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Paul Joseph Gabriël (1784-1833)

Revitalizing Dutch Sculpture in the Early Nineteenth Century

• MARGREET BOOMKAMP •

In the spring of 1809 there was a competition between Paul Joseph Gabriël and Christiaan Willem Marinus Klijn (1788-1860).¹ At stake was a four-year stay in Paris and Rome, funded by King Louis Bonaparte, during which the winner would be trained as a sculptor. To demonstrate their aptitude for the profession, the two candidates were asked to model a clay copy of a cast of the Borghese Gladiator.² The judging committee's report to Johan Meerman (1753-1815), Director-General of Arts and Sciences, was to the point: 'Having seen the two models, we find that the smaller is far superior to the other.'³ The smaller of the two was Gabriël's, and the judges' decision marked the start of a career as a sculptor in the service of the Dutch government.

Gabriël was the son of a Liège-born ornamental mason who lived and worked in Amsterdam; he himself trained in Paris as a miniaturist. On his return to Holland he found himself working as a sculptor when he took over a commission from his father, who was too ill to complete it.⁴ For a long time nothing was published about Gabriël, the sculptor. In 1847 a biography appeared in the *Almanak voor het Schoone en Goede*; it was written by the art critic Jeronimo de Vries, a member of the Board of

Detail of fig. 12

Governors of the Royal Academy of Arts in Amsterdam from 1820 onwards and, after Gabriël's death, guardian to his seven children.⁵ More than a century later, Pieter Kornelis van Daalen presented an overview of Gabriël's work in his *Nederlandse beeldhouwers in de negentiende eeuw*.⁶ Gabriël's son, the Hague School painter Paul Constan(t) (1828-1903), is better known.⁷ A gift of papers from the sculptor's estate, taken in conjunction with documents in Dutch archives, has made it possible to shed new light on his career.⁸

Sculptor Wanted

When Louis Bonaparte (fig. 1) became king of the Kingdom of Holland in 1806, he was unhappy with the situation in which he found the arts. Like his brother, the Emperor Napoleon, he had learnt a lesson from French history and recognized the importance of art in fostering a sense of nationhood among the populace. He also saw the arts as an instrument of moral edification and a means of revitalizing failing industry, so he gave orders that the art institutions in his kingdom should be assessed and compared with their counterparts in France. In short order he introduced a national government agency to replace the regional societies where artists and art lovers called the shots, basing it on the structure of the Institut National set



Fig. 1
PIERRE CARTELLIER,
*Bust of Louis
Bonaparte, King
of Holland*, 1806.
Plaster, h. 74 cm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam
(inv. no. NG-1999-11).

up in Paris in 1795 and the Académie française. He established Directorates for Public Education and for Fine Arts, which were soon amalgamated and placed under the aegis of the Ministry of Home Affairs, with Meerman as director-general. He was responsible for opening up the national collection in the form of a museum, establishing an academy to train artists, organizing biennial exhibitions of works by living artists on the model of the Paris Salon and introducing a system of awards for young artists, with a study trip to Paris and Rome as the first prize.⁹

The Royal Institute of Sciences, Literature and Fine Arts was founded in May 1808.¹⁰ Among the figures influential in its establishment, alongside Meerman, was cultural official

Cornelis Apostool (1762-1844).¹¹ Apostool became the chairman of the Fourth Class of the Institute, the department concerned with the visual arts. He is probably best known as the director of the Royal Museum, which also opened in 1808 and was the predecessor of the present-day Rijksmuseum. In 1815 he was made responsible for recovering the art looted by Napoleon, the following year he was put in charge of the print collection, which had been moved to the Trippenhuis, and a few years after that he became a member of the board of the Royal Academy. From 1823 to 1844 he lived in the Trippenhuis, the building which housed (and still houses) the Royal Netherlands Institute. Other founders of the Institute included the scholar and designer of the first house numbering in Amsterdam, Jan Hendrik van Swinden (1746-1823), and the poet Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831), who was also the king's Dutch tutor.

The first exhibition of living artists was staged in the Palace on the Dam in September and October of 1808, but Louis was not satisfied with the sculpture shown there: 'Everything to do with sculpture and architecture must be removed from the exhibition, it is lamentable. Mr Meerman must take steps to ensure that a good Roman sculptor settles in Holland.'¹² Unfortunately we do not know which sculpture was submitted, so we cannot tell what was wrong with it.¹³

Louis's demand was taken seriously. In December, the Fourth Class proposed the sculptors Pierre Cartellier (1757-1831) of Paris and Antonio Canova (1757-1822) of Rome as foreign associates.¹⁴ Attaching foreign artists to the Royal Institute created opportunities to exploit knowledge that was lacking in the Netherlands. Canova replied cordially to the invitation, writing that he would be happy to advise and assist the Institute as much as he could.¹⁵ He had already demon-

strated his good will when Meerman asked him to recommend someone who would be prepared to settle in Holland and work for the king.¹⁶ Canova suggested Pietro Finelli, a tutor at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome.¹⁷ In the event, however, a sculptor was not appointed from Rome, perhaps because Meerman had meanwhile started to look for a young Dutchman who could be trained in Paris and Rome, with the prospect of posts as court sculptor and lecturer at the yet to be established academy. He failed to find any candidates himself, so he suggested to the king that he should settle for someone who gave evidence of some aptitude in no more than a drawing and called on the Royal Institute to find candidates.¹⁸ The Institute, which did not have anyone with specific knowledge of sculpture, appointed art collector Dirk Versteegh and engraver and painter Louis Moritz to consider the matter. They suggested placing an advertisement in the *Koninklijke Courant* – the state gazette.¹⁹ In the next meeting, the Institute insisted that contenders should have to make a model in ‘pot clay’ as evidence of their ability and suggested postponing despatching an apprentice sculptor until the academy had actually been established, taking advantage of the opportunity to urge that this should be done as soon as possible.²⁰

Eventually two sculpture candidates were found – Gabriël and Klijn.²¹ Klijn was recommended by Versteegh and Gabriël by the court architect Jean Thomas Thibault. The panel of judges, the painters Jan Adriaan Antonie de Lelie, Charles Howard Hodges and Moritz (Meerman’s advice to ask Versteegh and Thibault was not taken), preferred Gabriël’s test piece to Klijn’s. In April 1809 Meerman informed Gabriël that the king had appointed him as apprentice. By May of that year the future sculptor was already in Paris.²²

Paris and Rome

Although the system introduced by Louis existed for only a little over three years, fifteen apprentices were appointed, just one of them for sculpture. Klijn was taken on after all in 1810, but the king’s abdication meant that he was unable to go on his study trip. The four-year bursary was strictly regulated: the rules for the apprentices were laid down in a royal decree. Article 17 set out what was expected of the sculptor. ‘During the first year of their stay in Paris, the sculptors will send back a bas-relief head or bust of their own composition in clay or plaster and in the second year a similar copy, but of greater distinction, after an antique. The same the first year in Rome as well as a small bas-relief in marble and the fourth year a whole figure, life size, in plaster; and a head or bust in marble; both after the antique.’²³

There were two reasons why Dutch students were sent to Paris first rather than straight to Rome, the place where artists traditionally finished their education. The stay in Paris was to enable them to catch up, because the training in the Netherlands was inadequate. During an apprenticeship with a teacher in France they could learn the basic principles of the profession. The second reason was that they could look at art – ancient and modern – for Napoleon had taken many artistic treasures from all over Europe, but particularly from Italy, as the spoils of war and housed them in the Musée Napoleon, now the Louvre.

Gabriël was apprenticed to Cartellier. According to De Vries, he also studied with François-Joseph Bosio (1768-1845),²⁴ but there is no evidence of any contacts with him. I suggest that Bosio’s influence on Gabriël was confined to inspiration for the portraits he made of Napoleon and his second wife Marie Louise: Bosio successfully exhibited portraits of the imperial couple at the Salon in 1810, when Gabriël was in Paris.²⁵ Gabriël established a friendly

relationship with Cartellier, as we see from the letters the latter wrote after Gabriël's return to Holland.²⁶ In 1809, sooner than the regulations stipulated, Gabriël submitted a copy of a portrait of Louis Bonaparte that Cartellier had made.²⁷ The Rijksmuseum has a portrait of Louis by Cartellier dating

from 1806 (fig. 1). This is probably the model from which Gabriël worked: the whereabouts of Gabriël's copy are unknown.²⁸ Gabriël's good progress is also evidenced by the silver medal he was awarded by the academy in Paris in 1810 for a figure of Hercules and the Cretan Bull.²⁹

Fig. 2
WOUTHERUS MOL,
Portrait of Paul
J. Gabriël, c. 1818.
Oil on canvas,
89 x 78 cm. Rijks-
museum, Amster-
dam (bequest of P.J.C.
Gabriël, The Hague,
inv. no. SK-A-2121).





Fig. 3

MICHEL-MARTIN DRÖLLING, *View of the Gardens of the Villa Medici*, 1811-16. Oil on canvas, paper, 48.4 x 61.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (purchased with the support of the BankGiro Loterij, inv. no. SK-A-5001).

In November 1810 Meerman issued reports on all the apprentices. On Gabriël he wrote: 'Lastly, the Apprentice in Sculpture, Gabriël, although not obliged to deliver a piece this year, modelled a splendid Bust of Ulysses [Odysseus] in plaster.'³⁰ This bust was shown at the Amsterdam exhibition of living artists in 1810.³¹ Another student, Woutherus Mol (1785-1857), who was sent to study in Paris, painted a portrait of Gabriël on his return to the Netherlands. It was exhibited at the Amsterdam exhibition in 1818 and is now in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 2).³² The bust pictured in the background might perhaps be the bust of Odysseus that Meerman mentioned.³³

Following this training in portraits and classical subjects, Gabriël arrived in Rome in July 1811 in the company of Jan de Greef (1784-1835), architecture apprentice and later Amsterdam city architect.³⁴ There were too few Netherlandish artists in Rome to form a group of their own as the Germans and French did. The Dutch lived in

the area around Piazza di Spagna and Via Sistina (then Strada Felice), the quarter where most foreign artists stayed.³⁵ The French academy in the Villa Medici nearby was the most important meeting place for artists (fig. 3) because it housed a collection of plaster statues on which they could practise now that the most important classical statues had been taken to Paris on Napoleon's orders. The Accademia di San Luca, of which Canova became president in 1810, also provided opportunities for training, as did the Accademia del Nudo in the Capitoline museum. Almost nothing is known about the works that Gabriël must have made in Rome. De Vries tells us that in the exhibition of works by living artists in Amsterdam in 1814 he showed a plaster figure of a boy removing a thorn from his foot – a description which suggests that Gabriël had made a copy of the famous Capitoline *Spinario*.³⁶ Authors are divided on the question of Gabriël's contacts with Canova.

Bergvelt says no more is known about his activities in Rome other than that he wanted to meet Canova, but her subsequent, somewhat contradictory remark that Canova was enthusiastic about Gabriël suggests that the two men did indeed meet.³⁷ In the appendix we even read that Gabriël 'most probably' studied with Canova and that Canova 'reportedly' wanted to keep him on in his workshop.³⁸ Van Daalen records that Gabriël worked under Canova's guidance during the day and became very friendly with him.³⁹ De Vries indicates that Gabriël was trained by Canova, who entrusted the working of some of his marble statues to him and honoured him with his close friendship.⁴⁰ Lapauze, finally, tells us that Canova received the 'pensionnaires', as the French called the apprentices, at home and that he was happy to go the academy to give them advice.⁴¹ Given Canova's involvement in the training of sculptors in Rome and his role as foreign associate of the Royal Institute, it is highly likely that Gabriël had contacts with him. Numerous apprentices worked in Canova's studio, and a good sculptor in training would undoubtedly find a place there. Whether there were ties of friendship remains uncertain: there are no surviving letters from Canova to Gabriël.

