Antiquity in plaster: production, reception and destruction of plaster copies from the Athenian Agora to Felix Meritis in Amsterdam

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7.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE PLASTER COLLECTION OF THE LEARNED SOCIETY FELIX MERITIS IN AMSTERDAM (1777-1889)

Un beau plâtre est plus qu’une copie: c’est l’empreinte et l’image la plus naïve et la plus fidele possible de son original et s’il ne rend ni le marbre ni le bronze, ce marbre et ce bronze à leur tour ne constituent pas seuls toute la beauté de la sculpture ancienne, il leur a fallu, et il leur faut ce souffle divin, qui les dématérialise, le donne d’abord à l’argile qui leur servit de modelle et le transmit encoure à leur fidèle empreinte (..)

D.P.G. Humbert de Superville

Introduction

A splendid subject, which proved worthwhile to investigate, is the former plaster collection of the learned Dutch society Felix Meritis in Amsterdam. Their drawing department owned a very substantial collection of plaster statues, all casts from well renowned sculptures of Classical antiquity. This prominent collection represents a fine example of the reception of Neo-Classicist concepts and attitudes in Holland during this period. The fact that no extensive research had ever been carried out on the history of this collection made it a proper subject for further investigation.

The research was primarily conducted in the Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (Municipal Archive of the city of Amsterdam) where the minute books, cashbooks, inventories, and correspondence of Felix Meritis are preserved, and the Nationaal Archief Den Haag (General State Archives The Hague). Additional research was carried out at the Provinciaal Rijksarchief Noord-Holland in Haarlem; Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum in The Hague; the Prentenkabinet in Leiden; the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam; the Rijksakademie van Beeldende Kunsten in Amsterdam; the Atelier de Moulage, Reunion de Musée Nationaux in Paris; the Teylers Museum in Haarlem; the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam; and the Koninklijk Huis Archief, The Hague.

Some of the questions that will be addressed are of a practical nature. For instance: to what extent is it possible to reconstruct this collection, how were the plasters obtained, and where were they originally manufactured? Or the financial aspects, where were they purchased? For what period did they stay in the possession of Felix Meritis and can they still be located today? The appendices in the back offer transcriptions of important documents and manuscripts that illustrate how collections were built-up, prices, acquisitions etc.

For further theoretical background and analysis we need to have a brief look at the evolution of the society tradition in Holland. The didactic value that plaster collections had for art academies, drawing schools and other early 19th-century educational institutions has been thoroughly investigated by several scholars. My remarks on this topic are therefore confined to a résumé: a backdrop of the specific didactic context in which plaster statues functioned. In addition to this some specific art historical questions will be reviewed. For

674. Humbert de Superville, Projet d’un musée classique de la statuaire ancienne au moyen de jets en plâtre (1817), PKL, (35 fols) MS HdS Suppl.
example the significance of the plaster collection for contemporary Dutch artists, and the influences that plaster statues had on taste and aesthetics.

1. The expansion of copy practises in the 18th-century

Of particular interest in relation to our subject is the fact that the 18th-century saw an unprecedented growth of art copying practises. This has to be understood against the background of the exclusive position that the visual arts actually had in 18th-century society.

During the 18th- and early 19th-centuries the possibilities for the wider public to view genuine artworks was limited. To enhance ones insight into art the art-lover could join a society or a drawing school where often original drawings and engravings were made accessible by collectors. Although experiments done with colour reproduction techniques, it was not until the end of the 19th-century with the invention of lithography that mass-produced colour reproductions were widely available. It is striking that the two most famous surveys on 18th-century Dutch painting, the Groote Schouburgh der Nederlandsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen by Arnold Houbraken (1718-1721), and Levens-Beschrijvingen der Nederlandsche Konstschilders en Konst-schilderessen by Jacob Campo Weyerman (1727-1769), do not contain any reproductions of artworks, with the exception of some engraved portraits of painters.

To actually see paintings the possibilities were even more limited since only few could afford the luxury of long distance travel, besides public museums were rare to find. In the Dutch Republic for instance there was the collection of William V in The Hague that functioned as a kind of national museum since 1774. An alternative were public buildings, like city halls, where works of art could be found, but also churches were visited. Moreover there were the art cabinets of private art-collectors but in most cases they were only accessible with an introduction (ill.1+2). These limitations increased the need for other means of getting acquainted with art, this led into an unprecedented growth of art-copying practices. The demand came primarily from collectors and scholars but in the long run it also was to the benefit of the wider public.

Highly accurate engravings, casts and models were commercially manufactured and became available not only for commercial showrooms but also for universities, drawing academies etc. One can think of picture atlases or thesauri which reproduced famous artworks in copper engravings, plaster casts of renowned ancient statues, casts in different materials of engraved stones assembled in so-called dactyliothecs, or architectural cork models particularly of ancient buildings. Plaster casts were relatively inexpensive which made it possible for the average collector to add all kind of works of art as replica to his collection.

All this had far reaching consequences for the history of art as an academic discipline. It can be argued that these developments set the very conditions that made art history possible. One cannot deny the fact that the picture atlases and other reproduction techniques are indispensable means in order to make an intellectual hypothetical genealogy of Art History possible. This was already realised by contemporaries. H. Merz put it quite eloquently in the introduction of Denkmäler der Kunst zur Übersicht ihres Entwicklungs-


2. Historical aspects: the Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic

During the second half of the 18th-century the revolutionary concepts of the Enlightenment with new ideas on education, morals, science and politics gradually spread to the Dutch Republic, though they were not as revolutionary here as in England or France. The moderate character of the Dutch Enlightenment was due to several reasons. For example, the new concept of tolerance, one of the major merits of the Enlightenment, was nothing new. Since the 16th century there had always been a fairly tolerant climate in the Netherlands. This was already apparent in the works of scholars like Erasmus and Coornhert, whose main premises were based on tolerance and respect for ones fellow man. Politically, contrary to the French situation, there existed a divided state system that prevented the establishment of an absolute regime with absolute power. There was also no monopoly of a state Church, or at least far less than the orthodox ministers wanted. Whether the Dutch mentality of tolerance should be explained from pragmatic mercantilism and indifference or from noble principles is a question which is open for debate.

The Dutch Enlightenment has also been called a Christian Enlightenment because many of the enlightened thinkers had a Protestant background. It can be said that in general the 18th-century explorer saw no contradiction between reason and revelation. Natural scientists were convinced that empirical research reaffirmed Gods existence. In practice the theories of John Locke and Isaac Newton gained more ground than the premises of pure rational thought as formulated by René Descartes.

Physico-theology sought a compromise between natural science and religion. An early voice in defence of such a scientific-religious attitude is found with Bernard Nieuwentyt (1654-1718). This physician, who also was one of the regents in Purmerend, wrote a treatise under the title Regt gebruik der Werelt-Beschouwingent er Overtuiginge van Ongadisten en Ongelovigen aangetoont (The right Use of contemplating the Works of the Creator). In his book he defended natural science with arguments based on the experimental tradition as practised by Newton. Although natural science did not prevent him from subordinating all the wonders of nature as a revelation of Gods existence. It was a great success judging from the reprints: seventeen between 1715 and 1759, with translations into German, English and French. Of a more international stature was the work of the Frenchman Abbé Pluche. His Spectacle de la Nature ou entretiens sur les particularités de l’histoire naturelle (1732) was

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679. R. van Gelder in Zwager 1980, 11. The religious tolerance is also evident from the fact that Jewish synagogues were allowed to be build, three in Amsterdam in 1670 (German Synagogue), 1675 (Portuguese Synagogue) and 1752 (The New Synagogue). The legal acceptance of Roman Catholic Church buildings dates from 1737. What was left of the ties between Church and State was abolished by the Nationale Vergadering (National Assembly) in 1796. The commission who prepared the new constitution declared that: Er kan geen bevoorrechte of heerschende Kerk in Nederland meer geduld worden (no longer can a ruling privileged church be tolerated in the Netherlands).
one of the most read books of the century for it was translated into Dutch in sixteen volumes between 1737 and 1749 with reprints in 1783 and 1799. Its main aim was to demonstrate God’s benevolence in nature. A later book in the same vein is by a minister from the Dutch town of Zutphen, J.F. Martinet’s *Katechismus der Natuur* (Catechism of nature), written in 1770. It saw no less than five reprints before 1790.\(^{680}\)

The effect of such developments was the subtle transformation of the common traditional religious beliefs. This was of course a gradual process but in the end it would prove to have drastic consequences. For one the dominance of dogmatism and a rigid church order was reduced. In the light of the new mentality the different Church denominations were now appreciated as merely useful institutions to educate the common people.\(^{681}\)

By the end of the 18th-century the cultural influence of France on the Dutch was omnipresent. People began to dress in a French fashion, one read French books, conversations were carried on in French, and French manners and customs were imitated. In the political realm there was a growing dissatisfaction with the existing order. The new ideal of *Les droits de l’homme* (the rights of man) had to replace the oligarchic regime of the Dutch regents. How this was to be achieved was not clear at first but in the end it would take a violent upheaval, not only in France but also in the provinces of the Dutch Republic.\(^{682}\)

For some length of time life in the 18th-century ‘revolutionary’ Dutch Republic was calm and quiet. The evolving opposition and new ideas found little response with the lower strata of the population, but the middle-class proved to be very receptive. This group, which constituted a substantial part of the population, not only had the time and financial means, but also the political motivation to carry through changes.

A prominent role in promoting new ideas was the spectatorial magazines which in the course of the century gained immense popularity. Between 1718 and 1800 there existed more than seventy different *spectatorials* plus a dozen or so in foreign languages. In addition to this there was an ongoing flow of pamphlets that became in vogue after 1780. The latter in particular were influential in speeding up the political process in the Dutch Republic during the seventeen eighties. As a result an emancipation process of growing consciousness and awareness was set in motion among the middle class of the population.

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680. For Nieuwentyt, also see: Beth 1955. Pluche’s book appeared in Dutch in numerous reprints under the title: *Schouwtoneel der Natuur of Samenspraken* (..). The translation in English under the title: *Spectacle de la nature: or, Nature display’d : Being discourses on such particulars of natural history* (..) [4 Vols.] 1740-1747.

681. Significant in this context is the foundation in 1784 of the society *De Maatschappy tot Nut van het Algemeen* by Jan Nieuwenhuyzen who was a minister at Edam. It should be perceived as an idealistic attempt to elevate common man from his deprived state. Moreover it indicates that despite the firm belief in God’s ordination of the social classes, it was allowed to make an effort to improve oneself and rise in ones social status. It is also conspicuous how many Baptists took part in these ‘philosophic’ civic societies. Beside Nieuwenhuyzen, there were for instance Cornelis and Petrus Loosjes, editors of *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, or Willem Writs, the founder of *Felix Meritis*. The Dutch historian Pieter Geyl (1947, 24) stated that: ‘The dissenters took part in the societies with great confidence. One did not seek religious quarrels but consent and even attempted to unite the different church denominations’. Dissenter was an expression derived from the English situation and was used to describe al those who did not belong to the State church. In 18th-century Holland they were Baptists and Remonstrants.

3. The reception of Neo-classicist ideals

The revival of antiquity during the late 18th-century gave a new momentum to Classical antique culture. The name Neo-classicism, which originally had a derogatory meaning that was given to this period, was first formulated in the 19th-century. Neo-classicism primarily defined an art style, but for some it was more, it represented a life-style or a norm for civilisation. In its extreme form it led to a phenomenon that has been described as anticomania, denoting the late eighteenth-century craze among collectors for antique works of Greek and Roman art and artefacts. Collectors attributed an almost religious belief to these objects as a ‘silent witness of eternity’, or ‘evidence of infinite truth’. These concepts blended in very well with the ideas of the Enlightenment, such as the perfection of man and his pursuit of happiness. Such ideas and concepts that constitute the basis of the Neo-classicist attitude were promoted by art theorists like Johann Joachim Winckelmann.

