

**GODEFRIDUS SCHALCKEN (1643-1706):
DESIRE AND INTIMATE DISPLAY**

by

Nicole Elizabeth Cook

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

Summer 2016

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by

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ABSTRACT

Dutch seventeenth-century artist Godefridus Schalcken (1643-1706) was famed during his lifetime for his romanticized and evocative paintings of nighttime. My project situates his paintings and his persona in the framework of the late Dutch Golden Age, the history of nocturnal imagery, and the elegant style and sensual themes that appealed to viewers at the end of the seventeenth century. Schalcken flouted contemporary criticism that set darkness and beauty in opposition and instead invented a new graceful dark manner that continues to captivate beholders today. His extraordinary pursuit to become the leading artist of his day in the depiction of artificial light grew to be his defining artistic signature. Schalcken worked from circa 1670 to 1706, which coincided with the end of the Dutch Golden Age. In this era, the Dutch Republic suffered major economic and political setbacks that left artists in a state of flux. The only way to compete in the new market was to innovate, to strive to match one's peers while also distinguishing one's individual talent. Schalcken met this challenge by molding himself as a master of candlelight and a virtuoso of alluring nocturnal imagery. The figures in his paintings interact in late night flirtations and romantic liaisons, illuminated by the warmth of candlelight. His paintings beckon to the beholder with a subtle eroticism and they fulfill the early modern artistic goal to seduce the eyes of the spectator.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: GODEFRIDUS SCHALCKEN – DESIRE AND INTIMATE DISPLAY

1.1 Schalcken: Seductive Master of Candlelight

The sensuous and enchanting art of Godefridus Schalcken (1643-1706) is exemplified in *An Artist and a Young Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight* (fig. 1), from the mid-1680s. In a darkened studio, a young man, dressed in a robe and artist's beret, gestures toward a statuette of Venus, goddess of love. He holds a drawing of the sculpture, which he turns toward the young woman standing next to him. The two appear to be discussing the drawing's relationship to the sculpture. Perhaps they are talking about qualities of draftsmanship, or about the importance of classical art. At the same time, a captivating and romantic charge flashes between them. Venus sparks the painting's erotic energy, which is enhanced by the nighttime setting and the rapt expressions of the young couple. The artist seems to allude to Schalcken himself. It is as if the beholder, in the secluded hours of night, has gained access to a fantasy of the workshop where Schalcken's creativity and romance unfold.

Schalcken adopted nocturnal painting as his artistic specialty, while also expanding the format to explore the erotic and romantic underpinnings of the art of painting. Schalcken's imagery, while restrained, features people who pursue their sensual desires and display those desires, sometimes unwittingly, for the beholder. Schalcken

developed an eroticism rooted in intimacy and emotional passion, which he set in private domestic spaces. Due to the chiaroscuro lighting of Schalcken's paintings, the viewer must linger over them. One's eyes must adjust to the dark tones and limited highlights, as when staring into a dark room after being in the sunlight. The figures that occupy Schalcken's compositions are often in the process of beholding. In *An Artist and a Young Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight*, the figures' interaction with the artworks in their world echoes the viewer's interaction with the painting. Their sensual experience with art emphasizes the broader pleasure of looking. In his larger career, Schalcken returned repeatedly to themes of intimate displays of desire, often centered on eroticized acts of spectatorship. His painted worlds make use of secluded spaces and private moments to create a sense of entrancement and emotional closeness between the viewer and the object.

Schalcken developed a persona as a master of candlelight over the course of his lifetime, which culminated in his striking *Self-Portrait, by Candlelight, Holding a Print*, commissioned by Cosimo III de' Medici (1642-1723) in the mid 1690s (fig. 7).

Schalcken's public image as an exceptional creator of seductive, frequently nocturnal, images was an identity that drove his career and his artistic choices. Other seventeenth-century artists experimented with using artificial light to depict darkness, but Schalcken cultivated nocturnal painting it as his specialty as no one else had. He openly courted fame and success over the course of his career. While he painted a wide variety of subjects in both daytime and nighttime settings, his nocturnal paintings distinguished him from his peers. Artist, and biographer of artists, Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719) noted

that, “In particular, [Schalcken’s] candlelight-pieces made him famous, which he painted so naturally and powerfully that I do not know anyone who has been his equal.”¹ He crafted an elegant, gentlemanly, and seductive persona who aligned with the shadowy worlds of his paintings.

Darkness and beauty, two hallmarks of Schalcken’s paintings, were frequently set in opposition in the late-1600s. Artist and critic Gerard de Lairesse (1641-1711), published in 1710, argued that, while Rembrandt’s art was forceful and powerful, it was ultimately ruined by dark tones and dirty-looking colors. De Lairesse cautioned that “As a pure light causes objects to appear clean and beautiful, so it must needs be, that the more it is broken and sullied by darkness, the objects will also become darker and less beautiful: many great masters have, in this very particular, been much mistaken.”² Schalcken, however, succeeded in crafting a new elegant dark manner that did not sacrifice beauty but instead enhanced it. According to Houbraken, Schalcken “flattered and charmed the eyes [of the beholder]” by artfully using light and shadow to illuminate clothing and naked bodies in his paintings.³ Schalcken’s pursuit of a beautiful dark style of painting, moreover, represents a unique response to the increasing classicism present

¹ Houbraken, Arnold. *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, 3 vols. S’Gravenhage: J. Swart, C. Boucquet, and M. Gaillard, 1753, 2nd ed. (1st ed., Amsterdam, 1718-21), 176-77.

² Gerard de Lairesse, *Treatise on the Art of Painting, In All Its Branches; Accompanied by Seventy Engraved Plates, and Exemplified by Remarks on the Painting of the Best Masters, Illustrating the Subject by Reference to Their Beauties and Imperfections*, trans. W. M. Craig, vol. 1 (London: Edward Orme, 1817), 25.

³ “Ook deed hy dikwils zyne beelden door kaars en daglicht dagen, of ook wel een kleedje door de Zon bestralen, op dat het naakt door dien helderen weerglans des te aangenamer zig vertoonen zoude, 't geen hy zoo konstig wist na te bootsen, dat het elks oog en vleide en bekoorde.” Arnold Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, vol. 3 (S’Gravenhage: J. Swart, C. Boucquet, and M. Gaillard, 1753, 2nd ed.), 177.

in Dutch art of the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth centuries. Many artists in this period were combining Golden Age themes and subjects with refined classicist style. Schalcken, however, succeeded in using his ability to “draw beauty from the darkness of the shadows,” as one eighteenth-century print proclaimed, to form his own artistic individuality in the face of conformity and pastiche.

1.2 Schalcken’s Historical Situation: The Competitive Art Market of the Late Seventeenth Century Dutch Republic

When Schalcken began his career as a painter in the 1670s, the Dutch Republic was in the midst of political chaos. The year following the outbreak of the Franco-Dutch War, 1672, quickly became known in Holland as the *rampjaar* (year of disaster). France led England and the Bishopric of Munster in a large-scale attack on the Dutch Seven United Provinces and easily conquered parts of the Republic. Widespread political unrest followed. Dutch commerce ground to a halt, which caused the art market to wither.⁴ Some stability was restored when Prince of Orange William III (1650-1702) invaded England in 1688 and established himself as the King of England with Mary II (1662-94) as his queen. The Glorious Revolution, while glorious to William’s followers, added to the tensions between England and the Netherlands. In the Dutch Republic, the impact of the *rampjaar* permanently weakened the region’s political unity and started a downward trend in commerce, trade, arts, and culture that would continue throughout the eighteenth

⁴ Jonathan I. Israel. *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 796-806. See also 881-888.

century.⁵ In 1677, for instance, Johannes Vermeer's widow cited the war with France as a main reason for Vermeer's inability to sell his own paintings, as well as for his failure as an art dealer. England, meanwhile, rose in economic and political status as Holland declined.

Political upheaval and economic instability at the end of the seventeenth century forced Dutch painters to reconsider their specializations and career strategies. In response to the reduced market in the United Provinces, some Dutch artists moved to England or Italy, or sought out long-distance patrons in European courts where commissions were more stable.⁶ Others retired or changed professions. While the art market of Holland did not dry up completely after 1672, the number of artists, the variety of artistic genres, and the average prices of paintings all decreased.⁷ This volatility, though, also coincided with major new artistic trends and innovations. Earlier in the seventeenth century the combination of the increase in the demand for new paintings and the decrease of religious art brought new interest in a varied spectrum of artistic subjects, including portraiture, landscapes, and genre scenes.⁸ In the 1660s and 1670s, elegant genre scenes, sometimes called "highlife" paintings, grew increasingly popular among the aristocratic and wealthy classes. Elite art buyers were interested in stylish depictions of sophisticated people in

⁵ Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 796-806, 882.

⁶ See, for example, Sander Karst's recent study of Dutch artists in England. Sander Karst, "Off to a new Cockaigne: Dutch migrant artists in London, 1660-1715." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 37, no. 1 (2013): 25-60.

⁷ Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 883.

⁸ For this transition from mid to late seventeenth-century Dutch art, see "The Dutch Republic: 1672-1702," in Wayne Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting: Its Stylistic and Thematic Evolution*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, 2nd ed.), 217-222; and Junko Aono, *Confronting the Golden Age: imitation and innovation in Dutch genre painting, 1680-1750* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 19-25.

contemporary interiors. Artists, including Gerrit Dou (1613-1675) and Gerard ter Borch (1617-1681)—along with the next generation, Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675), Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635-81), Caspar Netscher (1639-84), and Eglon van der Neer (1635/36-1703)—responded with refined and jewel-like compositions. Schalcken was a key member of this reduced population of artists whose success depended on appealing to the urban elite and the courts of Europe.

These late seventeenth-century painters of affluent everyday life looked to one another’s paintings both for inspiration and in order to distinguish their specific visual personalities. The depiction of beautiful details through painstakingly careful brushwork was crucial to all. Schalcken’s teacher Gerrit Dou defined himself with a signature composition of a figure, or figures, looking out of a window used as a framing device.⁹ Meanwhile, Ter Borch developed his own trademark image of elegant young women in luxurious silks.¹⁰ Vermeer, one of the most inventive of the group, created a highly refined and yet abstracted style of painting that he used to craft meditative studies of light and color.¹¹ All of these genre specialists tended to depict attractive young people in of-the-moment fashions, engaged in contemporary pastimes, such as in *An Elegant Interior with Figures* (fig. 2) by Pieter de Hooch (1629–after 1684).

⁹ Ronni Baer, *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat, Washington, National Gallery of Art; London, Dulwich Picture Gallery; The Hague, The Mauritshuis, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

¹⁰ Alison McNeil Kettering, “Ter Borch’s Ladies in Satin.” *Art History* 16, no. 1 (March 1993): 95-124; Arthur K. Wheelock, ed., *Gerard ter Borch*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2004).

¹¹ Adriaan E. Waiboer, “Vermeer’s Impact on His Contemporaries.” *Oud Holland* 123, no. 1 (2010): 51-64.

In this contracted art market of extraordinarily talented genre painters, Schalcken crafted an idiosyncratic artistic identity through his use of nocturnal settings and artificial light. Artists of the late 1600s, such as Van Mieris the Elder, Netscher, Van der Neer, and Adriaen van der Werff (1659-1722), often dealt with romantic and titillating subject matter, which appealed to the tastes of wealthy art patrons.¹² These artists usually presented their erotic themes in genteel daytime settings, using bright palettes. For example, Van der Neer's *Elegant Couple in an Interior* (fig. 3) of 1678 adheres to the classical principles championed by art writers of the period.¹³ Van der Neer placed his elegant but static figures in a frieze-like architectural setting, filled with Greco-Roman columns and archways. This classicizing tendency was part of a larger trend toward gallantry, civilization, and decorum, which was partially a result of the Dutch Republic's increasing interaction with France.¹⁴ Schalcken focused on the same goal of refined elegance, but set himself apart through his pursuit of nighttime imagery and intimate displays of desire. Whereas the artwork of his peers became lighter, airier, and more erudite, however, his nocturnal paintings are cloaked in heavy shadow. Schalcken's new elegant and refined dark manner allowed him to define himself in contrast to his peers.

¹² For Netscher, see Marjorie E. Wieseman, *Caspar Netscher and Late Seventeenth-century Dutch Painting* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 2002), 64-69; for Van Mieris, see Eddy de Jongh, "Frans van Mieris: Questions of Understanding," in *Frans van Mieris 1635-1681*, ed. Quentin Buvelot, exh. cat., The Hague, Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis; Washington, National Gallery of Art (Zwolle, Waanders, 2005), 44-61.

¹³ Junko Aono, "Ennobling Daily Life: A Question of Refinement in Early Eighteenth Century Dutch Genre Painting," *Simiolus* 33, no. 4 (2007/2008): 237-257.

¹⁴ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, 220-21.

1.3 Schalcken's Art Historical Context: What Comes After the Golden Age?

Before the 2015-16 exhibition *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung* (*Schalcken: Painted Seduction*) at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, mainstream art historical studies have tended to neglect Schalcken or have relegated him to the status of one of the many followers of Gerrit Dou. Schalcken was better known in circles of private collectors and dealers throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, largely because museums were not interested in collecting his work. The late Golden Age as a whole was an understudied area in Dutch art history until recently. Most scholarship had used the deaths of Rembrandt in 1669 and Vermeer in 1675 as end points of the zenith of Dutch painting. The decrease in the quantity of new art during the late seventeenth century was viewed by many as a decline in quality as well. Artists working in this period were more likely to incorporate foreign artistic influences and their work has been seen as less “Dutch” than the masters of the earlier 1600s. Junko Aono, in her recent study of Dutch painting from 1680 to 1750, reveals that eighteenth century critics and collectors already looked back on the period from 1630 to 1670, the Dutch Golden Age, as an artistic moment superior to their own.¹⁵ Early eighteenth-century art collectors, who were almost exclusively of elite status, sought out seventeenth-century masters with established values.¹⁶ This was in contrast to the energetic taste for modern painting that characterized the art market of the Golden Age.

¹⁵ Junko Aono, *Confronting the Golden Age: Imitation and Innovation in Dutch Genre Painting, 1680-1750* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015).

¹⁶ Aono, *Confronting the Golden Age*, 19-26.

Schalcken's English and French influences and his idiosyncratic focus on candlelight caused his work to fall outside of the constructed narrative of Dutch seventeenth-century painting. His work is not painterly like that of Frans Hals (1582-1666) or Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669). Schalcken's paintings do not display the geometric illusionism of his teacher Samuel van Hoogstraten's (1627-1678), or the light-filled, ordered tranquility of Johannes Vermeer's. Schalcken was most closely associated with Dou and the Leiden *fijnschilders* (fine painters).¹⁷ Nevertheless, even the recently increased interest in Dou and fellow *fijnschilders* Frans van Mieris the Elder and Gabriel Metsu (1629-67) did not draw significant attention to Schalcken's work. Eddy de Jongh cited Schalcken in his seminal research into the iconography of Dutch art, into which Schalcken's complex allusions to Dutch emblematic, pictorial and literary traditions fit well.¹⁸ Schalcken had little place, however, in Svetlana Alpers' now-classic challenge to iconographic study, *The Art of Describing*.¹⁹ Schalcken's rarified subjects and his dedication to the depiction of artificial light made him more of an oddity than a focus of serious inquiry in art history. As one example, Benedict Nicolson described Schalcken as one of "a few eccentrics" who continued painting artificial light in the later seventeenth

¹⁷ See, for example, Eric Jan Sluijter, Marlies Enklaar, and Paul Nieuwenhuizen, *Leidse Fijnschilders: van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge 1630-1760* (Exh. cat., Leiden, Museum de Lakenhal) (Zwolle: Waanders, 1988).

¹⁸ See Eddy de Jongh, *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch 17th-Century Painting*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Leiden: Primavera pers, 2000), originally published as Eddy de Jongh, *Kwesties van Betekenis: thema en motief in de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 1995).

¹⁹ See Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

century, and whose paintings were primarily important as sources for English painter Joseph Wright of Derby (1734-97).²⁰

Peter Hecht, beginning in 1980, was one of the first art historians to discuss Schalcken's engagement in the seventeenth century's complex discourse about illusionism and artistic virtuosity. Schalcken's reputation had been damaged by some unreliable early biographies, especially one by Jacob Campo Weyerman (1677-1747), which portrayed him as a failed portraitist who had to resort to making what were derogatorily labeled "nightlights." Hecht challenged this view and pointed to the multifaceted meanings of artificial light in the early modern era.²¹ He also rooted Schalcken's artistic goals in Dou's studio and the dedication to illusionism in the circles of the Leiden *fijnschilders*.²² He analyzed, for the first time, Schalcken's participation in the *paragone* discussions that opposed painting with sculpture in a rhetorical battle over which was the superior art form. Schalcken frequently placed sculptures in his paintings, as both references to classical traditions of art and as subtle allusions to the arguments that painting surpasses sculpture (and indeed all art forms other than painting) in its ability to mimic nature (see figs. 1, 111, and 115). The element that makes Schalcken's

²⁰ Benedict Nicolson, *Caravaggism In Europe*, revised ed. (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1979), 27-28.

²¹ Peter Hecht, "Candlelight and Dirty Fingers, or Royal Virtue in Disguise: Some Thoughts on Weyerman and Godfried Schalcken," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 11, no. 1 (1980): 23-38.

²² Peter Hecht, "Art Beats Nature, and Painting Does so Best of All: The Paragone Competition in Duquesnoy, Dou and Schalcken," *Simiolus* 29, no. 3/4 (2002): 184-201. The term *fijnschilder* was originally used in the seventeenth century in order to separate studio painters from decorative house painters (*kaldschilders*). The term, among art historians, has come to mean the enamel-like finish of detailed cabinet paintings produced by Gerrit Dou and a related group of artists working in and around Leiden. See Marjorie E. Wieseman, *Caspar Netscher and Late Seventeenth-century Dutch Painting* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 2002), 59-60.

paintings unique is that he infused his depictions of nature at its most beautiful with overt sensuality and eroticism, as Eric Jan Sluijter and Wayne Franits have each argued.²³ French art historian Thierry Beherman wrote the only monograph on Schalcken, but died before it could be completed. Although it is an essential starting point for Schalcken's oeuvre, the book's posthumous publishing in 1988 led to inconsistencies and misinformation.²⁴

The 2015-16 exhibition *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung (Schalcken: Painted Seduction)* expanded scholarly research and generated a profusion of new insights about the artist and his work. In the exhibition catalogue, Anja Sevcik discusses the connections between the senses and synesthetic responses in Schalcken's paintings.²⁵ She also highlights Schalcken's potential sources in late seventeenth-century theater.²⁶ Wayne Franits has made several new discoveries about the period of the 1690s when Schalcken lived in England and cultivated important social relationships with English artists and patrons.²⁷ Franits' forthcoming book will be key to understanding how Schalcken established himself and his reputation in England. Guido Jansen has found new archival

²³ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, 245; Sluijter, "On Fijnschilders and 'Meaning,'" in *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2000), 275.

²⁴ The text was published by his surviving family members. Thierry Beherman, *Godfried Schalcken* (Paris: Maeght, 1988).

²⁵ Anja K. Sevcik, "Godefridus Schalcken – Aspekte eines (ver)führenden Malers," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, ed. by Anja K. Sevcik, exh. cat., Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum (Stuttgart: Belser, 2015), 50-71.

²⁶ Anja K. Sevcik, "Boozing, Feasting, Carousing: A Note on Schalcken's painting of Ceres and possible sources," unpublished conference paper, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 22 January 2016.

²⁷ Wayne Franits, "'A Very Famous Dutch Painter' – Schalcken in England, 1692-1696," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 36-49. Franits is currently writing a book about Schalcken and his time in England.

material pertaining to Schalcken's life, his family ties, and artistic commissions.²⁸ The exhibition and its accompanying academic conference also elicited exciting new inquiries into Schalcken and his work. Of particular interest, Eddy Schavemaker is currently investigating different methods for establishing a better chronology of Schalcken's oeuvre, including relationships with dated works by other painters and analysis of clothing and hairstyles.²⁹ This new scholarship has set the stage for a more nuanced and focused study of Schalcken's paintings and the development of his artistic persona. This dissertation seeks to situate Schalcken within his historical and artistic moment—the transition from the end of the Dutch Golden Age into the eighteenth century—while also highlighting his individuality. Schalcken's key choice to pursue the creation of a beautiful dark painting style marks him as an innovative figure in the aesthetic discourses of the era and represents a unique response to a challenging artistic climate.

1.4 Methodology: Nocturnal Painting, Beauty, Virtuosity, Intimacy, and Desire

This study analyzes how Schalcken crafted paintings that seduce the beholder through their portrayal of intimacy and desire. His pictures do not sidestep the voyeuristic thrill of art spectatorship, but instead celebrate it in all its tension. I argue that Schalcken's artwork had a lasting impact on the rise of nocturnal culture and the growing interest in sensual pleasure. His self-image is crucial. Schalcken created a diverse body of

²⁸ Guido M.C. Jansen, "Ein Künstlerleben und seine Zeit," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 14-35.

²⁹ Eddy Schavemaker, "What's in a Date? Some Thoughts on the Challenge of Establishing a Chronology for Schalcken's Œuvre," unpublished conference paper, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 22 January 2016.

work in a variety of genres and styles. He is nevertheless remembered as a seductive master of candlelight because of his successful self-fashioning. This ultimately culminated in Schalcken's revival as a Byronic figure in nineteenth-century Gothic romance, a revision that fulfilled his persona as a seductive virtuoso of nocturnal painting.

This project argues that Schalcken's nocturnal paintings and his self-portrayal as a master of artificial light were critical for his career as a whole. I connect Schalcken's imagery to cultural and literary studies of the nighttime in early modern Europe.³⁰ His use of nocturnal imagery relates to seventeenth-century discussions of art and its connection to beauty, virtuosity, and eliciting desire in the beholder. Schalcken represents an example of the push to refine the depiction of daily contemporary life into idealized representations of beauty. De Lairese, in his *Het Groot Schilderboeck* published in 1710, stressed the supreme importance of beauty for all painters and he saw it as especially necessary for painters of modern life. In discussing "modern" painters, De Lairese lauded those who maintained a classical beauty and noble elegance in their art. He reserved special praise for Dou, Van Mieris, and other highlife painters, who followed the "elegant modern" manner. For De Lairese, these paintings of elegant modern life should, moreover, achieve the same moral weight as great history paintings. Meanwhile, he criticized the "mis-shapen" faces and low-life subjects of other "modern" painters such as

³⁰ A. Roger Ekirch, *Day's Close: Night in Times Past* (New York: Norton and Company, 2006, 2nd ed.); Craig Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire: A History of Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Van Ostade, and Brouwer.³¹ Schalcken's focus on luxurious domestic settings and idealized figures must be considered in relation to this search for elegance discussed by De Lairese and others period art critics.

Schalcken's stylized figures, particularly his female figures, also connect to the increasing move toward ennoblement in the depiction of daily life discussed by Junko Aono in her work from the 2010s.³² This ennobling process was overtly gendered. Female bodies, specifically, became more stylized as the seventeenth century ended and the eighteenth century began. De Lairese's writings underscore the link between the depiction of female beauty and the period goal of art to provide pleasure for the beholder. De Lairese, after his mention of Dou and Van Mieris, describes an example of what he sees as an appropriate subject for a modern, "city-like" painter: a family bathing together. He writes that the virginal eldest daughter should appear in a transparent cloth that shows her "beautiful and shapeable" body, while her expression should be a bashful look that communicates her modesty.³³ The daughter, moreover, "ought principally to be painted as beautiful and agreeable as a Grecian Venus; I mean, not a wanton one, but a heavenly one, i.e. a virtuous one."³⁴ De Lairese's discussion, which contrasts nobleness with vulgarity and beauty with defect, demonstrates the period view that "good" art should be beautiful, elite, and appealing to educated male spectators. Schalcken situated himself and his art within this culture. His focus on intimacy and desire fulfills these gendered

³¹ De Lairese, *Treatise on the Art of Painting*, vol. 1, 114.

³² Aono, "Ennobling Daily Life," in *Confronting The Golden Age*, especially 98-103.

³³ De Lairese, *Treatise on the Art of Painting*, vol. 1, 115.

³⁴ De Lairese, *Treatise on the Art of Painting*, vol. 1, 115.

and class-conscious period guidelines of beauty, while also allowing room for individual emotional responses to these alluring images.

De Laire's discussions of beauty are overtly gendered, which emphasizes the complex connections between gender and spectatorship in the reception of early modern Dutch paintings. De Laire's guidelines updated earlier seventeenth-century discussions about the role of art to seduce the eyes of the beholder in a classicizing context. Eric Jan Sluiter has argued that the paintings of Dou and other *fijnschilders* offer a conflation between their depiction of beautiful women and the paintings' own beautiful surfaces, oriented toward a masculine viewer. In Dou's *A Young Woman at Her Toilet* (fig. 4), for instance, Sluiter has argued that the woman's reflection in the mirror echoes the status of the painting as a reflection of beauty itself.³⁵ Much scholarship has focused on the male gaze in Dutch genre paintings in particular. This is partially because of genre paintings' frequent focus on the allure of beautiful women on one hand and the moral dangers on the other, including as symbols of vanity and as sexual temptresses of men. Schalcken's many depictions of alluring women and of romances between men and women places his paintings within this context. However, Schalcken's paintings, along those of his teachers Van Hoogstraten and Dou, depict nuanced and intimate representations of beauty and romance that move beyond a solely male experience. In Dou's *A Young Woman at Her Toilet*, the focus is the process of adornment of the young

³⁵ See Eric Jan Sluiter, "In Praise of the Art of Painting: One Paintings by Gerrit Dou and a Treatise by Philips Angel of 1642," in *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2000), 199-213; and Joanna Woodall, "Love is in the Air – Amor as motivation and message in seventeenth-century Netherlandish painting," *Art History* 19, no. 2 (June 1996): 208-246.

woman by another woman, her maid, and her enjoyment of her own image in the mirror. In Schalcken's *Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman* (fig. 5), as another example, the focus on mutual enjoyment by the man and woman gives a very different effect than in many of the Dutch bordello scenes (see fig. 6). The erotics of looking at early modern Netherlandish art, as Angela Vanhaelen and Bronwen Wilson discuss it, involves many multivalent aspects, but revolves around an artwork's ability to elicit and satisfy desire on the part of the beholder.³⁶ Schalcken's paintings attract the viewer's desiring eyes and offer uniquely intimate forms of visual pleasure.

In questioning the traditional art historical interpretations of gendered viewing in Dutch seventeenth-century painting, I also consider Schalcken's scenes of romance and desire in the context of more modern theories of the gendered process of viewing. In particular, the lens of Laura Mulvey's pivotal work on cinema, though anachronistic, provides insight into the erotic pleasure of voyeurism on display in Schalcken's paintings.³⁷ According to Mulvey, the beauty of the simulated woman both contributes to the enjoyment of the image and yet also interrupts the narrative, becoming a form of pure visual spectacle.³⁸ For Mulvey, darkness is a key component of cinematic viewing. The circumstance of sitting in a dark theater staring at characters who do not acknowledge the viewer provides "an illusion of looking in on a private world."³⁹ In projected cinema, the intense contrast between the dark viewing space and the brilliant moving patterns of light

³⁶ Vanhaelen and Wilson, *The Erotics of Looking*, 13.

³⁷ Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," [originally published in *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1975): 6-18], in *Feminism and Film Theory*, ed. Constance Penley (New York: Routledge, 1988), 57-68.

³⁸ Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure..." 62-65.

³⁹ Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure..." 60.

and shadow on the screen further promote “the illusion of voyeuristic separation.”⁴⁰ As Chapter 3 discusses, in the case of Schalcken and the viewing circumstances of seventeenth-century paintings, nocturnal settings operate with a related element of pleasing isolation and voyeuristic looking. Films, as Mulvey discusses them, rely on a darkened cinema space to contrast with the brightness of the projected image.

Schalcken’s nocturnal paintings were probably largely viewed in by daylight or by bright artificial light. The process is thus reversed. Viewing one of Schalcken’s nighttime images, however, still necessitates a process of dislocation and adjustment. By slowly drawing the spectator into its nocturnal atmosphere, the painting takes him or her out of his or her own time and space and into the time and space of the painted image. This process is, moreover, inherently seductive. Schalcken’s nighttime paintings convince viewers that they are privileged eavesdroppers of the private erotic interactions in display.

Schalcken’s paintings sometimes present expanded opportunities for female viewership because of his focus on shared desire and pleasure. I also emphasize, however, the gap between his idealized romantic or erotic encounters and everyday life in the era. Schalcken’s fantasies of love and seduction reveal the tensions inherent in early modern sexual codes. Women are hesitant or teasing, yet ultimately sympathetic, to their male suitors. Men labor to persuade women with gifts or money, which calls attention to the central but conflicted role of economic exchange and sexuality, for example in *A Man*

⁴⁰ Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure...” 60.

Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman (fig. 5).⁴¹ Women are objects of affection for both the male figures within the scenes and the presumed male spectators of the finished paintings. Schalcken's paintings nonetheless function as sources of pleasure themselves, regardless of the viewer's gender. His expansion of *fijnschilder* painting to focus more directly on sensual pleasure and the voyeuristic gaze reveals the shifting interests and desires of both artists and spectators as the seventeenth century ended and the eighteenth century began. In a painting like *An Artist and a Young Woman Looking at a Statuette By Lamplight*, the characters take mutual pleasure in both one another and in art and thus suggest a provocative new understanding of spectatorship and romantic relationships in the early modern era. Schalcken's paintings not only seduce the viewer, but demonstrate alternate modes of viewing that are deeply personal, intimate, and transformative.

1.5 Chapter Outline

1.5.1 Chapter 2. Becoming a Master of Candlelight: Schalcken's Life, Oeuvre and Early Reception

Chapter 2 provides an overview of Schalcken's life and the major themes of his artistic career. It introduces his large oeuvre of over two hundred paintings and his

⁴¹ See Lotte van de Pol, *The Burgher and the Whore*, trans. Liz Waters (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); and for a related study of England, Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

changes in style from the 1670s to the early 1700s.⁴² Schalcken's artistic training, first with Samuel van Hoogstraten in Dordrecht, and then with Gerrit Dou in Leiden, was crucial for his development as a master of candlelight.⁴³ While Schalcken began by following the fine painting of his teachers, he swiftly crafted his own unique adaptations. This chapter also analyzes three of the earliest literary accounts of Schalcken, those of Arnold Houbraken, Englishman George Virtue (1684-1756), and Belgian Jacob Campo Weyerman (1677-1747). These early biographies accentuate Schalcken's crafting of nocturnal paintings and his use of light and shadow to enhance the sensually attractive bodies of the figures in his paintings. Houbraken, Virtue, and Weyerman each focus on different components of Schalcken's persona and his art. When considered together, they provide insight into how Schalcken constructed his identity as a playful, rakish, and seductive master of candlelight.

1.5.2 Chapter 3. Schalcken's Early Genre Paintings: Eros, Intimacy, Emotion And The Night

Even before Schalcken honed his signature alluring night-pieces, he developed a seductive mode of genre painting. Chapter 3 focuses on the distinctive materiality and stylistic features of Schalcken's genre paintings of both day and night scenes. I argue that from his earliest paintings, Schalcken cultivated beautiful illusions of idealized erotic

⁴² Eddy Schavemaker has recently suggested as many as three hundred paintings. Schavemaker, "What's in a Date?..." 2016.

⁴³ Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*, vol. 3, 176.

experiences that appealed to period audiences. Schalcken's genre scenes present ambiguous and suggestive narratives that focus on both emotional and physical pleasure. Second, the paintings draw attention to themselves as objects. Most of them are easily picked up and held, thus enabling an intimate, sensual experience of beholding. Infused in the majority of his paintings are links between the art object and the voyeuristic impulse.

By the time that Schalcken emerged as a young artist in the 1670s, the idea that the aim of painting was to seduce the eye of the beholder had become deeply entrenched in the minds of artists.⁴⁴ Van Hoogstraten asserted in his 1678 treatise on painting that the painter "should not only appear to be in love with art, but indeed is in love with depicting the beauties of graceful nature."⁴⁵ Even the Dutch term for an art connoisseur, a *liefhebber*, meaning someone who holds love for art, hints at this eroticized relationship between beholders and art objects. Schalcken's dazzling treatments of artificial light further enhanced the seductive and intimate quality of his artwork. Schalcken gradually developed an all-encompassing nocturnal world, one able to contain allegorical allusions to artistic inspiration, erotic pleasure, and dreamlike personal devotion. When comparing the compositionally similar *A Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman* by Schalcken with *The Procuress* of 1625 (fig. 6) by Honthorst, the viewer can clearly see Schalcken's unique use of artificial light. Schalcken was probably aware of the

⁴⁴ See Eric Jan Sluijter, "In Praise of the Art of Painting: One Paintings by Gerrit Dou and a Treatise by Philips Angel of 1642," in *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2000), 199-213; and Joanna Woodall, "Love is in the Air – Amor as motivation and message in seventeenth-century Netherlandish painting," *Art History* 19, no. 2 (June 1996): 208-246.

⁴⁵ Sluijter, "In Praise of the Art of Painting," 213.

Caravaggist precedents of titillating nocturnal scenes of taverns and brothels. Van Honthorst's painting introduces his brothel scene overtly, with an elderly procuress clarifying the scene's meaning. In contrast, Schalcken's much smaller painting gains its desirability from its intimate scale and from the ambiguity of the couple's relationship, which seems reciprocal and emotionally engaged.

1.5.3 Chapter 4. Schalcken Plays Himself: Sensual Self-Portraits, Pygmalion, And The Erotic Fantasy Of The Artist's Studio

From his earliest imagery, Schalcken positioned himself as the seductive prodigal whose persona was an integral component of his viewers' enjoyment. Chapter 4 analyzes Schalcken's early self-portraits and his mid-career genre representations of artists in their studios. Over the course of three decades, Schalcken constructed of a visual theory of the romanticized nocturnal studio. *An Artist and a Young Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight* synthesizes Schalcken's visual treatment of night as a dual time of eroticism and artistic inspiration. Schalcken's depictions of artists have informed the reception of his genre paintings as a whole. Schalcken's alignment with Pygmalion, as a romanticized artist in a nocturnal studio, serves as a direct precursor to the Romantic representations of the narrative. Along with other classical exemplars of romanticized artists, including Apelles, Pausias and Praxiteles, Pygmalion presented both the virtuosity and the erotic power of classical art – an alluring combination for Dutch classicizing artists as a whole and for Schalcken in particular. Schalcken was deeply involved in the period's good-natured *paragone* debates about the values of painting versus sculpture and his citing of

classical sculpture played a significant role in his career. Pygmalion, moreover, was uniquely suited as an exemplar for nocturnal creation, as he furtively interacted with his sculpture at night. The concept of night and the practice of nocturnal viewing are bound together in the triad of desire, idealized artistic beauty, and erotic potential.

1.5.4 Chapter 5: Schalcken's Late Career: Nocturnal Experience, Portraiture, Spirituality, and the Last Genre Scenes

Chapter 5 explores how Schalcken refined his persona as a sensual master of candlelight in the last two decades of his career, from the early 1690s until his death in 1706. Schalcken expanded his artistic campaign when he moved to England in about 1692, where he remained until 1696. During the 1690s, the culmination of his career, he gained patrons in England, Italy, Germany, and Sweden. While Schalcken spent this period pursuing an elite clientele, he continued to promote himself as a master of candlelight. In three major self-portraits of the mid-1690s, Schalcken crafted his persona as a candlelight virtuoso and laid the groundwork for the reception of his nocturnal paintings as his lasting artistic achievement. By this period, his style had changed completely from his delicate *fijnschilder* beginnings to larger formats and figures that are more robust and yet also more elegant. In his self-portraits, his religious paintings, and his late genre scenes, Schalcken captured the growing allure of night as a time for personal reflection and transformative experience.

1.5.5 Chapter 6. Schalcken in Print: Self-Promotion, Adaptation, and the Sensuality of the Page

Chapter 6 considers the afterlife of Schalcken's art in the print culture of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His nocturnal studios and emphasis on nocturnal viewing were disseminated via reproductive prints made after his paintings. It looks at While Schalcken himself made only a small number of etchings as a student, he seized on the new mezzotint printmaking technique as the ideal reproductive compliment to his nocturnal paintings. He cannily sought out mezzotint printers to make copies after his painted compositions. The velvety tonality of the mezzotint paired perfectly with Schalcken's exploration of artificial light, and the medium's limited reproducibility attracted elite collectors. In Schalcken's important commission for Cosimo III de' Medici, *Self-Portrait, Holding a Print by Candlelight* (fig. 7), the artist holds a mezzotint of one of his paintings reproduced by John Smith (1652-1743). In the painting he presented himself as both artist and beholder, providing a model of nocturnal viewing that his audiences could emulate. After Schalcken's death in 1706, printmakers continued to reproduce his paintings as prints. These later prints often amplified the sexuality of his imagery. Although the prints after Schalcken's paintings became further divorced from Schalcken's subtlety and delicacy over the course of the eighteenth century, even though the printers continued to profit from his name and reputation. The name "Schalcken" became a symbol of romantic nocturnal imagery as a whole.

1.6 Schalcken's Elegant Dark Manner

Schalcken's choice to promote himself as a seductive master of candlelight represents a distinctive response to the driven and inventive world of the late seventeenth-century. A comparison of *Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman* (fig. 5) from the late 1660s with *Man Exchanging a Ring with a Woman* from the 1690s (fig. 52) demonstrates a dramatic shift in the treatment of the body and the depiction of space, despite the closely related subject matter of a couple interacting with luxury objects, in the dark. And yet, each painting reflects Schalcken's visual style. Recent scholarship has explored the importance of artistic individuality and personal style in the early modern Netherlands. This pursuit of individuality was, however, often paradoxical. Sometimes it involved besting one's peers at their own game. For instance, when Gabriel Metsu aped Johannes Vermeer's style, he was both competing with Vermeer and distinguishing himself from Vermeer.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, Christopher Atkins identifies in the lively brushwork of Frans Hals, a self-conscious "signature style."⁴⁷ The aim of this study is to explore how Schalcken developed his persona as master of candlelight in his pursuit of a romanticized and graceful dark manner of painting that took him from the beginning to the end of his career. The central role that Schalcken gave to the refined and elegant treatment of light, shadow, and color placed him in the tradition of traditions of Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck. Schalcken equally looked to the *fijschilder*

⁴⁶ Waiboer, "Vermeer's Impact on His Contemporaries." 51-64.

⁴⁷ Christopher D. M. Atkins, *The Signature Style of Frans Hals: Painting, Subjectivity, and the Market in Early Modernity* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012).

painters for his exploration of intimate scale and narrative. Finally, the classicist critiques of the darkness in Rembrandt's paintings provided an inverse challenge for Schalcken. Schalcken, through his focus on idealized beauty, cultivated an elegant and beautiful dark manner of painting that addressed the criticism launched at Rembrandt and his followers. Schalcken's paintings thus emerge as key examples from the late seventeenth century discourses that called for paintings to present beauty, allure, and dramatic emotional power.

Chapter 2

BECOMING A MASTER OF CANDLELIGHT: SCHALCKEN'S LIFE, OEUVRE AND EARLY RECEPTION

2.1 Becoming a Master of Candlelight

Schalcken spent his career carefully and methodically crafting a persona as an elegant 'master of candlelight,' to such a degree that nocturnal pictures became key to his artistic reception and reputation. The inscription to a reproductive print after one of his distinctive nocturnal self-portraits credits Schalcken with the ability to "draw forth beauty from the darkness of the shadows" (*Decus obscurus sumpsit ab umbris*) (fig. 9). Created shortly after Schalcken's self-portrait of 1694, the print and its caption demonstrate the success of his self-promotion.⁴⁸ By the end of his career, he was thoroughly identified with both idealized beauty and with the atmospheric effects of nocturnal painting.⁴⁹ Early on, in his painting *Lady, Come into the Garden* (fig. 98), Schalcken marketed himself as a rakish young artist, following the traditions of Dutch artists representing themselves as prodigal son archetypes. Schalcken later discarded this self-image in favor of a persona as a graceful seductive artist of a refined new dark manner of painting.

⁴⁸ For the print by Pieter Schenk, see Karel Gerard Boon and George Shepard Keyes, *Pieter Schenk (Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, circa 1400-1700, vol 25)*, (Amsterdam: Van Gendt & Co., 1981), 230, cat.nr. 870.

⁴⁹ Hecht, "Candlelight and Dirty Fingers," 31-32.

Schalcken's biographical details are important because his personal life informed many of his artistic choices and interests. He received an education in Latin, which would lead him to erudite artistic subjects and literary allusions. Dordrecht, where Schalcken grew up, was a culture of artistic competition and experimentation. The artistic community of Dordrecht was exemplified in the busy studio of Schalcken's first teacher, Samuel van Hoogstraten. From Van Hoogstraten, Schalcken gained an interest in artistic innovation and in themes of spectatorship and pleasure. When he next studied with Gerrit Dou, he was introduced to the *fijnschilder* arena of Leiden, another center of synergetic artistic rivalry. Schalcken's earliest paintings, which date to the 1660s and 1670s, follow the popular style of Dou in their minute detail and iconographic allusions. In the 1680s, though, Schalcken began to move away from small-scale, delicate *fijnschilder* pictures. By the 1690s he had developed a uniquely alluring style of depicting beautiful figures in romantic and erotic narrative scenes. Schalcken's use of artificial light enhances the captivating quality of his paintings and adds symbolic allusions to night as a time for romance and lovemaking.

The final section of this chapter is an examination of the accounts of Schalcken by Houbraken, Virtue, and Weyerman. Houbraken's and Weyerman's writings about Schalcken take the form of traditional artist's biographies of the period, and they each consider Schalcken's origins, his career, and several individual paintings. Virtue's description, on the other hand, is an entry from his diary, which would only be published much later by Horace Walpole (in a distinctly modified form). The three accounts, when considered in relation to one another, reveal how each author responded to different

components of Schalcken's art and helped to shape his persona. For Houbraken and Virtue, he was a gentleman artist and an impressive painter of light and shadow. For Weyerman, in contrast, Schalcken is transformed into a failure and an irreverent prodigal figure. Each perspective, however, can be rooted in Schalcken's art and his self-representation as master of candlelight.

2.2 Schalcken's Life

The details of Schalcken's life come to light through archival records and public notices. These references, collectively, trace his personal and professional movements from his early years in Dordrecht to his international travels in the 1690s and 1700s. His pictures were famous enough to gain attention from the beginning of his career. He also controlled the export of his paintings and monitored the reproductive prints made after his compositions in Paris and Amsterdam. The documented facts of Schalcken's biography contain none of the colorful details of the more literary portrayals considered at the end of this chapter. Instead, the documentary evidence suggests that he presented himself in his everyday life as a discerning and practical gentleman artist, dedicated to his family and to his professional success. This contrast between Schalcken the person and Schalcken the artistic character calls for a more thorough reassessment of the role that he had in creating his mythic persona and communicating it through his paintings.

Schalcken was born in Made, a small town between Dordrecht and Breda. He grew up in a learned, pious family of pastors and local officials. According to Houbraken,

he was born in 1643, though no baptismal records are known.⁵⁰ Godefridus, or Godfried, was the third child of Cornelis Schalcken (1610-74) and Aletta Lydius (1612-78). Cornelis Schalcken was pastor of the parish in Made at the time of Godefridus's birth.⁵¹ Aletta Lydius was the daughter of Balthasar Lydius, also a pastor, and his second wife, Anna van der Mijle.⁵² Cornelis and Aletta, who settled in Made, had eight children who reached adulthood: Balthasar, Anna, Godefridus, Maria, Cornelis, Aletta, Barbara, and Johannes. Godefridus's brother Balthasar was a pastor in Pernis, a small town near Rotterdam, in 1669 and later worked in The Hague. His brother Johannes also became a pastor and worked first in Sprang, near Waalwijk in 1670, then in Katendrecht in 1679, and finally in Charlois, near Rotterdam. Cornelis (the son) was a bailiff and steward of Cromsteijn, a small town on the right bank of Hollands Diep. Godefridus Schalcken's sister Aletta married and had children with a man named Willem Verschoor. At some point in her early life, Godefridus' younger sister Maria studied art with him and had a short career as a painter.⁵³ Cornelis Schalcken was appointed rector of the Latin school in Dordrecht on September 30, 1654. Cornelis gave his own children, including Godefridus, a Latin education at home.

⁵⁰ Jansen, "Ein Künstlerleben und seine Zeit," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 15. Beherman, 23.

⁵¹ Cornelis Schalcken was born in Heusden and studied theology in Leiden, where he graduated on January 31, 1631. Jansen, "Ein Künstlerleben und seine Zeit," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 15.

⁵² Balthasar's first wife was also named Aletta, Aletta Jacobsdr. De Witt (1581-1607). Their son together, Martinus Lydius, was a minister in Heusden while Cornelis Schalcken was working as a young pastor in a nearby area. Aletta Lydius kept her unmarried half-brother's house, which is probably how she and Cornelis met. Aletta and Cornelis married on March 11, 1636 in Heusden. Jansen, "Ein Künstlerleben und seine Zeit," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 15. See also Beherman, *Schalcken*, 23.

⁵³ Beherman, 24.

When Godefridus was thirteen, around 1656, he began studying with local Dordrecht master painter Samuel van Hoogstraten, with whom he likely studied until the early 1660s.⁵⁴ Three etchings, though crude, seem to record Schalcken's early artistic training with Houbraken.⁵⁵ Schalcken copied the etchings after Van Hoogstraten's paintings, which depict prominent Dordrecht citizens Cornelis van Beveren (fig. 10), Mattheus van den Brouck (fig. 11), and S. Blyenburg (fig. 12).⁵⁶ Schalcken was probably in Van Hoogstraten's studio at the same time as painters Aert de Gelder (1645-1727) and Cornelis van der Meulen (1642-91). Van Hoogstraten was an obvious choice for Godefridus's artistic training because of his respected position in Dordrecht. He had, in addition, illustrated several written works by Godefridus's uncle, the pastor and popular author James Lydius.⁵⁷ Van Hoogstraten left Dordrecht in 1662 for London to begin his own international campaign, and thus Schalcken would have left the workshop around that year.

According to Houbraken, Schalcken next studied in the workshop of Gerrit Dou.⁵⁸ At some point during his time in Dou's studio, Schalcken produced an etched portrait of Dou, inscribed *Praeceptorem suum Delineavit G. Schalcken* ("G. Schalcken drew his master") (fig. 13). The etching, with its subtle modeling of light and shadow and delicate treatment of Dou's thoughtful face and furrowed brow, demonstrates Schalcken's rapid

⁵⁴ Beherman misquotes Houbraken as stating that Schalcken studied with Hoogstraten from 1656 until 1662. Beherman, however, takes this date range not from Houbraken but from G. H. Veth, who writes that Schalcken "must" have been a pupil of Hoogstraten during those years.

⁵⁵ Beherman, 24.

⁵⁶ Beherman, 24.

⁵⁷ Jansen, "Ein Künstlerleben und seine Zeit," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 16.

⁵⁸ Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*, vol. 3, 176.

advancement in these early years of his training. If Schalcken remained with Hoogstraten until 1662, then he probably entered Dou's studio in that year. Because Schalcken was about nineteen by this time, he would have functioned as one of Dou's studio assistants rather than as one of the younger students. Van Hoogstraten regularly sent his students to another master painter to further develop their skills and he probably facilitated Schalcken's move to Dou's studio.⁵⁹ In fact, De Gelder, Schalcken's fellow student in Van Hoogstraten's studio, left for Rembrandt's around the same time, circa 1661-63. Schalcken probably exited Dou's studio in the mid-1660s and is regularly listed in the Dordrecht city archives by 1672.⁶⁰

By the early 1670s, Schalcken had an active studio in Dordrecht and was taking in his own students, including Anthony Vreem (circa 1660-1681) and Simon Germain (1656-circa 1719).⁶¹ When Nicolaes Maes, whose portraits were very popular, left Dordrecht for Amsterdam in 1673, Schalcken seized the opportunity to take over as the primary portraitist of the city. In the late 1670s, Schalcken portrayed several of Dordrecht's most prominent families, including the Ruysches, the De Witts, and the De la Courts.

This is probably also the period when Godefridus Schalcken taught his sister Maria (1647/50–d. after 1684) how to paint. Maria produced only a small number of

⁵⁹ See the discussions of Van Hoogstraten sending his students to Rembrandt in David A. De Witt, Leonore van Sloten, and Jaap van der Veen. *Rembrandt's Late Pupils: Studying Under a Genius*, exh. cat., Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis (Houten: Terra, 2015).

⁶⁰ Jansen, "Ein Künstlerleben und seine Zeit," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 16; Veth, "Aanteekeningen Omtrent Eenige Dordrechtsche Schilders," 2; Beherman, *Schalcken*, 25.

⁶¹ No work by Germain is known. One painting by Vreem is in the Dordrechts Museum. Jansen, "Ein Künstlerleben und seine Zeit," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 16-17.

paintings. Significantly, one of her surviving pictures depicts her engaged in the art of painting, sitting at an easel, *Self-Portrait at Work in Her Studio* (fig. 14). This painting was originally attributed to Godefridus, but it aligns closely in style with the few other known paintings attributed to her, particularly the bright colors and shiny surfaces.⁶² Much research remains to be done on Maria and her painting career. Of particular interest in her self-portrait is the fact that she is painting a landscape. As H. Perry Chapman has recently suggested, virtually no examples of landscape paintings by women artists exist from this period.⁶³ This is conjectural, but it is possible that Godefridus, not especially interested in landscapes himself, recognized his sister's talent for them and helped her cultivate her skill.

On October 31, 1679, Schalcken married Françoisia van Diemen, who came from Breda.⁶⁴ She was nineteen and he was thirty-six. Around the time of their marriage, Schalcken painted the pendant portraits of Françoisia and himself that are now in the Lichtenstein palace (figs. 15 and 16). The pendants, which include references to love and fidelity, present the young couple as elegant members of the Dordrecht elite. Françoisia was the only child of Cornelia Beens and Christoffel van Diemen. Godefridus and Françoisia had at least ten children over the course of their marriage, but only one child, a daughter also named Françoisia, would outlive them.⁶⁵ When Godefridus and Françoisia

⁶² See Guido Jansen, "Selbstporträt vor Staffelei, um 1680," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 116-18.

⁶³ H. Perry Chapman, personal communication, February 2016.

⁶⁴ The local Reformed congregation in Dordrecht publicly announced their wedding on October 15. Veth, "Aanteekeningen Omtrent Eenige Dordrechtsche Schilders," 2; and Beherman, 25.

⁶⁵ Veth, "Aanteekeningen Omtrent Eenige Dordrechtsche Schilders," 2; and Beherman, 25.

first married, they lived *op den Boom* (“on Tree Street”) in Dordrecht. Sometime between 1682 and 1686 they moved to Wijnstraat opposite Schrijvestraat (*het 12de huis voorbij de Nieuwbrug*).⁶⁶ The prestigious Wijnstraat, named for the thriving wine import/export business in Dordrecht, was also home to De Gelder and to landscapist Aelbert Cuyp (1620-91).⁶⁷

Schalcken produced paintings for many of his neighbors in Dordrecht and the city’s archives record his everyday interactions in the city. For instance, he knew Abraham Heijblom, the owner of an apothecary shop, who also owned one of the largest collections of paintings in Dordrecht—120 paintings at the time of his death in 1685. Apothecaries regularly sold pigments to artists and Schalcken’s name is listed in Heijblom’s accounting registers, along with the names of other artists.⁶⁸ Abraham Sam, another Dordrecht art collector who also lived on Wijnstraat, displayed three portraits by Schalcken in “the best room,” the front room of his house.⁶⁹ In addition to his large portraiture practice, in the 1680s Schalcken painted mythological and historical scenes. He also expanded his interests in artificial light during this decade.

Schalcken’s success depended on sales both in and outside of Dordrecht. On February 20, 1691, the *Haagsche Schildersboeken (Book of Painters in The Hague)* notes

⁶⁶ Veth, “Aanteekeningen Omtrent Eenige Dordrechtsche Schilders,” 2; and Beherman, 25.

⁶⁷ John Loughman and John Michael Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), 76-77. On Cuyp, see Walter A. Liedtke, *Dutch Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 1 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 136-37.

⁶⁸ John Loughman and John Michael Montias. *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), 91.

⁶⁹ The portraits are listed in the inventory drawn up after Sam’s death in 1692, along with other portraits, landscapes, and genre paintings. Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*, 99-101.

that Schalcken paid Mr. Doedijns eighteen florins for the right to exercise the art of painting. This indicates that while Schalcken lived in Dordrecht, he sold paintings in The Hague, where the local painters' guild required him to pay for the privilege.⁷⁰ By 1691, Schalcken was also exporting paintings and associated prints to Paris through engraver and art dealer Johan van der Brugge.⁷¹ One certificate from 1691 details his arrangement with another dealer, Anthony Baly, in The Hague, after Van der Brugge owed him money. In this document, he authorized: "the lettersetter Anthony Baly, in The Hague, to buy under his [Schalcken's] name all plates, prints, and drawings and all other [things] that Jan van Brugge, art dealer in Amsterdam might be selling there, to recoup in such a manner a sum of money [somme van penningen]..."⁷² Such documents reveal the everyday workings of the local art world and Schalcken's robust connection to the larger art market of the Netherlands and France. This particular document also shows how elite painters like Schalcken and her peers could demand a certain amount of power in their relationships with dealers.

In 1692, Schalcken moved to London, the next step in expanding his international career. A proclamation book for the local municipality of Dordrecht refers to Schalcken

⁷⁰ Veth, "Aanteekeningen Omtrent Eenige Dordrechtsche Schilders," 3; and Beherman, *Schalcken*, 25.

⁷¹ Jansen, "Ein Künstlerleben und seine Zeit," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 22-23.

⁷² "12 Nov. 1691, de Heer Godefridus Schalcken, wonachtigh tot Dordrecht, (Mr. Constschilder), machtigt den lettersetter Anthony Baly, in den Haag, om uit zijn naam te copen alle platen, printen, teeckeningen ende al het geene Johan van der Brugge, Constcoper tot Amsterdam, aldaer mocht vercopen, omme daeraen te verhalen soodanige somme van penn: als de Heer Constuant van den gemelt. Johan van der Brugge heeft te pretenderen over leverantie van Cunst; tot dien eijnde de gemelte te vercopen cunst ter somme van f 1200.—in te copen, opdat de Heere constituent sijn achterweesen daeraen soude moogen proseequeeren." Veth, "Aanteekeningen Omtrent Eenige Dordrechtsche Schilders," 3. Many thanks to Wayne Franits for sharing his translation of this passage.

and his wife's departure with an entry that reads, "1692 May 18: On May 22nd, 1692, Godefriedus Schalcken and Françoisia van Dimen, married and living on Gravestraet, will depart for London" ("1692 Mey 18, Gegeven 22 Mey 1692, Godefriedus Schalcken and Françoisia van Dimen, echteluyde, gewoont bey de Gravestraet, vertrokken naar London.").⁷³ George Vertue's writings indicate that Schalcken made two distinct trips to England. The first was probably a short trial visit, after which he moved his family there. Françoisia, who was their only child to survive into adulthood, was baptized in London on November 23, 1692. By this point Schalcken was painting in larger formats and promoting himself as a portrait painter to elite English families.⁷⁴ Schalcken and his family returned to the Netherlands in 1696 and settled in The Hague by 1697, when a son named Godefridus was baptized in The Hague Grote Kerk on February 3rd. The Hague municipal archives record Schalcken as a registered citizen and a member of the local militia company in 1699.⁷⁵

By 1700, Schalcken had achieved substantial affluence and artistic acclaim. On September 22, 1700, local officials from Rotterdam hired him to paint a group of portraits for the *Raadkamer* (Council Chamber), including a depiction of Prince Maurits.⁷⁶ Three years later, in 1703, the Elector of Dusseldorf, Johann Wilhelm, commissioned several

⁷³ Veth, "Aanteekeningen Omtrent Eenige Dordrechtsche Schilders," 4.