Meerman had asked Guillaume Guillon Lethière, the director of the French academy, to keep an eye on the Dutch students. Gabriël's adherence to the rules is confirmed in the certificate Guillon Lethière wrote after he had completed the four-year programme.⁴² His stay abroad had an unmistakable influence on Gabriël's later work: the dominant style in Paris and Rome – spare, serene and inspired by classical sculpture – became a permanent feature of Gabriël's repertoire.

Back in Holland

One of the express conditions of the king's scheme was that the apprentices

would set up shop in the Netherlands when they had completed their four-year training. Before he set off for Paris, Gabriël himself had signed a declaration that he would not leave his native land for eight years after his stay abroad, and both his parents signed a statement undertaking to do everything in their power to keep Gabriël in the country for the first eight years after his return.⁴³ Some artists failed to honour this commitment and elected to stay in Rome, where there were better opportunities to make a living. In Gabriël's case, the temptation came from Paris: over the years Cartellier had repeatedly invited Gabriël to come and work with him.⁴⁴ There was also more work for a sculptor in Rome or Paris than in Holland, something of which Cartellier was well aware: 'Your country is not the right place for you to perfect your talent, sculpture only flourishes in Italy and France...' (fig. 4).⁴⁵

The Dutch government consequently had to do its utmost to keep Gabriël at home. It could well have been the offer made by King William I, Louis Bonaparte's successor, that tipped the scales and persuaded Gabriël to stay in the Netherlands.⁴⁶ William I granted him an annuity of 1,000 guilders and promised further help. Gabriël agreed, probably because the prospect of a modest but fixed income offered him a degree of financial security rare for an artist of the time.

In 1814, on the death of the Amsterdam City Sculptor Christiaan Welmeer (1742-1814), Gabriël was offered and accepted his post.⁴⁷ The first commission from the city, after the fall of Napoleon, was to remove the French symbols from the pediment of a barracks built in 1810, which later became the Orange Nassau Barracks. Gabriël added the arms of His Royal Highness the Sovereign Ruler of the United Netherlands (fig. 5) and in the pediments at the corners, 'in the place of the eagle that has been removed', a 'lion above the shields in a protec-

Fig. 4
PIERRE CARTELLIER,
*Letter to Paul
J. Gabriël*, c. 1814-19.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
RP-D-2007-42-7).

Monsieur Gabriel,

Je vous prie de recevoir avec plaisir
 votre lettre du 24 de ce mois, et me parait
 qu'elle me procure un bon jour de loisir,
 sur tout en ce que vous m'avez écrit
 sur l'un de vos points, l'autre lettre de l'année.

Mes travaux ne sont toujours en
 bonne disposition et je ne compte de tout
 l'année pour vous rendre en plein activité
 Je n'ai plus de travail à vous dire
 votre point est précis, et en ce qui
 qui peut être pour moi un peu de l'objet
 votre point n'est pas comparable pour perfection
 votre talent, et l'écriture ne se plaint
 qu'en style et en force. Les travaux
 que vous faites ensemble ne sont pas sans
 intérêt et sont de nature à former un
 système, qui conduira tout à l'aise
 de la science à la pratique, par de nouvelles
 découvertes.

Sur la lettre que je vous envoie, et
 intentions de ne se voir pas en ce qui
 Monsieur Gabriel, à votre point de jugement

Monsieur Gabriel, votre dévoué
 Paul Joseph Gabriel

Est-ce que je voudrais parler de ces temps
 votre dévoué, pour vous faire
 questions à ce sujet, cela se dégage tout
 seulement à vous demander si vous êtes
 prêt à venir à Paris

Je vous prie de me dire si vous
 pour votre travail, lequel est un peu
 sur votre fatigue, quel que soit le
 succès ne fait aucun tort à mes
 travaux, que je fais progresser avec
 votre assistance.

Adieu Monsieur Gabriel
 Je suis ravi de la détermination
 que vous avez prise
 sur ce point, que votre point
 n'est pas à considérer
 votre ami et maître
 Gabriel

Monsieur Gabriel et mes filles
 vous font leurs compliments
 et attendent bien à vous voir

Ma fille Julie qui avait un peu de message
 de plain Besançon de la qualité de fille de
 par là, elle prétend que le fils de Gilland veut
 Besançon, mais elle n'est point venue, quand vous en
 tenez une occasion, en quand vous viendrez à
 Paris, de lui en apporter un appartement de fil,
 de la rue de l'Épicerie, qu'on appelle.



Fig. 5

PAUL J. GABRIËL,
*Arms of the Sovereign
 Ruler of the United
 Netherlands, 1814.*
 Orange Nassau
 Barracks, Amsterdam.
 Amsterdam City
 Archives,
 © G. Busselman,
 photo F. Busselman.



Fig. 6

PAUL J. GABRIËL,
Pediment with lion.
 Orange Nassau
 Barracks, Amsterdam,
 © photo Klaas Schoof.

tive pose' (fig. 6).⁴⁸ The barracks were opened in 1814 by William I, and the name Orange Nassau was added. Two years later, commissioned by Amsterdam City Council, Gabriël produced a design for the monumental element of a silver service. This service – more than 400 pieces in all – was presented to the Prince of Orange by the city on the occasion of his marriage to Anna Paulowna. The monument is a triumphal arch surmounted by a chariot containing the princely couple (fig. 7). The arch is decorated with scenes relating to the newlyweds and the city

of Amsterdam.⁴⁹ We know of no other commissions from the city, and De Vries and Apostool were probably right when they said that Gabriël did not derive much benefit from this position.⁵⁰

The Royal Netherlands Institute

In February 1814 William I became the patron of the Institute, which was thenceforth known as the Royal Netherlands Institute of Sciences, Literature and Fine Arts. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the former Habsburg Netherlands was

Fig. 7

PAUL J. GABRIËL
(design) and
D.L. BENNEWITZ
(execution),
Triumphal Arch
(centrepiece of
the 419-piece silver
service presented
to the Prince of
Orange by the
City of Amsterdam
in 1818), 1817.
Silver and ebony,
h. 78 cm.
House of Orange-
Nassau Historic
Collections Trust
(Stichting Historische
Verzamelingen
van het Huis
Oranje-Nassau).



amalgamated with the former Kingdom of Holland to create the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. William I wanted to promote a sense of nationhood among the people and tried to foster the integration of the Northern and Southern Netherlands. Despite his efforts, the south broke away unilaterally in 1830 and formed an independent state of Belgium. It was not until 1838 that William I accepted the split. His interest in the arts was prompted not by their intrinsic value, but by their edifying and didactic qualities: the function of art was to present an example and be commemorative. In 1815 the king issued the Soestdijk decree, which stipulated that the palace of that name should be renovated and refurbished for the crown prince, in recognition of his part in the Battle of Waterloo. The first monument in the Netherlands, the Waterloo Needle, was erected in the garden to commemorate his heroism. Many more were to follow.

When the war came to an end in 1814, the Fourth Class was very conscious of the way the arts in the Netherlands were lagging behind compared with the standard of the activities of the other Classes. In the annual report they announced their intention to stage exhibitions every year (instead of every two years), 'so that artists, knowing in advance that they will be able to enjoy public appreciation of their work, recommendations of their skills, and thus the most essential promotion of their interests, will therefore prepare thoroughly by producing new pieces specifically made for them'.⁵¹ In the draft of a letter to the Minister in 1816, Versteegh, De Vos and Apostool couched it in more nuanced terms. 'These exhibitions [of works by living artists] provide the most regular, most public evidence of the respectful care the Government intends to take in stimulating and rebuilding the fine arts, because they unite and bring

together in one place the products of art from all the areas in the Government's territory. These exhibitions are useful, because each time they present public proof of the state of art, throughout the country, while they give the artist the opportunity to assess his artistic labours by way of a broader comparison, and can provide him with many means of improving his taste and all the requirements of his art.'⁵² Gabriël was among those who repeatedly showed their work at the exhibitions organized by the Institute and others, and this contributed to his reputation.⁵³

Portraits and Funerary Monuments: National 'Heroes'

Gabriël's admission as a member of the Fourth Class of the Royal Netherlands Institute on 1 June 1816 had a major impact on his career.⁵⁴ Most of his commissions over the next decade, chiefly portraits and monuments, came from members of the institute. Lieutenant-Admiral Jan Hendrik van Kinsbergen (1735-1819) was his most important patron. He had been a member of the Institute since its foundation in 1808. He also belonged to all sorts of art societies and was an honorary member of a society for public advancement known as the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen*. In 1812 Van Kinsbergen donated a significant part of his library to the Institute. In 1816, as a token of gratitude, M.C. van Hall, D. Hooft and H. van Stralen commissioned Gabriël to make a marble portrait bust of Van Kinsbergen for the Institute library, where it stands to this day (fig. 8). In this rather pedestrian but meticulously executed portrait, the sculptor devoted great care to the rendition of the clothes, particularly the neckcloth, the collars and the epaulettes. The vice-admiral's insignia are also rendered in detail. Van Kinsbergen expressed his appreciation of Gabriël in a letter to the sculptor (fig. 9).⁵⁵

Fig. 8

PAUL J. GABRIËL,
Jan Hendrik van Kinsbergen, 1816.
Marble, h. 70 cm.
Royal Netherlands
Academy of Arts
and Sciences (KNAW),
Amsterdam, © photo
G.J. van Rooij.

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Fig. 9

JAN H. VAN
KINSBERGEN,
*Letter to
Paul J. Gabriël*,
5 November 1816.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
RP-D-2007-42-15).



Amster
Amster *Gabriel*
membr. d. G. van der *Boyer*
a
Amsterdam

Monsieur Gabriel

Votre lettre, m'a fait infiniment de plaisir, ~~de plaisir~~
 puis qu'elle m'a fait connaître, que vous êtes très content
 de que j'ai, avec Messieurs Hoopfer van Hall, i. contribué, a votre
 contentement, non seulement; mais aussi, de faire
 connaître vos talents, Talens amis Gabriel, en les peignant
 tous ans, par votre habileté, que nous trouvons, a vous
 en votre patrie, faite bien mes compliments de platée
 nous a vos chers parents, de voir de vous en la patrie, un si
 habile, enfant, après un an, un veillard, qui connoit
 le monde, vous conseille, de présenter, de votre travail
 pour le Cabinet, de S. M. le ministre, des lettres Sciences
 des de Naples, je vous permet, ami Gabriel, de vos services, en
 cas que vous n'avez rien d'autre, de ma Custode platée, pour
 cela, mais en parler, avec Messrs Hoopfer van Hall, ~~avec~~
~~avec~~, Castaver. Vous les attendez estimer, pour votre personne
 et talent, que je suis Monsieur Gabriel
 votre Serviteur *J. Hoopfer*
 après d'ordre
 le 5 Nov. 1816

