Formatting Unity: Representations of King Willem I of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815-30)

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In November 1813, when Napoleon's defeat appeared inevitable, Willem Frederik, Prince of Orange-Nassau (1772-1843), returned to the Netherlands to assert his right to power. However – in part at the urging of his mother, Princess Wilhelmina of Prussia – he did not elect to take the title of Stadholder or Prince traditionally held by the House of Orange, nor that of King of Holland – the title adopted by Louis Bonaparte. Instead he became the 'sovereign ruler of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands'.[1] On 20 March 1814 he was inaugurated under that title in Amsterdam. A year later, on 16 March, less than a month after Napoleon's sensational escape from exile on Elba, he proclaimed himself King of the United Netherlands and Duke of Luxembourg. In September 1815, after the Battle of Waterloo, he was officially installed in Brussels as Willem I, King of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, and he also became Grand Duke of Luxembourg.

The Orange monarchy and the composite state were both new phenomena, and both had to be presented in images to inform the new nation's subjects. Only Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, had preceded Willem as King of Holland (1806-10), during the Napoleonic regime. Monuments, statues, state portraits and paintings of relevant historical events were the traditional means of introducing new rulers. A full-length state portrait, with copies hanging in town halls and other public spaces, was the most useful of these, but it was a relatively new phenomenon in the Low Countries. The only recent examples were the portraits of Napoleon and Louis Bonaparte.

Fig. 1
JOSEPH PAELINCK, *Portrait of Willem I, King of the Netherlands*, 1819. Oil on canvas, 227 x 155.5 cm. Lower left: *J. PAELINCK PEINTRE DE S.M. LA REINE DES PAYS BAS A BRUXELLES. 1819*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-C-1460; on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen.

The state portrait of King Willem I in the Rijksmuseum's collection (fig. 1), dating from 1819, shows him swathed in the royal robe with the regalia. It is the most widely reproduced portrait of the king and one of only two currently on permanent public display; the other is in Paleis Het Loo. In fact, this portrait is the fourth in a series of probably seven painted by Joseph Paelinck (1781-1839) between 1814 and 1827. The series is ordered and analyzed for the first time in this article. Unlike the painters of most state portraits, Paelinck did not simply produce repeats, instead using different attributes to make each portrait an allusion to an important moment in the history of the young United Kingdom.

This series is then compared with all the presently known state portraits painted by other artists between 1814 and 1830, the point at which the southern provinces seceded. These paintings give an impression of the creation of an image for the brand new

monarchy, which had to be modern yet at the same time leant on the past. Artists from the southern provinces prove to have played a strikingly important role in the process, and that fact, too, deserves attention.[2]

Paelinck's Portraits of Willem I

Paelinck's first commission dates from 1814. In that year Willem I paid his respects, as sovereign ruler, in various towns and cities in his new kingdom. Although the Congress of Vienna would not decide on the final form of the Netherlands until the autumn of 1815, the allies, particularly the British, wanted the northern and southern Netherlands joined together to create a strong, defendable buffer on France's northern border. Willem was also keen to add Luxembourg, the German region between the Maas and the Rhine and his former possessions in Germany (Nassau and Fulda) to the territory of the Netherlands, but in 1814 he was still engaged in negotiations.[3]

On 10 September 1814 Willem visited the city of Ghent, where he was enthusiastically received. This was the first of what were known as the Joyous Entries, in which Willem followed the tradition of the former Habsburg rulers.[4] The programme included an audience granted to a delegation from the Society for Fine Arts and Literature (founded in 1808), who asked him to become their patron. The monarch agreed – as he did to the Society's request that he should pose for a full-length portrait by Paelinck.[5]

Joseph Paelinck had been a member of the Society for Fine Arts since 1811.[6] He was a farmer's son, but had trained at the Drawing Academy in Ghent.[7] In 1795 the city awarded him a scholarship to continue his studies at Jacques-Louis David's workshop in Paris. There he made his name as a portraitist to the Establishment. He received commissions from Napoleon and painted, among others, the portrait of Empress Joséphine and of the prefect of the Scheldt Department, Guillaume-Charles Faipoult, under whose administration the Society for Fine Arts was established (fig. 2).[8] In[a] 1808, with an allowance from the city of Ghent, Paelinck went to Rome; he spent four years there, cementing his rapidly growing fame with large altarpieces for the Church of St Michael in Ghent and other important commissions.[9] After 1813 his clientele effortlessly mirrored the political upheavals, as was the case with other artists.[10]

Paelinck's commission to paint the king was generally seen as the start of the revival of the Flemish School. As the *Rotterdamse Courant* put it: 'thus we see increasingly proclaimed under a

Fig. 2
JOSEPH PAELINCK, *Portrait of Guillaume-Charles Faipoult, Prefect of the Scheldt Department*, 1807. Oil on canvas, 173 x 274 cm. Ghent, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 2005-BL. Photo: Lukas – Art in Flanders/ Hugo Maertens.

paternal and national Government the return of the great days of the Flemish School.'[11] This sentiment expressed more than just the revival of the glorious age of Rubens and Van Dyck; it was a desire for a new Netherlandish school of painting that would bring renown to the recently created twin state – art that would offer an amalgamation of the characteristics of the Flemish and Dutch painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the end, however, no such shared style of painting emerged in the fifteen years that the United Kingdom existed.[12]

The king sat to Paelinck twice in Brussels.[13] The *Nederlandse Staatscourant* of 22 December 1814 published a lengthy account of the painting, which was almost finished. 'The composition is in some respects historical; it depicts HRH in the large salon of the Count of Hane de Steenhuysen, intendant of the department, *at the moment that his highness had signed his name in the society's album* [italics JR]; of which he declares himself to be the patron. The Sovereign's pose is noble and at the same time natural, and his dress, according to his wish, very plain. This plainness contrasts in the happiest manner with the opulence of the background and of all the accoutrements that are in a sense required in such a portrait.'[14] The current whereabouts of the portrait are unknown, but in view of the versions that will be discussed later we may assume that the style in which the painter had portrayed the king corresponds with the portrait of the prefect Faipoult, characterized by the smooth execution and strong lines of Neoclassicism in the manner of David.

Until 1830 the portrait was part of the collection of the Society for Fine Arts. It features in first place on the list of objects in the collection drawn up between 1829 and 1831: 'Portrait of HM the King of the Netherlands, patron of the Society, painted by Mr J. Paelinck'.[15] In the 1836 catalogue, however, neither the portrait nor the king's patronage appears.[16] Belgian independence was proclaimed in 1830 and the fervently Orangist city of Ghent had been in a state of siege since 1831. Statutory regulations prohibited any reference to Willem I or other Orangist matters.[17]

In February 1815 the Prince of Orange visited Paelinck's studio and admired the portrait of his father. In April Paelinck was able to show it to the king himself, who was very pleased with it.[18] At the king's invitation, the artist went to The Hague to present it. Given that the Ghent portrait was in the collection of the Society of Fine Arts there, this must have been a new portrait. Willem I was satisfied and awarded Paelinck the commission for a full-length portrait of his wife, Queen Wilhelmina.[19] The reminiscences of Anton Reinhard Falck, recorded in 1844 by Ghent member of the Society of Fine Arts, L.J. Kesteloot, man of letters and Falck's physician, provide additional information. Paelinck visited Kesteloot with the finished portrait on 30 January 1815 and met Falck, who was also there.[20] At that time Falck was Secretary of State, a very senior position with direct access to the king. According to Kesteloot, Falck was so enthusiastic about the painting that he invited Paelinck to visit the court in The Hague at his expense. Oddly, Kesteloot describes the king as 'dressed in the royal robes'. His memory must have been playing tricks on him, because this would have been impossible in January 1815; Willem I was not officially inaugurated as king until the September of that year.

The 'Hague' portrait is now in Paleis Het Loo (fig. 3). It corresponds in broad outline to the description of the Ghent painting reported in the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*. It is a powerful composition with the accent on vertical lines. The setting has been kept quite simple, so may well differ

Fig. 3
JOSEPH PAELINCK,
Portrait of King Willem I (1772-1843),
1815.
Oil on canvas,
216 x 149 cm.
Not signed or dated.
Apeldoorn,
Paleis Het Loo,
inv. no. SC413;
on loan from the
Royal Collections,
The Hague.

from that of the Ghent portrait, which was described as a sumptuous interior. Willem Frederik is dressed in the uniform of a general of the Koninklijke Landmacht – the Royal Army – which he had officially established on 9 January 1814.[21] He wears a dark blue jacket with red piping, gold buttons and gold braid epaulettes, an upstanding collar and cuffs in red, embroidered with gold thread, grey pantaloons and an Orange sash around his waist.[22] His general's cocked hat with a plume lies on the table. We can date this picture with reasonable precision because the king is wearing the star of the British Order of the Garter. After 30 April 1815 the king no longer wore this British decoration, but the Willemsorde, the highest Dutch military order, which he created on that date. This, taken in conjunction with a reference to a payment to Paelinck on 8 April 1815 in Willem I's cashbook, enables us

Fig. 4
JOSEPH PAELINCK,
Portrait of Wilhelmina of Prussia (1774-1837), 1816.
Oil on canvas,
223 x 151 cm.
Apeldoorn,
Paleis Het Loo,
inv. no. E193;
on loan from the
Kanselarij der
Nederlandse Orden.

to date this second version to around April 1815.[23]

Willem I rests his left hand on the hilt of his sword; with his right he points to the table, on which lies a book open at the map of his new kingdom.[24] The tablecloth is partly folded back to reveal the leg of the table – a stylized lion as a reference to the Dutch lion. The open book, which does not have any actual function, is reminiscent of the description of the Ghent work referred to above, where Willem signs the Society's album as its patron. The inkwell and quill pen on the table reinforce this impression. We will only know how the two versions compare if and when the first one surfaces.

