

# Selling Prints to the Rijksmuseum in 1827: Christiaan Josi and Cornelis Apostool

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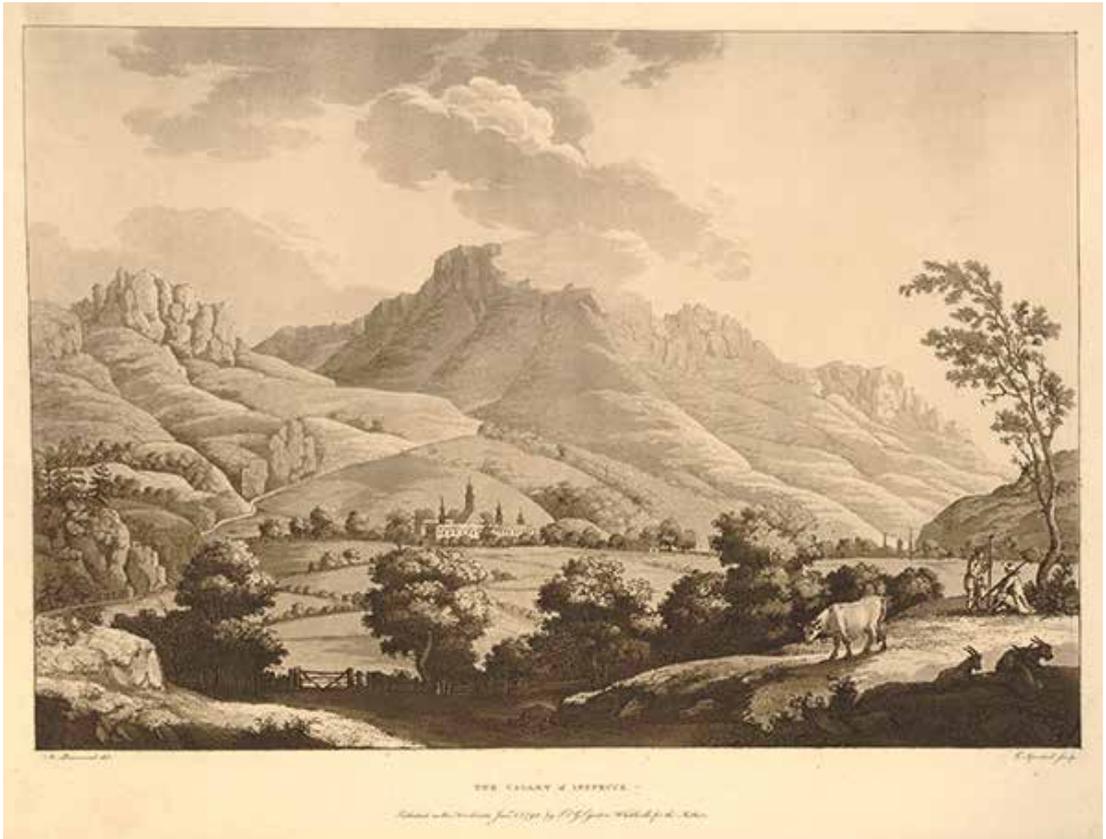
In 1827 the recently established Rijksmuseum print room acquired a large group of prints from the art dealer Christiaan Josi. The protracted negotiations that preceded the acquisition were led by the then director, Cornelis Apostool, who also had a decisive role in the final selection. He by no means wanted to buy everything on offer and he was later blamed for that.<sup>1</sup> The indignation was further fuelled by the impression that King William I had placed generous resources at his disposal and they had not been used. It raises the question as to what Apostool's motives were and whether there may have been other issues that dictated the outcome. Although the purchase had been known about for a long time, what precisely happened and what was ultimately purchased had never been fully established. This has now been done. With the aid of the surviving correspondence between Josi, the Ministry of the Interior and the Rijksmuseum, we have reconstructed the progress of the negotiations and considerations that played a role for the various parties involved.<sup>2</sup> It sketches a fascinating picture of early nineteenth-century acquisition policy and sheds light on the processes that went on behind the scenes. More broadly, the purchase can be seen as a good example of the artistic taste of the period. The attached appendix

gives an overview of prints that were then added to the Rijksmuseum's collection.

Apostool and Josi were old acquaintances. They met for the first time in London in the early seventeen-nineties and their paths crossed regularly after that. Both had trained as printmakers and so had sound technical knowledge of the discipline, even though neither of them had worked as a graphic artist for long. They became prominent figures in the art world of their time, albeit each from a different background and in an entirely individual way. A brief overview of their careers including earlier encounters with each other helps to put the events surrounding the purchase in 1827 into perspective.

## Apostool

Cornelis Apostool (1762-1844) came from a family of Mennonite merchants, manufacturers and clergymen. He was the eleventh of the twelve children of Jan Apostool, a dealer in hides and cocoa, and his wife Cornelia de Witte. He received his first education from a French schoolmaster in Delft, after which he was apprenticed to a goldsmith and silversmith in Rotterdam. He trained as an artist from 1784 to 1786 at the Amsterdam City Drawing Academy under the landscape painter and draughtsman Hendrik Meyer (1738-1793). When Meyer went to



London in 1786, Apostool accompanied him. In his first years there he may have been active in the trade,<sup>3</sup> but in the early seventeen-nineties he found regular employment transforming drawings his clients had made on their travels into aquatints. In the published travel journals, these aquatints were invariably printed in sepia. He began with forty-two plates for Samuel Ireland's *Picturesque Tour through Holland, Brabant and Part of France* of 1790.<sup>4</sup> None of these prints are signed, but in the introduction the author acknowledged that Apostool made them.<sup>5</sup> This leaves open the possibility that the eighty-five very similar aquatints in *Picturesque Views of the River Thames* (1791), *Picturesque Views of the River Medway* (1793) and *Picturesque Views of the Upper, or Warwickshire Avon* (1795) by the

same author were also executed by Apostool, although his name only appears in the title prints at the beginning of these publications.<sup>6</sup> Apostool supplied landscape prints for Albanis Beaumont on at least three occasions, this time all with his name.<sup>7</sup> In 1792 there were ten for *Travels through the Rhaetian Alps* (fig. 1), two years later fourteen for *Select Views in the South of France* and eighteen landscapes for *Travels through the Maritime Alps*.<sup>8</sup> Even though it is not a travel guide, *The Beauties of the Dutch School*, which was published in 1792-93, slots neatly into Apostool's print output in London.<sup>9</sup> They are all landscapes, executed as sepia aquatints, but after seventeenth-century masters such as Philips Wouwerman, Salomon van Ruysdael and Jan van Goyen. Apostool also made aquatints other than plate

Fig. 1  
CORNELIS APOSTOOL,  
*The Valley of  
Innsbruck*, from  
Albanis de Beaumont,  
*Travels through the  
Rhaetian Alps*, 1792.  
Etching and aquatint,  
317 x 445 mm.  
London, British  
Museum, inv. no.  
1927,0107.10.



Fig. 2  
 CORNELIS APOSTOOL,  
*Action between  
 His Majesty's Frigate  
 La Nymphe and  
 the French Frigate  
 La Cleopatra, 1794.*  
 Etching and aquatint,  
 480 x 610 mm.  
 London, British  
 Museum, inv. no.  
 1870,0514.2821.

works for travel books, although they are likewise highly topographical subjects. In 1794, for example, the view of *Her Majesty's Lodge at Frogmore, near Windsor*, after Richard Cooper, two prints of the *Action between His Majesty's Frigate La Nymphe & the French Frigate La Cleopatra* after Thomas Yates (fig. 2), and *A Meeting of the Society of Royal British Archers* after John Emes were all published. The evidently higher quality of these examples translated directly into better aquatints.

Apostool returned home in 1796, reduced his work as an artist and took up professional appointments and commercial functions which, as Ellinoor Bergvelt neatly put it, 'were often interrupted or did not go ahead because war broke out again'.<sup>10</sup> In the posts that he did hold, his skills proved

to lie in the field of negotiation, diplomatic manoeuvring and maintaining friendships. He moved in the highest circles with ease. In 1807 he became secretary to the Dutch ambassador in Naples, which he particularly enjoyed because it gave him time to immerse himself in Italian art.<sup>11</sup> This is almost certainly where he made the large diptych of a panorama of the port of Naples, like his earlier work executed in aquatint.<sup>12</sup> He did not stay there for long. In 1808 – by now forty-six – he was appointed director of the Royal Museum in Amsterdam, at that time in the Palace in Dam Square, where he was able to combine his social and diplomatic skills with his knowledge of art, acquired during his practical training, in his years in London, and on his later travels.<sup>13</sup>

A starring role awaited him in 1815. After Napoleon's final defeat in that

year, he was put in charge of the committee responsible for the recovery of the art that the French had taken to Paris in 1795, and the prints that had followed in 1812.<sup>14</sup> Other countries were also represented in Paris to reclaim their stolen art.<sup>15</sup> Apostool received help from Colonel Maximiliaan Jacob de Man (1765-1838), who had been tasked with repatriating the maps and topographical material that had been taken from Stadholder William v's military office.<sup>16</sup> It took the forceful intervention of the Duke of Wellington, commander-in-chief of the allied forces, including threats of military action, to get the paintings off the walls, but in the end this part of Apostool's mission was a success.

The next step was to retrieve the 10,243 prints that the French had taken some years before from the newly established print room in the Royal Library in The Hague to fill gaps in the national collection in Paris.<sup>17</sup> For The Hague this was a dramatic loss that almost halved the size of the collection at the time.<sup>18</sup> From a lecture about his adventures in Paris that Apostool gave later it emerged that, faced with the sheer volume of material and French obstructiveness, he realized that he could not manage that part of his mission alone, 'so I asked the government if C.H. Hodges, member of the Royal Netherlands Institute, and C. Josi, art dealer in Amsterdam, might be assigned to assist me'.<sup>19</sup> His request was granted. In the space of two weeks, working with Charles Howard Hodges and Christiaan Josi, he had identified practically all the prints with the aid of the detailed records that had been compiled before they were handed over and on the basis of the red stamp with which all prints were marked when they were added to the Royal Library.<sup>20</sup> They were sealed and dispatched to The Hague.

Apostool received a royal decoration for the successful repatriation of the national heritage, which he wore in the portrait he commissioned from

Charles Howard Hodges (fig. 3).<sup>21</sup> In 1816, the Royal Library's print collection in The Hague was assigned to the Royal Museum in Amsterdam, which had been housed in the Trippenhuis along with the Royal Institute since 1815.<sup>22</sup> This gave Apostool stewardship of the print collection that he had helped to return.

### Josi

Christiaan Josi (1768-1828) came from Utrecht. He was the son of Christiaan Josi Sr and Berendina van Doorn.<sup>23</sup> His mother died in childbirth in 1774, and his father was unable to take care of his offspring.<sup>24</sup> The seven children went to the Utrechtse Stads Ambachtskinderhuis,<sup>25</sup> which was not an orphanage, but a more basic care home for children whose parents could not care for them for various reasons.<sup>26</sup> In 1784 Josi was admitted to the Foundation of Renswoude, a boarding school linked to the

Fig. 3  
CHARLES HOWARD HODGES, *Portrait of Cornelis Apostool*, c. 1816.  
Oil on canvas, 73 x 53 cm.  
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-654; C. Apostool Bequest, Amsterdam.



Utrechtse Stads Ambachtskinderhuis, funded by a generous bequest from Maria Duijst van Voorhout, Lady of Renswoude (1662-1754). Her intention had been to train 'intelligent, clever and capable' boys from the Stads Ambachtskinderhuis in socially useful occupations.<sup>27</sup> The Foundation apprenticed him to the engraver Pieter Hendrik Jonxis and in 1788, on his master's advice, Josi went to the Stads Tekenschool. Josi's talent proved so promising that he was allowed to continue his training abroad. At that time the English style of engraving was very fashionable and he was sent to train with the famous printmaker John Raphael Smith in London, with whom he would also lodge. By the time he arrived in August 1791 his English suit, especially made for the occasion, had already been ruined. This did not go down well with his teacher and landlord because he expected all his pupils, and there were a great many of them, to be immaculately dressed. He was also unpleasantly surprised to find that Josi did not have the two hundred guineas for his board and lodging and his tuition fee with him.<sup>28</sup> Despite these initial problems, Josi proved a competent student who soon mastered Smith's style and technique, and went on to become a very creditable printmaker. One early example is *The Little Gypsy* of 1792, after a painting by Richard Westall, which is inscribed 'Engraved by C. Josi Pupil of J.R. Smith' (fig. 4). Like much of Josi's later work, the print was executed in the pointillist manner (stipple etching), which was perhaps the most sought-after graphic technique at the time. One of Smith's rivals, Francesco Bartolozzi, had even made the stipple etching his own speciality.<sup>29</sup> This may have been why in 1820 Van Eynden and Van der Willigen assumed that Josi 'had also worked for the well-known F. Bartolozzi' in London.<sup>30</sup> This was probably incorrect: in 1796 and in 1797 he was explicitly billing himself as 'C. Josi, pupil of I.R. Smith, in London'.<sup>31</sup>

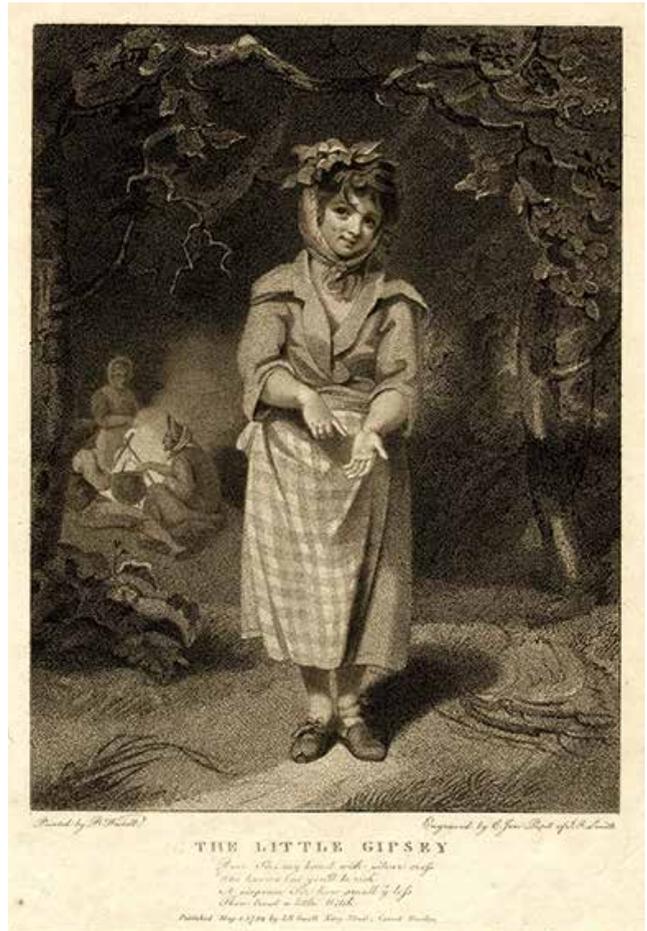


Fig. 4  
CHRISTIAAN JOSI  
AFTER RICHARD  
WESTALL, *The Little  
Gypsy*, c. 1792.  
Stipple etching,  
317 x 243 mm.  
London, British  
Museum, inv. no.  
1869,0814.15.

While he was learning all the techniques of the profession in Smith's flourishing workshop, Josi was certainly also absorbing the rudiments of the social conventions surrounding it – conventions it was essential to observe if one was to carve out a socially successful life. The strict dress code Smith imposed on his pupils is evidence of this, while the advice Josi gave P.C. Wonder in 1823 is probably a late echo of these lessons: he told the painter to set himself up in a luxurious flat at a good address in London in order to attract a distinguished clientele.<sup>32</sup>

Knowledge of modern printing techniques and of social conventions were not the only things that Josi retained from his English education.

Around 1792, for example, he made the acquaintance of Cornelis Apostool, who – as we have seen – was also working in London at that time.<sup>33</sup> In Smith's workshop he also got to know one of his tutor's friends, the Dutch printmaker Jan Chalon, who was living in London and, through him, his daughter, Carolina Susanna Chalon (1764-1828), whom he married there on 13 February 1796.<sup>34</sup> For a half-orphan of humble origins this was a big step up the social ladder. His wife was related to Cornelis Troost's family and the Ploos van Amstel family.<sup>35</sup> Her second cousin, Cornelis Ploos van Amstel (1726-1798), had been the director of the Amsterdam City Drawing Academy, a renowned art collector and famous for a process for faithfully reproducing coloured drawings as prints that he had developed himself.<sup>36</sup> Between 1765 and 1787 he had published forty-six of these 'print drawings'.<sup>37</sup> Shortly after Josi returned to the Netherlands from London in October 1795,<sup>38</sup> he discussed with Cornelis Ploos van Amstel the possibility of continuing the series of facsimile drawings.<sup>39</sup> Nothing came of it at that time because of the inventor's death in 1798.

In 1796, Josi opened a print shop in Amsterdam's Kalverstraat – a prime location – where he earned his living making prints, including portraits and book illustrations, and increasingly dealing in prints and publishing them.<sup>40</sup> One example from 1798 is the *Portrait of Caroline Amalia Elisabeth of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel*, which was made by Willem van Senus ('Pupil to C. Josi'), after John Raphael Smith, published in London by Colnaghi and in Amsterdam by Josi.<sup>41</sup> A further example, which also marks another moment when Josi and Apostool had dealings, is the *Portrait of Carel Wouter Visscher*, etched by Apostool and 'published by C. Josi in the Kalverstraat in Amsterdam' (fig. 5). The print is undated, but it must have

been made between 1796 and 1802. The absence of birth and death dates suggests that it is a likeness of Carel Wouter Visscher (1734-1802) when he was in office.<sup>42</sup>

Josi soon became a recognized expert in prints and drawings. The fact that around 1808 Louis Bonaparte had contemplated nominating him as the director of the newly-established print room of the Royal Library in The Hague speaks volumes. In the end it did not go ahead because of Josi's commercial background.<sup>43</sup> Another manifestation is the annotated catalogue of Cornelis Ploos van Amstel's collection of Rembrandt etchings, which Josi wrote when it was sold in 1810. In the lengthy introduction, he proved to be very familiar with the Rembrandt literature. He had also researched the records and

Fig. 5  
CORNELIS APOSTOOL,  
*Portrait of Carel  
Wouter Visscher*,  
published by  
Christiaan Josi,  
c. 1796-1802.  
Etching, 178 x 129 mm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
RP-P-1878-A-469.



discovered the estate inventory that was drawn up on the occasion of the seventeenth-century artist's bankruptcy. Based on this, he was able to disprove the various 'absurd stories' about Rembrandt written by earlier authors.<sup>44</sup> Josi's reputation is also evident from the fact that in 1815, when Cornelis Apostool was in Paris recovering the art stolen by the French and sorting out the confiscated prints, he had asked for Josi (and Charles Howard Hodges) to assist him. In 1818 Josi moved his gallery from Kalverstraat in Amsterdam to Gerard Street, Soho Square, in London. In 1821 he published the *Collection d'imitation de dessins d'après les principaux maîtres Hollandais et Flamand* there, and this solidly confirmed his reputation as a leading expert.<sup>45</sup> The book was the long-awaited new and enlarged edition of Cornelis Ploos van Amstel's facsimiles of seventeenth-century drawings, with no fewer than fifty-five new prints executed in the same technique by Josi and by others under his supervision (fig. 6). The publication was a milestone in the history of the colour print, but its primary importance lay in the accompanying descriptions and the detailed, extraordinarily informative introduction he added. This made it one of the first critical art historical writings in Holland. It also addressed subjects like the Dutch collecting landscape, dilettantism, art appreciation and criticism and paper restoration.<sup>46</sup>

### Offer and Response

Josi was fifty-nine when on 8 August 1827 he sent a petition to King William I in which he respectfully offered the book of prints by Cornelis Ploos van Amstel that he had completed, two rare etchings made by Prince William v, William I's father, a painting by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (fig. 7) and finally, 'such a part of my collection of important and rare prints as will be found lacking in the Royal



Fig. 6  
PIETER CHRISTOFFEL  
WONDER, *Portrait  
of a Man, probably  
Christiaan Josi with a  
Colour Reproduction  
by Ploos van Amstel,  
1826.*

Oil on canvas,  
43.8 x 36.5 cm.  
Paris, Fondation  
Custodia, Collection  
Frits Lugt, 1975-s.1.