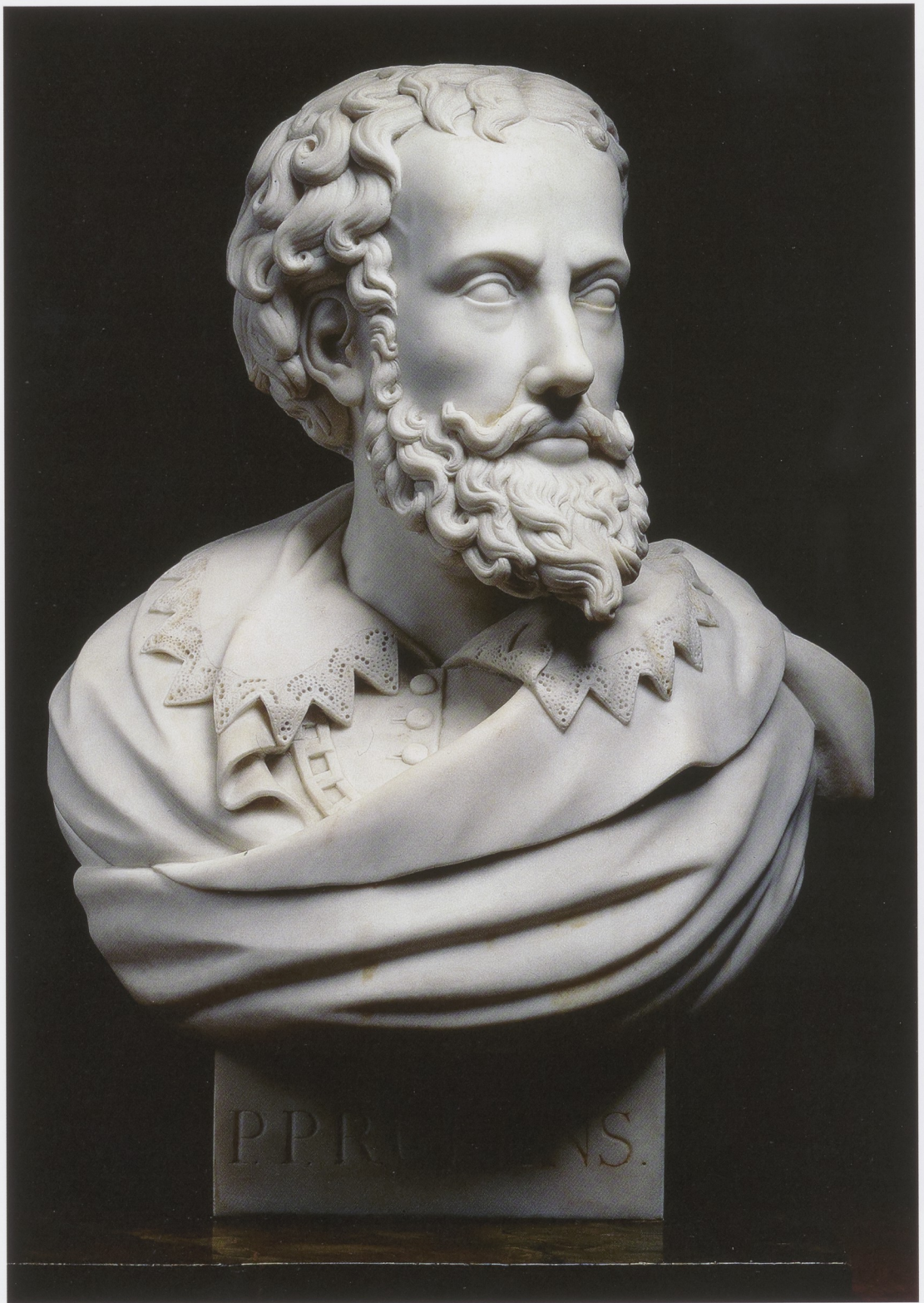


Fig. 10

PAUL J. GABRIËL,
Peter Paul Rubens,
1819. Marble, h. 68 cm.
Royal Netherlands
Academy of Arts
and Sciences (KNAW),
Amsterdam, © photo
G.J. van Rooij.

This portrait was just the beginning. In emulation of other scientific and arts institutions in Europe, Van Kinsbergen commissioned Gabriël to make a whole series of marble busts of famous scholars and artists from the nation's past for the Institute library.⁵⁶ Each Class was permitted to nominate one person. They chose the scientist Christiaan Huygens, the playwright Pieter Cornelisz Hooft, the lawyer and statesman Hugo de Groot (signed 1818) and Peter Paul Rubens (signed 1819, fig. 10). Because the First Class, to which Van Kinsbergen belonged, had more members than the others, he also added a bust of the physician and botanist Herman Boerhaave.⁵⁷ The minutes of the Fourth Class reveal how the decision to honour Rubens came about. There was almost immediate agreement that their choice had to be a painter, because the greatest fame had been achieved in painting. The names proposed were Rubens and Rembrandt. It was considered very important to select a history painter, because the members regarded history painting as the highest genre in the profession, and so Rubens got the most votes.⁵⁸

Although the portrait is tranquil and clean-lined, the clothes and the way they are surrounded by drapery at the bottom are reminiscent of the Flemish Baroque typified by Artus Quellinus (1609-1668).⁵⁹

Gabriël made several other portraits for the Royal Netherlands Institute, including one of the mathematician Jean Henri van Swinden.⁶⁰ In 1817-18 he also made a herm bust of Apostool, now in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 11), whose form, in which clothes are not shown and the marble is cut vertically on four sides below the neck, is entirely in line with the style of Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1844) and Canova in Rome, in contrast to the more traditional busts that Gabriël made for the Institute library. This bust was probably meant for Apostool himself. He would have

seen this modern style of portraiture in Italy, where he had lived for some time, and it is not inconceivable that the choice of this style was as much his as the sculptor's.

We do not know who commissioned some of the portraits Gabriël made in the 1820s, among them those of the celebrated actress Johanna Cornelia Ziesenis-Wattier (fig. 12), in the Rijksmuseum, and the comic actor Gerrit Karel Rombach. Since they were famous for their interpretations of the work of the great Dutch dramatist Joost van den Vondel, the involvement of the Institute's literary class cannot be ruled out here. Again Gabriël adopted the international classicist style: Ziesenis's portrait, like Apostool's, is cut below the bare, unadorned neck. The tiara she wears in her hair is reminiscent of Canova's 1805 portrait of Laetitia Bonaparte, the emperor's mother, although the Dutch sculptor lacks the Italian's refinement.

The Royal Netherlands Institute was a source not only of numerous portrait commissions for Gabriël but also of orders for various funerary monuments as the mostly elderly members died off.⁶¹ After Van Kinsbergen's death in 1819 Gabriël made a commemorative medallion bearing a portrait in profile for the lieutenant-admiral's tomb in the Reformed Church in Apeldoorn.⁶² Between 1819 and 1821, commissioned by Van Kinsbergen's heirs, Gabriël made one of his most important works, a monument to the lieutenant-admiral in the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam (fig. 13).⁶³ Van Kinsbergen was portrayed lying on the tomb with his head resting on the barrel of a cannon, like Michiel De Ruyter (1607-76) and Jan van Galen (1604-53) on their monuments in the same church, but this time with a minimum of attributes and allegorical ornament, against the background of an empty niche. Compared with the lavish tombs by Quellinus and

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Fig. 11

PAUL J. GABRIËL,
Cornelis Apostool,
c. 1817.
Marble, h. 56.5 cm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (bequest
of C. Apostool,
Amsterdam,
inv. no. BK-B-12).

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Fig. 12

PAUL J. GABRIËL,
*Johanna Cornelia
Ziesenis-Wattier*,
c. 1820.
Marble, h. 55 cm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam
(inv. no. BK-B-42).







Fig. 13
PAUL J. GABRIËL,
Monument for
J.H. van Kinsbergen,
1819-21.
Marble,
100 x 185 x 65 cm.
De Nieuwe Kerk,
Amsterdam.



Fig. 14
PAUL J. GABRIËL,
Monument for
J. Meerman, 1820.
Marble, h. 188 cm.
St Peter's Church,
Leiden.

Rombout Verhulst (see figs. 17 and 18), Gabriël's work, with its smooth, clean-lined details, is a model of Neoclassical rest and simplicity. Gabriël also made a funerary monument for Johan Meerman in 1820, in St Peter's in Leiden (fig. 14). The woman on the tomb personifies Religion, resting her arm on a portrait medallion of Meerman. Here again, the niche is executed in an austere style.

As early as 1818 the former president of the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* in Bolsward, Dirk Jakles, proposed erecting a memorial in St Martin's Church in Bolsward to the Frisian poet Gijsbert Jacobsz, also known as Japiks (1603-1666). At the instigation of Joost Halbertsma, man of letters and champion of Frisian culture, and Bilderdijk, a member of the Institute, Japiks's poems were translated into Dutch. Three years later the plans were resurrected. Gabriël simplified the original design – a free-standing monument consisting of a huge metal bust on a polished granite plinth beneath a canopy resting on four columns – and made a smaller niche in the wall containing a marble bust.⁶⁴ This, like the portrait of Apostool, was a herm bust, a type often used for portraits of artists and patrons of the arts.⁶⁵ The monument was ceremonially unveiled on 7 July 1823 during celebrations to commemorate Japiks's life, which were reported to Gabriël in detail.⁶⁶

In 1824 Gabriël made a shortened variant of the Needle of Waterloo in memory of one of the four oldest members of the Institute, the romantic poet Rhijnvis Feith (1753-1824).⁶⁷ As with his other monuments, here too he portrayed the deceased, this time in the form of a medallion, and the work was spare, uncluttered with very sober decorations. With the Feith monument, the commissions that Gabriël owed to the good offices of the Institute appear to have come to an end; fortunately, however, this

august body had meanwhile found other things for the sculptor to do.⁶⁸

The Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Amsterdam

The Royal Academy in Amsterdam was to become the second determining factor in Gabriël's career. One of the Royal Netherlands Institute's tasks was to set up a Royal Academy. King Louis Bonaparte had conceived the plan as early as 1807, but the academy was not established until 1820. The reason it took so long was that the Fourth Class, led by Apostool, wanted to transform the local Amsterdam academy of art founded by Gerard de Lairese in 1718 into a national Royal Academy, possibly also incorporating the Amsterdam Felix Meritis academy.⁶⁹ Apostool was not enamoured of the French influence and nationally slanted government interference through the king and Meerman. In 1816 things began to move as a result of pressure from outside: Mattheus Ignatius van Bree (1773-1839, fig. 15), a new member of the Royal Netherlands Institute and an advocate of turning the Antwerp academy into a Royal Academy, submitted a plan for Amsterdam that was more broadly-based and better than Apostool's. Van Bree suggested, among other things, introducing a four-year bursary for Grand Prix winners and appointing salaried directors of education. In April 1817 a Royal Decree organized art education into three levels – local art schools, regional academies of art and two Royal Academies, one in Antwerp and one in Amsterdam. In December of that year Gabriël was made an *Académicien* of the Royal Academy in Antwerp.⁷⁰ By July 1817 Ocker Repelaer van Driel, Minister of Education, Arts and Sciences, was already engaged in appointing the first six directors for the Royal Academy in Amsterdam. The day-to-day running of the academy was the responsibility of the unsalaried dilettante members



Fig. 15
 MATTHEUS
 IGNATIUS VAN BREE,
Self-portrait, 1810-20.
 Oil on panel,
 15 x 15 cm.
 Rijksmuseum,
 Amsterdam
 (inv. no. SK-A-1172).

of the Board – Apostool, De Vries and the collector Jacob Willemsz de Vos. Apostool recommended Gabriël for sculpture.⁷¹ In January 1820 he was indeed appointed director by the king and in 1822, as a mark of honour, the burgomaster made him a member of the Royal Academy (fig. 16).⁷²

The post at the academy meant that Gabriël kept his regular annual income, although it was lower than his previous allowance from the king.⁷³ Given the cost of the material and the difficult economic situation, few private individuals were interested in sculpture and government commissions were few and far between.⁷⁴ Gabriël consequently had plenty of opportunity to undertake his tasks at the academy – teaching and taking care of the collection of plaster casts.

