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A noble business

Susanna d'Aumale and the French upholsterer Adrien Fievez dit de Malines at Kasteel Hardenbroek

111

The Utrecht archives have preserved numerous bills and accounts relating to the renovation of Kasteel Hardenbroek, which was supervised by Johan Adolph baron van Hardenbroek (1721-1791)¹ and his second wife Susanna d'Aumale (1740-1822).² Successive building and decorating campaigns between 1762 and 1793 transformed the medieval residence into a classical country house that can still be seen today (figs. 1, 3-4). While historians have documented the changing appearance of the castle's exterior, its interior has hitherto been ignored and very little is known about its transformation during this period.³ The bill (see appendix), dated 25 November 1793 and submitted by the French upholsterer Adrien Fievez dit de Malines, is therefore of particular interest to art historians as well as economic and cultural historians, as it documents the interior decoration of the castle during the last phase of its renovation, which was overseen by Susanna d'Aumale following her husband's death.

The descriptions of the wallpapers, textiles and furniture supplied by Adrien Fievez give an idea of the appearance of the rooms furnished and inform us about the fashionable choic-

1 Johan Adolph heer van Hardenbroek, Lockhorst, 's-Heeraartsberg, Bergambacht, Ammerstol en Bergestein. On Johan Adolph, see R.E. de Bruin, 'Johan Adolph van Hardenbroek (1721-1791), generaal en kasteelheer', *Utrechtse Biografieën. Het Kromme Rijngebied* (Utrecht 2002), 67-72.

2 Susanna Civilla, gravin d'Aumale, markiezin d'Haucourt. On Susanna, see M.J.G.A. Barthels, 'Susanna d'Aumale (1740-1822)', *Utrechtse biografieën. Het Kromme Rijngebied* (Utrecht 2002), 15-20.

3 The most recent and extensive overview of the building history can be found in B. Olde Meierink, G. van Baaren, R.G. Bosch van Drakenstein et al., *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht* (Utrecht, 1995).



Fig.1. 'Kasteel' Hardenbroek, country house at Driebergen (photo E.A. Canneman, 1968; *Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed*, Amersfoort, 34.244)

es made by Susanna d'Aumale (fig. 2). The bill also sheds light on Fievez, who was apparently a skilled upholsterer with solid noble connections, but about whom little is known. Although historians have acknowledged the role of *tapissiers*, or so-called French upholsterers [*Franse (kamer)behangers*], in the creation of unified interiors for the upper classes during the second half of the eighteenth century, historical research has primarily concentrated on their activities in the important urban centres of Holland and their mainly male clients.⁴ This contribution instead focuses on a female noble patron furnishing and decorating a ma-

⁴ For an overview see E. Koldeweij, '1750-1800', in: W.C. Fock and T.M. Eliëns, *Het Nederlandse interieur in beeld 1600-1900* (Zwolle, 2001), 260-261. On architecture of the period, mainly in Holland, see: Freek Schmidt, *Paleizen voor prins en burgers. Architectuur in Nederland in de achttiende eeuw* (2006).

Fig. 2. Susanna d'Aumale (1740-1822) (oil on canvas, Guillaume de Spinny, 1771; photo Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague; coll. Hardenbroek Castle)



113

for country residence in the Province of Utrecht at the end of the eighteenth century with the aid of a French upholsterer. A close reading of this source reveals how such a decorating campaign unfolded, and elucidates the role taste played in the life of a noble woman trying to upkeep her social position in a time of change.

The eighteenth-century transformation of Kasteel Hardenbroek

The Hardenbroek family had inhabited Kasteel Hardenbroek since the medieval period until 1648, when the house and its estates were sold.⁵ In 1748 the house and estates re-entered the family's possession when they were bought back by Johan Adolph baron van Hardenbroek. He was born in Utrecht as the son of Johan Louis van Hardenbroek (1691-1747) and Johanna Charlotte van Renesse (1697-1723) and had a successful military career, ending as Lieutenant General and Governor of Bergen op Zoom. His parents belonged to the old land-owning aristocracy of Utrecht and Zeeland, and his older brother Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek (1719-

⁵ Olde Meierink et al., *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht*, 231-232.

1788) was a well-known courtier whose diaries chronicle the social life and intrigues of the court of Stadholder William V and Wilhelmina of Prussia. Johan Adolph married Susanna d'Aumale in 1768 with whom he had four sons and two daughters: Gijsbert Carel Duco (1769), Louis (1771), Sophie (1773), the twins Ernst Louis and Louise Ernestine (1774), and Govert Johan Adolph (1780). Susanna Civilla d'Aumale was born in Leeuwarden as the daughter of Carel Duco d'Aumale (ca. 1680-1746) and Petronella van Assendelft (1701-1746), but was raised with her siblings in Utrecht by her maternal aunt after the death of her parents. Susanna was a contemporary and acquaintance of the author and novelist Isabella Agneta Elisabeth van Tuyll van Serooskerken, later known as Isabelle de Charrière, or more popularly as Belle van Zuylen. Unlike Belle, Susanna attached great importance to her social standing. She referred to Johan Adolph in writing as 'Le Général', and after his death she received condolences from the Stadholder Willem V and his heir, the future King William I of the Netherlands.⁶

114

Johan Adolph van Hardenbroek had begun to modernise the castle in 1762. This first renovation had sought to create a symmetrical façade and build an additional floor with the raising of the attic.⁷ A second campaign began in 1789 and lasted four years, during which the exterior of Kasteel Hardenbroek acquired the symmetrical front and rear facades that are visible today. During this time marble chimneypieces were imported from Liège and England, but otherwise nothing is known about the renovation of the interior.⁸ Although only summers were traditionally spent at country estates, and his military work required him to often be away from Utrecht, it is evident that Johan Adolph attached great importance to the restoration and enlargement of Kasteel Hardenbroek. As Hardenbroek was a *ridderhofstad*, which gave its owner the right to a seat in the knighthood in Utrecht, it was probably dynastic and political ambitions as well as family sentiment that spurred on his building activities. He was only the second feudal landowner in the region to undertake such extensive renovations after Jacob Diederik van Tuyll van Serooskerken had commissioned Jacob Marot to restore Slot Zuylen in 1752.⁹ Although many regents from Utrecht and Amsterdam bought renovated country estates around Utrecht, only a few feudal landowners modernised their country estates.¹⁰ Johan Adolph spent considerable resources to updating his ancestral residence and it has been suggested that the famous neoclassical architect Jacob Otten Husly (1738-1796) was in charge of the last renovation, but documentary evidence to support this assertion has yet to be found.¹¹ The archives do show that Husly's uncle and mentor, Hendrik Huslij (ca. 1706-1770), was paid several times in 1764 for unspecified plaster and stucco work in the castle's interior.¹²