Paelinck finished the pendant portrait of Queen Wilhelmina in September 1815 and was rewarded with his appointment as court painter to the queen (fig. 4). This portrait was also extremely well received; the likeness was praised for

the 'gentle impression it leaves of the engaging character of the queen', her position and pose, 'the beauty of the drapery, the execution of the accessories, the liveliness and power of the palette'.[25]

A portrait of Wilhelmina dated 1816 is on show in Paleis Het Loo as the pendant to the portrait of the king. According to the reports in the press, her portrait had already been finished in September 1815, but Paelinck may have done further work on it. The king did not pay him until May 1816.[26] The painting is akin to the portrait of Willem: the pilasters behind the

Fig. 5
JOSEPH PAELINCK, *Portrait of King Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1772-1843)*, 1817. Oil on canvas, 225 x 153 cm. Right: *J.Paelinck/ Brux/1817*. Providence, R.I., Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art, Museum Works of Art Fund, inv. no. 56.090a.

king have an abbreviated echo in the background to the queen. But there is also a striking difference: whereas there are no royal attributes in Willem I's portrait, Wilhelmina stands before a throne-like armchair in Empire style, albeit without her embroidered initials.[27]

The portraits of Willem and Wilhelmina were hung in the queen's private apartments in Noordeinde Palace, in the tea salon, previously called Her Majesty the Queen's *salle de réunion* or salon.[28] It was here that at four o'clock every day, when he was working at home, the king would take tea with the queen and her ladies-in-waiting.[29] In the room there were also portraits of the king's mother, Princess Frederika Sophia Wilhelmina of Prussia, and his sister, Princess Louise, painted by the Antwerp artist Cornelis Cels in 1817 and 1819 respectively.[30]

The next state portrait Paelinck painted was again at the king's request and again from life (fig. 5). On 1 August 1817 the *Journal de la Province de Limbourg* reported: 'Mr Paelinck is about to complete the portrait of our august monarch, commissioned by himself and destined for England' and 'HM having had the generosity to grant the necessary sittings, the painter has skilfully profited from this to reunite with the perfect likeness the traits of affability that characterize our sovereign's face.'[31] The painting was intended either for the English court or for Richard Le Poer Trench, second Earl of Clancarty (1767-1837), whose name is on the document on the table. At the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) and later as British ambassador in Brussels, this Anglo-Irish diplomat had made the case for uniting the southern and northern Netherlands. From 1815 onwards, Clancarty had tirelessly mediated between the Netherlands and Germany about various border disputes, large and small, that had arisen out of the agreements reached at the Congress of Vienna.[32] Without this British patronage there would have been no United Kingdom of the Netherlands.[33] The portraits of Willem I and his consort can consequently be seen as evidence of appreciation and also, of course, as a demonstration of their new position. At the same time Clancarty had his portrait painted in Brussels by Paelinck, dressed in parliamentary robes as a member of the peerage and the House of Lords (fig. 6).[34]

Fig. 6
JOSEPH PAELINCK, *Richard Le Poer Trench, 2nd Earl of Clancarty*, 1817. Oil on canvas, 77.3 x 63.8 cm. London, National Portrait Gallery, inv. no. NPG 5252.

Again Willem I elected to have Paelinck paint him in his general's uniform. His inauguration had taken place two years before, but the king expressly presented himself here not as monarch, but as commander-in-chief of the Dutch army. He wears the Military Willemsorde and the Orange ribbon that goes with it. The composition, background and position of the king are very similar to the painting made two years earlier, except that the king now looks the other way.

There are also significant differences: once again the king points to a map on the table, but now it covers the United Kingdom including the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, which the king was granted by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 as his personal property in compensation for the lost principalities of Nassau and Fulda. The letter on the map contains the words 'A Lord Clancarty, Ambassadeur de sa Majesté Britani [que]'.

The tablecloth covers the whole table and its legs, but the reference to the Dutch lion is now found in the arms of the chair. A throne-like armchair has been added, however without the embroidered laurel wreath with Willem's initial that later became standard. The chair is very similar to the one behind Wilhelmina in the 1816 portrait in Paleis Het Loo. Curiously, Wilhelmina's chair in the pendant portrait does have embroidered initials in a laurel wreath (fig. 7). Although it will become clear in later portraits that in the absence of a real throne artists were able to give their imagination free rein, here again we see a discrepancy in the hierarchy between the king and queen. A possible explanation could be that Wilhelmina was of higher rank than Willem I.[35]

Since 1956 the portraits with a British provenance have been in the collection of the Rhode Island School of Design Museum in Providence.[36] As early as 1991, David E. Stark, then curator, expressed doubts that they belong together. Aside from the difference in the thrones, the king's dress does not correlate with the queen's. She wears a magnificent gown and a crown-like tiara, so – like the throne – her dress is more 'royal' than Willem's, who is not dressed in state.[37] Although it is signed by Paelinck, the portrait of Wilhelmina looks more like a rather clumsy copy of a possible, as yet unknown, portrait dating from 1815.[38] In particular, the length of her left arm is imperfectly conceived and unworthy of Paelinck. The position of the arms is reversed relative to the 1816 portrait.[39] It is therefore more likely that the portrait of Wilhelmina in Providence was made from a first state portrait of the queen after the inauguration in September 1815 or a print of it. It is evident from a lithograph published in 1815 by Jobard that such a portrait existed.[40] This implies that there was also a state portrait of the king in royal robes. And there is indeed a lithograph by Jean-Baptiste Madou (1796-1877), again published by Jobard, of the king, full length, in full dress and ermine robe, captioned 'd'après Paeling pr Madou'.[41] But this print or edition is not dated and so could also have been made after a later portrait. For now, there is no known state portrait of the king in royal robes and with regalia by Paelinck dating from before 1818.[42]

In Full Regalia: Portraits of the King by Paelinck

The portraits discussed so far were commissioned by the king himself, with a specific destination. The same is probably true of two otherwise unknown versions that are mentioned in the sources: one for the court in Berlin and one for the court in St Petersburg. De Bast also refers to portraits for the court in London, but these could be the portraits for Clancarty. All these portraits were intended for members of the family, by blood or marriage, who were also allies of the king and queen.[43] In the Dutch National Art Collection, for instance, there is an unsigned half-length portrait of Willem I in full dress uniform with the ribbon of the Grand Cross of the Willemsorde on his chest, which must therefore have been painted after 30 April 1815.[44] The background with the fluted pilasters echoes the portrait of April 1815, so that this portrait could possibly likewise be dated to 1815 or 1816. Paelinck also painted other

Fig. 7
JOSEPH PAELINCK,
Portrait of Wilhelmina of Prussia (1774-1837),
1817.
Oil on canvas,
225 x 143 cm.
Right: *J.Paelinck/ Brux/1817*. Providence, R.I., Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art, Museum Works of Art Fund, inv. no. 56.090B.

members of the royal family, among them Princess Marianne.[45]

The first known state portrait of Willem I with the royal robe, throne and regalia dates from 1818, and was painted by Paelinck for the assembly chamber of the Provincial States as a commission from the members of Brussels city council (fig. 8).[46] The format is by now familiar: the king stands in a virtually full frontal pose in the centre of the space and looks to his left, away from the viewer. In this case, he wears the red robe he wore at his inauguration over his military dress, now the full-dress general's uniform that can be identified

Fig. 8
JOSEPH PAELINCK, *King Willem I of the Netherlands*, 1818. Oil on canvas, 246 x 177 cm. Lower left: *J. Paelinck peintre de S.M. la Reine. Bruxelles 1818.* Brussels, City Hall. Photo: KIK-IRPA, Brussels.

by the white pantaloons. The robe was embroidered with climbing lions, lined and edged with ermine and had an upstanding collar. With his right hand he points to the table, on which lies a document bearing the Dutch words that translate as 'Constitution of the United Kingdom'.[47] On the table beside the king, the inkwell and quill pen of the earlier portraits have made way for the regalia. The changed setting is also significant: the king is now on a dais in an otherwise unidentified room. This version of the throne behind the king is elaborately carved, and embroidered on the back is a laurel wreath which we may assume contains his initial.

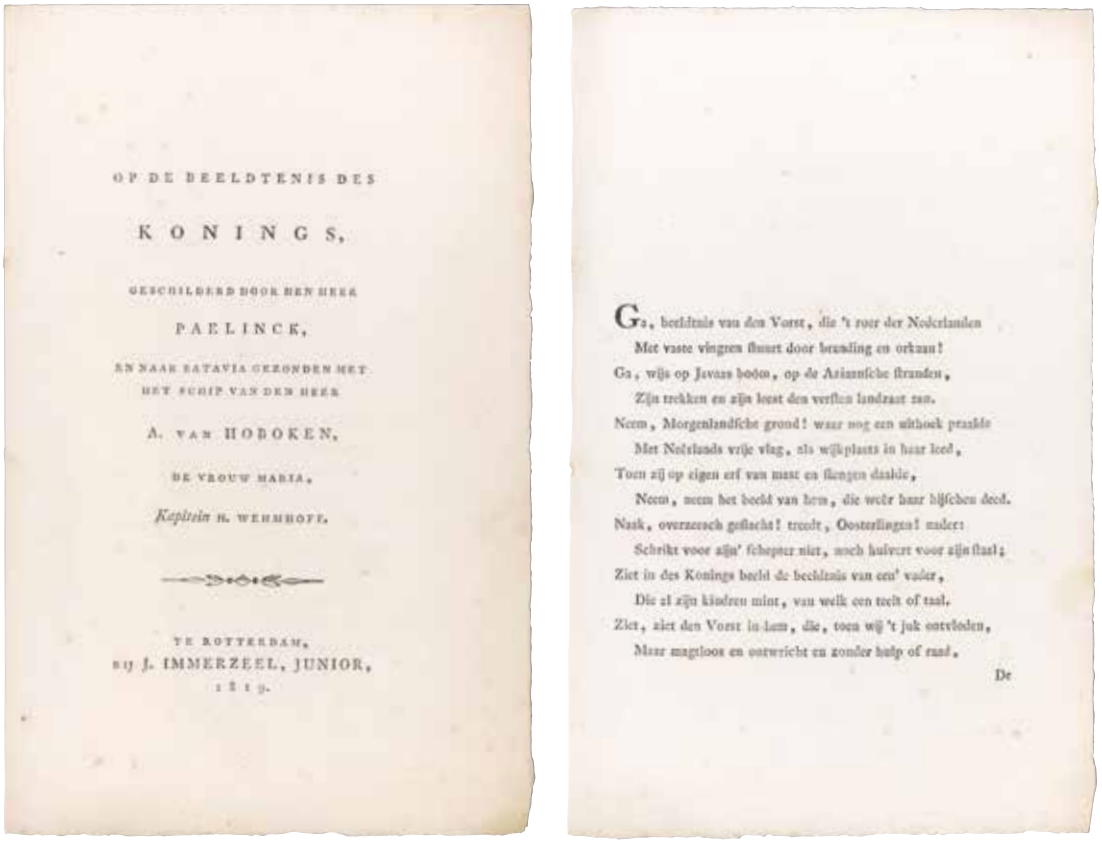
The king had only paid for the first three portraits for which he actually sat, so Paelinck probably copied his earlier work for the Brussels portrait.[48] This was a normal and even desirable practice given the essential recognizability of the monarch in a state portrait. The changes in the attributes are now related to the fact that Willem is pictured at the moment when he accepts the monarchy, pointing to the constitution. The press expressed delight at the likeness of the king: 'Mr Paelinck has recently completed the full-length portrait of HM the King, which portrait was commissioned by the government of Brussels and will be