⁷⁴ Franits, "A Very Famous Dutch Painter," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 36-49.

⁷⁵ "Op den req'te van Godefridus Schalcke, Mr. constschilder en burger alhier in den Hage, ontslagen van alle schutterlijke togten en Wagten." Veth, "Aanteekeningen Omtrent Eenige Dordrechtsche Schilders," 4.

⁷⁶ At least some of these portraits were apparently based on preexisting portraits and so a series of letters describe the conditions under which Schalcken could enter the *Raadkamer* to copy the works directly. Eventually he was allowed to remove some of the portraits in rotation and take them back to his studio. Veth, "Aanteekeningen Omtrent Eenige Dordrechtsche Schilders," 4.

paintings from Schalcken and arranged for him to travel to Germany.⁷⁷ In Dusseldorf, Schalcken painted portraits of Johann Wilhelm's second wife, the Electress Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici (1667-1743) and Theresa Katharina Lubomirska (1683-1712), the wife of Karl Philipp von der Pfalz, who was Johann Wilhelm's younger brother and his successor.⁷⁸ Schalcken amassed several acres of land outside of Dordrecht, along with various bonds and other indicators of wealth, such as loans and deed transfers. He and his wife had their wills drawn up on August 29, 1705, in which it was noted that they were both sound and healthy.⁷⁹ Schalcken died on November 13, 1706 in The Hague, leaving behind his wife and their one surviving daughter, Françoisia.

Schalcken's later students included Carel de Moor (1655-1738), Arnold Boonen (1669-1729) and Justus van Bentum (1670-1727), all three of whom pursued nocturnal imagery. Boonen often made direct copies after Schalcken and chose similar subjects and themes, as in *A Young Man Seated at a Table* (figs. 17 and 19). Meanwhile, Van Bentum, a little-known painter today, used artificial light for a far different effect in works such as *An Explosion in an Alchemist Workshop* (fig. 18). These diverse responses to Schalcken's art demonstrate both his success in creating a market for candlelit paintings and his role in helping produce a new generation of Dutch artists skilled in the depiction of artificial light.

⁷⁷ Jansen, "Ein Künstlerleben und seine Zeit," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 28-29.

⁷⁸ Jansen, "Ein Künstlerleben und seine Zeit," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 28-29; Veth, "Aanteekeningen Omtrent Eenige Dordrechtsche Schilders," 5.

⁷⁹ Veth, "Aanteekeningen Omtrent Eenige Dordrechtsche Schilders," 5-6.

2.3 Schalcken's Signature Candlelight: His Oeuvre, Dating Issues, and Stylistic Development

Schalcken's use of artificial light across genres stresses the fact that he saw nocturnal painting as a way to distinguish himself from other successful artists of his day. In 1694, Cosimo III de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1642-1723) asked Schalcken to produce a self-portrait for his great hall of artists' self-portraits. The commission is recorded in letters between Thomas Platt, the duke's emissary, and Apollonio Bassetti, the duke's secretary. According to Platt, when he met with Schalcken, the artist told him that he was equally adept in painting pictures large and small, and of either day or night, "but it would be more charming to make his own portrait in a night piece and in a natural [pose] to best accompany the portraits in the gallery of S.A., because there are no other painters in these parts that can do this."⁸⁰ Schalcken advised a night-piece because it would be unique, the only candlelit portrait in the duke's gallery. Schalcken's portrait would thus both complement the other works on display and stand out as an exceptional and singular example.

This commission will be addressed more fully in Chapter 5, but it is clear that Schalcken knew that by specializing in artificial light he created a niche market for himself. A night-piece by Schalcken would have distinguished itself on a collector's wall. Moreover, it would have presented an opportunity for *liebhebers* (connoisseurs) to compare and contrast his painting with the daylight scenes surrounding it, a valued

⁸⁰ Wolfram Prinz, *Die Sammlung der Selbstbildnisse in den Uffizien: Geschichte der Sammlung*, vol. 1 (Florence: Kunsthistorisches Institut; Berlin: Mann, 1971), 191-92.

activity in the period.⁸¹ At least sixty-two of Schalcken's paintings, or nearly thirty percent of his total output, are nocturnal scenes with a visible artificial light source. By casting himself as a master of nocturnal painting, he established a specialty that carried him through his entire career and allowed him to develop his concepts of artistic inspiration, creativity, and sensuality. Although his style, treatment of the human body, and depiction of space all changed dramatically from his early work to his final paintings, artificial light became his signature attribute. While Schalcken himself maintained that he was adept at painting both daytime and nighttime scenes, he marketed his nocturnal paintings as specialized, refined gems for a collector's cabinet.

Schalcken was a prolific artist, although our understanding of the exact number of paintings that he produced continues to evolve (see Table 1). Eddy Schavemaker's current research on Schalcken's chronology indicates that there could be as many as three hundred paintings altogether.⁸² Beherman cataloged 210 original paintings, along with a section of doubtful attributions, and another section of rejected attributions. There is a significant variance in quality in Schalcken's overall body of work, especially between his very finely painted small compositions and his sometimes awkward and flat larger paintings. Schalcken's highly successful brand and his active workshop practice further complicate the attribution and dating of his paintings. Like Van Hoogstraten, Rembrandt, and Dou, Schalcken might have had his students collaborate on artworks both for their

⁸¹ Angela Ho, "An invitation to compare: Frans van Mieris's *Cloth Shop* in the context of early modern art collecting," *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 5 (2009): 694-717.

⁸² Eddy Schavemaker, "What's in a Date? Some Thoughts on the Challenge of Establishing a Chronology for Schalcken's Œuvre," unpublished conference paper, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 22 January 2016.

education and to produce a higher volume of paintings to sell. As with other artists in charge of large studios, Schalcken may have delegated some less important and less complicated commissions to the assistants training with him. While specific additional hands in Schalcken's paintings have not yet been identified, future research into the refinement of Schalcken's autograph works versus workshop pieces will prove fruitful. As one example, Junko Aono convincingly reattributes two paintings currently listed as "attributed to Godefridus Schalcken" in the Rijksmuseum to his student Arnold Boonen (fig. 19).⁸³

Genre paintings form the majority of Schalcken's overall oeuvre at just over thirty-eight percent. Portraits, including self-portraits, account for a little over thirty-five percent. Almost twenty-seven percent consist of religious, historical, mythological, and literary paintings. Schalcken's experimentation with several different genres must have been partially a response to the precipitous decline in the Dutch art market.⁸⁴ As the demand for new paintings declined, especially after 1680, artists who remained in the profession expanded their repertoire and were somewhat less likely to specialize in the way that many mid-seventeenth century painters did. Working in a variety of genres, however, was a mark of ambitious artists throughout the century, with Rembrandt, Jan Steen, and Gabriel Metsu as just a few important examples. Schalcken's choice to pursue

⁸³ Aono, *Confronting the Golden Age*, 151.

⁸⁴ See Franits' discussion of the political tensions between the Dutch Republic and England and France during the later 1600s that led to Holland's general economic decline. Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, 217-22. See also, John Loughman and John Michael Montias. *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000).

several different kinds of artistic subjects was thus a response to the demands of the current market and to the precedents of previous famous master painters.

Schalcken dated only about twenty-six paintings or roughly twelve percent of his body of work (see Table 2). To further complicate matters, some of his works feature dates and signatures added by later hands.⁸⁵ Schalcken dated more portraits, at least nineteen in total, than any other genre. This was most likely at the request of the sitters, who, as was common practice, sometimes also had their ages at the time of the portrait inscribed. He dated four mythological paintings and two religious works, all of which were major commissions for courtly patrons. In contrast, he dated only two genre paintings, *The Doctor's Visit* (fig. 25) from 1669 and *Two Children Making a Balloon from a Bladder* from 1682 (fig. 30). It is possible that Schalcken dated fewer genre scenes because many were destined for the open market rather than made as specific commissions. While it is fairly straightforward to retrace Schalcken's development as a painter of portraits and of religious, allegorical, and mythological paintings, it is more difficult to reconstruct his stylistic evolution in genre paintings and thus experts primarily depend on visual analysis.

2.4 Schalcken's Early Period: The Impact of Van Hoogstraten and Dou

Schalcken's two teachers Van Hoogstraten and Dou were each crucial to his artistic development. Dou, his second teacher, was one of the key contributors to

⁸⁵ See, for example, Beherman, *Schalcken*, 208-209, no. 111.

Schalcken's career and his painting style. Schalcken's ability to mimic Dou's minutely painted *fijnschilder* compositions was admired and commented on in his own time. More importantly, Schalcken arrived at Dou's studio in the mid-1660s, the period when Dou experimented most with artificial light and nocturnal imagery. The impact of Schalcken's initial training with Van Hoogstraten between about 1656 and 1662, however, was equally significant and far greater than has generally been acknowledged. Van Hoogstraten exemplified an artist who garnered international success, especially with courtly patrons, through his experiments with optical play and the seductive effects of illusionism. His paintings catered to the scopophilic impulse, the erotic pleasure derived from looking. Moreover, Van Hoogstraten's subtle references to the gendered pleasures of viewing art were crucial to Schalcken's experiments with erotic painting.⁸⁶ While Van Hoogstraten's interests in perspective and architectural space had little effect on Schalcken, his peepshows and *trompe l'oeil* imagery and themes of voyeurism were important. Van Hoogstraten's paintings frequently revolved around placing an implied masculine viewer into private feminine spaces. Schalcken continued Van Hoogstraten's exploration of women's personal spaces and intimate domestic moments as inherently erotic.

In one of his first dated portraits, *Portrait of Three Children at a Window* (fig. 20), Schalcken combined aspects of both Van Hoogstraten's and Dou's paintings to create a charming and unusually direct portrayal of the young subjects. Schalcken

⁸⁶ On Van Hoogstraten and voyeuristic pleasure see the next chapter and Celeste Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion: The Art and Writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

inscribed the date 1670 as a *trompe l'oeil* carving on the stone ledge below the window frame.⁸⁷ The window niche links the painting with Dou's paintings of the 1660s, for instance *The Lace Maker* from 1663 (fig. 21). Dou, who had introduced his unique variation of a frontal stone window surround and ledge in the late 1640s, developed the device as a way to highlight illusionism and at the same time draw attention to his paintings as objects.⁸⁸ The red curtain in Schalcken's picture, theatrically drawn aside, is also closely related to Dou's use of illusionistic curtains. The older girl leans on the windowsill and seems to project her left hand and her book out of the picture plane, just as the book projects out into the viewer's space in Dou's *Lacemaker*. The girl's breaking of the picture's imaginary fourth wall is more reserved, but she and her siblings also share an affinity with Van Hoogstraten's *Boy Looking Through a Window* (fig. 23). In both Van Hoogstraten's and Schalcken's paintings, the children gaze frontally out toward the spectator, emphasizing their position as convincingly illusionistic but clearly painted surfaces. Schalcken gained some of Van Hoogstraten's *trompe l'oeil* effect by placing his figures closer to the picture plane's edge than Dou generally did, something he would develop in later works.

⁸⁷ The painting was last seen at a Sotheby's auction in London in 1985. Behrman, 221. Supporting the date, the children's clothes in Schalcken's painting also echo the upper-class fashions of the early 1670s. The girls' exposed and puffed chemise sleeves, the ribbons tied along their sleeves and woven into their hair, and the elongated bodice of the older girl on the right are similar to the fashions in depictions of women in the same years, seen in Vermeer's *A Young Woman standing at a Virginal*, dated to circa 1670-72 (fig. 22).

⁸⁸ Ronni Baer, *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat. Washington, National Gallery of Art; London, Dulwich Picture Gallery; The Hague, The Mauritshuis, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 40-41.

When Schalcken arrived in Dou's workshop in the mid-1660s, Dou was at the artistic climax of his career. By that time, Dou had embraced upper-class settings and refined, elite subjects for his paintings, as pictured in *The Lace Maker* from 1663 and *Woman at a Clavichord* from 1665 (fig. 24). Dou's shift from depicting mostly working-class homes to portraying the upper crust was part of the mounting interest in affluent interiors and figures, which is also evident in the works of Gerard ter Borch, Johannes Vermeer, and his student Frans van Mieris. Dou painted the majority of his scenes of artificial light during this decade, thereby reviving nocturnal painting, which was popularized earlier by the Utrecht Caravaggists.⁸⁹

Schalcken also drew on Dou's interest in witty and amusing genre narratives, depicted with finely wrought details. Schalcken's *The Doctor's Visit* (fig. 25), which is documented as signed and dated 1669,⁹⁰ relates closely to Dou's portrayals of doctors as respectable, scientific authorities, such as *A Doctor Examining Urine* in Copenhagen (fig. 26). In contrast to the purposefully humorous quacks painted by Jan Steen and Frans van Mieris, Dou's portrayals of doctors are more complex, ranging from humorous dullards to respectable professionals.⁹¹ Schalcken's *The Doctor's Visit* of 1669 contrasts the elderly doctor's elderly state and the young woman's potential fertility to subtly humorous effect. However, the more sedate tone also connects his painting to Dou's and Van Hoogstraten's depictions. Van Hoogstraten's *Doctor's Visit* (sometimes called the

⁸⁹ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, 245.

⁹⁰ Current whereabouts of the painting are unknown. Last recorded in sale, Christie's, New York, 1 May 1964. Also featured in an advertisement, *The Burlington Magazine* 106, no. 733 (April 1964: "The Italian Seventeenth Century"): vi.

⁹¹ Ronni Baer, *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*, 116-17.

Anemic Woman) in the Rijksmuseum, which is dated to the 1660s (fig. 27), for instance, was another possible source for Schalcken. The theme of the doctor's visit often has a titillating edge, particularly when urine examination is pictured. Although uroscopy served various purposes during the era, examining a woman's urine was considered a prime technique for diagnosing pregnancy.⁹² The anxious and tearful state of the woman in Schalcken's painting alludes to her past sexual indiscretion and thus plants her sexuality in the mind of the beholder. Van Hoogstraten's *Doctor's Visit* similarly focuses on the sexuality of the young woman through subtle allusions. The cat in Van Hoogstraten's image was a well-established symbol of female lust during the period.⁹³ The woman's languid pose and hand gesture communicate her melancholy, which, according to period medical theories, was brought on by intense sexual desire.⁹⁴ Schalcken's *Doctor's Visit* reveals his awareness of Van Hoogstraten, and also of the period's keen interests in the subtle dramas of romance and sexual desire, especially the desires of women.

Schalcken's *Old Woman Scouring a Pot* (fig. 28) is one of his closest emulations of Dou's niche format, tender subject matter and *fijnschilder* painting style, especially examples such as *An Old Woman Watering Flowers* (fig. 29) and *A Maidservant*

⁹² Laurinda S. Dixon, *Perilous Chastity: Women and Illness in pre-Enlightenment Art and Medicine*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 75-79.

⁹³ Dixon, *Perilous Chastity*, 70-71, see also Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, 148-49.

⁹⁴ Dixon, *Perilous Chastity*, 69-71; Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, 148-49.

Scouring a Brass Pan at a Window, from 1663, now in the Royal Collection Trust.⁹⁵ As comparison between *Old Woman Scouring a Pot* and these two paintings by Dou demonstrates, from early on, Schalcken favored a smoother finish and a more atmospheric, *sfumato*-like use of light and shadow than Dou. This was likely a result of his early training with Van Hoogstraten. While Schalcken's painting exploits the opportunity to depict the gleaming reflections of the metal objects, he had less interest than Dou in recording the specific textures of different materials, especially rough textures of skin and fabric. In contrast to Dou's fine but still more gestural treatment of paint, Schalcken creates velvety, atmospheric transitions of light and shadow. Schalcken's *Old Woman Scouring a Pot* has a more intensely chiaroscuro palette, as do many of his daylight scenes. In this way, even his paintings set during the day and featuring Dou's subject matter take on a luminous, glowing effect that prefigures his nocturnal paintings.

Despite his family background of Protestant pastors, Schalcken painted relatively few religious scenes early in his career and those he did paint are remarkably sensual. Among the first are his *Holy Family* (fig. 31) in Frankfurt and *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (fig. 32) in Aschaffenburg, which share stylistic features with his portraits from the early 1670s and likely date circa 1665-75.⁹⁶ In the Frankfurt *Holy Family*, Joseph blows on the embers of a small fire. The act of blowing on a fire evokes Pliny's famous account of an ancient painting of a boy blowing on a firebrand. The fire also allows Schalcken to

⁹⁵ Gerrit Dou, *A Maidservant Scouring a Brass Pan at a Window*, 1663, oil on panel, 16.6 x 13.1 cm, Royal Collection Trust.

⁹⁶ Beherman, 82.

focus on the flickering effects it has on the skin of the figures. Especially prominent—and unusual—in both paintings is the focus on Mary’s bared skin. In *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, Mary is in the act of breastfeeding with one breast completely exposed. The Frankfurt *Holy Family* appears to portray a moment just before or after Mary bared her breast for the infant Christ to suckle, with her shoulder still bare and her luminous skin emphasized. Both paintings reveal Schalcken’s idiosyncratic treatment of biblical women and their eroticized bodies. He continued to explore this theme in his depictions of Mary Magdalene, as in his highly erotic *Penitent Mary Magdalene* (fig. 147) in the State Art Museum in Copenhagen.

Schalcken’s *Annunciation*, which is now at the Getty Museum in Los Angeles (fig. 33), is another early religious scene and portrays a young Mary with the same delicate beauty as in the Frankfurt *Holy Family*. Schalcken’s *Annunciation*, moreover, relates closely to Van Hoogstraten’s larger *Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin* (fig. 34), which dates to circa 1670. Schalcken, who could have easily seen the painting after Van Hoogstraten returned to Dordrecht in 1673, seems to base his composition directly on *Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin*.⁹⁷ Both Van Hoogstraten’s and Schalcken’s paintings take place at night. In each scene, Mary and the angel are shrouded in a thick, dark fog. Heavenly light breaks through the mist to shine on them. The painting captures the moment between Mary and the angel just before the angel announces his presence.

⁹⁷ The Metropolitan Museum states that Van Hoogstraten’s painting is the same one listed in the January 19, 1671 estate inventory of Myken Willems Bidloo, widow of Marcelis Adriaensz Bacx, in Dordrecht as, “Een Marijen-beelt van Hooghstraeten.” This indicates that either Van Hoogstraten completed the painting at an earlier date, or that he sent it to Dordrecht for a patron before he returned there.

This provides the beholder with a heightened emotional engagement with the painting that anticipates Schalcken's focus on intimate interactions in his genre paintings. Finally, while the background in Van Hoogstraten's painting remains shallow and flattened, the darkened negative space in Schalcken's composition recedes more deeply and enhances the drama of the scene.

During his early career, Schalcken also produced several very small, almost miniature-sized portraits that display his awareness of Dou's small, finely painted portraits. In *Portrait of a Woman* of circa 1670, the sitter's refined, delicate, and rounded facial features and the gentle gradations of her creamy pale skin relate closely to the women in Dou's *Portrait of a Young Woman* in Manchester, circa 1636-40, and his *Portrait of a Woman in a Black Veil*, in the National Gallery in London. In Schalcken's oval portrait, the young woman's familiar, direct gaze indicates that the tiny work may have been a love token for a paramour or husband. Her flushed cheeks and revealing neckline, along with her attractive jewelry, all enhance her allure within Schalcken's characteristic graceful style.

Schalcken's early portraits made between 1676 and 1680 follow the general patterns of the fashionable yet reserved portraits of Nicolaes Maes (1634-1693). Maes was the most famous portraitist in Dordrecht until 1673, when he left for Amsterdam, and thus Schalcken's emulation of his style demonstrates his attempt to compete for clients even as a young painter. He made a memorial portrait of his father when he died in 1676 (fig. 36), which has recently been rediscovered. Similarly reserved and dignified works, such as *Portrait of a Man at a Table with Writing Equipment* (fig. 37), dated 1676,

Portrait of a Woman, Aged 66, Holding a Handkerchief, dated 1677, and *Portrait of Pieter de la Court, The Younger* (fig. 38) from 1679, depict the elite members of Dordrecht society who were Schalcken's main clientele of this early period.

2.5 Middle Period: Departure from the *Fijnschilders* and Increased Sensuality

By the 1680s, Schalcken had developed his own uniquely seductive style. He absorbed the popular *fijnschilder* style of the era and trained with one of its founders, Gerrit Dou. Rather than continuing to emulate either Dou or Van Hoogstraten, however, Schalcken focused on integrating the precision and delicacy of the *fijnschilders* with the dramatic color and chiaroscuro of the Caravaggists. His paintings from this period present a culmination of the period artistic goal to seduce the eyes of the beholder. Expanding on Dou's use of artificial light to signify scholarly learning or artistic training and Van Hoogstraten's interest in the voyeuristic gaze, Schalcken used artificial light to enhance the sensation of intimacy in his small depictions of erotic encounters. In *A Young Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman* (fig. 5), he took advantage of the *fijnschilder* technique and scale to transform the traditional Dutch brothel scene into something more emotionally affecting. Schalcken experimented with different ways of idealizing his figures, gradually shifting away from the very delicate figures of his earliest paintings toward figures with more substantial physiques and with greater focus on alluring bodies. In his nocturnal paintings, this shift in style caused his increased attention to the subtle effects of candlelight on seductive flesh, as in *A Young Woman*

with a Candle, Drawing Aside a Curtain, of circa 1675 (fig. 39). This painting shows Schalcken's increased interest in idealized beauty and grace. The young woman displays the "corrected and improved" depiction of nature that, according to De Lairese, separated a master of the "modern" style from an artist who unthinkingly aped nature in all its defects.⁹⁸ Schalcken's daylight scenes from the same period, such as *Lady Offering a Lemon*, focus on the same themes of classicizing grace on the one hand and alluring sensuality on the other.

Schalcken's evolving interests in enhanced sensuality and romantic themes do not feature so prominently in his portraits. A striking exception is his playful and sensitive *Elisabeth Taillarde as a Field Nymph*, painted on copper (fig. 40), which Arnold Houbraken discussed in his biography of Schalcken. The overt eroticism in *Elisabeth Taillarde as a Field Nymph* reveals Schalcken's awareness of the Dutch pastoral traditions that allowed ladies of elite status to dress, often provocatively, as shepherdesses and other romanticized figures from literature.⁹⁹ He made an earlier portrait of Taillarde (fig. 41), which he dated 1679, at the same time that he painted Taillarde's husband, Matthijs Snouck, and her sister, Maria Taillarde (figs. 42 and 43). In Elisabeth's formal portrait of 1679, nevertheless, she stands out as more individualized and less idealized than women from the same period in his other portraits. He captures her full figure, round face, and delicate facial features. The parrot is a symbol of his wealth and style. Anja Sevcik argues that glove on Elisabeth's hand is an early example of a fashion that was

⁹⁸ De Lairese, *Treatise on Art...*, 115-16.

⁹⁹ See Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and its Audience in the Golden Age* (Totowa, N.J.: Allanheld and Schram, 1983).

popular in France after 1700s.¹⁰⁰ However, the fact that Elisabeth wears only one and uses her gloved hand to interact with the bird could also relate to the use of falconry gloves, for instance in Bartholomeus van der Helst's similarly stylish and lively *Portrait of a Lady with a Falcon* from 1665 (fig. 44).

Schalcken's first pendant portraits of himself and his wife, Françoisia van Diemen, painted around the time of their marriage in 1679 (figs. 15 and 16), display his growing interest in amatory themes and sophisticated allusions to romantic interaction. Each portrait includes several references to love, including a statue of Venus in the distance behind Françoisia and a barely visible painting of a nude woman behind Godefridus. As Chapter 4 discusses, these marriage pendants offered an opportunity for Schalcken to present himself as a young gentleman painter, only a few years after he had portrayed himself as a prodigal rake in *Lady, Come into the Garden*. Schalcken continued to use the van Dyckian model of portrait-making throughout the 1680s and 1690s, in which he focused on portraying figures in relaxed, sumptuous clothing and including casual references to wealth.¹⁰¹

Schalcken's history paintings from the 1670s through to the 1690s show his increasing interest in themes of love and desire. They also display his growing interest in refinement and grace, in in virtuoso displays of light and shadow. In 1690, Schalcken painted two pendant paintings, *Venus Gives Cupid a Flaming Arrow* and *The Toilette of*

¹⁰⁰ Anja Sevcik, *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 199-201.

¹⁰¹ Although he continued creating more sober paintings on occasion as well, as in his portrait of Johan Hallincq, which he dated 1692, shortly before his departure for England.

Venus, with Cupid (figs. 45 and 46).¹⁰² They are first recorded in The Hague at Count van Hogendorp's sale on July 27, 1751, where they sold for 343 and 412 florins, respectively.¹⁰³ Their early placement in The Hague indicates that Schalcken probably painted them for a patron there, possibly for one of the Van Hogendorps, an established Dutch patrician family that included several statesmen.¹⁰⁴ The two depictions of Venus showcase Schalcken's new sensuality and his attention to the erotic nudes of Rubens and Van Dyck, such as Rubens' *Venus, Mars, and Cupid* (fig. 47). Schalcken's two Venus paintings function as pendants that portray his ability to depict two different forms of light. *The toilette of Venus* is illuminated by heavenly light that gently reflects off of the Venus' pale skin and the gleaming objects surrounding her. In *Venus Gives Cupid a Flaming Arrow*, the goddess herself lights the scene, with the arrow she passes to her son, in order for him to pierce the hearts of potential lovers. The paintings would have thus created their own context for *liefhebbers* to compare and contrast them. The original viewers of the paintings in-situ-could have used discussion of the differences in light and how it affects meaning in order to establish themselves as one of the "delicate" and "experienced" viewers of whom van Mander wrote, those who could appreciate superior paintings with "diverse qualities which they can distinguish and judge."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Photographs of signature and date on verso of paintings in Beherman, 128-29.

¹⁰³ Beherman, 128-129.

¹⁰⁴ Gijsbrecht van Hogendorp (1668-1750) died the year before the sale. His niece, Theodora Petronella van Hogendorp (1690-1751) died in March 1751. She was married to Engelbert van Berckel (1686-1768) and was the daughter of Willem Diederikszn van Hogendorp (1656-1733).

¹⁰⁵ Hessel Miedema, "Karel van Mander: Did He Write Art Literature?," *Simiolus* 22, no. 1/2 (1993-1994), 62. On early modern connoisseurship and art viewing, see chapter 6 of Elizabeth A. Honig, *Painting & the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

2.6 Late Period: Larger Scale Works, More Commissions and Fewer Genre Paintings

In the 1690s, Schalcken moved to England, pursued major international commissions, and instilled himself as the leading artist of artificial light of his era. His works from the 1690s and 1700s display his awareness of the elegant naturalism popularized by Hyacinthe Rigaud and Nicolas de Largillière in France, and Godfrey Kneller in England. Schalcken's *Man Exchanging a Ring with a Woman* (fig. 48), for example, features much more substantial figures which take up more compositional space, especially when compared to the diminutive figures in works, such as *A Young Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman*. The man's angular features in *Man Exchanging a Ring with a Woman*, which Wayne Franits dates to roughly 1698, or shortly after Schalcken's return from London, is also representative of the elegant but sturdier male figures in his later portraits and self-portraits.¹⁰⁶

As a result of Schalcken's increase in portrait production between 1692 and his death in 1706, in response to the demand for portraits in England, he dated a larger number of works in these years. *Portrait of Mary Lowther* (fig. 49), eighty inches high, is one of his largest paintings. Mary Lowther's portrait was painted in 1693 or 1694, which was the year of her marriage to Sir John Wentworth.¹⁰⁷ Its bright palette supports Arnold Houbraken's claim that Schalcken lightened his style at times to appeal to English tastes,

¹⁰⁶ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, 249.

¹⁰⁷ See Franits, "Porträt der Mary Wentworth, geb. Lowther, 1693 / 94," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 223-25. Beherman had incorrectly dated the painting to 1696. Beherman, *Schalcken*, 195.

just as Van Dyck had done when he moved to England. Van Dyck's lighter palette can be seen, for instance, in *Queen Henrietta Maria with Sir Jeffrey Hudson* (National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.) which was painted in 1633, the year after Van Dyck's arrival at the court of King Charles I. The painting's similarity to Godfrey Kneller's portraits, such as *Portrait of Dorothy Mason, Lady Brownlow* (fig. 50), demonstrates Schalcken's competition with the most successful portrait painters in England at the time. Schalcken also carefully depicted the elite fashions of the 1690s, as in Mary's draped low-cut chemise showing through her satin dress, which is unfastened at the bodice. As with the portrait of Elisabeth Taillard, the parrot represents exotic colonial goods and high status.

Schalcken's two paintings of William III, each of which spawned several copies, attest to his mounting ambition in England. His larger and more traditional *Portrait of William III, King of England* (fig. 51), at the Mauritshuis in The Hague, teems with allusions to political power, with a cannon pointed out toward the sea and a ship on fire in the distance, to the king's full suit of armor, fur-lined blue robe, and the crown and scepter just behind him. Meanwhile, in *Portrait of William III, King of England, by Candlelight* (fig. 52), circa 1692-97, Schalcken asserted the power of the ruler while simultaneously proclaiming his own identity as a virtuoso of artificial light. *Portrait of William III, King of England, by Candlelight*, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, is one of a small number of nocturnal portraits that Schalcken produced of figures other than himself.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ There are a handful of nocturnal portrait commissions from Schalcken's years in England, including one in the Leiden Collection, New York, which is an unusual historical portrait, *James Stuart*,

After his return to the Netherlands from England in the summer of 1696, Schalcken continued to increase his focus on portraits, though he still produced a small number of genre, religious, and mythological paintings. His portrait of the famous still-life painter Rachel Ruysch (fig. 53) displays this greater solidity of form and naturalistic treatment of flesh when compared with his early paintings, as do his last pendant portraits of Françoisia van Diemen and himself, which he painted in 1706, the year of his death (figs. 54 and 55). As Franits has written, Schalcken's later figures display an overall "amplitude" in their forms.¹⁰⁹ More specifically, these figures display Schalcken's intensified interest in more naturalistic effects of light and shadow on flesh. With them, he reaches a new height in his quest to portray the human figure ever more gracefully and alluringly.

In Schalcken's paintings of historical subjects, he used a darker palette and more dramatic chiaroscuro as can be seen in a comparison of *The Wise and Foolish Virgins* and *The Conversion of Mary Magdalen* from 1700 (figs. 56 and 57) with the paintings of *Venus* from 1690 discussed above. Schalcken's last major recorded commission in 1703, *Fame* (fig. 58), like his late portraits, represents his abandonment of porcelain doll-like figures in favor of a greater emphasis on the precedents of Rubens and Van Dyck, with more naturalistic flesh and individualized facial features. By the late 1600s Rubens and Van Dyck had become historic examples of virtuosos of graceful style and beautiful

Duke of Lennox and Richmond with his Greyhound by Candlelight, oil on canvas, 37 x 57 inches (94 x 145 cms), inv. GS-109. Franits, "Porträt des James Stuart, Duke of Lennox and Richmond, mit seinem Windhund bei Kerzenlicht, 1692–96," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 227-28.

¹⁰⁹ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, 249.

color, and Schalcken's emulation of them was part of the larger trend of looking back at the earlier masters of the Golden Age. This shift in style was evidently successful for Schalcken. By the turn of the eighteenth century, Ferdinando de' Medici, Grand Prince of Tuscany, commissioned him to paint this allegorical representation of *Fame*. Schalcken completed the commission on September 28, 1703 in The Hague and received 420 florins in payment. After a trouble-ridden journey, the painting reached Florence in 1704.¹¹⁰

This shift in Schalcken's figural style from slight, delicate bodies to more naturalistic and sturdy bodies must be viewed in light of the increasing impact of French court art and of Godfrey Kneller's highly successful coopting of Van Dyck's graceful style. Schalcken's response to French examples of intensified naturalism allowed him to expand his interest in seductive, absorptive images that appealed to viewers' physical senses as well as to his or her emotions. The number of genre scenes that he produced decreased and the paintings lost some of their intimacy in the ensuing move to larger formats. Schalcken continued, however, to experiment with narratives of courtship, desire, and erotic experience. The adaptability of Schalcken's style demonstrates his commitment to finding new ways to appeal to his audiences through romanticized fantasy.

¹¹⁰ The commission was placed through Lorenzo Biliotti, who was living in Amsterdam, on behalf of Ferdinand. According to the correspondence exchanged between Biliotti and Ferdinand, on September 28, 1703, Schalcken completed the painting in The Hague and received 420 florins in payment. The painting was then sent to Florence by sea, but it fell into the hands of French privateers. It was subsequently recovered in Marseille and finally reached its destination in November 1704. Beherman, 289; and Elisabeth Epe, "A Clio by Godfried Schalcken for Ferdinando de'Medici, Prince of Tuscany," *The Hoogsteder-Naumann Mercury* 8: 27.

2.7 Issues of Style, Fame, and Artistic Prodigality in Schalcken's Early Biographies

"Vrouwkje kom ten Hoof" ("Lady, Come into the Garden") (fig. 98) of circa 1668-70, is one of the most immediately famous and most unusual of his early paintings. The work was key to his development of a rakish and seductive artistic persona as well as to his reception. Schalcken sits on the floor in the middle of the group of attractive young people and plays the central role of victim in what appears to be a risqué "striptease" game. The fashionably dressed players—and the well-appointed drawing room where they interact—are painted in the refined manner of the *fijnschilders*. The young men and women exchange flirtatious glances and the man at the left appears to lift up the skirt of the woman beside him, perhaps the next "victim" of the game. The painting's composition displays a keen awareness of Gerrit Dou in terms of style, while its humor and playfulness demonstrate Schalcken's knowledge of Jan Steen's comic art.¹¹¹ The illusionistic curtain at the right furthers the impression that the beholder is viewing a theatrical event on display for his or her benefit. Schalcken smiles and looks directly out at the beholder. He seems to invite the viewer into his jovial painted world. His ostentatious and blithe display of his own half-dressed body pays tribute to the long history of artists' prodigality.

¹¹¹ *Vrouwkje kom ten Hoof* shares a compositional similarity to Dou's *Woman at the Clavichord* and *Lady at her Toilet*, in which he included perspectival distortions that disappear at close range. Annetje Boersma, "Dou's Painting Technique: An Examination of Two Paintings," in Ronni Bear, *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 57.

In “*Lady, Come into the Garden*,” Schalcken presented himself as the seducer of his audiences, as a master of ceremonies who creates sensual painted fantasies for their consumption. His early biographers picked up on the ways in which Schalcken infused himself into his paintings. Early accounts also present disparate and sometimes clashing versions of him, from charming virtuoso to inconsiderate hack. The elements that most contributed to the negative myths of Schalcken were interlaced with the period’s larger discourses on the artistic personality. Artists’ bad behavior, or any behavior that fell outside of social norms, was a favorite topic of discussion, as with the larger-than-life exploits of Jan Steen.¹¹² An artist’s pleasingly “wild” lifestyle was seen as directly impacting his paintings.

The earliest record of *Lady, Come into the Garden* is the most negative and controversial account of the picture. In a document dated March 1676, Dordrecht notary Adriaen Heckenhouck charged painter Theodorus Hartkamp with insulting his fellow painters in conversation with a colleague. Hartkamp, defending himself against the charges, claimed that he never used “contemptuous expressions or showed contempt for the paintings of Mr. Dou, Mr. Mieris and Mr. Schalcken which engaged in the same art as [Hartkamp]” with his colleague Cornelis Jansz van Persijn. Van Persijn, however, insisted that he “from [Hartkamp’s] very mouth, had heard him say: ‘Shit on Schalcken’s paintings, shit on the self-portrait that Schalcken made in his *vrouwken Comt ten Hove*,’ and many such more words, all aiming at denigrating the paintings of the aforesaid

¹¹² Perry Chapman, “Jan Steen, Player in His Own Paintings,” in *Jan Steen: Painter, Storyteller*, 11-23.

Schalcken.”¹¹³ Guido Jansen discovered this archival account and says little about its significance, other than that it proves that Schalcken’s early fame incited jealousy. The reasons that Hartkamp singled out *Lady, Come into the Garden* are not specified in the record. The specific insult, however, indicates that Schalcken’s use of eroticism may have played a role in the jealousy of other artists. Perhaps he was seen as a sensationalist by more traditional painters such as Hartkamp, who was known as a modestly talented painter of religious scenes and flower still lifes.¹¹⁴ *Lady, Come into the Garden*, with its provocative display of prodigality and light-hearted, playful sensuality may have made it a target of criticism as much as of praise.

The raucous *Lady, Come into the Garden* was an anomaly in Schalcken’s career, as is the severity of Hartkamp’s criticism. The stories about Schalcken are typically not as specific or as salacious as those concerning Rembrandt, Steen, or other infamously profligate artists. In fact, the documented facts of Schalcken’s life leave almost nothing for a gossip’s whispers. Son of dignified clergy, a devoted husband and father, and a savvy businessman, Schalcken would seem to be the last artist to invite scandal of any kind. What aroused biographers’ attentions were the tantalizing, unusual subjects of his paintings, such as *Lady, Come into the Garden*. His mixture of rarified classicism and of-the-moment romantic and erotic narratives, especially in his genre paintings, was created

¹¹³ Jansen, “Ein Künstlerleben und seine Zeit,” in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 18.

¹¹⁴ Hartkamp (1635 Zwartewaal-1707 Dublin) is an unusual figure who also went by several aliases, including Ludowyk or Caspar Smits/Smith. According to Houbraken, he lived in Dordrecht in the 1670s, painting Penitent Magdalenes and flower pictures and moved to Dublin in the 1680s. In another example of Hartkamp’s saucy retorts, Houbraken claimed that he used cheap paint that faded quickly, and that when his customers complained he said that the paint lasted longer than the money that was paid for them.

for educated liefhebbers, art experts used to parsing complex allusions to witty narratives and pleasurable displays of beauty. All earlier accounts of Schalcken place him primarily in the context of his nocturnal paintings, which was viewed as both his greatest achievement and his greatest peculiarity.

2.8 Arnold Houbraken on Schalcken’s “Charming” and “Airy” Style

Houbraken’s biography of Schalcken illustrates Schalcken ambition to create a graceful and elegant style, even as he pursued effects of artificial light. Houbraken, though he was seventeen years younger, knew Schalcken in Dordrecht and wrote the first major account of his life and career in his *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, published in 1718 (see Appendix C). Like Schalcken, Houbraken hailed from Dordrecht and studied with Samuel van Hoogstraten. Van Hoogstraten, who returned to Dordrecht in the 1670s and remained there until his death in 1678, could have easily introduced Schalcken and Houbraken. Houbraken lived in Dordrecht until he moved to Amsterdam in 1709, a few years after Schalcken’s death. Houbraken describes how he visited Schalcken’s studio in Dordrecht, probably in the early 1680s, and he notes meeting Schalcken’s student Karel de Moor (1655-1738) at that visit.¹¹⁵ Van Hoogstraten, Schalcken, and Houbraken clearly navigated the same social circles in Dordrecht.

¹¹⁵ Guido Jansen notes that De Moor was likely Schalcken’s first student while Schalcken was living on Wijnstraat in Dordrecht. De Moor probably became Schalcken’s student after the death of his prior teacher Frans van Mieris the Elder’s in March 1681 and before he became a member of the Leiden

Houbraken's biography opens by emphasizing Schalcken's learned background and education: "GODFRID or GODEFRIDUS SCHALKEN was born in Dordrecht, where his father was Rector of the Latin School, in the year 1643. His affection for the Arts caused him to say goodbye to the practice of languages, although he was very advanced in his studies."¹¹⁶ Schalcken's early education in Latin set him apart from many seventeenth-century artists, who more often came from families of other artists, artisans and craftsmen. Dou's father, for example, was a stained glass artisan, and Van Hoogstraten's father was a printmaker and painter.¹¹⁷ Schalcken's Latin education, however, aligns him with other elite artists, including Rembrandt and Jan Steen. The biography lauds Schalcken's success and wealth, along with his popularity among the elite families of Dordrecht and his patrons in England. At the end of the biography, Houbraken compares Schalcken to Adriaen Van der Werff, whom he considered the top-ranking Dutch painter for his graceful, classicist style. Houbraken writes that Schalcken resembles Van der Werff "in his flattering brushwork, in his artful blending of color, in his nudes, and in his naturalistic imitation of velvet and other materials."¹¹⁸ In terms of drawing, however, Houbraken ranks Schalcken much lower, literally at "[Van der Werff's] footstool."¹¹⁹ Houbraken describes three paintings in depth and each provides key insight into Schalcken's initial reception as a graceful painter of "flattering

painters' guild in 1683. Jansen, "Ein Künstlerleben und seine Zeit," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 26-27.

¹¹⁶ Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 3, 177.

¹¹⁷ On Dou, see Baer, *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675*, 28-29. On Van Hoogstraten, see Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 19-24.

¹¹⁸ Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 3, 179.

¹¹⁹ Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 3, 177.

brushwork” and of playfully erotic scenes. The three paintings, “*Lady, Come into The Garden*,” *Portrait of Elisabeth Taillarde as a Field Nymph*, and *The Denial of Saint Peter*, are unusual and remarkable works in Schalcken’s career and they can each be viewed as examples of his ambition and artistic experimentation.

Houbraken saw Schalcken’s “*Vrouwtje kom ten Hoof*” (“*Lady, Come into The Garden*”) in person at the home of Johan van Schuylenburg (1675-1735), a collector who owned four of Schalcken’s paintings.¹²⁰ Houbraken uses “*Lady, Come into The Garden*” to illustrate how Schalcken mimicked the meticulous style of his second teacher, Gerrit Dou:

[Schalcken] went first for his instruction to S. Hoogstraaten, and subsequently to Gerard Dou, whose handling he has managed to mimic, as can still be seen in one of his paintings hanging in the art cabinet of Lord Jan von Schuilenburg, representing a playful activity of the young people in Dordrecht at that time, when they were making merry in one another’s company, called, “*Vrouwtje kom ten Hoof*.” Wherein [the painting], he has portrayed himself, sitting on the lap of a young maiden, stripped to his tunic and underpants. The other faces in the painting are all portraits, and each of them would have been recognized at the time. It is said that he spent one month on the tapestry in the foreground.¹²¹

In noting that Schalcken reportedly spent an entire month on the tapestry in the foreground of the painting, Houbraken implies a similarity with Gerard Dou’s notoriously slow, methodical method of creating small, jewel-like cabinet pictures for cultured, elite collectors. In particular, he echoes Joachim von Sandrart’s (1606-88) remarks about

¹²⁰ Schalcken painted pendant portraits of Van Schuylenburg and his wife Elisabeth de Hohepied, probably in 1697, which was the year of their marriage. The sale of Schuylenburg’s collection after his death in 1735 lists four paintings by Schalcken, lots 57-60, which collectively sold for 1,690 guilders. See Jansen, “Ein Künstlerleben und seine Zeit,” in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 28.

¹²¹ Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 3, 176.

visiting Dou's studio where the artist apparently took several days to paint a broom the size of a fingernail. Dou also supposedly spent such a long time on his portraits that his sitters' boredom became visible in their painted likenesses.¹²² Dou's labor-intensive painting process, nevertheless, brought him great acclaim. Houbraken's remark indicates that Schalcken was molding himself after Dou by detailing to his patrons the significant time and effort that his compositions took to paint. It is possible that this open claim of virtuosity is part of what annoyed fellow Dordrecht artist Theodorus Hartkamp.

Striking to the modern eye is Houbraken's straightforward description of the unusual scene and his identification of the painter as the halfway undressed roué sitting on the lap of a young woman. The young well-to-do people depicted in the painting, all of them recognizable portraits, contextualize Schalcken's social circle of the Dordrecht elite. Houbraken also makes a point of naming the specific game the figures play, further stressing a relationship between Schalcken's actual life and the narratives within his paintings. Houbraken's account highlights the painting as well as Schalcken's role within it; which enhances his public persona as a prodigal and rake.¹²³ While Houbraken does not discuss the reception of *Vrouwtje kom ten Hoof* specifically, the fact that spectators were meant to recognize the figures in the composition suggests that the painting itself

¹²² Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., "Dou's Reputation," in Ronni Baer, *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*. Exh. cat, Washington, National Gallery of Art; London, Dulwich Picture Gallery; The Hague, The Mauritshuis. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 15; and Ronni Baer, "The Life and Art of Gerrit Dou," in *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*, 34.

¹²³ See Ingrid Cartwright, *Hoe Schilder How Wilder: Dissolute Self-Portraits In Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Art* (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Maryland, 2007).

could elicit a form of game-playing for its original audience in Dordrecht as they sought out familiar faces.

The next painting that Houbraken describes, *Madame Snoek (Elisabeth Taillard) as a Field Nymph*, is also an alluring combination of a portrait likeness in an unusual genre setting. He writes of “the outstanding depiction of Madame Snoek, portrayed as a field-nymph resting under the shade of trees, which can now be seen in Dordrecht in the home of her son, the Lord Adr. Snoek” (fig. 40).¹²⁴ *Madame Snoek (Elisabeth Taillard) as a Field Nymph*, as discussed above, combines portraiture with the popular, romanticized pastoral mode of the later 1600s. Taillard’s inviting gaze and pert smile give the portrait a liveliness individuality that is unusual, even within the broader period trend of elite women commissioning paintings of themselves in the guise of mythological or literary figures. The chosen heroine in these depictions often contained a veiled or overt erotic edge, for example, the goddess Venus or Granida, the titular figure from a Dutch romantic pastoral play.¹²⁵ Houbraken’s discussion of Schalcken’s painting as “uitmunt” (“exceptional” or “outstanding”) hints at its unusualness. That the portrait was on prominent view in the Snoek-Taillard family home, reveals the acceptance and popularity of these elegantly risqué portraits. Both “*Lady, Come into the Garden*” and *Portrait of Elisabeth Taillarde as a Field Nymph*, feature a mixture of portraiture and racy narratives. Houbraken’s portrayal of Schalcken focuses on this evocative mingling of real life and fiction. Intriguingly, neither of these paintings has the more idealized

¹²⁴ Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vo. 3, 176.

¹²⁵ See Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and its Audience in the Golden Age*. Totowa, N.J.: Allanheld and Schram, 1983).

grace that Schalcken pursued in his later paintings. Instead, his own self-portrait in “*Lady, Come into the Garden*” and Elisabeth Taillarde’s portrait are amusing and engaging because of their naturalism and celebration of ordinary bodies placed in intimate erotic scenarios. It is possible that Houbraken, by singling out these two works, was emphasizing Schalcken’s talent with charming the eyes of his beholders through his representations of the erotic enjoyment of everyday life.

After highlighting these two paintings, Houbraken offers crucial period descriptions about the positive reception of Schalcken’s graceful style. He states: “From time to time, [Schalcken] used a more pleasant and airier (*aangenamer en luchtvaardiger*) manner of painting, a manner that brought him equal favor to his previous style.” The English in particular, Houbraken continues, “became captivated with [Schalcken’s style]” and “lured him to their country, where he lived for several years and amassed a great deal of wealth.” Houbraken’s description of Schalcken’s new “pleasant and airy” style could be read as Schalcken lightening his palette. However, it seems equally plausible that Houbraken meant “airy” in the sense of Van Dyck’s “airy” grace, which Jeffrey Muller has connected with the delicacy of spirit and airy elegance that Van Dyck consciously cultivated in his paintings, as in *Cupid and Psyche* from circa 1640 (fig. 59).¹²⁶ It was Van Dyck, according to De Lairese, who was able to attain grace in both the antique and the modern manner.¹²⁷ Houbraken discusses *Portrait of Elisabeth Taillard as a Field Nymph*, which features an airy, “Van Dyckian” landscape and a

¹²⁶ Jeffrey M. Muller, “The Quality of Grace in the Art of Anthony van Dyck,” in *Anthony van Dyck*, exh. cat. (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990): 27-38.

¹²⁷ De Lairese, *Treatise on Art*, 116.

classically inspired pose, just before he describes Schalcken's "pleasant and airier" manner, which could indicate that the painting is an example of Schalcken's airy grace.

This pleasant airy quality, moreover, is not absent from Schalcken's nocturnal paintings. Houbraken next writes of Schalcken's fame and success that, "In particular, his "nightlights" made him famous, which he painted so naturally and powerfully (*natuurlyk en kragtig*) that I do not know anyone who has been his equal."¹²⁸ The third and final of Schalcken's paintings that Houbraken discusses in detail is the *Denial of Saint Peter*, which likely dates to circa 1700-1706 (fig. 60).¹²⁹ Houbraken writes that the painting is significant because it includes several figures solidly composed and arranged in proper proportion to one another, which, according to Houbraken, he rarely did well. Houbraken also praises the way Schalcken drew the figures, which clearly communicates "the boldness of the servant and the timidity and embarrassment of Peter," enhanced by the light from the candle the servant holds up under Peter's eyes.¹³⁰ Houbraken was especially impressed with Schalcken's use of light and shadow, which serves to heighten the narrative and to outwardly express his figures' inner emotions. Houbraken's inclusion of *Denial of Saint Peter* also demonstrates the success of Schalcken's later shift in style, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Leaving behind Dou and the

¹²⁸ Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 3, 176-177.

¹²⁹ Multiple versions exist. Prior to the current exhibition, all seemed to be lesser copies or workshop pieces. The version preserved in the Harrach collection at Schloss Rohrau, previously unpublished, is very high-quality and probably Schalcken's original painting. Anja Sevcik, in *Schalcken – Gemalte Verführung*, 83-85; Beherman, 92.

¹³⁰ Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 3, 177.

fijnschilders, this painting vies with Van Honthorst (fig. 61) and Rembrandt (fig. 62), but recasts their precedents in Schalcken's new graceful and elegant dark manner.

Houbraken's discussion of Schalcken's style focuses on his ability to depict beauty, charm, and grace. In a key passage, Houbraken connects the skill of using shimmering contrasts of light and shadow to enhance the beauty of the human body:

He [Schalcken] also often illuminated his figures with candlelight or daylight, or allowed the sun's rays to shine through a garment, so that the naked skin would be pleasant to the eye because of the bright reflection of light from the fabric. He captured [this effect] very artfully, so that it flattered and charmed the eyes of the beholder.¹³¹

During Schalcken's lifetime, artists and critics debated and advised on methods for painting skin that would be believably warm and thus appealing to the beholder.¹³² It is easy to link Houbraken's words with works such as Schalcken's intimate *Young Woman with a Candle Drawing aside a Curtain* (fig. 39) and its glowing depiction of eroticized female flesh, or to the Venus pendants of 1690s that even more directly depict Schalcken's interest in the alluring reflections of light and shadow.¹³³ Houbraken's words echo the words of period critics. For example, Karel van Mander's discusses Goltzius and his ability to achieve a "glowing fleshiness," after he turned from printmaking to

¹³¹ "Ook deed hy dikwils zyne beelden door kaars en daglicht dagen, of ook wel een kleedje door de Zon bestralen, op dat het naakt door dien helderen weerglans des te aangenamer zig vertoonen zoude, 't geen hy zoo konstig wist na te bootsen, dat het elks oog en vleide en bekoorde." Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 3, 177.

¹³² Anne-Sophie Lehmann, "Fleshing out the body: The 'colours of the naked' in workshop practice and art theory, 1400-1600," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 58 (2007-2008), 86-109

¹³³ See Eric Jan Sluijter's many studies of eroticism and illusionism in Dutch art, including Eric Jan Sluijter, "Emulating Sensual Beauty: Representations of Danaë from Gossaert to Rembrandt," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 27, no. 1/2 (1999): 4-45; and Eric Jan Sluijter, *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2000).

painting.¹³⁴ Joachim von Sandrart, in 1675, praised Van Dyck for making “everything with a special delicacy, in a refined fashion, and with charm, despite the fact that he still did little to train his thoughts in the hard school of the difficult rules of art...”¹³⁵ This concept of innate charm overcoming a lack of serious study connects Houbraken’s praise of Schalcken’s charming and flattering style with his criticism that Schalcken falls short of Van der Werff’s skill in drawing. Schalcken becomes, like Van Dyck, an example of a painter whose refined, elegant manner overcomes his deficiencies in design. As Chapter 3 will discuss, Schalcken’s pursuit of charming, glowing, lifelike figures connects directly to his interest in nocturnal paintings. The extremes of light and shadow, along with the warmth of artificial light sources, enhance the illusionism, the sensual quality, and the elegance of his figures.

2.9 Jacob Campo Weyerman on Schalcken as Rogue and Minor Painter

Jacob Campo Weyerman (1677-1747) did not know Schalcken directly, and contemporary scholars have largely discredited his biography. Nevertheless, Weyerman’s account shaped views of Schalcken and his work through the end of the nineteenth century.¹³⁶ Weyerman’s *De levens-beschryvingen der Nederlansche konst-schilders en konst-schilderessen* (*The Lives of Dutch Painters and Paintresses*) was published in 1729, after Houbraken’s death. Weyerman conceived of the project as both an emulation

¹³⁴ Eric Jan Sluiter, “Goltzius, Painting and Flesh; or, Why Goltzius Began to Paint in 1600,” in *The Learned Eye: Essays for Ernst van de Wetering* (Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 168.

¹³⁵ Sandrart, quoted in Muller, *Anthony van Dyck*, 29.

¹³⁶ Beherman, 53; and Hecht, “Candlelight and Dirty Fingers,” 23-38.

of and response to Houbraken. Weyerman had a well-known penchant for gossipy stories and withering wit in his weekly newspaper, which eventually led to his imprisonment for slander.

Weyerman characterized Schalcken as coarse, impolite, avaricious, and lacking in true talent. French artist and biographer Jean-Baptiste Descamps (1714-1791) soon questioned Weyerman's claims and suggested that he took his evidence from painters envious of Schalcken's successes.¹³⁷ These claims are reminiscent of Hartkamp's derogatory remarks about Schalcken, as well as those about Dou and Van Mieris. Weyerman repeats Houbraken's basic outline of Schalcken's life, but he inserts small jabs and humorous comparisons wherever possible. Schalcken's father becomes "the old Latinist" who attempted to "harangue" Godefridus into studying Latin. Weyerman discusses the same three paintings as Houbraken, "*Lady, Come into the Garden*" (he titles it *Vrouwtje of Heertje kom ten hoof*), *Elisabeth Taillarde as a Field Nymph*, and *The Denial of Saint Peter*. Weyerman probably did not see these paintings himself, but based his descriptions on those of Houbraken. More intriguing are the works he discusses that Houbraken did not. He writes that Schalcken started painting portraits because:

This work was faster than slaving away on these small cabinet pictures, on which the painter can hardly distinguish, when evening comes, what he has accomplished during the day; and this is what the Germans call hothouse work.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Beherman, 53.