6 M.J.G.A. Barthels, 'Susanna d'Aumale and Isabella Tuyll van Serooskerken; different female destinies', in: *Cahiers Isabelle de Charrière/Belle de Zuylen Papers* 5 (2010), 24.

7 Olde Meierink et al., *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht*, 234.

8 Olde Meierink et al., *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht*, 235.

9 Th.H. von der Dunk, 'De Stichtse bouwkunst in de nadagen van de Republiek', *Jaarbericht van de Stichting Utrechtse Kastelen* (1996), 17

10 Ibid., 23.

11 Olde Meierink et al., *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht*, 234, notes 9 en 10.

12 Utrecht, Archief Hardenbroek, toegang 643-1, inv.nr.147-1a.

The upholstery firm Fievez dit de Malines

It is generally acknowledged that eighteenth-century women played an important role in the renovation and decoration of houses, but little is known about their specific contributions.¹³ Although Susanna d'Aumale oversaw the last phase of the renovation of Kasteel Hardenbroek, which continued for two years after the baron's death, her role has been ignored by historians. The bill for furnishings supplied by the upholsterer Adrien Fievez dit de Malines is therefore compelling evidence of the widow's personal involvement and her determination to ensure a comfortable and tasteful home for herself and her family. The renovation had created a relatively uniform layout of the castle's *bel étage*, where the reception rooms were located, but most of the bill's contents were intended for the family's private quarters, found on the first and second floors (fig. 3). The majority of Susanna's purchases were wallpapers and textile furnishings, including window curtains and bedding, as well as the necessary hardware for draping, such as the curtain rods, rings and finials. It seems likely that Fievez worked on the rooms that had recently been finished.

115

The bill for the interior decoration of Kasteel Hardenbroek reveals the upholsterer Adrien Fievez and his work for the Utrecht nobility. Almost nothing was known about Fievez, except that in 1818 there was an eponymous firm in Utrecht selling French wallpapers.¹⁴ The man who signed the bill in 1792 must have been the same man who is described as a '*kamerbehang*' in the Utrecht archives in 1794 and 1796.¹⁵ The announcement of his death in the *Utrechtse Courant* on 23 August 1819 tells us that his marriage to Maria Françoise Canon presented him with five sons and that he died at the age of 69 after 37 years of marriage.¹⁶ Fievez was living in Utrecht from at least 1790 onwards when on 6 April he signed a lease for a residence on the fashionable Maliebaan in Utrecht.¹⁷ His last name suggests that he probably came from Malines or Mechelen. Perhaps Fievez moved to Utrecht during the Brabant Revolution (1789-1790), which would make it likely that he had already established contacts in the Northern Netherlands. The activities of French upholsterers like Fievez were wider ranging than the traditional upholsterer and included selling upholstered furniture in addition to providing and fitting interior textiles, wallpapers and bedding.¹⁸ Most members of first-generation French upholsterers working in Amsterdam also came from the Southern Netherlands, and their contacts in these regions probably gave them an advantage over Dutch upholsterers in obtaining superior French products and craftsmanship.¹⁹

¹³ Koldeweij, '1750-1800', 266.

¹⁴ Knuijt, 'Utrecht in fragmenten. De Utrechtse Behang Collectie en een geschiedenis van het papierbehang in Utrecht tussen 1765 en 1900', *Jaarboek Oud Utrecht* (1992), 67.

¹⁵ Utrechts Archief, toegang 1007-2 Gemeentebestuur van Utrecht 1813-1969, deel 2, inv.nr. 11658, fol. 38.

¹⁶ *Utrechtsche Courant* (27 August 1819), n.p.

¹⁷ Utrechts Archief, toegang 34-4 Notarissen in de stad Utrecht, 1560-1905, inv.nr. U274a006, fol. 623.

¹⁸ R. Baarsen, 'French upholsterers in Amsterdam', *Furniture History* 21 (1985), 49-50.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

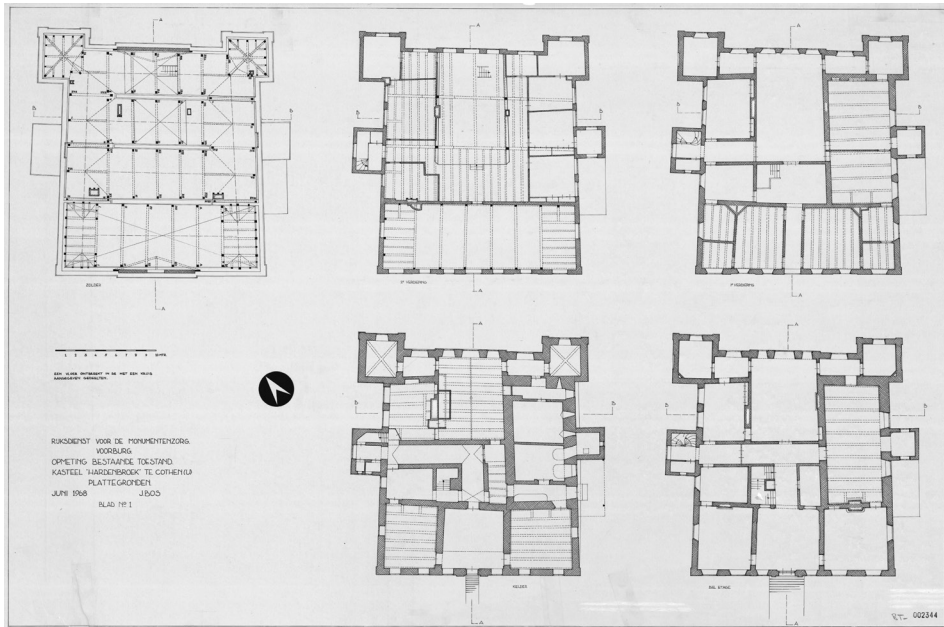


Fig. 3. Floor plans of Kasteel Hardenbroek (J. Bos, 1968; coll. Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, Amersfoort, BT-002343)