Fig. 9
C. NORMAND AFTER JOSEPH PAELINCK, *Portrait of King Willem I*, from L. De Bast, *Annales du salon de Gand et de l'Ecole Moderne des Pays Bas*, 1823, p. 3. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Research Library, 75 F 1.

Fig. 10
Detail showing the map (fig. 1).

placed in the great assembly chamber of the Provincial States. This portrait, which is life size and in which HM is depicted in his royal robes, is regarded as the most like of all the portraits of HM that have originated from the brush of this artist, and it is generally agreed that it will raise the fame of the artist to its peak.'[49] The painting was reproduced in a catalogue of the exhibition of paintings in Ghent in 1820 (fig. 9).[50]

It is equally unlikely that the king posed for the portrait in the Rijksmuseum, which was painted in 1819 for the Dutch East Indies (figs. 1, 10).[51] The versions in Brussels and the Rijksmuseum are the most similar of



OP DE BEELDTENIS DES

KONINGS,

GESCHILDERD DOOR DEN HEER

PAELINCK,

EN NAAR BATAVIA GEZONDEN MET

HET SCHIP VAN DEN HEER

A. VAN HOBOKEN,

DE VROUW MARIA,

Kapitein H. WEHMHOFF.

TE ROTTERDAM,

BIJ J. IMMERZEEL, JUNIOR,

1819.

Ga, beeldtenis van den Vorst, die 't roer der Nederlanden
Met vaste vingren stuurt door bruising en orkaan!
Ga, wijs op Javaas bodem, op de Aziatische stranden,
Zijn trekken en zijn leest den verren landzaat aan.
Neem, Morgenlandsche grond! waar nog een uithoek prankte
Met Nederlands vrije vlag, als wijkplaats in haar leed,
Toon zij op eigen erf van moet en vlengen dankte,
Neem, neem het beeld van hem, die weêr haar bijschen deed.
Nask, overzeesch geslacht! treede, Oosterlingen! nader!
Schrikt voor zijn' schepter niet, noch huivert voor zijn staal;
Ziet in des Konings beeld de beeldtenis van een' vader,
Die al zijn kinderen mint, van welk een teelt of taal.
Ziet, ziet den Vorst in lam, die, toen wij 't juk ontvloden,
Maar magteloos en onwerkzaam en zonder hulp of raad,

De

Figs. 11a, b
Title page and first verses of Hendrik Tollens, *Op de beeldtenis des Konings, geschilderd door den heer Paelinck* [On the Portrait of the King, painted by Mr Paelinck], Rotterdam 1819. Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam, Special Collections, KF 61-625, o 63-427 (1).

Paelinck's series, save that in the 1819 portrait the king points to a map of Java, which had just been returned by the British. The map is titled 'Kaart van het Ryk van Bantam, Jacatra & Cheribon op het eylant Java'.

Just how important all these historic moments were, each recorded in the documents on the table – the territory of the kingdom, the signing of the constitution, acknowledgement of the assistance of Great Britain, the recovery of the colony – is clear from the attention the press devoted to each new version of the portrait. In the case of the portrait for the Dutch East Indies, it was as if the king himself, and not just his likeness, was making the journey. The name of the vessel (*De Vrouwe Maria*), the owner (A. Hoboken), the captain (H. Wehmhoff) – everything was announced, and celebrated in poems by Hendrik Tollens (fig. 11) and P. Wittigs.[52] This painting was destined for Buitenzorg, the Governor-General's summer residence, where it can be seen in a photograph dating from 1921 (fig. 12).

Representation of Post-Revolutionary Monarchy

In the Europe of the Restoration – the post-Napoleonic period – the position of the monarch was, more than ever before, a balancing act. The guillotining of Louis XVI had shaken the European dynasties to the core and made them realize that their power was given not by God, but by the people. The imperial ambitions of the upstart Napoleon, who kept court as if he were the Sun King, were if possible even more shocking.

At the same time Napoleon had had to overcome the same resistance to the monarchy as the later new rulers of the Restoration. He, too, had had to distance himself from the image of kings that had grown up since Louis XVI and been so brutally punished by the revolutionaries. And how could he give his emperorship legitimacy without any dynastic claim? Napoleon opted for a bold historical underpinning and based his right to rule on the Roman emperors and Emperor Charlemagne. In his case, it was not consanguinity, but kindred ambitions. The Empire Style that developed at the Napoleonic court reflected his expansionism; the association with Charlemagne was more personal, as a national, religious (witness his anointment as emperor in 1804) and military precedent.[53]

Napoleon used traditional state portraits that were dispersed throughout the empire, such as the one by François Gérard (fig. 13). He also chose new ways of putting his message across. Jacques-Louis David's famous painting of the general crossing the Great St Bernard Pass shortly after his defeat of Italy shows him as a victor astride his horse, like an equestrian statue (see fig. 16 on p. 247).[54] The equally famous full frontal portrait of the emperor on his throne by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1806) – probably not commissioned, but certainly acquired by the emperor – portrays Napoleon as a medieval king or saint, the huge laurel wreath on the throne doubling as a halo.[55] Save for his face, his body has disappeared; his personality has been subordinated to the symbols of imperial power.[56]

Fig. 12
'Portrait of Willem I' (centre) in the Governor-General's Residence in Buitenzorg (now Bogor), 1921. Amsterdam, Tropenmuseum, inv. no. 60023405. Photo: Thilly Weissenborn, Lux Fotostudio.

Fig. 13 WORKSHOP OF FRANÇOIS PASCAL SIMON GÉRARD (BARON), *Emperor Napoleon I in Coronation Robes, 2 December 1804*, c. 1805-c. 1815. Oil on canvas, 226.5 x 146 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-C-1120; on loan from Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen.

These new ways of expressing kingship or emperorship were classified as 'the invention of tradition' by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger in their influential book of the same name published in 1983. The invention of tradition implies not just the introduction of new traditions, but also an emphasis on or reintroduction of customs with old roots.[57] This theory has proved extremely useful in the analysis of the European monarchies after 1815. Almost all the rulers who found themselves back in the saddle after the Congress of Vienna had to think carefully about a new image.[58] For although the symbolism and attributes the Emperor of France had exploited to legitimize his rule had proved extremely effective, imitating them was not without risk.

How should King Willem I, son of a Prince-Stadholder of Orange-Nassau, present himself? In the euphoria after the victory at the Battle of Waterloo, where his son's heroism had made him highly popular, giving his kingship a military connotation seemed an obvious step to take. One of the earliest goals the king had set himself, as soon as he had accepted sovereignty at the end of 1813, was to raise a standing army. This professional force was to be supplemented by conscripts. The French would thus be driven out for ever, and Willem hoped that it would also strengthen his claims to a United Kingdom of the Netherlands at the Congress of Vienna.[59]

In the first two years of the king's reign, Paelinck painted Willem I in his general's uniform. The portraits present a ruler who has defended his country and is still prepared to lay down his life for it. The reality – Willem had done very little military service, and that with a marked lack of success – was beside the point; what mattered was to project an image of resolve and security.[60] Willem as a soldier is at the service of his country. Above all, in these early years of the monarchy, it is how Paelinck did *not* paint him that is important: he was not clad in the full regalia of a king of the *ancien régime*, nor were there references to his descent from a European dynasty. The commissioning history reveals the king's personal input into this decision.

As well as painting him in military uniform it was also important for the artist to idealize the king's appearance: Willem looks young, handsome and athletic. The first portrait was described thus: 'The sovereign's bearing is noble and at the same time natural and likewise his dress, at his own request, is very simple.'[61] The *Neder-*

landse Staatscourant describes the Hague portrait of April 1815 in similar terms: 'All those who have been able to see this magnificent painting agree that it couples the merit of an excellent likeness with complete fullness of detail in all of the said parts; and it may rightly be said that the subject has been handled in a way worthy of His Majesty. We flatter ourselves that the features of our beloved sovereign have been painted with so much truth and

Fig. 14
CHARLES HOWARD HODGES, *Portrait of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland (1806-1810)*, 1809. Oil on canvas, 223 x 146 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-653; gift of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

skill, by one of the best history painters in the kingdom …'[62]

In his analysis of the Brussels state portrait of 1818, Stefan Dudink pointed to the Neoclassical ideal of beauty that had been introduced under Napoleon.[63] The state portrait of Louis Bonaparte, dressed as a colonel in the cuirassiers regiment of the royal guard, presents this same masculine ideal (fig. 14). In reality Louis Bonaparte was a sickly man, and partially paralysed. And likewise, when King Willem I accepted power he was already forty-two, and had suffered strife, worries and wanderings half his life. Neither portrait shows this human side, however. The emphasis is on an idealized likeness combined with dignity and simplicity – precisely reflected in the Neoclassical style of Paelinck's teacher, David, and also entirely in accord with what people required of a modern Dutch king.

