



Early Photography in the Rijksmuseum's Collection: A Group of Glass Negatives from the Estate of Laurens Lodewijk Kleijn (1826-1909)

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Preparations for the exhibition *New Realities: Photography in the 19th Century* in 2017 meant examining the Rijksmuseum's photography collection in greater depth, and a group of nineteenth-century glass negatives attracted the attention of the curators. It was said to have come from the estate of the painter Laurens Lodewijk Kleijn (1826-1909), but there was no further information. One of the glass negatives – a portrait of a small boy (fig. 1) – was selected for the exhibition catalogue, which required more research into the group of objects.¹ The glass negatives, more than two hundred of them, were transferred from the University of Leiden's Print Room to the Rijksmuseum in 1999.² Modern prints from these negatives were transferred to the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD), along with a sketchbook, some picture postcards, art reproductions and an original photograph.³ The images on the negatives range from family photographs and portraits to art reproductions and studio scenes. A number of the photographs were taken in and around Rome; other places are more difficult to identify. The negatives also differ in size and quality, which may indicate that they were made in different periods and possibly by different photographers. This article sheds light on the provenance of the negatives, why some of them are of places in Italy, the circum-

< Fig. 1
LAURENS LODEWIJK
KLEIJN (attributed to),
Portrait of a Boy,
c. 1860-1900.
Glass negative.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-D-00-1131-1.

stances in which the photographs were taken and to whom we can attribute them.

The Artist Laurens Lodewijk Kleijn

The first task was to find out about Laurens Lodewijk Kleijn, said to be the former owner of the glass negatives. Kleijn was born on 12 January 1826 in Demerara, in the British colony of Guyana, the son of Charlotte Constantia Brandes and Laurens Kleijn.⁴ His father had moved to the West Indies from Deventer at a young age. He became extremely wealthy as a planter and married Charlotte, who was a 'mulatto'. In 1833 he returned to the Netherlands with his son, but without his wife, and took up residence in the ancient castle of Dorth, near the village of Lochem, to the southeast of Deventer.⁵ In 1845 the young Kleijn went to Antwerp to study at the Royal Academy for Fine Arts there.⁶ The Antwerp Academy, which was then run by the Romantic artist Gustaaf Wappers (1803-1874), had a good reputation internationally and attracted a lot of foreign artists, many from the Netherlands.⁷

Kleijn's name appears for the first time in the academy's enrolment register for the 'Antiques' winter course in 1845-46. This course was the second phase of the learning process and in order to be admitted, students had to

submit a test piece or do an exercise to show that they were of a sufficient standard. Kleijn passed and he attended this class for the two subsequent school years. Once students had satisfactorily mastered drawing ‘antiques’, they could progress to life drawing classes.⁸ Kleijn attended these classes from 1848 to 1850.⁹ In view of his later interest in archaeology and history and his focus on history painting, it seems quite likely that he took lessons in history at the academy. His teacher may have been Joseph-Ernest Buschmann (1814-1853), who taught the subject from 1841 to 1850. This is interesting because Buschmann was one of the Belgian pioneers in the field of photography and experimented with the medium in the eighteenth-forties.¹⁰ The academy’s register also shows that Kleijn lived at a number of addresses during his years in Antwerp. It emerges from correspondence that Kleijn had a lot of contact with fellow students. His close friends included the Dutch painter Carel Frans Philippeau (1825-1897), who was a student at the Antwerp Academy until 1847 and went to Rome with Kleijn in 1851.

On leaving Antwerp, Kleijn settled in Amsterdam, where he worked for a year at the Trippenhuis, the forerunner of the Rijksmuseum.¹¹ While there he spent time with Philippeau, who had returned to Amsterdam in 1847, and with the sculptor Johan Hendrik Stöver (1825-1911). Philippeau and Stöver were both students at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts there and received part of their training from the Flemish sculptor Louis Royer (1793-1868).¹² We do not know whether Kleijn also studied in Amsterdam, but we do know that he and Royer were acquainted from various letters between Philippeau and Stöver and their teacher Royer, in which they often pass on Kleijn’s best wishes.¹³ There is also a letter from Royer to the Ghent-born painter Jan Baptist Lodewijk Maes (1794-1856), who moved in Rome in 1822 and remained there until his death.¹⁴ In it,

Royer asks him if he can help three young artists who are going to Rome to find their feet in the Eternal City. He was referring to Stöver, Philippeau and Kleijn, ‘three honest and respectable young men,’ said Royer, who will be visiting Rome in order to look at the arts there.¹⁵ Thanks to this letter we know that the three men went to Rome together, Kleijn with the aim of honing his skills as a history painter.

Three Young Artists in Italy

Italy, and Rome in particular, had been the cradle of art for centuries, and in the nineteenth century it was still a magnet for Dutch artists. The three young artists arrived in the city together in 1851.¹⁶ Soon after this, they got a photographer to take their portrait. This photograph – a salt print – survived and is in the RKD’s collection (fig. 2). We see the three men nonchalantly posing for the camera, with Kleijn on the right. Their names are written on the back with the inscription ‘Roma, 1851’. The group portrait is more than a nice souvenir; it is also the first evidence of Kleijn’s early contact with photography.

We know from an anecdote Johan Philip Koelman (1818-1893) recounts in his memoirs *In Rome* that Kleijn visited the famous Caffè Greco soon after he arrived in the city. Koelman describes how the three young men encountered Jan Baptist Lodewijk Maes during their first visit to the café. Koelman said that by that time Maes was no longer a young man and looked a little odd because he still dressed like an old-fashioned Fleming. The three friends were said to have quietly remarked, although loudly enough to be heard, that ‘weird types’ could be found anywhere, even in Rome. One of the first visits the friends made was to Maes’s studio: ‘They made their way to his studio and were very surprised when that same little man opened the door to them, but even more so when enquiring after Mr Maes they received the answer: “Tut, tut, then that’s me”’.



Fig. 2
 ANONYMOUS,
 Portrait of Laurens
 Lodewijk Kleijn
 (right), Carel Frans
 Philippeau and Johan
 Hendrik Stöver, 1851.
 Salt print,
 105 x 90 mm.
 Photograph:
 The Hague, RKD –
 Netherlands Institute
 for Art History,
 image no.
 0000290660.