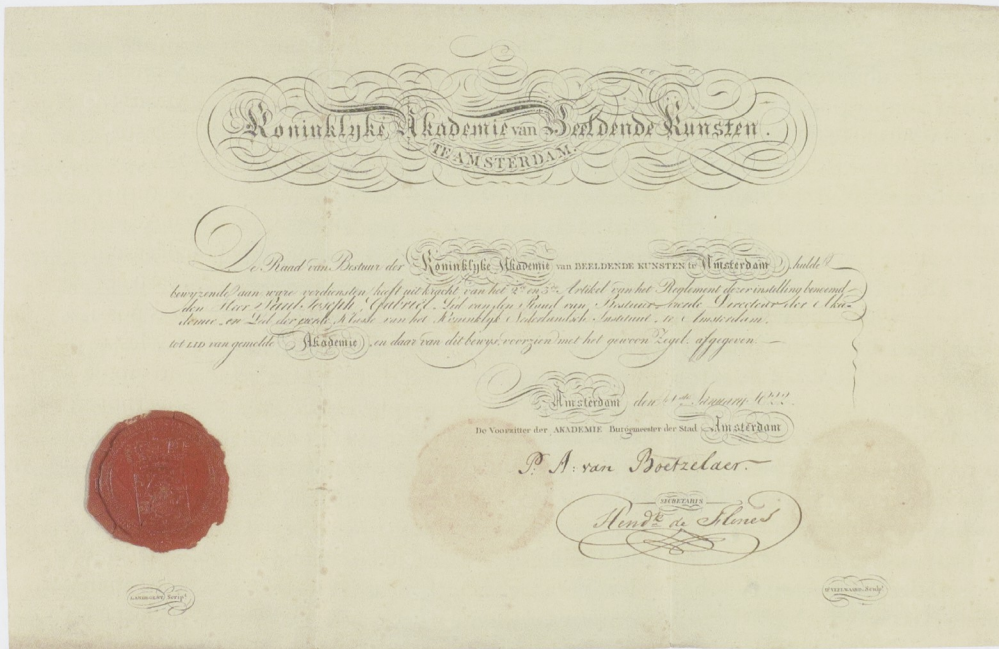
The Amsterdam academy paid virtually no attention to the theory of art. Unlike the former municipal academy of art, Felix Meritis and the Fourth Class of the Institute, where, for example, De Vos lectured on Winckelmann, no lectures were given at the Royal Academy.⁷⁵ Teachers gave personal lessons according to a system based on that in French academies. It is possible to deduce what Gabriël's lessons were like from his reports to the academy's Board of Governors. There was a winter course and a summer course, where students modelled from life and from plaster casts.⁷⁶ The sculpture classes were small: in 1827, for example, Gabriël reported that he had three students, among them one M. da Costa. Might this have been an ancestor of Joseph

Mendes da Costa who, much later, was to play an important role in the revival of Dutch sculpture?⁷⁷ It was difficult for students to keep their heads above water: in the aforementioned report we read that none of the three took the summer course because their everyday work did not permit it. Gerrit Uytendogaart (1806-1858) had had to leave the academy in 1826 to earn his living as a plasterer.⁷⁸ Sometimes the lessons could not go ahead because of the harsh winter.⁷⁹ Despite the small numbers, the course was competitively structured: in his appraisal, Gabriël advised the Board of Governors as to who merited a testimonial, who deserved an honourable mention, who a small medal and who a prize.⁸⁰

The composition of the academy's plaster collection, which was crucial to both the sculpture and the painting courses, was taken very seriously by the academy's governors. Gabriël's role here was more executive than policy-making. In March 1820 three of the directors, the painter Jan Willem

Pieneman, the lithographer Jean Augustin Daiwaille and Gabriël, debated the question as to which plaster casts were required.⁸¹ A year later De Vos and Pieneman were interested in buying casts of the Elgin collection from the Parthenon in Athens, 'particularly since this collection has been praised as extremely important by very famous men'.⁸² In the same year Gabriël was asked to talk to the directors of the former municipal art academy about taking over their plaster casts.⁸³ In September 1822 an inventory of the academy's casts and models was compiled.⁸⁴ There are no Elgin casts on this list, but it does include several dozen casts of the most important statues of Antiquity (the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Medici Venus*, the *Laocoön* group, the *Discus Thrower* and so on). The academy also had twenty of Quellinus's models for Amsterdam's town hall, a reclining child and three children by Duquesnoy, some reliefs, at least one in marble and two by Quellinus, a female skeleton

Fig. 16
Appointment of
P.J. Gabriël to the
Royal Academy
of Fine Arts,
1 January 1822.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
RP-D-2007-42-27).



and a jointed lay figure. Then there were the 'fragments' that could be drawn or modelled: torsos and limbs. Plaster casts were purchased in Paris, and Gabriël was entrusted with placing them on arrival.⁸⁵ In the spring of 1824 the academy acquired a plaster cast of the *Discus Thrower* by Matthijs Kessels (1784-1836); Gabriël was involved in transporting it.⁸⁶ Gabriël restored the *Reclining Gladiator*, which had been 'badly damaged in a chance accident', and the *Cupid*.⁸⁷ In 1829 William I gave the academy sixteen casts made with a new sort of plaster developed by a certain Bianchi.⁸⁸ There were eight figures after classical statues and eight after Canova. There was some damage to them, which Gabriël repaired. Gabriël himself gave the academy a cast of his bust of the king, and Apostool donated a cast of Gabriël's bust of Van Kinsbergen.⁸⁹ It meant that in his lessons Gabriël could use a wide range of plaster fragments, plaster copies of classical statues and a few modern figures, as well as a number of works by famous sculptors from the nation's past.

The Grand Prix Competitions in Sculpture

As the director of sculpture, Gabriël was involved in competitions organized by the various academies. In 1821, almost fifteen years after Louis Bonaparte conceived the plan, William I instituted a competition for the Grand Prix at the Royal Academy in Antwerp.⁹⁰ The prize was a four-year stay in Rome, where the artist could work on his skills. A year later Apostool, De Vos and De Vries visited the Antwerp academy to compare it with the one in Amsterdam. The first Grand Prix competition in Amsterdam was held in 1823 not, as originally intended, in history painting, but in sculpture. The reason given for this was that the standard of the pupils in the painting class was not high enough.⁹¹ This may well have been a

factor, but there was more to it than that. The course of events is not hard to follow through the minutes of the academy's Board of Governors, which paint a clear picture of Gabriël's position in the academy.

Louis Royer (1793-1868), a fully-qualified sculptor from Mechelen, had gone to Amsterdam in 1821 and asked William I for a four-year bursary for a study trip to Rome. The academy's governors had a meeting to discuss this in 1822 and rejected the request.⁹² In the Report Concerning the Competition for the Prize of February 1823 we read: 'It is true that when the Government passed on Royer's request for a bursary to us, they as it were gave us a hint to reorganize the sequence of the classes [disciplines] ...' According to the same report, Gabriël lodged a protest: 'his objection is that Mr Royer is the only person at the academy who is sufficiently advanced to be able to compete for the first prize, while this rearrangement will mean that his own pupils will be set back several years in competing for the first prize'.⁹³ Despite Gabriël's opposition, it was decided that the competition should go ahead in sculpture. In order to widen the field, the entry criteria were amended so that students from other academies could also apply.⁹⁴ Of the four candidates who were eventually found, one, unaware that the piece had to be made in the classroom at the academy in Amsterdam, had to withdraw from the competition because of commitments elsewhere.⁹⁵ Another had to give up because 'the prize entry he was making had developed a defect that made it impossible for him to submit it'.⁹⁶ This left just Royer and Johannes van der Ven (1799-1866). Royer, although he had not received permission from the Board of Governors to do this, had had his piece cast 'for its better conservation', which meant that the clay model for the work was lost.⁹⁷ The Board ruled that the plaster cast

could be submitted anyway and on 3 September the members of the board met to hear Gabriël's preliminary recommendation and cast their votes for the winner of the Grand Prix.⁹⁸

Gabriël wrote a carefully reasoned report that gives us a rare insight into a sculptor's view of his profession.⁹⁹ From his letter to the Board of Governors it is possible to identify the aspects that he felt were important in assessing the work. He began by looking at the extent to which the subject that had been specified had been recognizably rendered. In this regard he criticized Royer's work because it could be construed as 'fighting' rather than 'fleeing'. 'Looking first at the rendition of the subject, it seems to me that the Model entirely satisfies this requirement, to my mind the pose or action of this figure leaves nothing to be desired in expressing the subject in question; one cannot doubt, I think, that he is fleeing and endeavouring to escape the snake by his swiftness – in the action of the plaster figure with the lion's skin I see not so much a fleeing shepherd as a fighting hero; the whole pose of this figure suggests to me too great a resistance to the snake. The blow he is about to deliver it is not unsure; anyone unfamiliar with the subject will easily mistake the intention and construe it as fighting.'

In the next paragraph Gabriël considered whether the rendition of the parts of the body and the movement was anatomically correct, using the concept of 'form' and – twice – the term 'contour': to a Neoclassically trained sculptor, pure, clean lines like those found in the sculptures of Ancient Greece were an important aspect of a statue. 'As for the nude, or the expression of form and contour – I find the torso or trunk of the modelled figure a trifle weak, chiefly under the chest, I wished for more movement in the *matrasse* and *ligne blanche*, yet it

has a youthful character that pleases me; I think the movement in the back is motivated by the throwing forward of both arms; the hands and arms are likewise youthful and well shaped. The legs and feet, particularly the left leg and thigh, are very fine in form and contour.' Gabriël's knowledge of materials is evident in his observation about the way the plaster showed up the details of the work better than the clay: '... and I should like to add here that were this figure to be cast in plaster, many small, indeed the least motions of the muscles that are now lost would come out, since now the dark colour of the Clay causes the effect of shadow to be lacking'.

In his preliminary recommendation Gabriël clearly expressed his preference for Van der Ven. When the vote was taken, however, the majority of the board members chose Royer, 'a student at this Academy'.¹⁰⁰ That they should favour a student from their own institution, with the government's less than subtle hints at the back of their minds, is perhaps understandable, but the fact that his well-founded and reasoned advice should have been ignored by his fellow board members must have been very galling to the conscientious Gabriël.¹⁰¹ Relations between Gabriël and Royer remained uneasy from then on. Royer went to Italy.¹⁰² Few works, and even fewer reports, came back.¹⁰³ His trip did eventually produce a number of fine works in which the influence of Thorvaldsen, the most important sculptor in Rome at that time, is very evident. On Gabriël's death, Royer succeeded him as Director of Sculpture at the Amsterdam academy.¹⁰⁴

Starting in 1825 the Grand Prix competitions were staged in Amsterdam and Antwerp in alternate years.¹⁰⁵ The five disciplines taught at the academy took turns and so it was not sculpture's turn again until 1833.¹⁰⁶ This time there was only one candidate,

Gerrit Uytendogaart. He was 'expressly reminded that, in judging his work, the first question the committee appointed by the authorities will consider is whether the piece made as an entry for the prize is indeed worthy of an award, so that being the only candidate to submit an entry for the Grand Prix is by no means bound to result in the awarding of the prize'. The judging committee, on which both Gabriël and Royer sat, decided that the piece was not of such a nature that the Grand Prix should be awarded.¹⁰⁷

Sculpture competitions were also held elsewhere in the country. If it was difficult to organize a meaningful sculpture competition in Amsterdam, it was even worse in the provinces. In 1829, the authorities in Groningen, as a reprisal of the competition that had not attracted any entries the previous year, announced 'a prize of ten Gold Ducats and a certificate for the life-sized bust of the Medici Venus in wood that is judged to be the best'.¹⁰⁸ The decision to stipulate wood could have had to do with its availability and the fact that it was cheaper than marble, but a bust of Venus, a subject that by its very nature can only be done justice to full length, is an unfortunate choice.¹⁰⁹ There is no record of the extent to which Gabriël, who was made an honorary member of the Groningen connoisseurs' society, the *Kunstlievend Genootschap*, in July 1828, was actively involved in this competition.¹¹⁰

His post at the Royal Academy, which he retained until his death in 1834, provided Gabriël with a regular income, but generated few sculpture commissions. The plaster bust of fellow director Daiwaille is one of the only works that can be linked to the academy. It is probable that the royal assent of 1824 allowing him to use the title of Sculptor to HM the King of the Netherlands likewise did not lead directly to additional commissions.¹¹¹

Restoring Tombs

As well as making portraits and monuments and teaching at the Royal Academy in Amsterdam, Gabriël also restored a number of important tombs. This work, too, was commissioned by the king or by the Royal Netherlands Institute.

