'A Very Naive and Completely New Manner':

Pieneman, History Painting and the Exhibitions of the Battle of Waterloo

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In the spring of 1815 the Northern and Southern Netherlands, roughly the present-day Netherlands and Belgium, were united in a single kingdom under the rule of Willem I of Orange-Nassau. It was the dawn of an optimistic period for artists. In the Northern Netherlands there was a general sense, which had been growing since the eighteenth century, that the arts had fallen into decline after the glory years of the seventeenth century.[1] Government committees appointed during the reign of King Louis Bonaparte (1806-10) confirmed this image, and various measures aimed at raising the arts in the Netherlands to a higher, international standard were introduced.[2] Most of these measures were adopted or implemented by Willem I (1772-1843) after 1815.

King Willem had no personal interest in art, but he recognized the importance of promoting it. A flourishing school of painting would help foster international esteem for the young kingdom and at the same time provide him with an opportunity to exploit the fine arts for his own nation-building policy. Willem's kingdom and kingship alike were, after all, new constructs whose only legitimacy lay in contemporary international politics.[3] For artists, particularly history painters, this opened up enormous potential.

Detail of fig. 17

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Fig. 1
JAN WILLEM PIENEMAN, *The Battle of Waterloo*, 1821-24. Oil on canvas, 567 x 823 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-1115.

An artist with the right connections, who could capture the national mood, would find it easy to get a commission for a large history painting. Taking shrewd advantage of the opportunities the situation presented, Jan Willem Pieneman established himself as the leading Dutch artist of his day. With two enormous paintings he was able to achieve both national and international standing, picturing the Battle of Waterloo – the most important event in the earliest years of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (fig. 1).

The Battle of Waterloo

Emperor Napoleon (1769-1821) returned from exile in the spring of 1815. Within weeks he had assembled a large army and marched north to drive a wedge between the British and Prussian armies. At that moment there was a British force in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, a country comprising the present-day Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg that had been conceived at the end of the Napoleonic Wars as a buffer state against future French aggression.[4] The infant state received its baptism of fire even before its establishment had been finalized.

The Northern Netherlands, approximately the modern Netherlands, reflected the old Republic of the Seven United Provinces, from which Stadholder Willem V had fled in 1795

in the face of a French invasion. Since 1813 the north had been ruled by Willem-Frederik, the oldest son of Stadholder Willem V (1748-1806). To bind his southern compatriots more strongly to him, Willem-Frederik immediately proclaimed himself King Willem I of the Netherlands. Under the command of the king's oldest son, the Prince of Orange (1792-1842), the Dutch army, a large proportion of whose troops had previously been Napoleon's soldiers, joined the British under the supreme command of the Duke of Wellington (1769-1852).

Fig. 2
WILLEM GREBNER AFTER M.I. VAN BREE, *The Hero of the Netherlands*, c. 1816. Mezzotint, 404 x 256 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1903-A-22950; gift of Mrs Brandt, Amsterdam and Mrs Brandt, Amsterdam.

On 16 June the French encountered the first resistance from the Dutch army. At Quatre Bras, a crossroads between Charleroi and Brussels, the Dutch held the French long enough for British reinforcements to arrive. The Prince of Orange led an attack. On 18 June 1815 the armies clashed near the village of Waterloo, not far from Brussels. The outcome of the battle hung in the balance for most of the day until, as dusk fell, a Prussian army reinforced the Dutch and British troops, and the Allies secured the victory. By then the Prince of Orange had been carried off the battlefield with a musket ball in his shoulder. France had been defeated again. Soon afterwards Napoleon was forced into exile on the island of St Helena.

The victory was greeted with jubilation in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. 'The bloody battle ... has assured the independence of the monarchy of the Netherlands for all time,' wrote the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* two weeks after the event.[5] Waterloo created a bond between the two parts of the new country. The Prince of Orange's wound was the symbol of the battle (fig. 2). His courage in combat reflected to the honour of the royal family and the whole country. Poets wrote about Waterloo, printmakers produced engravings and the painters of portraits, landscapes and genre works incorporated Waterloo into their paintings.[6] It was simply a matter of time before the history painters pictured the battle on immense canvases that rivalled the works that had glorified Napoleon's victories in France.

The Revolution of History Painting

Battles like Waterloo were not traditional subjects for history paintings. With its considerable level of difficulty, history painting was regarded as the highest genre in art. This type of art portrayed important events from the Bible, mythology or Classical Antiquity, and the protagonists almost always symbolized virtues.[7] This changed in the second half of the eighteenth century, when painters gradually also started to paint subjects from more modern times (from the Middle Ages onwards), or even the present. There had certainly been plenty of heroic figures in these periods.[8]

These changes began in Great Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century. Artists there started to organize, and in 1768 the Royal Academy was established. This sparked a lively debate about the paucity of history painting in England. Some critics even expressed fears that the virtue of young artists could be in jeopardy if they could not express themselves in this, the most exalted genre in painting.[9] It was the American painter Benjamin West, working in London, who came up with the solution in 1770. History painters should no longer be dependent on the whims of kings, nobles and the church, but should instead direct their attention to the middle class. West painted *The Death of General Wolfe* entirely at his own expense, with the ultimate aim not so much of selling the painting, but selling reproductive prints. West also staged an exhibition of *Wolfe* in his own studio, for which he charged an admission fee. To pull in the public, West abandoned stories from the Bible and Classical Antiquity in favour of an event that had taken place just eleven years earlier and still had great news value. He had found the perfect way of painting history works on his own initiative and making it financially feasible. 'There are ... but two ways of working successfully, that is, lastingly, in this country, for an artist,' he wrote in 1790, 'the one is, to paint for the King; the other, to meditate a scheme of your own.'[10] West would go on to implement several other 'schemes'.

His compatriot John Singleton Copley, who likewise lived in London, had even greater success with his history paintings. Under Copley, canvases became even bigger and the subjects more topical, so that they increasingly began to resemble in format and commercial exploitation the panoramas that were so popular at the time. In the panoramas, devised in 1792, a single canvas was placed all the way round viewers, creating the illusion that they were in a city or a landscape.[11] Copley's *Defeat of the Floating Batteries at Gibraltar*, also called *The Siege and Relief of Gibraltar* (1783-91), was a traditional painting, but at the same time so large that it was impossible to find a suitable space to show it. In the end a 'magnificent Oriental tent' more than twenty-five yards long was erected in Green Park (fig. 3).[12]

Meanwhile the commercial exploitation of history works was gaining in popularity on continental Europe. In 1799 the French painter Jacques-Louis David showed his *Intervention of the Sabine Women* at an exhibition he staged himself instead of sending the work to the

Fig. 3
ANONYMOUS
AFTER FRANCESCO
BARTOLOZZI,
Copley's Exhibition of the Siege of Gibraltar in Green Park, c. 1850-60.
Photomechanical reprint, 99 x 128 mm.
London,
British Museum,
inv. no. 1894,0102.67.

Salon in the usual way. In a brochure he wrote especially for the occasion, David explained why the commercial exhibition of a work of art was permissible. An artist exhibiting a single work, David wrote, was no less than a practice that went back to the Ancient Greeks. Like them, he wanted to expose his work to the judgement of his compatriots. Good art could only improve people, and what a shame it was that so many masterpieces were seen by almost no one. In an exhibition he had staged himself, an artist could show the public his work, and by their willingness to pay to view it – or not – the public passed judgement on it. The income from the admission fees enabled a good artist to become financially independent, as was possible in Great Britain. David saw this as an essential condition for making good art.[13]

After the restoration of the monarchy, David was banned from France because he had voted for the death of King Louis XVI during the French Revolution. The artist settled in Brussels, where he organized several more exhibitions of his own work. The aim of these shows, more even than his exhibitions of the *Sabine Women*, was to garner publicity. When the exhibition closed David donated all the entrance money he had raised to the poor of the city. He was an inspiration for several of his pupils, who as well-trained artists were destined to take the lead in establishing a new Dutch school of painting in the new United Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Painting as Propaganda

Emperor Napoleon had actively used art to strengthen his own position. At every exhibition staged during the emperor's reign there was a huge painting of one of his military triumphs. There was no lack of pictures of Napoleon as a virtuous hero either. Antoine-Jean Gros's famous painting, *Bonaparte Visiting the Plague Victims in Jaffa* (1804), shows Napoleon, with utter disregard for his own life, visiting troops struck down by the plague. Napoleon's pose is unmistakably Christ-like; he even touches a victim as if he wants to cure him – an allusion that many viewers would have recognized, consciously or otherwise. Napoleon modelled himself on important figures, particularly Charlemagne, in other paintings too.[14]

Unlike Napoleon and his successors in France, King Willem I did not pursue an active propaganda policy – we may well wonder whether he actually had any interest in art at all.[15] He did, though, appreciate that art was important to the prestige of his kingdom at home and abroad and was consequently prepared to invest in it. Many Dutch artists, however, had grown up with the propaganda surrounding Napoleon and so approached the King of the Netherlands from the same viewpoint. The most eminent among them was Joseph Denis Odevaere, an artist from Bruges who had studied under Jacques-Louis David and won the French Prix de Rome in 1804. As a well-trained history painter, Odevaere depicted important themes of his own time by drawing parallels with historical events. In 1810, for instance, he tried to flatter Napoleon with a sketch of the coronation of Charlemagne. It was an indirect reference to Napoleon's own coronation, which had taken place in 1804.

