

HAN VAN MEEGEREN AND HIS PORTRAITS OF THEO VAN DER PAS AND JOPIE BREEMER

“De wereld zou beter zijn als alle mensen hun eigen ritme verstonden en het in harmonie konden brengen met dat van anderen, bij de muziek die van de hemel komt.” *De wereld een dansfeest*, Arthur van Schendel (The world would be better if everyone understood their own rhythm and in harmony could bring with that of others to the music of heaven. *The World is a Festival of Dance*, Arthur van Schendel)*

Ever since my Schubert Iconography was published I continued to find more Schubert images heretofore unknown to me¹. After the article's publication I donated all my Schubert iconography research files to the City University of New York Research Center for Music Iconography, and sent newly discovered images to the RCMI to add to the research inventory. From time to time I discover interesting Schubert images, often not compelling for the quality of their art but interesting regarding the curious historical circumstances surrounding the artist who created the image.

I have long been an admirer of Vermeer, and in January 2009 I bought Benjamin Binstock's *Vermeer's Family Secrets*.² I began to read the author's discussion of the clever and talented Dutch art forger Han (Henricus Antonius) van Meegeren (1889-1947), best known for his Vermeer forgeries. Like most people interested in art I had heard about this duplicitous artist and his incredible success at fooling the Vermeer experts, but I had never seen any examples of Van Meegeren's own original artwork signed with his own name. As I read on in Binstock, there on page 59 I saw a 4.5x8 cm reduction of a Van Meegeren watercolor drawing of the famous Dutch pianist Theo van der Pas (1902-1986) with a group of composers.³ Binstock says:

¹*NOTE: Translations are the author's and any errors are solely my fault.

¹ Janet I. Wasserman, "A Schubert Iconography: Painters, Sculptors, Lithographers, Illustrators, Silhouettists, Engravers, and Others Known or Said to Have Produced a Likeness of Franz Schubert," in *Music in Art; International Journal for Music Iconography* [City University of New York, Research Center for Music Iconography], XXVIII, 1-2, 2003, pp.199-241.

² Benjamin Binstock, *Vermeer's Family Secrets: Genius, Discovery, and the Unknown Apprentice* (Routledge, 2009).

³ Binstock, *Vermeer's Family Secrets*, 59. The image (plate 40) is labeled "Van Meegeren, *Theo van der Pas*, ca. 1940;" and following is the source provided for the image - the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie. However, the entry in the RKD portrait database, number 109736, provides no mention of the date of the portrait's creation nor does it provide the dimensions and medium. This large drawing, as it is usually described, is a watercolor and mixed technique [pen and ink drawing] on paper, 152x253 cm, ca. 1942; that date - 1942 - is perhaps open to question. The drawing was included in an exhibition mounted by Van Meegeren at the Kunstzaal of the Hotel Hamdorff in Laren and reported in *De Tijd*, 20 November 1941. The newspaper's critic apparently did not like the Van der Pas drawing, writing that the artist depicts Van der Pas "as a superman, as a self-absorbed titan," and of the gallery of composers' heads as they spin through the clouds: "Men zal toegeven dat dit iets te veel is." (One will admit that this is too much.) In Frank Wynne, *I Was Vermeer* (Bloomsbury, 2006), the reproduction of the painting opposite p. 150 is captioned a "melodramatic potboiler." The portrait's last appearance was when Van der Pas's descendants offered the work for sale by auctioneers Van Stockum, The Hague, in September 2004, for ca. 10,000 euros; the drawing sold for 8,500 euros. It was noted that one of Van Meegeren's forged Vermeers could go for as much as 45,000 euros. No researcher has yet made clear that there is a smaller, later version of the large watercolor drawing of "Theo van der Pas" done by Van Meegeren after his original large portrait; the later version is a charcoal and white chalk poster and was offered at Christie's Netherlands in 2002. Also found was the design for the poster. Whatever versions are cited, there is no certainty as to the exact dates of their creation but we can make some fairly good

Van Meegeren's portrait of the pianist van der Pas comes closer to Vermeer's situation in relation to his predecessors and peers (Fig. 40). Mozart offers the most obvious parallel for Vermeer, given their brief lives and the delicate perfection of their art, although the relations among Rembrandt, Fabritius and Vermeer correspond to Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven. Another analogy is provided by the absent figure of Mendelssohn, who rediscovered Bach, reminding us that artists were the first and the greatest historians of art.⁴

Binstock's discussion at this point is about Vermeer's strategies in using the traditions of his artist predecessors. However, citing Mozart for his brief life, likened to that of Vermeer (1632-1675) who died in his early forties, overlooks the simple fact that among the group of seven composers in the portrait Schubert had the shortest life, dying nearly eleven weeks before his thirty-second birthday. The composers' life years and age at death are, in alphabetical order: Bach (1685-1750), 65; Beethoven (1770-1827), 56; Brahms (1833-1897), 63; Chopin (1810-1849), 39; Mozart (1756-1791), 35; Schubert (1797-1828), 31; and Schumann (1810-1856), 46. Binstock's contention about these composers' brief lives, seeing Mozart as the shortest lived of the seven and comparing that span of years to those of Vermeer's, is undone by simple arithmetic. Vermeer was forty-three when he died. The composer whose age at death is closest to Vermeer's was Schumann at age forty-six; while Mozart died younger than either Vermeer or Schumann, Schubert lived the shortest life in this group, Vermeer included.

Van der Pas was highly regarded as a pianist and taught at the Royal Conservatories of Music in Rotterdam and in The Hague where he had studied. Many of his recordings from the 1930s and 1940s are available today in their original formats as well as re-mastered versions on CDs. Some are solo recordings but more often he performed live as a Lieder accompanist and in chamber music ensembles with many artists whose names became more famous than his. He also played regularly with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw under Willem Mengelberg (1871-1951) and other leading orchestras and conductors. He performed in Europe, Africa, Asia and the Dutch East Indies. He partnered most notably with cellist Emanuel Feuermann (1902-1942) who consistently asked Van der Pas to tour with him and to record together at home and abroad, which they did most successfully. Van der Pas is still remembered in the Netherlands as one of their most highly respected pianists and piano pedagogues of the twentieth century but without a wide international reputation (although he is better known among piano aficionados).⁵ He played the works of all the composers (and recorded some) seen in Van Meegeren's drawing, including Mendelssohn who is not shown.

In the Van Meegeren drawing Van der Pas, who was especially known as a Chopin interpreter, sits at a piano dressed in evening clothes for his recital. He is shown in profile facing left. With his hands on the keyboard he is gazing upwards but apparently not seeing the ghosts of

estimates based on Van Meegeren's return to the Netherlands (1939) and the date of the article in *De Tijd* (1941).

⁴ Binstock, *Vermeer's Family Secrets*, 86. On 11 March 1829, twenty-year-old Felix Mendelssohn conducted at Berlin's *Singakademie* the first albeit shortened performance of Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* since ca. 1742 (and not since the work's premiere in 1727, as has been alleged). Bach was not, in fact, rediscovered; he had most likely been overtaken by up and coming composers after his death in 1750. The Mendelssohns were avid collectors of Bach manuscripts and several family members, including Felix's mother, played Bach at home. It would be more appropriate to say that Bach underwent a revival and not a rediscovery, although some musicologists contend that the issue is not settled. See Jeffrey S. Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation: Felix Mendelssohn and the Nineteenth-Century Anti-Semitic Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), in which Sposato cites Bach performances in 1729, 1736 and ca. 1742, p. 191n1.

⁵ Margaret Krill, *Nederlandse Pianisten. Meesters Uit de 19de en 20ste Eeuw* (Bekking & Blitz, 2010). A CD of the same title was produced in 2010 by the Netherlands Music Institute as an accompaniment to the book. Theo van der Pas appears in the book and the CD.

the great music masters of the past. Starting from left to right stands the bewigged and smiling Mozart, looking at the pianist; a grim Beethoven whose hand is with fingers bent, as if he was about to play, reaching out to Van der Pas; a glorious Bach, staring straight at the viewer and not at the pianist - his head and neck encircled by his wig which glows like a halo; a placid and disinterested Brahms; a distant-looking Schumann; and an austere Chopin who gazes at a faraway point but whose ghostly hand rests on Van der Pas's shoulder.⁶ Schubert is the only other sitting figure, next to the seated Van der Pas. In Van Meegeren's *Teekeningen I*, are four faces drawn with ghost-like visages labeled sculptor, musician, poet and painter. Three of the four full-face portraits have their eyes open. The fourth face - musician - has his eyes closed and in this instance alone resembles the death mask of Beethoven in the Van de Pas portrait; the image of Beethoven's death mask was widely reproduced after his death.⁷

Of the portrait of Theo van der Pas, one reviewer says: "Ook de portretschilder is aanwezig in eengrote tekening van Theo van der Pas aan en vleugel omringd door de uit een droomwereld rijzende figuren van Beethoven, Mozart, Bach, Schumann, Schubert en Chopin." (The portrait painter is present in a great drawing of Theo van der Pas and a piano surrounded by a dream world of rising figures of Beethoven, Mozart, Bach, Schumann, Schubert and Chopin.)⁸ Brahms was omitted but, in any event, what is the meaning of the comment? Was it a case of Van Meegeren being seen as putting himself spiritually into the presence of those great composers, the equal of any one of them? Was this evidence of Van Meegeren's visible yearning to be accepted as equal to such esteemed company, men who lived lives of struggle and conquered early disappointment, who ultimately astounded the world of music? This would be so for all these composers except the young prodigy Mozart whose career as a child performer was nothing short of astonishing. Mozart's financial woes as an adult became a heavy burden, and the other composers certainly struggled at some points early in their lives to find a way to support themselves and their families. But their greatness was not in the money they earned but in the art they made. There was a place, the portrait painter and the critic seemed to say, for Van Meegeren among such great masters of art just as there is for Van der Pas. There is a curious resemblance seen in various photos of Van Meegeren and Van der Pas at different times of their lives: in the shape of the head, hairline, slicked back hair, long, lean face, and narrow chin. Sixty-six years later, Binstock comments:

Van Meegeren's own style is evident in his portrait of the Dutch pianist Theo van der Pas channeling yet also seemingly haunted by the great composers of the Western canon. The scene uncannily suggests Van Meegeren's own artistic circumstances; since he could not take his place alongside the great masters, he decided to 'interpret' them.⁹

As for identifying the owner of the ghostly hand on Van der Pas's shoulder, Jonathan Lopez says it is Franz Liszt but does not name all the composers. Edward Dolnick captions the image with the names of all the composers citing Chopin as the figure on the far right. Frank Wynne describes

⁶ Frederik H. Kreuger, *A New Vermeer: Life and Work of Han van Meegeren* (Delft: Quantas, 2007), p. 119, incorrectly states that the hand belongs to Schumann. He goes on to say that Van Meegeren "was extremely proud of it [the portrait] and had it hung in his own house in Laren and later in Amsterdam." Below Kreuger says: "He made portraits as well, again of the pianist Van der Pas, and of his own daughter Inez, who at 27 was a fine-looking woman." That would have placed the second portrait of Van der Pas around 1942.

⁷ D. Kraaijpoel and H. van Wijnen, *Han Van Meegeren 1889-1947 en zijn Meesterwerk van Vermeer* (Waanders, 1996), p. 48; H. de Boer, Pieter Koomen, Martien Beversluis and Jan Feith, *Han van Meegeren: Teekeningen I* ('s-Gravenhage: Boucher, 1942), "Musicus" is plate no. 21.

⁸ *Haagsch Maanblad*, vol.37-38, 1942, p. 246.

⁹ Benjamin Binstock, *Vermeer's Family Secrets*, p. 59.

the work and the grouping: “In his gloomy portrait of the concert pianist Theo van der Pas (plate 4), the assembled spectres of Bach, Beethoven, Schubert, Chopin et al. loom over the rapt performer more like executioners than muses.”¹⁰ Prior to the work’s sale in September 2004, the auction house Van Stockum in The Hague described the figures thus: “Around him [Van der Pas] stand the shadows of composers, from left to right Mozart, Beethoven, Bach, Brahms, Schumann and Chopin. Next to Van der Pas sits Schubert.” Comparison of Van Meegeren’s composer image on the far right to the plethora of Franz Liszt images brings it closest to Joseph Kriehuber’s several portraits of Liszt as a young man. There are images of Chopin as a young man that also resembles Van Meegeren’s last standing composer of the group. This simply reminds us that slim prosperous young men of that era (probably the 1830s and 1840s) with prominent cheekbones and large noses also dressed in similar fashion of the era and had their hair worn in the style then popular. If Van Meegeren was familiar with Van der Pas’s repertoire, he would surely have shown Chopin and not Liszt. While not among the six top prizewinners (because of a much later acknowledged desire by the competition’s Polish sponsors to name Polish pianists in the top categories), Van der Pas was awarded the Diplôme d’Honneur at the First International Chopin Piano Competition in Warsaw, 1927. “The archives of the pianist Theo van der Pas (1902-1986) contain correspondence, documentation and photos. Van der Pas was known as a Chopin performer and was professor of piano at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague.” This is a written statement in 2003 by Dr. C. Beck-de Jong, conservator of the Music Archives at the Netherlands Music Institute.¹¹ Moreover, only one recording made by Van der Pas that includes Liszt has been identified since Van der Pas’s complete discography has not been found online.

Contemporary images of Fryderyk Chopin show him with fleshy lips and a large hooked nose that was broad at the base, especially notable in profile images of him. In Delacroix’s unfinished 1838 portrait of Chopin, the composer’s nose is prominent above full lips. Chopin’s ancestry was not Jewish, rather his roots were French (paternal) and Polish (maternal) Catholics. His very small and lean frame, probably a result of his tuberculosis contracted at age twelve, intensified and sharpened his facial features. Van Meegeren’s Chopin looks young and healthy. In the rotunda of the Kosciuszko Foundation house in New York City is a larger-than-life-size bronze statue of a seated Chopin by the noted Polish sculptor Ludwika Nitschowa (1889-1989). By standing to one side and looking at the head in full profile, the viewer sees Chopin’s large hooked nose, which dominates his face. This Chopin statue (created 1976-1980) is the last of five Chopin statues produced in the sculptor’s lifetime. In the Van Meegeren grouping, sitting next to Van der Pas on the piano bench in a place of honor is Schubert, looking away toward the left at Beethoven. This placement of his image recalls Schubert’s profound admiration, one could say adoration, of Beethoven, viz. Schubert’s quotation in his Ninth (the Great C Major) Symphony from the finale of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony.

Any viewer not familiar with the face of Chopin who sees it for the first time and notes the hooked nose and large lips, especially during the era of the Nazi regime in Germany and its wartime occupation of several countries with all its anti-Semitic propaganda and images, would have been familiar with the Nazi portrayals of “vile Jews” with the same facial features - hooked noses and large, fleshy lips. Would Van Meegeren have wanted to send a Jewish-looking Chopin in the Van der Pas drawing to the Führer after the artist took pains not to include Mendelssohn? It would be easy for Van Meegeren to make Chopin appear more Liszt-like, that is, less Jewish. Van Meegeren’s image is Chopin; it is simply a very poor image of Chopin with a greatly scaled down nose, and

¹⁰ Jonathan Lopez, *The Man Who Made Vermeers* (Harcourt, 2008), p. 130; Edward Dolnick, *The Forger’s Spell* (HarperCollins, 2008), opp. p. 180; Frank Wynne, *I Was Vermeer*, p. 97.

¹¹ See <http://nederlandsmuziekinstituut.nl>.

might be better described as Chopliszt.

The composers are all immediately recognizable although the images on which Van Meegeren modeled his versions seem to vary, and we do not know what image sources he used. Mozart is in a dark coat with his right hand raised to chest level, palm outward, gesturing to the pianist. Beethoven's head is equal in size to Bach's (both Beethoven and Bach are the largest heads in the composition) while Beethoven's added torso and reaching hand are shown. Beethoven's figure is that of a giant among the other smaller figures. Bach's head and cascading wig are the central visual point in the drawing; he is precisely in the center, and he is a ghostly white, which radiates brightly toward all the other figures in the drawing. Standing somewhat behind Schumann, is Brahms as he appeared towards the end of his life in an often-reproduced print (and some known photographs) with droopy mustache, scraggly beard (partly hidden in the drawing), and a head of thinning hair. Schumann's image is recognizable but not a very good likeness of him at all. And, the Chopin image could even be mistaken for Mendelssohn, another slim young man who had long wavy locks, a large nose (but far smaller a hooked nose than Chopin's) and was always stylishly though conservatively dressed, as were the young Chopin and Liszt.¹² Mendelssohn, however, does not appear in this grouping with Bach whose St. Matthew Passion was revived in 1829 in Berlin by Mendelssohn to great acclaim.¹³ Van Meegeren was a successful society portraitist in the 1920s, which leaves one to wonder why his composer portraits around Van der Pas are less than successful recreations. An auction catalogue describes Van der Pas in the portrait: "The pianist Theo van der Pas feels himself full of emotion during his playing by the gesture of the hands of the big componists.[sic]"¹⁴ The Schubert seated next to Van der Pas appears to be based on an image from one of the late 19th century versions of him as seen on ubiquitous Viennese postcards featuring their native son composer. (See note 1.) It is not a good likeness of Schubert, but passable, and of course, *die Brille* - Schubert's famous spectacles - are the instant giveaway.

In 1932, after a dispute with the Haagse Kunstkring (Hague Art Society), Van Meegeren gave up his membership in the society and left the Netherlands to live in France, not returning to his home country until 1939.¹⁵ Van der Pas continued to build his career. On 10 September 1936, he appeared at The Hague in a benefit concert during which intermission Van der Pas took part in a recreation of a Schubertiad. With himself at the piano dressed in period clothing, wig, sideburns,

¹² See Janet I. Wasserman, "Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy & Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel: Portrait Iconographies," *Music in Art* [City University of New York, Research Center for Music Iconography], XXXIII/1-2 (2008), pp. 317-371, and, Janet I. Wasserman, "Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy as 'Peter Meffert of Buxtehude'," published 2009 online at www.janetwasserman.com.

¹³ An earlier biographer of Van Meegeren cites the negative judgments of the art critics by quoting the well-known connoisseur, critic and art dealer David Carritt: "They took pleasure in deriding him, and still do: he has been described, for instance, by one well-known judge as 'a bad artist, whose pictures of dainty roebucks sniffing almond-blossom, and of Paderewski-style pianists [meaning Theo van der Pas] receiving inspiration from the ghost of Liszt, had failed to win critical acclaim'." David Carritt, *London Evening Standard*, 2 February 1961, in John R. Godley, Lord Kilbracken, *Van Meegeren: Master Forger* (New York: Scribner's, 1967), p. 104. Apparently Carritt thought the composer's image hovering above Van der Pas, with his hand on the pianist's shoulder, was Liszt, but like other commentators, never Mendelssohn.

¹⁴ Paul Brandt, *Catalogue of the Important Sale By Auction. Property of the Dutch Painter H.A. Van Meegeren at His Home Keizersgracht 321 at Amsterdam, Holland, on Tuesday 5 and Wednesday 6 September 1950* (Amsterdam: Paul Brandt, 1950), p. 40.

¹⁵ The reasons for his leaving the Kunstkring are briefly discussed in Hope B. Werness, "Han Van Meegeren *fecit*," Denis Dutton, ed., *The Forger's Art: Forgery and the Philosophy of Art* (University of California Press, 1983), pp. 1-57: "It appears that Van Meegeren's reactionary views were at least tolerated for some time, and he was an active member of the art world of The Hague. However, in April, 1932, when he decided to run for the chairmanship of one of the sections of the Kunstkring, thirty members protested and threatened to resign if he were elected....", p. 16. After this rejection, Van Meegeren and his wife left in the autumn to live in the south of France.

and spectacles, he was Schubert accompanying the opera and oratorio singer baritone Willem Ravelli (1892-1980) who took the part of one of Schubert's earliest Lieder interpreters, Johann Michael Vogl (1768-1840). A group of men and women (including Mrs. Van der Pas), all dressed in period clothing, attended as the Schubertiad audience seated around the piano.¹⁶ We are not certain if Van Meegeren did or did not see Van der Pas as Schubert in 1936 since Van Meegeren was about to leave the Netherlands. At the end of the Van der Pas biography, the reproduction of Van Meegeren's drawing is dated 1938/1939 while the English-language insert in the liner notes of a Van der Pas CD states: "In 1940/1941 Han Van Meegeren asked Theo van der Pas to pose for a large drawing. Playing on a Grand Piano, the pianist is watched (hopefully with approval) by the great composers Mozart, Beethoven, Bach, Brahms, Schumann, Chopin and seated, Schubert."¹⁷ In 1941, under the German Occupation the performance of French, English and American musical works was forbidden in the Netherlands.¹⁸ But what about the Polish-born Chopin? Why was he acceptable in Van Meegeren's grouping? In fact, although Polish music and composers were banned, an exception was made for Chopin. The Nazi Governor-General of occupied Poland, Hans Frank (1900-1946) - a pianist and Chopin admirer who had the statue of Chopin in Warsaw pulled down for German scrap metal used in making armaments - even had a Chopin Museum built in Krakow.¹⁹

After his return from the French Riviera it appears that Van Meegeren had painted Theo van der Pas during the years that Van Meegeren lived in a villa in Laren, a well-known artists colony about 15 km east of Amsterdam. The work is described in a 1950 auction catalogue of Van Meegeren's property: "No. 206. A picture representing: a piano-recital by Theo van der Pas in the masters [*sic*] house in Laren. A party of ladies and gentlemen is attentively listening to the music. The interior is decorated with a picture by Gerald ter Borch, two antique oak statues, an oak chest, etc. Studio stamp at the bottom right. Canvas 70x80 cm. In gold frame."²⁰ Van Meegeren had a music room in his house at Keizersgracht 321 so it is quite possible that Van der Pas went to Van Meegeren's Amsterdam villa to play in this private setting. Also listed in the catalogue as No. 200 is an entry described as a large crayon drawing of Theo van der Pas, 150x250 cm, and that it was exhibited at the Mesdag Museum, The Hague - no date given.²¹

In Kreuger, the image of the Van der Pas portrait is captioned: "Deze grote tekening van de pianist Theo van der Pas (1,5 bij 2 meter) heft jarenlang in Van Meegerens huis gehangen. Later hing hij bij neef Van Meegeren in Wassenaar." (This large drawing of the pianist Theo van der Pas

¹⁶ Wim van der Pas, *Theo van der Pas (1902-1986) Een leven met muziek* (Theo van der Pas Stichting, 1998), p. 46.