In 1816 William I ordered an investigation into the condition of William of Orange's tomb in the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft and the possibility of enlarging the – by now full – royal crypt beneath it.¹¹² The experts advised against this expansion as there was a risk that ground water might get into the vault. Nevertheless, William I decided to press ahead with his plan.¹¹³ The vault could not be made entirely below ground, so part of the choir was raised; this diminished the impact of the monument. Gabriël, 'as the only qualified person in the vicinity' – he had not yet been officially appointed sculptor to the king – was charged with cleaning and 'refurbishing' the monument.¹¹⁴ The sculptural work was the most important part of the restoration of the monument and the only element for which a specialist was called in. Gabriël's work involved 'putting the monument in order, comprising chiselling, adding marble, casting bronze pieces, polishing the whole tomb, in such a manner that it is wholly as new. [For] the sum of 3,000 guilders'.¹¹⁵ It is interesting to note that, once the restoration work had been completed, Gabriël suggested that he should preserve the monument for a modest annual fee to prevent its losing much of its beauty as a result of neglect or inexpert maintenance – an early example of conservation.¹¹⁶ Did he propose this course of action because he foresaw that the problem could not be solved with a superficial repair? Further restorations followed in the 19th century because salts that were active in the marble continued to affect the monument.



Fig. 17

ARTUS QUELLINUS,
ROMBOUT VERHULST
and WILLEM DE
KEYSER, *Monument
for Jan van Galen,*
1654.

Marble, h. 215 cm.
De Nieuwe Kerk,
Amsterdam, photo
De Nieuwe Kerk
Amsterdam.

When the monument to Jan Carel Josephus van Speyk (1802-1831) was unveiled in the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam, the tombs of the naval heroes Jan van Galen and Michiel de Ruyter in the same church suddenly looked sadly neglected (figs. 17 and 18).¹⁷ At the same time, Dutch self-esteem, which had taken a severe knock with the secession of Belgium in 1830, was in dire need of a boost. In 1832 William I consequently decided to have the

monuments to these great national figures repaired. The restoration work was carried out under the supervision of the Royal Netherlands Institute, and the minutes of the Fourth Class paint a detailed picture of Gabriël's views on restoration practices.

In September 1832 the Fourth Class discussed the minister's request that they should undertake an investigation into the state of the tombs and estimate the cost of the work. These tasks were



Fig. 18
ROMBOUT VERHULST,
Monument for Michiel
de Ruyter, 1681.
Marble, h. c. 850 cm.
De Nieuwe Kerk,
Amsterdam, photo
De Nieuwe Kerk
Amsterdam.

entrusted to Gabriël and De Greef. Their advice was to start by stabilizing the pilasters of the De Ruyter monument, for an estimated 200 guilders.¹¹⁸ After this, the parts of the pedestals that had shifted out of place should be repaired and areas missing from the carving should be made good; this would cost 2,000 guilders for De Ruyter and 1,000 guilders for Van Galen. Finally they should both be cleaned and polished for a further 600 guilders. Gabriël and De Greef also suggested that iron railings like those on Van Galen's monument should be placed around De Ruyter's tomb, and that 'some mouldings' should be added to Van Galen's tomb to prevent rain from coming through the window immediately above the monument and causing new water damage. The king decided only to have the pilasters corrected.¹¹⁹

A few months later Gabriël reported that the work was finished and that he had replaced the rusted iron anchors securing the pilasters with brass ones. He recommended proceeding with the rest of the repairs when the economic climate was better, because 'the whole [was] seriously damaged'.¹²⁰ The work had gone better than expected, so he submitted a bill for just 120 guilders. Two weeks later the minister asked the Fourth Class to postpone the work if possible, but to draw up a new cost estimate for both monuments.¹²¹ In May Gabriël submitted a new description of the work that would be required, setting out in detail everything that was missing, displaced, crumbling or broken and explaining how he proposed to repair it: 'in short, making good the missing pieces in said cornice, pilasters and columns ... repairing the displaced sections ... supplying new slabs and blocks of marble where it is crumbling or lost ... making good the ornaments ... supplying the pieces missing from the statue of Van Galen ... supplying and finishing what has been broken off the statues, bas-reliefs, triumphal chariot etc. etc.' Gabriël also wanted to 're-chisel and gild the inscriptions' and complete the work by sanding and polishing both monuments in their entirety.¹²²

Once the pilasters had been reinforced, a job that could not be put off because the stability of the monument was at stake, Gabriël's proposal envisaged making the monument look as good as new again by simply replacing everything that was damaged or missing. Whereas nowadays the preservation of the original material and the reversibility of any interventions are the cornerstones of restoration ethics, Gabriël's method is in line with 19th-century ideas which were concerned mainly with the visual effect. The new estimate, 1,900 guilders for De Ruyter and 800 guilders for Van Galen, was

considerably lower than the first.¹²³ Despite this, the minister wrote to the Fourth Class telling them that there was no money for this and suggesting that the most visible defects should be tackled in the current year for 1,000 guilders. He also asked whether the works were appropriate for putting out to public tender.¹²⁴ Gabriël did not think that carrying out the work in stages was a good idea, 'since it goes without saying that one cannot begin with the sanding and polishing, or by putting the statues, bas-reliefs and ornaments in order, until the monuments have been supplied with all the missing parts and the bases or tablets, these in particular would have to be the first repairs'.¹²⁵ Moreover, he pointed out, the repair of one part involved the repair of another. Gabriël suggested tackling Van Galen's monument in its entirety first, because it was in an extremely dilapidated state and could be done inside the budget. As far as putting the work out to public tender was concerned, he stated that the nature of the work did not lend itself to this approach, unless one could find a sculptor 'whose skill was sufficiently known'. The Fourth Class took the view that Gabriël was the most suitable man for the job and 'that Mr Gabriël would be doing it [the Class] an essential service if he were to undertake this [the repair of the Van Galen monument], because the modesty of the funds available does not allow for a profit and indeed, were there to be the slightest setback, could even result in a loss'.¹²⁶ In August, William I decided to make the 800 guilders available for the work to be done without a public tender.¹²⁷

Gabriël died before he could finish the work on the Van Galen monument. His widow submitted a bill for 800 guilders, so the work must have been all but done.¹²⁸ The Fourth Class was in a quandary for it turned out that no contract had been drawn up with Gabriël: all the agreements were

recorded in the Institute's minutes. The monument was inspected and approved, save for a few details: the butt of the rifle and the finials on the arms of Holland. The workman, who could not remember what Gabriël had said about this, suggested copying them in plaster from the De Ruyter monument. The Fourth Class wanted to hear Gabriël's widow's opinion, and she decided that they should be made in marble.¹²⁹ The repair of De Ruyter's monument followed on immediately afterwards. De Greef drew up a specification of what had to be done and the Fourth Class signed a contract with the Erven Frauen Guillot & Smit, masons and marble workers of Amsterdam, to do the work.¹³⁰

Gabriël was himself buried in the Nieuwe Kerk, 'beneath an ordinary tombstone', into which, during the work on the Van Galen monument and with the permission of the church wardens, an assistant cut the inscription, with the simplicity characteristic of his late master: P.J. GABRIËL.¹³¹

Thus ended a career in the service of his country. Although Gabriël's work was neither very innovative nor spectacular, he mastered the profession remarkably quickly: after training for just a few years in Paris and Rome he was able to make portraits and monuments that could measure up to what was customary in other European countries in both style and standard. He also had enough experience to shape the content of sculpture training in the Netherlands, albeit on a small scale, and the self-confidence to restore several important monuments of previous centuries. His conscientious, serious and painstaking approach to his work enabled him to achieve the goal that King Louis Bonaparte had had in view: thanks to Gabriël, a modest but indispensable link, the Netherlands was able to join the rest of Europe in the field of sculpture.

NOTES

- 1 Klijn was also spelled Klein or Klyn, see National Archives (NA) in The Hague, 2.01.12 Department of Home Affairs archive 1796-1813, inv. no. 901, 8 March 1809. For a transcript of the register of births for Paul Gabriël see RP-D-2007-42-19.
- 2 P.K. van Daalen, *Nederlandse beeldhouwers in de negentiende eeuw*, The Hague 1957, p. 85; J. de Vries, *Paul Joseph Gabriël, Nederlandsch beeldhouwkunstenaar*, reprint from *Almanak voor het Schoone en Goede, s.l.* 1847, p. 5. The sculptures produced by Gabriël and Klijn were in Felix Meritis, see NA 2.01.12, inv. no. 901, 8 March 1809, Meerman to the Fourth Class of the Institute.
- 3 Report by A. de Lelie, C.H. Hodges and L. Moritz to J. Meerman, see Noord-Hollands Archief (NHA) in Haarlem, 175 archive of the Koninklijk Instituut van Wetenschappen, inv. no. 175.141, Fourth Class minutes 20 March 1809, see also NA 2.01.12 inv. no. 908, 21 March 1809.
- 4 De Vries, op. cit. (note 2), p. 4. This was probably the commission for sixty mahogany rosettes for the furniture at Het Loo Palace, see P. Rem, 'De inrichting van Paleis Het Loo onder koning Lodewijk Napoleon', in E. Koolhaas-Grosfeld et al. (eds.), *Lodewijk Napoleon en de kunsten in het Koninkrijk Holland. Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 56/57 (2005-06), pp. 138-39.
- 5 De Vries, op. cit. (note 2).
- 6 Van Daalen, op. cit. (note 2). Published as a thesis in 1956.
- 7 Paul Constan(t) is erroneously called Paul Gabriël in the literature but was actually known as Constan(t); see R.J.A. te Rijdt 'Constan/Constant Gabriël (1828-1903), niet Paul Gabriël. Met enkele brieven', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 55 (2007), pp. 242-57. Constan(t) had a brother who was known as Paul.
- 8 The documents were presented to the Rijksmuseum by Mark Smit Kunsthandel in Ommen after acquiring them at the autumn sale at Venduehuis der Notarissen, The Hague, November 2005, lot no. 0859. They are now in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-D-2007-42.
- 9 P. Knolle, 'De koning en de kunst, de rol van de Vierde Klasse in het regeringsbeleid op het gebied van de beeldende kunsten, deel 1 (1808-1815)', in W.P. Gerritsen (ed.), *Het Koninklijk Instituut (1808-1851) en de bevordering van wetenschap en kunst*, Amsterdam 1997, pp. 121-22. See also E. Bergvelt, 'Lodewijk Napoleon, de levende meesters en het Koninklijk Museum (1806-1810)', in E. Koolhaas-Grosfeld et al. (eds.), *Lodewijk Napoleon en de kunsten in het Koninkrijk Holland. Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 56/57 (2005-06), pp. 257 ff.
- 10 NHA 175.21, king's decree dated 4 May 1808, *Koninklijke Courant* 11 May 1808.
- 11 P.W. Klein (ed.), *Een beeld van een academie. Mensen en momenten uit de geschiedenis van het Koninklijk Instituut en de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen 1808-1998*, Amsterdam 1998, pp. 8, 11. For Apostool see also M. Jonker, 'Cornelis Apostool (1762-1844), cultureel ambtenaar', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 25 (1977), pp. 97-112.
- 12 NA 2.01.12, inv. no. 907, 8 October 1808: 'Il faut qu'on ôte de l'exposition tout ce qui tient à la sculpture et à l'architecture, c'est trop misérable. Il faut que M. Meerman s'occupe des moyens de fixer en Hollande un bon sculpteur romain.'
- 13 E. Bergvelt et al., *Reizen naar Rome. Italië als leerschool voor Nederlandse kunstenaars omstreeks 1800*, Haarlem (Teylers museum), Rome (Istituto Olandese di Roma) 1984, pp. 48, 73 note 20; A. Hoogenboom et al., *Kunst en beleid in Nederland*, Amsterdam 1985, p. 254 note 133.
- 14 NHA 175.141, p. 35, meeting of the Fourth Class 12 December 1808; recommendation to the minister, see NHA 175.146, no. 15, 21 April 1809.
- 15 NHA 175.127, 307, no. 20, 13 July 1809. For Cartellier's response see his letter, NHA 175.127, 307, no. 19 s.a., reply to letter from the Royal Institute dated 9 August 1809.
- 16 NA 2.01.12, inv. no. 901, 6 January 1809. Meerman to Canova: 'I am charged by the king to find a Roman sculptor who will be prepared to establish himself here.' ('Je suis chargé de la part du Roy, de trouver un sculpteur Romain, qui veuille venir s'établir ici'. Request to Canova to recommend someone 'as his [Louis'] royal sculptor' ('comme son [Louis] sculpteur royal').
- 17 J. Meerman Archive, Museum Meermanno (AMM) in The Hague, inv. no. 239/81, letter dated 4 February 1809. Canova enclosed a list of Finelli's conditions, see inv. no. 239/82, 4 February 1809.
- 18 NHA 175.139, H, 26 September 1808.
- 19 NHA 175.141, p. 17, meeting of the Fourth Class 6 October 1808.
- 20 NHA 175.136, report no. 3, 20 October 1808.