¹³⁸ Jacob Campo Weyerman, *De levens-beschryvingen der Nederlandsche konst-schilders en konst-schilderessen: met een uytbreyding over de schilder-konst der ouden*. 'S Gravenhage: E. Boucquet, 1729-1769), 79-80.

This insult relates back to Weyerman's criticism of Gerrit Dou and of the *fijnschilders* in general. By "hothouse work," Weyerman was alluding to Dou's meticulous paintings as hothouse flowers: beautiful in their own delicate way, but overly fragile, quick to wither, and requiring excessive amounts of work. According to Weyerman, Schalcken also failed when he moved to making larger-scale paintings, which "were as flat as poorly risen pancakes."¹³⁹ Whereas Houbraken praises Schalcken's success in England, Weyerman, who went to London himself in 1704, insists that the English soured rapidly on Schalcken's paintings. Weyerman claims that Schalcken's public discarded him, "as one does of rejected dolls, and so he reluctantly had to support himself by painting little history pieces and nightlights (*nachtlichtjes*)."¹⁴⁰ This dismissive use of the term "nightlights" would follow in later criticisms of Schalcken. While Weyerman was correct that Schalcken increased his production of nocturnal paintings in England, this was because the English were attracted to compositions set at night, not because his portraits were unpopular. Thomas Platt wrote in 1694, as Franits has discussed, that Schalcken was known as "a very famous Dutch painter... who paints in the manner of Carlo Dolci, making portraits both large and small, paintings of the nighttime, fruits and flowers, etc."¹⁴¹ The description clearly demonstrates Schalcken's success in England and diversity of his skills.

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid.

141 Anna Maria Crinò, "Note di documentazione su due autoritratti della collezione degli Uffizi," *Rivista d'arte* 3, no. 28 (1953), 193. The letters from Platt to Cosimo III's secretary are reproduced, in various parts, in three main sources, Crinò, 1953, Crinò, *Fatti e figure del Seicento anglo-toscano: documenti inediti sui rapporti letterari, diplomatici, culturali fra toscana e inghilterra* (Firenze: Olschki,

Weyerman recounts two farcical tales that provide evidence of Schalcken's cavalier attitude toward his clients and his supposed ineptitude as a courtier. The first anecdote involves Schalcken's portrait of an English lady who had blemishes on her face from smallpox, but was very proud of her perfectly smooth, alabaster hands. When Schalcken told her she was free to leave their session, the woman questioned him about her hands, which he had only sketchily blocked in. He replied, "No, Milady, in all of my pieces, I usually paint the hands after those of my servant." The joke, Weyerman writes, was that Schalcken's servant was a lumbering English boy with large rough hands.¹⁴² The lady was insulted and horrified that Schalcken would base her hands on those of this burly assistant. This story was likely founded on Schalcken's actual practice of filling in details of portraits by posing his workshop assistants as a way to streamline his portraiture process.¹⁴³ Using assistants as models in this way is, moreover, thoroughly in keeping with period workshop practice, where an artist might use himself, his assistants, paid models, or manikins to help arrange compositions.¹⁴⁴

Weyerman's second tale concerns Schalcken's *Portrait of King William III, by Candlelight* (fig. 52). He describes the portrait as portraying the king, "with a burning candle in his hand, without any candlestick holder or sconce, wherein the candle fat was

1957), and Crinò, "Documents Relating to Some Portraits in the Uffizi and to a Portrait at Knole," *The Burlington Magazine* 102 (687): 257-261.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Franits argues that Schalcken also posed his assistants for his own self-portraits, specifically based on the drawing for Schalcken's *Self-Portrait* in Leamington Spa. Personal correspondence, June 2014.

¹⁴⁴ See, for instance, H Perry Chapman, "The Wooden Body: representing the 'Manikin' in Dutch artists' studios," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 58 (2008): 188-215.

dripping down [his] fingers.”¹⁴⁵ *Portrait of King William III*, however, clearly shows the candle in front of William in an ornate candlestick holder. Weyerman probably conflated the king’s portrait with Schalcken’s *Self-Portrait, Holding a Burning Candle*, now in Hagerstown, which was widely known through its engraved reproduction (fig. 9).¹⁴⁶ As will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, Schalcken’s use of candlelight signifies that the monarch consumes himself in the service of his people, just as the candle consumes itself in the service of light. This concept was lost on Weyerman, who instead saw the painting as another example of Schalcken’s eccentric artistic personality.

Weyerman ends by stating that Schalcken’s “weaknesses” are nevertheless somewhat excused by his flattering, graceful manner:

... by the impartial art connoisseur, [and] it is asserted at all times, that G. Schalken [sic] was a great artist who used flattering coloring, beautiful selections, graceful draperies, friendly tronies, and a wonderful contrast between the light and the shadow (*bruyen*), artfully done for the mind, and through his earnings from art he became very prosperous, and this last article is what we hope that all good masters attain.¹⁴⁷

Weyerman, despite his criticisms of Schalcken, echoes Houbraken’s discussion in his closing words. Weyerman’s description of “flattering coloring” and “a wonderful contrast” between light and shadow “artfully done for the mind” relate closely to Houbraken’s discussion of appealing flesh enhanced by light and shadow, which flattered the eyes and minds of beholders.

¹⁴⁵ Hecht, “Candlelight and Dirty Fingers,” 25-27

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Weyerman, 79-80.

Weyerman characterizes Schalcken as a materialistic portrait painter who was too vulgar for high society, but who still achieved beauty and grace in his paintings. In his eyes, Schalcken was the rakish, wayward artist of *Lady, Come into the Garden*, not the more mature and elegant persona he later cultivated. Artists flouted social norms—indeed, it was a necessary part of the artistic personality.¹⁴⁸ Weyerman presents Schalcken as the prodigal, in a similar vein to Houbraken’s account of Jan Steen adding a basket of sheep heads and feet to a painting of his wife.¹⁴⁹ Defying polite conventions were common tropes of the artistic temperament. Weyerman’s biography of Schalcken thus feeds into viewers’ voyeuristic cravings to peer into the intrigues of artists’ lives.

2.10 George Vertue on Schalcken’s Method of Painting Candlelight

Though George Vertue (1684-1756) was a child while Schalcken lived in England from 1692 to 1696, he likely learned about the older artist from his peers in the artistic community of London. Vertue was an English engraver and antiquarian, who kept extensive diary notes on artists of his day. As a counterpoint to Weyerman, Vertue describes Schalcken’s time in England as successful and profitable. Scholars frequently cite Horace Walpole’s later transcription of Vertue’s diary entries, but Walpole

¹⁴⁸ Cartwright, Ingrid. *Hoe Schilder How Wilder: Dissolute Self-Portraits In Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Art* (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Maryland, 2007).

¹⁴⁹ On Jan Steen and the sheep’s head, see Perry Chapman, “Persona and Myth in Houbraken’s Life of Jan Steen.” *The Art Bulletin* 75, no. 1 (March 1993): 143-45.

substantially changes the tone and the content of the original notes.¹⁵⁰ Vertue was thirteen when he began his formal artistic study in 1697 as an apprentice to a heraldic engraver.¹⁵¹ While it is unlikely that Virtue, as a young boy, would have had access to Schalcken's studio, it is conceivable that they had colleagues and friends in common and that Virtue based his description of Schalcken and his working methods on first-hand accounts.

Virtue writes that Schalcken painted:

...night pieces represented by candle lights in which he was very excellent & had arrived to a great perfection. The gentil Inventions of various Subjects with that diversity & force of colour & strenght of light, was even surprizing, his peices were curiously wrought & highly finisht. as may be seen by many of his works in the collections of the Curious here which he always sold at a considerable Price. & do still keep or increase their value: besides his Art, his gracefull behaviour & courtesie gaind him respect & Esteem among people of Qualitie & distinction. he came twice in England the first time he staid not long, but came afterwards & brought his Family & continu'd many years. Afterwards he went to Holland, was receivd (imployd by the late King of Prusia. & had a Pension settled on him as his Painter.) Painter to the late King of Prussia & had a pension settled upon him. liv'd two or three years to enjoy it & died at Dort the year 1707 [sic].

His method of Painting of Candlelights was perticular he had a little dark room, where he Plac'd a candle lighted with the Person or

¹⁵⁰ Vertue extensively researched the history of British art and foreign artists who worked in England, accumulating about forty volumes of private notebooks. Horace Walpole purchased Vertue's notebooks after his death and used them as the basis for his own *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (5 vols., 1762-71), heavily editing and adding to Vertue's original writings. Walpole seems to have been less taken with Schalcken and modifies Vertue's writing to add snippets of Weyerman. Vertue's statement that Schalcken "was very excellent & arrivd to a great perfection" in his "night peices," becomes in Walpole's version, "a very confined genius, when rendering a single effect of light was all his excellence." Walpole later repeats both Weyerman's story about the drippy candle in the king's portrait and his boorish neglect of the English lady's "handsome hands." Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England with Some Account of the Principal Artists; and incidental notes on other arts; collected by the late Mr. George Vertue; and now digested and published from his original MSS. by Mr. Horace Walpole*, vol. II (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849), 615-16.

¹⁵¹ Arthur Grimwade, "The Master of George Vertue: His Identity and Oeuvre," *Apollo* 127, no. 311 (February 1988), 83-89; Edward Duane Burton, *The World of English Artisans and Traders: 1600-1750* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Purdue University, 2007), 61.

subject he designd to Paint looking thro' a hole made purposely, he painted by day light what he there saw. by Candle light.¹⁵²

Vertue's description of Schalcken painting by daylight what he had composed in a small dark room is the closest thing that exists to a first-hand description of Schalcken's workshop practice. Vertue's account becomes even more credible in the context of late-seventeenth century artistic methods. Even if Vertue's account is an exaggeration or flat-out fiction, his evocative description of Schalcken standing at his easel and peering through a hole into a darkened room helped develop Schalcken's persona as a master of intimate nocturnal paintings. Schalcken's "gentil Inventions" with their ability to "surprise" alludes to their captivating allure. If, instead, Vertue's description is based merely on the experience of viewing Schalcken's nocturnal genre scenes and trying to reconstruct his methods based on the final paintings, it confirms Schalcken's success in inserting his persona into the discourse surrounding his oeuvre.

2.11 The Early Emergence of Schalcken's Artistic Persona

In this examination of Schalcken's life and oeuvre, it is clear that early accounts of his biography and art focused on his ability to draw forth beauty from the shadows. Schalcken's allure was firmly in place within his own lifetime, first as a painter of small works in the *fijnschilder* tradition and then later as a painter in the "airy" manner of the tradition of Van Dyck. All the while, he maintained his sustained focus on dramatic,

¹⁵² George Vertue, *Note Book A.q.* 1731-1736, vol. 1 (British Museum Add. Ms. 23071). Transcribed in *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, Vol. 20, VERTUE NOTE BOOKS: VOLUME II (1931-1932): 139.

sensual effects of light and shadow, and graceful and beautiful depictions of the human body. According to Houbraken, Schalcken transformed himself from a rakish young man, who appeared in "*Lady, Come into the Garden*," to an elegant and successful mature painter, who charmed and flattered the eyes of his beholders. To Weyerman, he was a gruff joker who took shortcuts in order to make more money and dared to depict a king with wax dripping down his fingers. Finally, for Vertue, Schalcken was a courteous, refined painter who arranged his own voyeuristic, nocturnal 'peepshows' in order to paint them. In each case, the authors' slightly mythic, contrasting claims provide clues into Schalcken's carefully crafted persona. The next chapter concentrates on Schalcken's genre paintings from the late 1660s to the 1680s. More than in any other mode, Schalcken explored the beautiful, idealized display of intimacy and desire in his genre scenes, which draw in the beholder into an emotional and sensual experience of pleasurable viewing.

Chapter 3

SCHALCKEN'S EARLY GENRE PAINTINGS: EROS, INTIMACY, EMOTION AND THE NIGHT

3.1 Drawing Beauty from the Shadows

Schalcken's genre paintings of the 1660s through the 1680s invite prolonged viewing. Their small size and their strong contrasts of light and shadow render a cursory glance useless. To grasp their subtle narratives and finely wrought details, the viewer must step into close range and relinquish him or herself to their beckoning allure. This chapter explores Schalcken's genre paintings as seductive melodramas and artistic innovations. It argues that Schalcken reinterpreted the themes and subjects of his immediate Dutch *fijnschilder* predecessors in order to advance a recognizable signature style: his graceful dark manner. When Schalcken emerged as a young painter in the 1660s and 1670s, he entered a new period of innovation and productive competition for genre painters. He responded to the ways in which *fijnschilder* artists like Gerrit Dou and Frans van Mieris presented beautiful women as objects on display. Like his artistic peers, Schalcken experimented with visual strategies to carve out his own niche. Seizing on the burgeoning interest in nocturnal settings, he boldly claimed the night as his own. In all of his genre paintings, Schalcken enhanced the pleasure of looking by creating intriguingly ambiguous activities in private domestic spaces. Many of his night scenes reference traditions of Dutch brothel scenes, but make the negotiations between women and men

more complex through the portrayal of mutual enjoyment and desire. Schalcken's use of nighttime settings advanced his construction of intimate romantic encounters. In his nocturnal paintings, night isolates the viewer and creates a space of heightened emotional experience.

Schalcken's images of beautiful women who gaze out to the beholder's space had their roots in the competitive and inventive arena of Dutch *fijnschilder* genre painting. In the art of Dou and the Leiden *fijnschilders*, women are often pictured as fixed objects of desire within the frame of the painting. This chapter suggests that Schalcken used nocturnal settings to begin moving away from the depiction of women as passive images to consume, and toward more complex depictions of men's and women's interacting desires. I then consider how Van Hoogstraten's creation of voyeuristic viewing situations impacted Schalcken. Building on this discussion of the voyeuristic pleasure of art, I analyze Schalcken's narrative genre scenes in which men and woman interact. In these images, Schalcken developed an inviting mode for narrating emotionally complex romantic stories unfolding at night. When considered as a group, Schalcken's genre paintings raise questions about the conflict between the supposedly noble pursuit of art and the voyeuristic pleasure of creating and viewing feminine beauty. Schalcken's exploration of the tension between lofty classical goals and actual human desire must have been as psychologically captivating and pleasurable to his initial audiences as it is today.

3.2 Genre Painting and Artistic Synergy in Dordrecht, Leiden, and Beyond

Schalcken's dedication to making himself a master of candlelight, and his innovations in genre paintings more broadly, grew from the artistic rivalry, borrowing, and invention that suffused the art world of the era. His hometown of Dordrecht was a dynamic artistic community during the latter part of the seventeenth century. Local artists included Schalcken's first instructor Samuel van Hoogstraten, landscapist Aelbert Cuyp (1620-91), and genre expert and portraitist Nicolaes Maes.¹⁵³ Maes was active in the city from 1653 to 1673, when he moved to Amsterdam. Van Hoogstraten maintained strong ties with Dordrecht during his travels to Vienna, Rome, and London, and returned to Dordrecht in the 1670s. Recent research by Adriaan Waiboer and Melanie Gifford has also shed light on the important artistic exchange and influences shared by genre painters throughout the Netherlands between 1650 and 1675.¹⁵⁴ Painters who specialized in genre scenes have been viewed, until recently, mainly in the context of their own cities and towns, such as Johannes Vermeer in Delft, Caspar Netscher (1639-1684) in The Hague, and Gerrit Dou and Frans van Mieris in Leiden. Yet the travels of other painters and the visual evidence of artists influencing one another demonstrate the energetic artistic world of the late 1600s in the Netherlands as a whole.¹⁵⁵ Even Vermeer, who is often distanced

¹⁵³ For discussion of Maes see Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, 149-56.

¹⁵⁴ See the forthcoming 2017-18 exhibition "Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry," in the Louvre, Paris, the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, and the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., organized by curators Adriaan Waiboer, Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., and Blais Ducos. Melanie Gifford has organized an in-depth technical research project about the exchange of painting techniques and materials among Dutch genre painters of the same period.

¹⁵⁵ Waiboer, "Vermeer's Impact on His Contemporaries," 51-64.

from other Dutch painters, sent out waves of influence as fellow painters and art collectors travelled to see his work. Productive artistic rivalry was a mainstay for Dutch genre specialists, especially following the *rampjaar* in 1672 and the contraction of the art market.

For the goals of establishing a recognizable style on one hand and of seeking to match and outdo the advances of one's artistic peers on the other, Van Hoogstraten was an ideal instructor for Schalcken. Van Hoogstraten, having trained with Rembrandt, experimented with multiple styles over the course of his career, from Rembrandtesque paintings such as the early *Boy Looking Through a Window* (fig. 23) to classicizing works such as *Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin* (fig. 34). Van Hoogstraten, moreover, investigated various strategies for drawing in the beholder, which most fully manifest in his trompe l'oeil pieces paintings and "peepshows," including *A Peepshow with Views of the Interior of a Dutch House* (fig. 85). He recognized opposing styles as equally valid choices for young artists, as evidenced by the way that he facilitated Schalcken's move to Dou's studio and Aert de Gelder's subsequent study with Rembrandt. Van Hoogstraten's workshop was a center of collaboration and experimentation within the artistic community of Dordrecht. He wrote plays and performed them with his students and encouraged them to do the same, in order to study human emotions. He set up visual experiments, such as shadow projections to study light, and he created an atmosphere in which students supported one another and bolstered the

individual talents and skills within the group.¹⁵⁶ As this chapter reveals, Schalcken looked constantly to the work of other painters and yet from early on he focused on developing his own visual brand of alluring figures, velvety chiaroscuro lighting, and suggestive narratives.

3.3 Voyeurism and Seduction in Seventeenth-Century Painting

The narrative in Schalcken's tiny *Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman* (fig. 5) pointedly situates the beholder as an outsider looking in. The young lovers, by appearing to ignore the beholder's presence, actually draw her or him into the picture. The painting's success, as in many of Schalcken's works, depends upon the scene's positioning of the viewer as a voyeur. While the terminology of voyeurism and its description as psychoanalytic diagnosis is firmly rooted in the mid-twentieth century, the enjoyment of observing intimate erotic acts in secret is found in many seventeenth-century sources and is also linked together with the intimate act of beholding artworks.

Eric Jan Sluijter argues that early modern painters actively created a conflation between the representation of beautiful women and the beautiful surface of their paintings.¹⁵⁷ Creating an illusion, a painted image, that was capable of actually arousing the viewer's senses, was a celebrated feat of the painter. This was exemplified by the

¹⁵⁶ Celeste Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion: The Art and Writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 86-91.

¹⁵⁷ Eric Jan Sluijter, "Emulating Sensual Beauty: Representations of Danaë from Gossaert to Rembrandt," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 27, no. 1/2 (1999): 4-45; Eric Jan Sluijter *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2000), and Eric Jan Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

ekphrastic descriptions of eroticized paintings or beautiful women by ancient painters, such as Apelles' painting of Alexander the Great's mistress Campaspe, which in turn inspired the sensual nudes of Titian and Veronese. These famed masterpieces of the Italian Renaissance themselves motivated northern painters including Goltzius and Rembrandt to compete with their own alluring depictions of eroticized beauty.¹⁵⁸ In Dutch genre painting, the eroticism does not frequently come from sensual nude bodies, but instead from the portrayal of intimacy that simultaneously expose the viewer's position as a voyeuristic intruder. Franits has discussed the visual link between Nicolaes Maes' scenes of eavesdroppers and more overtly erotic scenes of satyrs spying on amorous couples or nude sleeping nymphs. In Maes' *The Eavesdropper* of 1657 (on loan to the Dordrechts Museum), a housewife has observed her maid in an erotic encounter with a young man down the hall and communicates this to the viewer through a knowing smile and her index finger raised to her lips, just as the satyrs frequently raise their hand in the same gesture of silence.¹⁵⁹

Dutch genre scenes like Maes' pictures of eavesdroppers, Dou's images of beautiful women at thresholds (figs. 64, 66 and 73), Van Hoogstraten's peepshows (fig. 85), and Schalcken's *Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman*, are "seductively ambiguous" social things, to use Angela Vanhaelen and Bronwen Wilson's terms. The erotics of looking at early modern Netherlandish art, as Vanhaelen and Wilson discuss it, involves an artwork's ability to elicit the "desiring eye" and prompt it to "peer and probe

¹⁵⁸ Sluijter, "Emulating Sensual Beauty," 4-45

¹⁵⁹ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting*, 154-55. See also, Allison Kettering, "Rembrandt's 'Flute Player': A Unique Treatment of Pastoral," *Simiolus* 9, no. 1 (1977): 19-44.

into painted interiors.”¹⁶⁰ As this chapter explores, Schalcken borrowed, adapted, and transformed the visual precedents for seducing the eye in order to develop his own pictorial language of intimate voyeurism, which linked together the voyeuristic act of looking at paintings with the voyeuristic practice of making them.

3.4 Schalcken, the *Fijnschilders* and Paintings as Objects of Desire

From early in his career, Schalcken drew on but expanded and complicated Dou’s use of women as objects of desire. Schalcken’s *Young Woman With a Bird* (fig. 63), dated 1667, adheres closely to Dou’s tradition of depicting attractive young women framed by antique window niches.¹⁶¹ As a member of Dou’s workshop in the early 1660s, Schalcken would have been familiar with works like Dou’s *A Maid with a Basket of Fruit at a Window* of circa 1657, (fig. 64). In this and similar images, the allure of the young pretty girl echoes the beauty of the painting.¹⁶² Her appeal also emphasizes the painting’s position as a seductive “social thing” that seeks its own connection with the viewer.¹⁶³ However, Schalcken played with increasing levels of provocation in his portrayals of

¹⁶⁰ Vanhaelen and Wilson, *The Erotics of Looking*, 13.

¹⁶¹ The young woman in Schalcken’s *Young Woman With a Bird* wears very similar clothing to the girls in *Portrait of Three Children at a Window*, dated 1670. Especially similar are her rigid bodice with voluminous sleeves, which are drawn in with ribbons at the elbow to reveal puffed sleeves of her shift beneath. She also wears her hair up, adorned with drooping ribbons. The young woman’s pose, with her arm resting on the windowsill to emphasize the edge of the picture plane, also echoes the pose of the oldest girl in *Portrait of Three Children at a Window*.

¹⁶² Ronni Baer, *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*. Exh. cat, Washington, National Gallery of Art; London, Dulwich Picture Gallery; The Hague, The Mauritshuis, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Sluijter, “On Fijnschilders and ‘Meaning,’” in *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2000), 265-295.

¹⁶³ Vanhaelen and Wilson, *The Erotics of Looking*, 17.

young woman, who vacillate between erotic invitation and unattainability. In Dou's depictions of women, class boundaries between ladies and domestic servants remain largely fixed. Dou's women, moreover, rarely explicitly proposition the viewer. When Schalcken adapted Dou's woman-at-window prototype, he heightened the sense of sexual availability. He also destabilized class lines. His paintings of women create a pleasurable tension between low-class and high-class clothing and objects that emphasize that the women in his paintings perform imaginary roles.

In *Young Woman With a Bird* of 1667, a young woman smiles gently out toward the beholder; a small bird perches on her right hand, while she gingerly clasps its string leash in her left. Her small, delicate facial features and rounded chin and cheeks suggest a teenager with an idealized beauty, still on the threshold of womanhood. The neckline of her lustrous yellow gown is left enticingly exposed. The bird's presence and the young woman's sly smile suggest both the erotic connotations of the Dutch verb *vogel* (to bird) as a euphemism for sexual intercourse and the bird as a symbol of virginity on the brink of 'flying away.'¹⁶⁴ Schalcken, along with his late-seventeenth century peers, would have been familiar with Jacob Cats' emblem, '*Reperire, perire est*' ('*To discover is to be undone*'), which features a young woman releasing a bird from a casket, with an accompanying poem. The poem has a young maiden ask her nurse, "Where does maidenhood lie?" The nurse, not wanting a "rogue" to tell the young girl about sex, says

¹⁶⁴ See Eddy de Jongh, *Questions of Meaning: Theme and motif in Dutch seventeenth-century painting*, trans. and ed. Michael Hoyle (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2000), 41-46.

that maidenhood lay inside a casket holding a finch. As soon as the nurse says this, the girl opens the casket and lets the bird, symbolizing her virginity, fly away.¹⁶⁵

Partially as a response to Cats' popular emblem, paintings featuring the connection between birds and women's virginity, either women pictured beside empty birdcages or with birds on the verge of escaping their cages, experienced a surge in popularity beginning in about 1660. Caspar Netscher painted a variation in 1666, *Woman Feeding a Parrot with a Page* (fig. 65).¹⁶⁶ Netscher's painting seems to share a relationship with to Schalcken's *Young Woman with a Bird*, particularly because the two pictures share the same Dou-influenced niche format and illusionistic curtain at right, and feature similar gold gowns on the young women portrayed.¹⁶⁷ If Schalcken saw Netscher's painting before painting his own, it offers further proof that he was studying other artists closely and experimenting with the newest themes and compositions available to him. Dou's *Young Woman with a Parakeet in a Niche* (fig. 66), which has been dated to circa 1670, displays a similarly pretty and even more innocent-looking

¹⁶⁵ De Jongh, *Questions of Meaning*, 44.

¹⁶⁶ In the early eighteenth century Netscher's *Woman Feeding a Parrot with a Page* was in the collection Johan Wilhelm II (1658-1716), Elector Palatine, and was later passed to the Mannheim Gallery and to the Alte Pinakothek, Munich from the 1830s to 1936. In the 1940s it was seized by Reichsmarschall Hermann Goering. The painting was donated to the Von der Heydt Museum in Wuppertal in 1952 and it remained there until 2014, when it was restituted to the heirs of pre-WW II owners Hugo and Elisabeth Andriessse. Online sales catalogue entry, Richard Green Paintings, <http://www.richardgreen.com/Caspar-Netscher-Woman-feeding-parrot-DesktopDefault.aspx?tabid=6&tabindex=5&objectid=716163&categoryid=650> (accessed 23 February 2016).

¹⁶⁷ For discussion of this painting and of Netscher's relationship with the *fijnschilders*, see Marjorie E. Wieseman, *Caspar Netscher and Late-Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting* (Davaco, 2002), 67-69.

young woman on the verge of releasing her pet bird.¹⁶⁸ Schalcken probably kept in touch with Dou after he returned to Dordrecht around 1665. It seems possible that this is an example of their continued mutual influence on one another—in this case, Dou borrowing from Schalcken. Dou's composition could be seen as a simplified version of Schalcken's. He retained the gold-colored dress but used a less opulent fabric and kept the niche and red curtain, but presented the stone surround in much more minimal terms. Dou also heightened the wide-eyed, sweet expression of the young woman in his painting, emphasizing the innocence that is on the verge of disappearing.

Unlike Netscher's young woman, who plies her bird with a treat, or Dou's young woman, who is ready to let her pet fly away, Schalcken's young woman draws out the tension of the moment. She holds the leash delicately, which communicates that she maintains her virginity in the frozen instant of the image, but could lose her grasp at any moment. The girl's young age and her delicate grip on the bird's leash hold the potential to evoke erotic tension in male viewers. The painting elicits a complex set of emotions in the beholder. If the leash slips away, it would signal the young woman's sexual availability. Conversely, she gains much of her appeal through her momentary innocence. As with Dou's paintings of desirable young women, this tension would become all the more obvious when the viewer interacted with the small painting at close range. The viewer could appreciate in the young girl's innocent beauty, delight in the possibility of

¹⁶⁸ For a fuller iconographic reading of Dou's painting, see Dominique Surh, "Young Woman with a Parakeet in a Niche," *Leiden Collection Online Catalogue*, edited by Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. (forthcoming, 2016).

her future sexual awakening, and all the while marvel at the artist's ability to depict this charged moment of adolescence.

Schalcken's *The Sausage-Maker* (fig. 67), probably completed between 1665 and 1670, also features an attractive young woman in fine clothing and an elaborate hairstyle who smiles out at the viewer from a classical stone archway. This young woman, however, engages in a far less delicate activity than in *Young Lady With a Bird*. She is stuffing sausage filling into a string of casing held by a large wooden bucket as she brandishes one sausage toward the beholder. *The Sausage-Maker* is an example of Schalcken's "explicitly libidinous" adaptations of Dou's more subtly erotic imagery of maids, as seen in *Maid at a Window, Pouring Water* (fig. 64).¹⁶⁹ Especially provocative is the ambiguity of the sausage maker's social class. Her elaborately coifed hair, a fine dress with large puffed sleeves, and a prominent choker-style necklace might signal a higher class and even the lady of the depicted household. Yet, she engages in an activity more often visually linked with maids, imagery which draws from Dou's tradition of depicting maids in similar compositions.

Pictures of female domestic servants gain their erotic edge from period concepts of maids as lustful and greedy.¹⁷⁰ The stereotype both ridiculed maids and cast them as sources of uncomfortable sexual desire.¹⁷¹ However, *The Sausage-Maker* creates a

¹⁶⁹ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, 245; Sluijter, "On Fijnschilders and 'Meaning,'" in *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2000), 275.

¹⁷⁰ Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, 118.

¹⁷¹ The idea of female servants as inherently lustful was based less in reality and more in cultural explanations for their perceived sexual availability and vulnerability to assault at the hands of their

contrast between the woman's actions and her social position. Through a process of sustained looking, the disjuncture between her bawdy actions of stuffing sausages and her elite costuming becomes apparent. These conflicting identities make her even more provocative. Could she be an elite lady who overtly displays what would be private labor within the home, with lewd overtones? Or is she a domestic servant dressing above her social station in a manner that enhances her desirability? In some genre paintings, such as Maes' *The Eavesdropper*, the figure of a sexualized maid sometimes exists to upset the domestic peace of the household. If the young woman in Schalcken's *The Sausage-Maker* is a maid dressing above her station, the painting could express similar fears about the dangers of desirable domestic servants. Alternatively, if she is a lady of the household lasciviously playing with sausages, the viewer is encouraged to imagine what else she might do when further ensconced in the privacy of her home.

Several years later, Schalcken painted *Herring-Seller* (fig. 68), circa 1675-85 and *Lady Offering a Lemon* (fig. 69), circa 1680-85, which are both in the Rijksmuseum. While the two are not pendants, they display closely related themes and demonstrate how Schalcken's portrayal of alluring women shifted from the 1670s to the 1680s. These slightly later paintings zoom in closer to the women depicted, making them more immediate, and in doing so they become further removed from Dou's compositional devices. Their different social classes again draw attention to the erotic appeal of mixing high and low class feminine elements. In each, Schalcken focused on refined textures and

employers. See Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 59-65.

materials. Smooth lustrous skin in conjunction with satin and velvet fabrics contrast with crisp lace and gleaming metal objects and jewelry.¹⁷² Food—the paper-thin slice of lemon in *Lady Offering a Lemon* and the glinting scales of the fish in the *Herring-Seller*—augments the sensual experience of the paintings.¹⁷³ The food displayed stimulates the viewer’s taste buds, but then frustrates them because the delicious morsels are only illusions.¹⁷⁴ The foodstuffs are also distinctly pungent, alluding to the sense of smell. The lemon, in particular, is a contrast between an alluring surface and a mouth-puckering taste. Lemons, for this contrast of a beautiful exterior and tangy interior, were sometimes seen as a symbol of the capricious qualities of love and desire.¹⁷⁵ The women loom close to the barrier of the pictures, as if to place their comestibles right into the viewer’s mouth, an intimacy enhanced by each artwork’s small size. These paintings also continue Schalcken’s exploration into the allure of costume and conflicting or ambiguous identities. In *Herring-Seller*, in particular, the woman’s ruddy arms and simple clothing support her apparent occupation as a fishmonger. However, her refined features, large pearl earrings, and shiny ring add a pleasing disjuncture.

The connection between erotic desire and food is also present in Schalcken’s early nocturnal genre paintings of women. Schalcken painted at least three variations of young

¹⁷² Beherman dates both of these paintings to circa 1685-90, which is also possible. The figures’ rounded faces, high curved eyebrows and straight noses seem relate to works from the mid-1680s, such as his portrait of *Elisabeth Taillarde as a Field Nymph*.

¹⁷³ Joanna Woodall, “Laying the Table: The Procedures of Still Life,” in *The Erotics of Looking: Early Modern Netherlandish Art*, edited by Angela Vanhaelen and Bronwen Wilson (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 111-137.

¹⁷⁴ Woodall, “Laying the Table: The Procedures of Still Life,” in *The Erotics of Looking*, 120.

¹⁷⁵ See Anja Sevcik, “Junge Dame mit Zitrone, 1680-85,” in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, ed. by Anja K. Sevcik, exh. cat., Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum (Stuttgart: Belser, 2015), 163-66.

women offering waffles to the beholder.¹⁷⁶ *A Lady Holding a Waffle on a Plate* (fig. 70) of circa 1675-85, and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, is the highest-quality version of the theme and the only one that seems to take place at night. While there is no direct artificial light source, the dim background and spotlighting of the young woman suggests nighttime. The waffle, a sweet morsel displayed on a silver platter, echoes the woman's sweetness, which is also on display. While waffles were commonly enjoyed at carnivals and outdoor fairs, they were still a meal of the elite indoors, especially the sweetened variety.¹⁷⁷ The silver plate enhances the sumptuous nature of the late-night meal. The woman wears the popular kimono-style robe called a *Japonse rok*, loosely wrapped around her shift, which artists frequently used to create a timeless effect.¹⁷⁸ Within Schalcken's painting, the garment becomes a marker of privacy, a revealing outfit worn only in the home and with close companions, primarily during the evening hours. By extension, the woman offers the fantasy of an intimate exchange after dark. Comparing *Lady Holding a Waffle on a Plate* with *Lady Offering a Lemon*, made around the same time, highlights how the former painting's nocturnal setting increases the sense of closeness between beholder and subject. Schalcken's practice of staging his genre scenes at night expanded during the 1680s and also coincided with his rising interest in themes of romance and seduction.

¹⁷⁶ The other two are a *Young Woman with a Waffle*, circa 1692-96, Oil on canvas, 25.5 x 21.5 cm., Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel, and *Young Woman with a Waffle*, current whereabouts unknown, previously documented at Rafael Valls, London, in 1997.

¹⁷⁷ A. Chéruel, *Dictionnaire Historique des Institutions Moeurs et Coutumes de la France*, vol. 1 (Paris: Hachette, 1865, 2nd ed.), 477.

¹⁷⁸ De Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy*, 50; 224-25.

3.5 Schalcken's Move from the Window Niche into the Nocturnal Interior

Schalcken transformed the *fijnschilder* woman-at-window trope by moving away from windows or thresholds and into dimly lit, private interiors. The connection between artistic virtuosity and the depiction of manmade lighting effects is evident in Karel van Mander's discussion of artificial light in his *Schilder-Boeck*, published in 1604.¹⁷⁹ Van Mander's writings indicate both that the rendering of candlelight was regularly taught in painters' workshops by the turn of the century and that it presented difficulties that required special skill.¹⁸⁰ In Chapter Seven of the introduction to *Het Schilder-Boeck* "Grondt der Edel vry Schilderconst," Van Mander writes:

Candlelight, a rare thing, is difficult to fashion, demanding art, for it looks well when one overshadows a figure from foot to crown, allowing the candlelight to rake only the exposed edge of hair or clothing. The light must condense in a point of stroke, while shadows take everywhere else their course.¹⁸¹

Van Mander includes his discussion of painting artificial light in the chapter on *reflexyconst*, or the art of reflection. Walter Melion has argued that *reflexyconst* refers both to depicting reflections and refractions of light and also to the artist's act of reflecting or

¹⁷⁹ Müller Hofstede, "Artificial Light in Honthorst and Terbrugghen," 28-29.

¹⁸⁰ Müller Hofstede, "Artificial Light in Honthorst and Terbrugghen," 28-29.

¹⁸¹ Keers-lichten, als dinghen niet seer commune,

Vallen moeyelijck, en constich om maken,

Dan het staet wel, als men voor aen in't brune

Eenich Beeldt van de voeten tot de crune

Overschaduw't, t'licht latende gheraken

Slechs den omtreck van naeckte hayr oft laken,

Oock moet van het licht, als een punct oft steke,

De schaduw'over al nemen haer streke. Fols. 31v-32r, stanza 24. Translation taken from Walter S.

Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Cannon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 71-71 and 250, note 44.

reproducing nature.¹⁸² Van Mander reserved special praise for painters of artificial light. These artists sacrificed legible description for the dramatic contrasts between bursts of light and indeterminate shadows that created a heightened sense of illusionism.¹⁸³ Schalcken's *Young Woman Blowing on a Brazier* (fig. 71) and his *A Boy Blowing a Firebrand to Light a Candle* (fig. 72) also demonstrate his awareness of the classical precedents for the depiction of artificial light.¹⁸⁴ A key to its development was Pliny the Elder's *ekphrases* of an ancient painting, which described a beautiful painting of a boy blowing on a firebrand.

De Lairese, writing a century later, echoed Van Mander's writings on the dramatic effects of light and shadow in artificial illumination: "...because in the evening, but especially at night, the vapours are darker and more dense than those of the day: whence it follows, that all objects, deprived of the lamp-light, disappear; and, by reason of its nearness, can be lighted but in part."¹⁸⁵ De Lairese's description also stresses the night's unique environment. In the early modern era, night was logically understood as nothing but the absence of the sun. Simultaneously, it was discussed as having its own palpable atmosphere, both in artistic treatises and in other literature. The dense vapors, or

¹⁸² Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Cannon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 60.

¹⁸³ Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Cannon*, 71.

¹⁸⁴ Justus Müller Hofstede, "Artificial Light in Honthorst and Terbrugghen: Form and Iconography," in *Hendrick ter Brugghen und die Nachfolger Caravaggios in Holland*, ed. Rüdiger Klessmann (Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1988), 25-26, 34.

¹⁸⁵ Gerard de Lairese, *Groot Schilderboek*, vol 1., 210

what was called the “cloud of night,” impeded vision and could even penetrate the body.¹⁸⁶

In Schalcken’s *A Young Woman With a Candle, Drawing Aside a Curtain* (fig. 39), circa 1670-75, candlelight provides a thick atmosphere in which shadows seem on the verge of enveloping the figure entirely. Like the woman in *Lady Holding a Waffle on a Plate*, this young woman wears a *Japone rok* hanging loosely over her lacy chemise-like underdress. The candle that the young woman holds up to her face illuminates her flushed cheeks and parted lips and also lights the skin exposed by her low neckline. The proximity of the candle to her mouth, moreover, suggests that she could blow it out at any moment, evoking the popular Dutch period saying about night and erotic activity: “De Kaers uyt, de Schaemschoe uyt,” which roughly translates to “When the candle goes out, shame disappears [with it].”¹⁸⁷ The illusionistic curtain that the young woman pulls back gives the sensation that she is either emerging from or entering into a small, enclosed space. In the context of the broader use of curtains in Dutch seventeenth-century paintings, the tapestry in Schalcken’s composition draws attention to the circumstances of display.¹⁸⁸ Finally, the curtain evokes the voyeuristic experience of looking at paintings, and the process of revealing something beautiful and desirable.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Gerard de Lairesse discussed the vapors of night in *Groot Schilderboek*, vol 1., 210. See also, A. Roger Ekirch, *At Night’s Close: Night in Times Past* (New York: Norton, 2006, 2nd ed.), 12-15.

¹⁸⁷ Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 204.

¹⁸⁸ See Robert Fucci’s recent study for the multilayered motivations for illusionistic curtains in Dutch paintings: Robert Fucci, “Parrhasius and the Art of Display. The illusionistic curtain in seventeenth-century Dutch painting,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*. 65, no. 1 (2015): 144-175.

¹⁸⁹ Hollander, 69-76.

A Young Woman With a Candle, Drawing Aside a Curtain also highlights Schalcken's move away from the slender body type seen in the work of Dou and other *fijnschilders* and toward a body type that is just as idealized but is much softer and fleshier. Schalcken grew increasingly interested in depicting the subtle modulations of flesh on more solidly built figures that have less of the porcelain-doll effect present in his earliest works. Schalcken was possibly familiar with Dou's *Young Woman with a Lit Candle at a Window* (fig. 73) of circa 1658-65, in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection. Although the two compositions are closely related, the young woman in Dou's painting is much more delicate and frail. Her breasts, though prominently displayed, are highly stylized and anatomically confusing. Dou's painting, moreover, does not display the same subtle lighting effects that create the glowing effect in Schalcken's paintings. The patterns of the light the candlelight on the young woman's face and body is harsh and disconnected. The lighting seems like an afterthought and the woman's skin appears blotchy rather than warmed by the flame. The lighting in Schalcken's *A Young Woman With a Candle, Drawing Aside a Curtain*, in contrast to Dou's painting, gives the entire scene a velvety glow that offers further invitation into the young woman's space.

Schalcken's use of nocturnal light facilitated his interest in the alluring depiction of female bodies. Staging his figures at night enhanced both the effects of light and shadow and the symbolic position of night as a setting for romantic acts. Houbraken emphasized Schalcken's dedication to representing flesh when he wrote that, "he also often illuminated his figures with candlelight or daylight, or allowed the sun's rays to shine through a garment, so that the naked skin would be pleasant to the eye because of

the bright reflection of light from the fabric. He captured [this effect] very artfully, so that it flattered and charmed the eyes of the beholder.”¹⁹⁰ In *A Young Woman With a Candle, Drawing Aside a Curtain*, as Houbraken discussed, Schalcken used the visible light source of the candle to create reflections and subtle gradations of light that cast a pleasing glow onto the woman’s skin. In 1694, Schalcken would tell Thomas Platt that he “was worth most in coloring,” indicating that he viewed the flattering and charming depiction of color to be one his chief talents as a painter.¹⁹¹ The concept of flattering the eye, moreover, links Schalcken’s paintings with the idea of painting as a “seductress of sight” and the painter’s aspiration to “conquer and capture the eyes of art lovers.”¹⁹²

Examining Schalcken’s nocturnal paintings through the lens of Laura Mulvey’s work on cinema also provides a framework to gain insight into Schalcken’s attention to the erotic pleasure of voyeuristic looking.¹⁹³ Moreover, analysis of the painting in relation to Mulvey’s concept of melodrama reveals how Schalcken’s paintings sometimes work against patriarchal visual culture by opening themselves up to female and male spectatorship and desires.¹⁹⁴ Mulvey’s discussion of the darkness of cinema shares several parallels with Schalcken’s nocturnal paintings. Mulvey argues that in the cinema,

¹⁹⁰ Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 3, 176.

¹⁹¹ Platt’s letter will be further discussed in Chapter 5. Thomas Platt, 3 August 1694, Dok. 93 ASF, Med. Prine., f. 4247, in Wolfram Prinz, *Die Sammlung der Selbstbildnisse in den Uffizien*, vol 1 (Florence: Kunsthistorisches Institut; Berlin: Mann, 1971), 191-92. Also reproduced in Crinò (1953), 192.

¹⁹² Sluijter, “Introduction: ‘With the power of the seemingly real we must conquer and capture the eyes of art lovers,’” in *Seductress of Sight*, 13.

¹⁹³ Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” [originally published in *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1975): 6-18], in *Feminism and Film Theory*, ed. Constance Penley (New York: Routledge, 1988), 57-68.

¹⁹⁴ Laura Mulvey, “Afterthoughts on ‘Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema’ inspired by *Duel in the Sun*,” [originally published in *Framework* 6, nos. 15-17 (1981)], in *Feminism and Film Theory*, ed. Constance Penley (New York: Routledge, 1988), 69-79.

the extreme contrast between the dark auditorium and the brilliant shifting patterns of light and shade on the projected screen create for the beholder a fantasy of voyeuristic separation. Although a film is made to be seen, according to Mulvey, "...the conditions of screening and narrative conventions give the spectator an illusion of looking in on a private world."¹⁹⁵

In Schalcken's nighttime paintings, the process is opposite and yet related. The painting's shadow-filled surface requires the spectator to examine the image at close range and let their eyes adjust to its dark value scale. The spectator is thus pulled into a process of artificial nocturnal viewing. Considered with Mulvey's terms in mind, Schalcken's artificially lit paintings isolate the spectator from the scene unfolding within yet also enhance the sensation of intimate viewing.¹⁹⁶ In works such as *A Young Woman With a Candle*, *Drawing Aside a Curtain* and *Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman*, the beholder must place him or herself directly in front of the postcard-sized copper painting in order to look at it. It necessitates an individual experience of watching, as Mulvey puts it, "a hermetically sealed world," in these cases in secluded bedrooms.¹⁹⁷ In *Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman*, specially, the scene draws the beholder in and makes him or her feel as though they are privileged—but unseen—observers of this private erotic encounter.

Mulvey later revisited her concepts of visual pleasure and applied them to melodrama and female viewership. She argues in this work that, when narrative

¹⁹⁵ Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure..." 60.

¹⁹⁶ Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure..." 60-61.

¹⁹⁷ Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure..." 60.

complicates the desires and sexuality of its characters—in particular its female characters—it becomes melodrama. The woman’s image no longer only passively signifies sexuality, as in Mulvey’s example of a naked Andromeda waiting chained to a rock.¹⁹⁸ When female characters take on more active roles that acknowledge their own desires, the story is allowed to “be actually, overtly, about sexuality.”¹⁹⁹ Over the course of his career, Schalcken’s genre paintings increasingly featured men and women as erotic partners and as joint spectators. In *Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman*, the mutual desire between the two figures, and the ambiguity of the outcome of their narrative, transforms the painting from brothel trope to complex melodrama.²⁰⁰

Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman idealizes its erotic encounter by making the narrative richly ambiguous. At the same time, its tension between a licit love affair and an illicit exchange of money for sex roots it in the complications of melodrama. In melodrama, the lead characters are torn between their individual fantasies and desires and the sexual codes of their society. The figures in *Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman* are frozen in the process of consummating their desire and thus leave open a multitude of possible outcomes for the beholder. The beholder can then project his or her desires onto the ambiguous narrative of the painting. In this way, Schalcken’s depictions of erotic exchanges between ardent lovers reach out to both male and female

¹⁹⁸ Mulvey’s example of Andromeda, a story of captivity and violence, brings to mind Stephanie Dicky’s discussion of gender and emotion, see Stephanie Dicky, “Damsels in Distress: Gender and Emotion in Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Art,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 60 (2010): 52-81.

¹⁹⁹ Mulvey, “Afterthoughts,” 75.

²⁰⁰ Mulvey, “Afterthoughts,” 75.

viewers, more so than the paintings of Dou, Van Hoogstraten and many of his artistic peers.

Mulvey's theories of spectacle versus melodrama also offer an alternative way of thinking about Schalcken's alluring suggestions of narrative activate his paintings of women alone at night. The woman in *A Young Woman With a Candle, Drawing Aside a Curtain*, by engaging with the viewer, operates as an erotic object for that viewer without any pretense of a male character within the painting. The beauty of the woman as object and the surface of the painting coalesce into one unified experience of scopophilic pleasure.²⁰¹ However, by placing the viewer inside the woman's space, just on the other side of the curtain, the painting hints at a narrative already unfolding. Unlike Dou's window niche paintings that keep the viewer outside, Schalcken's painting pulls the beholder into the role of "active male protagonist."²⁰² The young woman's implied interaction with the viewer suggests that they are meeting for the kind of late night tryst or flirtation that was intensely romanticized in the period in poetry, books, and songs. English Poet Thomas Yalden (1670-1736), for example, wrote in his "A Hymn to Darkness" of 1692 that the night's "Darkness art the Lover's kind retreat, / And dost the Nuptial Joys compleat: / Thou dost inspire them with thy Shade, / Giv'st vigour to the Youth, and warm'st the yielding Maid."²⁰³ Whether covert affairs, or the cultural

²⁰¹ Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure...", 62-63.

²⁰² Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure...", 63.

²⁰³ Thomas Walden, "A Hymn to Darkness. By Mr. Yalden," in *Examen Poeticum: being the Third Part of Miscellany Poems. Containing variety of new Translations of the Ancient Poets. Together with many original Copies, by the most eminent Hands* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1693), 132-37, republished

institution of the wedding night, the link between romance and the late hours was deeply integrated in daily seventeenth-century life.

Two small pendant paintings, *Young Woman Reading a Letter* and *Young Woman Holding a Burning Candle*, from the same period extend Schalcken's use of melodrama and demonstrate the larger interests in nocturnal narratives during the era. About ten inches high, they were painted slightly later, circa 1685-1690 (figs. 74 and 75).²⁰⁴ In *Young Woman Reading a Letter*, the woman holds a letter up close to the candle flame, her shoulders slightly curved as if she had been stooped over the light to read. The viewer, it seems, has walked in unexpectedly and interrupted her. She appears to smile at the combination of the contents of her letter and the entry of the viewer, perhaps placing the beholder into the position of the letter-writer.²⁰⁵ The pendants might display two alternatives for erotic pleasure, or two aspects of love.²⁰⁶ The young woman reading with her mouth slightly open experiences the gratification of a romantic text, and perhaps the sensual aural experience of reading aloud. Meanwhile, the woman in *Young Woman Holding a Burning Candle*, with her mouth closed and her head cradled in her hand, demonstrates the pleasure of looking and offers to share that pleasure with the viewer. Although she is smiling, the wistful quality of her gaze and the melancholic gesture of

in *English Poetry 1579-1830: Spenser And The Tradition*,
<http://spenserials.cath.vt.edu/TextRecord.php?action=GET&textsid=33699> (accessed 19 February 2016).

²⁰⁴ Both paintings have been in the Dresden Gemäldegalerie since 1754. Beherman, 279, 284.

²⁰⁵ Beherman reads the paintings as the same young woman, first receiving a letter from her suitor and then thinking of him and "the happiness of love." Beherman, 284.

²⁰⁶ See, for comparison, Laurinda Dixon's discussion of pairs of paintings that display lovesickness in one pendant and then erotic fulfillment in the other. Laurinda S. Dixon, *Perilous Chastity: Women and Illness in Pre-Enlightenment Art and Medicine* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 165-67.

resting her head in her hand signal her romantic yearning. As pendants, Schalcken's paintings can also be seen as the same woman first yearning for love and then on the verge of fulfillment. In this case, the woman reads a letter from her lover, and then in the second painting she gazes directly at the beholder, who assumes the role of her romantic partner.

Schalcken's paintings draw from the intimate imagery of women reading and writing in the paintings of Vermeer, Netscher and Ter Borch. The pendants display his awareness of works such as Netscher's *Young Woman Holding a Letter*, from the 1660s (fig. 76). The depiction of space is less intimate and the lighting is more traditional in Netscher's painting. The woman, however, shares the same melancholic pose. The diminished height of the candle and the hint of dawn could suggest that she has been up during the night pondering the letter in her hand. Even closer to Schalcken's paintings are Netscher's *Young Woman Winding a Watch by Candlelight*, circa 1665 (fig. 77), and Frans van Mieris' *The Letter Writer* (fig. 78), which is signed and dated 1670. Wieseman suggests that Netscher's painting could have impacted Van Mieris and Schalcken directly, but also roots all three artists' nocturnal imagery in Dou's precedents.²⁰⁷ Dou, though, more often placed men as the lone, meditative figures of his nighttime imagery. Van Mieris, Netscher, and finally Schalcken seem to have mutually developed a type of female nocturnal subject that drew from Dou's imagery but was also distinct from it. Schalcken's pendant paintings of *Young Woman Reading a Letter* and *Young Woman*

²⁰⁷ Marjorie E. Wieseman, *Caspar Netscher and Late-Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting* (Davaco, 2002), 61-62.

Holding a Burning Candle, along with works such as *Woman Threading a Needle* (fig. 79), in the Wallace collection, from the late 1670s, bring the viewer into the private spaces, the very bedsides of the female characters portrayed.

For women in early modern Europe, nighttime was one of the few moments that could be truly private. The limited number of letters and diary entries by women from the period in some ways mirror the intimate scenes of reading, writing, sewing, and other personal activities depicted in paintings. One young wife of an Italian merchant in Italy in the fifteenth century, Laura Cereta, described in letters, which were also written at night, the rare freedoms that this time afforded. She writes:

I have no leisure time for my own writing and studies unless I use the nights as productively as I can. I sleep very little. Time is a scarce commodity for those of us who spend our skills and labor equally on our families and our own work. But by staying up all night, I become a thief of the night, sequestering a space from the rest of the day.²⁰⁸

Cereta's writings demonstrate that while romance was a part of the nocturnal world for women, it was also a time when they could escape the demands of family and household work and engage in individual creative activities and personal erotic musings. Schalcken, furthermore, captured a unique moment early on in the growing connection between night, letters, and romantic yearning that would blossom in the generation after him. As one example, English female poet Martha Fowke (1689-1736), published "A Letter to my Love. – All alone, past 12, in the dumps," in a local paper. The poem begins:

Oh! weep with me, the changing Scene,
Torn from thy Arms; devour'd with Spleen;

²⁰⁸ Laura Cereta, translated and quoted in A. Roger Ekirch, *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 208.

Instead of those dear Eyes, I look
Upon the Fire, or else a Book:
But Oh how dull must either be
To Eyes that have been studying thee!²⁰⁹

Fowke writes of writing, burning, and railing at the stars, before she concludes that she wants her lover's hand to press her neck, his eyes to make her bright, "And charm this sullen Hour of the Night."²¹⁰ Schalcken's nocturnal imagery of women captures this multilayered power of the night as a time for lovers and equally a time for individual contemplation of the motions of the heart, both happy and melancholy. As compelling as Schalcken's nighttime representations of women alone are, his depictions of men and women interacting reveal yet another level of complexity. His paintings of couples at night focus even more on the narratives of human interactions. He reached the fullest expression of emotional intimacy in these works.

3.6 The Poetic and Erotic Function of Night in Schalcken's Paintings of Lovers

Schalcken's interest in the seductive pull of emotional intimacy and his gift for evoking voyeuristic pleasure are evident beginning with his earliest depictions of romantic themes featuring men and women together at night. The stylistic transformation from *Young Man and Young Woman at a Window, Lit by Candlelight* (fig. 80) in Paris to *Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman* in London (fig. 5) reveals his departure

²⁰⁹ Martha Fowke, "A Letter to my Love. – All alone, past 12, in the dumps," (originally published in the Barbados Gazette, 29 June 1734), in *Eighteenth-Century Poetry: An Annotated Anthology*, ed. David Fairer and Christine Gerrard (London: Wiley Blackwell, 2015, 3rd ed.), 242-43.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 244.

from the influences of Van Hoogstraten and Dou and his movement toward a uniquely refined and stylish dark style of painting. These two paintings by Schalcken were each completed in the mid to late 1660s and each is roughly six by seven inches, one vertical and the other horizontal. Nonetheless, they differ in handling, tone, and overall effect. By analyzing the two images, we can see Schalcken begin to develop his distinctive formulation of a delicate and romanticized nocturnal eroticism.

