

I2I nr. 1

2008

Oud Holland

Quarterly for Dutch Art History

Edited by the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD)

Oud Holland Volume 121-2008 nr. 1



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Oud Holland

Quarterly for Dutch Art History

Edited by the Netherlands Institute for Art History /
Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorisch Documentatie (RKD),
The Hague, The Netherlands

Volume 121 2008 nr. 1

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Index

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For details on how to submit an article to *Oud Holland*,
please refer to the BRILL website: www.brill.nl/ohd
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ISSN: 0030-672X (*print version*)

ISSN: 1875-0176 (*online version*)

Oud Holland is published four times a year by:
Brill
Plantijnstraat 2
2321 JC Leiden
The Netherlands
Tel. +31 (0)71 535 35 00
E-mail: cs@brill.nl.

Afbeelding omslag

Nicolaas Verkolje after Gerard Dou, *The Mouse Trap*,
mezzotint, 24.4 x 20.1 cm (detail).
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.
Zie afb. 18 op p. 19.

INHOUD / CONTENTS

JUNKO AONO

*Reproducing the Golden Age: Copies after
Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting in the First Half
of the Eighteenth Century*

1

ERIK P. LÖFFLER

Jan Stolker after Frans van Mieris I?

35

PAUL BEGHEYN SJ

Johannes Vermeer en de jezuïeten te Delft

40

ANDREA MÜLLER-SCHIRMER

*Grenzen im Licht. Über Licht und Schatten in
den Zeichnungen von Rembrandt*

56

Boekbesprekingen / Bookreviews

YVETTE BRUIJNEN

*Boekbespreking van Catheline Périer-d'Ieteren,
Diederic Bouts, The complete works*, Brussel 2005

81

Over de auteurs / About the contributors to this issue

87

Abstracting & Indexing

Oud Holland is abstracted/indexed in ARTbibliographies
Current Titles, Art Index, Arts & Humanities Citation Index,
Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals, Bibliography of the
History of Art, Current Contents, Dietrich's Index Philosophicus,
International Bibliography of Book Reviews of Scholarly Literature,
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from all Fields of Knowledge, Periodicals Contents Index,
Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale, Research Alert
(Philadelphia), Russian Academy of Sciences Bibliographies.

Subscription Rates

The subscription price for the print edition plus online access of
Volume 121 (2008, 4 issues) is EUR 120 / USD 158 for institutional
customers and EUR 65 / USD 86 for individuals.
Institutional customers can also subscribe to the online-only version
at EUR 108 / USD 142.

All prices are exclusive of VAT (not applicable outside the EU) but
inclusive of shipping & handling. Subscriptions to this journal are
accepted for complete volumes only and take effect with the first
issue of the volume.

Claims

Claims for missing issues will be met, free of charge, if made within
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for customers outside Europe.

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Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD),
The Hague, The Netherlands

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Printed by Buijten & Schipperheijn, Amsterdam.

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Reproducing the Golden Age: Copies after Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century*

Although a considerable number of copies after seventeenth-century genre paintings were made during the first half of the eighteenth century, until now little attention has been paid to these reproductive works.¹ In the catalogues raisonnés of well-known seventeenth-century genre painters such as Frans van Mieris I and Gerard Dou, numerous copies made after seventeenth-century originals have been recorded: some copies can be dated to the eighteenth century, but most of them can neither be dated nor identified because of the lack of early provenance.² This situation has made it difficult to research reproductive works. Furthermore, little interest has been shown in early eighteenth-century Dutch genre paintings in general, due to which eighteenth-century copies after seventeenth-century Dutch paintings have been dismissed as uninspired repetitions of the art of the Golden Age. Over the past few decades, however, various kinds of research have been conducted on the art, art collections, and literature about art from the first half of the eighteenth century. For instance, several recent articles and dissertations have examined what kind of Dutch paintings were purchased on the domestic and international art market at that time, and have reconsidered the early eighteenth-century view of the Golden Age.³ It has gradually become clear that during the first decades of the eighteenth century painters and collectors began to perceive the seventeenth century as a glorious past, providing a magnificent heritage to explore. Following the shrinking of the art market in the 1670s, which was caused not only by the declining economy during the aftermath of the French invasion of 1672, but also by an oversupply of paintings produced between 1620 and 1670, the art market for contemporary paintings rapidly declined and painters inevitably became more dependent on a small number of wealthy collectors and their tastes.⁴ This generation of collectors eagerly purchased seventeenth-century Dutch genre paintings, especially those executed by masters active between 1640 and 1670.⁵

What function did eighteenth-century copies after seventeenth-century genre paintings have in the context of the earliest reception of the art of the Golden Age? Did they differ from seventeenth-century copies made after contemporary paintings? During the seventeenth century, copying genre paintings of living masters seems to have been part of studio practice and training for young pupils, even though some of these copies were occasionally sold. As Eric Jan Sluijter has pointed out, fourteen copies painted by Abraham de Pape (before 1621-1666) after Gerard Dou, which were mentioned in De Pape's inventory after his death, had probably been made for study purposes during his apprenticeship with Dou.⁶ There were also other kinds of copies, such as autograph replicas, made by masters themselves. Gerard ter Borch, for instance, is thought to have made autograph copies, probably using his own drawings of basic figure types after his own design. These copies were made not only by the

artist himself but possibly also by his pupils, and were intended to be sold.⁷ Drawings were also made after accomplished paintings, as *ricordi*, which functioned literally as a record of the finished work. They were made by the artist or his pupils and often kept in the atelier, as in the case of drawings made after paintings by Casper Netscher. As Marjorie E. Wieseman elucidates, these drawings after Netscher's paintings served 'not only to document a given painting, but also as models for later works which utilized the same basic composition'.⁸

When considering the seventeenth-century practices of making copies after contemporary genre pieces by living masters, we find that early eighteenth-century copies after seventeenth-century genre paintings had undergone a change in function. Admittedly, the educational purpose of copying still remained essential for young pupils, as we see from a well-known anecdote about the young Adriaen van der Werff (1659-1722) told by Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719). Van der Werff, when apprenticed to Eglon van der Neer (1634-1703), made a copy after a piece by Frans van Mieris I which 'through the enormous delight that he took in doing this, he made so close a likeness that thereafter several art lovers in Leiden took it to be a piece by Mieris himself'.⁹ Yet, commercial objectives seemed gradually to have gained more importance in the reproductive activities of artists working in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, particularly because by then most of the famous seventeenth-century masters had died or were no longer active and thus fewer of their pieces became available on the art market. Copies must have been made as substitutes for seventeenth-century paintings which collectors were eager to get their hands on as pieces from a glorious past. According to recent research by Koenraad Jonckheere on collectors' taste at the beginning of the eighteenth-century, it turns out that Dutch genre paintings by seventeenth-century masters such as Gerard Dou, Frans van Mieris I, Pieter Cornelisz. van Slingeland, Godfried Schalcken, Gabriel Metsu and Casper Netscher were in great demand and sold at high prices in those days.¹⁰ Several questions now present themselves: in what context were copies made, what function did these copies have, how were the copies valued and appreciated by contemporary collectors, what kind of genre paintings were frequently chosen to be copied, and finally, what did copies contribute to the reception of seventeenth-century art?

In answering these questions this article deals with reproductive works executed by painters who were simultaneously engaged in producing genre paintings in their own style during the first half of the eighteenth century. It mainly concerns copies in painting, but in the case of the painter Nicolaas Verkolje, his reproductive prints will also be examined to discuss the point at issue. Rather than making a survey of all extant copies after seventeenth-century genre painting, I intend to focus on several representative masters from the first half of the eighteenth century and to reconsider their reproductive work as one of the essential responses, and indeed challenges, to the ongoing process of canonization of seventeenth-century Dutch art. These case studies will explore their specific way of reproducing seventeenth-century painting.

Commercial misuse of copies: discussion between Johan van Gool and Gerard Hoet

One of the contemporary remarks on the commercial purpose of copies during the first half of the eighteenth century is found in Johan van Gool's (1687-1763) discourse on the misuse of copies after seventeenth-century painting. In his artists' biography *De nieuwe schouburg der Nederlantsche kunstschilders en schilderessen* (1750-1751) Van Gool refers to the art dealer's involvement in the production and marketing of copies by eighteenth-century painters.¹¹ For example, in the biography of Gerard Melder (1693-1754) Van Gool describes an art dealer who ordered the painter to

copy original paintings chosen and actually handed over by himself, in the following way:

'I saw that Melder's [copies after] Dou and other Masters were sold for high prices to devotees and art dealers; among others to the famous Pauman, an illustrious figure in the world of trade, whose way of conducting business is well known here and in many German princely courts. The latter gave him [the painter] a number of beautiful pieces in order to copy them, for which he paid him handsomely.'¹²

Furthermore, two pamphlets published in the form of a correspondence between Johan van Gool and Gerard Hoet (1698-1760) give a clearer picture of the situation in connection with the commercial misuse of copies.¹³ Painter and art dealer Gerard Hoet published a pamphlet entitled *Brief aan een' vrient* (1751) in response to the first volume of Van Gool's *De nieuwe schouburg* (1750). In this volume the art trade was held responsible for the decline in Dutch painting during the first half of the eighteenth century because it over-promoted seventeenth-century painting and attached little importance to contemporary art. In defending the art trade, Hoet brought forward a counter-argument, attributing this decline to the mediocre standard of the early eighteenth-century painters. Van Gool responded to this letter in his pamphlet entitled *Antwoordt op den zoo genaemden brief aen een vrient*, published around 1752-1753.¹⁴

In this correspondence Van Gool as supporter of painters and Hoet as defender of the art dealers discussed the question of who was to be blamed for the misuse of copies sold as originals. With reference to Van Gool's remark about Jan Mortel (1652-1719), whose copies frequently deceived inexperienced buyers, Gerard Hoet accuses the painter of making forgeries and even calls him a 'swindler' (*bedrieger*). According to Hoet, painters themselves put signatures of famous masters on their copies, and therefore they were responsible for copies that were later sold as authentic paintings.¹⁵ In response to this, Van Gool completely refutes Hoet's argument: by criticizing art dealers for selling copies to collectors as originals at high prices, Van Gool argues that painters simply made copies that were commissioned by art dealers for only a small amount of money and therefore painters themselves did not take the initiative in producing and selling copies. He insists that art dealers were 'swindlers' because they were the ones who handed over original paintings to painters in order to produce copies and, after falsifying signatures, selling these so-called originals to collectors.¹⁶ Van Gool writes:

'...the Art Seller (...) does everything possible to convey the lustre of genuine antiquity on both the front and the reverse, and asks a price commensurate with what the works of such a Master as he had it copied from generally make and in this way he wins seven or eight times as much above what he had paid for it.'¹⁷

Van Gool also defends painters by assuming that they were not necessarily aware of the art dealers' intention to later sell their copies as originals.¹⁸ The point at issue is clear, as Van Gool sees it: 'Who is now the greatest swindler, (...) the maker or the seller, who has earned exorbitantly from this and is also the one who implemented the fraud?'¹⁹

Although this heated debate between Van Gool and Hoet over the misuse of copies provides us with a glimpse of the commercial aspect of the production of copies during the first half of the eighteenth century, the argument is undoubtedly biased in favour of their own interests concerning the debate over the 'decline' of Dutch art. In reality, the situation must have been more complicated than what can be extracted from their discussion, which revolved around accusing 'the maker' or 'the seller' of the falsified copies. The role of 'the buyer' as well as the painter's relationship with certain patrons or potential purchasers also need to be considered. According to Van Gool, collectors were not responsible for copies being sold as originals, because they seldom let painters copy originals 'for their own pleasure.'²⁰ Yet the truth may be that

‘the maker’, ‘the seller’ and ‘the buyer’ of copies, who could sometimes play more than one of these roles at the same time, in large measure depended on and even manipulated one another in order to profit from these reproductive works. In this situation, painters who engaged in reproductive activities needed to possess great flexibility and sensitivity in order to meet the demands of collectors.