When Odevaere suddenly found himself a citizen of the Netherlands, he used the same approach to winning commissions from the new rulers. In the autumn of 1814 the artist was introduced to the future King Willem I.[16] On this occasion Odevaere showed Willem a drawing he had probably made not long before, showing *The Delegates from the Provinces Presenting William the Silent with the Union of Utrecht.* There is a preliminary oil study for it in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 4).[17] Here Odevaere was packaging two political

Fig. 4
JOSEPH DENIS ODEVAERE, *Sketch for The Union of Utrecht*, c. 1815-16. Oil on panel, 42.2 cm x 54.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-4896.

Fig. 5
CLAUDE-MARIE-FRANÇOIS DIEN AFTER JOSEPH DENIS ODEVAERE, *The Foundation of the House of Orange*, 1822-24. Engraving, c. 104 x 158 mm. From *Messager des sciences et des arts publ. par la Société royale ... de Gand*, Ghent 1824. Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam, Special Collections, UBM Y 4091.

messages in a single image: the legitimation of the Netherlands – or in any event the Northern Netherlands and Flanders – as an independent state, and the legitimation of the House of Orange as its leader.[18] The topicality of the two events did not escape Willem I. Like his ancestor, he unexpectedly found himself at the head of a new state that had emerged from a period of foreign rule. Odevaere was consequently commissioned to scale up his sketch and produce a large painting.[19] Until his death in 1830 Odevaere continued to approach the king from time to time with sketches for paintings that that legitimized the present through a reference to the past. In 1822 he went to the king with a sketch for a painting that would depict *The Foundation of the House of Orange* (fig. 5). In it Odevaere ingeniously showed how, after beating off a

Saracen invasion, the semi-legendary William of Gellone (755-812/4) was crowned sovereign ruler of Orange by Emperor Charlemagne.[20] The parallels with the present – Willem effectively crowned by foreign powers, including two emperors, after repelling a French invasion – were clear.

The Antwerp painter Matthijs van Bree also realized that if he wanted to get commissions, he would have to approach the king with subjects that expressed his politics. After visiting Van Bree in his studio, the king commissioned *The Self-Sacrifice of Burgomaster van der Werff*, a work that communicated the fairly universal virtues of reason and self-sacrifice (fig. 6).[21] As soon as he had finished that, Van Bree showed the king a sketch for *Prince Willem I Defending the Case of the Catholics in Ghent*, a painting depicting religious harmony (fig. 7). Since reducing the religious differences between the Protestant north and the Catholic south was a key element of Willem I's policy, it is not surprising that Van Bree was commissioned to make the painting.[22]

Both Odevaere and Van Bree took the Oranges as subjects for their history works. They or their forebears were at the centre of the large canvases, just as Napoleon was central in France under the Empire. Immediately after the Battle of Waterloo, for instance, Odevaere embarked on a large work depicting the wounding of the prince (fig. 8). To him, this was the pivotal event of Waterloo. For Van Bree, too, and many other artists with him, the Prince of Orange was the most important subject of the battle.[23] The highlight was the vast panorama of

Fig. 6
MATTHIJS IGNATIUS VAN BREE,
The Self-Sacrifice of Burgomaster van der Werff, 1817.
Oil on canvas, 430 x 570 cm.
Leiden, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, inv. no. s 46.

Fig. 7
JOSEPH PINNOY
AFTER M.I. VAN BREE,
Prince Willem I Defending the Case of the Catholics in Ghent, c. 1822.
Lithograph,
450 x 590 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-80.442.

Fig. 8
WILLEM VAN SENUS
AFTER JOSEPH
DENIS ODEVAERE,
The Battle of Waterloo, 1817.
Etching,
628 x 760 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-88.874.

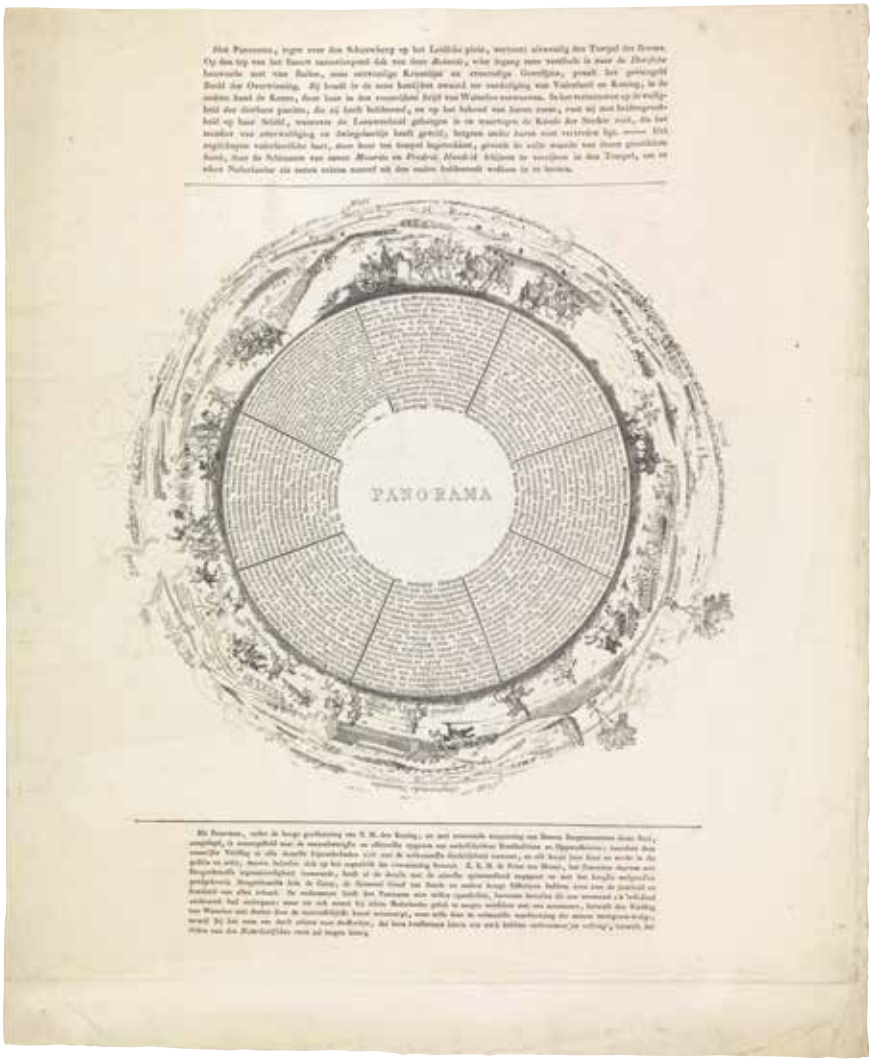


Fig. 9
Panorama of Waterloo, 1816. Engraving, 468 x 385 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1963-512; gift of A.J. Laboyrie-van Goudoever, Leiden.

the Battle of Waterloo commissioned by the Amsterdam publisher Evert Maaskamp (fig. 9).[24] The prince's injury was likewise the focus of this huge canvas.

Pieneman and *The Battle of Quatre Bras*

The artist who would surpass both Odevaere and Van Bree in popularity, Jan Willem Pieneman of Amsterdam, took a different tack. Pieneman was largely self-taught and did not make his debut as a history painter until he was twenty-nine. Although his training had been deficient and he had never really travelled, Pieneman did have excellent contacts in The Hague. As the assistant director of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen (Royal Cabinet of Paintings) he was frequently in the company of the royal family, in particular the queen, to whom he occasionally gave painting lessons.

According to the author Jacob van Lennep, soon after the Battle of Waterloo Pieneman made a sketch of the Prince of Orange 'astride his horse and spurring it into motion to attack the enemy'. An unknown person, 'who

was a member of the King's retinue', saw the sketch and reported it. The next day Pieneman received a visit from the Minister of Internal Affairs:

> 'The queen,' said he, 'wishes to see your sketch of the Battle of Quatre Bras.' – The painter looked up, surprised. 'I did not sketch a battle, just an equestrian portrait of the Prince.' – 'Then the Queen has been misinformed,' replied the statesman – and that was indeed the case: – 'but she is now counting on seeing your sketch of the battle and it might be better not to disappoint her when she comes to visit you tomorrow.'