Fig. 7  
GERBRAND VAN DEN  
EECKHOUT, *Christ and  
the Woman Taken in  
Adultery*, c. 1650-1674.  
Oil on canvas,  
66 x 82 cm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
inv. no. SK-A-106.



Print Room and which could be placed there to advantage'.<sup>47</sup> He explained that he had studied prints for forty years and in 1807 had been engaged on the purchase of Baron van Leyden's collection, when Louis Bonaparte intervened, bought the collection and placed it in the royal print room.<sup>48</sup> Afterwards Josi frequently visited the collection and became very familiar with its contents and its value. He went on to say that the many years of effort put into Ploos's work had cost him a lot of money without bearing fruit and he had moreover suffered substantial losses in the financial crisis of 1825.<sup>49</sup> He had consequently decided to dispose of the prints he had taken thirty years to amass, 'a collection, of which he may say on good grounds is not only lacking in large part from the Royal Print Room, but cannot even be found in any country; so that he is constantly being approached to part with some of it'.<sup>50</sup> He now wanted to give His Majesty first refusal.

William I was interested and had the Administrator of Education, Arts and Sciences, Daniel Jacob van Ewijck (1786-1858), ask the director of the Royal Museum, Cornelis Apostool, for advice about the offer.<sup>51</sup> On 3 October 1827, Apostool replied that he wanted to see a detailed overview of what Josi could offer. He had already made an inventory of the most important items in the museum, 'and so it will be easy to see which items of this kind are still lacking there and we will be able to establish the importance of the offer, the number of examples and the price Mr Josi has placed on them'. If it looked promising, someone would have to go to London to look at the prints, for 'although I consider Mr Josi to be one of the top print experts alive, one cannot rely solely on a description of impressions, variants and rarities'. The business-like tone and practical considerations notwithstanding, Apostool concluded that, if he accepted Josi's words, 'a purchase

like this would be of the very greatest interest to the country'.<sup>52</sup>

After this response, on 29 October 1827 Ewijck sent a detailed report to the Minister of the Interior, Pierre Louis Joseph Servais van Gobbelschroy (1784-1850), in which he heartily recommended the acquisition of all four of the items Josi was offering. With regard to buying the prints, he observed that it would be impossible to indicate in advance how much money would be involved: 'from the importance of the affair, however, it can be concluded that this would have to be quite considerable and could easily amount to twenty thousand guilders, for example'.<sup>53</sup> William I accepted the advice, as we learn from a rough draft of a letter from Van Ewijck to Apostool, dated 6 November 1827. In it he informed him that the king had authorized Apostool to negotiate with Josi about the transfer of 'such rare items' in his collection, 'as will be found not to be present in the Print Room in Amsterdam', to which he added: 'Nevertheless I must inform you that His Majesty has granted this mandate in the belief that both affairs, to wit the purchase of the painting by Van den Eeckhout and the transfer of the prints in question, will together not exceed 24,000 guilders'.<sup>54</sup> Interestingly, this last sentence was omitted from the letter that Apostool eventually received.<sup>55</sup> Afterwards, too, there is nothing in the correspondence to indicate that Apostool was aware that there was a maximum amount he was allowed to pay for the transfer. And, as will become clear, neither was Josi.

On the same day, a message similar to the one Van Ewijck sent to Apostool was sent to Josi, who did not read it until later because he was already on his way to Amsterdam.<sup>56</sup> More than a week later, Apostool brought Van Ewijck up to date with what was going on there. At the beginning of November, Josi had taken the steamer from London and had brought with him a

portfolio of 'samples of that part of his print collection that he is offering for sale'. Together with Gerrit Lamberts (1776-1850), the keeper of the print collection, Apostool had spent several days carefully comparing these examples with the museum's records and found that they 'were of such quality that they far exceeded the description of them'. He did, however, add that 'many examples' were already held by the museum, and he made no mention of these sheets in the overview of the selection that he sent to the Ministry.<sup>57</sup> It raises the question as to how many of them fitted into the folder that Josi brought with him, because there are sixty-eight prints on the four-page list, and they were certainly not all small ones.<sup>58</sup> This list begins with ten prints by Rembrandt, including an impression on vellum of the *Flight into Egypt: On a Plate* by Segers and *Christ Presented to the People: Horizontal Plate*. They are followed by a large group of proofs and mouth-watering rarities – such as the first state of Jan Muller's *Portrait of Ambrosius Spinola*, in which the unfinished collar and armour are filled in with pen and ink and red and black chalk (fig. 8)<sup>59</sup> – which were listed under the heading 'Prints concerning the History of the Fatherland'.

Apostool followed his report to Van Ewijck by telling him that as well as the folder of examples, Josi had also brought a catalogue of his complete collection with him. Josi needed it to check what was missing in Amsterdam, or in Apostool's words, 'this meant that we had to check all the important prints, both the recorded ones and those yet to be recorded'. Apostool thus got a good idea of what he was interested in. Referring to the intensive research on Josi's catalogue they had undertaken, he remarked that 'this has also given us proof of the richness and completeness of this national collection as very few of the oldest and best works are lacking and the others are of a quality rarely encountered; however there are some



very valuable ones that it would be desirable to purchase in order to bring this collection to the highest level of completeness'. In particular, 'the prints of which there are only a few in the Print Room, being those of the English School; undoubtedly this is the school that has made the most progress in engraving in the last fifty years; and so it is a pity that there are none of the Chef d'Oeuvres of one Woollet, Vivares, Sir R. Strange, Sharp, Heath and others who are regarded as truly classic and indispensable in all Print Collections. In Mr Josi's catalogue there are the most distinguished works of art by these masters and in his words all of outstanding quality and most of them proofs; although the purchase of something like this would be very expensive it would nonetheless be highly desirable' (fig. 9).<sup>60</sup>

Fig. 8  
Jan Harmensz Muller  
after Michiel Jansz  
van Mierevelt,  
*Portrait of Ambrogio  
Spinola*, 1615.  
Engraving, retouched  
with red chalk,  
pen and brown ink  
and grey wash,  
378 x 291 mm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
RP-P-08-32.176.



Fig. 9  
 WILLIAM WOOLLETT  
 AFTER BENJAMIN  
 WEST, *The Battle of  
 La Hogue* (1692), 1781.  
 Etching and engraving,  
 490 x 630 mm.  
 Amsterdam,  
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
 RP-P-OB-82.804.

He then touched on a rather obvious problem. Josi also had prints – in particular, series and complete oeuvres – that he did not want to sell separately ‘and it would be a shame to split them up’. But it would mean duplicating some of what was already in the museum. This was true, for instance, of the work by Hollar he was offering. Apostool considered selling these duplicates ‘with other double examples. Such as those by Rembrandt, Rubens, Van Dyke and very many rarities of the Old German School and a host of others’,<sup>61</sup> ‘whereas the others or then existing works would have to be stamped with the arms of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, as all the examples that had been purchased and come to the Print Room before independence [in 1813] had the stamp of the Kingdom of Holland on the back to distinguish and identify them’.<sup>62</sup>

Almost by return of post Van Ewijck replied, requesting Apostool ‘to start drawing up a list of prints that you think ought to be included in this transfer’. Josi could then ‘state which he would be prepared to sell, after which you will please send me that list with your comments about the prices asked’.<sup>63</sup> He also suggested putting the proofs by Ploos van Amstel and by Chalon on this list, because Josi, who had just visited him in The Hague, described them as very important. He went on to discuss the duplicates already in the collection and those that would be acquired by purchasing the works by Hollar and others from Josi: ‘Should they be sold publicly or could they be given in exchange, or would Josi himself perhaps like to take those duplicates or some of them in payment?’<sup>64</sup> In the end he refused to commit to a decision

on the stamping, because he wanted to receive a more detailed plan about how it would have to be done first.<sup>65</sup>

### Prices and Considerations

Up to that point the purchase process seems to have been running smoothly – explained primarily by the fact that nobody had yet talked about prices. On 4 December 1827, Apostool wrote a detailed report to Van Ewijck, in which he told him that immediately after his visit to The Hague, Josi had come to Amsterdam, where Apostool had asked him how much money would be involved for the purchase. Josi replied ‘that it would be around £3,000 – that no one had objected to this demand and it seemed to him that one would want to pay such a sum to make the national collection as complete as possible’.<sup>66</sup> In an argument that is really quite odd, Apostool wrote that on going through the collection it had emerged that there were a great many important and expensive items in the museum, including many that were unique, and also many which ‘are described with no small ado’ in the catalogue of Josi’s complete collection. For this reason the price seemed very high to him. Without

telling Josi what he was thinking, he asked him to supply a list of prints that he was offering for sale, specifying the price being asked for each print.<sup>67</sup>

Two days later, probably around 23 November, he received an eleven-page ‘List of Prints and Print books offered by Mr C. Josi at the Price stated’, which reads like a cavalcade of extraordinary sheets and rarities.<sup>68</sup> The most expensive items came first: the complete work of Hollar, ‘in 9 Russian leather albums’, for £1,000, followed by various unusual impressions of Rembrandt’s etchings, including a first state of *The Three Crosses* on vellum for £75. After that came a section entitled ‘Eerste Ets en Proefdruk’ (early impressions and proofs), including ‘a unique collection of the work of Ploos van Amstel, in 700 proofs, with all the changes, models, Manuscripts etc. in 7 folders for £125 and the work of Josi’s father-in-law Jan Chalon ‘in 568 items on East Indian paper. And 68 drawings in 5 folders’ for £50.<sup>69</sup> The proofs after Rubens, proofs by Cornelis and Johannes Visscher as well as many other seventeenth-century Dutch masters, including the six horses by Paulus Potter, ‘with the short tail’, for £100 (fig. 10), were

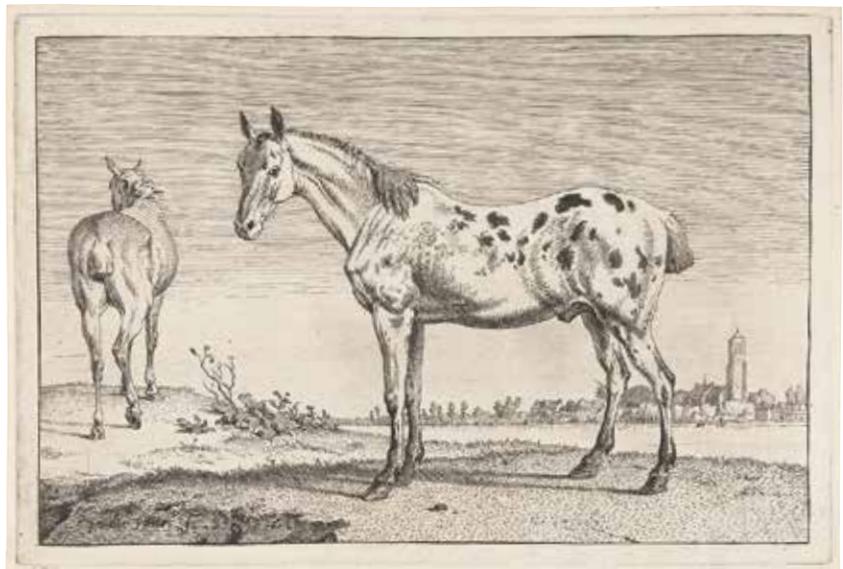


Fig. 10  
PAULUS POTTER,  
*The Docked Horse*,  
1652. Etching,  
162 x 241 mm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
RP-P-08-12.770.

less expensive. Other unusual items included a large group from the Old German School, including two prints with the letters of the Master E.S. and *St Anthony* and *Paul and Thomas* by Israhel van Meckenem,<sup>70</sup> for the relatively modest sums of £5 and £2 respectively. This was followed by a group of portraits, again including proofs, works from the Italian School, the French School, and finally a large section of works from the English School. The list concluded with bound 'Print Books', among them *Le Musée Français*, a subscription copy in good condition that would cost £150.

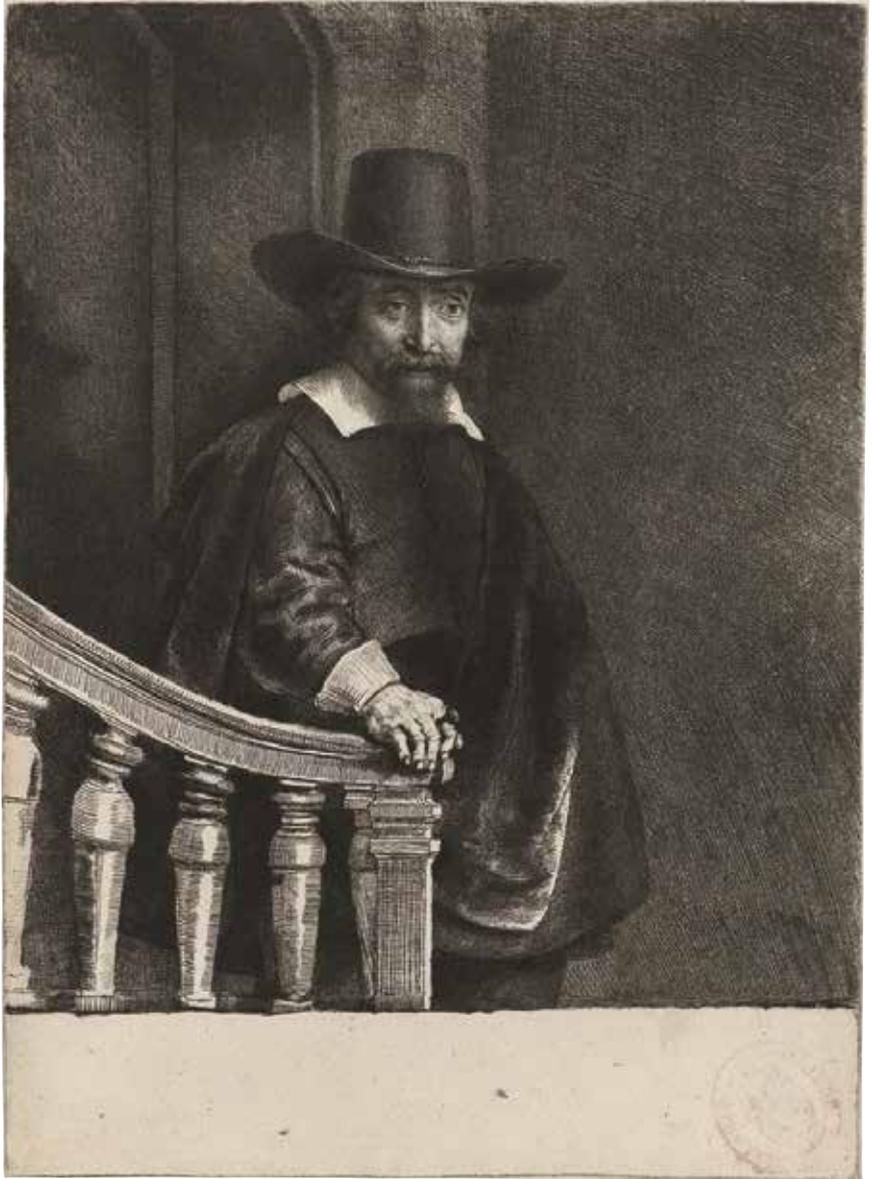
The amount asked for the prints on the list came to £3,000 (or 36,000 guilders) and Josi appeared to have taken the trouble to not exceed that amount.<sup>71</sup> He explained later, for instance, that for this reason he had priced the unique work by Ploos at £125, whereas it was worth £400, and for the same reason the major part of the old German School was on the list *gratis*.<sup>72</sup> In spite of this it is unclear how he arrived at that amount. It appears that he assumed that the State in principle would purchase all the rarities in his collection that were lacking in Amsterdam,<sup>73</sup> and chose to limit his offer to £3,000 so as not to price himself out of the market.<sup>74</sup> Apostool's report reveals that Josi had mentioned that amount in The Hague too and interpreted the lack of protest as acceptance.<sup>75</sup> They must have realized in The Hague that this sum was higher than anticipated. The fact that they said nothing about it may have been because they wanted to wait for Apostool's recommendation first. He, however, had no knowledge of the actual maximum amount.