¹⁷ Wim der der Pas, *Theo van der Pas*, p. 112; liner notes from "Monument Theo van der Pas" - a three-CD box of remastered Beethoven piano works performed by Theo van der Pas, issued by the Theo van der Pas Foundation. A Dutch newspaper item reports the Van Meegeren drawing, *De Tijd*, 20 November 1941. See a laudatory review by Jan Ubink, "Wit en Zwart: Een Beschouwing van den Kunstenaar Van Meegeren," *Haagsch Maandblad*, 15 May 1942, p. 246; Ubink writes of the 'great drawing' of Theo van der Pas and the famous composers.

¹⁸ W.J.M.A. Asselbergs, "Dutch Culture," pp. 111-112 in N.W. Posthumus, ed., *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, no. 245, May 1946. This special issue of *Annals* featured research and articles under the title "The Netherlands During German Occupation."

¹⁹ The US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, has the newsreel film of the Chopin Museum opening at http://resources.ushmm.org/film/display/detail.php?file_num=4636. See also the website of Ludmilla Berkwic, the sole pianist invited to play at the inaugural concert, www.ludmillaberkwic.org/TL_1940s.htm. The Russian-born Berkwic (1910-2004) was the youngest contestant in the First International Chopin Competition in 1927, the same competition where Theo van der Pas won his prize. The irony of her presence, the daughter of a Jewish father, at the inauguration of the Chopin Museum led to her denunciation and successful escape from Poland to Essen, Germany, where she survived the war as a forced laborer in an underground munitions factory.

²⁰ Paul Brandt, *Catalogue of the Important Sale By Auction*. no pagination, entries are in numerical order. No image of this picture has been found.

²¹ Paul Brandt, *Catalogue of the Important Sale By Auction*. no. 200, no pagination for the numerical entries.

(1.5 meters by 2 meters) hung for many years in Van Meegeren's house. Later it hung at Van Meegeren's nephew in Wassenaar.)²² Where is this picture of Van der Pas? As for Vermeer scholar Albert Blankert, he takes note of Van Meegeren's Theo van der Pas portrait and the correctly named composers surrounding him in the image's caption. "For the elevated pathos of *Christ at Emmaus* was also to be found in the works van Meegeren exhibited under his own name. (Fig. 50). The same critics who had rejected that pathos as hollow and exaggerated when it was presented to them as the brainchild of the unknown Han van Meegeren, were completely seduced by it when they thought it came from Johannes Vermeer."²³

Van Meegeren had an anxious and psychologically fraught childhood. He was a sickly and small child who was dominated and emotionally abused by his father whose constant message to the boy was that he was a cheat and amounted to nothing. His mother apparently had some feeling for art but was weak and submissive in the face of her husband's overbearing personality. Van Meegeren's father would not hear of art study for his son. As the boy grew to adolescence he found that he enjoyed art in high school - it was Van Meegeren's high school art teacher who introduced him to Vermeer. The most Van Meegeren's father would consider was for Han to study architecture. Han van Meegeren indeed studied architecture but ignored taking the final examination that would have gained him a license to work as an architect. He did little in the way of architecture and turned to drawing and painting. Now grown, Van Meegeren pursued the art studies his father earlier disdained.

By the 1920s, after years of struggle making little income, Van Meegeren developed a reputation making society portraits for wealthy patrons in the Netherlands and abroad. His portraits were adequate and pleasing and he was successful at it, making a lot of money. Much of his other artwork was not remarkable, reviewers said. Van Meegeren's anger at art critics and the art establishment in the 1920s, dismissive of his less than stellar talent, evolved into an ego-driven urge to avenge him on these critics. Thus the stage was set for his career as an art forger which led him to study the 17th century Dutch Masters - their subjects, their painting styles and techniques, their compounding of pigments, the canvas they used, and so on. He also developed a technique to age his "Old Master" canvases by baking them. The history of his career as an art forger is well documented in dozens of books and articles.

With his already conservative religious views and politics derived from his early family environment, Van Meegeren developed a sense of comfort with far right thinking. In 1928 he founded and wrote frequently for a small art journal *De Kempphaan* with a staunch anti-modernist philosophy and a like-minded editor and writer-contributors. By the 1930s he moved toward admiration of Hitler and the Nazi movement in Germany.²⁴ Along the way, during his early years of

²² Frederik H. Kreuger, *Han Van Meegeren, Meestervervalsen* (Veen Magazines B.V., 2004), p. 105. In Frederik H. Kreuger, *A New Vermeer: Life and Work of Han van Meegeren* (Delft: Quantas, 2007), p. 120, the caption to the Van der Pas drawing, the author says: the drawing "hung for years in Van Meegeren's home. It later adorned the home of his great-nephew André van Meegeren in Wassenaar, near The Hague." Who is or was this great-nephew? Han van Meegeren had four siblings only one of who was male, his brother Hermanus who wanted to be a priest and died in 1911 at the age of twenty-three. When Han's sisters Johanna, Wilhelmina and Augusta married, presumably they took their husbands' names as their own, although among Dutch married women it was perfectly acceptable to retain their maiden names, and their children bore their father's name. Han's son Jacques had two daughters. How did the family name of Van Meegeren attach to a "great-nephew" when the lineage did not seem to provide enough male Van Meegerens to pass the name on to an André.

²³ Albert Blankert, *Vermeer of Delft. Complete Edition of the Paintings*, with contributions by Rob Ruurs and Willem L. van de Watering (Phaidon, 1978), pp. 70, 72-73. Figure 50, p. 72, is the portrait of Theo van der Pas.

²⁴ Van Meegeren's inscription, "To my beloved Führer in grateful tribute, from H. Van Meegeren, Laren, North Holland, 1942," contained in a book of Van Meegeren's drawings, *Teekeningen I* ('s-Gravenhage: L.J.C. Boucher, 1942), found in Hitler's library after the war ended, and is still a point of contention among researchers. The inscription, Van Meegeren claimed, is a forgery while the signature is authentic. Van Meegeren said that he signed many copies upon the book's

success, Van Meegeren became a heavy drinker, and after many years he probably came close to being alcoholic; later in life he became heavily dependent on morphine-based sleeping pills. Whatever addictions he acquired he easily supported by his income. His first marriage disintegrated over his affair with a friend's wife. His second marriage ended in divorce by design - it was agreed by Van Meegeren and his second wife Jo in order to shield his great wealth. His life style gradually slid into decadence; he began using his villas - at one time he owned several in different countries - as headquarters for drunken debauches with prostitutes, friends, acquaintances and strangers.²⁵

To return to the absence in the Van der Pas portrait of Mendelssohn - a composer performed by Van der Pas: By 1941, about the time when Van Meegeren made this portrait of Van der Pas, Hitler's regime had already banned Mendelssohn's name, image and works from its musical and cultural life. Mendelssohn was banned from performance because he was a Jewish composer despite his family and his own conversion (he was baptized at the age of seven in the Lutheran Church). His image was not permitted publication, the famous statues of him were torn down, and his name and work disappeared from the repertoire of German music and was excised from German music literature. The rise of Wagner and Wagnerism in the 1850s with its anti-Semitism and anti-Mendelssohn attacks endured into the 20th century with its violent promotion by Hitler and Nazi-led Germany. By the end of the war in 1945 many young people in Germany had no knowledge of Felix Mendelssohn the composer and had never heard his music.

If Van Meegeren's intention and desire were to remain close to the Nazi ideology he admired and to be seen as a source of art to the Nazis with money - such as Hermann Goering to whom Van Meegeren sold one of his forged Vermeers - then Mendelssohn the Jew was too risky a personality for his image to be included as one of the composers in the group around Van der Pas even if the pianist had played Mendelssohn's music.²⁶ If Van Meegeren wished to be seen as a reliable adherent

publication as a selling point. Besides the drawings, *Teekeningen I* contained poetry by Dutch poet, Martien Beversluis (1894-1966), who also wrote for *De Kemphaan*. Beversluis and Van Meegeren are photographed together at Van Meegeren's exhibit in 1942 during World War II at Panorama Mesdag, see photo in Frederik H. Kreuger, *Han Van Meegeren, Meestervervalser*, p. 106. The drawing of Theo van der Pas was included in *Teekeningen I* whose cover in red and black with gold lettering seemed to be a graphic echo of the Nazi colors and their use of bold design, according to Jonathan Lopez, *The Man Who Made Vermeers*, pp. 19-20, and Errol Morris, "Bamboozling Ourselves," *The New York Times*, 28 May and 31 May 2009. See images at a collector's site of militaria and books and pamphlets for 1931 to 1945 used by the NSB (Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging, the Dutch National Socialist Movement - the name for their Nazi party); the site is full of objects of all sorts using the black, red and gold colors, at <http://members.home.nl/aniewold/> and companion site www.hinkepink.nl/. There can be no doubt that this choice of colors and the font used for the cover of *Teekeningen I* echoed the colors and fonts familiar to any Nazi anywhere. Frederik H. Kreuger presents us with the statement on p. 128 in *A New Vermeer* (2010) that the cover design "was not by Van Meegeren but by a Jewish refugee working with the publisher, who was forced by the authorities to create designs with a Nazi appearance." My research on the question of the cover's designer has found a possible person who had the training and experience in book and type design and was working at the Boucher publishing firm at the time; See Addendum B. The Van Meegeren book of drawings was reported by journalist Jan Spierdijk in "Vondst in de Rijkskanselarij" [Discovery in the Reichschancellory] in *De Waarheid*, 11 July 1945. The brief item was boxed-in with a black border in a sans serif font, which was different from the font used in the rest of the newspaper so that readers could not miss it.

²⁵ In addition to villas at home and abroad, Van Meegeren, who was lavish with his money, also invested in fifteen country houses in Laren, where he lived in Netherlands from 1940 to 1943, and fifty-two properties including hotels and nightclubs, Frank Wynne, *I Was Vermeer*, p. 178. A discussion by an editorial group at Wikipedia concludes that Han van Meegeren could not have owned nightclubs; see Addendum A. This discussion raises points not previously considered or investigated, and the conclusion is more than likely the correct one. Kreuger speaks of Van Meegeren's "vast wealth" from investments in stocks, real estate, jewelry, bank accounts, and art; apparently he also kept large amounts of cash on hand, Frederik H. Kreuger, *Van Meegeren: An Annotated Bibliography: followed by Subjects for Further Research* (Kreuger, 2008), p. 25.

²⁶ The fact that Van Meegeren fooled Hermann Goering into purchasing a fake Vermeer was used by Van Meegeren's supporters and Dutch patriots to rehabilitate Van Meegeren's reputation both during his incarceration before his trial and after his death. Even before his death, Van Meegeren went very quickly from being viewed as a despised collaborator to a

to the Nazi regime, although not a Party member, and to ensure his ability to make art sales to the Nazi bigwigs, then the truth that Van der Pas's repertoire included the despised Jew Mendelssohn meant dispensing with the truth. I believe this to be the most reasonable and consistent explanation for Mendelssohn's absence from the Van der Pas composer grouping. A reproduction of the Van der Pas watercolor was included with Van Meegeren's book of drawings *sans* Mendelssohn just as it was originally made. Would it be likely that Van Meegeren would send a gift of his drawings to the Wagner-loving arch-anti-Semite Hitler and include a reproduction of the Van der Pas watercolor with Mendelssohn in it?

Some who have followed Van Meegeren's life maintain that he was neither a Nazi nor an anti-Semite. Leon Vosters, a contemporary Dutch collector of Van Meegeren's own art, says:

Van Meegeren didn't have strong nazi bias. You [responding to this author] probably got this from Jonathan Lopez' book but so many things in this book were made up. Van Meegeren didn't really care about the war. One of his best friends was the Jew Jopie Breemer. He even paid money to the Germans to protect Jopie. Van Meegeren made a beautiful painting; 'Portrait of Jopie Breemer as a praying Jew'.²⁷

No one, Vosters included, has produced evidence or documentation supporting these contentions other than the fact that Van Meegeren made the watercolor of Breemer, a pleasant but otherwise unremarkable three-quarter length portrait of the sitting Breemer wearing a *tallis*, the traditional Jewish prayer shawl. However, no evidence has been found that mentioned the reasons for the portrait. In any event, Jopie Breemer, who was not a religious Jew, was painted as one. Why would that have happened circa 1941 when the Netherlands had been under German occupation for a year and the Nazi regime in Germany had shown the world its political and racial ideology in action for the preceding eight years? While little has been written about Breemer, and no major biography about his life and his poetry has been published, he has become the subject of critical studies long after his death.²⁸ Several Van Meegeren researchers state flatly that Van Meegeren was not an anti-Semite.²⁹ That may be the case, or not. However, no one has produced authentic

Dutch folk hero whose forgery of Vermeer got the better of the hated and greedy Nazi Goering.

²⁷ Leon Vosters, e-mail in response to author's query, 18 January 2009. Vosters has several web sites dedicated to Van Meegeren's art and life; see <http://hanvanmeegeren.webs.com/apps/photos>. Praise for his work states: "Leon Vosters, who has assembled probably the world's finest private collection of Van Meegeren's legitimate work, gives a rare and insightful look at the *real* art of Han Van Meegeren, as well as a biographical sketch and a review of the literature on the master forger at this fascinating Dutch-English bilingual website: www.geocities.com/hanvanmeegerencollectie/indexenglish.html;" Jonathan Lopez at www.jonathanlopez.net/links.html. Vosters does not explain the personal dedication written by Van Meegeren to Hitler in the presentation copy of Van Meegeren's *Teekeningen 1*. He has not said if he believes the dedication to be a true inscription by Van Meegeren or a forgery. We have yet to find the name of the Germans who were paid off although we cannot exclude that exceedingly small possibility. See ADDENDUM C.

²⁸ Arjen Ribbens, *Jopie Breemer en het Jopiehol. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse bohème (1906-1914)* (Ph.D. Diss., University of Amsterdam, 1984). This publication is the single-most important source of information about Jopie Breemer during his pre-World War I years. It has been impossible to find the whereabouts of Jopie's son Erik Breemer who in 1998 was said to have been a medical doctor specializing in pulmonology. Ribbens says Erik Breemer died a few years ago, e-mail to the author, 12 November 2012.

²⁹ Kreuger has repeated insistently that Van Meegeren was not an anti-Semite; other Van Meegeren devotees also defend the artist against what they consider an unjust accusation. Kreuger cites Marijke van den Brandhof, *Een vroege Vermeer uit 1937: achtergronden van leven en werken van de schilder/vervalser Han van Meegeren* (Utrecht/Antwerp: Het Spectrum, 1979), originally her University of Amsterdam Dissertation, about which he states: "A considerable drawback is the negative tone of the book and the allegation that Han Van Meegeren was anti-Semitic. This accusation has been proven to be unwarranted (Kreuger 2004, p. 160; Kreuger 2007, p. 165), but is nevertheless repeated in later biographies. In this manner, Van den Brandhof has done much harm." Kreuger, *Van Meegeren: An Annotated Bibliography*, p. 19. Of Frank

documented evidence either way. That Jopie Breemer's portrait hung in Van Meegeren's house and then in his nephew's house could be interpreted as trying to keep it out of sight during the German Occupation when questions would have been raised about the Jew in the *tallis*.³⁰ Breemer was associated marginally with the Haagse Kunstkring (Hague Art Society) and was better known in the early decades of the 20th century as a leading light in Amsterdam's Bohemian circles.³¹ Breemer had so many friends and followers during his bohemian heyday that they were informally called the Jopianen.³² Another question for consideration is: what happened to Jopie Breemer during the five years of the German Occupation and the catastrophe that struck the Jews of the Netherlands. Did Jopie consider himself part of the Jewish community? Did others? Did Breemer register in a census

Wynne, *I Was Vermeer* (London, 2006), with the same assertion about Van Meegeren's anti-Semitism, Kreuger says: "This biography/novel follows the existing sources, but it also invents episodes and repeats the unfounded accusation of anti-Semitism. Because of this accusation, its inventions and the many factual errors, the book does more harm than good in terms of informing the general public." Kreuger, *Van Meegeren: An Annotated Bibliography*, p. 21. It is difficult for a scholar to accept that the accusations were proved unwarranted when so little documentation is offered. Van Meegeren was evasive and stealthy in protecting himself and his wealth. He maintained relationships with Nazis, undoubtedly a stratagem to keep open the pipelines to Nazi officials who sought to buy art. In order for the accusation of Van Meegeren's alleged anti-Semitism to be proven, unimpeachable, authentic and veracious documents and attestations must be found and examined by neutral scholars. I cannot see any other way to conclude whether Van Meegeren was or was not an anti-Semite. People still living that knew him have to stretch their memories too far back to assign their responses in the realm of reliability. Family, friends and admirers are invested with a desire to protect. No one has yet made an airtight case in either direction; while an airtight case may be impossible at this remote point in Van Meegeren's history, there are other events in Van Meegeren's life that contribute to viewing him as something of a veiled, casual anti-Semite who uttered no such comments himself but used others as stand-ins for his own protection. For example, Van Meegeren and his wife Jo attended the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin and vacationed in Germany. Van Meegeren had a number of exhibitions in Germany. Van Meegeren associated for many years with many known vicious anti-Semites, among them his colleague Jan Ubink, editor at *De Kemphaan*, and Martien Beversluis, the poet in *Teekeningen I* yet Van Meegeren appeared to have some sort of relationship with Breemer of some years standing going back to the 1920s. What can be said of Van Meegeren was that he was an unyielding opportunist, ready to use anyone. Although he pursued wealth and social connections, he was sometimes attracted to outsiders, like the bohemian Jopie Breemer, and those who had lived on the margins, as Van Meegeren had to do early in his life. It would not be unlike Van Meegeren to paint the portrait of Jopie as insurance if Germany lost the war although the opposite conclusion could also be reached since he made a portrait study of Jopie around 1915. After Jopie's portrait was painted it was hidden away.

³⁰ Kreuger, *Han Van Meegeren, Meestervervalsen*, p. 105. That nephew may have been his sister Guusje's son, Pim Polman-Tuin. How long the portrait remained in Wassenaar is not known in any public way, which is not to say that its ownership and whereabouts are not known; they are known to someone. In a later book, Kreuger said the portrait was hung in the house of Van Meegeren's great-nephew, see n22 above. Without any scholarly documentation it is difficult to know where Kreuger has found this information other than his citations of names of persons he interviewed. Who did he interview and when? Why did the possession of the portrait change from a nephew to a great-nephew? What is the lineage of the great-nephew? An incomplete genealogy provided by Kreuger in *A New Vermeer* does not show the line of descent for this great-nephew.

³¹ The first edition of Breemer's poems was in 1913. The modern edition of *De ontboezemingsbundel* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1998) has an introduction by the noted Dutch poet Gerrit Komrij. The cover of the 1998 edition bears the image of Van Meegeren's portrait of "Jopie Breemer as a praying Jew." A brief timeline for Van Meegeren and Jopie can only suggest when the two met: Han van Meegeren was born in 1889. Jopie set up the Jopie-hol in 1906 in Amsterdam and after several moves Jopie ultimately left Amsterdam and the Jopie-hol in 1913. In 1907 Van Meegeren was sent by his father to Delft to study architecture. During the following years, Van Meegeren was in school, graduated, got married (1912) and moved to his wife's grandmother in Rijswijk, had his first child (1912), finished a course in drawing (1914) and moved with his family to Scheveningen. In 1913 Jopie left Amsterdam to live in The Hague with his new wife. In 1914 the Jopie-hol has disappeared from Amsterdam with Jopie now living in The Hague. It is possible that the young Han somehow visited the Jopie-hol, but given that Han was still under the complete control of his father, his freedom to roam and explore was greatly restricted until he reached his majority. In 1915, Van Meegeren's daughter is born in The Hague, Van Meegeren makes a drawing "De Talmud-lezer" (The Talmud Reader) which appears to be Jopie Breemer at about age forty. In 1918, Van Meegeren produces a "Portret-Studie" of Jopie Breemer. In 1919 Van Meegeren is accepted as a member of the Haagse

of Jews that was ordered by the Occupation authorities making it very convenient for the Germans to locate Jews for deportation? Did he go into hiding, join the resistance or did he flee the country? But where would he go? What happened to Jopie Breemer that insured his survival? Did Han van Meegeren pay off the Germans as claimed by Leon Vosters? If so, what documentation is there to support this contention. So far none has been offered about the pay-off.