The lighthearted comedic *Young Man and Young Woman at a Window, Lit by Candlelight* (fig. 80) of circa 1665-70, now in the Louvre, is one of Schalcken's earliest candlelit paintings. Like many of his early genre scenes, the painting is rooted in Dou's practice of displaying appealing female figures at windowsills.²¹¹ The young couple foregrounds Schalcken's interests in the pleasure of voyeurism, theatricality, and the erotic lure of the midnight hours. The young woman looks toward the viewer with a small smile, while her companion wraps his arm around her shoulder as he stares directly at the spectator with a broad grin. His theatrical posture and smile emphasize the humorous nature of the scene of young lovers. The young man holds a burning candle out in front of him, much like the figure in Dou's *Young Woman with a Lit Candle at a Window*, (fig. 73). In Schalcken's painting, the young man's action of holding the candle out toward the viewer creates the sensation that he is attempting to illuminate us—that the light would break through the picture plane. *Young Man and Young Woman at a Window, Lit by*

²¹¹ See Ronni Baer's discussion of Dou's transition from kitchen maids to generic comely young women. Ronni Baer, *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat, Washington, National Gallery of Art; London, Dulwich Picture Gallery; The Hague, The Mauritshuis, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 38.39.

Candlelight also seems to draw from Netscher's daytime scene *Lady with a Parrot and a Gentleman with a Monkey*, from 1664 (fig. 81), which is also rife with references to love and desire.²¹² Schalcken's painting seems to borrow the man's pose with his arm around his companion, as well as the arched window niche, which connects both artists back to Dou. The link between the monkey, a symbol of lust, on the left in *Lady with a Parrot and a Gentleman with a Monkey*, and statue of Venus in *Young Man and Young Woman at a Window, Lit by Candlelight* might offer further evidence that Schalcken was familiar with Netscher's painting, or with a description of it.

In Schalcken's painting, the prominent statuette of Venus in the pose known as Venus pudica ("modest Venus") behind the couple emphasizes the complex layering of lust and love in the scene. Venus is positioned to the rear and in profile; thus, her gaze falls in the distance, not on the couple, and suggests that they may have turned their backs not only on Venus but also on love in its purest form. This placement is sometimes an indicator of prostitution, or more generally, of gratifying physical lust without love.²¹³ Bolstering the tension between innocent courting and bawdy sexual encounter, the statuette also gives the beholder access to a naked female body that then echoes the young woman's body beneath her loosely draped clothing. Further emphasizing the symbolic importance of the statue of Venus, the young woman in the painting can also be

²¹² Marjorie E. Wieseman, *Caspar Netscher and Late-Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting* (Davaco, 2002), 68.

²¹³ Marjorie E. Wieseman, *Vermeer's Women: Secrets and Silence*, exh. cat. (Cambridge: The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, 2011), 198.

seen as a type of Venus pudica or “modest Venus” herself, with her body carefully covered and yet enhanced by the light of the candle.

In the Netherlands during the seventeenth century, young men and women interacting at night held inherent threats to moral fiber. Jacob Cats’ *Maagdeplicht* spins the cautionary yarn about a young maiden so enthralled by her suitor’s eloquent, passionate speeches, that “when he came at night and stood before the door/He joked and played all too free/And stayed the whole night o’er.”²¹⁴ Cats’ poem demonstrates how the issue of sexuality in the Dutch Republic, and in nearly modern Europe as a whole, was not as simple as a divide between the pure love of marriage and illicit mercenary love. On the contrary, the erotic negotiations between individuals were multivalent and complex. Cats, moreover, explored the issues of erotic desire, courtship, and the dangers of sexuality through humor, further linking him with Schalcken. Just as Schalcken portrayed the loss of innocence by using theatrical humor in *The Doctor’s Examination* (fig. 83), in *Young Man and Young Woman at a Window, Lit by Candlelight* he took on the intricacies of nighttime as a setting for both flirtatious courtship on the one hand and potential sexual transgression on the other.

Candles as symbols of—and aids in—nighttime intrigue feature in many seventeenth-century images and texts, as evidenced by the aphorism about shame disappearing along with the light of a snuffed candle. An inverse example of candlelight abetting erotic activity appears in the immensely popular libertine book *L’École des filles*

²¹⁴ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 437.

(School for Girls), first published anonymously in France in 1655.²¹⁵ In *L'École des filles*, the character Suzanne describes her escapades in which she and her lover pose one another's bodies by candlelight and take pleasure in gazing at the play of light and shadow on their naked skin.²¹⁶ Night, for young people especially, was a time rife with possibilities for bawdy games, flirtations, and sexual activity.²¹⁷ Bundling, the practice of a young man and a young woman staying the night together—without having sex—as part of courtship practice, was common in the Netherlands, where it was called *queesting* (“chatting”).²¹⁸ While these nights were supposed to exclude intercourse, they could involve kissing and other intimacies, and complaints of young couples going too far were also common.

While *Young Man and Young Woman at a Window, Lit by Candlelight* does not depict the couple's erotic interaction overtly, Schalcken's subtle references to love and desire—their close embrace, the figure of Venus, the nocturnal setting—invite the viewer to ponder its ambiguous narrative possibilities. The gesture of the young man's left hand, with his thumb and forefinger touching, may also evoke sexual intercourse, as in Schalcken's depictions of the lewd gesture of a man making a “fig” gesture—sticking his thumb through his middle finger and forefinger—in the etching *Man Making an Obscene*

²¹⁵ Wijnand W. Mijnhardt discusses an instance of *L'École des filles* for sale and even openly displayed in Utrecht during the 1660s, and the subsequent protest of local Calvinist ministers. See Wijnand W. Mijnhardt, “Politics and Pornography in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Dutch Republic,” in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone Books, 1993), 297.

²¹⁶ James Grantham Turner, *Schooling Sex: Libertine Literature and Erotic Education in Italy, France, and England 1534-1685* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 133.

²¹⁷ See Ekirch, *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past*, 194-202.

²¹⁸ Ekirch, 198.

Gesture (fig. 82) and in *The Medical Examination*, circa 1680-85, in the Mauritshuis (fig. 83). The candle poised between the man and woman seems to symbolize the “fire” of their amorous passion. The young man, with his lascivious grin, holds the flame and prepares to hand it—and his sexual desire into the waiting hand of the young woman. The gently teasing nature of the young couple’s display of amorous interaction may have prompted the viewer to think about their own romantic past. A young mercer in Lancashire England, Roger Lowe, described in his diary how he arranged to “sit up a while” with a young woman named Mary Naylor. Lowe later wrote that, “This was the first night that ever I stayed up a wooing ere my life,” a notation that evokes the special nature of their young amorous meetings.²¹⁹

In sharp contrast to the comic and theatrical direct address of *Young Man and Young Woman at a Window, Lit by Candlelight*, the *London Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman* (fig. 5) presents a couple unaware of the outside world. The painting presents the scene for the beholder, yet the young couple is conscious only of their own interaction. While the jokey nature of *Young Man and Young Woman at a Window, Lit by Candlelight* emphasizes the humor of sexual desire, *Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman* highlights the potential for emotional connection within sexual encounters. In his move away from Dou, Schalcken bypassed any windowsill or other threshold that would act as a barrier between the figures and the viewer.²²⁰ Instead,

²¹⁹ Ekirch, 198.

²²⁰ Martha Hollander discusses how window devices can act as entrances for the eye as well. However, as both Hollander and Ronni Baer discuss, Dou’s use of windows and thresholds always remind viewers of the barrier between them and the world in the painting. Hollander, Martha Hollander 2002. An

Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman plunges the beholder into the shadows, concealed in the corner of the room. In its portrayal of a seemingly private tryst, the pleasure of viewing is rooted in the voyeuristic art of Schalcken's first teacher, Samuel van Hoogstraten.

3.7 Schalcken, Van Hoogstraten, Illusionism, and the Voyeuristic Desire for Paintings

Schalcken's use of darkness as a romantic setting and an illusionistic device expands the goals of *fijnschilder* painting twofold. By making things harder to see, his nocturnal paintings entice the viewer and heighten the sense of illusionism. This illusionism is not the *trompe l'oeil* ability to fool one's eye into seeing a false reality. Nor do Schalcken's paintings display the kind of realism that would become the goal of some nineteenth-century painters. Nevertheless, the emotional and sensual intimacy that Schalcken's genre paintings generate is persuasive enough to convince the beholder that these idealized and stylized pictures have a basis in everyday life. The scenes depicted revolve around seduction and romance and they generate a new level of desire in the viewer that goes beyond that evoked by the paintings of Dou, Van Hoogstraten, and other predecessors. The beholder is seduced into a complex erotic and emotional response to the implied narrative. In suggesting erotic pleasure rather than depicting it outright, Schalcken's paintings deepen the link between the beholder and the subject. As the

entrance for the eyes: space and meaning in seventeenth-century Dutch art. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 54-76.

beholder spends time with one of Schalcken's images, he or she is pulled into the narrative action as well as the atmosphere of intensified sensual experience.

The eroticized language that Van Mander, Van Hoogstraten, Angel and others used to describe illusionism hints at the gendered process of early modern viewing.²²¹ Sight had been ranked as the highest of the human senses since classical times, according to Aristotelian principles. Sight was the most masculine, intellectual, and trusted of perceptive abilities.²²² However, as Sluijter has extensively explored, the eyes could also be easily fooled, especially through the trickery of art. Detractors disparaged painting as a seductress of sight.²²³ In positive discussions of art this same ability to seduce was celebrated. This feminization of painting as a seductress is critical because it places spectator and painting into the gendered position of admiring man and admired woman.²²⁴ The early modern painter was masculinized as either a positive figure in the tradition of Apelles or a negative character of a procurer. In both cases, the artist "solicited" the viewer to consume the feminized painting. In this gendered experience,

²²¹ See Eric Jan Sluijter, "In Praise of the Art of Painting: One Paintings by Gerrit Dou and a Treatise by Philips Angel of 1642," in *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2000), 199-213.

²²² Susan Stewart, "Remembering the Senses," in *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*, ed. David Howes (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014, 2nd ed), 60-63.

²²³ Eric Jan Sluijter, "Introduction: 'With the power of the seemingly real, we must conquer and capture the eyes of art lovers,'" in *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age*, trans. Jennifer Kilian and Katy Kist (Zwolle, 2000). Sluijter took the term 'Seductress of Sight' from R. Camphuyzen's 1624 diatribe against painting.

²²⁴ Vanhaelen and Wilson highlight Lawrence Gowing's description of the ambivalent encounters between men and women in Vermeer's paintings and connect his statement with seventeenth-century discussions of painting: "The attention of man to woman is finally identified with the attention of a painter to his subject." Vanhaelen and Wilson, *The Erotics of Looking*, 13.

the viewer could be male or female, but he or she occupied an intermediary role, seduced by the masculinized painter into enjoying the feminized surface of the painting.

Illusionism, of varying sorts, was critical to the process of seducing the viewer. The best paintings deceive, according to Van Hoogstraten and his peers, and through their deception they arouse pleasure in the viewer. Van Hoogstraten's own experiments with *trompe-l'oeil* illusionism frame of the act of looking as specifically gendered, with female figures and spaces coded as sources of voyeuristic visual delight. Dou's paintings of beautiful young women placed at the borders between painted worlds and reality proposition the beholder in related ways. Schalcken's genre paintings proved the period theory that art could arrest the soul and provide pleasure. In nocturnal paintings, he crafted a unique pictorial strategy for drawing the beholder into an intensified atmosphere where darkness allows for fantasies of romantic connection and erotic pleasure.

Van Hoogstraten's *Perspective of a Dutch Interior Viewed From a Doorway*, circa 1670 (fig. 84), while a daytime scene, evokes a nighttime romance. Brusati argues that the snuffed-out candle likely refers to the saying, "When the candle goes out, shame disappears [with it]."²²⁵ The allusion to night as a cover for amorous activities operates in tandem with the painting's positioning of the beholder as a voyeur. The candle, despite the daytime setting, symbolizes the secret gratification of the beholder's lust for looking into the private space depicted.²²⁶ In Schalcken's nocturnal paintings, artificial light

²²⁵ Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 204.

²²⁶ Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, as quoted in Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 204.

sources provocatively expose these very sorts of amorous activities that their nighttime settings should conceal.

As argued in chapter 2, Van Hoogstraten's impact on Schalcken was greater than is generally acknowledged. Like Van Hoogstraten, Schalcken focused his interests on paintings with sensual appeal that aimed to seduce the viewer. The only written records of Schalcken's ideas about painting come from Thomas Platt quoting him in private letters in the 1690s.²²⁷ Van Hoogstraten, however, wrote extensively about his theories of art and artists. He asserted, for instance, that the painter "should not only appear to be in love with art, but indeed is in love with depicting the beauties of graceful nature."²²⁸ This perspective directly aligned with his interest in feats of illusionism, and with his frequently gendered circumstances of viewing, in which a masculinized beholder is invited to peer into the private worlds of female figures and feminine spaces.²²⁹ Arnold Houbraken described Van Hoogstraten, his former teacher, as a painter of portraits, histories, and "perspectives in rooms which were seen from the outside through a hole made in the wall."²³⁰ One key example of Van Hoogstraten's illusionistic triumphs is his tour-de-force *A Peepshow with Views of the Interior of a Dutch House* (fig. 85) in the National Gallery in London. Van Hoogstraten probably painted this peepshow between

²²⁷ Thomas Platt, 3 August 1694, Dok. 93 ASF, Med. Prine., f. 4247, in Wolfram Prinz, *Die Sammlung der Selbstbildnisse in den Uffizien*, vol 1 (Florence: Kunsthistorisches Institut; Berlin: Mann, 1971), 191-92. Also reproduced in Crinò (1953), 192.a

²²⁸ Sluijter, "In Praise of the Art of Painting," 213.

²²⁹ Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 198-200.

²³⁰ "En schoon 't schilderen van diergelyke dingen, in dien tyd goed voordeel aanbragt, zoo had hy te grooten geest, om zig daar mee op te houden, maar maakte voornamentlyk zyn werk van Pourtretien, Historien en Perspectiven in Kamers (waar toe dan een gat in den muur buiten het vertrek om door te zien gemaakt werd) te schilderen..." Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 2, 158.

1655 and 1660, just a few years before Schalcken would have studied with him in the early 1660s. Van Hoogstraten's perspective boxes, like the one in London, pull the beholder into a liminal space where proportion, scale, and distance become unfixed.²³¹ Van Hoogstraten's imagery plays with titillating concepts of privacy. The domestic rooms that he depicted are almost always marked as women's private spaces, reinforced by clues to their feminine inhabitants such as brooms, women's shoes, and keys. The beholder looking through the peephole is thus cast as the other, an outsider. In the case of a male viewer, they play an intruder. For period female viewers, their options were perhaps more complex. These feminine spaces might be welcoming and familiar. Alternatively, gazing into the idealized spaces of other women might offer a different kind of voyeuristic pleasure. In the peepshows where actual female figures are present, however, the masculine coding of the beholder becomes more overt.

In *A Peepshow with Views of the Interior of a Dutch House*, the beholder is privy to a woman doing needlework, past another room and down a hallway. The woman sewing is also secretly observed by a man outside the house, who gazes through the window toward her and thus mirrors the beholder's own gaze. More provocative and more difficult to see, a woman sleeps on her bed in the distance, unaware of the viewer's intrusion and thus passively available for his gaze. The dog in the foreground, popping up through the use of anamorphic perspective, further reminds the beholder of his position as trespasser, a tension that heightens the potential for scopophilic pleasure. On the exteriors

²³¹ Celeste Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion: The Art and Writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 198.

of the London *Peepshow*, Van Hoogstraten painted the three motivations of the artist in visual form: *Gloriae Causa* (honor), *Lucri Causa* (profit), and *Amoris Causa* (love) (fig. 86). Van Hoogstraten's understanding of love as a motivator for the artist was complex and changeable, making room for both the noble concept of the love of art, as well as erotic desire for the artistic subject.²³² The image on the top of the box of a naked Venus or Erato in bed with a cupid, for instance, plays off of the image of a woman in bed inside the box and suggests parallels between the domestic and mythological realms.²³³

Van Hoogstraten's perspective pieces and *tromp l'oeil* paintings operated within a culture desirous for pleasurable games based on vision and spying. Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) wrote of seeing Van Hoogstraten's life-size *A View Through a House* (fig. 87) from 1662, which was installed in a small closet in Thomas Povey's house in London. Pepys remarks:

But above all things I do the most admire his piece of perspective, especially, he opening me the closet door and I saw that there is nothing but only a plain picture hung upon the wall.²³⁴

Pepys's description illustrates the period's fascination with the creation of viewing circumstances that were both theatrical and absorptive. Brusati convincingly suggests that Van Hoogstraten meant for several of his larger perspectives to be viewed from specific vantage points and not necessarily the traditional position of viewing a painting head-on. These modified viewing circumstances in Van Hoogstraten's paintings and peepshow

²³² Joanna Woodall, "Love is in the Air – Amor as motivation and message in seventeenth-century Netherlandish painting," *Art History* 19, no. 2 (June 1996), 208-46.

²³³ Woodall, "Love is in the Air..." 216.

²³⁴ Samuel Pepys, as quoted in Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 201.

boxes invite absorptive looking as the viewer is pulled into the fictive space. At the same time, these works draw attention to their own painted surfaces and constructed nature.²³⁵ Other artists were also playing tricks on the eyes of their viewers through *tromp l'oeil* experiments, especially in Dordrecht. Houbraken writes that Dordrecht-based artist Cornelius Bisschop (1630-1674) was the first artist to craft cut-out painted figures eventually called dummy boards. Bisschop also “painted cut-out figures to place in corners or at the end of a vestibule [so that] one might have greeted them like a living person. Certain ones, destined to be viewed at night, were fitted with a lit candlestick to create a natural effect.”²³⁶ Dummy boards like the ones that Houbraken attributes to Bisschop became popular in both the Netherlands and England and they frequently represented attractive women. I have not discovered any examples of dummy boards outfitted with candlesticks, but extant dummy boards, such as *Young Woman Peeling Apples* (fig. 88), indicate how the effect of a lit candle mounted on a board in a dark space could disorient the viewer and increase the effect of the painted figure. Bisschop’s *Young Woman and a Cavalier* (fig. 89) from the early 1660s, now in the Metropolitan Museum, offers tantalizing evidence for how he and other artists might have arranged such nighttime dummy board figures.

This use of actual artificial light to enhance illusionism coincided with the period’s sustained interest in the depiction of candlelight as an illusionistic pictorial strategy. In the Netherlands, artificial light had first gained popularity among the Utrecht

²³⁵ Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 206.

²³⁶ Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 2, 220.

Caravaggisti, especially Ter Brugghen and Honthorst, who frequently explored the effects of candlelight in conjunction with themes of illicit desire, setting scenes in brothels and taverns (fig. 6). Schalcken reinvented many of Ter Brugghen's and Honthorst's depictions of nocturnal erotic revelry. Schalcken's nocturnal genre paintings, however, integrated these sensual precedents with Van Hoogstraten's and Dou's exploration of the private worlds of women. In doing so, he re-envisioned the brothel scene and transformed it into intimate nighttime romance.

3.8 Re-envisioning the Brothel Scene: Emotion and Intimacy

Unlike the couple in *Young Man and Young Woman at a Window, Lit by Candlelight*, the young figures in Schalcken's *Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman* (fig. 5) ignore the beholder's intrusion. Insulated in a small room, they are wrapped up in their own intimate exchange. Various furnishings emerge in the candle's warm glow—an ornate candlestick mount, a cushioned bed, a blue curtain. The young woman holds a glass of wine as she fondles the coins and shimmering jewelry in her companion's outstretched hands. He offers these baubles willingly. His parted lips betray earnest, if impatient desire. A small, carved cupid hugs the bedpost to the lower right. The night setting, the bed, the wine, the valuables exchanged—are all tropes of the Dutch brothel scene tradition. Yet, the painting ensures that we see something more difficult to pin down and all the more pleasurable because of its ambiguity. The winking jokes of unequal love and filthy lucre that give brothel pictures their humor are absent. The couple appears completely absorbed in one another. Their irresistible connection is so

compelling; it is clear that we are eavesdropping on a private moment. The painting slowly “outs” us as voyeurs. Hidden by the shadows, we are undetected witnesses of the unfolding seduction.

By painting the scene on copper, Schalcken relied on an established tradition of using small copper plates for sexually provocative scenes meant for an elite clientele who could afford the additional cost.²³⁷ For instance, Joachim Wtewael’s use of copper supports for his refined and yet deeply sensual mythological scenes imbues them with the sense of a jewel-like precious object meant for private viewing.²³⁸ The slick surface of the copper allowed Schalcken to create the gleaming smoothness of the various pieces of metal, including the candlestick holder, the large urn at the upper right, the coins and jewelry held by the man, and the golden embroidery on the young woman’s skirt. Once the viewer is aware of the metal support, he or she can then appreciate the way that the metal objects within the painting and its overall glowing golden hue echo the copper beneath. The copper would also provide a satisfying weight if the viewer were to hold the small painting in his or her hands, drawing it close in order to pick out the minute details from the surrounding darkness. This further connects the idea of the painting as a desirable object with the gold and jewelry exchanged. While there is no evidence that Schalcken’s painting was intended as a gift or token of love, the gift-giving between the

²³⁷ Schalcken usually reserved copper plates for elite portrait commissions, where the expensive metal enhanced the overall value of the painting for the sitter. Seven portraits by Schalcken painted on copper exist, and Thierry Beherman lists another thirteen portraits on copper in either private collections or unknown locations. One other genre scene on copper is also in the collection of the National Gallery in London.

²³⁸ See, Anne W. Lowenthal, *Mars and Venus Surprised by Vulcan* (Getty Museum Studies on Art) (Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1995).

two lovers relates it to the practice of giving small paintings and portraits, as pictured in Netscher's *Presentation of the Medallion* from the 1650s (fig. 90).

Schalcken's effective use of dense shadows and a limited pool of light enhances the "covert quality" of the scene by visually uniting the two figures and isolating them from the shadows surrounding them.²³⁹ The scene plays on the growing link between voyeurism, night, and sexual pleasure. Period texts demonstrate that peering through chinks and keyholes to spy on young lovers, or an object of desire, became a habitual trope of erotic narratives in plays, books, and gossip.²⁴⁰

The couple's elaborate and decorative clothing could indicate a historical narrative, though none has been identified.²⁴¹ Their ornate, fantastical costumes elevate the painting from a 'scene of everyday life' and underscore that Schalcken has created an idealized fiction. The young woman wears an elaborate corset over a white chemise, which normally would have been hidden under a sleeved bodice and/or jacket.²⁴² Seventeenth-century painters, including Rembrandt, often omitted the sleeves from a fashionable bodice to reveal more of the shift beneath and make the garment appear antique.²⁴³ The low neckline of the young woman's bodice or corset and her exposed forearms were also details that seventeenth-century connoisseurs regularly associated

²³⁹ Marjorie E. Wieseman, *Vermeer's Women: Secrets and Silence*, exh. cat. (Cambridge: The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, 2011), 198.

²⁴⁰ Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch, and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 106.

²⁴¹ Wieseman, *Vermeer's Women: Secrets and Silence*, 198.

²⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁴³ Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 220.

with “antique” or “Roman” dress.²⁴⁴ Significantly, these elements also revealed more of a woman’s flesh and were frequently incorporated into images of notoriously alluring women from antique myths and literature, such as Rembrandt’s depictions of the famous classical courtesan Flora (fig. 91).²⁴⁵ In Schalcken’s painting, the blending of actual period fashions with fanciful “antique” elements mark the young woman as “dressed up” in a fictionalized role within the depicted narrative.

The pseudo-antique elements of the young woman’s dress in *Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman* align her with literary and visual traditions of elite courtesans, who were distinguished from working-class prostitutes in a variety of ways. Dutch literature regularly discuss “chamber whores,” who could be mistresses or women secretly engaged in prostitution, as hypocrites who masked their morally vile interior with a façade of beauty.²⁴⁶ Courtesans, however, had a rich history as artistic muses and witty women who inspired love as well as physical desire. Karel van Mander wrote of classical depictions of Paris in which his desire for Helen was pictured through the “pure amorousness” of his “laughing mouth” and a look of “desire which reveals (itself) through the eyes that gaze intently at something.”²⁴⁷ Elsewhere, Van Mander advised how to picture the emotion of love:

²⁴⁴ De Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy*, 243.

²⁴⁵ De Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy*, 243.

²⁴⁶ Van de Pol, *The Burgher and the Whore*, 69-70.

²⁴⁷ Van Mander, as quoted in Noël Schiller, “Desire and dissimulation: laughter as an expressive behavior in Karel van Mander’s *Den grondt der edel vrij schilder-const* (1604),” in Stephanie Dickey and Herman Roodenburg, *The Passions in the Arts of the Early Modern Netherlands* (NKJD 60) (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgeverij, 2010), 88.

Let us now according to the ordering of kinds, first depict the emotion of love between Men and Women in our work. With friendly smiling gazes, with embracing and arms intertwined, and the heads inclined toward each other hanging heavily as if filled full of love with the right hands clasped together.²⁴⁸

Through the figures' tilted heads, gently smiling gazes and shared gaze, Schalcken demonstrated the couple's intimate and mutual romantic desire in *Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman*. In turn, he courted the emotional response of his audience, articulating the bond between the painting's goal to seduce the eye of the beholder and the erotic means of accomplishing that aim.

The process of seducing the viewer, moreover, echoes the seventeenth-century conventions of romantic and sexual seduction as an extended progression of persuading and coaxing. Men initiated courtship and/or sex, popular logic went, and women were slowly convinced through a complex process of words, touches, and offerings.²⁴⁹ Dutch brothel scenes include a money exchange as a clear and reliable symbolic marker of a prostitute and client. Schalcken's paintings, conversely, stress the ambivalence of sexual negotiations between men and women. In daily practice, jewelry, clothing, food, and other gifts in exchange for sexual contact could mark promises of marriage as well as the business transactions of prostitutes.²⁵⁰ Within the context of prostitution, the gift of a ring often indicated that a man had spent several days or longer with the same woman and was

²⁴⁸ Van Mander, as quoted in Schiller, "Desire and dissimulation," 88.

²⁴⁹ See Gowing, *Common Bodies*, especially Chapter Three: Consent and Desire, 82-110.

²⁵⁰ Gowing, 87.

meant to sustain the illusion of a romantic relationship.²⁵¹ Jewelry was also commonly exchanged in extramarital affairs, lovers kept apart from their families, and other relationships carried out in secret.

As the seventeenth century progressed, imagery of illicit love became increasingly complex. Ter Borch's *Gallant Conversation* (fig. 92), the refined household, the elegant dress of the figures, and their sedate demeanors indicate a courtship. The painting's eighteenth-century title, *Paternal Admonition*, set up the narrative as a father scolding his daughter while his wife looked down in embarrassed silence. Then, in the mid-twentieth century, many scholars reclassified the picture as a portrayal of an elite bordello populated by a client, a young courtesan and a procuress. More recently the essential ambiguity of the scene has been rightly reemphasized.²⁵² The young woman with her back to the viewer, her expression completely obscured, becomes one of the main focal points for this provocative overlapping of narrative possibilities. In Schalcken's *In Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman*, the same interest in titillating ambiguity is present, but the consensual romance is overtly defined. The couple's silent intimacy speaks to their mutual desire and evokes a charming fantasy of romantic seduction. The ambiguity becomes about the circumstances of their relationship and erotic pleasure. Are they a courtesan and client transformed into lovers by their shared passion? Or do we see young lovers sealing their courtship? The goal of the tiny

²⁵¹ Lotte van de Pol, *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam*, trans. Liz Waters (Oxford University Press, 2011), 190.

²⁵² Alison McNeil Kettering, "Gallant Conversation," in *Gerard ter Borch*, exh. cat., ed. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2004), 114-16.

painting seems to be for beholders to tease out these possibilities as they interact with this tiny painting. The couple's equality of desire speaks to Schalcken's growing interest in reciprocal experiences of eroticized viewing.

3.9 Theories of Painting, Love, and Inspiration in *Woman Weaving a Crown of Flowers*

Woman Weaving a Crown of Flowers (fig. 93), probably from circa 1675-80, is one of Schalcken's most refined and meticulous compositions, a pinnacle of his early *fijnschilder* style and an example of his increasingly complex narratives. In the painting, Schalcken reinterpreted Van Hoogstraten's interest in voyeurism. Instead of the viewer being placed into the role of a voyeur, as in the London peepshow, Schalcken's *Woman Weaving a Crown of Flowers* shows the woman in the foreground as a voyeur and stand-in for the spectator of the painting. The image also provides an important glimpse into Schalcken's expanding concept of art as motivated by love and desire. The painting alludes to classical precedents of amorous artistic inspiration. Drawing on traditions from antiquity, in this work Schalcken began to extend his complex melodramas of erotic desire and to connect them to his depictions of artistic creation. The painting alludes to the story of the classical Greek painter Pausias and his lover the flower garland maker Glycera, who playfully vied with each other to depict the idealized beauty of nature. Glycera was a popular character to reference in women's portrait during the period. Stephanie Dickey has convincingly argued that Rembrandt depicted his wife Saskia as Glycera in *Portrait of Saskia van Uylenburgh as Glycera* (fig. 97) of 1641. The initial viewer of Rembrandt's painting was the artist himself, in the guise of Pausias, a painter

famed for his illusionism and ability to portray nature's beauty.²⁵³ As such, Rembrandt invoked his classical lineage and his own virtuosity; he mythologizes his relationship with Saskia, as a source of his artistic inspiration.²⁵⁴ In *Woman Weaving a Crown of Flowers*, if the woman in the foreground is Glycera, then Schalcken played the role of Pausias. His representation of her beauty and the beauty of her creation—the garland—makes the painting a symbol for Schalcken's own creative process.

The painting focuses on a woman with delicate, refined features who wears a pastoral outfit and weaves a garland of flowers. The woman sits before a classical stone fountain, which features a sculpted Cupid astride a dolphin. Her hands busily weave thread around the crown, yet her eyes gaze out of the composition with a distracted and wistful quality. Though the painting is a brightly lit outdoor scene, Schalcken still uses strong contrasts of light and shadow to add a three-dimensional quality to the woman and the fountain in the foreground. She could be gazing toward the fountain. Her eyes, however, also line up visually with a couple in the distant field, highlighted by a streak of sunlight. In contrast to the finely detailed treatment of the woman in the foreground, the painting of the smaller entwined couple is noticeably thinner and more loosely painted. This gestural quality of Schalcken's brushstrokes creates an effect of movement and action. It also makes the embracing couple seem almost to be a visual manifestation of the woman's daydream.

²⁵³ Stephanie Dickey, "Saskia as Glycera: Rembrandt's Emulation of an Antique Prototype," in *Aemulatio: Imitation, emulation and invention in Netherlandish Art from 1500 to 1800: Essays in Honor of Eric Jan Sluifjter* (Amsterdam: Waanders, 2011), 233-247.

²⁵⁴ Dickey, "Saskia as Glycera," 245-47.

The woman's wide-brimmed straw hat aligns her with idealized Arcadian characters as well as with actual fashions of the era. Straw hats were associated with beautiful shepherdess heroines in Dutch pastoral literature and plays. Elite women often wore straw hats decorated with feathers or flowers and used them as casual coverings for travelling or spending leisure time outdoors.²⁵⁵ When upper-class women dressed as shepherdesses, they were adopting the idealized fashions of these characters, not the actual labor involved, in a fantasy of pastoral life. This is seen in Ter Borch's *Two Shepherdesses* (fig. 94), which probably depicts two of the artist's sisters, one in a flower-covered hat and the other in a flower garland. Arcadian fashions were also often associated with figures from classical antiquity, which further supports the identification of the woman as Glycera.

The story Pausias and Glycera was a popular narrative of the bonds between love and art throughout the early modern era and was often referenced by seventeenth-century art writers. Karel van Mander described this origin story of art in his life of artist Jacques de Gheyn, which, like many of his biographies, also acts as a prism for his broader discussion of naturalistic painting.²⁵⁶ Franciscus Junius (1591-1677) also described the love of Pausias and Glycera in his *De Pictura Veterum*, published in Latin in 1637 and in English in 1638, as *On the Painting of the Ancients*. Junius writes that, "Pausias, being exceedingly in love with his countrey-woman Glycera, left a most famous Picture, knowne every where by the name of Stephanoplocos , that is, a woman Garland-maker;

²⁵⁵ De Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy*, 243.

²⁵⁶ See Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 89-91.

and this hath ever been esteemed his best worke, because hee was enforced thereunto by the extremitie of his Passion [sic].”²⁵⁷ Pliny’s account reveals that Pausias’s famous painting of Glycera was the final result of a flirtatious competition between the two. Each attempted to present nature more beautifully, he through paint and she through weaving flowers. Seventeenth-century painters saw in the narrative an opportunity to prove themselves as Pausias’ match by recreating the competition and Glycera’s beautiful flower arrangements in paint, as in a painting attributed to Rubens, now in the Ringling Museum (fig. 95).

Allusions to Glycera in women’s portraiture became increasingly fashionable during the seventeenth century. Anthony van Dyck painted Cecilia Crofts, wife of Thomas Killigrew, as Glycera the 1630s. Wenceslaus Hollar reproduced the composition in a 1652 etching (fig. 96). Van Dyck, Junius and Killigrew were all friends at court. The portrait might be a posthumous memorialization of Cecelia, who died just two years in her marriage in 1638. It was particularly apt to depict Cecelia as Glycera as a tribute to her status as a muse who had inspired Killigrew in poetry and Van Dyck in paint. Just a few years later Rembrandt depicted his wife Saskia as Glycera in *Portrait of Saskia van Uylenburgh as Glycera* (fig. 97) of 1641, in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden. Dickey convincingly argues that the painting portrays Saskia as Glycera, not Flora as she has been identified in the past, based on the garland on the table at the lower left of the

²⁵⁷ Franciscus Junius, *The painting of the ancients in three bookes: declaring by historicall observations and examples, the beginning, progresse, and consummation of that most noble art. And how those ancient artificers attained to their still so much admired excellencie. Written first in Latine by Franciscus Junius, F.F. And now by him Englished, with some additions and alterations*, 49.

composition.²⁵⁸ As Dickey states, Rembrandt, by placing himself into the role of Pausias, not only promotes his own famed ability to portray nature, but also Saskia as the source of his artistic inspiration.²⁵⁹ Van Dyck's painting of Cecilia Crofts, Rembrandt's painting of Saskia, and Schalcken's *Woman Weaving a Crown of Flowers* all prominently feature the hands of the women portrayed. Saskia holds out a blossom toward the viewer (Pausias), while the women in Schalcken's and Van Dyck's paintings are each actively weaving their garlands. This focus on making in each of the paintings strengthens the idea that they act as symbols of the artists' creative skill as well as the equal creativity inherent in the roles of their female muses.

Arthur Wheelock, who has not discussed Schalcken's painting in relation to Glycera, has suggested that it might reflect the woman's longing for the companionship shared by the couple in the distance.²⁶⁰ He identifies the flowers in her garland—blue flax, cornflower, baby's breath, morning glory, and the yellow and orange daisy-like flowers, probably marigolds—as symbols of constancy, mourning, and remembrance.²⁶¹ While Schalcken's painting contains *Vanitas* elements, including the cracked fountain and the flowers, it seems possible that these symbols allude to the transient beauty of nature rather than to lost love. Rembrandt proves himself as an artist by capturing

²⁵⁸ Dickey, "Saskia as Glycera," 245-47.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., "Godefridus Schaleken/*Woman Weaving a Crown of Flowers*/c. 1675/1680," *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, NGA Online Editions, <http://purl.org/nga/collection/artobject/131947> (accessed October 10, 2015).

Saskia's beauty and making it eternal. Only the painter, Schalcken's picture seems to argue, can fix and preserve nature's beauty and the love it engenders.

Like so many of Schalcken's genre scenes, the details in *Woman Weaving a Crown of Flowers* draw the beholder into an extended process of looking. The layered imagery of the painting contributes to this slow visual seduction. The beholder is drawn into the psychological state of the woman in the painting. Rather than confronting the viewer, the woman engages in her own emotionally heightened process of looking. She both creates—making the garland—and observes, aligning her with both painter and beholder. Schalcken continued to refine these ideas of how artistic inspiration interacts with love and desire. Finally, *Woman Weaving a Crown of Flowers* represents an early moment in Schalcken's construction of an artistic persona as a lover-artist in the tradition of classical figures such as Pygmalion, Apelles, and Pausias. In his images of artists and artists' studio spaces, he brought to the fore the Pygmalion-like ability of the artist to transmit love and desire to the viewer. *Woman Weaving a Crown of Flowers* foregrounds Schalcken's combination of eroticism and art-making in his scenes of artists, as discussed in the next chapter. Rather than seeing love and sex as illicit distractions from artistic work, Schalcken grew to embrace them as essential elements of creative endeavor.

Chapter 4

SCHALCKEN PLAYS HIMSELF: SENSUAL SELF-PORTRAITS, PYGMALION, AND THE EROTIC FANTASY OF THE ARTIST'S STUDIO

Schalcken's *A Young Man and Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight* (fig. 1) engrosses the beholder in a suggestive interaction in a darkened artist's studio. The man, probably an artist, gestures toward the tabletop statue of a naked Venus, goddess of love, while lifting his eyes to meet those of his beautiful female companion. Clad in a silky purple robe, she gazes instead toward the drawing of the sculpture that the man holds in his other hand. The painting teasingly suggests that the drawing might, instead, depict the young woman posing as the Venus from moments ago. The rest of the studio is shrouded in darkness. The scene leaves the viewer frustrated, unable to discern a specific narrative, yet faced with tantalizing possibilities. The woman, for instance, could be an amateur student of art herself and the drawing could be by her hand. Nighttime drawing sessions for the purpose of studying composition, design, and lighting were common during the period. Schalcken transformed this studious concept of a lone artist working in isolation into a romantic and sensual collaboration.

This chapter explores how Schalcken fashioned his persona as the kind of romanticized artist-lover depicted in *A Young Man and Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight*. The artist's studio was idealized over the course of the early modern era as a

privileged location of eroticized viewing and romantic potential.²⁶² Schalcken's construction of his public image began with his early painting, "*Lady, Come into the Garden*" (fig. 98). The painting alludes to the history of viewing artists as prodigal son figures in the early modern Netherlands. From his playful rakish appearance in '*Lady, Come into the Garden*,' Schalcken quickly modulated his persona as a much subtler and more deeply romantic figure. This transition is made clear by comparing the bawdy image of Schalcken in '*Lady, Come into the Garden*' from circa 1670 to his self-portrait from about nine years later, a pendant portrait together with his wife Françoisia van Diemen (figs. 15 and 16). The shift of Schalcken's artistic image from a young rogue to a refined yet seductive elite painter was a crucial decision in his career.

Next, this chapter examines Schalcken's depictions of artists, beginning with two early paintings, *A Painter Before His Easel* (fig. 109) and *Old Artist with a Skull* (fig. 111), which draw from depictions of artists by Van Hoogstraten and Dou. In Schalcken's *A Young Man Looking at a Bust of a Woman by Candlelight* (fig. 115) offers an opportunity to discuss his broader interests in the myth of Pygmalion as a key artistic exemplar. The chapter concludes with *A Young Man and Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight*, which I argue is a virtuoso statement about Schalcken's ability to enchant the beholder. The painting should be considered in the context of other key representations of the art of painting from the period, including Van Mieris' *Pictura* and

²⁶² See the introduction and essays in *Inventions of the Studio Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. Michael Cole and Mary Pardo (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005); see also the introduction and essays in *Envisioning the Artist in the Early Modern Netherlands/Het Beeld van de Kunstenaar in de Vroegmoderne Nederlanden*, ed. H. Perry Chapman and Joanna Woodall, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 59* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2010).

Vermeer's *An Allegory of Painting*. Van Mieris' and Vermeer's depictions of the art of painting each distance the representation away from love as an artistic motivator. In Schalcken's paintings, however, art-making and art-viewing are presented as processes of idealized sensual pleasure, removed from and yet dependent on the realities of his painting practice.

4.1 *'Lady, Come into the Garden'* and Schalcken as a Young Rake-Artist

As discussed in Chapter 2, Schalcken began crafting his persona early on with *"Lady, Come into the Garden"* (*Vrouwtje kom 'ten Hoof'*), dated to the late 1660s (fig. 98). The painting includes his famous and idiosyncratic half-clothed self-portrait that drew the immediate attention of Dordrecht audiences and of biographers Houbraken and Weyerman. Schalcken, the "victim" of the parlor game, left with only his breeches and gaping shirt, smiles mischievously out at the viewer from the center of the scene. Despite Houbraken's inclusion of the game's title, it has never been identified. The manner in which Houbraken describes the picture highlights Schalcken's state of undress: "Wherein [Schalcken] has portrayed himself, sitting on the lap of a young maiden, stripped to his tunic and underpants."²⁶³ The other figures, Houbraken continued, would all have been recognized as young residents of Dordrecht and friends of Schalcken. Artists had represented themselves as prodigal or rakish figures throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, as fellow Dordrecht artist Theodorus Hartkamp's early

²⁶³ "Waar in hy zig zelf verbeeld heeft, zittende ontkleed tot zyn hemd en onderbroek aan den schoot van een Juffrouw." Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 3, 176.

criticism attests, Schalcken's choice to depict himself in only "tunic and underpants" was singularly audacious.²⁶⁴ Hartkamp, in his assertion in 1676, "Shit on Schalcken's paintings, shit on the self-portrait that Schalcken made in his *vrouwken Comt ten Hove*," did not directly comment on the painting's subject matter or Schalcken's half-dressed state. Yet Hartkamp's statement at the very least singles out the self-portrait as worthy of specific criticism, as well as emphasizing the public attention that the painting had already received. It seems plausible to infer that Hartkamp might have been troubled by the unusual nature of the scene and Schalcken's brazen role within it.

While the scene takes place indoors, it relates closely to imagery of decadent garden parties, or outdoor merry companies from earlier in the seventeenth century, such as David Vinckboons' *Garden Party*, from about 1610 (fig. 99).²⁶⁵ As Vinckboons' scene reveals, garden parties were cherished opportunities for young upper-class people to flirt, dance, and carouse with one another.²⁶⁶ Figures of young men leaning against young women or sitting on their laps, like the young man at the lower right, appear in other paintings by Vinckboons, Esaias van de Velde, and Willem Buytewech. This connection to outdoor revelry is especially important for analyzing Schalcken's painting and the title of the game, "Lady, Come into the Garden." The phrase "Vrouwtje kom 'ten

²⁶⁴ As discussed in Chapter 2, in a document dated March 1676, Dordrecht painter Theodorus Hartkamp was charged by notary Adriaen Heckenhouck for insulting Schalcken (along with other painters), by saying aloud "'Shit on Schalcken's paintings, shit on the self-portrait that Schalcken made in his *vrouwken Comt ten Hove*,' and many such more words, all aiming at denigrating the paintings of the aforesaid Schalcken." See Jansen, "Ein Künstlerleben und seine Zeit," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 18.

²⁶⁵ On traditions of garden parties, see Anna Tummers, *Celebrating in the Golden Age* (exh. cat., Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum) (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2011).

²⁶⁶ Tummers, 14-15, 73-93.

Hoof” may connect to the Dutch saying, “Iemand het hof maken,” which connotes amorous activity or aggressive courtship, although this meaning probably arose at a later time.²⁶⁷

The game in the painting is likely also rooted in the northern moralizing tradition of the “battle of the trousers.”²⁶⁸ The visual and textual traditions of the ‘battle of the trousers’ revealed in the scandalous activity of domineering women who literally ripped the pants off of their henpecked husbands. When a woman wore the pants in the family, according to these stories, they gained control over the entire household and wreaked havoc on their families. The supposedly disastrous effects of this inversion of early modern gender roles were played for laughs, but always carried an implicit warning to both men and women that their proper social roles must be maintained. By showing women dominating men in outrageous and violent ways, “battle of the trousers” imagery created a straw man argument in favor of the tight control of women by society. While “battle of the trousers” scenes ultimately maintained the patriarchal status quo, their themes of stripping and cross-dressing carried a erotic charge that was enjoyable for both men and women. These narratives, in both images and theatrical productions, depicted

²⁶⁷ Otto Naumann, “Godfried Schalcken,” in Peter C. Sutton, *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984), 301, 302, note 5.

²⁶⁸ Naumann, 301; Ingrid Cartwright, *Hoe Schilder Hoe Wilder: Dissolute Self-Portraits In Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Art*, Ph.D. dissertation (The University of Maryland, 2007), 189-190.

titillating exchanges of power and exposed parts of male and female bodies normally hidden under bulky clothing.²⁶⁹

'*Lady, Come into the Garden*' presents Schalcken as a version of a prodigal and thus references the entrenched tradition of artists representing themselves as the reprobate—yet ultimately forgiven—figure of the prodigal son.²⁷⁰ Debauched self-portraits functioned to promote artists as suited to depicting humorous scenes of carousing through their prodigal personalities.²⁷¹ Moreover, by depicting himself as a libertine prodigal figure, a seventeenth-century Dutch artist cited his national artistic past. He promoted the concept of artistic temperament as uniquely and excitingly “wild.”²⁷² In the 1630s, Rembrandt famously depicted himself as the lovably louche prodigal son in a tavern, with his wife Saskia playing the role of bar wench (fig. 100). Decades later, Vermeer inserted a young man who may be a depiction of himself into a brothel scene, smiling out at the viewer as he lifts his drink toward both the prostitute and the client to the painting's right (fig. 101). In each case, the artist's smile and gesture mark him as theatrically aware of the pictorial conceit. Equally important for Schalcken, both

²⁶⁹ See, for example, the discussions of broadsheets featuring the topsy-turvy household of Jan and Griet in “Home Truths: The Businessman Gets Married,” in Angela Vanhaelen, *Comic Print and Theatre in Early Modern Amsterdam: Gender, Childhood, and the City* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003).

²⁷⁰ See Ingrid Cartwright, *Hoe Schilder How Wilder: Dissolute Self-Portraits In Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Art*, Ph.D. dissertation (The University of Maryland, 2007), 155-211.

²⁷¹ See, especially, “Chapter 4: Dissolute Self-Portraits,” in Cartwright, *Hoe Schilder How Wilder*.

²⁷² Cartwright, *Hoe Schilder How Wilder*, 212-14. See also Stephanie Dickey, “Strategies of self-portraiture from Hans von Aachen to Rembrandt,” in *Hans Von Aachen in Context*, ed. by Lubomír Konečný and Štěpán Vácha (Prague: Institute of Art History, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2012), 72-81.

Rembrandt and Vermeer made these paintings as fairly young artists; Rembrandt would have been about thirty and Vermeer about twenty-five.

Schalcken's insertion of a humorous version of himself into a spirited genre scene also links *'Lady, Come into the Garden'* closely with the work of comic master Jan Steen (1626-1679). Steen's assimilation of his public image with his art was so successful that the Dutch idiom "a Jan Steen household" was coined to describe a disheveled or rowdy home. Steen's frequent witty practice of inserting himself into his paintings functioned within a larger Dutch culture of adopting comic identities in poetry, art, and theater.²⁷³ In literature, the practice of the author appearing as a fictionalized character in his work erased the borders between his actual life and the life he represented to readers.²⁷⁴ Steen's insertion of himself into his paintings functioned in a similar way. In *The Dissolute Household* in New York (fig. 102), for example, Steen plays a version of himself, a pipe-smoking husband who suggestively links fingers with the maid, while his wife is distracted by the wine the maid pours for her. Houbraken amplified Steen's mythic and theatrically oversized persona in his biography of the artist in the *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*.²⁷⁵ Nevertheless, Houbraken's larger-than-life treatment of Steen was only possible because Steen had created such an

²⁷³ Mariët Westermann, *The Amusements of Jan Steen: Comic Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (Zwolle, Waanders Publishers, 1997), see especially "Chapter 3: The Pictorial Poetics of Comedy," 89-135.

²⁷⁴ Westermann, *The Amusements of Jan Steen*, 89.

²⁷⁵ Arnold Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1976, photographic reprint), 13-30.

indelible comic character of himself within his paintings.²⁷⁶ In *The Dissolute Household*, Steen is himself and, at the same time, is not himself. This sense of play between reality and fiction absorbs the beholder into the depicted dramas of Steen's personal and artistic life.

In "*Lady, Come Into The Garden*," Schalcken's persona, like Steen's, is simultaneously broadly comic and alluring. His unusual display of naked skin, in a contemporary setting without any mythological allusions, also echoes Gabriel Metsu's *Self-Portrait as a Hunter*, from circa 1654-56, now in the Leiden Collection (fig. 103). In Metsu's peculiar self-portrait, he represents himself as a naked hunter, either dressing after having taken a swim or undressing in order to swim. Metsu's self-image promotes his male virility in a satirical manner that also references the overtly sexualized figure of the hunter in Dutch art of the period.²⁷⁷ Metsu went on to play a prodigal son character in another self-portrait, of 1661, in which he poses in a tavern with his arm around his wife's shoulders (fig. 104).²⁷⁸ Metsu's self-images, like those of Steen, present him as an overtly sexualized figure, tempered with satirical humor. Schalcken's "*Lady, Come Into the Garden*" participates in the period's fascination with artists' riotous behavior and profligate lives. Dissolute artists also played into broader ideas about late seventeenth-

²⁷⁶ Chapman, "Persona and Myth in Houbraken's Life of Jan Steen," 149-50.

²⁷⁷ Adriaan E. Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu: Life and Work, a catalogue raisonné* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

²⁷⁸ Adriaan E. Waiboer, "Gabriel Metsu's Life, Work and Reputation," in *Gabriel Metsu*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 13.

century masculinity seen in the rake-hero characters of Restoration plays in England, France, and the Netherlands.²⁷⁹

Schalcken's confidently exposed chest and legs, like Steen's sexually suggestive hand gesture and Metsu's flexing muscles, emphasize his rakish masculinity. Schalcken's "*Lady, Come Into the Garden*," however, also places the figure of the prodigal artist into a much more genteel surrounding. Even the slight cocking of his head to the side could communicate sexual prowess. Herman Roodenburg, for instance, cites seventeenth-century art writer Willem Goeree's warning that a man who hung his head sideways in general, and toward the left in particular, indicated "unmanly faintheartedness" and could even act as an "adulterous and unchaste omen" of men whose thoughts were occupied by "scandalous things."²⁸⁰ The term "effeminate" (*verwijfd*) was leveled at men who were perceived as 'womanish,' predisposed to activities associated with women, such as cleaning, cooking, and fashion, as well as characteristics like weakness, delicacy, and tenderness.²⁸¹ At the same time, an 'effeminate' man also could be a hedonistic womanizer and seducer, made 'effeminate' and extravagant through prolonged time he spent with women.²⁸²

Schalcken, by occupying the center of attention, emphasizes his role as instigator of the game and as creator of the image. The focus on a specific parlor game played

²⁷⁹ See, for example, Harold Weber, *The Restoration Rake-Hero: Transformations in Sexual Understanding in Seventeenth-Century England*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).

²⁸⁰ Herman Roodenburg, *The Eloquence of the Body: Perspectives on Gesture in the Dutch Republic* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2004), 126-27.

²⁸¹ Alison McNeil Kettering, "Gentlemen in Satin: Masculine Ideals in Later Seventeenth-Century Dutch Portraiture," *Art Journal* 56, no. 2 (Summer 1997), 42.

²⁸² Kettering, "Gentlemen in Satin," 42.

within the home distinguishes the painting from the prodigal son scenes set in taverns and brothels. While there is no source of artificial light pictured, the darkness of the room strongly suggests that we see a scene unfolding at night. By placing the scene within an elegant and modern domestic space, Schalcken highlighted the home as a private space suited to erotically charged activities of courtship and sexual advances that would be unacceptable in public. Domestic spaces and objects, because of their increasingly private nature, emerged as central locations for the display of eroticism in the early modern era.²⁸³ Socializing through games, dances, and masques—many of which often took place after dark—were key opportunities for young people to show off their wit and grace to one another and to court romantic partners and potential spouses.²⁸⁴

Like dancing, another popular pastime, parlor games such as the one depicted in Schalcken's painting carried with them possible threats of unseemliness through their intimacy and physicality.²⁸⁵ Once a seventeenth-century writer described a classical Greek story of a father who, "seeing his daughter's suitor dance impudently, commented drily that the suitor had just 'undanced his marriage' (*dédansé son mariage*)."²⁸⁶ In early modern Italy, condemnations against licentious party games, called *giuochi da veglia* (vigil games), were frequent and yet these attacks conversely reveal that such games were

²⁸³ Marta Ajmar-Wollheim, "'The spirit is ready, but the flesh is tired': erotic objects and marriage in early modern Italy," in *Erotic Cultures of Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sara F. Matthews-Grieco (Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2010), 161.

²⁸⁴ Roodenburg, *The Eloquence of the Body*, 88-90.

²⁸⁵ Roodenburg, *The Eloquence of the Body*, 90-91.

²⁸⁶ Roodenburg, *The Eloquence of the Body*, 91.

integral to daily life.²⁸⁷ For instance, in a discussion pitting proper *giuochi da veglia* games against improper ones by Italian writer Girolamo Bargagli (1537–86), even his ‘proper’ example contains explicit references to sex.²⁸⁸ Schalcken’s painting also shares an affinity with depictions of seventeenth-century spinning bees in England and the Netherlands, another event that took place at night and represented an opportunity for young people to interact. Though ostensibly for young unmarried women, these gatherings often attracted young men and turned into impromptu parties and “merry meetings.”²⁸⁹ Sebald Beham’s raucous *Spinning Bee* woodcut (fig. 105) was reprinted in the seventeenth century with new texts about the romantic dalliances of the young people depicted.²⁹⁰ Claude Simpol’s *Décembre: La Veillée* (fig. 106), which was engraved by Jean Mariette, also depicted the intrusion of men into the feminine space of a spinning bee. In all of these nighttime activities, as in Schalcken’s “*Lady, Come into the Garden*,” the element of play allowed for freedom in flirtation and courtship practice that still fit into the social constraints of the period.

“*Lady, Come into the Garden*” was the only time that Schalcken placed himself in a robustly comic and performative role. In contrast, Steen played this role repeatedly. Instead of inserting his self-portrait into his genre scenes directly, Schalcken later incorporated more oblique references to himself and his profession. While Steen cast

²⁸⁷ Ajmar-Wollheim, “‘The spirit is ready, but the flesh is tired’,” 161.

²⁸⁸ Ajmar-Wollheim, “‘The spirit is ready, but the flesh is tired’,” 162.

²⁸⁹ Koslofsky, *Evening’s Empire*, 204-9.

²⁹⁰ Koslofsky, *Evening’s Empire*, 206. See also Alison G. Stewart, “Distaffs and Spindles: Sexual Misbehavior in Sebald Beham’s *Spinning Bee*” in *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jane L. Carroll and Alison G. Stewart (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 127-54.

himself as both visual director of, and lead actor in, his painted comedies, the relation between Schalcken's personal life and the types of paintings he created is less clear. This difference is reflected in Houbraken's respective treatment of Steen and Schalcken. In his biography of Steen, Houbraken spent a significant portion not on Steen's actual artistic practice, but instead on exaggerated anecdotes about his life. For example, he was so "witty" with the daughter of his painting master that he impregnated her.²⁹¹ Houbraken's biography of Schalcken, on the other hand, focuses on his career: his fame as a painter of candlelight, his financial success, and his expertise in depicting the effects of light and shadow. As discussed in Chapter 2, Jacob Campo Weyerman responded to this lack of available anecdotes by inventing his own loutish identity for Schalcken. It seems probable that Weyerman looked to visual examples like "*Lady, Come into the Garden*" in order to construct his own version of Schalcken.