Maes gave no hint of the fact that he had already met his visitors once before.¹⁷

In Italy, Kleijn followed in the footsteps of his fellow artists by taking in the well-known monuments, looking at archaeological excavations and visiting other artists in their studios. Another important part of a study trip to Italy was copying works by the Old Masters in museums. In the summer of 1854, Kleijn visited Florence, where he made a number of oil sketches after paintings in the Uffizi and the Palazzo Pitti. Permission was needed to copy these paintings. Kleijn did not write his own application, it was penned by a certain L. Metzger, so he was probably admitted as a result of his introduction.¹⁸

He got permission for both museums and made copies after works by such artists as Rubens and Titian.¹⁹ Kleijn must already have had a good reputation when he arrived in Rome – or in any event had the right contacts – as he was soon awarded a number of commissions. The first was a portrait of the Duke of Alcantera. The result met with approval and led to a commission from the Contessa de Pourtalès to paint a portrait of Pope Pius IX. He was also highly praised for this likeness.

Kleijn regularly sent works of art to the Netherlands, for raffles for example, as can be seen from reports in Dutch newspapers. The 4 November 1861 issue of the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, for

instance, mentions that a painting by Kleijn was raffled to help the victims of a flood in Java.²⁰ And in 1866 he gave a present of a painting for a raffle for the benefit of victims of a fire in Enschede in 1862.²¹ It seems that Kleijn had less interest in the regular Dutch selling exhibitions – the Exhibitions of Living Artists. During his time in Rome the only time he submitted work to these was for the one staged in Amsterdam in 1862. There were five works by Kleijn in that show, but only two were available for sale.²²

Four stereo photographs, part of the group of glass negatives, show Kleijn's studio in Rome.²³ One of them can also be found as a print in Kleijn's estate, mounted on cardboard by Sommer & Behles. This was a well-known photographic studio set up by the photographers Giorgio Sommer (1834-1914) and Edmund Behles (1841-1924), with branches in Rome and Naples. These studio photographs give us an idea of Kleijn's life as an artist in Rome and provide information about his oeuvre. One of the photographs is of a large studio with a high ceiling. Two artists, Kleijn on the left, and a model pose for the camera (fig. 3). We do not know who the other man was, possibly Stöver or Philippeau. In another studio shot there are no people, but there are numerous paintings (fig. 4) – in the main the typical *Italiennes*, a popular genre at that time.²⁴ A third studio scene makes it possible to roughly date these stereo photographs – assuming that the four of them were taken at the same time (fig. 5). The *Portrait of Princess Marianne* appears in one of the negatives. Kleijn completed this commission for the princess in 1863.²⁵ There is also a study for his painting *Hagar and Ishmael*. This work is dated to 1862 and was likewise commissioned by the princess (fig. 6). All in all, it is a fine advertisement photo-





Fig. 3
SOMMER & BEHLES
(attributed to),
Studio of the Artist
Laurens Lodewijk
Kleijn, c. 1860-62.
Glass negative.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-D-00-1131-198.



Fig. 4
SOMMER & BEHLES
(attributed to),
Studio of the Artist
Laurens Lodewijk
Kleijn in Rome,
c. 1860-62.
Glass negative.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-D-00-1131-197.

Fig. 5

SOMMER & BEHLES
(attributed to),
*Studio of the Artist
Laurens Lodewijk
Kleijn in Rome,*
c. 1860-62.
Glass negative.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-D-00-1131-197.



Fig. 6

LAURENS LODEWIJK
KLEIJN,
*Hagar Grieving
in the Wilderness
beside the Dying
Ishmael,* 1862.
Oil on canvas,
156 x 212 cm.
Eltville am Rhein,
Hotel Schloss
Rheinhardtshausen.
Photograph: RKD –
Netherlands Institute
for Art History,
image no. 0000210411.



graph – evidence of Kleijn's erudition and skill – at the same time showing off the influential clients he had succeeded in attracting.

Royal Patron in Rome

Top-drawer clients were hard to come by for Dutch artists in the mid-

nineteenth century. The government made barely any money available to encourage and purchase contemporary art. Even the Prix de Rome, which offered talented artists the opportunity to hone their skills in Italy, was discontinued in 1849. This is why contact with the movers and shakers of the time was very important for a successful career. One major patron for the Dutch artists in Rome was Princess Marianne (1810-1883), the daughter of King William I. In 1830 the princess had married Prince Albert of Prussia. The union produced five children, two of whom died young. It was not a happy marriage and the princess travelled a lot, including to Italy, in order to escape from her husband and the oppressive atmosphere at the Prussian court. In 1844 the princess met the love of her life, Johannes van Rossum, who was a coachman in the service of the Orange family, and who made her pregnant in 1849. In that



same year Marianne and Albert were divorced, with the stipulation that the princess was not allowed to stay in the Prussian Empire for any longer than twenty-four hours.²⁶

After her divorce, the princess took a trip through Southern Europe and the Middle East. In 1851, she settled in Rome with Van Rossum and their son Johannes Willem Reinhartshausen, who was born in Sicily in October 1849. Princess Marianne had already visited the city quite often and felt at home there surrounded by art lovers and artists. She purchased the Renaissance Villa Mattei, which came to be known as the Villa Celimontana because of its location on Monte Celio. The house became an important meeting place for Dutch artists who were staying in Rome. There were frequent garden parties and soirées, where young and old alike, artists and art lovers could meet. The guests included Cornelis Kruseman (1797-1857), Johan Philip

Koelman (1818-1893) and Abraham Teerlink (1776-1857), and Kleijn, Philippeau and Stöver could also count themselves as permanent invitees.