Pieneman worked through the night, and the next day showed the queen a finished sketch, whereupon she commissioned him to execute the painting on a large scale.[25] According to a note by the artists' biographer Christiaan Kramm (1797-1875), however, the queen actually came to see the sketch of the equestrian portrait and then asked the artist if he could add something of the battle. A little while later the queen returned to have another look and expressed a wish to see still more of the battle. Pieneman's canvas was far too small for this, so he added extra pieces on all sides.[26]

Fig. 10
JACOB ERNST MARCUS AFTER JAN WILLEM PIENEMAN, *Vignette for Napoleon's Last Campaign*, 1816. Etching, 236 x 156 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-22.760.

For purely practical reasons, a painting as large as *Quatre Bras* is made up of several pieces of canvas sewn together. Even the largest pieces of canvas that could be obtained measured no more than about 130 x 190 centimetres, and the finished painting is ten times that size.[27] If the painting really did develop from a sketch of the Prince of Orange, the initial design has probably survived in a vignette Pieneman made for one of the first Dutch books about Waterloo (fig. 10). It shows the prince pointing forward with his hat as he leads the charge at Quatre Bras. A standard-bearer of the 5th National Militia Battalion follows him.[28] These two figures appear identically in the oil sketch in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 11), except that the distance between them has been increased. If Pieneman really did keep adding pieces to his canvas, as Kramm wrote, this sketch must have been made after that was done, since it shows the complete painting. Aside from the unpublished anecdote there are no indications that the design for the painting was changed at a later stage. Documents show that as early as 1815 Pieneman had approached the minister and asked to be allowed to decorate Soestdijk Palace, which the Prince of Orange had been given in recognition of his deeds at Waterloo.[29] The king apparently gave his permission verbally.[30]

When Pieneman finished *The Battle of Quatre Bras* (fig. 12), which is more than one and a half times the size of Rembrandt's *Night Watch*, he received numerous requests to exhibit the painting at the exhibition in Amster-

Fig. 11
JAN WILLEM PIENEMAN, *Sketch for the Battle of Quatre Bras*, 1815-16. Oil on canvas, 54 x 77 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-1520.

dam in 1818. The city even offered help in transporting it:

> We will have it collected. The height and width mean it will have to be rolled. Our workmen are wholly familiar with this and the great Rembrand [sic], Van der Helst etc. have been transported many times like this. It is not possible to carry it safely in any other way.[31]

The painting was enthusiastically received in Amsterdam and Pieneman became one of the most popular artists in the kingdom overnight. The manner in which the battle was portrayed, honouring many other participants in the battle as well as the Prince of Orange, would certainly have been a factor in its success. Pieneman chose a moment full of action, with the prince leading the attack and fierce fighting on the right-hand side. These skirmishes are reminiscent of the cavalry battles by artists such as Philips Wouwerman (1619-1668), Jan van Huchtenberg (1646-1733) and Francesco Casanova (1727-1803).

When the exhibition closed Pieneman was made a knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion. From Amsterdam the painting travelled to Brussels, where Pieneman hoped to show it to the Russian imperial family, who were visiting the city. There is no record of whether Pieneman succeeded in his intention. There are anecdotal accounts that a guest who was more important to Pieneman, the Duke of Wellington, did go to the exhibition. On seeing the picture the Duke remarked that it could do with a few figures in red coats – a reference to the total absence of British troops in the painting; they, unlike the Dutch and French, who wore blue, had red jackets. 'I understand Ostade always painted a man with a red cap in order to keep his groups in harmony', said Wellington, lending weight to his comment. Pieneman

Fig. 12
JAN WILLEM PIENEMAN, *The Battle of Quatre Bras* (detail), 1816-18. Oil on canvas, 400 x 625 cm. Baarn, Paleis Soestdijk, Royal Collections.

agreed with the Duke's observation about the composition, but explained that he had painted a specific moment in the battle and the presence of British troops would not have been historically accurate.[32]

Jacques-Louis David was another visitor to the exhibition. On seeing *Quatre Bras* the French artist is reported to have embraced Pieneman and declared that 'it can be seen from that work of art that the Dutch, with their verisimilitude of composition, so that everything emerged and became loose unsought, seem to have been created painters, and that [Pieneman] occupied a place of honour among the artists of his country, worthy of the fame of the old Dutch masters'.[33] Ghent town council also asked Pieneman to show his *Quatre Bras* there. In December 1819 an exhibition devoted entirely to this single painting opened in a heated room in the town hall. Following the examples of David's and Odevaere's exhibitions, visitors were given an opportunity to make a donation for the poor as they entered.[34] Eventually, after a final exhibition in Pieneman's studio in The Hague, in June 1819 it was installed in Soestdijk Palace, where it remains to this day.

Pieneman and *The Battle of Waterloo*

After he finished *Quatre Bras*, Pieneman was inundated with requests from all quarters to paint more episodes from the great battle.[35] The artist had in fact been planning to do this when he was in Brussels in November 1818. It is not inconceivable that it was the Duke of Wellington who expressed interest in a painting of the Battle of Waterloo. This second work was quite different from his *Battle of Quatre Bras*. That painting depicted the heroism of the Dutch, whereas *The Battle of Waterloo* is essentially a group portrait of British officers in the tradition of the seventeenth-century Dutch civic guard portraits. Pieneman did not approach the king for funds, which suggests that he intended to exhibit and sell the work in Great Britain.[36] While he was in Brussels Pieneman had met Colonel Felton Bathurst-Hervey (1782-1819), a British veteran of Waterloo, 'who suggested many details for the picture'.[37]

Pieneman may also have made a sketch for the painting. A sketch on paper in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 13) is identical to an oil sketch in the collection of Earl Bathurst in Cirencester Park (fig. 14).[38] Pieneman dated this latter sketch 1818 and the Duke of Wellington later gave it to Bathurst.[39]

While in Brussels, Pieneman had been offered workshop space and – by his own account – 'even more' in Ghent.[40] Nevertheless he refused the offers because he was reckoning on having to move to Amsterdam at short notice. The Royal Academy of Fine Arts was due to open there at any moment and Pieneman had been offered a professorship. In various letters he tried to find out more about when the Academy would start. In July 1819 he cited his planned painting of the Battle of Waterloo as an important reason for the Academy to get off the ground soon. He did not have the space to start on it in The Hague, but deemed it extremely important that the work on his painting should start

Fig. 13
JAN WILLEM PIENEMAN, *Sketch for The Battle of Waterloo*, 1818. Pen and ink, grey wash, c. 320 x 255 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1947-6.

Fig. 14
JAN WILLEM PIENEMAN,
Sketch for The Battle of Waterloo, 1818.
Oil on canvas, 77.5 x 54.5 cm.
Cirencester, Bathurst Collection.

as soon as possible. All sorts of eminent people, Pieneman wrote, were already aware of the plan. The king's mother and sister had both asked him if he had started on the painting of the Battle of Waterloo yet. 'I kept having to repeat that I could not find a workshop', Pieneman complained.[41]

In the end, lessons at the Academy did not start until February 1822. Work on building Pieneman's studio in Amsterdam began in the summer of 1821, so the artist had plenty of time to prepare his painting. It is probable that he sent a sketch for the work to Lord Clancarty (1767-1837), the British ambassador in the Netherlands in early 1820.[42] Clancarty sent the sketch on to the Duke of Wellington and suggested that Pieneman should go to London 'in order to take the Duke's views on the subject of the picture, as well as to obtain sittings from the Duke himself and from such other persons whose portraits the Duke would like included in the composition, about thirty, more or less'.[43]

Pieneman received an invitation from Wellington, probably in the autumn of 1820, to come and paint his portrait in London. On 3 February 1821 Pieneman boarded the packet for Dover at Ostend.[44] He carried with him various letters of recommendation.[45] Arrived in the British capital, Pieneman was hospitably received by the Duke of Wellington, who immediately had a room readied in Apsley House where Pieneman could paint his portraits (fig. 15). Wellington also instructed his secretary to summon the individual officers to come and sit for their portraits when Pieneman so requested. Wellington had drawn up a list of people whose portraits Pieneman had to paint.[46] Three weeks after reaching London, Pieneman wrote that 'the duke has

claimed in the politest way all the necessary works, including the sketch for the painting of Waterloo, or rather he has requested them for himself'.[47] Wellington may well have seen Pieneman's work as completing a project on which he himself had embarked in vain a few years earlier: 'a collection of the pictures of the principal officers whom I had the honour of commanding during the War,' as he wrote in 1832.[48]

In 1821 the collection contained only a portrait of Wellington and one of the Marquess of Anglesey (1768-1854), both painted by Thomas Lawrence, but Pieneman's visit meant that the duke could get a whole series of portraits at a stroke. For the same reason, Wellington must also have been interested in the eventual painting. In Spain, the duke had posed for the artist Thomas Heaphy (1775-1835), who was preparing a huge group portrait. When

Fig. 15
The Striped Drawing Room in Apsley House, London.