Copies as substitutes for seventeenth-century painting

What then could be considered as the collectors’ demands? Did copies serve as substitutes for seventeenth-century paintings which were already difficult to acquire on the art market? An archival record from the end of the seventeenth century testifies to the fact that a painter already made copies after seventeenth-century painters on commission from a collector. In July 1698, an Amsterdam notary named P. Schabaelje served a summons to the young painter Nicolaas Verkolje (1673-1746) at the request of the collector Herman van Swoll. Van Swoll claimed that he had commissioned

¹
Frans van Mieris, *A Soldier Smoking a Pipe (Self-Portrait)*, 1662, panel, 14 x 11 cm. Worcester, Worcester Art Museum.



Verkolje to make copies of 'several original paintings by De Lairesse as well as by other masters' for twelve guilders per piece.²¹ Verkolje, who disputed the payment and refused to give back an original landscape painting by Gerard de Lairesse, was officially summoned to return the original to Van Swoll, as well as its copy and 'four frames with canvas which he still had in his possession.'²² This document gives us some idea of the way in which a collector commissioned a painter to make copies: the collector lent out the original to the painter and also provided him with materials in advance, such as a frame with canvas; the price of twelve guilders per piece as a net profit seemed too little to satisfy even the fledgling artist. Unfortunately, it is impossible to trace what happened to these copies after this incident. His collection was auctioned in 1699, one year after Schabaelje's summons. The sales catalogue contains twelve history paintings by De Lairesse, but no copies by Verkolje after De Lairesse, while we cannot tell whether the paintings listed as originals by De Lairesse were authentic or not.²³ Although it remains unknown for what purpose the copies were made, it is clear that Verkolje made copies after works by the late seventeenth-

²
Willem van Mieris after Frans van Mieris I, *A Soldier Smoking a Pipe (Self-Portrait)*, panel, 15,5 x 12 cm. Private collection.



century painter De Lairesse, whose paintings were much sought after and less-readily available because De Lairesse did not produce any new paintings after he went blind in 1690.²⁴ Another testimony from 1708 recounts that the wife of Paulus Roeters also gave a landscape painting by De Lairesse to Verkolje, commissioning him to copy it for thirty guilders.²⁵

One of the best examples of the function of copies as substitutes is demonstrated by a number of copies made by Willem van Mieris (1662-1747), the son of Frans van Mieris I, which were commissioned by his patron, Pieter de la Court van der Voort. According to Pieter de la Court van der Voort's autograph inventory of 1731 and the 1749 inventory of his son Allard, Pieter de la Court commissioned Willem van Mieris to paint ten copies after famous seventeenth-century painters, such as his father Frans van Mieris I (fig. 1, 2), Gerard Dou, Ary de Vois and Philips Wouwerman.²⁶ The originals must have been accessible to Willem van Mieris at that time, although it is not known where the paintings were located when he copied them. Yet, the originals are conjectured to have been in the Dutch Republic around 1690-1700, because in his inventory of 1749 Allard mentions that one of the originals by Frans van Mieris I had been abroad 'at least for fifty years' and another Van Mieris 'will have been out of the country for at least sixty years in 1750'.²⁷

Thanks to a precise description of these copies in the 1749 inventory, which was written by Allard himself for his personal use, we have his opinion about these copies. For example, *A Lady with a Straw Hat* after Frans van Mieris I (fig. 3) is described as follows:

'A young lady wearing a straw hat holding a small dog, a bust piece being a little oval copied by Willem van Mieris after the original which his father Frans van Mieris had painted, yet it is so amazingly and beautifully copied that there was no art lover who did not judge it as being painted by Van Mieris the Elder from his best period, so that I let it pass without contradiction as being an unsurpassed piece. It cost eighty guilders, the original has already been out of this country for many years, and as this one is known as being the original it is surely worth two hundred guilders for it was painted inimitably, the original itself was sold for three hundred fifteen guilders in those days, [book value:] fifty guilders.'²⁸

In this description, two aspects are worth mentioning: first, the copy was literally considered a substitute for the original work, which was abroad and therefore unavailable. Second, when discussing the price the collector evaluated the copy at a high price because of the long absence of the original painting from the Dutch Republic and the high quality of the copy made after the valuable and unavailable original.²⁹ Although Allard mentioned that the copy originally cost eighty guilders when his father bought it from Willem van Mieris, and he himself assessed it at a book value of fifty guilders, he stressed that it could be worth much more – about two hundred guilders, considering that this copy could pass for the costly original.³⁰ Incidentally, after Allard de la Court's death this very painting was sold as an original by Frans van Mieris I for two hundred and eighty guilders in 1766.³¹

The same holds for most of the other copies made by Willem van Mieris on commission from Pieter de la Court van der Voort (Appendix I).³² In the descriptions of six of these copies found in Allard's 1749 inventory, it is also mentioned that the original paintings had been abroad, in some cases, already for fifty or sixty years: three pieces were 'mostly considered as originals'; in the case of one after De Vois it was 'most unclear whether it is an original or a copy'; and describing a copy after another piece by Frans van Mieris, *A Night Scene with Offering to Apollo*, the collector again wrote 'everyone considers it to be an original ...I let it pass as an original'.³³ The average purchase price of copies paid directly to the painter was 62 guilders, whereas the book value average in Allard's 1749 inventory was 24.4 guilders: Allard deliberately set the book value lower, though keeping it roughly but consistently in proportion to

3
Willem van Mieris, *A Lady with a
Straw Bonnet*, after Frans van Mieris
I, panel, 15.2 x 11.4 cm. Private
collection.



the purchase price. Yet, remarkably enough, the copies which were sold as originals in 1766 fetched between 100 guilders to as much as 505 guilders. Although Allard de la Court, whose collection was auctioned after the death of his widow, was not directly responsible for this misuse of copies as originals, the description of the 1749 inventory clarifies the collector's goal: to own good copies which could be considered as originals and therefore appreciated and evaluated almost as highly as originals.³⁴

This well-documented case of Willem van Mieris tells us something about one collector's specific intentions and preferences: the collector commissioned painters to make copies, which were highly-valued substitutes for unavailable seventeenth-century genre paintings. We know, however, much less about the many copies made on speculation. These countless copies reflected the kind of seventeenth-century Dutch genre paintings that must have been popular, and painters, struggling to meet the demands of collectors, would choose to copy them. Such reproductive works testify to the choice of painters who, on the one hand, made genre paintings in their own style and, on the other hand, were engaged in reproducing seventeenth-century paintings.

The way in which painters were involved in these reproductive activities could affect their own genre painting and vice versa.

Painters' choice: in search of a favorite painter and subject matter

Louis de Moni (1698-1771) serves as an excellent example of an artist who made genre paintings in the tradition of the seventeenth-century Leiden painters and at the same time produced many copies after seventeenth-century genre paintings.³⁵ He painted pieces perpetuating the motifs and technique which established Gerard Dou's fame; one such is *An Old Woman at the Window* (fig. 4), which is clearly reminiscent of Dou's *An Old Woman with Jug at the Window* (fig. 5). According to the biographer Johan van Gool, De Moni 'had the opportunity to copy various fine pieces by Dou' after he finished his apprenticeship with Philip van Dyk.³⁶ The most informative document about his reproductive activity is the sales catalogue of De Moni's own collection, published for the sale held after his death in 1772.³⁷ From this

4
Louis de Moni, *Old Woman at a Window*, panel, 40 x 31.5 cm. The Hague, Museum Bredius.

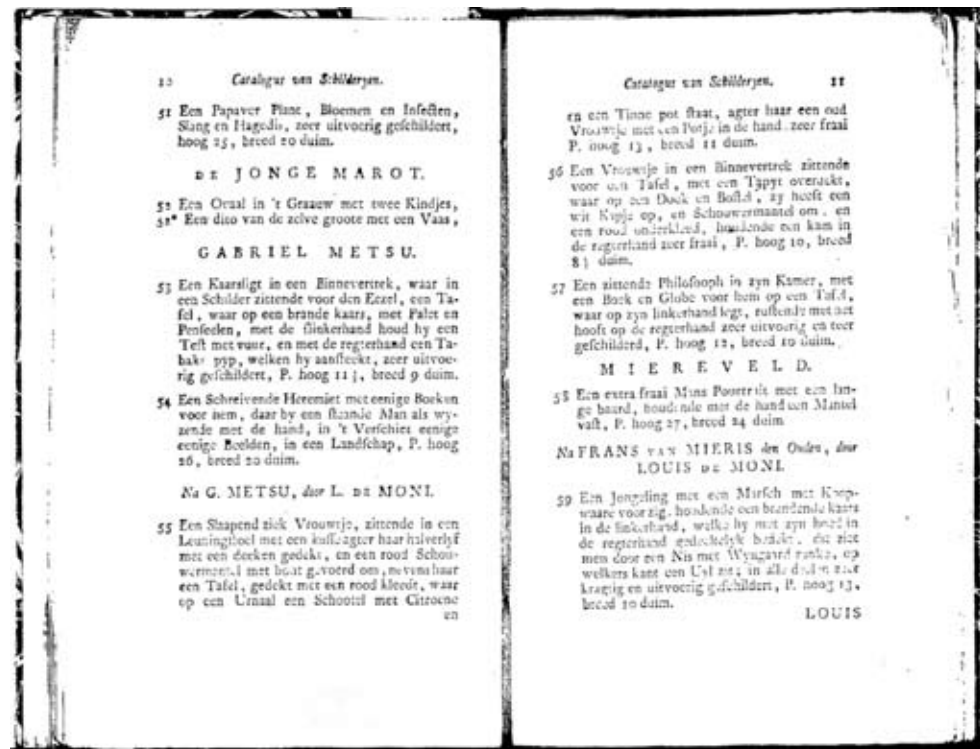


catalogue we learn that he had a large number of copies in stock at the time of his death, including twenty painted copies and 40 drawn copies. In this article I restrict my research to the copies in painting.³⁸ In the catalogue, the names of painters who were copied were clearly mentioned as such: 'After G. Metsu, by L. de Moni' (fig. 6). An alphabetical list of artists whose paintings were copied by De Moni (see Appendix II) shows a remarkable variety of painters and subject matter, ranging from Rembrandt to Hans Jordaens and from history pieces to portraiture. The choice of painters and subjects appears to be random.