As I found somewhat late in my research, Jopie Breemer was not the first portrait by Van Meegeren of a Talmud-reading Jew. He had painted a similar portrait in 1915, simply called *Talmoedlezer* (Talmud Reader) - which may not have been his title at all but that is how it has been called - and was included in the first public one-man showing of Van Meegeren's artwork in 1917; a comment was noted about this work in the exhibition: "Of his *Talmud Reader* it was said: '... a splendid and expressive drawing in which the exaggeration of the hands should not be seen as an error but as an accentuation of the pious gesture....'"³³ Nothing more is known about this particular early portrait of a Talmud reader.

More important, there is a "Portret-Studie Jopie Breemer," as it is captioned in the pages of a short-lived art magazine edited by the art critic whose wife became Van Meegeren's second wife.³⁴ From 1914 to about 1924 Van Meegeren lived and worked in The Hague while Breemer lived in Amsterdam before and after World War I. This study of Jopie Breemer, published in 1918, when linked to the ca. 1941 portrait of Breemer made by Van Meegeren is the strongest evidence yet that the two men knew each other for a number of years and possibly met in the periods when Van Meegeren lived in Laren and Amsterdam. The two men had in common their presence at the Haagse Kunstkring. The 1918 head of Breemer - we do not know when this image was made, we know only that 1918 was its appearance in print - is undoubtedly the much younger version of the man portrayed in 1941. In both the early study and the later Praying Jew, Breemer's hairline above a high forehead is about the same although the younger Breemer had far more hair; the arched eyebrows are the same as are the drooping upper eyelids over deep-set eyes, and the strong nose. The older Jopie's lips have thinned somewhat while his high cheek bones, long face and rounded chin are immediately recognizable; with the rest of the portrait's facial elements this is the same face in both portraits.

Let us return to the Van der Pas portrait. A question I pose: why did Van Meegeren give Schubert the place of honor on the piano bench, sitting next to Van der Pas? Van der Pas was not

Kunstkring. There is no definitive corroborating evidence of how and when Van Meegeren and Breemer first met but it is unlikely that it was at the Jopie-hol in Amsterdam. It is more likely they met at the Haagse Kunstkring ca. 1915. In 1921 Van Meegeren and Jopie travel for three months together through Italy.

³² In an interview, Pierre Michon speaks of his admiration for the translation by Johan Stärcke (1882-1917) of Lautréamont's *Les Chants de Maldoror* (1869). Michon says of Stärcke: "who died young, belonged to the core of Jopianen, friends of the Amsterdam bohemian poet Jopie Breemer....", Rokus Hofstede, "Translatio! Tirades vertalersquestionnaire," 1 May 2009. At www.hofhaan.nl/2009/rokus-hofstede/translatio-tirades-vertalersquestionnaire/.

³³ Frederik H. Kreuger, *Han Van Meegeren Revisited. His Art & List of Works* (Kreuger: 2010), p. 29. On p. 8 are two thumbnail photos of the Jopie Breemer portrait: one is framed and hanging on the wall of Van Meegeren's sitting room but in which house is not known (Laren or Amsterdam?), and the other with Van Meegeren standing in a pose before it with a palette and brush in his hands. Kreuger includes Van Meegeren's early Talmud Reader - a 1915 portrait listed as entry B252 on p. 9, which was exhibited at Van Meegeren's 1917 exhibition as "no. 30" with the work date of "'15." On p. 29, para 4, about the April-May 1917 exhibition: "Of his *Talmud Reader* it was said: '... a splendid and expressive drawing in which the exaggeration of the hands should not be seen as an error but as an accentuation of the pious gesture....'" From the exhibit catalogue *Tentoonstelling van schilderijen, acquarellen, en teekeningen door H. A. Van Meegeren* (The Hague: Kunstzaal Pictura, 1917).

³⁴ H. de Boer, "Nieuw Stroomingen in de Hedendaagsche Schilderkunst," *De Cicerone*, 1918, pp. 89-96. The image of Jopie Breemer is on p. 90. The author and editor is Carel Hendrik de Boer (1879-1949). De Boer and Van Meegeren worked together even while Han conducted a years-long affair with De Boer's wife Johanna.

especially known as a Schubert interpreter in his career although we know that he performed Schubert on occasion and that at the conservatory he taught piano accompaniment, which included Lieder and Schubert. One of Van der Pas's piano students, the ballet conductor André Presser who revered Van der Pas, shared some memories of his student days studying piano accompanying with Van der Pas: "How he deals with the singer? Where he follows her, where he feels free in the interpretation? When Theo van der Pas teaches André to adapt to a different artist, to become one with him, to give rise to something new in common."³⁵ Another student, Joop Stokkermans who went on to a phenomenal music career, recalled the great successes that his teacher Theo van der Pas had. In the Van der Pas biography is a photo of young Stokkermans with his teacher before the Van Meegeren portrait.³⁶ At the inaugural concert in 2001 of an annual series organized by the Theo van der Pas Foundation was pianist Folke Nauta who played only works of Chopin.³⁷

There is a long performance history of Schubert in the Netherlands, in the repertoires of national and regional orchestra and chamber organizations, respected conservatories graduating orchestra musicians and solo performers, and strong vocal programs in the Lieder tradition which produced outstanding Dutch instrumentalists and singers. Schubert has had a long and favored home in the Netherlands with an attentive and loyal public following and numerous recordings by the foremost Dutch orchestras. How did that translate into Van Meegeren's positioning Schubert in a place of honor in the Van der Pas drawing? What knowledge did Van Meegeren have of Schubert's music? When and how did Van Meegeren and Van der Pas meet? Coincidentally, during the early years of the German Occupation both men are mentioned in different parts of a local newspaper working at their careers - Van der Pas is playing with a chamber group and Van Meegeren has an exhibit of his works.³⁸ The pianist's daughter, Thea, attests to her father's love of Schubert Lieder which he taught at the Conservatory. She was a trained singer and was accompanied by her father in many concerts; she was, in effect, his pupil learning from him about Lieder, performing the works of many composers in many styles and languages.³⁹ Did Van Meegeren simply ask Van der Pas to indicate which composer should be seated next to him?

Van Meegeren was thirteen years older than Van der Pas whose career took off after his recognition at the 1927 Chopin Competition. Van Meegeren produced his first forgeries ca. 1922 with two portraits done in the style of Frans Hals. They were soon uncovered for the fakes they were although the artist who made them - Van Meegeren - was not discovered until later. Van Meegeren had yet to explore the tools he needed to complete the high-quality fakery - with techniques described above - that he would eventually use with his Vermeer forgeries. Van Meegeren had already been a successful society portraitist until he began his studies in the early 1930s of the techniques and materials with which to create a fake Old Master. He had money yet his

³⁵ Annette Bopp, *André Presser - Der Ballettdirigent* (Rüffer & Rub, 2008), p. 37. Born Andries Jacob Presser in 1933 to a Dutch-Jewish father and a half-Jewish mother, Presser experienced, as did thousands of Dutch citizens, serious deprivation and near-starvation during the German Occupation of the Netherlands.

³⁶ Wim van der Pas, *Theo van der Pas*, p. 101.

³⁷ Reported by music critic Winand van de Kamp, *The Hague Courant*, 29 October 2001 at www.Haagsecourant.nl.

³⁸ *Het Vaderland*, 31 December 1941. This issue, like every other newspaper permitted to publish by the German Occupation authorities, reported on Germany, Der Führer, and leading Nazi personalities as well as local news. The Occupation authorities set guidelines for Dutch newspapers that would ensure, they hoped, a "high degree of accommodation and subordination," Gerhard Hirschfeld, *Nazi Rule and Dutch Collaboration: The Netherlands Under German Occupation, 1940-45*, trans. Louise Wilmot (London: Berg Publishers, 1989), p. 128. Most newspapers either complied or stopped publishing. Netherlands was attacked on 10 May 1940 with no *casus belli* declared by the Germans and surrendered about six days later. Netherlands suffered under a brutal occupation until 1945 including bombardment of its major cities and dikes first by the Germans and later by British and American air forces.

³⁹ Thea Ekker-van der Pas, Fax, 12 September 2012.

life style was bound to a strong desire to acquire more money and to show up the art critics for the fools they were. Van Meegeren's life as a Vermeer forger from 1930 on has been well documented. His friendships, such as the ones with pianist Theo van der Pas and poet Jopie Breemer, are little understood.⁴⁰ It seems that Breemer was unusually social and friendly: "It was in Amsterdam at the house of Jopie Breemer, whose door was always open to his friends, architects, journalists, actors, writers and their wives and girl friends...."⁴¹ Were these true friendships that Van Meegeren had with Van der Pas and Breemer or were they casual acquaintances from having met at the Haagse Kunstkring or at Jopie's house?⁴² Was Van Meegeren a music lover? Was Van Meegeren a Schubert *Liebhaber* before he met Van der Pas or did Van der Pas influence the choices Van Meegeren made in listening to music and attending concerts and recitals? Biographies of Van Meegeren as the Vermeer forger do not go into those aspects of Van Meegeren's life.

Theo van der Pas was successful and recognized as a first-rate pianist. He had an early and happy marriage and children. His wife died young of cancer and it was many years before Van der Pas remarried, having a second happy marriage. It seems that Van Meegeren and Van der Pas could not have been more different. It is difficult to see what they had in common. One rather surprising statement about Theo van der Pas appears in an American anthology about fakes and forgeries of many kinds, not just art. Klaus Mann writes of an interview with Van Meegeren and speaks of "musicians with sheepishly transfigured faces over still white collars and neatly tied white ties"; after which he says (in the pertinent paragraph-long quote below):

It is no wonder that the Nazis had a penchant for Mynheer Van Meegeren's products.... [sic] How Hitler must have loved this conspicuously Germanic-looking pianist surrounded by the ghosts of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Chopin, Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms! How this cheap and showy mysticism must have appealed to the Fuehrer's poetic heart! Don't I recall having heard rather unpleasant stories about the pianist, one Theo van der Pas, portrayed here in such illustrious company? The Dutch virtuoso on whose shoulder Van Meegeren placed Chopin's spooky hand was in fact such an ardent "collaborationist" that his compatriots, after the liberation, banned him for two years from the concert halls. Van Meegeren, however, did not deem it necessary to remove his friend Theo from the wall of his drawing room. It was not without pride that he showed us a large, pompously presented book containing, among scores of other "real Van Meegerens," a full-page reproduction of the Pas portrait. The book, which offers also some rhapsodical articles on Van Meegeren's art and personality, was printed in the Netherlands at the time of the German occupation. A copy of the book was found in Hitler's personal library, adorned with the artist's autographed

⁴⁰ Joseph "Jopie" Breemer (1875-1957) was a secular Dutch Jew whose limited output of poems are still published and read today. He was a Bohemian poet, actor and aphorist as well as a dance teacher, painter, and illustrator. He endeared himself to his friends and his readers with his warm-hearted and accessible poetry and his talent for nonsense rhymes. His collection of poems *De ontboezemingsbundel* (1913) [The Outpouring] was reissued in 1998, and he is found in many contemporary anthologies of Dutch poetry. While Van Meegeren made an oil portrait of Breemer titled *Portrait of Jopie Breemer as a praying Jew* ca. 1941, it isn't clear who gave the portrait that title - Van Meegeren or someone else. The aging Breemer may have sat for his portrait in a prayer shawl; he is painted holding a partly opened book in his hands resting on his lap but no print is seen on the book to identify whether this is a prayer book. Breemer's head is uncovered which is unusual for a religious Jew in the act of praying who would be wearing a *yarmulke*, the traditional skullcap worn by religious Jews. It is astonishing that Breemer would have endangered himself and Van Meegeren if the painting was discovered.

⁴¹ Yvonne Steinmetz-Ardaseer, "The Creative Reception of William Shakespeare in the Netherlands: The Case of Arthur Van Schendel," (M.Lit. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1998), p. 34.

⁴² Thea-Ekker van der Pas states: "We did know Han Van Meegeren, but he was not a family friend." Fax, 12 September 2012.

dedication to the Fuehrer.⁴³

Klaus Mann (1906-1949), the writer son of Thomas Mann, led a peripatetic and often unhappy existence in the 1930s and 1940s in exile from Nazi Germany. He had been a world traveler since the late 1920s but that was by choice. Following Hitler's accession to power, Klaus Mann left for Paris after having enraged the German Government with his anti-Nazi political cabaret. While based in Paris he visited Amsterdam, living there for long periods over the years 1933 to 1936 in a family-owned house. The Netherlands gave Mann a *laissez-passer*, which made Mann a stateless person but with freedom to move. He was stripped of his German citizenship in 1934 while he was in the Netherlands, and in 1936 he left Amsterdam and moved to the US becoming an American citizen in 1943. He served in the US Army as a reporter for the Army's newspaper *Stars and Stripes*. As one of the paper's writers he was sent to report from postwar Germany.⁴⁴ Whether this permitted Mann to leave Germany and travel to the Netherlands is unclear.

What is one to make of Mann's assertions that Theo van der Pas was a collaborator with the Germans and that he was banished from Dutch concert halls for two years after the end of the war by an informal agreement among his colleagues? So-called Honor Courts were set up in Netherlands at the war's end to mete out some kind of justice to those who had collaborated with the German occupiers but no mention has been found that Van der Pas was summoned to appear and be charged with anything. Van der Pas may well have been friendly towards Van Meegeren since they met in overlapping social circles. Van Meegeren's membership in the Haagse Kunstkring (from 1919 until 1932) served both his social and artistic ends. Jopie Breemer was on the fringes of the Kunstkring. Van Meegeren and Van der Pas may have met at the Hague Art Society or at the Amsterdam home of Jopie Breemer. Van der Pas had many close and warm friendships and professional relationships with Jewish musicians such as Emanuel Feuermann, Szymon (Simon) Goldberg and Nathan Milstein. He had admiring Jewish students at the Conservatory such as André

⁴³ Klaus Mann, "Van Meegeren: Art's Master Forger," pp. 94-103, in Alexander Klein, ed., *Grand Deception: the World's Most Spectacular and Successful Hoaxes, Impostures, Ruses, and Frauds* (Lippincott, 1955). As for Van Meegeren's "book," Mann was obviously referring to *Teekeningen I*. The Mann article was originally published in Danish as "Affaeren Van Meegeren," in *Berlingske Aftenavis*, Copenhagen, 12 and 13 November 1947. Afterwards, the article appeared in an English translation as "The Double Life of Han Van Meegeren," in a New York magazine *Town & Country*, vol. 102, no. 4305, February 1948, pp. 88-89, 111-113, 2 ill. Mann's *Town & Country* article was later published in Alexander Klein, *Grand Deception*. The article was translated into German and published as "Das Doppelleben des Han Van Meegeren," and appeared in the anthology *Auf verlorenem Posten: Aufsätze, Reden, Kritiken*, ed. Uwe Naumann and Michael Töteberg, (Rowohlt, 1994), pp. 439-448, and a note on p. 554. The article has made the rounds in a number of languages without any explanation or evidence about the statement that Theo van der Pas was a collaborator. Mann did not live his entire Netherlands exile from 1933 to 1936 continuously in Amsterdam. See Klaus Mann, "Les dessous de l'Affaire Han Van Meegeren," *L'Âge Nouveau*, no. 29, 1948, pp.64-71: "Dans mon article 'Les dessous de l'Affaire Han Van Meegeren' (publié dans l'Age Nouveau (no.29), décrivant un des peintures de Van Meegeren, je parlais du modèle - un pianiste hollandaise - comme 'l'un ardent collaborateurs' que ses patriots, après la liberation, avaient exclu pour deux ans des salles de concert. Cette remarque était basée sur des renseignements que j'avais obtenu durant mon séjour à Amsterdam, de sources...." (In my article 'The Underside of the Han Van Meegeren Case' (published in *New Age* no. 29), describing one of Van Meegeren's paintings, I cite the model - a Dutch pianist - as 'an ardent collaborator' as after the liberation its [the Netherlands] patriots had excluded him for two years from the concert halls. This observation was based on information I received during my stay in Amsterdam, sources....") After a thorough search through the literature by and about Klaus Mann, there is no mention at all of these "sources" anywhere. Mann's accusation against Van der Pas has a vituperative quality that went far beyond mere reportage. There was gossip and accusation in the post-war years in the Netherlands about who had and had not registered with the Kultuurkamer and who had or had not collaborated in general. This perturbation in Dutch society about who was on the "right" side or the "wrong" side of the German occupation as collaborators continues today.

⁴⁴ Klaus Mann entry in Wikipedia; Mann's exile in Netherlands is briefly discussed in Luc Devoldere, "A Convenient Desert: The Low Countries as a Refuge for the Spirit," in *The Low Countries*, Jaargang 9, 2001, pp. 12-54, *Yearbook of the Flemish-Netherlands Foundation "Stichting Ons Erfdeel."*

Presser (see above). There is no indication that he expressed any Nazi sympathies. His daughter says that though her father and family knew Van Meegeren, he was not a family friend: “during the war he [Van Meegeren] did choose the side of the enemy.”⁴⁵ A search of Dutch newspapers for the period 1923 to 1955 does not report any pro-Nazi statement by Van der Pas or any action taken (officially or informally) in 1945 or after to ban him from concert halls. The newspapers show that he performed in the Netherlands during the German Occupation from 1940 to 1945. He continued performing without a significant break until he retired in 1956, but this retirement was only from the concert stage; he continued to teach at the Conservatory. His very active performing life during the German Occupation undoubtedly meant that Van der Pas had joined the *Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer* which permitted only those approved artists, writers and performers to continue to exhibit, publish and perform during the Occupation. All “cultural workers” were required to register with their guild within the *Kultuurkamer* or they would not work. Musicians could perform in private concerts to obtain paid work but that would have been a catastrophic choice ensuring fewer such opportunities than public concerts which drew ever larger crowds than even before the invasion. Musicians of all genres and groupings were historically low paid and doomed to struggle, including those who played in symphony orchestras.⁴⁶ Even Van Meegeren had to register with the *Kultuurkamer* in order to exhibit his art but he had made friends with the leading officials in this regard. This led to the somewhat confused post-war situation in which some of those who joined the *Kultuurkamer* in order to make a living bore the collaborator label during and/or after the war.⁴⁷ It is also true that many in the arts, literature and journalism refused to register with the *Kultuurkamer* and either pursued their profession in secret, with the resistance or simply stopped working altogether. The *Kultuurkamer* was imposed by the German Occupation in the Netherlands just as the *Reichskulturkammer* was imposed in Germany in 1933 whereby only approved Aryan artists and writers willingly (or under duress) joined the institution in order to work.⁴⁸ An interesting comment sheds some light on the lack of control that musicians had over their own professional lives: “In the first year of war, two lists circulated in the *Reichscommissariat* that are historically interesting.... An unknown author classified ... Dutch composers and performing musicians ... into three categories. Sometimes the author ... noted whether the persons were Jews or half-Jews. ... four pianists of the first category: Willem Andriessen, George van Renesse, Cor de Groot and Theo van der Pas.”⁴⁹ The *Kultuurkamer* bureaucrats knew who the so-called culture workers were. Klaus Mann would have been familiar with that precise situation in his homeland where he was an opponent of the Nazi regime and therefore not an approved artist. He was stripped of his citizenship after he fled to safety.

Van Meegeren joined the Haagse Kunstkring in 1919; he left the Netherlands for the south of

⁴⁵ Thea Ekker-van der Pas, Fax, 12 September 2012.

⁴⁶ Philomen B. Lelieveldt, *Voor en achter het voetlicht: Musici en de arbeidsverhoudingen in het kunst- en amusementsbedrijf in Nederland, 1918-1940* (Ph.D. Diss., University of Utrecht, 1998).

⁴⁷ D.H. Schram, “An Unfinished Chapter: The Second World War and the Holocaust in Dutch Literature,” *The Low Countries*, Year 2, 1994-1995, pp. 190-203.

⁴⁸ “in 1942 an organization was founded, the ‘Dutch Chamber of Culture’, which all artists - provided they were of non-Jewish descent - were invited to join. Those who had not joined would henceforth no longer be allowed to engage in artistic activities.” From Piet Calis, *Het ondergronds verwachten. Schrijvers en tijdschriften tussen 1941 en 1945*, (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1989), cited at Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL) at www.dbnl.org/tekst/cali002onde01_01/cali002onde01_01_0016.php. This applied to all those in artistic and cultural activities, and were divided into “guilds”: Film; Architecture, Fine Arts and Crafts; Theater and Dance; Literature; Music; and the Press. The full text of the twenty-seven articles announcing enactment of the *Kultuurkamer* was published in the newspapers, see *De Courant*, 26 November 1941, p. 2, to take effect the following year.