Fig. 16
ANKER SMITH AFTER THOMAS HEAPHY, *Field Marshall the Duke of Wellington Gives his Orders*, 1822. Engraving, 635 x 875 mm. London, Government Art Collection.

Heaphy finished the painting in 1815 no one was really impressed by it. There was more interest in the engraving, which, beset by problems, did not appear until 1822 (fig. 16).[49] One of the men portrayed by Heaphy was Colonel Felton Bathurst-Hervey, and the similarities between Pieneman's sketches and the engraving after Heaphy make it quite possible that Pieneman somehow saw an image of Heaphy's work in Brussels in 1818 and was urged by Hervey to take this group portrait as his starting point.[50]

Although there was clearly self-interest, Wellington went to an extraordinary amount of trouble for Pieneman. It would seem that the quite snobbish duke, who selected his officers primarily for their social standing and hated sitting to painters, liked Pieneman.[51] The duke ordered that his horse, Copenhagen, which he had ridden at Waterloo, should be brought to London from his country estate, so that he too could be painted by Pieneman. Pieneman felt he was being watched by the animal, to which Wellington responded that the horse knew he was being painted.[52] When Pieneman had finished Copenhagen's portrait, Wellington asked him 'joyfully' when he wanted him to sit on the horse, 'for this is what you need' (fig. 17).[53]

Pieneman must have spent the first few weeks of his stay getting down the portraits he needed for his painting. The officers gave him their full cooperation and many of them sent him the clothes they had been wearing on the day of the battle.[54] A biographer reported that Pieneman's portrait sittings brought about a reconciliation between Wellington and Anglesey, who had fallen out after a quarrel. Because he was needed for Pieneman's painting, Wellington invited Anglesey,

Fig. 17
JAN WILLEM PIENEMAN, *Study of Copenhagen, the Duke of Wellington's Horse*, 1820-21. Pencil, oil on light brown paper, 524 x 415 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1969-91.

whom he had not seen for a long time, to Apsley House 'and after an affecting, cordial meeting in the artist's presence, the old friendship was renewed'.[55]

Pieneman himself became friendly with the painter Thomas Lawrence and was warmly welcomed by the members of the Royal Academy.[56]

Pieneman had originally intended to be back in the Netherlands at the end of March 1821, but extra work delayed his return. He made an equestrian portrait of Anglesey and possibly a second, full-length one.[57] Pieneman got back to the Netherlands at the end of May with at least fourteen portraits taken from life, including one horse.[58] 'Mr Pieneman arrived here from England yesterday,' wrote Falck, the Minister of Public Education, 'still entirely a Dutchman it seemed to me, and burning with desire to start his big painting.'[59] While he was in London Pieneman had arranged for the canvas he would require to be ordered – the large size meant that it took some time to prepare – and it was ready and waiting for him when he got back. Nevertheless it would be more than two months before he had a studio and could start work.

Although he was unable to make a start on the large painting until the summer of 1821, in the previous two years Pieneman had worked on the portraits he needed; aside from those of the British officers, a second, reworked version of the Prince of Orange has sur-

Fig. 18
JAN WILLEM PIENEMAN, *Willem, Prince of Orange (later King Willem II)*, 1820-24.
Oil on canvas, 104 x 82 cm.
The Hague, Royal Collections.

Fig. 19
JAN WILLEM PIENEMAN, *Study for The Battle of Waterloo*, c. 1825. Chalk, 297 x 480 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1964-103; gift of J.A. van Dongen, Amsterdam.

vived (fig. 18). He also made drawings – probably actual size – of the skirmishes in the background of the painting (fig. 19). While leaving large areas of the paper blank – this was where the foreground figures would come – he drew the many incidents taking place on the battlefield, including wounded soldiers being carried away, an attack on French artillery and a group of grenadiers caught unawares by cavalry. Pieneman still had his contacts from when he had taught drawing at the military academy and he probably got a lot of inspiration from them. He had also supplied the designs for the standards for the Netherlands infantry in 1820.[60]

Pieneman finished *The Battle of Waterloo* in the spring of 1824. It was almost twice the size of his *Quatre Bras*. The portrait sketches had been given into the safekeeping of Lord Clancarty, whose portrait he had painted in 1823, and the ambassador displayed these works in his house in Brussels.[61] Clancarty was very impressed by Pieneman's portrait of Wellington (fig. 20) and asked the artist to make a copy for him. On receiving it, Clancarty declared that Pieneman's portrait had 'killed' a portrait of Lord Castlereagh (1769-1822) by Sir Thomas Lawrence that also hung in his art cabinet.[62]

Waterloo Exhibited

While everything to do with *Quatre Bras* had been settled from the outset, Pieneman had embarked upon *Waterloo* without any certainty that the work would eventually be saleable. All the evidence suggests, however, that the Duke of Wellington had given undertakings, possibly when Pieneman visited him in London. Pieneman had exhibited his sketch for *Waterloo* in Ghent on his return from London, and probably talked at length about his adventures at Wellington's house. Lievin de Bast (1787-1832), a prominent figure in the cultural life of Ghent, wrote in 1823 that Pieneman's *Waterloo* was destined for Stratfield Saye, the Duke of Wellington's country estate.[63]

The artists' biographer Christiaan Kramm had been similarly informed:

> It aroused my interest and surprise that the English author *Bryan-Stanley*, who used *Immerzeel's* Work, tacitly passed over the Articles J.W. and N. PIENEMAN.[64] To my mind the grounds that exist for this may lie in an old feud regarding the painting of the *Battle of Waterloo*, as I, being then in *England*, heard much about at close quarters, concerning the disappointment of a highly placed person there about the right of ownership of this painting …[65]

Wellington was not to get the painting that Pieneman finished in the spring of 1824. On 23 March 1824 the king and queen and Princess Marianne (1810-1883) came to Pieneman's studio to see the work.[66] Six days later Pieneman had a visit from the Prince of Orange who, according to a letter from the Russian ambassador, offered 40,000 guilders as soon as he saw the painting; this sum was many times higher than Pieneman's asking price.[67] On telling his father about it, the prince confessed that he had not been able to resist the temptation to ensure that a

Fig. 20
JAN WILLEM PIENEMAN, *Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington*, 1821-24. Oil on canvas, 76 x 63.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-4689.

masterpiece which would bring great honour to 'the Dutch school' would stay in the Netherlands.[68] The king agreed with the prince and declared that he would make his son a gift of the painting.[69]

The newspapers reported the news with jubilation: 'we learn with the liveliest of pleasure that the excellent painting by Mr Pieneman ... will definitely stay in this kingdom,' wrote the *'s Gravenhaagsche Courant*. They were also able to inform their readers that the picture would hang in the palace that the Prince of Orange was having built in Tervuren, just outside Brussels. Like Soestdijk, this palace was a gift in recognition of the part he had played in the Battle of Waterloo. Before that, it was reported, Pieneman would show his work in London, and it was the Brussels papers' fervent hope that the work would also be exhibited in their city: 'This great painter ... must know that people there, no less than in London, know how to appreciate his great achievements at their true value.'[70]

Undoubtedly inspired by stories about David and even more by what he had seen in London, Pieneman made *The Battle of Waterloo* a 'scheme' in the manner of Benjamin West. An exhibition in London – for which the Prince of Orange had given his permission – was self-evident, but Pieneman also had plans to show the work in Dutch towns and cities. Before he sent it to London, the painting could be seen in his workshop in Amsterdam. Pieneman took care to insure his painting against fire – an insurance policy for three months that he renewed no fewer than four times. The policy contains a brief description of the studio:

> being a timber building roofed partly with canvas and partly with glass, standing in the Garden named Amstelhoek, on the corner of the Amstel & buiten Cingel outside the Utrecht gate …[71]

For the exhibition in his studio, Pieneman produced a brochure containing an outline print so that the many portraits could be identified.[72] In mid-August the exhibition opened to the public daily from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. To the great indignation of the visitors, Pieneman charged the steep admission fee of one and a half guilders. 'Great is the general outcry against Pieneman for charging f 1.50 to see his painting,' wrote Willem de Clercq (1795-1844) in his diary.[73] The audience found it even more ridiculous that the artist was asking this sum for the brochure, 'while an *Admission Ticket* is issued *gratis*'.[74] Just over a week after the opening Pieneman's commercial practices were criticized at length in a long newspaper article. Although the painting had long not been the artist's property, wrote the anonymous author, Pieneman had devised 'a very naive and completely new manner of gaining very considerable advantages from the object he had already sold'. He obliged his visitors to buy the description of the painting, and then gave them a 'free' admission ticket.