Especially after 1750, in line with the Enlightenment ideals, many writers were in pursuit of knowledge of the human psyche. There was an urge to set out parameters in relation to how art was experienced. Taste was a central motif in their deliberations and discussions. Also in Holland art theorists involved themselves with this question.683

In late 18th-century Holland erudite men like Hiëronymus van Alphen, Rhynvis Feith and Roeland van Eynden wrote on the subject. They were all strongly influenced by Winckelmann’s views; especially his Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums (1764) was well received and widely appreciated. Van Eynden described Winckelmann’s ideas in his ‘Essay on Taste in Painting’ (1787) as: ‘Geleerde oordeelkundige beschryvingen, en grootse denkbeelden van het verhevene en schoone der Antique Standbeelden’ (Learned judicious descriptions, and great thoughts and notions on the magnificence and pulchritude of Antique Statues).684

4. The learned society as a means of reform

The learned society as a place where intellectuals exchanged scientific thoughts and ideas, originates from the Italian Renaissance. It was there that humanist scholars revived the platonic ideal of how science should be practised. Contrary to the established universities the meetings of these sodalitates or fraternities took place in an atmosphere unhampered by religious or scientific conventions.685 Not only were these societies a centre for the exchange of new ideas, they also had a social function. Many European countries imitated this Italian literary academy which was fashioned as a society of poets. A culmination point was the foundation of Académie Française on instigation of Cardinal Richelieu in 1635.686 The humanist academies that originated in the 15th or 16th century were mostly linguistic, but specialisation, also in Italy, soon resulted into two types of societies. By the beginning of the 17th century the society tradition incorporated the new experimental research which was often under restriction at the established universities for mostly religious reasons.687

684. Eijnden 1787, 19 (e), also see Buijnsters 1976, 109.
685. The oldest of these fraternities was the academy of Florence which was founded in 1457. Usually these academies were well organized and united under the protection of a rich maecenas or a renowned scholar.
686. As the French pendant of the Italian Accademia della Crusca which was founded in 1583 and internationally renowned for its linguistic activities.
687. At the universities in Holland during the 17th century there was no religious freedom. In Leyden and Utrecht the Calvinistic doctrine was prescribed for students and professors. Although the general
these restricting circumstances informal societies evolved that consisted of talented amateurs as well as those with an academic background. Here they could conduct independent scientific experiments and judge each other’s scientific results.

The situation in the Dutch Republic was more liberal since the universities were of a more recent date and less hampered by tenacious medieval scholastic traditions. In the period before the societies were well established corporate life was informal. Clubs and circles of different stature did exist but they were rather informally organized. It is characteristic that the different social groups of the Ancien Régime did not really engage each other. The consolidation of the hierarchical social structures during this period demanded the support not only of the authorities of a town or region but also the approval of the ministers of the Reformed Church in order to successfully establish a society. During the first decades of the 18th-century the enlightened mentality and interest for natural science was insufficient present among regents and ministers. By the middle of the century the climate changed when gradually regents, members of the middle class and also ministers grew interested in the natural sciences. Physico-theology played an important role in this process.

The foundation in 1752 of the Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen (Dutch Society of Sciences) marked a new phenomenon in scientific life of the Dutch Republic. Next to the established scientific institutions and universities this new centre had to stimulate the sciences and arts. Not only here but also in the foundation of later societies ministers played and important role. One of the features of these early societies is that the members themselves did not conduct scientific research. Problems were discussed and solutions that were sent in were rewarded with prizes. The hierarchic social stratification was perpetuated, it were the later societies, after the seventeen-sixties, that had an organisational structure that was not based on social background. Although financial aspects in regard to the contributions did present problems for those with little financial means.

The proliferation of enlightened ideas took place at mainly two locations, the coffeehouse and the society. The coffeehouses were of course informal gathering places, but citizens who were more seriously interested in politics, arts, and sciences were able to join a patriotic society in their hometown. Different societies emerged all over the country and were organised according to different disciplines, such as literature, art, mathematics, natural sciences and even medicine. They had resounding names like Vlijt is de Voedster der Wetenschappen (Diligence is the Foster-mother of Science), Tot Leerzaam Vermaak (To Instructive Entertainment), or De Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen (The Society to the Benefit of Universality) in short called: Het Nut. Between 1748 and 1808 fifty-two of such well-organized societies were founded. They organised lectures, offered prizes for different subjects, set up collections and conducted scientific experiments. All in all it gave a great stimulus to the popularisation of science and contributed to the popular proliferation of aesthetic ideas.

attitude was more liberal than at other European universities since a progressive spirit sympathetic to Cartesian teaching soon overthrew Aristotelian physics. For elaboration see: Ornstein 1975, 250ff.

688. The University of Leyden was founded in 1575, the University of Groningen in 1614, the, University of Amsterdam (Athenaeum Illustre) in 1634 and the University of Utrecht in 1634.

689. For elaboration and also as an addition to the article by Mijnhardt (1983), see: Reitsma 1987, 35-49.

690. In foundation of De Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen (1752) the Lutheran minister Van der Aa was involved, in Het Zeeuwsch Genootschap (1768) no less than five ministers were involved, see: Mijnhardt 1978, 68.


5. Grand plaster collections from Paris ordered by King Louis Bonaparte

In 1806 Napoleon Bonaparte, who was crowned emperor of France only two years earlier, installed his brother Louis as puppet king of the Dutch. In a general sense this opened a period which gave the Dutch people an opportunity to get used to the idea of kingship and to some extent prepared them for the future Kingdom of the United Netherlands. King Louis proved to be an intelligent, enthusiastic man with a wide interest. He brought the period of stagnancy and decay, which characterised the latter years that the Dutch lived under French rule, to a good end. His rule brought an effective change in the realms of economy, finance, religion and legislation. Last but not least it proved to be a very fertile period for the arts and gave a stimulus to cultural life in general. King Louis made sure he was well informed about different aspects of arts and science in the Netherlands. For this purpose a committee was assembled in 1806 that had to report directly to him. It was made up of Johan Meerman (the later General Director of Arts and Science), the librarian Charles Sulpice, and the architect Jean Thomas Thibault. The committee report dealt with learned societies, schools, libraries, observatories, art-academies, art-cabinets and means to encourage scholars and artists. In effect it constituted the basis of the cultural politics of Louis for the following years.693

From early on during his reign King Louis had plans to found a royal art academy. Already in January 1807 the king issued an instruction in twenty-one articles that was to be the guideline for the work of the newly appointed Directeur-Général des Beaux-Arts (general director of Fine Arts): Carel Gerard Hultman. According to article seven Hultman was to be the chairman of a future art academy. Since plaster statues were regarded as an indispensable didactic means in the curriculum article sixteen stipulated that it was his task ‘to assemble a collection of the best plaster statues’.694 Hultman held the position for only a short period, and already by the 14th of October 1807 he was succeeded by Johan Meerman.695 This new director of Arts and Sciences -the function was now combined with sciences and education- received an instruction from the king by the end of 1807 to order from the Musée Napoléon (Louvre) in Paris a complete set of plaster statues cast from the most renowned classical antique statues (see: Appendix III).696 This was made possible because many renowned statues from the Vatican collection and several other famous sculptures were confiscated as booty of war and put on display at the former Louvre palace which by then was turned into the main national museum. In a workshop that was joined to the museum, plaster copies of

693. A direct result was the foundation in 1808 of the Koninklijk Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Koninklijke Academie (Royal Institute of Science, Literature and Fine arts, Royal Academy), the Koninklijk Museum (Royal Museum) both in Amsterdam, and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library) in the Hague. See: ARA, SS. Lod.Nap. 1798-1811 [nr.toegang 2.01.01.07] inv.nr.129: Decree issued by king Louis Bonaparte in regard to the foundation of the Royal Institute of Sciences, Literature and Fine Arts. For details see Brummel (1951), 11ff., (1959), 10ff.; Grijzenhout 1999.

694. By the 22nd of January 1807 king Louis gave instruction to C.G. Hultman when he accepted his position as General Director of Fine arts, to assemble a collection of the finest plaster statues. Article 16 read: Hij zal eene verzameling der beste Pleister-beelden doen bijeen brengen. The complete instruction of 21 articles is transcribed by Moes & Biema 1909, 88ff.

695. Meerman designed a concept instruction for the duties of the General Director of Arts and Sciences at the 16th of January 1808, see: MMW, Meerman archief S.108.

696. The order is confirmed in a letter from Vivant-Denon to Johan Meerman dated 2nd of January 1808. In this letter Denon refers to the letter of the 23rd of December 1807 in which Meerman conveyed the request of king Louis (ARA, Arch. BiZa, 1795-1813 [nr.toegang 2.01.12] inv.nr. 906).
these statues were commercially manufactured and from here found their way all over Europe.\footnote{This plaster workshop exists until this day. A general history of this institution is written by Florence Rionnet 1996.}

By the 26\textsuperscript{th} of March, Vivant Denon, at the time the director of the \textit{Musée Napoléon}, reported to Meerman that the plasters were packed in forty-one crates and ready for transport. The plaster collection itself cost Fr. 3561,50 in addition to this came packing charges and custom clearance which brought the total amount to Fr. 5274,50. The Dutch ambassador in Paris transferred the money on the 7\textsuperscript{th} of April 1808.\footnote{Letter from Vivant-Denon to Johan Meerman dated 26\textsuperscript{th} of March 1808 (ARA, Arch. BiZa, 1795-1813 [nr.toegang 2.01.12] inv.nr. 906). Decree dated the 7\textsuperscript{th} of April 1808 by king Louis in which the Dutch ambassador in Paris is ordered to pay Fr.5274, 50 for the plaster collection (ARA, SS.Lod.Nap 1798-1811 [nr.toegang 2.01.01.07] inv.nr.125). By the 4\textsuperscript{th} of May 1808 Meerman reports to the king that the plasters are packed (ARA, SS. Lod.Nap. 1798-1811 [nr.toegang 2.01.01.07]. inv.nr.129).} By June 1808 the crates with fragments as well as unassembled complete plaster statues were delivered at the Royal Palace in Amsterdam. A hand-written bill of cargo has survived time (ill.3); in it each item is meticulously recorded, including the exact prices for which they were purchased.\footnote{ARA, Archief Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv.nr. 123. This memorandum confirmes the presence of the plasters at the Royal Palace in Amsterdam. In contrary to information from existing studies (Stafford 1976, 21; Boschma 1978, 56; Koevoets 1983, 105; Knolle 1983, 165; Zutter 1991, 14) this document clearly states that the plasters were unpacked from their crates: \textit{Den inhoud van 41 kisten met Pleisterbeelden, zijnde Modellen van het Museum Napoleon, volgens de daarbij geëxhibeerde Inventaris bij Procesverbaal opgemaakt bij derzelver ontpakking op het Paleis te Amsterdam} (transcription by Moes & Biema 1909, 133).} We know therefore that the collection was quite extensive and made up of in total 218 pieces of sculpture:

- seventeen large statues
- nine small scale replica statues
- fifty-eight large busts
- seven small busts
- nine torsos
- ninety-three fragments: like hands, feet and arms
- nine masks
- one horse-head
- thirteen reliefs
- one vase plus one ornament of a vase.

Soon after Cornelis Apostool accepted his post as director of the Royal Museum in 1808 he drew up a memorandum dated 2\textsuperscript{nd} of January 1809. This involved an inventory of the artworks that were put under his care. It also mentions the plaster statues with the comment that they had previously been unpacked at the Royal Palace in Amsterdam.\footnote{See: Brugmans 1913, XXVIII; Lunsingh Scheurleer 1953, 246.} It is known that the king destined the former \textit{Groote Krijgskamer} plus adjacent rooms at the south side to be the Royal Museum.\footnote{Brugmans 1913, (41) 53, (68) 107.} Hundreds of paintings were put on display here, plus dozens of antiquities. Among the paintings was \textit{The Night Watch} by Rembrandt\footnote{Stated in a letter from king Louis Bonaparte to Fornier Montcazals dated the 14\textsuperscript{th} of December 1808. The letter now in Paris, Archives Nationales, was transcribed by Brugmans 1913, (96) 144.}, and among the antiquities a (marble?) copy of the \textit{Venus de Medici}.\footnote{Brugmans 1913, (41) 53, (68) 107.} Although the plasters were unpacked none of the inventories of the Royal Palace during the reign of King Louis mention the...
display of a large plaster statue collection. The only plasters that were mentioned are a plaster bust of the counsellor of state Melchior Camper ‘en plâtre bronzé’ and a plaster bust of the physician Deyman. However these busts were put on display there for representative reasons and were not very likely to have functioned in a museum context.\textsuperscript{704} The plaster statues like those in the collection that came from Paris were intended for educational purposes, it is therefore unlikely that they would have been displayed among genuine artworks. It is unknown where the plasters were stored during the next four years until they were transferred in 1813 to Leyden on the initiative of Humbert de Superville.