During earlier visits to the city, Marianne had already begun to buy art, Old Masters as well as work by contemporary artists, Dutch and others.²⁷ She continued this policy in Rome; it was a huge support for Dutch artists, who, as we have seen, could not depend on any financial support from their own country. The princess visited artists in their studios, as we know from correspondence, for example a letter from Stöver to Royer, in which the artist wrote that he had been honoured by her visit.²⁸ Kleijn also received various commissions from the princess, including the paintings *Rebecca at the Well*, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* and the aforementioned *Hagar and Ishmael*.²⁹ She also engaged Kleijn to take care of her art collection in the villa, which began increasingly to resemble a museum collection. In the spring of 1856, Princess Marianne sold her Roman villa and moved to Erbach near Frankfurt, where she took up residence in Schloss Reinhartshausen. She had bought the castle in 1854 and had it converted into a public museum. The many paintings and sculptures she had collected over the years were brought there and put on display.³⁰ Kleijn remained in Rome until 1868 and then went to live in Stuttgart, where in 1869 he married Caroline Henriëtte Emilie Donner, the daughter of the German classical philologist Johann Jacob Christian Donner (1799-1875). He and Caroline had three children. After leaving Stuttgart, Kleijn moved to Bathmen, a small village near Deventer and his parent's house.³¹

The contact with Princess Marianne must have remained good throughout, because in 1873 she appointed him court



Fig. 7
LAURENS LODEWIJK
KLEIJN (attributed
to), *Design for The
Wedding at Cana and
Belshazzar's Feast*,
c. 1870-1900.
Glass negative.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-D-00-1131-15.



Fig. 8
LAURENS LODEWIJK
KLEIJN (attributed
to), *Cartoon from the
Series of Momentous
Scenes from the Life
of Prince William of
Orange*, c. 1884-1900.
Glass negative.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-D-00-1131-183.

painter and the curator of her Museum Reinhartshausen, whereupon Kleijn and his family moved to Erbach.³² He received a number of commissions from the princess, including a design for a mural for her second palace in Camenz in 1871.³³ The design, *The Wedding at Cana and Belshazzar's Feast*, was photographed and is among the glass negatives (fig. 7). Another large commission was a series of eight paintings with momentous scenes from the life of Prince William of Orange (1872), intended for the newly built William's Tower at Schloss Dillenburg, in the German state of Hessen.³⁴ Kleijn submitted four cartoons from this series to the 1885 Antwerp World's Fair. They were a great success and he was even awarded a gold medal for them.³⁵ These cartoons were photographed and are among the glass negatives. The reproductions were published later and also used for picture postcards (fig. 8).

Kleijn supplemented his position as curator in an unusual way, as we gather from a handwritten letter from Princess Marianne. In it she gives him permission to photograph her paintings and sculptures.³⁶ The photographs were intended for the museum catalogue Kleijn compiled in 1878, in which he describes thirty-five paintings and five sculptures in the princess's collection, along with twenty photographs of the most important works and one of the museum's interior.³⁷ Some were turned into picture postcards, which were sold to the many tourists who visited the museum. The glass negatives in the Rijksmuseum show various works of art in the princess's collection, including a seascape, probably by the painter Johannes Christiaan Schotel (1787-1838), one of the many works by him that she owned (fig. 9).³⁸ In one of the negatives we can see how works of art were photographed in the nineteenth

Fig. 9
LAURENS LODEWIJK
KLEIJN (attributed
to), *Seascape* by
Johannes Christiaan
Schotel, c. 1870-1900.
Glass negative.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-D-00-1131-160.



century: two men standing on the back of a bench hold up a dark cloth behind the work of art (fig. 10). The museum's interior also recurs in one of the glass negatives (fig. 11).³⁹ After Princess Marianne died in 1883, Kleijn continued to work as the curator until he returned to the Netherlands in 1887. The princess wanted her art collection to remain in the museum, but faced with dwindling

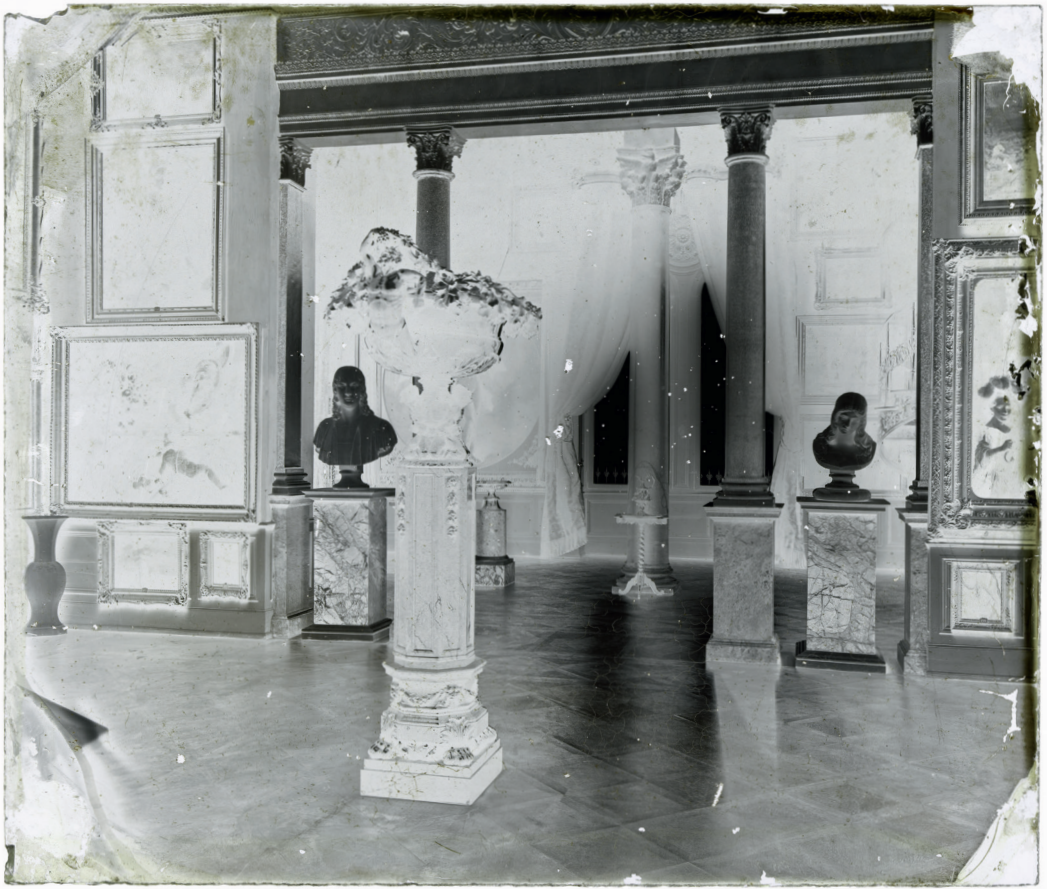
interest a large part of it was eventually sold at auction in 1932.⁴⁰ Thanks to the glass negatives, we can nevertheless get an idea of how the collection and the museum must have looked.