⁴⁹ Pauline Micheels, “Classical Music Life During the German Occupation,” In *De Tweede Wereldoorlog in Muziek*, Nederlands Muziek Instituut, at www.wo2-muziek.nl/nl/Landen/Overzicht%20Nederland/Organisatie%20concertleven/.

France in 1932 after the blow-up at the Kunstkring, and he returned in 1939. During his years away he studied and perfected his plan to produce the forged Old Masters, especially a few Vermeers. Van Meegeren may have met Jopie Breemer during the years of his Kunstkring membership especially since Breemer was well-known for his earlier so-called “Jopie-hol,” or Jopie cave, his Amsterdam house on a canal which was open to all. Those years were in the pre-World War 1 era but Breemer’s bohemian reputation for welcoming all in the arts, literature and science lived on.⁵⁰ The list of names of visitors and friends who went on to make reputations for themselves in the arts - visual, performing and literary - is evidence that Jopie had a personality that drew people in and secured mutual trust and friendship. There is no evidence that Van Meegeren had contact with Theo van der Pas or Jopie Breemer from 1932 until after Van Meegeren returned to Netherlands and resumed an active life there. Van Meegeren was able to exhibit his art in Germany and he attended the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, which were sanitized by the Nazi regime so as not to offend foreigners with the regime’s constant propaganda and roundups of political opponents and Jews.

The dating of the portraits is interesting. In the case of the Theo van der Pas portrait, it is a watercolor and mixed technique (pen and ink) on paper, 152 x 253 cm, ca. 1941. Its last appearance was when Meegeren’s descendants offered the work for sale by auctioneers Van Stockum, The Hague, in September 2004. Another version of Theo van der Pas portrait was done by Van Meegeren: 1) a design for a charcoal and white chalk poster and, 2) a poster in charcoal and white chalk on paper, unframed 105 x 67 cm., both at Christie’s Netherlands in 2002. Auction houses publish the detailed descriptions of the works they offer and I do not doubt their word on physical details although the years in which the works were created remain uncertain. The large portrait was mentioned in the newspaper *De Tijd*, November 20, 1941; it was described as “een grote tekening” (a great drawing) by Jan Ubink, a Van Meegeren comrade of *De Kempmaan* days.⁵¹

Van Meegeren’s “Portrait of Jopie Breemer as a praying Jew” was offered at auction by Christie’s Amsterdam, 30 October 1996, and described as an oil on canvas, 97 x 80.5 cm, and signed lower right *H. Van Meegeren*, and signed again and inscribed with the title on a label on the stretcher. The provenance provided is H.H. Thyssen, Lugano.⁵² Prior to the auction, the portrait was

⁵⁰ An interesting glimpse into the Jopie-hol and its era is provided in Marjan Groot, *Vrouwen in de vormgeving in Nederland 1880-1940* (Rotterdam: Publisher 010, 2007). While her research is based on Arjen Ribbens’ thesis, Groot includes a group photo at the Jopie-hol dated ca. 1912. The young men and women are all well dressed and look like any group of educated middle-class people. The photo’s caption does not say if Jopie Breemer is in the group. A piano keyboard can be seen at the photo’s far left. The Jopie-hol apparently helped to nurture one very talented songwriter of cabaret *chansons* who became well known as a writer and singer went by the stage name of Ed Coenraads (see Personalia).

⁵¹ Jan Ubink, “Wit en Zwart” Een Beschouwing van den Kunstenaar Van Meegeren,” *Haagsch Maandblad*, 15 May 1942, vol. 19, no.5, p.246.

⁵² That the portrait was once owned by H.H. (Hans Heinrich) Thyssen (1921-2002) is a startling fact. Given the nature and size of the art collection inherited from his father Baron Heinrich Thyssen and enlarged by H.H. Thyssen, why would the younger Thyssen have owned a rather ordinary portrait of an unknown Dutch bohemian Jew other than the fact that it was made by Han van Meegeren? In 1948, after the death of Baron Heinrich Thyssen (1875-1947), the Baron’s art collection of 532 paintings was divided among four heirs. Hans Heinrich’s portion of this art inheritance totaled 363 paintings, David R.L. Litchfield, *The Thyssen Art Macabre* (London: Quartet Books, 2006), p. 221. Further research is needed to determine whether the portrait of Jopie Breemer was in this portion of the collection or was purchased subsequently and then sold. To date no evidence has emerged, including in Litchfield’s book. Baron Heinrich Thyssen bought Van Meegeren’s forgery “Girl in the Blue Hat” after it had been authenticated as a Vermeer. The painting has become known as the Greta Garbo Vermeer; Lopez, *The Man Who Made Vermeers*, pp. 105-106, 107; Baron Thyssen ultimately returned it to the well-known gallery that sold it to him, p. 241. Lopez later corrected this to say: “Baron Thyssen's Vermeer was The Girl in Antique Costume, not the Girl in the Red Hat, which is a genuine Vermeer in the Collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington.” Response to Marco Grassi, review of *The Man Who Made Vermeers*, 2 November 2008, online at www.newcriterion.com/ajax/CommentP_dev.cfm?ArticleID=3950&StartFrom=. Lopez say that “The Girl in Antique Costume” is a variation on “The Girl With the Red Hat” and maintains that The Girl in Antique Costume is a Van Meegeren

included in a Van Meegeren exhibit in the Rotterdam Kunsthal, February 10 to June 2, 1996. Kreuger has an illustration of Jopie Bremer [sic]: “Een van zijn vele feestvrienden was Jopie Bremer, hier posend als de Talmuedlezer.” (One of his many festive friends was Jopie Bremer, posing here as a Talmud reader.)⁵³ The part of the portrait’s title “as a praying Jew” is misleading and may not have been the portrait’s original title, if it had any other than the name of its subject. Breemer is seated with a book in his hand, which could be a *siddur*, or prayer book, but not the Talmud although the name Talmud may have been better known among non-Jews. Moreover, the Talmud would not be as small as the book Breemer holds in his lap. And, he does not appear to be wearing a *yarmulke*, which all male Jews age thirteen and older must wear during prayers - and for some Orthodox males the *yarmulke* must be worn at all times. The *tallis* or prayer shawl appears to have been modeled after the real garment. If Breemer did not own, inherit, or borrow a *tallis* it would have taken Van Meegeren only one or two visits to a synagogue to see and make notes of the garment - noting the color and number of any stripes and noting the position of the fringes on the *tallis*. The number of stripes on the *tallis* may reflect nothing more than the local custom of the congregants; there is no religious requirement as to the number of stripes. But it is highly doubtful that synagogues were long open during the Occupation although they may have remained active in the very early years, if Van Meegeren was even interested in that sort of research. It is more likely that Van Meegeren would have visited a synagogue before the German invasion but where and when remains purely speculative at this point. It is just as likely that Jopie borrowed a *tallis*. There is no proof either way.

The Netherlands was populated by Sephardic Jews from the Iberian peninsula who wandered through Europe looking for safe havens after their expulsion from Spain in 1492 and Portugal in 1497. These Sephardic Jews began to arrive in the late 15th century, settling in Amsterdam and gradually becoming successful in commerce. Ashkenazi Jews from Eastern Europe settled in the Netherlands in the early 16th century but unlike the Sephardic community who preferred Amsterdam, the Ashkenazi moved throughout the Low Countries to settle. The Ashkenazi community was the poorer of the two communities, and remained so for a long time. In the Sephardic tradition the *tallis* has no stripes; it is white all over. In the Eastern European Ashkenazi tradition, the *tallis* has stripes of black, blue, or white with a symbolic preference for black stripes in memory of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. Breemer is wearing a *tallis* of the Ashkenazi tradition. Was Jopie Breemer from the Ashkenazi community? Was he a religious Jew? According to the few historical facts about his life, it would be assumed that as a bohemian artist, poet, and actor who mixed with Jews and Christians, he was not at all religious. Breemer married twice, in 1918 and 1925, and it appears that both his wives were Christian.

Well before the First World War Breemer was drawn to the Socialist movement in the Netherlands and met many artists, writers and poets who were similarly attracted to the philosophy of socialism. Two intertwined names associated with Breemer have emerged in this research with surprising results. First is C.S. (Carel Steven) Adama van Scheltema (1877-1924), a Socialist poet who came from a wealthy family; his father was an art connoisseur and art dealer. The other is A.M. (Adriaan Marinus) Broekman (1874-1946), an artist. Adama van Scheltema has the more enduring reputation as a poet despite his sudden death at age forty-seven whereas Broekman’s longer life did not seem to bring him great notice or fame as an artist. The two men were linked in friendship with

fake.

⁵³ Frederik H. Kreuger, *Han Van Meegeren, Meestervervalsen*, p. 34. In the Illustration Sources on p. 188, the portrait “Talmued Jopie” is listed in an auction catalogue owned by J. Th. Bakker, Deventer. The book was published in 2004. Kreuger has stated that Bakker “definitely doesn’t own the *reader*,” E-mail to the author, 16 October 2012. Again the question is raised: where is the 1941 portrait of Jopie Breemer? And did Bakker in fact have possession of the portrait at any time?

Jopie Breemer as was very briefly described in a book by writer, psychologist and poet, and sometime Socialist, E. d'Oliveira. He remarked of Adama van Scheltema as D'Oliveira recalled a conversation he witnessed in Adama van Scheltema's living room: "boven hem in een wat te deftige lijst hing het ondeugend tronie van Jopie Bremer, ons aller vriend, (geschilderd door Marinus Broekman)" (above him in a somewhat stately frame hung the naughty mug of Jopie Bremer, our common friend, (painted by Marinus Broekman)).⁵⁴ If this was, indeed, a portrait by Broekman then the count of portraits of Breemer rises to six - three by Van Meegeren (the early study and the later paintings) and one each by Ed. Gerdes (see *Personalia*), A.M. Broekman and Jan Poortenaar (See *Personalia*). The origin and whereabouts of the Broekman portrait is a mystery as is much of Broekman's life. Broekman lived in Laren as did Van Meegeren but we have no knowledge that they lived there at the same time or that they met. Two notices appeared in Dutch newspapers about the upcoming seventieth birthday of portraitist and caricaturist Marinus Broekman in which he (like Van Meegeren) is cited as a member of the *Vereniging van Beeldende Kunsten te Laren-Blaricum* (Association of Fine Arts in Laren-Blaricum).⁵⁵

CONCLUSION

In his *Van Meegeren: An Annotated Bibliography*, Frederik Kreuger suggests a long list of items that would fill in the gaps in his work, as he put it, including an item about the recovery of many works missing from Van Meegeren's *oeuvre*. In 2008 I began such a search for the portrait of Jopie Breemer before Kreuger's bibliography was published. I have encountered what seems to me to be resistance from people who might have clues to the solution of this puzzle. It is my hope that this paper may move research toward a solution, to encourage other researchers to answer the question of the whereabouts of Jopie Breemer's portrait. I believe that the answer is dependent upon the willingness of sources to share what they know.

Needless to say, the personality and character of Van Meegeren is still a question of interest to scholars quite as much as the techniques he used to create passable art forgeries. In his second book, *Van Meegeren: Master Forger*, Scribner's, 1967, John Godley seems to have found more facts or at least thought more deeply about the people and events of Van Meegeren's life. But even in his second book, Godley wrote no account of any indelible stain regarding Van Meegeren's involvement with *De Kempphaan* and his pro-Nazi associates who also were contributors to *Teekeningen I* nor of the gift of the book to Adolf Hitler. Guilt by association is never a wholly justifiable argument yet people will always wonder about Van Meegeren's choices of his associations and in his beliefs and biases. Far better is it to look at the results of Van Meegeren's actions and behavior: his involvement with the Nazi art-theft elite, his enormous profits from his dealings in his own forgeries, and his associations with Jews, the last so contrary to the prevailing ideology of Van Meegeren's early political statements, to the stance taken by *De Kempphaan* contributors (with Van Meegeren's *imprimatur*) and to the five-year long brutal German occupation of the Netherlands during which Van Meegeren hardly suffered.

One might ask: how could Van Meegeren spend years in the working and social company of so many outspoken Dutch and German Nazis with no thought as to the political positions they took? Did others assume that his close relationships with them were evidence that he shared their outlook?

⁵⁴ E. d'Oliveira, *De jongere generatie: Gesprekken met vertegenwoordigers van de nieuwere richting in onze literatuur; tevens een enquête naar enkele beginselen in ons nationaal geestelijk leven* (The younger generation: Interviews with representatives of the newer direction in our literature, also a survey of some principles in our national spiritual life) (Amsterdam, 1920). Text is available at Project Gutenberg: www.gutenberg.org/files/10514/10514-8.txt.

⁵⁵ *Het Vaderland*, 25 February 1944 and *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, 22 February 1944. His 70th would be on March 1.

How could Van Meegeren have countenanced the racial diatribes for years on end and offer a gift to the Nazi Führer without realizing that these were not neutral acts? That he was not known personally to utter anti-Semitic words yet allowed others to do so in his name (*De Kempmaan*) and that he did not join any political party or movement yet was viewed as in agreement with what he observed - a passive onlooker and also an active commercial trader in art the Nazis wanted for themselves - does not relieve him of the responsibility of his own actions on behalf of those he worked closely with and helped to support. A moral and ethical man would have turned away from years of obnoxious and vicious propaganda in revulsion. Han van Meegeren turned his Nazi associations into profit. Any summing up of his behavior would place him among those with no moral compass, no ethical commitment, no firm grounding as a sympathetic (and far from an empathetic) human being. His portrait of Jopie Breemer is not offered as evidence of documentation that he saved Jopie from deportation and death in a concentration camp. If that is so, where is the evidence? Jopie Breemer might have been one who knew. Or his son may have known. We do know that it was Jopie wife's who hid Jopie away.

Van Meegeren's portrait of a Jew in a *tallis* requires some explanation. Would new evidence explain if not absolve Van Meegeren of the worst aspects of his political behavior? We cannot say absent compelling evidence. Did Van Meegeren's early years with his emotionally brutal father develop in him some kind of emotional accord with a Jew whose was very early orphaned - both Jopie's parent died when Jopie was young: his mother when he was fifteen and his father when he was twenty. Jopie's siblings were much younger. These were critical parental losses for Breemer. For Van Meegeren there was the emotional absence of his father whose typical expression of fatherhood was to abuse his son verbally and brutally while Han's mother did not intervene. Did these holes in their emotional lives bring Van Meegeren and Breemer together in some sort of bond or solidarity? Did Han van Meegeren view Jopie Breemer as someone he was sympathetic to because of some shared life experiences? It is possible that Jopie Breemer is a example of Van Meegeren's humanity breaking through his armor against the cruelties (real and imagined) the artist endured. One can only hope that this sliver of evidence has emerged to cast Van Meegeren in a better light. Was Jopie Breemer of the tribe of Jesus, so often painted by Van Meegeren, his ticket to redemption?

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TIMELINE

This chronology includes references to Han van Meegeren, Jopie Breemer, Theo van der Pas, and their families and associates, and their portraits by Van Meegeren. Other entries pertain to historical figures and events within the timeframe of this paper.

1875

8 December: Joseph (Jopie) Breemer is born in Amsterdam to Isaac Breemer (1829-1895) and Paulina Zoest (1849-1891). His siblings include sisters Johanna Paulina (1874-?), Sophie (1881-1885), and Grietje (1883-?) and brothers, Lodewijk (1884-1940) and Victor (1886-?).

1877-1882

Jopie lives with his family first in Soest and then in Rotterdam. Father Isaac Breemer is a physician and an unqualified surgeon who practices from his home.

1886

5 February: Johanna Theresia Oerlemans is born in The Hague.

1889

10 October: Han (Henricus Antonius) van Meegeren is born in Deventer, the third of five children of Roman Catholic parents Augusta Louisa Henrietta Camps and Hendrikus Johannes van Meegeren. His father is a teacher of history and French in Deventer.

Until 1907: During his secondary education at the Hogere Burger School (HBS) Van Meegeren receives private drawing lessons from Bartus Korteling (1853-1930).

1890

13 April: Maria Ertel born in Wels, Austria.

17 July: Anna Zoreida de Voogt is born in Deli, Sumatra, Dutch East Indies, of an Indonesian Muslim mother and a Protestant Dutch father who was employed as a colonial administrator by the Dutch East India Company. Anna is said to be a direct relation of the Sultan of Serdang on her mother's side. Before she was five, Anna's parents divorced and she was sent to live with her paternal grandmother in the village of Rijswijk near The Hague.

1891

Jopie Breemer's mother dies, and he is now under the supervision of his father who is alone with five surviving children to support.

1895

12 December: Jopie Breemer's father dies and leaves nothing at all to his children to help them through life. The younger children go into an orphanage and Jopie continues with his art studies but encounters great financial difficulties in pursuing these studies even with small subsidies.

1896

In his second year at the State Academy of Fine Arts, Jopie Breemer leaves his art studies and decides to become a poet writing short sonnets in the Impressionist style of the 1880s. He was later to meet several poets and literary writers from that generation known as the Tachtigers (Eightyers).

He continues on his own to draw and sketch.

1898

January: Jopie Breemer, age twenty-two, goes to live in a bohemian colony of artists, writers, and poets housed in the remaining part of an old Amsterdam mill known as “De Duif” (The Dove)⁵⁶ The mill is located very close to a section of Amsterdam called De Pijp, a well-known bohemian quarter. Many artists come to visit but not live at the mill; Piet Mondrian was a frequent visitor. This may be Jopie’s earliest identification as a bohemian artist. He has to earn some sort of living so he does not stay long at De Duif.

September: Although he holds no belief in militarism, he becomes a full-time soldier and is present at the coronation of Queen Wilhelmina this year. In his uniform the almost five feet four inch Jopie cuts a military figure of sorts. He is described as having a full beard, high forehead, brown hair, brown eyes, round chin and holds his head slightly to one side. A woman friend of Jopie’s says he has a Christ-like head.

1902

5 October: Theo (Mattheüs Wilhelmus) van der Pas is born in The Hague to Willem Pieter van der Pas and Jacoba Visch, the youngest of six children, five of whom (including Theo) study music and pursue musical careers. Theo’s father and grandfather each play a musical instrument. The children often make music together. When Theo is old enough to start school he studies music, learning the violin and piano. His first professional piano teacher is Carl Oberstadt.

1903

July: Jopie Breemer leaves military service with the rank of sergeant. His most important skill gained during his military service was learning stenography. He may have returned to the mill De Duif to live; also living there at the same time was Arthur van Schendel and the two men become very close friends. Breemer travels to Paris and Berlin to experience bohemian life. The *vie de bohème* of Paris - Montmartre and the numerous cabarets - makes a deep impression on Jopie. He returns to Amsterdam where he resumes his pursuit of poetry and sows the seeds of the Jopie-hol - the Jopie cave. Jopie has not given up his pursuit of art; he paints and draws when he can. From September to December he lives with the Cohen family at Prinsengracht 788 and later takes a room of his own for a time.

1904

August: Jopie lodges with the Broekman family at Keizersgracht 802. The portraitist A.M. (Adriaan Marinus) Broekman (1874-1946) makes a portrait of Jopie that is later owned by the poet C.S. Adama van Scheltema.

1905

Jopie travels with friends, the artist Martin Monnickendam and Nan Mauve and her sister and mother to Norway and Sweden. Jopie visits Berlin, and he does so often.

⁵⁶ Information about De Duif (The Dove) and Jopie Breemer’s connection to it are found in a posting on 12 June 2012 by Emily Beckwith, at a blog for the site Museum Het Schip. Beckwith, a student at the Amsterdamse Hogeschool voor de Kunsten, says in the blog entry that Arthur van Schendel also lived at The Dove. Her source is the Amsterdamse Stadsarchief, in the register *Ons Amsterdam 1949-1998*. <http://hetschip.wordpress.com/author/emilybeckwith93/>.

1906

The residents of the bohemian community in the mill De Duif have to leave in order for what remains of the old building to be demolished for an ambitious urban renewal project, Amsterdam's South Plan. Jopie finds work as a milk taster. Amsterdam has 1,138 milk dealers, and milk tasting seems to be the leading contemporary method of quality control. Since Jopie abstains from tobacco and alcohol and likes to drink milk, he has found the near-perfect job.

Jopie Breemer takes up residence in a small Amsterdam apartment at Kerkstraat 270, which is known as the Jopie-hol (the Jopie cave) where he has two Vermeer reproductions on the walls and an odd assortment of furnishings. He maintains an open house during specific evening hours for the artists and intellectuals of Amsterdam, especially for adherents of socialist thought. Jopie's personality, that of an intelligent, open-minded, warm-hearted, peace-loving man and caring host and friend, makes the rather shabby apartment interior a beacon attracting young people who have hopes for success (but were nowhere near achieving it) and those on their way to success. Those who reach success - and they are many - are names recognized in Netherlands cultural history of the 20th century. The Jopie-hol becomes, for a few years, the pinnacle of Amsterdam's cultured bohemian life - and Jopie was the bohemian-in-chief. Another aspect of the Jopie-hol was its inclusion of young liberated women of the era - women (usually with higher education) who train for and seek professional careers in many fields including the arts and design, and who wish to see the end of sexism in Dutch society.

