elevation, a veritable *Schauseite* or 'best side', was recently studied in more detail as part of a wider investigation into the building history of the Counts' Chambers (Grafelijke Zalen).[2] The study concerned the two towers, the age and design of which have frequently been called into question in the literature.[3] It was found that the design of the gable had been modified on several occasions as a consequence of alterations to the roof of the hall in the second half of the nineteenth century.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE GREAT HALL

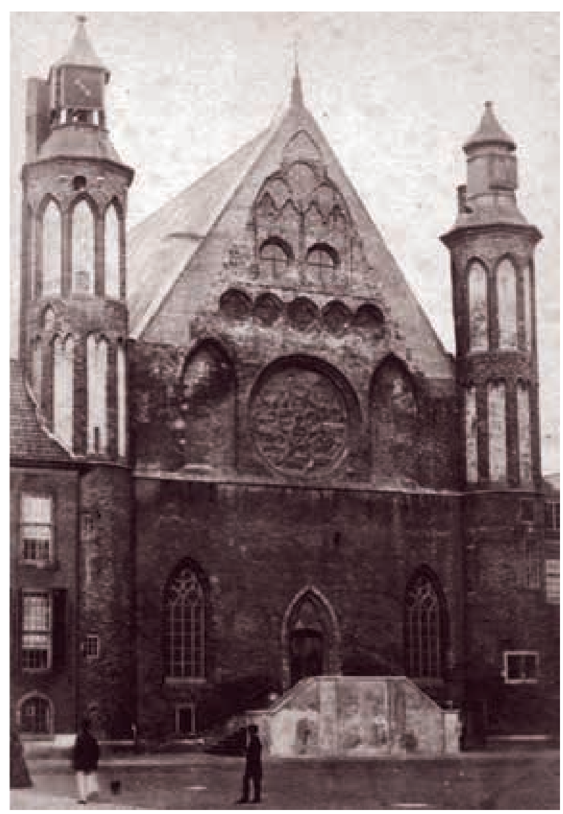
The construction of the Great Hall is usually dated to the final quarter of the thirteenth century and therefore attributed to Floris V. The dates, which range from 1275 to 1295, are based on a variety of arguments. These include the construction of the basements below the Great Hall, and the person of Gerard van Leyden, who is regarded as the architect and as financially responsible for the construction.[4] Since Van Leyden died in 1289, construction would have to have occurred before then.[5] Other factors influencing the dating are Floris V's renunciation of the Scottish throne and comparisons with contemporary English architecture.[6] Floris had a claim to the Scottish throne through his great-great-grandmother, the Scottish princess Ada. When the throne fell vacant in 1291, he put himself forward as the thirteenth pretender. Initially Floris thought he stood a good chance because of his friendship with the English king, Edward I, but the latter had a clear preference for another claimant. Floris subsequently withdrew his claim in 1292, reportedly in return for financial compensation.[7] At the beginning of the fifteenth century a chronicle penned by a 'Clerk from the Low Countries' reported that Floris had used this sum of money to fund the construction of the Great Hall and a chapel: 'and had made, by means of the payment he received from the Kingdom of Scotland, that tall hall and that chapel in die Hage'.[8]

Because of his English travels and good relations with King Edward I, it is assumed that Floris V was familiar with Westminster Hall in London and took it as a model for his own Great Hall.[9] Another possible source of inspiration for the hall's open timber roof structure, are the halls of English castles, which Floris would undoubtedly have visited during his travels. Halls with such single-span roof structures existed in England in the final quarter of the thirteenth century. The most striking example is the Baron's Hall at Penshurst Place, whose roof structure is similar to that of the Great Hall. Although this particular hall dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century, it is regarded as an example of a roof construction type introduced in the late thirteenth century.[10] At the same time, similar large, undivided spaces with open roof structures were also being built in the Low Countries, such as the central infirmary of St John's Hospital in Bruges (1234 +/- 6 years) and the Bijloke Hospital in Ghent (1251-1255).[11]

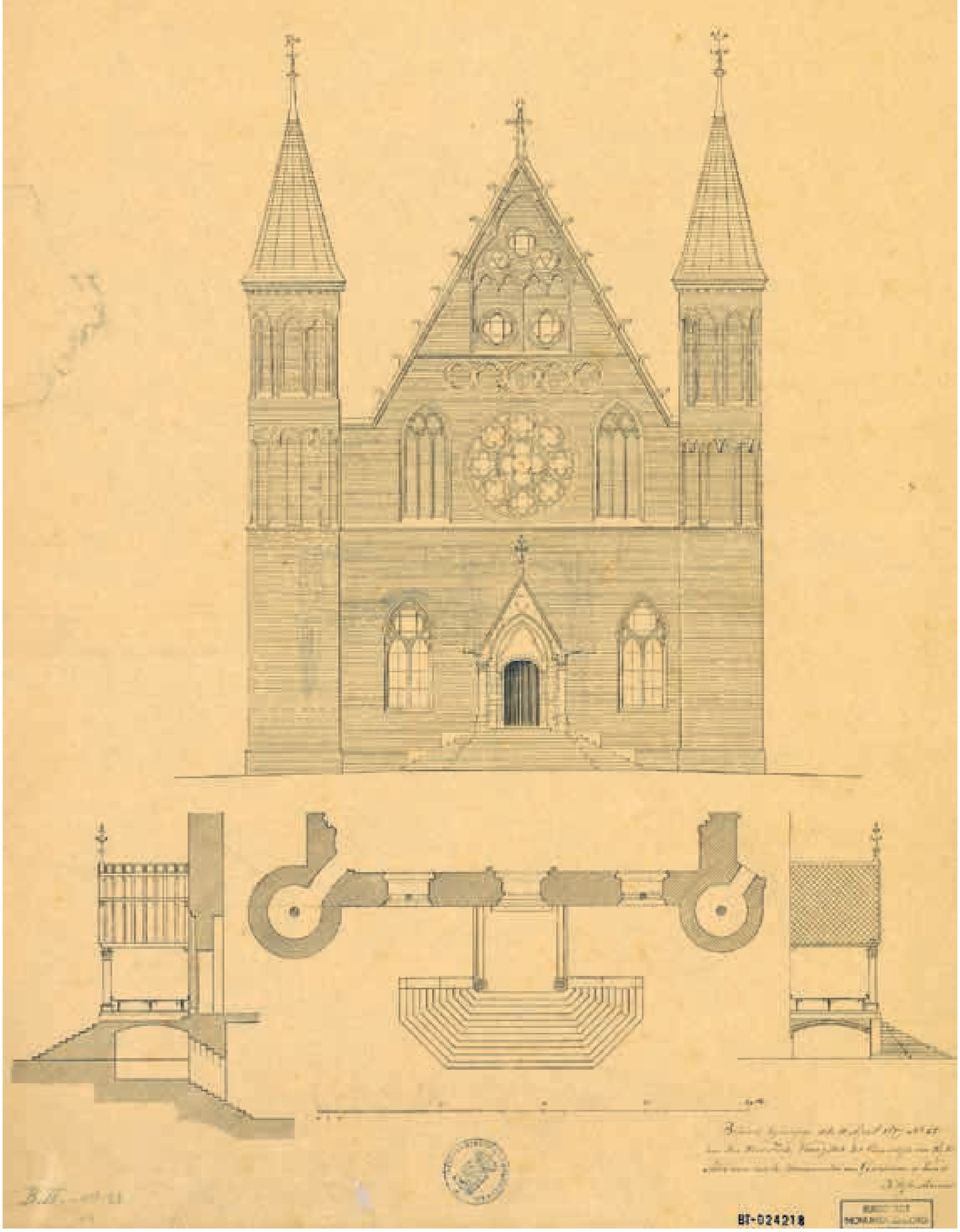
ALTERATIONS TO THE GABLE

The monumentality of the Great Hall is expressed not only in the dimensions of the undivided hall with its magnificent roof construction, but also in the front facade that with its two towers is reminiscent of a 'westwork'.[12] Stylistically, the niche architecture in the gable and towers, the rose window, and the original pointed arch windows flanking the entrance are

3A. The west front of the Great Hall in 1860, showing the tracery of lead-covered wood inserted in the two pointed-arch windows in 1814, and the rose window. The gable displays the original steep wall line that is aligned with the original roof construction. Only the gable shoulders have been raised (The Hague City Archives)



3B. The gable in 1865, following the replacement of the 1295 timber roof structure with a cast iron structure by government architect W.N. Rose in 1861. Because this new roof structure had a different pitch, the gable was adjusted by means of new masonry in a different brick that was fairly crudely toothed into the original medieval brickwork (The Hague City Archives)



4. Drawing of the restoration proposal for the Great Hall west front from 1877. The towers acquire new terminals and the entrance an entrance porch with a flight of steps. The rose window and two pointed-arch windows acquire stone tracery as do the pointed-arch niches left and right of the rose window (Cultural Heritage Agency)

suggestive of a church facade. Although the interior displays clear kinship with English halls and Flemish hospital wards, the secular façade of the Great Hall with its westwork-like appearance seems unique. The facade has largely retained its original period character, but there have been a few changes as a result of nineteenth-century alterations to the roof of the hall. The replacement, in 1861, of the original roof construction with a cast iron frame and zinc roof by government architect W.N. Rose (1801-1877) had far-reaching consequences for the west facade. Photographs dating from before the intervention show an almost perfectly preserved gable; all that is missing is the stone moulding with crockets.[13] At that point the facade was closely aligned with the slate roof. Over time the junction between the facade and the towers was raised, resulting in shoulder pieces that are visible in seventeenth-century paintings (fig. 2). When the roof was renewed, the masonry of the side elevations was raised by around five metres (from eleven to c. sixteen metres), which altered the roof line. Because of the shallower roof slope, the masonry of the front (and rear) facade needed to be adjusted to the new roof line. The new brickwork was rather crudely toothed into the existing masonry. Towards the underside of the gable the new brickwork increases in width resulting in considerably narrower shoulder pieces between gable and towers. The width of the shoulder piece at the southwest tower is practically zero. After this major intervention the west elevation made a rather battered impression that appears, on the evidence of photographs, to have persisted until the restoration of the facade in 1877-1880 (fig. 3).

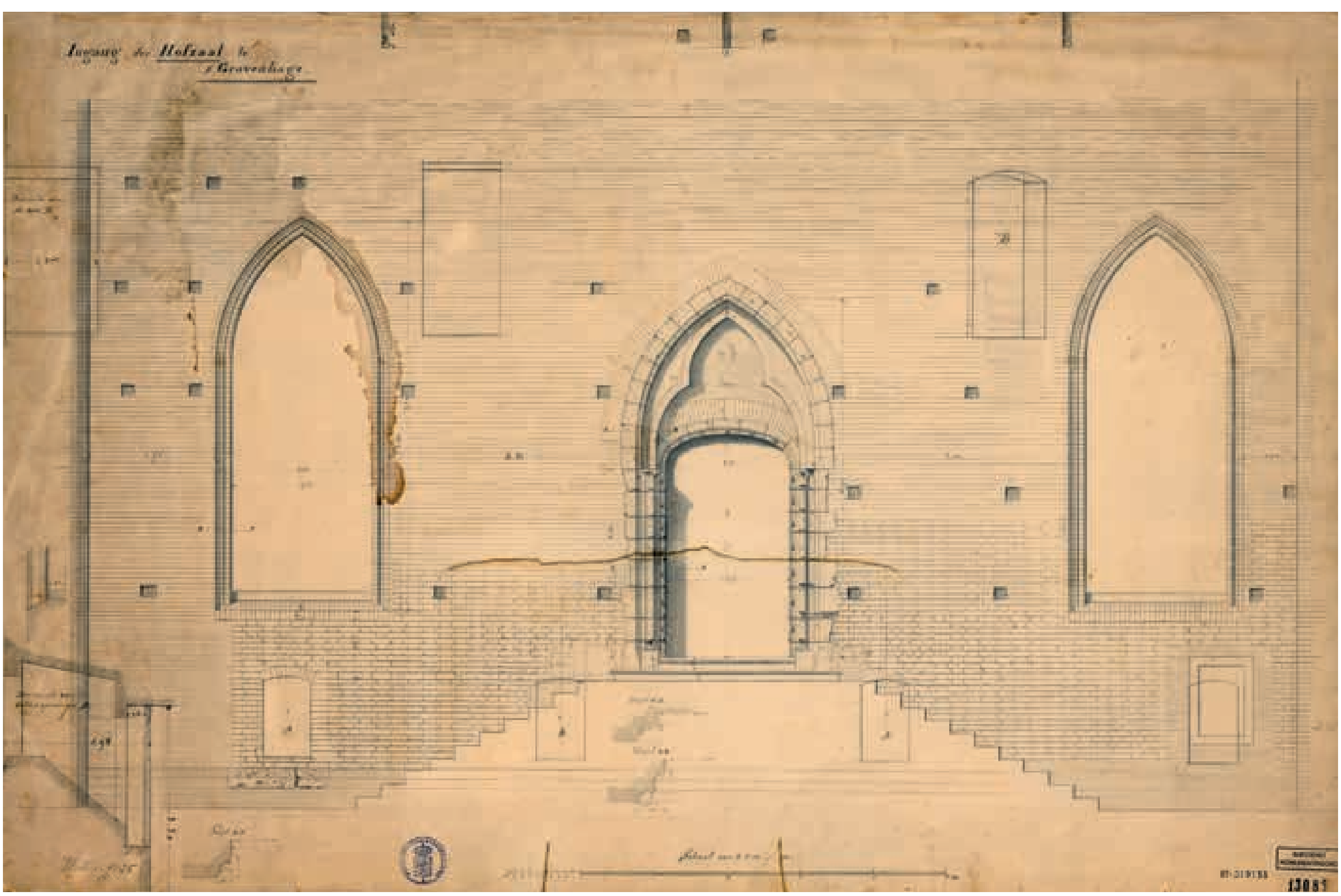
A drawing from 1877 depicts the planned restoration works for the west elevation in broad outline (fig. 4). The idea was to enhance the medieval appearance by replacing the 1861 brickwork using bricks of medieval dimensions and to finish the gable with a moulding with crockets, crowned by a double finial. However, owing to the shallower roof slope introduced in 1861 the gable was more massive than its medieval predecessor, making it impossible to reinstate the shoulder pieces at the original height.

The five round niches at the top of the gable were to be decorated with trefoils and quatrefoils inset with leaded lights. As indicated in the drawing, stone tracery, which had never been there originally, was added to the pointed arch niches. Likewise, the rose window acquired its present stone tracery at this time. In the lower part of the facade, new tracery was introduced into the pointed arch windows and the original Douai stone surround of the entrance was completely renewed and embellished with a portico with steps leading up to the entrance (fig. 5).

Lastly, the towers were restored, involving the replacement of the sixteenth-century terminals (fig. 6). The new spires are identical in the design drawing, but for some reason differed from one another in execution: the northwest tower retained its octagonal structure with eight-sided spire, while the southwest tower was given a round spire.[14]

Following the completion of the restoration of the west facade it took another twenty years for the entire complex of the Count's Chambers to be restored. The reconstruction of the original roof of the Great Hall, made possible by a survey conducted in 1859, had repercussions for the restoration of the west facade in 1880, as the architects had no choice but to connect it to the new, shallower roof pitch of 1861. In 1900, however, a cosmetic approach was chosen with alterations limited to a minor correction of the cornice to make it more in keeping the steep roof slope of the reconstructed medieval roof construction. The left (northern) cornice was altered by bringing the gable line slightly forward at the top, allowing the existing shoul-

5. Documentation drawing of the entrance area of the west front of the Great Hall from c. 1875. It shows the 1295 entrance in Douai stone, flanked by pointed-arch windows. These were designed in 1814 by the architect for government buildings, A. Noordendorp, after Louis Napoleon had ordered the removal of previous additions to the west front. The profiled reveals of these windows are in a smaller brick than the original Flemish bond brickwork (Cultural Heritage Agency)

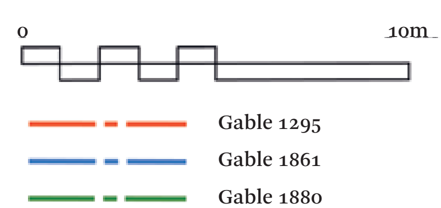


6. The west front of the Knights' Hall during final restoration works in 1880. The reinstated 'medieval' gable emulates the roof line of the 1861 cast iron roof structure. As a result the gable has a larger building mass and the gable wall line a shallower pitch than the original medieval gable (The Hague City Archives)

der piece to be retained. On the right side the gable line was shifted slightly inwards at the bottom, generating a 'proper' shoulder piece to counterbalance the left shoulder piece.[15] All in all, the current gable is more massive than the original medieval facade in which the gable end and roof line were closer together and the original shoulders sat at a significantly lower level (fig. 7).

The alterations to the lower zone of the front facade, which saw the pointed arch windows replaced by cross-bar windows, served to strengthen the secular character of the facade. The pointed arch windows were regarded as a later modification by the 1900 Advisory Committee, which was why they were replaced by cross-bar windows whose design was based on the fourteenth-century cross-bar windows discovered in the side elevations of the Great Hall.[16]

7. West front of the Great Hall. Coloured dotted lines show the three different gable wall lines that preceded today's (solid black) line, which dates from 1900 (drawing H. Hundertmark, 2021)



THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN TOWERS

A striking feature of the facade are the two flanking towers. Because of their asymmetrical position and different dimensions it has been suggested that they were not built at the same time as the Great Hall.[17] The northwest tower's larger diameter mars the symmetry of this focal *Schauseite* of the Great Hall.

With regard to size, it turns out that the internal diameter of both towers is the same (2.7m) and that the larger diameter of the gable wall line of the northwest tower is due to more massive masonry, which is related to the fact that this tower functioned as a stair tower and perhaps also as a clock tower. Because the stone steps of the spiral staircase had to be supported in the tower's brickwork the latter was made more substantial.[18] The stair reaches as far as entablature level and, starting at the bottom, provides access to the large basement below the Great Hall, the Great Hall and bel-etage of the northern side wing, the room on the upper floor of this wing and the corridor in the west elevation leading to the southwest tower, before finally arriving at the entablature. The gallery or corridor in the thickness of the west elevation of the Great Hall leads to the upper floor of the southwest tower as this tower only provides access to the basement, the Great Hall and the bel-etage of the southern side wing.

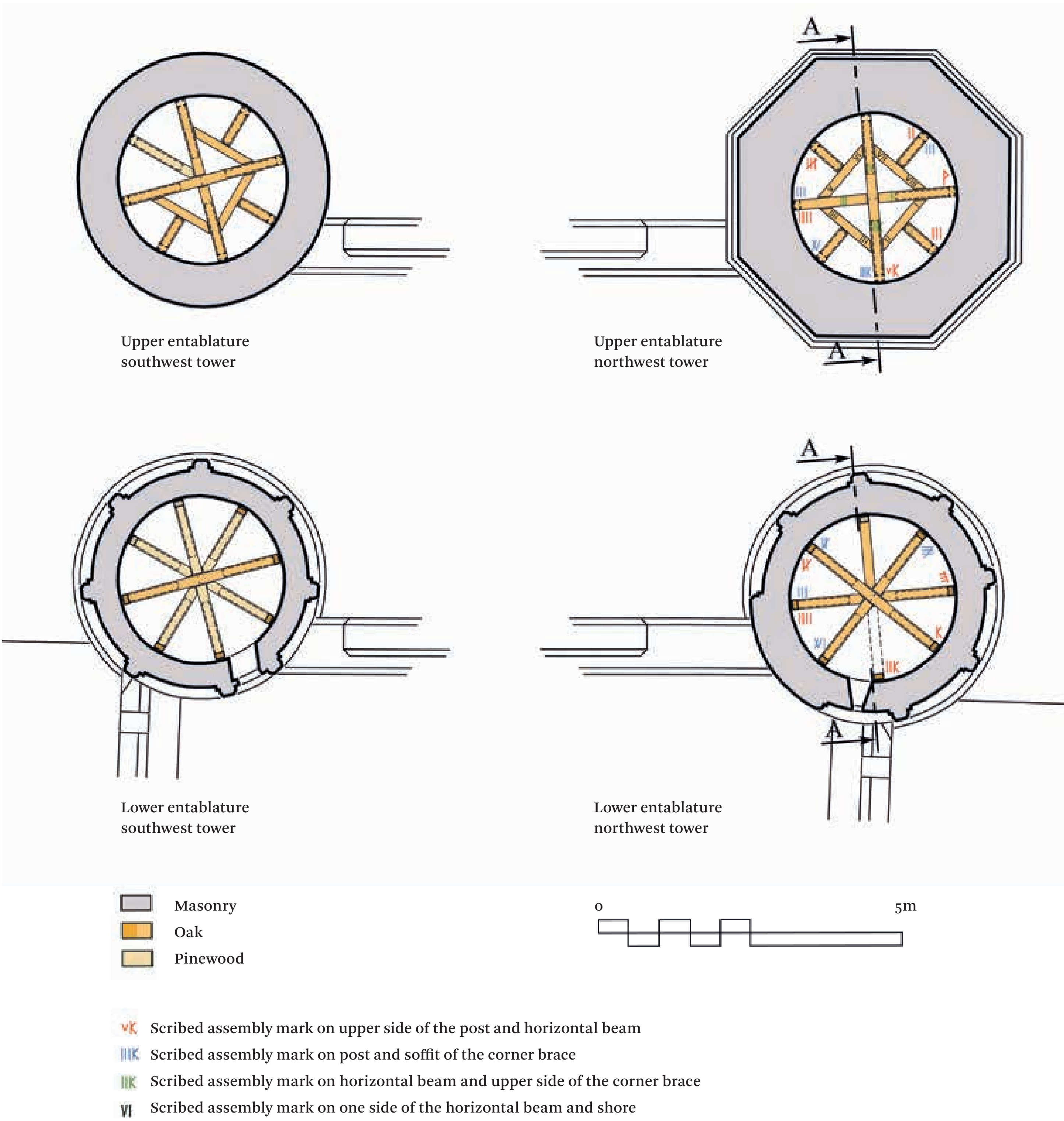
It is possible that the position of the northwest tower was partly dictated by its clock tower function. It is unclear whether this was part of the original plans, but there is mention of a clock with clockwork in archival documents from as early as 1366.[19]

DATING OF THE TOWERS

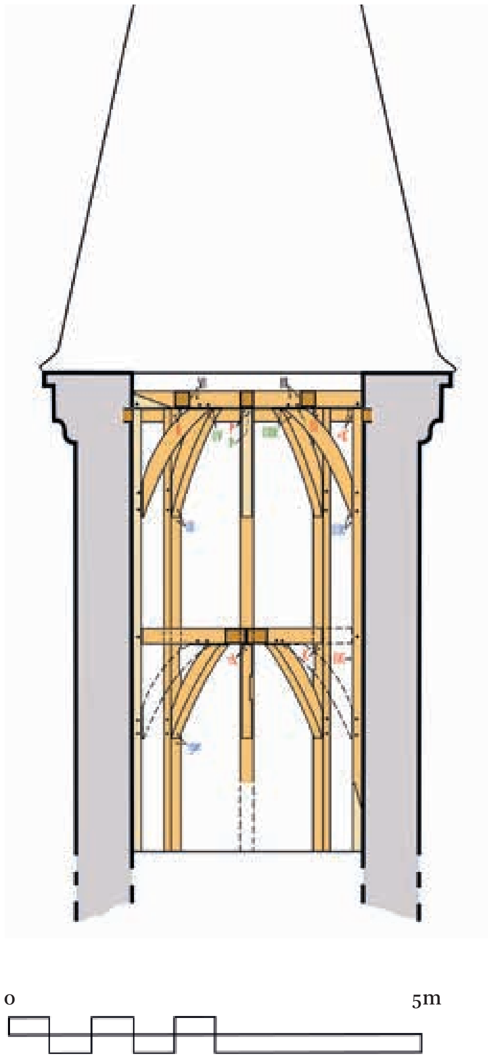
It seems that the symmetry of the west front was not regarded as essential by its builders. Not only do the towers differ in dimensions and position, the side wings (designated original) also differed in height (fig. 2). This is why there is some speculation in the literature as to whether the towers were built at the same time as the Great Hall and whether they might originally have been lower and heightened at some later date.[20] In 1998, in an effort to provide some answers, the towers' two oak entablatures were subjected to a dendrochronological analysis aimed at determining the felling date of the wood and with that the construction date of the towers.[21] These entablatures form a kind of anchoring structure (timber framework) in the top of the towers and supported the original spires.[22] The analysis produced two specific dates. The earliest dates for wood samples from the wall posts are 1288 +/- 6 years in the northwest tower and 1289 +/- 6 years in the southwest tower, indicating a construction date of around 1295.[23] What is surprising though is the late seventeenth-century dating of the corner braces in both towers, namely 1693 +/- 6 years and 1696 +/- 6 years.[24] These dates for the brace timber gave rise to the idea that some timbers may have been reused and that the wall posts are in fact recycled rafters from the monumental roof construction of the Great Hall.[25] However, this is contradicted by the documented assembly marks on these members, consisting of scribed marks, which occur from the end of the thirteenth century up until the transition to gouged assembly marks in the sixteenth century (fig. 8).[26]

8. Upper horizontal framework of the entablature in the northwest tower of the Great Hall. Scribed assembly marks are visible on the beams. The oak entablature was constructed in 1295 and originally supported a spire (photo H. Hundertmark, 2021)

In light of the absence of an unequivocal date, a new investigation into building history indicators such as assembly marks and the deployment of original or reused wood (figs. 9 and 10) was recently conducted. Both entablatures sit on a wooden beam structure and are approximately 5.5 metres high with a diameter of around 2.7 metres.[27] The horizontal framework in the top rests on eight wall posts with corner braces. The beams in this framework are imposed and notched (bridle joint) into a circular wall plate incorporated into the original masonry of the round tower wall (fig. 11).[28] The wall posts of the entablature are secured midway by a second horizontal framework with corner braces. This framework sits between the continuous wall posts and differs in execution from the framework in the top. In the lower framework the beams come together in a 'knot', whereas in the upper framework four of the eight beams connect to shoring. The assembly marks in the entablature of the northwest tower have been documented, but this was not possible with the other tower due to limited accessibility.



9. Plans of the upper section of the southwest and northwest towers of the Great Hall with the upper and lower horizontal framework of the entablature. In colour, the different assembly mark sets and types of wood (drawing H. Hundertmark, 2021)



Cross-section A-A

Masonry
Oak
Pinewood

VK Scribed assembly mark on upper side of the post and horizontal beam
IIIK Scribed assembly mark on post and soffit of the corner brace
IIK Scribed assembly mark on horizontal beam and upper side of the corner brace
VI Scribed assembly mark on one side of the horizontal beam and shore

10. Vertical cross-section of the top part of the northwest tower of the Great Hall plus a cross-section of the entablature. In colour, the different sets of assembly marks and types of wood. The oak is the original wood used in 1295, while the pinewood indicates restoration work (drawing H. Hundertmark, 2021)

The entablature in the northwest tower carries two sets of assembly marks. One set is scribed on the wall posts and corresponding corner braces and beams of the framework. A second continuous set of scribed assembly marks is found only on the horizontal beams of the upper framework. Interestingly, the continuous wall posts also carry a slightly different set of marks at the level of the lower framework. These also appear on the corresponding corner braces and beams of the framework, making it possible to distinguish the woodwork in the lower framework from that in the upper framework. For example, a post with corresponding beam in the upper framework is marked with VK and in the lower framework with IIK, or in the upper with III and in the lower with K. So instead of a continuous series of assembly marks or assembly marks with directional marks there are marks of 'corner brace sets' with the unusual distinction between upper and lower as in roof trusses, or pairs of rafters with a distinction between left and right. The corner braces with corresponding beam and post also have different assembly marks to distinguish between the under- and upper side of the corner brace, owing to the fact that the corner braces are tenoned and cambered – rather than nailed – on the underside as well. On the post marked VK, the soffit of the corner brace and post

11. Detail of the upper horizontal framework of the entablature in the northwest tower of the Great Hall. The beams in this framework are imposed and notched into a circular wall plate, which has the same rounding as the outer brickwork of the round tower (photo H. Hundertmark, 2021)

12. Detail of the oak entablature in the northwest tower of the Great Hall. The assembly mark IIIIK has been scribed on the upper side of the corner brace and on the soffit of the beam in the upper horizontal framework (photo H. Hundertmark, 2021)

bear the mark IIIK, while the upper side of the corner brace and beam of the horizontal framework is marked IIIIK (fig. 12). In the lower framework the soffits of the corner braces also display a set of assembly marks. Unfortunately it was not possible to determine whether the upper sides of these corner braces were also marked.

The second set is on the shoring of the horizontal framework in the top which is marked I to VIII. The marks are intended to ensure that the shores connect correctly with the continuous beams of the framework. The beams themselves have matching marks, for example IIII on the shore and on one side of the continuous beam. On the other side of the beam is the mark V and the corresponding shore is also marked V, and so on. This additional set of assembly marks was unnecessary in the lower framework, which did not involve shoring.

The entablature of the southwest tower is difficult to access, making it impossible to record the assembly marks. In this case we drew on the observations made during the dendrochronological survey of 1998.[29] Many of the original oak timbers in that entablature have been replaced by pinewood, so that it was not possible to determine whether the corner brace sets were marked and whether there were different sets of assembly marks distinguishing top from bottom.

The marking of entablatures with separate sets of assembly marks for vertical and horizontal framework timbers is common practice. Typically, different marks were used to distinguish between the upper and lower horizontal timbers. What sets the entablatures in the west towers apart is the marking of corner brace sets rather than a series of assembly marks with directional marks. Also unusual is the use of different assembly marks on the corner braces to distinguish between top and bottom, and that this set of assembly marks is unrelated to the sets of marks on the horizontal timbers and the vertical posts. The reason for this is that the corner braces are tenoned and cambered on both the top side and soffit. This combination of top and bottom tenons and trunnels and the additional marking of corner braces is unique and as such indicative of great age. In later constructions corner braces are mostly nailed on the underside, rendering additional assembly marks unnecessary.

We then looked for the usual clues to the use of recycled wood, such as non-functional tenon and trunnel holes, tenon holes that are too big or that have been altered to match new, often smaller tenons, and ‘orphan’ assembly marks bearing no relation to the current construction. No such indicators were discovered. The notion that these beams were installed during the construction of the towers and not at some later date is borne out by the fact that the entablature beams were imposed and notched into the circular wall plate integrated with the original masonry of the round tower wall.

The combination of building history indicators, the sets of assembly marks and the unequivocal nature of the dendrochronological dating to the final quarter of the thirteenth century, raises questions about the dating of the corner braces in both towers, namely 1693 +/- 6 years and 1696 +/- 6 years. The dating with an outlier of 1746 +/- 6 years is similarly incongruous, raising doubts about the correctness of the dating and the choice of the reference curves to which the dating is related.[30]

In conjunction with the thermoluminescence dating of the brick samples from the Knights' Hall – 1352 +/-65 years – the earliest thirteenth-century dendrochronological dates of 1288 +/-6 years and 1289 +/-6 years indicate that the towers were built at the same time as the Knights' Hall.[31] During recent archaeological research where the foundation base of the northwest tower and the adjoining foundation of the west elevation of the Great Hall were exposed, it became apparent that the original masonry of the tower and west elevation was tightly interlocked and must consequently have originated at the same time.[32]

CONCLUSION

A comparison of historical photographs from the late nineteenth century reveals that the gable of the Great Hall underwent substantial modifications during two restoration campaigns. When the height of the roof was raised in 1861 the gable wall line had needed to be adjusted accordingly. This was partially reversed during the restoration of 1877-1880, and in the next restoration in 1990 the gable was amended again with the aim of approximating the original situation as closely as possible. During recent building history research, the construction date and original height of the two towers in the west elevation of the Great Hall were investigated. Contrary to previous assumptions that the towers were not part of the original plan or had been completed at a later date, it was established that the towers were built at the same time as the hall. Dendrochronological dating in combination with the typical thirteenth-century assembly mark system and the fact that the beams in the entablatures had been imposed and notched into in the wall plate of the original tower wall masonry indicate that the towers had already reached their current height at that time.

NOTES

1 A. Ising, *Het Binnenhof te 's Gravenhage in plaat en schrift, De Groote Zaal*, 's Gravenhage 1879, 1.

2 H.F.G. Hundertmark and P.C. van der Heiden, *Grafelijke Zalen Binnenhof, Bouwgeschiedenis van een grafelijk hof met koningspalts*, report, Oss/The Hague 2021, 23-33.

3 E.H. ter Kuile, 'De bouwgeschiedenis van het grafelijk paleis op het Binnenhof', *Holland*, December 1978, 313-328; A.J.J. Mekking, 'De Grote Zaal van Floris V te Den Haag. Een onderzoek naar de betekenis van het concept', in: W. van Anrooij et al., *Holland in wording. De ontstaansgeschiedenis van het graafschap Holland tot het begin van de vijftiende eeuw*, Hilversum 1991, 65-90.

4 For the construction of the basements, see Ising 1879 (note 1), Het Hof van Holland, 2. Ising ascribes the two basements to the building phase under Floris v.

5 F.A.J. Vermeulen, *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse Bouwkunst*, vol, I, 's-Gravenhage 1928, 481-483. The Great Hall was said to have been designed in 1275 by Gerard van Leyden; Mekking 1991 (note 3), 76-78.

6 Mekking 1991 (note 3), 76-78.

7 E.H.P. Cordfunke, *Een Hollands-Schots avontuur 1291-1292*, Utrecht 2005.

8 B.J.L. de Geer van Jutphaas (ed.), 'Kronijk van Holland van een ongenoemden geestelijke (gemeenlijk geheeten kronijk van den clerc uten laghen landen bi der see)'. *Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap, gevestigd te Utrecht*, new series no. 6, 1867, 133.

9 Mekking 1991 (note 3); Cordfunke, 2005 (note 7). Westminster Hall's original roof was probably not single-span but rather a double-nave construction supported in the middle by a row of columns.

10 H. Janse, *Houten kappen in Nederland 1000-1940* (Bouwtechniek in Nederland; 2), Delft 1989, 89; Janse mentions Sutton Courtenay Abbey as an English example of a cruck; A. Emery, *Greater medieval houses of England and Wales*, vol. III, Cambridge 2006, 386-394 (Penshurst); examples of thirteenth-century hall roof constructions: Emery 2006, vol. II, 574-576 (Stokesay, 1285); M. Hislop, *Approaches to Castle Design and Construction in the Middle Ages*, Barnsley 2016, 45-46 (Ludlow Castle, late thirteenth century).

11 P. Hoffsummer (ed.), *Roof Frames from the 11th to the 19th Century. Typology and Development in Northern France and in Belgium*, Analysis of CRMH Documentation, Turnhout 2009, 192-193 and 270-272.

12 The Great Hall roof construction spans 18 metres; the halls of the Bijloke hospital in Ghent and the Sint Jans hospital in Bruges have a span of 16 and 12.6 metres respectively; K. Atzbach, *Gotische Gewölbe aus Holz in Utrecht, Gent und Brugge*, Berlin 2007, 104.

13 In a few illustrations from the end of the sixteenth century, stone crockets are visible on the Great Hall gable: Jacob Saverij, engraving of the entry of Leicester, 1586; Gillis Saen, painting with view of the Hofvijver, 1598.

14 Ising 1879 (note 1), De Groote Zaal, 8. According to Ising, during repairs carried out in 1534 the towers acquired new spire finials on an also new, octagonal structure on corbels. Sixteenth-century paintings likewise depict the spires that were replaced during the 1880 restoration with the current spires.

15 *Rapporten van de Commissie van Advies voor de Grafelijke Zalen. Werkzaamheden aan de verschillende gebouwen XII, Juli 1904*: 'De Hofzaal werd uitwendig voltooid door de herstelling van de voorgevel, waar in de top veel los metselwerk, stammende uit een vroegere restauratie (1880), moest vervangen worden.' 'The main hall was completed externally with the repair of the front facade where a lot of loose masonry in the top, stemming from a previous restoration (1880), needed to be replaced.'

16 Ising 1879 (note 1), 10: 'In 1395 eleven new windows of Drachenfels stone were made in the Hall'. C.H. Peters, *Beschrijving van de Grafelijke Zalen op het Binnenhof te 's Gravenhage, in opdracht van den Minister van Waterstaat, bewerkt door de Commissie van Advies en uitgegeven door de Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst*, 1907, 129; *Rapporten van de Commissie van Advies voor de Grafelijke Zalen. Groote Zaal en Haagtorentje te 's Gravenhage X, 25.06.1902*: 'When this attached masonry [on the inside of the front facade] was removed, the arches of the windows in the front elevation were revealed and it became apparent that the original shape of the windows was not that of a pointed arch but was similar to those in the two side elevations'.

17 Hundertmark and Van der Heiden 2021 (note 2), 27-29.

18 During the 1900 restoration it was established that the original spiral staircase had stone treads that were imposed into the brickwork of the tower wall. *Rapporten van de Commissie van Advies voor de Grafelijke Zalen. Groote Zaal en Haagtorentje te 's Gravenhage X, 25.06.1902*: 'At the same time the stair in the northwest tower, which was quite

dilapidated and had an alignment different from the original, was renewed and restored to its original place, which was evident from remnants still present in the wall.'

19 Ising 1879 (note 1), De Groote Zaal, 8: 'De noordertoren, die ook thans een uurwerk draagt, schijnt dit in 1366 reeds gekregen te hebben', aldus de Rekeningen van Noordholland. ['The north tower, which also contains a clockwork, appears to have acquired this in 1366', according to the Rekeningen van Noordholland.]

20 Ter Kuile 1978 (note 3), 327 and Mekking 1991 (note 3), 67.

21 D.J. de Vries, 'Vergelijkend natuurwetenschappelijk dateringsonderzoek', *Bulletin KNOB* 99 (2000) 3, 74-84.

22 E.J. Haslinghuis and H. Janse, *Bouwkundige termen, Verklarend woordenboek van de westerse architectuur- en bouwhistorie*, Leiden 1997, 450. The current spires are from 1879; E. Röell, *De ontstaansgeschiedenis van de grafelijke zalen op het Binnenhof*, doctoral thesis University of Utrecht, 1999, 129.

23 The two earliest dates for the entablatures in both towers are corroborated by the other *post quem* datings of the wall post timber, which are all from the late thirteenth century: 1276 or later and after 1278 +/- 6 years in the northwest tower and 1288 +/- 6 years (2x) and after 1285 +/- 6 years in the southwest tower; RING, report of dating research in Röell 1999 (note 22), 172-173.

24 These dates are 'corroborated' by a *post quem* dating of a third corner brace in the southwest tower: 1746 +/- 6 years; RING, report on dating research in: Röell 1999 (note 22), 172-173.

25 De Vries 2000 (note 21), 77.

26 Janse 1989 (note 10), 35 and 46-54 and Röell 1999 (note 22), 145-150.

27 The height of the entablatures is the same as that of the wall of the top section of the tower articulated with blind niches.