This practice was described as 'not very chivalrous', and it would have been 'more magnanimous' had Pieneman followed the example of other artists in charging fifty-five cents entrance, 'for the benefit of the poor'.[75] An anonymous poem satirized both Pieneman's commerciality and its critics. The poem suggests that the high admission price was partly related to the presence of the fair in town and the desire not to admit the public in great numbers straight away.[76] Pieneman certainly halved the charge when the fair ended. Advertisements stated that this was done in response to a 'general request, and as a consequence of arrangements that had been made to this end'.[77]

In the autumn of 1824, Pieneman set sail for London, still without the painting, to look for a suitable space in which to exhibit his *Waterloo*.

Wellington wrote to a friend in September, telling her that Pieneman had not been able to find a space big enough for the painting.[78] While he was in London Pieneman met the Utrecht painter Pieter Christoffel Wonder (1780-1852), who had moved there some time before. Wonder wrote to a correspondent that Pieneman had been unable to find anywhere big enough to show *Waterloo*, so was hoping to have a tent put up for it in St James's Park; Wellington would be arranging this for the artist.[79]

Wellington evidently did not blame Pieneman for selling the painting to King Willem I and asked King George IV on Pieneman's behalf for permission to exhibit the work in a temporary building in Green Park. Permission was given on 9 October 1824, but the king suggested Hyde Park, on which Wellington's house bordered.[80] Work commenced on organizing the building and the insurance, a process that apparently ran into a number of problems. In mid-January 1825 Wellington wrote to tell the Dutch ambassador that he could not possibly stand surety for Pieneman. Were he to do it once, reasoned the duke, others would ask him to do the same for them. Wellington was, though, prepared to lend Pieneman the rest of the money required after agreement had been reached on the sum he would pay for his own portrait and the other sketches.[81] By the end of January, construction of the wooden exhibition building was in full swing.[82] The exhibition opened in Hyde Park on 9 May and anyone who paid the entrance fee of one shilling could visit the exhibition. A second shilling bought them a description of the work (fig. 21).[83] The people of London flocked to see the picture and were profoundly impressed by its vast size. A reviewer in the *New Monthly Magazine* wrote:

> This work … is, without exception the best work on a large scale that we remember to have seen exhibited by a foreigner in the country, or indeed on the Continent. There is little if any of that mawkish feebleness and extravagant affectation about it, which characterise the present French and Italian styles. The scene is composed too, in a manner which gives it an air of much business and animation, without making it so confused and intelligible as battles for the most part are.[84]

There was criticism, too, provoked in part by the simple fact that Pieneman was a foreigner. After ten years, moreover, the British public had frankly had enough of the whole Battle of Waterloo: 'London is sick to death of Waterloo,' wrote *The London Literary Gazette*. The building's presence in the park was condemned as an eyesore and compared with a fairground sideshow:

> Of such an erection, in such a place, we would complain upon any occasion; but we complain still more, that the nuisance has been committed on behalf of a foreign artist, for which all the native genius of Britain might have prayed in vain.[85]

One reviewer lamented the fact that Pieneman had painted Wellington from life instead of copying the idealized portrait by Thomas Lawrence, which was on show in the Royal Academy at the time. The most xenophobic of the critics complained about the positioning of the Prince of Orange: 'by a patriotic anachronism,

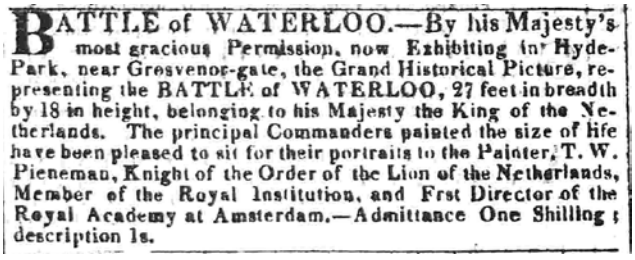

BATTLE of WATERLOO.—By his Majesty's most gracious Permission, now Exhibiting in Hyde-Park, near Grosvenor-gate, the Grand Historical Picture, representing the BATTLE of WATERLOO, 27 feet in breadth by 18 in height, belonging to his Majesty the King of the Netherlands. The principal Commanders painted the size of life have been pleased to sit for their portraits to the Painter, T. W. Pieneman, Knight of the Order of the Lion of the Netherlands, Member of the Royal Institution, and First Director of the Royal Academy at Amsterdam.—Admittance One Shilling; description 1s.

Fig. 21
Advertisement in *The Morning Post*, 9 June 1825.

the "Dutch" painter has introduced, prominently, the Prince of Orange.'[86] In fact the prince pales into insignificance among the many leading English figures who dominate the painting. The British aristocracy seemed far less troubled by such feelings and on the opening evening the crowd included a dozen dukes.[87] As a result Pieneman stayed in London for longer than he had planned. On 21 July the Board of Directors wrote to him, asking him to resume his duties at the Amsterdam Academy.[88] On the same day Wellington noted in his accounts book a payment of £417 18s 'for the pictures of the officers'.[89]

Pieneman probably returned to Amsterdam around this time. In August, at any rate, he judged the rather poor entries for the Prix de Rome for history painting, the first organized at the Amsterdam academy.[90] It is likely that *The Battle of Waterloo* remained in London for the time being. It was not until August 1826 that he exhibited the painting in a room in Ghent Town Hall, very wisely donating the proceeds to the poor. When the exhibition closed, the organization awarded Pieneman a gold medal with an inscription on the obverse that left in no doubt how high his star had meanwhile risen: J.G. PIENEMAN INTER PICTORES BELGII PRINCIPES ADNUMERATO (Jan Willem Pieneman counted the first of the Belgian painters) – to the people of Ghent Pieneman was now the most eminent artist in the Netherlands.[91]

The Price of Fame

It was to be another five years before Pieneman had received the whole sum of 40,000 guilders.[92] On his return from London Pieneman complained that he had earned nothing at all from the exhibition, but on the contrary had suffered a loss of more than six thousand guilders. All he had gained was 'fame for his person'.[93] The final selling price of 40,000 guilders will no doubt have done much to ameliorate this, but it does go to show that paintings like *The Battle of Waterloo* would by no means make the artist a fortune. The best paid artists were still the ones who painted more conveniently sized works with more commercial subjects.[94] Pieneman, however, had won greater fame than any other living artist from his country, both at home and abroad. In the space of ten years he had transformed himself from a little-known painter into the most celebrated artist in the kingdom, ousting much better qualified artists from the Southern Netherlands (fig. 22). He owed all this to his two huge history paintings. For *Quatre Bras* he had managed to extract a commission from the king in the more or less usual way, as Odevaere and Van Bree did. *Waterloo*, in contrast, was entirely his own initiative, painted with a view to showing it and selling it outside the Netherlands.

Interestingly, the prestige Pieneman had achieved was an obstacle to the commercial exploitation of the work in Amsterdam. The public saw the painting before it was finished, as part of Dutch culture, not as a commercial

Fig. 22
ATTRIBUTED TO JAN WILLEM PIENEMAN, *Self-Portrait*, 1818-20. Oil on canvas, 80 x 64.7 cm. Private collection. Photo: The Hague, Netherlands Institute for Art History/ Christie's Amsterdam, 14 November 2012, no. 191.

product. Its purchase by the king even before the exhibition opened served only to reinforce this feeling. In Ghent Pieneman therefore very wisely donated his earning to a good cause. Nevertheless, the exhibitions brought him so much prestige that his reputation was secured. Gaining prestige as a history painter, like Odevaere, was Pieneman's primary goal. He had his work at the Academy for a guaranteed income.

The fact that the king paid an unprecedentedly high price for *The Battle of Waterloo* – out of all the works, the one that did least to glorify his regime – suggests that Willem attached more importance to the standing of the Dutch school of painting than to the propaganda value of the pictures. This would also explain why after 1830, when the Dutch economy collapsed as a result of the Belgian secession, enormous history paintings ceased to be produced. The money was needed for more important things. In Belgium, on the other hand, there was an evident need to legitimize the new state by means of large, propagandist paintings – however, people wanted to be rid of the old. Odevaere died in 1830 and his works disappeared into obscure places. At the outbreak of the Belgium's independence struggle in 1830, Pieneman's *Waterloo* was still in Brussels, where it was awaiting installation in the Prince of Orange's palace in Tervuren.

It was Pieneman's son Nicolaas, assisted by some soldiers, who 'brought the picture unscathed to the Netherlands, but only at the cost of much persistent diligence and skill, and danger, both to his life and the preservation of the picture'.[95] The Prince of Orange had nowhere to put it, so it was eventually installed in Welgelegen Pavilion in Haarlem, the newly established museum of contemporary art that became part of the Rijksmuseum in 1885. With the exception of the Second World War and the renovation of the museum (2003-13) the painting has always hung there. To many modernist art historians it illustrated a period in art that they would rather forget.[96] And yet Pieneman's immense success, which he owed largely to his own initiative, continued to inspire young artists until late in the nineteenth century.