Kleijn and the Roman School of Photography

Thanks to the letter of commission from Princess Marianne, some of the



Fig. 10
LAURENS LODEWIJK
KLEIJN (attributed
to), *Photographing
Objets d'Art*,
c. 1870-1900.
Glass negative.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-D-00-1131-26.



glass negatives can be attributed to Kleijn. However, we still do not know when he took up photography and whether he also made the other negatives. Surviving correspondence and the artist's sketchbooks make it likely that this was during his years in Italy. For instance, although undated, the artist's sketchbook mentioned earlier does contain a label from Cartoleria di G.F. Ferrini, a shop that sold stationery at 211 Piazza Colonna in Rome. On the basis of a comparison of the sketches and the dates of a number of his paintings, including *Hagar and Ishmael* (c. 1862), the book can be dated to the early eighteen-sixties. It is not about sketches, though, what mainly stands out is a list of various locations around Naples and Sicily, in particular the well-

known tourist attractions. Kleijn wrote 'places for photography' at the top. He obviously intended to visit these places and photograph them. However, the places on the list do not feature in the glass negatives in the Rijksmuseum.⁴¹

The fact that Kleijn became interested in photography in Italy, specifically, is not strange. During the time he spent in Rome, the city played host to a lively circle of photographers. Photography had become unprecedentedly popular there almost immediately after the invention of the medium in 1839. Chemists and archaeologists, authors and artists – everyone was fascinated by it and saw the many possibilities that the new medium had to offer. As early as the eighteen-forties, Rome was swamped with daguerreotype instruc-

Fig. 11
LAURENS LODEWIJK
KLEIJN (attributed to),
*Interior of Museum
Reinhartshausen*,
c. 1870-1900.
Glass negative.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-D-00-1131-153.

tors, who all claimed that they knew of a better and more efficient daguerreotype method. Among them were the Italians Lisonne de Giorgis, Raffaele Sgarzi and the Frenchmen Adolphe and Perraud.⁴² The big disadvantage of daguerreotypes was that they were not easily reproducible. The technique was rapidly superseded by the calotype – a photographic process developed by the Englishman William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877), in which the photograph is made on a paper negative, which is then printed in positive on light-sensitive paper. Thanks to this process, an image could be reproduced in larger editions, which was attractive commercially.⁴³ Paper negatives were a good deal lighter than the metal daguerreotype plates – which was an added advantage for photographing outdoors.

One of the first calotypes made in Rome – a picture of the Colosseum – was made by the Frenchman Victor Prevost (1820-1881) in 1843. Another well-known pioneer was the Italian

Giacomo Caneva (1813-1856). Other photographers who used the calotype were Calvert Richard Jones, Maxime du Camp and Count Frédéric Flachéron. The last-mentioned is particularly interesting because he was a key figure in a group of photographers that would later be dubbed the *Roman School of Photography* or the *Circle of the Caffè Greco*.⁴⁴ The group was active between around 1847 and 1853, and had such people as the Italian landscape painter Giacomo Caneva, the French sculptor Frédéric Flachéron, the British painter James Anderson and the Scottish painter Robert Macpherson among its members. They made an important contribution towards the spread of photography and their photographs are well represented worldwide in major photography collections, including the Rijksmuseum's.

The British photographer James Anderson (1813-1877) is one of the best known members of the *Roman School of Photography*. Like many nineteenth-century photographers, Anderson began

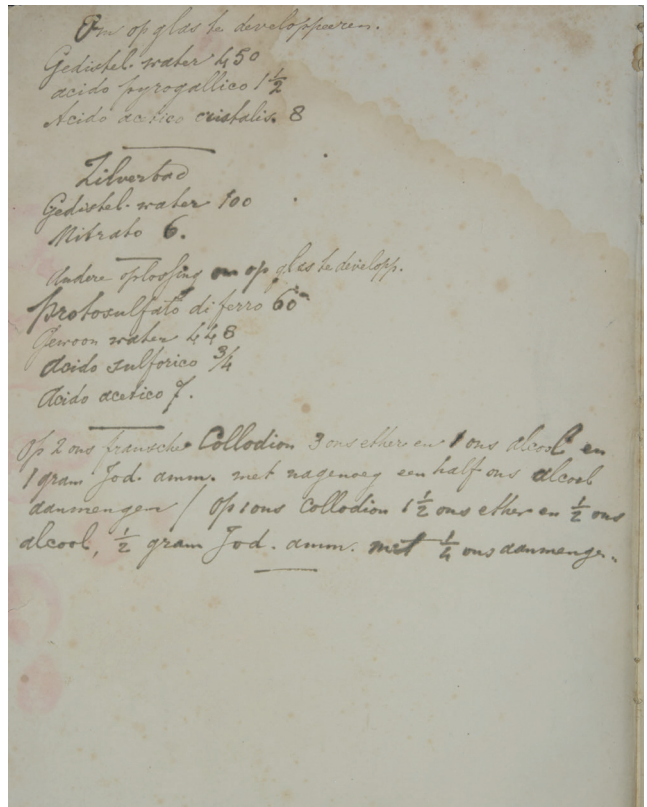
Fig. 12
JAMES ANDERSON,
*The Arch of
Constantine,
North Side,
Rome, c. 1859.*
Albumenized salt
print, 272 x 367 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-F-F80034.



his career as a painter. He studied in Paris and in 1838 went to Rome, where he did well with his reproductions of small bronze versions of sculptures. In 1849 he began to specialize in photography, not without success, as in 1853 he opened his own studio there. His photographs were sold by the bookseller Joseph Spithöver (1813-1892), who had a shop in the Piazza di Spagna.⁴⁵ The catalogues of Anderson's photographs show what kinds of images were sold: primarily landscapes, archaeological excavations, monuments and reproductions of artworks (fig. 12).⁴⁶ They served as souvenirs for the many tourists who visited the Eternal City, and during the nineteenth century they had increasingly begun to replace the very popular sixteenth-century prints. Where there is demand there is supply, and so photography was everywhere in the streets of Rome. It seems quite likely that Kleijn had also caught the photography bug which had spread through the city and that the desire to photograph all kinds of places was a symptom of it.