But the story does not end here, because shortly after the first collection Louis gave orders for a second collection of plaster statues which was to be donated to the society \textit{Felix Meritis} in Amsterdam. By the 20\textsuperscript{th} of May 1808 Meerman was instructed to order from Paris a second complete set of plasters. At the 24\textsuperscript{th} of May 1808 Meerman asked Denon for information on the financial aspects. By the 25\textsuperscript{th} of August 1808 this second set of plaster statues left Paris, total costs Fr. 5239, 25. By royal decree dated the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of September Fl. 2620, - was made available for payment of the plaster collection which by this time had arrived at \textit{Felix Meritis} in Amsterdam.\textsuperscript{705} The minute book of the general extra annual meeting of \textit{Felix Meritis} at the 7\textsuperscript{th} of November 1808 mentions the ‘Splendid and precious gift of his majesty the king, packed in forty-one crates with plasters casts of antique statues’.\textsuperscript{706}

What might have motivated King Louis to make such a generous donation? We know that he took a special interest in \textit{Felix Meritis} because very early during his reign, on the 10\textsuperscript{th} of January 1806, he received a splendid welcome at this society. In return the president was invited for an official dinner with the king.\textsuperscript{707} A second visit took place on the 18\textsuperscript{th} of May 1808. At this occasion Louis expressed his appreciation of the society and also his desire to become a member.\textsuperscript{708} By the 19\textsuperscript{th} of May 1808 Louis was given the title of patron of the society plus the honorary membership.\textsuperscript{709} Another indication of the king’s interest is evident from a letter dated the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of March 1808, written by the commissioners of \textit{Felix Meritis} addressed to Meerman in which they explain the structure and organisation of their society.\textsuperscript{710}

\textsuperscript{704}. Also see: Brugmans 1913, 151.
\textsuperscript{705}. ARA, Arch. BiZa, 1795-1813 [nr.toegang 2.01.12] inv.nr. 906.
\textsuperscript{706}. GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.1: Notulenboek Algemene extra en jaarlijkse vergaderingen, 7\textsuperscript{th} of November 1808, p.345. The passage reads: (..) Het zo luijsterrijk als kostbaar geschenk het welk zijne Majesteit den Koning, thans ons eerst Honorair Lid behaagt heeft aan dit genoodschap te doen. -in 41- kisten met afgietsels van Antique Beelden Busten en Basreliefs onder welke zeer vele uitmuntende stukken gevonden worden die tot hier toe hier te lande nog niet bekend waaren; als daar zijn - De Pallas of Minerva (..) De Hermaphroditus (..) De Gladiator - de Group van Castor en Pollux (..) de Kleine Adonis de Apolline, en veene andere busten en fragmenten die voor de studiën zeer belangrijk zijn (..).
\textsuperscript{707}. Notulenboek Algemene Vergadering 1787-1835, 13\textsuperscript{th} of December 1806 (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.1).
\textsuperscript{708}. Notulenboek der Vereenigde Vergaderingen 1787-1835, 18\textsuperscript{th} of May 1808 (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.18): [king Louis Bonaparte] had zijn genoegen over hetzelve [de Maatschappij] getoond en ook tevens zijne begeerte getoond om als lid te worden aangenomen.
\textsuperscript{709}. Notulenboek der Vereenigde Vergaderingen 1787-1835, 19\textsuperscript{th} of May 1808 (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.18): Zonder toestemming der Leden bied de commissie in dezen met bevoegheid Z.M. [Lodewijk Napoleon] de tytel van Beschermheer der Maatschappij aan. Moreover king Louis was also granted the title of First Honorary Member (buitengewoon Eerst Honorair Lid). Also see: Notulenboek Algemene Vergadering 1787-1835, 7\textsuperscript{th} of November 1808 (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.1): Zijne Majesteit Lodewijk Napoleon Koning van Holland enz. enz. bezocht afgelopen zomer de Maatschappij en werd voorgedragen tot Eerst Honorair Lidmaatschap.
\textsuperscript{710}. ARA, Arch. BiZa, 1795-1813 [nr.toegang 2.01.12] inv.nr. 906: Letter dated 3-3-1808, to: His Excellency the General Director of Sciences and Arts [Meerman] at the Hague. From: The
This was significant because it was after all Meerman who was in charge of informing the king in regard to his policy on cultural matters.

The annexation of the Kingdom of Holland by Napoleon at the 9th of June 1810 dissolved all sympathy that Felix Meritis might have had for the French. For when in October 1810 high ranking French officers requested the use the concert hall for a ballroom party this was refused. By 1811 Napoleon Bonaparte was on a tour through Holland, he also visited Amsterdam, which was by now declared the third capital of the empire. On the occasion of this visit, by special request of the mayor of Amsterdam, a party was organised in the rooms of Felix Meritis. This was later grudgingly looked back upon: ‘When the municipality of a humiliated Amsterdam was obliged to prepare the usurpator a party, which the rancorous Corsican did not deign even a glance of gratification’.712

6. The learned society Felix Meritis in Amsterdam

One has to realise that the Dutch Enlightenment was first and foremost a middle class movement, not a social movement. Felix Meritis (Felicity through Merits), like most of the 18th-century societies, evolved from the pursuit of knowledge by the emancipated middle-classes.713

The society was founded in Amsterdam in 1777 and dissolved in 1885. The founders consisted of a group of well-educated and fairly prosperous citizens, although they did not belong to the upper crust of rich merchants and investors which constituted the municipal government of the city. Neither were they great revolutionaries, but rather people that were open for change and looking for improvement by intellectual efforts. Empirical research and encyclopaedic knowledge were the just tools to achieve progress. Illustrative of their attitude is an account dating from 1800 which describes experiments with a sun-microscope. It tells us that this was done: ‘To the common benefit and pleasant recreation of the members, whose hunger for science invigorates their flourishing society’.714

commissioners of the society of virtues under the device Felix Meritis. The text reads: (.) betreffende een memorie wegens de Inrichting, het bestaan de Directie, en de Leden der Maatschappij Felix Meritis (.). Het doel van de Inrichting der Maatschappij bestaat, bij wijze van eene nuttige uitspanning, Verstand en deugd aan te kweken en kunsten en Weetenschappen te doen bloeien tot bevordering van welk doel haare werkzaamheden verdeelt zijn in vijf Departementen, te teeren het Departement Teekenkunde, Letterkunde, Koophandel, Zeevaart & Fabrieken, Natuur & Wiskunde en Muziek.

711. GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr. 9, 28.
713. 18th-century Amsterdam was a city of retired merchants and tradesmen. Trade was declining, the last time the VOC paid dividend was in 1782. The cities population could be divided in three social strata: *)A top layer of wealthy merchants and bankers that was decreasing. *)A middle-class of citizens. *)An underclass of paupers and working men. It was the middle-class who opposed the lethargy of the House of Orange and the mismanagement of the civic authorities. Although one did not always have the political means to put all the ideas into practise, one was looking for new ways and opportunities. What appealed greatly was the Enlightenment’s concept of reason, or wisdom that Nature taught us, or the knowledge of man and the world. It is from this social group that Felix Meritis evolved. See: Mak 1999, 7 ff; For the history of the society see Gompes & Ligtelijn 2008.
Felix Meritis was a society of the ‘second generation’, a result of the pre-political emancipatory ideals of the middle-classes. This second generation of societies was in fact the result of the success of the spectatorial message which stimulated a broad part of the middle-classes to exercise common civilisation and virtue. That is, the involvement with arts and sciences. The difference with the first generation is that they did not have the desire to make the result of their activities known to a wider public. The ‘third generation’ distinguished itself from the former because of its attempt to social reform.715

In its early days the society meetings took place in some small rooms of a house on the Leliegracht, but not less than ten years after its foundation the society had its own building erected at the Keizersgracht 324. The impressive building, which reflects the style of the period, was designed by the architect Jacob Otten Husly (1738-1796) (ill.4a). Most conspicuous was the imposing classical facade with four sturdy, imbedded columns of sandstone that still exists to this day (ill.4b). Unfortunately a fire destroyed most the interior in 1932. Originally it consisted of several large rooms, like a music room where also scientific experiments were conducted (ill.5), a lecture room for literary discourse, several exhibition rooms. It also included a drawing classroom and hall of plaster statues or ‘Museum’ as it was called, where the department of drawing conducted its debating’s on art (ill.6a, b, c). For astronomical purposes there was even a modest observatory on the roof (ill.7).

Despite the Enlightenment ideal of equality in its early days the society was rather exclusive in regard to membership. Candidates who wanted to join the society had to profess the Christian faith, be of blameless character and during the first years Jews were not admitted. Voting took place by ballot, and existing members could thwart the application of a candidate with money or grievances.716 Until 1859 women were excluded from membership of the society and were only allowed entrance at festive occasions. During the later years of the society the atmosphere became more liberal and plural. There were even idealistic aspirations to accommodate the lower social strata of the population.

Due to the turbulent period that existed by the end of the 18th-century and in order to maintain their independence the members observed political neutrality.717 This status is confirmed by the fact that when in 1794 the authorities decided to close down all the private societies, Felix Meritis was exempted.718 However the events shortly after 1795 when the French invasion army had crossed the river Waal, created an exceptional situation. Among the opposing patriots were also members of Felix Meritis, for a short time the society served as a gathering place of these ‘subdued conspirators’.719 But this should not be exaggerated, of course there must have been political discussions, but these took place outside the official activities, the political neutrality of the society was never really compromised.720 Those who were politically inclined would have gone to one of the many coffeehouses that were fashionable at the time in Amsterdam. It was there that the coffeehouse gentry commonly exchanged political ideas.

716. For this purpose a special money box existed that was to be opened at the day of the vote. Did the money exceed a certain amount the candidate-member was instantly rejected. This system was still in existence by 1849.
717. Willem Writs, the founder of Felix Meritis had clearly stated that neither the church nor the state determined his motivation. See: Nagelaten stukken Willem Writs (189), GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.1; nr.71. Simon Schama’s evaluation (1977,170) of the intentions of the members was less favourable: ‘Whose radicalism was sometimes fashionable, sometimes sincerely held, but never dangerous enough to jeopardise their budding careers’.
718. GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr. 28, 24, 9?
720. For details see: Reitsma 1983, 120ff
7. The didactic significance of plaster statues

The academic doctrine, often defined as classicist or Neo-classicist was, as we have seen earlier, based on Zuccaro who introduced this step by step method at the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome first formulated at the Accademia del Disegno in Florence and the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, where the general axiom was the platonic ideal. One believed in the existence of absolute and perfect beauty, an abstraction, of which the human form in daily life was only a reflection, but which could be equalled in art. Perfection was not easily attained. The norm for perfect beauty was more and more determined by a derivative, that is Classical sculpture. It explains the belief in the instructive value of drawing after plaster casts of renowned ancient classical statues at drawing schools, drawing academies and drawing departments of societies.

Academic art education is therefore based on a long established tradition. It was canonised by the French Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris in 1663. During the 18th-century drawing was often associated with the antique phrase exercitatio. Gerard de Lairesse explained this in his Grondlegginge der Teekenkunst (1701). Students had to complete a series of practical phases. In a first phase one had to draw after prints, then from low reliefs or plaster statues, subsequently followed by an anatomical model (iedepop). Finally the highest level was attained by drawing after a live nude model. The French influence is also felt with Arnold Houbraken (1721), a renowned author of an early 18th-century anecdotal collection of artists’ biographies. Houbraken referred to Charles le Brun as the authority of the French Academy whose method of instruction, where anatomy played a prominent role, ‘produced many fine spirits and famous painters’.721

The French model of academic education was copied throughout Europe. This trend is, among others, reflected in Johann Sulzer’s Theorie der Schönen Künste (1771). Under the entry Academien we find a description of this French curriculum of art education. Explicitly mentioned is the need for an academy to own a collection of plasters cast after the most renowned antiques as well as some modern works, in part as in whole. This to enable the youth to practise not only to enhance their taste but also to learn the art of light and shadow and to learn the shortened perspective of the human body.722 In Holland several art schools and academies were founded in different cities. The first one, founded in The Hague in 1682, was soon followed by Dordrecht, Utrecht, Groningen, Middelburg, Haarlem, Leyden and Rotterdam. The names given to these institutions varied from academie, tekschool, collegie,

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722. Sulzer 1771, 8-9. Under the entry Academien Sulzer states that an art academy should own a number of drawing books with figures after the antique and great masters like Raphael, Michelangelo and the Caracci plus a collection of copper engravings and, preferably, a collection of paintings. In addition to this a collection of plaster statues is indispensable. Die [Mahler] Academie muss hiernächst mit einem guten Vorrath von Sachen versehen seyn, die zu Erlehnung der Zeichnungskunst notwendig sind. (..) Das nächste, was auf diesen Vorrath von Zeichnungen folget, ist ein Vorrath von Abgissen der vornehmsten Antiken und auch einiger neuerer Werke der bildenden Künste, sowohl in einzeln Theilen, als in ganzen Figuren und Grupen, in deren Nachzeichnung die Jugend fleissig zu üben ist, weil dadurch nicht nur das Augenmass und der Geschmack an schönen Formen weiter geübt wird, sondern auch zugleich die Kunst des Lichts und Schattens, der mannigfaltigen Wendungen der Körper und der Verkürzungen kann erlernt werden.
maatschappely, and society. 723 During the first phase a student had to exercise drawing from prints, the most elementary exercise was the drawing of *disjecta membra*, after drawings of separate body parts like ears, noses, hands, feet etc. The next phase was the drawing after plaster models. For anatomical purposes one drew from anatomical plaster models called *ecorché*. But more important were the plaster models of renowned ancient statues that were regarded as the most perfect representation of beauty. The latter was considered especially useful for practising proportion and the right contrast between ‘light and brown’. During the final phase students were allowed to draw from live models, dressed and undressed. Most models were male, female nude models were rare to find and expensive. The genre of history painting was regarded as the highest form of painting, and since man was the most important subject of the history painter, the knowledge of how to draw human figures was considered a necessity.