The price list of these copies, however, which is found in the certificate of this auction kept in the Regional Archive in Leiden, gives a different insight into De Moni's choice.³⁹ Listing the most costly paintings at De Moni's sale from the highest to the lowest at 50 guilders (see Appendix III), it becomes clear that buyers at the sale especially favoured De Moni's copies after seventeenth-century genre paintings by Frans van Mieris I, Gabriel Metsu and Gerard Dou, all of which fetched prices between one hundred guilders and an abundant three hundred. These prices were

5
Gerard Dou, *Old Woman with Jug at a Window*, c. 1660-1665, panel, 28.3 x 22.8 cm, Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Kunst.







comparable with the most expensive of De Moni's own original genre pictures (fig. 7) and the originals by seventeenth-century masters in the sale. De Moni's copies after Metsu sold for even more than a piece that was listed in the catalogue as an original by Metsu. Interestingly, the accompanying advertisement of this sale, which appeared in the newspaper *Leydse Courant* on 11 and 18 March and 1 April 1772, announced the sale as follows: a 'fine collection of skilful and pleasing paintings by prominent Masters, such as P.P. Rubens, J. Jordaens, Rembrandt, F. Hals, C. de Moor, C. Netscher, G. Schalcken, G. Metsu, Ph. Wouwerman, M. Hondeckoter, G. de Lairese, J. Olis, J. Steen, J. Hugtenburg, J. Berkheyden, J. Storck, J. van Goyen, S. de Vlieger, several pieces by L. de Moni and others [...] ; all of them collected in the course of many years and bequeathed by the famous painter LOUIS DE MONI. Whence the catalogue may be obtained (on payment of 2 stivers for the Poor) in Leiden from J. De Moni and A. Delfos, [...] and in other towns.⁴⁰ Yet the pieces that were attributed to Gabriel Metsu, Casper Netcher and Jan Steen mentioned in the advertisement sold for less than the copies made by De Moni after these masters.⁴¹ According to the warrant of the auction house in the catalogue, the authenticity of the 'original' paintings could not be verified. Actually, most of the paintings by the



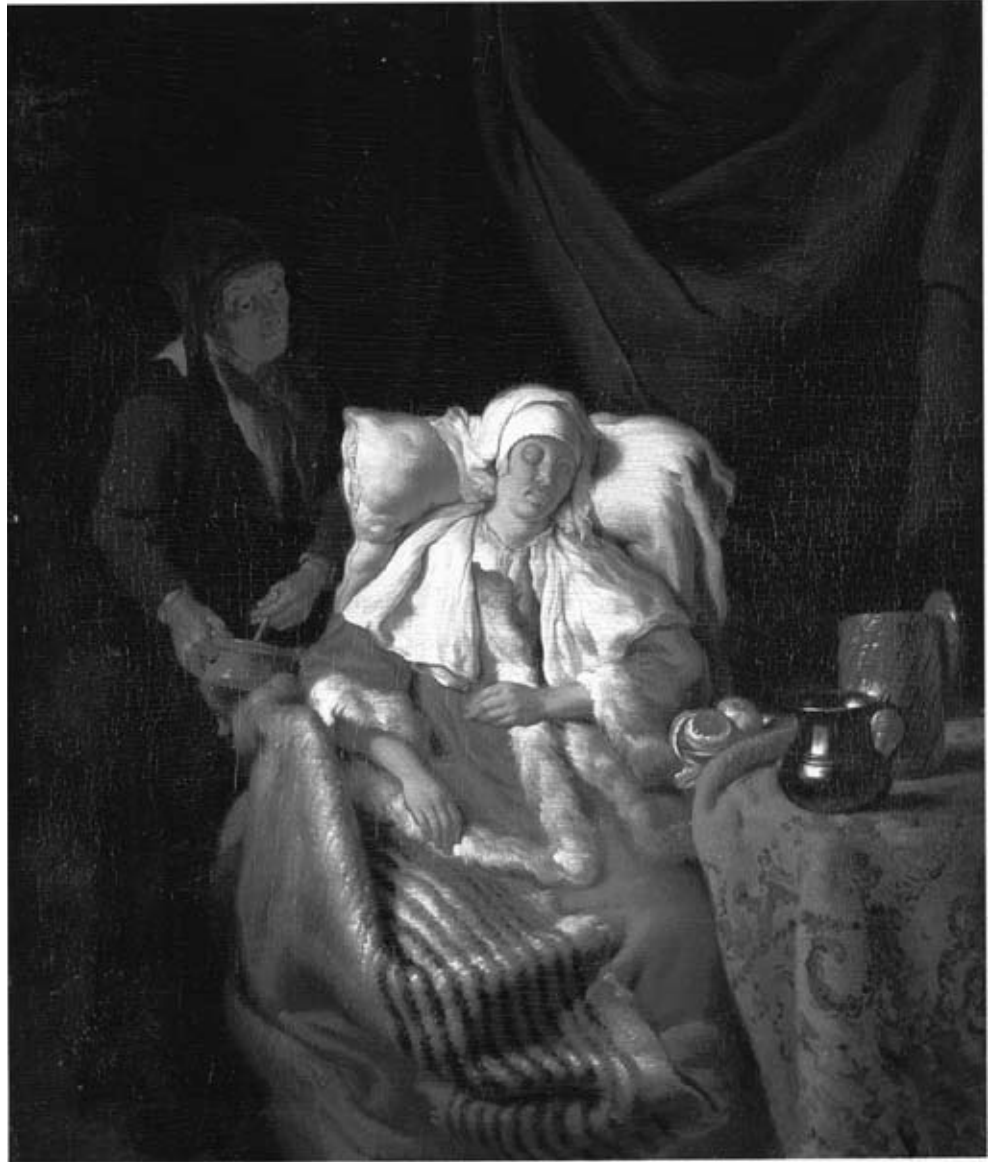
8
Frans van Mieris I, *A Young Man with an Owl*, panel, 16 x 12 cm. Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Kunst.



10
Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman at her Mirror*, panel, 18 x 16 cm. London, Wallace Collection.



11
Circle of Gerard Dou, *A Young Man Drawing by a Candle*, panel, 31 x 24.8 cm. Present location unknown.



masters mentioned in the advertisement did not fetch a high price, except for those by Frans Hals, Gerard de Lairesse, Peter Paul Rubens, Jan Olis, Godfried Schalcken, and Philips Wouwerman.⁴²

Thanks to the precise description of the catalogue entries we can identify some of the original paintings copied by De Moni as well as one presumed copy by him. The highest priced copy (f303) is made after Frans van Mieris's *A Young Man with an Owl* (fig. 8).⁴³ The second highest priced copy (f276.15) is made after Gabriel Metsu's piece depicting a sick woman and an old woman. Although the original by Metsu no longer exists, the description of this copy perfectly matches the piece *A Sick Woman* (fig. 9), now in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford USA. This painting was formerly attributed to Metsu, but is highly likely the very copy made by De Moni after Metsu.⁴⁴ This assumption was confirmed upon firsthand stylistic examination of the painting: De Moni's characteristic broad brushstrokes are to be seen in the modeling of figures and other motifs, such as in the white cushion behind the woman's head.⁴⁵ The third highest priced copy (f125) is after another Metsu, *A Woman at her Mirror* (fig. 10) and the fourth one (f108) is made after a Gerard Dou and could be similar to *A Young Man Drawing by a Candle* (fig. 11) by an artist associated with of Dou.⁴⁶ Furthermore, there is a copy (f50) after another genre painting by Dou depicting a



dentist comparable to *The Dentist* by Dou in the Staatliches Museum, Schwerin.⁴⁷

During the first half of the eighteenth century these original paintings copied by De Moni were in the possession of collectors in The Hague, Leiden and Amsterdam, and must have been accessible to De Moni for copying.⁴⁸ As already discussed in the case of Nicolaas Verkolje, it is highly likely that the artist borrowed paintings directly from collectors. Although we cannot tell exactly how De Moni selected specific pieces from the many collections accessible to him, it is possible, by means of contemporary archival documents and sales catalogues, to gain an insight into De Moni's artistic environment, which will suggest why he chose to copy certain paintings.

De Moni was also active as an art dealer, buying paintings at sales on commission.⁴⁹ In fact, Louis de Moni was one of the organizers of the above-mentioned sale of Allard de la Court in 1766, letting the copies by Willem van Mieris pass as originals by Frans van Mieris I. Presumably he had a large circle of acquaintances among collectors. One of them was the Leiden burgomaster, Johan van der Marck, who may well have been a patron of De Moni. At the time of his death in 1773, Van der Marck owned eleven original paintings by De Moni, for instance *A Woman with a Fishmonger in a Kitchen* (fig. 12) and *An Interior with a Kitchen Maid Cleaning a*



Copper Pot and a Youth and Young Woman Playing 'Ganzenbord' (fig. 13), and also drawings, including copies after seventeenth-century masters, one of which is a very rare, still extant example, De Moni's drawing after David Teniers II, signed and dated in 1747.⁵⁰ Furthermore, De Moni's declaration of liquidation, drawn up in 1773, clarifies their close relationship: Van der Marck paid 60 guilders each for 'the self-portrait of Louis de Moni, made by the artist himself and painted on the commission from the said Burgomaster Van der Marck, the sum of 60: And also for a chimneypiece painting, made by the same on order as before, a sum of 60.'⁵¹ Interestingly, Van der Marck wrote a comment about the bad condition of Metsu's original *A Sick Woman*, which he saw at the auction of 8 May 1769 in Amsterdam, describing it as an 'extremely abraded' (*meest afgeschuurd*) piece. He also reported that this painting was finally withdrawn.⁵² It is therefore logical that De Moni also knew of the bad condition of Metsu's original, possibly having heard this from Van der Marck, and decided to make a copy after it before the condition of the original painting deteriorated beyond repair.

Another collector in Leiden, Dr. Jan Tak, may also have been closely acquainted with De Moni. At the time of his death in 1780, Tak owned Gabriel Metsu's original piece *A Woman at her Mirror* (fig. 10), which was copied by De Moni as mentioned

14
Gerard Dou, *Woman Asleep*,
c.1660-1665, panel, 30 x 21.5 cm.
Private collection.



above. De Moni may have borrowed the original from Tak to copy. Moreover, Tak also owned the highest priced copy by De Moni sold at the 1772 sale, *A Young man with an Owl* after Frans van Mieris I (fig. 8), which was probably bought through the agency of Pothoven.⁵⁵ Both Leiden collectors Van der Marck and Tak owned a large number of seventeenth-century genre paintings, also by Leiden masters, and De Moni must have been familiar with their collections. This artistic milieu in which De Moni was active as painter as well as art dealer kept him informed about what was in fashion among collectors and, thus, what should be copied.

De Moni's predilection for seventeenth-century genre painting should come as no surprise, since he himself was a specialist in genre painting. Still, the high prices of De Moni's copies at the sale clearly indicate that his copies after seventeenth-century genre paintings by Leiden masters were highly regarded. De Moni was considered one of the faithful successors of the Leiden masters in his day, which added extra

value to his copies after their work. We can imagine that buyers, who had purchased the sales catalogue in advance, came to the sale in order to buy De Moni's original work and his copies after seventeenth-century masters. This demand, I suggest, was closely related to the increasing popularity of seventeenth-century genre painters in the course of the eighteenth century and it certainly had an impact on the contemporary painters' choice of artists and subject matter in their reproductive activities.

Case study: the candle-light scene as popular subject

When considering subject matter, the question arises whether it is possible to clarify the close relationship between a painter's choice of style and subject matter in his reproductive work and that in his own genre painting. As we have seen in the case of De Moni, two high-priced copies, *A Young Man with an Owl*, after Frans van Mieris I and *A Young Man Drawing by a Candle* after Dou, are both 'candlelight scenes', so-called *kaarslichjes*. According to the sales catalogue of 1781, De Moni also copied the candlelight *Woman Asleep* by Dou (fig. 14), which sold for 300 guilders, and may now be identified as a piece auctioned in 1997.⁵⁴ Dou's seventeenth-century candle-

15
Louis de Moni, *A Painter Lighting a Pipe*, panel, 22.8 x 22 cm. Private collection.





light scenes were highly popular in the eighteenth century. Samuel van Hoogstraten's *Inleiding* (1678) already praised Dou and his followers for being painters whose candlelight effects 'amazed the beholder.'⁵⁵ The high prices that Dou's candlelight genre paintings fetched at various sales attest to their popularity: his *Astronomer by Candle Light* (Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum) sold for 505 guilders in 1706, and for 905 guilders in 1734, *The Night School* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) sold for 1,000 guilders around 1710 and for 4,000 guilders in 1766, *The Wine Cellar* (Switzerland, Private collection) fetched 810 guilders in 1728, and *Woman Asleep* (fig. 14) sold for 630 guilders in 1734.⁵⁶

De Moni also produced candlelight scenes after his own design. An excellent example is *A Painter Lighting a Pipe* (fig. 15), thought to have been owned by Johan van der Marck.⁵⁷ Comparing this piece with the copies made by De Moni after seventeenth-century masters, such as *A Young Man with an Owl* (fig. 8), *A Young Man Drawing by a Candle* (fig. 11), and *Woman Asleep* (fig. 14), there are obvious similarities in motif, theme and composition, such as a hidden source of light, an artist or a young pupil with a classical sculpture seen through an arched stone window with a curtain, and a man lighting a pipe. There is reason to believe that he was consciously choosing similar subjects and motifs in his reproductive work and in his own paintings. It is clear that these works are thematically and technically closely connected, but notably De Moni's original work demonstrates a very recognizable personal style, such as his choice of neutral and greyish hues of a lighter tonality and his characteristic way of modelling faces, bodies and clothes using broad, flowing brushstrokes (figs. 4, 7, 12, 13).