In the 1818 portrait of the king for Brussels town hall, Paelinck as it were added a layer on top of the first military representations of Willem I. The king still wears the full dress uniform of a general, the uniform he actually wore at his inauguration as king.[64] But the royal robe has now been placed around his shoulders, and the crown and sceptre lie on a cushion on the table, in front of the general's cocked hat with its white plume. These are the attributes that reinforce his position as ruler of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, the symbols of his power. At the same time the king's personality changes, his body is less visible, concealed by the royal robe. The message is now more about the expression of his power than his personal dedication.[65] Dudink refers in this context to theatricality, the staging of power.[66] Paelinck's portrait series chronicles the transition from Willem I as a person – Willem Frederik, Prince of Orange-Nassau – to King Willem I, a symbol of the state. The military portraits are about Willem's conduct – a general defending his kingdom – in the royal portrait he is the embodiment of that kingdom. It is this portrait, therefore, that was the one copied for the Dutch East Indies and by other artists in the kingdom.

Fig. 15
MATTHIJS IGNATIUS VAN BREE, *Portrait of King Willem I (1772-1843)*, 1814. Oil on canvas, 215 x 150 cm. Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, inv. no. 200. Photo: J. Geleyns/ Ro scan.

Portraits of the King by Other Artists, 1814-30

Paelinck's five (or seven, if the ones supposedly made for Berlin and St Petersburg are included) portraits of the king make up a substantial group within the totality of full-length portraits of the king made during his reign up to 1830, when the southern provinces seceded. Altogether there are nineteen to twenty-one paintings made in this period – strikingly, fifteen to seventeen of them were done by Southern Netherlandish painters. With a few exceptions these portraits

are unique and were not repeated before 1820. It was not until 1827, when Paelinck's series was finished, that there were new versions of state portraits by other artists (see appendix). It is also noticeable that the Southern Netherlandish portraits were made in the first ten years of his reign, while the Northern Netherlandish portraits were mostly painted in the eighteen-twenties. Two questions arise here: how was the king presented in all these portraits and are there constants or, on the contrary, significant differences between them and Paelinck's versions? And why were so many more state portraits painted in the Southern Netherlands than in the northern provinces?

At the same time as Paelinck painted his first portrait for the Society of Fine Arts in Ghent, the Antwerp artist Matthijs Ignatius Van Bree (1773-1839) also portrayed the king (fig. 15). In his portrait the king stands in front of a throne and points to the 'Grondwet van het Koninkryk der Nederlanden, 1815' – the constitution – which must be a later addition.[67] Opinions differ as to the genesis of this portrait.

Koolhaas-Grosfeld and Rademakers assert that Van Bree painted the portrait on his own initiative, in gratitude for the role Willem I had

Fig. 16
MATTHIJS IGNATIUS VAN BREE, *Portrait of Prince Willem Frederik of Orange-Nassau, at his Inauguration as Sovereign Ruler of the United Netherlands, The Hague 30 March 1814*, 1816. Oil on canvas, 253 x 173 cm. Signed and dated right: *M.J. Van Bree ft 1816*. Antwerp, Museum aan de Stroom, inv. no. KBMK 1142bis/ AV.1924.009.001.

played in the recovery of works of art stolen by Napoleon and their return to the city of Antwerp.[68] Fühler, on the other hand, wrote that it was made in 1814 on the instructions of curator Guillaume Bosschaert of the then Stedelijk (later Koninklijk) Museum in Brussels. The museum's current catalogue, however, gives 1834 as the year of purchase.[69]

A subsequent state portrait by Van Bree is dated 1816 and is the only one to show Willem I at the time of his inauguration as sovereign ruler in the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam on 20 March 1814 (fig. 16).[70] The head appears to have been copied from the portrait Van Bree painted in 1814. This inauguration portrait is now in the collection of the Museum aan de Stroom [MAS] in Antwerp, but was originally made for that city's town hall. It was later moved to the Vleeshuis-Brouwershuis there, and then to the Statenzaal (the States Chamber) in Antwerp.[71] On 9 October 1817 this painting – or a copy of it – hung in the Throne Room of Ghent town hall, on the occasion of the solemn installation of the University of Ghent, which was established by Willem I (fig. 17). Eeckhout quotes the *Procès-verbal de l'installation de l'Université*: 'The back of this large room is decorated with the royal dais, above which is placed the portrait of HM. In front of the dais is an empty armchair.'[72]

Fig. 17
MATTHIJS IGNATIUS VAN BREE, *The Solemn Installation of the University of Ghent by the Prince of Orange in the Throne Room of the Town Hall on 9 October 1817*, 1817-30.
Oil on panel, 52 x 66 cm.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-4088.

The king is dressed in a white costume with the royal robe he wore at this event according to a print by C. van Waardt and Nicolaas van der Meer (fig. 18). The suit of clothes is held at Paleis Het Loo.[73] Both portrait and print show the simple red robe that was used at this ceremony. It was not embroidered and it was merely edged with ermine, not lined with the fur. The king's tunic and knee breeches were made of white satin, embroidered with silver thread and spangles. In both style and opulence his costume has more in common with the *Ancien Régime* than with the military culture that Paelinck's early portraits project. The eighteenth-century *habit habillé* – the elaborately embroidered costume with long waistcoat and knee breeches – had been reintroduced in all its elegance at Napoleon's court, to be sure, but for obvious reasons it fell out of favour after 1815.[74]

Willem wears the British Order of the Garter that we saw in the 1814 Hague portrait. Given the date, Van Bree's portrait is essentially an invention based on contemporary sources. The king's hand rests on a cushion bearing the constitution of the Netherlands, dated 1815, another anachronism.[75] The depiction of the throne likewise suggests it sprung from the imagination of the artist, who used the design idiom of the Empire, such as the clustered shafts of the leg and the gilded balls on the arm and back. The arms of the Netherlands are cut out in the back with the letters [Ee]ndracht (Unity). Van Bree was evidently not happy with his throne in the 1814 portrait.

Fig. 18
C. VAN WAARDT (DRAUGHTSMAN) AND NICOLAAS VAN DER MEER (ENGRAVER), *The Confirmation of the Constitution by* HRH *Willem Frederik, Prince of Orange & Nassau Sovereign Ruler of the Netherlands*, 1814. Amsterdam, City Archives, fig. no. 010097014164.

Although there is no hard documentary evidence about commissions for the two portraits, it is clear that in the early years of the Orange monarchy Van Bree was still searching for the right image for the king. Neither of these portraits was repeated, nor was Willem ever pictured again in such an elegant costume in the French style.

It was likewise 1816, two years after Willem accepted sovereignty and a full year after his inauguration as king, before the first Northern Netherlandish state portrait was done. Commissioned by the City of Amsterdam, it was painted by Charles Howard Hodges (1764-1837; fig. 19).[76] As an oil sketch of the king's head reveals, it was taken from life (fig. 20). Hodges was an Englishman who made a career for himself in the Netherlands with flattering portraits. This one was intended for the council chamber in Amsterdam town hall. Compared with Van Bree's portrait of the same year, Hodges's work projects a very modern spirit. Again, the king is dressed in the uniform of a general. The painting has a much more neutral feel than Paelinck's and Van Bree's military versions. Aside from the Willemsorde there are no allusions to Willem's sovereignty, the files on

Fig. 19
CHARLES HOWARD HODGES, *Portrait of King Willem I (1772-1843)*, 1816. Oil on canvas, 230 x 146 cm. Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. A-1770. Photo: Bob Goedewaagen.

Fig. 20
CHARLES HOWARD HODGES, *Willem I (1772-1843), King of the Netherlands (study)*, 1815-16. Oil on canvas, 4.5 x 26 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-2125.

the table give no indication of their contents and the king does not point to them. The painting was shown at the Amsterdam Exhibition of Works by Living Artists in the autumn of 1816 and enthusiastically received by the public.[77]

Two years later the Frisian artist Willem Bartel van der Kooi (1768-1836) painted the king in the new robe, now embroidered and fully lined with ermine, used at the inauguration in Brussels, with the regalia on the table to his right and his sword on his left hip (fig. 21). Instead of military uniform, here the king wears the dress jacket embroidered with silver thread that he wore for the inauguration. This portrait was also painted from life, as we know from two drawings by the painter, one with traced lines and the other with a grid for transfer.[78] It was commissioned for the assembly chamber of the Overijssel Provincial States in Zwolle.[79] It appears to hark back in almost every respect to Paelinck's familiar format, albeit that again there is no specific document, and hence no historic moment, to which reference is made. The pilasters in the background have become heavy columns, which make the king look smaller than he does in the other portraits. In terms of the likeness in the full-length portrait, Van der Kooi does not achieve the standard of a bust-length portrait painted that same year, paid for by the king, which may have preceded the full-length work (fig. 22).[80]

Fig. 21
ATTRIBUTED TO WILLEM BARTEL VAN DER KOOI, *Portrait of King Willem I*, c. 1816. Oil on canvas, 98 x 64 cm. Apeldoorn, Paleis Het Loo, inv. no. x19540069; on loan from the Museum Arnhem.