The photographers met at the Caffè Greco, where they discussed the experiments undertaken during joint excursions outside Rome and shared the best methods for making negatives.⁴⁷ An article in *The Art Journal* of 1852, written by the chemist Richard W. Thomas, gives an idea of what must have gone on in Caffè Greco. Thomas stayed in Rome for four months and it struck him that photography added a new dynamic to the culture in the city. He describes how the photographers, including Caneva and Flacheron, met in the café, how all the new developments in the medium were discussed and how knowledge was willingly shared with anyone who was interested. He recommended that visitors to Rome who wanted to learn more about photography should visit the café.⁴⁸

Caffè Greco regularly features in Kleijn's jottings and he also had his mail delivered to the café's address, so he



most probably went there regularly. Although there is no proof that Kleijn had any direct contact with the group of photographers there, he could well have overheard their conversations and perhaps even joined in. In any event he knew the photographers by name. Spithöver and Caneva are often mentioned in his notes. He may have become so inspired that he began to experiment himself and the 'Italian' glass negatives were the result. A formula for making a collodion print written by Kleijn appears to confirm this supposition (fig. 13). It was partially written in Italian – a language Kleijn spoke well – which may mean that he had received instructions for it from his Italian colleagues. There are a number of surviving letters between Kleijn and photographers like the Florence-based Alfredo Noack and Achille Keller in Rome, so we know

Fig. 13
LAURENS LODEWIJK
KLEIJN, Formula for
Making Collodion.
The artist's family
archives.

Fig. 14

LAURENS LODEWIJK
KLEIJN (attributed to),
*Two Men Posing in a
Garden*, c. 1850-70.
Glass negative.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-D-00-1131-5.



that he was in contact with a number of them.⁴⁹ There is an interesting letter to Keller in which he asks him to send two unmounted proofs of all his photographs to the Italian artist Luigi Gregori (1819-1896).⁵⁰ Evidently Keller had kept a number of Kleijn's negatives and looked after the prints.

Unfortunately, nothing was said about what was in the photographs; they may have been pictures of works of art and/or monuments that Gregori could use for his own work. There are also frequent references to photography in his correspondence with other photographers. In a letter from Stöver to



Fig. 15
 LAURENS LODEWIJK
 KLEIJN (attributed to),
Cart in a Garden,
 c. 1850-70.
 Glass negative.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
 RP-D-00-1131-67.

Kleijn, for instance, he writes about a photograph of one of his sculptures.⁵¹ The 'Italian' glass negatives in the museum's collection are particularly striking in that they are more experimental, as if the maker was trying out the camera, and they were clearly not intended for sale. Some of them are

situated in the garden of a townhouse, probably in Rome. A number of negatives show two young men posing (fig. 14). We do not know who they are, nor can we identify the location. Thanks to another photograph, which shows a cart, we know that the garden was on a hill (fig. 15). Another photo-



Fig. 16

LAURENS LODEWIJK
KLEIJN,
*Portrait of Mr and
Mrs Van Geuns, 1857.*
Albumen print.
The artist's family
archives.

> Fig. 17

LAURENS LODEWIJK
KLEIJN (attributed to),
*Self-Portrait of the
Artist, c. 1850-1900.*
Glass negative.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-D-00-1131-66.

>> Fig. 18

LAURENS LODEWIJK
KLEIJN,
*Photograph of
a Painting,*
c. 1870-1900.
Glass negative.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-D-00-1131-177.

graph, which is in the family archives, may give a more definite answer to the whereabouts of the location. It is a portrait of Mr and Mrs Van Geuns (fig. 16). The note on the back tells us that Kleijn photographed them during their travels through Italy in 1856-57 in the garden of the Protestant hospital on the Tarpeian Rock in Rome.⁵² Could the glass negatives have been tests for the final portrait of the Van Geuns? Regrettably, the negatives in the Rijksmuseum fail to show enough details and points of reference to provide us with a definite answer.

Like Grandfather, like Granddaughter

Kleijn himself often appears on the glass negatives. Sometimes posing in clothes using himself as a model for a self-portrait as the apostle Paul (figs. 17, 18). There are also various studies among them which he used for his paintings, such as a dead pigeon he had hung on

a stick (fig. 19). There are also many family photographs that sometimes feature Kleijn. One is a photograph in which the artist is posing with his granddaughter, and his wife also appears on glass negatives.⁵³ The many private photographs make it likely that the group of glass negatives came from the estate of one of the artist's relatives. This may have been Emilie Haspels (1894-1980), Kleijn's granddaughter, who often appears in the photographs. The box in the RKD, for example, contains a handwritten postcard addressed to Emilie's mother, Charlotte Constantia Haspels Kleijn, and a fragment of an envelope addressed to Emilie Haspels at her home in Abcoude, where she lived until her death.

Emilie Haspels was the first female professor of classical archaeology at the University of Amsterdam. Her interest in antiquity was said to have been firmly encouraged by her grandfather. She studied at the University of

> Fig. 19

LAURENS LODEWIJK
KLEIJN,
*Still Life with a
Pigeon, c. 1850-1900.*
Glass negative.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-D-00-1131-98.





Fig. 20
 ANONYMOUS,
Roman Forum,
 c. 1855.
 Collodion glass
 negative,
 210 x 268 mm.
 Amsterdam, Allard
 Pierson, University
 of Amsterdam,
 inv. no. APM 16.751.