In the continuation of his report of 4 December 1827 Apostool was therefore less concerned with the selection of choice examples on the list than he was with their price tags. His reply gives a good insight into his taste and opinions about prints, and into the

considerations that played a part in the purchase. It had become clear to him when he looked through the list that Josi 'puts a very high price on that which is rare or unusual without paying attention to the subject, or its importance and the merit of the handling. It is true that something has to be conceded to this art zealotry, particularly in a collection where so much of that kind is already present, and also because much fuss is made of this kind of art in all famous collections, like those in Vienna, Paris and elsewhere.'<sup>76</sup> Such unfinished proofs allow true art lovers to see, according to Apostool, that what the artist regarded as complete was indeed the best, particularly if it was an outstanding impression. But, he continued, the connoisseurs of the rare viewed things differently. 'An unfinished print, which is consequently defective, is oftentimes sold for twice and even four times the price of an example to which the artist has added the last touch and improvement and has made it as good as his capacity for art allows'.<sup>77</sup> As an example he referred to Rembrandt's etched *Portrait of Ephraim Bueno*, where the right hand is 'very badly and inaccurately drawn' in the first state (fig. 11), but ten times as much was paid for it as for impressions in which Rembrandt remedied the fault. A wide margin around the composition also fetched more than the best impression without a generous 'wipe board' like that. He continued with a digression about Rembrandt's prints, which sometimes have too much burr, and as a result passages that should be light became 'dingy and overshadowed'. He had little time for this last effect (surface tone), although he did otherwise appear to understand Rembrandt's working methods. Most prints were 'usually first etched by him and afterwards / in fact / scratched in with the sharp needle. This gave a burr, which on printing has the same effect as mezzotint ... , because of this the

Fig. 11

REMBRANDT,  
 Ephraim Bueno,  
 Jewish Physician, 1647.  
 Etching, first state,  
 240 x 176 mm.  
 Amsterdam,  
 Rijksmuseum,  
 inv.no. RP-P-OB-558.



subjects of the great Master of Light and Shade acquired a dazzling effect, or dubious tone as was necessary to let his scene speak and make it characteristic.<sup>78</sup> He also knew why collectors sought the earliest impressions, 'but this burr soon wears off in the printing: and the impressions that follow lack this enchanting effect; as proof of this one can cite the *Hundred Guilder* print and the *Portrait of Burgomaster*

*Six*. This made the art lovers of Rembrandt's time crave the first, the very first and even unfinished proofs; and this I believe has brought this art mania into the world'.<sup>79</sup> The desire to have the first, the rarest of Rembrandt's work is thus to some extent understandable, but, Apostool asserted, it had gone too far, because it also applied 'to objects that, without etching, were engraved freehand, and where burr and

the unfinished could actually be regarded as deficiencies'.<sup>80</sup> This shows that Apostool admired the combination of etching and drypoint, as in the *Portrait of Jan Six*, but was less keen on Rembrandt's later experimental work, which was regularly executed ('engraved') in drypoint only, often with abundant surface tone. It is a rather conservative taste, which was common in the eighteenth century.<sup>81</sup> At that time Rembrandt's fine, careful manner, as found in *Jan Six*, and also, for example, in the portrait of *Johannes Uytenbogaert* and the large *Descent from the Cross*, which the artist executed with Johannes van Vliet, was more highly appreciated than the coarser, more graphic style of his later work, which became increasingly admired in the course of the nineteenth century and is nowadays regarded as the most individual part of his oeuvre.<sup>82</sup>

This exhaustive prelude by Apostool had to convince Van Ewijck that he had by no means lost his head over the desire for the 'unique, exquisite and rare' that dominated the market, but was in fact of the opinion 'that in a notable collection, one should focus in particular on the good and the beautiful.' To which he added 'I must, however, add that in a collection such as the one entrusted to my direction not only the beautiful, but also the rare, insofar as it can be obtained for a reasonable price must be found'.<sup>83</sup>

Subsequently, Apostool reacted to the prints offered and the prices Josi had put on them. He began with the complete oeuvre of Hollar (almost 2,500 sheets, with many early impressions and proof states), on which he had made notes earlier in the overview of the selection Josi had brought with him from London: 'the Print Room (has) at the most three to four hundred – and mostly of the smallest and most modest objects'.<sup>84</sup> But he thought 12,000 guilders was too much money, and he substantiated his argument by pointing to the recent sale of the collection of Count Moritz von

Fries, where Rembrandt's – incomplete – print oeuvre realized 8,150 guilders, 'and certainly the work of Rembrandt can be held as the most expensive work in printmaking'.<sup>85</sup>

He then went on to discuss the Rembrandt prints themselves. It is odd that his opinion about the *Self-Portrait Leaning on a Stone Sill* was that the print had not been retouched by Rembrandt, as Josi maintained. In this case, too, he thought the price was too high, but the impression was eventually bought anyway for a reduced sum, so that we now know that it is a proof state, retouched with black chalk, which we still accept as by Rembrandt (fig. 12).<sup>86</sup> It did not go as well with the *Flight into Egypt in the Manner of Elsheimer*, executed on a copper plate by Hercules Segers, a fact that was not known at that time.<sup>87</sup> According to Josi it was a 'very first impression on vellum, only tentatively sketched as a drawing, full of effect and the figures shaded'.<sup>88</sup> Apostool remarked that there were already three impressions in the collection (all later states), but regardless of this, the impression offered found no favour with him: 'Anyway the print in question is one of the prints that Rembrandt treated most carelessly – the poor figures are not in proportion and as large as the trees and for this reason I think it inadvisable to buy it for the enormous price of £75 or 900 guilders'.<sup>89</sup> The print belongs among Rembrandt's coarser and experimentally executed later works and, as we have seen, Apostool was not enamoured of them. He therefore let slip the chance to acquire a virtually unique impression of the second state on vellum, which ultimately found its way into the Rothschild Collection in Paris.<sup>90</sup> Also in the same late category is an impression on vellum of the first state of *The Three Crosses*, which he thought was 'much better' than the impressions in the Print Room, but at 900 guilders he deemed it too dear to



Fig. 12  
REMBRANDT,  
*Self-Portrait  
Leaning on a  
Stone Sill*, 1639.  
Etching, retouched

with black chalk  
by the artist,  
206 x 164 mm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
inv. no. RP-P-OB-37.



Fig. 13  
GERRIT LAMBERTS,  
*Interior of the Back  
Room of the Print  
Room in the  
Trippenhuys*, 1838.  
Drawing, pencil,  
pen and black ink,  
coloured wash,  
188 x 262/65 mm.  
Amsterdam,  
City Archives.

contemplate. This sheet is now in the British Museum in London, and noted for the seventeenth-century inscription on the back: 'd eersten / deesen is een van de d'leverancij 1653' (this is / the first / from the 1653 edition).<sup>91</sup> He let other sheets go for the same reason, and the ones he did recommend buying were not very expensive. Finally, Apostool turned to the oeuvres of Ploos van Amstel and Chalon, which Van Ewijck had suggested he consider, again doubting Josi's description without ever having seen the works. He argued that the majority were not proofs and anyway too expensive. The museum already had Ploos van Amstel's work and 'the models and manuscripts are of little use'.<sup>92</sup>

### Differences of Opinion

On that fourth of December, Apostool not only penned a report to Van Ewijck, he also had another meeting with Josi (fig. 13). Even though Apostool made no mention of it, a long letter that Josi wrote two months later gives an idea of what must have happened.<sup>93</sup> Josi went to the museum with the intention of running through the prices on his list with Apostool and persuading him that having dealt with Dutch and

foreign art lovers for thirty years at fixed prices, like his previous sales to the Rijksmuseum, he had by no means charged too much. But as has by now become clear, Apostool thought that the amounts were often too high and evidently took the opportunity to inform Josi of that fact. Josi wrote, 'Then it seemed as though I was a strange Jewish old clothes merchant, who wanted to cheat or deceive! ... Truly, I have never been treated so humiliatingly. The whole intention, course of events and context I sensed that morning seemed more like a courtroom in which a criminal was appearing than a friendly negotiation with an experienced connoisseur, who in the first place had offered the government the opportunity to obtain from his exquisite and valuable collection that which was missing in the Rijksmuseum's Print Room!'<sup>94</sup> Josi felt that his honour and good name had been besmirched. 'As then, I can still only ask whether my character and credit had not been linked to the quality and prices of my art I was to supply? But having waited in vain beyond the point of caring for your better and more favourable judgement of me and the listed art, I finally heard that parting with the

prints that I had brought with me as samples from my collection and could not sell separately, had been made the sine qua non of the negotiations!<sup>95</sup>

The extent of Josi's disappointment and outrage after that meeting can be inferred from the fact that afterwards he travelled to The Hague and tried to do business with Van Ewijck. However, Van Ewijck was not prepared to do that and on 8 December wrote to Apostool, 'if Mr Josi was proposing to negotiate here, circumventing you, as it were, then he was sadly mistaken. In a business of this nature I do not want to do anything other than proceed according to your advice. Your advice, at least in the essentials, will also be mine. Mr Josi actually came here and I informed him of the essence of the above. He more or less said that he did not want to sell a few separate prints from his collection at any price, but he did want to sell a large part of it undivided. I cannot blame him for that.'<sup>96</sup> Van Ewijck understood that the negotiation had not been successful and could be described as broken off, and asked Apostool to come to The Hague for a meeting.

Apostool had indeed stated that the negotiation 'should be regarded as broken off' because Josi refused to allow the purchase of a limited selection from the ensemble that he offered.<sup>97</sup> Summoned to The Hague, Apostool found not only Van Ewijck, but Josi, too, and the three recommenced the negotiations there; Apostool later delicately remarked that he 'found Mr Josi easier to handle'.<sup>98</sup> What he meant by that was that Josi finally came round. His new 'List of the Prints to be Purchased Agreed by the Director of Art and Mr Josi' dated 14 December 1827 sets out what Apostool had chosen.<sup>99</sup> Still, he had largely confined himself to the prints that Josi had brought from London as examples: a couple of Rembrandts (not all), various sheets 'concerning the history of the fatherland' (including Jan Muller) and others from the Dutch School, such as the horses by Potter ('with the short tail') and the only known print by Philips Wouwerman at that time, for which he paid an astounding 480 guilders; this is now, however, attributed to Wouwerman's pupil, Nicolaes Ficke (fig. 14).<sup>100</sup> Out of the rest of

Fig. 14  
NICOLAES FICKE,  
*Horse Tethered  
to a Tree*, 1643.  
Etching,  
119 x 178 mm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
RP-P-08-50.652.





Josi's offerings – the works that Josi had not brought with him as examples – the only ones he bought on a large scale were the modern English School (fig. 15). This is not surprising in view of the favourable opinion of them he had expressed earlier in conversation with Van Ewijck. In this context it is somewhat ironic that Josi himself – trained as a printmaker in the English tradition – had already spoken at length about the popularity of the English School in 1821, whereas as a Dutch printmaker he was not totally enamoured of it: 'It is an amazing thing how sought after the English prints have been during the last fifty years. I am not only talking about those classic engravings by Woollett, Earlom, Heath, Smith, and other celebrities, who are in a league of their own. Generally, I have in mind their modern prints, especially those devoted to subjects of a natural moral, naive, popular nature. Everyone loved them and had to have

them'.<sup>101</sup> This madness also paved the way for abuse and when it resulted in the collapse of the market, Josi decided to abandon printmaking and concentrate on the work of the Old Masters.<sup>102</sup>

All told, Apostool chose fewer than a third of the prints that Josi offered to sell, 202 sheets in total. He did not even go to London to look at the rest.<sup>103</sup> He completely ignored the sheets from the French School, as well as those of the early German School (including two Van Meckenems), despite the fact that Josi had put a large part of this last group on his list *gratis*.<sup>104</sup> It is all the more difficult to understand when we learn that some months later Apostool heartily recommended the acquisition of an impression of the *Annunciation* by Israhel van Meckenem, which the Amsterdam dealer Frans Buffa was offering for a lot of money.<sup>105</sup>

Josi seems to have accepted the outcome of the negotiations at first. On 4 January 1828 Van Ewijck wrote

Fig. 15  
RICHARD EARLOM  
AFTER JOHN  
ZOFFANY, *The Royal  
Academy of Arts, 1773*.  
Mezzotint,  
501 x 711 mm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
RP-P-0B-70.543.

to Apostool and told him that King William I had authorized him to pay 10,521 guilders for Josi's prints, and asked him to pass this on.<sup>106</sup> Apostool did not comply with this request until 26 January and moreover enclosed a note in which he stated that the total amount of the purchase came to £700 or 8,400 guilders.<sup>107</sup> Having previously had to put up with the fact that the Rijksmuseum bought only a small proportion of the rarities he was offering – because the rest were too expensive or not good enough – Josi now had the impression that Apostool wanted to cut back again on what he had bought, and something inside him snapped. On 5 February 1828 he wrote him a long, angry letter, in which he first asked for an explanation of the new amount, lower than the king had granted. His main complaint, however, was about the way the business had been conducted. Whereas the king had sanctioned the purchase from his valuable collection of items that were missing from the Rijksmuseum's print room, the museum refused to accept almost three-quarters of the list that he had drawn up after a great deal of work: 'I cannot disguise the fact that this ending, as unexpected as it is strange, and that at the time when I had reason to think that everything would be proceeding to a mutually satisfactory conclusion, has affected me very deeply; it is not so much a question of my disappointment, as probably also in The Hague, as, most of all, the unfavourable impression inevitably created with regard to my offer and calculation.'<sup>108</sup> As defence against the suspicion that he had demanded unreasonable prices, he quoted in detail the proceeds from recent print sales, comparing some of the sheets he was now offering with earlier prices. He concluded that prices had risen steadily in the past few years and that they would continue to do so: 'what seems expensive today will soon be seen as cheap. ... For the rest I do

not believe that it is being required of you to stipulate the price of the prints, which has only been acquired through investigation and experience and truly does not consist of skimming and bargaining, which does the Government little credit.'<sup>109</sup>

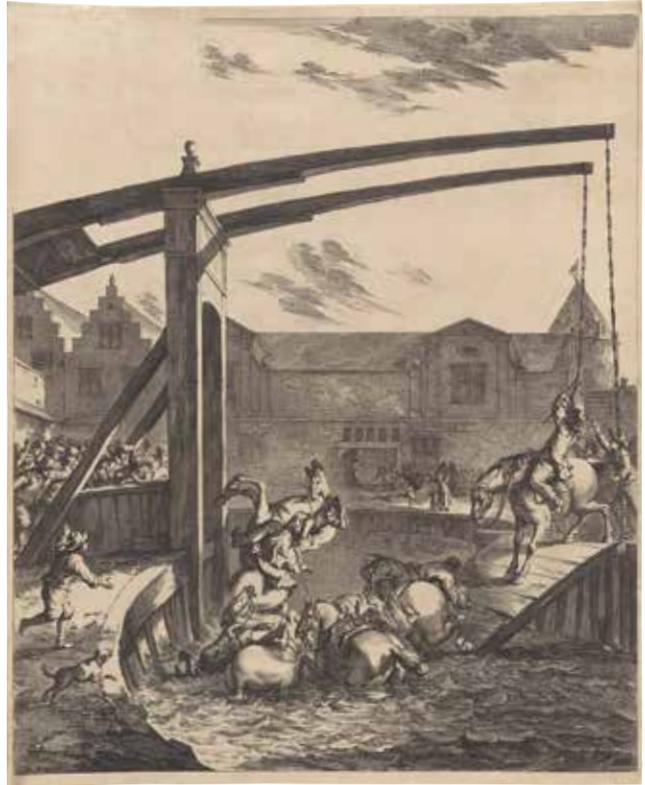
In the end, his emotions seemed to have got the better of him when he asserted 'I attribute much to your easy and happy life, and unwillingness to receive volumes of art that need little ordering, but perhaps you do not know how to accommodate.' 'After thirty-six years of acquaintanceship without having had any differences,' Josi did not want a quarrel now, and he concluded: 'But so far from the truth is the idea that I wanted to cheat the King or the State with my collection that I declare from my heart that if I were a connoisseur who had paid for his prints out of his ample riches, I would gladly make a present of what is lacking in the Print Room, as the English do. But you know that I have to care for my wife and children. For myself I have learned to be content with little, and desire nothing more than peace and goodwill: this goodwill to improve and expand the important Print Room which I have seen in The Hague I only wish to find in you too, and then I dare guarantee on good grounds that one will have reason to be satisfied with my conduct.'<sup>110</sup>

This time however it had nothing to do with haggling or even negotiating. On 10 February Apostool explained that there had been an error when calculating the sum required for the purchase of the prints, related to the fact that the prices were quoted in both English and Dutch currency on the list. The total amounts in both currencies were wrongly added together.<sup>111</sup> He also remarked about Josi's reproach 'that it is by no means my unwillingness to burden myself with time-consuming work for which much has to be arranged or for which I could not find a place and which would thus

disturb my easy and happy life etc. etc..<sup>112</sup> He pointed out that he had been appointed by the government to assess the works of art being offered on the basis of his expertise, and ‘neither years of knowledge nor old friendship nor, much less, personal interest can divert me from the obligation that I must fulfil in responding to it’.<sup>113</sup> It was from this position that he deemed it irresponsible to spend so much money for the work of Hollar, Ploos van Amstel or Chalon, ‘and some other prints which are rare or termed rare and which according to the whims of the connoisseur, are regarded by the one as important, by the other as doubtful, and by the third as trivial’. He continued ‘I hope that I will always remain, which I hold in the greatest honour, that is to be taken to be – and to be – an honourable man... That which remains of me (that is, my correspondence) will show how I have acted; and I must console myself with the thought that I will leave behind no fortune, but a good name.’<sup>114</sup>

### Solution and Conclusion

Although this changed little, a thaw had set in.<sup>115</sup> In a letter to Van Ewijck, Josi built on the new situation.<sup>116</sup> He explained that the prices of the prints in the agreement were based on the description of them in his general catalogue. The descriptions had been drawn up by his son Henry Josi (later keeper of the British Museum’s Print Room),<sup>117</sup> who had repeatedly failed to indicate which sheets were proofs; those had to be at least twice as expensive. He did not want to pass on the correct prices. Instead he proposed to reconcile the difference between the sum that William I had authorized and the amount that the prints had actually cost with an additional selection from what he could supply. He also sent this proposal to Apostool,<sup>118</sup> who was interested, as his letter to Van Ewijck of 25 April 1828 revealed: ‘Because of the mistake in the addition [the final sum] was considerably less than the



sum permitted by His Majesty, and I felt obligated to carry on negotiating with Josi about the prints we lack that would enrich the national collection, but about which we were not able to reach an agreement in the previous discussion because of the high prices proposed.<sup>119</sup> This was how another 224 prints, including 130 of ‘the work of R. Zeeman’ found their way to the museum.<sup>120</sup> By far the most expensive were the etchings by Johannes de Visscher that depicted an unfortunate accident that had happened to Prince

Fig. 16b  
Caption belonging to fig. 16a.  
Etching on oriental paper, 173 x 390 mm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
RP-P-OB-61.983.

< Fig. 16a  
JOHANNES DE VISSCHER, *Accident to Count John Maurice on the Bridge at Franeker*, dated 1665. Etching on oriental paper, 479 x 388 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-61.973.