Fievez's firm must have supplied other clients with discerning taste as they were listed in 1818 as one of only three Utrecht clients of the fashionable wallpaper firm Zuber in Rixheim, France.²⁰ Zuber was the only non-Parisian manufacturer whose output rivalled and surpassed that of the French capital in terms of quality and renown, and thus Fievez must have supplied his clientele with high quality products.²¹ His eldest son, Joannes Adrianus Fievez, continued his father's ambitions and emulated the example of contemporary French upholsterers and designers, whose designs appeared in the *Receuil des draperies* by d'Hallevant and Pierre de la Mésangère's *Meubles et Objets de Goût*, which circulated in the early nineteenth century. This appears from the two 'patriotic' curtain designs he published in 1832 in the magazine *Proteus* (figs. 5-6), along with an exoneration of French drapery design, i.e. by the Napoleonic architects Charles Percier and Pierre Fontaine, as emulation of clas-

20 B. Jacqué and E. Koldeweij, 'Sales of scenic wallpapers from Jean Zuber & Co in the Netherlands (1815-1824)', *Het Nederlandse Binnenhuis gaat zich te buiten (Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 14)* (Leiden, 2007), 216-227; appendix 1, 223-224.

21 Knuijt, 'Utrecht in fragmenten', 74. See also H. Clouzot, *Le papier peint en France du XVIIe au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1932), 24, and Bernard Jacqué, *Papiers peints: l'histoire des motifs, XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Dourdan, 2010).

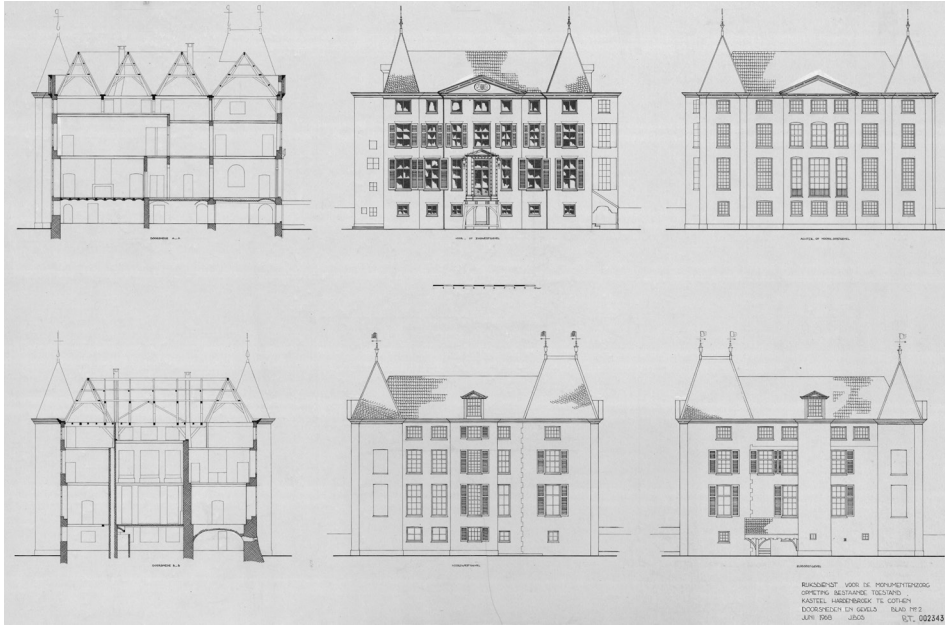


Fig. 4. Facade and sectional drawings of Kasteel Hardenbroek (J. Bos, 1968; coll. Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, Amersfoort, BT-002344)

sical examples.²² In addition to Percier and Fontaine, Fievez also appears to reference the tapissier Michel-Jacques Boulard (1761-1825), who was the official upholsterer of Empress Josephine.²³ This suggests that Fievez had first-hand knowledge of Boulard's work, which he may have seen at the castle of Fontainebleau or the Tuileries palace during his travels in France. Fievez's curtain designs were certainly very different in style to the furnishings delivered by his father to Susanna d'Aumale at Kasteel Hardenbroek, but it is evident that the family firm sought to provide their elite clientele with fashionable furnishings inspired by courtly examples from France. Moreover, it seems likely that Adrien Fievez was already able to supply his clients with such services and products soon after he founded his upholstery firm in Utrecht.

²² *Proteus: tijdschrift voor de Hollandsche heerenkleeding en ter bevordering van nationale nijverheid* (1832), 53-54.

²³ The text only mentions 'le Boulard', which might also refer to the cabinetmaker Benoit-François Boulard (1766-1846), who also supplied the imperial household, and was a cousin of the upholsterer Michel-Jacques Boulard.