28 The masonry in the top of the tower is executed in bricks measuring 28 × 13/13½ × 7½ centimetres, and with a ten course height of 85 centimetres. The brick dimensions and course heights are consistent with those in the foremost basement of the Great Hall.

29 Röell 1999 (note 22), 149.

30 Röell 1999 (note 22), 156. Continuing advances in understanding have meanwhile made it clear that due caution should be exercised with respect to the dating of the brace timber owing to the irregular growth pattern of the wood.

31 De Vries 2000 (note 21), 77.

32 C. Bakker e.a., 'Archeologie in Den Haag in 2021', in: *Jaarboek Die Haghe*, 2022, 224. This observation confirms the building history observations in the basement of the Knights' Hall, see: H.F.G. Hundertmark and P.C. van der Heiden, *Vervolgonderzoek met waardestelling van een viertal 'hotspots' binnen het complex Grafelijke Zalen*, Report, Oss/The Hague 2019.

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'A SUBSTANTIAL WALL SET BETWEEN TWO SLENDER TOWERS'

THE ORIGINAL DESIGN OF THE WEST ELEVATION OF THE RIDDERZAAL

PAULA VAN DER HEIDEN AND HEIN HUNDERTMARK

The front elevation of the Ridderzaal (Knights' Hall) in the Binnenhof in The Hague is one of the best-known frontages in the country. The impressive facade was built in around 1295 by Count Floris V as a *Schauseite* or 'best side' of the stately hall. The front elevation and its two towers were recently the subject of building history research.

It is known that the elevation underwent major restoration between 1861 and 1900, but the key question explored in this article is to what extent the late thirteenth-century elevation was modified. Our research focused on modifications to the gable and the authenticity of the two flanking towers. A subsequent building history study has revealed that the gable wall line was altered several times during this period, ultimately resulting in a more massive gable.

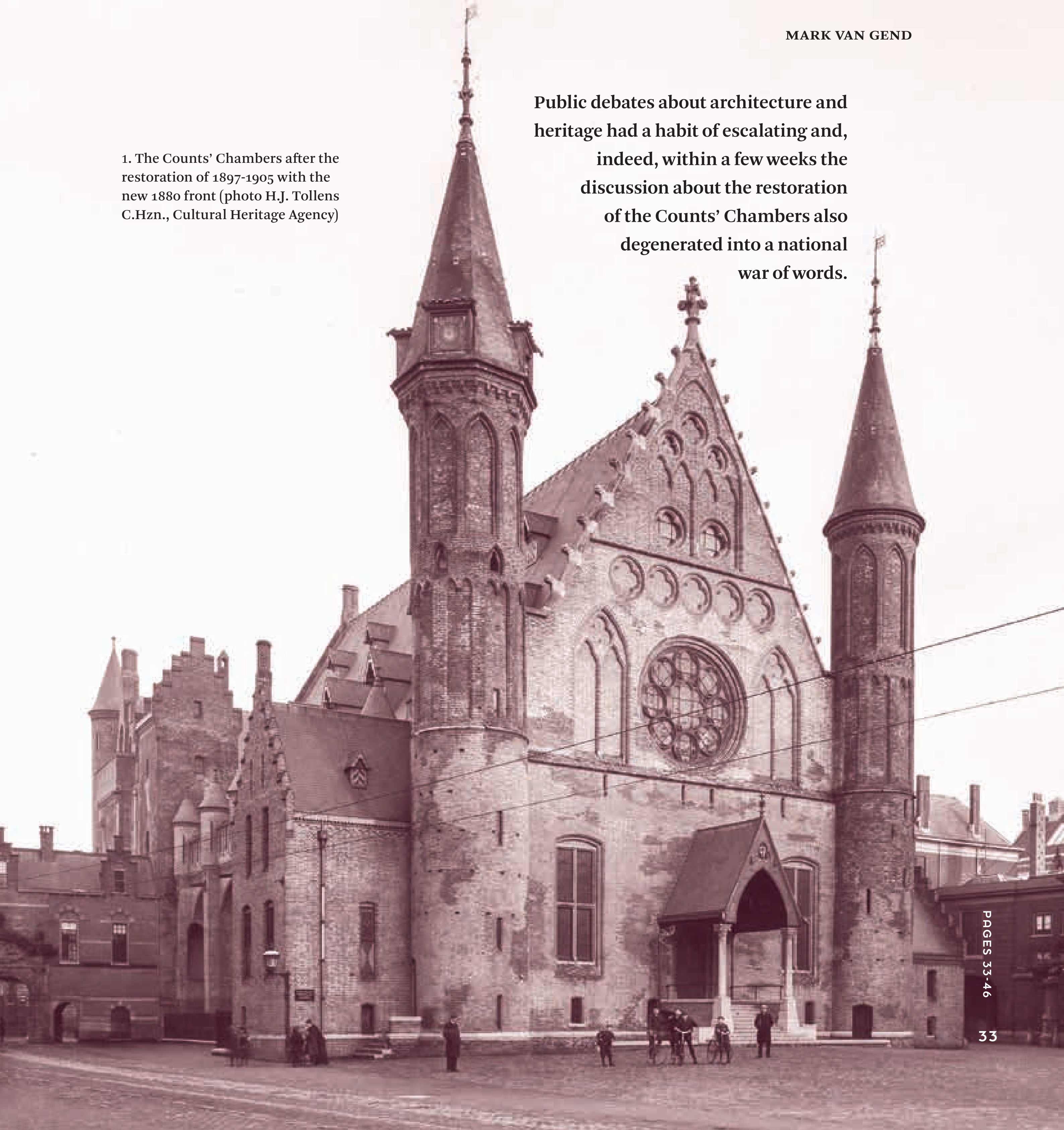
As to the towers, it was previously unclear whether they were part of the original design. Because of their asymmetrical position and different dimensions it was surmised that they had not been built at the same time as the hall and may even have been heightened at a later date. A dendrochronological analysis conducted in 1998 dated the entablatures supporting the steeple to around 1295. However, because seventeenth-century wood was also encountered, it was speculated that the thirteenth-century timber had been recycled. A new analysis of the assembly marks on the entablatures supports the notion that they do indeed date from the building period, which in turn suggests that the current height of the towers is the original height: in other words, both towers were part of the thirteenth-century design.

REBELLION IN THE ARCHITECTURAL WORLD

THE RESTORATION OF THE GRAFELIJKE ZALEN AND THE TUG-OF-WAR OVER HERITAGE PRESERVATION

MARK VAN GEND

Public debates about architecture and heritage had a habit of escalating and, indeed, within a few weeks the discussion about the restoration of the Counts' Chambers also degenerated into a national war of words.



1. The Counts' Chambers after the restoration of 1897-1905 with the new 1880 front (photo H.J. Tollens C.Hzn., Cultural Heritage Agency)

PAGES 33-46

CUYPERS' THRONE

The current appearance of the Counts' Chambers (Grafelijke Zalen, 1897-1905) is due in large part to the extensive restoration carried out in around 1900.[1] Since then the complex has featured on well over a hundred occasions as the decor for the ceremony of Prinsjesdag, with traditionally a lot of attention focused on the monarch who, at the invitation of the States-General and seated on an actual throne, proceeds to read out the government's plans for the year ahead. The interior of the Knights' Hall (Ridderzaal) and the ambience of the complex as a whole came about under the aegis of an official restoration committee whose members included the architect Pierre Cuypers (1827-1921). There was a long-standing impression that Cuypers' influence in the final quarter of the nineteenth century was so great that everyone then must have followed his lead and ideas. We now know that this presumed leadership role was not quite as absolute as it seemed; Cuypers appears to have had considerably more political influence than ideological allies.[2] Public debates about architecture and heritage had a habit of escalating and, indeed, within a few weeks the discussion about the restoration of the Counts' Chambers also degenerated into a national war of words.[3]

To better understand the restoration of the Counts' Chambers and to bring the role and influence of Cuypers into sharper focus, it is worth consulting contemporary sources in order to reconstruct and interpret the course of events. This restoration project in the heart of the Binnenhof is a prime example of a case in which the ideological battle over restoration ethics and the exercise of political influence converged under high pressure. Closer examination provides new clues to the actual state of relations – political, social, bureaucratic and among architects – at the end of the nineteenth century, and to how the restoration of the Counts' Chambers escalated the debate on heritage preservation.

THE COSTS AND THE VALUES

At the back of the *Bouwkundig Weekblad* (Architecture Weekly) of 16 November 1895 there was a brief article about the state budget for 1896, which had recently been presented to the Lower House.[4] The report dealt with just one item, entailing an unexceptional amount of one thousand guilders. This was to be used to fund an inquiry into a possible restoration and repurposing of the Counts' Chambers. In the preceding years various groups and individuals had repeatedly urged the restoration and repurposing of the Knights' Hall (Ridderzaal), most recently a committee established for this very purpose by Vereniging Die Haghe, whose membership included public servants and politicians.[5] The over eight hundred members of the architectural association Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst ('de Maatschappij' for short), chiefly architects and art historians, read in their journal that the proposed inquiry had 'occasioned an exchange of views' among the elected representatives. Various members of parliament were especially concerned about the financial consequences of the inquiry, and that concern had everything to do with the individual who had proposed this item.[6]

What surprised people was that the proposition came from the Ministry of the Interior, whereas, as a 'National Building', the Counts' Chambers was the responsibility of the Ministry of Water, Trade & Industry (Waterstaat for short). For its part, the Ministry of the Interior was responsible for 'monuments of history and art'. However, there was no legally based definition or registration of such monuments, not even in the case of buildings owned by the State. Nor was it clear what that responsibility entailed. From the fact that the budget item for developing a restoration plan emanated from the Ministry of the Interior, parliamentarians inferred that it had already been decided – without consulting the Ministry of Waterstaat – that the Counts' Chambers should be treated as a 'monument'. And although heritage preservation was still in its infancy in the Netherlands at that time, the politicians were aware that there was a big difference in costs between the practical renovation of a functional government building and a restoration of the same building as a historical monument of national significance.[7]

Contemporary readers might naturally assume that the Maatschappij would heartily endorse a proposal for the restoration of the Counts' Chambers. Yet even before the publication of the report in *Bouwkundig Weekblad* internal alarm bells must have been sounding, for the board had held a special meeting and the very next issue of the journal opened with the text of a letter they had sent to the House of Representatives.[8] The (almost entire) board felt that there was a serious risk that if the restoration planning were to be carried out by the Department of Arts and Sciences at the Ministry of the Interior, its implementation would also end up being carried out by this department and 'in light of the history of the Dept. A. & S. in the past 15 years it is already easy to deduce by whom and in what manner those restoration works will be carried out'.[9]

That 'whom' in the letter was not referred to by name, but it would have been clear to readers that it alluded to the head of the Arts and Sciences department, Victor de Stuers (1843-1916), and to his chief adviser, the architect Pierre Cuypers. Regarding the desirability of responsibility for a restoration of the Counts' Chambers residing with this duo, the writers did not mince their words: 'The Board feels that the time has come to inform Your Esteemed Assembly with utmost gravity, that with respect to the restoration of historical monuments, in this instance the Counts' Chambers, there is an urgent need to adopt a different course from the one hitherto followed by the Dept. A. & S. The principle nowadays rightly honoured elsewhere: *only preserve the existing and in so doing not make any completely new costly additions*, has been lost sight of in several restoration works carried out under the leadership of the Dept. A. & S.; new costly structures, in themselves sometimes meritorious, have been added ... In this way historic monuments and buildings have been rebuilt rather than restored and the character was for the most part lost.'[10]

The Maatschappij board then directed the attention of the parliamentarians back to the issue of the possible restoration of the Counts' Chambers: 'there is every reason to suspect that this will proceed in the manner referred to above and will be pursued in the spirit already embarked upon with the placing of an entirely *new*, historically highly dubious porch with steps in front of the entrance to the Knights' Hall, and in the spirit of the fountain that now needlessly disfigures the Binnenhof'.[11] Both the new entrance to the Counts' Chambers of 1880 and the neo-Gothic fountain installed five years later emanated from the drawing board of Pierre Cuypers (fig. 1).[12] Whether these explicit references to the members' own place of work were really needed in order to capture their attention is open to doubt, since over the past two decades De Stuers and Cuypers had themselves managed to build a controversial reputation among a considerable number of parliamentarians.[13]

DELFT

The year 1864 marked the beginning of a different line of thinking on the treatment of historically valuable buildings in the Netherlands. In Delft, the Royal Academy became the Polytechnic School, with the German architect Eugen Gugel (1832-1905) as its first Professor of Architecture. Thanks to Gugel and to the handbook he wrote and illustrated – *Geschiedenis van de Bouwstijlen in de Hoofdtijdperken der Architectuur* (History of Building Styles in the Principal Architectural Eras, 1869) – the majority of Dutch architecture students have since a more relativist approach to architectural history instilled in them. In Gugel's book, instead of a single European culture that had evolved in a linear fashion, there were many different European, North African and Asian cultures with a wide variety of building styles, regional differences and mutual influences.[14] Seen from this perspective, historical buildings were not merely the expression of the stylistic ideal of the original designers, but also objects that had been passed down from generation to generation, each of which had added their own, historically equally valuable elements.

Around the beginning of the 1880s, the first generation of Polytechnic School students started to make a career for themselves and to occupy prominent positions in the Dutch architectural world. In the process they also secured commissions for the restoration of historic monuments. However, with their relatively nuanced view of architectural history, in which there was scope for the preservation of different chronological layers, they ran up against the ideological brick wall erected by De Stuers and Cuypers, who rigidly applied the dogma of 'stylistic purity': each historical building style had an ideal form that contemporary architects had endeavoured to materialize but, owing to the limited technical possibilities of their day, they were not always entirely successful. Based on his interpretation of the theories of the French architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879), Cuypers believed that the task of modern restoration architects was not to restore what had once existed, but to employ more advanced techniques to perfect the building in line with that ideal form. To be sure of making the right decisions they should not confine themselves to looking for concrete traces of earlier construction and other historical information, rather they needed to have a highly developed understanding of the building style in question. The Delft-trained architects could submit as many such restoration plans based on extensive building history research as they liked, but if Cuypers for instance detected that the roof structure of a gothic church was not sufficiently pointed and therefore did not satisfy the 'verticality' of the gothic ideal, the plan would be negatively assessed.

By 1895 the Maatschappij board had had enough and they let the national elected representatives know in no uncertain terms what in their view the problem – and the solution – was: 'to escape the future consequences of this wholly incorrect standpoint regarding the maintenance of historical monuments and to break with a way of working that is the inevitable result of the prevailing exclusive and one-sided leadership and point of view in the Dept. A.&S. – it is necessary that the maintenance and preservation of the historic monuments and buildings should from now on be entrusted to several people who act by common accord, that is to say to a government-appointed Committee that does not consist solely of individuals of the same views and insights.'[15]

WIDER PROTEST

At the end of 1895 the Maatschappij board was made up of the chairman Constantijn Muysken (1843-1922), vice-chairman J.R. de Kruyff (1844-1923), secretary

C.T.J. Louis Rieber (1848-1907) and members V.G.A. Bosch (1854-1911), Eduard Cuypers (1859-1927), Henri Evers (1855-1929), D.E.C. Knuttel (1857-1926), C.H. Peters (1847-1932) and I.H.J. van Lunteren (1843-1921).[16] Of these nine, five (Muysken, De Kruyff, Bosch, Knuttel and Rieber) had studied under Gugel in Delft. Although Evers had studied at the art academies of The Hague and Antwerp, his views were so much in accord with those of Gugel that he eventually succeeded him as professor in Delft in 1902. Eduard Cuypers was Pierre Cuypers' nephew and had trained in his architectural practice. But he had independently evolved into one of the chief exponents of the eclectic style so abhorred by his uncle. That the letter to the House of Representatives was not an exclusively 'Delftian complaint', but the expression of a more broad-based dissatisfaction, became apparent a week after the letter's publication, when *Bouwkundig Weekblad* published a 'declaration of support' signed by 29 architects and art historians, including several big names (fig. 2).[17]

The Maatschappij's lobbying seems to have been effective: following a negative recommendation to the House of Representatives from the budget committee, the Minister of the Interior, Samuel van Houten, was forced to back down. Although convinced that the Counts' Chambers ought to fall within the remit of his department of Arts and Sciences, he conceded that it would have been more seemly to have first discussed this with Waterstaat. The Members gave him the opportunity to still do so by voting down the budget request by 48 to 46 votes on 13 December 1895.[18] Minister Philippe Willem van der Sleijden of Waterstaat was ready for him and made it clear from the outset that Waterstaat saw no reason to cede responsibility for this National Building to another ministry. He was, however, in favour of restoration: 'The Minister intends to seek advice on the Government Architect's proposals on that matter from other experts, outside his department.'[19]

Since 1883, the National Buildings department within the Waterstaat ministry had employed two government architects, covering different areas of the country. The government architect for North and East Netherlands was C.H. Peters, who via De Steurs had also been engaged for most of the projects in The Hague.[20] This situation came to an end in 1892 when Daniël Knuttel was appointed government architect for West and South Netherlands. Since Peters' appointment in May 1894, both had been members of the Maatschappij board. However, Peters did not belong to the cohort of Delft-trained architects; he had trained with and initially worked for Pierre Cuypers. He was also on the committee of the Vereniging Die Haghe, which had argued in favour of shifting responsibility for the Counts' Chambers to the Ministry of the Interior. The Maatschappij board's critical missive on the proposed restoration inquiry concluded with an unequivocal postscript: 'Mr C.H. Peters, member of the board, declares that he is unable to reconcile himself with the content and tenor of this address.'[21] On 23 December 1895 Peters resigned from the board.[22] It seems obvious that these events were directly related, but *Bouwkundig Weekblad* and the minutes of the Maatschappij general members meetings described it merely as an unfortunate coincidence and Peters remained an ordinary member of the Maatschappij.[23]

2. The 29 signatories to the 'letter of adhesion' (*Bouwkundig Weekblad* 1895)

H. P. Berlage, Architect, *Amsterdam*.
A. C. Bleys, Bouwmeester, *Amsterdam*.
Dr. A. Bredius, Directeur van het Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, *'s-Gravenhage*.
F. J. Bremmer, Architect, *'s-Gravenhage*.
A. Dirkzwager, Architect, *Rotterdam*.
A. R. Freem, Architect, Arnhem.
A. N. Godefroy, Architect, *Amsterdam*.
C. N. van Goor, Architect, *Rotterdam*.
Corn. Hofstede de Groot, Onderdirecteur van het Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, *'s-Gravenhage*.
P. W. Hooykaas Jr., Architect, *Rotterdam*.
G. P. Kits van Heijningen, *'s-Gravenhage*.
Jacob F. Klinkhamer, Architect-Ingenieur, *Amsterdam*.
B. Th. Kraayvanger, Architect, *Rotterdam*.
J. F. Metzelaar, Oud-Ingenieur-Architect voor de gevangenissen en rechtsgebouwen, *'s-Gravenhage*.
W. C. Metzelaar, Ingenieur-Architect voor de gevangenissen en rechtsgebouwen, *'s-Gravenhage*.
A. W. Meijneken, Architect. *Rotterdam*.
W. Molenbroek, Architect, *Rotterdam*.
F. J. Nieuwenhuis, Architect, Directeur der Gemeentewerken, *Utrecht*.
A. Nolen, Architect, Directeur van de Academie voor Beeldende Kunsten en Technische Wetenschappen, *Rotterdam*.
F. K. Osinga, Lid van den Gemeenteraad, *Arnhem*.
G. Persijn, Architect, *Arnhem*.
C. B. Posthumus Meijjes, Architect, *Amsterdam*.
H. A. Reus, Architect, *Dordrecht*.
A. Salm G.Bzn., Architect, *Amsterdam*.
Jan Springer, Architect, *Amsterdam*.
J. P. Stok Wzn., Architect, *Rotterdam*.
J. W. C. Tellegen, Civiel Ingenieur, Directeur der Gemeentewerken, *Arnhem*.
Dr. P. Templeman van der Hoeven, Lid van den Gemeenteraad, *Utrecht*.
J. Verheul Dzn., Architect *Rotterdam*.

CUYPERS' REACTION

Unlike Peters, Pierre Cuypers did resign – publicly – and that was unquestionably in relation to the Counts' Chambers dispute. An account of the short and acrimonious process that preceded this appeared in *Architectura*, the journal of the architectural society Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia (AetA for short). More or less coincidentally with the rise of Delft-trained architects within the Maatschappij, AetA became increasingly dominated by architects who had trained with Cuypers.[24] Following *Bouwkundig Weekblad*'s publication of the letter to the House of Representatives, *Architectura* printed an editorial response: 'For the past several years the Board of this Maatschij. has been waging a fierce campaign against everything that originates in this A&S department, a campaign that in our opinion has taken on far too personal a character for us to be able to agree with.'[25] De Stuers and Cuypers' dominance in heritage preservation was not denied, rather presented as a blessing; if Waterstaat were in charge of the restoration of the Counts' Chambers, it would be carried out by 'totally unqualified' individuals.[26] According to the AetA editors, gothic expert Cuypers was obviously the right person for the job. They observed that although the signatories to the 'letter of adhesion' included a number of respected names ('that we had rather not seen there'), none of them could boast as much experience with the restoration of thirteenth-century heritage buildings as Cuypers.[27]

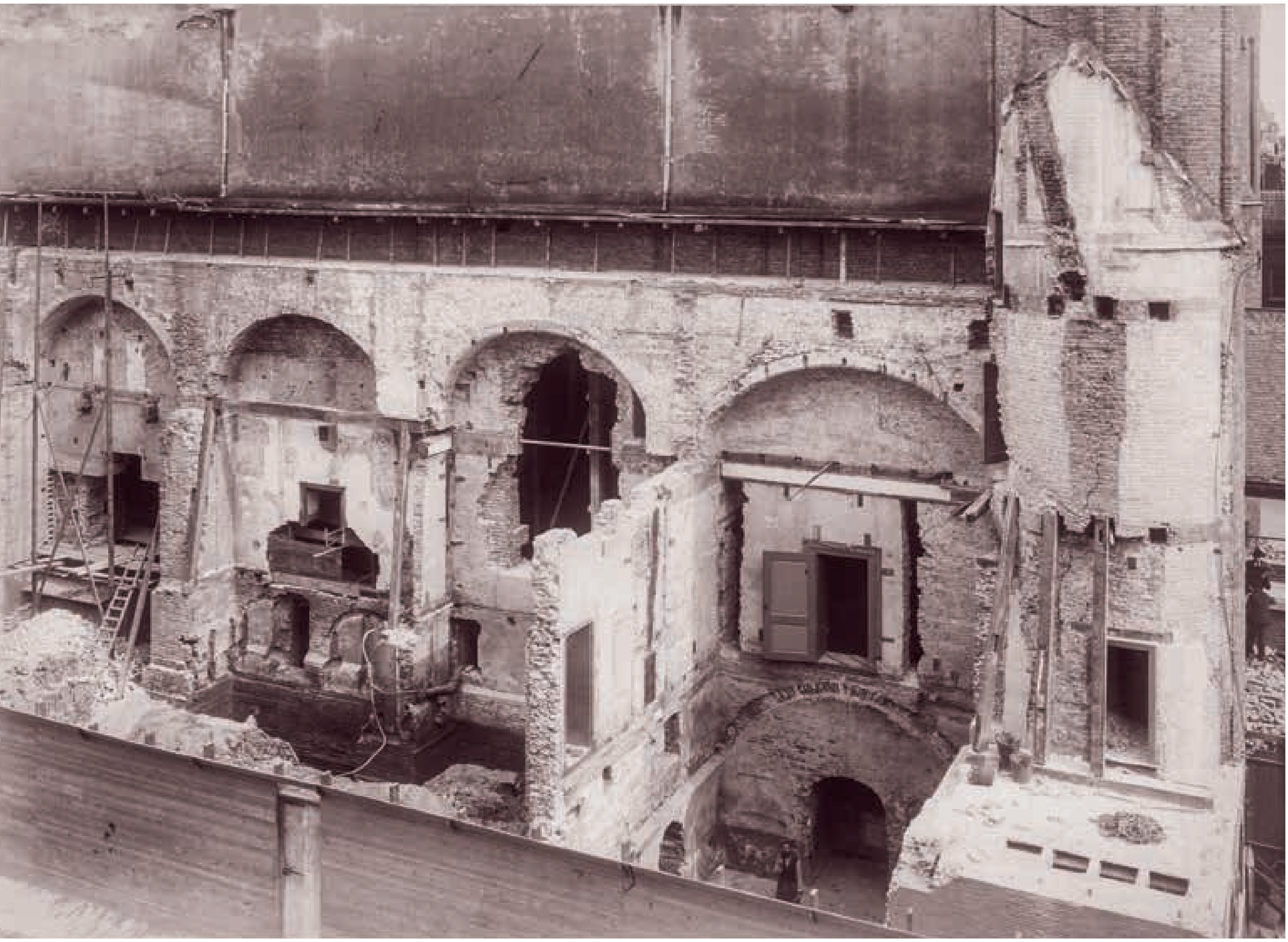
When the budget request was voted down, representing a rare defeat for De Stuers and Cuypers, the latter opted to counterattack. He allowed the strongly worded letter in which he resigned his membership of the Maatschappij to be published in *Architectura*.[28] He reproached the board with envy and animosity towards De Stuers and himself. The board, he contended, had placed them 'in a hateful light' by virtue of 'false representations' and had tried to undermine them.[29] Cuypers praised De Stuers to the skies, but he offered no substantive counterarguments. He did though refer to a 'counter letter' sent to the House of Representatives 'by some 350 men of standing (including) over 50 architects'.[30] There is no doubt that many people regarded the Maatschappij board's critical outpouring – probably largely as distinct from the actual content – as inappropriate. The Maatschappij's membership had been declining for some time with some twenty cancellations per year, but between December 1895 and January 1896, 212 of the 848 members ended their membership.[31] The editors of *Architectura* declared the Maatschappij terminally ill, but that turned out to be a little premature; there must also have been considerable sympathy for the attack on De Stuers and Cuypers among Dutch architects and art historians, because in May 1896 membership of the Maatschappij rose again with 46 new enrolments.

The Minister of the Interior refused to accept that his department of Arts and Sciences had been sidelined. After more than nine months without any overtures towards compromise, the Waterstaat minister decided to go it alone in setting up a restoration committee. In September 1896 he appointed four committee members: Constantijn Muysken (chairman), Daniël Knuttel (secretary), C. H. Peters and F.J. Nieuwenhuis (1848-1919). Interior Affairs was requested to appoint a fifth member, but the minister ignored the invitation.[32] The impasse continued to frustrate everyone for more than a year, until the national election of 1897, which produced a new Minister of the Interior who informed the equally new Minister of Waterstaat that he was prepared to accept the already established restoration committee and to nominate a member.[33] That new member was... Pierre Cuypers.

'THE STONES SPEAK'

Peters' role in the restoration committee is interesting. He sat on it in his capacity as government architect and so he once again found himself in a consultative body containing members of a board from which he had resigned. However, this did not mean that he took Cuypers' side within the committee. Since his move to Waterstaat as government architect – in addition to his work as an architect and outside the immediate sphere of influence of De Stuers and Cuypers – he had independently developed into an architectural historian who enjoyed the respect of both ideological camps.[34] Moreover, his role on the committee did not involve organizing practical restoration activities – that was the task of Knuttel, whose district included the Binnenhof. Peters, along with Nieuwenhuis, was responsible for the extensive building history research that preceded the planning stage.[35]

Just how congenial the restoration committee meetings were – with all the former (?) adversaries around one table – there is no way of telling; none of those involved has ever said anything about it and the committee's own official reports are, even by nineteenth-century standards, exceedingly neutral. In 1907 those reports were published in a luxuriously bound and richly illustrated compilation.[36] In the reports it is invariably 'the committee' that makes decisions and carries out works. From the rare comment about the course adopted it can, however, be inferred that the influence of Cuypers, with his idealized view of restoration, was limited: 'The committee has in its work always endeavoured to bear in mind that it had been called upon to restore and had to subordinate personal taste and ideas to what the building taught it. It had allowed "the stones to speak".'[37]



3. The northern exterior wall of the Knights' Hall during building history research (photo Vinkenbos and Dewald, Cultural Heritage Agency)

Peters and Nieuwenhuis had not proceeded on the basis of their general architectural-historical knowledge – or on an acquired 'feeling for' certain styles – but on the basis of their own research into the Counts' Chambers. Those involved in the project explicitly refrained from adopting any overarching restoration idea; rather than immediately labelling the entire complex as 'gothic' and then restoring everything in that style – with a few invented additions if need be – a separate investigation was carried out on each section after which a restoration plan was drawn up.[38] Every time a section of the Counts' Chambers was cleared of its multitude archival filing cabinets, Peters and Nieuwenhuis had the rooms thoroughly dismantled in search of possible construction traces (fig. 3). This yielded so much information about the building history that an interesting problem arose: 'On the other hand, they were repeatedly confronted with the problem of remains from different construction periods being found all mixed in together, so that a decision had to be made about which period to restore, and it was not always easy to find a solution that satisfied all members of the committee. However, a decision by majority vote was very rarely needed; as a rule consensus was eventually achieved.'[39]

Unfortunately they wisely refrained from mentioning which issues were voted on, but it nevertheless shows that the committee functioned democratically and unanimity was not required in making decisions. That does not seem to have worked to Cuypers' advantage. He already had three committee members opposed to him (Muysken, Nieuwenhuis and Knuttel) and although Peters held him in great esteem personally, he too appears to have pursued a more nuanced, 'Delftian' approach when it came to architectural-historical perspectives.[40] In the past Cuypers had shown himself capable, even without broad support but with the help of De Stuers' political influence, of steering discussions in the direction he wanted from behind the scenes. But during this period the duo's political credit no longer seemed to be sufficient; there was broad frustration with the prolonged obstruction of the restoration committee and that came on top of the already substantial number of clashes between the Department of Arts and Sciences and the House of Representatives in the previous two decades.[41] In 1901 De Stuers resigned from the civil service to take up a seat in the House of Representatives, which further diminished Cuypers' opportunities to exert pressure.

RESTORE AND RECONSTRUCT

It was not until 1898 that the House of Representatives actually allocated money to the project and that restoration work could commence. A good example of the committee's approach is the realization of a plan for the Lairesse Room, which dated from the fourteenth century but owed its name to the painter who had decorated the room during a large-scale renovation in 1688 (figs. 4 and 5).[42] 'As far as the Lairesse Room was

4. The northeast corner of the De Lairessezaal during building history research (photo Vinkenbos and Dewald, Cultural Heritage Agency)

5. The northwest corner of the De Lairessezaal after the restoration (photo J.G. Kramer, Cultural Heritage Agency)

concerned, the committee initially believed that sufficient information should be obtained in order to enable the oldest condition to be restored; it soon transpired however that the elements discovered derived from different construction periods and were contradictory, so that in the end, in combination with other considerations, the Lairesse Room was restored to the state in which it was found.'[43] Throughout the project the aim was to leave all construction traces in the masonry exposed to view where possible. However, all the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century 'annexes' along the long elevations of the Knights' Hall and in the northeast corner of the complex were resolutely demolished (figs. 6 and 7).

The necessity of replacing the roof of the Knights' Hall was probably beyond dispute for all involved. In 1861 Cuypers had been one of the most outspoken opponents of the replacement of the existing timber roof with a neo-Gothic, cast-iron fantasy design by W.N. Rose (1801-1877) (fig. 8).[44] Based on the meticulous measurements taken at the time, a fairly exact reconstruction was now possible. Thanks to Cuypers, even the discarded carved corbel stones, which he had purchased four decades earlier for the Rijksmuseum collection, could be reinstated (fig. 9).[45] But for the rest his influence appears to have been limited here as well. A lot of restoration to the original style did take place, but it was always based on specific evidence regarding the original situation. When it was decided to reinstate the vanished windows and no information about the original tracery could be found, instead of calling for new designs, they opted to copy similar windows that still existed in the complex. And when there were no on-site examples of elements designated for reconstruction, they copied contemporary examples from elsewhere, such as from the town hall in Haarlem.[46]

The decor and furnishings of the Knights' Hall, designed entirely by Cuypers – chiefly for the Opening of Parliament (Prinsjesdag) in September 1904 at the express request of both houses of the States-General – were in fact not part of the actual restoration (fig. 10). In the committee's report this was implicitly described as a creative addition – in other words, not based on (architectural) architectural-historical research – that was necessary for the Counts' Chambers' universally approved new function.[47] For the same reason, although with professional reluctance, the committee

6. The northeast corner of the complex before the restoration (photo J.G. Kramer, Cultural Heritage Agency)

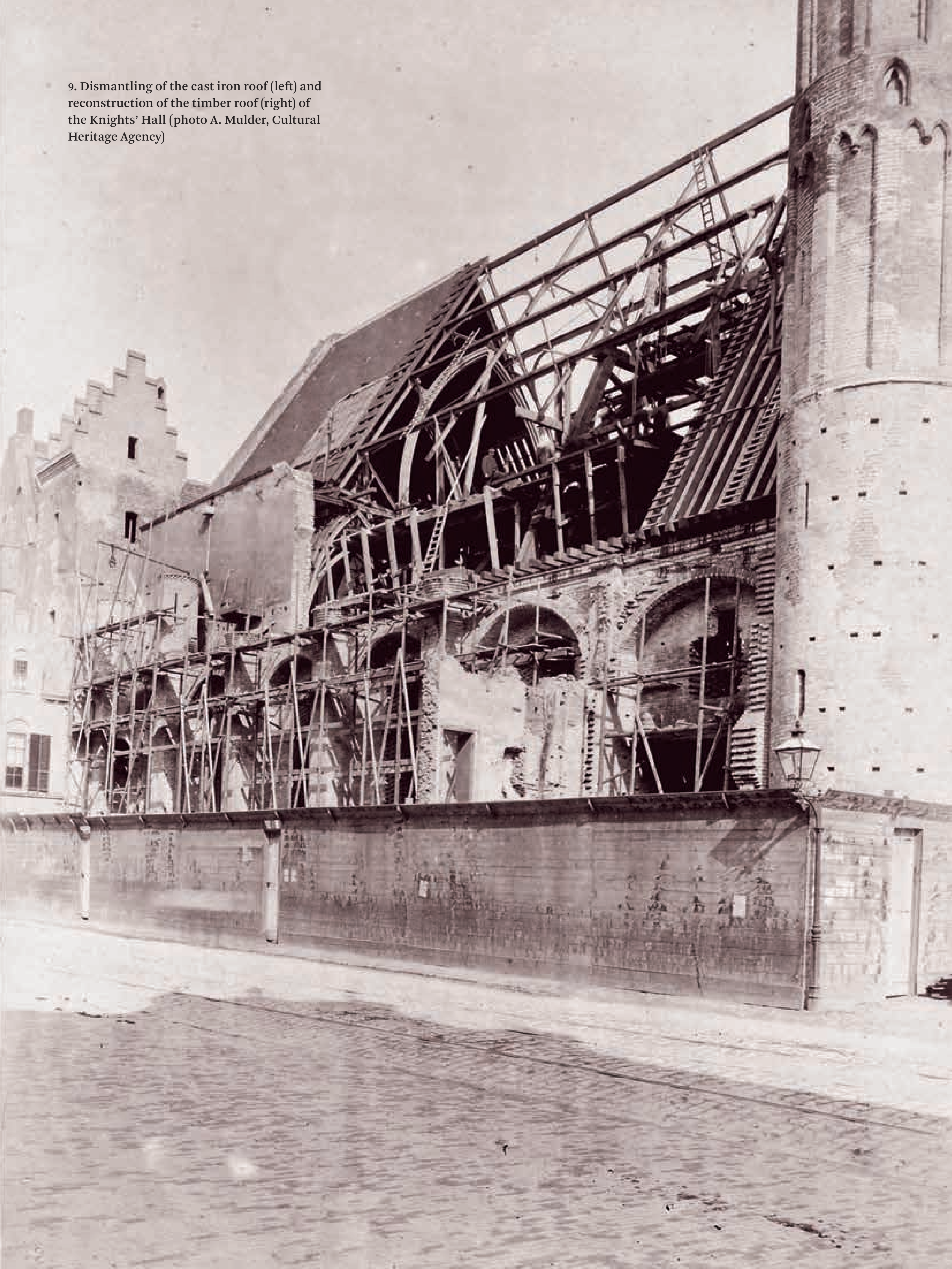
7. The northeast corner of the complex after the restoration (photo H.J. Tollens C.Hzn., Cultural Heritage Agency)

8. The Knights' Hall in use as archive room, with the cast iron roof from 1861 (Cultural Heritage Agency)

permitted a heating system and electric light to be installed in the complex, and with that in 1905 the restoration project was complete.[48]

CONCLUSION

Cuypers' influence on the ideological course pursued by the committee for the restoration of the Counts' Chambers appears to have been limited. The project was a prominent part of his impressive body of work, but it actually testifies to a broader and different significance for the development of heritage preservation in the Netherlands. By current standards the restoration committee's approach was rather romanticizing and entailed the overly rigorous removal of elements. Nevertheless, the restoration represented a significant break with the line previously dictated by the Department of Arts & Sciences because in this case architectural-historical research was the point of departure and decisions were based on how it had *actually* been rather than how it *should* have been, with some room for multiple chronological layers. Moreover, it was a highly prestigious national project whereby the new



9. Dismantling of the cast iron roof (left) and reconstruction of the timber roof (right) of the Knights' Hall (photo A. Mulder, Cultural Heritage Agency)

10. Interior of the Knights' Hall after the restoration with reconstructed timber roof, 1905
(Cultural Heritage Agency)

approach had received explicit national political approval and the results were admired.[49] The termination of De Stuers' civil service career, partly as a result of this project – after all his pioneering work for Dutch heritage preservation – was another important step in the continuing evolution of this new approach; De Stuers, as a member of the House of Representatives, and Cuypers, as the most important ministerial adviser, continued to exert considerable influence, but there was now room for different opinions about restoration ethics.[50] The restoration of the Counts' Chambers between 1897 and 1905, and the heated discussions that preceded it, can be seen as the beginning of a long and difficult process that eventually culminated in 1917 with the formulation of principles for a more objective foundation of heritage preservation by the Netherlands Archeological Institute (Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond) established in 1899.[51]

NOTES

1 See also the article by Paula van der Heiden and Hein Hundertmark in this thematic issue.
2 A. van der Woud, *Sterrenstof. Honderd jaar mythologie in de Nederlandse architectuur*, Rotterdam 2008, 7-8, 39-43, 52. For Cuypers' influence on the design of government buildings, see the article by Ester Vink in this thematic issue.
3 For a general overview of the main debates during this period in the Netherlands, see A. van der Woud, *Waarheid en karakter. Het debat over de bouwkunst 1840-1900*, Rotterdam 1997.
4 'Berichten', *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 15 (1895) 46, 297-298.
5 D. Smit, *Het belang van het Binnenhof*, Amsterdam 2015, 174-176. That committee's appeal for the restoration and repurposing of the Knights' Hall was made in October 1895. Its members included the government architect, C.H. Peters. The committee argued that as a heritage building, the Knights' Hall should fall within the remit of the Ministry of the Interior (Binnenlandse Zaken), with a corresponding annual maintenance budget. 'Mededeelingen betreffende de Maatschappij', *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 15 (1895) 47, 301-302.
6 In an 1890 report by the government architect C.H. Peters the total costs of restoration had been calculated at 192,000 guilders, to be divided over an estimated three project years. 'The accuracy of this estimate was ... called into question; it was also noted that this only related to the restoration of the [Knights' Hall], but that once that had been agreed to, further restorations to the Binnenhof would no doubt arise.';'Berichten' 1895 (note 4), 298.
7 They had gained some experience with the extensive rebuilding and restoration of the northwest section of the Binnenhof carried out by the architect F.J. Nieuwenhuis in 1879-1880; see Smit 2015 (note 5), 161-169.
8 'Mededeelingen betreffende de Maatschappij', *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 15 (1895) 47, 299-300. The special board meeting at which the letter was composed took place on 31 October. The letter was not signed by all board members.
9 'Mededeelingen betreffende de Maatschappij' 1895 (note 8), 299.
10 'Mededeelingen betreffende de Maatschappij' 1895 (note 8), 299. By way of example they mentioned two restoration projects: the Sint Servaas church (1879-1902) in Maastricht, where a new tower was added, and the cloister walk on Utrecht's Dom Square (1879-1895), which acquired a new gateway, both designed by Cuypers.
11 'Mededeelingen betreffende de Maatschappij' 1895 (note 8), 299.
12 For a more detailed consideration of the front elevation of the Counts' Chambers, see the article by Paula van der Heiden and Hein Hundertmark in this thematic issue.
13 Smit 2015 (note 5), 155-158, 165-169, 173.
14 E. Gugel, *Geschiedenis van de bouwstijlen in de hoofdtijdperken der architectuur*, Arnhem 1869. In 1886 and 1903 the second and third editions appeared, both with additional text and illustrations. For the fourth edition in 1919 the text was radically revised by J.H.W. Leliman.
15 'Mededeelingen betreffende de Maatschappij' 1895 (note 8), 300.
16 Officially the board had a tenth member, elected in May 1895, but this man, L.C. Hezenmans (1841-1909), a friend of Pierre Cuypers, resigned in December of that year without having attended a single board meeting; 'Jaarverslag 1895-1896', *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 16 (1896) 22, 134.
17 'Mededeelingen betreffende de Maatschappij' 1895 (note 8), 48, 305.
18 'Berichten', *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 15 (1895) 50, 321-322.
19 'De Grafelijke Zalen' *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 15 (1895) 51, 325.
20 For an overview of the career of C.H. Peters, see P.T.E.E. Rosenberg, 'Peters, een gewetensvol historist', in: C.J. van der Peet and G. Steenmeijer (eds.), *De rijksbouwmeesters. Twee eeuwen architectuur van de Rijksgebouwendienst en zijn voorlopers*, Rotterdam 1995, 267-299.
21 'Mededeelingen betreffende de Maatschappij' 1895 (note 8), 300.
22 'Mededeelingen betreffende de Maatschappij', *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 15 (1895) 52, 329.
23 For Peters' final protest and the dismissive reaction of Muysken and Rieber, see 'Mededeelingen betreffende de Maatschappij', *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 15 (1895) 51, 323-324. The annual report (see note 16) published five months later, did however refer to the Counts' Chambers dispute in relation to Peters' resignation.
24 J. Schilt and J. van der Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia 1855-1990*, Rotterdam 1992, 70-78.
25 'Adressen aan de Tweede Kamer', Architectura 3 (1895) 48, 208 and 'Adressen aan de Tweede Kamer (continuation)', *Architectura* 3 (1895) 49, 211.
26 Although this was primarily a rejection of the idea of allowing Waterstaat to establish a restoration committee made up of external experts, it would have been read with furrowed brows by the government architects employed in that ministry (Knuttel and Peters).
27 '1028e gewone vergadering van 4 december 1895', *Architectura* 3 (1895) 49, 209-211. The A et A board also wrote a letter to the House of Representatives in which the establishment of a restoration committee was supported provided that its members were chosen by De Stuers and directly supervised by him.
28 P.J.H. Cuypers, 'Aan het bestuur der Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst alhier', *Architectura* 3 (1895) 52, 222.
29 Cuypers 1895 (note 28).
30 Cuypers 1895 (note 28). The 'counter letter' was not published, but De Stuers' archive contains a copy; National Archives (NA), 2.21.355, Work archive of V.E.L. de Stuers, inv. no. 1781. For the reaction of the Maatschappij board to Cuypers' reproaches, see 'Mededeelingen betreffende de Maatschappij', *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 16 (1896) 2, 7-8.
31 'Jaarverslag 1895-1896' 1896 (note 16).
32 Commissie van Advies, *Beschrijving van de Grafelijke Zalen op het Binnenhof te 's-Gravenhage*, 's-Gravenhage 1907, 7.
33 Commissie van Advies 1907 (note 32), 7. The Minister of the Interior was Hendrik Goeman Borgesius (1847-1917), the Minister of Water, Trade and Industry, the engineer Cornelis Lely (1854-1929).
34 Rosenberg 1995 (note 20), 269.
35 NA, 2.04.13, Archief van het Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken: Afdeling Kunsten en Wetenschappen, inv. no. 951: *Rapport van de Commissie van Advies inzake de Grafelijke Zalen*.
36 Commissie van Advies 1907 (note 32).