However, Schalcken's position as a cypher, a "shadowy" figure, fits perfectly with the identity he attempted to put forth in his paintings, particularly once he began marketing himself as a master of candlelight. His proto-Gothic air of mystery was essential for the fullest enjoyment of the evocative, but enigmatic, dreamlike atmosphere of his nocturnal paintings. In Schalcken's pursuit of providing sensual experience, his artistic role was necessarily less theatrical than that of Steen. While Steen acted as the winking, nudging mischief-maker, Schalcken transformed himself into the beckoning seducer. The broadly gesturing and smiling version of Schalcken in '*Lady, Come into the*

²⁹¹ Arnold Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1976, photographic reprint), 13.

Garden’ would grow muted as he increasingly focused on intimate moments and emotional engagement. In his self-portraits of the 1690s, in a culmination of his career, Schalcken overtly claimed his position as a key player in the shadowy world of romance and intrigue in his genre paintings. The genre scenes he produced after *‘Lady, Come Into the Garden’* assert his increasing interest in developing an eroticized viewing experience for the beholder—one in which his persona was undeniably present and yet subtle enough not to interfere with the viewer’s fantasy.

4.2 A Declaration of Love and Artistic Skill: The Pendant Portraits of Godefridus Schalcken and Françoisia van Diemen

The pendant portraits that Schalcken painted of himself and his wife Françoisia van Diemen (fig. 15 and 16), around the time of their marriage in 1679, show his relatively swift transformation from the Jan Steen-like comic figure of a decade prior to a refined and elegant *fijnschilder* painter. The pendants subtly evoke the couple’s implied love, commitment, and physical attraction.²⁹² They represent the next step in Schalcken’s journey to link his personal romantic and erotic life with his public artistic identity. In doing so, the pendant paintings advance his identity as a creator of eroticized beauty that is rooted in his personal life. While in *“Lady, Come Into the Garden,”* Schalcken presented himself in a refined adaptation of the well-known figure of the prodigal artist, in his marriage pendants he also drew on established artistic precedents. The pendants

²⁹² Beherman, 147; Walter Liedtke, *Liechtenstein, The Princely Collections*, exh. cat., ed. John P. O’Neill and Kathleen Howard (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), 270.

assert his new position as a young, successful, and elite gentleman painter, with a beautiful wife who acts as his artistic muse. A generation earlier, Rubens portrayed his marital bliss as unified with his artistic and personal happiness in *The Artist and His First Wife, Isabella Brant, in the Honeysuckle Bower* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) of 1609 (as he would again after his second marriage to Helena Fourment). Schalcken's pendants of himself and Françoisia establish them as a refined artistic couple in a modernized evocation of the elegant examples of Rubens and Van Dyck earlier in the seventeenth century. By transforming himself from prodigal rake to gentleman painter, Schalcken was, moreover, making a specific artistic choice about his area of focus—graceful and idealized depictions in the “elegant modern” style that De Lairese would promote and relate specifically to the examples of Rubens and Van Dyck.²⁹³

In his *Self-Portrait*, Schalcken shows himself in full gentlemanly splendor (fig. 15). He stands facing his wife, but turns out to meet the viewer's gaze. He leans on a chair back, with his right arm drawn up to his chest, gently touching the white kerchief tied at his neck. His satiny brown robe is set off with gold and blue satin trimmings at the sleeve, which is fashionably pulled back to reveal the voluminous white chemise beneath. His curled hair, possibly a wig, artfully frames his face. He looks at the viewer with a calm, direct, and stately air. Françoisia, in a counterpose, sits with her body facing away from her husband, yet she turns her head back to gaze at him. Her clothing is made up of two equally sumptuous pieces of fabric, draped over her white shift and left loose to expose her neck and shoulders. Schalcken shows off his ability to reproduce vibrant

²⁹³ De Lairese, *Groot Schilderboek*, vol 1., 114-16.

illusionistic effects of cloth in the red velvet on the table, the rich, thick blue drapery, and the more delicate patterned fabric of gold, pink, and pale blue. In their style, the portraits resemble the stately, delicate portraits by Dordrecht artist Nicolaes Maes of the same period, such as his *Portrait of a Young Woman* from 1678 (fig. 107), now in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. While the pendant portraits display Schalcken's increasingly elite social position and his mounting professional ambition, they equally reveal playful references to the young couple's shared love, devotion, and desire.

Godefridus and Françoisia's shared gestures, with their hands placed over their hearts, symbolize their promises of love.²⁹⁴ Though difficult to discern in reproductions, a painting of a sleeping nude woman hangs on the wall behind Godefridus. The sleeping nude is likely Venus and that the goddess of love acts as a counterpart to the statue of Diana in the garden behind Françoisia.²⁹⁵ The motif of the nude Venus asleep in the marriage portrait alludes to fertility within marriage, keeping with seventeenth-century concepts of marriage as a safe haven of chastity and virtue.²⁹⁶

Schalcken's inclusion of Diana and Venus in the pendants alludes to the classical exemplar of *amoris causa* as the highest motivation of the artist. With the painting of a nude reclining Venus, Schalcken not only references the Renaissance Italian reclining Venuses of Titian and Giorgione, but also the antique story of Apelles and Campaspe. As with the myth of Pygmalion and the story of Pausias and Glycera, the narrative of Apelles and Campaspe proved the power of artists to represent beauty and love and be

²⁹⁴ Beherman, 147

²⁹⁵ Beherman, 147; Liedtke, *Liechtenstein, The Princely Collections*, 271.

²⁹⁶ Beherman, 147; Liedtke, *Liechtenstein, The Princely Collections*, 271.

productively inspired by them. The Greek master painter Apelles was commissioned to paint Alexander the Great's mistress Campaspe in the guise of Venus Anadyomene (emerging from the sea). According to Philips Angel's account in *Lof der schilder-konst* of 1642, "while working on it in order to capture her beauty as faithfully as possible, [Apelles] conceived a great love" for Campaspe.²⁹⁷ Alexander, rather than keeping the lovers apart, presented Campaspe to Apelles and kept the painting instead. The complex story, as Angel writes, is an example of the honor and esteem held by Alexander for Apelles, as well as Apelles' skill in depicting beauty, which is rooted in his fidelity to nature and his personal passion.

Schalcken's shift from "*Lady, Come into the Garden*," of circa 1670 to his more nuanced treatment of artists, love, and desire a few years later in these pendant portraits and in works like *Woman Weaving a Crown of Flowers (Glycera)* demonstrate his increased interest in erotic elements of classicist artistic rhetoric. In the pendant portraits, Schalcken's representation of the shared physical attraction between husband and wife bolstered his public artistic image. Schalcken's pendants, in their renewal of Rubens and Van Dyck, also anticipate later depictions of artists and their wives, such as Adriaen van der Werff's *Self-Portrait* from 1699 (fig. 108), in which he holds up a portrait of his wife Margaretha van Rees, in classically inspired dishabille, and their daughter, Maria, along with his brush and palette. While much more sedate and formal than the husband and wife portraits in the genre scenes of Rembrandt, Steen, and Metsu discussed above, the

²⁹⁷ Philips Angel, "Praise of Painting," trans. Michael Hoyle and Hessel Miedema, *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 24, no. 2/3 (Ten Essays for a Friend: E. de Jongh) (1996), 238.

pendant portraits of Godefridus and Françoisia place their relationship on public display. In the same vein as the genre double portraits, Schalcken's pendant portraits present his life as filled with romantic love and thus reinforce his persona as a lover-artist who delves into personal experience for the scenes of romance and desire. In these pendant paintings, the excitingly dissolute Godefridus Schalcken of "*Lady, Come Into The Garden*" transforms into Godefridus Schalcken the noble, graceful, and yet still romantically inclined young husband and artist who is motivated by love.

4.3 Schalcken's Early Imagery of Artists and the Allure of Love in the Artist's Studio

In picturing art and artists, Schalcken navigated the intimate bonds between romantic ardor and the ambitions of the early modern artist. As demonstrated by *A Painter Before His Easel* from circa 1665-70 (fig. 109), he depicted idealized imagery of artists from the beginning of his career. A young artist in rich blue robes and a jaunty black painter's beret, sits before his easel, gazing at his half-finished painting of a woman in antique robes. The woman on his panel looks out toward the viewer and, thereby, it appears as if she and the artist exchange gazes. The young painter adheres to the proper studio habits of the *fijnschilders*. He wears comfortable but elite clothing, sits in a chair, and has his palette, maulstick and thin paintbrushes at the ready. Schalcken signed the small painting prominently along the top of the easel, evoking a link between the idealized painter and his own artistic identity. The young artist's admiring gaze seems to

express his pleasure not only with the success of his panel, but specifically with the beauty of the woman he has created.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century interest in the stories of classical precedents such as Pygmalion, Apelles, and Pausias generated a robust competition among northern artists to depict female beauty so entrancing that it would create real erotic stimulation in the male beholder. The example of Apelles, especially, inspired competitions in Renaissance Italy to paint the loveliest nudes based on the most beautiful courtesans and mistresses of their era. The sensuous female nudes of Italian artists like Titian and Correggio, and of northern painters like Jan Gossaert (1478-1532) and Hendrik Goltzius (1558-1617) participated in a much broader visual rhetoric about the virtuosity and erotic power of the artist.²⁹⁸ Schalcken used his imagery of the artist's studio to draw attention to his depictions of female beauty throughout his oeuvre. In doing so, he responded to the culture's fascination with—and desire to gain access to—the space of artistic creation.²⁹⁹ By referring back to his own painting practice, Schalcken subtly suggested that his artworks might be records of actual erotic experiences he had in his own studio, regardless of whether or not this was true. The creation of beauty in a painting, these images suggest, depend upon the creation of love first.

Schalcken's early images of artists, though they anticipate his later explorations of the nocturnal studio, borrow primarily from the precedents of his teachers Dou and Van

²⁹⁸ See, especially, Eric Jan Sluiter, "Emulating Sensual Beauty: Representations of Danaë from Gossaert to Rembrandt," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 27, no. 1/2 (1999): 4-45.

²⁹⁹ H. Perry Chapman, "The Imagined Studios of Rembrandt and Vermeer," in *Inventions of the Studio Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. Michael Cole and Mary Pardo (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press) see page numbers above, 126.

Hoogstraten. The image of the young artist in *A Painter Before His Easel*, in particular, echoes the figures of artists in Van Hoogstraten's London *Peepshow* exterior panels (fig. 110). In Van Hoogstraten's *Peepshow*, young idealized artists are assisted in their endeavors by various putti and goddess-muses. Schalcken's *A Painter Before His Easel* presents a similar idealization of the artistic process as a partnership between artist and female muse. Instead of the fantastical elements seen in Van Hoogstraten's images, Schalcken's painting presents a believable workshop scene and thus roots his classicist artistic interests in actual practice.

Schalcken's *Old Artist with a Skull*, from circa 1670-75 (fig. 111), features an artist who seems to grapple with his profession's lifelong search for beauty in the face of his impending old age.³⁰⁰ The painting also features references to the classical precedents of love and the depiction of beauty updated in the refined *fijnschilder* style. The man wears a costume with old-fashioned slashed sleeves and a theatrically oversized beret, similar to the extravagant outfit worn by the artist in Vermeer's *The Art of Painting* (fig. 123). With his body turned toward his easel, he turns back to glance at the audience. His canvas is prominently blank and his hanging palette bare. On the table beside him stands a small statuette, visually framed by the blank canvas. The artist rests his hand on a human skull. Skulls were both everyday props in an artist's studio and classic Vanitas symbols of life's transience.

³⁰⁰ The white-haired figure shares the thin, pinched features and wispy hair and beard of Schalcken's *Doctor's Visit*, which Schalcken dated 1669. See Beherman, 253-54, no. 160.

The nude statuette is a variation of the *Aphrodite of Knidos* from ancient Greece, one of the most famous works of Praxiteles. Though represented in smaller form here, it is a version of the same statuette that Schalcken depicted in *Young Man and Woman at a Window, Lit by Candlelight* (fig. 80), also probably painted in the late 1660s. The sculpture and copies after it were often referred to as the *Venus pudica* (“modest Venus”) type, because of the goddess’s action of covering her genitals with her hand. The discovery of a Roman first-century copy in Rome in the sixteenth century incited new interest in the sculpture’s artistic and erotic importance. Housed in the Villa Medici since at least 1559, the copy was published in 1638 and became widely known as the *Venus de’ Medici*.³⁰¹ Schalcken would have had ready access to Jan de Bisschop’s popular series of prints depicting ancient sculptures, which were published in 1668 and 1669. The series included four views of the *Venus de’ Medici* in its first volume (fig. 112).³⁰² An earlier drawing by Antwerp artist Peter van Lint of 1640 features a very similar view of the sculpture (fig. 113). Both works on paper exemplify how two-dimensional depictions of the statue often seem to delight in exposing Venus’ breasts and pubic mound, the areas the pose was meant to simultaneously hide and accentuate.

The Venus statuette’s small size ensures that any interaction with it, either a drawing exercise or the type of amorous stimulation Pygmalion experienced, must take

³⁰¹ The Venus was already known by 1559, it now appears, for a bronze reduction of it was among the series of the most famous Roman sculptures that were featured on a cabinet completed in that year; it was commissioned by Nicolò Orsini, conte di Pitigliano, as a gift to Philip II of Spain: the sculptures were by the Dutch sculptor trained in Benvenuto Cellini’s atelier, Willem van Tetrode, called Guglielmo Fiammingo in Italy.

³⁰² Mirjam Neumeister and Christiane Haeseler, *Holländische Gemälde im Städel 1550-1800*, 3rd vol. (Petersberg: M. Imhof, 2010), 420, n. 22.

place on an intimate and private level. Unlike a life-size statue, whose beauty could only be observed from a respectable distance, the small-statuettes must be viewed at close range, close enough to touch. Indeed, the man in Schalcken's painting seems to just brush the fingertips of his left hand against the legs of the figurine. The close proximity of the man and the statue, moreover, alludes to a famous story about Praxiteles' original Aphrodite of Cnidus statue. A popular myth described how the statue sexually aroused men so much that one man even broke into the temple housing it and attempted to copulate with it. Further linking the statue and erotic desire, Praxiteles supposedly used the courtesan Phryne as his model and muse for the work. Like Campaspe, Phryne was a woman, or series of women, who became a mythic figure of beauty, eroticism, and artistic inspiration. By the Renaissance, part of the erotic fascination with ancient depictions of Venus came from the courtesans who posed for these artworks. Characters like Campaspe and Phryne added "profane" sexuality to the "sacred" beauty of Venus.³⁰³ Like Apelles, Praxiteles was famous as both a great artist and a great lover. His sexual and romantic prowess helped to inspire his beautiful art and also proved his seductive allure.

In Schalcken's *Old Artist with a Skull*, the presence of the small Venus statuette serves as an indicator that the artist depicted is versed in classical art. It also suggests that he engages in the practice of drawing from antique sculptures, an important and valued part of classicist artistic ideals. However, the painting also contrasts the beauty of the

³⁰³ Christine Mitchell Havelock, *The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors: a Historical Review of the Female Nude in Greek Art* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 42-49.

statue with the skull and the aged face of the painter. This jarring disparity between the allure of beauty and themes of aging and death were common *memento mori* tropes. The man's theatrical clothing would seem to cast him as a fool, a doddering old man too feeble to portray the beauty of youth symbolized by the statuette at his fingertips. His action of pulling a dull brown robe over his colorful sleeve could serve as a reminder that he is facing the final years of his life. Yet, Schalcken does not openly ridicule the older artist. Instead, he presents the man's angst before the blank canvas with great poignancy.

The old artist in Schalcken's painting stares directly at the viewer with a melancholic expression. His furrowed brow and open lips perhaps indicate frustration, confusion, or weariness. Schalcken's older artist stands in stark contrast to Gerrit Dou's depictions of artists in the studio. All of Dou's depictions of painters, including his self-portraits, revolved around allusions to honor, virtue, and accomplishment, for example in his *Old Painter in His Studio*, dated 1649 (fig. 114). In contrast to Schalcken's elderly painter, Dou's artist works actively, diligently applying his brush to canvas and unaware of the viewer.³⁰⁴ The figure's diligence combats and overcomes the allusions to mortality surrounding him—the dead peacock, the chipped plaster cast, the conch shell—and proves the ultimate immortality of the artist through his art.³⁰⁵ Through hard work, Dou's artist will live on through his paintings.

Dou focused on the triumph of industry and art over death, crafting his painter as a physical embodiment of the popular Roman motto, *Vita brevis ars longa* ("Life is brief,

³⁰⁴ Ronni Baer, *The Paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613-1675)*, vol. 2 (Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, May 1990), cat. 50.3.

³⁰⁵ Baer, *The Paintings of Gerrit Dou*, 47, cat. 50.4.

art is long”).³⁰⁶ The saying is now generally attributed to the Greek physician Hippocrates, but was also associated with Seneca. By the seventeenth century, *Vita brevis ars longa* was used as a metaphor of the artist’s ability to live on through their art, in eternal virtuosity. Schalcken, in *Old Artist with a Skull*, instead appears to deal with the possibility of failure and loss of inspiration, an unusual choice for an artist in the early part of his career. Moreover, Schalcken’s inclusion of Venus reveals his visual fascination with the nuances of the connection between Venus and the pursuit of art. The goddess of love was intimately linked with sight and the sensuality of vision, and thus was a key figure for the early modern artist.³⁰⁷ The figure of Venus also reinforces Schalcken’s connection with Pygmalion, as it was the goddess of love who took pity on the sculptor and brought his creation to life. In this way, Venus and the artist function as the two necessary and complementary components for creating living beauty from stone or paint. In Schalcken’s *Old Artist with a Skull*, however, the man’s weariness and the blank canvas suggest that he is no longer able to receive Venus’ necessary inspiration. In this case, perhaps, Schalcken as a fairly young painter makes a claim for his youth and virility (so prominently displayed in the contemporaneous “*Lady, Come into the Garden*”) as a component of his artistic virtuosity.

³⁰⁶ Baer, *The Paintings of Gerrit Dou*, 47 cat. 6.3

³⁰⁷ Mirjam Neumeister and Christiane Haeseler, *Holländische Gemälde im Städel 1550-1800*, 3rd vol. (Petersberg: M. Imhof, 2010), 420-21.

4.4 Pygmalion at Night: *Man Looking at a Bust of Venus by Candlelight*

Schalcken's comedic *Young Man Looking at a Bust of a Woman by Candlelight* (fig. 115), from the late 1670s picks up on the themes of classicism's relationship with eroticism in art and placed them into a nocturnal setting. The painting, which has been titled *Pygmalion* in the past, depicts a young man holding a candle up to a sculpted nude female bust in a darkened studio space. The painting's comic mode connects it with Schalcken's *Young Man and Woman at a Window, Lit by Candlelight* (Louvre, Paris) taking the bawdy link between night and erotic experience and bringing it into the artist's workshop. The man's enraptured gaze toward the sculpture suggests that he is Pygmalion himself, or an updated Pygmalion type. The scene pokes fun at the mythological sculptor by presenting the young man in the costume of a fool, with a jester's cap with bells. The floor is scattered with other sculptures haphazardly strewn about. At the lower left the young man's candlestick gleams faintly, indicating that he has picked up the candle to better view the bust in front of him. Though in a distinctly comic mode, the painting represents the first time that Schalcken transported his imagery of the artist in the studio into the romantic nighttime atmosphere that he was exploring in other early genre scenes.

Several variants and copies of this composition exist, proving its popularity during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.³⁰⁸ The original painting is probably the one in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, which is listed in its 1722 inventory, though there is a close copy or variant in Florence. The bright illumination on the bust's

³⁰⁸ For provenance, see Beherman, 127-128, no. 39.

face gives the slight impression that she is in the process of coming to life, as though she is responding to the warm glow of the candle with her smile, while her eyes remain closed. The other sculptures in the room, in deeper shadow and less upright, further contrast with the standing female bust and increase the sensation that she is imbued with a measure of extra animation. This sense of latent action, or potential animation, makes it clear why the painting has gained a connection with Pygmalion.

A crucial component of the Pygmalion myth is the position of the female statue as a simulacrum brought to life, rather than an earthly woman. Schalcken's painting appears to depict a foolish man, who, because of his intense sexual desire, confuses the cold sculpted bust with a beauty—and erotic potential—of a real woman. Unlike the stories of Apelles and Campaspe, and Praxiteles and Phryne, Pygmalion spurned all real women in favor of his own artistic ideal. As Ovid writes, Pygmalion was “disgusted with the faults which in such full measure nature had given the female mind,” and thus remained celibate and unmarried.³⁰⁹ Instead, he carved a figure, “giving it a beauty more perfect than that of any woman born.”³¹⁰ The tradition of searching for an unrealistic level of female beauty, carefully constructed to appear perfect, saturated the practice and discourse of art during the seventeenth century.³¹¹ The artist, through his virtuosity, could create a vision of female beauty more beautiful and more enticing than any actual

³⁰⁹ Ovid, as translated in Victor I. Stoichita, *The Pygmalion Effect: From Ovid to Hitchcock* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 206.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ See Stoichita, especially Chapter 3: Variations, 55-80 and Chapter 4: Doubles, 81-110. Stoichita sees the many visual interpretations of the statue of Helen of Troy as one of the prime examples of the ‘Pygmalion Effect’ in early modern culture.

woman. The artificiality of these artistic representations of female beauty only revealed themselves when the simulacrum became too confrontational in its naturalism—too imperfect—as with the debates over Rembrandt’s nudes from earlier in the century.

Rather than depicting the singular magical moment of transformation in Ovid’s story, in *A Young Man Looking at a Bust of a Woman by Candlelight*, Schalcken portrayed an ordinary moment in a realistic studio space. The painting’s focus is on the reality of viewing art, rather than on Pygmalion’s fantasy. It lacks the theatrical transformation seen in Jean Raoux’s *Pygmalion*, from a few decades later in 1717 (fig. 116). Raoux’s painting depicts Pygmalion’s statue literally coming to life, with her flesh changing color from white marble to a warm ruddiness. The humor in *A Young Man Looking at a Bust of a Woman by Candlelight* comes from the recognition of the allusions to Pygmalion and the impossibility of that kind of transformation in contemporary life. The fool in Schalcken’s painting, as a comic inverse of Pygmalion, is closer to the ancient myth of the man who attempted sexual activity with Praxiteles’ Aphrodite of Cnidus statue. In the context of the *paragone* between painting and sculpture, Schalcken’s comic depiction of a man interacting inappropriately with a statue reaffirms the superiority of paintings to attract true *liebhebers*, rather than lascivious buffoons.

4.5 The Shadow of Pygmalion and Classical Lover-Artists in Schalcken’s Paintings

In *A Young Man Looking at a Bust of a Woman by Candlelight*, Schalcken came the closest to explicitly depicting the figure of Pygmalion, but did so to comedic effect. In

other portrayals of the studio, he emulated the connection between erotic passion and artistic creativity found in the classical precedents of lover-artists. His entire oeuvre is suffused with subtle references to what Paul Barolsky calls “the Ovidian imagination,” and what Victor Stoichita refers to as the “Pygmalion effect.”³¹² Pygmalion, moreover, fit into Schalcken’s broader interests in Ovidian themes dealing with the transformative power of art and love. Schalcken’s imagery of the relationship between erotic desire and creative innovation frequently focus on the act of beholding. His *Woman Weaving a Crown of Flowers*, here identified as *Glycera*, is another example, as is his *Narcissus* (fig. 117) of circa 1680-85. Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) had identified Narcissus as the first painter because he fell in love with the beauty of his own reflected image.³¹³ In Schalcken’s depiction of Narcissus, the painting offers its own witty deception. The spectator sees Narcissus, but his reflected image is hidden by the rocky bank in the foreground. The painting thus becomes the pool of water, reflecting Narcissus for the beholder and emphasizing Schalcken’s skill in reflecting nature, in its idealized form.

In the example of Pygmalion, whose overwhelming physical and emotional love for his creation transformed ivory to flesh, exemplified the power of Eros and Venus, gods of love and desire. Though often discussed in coded language, Pygmalion’s achievement invoked the highest goals of the Renaissance and Baroque artist. The myth

³¹² Paul Barolsky, “As in Ovid, So in Renaissance Art,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (Summer 1998), 473; Victor I. Stoichita, *The Pygmalion Effect: From Ovid to Hitchcock* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 2-6.

³¹³ Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, translated by C. Grayson, London, 1991, p. 61. See also Paul Barlosky, “A Brief History of Art from Narcissus to Picasso,” *The Classical Journal* 90, no. 3, 1995, pp. 255-59.

of the painting or sculpture that metamorphosed into a living being through the artist's passion saturates early modern art and art theory.³¹⁴ Stoichita argues that the Pygmalion narrative and its focus on the simulacrum lies at the root of much of Western artistic culture. Pygmalion's story demonstrated the fantastic, the sexual, the uncanny, and even the dangerous potentials of the artist's ability to create beauty from his own mind.³¹⁵ Schalcken's unique reinterpretation of the Pygmalionian artist crafted him as a nocturnal artistic persona and one that anticipated the Romantic treatments of night as the artist's domain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³¹⁶

The simultaneous distrust and titillation sparked by the myth of Pygmalion's simulacrum—the artistic creation that appears more beautiful than any earthly woman—also underscores the larger social and cultural meanings integral to Schalcken's art. The pleasure derived from this Pygmalion effect is distinctly gendered. The male artist creates a female form, which he desires sexually. He is then able to transfer this desire to the male beholder, who can adopt the role of both spectator and artist.³¹⁷ However, Schalcken's imagery does not adhere to this active male and passive female dialectic, as suggested by the examples of *Glycera* and *Narcissus*. *Glycera* celebrates the pleasure of sight and alludes to the creative and erotic partnership that she shared with Pausias.

³¹⁴ Paul Barolsky, "As in Ovid, So in Renaissance Art," 453.

³¹⁵ Stoichita, *The Pygmalion Effect*, 2-6.

³¹⁶For the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Stoichita, "The Nervous Statue," in *The Pygmalion Effect*; see also, Mary D. Sheriff, *Moved by Love: Inspired Artists and Deviant Women in Eighteenth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

³¹⁷ This transference from male creator to male viewer also connects back to Laura Mulvey's discussion of the male gaze. Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," [originally published in *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1975): 6-18], in *Feminism and Film Theory*, ed. Constance Penley (New York: Routledge, 1988), 57-68.

Narcissus also depicts the sensual gratification of beholding. The painting celebrates Narcissus' beauty and evokes his mythic role as the first painter, with little evidence of the cautionary tale against vanity. While Schalcken explored the relationship between love and art in his daytime scenes, it is in his nocturnal paintings that he personalized this relationship for his own artistic practice and goals.

4.6 Desiring, Beholding, and Creating in *A Young Man and Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight*

The notion of art as a catalyst of physical pleasure resonates most fully in *A Young Man and Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight* (fig. 1). It is Schalcken's most accomplished, complex, and alluring depiction of an artist in the studio. To create the painting, he drew inspiration from the increased interest of the era in crafting imagery of the studio that also commented on the larger issues of artistic theory and aesthetics. *A Young Man and Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight* appears to self-consciously respond to pictures about the art of painting by the leading artists of Schalcken's day, including Dou, Van Mieris, and Vermeer. This painting takes the subtle exploration of the romantic interactions between men and women that Schalcken explored in his genre paintings and places them into the context of the artist's studio. In doing so, it suggests Schalcken's own theories of painting's relationship with beauty and desire.

In the painting, the shallow reach of the light from an oil lamp at the right illuminates an intimate conversation between a young artist and a young woman, who is

either a pupil or a model.³¹⁸ The young man holds a half-finished drawing in his left hand. He gestures toward the kneeling statuette of Venus on the table before them. He gazes not at the statue, but at the young woman who leans in close. Her eyes seem to settle somewhere between the drawing and the sculpture. From the perspective of the beholder, the young man seems to point directly toward the sculpted Venus' genitals, and it seems as though he hopes to draw the gaze of his female companion there as well. The young woman presses her robe closed with her left arm. On close inspection, the painting displays four different female bodies for the pleasure of the beholder: the clothed body of the young woman, the naked body of the statuette, the drawn body on the piece of paper, and the disembodied bust at the lower right.

Scholars have discussed *A Young Man and Woman Observing a Statuette by Lamplight* as either a visual statement of classicist artistic theory, or as a scene of seduction. For Sophie Schnackenburg, the image chiefly stresses the centrality of drawing and the importance of practicing drawing by depicting classical sculpture.³¹⁹ Venus, as the goddess of sight, represents the art of painting in the *paragone* debates of painting versus sculpture. Sight was considered the most superior sense and it was thus aligned with illusionistic deceit of painting. Guido M. C. Jansen has recently argued that Venus has less to do with art theory and instead serves to spur the amorous connection

³¹⁸ The painting's wall text at the Metropolitan Museum in Spring 2015 described her as a student receiving a drawing lesson. Franits titles the painting "Artist and Model Looking at An Ancient Statue By Lamplight," in Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, 248.

³¹⁹ Sophie Schnackenburg, "'Studium' and 'Inspiratio': Godfried Schalcken's Gemälde 'Kunstaberachtung bei Lampenlicht' (um 1680/85) im Spannungsfeld ikonographischer Tradition und zeitgenössischer Kunsttheorie," *Müncher Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 54 (2003), 183.

between the young man and woman in the painting.³²⁰ Both arguments offer insight into Schalcken's painting, but they do not fully explore the equal importance of romance and artistic virtuosity for the image. Schalcken's painting represents the necessity of love and romantic desire to seventeenth century theories of art. As in Schalcken's earlier depictions of artists, the sculpture of Venus echoes the classical origin stories of erotic desire generating artistic innovation in the accounts of Pygmalion, Apelles, and Praxiteles. The painting emphasizes the intimate and sensually tactile experience of interacting with small-size art objects, which harkens back to the painting itself as an object.

A Young Man and Woman Observing a Statuette by Lamplight is, on one level, his most nuanced emulation of a painting by his teacher Dou. It alludes specifically to Dou's *A Young Artist Drawing by Lamplight* (fig. 118), now in Brussels. Dou's intimate, atmospheric painting was very influential for Schalcken's genre paintings, as discussed in Chapter 3. With *A Young Man and Woman Observing a Statuette by Lamplight*, Schalcken re-envisioned Dou's portrayal of secluded nocturnal artistic labor as an equally creative but now an amorous and collaborative experience. Dou's *A Young Artist Drawing by Lamplight*, in its depiction of a young man drawing from a classical sculpture of Cupid at night adheres to the artistic guidelines of the period and also presents a symbol of *amoris causa*. Lighting an oil lamp at night allowed students to draw from classical casts and study the effects of light and shadow, unaffected by the

³²⁰ Guido M. C. Jansen, "A Young Man and Woman Studying a Statue of Venus, by Lamplight," *The Leiden Collection Online Catalogue* (forthcoming, 2016).

changing patterns of daylight. Willem Goeree, writing in 1668, advised artists to copy antique sculpture and noted that “One can also conveniently use candlelight in the evening, which some prefer to daylight, because it casts even/flat shadows.”³²¹ Dou’s studious young draftsman gazes toward his subject, observing the gradual shifts of light and shadow on the rounded forms of the statue.

The cast in Dou’s painting can be read as a Cupid, and thus as an allusion to the love of art as one of the painter’s prime motivators. The emotionally charged moment of the young artist stilling his hand on the page and the empty space between him and the statue, transforms the gaze itself into the central focal point of the painting. *A Young Man and Woman Observing a Statuette by Lamplight*, which also centers on the empty space between the figures and the statue, depicts the physical act of looking even more explicitly. Schalcken transforms Dou’s depiction of a moment of isolated, singular experience into a richly sensual moment of shared erotic looking, which also stresses the role of art as an aid in romantic encounters. The multiple female bodies displayed in the scene further emphasize this concept. They communicate to the viewer that the painting itself can serve as the type of erotic aid seen within.

A Young Man and Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight presents night as a time that facilitates both creative artistic work and romantic endeavors. In doing so, it brings together two distinct traditions of nocturnal symbolism: night as time for romance

³²¹Goeree clarifies that oil lamps are far superior for drawing exercises because, unlike candles, they do not burn down and thus alter the angle of projected light Friso Lammertse, “A Young Man Drawing after a Sculpture,” in *Senses and Sins: Dutch Painters of Daily Life in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Jeroen Giltaij (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2004), 157.

and night as a time for diligent labor. Night as a setting for intellectual and artistic work was widely discussed in classical precedents and was represented in visual and textual allegories. It fits into the growing movement to view the artist as a learned *pictor doctus* (learned painter, or painter-scholar), as seen in Dou's imagery of artists.³²² Besides serving as a useful time for training the eye, the darkness of night also allowed artists the freedom to engage in dream-like bouts of creative inspiration. Dou's *A Young Artist Drawing by Lamplight* portrays both aspects. The young draftsman is poised between the act of drawing and a still moment of inner inspiration. Leonardo da Vinci wrote that when in bed in the dark, it was beneficial "to go over again in the imagination the main outlines of the forms previously studied, or of other noteworthy things conceived by ingenious speculation."³²³

Giovanni Pietro Bellori described how painter Carlo Maratta (1625-1713) took to his studio at night to refine the forms that he drew in his daytime studies. He used the seclusion of the nocturnal studio to "exer[cise] his genius [*ingegno*]" and "bring to light the most beautiful ideas."³²⁴ Maratta's brother supposedly often came home to find him asleep but still holding his pen. When the brother asked Maratta what he was doing, he answered in his sleep, "*Io designo.*" The story of Maratta synthesizes the two elements of nocturnal artistic work, drawing from life and looking inward into the imagination. His

³²² Livio Pestilli, "'The Burner of the Midnight Oil': A Caravaggesque Rendition of a Classic 'Exemplum' An Unrecognized Self-Portrait by Michael Sweerts?" *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 56, no. 1 (1993): 122.

³²³ In A. Roger Ekirch, *At Night's Close: Night in Times Past* (New York: Norton, 2006, 2nd ed.), 305.

³²⁴ Pestilli, 130.

nighttime studio allowed him to take his studies from life and transform them into more fully formed artistic ideas through his internal *fantasia*. Schalcken's *A Young Man and Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight* similarly unites the process of looking at night with the moment of imaginative inspiration, adding erotic undercurrents.

Generally, scenes of night as a time for lovemaking and night as time for creative labor were contrasted as negative and positive opposites during the seventeenth century. For instance, Otto van de Veen's emblem of "Crapula ingenium offuscat" ("Intoxication Obscures Invention") (fig. 120), from his *Q. Horatii Flacci Emblemata*, first published in 1607, uses night as a setting to contrast the detriment of excess and drunkenness with the value of moderation and sobriety. In the image, the man in the distance studies and writes by the light of a fresh candle.³²⁵ Meanwhile, the man in the foreground of the emblem sleeps lazily, seemingly exhausted by a night of debauchery. Evidence of vice is represented by symbols scattered on the floor, including the previously virtuous but now broken club of Hercules. Minerva's shield of wisdom lies half-hidden under the table. The candle on the table beside him has burned down almost completely and we are meant to guess it was diminished from a long night of excess. The opposing figures presented in the Van de Veen's engraving clearly divide night into its potential for honest labor on the one hand and sinful excess on the other. Dou drew from just such emblematic imagery for his own young nocturnal artist, who resembles the man in Van de Veen's engraving.

³²⁵ Justus Müller Hofstede, "Artificial Light in Honthorst and Terbrugghen: Form and Iconography," in *Hendrick ter Brugghen und die Nachfolger Caravaggios in Holland*, ed. Rüdiger Klessmann (Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1988), 19.

Into this exemplum of nocturnal study as the path to perfection of skill and artistic innovation, Schalcken injected a strongly positive erotic current.

The identity of the young woman in Schalcken's painting is provocatively ambiguous and this equivocality is key the erotic tension of the image. Her robe suggests that she is the artist's model. If she is a life-drawing model, she was probably a prostitute, as were most female models who posed nude in the period. Yet, models were not generally involved in the artistic process in the way that the woman in Schalcken's painting seems to be an active participant. She could instead be the young man's student, one of the many young people of elite households, both men and women, who were sent for drawing lessons to increase their connoisseurial knowledge and cultural refinement.³²⁶ Women were allowed slightly increased access to artistic education by the late seventeenth century, as is evidenced by Schalcken himself, who taught his sister Maria how to paint. Maria Schalcken's *Self-Portrait at Work in Her Studio* (fig. 14) from circa 1680 provides an image of a female artist in a studio space roughly contemporary with *A Young Man and Woman Observing a Statuette by Candlelight*. Similar statues and other workshop tools are visible in the background of Maria's painting. Nevertheless, a male artist instructing a woman in drawing nude figures, even statues, would have been considered inappropriate and rife with erotic implications, especially at night. While Maria depicted herself in a modest dress and white painting apron, the loose robe of the young woman in *A Young Man and Woman Observing a Statuette by Candlelight* signal her participation in an intimate and probably illicit encounter. If Schalcken's young

³²⁶ Roodenburg, *The Eloquence of the Body*, 56-59; 113-114.

woman is an art student, then she transgresses the boundaries of propriety in order to achieve erotic pleasure and artistic inspiration.

The woman in Schalcken's painting, with her rich purple robe, also bears a resemblance to Frans van Mieris' *Pictura (An Allegory of Painting)* (fig. 121) from 1661. Just as Schalcken reinterpreted Dou's *A Young Artist Drawing by Lamplight*, he took elements of Van Mieris' female personification of *Pictura* and reconfigured them for his own purposes. Van Mieris' *Pictura* must have been famous in its own time, for Gerard de Lairesse described it, as "so very beautiful and truly antique," and as a leading example of Van Mieris' ability to balance what he called "the modern manner" with the "antique manner."³²⁷ In Van Mieris' painting, the young woman's attributes, the stage mask hung around her neck with a gold chain and the brush and palette in her left hand, allude to Cesare Ripa's description of *Pittura* in his *Iconologia*, which was widely available in Dutch translation by the 1660s.³²⁸ The shimmering drapery worn by Van Mieris' female subject, with its greenish blue, purple, and pink tones, also comes from Ripa and probably represents *drappo cangiante*. Also called changeant or shot silk, *drappo cangiante* is a cloth that changes in hue because it is woven using one color for the warp and a different color for the weft, which produces an iridescent effect. The depiction of

³²⁷ De Lairesse described the painting as "...a half-length figure, about the bigness of the palm of the hand, representing the art of painting, holding a vizor in her hand; its hair, head, attire, dress, and furniture so very beautiful and truly antique, that I never saw the like done by any other modern master, how skillful soever. Whence it appears, how rare it is for a modern master to give into the antique." 114.

³²⁸ Quentin Buvelot, "The Art of Painting (Pictura)," in *Frans van Mieris 1635-1681*, ed. Quentin Buvelot, exh. cat., The Hague, Mauritshuis; Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2005), 148-50, no. 27.

this type of fabric proved the artist's skill with color.³²⁹ The small antique statuette represents both the practice of drawing from such plaster casts and the playful battle between painting and sculpture. The young woman in Schalcken's *An Artist and a Young Woman Observing a Statuette by Candlelight* is not nearly so deliberately defined as a personification of painting. Yet her concentrated focus on the drawing, her gleaming blue and purple robe, and her proximity to the antique bust and statuette, place her in the same visual discourse as the emblematic figure in Van Mieris' painting.

Schalcken also may have known Jan Steen's *Drawing Lesson* (fig. 122), from 1665. Steen also addressed the multivalent relationship between love and desire and the artistic process, using his signature comic mode. In Steen's painting, the gaze of the young female student, clearly directed at the nude male statuette before her, suggests that her education is both artistic and sexual.³³⁰ The putto hanging above the figures' heads, similar to the cupid statuette in Dou's *A Young Artist Drawing by Lamplight*, is at once an allegorical attribute that represents *amoris causa*, to paint for the love of art, and a prompt for the interpretation of the painting's narrative.³³¹ Steen, by recasting that love as partly based in physical desire, acknowledges the erotic undertones of artistic practice. The scene playfully mocks the seriousness and insistence on propriety of his colleagues, namely Dou. The young woman in Steen's painting plays three roles simultaneously:

³²⁹ See Mary D. Garrard, "Artemisia Gentileschi's Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 62, no. 1 (March 1980), 107.

³³⁰ H. Perry Chapman, "The Imagined Studios of Rembrandt and Vermeer," in *Inventions of the Studio Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. Michael Cole and Mary Pardo (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press) 133. See also, Leo Steinberg, "Steen's Female Gaze and Other Ironies," *Artibus Et Historiae*. 11, no. 22 (1990): 107-128.

³³¹ Chapman, "The Imagined Studios of Rembrandt and Vermeer," 133.

student, object of desire, and artistic muse.³³² Steen presents love and desire as part and parcel of his statement on artistic virtuosity. Refusing to stabilize a single interpretation, the scene alludes to so-called higher “poetic” inspiration while at the same time allowing for the possibility of the erotic passion that could equally stoke an artist’s desire to paint.³³³ Also important for Schalcken, Steen placed his humorous meditation on the philosophies of art in a clearly domestic space, a messy studio probably within the artist’s home. Although Steen’s *Drawing Lesson* is highly fictional and stylized, it presents art-making as part of everyday life.

While it is impossible to know if Schalcken ever saw Vermeer’s *The Art of Painting* (fig. 123) of circa 1665-68, the painting is an important counterpoint for *A Young Man and Woman Observing a Statuette by Candlelight*. They are alternate depictions of the profession of painting symbolized by the interaction between a male artist and a female model. Vermeer’s portrayal of the art of painting includes a plethora of references to the medium’s noble status. The young woman, with her laurel wreath, trumpet, and large leather-bound book, has been identified as Clio, the Muse of History. As in Steen’s painting, the scene takes place inside an everyday domestic space. In keeping with De Lairese’s discussions of the “modern style,” Vermeer fully integrated his abstract theories of painting with the idealized scenes of everyday life that made him

³³² Westermann, *The Amusements of Jan Steen*, 238.

³³³ Westermann, *The Amusements of Jan Steen*, 238-39.

famous.³³⁴ As in Dou's and Steen's paintings, Vermeer placed markers of painting's classical lineage and references to its modern practice, such as the plaster cast and open book of drawings on the table. Schalcken, in *A Young Man and Woman Observing a Statuette by Candlelight*, created a closely related variation of the idealized artist's studio.³³⁵ In each case, the beholder is awarded access to an intimate, normally private space of artistic creation.

Schalcken removed the distance between painter and his model-muse hybrid and recreated their interaction as something closer to a union between two equals. His references to other allegorical depictions of the art of painting highlight his picture's status as a self-conscious demonstration of his artistic specialty and ideas about art. In *A Young Man and Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight*, Schalcken took the intimate social interactions between men and women that he explored in his genre scenes and placed them into a studio context. The painting, echoing these romantic nocturnal genre scenes, demonstrates how artistic creation and erotic fulfillment each relied on the night's increased opportunity for quiet and privacy.³³⁶ The picture's focus on an intimate exchange between young lovers hinges on the act of looking at beautiful objects at night, which provides a direct parallel to our experience with the paintings.

³³⁴ Chapman, "Inside Vermeer's Women," in *Vermeer's Women: Secrets and Silence*, ed. Marjorie E. Wieseman, exh. cat., Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 117-19.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ A. Roger Ekirch, *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past* (New York: Norton, 2006, 2nd ed.), 194-97.

4.7 Schalcken, the Nocturnal Pygmalion, and the Creative Beholder

Schalcken's interest in the classical tradition of Pygmalion played a key role in his joining of the romantic and artistic elements of night. Rather than excluding erotic experience as a distraction from the production of art, he presented it as necessary for artistic creation. The two young people glance between the nude statue, the drawing, and each other. The painting deals with themes of artistic training and inspiration, while also creating the titillating possibility of romantic desire. The smooth plaster of the Venus statuette seems to warm before our eyes, enlivened by the lamp's radiance. Venus also seems to respond to the attention of the couple, especially the young man who points toward the goddess's breasts and vulva, which are concealed to us but visible to him and to the young woman. Schalcken's painting overtly pictures the gendered concept of art as a feminine seductress and yet expands this concept by portraying both male and female spectatorship. His conception of the eroticized, romanticized, mystical space of the studio asserted the artist's power to take hold of the beholder's senses and emotions through the visual expression of inner fantasies. Schalcken presented spectatorship as a complex and creative act in and of itself. In constructing his idealized fantasy of nocturnal creation and romance, he expanded the early modern visual discourse of the night. As the night burgeoned as a time for independence, personal creativity, and heightened emotional experiences, Schalcken's depictions of nocturnal artists furthered the importance of the nighttime in daily life and as a philosophical concept.

Chapter 5

SCHALCKEN'S LATE CAREER: NOCTURNAL BEHOLDING, SPIRITUALITY, AND SELF-PROMOTION

From the 1690s until his death in 1706, Schalcken reached the height of his critical acclaim and executed his most ambitious paintings. During the years that he spent in England, from 1692 to 1696, Schalcken cemented his public identity as not only a master of candlelight, but as *the* Master of Candlelight. His style also shifted during this period, away from the precedents of the *fijnschilders* and towards the Van Dyckian mode that was sustained by artists working in England, especially court painter Godfrey Kneller. This chapter investigates how Schalcken changed his style to attract his new audiences in England and how he promoted his signature graceful dark manner. Schalcken, moreover, presented a new virtue of candlelight in these later paintings. Divided into roughly three parts, this chapter begins with Schalcken's three large-scale nocturnal self-portraits and his candlelit portrait of William III, King of England (1650-1702). The portrait of the king demonstrates the positive symbolism of the candle. Schalcken's unprecedented nocturnal self-portraits present him as an elegant and seductive gentleman artist, perfectly suited to create refined and alluring nocturnal paintings. In *Self-Portrait Holding a Print*, Schalcken holds a mezzotint reproduction of one of his own Mary Magdalene paintings. Mary Magdalene, in the early modern era, represented the redemptive and meditative qualities of candlelit introspection at night.

Schalcken's use of the print of Mary Magdalene in his self-portrait connects his pursuit of virtuosity with the positive spiritual aspects of artificial light. Last, I analyze three of Schalcken's late nocturnal genre paintings. Unlike the connection between candlelight and virtue made in Schalcken's other late paintings, his late genre scenes return to his earlier themes of candlelight's associations with vanity and illicit love. I argue that in these paintings, Schalcken was self-consciously returning to his earlier subjects in response to collectors' interests in Golden Age paintings. He reacted to the taste for Dutch paintings, the demand for artistic innovation, and the burgeoning role of artificial light in high society. The resultant paintings, which record his responses to these aspects, created an indelible bond between his name and the history of nocturnal imagery.

5.1 Schalcken's Move to London and The New English Art Market in the Late Seventeenth Century

When Schalcken reached London, the city had recently become a major destination for Dutch painters seeking work outside the United Provinces. By the early 1700s, Jacob Campo Weyerman deemed London to be a "Cockaigne of all the arts."³³⁷ While the Dutch Republic suffered from economic decline and political instability, particularly after the *Rampjaar* in 1672, England thrived. Dutch city centers had experienced a dramatic rise of the art market several decades earlier. Similarly, the English public of the 1680s and 1690s had a new desire for artworks that spread across

³³⁷ See Sander Karst's excellent use and unpacking of Weyerman in Sander Karst, "Off to a new Cockaigne: Dutch migrant artists in London, 1660-1715," *Simiolus* 37, no. 1 (2013): 25-60. See also Franits, "A Very Famous Dutch Painter": Schalcken in England, 1692-1696," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 38.

class lines, neighborhoods, and professions.³³⁸ England had become attractive to Dutch artists for a variety of reasons, including the Glorious Revolution that gave rise to the court of William III and Mary II (1662-1694). Upon his arrival, Schalcken marketed himself as a painter of portraits, following in the footsteps of other Dutch painters who made their fortunes painting portraits in England. However, he also promoted himself as a versatile painter of many different subjects. His style changed as well. The formats of his paintings became physically larger and depicted his figures in the elongated, graceful manner of Peter Lely and Godfrey Kneller, who were themselves responding to the famous precedents of Van Dyck and Rubens.

According to the negative comments in Weyerman's biography, the quality of Schalcken's work decreased at the end of his career. Weyerman wrote that Schalcken "worsened rather than improved, and that his large portraits were as flat as poorly risen pancakes, which he also convinced them of in England when he went to paint portraits there."³³⁹ According to Weyerman, this failure is what drove Schalcken to producing his little nightlights (*nachtlichtjes*).³⁴⁰ In reality, the opposite is true. Schalcken's fame as a master of candlelight followed him to England. Schalcken's production of nocturnal paintings may have increased during the 1690s, but this was probably due to demand. English inventories of the era record many examples of 'nightpieces' by Schalcken in

³³⁸ Carol Gibson-Wood, "Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 3 (September 2002): 491-500.

³³⁹ Jacob Campo Weyerman, *De levens-beschryvingen der Nederlandsche konst-schilders en konst-schilderessen: met een uytbreyding over de schilder-konst der ouden*. (S Gravenhage: E. Boucquet, 1729-1769), 79-80.

³⁴⁰ Weyerman, *De levens-beschryvingen*, 79-80.

English households.³⁴¹ The paintings that Schalcken produced during the 1690s and 1700s do vary in quality, and some of his large-scale paintings are awkward in relative scale and in the modeling of figures. This is probably a result of Schalcken's active workshop and his practical use of assistants. While further research is needed on Schalcken's workshop, his students and assistants very likely contributed to some paintings in order to keep up with demand. Schalcken would have been well aware of the success of Lely and Kneller, both of whom maintained large, almost industrial-style workshops, in which their assistants painted parts or entire canvases of less important commissions. Within the artistic community of London, it was also common for specialists to collaborate on paintings, for instance a landscapist and a portraitist.³⁴²

5.2 England, Commissions and Patrons, and Schalcken's Reduction of Genre Scenes

Wayne Franits' current research is greatly expanding our understanding of Schalcken's decision to move to England and of his success there.³⁴³ As Franits notes, if Schalcken needed examples of Dutchmen who traveled to England for their professions, he could have looked to his uncle, the writer Jacobus Lydius (circa 1610-circa 1679), and his first painting master Samuel van Hoogstraten.³⁴⁴ It had also grown common for artists

³⁴¹ Wayne Franits, "Schalcken in London: Self-Portraiture as Self-Promotion," unpublished conference paper, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 22 January 2016.

³⁴² See Gibson-Wood, 493-95; and Karst, 34-36.

³⁴³ Franits, "A Very Famous Dutch Painter": Schalcken in England, 1692-1696," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 43 and Crinò, Anna Maria. *Fatti e figure del Seicento anglo-toscano: documenti inediti sui rapporti letterari, diplomatici, culturali fra toscana e inghilterra*. (Florence: Olschki, 1957), 356.

³⁴⁴ Franits, "A Very Famous Dutch Painter": Schalcken in England, 1692-1696," 38.

to emigrate together with their families.³⁴⁵ The local announcement of the Schalcken family's departure read: "1692 May 18: On May 22nd, 1692, Godefriedus Schalcken and Françoisia van Dimen, married and living on Gravestraet, will depart for London."³⁴⁶ After arriving in London with Françoisia, Schalcken and his family lived in a neighborhood known as York Buildings, in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, adjacent to the Thames. In the 1690s, York Buildings was located on the western edge of London, in the City of Warminster. An area of social and economic diversity, it was also home to many foreign transplants.³⁴⁷ The York Buildings on the Strand was the home of a significant number of noblemen, who would have been a valuable source of potential clients for Schalcken.³⁴⁸

Accounts of Schalcken in England present him as a renowned and popular painter while he was there. Thomas Platt, envoy for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III de' Medici (1642-1723), knew Schalcken and orchestrated commissions on his behalf. In 1694, Platt wrote in a letter to Apollinio Bassetti, the duke's secretary in Florence, to introduce Schalcken and his art:

For more than two years, we have had in this city a very famous Dutch painter named Schalken, who paints in the manner of Carlo Dolci, making portraits both large and small, paintings of the nighttime, fruits and flowers, etc., at which to marvel: he has heard that our Most Serene

³⁴⁵ This two-part emigration process finds a parallel in the story of Willem van de Velde the Elder, who spent eighteenth months in London and then returned briefly to Amsterdam to take his wife back with him. Karst, 28.

³⁴⁶ "1692 Mey 18, Gegeven 22 Mey 1692, Godefriedus Schalcken and Françoisia van Dimen, echteluyde, gewoont bey de Gravestraet, vertrokken naar London." Veth, "Aanteekeningen Omtrent Eenige Dordrechtsche Schilders," 4.

³⁴⁷ Franits, "A Very Famous Dutch Painter": Schalcken in England, 1692-1696," 40.

³⁴⁸ Karst, 42.

Master is curious to have the self-portraits of famous painters. He prays that I write to you in his favor: if [Cosimo III] is pleased to have his portrait, will your lord please do me this favor to let me know how you would like it, as either a night-piece, or a day-piece, as well as the preferred size, and assure him that on no occasion could anyone be ashamed of this recommendation, as [Schalcken] is esteemed by all connoisseurs here, and a first-rate name in his nation.³⁴⁹

As Franits argues, Platt's choice to compare Schalcken to Carlo Dolci (1616–1686) was probably to attract the attention of Cosimo III.³⁵⁰ Dolci was an extremely pious painter who painstakingly crafted beautiful, refined pictures of religious figures. His *Madonna in Glory* (fig. 124) highlights his combination of Caravaggesque lighting effects and a delicate and graceful treatment of the body. At just the moment that Schalcken was attempting to portray himself as a graceful, refined painter, Platt's comparison with Dolci was a high complement.

Schalcken's many wealthy English patrons included Sir John Lowther (1655-1700), 2nd Baronet and 1st Viscount Lonsdale, who owned several portraits by Schalcken and paintings of other subjects as well. John Lowther, Schalcken's most regular patron in England, had a "night peece by Schlken" listed in his inventory. Charles Sackville, 6th

³⁴⁹ "Habbiamo in questa città da due anni in qua un pittore olandese assai famoso nominato Schalken, dipinge alla maniera di Carlo Dolci, facendo ritratti in grande ed in piccolo, quadri di notte, frutta e fiori &c. a meraviglia: ha sentito che ch'il nostro Serenissimo Padrone è curioso d'aver i ritratti de' pittori insigm. però m'ha pregato di scrivere in suo favore: se S.A. si compiacerà d'aver il suo ritratto V.S. Ill.ma mi farà grazia di farmi sapere in che modo lo vuole. se in un pezzo di notte, o di giorno. come anche la grandezza, assicurandola che non averò occasione di vergognarmi di questa raccomandazione, essendo stimatissimo da tutti gl'intendenti qua, ed il primo nomo della sua nazione." Anna Maria Crinò, "Note di documentazione su due autoritratti della collezione degli Uffizi," *Rivista d'arte* 3, no. 28 (1953), 193. The letters from Platt to Cosimo III's secretary are reproduced, in various parts, in three main sources, Crinò, 1953, Crinò, *Fatti e figure del Seicento anglo-toscano: documenti inediti sui rapporti letterari, diplomatici, culturali fra toscana e inghilterra* (Firenze: Olschki, 1957), and Crinò, "Documents Relating to Some Portraits in the Uffizi and to a Portrait at Knoke," *The Burlington Magazine* 102 (687): 257-261.