Figs. 5 and 6. Two designs for state curtains (Joannes Adrianus Fievez, dit de Malines published in *Proteus, tijdschrift voor de Hollandsche heerenkleeding en ter bevordering van nationale nijverheid*, Amsterdam, 1832)

The bill addressed by Adrien Fievez to Susanna d'Aumale details the furnishings he supplied between April and 24 October 1792. From its format as a running invoice, it can be deduced that Fievez arrived at Hardenbroek with stocks and samples on specific days indicated in the margin: 1 June, 9 June, 14 June, 22 July, 19 August, 27 September and 24 October. On these occasions Susanna d'Aumale must have indicated her choices. The bill was settled on 25 November 1793, more than a year later. The total sum of her purchases amounted to f1908, sixteen *stuivers* and four *penningen*. This was a significant expense, especially when compared to the f1732 paid for a new stable for twelve horses in 1792.²⁴ Susanna also spent substantially more than the one guilder and four *stuivers* by her late husband on wallpaper in 1765, although this estimate did not take into account the work of Hendrik Huslij.²⁵ Fievez worked on several rooms in the castle, including the bedrooms of Susanna and two of her children, the library and dining room, as well as the 'green' and 'yellow' rooms, which were probably

24 Olde Meierink et al., *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht*, 235.

25 Ibid., 234.

situated on the *bel étage* (fig. 3). The names of these rooms suggest the use of a single colour for the walls, curtains and other textile furnishings, which were provided by the upholsterers, and such coordinated decorative schemes reflected the neoclassical taste for unified and balanced interiors.²⁶ Fievez also supplied some pieces of furniture, including two beds with canopies, and some carved decorations and picture frames. The bill also mentions the services of labourers contracted by Fievez to install the wallpapers and textiles, such as Willem Lambot, who was paid f59 for 59 days of work at Kasteel Hardenbroek.

Fievez delivered several fixed elements for the castle's interior, including two French mirrors, which were the most expensive items on the bill. Large mirrors were amongst the most important and costly elements in eighteenth-century interiors and often served as a focal point in important rooms by being placed above the chimneypiece.²⁷ Until the end of the eighteenth century the best and largest mirrors were produced in France, and the combined cost of the mirrors made up almost a third of the total amount at f632.²⁸ Each mirror measured approximately 180 x 80 centimetres and they were certainly intended to be placed above the mantels of the chimneypieces in the reception rooms on the *bel étage*.²⁹ A smaller mirror, which measured approximately 90 x 50 cm, costed only f28, and was probably intended for private usage, perhaps in the baroness's powder room. Fievez also provided the frames for these mirrors, which were listed immediately after the items, and whose decorations were described variously as sculpted, painted, with ribbons or with rosettes. Additionally, Fievez supplied 'architectural' ornaments, such as the oval overdoor for the green room downstairs at eleven guilders, four other overdoors with vases and baskets with flowers for f26, and a bas-relief with a blue background for above the *porte brisée* at eleven guilders, which probably connected two reception rooms on the *bel étage*. It is not clear from the bill if these overdoors were painted or carved. Since these prices were comparatively more elevated than the thirteen guilders and four stuivers received by the master carpenter Gerrit Steenis for carving 44 rosettes in the castle's dining room,³⁰ these decorations were likely produced by specialised carvers subcontracted by Fievez.

The bill also mentions several pieces of case as well as seat furniture, which was upholstered by Fievez. The most important pieces of furniture included one 'small' bed at f54, described '*à quatre courbes*' with its curtains of *toile d'Angleterre* with blue stripes, which probably referred to the chintz fabrics traded with England. The description of the bed possibly suggests the kind of curved corner posts found in the *lit à la polonoise*. Another bed was delivered with white cotton hangings, and was slightly more expensive at f56 and therefore probably slightly bigger. Both beds with canopies cost approximately two months of salary for skilled labourers, like Lambot. In addition to the beds, which were a considerable expense, the bill listed several mattresses, duvets, pillows, which Fievez supplied or filled,

26 Koldeweij, '1750-1800', 278.

27 Ibid., 270.

28 Thornton, *Authentic Decor*, 152.

29 A French *pouce* measured 2,54 cm.

30 Utrechts Archief, toegang 643-1, Hardenbroek Archief, 147-1-C (1791-1792).

washed, corded or mended. On 1 June 1792, Fievez delivered a small commode, painted white and blue, and another commode, painted green, and two '*chiffres pour des tabourets*', acquired in Paris for fourteen guilders. The cyphers or monograms probably refer to woven or embroidered upholstery for seat furniture. Upholstery for seat furniture with monograms or initials was available in Paris to order by foreign patrons since the late seventeenth century, when the manufactories set up by Louis XIV set the standard for fashionable upholstery throughout Europe.³¹

Almost a third of the bill consists of interior textiles, most of which were provided by Fievez in June 1792. Textiles played a crucial role in the creation of eighteenth-century interiors and were available in an ever-increasing assortment and variety.³² Supplying, installing and repairing soft furnishings was the core task of the traditional upholsterer and the items listed by Fievez varied considerably in their appearance and usage. The largest purchase was an extraordinary amount of 858 *aunes* [1029 meters] of linen from Engelberg in Switzerland, which amounted to f214 and ten cents. Both the type of linen and the amount indicated that it was almost certainly used as the base for the wallpaper installed by Willem Lambot and Jean Maas between 5 March and 19 May 1792. The bill also included plain floor coverings, which had become more common during the course of the eighteenth century. The bill lists 26 *aunes* [31 meters] of *Tapis d'Ecosse* or 'Scotch carpet', which was produced in Scotland as well as Holland, and was relatively inexpensive, reversible and with a low pile.³³ Fievez also arranged the sewing together of the panels and the carpet's borders, for which he sold about ten *aunes* [twelve meters] of ribbon.

121

Fievez also delivered window curtains to Kasteel Hardenbroek, which at this time usually consisted of double panels instead of the single panel curtains that had been common earlier in the century.³⁴ Curtains offered both privacy and protection against draughts but could also be a major feature of a room's decoration. Fievez supplied curtains of chamois cotton and curtains described as *à l'Indienne*, doubled with green taffeta, and *toile de Turquie* to make two small blinds. The bill also lists cords for use as drawbacks for the curtains as well as a striped white and green cord for hanging pictures in the yellow room. Finally, Fievez provided textile borders for old tapestries, a door covering or *portière* in chamois cotton, and some fabric for the library that was probably used to create a slipcover for the cupboard mentioned in this room. Several pieces of embroidery *à l'Indienne* were supplied to 'repair' the Great Hall or Saloon.

Almost half of the items listed in the bill are wallpapers, most of which were supplied and presumably installed in April 1792. Wallpapers were a relatively new and fashionable product that was increasingly used in interiors during the second half of the eighteenth century. Initially imported from England, wallpapers were made in the Dutch Republic begin-

31 Mertens, W.J.J. 'Meubeltapisserieën in de Nederlanden en Frankrijk vanaf de late middeleeuwen tot 1900. Aspecten van productie, iconografie, distributie en gebruik', (Leiden, 2008), 193-196.