John Maurice of Nassau in 1665. In Franeker he and his retinue fell through a lift bridge and narrowly escaped death by drowning. The group consisted of twelve sheets, proofs as well as later states, with the accompanying captions, for the most part printed on expensive, eastern paper (fig. 16). On Josi's original list they were priced at £65 or 780 guilders. In addition Apostool chose from the modern schools various monumental sheets by Raphael Morghen (fig. 18) and Wilhelm Friedrich Gmelin, which went well with the works from the English School, the core of his previous selection.<sup>121</sup>

With hindsight and imbued with present-day preferences and insights it is all too easy to criticize Apostool's choices, and a degree of regret is inevitable given the fine pieces that could have been acquired. It all came

down to a question of taste. Apostool was a die-hard classicist, who was led by the loftiness of the subject, the beauty of the composition and the mastery of the execution. Rarity alone meant little if it was a careless or badly drawn work, and one certainly did not pay a fortune for it. This view of art was diametrically opposed to Josi's. He was a true connoisseur, shaped by years of experience in the art market and most interested in rare states and unusual impressions. His print collection had been put together with a particular focus on these very aspects. All the same, it is unlikely that this difference of opinion alone determined the outcome of the negotiations. We have seen that Apostool was prepared to make a further selection from what Josi was offering when it turned out that the total amount to be paid for the selected prints was less than the sum

Fig. 17  
WILLIAM SHARP AFTER JOHN TRUMBULL, *The Sortie, Made by the Garrison of Gibraltar in the Morning of the 27th of November 1781*, c. 1799. Etching and engraving, 603 x 808 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-73.044.



that William I had authorized. This suggests that if he had been aware that 20,500 guilders had originally been allocated for this objective he would have made a more generous selection. It is not clear why the Ministry withheld this information. Perhaps it was regarded as an internal guideline that did not need to affect the outcome, but it is also possible that it was a half-hearted attempt to keep the cost down. In those days the government kept a very tight hold on the purse-strings when it came to funding art,<sup>122</sup> and in this case it was not even clear at first which budget the purchase amount would be coming from. For that reason, the Minister of the Interior actually asked King William I to come up with the amount from his own allowance,<sup>123</sup> but the king did not agree and gave orders to find the funding within the state budget.<sup>124</sup>

Although Apostool could have selected much more than he did, he did buy a lot and the quality was outstanding. The largest group by far

consisted of prints from the modern English School, though hardly the naive, moralising subjects that Josi had written about, but more historical, heroic events, including battles and naval actions such as *The Sortie, Made by the Garrison of Gibraltar in the Morning of the 27th of November 1781*, by William Sharp after a painting by John Trumbull (fig. 17). All these prints were of a spectacular size in magnificent early impressions or proofs and frequently accompanied by a separate sheet with a printed explanation of the scene. The same historical category also included the portraits of British dignitaries, like Admiral Nelson and King Charles I beside his horse. Among the English prints there were also a considerable number of large reproductive prints after the great masters in the history of art like Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Carracci, Del Sarto, Poussin and Lorrain (fig. 18), as well as northern greats such as Rubens and Van Dyke, Ruisdael, Hobbema, Teniers, Steen and Dusart. It is no

Fig. 18  
RAPHAEL MORGHEN  
AFTER LEONARDO  
DA VINCI, *The Last  
Supper*, 1800.  
Engraving,  
520 x 935 mm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
RP-P-08-70.879.





Fig. 19  
 LAMBERTUS  
 ANTONIUS  
 CLAESSENS AFTER  
 REMBRANDT, *The  
 Night Watch*, 1797.  
 Etching and roulette,  
 555 x 660 mm.  
 Amsterdam,  
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
 RP-P-OB-67.589.

coincidence that each and every one of the artists in this last group also belonged to the canon of good taste in the early nineteenth century.<sup>125</sup>

The same thematic accents are evident in the Dutch School prints he chose. One section covers national history, such as Roelant Roghman's depiction of the bursting of the dike near Jaaphannes and Houtewael in 1652,<sup>126</sup> and Jan de Visscher's prints of John Maurice of Nassau's accident. This same category includes portraits like the unfinished proofs of *Admiral Aert Jansz van Nes* by Lambert Visscher and *Johan de Wit* by Caspar Netscher. Again there were many modern reproductive prints depicting the revered seventeenth-century Dutch school of

painting, such as Lambertus Antonius Claessens's print of Rembrandt's *Night Watch* (fig. 19), and Johannes Pieter de Frey's numerous etchings after such artists as Govert Flink, Gerard Dou, Willem Drost, Rembrandt and Van Brekelenkam. Obviously there were also original works by Dutch artists, including prints by Rembrandt, Paulus Potter, Wouwerman (actually Ficke) and more recent work by Wouter Johannes van Troostwijk. Even the work from the French School, which was selected last, fitted the pattern: two colossal, grandiose etched sheets by Jean Jacques de Boissieu, depicting a landscape by Ruisdael and another by Wijnants.

## NOTES

- 1 Karel G. Boon, *Gids voor het Rijksprentenkabinet. Een overzicht van de verzamelingen met naamlijsten van graveurs en tekenaars*, Amsterdam 1964, pp. 16-17; T. Laurentius et al., *Cornelis Ploos van Amstel. Kunstverzamelaar en prentuitgever*, Assen 1980, pp. 129-30; P.J.J. van Thiel, 'Het Trippenhuis als Rijksmuseum', in R. Meischke and H.E. Reeser (eds.), *Het Trippenhuis te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam and elsewhere 1983, p. 232; Ellinoor Bergvelt, *Pantheon der Gouden Eeuw. Van Nationale Konst-Gallerij tot Rijksmuseum van Schilderijen (1798-1896)*, Zwolle 1998, pp. 123-25.
- 2 An important part of the correspondence, including many of Josi's letters and lists, is not in the Rijksmuseum Archive held in the Noord-Hollands Archief in Haarlem, but is still in the Rijksmuseum itself. The correspondence from Apostool is in Haarlem. We are extremely grateful to Ellinoor Bergvelt for putting her digital transcripts of Apostool's incoming and outgoing letters about the purchase at our disposal and for her comments on an earlier version of this article.
- 3 Michiel Jonker, 'Cornelis Apostool (1762-1844). Cultureel ambtenaar', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 25 (1977), no. 3, pp. 97-99.
- 4 For Samuel Ireland (1744-1800), see the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 5 Samuel Ireland, *Picturesque Tour through Holland, Brabant and Part of France*, 2 vols., London 1790, vol. 1, pp. 6-7. For a description of the book and the then new genre of 'Picturesque Travels', see Hans Kraan, *Dromen van Holland. Buitenlandse kunstenaars schilderen Holland 1800-1914*, Zwolle/The Hague 2002, pp. 31-35.
- 6 Two impressions from these publications are in the British Museum in London under the name of Cornelis Apostool (1978, U.728 and 1929.0529.15). See also Edward Croft Murray, 'Sketch-books of Samuel Ireland', *British Museum Quarterly* 11 (1936-37), p. 137, who asserts that Apostool 'was to make the plates for most of Ireland's subsequent publication of this nature.'
- 7 In 1791 Apostool had already supplied a signed landscape print after a design by Albanis Beaumont, *Vue de la Chute de l'Arve près de Salenche*, published by Thomas Gowland. It is an etching, however, and it is unclear how this relates to the later aquatints for Beaumont. For their collaboration on this print see J.G. Meusel, *Neues Museum für Künstler und Kunstliebhaber*, Leipzig 1794, pp. 475-77. For Albanis Beaumont (1752-1812) see the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 8 Apostool's aquatint *Elmer Water*, after J. Emes of 1794, published in the publication W. Clark, *The Lakes in Cumberland, Westmorland &c.*, also fits in this series.
- 9 The prints are quite unlike in terms of framing and dimensions, which suggests that they were not designed as a set or series. See Dick Venemans, 'An Early Book on Dutch Art in the English Language: "The Beauties of the Dutch School: Selected from Interesting Pictures of Admired Landscape Painters": An Anglo-Dutch Collaboration', *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies* 34 (2010), no. 3, pp. 271-77.
- 10 '... vaak onderbroken werden of niet door- gingen, omdat er weer eens oorlog uitbrak.' Bergvelt 1998 (note 1), p. 64.
- 11 *Ibid.*
- 12 See London, British Museum, inv. nos. 1917.1208.1042 and 1917.1208.1043. Remarkably, the Rijksmuseum only has one of the two sheets, inv. no. RP-P-1890-A-15263.
- 13 Jonker 1977 (note 3), pp. 100-01; Bergvelt 1998 (note 1), p. 65. For Apostool's biography and his important role in the art world of his time, see also Jenny Reynaerts, 'Het karakter onzer Hollandsche School'. *De Koninklijke Akademie van Beeldende Kunsten te Amsterdam 1817-1870*, Leiden 2001, pp. 33-34 and *passim*.
- 14 T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Geboorte en jeugdijaren van het Rijksmuseum', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 6 (1958), nos. 3-4, pp. 24, 27; Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer-De Rooij and Arthur Hartkamp, 'Oranje's erfgoed in het Mauritshuis. De lotgevallen van de collecties van het Huis van Oranje in de periode 1795-1816, en het maecenaat van Koning Willem I', *Oud Holland* (1988), pp. 181-235, esp. pp. 182-85; Bergvelt 1998 (note 1), pp. 89-90.
- 15 Paul Wescher, *Kunstraub unter Napoleon*, Berlin 1976.
- 16 After its return, the prints from Stadholder William V's military office found its way to the Archive of War, where De Man was the director. In 1896 an important proportion of it, the Atlas Ottens, also ended up in the Rijksmuseum's Print Room as part of an exchange. See L. Aardoom and J.F. Heijbroek, 'De "Atlas van Halma". Een verzameling van Reinier Ottens en Stadhouder Willem V', *Bulletin van het*

- Rijksmuseum* 39 (1991), no. 3, pp. 263-82, esp. pp. 273, 276. For M.J. de Man, who was promoted honorary major-general soon after his return, see *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 2, Leiden 1912, pp. 866-67.
- 17 See L. Brummel, *Geschiedenis van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, Leiden 1939, pp. 53-78.
- 18 In 1811 the Royal Library's collection contained 25,000 prints in 196 portfolios, 36 of which were Italian, 108 Dutch, Flemish and German and 36 French School, and 16 with mezzotints, alongside 165 bound printed works. See *Bibliotheekleven* 5 (1920), pp. 153-58 and Brummel 1939 (note 17), p. 57.
- 19 '... ik verzocht dus van het Gouvernement dat mij de Heeren C.H. Hodges Lid van het Kon. Nederl. Instituut en C. Josi Kunsthandelaar te Amsterdam mogten werden toegevoegd om mij hierin behulpzaam te zijn.' Noord-Hollands Archief, Rijksmuseum, Received Items, inv. no. 6 (1815), no. 73, pp. 20-21. For an explanation of the document, and the lecture it was intended for, see Bergvelt 1998 (note 1), p. 89.
- 20 These handwritten lists dating from 1812 are still in the Rijksmuseum. The mark is the stamp for the prints from the Royal Library that was in use between 1808 and 1810. See Frits Lugt, *Les marques des collections*, The Hague 1921, no. 240 (L. 240).
- 21 For C.H. Hodges and his role in the cultural life of the time, see Eveline Koolhaas-Grosfeld, *De ontdekking van de Nederlander in boeken en prenten rond 1800*, Zutphen 2010, pp. 43-76, 275-79.
- 22 Brummel 1939 (note 17), p. 77; Lunsingh Scheurleer 1958 (note 14), p. 31; Bergvelt 1998 (note 1), pp. 96-97.
- 23 Laurentius et al. 1980 (note 1), pp. 127-28 (the information may be consulted online in the Utrecht archives). His father came from Adelboden, his mother from Utrecht. They married on 10 April 1759 in the Jacobikerk in Utrecht. See also Lugt 1921 (note 20), under no. 573.
- 24 M. Langenbach, *Onbekend talent. Leerlingen van de Utrechtse Fundatie van Renswoude 1761-1795*, Zutphen 1991, p. 74.
- 25 In the Utrecht archives: Cornelis (baptized 28 August 1760), Berta (baptized 4 September 1763), Christiaan (baptized 27 March 1768), Jacob (baptized 8 March 1772) and Maria (baptized 13 February 1774).
- 26 Langenbach 1991 (note 24), p. 9
- 27 '... verstandige, schrandere en bekwame ...'. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- 28 *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95
- 29 See Selwyn Brinton, *Bartolozzi and his Pupils in England: With an Abridged List of his More Important Prints*, London 1903.
- 30 '... mede onder den met lof bekenden F. Bartolozzi arbeidde ...'. Roeland van Eynden and Adriaan van der Willigen, *Geschiedenis der Vaderlandsche Schilderkunst, sedert de helft der XVIII eeuw*, vol. 3, Haarlem 1820, p. 345. They did not mention John Raphael Smith as Josi's teacher anywhere in their book. We have not been able to establish whether Josi ever worked under Bartolozzi. In spite of this, many later artists' biographers repeated the statement.
- 31 'C. Josi, Discipel van I.R. Smith, te Londen'. *Amsterdamse courant*, 18 October 1796 and *Amsterdamse courant*, 9 March 1797, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010716231:mpeg21:a0010> and <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010718302:mpeg21:a0009>, consulted through Delpher on 22 May 2016.
- 32 J.W. Niemeijer, 'P.C. Wonder in Engeland. Aanvullende gegevens in verband met de compositieschets van Sir John Murray's Kunstgallerij in het Rijksprentenkabinet', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 13 (1965), p. 120, which also quotes from a letter from Wonder: 'begint men met kruymele zegt Josi dan blyft men altoos een kruymelaar' (Josi says that if you start being a penny-pincher you will always be a penny-pincher). See also Ruud Priem, 'Pieter Christoffel Wonder in Londen: "... het behoort tot het plan en ik volg als een kind"' in Mayken Jonkman and Eva Geudeker (eds.), *Mythen van het atelier. Werkplaats en schilderpraktijk van de negentiende-eeuwse Nederlandse kunstenaar*, Zwolle 2010, p. 38; Liesbeth Helmus, 'Een Utrechter in Londen. P.C. Wonder (1777-1852)', in E. Bergvelt (ed.), *P.C. Wonder (1777-2016)*. *Een Utrechter in Londen*, exh. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum) 2015-16, pp. 15-18.
- 33 In a letter dated 5 February 1828, which will be comprehensively set out below, Josi wrote with regard to Apostool: '... wensch ik niet, na een kennishouding van 36 jaar, zonder verschil te hebben gehad, zo laat op den dag met UWEd te twisten.' (I do not wish to argue with you so late in the day after an acquaintance of 36 years without having had any differences.)
- 34 'Den 13 February laatstleden, zyn te Londen getrouwd, Christiaan Josi, en Carolina Susanna Chalon'; 'Familiebericht', *Amsterdamse courant*, 26 April 1796, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010718219:mpeg21:a0019>, consulted on Delpher on 22 April 2016.

- 35 Cornelis Troost's wife, Maria van der Duyn, was Carolina Susanna Chalon's great-aunt. Maria was the half-sister of Carolina's grandfather, Hendrik Chalon, and so Cornelis Troost was an uncle by marriage of Hendrik Chalon's son Jan. Two of Cornelis Troost and Maria van der Duyn's daughters married a Ploos van Amstel: Sara Troost married Jacob and Elisabeth Troost married Cornelis Ploos van Amstel. This made the latter a second cousin by marriage of Carolina Susanna Chalon. See J.W. Niemeijer, *Cornelis Troost 1696-1750*, Assen 1973, suppl. 2 ('Troost's verwantschap met andere kunstenaars') and G. Ploos van Amstel, 'Cornelis Troost en zijn vrouw Susanna Maria van der Duyn', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 66 (1979), nos. 64-65.
- 36 See Michiel Plomp, *Hartstochtelijk verzameld*, Paris/Bussum 2001, vol. 1, pp. 113-15 and *passim* and vol. 2, pp. 4-6.
- 37 Laurentius et al. 1980 (note 1), pp. 112-31, 255-84.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 128; Langenbach 1991 (note 24), p. 93.
- 39 C. Josi, *Collection d'imitation de dessins d'après les principaux maîtres Hollandais et Flamand*, London 1821, p. 2.
- 40 As in the case of Cornelis Apostool, there is no oeuvre catalogue of Christiaan Josi's work. The print rooms in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and the British Museum in London together give a preliminary overview of prints outside the work that he produced for the *Collection d'imitation* (see note 39).
- 41 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1906-1763.
- 42 See A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, vol. 19, Haarlem 1876, p. 242. Visscher was mayor of Amsterdam from 1795 until his death in 1802, but Josi did not open his print shop in Kalverstraat until 1796.
- 43 See the letter from Josi to Apostool, dated 5 February 1828, p. [3], Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum: 'You may not know that while I was still in the embassy Louis Napoleon promised me he would consult with Mr Meerman in order to appoint me Director of the Print Room in The Hague, and the reason it did not happen was that I was a shopkeeper! A sound reason to be sure!' ('Ge weet misschien niet dat terwijl ik nog in amassade was, dat Louis Napoleon mij beloofde dat hij met den Heer Meerman zou raadplegen om mij als Directeur van 't Prentkabinet in den Haag aan te stellen, en de reden dat het geen gevolg had, was, dat ik winkelier was! Een solide reden voorwaar!') He was not the only one who saw a director-
- ship of the Rijksmuseum pass him by. In 1921 Frits Lugt was also dropped as a candidate for the post for the same reason. See Ger Luijten, 'De veelheid en de eelheid', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1985, p. 355; J.F. Heijbroek, *Frits Lugt 1884-1970: Living for Art: A Biography*, Bussum/Paris 2010, p. 123.
- 44 One example is A. Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1817-21, vol. 2 (1719), p. 120, who reproached Rembrandt for working solely from reality and failing to look at other artists. The estate inventory that Josi discovered gives a detailed description of Rembrandt's exhaustive print collection, which left this allegation in tatters.
- 45 See Josi 1821 (note 39); Laurentius et al. 1980 (note 1); Alexandra De Luise, 'Ploos van Amstel and Christian Josi: Two Generations of Printmakers Working in the Artful Imitation of Drawings', *Quaerendo* 25 (1995), no. 3, pp. 214-26.
- 46 Josi 1821 (note 39); Plomp 2001 (note 36), vol. 2, pp. 115-17.
- 47 '... zulk een gedeelte myner verzameling van belangrijke en zeldzame Prentkunst als bevonden zal worden aan het K. Prentkabinet te ontbreken en aldaar met voordeel (zoude kunnen) worden geplaatst.' The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Binnenlandse Zaken, access number 2.04.01, inv. no. 4365, no. 39f, letter from Josi to King William I, dated 8 August 1827.
- 48 *Ibid.* This circumstance also sheds light on Louis Bonaparte's reason for considering Josi for the post of director of the new royal print room. For the collection of Pieter Cornelis, Baron van Leyden, see J.W. Niemeijer, 'Baron van Leyden: Founder of the Amsterdam Print Collection', *Apollo* (1983), pp. 461-68.
- 49 In the financial crisis of 1825, also known as 'the panic of 1825', unbridled speculation caused the stock market to crash and countless banks and non-financial institutions collapsed as a result, initially in England, but the consequences were eventually apparent worldwide. See Larry Neal, 'The Financial Crisis of 1825 and the Restructuring of the British Financial System', *Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review* (1998), pp. 53-76.
- 50 '... een verzameling, waarvan hy op goede grond mag zeggen, dat een groot gedeelte daarvan niet alleen ontbreekt in het K. Prentkabinet, maar zelfs nergens in eenig land is te krijgen; zoo dat hij aanhoudend word aangezocht om gedeeltens daarvan af te staan ...' (From the letter cited in note 47.)