Hanging state portraits in public buildings was much more popular in southern towns and cities than in the north, continuing the old traditions of the Habsburg period. In 1819 Karel Pieter Verhulst painted a portrait in general's uniform for the town of Mechelen that was derived directly from Paelinck's portrait of 1817 (see fig. 5).[81] In 1820 Joseph Ducq (1762-1829) supplied Bruges with a portrait based on Paelinck's 1818 portrait (see fig. 8). The artist made some changes to the king's pose and the drapery of the robe and placed him in front of a balcony. In the distance we see orange trees, a standard reference to the House of Orange, and Bruges' Halle Tower (fig. 23).[82] The formula was copied by Désiré Donny (1798-1861), one of Ducq's pupils at the academy in Bruges. His 1821 portrait for Courtrai is essentially a copy of Ducq's, except that the Halle Tower has been replaced with the tower of the local St Martin's Church.[83] The king had not sat for any of these artists; their works were all based on Paelinck's portraits.

Among this group, only the portraits by Van Bree (1814) and Hodges (1816) show the king in military dress. From 1818 onwards, Willem I was usually portrayed wearing the royal robe without much in the way of narrative attributes – at most something with a local connotation. The focus here was the king as a symbol. This seems to

Fig. 22
WILLEM BARTEL VAN DER KOOI, *Portrait of Willem I of Orange-Nassau*, 1818. Oil on canvas, 79 x 64.5 cm. Signed upper left. The Hague, Royal Collections.

Fig. 23
JOSEPH-FRANÇOIS DUCQ, *Portrait of King Willem I*, 1820. Oil on canvas, 224 x 175 cm. Bruges, Groeningemuseum, inv. no. 0000. GRO0448.I. Photo: Lukas – Art in Flanders/Hugo Maertens.

have been the thrust of the formula between 1818 and 1823.

A Modern King

Two portraits painted in 1823-24 by Joseph-François Navez of Brussels (1787-1869) broke with this pattern (fig. 24). The king sat for the first portrait, done in 1823, which was a gift from Willem I to the Duke of Wellington.[84] The Romantic sensibility in Navez's portrait contrasts with Paelinck's stately Classicism. Romanticism dominated modern painting in the eighteen-twenties, and the classically trained Navez followed the trend. The king, back in the dress uniform of a general, has large eyes with an almost visionary look and the likeness is extremely flattering, particularly given that he was now over fifty. Navez also suggests greater depth in the composition, thanks to the effect of the vista introduced by Ducq. Strikingly, the regular attributes, specifically the regalia, are absent. The throne has been casually turned around and over its back hangs a dark coat, not the royal robe.

Fig. 24
FRANÇOIS-JOSEPH NAVEZ, *Portrait of King Willem I*, 1823. Oil on canvas, 220 x 164.3 cm. Signed and dated lower right: *F.J. NAVEZ, 1823*. London, English Heritage (Wellington Museum, Apsley House), inv. no. WM 1463–1948. Photo: © Historic England.

Moving away from all the earlier portraits, Navez added objects that clearly place the king's historical and dynastic status in the spotlight. Behind the king stand the busts of both William of Orange (the Silent) and his son, Prince Maurits. There is an allegorical relief on the plinth supporting William of Orange: Liberty, with the freedom hat on a lance, broken chains at her feet and a club in her hand, places a laurel wreath on the head of Prosperity, who carries a horn of plenty. Before her sits a lion holding a shield bearing the arms of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, with 'Guillaume' written above it.[85] From the outset the legitimacy of the Orange monarchy was based on these ancestors: William the Silent and Maurits had both endeavoured to unite the northern and southern provinces.[86] This iconography occurs with increasing frequency in the eighteen-twenties. In *The Triumvirate Assuming Power in the Name of the Prince of Orange* (c. 1828), for instance, depicting the moment in 1813 when Willem accepted sovereignty, Jan Willem Pieneman painted portraits of William of Orange and Prince Maurits on the wall of the room Willem enters (Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-1558).

But Navez did not confine himself to the king's historical claims. He portrayed him at the same time as a modern entrepreneur – one of his nicknames was the Canal King. On the floor at his feet lie books and papers with inscriptions alluding to the colonies (Batavia coloni), national

industry and the construction of waterways like the Brussels-Charleroi Canal, on which work was to start in 1827. A harbour in the distance refers to the Netherlands' maritime interests.[87]

Navez made a second version of this painting in the same year.[88] Although the king is in the same pose, with the same look in his eyes, the setting has been changed to an interior and is rather less dramatic. Only the bust of William the Silent remains, and the theme is now the promotion of prosperity through the arts and sciences rather than infrastructure and trade. The king holds an announcement for the 'international exhibition of industry in Haarlem 1825', where the painting was indeed shown.[89] Across the books on the table lies a sheet of paper bearing the words 'arts, sciences, commerce, factories, horticulture'.[90]

The Seated King

Around 1826/27 it seemed that Paelinck's model had had its day. The king's position was now more or less established and he was well over fifty, so it was time for a new image. Idealization made way for a genuine likeness, and this produced a more human feel. An unsigned portrait attributed to Matthijs van Bree and Joseph Denis Odevaere (1775-1830) must have been painted during this period for the Province of Antwerp. It gives a very different impression of Willem I (fig. 25). His seated pose is a radical break with the firm stance he adopted previously, and the formidable throne makes him look small and powerless.[91] Behind him towers a larger than life-size bust of William the Silent. On the base is written 'Prins Willem Ruwaart 1577', a reference to the year William of Orange became regent of Brabant, replacing Philip II. The aim of this portrait was probably to underline yet again the king's position as ruler of the United Kingdom *including* the southern provinces.[92] We may wonder whether this was effective: Willem appears to be weighed down by the burden he bears and feeling his age. The new way the royal robe is depicted is also interesting; the king has thrown it back off his shoulders and is sitting on it.

From 1827 onwards, the portraits present a portly, greying king who looks small in a large space. This is certainly true of the portraits painted by the Southern Netherlandish artist Jean-Jacques Delanghe (1800-1865) for Ypres (1827), the Louvain artist Jean Baptist van der Hulst (1790-1862), probably for Noordeinde Palace (1830; fig. 26), and by their Northern Netherlandish counterparts Willem Bartel van der Kooi for Leeuwarden (1828) and Cornelis Kruseman (1797-1857) for The Hague (1830). Unlike the works painted in the period up to

Fig. 25 ATTRIBUTED TO MATTHIJS IGNATIUS VAN BREE AND JOSEPH DENIS ODEVAERE, *Portrait of King Willem I*, 1815-30 (RKD dating). Oil on canvas, 363 x 209 cm. Undated and unsigned. Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp, inv. no. 1142bis. Photo: Lukas – Art in Flanders/Hugo Maertens.

around 1820, copies, sometimes as busts or three-quarter length, were made of many of these portraits.[93] In both Van der Hulst's portrait and Cornelis Kruseman's for The Hague, the king has again cast off the royal robe and it is draped over the throne. The symbols of royal power – throne, robe – are thus referenced only in passing; in the portrait by Van der Hulst even the crown and sceptre are missing. Paelinck's old formula was retained, however; the king points to files or the constitution on the table.

In the series of portraits at a more advanced age the king distributed his favours rather more fairly among artists of the southern and northern provinces, alternating them year by year. This balance is absent in the first series: from 1814 to 1827 fifteen full-length portraits were painted (excluding the two unknown works for the courts in Berlin and St Petersburg), thirteen of them by artists from the Southern Netherlands and two by artists working in the Northern Netherlands (Hodges and Van der Kooi). Between 1827 and 1830 two Northern Netherlandish artists – Van der Kooi and Cornelis Kruseman – and two artists from the Southern Netherlands – DeLanghe and Van der Hulst – painted the king. There seems to have been a conscious cultural policy, in line with the purchases of contemporary art in these years.[94]

Fig. 26
JEAN-BAPTISTE VAN DER HULST, *Portrait of King Willem I*, 1830. Oil on canvas, 270 x 176 cm. The Hague, Royal Collections.

Conclusion

At first sight the state portraits of Willem I appear to function as all such portraits do, up to the present day. They make the likeness of the new monarch or ruler widely known and represent the king himself in public places. If any state ever needed this manner of representation, it was Willem I's United Kingdom – the state had been configured out of formerly separate territories around the negotiating table, and the concept of monarchy itself had to be introduced to the northern provinces, who had had only a short taste of it during the alien reign of Louis Napoleon.

People's familiarity with Willem Frederik of Orange-Nassau was obviously greater in the Northern Netherlands than in the south. Even there, though, his assumption of power was not a matter of course. The proclamation of his sovereignty in November 1813 was in fact a *coup d'état* by the statesmen Van Hogendorp, Van Limburg Stirum and Van Duyn van Maasdam to ensure that the power

vacuum after the defeat of Napoleon did not degenerate into civil strife as it had at the end of the eighteenth century. Willem's lineage assured him almost automatic acceptance in the northern provinces. In terms of territory, this region was largely the same as the former Republic, so the king could lean comfortably on the fame of his forefathers and a past shared by the people and the dynasty. But monarchy as an institution was emotionally charged, witness Princess Wilhelmina's warning to her son in 1813 cited above.