32 Koldeweij, '1750-1800', 278.

33 Thornton, *Authentic Decor*, 101; Koldeweij, '1750-1800', 279.

34 Koldeweij, '1750-1800', 278.

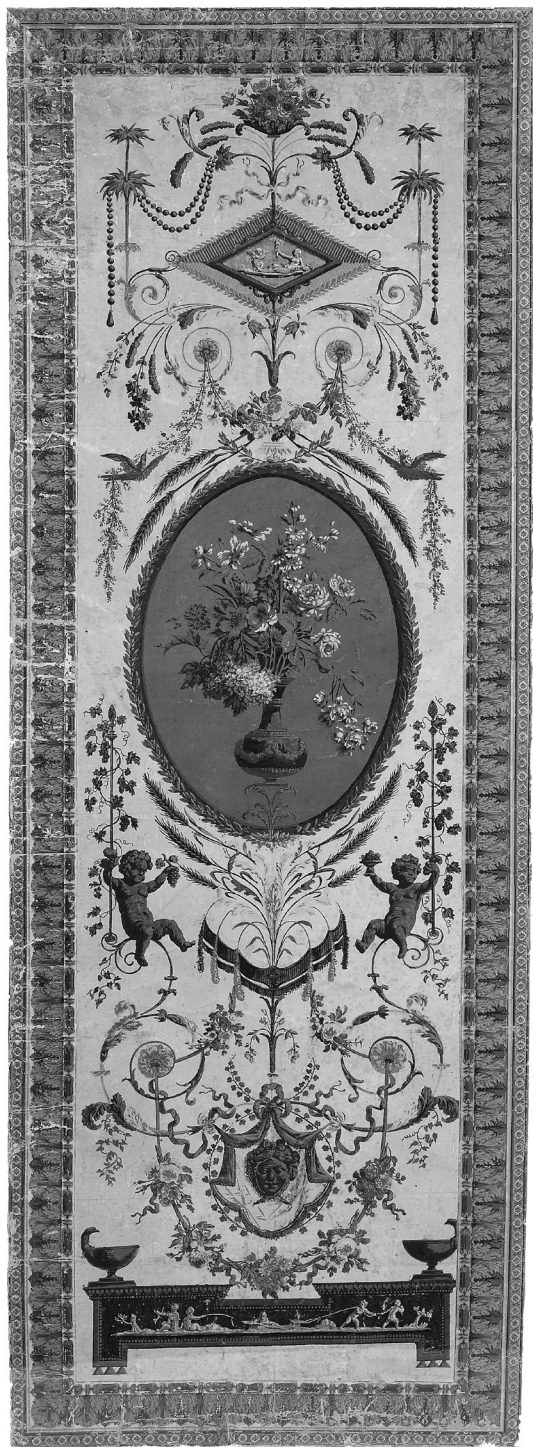


Fig.7. Example of a late eighteenth-century French wallpaper panel with medallion and neoclassical ornament (*Manufacture Réveillon, Paris, ca. 1785; coll. Musée du Papier Peint, Rixheim, inv. 985 PP 1-2*)

ning in the 1760s.³⁵ Most of the colours mentioned by Fievez appear to be on the lighter side of the colour spectrum, including grey, yellow, green as well as striped patterns combining white and green or white and blue, as well as floral patterns on a grey background, like in the baroness's powder room. Of note, patterned wallpapers were generally more expensive than plain coloured ones.

Fievez summarily described the patterns of the wallpapers and in several cases indicates where they were placed. Four bedrooms were situated beneath the castle's new roof, which had only recently been tiled, and therefore needed to be furnished. Two of these bedrooms, described in the bill as smaller, received *papier Indiën*, while in the two other bedrooms on the same floor, one was hung with wallpapers bearing patters of bouquets of flowers on a green background and the other was papered with yellow wallpaper as well as wallpaper with a pattern described as 'grey mosaic'. The wallpaper used in Susanna's own bedroom is described as green with white stripes and flowers, which was also one of the more expensive wallpapers listed on the bill. Four small medallions for the doors of Susanna's room were supplied at eight guilders probably refer to wallpaper as well (fig. 7). Many of the wallpapers supplied by Fievez imitated architectural ornament, such as cornices, chair rails, wainscoting and overdoors. The upholsterer described some patterns simply as architectural, but he also provided more specific descriptions, such as the *bordure à rubans* or border of ribbons applied in Susanna's younger son's bedroom, the grass borders in her bedroom and powder rooms, and the large borders *d'Indiënne* in the small attic rooms.

123

The abundant usage of wallpapers noted by Fievez demonstrates Susanna's desire for her and her children to live fashionably in their private rooms. The description of patterns, colours and borders in the bill is particularly noteworthy as these must have been chosen and approved by Susanna d'Aumale, and thus reflect her personal tastes. The bill also suggests that patterned wallpapers were more commonly used in the private rooms than the public rooms of the castle, which were less prone to changes in fashion. As wallpapers were very much restricted to the affluent until 1840 and were often only used in the public areas of the house, the abundant usage of wallpapers in the apartments is particularly striking.³⁶

Caution is required when interpreting Fievez's descriptions of wallpapers. Because Kasteel Hardenbroek is closed to the public, it is not possible to verify if Susanna's purchases have survived and thus makes it difficult to identify the patterns and motifs mentioned in the bill. One wallpaper, whose destination is not specified, is described as peacock feathers on a green background, which could also signify a kind of paisley pattern. Another ambiguous term is the previously mentioned *à l'Indienne*, which, in the eighteenth-century Netherlands, usually refers to wallpaper imported from Canton by the Dutch East India Company, and was a very popular style for decorating private rooms as well as public ones later on.³⁷

³⁵ Ibid., 272.