NOTES

1 For example M. Engelberts, 'Onderzoek naar de oorzaken van het verval der schilderkunst in Nederland', *Nieuwe vaderlandsche bibliotheek*, second part (1798), pp. 212-22, 258-66, 324-29.

2 See E. Bergvelt, 'Lodewijk Napoleon, de levende meesters en het Koninklijk Museum (1806-1810)', *Lodewijk Napoleon en de kunsten in het Koninkrijk Holland*, Zwolle 2007 (*Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vols. 56-57), pp. 257-99.

3 Cf. N.C.F. van Sas, *De metamorfose van Nederland. Van oude orde naar moderniteit, 1750-1900*, Amsterdam 2004, pp. 405-07. See also Jenny Reynaerts' article in this Bulletin.

4 See N.C.F. van Sas, *Onze natuurlijkste bondgenoot. Nederland, Engeland en Europa, 1813-1831*, Groningen 1985; W. Uitterhoeve, *'Een innige vereeniging'. Naar één koninkrijk van Nederland en België in 1815*, Nijmegen 2015.

5 'De bloedige slag ... heeft voor altijd de onafhankelijkheid van de monarchie der Nederlanden verzekerd'. *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 1 July 1815, p. [3].

6 Anonymous, *Observations critiques sur les productions d'art en peinture et en sculpture, exposées au salon de Bruxelles*, Brussels 1816, pp. 8-9. See also W.F. Rappard, 'Het historieschilderij "De Slag bij Quatre-Bras" van Jan Willem Pieneman', *Jaarboek van het Oranje-Nassau Museum* (1983), pp. 50-51. It can be inferred from the list issued by the Amsterdam publisher A.B. Saakes (1768-1856) every month, summarizing all newly published works, that more than a third of all the works in the 'language, poetry and drama'

category related to Waterloo – and those were just the works published in 1815. A.B. Saakes, *Naamlijst van uitgekomen boeken, kaarten, prentwerken, enz.: 1814-1818*, vol. 6, The Hague 1819.

7 The classic study on representing virtues is R. Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art*, Princeton, NY, 1967.

8 E. Wind, 'The Revolution of History Painting', *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2 (1938), pp. 116-27. Cf. W.W. Roworth, 'The Evolution of History Painting: Masaniello's Revolt and Other Disasters in Seventeenth-Century Naples', *The Art Bulletin* 75 (1993), pp. 219-34. The exhibition catalogues of *L'Invention du passé: Gothique, mon amour*, Bourg-en-Bresse 2014, and *Histoires de coeur et d'épée en Europe*, Lyon 2014, provide a good overview of developments after 1800.

9 J. Barry, *An Account of a Series of Pictures, in the Great Room of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, at the Adelphi*, London 1783, p. 8.

10 J. Knowles, *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli*, vol. 1, London 1831, pp. 174-75. See also O. Bätschmann, *The Artist in the Modern World. The Conflict between Market and Self-Expression*, Cologne 1997, p. 9.

11 For the panorama see R. Altick, *The Shows of London*, Cambridge, MA, 1978; B. Comment, *The Panorama*, London 1999; S. Oettermann, *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium*, New York 1997.

12 J.D. Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, vol. 2, Cambridge, MA, 1966, p. 331.

13 J.-L. David, *Le tableau des Sabines, exposé publiquement au Palais National des Sciences et des Arts*, Paris [1799], pp. 1-4.

14 D. O'Brien, *After the Revolution: Antoine-Jean Gros, Painting and Propaganda under Napoleon*, University Park, PA, 2006, pp. 104, 120-22; T. Porterfield and S.L. Siegfried, *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres, and David*, University Park, PA, 2006, pp. 32-33.

15 E. Bergvelt, 'Koning Willem I als verzamelaar, opdrachtgever en weldoener van de Noordnederlandse musea', in C.A. Tamse and E. Witte, *Staats- en natievorming in Willem I's koninkrijk (1815-1830)*, Brussels 1991, p. 16. For art and propaganda during the French Restoration see B.S. Wright, *Painting and History during the French Restoration: Abandoned by the Past*, Cambridge, MA, 1997.

16 *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 8 October 1814, p. [4].

17 The drawing may be in the Groeningemuseum in Bruges (inv. no. 0000.GRO1744.II). According to an inscription, Odevaere gave the preliminary oil sketch to one 'Mr Rey'. This was probably the owner of David's *Andromache* (1793). See J.L.J. David, *Le peintre Louis David, 1748-1825: souvenirs & documents inédits*, Paris 1880, p. 570.

18 In historical terms, the Union was a highly inappropriate symbol for the new kingdom. The text of the Union was vehemently anti-Catholic and rejected any form of central authority. For a long time William of Orange refused to signed the document, which he saw as putting an end to his ideals. See K.W. Swart, *Willem van Oranje en de Nederlandse Opstand 1572-1584*, The Hague 1994, pp. 161-62.

19 *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 8 October 1814, p. [4].

20 The Hague, National Archives of the Netherlands (NA), 2.02.01, inv. no. 1569, 1 December 1822, no. 42.

21 The Hague, NA, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4035, exh. 18 April 1816, no. 1673; 16 April 1816, Falck to Repelaer van Driel.

22 The Hague, NA, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4035, 5 November 1817, no. 18.

23 For the prince as the Hero of Waterloo see L.P. Sloos, *Onze Slag bij Waterloo. De beleving van de overwinning op Napoleon in Nederland*, pp. 125-28, 227-37.

24 There is a brief description of the panorama in E. Koolhaas-Grosfeld, *De ontdekking van de Nederlander. In boeken en prenten rond 1800*, Zutphen 2010, pp. 299-301; Sloos, op. cit. (note 23), pp. 247-49.

25 '… te paard zittende en het in beweging brengen om op den vijand in te rukken' … 'die tot het gevolg des Konings behoorde' … '"De koningin," zeide deze, "verlangt uw schets te zien van den slag bij Quatre-Bras." – Verbaasd zag de schilder op. "Ik heb geen slag geschetst; maar alleen een ruiterbeeld van den Prins." – "Dan heeft men de Koningin verkeerd onderricht," hernam de staatsman – en werkelijk was dit het geval: – "maar zy rekent er nu op, uw schets van den slag te zien en het ware misschien beter, haar niet te leur te stellen, als zy u morgen bezoeken komt."' J. van Lennep, 'Hulde aan de nagedachtenis van Jan Willem Pieneman, uitgesproken in de Maatschappij Arti et Amicitiae, den 21. April 1853', *Astrea* 5 (1856), p. 454.

26 Note by Christiaan Kramm on a separate piece of paper in a copy of his *Levens* that he had annotated himself (The Hague, Netherlands Institute for Art History, barcode 200511193).

27 J.-N. Paillot de Montabert, *Traité complet de la peinture*, vol. 9, Paris 1829, pp. 144-47. Also cited in J. Kirby and A. Roy, 'Paul Delaroche. A Case Study of Academic Painting', in A. Wallert et al., *Historical Painting Techniques, Materials, and Studio Practice. Preprints of a Symposium Held at the University of Leiden, the Netherlands, 26-29 June, 1995*, Marina Del Rey, CA, 1995, p. 169.

28 Jacobus Scheltema, *De laatste veldtogt van Napoleon Buonaparte*, 1816. The Rijksmuseum Print Room has several impressions of this vignette on which the letters on the standard have not been filled in.

29 The Hague, NA, 2.04.01, inv. no. 82, exh. 20 August 1816, no. 77; 10 July 1815, Pieneman to Röell.

30 The Hague, NA, 2.02.01, inv. no. 296, exh. 5 September 1816, no. 80; 30 August 1816, Röell to Willem I, fol. [1r].

31 'Wij zullen het laten afhalen. De groote en breedte zal de oprolling noodzakelijk maken. Onze werklieden zijn daarmede volkomen bekend en op gelijke wijze zijn de grote Rembrand, Van der Helst enz. meermalen getransporteerd. Het is ook anders niet behoorlijk vervoerbaar'. Amsterdam, Arti et Amicitiae, inv. no. 120, 7 September 1818, Jeronimo de Vries to Pieneman.

32 P.L. Gordon, *Belgium and Holland: With a Sketch of the Revolution in the Year 1830*, London 1834, p. 43; anonymous, 'Wellington and the Dutch Painter', *New-York Mirror* 12 (1834), no. 21, p. 168.