- 51 For Daniel Jacob van Ewijck, see P.J. Blok et al. (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 8, Leiden 1930, pp. 512-16.
- 52 '... en het zal dus gemakkelijck zyn om te zien welke van dezen aard nog aldaar zyn ontbrekende en ook hier door zal men kunnen nagaan de belangrykheid van het aanbod, de hoeveelheid der Exemplaren en de prijs die de Hr Josi er op gesteld heeft'; 'ofschoon ik de Heer Josi houde voor een der Eerste Prentkenners die er thans in leven zijn, zoo kan men op eene beschryving van drukken, Varieteiten en Zeldzaamheden niet genoegzaam aangaan'; 'zoude eene dergelyke aankoop voor het Land van het allergrootste belang zyn.' Letter from Apostool to Van Ewijck, dated 3 October 1827, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
- 53 '... uit de belangrykheid der zaak kan men echter opmaken dat die som vrij aanmerkelijk zou moeten zijn en ligtelijck b.v. eene twintig Duizend Gulden zou bedragen'. NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4363, no. 183a, report by Van Ewijck to the Minister of the Interior, dated 29 October 1827.
- 54 '... zoodanige Zeldzame Stukken als bevonden zullen worden in 's Rijks Prentenkabinet te Amsterdam niet voorhanden te zijn'; 'Intuschen moet ik UEd er op indachtig maken dat Z.M. deze magtiging verleend heeft in de veronderstelling dat de beide zaken, de aankoop namelijk van het schilderij van Van den Eeckhout en het overnemen van de bedoelde prentwerken tezamen de somma van f 24,000 niet zullen te boven gaan.' NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4365, no. 39f, letter from Van Ewijck to Apostool 9 November 1827 (rough copy with crossed out passages). The painting by Van der Eeckhout was purchased for 3,500 guilders, leaving 20,500 guilders for the prints.
- 55 NHA, RM, Received Items, inv. no. 13, no 187, letter from Van Ewijck to Apostool, dated 9 November 1827, no 39. A passage about the painting by Van der Eeckhout was also deleted, in which Apostool was authorized to honour the original asking price of 4,000 guilders if Josi would not accept an offer of 3,500 guilders.
- 56 NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4365, no. 39f, letter from Van Ewijck to Josi dated 9 November 1827. Letter from Josi to Van Ewijck, dated 22 February 1828, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
- 57 '... Stalen van dat gedeelte zyner Prentkunst welke hy ter aankoop aanbiedt'; 'van eene dergelyke kwaliteit bevonden dat zy, zeker de beschryving daarvan verre overtreffen'; 'veele Exemplaren...'. NHA, RM, Copy Book, inv. no. 36, pp. 197-98, letter from Apostool to Van Ewijck, dated 17 November 1827, under the heading 'Voorlopige voordragt wegens Prenten van C: Josi' (Provisional proposal regarding the prints of C. Josi).
- 58 'Notitie van Prenten welke den Heer C. Josi van Londen medegebragt, als stalen zijner Collectie, en waarvan de volgende aan het K. Prentkabinet ontbreken.' Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
- 59 Jan Piet Filedt Kok, *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: The Muller Dynasty, Part 11: Jan Harmensz. Muller*, Rotterdam/Amsterdam 1999, no. 59, state 1.
- 60 '... dit heeft veroorzaakt dat wij alle de voorname Prentwerken, zoo wel de geregistreerde als die nog niet geregistreerd waren hebben moeten nagaan'; 'doch dit heeft ons ook bewys gegeven van de rykdom en volkomenheid van deze Lands Verzameling daar er van de Oudste en beste Werken zeer weinig ontbreken en de overige van eene Kwaliteit zijn zoo als men die weinig aantreft; echter zyn er eenige en zeer kostbare die het wenschelyk zoude zijn aan te kopen om deze Verzameling tot de hoogste volkomenheid te brengen'; 'de Prenten, waarvan men er slegts weinige op het Nederl: Prentkabinet vindt, zyn die der Engelsche Schole, ongetwijfeld is dit de School die in de laatste 50 Jaren de meeste vordering in de Graveerkunst gemaakt heeft; en het is dus jammer dat bij het Nederl: Prentkabinet niet gevonden worden de Chef d'Oeuvres van eenen Woollet, Vivares, Sir R. Strange, Sharp, Heath en anderen die by alle Verzamelingen voorwaarlyk Klassiek en onontbeerlijck worden gehouden – Op de Katalogus van den Heer Josi vindt men de voornaamste Kunstwerken van deeze Meesters en volgens zyn zeggen alle van eene uitnemende Kwaliteit en meest Proeven; – de Aankoop van iets dergelyks ofschoon zeer kostbaar zoude dus ook zeer wenschelyk zyn...'. (From the letter cited in note 57.)
- 61 '... en het zoude ook jammer zyn de volkomenheid daarvan uit een te brengen'; 'met andere dubbelde Exemplaren, Zoo als van Rembrandt, Rubbens van Dyk en zeer veele Zeldzame van de Oude Duitsche School en eene menigte anderen' te verkopen' (From the letter cited in note 57). This discussion must also be seen against the background of the fact that at that time Apostool was already engaged in preparing a duplicate sale of paintings, which would take place in August 1828. See Jan Piet Filedt Kok, 'The 1828 Sale of Paintings from the Rijksmuseum',

- The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 57 (2009), no. 4, pp. 283-311.
- 62 '... terwijl men het ovrigte of als dan bestaande zoude moeten Stempelen met het Kon. Ryks Wapen even zoo als alle de Exemplaren die voor de Omwenteling door aankoop aan het Ryks Kabinet zyn gekomen met de Stempel van het Koninkryk Holland op de Agterzyde zyn onderscheiden gemaakt en kenbaar geworden' (From the letter cited in note 57). Here Apostool was referring to the old KB stamp (L. 240, see also note 20), and suggesting that the new prints that were acquired should be stamped with a new stamp. That would not happen straight away.
- 63 '... over te gaan tot het opmaken van eene lyst der prentwerken en losse prenten welke UEd. meent dat in die overneming begrepen zouden moeten worden'; 'opgeven waarvoor hy genegen is de stukken af te staan, waarna UWEd. my die opgave gelieve over te zenden met uwe aanmerkingen op de gevraagde prijzen.' (From the letter cited in note 65.)
- 64 'Zou men dezelve publiek moeten verkoopen of zou men ze onder de hand in ruiling kunnen geven, of zou misschien de Heer Josi zelve die dubbele of een gedeelte derzelve in betaling willen aannemen?' (From the letter cited in note 65.)
- 65 NHA, RM, Received Items, inv. no. 13, no. 189, letter from Van Ewijk to Apostool, dated 20 November 1827, no. 10. It would take until 1832 before a new collection stamp for the prints in the Amsterdam Print Room was introduced. See Lugt 1921 (note 20), no. 12.
- 66 '... dat zulks Circa £ 3000.- zoude bedragen- Dat men omtrent deze eisch geene tegenwerkingen gemaakt had en aan hem voorkwam, men eene Zodanige som wel zoude willen besteden om aan 's Lands Verzameling de grootste volkomenheid te geven.' In these negotiations Josi used twelve Dutch guilders to one pound Sterling as the conversion rate. £3,000 is therefore 36,000 guilders. In 2002, one euro equalled 2.2 guilders.
- 67 '... met geen geringe ophef beschreven is ...'. NHA, RM, Letter Book, inv. no. 36, pp. 198-203, letter from Apostool to Van Ewijk dated 4 December 1827 under the heading 'Ampel Rapport, wegens de prenten van C: Josi.'
- 68 'Lijst der Prenten en Prentwerken door den Heer C: Josi aangeboden tot daarbij vermelde Prijs.' Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
- 69 '... in 9 juchtlere kunstboeken'; 'een unieke verzameling van het werk van Ploos van Amstel, in 700 Stuks Proefdrukken, met alle de veranderingen, Modellen, Handschriften, &c. in 7 omslagen'; 'in 568 stuks op O.I. Papier. En 68 Teekeningen in 5 omslagen' (from the document cited in note 68). The price of the work by Ploos van Amstel was actually based on 'the exchange of the ordinary example', which was in the Royal Museum (though not the same example as the de-luxe edition that Josi offered to King William I in his letter of 8 August 1827).
- 70 At that time Master E.S. was not named after his monogram, but was known under the name of convenience of the 'Master of 1466'. The prints by the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet were also grouped under that name at that time, (see inv. no. RP-P-1940-6), but – as far as we know – he did not make any letters.
- 71 'Lijst der Prenten en Prentwerken door den Heer C: Josi aangeboden tot daarbij vermelde Prijs.' Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, and the version sent to The Hague, 'Lijst der voornaamste Prenten en Prentwerken uit de Verzameling van den Heer C. Josi', NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4372, no. 105a.
- 72 See NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4365, no. 39f, undated and unsigned explanation of the prices on Josi's list, in Josi's handwriting, probably written around 8 December 1827 (see also below).
- 73 And not without reason, after all on 9 November 1827 Van Ewijk had informed him that 'with regard to your collection of print works His Majesty has decided the following: to authorize the Minister to enter into negotiations with you concerning the purchase of such rare items as will not be found in the Rijksmuseum's Print Room in Amsterdam [our italics].' ('ten aanzien van uwe verzameling prentwerken heeft Z.M. den voorn: Minister gemagtigd om met u in onderhandeling te treden, nopens het overnemen daaruit van zoodanige zeldzame stukken, als bevonden zullen worden in 's Rijks Prentkabinet te Amsterdam niet voorhanden te zijn.')
- 74 In Josi's previously quoted account (see note 72) he wrote 'dat de pryzen [der prenten] zeer matig zyn gesteld; en dat het vooral dat punt was waarop ik het meest bedagt was, zoo dat de Prys den aankoop niet zoude verhinderen' (that the prices of the prints were set very moderately; and that it was the point above all I was most concerned about, so that the price would not hinder the purchase.)
- 75 In his letter to Apostool of 5 February 1828, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Josi even mentioned a 'ministerieele approbatie, om provisioneel uit mijne verzameling voor

- £ 3000- sterl.g over te nemen' (ministerial approval, to provisionally purchase from my collection for £3000), but on 2 May 1828, Van Gobbelschroy, the Minister of the Interior reminded William I that the sum reserved for the negotiations with Josi (for the painting by Van der Eeckhout and the prints) was 'fl. 24000 of van zoo veel minder als zou kunnen bedongen worden' (24,000 guilders or so much less as could be agreed). See NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4397, no. 117a, letter from the Minister of the Interior to William I, dated 2 May 1828.
- 76 '... een Zeer hooge Prys stelt op het geen Raar of Zeldzaam is zonder te letten op het Onderwerp, of des zelfs belangrykheid en het verdienstelyke der bewerking. Het is waar dat men aan deze kunstwepery iets moet toegeven voornamentlyk by eene Verzameling waar reeds zoo veel van dien aard aanwezig is, en ook omdat men van deze Soort van Kunst veel werk maakt by alle beroemde Verzamelingen, zoo als te Weenen Parys en elders.' (From the letter cited in note 67.)
- 77 'Een onafgemaakte Prent, die gevolgelyk defect is verkoopt dikwerf voor dubbele en Zelfs vierdubbele prijs van een Exemplaar waaraan de kunstenaar de laatste toets en verbetering heeft toegebracht en waardoor hy die zoo goed gemaakt heeft als zyn kunstvermogen zulks vermogt.' (From the letter cited in note 67.)
- 78 '... door hem doorgaands eerst geetst en naderhand met de scherpe naald / eigentlijk gezegd / opgekrabt geworden. dit gaf een Braam, die, by het drukken, het zelfde effect heeft als Mezzo Tinto ... , hierdoor verkregen bij dien groten Meester van Licht en Bruin de onderwerpen een schitterend effect, of twijfelachtige toon naar mate die nodig was om zyn tafreel te doen spreken en Carakteristiek te maken.' (From the letter cited in note 67.)
- 79 'doch deze Braam slyt by het drukken schielijk af: en de drukken die hier op volgende misen dit betoverend effect, ten bewyze hiervan kan men opnoemen de Honderd Guldens prent en het Portret van den Burgemeester Six dit deed de Kunstminnars van Rembrs tyd verlangen, na Eerste, Allereerste en zelfs na onafgemaakte Proeven; – en dit gelove ik heeft deze Kunstmanie in de Wereld gebracht'. (From the letter cited in note 67.)
- 80 '... voor voorwerpen die, zonder etsing, uit de hand gegraveerd waren en waarby men het hebben van Braam en het niet voltooide, eigentlyk als gebreken kan aanmerken.' (From the letter cited in note 67.)
- 81 See Erik Hinterding, 'The History of Rembrandt's Copperplates with a Catalogue of Those that Survive', *Simiolus* 22 (1993-94), pp. 268-69. See also Christopher White et al., *Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England*, New Haven 1983. For Apostool's preferences, see also Bergvelt 1998 (note 1), pp. 79-83.
- 82 Nineteenth-century appreciation was fuelled by the discovery that Rembrandt printed his etching plates himself, and that unusual print variants were intentional. See Erik Hinterding, *Rembrandt as an Etcher: The Practice of Production and Distribution*, vol. 1, Ouderkerk a/d IJssel 2006, pp. 35-42. See also Gregor Weber et al., *Late Rembrandt*, exh. cat. London (National Gallery)/Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 2014-15.
- 83 '... dat bij eene particuliere Verzameling men inzonderheid behoorde te zien op het goede en Schoone. Ik moet echter toegeven dat by eene Verzameling zoo als die aan myn Directie is toebetrouwd niet alleen in de eerste plaats het Schoone maar ook het zeldzame, voor zoo verre het voor eene redelyke prijs te bekomen is, moet gevonden worden.' (From the letter cited in note 67.)
- 84 '... het Prentkabinet [bezit] op zyn meest tusschen de 3 a 400 – en meestal van de kleinste en geringste voorwerpen.' (From the letter cited in note 58.)
- 85 '... en zeker kan men het werk van Rembrandt voor het duurste Werk in de Prentkunst houden.' (From the letter cited in note 67.) See sale catalogue *Catalogus eener voortreffelyke, uitmuntende en allerprachtigste verzameling boeken en prentwerken, heerlyk geconditioneerd en voortreffelyk gebonden; uitmakende de keur der beroemde bibliotheek des heeren Moritz Grave von Fries te Weenen*, cat. Amsterdam (Jeronimo de Vries), 24 June 1824, and consecutive days.
- 86 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-37; NHD (Rembrandt) 271, state 1, retouched.
- 87 The fact that Rembrandt had worked up a copper plate by Hercules Segers was discovered by W.J.M. Engelberts (1809-1887), superintendent of the Rijksmuseum between 1850 and 1874. His finding was reported in the sale catalogue for the J.D. Böhm Collection, Vienna, 4 December 1865, under lot number 626. We are very grateful to Huigen Leeftang for his help in tracking down this information.
- 88 '... AllerEerste Druk op perkament, als eene teekening slechts aangeschetst, vol effect en de Beelden geschaduw'd.'. 'Notitie van Prenten welke den Heer C. Josi van Londen

- medegebragt, als stalen zijner Collectie, en waarvan de volgende aan het K. Prentkabinet ontbreken.' Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
- 89 'Intusschen is de prent in kwestie een der Prenten die door Rembrandt het allerslordigst is behandeld geworden- de slegte Figuren zyn buiten proportie en zoo groot als de Bomen en hierom vermag ik niet aanteraden om die voor de enorme prys van £ 75 of f 900.- aantekopen.' (From the letter cited in note 67.)
- 90 See Pierette Jean-Richard, *Rembrandt. Gravures et dessins*, exh. cat. Paris (Musée du Louvre) 2000, pp. 100-01 (ill.).
- 91 London, British Museum, inv. no. F.4.172. See also Erik Hinterding et al., *Rembrandt the Printmaker*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum)/London (British Museum) 2000-01, no. 73.
- 92 '... de modellen en Handschriften zyn van weinig nut ...' (From the letter cited in note 67.) For the later peregrinations of this group, see Laurentius et al. 1980 (note 1), pp. 129-30.
- 93 Letter from Josi to Apostool, dated 5 February 1828, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
- 94 'Dan, het schein toen als of ik een vreemde oudekleeren jood was, die een afzet wilde doen of bedriegen! ... Waarlijk, ik ben noch nooit zoo vernederend behandeld. De geheele aanstalte, loop en zamenhang die ik op die morgen bespeurde, geleek meer naar een regtbank voor welke een misdadiger kwam verschijnen, dan naar eene vriendelijke onderhandeling met een ervaren liefhebber, die, ter eerster instantie, aan 't Gouvernement had aangeboden om uit zijn keurige en kostbare verzameling datgene over te nemen dat in 's Rijks Prentkabinet ontbreekt!' (From the letter cited in note 93.)
- 95 'Ik vraag slechts nog zoo als toen, of mijn karakter en krediet met de kwaliteit en prijzen mijner te leveren kunst niet verbonden was? Maar na tot schaamtens toe te vergefsch op UWEd beter en gunstiger oordeel over mij en de genoteerde kunst gewacht te hebben, moest ik eindelijk horen dat den afstand der prenten, die ik slechts als stalen mijner verzameling had medegebragt en niet afzonderlijk kon verkopen, het sine qua non der onderhandelingen was gemaakt!' (From the letter cited in note 93.)
- 96 'Wanneer de Heer Josi zich mogt hebben voorgesteld om alhier, en als het ware, buiten U te sluiten, dan heeft hij zich zeer bedrogen. In een zaak van dezen aard wil ik niet anders dan volgens het advies van U handelen. Uw advies zal, ten minste in de hoofdzak ook het mijne zijn. De Heer Josi is werkelijk hier gekomen, en heb ik hem in substantie het bovenstaand te kennen gegeven. Zijne gezegden kwamen hoofdzakelijk hierop neder, dat hij om geenen prijs enkele losse prenten uit zijne verzameling wilde verkoopen maar wel een massaal gedeelte derzelve. Hierin kan ik hem geen ongelijk geven.' Letter from Van Ewijck to Apostool, dated 8 December 1827, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
- 97 NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4365, no. 39f, account from Josi to Van Ewijck (see note 72): 'Then Mr Apostool declared that as I did not want to sell those items which I had only brought with me as samples from my collection, the negotiation with him should be considered as failed.' ('Dan, de Heer Apostool verklaarde, dat daar ik die stukken, die ik slechts heb medegebragt als stalen myner verzameling, niet afzonderlijk wilde verkopen, de onderhandeling met ZynEd. als afgestuit moest beschouwd worden') As Apostool put it: '... the negotiation between me and the said gentleman has been broken off, as he wanted to sell none other than the whole, that is, all the works that he had brought on the list of his offer, and also only for the prices he had stated there.' ('is, de onderhandeling tusschen my en gemelden Heere [Josi] afgebroken geworden, daar hij niet anders als het geheel, dat is, alle de werken die hij op de Lyst van zyn aanbod gebragt had, wilde verkopen, en ook alleenlyk voor de prijzen, zo als hij die daar gesteld had.' See NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4374, no. 47f, letter from Apostool to Van Ewijck, dated 17 December 1827.
- 98 '... den Heer Josi meer handelbaar gevonden ...' NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4374, no. 47f, letter from Apostool to Van Ewijck, dated 17 December 1827.
- 99 'Lijst der Prenten door de Directie der Kunst. met den Heer Josi overeengekomen ter Aankoop.' Dated 14 December 1827, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
- 100 See also Boon 1964 (note 1), p. 16 and Frederik J. Duparc, 'Leven en werk van Philip Wouwerman (1619-1668)', in Frederik Duparc and Quentin Buvelot (eds.), *Philips Wouwerman 1619-1668*, exh. cat. Kassel (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister)/The Hague (Mauritshuis) 2009-10, p. 24.
- 101 'C'est une chose merveilleuse combien les estampes anglaises ont été recherchées depuis les cinquante dernières années. Je ne parle pas seulement de ces gravures classiques de Woollett, d'Earlom, de Heath, de Smith, et d'autres coryphées, qui sont hors de la ligne commune. J'ai eu en vue généralement leurs estampes modernes,