Jopie Breemer celebrates the marriage of his friend artist Martin Monnickendam (1874-1943) to Alice Mouzin, director of the Industrial School for Female Youth. Among the friends celebrating are artist Gerrit Willem Knap (1873-1931); Jan Eisenloeffel (1876-1957), interior designer, goldsmith, and illustrator who was skilled in so many more arts and crafts that he was a one-man Wiener Werkstätte; and sculptor Abraham Hesselink (1862-1930).

1907

Van Meegeren's father sends Han to Delft to study architecture where he becomes a member of the Catholic Student Society Sanctus Vergilius. This date for his architectural study is questioned by Frederik Kreuger for what he says if the lack of documentary corroboration from Delft Technical University. No alternative corroboration is available anywhere else.

1908

August: Jopie Breemer, still struggling to be an artist, makes a portrait of his friend Arthur van Schendel who has published several novels, a few of which have been lauded by the critics and sold well. Van Schendel works for a time at a small atelier-cum-private school begun by Jopie. Breemer knows a young woman, Anna de Boers, who he introduces in some fashion to the young widower Van Schendel, and they marry. Van Schendel later has a long and illustrious career as one of the Netherlands leading novelists; Jopie's portrait of the novelist is used in several editions of Van Schendel's books and in biographies about him.

This is the year cited as the date of a portrait of Jopie by A.M. Broekman (1874-1946).

1909

Jopie moves to Leidsegracht 91, which becomes the new quarters of the Jopie-hol. (Gracht is the local word for canal.) Like his first apartment, this one is also furnished in an odd assortment of

simple and serviceable items. He never serves alcohol to his guests; instead they drink water, milk and tea. Tea, especially, becomes part of a daily ritual in which Jopie and his visitors create a social bond with intellectual discussion, singing, recitations of poetry including Jopie's own poems, joke telling, friendly chat and occasional flirtation. Jopie is the heartbeat of this small world of bohemian bonhomie.

In the archive of the Stichting Vrienden van de Schilder Martin Monnickendam there is a birthday card to Martin Monnickendam's young daughter Monarosa (Roos) Monnickendam from Jopie, dated Sunday, 3 January 1909, on which there is a drawing of the little girl. This was most likely the first birthday of Roos,

In August, Jopie has sent two congratulatory cards to Monnickendam - the celebratory events are unknown - with the second card bearing a drawing of a king with a rich apple in his hand and a musketeer. It is not clear if this drawing was Jopie's.

1910

Jopie Breemer's reputation as a welcoming and open host at his new Jopie-hol has become solidified in the circles of people around him. He is known as an adherent of socialism as are many of his guests, and he moderates political discussions about socialism at the "cave".

Portrait now titled *Bohemien (Jopie Breemer)* by Jan Poortenaar. The portrait is in the permanent collection of the Jewish Historical Museum, Amsterdam. This year is an approximate date for the painting's creation.

1911

Young Han van Meegeren meets a fellow art student, the shy and serious Anna de Voogt, a beautiful young woman a year younger. The couple fall in love and Anna becomes pregnant this year.

Portrait in pencil or ink of Jopie Breemer by Ed. Gerdes. The portrait appears in the 1998 edition of *De ontboezemingsbundel*, page 31. The portrait is first cited in Ribbens, page 82, but not dated in Ribbens' entry although the year appears on the portrait written clearly next to Gerdes' signature.

1912

18 April: Van Meegeren marries Anna who has converted to Catholicism under pressure from Han's father so that her children will be raised as Catholic although Anna was raised as a Protestant, not a Muslim. The young married couple go to live for a time with Anna's grandmother in Rijswijk, in an upscale house and community.

Jopie meets Johanna Gerarda Kruls (b. ca.1893) - Pom is her nickname - and they soon begin to live together.

From June to mid-December, Jopie goes to The Hague to work as a night porter at the Paleis (Palace) Hotel.

26 August: Van Meegeren's son Jacques Henri Emil is born in Rijswijk. (An online article about Jacques van Meegeren at Wikipedia is the most accessible biography.)

At year's end Jopie returns to Amsterdam and to Pom.

1913

8 January: Van Meegeren wins first prize and a gold medal in a drawing competition held by the General Sciences section of the Delft Institute of Technology for his drawing of a 17th century church interior, that of the St. Laurens Church in Rotterdam.

6 February: Jopie Breemer marries Johanna Gerarda Kruls who he first met when she visited the Jopie-hol. They have a three-month honeymoon of sorts in London and then the couple move to The Hague. Jopie spends several years working there as a doorman at the Paleis Hotel, the Grand Hotel Scheveningen and in Kasteel Oud-Wassenaar. The Kasteel is a villa built in late 19th century neo-Renaissance style and converted to a hotel and restaurant in 1910. Jopie reports of one Grand Hotel experience where he had a philosophical conversation in the hotel elevator with a guest who was a professor of philosophy. In the summer bathing season Jopie works to earn money for winter trips abroad in Europe with his wife, especially to Paris and Vienna.

This year Jopie Breemer publishes an edition of his poems, aphorisms, drawings and amusing light verse *De ontboezemingsbundel* (The Outburst). He was always known by his nickname Jopie, never using Joseph unless he had to complete an official document.

October: Jopie Breemer travels to Paris.

Theo van der Pas begins conservatory study with the piano as his chosen instrument.

1914

Han van Meegeren receives his M.O. diploma in drawing and he and his family move to Scheveningen.

Since Jopie left Amsterdam the previous year the Jopie-hol cannot survive without him despite the best efforts of friends like Piet Endt and Johan Stärke to keep the "cave" going. The Jopie-hol is no longer.

Theo van der Pas enters the Royal Music Conservatory at The Hague.

1915

24 March: Van Meegeren's daughter Pauline Hermine is born in 's-Gravenhage; later she and/or her family favor using the name Inez. This is not a legal change of name, merely the abandonment of a given name in favor of a preferred new one.

Among his artwork this year Van Meegeren makes the head of a Jew but the work is said to have been lost in World War II.

Another drawing "De Talmud-lezer" (The Talmud Reader) is made by Van Meegeren.

1916

Theo van der Pas plays the piano accompaniment for two of his sisters who also study dance. The Van de Pas parents invite people to the house for these music and dance evenings at their home.

1917

24 April-22 May: Van Meegeren's first solo exhibition, in Kunstzaal Pictura, The Hague. This exhibit includes the 1915 portrait of the "Talmud-lezer."

1918

Article by Van Meegeren's friend, Carel Hendrick de Boer, "Nieuwe stroomingen in de hedendaagsche schilderkunst. (New tendencies in present-day painting.) [Part] I. H. van Meegeren," *De Cicerone*, 1918, pp. 89-96. On page 90 is a "Portret-Studie" of Jopie Breemer. *De Cicerone* was founded by De Boer but it did not last more than a year.

23 May: Jopie Breemer and his wife Pom (Johanna) divorce but they meet from time to time. Jopie continues to travel and to work.

Theo van der Pas is awarded an education degree, at an unusually young age, from the Royal Conservatory.

1919

2 December: Van Meegeren is accepted into membership of the Haagse Kunstkring (Hague Art Circle).

November: From this year until 1923, Van Meegeren, Carel de Boer and de Boer's wife Jo share a studio called *Take Sono*, in what undoubtedly is a ménage-à-trois.

Theo van der Pas is awarded a diploma for his soloist study with piano teacher Karel Textor. The diploma cites his achievement in musicality. On the advice of Textor, the seventeen-year-old Van der Pas studies abroad - in Paris with the famous pianist Robert Casadesus and in London with composer Percy Grainger.

1920

In a new edition of his book, *De jongere generatie*, first published in 1913, E. (Abraham Elias Jessurun) d'Oliveira writes of an interview with C.S. Adama van Scheltema, a poet who was part of the socialist circles that included Jopie Breemer. D'Oliveira describes the living room of Adama van Scheltema's house in which hangs a portrait of Jopie Breemer made by A.M. Broekman who was active and living in Laren ca. 1913. D'Oliveira says that Adama van Scheltema had no idea of the identity of the portrait's sitter despite owning it for about ten years and even though Adama van Scheltema knew Jopie.

1921

Van Meegeren travels through Italy for three months. Accompanying him into the precincts of high society sought out by Van Meegeren is the night porter Jopie Breemer. The two men are friends since the days of the Jopie-hol and after, with proof provided by Van Meegeren's ca. 1915 portrait study of Jopie. There are no confirmed reports by anyone of visits by Van Meegeren to Jopie's cave. Van Meegeren was very young and still pursuing his art studies during Jopie's years at the Jopie-hol. Jopie is about fourteen years older than Han van Meegeren and Jopie is the total opposite in temperament from Han's stern, cold, forbidding and unforgiving father.

Van Meegeren makes the famous pencil drawing *Hertje* (Fawn).

23 December: Theo van der Pas makes his official debut as a piano soloist at the Pulchri Studio, The Hague. His program includes Bach, Chopin, Schumann, Mozart, Debussy, John Ireland, and as a throwaway encore, Liszt's challenging virtuosic Mephisto Waltz.

1922

17 May-7 June: Van Meegeren's exhibition of *Bijbelsche Tafereelen* (Biblical scenes) in Kunstzaal Biesing, The Hague.

From this year until 1927, Theo van der Pas develops a career as an accompanist with some solo performing.

A daughter is born (date unknown) to the now-divorced Jopie and Pom. Nothing more is known about the child; the couple remain divorced.

1923

23 March: Han van Meegeren and Anna de Voogt divorce. Van Meegeren is having an affair with Jo de Boer, the wife of Carel de Boer about which De Boer seems to have known all along. Anna learns of it later and may have taken her children with her to live in Paris.

June: Van Meegeren and the De Boers give up their shared studio.

Laughing Cavalier and *Satisfied Smoker* by Frans Hals appear on the market. These are the first forgeries Van Meegeren produces and they are accepted for a while as genuine works of Frans Hals.

Between October and December: Gordon C.T. Randall is born in London, England (*UK Marriages, 1796-2005*.)

1924

Theo van der Pas marries Jacoba Gilberta Rudolphine Middelraad. She is known affectionately in her family as Cootje. From this year on Theo makes a series of debuts with various orchestras and ensembles and continues as an accompanist to many singers.

Jopie makes trip to Vienna and meets Maria Ertel on a train.

1924/1925

Van Meegeren is named Secretary of the Painting and Sculpture Section of the Haagse Kunstkring.

1925

23 June: Jopie Breemer marries a second time, in Vienna, to Austrian-born dancer Maria (Mitzi) Ertel. Mitzi is described as a stingy, worn-out "ballet girl" - who could be described as a dancing worker bee in the corps de ballet. Jopie returns to the Netherlands with his wife.

"Een van de weinige vriendschappen die hij [Martien Beversluis] in de laatste jaren van de oorlog overhield was die met de schilder Han van Meegeren. ... Van Meegeren en Beversluis hadden elkaar jaren eerder leren kennen. Beversluis declameerde al op 29 december 1925 gedichten voor de *Haagsche Kunstkring* op verzoek van Van Meegeren die binnen dit genootschap een vooraanstaande positie innam." (One of the few friendships he [Martien Beversluis] had in the last years of the war was with the painter Han van Meegeren. Van Meegeren ... and Beversluis had met years earlier. On

29 December 1925 Beversluis recited poems for the Hague Art Circle at the request of Van Meegeren who occupied a leading position in the association.) See Adriaan Venema, *Schrijvers, uitgevers en hun collaboratie* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij De Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 203-204.

1926

9 April: A son Willem, known as Wim, is born to Theo and Jacoba van der Pas.

April: Jopie Breemer and Maria Ertel open a dance school in The Hague. During its existence it is known variously as Dansinstituut Breemer-Ertel and Breemer-Ertel Dansschool.

24 December: A son Erik is born to Jopie and Maria Breemer in 's-Gravenhage.

Theo van de Pas becomes head piano teacher at the Rotterdam Conservatory, and he creates a Hague-Rotterdam nexus that lasts until 1940.

1927

21 July: Augusta van Meegeren, Han's mother, dies in Amersfoort, Utrecht.

November: A free reproduction of Van Meegeren's 1921 Haagse Kunstkring Print of the Month, a pencil drawing called *Hertje* (Fawn), is available at the Haagse Kunstkring. The print becomes one of the most popular art reproductions in this and succeeding eras and is found in many Dutch homes.

Anna de Voogt van Meegeren leaves for Sumatra with both her children.

Theo van der Pas enters the First International Chopin Piano Competition in Warsaw; this competition will be held every five years. Quite surprisingly, Van der Pas is not awarded any of the top six prizes of which the first and fourth are awarded to Russian competitors and the second and third to Polish competitors. The fifth and sixth prizes are not awarded at all as they are at every competition hereafter (except 1942). Van der Pas is awarded a Diplôme d'Honneur instead. The politics of international music competitions is apparent and in this instance the competition founders and the jury wanted a Polish pianist among the top prizewinners at the inaugural event. Van der Pas goes on to make a career as the Netherlands leading Chopin interpreter and plays with internationally known artists as an accompanist and in chamber groups and as a soloist with leading symphony orchestras.

12 December: A daughter Thea is born to Theo and Jacoba van der Pas.

1928

April: Van Meegeren founds the monthly art magazine *De Kemphaan* (The Fighting Cock). The magazine opposes the modern art movement and is strongly devoted to figurative art in the classic Dutch 17th century style. Van Meegeren funds the publication, contributes articles (often using an alias) and designs the cover. He names right-winger Jan Ubink as the editor. Contributors include Martien Beversluis, who writes notorious anti-Semitic verse in other periodicals.

22 November: Van Meegeren marries the actress Johanna (Jo) Oerlemans, former wife of the art critic C.H. de Boer.

1928/1929

Jopie Breemer is now the dance master at his and his wife's dance school at The Hague.

1930

3 May-10 May: Van Meegeren exhibition of portraits, paintings and drawings, Deventer Association for Tourism.

Anna de Voogt returns to the Netherlands from Sumatra with her children.

Throughout the 1930s Theo van der Pas builds a highly regarded musical reputation as piano soloist and conductor and continues as piano accompanist to leading singers. During this decade he records with leading orchestras and instrumentalists, Dutch and foreign.

1931

March: Final edition of *De Kempphaan*.

Jacques van Meegeren leaves for Paris to study electrical engineering. Very little is known of his sister Inez's early life and school years.

1932

10 September: Hendrikus J. van Meegeren, Han's father, dies in Amersfoort, Utrecht.

October: The discovery in July of *Man and Woman at a Spinet*, a heretofore-unknown Vermeer, is announced by prominent art historian and critic Dr. Abraham Bredius in *Burlington Magazine*, 61:145. The painting is, in fact, Van Meegeren's newest forgery, done in the style of Vermeer.

October: Jopie Breemer appears at the Haagse Kunstkring where he is the narrator at a *schimmenspel* or shadow play, *Faustina*, created by a *schimmenspel* master Frans ter Gast. *Het Vaderland*, 5 October 1932, p. 3.

8 October: Theo van der Pas debuts as the conductor of the Van der Pas Chamber Orchestra.

After a bitter controversy in the Haagse Kunstkring about his assuming a more important position, Van Meegeren gives up his membership.

Autumn: Van Meegeren and his wife move to Roquebrune on the French Riviera, taking up residence in the Villa Primavera.

December: Jopie Breemer appears as the narrator in a *schimmenspel* created by Frans ter Gast called *De moord van Raamsdonck* (Raamsdonck's Murder). The review is significant for devoting a double-column article to this and other of Ter Gast's shadow plays, *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 17 December 1932, p. 27.

1933

December: Jopie Breemer appears at the Haagse Kunstkring as the narrator in a *schimmenspel* by Frans ter Gast telling the story of Bluebeard. The narration was the text by Luc Willink with a piano

accompaniment.

1934

“Dansschool Breemer-Ertel” is located at Groot Hertoginnelaan 282, The Hague, where it remains until 1940. The school advertises heavily in the months of September and October in *Het Vaderland*, running ads in sixteen editions during the entire months, announcing registration for September and October classes.

1935-1936

Van Meegeren produces four (unsold) paintings in 17th century style: *Woman Playing Music* and *Woman Reading a Letter* in the style of Vermeer; *Malle Babbe* in the style of Frans Hals; and *Portrait of a Man* in the style of Ter Borch.

1936-1937

Van Meegeren paints *Christ at Emmaus* in the style of Vermeer. This fake was preceded by years of research and experimentation by Van Meegeren enabling his success in passing the painting off as an early Vermeer.

1937

Early September: *Christ at Emmaus* is identified by Dr. Abraham Bredius as an authentic painting by Johannes Vermeer. Bredius writes of his discovery in “A New Vermeer,” *Burlington Magazine* (November 1937), 71:210–211.

1938

April: Theo van der Pas makes a career move to Brussels to concentrate on solo performing; he brings his wife and children with him to live in the suburb of Etterbeek. A few months later he tours in the Dutch East Indies. By the end of this year Theo had not yet made a complete adjustment to living in Brussels.

18 June: Official delivery of *Christ at Emmaus* to the Boimans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, purchased with financial donations of the Rembrandt Society, Rotterdam ship owner W. van der Vorm, Dr. Abraham Bredius, and some private individuals in Rotterdam possibly from the local port owners, a wealthy business elite known as *havenbaronnen*, or harbor barons.

25 June-15 October: Exhibition of *Meesterwerken uit vier eeuwen 1400-1800* (Masterpieces of four centuries, 1400-1800) in the Boimans Museum. The exhibition’s top attraction is *Christ at Emmaus*.

Summer: Van Meegeren moves to Nice and paints *The Card Players* and *The Drinking Party* in the style of Pieter de Hooch.

1939

1 January: Dansschool Breemer-Ertel sends New Year greetings in a small ad that ends with the phrase, in English: “To Keep Fit - Try Dancing.” *Het Vaderland*, 1 January.

Van Meegeren paints *The Last Supper* in the style of Vermeer, for which he uses a 17th century work by Govert Flinck, a pupil of Rembrandt, overpainting the Flinck work.

Autumn: Because of the threat of the war, Van Meegeren and his wife return to the Netherlands from France, leaving *The Last Supper* behind in Nice.

Theo van der Pas and family in Brussels prepare to return home to the Netherlands.

1940

February: Dansschool Breemer-Ertel announces a Carnival masked ball of the Netherlands-Italy Society to take place on 3 February in Scheveningen. The event is under the technical direction of the dance school, *Haagsche Courant*, 1 February 1940 and *De Residentiebode*, 2 February 1940.

10 May: The German Army invades Belgium and the Netherlands. The Germans overwhelm the weak Dutch Army. Soon begins the start of the five-year-long German Occupation of the country.

14 May: Rotterdam is bombed by the Luftwaffe, the city center is leveled and the Rotterdam Conservatory is destroyed. Uncontrollable fires consume more areas with great loss of life.

18 May: The occupation authorities issue “VERORDNUNG des Reichskommissars für die besetzten niederländischen Gebiete über die Niederländischen Kulturkammer /VERORDENING van den Rijkscommissaris voor het bezette Nederlandsche gebied betreffende de Nederlandsche Kulturkammer.” [sic] (REGULATION of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Dutch Territories About the Dutch Culture Chamber.) This is the first of a series of bureaucratic pronouncements in the development of the *Nederlandsche Kulturkamer*, the Dutch Culture Chamber, which finally comes into being in early 1942. Many if not most in the Kulturkamer bureaucracy are Dutch civil servants.

Van Meegeren settles in a spacious country villa in Laren, an artist colony not far from Amsterdam. He remains there until 1943 when he moves to Amsterdam.

Van Meegeren paints a second version of *The Last Supper* and *Head of Christ* in the style of Vermeer. *The Last Supper* is painted over *Hunting Scene* by Abraham Hondius that was bought by Van Meegeren.

Dans-Instituut Breemer-Ertel is listed in a newspaper directory of twenty-four such schools in The Hague, *De Residentiebode*, 2 November 1940. The Dutch appear to be serious students of dance. How these schools fare under the German Occupation is not known.

1941

23 March: “TOEKOMSTIGE ORGANISATIE DER BEELDENDE KUNSTENAARS. Richtlijnen van het te vormen gilde Rede van dr T. Goedewaagen te Amsterdam. DE OP TE RICHTEN KULTUURKAMER,” (FUTURE ORGANIZATION OF VISUAL ARTISTS. Guidelines of the guilds to form, from the speech by Dr T. [Tobie] Goedewaagen, Amsterdam. THE CULTURE CHAMBER’S AIMS) *Het Vaderland*, 23 March 1941. NOTE: The headlines use upper case as indicative of an important official announcement.

18 September: This date is the last ad for Dansschool Breemer-Ertel found online, *Haagsche Courant*. The Breemer-Ertel school continues under the Ertel name. With his wife Mitzi’s help, Jopie Breemer goes into hiding. Although the exact year is unknown many Jews, Dutch- and

foreign-born, and other resisters go into hiding or decide to do so no later than mid-1942. By hiding Jopie manages to avoid deportation and survive until the war's end. The full story of his underground existence is not known but credit is given to his wife for her strong-willed commitment to keeping her husband alive. Nothing is known about the whereabouts of the Breemers' adolescent son Erik and how he survived during this period.