An even more telling example of an engagement with a candlelight theme is found in the reproductive prints of the painter Nicolaas Verkolje. He was apprenticed to his father Johannes Verkolje in Delft and was later active in Amsterdam as a painter specialized in history pieces and portraits in a classicistic style and genre pieces with elegantly dressed figures in the tradition of seventeenth-century genre painting (fig. 16).



17
Gerard Dou (copy after?), *The Mouse Trap*, panel, 26.3 x 21 cm. Formerly in Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.



18
Nicolaas Verkolje after Gerard Dou, *The Mouse Trap*, mezzotint, 24.4 x 20.1 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



19
Godfried Schalcken, *A Girl in a Shirt Holding a Candle*, ca. 1680-1685, canvas, 39 x 32 cm. Present location unknown.



20
Nicolaas Verkolje after Godfried Schalcken, *A Girl in a Shirt Holding a Candle*, mezzotint, 28 x 22.4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



As already mentioned, archival documents show that he also made copies in oil after the work of Gerard de Lairesse and several seventeenth-century masters. The most splendid of Verkolje's reproductive works are his mezzotint prints after seventeenth-century paintings, especially candlelight pieces, such as *The Mouse Trap* by Gerard Dou (fig. 17, 18), and *A Girl in a Shirt Holding a Candle* by Godfried Schalcken (fig. 19, 20).⁵⁸ These prints bear inscriptions such as 'G. Douw Pinx/ N. Verkolje Fec.' (G. Dou painted/ N. Verkolje made) or 'G: Schalcken. Pinx./ N: Verkolje. fecit./ G:Valck. Excud: Cum Previl.' (G. Schalcken painted/ N. Verkolje made/ G. Valck printed: under privilege). The mezzotint technique, which was developed during the 1660s in the Dutch Republic and soon became favoured by printmakers and painters, was suitable for depicting night scenes because of the effect of light and shade modulating from white and delicate grey to depths of velvet black. Verkolje achieved a marked success with this technique in his reproductive prints after candlelight genre pieces.⁵⁹ Verkolje's reproductive prints seem to have already been widely known and appreciated from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Arnold Houbraken, for instance, mentions Verkolje's prints after Jan Baptist Weenix's *The Festive Scene of a Prodigal Son* in his biography of famous Netherlandish painters, *De groote schouburgh* (1718-1721): the piece is 'now elaborately executed in mezzotint print by Nik. Verkolje.'⁶⁰



Verkolje also made a print after Philips Wouwerman's *A Saddled Horse*, which was described in Johan van der Marck's sales catalogue of 1763 as 'executed in mezzotint print by N. Verkolje.'⁶¹

These reproductive prints had a different function than copies in oils. Prints such as these circulated and helped to spread the candlelight theme presumably contributing to the popularity of the original candlelight paintings.⁶² For example, a piece by Schalcken, *A Woman at a Mirror* (fig. 21), was also skillfully executed in mezzotint print by Verkolje (fig. 22): meticulous details in the lady's dress and the still life on the table and the subtle effect of light and shadow are elaborately achieved by Verkolje's mezzotint technique.⁶³ The original painting is thought to have been in the collection of Benjamin da Costa in The Hague after the year 1729.⁶⁴ Verkolje must have seen the piece and executed the mezzotint print after it, and this print would have been well known in collectors' circles. Verkolje's prints were found in



the collections of several collectors and artists, and some of these prints were sold at a high price between 10 to 20 guilders.⁶⁵ Furthermore, Gerard Hoet, who inventoried Benjamin da Costa's collection in his *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen, met derzelver pryzen* in 1752, described this painting as follows:

'A piece, being a Lady at her Toilet, with two other figures and candlelight, by G. Schalcken, executed in print by Verkolje.'⁶⁶

This description appeared again in a sales catalogue fourteen years later, when the original painting was sold with the rest of Da Costa's collection, and it entered the royal collection of stadholder Prince Willem V of Orange for the enormous amount of 810 guilders. One can assume that it was thanks to Verkolje's print that Schalcken's original painting became even more desirable and sought-after when still owned by Da Costa.⁶⁷

The distribution of Verkolje's good-quality prints after candlelight paintings, which bear his name as printmaker in the inscription, may have substantially contributed to associating the painter Verkolje with seventeenth-century candlelight scenes in general. Verkolje seems to have consciously made use of this association and, judging from early eighteenth-century sales catalogues, he produced many candlelight genre



24
Godfried Schalcken, *A Woman Reading a Letter*, panel, 27 x 20.5 cm.
Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.



25
Gerard Dou, *A Young Woman in a Window*, panel, 26.7 x 19.5 cm. Madrid,
Museo Thyssen-Bonemisza.

scenes after his own design.⁶⁸ A splendid extant example is *A Woman with a Candle and a Letter in a Window with a Maidservant* (fig. 23).⁶⁹ In this work he used the same kind of female figure that is familiar from the candlelight scenes of Dou and Schalcken (fig. 24, 25): an elegantly-dressed lady with a coquettish smile, holding a letter in her hand; or a young woman with a pronounced décolleté leaning out of a window. All these details are clearly reminiscent of the pictorial tradition of the candlelight piece by seventeenth-century predecessors, though these aspects are now combined with typical Verkolje gentle facial expressions, conversational gestures, colour graduations and brushstrokes, as seen in his paintings such as *Young Man and a Young Woman with a Rose* (fig. 16).

Evidently, Verkolje took advantage of the popularity of candlelight scenes by famous painters such as Dou and Schalcken and produced prints after them; in so doing, he added value to the original paintings and to the candlelight theme in general. Furthermore, by reproducing seventeenth-century candlelight pieces, De Moni and Verkolje both created an elaborate niche in the art market for their own candlelight paintings, reminding collectors of the rich pictorial tradition of the seventeenth century, but in an updated, contemporary idiom.

The function of copying: looking back to the Golden Age

Before concluding, an important question still remains to be answered: how did collectors regard having copies after seventeenth-century paintings in their own collections? It is almost impossible to trace how copies were originally integrated into



collections in the cases of De Moni and Verkolje, but the above-mentioned example of Willem van Mieris and his patron Pieter de la Court van der Voort offers a clue. Thanks to a precise description in the autograph inventory by Pieter de la Court of 1731, we know which paintings hung together on which wall in the various rooms of De la Court's home.⁷⁰ Nine copies by Willem van Mieris were spread throughout the mansion. Four of these copies appear to have been in the same room, the 'cabinet room', and hung on one wall: *A Soldier Smoking a Pipe* (fig. 2), *A Woman Pulling a Dog's Ear* and *A Night Scene with Offering to Apollo*, all after Frans van Mieris I, and *A Smoking Soldier* after De Vois.⁷¹ Although these copies hung together on the same wall with six original paintings by Willem van Mieris, strangely enough, there was not a single original painting by Frans van Mieris I in this room. In the same room on another wall there were three splendid pieces by the most representative Leiden genre painter of the seventeenth century, Gerard Dou: *The Night School* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), *A Grocer's Shop* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) and *A Praying Monk*, and a history piece by Jan van Mieris.⁷² Did Willem's three copies after Frans van Mieris I



act as substitutes, or even as compensation for the lack of originals by Dou's best pupil and most prosperous Leiden successor, Frans van Mieris I?

Three other copies after Frans van Mieris I which hung in another room provide more convincing evidence concerning the function of copies in this collection. In this room twenty paintings decorated the northern wall, more than half of which were made by four painters from three generations of the Van Mieris family: Frans I, Jan, Willem and Frans II.⁷³ Two of these were originals by Frans van Mieris I, *A Man in Oriental Costume* and *A Man with a Hat Wearing a Coat*, to which were added three copies after Frans I by Willem van Mieris: *An Old Woman with a Glass of Brandy*, *A Seaman with a Goblet*, and *Self-portrait of Frans van Mieris* after Frans I's drawing (fig. 26, 27).⁷⁴ Furthermore, there were three original paintings by Willem van Mieris himself: *Fruit Still Life*, *Self-portrait* and an excellent history piece titled *Armida Tying up the Sleeping Rinaldo* (The Hague, Mauritshuis).⁷⁵ Finally, there were two genre pieces, *A Woman Feeding a Bird* and *A Reckless Student* by Jan van Mieris and a *Self-portrait* by Frans van Mieris II. Most importantly, the hanging of these paintings makes the collector's intention clear. The copies by Willem after his father were necessary to visualize the pictorial tradition of the Van Mieris family from the seventeenth through the eighteenth century. This 'Van Mieris gallery' must have been completed for Willem's Maecenas, Pieter de la Court van der Voort, who was one of the most renowned Leiden collectors. Not only his son Allard, but Pieter de la Court himself seems to have allowed the copies to pass as originals when visitors came to view his collection. A German art lover, Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, who visited the collection on 19 January 1711, mentioned the self-portrait made by Frans van Mieris I, though it was surely the above-mentioned copy by Willem van

Mieris after his father.⁷⁶

Thus we see how copies functioned as substitutes for much-loved seventeenth-century paintings and could testify to and even extol the pictorial tradition which had been inherited by eighteenth-century generations. Of course, not all the countless copies which were made during the first half of the eighteenth century had this function, but as we have seen in De Moni's case, collectors were willing to pay a pretty price for a good copy after a painting by a famous seventeenth-century master. It is highly possible that such copies had the same kind of function in affluent collectors' cabinets as did copies by Willem van Mieris in De la Court's collection.

In conclusion, these examples illustrate how later painters deliberately took advantage of the glorification of seventeenth-century art. Copies fulfilled various functions: they were substitutes for certain types of seventeenth-century genre painting that had become less available and were therefore eagerly sought after by collectors; while further popularizing certain artists and themes from the seventeenth century, copies created a highly valued market niche for genre pieces by early eighteenth-century painters who worked in a similar style and with similar motifs; and finally, they enhanced the value of the original paintings as the art of a venerated past. By using reproductive methods effectively, early eighteenth-century painters found new ways to cope with and claim a pictorial tradition that was in the process of being canonized.

NOTES

* This article is part of my dissertation research on Dutch genre painting 1680-1750 and its reception of the Golden Age, funded by the Institute of Culture and History of the University of Amsterdam. I would like to thank Wendie Shaffer for editing the English text and Eric Jan Sluijter for his thoughtful comments on earlier versions of the article.