- celles sur-toutes consacrées à des sujets d'une morale naturelle, naïve, populaire. Tout le monde les goûtait et en était avide.' See 'Discours Préliminaire', in Josi 1821 (note 39), pp. 14-15, note 1.
- 102 For a detailed discussion of this question, see Koolhaas-Grosfeld 2010 (note 21), pp. 56-61.
- 103 On the one hand this can be deduced from the total lack of any indications that Apostool actually travelled to London, and from the fact that the purchased prints which were sent over from London, in Josi's words, 'on delivery ... had to prove totally in accord with the description that Mr Josi had given of them', ('bij de levering ... moeten blijken te zijn volkomen overeenkomstig de beschrijving die de Heer Josi daarvan heeft opgegeven'), (list of 14 December 1827, see note 99) and as Van Ewijck put it: 'if those items are found satisfactory after sending', ('indien die stukken [na toezending] voldoende bevonden worden, ...') (Letter from Van Ewijck to Apostool dated 4 January 1828, see note 106). Obviously he, too, had not seen a large number of these prints before.
- 104 See *Lijst der Prenten en Prentwerken door den Heer C: Josi aangeboden tot daarbij vermelde Prijs*, pp. [3-4], Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
- 105 NHA, RM, Letter Book, inv. 36, pp. 217-18, letter from Apostool to Van Ewijck, dated 28 May 1828, under the heading 'Recommandation for Prints from Buffa' ('Voordragt van Prenten van Buffa'); 'The Print Room is well provided with the important works of the Old German School, however it lacks a number of the works of Israel van Mecken, one of the Masters of the fifteenth century; these seldom appear, at least in good condition; this one, listed under N 6, is not just good, it is a fine impression.' ('Van de belangrijke Werken der Oude Duitse School is 's Rijks Kabinet ook wel voorzien doch van het werk van Israel van Mecken, een der Meesters van de 15e Eeuw mankeren nog een aantal, zelden komen dezelve, althans in eene goede staat voor, deze genoemd onder N 6, is niet alleen goed, maar fraai van druk.') It was priced at 77 guilders. See inv. no. RP-P-OB-1117.
- 106 NHA, RM, Received Items, inv. 13, no. 196, letter from Van Ewijck to Apostool, no. 47.
- 107 NHA, RM, Letter Book, inv. 36, p. 208, letter from Apostool to Josi, dated 26 January 1828, in which there is only a transcript of the notification from Van Ewijck dated 4 January 1828. The content of Apostool's accompanying missive is not documented in the letter book and can only be deduced from Josi's response.
- 108 'Ik kan niet ontveinzen dat die eerste zoo onverwachte als vreemde afsluiting, en dat op het tijdstip toen ik rede had te denken dat alles tot wederzijds genoegen zoude aflopen, mij zeer diep getroffen heeft; niet zoo zeer om de teleurstelling bij mij, als denkelijk ook in den Haag; als wel voornamelijk om de ongunstige indruk daardoor natuurlijk veroorzaakt ten opzigten van mijn aanbod en berekening.' Letter from Josi to Apostool, dated 5 February 1828, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
- 109 '... dat wat heden duur schijnt, wordt na korten tijd goedkoop genoemd. ... Voor het overige geloof ik niet dat het van UWEd gevegd wordt om de prijs der prenten te bepalen, die alleen door nasporing en onderzanding verkregen wordt, en waarlijk niet bestaat in het bekribbelen en afdingen, weinig vereerend voor het Gouvernement.' (From the letter cited in note 108.)
- 110 'Ik schrijf veel toe aan UWEd gemakkelijk en gelukkig leven, en tegenzin om volumes van kunst te ontvangen, daar slechts weinig aan te schicken zou zijn, maar die ge misschien niet weet te bergen'; '... na een kennishouding van 36 jaar, zonder verschil te hebben gehad'; '... ook nu geen ruzie'; 'Maar zoo verre van mij het denkbeeld, om met mijne verzameling den Koning of het Rijk te willen bedriegen dat ik volgens 't gevoel van mijn hart verklaar, dat in geval ik een liefhebber was die de prentkunst uit zijn overvloed nahield dan zoude ik op zijn Engelsch, het ontbrekende in het Kabinet gaarne present doen. Maar ge weet dat ik voor vrouw en kinderen nog moet zorgen. Voor mij zelve heb ik geleerd mij met weinig te vergenoegen, en begeer ook niets meer, dan vrede en goede wil: Die goede wil, ter verbetering en uitbreiding van 't belangrijk Prentkabinet die ik in den Haag heb bespeurd, wensch ik slechts ook bij UWEd te vinden en dan durf ik op goede grond verzekeren dat men rede zal hebben om over mijne handelwijs voldaan te zijn.' (From the letter cited in note 108.)
- 111 NHA, RM, Letter Book, inv. 36, pp. 211-12, letter from Apostool to Josi, dated 10 February 1828.
- 112 '... dat het geenzints by my is de tegenzin om my te belasten met omslagtige werken waaraan veel te schicken valt of waar voor ik geen plaats zou kunnen inruimen en het geen my dus zou storen in myn gemaklyk en gelukkig leven &a&a.' (From the letter cited in note 111.)
- 113 '... noch kennis zedert jaren noch oude Vriendschap veel minder personeel belang kan my afbrengen van de pligt die ik in

- beantwoording hieraan moet volbrengen.’  
(From the letter cited in note 111.)
- 114 ‘... en sommige ander Prenten die zeldzaam zyn of genoemd worden, en die volgens de Caprices van den Connaisseur, door den een belangryk, door den andere twijfelachtig, en door een derde triviaal beschouwd worden’. ‘Ik hoop dat my altijd zal by blyven, waar in ik de grootste eere Stelle, zy is die van gehouden te worden; en te zyn; een Eerlyk man. ... Het geene er van my overig blyft; (myne Correspondentie namentlyk) zal doen zien, hoe ik gehandeld hebbe; en ik moet my troosten met de gedagte dat ik geen fortuin; maar eene goede naam zal nalaten.’ (From the letter cited in note 111.)
- 115 Letter from Josi to Apostool, dated 19 February 1828, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
- 116 Letter from Josi to Van Ewijck, dated 22 February 1828, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
- 117 For Henry Josi see ‘Obituary: Henry Josi, Esq.’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine* 23 (1845), p. 320; Antony Griffiths (ed.), *Landmarks in Print Collecting: Connoisseurs and Donors at the British Museum since 1753*, exh. cat. London (British Museum)/Houston (Museum of Fine Arts) 1996-97, pp. 65-70, 288-89.
- 118 Letter from Josi to Apostool, dated 22 February 1828, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
- 119 ‘... door het abuis het geen er in de optelling heeft plaats gehad, merkelyk minder is dan de Som die door ZM: hier voor is toegestaan, heb ik plichtelyk geacht om nog nader met den Heer Josi te handelen over prenten die wy missen en die ‘s Lands Verzameling zouden verryken, doch waaromtrent wy in de vorige Conferentie uit hoofde der my voorkomende hooge Pryszen geene overeenkomst hebben kunnen treffen.’ NHA, RM, Letter Book, inv. 36, p. 216, letter from Apostool to Van Ewijck, dated 25 April 1828.
- 120 For a detailed overview of the additional selection, see NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4397, no. 117/a, letter from Apostool to Van Ewijck, dated 25 April 1828. They are briefly listed in the undated note ‘gekocht buiten de Lijst’, (bought outside the List), (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), and are clearly marked in the original ‘Lijst der Prenten en Prentwerken door den Heer C. Josi aangeboden tot daarbij vermelde Prijs’ (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). See further in the appendix.
- 121 The final sum for the purchase was not 10,521 guilders, but 10,148.10. The difference was caused by the fact that the original selection included a number of prints that were already in the museum and these were returned in accordance with the agreement. For an overview of the sheets finally rejected, see na, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4397, no. 117/a, letter from Apostool to Van Ewijck, dated 25 April 1828. The total amount involved in the purchase came to 9,995 guilders, 153.10 guilders had to be added to that amount for expenses Josi had incurred. See NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4397, no. 117/a, letter from the Minister of the Interior to King William I, dated 2 May 1828.
- 122 See Annemieke Hoogenboom, ‘De rijks-overheid en de moderne beeldende kunst in Nederland 1795-1848’, *Kunst en beleid in Nederland*, Amsterdam 1985, pp. 13-79.
- 123 NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4397, no. 117a, letter from Van Gobbelschroy to King William I, dated 2 May 1828: ‘From the beginning of the negotiations it could be foreseen that the cost would be too great to be paid out of the monies in my Department’s budget. Nonetheless the painting by Van den Eeckhout could be paid for from it; but the payment for the print works, although amounting to less than half of what had initially been thought necessary, is still too high to be met by the budget without hindrance. For which reason I take the Liberty of requesting Your Majesty to give orders that this debt will be paid from the million guilders which has been put at Your Majesty’s disposal.’ (‘Van het begin der onderhandelingen af heeft men kunnen voorzien dat de uitgave te hoog zou zijn om uit de gelden op de begrooting van mijn Departement toegestaan te worden betaald. Het schilderij van van den Eeckhout is echter daar uit betaald kunnen worden; doch de betaling der prentwerken hoewel minder dan de helft bedragende van hetgeen waarom men in het eerst had gemeend te moeten rekenen is echter nog te hoog om uit de voorn: begrooting zonder belemmering te kunnen worden voldaan. Weshalve ik de Vrijheid neem u.m. te verzoeken om wel te willen bevelen dat die schuld zal worden betaald uit het millioen Guldens het welk ter beschikking van u.m. is gesteld.’)
- 124 See na, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4405, no. 176/a, letter from Van Gobbelschroy to King William I, dated 16 June 1828: ‘By missive from H.E the Secretary of State of 23 May ll. N:11 I have been instructed to make a further recommendation in the usual form as indicated in the fifth Chapter of Public Expenditure of a sum of 10,148.10 guilders, to cover payment for the various prints that were recently purchased from Mr C. Josi of London, on behalf of the Rijks-

museum in Amsterdam. In settlement of this charge I have the honour to submit to Your Majesty an enclosed list of subjects of public expenditure according to which this payment could be effected and also request that the same be ratified by Your Majesty to this end.' ('Bij missive van Z.E. den Secretaris van Staat van 23 Mei 1827 is mij opgedragen geworden eene nadere voordragt in den gewonen vorm te doen tot aanwijzing op het vijfde Hoofdstuk der Staatsuitgaven van eene somma van fl. 10.148,10, welke zal moeten strekken ter betaling der onderscheiden prenten, welke onlangs van den Heer C. Josi te London, ten behoeve van het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam zijn aangekocht. Ter voldoening aan dien last heb ik de eer hiernevens aan UM aan te bieden eene lijst van onderwerpen van staatsuitgave, volgens welke die betaling zou kunnen geschieden en tevens te verzoeken dat dezelve door UM ter dien einde worde bekrachtigd.')

- 125 See Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, Oxford 1976. For the reproductive prints of great masters, see also Ingrid Vermeulen, *Picturing Art History: The Rise of the Illustrated History of Art in the Eighteenth Century*, Amsterdam 2010.
- 126 According to Josi's list, this was an impression from 'the whole large plate', in other words a complete, uncut impression, which was consequently priced at £10 (or 120 guilders). It is unclear when, but at some point the print was cut into pieces, probably in order to fit the Houtewael and Jaaphannes prints in the right place in the topographical atlas. The separate parts are now kept together again (in the historic Frederik Muller atlas).



## APPENDIX

### List of Prints Purchased from Christiaan Josi 1827-28

This appendix gives a full summary of the prints purchased by the Rijksmuseum from Christiaan Josi in 1827-28. As has become clear, the final selection was completed in two stages. Agreement was reached about the first group on 14 December 1827, followed by an additional selection that was described on 24 April 1828.<sup>1</sup> To differentiate between the two, the first group is presented in the order shown on the list of 14 December, and the second group is in the order stated in the letter dated 24 April.<sup>2</sup> The left column gives the titles of the prints as in the original documents; the right column contains modern title descriptions with the inventory numbers of the relevant impressions. The collection and collectors' marks follow.

In the first instance we searched by artist and print title to identify the relevant examples. This did not always prove easy, particularly in the case of the English prints, and certainly in a print collection which by now is to a great extent classified by artist. From a description such as 'Four – The Battle and Conquest of Seringapatnam by Cardon' it emerged that only two of those sheets mention Antoine Cardon as the printmaker, with Luigi Schiavonetti as the publisher. The other two were made by Niccolo and Luigi Schiavonetti and give Cardon as the publisher. This kind of role reversal is quite frequent. Furthermore, English printmaking at the time was so specialized that different elements of the same print were often executed by different artists. Examples include *The Jocund Peasants*, after Cornelis Dusart, etched by John Browne and engraved by William Woollett, and *The Vicar of Wakefield* by William Woollett, where the landscape in which the figures stand was created by William Ellis. The artists' names Josi mentions are consequently not always the names under which the prints have meanwhile been ordered and filed.

Collection and collectors' marks were important aids in finding the right impressions. At the time of the purchase, the Rijksmuseum was not using a collection mark.<sup>3</sup> The first stamp was not introduced until around 1832 (Lugt 12), when it appears that the acquisitions made in previous years in Amsterdam were marked as well.<sup>4</sup> Nearly all Josi's prints bear this stamp. The next step was to look for Josi's own collector's mark (Lugt 573). By no means all the sheets bear this stamp, and it appears to have been reserved for the more expensive, exclusive sheets like those by Rembrandt and Potter, and the proof of Jan Muller's *Spinola*.<sup>5</sup> A less well-known identifying mark, which Josi put on his prints in pencil or graphite, proved to be more prolific than his collector's stamp. It is briefly described under Lugt 2915 *bis*, but proves to have many more manifestations. The most easily recognizable are

the small circles, with or without a vertical line through them, or a cross in them (fig. 1). It is above all the marks with which they are combined that are very diverse (fig. 2) and also occur without the characteristic circles with lines in them (fig. 3 and fig. 4). The meaning of these inscriptions is unclear, although the addition of 'Col' or 'Col Lon' should certainly be seen as abbreviations of 'collection' and 'Collection London' (fig. 5). In view of the handwriting there is no doubt that this is Josi's too. The repertoire also includes small squares (fig. 6).

Prices were also added in the original list of prints (left column). If only one amount is given, the asking price was the same as what was eventually paid for the print. Where there are two amounts, the first in brackets is the original asking price and the figure that follows is the amount that was actually paid.<sup>6</sup> It not only gives a clear idea which prints fetched particularly large sums of money, it also shows that Apostool almost always paid the full price for the modern English School prints he coveted, which were anything but cheap, as he did for the prints that were only chosen in the second stage. It was the sheets from the Dutch School (also in the first group) that he haggled over quite fiercely.<sup>7</sup> They were indeed the most expensive prints on the list (quite a few of which he rejected for that reason), and incidentally also those that Josi had with him as examples of what he could supply when he came to Amsterdam.

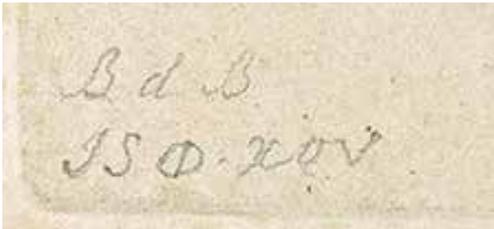


Fig. 1

Inv. no. RP-P-OB-5381  
(list no. 59)

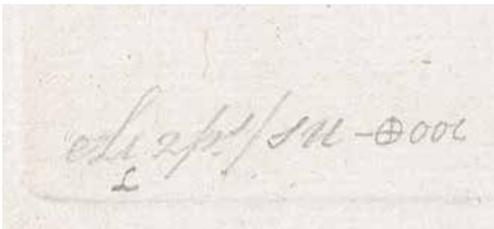


Fig. 2

Inv. no. RP-P-OB-73.174  
(list no. 27)

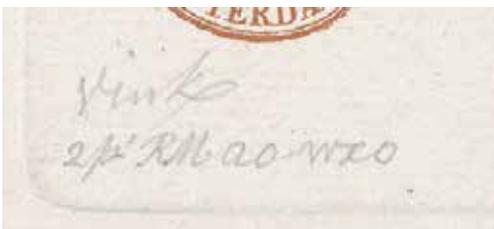


Fig. 3

Inv. no. RP-P-OB-73.181  
(list no. 28)

## NOTES

- 1 See 'Lijst der Prenten door de Directie der Kunst. met den Heer Josi overeengekomen ter Aankoop', 14 December 1827, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum and NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4397, no. 117/a, letter from Apostool to Van Ewijck, 25 April 1828.
- 2 The two groups were completely integrated in the final list of purchases dated 19 April 1828. See NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4409, no. 39a, 'Lijst van Prenten welke uit de Verzameling van den Heer C. Josi te Londen wonende zijn aangekocht voor het Koninklijk Prentkabinet', dated 'Amsterdam 19 April 1828'.
- 3 See also pp. 358-59. Louis Napoleon's collection mark was in use from around 1807 to 1810, when the Print Room was still part of the Royal Library in The Hague (L. 240). This means that none of the impressions with this stamp were part of the Josi purchase.
- 4 See Lugt 1921 (note 20, see article notes), no. 12.
- 5 The rare, smaller variant of Josi's collector's mark was also found (Lugt 574). See list no. 103.
- 6 The original asking price was taken from the 'Lijst der Prenten en Prentwerken door den Heer C. Josi aangeboden tot daarbij vermelde Prijs', Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. The final price paid is stated in NA, BiZa 1813-48, 2.04.01, inv. no. 4409, no. 39a, 'Lijst van Prenten welke uit de Verzameling van den Heer C. Josi te Londen wonende zijn aangekocht voor het Koninklijk Prentkabinet', drawn up by Josi and dated 'Amsterdam 19 April 1828'.
- 7 The Dutch School prints cost 3,816 guilders altogether. Apostool insisted on a discount of 721 guilders, more than 18 percent.