Amsterdam between 1913 and 1923.⁵⁴ After working as a lecturer in classical languages for several years, she decided to become an archaeologist. Thanks in part to a scholarship, she was able to afford a trip through Italy and Greece and she then spent some time at Oxford University, where she undertook research for her doctoral thesis.⁵⁵ In addition to a love of antiquity, Haspels was said to have inherited her passion for photography from her grandfather. During her studies at Oxford, she

became skilled in the medium under the guidance of the photographer from the Ashmolean Museum.⁵⁶

The skills she acquired then, later gave her a great reputation as an amateur photographer.⁵⁷ In 1935 she obtained her doctorate at the University of Utrecht with her dissertation *Bijdrage tot de studie van Attisch zwart-figurig*. A year later, an updated version entitled *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi* was published by the École Française d'Athènes. Haspels had



Fig. 21
 ANONYMOUS,
A Man and a Boy in
a Garden, c. 1855.
 Collodion glass
 negative,
 210 x 268 mm.
 Amsterdam, Allard
 Pierson, University
 of Amsterdam,
 inv. no. APM 16.753.

taken the majority of the photographs illustrating this publication.⁵⁸

In 1946 Haspels was appointed professor of classical archaeology, a post that brought with it the directorship of the Allard Pierson Museum.⁵⁹ The museum acquired a number of important objects during her tenure.⁶⁰ These acquisitions may have given rise to new research into Kleijn. The Allard Pierson Museum's collection contained a wooden box of eleven Roman glass negatives, but there is no information

about how it came into the collection.⁶¹ The striking thing about these negatives is their size. Large glass plates measuring 210 x 268 mm were used – which meant a large camera. This could indicate that the photographs were taken by a professional photographer. Some of them show the Roman Forum (fig. 20) and the Temple of Saturn, but there are also more experimental shots of plants in a garden and men and a boy posing (fig. 21), as we also see in Kleijn's photographs. Another similarity is that



neither set was made for the market. The Allard Pierson Museum's negatives can be dated to around 1855 – the time that Kleijn was also in Rome – on the basis of the technique used and the excavations that can be seen in them.⁶² If we take a good look at the man in the hat between the posing men (fig. 21), we can see a strong resemblance to Mr Van Geuns. Not only are the clothes the same, the features are also similar. What is more, the Allard Pierson Museum's negatives are all situated around the Capitoline Hill, where Kleijn photographed the Van Geuns. Unlike the Rijksmuseum's negatives, in those in the Allard Pierson Museum we can actually see points of reference. A building with a characteristic Neo-Classical façade with pillars is clearly visible in one of the garden photographs (fig. 22). This looks a great deal like the Protestant hospital building – where Kleijn made his portrait of the Van Geuns. Nevertheless, this is insufficient proof to attribute the glass negatives in the Allard Pierson Museum's collection to Kleijn with certainty. It is, though, plausible that the negatives in the Allard Pierson Museum found their way into the collection by way of Emilie Haspels. In any event this is true of the glass negatives in the Rijksmuseum. Haspels, who never married

and remained childless, enjoyed collecting. After her death in 1980 the archives – including the glass negatives – went from her house in Abcoude to her nephew George Viets, and the contents of her home were divided up.⁶³ The glass negatives then finally found their way to the Rijksmuseum. The family archives also contain one of Kleijn's cameras and a number of letters that confirm his role as a photographer. This is why the glass negatives in the Rijksmuseum's collection can be attributed to him with great certainty.

< Fig. 22
ANONYMOUS,
Steps beneath a pergola, leading to a building upper left with galleries or balconies with columns and openwork balustrades, and with windows with shutters, c. 1855.
Collodion glass negative, 210 x 268 mm.
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, inv. no. APM 16.759.

ABSTRACT

In 1999 a group of nineteenth-century glass negatives were transferred to the Rijksmuseum from the University of Leiden's Print Room. The negatives came from the estate of the Dutch artist Laurens Lodewijk Kleijn (1826-1909), who also made them. Kleijn lived in Rome between 1851 and 1868, became interested in photography and began to experiment with the medium. While he was in Italy, he came into contact with Princess Marianne, who awarded him a number of commissions. He also looked after her sizeable collection, first in Rome, later in her museum in Erbach. As the curator, Kleijn photographed part of the collection and the museum's interior. These photographs were used for a museum catalogue and for picture postcards. The Rijksmuseum's glass negatives show a variety of artworks from the princess's collection. There are more experimental shots, too, family photographs and portraits, and photographs of paintings by Kleijn and of his studio. Thanks to the surviving glass negatives – and the artist's estate as a whole – it was possible to reconstruct his interesting life story and take a fresh look at the history of photography.