On the title page, a note in large capital type makes it clear that this publication by the Maatschappij had been commissioned by the Waterstaat minister.
37 Commissie van Advies 1907 (note 32), 7.
38 Commissie van Advies 1907 (note 32), 140.
39 Commissie van Advies 1907 (note 32), 121.
40 C.H. Peters, *De Groote Zaal op het Binnen-Hof te 's-Gravenhage*, 's-Gravenhage 1905.
41 P.T.E.E. Rosenberg, 'De Stuers, spin in het web', in Van der Peet and Steenmeijer 1995 (note 20), 197-213, esp. 210. See also De Stuers' notes on the regular official consultations between the ministries of Internal Affairs and Waterstaat; NA, 2.21.355 De Stuers, inv. no. 1785.
42 Bureau voor Bouwhistorisch Onderzoek, *De Lairessezaal. Binnenhof 8-14 's-Gravenhage. Historisch onderzoek*, 's-Gravenhage, January 2011.
43 Commissie van Advies 1907 (note 32), 134.
44 W.F. Denslagen, *Omstreden herstel. Kritiek op het restaureren van monumenten*, The Hague 1987, 160-166.
45 Commissie van Advies 1907 (note 32), 131.
46 Commissie van Advies 1907 (note 32), 131.
47 Commissie van Advies 1907 (note 32), 199-200.
48 Commissie van Advies 1907 (note 32), 200.
49 Smit 2015 (note 5), 179-181.
50 With regard to the end of De Stuers' civil service career, see Rosenberg 1995 (note 41), 210.
51 J. Kalf and the Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond, *Grondbeginselen en voorschriften voor het behoud, de herstelling en de uitbreiding van oude bouwwerken*, Leiden 1917.

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REBELLION IN THE ARCHITECTURAL WORLD

THE RESTORATION OF THE GRAFELIJKE ZALEN AND THE TUG-OF-WAR OVER HERITAGE PRESERVATION

MARK VAN GEND

In late 1895, in response to an ostensibly innocuous budget debate in the Lower House, a public war of words erupted over the prospective restoration and conversion of the Grafelijke Zalen (Counts' Chambers) in the Binnenhof. Its desirability was not in dispute. However, in a matter of weeks, the discussion about which course to pursue and who should assume responsibility for the project escalated into a full-scale duel. On one side of the debate stood the Ministry of the Interior, led by the chief civil servant of the Department of Arts and Sciences (Kunsten en Wetenschappen or K&W), Victor de Stuers, and the architect Pierre Cuypers. Opposing them were the Ministry of Water, Trade and Industry (Waterstaat, for short) and the Society for the Advancement of Architecture (Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst). After De Stuers and Cuypers had implicitly claimed the project for the Ministry of the Interior, the Society registered a highly critical protest: it demanded that the Lower House leave responsibility for this 'national treasure' with the Ministry of Water, Trade & Industry and break with the fifteen-year-long approach to restorations dictated by K&W. The 'stylistic purity' demanded by De Stuers and Cuypers, based on their rather linear view of architectural history, left little scope for the Society's somewhat more relativist approach, which combined restoration of a building's artistic and historical values with the possibility of preserving multiple chronological layers. In the past De Stuers and Cuypers had nearly always managed, with the help of a few political intrigues, to impose their architectural vision, but on this occasion they were blocked by the Lower House. The Minister of Water, Trade & Industry set up a four-member restoration commission – his own government architects, D.E.C. Knuttel and C.H. Peters, plus C. Muyskens and F.J. Nieuwenhuis from the Society – and invited his colleague from the Ministry of the Interior to appoint a fifth member. It was not until eighteen months later that Cuypers was duly appointed to the position and the restoration commission could set to work. The normally assertive Cuypers appears to have exerted very little influence over the course pursued by the commission. Instead of his highly developed appreciation for the gothic style, it was the concrete building history research of Peters and Nieuwenhuis that underpinned the commission's choices. De Stuers and Cuypers continued to wield influence, but their near total dominance of government policy was a thing of the past and after the completion of the restoration in 1905 there was gradually more scope for other views on heritage restoration ethics.

VESTIGES OF STADHOLDERS

RESIDING AND RULING IN THE WESTERN SECTION OF THE BINNENHOF

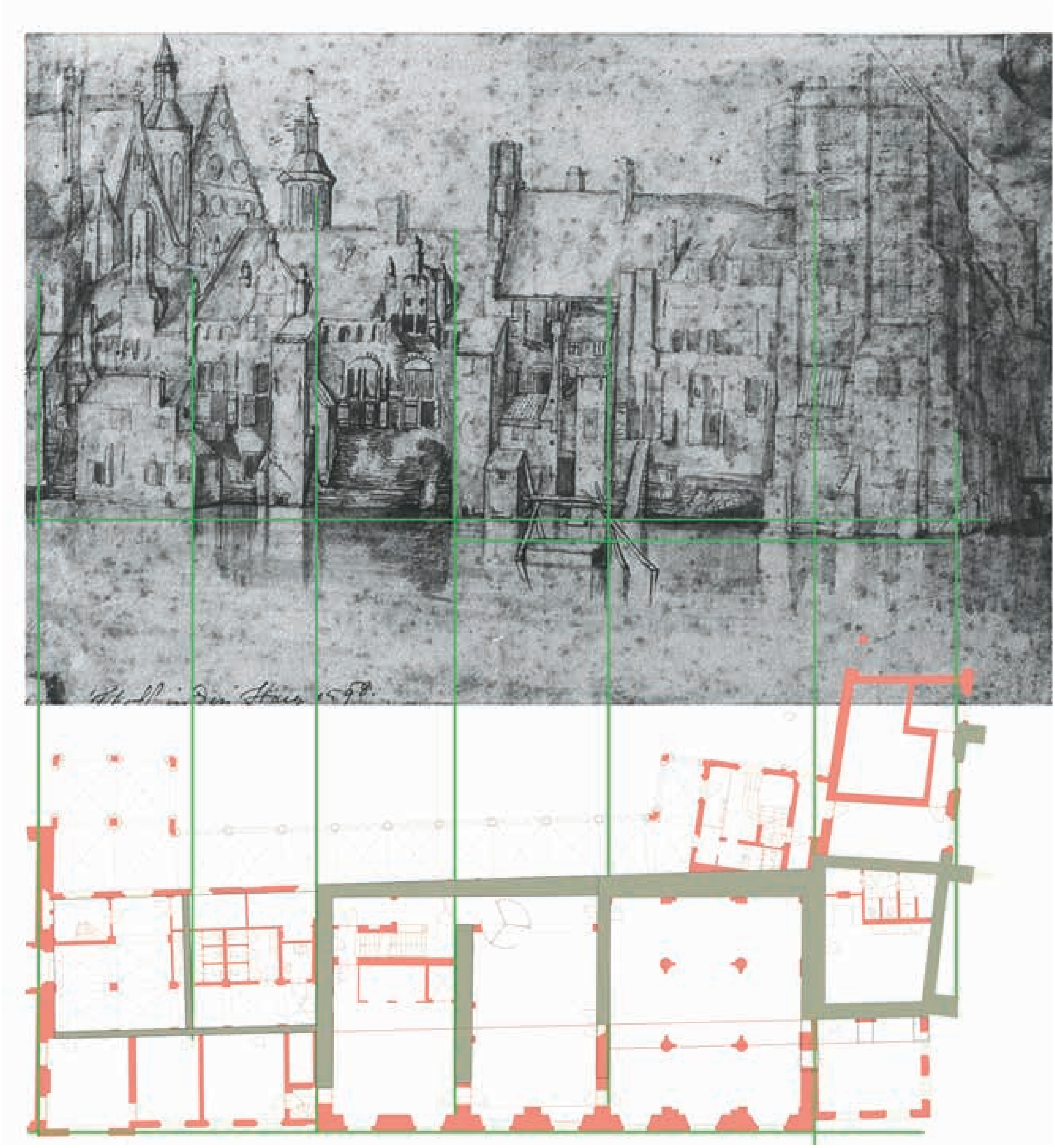
RONALD STENVERT

In the middle of the fourteenth century a 'knight's house' made its appearance in the northwest corner of the Binnenhof.[1] It consisted of a western Buitenhof wing and a northern Hofvijver wing. The latter adjoined the Court Chapel (1289), which separated this complex from the count's residence on the eastern side. From the middle of the fifteenth century this north-western side of the Binnenhof was occupied by the stadholders. However, at the end of the century the ground floor was also used by the Council of Holland, the predecessor of the States of Holland.

This article describes the spatial development of the Stadholder's Quarter through the centuries. This includes the extensions built during the period of the Republic (1588-1795), which eventually took in the entire west side of the Binnenhof. Central to this story is the power struggle between the stadholders and the States of Holland, which is reflected in the design and layout of the buildings and has never previously been presented in this way. The starting point was provided by the existing literature on the Binnenhof, together

▲ 1. Drawing by Simon Frisius after Hendrick Hondius (I), of the view of the Binnenhof and the Hofvijver in 1621, including the extension on the Buitenhof side and the wall of the Prinsentuin (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, originally three drawings; here a combination of the middle and right sheets, adapted by the author)

PAGES 47-63



2. Detail drawing from 1598 attributed to Claes Jansz Visscher, superimposed on the existing basement situation; in grey the possibly late medieval sections of wall (Cultural Heritage Agency, adapted by author)

with building archaeological studies recently carried out for the Central Government Real Estate Agency in preparation for the current renovation.[2] These studies were hampered by the fact that the buildings were still in use during the investigation and – due in part to earlier renovations – were partially clamped and plastered over. Nevertheless, by combining building history data with visual, map and archival materials it proved possible to reconstruct a more nuanced picture of the building history than we had hitherto had.[3] We follow the evolution of the Stadholder's Quarters from the construction of the late medieval knight's house all the way through to the new buildings added in the 1960s, a development in which an important role was played by the stadholders and the States of Holland, who managed to leave their mark on the complex over a long period of time. The successive building phases referred to in the text are represented on a plan of the complex on page 60 (fig. 12).

MEDIEVAL REMAINS

The earliest depictions of the Binnenhof show in its northwest corner a large building with several stories and a roof, above a basement that manifests as a lower ground floor seen from the artificial lake known as the Hofvijver.[4] On the east side were two volumes beneath a saddle roof and an interconnecting section adjoining the Court Chapel: the Hofvijver Wing. The left volume, which had two Flemish facades, is thought to have been added in 1520 as a kitchen with storerooms.[5] On the other side of the corner building was another wing with stepped gables that projected above the roof and, at ground level, an opening in the form of the Middenpoort gate: the Buitenhof Wing. A comparison of a 1598 drawing of this complex viewed from the Hofvijver with the current floor plan indicates the possible presence of parts of the fourteenth-century walls (fig. 2).[6] Large bricks discovered here support this date.[7]

In 1522 Charles V appointed Antoine I of Lalaing (1480-1540) stadholder of Holland and Zeeland. After the looting of The Hague by Maarten van Rossum in 1528, the stadholder was instructed to restore order. It is possible that the decision to renovate the Middenpoort occurred that time. Its architecture, with both late gothic crockets and corbels with Renaissance grooved band ornamentation, can be dated to around 1530-1540 (fig. 3).[8]

PRINCE MAURITS

In 1585 Prince Maurits (1567-1625) was designated stadholder of Holland and Zeeland. He was the first member of the House of Orange to take up residence in the Binnenhof. The old knight's house did not meet the prince's requirements and so in around 1592 the States of Holland and West Friesland commissioned the building of a new tower house. Construction commenced in 1598, or a few years earlier, and in 1604 this 'new structure' was fitted out (fig. 1).[9] The tower has six floors: a basement, ground floor and four upper floors. It is likely that the old masonry of the knight's house was used for the basement and even part of the ground floor. One consequence of this is the slightly trapezoidal floor plan. Maurits was set on a tower house, not so much from a defensive standpoint, but more as an indication of status. With its massive square buttresses and, unusually for that time, a flat roof – as belvedere – it certainly fulfilled that function.[10] On the

3A. Detail of one of the corbels of the Middenpoort, on the side a grooved band motif (the 'slashes') (author's photo, 2108)

3B. The Middenpoort (later Stadhoudersspoort) from c. 1530-1540 as it currently stands in the garden of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. The present gateway in The Hague is a copy from 1879-1880 (author's photo, 2018)

4. Claes Jansz Visser (II), drawing of the Binnenhof on the occasion of the beheading of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam)

Binnenhof side the Mauritstoren (Maurits' Tower) had an octagonal stair tower and a timber gallery.

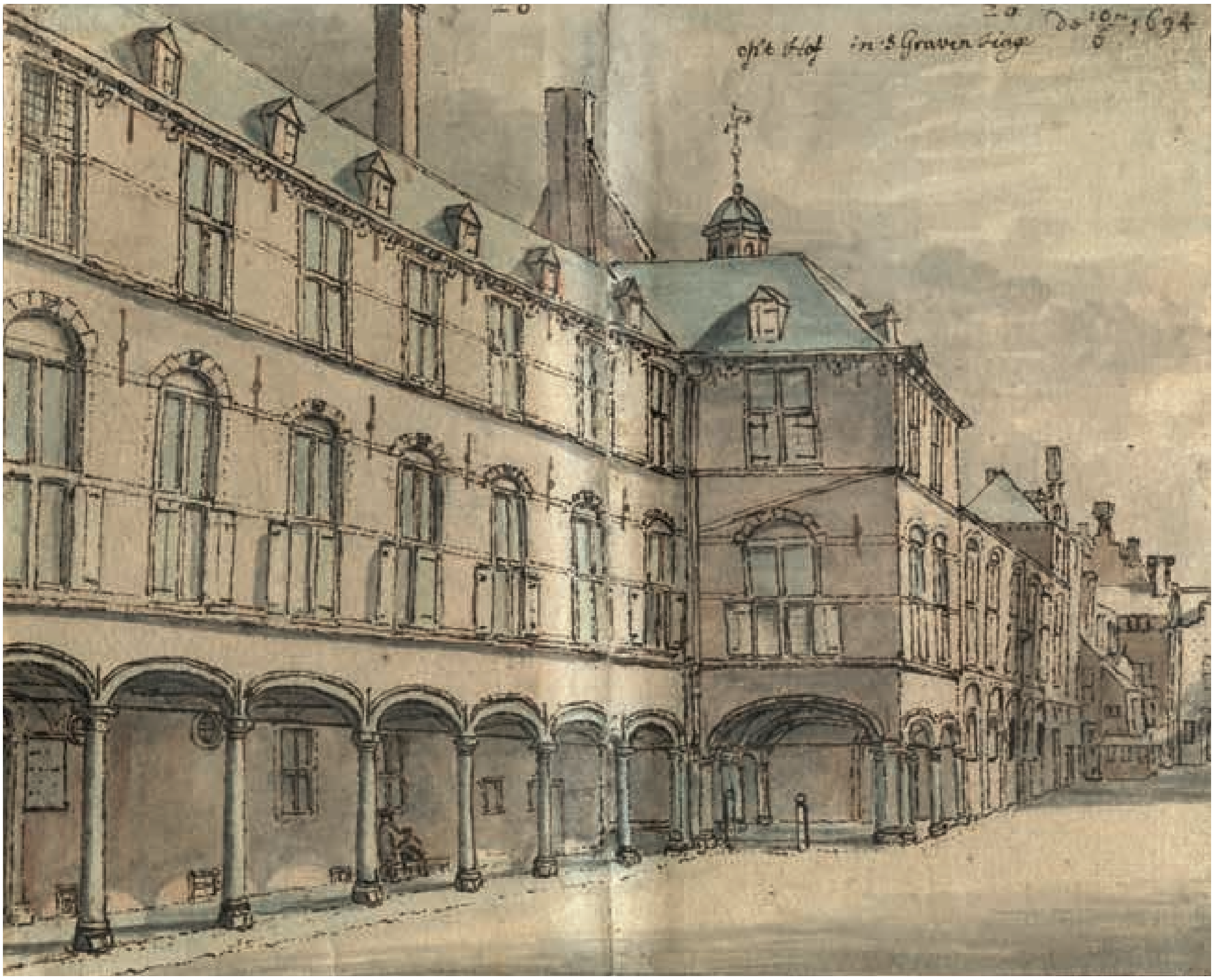
Maurits saw himself as the successor of the Counts of Holland stadholders. The States of Holland took a different view. In 1581 they had assumed the legislative powers of Filips II and saw themselves as 'ruling as a count' to whom the title to the buildings in the Binnenhof and the immediate surroundings belonged. The States were presided over by the government prosecutor.[11] Since 1586 that office had been filled by Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547-1619). During the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621) the tension between Maurits and Van Oldenbarneveldt escalated. Following a conflict in 1618 Maurits had his adversary arrested and condemned to death. On 13 May 1619, Van Oldenbarneveldt was duly executed on the Binnenhof (fig. 4).

As a result of this act the power struggle between the stadholder and the States had for the time being worked out in the prince's favour, but spatially they were condemned to one another. As in the knight's house, part of the ground floor of the new tower was used by the States of Holland, along with several other

official bodies such as the Representative Councils and the Secretariat of Holland. The upper floors were occupied by Maurits and his family. Two years after inheriting the title Prince of Orange in 1618, Maurits sought to improve his accommodation.[12] In 1620-1621, there arose next to and to the south of the section containing the Middenpoort (thereafter known as Stadhouderspoort) a new wing totalling nine bays (fig. 3 and fig. 12, building phase 4). On the Binnenhof side the new wing had a gallery of blue and grey stone.[13]

FREDERIK HENDRIK

In 1625 Maurits died and was succeeded by his half-brother Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647), who had recently married Amalia van Solms (1602-1675). Hendrik was keen to confirm his standing in Europe and to this end built a number of large country houses, including Huis ten Bosch (1645-1651). He renewed the stadholders' claim to the Binnenhof and commissioned several alterations to the Hofvijver wing and also had an apartment for his wife built on the Court Chapel side. In 1632 he extended the Mauritstoren on the Hofvijver



5. Valentijn Klotz, drawing of the Binnenhof in 1694, with the cabinet of Mary Stuart in the avant-corps on the second floor (The Hague Image Library)

side. The stair in the inner angle between the two wings was also built at this time. According to the writer G.G. Calkoen, this was a new 'perron' (set of entrance steps) up to the second floor, but it is more likely to have concerned a minor modification.[14]

In early 1635 two fires broke out in the Mauritstoren in quick succession, after which the northern annexe was enlarged and renovated in 1635-1637 (fig. 12, building phase 5).[15] After the renovations, Frederik Hendrik had a suite of rooms on the first floor of the Buitenhof Wing, consisting of a cabinet, two antechambers and a reception room. Amalia's apartment on the floor above consisted of a cabinet, cloakroom, two antechambers and a bedroom. In 1639-1640 the buildings between the Mauritstoren and the Court Chapel were modified for their son, the future Willem II (1626-1650), who wed Mary Stuart (1631-1660) in 1641.[16] The cabinet she would use after her arrival in 1642 was part of a new section next to the the Court Chapel side, work on which had commenced in 1632. It was linked to the new stone gallery commissioned in 1639 to replace the old timber gallery. This new section consisted of a two-room apartment above the pre-existing kitchen and on the Binnenhof side a cabinet in a corner avant-corps (fig. 5).[17] On 20 February 1644 fire broke out in this new apartment destroying a large part of the adjoining Court Chapel but causing little damage to the apartment itself.

After Willem II became stadholder in 1647, he held his receptions in the Stadholder's Quarters, probably in the living rooms on the Buitenhof side. Owing to his sudden death on 5 November 1650 he spent little time there. Eight days later his son Willem III (1650-1702) was born. Amalia van Solms moved to the Oude Hof on Noordeinde, but Mary Stuart, the 'Princess Royal', remained living in her apartment with cabinet in the corner avant-corps right up until her death in 1660.

FIRST STADHOLDERLESS PERIOD

The death of Willem II ushered in the first stadholderless period (1650-1672). The States of Holland and West Friesland seized the opportunity to increase their influence, both in the Republic and in the Binnenhof. In July 1651 they resolved that the position of stadholder would no longer be hereditary, and that no new stadholder would be appointed. Two months later they requested a 'more appropriate and distinguished' assembly room.[18] On 3 October 1651 the States of Holland took the decision to build a new assembly room. To make a statement, they deliberately chose to build between the Mauritstoren and the quarters of the Princess Royal, retaining the gallery on the Binnenhof but demolishing a section of the recently (1639) realized part of the apartment above the kitchen.

The plans envisaged a prominent building with a 'certain projection' on the Hofvijver side, for which part of the Stadholder's Quarters would be sacrificed. Johan de Witt (1625-1672), a member of the building committee, presented the first plans on 3 February 1652 and it was on this basis that the architect Pieter Post (1608-1669) set to work. Construction, which commenced in June 1652, was from the outset under the supervision of Pieter Arentsz. Noorwits (c. 1612-1669). The structural work, which made use of existing load-bearing walls, was completed in 1655 and that date was carved into the door to the large hall. A chamber for the executive council of the States of Holland (now Noenzaal) was created on the ground floor and on the floor above a double-height assembly room for the States of Holland, flanked by a staircase and antechamber (now a refreshment room) (fig. 12, building phase 6). The finishing and fitting out of the new building took a further twelve years.[19]

STADHOLDER/KING WILLEM III

After 1672 the balance of power shifted in favour of the stadholder once more. In June of that year the Republic was attacked simultaneously by England, France and the bishoprics of Munster and Cologne. The States appointed Willem III (1650-1702) captain-general for the duration of a single campaign. Once all the enemy troops had withdrawn from the country in late 1673, Willem III was finally appointed stadholder. In 1677 he married Mary II Stuart (1662-1695). The couple would not have been frequent residents of the Binnenhof, spending most of their time in their palaces in Buren, Dieren, Breda and Honselaarsdijk. Nonetheless, like his predecessors, Willem III considered it of great political importance to consolidate his status in the Binnenhof.

In 1678, in compensation for the lost space on the Hofvijver side, the Buitenhof Wing was extended by four bays, making a total of thirteen bays on that side (fig. 12, building phase 7). The extension entailed a ground-floor kitchen with a basement below and on the upper floor private rooms consisting of a bedroom with cabinet. These rooms matched the existing layout: on the first floor for the prince and on the second for his wife.[20] What remained of the original rooms in the Hofvijver Wing were still accessible via the gallery on the Binnenhof.[21]

Owing to his obligations in England following the Glorious Revolution of 1688, Willem was not a regular resident of the Binnenhof until after 1691. Following the death of Mary II Stuart in early 1965, he had a man-

6. The Hof van Albermarle, built on the Buitenhof c. 1690 and renovated c. 1730. Left the southwestern corner of the new Stadholder's Quarters and in the foreground the square where the Prinsentuin had previously been located, shortly before demolition in 1915 (The Hague Image Library)

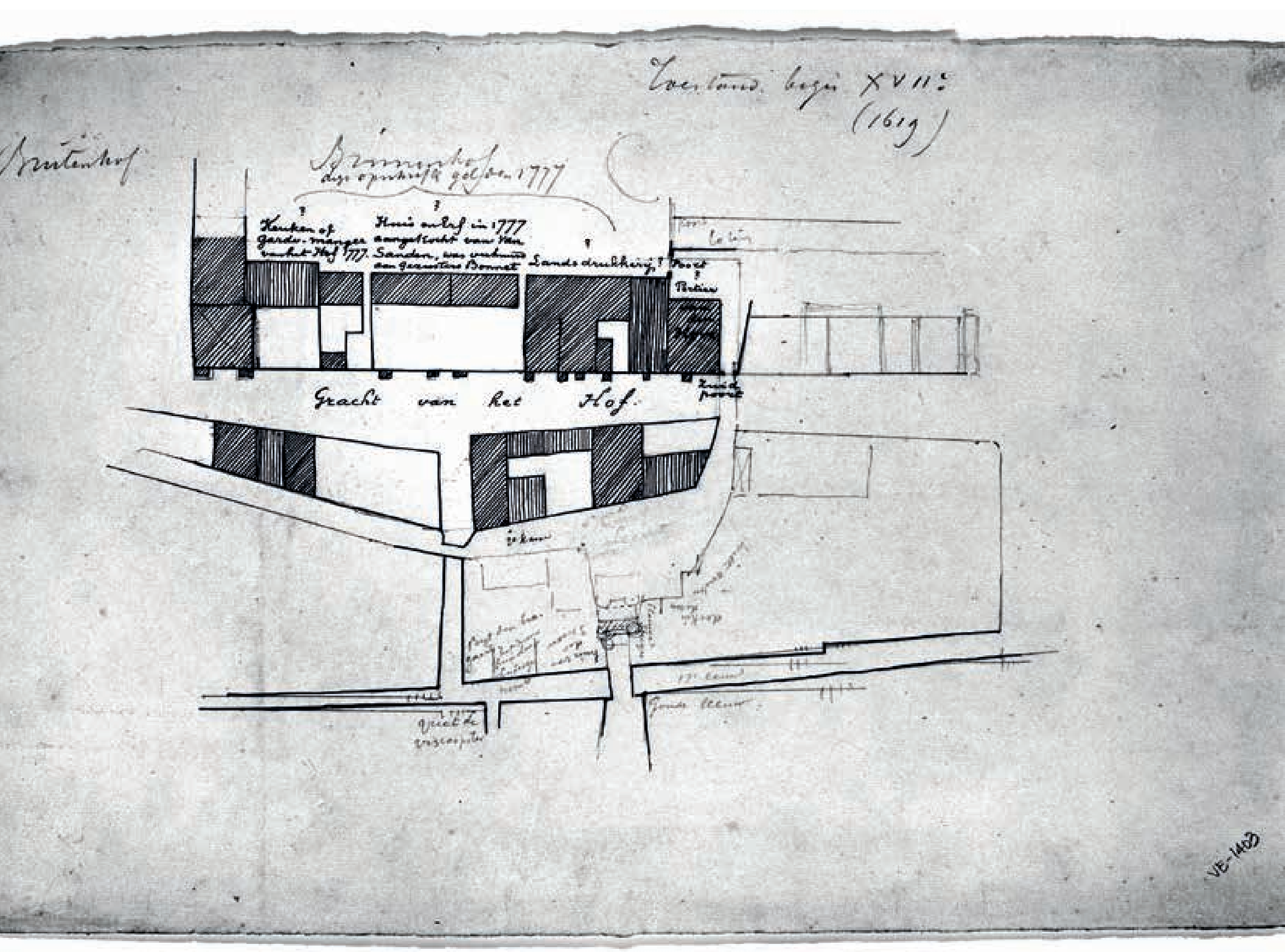
sion built on the southern edge of the Prinsentuin for his favourite, Arnold Joost van Keppel (1670-1718), 1st Earl of Albemarle, thenceforth known as the Hof van Albemarle (fig. 6).[22]

WILLEM IV

The death of Willem III in 1702 ushered in the second stadholderless period during which the stadholder's rooms remained empty. The States of Holland used the ground floor of the Buitenhof wing for accounting and secretarial services.[23] In 1747, just as in 1672, the threat from French troops (War of the Austrian Succession) prompted the appointment of a member of the House of Orange – Willem IV (1711-1751) – as captain-general of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. That same year he was proclaimed hereditary stadholder of the Republic. In 1734 he married Anna van Hannover (1709-1759). The couple moved into the Buitenhof wing in late 1747 but found the quarters on the small side for their royal household, numbering 53 individuals, and their entire staff, totalling 183.[24] Instead they were given the use of the Hof van Albemarle.[25] Entertaining took place in the mansion belonging to Willem Bentinck (1704-1774) at number 7 Lange Voorhout. The neglected official residence was surveyed in 1747.[26]

In 1748, the architect Pieter de Swart (1709-1772/3) was asked to draw up a plan for rehabilitating the 'oude krogt' (old ruin). He produced a large-scale and a modest renovation plan, as well as a plan for an entirely new building. In all three plans the Buitenhof side was to be transformed into a French palace. The Stad-

7. Reconstruction of the Binnenhof buildings before the renovation in 1777, based on data from 1619. In the southeast corner (top) the inscription 'Keuken of Garde-manger [kitchen or larder] van het Hof 1777' and left of that 'Huis en Erf in 1777 aangekocht van Van Sanden, was verhuurd aan Gezusters Bonnet' [house and land purchased in 1777 from Van Sanden, previously leased to sisters Bonnet] (possibly used as a coffee house). The source and maker of this drawing are unknown (Cultural Heritage Agency)



houderspoort would disappear in favour of a new ground-floor passageway. The staircase in the inner angle of the courtyard would become a secondary stair, while a large new ceremonial staircase was conceived in the middle of the long Binnenhof wing.[27] Willem IV's untimely death in 1751 meant that none of the plans could proceed. Anna van Hannover, who continued to live in the Stadholder's Quarters until her death in 1759, was in charge of affairs of state. During her regency De Swart was commissioned to design a new stadholder's staircase in the inner angle of the Binnenhof. It was built in 1752-1753 and exists to this day (fig. 12, building phase 9).[28]

In 1766 Willem V (1748-1806) came of age and a new dining room was created for him.[29] A year later he married Wilhelmina van Pruisen (1751-1820). Her reception room on the second floor acquired a new stucco ceiling in around 1770, which would be dismantled again in 1879.

NEW-BUILD FOR WILLEM V

Where his father had failed, Willem V succeeded. On 27 July 1776, the States of Holland decided to commission new Stadholder's Quarters to be built in the southwest corner of the Binnenhof. There, in the middle of the southern perimeter was a gateway with a bridge over a moat known as the 'Beek' (Brook). The gateway had originally been called the south gate or 'cokenpoirte' ('kitchen gate'), later the Hofpoort. In that corner of the Binnenhof, in addition to a brick kitchen building, there were a number of more or less detached buildings, including a coffee house (fig. 7). Various administrative functions of the States, such as that of Collector General, were accommodated on the ground floor of the Binnenhof wing and in some of the free-standing buildings.

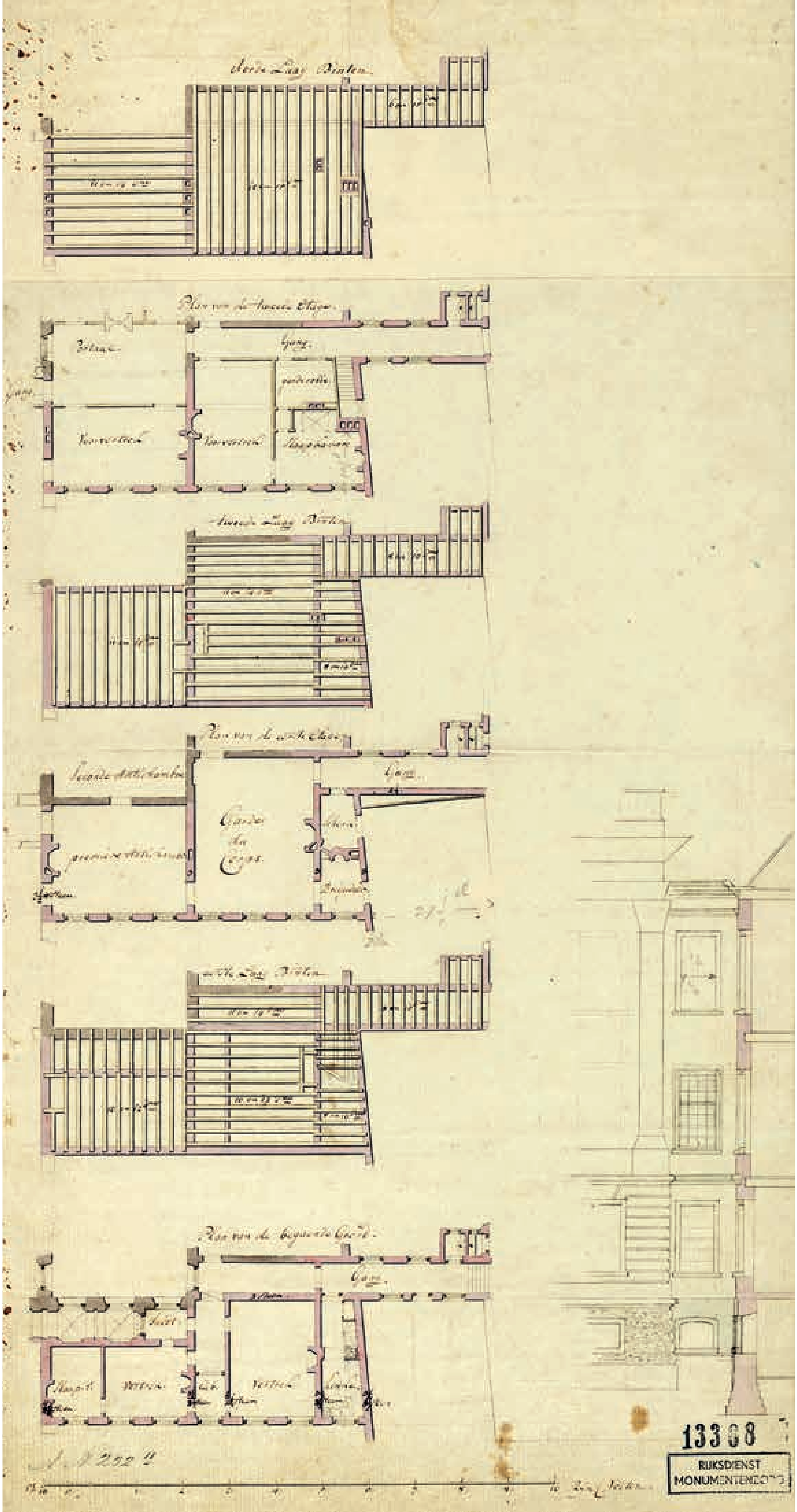
Before the new buildings could be realized, space had first to be created. The States had already decided back in 1765 to build the Government Printing House to the west of the Hofpoort, which occurred a year later (fig. 12, building phase 9). Building archaeological research has shown that the old buildings from the mid-seventeenth century were not completely demolished at that time but were combined behind a new facade on the Binnenhof.[30]

In 1776 the coffee house on the Binnenhof was purchased.[31] The new Stadholder's Quarters were situated between the existing connecting corridor (long room) between the old Stadholder's Quarters of 1678 and the Hof van Albemarle, and the recently built Government Printing House on the east side. The new complex consisted of three sections: a volume for formal receptions with a ballroom and richly ornamented stone facade fronting the Binnenhof, on the newly vacant plot; an apartment for the stadholder on the site of the aforementioned corridor, with a facade fronting the Buitenhof; and a service wing (the Cingelhuis) south of the Beek.[32] The water was overarched at that point and the toilets were located above this vaulting. To compensate the demolition of spaces previously used by the States of Holland, the latter seized the opportunity to realize a new building a little further on: a new Comptoir-Generaal (money office) was built east of the Hofpoort in 1777.