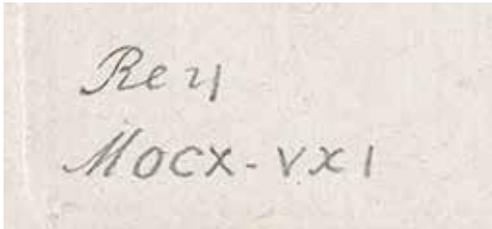


Fig. 4

Inv. no. RP-P-08-70.968  
(list no. 4)

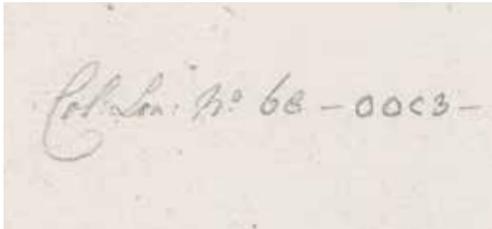


Fig. 5

Inv. no. RP-P-08-70.492  
(list no. 20)

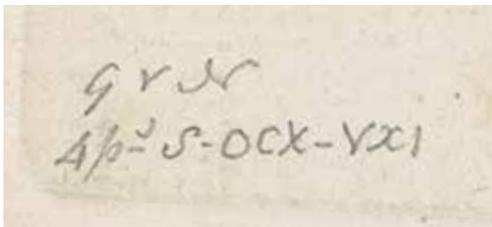


Fig. 6

Inv. no. RP-P-08-19.311  
(list no. 48)

## LIST 1827

## MODERN DESCRIPTION, INVENTORY NUMBER, MARKS

LIST 1827	MODERN DESCRIPTION, INVENTORY NUMBER, MARKS
Vier Tropheen der voornaamste Zeeslagen door Bromley, Parker &c. f22	<b>I</b> WILLIAM BROMLEY, JOHN LANDSEER and WILLIAM SATCHWELL LENEX, <i>Victors of the Nile</i> , after Robert Smirke (RP-P-OB-70.469), L. 12 JAMES PARKER and GEORGE NOBLE, <i>Commemoration of the xith. October MDCXCXVII</i> , after Robert Smirke and John Smart I (RP-P-OB-70.896), L. 12 JAMES PARKER and WILLIAM HENRY WORTHINGTON, <i>Commemoration of the xivth. February MDCXCXVII</i> , after Robert Smirke (RP-P-OB-70.897), L. 12 FRANCESCO BARTOLOZZI, JOHN LANDSEER, THOMAS RYDER and JAMES STOW, <i>Commemoration of the Victory of June 1st MDCXCIV</i> , after Robert Smirke (RP-P-OB-70.432), L. 12
Portret van W. Pitt ten voeten uit [Proefdruk op O.I. papier] f48	<b>2</b> WILLIAM BROMLEY I, <i>Portrait of William Pitt</i> , after Thomas Gainsborough (RP-P-OB-70.472), L. 12
Portret van Lord/Admiraal Nelson f24	<b>3</b> WILLIAM BROMLEY I, <i>Portrait of Lord Nelson</i> , after Robert Bowyer (RP-P-OB-70.468), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Portret Generaal Elliot met den Sleutel – Earlom f12	<b>4</b> SAMUAL WILLIAM REYNOLDS, <i>The Hon. Charles James Fox</i> , after John Raphael Smith (RP-P-OB-70.968), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Portret Markies Granby – Watson f24	<b>5</b> RICHARD EARLOM, <i>George August Elliott, Lord Heathfield</i> , after Joshua Reynolds (RP-P-OB-19.213), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Portet Washington ten voeten uit door Heath Proef: op O I Pap. f144	<b>6</b> JAMES WATSON, <i>Portrait of John Manners, Marquis of Granby</i> , after Joshua Reynolds (RP-P-OB-33.756), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Portret Markies Granby – Watson f24	<b>7</b> JAMES HEATH, <i>George Washington</i> (proof on oriental paper), after Gilbert Stuart (RP-P-OB-19.235), L. 573; L. 2925bis; L. 12
De Kon: Akademie te Londen – Proefdruk f120	<b>8</b> RICHARD EARLOM, <i>The Royal Academy of Arts</i> (proof), after Johan Joseph Zoffany (RP-P-OB-70.543), L. 2925bis; L. 12
De dood van Lord Chatham – Proefdruk f120	<b>9</b> FRANCESCO BARTOLOZZI, <i>The Death of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham</i> (proof), after John Singleton Copley (RP-P-OB-5385), L. 2925bis; L. 12 Key for <i>The Death of the Late Earl of Chatham</i> (RP-P-OB-5382), L. 12
Het beleg van Valenciennes – Proefdruk f96	<b>10</b> WILLIAM BROMLEY I, <i>The Grand Attack on Valenciennes by the Combined Armies under the Command of his Royal Highness, the Duke of York, 25 July 1793</i> (proof), after Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg II, (RP-P-OB-70.473), L. 12
Het gevegt van Quebec – bij Bunkers hill – en de sortie te Gibraltar – Drie Eerste Proefdrukken f300	<b>11</b> JOHN FREDERICK CLEMENS, <i>The Death of General Montgomery in the Attack of Quebec Dec. 1775</i> (proof), after John Trumbull (RP-P-OB-70.503), L. 2925bis; L. 12 Key for <i>The Death of General Montgomery</i> (RP-P-OB-70.504), L. 12 JOHANN GOTTHARD MILLER, <i>The Battle of Bunker Hill, near Boston</i> (proof), after John Trumbull (RP-P-OB-70.888), L. 2925bis; L. 12 Key for <i>The Battle of Bunker Hill</i> (RP-P-OB-70.889), L. 12 WILLIAM SHARP, <i>The Sortie, Made by the Garrison of Gibraltar in the Morning of the 27th of November 1781</i> (proof), after JOHN TRUMBULL (RP-P-OB-73.044), L. 2925bis; L. 12 Key for <i>The Sortie of Gibraltar</i> (RP-P-OB-73.045), L. 12
De dood van Wat Tijler – door A Smith f12	<b>12</b> ANKER SMITH, <i>Sir William Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, Killing Wat Tyler in Smithfield, 1381</i> , after James Northcote (RP-P-OB-73.081), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Zeeslag bij Trafalgar – Cooper f24	<b>13</b> ROBERT COOPER, <i>Battle of Trafalgar and Death of Lord Viscount Nelson</i> , after William Marshall Craig (RP-P-OB-19.224), L. 2925bis; L. 12

CONTINUATION LIST 1827	MODERN DESCRIPTION, INVENTORY NUMBER, MARKS
Twee Zeeslagen te Brest en bij den Nile door J: Fittler f22	<b>14</b> JAMES FITTLER, <i>The Glorious Victory Obtained over the French Fleet by the British Fleet under the Command of Earl Howe, 1 June 1794</i> , after Philippe Jacques de Louterbourg II (RP-P-OB-70.575), L. 2925bis; L. 12 JAMES FITTLER, <i>The Battle of the Nile Fought Augt 1 1798</i> , after Philippe Jacques de Louterbourg II (RP-P-OB-70.576), L. 2925bis; L. 12
De dood van Nelson door Bromley f24	<b>15</b> WILLIAM BROMLEY I, <i>The Death of Admiral Lord Nelson</i> , after Arthur William Devis (RP-P-OB-70.467), L. 12 Key for <i>The Death of Lord Nelson</i> (RP-P-OB-70.470), L. 2925bis; L. 12
[De dood van ] den Majoor Pearson door Heath f36	<b>16</b> JAMES HEATH, <i>The Death of Major Pierson and the Defeat of the French Troops in the Market Place of St Helier on the Island of Jersey 6 Jan 1781</i> , after John Singleton Copley (RP-P-OB-70.736), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Het Oproer in Broadstreet door Heath f24	<b>17</b> JAMES HEATH, <i>The Riot in Broad Street on 7 June 1780</i> , after Francis Wheatley (RP-P-OB-70.733), L. 2925bis; L. 12
De Dublinsche Vrijwilligers door Collier f24	<b>18</b> JOSEPH COLLYER, <i>The Volunteers of the City and County of Dublin</i> , after Francis Wheatley (RP-P-OB-70.512), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Het Gevegt voor Gibraltar J Emes f36	<b>19</b> JOHN EMES, <i>The Scene before Gibraltar, 14 September 1782</i> , after James Jefferys (RP-P-OB-70.560), L. 2925bis; L. 12 Key for <i>The Scene before Gibraltar</i> (RP-P-OB-70.561), L. 12
Twee stuks de landing en gevecht in Egypte f48	<b>20</b> LUIGI SCHIAVONETTI, <i>The Landing of the British Troops in Egypt on the 8th of March 1801</i> , after Philippe Jacques de Louterbourg II (RP-P-OB-73.032), L. 2925bis; L. 12 ANTOINE CARDON, <i>The Battle of Alexandria, on the 21st of March 1801</i> , after Philippe Jacques de Louterbourg II (RP-P-OB-70.492), L. 2925bis; L. 12 Key for <i>The Battle of Alexandria</i> (RP-P-OB-70.491), L. 12
Vier – Het gevegt en bezitneming van Seringapatnam door Cardon f96	<b>21</b> ANTOINE CARDON, <i>The Assault and Taking of Seringapatam</i> , after Henry Singleton (RP-P-OB-70.490), L. 2925bis; L. 12 NICCOLO SCHIAVONETTI, <i>The Last Effort and Fall of Tippoo Sultan</i> , after Henry Singleton (RP-P-OB-207.800), L. 2925bis; L. 12 LUIGI SCHIAVONETTI and ANTOINE CARDON, <i>The Body of Tippoo Sultan Recognised by his Family</i> , after Robert Ker Porter (RP-P-OB-73.020), L. 2925bis; L. 12 ANTOINE CARDON, <i>The Surrender of the Sons of Tippoo Sultan</i> , after Henry Singleton (RP-P-OB-70.489), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Twee – van het gevegt te Kopenhagen f48	<b>22</b> PELTRO WILLIAM TOMKINS, <i>The Attack on the Danish Fleet and Batteries, off Copenhagen, 2 April 1801</i> , after John Thomas Serres (RP-P-OB-73.110), L. 2925bis; L. 12 Key for <i>The Attack on Danish Fleet</i> (RP-P-OB-73.112), L. 12 PELTRO WILLIAM TOMKINS, <i>The Defeat of the Danish Fleet and Batteries, off Copenhagen, 2 April 1801</i> , after John Thomas Serres (RP-P-OB-73.109), L. 2925bis; L. 12 Key for <i>The Defeat of the Danish Fleet</i> (RP-P-OB-73.111), L. 12
<b>J SHERWIN.</b>	
De dood van Lord R Manners – Proefdruk f48	<b>23</b> JOHN KEYSE SHERWIN, <i>The Death of Lord Robert Manners</i> (proof on East Indian Paper), after Thomas Stothard (RP-P-OB-73.048), L. 12
Twee – Het Gelukkige en Verlaten Dorp f24	<b>24</b> JOHN KEYSE SHERWIN, <i>The Happy Village</i> (RP-P-OB-19.285), L. 12 JOHN KEYSE SHERWIN, <i>The Deserted Village</i> (RP-P-OB-19.284), L. 2925bis; L. 12

## W: WOOLLET.

De Dood van Generaal Wolfe – Proefdruk f260	25	WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>The Death of General Wolfe</i> (proof), after Benjamin West (RP-P-OB-19.319), L. 2925bis; L. 12 Key for <i>The Death of General Wolfe</i> (RP-P-OB-73.175), L. 12
Twee – de Gevegten bij Kaap La Hogue en op de Boijne Proefdr: op OI Pap.r f360	26	WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>The Battle of La Hogue 1692</i> , after Benjamin West (RP-P-OB-82.804), L. 12 JOHN HALL, <i>The Battle of the Boyne</i> , after Benjamin West (RP-P-OB-82.801), L. 12
Twee – de Ontbinding van het Parlement door Cromwel en Karel II te Dover – Proefdrucken f96	27	JOHN HALL, <i>Cromwell: Oliver Cromwell Dissolving the Long Parliament</i> , after Benjamin West (RP-P-OB-70.726), L. 2925bis; L. 12 Key for the print <i>Cromwell</i> (RP-P-OB-70.727), L. 12 WILLIAM WOOLLETT and WILLIAM SHARP, <i>Restoration: King Charles II Landing on the Beach at Dover</i> , after Benjamin West (RP-P-OB-73.174), L. 2925bis; L. 12
De twee Premie Landschappen. f72	28	WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>The First Premium Landscape</i> , after John Smith of Chichester (RP-P-OB-73.181), L. 2925bis; L. 12 WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>The Second Premium Landscape</i> , after John Smith of Chichester (RP-P-OB-73.182), L. 2925bis; L. 12
De Tempel van Apollo – naar C de Lorraine f36	29	WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>The Temple of Apollo with the Father of Psyche Bringing Sacrifices</i> , after Claude Lorrain (RP-P-OB-73.178), L. 2925bis; L. 12
De Visscherij f36	30	WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>The Fishery</i> , after Richard Wright (RP-P-OB-19.323), L. 2925bis; L. 12
De staande Hond – Spanish Pointer. f48	31	WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>The Spanish Pointer</i> , after George Stubbs (RP-P-OB-73.173), L. 2925bis; L. 12
De twee Buitenhuizen naar C Dusart – Eerste Proefdrucken f192	32	JOHN BROWNE and WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>The Jocund Peasants</i> (proof on East Indian paper), after Cornelis Dusart (RP-P-OB-22.484), L. 2925bis; L. 12 JOHN BROWNE and WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>The Cottagers</i> (proof on East Indian paper), after Cornelis Dusart (RP-P-OB-22.486), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Portret van Rubens naar A van Dyck f12	33	WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>Portrait of Peter Paul Rubens</i> , after Anthony van Dyke (RP-P-OB-19.156), L. 12
Het Boschgezicht naar Poussin f48	34	JOHN BROWNE and WILLIAM WOOLLETT <i>Two Men and a Woman at a Watering Place in the Forest</i> , after Gaspar Dughet (RP-P-OB-19.161), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Diana en Acteon f24	35	WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>Diana and Actaeon (The Most Capital Paintings in England)</i> , after David Martin and Filippo Lauri (RP-P-OB-19.318), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Vier gezigten in Buckinghamshire f36	36	WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>A View of the House and Part of the Garden of Sir Francis Dashwood Bart. at West Wycombe in the County of Bucks</i> , after William Hannan (RP-P-OB-19.157), L. 2925bis; L. 12 WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>A View of the Lake &amp;c Taken from the Centre Walk in the Garden of Sir Francis Dashwood Bart. at West Wycombe in the County of Bucks</i> , after William Hannan (RP-P-OB-19.158), L. 12 WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>A View of the Walton Bridge, Venus's Temple &amp;c in the Garden of Sir Francis Dashwood Bart. at West Wycombe in the County of Bucks</i> , after William Hannan (RP-P-OB-19.159), L. 12 WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>A View of the Cascade &amp;c in the Garden of Sir Francis Dashwood Bart. &amp; of the Parish Church &amp;c at West Wycombe in the County of Bucks</i> , after William Hannan (RP-P-OB-19.160), L. 12

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Jamea – de Vicaris van Wakefield f12	<p>37 WILLIAM ELLIS and WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>Scene from 'The Vicar of Wakefield': Woman Crossing a River</i>, after Thomas Hearne (RP-P-OB-19.162), L. 2925bis; L. 12</p> <p>WILLIAM ELLIS and WILLIAM WOOLLETT, <i>Scene from 'The Vicar of Wakefield': Company at a Table in a Park</i>, after Thomas Hearne (RP-P-OB-19.163), L. 2925bis; L. 12</p>
<b>J: BROWNE</b>	
Het groote Landschap naar Both met de Gevangenen – Proefdr. f48	38 JOHN BROWNE, <i>Banditti Prisoners</i> , after Jan and Andries Both (RP-P-OB-70.474), L. 12
De doping van de Moorman – dito f12	39 JOHN BROWNE, <i>Philip Baptizing the Eunuch</i> , after Jan and Andries Both (RP-P-OB-19.212), L. 2925bis; L. 12
De wagentrijver naar Rubbens f12	40 JOHN BROWNE, <i>The Waggoner</i> , after Peter Pul Rubens (RP-P-OB-22.481), L. 12
Twee Landschappen naar Hobbema en Moucheron f36	41 JOHN BROWNE, <i>The Cottage</i> , after Meindert Lubbertz Hobbema (RP-P-OB-18.365), L. 2925bis; L. 12 <p>JAMES MASON, <i>The Herdsman</i>, after Frederick de Moucheron (RP-P-OB-18.889), L. 2925bis; L. 12</p>
Een groot Landschap naar Rubbens. – Proefdruk f36	42 JOHN BROWNE, <i>Herdsman and Cattle at a Drinking Place in a River</i> , after Peter Paul Rubens (RP-P-OB-22.482), L. 2925bis; L. 12
De Jager naar Poussin f12	43 JOHN BROWNE, <i>The Sportsman</i> , after Gaspar Dughet (RP-P-OB-18.364), L. 2925bis; L. 12
<b>F. VIVARES.-</b>	
44 Jupiter en Europa naar C de Lorraine f12	44 FRANCOIS VIVARES, <i>Jupiter and Europa</i> , after Claude Lorrain (RP-P-OB-73.143), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Gezigt bij Napels – dito f12	45 FRANCOIS VIVARES, <i>A View near Naples</i> , after Claude Lorrain (RP-P-OB-73.142), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Twee Landschappen naar Poussin f12	46 <i>not traced</i>
Zes dito – dito f36	47 <i>not traced</i>
Veertien Diverse f84	48 FRANCOIS VIVARES, <i>Temple of Minerva Medica in Rome</i> , after John Smith and Giovanni Battista Busiri (RP-P-OB-19.310), L. 2925bis; L. 2228a <p>FRANCOIS VIVARES, <i>The Remains of the Senators' Bridge over the Tiber</i>, after John Smith and Giovanni Battista Busiri (RP-P-OB-19.311), L. 2925bis; L. 2228a</p> <p>FRANCOIS VIVARES, <i>The Tomb of Cecilia Metella Grassi in the Via Appia</i>, after John Smith and Giovanni Battista Busiri (RP-P-OB-19.312), L. 2925bis; L. 2228a</p> <p><i>the rest not traced</i></p>
<b>R: STRANGE.-</b>	
Karel I staande bij zijn Paard. f36	49 ROBERT STRANGE, <i>Charles I and the Duke of Hamilton</i> , after Anthony van Dyck (RP-P-OB-73.091), L. 12
Maria Magdalena f24	50 ROBERT STRANGE, <i>St Mary Magdalene Repentant</i> [companion to <i>Cleopatra</i> ], after Guido Reni (RP-P-OB-19.014), L. 2925bis; L. 2228a