³⁵⁰ Wayne Franits, "Schalcken in England: Self-Portraiture as Self-Promotion," conference paper, Wallarf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, 22 January 2016.

Earl of Dorset (1638-1706) bought “a night peice done by Scalken” in August 1694 from art dealer John Norris (1642?-1707).³⁵¹ Robert Spencer, 2nd Earl of Sunderland (1641-1702), acquired *Boy Blowing on a Firebrand* (fig. 72), which spawned several copies in England as well.³⁵² Some of these copies may have been produced in Schalcken’s workshop as studio variants. Close copies of an artist’s most popular compositions were in demand on the open art market.³⁵³ John Elsum wrote an witty epigram devoted to Schalcken’s *Boy Blowing on a Firebrand* in 1704 that reads: “A Night-piece of a boy blowing a firebrand; suppos’d by Schalcken: Puffing to blow the Brand into the Flame, he brightens his own Face, and th’ Author’s Fame.”³⁵⁴ While Schalcken had been depicting artificial light since the 1670s, his move to England clearly precipitated his self-promotion as a master of candlelight.

5.3 Schalcken’s Portrait of William III and the Virtue of Candlelight

William III, Prince of Orange and King of England, by Candlelight (fig. 52), made sometime between 1692 and 1696, presents Schalcken’s interest in connecting candlelight with virtue and chivalry. Schalcken based the portrait on a preexisting picture of the King by Kneller and produced it on speculation. William wears a full suit of armor

³⁵¹ Franits, “A Very Famous Dutch Painter’: Schalcken in England, 1692-1696,” in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 45-46.

³⁵² This includes *Boy Blowing on a Firebrand with a Woman* in the Leiden Collection, New York.

³⁵³ Karst, 52-54. For the interest in close copies in Holland in the same period, see Junko Aono, “Reproducing the Golden Age,” in *Confronting the Golden Age: Imitation and Innovation in Dutch Genre Painting, 1680-1750* (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 46-70.

³⁵⁴ Franits, “A Very Famous Dutch Painter’: Schalcken in England, 1692-1696,” in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 46.

and an ermine cloak that represents his royal status. Seen from the waist up, he stands before a large lit candle in an ornate metal candlestick. The sheer size of the large candle emphasizes its symbolic importance. The light of the candle contrasts with the lights of military fire in the far distance.

There is no evidence that William III actually ever saw the painting, which was presumably Schalcken's goal. Nevertheless, the portrait remained well known during Schalcken's lifetime and after his death because of its unusual choice to depict a ruler using artificial light.³⁵⁵ The painting's symbolism connects it to popular emblems of the period that signify the virtue of rulers as well as doctors and other figures of authority.³⁵⁶ Peter Hecht was the first scholar to link Schalcken's portrait of William III to a portrait of the doctor Nicolaes Tulp (1593-1674) painted by Nicolaes Eliaszoon Pickenoy (1588-1653/1656) (fig. 125). The Latin inscription below Dr. Tulp reads *Aliis inserviando consumor*, roughly translated, "I am consumed in the service of others," which stresses both the symbolic light of the physician and his virtuous labor.³⁵⁷ In *William III, Prince of Orange and King of England, by Candlelight*, the candle symbolizes William's service to his people. The contrast of the two light sources in the painting also emphasizes the king's dual abilities. The cannon fire in the distance alludes to William's successful entry into England and English military power, while the candle represents his learnedness and his symbolic illumination of the English monarchy.

³⁵⁵ *William III, Prince of Orange and King of England, by Candlelight* is first documented in the collection of a Gregory Page, Blackheath near Greenwich, in 1786. Franits, "Porträt des Willem III, 1692–96," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 269-72.

³⁵⁶ Hecht, "Candlelight and Dirty Fingers," 27-29.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Schalcken's depiction of the king by candlelight fits into a broader movement to associate rulers with nocturnal light and with the dichotomy of darkness and light. Rulers used night to create spectacles that impressed and shocked their subjects. Moreover, night became a language for expressing the "divine, majestic darkness" of the sovereign, most apparent in accounts of Louis XIV, The Sun King. In 1653, the teenaged King Louis appeared as the sun king Apollo in the performance of *Ballet de la Nuit* (Ballet of the Night). Wearing a shimmering golden costume (fig. 126), Louis banished the night with the light of day. In playing the rising sun, he displayed his closeness to the divine and the power of the monarchy. A later account described Louis' court as a "theater" where "princes and great men are about the king like goodly stars, which receive all their light from him," while the king's light outshone them all: "it is all confounded in this great light [of Louis XIV]." The king's light was also described as a fire that had the capacity to "consume" those who dared to draw too near to him.³⁵⁸ Although William was at war with France, the European monarchs of the era were keenly aware of Louis XIV's successful campaign to assert his power—and the language of light and shadow was an important element in his self-fashioning.

By finding a novel way to express William III's sovereignty, Schalcken was probably seeking to establish himself as a rival to the more popular and established English court artists. The portrait was made to appeal to his sovereign's classical education through the allusion to the well-known phrase *Aliis inserviando consumor*. It also presents the king as the symbolic light of his people. While *William III, Prince of*

³⁵⁸ Koslofsky, 124.

Orange and King of England, by Candlelight did not lead directly to royal commissions for Schalcken in England, it aligns closely with his growing interest in the positive associations of night and artificial illumination. Schalcken's three nocturnal self-portraits, the focus of the next section, are even more important in his development of innovative nocturnal imagery.

5.4 Schalcken's Three Nocturnal Self-Portraits: Self-Promotion, Artistic Heritage, and the Nocturnal Viewer

In the mid-1690s, while he was living in England, Schalcken created three closely related nocturnal portraits (figs. 7, 127, and 128), all of which present him as an elite gentleman artist, an inheritor of past master artists, and as the ultimate master of candlelight. The novelty of these nocturnal self-portraits cannot be overestimated. They are unprecedented in their portrayal of Schalcken as an artist of the night.³⁵⁹ In each image, art objects and the tools of art-making play central roles. The elements on display—lit candles, art, and the highlighted hand of the artist—present the core of Schalcken's persona. The self-portraits come out of an extensive tradition of artists portraying themselves as craftsmen on the one hand and as learned members of elite society on the other. Combining these traditions, Schalcken plays a Pygmalion-like genius who creates sensual beauty through a private process of nighttime inspiration. With the self-portraits, Schalcken also extended the positive associations between

³⁵⁹ As Wayne Franits is researching currently, it is possible that Schalcken created other candlelit self-portraits during this time period and Franits has found several archival references to support this idea.

candlelight and virtue in his portrait of William III to himself and his profession. These pictures also present the act of beholding art at night as a specialized and pleasurable form of spectatorship. By presenting Schalcken as both an artist and a viewer of art – specifically a nocturnal viewer—the self-portraits create a bond between the painter and the beholder. In performing the role of a nocturnal viewer as well as the painter, Schalcken subtly suggested idealized viewing circumstances for his own paintings. He promoted all of his nocturnal artworks as rarified and romanticized objects of desire that would be unique and valuable additions to a collector’s cabinet, and even suited for viewing at night.

5.4.1 Night and Schalcken’s Self-Fashioning in *Self Portrait by Candlelight, Holding a Palette and Brushes*

Self-Portrait by Candlelight, Holding a Palette and Brushes (fig. 127) now in Leamington Spa, in England, presents night as a time of artistic labor and creativity for Schalcken. While Schalcken signed and dated the self-portrait, “G. Schalcken 1695,” the original circumstances of its creation are completely unknown. Its provenance only reaches back to 1810, when it was in the collection of the Comte d’Orsay in Paris. Franits has recently suggested that Schalcken may have painted *Self-Portrait by Candlelight, Holding a Palette and Brushes* as a kind of exemplary sample to hang in his studio, advertising his skills to visitors and potential customers.³⁶⁰ Supporting this idea, the self-portrait celebrates Schalcken’s chief abilities, his virtuosity with artificial light, his

³⁶⁰ Franits, “Selbstporträt, 1695,” in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 101-02.

masterful depiction of luminous fabrics, and his skill with the idealized human body. Schalcken would have been about fifty-two when he painted this picture and thus represents a younger, beautified version of himself. The large candle, in a candlestick similar to the one he used in the portrait of King William III, illuminates the lush red curtain at the far left and highlights Schalcken's face, his right (painting) hand, and his palette and brushes held in the opposite hand. Schalcken wears a blue coat—which appears to be painted with expensive ultramarine blue—with slashed sleeves, possibly to allude to older traditions of artists' self-portraits. The movement of the candle's flame activates the image and provides the feeling of air and movement. The candlelight also plays subtly off of the moonlight visible through the trees in the distant landscape at the far right. When viewed as a whole, the painting has a dreamy, atmospheric quality that seems to place Schalcken in a state of creative nocturnal reverie, driven into the studio in the middle of the night by his artistic passion. However, the painting, in fact, is a highly artificial and highly calculated portrayal of Schalcken as the fulfillment of the artistic goals of the era.

Schalcken's *Self Portrait by Candlelight, Holding a Palette and Brushes* shrouds his actual process and presents instead an evocative fantasy of painting at night. It builds on the romanticized image of the nocturnal studio that Schalcken portrayed in *Artist and a Young Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight* (fig. 1) during the 1680s. The presence of the moon and the flickering glow of the candle connect to early modern accounts of waking up in the midnight hours to take advantage of the solitude. As Leonardo da Vinci had written in the previous century, "It is of no small benefit on finding oneself in bed in the dark to go over again in the imagination the main outlines of

the forms previously studied, or of other noteworthy things conceived by ingenious speculation.”³⁶¹ The self-portrait presents an illusory image of Schalcken as both laboring during the night and gaining his inspiration from experiencing the night.

Schalcken’s *Self Portrait by Candlelight, Holding a Palette and Brushes* is rooted in the complex seventeenth-century history of painters’ self-portraits. While painters advocated to award painting a higher status as a humanist, learned art form, the image of the studio and the tools of art-making were also a key component of an artist’s image. In Schalcken’s previous self-portraits, he had presented himself as a rakish prodigal in “*Lady, Come into the Garden*” (fig. 98) and as a refined gentleman in his pendant portraits with his new wife Françoisia (figs. 15 and 16). Shortly before his move to England, Schalcken also portrayed himself as a gentleman in his *Self-Portrait*, circa 1685-90, now at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (fig. 129). In the Fitzwilliam self-portrait, He appears in a stylish black beret, an earring in his right ear, and an exoticized costume with a prominent gold band at his chest. The outfit and pose in the self-portrait appear to echo Rembrandt’s well-known and hugely influential *Self-Portrait at Age Thirty-Four* (National Gallery, London) of 1640. Schalcken’s allusion to Rembrandt in his self-portrait emphasizes his ambition to place himself among the great masters of the Dutch Golden Age.

In *Self Portrait by Candlelight, Holding a Palette and Brushes*, Schalcken combined his elegant persona with his identity as a working painter. To do this, he looked to precedents of the gentleman and the working artist. As Chapman has argued,

³⁶¹ Ekirch, 305.

Rembrandt underwent a change in his self-portrayal in the late 1640s, a period during which he turned away from the Titian-esque Renaissance ideal of the elite artist, and toward a modern identity as a working painter.³⁶² In Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait of the Artist at His Easel* (fig. 130) at the Louvre, from 1660, he presented his persona as a painter engaged with the everyday practice of making. With this painting, he revived the sixteenth-century self-portrait type of the working artist cultivated by Antonis Mor, Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, and others, as well as in the engraved artist portraits of Hendrick Hondius (fig. 131). While these earlier precedents had focused on the fine clothing and elite portrayal of the painter, Rembrandt's Louvre *Self-Portrait* presents him in a plain painter's cap and unpretentious clothing. While much of Rembrandt's painting is shrouded in darkness, it spotlights his face, his hands, palette, brushes, and the very edge of his easel. Rembrandt recast the *pictor vulgaris* (vulgar painter) as a positive portrayal of his singular, unpretentious creative mind.³⁶³

Schalcken also must have been aware of the many self-portraits by his second teacher Dou, in which Dou represented himself as the inverse of Rembrandt, the refined *pictor doctus* (learned painter). In Dou's *Self-Portrait* now in the Metropolitan Museum, from circa 1665 (fig. 132), the prominent placement of artistic instruments reminds the beholder that the painting's seemingly smooth, intricate surface was created using these very tools, through the transformative power of Dou's artistic hand and intellect. In England, there was also a strong practice of artists depicting themselves in elegant

³⁶² H. Perry Chapman, "The Artist in the Studio," in *Rembrandt's Self-Portraits: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 79-104.

³⁶³ Chapman, *Rembrandt's Self-Portraits*, 96-97.

clothing, either in the studio, or with artist's tools. In his *Self-Portrait* from circa 1660 (fig. 133), Peter Lely poses with a sculpted model, which represents his knowledge and practice use of classical sculpture. Painted around the same time as Rembrandt's Louvre *Self-Portrait*, Lely's painting also has a limited palette of browns and reds, but uses the reduced colors to draw attention to his skill in design and draftsmanship. Closer in time to Schalcken's *Self Portrait by Candlelight, Holding a Palette and Brushes*, Michael Dahl (1659–1743), a popular Swedish portrait artist who was working in London, depicted himself in 1691 gesturing toward an antique bust and his paint-laden palette beside it (fig. 134).

There is no evidence that Schalcken ever saw Rembrandt's Louvre *Self-Portrait*. Yet he would have been aware of the late seventeenth-century classicist debates about Rembrandt's dark manner. Rembrandt's goal was to recast the *pictor vulgaris* into a positive portrayal of his individual poetic spirit. Schalcken's goal, thirty years later, was to recast the dark manner of painting, by then out of style, into an elegant and graceful dark manner in keeping with classicist views of the 1690s. Thomas Platt's 1694 description of Schalcken as a painter who worked with diverse subjects in the (implied graceful) style of Carlo Dolci and who was esteemed by connoisseurs in London alludes to Schalcken's own ambitions, as communicated through his friend. In the late seventeenth century, many discussions of art criticism revolved around comparing Rembrandt's strengths and his faults, detailing what a young artist should emulate and what he should disregard from the master. De Lairese, for instance, admits in his *Treatise on Art*, that many people in his day still praised Rembrandt, asking "was there

ever, say they, a painter, who came so near nature in force of colouring, by his beautiful lights, agreeable harmony, strange and uncommon thoughts, &c.”³⁶⁴ De Lairese himself states that Rembrandt’s manner should not be rejected completely because of the value of “its naturalness and uncommon force.”³⁶⁵ Schalcken’s *Self Portrait by Candlelight, Holding a Palette and Brushes* presents him as an artist capable of taking the positive traits of Rembrandt’s style, the power of his chiaroscuro lighting and coloring, and then fusing it with elegant style of the era.

5.4.2 Artistic Virtue and the Depiction of a Nocturnal Pygmalion in Schalcken’s *Self-Portrait, Holding a Burning Candle*

Schalcken’s other two nocturnal self-portraits also promote his new graceful dark manner and add to it the importance of beholding in the practice of art. In his *Self-Portrait, Holding a Burning Candle* from 1694 (fig. 128) Schalcken exchanges his brushes and palette for a large candle, grasped firmly in his left hand. As with *Self-Portrait, By Candlelight, Holding a Palette and Brushes*, the original circumstances of this commission are unknown. The self-portraits of Peter Lely and Michael Dahl, though, demonstrate the popularity of artists’ self-portraits in London during this period. Schalcken’s composition became well known after it was reproduced in a mezzotint by English printmaker John Smith (fig. 135) and, subsequently, by printmakers back in the

³⁶⁴ De Lairese, *Treatise on the Art of Painting*, 220.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Netherlands.³⁶⁶ The painting, now in the Washington County Museum of Art in Hagerstown Maryland, although it is very likely an authentic work by Schalcken, has a confusing history in twentieth-century scholarship. Hofstede de Groot found an inventory reference to a now-lost painting at Welbeck Abbey, in the collection of the Duke of Portland, which supposedly matched John Smith's mezzotint.³⁶⁷ The painting in Maryland was thought to be a copy because in early photographs it seemed to be missing the sculptural fragments seen clearly in the mezzotint. However, the sculptures are present in the painting, just darkened and somewhat sunken in.³⁶⁸ The original patron for *Self-Portrait Holding a Burning Candle* thus remains unclear.

The painting is remarkable in its complex depiction of the lit candle as a positive attribute for the artist. Schalcken stands in a lustrous blue coat with gold clasps as he holds a velvet brown drapery around his torso. His stylish fitted waistcoat was influenced by the Indian fashions popular in London at the time.³⁶⁹ He leans on a stone plinth in a sparse room with an antique column in the background. As in the portrait previously discussed, his smooth, idealized face makes him appear much younger than his actual age in his early fifties. With one hand, he gestures to his chest, acknowledging himself as the

³⁶⁶ Franits, "Selbstportrat, 1694," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 98-99.

³⁶⁷ Erik Larsen stated in his 1964 article that the first version of the painting at Welbeck Abbey disappeared and the piece in Hagerstown was a duplicate. However, Larsen based this statement on the incorrect view that the Hagerstown painting is missing the two sculpted heads in the lower left corner, and that the painting has slightly different dimensions. The museum's director at the time, Bruce Etchison, responded to Larsen after his article was published, stating that the bust and statue of a satyr are indeed present in the Hagerstown painting, but only under strong light. More recent photography clearly shows the sculptures in the foreground. Erik Larsen, "A Self-Portrait by Godfried Schalcken," *Oud Holland* 79, no. 1 (1964): 78-79; Beherman, 152, no. 55.

³⁶⁸ Franits, "Selbstportrat, 1694," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 98-99.

³⁶⁹ Wayne Franits, "Schalcken in London - Self-Portraiture as Self Promotion," conference paper, Godefridus Schalcken – Fascination and Impact, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 22 January 2016.

creator of the image. With the other hand, he holds out the large candle, which blows back toward him. The sculptures at the lower left, a female bust and a smaller male nude, are barely visible but can be seen more clearly in Smith's mezzotint. The sculptures and the column seem to place Schalcken in an invented room that is perhaps meant to be a sculpture gallery and column provides a vaguely antique atmosphere that is similar to the archway and sculpted bust in Dahl's 1691 *Self-Portrait*. The candle, grasped in Schalcken's bare hand, becomes a visual replacement for a palette and brushes. Though the candle seems natural at first, a second glance reveals it as a fantastical conceit. The physical connection between Schalcken and the candle also references the virtuous concept of *Aliis inserviando consumor*, being consumed in the service of others, that appears in his portrait of King William III.

The sculptures in Schalcken's self-portrait clearly communicate his promotion of classicist ideals. The fragments, probably plaster casts, relate to the everyday activities of the artist's studio. Lely's *Self-Portrait* (fig. 133) offers a close precedent in which Lely grasps a little sculpture with his hand. Lely, by holding the sculpture, displays the connection between the act of training the eye by looking at sculpture and his skill as a painter. Godfrey Kneller's *Self-Portrait in the Studio* (fig. 136), with its sculptures and column, demonstrates even more overtly the central importance of drawing from classical sculpture for painters. The best painters should be careful, however, to temper their studies from sculpture with active study from life. Schalcken's candle, the light source of his work and of the painting itself, balances his use of antique statuary with the importance of the artist's eye. The act of observing and drawing from life and not just

from copybooks and sculptural models, according to De Lairese, maintains an artist's individuality and keeps him from becoming only an imitator.³⁷⁰

The contrast between the sculpture and the lit candle in Schalcken's self-portrait also participates in the productive rhetorical debates of the *paragone* between painting and sculpture. Painting, with its ability to depict light and shadow as it appears in nature, is superior to sculpture, which can only be illuminated by an external source. Painting, unlike sculpture, can also depict the warm golden glow of the candlelight and the air around it. As the doctor is consumed in the service of his patients and the monarch in the service of his subjects, the painter is consumed in his service to represent the beauty of nature and to render that beauty immortal for his audiences.³⁷¹ The painter will die, but beauty will live in in his paintings, a concept that reaches back to Schalcken's teacher Dou and his *Vanitas* depictions of painters. The candle thus not only acts as a symbol of Schalcken's specialty in nocturnal imagery, but also symbolizes the role of the painter in general. By casting himself as the bearer of the painting's sole light source, Schalcken emphasized his role as the illuminator who brought his *fantasia* to the beholder through his skill.

Finally, Schalcken's *Self-Portrait Holding a Burning Candle* presents him as an improved Pygmalionian exemplum of the artist, transformed from a sculptor into an elegant gentleman painter. Schalcken's pose is similar to the male figure in his earlier genre painting *Man Looking at a Bust of a Woman by Candlelight*, from the 1670s,

³⁷⁰ De Lairese, *Treatise on the Art of Painting*, 32.

³⁷¹ See Peter Hecht, "Candlelight and Dirty Fingers, or Royal Virtue in Disguise: Some Thoughts on Weyerman and Godfried Schalcken." *Simiolus* 11, no. 1 (1980): 23-38.

discussed in Chapter 4 (see comparison in fig. 137). Both paintings feature young men holding up lit candles in the dark, surrounded by sculptural fragments. In the earlier genre painting, Schalcken poked fun at the Pygmalion myth by casting the young male figure in a fool's costume. Probably, he was making a gentle dig at sculptors, in keeping with the rhetorical *paragone* debates. The young man in the genre painting may be able to look at the beautiful sculptural bust, but only Schalcken, as a painter, can portray this candlelit romance for the connoisseur. By recasting Pygmalion as a painter and as a figure of the midnight hours, Schalcken heightened the poetic grace of his nocturnal paintings as a whole. In narratives of Pygmalion, one imagines that the furtive liberties that the mythological sculptor took with his statue – dressing it, kissing it, and laying its head on the soft pillows– must have taken place under the cover of night.³⁷² The Pygmalion story pairs active beholding with artistic creation, as two necessary counterparts. Schalcken's extension of the myth as a one of the midnight hours relates this symbiosis of viewing and making to his own artistic practice.

5.4.3 Promoting Nocturnal Beholders and Individual Creative Experience in *Self-Portrait, by Candlelight, Holding a Print*

Schalcken's *Self-Portrait, by Candlelight, Holding a Print* (fig. 7), even more than the other two self-portraits discussed here, advocates for a practice of nocturnal beholding. He produced the painting for Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1642-

³⁷² Allen Mandelbaum, *The Metamorphoses of Ovid* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1993), 335-37.

1723) in 1695.³⁷³ As a result of Thomas Platt's advocacy on Schalcken's behalf, Cosimo III commissioned a self-portrait from Schalcken to include in his family's famed hall of self-portraits, begun by Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici in 1664.³⁷⁴ The commission thus signified Schalcken's immortalization in this esteemed gallery of master painters. In the painting, Schalcken gestures toward himself with his right hand and holds up a mezzotint print of one of his popular depictions of Mary Magdalene by candlelight (fig. 140). As in the other nocturnal self-portraits, Schalcken's smooth skin and his clean-shaven face give him a youthful, eternal aspect, which effaces signs of his age. The composition is close to *Self-Portrait, Holding Palette and Brushes*, with a similar *repoussoir* device of the red curtain framing the left side of the painting and the moonlit landscape in the right-side distance. Schalcken also wears the same blue coat with slashed sleeves. The candle flame blows dramatically toward the left, infusing the space with a sense of movement and air. The painting brilliantly captures the different textures of the mezzotint paper, the fabrics, and Schalcken's skin, all warmed under the golden glow of the candle. Every element of Schalcken's virtuosity is present.

The letters between Thomas Platt in England and the duke's secretary, Apollonio Bassetti, document the commission in great detail. After the first letter from Platt (described above) was successful, he went to Schalcken's studio to discuss the

³⁷³ Karla Langedijk, *Die Selbstbildnisse der Holländischen und Flämischen Künstler in der Galleria degli Autoritratti der Uffizien in Florenz* (Florence: Edizioni Medicea, 1992), 165-71.

³⁷⁴ Leopoldo de Medici was a devoted collector of art, coins, statues, medals, gems, arms and armour and rare stones. He was also one of the first patrons to commission artists to paint their own portraits. For more on the collection, see Giovanna Giusti Galardi and Maria Sframeli, *Artists' Self-Portraits from the Uffizi*, exh. cat., Dulwich Picture Gallery (Milan: Skira, 2007).

commission and how the self-portrait should look. On August 3rd, 1694, Platt writes to Bassetti:

To obey the orders of our most Seren Master, I spoke with the painter Schalken in order to know from him what his primary talent is, he tells me that he is better at colorito [coloring], which he can paint equally well in large or small formats of night pieces or day pieces, but that it would be more valuable to make his own portrait as a natural night piece to better accompany the portraits in the Seren Master's gallery, because there are no other painters in these parts that can do this. For me, if I may dare to say my opinion, I think it would be better to order it in this manner, because I do not remember having ever seen in the aforementioned gallery any portraits of painters that were done at night. His price is 25 lire sterling, but he leaves the final decision to our Seren Master, requiring much time and dedication to complete such a portrait, and he will do it with all diligence that merits the honor of approval of our Serene Master and for his own reputation...³⁷⁵

This document, more directly than any other text, attests to Schalcken's promotion of himself as the master of candlelight of his era. Schalcken's assertion that he is best known for his coloring connects him back to the precedents set by Van Dyck, and to the early biographies of Houbraken and Weyerman. Schalcken, in the self-portrait, made a public statement of what Houbraken described as "his flattering brushwork, in his artful blending of color...and in his naturalistic imitation of velvet and other materials" and of

³⁷⁵ "Per ubbidire agl'ordini di S.A. ho discorso col Pittore Schalken per sapere da lui in che consiste il suo talento principale, mi dice che vale piu nel colorito, che gl'è uguale di dipingnere in grande o in piccolo pezzi di notte o pezzi di giorno, ma ch'avrebbe piu caro di fare il proprio ritratto in un pezzo di notte et al naturale per accompagnare meglio i ritratti della Galleria di S.A., perche non vi è nissun Pittore in queste parti che lo faccia. Per me, se ardisco dire la mia opinione, mi pare che sarebbe meglio d'impiegarlo in quel modo perchè non mi ricordo d'aver vista nella sudetta Galleria nissun ritratto di pittore che sia fatto di notte. Il suo prezzo è 25 lire sterline, ma si rimette a S.A., volendoci gran tempo e flemma per finire un tal ritratto, e lo farà con ogni diligenza per meritare l'onore dell'approvazione di S.A. e per la propria riputazione" Thomas Platt, 3 August 1694, Dok. 93 ASF, Med. Prine., f. 4247, in Wolfram Prinz, *Die Sammlung der Selbstbildnisse in den Uffizien*, vol 1 (Florence: Kunsthistorisches Institut; Berlin: Mann, 1971), 191-92. Also reproduced in Crinò (1953), 192. Many thanks to Hannah Segrave and to Dr. Dominique Surh for kindly offering their assistance with this translation.

his unequalled talent with artificial light.³⁷⁶ Schalcken also described his graceful night-pieces, importantly, as unique. His nocturnal self-portrait would play against the other daytime portraits in the gallery. Moreover, the nocturnal self-portrait would activate the collection as a whole through its distinctive difference. The inclusion of John Smith's mezzotint was also a canny choice by Schalcken. He even included a copy of the print when he shipped the finished painting. Bassetti was so impressed with the print that the duke let him keep it as a gift and requested another copy for himself.³⁷⁷

The print connects Schalcken's *Self-Portrait* with the importance of print collecting and viewership in the artistic circles of the era. De Lairese advised that even though artists should avoid mimicking prints, looking at fine prints can "improve our thoughts." Viewing prints, according to De Lairese, "sooth and please the eye," and "enrich our thoughts when we are about a composition of our own."³⁷⁸ Kneller's *Self-Portrait in the Studio* (fig. 136) displays just such a bond between the viewing of works on paper and the painter's imagination. In Aert de Gelder's *Portrait of a Collector (Self-Portrait?)* from circa 1700 (fig. 138), the man depicted holds Rembrandt's famous "Hundred Guilder Print" (*Christ Healing the Sick*). Many scholars have identified the sitter as a self-portrait of De Gelder. De Gelder's portrait depicts the sitter as an elite collector who owned a copy of this rare and coveted print. If the painting is a self-portrait, then it presents De Gelder as an artistic inheritor of Rembrandt's rough manner and as a connoisseur of his art. Moreover, Rembrandt probably made the Hundred

³⁷⁶ Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 3, 179.

³⁷⁷ Beherman, 154, no. 56.

³⁷⁸ De Lairese, *Treatise on the Art of Painting*, 32.

Guilder Print for a limited circle of friends and collectors and thus De Gelder's possession of the print marks him as part of a special social group.³⁷⁹ In Schalcken's case, by including John Smith's reproductive print of his painted composition, he connected himself to the contemporary artistic circles of London. As discussed in Chapter 2, Schalcken himself was a great collector of prints and had a working relationship with Smith. His choice of including the print in his painting would have been beneficial both to him and to his relationship with Smith. The print also served as an appeal to Cosimo III's intense piety and as an advertisement of Schalcken's skill in painting emotionally resonant religious scenes.

It is also notable that both Schalcken's *Self-Portrait* and De Gelder's painting depict their sitters looking at a print of a religious subject, in what seems to be a darkened nocturnal space. The act of experiencing a religious print at night connects the paintings with themes of art connoisseurship with personal piety and spirituality. By including the specific mezzotint of Mary Magdalene in his painting, Schalcken fashioned an image of two nocturnal beholders. In the image, he looks toward the print, while within its borders Mary Magdalene experiences her own inward nocturnal vision. In pairing himself with Magdalene, Schalcken alluded to his own spirituality and to the capacity of his nighttime artistic work to produce profound reflections. With the senses bound together, viewing a print by candlelight – as Schalcken does in his self-portrait – would take on a completely different atmosphere than viewing it during the day. The obscured print, barely visible to

³⁷⁹ Shelley Perlove and Larry Silver, *Rembrandt's Faith: Church and Temple in the Dutch Golden Age* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 272.

us as viewers, would come alive only for the person, or people, holding it up to the light. This type of intimate, sensual viewing also links Schalcken's self-portrait with his *An Artist and a Young Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight*, from the 1680s and its display of romanticized and idealized experience of beholding.

All three of Schalcken's nocturnal self-portraits advocate for his particular style, his graceful dark manner, and place him as a serious rival in the international art scene. The self-portraits also allude to a larger practice of art spectatorship, and specifically nocturnal spectatorship. Two central themes, candlelight as a symbol of virtuosity and as a symbol of virtuousness, are woven through the self-portraits and expand Schalcken's use of nighttime imagery. In his focus on the lit candle as a symbol of virtuosity and virtue, it is also possible that Schalcken was alluding to Van Dyck's *Self-Portrait with a Sunflower* (fig. 139) of 1632. Van Dyck's painting, which was reproduced in print, depicts him gesturing toward his gold chain (a gift of his patron Charles I) with one hand and pointing toward a large sunflower with the other. The sunflower, which follows the sun, symbolizes Van Dyck's status as the perfect courtier, following the light of Charles I, and as the perfect painter, following the beauty of nature. Schalcken's nocturnal self-portraits demonstrate a similar dedication to refined beauty and the *sprezzatura* of a courtier. Candlelight serves to illuminate both his career and the idealized vision of nature seen in his paintings.

By this point in Schalcken's mature career, the nighttime had accrued wide-ranging meanings in his artwork, from industry to creative inspiration to romanticized erotic acts. The spiritual importance of night also formed an important component in

Schalcken's shaping of nocturnal beholding as a heightened emotional experience. While religious mystics had meditated at night for centuries, the seventeenth century saw both an escalation and an expansion of personal nocturnal introspection. The use of nighttime by artists to seek out inspiration discussed in the previous chapter was part of a broader turn toward night as a time for self-scrutiny and contemplation. According to Jesuit Daniello Bartoli (1609-1685), "The day counts on labor; the night counts on thinking. Clamor is useful for the first; silence for the second."³⁸⁰ In Schalcken's depictions of Mary Magdalene, his interests in sensuality and emotional intensity of nocturnal experience come to the fore.

5.5 Magdalene and the Sensuality of Nocturnal Spiritual Meditation

Schalcken created religious scenes featuring artificial light throughout his career, yet his use of nocturnal settings and evocative candlelight became increasingly sophisticated in the 1690s and 1700s. Schalcken's religious paintings, particularly his depictions of Mary Magdalene, reveal his sensitive understanding of the associations between the nighttime and spiritual experience. Schalcken painted at least ten Mary Magdalene compositions, all of which feature artificial light. This section explores a selection of these paintings, which lead to two major religious commissions in his late career: *The Conversion of Mary Magdalene* (fig. 57) and his *Lamentation of Christ* (fig. 151), a contribution to a large altarpiece commissioned for the Johann Wilhelm II,

³⁸⁰ Ekirch, 202-3.

Electoral Palatine (1658-1716). In Schalcken's religious paintings from the late 1680s onward, he explored the relationship between night and private spiritual contemplation to an even greater degree. Crucially, he retained the emotional intimacy and sensuality of his erotic scenes in his religious paintings. He portrayed an understanding of personal religious experience as emotionally and physically complex.

Schalcken's use of night to visualize the spiritual struggle and internal reflection is rooted in his earliest religious works, such as *The Annunciation* in the Getty Museum in Los Angeles (fig. 33). *The Annunciation*, from circa 1660-65, features the finely wrought detail of Schalcken's *fijnschilder* period. It also creates a dark, nighttime atmosphere in which Mary—dressed as a contemporary Dutch woman—seems to interact with the Angel Gabriel in a dream state. The angel appears almost as a manifestation of Mary's internal vision. Schalcken's *Penitent Magdalene by Candlelight* (fig. 141), from circa 1670, is another example of his early *fijnschilder* treatment of religious subjects. Schalcken's painting closely echoes Gerrit Dou's depictions of Mary Magdalene in its delicacy and refinement. In Dou's *Penitent Magdalene* (fig. 142) in the National Museum in Stockholm and his *Penitent Magdalene by Candlelight* (fig. 143), recently on the art market, Mary looks upward to a small sculpted crucifixion. In Schalcken's *Penitent Magdalene by Candlelight*, the saint maintains the same upward gaze, but with the deletion of the crucifix, the scene focuses even more on Mary's internal spiritual experience. Dou's depictions of the saint both focus on Mary's beauty and her sexuality, as well as her penitent piety, as do other *fijnschilder* representations, like Frans van Mieris' *Penitent Mary Magdalene* (fig. 144) in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden. In all

cases, the small scale of the paintings contributes to their role in personal worship and prayer.

Schalcken, however, quickly developed his own format and style for depicting Mary Magdalene, which drew more on the precedents of the Caravaggists and those of French painter Georges de la Tour (1593-1652). Schalcken's *Penitent Magdalene*, now at the Gemäldegalerie in Kassel (fig. 145), was created in the 1680s or early 1690s and demonstrates his personalization of the saint. Sitting near the border of the picture plane, Mary gazes toward the heavens as she strokes the skull on the table before her. The wheat sprig and red velvet tablecloth both symbolize the Eucharist. Eddy Schavemaker suggests that the *Vanitas* element of the skull may have made the subject appeal to Protestants as well, though the Eucharistic symbols seem to indicate a Catholic patron.³⁸¹ Schalcken's painting demonstrates that he was probably aware of and borrowed from La Tour's many nocturnal representations of Mary Magdalene by from the first half of the 1600s. As in La Tour's *Magdalene with the Smoking Flame*, (fig. 146), Schalcken's painting focuses on Mary's exterior calm, which contrasts with her inner spiritual quest. This internal struggle manifests subtly in the disquiet of her upward gaze and the tense movements of her hands on the skull before her, as well as the wavering movement of the oil lamp's flame. Unlike La Tour's crisp chiaroscuro lighting, however, the soft golden glow of Schalcken's

³⁸¹ Eddy Schavemaker, in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 287-89. For the religious affiliation of owners of male hermits by Gerrit Dou or other Leiden painters, see Eric Jan Sluiter, ed., *Leidse fijnschilders: van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge, 1630-1760* (Exh. cat., Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal) (Zwolle, 1988), 111-13, no. 15 (cf. 85-87, no. 3); Ronni Baer, "The Paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613-1675)" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1990), 55 n. 143; Annegret Laabs, ed., *De Leidse Fijnschilders uit Dresden* (Exh. cat., Leiden, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal) (Zwolle, 2001), 35-37.

painting imbues it with inviting warmth that contrasts with the darkness surrounding Mary and pulls the viewer in. Also in contrast to La Tour's spare imagery, Mary's luxurious blue and gold cloak and her fine jewelry offer visual enjoyment and additional reminders of the outer beauty that the saint would choose to cast off in favor of salvation.

By the seventeenth century, the concept of Mary Magdalene had come to rely heavily on the dichotomy between her physicality and sensuality and her subsequent ascetic life.³⁸² Mary Magdalene, as repentant sinner and reformed prostitute, represented the failings of humankind as well as the potential for redemption. The connection between Mary Magdalene and the night existed throughout early modern Europe. Schalcken's Kassel *Penitent Mary Magdalene*, by presenting the saint indoors wearing contemporary clothing and jewelry, links it with Mary's role as a model of prayer for contemporary women to emulate. One anonymous seventeenth-century devotional poem from Flanders describes Mary Magdalene's meditations as follows:

Alone retired within my cell,
At home within myself, all noyse shut out
In silent mourning I resolve to dwell,
With thoughts of death Ile hang my walls about;
All windows close, Faith shall my taper be,
At whose dim flame Ile Hell and Judgement see...
All windows close, Faith shall my Taper be,
On Hope Ile rest, and sleep in Charity.³⁸³

In the poem, Mary Magdalene creates her own "night," shutting the windows and praying in the darkness by the symbolic light of her faith. Schalcken's representations of Mary

³⁸² For a full discussion of the multitude of sources for the construction of the 'composite' Magdalene, see Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

³⁸³ Koslofsky, 78-79.

Magdalene are, like La Tour's, always youthful and beautiful. Her sadness adds to her vulnerability. Mary Magdalene's heightened state of emotion was an entrenched part of her appeal to individual worshipers. It conforms to period cultural precepts that feminine emotion was capable of attracting and arresting the viewer.³⁸⁴ Mary's distressed state appealed to the male viewer as a source of desire and as an emotional proxy.³⁸⁵ Sluijter, for instance, points to Rembrandt's *Andromeda Chained to a Rock* as an example of using the nude female body to evoke an emotional response on the part of the viewer that focused equally on her vulnerability and her sexuality.³⁸⁶

The sensual beauty and penitent sadness of Mary Magdalene, moreover, caused a conflicted mixture of lust and piousness that was much discussed by art critics of the period, as Stephanie Dickey has noted. Van Hoogstraten, for instance, described a Mary Magdalene by Titian as "Casting her red-rimmed, weeping eyes to heaven, although she is beautiful, she moves the viewer more to a similar penitence than to lust."³⁸⁷ As Dickey discusses, Van Hoogstraten openly states that the (presumed male) viewer must master his own emotional and erotic response to such pictures, a process of beholding that had perceived therapeutic value. Through this process, the viewer, in a sense, enacts Mary Magdalene's turn from physical pleasure to spiritual asceticism for his or herself.

³⁸⁴ On gender and emotion, see Stephanie S. Dickey, "Damsels in distress: gender and emotion in seventeenth-century Netherlandish art," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 60, no. 1 (2010): 53-82, especially her discussion of Mary Magdalene on 69-71.

³⁸⁵ Wayne Franits, in *Schalcken – Gemalte Verführung*, 285-86.

³⁸⁶ Eric Jan Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 91-97.

³⁸⁷ Dickey, "Damsels in distress," 71.

Schalcken's most openly erotic representation of Mary Magdalene is his Copenhagen *Penitent Magdalene* (fig. 147) painted in the late 1680s or early 1690s. The play between the saint's beautiful body and the subtle attributes of her renunciation of worldly goods energizes the painting.³⁸⁸ Mary seems to have broken the pearls from her neck just moments prior to the instant depicted. Her hand slides down where it hovers above her exposed breast as she reaches out toward the viewer with her other hand. In Schalcken's Copenhagen *Magdalene*, the dim oil lamp enhances the focus on Mary's sensual body. Her cheeks flush and her lips part in a way that echoes the lovers in Schalcken's genre paintings. The oil lamp's flame casts a warm hazy glow over the scene. Mary is poised between action and internal thought, the moment is that of her spiritual epiphany. More than simply a source of erotic attraction, Schalcken's portrayal of Mary Magdalene reveals the complex physical and emotional experience of spiritual struggle and meditation. Schalcken's Mary Magdalenes are also pictured with contemporary elite trappings, such as the ornate oil lamp holder. When compared with Gerrit van Honthorst's beautiful but far more directly theatrical *Penitent Magdalene* (fig. 148) from the 1620s, Schalcken's version of Mary Magdalene is clearly operating within late seventeenth-century concepts of grace and elegance.

This sense of grace extends to the tears that fall down Mary's face in Schalcken's painting, which do nothing to mar her idealized beauty. Mary's weeping was a central attribute of her piety and her desirability. Her tears were especially important for her position as a source of emulation for individual believers. For early modern women,

³⁸⁸ Wayne Franits, in *Schalcken – Gemalte Verführung*, 285-86.

weeping and praying at night were external, visual proof of internal devotion. Frenchman Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville (1661–1706) wrote of one of Guido Reni's paintings of Mary Magdalene that her ruby lips were “passionate with the new flame of love,” and her beautiful eyes “sacred channels of a precious flood,” and with her love she “burns the sky with her tears.”³⁸⁹ Female piety modeled on Mary Magdalene could be strongly erotic. Her “damsel in distress” status made the contemplation of her sexuality a key component of her eventual salvation, providing a cathartic release potentially to both male and female viewers.³⁹⁰ Schalcken’s Mary Magdalene paintings, however, orchestrate this release within a highly aestheticized graceful mode that made them even more desirable for late seventeenth-century audiences.

In *Conversion of Mary Magdalene* (fig. 57) from 1700, Schalcken extended the format to a full-length figure and developed a complex use of light and dark to visualize Mary’s moment of spiritual awakening. It is a large painting, nearly forty inches tall. It depicts the saint bare-breasted with broken chain of pearls falling from her neck, as in the Copenhagen *Penitent Magdalene* from several years earlier. She steps on a mountain of glittering gold trays, cups, and dishes, which represents her act of casting aside such worldly goods. Observed from above by two putti, she looks up into the heavenly ray of light that shines on her. As Guido Jansen has noted, the turbulent sea in the background most likely refers to the apocryphal story of Mary Magdalene in Jacobus de Voragine’s popular book of saints, *The Golden Legend*. In the narrative, Mary Magdalene is

³⁸⁹ Haskins, 260.

³⁹⁰ Dickey, 69.

supposed to have boarded a small boat and, after a perilous journey, arrived on the shores of southern France.³⁹¹ In Schalcken's painting, the stormy sea in the distance symbolizes Mary's emotional moment of transformation as well. She steps on the cold luxury goods below her feet as she feels the warmth of the light of heaven shining down on her. The light of the oil lamp before her illuminates her luminous skin and plays against the rainbow-hued light above. Schalcken's *Conversion of Mary Magdalene* also demonstrates how he used his expertise in depicting light to dramatize the moment of conversion in a far more sophisticated way than many of his peers, even younger artists. Comparing Schalcken's *Conversion of Mary Magdalene* with, for instance, *Magdalene in a Landscape* (fig. 150) by Willem van Mieris (1662-1747) from 1718 reveals Schalcken's unique combination of classicist elegance and artificial light. Schalcken's mastery of light and shadow gives his painting an ethereal atmosphere and sense of emotional resonance lacking from Van Mieris' more traditionally classicizing depiction.³⁹²

One of Schalcken's last major religious commissions is his *Lamentation of Christ* (fig. 151) from 1703, which is the right-side panel for the altarpiece that Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine (658-1716) designed as a special gift for his second wife, Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici.³⁹³ In his portion of the commission, Schalcken rendered a synthesis of

³⁹¹ Jansen, "Die Bekehrung der Maria Magdalena," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 293-95.

³⁹² For the catalogue entry for Van Mieris' painting, see Jefferson C. Harrison, *The Chrysler Museum Handbook of the European and American Collections: Selected Paintings, Sculpture and Drawings* (Norfolk, VA, The Chrysler Museum, 1991), 63, pl. 48.

³⁹³ Marcus Dekiert, "Die Beweinung Christi, 1703," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 294; see also Beherman, 94-95, though Beherman had fewer facts available about the work's commission.

his understanding of night and nocturnal light as significant aspects of seventeenth-century private religious practice. For the altarpiece, Johann Wilhelm sought out three artists to paint one panel each—Schalcken, Jan Frans van Douven (1656-1727), and his court painter, Adriaen van der Werff (1659-1722) (figs. 151, 152 and 153). The panels feature the life of the Virgin Mary, the namesake of Johann Wilhelm's wife.

Lamentation of Christ was clearly intended as a virtuoso display of Schalcken's unique skills as master of candlelight. The three artists probably completed their panels in separate locations and without seeing each other's work, but the commission must have specified the use of artificial light in each.³⁹⁴ Van der Werff's cool tones and porcelain-skinned figures occupy a completely different atmosphere than Schalcken's figures. In Van der Werff's panel, the light of the tiny flame in the background, nearly imperceptible, is dwarfed by the heavenly light shining on the Christ Child. While this allusion to the power of heavenly over manmade light was most likely a purposeful symbolic choice, the cool tones of the painting maintain a sense of emotional distance and remove. Meanwhile, Van Douven's *Education of the Virgin* features strong harsh chiaroscuro contrasts of warm highlights and deep black shadows. Schalcken, in contrast to both Van der Werff and Van Douven, used his characteristic play of different light sources to create a complex depiction of the figures and their emotional response to Christ's death. Schalcken arranged a giant candle with a tall flame at the direct center of his composition. The candle plays against the other light sources—the heavenly light

³⁹⁴ Dekiert, "Die Beweinung Christi, 1703," in *Schalcken: Gemalte Verführung*, 294.

shining from above and the dulled light of the lantern at right. Schalcken uses the warmth of the varied light sources to contrast Christ's deathly bluish pallor.

Since the medieval era, night has been idealized as a time for private spiritual reflection. By the early modern period, several religions incorporated nocturnal prayer as an integral aspect of seeking truths about God and the personal struggle toward salvation. Outside the realm of the Dutch Republic, Anabaptist communities worshipped at night to avoid persecution. Anabaptist writings also show that these nocturnal worship practices informed their concepts of night and darkness as the essential inverse of day and light.³⁹⁵ The nocturnal worship of the Anabaptists in Holland, and the following of Saint John of the Cross in Catholic regions of Europe are examples of the much broader rise of nocturnal meditation as an essential component of religious searching during the seventeenth century. In Protestant England, pictures of Mary Magdalene and other religious subjects appear often in auction records.³⁹⁶ English poet John Donne (1572-1631) is credited with inventing the English noun "nocturnal" to describe a poem that he wrote in honor of Saint Lucy's Day, as a reflection on the night of the year, the winter solstice, before the rebirth in the new year. Donne's writings about night form an important element in the growth of the "discovery of the night," as a distinct spiritual undercurrent in the first part of the seventeenth century.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁵ Craig Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire: A History of Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 52-58.

³⁹⁶ Gibson-Wood, 494, 496-98.

³⁹⁷ Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire*, 73.

Schalcken's *Lamentation* focuses on a communal nocturnal experience, which contrasts with his private scenes of Mary Magdalene. However, it also fits into the larger context of night as a key component of both actual worship practices and the symbolic language of early modern Europe. Alongside the attempts to structure and discipline the growing nocturnal social life developing in both cities and rural areas, the Catholic Counter-Reformation movement pushed to sanctify the night.³⁹⁸ Counter-Reform proponents were particularly eager to restructure night as a time for prayer and penitent acts. This experience of spirituality at night combined its symbolic value and its ability to create an atmosphere of amplified emotional and sensual response. In the context of Schalcken's career, the commission for Johann Wilhelm demonstrates the mature fruition of his graceful dark manner of painting and its power to generate emotional responses in a religious context.

Made around the same time, circa 1700-06, Schalcken's *Denial of Saint Peter* (fig. 60) also demonstrates Schalcken's late-career pursuit of emotional resonance and drama in religious works. Moreover, the painting represents his competitive interest creating a more graceful and elegant "city-like" reinterpretation of earlier precedents set by Rembrandt and the Caravaggists. Schalcken's composition appears to draw from both Gerrit van Honthorst's *Denial of Saint Peter* of circa 1623 (fig. 61) and Rembrandt's depiction of the scene of 1660 (fig. 62). Both Honthorst's and Rembrandt's paintings feature the same close cropping of the principal figures, similarly theatrical gestures, and strong chiaroscuro. While Honthorst's and Rembrandt's versions each hide the direct

³⁹⁸ Koslofsky, 224-28.

light source, instead showing the effects of the candlelight, Schalcken's painting features the candle at the composition's center. Houbraken's inclusion of this painting in his account of Schalcken and his specific discussion of the light from the candle enhancing the narrative drama of the scene situates the painting as one of Schalcken's final important religious scenes—one in which he was self-consciously vying with previous generations of Dutch masters.³⁹⁹

5.6 Schalcken's Later Nocturnal Genre Scenes and Promoting the Late Golden Age

By the 1690s and early 1700s, most of Europe already looked back at Dutch Golden Age painting from the mid-1600s as a pinnacle of artistic achievement.⁴⁰⁰ Schalcken, one of the few artists to work during this period, was in a unique position to turn to his own earlier paintings as a source for new interpretations of older popular themes. He was, at the same time, keenly aware of the popularity for the sensuous portraits by Peter Lely in England and the artists of the French court. Schalcken's sensitivity to artistic demand allowed him to modulate his production to meet the varied needs of his clientele, including portraits, religious paintings, and his amorous genre paintings, all of which had a market. Aono describes how the paintings of the very late seventeenth century and very early eighteenth century are often criticized as an eclectic patchwork of classicism and "burgerlijkheid" features from the Golden Age. She argues,

³⁹⁹ Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*, vol. 3, 177.

⁴⁰⁰ See Junko Aono, "Confronting the heritage of the Golden Age: the situation around Dutch genre painting, 1680-1750," in *Confronting the Golden Age*, especially 20-25.

though, that this eclecticism is a result of intense artistic innovation and experimentation in the wake of a complete restructuring of the artistic market.⁴⁰¹ Artists actively shifted their subjects and styles to search for what would appeal to art buyers.

Schalcken marketed his work especially toward the elite. These clients wanted works that tied in multiple elements: connection to Holland's recent artistic glory days, acknowledgement of the classicist trends of the moment, and finally the developments in France and England. Schalcken produced fewer romantic nocturnal genre scenes in the 1690s, especially in contrast with the height of these scenes in the 1680s. However, the later nocturnal genre scenes that Schalcken created continue his interest in night and how it facilitates intimate erotically charged interactions between women and men. Set against the context of the growing awareness of night as its own culture, particularly in urban spaces like London and The Hague, Schalcken's pictures of nighttime encounters contribute to our understanding of how "the late hours" transformed in late seventeenth-century Europe.

Schalcken's *A Lady Looking at a Mirror by Candlelight* (fig. 154), probably from the late 1680s or early 1690s, presents interrelated themes of women, adornment, and nocturnal visual pleasure. A young woman tries on large, ornate earrings, with the assistance of a young man, probably her page, and an older woman, probably a chaperone or maidservant. There is a large candle between the woman and the mirror with which

⁴⁰¹ Aono, *Confronting the Golden Age*, 121-122.

she admires herself.⁴⁰² The jewels and pieces of metalwork on the table sparkle in the candle's light. *A Lady Looking at a Mirror by Candlelight* draws from the traditions of *Vrouw Wereld* ("Lady World"), the female personification of vanity that was well established since the Renaissance. For instance, Jan Miense Molenaer's *Allegory of Vanity (Lady World)* of 1633 (Toledo Museum of Art), or, closer in date, Jacob Ochtervelt's *Lady with Servant and Dog (Lady World)* of 1668 (The Carnegie Museum of Art), each update the allegorical theme and transpose it in the context of upper middleclass everyday life.⁴⁰³ The addition of candlelight in Schalcken's painting, however, adapts the theme of *Vrouw Wereld* specifically for the rising nocturnal culture of the late seventeenth century.

The painting appears to depict the elite young woman dressing for a night out, perhaps a masquerade or a play, or one of the many other nocturnal social events gaining in popularity in major cities like Amsterdam, The Hague, London, and Paris. Nighttime balls had occurred in European courts since the medieval era and interest in them expanded throughout the early modern period with advances of artificial light. *The Ball* (fig. 155) by Flemish artist Frans Francken II (1581-1642) from the 1620s portrays one of these late night fêtes, where members of aristocratic society mingled, danced, and flirted under the twinkle of candlelight. German painter Wolfgang Heimbach, who was a court

⁴⁰² Recent visual study by Jan Six and Quentin Buvelot has indicated that this candlestick may be an overpainting and that this area of the painting seems damaged. Personal conversation with the author, January 2016.

⁴⁰³ For Ochtervelt's painting, see Martha Hollander, *An Entrance For The Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 83-85.

painter for the Count of Oldenburg and later the King of Denmark, depicted scenes of courtly nighttime festivities that show how the advances of artificial light enhanced the visual spectacle of these events. Heimbach's luminous painting on copper *Nocturnal Banquet* from 1640 (fig. 156), illustrates the connection between dazzling displays of artificial lighting and court life after dark. One of the first references to the "nocturnalization" of daily life at court can be traced to just a year later in 1641, from a journalist at the court of Louis XIII, Théophraste Renaudot. Renaudot declared that, "all the great lords and ladies of the court, the most refined spirits and those most able to judge all things, and even most men of affairs go to bed late and rise late."⁴⁰⁴ By the 1680s, such references to nighttime habits of the courtly and the aristocratic became widespread throughout Europe.

Nighttime social events were a time to see and be seen. The young woman in Schalcken's *A Lady Looking at a Mirror by Candlelight* fits well with accounts of the high level of elegant adornment that was expected of aristocratic circles. As nighttime events increased, a stylish and beautiful appearance by candlelight became a specific goal for courtiers. In 1716, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was staying at the electoral court in Hanover. Montagu wrote that, "All the women here have literally rosy cheeks, snowy foreheads, and bosoms, jet eyebrows, and scarlet lips, to which they generally add coal black hair. These perfections never leave them till the hour of their death and have a very fine effect by candlelight, but I could wish they were handsome with a little more

⁴⁰⁴ Koslofsky, 114.

variety.”⁴⁰⁵ Montagu’s statement suggests that women tailored their makeup specifically to address the atmosphere of candlelit rooms at night. Schalcken’s *A Lady Looking at a Mirror by Candlelight* responds to prior images of women at their toilets as representations of vanity and adapts the trope to the specific circumstances of creating nocturnal beauty.

Schalcken’s painting presents the seduction of artifice, in the constructed beauty of the young woman, which in turn references the artificial nature of the painting itself. The woman looks into the mirror to see a beautified version of herself, replete with the additions of her rich clothing and glittering jewelry. The young man, with his direct gaze, becomes a stand-in for Schalcken as a painter. By adorning the woman, he increases her desirability. He recreates her through adornment and in that way ‘creates’ her as a Pygmalion-like figure. After Pygmalion carved his sculpture, he painted it, dressed it, and placed jewelry on it. These added decorations offered Pygmalion additional pleasure and increased his desire for the statue.