- * My thanks to Mattie Boom, who pointed me towards this research and encouraged me to pursue it, and to Josine van Wanroij-Viets, who manages the Kleijn family archives.
- 1 Mattie Boom and Hans Rooseboom (eds.), *New Realities: Photography in the 19th Century*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 2017.
 - 2 The glass negatives were transferred to the University of Leiden's Print Room in 1900 by George Frans Viets and came from the family archives, which were kept by Viets. See Malika M'rani Alaoui, 'Laurens Lodewijk Kleijn', *Fotografisch Geheugen* 94 (2018), pp. 4-9.
 - 3 The modern prints from the negatives were probably made by the Leiden Print Room's photographer. Some of the art reproductions are mounted on cardboard and may have been printed by Dr E. Albert & Co. in Munich and by Gebr. Richter in Dillenburg.
 - 4 In 1893 Kleijn added 'van Brandes' to his surname, to honour his mother, whom he never saw again after the family moved to the Netherlands. See Anonymous, 'Aankondiging ingevolge art. 64 van het Burgerlijk Wetboek', *Provinciale Overijselsche en Zwolsche courant*, 22 August 1893.
 - 5 Kleijn also had a sister, who initially stayed with her mother and did not follow her father and brother to the Netherlands until much later. In 1840 Laurens Kleijn – Kleijn's father – had the fourteenth-century castle demolished and built a modern country house in its place.
 - 6 P.C. Molhuysen and K.H. Kossmann (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, 10 vols., Leiden 1911-37, vol. 10 (1937), pp. 470-71, see http://resources.huylens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/nnbw/#page=0&accessor=accessor_index&source=10, consulted 2 February 2019.
 - 7 Saskia de Bodt, 'De Antwerpse academie in een veranderende kunstwereld', in Els de Bruyn, Nico Dockx and Johan Pas, *Contradicties: Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen 2013-1663*, Ghent 2013, pp. 203-15, esp. p. 205.
 - 8 Nijmegen, Radboud University, J.A. Alberdingk Thijm Archives, inv. no. THYM-5329. Letter from Philippeau to Royer, 26 September 1845.
 - 9 Antwerp, Royal Academy for Fine Arts, Modern Archives, inv. no. MA 177, enrolment register 1837-1850.
 - 10 Adolphe Siret, *Notice sur Joseph-Ernest Buschmann, correspondant de l'Académie*, Brussels 1870, p. 5; Jan Lampo, *In het spoor van de Academie: Kunsten in Antwerpen*, Antwerp 2013, p. 101. From 1840 Buschmann worked as a lecturer at the Academy in Antwerp. Around 1847 he made daguerreotypes and calotypes (including portraits and reproductions of artworks from his collection). From the late eighteen-forties he and the journalist Guillaume Claine experimented with the process with a glass support. Buschmann also introduced the Stylography engraving process into Belgium. See also Steven Joseph, *Directory of Photographers in Belgium 1839-1905*, 2 vols., Antwerp 1997, vol. 1 (1997), p. 74.
 - 11 We do not know what his actual position was. Anonymous, 'Kleijn van Brandes †', *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 11 March 1909. See also an anonymous obituary in *De Vriend des Huizes* 27 (1909), pp. 297-300.
 - 12 Jenny Reynaerts, 'Het karakter onzer Hollandsche School': *De Koninklijke Academie van Beeldende Kunstenaars te Amsterdam 1817-1870*, Leiden 2001, p. 176. Royer was the director of the Amsterdam Academy from 1852 to 1859.
 - 13 For example a letter dated 4 September 1852 that Philippeau and Stöver jointly sent to Royer. Nijmegen, Radboud University, J.A. Alberdingk Thijm Archives, inv. no. THYM-5329.
 - 14 Christine A. Dupont, *Modèles italiens et traditions nationales: Les artistes belges en Italie (1830-1914)*, 2 vols., Brussels 2005, vol. 1, p. 315.
 - 15 Nijmegen, Radboud University, J.A. Alberdingk Thijm Archives, inv. no. THYM-5422. Letter from Royer to Stöver, undated. With thanks to Eva Geudeker for pointing me to this letter.
 - 16 The RKD has it that the artists arrived in Rome in 1845 (see *RKDartists*, Carel Frans Philippeau). This is incorrect. In that year – and the subsequent years – Kleijn and Philippeau's names are listed in the enrolment register of the Academy for Fine Arts in Antwerp. Kleijn studied there during the 1849-50 academic year. We know that afterwards he lived in Amsterdam for a short time, that he arrived in Rome together with Philippeau and Stöver, and that he was certainly in Rome in 1851.
 - 17 Johan Philip Koelman, *In Rome, 1846-1851*, Arnhem 1869, p. 170.
 - 18 This may have been the Florentine art dealer Lodovico Metzger (1821-1862), the son of the German engraver and art dealer Johann Metzger (1772-1841), who went to live in

- Florence at an early age and married and had children there. See Benezit Dictionary of Artists, www.oxfordartonline.com/benezit/abstract/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.001.0001/acref-9780199773787-e-00121607, consulted 5 February 2019.
- 19 Rieke van Leeuwen, *Kopiëren in Florence: Kunstenaars uit de Lage Landen in Toscane en de 19de-eeuwse kunstreis naar Italië*, Florence 1985, pp. 104-05.
 - 20 Anonymous, 'Binnenland', *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 November 1861.
 - 21 Anonymous, 'Verslag der Dames-Hoofdc commissie te Zwolle, voor de verloting van voorwerpen van kunst en smaak, ten behoeve der slachtoffers door den brand van Enschede van 7 mei 1862', *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, 3 January 1866.
 - 22 *Tentoonstelling van schilder- en andere werken van levende kunstenaars te Amsterdam, in den jare 1862*, Amsterdam 1862, nos. 260-64: *Hagar en Ismaël in de woestijn* (property of Princess Marianne), *Eene jonge Romeinsche vrouw in nationale klederdracht*, *Dood wild*, *Landschap (Fragment der Peperino steengroeven van Marino. Pauselijke Staten)*, and *Schetsen van modellen, dienende voor decoratie op stuc en gebakken steen, gewaarborgd tegen vocht*. Research period Dutch salon catalogues: 1845-80.
 - 23 Jan Coppens, *Een camera vol stilte: Nederland in het begin van de fotografie, 1839-1875*, Amsterdam 1976, fig. 135.
 - 24 Sandra Costa and Thierry Dufrêne, *La peinture italienne des XIXe et XXe siècles*, Paris 1999, p. 20.
 - 25 The whereabouts of this painting are unknown.
 - 26 Kees van der Leer and Tiny de Liefde-van Brakel, *Prinses Marianne 1810-1883: Een leven van liefde en kunst*, Zwolle 2010, p. 151.
 - 27 Dick Adelaar et al., *De blijvende verlokking. Kunstenaars uit de Lage Landen in Italië 1806-1940*, exh. cat. Rotterdam (Kunsthall) 2003, p. 77.
 - 28 Nijmegen, Radboud University, J.A. Alberdingk Thijm Archives, inv. no. THYM-5368. Letter from Stöver to Royer, 8 February 1852.
 - 29 Van der Leer and De Liefde-van Brakel 2010 (note 26), p. 153.
 - 30 Annette Dopatka, *Marianne von Preussen: Prinzessin der Niederlande. Leben und Wirken einer selbstbewussten Frau, für die Schloss Reinhartshausen im Rheingau zum Lebensmittelpunkt wurde*, Frankfurt 2003, pp. 88-89. Schloss Reinhartshausen is now a luxury hotel. A number of paintings by Kleijn, including *Hagar Grieving in the Wilderness beside the Dying Ishmael*, are still in the building.
 - 31 Molhuysen and Kossmann (note 6), p. 471. In 1872 Kleijn worked as a lecturer in 'handteekenen en boetseren' (drawing and modelling) at the Hogere Burgerschool in Zutphen. He was also vice-president of the Zutphen art society Pictura. Anonymous, 'Academie en Schoolnieuws', *Zwolsche Courant*, 9 November 1872; *Tentoonstelling van schilderijen en teekeningen van levende Nederlandsche meesters, geopend door de kunstvereniging Pictura*, Zutphen (Pictura) 1871.
 - 32 *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 13 August 1873.
 - 33 Dopatka (note 30), p. 69.
 - 34 Molhuysen and Kossmann (note 6), p. 471.
 - 35 Anonymous, 'Binnenlandsche Berichten', *Delftsche Courant*, 14 May 1885; Anonymous, 'Exposition Universelle d'Anvers', *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 28 November 1885.
 - 36 Letter from Princess Marianne, 24 October 1876.
 - 37 Van der Leer and De Liefde-van Brakel (note 26), p. 173. According to De Liefde-van Brakel, the prospectus without photographs is in Stadtbibliothek Bad Homberg. This is an unusually early example of making photographs of paintings intended for a publication. Kleijn also made a smaller, less elaborate book, without photographs, in which more than six hundred paintings in the princess's collection are described. A copy of this book is among others held in the RKD. See Laurens Lodewijk Kleijn, *Gemälde Schloss Reinhartshausen*, Erbach s.a.
 - 38 *Sammlungen Schloss Reinhartshausen, Rheingau: 171 Gemälde der deutschen, französischen, italienischen und niederländischen Schule, ägyptische und römische Bronzen, attische Tonvasen, antike Gemmen und Kameen, Vermeil-Silber, etwa 200 alte Dosen, darunter zahlreiche friderizianische Emaildosen*, sale cat. Berlin (Paul Graupe), 6-7 June 1932.
 - 39 The Museum Swaensteyn in Voorburg has other photographs of the museum's interior, probably also taken by Kleijn, in its collection.
 - 40 *Sammlungen Schloss Reinhartshausen 1932* (note 38); Van der Leer and De Liefde-van Brakel (note 26), p. 182.
 - 41 Thanks to Kleijn's surviving passports and diaries, we know that he travelled a lot and