By the end of the 18th-century, plaster statues were, next to prints, an indispensable means in the curriculum of drawing academies. The oldest collection of plaster statues cast after classical antique sculptures was the one owned by the *Stadstekenschool* (city drawing academy) in Amsterdam. Some of the plasters dated from the 17th-century. 724 This institution was founded in 1718 and remained in existence until 1821 when the Royal Academy of Fine arts was established in Amsterdam.

The drawing department of *Felix Meritis* was founded in 1777 and dissolved in 1889. 725 For didactic purposes it owned a substantial collection of *pleijsterbeelden* (plaster statues) that were cast from famous Classical ancient sculptures. With this a tradition was continued which had started in the Renaissance period. This tradition was maintained since then and carried on throughout the 19th-century. Moreover it also implies an appreciation for classical Greek mythology, which coexisted with the Christian faith. 726 The latter is reflected in a speech held at the occasion of the awarding of the honorary prizes of the drawing department of *Felix Meritis* in 1817:

(…) ‘The ancient legends of the gods, how trifling in many aspects they might be, kept the interest of wise men more or less alive, because several lofty or deduced truths are presented by a spiritual metaphor in a sensuous appearance.’ 727

In all the plaster collections the same statues crop up. This confirms the fact that there was a kind of canon of what was considered the best of Greek art. Art theorists attempted to give an analysis of what in their view perfect beauty entailed. In his *Analysis of Beauty* (1753), William Hogarth (like Winckelmann) believed it was embodied in the Apollo Belvedere, Laocoon, Hercules and Antinous. 728

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723. Such were the names under which the Amsterdam drawing school was known. See: Knolle 1979, 1.
724. Knolle 1979, 7. Although the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* in Leyden owns casts from the Trajans Column in Rome that date back to the 16th-century.
725. For a history of the drawing department of *Felix Meritis*, see Knolle 1983, 141-196.
726. Although the statutes of the society *Felix Meritis* determined that candidate members had to profess the Christian faith.
8. A Dutch National Museum of Plaster Casts by Humbert de Superville

Although the substantial plaster collection of the drawing department of Felix Meritis was far from complete, it had a significant importance because at the time museums had not started to display large plaster collections for educational purposes. These initiatives were first fully implemented by the middle of the 19th-century.

An early initiative in this context was a project for a Dutch National Museum of Plaster Casts undertaken by David Pierre Giottin Humbert de Superville (1770-1849). Already several scholarly studies on the history of this plaster museum project have been published\footnote{de Haas 1941, Stafford 1976, Zutter 1991.}, but in the context of my research it is necessary to make a few brief remarks.

In 1803 Humbert de Superville became a member of Felix and gave drawing lessons for the drawing department. From 1814 to 1823 he was the director of the drawing academy Ars Aemula Naturae in Leyden and from 1823 until his death the director of the Print Room of the university there. He was also curator of the plaster sculptures taken from renowned antique sculptures that, as we have said earlier, were purchased in Paris by instruction of King Louis Bonaparte in 1808. Louis had these statues brought to Holland for the future art academy in Amsterdam which was not realised at the time. The invasion of the English in the province of Zeeland in 1809 gave Napoleon enough cause to force Louis to abdicate and in 1810 the kingdom of Holland was annexed to France. Due to the sudden departure of Louis the plasters remained forgotten in Amsterdam until 1813. The fact that by this time there existed two plaster collections in Amsterdam -one in Felix Meritis, and the other in the municipal drawing academy- was decisive: a decree of King William I in 1815 legalised the transfer to Leyden.\footnote{For more details see: Zutter 1991, 13ff.} The decree was only a formality because plasters had already been there since two years. It was because of Humbert’s influential friends, amongst whom Johan Melchior Kemper who was a professor of jurisprudence at the University of Leyden and a counsellor of state, that he was able to have the plaster statues transported to Leyden in 1813. It was not until 1815 that they were unpacked and put on display in the Hof van Zessen (Papengracht).\footnote{Stafford 1976, 21.}

During the following years the plasters were housed at several locations in Leyden and finally ended up at the Herbarium where they remained during Humbert’s lifetime.\footnote{Nijenhuis, PKL, MS. 9. (no pages).}

In 1817 de Superville issued a prospectus for a future museum that was to house this collection, probably the first that was meant for museum education. In this manuscript, of which only one part was ever published, we find a grandiose fourfold plan to the formation of an ideal museum.\footnote{For a good architectural analysis, see: Zutter 1989.} \underline{(ill.8)} The whole concept resembles visionary schemes of the late 18th-century architects like Ledoux or Boullée It included theoretical arguments that justified the existence of a museum with a collection of plasters. De Superville criticized the situation in museums of antiquities in England and Italy. It was his intention to exhibit the –casts of- antique sculptures in such a way that their original meaning and function would be emphasized or exposed.\footnote{Or as Barbara Stafford (1976, 21) quite eloquently formulated it: ‘Every detail of the arrangement, the construction of the edifice, and the puristic, limited choice of sculpture was determined and linked by a myriad of classical and pre-classical allusions. Complete meaning was assigned to each object based on a highly elaborate literary iconology’.} The significance of a plaster collection according to De Superville is the very fact that it can present a complete survey of a sculptural tradition. Although his museum would not offer such a survey but only a selection of some excellent examples. He
opens his treatise with a profound statement that reflects the appreciation of plaster casts during this period and which still carries much weight today:

‘A beautiful plaster cast is more than a copy: it is the most naive and the most faithful reproduction and likeness possible of the original: and if it does not render either the marble or the bronze, that marble and that bronze are far from constituting the essential merit of a masterpiece of ancient art. They [such masterpieces] require and need the divine breath which dematerialises them (..) bestowing itself onto the clay which serves as their model and transmitting itself again onto their most exact reproduction.’

Not only is this a statement that expresses a highly individual emotion but it is also a testimony of how plaster statues were appreciated at the time. For it reflects contemporary art historical concepts that were promoted by Winckelmann and Goethe on imitation and mimesis, this was not regarded as improper but as something to be aspired. Humbert de Superville considered plaster casts as the perfect medium to access the essence of an artwork. The white colour (Winckelmann!) and the ‘structureless neutrality’ made it a most adequate means to establish this goal.

The museum was never realised, although through the years the plaster statues were displayed on several locations in Leyden. Finally they ended up in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden where most of them still are today.

9. Plaster statues: prices and other costs

In the 18th-century the most likely place to purchase plaster casts taken from renowned antique statues was Italy. In Rome, Naples and other Italian cities several plaster workers and sculptors were involved in the manufacture of plaster casts for commercial purposes. In Rome plaster copies were also made by the French Academy. For transport purposes the sections of plaster were packed into crates and assembled at their place of destination. All over Europe there was a demand for plaster copies, which made commercial business profitable. However plaster statues were also sold locally, although the copies were sometimes of inferior quality. (ill.9) In Holland we know of the plaster-workers Antoni Boggia and Carlo Sartori who were active in Amsterdam and of Thommee in The Hague. Both manufactured plaster casts taken from antique originals on a commercial basis.

735. Humbert de Superville, Projet d’un musée classique de la statuaire ancienne au moyen de jets en plâtre (1817), PKL, (35 fols) MS HdS Suppl. (tr. Barbara Stafford). The original text reads: ‘un beau plâtre est plus qu’une copie: c’est l’empreinte et l’image la plus naive et la plus fidele possible de son original et s’il ne rend ni le marbre ni le bronze, ce marbre et ce bronze à leur tour ne constituent pas seuls toute la beauté de la sculpture ancienne, il leur a fallu, et il leur faut ce souffle divin, qui les dématérialise le donne d’abord à l’argile qui leur servit de modelle et le transm it encore à leur fidele empreinte’.

736. Another recorded example of the deep impression that a collection of plaster statues could make is that of the Swiss artist Conrad Gessner who visited the Mengschen Sammlung in Dresden on the 21st of April 1786. In a letter to his father he writes: ‘Von welchem Erstaunen ward ich ergriffen, als ich das erste Mal in der Mitte dieser herrlichen Figuren mich befand! Ich finde keine Worte, um Ihnen zu sagen, was ich bey diesem Alles fühlte. Welche Schönheit, Erhabenheit und Größe der Helden im Ganzen, welch ein Ausdruck und welche Seele’ (as quoted by Cain 1995, 205, n.33).

737. For art theoretical backgrounds that influenced Humbert de Superville, see: Zutter 1991, 64.

738. For Antoni Boggia (beeldengieter) and Carlo Sartori (pleistergieter), see: GAA. Arch. 59 [F.M.] nr.305; For Thommee see: Bakker 1900, 27.
By the end of the 18th-century for obvious reasons, Paris became a new centre where plaster casts could be obtained. After the victory of the French army in Italy several of the most prized antique statues were taken to Paris as spoils of war. These statues were put on display at the former Louvre palace that was now renamed as the Musée Napoléon. A plaster workshop was attached to the museum where copies were manufactured on order (see: § 6-3).

Detailed information from the archives of Felix Meritis gives an indication what prices were paid for what plasters and when, transport costs etc. An early source from the cashbook tells us that the cost could be substantial. In 1792 the commissioners approved the expense of Fl. 3102.09 for several large plaster statues manufactured in Rome at the French academy.739 The most detailed is the transport list of the plasters donated to Felix Meritis by King Louis Bonaparte in 1806. To give an example of the prices charged by the Musée Napoléon: the Laocoon group cost Fr. 600,-, the Borghese Gladiator Fr.200,-, the Venus Medici Fr. 100,-. Busts were considerably cheaper: a bust of Nero Fr. 4,-, a bust of Cicero Fr. 3,-. Small-scale replicas were also cheap: of the Gladiator Fr. 5,-.740

Close inspection of the Minute books reveals that also in 1792 for a plaster head of Jupiter Fl. 4,- was paid. For an Adonis statue Fl. 276,- and for some small-scale plasters Fl. 129,-.741 For comparison some examples of prices that were paid for plaster statues bought locally in Holland: in 1805 Felix Meritis bought a plaster Venus Medici statue from the plaster-worker Antoni Boggia. According to the receipt (ill.10) this plaster statue was exchanged for the old one and cost Fl. 60,-, a head of Achilles: Fl. 6,-.742 Around the same period the drawing society Hierdoor tot Hooger in Rotterdam ordered a plaster statue from Paris. In 1798 Fl. 198, 10 was paid for an Apollo statue that included Fl. 40,- for transportation costs.743 Five years later, in 1803 the same Rotterdam society purchased some plaster statues from Antoni Boggia in Amsterdam. For the Antinous, the Cupido (Adonis) and the Venus, ‘à belles fesses’, plus the heads of Laocoon, Hercules Farnese and Caracalla the total amount of Fl. 420, - was paid.744 (ill.11a, b, c)

10. The Drawing Department of Felix Meritis and its plaster collection

The Department of Drawing was an important branch of the society right since its foundation in 1777.745 It developed into the largest of all the departments with twelve members during the early years to almost one-hundred in 1818. The members were dilettantes as well as artists and during the first decades one gathered every week on Monday- and Tuesday evening. At first the main program consisted of drawing and modelling after live (or dressed) models (ill.12), usually one of the members posed, next to this also live dressed female models were hired in. One also drew after an anatomical model (Leeman) and plaster statues and exercised perspective drawing. In addition to this, debates on art theoretical subjects were organised.

During the early 1780s the drawing department was transformed according to more academic guidelines.746 This was caused by a number of reasons. The low increase of new

740. ARA, Arch. BiZa 1795-1813 [nr.toegang 2.01.12] inv.nr. 906. also see n.805.
742. GAA. Arch.59 [F.M.] nr. 305.
743. Bakker 1900, 21. Bakker’s meticulous account of the early history of the Rotterdam Academy of Fine Arts is a unique source of information since all the archives of the early drawing academy were destroyed due to the bombardment of Rotterdam in 1940. For elaboration see: Giersbergen 2004.
745. For the history of the Department of Drawing of Felix Meritis, see: Knolle 1983.
members was ascribed to the competition of the municipal drawing academy especially in regard to model drawing. Moreover, one could draw after a dressed model just as well at home and for less money. The academic guidelines demanded that an artist learned to select the most beautiful parts of the human body into a perfect unity; this was not possible whilst studying from a dressed model. Drawing after nude female models was therefore introduced, with great reticence of the directors, after 1786. This academic canon was in competition with the 'new' taste, which involved a re-evaluation of 17th-century Dutch genre painting, and other Dutch subjects with a nationalistic background that prevailed during this period.

The academic canon urged students to extensive drawing after plaster statues that were cast from the most renowned Classical antique statues. This was to install good taste and a means to learn to draw perfect contours, proportion and anatomy. For Felix Meritis this prompted the need for a plaster collection which grew ever more extensive through the years.

The earliest, most complete description of the plasters is found in the book by Cornelis Roos, (see: Appendix I.). This art dealer, connoisseur, collector and promoter, became president / commissioner of Felix Meritis. In 1787 he laid the foundation stone for the societies building at the Keizersgracht in Amsterdam. His book, which was published in 1800, is mainly an architectural account of what the building of the society at the Keizersgracht looked like by the end of the century. From it we learn that the plasters were cast from original antique statues in Rome. It also provides a 'guided tour' of what was to be seen in the: Gaanderij van Pleisterbeelden, or Beeldenzaal (gallery of plaster statues, or statue room):

‘Here the eye can revel in the observation of the most renowned masterpieces of sculpture from the best era of Greek art, most of them cast from original antique marbles present in Rome which were transported with great cost from there to here’.