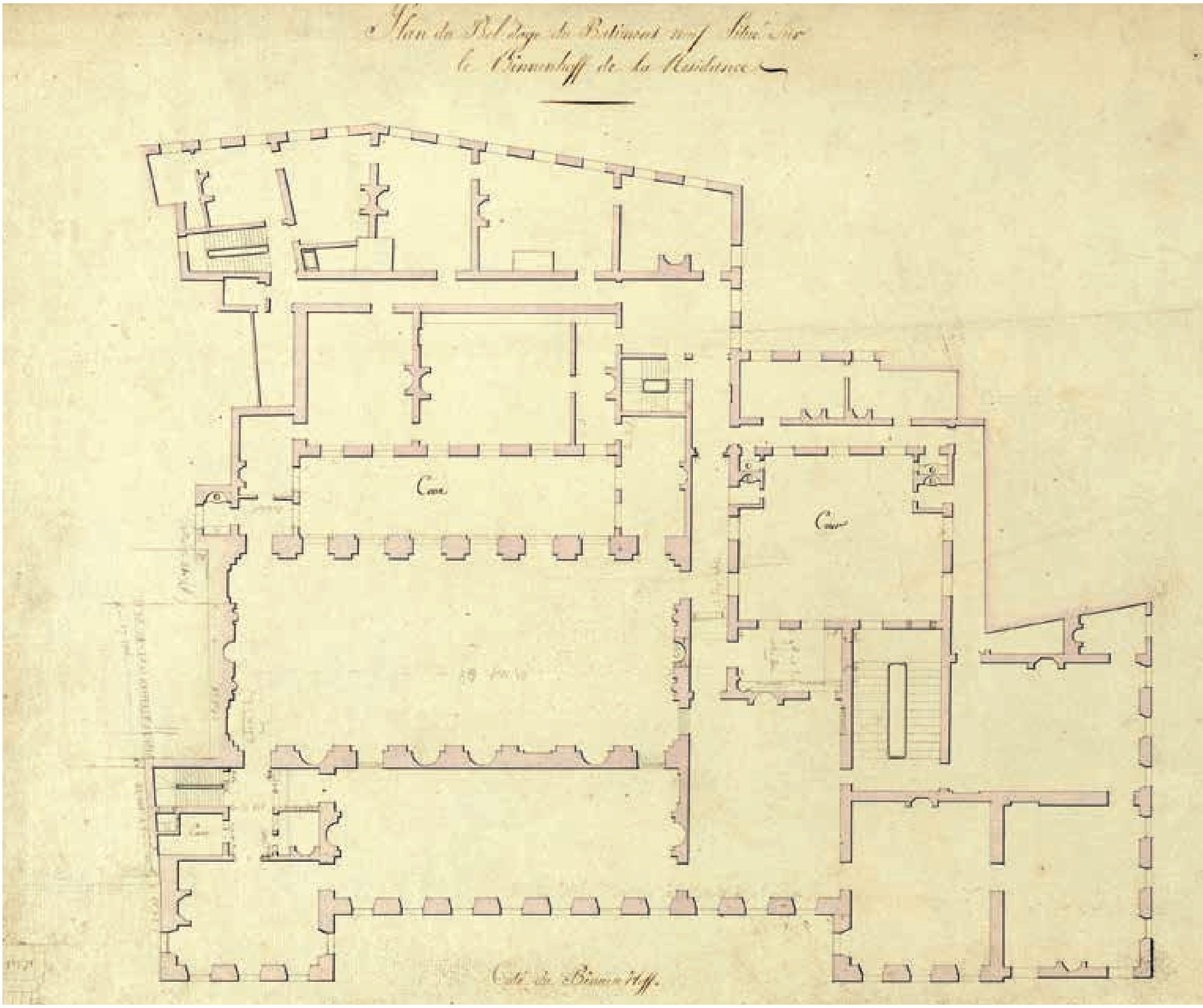
Pieter de Swart having died in 1772 or early 1773, a new architect, Friedrich Ludwig Gunckel (1743-1835) was engaged to oversee the construction of the new Stadholder's Quarters.[33] He had been involved in the renovation of the Court Chapel (1770-1772) as De Swart's assistant. There are three known sets of design drawings for the new Stadholder's Quarters.[34] The first contains only unbuilt designs; the second, from 1777, is a further elaboration of those designs, including the apartment for the stadholder in the angle between the old and new Stadholder's Quarters (fig. 8). The third set is mainly interior designs but includes a drawing of the final situation shortly after 1789 (fig. 9). Earlier drawings show a second stair on the overarching, but in this plan the stair plus a small cabinet has been moved slightly southwards over the Beek. In this drawing we can also see the kitchen extension that was added at the last moment. Shortly after construction commenced an ensemble of three small houses Hofsingel, with a common facade and roof, were purchased and added to the complex (fig. 10). The stadholder's apartment occupied the site of the long gallery demolished in 1780, while the service wing was built on the site of the original service wing of the Hof van Albemarle (fig. 11).

The new Stadholder's Quarters comprised on the ground floor left a main guardhouse and behind those storerooms. In the right-hand avant-corps was a vestibule and access to the main staircase. On the main floor there was a 'large room' (ballroom) on the courtyard side and at the front the large dining room flanked on the right by a small dining room. Both avant-corps contained antechambers (on the right the Second Antechamber). The rear wing, in the Cingelhuis, housed the most important members of the royal household, including the house steward and the Lord Chamberlain.

As already noted, the apartment of the stadholder, with basement and (service) entrance onto the Buitenhof, was built on the west side. On the ground floor there were rooms either side of a central corridor. This was probably where the stadholder's chamberlain lived. This corridor led via a right-angled turn to the Hof van Albemarle and had a toilet midway above the overarching of the Beek. It was the mirror image of the toilet extension in the formal section of the new



8. Plan of the ground, first and second floors of the stadholder's apartment with corresponding floor joists. It is evident that the apartment on the right has a corridor to the toilet above the Beek. North is left (Cultural Heritage Agency)



9. Plan of the first floor as built, probably shortly after 1789. The kitchen extension is top left, the cabinet on the right above the Beek with adjoining small staircase, and bottom right the stadholder's apartment (main floor). North is at the bottom (Cultural Heritage Agency)

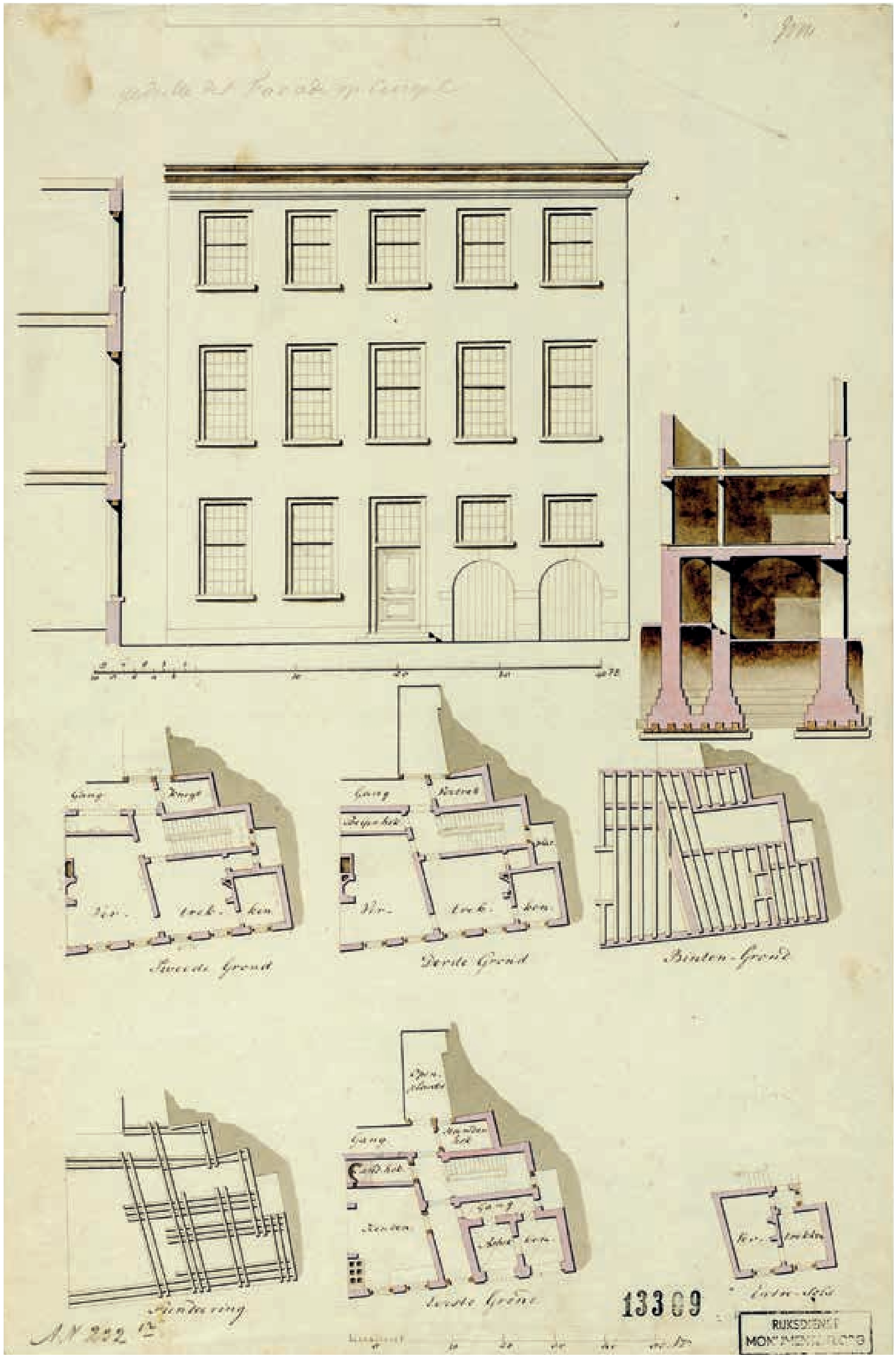
Stadholder's Quarters on the other side of the over-arched Beek (fig. 11b). On the main floor of the apartment there was the First Antechamber on the north side with adjoining room for the bodyguard, a cabinet for the brigadier and a pouring room. The second floor, with a portal, two front rooms and a bedroom, was connected with the eastern apartment in the formal section. Together these two sections probably contained the private quarters of the stadholder.

On 25 February 1777 the plans were sufficiently advanced for the first tender to be issued.[35] A good three months later there followed tenders for carpentry, brickwork, stonemasonry, plumbing and painting. In 1782 a plan was drawn up for the 'decoration of the halls and rooms for the layout of the main floor of the new building of the Stadholder's Quarters'.[36] In 1789 'both dining rooms and the cabinets next to the ballroom and behind the large dining room ... [were still in need of] floors, ceilings, plastering, painting and gilding'. The new Stadholder's Quarters were not completed until 1792.[37]

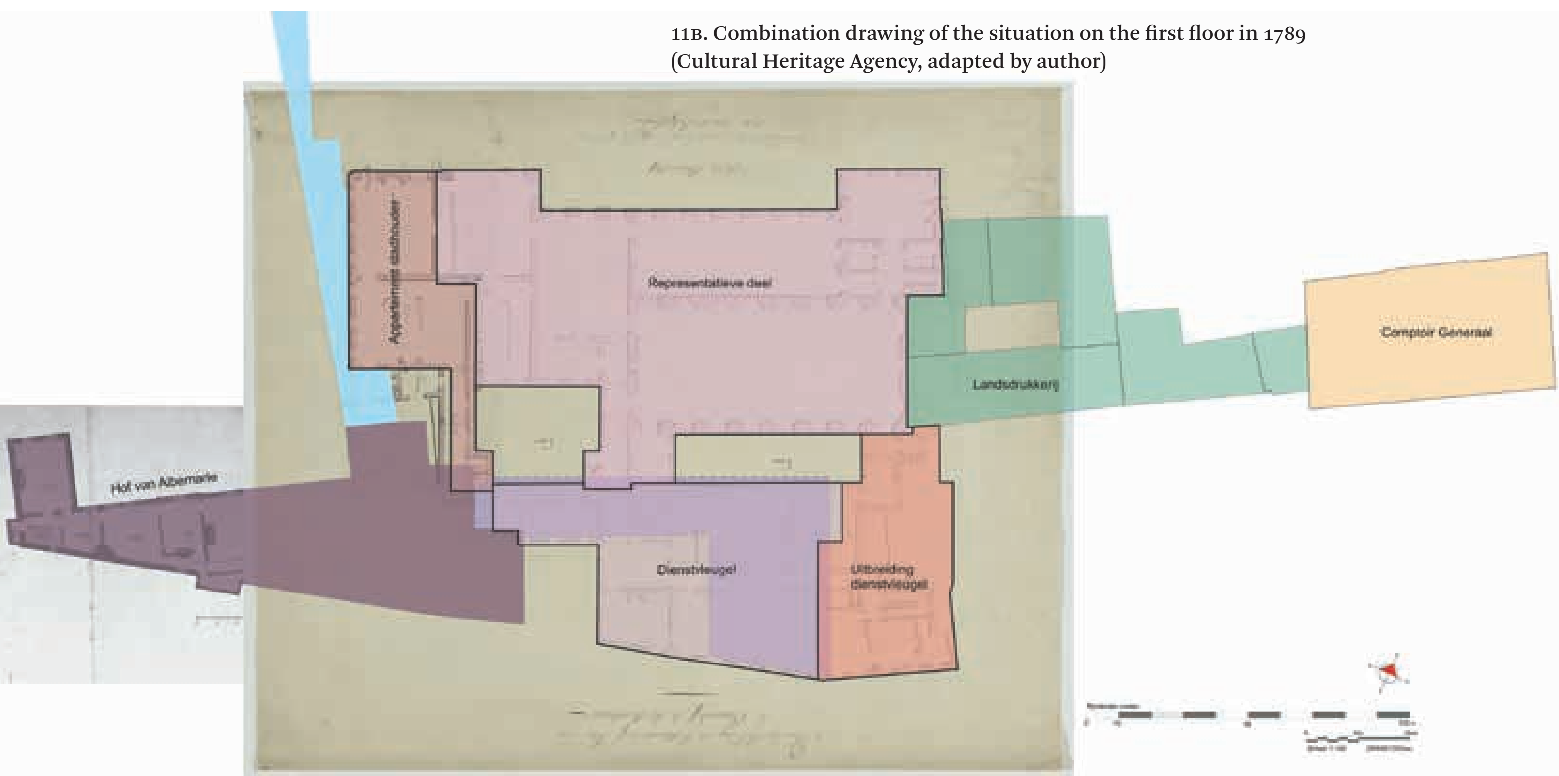
NEGLECTED AND RESTORED

Stadholder Willem v did not get to enjoy his new quarters for very long. On 18 January 1795, in the face of rapidly advancing French forces, he fled to England and life in exile. In April 1796 the ballroom was fitted out as the meeting room of the Batavian Republic. In 1806 the Kingdom of Holland was created with Louis Napoleon (1778-1846) as its king. The former ballroom

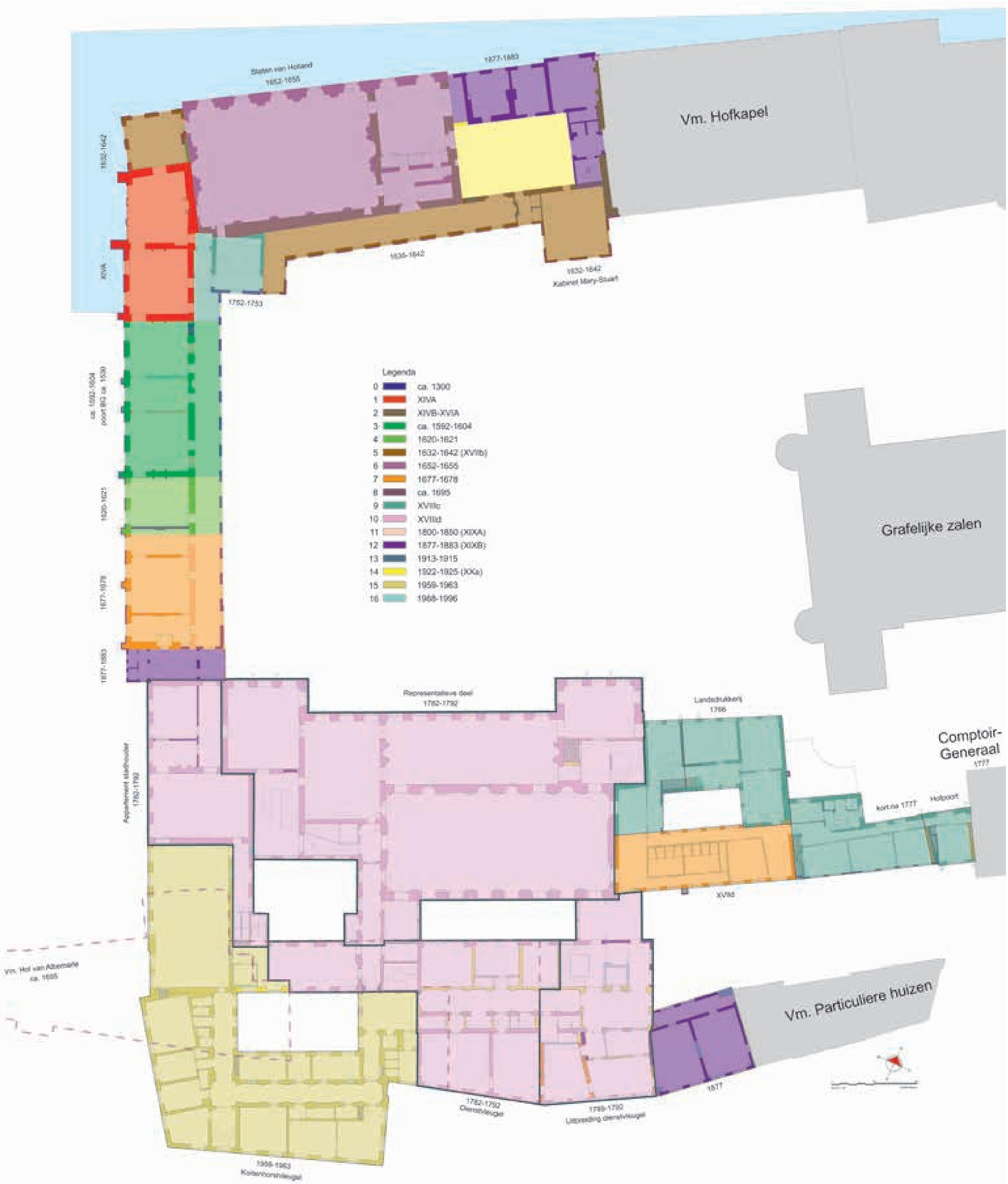
10. Plan from 1789 of the kitchen extension showing ground, first and second floors. The ash sheds on the ground floor have arched openings on the Hofsingel side. (Cultural Heritage Agency)



11A. Combination drawing of the situation on the first floor before the renovation in 1777 (Cultural Heritage Agency, adapted by author)



11B. Combination drawing of the situation on the first floor in 1789 (Cultural Heritage Agency, adapted by author)



12. First floor (main floor) of the western part of the Binnenhof in 2022, before the current renovation commenced (Central Government Real Estate Agency and BiermanHenket, adapted by author)

served as throne room, but not for long. After just two years Louis Napoleon took up residence in the town hall of Amsterdam, known ever since as the Palace on the Dam. On 11 May 1808 a royal decree ordered that 'all unnecessary ornaments be removed from the palace', meaning the new Stadholder's Quarters. 'Unnecessary ornaments' was taken to mean all mirrors, marble chimney pieces, painted canvases, decorations, panelling, doors, blinds and wall coverings. Some of these interior elements were used to furnish the Palace on the Dam, some were put in storage.[38] The new Stadholder's Quarters were turned into a school for military cadets.

Following the departure of the French in 1813, King Willem I (the son of stadholder Willem V) decided not to live at the Binnenhof anymore. But so as not to lose all his influence there, he established his King's Office in the Binnenhof.[39] The buildings in the Stadholder's Quarters were in a deplorable condition. The first alterations were carried out in 1818 under the supervision of the Controller of National Buildings, Adrianus J. Noordendorp (1780-1833). In 1828 the ballroom was altered by installing a drum with skylight in the middle of the roof.[40]

The Stadholder's Quarters were in an even worse state. A few repairs were carried out at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but to little effect. In 1848 it was rumoured that the Buitenhof wing would be demolished and replaced by a new administrative centre. Nothing came of these plans.[41] Looking back it is a wonder that the Buitenhof wing still exists. The situation was marginally better on the Hofvijver side, not least because the States of Holland's building was structurally sound.

In the period 1879-1883 the Court Chapel and the old Stadholder's Quarters were comprehensively restored and refurbished.[42] The roofs on the Buitenhof side were completely renewed, as was the intermediary section between the States of Holland building and the Court Chapel. In fact, little remained of this intermediary section apart from the cabinet of Mary Stuart (Princess Royal). The gallery along the Binnenhof was radically restored (which is to say, rebuilt in its old form).[43] During the next renovation of the Binnenhof in 1913-1915, the 1881 staircase to the east of the Statenzaal was replaced by the current ceremonial hall at first floor level (fig. 12, building phase 14).[44] Equally radical was the demolition in 1915 of the Hof van Albemarle to make way for a traffic corridor between Buitenhof and Spui.[45] The resulting ragged edge in the southwest corner was not repaired until the construction of the Kortenhorst wing in 1960-1963 (fig. 12, building phase 15).

CONCLUSION

The last word on the history of the Binnenhof has not been written. New and relevant details will continue to emerge, including during the current renovation. During those works, additional building history and archaeological research will be carried out. The results of past building history research have been compared with the known historical data in words and images, whereby historical drawings and plans of the current situation were digitally superimposed to elucidate the spatial development of the complex.

This article focuses on the Stadholder's Quarters, part of which was appropriated by the States of Holland during the first stadholderless period as their own new meeting chamber. The stadholders were later compensated with an extension southwards where eventually wholly new – though briefly used – Stadholder's Quarters were realized. Interestingly, the stadholder's 1814 ballroom housed the directly elected House of Representatives until 1992, whereas the meeting chamber of the States of Holland has since 1849 been the home of the indirectly elected Senate. Somehow it feels as if it should have been the other way around.[46]

NOTES

1 G.G. Calkoen, 'Het Binnenhof van 1247-1747', *Die Haghe. Bijdragen en mededeelingen* 3 (1902), 35-182, especially 48, 56, 149.

2 The following reports are relevant to this article: J.H. Heijenbrok and G.H.P. Steenmeijer [De Fabryck], *Binnenhofcomplex. Voormalige Hofkapel, Bouwhistorisch Onderzoek*, Utrecht 2018; F. Franken and P.C. van der Heiden, *Tweede Kamercomplex Binnenhof. Cultuurhistorisch onderzoek, acht hotspots*, The Hague 2019; R. Stenvert and S. van Ginkel-Meester, *Stadhouderlijk Kwartier Binnenhof Den Haag. Cultuurhistorisch onderzoek met waardestelling* (BBA-rapport; 812), Utrecht 2018; idem, *Algemene Zaken Binnenhof Den Haag. Cultuurhistorisch onderzoek met waardestelling* (BBA-rapport 832), Utrecht 2019; idem, *Tweede Kamercomplex bouwdelen TK-A en TK-B Binnenhof 's Gravenhage. Cultuurhistorisch onderzoek met waardestelling* (BBA-rapport; 893), Utrecht 2021.

3 Two reports underpin this article: Stenvert and Van Ginkel-Meester 2018, and Stenvert and Van Ginkel-Meester 2021 (note 2).

4 C. Dumas, *Haagse stadsgezichten 1550-1800. Topografische schilderijen van het Haags Historisch Museum*, Zwolle/The Hague 1991; A. de Klerk, *Bouwen aan de Hofstad. De geschiedenis van het bouwtoezicht in Den Haag 1250-1900, in sociaal en cultureel perspectief*, Delft 1998 (cover).

5 Calkoen 1902 (note 1), 103. A Flemish facade is an upright stone roof dormer at gutter height, often featuring a window surrounded by ornamentation.

6 Here, too, it must be borne in mind that all the spaces have been plastered,

and conjectures are based solely on the thickness of the walls (in combination with other sources). For the attribution of the drawing, see Dumas 1991 (note 4), 18.

7 Large (Romanesque) bricks in Flemish bond, 29 × 13 × 7 cm, ten-course height 80-86 cm. The exact extent of medieval masonry is difficult to determine owing to the renovation of the outer leaf and clamping of the elevations during the restoration of 1879-1883.

8 Stenvert and Van Ginkel-Meester 2018 (note 2), 24. There are mason's marks on the original sandstone surround, now to be found in the garden of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. The date on the information panel in Amsterdam – 'circa 1600' – is incorrect.

9 The new tower is already depicted in the drawing in fig. 2, dated 1598.

10 The flat roof had a lead covering (nowadays zinc).

11 Since 1621 the holder of the office of government prosecutor had been known as the Grand Pensionary.

12 Maurits inherited the title from his older half-brother Philips William (1554-1618), after which he was known as Maurits of Nassau.

13 Calkoen 1902 (note 1), 128 and note 126.

14 Calkoen 1902 (note 1), 129; P.C. van der Heiden, *Raad van State. Binnenhof 1, 's-Gravenhage. Bouwhistorische verkenning*, 's-Gravenhage 2008, 3. This would certainly not have been a genuine perron, like the current eighteenth-century steps on this spot, but rather an alteration of the old octagonal spiral staircase to turn it into a slightly roomier spiral staircase on a square base, with landings on each floor. A similar spiral staircase dating from 1638 can still be found in the Balckeneindehuis at number 18 Dunne Bierkade. Further research into the remains of this inner-angle stair at basement level is still ongoing.

15 Calkoen 1902 (note 1), 129.

16 The names are confusing. Mary Henriette Stuart, the wife of Willem II, is henceforth referred to as Mary Stuart, and Mary II of England, the wife of Willem III, as Mary II Stuart.

17 P.C. van der Heiden, *Kabinet Mary Stuart I. Geschiedenis, constructie & technische staat van de schilderingen Binnenhof 22 's-Gravenhage*, 's-Gravenhage 2013, 7.

18 J.J. Terwen and K.A. Ottenheym, *Pieter Post (1608-1669). Architect*, Zutphen 1993, 163-172.

19 Terwen and Ottenheym 1993 (note 18); see also P.E. Spijkerman (ed.), *Eerste Kamer. Reflecties over de Vergaderzaal van de 'Chambre de Réflection'. Ter gelegenheid van de ingebruikneming op 5 september 1995 na de restauratie en renovatie 1994-1995*, 's-Gravenhage 1995. The roof construction over the States of Holland chamber is remarkable for its relatively large span. Post probably had access, via Van Campen and Huygens, to Italian architectural treatises, including those of Serlio and Palladio, and based his design for the roof on them. See also R. Stenvert and E. Orsel, 'Jacob Roman, een innovatief ontwerper?', *Bulletin KNOB* 117 (2018) 2, 58-79. The roof construction merits further research.

20 Van der Heijden 2008 (note 14), 3.

21 After a fire in 1678 in the brand new apartment of Mary II Stuart on the second floor, her bedroom was refurbished with a richly decorated ceiling painted by Theodoor van der Schuer (1634-1707). After its removal in 1879, this ceiling, with a central section of 305 × 506 cm., hung in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, but since the latest restoration it is no longer on display.

22 He exhibited part of Mary II Stuart's porcelain collection there. After the mansion's sale in 1730 it was converted into lodgings for the Vijf Steden van het Noorderkwartier (Five Cities of the Northern District).

23 Calkoen 1902 (note 1), 136.

24 F.H. Schmidt, *Pieter de Swart. Architect van de achttiende eeuw*, Zwolle/Zeist 1999, 83.

25 The Five Cities of the Northern District were politely but urgently requested to look for another building, which they found on the Kneuterdijk (now part of the Council of State). At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Hof van Albemarle became part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

26 Jan Jehee's 1999 reconstruction drawings of that survey can be found in Schmidt 1999 (note 24), 84, 86.

27 Schmidt 1999 (note 24), 89-105.

28 Schmidt 1999 (note 24), 146-147.

29 P. van der Heijden and D. Valentijn, *Interieurs van het Binnenhof. Verscholen erfgoed in beeld*, The Hague 2018, 72-81.

30 Stenvert and Van Ginkel-Meester 2021 (note 2), 38-39, 372-401.

31 C.E. Zonnevylle-Heyning, 'Enkele kanttekeningen bij de inrichting van de nieuwe vleugel van het Stadhouderlijk Kwartier', in: *Nederlandse kunstnijverheid en interieurkunst. Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 31 (1980), Haarlem 1981, 410-422, esp. 410.

32 It is impossible to determine with any certainty whether the second section did indeed contain the stadholder's private quarters, but we do know that it was designed as a separate section. It corresponds roughly to the current section of the Council of State in the old House of Representatives complex.

33 Also spelled Gunkel. Born in 1743 in Krofdorf in the small German princedom of Nassau-Weilburg, he had studied architecture in Giessen and Paris. He probably arrived in The Hague in 1767, where he worked as assistant to the stadholder architect Pieter de Swart. After the latter's death Gunckel became the principal architect of the House of Orange. He died in The Hague in 1835.

34 The National Archives contain a set of fourteen sheets, generally dated 1776 (National Archives 4.OPG, H299). The Cultural Heritage Agency (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, RCE) has a second set of twenty drawings from 1777 and later (Image Library RCE AT-0019 to AT-0038. The drawings themselves bear the pencilled number AN 232 1 to 20). Also in the possession of the RCE is a third set of drawings from circa 1789 (Image Library RCE VE-1409 to VE-1429). Cf. R.J. van Pelt, 'Het Binnenhof als speelplaats voor architecten', in: R.J. van Pelt and M.E. Tiethoff-Spliethoff (eds.), *Het Binnenhof. Van grafelijke residentie tot regeringscentrum*, Dieren 1984, 137-152, although only the first set of drawings is mentioned.

35 Final responsibility for the construction lay with the controller-general of fortifications for Holland, Cornelis J. van der Graeff (1734-1812). Day-to-day supervision was in the hands of the architect F. L. Gunckel and the Controller of Royal Domains, Govert van der Linden, assisted by Johan van Westenhout (c. 1754-1823).

36 G. Rosa de Carvalho-Roos, 'Binnenhof 1a-3: van "Nieuwbouw" tot "Oudbouw"', in: P.E. Spijkerman (ed.), *Tweede Kamer. Van doolhof naar Eenheid. Ter gelegenheid van de ingebruikneming op 22 februari 1996 na de restauratie en renovatie 1994-1996*, 's-Gravenhage 1996, 17-49, especially 24. More extensive but with more of a focus on the interior is: T. Rosa de Carvalho-Roos, 'Hoe houdt de stadhouder hof? Een speurtocht naar het decor waartegen het dagelijks leven van de stadhouders Willem IV en Willem V zich afspeelde in de Stadhouderlijk Kwartieren van het Haagse Binnenhof', *Oud-Holland* 116 (2003) 3/4, 121-223.

37 Zonnevylle-Heyning 1981 (note 31).

38 It is known for certain that at least one chimney piece from the Binnenhof was installed in the Palace on the Dam; Rosa de Carvalho-Roos 1996 (note 36) 36 and Rosa de Carvallo-Roos 2003 (note 36), 124-125.

39 D. Smit, *Het belang van het Binnenhof. Twee eeuwen Haagse politiek, huisvesting en herinnering*, Amsterdam 2015, 103.

40 See also: Spijkerman 1996 (note 36).

41 L. van Tilborg, *Nooit gebouwd Den Haag*, Amersfoort 2019, esp. 56-62. Smit 2015 (note 39).

42 Remarkably, a small section of the chapel roof construction dating from the time of the 1688 extension survived. Stenvert and Van Ginkel-Meester 2019 (note 2), 274.

43 See also: Spijkerman 1995 (note 19).
44 Van der Heijden and Valentijn 2018 (note 29), 130-136.
45 One of the stucco ceilings and a mantlepiece from a different room found a new home in the 1915-1917 extension of the Colonial Office modelled on plans by Knuttel (TK-C). R. Stenvert and S. van Ginkel-Meester, *Uitbreiding Koloniën & Grenadierspoort Binnenhof Den Haag. Cultuurhistorisch onderzoek met Waardestelling*, Utrecht 2019 (BBA-report 866), 63, 68-69, 162-165.
46 In the first period between 1815 and 1848 members of the Senate were appointed by the monarch, thereafter they were elected by the Provincial Council. See also Smit 2015 (noot 39).

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VESTIGES OF STADHOLDERS

RESIDING AND RULING IN THE WESTERN SECTION OF THE BINNENHOF

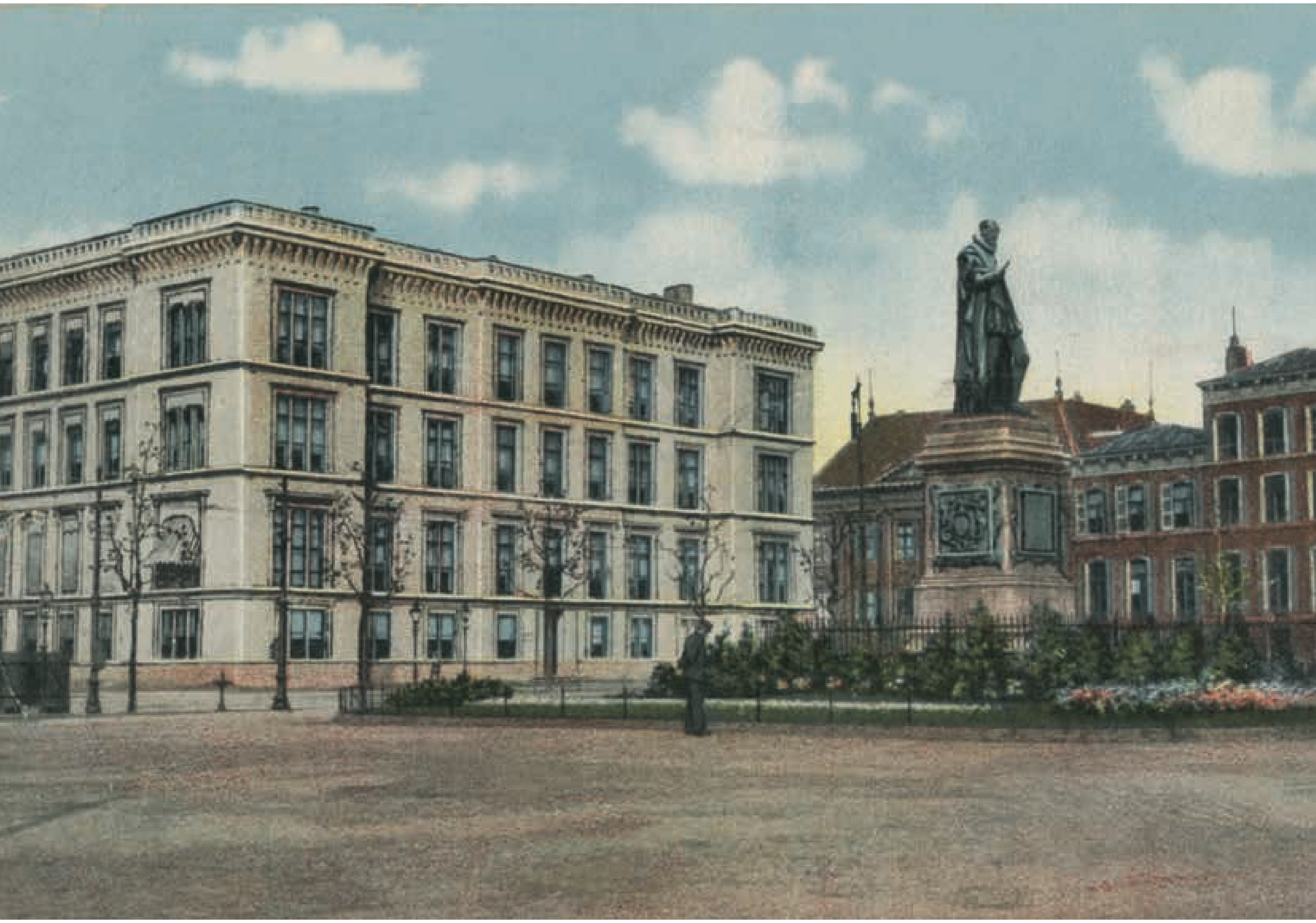
RONALD STENVERT

In anticipation of the current major restoration of the Binnenhof, the home of the Dutch parliament, building historians conducted research into this historically important complex of buildings in The Hague. This article focuses on the western part of the complex and the role played there by the stadholder and the States of Holland. In the northwest corner of the Binnenhof, an L-shaped Knights' House arose in the middle of the fourteenth century with a residence for the stadholder on the first floor while the ground floor was used by the States of Holland.

In 1585 Prince Maurits took up residence in this part of the Binnenhof and to underline his status had a tower built on the northwest corner (completed 1604). Later he had his accommodation expanded (1620-1621). His successor Frederik Hendrik further expanded the accommodation with an extruded corner containing private quarters for his son William's wife (Mary Stuart). With the death of William II in 1650, the first stadholderless period (1650-1672) began. The States of Holland seized on this opportunity to reinforce their claim to the buildings by demolishing part of the recent expansion on the Hofvijver side and building a prominent new meeting place.