The situation was different in the south. These provinces' shared past with the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands had ended in 1588, since when they had been part of the Habsburg Empire. In the decades leading up to 1815, moreover, the south's orientation had been towards France. In consequence, the monarchy was less of an issue in the south than it was in the northern provinces – it was the form of government that they had known for centuries. But the House of Orange was not familiar, so it was important for the king to literally show his face as the new ruler. It was to this end that in 1814 Willem I undertook his tour of the most important towns and cities in the south, such as Antwerp and Ghent, where he commissioned portraits of himself and sometimes also of his queen. Els Witte recently demonstrated that Orangism in the southern provinces was associated not so much with the common memory of the Revolt, or the statesmen William of Orange and Maurits, but rather with the 1815 monarchy, the person of the king himself.[95] His personality, portrayed as strict but paternal, had to become the link that connected the two parts of the country.[96] The other members of the dynasty were also deployed in this charm offensive, especially Willem, Prince of Orange, in his role as hero of Waterloo.[97]

Willem I, like any ruler, was acutely aware of the role artists could play in creating the image of his sovereignty. The portraits are part of a group of paintings, commissioned or acquired by the king, with an unmistakable representational and propagandist function. Like the portraits, these works were not necessarily intended for public buildings, but they did underscore his claim to power. As Michael Putter argues in his article elsewhere in this Bulletin, though the initiative for these commissions lay more often with the artists than with the king, he acquired them for himself or for public buildings. The theme of all these paintings is reconciliation and harmony – essential to the future of the United Kingdom. By promoting the exhibition of paintings of subjects from the Orange past, Willem I anchored the new monarchy in the history of the House of Orange-Nassau.

The series of portraits by Paelinck reveal that the painter took the tried and tested formula of the full-length standing portrait in Neoclassical style, which he also used, for example, in the portrait of the prefect of the Scheldt Department, and adapted it with topical elements and changing attributes. It can be inferred from this just how much the image of the new king still had to coalesce. At the same time the image of the monarchy itself evolved: where Willem I initially exploited the defeat of Napoleon and the power conferred on him by the Congress of Vienna, as the military portraits sent to allies testify, around 1818 there was a shift to a format centred on the symbolism of monarchy, with all the associated paraphernalia. Willem Frederik as a person made way for Willem I as a political symbol. From the eighteen-twenties onwards, moreover, in the tradition of history painting, more emphasis was placed on the dynastic claim, and important ancestors from the Orange-Nassau past were brought into play. This was particularly evident in the state portraits by Navez and the one by

Van Bree and Odevaere. As with history paintings, by commissioning or accepting portraits and allowing them to be shown in the palaces of friendly rulers, public buildings and exhibitions, Willem I made his dynastic claims manifest, particularly in the southern provinces.

Was the choice of a majority of Southern Netherlandish artists also a strategic one? Northern Netherlandish painting had a strong tradition of portraiture and it is therefore noteworthy that the king nevertheless chose mostly artists from the Southern Netherlands. He might also have considered Adriaan de Lelie and Charles Hodges, who worked in Amsterdam, the Haarlem-born Wybrand Hendriks or the Frisian Van der Kooi. It is unlikely, though, that De Lelie and Hendriks, who chiefly made realistic Dutch burgher portraits, could have satisfactorily depicted Willem's royal aspirations. Hodges and, to a lesser extent, Van der Kooi did so, but still only received single commissions. The Southern Netherlandish artists, and Joseph Paelinck in particular, were more successful in lending Willem I royal flair in line with the prevailing European, Neoclassical ideal. Over and above this, Willem Frederik was a far less familiar figure in the Southern Netherlands than in the old provinces of the Republic, so it was all the more important to use a local painter to disseminate his likeness. The fact that the state portrait with which Willem I established his royalty was painted by an artist from Ghent who had trained in Paris seems to have been a calculated choice in every respect.

NOTES

1 E. Elzenga, *Theater van Staat. Oude tradities rond een jong koningschap*, exh. cat. Apeldoorn (Paleis Het Loo) 1990, nos. 5.1.1. Letter from Princess Wilhelmina of Prussia to her son Prince Willem Frederik of Orange-Nassau, Berlin, 5 March 1813, and 5.1.2. letter from Prince Willem Frederik of Orange-Nassau to his mother Princess Wilhelmina of Prussia, Breslau, 10 March 1813. Willem Frederik replied that he was looking for an acceptable compromise, but wanted to preserve what was good about the old situation.

2 This article could not have been written without Wout De Vuyst, curator at the Ghent City Museum, Carine Van Bruwaene, archivist at the Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent, and Dr Ellinoor Bergvelt, University of Amsterdam. My heartfelt thanks to them all for their generosity in sharing information. I would also like to express my gratitude for the comments of the anonymous peer reviewers. All websites cited were consulted in January 2015.

3 E. Lamberts, 'Het Verenigd Koninkrijk als Europese creatie', in I. de Haan (ed.), *Een nieuwe staat. Het begin van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, Amsterdam 2013, pp. 116-17.

4 P. Eeckhout, 'De installatie van de Universiteit van Gent door Matthieu van Bree', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 16 (1968), p. 110.

5 *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 15 September 1814. See also *Notice des tableaux, miniatures et sculptures etc. de la Société des Beaux arts et Littérature de Gand*, 1829-31. The king did not officially become its patron until 1816, since which date the Society was able to use the designation 'Royal'. See E. de Busscher, *Précis historique de la Société Royale des Beaux Arts et Littérature de Gand*, Ghent 1845, p. 41.

6 *Journal du département des bouches de l'Escaut/ Dagblad van het departement van de Schelde,* 19 May 1811.

7 D. Coekelbergs and P. Loze, *1770-1830. Om en rond het neo-classicisme in België*, Elsene 1985, p. 193.

8 De Busscher, op. cit. (note 5), p. 3.

9 Coekelbergs and Loze, op. cit. (note 7), p. 194.

10 Ibid., pp. 194 and 170, on Odevaere's career. For the similar situation of, for instance, Matthijs van Bree see G. Jansen, 'De vergan-

kelijke glorie van Matthijs van Bree (1773-1839)', *Oud Holland* 95 (1981), no. 4, pp. 228-30.

11 'Aldus word [sic] ons onder een vaderlyk en nationaal Gouvernement langs hoe meer aangekondigd de wederkomst der schoone dagen van de Vlaamsche School.' *Rotterdamse Courant*, 14 September 1814.

12 See Michael Putter's article in this Bulletin. E. Koolhaas-Grosfeld and A. Rademakers, *Een nieuw koninkrijk, een nieuwe kunst. Wens en werkelijkheid*, published by the Algemeen-Nederlands Verbond (ANV) and Werkgroep Verenigd Koninkrijk der Nederlanden (VKN), 2013, unpaged. See also Jansen, op. cit. (note 10), pp. 234-38.

13 *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 5 April 1815.

14 'De zamenstelling is in sommige opzigten historisch; zij verbeeldt Z.K.H. zich bevindende in de groote zaal van de graaf van Hane de Steenhuysen, intendant van het departement, *op het oogenblik dat de hoogstdezelve zijne naam geteekend heeft in het album der maatschappij* [italics JR]; waarvan hij zich tot beschermer verklaart. De stand van den Vorst is edel en tevens natuurlijk en deszelfs kleeding, volgens zijn verlangen zeer eenvoudig. Deze eenvoudigheid contrasteert, op de gelukkigste wijze, met den rijkdom van den achtergrond en van al het bijwerk, hetwelk in een dergelijk portrait in zeker opzicht gevorderd wordt.' *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 22 December 1814. For similar reports see the *Utrechtsche Courant*, 23 December 1814.

15 'Portrait de S.M. le Roi des Pays-Bas, protecteur de la Société, peint par M. J.Paelinck.' *Notice des tableaux*, op. cit. (note 5), p. 5.

16 *Notice des tableaux, miniatures et sculptures etc. de la Société des Beaux arts et Littérature de Gand*, 1836, pp. 0-2.

17 E. Witte, *Het verloren Koninkrijk. Het harde verzet van de Belgische Oranjisten tegen de revolutie 1828-1850*, Antwerp 2014, pp. 325, 334-38, on the anti-Orangist repression act of 1834. It is not entirely clear whether this is the reason for the portrait's disappearance from sight, since a bust of Willem I by François Rude and paintings and drawings of the Prince of Orange, the later Willem II, were retained. *Notice des tableaux*, op. cit. (note 16), cat. nos. 101, 48, 71, 72, 102. The painting may have been disposed of: the *Portrait of M. Faipoult* referred to above appears on a handwritten list of sales at the back of the catalogue at the price of 800 francs and so was probably sold from the collection. The Society barely functioned during the years of the revolution, and when it resumed activities in 1833 the old hands, Paelinck among them, were honourably discharged as board members or, in Paelinck's case, director of the painting class at the academy. De Busscher, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 123-24, 140.

18 *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 23 February 1815; *Leeuwarder Courant*, 27 February 1815. Eeckhout, op. cit (note 4), p. 110, erroneously refers to a visit to Paelinck's studio by Willem I himself.

19 *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 5 April 1815. L.A.J. Quetelet and J.L. Kesteloot, *Hulde aan de nagedachtenis van Mr Anton Reinhart Falck, s.l.* 1844, pp. 63-64.

20 Quetelet and Kesteloot, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 63-64.

21 B. Schoenmaker, 'Waterloo en Willems wensdroom: de vorming van een nieuw Nederlands leger', in De Haan, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 137-38.

22 Rijksmuseum Documentation, inventory card SK-C-1460, noted by R. van Luttervelt, then curator of the Rijksmuseum.

23 The Hague, Koninklijk Huisarchief, Willem I's private financial records kept by P.A. Ragay [transcription E. Bergvelt]: 'cat. nr. 17. 8.4. 1815. Aan den Portraitschilder J. Paelinck van Gent voor een bewys van hoogschatting zyner talenten opnieuw by het vervaardigen van Zyner Majesteits Portrait bewezen volgens K.B. 26.3.1815 nr. 53 kit.6 f. 3000'. L. Fühler, *Een vorstelijk portrait. De staatsieportretten van king Willem I*, Utrecht 2011 (unpubl. MA thesis Utrecht University), p. 37, provides an initial inventory of the full-length portraits of Willem I. She also describes the debate about the dating of the 1815 portrait.

24 It appears as if Willem I points to Waterloo on the map, but aside from the less than clear reading, this is chronologically impossible.