- 21 I do not know whether an advertisement for an apprentice sculptor was ever placed. Hoogenboom et al., op. cit. (note 13), p. 37, mentions two dates for advertisements, 5 February 1808 and 22 April 1809, but the first is too early and the second too late, that is after Meerman's letter of appointment to Gabriël, see RP-D-2007-42-16, 19 April 1809. These were probably advertisements for other apprentices.
- 22 Letter from Meerman to Gabriël: RP-D-2007-42-16, 19 April 1809.
- 23 Bergvelt et al., op. cit. (note 13), appendix 2, Decree 14 March 1808, no. 39, art. 17.
- 24 De Vries, op. cit. (note 2), p. 5.
- 25 G. Hubert and G. Ledoux-Lebard, *Napoléon portraits contemporains, bustes et statues*, Paris 1999, p. 121; De Vries, op. cit. (note 2), p. 15. We do not know whether these portraits by Gabriël have survived.
- 26 RP-D-2007-42-2 to 7.
- 27 Bergvelt et al., op. cit. (note 13), appendix 1, note 33.
- 28 Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-1999-11.
- 29 De Vries, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 5-6.
- 30 'Eindelijk heeft de Kwekeling in de Beeldhouwkunde Gabriël hoe zeer in dit jaar nog ongehouden tot het leveren van enig stuk, een voortreffelijke Buste van Ulysses in pleister geboetseerd.' NA 2.01.12, inv. no. 905, November 1810, Meerman to the Prince General Stadholder of the Emperor in Holland etc.
- 31 Bergvelt et al., op. cit. (note 13), appendices on Gabriël and Mol.
- 32 Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-2121. A print was made after the painting, see RP-P-1907-452; it was used by De Vries as the frontispiece in his life of Gabriël.
- 33 With thanks to Jenny Reynaerts for this observation.
- 34 RP-D-2007-42-11a, 22 September 1813: De Greef asked Gabriël to do him a favour in regard to drawings he wanted to borrow from the Royal Museum.
- 35 According to Van Daalen, op. cit. (note 2), p. 85, Gabriël lived in the Villa Medici, but it is more likely that he stayed in an annexe of the French academy in the monastery of the Trinità dei Monti nearby, see Bergvelt et al., op. cit. (note 13), p. 81.
- 36 De Vries, op. cit. (note 2), p. 9.
- 37 Bergvelt et al., op. cit. (note 13), p. 69.
- 38 Ibid., appendix 1.
- 39 Van Daalen, op. cit. (note 2), p. 85.
- 40 RP-D-2007-42-41, p. 7.
- 41 H. Lapauze, *Histoire de l'Académie de France à Rome*, vol. 2, Paris 1924, p. 106: 'The students were received by Canova, who gladly went to the Academy in person to give them his advice.' ('Les pensionnaires étaient reçus chez Canova qui lui-même se rendait volontiers à l'Académie pour leur donner les conseils.')
- 42 RP-D-2007-42-20, 13 June 1813.
- 43 NA 2.01.12 inv. no. 901, 25 April 1809. These declarations meet the provisions of articles 1 and 2 of the apprentices' regulations of 14 March 1808, see Bergvelt et al., op. cit. (note 13), appendix 2.
- 44 RP-D-2007-42-3, 24 June 1816; RP-D-2007-42-7, s.a.
- 45 RP-D-2007-42-7, s.a., 'votre pays n'est pas convenable pour perfectionner votre talent, la sculpture ne se plait qu'en Italie et en France...'
- 46 De Vries, op. cit. (note 2), p. 8: Apostool came to see Gabriël and told him that the king wished for a private audience with him. William I encouraged Gabriël to remain in his native land, where he was the only sculptor, and uphold national pride, rather than establish himself as an artist elsewhere. I do not know the exact date of this interview, but it must have taken place between Gabriël's return to Holland in 1813 and his appointment as City Sculptor of Amsterdam in 1814.
- 47 For the contract see RP-D-2007-42-21, 26 November 1814.
- 48 For the contract for this project with detailed instructions see RP-D-2007-42-22, 27 December 1814.
- 49 B.J. van Benthem, *De werkmeesters van Bennewitz en Bonebakker. Amsterdams grootzilver uit de eerste helft van de 19^{de} eeuw*, Zwolle 2005, pp. 278-84.
- 50 Van Daalen, op. cit. (note 2), p. 88. Apostool to Repelaer van Driel, 10 March 1816: 'Yet this [the post of city sculptor] brings him little advantage, he does not receive (because there is not enough work) the encouragement he deserves.' ('Doch dit geeft hem een gering voordeel, hij ondervindt (door te weinig werk) niet de aanmoediging die hij verdient.') See J. Reynaerts, 'Het karakter onzer Hollandsche School'. *De Koninklijke Akademie van Beeldende Kunsten te Amsterdam, 1817-1870*, Leiden 2001, p. 88. For De Vries's comment see De Vries, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 8-9.
- 51 House of Orange-Nassau Historic Collections Trust (Koninklijk Huisarchief, KHA) The Hague, A35 XVIII 103, annual report KI 1814, p. 27, 'opdat de kunstenaars vooruit wetende dat zij openbare eer van hunnen arbeid, aanbeveling hunner bekwaamheden, en alzoo de wezenlijkste bevordering hunner belangen

- zullen kunnen vinden, zich dan ook behoorlijk voorbereiden om met nieuwe daartoe opzettelijk bewerkte stukken telkens voor den dag te komen.'
- 52 NHA 175.136 no. 38, 26 February 1816, 'Deze tentoonstellingen geven het geregeldste, openlijkst bewijs van de vereerende zorg die zich het Gouvernement wil geven ter aanwakking en opbouw der schoone kunsten, daar dezelve als dan vereenigen en op een plaats te zamen brengen de voortbrengselen der kunst, van alle oorden onder het gebied van het Gouvernement. Deze vereeningen als dan ook al het nuttige van dergelijke inrigtinge[n], daar zij telkens een openbaar bewijs geven van den staat der kunst, over het geheele land; terwijl het aan den kunstenaar de gelegenheid verschaft om door een uitgestrekter vergelijking zijn kunstarbeid te beoordeelen, en hem vele middelen aan de hand kan geven, om zijne smaak en alle de vereischen van zijne kunst te verbeteren.'
- 53 Van Daalen, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 87-96 lists various exhibitions with catalogue numbers. In 1830, after an exhibition in The Hague, the Ministry of Home Affairs bought a statue by Gabriël, see RP-D-2007-42-18, 30 November 1830. I do not know which work this was.
- 54 For his nomination see RP-D-2007-42-23, 1 June 1816.
- 55 RP-D-2007-42-15, 5 November 1816.
- 56 On establishing portrait galleries in scholarly libraries etc. see R.E.O. Ekkart, 'Portretten van geleerden en kunstenaars in het Trippenhuys', in R. Meischke and H.E. Reeser (eds.), *Het Trippenhuys te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam/Oxford/New York 1983, pp. 305-07. M.C. van Hall, *Het leven en karakter van den admiraal jhr. Jan Hendrik van Kinsbergen*, Amsterdam 1841, p. 262, cites the steward, who in his speech of thanks explained the aim behind the portraits: 'To glory in the nation's men whose greatness is honoured throughout the world.' ('Pralen met vaderlandse mannen, wier grootheid in de hele wereld eerbiedigd wordt.')
- 57 De Vries, op. cit. (note 2), p. 10; Van Daalen, op. cit. (note 2), p. 89.
- 58 NHA 175.142, p. 27, 24 February 1817.
- 59 See e.g. the bust of Andrius de Graeff of 1661, Rijksmuseum inv. no. R.B.K. 18305.
- 60 In 1817 the Institute owned a plaster bust of William I (Van Daalen, op. cit. (note 2), p. 88). A letter from a certain Van Asten requests a copy of a bust of the king [probably the same one] for a certain Van Rooyen, who had seen one in The Hague (RP-D-2007-42-1, 19 June 1820). In 1823 Gabriël made another marble bust of a member, Van Swinden, after his death.
- The commission came from fellow member Johannes van Westenhout (De Vries, op. cit. (note 2), p. 11). Gabriël worked from an 1820 portrait by Willem Bartel van der Kooi (Van Daalen, op. cit. (note 2), p. 93). Van Swinden was one of the four most senior members of the four Classes (Van Hall, op. cit. (note 56), p. 265). His services to the nation justify a place in the gallery of exemplary men: in addition to his professorships in Franeker and Amsterdam, he gave more than a hundred lectures in Felix Meritis and organized the first national census (Klein, op. cit. (note 11), p. 24). In 1819 Van Kinsbergen commissioned Gabriël to make a marble bust of Admiral Michiel Adriaenszn de Ruyter for the naval training college, the Kweekschool voor de Zeevaart. The finished portrait was carried in procession along the canals to its destination. An Amsterdam merchant, Jan Andries Kluppel, was so impressed that the very same day he commissioned Gabriël to make a replica of the Kinsbergen portrait in the Institute to be placed in the naval college, see De Vries, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 11-12, Van Daalen, op. cit. (note 2), p. 90.
- 61 The monument to Johannes Henricus Nieuwold (1737-1812) Gabriël made in 1820 for the Grote or Jacobijnerkerk in Leeuwarden appears to be an exception in this series of commissions. Nieuwold was a minister of the church, a school inspector and an educational reformer: he developed a new teaching method for early reading lessons using a letter wheel (see www.deschoolanno.nl). The first proposal for a memorial came from the provincial Education Committee in Friesland in 1816. In 1820 Gabriël was awarded the commission, through Apostool's intermediary, so that even here the Institute played a role. (Van Daalen, op. cit. (note 2), p. 92).
- 62 De Vries, op. cit. (note 2), p. 12; Van Daalen, op. cit. (note 2), p. 91.
- 63 De Vries, op. cit. (note 2), p. 12.
- 64 Van Daalen, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 92-93. Gabriël worked from a portrait of Japiks by Mathys Harings in the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden. For an illustration of the monument see M.E. van der Meulen, *Bolsward's Kunst en Kunstgeschiedenis*, Sneek 1888, after p. 88.
- 65 With thanks to Frits Scholten for bringing this to my notice.
- 66 Gabriël, who did not attend the ceremony, was sent a report of it, and later received a printed version of Halbertsma's speech.