22 October: Jews remaining in the work force now require special work permits.

26 November: The twenty-seven articles enacting the Kultuurkamer are published in Dutch newspapers; full implementation will begin in the following year. This new organization under the German Occupation unmistakably changes the direction, content and composition of the panoply of Dutch culture. No one in the visual arts, performing arts, cinema, radio, theater, music and journalism can continue in their professional activities without applying for membership in the Kultuurkamer through which they are vetted for their Aryan ancestry and political correctness. Jews are, of course, excluded. *De Courant*, 26 November 1941, page 2.

5 December: All non-Dutch Jews are ordered to register for "voluntary emigration."

Did Maria Breemer register with the Kultuurkamer to keep the Breemer-Ertel dance school open or did she avoid registration to keep Jopie as anonymous as possible? She may have worked as a dance teacher for an Aryan employer. No evidence has emerged about Maria.

In order to work and support his family, Theo van der Pas joins the Kultuurkamer. The evidence for this are the newspaper accounts and reviews of Van der Pas's various performances during the years of the Occupation before and after the Kultuurkamer took control. For the Dutch who are able to attend concerts, recitals, art exhibits, films and plays, these provide brighter moments in the dark days of the Occupation. Attendance at all cultural events and lighter amusements soars, often surpassing pre-war levels.

Van Meegeren's friend and colleague artist Eduard (Ed.) Gerdes (1887-1945) is named as the head of the guild of visual artists. Gerdes is a Dutch Nazi and virulent anti-Semite who desires to forward the objectives of Hitler's Germany. Gerdes is very close to the occupation authorities and through them he becomes, in effect, the art commissar of the Netherlands.

Van Meegeren paints a very large portrait in watercolor and pen and ink of pianist Theo van der Pas as he sits at the piano surrounded by the ghosts of seven great composers of the past. This is the best date determined for the origin of the portrait.

Van Meegeren paints a portrait of a sometime friend Jopie Breemer. While the portrait has been called "Jopie Breemer as a praying Jew," it seems most probable that "praying Jew" is nothing more than an obvious description of the sitter wearing Jewish religious garb. Breemer was not known to be religious although his origins were Jewish. It is not certain how the portrait acquired this title. This is the best date determined for the origin of the portrait. However, this could mean that Jopie is not yet in hiding or that Van Meegeren is taking his time in completing the portrait, which may have been begun earlier.

Van Meegeren sells the *Head of Christ* and the second version of *The Last Supper*. He also paints

Isaac Blessing Jacob; Washing of Christ's Feet, bought by the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam; and *Christ and the Adulteress* in the style of Vermeer. *The Card Players* that he had painted earlier is also sold.

8 November-1 December: Exhibition of fifty drawings by Han van Meegeren, at Hotel Hampdorff in Laren. Brief notices appear in *De Tijd*, 7 November 1941 and *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, 7 November 1941. A longer and complete signed review appears in *De Tijd*, 20 November 1941.

1942

3 January: Opening of an exhibition of Van Meegeren's drawings in Panorama Mesdag, The Hague. *Het Nationale Dagblad* reviews it on 13 January with the comment: "vele zijner verbeeldingen zijn nog aan den negatieven kant; d.w.z. zij zijn onvolksch veelal cosmopolitanisch geörienteerd" (Many of his imaginings are on the negative side, i.e. they are mostly unvolkish and often cosmopolitanly oriented.) A photo of Van Meegeren and his friend Martien Beversluis at the exhibition is in Frederik H. Kreuger, *Han van Meegeren, Meestervervalser*, p. 106. *Het Nationale Dagblad: voor het Nederlandsche Volk*, published 1936 to 1945, is a National Socialist newspaper, the organ of the NSB (Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging) which metamorphosed slowly from several right-wing political movements beginning in 1931 to consolidate finally into the Dutch Nazi Party in 1940, the only political party permitted to exist under the German Occupation. The comment quoted above in *Het Nationale Dagblad* is clearly a negative political criticism that says Van Meegeren is not sufficiently observant of Nazi racial ideology; "cosmopolitan" was a Nazi racial code word for a Jew.

9 January: There is a signed review of the Panorama Mesdag exhibition in *Het Vaderland*.

16 February: Theo van der Pas is in Laren at the Hotel Hamdorff to play an evening concert with the Gooi Symphony Orchestra. It is not known if Van Meegeren attends the concert and/or meets Van der Pas this evening.

29 April: Dutch Jews are forced to wear a yellow star on their clothing in public to identify them as Jews.

May: "Volgens de kartotheek van de Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer heeft H.A. van Meegeren geboren 10 oktober 1889, zich voor het eerst in Mei 1942 en voor het laatst in April 1943 bij deze instelling aangemeld. Hij staat geboekt als lid van het gilde 'beeldende kunst'." (According to the card index of the Dutch Chamber of Culture, HA van Meegeren, born 10 October 1889, has for the first time in May 1942 and most recently in April 1943 been logged by this institution. He is recognized as a member of the guild 'fine art'.) [*Het Parool*, 27 November 1945. Printed as post-war evidence of Van Meegeren's collaboration.]

13 June: Start of deportation of Jews from Camp Westerbork where they are taken after their arrest.

14 July: Beginning of large-scale round-ups of Jews ages 15-40 in Amsterdam. After this date periodic round-ups of Jews in Amsterdam occur through the rest of the year including deportation of Jews from Camp Westerbork eastward to the extermination camps.

24 July: Theo van der Pas is appointed teacher of piano at the Royal Conservatory in Amsterdam,

De Courant, 24 July 1942.

Book published: *Han van Meegeren. Teekeningen I* (Drawings I) by H. de Boer and Pieter Koomen with a forward by E.A. van Genderen Stort. Other contributions include poems by Martien Beversluis, I.P. (Isaac Pieter) de Vooy and Jan Feith. Included in the book is a reproduction of the Theo van der Pas portrait at the piano. Quite conveniently, Martien Beversluis was also a reader at the *Lectoraat* – the literature censors of the DVK – *Departement van Volksvoorlichting en Kunsten*. (See Hans Renders. “Book Production and Its Regulation during the German Occupation of the Netherlands.” *Quaerendo*, vol.40, issue 3-4, January 2010, p.35.) The edition’s print run did not seem to be limited by any wartime paper shortage, and the quality of the paper and the reproductions is to the highest standards possible given the wartime circumstances. Undoubtedly, Van Meegeren would have pulled strings himself or someone on his behalf could have done so to overcome the rationing of paper. See René Kruis and Gerrold van der Stroom, “The K Number,” *Quaerendo*, Volume 40, issue 3-4, January, 2010, pp. 385-408. The article’s abstract reads as follows:

Some books printed in occupied Holland during the Second World War carry a so-called K number. This was long supposed to signify approval by the *Kultuurkamer*, a ‘wrong’ (i.e. a pro-German or, as in this case, puppet) body that was set up in November 1941 by the country’s German governor or *Reichskommissar*. It has now become clear that this is incorrect: the K number was in fact introduced in July 1941 as a bureaucratic means of monitoring and controlling the supply and rationing of all printing paper by the Dutch Department of Economic Affairs, and was a consequence of pre-war Dutch rationing legislation dating from 1939.

1943

Van Meegeren and wife Jo move to Amsterdam into large elegant mansion at Keizersgracht 321.

31 March: the US Army Air Force bombs Rotterdam to deny the Germans the use of the harbor and industrial facilities. The city suffers its second firestorm with high loss of civilian life.

29 September: Final large roundup of Amsterdam Jews; 10,000 are caught and deported, among them members of the Nazi-instituted Joodse Raad (Jewish Council).

5 October: Reichskommissar Arthur Seyss-Inquart outlines the policy regarding Jews still at large.

18 December: Van Meegeren divorces his wife Jo Oerlemans, but this is only a formality. The couple remains together while a large share of Han’s capital is transferred to Jo’s accounts as a safeguard against the uncertainties of wartime. Van Meegeren is attempting to shield his assets from any possible expropriation. If he thinks that Germany might lose the war, then he has much to fear from the victors who would look very closely into his network of German associates - art dealers and buyers - as well as examining Han’s political affiliations, his own artwork and personal wealth.

Christ and the Adulteress is sold to Reichsmarschall Hermann Goering. It is a fake Vermeer by Van Meegeren.

December: In Amsterdam, Germans now target Jewish partners in mixed marriages for deportation.

1944

2 February: Dutch and Portuguese Jews (descendants of 16th century refugees) are deported to Camp Westerbork.

22 February: American bombers accidentally bomb and destroy the center of Nijmegen mistaking it for German territory. As many as 800 people are killed, about the same number as in the German bombing of Rotterdam, and thousands are wounded. Also accidentally bombed by the Americans are Enschede, Arnhem, and Deventer. The Dutch rescued and saved the lives of many Allied airmen throughout the war.

21 July: First of many round-ups in Amsterdam of men (Dutch citizens) for forced labor in Germany.

1944-1945

The people of the Netherlands, especially in urban areas, undergo what is called a “hunger winter” when an especially frigid winter combined with dire food and fuel shortages cause about 18,000 to starve to death. Only in the distant agrarian areas was a bit more food available.

1945

3 March: The Royal Air Force mistakenly bombs the Bezuidenhout quarter of The Hague inflicting a heavy death and damage toll.

22 May: World War II is over. *Christ and the Adulteress* is discovered by an American army officer responsible for securing Goering's art collection. The work is traced to Van Meegeren.

At some point Jopie Breemer is able to leave hiding and resume his life.

Theo van der Pas continues with his teaching and performing.

29 May: Van Meegeren is arrested on the accusation of collaboration for selling a work by Vermeer, a part of the Netherlands national art patrimony, to Reichsmarschall Goering.

12 June: After two weeks of imprisonment, Van Meegeren confesses that he is the forger of *Christ at Emmaus*, the painting sold to Goering, and other paintings.

August to mid-October: As proof of his confession Van Meegeren paints *Young Christ Teaching in the Temple* in the style of Vermeer before a group of expert witnesses who make attestations of the event to the court.

1946

13 April: Dr. Abraham Bredius dies. His reputation is tattered by his authentication of Van Meegeren's fake Vermeers.

Van Meegeren is said to make one last portrait of Jopie Breemer, a drawing of Jopie as an “onion porter.” The drawing is owned by Jopie's son Erik Breemer but an image of it has yet to be found. As of the date of this paper, it is not known who is the owner of the alleged portrait after the death

of Erik Breemer.

1947

April: Inez van Meegeren marries Gordon Randall in Utrecht. They go to England to live in Surrey where Inez teaches languages.

14 October: Theo van der Pas's wife Jacoba van der Pas dies. She is survived by her husband and her two children, daughter Thea and son Wim.

29 October: Van Meegeren's trial begins. Van Meegeren's children, Jacques and Inez, and his former wives attend the trial when they can and visit him in hospital.

12 November: Van Meegeren is convicted and sentenced to one year in prison.

30 December: Van Meegeren has a heart attack - the second of two a few months apart - and he dies in the Valerius Clinic in Amsterdam.

1949

26 August: Theo van der Pas and Anneke Hoedemaker marry.

1950

5-6 September: Van Meegeren's household effects are auctioned in his house at Keizersgracht 321 in Amsterdam - a forced sale by court order to pay back income taxes and make restitution to purchasers of his faked artworks. The portrait of Theo van der Pas is in the house. The portrait of Jopie Breemer is not listed in the Paul Brandt auction catalogue; the whereabouts of the Breemer portrait is unknown at this time.

1954

26 March: Erik Breemer marries Sijtje Gorter, (1910-?) in Amsterdam. Nothing more is known of this marriage. This is her second marriage having earlier divorced in 1950; she has a daughter Irma from her first marriage. Erik Breemer is described in the Gorter Family genealogy as a *longarts*, or pulmonologist, which is what he is known to be professionally.

1955-1956

Theo van der Pas begins a long farewell tour as he retires from the recital stage. He has other musical involvements in his life but his decision to leave active concert engagement is final.

1957

6 February: Jopie Breemer dies in The Hague and is buried there.

1961

11 November-3 December: Van Meegeren exhibition, Kortrijk (Belgium) Stadsmuseum.

1961-1962

13 December 1961-3 January 1962: Van Meegeren exhibition, Bruges (Belgium) Koncertgebouw.

1971

February: After twenty-four years, *Christ at Emmaus* is exhibited in the Boimans van Beuningen

Museum, Rotterdam.

1974

7 September-13 October: Van Meegeren exhibition in the Koningswei, Tilburg.

1976

In a biographical collection assembled by his daughter, the book *Arthur van Schendel* is published with a portrait of Van Schendel drawn by Jopie Breemer, August 1908, on page 45.

1977

2 October: Jo Oerlemans van Meegeren dies in Zwijndrecht, a suburb south of Rotterdam.

26 October: Jacques van Meegeren dies in Amsterdam.

1978

4 December: Anna de Voogt van Meegeren dies in Medan, northern Sumatra, Indonesia.

1979

Gerrit Komrij, now becoming a leading literary figure, poet and essayist in the Netherlands, begins to study Jopie Breemer and his work. It is the beginning of what might be called Jopie's literary resurrection. Some of Breemer's poems are included in Komrij's several anthologies.

1984

Arjen Ribbens publishes his University of Amsterdam doctoral dissertation on Jopie Breemer's years at the Jopie-hol, the first dissertation on Jopie with reference to Komrij's work. Ribbens interviews Erik Breemer. Ribbens' dissertation sponsor is Prof. Enno Endt, the son of Piet Endt, one of Jopie Breemer's closest friends and admirers.

1985

April: Pauline Hermine (Inez) van Meegeren Randall dies in Surrey, England. Her husband Gordon C.T. Randall and daughter Barbara survive her. The date of birth of their daughter is unknown. However, according to Frederik Kreuger (*A New Vermeer*, 2010) Barbara married A.D. Martin (year unknown although one possibility is late 1971 according to *UK Marriages, 1796-2005*) and they had a son, Harry Martin (birth year unknown).

15 June-1 September: Han van Meegeren exhibition at Slot Zeist (Zeist Castle), an elegant 17th century Baroque royal palace of the Dutch monarchy that has been restored for use as a meeting and event venue near the town of Zeist.

1986

1 December: Theo van der Pas dies in Amsterdam.

1991

Jopie Breemer's portrait of Arthur van Schendel appears in a short newspaper article (one of series about literary figures titled "Leven en streven..."): Flor Vandekerckhove, "Leven en streven ... Arthur van Schendel," *Het Visserijblad* (Bredene, Belgium), 2 August 1991, pp. 42-43.

1996

10 February-2 June: Han van Meegeren retrospective at the Kunsthal, Rotterdam, includes the forgeries he painted and more than 200 of Van Meegeren's *oeuvre*.

9 April-7 July: Van Meegeren exhibition at the Bredius Museum, The Hague.

1998

Gerrit Komrij helps to renew interest in Breemer's poetry and life in a new edition of Jopie Breemer's *De ontboezemingsbundel*, the first since its original publication in 1913; Komrij writes the introduction.

14 October: Erik Breemer is interviewed by telephone during a broadcast on Radio Montaigne for a program segment about his father, Jopie Breemer. No transcript of the program is available although a recording of the proceedings was made.

2002

Christie's Netherlands offers at auction one copy of the design for the poster of "Theo van der Pas at the Piano" and one copy of the poster itself.

2003-2004

23 December 2003-4 April 2004: Han van Meegeren exhibition at the De Waag Historical Museum, Deventer.

2004

1 September: Van Meegeren's large-scale portrait of "Theo van der Pas at the Piano" is at Van Stockum Auctions, priced at 10,000 euros.

2006

5 September: Willem (Wim) van der Pas, son of Theo van der Pas, dies in Heemstede.

2010

12 May-22 August: Boijmans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, shows an exhibition of Van Meegeren's forgeries including works in the styles of Vermeer, Frans Hals, Pieter de Hooch and Gerard ter Borch.

2012

5 July: Gerrit Komrij dies in Amsterdam.

19 November: Han van Meegeren's portrait of his first wife, Anna de Voogt, is listed for auction as Lot #202, priced at 200-400 euros, by Derksen Veilingbedrijf, Arnhem, Netherlands. The portrait is described as a 24x23 cm color drawing. Two other lots signed by Van Meegeren are *Sheep with White and Black Lamb*, Lot #195, 750-1250 euros, and *Christ on the Cross at Golgotha*, Lot #285, 1000-2000 euros. The three Lots were exhibited in the 1996 Van Meegeren exhibition in Rotterdam. The catalogue includes a full-page biography of Van Meegeren. See Derksen Veilingbedrijf, *Veilingcatalogus, November 2012*.

NOTE: The basic timeline of Van Meegeren's biography and exhibitions used here first appeared in

Diederik Kraaijpoel and Harry van Wijnen, *Han van Meegeren, 1889-1947*. It was used for the timelines at the web sites of Dutch art collector Leon Vosters at: <http://hanvanmeegeren.webs.com/tentoonstellingen.htm>, and <http://hanvanmeegeren.webs.com/biografie.htm>.

A partial Van Meegeren genealogy is in Frederik H. Kreuger, *A New Vermeer: Life and Work of Han van Meegeren* (Delft: Quantas, 2010), pp. 239-240.

The deepest level of biographical detail about Jopie Breemer and his years before World War I derive from Arjen Ribbens, *Jopie Breemer en het Jopiehol. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse bohème (1906-1914)*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Amsterdam, 1984. In his review of the new edition of *De ontboezemingsbundel* in *NRC Handelsblad*, 16 October 1998, Ribbens mentions “O, hoe zoet is basterdsuiker,” the title of a poem by Breemer and also of a book of poems by Breemer. Bastard Sugar is light brown sugar. It was named such because it is neither granulated white sugar nor is it purely brown sugar; it is an impure, coarse brown sugar made from the leftover syrup of previous boilings; something that is of irregular, inferior, or dubious origin.

To this timeline I have added research from such sources as www.worldvitalrecords.com, contemporary newspaper reports, Dutch government sites, libraries and universities, and chronologies of the German Occupation. I have contributed corrections, deletions, and additional references to Jopie Breemer, Theo van der Pas, Han van Meegeren, et al.

PERSONALIA

C.S. (CAREL STEVEN) ADAMA VAN SCHELTEMA (1877-1924): a well-known poet whose works are still read today in the Netherlands. Despite having been born into a wealthy family he turned to social democracy as the only ethical position he saw possible for himself and for Dutch society. His criticism of Jopie Breemer and his friends as socialists who were talkers and not doers (“parlor socialists”) did not seem to damage the reputation of the Jopie-hol.

MARTIEN BEVERSLUIS (1894-1966): Dutch poet and novelist. He joined the Dutch National Socialist Movement in 1940, the Dutch Nazi Party in 1941, and the Dutch SS in 1942. During his lifetime he had also been a communist, socialist, pacifist, Catholic and Protestant. Beversluis wandered between far left- and far right-wing parties and abandoned religion and then returned to it. He has been described as a hard-core and notorious Nazi. Some of his anti-Semitic poems published in *De Kempmaan* are quite vicious; elsewhere he repeatedly referred to Jews as “rats;” see Martien Beversluis, 'De Ratten' In: *De Zeeuwsche Stroom*, mei 1942. (“The Rats” in *De Zeeuwsche Stroom (The Zeeland Current)*, May 1942. Here is a brief excerpt with a translation, both from Adriaan Venema. *Writers, publishers and their collaboration*. Workers Press, Amsterdam, 1989, which is online at the Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL):

(The rats. The Jews!
The bread of thy children? What is it to them?
The bread of thy children, they have to gnaw)

ABRAHAM BREDIUS (1855-1946): noted art historian and critic. He authenticated Van Meegeren's forgeries *Man and Woman at a Spinet* and *Christ at Emmaus* as newly discovered Vermeers. He is listed in the militia records for Amsterdam.

JOSEPH (JOPIE) BREEMER (1875-1957): a popular local Amsterdam bohemian who was a poet, artist and actor. He frequented the Haagse Kunstkring, although it is not known if he was a member, and he participated in some of the Kunstkring's theatrical events. Born of a Jewish family, he survived during the German Occupation in hiding. His poetry has become known once again in the late 20th century through the efforts of Gerrit Komrij (see below). He is listed in the militia records for Amsterdam.

ERIK BREEMER (1926-ca. 2008): son of Jopie Breemer, a medical doctor specializing in pulmonology. He was born in The Hague.

CAREL (or KAREL) HENDRIK DE BOER (1879-1949): artist, art critic and essayist. He wrote several positive reviews and essays in support of Van Meegeren. De Boer was chairman of the cultural affairs division of the fascist National Front party. He was born in the Dutch East Indies; no exact date of his settling in the Netherlands has been found.