¹ Pioneering studies and remarks on early eighteenth-century copies after seventeenth-century genre painting: C.W. Fock: 'Willem van Mieris en zijn mecenas Pieter de la Court van der Voort', *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 2 (1983), pp. 265-267; E.J. Sluijter, 'Schilders van "cleyne, subtile ende curieuse dingen": Leidse "fijnschilders" in contemporaine bronnen', in: E.J. Sluijter et al. (ed.), exh. cat. *Leidse Fijnschilders. Van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge, 1630-1760*, Leiden (Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal) 1988, pp. 34-36.

² O. Naumann, *Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635-1681)*, 2 vols, Doornspijk 1981; R. Baer, *The Paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613-1675)*, PhD diss., New York University 1990.

³ Concerning the domestic and international art market, see K.J.A. Jonckheere, *Kunsthandel en diplomatie: de veiling van de schilderijenverzameling van Willem III (1713) en de rol van het diplomatieke netwerk in de Europese kunsthandel*, PhD diss., Universiteit van Amsterdam 2005; E. Korthals Altes, *De verovering van de internationale kunstmarkt door de zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst: enkele studies over de verspreiding van Hollandse schilderijen in de eerste helft van de achttiende eeuw*, Leiden 2003. Regarding the emerging idea about the 'Golden Age', see B. Cornelis, 'A reassessment of Arnold Houbraken's *Groote schouburgh*', *Simiolus* 23 (1995), pp. 168-169; P. Hecht, 'Browsing in Houbraken: developing a fancy for an underestimated author', *Simiolus* 24 (1996), pp. 259-274; C. Kemmer, 'In search of classical form: Gerard de Lairese's *Groot schilderboek* and seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting', *Simiolus* 26 (1998), pp. 87-115; H.J. Horn, *The Golden Age Revisited: Arnold Houbraken's Great Theatre of Netherlandish Painters and Paintresses*, Doornspijk 2000, pp. 93-102. Several recent studies and exhibitions have reconsidered the art from the late seventeenth-

and early eighteenth-century. For example, see J. Aono, 'Looking back to the Dutch Golden Age. Early eighteenth-century genre painting by Willem van Mieris' in: E. Mai (ed.), *Holland nach Rembrandt. Zur niederländischen Kunst zwischen 1670 und 1750*, Cologne 2006, pp. 225-246; E. Mai, S. Paarlberg and G.J.M. Weber (ed.), exh. cat. *Vom Adel der Malerei. Holland um 1700*, Cologne (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud), Dordrecht (Dordrechts Museum) and Kassel (Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel) 2006-2007; R. Baarsen, R.-J. te Rijdt and F. Scholten (eds.), *Nederlandse kunst in het Rijksmuseum 1700-1800*, Zwolle 2006.

⁴ M.J. Bok, *Vraag en aanbod op de Nederlandse kunstmarkt, 1580-1700*, PhD diss., Utrecht Universiteit 1994, pp. 124-127. The number of painters decreased between 1670 and 1680. See: Bok's research on the records of marriage licenses of Amsterdam painters between 1601 and 1700, idem, pp. 100-104, diagram 4.1; J. de Vries, 'Art History' in: D. Freedberg and J. de Vries (ed.), *Art in history/History in art. Studies in seventeenth-century Dutch culture*, Santa Monica 1991,

- p. 273, table 2. W. Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-century Genre Painting*, New Haven/London 2004, pp. 220-222.
- ⁵ Jonckheere 2005 (note 3), pp. 217-218; Aono 2006 (note 3), pp. 226-227 and 238-239. Regarding the popularity of paintings by 'old masters' among collectors, see J.M. Montias, 'Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: An Analysis of Subjects and Attributions', in: Freedberg et al., 1991 (note 4), pp. 343 and 363, table 9.
- ⁶ Sluijter 1988 (note 1), pp. 34-35.
- ⁷ For instance: A.K. Wheelock Jr. (ed.), exh. cat. *Gerard ter Borch*, Washington (National Gallery of Art) and Detroit (Detroit Institute of Arts) 2004-2005, cat. nos. 39, 40 and 47; A. Wallert and G. Tauber, 'Over herhalingen in de schilderkunst: het probleem van reproductie', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 52 (2004), pp. 316-327.
- ⁸ M.E. Wieseman, 'Paper Trails: Drawings in the Work of Caspar Netscher and his studio', in V. Manuth and A. Rüger (ed.), *Collected Opinions. Essays on Netherlandish Art in Honour of Alfred Bader*, London 2004, p. 255.
- ⁹ A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, Amsterdam 1718-1721, vol. 3, pp. 389-390: 'hy maakte het door den uitsteekenden lust dien hy daar toe had, zoodanig even gelyk na, dat het naderhand tot Leiden van verscheide liefhebbers voor een stukje van Mieris aangezien wierd.'
- ¹⁰ Jonckheere 2005 (note 3), pp. 217-218; Aono 2006 (note 3), pp. 226-227 and 238-239.
- ¹¹ J. van Gool, *De nieuwe schouburg der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 2 vols, The Hague, 1750-1751.
- ¹² Van Gool 1750-1751 (note 11), vol. 2, p. 208: 'Ik heb 'er gezien naar Rottenhamer, de Ridder Van der Werf, Dou en andere Meesters, die tot groote pryzen verkocht zyn aen Liefhebbers en Kunsthandelaers; onder andere aen den beruchten Pauman, een doorluchtig voorbeelt in den handel, wiens gedrag hier en aen veel Duitsche Hoven door proefbewyzen bekend staat. Dees gaf hem veel schoone stukken aen de hant om op die wyze te copiëeren, waer voor hy hem rykelyk betaelde.'
- ¹³ L. de Vries, *Diamante Gedenkzuilen en Leerzaam voorbeelden: Een bespreking van Johan van Gools Nieuwe Schouburg*, Groningen 1990, pp. 97-98.
- ¹⁴ G. Hoet, *Brief aan een' vrient*, The Hague 1751; J. van Gool, *Antwoordt op den zoo genaemden brief aan een vrient*, The Hague 1752 or 1753. Both are reprinted in De Vries 1990 (note 13), pp. 219-241 and pp. 87-101.
- ¹⁵ Hoet 1751 (note 14), p. 6 and 23. Hoet also points out that young painters were able to copy masters' work which was sought after by art dealers, so that they could learn the style of these masters. Hoet 1751 (note 14), pp. 21-22; Korthals Altes 2003 (note 3), pp. 34-35.
- ¹⁶ Van Gool 1752/1753 (note 14), pp. 9-12.
- ¹⁷ Van Gool 1752/1753 (note 14), p. 12: 'de Kunstkoper [...] brengt 'er alles aen toe, zo van vooren als van achter, om het een glans van echte outheit te doen vertoonen, en zet 'er een prys na evenredigheid op, als de stukken van zodanigen Meester, daer hy 't na heeft laten maken, doorgaens gelden, en wint op die wyze zeven of achtmal de waerde boven 't gene hy 'er voor gegeven heeft.'
- ¹⁸ Van Gool 1752/1753 (note 14), p. 11.
- ¹⁹ Van Gool 1752/1753 (note 14), p. 12: 'Wie is nu de grootste bedrieger, Gerard Hoet! de maker, of de verkoper, die 'er overbodig aen gewonnen heeft, en ook den uitvoerder van 't bedrog is?'
- ²⁰ Van Gool 1752/1753 (note 14), pp. 9-10: 'want zelden of nooit laeten Liefhebbers zulks voor hun vermaek doen.'
- ²¹ Amsterdam, Gemeentearchief (GA), archive of notaries, no. 241, Pieter Schabaelje, original instruments 1692-1720, no. 6004, act 415, 08-07-1698: 'hij geïnsinueerde voor hem insinuant zoude copieeren eenige origineele stukken schilderyen soo van Larissen als andere meesters.'
- ²² Idem, 'nog vier raemen met doek de welke van hem insinuant onder u geïnsinueerde nog berustende zijn...' B. ter Molen-den Outer, 'Nicolaas Verkolje (1673-1746), zijn navolging van en samenwerking met andere 18de eeuwse kunstschilders', *Oud-Nieuws 'Vrienden van Antiek'* 11 (1978) no. 1, p. 50; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Honderdvijftig Advertenties van Kunstverkopingen uit veertig jaargangen van de Amsterdamsche Courant. 1672-1711', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum* 67 (1975), pp. 150, 160, no. 53, and p. 167, no. 102.
- ²³ G. Hoet and P. Terwesten, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen, met derzelver pryzen*, 3 vols, The Hague 1752; P. Terwesten (third volume), The Hague 1770, vol. 1, pp. 47-52. Sale Herman van Swoll, Amsterdam, 22-04-1699. The paintings by De Laïresse in the sale were sold for large sums of money: seven pieces from the collection fetched between 300 and 635 guilders each. There was another, smaller sale of Van Swoll's collection in 1707, which contained three history pieces by De Laïresse and two landscape pieces by Glauber with figures painted by De Laïresse, Hoet and Terwesten 1752-1770, vol. I, pp. 97-98. Sale Herman van Swoll, Amsterdam, 20-04-1707.
- ²⁴ Alain Roy, *Gérard de Laïresse (1640-1711)*, Paris 1992, pp. 51-52.
- ²⁵ Amsterdam, GA, archive of notaries, no. 257, Pieter van der Meulen, original instruments 1697-1720, no. 6777, 02-03-1708. Ter Molen-den Outer 1978 (note 22), p. 52.
- ²⁶ Fock 1983 (note 1), pp. 261-268. The inventories of the family De la Court: Leiden, Regionaal Archief Leiden (RAL), family archive of De la Court, no. 132: the self-written inventory of Pieter de la Court van der Voort of 1731; no. 59: the estate inventory of Pieter de la Court van der Voort and Sara Poelaert of 1739 from after Pieter's death; no. 117a: the self-written inventory of Allard de la Court of 1749. These inventories were also published in Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer et al., *Het Rapenburg: Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht*, 6 vols, Leiden 1986-1992, vol. 2, pp. 441-461 (1749 inventory), vol. 6(a), pp. 473-480 (1731 inventory), pp. 480-494 (1739 inventory). See also Sluijter 1988 (note 1), pp. 36-37, and p. 52, note 170. *A Soldier Smoking a Pipe*: Naumann 1981 (note 2), cat. no. 43, and its copy: cat. no. 43a; Sale, London (Sotheby's), 11-12-1985, no. 97.
- ²⁷ Leiden, RAL, family archive of De la Court, no. 117a, the self-written inventory of Allard de la Court of 1749, 'the large room on the ground floor: rank B', no. 14 and 'the large room on the ground floor: rank A', no. 80. The original

Dutch text is quoted in List 1 (Appendix I).

²⁸ Leiden, RAL, family archive of De la Court, no. 117a, the self-written inventory of Allard de la Court of 1749, 'the large room on the first floor: rank A, no. 43 (note 26): 'Een juffrouwjtje met een strooehoedje op een hondje in haar arm, borststukje sijnde een ovaaltje door Willem van Mieris gecopieert naar 't orgineele daarvan door sijn vaader Frans van Mieris had geschildert, dog 't is soo wonderlijk fraay gecopieert dat bij geen liefhebber anders geoordeelt off is door de oude in sijn eelste tijd geschilderd soodart 't daarvoor altijd zonder teegenspreken laat passeeren als sijnde onverbeeterlijk, kost f 80, 't origineel is veel jaeren al buytenslands en sulks dit voor 't origineel bekend is wel f 200 waardig als onweergaadeloos geschildert, 't origineel selfs is in de tijd verkofft voor f 315, -f 50.' Naumann 1981 (note 2), cat.no. 109, and its copy, cat.no. 109a; Sale, New York (Sotheby's), 28-05-1993, no. 26.