- For the letters about the unveiling see
 RP-D-2007-42-12 to 14, 11 July 1823,
 7 August 1823, 6 January 1825.
- 67 The monument to Feith is in the cemetery
 in Meppelerstraatweg in Zwolle.
- 68 For the contract for this commission see
 RP-D-2007-42-29, 29 August 1824. Van Hall,
 op. cit. (note 56), p. 265.
- 69 On the art academies in the 18th century see
 P. Knolle, 'Dilettanten en hun rol in de 18de-
 eeuwse Noordnederlandse tekenacademies',
*Academies of Art between Renaissance and
 Romanticism, Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*
 5-6 (1986-87), pp. 289-301.
- 70 For his admission as an Académicien see
 RP-D-2007-42-24, 18 December 1817 and
 RP-D-2007-42-25, 3 June 1818.
- 71 Reynaerts, op. cit. (note 50), p. 84:
 'Hulswit, it seems to me, is the man who
 is indispensable for landscape, the young
 Zogger [sic] for Architecture and Gabriël
 for Sculpture.' ('Hulswit dunkt mij, is de
 man die onmisbaar voor het landschap is,
 de jonge Zogger [sic] voor de Architectuur
 en Gabriël voor de Beeldhouwkunst.')
- 72 See RP-D-2007-42-27, 1 January 1822, for
 his admission as a member of the Academy
 by the burgomaster of Amsterdam and
 RP-D-2007-42-17, 13 January 1820, for his
 appointment as director by the king.
- 73 To compensate he was given 500 guilders
 extra for the first four years. De Vries,
 op. cit. (note 2), pp. 15-16.
- 74 See also Reynaerts, op. cit. (note 50),
 pp. 88-89.
- 75 Reynaerts, op. cit. (note 50), pp. 108-9.
- 76 See for instance the report dated
 24 September 1830, ACA 681.23.
- 77 '... M. Dacosta has shown himself to be very
 diligent and also made noticeable progress.
 I should like to see him given an honourable
 mention for this.' ('... M. Dacosta zich zeer
 ijverig getoond heeft en ook merklijke
 vordering gemaakt heeft. Gaarne zag ik er
 van deze loffelijke melding gemaakt wierd.')
- ACA 681.20, 17 September 1827, report to the
 academy's Board of Governors.
- 78 ACA 681.19, 21 May 1826.
- 79 ACA 681.23, 24 September 1830.
- 80 ACA 681.25, no. 26, 26 September 1831.
- 81 ACA 681.1, p. 8, 9 March 1820.
- 82 Ibid., p. 57, 6 June 1821 '...te meer daar die
 verzameling door zeer beroemde mannen
 als hoogst belangrijk wordt aangeprezen.'
 The 'famous men' is probably a reference
 to Canova, who saw the Elgin marbles in
 England in 1815 and praised them highly,
 after which – so legend has it – they were
 purchased by the British Museum.
- 83 Ibid., p. 86, 7 November 1821.
- 84 ACA 681.17 YY, 4 September 1822.
- 85 ACA 681.1, p. 166, 7 November 1822.
- 86 ACA 681.2, p. 14, 12 May 1824. The bronze
 that was subsequently cast from this figure
 is in the Rijksmuseum (inv. no. BK-18754).
- 87 Ibid., p. 29, 25 August 1824, and no. 32, 15
 September 1824.
- 88 ACA 681.3, p. 72, 4 March 1829, and p. 99,
 5 August 1829. For the prospectus of
 Bianchi's figures see ACA 681.22, no. 9,
 4 February 1829.
- 89 ACA 681.16, 1823.
- 90 Reynaerts, op. cit. (note 50), p. 101.
- 91 Ibid., p. 103.
- 92 For the course of events surrounding
 Royer's request see ACA 681.1, p. 166,
 7 November 1822, and E. Langendijk,
 'Louis Royer en de eerste Groote Prijs
 voor de Beeldhouwkunst in Nederland',
Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum 39 (1991), p. 120.
- 93 'Het is waar, het Gouvernement heeft ons,
 toen het ons het rekwest van Royer om
 pensioen in handen stelde, als het ware een
 wenk gegeven, om de opvolging der klassen
 te verschikken' '...de bedenking namelijk
 dat de Heer Royer de enige op de academie
 is, die ver genoeg is gevorderd, om naar de
 eerste prijs te kunnen dingen, terwijl door
 deze verschuiving zijn eigen *élèves* voor
 meerdere jaren in het dingen naar de eerste
 prijs achteruitgezet worden'. ACA 681.16 H,
 5 February 1823. Royer, probably solely to
 meet the requirements for competing for
 the Grand Prix – he was, after all, already
 a teacher of sculpture – had enrolled as a
 student at the academy in Amsterdam and
 was consequently taking lessons from Gabriël.
- 94 Eventually, four candidates were found:
 Royer, Johannes van der Ven of Den Bosch,
 a student at the academy in Brussels, August
 Lambert van Assche, also at the Brussels
 academy, and Jan van Dam, studying some-
 where in Rotterdam (ACA 681.1, p. 201,
 2 June 1823. For the entries of Van der Ven
 and Van Dam see also ACA 681.1, p. 195,
 7 May 1823). The decision as to the subject
 the candidates had to depict also caused
 problems. The Members of the Board could
 propose subjects from which three could
 be short-listed, and if necessary the subject
 could be decided by draw (ACA 681.1, p. 198,
 28 May 1823). Once the three subjects had
 been chosen, it was suggested that voting
 would after all be better than a draw.
 However the votes were tied on this
 proposal, upon which the chairman ruled
 that the subject must be decided by vote.
 The result was 'a figure of a young Greek

- shepherd between 20 and 25 years old, fleeing from a snake that is trying to strike him in the heel.' ('Een beeld voorstellende een jeugdige grieksche Herder tussen de 20 en 25 jaaren oud, vlugtende voor een slang die hem in de hiel tracht te kwetsen.') (ACA 681.1, pp. 199-201, 2 June 1823). This is an interesting choice of subject – while it refers to traditional classical themes, it implies at the same time an unusual dynamism by the standards of the early 19th century. The same is true of the two losing subjects, a 'David with a sling fighting Goliath' inspired by Gianlorenzo Bernini, and an 'enraged Achilles whose passions are restrained by divine inspiration'.
- 95 ACA 681.1, p. 199, 2 June 1823.
- 96 'Aan het door hem vervaardigd wordende prijswerk een mankement was gekomen, dat hem de inlevering ervan onmogelijk maakte.' ACA 681.1, p. 212, 29 August 1823, and p. 214, 3 September 1823.
- 97 ACA 681.1, p. 212, 29 August 1823.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 ACA 681.16, TT 3 September 1823.
See appendix 1 for the full text.
- 100 ACA 681.1, p. 214, 3 September 1823. This would not be the last time that Van der Ven was passed over in favour of Royer: in 1834 he was put forward as a member of the Royal Netherlands Institute, but Royer was elected; in 1842 both submitted designs for a statue of Rembrandt and again Royer was chosen. At the king's request, Van der Ven produced designs for a statue of William of Orange. They were rejected by the Fourth Class of the Royal Netherlands Institute, which awarded the commission to Royer. Van der Ven chose not to compete for the commission for a monument to Vondel and that, too, went to Royer. According to Langendijk, *op. cit.* (note 92), p. 122, Van der Ven destroyed his figure of the fleeing shepherd when he heard the verdict.
- 101 Gabriël's reaction was to boycott the meetings for months; according to a letter from Jan Kruseman, he defiled Royer's figure with 'muck'. See Langendijk, *op. cit.* (note 92), p. 122.
- 102 ACA 681.1, p. 222, 9 October 1823.
- 103 After some urging, Royer finally wrote from Rome, explaining how an illness that had already gone on for five or six months had unfortunately prevented him from working, and how 'on the advice of the doctors [I] had to leave Rome for a time and went to *Naples* to study there the most noteworthy works of art and monuments and the frescoes on the Museum at *Portici*, and to walk through *Herculaneum* and the buried city of *Pompeii*. To *Pestum* to see the beautiful ruined temples. Always admiring the beauties of nature. Arrived back in Rome on the 16th October, sick again, and am not yet healthy today, but saved from death by *God* and human help and my courage.' ('Op advies van de artsen voor enige tijd Rome heb moeten verlaten en naar *Napels* vertrokken om aldaar de merkwaardigste kunststukken en monumenten te *Portici* op het Museum de frescos te bestuderen, en *Herculaneum* en de bedolven stad *Pompeja* te doorlopen. naar *Pestum* die schone overblijfsels der tempels gaan zien. aldoor bewonderend de schone natuur. De 16e oktober wederom ziek te Rome aangekomen en tot heden nog niet gezond geweest, doch door *God* en menschen hulp en mijn moed van de dood gered.') ACA 681.18 f, 30 January 1825. See also ACA 681.2, p. 59, 2 March 1825, also pp. 29 and 32, on Royer's reports.
- 104 ACA 681.28, no. 2, [1835], ACA 681.29, no. 33, 6 November 1835.
- 105 ACA 681.2, p. 64, 21 March 1825. In 1830 the Grand Prix competition for sculpture took place in Antwerp. Gabriël was a member of the judging committee, which also included Royer, the Ghent sculptor Philippe Parmentier and Apostool, see RP-D-2007-42-31, 6 July 1830.
- 106 This time five subjects were proposed. David with a sling, fighting Goliath, got the most votes. ACA 681.4, pp. 101-02, 20 May 1833.
- 107 '... uitdrukkelijk daaraan herinnerd, dat bij het beoordelen van zijn werk, de eerste vraag van de van hoger hand benoemde commissie die is of het stuk ter dinging naar de prijs vervaardigd inderdaad bekroningswaardig is, zodat het alleen dingen naar de grote prijs verre af is van een noodzakelijk gevolg van bekroning te hebben.' ACA 681.4, pp. 114-16, 2 September 1833.
- 108 ACA 681.22, no. 13, 23 March 1829 'Eene premie van tien Gouden Dukaten en een Getuigschrift voor het best geoordeeld wordende BORSTBEELD, in levensgrootte, van de VENUS DE MEDICIS, in Hout.'
- 109 I do not know whether there was any response to this repeated invitation.
- 110 RP-D-2007-42-30.
- 111 RP-D-2007-42-28, 24 May 1824; KHA, EIA archive of the de Hofcommissie, 1 Notulen, proposals for Royal Decrees, 44 no. 110, 24 May 1824.
- 112 N. Ex and F. Scholten, *De prins en de Keyser. Restauratie en geschiedenis van het grafmonument voor Willem van Oranje*, Bussum 2001, pp. 80-84.