As a consequence of the war with the French in 1672, William III became stadholder and to compensate for the lost space he commissioned an expansion of the complex on the south side (1677-1678). After the death of his wife Mary II Stuart, he had a stately house built for his favourite, the 1st Earl of Albemarle, on the south edge of the Prinsentuin in circa 1695. William's death in 1702 ushered in the second stadholderless period until the threat of war in 1747 led to the appointment of William IV as stadholder. At this point the accommodation at the Binnenhof was deemed to be too small for the court and plans for a new palace were drawn up.

What his father had been unable to achieve, William V accomplished. Existing buildings in the southwest corner made way for new stadholder quarters, but not until the States of Holland had built a new Comptoir-Generaal (money office) a little further away in 1777. In 1779 work on new quarters commenced. They consisted of a representative section in the Binnenhof, an apartment for the stadholder with an entrance on the Buitenhof and a service wing – the Cingelhuis – on the south side. The latter replaced the service wing of the Court of Albemarle. The new accommodation was finished by 1792, but just three years later William V was forced into exile, after which the newly formed Batavian Republic turned the ballroom into a meeting room, which served as the chamber of the House of Representatives from 1814 to 1992. The chamber of the States of Holland has been in use by the Senate since 1849.



‘A MAGNIFICENT FIASCO’

WILLEM NICOLAAS ROSE’S INNOVATIVE CLIMATE CONTROL DESIGN FOR THE DUTCH COLONIAL OFFICE

NATASJA HOGEN

The new premises of the Dutch Colonial Office (departement van Koloniën) on Het Plein in The Hague, built between 1859 and 1861 to a design by the then government architect, Willem Nicolaas Rose (1801-1877), represents an early and consequently important attempt to deal with thermal comfort and indoor climate in buildings in the Netherlands (fig. 1).[1] Stimulated by new ideas about health and thermal comfort and related technical advances, the heating and ventilation of buildings was the subject of keen interest in the nineteenth century. Whereas buildings had traditionally been heated by means of fireplaces and stoves, and little thought had been given to ventilation until the nineteenth century, from around 1840 central heating and mechanical ventilation systems started to come onto the market. They had a huge impact on architectural design. Many public buildings had high occupancy levels in the nineteenth century, often resulting in deplorable air quality. Controlling the indoor tem-

▲ 1. The Colonial Office seen from Het Plein, 1914 (The Hague City Archives)

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perature was equally complex. These buildings relied heavily on central, mechanical systems for a healthy and comfortable indoor climate and the functioning of those systems was dependent on the design of the building. This applied to technical components like plant rooms for the machinery, storage places for fuel, and associated infrastructure like ducts and plenums, but also to spatial and architectural aspects like the arrangement and orientation of rooms, ceiling heights and window types.[2]

This article is the fruit of cultural-historical research carried out in 2021 by the author and Jacqueline de Graauw of Bureau Bouwtijd at the request of the Central Government Real Estate Agency and in preparation for the renovation of the Colonial Office building. De Graauw's focus included the historical interiors, while Natasja Hogen investigated how the original climate system worked.[3] The article describes how the handling of the indoor climate in the new-build Colonial Office revolutionized the way Binnenhof buildings were heated and ventilated. It considers Rose's influence on this in his role as government architect, the connection with the development of the ministerial building as a new building type, the operation of climate control systems and their integration with fabric of the building and, not least, whether the system worked to the satisfaction of client and users.

ROSE AND THE MODERN MINISTERIAL BUILDING

Willem Nicolaas Rose was appointed chief government architect for national buildings in 1858. In the previous twenty-five years – as in the ten years that followed Rose's honourable discharge in 1867 – the post had been filled by a chief engineer from the Ministry of Water, Trade & Industry (Waterstaat for short). Appointing an architect, who was more conversant with building construction and favoured a more aesthetic approach, made it possible to cater better to the growing ambitions of the Ministry of the Interior and the House of Representatives. These included the demolition and rebuilding of part of the Binnenhof in line with a proposal made by the responsible minister in 1851.[4] Since there was no government mandated construction policy or building style at that time, Rose was free to put his own stamp on building projects and to put his modern ideas on architecture and technology into practice. While it is true that he operated within an administrative framework, the fierce reactions his designs elicited from members of parliament and others, indicate that Rose pursued his own course where possible. One of those contentious designs was for the renovation of the Great Hall and the new building to house the Supreme Court and the Department of Justice, designed in conjunction with the Colonial Office but never built. During the restoration of the Knights' Hall, Rose replaced the thirteenth-century timber roof with a slender cast iron structure. These Hague buildings and his earlier work, including the Coolsingel hospital in Rotterdam (1838-1840), clearly demonstrate how Rose experimented with modern materials and technologies, such as iron, cavity walls, large expanses of glass, and technical installations for heating and ventilation. Rose also had a considerable impact on the development of architecture in the nineteenth century by virtue of his flexible approach to the spatial layout of buildings and his use of classical visual language, including the introduction of the round-arch style (*Rundbogenstil*). However, his unswerving belief in progress and his highly individual evaluation of historical buildings also attracted strong criticism.[5]

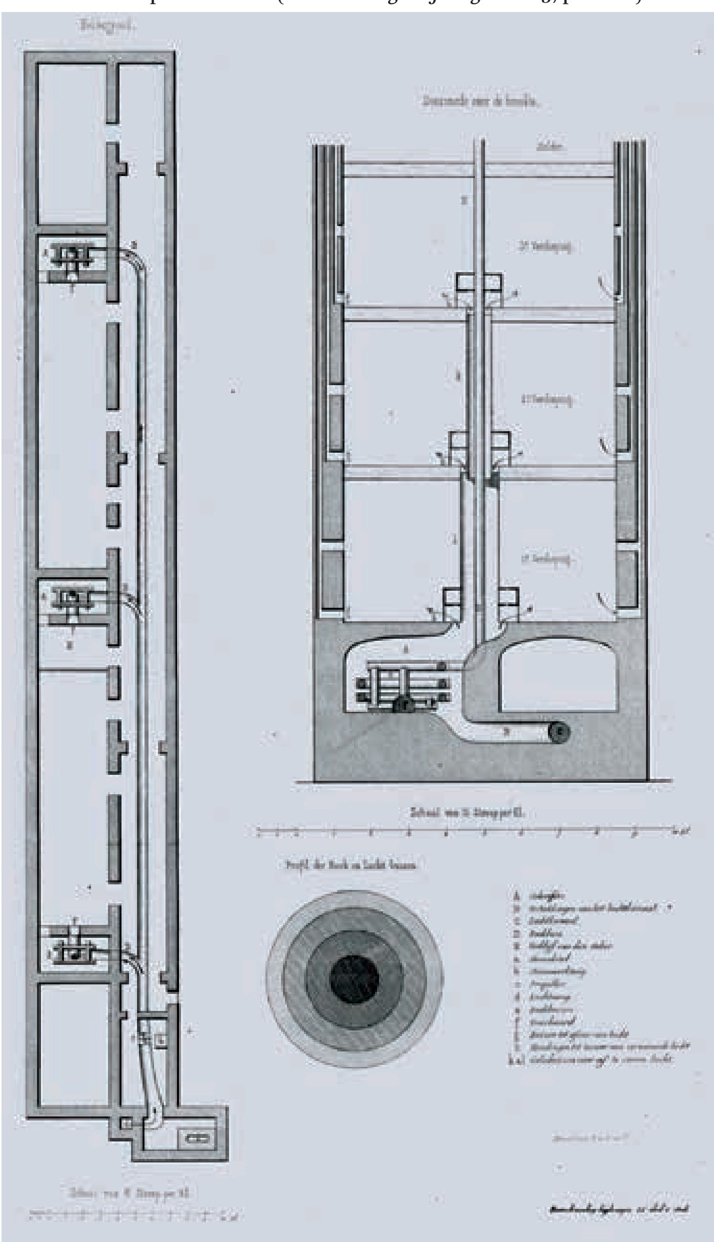
In the mid-nineteenth century government ministries in and around the Binnenhof were housed in buildings from the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and had usually undergone several renovations or extensions to satisfy changing functional requirements. The Colonial Office was the first building to be designed specifically to house a ministry.[6] This was associated with the emergence of the office building as a new building type: in the nineteenth century the workplace became part of modern life, resulting in more attention being paid to the architectural, functional and building physics qualities of such buildings. The design for the Colonial Office boasted several architectural and technological innovations, including an E-shaped plan with corridors on the inner sides and offices on the outer sides, so that they could be easily accessed.[7] The service spaces and rooms for archives, installations and fuel were on the ground floor. The committee room occupied a fairly central position on the main floor, with the offices of the minister and secretary general in the corners and one or two offices for 'ordinary' civil servants, most of whom were housed on the second and third floors. This hierarchy was also clearly reflected in the interior finishing.

Because of their location on the outer side of the building, all the offices enjoyed plenty of daylight. Rose designed large double windows with a casement on the outside and a sash window on the inside. He also used innovative building materials, including zinc as roof covering, wrought iron for window frames, cordons, brackets and gutters. But what really set this building apart from the existing buildings in and around the Binnenhof was the use of an innovative, integrated climate control system.[8]

THE INDOOR CLIMATE OF THE COLONIAL OFFICE

Ministries housed in existing buildings were heated and ventilated in the traditional manner. Natural ventilation was achieved by opening windows, doors and grilles, and heating with the help of (enclosed) fireplaces and stoves. Although it had been theoretically possible to integrate modern central mechanical systems since around 1840, retrofitting existing buildings was expensive and technically complex because it involved a lot of alterations, chiefly to accommodate the dedicated plant rooms for steam or hot water boilers, the drainage of flue gasses, and the ducts needed to distribute the air and heat. One exception was the House of Representatives chamber. In around 1860, at Rose's suggestion, fresh air was introduced with the help of ventilators. However, these were operated manually because the installation of mechanical drive was not feasible here.[9]

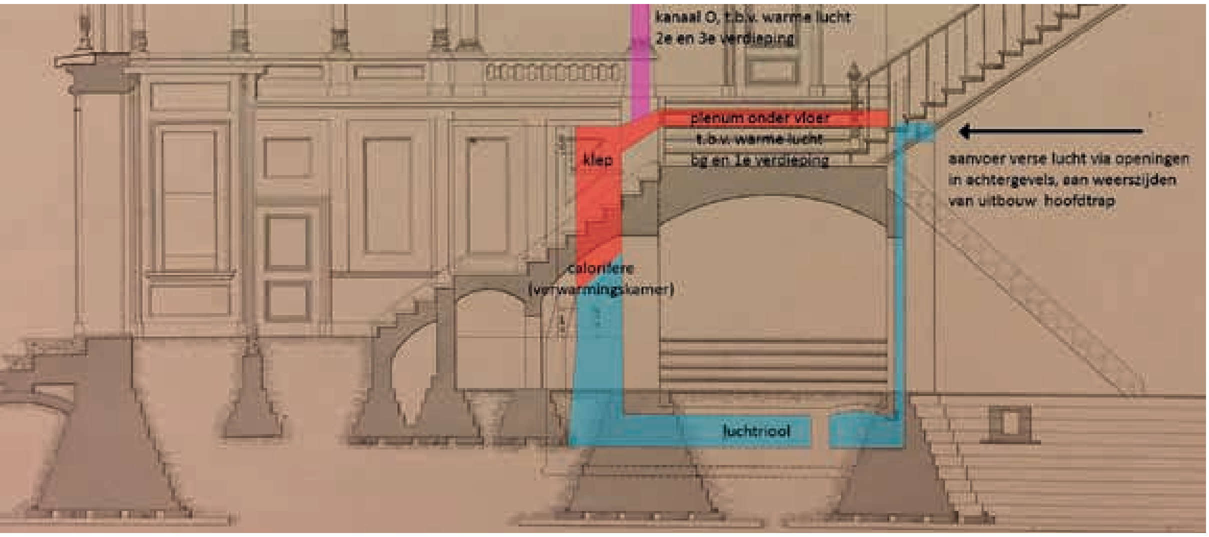
2. The Van Hecke system as implemented in the Necker hospital in Paris (*Bouwkundige Bijdragen* 1863, plate III)



Although Waterstaat commanded a lot of civil engineering knowhow, knowledge about building services technology was still so underdeveloped (it did not even feature in the educational curriculum) that only a few engineers and architects had taken the initiative to acquire the necessary skills. In the mid-nineteenth century Rose was one of the first architects actively engaged in achieving a comfortable and healthy indoor climate in buildings. His military training in civil and military engineering at the Artillerie- en Genieschool in Delft, where he also later taught, would undoubtedly have nurtured his technical ambitions. At that time this was *the* place where new technical knowhow was being developed.[10] Rose proved himself in this field early on with his design for the Coolsingel hospital, possibly the first building in the Netherlands to embody new ideas about a healthy indoor climate in a modern and above all integrated way.[11] In this case he employed a central hot-air heating system. Although this caused problems in practice, such as overheating and insufficient ventilation capacity in the wards, Rose regularly employed the hot-air heating system in subsequent years. From 1858 onwards he had a strong preference for the Van Hecke system, which had come onto the market a few years earlier and for which Rose had obtained the Dutch patent.[12]

THE VAN HECKE SYSTEM

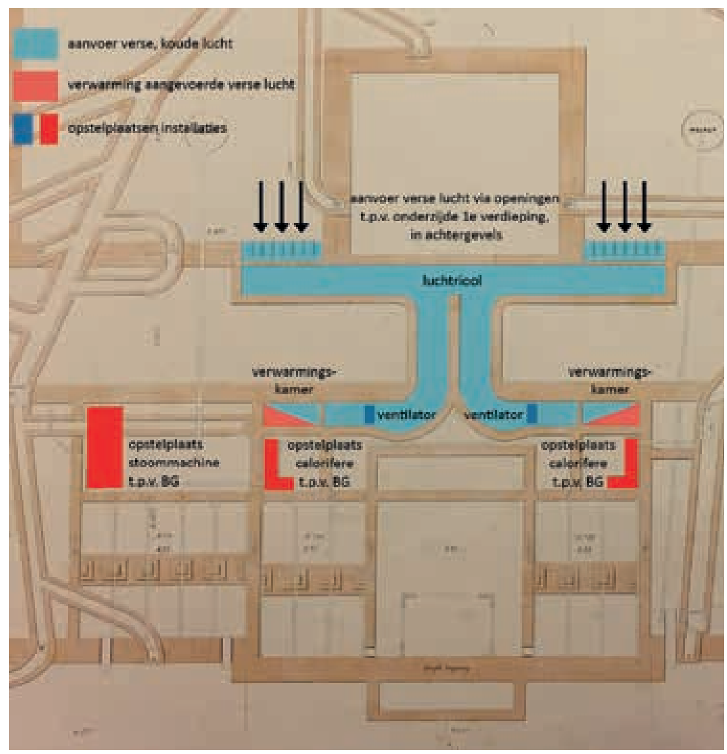
The Van Hecke system was invented in the 1850s by the Belgian physician M. Van Hecke.[13] Despite Van Hecke's claim that the system was suitable for all types of buildings, it was initially used mainly in hospitals.[14] Van Hecke tried to truly integrate adequate ventilation into the heating system, rather than 'merely' distributing warm air with ventilation as an incidental by-product, as was the case in many other hot-air heating systems.[15] In his system ventilation was mechanical, with ventilators boosting the air flow. The air could be preheated by first piping it through heating chambers. Van Hecke claimed that his method was about fifty per cent more economical than the hot-water heating systems on the market at that time. Moreover, the technology was simpler in design than other heating systems.[16] The innovative application of the system in the Necker and Beaujon hospitals in Paris in particular received a lot of publicity, including in Dutch professional journals (fig. 2).[17] Rose made four trips to Paris, three of which were specifically to learn about the climate control systems in these two hospitals.



3. Detail from contract drawing 1859, section E-F, showing the supply of fresh air to the heating chamber and from there to the various rooms (Central Government Real Estate Agency, adapted by the author)

THE CLIMATE CONTROL SYSTEM IN THE COLONIAL OFFICE

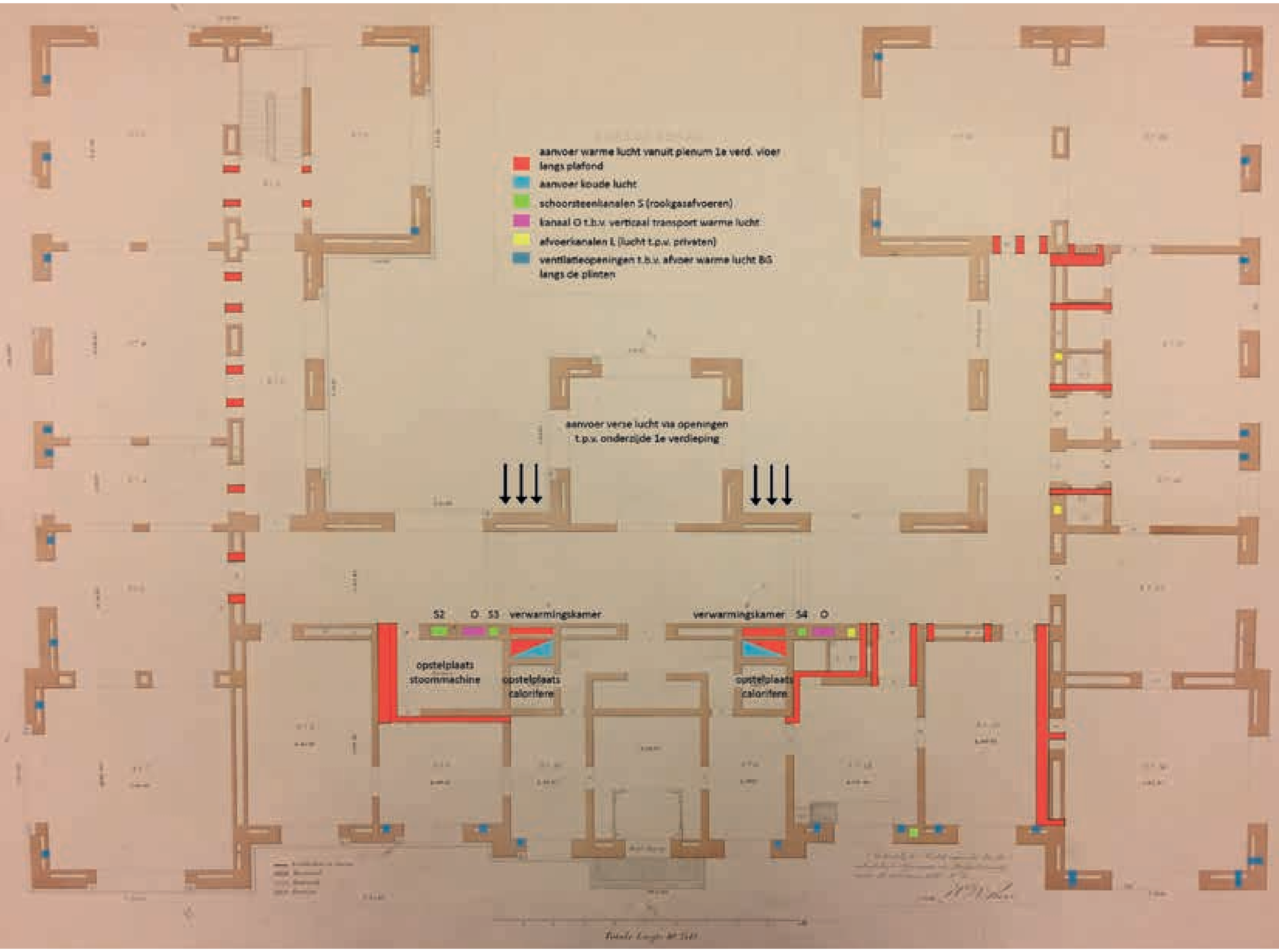
Although Rose's sketch design for the Colonial Office was still based on the use of stoves, he eventually opted for hot-air heating and mechanical ventilation by means of the Van Hecke system.[18] Two ventilators, installed beneath the ground-level floor in brick fresh-air supply ducts, were powered by a small steam engine. This was located in a machine room on the ground floor, next to a storage space for the coal needed to fuel it.[19] Fresh outside air was channelled into the building via the rear elevation. Either side of the extension for the main staircase, at a height of around 3.5 metres above ground level, were eight ventilation openings (fig. 3).[20] There was a general belief that the air at this height was purer, and less contaminated by dirt and dust. The fresh air entered via a cavity in the rear elevation, whereupon the ventilators drove it to the main duct below the ground floor slab and hence into two heating chambers where the air was heated to the desired temperature in a *calorifère* (heater) (fig.4). The generally agreed optimal temperature for offices at this time was between 18 and 20 degrees Celsius. To compensate the loss of heat during distribution, the air needed to exit the heating chambers at a relatively high temperature. Depending on the hot-air heating system involved, the temperature in the heating chamber ranged from 40 to 65 degrees.[21] The top of each heating chamber terminated in a feed to an air duct leading to the space between the ceiling and the floor above (the plenum). Between the heating chamber and this duct was an iron valve with which to regulate the volume of air. With the help of *compteurs* (meters) and *indicateurs* (gauges) the speed and temperature of the heated air could be measured. When the flap above the heating chamber was opened, fresh, heated air flowed into the plenum below the first floor and from there into the rooms on the ground and first



4. Detail from contract drawing 1859, ground-floor plan, showing the supply of fresh air to the heating chamber (Central Government Real Estate Agency, adapted by the author)

floors. From this point the air was also transported via a vertical duct to the second and third floors and then via a ceiling plenum to the various rooms on those floors.[22] Both wings of the building were heated in this way via a dedicated circuit.

From the plenums below the first, second and third storey floors fresh air, heated or otherwise, flowed via horizontal ducts and grilles into the offices. The amount of inflow could be adjusted using a *regulateur* below a hatch in the floor.[23] Rose opted for an upward air flow, which was regarded as the healthiest by nineteenth-century hygienists and engineers: blowing air

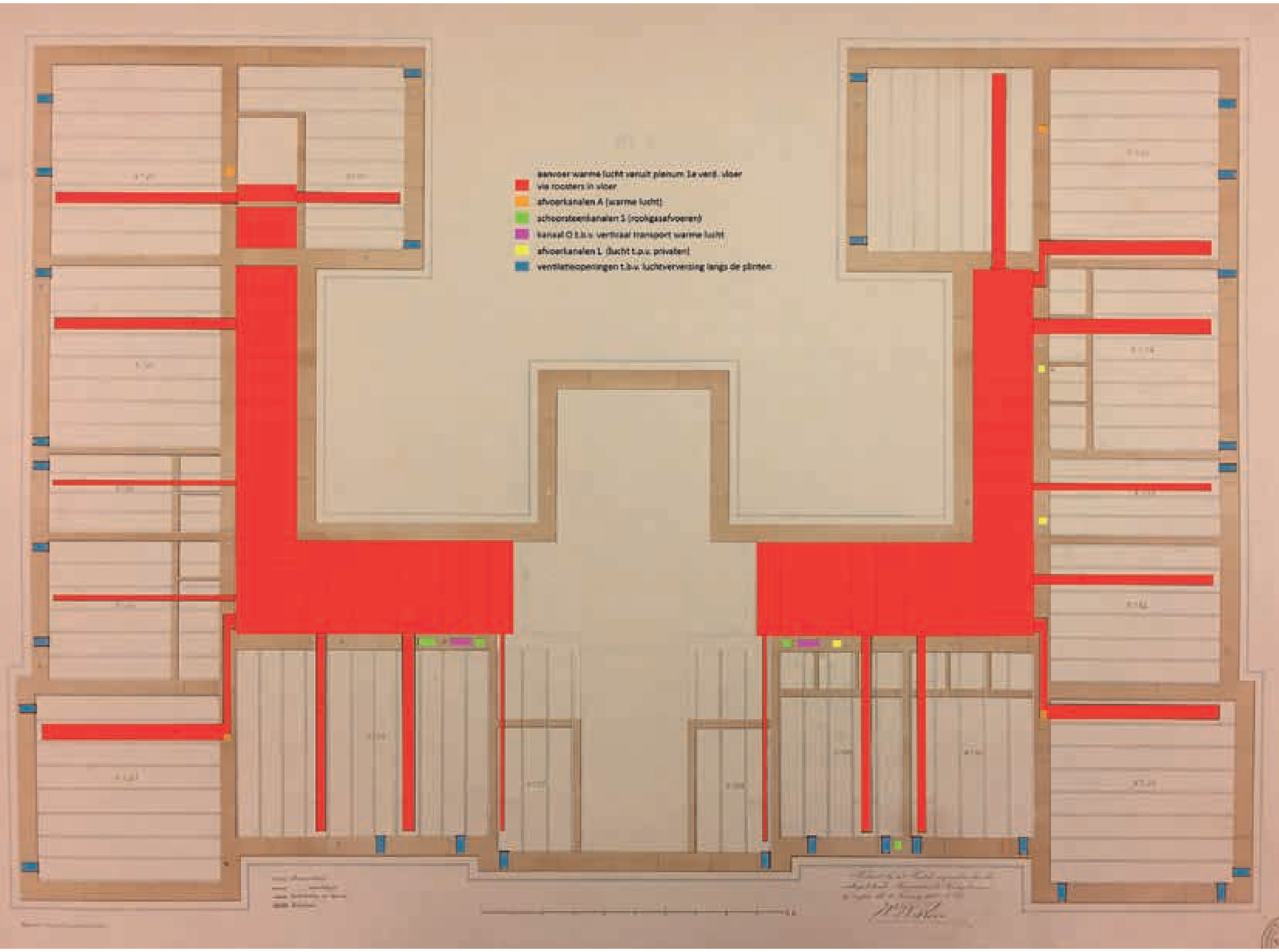


5. Contract drawing 1859, ground floor, showing various components of the heating and ventilation system (Central Government Real Estate Agency, adapted by the author)

in at floor height and expelling it via the ceiling prevented stale air from being breathed in again (figs. 5-8).[24]

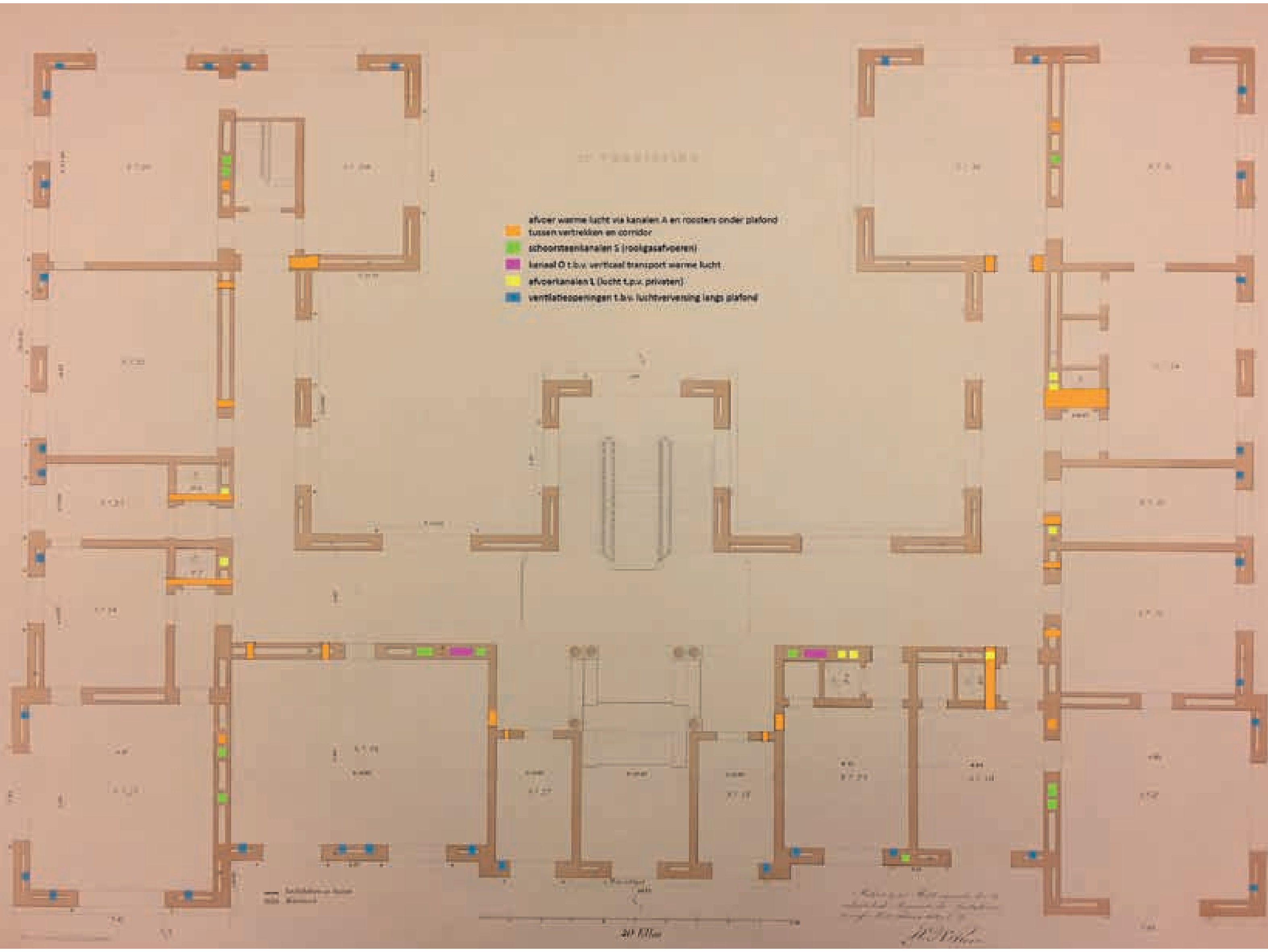
The extraction of stale air occurred partly at the level of the ground floor via ducts bricked into the external wall and fitted with grilles.[25] On the upper floors excess warm air from the offices was extracted to the corridors via horizontal ducts or pipes with outlets and grilles below the ceiling. In the winter months this allowed the corridors to be heated as well.[26] Stale air exited the building via extraction ducts above the toilets and a few ducts in those corner rooms that did not adjoin the corridor. These air ducts did not exit above the roof: the warm air flowed into the ceiling space and was discharged outside via the attic windows.[27]

In the winter months ventilation occurred in principle in tandem with air heating. In the summer months it was also possible to use the ventilators to bring in air through the rear elevation without channelling it through the *calorifère.* If necessary, air could be humidified using *refraichirants* (water basins), incorporated into the air ducts at the level of the heating chambers.[28] For additional ventilation Rose incorporated a system of air vents and air valves in the external walls where they were concealed in cast-iron cordons that were hollow on the inner side and functioned as ventilation ducts. In the rooms themselves there were grilles in the skirting boards and flaps below the ceiling, which users could open and close as needed. One exception were the vents below the third floor ceiling: instead of discharging into the external walls, the air was discharged into the attic via U-shaped air ducts (figs. 9 and 10).[29] Of course, it was also possible to open the windows.



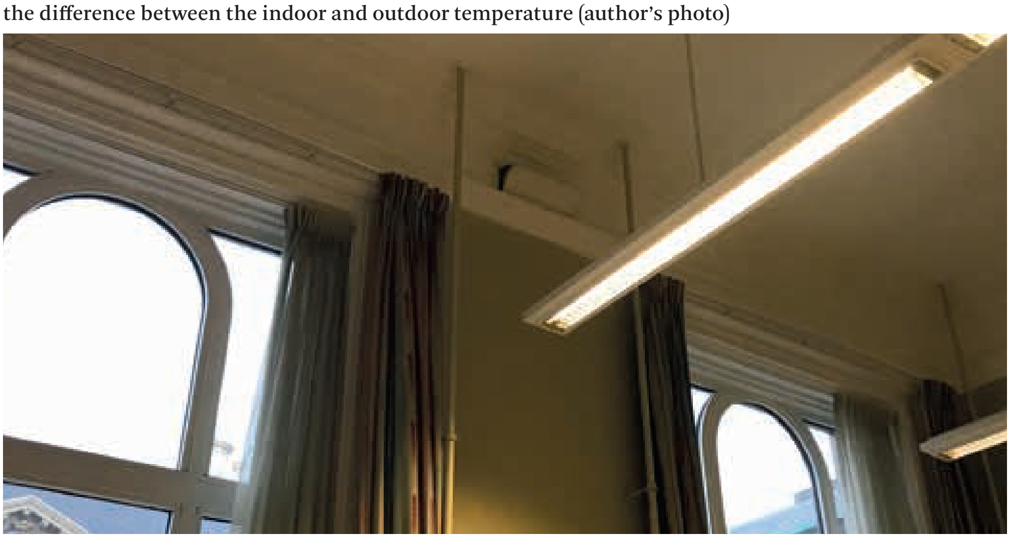
6. Contract drawing 1859, floor plan of the first floor, showing the various components of the heating and ventilation system (Central Government Real Estate Agency, adapted by the author)

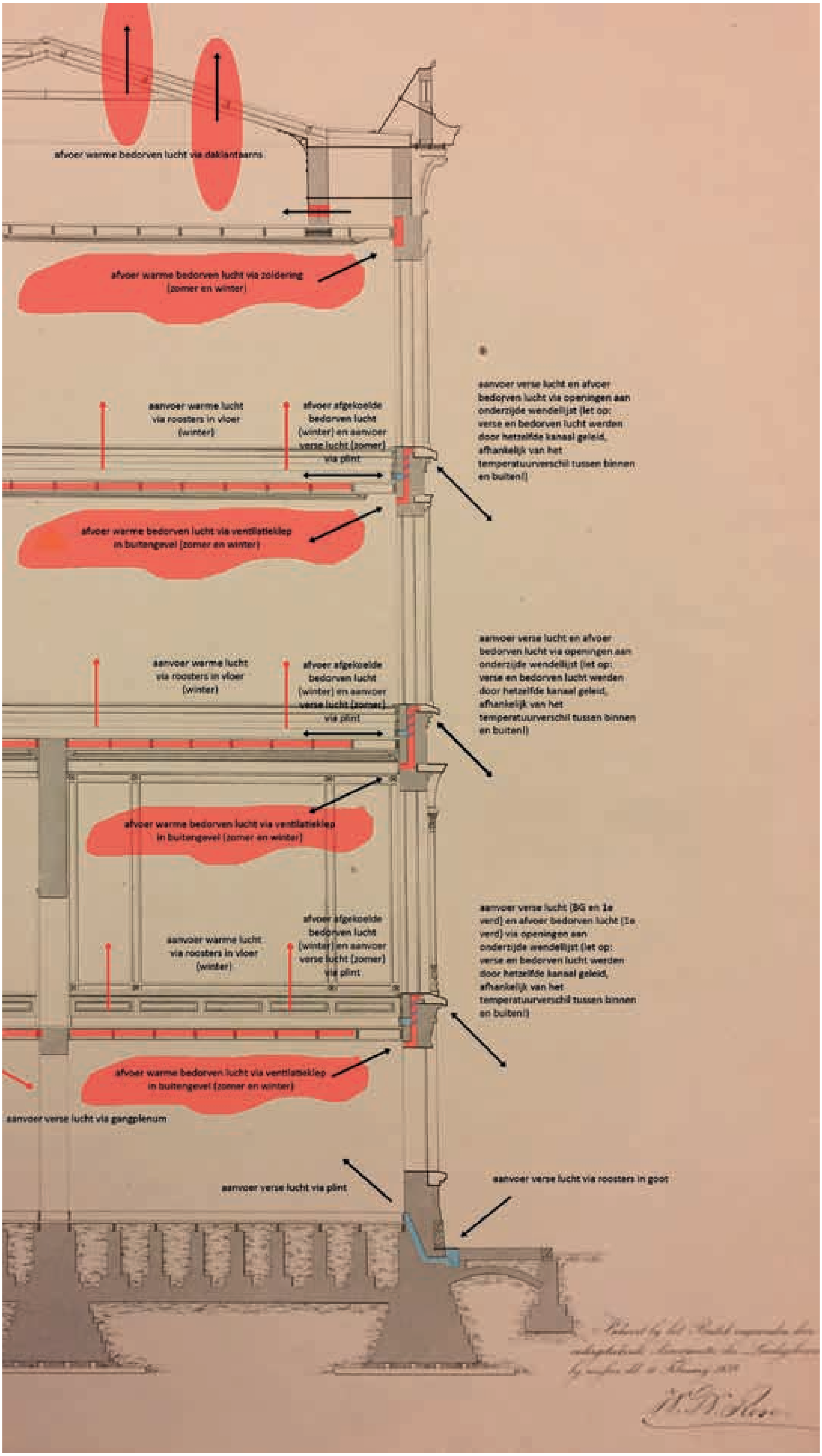
7. Inflow grille for warm air integrated into the floor (photo Matthijs de Kraker, WDJArchitecten)



7. Contract drawing 1859, first floor, showing the various components of the heating and ventilation system (Central Government Real Estate Agency, adapted by the author)

9. Open flap below the ceiling in K.117 for the extraction of warm air or supply of fresh air, depending on the difference between the indoor and outdoor temperature (author's photo)





10. Detail from contract drawing 1859, section C-D, showing the supply of fresh air to the rooms on the third floor and the extraction of stale air to the attic or directly outside (Central Government Real Estate Agency, adapted by the author)

Although the Van Hecke system was based entirely on hot-air heating, during construction supplementary chimney flues were incorporated into the walls of the corner rooms because it was suspected that they would be more difficult to heat owing to the long distance the air had to travel with a corresponding loss of heat, and an even greater loss of heat through the outer walls. Whether stoves were installed in the corner rooms immediately upon completion in 1861 is unclear.[30]

INTEGRATION OF ARCHITECTURE AND TECHNOLOGY

Technical installations were only a small part of the total climate system of buildings in the nineteenth century. The building design played a key supporting role, with various architectural and structural aspects being integrated into the system, beginning with logistics: the distribution of fresh, heated or unheated air to the rooms, and then the extraction of stale air. In the Colonial Office the ducts were partially integrated with fabric of the building and were aligned with the main structure of the building. The vertical supply and return ducts were brickwork and embedded in the internal walls. Horizontal ducts ran between floor and ceiling: the space above the ceilings in the corridors functioned as a plenum for channelling the air to the rooms. The presence of an attic was essential because it acted as a vacuum space for the extraction of stale air. Air heating was highly susceptible to any disruptions to the airflow. Cold air downdraughts around windows could seriously impede the air circulation, while chinks and cracks around windows and doors created draughts. This was why the choice of this heating system was coupled with the installation of a double window system in the elevations. The double cast iron window frames largely prevented this kind of problem and in the summer months additional ventilation could easily be obtained by opening both the outer outward-opening window and the inner sash window.[31] Cavity walls helped reduce heat loss via the outer walls, while the glass portal in the vestibule at the main entrance prevented any disturbance of the air flow when the entrance doors were opened.[32]

CRITICISM FROM CONTEMPORARIES

It was not long after completion that the first critical reports about the building's indoor climate started to appear in the press. In 1861 *De Nederlandsche Spectator* printed a highly critical article on 'the latest work by the Government Architect' penned by an anonymous author X. Recounting his visit to the building, probably at the moment when the hot-air heating system had just been put into operation, X wrote: 'Without noticing, busy talking, we have returned to the ground floor and would now, cautiously descending the front steps, have left the fine building had the doorman not then offered us the opportunity to view one final curiosity: the steam engine driving the heating and ventilation system. Where do you think that machine was located? In all good factories, if at all feasible, the steam engine is located as far as possible from the workplaces, at least from the offices, because the oppressive heat combined with the endless pounding of the piston in the cylinder is extremely irksome for any but purely physical work. Many factories even have a separate engine shed, thereby avoiding all the bother and discomfort for ordinary workers as well. And here is the architect of the Colonial Office putting his steam engine in the middle of his palace and right below his finest rooms! – We have had more than enough of it and leave the building – in indignation.'[33]

This was just one of the aspects of the building that irritated the writer. He was also offended by the architectural design, with its modern formal idiom and large expanses of glass. One way or another, the building had many critics.[34]

A DISASTROUS PERFORMANCE

Even before the first winter it was clear that the system was not capable of heating and ventilating the building adequately. One reason for that may well have been the considerable economies that Rose had been obliged to make.[35] It stands to reason that the cost-cutting would have affected the building services as well. When installing the Van Hecke system it was not unusual to use two sets of ventilators: one in the basement to suck in fresh air, and one in the attic to expel stale air. It is possible that Rose had initially wanted to use a second set of ventilators but was unable to find sufficient money in the budget to finance it. Whatever the case, it is clear that the attic vacuum space was barely capable of generating sufficient draught in the building. It was for this reason that ventilation was accomplished chiefly with the help of the hollow cordons in the elevation via grilles along the ceilings and skirting boards. However, in certain weather conditions the cordons channelled not just fresh air from outdoors, but also stale air from the rooms below. This certainly did not improve the air quality. What is more, the diameters of the main fresh air supply ducts were probably not large enough. The corner rooms could only be heated to between 15 and 15.6 degrees, whereas on the top floor the temperature reached more than 21 degrees. According to a critic writing in the *Dagblad voor Zuid-Holland en 's-Gravenhage* in November 1861, an estimated fifty thousand guilders would be needed to 'bring the building into a habitable state'.[36] The physician and hygienist W. Logeman, writing about the heating and ventilation of schools in 1864 even referred to 'a magnificent "fiasco" – as e.g. in a certain public building in ’s-Gravenhage’. He was referring to the Colonial Office.[37]

Owing to all the problems, one of the two *calorifères* had already been turned off in November 1861 and ‘old-fashioned’ stoves had been installed in several rooms. By March 1862 the steam engine was only being used for forcing water upwards.[38] The steam engine, ventilators and *calorifères* were relocated to the Tehuis voor Oud-Militairen Bronbeek near Arnhem (1860-1862), also designed by Rose. Here the system worked properly; Rose had learned from his mistakes in the meantime.[39] But back in 1860 Rose had also suggested installing the Van Hecke system in the new Supreme Court building to his client, the Ministry of the Interior. Given its ‘disastrous’ performance in the Colonial Office, the Supreme Court insisted that before moving into the building it wanted a guarantee, in the form of a trial set-up, that the system would indeed work properly here. One of Rose’s arguments in favour of hot-air heating was that the installation of old-fashioned stoves would mar the large courtrooms. The Supreme Court endorsed that view. Nevertheless, the client’s lack of confidence in Rose culminated in the cancellation of the Van Hecke system even though construction had already begun. Stoves were installed instead.[40] From around 1870, all new buildings around the Binnenhof were fitted with central, mechanical systems. One example is the Department of Justice, built between 1876 and 1883 to a design by the government architect Cornelis Hendrik Peters (1847-1932). The system installed there was also based on hot-air heating, but it was a different type from the one in the Colonial Office. Apart from hot-air heating, the technical development of steam and hot water heating systems had progressed to the extent that they were now more efficient and economical to run.[41] By the final quarter of the nineteenth century central mechanical systems were becoming increasingly common in public buildings all over the Netherlands.