²⁹ It is not known where the original painting *A Lady with a Straw Hat* was located around 1749. But, according to the provenance by Naumann, other originals, *A Soldier Smoking a Pipe* and *A Woman Pulling a Dog's Ear*, were in the collection of Johan Wilhelm von der Pfalz (died 1716) in Düsseldorf, and transferred to Mannheim in 1730 and then to Munich shortly before 1899. Naumann 1981 (note 2), cat.no. 44, p. 52.

³⁰ The value of copies mentioned in Allard's 1749 inventory can be considered as a 'book value', that was consciously set much lower than the potential market price. Still, this book value was consistently kept in proportion to the purchase price.

³¹ Sale Allard de la Court, Leiden (Luchtmans), 08-09-1766, no. 26.

³² Naumann 1981 (note 2), cat.nos. 43, 44, 100, D84, D85 and D122; O. Naumann, 'Frans van Mieris as a Draughtsman', *Master Drawings* 16 (1978), no.1, cat.no. 13 (*Self-Portrait*).

³³ The self-written inventory of Allard de la Court of 1749 (note 26), for instance: 'the large room on the ground floor: rank B', no. 13, 'meest voor origineel aangezien'; no. 2, 'seer onkennelijk of origineel off copy is'; 'the large room on the ground floor: rank A', no. 80, '...dit soo fraay gecopieert dat niemand anders als voor origineel aansiet,

[...] waarom 't maar voor origineel laat passereren...'

³⁴ The self-written inventory of Allard de la Court of 1749 (note 26).

³⁵ Leiden 1988 (note 1), cat.nos. 50-54, pp. 174-181. De Moni was mentioned for the first time in Leiden in 1729, and remained for the rest of his life in this city.

³⁶ Van Gool 1750-1751 (note 11), vol. 2, p. 260, 'daar by had hy gelegenheit om verscheide fraeie stukjes naer Dou te copieeren.'

³⁷ The catalogue of sale Louis de Moni, Leiden (De Moni and Delfos), 13-04-1772. Its microfiche is kept in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD) in The Hague. Sluijter 1988 (note 1), pp. 36, 51, note 160.

³⁸ Although a substantial number of copies in drawing are recorded in the catalogue, it is difficult to figure out what was the purpose of these drawings: some of them were made after the paintings which were also copied in oil, while others were not.

³⁹ Leiden, RAL, *Inventaris van het archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden 1437-1860*, Louis de Moni, no. 2867b, Boelhuiscedel, 13-04-1772.

⁴⁰ Leiden, RAL, *Leydse Courant*, 11- and 18-03-1772 and 01-04-1772: 'Men zal op Maandag 13 april 1772 en volgende dagen, in de Schutters Doelen te Leyden, verkoopen een fraaye Verzameling van konstige en plaisante SCHILDERYEN van voornaame Meesteren, als van P.P. Rubens, J. Jordaen, Rembrandt, F. Hals, C. de Moor, C. Netscher, G. Schalcken, G. Metz, Ph. Wouerman, M. Hondekoeter, G. de Lairese, J. Olis, J. Steen, J. Hugtenburg, J. Berkheyden, J. Storck, J. van Goyen, S. de Vlieger, eenige door L. de Moni en anderen; benevens een fraaye party Gecouleurde en andere TEEKENINGEN EN PRENTKONST, PLYSTERBEELDEN EN SCHILDERS-GEREEDSCHAP; alles in veele Jaeren by een verzameld en nagelaten door den beroemden Konst-Schilder LOUIS DE MONI. Waar van de Catalogus te bekomen is (mits betaalende twee Stuivers voor den Armen) te Leyden by J. de Moni en A. Delfos; Utrecht Schoonhoven; Amsterdam P. Yver en J. Smit; Haarlem van der Vinne; Rotterdam Burgvliet; Delft Graauwenhaan; Dord Uyterlimmingen; 's Hage B. Wanaar, en in andere Steden.'

⁴¹ Sales Louis de Moni, Leiden (De Moni and Delfos), 13-04-1772. Less expensive piece (no. 54) of two originals by Metsu was sold for f 19; two pieces by C. Netscher (nos. 89, 90) were sold together for f 40; one piece (no. 103) by J. Steen was sold for f 40 and another (no. 104) for f 22. The sales catalogue of De Moni that is kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France includes the price and name of buyers, which were written in by Johan van der Mark.

⁴² According to the warrant of the auction house, the organizer was not responsible for the authenticity of the paintings. Leiden, RAL, *Inventaris van het archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden 1437-1860*, Louis de Moni, no. 2867b, Boelhuiscedel, 13-04-1772: 'onder conditie dat de verkoopung gedaan werd voetstoods, zulks de verkopers voor de precise grootte der stukken, nog voor de Egtheid der meesters door welke dezelve geschildert zijn en op de catalogus staan vermeld niet behaeld willen zijn, als zullende de kopers hunne oogen moeten betrouwen.' ('On condition that the sale be carried out in such a way that the sellers be not held responsible for the precise size of the pieces nor for the Authenticity of the masters by whom these works are painted and are stated in the catalogue, for which the buyers must trust their own eyes.')

⁴³ Sale Louis de Moni, Leiden (De Moni and Delfos), 13-04-1772, no. 59: 'Na Frans van Mieris den Ouden, door Louis de Moni. Een Jongeling met een Marsch met Kooywaare voor zig houdende een brandende kaars in de linkerhand, welke hy met zyn hoed in de regterhand gedeeltelyk bedekt, dit ziet men door een Nis met Wyngaard ranke, op welkers kant een Uyl zit; in alle deelen zeer kragtig en uitvoerig geschildert, P. hoog 13, breed 10 duim.' Another copy of this piece is also attributed to Frans' son, Willem van Mieris: Naumann 1981 (note 2), cat.no. 104; Willem's copy: cat.no. 104a, formerly owned by art dealer Xaver Scheidwimmer.

⁴⁴ Idem, no. 55: 'Na G. Metsu, door L. de Moni. Een Slaapend ziek Vrouwjtje, zittende in een Leuningstoel met een kusse agter haar halverlyf met een deeken gedekt, en een rood Schouwermantel met bont gevoerd om, nevens haar een Tafel, gedekt met een rood kleedt, waar op een Urnaal een Schootel met Citroene en Tinne pot staat, agter haar een oud Vrouwjtje met een Potje in de hand zeer fraai, P. hoog 13, breed

11 duim.' According to Adriaan Waiboer, expert on Gabriel Metsu, the Hartford piece is not attributed to Metsu, but considered as a copy after the original that existed in those days. A.E. Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu (1629-1667): Life and Work*, PhD diss. New York University, 2007, cat.no. A-48. A slight difference between the description in the sales catalogue and the Hartford piece is the color of the woman's jacket: in the sales catalogue the jacket is described as red, though in the Hartford piece it appears to be a kind of orange. The word 'Urinaal' in the description means a bottle filled with urine, which was often kept in a basket like one standing on the table in the Hartford piece.

⁴⁵ I would like to thank Mr. Eric Zafran and Mr. Ulrich Birkmaier at the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford USA.

⁴⁶ Sale Louis de Moni, Leiden (De Moni and Delfos), 13-04-1772, no. 56 [Na G. Metsu, door L. de Moni] 'Een Vrouwtje in een Binnevertrek zittende voor een Tafel, met een Tapyt overdekt, waar op een Doek en Bostel, zy heeft een wit Kapje op, en Schouwermantel om, en een rood onderkleed, houdende een kam in de regterhand zeer fraai, P. hoog 10, breed 8 1/2 duim.'; no. 7: 'Na G. Douw, door L. de Moni. Een Jongeling zittende by de kaars te Tekenen na een plaister Beeld dat voor hem staat, nevens Hem een Inkt en Pennekoper, en meer Bywerk, dit ziet men door een Nis in een Binnevertrek, P. hoog 12, breed 8 1/2 duim.'; the piece attributed to the circle of Dou, see Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 14-10-1997, no. 59.

⁴⁷ Idem, no. 8 [Na G. Douw, door L. de Moni.], 'Een Man in een leuningstoel zittende, die een Tant word getrokke, terwyl een Vrouwtje daar na schynt te wagten, na den zelven door dito, P. hoog 18 1/2, breed 14 duim.' Baer 1990 (note 2), cat.no. 97.

⁴⁸ For instance: the originals of the four highest-priced copies were separately in the possession of famous collectors. *A Young Man with an Owl* was owned by Adriaan Bout and then by Bicker van Zwieten: Sale A. Bout, The Hague (Van Zanten), 11-08-1733, no. 55; Sale B. van Zwieten, The Hague, 12-04-1741, no. 58; Sale B. van Zwieten, The Hague, 04-04-1755, no. 25. *A Sick Woman* was sold at: Sale, Amsterdam (Cok), 08-05-1769. *A Woman at her Mirror* was owned by Jan Tak in Leiden until 1781: Sale

Jan Tak, Leiden (Delfos), 05-09-1781, no. 17. Aert Schouman made a drawing after this piece at Tak's, already in 1776: Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 03-11-2004. *A Young Man Drawing by a Candle* was probably owned by E. van Dishoek: Sale E. van Dishoek, The Hague, 09-06-1745, no. 34.

⁴⁹ According to notes written in sales catalogues by Johan van der Marck, whose collection of the sales catalogues is kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, Louis de Moni bought his own genre piece on commission from Pieter Caauw at the sale of Capello: Sale Capello, Amsterdam (Cok), 06-05-1767, and also bought a piece by C. de Dekker for V. Mackleane, an English clergyman in The Hague at the sale of Pieter van der Eyk: Sale P. van der Eyk, Leiden (Van der Eyk and Delfos), 28-11-1769.

⁵⁰ Sale Johan van der Marck, Amsterdam (De Winter and Yver), 25-08-1773, no. 201: 'Een Keuke, in een Nisje verbeeld, op Paneel, h. 16 1/2 b. 14 duim. In het zelve ziet men een Meid, met een Mes in de regter hand, vattende met de linker een Bloemkool; schynende te schrikken van een Knorhaan, die een Visboer, welke agter haar staat, digt by haar aanzigt houd. Op het onderste van de Nis, die haar tot een Regtbank diend, staat een aarde Pot, opgevuld met Peulen en een Kopere Vyzel, waar nevens een roode Kool en een bos Preijen leggen. Aan de eene zude van de Nis hangd een doode Haas en een rood Gordyn; van binnen staat een tobbe met Bloem-kool, een Bier-pintje en een Vlootje met Vis: vertoonde zich aan de Zolder en de Wand, meerder bywerk. Zeer fraaij en uitvoerig geschilderd en in des Meesters beste tyd.' Sale, London (Sotheby's) 13-07-1983, no. 56; idem, no. 202: 'Een andere Keuken, zynde een wedergade. Deze is mede door een Nisje te zien; vertoonende zich een Vrouwtje, die bezig is een Kopere Ketel te schuuren, welke met een Linne Fyl daar onder, op een Ton legt. Ze ziet naar twee Kinderen die op het Ganze bord speelen, op de voet der Nis, waar voor het Meisje staat, benevens een tinne Schotel, een Koper Tabaks-Convoor enz.; hangende een teene Vogel-kooy aan de zyde der Nis, en meer bywerk. Niet minder van deugd dan het voorgaande.' This is highly likely the piece sold at Sale, London (Christie's) 18-6-2007, no. 378; the piece no. 204 may be the one sold at Sale, Amsterdam (Kuhn uit Brünn), 04-06-1929. The copy after David Teniers II: Sales Louis

de Moni, Leiden (De Moni and Delfos), 13-04-1772, catalogue of drawings, no. 28; Sale Johan van der Marck, Amsterdam (De Winter and Yver), 29-11-1773, no. 2049; Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 09-11-2000, no. 128: signed and dated: '*L. de Moni/ Na het schilderij van D. Teniers/ August 1747*' (on verso).