The account of Roos makes it possible to determine how many plasters were in the ‘early’ collection. All together he mentions fourteen complete statues, six low reliefs, six busts and several small-scale replicas. Among them were the Laocoon, the Apollo Belvedere, the Discobulus, the Venus Praxitelis, the Venus Callipigus, the Torso of Hercules and the Belvedere Antinous. We also learn that to the benefit of the draughtsmen all the statues were placed on pedestals fitted with rollers at the bottom to facilitate moving them around. For the same purpose special screens or shutters were installed to regulate the incidence of light. The walls were painted in a pale blue colour which was thought the most suitable to bring out the white plasters in the best possible way (Winckelmann!).

Additional information, especially in regard to the origin of the early plaster collection, is found in the minute book of the annual meeting in 1792, which deals with the financial situation of the different departments. This entry states that there was a substantial

747. The board of the Drawing Department was summoned by the directors who made clear that although they were convinced of the benefit of drawing after female nudes to promote the art of drawing it was stated that they gaarne Zaagen Zulx in deeze maatschappy niet geschiede om de naadeelige gevolgen die daar uyt zouden kunne voort vloyjen (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.119, 31-32). This reticence in regard to nude female models prevailed at most of the 18th-century drawing academies and schools. For elaboration see: Knolle 1983, n.39.

748. For elaboration see: Knolle 1983, 159ff.


750. Roos 1800, 149. (tr. Godin). The original text reads: Hier kan het oog zich verlustigen in de beschouwing der beroemdste meesterstukken van Beeldhouwkunst der beste Griekse Kunsteeuw, meest allen op de te Romeen daarvan voorhanden geweest zijnde origineele antieke Marmers, afgegoten, en met veel kosten van daar naar herwaards gevoerd.

collection of Konstige Afgietsels in Plijster der Fraayste Antique Beelde en basreliven (crafty casts in plaster of the finest antique statues and low reliefs) in possession of the society. The same fragment also reports of a joint donation by several members of a number of plaster statues that were cast in Rome. Records in the cash- and minute books state exactly what plaster statues were purchased and what the total costs were. (ill.13) All together nine grand statues, two torso’s, four busts, three half bodies, seven relief’s and a number of fragments were packed in eleven crates:

Grand statues:
- The Laocoon group from the Vatican
- The Apollo Pythius from the Belvedere (actually Apollo Belvedere)
- The Antinous from the Vatican (also: Belvedere Antinous, actually Hermes)
- Another Antinous from the Capitol
- A colossal Egyptian Statue from the Capitol
- The Discobolus from the Vatican
- The Callipygian Venus from the Vatican
- An anatomical statue of the French Academy in Rome
- The Adonis from the Vatican

Several torso’s and busts:
- A Torso of the Hercules from the Belvedere Vatican
- The same of the Apollo from the Vatican
- A colossal bust of Antinous
- The same from Hercules Farnese from Napels
- The same from Jupiter
- The same of Antinous
- Three half-bodies

Several low reliefs:
- The great relief of the Capitol
- The same from the Villa Albani
- Five smaller ones also from the Villa Albani

Several fragments taken from the antique like feet, hands, thighs, legs etc.

The transport from Italy to Holland took seven months. The plasters started their journey on board a ship heading from Rome to Livorno at the 15th of August 1791 and finally arrived in 

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753. Cash-book Felix Meritis (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.302): 19th of August 1791. The total costs of the plaster collection packed in eleven crates was quite substantial, with transport and customs the total amount came to Fl. 3102,09. The Minute-book of the 18th of February 1792, (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.281), reports of the arrival of the plaster statues, packed in eleven crates were eight complete statues, one anatomical statue, nine busts and torso’s, ten low-relief’s, plus a number of feet, hands and legs. Explicitly mentioned are the donations of Dirk Versteegh.
Amsterdam at *Felix Meritis* by the end of January.\(^{754}\) Entries in the Minute book confirm this.\(^{755}\) The total costs of this collection of plasters were, including transportation-costs, quite substantial: Fl. 3102, 09, unfortunately the pieces were not individually priced. The whole enterprise was due to the efforts of the art collector and amateur draughtsman Dirk Versteegh -who was a member of *Felix*- and his protégé, the painter Hendrik Voogd. The latter was staying in Rome at the time on a study grant, but it was Voogd who placed the order for the plasters at the French Academy and arranged the transportation to Amsterdam. The board of *Felix Meritis* awarded him Fl.105, - for his troubles.\(^{756}\) Versteegh and some others were responsible for supervising the assembly the plasters. This job was carried out by the plaster worker Carlo Sartori for the total sum of Fl. 400,-.\(^{757}\) To further extend the collection Versteegh personally donated additional pieces: a cast from the *Adonis*, a colossal bust of *Alexander*, and an anatomical statue.\(^{758}\) By this time it was also decided that for a sequence of six years an inspector, who had to be an effective member, would be appointed who had the supervision of the collection. For several years Versteegh held this position.

Entries in the Minute-book state that in 1792 plaster heads of *Jupiter*, *Ariadne*, and *Alexander* were purchased. A *Greek Venus*, which was earlier purchased from the plaster worker Carl Sartori was exchanged for a new one -this, was common practise- (ill.10).

\(^{754}\) This becomes clear from a receipt dated the 27\(^{th}\) of January for paying to Bs Steigerwaldt Fl.12,18 for hoisting the crates and unpacking the plaster statues (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.305: *Kwitanties Departement Tekenkunde 1792-93*).

\(^{755}\) Minute-book 1785-1795, (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.281),15\(^{th}\) of August 1791: De vergadering werd bericht dat de bestelde Plaisterbeelden, reeds van Roomen naar Livorno waaren ingescheept. Ibidem: By the 18\(^{th}\) of February 1792 they had arrived at *Felix Meritis*: (..) Verder gaf den President rapport van de Plaisterbeelden, bestaande in ‘t navolgende; dat dezelve uit Roomen geaariveer-\(d\) en in de maatschappij, op ons Muzeüm ontptak waaren (..) dat de Heeren Dirk Versteegh, P.W. le Normant en Jan Swart, verzocht zijn, en die moeite gewillig op zich genomen hebben, om het toezicht te hebben op het in elander zetten dier Beelden (..) welken bijna allen onbeschadigd zijn overgekoomen. (..) Vervolgens vroeg den President hoe men moest hande[len] omtrent den Heer Voogt voor zijne moeiten en veiligantie, in het doen vervaardig en, onde bezorging van alle deele afgietsels; of het niet welvoeglijk zoude zijn; zijneen een Present te doen, tot erkentenisse voor zijne zorg en moeiten; waar op in omvraag gebragt werd hoe veel men dien Heer zoude toeleggen, en unaniem geresolveert is zijnde Provisionee 20 Ducaten uit de boetekas toe te leggen tot een Erkentenisse.

\(^{756}\) Also see a receipt dated the 2\(^{nd}\) of April 1792 (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.305), concerning the ‘kwitantië Departement Tekenkunde 1792 / 93’: Ontvangen van de Weled. Heeren Directeuren van het Teekende partement der Maatschappij F.M. de somma van honderd en vijf guldens [...] toegewezen aan H.Voogt te Romeen voor zijne aangewingde moeite & tijd wegens het bezorgen der Plieterbeelden voor ‘t Museum. [getekend] Dirk Versteegh.

\(^{757}\) Receipt from the Drawing Department dated 31\(^{st}\) of August 1792 which states: *Debet aan Carlo Sartori pleistergieter voor het repareren en in orde brengen van eene collectie pleisterbeelden f. 400,-* (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.305).

Moreover some small scale copies were bought; a small anatomical statue, the Milos, an anatomical horse plus a head of Apollo.\textsuperscript{759}

The expansion of the plaster collection was the incentive to redecorate the sculpture gallery. For this purpose the house-painters firm John & Wessel Elffers was commissioned to restore and decorate the ‘Museum’ of the Drawing Department. It took them five months; by the 28\textsuperscript{th} of July 1792 the work was finished.\textsuperscript{760} The pedestals and consoles were newly painted and repaired; it was probably also then that the walls were painted in the pale blue colour as Cornelis Roos mentions in his account two years later.\textsuperscript{761} In March 1793 more new pedestals and consoles were ordered to display the plaster statues.\textsuperscript{762}

Only a few years later, at the annual meeting of 3\textsuperscript{rd} of March 1794, the president reported that efforts were made to extend the cabinets of the Natural Science- and Drawing Departments by purchasing ‘excellent pieces and works in order to achieve more completion’.\textsuperscript{763} In line with this policy a plaster head of Jupiter and Ariadne both on pedestals were bought from the plaster worker Antoni Zezzi by the end of 1797.\textsuperscript{764} All this clearly shows the intention of the Drawing Department to further extend the already substantial plaster collection.

11. The plaster collection at its full glory: the Beeldenzaal painted by A. de Lelie

A hand written inventory list (ill.14) of plasters is found in the archives of Felix Meritis which is kept at the Municipal Archive of Amsterdam.\textsuperscript{765} It mentions nineteen complete statues and thirty-seven busts; the reliefs are not specified (see: Appendix II). The inventory gives an idea of what the plaster collection at Felix Meritis looked like by the beginning of the 19th-century. The list is not dated, but it must have been drawn up between 1797 and 1808. A terminus post quem for the ‘later’ inventory list is that the Cupid with bough (J) by Antonio Canova is mentioned, this statue was made in 1797. A terminus ante quem is the transport list of the plaster collection donated by Louis Bonaparte, which tells us the exact number of plaster statues, and fragments that came into the possession of Felix Meritis. This clearly exceeds the number mentioned in this ‘later’ inventory list; it must therefore have been drawn up before 1808.

By 1803-04 several plaster statues were bought from Wybrand Hendriks in Haarlem who obtained them from the sale of the collection Lestevenon. The plaster statues from his collection were probably were manufactured in France. This is likely because of Lestevenon’s


\textsuperscript{760}. Receipt Drawing Department dated the 27\textsuperscript{th} of September 1792 (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.305): Aan John & Wessel Elffers. De Pedestallen konsollen & lijsten [?] gladgemaakt [?] gelegd & opgeschilderd [?] bijgeschildert. Voor de leverantie van verf stoffen & dagloon van 3 maart tot 28 july f.74,-.

\textsuperscript{761}. See: Appendix I.

\textsuperscript{762}. Receipt Drawing Department dated the 27\textsuperscript{th} of March 1793 (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.305): Vervaardigen van elf Piedestallen & Lijsten om het pleyster Beelden werk [signed] Hendrik Blomberg.

\textsuperscript{763}. Minute-book annual meeting Felix Meritis, 3\textsuperscript{rd} of March 1794 (GAA, arch.59 [F.M.] nr.1) p.195: (...) Ten 2den gaf de President der Leden kennis dat men van tijd tot tijd bezig is om de Kabinetten der Natuur en Tekenkunde benevens de Boekerij in deze Maatschappij, door aankoop van nuttige en fraaie stukken en werken uit te breijden en tot volkomenheid te brengen.

\textsuperscript{764}. GAA, arch.59 [F.M.] nr 305: Receipt dated 2\textsuperscript{nd} of January 1798: Ontvangen van Dirk Versteegh voor Reekening van de Heeren Directeuren van het Teeken Departement der Maatsch. F.M. de somma van acht Guldens voor een Jupiter en een Ariadne Kop van Pleyster op hunne piedestallen. [signed] Antoni Z[ezzi].

\textsuperscript{765}. GAA, arch.59 [F.M.] nr.319.
connections in Paris where he, like his father Matthijs Lestevenon, was in the Diplomatic Service.\textsuperscript{766} Unfortunately it is from indirect sources that we know of this purchase, no information on this matter was found in the archives of Felix.

In 1808 King Louis Bonaparte donated a ‘second’ collection of plaster statues packed in 41 crates containing several statues, busts, low relief’s and fragments to the society\textsuperscript{767} (see: Appendix III). Information in literature on the history of this ‘second’ collection is not always clear. Some authors suggest that both collections remained unpacked in Amsterdam until 1813 after which they were divided between Amsterdam and Leyden.\textsuperscript{768} However the minute book of the annual meeting \textsuperscript{7th} of November 1808 explicitly states that the plaster collection packed in 41 crates had arrived:

‘(...) The very splendid and precious gift which his Majesty the king has made to this society in -41- crates with casts of antique statues busts and low-relief’s (...) All which under the authority of the drawing department will be exhibited at suitable locations in this building - And commissioners shall not fail to convey our gratitude to his Majesty as soon as circumstances permit them.’\textsuperscript{769}

The actual arrival of the ‘second’ plaster collection at Felix Meritis is recorded in the minute book of the 15\textsuperscript{th} of October 1810, which mentions the sale of double plasters as a result of the acquisition of the plaster collection donated by King Louis.\textsuperscript{770}

\textsuperscript{766}. Offerhaus (1979) n.47. Willem Anne Lestevenon did not die in 1803 as Offerhaus erroneously states. Although his exact date of death is unknown he was still living in Annet, France by 1816. Lestevenon was an enigmatic political figure, he extensively travelled through Italy and France. As a recognised connoisseur and art-collector he advised the board of the Teyler Foundation in Haarlem of which he was a member (see: TSA inv.5, fol. 193 /Appendix 2:3).