RENEWED APPRECIATION

The cultural-historical survey of the building was able to trace the operation of the original climate system in the Colonial Office based on surviving parts of the building, specifications, archival records and contemporary articles in newspapers and journals. The task was certainly much easier compared with many other nineteenth-century buildings. The critical articles on the functioning of the system proved to be an especially good source of information about how this modern technology was received in the mid-nineteenth century, and about the degree to which it was possible to achieve a comfortable and healthy indoor climate at that time. Rose’s career as government architect was adversely affected by the various negative experiences with and critical reactions to his work. But the criticism that was so fierce in the nineteenth century has since subsided. Whereas it was jestingly compared to an aviary upon its completion in 1861, nowadays the building is praised for being light and airy.[42]

That renewed appreciation might also be extended to the original climate system. Researching the indoor climate design of historical buildings is important for understanding the development of air-conditioning technology in the nineteenth century and for a better appreciation of its design. Knowledge about historical systems may also prove useful when attempting to make historical buildings more sustainable; in this case the research into the original technical installations in the Colonial Office was closely connected with the renovation of the building. Moreover, although the system in the Colonial Office did not work as intended, the design was of great importance for the development of air-conditioning technology in the nineteenth century. In the absence of relevant scientific knowledge and calculation models, the acquisition of new knowhow depended heavily on practical experiments, which were few and far between in the Netherlands in the middle of the nineteenth century. As such, the Colonial Office was an early and important example of climate design that attempted to truly integrate technical systems for heating and ventilation into the design of the building.[43]

NOTES

1 J. de Graauw and N. Hogen, *Cultuurhistorisch onderzoek naar gebouw K (voormalig Ministerie van Koloniën), Plein 1 Den Haag*, [Delft] 2021, 12.

2 R. Banham, *The architecture of the well-tempered environment*, London 1984, 10; R. Bruegmann, ‘Central Heating and Forced Ventilation. Origins and Effects on Architectural Design’, *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 37 (1978), 143-160; G. Cooper, *Air-conditioning America. Engineers and the controlled environment, 1900-1960*, Baltimore 1998, 15. More information about the development of comfortable and healthy public buildings can be found in N. Hogen, ‘A healthy and comfortable indoor climate as nineteenth-century design task’, *Bulletin KNOB* 118 (2019) 1, 18-32.

3 De Graauw and Hogen 2021 (note 1).

4 H. Berens, *W.N. Rose 1801-1877. Stedenbouw, civiele techniek en architectuur*, Rotterdam 2001, 229-230.

5 Berens 2001 (note 4), 225-227, 239, 258; K. Bosma et al. (eds.), *Bouwen in Nederland, 600-2000*, Zwolle 2007, 428-429; C.J. van der Peet and G. Steenmeijer, *De rijksbouwmeesters. Twee eeuwen architectuur van de Rijksgebouwendienst en zijn voorlopers*, Rotterdam 1995, 107-113, 129-144. Rose remained government architect until his retirement in 1867 (an honourable discharge against his will) and was not succeeded by an architect because of the negative reactions to his work on the Colonial Office, the Supreme Court and the Knights’ Hall. In fact, owing to that criticism his activities in The Hague had been quite limited from 1862 onwards. From

around 1870, under Victor de Stuers and Pierre Cuypers, neo-Renaissance became the more or less official building style for government buildings; Berens 2001 (note 4), 240; Van der Peet and Steenmeijer 1995 (note 5), 267.

6 De Graauw and Hogen 2021 (note 1), 34. At the request of the Minister for the Interior, Rose produced plans for the demolition and reconstruction of the entire Binnenhof, with the exception of the Knights' Hall and the Provincial States building (the palace of stadholder Willem v), 'on account of their historical value'. This caused such consternation in the House of Representatives that the minister directed Rose to come up with a less drastic plan; Berens 2001 (note 4), 236.

7 De Graauw and Hogen 2021 (note 1), 21-22.

8 Berens 2001 (note 4), 228; De Graauw and Hogen 2021 (note 1), 34-35.

9 'Report of the activities of the seventh general meeting of the Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst, held in Amsterdam on 4 July 1862: What are the means of preventing an accumulation of hot air, arising from gas lighting in chambers or rooms of whatever kind, without adverse or disagreeable effects on individuals present, while retaining the integrity of the internal and external structure and on the assumption that the local circumstances do not permit air vents in the ceiling?', *Bouwkundige Bijdragen* 12 (1862), 128-132; A.N. Godefroy, 'Luchtverversching in gebouwen en woonhuizen', *Bouwkundige Bijdragen* 11 (1860), 222; 'Over verwarming en luchtverversching volgens het stelsel van Van Hecke', *Algemeen verslag der werkzaamheden van het Koninklijk Instituut van Ingenieurs over het instituutsjaar 1857-1858*, 's-Gravenhage 1858, 96-97.

10 Berens 2001 (note 4), 15-16; H.W. Lintsen, *Geschiedenis van de techniek in Nederland. De wording van een moderne samenleving 1800-1890 deel III*, Zutphen 1993, 202.

11 'Since very different methods of heating are currently used for various buildings, both private and public, such as with air heated by steam or hot water, the question is which of these systems can be considered the least dangerous, the least costly and the most efficient?', *Bouwkundige Bijdragen* 9 (1856), 42-43.

12 Berens 2001 (note 4), 181-183; Godefroy 1860 (note 9), 222; C. Krabbe, *Ambacht, kunst, wetenschap. Bevordering van de bouwkunst (1775-1880)*, Zwolle 1998, 146; M. van Lieburg, *Het Coolsingelziekenhuis te Rotterdam (1839-1900). De ontwikkeling van een stedelijk ziekenhuis in de 19e eeuw*, Amsterdam 1986, 134-135; A. Mekking and F. Sleeboom, *Het stadsziekenhuis aan de Coolsingel te Rotterdam van W.N. Rose*, s.l. 1972, 25, 27; Van der Peet and Steenmeijer 1995 (note 5), 131; Stadsarchief Rotterdam, dossier no. LSG1, *Afbeeldingen van het Nieuwe Ziekenhuis te Rotterdam*, 1840.

13 T. Hermans, J. Kamphuis and C. van der Peet, *Bouwhistorische documentatie en waardebepaling Koninklijk Tehuis voor Oud-Militairen 'Bronbeek' Velperweg 147 Arnhem*, Rijkvastgoedbedrijf/Atelier Rijksbouwmeester, The Hague 1991, 13. See also: L. de Clercq, 'De internationale context van de Belgische 19de-eeuwse verwarmingstechnologie in haar relatie met de architectuur', *Gentse bijdragen tot de interieurgeschiedenis* 32 (2003), 77-112. Although De Clercq provides a detailed overview of Belgian practice in this period, he does not mention the Van Hecke system.

14 M. Stokroos, *Verwarmen en verlichten in de negentiende eeuw*, Zutphen 2001, 43. In France the Van Hecke system was also often used in ships. See Godefroy 1860 (note 9), 221; 'Over verwarming en luchtverversching volgens het stelsel van Van Hecke' 1858 (note 9).

15 M. Daniel, *Haustechnik im 19. Jahrhundert. Das Beispiel der Heizungs- und Ventilationstechnik im Krankenhausbau*, ETH Zurich 2015 (thesis), 266.

16 Godefroy 1860 (note 9), 222; J.J.C. de Wijs, 'Beschrijving van den nieuwen toestel voor ventilatie en verwarming, geplaatst in het hospitaal "Necker" in Parijs, naar het systeem van dr. Van Hecke', *Bouwkundige Bijdragen* 13 (1863), 22.

17 Godefroy 1860 (note 9), 219-222; J.J.C. de Wijs, 'Levensschets van Willem Nicolaas Rose', *Bouwkundige Bijdragen* 24 (1878), 161-174, 13-22.

18Berens 2001 (note 4), 251.

19 National Archives, specifications 1859, 6; Central Government Real Estate Agency archives, contract drawings 1859.

20 Specifications 1859 (note 19), 39.

21 T. Tredgold, *Principles of warming and ventilating public buildings, dwelling-houses, manufactories, hospitals, hot-houses, conservatories etc.; and of constructing fire-places, boilers, steam apparatus, grates, and drying rooms*, London 1824, 14. No details are known regarding the design temperatures for the Colonial Office.

22 Specifications 1859 (note 19), 39.

23 Specifications 1859 (note 19), 4, 14-15, 26-28, 52, 54 and associated plans. Horizontal ducts in the floors were usually made of iron in a timber conduit. The horizontal ducts lay in the floor on two timber crossbeams, between the floor joists. Vertical ducts were made of iron, as were all the grilles and flaps.

24 W. de Waal, 'Over ventilatie of luchtverversching. Gevolgd naar het engelsch van Morill Wyman', *Bouwkundige Bijdragen* 7 (1852), 150, 362.

25 Specifications 1859 (note 19), 4, 52 and associated plans.

26 Specifications 1859 (note 19), 54-55 and associated plans.

27 Specifications 1859 (note 19), 4, 42-45, 54-55, and associated plans.

28 Although cooler air could be pushed through the building and this air could be humidified, the building itself could not, or only to a limited degree, be cooled in this way. The outdoor temperature always affected the temperature inside the building.

29 Specifications 1859 (note 19), 4, 52, 54-55 and associated plans.

30 Specifications 1859 (note 19), 54-56 and associated plans; A friend of truth, 'Letters to the editor', *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en 's-Gravenhage*, 13 November 1861. On page 32 of the 1859 specifications mention is made of '3 finely polished white or coloured marble panels with mouldings and fittings in accordance with specification for the chimney flues. It is not clear however whether and if so where these were installed; there are no other indications as to the presence of fireplaces and/or mantlepieces from the construction period.

31 Although the cast iron window frames had already been replaced by wooden frames in 1873, the principle of double windows continued to be employed; C.H. Peters, *De Landsgebouwen te 's-Gravenhage*, 's-Gravenhage 1891, 125.

32 Specifications 1859 (note 19), 16 and associated plan.

33 X., 'De jongste werken den Rijksbouwmeester', reprinted from *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1861), 10-12.

34 'Binnenlandsche berichten', *Dagblad voor Zuid-Holland en 's-Gravenhage*, 2 November 1861; A friend of truth 1861 (note 30); De Graauw and Hogen 2021 (note 1), 36-37.

35 Hermans, Kamphuis and Van der Peet 1991 (note 13), 13; De Wijs 1878 (note 17), 170. See also Berens 2001 (noot 4), 249.

36 A friend of the truth 1861 (note 30).

37 W. Logeman, 'Ventilatie van schoollokalen', *Schat der Gezondheid* 7 (1864), 212-213.

38 ARA Min BZ dept. Waterstaat inv. no. 2936, 2934 (letter from Rose to the Minister of the Interior, d.d. 23 November 1861), inv. no. 2935 (letter from min. for Col. to min. of BiZa, d.d. 17 March 1862). There are no construction drawings for these modifications in the archives.

39 Hermans, Kamphuis and Van der Peet 1991 (note 13), 13-14. According to Berens 2001 (note 4) the system was not relocated from the Colonial Office to Bronbeek until 1867, but this is at odds with the correspondence on this matter in 1861-1862 between the two ministries involved.

40 Berens 2001 (note 4), 251, 261. Rose also quite often used A. Longbottom's hot water-based system, which was in fact an improved version of the Perkins hot-water heating system. Trials with the Longbottom system were carried out in a few Landsgebouwen rooms. Rose experimented with the Perkins system in the State Archives building, which was not a success because the

system's water pipes burst. It also prompted a critical article in the *Nederlandsche Spectator*: 'Speaking of heating appliances pay a visit to the State Archives in winter and see whether you can stand it in some rooms between the alternative of heat and draught without ending up with either a headache or earache. That device was installed at great cost by Mr Rose. And there are now plans to install such a beauty in a very small space (the telegraph office)' (x 1861 [note 33], 12).

41 *Bureau Vlaardingerbroek, Het vm. Departement van Justitie te 's-Gravenhage. Bouwhistorische opname, waardenstelling en advisering*, Utrecht 2019, 15-16.

42 De Graauw and Hogen 2021 (note 1), 36-37.

43 These statements are based on research that Natasja Hogen carried out for her thesis on the heating and ventilation of buildings in the Netherlands in the period 1840-1920. She successfully defended her thesis on 18 May 2022 at the University of Amsterdam.

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'A MAGNIFICENT FIASCO'

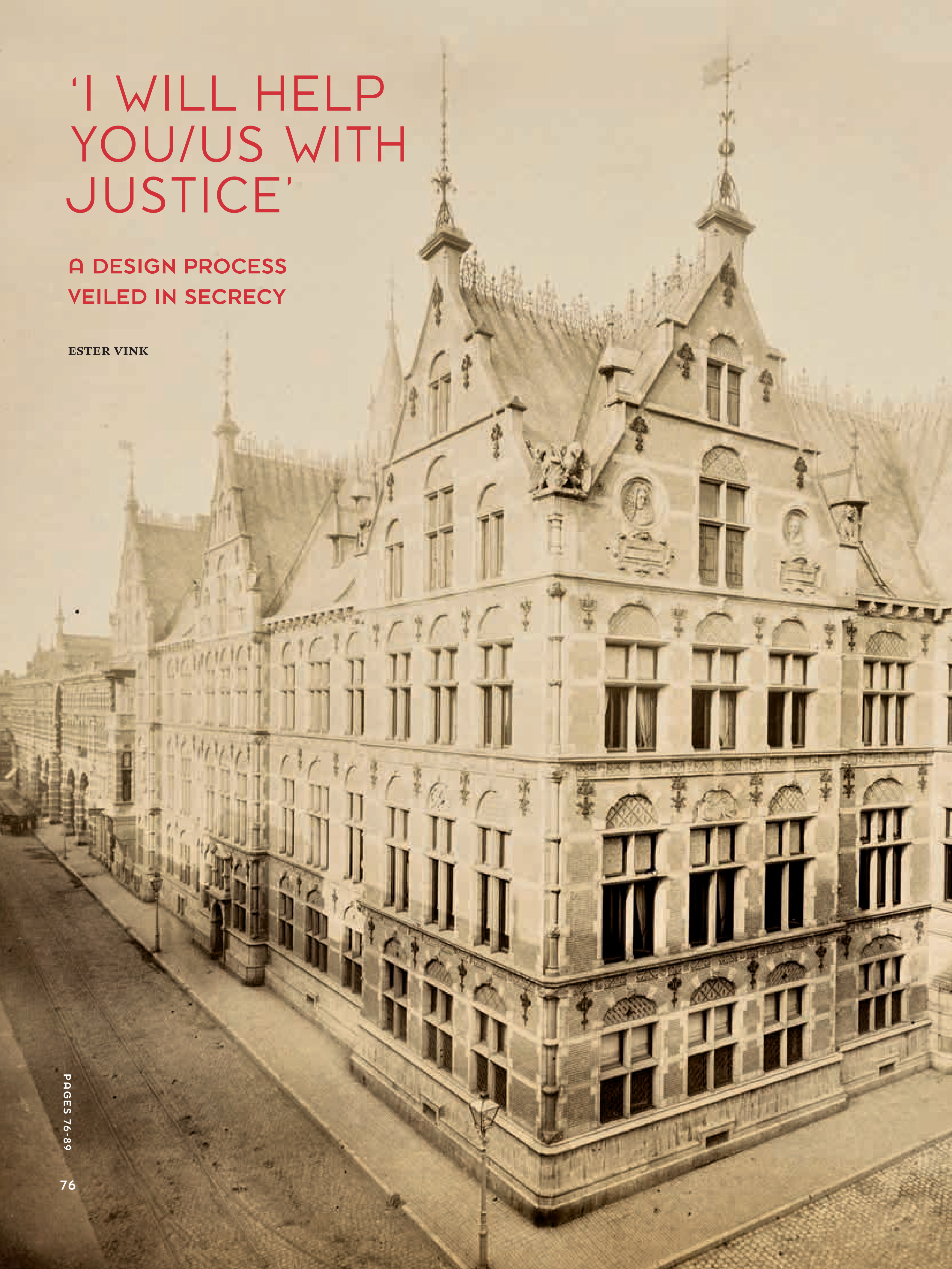
WILLEM NICOLAAS ROSE'S INNOVATIVE CLIMATE CONTROL DESIGN FOR THE DUTCH COLONIAL OFFICE

NATASJA HOGEN

The new premises of the Dutch Colonial Office (Departement van Koloniën) on the Plein in The Hague, built between 1859 and 1861 to a design by the Chief National Architect, Willem Nicolaas Rose (1801-1877), is an early and important attempt to deal with thermal comfort and indoor climate in buildings in the Netherlands. The heating and ventilation of buildings garnered a lot of attention in the nineteenth century, sparked by new ideas about health and thermal comfort and related technical advances. Many public buildings had high occupancy levels, often resulting in deplorable air quality. Controlling the indoor temperature was another complex issue. In 1858, Rose was appointed Chief National Architect with responsibility for all government buildings. In his design for the Colonial Office he experimented with modern materials and techniques including iron, cavity walls, large glazed surfaces and mechanical installations for heating and ventilation. He also exerted considerable influence on Dutch architecture through his flexible approach to the spatial layout of buildings, the use of classical visual language and the introduction of the Rundbogenstil (round-arch style). His Colonial Office building consequently differed markedly from the existing buildings in and around the Binnenhof. However, his unbridled belief in progress and highly individual evaluation of historical buildings also attracted fierce criticism.

To heat and ventilate the Colonial Office Rose made use of the Van Hecke system. This entailed an extensive network of ducts through which fresh, warm air was dispersed throughout the building from the ground floor heating chambers with the help of ventilators. But the mechanical services were just a small part of the overall climate system: various architectural and structural strategies were an integral part of the system.

During the very first winter it became clear that the climate system was not up to the job of heating and ventilating the various rooms adequately. Owing to the many problems that arose, the mechanical systems were transferred in 1862 to the Tehuis voor Oud-Militairen Bronbeek near Arnhem, also designed by Rose. But although the system in the Colonial Office building did not operate as required, the design itself was very important for the development of climatic systems in the nineteenth century. In the absence of scientific knowledge and calculation models, the development of knowhow depended very much on real-life experiments, and there were very few of these in the middle of the nineteenth century in the Netherlands. As such, the Colonial Office building can be seen an early and important example of a climate control design that genuinely attempted to integrate mechanical systems for heating and ventilation with the design of the building.



‘I WILL HELP YOU/US WITH JUSTICE’

A DESIGN PROCESS VEILED IN SECRECY

ESTER VINK

A stone's throw from the Binnenhof stands a building long known as the 'Palace of Justice' (fig. 1).[1] 'A medieval fairy-tale palace' was how one journalist described it in 1880, and he didn't intend it as a compliment.[2] The actual Hague Palace of Justice stood on Korte Voorhout, whereas this building had been constructed between 1876 and circa 1885 to house the Ministry of Justice. Its design has traditionally been attributed to Cornelis Hendrik Peters (1847-1932).[3] However, there are doubts about his authorship. Obvious is that apart from Peters, the architect Pierre Cuypers and the civil servant Victor de Stuers played a significant role in its creation.[4] Recent archival research has made it possible to shed light on their contribution, and to explain how this murky situation surrounding the authorship could have arisen.

DEBATE AND CONFLICT

During the second half of the nineteenth century high-profile Dutch architects became embroiled in a heated debate. Proponents of various revivalist styles or combinations of these styles were locked in battle. Also within the main schools of thought opinions were divided and often expressed in barbed language.[5]

The well-known architect Pierre Cuypers (1827-1921) and his younger ally and friend Victor de Stuers (1843-1916) were prominent participants in this debate.[6] While Cuypers was inclined to ignore thorny topics for the sake of his livelihood, De Stuers, who came from military stock, enjoyed a good contretemps.[7] One of the arenas where the debate led to heated clashes, was the Board of Government Advisers on Historical Monuments and Art (College van Rijksadviseurs voor Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst). Cuypers sat on this board as a member, De Stuers initially as secretary and from July 1875 as the representative of the Ministry of the Interior. Both were heavily involved in the many buildings the government commissioned in this period.[8] And they had very definite ideas on this subject: government buildings should be fit for purpose and be built in what was called an 'Oud-Hollands' or 'traditional Dutch' style.

In the strongly polarized society of the late nineteenth century Cuypers in particular was a ready target of accusations that as a Limburg papist his preoccupation with neo-Gothic architecture was a covert attempt to revive medieval Roman Catholicism. Writing in *De Gids* in 1877, De Stuers argued that the traditional Dutch style was emphatically not the same as the 'medieval' style or, as some critics had written, the 'antiquarian' style.[9] By insisting on an architectural

◄ 1. The Ministry of Justice building shortly after completion of the exterior in 1883 (photo H.W. Wollrabe, Cultural Heritage Agency) style acceptable to all denominations, Cuypers and De Stuers hoped to take the wind out of their opponents' sails. A shining example for both men was the Maarten van Rossum House in Zaltbommel, a basically late gothic building from 1535 with stepped gables, turrets and decorative sculpture work in an early Renaissance style.[10]

Whether it be neo-Gothic or neo-Renaissance, Cuypers and De Stuers' motives were conservative, in the sense that they sought to reinstate elements from the past, or rather, those aspects of the past that suited their purpose. According to De Stuers, when it came to ornamentation and national character, the seventeenth century was 'the best era'.[11] By which he did not mean the seventeenth-century Dutch Renaissance style of the Amsterdam architect Hendrick de Keyser. De Stuers and Cuypers regarded De Keyser as too representative of successful Protestantism during the young Republic. Their preference was consequently for the *pre*-Reformation Renaissance style.[12]

The appointment of De Stuers as head of the Department of Arts and Sciences within the Ministry of the Interior in 1875 was a boost for supporters of traditional building styles. The flip side was that De Stuers' input intensified the rift within the Board of Government Advisers. Ranged against one another were those who followed the utilitarian line oriented towards modern architecture, and the Cuypers and De Stuers camp with their more historicizing ideas. During an increasingly heated committee meeting on 12 April 1876, where the topics for discussion included the Binnenhof and the new Justice building, it emerged that the chairman, C. Fock, contrary to De Stuers' views on the matter, wanted to have some of the Binnenhof buildings demolished because they were allegedly not suitable for 'the [civil] service'. Nor could he agree with De Stuers' proposal to align the style of the new Justice building with the rest of the Binnenhof. Fock received support from De Stuers' fiercest opponent on the committee, C. Vosmaer. It was not just De Stuers and Cuypers' views on architecture that provoked irritation in this company, but also their overtly Catholic identity.[13] The course of events surrounding Cuypers' participation in the competition for the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam did not improve matters.[14]

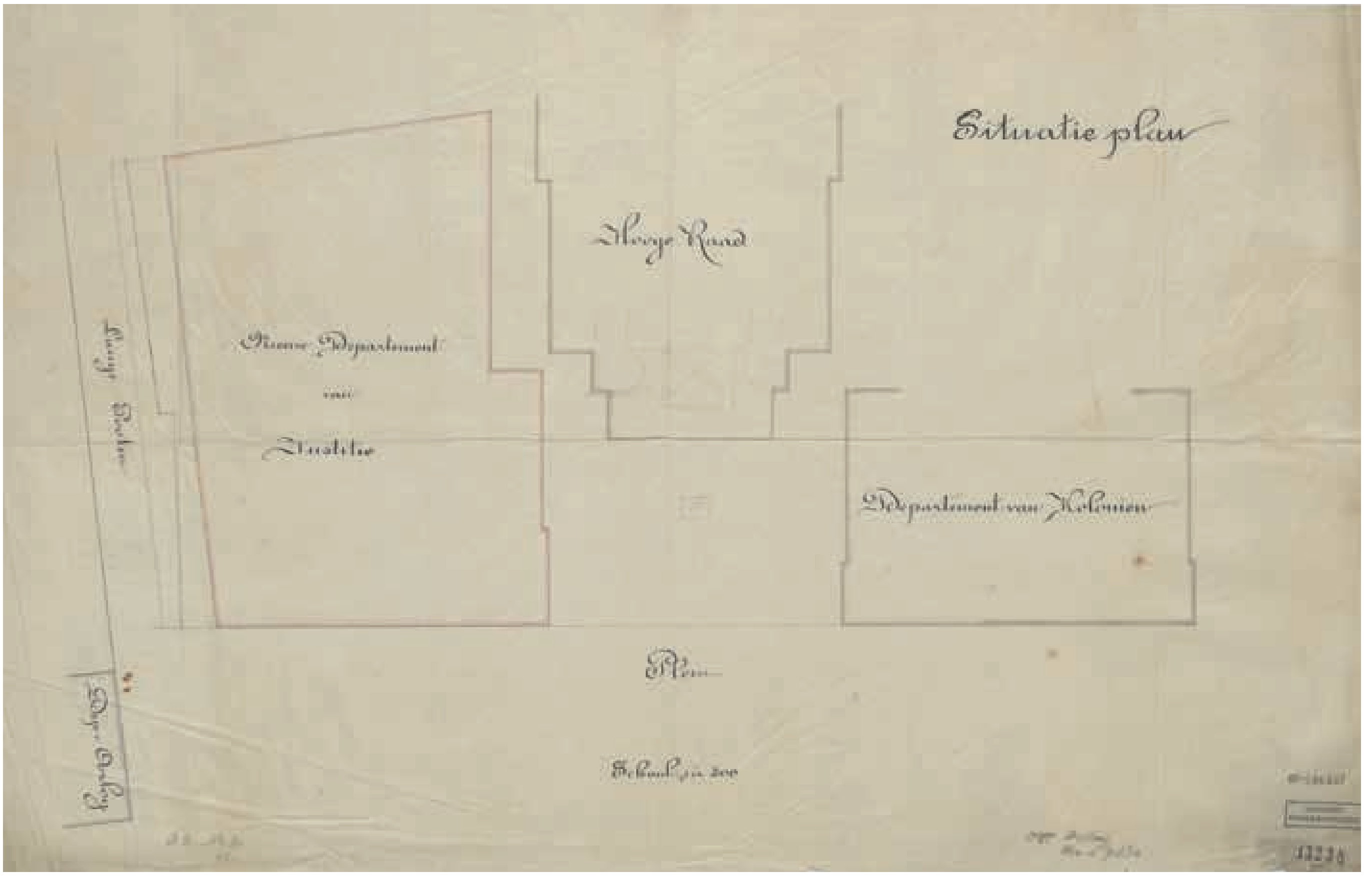
APPOINTMENT OF THE ARCHITECT C.H. PETERS

When the position of architect in the ministry of Finance fell vacant, Cuypers appealed to De Stuers to ensure that someone acceptable to them was appointed. One of his arguments was that it would relieve him (Cuypers). As a member of the Board of Government Advisers Cuypers was tasked with assessing and adjusting numerous plans, which he sometimes found burdensome. Accordingly he wrote to De Stuers: 'It would be a good thing if we could get one of my tractable underlings appointed, then I would be able to exert my influence without repeatedly having to set to work making an entirely new plan as a replacement for all the nonsense.'[15] He recommended C.H. Peters, one of his former students and ex-director of his studios in Roermond. Peters was, in Cuypers' words, 'my creature, a diligent worker, energetic, very subservient and attached to me, and last but not least Reformed!!! (which in the appraisal is certainly not his least quality)'.[16] In other words, Cuypers regarded Peters' Calvinist identity as an advantage. The political situation was such that the Protestant section of the population was feeling increasingly under pressure from their Catholic fellow citizens. After centuries of being second-class citizens, Catholics were now laying claim to power and influence, including in government. With a show of self-knowledge, Cuypers added that it might be better for him politically (i.e. tactically) if he were not the one to nominate a candidate.[17] He was referring to the situation in which his controversial design for the Rijksmuseum had landed him.[18]

A NEW BUILDING FOR JUSTICE

Cuypers and De Stuers' scheme succeeded: Peters was appointed architect in the Finance ministry. But after a good six months he was seconded to the Ministry of the Interior, a development his mentors may have already foreseen in early 1876.[19] Within that ministry, the Waterstaat department was in the process of developing plans for numerous government buildings, including a new building for the ministry of Justice on Het Plein in The Hague. De Stuers and Cuypers, as top bureaucrat and government adviser at Interior respectively, were closely involved. Part of the new building would be built on the site of the Huygens House, the fine seventeenth-century mansion of a famous statesman, known at the time as 'Oud-Koloniën' (former colonies). The other part of the building was intended to occupy the site of the 'Hotel van Brunswijk', the then premises of the Justice ministry. In other words, two visually defining buildings in the vicinity of the Binnenhof were destined to disappear. The new Justice building would stand next to the Supreme Court, on the other side of which stood the Colonial Office building, both designed by the former government architect W.N. Rose and both detested by Cuypers and De Stuers (fig. 2).

Cuypers and De Stuers offered little resistance to the demolition of the Huygens House, arguing that the building would have had to be partially demolished anyway for the laying of a tram track along Lange Poten. Sections of the ceilings from the Huygens House and the Hotel van Brunswijk were to be relocated to the new Justice building.[20]



2. Site plan drawing of the buildings on Het Plein and Lange Poten (Cultural Heritage Agency)

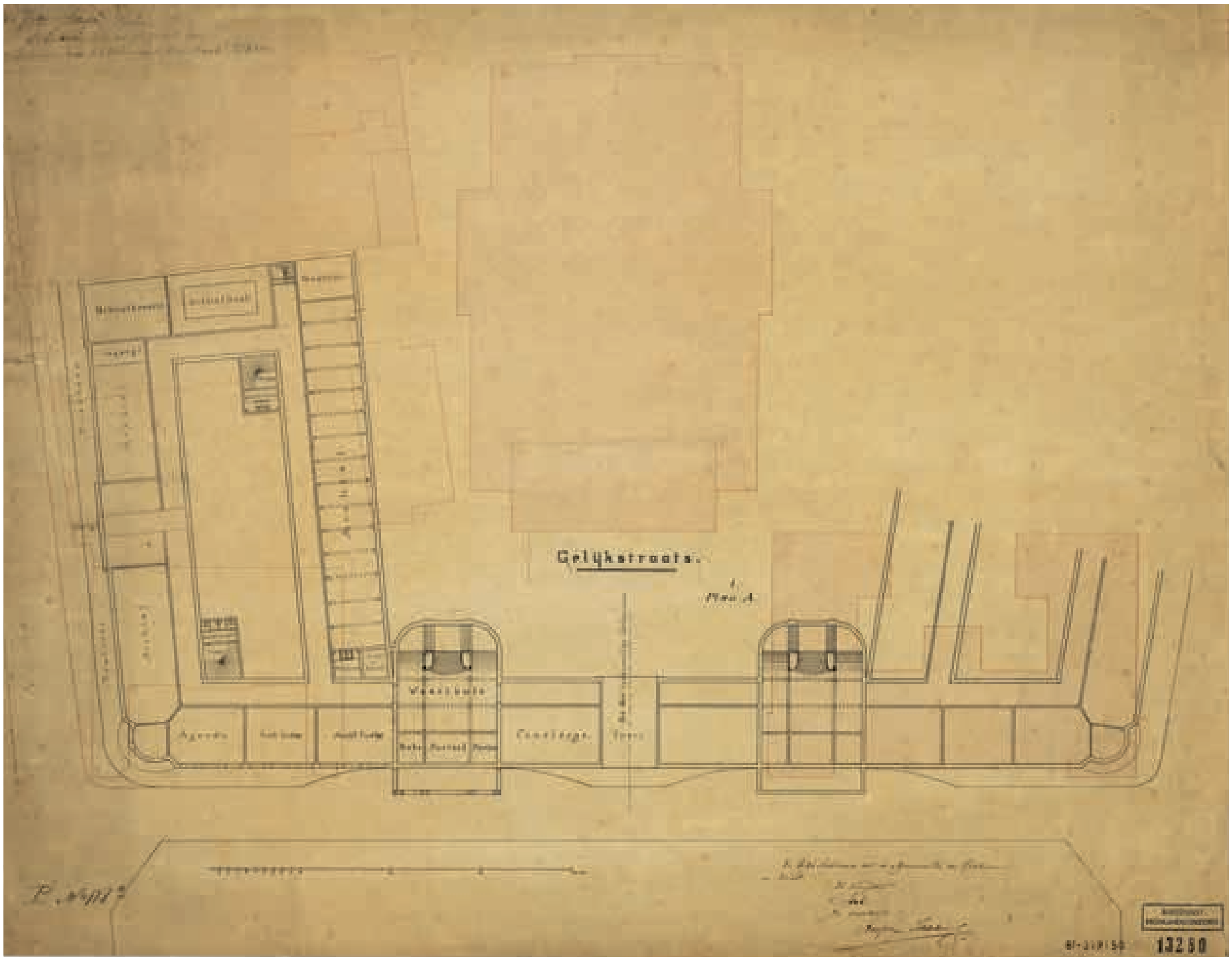
DESIGNERS

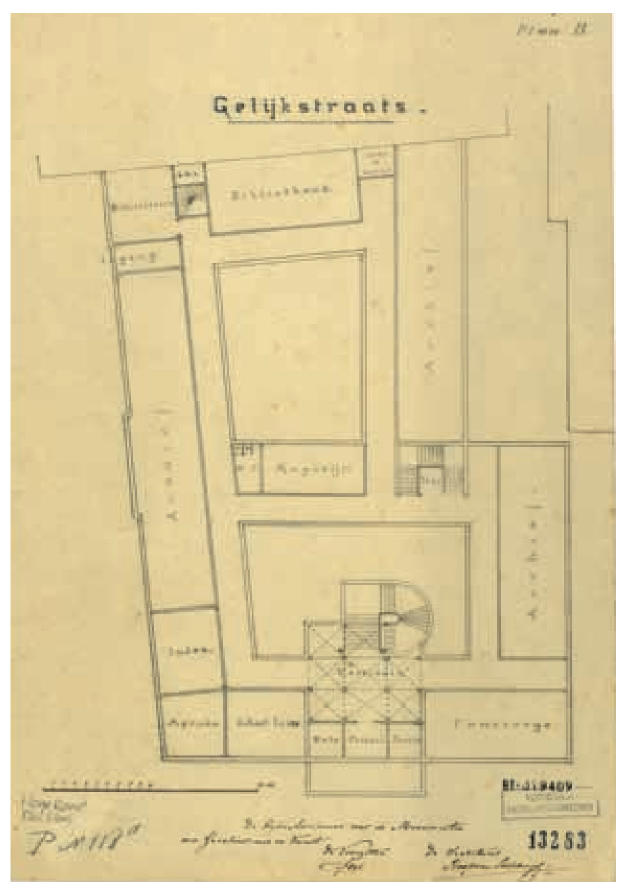
The earliest design for the new Justice building was by J.F. Metzelaar (1818-1897), engineer-architect for prisons and court buildings in the Justice ministry. In 1875 his design was rejected by L.H.J.J. Mazel, chief engineer in charge of the Government Buildings department at Waterstaat. Mazel took over the project, leaving the practical design to his right-hand man J. Singels, another Government Buildings engineer-architect.[21]

Mazel and Singels worked on the building behind the elevations, which according to the initial plans was to include a magistrates' court. The Minister of the Interior had delegated the design of the elevations to an independent architect of note, Hugo Pieter Vogel, who worked in the classicist tradition.[22] Vogel's task was to raise the architectural profile of the ministerial building. Singels described Vogel's design as a 'French building', but not in the style of the 'regal structures of the French monarchs' (fig. 3).[23]

De Stuers later revealed what he thought of the two Government Buildings engineers, claiming that they themselves had admitted to being insufficiently proficient in architecture. According to De Stuers, Mazel's expertise lay in water management structures, Singels was simply incompetent, a nonentity, and on top of


3. H.P. Vogel, design for the front on Het Plein, November 1875 (Cultural Heritage Agency)





4. Design drawings of the ground floor of the Justice building according to plan A and plan B, signed by the chairman and secretary of the Board of Government Advisers, 1876 (Cultural Heritage Agency)

that lazy as well.[24] A harsh judgement that resonated with his dislike of civil engineers and of Mazel in particular.[25] Unsurprisingly, the plans produced by Mazel and Singels found no favour with Cuypers and De Stuers, or later on with the officials in the Ministry of Justice. Whether that was justified or not is destined to remain a mystery: the drawings have unfortunately not been preserved.