⁵¹ Leiden, RAL, *Inventaris van het archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden 1437-1860*, Louis de Moni, no. 2867d, Liquidatie 13-01-1773, p. 5 verso: 'Ontvangen van den Heer burgermeester van der Marck, voor 't pourtrait van 't schilderye van Louis de Moni, door denzelven konstschilder op order van gemelde heer burgermeester geschildert, een somme van 60: Ende nog voor een Schoorsteen Stuk, door denzelven op ordre als voren geschildert, een somme van 60.' I conjecture that the expression, 't portrait van 't schiderye van Louis de Moni door denzelven konstschilder' could mean the self-portrait of De Moni by himself, because Van der Marck collected a large number of self-portraits of painters and also owned De Moni's self-portrait. Sale Johan van der Marck, Amsterdam (De Winter and Yver), 25-08-1773, no. 432. This piece has recently been identified, see F.G. Meijer, 'Aandacht voor twee vroeg achttiende-eeuwse kunstenaarsportretten: een zelfportret van Louis de Moni (1698-1771) en een onopgelost raadsel', *RKD Bulletin*, extra issue titled *Portret in Beeld* (2007), pp. 40-42, fig.1.

⁵² Sale, Amsterdam (Cok), 08-05-1769, no. 53: according to Van der Marck's notes, the piece was '*meest afgeshuurd*' (extremely abraded) and sold to Hostein for *f*370, but on the last page of the catalogue he wrote that the pieces sold to Hostein were withdrawn, as follows, 'De schilderijen op de naamen van Hosten en Gropoul gekocht, meent men dat opgehouden zijn.'

⁵³ According to notes by Johan van der Marck written in the sales catalogue of De Moni's collection, this copy was bought by Pothoven 'on commission'. Sale Jan Tak, Leiden (Delfos), 05-09-1781, no. 53, Louis de Moni: 'Door een Nis met wijngaard blaaderen, ziet men een jong Koopman met een Marsje [...]. Hetzelve is zoo krachtig en uitvoerig geschildert, of het van den oude Frans van Mieris was.' ('Through an arched window frame surrounded by vine leaves, a young merchant is seen with a pedlar's pack ... It is painted with

such power and detail, as if it were a work by Frans van Mieris the Elder.) Apart from this copy, Tak possessed two original paintings by De Moni: one of them was a genre piece with a kitchen maid, which had been bought at a sale in 1767 by De Moni himself in commission from the collector Pieter Caauw, and was purchased afterwards by Tak for 200 guilders at the sale of Caauw's collection. De Moni also attended this sale and could thus have been able to recommend the piece to Tak: Sale Pieter Caauw, Leiden (Luchtman), 24-08-1768, no.18.

⁵⁴ Baer 1990 (note 2), cat.no. 93. Copy: Sale Revd P.B. Kleij, The Hague (Fullings), 10-05-1781, no. 17: 'Een Binne Vertrek, Kaarsligt, met een opgehaald Gordyn, in het Vertrek zit een Bevallig Vrouwje te Slaapen, voor haar staat een Taafel daar op een Brandende Kaars, by de Taafel staan twee Krygsknegten waar van de eene zyn Pyp aansteekt aan de Kaars, de andere heeft een zwaavel Stok aangestookt die hy met de Brandende Svaavel houd onder de Neus van het Slaapende Vrouwje, in het verschieft komt een Meyt aangaan met een Lamp in de hand, op de voor grond een Lantaarn daar Ligt in is, verder eenig bywerk, dit stukje is zoo schoon Geschildert en delicaat behandelt, of het van G. Douw zelfs was, door L. de Monney, naa Douw, hoog 11 1/2, breed 9 duym, op koper. f.300,-.' This piece 'on copper' can be identified with the piece which was auctioned at the Sale, Paris (Drouot Richelieu), 20-06-1997, no. 188 (copper, 29 x 23 cm, attributed to Godfried Schalcken after Gabriel Metsu).

⁵⁵ S. van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hoogeschoole der schilderkunst*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 268: 'gelijk het van Gerrit Dou en zijn naevolgers tot verwonderens toe is te weeg gebracht.'

⁵⁶ *Astronomer by Candlelight*: Sale Adriaen van Hoek, Amsterdam (Zomer), 07-04-1706, no. 2, and Sale Willem Six, Amsterdam (Schoemaker ten Brink), 12-05-1734, no. 18; *The Night School*: Pieter de la Court van der Voort bought it from Adriaen Wittert van der Aa around 1710 (Leiden, RAL, De la Court family archive, no. 117a, the inventory of Allard de la Court of 1749, no. 6), and Sale Allard de la Court, Leiden (Luchtman), 08-09-1766, no. 19; *The Wine Cellar*: Sale Antony Grill, Amsterdam (Ratelband), 14-04-1728, no. 2; *Woman Asleep*: Sale Floris Drabbe, Leiden, 01-04-1734,

no. 5. Baer 1990 (note 2), cat.nos. 109, 110, 85 and 95.

⁵⁷ Sale Johan van der Marck, Amsterdam (De Winter and Yver), 25-08-1773. no. 206: 'Een Kaars-lijgje. Door een openstaande Vengster van boven toogswys, ziet men een Schilder staande in zyn Japon, zyn Pyp aansteekende aan de vlam van een Kaars. In de linker hand heeft hy een Plaister hoofd; staande voor de Kaars een Beeldje, verbeeldend een zittend Vrouwje. Dit is ongemeen uitvoerig en fraay behandeld en het eenigste Kaars-lijgje van dezer Meester.' Van der Marck owned another piece by De Moni which had the effect of candlelight and daylight together in one painting, no. 204: 'Een Binnenkamer. Een bevallig Juffertje vertoonend zich, zittende by een Tafel, [...]. In dit Stukje zyn de twee verschillende ligten, van dag en kaars, zeer fraay waargenomen, voorts is het zeer uitvoerig en konstig behandeld.'

⁵⁸ J.E. Wessely, 'Jan und Nicolas Verkolje. Verzeichniss ihrer Schabkunstblätter', *Archiv für die Zeichnenden Künste*, 1868, Leipzig, cat.nos. 26 and 27; ref. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-17576, 17578. As to the original by Dou and by Schalcken, see: Baer 1990, cat.no. C88; T. Beherman, *Godfried Schalcken*, 1988, Paris, cat.no. 198. J.R. Brozius, *Nicolaas Verkolje en de 'beminders der konst'*, 2001, Hoorn, pp. 6-7. There are several other candlelight prints by Verkolje after other painter's work or design, such as *A Girl Putting out a Candle* (ref. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, PR-P-OB-1911.201) probably after Schalcken (Glasgow Museum, inv. no. 110) and *A Seamstress with/without a Joke* (Wessely 1868 cat.no. 25; ref. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1911-195, 196) designed by Arnold Houbraken. I would like to thank Huigen Leeftang for guiding my research at the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

⁵⁹ G. Wuestman, 'The mezzotint in Holland: "Easily learned, neat and convenient"', *Simiolus* 23 (1995), pp. 67-72, 78-79, 83-88.

⁶⁰ Wessely 1868 (note 58), cat.no. 32, ref. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-17589; Houbraken 1718-1721 (note 9), vol. 2, p. 82: 'Het konststukje verbeeldende een vrolyk gezelschap, sommige zeggen de Verloore Zoon, dog 't meest bekend door den naam van 't pissend Jongetje, nu door Nik. Verkolje uitvoerig in zwarte Konst gebracht, [...]'; Wuestman 1995

(note 57), pp. 86-88.

⁶¹ Wessely 1868 (note 58), cat.no. 37, ref. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-17596; Sale Johan van der Marck, Amsterdam (De Winter and Yver), 25-08-1773, no. 372: 'Dit Stukje is bekend by de naam van het pissend Paardje: door N. Verkolje in zwarte Kunst gebracht.' This painting may be identified as the piece owned by Verkolje himself, which can explain that he probably made a print after the painting in his own collection. Sale Nicolaas Verkolje, Amsterdam (J. Verkolje), 18-04-1746, no. 36, 'Een wit Paardje en Mannetje, in een Rotsje; door Ph. Wouwerman, in zyn' besten tyd.'

⁶² Regarding contemporary reproductive prints after 17th-century Dutch painting, see G. Wuestman, *De Hollandse schilderschool in prent. Studies naar reproductiegrafiek in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw*, PhD diss., Universiteit van Utrecht, 1998.

⁶³ There is a slight difference in shape between the candlestick in the original painting and that in the print; ref. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-17586.

⁶⁴ Sale, The Hague, 03-05-1729, no. 60.

⁶⁵ Before Da Costa's sale in 1764, two prints after Schalcken's piece were sold at the sale of the collection of Johannes Verkolje II, Nicolaas's brother, in 1763 for f10 and for f14.5; Sale J. Verkolje II, Amsterdam (De Winter), 24-10-1763; in the sales catalogue of painter Isaac Walraven: Sale I. Walraven, Amsterdam (De Winter and Yver), 18-11-1765, no. 3063, it was sold for f20.10.

⁶⁶ Hoet/Terwesten 1752-1770 (note 23), vol. II, p. 470 'Een stuk, zynde een Dame voor haar Toilet met twee andere beelden en kaarslicht, door G. Schalcke, gaat in prent uyt door Verkolje.'

⁶⁷ Sale Benjamin da Costa, The Hague (Franken), 13-08-1764, no. 63: 'G. Schalken. Une Demoiselle à la toilette, avec une vieille Femme & un Gerçon, à la Chande. T. NB. Il y a une Estampe du fusidit Tableau fait par Verkolje.' Besides, Hoet added extra information to the entry of this piece in the sales catalogue recorded in his *catalogus of naamlyst van Schilderyen*, that the concerned piece entered the Royal collection of stadholder Prince Willem V of Orange, as follows, '(NB.) De twee bovegem.

Extra fraaije Stukken, zyn althans berustende in het Vorstelyk Kunst-Kabinet van zyn Doorl. Hoogheid den Heere Prince Erf-Stadhouder.; Hoet/Terwesten 1752-1770 (note 23), vol. III, pp. 378-379.

⁶⁸ Sale Nicolaas van Suchtelen, Hoorn, 17-04-1715, no. 54: 'Een Vrouwte de venster sluytende, zynde een Kaersligt'; no. 55: 'Een Tabak Rokertje zynde een kaarsligt'; no. 56: 'Een Pen versnydend mannetje, een Kaarsligt'; and no. 57: 'Een Doctor een weerga'; Sale, The Hague, 26-04-1742, no. 37: 'Een Kaarsligtje, door den zelve, zynde een Juffertje dat Teekenen leert, niet minder als het vorige.'; Sale N. Verkolje, Amsterdam (J. Verkolje), 18-04-1746, no. 40: 'Een Juffer, en Fruitmeisje, met Kaarslicht' and no. 41: 'Een Schryvertje, mede een Kaarslichtje.' Verkolje probably made copies after candlelight paintings by Dou and Schalken, after which he also made prints: for instance, a piece is quite similar to Dou's *The Mouse Trap*, which is attributed to Verkolje in the 19th-century sales catalogue: Sale Anna Elink, Amsterdam (Van der Schley, De Bosch, Yver and Pruysenaar), 28-06-1802, no. 193.

⁶⁹ C.J.A. Wansink, 'Een terugggevonden schilderij van Nicolaas Verkolje (1673-1746)', *Oud Holland* 101 (1987), pp. 86-88.

⁷⁰ The autograph inventory of Pieter de la Court van der Voort of 1731 (note 26).