\textsuperscript{768}. Like Paul Knolle (1983,161) who mentions this second collection intended for Felix Meritis and states that the crates that contained the plasters were left unopened and later divided between Felix Meritis and the drawing academy in Leyden. Because of his reference in note 45 he implies that not until 1813 the plasters arrived at Felix Meritis. Moreover it suggests that de Superville and Kemper were involved in dividing the second collection while in fact they had nothing to do with it. This misunderstanding is caused by incomplete information in different publications. Knolle (1983, 161) quotes C. Boschma (1978, 56) who wrote ‘it seems the crates were left unopened until 1813 because of the hasty departure of king Louis Bonaparte’. Regarding the distribution of the plasters Boschma on his turn quotes the dissertation of Cornelia de Haas (1941, 19), she however, does not quote any sources and does not mention two plaster collections. She suffices with the statement that the plaster collection was divided by Humbert de Superville and Johan Melchior Kemper between Leiden and Amsterdam (underlining Godin).

\textsuperscript{769}. GAA,Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.1 , p.345. The original text reads: (...) het zoo luidst enderlijk als kostbaar geschenk het welke zijne Majesteit den Koning thans ons eerst Honorair Lid behaagt heeft aan dit genoodschap te doen -in 41- kisten met afgietsels van Antique Beelden Busten en Basreliëfs onder welke zeer veele uitmuntende stukken gevonden worden (...) Alle welke onder het bestuur van het departement der Tekenkunde ter behoorlijker plaatsen in dit gebouw zullen ten toon gestelt worden - En commissarissen zullen niet naalaaten den dank daarvoor aan zijne Majesteit over te brengen, zoo dra hun daar toe de gelegenheid zal vergunt worden.

\textsuperscript{770}. Minute book of the General assembly 1787-1835 (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.18): Entry of the 15\textsuperscript{th} of October 1810 which mentions the sale of double plaster pieces as a result of the acquisition of the plaster collection donated by king Louis: Den direkteur van het Departement der Tekenkunde stelt voor om daar hetzelve Departement door het aanzienlijke geschenk van zijne majesteit den Koning verscheidene stukken in plijster dubbel in bezit hebbende, om de dubbele stukken te veruyl en of te verkopen en zig daarvoor aan te schaffen zodanige stukken welken hetzelve Departement nog ontbreken. (...) Welk voorstel algemeen is goedgekeurd. A comparison of the different inventories plus
The transfer of the two plaster collections from Paris is the subject of confusion. Several scholarly articles on this subject mention only one plaster collection. However the archives of Department of Home Affairs clearly show that by decree of King Louis two complete plaster collections were ordered from the Musée Napoléon in Paris. One almost certainly for a future art academy and one to the benefit of the Drawing-department of Felix Meritis. The Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode of 1808 reported on this subject and stated: ‘ten einde de kunsten ook hier in dit land uit derzelver staat van kwyning op te beuren’ (in order to lift the arts in this land from its lingering state).

At the height of its glory the plaster collection was put on display in a sculpture gallery on the second floor of the society’s building. A visual impression of what this gallery looked like is represented in a painting by Adriaan de Lelie (1755-1820), entitled: De beeldenzaal van Felix Meritis now at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. A surviving architectural ground plan of the building gives an idea of how the room was spatially incorporated into the building.

Entries in the minute book make clear that the painting was commissioned and finished in 1809. Depicted is the sculpture gallery, or Museum as it was also called, in the building at the Keizersgracht in Amsterdam. Moreover a comparison of the ‘later’ inventory list and the transport list of the plasters donated by King Louis Bonaparte in 1808, confirms that the plaster statues which are depicted include the ones donated by him. The painting therefore represents the collection at its full glory. It must have been a delightful scene to see information from the archives on the one hand and the transport list from the Musée Napoléon in Paris on the other, indicates that: six large statues (Laocoön; Apollo Belvedere; Adonis; Antinous; Belvedere Torso; Venus Medici), two busts (Alexander; Apollo), one small copy (Crouching Venus), one anatomical statue plus several fragments were double. Which of these were sold and for what price could not be traced.


772. 3rd of May 1808: Notice of an official letter by Vivant Denon of the twenty fifth of April regarding the packing of the plaster statues that were bought in Paris (ARA, Arch. BiZa, 1795-1813 [nr.toegang 2.01.12] inv.nr. 906); 10th of June 1808: Confirmation of the notice of Vivant Denon of the 4th of June of that month of the order for a second collection of plaster statues, as stated in the official letter of the general director of the 24th of May, in which he requests to be informed of who will make the payment of the expenses ARA, Arch. BiZa, 1795-1813 [nr.toegang 2.01.12] inv nr. 906; 18th of June 1808: Notice of the order of the minister of home affairs for Fl.2600,- as payment for the plaster statues [second collection]; 30th of June 1808: Notice of a disposition of the minister of home affairs of the 27th of that month confirming the intention of his Majesty for payment of the second collection of plaster statues (and casts of medals) from Paris (ARA, Arch. BiZa, 1795-1813 [nr. toegang 2.01.12] inv.nr. 906); 25th of August 1808: Notice of the departure of a second collection of plaster statues (ARA, Arch. BiZa, 1795-1813 [nr. toegang 2.01.12] inv.nr. 906.

773. A complete description of the names of the depicted members can be found on the website of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: (www.rijksmuseum.nl).

774. The commission for the painting was given to De Lelie in 1809 for Fl.1300,-. In the same year it is ready to be hung up at the society (gereed zijnde om in de Maatsch: gehangen te worden). Eventually Fl.1350,- was paid for which price the frame was included, see: Not. Comm.Vergad. 1795-1813 (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr. 248, 339. In the minute book of the annual meeting of 6th of November 1809 GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.1), p.361,a statement of general praise is found in regard to the painting of de Lelie: (...) ‘hartelijke dank erkenningen en verschuldigde verplichting gedenken aan de heer A. de Lelie wegens deszelfs Edelmoedige behandeling; als ook het Fraay uitvoeren van het Schilderij (…) voorstellende het Museum der Plijsterbeelden gestoffeert met de welgelijkende afbeeldzels van de Leden van het afgetreden als tegenwoordig algemeen en byzonder bestuur’. By this date the painting must have been on display in the societies building.
these magnificent white plasters so tastefully displayed against the pale blue walls.\textsuperscript{775} In the foreground all the members of the drawing department are portrayed. In total some 29 plaster casts can be detected: nine freestanding statues, eleven portrait-busts, three reliefs and six smaller casts on pedestals. Clearly recognisable are: the \textit{Laocoon}, the \textit{Apollo Belvedere}, the \textit{Capitoline Venus}, the \textit{Callipygian Venus}, the \textit{Torso Belvedere}, the \textit{Belvedere Antinous}, the \textit{Eros with Bow}, and the \textit{Capitoline Cynic}. With the addition of the donation of King Louis in 1808 the plaster collection of \textit{Felix Meritis} became quite substantial. It surpassed most of the others that existed in the Netherlands at the time, both in quality as in number.\textsuperscript{776}

12. Glory and demise

Because of the donation of King Louis in 1808, the plaster collection had become quite extensive and was growing larger still. Another addition was made shortly after 1808. It was then that the collection was augmented with plasters that were bought from the money that became available from the sale of the pieces that were double because addition of the collection from Paris.\textsuperscript{777} The proportion of the plaster collection created accommodation problems. An entry in the minute book dated the 17\textsuperscript{th} of February 1812 mentions the need of the Drawing Department for more space to store the plasters, with the request to use the attic for this purpose.\textsuperscript{778} Because of the surviving receipts for the services of the plaster worker Antoni Boggia, we know that the plasters were on constant display throughout the entire building of the society at the Keizersgracht.\textsuperscript{779} In one of the corridors was a \textit{Minerva} statue exhibited, along the stairway there were busts and in the concert hall on a pedestal a bronze patinated head of \textit{Apollo}.

Throughout the hundred odd years of its existence the society of \textit{Felix Meritis} was held in high regard. This was not only reflected in the patronage of Louis Bonaparte but was maintained after the sweeping political changes of 1813. When the French retreated from Holland after their defeat at Leipzig in October 1813, the country was left in a state of political turmoil. Although the Prussian- and Russian armies were approaching, the authorities in Amsterdam did not dare to take a stand, especially not after the riots led by the Orangists in that city. In The Hague at the 17\textsuperscript{th} of November 1813 three dignitaries: Van Hoogendorp, Van der Duyn van Maasdam, and Van Limburg Stirum publicly called upon the people to liberate themselves. After Prince William returned from his exile in England and landed on the beach in \textit{Scheveningen} (The Hague) by the 30\textsuperscript{th} of November 1813, he was offered complete sovereignty by the temporary administration. By the 2\textsuperscript{nd} of December the prince was inaugurated in the \textit{Nieuwe Kerk} in Amsterdam as the sovereign king of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. During this ceremonious event he also gave guarantees for a free constitution. The significance of the status of \textit{Felix Meritis} is confirmed by the fact that quite soon, at the

\textsuperscript{775} As we know from the description by Cornelis Roos (1800, 149ff, see: Appendix I).
\textsuperscript{776} For comparison I refer to the inventory list of the plaster collection of the \textit{Franeker Hoogeschool} in Friesland which was drawn up in 1812 (transcription by Boschma 1978, 119). It shows that this collection contained fewer plaster statues after the antique than the one of \textit{Felix Meritis}, and judging from the pieces that have survived time the quality was rather poor. The latter is confirmed by A.G. Camper who signed the list with the observation that the quality was inferior (Boschma 1978, 54).
\textsuperscript{777} Notulenboek der Verenigde Vergadering 1787-1835 (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.18), 15\textsuperscript{th} of October 1810.
\textsuperscript{778} Notulenboek der Verenigde Vergadering 1787-1835 (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.18), 17\textsuperscript{th} of February 1812: (...)Directeuren van het Departement der tekenkunde merken aan dat zij ruimte nodig hebben tot berging van de meenigte pijlsterbeelden en verzoeken dat hun mag worden teruggegeven de Zolder.
\textsuperscript{779} GAA, Arch 59 [F.M.] nr.119: receipts written out to Antoni Boggia 1827, 1828, 1829.
31st of May 1814 King William I decided to call on the society. The highlight of this visit was the inspection of the most prized possession of Felix: the plaster collection displayed in the statue gallery. The minute book tells us that at his convenience the king was presented with an elegantly hand-written list of the statues. Unfortunately this list was lost, at least it was not found in the archives of the Koninklijk Huis.

Except for some receipts of repairs and maintenance little more information can be traced of the plasters at Felix Meritis in the course of the 19th-century. At the 15th of April 1889 the general assembly of members decided that the activities of the society should be terminated. The board regrettably concluded: ‘Felix has to die and will disappear because at present her principles can no longer be implemented’. It was also then that the board decided that the plaster collection should be turned over to the Rijks Academie van Beeldende Kunsten (Royal Academy of Fine Arts) in Amsterdam. The only restriction was that the double pieces should be donated to other drawing-institutions in the city. It was stipulated that the small ornaments should go to the drawing school which already existed under Felix Meritis since 1804 and which continued there for some time. An official expression of thanks for the donation of the plaster statues to the Rijksacademie, is found in a letter by the director of the academy, August Allebé, dated the 10th of July 1889. Since an inventory list which was added to the collection of plaster statues when they were transferred to the Rijksacademie, we know exactly which and how many pieces were in the collection, namely: twenty large statues and three hundred thirty-six fragments of statues (for a transcription, see: Appendix IV).