Within the Board of Government Advisers the project generated a lot of bickering that would eventually – as of 1 January 1879 – contribute to the dissolution of that committee. But it had not yet come to that when Cuypers and De Stuers apparently decided to design the floor plans themselves. They would, De Stuers initially insisted, be realized behind Vogel's elevations.[26]

BEHIND THE SCENES

There followed a secretive phase during which, as far as the outside world was concerned, the two gentlemen kept their own counsel. Cuypers probably because he was in the final stage of his appointment as architect of the Rijksmuseum and did not want to step on any toes. He had won the design competition, at the expense of Vogel among others, but there were suspicions that he had managed to manipulate the procedure in his favour with the help of De Stuers and his brother-in-law, the influential Catholic thinker J. Alberdingk Thijm. Unjustified, as turned out later.[27] In any case, relations were so poisoned that De Stuers and Cuypers could ill afford any problems with the new Justice building. They acted cautiously, even after Cuypers had been officially appointed architect 'of the Rijksmuseum buildings' in July 1876.[28]

From a number of letters by De Stuers and (sketch) plans it is possible to deduce that Cuypers sent De Stuers his designs for the floor plans of the Justice building on 25 April 1876. He had sketched an A and a B version. Design A provided in passing for the possibility of hiding what he regarded as the outrageously ugly Supreme Court building and of 'making a tolerable whole' of the neighbouring Colonial Office.[29] The latter was earnestly desired by both De Stuers and Cuypers, who were keen to harmonize the street frontage on this side of Het Plein with the Binnenhof complex. The Ministry of Justice was to be built in the traditional Dutch, or 'national', style inspired by the complex.[30]

Displaying a keen instinct for civil service–political relations, Cuypers suggested the following strategy to De Stuers: 'Try to steer the matter in such a way that we supply the drawings and that Singels, i.e. Landsgebouwen, "takes care" of the execution. Could you perhaps have me officially appointed Senior Adviser, like de Klerck was for Railways, that would be a less conspicuous title and it would allow me to discuss officially the sketches I'm now providing anyway with those people and get them accepted more easily, in so doing the task of the Advisers would be lightened and conflict avoided. It goes without saying that I should continue to sit on the Board of Advisers. Give it some thought.'[31]

The course that Cuypers sets out here was largely followed. In 1876, Singels and Mazel elaborated versions based on Cuypers' sketches. The draughting could just about be left to Singels as long as he was supervised. A fair copy of the sketches was made for the benefit of the Board of Government Advisers. Beneath the presentation drawings are the signatures of the chairman and secretary of the Board (fig. 4).[32] The latter, J.E.H. Hooft van Iddekinge, would turn out to be a dogged adversary of Cuypers and De Stuers and was the author of vitriolic newspaper articles about the Justice building and the Rijksmuseum.[33]

Vogel, the architect of classical symmetry, was tasked with adapting his facade designs to the revised floor plans. He found himself confronted with a facade that, horror of horrors, was supposed to have a rounded corner on the Plein and Lange Poten side. It was designed to conceal the irregular shape of the plot on that side. De Stuers and Cuypers had also toyed with the idea of erecting a counterpart to the Justice building on the other side of Het Plein, on the site of the "frightful" Colonial Office, also with a rounded corner.[34] Later on the rounded corner requirement lapsed, but the fact remained that Vogel had to adjust the arrangement of this Justice building facade to match the revised spatial layout the ministry came up with.[35]

Against his better judgement, Vogel started on a new version of his plans, only to promptly throw in the towel. He got his own back in a blistering letter to the House of Representatives. Vogel was particularly exercised about an 'delusional print' sent to him by De Stuers. He was under the impression that De Stuers wanted him to produce a design that matched the buildings as shown in the print and was naturally dead set against complying.[36] Writing after the event, De Stuers said that the bone of contention was a bird's-eye view of the Binnenhof that he had sketched as a 'kindness' and sent to Vogel to give him an impression of the style desired for the facades (fig. 5).[37]

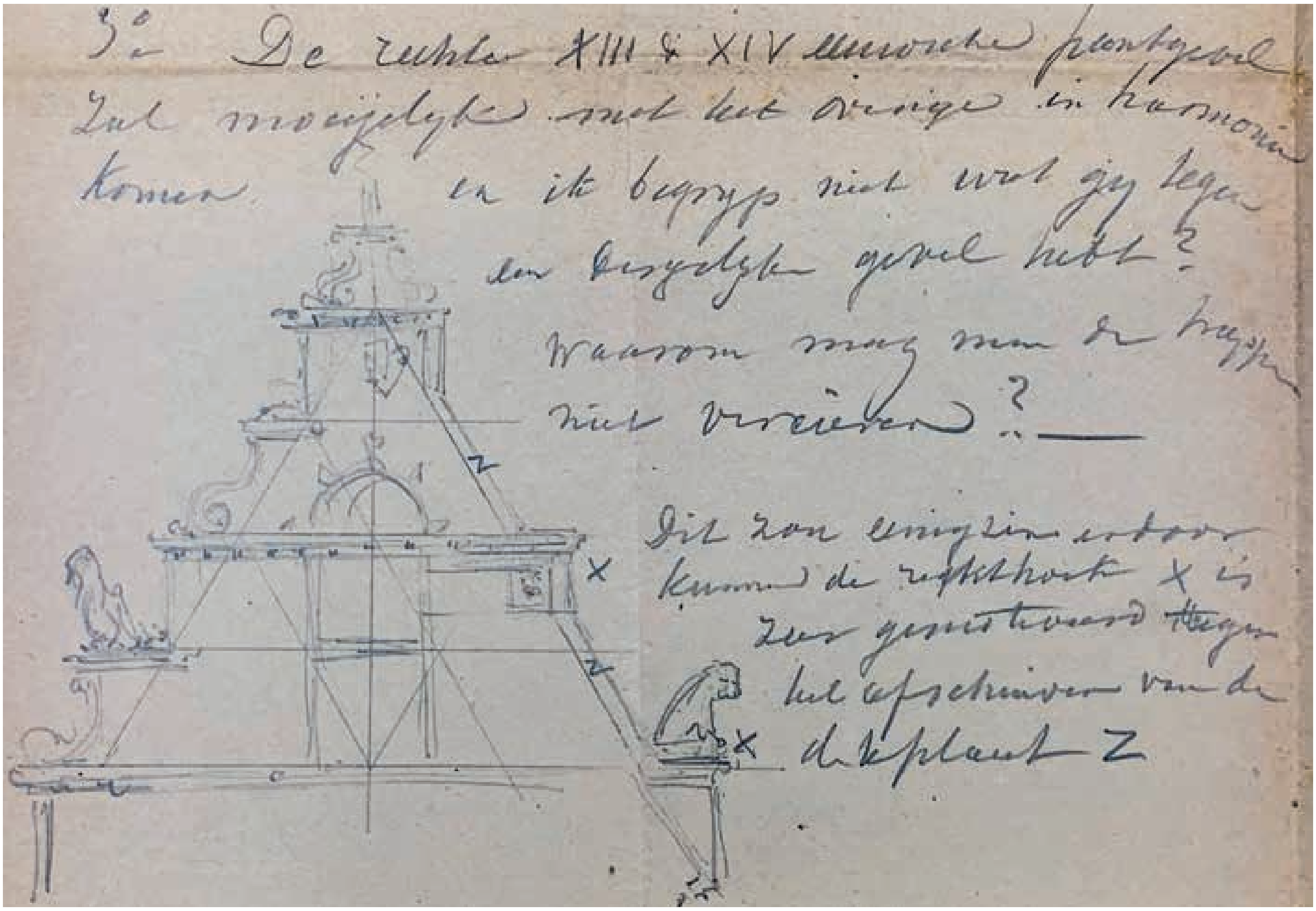
WORKING IN SECRECY

Meanwhile, the Minister of the Interior, Jan Heemskerk Azn., had written to De Stuers on 17 October 1876, expressing his concerns about the unprecedented 'civil war' within his ministry.[38] The battle between two camps, that of Waterstaat and that of Arts and Sciences, threatened to paralyse the tender process for the substructure of the Justice building, which was supposed to be finalized by the end of that year. Both departments were incidentally led by De Stuers between June 1876 and January 1878.[39] Unlike Heemskerk, who wanted to make one last attempt at reconciliation with Vogel, De Stuers saw no point in further collaboration. It would fall to him to deliver the facade drawings, together with the sections and details of the substructure.[40]

De Stuers and Cuypers were already frenetically busy with them. On that same seventeenth of October 1876, Cuypers had written to De Stuers: 'I will help you/us with Justice'.[41] He kept his word, despite his own heavy workload, which included the Rijksmuseum. But he did have help. Under acute pressure of time he enlisted the aid of Peters, the promising architect who had already designed quite a few buildings for the Ministry of Finance. At least, that was what Cuypers afterwards wrote to De Stuers about this period. De Stuers acted more or less as if the facade drawings for Justice had simply arrived in an instant from Peters' drawing board. [42]

At the same time, the specifications for the ground works and foundations needed to be drawn up. Mazel

5. V. de Stuers, bird's-eye view drawing of the Binnenhof as he would have liked it to be, with the future Justice building indicated by the number 6, around 1876 (The Hague City Archives)


3° De rechter XIII & XIV eeuwsche puntgevel
Zal moeijelyk met het overige in harmonie
komen en ik begryp niet wat gy tegen
een dusgelyke gevel hebt?
Waarom mag men de trappen
niet versieren? —
Dit zou eenigzins ertoe
kunnen de rechthoek X is
zeer gemotiveerd tegen
het afschuiven van de
dekplaat Z

6. Page from a letter from Cuypers to De Stuers, early January 1877 (National Archives)

and Singels were not capable of tackling that on their own, according to De Stuers and Cuypers; others would have to take the lead. A valuable contribution was made to these specifications by a certain 'Nemo', who penned memoranda about various components, accompanied by handy sketches.[43] Nemo wrote in the distinctive handwriting of Peters and drew in his style. De Stuers incorporated these memos, sometimes word for word, in the notes on the substructure he sent to Mazel and Singels. It appears that the facade drawings of the Justice building presented to the Board of Government Advisers were also signed by Nemo. In 1881 the former secretary of the Board, Hooft van Iddekinge claimed to have seen the words 'nemo fecit' or 'no one made this' below those drawings. According to him, the tender for the Justice building substructure had already been issued at this point.[44] Notwithstanding the fact that Hooft van Iddekinge was one of Cuypers and De Stuers' most fanatical opponents, he was probably right, given the existence of the aforementioned memoranda with the specifications.[45]

In the correspondence with De Stuers and Cuypers, Peters did not need to disguise his identity. Looking at all the letters, sketches and scribbled notes from late 1876, it is clear that the trio worked together diligently and in close consultation on the facade drawings. Peters provided rough sketches and drawings that Cuypers radically reworked while also taking De Stuers' ideas into account. Cuypers placed himself at De Stuers' service and was mindful when designing of Peters' level of technical skill, aware that the young architect had yet to master certain aspects. De Stuers sent detailed instructions, sometimes accompanied by sketches, to clarify his ideas. The gentlemen did not shy away from discussing the desired style. When De Stuers proposed an alternative to Cuypers' stepped gable with 'curlicues', Cuypers wrote back: 'The right-hand XIII & XIV century pointed gable will be difficult to harmonize with the rest and I don't understand what you have against such a gable? Why shouldn't one be able to decorate the steps?' (Fig. 6).[46]

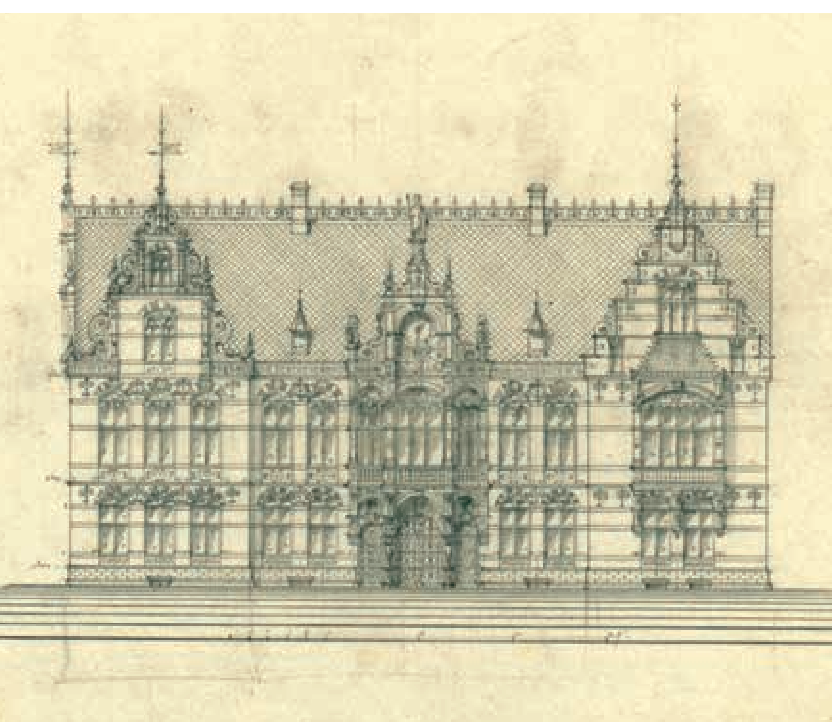
After working more or less non-stop for two-and-a-half days on Peters' facade design, Cuypers wrote of the result: 'It doesn't express any particular historical style, but these are structural principles that satisfy current needs.'[47] The final fair copy of the facade drawings was completed on 31 January 1877.[48]

NEMO

Looking back on the course of events, De Stuers stated that when Vogel proved unable to design a facade that met the requirements, the minister – meaning, as so often, himself – saw an opportunity 'to resolve the artistic issue satisfactorily with a much finer and more national facade than the previous one by Vogel. (I consider it undesirable to name the designer, especially given that m. vd Heim [H.J. van der Heim, Minister for Finance, EV] does not know about it. It is Mr Peters, the new architect at Finance, who made the drawings in consultation with me.)'[49] This was the origin of a plan with 'a truly fine facade' (fig. 7). De Stuers understood that Vogel was angry about this, 'but is that any reason to keep brooding and, as he wanted, to sacrifice the layout, the efficiency to a preconceived facade?'[50] Peters later wrote that Vogel's facade reminded him of a large residential building. It did not convey the fact that there was a ministry behind it, which in his view was a serious flaw.[51]

De Stuers did not mention that when Peters was already hard at work in October and November 1876 he was also in close contact with Cuypers. He allowed Peters' activities to disappear discreetly behind a smokescreen. Along with the rather childish mystification of Peters as Nemo, these were all attempts to avoid problems with the ministries, the Board of Government Advisers and numerous opponents in the architectural world. That caution was justified, as it would turn out years later, when Nemo cropped up in a letter to the editor of *Het Vaderland* of 6 January 1881, written by Hooft van Iddekinge.[52] He wondered why Peters, in a recent article about the Justice building in the *Nederlandse Kunstbode*, had failed to mention who had designed this 'dazzling product of the so extremely precious so-called traditional Dutch architectural style' (the sarcasm is far from subtle).[53] He claimed that this was all aimed at disguising the fact that Cuypers was the designer of the building. Hooft quoted from a letter dated 20 April 1876, in which Cuypers had explained to him that he had not had time for his committee obligations because 'in the midst of all his regular work he also had to deliver a Min. of Justice concept project'. Given the content of the correspondence in 1876 it is not at all unlikely that such a letter did indeed exist.

7. The facade on Het Plein, pencil drawing, probably by Peters (Cultural Heritage Agency)



A PROTRACTED PROJECT

The collaboration among the three gentlemen continued during the construction of the substructure of the Justice building, in which Cuypers had a decisive say from the outset. In November 1876, Singels, who was the project manager for this phase of the construction, had collected samples of bricks for consideration from the Rijksmuseum building site. In the end it was Cuypers who decided which bricks would be used for the foundations.[54]

Peters was appointed architect in charge of part of the works on the Justice building, as from 1 February 1877. He was the arm's length expert who was supposed to supervise Singels, an arrangement that was wholly unsatisfactory. It was mainly Peters who, following the substructure, elaborated the plans for the superstructure. This was to be carried out in two phases, beginning with the section on the Plein side. Peters made a number of miscalculations. For example, against the urgent advice of Mazel, he allowed the specifications of April 1877 to include the commitment that the building would be roofed before 1 December of that year. A difficult feat considering that the substructure would not be completed until 1 June 1877. By the beginning of the winter of 1877-1878 the top of the breastwork had with great difficulty been finished. The building's extremely complicated stonework was a major impediment to progress.[55]

Commencing January 1878, Peters was appointed 'architect for National buildings' and he came under the newly established Ministry of Water, Trade and Industry – in other words, no longer under De Stuers. However, he was able to put his work on post and telegraph offices on hold for most of 1878, in order to keep working on the Justice building. He no longer had to put up with the reluctant Singels and Mazel; Singels had been put in charge of the maintenance of Binnenhof buildings while Mazel had been dismissed in

8A. V. de Stuers, sketch of frieze above the oriel overlooking Het Plein (National Archives)

8B. The facade section in question shortly after completion in 1883 (photo H.W. Wollrabe, Cultural Heritage Agency)

November 1877. He had requested this a year earlier, disgruntled with De Stuers' interference.[56]

The superstructure was completed in June 1879, after which work commenced on the interior. In August 1880, construction of the rear section on Lange Poten commenced. Reports state that it was completed in 1883 but that is not strictly true.[57] The finishing at any rate continued into the second half of 1885. In 1883 the building costs were estimated at 900,000 guilders, over three times as much as the 1876 costing. And at that point the work was not even finished.[58]

The construction operation was actively supervised by De Stuers and Cuypers. The former was chiefly involved in the decorative programme for which he also produced design sketches (figs. 8 and 9). Peters sent De Stuers regular progress reports. On 14 August 1878, for example, he wrote that contrary to the contract drawing, there would be no clock face housing in the front facade on Het Plein, but a niche with a sculpture of Justitia. The Plein elevation would be rather full, 'but always better than with the clock face housing that didn't belong there, was too much like a piece of furniture'.[59] In the event, there *was* a clock face in a 'housing'. The result is a good deal more elegant than in the contract drawing and less full than Peters had suggested.

In December 1879 Cuypers wrote to De Stuers, whom he steadfastly addressed as 'Dear Sir', that at Cuypers' atelier in Roermond, Peters had submitted exceptionally tasteless designs of mantelpieces for Justice. He urged De Stuers to 'Make sure those things are not carried out, especially the quasi-monumental one, which is beneath all criticism!'[60] In his government adviser role Cuypers regularly dropped by the Justice building site, often in combination with visits to the Binnenhof.[61] In September 1881 he noticed errors in the circular stair of the library tower. He passed this, too, on to De Stuers along with sketches for solving the problem with the stipulation that De Stuers should not reveal to Peters the source of all these sketches.[62]

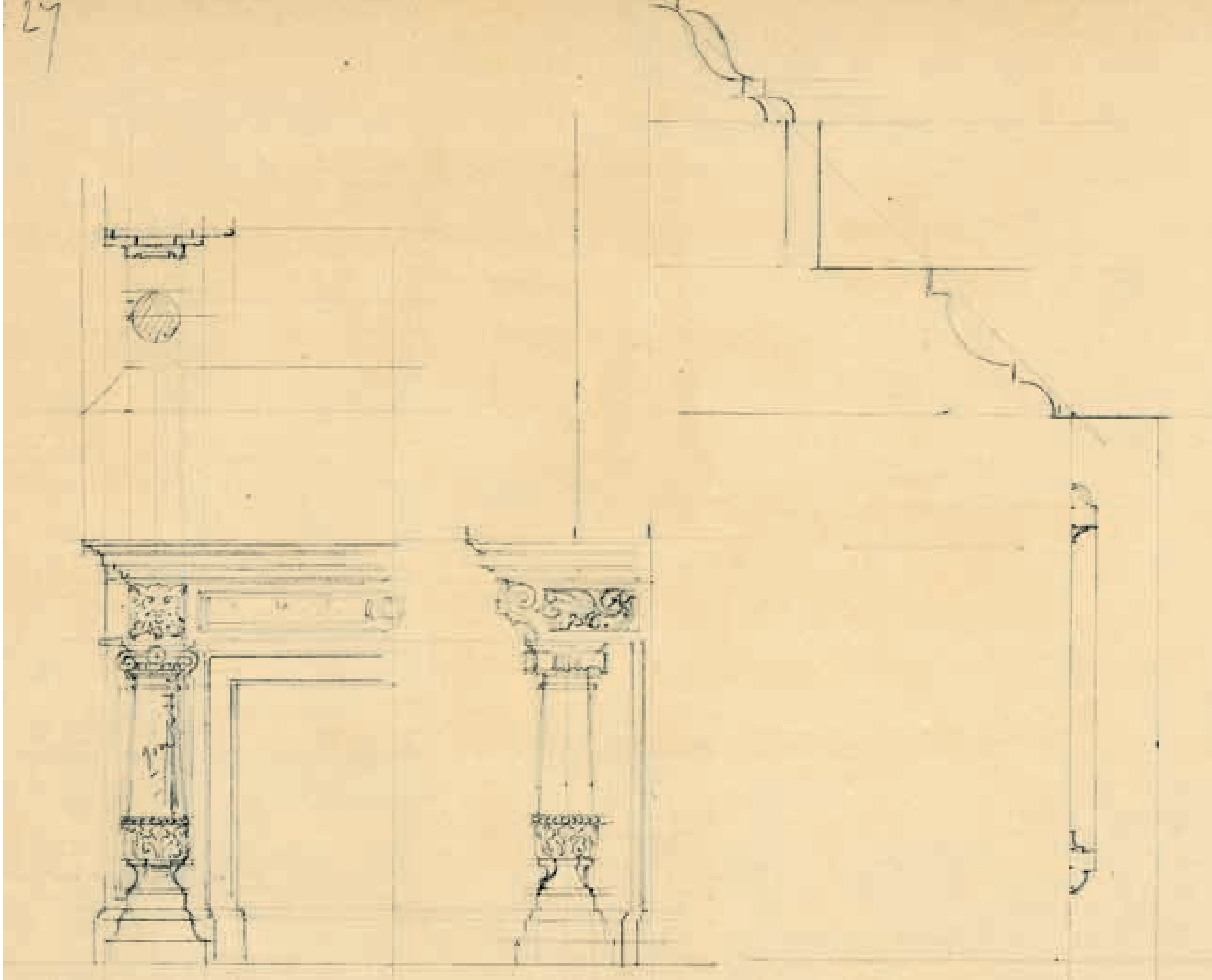
MAN OR MEN BEHIND THE JUSTICE BUILDING

De Stuers' archive includes a list of twenty 'Semi-official and unpaid official commissions to Mr Cuypers' in De Stuers' handwriting.[63] Number fourteen is the Justice building. So according De Stuers it was Cuypers who at the very least made a substantial contribution to the realization of the building. That is corroborated by the contemporary archival material and articles cited here.

The mere fact that Peters, as Hooft van Iddekinge

9A. V. de Stuers, sketch of female figure in niche, representing Faith (National Archives)

9B. A similar figure in the tympanum in the facade on Lange Poten (photo author)



10A. P.J.H. Cuypers, sketch of mantelpiece with bottom right 'Pal v. Justitie' (Nieuwe Instituut)

10B. A very similar mantelpiece in the former Ministry of Justice (photo Bureau Vlaardingerbroek)

had rightly remarked, was vague about his role as designer of the Ministry of Justice in his published articles about the Justice building, is highly significant. In addition, the formal language of the building differs markedly from that of the buildings that can indisputably be attributed to Peters. Conversely, the Justice building exhibits striking similarities with the Cuypers-designed Rijksmuseum and Central Station in Amsterdam.[64]

From the many letters, sketches and scribbled notes written by De Stuers, Cuypers and Peters it is clear that the costly and prestigious 1876 Justice building project was not entrusted to the inexperienced Peters, who was still regarded as one of Cuypers' 'tractable underlings' at that stage, someone who moreover had only a couple of government buildings to his name. The Justice building was the product of close collaboration. Cuypers sketched the plans with input from De Stuers and those plans were elaborated under their dual supervision by others. Initially that was Singels, later Peters. Cuypers then concentrated on the design of the facades, inspired in this by De Stuers. The latter made his mark with the decorative programme, as he had also done with the Rijksmuseum and Central Station.[65] But he couldn't resist expounding on other aspects, as can be seen in his sketches and comments

during the Justice building design phase. Cuypers, too, fleshed out a number of interior decorations (fig. 10). Peters was primarily the project architect tasked with realizing this duo's ambitions.

Cuypers and De Stuers saw the project as a perfect opportunity to erect a specimen of what they regarded as an aesthetic and historically justified national architectural style that, with its neo-Renaissance elements, blended in with the other buildings in the vicinity. A building, moreover, that would occupy a prominent location close to the Binnenhof where it would overshadow the reviled creations of W.N. Rose. Cuypers enlisted De Stuers' aid with the logistical side of the work while he himself stayed under the radar.

Let sleeping dogs lie must have been the motto of Cuypers, De Stuers and Peters. If it had become generally known that the controversial figure who had built the costly Rijksmuseum had also played a major role in determining the appearance of the eye-wateringly expensive 'Palace of Justice', it could have had negative repercussions for them and for everything they stood for. The trio's shrewd conduct prevented that from happening. Afterwards they were able to look back on a brilliantly successful mission.

NOTES VINK

1 For example, an 1877 's-Gravenhage city council drawing relating to the widening of Lange Poten refers to 'the projected Palace of Justice', Cultural Heritage Agency (RCE), Image Library, BT 024980.
2 *Arnhemsche Courant*, 15 November 1880.
3 R. Stenvert et al., *Monumenten in Nederland. Zuid-Holland*, Zeist/Zwolle 2004, 213.
4 P.T.E.E. Rosenberg, 'Peters, een gewetensvol historist', in: C.J. van der Peet and G. Steenmeijer (eds.), *De Rijksbouwmeesters. Twee eeuwen architectuur van de Rijksgebouwendienst en zijn voorlopers*, Rotterdam 1995, 267-299, q.v. 276-277.
5 A. van der Woud, *Waarheid en karakter. Het debat over de bouwkunst*, 1840-1900, Rotterdam 1997.
6 For one episode from that debate, see the article by Mark van Gend in this thematic issue.
7 P.T.E.E. Rosenberg, 'De Stuers, spin in het web', in: Van der Peet and Steenmeijer 1995 (note 4), 197-213, q.v. 197.
8 P.T.E.E. Rosenberg and C.J. van der Peet, 'Overzicht', in: Van der Peet and Steenmeijer 1995 (note 4), 107-127, q.v. 119.
9 V. de Stuers, 'Een bouwkunstig spook', *De Gids* 41 (1877), 521-549, q.v. 522-523; J.A.C. Tillema, *Schetsen uit de geschiedenis van de monumentenzorg in Nederland*, The Hague 1975, 283-284; Van der Woud 1997 (note 5), 220-221.
10 P. Alberts S.J., 'Cuypers en De Stuers', *Gildeboek* 9 (1921), 102-112, q.v. 109, with reference to V. de Stuers, 'Hoe een monument gered wordt', *Eigen Haard* 1903, 524-527.
11 National Archives (NA), 2.21.355, Work archive of V.E.L. de Stuers (De Stuers), inv. no. 1252.
12 A. Oxenaar, P.J.H. *Cuypers en het gotisch rationalisme. Architectonisch denken, ontwerpen en uitgevoerde gebouwen 1845-1878*, Rotterdam 2009, 297-299, 316, 417; P.T.E.E. Rosenberg and C.J. van der Peet, 'Overzicht', in: Van der Peet and Steenmeijer 1995 (note 4), 165-195, there 173.
13 NA, 2.04.40.06, Archive of the Committee for Historical Monuments and Art (Government Advisers), inv. no. 2: minutes of meetings of the Government Advisers, 158: 24th meeting on 12 April 1876; Tillema 1975 (note 9), 280-292.
14 Tillema 1975 (note 9), 283-284.
15 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 62.
16 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 62.
17 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 62.
18 Correspondence on this in: NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 62.
19 Rosenberg 1995 (note 4), 272-273.
20 C.H. Peters, 'Het nieuwe departement van Justitie te 's-Gravenhage', *Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 3 (1883), 38-46 and plate XXII.
21 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1251.
22 For Hugo Pieter Vogel's body of work, visit the Nieuwe Instituut website: zoeken.hetnieuweinstituut.nl/nl/personen/detail?q=Hugo+pieter+Vogel&page=1(accessed 2 September 2022).
23 NA, 2.04.13, Archives of the Ministry of the Interior, Department of Arts and Sciences (BiZa, K&W), inv. no. 688; NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1251.
24 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. nos. 1216 and 1251; Rosenberg and Van der Peet 1995 (note 8), 115-116.
25 V. de Stuers, 'Holland op zijn smalst', *De Gids* 37 (1873), 320-403; Rosenberg 1995 (note 7), 203.
26 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1251.
27 P.T.E.E. Rosenberg, 'Cuypers, een gedienstig man', in: Van der Peet and Steenmeijer 1995 (note 4), 215-233, q.v. 223, esp. note 16; Tillema 1975 (note 9), 283-284.
28 Rosenberg 1995 (note 7), 217. This competition was held in 1875 after an earlier competition had failed.
29 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1251; the Archives of Bureau Cuypers contain sketches of the ground floor of the Justice building with comparable design versions: Nieuwe Instituut (HNI), CUBA t84.
30 Rosenberg 1995 (note 7), 202-204.
31 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1251.
32 RCE, Image Library, BT-019405-019409 and 019150.
33 *Het Vaderland*, 11 December 1878; the letter to the editor dates from 9 December 1878; *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 12 and 14 December 1878.
34 Terms of reference for the Justice building in a letter from Mazel to Vogel d.d. 21 June1876; enclosure 1 in: H.P. Vogel, 'Ontwerp voor het nieuw te bouwen Ministerie van Justitie te 's-Gravenhage', *De Opmerker* 11 (1876) 49, 3 December 1876.
35 NA, 2.04.13, BiZa, K&W, inv. no. 688; NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1252.
36 NA, 2.04.13, BiZa, K&W, inv. no. 688.
37 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1251; Van der Woud 1997 (note 5), 162.
38 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1251.
39 Rosenberg 1995 (note 7), 203.
40 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1251.
41 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 62.
42 NA, 2.04.13, BiZa, K&W, inv. no. 689; Peters 1883 (note 20), 40.
43 NA, 2.04.13, BiZa, K&W, inv. no. 688.
44 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1251; *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en 's-Gravenhage*, 15 December 1880 and *Het Vaderland*, 15 December 1880 and 6 January 1881. There is a cutting of the last article in: NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1251.
45 Tillema 1975 (note 9), 287, 292.
46 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 253.
47 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 62.
48 NA, 2.04.13, BiZa, K&W, inv. no. 688; NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. nos. 62, 1251, 1253.
49 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1251.
50 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1251.
51 Peters 1883 (note 20). 39.
52 *Het Vaderland*, 6 January 1881. Newspaper cutting in: NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1251.
53 C.H. Peters, 'Het nieuwe departement van Justitie', *Nederlandsche Kunstbode* 38 (1880), 297-299.
54 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1251; NA, 2.04.13, BiZa, K&W, inv. no. 688.
55 NA, 2.16.05, Archives of the Ministry

of Waterstaat, dept. Waterstaat (Waterstaat), inv. no. 1781.

56 NA, 2.16.05, Waterstaat, inv. no. 1781; NA, 2.04.13, BiZa, K&W, inv. no. 688: letter of resigNAtion from Landsgebouwen 20 December 1876, with a view to continuing at Waterstaat, evidently not honoured. NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. nos. 1216, 1251. See also Rosenberg 1995 (note 7), 203.

57 Peters 1883 (note 20), 38-46.

58 NA, 2.16.05, Waterstaat, inv. nos. 1782-1787; NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1254.

59 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 241.

60 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 64.

61 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1216.

62 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 66.

63 NA, 2.21.355, De Stuers, inv. no. 1216.

64 Rosenberg 1995 (note 7), 202-203; Oxenaar 2009 (note 12), 496-507.

65 Rosenberg 1995 (note 7), 199.

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'I WILL HELP YOU/US WITH JUSTICE'

A DESIGN PROCESS VEILED IN SECRECY

ESTER VINK

The Department of Justice on Het Plein in The Hague eventually came into being between 1876 and circa 1885 after a turbulent design history characterized by quarrels, backbiting and posturing.

The design has traditionally been attributed to Cornelis Peters, even though its style is not typical for him. It was suspected at the time that the architect Pierre Cuypers and the civil servant Victor de Stuers were involved to some degree. Now new archival research has made it possible to confirm their role and to clear up the uncertainty surrounding the design's authorship.

After an initial design for the new Justice building by J.F. Metzelaar had been rejected, L.H.J.J. Mazel, head engineer in the Waterstaat (civil engineering) department of the Ministry of the Interior, and his deputy, J. Singels, produced a basic concept and ground plans. Hugo Pieter Vogel, an architect of note, was engaged to design the visually defining facades.

In April 1876 these plans were considered by a Board of Government Advisers dominated by Cuypers and De Stuers. After lengthy discussions, the advisers rejected Mazel and Singels' plans. Behind the scenes Cuypers proceeded to sketch new plans, in two versions, which were then elaborated by Mazel and Singels.

Vogel, who was supposed to adapt his elevation designs to suit the new ground plans, felt under pressure from De Stuers to work in the traditional Dutch architectural style. As an architect in the classical tradition, Vogel took exception to this and withdrew acrimoniously. This cleared the way for Cuypers and De Stuers to impose their own elevation designs via Cuypers' ex-pupil Cornelis Peters, whom they had managed to get appointed as architect in the Department of Finance in early 1876. Peters, who was recruited in October 1876, initially signed his drawings and memos with the pseudonym 'Nemo' ('nobody'). As far as the outside world knew, De Stuers and Cuypers were not involved in the design. Once Peters had been officially appointed to oversee the construction of the Justice building in February 1877, he no longer needed to be so reticent, but the other two continued to influence the design from the wings.

Thus the Justice building was designed under a cloak of secrecy, an artifice intended to conceal De Stuers' contribution and, more especially, the far-reaching involvement of Cuypers. The main reason for putting Peters forward as designer lay in the seriously impaired relations following Cuypers' controversial appointment as architect of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam in 1876. Cuypers could ill afford another scandal. Although a few contemporaries expressed their suspicions and displeasure, the three gentlemen's machinations had the desired effect: a Ministry of Justice in their own preferred 'national' style.

1. Binnenhof and surroundings from the east in the 1950s (aerial photography service, Soesterberg Airbase, Netherlands Institute of Military History)
A Binnenhof; B Buitenhof; C Hofvijver; D Het Plein; E Lange Poten; F Hofplaats (Hofcingelplein)
1 Ridderzaal; 2 Mauritshuis; 3 Colonial Office; 4 Supreme Court; 5 Ministry of Justice; 6 Hotel Central

LARGE-SCALE CONSTRUCTION IN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT

THE LONG ROAD TO NEW PREMISES FOR THE TWEEDE KAMER

PAUL MEURS

The arrival of King Willem I in 1815 marked the beginning of the rebuilding of the Binnenhof into a centre of national government, which saw the stadholder's court transformed into a conglomeration of ministries, meeting rooms and reception halls. At the time there was much discussion about what exactly the national building style was and to what stylistic period it should refer. The choice was neo-Renaissance versus 'Waterstaat' style, the Ministry of the Interior (department of Arts and Sciences) versus the Ministry of Water, Trade and Industry (national buildings) and Catholic versus Protestant.[1] A central figure in this debate was Victor de Stuers (1843-1916), head of the Arts and Sciences department and the founding father of heritage preservation in the Netherlands.

From 1815 onwards parliament met in the former ballroom of the stadholders. The room was redolent of the court and provided a suitably solemn decor for political debate. The location was not ideal, but design competitions for a new parliament building in 1863 and 1920 ran aground.[2] The lack of space became acute in the course of the twentieth century, exacerbated by the increase in the number of parliamentarians (from 100 to 150 in 1956) and the expanding entourage of assistants, advisers and journalists. In 1970 this led to another attempt to put the extension of the House of Representatives on the agenda. Once again it was the subject of endless debate, and it took until 1992 for the new additions to the seven-centuries-old Binnenhof complex to be completed. In 2019, in preparation for the current renovation of the Binnenhof complex, SteenhuisMeurs conducted a cultural-historical study of the 1992 extension.[3] Based on that research, this article describes the design process, the underlying ideas and what was eventually built.

BUILDING IN THE HISTORICAL CITY

In the decades after the Second World War the centres of the Netherlands' biggest cities underwent extensive redevelopment. This was the era of traffic corridors, office behemoths and shopping malls. Opposition to projects like the Maupoleum in Amsterdam (1971) and Hoog Catharijne in Utrecht (1973) gradually gathered momentum and there was a swelling chorus of voices calling on authorities to build for the existing residents of the historical city centres and to retain the human scale. The discontent culminated in the Nieuwmarkt riots of 1975, a violent protest against the demolition of housing for the construction of the Amsterdam metro. Coincidentally, 1975 was also European Architectural Heritage Year. In the Declaration of Amsterdam, the Council of Europe called for the preservation of spatial cohesion and the social structure in historical cities.[4] In the Netherlands this took the form of urban renewal and the designation of town and country conservation areas, an instrument from the 1961 Monuments Act. The ambition to alter inner city areas in stages proved difficult to put into practice. How do you design a large office or public building in a fine-grained townscape? Where is the human dimension in cities that are full of motor vehicles? And how do you achieve customization in a building sector that for years has been encouraged to upscale and industrialize?