- 113 Wilhelmina of Prussia, the king's mother, died in 1820. Because of the lack of space in the crypt in Delft she was placed in the vault in the church in Apeldoorn. When the expansion in Delft was completed in 1822, her body was moved there.
- 114 '... als de enige daartoe in de omtrek berekend ...', 'opwerken', KHA, EIA I 10 no. 109, 10 June 1822.
- 115 '...het in orde brengen van het monument, bestaande uit beitelten, het toevoegen van marmer, het bijgieten van de bronzen stukken, het polijsten van de gehele tombe, zodanig dat deze geheel als nieuw zal zijn. De som van f 3000.' KHA, EIA I 43 no. 226, NA 2.04.07, archives of the Ministry of Home Affairs: Public Works Department 1814-77, inv. no. 1364. The appendix of 23 September 1822 contains an overview of the sculpture and masonry work. Gabriël was commissioned to do the work on 25 November 1823 and was paid in September 1824.
- 116 NA 2.04.07, inv. no. 1364, 20 September 1824.
- 117 E. Bergvelt, 'De koning en de kunst. De rol van de Vierde Klasse in het regeringsbeleid op het gebied van de beeldende kunsten, deel 2. Het Pantheon der Vierde Klasse (1816-1851)', in W.P. Gerritsen (ed.), *Het Koninklijk Instituut (1808-1851) en de bevordering van wetenschap en kunst*, Amsterdam 1997, p. 140.
- 118 NHA 175.137 345, 15 October 1832.
- 119 NHA 175.140 RRRR, 8 December 1832.
- 120 '... het geheel werkelijk geschonden...' NHA 175.126.306, no. 173, 17 March 1833.
- 121 NHA 175.140 SSSS, 30 March 1833.
- 122 NHA 175.137 345, 13 May 1833.
See appendix 2 for the full text.
- 123 NHA 175.137 345, 13 May 1833.
- 124 NHA 175.140 TTTT, 15 June 1833.
- 125 '...daar het vanzelf spreekt [dat] men niet beginnen kan met het opschuren en polijsten, of met de beelden, bas-reliëfs en ornamenten in orde te brengen, voor aleer de monumenten van al de on[t]brekende partijen voorzien zijn en de voetstukken of tafels, voornamelijk deze zouden dus de eerste reparaties moeten zijn.' NHA 175.137 345, 5 August 1833.
- 126 '... dat haar [de Klasse] dus een wezenlijke dienst zou geschieden indien de Heer Gabriël zich daarmede [met het herstel van het Van Galenmonument] zou willen belasten, omdat de geringheid der toegestane gelden geen voordeel kon doen verwachten, ja zelfs, bij den minste tegenspoed nadeel kon opleveren.' NHA 175.137 345, 28 August 1833.
- 127 Gabriël received a copy of the ministerial declaration to the Fourth Class, see RP-D-2007-42-32, 4 September 1833.
- 128 NHA 175.132 334, no. 80, 7 March 1834.
- 129 NHA 175.137 345, no. 12*, pp. 3-5.
- 130 NHA 175.137 345, nos. 11 and 12, 28 April 1834 and 27 June 1834 respectively.
- 131 De Vries, op. cit. (note 2), p. 20. Gabriël's tombstone is now on the north side of the church, up against the sanctuary. With thanks to the staff of the Nieuwe Kerk for tracing the stone. The graves were emptied during the restoration of the church (between 1966 and 1980) and the stones were not put back in their original order. See also H. Schölvinck et al., *Graven in de Nieuwe Kerk Amsterdam, Amsterdam, s.a.*

APPENDIX I

Gabriël to the Board of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts,

3 September 1823

As I recall, the Board asked the competitors for the Grand Prix to submit A Model in the Round representing a young Greek shepherd, between 20 and 25 years old – fleeing from a snake that is trying to strike him in the heel. Looking first at the rendition of the subject, it seems to me that the Model entirely satisfies this requirement, to my mind the pose or action of this figure leaves nothing to be desired in expressing the subject in question; one cannot doubt, I think, that he is fleeing and endeavouring to escape the snake by his swiftness – in the action of the plaster figure with the lion's skin I see not so much a fleeing shepherd as a fighting hero; the whole pose of this figure suggests to me too great a resistance to the snake. The blow he is about to deliver it is not unsure; anyone unfamiliar with the subject will easily mistake the intention and construe it as fighting. As for the nude, or the expression of form and contour – I find the torso or trunk of the modelled figure a trifle weak, chiefly under the chest, I wished for more movement in the *matrasse* and *ligne blanche*, yet it has a youthful character that pleases me; I think the movement in the back is motivated by the throwing forward of both arms; the hands and arms are likewise youthful and well shaped. The legs and feet, particularly the left leg and thigh, are very fine in form and contour, and I should like to add here that were this figure to be cast in plaster, many small, indeed the least motions of the muscles that are now lost would come out, since now the dark Clay causes the effect of shadow to be lacking. The torso or trunk of the plaster figure seems to me to be unnatural, the inward position of the hip and belly against the outward thrust of the right side of the ribcage and chest is forced or mannered; the back between the *trapezoid* and shoulder blades is good – the right arm not as good as the left, being too thick at the transition of the *deltoid* and *biceps*. The right thigh seems to me to be rather short, since in contrast the left leg is a good inch longer than the right leg; it is also less successful in contour and form than the right leg, the feet are well studied. In conclusion, I find the model without *manner*, [it] has fewer faults than the plaster Figure, and fully satisfies the requirements, and so I would award the prize to the maker of the Model.

The fourth Director
 PJ Gabriël
 Amsterdam 3 Sept 1823

AMSTERDAM CITY ARCHIVES 68L16, TT 3 SEPTEMBER 1823: 'Zo ik mij wel herinner is door den Raad aan de dingens na den groote prijs opgegeeven Een Boetseersel Ronde Bosse, voorstellende een jeugdige Grieksch herder, tusschen de 20 à 25 jaren oud – vlugtende voor een slang die hem in de Hiel tragt te kwetsen. Mij voor eerst aan het onderwerp bepalende koomt mij voor, – het Boetseersel aan deeze vraag volkomen beantwoord, de stand of actie van dit Beeld, laat mijns inzien niets te verlangen om het bedoelde onderwerp uittedrukken, men kan dunkt mij niet twijvelen dat deezen vlugt, en de slang door zijne gezwindheid zoekt te ontkomen – minder zie[n] ik in de actie van het pleisterbeeld, met de leeuwehuid, een vlugtende herder, dan wel een vegtende Held, den geheele stand van dit Beeld, steld mij voor een sterke te weerstelling tegen den slang. De slag die hij dezelve toe zal brengen is niet onzeker, de geene die niet met het onderwerp bekend is, zal het bedoelde ligt missen en als vegtend beschouwen. – wat het naakt of Beelden in vorm en omtrek betreft – vinde ik de torse of romp van het geboetseerd Beeld een weinig tam voornamentlijk onder de Borst, wenschte ik in de *matrasse* en *Ligne blanche* meer beweging, doch er zit in het zelve een jeugdiger character in dat mij wel behaagd, de beweging in de rug vinde ik gemotiveerd door het vooruit werpen van beide armen, de handen, en armen zijn insgelijk jeugdig en wel van vorm. de Beenen en voeten en wel in bijzonder den linker been en dey is allerschoonst van vorm en omtrek nog moet ik hierbij voegen dat zo dit beeld in pleister gegooten ware, veele klyne ja den minste beweging der musculen die thans verloren zijn voor zoude komen, daar nu de donkere kleur der Aarde het effect der schadu[w] doet missen.–/ De torse of romp van het pleister beeld koomt mij voor onnatuurlijk, het invallen van de heupen en buik, bij het uitzetten van den regter zij van de Ribbekast en borst is geforseerd of wel gemanierd de rug tusschen de *trapese* en schouwerblade schoon – den rechter arm minder goed als den linker, bij de insmelting van de *deltoide* en *biceps*, te dik zijnde. – den rechter dey koomt mij wat kort voor, daar in tegendeel het linkerbeen een groote duim langer is dan het rechter been, ook is deeze minder gelukkig van omtrek en vorm als het rechterbeen, de voeten wel bestudeerd./ Tenslotte vind ik het Boetseersel zonder *manier*, minder gebreken als het pleister Beeld, en volkomen aan de vraag te beantwoorden, en alzo aan den maker van het Boetseersel den prijs kome toewijzen./ De vierde Directeur/ PJ Gabriël/ Amsterdam 3 Sept 1823'.

APPENDIX II

Gabriël to the Fourth Class of the Royal Netherlands Institute,

13 May 1833

I have the honour of informing the Class that the repairs to the Monument to Ad. De Ruiter consist in the following works.

Setting to rights the crown piece, being a large coat of arms of statuary marble. Making and adding the missing pieces, as well as the same to the pedestal and the niche. The cornice covering the monument, whose edges are severely damaged by cracks and broken areas, the columns and pilasters in the centre, which bear the greater part of the cornice and are of speckled marble like the cornice and damaged, in short making good the missing pieces in said cornice, pilasters and columns.

Setting to rights the cornice on the right and left of the centre piece (of veined marble). Repairing the displaced sections of the pedestal, supplying new slabs and blocks of marble where it is crumbling or lost, re-chiselling and gilding the inscriptions, consisting in a number of more than 1800 letters. Further supplying and finishing what has been broken off the statues, bas-reliefs, triumphal chariot etc. etc. Refurbishing the tombstones and kerbs on which the whole rests. Further, sanding and polishing the whole monument. A number of small details could be added here, but I consider this unnecessary, since one only has to look at the monument at close quarters to see the effectiveness of the repairs. I estimate the repairs referred to above at a sum of 1,900 guilders.

The following repairs are required to the monument to Van Galen: making good the ornaments, comprising war, ships' tools and coats of arms, many of which are partly or wholly lacking their ends, repairing displaced sections of the pedestal, for [this] is seriously damaged and cracked like the framework surrounding it.

Supplying the pieces missing from the statue of Van Galen, setting to rights the displaced right leg.

Cleaning and repairing the bas-relief, setting to rights and gilding the inscription, refurbishing the blue tombstone that is part of the monument, and lastly sanding and polishing – the completion of these works will cost the sum of 800 guilders ...

NOORD-HOLLANDSARCHIVES 175.137 345, 13 MAY 1833: '...Zo heb ik de Eer de Klasse te berigten dat de reparaties aan het Monument van den Ad. De Ruiter in de volgende werkzaamheden bestaat./ Het in order brengen van het bovenstuk zijnde een groot wapen van statuarie marmer. Het bijwerken en aanbrengen der ontbrekende gedeelten alsmede aan het voetstuk en nis der zelve./ De kroonlijst die het monument overdekt en waarvan de profi[e]llen zeer beschadigd zijn door scheuren en afgebroken parteeien, de kolommen en pilasters op het middelstuk die het grootste gedeelte der kroonlijst dragen, zijn van spekmarmer als den kroonlijst en beschadigd, alzo het aanbrengen der ontbrekende stukken aan gezegde lijstwerk, pilasters en kolommen./ Het in order brengen van het lijstwerk aan den regt en linkerzijde van het middelstuk (van geaderd marmer)./ Het herstellen der uitgeschovenen gedeelten van het voetstuk, het vergruisten en verganen van nieuwe platen en blokken marmer te voorzien, het opbeitelen en vergulden der inscriptien, bestaande in een getal van ruim 1800 letters./ Voorts het aanbrengen en bijwerken der afgebrokenen aan de beelden, barielieven, zeegewagen enz. enz./ Het oprissien der zarken en drempels daar het geheel op rust. Verder het opschuuren en polijsten van het geheel monument./ Een aantal kleine details zouden hierbij gevoegd kunnen worden doch reken ik dit onnodig, daar men het monument slechts van nabij behoef te beschouwen om er de werkzaamheid der reparaties van te kunnen bezeffen, de reparaties hier boven vermeld word door mij begroot op eene som van f 1900./ Aan het monument van Van Galen zijn de de volgende reparaties te doen, het bijwerken van de sieraden, bestaande in oorlog, scheepsgereedschappen en wapenen, waarvan aan velen geheel of gedeeltelijk de uiteinde ontbreken./ Het herstellen der verschovenen aan het voetstuk, zijnde deeze zeer beschadigd en gescheurd als mede het lijstwerk der zelve./ Het bijwerken der ontbrekende gedeelten aan het Beeld van Van Galen, het in order brengen van het verschovenen Regter been./ Het schoonmaken en repareren van het basrelief, het in order brengen en vergulden der opschrift het oprissien der Blaauwe zark tot het monument behoorende en ten slotte het opschuren en polijsten, - het volbrengen dezer werkzaamheden zal bedragen den som van f 800. - ...'