5.7 Schalcken’s Late Return to Brothel Scene Imagery and the Reception of Dutch Golden Age Painting in Europe

Intriguingly, in two of Schalcken’s latest nocturnal genre scenes of men and women, he returned to subtle plays on the older Dutch brothel scene. *Man and Woman Exchanging a Bracelet* (fig. 158) in the Leiden Collection and *A Man Offering a Ring to a Woman by Candlelight* in a private collection (fig. 161) were probably painted in the

⁴⁰⁵ Koslofsky, 114-15.

mid to late 1690s, either while Schalcken was still in England or soon after he returned to The Hague. Like *Lady Looking at a Mirror by Candlelight*, these paintings each center on adornment and its relationship to visual pleasure. The images relate back to Schalcken's earlier interests in referencing traditional imagery of illicit love. However, they also undermine those concepts of mercenary love with the emotional passion displayed by the characters within the scenes. It seems possible that Schalcken self-consciously returned to the imagery of the Dutch brothel scene in order to appeal to his patrons in England and on the continent. Schalcken's late depictions of brothel scene imagery seem to be an example of his experiments to offer his clientele reinterpretations of his *fijnschilder* masterpieces, painted in a new style that responded to the trends of English and French art at the turn of the century.

Schalcken's *Man and Woman Exchanging a Bracelet by Candlelight* takes the kind of exchange he first depicted early in his career with *Man Offering Gold and Coins to a Young Woman* and reframes it with his increased elegance and refinement of his late career style. It is possible that Schalcken painted the picture while he was living in England. The painting is first documented in the collection of Sir Francis Cook, Baronet (1817-1901), who was based in Surrey, in the early nineteenth century.⁴⁰⁶ At thirty inches high, it is larger than most of Schalcken's nocturnal genre scenes from the 1670s and 1680s. The painting was titled *The Lovers* in older provenance listings. Indeed, the young couple portrayed appears to share an intimate moment of gift giving in a darkened interior. Yet the old woman at the far left, with exaggerated physiognomy, breaks through

⁴⁰⁶ Internal archives for GS-129 at The Leiden Collection, reviewed November 2015.

the seclusion of the scene. She leans over the young woman possessively and juts out her finger toward the young man. The young man, in response, points down at the coins and baubles on the table, in case the pearl bracelet on the young woman's hand is not enough to confirm the bargain. The caricatured depiction of the older woman and her focus on the coins at the very least alludes to prior visual traditions of the bawd or madam in brothel scenes.

In terms of its treatment of the human body, *Man and Woman Exchanging a Bracelet by Candlelight* shares a relationship with the sensuous and eroticized portraits of women popular at this moment. The young woman's fanciful costume, jewelry and hair ornaments also relate to the era's depiction of women in English and French courtly circles. Peter Lely's *Portrait of an Unknown Woman* (fig. 159) from the 1670s, for instance, portrays his characteristic use of dishabille clothing and exotic hairstyles and accessories. *Portrait of Charlotte Fitzroy, Countess of Lichfield (1664-1718)* by Godfrey Kneller (fig. 160), probably from the 1690s, shows the continuing interest in depictions of women with fanciful costumes that accentuated their bodies. Schalcken integrated this idealized, fleshy depiction of the female body with his own prior subject matter.

A Man Offering a Ring to a Woman by Candlelight (fig. 161) similarly takes Schalcken's earlier themes of men and women interacting and recasts them in the English style of the 1690s and early 1700s. As in *A Man and Woman Exchanging a Bracelet by Candlelight*, this painting seems to portray young lovers. It perhaps even depicts an engagement, sealed with the ring that Schalcken placed at the center of the composition. The sleek candlestick holder in the shape of a serpent immediately roots the scene in the

mythos of Eve, sexual temptation, and the Fall of Man. The intense black of the darkness surrounding the couple enhances the illusionistic treatment of them and the still life objects on the table. The luster and radiance of the metal tray, the candlestick holder, and the ring emanate outward from the picture plane and seemingly into the world of the beholder. Dutch artists at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century increasingly ‘reused’ classical female figures and transformed them into everyday women in genre scenes, while retaining their antique body types and poses.⁴⁰⁷ Schalcken changed his treatment of the body often, even from painting to painting during this period, which is another example of his inclination towards mixing tradition and originality. By the later 1690s, younger artists like Arnold Boonen (1669-1702), his former student, and Nicolaas Verkolje (1673-1746) were capitalizing on Schalcken’s precedents with their own candlelit imagery. Schalcken was thus in a unique position to take his earlier themes and recast them in new styles for new audiences. In this way he created ‘copies’ after himself, and at a higher level than could his copyists.

Conclusion: The Success of Schalcken’s Graceful Dark Manner

During the 1690s and 1700s, Schalcken achieved the height of his success and critical acclaim. His entry into the art world of London helped him to distinguish himself from his peers in England as well as in the Netherlands. His nocturnal self-portraits acted as virtuoso claims of his elite status, refinement, and painterly skill. The commission for

⁴⁰⁷ Junko Aono, “Ennobling Daily Life: A Question of Refinement in Early Eighteenth-Century Painting,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 33, no. 4 (2007/2008): 237-57.

Cosimo III de' Medici also sheds light on Schalcken's self-fashioning and marketing strategies. His later religious works and genre paintings also display his goal to transition out of the Golden Age and into the new age of refined elegance at the turn of the eighteenth century. However, he also maintained his status as a late Golden Age painter and thereby created a unique market for himself. Schalcken's late paintings show how he continued to experiment with different artistic styles and methods for best showcasing his mastery of light and shadow. The rise of nocturnal culture during this period allowed for a new context for Schalcken's scenes of artificial light. Schalcken's refined and elegant "improvement" of Rembrandt's controversial dark manner found a ready audience in the rarified artistic circles of the late seventeenth-century. Schalcken's focus on introspective viewing and intimate emotional experiences at night find their most mature and considered expression in these final paintings, which also set the stage for Schalcken's reception in print.

Chapter 6

SCHALCKEN IN PRINT: SELF-PROMOTION, ADAPTATION, AND THE SENSUALITY OF THE PAGE

Schalcken's painting career coincided with the rise of a revolutionary printmaking technique: the mezzotint. Compared to older intaglio processes, such as engraving and etching, the new mezzotint process yielded unprecedented tonal gradations, which attracted both painters and connoisseurs in the late 1600s. Schalcken recognized the medium's potential to recreate the atmospheric effects of deep shadow and soft lighting of his signature nocturnal paintings. John Smith's *A Young Woman Sleeping, by Candlelight* (figs. 162 and 163), for instance, portrays the subtle dark tones along the back wall, as well as the modulations of the sleeping woman's smooth skin and clothing. Smith's print also captures the hazy glow emanating from the lit candle on the table on which the woman rests her head.

The print is inscribed "G Schalken pinx." on the left and "J Smith excud." on the right. The term "Pinx." is a shortened form of "Pinxit," which is a printmaking designation for noting the painter of the original work of art, while "excud.," abbreviated from "Excudit," can indicate either the publisher or printer. Smith and Schalcken, as discussed in Chapter 5, most likely collaborated directly and Smith probably produced this print at the request of either Schalcken or of the owner of the painting. Schalcken's *Self-Portrait Holding a Mezzotint* (fig. 7) records the working relationship of Smith and, in a broader sense, shows Schalcken promoting the prints that reproduce his paintings. As

Schalcken's self-portrait suggests, printed reproductions of Schalcken's nocturnal paintings presented similar opportunities for intimate beholding, perhaps even more intimate because of the handheld nature of the print format.

Like *A Young Woman Sleeping, by Candlelight*, the majority of reproductive prints made of Schalcken's art focus on his romantic nocturnal genre paintings. Moreover, a small number of eighteenth-century prints employ Schalcken's name and his characteristic use of candlelight, even though they do not reproduce specific paintings. These images tend to differ, in varying degrees, from Schalcken's original artworks in their style and narrative focus. Such prints demonstrate how Schalcken's name grew to be synonymous with sensual nocturnal scenes during the first half of the eighteenth century. These pastiche prints mimic Schalcken's elegant dark manner while sometimes disregarding his subtle romantic narratives in favor of more sexually explicit imagery. Iterations of Schalcken's nocturnal paintings in print reveal the important position of graphic works as opportunities for intimate, sensory-based erotic experience, especially within the context of nocturnal viewing. This aspect of Schalcken's reception in print consummated his role as a seductive and mysterious master of candlelight.

6.1 Schalcken's Candlelit Paintings and Mezzotints as "The Dark Art"

Schalcken's artistic prime concurred almost exactly with the rise of the mezzotint. The mezzotint generates tone in a very different way than other types of intaglio prints. Traditional etchings and engravings rely on solid lines that can appear to mimic tone yet cannot create it. Etchings came closest to recreating tonal gradations in the early modern

era.⁴⁰⁸ However, artists had to rely on alternative etching techniques, such as not fully wiping the plate to leave plate tone or using drypoint to create softer, blurry lines. Both of these techniques are highly unreliable. Results vary from print to print and consistent editions are impossible. Drypoint, which relies on raised burrs made by scratching into the copper plate, creates beautiful soft gradations of tone but also rapidly diminishes and degrades with every impression. During the decades when the mezzotint process was being invented, in the 1640s and 1650s, many Dutch printmakers were experimenting with new printmaking techniques to increase tonal range. Rembrandt used drypoint to spectacular tonal effect in his etchings, while Jan van de Velde IV invented an early form of aquatint, which creates a fine pattern of miniscule dots that mimic tone.⁴⁰⁹

For the first mezzotints, printmakers used a file or roulette to roughen the entire surface of a copper plate. This textures the plate with thousands of dimples that hang onto ink, creating a solid black surface. The printmaker can then burnish the plate to bring out highlights and to modulate tones of gray. Artists had experimented with texturing plates by using various scraping methods beginning in the 1640s. Samuel van Hoogstraten, Schalcken's teacher, was the first to describe the mezzotint in any Dutch printed publication, in his *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderconst* of 1678. Van Hoogstraten credited Prince Rupert with the invention of the technique. He described the

⁴⁰⁸For discussion of the difficulty of achieving smooth tonal gradation in other print technique, see "Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt: the Quest for Printed Tone" in Clifford S. Ackley, *Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981).

⁴⁰⁹Gerdien Wuestman, "The Mezzotint in Holland: 'Easily Learned, Neat and Convenient,'" *Simiolus* 23, no. 1 (1995): 65. See also Ad Stijnman, "Jan van de Velde IV And the Invention of Aquatint," *Print Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (1991): 153-163.

process of texturing the entire plate to make it black and then pulling the lighter tones out, which he compared to the appearance of using a light crayon to draw on black paper.⁴¹⁰ Van Hoogstraten also states the common name for the technique: the dark art (“Zwarte kunst”).

By the late 1660s, the technique had advanced with the invention of the mezzotint rocker, a handled tool with sharp metal teeth that can texture the plate more evenly and thus produce a much darker, richer surface when printed.⁴¹¹ The rocker is still the tool used for creating mezzotint plates today, although sometimes the rocking process is automated (fig. 164). In the 1680s, the time-intensive physical labor of rocking the plate was largely assumed by printmakers’ assistants. Professional printers soon began to sell pre-prepared plates to other printmakers and painters. After the plate has been ‘rocked’ or prepared, the process of burnishing an image into the plate was and still is much simpler than other printing techniques (fig. 164). The printmaker uses metal burnishing tools with smooth edges to press into the plate and slicken areas that will then appear lighter than the more heavily textured areas of the plate. The burnishing process requires skills only

⁴¹⁰ “Sedert heeft Prins Robbrecht Paltsgrave, of yemant anders voor hem, een manier van plaeten toegerecht, om als zonder trekken te drukken, en dit gaet aldus toe: de plaeten wel geschaeft zijnde, worden heene en weder ktuiswijs overschrabt, wel dicht over een, zoo dat de gansche plaet, als menze liet drukken, al geheel zwart zoude zijn; hier op sponsien sy haer voorgenomen werk, en beginnen dan, met bruineeryzers, deplaetsen, die lichtst moeten zijn, geheel te effenen, en de rest na vereisch minder; in manier als of men met gout op zwarten toets teykende, of liever met licht Kryon op zwart papier: en dezen vond wort de zwarte kunst genoemt. De eerste print, die ik van deeze slach gezien hebbe, was een beul na Spanjolet, en wiert my van gemelden Prinse, dieze gemaekt hadde, vereert. Een gebrek heeft deeze kunst, dat een plaet zoo weynich drukken geeft; maer dit goet wederom, datmen op een zelve plaet telkens wederom wat nieuws kan beginnen.” Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderconst: anders de zichtbaere werelt* (Rotterdam, 1678), 196.

⁴¹¹ Wuestman identifies the *Flute-player* by Abraham Blooteling and Jacob Toorenvliet’s profile portrait of his father Abraham, both dated 1667, as two of the earliest true mezzotints. Gerdien Wuestman, “The Mezzotint in Holland: ‘Easily Learned, Neat and Convenient,’” *Simiolus* 23, no. 1 (1995): 70.

slightly different from those needed to make a toned oil sketch or charcoal tonal study, wherein the artist wipes away the pigment material to pull highlights out of a darkened surface.

Once the manual labor of preparation could be separated from the artistic creativity, the mezzotint format surged in popularity throughout Europe. While some painters made their own mezzotints, others collaborated with mezzotint printers. Using prepared plates, amateur artists began to experiment with mezzotints for personal pleasure. The medium quickly became a technique of gentlemen artists and a pastime of the elite. Professional painters, even those without large print practices, were immediately drawn to the mezzotint for its ease and subtle tonal variations. In the hands of printmaking experts, spectacular results were possible. Printmakers and painters of the late 1600s both quickly discovered that mezzotints were especially suited for recreating the fine textures and attention to detail of Dutch *fijnschilder* paintings.⁴¹² Although the mezzotint was criticized in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for its inability to communicate the “hand” of the printmaker, this smoothness was ideal for reproducing the refined techniques of the *fijnschilders*.

Gerard de Lairese devoted Chapter Nine in the second volume of his book *Treatise on the Art of Painting* entirely to mezzotints and treated the technique as a cutting-edge technology. Lairese even described his own iconological figure to represent

⁴¹² See Wuestman, 78, and Junko Aono, “Reproducing the Golden Age: Copies after Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century,” *Oud Holland* 121, no. 1 (2008): 1-34.

the new medium, a fascinating description that draws together the medium's association with England and its connections with nocturnal imagery.⁴¹³ De Lairese described:

a young and plump virgin, of a fresh complexion and amiable countenance, dressed in black velvet, lined and faced with sky-blue, powdered with gold glittering stars. She has a broad gold girdle embroidered with black bats, which diminish toward the arms. Her head attire is wanton and modish, adorned here and there with small flowers. About her neck is a gold chain, to which hangs a medal, exhibiting a burning altar, and these words, MAGNAE BRITANNIAE. In her right hand is a small tool, like a lancet, together with a feather; and in the left a table, whereon is painted a head on a black background, representing Nature. She poises airily on one leg, as if she were dancing.

Especially interesting is De Lairese's description of the allegorical figure's black velvet dress, which alludes to the velvety richness of mezzotint tonalities. His inclusion of a sky filled with glittering stars and a girdle with embroidered bats suggest the technique's special connection with nocturnal imagery.

Mezzotints, Lairese wrote, "may even compare with a painting, how soft and fluent so ever, abating for the colours."⁴¹⁴ Lairese foresaw that the mezzotint would "become a delightful diversion" for painters because it is easy to learn, it is neat and fairly clean compared to other printing techniques, and it is convenient. However, creating a mezzotint is only easy and convenient if someone else has gone through the laborious process of rocking the plate. In the late 1600s, this separation between the labor

⁴¹³ Gerard de Lairese, *Treatise on the Art of Painting...*, trans. W. M. Craig, vol. 2 (London: Edward Orme, 1817), 269.

⁴¹⁴ Lairese, *Treatise on the Art of Painting...*, 269.

of preparation and the act of rendering the image reinforced the mezzotint as a technique for elite artists, whether professional or amateur.⁴¹⁵

As Van Hoogstraten and other writers noted, the drawback of the technique is that both the mezzotint plate and the resulting print are fragile and somewhat unstable. Like drypoint, the texture of the mezzotint plate is essentially a network of burred edges, which quickly deteriorates during multiple printings. The velvety darks in the final printed image are also delicate. The mezzotint image cannot be touched or the ink will lose its characteristic subtle sheen. Lairesse noted that, “in duration and wear it is the weakest [of the graphic arts].”⁴¹⁶ This fragility was ultimately the mezzotint’s downfall in the eighteenth century. It was too difficult and expensive to use in book production or in larger print runs.⁴¹⁷ Mezzotints were thus limited to small editions for elite collectors. Because they required special care in production and handling, however, they gained a special status and appealed to the rarified interests of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century print connoisseurs.

The term “the Dark Art” refers to the process of drawing lights out of a dark base and the resulting tonality of the print. The term also connected to the medium’s suitability for dimly lit and nocturnal scenes. Lairesse wrote that the mezzotint is “preferable to any engraving in representing uncommon lights, as candle, torch, lamp, fire, and the like: wherefore, I think it does not improperly bear the name of the black art.”⁴¹⁸ In 1753,

⁴¹⁵ Wuestman, 73.

⁴¹⁶ Lairesse, *Treatise on the Art of Painting...*, 269.

⁴¹⁷ Wuestman, 86.

⁴¹⁸ Lairesse, *Treatise on the Art of Painting...*, 270.

William Hogarth wrote of the mezzotint, “The copper-plate it is done upon, when the artist first takes it into hand, is wrought all over with an edg'd tool, *so as to make the print one even black, like night* [emphasis added]: and his whole work after this, is merely introducing the lights into it; which he does by scraping off the rough grain according to his design, artfully smoothing it most where light is most required.”⁴¹⁹ While mezzotints were often used to depict daylight scenes as well, their connection with nocturnal imagery remained strong in the late seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century.⁴²⁰

Although late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century printmakers copied candlelit scenes (*kaarslichjes*) by Dou, Dominicus van Tol, and Frans van Mieris, it was Schalcken who received pride of place. Schalcken had a vested interest in promoting his work through printed form, and he saw the mezzotint as the ideal format for his nighttime paintings. In consequence, he played a significant role in promoting the new technique.

When he died in 1706, Schalcken had a significant number of prints in his personal collection. Unfortunately, there is no extant inventory of them. According to an advertisement for a sale in the *Amsterdamse Courant*, however, his estate included prints, “many in mezzotint by Smith, Beckett, Williams and others.”⁴²¹ English printmakers

John Smith and Isaac Beckett (1653-1719), and Welsh printmaker Robert (or Roger)

⁴¹⁹ William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753), 94.

⁴²⁰ In fact, the 2015 exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago, “Burnishing the Night: Baroque to Contemporary Mezzotints from the Collection,” demonstrates the continuous connection between night and the mezzotint format. <<http://www.artic.edu/exhibition/burnishing-night-baroque-contemporary-mezzotints-collection>>.

⁴²¹ *Amsterdamse Courant*, nr. 21, 17 February 1707, reproduced in S. Dudok van Heel, “Honderdvijftig advertenties van kunstverkopingen uit veertig jaargangen van de Amsterdamse Courant 1672-1711,” *Jaarboek Amsteldamum* 67 (1975): 149-73, esp. 167.

Williams were all based in London at the end of the seventeenth century, where the mezzotint gained intense and lasting popularity.⁴²² The advertisement for Schalcken's print collection is also evidence that he was collecting prints, presumably many of them mezzotints, while he was living in London in the mid-1690s.

During this same period, Schalcken painted his three, large-scale, nocturnal self-portrait commissions. As discussed in the previous chapter, Schalcken used these self-portraits to promote a romanticized, nocturnal version of his artistic practice. The pieces advance the idea that looking at art by candlelight creates a heightened sensory experience. Two of these self-portraits, *Self-Portrait Holding a Burning Candle* (fig. 128) and *Self-Portrait, by Candlelight, Holding a Print* (fig. 7), have strong links with prints. These self-portraits, especially *Self-Portrait, by Candlelight, Holding a Print*, demonstrate Schalcken's interest in extending his fame by disseminating his image and his art through more accessible and affordable graphic reproductions.

6.2 Schalcken and his *Self-Portrait Holding a Burning Candle*: Launching a Printed Image

The mezzotint of Schalcken's *Self-Portrait Holding a Burning Candle* (fig. 135) was produced in 1694 by English printmaker John Smith, shortly after the painting was completed. Smith inscribed the print below the image, "Godfridus Schalcken / Hanc suam Effigiem pinxit Londini 1694" ("This is the portrait that he painted in London 1694"), and at the lower right, he detailed that he (physically) made and published the

⁴²² Wuestman, 71.

print, “I. Smith fec: & exc:,” which are the shortened forms of “Fecit” (“made by”) and “Excudit” (printed/published by”). The print faithfully records the details of Schalcken’s original painting, in reverse, which indicates that Smith was looking at the painting in order to draft the printed composition. The mezzotint technique captures the texture of the velvety cloak that Schalcken wraps around his torso, as well as his fine satin coat and the fluffy curls of his wig. The small sculptures at the lower left in Schalcken’s painting, here on the lower right, are much more clearly defined in the print, as is the column in the background. While Schalcken’s painting is largely made up of subtle low-key shifts in tone, Smith’s mezzotint has a wider tonal range.

Smith was pivotal figure in the rise of the mezzotint format and his successful career spanned nearly fifty years, from 1683 to 1729. He reproduced at least four paintings by Schalcken.⁴²³ Three of the four known prints by Smith after Schalcken’s compositions are nocturnal scenes: *Self-Portrait of Godefridus Schalcken Holding a Burning Candle* (fig. 135), *Mary Magdalene* (fig. 140) and *A Young Woman Sleeping* (fig. 162). The fourth, a portrait of Anne Kynnesman, is a daytime scene. Smith’s preference for Schalcken’s nocturnal paintings probably indicates the preferences of London art collectors, as well as the suitability of the mezzotint technique for night pieces.

No documents have been discovered that would clarify Schalcken’s specific collaborations with Smith. However, all circumstantial evidence points toward Schalcken

⁴²³ Antony Griffiths, “Early Mezzotint Publishing in England – I John Smith, 1652-1743,” *Print Quarterly* 6, no. 3 (September 1989): 243-257, 256.

authorizing Smith to reproduce his paintings in print. Unfortunately, in many cases, mystery still shrouds the question of which prints were under Schalcken's control and which were pirated. Other printmakers who made mezzotints after Schalcken's nocturnal paintings include Nicolaes Verkolje, who will be discussed later in this chapter, as well as Jacob Gole, Pieter Schenk, Jan Stolker, Willem Verschuring, and Cornelis Ploos van Amstel.

Schalcken's relationship with Smith, nevertheless, was almost certainly a formalized arrangement. Smith mezzotint reproduction of *Self-Portrait Holding a Burning Candle* was widely disseminated, and it spawned other copies and variants. Almost immediately, Amsterdam-based printmaker Pieter Schenk pirated Smith's print to create his own reproduction of Schalcken's portrait (fig. 164).⁴²⁴ It is clear that Schenk based the print on Smith's mezzotint, rather than on Schalcken's painting, because the orientation of the plate follows the reversed orientation of Smith's final printed image. While Wuestman and other scholars note that the prints by Schenk and Jacob Gole are pirated copies of Smith's mezzotints. Smith apparently had problems with other printmakers copying his reproductions.

Schenk's lengthy inscription on his print of *Self-Portrait Holding a Burning Candle* also suggests the possibility that Schenk was authorized by Schalcken or one of his agents to create the print. Schenk inscribed the print on the lower left, "P. Schenk fec: et exc: Amstelod:," and copyrighted it at the lower right: "cum Privil: ord: Holland et West-Frisix.," using the shortened form of "cum privilegio" ("with privilege"). The rest

⁴²⁴ Antony Griffiths, "The Print in Stuart Britain," British Museum, 1998, cat. 167.

of the inscription also suggests that Schalcken may have had some involvement authorizing Schenk's version. The print states, "Godefridus Schalken, Dordraco-Batavis; apud Londinenses in Anglia Pictor praestantissimus / Decus obscuris sumpsit ab umbris T.A.U." ("Godefridus Schalken, Dordrecht-Dutch, one of the most excellent artists in London, England. / He draws forth beauty from the darkness of the shadows"). The description of his ability to draw forth beauty from the shadows aligns so well with Schalcken's own self-promotional strategies that it begs the question of whether he might have authorized Schenk's print and perhaps even provided the inscription text. Whether or not Schenk pirated Smith's print to create his own, Schalcken now had two major printmakers, one in London and one in Amsterdam, circulating reproductions of his nocturnal self-portrait.

6.3 Schalcken's *Self-Portrait, by Candlelight, Holding a Print*: Nocturnal Print Viewing and Schalcken's Appeal to Cosimo de' Medici

The prints made after Schalcken's *Self-Portrait Holding a Burning Candle*, moreover, contributed to his mythic identity as a Pygmalion-like creator of beauty. By collaborating with the well-known printmaker John Smith and possibly also with Schenk, Schalcken created a portal through which his romantic persona could reach a wider public. Schalcken's *Self-Portrait, by Candlelight, Holding a Print* (fig. 7) presents direct visual evidence of his interest in prints, and specifically in mezzotints. The painting, one of the most important commissions of Schalcken's late career, was made for the famous gallery of artists' self-portraits owned by Cosimo III de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany

in Florence. In the painting, Schalcken holds the reproductive mezzotint of his *Penitent Magdalene*, also made by John Smith (fig. 140). When Schalcken had the painting shipped to Cosimo III, he included a copy of Smith's *Penitent Magdalene* print along with it.⁴²⁵ This is further indication that he and Smith collaborated on the print reproduction.⁴²⁶ As discussed in Chapter 5, Schalcken's *Self-Portrait, by Candlelight, Holding a Print* is an overt *tour de force*. Schalcken subtly promotes the superiority of painting over other art forms by deftly reproducing in paint the texture of the paper and the velvety low-key tones of the printed image. In depicting himself looking at the print of his own painting, Schalcken presents himself as a connoisseur and collector of elite prints and promotes the appeal of reproductive prints. He also presents the act of beholding prints as a worthy and rewarding process.

The letter that Thomas Platt wrote to Cosimo's secretary, Apollonio Bassetti, after he saw the completed painting in Schalcken's studio, he described it as made with great force and delicacy, "being at night, there being a candle on a candlestick, very natural, with one hand he holds a print of a painting of the night made by him and with the other hand he shows that he is the author."⁴²⁷ Bassetti admired Smith's *Penitent Magdalene* mezzotint and Cosimo gave it to him as a gift. Bassetti ends his correspondence with Platt

⁴²⁵ Beherman, 154, no. 56.

⁴²⁶ Schenk, who had pirated Smith's mezzotint of Schalcken's *Self-Portrait Holding a Lit Candle*, also made a bootleg copy of *Penitent Magdalene*, as did fellow Dutch printmaker Jacob Gole. Antony Griffiths, "The Print in Stuart Britain," British Museum, 1998, cat. 167.

⁴²⁷ "Il Pittore Schalken ha finito il proprio ritratto per S.A., l'ha fatto con una forza e delicatezza inespessibile. Il Ritratto e di notte, essendovi un lume su un candelliere naturalissimo, tiene con una mano una stampa d'un quadro di notte fatto da lui e con l'altra mano mostra ch'egli n'e l'autore..." Platt, in Crinò "Note di documentazione..." 194.

by requesting another copy of the print for the duke himself.⁴²⁸ This correspondence communicating the duke's request for an additional print emphasizes the print's desirability, but also the fragile physical nature of the print. The duke includes the following instructions for packing: "He does not want it creased, so he would like it rolled around a piece of wood and placed in a small tube of white iron; it can then be given to any Florentine gentleman to carry home from London."⁴²⁹ Schalcken's *Self-Portrait, by Candlelight, Holding a Print* became a three-way marketing tactic for his art. It publicizes his elegant persona, it displays his delicate and graceful nocturnal painting style, and it demonstrates that the distinctive tonality of his paintings were easily reproducible in the fashionable and modish mezzotint format.

Schalcken's sensitivity to the circumstances of viewing prints would have been particularly relevant for the painting's recipient, Cosimo III, who was not only a collector of self-portraits but also an experienced and discerning print connoisseur.⁴³⁰ The members of the Medici family were significant collectors and commissioners of prints during the seventeenth century. The family was also invested in the actual production of prints. Between 1609 and 1723, during the reigns of Cosimo II de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1590-1621) and Cosimo III, the family collected almost five hundred

⁴²⁸ Beherman, 154, no. 56.

⁴²⁹ "Io poi sono stato regalato da S.A. della stampe di S.M. Madalena che era annessa al quadro per riscontro di quella che il Pittore tiene in mano, come da se stesso prodotta; e di tale stampa dice che V.S. Illma sia contenta di mandarne un'altra; ma non la vorrebbe piegata però ella vegga di farla mettere avvoltata ad un legno ben rotondo entro un Cannoncino di ferro bianco, acciaio non abbia da pigliare alcuna piega; et essendo per trovarsi costà i nostri signori fiorentini, potrà consegnarsi ad alcun di loro che lo porti con le sue Robe." Basseti, in Crinò "Note di documentazione..." 195.

⁴³⁰ For an overview, see Edward L. Goldberg, *After Vasari: History, Art, and Patronage in Late Medici Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

engraved plates.⁴³¹ While the specific plates in the collection have only been partially reconstructed, the categories included portraits, landscapes, pageants, historical and religious works. Cosimo III founded the Grand-ducal Printshop and Calcografia in 1699.⁴³² The duke also actively commissioned prints and print series. Thus Schalcken's decision to focus his self-portrait around a mezzotint, considered at the time to be a new and exciting technique of the elite, and gifting the print along with the painting were sensitive and canny choices of self-promotion.

Finally, the Uffizi self-portrait is important because, in it, Schalcken models and promotes a very specific set of viewing circumstances. Schalcken depicted himself as a nocturnal viewer of art in a natural extension of his practice of making nocturnal paintings. It shows him gaining further artistic insight and inspiration by looking at the print of his prior work by candlelight, and it also shows the product of his inspiration in the form of the painting itself. Finally, it shows his artistic reception in the form of Smith's mezzotint. The painting stresses the intimate handheld nature of the print. The process of viewing a print is made even more personal by the night setting, which forces the viewer to hold the print close to both himself or herself and to a light source, as Schalcken does in the painting. Rembrandt's *Artist in his Studio* in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Dou's *Young Artist Drawing a Statuette by Lamplight* also depict artists in the process of beholding and present art-viewing as part of the process of art-making. Schalcken's *Self-Portrait, by Candlelight, Holding a Print* stresses this connection and

⁴³¹ Alessandra Baroni Vannucci, "The Medici Collection of Engraved Plates," *Print Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (December 2003): 349-68.

⁴³² Vannucci, 351.

also blurs the boundaries between creator and beholder. It offers a script for beholders to emulate, to seek their own intensified interaction with art objects, and prints specifically, under the ethereal aura of night.

6.4 Prints as Objects of Desire: Materiality, Gender, and Eroticism

The prints reproducing Schalcken's self-portraits discussed above were popular, but they were outnumbered by print versions of Schalcken's romantic genre scenes, such as Smith's *A Young Woman Sleeping, by Candlelight* (figs. 161) Unfortunately, Schalcken's original painting is known only through a copy (fig. 162). While the young woman sleeping appears to be a fairly chaste subject, both Schalcken's painting and Smith's reproduction capture the voyeuristic pleasure of being a privileged witness to the young woman's slumber. The lit candle, just above her head, possibly alludes to her dreams, which, as indicated by her slight smile, might be amorous in nature. Schalcken's romantic genre paintings gain part of their allure from his subtle and refined treatments of desire and beauty. Many of the prints that reproduce his paintings retain this subtlety, but others were much more overtly erotic.

Recent studies of prints and printmaking have begun to recover the uniquely intimate materiality of the medium and the sensation-rich experience of handling prints.⁴³³ Early modern prints depicting romantic and sexual themes gained a material

⁴³³ See, for instance, the following exhibition catalogues: Susan Dackerman, *Painted Prints: the Revelation of Color in Northern Renaissance & Baroque Engravings, Etchings & Woodcuts* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002); and Suzanne Karr Schmidt and Kimberly Nichols. *Altered and Adorned: Using Renaissance Prints in Daily Life* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011).

eroticism unique to the page.⁴³⁴ In erotic prints, illicit access to women's bodies through touch is frequently the focus, as in Renaissance flap prints that lift to show the underclothes of a woman, usually a courtesan.⁴³⁵ In Schalcken's genre paintings, as discussed in Chapter 3, part of the desirability of these pictures comes from the intimate display of female bodies and feminine objects. When translated into print, Schalcken's genre compositions gain additional erotic charge from the process of the viewer being able to pick up the page and stare closely at the alluring women depicted.

In this same vein, Schalcken's signature settings, characters, and objects take on their own erotic currency in the world of late seventeenth-century Europe. His motifs of women in bedrooms at night who are interacting with luxury objects like art or jewelry became motifs that other artists and printmakers translated into their own work.

In Schalcken's case, the printers who created reproductive prints after his paintings were, by and large, not interested in leaving traces of their own artistic hands. With the significant exception of artist Nicolaas Verkolje, these printmakers were not part of the *peintre-graveur* tradition. In addition, for some printmakers, Schalcken, Dou, and other painters of candlelit scenes were lumped together—it was the subject of

⁴³⁴ Bette Talvacchia, *Taking Positions: on the Erotic in Renaissance Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999).

⁴³⁵ Bette Talvacchia, "Introduction: The Look and Sound of Sexuality in the Renaissance," In *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2011), <http://proxy.nss.udel.edu:880/cgi-bin/proxify.cgi?url=http%3A%2F%2Fsearch.credoreference.com%2Fcontent%2Fentry%2Fbergsren%2Finroduction_the_look_and_sound_of_sexuality_in_the_renaissance%2F0>.

candlelight more than the individual artist that was of prime importance.⁴³⁶ To see any print only in terms of connoisseurship is to miss their importance as physical objects that maneuvered through early modern society in ways that we are only beginning to understand.⁴³⁷ By fitting into preexisting modes of erotic viewing and reading, reproductive prints of Schalcken's genre paintings permeated European society at the end of the 1600s and throughout much of the 1700s to a greater degree than was possible with the original paintings.⁴³⁸ These prints gained currency in two ways: as high-art connoisseurial images that stand in for and reference their painted prototypes; and as objects in their own right, more accessible and affordable translations of Schalcken's 'brand' of subtle nocturnal erotic imagery.

6.5 Nicolaas Verkolje's Reproduction of Schalcken's *Lady at a Mirror by Candlelight*

Schalcken may have also authorized the mezzotint reproductions made by Nicolaas Verkolje (1673–1746) in the Netherlands; however, again no direct links between them are documented. At some point in the late 1600s or early 1700s, Verkolje made a reproductive print of Schalcken's *Lady at a Mirror by Candlelight* (figs. 154 and

⁴³⁶ See Junko Aono, "Reproducing the Golden Age: Copies after Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century," in *Confronting the Golden Age*, especially 61-68.

⁴³⁷ Schmidt, "Printed Bodies," 25-32.

⁴³⁸ Kristel Smentek discusses the marketability of erotic and titillating prints in mid-eighteenth-century France, where they were bought by a wide variety of consumers, from bakers to notaries' clerks despite moral outcries against "*estampes licencieuses*." Kristel Smentek, "Sex, Sentiment and Speculation: The Market for Genre Prints on the Eve of the French Revolution," *Studies in the History of Art* 72, *Symposium Papers XLIX: French Genre Painting in the Eighteenth Century* (2007): 220-43, especially 229-36.

165) in the Mauritshuis. As discussed in the previous chapter, *Lady at a Mirror by Candlelight* is a layered image that places tropes of vanity and the artifice of beauty in an alluring elite setting. Verkolje's print reproduces the painting faithfully, except for a small but central detail of the serpent candlestick at the center of the composition. No conclusive answer has been reached as to why a different candlestick appears in the original painting and the printed copy. In 2016, during the conference coinciding with the exhibition of Schalcken's work in Cologne, scholars noted that the area of the candlestick in the painting is abraded and possibly damaged.⁴³⁹ Schalcken's *Lady at a Mirror by Candlelight* thus potentially originally featured the same serpent candlestick seen in Verkolje's print and also in *Man Giving a Ring to a Woman by Candlelight* (fig. 160).

It is not entirely clear when or how Verkolje saw Schalcken's *Lady at a Mirror by Candlelight*. Schalcken's painting spent time on the art market before it reentered the collection of his widow, Françoisia, by the 1720s.⁴⁴⁰ It is possible that Verkolje's reproductive prints were the result of a working agreement similar to the one that Schalcken must have had with John Smith. It is also possible, however, that Verkolje produced the prints without Schalcken's permission, or even after Schalcken's death. Verkolje could have seen *Lady at a Mirror by Candlelight* during Schalcken's lifetime and he certainly could have seen it after 1729, when Benjamin de Costa acquired the

⁴³⁹ Personal discussion between the author, Junko Aono, Jan Six, and Quentin Buvelot, 23 January 2016. Discussion took place following: Junko Aono, "In the glow of candlelight - a note on Nicolaas Verkolje's approach to the art of Godefridus Schalcken," conference paper, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 23 January 2016.

⁴⁴⁰ Communication between Dr. E. Korthals Altes and the Mauritshuis, recorded in the Mauritshuis archives.

painting for his collection in The Hague.⁴⁴¹ Verkolje's print is cited in multiple early descriptions of *Lady at a Mirror by Candlelight*. For example, Gerard Hoet inventoried De Costa's collection in 1752 and described *Lady at a Mirror by Candlelight* as, "A piece, being a Lady at her Toilet, with two other figures and candlelight by G. Schalcken, executed in print by Verkolje."⁴⁴² Verkolje's print functioned to publicize and increase the popularity of Schalcken's painting, which, in turn, enhanced his own status. Verkolje was an early mezzotint enthusiast. He learned how to make mezzotints from his father Johannes, who produced his first mezzotints in 1670.⁴⁴³ Nicolaas had a chameleon-like ability to shift between genres and styles; he found great success in directly reproducing or mimicking the work of other artists. He made mezzotints after several candlelight painters, but primarily focused on Schalcken and Dou. He deftly replicated their use of fine details and their treatment of textures.⁴⁴⁴

In the mezzotint of Schalcken's *Lady at a Mirror by Candlelight*, Verkolje took great care to reproduce the textures of the figures' luxurious clothing and the objects with which they interact. The hazy and almost creamy texture of the mezzotint masterfully preserves the soft gradations of light and dark in the painted composition. While the dark

⁴⁴¹ Sale, The Hague, 3 May 1729. See Junko Aono, "Reproducing the Golden Age: Copies after Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century," *Oud Holland* 121, no. 1 (2008): 30 n. 64.

⁴⁴² G. Hoet and P. Terwesten *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen, met derzelver pryzen* (The Hague: 1752-1770), vol. 2, 470, "Een stuk, synde een Dame voor haar Toilet met twee andere beelden en kaarslicht, door G. Schalcke, gaat in prent uyt door Verkolje." See Junko Aono, "Reproducing the Golden Age: Copies after Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century," *Oud Holland* 121, no. 1 (2008): 22, 30 n. 66.

⁴⁴³ Wuestman, 71.

⁴⁴⁴ Junko Aono, "Reproducing the Golden Age: Copies after Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century," *Oud Holland* 121, no. 1 (2008): 20.

areas of the painting are sometime difficult to read, Verkolje's print captures each element, from the small statues on the mantelpiece at the upper left, to the suggestion of a woman's portrait in the ornate frame hanging on the back wall. The candlestick is a remarkable object. The figure of a very slender serpent holds up the fluted collar with its head as its tail coils to form the base. My research has not found any models for the candlestick in Schalcken's compositions and actual candlestick designs. The serpent candlestick does align, however, with the ornate styles popular in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, such as those seen in the ornament prints produced in Paris from the 1660s through the 1690s (see figs. 166 and 167). The serpent candlestick also seems to prefigure the thinner and more florid designs that occurred later in the 1700s, such as those of London-based silversmith Paul de Lamerie (1688-1751) (fig. 168).⁴⁴⁵

Verkolje's mezzotint of *Lady at a Mirror by Candlelight*, through its emphasis on contemporary clothing and opulent decorative objects also might have functioned in a related vein to the prints of current fashions and costumes that gained popularity in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For instance, Robert Bonnat, a printmaker in Paris, produced series of costume prints, sometimes with allegorical elements. His "La Veüe" (fig. 169) comes from a series of depictions of the senses, portrayed as women wearing popular contemporary fashions. In Bonnat's allegory of sight, the woman holds a portrait, which defines her as a viewer, while she is also the focus of the beholder's gaze, adorned with a fancy hairstyle, jewelry, and luxurious

⁴⁴⁵ For other examples of Lamerie's work, see Ellenor M. Alcorn, *Beyond the Maker's Mark: Paul de Lamerie silver in the Cahn collection*, exh. cat., Memphis, Tenn., Memphis Brooks Museum (Cambridge: John Adamson, 2006).

clothing, Verkolje's *Lady at a Mirror by Candlelight* mezzotint offers a similar opportunity to allude to the dangers of looking, vanity, while it offers up the beautiful woman in her alluring clothing and jewelry for pleasurable consumption.

Further suggesting that Verkolje's mezzotint of *Lady at a Mirror by Candlelight* was seen as a luxury work of art in its own right, there is also a version of the print on deep blue paper (fig. 170).⁴⁴⁶ This level of craftsmanship further marks it as a unique work and heightens its value as a collectible commodity as well as a source of visual pleasure. After printing, the resulting page was heightened by applying white ink to the highlighted areas. As a result, the candle flame stands out as the focal point and lightest portion of the image. The blue tones also enhance the nighttime atmosphere of the scene, making it seem almost like a painting itself. Verkolje, who was a popular artist himself, injected his own artistic knowledge and interests into his reproductions of Schalcken's paintings. In terms of collecting, the version on blue paper would have provided an even more special experience for beholders and, potentially, the opportunity to compare and contrast it with the white paper edition of the print.

6.6 Schalcken, Verkolje and Connections to Dutch Erotic Print Culture

Verkolje's mezzotint *Young Woman in a Bedroom, Holding a Candlestick* (figs. 171 and 172) presents a more overtly erotic translation of Schalcken's nocturnal imagery. In the print's open appeal to the sensual enjoyment of the viewer, it relates in some ways

⁴⁴⁶ Junko Aono, 'De Gouden Eeuw in druk...', in *Nicolaas Verkolje, 1673-1746: De Fluwelen Hand*, exh. cat., ed. Paul Knolle and Everhard Korthals Altes (Zwolle: Waanders, 2011), 49.

to the traditions of Dutch erotic prints and book illustrations produced in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The current whereabouts of Schalcken's original painting are unknown and the poor state of the black and white photograph of the painting makes comparison with the print difficult. Verkolje, however, exploited the smooth, velvety textural qualities of the mezzotint in order to emphasize the smooth undulations of the young woman's skin. Her nightshift opens to reveal her breasts, which are then just barely concealed by her arm lifted in front of the candle that she holds in her other hand. A bed hung with curtains is visible immediately behind the young woman. She smiles as she gazes toward the beholder, an expression that suggests that the viewer plays the role of a late night visitor to her bedroom, privy to her private attentions and partially undressed appearance.

Verkolje's mezzotint of *Young Woman in a Bedroom, Holding a Candlestick* is subtle in its erotic appeal. The few studies done on Dutch erotic images of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries indicate that they were more coded and much tamer than the erotica produced in other parts of Europe, especially in France and Italy.⁴⁴⁷ Dutch visual printed erotica was instead explored by a limited number of fine artists, with Rembrandt's small number of sexually explicit prints as the best-documented examples. In his etching of *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (fig. 173), Rembrandt adhered closely to the biblical narrative by portraying Potiphar's wife as a sexually excessive and negative figure. By prominently displaying the woman's enlarged vulva and contrasting her desire

⁴⁴⁷ See Wijnand W. Mijndhardt, "Politics and Pornography in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Dutch Republic," in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone Books, 1993), 283-300.

with Joseph's disgusted expression, the image emphasizes her sexuality in a negative and confrontational manner.⁴⁴⁸ While artists often used the story as an excuse to depict beautiful unclothed women, Rembrandt advanced the print's narrative by emphasizing the unattractiveness and sexual aggression of Potiphar's wife. In other instances, Rembrandt created sexually explicit prints that explore mutual desire and romance. His so-called '*The French Bed*' from the 1640s (fig. 174) portrays a highly intimate erotic encounter. In this etching, the couple having sex on a large bed is engaged in their own private moment, completely unaware of the beholder. The curtains surrounding the bed, though lifted, encircle the couple visually and increase the sensation of shared emotional passion. Rembrandt's erotic prints probably did not circulate widely during his lifetime. As such, they were personal meditations that were made for himself and perhaps a small circle of connoisseurs. Unlike erotic illustrations in books, these smaller runs of experimental erotic prints fall closer in line with Schalcken's own idiosyncratic interpretations of love and romance. Despite the explicit nature of Rembrandt's erotic prints, they were considered elite objects for an educated and sophisticated audience. Meanwhile, there was a strong distinction between book illustrations available to a wider audience, including lower classes, and fine art prints like those of Rembrandt.

In terms of more widely circulated erotic prints, their sexual content was generally much milder and dependent on risqué double entendres. An anonymous text titled *De Belydenis van een lichtmis (The Confessions of a Rake)*, published in 1770,

⁴⁴⁸ Eric Jan Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 287-89.

demonstrates how Dutch erotica, even later in the eighteenth century, presented moderate sexual mores and modest imagery compared to its French counterparts. Important to the consideration of the printed dissemination of Schalcken's erotic nocturnes, *The Confessions of a Rake* uses the time of night and the space of the bedroom as signifiers of sexual pleasure. For instance, the title page (fig. 175) reads:

DE
BELYDENIS
VAN EEN
LICHTMIS.
BEVATTENDE
*Een aantal voorvallen in de galante wereld zo in Nederland als elders;
wonderlyke ontmoetingen met vrouwen van allerlei soort; veele potsen
meest-voorgevallen in de nacht, en achter de gordynen; zeldzaame
Karakters van beiderlei Sexe, enz. enz. enz.*
Alles beschreeven ten vermaake van de Kinderen dezer wereld door den
Belyder zelve.
Met natuurlyke Planten versierd.

(THE
CONFESSIONS
OF A
RAKE.
CONTAINING
*A number of incidents in the gallant world as happens in the Netherlands
and elsewhere; wondrous encounters with women of all sorts; many farces
mostly occurring in the night, and behind the curtains; Rare characters of
both sexes, etc. etc. etc.*
Everything in the amusements of the children of this world, as described
by the confessor himself.
Decorated with natural illustrations).⁴⁴⁹

The next page tells the reader that this book is printed for “het liefhebbers,” the same Dutch term used for art connoisseurs during the era. An illustration on page ninety-two

⁴⁴⁹ Anonymous, *De Belydenis van een lichtmis (The Confessions of a Rake)*, 1790, frontispiece. <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_bel005bely02_01/_bel005bely02_01_0001.php>.

(fig. 176) demonstrates how the book depicts people in bedrooms at night in order to signify their erotic activities without directly illustrating sex acts. In the print, a man carries his mistress to a bed on the other side of the room. Although her breasts are exposed, she is otherwise fully dressed. Even her hair is covered with a cap. The large glowing candle to the composition's far right that illuminates the two lovers reiterates the larger connections between night, candlelight, and sex that Schalcken contributed to with his own erotic nocturnal traditions. The reference in the frontispiece to "natural illustrations" was probably a euphemism for the sexually provocative, partially nude figures in these prints. The print's focus on a nocturnal erotic coupling emphasizes the title page's claim that within are descriptions of the "wondrous encounters" that can occur during night, "behind the curtains." These veiled and thinly disguised allusions to erotic pleasure are more in keeping with the coded references in Schalcken's nocturnal romantic genre paintings. The potential for pleasure comes partially from the beholder drawing out the amorous allusions in the texts and images. In Verkolje's mezzotint of *Young Woman in a Bedroom, Holding a Candlestick*, the viewer's pleasure increases as they spend more time with the print and notice more details, such as the bed and the woman's partly revealed breasts.

A few period accounts suggest that the viewing of erotically charged prints was occasionally an activity of pairs or small groups. Rudolf Dekker's important work with the diaries of Constantijn Huygens Jr.'s (1628-1697) diaries indicates that printed images formed a central part of erotic experience among the elite circles of the Netherlands. In 1690, Adriaan van Borssele van der Hooghe showed Huygens the Dutch edition of Pietro

Aretino's famous pornographic book *La puttana errante*.⁴⁵⁰ Van der Hooghe claimed to have stumbled across the book in the underbrush near the king's castle at Dieren.⁴⁵¹ This flimsy pretense was one example of the tactics used by Dutch consumers of erotic materials to distance themselves from criticism while still enjoying the illicit images.⁴⁵² While the book had been outlawed in the Netherlands in 1669, new editions continued to appear. Huygens noted that he recognized the etched illustrations of the (now lost) 1677 reprint as by printmaker Romeyn de Hooghe (1645-1708).⁴⁵³ For Huygens and his peers, art connoisseurship did not necessarily exclude sexually provocative subjects. The episode between Huygens and Van Borssele van der Hooghe may suggest that the men's discussion of pornography could comingle with heir discussion of art. Perhaps the discussion of a known artist, De Hooghe, created more a safe context for conversation about the book's illicit images. Huygens, who owned several other pornographic and erotic books, may well have kept them in the same room as his fine art prints, which would have enabled the type of intimate shared erotic viewing experience he described with Van der Hooghe and others.

6.7 Candlelit Eroticism: Permutations of Schalcken's *Woman Holding a Candle*

⁴⁵⁰ Rudolf M. Dekker, "Sexuality, Elites, and Court Life in the Late Seventeenth Century: The Diaries of Constantijn Huygens, Jr.," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 23, no. 3 (1999), 104.

⁴⁵¹ Dekker, 104.

⁴⁵² See also Wayne Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, 245-46; 299-300, n. 12-14.

⁴⁵³ Dekker, 104.

Schalcken painted several variants of young, attractive women in bedrooms. The women depicted usually hold candles as they gaze out seductively at the beholder. One of the most compelling is *A Young Woman with a Candle, Drawing aside a Curtain* in the Royal Collection in England (fig. 39). As discussed in Chapter 3, the intimacy of the young woman's gaze and her state of undress provide the sensation of an emotionally charged romantic encounter between her and the beholder.

Verkolje, in turn, identified this subject of an alluring woman alone in her bedroom as particularly suited to the mezzotint format, as with his *Young Woman in a Bedroom, Holding a Candlestick*. Schalcken's painting may have had other variants as well. In two eighteenth-century sales catalogues in France, this (or a very similar composition) is listed as one of Schalcken's "most beautiful" works.⁴⁵⁴ The painting is described as, "A young woman, of natural proportion, and in half-length view: she holds a candlestick in one hand, in which there is a burning candle that she hides with the other hand" ("*Une jeune femme, de proportion naturelle, & vue à mi-corps : elle tient d'une main un bougeoir dans lequel est une chandelle allumée qu'elle cache de l'autre*

⁴⁵⁴ Sale, Antoine Poullain, Paris, 15 March 1780, lot no. 85 (sold to Mathieu-François-Louis Devouge), described as, "Une jeune femme, de proportion naturelle, & vue à mi-corps : elle tient d'une main un bougeoir dans lequel est une chandelle allumée qu'elle cache de l'autre main. Personne n'a rendu avec plus de vérité les effets de lumière ; celui ci est une des plus belle production de ce peintre." Sale, Jean Baptiste Pierre Lebrun, Paris, 14 December 1780, lot no. 108, described as, "Une jeune femme, de proportion naturelle & vue à mi-corps ; elle tient d'une main un bougeoir dans laquelle est une chandelle allumée qu'elle cache de l'autre main ; personne n'a rendu les effets de lumière avec plus de vérité. Ce tableau est une de ses plus belles productions. Le haut est cintré." Lugt nos. 3106 and 3193, see Getty Provenance Index record, accessed 5 November 2014.

main”).⁴⁵⁵ As with the example from the title page of *Confessions of a Rake*, “naturelle” seems like a euphemistic reference to the young woman’s exposed breasts.

Precedents for the prints that reproduce Schalcken’s single-figure compositions of beautiful women in revealing outfits can be found in the printed collections of portraits of elite courtesans. In 1631, engraver Crispijn van de Passe, the Younger, (circa 1597-circa 1670) produced *Le Miroir des Plus Belles Courtisannes de ce Temps./Spiegel der alder-Schoonste Cortisanen deses Tijts./Spiegel der Allerschönsten Cortisannen Diserzeyt./The Looking-Glass of the Fairest Courtiers of these Tymes*, a multilingual “guide” to the courtesans of Europe. He published it anonymously and without a city of publication. The book contains fictional portraits of thirty-eight women, supposedly fallen women, harlots, courtesans, and bawds, from various countries, each of whom are accompanied by rhyming verses in French, Dutch, and German on the corresponding pages. The title page (fig. 177) presents a brothel, where a wealthy-looking young man is shown different portraits of women available for sexual favors.⁴⁵⁶ While this practice of using portraits would have been fairly limited, the literary examples show the popularity of viewing fictionalized representations of courtesans.⁴⁵⁷ Van de Passe’s *Spiegel der alder-Schoonste Cortisanen deses Tijts*, for instance, had appeared in six editions of various languages by

⁴⁵⁵ In one of the catalogues, the painting is listed as having a curved top. This further indicates that multiple versions of this popular composition existed.

⁴⁵⁶ There is some limited evidence for the practice of using painted portraits in brothels. In 1681, French playwright and poet Jean-François Regnard (1655–1709) described an Amsterdam brothel wherein clients entered “a room that was connected to various little rooms with on each door a portrait of the person to be found inside.” Regnard continued with a joking warning, “And if the portrait was far too flattering: hard luck!” In Jillis Noozeman’s farce *Licht Klaertje (Wanton Klaertje)*, written in 1645, a bawd displays small panel portraits of women whom she can fetch. Van de Pol, 69-70.

⁴⁵⁷ Van de Pol, 22-23, 69-70.

1710.⁴⁵⁸ The women within the book—with their jewelry, fancy dresses, and elaborate hairstyles—also speak to the titillating, yet dangerous, beauty of the concept of the courtesan. In the book’s introduction, Van de Passe warns his readers that a woman’s beauty and fine clothing can disguise her inner corruption, which, in turn, can lead young men to ruin.⁴⁵⁹

Schalcken’s paintings and the prints that reproduce them, in contrast to Van de Passes’ focus on mercenary love, present the allure of mutual nocturnal desire. In accounts of sexual affairs, the lover’s entrance into the partner’s bedroom signified the consummation of their carnal relationship.⁴⁶⁰ The entrance into the bed, and behind the bed curtains was also a key euphemism for erotic activities. In one example, an English servant girl described her mistress and her mistress’s lover meeting in the bedroom shared by the lady and the servant. When the lover came into the lady’s room, he quietly pulled off his shoes and “he did go onto the bed where [the lady] was lying...and pulling the curtains close hath stayed there all night, during which time this examinant [the servant] lying in the truckle bed hath heard very kind words and expressions of Love pass

⁴⁵⁸ Alison McNeil Kettering, “Rembrandt’s ‘Flute Player’: A Unique Treatment of Pastoral,” *Simiolus* 9, no. 1 (1977): 22. See also chapter four, “The pastoral courtesan: single-figure half-length representations of shepherdesses,” in Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and its Audience in the Golden Age* (Totowa, N.J.: Allanheld and Schram, 1983).