³⁶ E. Koldewij, E. Adriaansz, J. des Bouvrie, M. Knuijt, M.-A. Simons, R. Spruit, and M. Addink-Samploni-us, *Achter het behang. Vierhonderd jaar wanddecoratie in het Nederlandse binnenhuis* (Amsterdam, 1991), 91.

³⁷ Ibid., 89.



Fig. 8. Example of a wallpaper imitating 'Indienne' textiles (*Manufacture Réveillon, Paris, 1789; former Follot Collection Paris, acquired with the support of the FRAM Alsace; Musée du Papier Peint, Rixheim, inv. 99 PP 8-15*)

However, Fievez could be referring to European imitations of Indian chintz (fig. 8), and it does seem unlikely that the more expensive, imported Chinese wallpapers would be used for attic rooms. Another enigmatic pattern described in the bill is *mosaïque*, which is sometimes followed by a colour indication, and was used as a wall covering as well as borders. The term probably denotes a repetitive or perhaps geometric design, composed of squares, dots or rosettes. The same term is used in Jean-Michel Papillon's contemporary treatise on woodblock engraving and printing to describe patterns found in nature, which supports the idea that *mosaïque* denotes an arrangement of motifs rather than a particular form of ornament.³⁸

³⁸ J.-M. Papillon, *Traité historique et pratique de la gravure en bois*, Volume I (Paris, 1766) 373-375; Volume 2 (Paris, 1766), 104, 118, 189, 191.

Conclusion

Fievez's bill offers only a glimpse at the changes in the interior of Kasteel Hardenbroek at this time, but it is the only source that provides significant details about its eighteenth-century transformation as well as information about the taste of the castle's residents and the skills of the artisans and craftsmen they employed. It also foregrounds the frequently neglected role played by eighteenth-century women in the creation of modern and fashionable interiors. The quality and the expense of most of the mirrors, wallpapers and fabrics indicate that the ambitions that guided the refurbishing of Hardenbroek's interior were very high; what we know of Fievez in later years suggests that this firm could live up to such high expectations. Moreover, the fact that Susanna's preference for wallpapers was shared by contemporaries such as Isabelle de Charrière and the Stadholder's consort, Wilhelmina of Prussia, might be considered as a sign that we deal here with a patron who knew what was fashionable in the highest circles and who strove to upkeep her family's social position at least in part by means of a tastefully decorated house.³⁹ Fievez's descriptions also evoke the lighter colour schemes adopted in the late eighteenth-century interior as well as a general mood that was captured in Isabelle de Charrière's novel *Mistress Henley* (1784), whose female protagonist expressed her desire for a modern, lighter interior instead of the heavy furniture, sombre green velvet hangings and tattered tapestries of her husband's ancestral house.⁴⁰

125

Susanna d'Aumale's purchases reflected the dominant trends of neoclassicism and Chinoiserie, and suggest that she was a discerning patron who was closely involved in the arrangement of her interiors. Although her views on interior decorating are unknown, she had previously asked her stepson Johan Govert Adolph van Hardenbroek (1752-1774), who served at the court in The Hague, to acquire a tea table and chiffonier for the family residence in Utrecht and remarked that she had heard that his rooms were very elegant.⁴¹ Fievez's firm was evidently able to deliver a similar standard as the craftsmen and artisans working in The Hague, where the demands of the court, regents and diplomats ensured a high standard for luxury goods. That the upholsterer addressed his bill to Susanna d'Aumale also indicates that she continued playing a leading role in the renovation of Kasteel Hardenbroek after it had been inherited by her son, Gijsbert Carel Duco as Lord of Hardenbroek (1769-1851) in 1791, since tradesmen habitually billed such expenditures to the male head of the household. Susanna would continue to live there during the French period, during which her sons were deprived of their titles but not their possessions. Shortly before her death in 1822, Susanna's sons, who served as provincial executives and at the court in the Hague, were granted the hereditary title of baron.

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³⁹ See Koldeweij, '1750-1800', 272.

⁴⁰ I. de Charrière, *Lettres de Mistriss Henley, publiées par son Amie*. N.P. (Geneva, 1784), 22; Koldeweij et al., *Achter het behang*, 87.

⁴¹ Barthels, 'Susanna d'Aumale and Isabella van Tuyll van Serooskerken', 24.

Appendix

Note: What follows is a literal transcription of the bill presented by Adrien Fievez dit de Malines and therefore contains apparent incongruencies in spelling and such that are characteristic of historical documents. The amounts billed are noted in *guilders*, *stuivers* and *penningen*. A French *pouce* is exactly 2,54 cm. The textiles are measured in *aunes*, which was a French measure used to indicate the lengths of textiles and measured about 1,189 millimetres.⁴² Fievez listed wallpapers as *pièce*, which could denote a single sheet or a pack of wallpaper, as well as *rouleaux* or rolls. The dimensions of sheets varied according to the mould sizes used by paper mills, but by the middle of the eighteenth century a roll was typically 8.5 or 10.5 meters long and consisted respectively of sixteen or eighteen sheets of wallpapers stuck together. In 1778, the length of a roll of printed wallpaper produced in France, where the most fashionable wallpapers were made, was officially set at nine *aunes* or ten metres and seventy centimetres.⁴³ The quantities in the bill account for the need to cut the textiles and wallpapers so that the repeated patterns matched.

A Utrecht Anno 1792.

Madame la Baronne Douairière

De Hardenbroek: doit

à Fiévez-dit-Demalines.

Avril.	Livré une Glace de France de 70 pouces sur 33	f	312.	..	..
	Un Encadrement sculpté et peint Gris et Blanc.		16.	..	..
	Livré un petit Lit à 4 courbes, avec ses Rideaux de Toile d'Angleterre à raies bleues.		52.	..	..
	Avoir defait un petit Matelas, fait éplucher le crin et carder la laine et facon.		3.	..	..
	Fourni pour ouvrier ledit Matelais: 6 aunes toile large, à 26 s		7.	16.	..
	Fourni 13 pièces de toile d'Engelberg, chaque piece contentant 66 aunes; ce qui fait en total: 858 aunes, à 5 sols l'aune		214.	10.	..
	32 paquets de petits cloux blancs, à 6 sols. le paq.		9.	12.	..
	Fourni pour 2 petites chambres en haut, dans les Manzardes:				
	4 pièces de papier Indiën, à 50.s la pièce.		10.	..	..
	Une pièce papier Gris uni		1.	10.	..
	2 dito de Lambris Gris, à 3 fl.		6.	..	..
	Une dito bordure large d'Indiënnne		3.	..	..
	2 pièces corniche d'architecture, à 30 s.		3.	..	..
	Pour une autre chambre, au même Etage:				

⁴² *Nederlandsch handelsmagazijn, of algemeen zamenvattend woordenboek voor handel en nijverheid*, (Amsterdam, 1843) 123.