33 '… uit dat kunstwerk te zien, dat de Hollanders door hunne natuurwaarheid van voorstelling, waardoor alles ongezocht vooruitkwam en los werd, tot schilders schenen geschapen te zijn, en dat [Pieneman] onder de kunstenaars zijner landgenooten eene eereplaats bekleedde, waardig den roem der oude Nederlandschen meesters'. A. van Lee, 'J.W. Pieneman en zijne werken', *Album der schoone kunsten* 3 (1852), no. 1, p. 22; W. de Clercq, *Dagboek van Willem de Clercq*, vol. 8, 1820-21, p. 235 (UvA, OTM: Hs. Reveil FVIII). David's strict Neoclassicism was always diametrically opposed to everything regarded as traditional Dutch painting, but in Brussels the Frenchman started to appreciate Dutch art. J.-C. Lebensztejn, 'Histoires belges', in R. Michel, *David contre David,* Paris 1993, p. 1016.

34 *Le véridique de Gand*, 19 December 1818, p. 1.

35 J.G. Bohl, 'De Pienemans', *De tijdstroom* 4 (1861), no. 1, p. 191.

36 Cf. W.F. Rappard, 'De Nationale bestemming van J.W. Pienemans tweede grote historieschilderij De Slag bij Waterloo', *Jaarboek van het Oranje-Nassau Museum* (2001), pp. 77-78.

37 E. Wellington, *A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures and Sculpture at Apsley House, London*, London 1901, p. 270. Hervey also appears in *The Battle of Waterloo*.

38 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1947-6; Saakes, op. cit. (note 6), p. 230.

39 R. Walker, *Regency Portraits*, vol. 1, cat. London (National Portrait Gallery) 1985, p. 536, '1821'; Southampton, University of Southampton (UoS), Wellington Papers, WP1/828/1, 4 September 1825, Wellesley to Bathurst.

40 The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands, 121 B 4: 32, 11 January 1819, letter from J.W. Pieneman to J. de Vries.

41 'Ik moet altijd herhalen dat ik geen werkplaats kon vinden'. Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief (NHA), 550, inv. no. 9, 10 July 1819, Pieneman to Van Ewijck, fol. [1r]. It emerges from this letter that after the Battle of Waterloo Pieneman also wanted to paint the subsequent siege of the French fortress of Quesnoy. Willem I's second son, Prince Frederik, had played an important role there. Nothing came of this intention.

42 This is probably the sketch in the Rijksmuseum (inv. no. RP-T-1947-6).

43 Wellington, op. cit. (note 39), p. 270.

44 Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam (UvA), inv. no. OTM: hs. 17 CK 4, 28 January 1821, Pieneman to Rottiers.

45 Amsterdam, UvA, inv. no. OTM: hs. 17 CK 328, January 1821, Pieneman to Rottiers; The Hague, NA 1.10.29, inv. no. 3265, 1 February 1821, Van Nagell to Fagel.

46 Haarlem, NHA, 550, inv. no. 9, 20 February 1821, Pieneman to Van Ewijck.

47 '… alle de nodige werken waar onder ook den portrait voor het schilderij van Waterloo zyn door den hertog op de beleefste wyze gereclameerd of liever verzocht dezelve voor zich te hebben'. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Artists' Letters, 141/336, 27 February 1821, letter by Pieneman.

48 Cited in S. Jenkins and C.M. Kauffmann, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Wellington Museum, Apsley House*, cat. London (Apsley House) 2009, p. 170.

49 The appreciation of the painting was not helped by the fact that it was simply too big to exhibit anywhere. Walker, op. cit. (note 39), pp. 630-31.

50 The composition of Heaphy's painting occurs in other paintings, too, among them *The Battle of Austerlitz* (1810) by François Gérard, and *Archduke Charles with his Staff*

at the Battle of Aspern (1819) by Johann Peter Krafft. In my view all these works derive from Benjamin West's *Battle of the Boyne* (1778). Cf. Rappard, op. cit. (note 36), p. 77.

51 S. Jenkins, 'Sir Thomas Lawrence and the Duke of Wellington: a Portraitist and his Sitter', *The British Art Journal* 8 (2007), no. 1, p. 63.

52 W. de Clercq, *Dagboek van Willem de Clercq*, vol. 9, 1822, p. 18 (UvA, OTM: Hs. Reveil FIX).

53 Haarlem, NHA, 550, inv. no. 9, 20 March 1821, Pieneman to Van Ewijck, fol. [IV].

54 Van Lee, op. cit. (note 33), p. 23.

55 'en na eene treffend hartelijke ontmoeting in het bijzijn des kunstenaars, was de oude vriendschap weder hersteld.' Ibid., pp. 23-24. I could find nothing about this quarrel in the biographies. Cf. E. Longford, *Wellington: Pillar of State*, London 1972; G.C.H.V.P. Marquess of Anglesey, *One-Leg: The Life and Letters of Henry William Paget, First Marquess of Anglesey*, London 1961.

56 Van Lee, op. cit. (note 33), p. 24.

57 The equestrian portrait, which probably shows Anglesey in Spain, was with the art dealer Boris Wilnitsky in Vienna in 2013. This painting came from the estate of Nicolaas Pieneman, Jan Willem's son and heir (sale Amsterdam (De Brakke Grond), 12 November 1868, no. 80). Van Lee also reported that Anglesey commissioned Pieneman to paint a portrait of him as the Viceroy of Ireland. However, the marquess was not appointed to the post until 1828. Van Lee, op. cit. (note 33), p. 24. Oddly enough, there is also another copy of the portrait of Anglesey that Pieneman painted for *Waterloo*. This copy, which was probably painted by Pieneman himself, is in the Nationaal Tinnen Figuren Museum in Ommen. Why this copy was made is a mystery to me. Like the version in Apsley House it is painted on cardboard, but unlike the original it is unsigned.

58 General Don Miguel de Alava (1770-1834), Spanish ambassador in The Hague from 1815 to 1818, was the only portrait Pieneman had been unable to paint because the general had left for Spain three years earlier. However while he was in Apsley House he had painted a copy of the portrait of the general that George Dawe (1781-1829) had made at the Congress of Aachen (1818).

59 'Gisteren is de Hr Pieneman hier gearriveerd uit Engeland … zoo mij voorkwam nog geheel Hollander, en brandende van verlangen om zijn groot schilderij te kunnen beginnen.' Haarlem, NHA, 476, inv. no. 10, no. 16, 31 May 1821, Falck to (probably) Apostool.

60 Pieneman was friends with the amateur painter Petrus Groenia, himself a Waterloo veteran, who had accompanied him on part of his reconnaissance for *Quatre Bras*.

61 Clancarty's descendants later sold the portrait. Sale London (Sotheby's), 13 May 2004, no. 6.

62 Van Lee, op. cit. (note 33), p. 24. The portrait by Lawrence is very probably the one in the National Portrait Gallery in London (inv. no. NPG 891). Two virtually identical portraits of Wellington by Pieneman were sold at a sale of paintings by one of Clancarty's heirs; one of them is in the Rijksmuseum (inv. no. SK-A-4689). It is not clear whether this is the original 'sketch' or the copy. Sale London (Christie's), 19 November 1976, nos. 38, 39.

63 L. de Bast, *Annales du salon de Gand et de l'école moderne des Pays-bas*, Ghent 1823, p. 160.

64 Bryan and Stanley were actually two authors. See M. Bryan and G. Stanley, *Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers: A New Edition, Revised, Enlarged, and Continued to the Present Time*, London 1849.

65 'Het heeft mijne aandacht en verwondering gaande gemaakt, dat de Engelsche auteur *Bryan-Stanley*, die *Immerzeel's* Werk heeft gebruikt, de Artikels J.W. en N. PIENEMAN, stilzwijgend, is voorbij gegaan. De gronden, die hiervoor bestaan, kunnen, naar mijne meening, liggen in eene oude veete, wegens de schilderij, de *Veldslag van Waterloo*, zoo als ik, destijds in *Engeland* zijnde, veel van nabij hierover heb vernomen, betreffende de teleurstelling van een hooggeplaatst persoon, aldaar, over het regt van bezit dezer schilderij'. C. Kramm, *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters*, vol. 5, Amsterdam 1857-64, p. 1821.

66 *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 31 March 1824, p. [3].

67 Ibid., 1 April 1824, p. [3].

68 '… l'école hollandaise'.

69 Letter from Meyendorff to Nesselrode, 3 April 1824. Published in H.T. Colenbrander, *Gedenkstukken der algemeene geschiedenis van Nederland van 1795 tot 1840*, vol. 8.1 (GS 25), The Hague 1915, p. 686.

70 'Men verneemt met levendig genoegen dat de uitmuntende schilderij van den heer Pieneman … bepaaldelijk in dit koninkrijk zal blijven' … 'Deze groote kunstschilder … moet wel weten dat men aldaar, niet minder dan te Londen, zijne hooge verdiensten naar waarde weet te schatten'. *'s Gravenhaagsche Courant*, 23 April 1824, p. [2].