⁷¹ Idem: 'schilderijen in 't cabinet tegen de oost binnenmuur': 'Een rookend soldaatje sittende in 't harnas', 'Item een juffertie een hondje bij 't oor trekkende,' beyde door Willem van Mieris onkenlijk van 't origineel van zijn vader gecopieert, dat bij de Platz'; 'Een nagtligt offerhande copye door W. van Mieris en onkenlijk van 't origineel door zijn vader'; 'Een rookende matroos onkenlijk copye van 't origineel door De Vois.'

⁷² Idem: 'schilderijen in 't cabinet noord binnenmuur regten dag'. Baer 1990 (note 2), cat.nos. 110 and 47 (*A Praying Monk*: present location unknown).

⁷³ Idem: 'schilderijen op de aftermiddebovekamer tegen 't noorder beschoot of regte dag': 'Een fruytsuk daarin een etende muys zeer uytvoerig voor mij door W. van Mieris gesch.'; 'Een Persiaantje met een tulbant zeer constig en uytvoerig onverbeeterlijk geschilderd door den ouden Frans van Mieris zijnde kleen ovaal'; 'Een wedergade een mannetje met een hoet op 't hoofd en omgeslage mantel door den zelve'; 'Een besje met een brandewijnsborreltie in de hand, copye door W. van Mieris na zijn vader'; 'Een dito wat grooter ovaal, matroos met een wijnroemer in de hand, copye alsovore'; 'Het portrait van den ouden Frans van Mieris constig en uytvoerig door zijn zoon W. van Mieris na zijn vaders tekening geschilderd'; 'Het portrait van Willem van Mieris na zigzelfs'; 'Het portrait van den

jongen Frans van Mieris na zigzelfs jonge tijd'; 'De verbeelding van Armida bij den slapende Rijnhout op het betovert eyland, zijnde een zeer plaisant lantschap vol gewoel van in beesigheyd zijnde Cupidoos, zingende zirene en bloemfestoenen &c, alles zeer uitvoerig en wel verbeeld, voor mij geschilderd door Willem van Mieris'; 'Een juffroutie een mosje eeten gevende zeer vlak en constig geschilderd door Jan van Mieris'; 'Een wedergade zijnde een roekeloose student met verkeerbord, roemer, pijp &c door den zelve.'

⁷⁴ Naumann 1981 (note 2), two originals by Frans van Mieris: cat. no. 70 and no. 29. Naumann 1978 (note 32), cat.no. 13.

⁷⁵ Q. Buvelot and C. Vermeeren, *Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis: A Summary Catalogue*, Zwolle, 2004, pp. 204-205, inv. no. 1071. Two other pieces, *Fruit Still Life* and *Self-portrait* are unknown.

⁷⁶ Z.C. von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachen Holland und Engelland*, 3 vols., 1753-1754, vol. 3, p. 421: '[...] darunter die von Douw und Miris von ihnen selbst sehr wohl gemahlt.'; Fock 1983 (note 1), p. 267; E.J. Sluijter, 'Een zelfportret en "de schilder en zijn atelier": Het aanzien van Jan van Mieris', *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 8 (1989), p. 288.

APPENDIX I

List of Willem van Mieris' copies in the collection of Pieter de la Court van der Voort and Allard de la Court in Leiden (price: guilder)

Copies by Willem van Mieris	Before 1731	1749		1766	
	purchase price	book value	except describing originals	sales price	attribution
<i>A "Trony" of an Old Man</i> after Gerard Dou ¹	60	unknown			
<i>A Soldier Smoking a Pipe</i> after Frans van Mieris I	60	20	'mostly considered as the original' (<i>meest voor origineel aangezien</i>); 'the original being out of the country' (<i>sijnde 't origineele buytensland</i>)	100	sold as original
<i>A Woman Pulling a Dog's Ear</i> after Frans van Mieris I	60	20	'mostly considered as the original' (<i>voor origineel meest aangezien</i>); 'the original having been out of this country for at least 50 years' (<i>de origineele sijn wel 50 jaaren buytenslands geweest</i>)	100	sold as original
<i>An Old Woman Holding a Spirits Bottle</i> after Frans van Mieris I	30	15	'the original being out of this country' (<i>'t origineel buytensland</i>)	430	sold as original
<i>A Sailor Holding a Goblet</i> after Frans van Mieris I	50	20		58	sold as copy
<i>The Self-portrait</i> after Frans van Mieris' drawing	80	30	'mostly considered as being made by Frans the Elder' (<i>meest aangezien voor door de oude Frans gedaan</i>)	87	sold as original
<i>A Woman with a Straw Hat</i> after Frans van Mieris I	80	50	'there was no art lover who did not judge it as being painted by Van Mieris the Elder from his best period, so that I let it pass without contradiction as being an unsurpassed piece'; 'worth 200, as the original sold for 315'; the original has already been out of this country for many years' (Dutch text, see note 28)	280	sold as original
<i>A Night Scene with Offering to Apollo</i> after Frans van Mieris I	80	35	'this being so beautifully copied that everyone considers it to be an original' (<i>dit soo fraay gecopieert dat niemand anders als voor origineel aansiet</i>); 'worth f 250, since it is well copied; the original sold for f 400' (<i>is wel f 250 waardig als onkennelijk gecopieerd 't origineel verkofft voor f 400</i>); 'the original will have been out of this country for at least 60 years in 1750' (<i>'t origineel is 1750 wel 60 jaar buytenslands geweest</i>); 'I let it pass as an original' (<i>'t maar voor origineel laat passeeren</i>)	505	sold as original
<i>A Smoking Soldier</i> after Ary de Vois	40	15	'the original is now out of this country' (<i>'t origineel dat... nu buytenslands is</i>); 'most unclear whether it is original or copy' (<i>seer onkennelijk of origineel off copy is</i>)	120	sold as original
<i>A Horse with Horsemen</i> after Philips Wouwerman ²	(80)	15		30	By Willem van Mieris 'in the manner of P. Wouwerman' (in de smaak van P. Wouwerman)
Average	62	24.4		190 (231.7 only as original)	

Source: The self-written inventory by Pieter de la Court van der Voort, 1731; The self-written inventory of Allard de la Court, 1749; The sales catalogue of Allard de la Court's collection: Sale Allard de la Court, Leiden (Luchtmans), 08-09-1766

NOTES

¹ This piece was inherited by Pieter's sister Adriana de la Court: it is neither recorded in the 1749 inventory nor in the 1766 sales catalogue.

² Although this piece is not recorded in the 1731 inventory, the 1749 inventory clearly states that it was "painted for my father and cost 80 guilders."

APPENDIX II

List of names of painters whose paintings were copied by Louis de Moni and the subjects

Painter	painting		drawing		total number
	number	subject	number ¹	subject	
Borch, Gerard ter			1	portrait	1
Brouwer, Adriaen			1	peasant	1
Dou, Gerard	2	genre	2 ²	genre	4
Dijk, Philip van	1	genre			1
Hals, Frans	2	trony	1	genre	3
Holbein			2	portrait	2
Jordaens, Hans	1	Bible			1
Jordaens, Jacob			4	trony, unknown	4
Liss, Johan	1	mythology			1
Lingelbach, Johannes	1	'bambocciata'	2	'bambocciata'	3
Mijn, van der			1	portrait	1
Metsu, Gabriel	3	genre	1	genre	4
Mieris I, Frans van	1	genre			1
Moor, Carel de	1	genre			
Netcher, Casper	2	portrait	3	portrait, genre	5
Ostade, Adriaen van			1	peasant piece	1
Potter, Paulus			2	landscape with figures	2
Rembrandt van Rijn	1	self-portrait	2	portrait	3
Rottenhammer, Hans	1	Bible	1	Bible	2
Rubens, Peter Paul			10	trony/heads	10
Schalcken, Godfried			1	genre	1
Steen, Jan	1	Bible	1	portrait	2
Teniers, David II	1	genre	3	genre	4
Werff, Adriaen van der			1	Bible	1
Wit, Jacob de	1	'witjes'			1
total	20		40		60

Source: Sales Louis de Moni, Leiden (De Moni and Delfos), 13-04-1772

NOTES

¹ Only the drawings that are clearly described as 'after "*painter's name*" by L. de Moni' are included. In the case of a number of drawings mentioned in the catalogue, it is not clear enough whether they are copies by Louis de Moni.

² One of the drawings after Dou is not mentioned as 'after Dou', but was bought by Johan van der Marck, and his sales catalogue of 29-11-1773 attributed the same drawing to Dou.

APPENDIX III

List of the most highly paid paintings at the sale of Louis de Moni (price: guilder)

Price	Name	Subject
461	<u>De Moni, Louis</u>	An old woman making bobbin lace with a boy blowing bubbles
430*	Hals, Frans (by or as good as Frans Hals)	A Merry Company
420	Olis, Jan	An interior with a woman and a man
371*	Rubens, Peter Paul	The Virgin Mary with Christ and St Catharine
303	Copy, De Moni after Frans van Mieris I	A young man with an owl
301*	De Lairese, Gerard in the manner of Adriaen van der Werff	Allegory
276.15	Copy, De Moni after Gabriel Metsu	A sick woman
260	<u>De Moni, Louis</u>	A woman with a boy teasing a cat
216	Schalcken, Godfried	A woman holding a candle
200	<u>De Moni, Louis</u>	An interior with a girl scrubbing a jug
167	Eligger, Ottmar	Cupid dressed as Ascanius
156	<u>De Moni, Louis</u>	A fainting lady holding a letter
150	Wouwerman, Philips	A landscape with two officers
140	<u>De Moni, Louis</u>	A table with a pot with flowers
125	Copy, De Moni after Gabriel Metsu	A woman at her mirror
125*	Xavery, Franciscus Xaverius	A landscape
108	Copy, De Moni after Gerard Dou	A young man drawing by a candle
104	Teniers II, David	A hanging slaughtered ox
100*	Teniers II, David	A peasant scene
97	<u>De Moni, Louis</u>	An interior with a chicken seller
93	<u>De Moni, Louis</u>	A fishmonger with a maid
87	Copy, De Moni after Hans Rottenhammer	The Annunciation
81	<u>De Moni, Louis</u>	A portrait of the artist in a window
80	Copy, De Moni after Casper Netscher	Two portraits, De Witt and his wife
80	Metsu, Gabriel	A candlelight interior with a painter
70	Copy, De Moni after Philip van Dijk	A lady reading a book
70	<u>De Moni, Louis</u>	A woman with herring
70*	Berckheyde, Job	The 'Groote Kerk' in Haarlem
68.01	Holbein, Hans	A portrait of man
65	Wouwerman, Philips	A landscape with figures and horses
57	Copy, De Moni after Gabriel Metsu	A philosopher in his study
56	Copy, De Moni after Jan Steen	The feast of King Ahasuerus, Esther and Haman
56	<u>De Moni, Louis</u>	Venus and Adonis in a landscape
53	Rembrandt van Rijn	A portrait of a man with a fur hat
51	<u>De Moni, Louis</u> in the manner of Gerard ter Borch	A woman in a white satin dress
50.10	<u>De Moni, Louis</u>	A painting with a variety of fruit
50	Copy, De Moni after Gerard Dou	A dentist
50	<u>De Moni, Louis</u>	A laughing boy in a window

Source: Sales Louis de Moni, Leiden (De Moni and Delfos), 13-04-1772 ; RAL, *Inventaris van het archief van de Weeskamer te Leiden 1437-1860*, Louis de Moni, no. 2867b, Boelhuiscedel, 13-04-1772.

Note: The price of paintings marked with an asterisk * were written by Johan van der Marck in the sales catalogue kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.