ISAÄC PIETER DE VOOYS (1875-1955): mechanical engineer. HBS [high school] Gouda; Delft Polytechnic School; Deputy Inspector of Labour (1896-1911); Professor of Mechanical Technology, Delft University (1911-1917); Director NEMOS (1917-1930); Director, Mining SA (1931-1941) and Director, AKU Arnhem (1930-1941). In 1939 he was named to the cabinet as minister for the economy; his tenure ended with the 1940 German invasion and occupation and he retired in 1941. He was also a poet and published his collected poems in *From the Poor* (1905), *Behind the Mission* (1930) and *From Threat to Liberation* (1946). As a Socialist of sorts he had an early interest in the labor movement. He studied and wrote about the social role of art and involved himself with artists and writers. De Vooy's portrait by Han van Meegeren is in a private corporate collection and appears from time to time in various publications; it was not included in *Teekeningen I*. De Vooy's poem (or a fragment of it) "Werkers der wereld" is paired in *Teekeningen I* with Van Meegeren's drawing "Arbeid." De Vooy's relationship with Van Meegeren and with the book's contributors has not been determined. One author writes: "De anti-militarist De Vooy verafschuwde de oorlog en haar veroorzaker het national-socialisme. (The anti-militarist De Vooy hated the war and its cause, National Socialism.) See Henk Muntjewerff, "Tussen Kapitaal en Arbeid, Momenten Uit het Openbare Leven van de Dichter-Ingenieur, Isaäc Pieter de Vooy (1875-1955)," (Between Capital and Labor, Moments from the Revealed Life of the Poet-Engineer, Isaäc Pieter de Vooy (1875-1955)), *Jaarboek de Oranjeboom*, 50, 1997, p. 207. However, the observation about De Vooy's anti-militarism was one that many shared with De Vooy, an attitude that metamorphosed from anti- to pro-militarism as political sentiment in the Netherlands changed over time with the rise of Italian fascism and German Nazism in the early 1920s. The Netherlands was neutral in World War I but not untouched by the heavy influx of Belgian refugees and, by war's end, by widespread food shortages. The country hoped to remain neutral in any such conflicts later in the 20th century.

E. (ABRAHAM ELIAS JESSURUN) d'OLIVEIRA, Jr. (1886-1944): writer, novelist, poet and psychologist. He was a Dutch Sephardic Jew whose life ended in Auschwitz. His family created a web site commemorating him at www.olijfmetperen.nl.

PIET (PIETER) ENDT pseud. EDUARD COENRAADS (1883-1936): a Dutch sociologist, translator and novelist who studied political economy at the University of Zurich earning a doctorate there in 1918. Around 1910 Endt met Jopie Breemer at the "Jopie-hol," with evidence being a photo of the two men - Jopie with a beard and Endt sitting nearby - taken at the Jopie-hol. Jopie apparently took the photo himself. From his contact at the Jopie-hol, Endt/Coenraads was involved in furthering the publication of Jopie Breemer's 1913 book *De ontboezemingsbundel*. After Jopie left Amsterdam in 1913, Endt tried to keep the Jopie-hol going but he gave up and closed it after a year. From 1920 to 1932 Endt was a teacher at a lyceum and two Hogere Burger Schools. He published several works on sociological subjects, including a textbook *Sociology* (1931). Using the pseudonym Ed Coenraads he was a songwriter and *chansonnier* in the Netherlands and made an extensive and successful tour of the Dutch East Indies in 1916. He sang in Dutch, German, French and occasionally in English, and composed his own songs for his cabaret performances. From 1930 to 1936 he was the co-director of the Wereldbibliotheek. Under his own name as well as the pseudonym Herman Fairfax he translated the works of George Bernard Shaw, Friedrich Nietzsche, Gerhart Hauptmann, W. Somerset Maugham and others. As Eduard Coenraads he published two novels, *Island of Happiness* (1920), a novel of performing artists in the Italian lake district, and *Torch Bearers* (1923), a novel about the Bavarian Soviet Republic of 1919 in Munich. Endt's political allegiance was with the Social Democrats; there is a letter signed by members of the Dutch and Flemish literary community for the newspapers stating their opposition to war and militarism. Some people who opposed these twin evils were doing so to maintain the neutrality of the Netherlands in the event of another European war. *De Tribune*, 20 February 1935. Among the signers was "M. Beversluis." This was Martien Beversluis who had moved on since the demise of *De Kemphaan*.

JAN FEITH (1874-1944): a poet and illustrator (especially known as a silhouettist), journalist and outstanding amateur athlete. He was editor of and contributed to *De Kemphaan*. He is the author of *In de Amsterdamsche Jodenbuurt. De Aarde en haar Volken* (1907) (In the Amsterdam Jewish Quarter. Its Character and People) with contemporary photographs. The complete text in Dutch and photos are at www.gutenberg.org/files/18236/18236-h/18236-h.htm. The book is a glimpse of the worst misery in which the so-called "Serbian Jews" lived in the Amsterdam ghetto.

EDUARD (ED) GERDES (1887-1945): an artist who became art commissar of the Netherlands during the German Occupation. He was known as a fanatical anti-Semite and a leading proponent of German domination of Europe. He is listed in the militia records for Amsterdam. Early on Gerdes was acquainted with Jopie Breemer well enough to make a portrait of the bohemian artist in 1911. The paths of the two men diverged radically as Gerdes went on to make his own career and ally himself with the far-right-wing political movement.

JOHN RAYMOND GODLEY, 3d Baron Kilbracken (1920-2006): wrote two books about Van Meegeren. The first was the result of an invitation extended to Godley, a London-based reporter, by Anna de Voogt and her children Jacques van Meegeren and Inez van Meegeren to write about Han van Meegeren. The family and friends of Han van Meegeren cooperated with Godley. The book, *Master Art Forger. The Story of Han van Meegeren*, was published first in London in 1950 and in New York, 1951. Godley wrote blanket dismissals of accusations about Van Meegeren's alleged collaboration during the Occupation and pro-Nazi leanings - with no discussions of any possible anti-Semitism, which is still an open question when the range of his anti-Semitic colleagues and

friends are known. Godley's book is a reportorial account without the extensive research that came much later as Vermeer researchers and scholars sought to unravel Van Meegeren's life in order to know as fully as possible what, why and how he had forged so much art.

DR. [CORNELIS] TOBIE GOEDEWAAGEN (1895-1980): a member of the NSB (Dutch Nazi Party). Reichs Commissioner for the Netherlands Arthur Seyss-Inquart appointed Goedewaagen chairman of the *Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer* (Dutch Chamber of Culture) founded on 22 November 1941.

DIRK HANNEMA (1895-1984): art collector and controversial director of the Boijmans Museum. He was actively pro-German during the Occupation.

GERRIT KOMRIJ (1944-2012): a poet, essayist, translator, novelist, playwright, cultural commentator and poetry anthologist. A weekly radio program devoted to the arts and literature had a segment on Jopie Breemer with interviews with and by Gerrit Komrij and Erik Breemer, son of Jopie Breemer, Radio Montaigne, 14 October 1998. Komrij wrote the introduction to the new edition of Breemer's *De ontboezemingsbundel* (1998) and was an ardent champion of Breemer's poetry. Komrij used Arjen Ribbens' dissertation about Breemer as the basis for his Radio Montaigne commentary although Komrij had been writing about Jopie Breemer as far back as 1980. He championed and led the revival of interest in Jopie Breemer. Through his efforts Breemer's poetry came back into public view and his poems are included in several poetry anthologies, among the first of which was edited by Komrij. In 2000, Komrij was chosen Poet Laureate of the Netherlands for a period of five years by a poll taken among Dutch poetry readers.

PIETER KOOMEN (1881-1947): art critic, pro-Nazi journalist and co-author of *Teekeningen I*. Wrote for an influential art journal. "Pieter Koomen devotes an article testifying to great appreciation of the work of the draftsman Van Meegeren in which he defends his art against various attacks. In particular, he draws attention to the spiritual and visionary in Van Meegeren's drawings." The quote is from a review in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, XIX (1942), pp. 12-18. See also *Dagblad de De Gooi- en Eemlander*, 21 January 1942. Koomen's personal archive of notebooks and manuscripts was placed at auction in 2010 by Dutch auctioneer Bubb Kuyper with the lot described as: "Koomen, P. Lot of 18 notebooks, first half 20th cent, manuscript text in pen and pencil, contemp. wr., various sizes. Personal archive of the art critic Pieter Koomen, with numerous quotations, annotations and biographical notes on graphic...." To date, nothing from Koomen's personal papers has been published or found deposited in a regional or national archive.

BARTUS (BART) KORTELING (1853-1930): a local artist and art teacher who was a great influence on young Han van Meegeren.

REINOLD KUIPERS (1914-2005): a poet, printer, copywriter and publisher. His brother, Abe Johannes Kuipers (b.1918), is an artist and typographer whose art was exhibited and who taught typography.

KLAUS MANN (1906-1949): anti-Nazi German writer and journalist; he fled Germany in 1933 fearing arrest or expulsion. Mann died a suicide in May 1949 after several attempts over a number of years.

MARTIN MONNICKENDAM (1874-1943): a well-known Dutch painter whose art is again being

sought after after years of inattention. He was a close friend of Jopie's and the two traveled abroad together in their younger years. After Monnickendam's marriage, which Jopie celebrated with other friends of Monnickendam, and with Monnickendam's burgeoning career as an artist, the two men drifted apart.

"About the Artist

Martin Monnickendam grew up in an Amsterdam liberal Jewish family. After studying at the Royal Academy and a stay in Paris, he returned to the Netherlands. He painted the life of the big city - Amsterdam, Paris - with its busy streets, theaters and shops in a very powerful brilliant impressionist style: heavy canvases with sparkling colors. As for viewing people - the single or group portrait - he is a master. In summer he often wandered about the Veluwe* where he captured landscape and peasant life with a brush or chalk.

During his life Monnickendam was widely known and his work has been exhibited at home and abroad. He received many national and international awards for his work. He was never recognized as belonging at the top rank of Dutch painting. In 1924, the art historian Albert Plasschaert called him a little known painter. After the war he was lost into oblivion until 199 when the Jewish Historical Museum of Amsterdam devoted a major retrospective to him."

* The Veluwe is a forest-rich ridge of hills in the Netherlands province of Gelderland. The Veluwe features many different landscapes including woodland, heath, some small lakes and Europe's largest sand drifts.

The bio "About the Artist" is taken from the first two paragraphs from the site www.galleries.nl/mnkunstenaar.asp?artistnr=11780&vane=1&em=&meer=&sessionti=925855068.

Translated by Janet Wasserman.

NESCIO pseudonym of **JAN HENDRIK FREDERIK GRÖNLOH** (1882-1961): a writer born in Amsterdam, the eldest son of a blacksmith and shop owner and educated at a secular primary school and a three-year high school. From 1897 to 1899 he went to a college-level business school after which he started work as an office clerk in Hengelo, but quickly returned to Amsterdam, where he held a succession of similar jobs. In 1905 Nescio married and he and his wife raised four daughters. Until his death in a Hilversum sanatorium in 1961, Nescio remained in Amsterdam. Grönloh started writing as Nescio, using a pseudonym to keep his professional career and his writing career separate. All his stories bear witness to the conflict between his career and his ideals, as formed by turn of the century utopian socialism. In 1900 he had started a commune inspired by Frederik van Eeden's Walden commune; the commune was wound up in 1903. He still kept his ideals but was no longer personally involved. Instead he turned to writing, as well as long solitary walks in the countryside around Amsterdam. Not very prolific, much of his writing remained unpublished until after his death and the stories he did publish went out of print quickly. His decision to use a pseudonym did not help in getting his stories published; it is only in 1932 that Nescio revealed his true name. This led to a reprint of the three earlier books - *De uitvreter*, *Titaantjes*, and *Dichtertje* in 1933 - as well as some critical attention. It is only after World War II that he became reasonably well known, though his oeuvre is still small, roughly 160 pages. However, growing critical appreciation led to the Marianne Philips award in 1954, as well as the publication of a new

collection of stories just before his death in 1961. His story *De Uitvreter* (*uitvreter* is variously translated as loafer, moocher, freeloader or sponger) has as its main character a sponger – very much the carefree bohemian - known as Japi who befriends and sponges outrageously off an artist named Bavink, named after artist Emanuël Samson van Beever (1876-1912) who eventually settled in Laren and Blaricum. Van Beever has one painting in the permanent collection of the Jewish Historical Museum, Amsterdam. Arjen Ribbens and more recently Ype Koopmans have opened up that chapter of Nescio's life. Ribbens says Jopie Breemer was Nescio's model for the *uitvreter* or bohemian loafer Japi. The name Japi is very close to Jopie so this provides some credence for the belief that it was Jopie Breemer who was the model, albeit transformed into Nescio's sponger rather than the provider of sustenance and friendship that Jopie was in his Jopie-hol days. Japi is undoubtedly Jopie while the personalities of the fictional Japi and the real bohemian Jopie are at opposite poles.

PIM POLMAN-TUIN (ca. 1929; still living in 2011): Han van Meegeren's nephew - son of his favorite sister Augusta (Guusje) van Meegeren Polman-Tuin (ca.1899-?) and her husband Willem Polman-Tuin (ca.1893-?). Pim's parents married 5 October 1927, which provides some basis for his birth year. He was seen being interviewed on a BBC One program "Fake or Fortune" about art fakery. The episode announcing Van Meegeren's newly determined fake of Dirk Baburen's *The Procureess* along with the interview of Pim Polman-Tuin was broadcast 3 July 2011; Pim Polman-Tuin appeared to be about 80+ years old. He mentioned a portrait of himself that his uncle had painted in about two hours.

JAN CHRISTIAAN POORTENAAR (1886-1958): Dutch graphic artist, graphic designer, painter, watercolorist, draftsman, etcher, lithographer, maker of woodcuts, illustrator, author, and publisher. He was self-taught but received lessons from Piet van Wijngaardt and Willem Witsen. On his 20th birthday Poortenaar received a Royal Grant for painters, and then followed with exhibitions in Brussels and London. From 1914 to 1922, Poortenaar lived in London where he made his first major etchings of Trafalgar Square and Waterloo Bridge. In 1915 he won the silver medal at the International Exhibition in San Francisco. Poortenaar worked in Amsterdam, Belgium and London until 1922, in the Dutch East Indies until 1924, Bennekom (Ede), Amsterdam in 1939, and in Naarden from 1939 to 1958 where he would publish dozens of books (mostly about himself) under the imprint In The Tower. He made landscapes, oriental scenes, portraits, cityscapes, flowers, still lifes, and bookplates. He wrote books with his own illustrations and translated books and magazine articles. He was a member of *Arti et Amicitiae* (Amsterdam) and the Hague Art Circle.

ARJEN RIBBENS (b.1957): journalist, editor, commentator and blogger at NRC Handelsblad. His 1984 University of Amsterdam dissertation is the source of much of what we know about Jopie Breemer in Amsterdam's bohemia in the years before and during World War I. Ribbens' dissertation was used by Gerrit Komrij for his commentary and interview on the 1998 Radio MONTAIGNE broadcast discussing Jopie Breemer as well as for Komrij's introduction in the 1998 reissue of *De ontboezemingsbundel*.

JOHAN STÄRCKE (1882-1917): a pediatric physician who, with his brother, first translated Freud and the Comte de Lautréamont into Dutch. His other literary activities included prose sketches and translations of the poetry of Walt Whitman, which remain unpublished. He and Jopie Breemer were friends at the Jopie-Hol.

FRANS ter GAST (1880-1970): a highly trained artist and designer who was also a well-known silhouette artist; he created the flat cutout and articulated paper puppets used in the art form known as *schimmenspel* (shadow play). The puppets are held between a light source and a translucent screen and manipulated so that the shadows are projected onto the screen as the audience watches. The puppets move according to the play's action in the text spoken by the narrator. There is usually a musical accompaniment as well. This popular art form may have originated in Asia and was known in many countries outside of Asia. It had especially broad appeal, and was a favorite and highly sophisticated entertainment form in the Dutch East Indies. He is listed in the militia records for Amsterdam.

H.H. (HANS HEINRICH) THYSSEN (1921-2002): scion of the wealthy Thyssen family and art collector. His art collection formed the original core of the collection of the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum in Madrid. His ownership of Jopie Breemer's portrait by Han van Meegeren has never been explained and no facts have been made public about the portrait's acquisition by H.H. Thyssen and its complete provenance. The subsequent owners are unknown.

JAN UBINK (1884-1960): pro-Nazi editor of *De Kemphaan*. See: "Met Duitsland Voor Een Vrij Nederland," (With Germany for a Free Netherlands) *Het Vaderland*, 31 December 1941. News of Germany at war and mention of Jan Ubink appeared in this right-wing newspaper obedient to the press requirements and party line of the German Occupation authorities. From 1933 to 1936 Ubink was chairman of the Haagse Kunstkring section on literature, theatre and film. He filled that position once again from January to 20 November 1947. Ubink was associated with Van Meegeren as editor of *De Kemphaan* (The Fighting Cock) from April 1928 to March 1931 - the magazine's entire life span although some monthly numbers may have been skipped. Although widely claimed that March 1930 was the last issue, the last issue was March 1931 as reported in *Het Vaderland*, 15 April 1931; *Het Vaderland* mentioned or reviewed every issue the journal published. The brief article begins: "De Maartaflevering, het latste nummer van den jaargang, bevat het afscheid van Jan Ubink, den leider van De Kemphaan, die, zoo wij het Afscheids word wel hebben begrepen, verder niet meer zal verschijnen. Wat jammer is." (The March issue, the last number of the third year, includes the farewell of Jan Ubink, the leader of *De Kemphaan*, which, if we have understood the Parting Word, no further publication will appear. What a pity it is.) This article was found through *Historische Kranten*, the database of selected Dutch newspapers from 1618 to 1995 digitized for online reproduction at the site of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek at <http://kranten.kb.nl/>. It is possible that some months of *De Kemphaan* lacked publication and three full years of monthly publication were not achieved. However, only a physical examination of all issues will determine the actual course of each issue's publication. Ubink shared Van Meegeren's acid views of art critics and modern art. As for Van Meegeren, who invested his own money in founding the magazine, he was intensely and radically right wing, slipping into a fascist mode of thinking. *De Kemphaan* mirrors both Ubink's and Van Meegeren's political thinking and reflects Van Meegeren's state of mind during the journal's three years of publication.

EMANUËL SAMSON VAN BEEVER (1876-1912): an artist born in Antwerp, the son of jeweler. The first four years of his life were lived in Antwerp when his parents decided to move to Amsterdam where Emanuël went to school. After he completed school he was apprenticed to a diamond finishing shop. However, it soon turned out that he did not have much interest in diamond grinding. At an early age he became interested in drawing and painting at which he was very proficient. Initially he studied art in Amsterdam but Van Beever did not feel comfortable there and

he stayed away from school taking painting lessons instead from the painter Alexander Tree. From 1894 to 1897 Van Beever attended the Academy of Fine Arts. In these years he lived in straitened circumstances, supported only by a small grant, while his parents lived in London. When his parents became ill Van Beever left for London to take care of them. Two years later, when both parents had died, Van Beever returned to the Netherlands where he later settled in Blaricum and Laren. Van Beever's paintings included still lifes and scenes of peasant interiors and villages. He received favorable reviews, including in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* which wrote of his still lifes: "Van Beever is at this point an admirable talent." On June 20, 1912, Van Beever died in Laren at the age of thirty-six.

G. (DANIËL GEORGE) VAN BEUNINGEN (1877-1955): a wealthy Rotterdam industrialist who amassed a significant collection of 15th and early 16th century Dutch art. His collection was given to the Boimans Museum in 1958 thus adding Van Beuningen to the museum's name. Listed in the militia records for Utrecht.

THEO (MATTHEÛS WILHELMUS) VAN DER PAS (1902-1986): well-known pianist and conservatory teacher. He was chair of the music section of the Haagse Kunstkring from January 1947 to 1 August 1952.

E.A. (ELISE AUGUST) VAN GENDEREN STORT (1883-1967): professor at Delft University, 1940-1946, and an engineer specializing in modern steel building construction about which he wrote at least eight books. Van Meegeren painted his portrait in ca. 1943, see Lopez, *The Man Who Made Vermeers*, pp. 170-171. He was a contributor to *De Kemphaan* and also wrote the foreword - a biographical essay of Van Meegeren - in *Teekeningen I*. He is listed in the militia records for Arnhem.

ANNA ZOREIDA DE VOOGT VAN MEEGEREN (1890-1978): Han van Meegeren's first wife. Little is known about her life after her marriage to Han ended in divorce when she may have left to live in Paris and later in Indonesia with her children. They all returned to the Netherlands and still not much information about her is available. She may have remarried.

JACQUES HENRI EMIL VAN MEEGEREN (1912-1977): only son of Han van Meegeren, from his marriage to Anna de Voogt; also a painter and occasional forger of his father's art.

JOHANNA (JO) THERESIA OERLEMANS DE BOER VAN MEEGEREN (1886-1977): Han van Meegeren's second wife; her stage name was Jo van Walraven. She benefited financially from the 1943 divorce-of-convenience settlement that Han arranged to protect his assets. She lived in wealth until the end of her life.