71 '… zijnde een hout gebouw van boven gedeeltelijk met zeildoek en gedeeltelijk met glas gedekt, staanden in den Tuin genaamd Amstelhoek, op de hoek van den Amstel & buiten Cingel buiten de Utrechtsche poort'. The Hague, Gemeentearchief, Artists' Letters, on or about 22 July 1825. Insurance policy taken out by Jan Willem Pieneman for *The Battle of Waterloo*. See also Rappard, op. cit. (note 36), p. 89. note 9. The location described is somewhere along the Stadhouderskade near the River Amstel.

72 Amsterdam, UvA, OTM: hs. Z 134, 24 July 1821, Pieneman to Scheltema.

73 'Groot is de algemene verontwaardiging tegen Pieneman dewijl hij het zien v. zijn schilderij met f 1.50 laat betalen'. W. de Clercq, *Dagboek van Willem de Clercq*, vol. II, 1824, p. 174 (UvA, OTM: Hs. Reveil FXI).

74 '… waarbij een *Toegang-Billet gratis* wordt uitgereikt'. *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 17 August 1824, p. [4].

75 '… een zeer naïf en geheel nieuwe middel … uitgevonden, om van het verkochte voorwerp nog zeer aanmerkelijke voordeelen te trekken' … 'weinig ridderlijk' … 'meer edelmoedig' … 'ten behoeve van den Armen'. *Arnhemsche Courant*, 24 August 1824, p. [4].

76 Amsterdam, UvA, inv. no. OTM: hs. Jh 91.

77 '… op algemeen aanzoek, en ten gevolge van daartoe gemaakte schikkingen'. *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 4 October 1824, p. [3].

78 A. Wellesley Duke of Wellington, *Wellington and his Friends. Letters of the First Duke of Wellington to the Rt. Hon. Charles and Mrs. Arbuthnot, the Earl and Countess of Wilton, Princess Lieven, and Miss Burdett-Coutts*, London 1965, p. 50.

79 J.W. Niemeijer, 'P. C. Wonder in Engeland, aanvullende gegevens in verhand met de compositieschets van Sir John Murray's Kunstgalerij in het Rijksprentenkabinet', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 13 (1965), p. 121.

80 Southampton, UoS, Wellington Papers, WP1/802/10, 9 October 1824, Conyngham to Wellesley.

81 Southampton, UoS, Wellington Papers, WP1/811/10, 13 January 1825, Wellesley to Falck.

82 *The Literary Gazette*, 29 January 1825, p. 78.

83 *'s Gravenhaagsche Courant*, 16 May 1825, p. [1]; *The Times*, 23 June 1825, p. 1.

84 *New Monthly Magazine*, 1 July 1825, p. 302.

85 *The London Literary Gazette*, 14 May 1825, p. 315.

86 Ibid., pp. 315-16.

87 W.T. Whitley, *Art in England, 1800-1820*, Cambridge 1928, p. 95. They included the Dukes of Wellington, Gloucester (1776-1834), Beaufort (1766-1835), Hamilton (1767-1852), Argyll (1768-1839), Bedford (1766-1839), Richmond (1791-1860) and Brunswick (1804-1873).

88 Amsterdam, City Archives, 681, inv. no. 65, p. 166, 21 July 1825, Board of Directors to Pieneman.

89 E. Wellington, *A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures and Sculpture at Apsley House, London*, London 1901, p. 270.

90 J. Reynaerts, *'Het karakter onzer Hollandsche school': de Koninklijke Akademie van Beeldende Kunsten te Amsterdam 1817-1870*, Leiden 2001, p. 123.

91 Anonymous, 'Medaillon décerné par la Société royal des Beaux-Arts de Gand à M. Pieneman, peintre d'histoire à Amsterdam', *Messager des sciences et des arts recueil* (1826), pp. 424-26.

92 The Hague, Koninklijk Huisarchief E8, inv. no. XIV 24, March 1827, VI capittel a, no. 19, 15 November 1826, no. 54; inv. no. XIV 35, March 1831, V capittel, no. 19, 6 February 1831 no. 19. G.H. Marius later wrote that Pieneman had earned 100,000 guilders in total, but this information is nowhere to be found in older sources. G.H. Marius, *De Hollandsche schilderkunst in de negentiende eeuw*, The Hague 1920, p. 14.

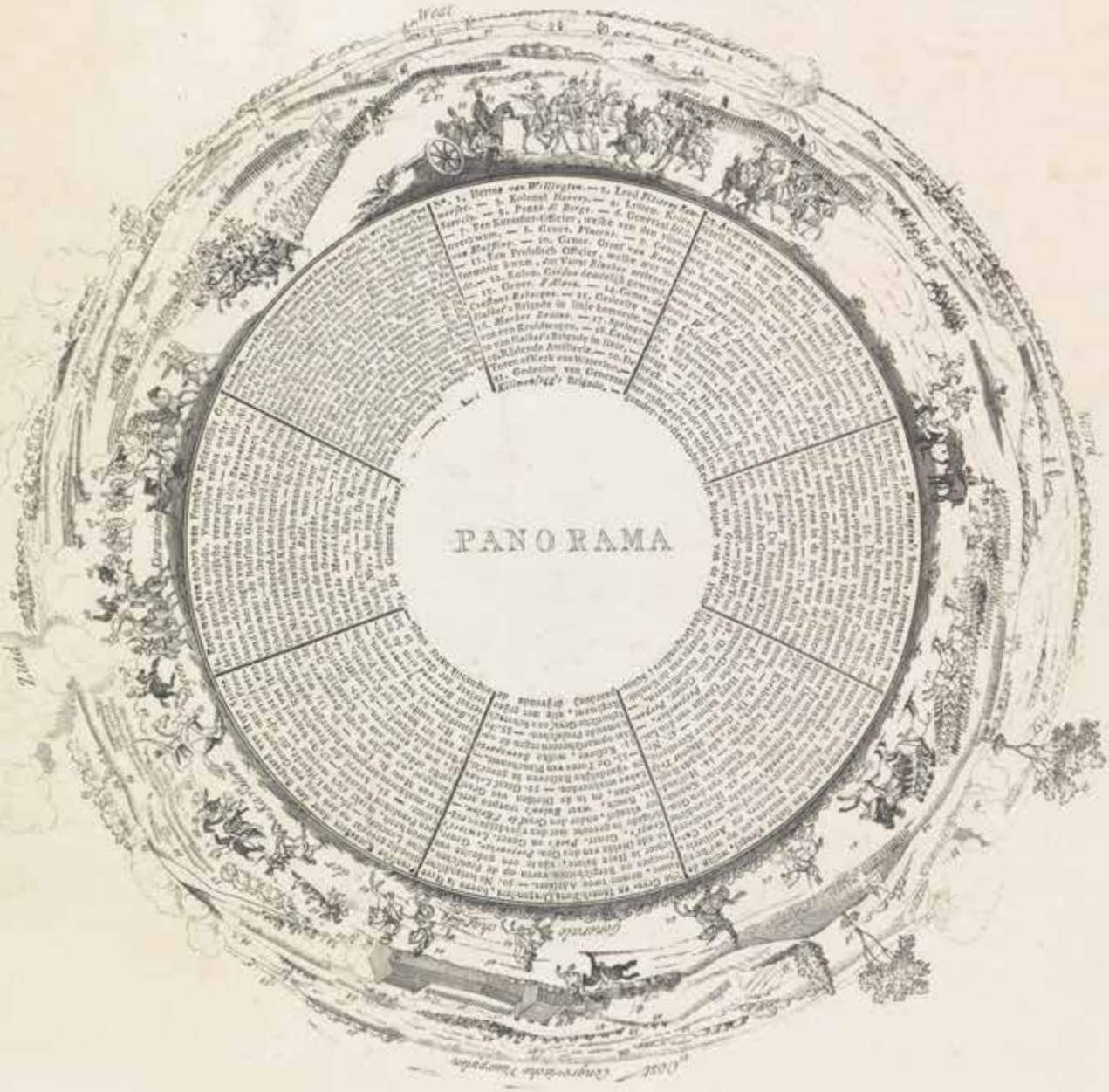
93 Rappard, op. cit. (note 36), p. 86.

94 A. Hoogenboom, *De stand des kunstenaars: de positie van de Nederlandse kunstschilders in de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw*, Leiden 1993, pp. 122-23.

95 '… niet dan ten koste van veel volhardenden ijver en beleid en van doorgeworstelde gevaren, zoowel voor zijn leven als voor het behoud des tafereels, ongedeerd naar Nederland … overgebragt'. Van Lee, op. cit. (note 33), p. 24.

96 Marius, op. cit. (note 92), p. 13.

Detail of fig. 9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