13. The fate of the plasters of Felix

The Rijksacademie kept meticulous records of how the double plaster pieces to the various other institutions was carried out. An inventory list records exactly which pieces remained at the academy and which were donated elsewhere. Although the drawing school that was continued despite the termination of Felix Meritis had the first choice for the pieces they wanted to keep: thirty-six plasters in all. All together some twelve large groups and statues were kept by the Rijksacademie, in addition to this came another twelve small-scale copies and numerous parts, heads and busts. The double pieces were dispersed among the Rijks-Normaalschool voor Teekenonderwijs and the Quellinus-School, the Ambachtsschool at the Weteringschans, the Nederlandsch Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst and the Rijksmuseum all in Amsterdam. Only a few of the plasters of the Felix Meritis collection have survived the

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780. Notulenboek der Verenigde Vergadering 1787-1835 (GAA, Arch.59 [F.M.] nr.19) entry 31st of May 1814; The visit of king William I to Felix Meritis, the original text reads: (...) Het Hooge gezelschap bezag hierop de Gaanderij der Standbeelden of Afgietsels van de voornaamste Antieken, volgens eene daarvan voorhanden zijnde sierlijk en kunstig geschrevene, hun aangeboden lijst, en men geleide hen nogmaals naar de inmiddels door lampen verlichte tekenzaal.
781. As was confirmed to me in a letter dated 18th of March 2002 by the director of the Dienst van het Koninklijk Huis, drs. B. Woelderink.
782. Gompes & Ligtelijn 2007, 148
783. Letter from the government by the minister of Interior to the board of Felix Meritis, dated the 3rd of July 1889 nr.1490 afdeeling, KW. (GAA, arch 59 [F.M.] nr. 61.
784. ibidem
785. ibidem: letter of the department of Interior, nr. 1490, dated the 3rd of July 1889.
786. RANH, Archief Rijksac. B.K. [nr.toegang 90] inv. nr.106.
disastrous years during the second part of the 20th-century and are still part of the plaster collection at the Rijks-academie in Amsterdam.789

Beside the booklet a more detailed inventory list was drawn up by the board of Felix Meritis under the authorisation of the Minister of the Interior dated the 11th of June 1889.790 This detailed inventory records all the plaster statues plus fragments that were part of the Felix collection. Of interest is that the inventory contains an assessment of the state that they were in. From this we know that time took its toll on the plasters, some were heavily damaged others less, some were ruined by layers of whitewash or paint and therefore considered worthless. Moreover the inventory describes exactly which plasters were donated to institutions elsewhere in Amsterdam. As stipulated by the board of Felix the drawing school of Felix was presented with small plasters, mostly busts and fragments, thirty-six in all. Of the 168 pieces 141 remained at the academy. In addition to the plaster statues and fragments 9 terracotta statuettes, 5 models of buildings made from papier maché and other materials, plus one skeleton were past of the donation and remained at the academy. Some twenty statues, mostly large ones, were donated to the then newly started Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam which was in the process of setting up its own plaster collection (ill.17).

The extent of today’s plaster collection at the Rijksacademie is very minor in comparison to what it once was. From an old catalogue drawn up in 1913, we learn that at that moment the plaster collection of only the casts after Classical sculpture exceeded more then three hundred pieces.791 A photograph that dates from 1915 of one of the plaster halls in the building at the Prins Hendrikkade in Amsterdam, shows a proud exhibition of the plaster statues taken from Classical sculpture (ill.18). Since the academy moved to the premises at the Sarphatistraat during the nineteen eighties, the majority of the plasters were locked away in storage depots (ill.19). The contrast with the situation in 1915 is an indication of the declined prestige that this plaster collection once enjoyed. During the second half of the 20th century many plasters were destroyed or given away to anyone who fancied them. This attitude was encouraged for several reasons. The increase of reproduction techniques, like photography, film or television, the wider possibilities people in general and artists in particular had to travel abroad and see original artworks. This decreased the importance of plaster copies as a means to study great works of art. Although one often forgets the overall and unique essence, which lies in the three dimensional, real size impression of plaster statues that can never be substituted by a photograph, a film, or a television documentary.

One other reason for the decline is related to the very curriculum at art academies, which dates back to a Renaissance tradition. The revolutionary period of the 1960s spurred on a democratic process in the educational system. Plaster statues became the symbol of a rigided obsolete academic education system. Drawing after plaster had always been a preliminary phase before the student was allowed to draw after life (nude) models. Students associated plaster statues therefore with the often tedious preliminary phase of the study programme. Drawing after life models was ‘the real thing’ to do. When traditional concepts of art education were abandoned during the mid-20th-century, when conceptualisation and individual expression of the artist became more prevalent, this was the death sentence for many plaster collections. It is this unfortunate lack of historical awareness that led to the destruction of many plasters. The overall opinion was that they were merely practical study objects and could therefore be disposed of. Despite the mistakes made in the past there is at present a growing awareness of the historical importance of plaster collections. Like so at the Rijksacademie in Amsterdam where small steps are taken to restore some of the former glory.

789. At the premises on the Sarphatistraat 470 in Amsterdam.
790. RANH, toeg.nr.90, inv.nr. 104.
791. Van der Smagt 1913.
of the plaster collection with the pieces that survived time. Most of the remaining busts and heads are put on display on a ledge above the bookcases of a small library, which was a historically correct decision (ill.20a, b, c). Some of the plaster statues are now displayed aesthetically and placed in such a way that they are visible through a window facing the inner courtyard (ill.21a, b).

After extensive research it was determined that only very few of the Felix plasters were still part of the present plaster collection at the Rijksacademie. From only four large statues and five heads could be assessed that they stemmed from the Felix collection. Among them was the Crouching Venus (ill.22a, b, c) One bust, the so-called Capitoline Brutus (ill.23) was traced in the plaster collection of the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam. Unfortunately many plasters got lost due to damage and neglect, since they were regarded as utilitarian objects without historical value.

14. Conclusion

The overall results of my research confirm the importance of the plaster collection of Felix Meritis in its day. During my investigations it soon became clear that certain historic events related to the collection needed more explaining, for there were unresolved questions. A significant fact that I was able to establish was that King Louis Bonaparte ordered, in contrary to what some scholars suggested earlier, not one, but two plaster collections from the Musée Napoléon in Paris.

It was a well known fact that in 1807 King Louis had ordered a complete collection of plaster statues, cast from the most renowned classical antique statues present at the time in the Musée Napoléon (Louvre) as study objects for a future Dutch art academy. This was all well researched and documented in several scholarly articles and studies.

Incorrect was the suggestion made by some that this collection was put in storage and in later years divided up between Felix Meritis and the drawing academy in Leyden. Because only one year after the first collection had arrived in Holland King Louis ordered a second collection of plaster statues from Paris identical to the first. This collection was intended exclusively for the drawing department of Felix Meritis. It is obvious that Louis had a high regard for the cultural activities of this learned society. Several official visits of the king to the society plus the fact that he was patron and an honorary member confirm this.

792. Although Rionnet (1996, 41) suggests that the type of identification plate dates from the late 19th-century. It is therefore possible that because of damage the orginal plaster was exchanged for the present one, either by Felix or the Rijksakademie.

793. The collection in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam is one of the important plaster collections in Holland. Half of the more than two-hundred pieces originate from the former plaster Museum in The Hague which was founded by Dr. Constant Willem Lunsingh Scheurleer (1881-1941). Preparations for an extensive research project on the history of the Pierson collection are being made. The results will throw more light on the history of plaster collections in Holland. The Junius Brutus-bust (invnr.243) is one of the seventeen pieces on loan from the Rijksakademie van Beeldende Kunsten in Amsterdam and can be traced back to Felix Meritis. Although research in the archives of the Rijksakademie showed that there was already a Junius Brutus in their collection (see: RANH Archief Rijksac. B.K. [toeg.nr.80] inv.nr. 104: Inventaris der Gipsafgietsels van Beeldwerk berustende in de Rijks-Academie van Beeldende Kunsten te Amsterdam, deel I, nr.80). Perhaps their own cast of the Brutus-bust was damaged and this was the reason that it was replaced by the cast from Felix Meritis. Unfortunately the cast has no metal identification tag which would identify it as comming from the plasterworkshop connected to the Musée Napoléon in Paris. Since this bust was part of the plaster collection that king Louis Bonaparte donated to Felix Meritis in 1808 (see: Appendix III, nr.23).
On the whole this event illustrates the continuation of the academic doctrine that was maintained at art academies and drawing schools during the 19th-century, moreover it also proves the supremacy of the French model of academic education for future artists.

The extensive archives of the society, which for the most part have survived time, allowed detailed research. It revealed new and interesting facts in regard to the origins of the plaster collection. For example the society’s cashbook of 1791, which reveals that no costs were shunned to purchase a substantial collection of plasters made at the French Academy in Rome. A reconstruction of the manner in which the plaster statues were displayed throughout the societies building at the Keizersgracht in Amsterdam was made possible by a rare and curious contemporary eye-witness account by Cornelis Roos dating from around 1800. A transcription of this account is reproduced in the appendices. This is complemented by a visual account by means of the painting by Adriaan de Lelie which depicts the plaster collection as it was in 1809.

The collection reached its final destiny at the Rijksacademie van Beeldende Kunsten in Amsterdam in 1889 when the activities of Felix were terminated. It was then that the nearly complete plaster collection was donated to this institute. Research conducted here proved absorbing but also a disillusion. For it is only since fairly recent that there is a growing awareness of the historic significance of plaster statues in general and these Felix plasters in particular. Neglect and disinterest determined the fate of the Felix plasters and only few have survived time unscathed. The fragility of plaster casts caused most of them to be damaged for which reason they were discarded during the 1970s. This was also due to the liberalisation process of the education system when students rebelled against the established academic curriculum of education; plasters had become the symbol of an outdated education system.

* * *
APPENDIX I

I.

Transcription of the plaster statue collection of *Felix Meritis* in the book of Cornelis S. Roos (1800) under the title:

*Historische beschrijving van het Gebouw der Maatschappij van Verdiensten, Ten spreuke voerende Felix Meritis.* (An historic account of the building of the Society of Merits, under the motto *Felix Meritis*).

In the opening of his book (p.13) Roos states that the drawing department:

(..) *Bezit thans eene fraaije verzameling van de schoonste Pleisterbeelden, te Romen, op de, zich te dier tijd aldaar bevindende, voornaamste Antieken zelven, afgegooten; gelijk dan ook de kunstminnende Leden, hunne nuttige bijeenkomsten en leerzame oeffeningen, met behulp van dezen rijken voorraad dier aloude kunstgewrochten, zo wel als in de studie na het leven, den geheelen zomer door, bij het daglicht voordzetten; waardoor dit Departement zeer sterk in werk ende Leden is toegenomen, onder wier getal zeer groote Kunstenaars geteld worden.*

Another passage (p.149) gives an account of the *gaanderij van Pleisterbeelden* (plaster statue gallery):

Hier kan zig het oog verlustigen in de beschouwing der beroemdste meesterstukken van Beeldhoudwkunst der beste Griekse Kunsteeuw, meest allen op de te Romen daarvan voorhanden geweest zijnde origineele antieke Marmers, afgegooten, en met veel kosten van daar naar herwaards gevoerd.

Roos then continues with an account of the plaster statues plus their location (pp. 149-154):

(..) *Men ziet 'er te midden van den westelijken wand, welke in vier nissen verdeeld is, de onnavolgbaar kunstige Groep van den, door slangen omkranckelde stervenden Laocoön met zijne twee zoonen, uit het Musaeum van het Vaticaan, door de Grieksche kunstenaars Agesander, Polidorus en Athenodorus van Rhodus, omtrent het Jaar der waereld 3600 vervaardigd, ter wederzijde van deze waereldberoemde groep zijn twee colossaale antieke Busten, zijnde de hoofden der twee zoogenoemde Paardenmenners van den Monte Cavallo geplaatst, naast deze naer de raamen, ziet men het edel en overkunstig Beeld van Apollo, in de houding als de slang Python doorschietende, afgebeeld, en van daar onder den naam van den Pythischen Apollo bekend, een verheven kunststuk uit het Musaeum Capitolinum of van het Vaticaan; zoo men meent door de hand des Atheenschen Beeldhouwers Scopas, omtrend het jaar der waereld 3611 voltooid, welks edele omtrek en goddelijke zwier den aanschouwer verrukt en onverzadigd laat; aan de andere zijde naar den westelijken wand, staat de beroemde zo genoemde Antinous, welke, door WINKELMAN, voor een beeld van Meleager gehouden wordt, en ten tijde van Keizer Hadrianus, omtrend in het 112 jaar onzer jaartelling gemaakt is. Voords is deze zuidelijke wand, nog met twee andere antieke afgietels bezet, zijnde de eene de Antinous en de andere de Adonis van het Vaticaan, een voords met allerlei antieke Basrelieven behangen, onder welken uitmunten de*
APPENDIX I


Summary (by Frederik Godin) of the individual plasters mentioned in the text above:

- *Laocöon*
- *2 colossal busts of the Horsetamers of Monte Cavallo*
- *Pythic Apollo* (*Apollo Belvedere*)
- *Belvedere Antinous*
- *Antinous*
APPENDIX II

- Adonis
- Egyptian Priest
- Dioscubulus
- Venus Praxitelis

- Venus Callipigos
- Torso of Hercules
- Herm of Sappho and Phaön
- Torso of a Youngster

Several low-reliefs:
- Perseus and Andromeda
- three Roman reliefs
- two Etruscan reliefs (Pii Majorum gentium)

Several small busts:
- Hercules Farnese
- Alexander
- Jupiter Olympus
- Antinous
- Aesculapius
- Ariadne
- il Apolino etc.

In a closet in the doorway of the hall several unspecified small plasters, on the mantle piece of the cabinet a low relief of Bacchus with vine leaves.