PAULINE HERMINE (INEZ) RANDALL-VAN MEEGEREN (1915-1985). Han van Meegeren's daughter from his marriage to Anna de Voogt. Van Meegeren painted lovely portraits of his beautiful daughter. Randall was her married name and this was how she was referred to in a newspaper article, "War is de schat van Van Meegeren? Engelese verslaggever graaft in Laren," (Where is Van Meegeren's treasure? English reporter-earl in Laren.) *Het Nieuwsblad voor Sumatra*, 4 December 1948, p. 3. Inez married Englishman Gordon C.T. Randall, was known to have lived in London, and had a daughter Barbara. Gordon Randall was listed as being interviewed about his

“late wife” Inez by Frederick Kreuger, *Han van Meegeren, Meestervervalser*. The date of this interview is unknown. There is a birth entry for Gordon C.T. Randall born in Fulham, England, between October and December 1923; mother’s maiden surname was Collins. If this is the husband of Pauline, he was approximately eight years younger than she.

ARTHUR (FRANÇOIS EMILE) VAN SCHENDEL (1874-1946): one of the Netherlands finest modern novelists. His early life was one of parental loss and financial struggle until his novels began to be noticed. For a while, in the early 1900s, he and Jopie Breemer appeared to have a friendship within the bohemian circle of the Jopie-hol, which led to Breemer’s 1908 portrait of Van Schendel.

LUC (LUCAS) WILLINK (1897-1976): film editor, film director, film critic and film historian, novelist, and poet. He was a film reviewer in the 1920s. Possibly the first and only feature film he directed, *De Maarschalkstaf* (released 1929), was commissioned by the Central Association of Consumer Cooperatives when Willink was the film critic for the newspaper *Het Vaderland*. He wrote many popular historical novels from the 1940s to 1960s; a best seller was *De Blauwe Smaragd* (The Blue Emerald) in 1944, which was widely reviewed in Dutch newspapers. He was a member of the Haagse Kunstkring. In his death notice, *De Telegraaf*, 8 September 1976, Willink is mentioned as being a Ridder in de Orde van Oranje-Nassau (Knight of the Order of Orange-Nassau), a modern-era order of chivalry founded by the Dutch monarchy to recognize “everyone who has earned special merits for society.” It is not known when Willink was awarded the honor.

PORTRAITS OF JOPIE BREEMER

1908: A.M. Broekman. *Portrait of Jopie Breemer*. Present owner unknown.

ca. 1909: Martin Monnickendam. No date appears on the sheet of sketching paper that contains the 5.08 x 5.08 cm pencil drawing of Jopie. "J. Breemer ..." is scrawled across the top third of the page in a different handwriting than that which appears directly under the image of Jopie. In the collection of the Stichting Vrienden van de Schilder Martin Monnickendam.

1910: Jan Poortenaar. “*Bohemien (Jopie Breemer)*,” oil on canvas, 140 x 122 cm. In the permanent collection of the Jewish Historical Museum, Amsterdam. This year is the one given in sources without definitive evidence of such.

1911: Eduard (Ed.) Gerdes made a pencil drawing.

1915: Han van Meegeren. “*Talmoedlezer*.” (Talmud Reader). In the first public one-man showing of Van Meegeren’s artwork in 1917. Present owner unknown.

1918: Han van Meegeren. “*Portret-Studie Jopie Breemer*.” H. de Boer. “Nieuw Stroomingen in de Hedendaagsche Schilderkunst.” *De Cicerone*, 1918, pp. 89-96. The image of Jopie Breemer is on page 90. Present owner unknown.

1941: Han van Meegeren. “*Jopie Breemer as a Praying Jew*.” Present owner unknown.

1946: Han van Meegeren allegedly makes a drawing of Jopie as an “onion porter” which is said to be owned by Erik Breemer. Since Erik Breemer’s death (year unknown) there has been no further information about this drawing.

ADDENDUM A

The following is a part of an editorial discussion (verbatim) about Wikipedia's Han van Meegeren article:

Van Meegeren owned no nightclubs

It is extremely unlikely that Van Meegeren "owned nightclubs" when he was arrested. Before the liberation of Holland there was a curfew where nobody was allowed in the streets between 10 at night (sometimes 8 o'clock) and 4 in the morning. And people were starving. What use of nightclubs? After the liberation nightclubs soon appeared but Van Meegeren was arrested within two weeks after the liberation. Moreover, Van Meegeren was extremely rich after all his forgeries, so why exploit a nightclub? The only explanation I can think of is that among the many houses Van Meegeren owned (he invested his capital in houses, stocks, diamonds, etc) one was used after a while as a nightclub. The reference to a nightclub is by Schueller: but this gentleman wrote a study about recognizing the fakes of Van Meegeren, he didn't make a study of the life of Van Meegeren. The other reference is by Godley who did excellent work when writing his biography. However he never met Van Meegeren personally, so a remark about a nightclub can easily have come to him by way of rumours. ... Primasz (talk) 09:31, 25 November 2007.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki?title=Talk:Han_van_Meegeren

NOTE: "Primasz" is a name used by Frederik H. Kreuger in his editorial contributions at Wikipedia. He is a noted Dutch researcher who has written several books and articles about Han van Meegeren. Godley wrote his first book about Van Meegeren with the assistance of and interviews with Jacques and Inez van Meegeren and others who knew Han van Meegeren.

ADDENDUM B

In the discussion about the cover design of *Teekeningen I* (see above page 7 and note 24), a book designer working at that time for the publishing firm L.J.C. Boucher in The Hague was Henri Friedlaender (1904-1996). Young Boucher, known as the "gentleman-publisher," opened for business in 1932 in his father's bookstore. The firm survived during the German Occupation by complying with the obligation to register with the newly-created *Departement van Volksvoorlichting en Kunsten*.

Friedlaender was born in Lyons, France, of a German-Jewish father and an English mother. At a very early age young Henri moved with his family to Berlin where Henri entered the Mommsen Gymnasium to continue his education. Upon graduation, however, Henri chose not to go to university but instead was apprenticed to a Berlin book printer where he learned the trade and studied calligraphy in his spare time. In 1925, Friedlaender entered Leipzig's Staatliche Akademie für Graphische Künste und Buchgewerbe. After graduation he worked for the wellknown firm Drugulin in Leipzig. He then moved to Offenbach where he found a mentor in the noted book and writing designer Rudolph Koch, who was particularly interested in Gothic lettering. Koch's influence on Friedlaender was important for the young book designer.⁵⁷ Friedlaender moved in 1928 to Hamburg to work for leading publishing firms. He moved around quite a lot afterwards, in what might be called his apprenticeship years, but always worked for leading book publishers and printers wherever he settled. And he continued his studies and private design creations throughout this period on his own time.

⁵⁷ Paul Standard, "Henri Friedlaender: A Koch Pupil Who Brings His Master's Reflective Spirit to the Dutch Book Arts," *Print: A Quarterly Journal of the Graphic Arts*, no. 2 (1947), pp. 15-27.

In 1932, with Nazi-promulgated anti-Semitism growing rapidly in Germany, Friedlaender fled to the Netherlands. He found work immediately, joining the firm of Mouton and Company in The Hague as a book designer and artistic advisor while also doing freelance work designing books and dust jackets for other firms. In 1933 his association with L.J.C. Boucher began. In 1936 he began teaching typography and lettering in Amsterdam. However, Friedlaender began to see the Netherlands as less safe than he had hoped.

The German invasion of 1940 undoubtedly caused Friedlaender great trepidation but he kept working for Boucher and doing whatever other freelance work he could find. By 1940 he was one of the 15,000 German Jews who remained in the Netherlands after the flood of refugees that began in 1933 receded. In 1940, Friedlaender entered into a civil marriage with a German woman Maria Helena Bruhn (1905-1994) who had been living in the Netherlands since 1931. In 1940, Maria Friedlaender asked the Wassenaar township authorities to destroy their marriage certificate, which the township agreed to do. In this way, the German Occupation authorities had no civil marriage record for Henri Friedlaender.⁵⁸ Friedlaender obviously did not register with the infamous census of Jewish residents in the Netherlands begun soon after the Occupation, which was a subterfuge used by the Germans for identifying Jews for later roundup and deportation. "Of the 140,00 people who registered themselves with the Germans as being Jewish, 107,000 were deported, of which only 5,500 came back. Approximately 24,000 went into hiding, of whom about 8,000 were caught."⁵⁹

In the summer of 1942 Friedlaender went into hiding in Wassenaar where, with the help of his wife he survived in their garden shed until 1945, although Friedlaender's granddaughter says he hid in the house's attic.⁶⁰ In the *Burgerlijke Stand* (Civil Register) for Wassenaar, Friedlaender lived at the same address in 1940 and 1947 - Hertelaan 7. Maria, who was not Jewish, continued to use her maiden name Bruhn and pretended to be a Nazi sympathizer. Trained as a teacher of rhythmic gymnastics, Maria Bruhn offered gymnastic lessons to German women in her house, all to draw attention to herself and away from her house at Hertelaan 7. In a bit of irony, her husband designed the prospectus for Maria's course of instruction.⁶¹ Besides her husband Maria Bruhn Friedlaender also hid a number of Jews, some from the resistance, and provided for them out of her earnings. Jolanthe Boucher, wife of L.J.C. Boucher, had become a very close friend of Maria Bruhn Friedlaender. Because Maria Friedlaender had food ration coupons for herself only, Mrs. Boucher brought food to the Friedlaender house to help feed Henri and the others in hiding.⁶² A noted Jewish artist and art teacher who was saved by Maria was Paul Citroen (1896-1983) who Maria hid in the attic of her house, which may be why Friedlaender's granddaughter named this her grandfather's hiding place. On July 7, 1997, Yad Vashem recognized Maria Helena Friedlaender-Bruhn as Righteous Among the Nations.

After the liberation Friedlaender left hiding and resumed his profession but he and his wife eventually left their Netherlands home in Wassenaar in 1950 to settle in Israel. By the time of his death, Friedlaender had become an internationally noted book, print, type and graphic designer and

⁵⁸ Philippe Boucher, the son of L.J.C. Boucher, e-mail 1/1/13, in response to my letter of inquiry about the Boucher firm's archives.

⁵⁹ *Jewish Situation under the German Occupation of The Netherlands*. www.humboldt.edu/rescuers/book/Strobos/Conditions.Holland.html.

⁶⁰ "All through the war he was stuck in that attic, sitting and designing that typeface," Ayala related. "Had he been caught he would have been executed, along with his wife, on the spot," in Ofra Edelman, "Whose font is it anyway? The battle for Hadassah," *Ha'aretz*, July 10, 2009. A printed source says that Friedlaender himself noted that he was in hiding for 1,018 days (approximately two years and eight months) in a *Hut* or *Hütte* - a cabin or shed, Kurt Löb, *Exil-Gestalten. Deutsche Buchgestalter in den Niederlanden 1932-1950* (Arnhem: Gouda Quint BV, 1995), p. 102.

⁶¹ See Kurt Löb, *Exil-Gestalten*, p. 101.

⁶² Philippe Boucher, e-mail 1/1/13.

educator. He was responsible for the design of a famous Hebrew font called the Hadassah Type, probably the most widely used Hebrew font. Ironically, Friedlaender's design work on his Hadassah Type continued during his years in hiding. In 1952 he became head of the Hadassah Apprentice School of Printing in Jerusalem. Friedlaender also designed the font for the IBM Selectric II dual Latin/Hebrew Hadar typeball as well as two other Hebrew fonts for IBM - Aviv and Shalom. A set of Hebrew type was donated to Dartmouth College and research at the Dartmouth library proved it to be Friedlaender's notable Hadassah typeface.

The Boucher firm went out of business in 1982 and an exhibition in 2007-2008 at the Meermann Museum was dedicated to publisher L.J.C. Boucher.⁶³ In a review of the exhibition is the following sentence: "Voor deze uitgaven is met de beste typografen, ontwerpers en drukkers rond de Tweede Wereldoorlog samengewerkt. Onder hen Gerrit Noordzij, Henri Friedlaender en Piet Cossee." (This is where the best typographers, designers and printers around the Second World War worked. Among them Gerrit Noordzij, Henri Friedlaender and Piet Cossee.) Friedlaender may or may not have been the designer of the cover and cover typeface of *Teekeningen I* as well as of the typeface of the book's text.

Kreuger says, "Op de omslag van het boek is veel kritiek geweest. Het ziet er nazistisch uit met zijn oud-Duitse letters en een agressief uitziende cijfer 1. Het ontwerp ervan is echter niet van Van Meegeren maar van de ontwerper Friedländer (een joodse vluchteling) die het tegen zijn zin nazistisch moest maken. Vermoedelijk vanwege de autoriteiten die het drukken moesten toestaan, want ook de uitgever, Boucher, stond aan de goede kant." (There has been much criticism about the book's cover. It looks Nazistic with the old German letters and an aggressive-looking figure 1. Its design is not by Van Meegeren but by the designer Friedländer (a Jewish refugee) who made it despite its Nazistic look. Probably because the authorities had to allow the printing, because the publisher, Boucher, stood on the good side.)⁶⁴ Without stating the source of his information about the *Teekeningen I* book designer Frederik Kreuger has told only part of the story and leaves a gap in his research about Van Meegeren's historically accepted hands-on involvement with the book's cover design.⁶⁴

Finally, what the evidence is that "the authorities" forced book design decisions would seem irrelevant even if there was a specific order (still to be determined) as to "a Nazi appearance" of any

⁶³ www.meermann.nl/index/-/p-l.j.c.boucheruitgever.bredevoort

⁶⁴ Frederik H. Kreuger, *Han van Meegeren, Meestervervalsen*, (Diemen: Veen Magazines B.V., 2004); on p.114. "Good side" in this context may mean pro-German or collaboration with the occupation authorities (willing or unwilling) or a similar stance that did not place the Boucher firm under suspicious or in dangerous opposition. Van Meegeren could not be overlooked in approving the design. Leaving his book's design to others was not his modus operandi as was seen during his days with *De Kempmaan*. His connection to Ed Gerdes was also important in helping the Boucher firm overcome any paper rationing and getting the official go-ahead to publish. If Friedlaender was the Boucher designer assigned to create the lettering, he may have realized that refusing this design job would have been foolhardy if he wanted to continue working for Boucher under the eye of the Occupation authorities. Moreover, Friedlaender had studied old Germanic lettering with Rudolph Koch, a leading German book and letter designer. That alone would have made him the preferred designer for the book's cover lettering. That said, only the archives of the Boucher firm would have the definitive answer as to the name of the book's designer. Two works published in the 1990s about German book designers in exile in the Netherlands, 1930s and 1940s - Kurt Löb, *Exil-Gestalten* (a thorough scholarly book) and the exhibition catalogue *Grafici in ballingschap* (both in the bibliography) - include the life and work of Henri Friedlaender during this period but neither mention Friedlaender in association with Van Meegeren's *Teekeningen I*. It would have been, of course, a monumental irony that Friedlaender had anything to do with Van Meegeren and *Teekeningen I*.

⁶⁴ "Correspondence between Friedlaender and his friend Reinold Kuipers ... dates from this period. Neither book nor letters give any mention of Friedlaender being involved in this publication." Ricky Tax, e-mail, 22 February 2013. Mr. Tax is the custodian/archivist of the papers of the L.J.C. Boucher publishing firm donated to the Meermann Museum; he is knowledgeable of Friedlaender's work and life.

given book since Van Meegeren, a Nazi-friendly artist, was probably paying for the book's production and had connections to overcome paper rationing with his Laren neighbor Ed Gerdes, the Dutch Nazi who ran the art establishment under the German Occupation.⁶⁵

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ADDENDUM C

In attempting to clarify the assertion on page 9 and in note 27 by Leon Vosters that Van Meegeren paid Germans to free Jopie Breemer, I suggest that the source of that claim may be the writer Marie-Louise Doudart de la Grée. Following is the quote and the note citation found in Arjen Ribbens:

Gedurende de oorlog bleef Jopie binnen. Als gemengd gehuwde en door intensieve bemoeienis van zijn vrouw, bleef hij van deportatie gevrijwaard. De dansschool, die openbleef, stond op haar naam. Han van Meegeren heeft beweerd dat hij Jopie, die ter elfder

⁶⁵ Prof. Hans Renders says: "I really don't believe Friedlaender did that cover and in my research ... I never saw a document that indicates there were rules for producing books with Nazi appearance. *De Arbeiderspers* did on purpose the opposite and Nazi publishers didn't need a document 'from above' to do so." Hans Renders, e-mail, 26 March 2013.

ure tijdens de oorlog uit zijn schuilplaats zou zijn weggehaald, weer vrij heeft gekregen doordat hij bij de Ortskommandant een graag geziene gast was.⁶⁶

...

Van Meegeren was een graag geziene gast van de Ortskommandant, 'niet on een slokje met hem te drinken maar om tegen sieraden, drank of een door hem geschilderd portret joodse vrienden die waren opgapakt weer vrij te krijgen.'⁶⁷

(During the war, Jopie stayed inside [hidden]. Because it was a mixed marriage and with the intensive involvement of his wife, he remained immune from deportation. The dance school, which remained open, was in her name. Han van Meegeren has claimed that Jopie who would be taken away from his hiding place during the war was freed at the eleventh hour because he [Van Meegeren] was a welcome guest at the Ortskommandant [German commander of local German Occupation forces].)

...

Van Meegeren was a welcome guest of the Ortskommandant, 'not to drink a sip with him but against jewelry, liquor or a portrait painted by his Jewish friends who were arrested to get free again.')

NOTE: Jopie was in danger of deportation despite his "mixed marriage" since he was racially 100% Jewish under the Nurenberg Racial Laws which were everywhere enforced under Nazi Occupation. It was most likely Jopie's wife who kept him hidden until the liberation of the Netherlands. The dance school had been called by both hyphenated names. The Breemer was probably dropped to avoid any attention to Jopie since he was no longer seen at or involved in the dance school.

Who and where was this Ortskommandant? Jopie was hiding in The Hague. Did Van Meegeren approach this officer in The Hague? There is no corroborating evidence, only an assertion allegedly made by Van Meegeren to Doudart de la Grée. According to Frank Wynne, *I Was Vermeer*, page 207, Doudart de la Grée was a close friend of Van Meegeren's.

ADDENDUM D: TIMELINE FOR HAN VAN MEEGEREN AND JOPIE BREEMER MEETING

Han van Meegeren was born in 1889, Jopie Breemer in 1875. Jopie set up the Jopie-hol in 1906 in Amsterdam and after several moves Jopie ultimately left Amsterdam and the Jopie-hol in 1913.

In 1907 Van Meegeren was sent by his father to Delft to study architecture. During the following years, Van Meegeren was in school, graduated, got married (1912) and moved with his wife to his wife's grandmother in Rijswijk, had his first child (1912), finished a course in drawing (1914) and then moved with his family to Scheveningen. At the time Scheveningen was a local fishing village, near the outskirts of The Hague, turned into a seaside resort area. To get from Scheveningen to the center of The Hague would have taken Van Meegeren about twenty minutes on local transportation.

⁶⁶ Arjen Ribbens, *Jopie Breemer en het Jopiehol*, in Jopie's biography that comprises Ch. 2, on page 24, note 108.

⁶⁷ Ribbens, 98n108: Marie-Louise Doudart de la Grée, *Het Fenomeen: Gedramatiseerde Documentaire over Het Leven Van De Kunstschilder Han Van Meegeren* [The Phenomenon: Dramatized Documentary of the Life of the Artist Han van Meegeren], Omniboek, 1974, page 62.

In 1913 Jopie left Amsterdam to live in the The Hague with his new wife. In 1914 the Jopie-hol, first opened in 1908 or 1909, disappeared from Amsterdam with Jopie now living away from it. It is possible that the young Han somehow visited the Jopie-hol, but given that Han was still under the control of his father who was paying for his education until Han reached his majority, his freedom to roam and explore was greatly restricted. Of course, Han may well have fabricated his whereabouts for his father and done as he pleased. Yet again, there is no solid and incontrovertible evidence that Van Meegeren ever visited the Jopie-hol.

In 1915, Van Meegeren's daughter is born in The Hague; Van Meegeren makes a drawing "De Talmud-lezer" (The Talmud Reader) which appears to be Jopie Breemer at about age forty.

In 1917, Van Meegeren has his first solo exhibition, in Kunstzaal Pictura, The Hague. This exhibit includes the 1915 portrait of the "Talmud-lezer."

In 1918, Van Meegeren produces a "Portret-Studie" of Jopie Breemer.

In 1919 Van Meegeren is accepted as a member of the Haagse Kunstkring. There is no definitive corroborating evidence of how and when Van Meegeren and Breemer first met but it is unlikely that it was at the Jopie-hol in Amsterdam. It is more likely they met somewhere in The Hague and the likeliest venue for such a meeting was the Haagse Kunstkring.

In 1921 Van Meegeren and Jopie travel for three months together through Italy.

My reasoning for this conclusion - the two men meeting only ca. 1914/1915 - is based on the life circumstances of the two. Breemer was fourteen years older than Van Meegeren and traveled in different circles. Van Meegeren was under the guidance of his father, a tense and unrewarding relationship, until Han married while Breemer was an older and independent adult and somewhat footloose. Van Meegeren had married and had a child (about one-year-old or less) by the time that Breemer married. We know for certain that both men were living in The Hague in 1915, Jopie having arrived in 1913. Van Meegeren moved to Scheveningen ca. 1914 and was very likely ready to explore the offerings of The Hague. Given his 1917 exhibition, Van Meegeren would have been eager to become a member of the Haagse Kunstkring

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