25 'zachten indruk achter laat van het beminnelijk karakter der Vorstin … de fraaiheid der draperie, de uitvoering van het bijwerk, de levendigheid en kracht van het koloriet.' *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 7 September 1815; *Bredasche Courant*, 9 September 1815.

26 The Hague, Koninklijk Huisarchief, Willem I's private financial records kept by E. Hofmann [transcription E. Bergvelt]: 'cat.nr. 54 1.5.1816 Zu Gefolge Kgl. Vorfügung vom 30 April 1816 no. 4 b dem Maler Paelinck zu Gent fúr das Portrait I.M. der Königin in Lebensgrosze fr. 4000'.

27 The two paintings differ slightly in size, but that is not necessarily decisive. There is another version of this portrait, whose

provenance was Willem I's granddaughter, Marie, Princess zu Wied. It measures 225 x 143 cm. The Hague, Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD), IB no. 47899.

28 R.W.A.M. Cleverens, *De Koningsvleugel: geschiedenis van de particuliere appartementen in het Paleis Noordeinde*, Hilversum 2001, pp. 61-62.

29 Jeroen Koch, *Koning Willem I, 1772-1843*, Amsterdam 2013, p. 372.

30 Cleverens, op. cit. (note 28), p. 62.

31 'M Paelinck vient de terminer le portrait de nôtre auguste monarque, commandé par lui-même et destiné pour l'Angleterre …' and 'S.M. avant eu la générosité, d'accorder les séances nécessaire, le Peintre en a eu profiter habilement pour réunir à la parfaite ressemblance les traits d'affabilité qui caractérisent la tête de notre souverain', *Journal de la Province de Limbourg*, 1 August 1817. Similar report in *L'Oracle,* 30 July 1817. The Hague, Koninklijk Huisarchief, Willem I's private financial records kept by E.W. Hofmann [transcription E. Bergvelt]: 'cat. nr. 68 6.9.1817 Zufolge Allerh. Vefügung vom 5 Septr 1817 no 528 an den Maler Paelinck zu Brussel für ein Porträt des Königs und für ein Porträt der Königin f. 3685-50'.

32 Charles William Vane of Londonderry (ed.), *Correspondence, Despatches, and Other Papers of Viscount Castlereagh, Second Marquess of Londonderry*, vol. II, correspondence between Lord Clancarty and Lord Castlereagh, British Foreign Minister, and Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, Prussian delegate at the Congress of Vienna, *passim*.

33 Lamberts, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 113-34. Koch, op. cit. (note 29), pp. 228-30, 264-66.

34 D. Saywell and J. Simon, *National Portrait Gallery: Complete Illustrated Catalogue*, London 2004, p. 125.

35 Suggested by Ellinoor Bergvelt.

36 Provenance: sale collection Sir Henry H. Howorth, London (Christie's), 14 December 1923, lot 38; Arthur Appleby, London, from whom purchased by the Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence, R.I., as *Portraits of Louis Napoleon, King of Holland and Queen Hortense*. D. Rosenfeld (ed.), *European Painting and Sculpture, ca. 1770-1937 in the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design*, coll. cat. Providence, R.I. (Rhode Island School of Design Museum) 1991, nos. 10, 11. Henry Howorth was not related to Clancarty, he was an amateur archaeologist and historian, famed in Victorian London for his conversation and frequent appearances on *The Times* letters page. See the entry for Henry Howorth in Wikipedia.

37 David E. Stark, in Rosenfeld, op. cit. (note 36), pp. 53-54.

38 This portrait is also signed: *J. Paelinck/ Bruxs/1817*. An identical signature on pendants is not necessarily customary.

39 See also a print of the painting, made in Brussels, in the Rijksmuseum collection: inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.815

40 Everaerts after Joseph Paelinck, *Portrait of Wilhelmine of Prussia (1774-1837)*, 1815. Lithograph (published by Jobard in 1815), 371 x 258 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.933.

41 Jean-Baptiste Madou after Paelinck, *Guillaume 1er/Willem de 1sten*, 1815-18. Lithograph, 362 x 260 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-105.127. J.F. van Someren, *Beschrijvende catalogus van gegraveerde portraits van Nederlanders. Vervolg op Frederik Mullers 7000 portraits van Nederlanders*, vol. 2, Amsterdam 1890, p. 48, no. 589.

42 Information kindly supplied by Laura Smeets, curator of the Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, who undertook an additional search.

43 L. De Bast, *Annales du Salon de Gand et de l'Ecole moderne des Pays Bas*, Ghent 1823, p. 24, refers to the portraits for Berlin and London, and the *Journal de Bruxelles*, 6 May 1827, p. 2, reports 'a portrait of HM painted by the chevalier Paelinck, which will be sent to Petersburg in a few days' ('un portrait de S.M. peint par le chevalier Paelinck et qui sous peu de jurs sera envoyé a Pétersbourg').

44 Rijksmuseum Documentation, op. cit. (note 22), and Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (RCE) Collection, inv. no. R 3605, cat. no. ISC2025. The painting is in a Dutch embassy.

45 *Journal de la Province de Limbourg*, 21 March 1818, on a portrait of the young Princess Marianne with a doll, private collection. The Hague, Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD), IB no. 67200.

46 *Leydse Courant*, 11 February 1818; *Journal de la Province de Limbourg*, 11 February 1818; *Leeuwarder Courant*, 3 July 1818; *Journal de la Province de Limbourg*, 30 June 1818. The reports are not clear as to the place it would eventually hang: initially it was said to be the council chamber, later the chamber of the Provincial States. See also Coekelbergs and Loze, op. cit. (note 7), pp. 423-24. An 1878 copy of this painting by Brune Hollebeke is in the Académie Royale des Sciences, Lettres et Beaux-Arts in Brussels.

47 Although the Brussels elite were predominantly French speaking, this was written in Dutch in line with the decision to make Dutch the official language of the whole kingdom.

48 See the newspaper reports quoted above. All the portraits are signed in full: the Brussels portrait *J. Paelinck peintre de S.M. la Reine. Bruxelles 1818* and the portrait in the Rijksmuseum *J. Paelinck Peintre de S.M. La Reine des Pays Bas à Bruxelles. 1819*, so we may safely assume it is an autograph copy.

49 'De heer Paelinck heeft onlangs het portret ten voeten uit van Z. M. den Koning voltooid, welk portret op last van de regering van Brussel vervaardigd is, en in de groote vergaderzaal van de provinciale staten geplaatst zal worden. Dit portret, hetwelk levensgroot is en waarin Z. M. in deszelfs koninklijk costuum is afgebeeld, wordt voor het meest gelijkende gehouden van al de portretten van Z. M., welke uit het penseel dezes kunstschilders gevloeid zijn, en men is het in het algemeen eens, dat hetzelve de faam van den kunstenaar ten top zal voeren.' *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 30 June 1818.

50 De Bast, op. cit. (note 43), pp. 22, 23, planche 7me: *Portrait de S.M. Guillaume Ier, tableau de M. Paelinck*.

51 After Indonesia gained independence in 1949, the painting was probably moved to the ambassador's residence in Jakarta. In 1960 it was brought back to the Netherlands and placed in the national collection, now the RCE. It has been on loan to the Rijksmuseum since April 1961. Rijksmuseum Documentation, op. cit. (note 22).

52 *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 18 December 1819, advertisement by J. Immerzeel: P. Wittigs [forename unknown]: *Bij het overbrengen van de beeldtenis onzes geliefden konings, naar Neêrlandsch Indiën, door het koopvaardijschip de Vrouw Maria van Rotterdam, kapitein H. Wehmhoff, toebehoorende aan den wel ed. heere A. van Hoboken, november 1819, hetwelk voor de derde maal na de gelukkige omwenteling in 1813, naar Batavia afzeilt,* published Rotterdam (J. Immerzeel Jr), 1819.

53 T. Porterfield and S.L. Siegfried, *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres and David*, University Park, PA, 2006, pp. 8-9.

54 Jacques-Louis David, *Napoleon Crossing the Alps*, 1801. Ruell-Malmaison, Château de Malmaison. There are five versions of this painting.

55 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Napoleon on his Imperial Throne*, 1806. Paris, Hôtel des Invalides, Musée de l'Armée.

56 Porterfield and Siegfried, op. cit. (note 53), chapter 2.

57 E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition,* Cambridge 2000 (1983), pp. 1-2.

58 Ibid., pp. 5-6. P. Mansel, *Dressed to Rule: Royal and Court Costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II*, New Haven/London 2005, pp. 88-95, on the situation in France and the new image of the court.

59 Schoenmaker, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 135-43.

60 Koch, op. cit. (note 29), pp. 159-79. M. Lok and N. Scholz, 'The Return of the Loving Father: Masculinity, Legitimacy and the French and Dutch Restoration Monarchies (1813-1815)', *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 127 (2012), no. 1, p. 41, note that pamphlets and other literary works from 1813 to 1815 praise Willem's military courage, albeit as more innate – as a member of the House of Orange – than expressed in heroic deeds.

61 'De stand van den Vorst is edel en tevens natuurlijk en deszelfs kleeding, volgens zijn verlangen zeer eenvoudig.' *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 22 December 1814. For similar reports see the *Utrechtsche Courant*, 23 December 1814.

62 'Allen, die deze voortreffelijke schilderij hebben mogen beschouwen, komen hierin overeen, dat zij bij eene treffende gelijkenis de verdienste paart van met volkomen uitvoerigheid in alle derzelver deelen bewerkt te zijn; en met regt mag er gezegd worden, dat het onderwerp op eene Zr. M. waardige wijze behandeld is. Men Vleit zich alhier, dat de gelaatstrekken van onzen geliefden Vorst, met zoo veel waarheid en kunde, door een' der eerste historie schilders van het Rijk [zijn] afgemaald …' *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 5 April 1815.

63 S. Dudink, 'Legs Fit for a King: Masculinity in the Staging of the Dutch Restoration Monarchy, 1813-1819', *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 127 (2012), no. 1, pp. 61-65. In his analysis of the 1818 portrait, Dudink takes the portrayal of the concept of masculinity as his starting point.