⁴³ Clouzot, *Le papier peint en France*, 9.

Fourni; 2 pieces de papier Gris Mosaïque, à 50 s.	5. _.	._.
Une dito papier jaune uni, à	1. 10.	._.
Une dito Corniche d'architecture, en jaune,	1. _.	._.
4 petits Rouleaux Bordure d'Architecture	2. 10.	._.
1½ pièce de Lambris, à 3fl.	4. 10.	._.
1½ dito de Simaise dessus le lambris	._.	18. _.

Pour une autre Chambre au même Etage:

Fourni: 6 pièces de papier, fond vert, à bouquet, à 3 fl.	18. _.	._.
4 dito de Bordure d'Architecture, à rubans verts	2. _.	._.

Pour une dito au même Etage:

Fourni: 4 pièces de Bordure, pour entourer une vieille Tapisserie	2. _.	._.
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Pour la Chambre Bluë, au 2de Etage:

Fourni; 5 Rouleaux de Papier, Bleu-uni, à 5 fl.	25. _.	._.
2 dito Papier Gris-uni à 30 s.	3. _.	._.
2 dito Lambris fin à 4½ fl.	9. _.	._.
Total:	712.	16. _.

127

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Transporté de l'autre côté	f	712.	16.
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2 pièces de Corniche d'Architecture à 30 s.	3. _.	._.
6 dito. Petit Bordure d'Architecture à 20 s.	6. _.	._.
2 Dessus de Porte ovales à figures à 11 fl.	22. _.	._.
Une pièce de Bordure pour l'entourer	5. _.	._.

Dans le Passage d'à côté:

Fourni: 3 Rouleaux de Papier-Mosaïque: à 50 s.	7. 10.	._.
3 petits dito de Bordure à rubans.	1. 10.	._.
Une pièce de Bordure pour les Dessus-de-Porte:	._.	15. _.

Dans la Chambre du Fils Cadet:

Fourni: 3 Rouleaux de papier Mosaïque, en Gris, à 50 s.	7. 10.	._.
3 pieces de Bordure, à rubans.	1. 10.	._.

Pour la Chambre de Madame:

Fourni: 12 Rouleaux de papier à rayes: Vert et Blanc, à fleurs, à 65 sols.	39. _.	._.
7 pièces de Bordure, large à 35 s.	12. 5.	._.
4 petits Medaillons pour les portes, à 2 florins.	8. _.	._.
2 petites pieces de Bordures, en herbes à 15 s.	1. 10.	._.
Une piece de Bordure Grise.	._.	10. _.
Papier Gris uni, pour encadrement des Dessus-de-Porte	1. _.	._.
Papier marbre	1. 10.	._.

Pour le cabinet à poudrer:

Fourni: 4 pieces de papier Gris_uni à 30 s.	6. _.	._.
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3 dito, de Bordure en herbes, à 15 s. 2. 5. _.

Pour la Chambre de la Demoiselle:

Fourni: 8 pieces de papier Gris-Mosaïque, en Gris, à 50 s. 20. _.

2 dito de Lambris Gris, à 3 fl. 6. _.

6 dito de Bordure à 15 s. 4. 10. _.

Une dito pour encadrer le Dessus-de-Porte à _.

Pour la Chambre d'en-bas, en papier Vert:

Fourni; 5 Rouleaux de Papier, en Verd-uni, à 3½ fl. 17. 10. _.

2 pieces de papier Gris-uni, à 30 s. 3. _.

2 dito de Lambris à 3 fl. 6. _.

2 dito de Corniche d'Architecture, à 2 fl. 4. _.

1½ piece de Simaise, à 20 s. 1. 10. _.

6 Rouleaux de Bordure d'Architecture, à 20 s. 6. _.

Un Dessus-de-Porte, Oval. 11. _.

3 aunes de papier marbré. _.

Dans le Coridore; auprès de la Chambre verte:

Fourni: 5 pieces de papier Gris, Mosaïque, à 50 s. 12. 10. _.

5 dito de Bordure, à rubans, à 15 s. 3. 15. _.

Total 932. 16.

Transporté de l'autre part. 932. 16.

Pour la Salle-à-manger:

Fourni: 19 feuilles de Parterre à 3 fl. la pièce 57. _.

4 mains de papier Gris à 8 s. 1. 12. _.

Pour réparer la grande Salle:

Fourni 8 pièces de Bordure, à l'Indienne, à 12 s. 4. 16. _.

Pour la Chambre Jaune:

Fourni 70 cloux de cuivre. _.

2½ au.[nes] de Cordon, Vert et Blanc, pour pendre un tableau _.

Envoyé Willem Lambot depuis le 5 de Mars, jusqu'au 19 mai, travaillé 59 jours à 20 s. 59. _.

et Jean Maas, le même tems, à 15 s. 44. 5. _.

4 Dessus-de-Porte, 2 vases, 2 Corbeilles-à-fleurs, à 6 p fl. la pièce 26. _.

Un bas relief à fond bleu pour la porte briséé 11. _.

Une Glace de France, de 35 pouces sur 20 28. _.

Encadrement et Rosetts 17. _.

1 Juin. Livré une petite commode peinte en bleu et blanc 13. _.

26 au.[nes] de tapis d'Ecosse, à 28 s. l'aune 36. 8. _.

Pour l'avoir fait coudre 2. 12. _.

10 au.[nes] de ruban pour le border à 2 s. 1. _.