Illustrative of the shift in thinking about inner city construction were the University of Leiden's building plans. In 1960, a high-rise complex designed by Piet Zanstra (1905-2003) for a prominent site in the historical centre provoked strong opposition. According to future users the 120-metre tower was 'unproportioned', not in keeping with the tight-knit mix of functions in the inner city and incompatible with the decentralized layout of the university.[5] In 1970 the development was put on hold and in 1975 the government architect, Wim Quist (1930-2022), decided to start again from scratch. Under his direction Tjeerd Dijkstra, Joop van Stigt and Bart van Kasteel formulated a spatial strategy for the area. Zanstra's tower was replaced by six smaller buildings linked by outdoor space.

OPEN COMPETITION 1977

The process that culminated in new premises for the House of Representatives began in 1970 when six members of parliament called for a new parliament building.[6] A House of Representatives Housing Committee was established and tasked with investigating how much space the House needed.[7] It turned out that the parliament wanted three times as much space as was then in use.[8] Despite this, the House of Representatives would be able to remain near the Binnenhof. The Government Buildings Agency had bought up properties on Hofstraat and Lange Poten and with the forthcoming relocation of the Ministry of Justice to Schedeldoekshaven (1978) its building on the corner of Het Plein and Lange Poten would also become available. The House of Representatives could avail itself of the entire area bounded by Binnenhof, Hofplaats, Lange Poten and Het Plein, with the exception of the Supreme Court building and the former Colonial Office on Het Plein (fig. 1).

In 1977, a design competition open to all Dutch architects was organized for this project. The brief was to house the House of Representatives in accordance with detailed terms of reference and to carefully integrate the complex into the Binnenhof conservation area.[9] The House of Representatives wanted a welcoming building that radiated openness and accessibility. The competition jury was chaired by Government Architect Quist, who invited Dijkstra and Van Stigt to join the jury. Their previous year's experience in Leiden no doubt played a part in the assessment of designs and in the jury's uncompromising conclusion: of the 111 entries not one fulfilled the assignment. The jury awarded prizes but saw no reason to commission a follow-up design from any of the designers.[10]

Various reasons for this debacle were canvassed in the professional press, including the absence of good architects, an errant jury, a faulty and inconsistent design brief, and the decision to hold a competition when an interactive design process involving all parties would have been more appropriate.[11] In the words of the architect Izak Salomons, most entries placed the new buildings unceremoniously against the Binnenhof, they roofed over the Hofplaats and had all the charisma of a department store or anonymous office building.[12] Attention was so firmly focused on the structural interpretation of the terms of reference that the building's appearance and its integration with the context scarcely got a look-in. The question of how parliament's symbolic significance could be expressed in the architecture was not even posed, let alone answered.

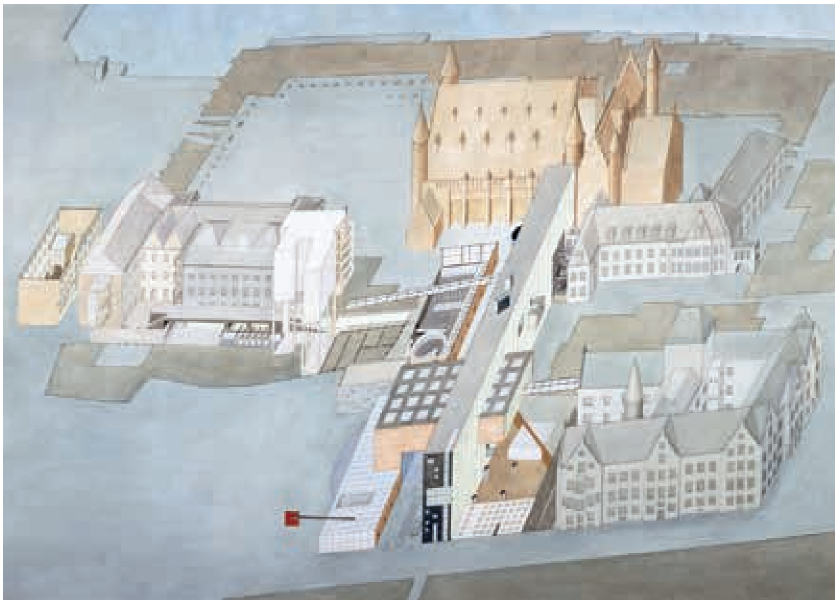
One entry stood out from the rest and gave rise to animated discussion: the design by Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA). This practice, founded in 1975 by Rem Koolhaas (b. 1942) and Elia Zenghelis (b. 1937), wanted to break open the buildings around the Binnenhof, greatly exceed the 18 metre building height and place the new building at right angles to the Knights' Hall (fig. 2). Instead of a modern parliament next to a museumized Binnenhof, the new would invade the old. The radicality of the intervention appalled the jury: 'The designer has ... adopted a view whereby the surroundings are destroyed, and he subordinates the user to his formal vision.'[13] Nonetheless, OMA shared first prize with Environmental Design, the practice of Leo Heijdenrijk (1932-1999).

INVITED COMPETITION 1979-1980

In the wake of the disappointing open competition, politicians were keen for a rapid solution. House Speaker, Anne Vondeling: 'The extension will have to excel with its interior. It cannot compete with the Binnenhof and here, amongst all those multifarious other buildings on Hofweg and Lange Poten, it is unlikely that a situation will arise in which people are struck speechless by the beauty of the surroundings.'[14] Member of the House and chair of the Construction Advisory Committee, Hessel Rienks: 'If it could be beautiful as well, so much the better.'[15] On the advice of the competition jury the minister decided on an invited competition. Because architects who had participated in the open competition were excluded, there were not a lot to choose from.

Quist selected three architects for this second competition: Aldo van Eyck, Arie Hagoort and Pi de Bruijn. Van Eyck (1918-1999) was professor in Delft. Ten years earlier (1967) he had produced a design for the Deventer town hall, located in the historical environs of the Grote Kerkhof. This plan was considered a classic example of a contextual design approach, even though it remained unrealized.[16] Hagoort (1929-1999) and his OD205 practice had realized many public buildings and was at that moment working on the National Library of the Netherlands (Koninklijke Bibliotheek) in The Hague.[17] The selection of De Bruijn (b. 1942) was unexpected. Together with Ruud Snikkenburg he had built a community centre in Amsterdam, which had won the Merkelbach Prize in 1976.[18] Quist had had dealings with De Bruijn in the Bijlmermeer, when the latter worked for the Municipal Housing Agency. Van Eyck refused to take part in a contest and was replaced by Groep 5.[19] This practice, headed by Edzard Luursema (b. 1931) and Hans van der Linden (1937-2006), was known for its process-focused approach.[20]

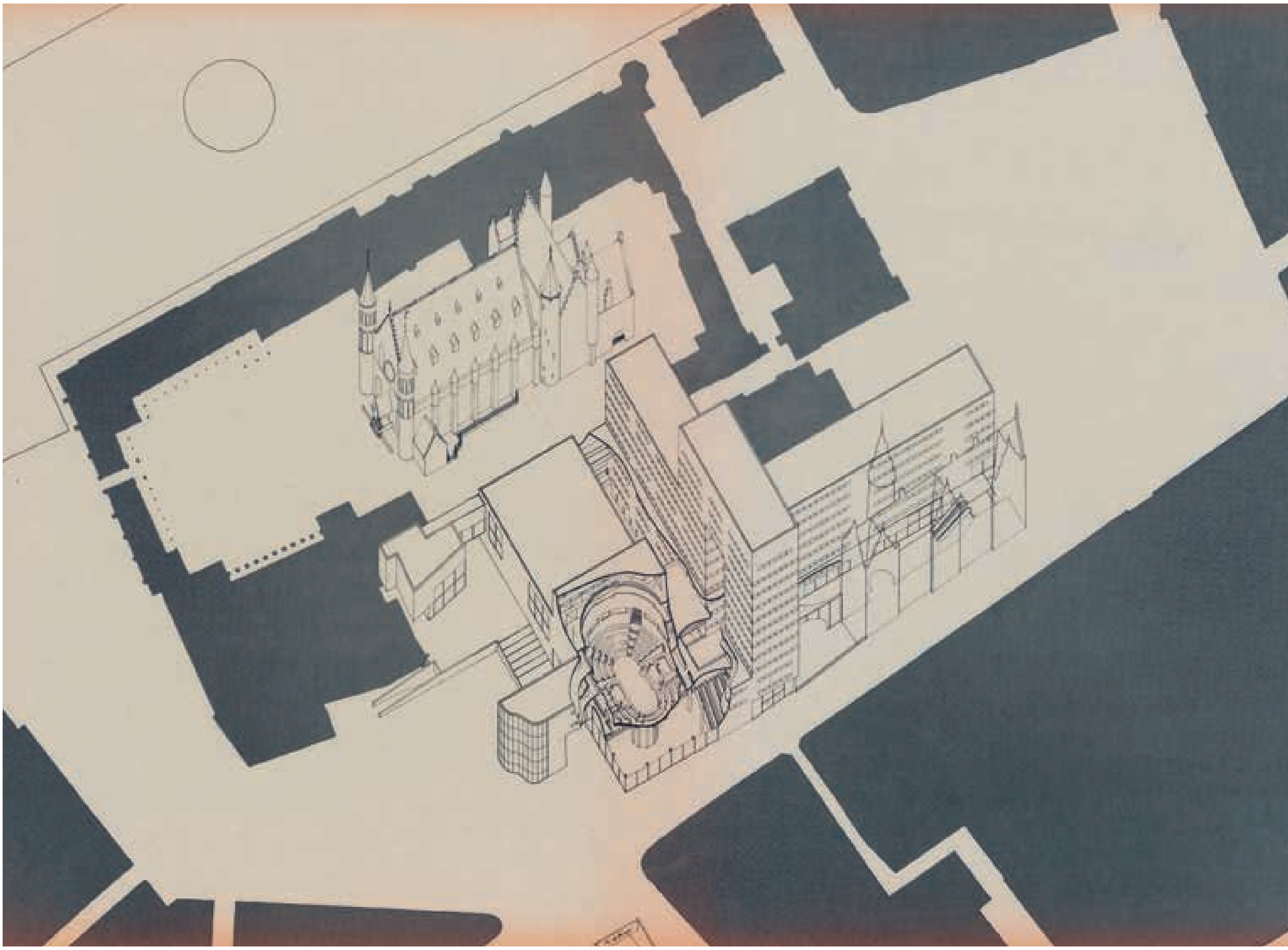
After the open competition debacle, the invited competition could not be allowed to fail. The aim was to select an architect rather than a design as such. Tjeerd Dijkstra (b. 1931) had meanwhile succeeded Quist as government architect, but Quist remained involved as chair of the evaluation committee. This committee, along with the House of Representatives' Construction Advisory Committee, the City of The Hague and the Department for the Preservation of Monuments and Historic Buildings (RDMZ for short in Dutch), were to submit a written opinion to Dijkstra, who would then formulate a selection recommendation for the minister.[21] Even before the advisers set to work, the designs were exhibited, published and publicly discussed.



2. Office for Metropolitan Architecture, open competition entry 1977 (OMA)

Groep 5 had come up with an introverted ensemble that did not engage with either the Binnenhof or the surroundings. Hagoort's design, which included substantial demolition, entailed a complicated construction spanning the Hofweg. The design by De Bruijn was conceptually similar to the earlier plan by OMA, involving an incursion into the Binnenhof and office blocks at right angles to the Knights' Hall (fig. 3).[22] The opinions sent to government architect Dijkstra were critical in tone. Groep 5's design was functionally deficient, and it infringed on the historical buildings near the Binnenhof.[23] The RDMZ regarded the fact that Hagoort's design did not encroach on the Binnenhof as positive, but the other advisory bodies saw it as a missed opportunity. The city council regarded his traffic intervention as undesirable. RDMZ's verdict on De Bruijn's design was that 'The erosion of the contained character of the Binnenhof, the partial demolition of the Justice ministry and the dominant height of this plan mean that this design shows too little respect for the existing area and its buildings.'[24] The city council thought that this design was meticulously composed but that its size, scale and architecture entailed an unacceptable impairment of the precious cityscape.[25]

The evaluation committee concluded that none of the designs was satisfactory.[26] All the same, they also felt that the designs demonstrated that a good solution was possible, were the preconditions and the number of square metres to be adjusted. The committee thought that De Bruijn had demonstrated the best understanding of the task: 'Despite the fact that this design entails considerable demolition, this designer does not treat the historical element in a cavalier manner.'[27]



3. Pi de Bruijn, invited competition entry 1980 (Nieuwe Instituut)

Dijkstra advised the minister to put De Bruijn forward as the architect of the House of Representatives.[28] He was positive about De Bruijn's spatial design, especially the connection and the 'tension' between the new building and the Binnenhof with the Knights' Hall.[29] Thanks to the reuse of existing buildings the Binnenhof continued to play a role in the government of the Netherlands. Dijkstra did draw attention to a few negative points, such as the breach of the building height, but felt that these could be overcome once the terms of reference had been revised. He took it for granted that De Bruijn's analytical and systematic approach would result in an acceptable design. His recommendation was adopted and in 1980 De Bruijn was duly appointed.

RESEARCH PHASE 1981

The first step on the path from the invited competition to the final design for the House of Representatives was a research phase during which all the basic principles were reconsidered. Several parties were involved: the architect, Pi De Bruijn, the House of Representatives, five ministries, various government agencies, the Hague city council and government bodies housed around the Binnenhof.[30]

The open and invited competitions had shown that the discussion of the designs centred around two points: (1) the spatial and architectural integration with the Binnenhof conservation area and (2) the connection between old and new within this ensemble. In its advice on the invited competition, the RDMZ had already listed precisely what could and could not be demolished. Surprisingly, it had no objection to the demolition of the Supreme Court, an 1865 building by W.N. Rose, because 'its intrinsic qualities have been so badly compromised that there can no longer be any question of heritage value in the meaning of the Act'.[31] The building was set back from Het Plein, generating a forecourt between the Ministry of Justice and the Colonial Office (fig. 4). The RDMZ wanted to retain the forecourt but any intrusion into the Binnenhof was taboo. At most the Binnenhof 5 premises could be replaced by a new building, to prevent the Binnenhof from becoming 'too sterile'. The RDMZ further stated that Hotel Central on Lange Poten should be retained, even though it had no heritage status. If this advice were followed the spatial structure would be preserved, the cityscape would largely retain its historical character and the new buildings would only be visible on the forecourt on Het Plein and on the Hofplaats-Lange Poten corner.

De Bruijn used a model of his design to explore the spatial 'carrying capacity' of the location. This revealed that site could not accommodate both the House of Representatives and the Supreme Court. If the Supreme Court were to be relocated, the terms of reference could be satisfied in accordance with all the RDMZ's preconditions and basic principles (demolish the Supreme Court, retain the Ministry of Justice, Colonial Office and Hotel Central).[32] The existing buildings were deemed suitable for offices while in the new building there would be space for circulation, meeting rooms and dining rooms.

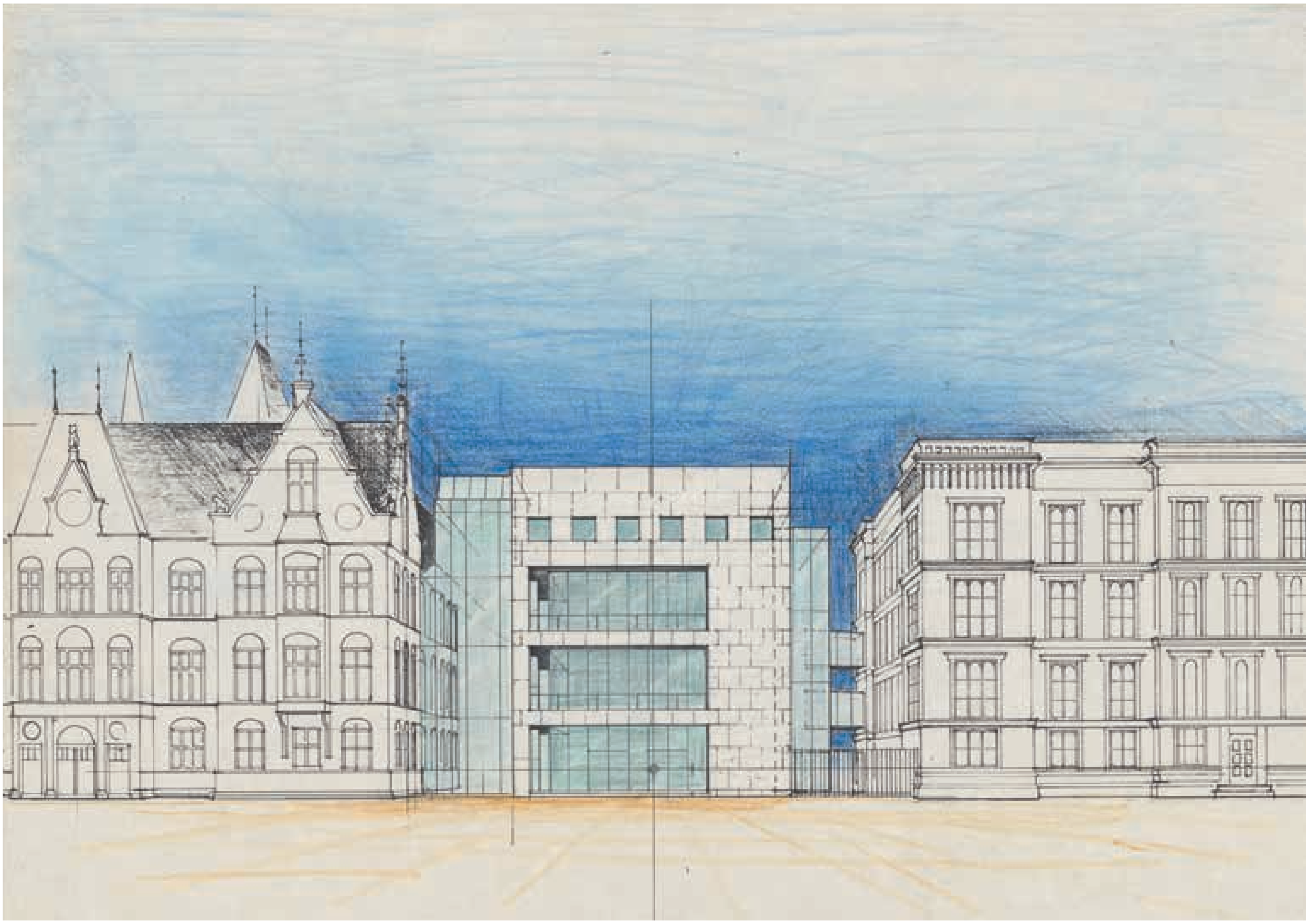
One important question remained unanswered: how to conjure a coherent parliament building out of the mix of old and new buildings.[33] De Bruijn did not want a maze-like complex, but a clear structure.[34] He felt that the new building should give the House of Representatives clarity and legibility. The demolition of the Supreme Court would allow the complex to be made up of three parallel strips: the central new-build stretching from Het Plein to Hofplaats, flanked by the existing buildings on the Binnenhof and Lange Poten respectively (fig. 5). De Bruijn conceived the new building as a central hall that provided access to the surrounding buildings and as a public arcade linking Het Plein with the Hofweg, with a possible side exit to the Binnenhof via the Hofpoort. This introduced two new design ideas: the new-build as structuring element, and a public route through the building as an expression of the parliament's transparency and accessibility. In July 1981 the report on the research phase was published, along with the welcome news that a consensus had been reached on the basic principles. The new-build programme had been reduced by sixteen per cent and the planning area had been enlarged to encompass the buildings at Plein 1 and Plein 2 (Colonial Office and Supreme Court).[35] The terms of reference could be accommodated within the prevailing building heights. At most there could be spatial design grounds for suggesting a 'one-off breach' of the building height on the corner of Lange Poten and Hofplaats.[36]

PRELIMINARY DESIGN 1982

The research results were fleshed out in the Preliminary Design (PD). This showed a large meeting and communications building between Het Plein and Hofplaats separated from the existing buildings on either side. The intermediate space on the Binnenhof side

4. Het Plein with the Ministries of Justice (left) and Colonies (right) and in between the set-back building of the Supreme Court, postcard c. 1910, published by H.S. Speelman (The Hague Municipal Museum)

5. Pi de Bruijn, design study of the new buildings showing elongated communication building and circular parliamentary chamber, 1981 (Nieuwe Instituut)



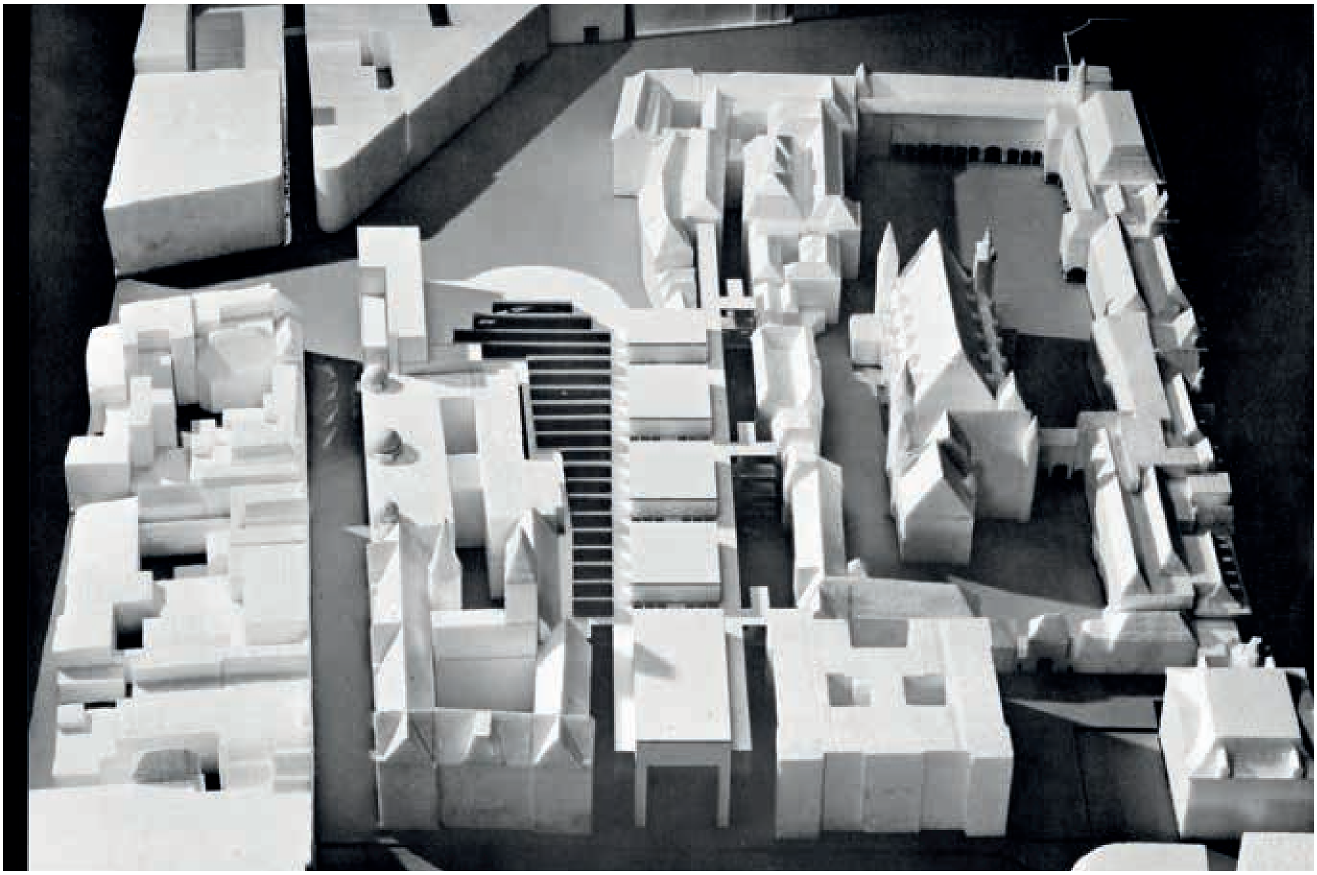
6. Pi de Bruijn, Preliminary Design with new street frontage on Het Plein, 1982 (Nieuwe Instituut)

(the former Hofgracht) was rendered as a 150-metre-long garden with several links between old and new buildings. The intermediate space on the Lange Poten side was turned into a 24-metre-high hall with a glass roof. On the Hofplaats, two volumes completed the new buildings: the parliamentary chamber and a press tower on the corner with Lange Poten.

The House of Representatives' wish to make the parliament accessible and welcoming was interpreted literally in the design. The central hall (later called the Statenpassage) was conceived as a public arcade with entrances at both ends and on Lange Poten. The parliamentary chamber was on the first floor, the public gallery on the second. That made it possible to restrict first floor access to members of parliament, assistants and registered visitors. A long escalator carried people coming to listen to parliamentary debates from straight the central hall to the second floor.

Contrary to RDMZ's advice, the forecourt between the ministry of Justice and the Colonial Office disappeared. The House of Representatives toed the building line and, together with the two former Ministries, formed a continuous frontage on Het Plein (fig. 6). Inside the hall, a row of lofty columns was erected along the walls of the historical buildings to support the glass roof. De Bruijn wanted to create a sense of calm and an uncluttered space that would radiate unity and coherence. To this end he chose granite for both the internal and external walls and the floors. The new building was made up of a sequence of five volumes, with (slightly lower) the glass roof of the central hall, which spanned the space between the old and new buildings (fig. 7).

On the interplay between old and new, De Bruijn wrote: 'The Binnenhof shuts the city out with its perimeter wall. The new building lets the city in. The public can walk via the central hall from Het Plein to the Hofcingel.'[37] And: 'The frontage of the Knights' Hall is reflected in this 20th-century design; right through the perimeter wall it forms a single line with the front of the new building. Even the height of the new building is the same as the top of the Knights' Hall. With my design I believe I have achieved a harmonious synergy between seven centuries of construction. The design



7A and 7B. Pi de Bruijn, Preliminary Design, 1982 (Nieuwe Instituut) is based on maximum openness with an accent on the central hall. To emphasize that transparency I designed an arcade from Plein to Hofcingel [Hofplaats].'[38]

FINAL DESIGN 1983

The consensus on the basic principles reached during the research phase endured throughout the rest of the design process. Discussion was confined to costs and what was or wasn't technically feasible. One year after the Preliminary Design (PD), the Final Design (FD) was ready and building preparation work could begin. The main differences between the PD and FD concerned the scrapping of the parking garage on financial grounds, an alteration to the construction of the central hall, and the partial roofing of the courtyard on the House of Representatives' side.

One striking difference is that in the FD the new volume no longer consisted of five separate elements but had become a single entity. De Bruijn commented that this was typical of his way of working: 'A block containing two hundred dwellings presents in the first instance as a single building. That is related to what is always most important for me: *simplicity*.'[39] The pursuit of simplicity and calm was a guiding principle of the design. When the roof light in the central hall was being worked out in detail it was discovered that the structure would need reinforcing.[40] The choice of lattice girders for this job raised the roof of the hall, which ended up on the same level as the roof of the meeting block. The connection with the Justice building and Hotel Central, originally below eaves height, shifted to the eaves and the roof plane (fig. 8). This resulted in a series of (complicated) connections and vertical (glass) infill elements. The House of Representatives' desire to incorporate its former chamber (the stadholder's ballroom) into the complex and make it accessible resulted in the partial roofing of the courtyard (Schepelhal).

REALIZATION 1986-1992

Upon completion of the new building in 1992, De Bruijn remarked: 'I think a building should be lucid and uncluttered. It should be the right size ... I think I have succeeded in that with this new House of Representatives building. You only have to look at the arcade that runs along the small meeting room: everything is in accord. It creates a sense of wellbeing, in the same way that Italian cities can create a sense of wellbeing. I sometimes wonder whether Members will make better decisions in this building. That's unknowable, of course. But it does make a difference if you enjoy being somewhere, or if a building puts you off. This is a building people will enjoy being in' (figs. 9 and 10).[41]

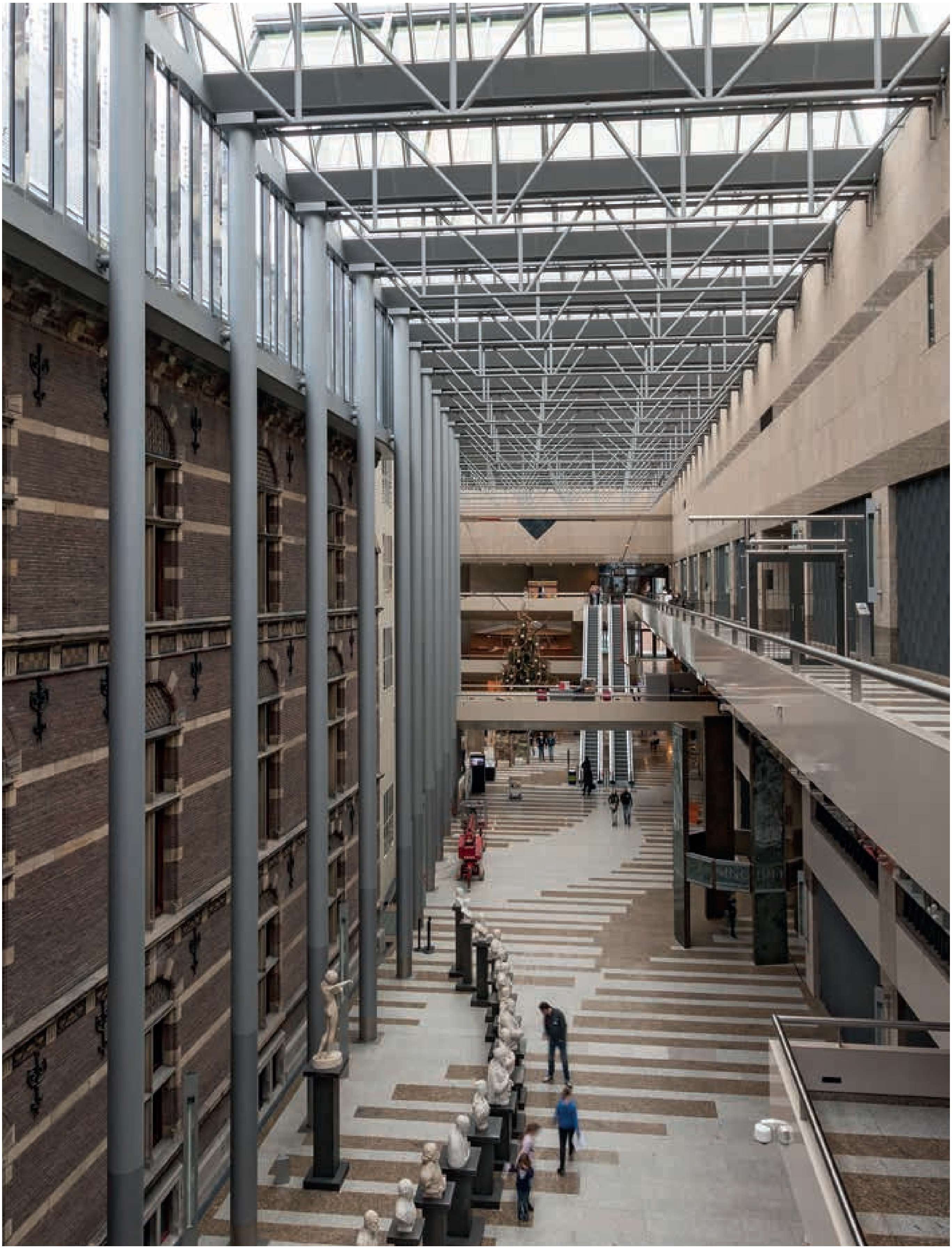
Even before the official opening, the House Speaker, W.J. Deetman, decided not to make the House of Representatives publicly accessible. The closing off of the central hall put paid to the idea of 'traversibililty'. All that remained was the glazed arcade between Hofpoort (Binnenhof) and Hofplaats. De Bruijn, for whom this was the necessary final step in the process of giving the parliament a contemporary and fitting accommodation, resisted in vain.[42] Unlike in the town halls of Amsterdam and The Hague, the House of Representatives public passageway was never realized. The central hall became part of the interior and after a few years air conditioning was installed.[43]

RESULT

Unlike in De Steurs' day, the question of what constituted a dignified government centre and what the most fitting architectural expression would be was simply not posed during the run-up to the extension of the House of Representatives. Instead, the discussion was mainly about functionality, to which other ambitions were gradually added: integration with the protected streetscape, connecting old and new, using the new building to structure the complex, rendering the business of politics visible and, finally, achieving simplicity and calm. Architect Pi de Bruijn wanted to let the city in, to make visitors feel at home, and to bring unity by creating order and calm through the consistent use of Brazilian granite.

The ambition to incorporate the new building carefully into the conservation area, grew out of the RDMZ's advice to preserve most of the urban structure and the historical periphery of Binnenhof and Lange Poten. During the design phase a thin and airy connecting structure, surrounded by outdoor spaces, was envisaged between these two. Step by step the new structure was bulked out, until a tall, solid box-shape remained, which according to De Bruijn expressed simplicity (fig. on p. 4-5). The end result was a functional, coherent complex with the central hall as structuring element, but not as originally intended. The hall provides a sense of place and clarity in the interior. The size of the parliamentary complex is evident here while outside, in the conservation area, that large scale remains for the most part hidden from view.

The ambition to make the House of Representatives welcoming, open and public, in contrast to the introverted Binnenhof, came to naught. From today's perspective, the limited public accessibility is unsurprising. But the threat from radicalization and terrorism belonged to a later date and played no role in this decision to close the complex off from the public. From its opening, the new House of Representatives complex presented to the city as a hermetic stronghold. Hofplaats was intended to be the vibrant public square of democracy, with glazed corridors around the cham-



8. Statenpassage hall with the rear elevation of the former Ministry of Justice building on the left, 2018 (photo Dick Valentijn, Cultural Heritage Agency)

9. Meeting room overlooking the internal garden, 2018 (photo Dick Valentijn, Cultural Heritage Agency)

10. Chamber, 2018 (photo Dick Valentijn, Cultural Heritage Agency)

ber, an entrance and a precinct for demonstrating citizens. In reality, the square never really came to life. Demonstrations took place at the entrance on Het Plein and politicians were rarely to be seen walking the glass-walled corridors.

The connection between old and new was rendered literally by shifting access to the old buildings to the new central hall. This in turn had a detrimental effect on the historical buildings' connections with the surrounding area. The walls of the hall are formed by historical buildings (Justice and Hotel Central) and new-build (meeting block and entrance to the Chamber). The former rear walls of the buildings on Lange Poten retained their rear-wall character in the Statenhal, while their front walls (on the street) lost their entrances and ceased to contribute to a lively streetscape. The physical connections between old and new, such as the alignment of the new building with the roofs, gutters, windows, cornices and turrets of the surrounding buildings was resolved on an ad hoc basis. Historical gables, cornices, wall anchors and reliefs were damaged in the course of anchoring floors, bridges, railings and parapets in the historical fabric. The detailing presented a medley of materials, colours, directions, welding pieces, fitting pieces, false walls and gutters.

The pursuit of simplicity resulted in a taut new-build volume slotted between the historical buildings. The overall impression is defined by the ubiquitous Brazilian granite finish. The historical buildings are effectively stitched together by the granite and framed by a rhythmic series of tall columns that stand like a veil in front of the historical elevations. Standing in stark contrast to the simplicity of the grand gesture of the new building, is the untidy connection this grand gesture makes with the anything but simple and unambiguous antithesis of the surrounding historical buildings.

In 2015, long overdue maintenance and faulty building services prompted the government to commission a comprehensive renovation of the Binnenhof. This major operation also provides an opportunity, within the scope of the desired sober and functional approach, to reconsider the qualities of the House of Representatives and to adapt them to current wishes. OMA was awarded the commission in 2017. Two years later, after a repetition of the controversy provoked by its open competition design, OMA was replaced by Architekten Cie., one of whose partners is Pi de Bruijn. This gives De Bruijn a second chance to take what he regards as the necessary final step: to give the parliament a fitting home and to express the connection between the building and its surroundings as well as between the parliament and society, using other architectural means than public accessibility.

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20 Telephone interview with Edzard Luursema, 9 January 2019.
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25 'Gemeente Den Haag, college van Burgemeester en Wethouders, Uitbreiding Tweede Kamer', 4 July 1980, in: Van den Berg, Quist and Rosdorff 1980 (note 23), annex C, 6.
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LARGE-SCALE CONSTRUCTION IN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT

THE LONG ROAD TO NEW PREMISES FOR THE TWEEDE KAMER

PAUL MEURS

The new, enlarged premises for the Tweede Kamer (Lower House) took shape between 1970 and 1992. The key issue was how to integrate this huge complex with the historic Binnenhof. This article describes the design process, the underlying ideas, and the outcome.

In 1975 an open architectural competition was organized for the building's design. The task was to house the Tweede Kamer in accordance with a detailed brief and to insert the resulting complex with utmost sensitivity into the Binnenhof heritage site. The jury concluded that none of the submitted designs met these requirements. OMA's design did, however, spark debate. It broke open the buildings around the Binnenhof and placed the new-build next to the thirteenth-century Ridderzaal (Knights' Hall). The sheer radicality of the intervention appalled the jury. In the wake of the failed competition, three architects were invited to submit designs. Once again, the designs were deemed unsatisfactory, and the parameters were revised. The panel of judges felt Pi de Bruijn had best understood the nature of the task. In 1980 he was appointed architect.

Crucial to the eventual outcome was a recommendation from the Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg (Government Department for the Preservation of Historic Buildings) to the effect that the urban design structure should be meticulously preserved. The new-build should only be visible on Het Plein and on the Hofplaats-Lange Poten corner. A major consideration was how to conjure a coherent parliament building out of the mix of old and new. De Bruijn strove for clarity and legibility. He conceived the new section as both a central hall in the Tweede Kamer and a public passageway in the city: a public route as an expression of the transparency and proximity of the parliament vis-à-vis citizens. Architecturally he aimed for an impression of calm and a clearly laid-out hall that would radiate unity and coherence. In the materialization this was achieved through the use of granite for the floors and the internal and external elevations.

Even before the opening, the Chairman of the Parliament had decided against making the building publicly accessible; the central hall became part of the interior. The ambition to make the Tweede Kamer open and accessible came to naught and from the outside the complex looked like an impenetrable fortress. The question of what constituted a dignified centre of government and what architectural expression that entailed was never posed. Instead, the focus was on functionality, integration with the heritage context, connecting old and new, rendering the business of politics visible and striving for simplicity and calm. This manifested as a taut new-build volume slotted in between the existing buildings. Against the simplicity of the grand gesture, there is the disorderly connection with which the new building lands on the anything but simple and unambiguous converse of the surrounding historical buildings.