All together: fourteen statues on pedestals, at least seven low reliefs, seven small busts on consoles, plus several unspecified small plasters

* * *

II.
Transcription of the hand written inventory list of the plaster statues once owned by the society Felix Meritis (early 19th-century)

Place of origin: GAA, arch.59 (F.M.), nr.319. (ill.14)

Plysterbeelden, rompen busten fragmenten en bas reliefs de welke zich bevinden op de groote beeldenzaal of Museüm der Maatschappy Felix Meritis. onder de de volgende Letters

A. De Torso of romp van Hercules
B. Venus uit 't Bad Komende

794. Plaster statues, torso’s busts fragments and bas reliefs found at the Statue Gallery or Museum of the society Felix Meritis under the following letters (tr. Godin).
APPENDIX II

C. de Antinous van ’t Belvedere
D. de Groep van de Laocoön
E. de Egyptische Priester
F. de Philosoph Zeno
G. Venus Callipigis
H. Een romp. waarschijnl. Apollo
I. een [Herm?] van Sapho & Faön
J. Cupido met Boog van ’t Capitool
K. Idem van Canova
L. de Groep van Amor & Psyche
M. de Venus de Medicis
N. de Adonis van ’t Museum Clementinum
O. de Pythiesche Apollo
P. De Discobulus of Schijfwerper
Q. de Antinoüs van ’t Capitool
R. de Paris of priester van Mithras
S. de Venus op de Hurken

de volgende busten & (?) onder nummers

1. Hercules Farnese Bust
2. de Antinoüs.... dº
3. de Jupiter van ’t Capitool
4.5.6.7. Verschillende fragmenten
8. Priestresse van Flora... basrelief
9. de Jonge Commodus... Bust
10. Ariadne.... dº
11. Apollo... bust
12. Bacchanaal... basrelief
13. Isis... Kop
14. Antinoüs.. Bust dº
15. Faunus.. dº; dº
16. Een Krijgsman de Godinne Hygiëa raad pleegend.. basrelief
17. / 19. de Voeten van de Hercules Farnese
18. de Antique Slijpers.. bust
20. Alexander... bust
21. 25. twee Muzen.. bust
22. 23. 24. Jongelings...bustes
26. Ajax... bust
27. & 38. twee Hetrurische basreliefs met Goden
28. Een Jongelings... bust
29. Cicero..dº
30. Amphitrite of Venus Anadyomene..dº
31. Jongelings bust
32. Zeno... kop
33. Zang godinne... bust
APPENDIX III

34. Alexander... 
35. Romyns Kyzer.. dº 
36. Stroomgod... dº 
37. Zang godinne

** **

III.

Transcription of the hand written bill of cargo with a list of the plaster statues, some unassembled, from the Musée Napoléon (Louvre) in Paris. Dated the 5th of June 1808, signed by Getti 'mouleur du Musée Napoléon'.

Place of origin Algemeen Rijksarchief den Haag: Collectie Verhuell, 1779-1835, [nr.toegang 2.21.004.04] bestanddeel 247. A copy of this list is found in the Rijksarchief Noord Holland, Haarlem, Rijksmuseum Archief, Inv.nr. 149.

Copie)
Fait et fourné pour l’Academie de dessin d’Hollande; par Getti, mouleur du Musée Napoléon:

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<th>No des Caisses</th>
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<td>L’Assemblée des Dieux /: fragment de Bas-Relief /</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>La Cérès</td>
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### APPENDIX III

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APPENDIX III

| 3 bas-reliefs d’Athènes à 5 f | 15, -- |
| 3 id. à 2 f | 6, -- |
| Le masque de Lucius Verius | 1,50 |

28. La Venus accroupir 15, --
L’Hercule farnèse 9, --
L’Ecorché 5, --
Le Buste d’Ariane 9, --

2922.f - 0.c

| 29. Le Buste d’Achille | 5, -- |
| id. de Venus à la Coquille | 5, -- |
| id. d’Ulysse | 3, -- |
| id. de Minerve | 5, -- |
| id. de Sapho | 3, -- |
| id. de 2 Niobé filles | 6, -- |
| id. de Niobé fils | 3, -- |
| id. du petit Mercure | 3, -- |
| La tête du Bélier | 5, -- |
| Huit mains | 8, -- |

30. Le buste de Junon 6, --
| id. de Mercure Grec | 3, -- |
| id. d’Appoline | 3, -- |
| id. de Senèque | 3, -- |
| id. de Caracalle | 3, -- |
| id. de Titus | 3, -- |
| id. d’Amazone | 3, -- |
| id. d’Antinous | 3, -- |
| 2 Masques de muse | 6, -- |
| 14 Mains | 14, -- |

31. Le buste de Néron 4, --
| id. de Faustina | 3, -- |
| id. de Niobé Mere | 3, -- |
| id. d’Hercule jeune | 4, -- |
| id. de Socrate | 3, -- |
| id. de Vitellis | 3, -- |
| id. de Surprise | 9, -- |
| Le masque d’Hercule | 3, -- |
| Les Jambes de Pollux | 6, -- |
| Deux bras | 4, -- |
| Quatre mains | 4, -- |

32. Le buste de Pythagore 6, --
| id. de Périclès | 6, -- |
| id. de Vespatien | 6, -- |
APPENDIX III

id. d’Agrippa 6, --
Le masque de Méduse 6, --
id. d’Alexandre 2,50
Le buste du petit Niobé fils 2, --
id. de la petite Minerve 3, --
4 bras 8, --
3 mains 3, --

33. Le buste de la Vestale 3, --
id. d’Epicure 6, --
id. de Méléagre 4, --
La main d’Hercule 3, --

Le masque du Silence 3122.f-50.c
id. de Jupiter 3122.f-50.c
Un torse de jeune homme 2, --
3 bras 4, --
3 mains 6, --

34. L’Ecorché 150, --
35. Un vase de Médicis 9, --
Un id. d’ornement, même grandeur 9, --
Deux pieds de femme colossale 10, --
Le buste d’Isis 3, --
id. d’un Laocoon fils 3, --
2 bras 4, --

36. Le buste de Mithridate 4, --
id. de la Venus 3, --
id. de Diogène 3, --
id. de Caton 3, --
id. d’Homere 7,50
id. d’Ecorché 6, --
id. d’un Laocoön fils 3, --
id. de petite Niobé. 2, --

37. Un torse de femme drapée 9, --
id. d’Hermaphrodite de bout 6, --
2 torses de femme à 6 f 12, --
3 bras 6, --

38. Le petit Gladiateur 5, --
La Cléopatre 9, --
le petit Ecorché 3, --
le buste de Cicéron 3, --
id. de Pâris 3, --
Les pieds d’Hercule Farnése 6, --
APPENDIX IV

39. Le Génie Suppliant
40. La Cerès assise
   Le buste d’Hyppocrate
41. Plus, La Joueuse aux osselets

Pour acquit, signé Getti,
Vu et arrêté le présent Etat de Platres moulés sur l’antique; à la somme de trois mille six cent vingt-un francs cinquante centimes. Paris ce 5 Juin 1808. pour le Directeur Général signé Lavallée

* * *

IV.
Transcription of the inventory-list drawn up at the occasion of the transfer of the plaster collection of Felix Meritis to the Rijksacademie voor Beeldende Kunsten in Amsterdam (RANH toeg.nr.90 [R.v.B.K] nr.106.

[on the endpaper of this booklet:] Bij het geschenk van Beelden enz. enz. volgens Besluit der Algemeene Vergadering van de leden van Felix Meritis op 5 Juni 1889 ontvangen als lijst der geschonken voorwerpen


A. Torso stervende Hercules
B. Venus uit ‘t bad
C. Antinous / Belvedère
D. Laöcon en 2 zonen
E. Egyptische Priester
F. Zeno Stoicijnsch Philosoof
G. Venus Callipiges
H. Romp Apollo ?
I. Term van Saphoen Phaon
J. Cupido met Boog
K. Cupido van Canova
L. Amor en Psyche
M. Venus de Medicis
N. Adonis / Meleager
O. Pythische Apollo
P. Schijfwerper
Q. Antinous (Capitool)
R. Paris ?
### APPENDIX IV

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<td>1.</td>
<td>S. Venus op de hurken</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>T. Gladiator</td>
<td>250,-</td>
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#### Busten en Fragmenten

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### APPENDIX IV

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APPENDIX IV

166. ,, Dochter van Niobé ,, 5,-
167. ,, Venus à Belle fesse ,, 5,-
168. ,, Stervende Alexander ,, 5,-
169. ,, Surprise ,, 5,-
170. Antique van Smirna ,, 5,-
171. Beeld Hercules Farnese ,, 10,-
172. Apollo met Lier ,, 15,-
173. Venus Medicis ,, 10,-
174. Beeld Cleopatra ,, 10,-
175. Buste Vespastianus ,, 5,-
176. ,, Vitellus ,, 5,-
177. ,, Pythagoras ,, 5,-
178. ,, Jonge Hercules ,, 5,-
179. ,, Scipio ,, 5,-
180. ,, Valérianus ,, 5,-
181. ,, Romulus ,, 5,-
182. Buste Venus d’Arles ,, 5,-
183. ,, Esculaap ,, 5,-
184. ,, Diogenes ,, 5,-
185. ,, Caligula ,, 5,-
186. ,, Helene ,, 5,-
187. ,, Grieksche Man ,, 5,-
188. ,, Dochter Niobé ,, 3,-
189. ,, Faustina ,, 3,-
190. ,, Antinous ,, 5,-
191. ,, Seneca ,, 5,-
192. ,, Anatomie ,, 3,-
193. ,, Amor Grec. ,, 3,-
194. Buste Moeder Niobe ,, 10,-
195. ,, Cicero met de Vrat ,, 5,-
196. Masque Silentium ,, 3,-
197. Masque Antique ,, 3,-
198. Hermes Alexander ,, 5,-
199. Hermes Hypocrates ,, 5,-
200. Kop Apollo ,, 10,-
201. Masque Alexander ,, 3,-
202.-203. Masques du Muse ,, 3,-
204. Paardekop ,, 10,-
205.-213. 9 Basreliefs door J. Kuyper ,, 5,-
214. Basreliefs met 2 Koppen ,, 1,-
215.-220. ,, ,, Kindertjes ,, 5,-
221.-230. Voeten ,, 10,-
231.-245. Armen ,, 15,-
246.-264. Handen ,, 50,-
265. Ramskop ,, 5,-
APPENDIX V

266. Hermes Homerus ,, 10,-
*266. Hand Hercules ,, 5,-
267. Anatomie Beeld ,, 50,-
268. Buste Cicero ,, 5,-
269. ,, Juno ,, 5,-
270. ,, Zoon Laocoon ,, 3,-
271. Buste Zoon Niobé ,, 3,-
272. ,, Dochter Niobé ,, 3,-
273. ,, Appolina ,, 3,-
274. ,, Kleine Minerva ,, 3,-
275. ,, Zoon Loacoon ,, 3,-
276. Masque Mercuur ,, 3,-
277. Masque Alexander ,, 3,-
278-268. Basreliefs ,, 10,-
209-108. Beenen en Knieën ,, 19,-
311.-321. Voeten ,, 13,-
322.-333. Handen & Armen ,, 11,-
334. Elleboog ,, 1,-
335.-336. Vormen armen Gladiator ,, 1,-

* ***

V.

Transcription of the legacy of Felix Meritis by decision of the General Board of Directors dated the fifth of June 1889. Section from the inventory list, a different version of the previous one that stipulates which pieces remained at the drawing school of Felix. (RANH toeg.nr.90 [Rijksac.B.K.] nr. 104).

NB. Al het op deze lijst met rood omlijnde is gebleven in het bezit der Teekenschool van Felix Meritis aan wie de allereerste keuze uit het in het gebouw voorhandene behoorde te worden gelaten. Het met rood omlijnde kan dus wel worden beschouwd tot het geschenk te behooren maar is dadelijk teruggegeven en mitsdien in het gebouw F.M. gebleven.

1. Ajax, borstbeeld
2. Euripides, hermes
3. Homeros, hermes
5. Roma, id
6. Paris, kop
7. Venus van Arles, borstb.
8. Hypnos, id
APPENDIX V

9. Thanatos, id
10. Sappho, id.
11. Diana, id
12. Hermes met kleine vleugels aan het hoofd, kop
13. Caracalla
14. Cato
15. Vittellius
16. Homeros
17. Spion (zoogenaamde)
18. Fauntje gez. met de vlek
19. Agrippa
20. Faustina
21. Jeugdige Herkules
22. Amazone
23. Cicero
24. Hippocrates
25. Man, onbekend
26. Dochter van Niobe
27. Athleet
28. Silenus
29. Mannelijke romp
30. Vrouウェijke romp
31. gebogen arm met hand op de borst (afgietsel op de natuur)
32-33-34. 3 handen
35-36 2 voeten
Totaal 36 voorwerpen voor zich behouden door de Teekenschool van Felix Meritis, wie de allereerste keuze gelaten was.

***