⁴⁵⁹ However, several of the dialogues within the book have the various women proclaim that they were forced into prostitution at the hands of an evil family member or because they were spurned by a lover, which was likely closer to lived experience, as well as a warning for young men to avoid premarital sex. Benjamin Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before Rock ‘n’ Roll* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 160.

⁴⁶⁰ Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 105.

between them.”⁴⁶¹ In Verkolje’s mezzotint of *Young Woman in a Bedroom, Holding a Candlestick*, his use of Schalcken’s compositions that feature young women in front of beds and visually framed by bed curtains allows for the subtle hinting of erotic acts, without overtly depicting them. This restraint fits with the early eighteenth-century interests in refinement and elegance, but with the allure of titillation.

Through the act of reconfiguring Schalcken’s nighttime genre scenes as prints, Verkolje created a new market for romanticized nocturnal imagery.⁴⁶² By focusing his reproductive skills on the erotically charged nocturnal paintings of Schalcken, as well as Dou, Verkolje cast himself as their successor. Moreover, because of the clarity of the printed image, Verkolje’s reproductions heighten the partial undress of the figures. In Schalcken’s lost *Young Woman in a Bedroom, Holding a Candlestick* (fig. 172), though it is difficult to analyze the black and white reproduction, seems to slightly deemphasize the young woman’s breasts. In Verkolje’s print (fig. 171), the roundness of the woman’s partially exposed breasts is very clearly emphasized through light and shadow. The woman in the print is also more immediately available to the beholder because of the print’s handheld nature. Van de Passe’s *Spiegel der alder-Schoonste Cortisanen deses Tijts* tells its readers that the book offers an opportunity to see the world, without leaving one’s room (“*voir le Monde sans partir de leur Chambre*”), with the “world” signifying

⁴⁶¹ Gowing, *Common Bodies*, 105.

⁴⁶² Aono, *Confronting the Golden Age*, 61-68.

the beautiful women in the book.⁴⁶³ Verkolje's print similarly gives viewers who might not be able to obtain one of Schalcken's paintings the opportunity to interact with the painting by proxy, with the print performing as a stand-in. Moreover, the print necessitates a more intimate mode of viewing and allows for the potential of being held and touched, which adds to the sensuality of the viewing experience. The illusory warmth of the woman's luminous skin in the print, both revealed by and concealed by the candlelight, plays against the very tactile nature of the printed page itself. This tension intensifies the print's allure as a source of erotic pleasure and as a source of pleasure through its position as material commodity that can be acquired and possessed.⁴⁶⁴

Verkolje's mezzotint of *Young Woman in Bed, Extinguishing a Candle* (fig. 178) does not have an inscription to clarify the author of the composition. The painting on which the print is based has been attributed to Schalcken in the past, but with its slight awkwardness in anatomy, the painting is more likely by Schalcken's student Arnold Boonen or by Verkolje himself.⁴⁶⁵ The woman's shift, opened down to her navel, and her position in bed is also far more explicit than Schalcken's nocturnal genre scenes. In the composition, a young woman sits up in bed, holding a candle upside down to extinguish it, alluding to the expression "When the candle goes out, all shame disappears with it."

⁴⁶³ [Crispijn van de Passe], *Le Miroir des Plus Belles Courtisannes de ce Temps./Spiegel der alder-Schoonste Cortisanen deses Tijts./Spiegel der Allerschönsten Cortisannen Diserzeyt./The Looking-Glass of the Fairest Courtiers of these Tymes* ([Amsterdam], 1631), n.p. [introduction].

⁴⁶⁴ Joseph Monteyne, "Enveloping Objects," 436.

⁴⁶⁵ Beherman, 351, no. 307 under "Attributions Rejetées." Junko Aono convincingly attributes *A Woman in Bed Extinguishing a Candle* to Verkolje, based on its similarity to other paintings by him. Junko Aono, "In the glow of candlelight - a note on Nicolaas Verkolje's approach to the art of Godefridus Schalcken," conference paper, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 23 January 2016.

More so than in Schalcken's own paintings, Verkolje's mezzotint of *Young Woman in Bed, Extinguishing a Candle* presents the female body as a consumable object.

In Verkolje's candlelit erotic prints, the original paintings become less important than the narratives they evoke. Holding the paper's edges and manipulating the page, viewers of these prints that reproduce, or were inspired by, Schalcken interact with the women displayed on them without any frame or physical barrier between viewer and image. Furthermore, the removal of the frame also removes the psychological barrier of viewing the images as "high art." The prints thus become more accessible as sources of titillating pleasure. Huygens, in 1694, described how the controller of the royal household, who collected sexually suggestive art, showed him a little painting "of a woman in a very transparent chemise." Huygens wrote that the controller's art collection was "trash," yet still described the pictures as art.⁴⁶⁶ Verkolje's mezzotints of *Young Woman in a Bedroom, Holding a Candlestick* and *A Woman in Bed Extinguishing a Candle*, with their portrayal of scantily clad young women, attract the beholder through their ambivalent status as both elite fine art reproductions and as sources of erotic pleasure.

Later in the eighteenth century, the print reproductions of Schalcken's paintings were often pastiches of his imagery, rather than direct copies. *The Lover Undress'd* (fig. 180) by English printmaker James Watson (1740-1790) proclaims its connection to Schalcken's original painting, inscribed "Godf., Schalken Pinx.,t // Ja.,s Watson fec.,t." Watson probably based his print on Verkolje's mezzotint of *Young Woman in a Bedroom*,

⁴⁶⁶ Dekker, "Sexuality, Elites, and Court Life in the Late Seventeenth Century...", 104.

Holding a Candlestick (fig. 171). Watson's hand-colored mezzotint, however, takes significant liberties with both the painting (fig. 172) and with Verkolje's reproduction. In Watson's print, the young woman now wears mid-eighteenth century ruffled cuffs on her shift, a fabric choker, and a loose kerchief over her hair. Her hand is adjusted downward; hence, the shift completely reveals her breast as she smiles coyly at the beholder. Watson lightened the entire composition and added a folded letter on the table behind the woman. The title takes the allusions to love and sex in Verkolje's mezzotint and spells them out literally. It suggests that the woman is one half of a pair and places the viewer in the role of the other half, her lover. By using the title, *The Lover Undress'd*, the print offers the viewer a romanticized experience of mutual erotic passion. The woman, undressed and in her bedroom, gazes cheerfully out at the beholder, who plays her paramour. Later printmakers picked up on Schalcken's depictions of intimate nocturnal romantic liaisons. Charles Spooner's reproduction of *A Woman Sleeping, by Candlelight* (fig. 182) though it is inscribed as after a painting by Schalcken. While the location of the original painting is unknown, a copy was recorded in the 1980s (fig. 162). However, Spooner probably based his version on John Smith's mezzotint, rather than directly on Schalcken's painting or the copy (fig. 161). Spooner charged the composition altogether by more closely cropping it, which places more focus on the young woman's dreams and inner thoughts. Watson's *The Lover Undress'd* and Spooner's *A Woman Sleeping, by Candlelight* also connects Schalcken's name recognition to the larger tradition of "drolls" produced by printers in England from the 1750s through the 1790s. Drolls, which sold in various sizes for different budgets, were humorous, amusing, or sentimental prints that were incredibly

popular with English consumers. Drolls were strongly rooted in the Dutch genre scenes and were frequently erotic in tone.

6.8 Alternate Depictions of Nocturnal Eroticism in Houbraken and Verkolje's *Man Showing an Obscene Print to a Woman, By Candlelight*

Schalcken's characteristic candlelight scenes, with their erotic subtexts, had a lasting impact on later erotic prints. However, the erotic candlelit imagery of other artists serves to highlight Schalcken's unique perspective on mutual desire. According to its inscription, Verkolje created *Man Showing an Obscene Print to a Woman, by Candlelight* after a (now lost) painting by Arnold Houbraken. Then at some point, Verkolje reedited the plate and printed a second edition. Differences between the print's two configurations underscore the simultaneous titillation and risk of its provocative imagery.⁴⁶⁷ In the first version (fig. 182), the oafish character of a man in a farmer's hat presents a sexually explicit print—a satyr with an erect penis embracing a nymph seen from behind—to a seated woman engaged in needlework. She turns away as if disgusted and yet exposes her own breast in the process. The candle adds to the bawdy humor of the print. The man firmly grasps it in front of his genitals, and its position also emphasizes the satyr's penis in the print-within-a-print. In the second state (fig. 183), the composition remains the same, but the print-within-a-print is edited out by turning the page toward the side, which

⁴⁶⁷ Sarah Broekhoven and Robert-Jan te Riddt, "Man toont een obscene prent aan een vrouw, bij kaarslicht," in *Nicolaas Verkolje, 1673-1746: De Fluwelen Hand*, exh. cat., ed. Paul Knolle and Everhard Korthals Altes (Zwolle: Waanders, 2011), 160.

makes it unreadable. One eighteenth-century auction catalogue explained that the two states were “met en zonder ‘t Grapje” (“with and without the joke”).⁴⁶⁸

Sarah Broekhoven and Robert-Jan te Rijdt suggest that the edit to the plate might have been carried out by a later printmaker, but it is also possible that Verkolje made the change himself. In a Paris auction catalogue (1738) of copper plates from the collection of Bernard Picart (1673-1733), this plate was listed as “Un Sujet lumiere de Chandele d'aprez Houbrake par Verkolje,” with seven copies of the print. The nondescript title makes it impossible to know in which state the plate entered Picart’s collection.

The print gains much of its impact from Verkolje’s subtle use of light and shadow, elements unique to the mezzotint format and missing from more broadly dispersed explicit etchings or engravings. The shadow looming behind the man works to enhance his leering, slightly menacing nature. The woman’s simultaneous refusal of the man’s offer and revealed breast further suggest that the print is an amusing depiction of hypocritical views about erotic imagery. The viewer of Verkolje’s and Houbraken’s print can enjoy the sexually explicit imagery in the print, while at the same time reject it, as does the woman in the scene. Compared with Schalcken’s *Young Man and Woman Looking at a Statuette of Venus by Lamplight*, the print *Man Showing an Obscene Print to a Woman, By Candlelight* reveals a bawdier and more sexually explicit take on erotic viewing. While Schalcken’s painting presents reciprocal viewing and shared sensual experience, while the print depicts a coercive interaction.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

Though played for laughs, the print demonstrates the way that people, men especially, used erotic images to forcefully pursue and seduce women.⁴⁶⁹ Laura Gowing extensively discusses the often gradual, multistep process of seduction in early modern culture. According to the English court records Gowing analyzes, women involved in broken engagements, pregnancies, or other problems resulting from a sexual affair, describe how men began by reciting suggestive poetry or offering them gifts or money in exchange for sexual interaction. While Gowing does not discuss printed images specifically, they fit into this pattern of men using sexually provocative materials and gifts to “persuade” women into sexual relationships.⁴⁷⁰ The aggression of *Man Showing an Obscene Print to a Woman, By Candlelight* contrasts with and highlights Schalcken’s sensitivity to shared enjoyment. Schalcken’s *Young Man and Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight* also portrays a man and a woman looking at erotically charged art, but the result is wholly different from the coercive, bawdy tone of Verkolje’s print.

6.9 Schalcken’s Impact on Eighteenth-Century Print Culture and Nocturnal Beholding

Schalcken’s lasting influence on eighteenth century print culture paralleled the rise of the mezzotint. Even though Schalcken produced no mezzotints, the artist and the technique impacted one another. Schalcken cannily recognized that the unique aesthetic qualities of the mezzotint made it an ideal complement to his graceful nocturnal

⁴⁶⁹ Gowing, *Common Bodies*, 85-90.

⁴⁷⁰ Gowing, *Common Bodies*, 85-90.

paintings. He thereby ensured that his compositions would be available in printed reproductions. In turn, the increasing popularity of the mezzotint in the early eighteenth century brought added attention to Schalcken's paintings and his public character as a nocturnal artist. In his *Self-Portrait, by Candlelight, Holding a Print*, he not only advertises his work through print, but also enacts a privileged form of viewing. By nature of their small size and portability, prints afford a more private mode of beholding, and lend themselves to the heightened sensual experience of viewing at night, by candlelight. They also fit into the early modern culture of erotic printed materials, both texts and images, which were frequently conceived of as objects to be examined at night. Schalcken's nocturnal imagery, as communicated through print, became part of the growing nighttime culture of early modern Europe. This developing practice of nocturnal beholding absorbed Schalcken into the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His paintings and his persona went on to inspire writers and artists alike and he developed into a Byronic character fully in keeping with the romantic, enigmatic worlds of his paintings.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study has been to explore Godefridus Schalcken's unique style and artistic persona, while also placing him into the context of the late seventeenth-century art world of the Netherlands and England. I have argued that Schalcken, through his ambition and artistic drive, formulated a refined and elegant dark painting manner that he used to explore themes of desire, intimacy, and eroticism. In the face of widely-spread negative connotations of dark painting styles in the late seventeenth century, Schalcken was able to craft a delicate manner for treating nocturnal themes infused with sensual allure and idealized beauty. His public identity as a master of candlelight was a purposeful choice and a unique way of promoting his graceful dark style.

As Thomas Platt's letters indicate, Schalcken himself was in control of his self-fashioning as a master of depicting artificial light and, more broadly, of the beautiful depiction of color, light, and shadow. Houbraken's designation of Schalcken as an artist who flattered and charmed the eyes of his audiences also alludes to Schalcken's ability to captivate and provide pleasure through his art. Schalcken fulfilled the classicist ideals of refined elegance and beauty, and yet he was able to tailor these ideals to his own artistic interests. His knowledge of the classical past and his learned background informed his exploration of the relationship between erotic desire and the artistic creation of beauty.

Schalcken's paintings are infused with the classical narratives of love as the chief motivator of the artist, such as Pygmalion, Apelles, and Pausias.

Schalcken was also unique in his transformation from a master *fijnschilder* painter in the 1670s to an accomplished proponent of the courtly styles of early eighteenth-century Europe. He not only made the transition from Dutch Golden Age painting into the new refinement and elegance of the turn of the century, but he was able to retain the same themes of romantic genre imagery, portraits, and emotionally powerful spiritual pictures, over the course of his entire career. Schalcken's romantic nocturnal genre scenes, in particular, display a unique combination of coded eroticism, refined beauty, and the display of shared intimacy. His interest in nocturnal painting can also be seen to respond to seventeenth-century debates about classicism versus realism and the proper use of lightness and darkness. Van Hoogstraten recommended to artists:

...not to mix up lights and shadows too much, but to combine them properly in groups; let your strong lights be gently accompanied by lesser lights, and I assure you they will shine all the more beautifully; let your deepest darks be surrounded by lighter darks, so that they will make the power of the light stand out all the more powerfully.⁴⁷¹

Van Hoogstraten notes that Rembrandt was "a master in properly combining related colors." This echoes Schalcken's own claim to Platt that his chief talent lay in *colorito* [coloring]. However, too much emphasis on the force of color could also lead an artist astray, as De Lairese warned that the more light "is broken and sullied by darkness, the objects will also become darker and less beautiful," and he calls out Rembrandt as guilty

⁴⁷¹ Van Hoogstraten, as translated in Ernst van de Wetering, *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009, revised ed.), 252.

of this.⁴⁷² There is no textual evidence that Schalcken was consciously crafting his beautiful nocturnal style specifically in relation to Rembrandt. However, paintings such as Schalcken's *The Denial of Saint Peter* (fig. 60) and his nocturnal self-portraits, allude to Rembrandt's famous precedents. Moreover, Schalcken he would have been aware of the larger debates surrounding lightness, darkness, and their relationship to beauty. Through his elegant compositions and his stylized and graceful treatment of figures, he achieved a dark manner that maintained classicist ideals of beauty.

Beauty, moreover, was key to the erotic and romantic enjoyment of Schalcken's paintings, particularly his nocturnal genre scenes. In his *Young Man and Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight*, the young woman and the Venus statue are treated with the same refinement and elegance. In keeping with De Lairese's guidelines for creating beauty, Schalcken refined his figures so that they embodied the grace of classical statuary. Schalcken's graceful paintings foreshadow the further ennobling of Golden Age genre painting themes by eighteenth-century artists.⁴⁷³ Schalcken's nocturnal genre scenes are not only images of perfected beauty, but also of perfected romance. The fantasies of intimacy and shared pleasure that unfold in his paintings provide the viewer an all-encompassing experience of emotional and sensual enjoyment.

Future Research Directions

⁴⁷² De Lairese, *Treatise on the Art of Painting*, 25.

⁴⁷³ Aono, *Confronting the Golden Age*, 117.

Eddy Schavemaker's current research into the dating of Schalcken's oeuvre holds much promise. His focus on costumes and hairstyles that can indicate specific years is crucial. Schalcken, however, frequently used workshop costumes for long stretches of time. He also returned to his own previous subjects and created new versions of older paintings years later. Future research into the dating of Schalcken's body of work and the nuances of his style shifts will be crucial to considering his role as an artistic rival in the late seventeenth-century artistic centers of Dordrecht, London, and The Hague. Junko Aono's research on Arnold Boonen and on Nicolaas Verkolje will also offer greater insights into Schalcken's early artistic reception.

Wayne Franits' research in English archives thus far has already yielded new information about Schalcken's social relationships and professional dealings while he was in London. Our understanding of the artistic relationship between England and the Netherlands during the formative decades of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is still underdeveloped. This dissertation has identified several connections between Schalcken's shift to a more elongated elegant style and his awareness of English artistic interests in Van Dyckian figural types. The demand for Schalcken's nocturnal paintings in England, moreover, suggests that part of the reason that he continued to market himself as a master of candlelight was to court English audiences. The positive response to Schalcken's nighttime scenes by English collectors was instrumental to his choice to expand his use of nocturnal themes and promote his image in his three 1690s self-portraits. Moreover, the synergetic relationship between Schalcken's move to England and his increase in nocturnal paintings had a lasting impact on English artists.

Schalcken, Romanticism, and Nocturnal Viewing in the Eighteenth Century

Schalcken's reception in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries fortified his romanticized nocturnal persona. Joseph Wright of Derby (1734-97) made the most direct use of Schalcken's candlelit imagery.⁴⁷⁴ His *Academy by Lamplight* (fig. 184) is in some ways the closest to Schalcken's own uses of artificial light as necessary to both the everyday practice of art and as symbolic of the artist's endeavor. In the painting, several young male students draw from, gaze at, and look away from a to-scale statue copy of the *Nymph with a Shell* now in the Louvre in Paris. Wright's painting depicts the boys as inhabiting different forms of art-making, including active drawing, gazing toward the statue, and looking away from the statue toward, the painting implies, the inner light of artistic inspiration. The painting alludes to the power of the beautiful statue to inspire the young art students who interact with it. Wright's imagery appears to grow out of Schalcken's own images of the nocturnal studio, especially *Young Man and Woman Looking at a Statuette by Lamplight*.

Schalcken's images of nocturnal beholders of art also finds parallels in the evocative descriptions of candlelit gallery visits described by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-68), Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832). Nighttime viewing grew enormously popular during the eighteenth century. Visits to sculpture galleries at night, moreover, had the express

⁴⁷⁴ See Elizabeth Ellen Barker, "A very great and uncommon genius in a peculiar way': Joseph Wright of Derby and candlelight painting in eighteenth-century Britain," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2003).

purpose of making the statues appear to come alive through the flickering light of torches, candles, and lanterns.⁴⁷⁵ In the eighteenth century, the night increasingly became a distinct conceptual space that facilitated romance as well as creative and philosophical insight. Schalcken's representations of candlelit viewing display a similar interest in the heightened effect that vision has to evoke touch—something later eighteenth-century writers would identify as unique to sculpture. Herder writes, “Consider the lover of art sunk deep in contemplation who circles restlessly around a sculpture. What would he not do to transform his sight into touch, to make his seeing into a form of touching that feels in the dark?”⁴⁷⁶ While Herder was discussing sculpture's unique connection to touch, his romanticized language about the process of physically experiencing art in the darkness advanced the idealized nocturnal beholding that Schalcken portrayed in his paintings.

The nineteenth-century reception of Schalcken and his paintings further solidified his persona as a poetic and seductive painter of night. Moreover, the later responses to Schalcken delighted in the power of the nocturnal beholder to create their own heightened experiences. In his memoirs, Goethe described how, as a young man, he “perceived the most beautiful painting by Schalcken” while coming home in the midnight hours.⁴⁷⁷ The image so entranced him that all thought of sleep was banished from his mind and he stayed awake observing it throughout the night. Goethe was studying art

⁴⁷⁵ Hertel, *Pygmalion in Bavaria*, 47

⁴⁷⁶ Johann Gootfried Herder, *Sculpture: Some Observations on Shape and Form from Pygmalion's Creative Dream* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2002), 41.

⁴⁷⁷ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Autobiography of Goethe: Truth and Poetry Relating to My Life*, translated from *Aus Meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit* by John Oxenford (The Floating Press: 2009), 527.

during this span in the 1770s, and his note about staying up at night to behold art aligns closely with his own theories about the transformative power of beholding art. The image of Goethe staying up all night to view a painting by Schalcken, probably a nocturnal picture, by candlelight adds an additional layer of romanticized nocturnal viewing.

Schalcken's Gothic Shadow in the Nineteenth Century

Schalcken appeared again in the nineteenth century as the unlikely Gothic hero and Byronic lover in Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's 1839 short story *Strange Event in the Life of Schalken the Painter* (fig. 8). The story encoded Schalcken's paintings with a veil of eerie dread. Schalcken's paintings and persona became a lens through which Sheridan Le Fanu could describe his own persona and creativity as a writer. He repeatedly discussed the twofold draw of Schalcken's paintings: their seductive visual surfaces and their alluring narratives. Sheridan Le Fanu's story first appeared with the title "Strange Event in the Life of Schalken the Painter: Being a Seventh Extract from the Legacy of the Late Francis Purcell, P.P. of Drumcoolagh" in a series in *Dublin University Magazine* in 1839. It was later collected with the rest of the series into *The Purcell Papers* and in other collections of Sheridan Le Fanu's stories.⁴⁷⁸ The narrator, a fictional parish priest named Father Purcell, introduces the story by stating: "There exists, at this moment, in good preservation a remarkable work of Schalken's. The curious management of

⁴⁷⁸ Richard Haslam, "Theory, Empiricism, and 'providential hermeneutics': reading and misreading Sheridan Le Fanu's *Carmilla* and 'Schalken the Painter'" *Papers on Language & Literature*. 47, no. 4 (2011): 347-60. Haslam goes into great details about the small textual variances between the original magazine version of the story and the later reprintings.

its lights constitutes, as usual in his pieces, the chief apparent merit of the picture. I say apparent, for in its subject, and not in its handling, however exquisite, consists its real value.” He goes on to insist that Schalcken’s pictures impressed upon him the sensation of a scene that actually took place. “When I look upon that picture, something assures me that I behold the representation of a reality.”⁴⁷⁹ This painting, which is a fictional creation, supposedly records a spectral image of Schalcken’s lost love.

In the story, the fictionalized Gerrit Dou has a beautiful young niece, Rose. Godfried and Rose fall in love, but Dou marries Rose off to a stranger for a large dowry. The stranger whisks Rose away to Rotterdam. Schalcken continues his training with Dou, mourning the loss of his beloved. One day, however, Rose returns suddenly in the middle of the night. She is ravenous and frightened. After begging not to be left alone, she is accidentally locked into a bedroom. Terrible noises are heard along with her screams, but when Dou and Schalcken knock down the door, Rose has disappeared. Years later, Schalcken visits Rotterdam for his father's funeral. While there, Rose appears to him in the church, and he follows her into the crypt. Once in the crypt, Rose draws back the curtain on a four-poster bed to reveal her monstrous corpse-husband. Schalcken faints immediately from the gruesome vision. The end of the story returns to the fictive painting that is supposed to record this horrifying event.

Sheridan Le Fanu’s story also contributed to the idea of Schalcken toiling away during the midnight hours. While his fellow students departed the studio at dusk for the conviviality of the tavern, “Schalken worked for improvement, or rather for love,” and

⁴⁷⁹ Joseph Sheridan le Fanu, “A Strange Event in the Life of Schalken the Painter,” 187.

continued to sketch, “as long as there was light sufficient to distinguish between canvas and charcoal.”⁴⁸⁰ This mental image of Schalcken sitting in the studio as night falls, distracted by thoughts of an unattainable beloved, proves the longevity of his own themes: erotic passion and artistic innovation woven together into an intensified nocturnal experience. Throughout the story, Schalcken represses his desire for Rose and recasts his romantic passion into his solitary painting efforts in the workshop.⁴⁸¹ In the fictive painting, he transforms his erotic possession by Rose's ghost into an artistic recreation.⁴⁸² *Strange Event* shares a close relationship with Balzac's *Le Chef-d'oeuvre Inconnu*, published in 1831. Balzac's story is also a Gothic tale of desire and obsession that features another fictionalized seventeenth-century painter, Nicolas Poussin.⁴⁸³ Whereas Balzac's story ends with the discovery of artistic failure, Sheridan Le Fanu's fictional account of Schalcken emphasizes his creative ability, which he uses to record his ghostly vision.

Sheridan Le Fanu referenced Schalcken's paintings in three of his later writings as well. In *The Rose and the Key* from 1871, the face of one of the characters, Mr. Damian, is compared to “a figure of Schalken's [sic], partly in deep shadow, and partly in the

⁴⁸⁰ Joseph Sheridan le Fanu, “A Strange Event in the Life of Schalken the Painter,” 194.

⁴⁸¹ Robin Wilkinson, “‘Schalken the Painter’ / Le Fanu the Writer,” *Études Anglaises*. 56, no. 3 (2003): 275-284. See also James Walton “Vision and vacancy: ‘Schalken the Painter’ and Le Fanu's art of darkness,” *Papers on Language & Literature*. 40, no. 4 (2004).

⁴⁸² Wilkinson, 280.

⁴⁸³ On Balzac's *Le Chef-d'oeuvre Inconnu* see, for example, Alexandra Wettlaufer, *Pen vs. Paintbrush: Girodet, Balzac, and the Myth of Pygmalion in Post-Revolutionary France* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

oblique candle-light.”⁴⁸⁴ In the story “Green Tea,” the protagonist, a Mr. Jennings, meets his ghostly double and described the experience in the terms of Schalcken’s nocturnal paintings: “I guessed well the nature, though not even vaguely the particulars of the revelations I was about to receive, from that fixed face of suffering that so oddly flushed it stood out, like a portrait of Schalken's, before its background of darkness.” The painted figures of Schalcken's compositions come to represent the creation of characters in Sheridan Le Fanu's stories and parallel his own creative process.⁴⁸⁵ Schalcken’s interests in joining together nocturnal imagery with classicist ideals of beauty became, in Sheridan Le Fanu’s work, the otherworldly settings of fantastical visions and visitations.

In Sheridan Le Fanu’s stories, reading, writing, viewing, and painting are layered on top of one another as equivalent experiences of creativity and the gratification of desire. Through his focus on individual experience, he in some ways continued Schalcken's own evocation of the beholder's subjective power. By the time that Sheridan Le Fanu was writing in the nineteenth century, Schalcken's shadows came to represent a distinct realm into which one could enter and thus experience the heightened emotions depicted within the compositions. In creating his own fictitious Schalcken painting as a literary device for “Strange Event in the Life of Schalken the Painter,” Le Fanu recast Schalcken’s use of nocturnal settings as a psychological response to his ghostly encounter.

⁴⁸⁴ Wilkinson, 278.

⁴⁸⁵ Wilkenson also relates the story to Le Fanu's personal struggles to make a name for himself as an author, and to the political climate of Ireland in the early 1800s Wilkenson, 280-82.

Schalcken becomes a larger-than-life version of the persona that he cultivated during the course of his career. Le Fanu's Gothic character of Schalcken places the artist into the shadowy dreamlike world of his paintings. Schalcken's ability to record his spectral vision of Rose, the source of his desire, within a painting takes the allusions to Pygmalion in Schalcken's actual artwork and makes them manifest. The character reveals the lasting power of Schalcken's work. The aim of this study has been to illuminate elements of Schalcken's dark paintings. His romanticized themes and his persona as a seductive master of candle have emerged as key threads within his diverse oeuvre. As a transitional artist between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Schalcken's art and his career choices also shed light on the productive competition and innovative drives that characterizes many of the artists working during this period. His ability to draw forth idealized beauty from the darkness of the shadows resulted in a body of art that continues to captivate beholders, drawing them into intimate fantasies of sensual pleasure and emotional resonance.

FIGURES

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Appendix A

GENRES AND THEIR QUANTITIES IN SCHALCKEN'S OEUVRE

Table 1.1

Genres and Their Quantities in Schalcken's Oeuvre			
Genre/Category	Number of Paintings	Number of Paintings with an artificial light source	Notes
Religious (Old Testament)	1	0	
Religious (New Testament)	25 or 26	21	1 in unknown location ⁴⁸⁶
History/Myth/Literary	22 or 23	6	7 in unknown locations
Self-Portraits ⁴⁸⁷	6	3	includes two sets of pendant portraits
Portraits	66	1	33 in unknown locations
Genre Scenes	81	31	23 in unknown locations
Still Lifes ⁴⁸⁸	2	0	
Totals:	202-210	62	

⁴⁸⁶ Beherman's catalogue had listed *The Parable of the Lost Coin*, 89-90, no. 9, and *The of Mary Magdalen*, 1012, no. 19, as lost. Both paintings are now owned by the Leiden Collection, New York.

⁴⁸⁷ Beherman includes *Young Artist and Model Looking At An Antique Statuette* (or "Pygmalion"), now in the Leiden Gallery collection as a double portrait of Godfried and Françoise van Diemen.

⁴⁸⁸ *Bouquet of Flowers* (Oxford) and *Bunch of Grapes* (Stockholm), Beherman, 306-307. A third still life, owned by the Leiden Collection, New York, has been recently de-attributed.

Appendix B

CHRONOLOGY OF SCHALCKEN'S DATED PAINTINGS

Table 1.2

Chronology of Schalcken's Dated Paintings (divided by genre)			
	Title	Date	Other details
Portraits			
1.	<i>Portrait of Three Children at a Window</i> . Signed, lower left: G. Schalcken; <i>trompe l'oeil</i> date on stone ledge.	1670	Oil on panel, 37 x 30 cm. Last recorded in a Sotheby's Auction, London 12/11/1985, no. 93.
2.	<i>Portrait of Cornelis Schalcken, the artist's father (1610-1676)</i> . Signed, lower right: <i>Obit aetatis anno 66 et post obitum depictus a G. Schalckio 1676</i> .	1676	Oil on canvas, 40 x 33.5 cm. Private collection, Germany.
3.	<i>Portrait of a Man at a Table with Writing Equipment</i> . Signed and dated, location unknown.	1676	Oil on panel, 40 x 32 cm. Last recorded in the Düsseldorfer Auktionshaus 11/30/2002, no. 222.
4.	<i>Portrait of a Woman, Aged 66, Holding a Handkerchief</i> . Signed, lower left: <i>G. Schalcken 1677</i> , inscribed: <i>Aetatis 66</i> .	1677	Oil on canvas, 39 x 33 cm. Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen.
5.	<i>Portrait of Pieter de la Court, The Younger (1618/20-1685)</i> . Signed, lower left: <i>G. Schalcken 1679</i> .	1679	Oil on panel, 43 x 34 cm. Lakenhal, Leiden.
6.	<i>Portrait of Elisabeth Taillarde (1654-1689)</i> . Signed on column to the upper left: <i>G. S. 1679</i> . ⁴⁸⁹ <i>*Portrait of Mathijs Snouck and Portrait of Maria Taillarde are suggested as pendent paintings</i>	1679	Oil on panel, 42.5 x 34 cm. Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg.
7.	<i>Portraits of Diederick Hoeuffet (1648-1719) and Isabella Agneta Deutz (1658-1696)</i> . Suggested date of 1680, the year of the couple's marriage.	1680 (sugg.)	Oil on copper, each 43 x 34 cm. Mauritshuis, The Hague.
8.	<i>Portraits of Cornelis de Roovere and Dina Meerman</i> . Signed, on the lower right and left, respectively: <i>G. Schalcken 1682</i> .	1682	Oil on copper, each 43.5 x 36.5 cm. Current location unknown.
9.	<i>Portrait of Johan Hallincq (1616-1706)</i> . Signed on the right, under the window: <i>G. Schalcken 1692</i> .	1692	Oil on canvas, 48 x 39.5. Simon van Gijn House, Dordrecht.

⁴⁸⁹ A later inscription on the verso reads: "Elisabeth Taillarde, dogter van Johan Taillarde Esq.;, geb.n tot Dort, den 19 november 1654, Huysvrouw van Matthijs Snouck, H:r Adriaan soon, sterft den 17 decemb.r 1689." Beherman, 174.

10.	<i>Portrait of an Unknown Boy in a Ceremonial Costume, called "Prince of Orange."</i> Signed: <i>G. Schalcken f. Londini 1693</i> .	1693	Oil on canvas, 74 x 62 cm. University of Stockholm.
11.	<i>Self-Portrait, Holding a Burning Candle.</i> Signed, lower right: <i>G. Schalcken pinxit hanc suam effigiem Londini 4e.</i>	1694	Oil on canvas, 118.4 x 101.6 cm. Washington County Museum of Art, Hagerstown.
12.	<i>Self-Portrait, by Candlelight, Holding a Print.</i> Signed, lower left: <i>Schalcken 1695.</i>	1695	Oil on canvas, 92.3 x 81 cm. Uffizi Gallery, Florence.
13.	<i>Portrait of James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos (1673-1744).</i> Signed, lower left: <i>G. Schalcken 1697.</i>	1697	Oil on copper, 41.2 x 32.5 cm. Current location unknown.
14.	<i>Portrait of William III, King of England.</i> Signed, lower left: <i>G. Schalcken 1699.</i>	1699	Oil on linen, 163.7 x 149.7 cm. Mauritshuis, The Hague.
15.	<i>Portrait of Aarnoudina van Beaumont (1635-1702).</i> Signed, lower left: <i>G. Schalcken 1699.</i>	1699	Oil on canvas, 45.8 x 36.7 cm. Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht.
16.	<i>Portrait of an Unknown Woman.</i> Signed, center right: <i>G. Schalcken 1700.</i>	1700	Oil on linen, 47.5 x 39 cm. Dordrechtsmuseum, Dordrecht.
17.	<i>Portrait of Evert van Sypesteyn.</i> Signed, lower right: <i>G. Schalcken 1702.</i> *Portrait of his wife Catharina van der Woert (1642-1694) suggested as a posthumous pendent portrait	1702	
18.	<i>Portrait of Josina Parduyn (1642-1718).</i> Signed, just left of figure: <i>G. Schalcken 1705.</i>	1705	Oil on canvas, mounted on a panel, 44 x 35cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
19.	<i>Self-Portrait, Holding a Medallion and Portrait of Françoise van Diemen.</i> Self-portrait signed and dated on the right edge, below the medallion.	1706	Oil on canvas, 73.7 x 61 cm each. Collection of John Higginson, Ballyward Lodge, Ireland.
Mythological, Religious and Allegorical Paintings			
20.	<i>The Toilette of Venus, with Cupid.</i> Signed, lower left: <i>G Schalcken</i> ; inscribed on verso: <i>G Schlcken, Pictor in Hollandia A°i690.</i>	1690	Oil on canvas, 69 x 52 cm. Gemäldegalerie, Kassel.
21.	<i>Venus Gives Cupids a Flaming Arrow.</i> Signed, lower left: <i>G Schalcken</i> ; inscribed on verso: <i>G Schlcken, Pictor in Hollandia A°i690.</i>	1690	Oil on canvas, 68 x 53 cm. Gemäldegalerie, Kassel.
22.	<i>Jupiter and Semele.</i> Signed and dated, lower right: <i>G. Schalcken 1691.</i>	1691	Oil on canvas, 147.5 x 113.5 cm. Schönborn Collection, Pommersfelden.
23.	<i>Pan and Syrinx.</i> Signed and dated, lower left: <i>G. Schalcken 1691.</i>	1691	Oil on canvas, 147 x 113 cm. Schönborn Collection, Pommersfelden.
24.	<i>The Wise and Foolish Virgins.</i> Signed and dated, lower right: <i>G. Schalcken 1700.</i>	1700	Oil on canvas, 94 x 114 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.
25.	<i>The Conversion of Mary Magdalen.</i> Signed and dated, lower left: <i>G. Schalcken 1700.</i>	1700	Oil on canvas, 37 x 27 inches (94 x 68.6 cm). The Leiden Gallery, New York.
26.	<i>Fame (Woman Holding a Torch).</i> Signed.	1703 sugg.	Oil on canvas, 69.5 x 60 cm. Uffizi, Florence.
Genre Paintings			
27.	<i>The Doctor's Visit.</i> Listed as signed and dated.	1669	Oil on panel, 34 x 29 cm. Private collection, Germany.
28.	<i>Two Children Making a Balloon from a Bladder.</i>	1682	Oil on panel, 32.3 x 25 cm. Staatliches Museum, Schwerin.

Appendix C

ARNOLD HOUBRAKEN'S BIOGRAPHY OF GODEFRIDUS SCHALCKEN

(original Dutch, followed by an English translation)

GODFRID of GODEFRIDUS SCHALCKEN is geboren te Dordrecht, daar zyn vader Rector der Latynsche Schoole was, in 't jaar 1643.

De genegenheid tot de Konst deed hem de oeffening der talen, schoon hy daar in veer gevordert was, vaar wel zeggen. Hy begaf zig eerst ter onderwyzinge van S. van Hoogstraaten, naderhand van Gerard Dou, welkers behandeling hy vry wel heeft weten na te bootsen, als nog te zien is aan een zyner Konststukken 't geen in 't Kabinet van[p. 176] den Heere Joh: van Schuilenburg hangt verbeeldende zeker Spel dat de Jonge luiden te Dordrecht in dien tyd gewoon waren te spelen, wanneer zy met malkander om vrolyk te wezen in gezelschap kwamen, genoemt, Vrouwtje kom ten Hoof. Waar in hy zig zelf verbeeld heeft, zittende ontkleed tot zyn hemd en onderbroek aan den schoot van een Juffrouw. De andere beeltjes zyn meê pourtretten, en waren in dien tyd van elk bekend. Over het tapytkleed zeitmen dat hy een maand geschildert heeft, naderhand zetten hy zig tot het schilderen van pourtretten, waar van 'er nog een goet getal te Dordrecht onder de geachtste geslachten te zien zyn. Onder welk getal uitmunt de Beeltenis van Mevrouw Snoek, verbeeld als een veltnimf die onder den lommer van 't geboomte leit te rusten, thans nog te zien te Dordrecht by haar Zoon den Heer Adr. Snoek.

Hier door geraakte hy van tyd tot tyd tot een aangenamer en luchtvaardiger wyze van schilderen, manier die hem niet minder als zyn vorige voordeel gaf, inzonderheid toen de Engelanders daar op verslingert zynde, hem in hun land lokten, daar hy verscheiden jaren gewoont en veel geld vergaart heeft, tot dat hy zig eindelyk in den Haag neerzette, daar hy ook gestorven is op den 16 van Slachtmaand 1706 out 63 jaren.

Hy is een der gelukkigste Nederlandsche Schilders geweest; aangezien zyne penceelkonst van den beginne af aan tot het einde van zyn leven rykelyk betaald wierd, zoo dat hy de vruchten van zyn arbeyd by zyn leven gemaait heeft, dat zeer weinigen gebeurt. Inzonderheid maakten hem berucht zyne kaarslichten [end p. 176, begin p. 177], die hy ook zoo natuurlyk en kragtig wist te schilderen, dat ik niet weet, dat iemand hem daar in gelyk geweest is. My gedenkt, dat ik van hem gezien heb een stuk met vyf of zes beelden, (dat maar zelden gebeurde) verbeeldende Petrus, daar hy van de dienstmaagt des Hoogenpriesters word aan boort geklampt, staande zig te warmen by de soldaten. De

stoutheid van de Dienstmaagt, die hem met een kaars onder d'oogen licht, en de bedeedtheid en verlegenheid van Petrus, waren klaar in de wezens trekken te bespeuren. Daarenboven waren de beelden vast geteekent, en elk deel had zyn behoorlyke maatschikkelykheid tot het geheel, daar hy anders zig wel eens in vergiste. Ook deed hy dikwils zyne beelden door kaars en daglicht dagen, of ook wel een kleedje door de Zon bestralen, op dat het naakt door dien helderen weerglans des te aangenamer zig vertoonen zoude, 't geen hy zoo konstig wist na te bootsen, dat het elks oogen vleide en bekoorde.

Zyn Beeltenis hebben wy geplaatst in de Plaat G.17.

Zoo wy naar het voorbeeld van Du Pilés een vergelyking maakten tusschen des eenen en des anders Konst, wy zouden reden vinden, om onzen Schalken, ten opzicht van zyn vleyend penceel, konstige vermenging zyner verwen, in zyn naakt, en natuurlyke nabootsing der Fluweelen en andere Stoffen, te plaatsen by den Ridder vander Werf; dog in opzigt van teekenen, zou ik hem zyn voetbank toe wyzen.

Gemelde Du Pilés heeft met dat zelve inzicht, tusschen de grootste Italiaanse, Franse, en Nederlantse Konstschilders, een balans gemaakt, en op een lyst gesteld, wie in 't stuk van Ordonnantie, van Teekenen, Coloreren, en in 't verbeelden der ge-[end p. 177, begin p. 178] moetsdriften, evenwigtig met malkander bevonden wierden. Indien ik dit ook ondernam te doen van myne, zoo nog levende, als overleden Konstgenooten, het zou al meê nut geven: maar daar zyn thans stierluiden aan land, die, schoon ik in zee stak en zulks ondernam, het dog wanen zouden beter te weten, en dus zou het dwaasheid zyn, my in gevaar te stellen, om iets te doen, daar geen dank van te wagten is.

Door niemand van de Konstschilders is 'er tot nu toe een Tafereel gemaakt, dat in allen deelen, en in 't geheel, ten uitersten volmaakt is: en de oorzaak daar van (gelyk wy voorbenen al meer gezeit hebben) is deze: dat nooit iemand alle de byzondere bekwaamheden, welke vereist worden, om zulks te verrigten, teffens bezeten heeft: want even gelyk het schoon in vele voorwerpen verspreit is, zoo is ook de volmaakte Konst altyd in de verscheiden bewerkers verdeelt geweest: zoo dat, die zig het teekenen boven anderen verstonden, weer op de Natuurlyke en Schoone Coloreringe niet afgerecht waren: of die 't beide verstonden, weer geen volkomen begrip hadden van 't licht en bruin, of de koppeling der beelden, of de gemoetsleidingen in haaren natuurlyken aart in de roeringen der beelden, en vaste trekken in der menschen wezens, af te beelden. Du Pilés, heeft in zyn Boek dat hy noemt: Cours de peinture, par Principes Composé enz, een Balans gemaakt, tusschen de berugteste Konstschilders. De vinding is geestig. Wy willen den Lezer een kleine schets daar van geven.

Hy stelt 20 trappen, tot de volmaaktheid van de Konst, en maakt 5 opgaande linien, tusschen welke hy 4 Cyffergetallen afperkt, agter elken schilders naam; om door een korten weg aan te duiden [end p. 178, begin p. 179], in wat deel der Konst, d'een met den

anderen gelyk staat, of verschilt: en schryft boven elke Colom der Cyffergetallen vervolgens aldus:

	Composition	Dessein	Colorit	Expression
Rafael	17	18	12	18
Rubbens	18	13	17	17
Titiaan	12	15	18	6
Rembr.	15	6	17	12
Van Dyk	15	10	17	13
Pousyn	15	17	6	15

Rafael staat op de streep van Samenschikking, of Ordonnantie, op den 17 trap; om zyn Teekenkonst, op den 18 den; om zyn Coloryt, op den 12den; en om zyne Natuurlyke uitdrukkingen der Gemoetsdriften, op den 18den trap.

Rubbens staat op den post van d'Ordonnantie, een trap hooger als Rafael; op den post van Teekenen, 5 trappen lager; op den post van Coloreren, 5 trappen hooger; en op den post van d'uitdrukking der Gemoetsdriften, maar een tree lager.

Titiaan staat ten opzicht van zyn Coloreren 6 trappen boven Rafael. Rembrant en van Dyk, 5 trappen. ⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁹⁰ Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh Der Nederlantsche konstschilders En schilderessen*, vol. 3, 176-179.

Houbraken's Biography of Schalcken English translation

GODFRID or GODEFRIDUS SCHALKEN was born in Dordrecht, where his father was Rector of the Latin School, in the year 1643.

His affection for the Arts caused him to say goodbye to the practice of languages, although he was a very advanced in his studies. He entered first into the instruction of S. Hoogstraaten, and, subsequently, to Gerard Dou, whose handling he has been able to emulate rather well. You can see this in one of his artworks that hangs in none other than the art cabinet of Sir John van Schuilenburg, which depicts a certain game that the young people of Dordrecht used to play at that time, when they were making merry with one another, named 'Lady, Come Into The Garden.' Wherein [the painting], he has portrayed himself, sitting on the lap of a young maiden, stripped to his tunic and underpants. The other faces in the painting are all portraits, and would have been recognized at the time. It is said that he spent one month on the tapestry. Later, he turned to painting portraits, of which there are still a good number in Dordrecht, to be seen among the most honorable families there. Among this number [of paintings], is the outstanding picture of Milady Snoek, depicted as a field nymph resting under the shade of some trees, which is currently still on view at the home of her son, Sir Adr. Snoek, in Dordrecht.

Here, from time to time, he used a more pleasant and airier manner of painting, a style that no less than his previous advantages, especially when the English, who became addicted to it, lured him into their country. He lived there for several years and amassed a great deal of wealth, until he finally settled in The Hague, where he also died on the 16th of the Slaughter Month, in 1706, when he was 63 years old.

He was one of the luckiest of Dutch painters, since he was richly paid for his art from the beginning until the end of his life, so that he reaped the fruits of his labor, which happens for very few.

In particular, his "nightlights" made him famous, which he painted so naturally and powerfully that I do not know anyone who has been his equal. In my memory, I saw a piece by him with five or six figures (which rarely happened), which depicted Peter, as he was about to be recognized by the handmaiden of the High Priest, while he was standing nearby the soldiers to warm himself [by a fire]. The boldness of the handmaiden, who lights him with a candle held up under his eyes, and the timidity and embarrassment of Peter, could be clearly observed in the figures' expressions. Moreover, the figures were solidly drawn and each was arranged in its proper proportion in relation to the whole [composition], whereas in other [pictures] he got lost in such mistakes. He also often illuminated his figures with candlelight or daylight, or allowed the sun's rays to shine through a garment, so that the naked skin would be pleasant to the eye because of the bright reflection of light from the fabric. He captured [this effect] very artfully, so that it flattered and charmed the eyes of the beholder.

We have placed his portrait on page G17.

Thus we will follow the example of Du Piles in his comparison of different elements of art. We find reason to compare our Schalcken with the Knight vander Werf in his flattering brushwork, in his artful blending of color, in his nudes, his naturalistic imitation of velvet and other materials. However, in terms of drawing, I would place [Schalcken] at [Van der Werf's] footstool.

Du Piles declared with that self-insight, created a balance sheet comparing the greatest Italian, French, and Dutch painters and made a list of the [elements of art], Composition, Drawing, Coloring, and in portraying the passions of the mind, and were found to be well balanced with one another. If I were to undertake such a study from my own time, and so still-living artists, instead of deceased art-contemporaries, it would provide usefulness from them. However, because the land is currently ["stierluiden"??], which, even if I undertook this out at sea, ["wanen"] would know better, and so it would be folly to propose to do something, setting myself in jeopardy, that awaits no thanks.

Because not one of the master painters has ever made a painting that is perfect in all of these parts, in every way, and the cause of it (as we all have forelegs for more knowledge) is this: that no one has possessed all of the special abilities that are required to perform this: for just as beauty is spread amongst many objects, so the perfect Art is divided between several authors. And so: those who understood drawing above the others, were no good with the issues of naturalistic and beautiful color. Or, those that understood both [color and drawing], again, did not quite understand light and shade, or the arrangement of figures, or the motions of the mind in the natural art of the stirring of the figures, and solid drawing of the beings of mankind in the figures. Du Piles mentions in his book: "Cours de pienture, par Principes Composé enz," and made a table/balance sheet between famous painters. The invention is witty. We want to give the reader a little sketch of it... [remainder not translated]

Appendix D

THOMAS PLATT'S LETTERS TO APOLLONIO BASSETTI ABOUT SCHALCKEN'S SELF-PORTRAIT FOR COSIMO III DE' MEDICI

Dok. 93 ASF, Med. Prine., f. 4247
THOMAS PLATT AN BASSETTI

... Per ubbidire agl'ordini di S.A. ho discorso col Pittore Schalken per sapere da lui in che consiste il suo talento principale, mi dice che vale piu nel colorito, che gl'e uguale di dipingnere in grande o in piccolo pezzi di notte o pezzi di giorno, ma cb.'averebbe piu caro di fare il proprio ritratto in un pezzo di notte et al naturale per accompagnare meglio i ritratti della Galleria di S.A., perche non vi e nissun Pittore in queste parti che lo faccia. Per me, se ardisco dire la mia opinione, mi pare che sarebbe meglio d'impiegarlo in quel modo, perche non mi ricordo d'aver vista nella sudetta Galleria nissun ritratto di pittore che sia fatto di notte. Il suo prezzo e 25 lire sterline, ma si rimette a S.A., volendoci gran tempo e flemma per finire un tal ritratto, e lo fara con ogni diligenza per meritare l'onore dell'approvazione di S.A. e per la propria riputazione ...

Londra, 3 Agosto 1694...
Thomas Platt

*Dok. 93 ASF, Med. Print., F. 4247
THOMAS PLATT AN BASSETTI*

... To obey the orders of our most Serene Master I talked with the painter Schalken in order to know from him what his main talent is. He tells me he is better at coloring, which he can paint equally well in large or small formats of night-pieces or day-pieces, but it would be more valuable to make his own portrait as a natural night-piece to better accompany the portraits of the Serene Master's Gallery, because there is no Painter in these parts to do it. For me, if I dare say my opinion, I think that would be better to order it in this way, because I do not remember having seen in the aforementioned Gallery any portrait that is done at night. His price is 25 pounds, but leaves the final decision to the Serene Master, requiring much time and dedication to complete such a portrait, and he will do it with all diligence that merits the honor of approval of our Serene Master and for his own reputation ...

*London, August 3, 1694 ...
Thomas Platt*

Dok. 94 ASF, Med. Prine., f. 4247
BASSETTI AN THOMAS PLATT

Al sig.r Tommaso Platt. Londre, li 12 Ottobre 1694 di
Firenze.

S.A. mi comanda di soggiugnere a V.S.Ill.ma circa il consaputo Pittore Olandese, ch'ella sia contenta d'ordinarli che faccia per l'A.S. il ritratto di se medesimo, figurato in tempo di notte, et della grandezza e maniera piu conformi al forte della sua abilita; e che il ritratto sia in azione o di dipignere, o d'altra opera, che a lui piu piaccia, perche in atto d'operare i lumi abbiano a far miglior giuoco, e dar maggior forza al lavoro.

*Dok. 94 ASF, Med. Prine., F. 4247
BASSETTI AN THOMAS PLATT*

*To Signor Thomas Platt. Londre, October 12, 1694 of them
Florence.*

The Serene Master commands me to inquire from you about the well-known Dutch painter, if you would be willing to request him to do for the Serene Master, a portrait of himself, set in night time, with the size and manner most in accordance with the strength of his ability; and that the portrait will be in action of painting or doing something else that he likes better, but whatever he does the candles should create the best environment and give much power to the painting.

Dok. 95 ASF, Med. Prine., f. 4247
THOMAS PLATT AN BASSETTI

.. . Il Pittore Schalken ha finito il proprio ritratto per S.A., l'ha fatto con una forza e delicatezza inespessibile. Il Ritratto e di notte, essendovi un lume su un candelliere naturalissimo, tiene con una mano una stampa d'un quadro di notte fatto da lui e con l'altra mano mostra ch'egli n'e l'autore; vi sono altri ornamenti e da tutti i periti viene assicurato ch'e un pezzo ammirabile, essendo finito al maggior segno, secondo la maniera di Carlin Dolci. Rimane ora che S.A. si compiaccia di dare ordine a chi vuole che sia consegnato, potendo accertare S.A. che n'havera sodisfazione, e che adorerà non poco la sua famosa galleria ...

Londra, II Gennaio 1694/5 ...

*Dok. 95 ASF, Med. Print., F. 4247
THOMAS PLATT AN BASSETTI*

... Schalken the Painter finished his own portrait for the Serene Master, he did it with a power and inexpressible delicacy. The portrait takes place at night, there is a candle on a candlestick, very natural, with one of his hands he holds a print of a painting of the night made by him and with the other hand he shows that he is the author; There are other ornaments and all the experts are assured it is an admirable piece, being finished to the highest level, in the style of Carlo Dolci. The last step now is that the Serene Master will

decide whom he wants to receive the painting, with the possibility that this person will assure that the Serene Master will be satisfied, and that it will adorn greatly his famous gallery.

London, January II 1694/5 ...

Dok. 96 ASF, Med. Prine., f. 4247

THOMAS PLATT AN BASSETTI

... Ho consegnato al Sig.r Cagnoni il ritratto del Pittore benissimo incassato e sarà mandata d'Olanda per terra secondo i suoi ordini. Il Pittore fece difficoltà di darmi il ritratto senza danari, temendo che se andasse male non sarebbe pagato, il che era veramente alla Olandese, ma come si deve tener più conto delle sue virtù che di queste sue maniere, l'ho soddisfatto per adesso con dargli un obbligo di mia mano che sarà pagato, benché arrivassero disgrazie al ritratto. Dirò solamente in lode di questa pezza che darà disgusto ad un gran numero degli'altri Pittori che sono nella Galleria di S.A. conforme V.S.Ill. ma giudicherà, quando lo vederà. Il Pittore piangeva quando lo incassava, ed è stato ammirato da tutti qua ...

Londra, 5 Aprile 1695 . . . [Platt]

Dok. 96 ASF, Med. Print., F. 4247

THOMAS PLATT AN BASSETTI

... I handed to Signor Cagnoni's portrait painter wrapped properly and it will be sent to the Netherlands by ground according to his orders. The Painter had difficulty to give me the portrait without money, fearing that if anything were to go wrong he would not be paid, which was very Dutch of him, but one has to consider much more his talents than his manners, for now, he is satisfied with the value of my handshake that he will be paid, even if misfortunes occur to the portrait. I shall only say in praise of this piece that it will put to shame a large number of the other Painters who are in the gallery of our Serene Master, as you will judge, when you will see it. The painter was crying when it was placed in the box, and it was admired by everyone here...

London, April 5, 1695. . . [Platt]