64 See among many others J.N. Gibèle after J. Paelinck, *Inhuldiging van Koning Willem I op het Koningsplein te Brussel*, 21 September 1815, hand-coloured aquatint (Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague).

65 Porterfield and Siegfried, op. cit. (note 53), pp. 19-20, for a similar analysis of the portraits of Napoleon.

66 Dudink, op. cit. (note 63), pp. 65-66.

67 Fühler, op. cit. (note 23), p. 35.

68 E. Koolhaas-Grosfeld, 'Een reisboek, een schilderij en de oude meesters: propaganda voor het koningschap van Willem I, 1814-1816', in De Haan, op. cit. (note 3), p. 64.

69 According to Coekelbergs and Loze, the king commissioned him to paint it, but there is no record of it in the king's cashbooks. Coekelbergs and Loze, op. cit. (note 7), p. 151. Fühler, op. cit. (note 23), on the basis of information from Dominique Maréchal, curator of the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium in Brussel; according to this reading the painting was supplied for 824.25 francs and exhibited from 9 September 1814 onwards. For the reference to the purchase date of 1834 see *Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België*, Brussels 1984, p. 67, inv./cat. no. 200. A version of this portrait in which the king is shown seated and half length is in the collection of Den Bosch city council. The Hague, RKD, IB no. 14267.

70 With thanks to the anonymous peer reviewer and Annemie Vos, curator of the Museum aan de Stroom, Antwerp, for an illustration and documentation.

71 Antwerp, Museum aan de Stroom, KBMK 1142bis/AV.1924.009.001. Information kindly supplied by Annemie Vos.

72 'Le fond de cette vaste Salle est ornée de dais royal sous lequel est placé le portrait de S. M. Devant le dais est un fauteuil non-occupé.' See Eeckhout, op. cit. (note 4), p. 112.

73 Elzenga, op. cit. (note 1), no. 5A. There is only one painting of the inauguration of Willem I as king, not painted until in 1830 by Innocent Louis Goubaud (1770-1847), who was moreover in America between 1815 and 1830. I.L. Goubaud, *Portrait of King Willem I (1772-1843) with his Wife, his Three Children and Some Courtiers*, dated 1830. The Hague, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Hague, RKD, IB no. 62331.

74 Mansel, op. cit. (note 58), pp. 77-110.

75 On the left-hand page is written *Grondwet van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden 1815*, on the right *Loi Fondamentale du Royaume*. Antwerp, Museum aan de Stroom, KBMK 1142bis.

76 E. Bergvelt, 'King 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)*, Baarn 1992, p. 263.

77 *Lijst van werken van de Tentoonstelling van Levende Meesters*, Amsterdam 1816, no. 61: C.H. Hodges, *Het afbeeldsel van Z.M. den Koning, ten voeten uit*, September 1816. See among others 'Beschouwing van de tentoonstelling der kunstwerken van levende Nederlandsche meesters, in october 1816, te Amsterdam', *Vaderlandschse Letteroefeningen* (1816), p. 765: 'The Portrait of the King, decorating the Council Chamber of the members of the Amsterdam Government to its glory, alongside the immortal works of Van der Helst and Flink, is extremely fine; and, which says much, it holds its own and the fame of its artist in such a honourable place and with such great predecessors. The likeness was universally approved. ('Het Portret van den Koning, tot roem der Amsterdamsche Regeringsleden hare Raadzaal, benevens de onsterfelijke werken van van der Helst en Flink, versierende, is uitstekend fraai; en, dat veel zegt, het handhaaft zich en den roem zijns Meesters op zoo achtbare plaats en bij zoo groote voorgangers. De gelijkenis voldeed algemeen.')

78 Willem Bartel van der Kooi, *Sketch for the Portrait of Willem I*, c. 1818. This portrait has traced lines (possibly done later) which suggest that it was used for transfer. See also an accompanying letter dated 1834 about a possible second version of the state portrait in Zwolle. The drawing and letter are in the Stedelijk Museum Zwolle (inv. no. 2826). With thanks to Shannon van Muijden, project coordinator. The portrait drawing with grid lines is in the Rijksmuseum print room, inv. no. RP-T-1964-21. The dress jacket is in the collection of the Stichting Historische Verzamelingen van het Huis Orange-Nassau, The Hague. Elzenga, op. cit. (note 1), no. 6B.

79 Fühler, op. cit. (note 23), p. 47.

80 The Hague, Koninklijk Huisarchief, Willem I's private financial records kept by E.W. Hofmann [transcription E. Bergvelt]: 'cat.nr. 84 18.10.1818 1 Brustbild Sr Maj. Des Konigs von dem Maler van der Cooy f.565,-'.

81 Karel Pieter Verhulst, *Full-Length Portrait of King Willem I*, 1819. Oil on canvas, 275 x 208 cm. City of Mechelen Collection, inv. no. S0912. With thanks to Wout Vuyst.

82 There is a second, smaller version in the Groeningemuseum in Bruges, inv. no. 0000.GRO0561.I.

83 D. Donny, *Portrait of King Willem I, King of the Netherlands*, 1821. Oil on canvas, 235 x 155.5 cm. Courtrai, Museum Groeningeabdij, inv. no. 133.

84 The Hague, Koninklijk Huisarchief, Willem I's private financial records kept by E.W. Hofmann [transcription E. Bergvelt]: 'cat.nr. 188 24.2.1814 Sr. Maj, Portrait, in Lebensgrosze ganze Figur mit dem vergoldeten Rahmen für f1.164,3 von Navez zu Brüssel'. Fühler, op. cit. (note 23), pp. 58-59, in contrast to Bergvelt, mentions

a supplementary sum of 2,465.56 guilders, without a clear source reference.

85 The Hague, RKD, IB no. 76265.

86 S. Craft and A. de Vries (eds.), *Portret in Portret in de Nederlandse kunst 1550-2012*, Bussum 2012, p. 57.

87 A print by Hürlimann and Last, published in Brussels between 1820 and 1830, may be based on Navez's painting. The maritime theme is very similar, and the iconography of the relief in Navez's work is repeated in the clock on the mantelpiece in the print. It is, though, predominantly the depiction of the king, shown here as an older man, but with the same large eyes and visionary gaze, that is reminiscent of the 1823 portrait. The Hague, RKD, IB no. 2008532.

88 The Hague, RKD, IB no. 31905.

89 Fühler, op. cit. (note 23), p. 61.

90 This painting, very obviously intended for a client in Haarlem, was still in Navez's studio during the revolution of 1830. He then gave it to the cotton manufacturer Jean Baptiste Prévinaire, who moved from Brussels to Haarlem around 1834. Currently in a private collection. With thanks to Ellinoor Bergvelt. The Hague, RKD, IB no. 31905.

91 Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp, inv. no. 1142 bis: given to the City of Antwerp by the Province of Antwerp, 1846; given to the museum by the City of Antwerp, 1964.

92 M. Mathijsen, *Historiezucht. De obsessie met het verleden in de negentiende eeuw*, Nijmegen 2013, pp. 116-17. However, the author places the portrait earlier.

93 In 1833, for instance, Adriaan van der Hoop commissioned Van der Hulst to paint a bust for his collection that can also be seen in the painting by J. Schoemaker Doyer, *Jan van Speyk overlegt of hij het kruit in brand zal steken*, 1834 (Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-C-221). E. Bergvelt et al. (eds.), *Hollandse Meesters voor een Amsterdamse Bankier. De verzameling van Adriaan van der Hoop (1778-1854)*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Amsterdams Historisch Museum) 2004, pp. 131, 156, no. 82 and p. 173, no. 159. A later version (three-quarter length) was in the Koninklijke Militaire Academie in Breda; P. van Thiel et al., *All the Paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1976, p. 293, inv. no. SK-C-287, with fig.

94 E. Bergvelt, 'Nationale, levende en moderne meesters. Rijksmusea en eigentijdse kunst (1800-1848)', in *Het Rijksmuseum. Opstellen over de geschiedenis van een nationale instelling, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 35, Weesp 1985, pp 77-150.

95 Witte, op. cit. (note 17), pp. 37-47.

96 See the analysis of pamphlets and other literary sources on Willem I as a father figure. Lok and Scholz, op. cit. (note 60), pp. 33-40.

97 On the Prince of Orange and the portrayal of Waterloo see the articles by Jolien Gijbels and Michael Putter in this Bulletin. Matthijs Lok wrote an interesting study from a different perspective: M. Lok, 'De cultuur van het vergeten onder Willem I', in R. Vosters and J. Weijermars (eds.), *Taal, cultuurbeleid en natievorming onder Willem I*, Brussels 2012 (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, Nieuwe reeks, no. 23), pp. 61-85. With thanks to Jolien Gijbels.

APPENDIX
Formatting Unity

Full-Length Portraits of Willem I Painted in the Period of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1814-1830)

Year	Southern Netherlands	Northern Netherlands
1814	Paelinck, Ghent	Van Bree, Antwerp
1815	Paelinck, The Hague	
1816	Van Bree, inauguration portrait	Hodges, Amsterdam
1817	Paelinck, London (Clancarty)	
1818	Paelinck, Brussels	Van der Kooi, Zwolle
1819	Paelinck, Buitenzorg	Van der Hulst, Mechelen
1820	Ducq, Bruges	
1821	Donny, Courtrai	
1820-1830	Van Bree/Odevaere, Antwerp	
Before 1823	Paelinck, Berlin?	
1823	Navez, London (Wellington)	
1824	Navez, exh. Haarlem	
1827	Paelinck, St Petersburg?	DeLanghe, Ypres
1828	Van der Kooi, Leeuwarden	
1830	Van der Hulst, Noordeinde Palace	C. Kruseman, The Hague

Fig. 3