- among other places he visited Sicily and Naples several times.
- 42 Piero Becchetti, 'Early Photography in Rome up to the End of Pius IX's Reign', in Ann Thornton (eds.), *Rome in Early Photographs: The Age of Pius IX. Photographs 1846-1878 from Roman and Danish collections*, exh. cat. Copenhagen (Thorvaldsen Museum) 1977, pp. 31-38, esp. p. 32; Piero Becchetti and Maria Francesca Bonetti, 'La dagherrotipia a Roma', in Maria Francesca Bonetti and Monica Maffioli, *L'Italia d'Argento: 1839/1859 storia del dagherrotipo in Italia*, exh. cat. Florence (Palazzo Vecchio) 2003, pp. 238-43, esp. pp. 238-40.
- 43 Saskia Asser, 'Early Days', in Boom and Rooseboom 2017 (note 1), pp. 80-84, esp. p. 81.
- 44 Anne Cartier-Bresson and Anita Margiotta, 'Le cercle photographique du Caffè Greco', in Anne Cartier-Bresson et al., *Roma 1850. Il circolo dei pittori fotografi del Caffè Greco/Rome 1850. Le cercle des artistes photographes du Caffè Greco*, exh. cat. Rome (Musei Capitolini)/Paris (Maison européenne de la photographie) 2003, pp. 12-21, esp. p. 15.
- 45 Peter Fuhring, 'De fondsljst van de fotograaf James Anderson', in Mattie Boom et al., *Een nieuwe kunst: Fotografie in de 19de eeuw. De nationale fotocollectie in het Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam*, Ghent 1996, pp. 247-51, esp. p. 247.
- 46 See for example *Catalogo delle fotografie di Anderson vendibili presso la Libreria Spithöver*, Rome 1881.
- 47 Cartier-Bresson and Margiotta 2003 (note 44), pp. 16-17.
- 48 Richard W. Thomas, 'Photography in Rome', *The Art-Journal* 14 (May 1852), pp. 159-60.
- 49 Noack was a well-known photographer, however little can be discovered about Keller. Kleijn wrote to him as a photographer; he was probably a printer or publisher based in Rome. See *Atti della provinciale accademia delle belle arti in Ravenna dal 1856 all' anno 1861*, Ravenna 1862, p. 278.
- 50 L.L. Kleijn private archives. Letter from Kleijn to Achille Keller, 27 November 1864. During that period Luigi Gregori was working as a restorer and a collection specialist in the Vatican. See Sophia Meyers, 'Seeing Purity in Painting: A Fresh Look at the Career of Luigi Gregori (1818-1896)', in Sophia Meyers, Charles R. Loving and Robert R. Coleman, *Artist in Residence: Working Drawings by Luigi Gregori (1819-1896)*, exh. cat. University of Notre Dame (IN) (The Snite Museum of Art) 2012, pp. 13-20, esp. p. 14. Kleijn and Gregori were good friends and kept in touch after Kleijn returned to the Netherlands.
- 51 L.L. Kleijn private archives. Letter from Stöver to Kleijn, 6 July 1856.
- 52 The hospital is better known as the Ospedale Germanico and was built on the Via del Tempio di Giove, on the Capitoline Hill. Kleijn also painted a portrait of Mrs Van Geuns; the photograph served as the example for it.
- 53 The family members were identified by Kleijn's surviving relatives.
- 54 J.W. Salomonson, 'Herdenking van Caroline Henriette Emilie Haspels (15 September 1894-25 December 1980)', *Jaarboek Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam 1980, p. 193.
- 55 Ibid., p. 194.
- 56 Emilie Haspels also learned a lot about photography from her friend Hermann Wagner, a photographer at the German Archaeological Institute in Athens.
- 57 Salomonson 1980 (note 54), p. 195.
- 58 Ibid., p. 197.
- 59 Ibid., p. 199.
- 60 René van Beek, 'Emilie Haspels, pionier in de archeologie', *APm: Allard Pierson mededelingen* 111/112 (2016), pp. 16-20, esp. p. 18.
- 61 Wim Hupperetz, 'Romeinse glasnegatieven uit 1855', *APm: Allard Pierson mededelingen* 100 (2009), pp. 20-27, esp. p. 22.
- 62 Ibid., p. 25.
- 63 George Frans Viets, 'Een schets van Emilie Haspels', *De Profeet van de Veluwe* 4 (1988), no. 15, pp. 25-28, esp. p. 25.