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## MODERN DESCRIPTION, INVENTORY NUMBER, MARKS

Twée – Madonna en St Jan <i>f</i> 24	51	ROBERT STRANGE, <i>The Infant Jesus Plaiting a Crown of Thorns</i> [companion to <i>St John Asleep</i> ], after Bartolom Esteban Murillo (RP-P-OB-19.022), L. 2925bis; L. 2228a <i>not traced</i>
Een slapend Kind <i>f</i> 12	52	ROBERT STRANGE, <i>St John the Baptist Asleep</i> [companion to <i>Jesus Plaiting a Crown of Thorns</i> ], after Anthony van Dyke (RP-P-OB-19.016), L. 2925bis; L. 2228a
Cleopatra (naar Reni) <i>f</i> 12	53	ROBERT STRANGE, <i>Cleopatra</i> [companion to <i>Mary Magdalene</i> ], after Guido Reni (RP-P-OB-19.033), L. 2925bis; L. 2228a
Fortune naar Guido <i>f</i> 12	54	ROBERT STRANGE, <i>Fortuna</i> , after Guido Reni (RP-P-OB-19.018), L. 2925bis; L. 2228a
Vonnis van Hercules <i>f</i> 12	55	ROBERT STRANGE, <i>The Judgement of Hercules</i> , after Nicolas Poussin (RP-P-OB-19.015), L. 2925bis; L. 2228a
Cesars Huwelijk <i>f</i> 12	56	ROBERT STRANGE, <i>Caesar Putting Away Pompeia, Receives Calpurnia as his Wife</i> , after Pietro da Cortona (RP-P-OB-19.021), L. 2925bis
Belisarius <i>f</i> 24	57	ROBERT STRANGE, <i>Belisarius</i> , after Salvator Rosa (RP-P-OB-19.013), L. 2925bis; L. 2228a
Venus blinddoekt Cupido <i>f</i> 24	58	ROBERT STRANGE, <i>Venus Blinding Cupid</i> , after Titian (RP-P-OB-19.029), L. 2228a
<b>F. BARTOLOZZI</b>		
Clytie met de Zonnebloem naar A Carrats – Proefdruk <i>f</i> 72	59	FRANCESCO BARTOLOZZI, <i>Clytie (The Most Capital Paintings in England)</i> , after Annibale Carracci (RP-P-OB-5381), L. 2925bis; L. 2228a
Heilige Familie onder de Boog – A del Sarto <i>f</i> 36	60	FRANCESCO BARTOLOZZI, <i>Holy Family (from the Convent of the Servites, Florence)</i> , after Andrea del Sarto (RP-P-OB-5387), L. 2925bis; L. 2228a
De Zangberg naar Guttenberg <i>f</i> 12	61	FRANCESCO BARTOLOZZI, <i>Apollo and the Muses on Mount Parnassus</i> , after Ludwig Guttenbrunn (RP-P-OB-5383), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Apotheosis van Lodewijk XVI <i>f</i> 12	62	FRANCESCO BARTOLOZZI, <i>Apotheosis of Louis XVI and his Family</i> , after William Hamilton (RP-P-OB-5384), L. 12
Silence naar A Carrats <i>f</i> 24	63	FRANCESCO BARTOLOZZI, <i>Madonna del Silenzio</i> , after Annibale Carracci (RP-P-OB-34.234), L. 2925bis; L. 2228a
Madonna in een Rond – Proefdruk [ <i>f</i> 36] <i>f</i> 12	64	FRANCESCO BARTOLOZZI, <i>The Holy Virgin</i> , after Carlo Dolci (RP-P-OB-34.215), L. 12
Twée – De Koningin Elisabeth en den Maagd van Orleans <i>f</i> 12	65	LUIGI SCHIAVONETTI, <i>Queen Elizabeth Receiving the News of the Death of her Sister Queen Mary</i> , after Robert Westall (RP-P-OB-37.183), L. 2925bis; L. 12 FRANCESCO BARTOLOZZI, <i>Joan of Arc Maid of Orleans Receiving the Consecrated Banner</i> , after Robert Westall (RP-P-OB-34.228), L. 2925bis; L. 12

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## J: SHARP.-

## MODERN DESCRIPTION, INVENTORY NUMBER, MARKS

Heilige Familie naar J: Reynolds f12	66	WILLIAM SHARP, <i>The Holy Family (Macklin's Bible)</i> , after Joshua Reynolds (RP-P-OB-19.283), L. 2925bis; L. 12
De Sorces van Endor naar West – Proefdruk f48	67	WILLIAM SHARP, <i>Saul and the Witch of Endor</i> , after Benjamin West (RP-P-OB-73.046), L. 2925bis; L. 12
De Verschijning aan de Herders, door Skelton – Proefdruk f36	68	WILLIAM SKELTON, <i>The Angels Appearing to the Shepherds (Macklin's Bible)</i> , after Thomas Stothard (RP-P-OB-73.046), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Twee – Joseph Andriessen – Byrne f12	69	WILLIAM BYRNE, <i>William Sharpe and Benjamin Pouncy, Scene from Joseph Andrews: Fanny Goodwill Rescued from the Captain</i> , after Thomas Hearne (RP-P-OB-18.456), L. 2925bis; L. 12 WILLIAM BYRNE and SAMUEL MIDDIMAN, <i>Scene from Joseph Andrews: Joseph Andrews, the Parson and Fanny</i> , after Thomas Hearne and Francesco Bartolozzi (RP-P-OB-18.457), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Twee – de Drenkeling uit het Water gehaald, en hersteld door Pollard f72	70	ROBERT POLLARD, <i>The Body of a Young Man Taken out of the Water Apparently Dead in the Sight of his Distressed Parents</i> , after Robert Smirke (RP-P-OB-70.944), L. 12 ROBERT POLLARD, <i>The Young Man Restored to Life</i> , after Robert Smirke (RP-P-OB-70.945), L. 12
Vier – Het Proces en Executie van Lodewijk xvi door Schiavonetti Proefdr. f96	71	LUIGI SCHIAVONETTI, <i>The Memorable Address of Louis xvi at the Bar of the National Convention</i> , after William Miller (RP-P-OB-73.025), L. 12 Key for <i>The Address by Louis xvi</i> (RP-P-OB-73.029), L. 12 LUIGI SCHIAVONETTI, <i>The Separation of Louis xvi from his Family in the Temple</i> , after Charles Benazech (RP-P-OB-73.023), L. 2925bis; L. 12 Key for <i>The Separation of Louis xvi from his Family</i> (RP-P-OB-73.027), L. 12 LUIGI SCHIAVONETTI, <i>The Last Interview Between Louis xvi and his Disconsolate Family</i> , after Charles Benazech (RP-P-OB-73.024), L. 12 LUIGI SCHIAVONETTI, <i>The Calm and Collected Behaviour of Louis xvi on Parting from his Confessor Edgeworth the Moment before a Period Was Put to his Existence on the 21st of January 1793</i> , after Charles Benazech (RP-P-OB-73.022), L. 12 Key for <i>Louis xvi on the Scaffold</i> (RP-P-OB-73.028), L. 12 Key for the four prints of last days of Louis xvi (RP-P-OB-73.026), L. 12 Announcement of the print series about the last days of Louis xvi (RP-P-OB-73.030), L. 12 Text on the print: Announcement of the print series about the last days of Louis xvi (RP-P-OB-73.031), L. 12
Hendrik v ontvangt Catharina door Cardon f24	72	ANTOINE CARDON, <i>The Princess Catherine of France Presented to Henry v of England</i> , after Thomas Stothard (RP-P-OB-67.581), L. 12
De Zendelingen in Otaheite f12	73	FRANCESCO BARTOLOZZI, <i>Cession of the District of Matavai on the Island of Otaheite to Captain James Wilson for the Use of the Missionaries Sent Thither by that Society in the Ship Duff</i> , after Robert Smirke (RP-P-OB-5386), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Jupiter en Alcmene door Cooke naar West f12	74	THOMAS COOK, <i>Jupiter and Semele</i> (proof), after Benjamin West (RP-P-OB-19.222), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Much ado about nothing door Simon f24	75	PIERRE SIMON (II), <i>Much Ado About Nothing, Act III, Scene 1 (Shakespeare Gallery)</i> , after Matthew William Peters (RP-P-OB-19.286), L. 12

CONTINUATION LIST 1827	MODERN DESCRIPTION, INVENTORY NUMBER, MARKS
Twee – de Toorn van Achilles – Cunego f24	76 DOMENICO CUNEGO, <i>Achilles Vents his Rage on Hector</i> , after Gavin Hamilton (RP-P-OB-70.521), L. 2925bis; L. 12 DOMENICO CUNEGO, <i>The Anger of Achilles for the Loss of Briseis</i> , after Gavin Hamilton (RP-P-OB-70.520), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Orestes en Pylades naar West f24	77 JAMES BASIRE, <i>Pylades and Orestes (The Most Capital Paintings in England)</i> , after Benjamin West (RP-P-OB-22.471), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Teniers Keuken door Matel f12	78 JEAN BAPTISTE MICHEL, <i>Teniers's Kitchen</i> , after David Teniers II (RP-P-OB-70.867), L. 2925bis; L. 12
De groote Wedloop van Paarden – Turner f12	79 CHARLES TURNER, <i>Horse Race: The Welter Stakes, on the 16th of June, 1801</i> , after Henry Barnard Chalon (RP-P-OB-73.123), L. 12
De Kinderen van Karel I naar Van Dyck f12	80 RICHARD COOPER, <i>The Children of Charles I: Charles, Prince of Wales; James, Duke of York; Princesses Mary, Elizabeth and Anne</i> , after Anthony van Dyke (RP-P-OB-19.223), L. 12
De Bekering van Paulus – Proefdruk f36	81 THOMAS HELLYER, <i>The Miraculous Conversion of Saul</i> (proof), after Edward Dayes (RP-P-OB-70.739), L. 2925bis; L. 12
<b>ZWARTE KUNST.</b>	
H. Franciscus naar Murillo – Ardell – Proefdruk f24	82 JAMES MCARDELL, <i>St Francis de Paula</i> , after Bartolom Esteban Murillo (RP-P-OB-32.581), L. 2925bis; L. 2228a
Miravan bij het Graf – Green – Proefdruk f24	83 VALENTINE GREEN, <i>Miravan Breaking Open the Tomb of his Ancesters</i> , after Joseph Wright of Derby (RP-P-OB-100.026), L. 2925bis
De Bard door J: R: Smith f12	84 JOHN RAPHAEL SMITH, <i>The Bard, from Mr Gray's Ode</i> , after Thomas Jones (RP-P-OB-33.718), L. 2925bis; L. 12
De Gierigaards naar Q Matsijs – Proefdruk f24	85 RICHARD EARLOM, <i>The Misers</i> , after Quinten Massys (now: follower of Marinus van Reymerswaele) (RP-P-OB-17.720), L.2925bis; L.2228a
Het School naar J Steen. – Proefdruk f24	86 VALENTINE GREEN, <i>The Village School</i> , after Jan Haviksz Steen (RP-P-OB-70.614), L. 2925bis; L. 12
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Woodburn's Stel van 12 Portretten – Proefdrucken f96	88 CHARLES TURNER, <i>Her Sacred Majesty Queen Elizabeth (Portraits of Royal Personages)</i> , after Crispijn de Passe I (RP-P-OB33.442), L. 12 CHARLES TURNER, <i>His Majesty James the First, King of England, and his Royal Progeny (Portraits of Royal Personages)</i> , after Willem van de Passe (RP-P-OB-33.443), L. 12 CHARLES TURNER, <i>Oliver Cromwell (Portraits of Royal Personages)</i> , after William Faithorne (RP-P-OB-33.444), L. 12 CHARLES TURNER, <i>Frederick v of Simmeren, Elector Palatine (Portraits of Royal Personages)</i> (RP-P-OB-33.445), L. 12 CHARLES TURNER, <i>Henry the Fourth, King of France (Portraits of Royal Personages)</i> , after Renold Elstrack (RP-P-OB-33.446), L. 12 CHARLES TURNER, <i>James the First, King of Great Britain (Portraits of Royal Personages)</i> , after Francis Delaram (RP-P-OB-33.447), L. 12

- CHARLES TURNER, *Charles, Prince of Wales (Portraits of Royal Personages)*, after Francis Delaram (RP-P-OB-33.448), L. 12
- CHARLES TURNER, *Maximilian Emperor of Germany &c &c (Portraits of Royal Personages)*, after Hans Burgkmair I (RP-P-OB-33.449), L. 12
- ROBERT JOHN DUNKARTON, *Portrait of Henry Prince of Wales, after Simon van de Passe* (RP-P-OB-17.702), L. 12
- ROBERT JOHN DUNKARTON, *Mary Stuart, Queen of France and Scotland, and Henry Lord Darnley, her Husband*, after Renold Elstrack (RP-P-OB-17.703), L. 12
- ROBERT JOHN DUNKARTON, *Prince Henry the Great, King of France, and Navarre, &c &c as he Lay in State after his Murder, anno 1610*, after Jacques Briot (RP-P-OB-17.704), L. 12
- RICHARD EARLOM, *His Imperial Majesty, Charles v, Emperor of Germany, &c &c (Fifteen Splendid Portraits of Royal Personages)*, after Antony van Dyke and Titian (RP-P-OB-17.716), L. 12

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Bisschop Seaburij van America f24	89	WILLIAM SHARP, <i>The Right Reverend Samuel Seabury D.D. Bishop of Connecticut</i> , after Thomas Spence Duch (RP-P-OB-18.992), L. 2925bis; L. 12
RB Sheridan – door J: Hall. f12	90	JOHN HALL, <i>Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq.</i> , after Joshua Reynolds (RP-P-OB-18.700), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Het eigen geëtste Werk van R: Hills, der onderscheiden rassen van Vee in Engeland. 7 Delen gebonden in drie banden f288	91	ROBERT HILLS, <i>Etchings of Cattle, Comprising Rudiments of Drawing, and Groups for the Embellishment of Landscape, the Whole Executed from Nature</i> (7 parts in 3 volumes), London [1806] (23 A 43-45), L. 2228a
<b>REMBRANDT</b>		
N 96 H: Petrus f60	92	REMBRANDT, <i>St Peter in Penitence</i> (RP-P-OB-179)
125 De Klosbaan f24	93	REMBRANDT, <i>The Ringball Player ('het klosbaantje')</i> (RP-P-OB-215), L. 573
147 De Wijsgeer f36	94	REMBRANDT, <i>Old Man in Meditation, Leaning on a Book</i> (RP-P-OB-231), L. 573; L. 2925bis; L. 2165
271 R Anso f120	95	REMBRANDT, <i>Cornelis Claesz Anso, Preacher</i> (Sold in 1886)
21 Rembrandt met de Mezetijnsche Muts en geborduurde Mantel – Een Nieke Druk [f600] f400	96	REMBRANDT, <i>Self-Portrait Leaning on a Stone Sill</i> (RP-P-OB-37), L. 573; L. 2925bis; L.2165
107 H Franciscus [f180] f120	97	REMBRANDT, <i>St Francis, beneath a Tree Praying</i> (RP-P-OB-188), L. 573
De Nachtwacht naar Rembrandt door Claessens. – Tweemaal Eerste Ets en Proefdruk f60	98	LAMBERTUS ANTONIUS CLAESSENS, <i>Amsterdamsche Gewapende Burgery 1642 (The Night Watch)</i> , after Rembrandt van Rijn (RP-P-OB-67.589), L. 2925bis; L. 12 LAMBERTUS ANTONIUS CLAESSENS, <i>Amsterdamsche Gewapende Burgery 1642 (The Night Watch)</i> , after Rembrandt van Rijn (RP-P-OB-67.591), L. 2925bis; L. 12
Twee Stuks – De Verkondiging en aanbidding der Herders door Bolswert en Zaenredam f48	99	JAN SAENREDAM, <i>The Proclamation to the Shepherds</i> , after Abraham Bloemaert (RP-P-OB-10.524), L. 2925bis BOËTIUS ADAMZ BOLWERT, <i>Adoration of the Shepherds</i> , after Abraham Bloemaert (RP-P-BI-2371), L. 2925bis

W: van de Zande <i>f</i> 60	100	CORNELIS VISSCHER II, <i>Portrait of Willem van der Zande</i> , after Pieter Claesz Soutman (RP-P-OB-27.444), L. 573; L. 2925bis; L. 12
Verhellius Proefdruk [ <i>f</i> 36] <i>f</i> 25	101	JAN DE VISSCHER, <i>Portrait of Arnold Verhellius</i> (proof), after Pieter Schick (RP-P-OB-61.871), L.12
Den Admiraal Tromp [ <i>f</i> 36] <i>f</i> 18	102	LAMBERT VISSCHER, <i>Portrait of Lieutenant-Admiral Cornelis Tromp</i> (RP-P-OB-70.332)
[Den Admiraal] [J.] De Liefde door L. Visscher onafgem: Proefdr: [ <i>f</i> 120] <i>f</i> 100	103	LAMBERT VISSCHER, <i>Portrait of Lieutenant-Admiral Aert Jansz van Nes</i> (unfinished proof), after Bartholomeus van der Helst (RP-P-BI-1828x), L. 574; L. 12
Het Paard door Wouwerman [ <i>f</i> 600] <i>f</i> 480	104	NICOLAES FICKE, <i>Horse by a Tree</i> (RP-P-OB-50.652), L. 573; L. 2925bis; L. 12
Zes Stuks Paarden door Potter waaronder die met de korte Staart [ <i>f</i> 1200] <i>f</i> 1100	105	PAULUS POTTER, <i>The Docked Horse</i> (RP-P-OB-12.770), L. 573; L. 12 PAULUS POTTER, <i>A Frisian Horse Standing in a Landscape</i> (RP-P-OB-12.767), L. 573; L. 12 PAULUS POTTER, <i>The Dying Horse</i> (RP-P-OB-4636), L. 573; L. 12 <i>the rest not traced</i>
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Amb: Spinola naar Miereveld door Muller geretoucheerde en Unieke Proefdruk [ <i>f</i> 180] <i>f</i> 100	108	JAN HARMENSZ. MULLER, <i>Ambrois Spinola, Commander of the Spanies Armies in the Netherland</i> (proof), after Michiel Jansz. Van Mierevelt (RP-P-OB-32.176), L. 573; L. 12
Johan Maurits van Nassau ten voeten uit onafgem: Proefdr [ <i>f</i> 180] <i>f</i> 100	109	THEODOR MATHAM, <i>Portrait of John Maurice of Nassau-Siegen</i> (proof), after Frans Jansz Post (RP-P-OB-23.218), L. 573; L. 12
A.M. De Koker naar Terburg – Proefdruk [door Barij] <i>f</i> 12	110	HENDRIK BARY, <i>Young Woman with Cap</i> (proof), after Frans van Mieris or Gerard ter Borch II (RP-P-OB-26.510), L. 573; L. 2925bis
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