	Avoir recouvert une Bergère en Coton: fourni ruban filoselle et Cloux dorés.	1. 18. _.
	Façon pour l'avoir regarni	2. 10. _.
9 dito.	Livré un Lit à 4 Courbes: fourni le Bois, Toile, Sangles, sa Garniture de Coton blanc et façon.	56. _.
	$\frac{3}{4}$ au.[ne] de toile pour un rideau-à-store, à 20 s.	3. 5. _.
	$\frac{1}{2}$ au.[ne] de franche, à 4 s.	_.
	Bois-à-Coulis, et une verge de fer, Corde blanche, et Anneaux de cuivre.	1. 13. _.
	2 Soutiens et un bouton de fer & façon	1. 5. _.
14 dito.	Une Comode, peinte en vert.	18. _.
	Avoir épluché le Crin et cordé la Laine d'un Matelas: façon.	3. _.
	Et avoir fait laver la toile.	_.
	Avoir fait 2 Rid. d'Indienne, doublés de Taffettas Vert, façon et soie-à-coudre, à 50 s la piece.	5. _.
	Une verge en fer poli, avec sa Garniture, de poulies en Cuivre.	2. 15. _.
	14. au.[nes] de cordon rouge et blanc, à 3 et une poulie en Cuivre.	2. 12. _.
	2 paires de Glands, à 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ fl. la paire.	7. _.
	2 anneaux en Cuivre, pour attacher les Glands.	_.
	14 au.[nes] de Chamoise blanche, pour une paire de Rideaux, à 25 s.	18. 4. _.
	Toile glacée, Bon grain et Anneaux de Cuivre, pour les têtes	2. _.
	2 paires de Glands, Bleu et blanc.	6. _.
	14. au.[nes] de Cordon pour ouvrir et fermer les Rideaux, à 3 s.	2. 2. _.
	Façon desdits Rid. à 30 s. la pièce.	3. _.
	Une verge en fer poli avec sa Garniture de Poulies en Cuivre.	2. 15. _.
	f 1375. 6.	
	Transport de l'autre côté	1375. 6.
	2 Anneaux en cuivre pour attacher les Glands.	_.
	6 s 8 aunes de Chamoise blanche pour une Portière, à 26 s l'aune.	8. 12. 4.
	Bongrain, toile glacée pour la tête et Anneaux de Cuivre, & façon.	2. 2. _.
	Une verge en fer pol, et Pitons.	1. 6. _.
	Avoir fait éplucher le crin et cordé la laine d'un Matelas et pour avoir fait laver la toile.	1. 12. _.
22 Juillet.	Avoir fait 4 Côtés de Lit: fourni 6 au. de toile Grise, à 16 s.	3. _.
	$2\frac{1}{2}$ de toile raïee pour doubler à	2. 15. _.
	2 au de toil blanche pour l'autre Lit. à 10 s.	1. _.
	8 Boucles et Courroyés de Cuir pour les 2 Lits. à 4 s.	1. 12. _.
	Envoïé un Ouvrier pour placer des Rideaux, &c.	1. 2. _.
	Livré un Matelas empli de Crin et Laine, de la meilleure qualité, couvert de Hilversum blanc.	24. _.
	10 au. de toile de Turquie, pour 2 petites Rid.-à-Store et un grand, à 15 s.	7. 10. _.
	3 Bois-à-coulis et 3 Verges: Anneaux de Cuivre et corde blanche	4. 10. _.
	Façon.	3. _.

	6 soutiens en fer et boutons en Cuivre, et 3 verges en fer.	1. 19. _.
	2 au. de Coutil fin, pour 2 Oreillers en plumes, à 32 s. l'aune.	3. 4. _.
	6 lb. de Duvet, de la meilleure qualité, à 30 s. la tt.	9. _.
	Crine et facon.	1. 4. _.
	3 1/8 au. de toile cirée pour le devant d'une porte, à 18 s. l'aune.	2. 17. _.
19 Août.	Fourni pour 2 Traversuis, 4 au. de toile Grise.	1. _.
	Avoir fait éplucher le crin et corder la laine de 2 petits	
	Matelas et les avoir refait à neuf; à 50 s.	5. _.
27 Sept.	Livré une Glace de France, de 71 pouces sur 34.	320. _.
	Un cadre sculpté à rubans: peint Gris et Blanc.	16. _.
24 Octobre.	Fourni pour le Cabinet de Madame: 3 pieces de papier, à bouquets,	
	fond Gris, à 3 fl.	9. _.
	2 pieces de Papier, fond Verd-uni; à 3 1/2 fl.	7. _.
	5 dito Bourdure, en 3 couleurs	5. _.
	1 dito Lambris, Gris et Vert.	3. 10. _.
	1 1/2 dito. de Corniche d'Architecture, à 50 s.	3. 15. _.
	Une piece de Simaise, pour le Lambris	1. _.
	Fourni pour la Bibliothèque:	
	13 1/2 au. de toile, pour couvrir l'Armoire, à 5 s.	3. 7. _.
	2 paquets de Cloux.	_.
	10 pieces de papier, fond Vert, à plumes de Paon, à 3 1/2 fl.	35. _.
	6 dito de Bordure verte à 20 s.	6. _.
	2 Dessus-de-Porte, en Gris, à 4 fl.	8. _.
	6 jours de travail, à 2 Garçons, l'un à 20s et l'autre à 15 s.	10. 10. _.
	2 Chiffres pour des Tabourets, payé à Paris 7 fl.	14. _.
		1908, 16. 4.
Reçu le 21 Novembre 1793,		
	- Fievez dit Demalines	

Bron: Utrechts Archief, toegang 643-1, Archief Hardenbroek, inv.nr. 147-1C.

Kastelen in Zeeland, 1570-1670. Adellijke huizen en burgerlijke buitenverblijven 9

Martin van den Broeke

A monument for an English Queen. The genealogical programme on the tomb of Philippa of Hainault (d. 1369) at Westminster Abbey, London 41

Sanne Frequin

Lions or lilies? The dynastic identity of Margaret of Burgundy (1374-1441) as represented by material objects 61

Margreet Brandsma

