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An Inventive Copy or an Authentic Reproduction? The Creative Freedom of the Painter Paul Tétar van Elven in his Copies of Raphael's Sistine Madonna

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An Inventive Copy or an Authentic Reproduction?

The Creative Freedom of the Painter Paul Tétar van Elven in his
Copies of Raphael's *Sistine Madonna*



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“Paul has again enjoyed and worked a lot, has brought six copies with him and left one behind, which was ordered by a Russian princess. It presented the portrait of Charles the 1st by van Dijck and when Paul would have had time, she would have liked to have more, we were pleased with it because it is a significant allowance for our travel expenses. For himself, he sketched the famous Madonna di Sixto by Raphael, two life-sized angel heads by the great master...”¹

- Louise Schmit, the first wife of Paul Tétar van Elven, 1862

¹ Louise Schmit, a letter from September 22, 1862, which she sent to her nieces. In this letter she writes about a travel of six weeks which she made with her husband, Paul Tétar van Elven, through Germany with Dresden as main destination. Original text in Dutch: “Paul heeft weder veel genoten en gewerkt, heeft zes copijen meedegebracht en een achtergelaten, die hem door eene Russische prinses besteld geworden. Het stelde voor Karel den 1ste door van Dijk en wanneer Paul meer tijd had gehad had zij gaarne meer gehad, wij waren er zeer blijde mee want het was eene groote tegemoetkoming in onze reiskosten. Voor zichzelf maakte hij eene schets naar de beroemde Madonna di Sixto van Rafaël, twee levensgroote engelenkopjes van dien grooten meester...” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

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Introduction

As I was thinking about a possible topic for my research, the collection of approximately forty copies by Paul Tétar van Elven (1823-1896) after old masters at Museum Paul Tétar van Elven came into my mind. Since I work at the museum myself and have the opportunity to look at all the copies, including those in the depot, the nine (partial) copies of the *Sistine Madonna* after Raphael (1483-1520) kept intriguing me the most. The altarpiece of the *Sistine Madonna* was, and still is today, one of the most famous paintings and a true showpiece of the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Dresden (fig. 1). Even though there are publications about Paul Tétar van Elven, to my surprise only the article “Zoek goed gezelschap... ga naar de oude meesters! Kopiëren van schilderijen in de negentiende eeuw” by Yolanda Ezendam and Marjan Reinders and a page written by the last-mentioned author in the book *Die Sixtinische Madonna - Rafaels Kultbild wird 500* researched the copies made by Tétar, including the *Sistine Madonna*. However, a detailed analysis of the copies was still missing and certain issues were still unexposed. Therefore, I found that there was still room for further discoveries regarding the rules that applied to copying at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister and adjustments that Tétar made compared to the original painting. Tétar made several very faithful copies during his career, but it immediately struck me that not all his copies of the *Sistine Madonna* match the original by Raphael in several ways. With this thesis, I will investigate the copying culture and creative freedom of copyists in the nineteenth century, treating the copies of the *Sistine Madonna* by Paul Tétar van Elven after Raphael as a case study.

Copying other artists' paintings was an essential practice in the nineteenth century and has a rich culture. For art students, copying and that way learning from the old masters was seen as a vital element of their education.² During their education, students were trained to copy the paintings and therefore master the skills of important artists.³ However, copying was also an important exercise for artists. Especially for artists in the nineteenth century, it was essential to control the art of copying to develop their inventiveness.⁴ By mastering the various techniques used by other artists, copyists could figure out what techniques they wanted to use in their own works of art. Next to the Academic curriculum, museums also encouraged copying and gave copyists certain privileges. Copies were so valued in the nineteenth century that they were even exhibited in museums during exhibitions of living artists. Since color reproductions

² Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, 42.

³ Reitsma, *Het huis van de kunstenaar: Herinneringen aan een leven*, 112.

⁴ Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, 42.

did not yet exist, good copies provided advertising for the museums and the original artworks they were based on.⁵ It was therefore strictly monitored that the copies made at the museums were of good quality and that copyists were not producing any frauds.⁶ Since so many copyists paid visits to museums at home and abroad, regulations soon came into being, and copyist registers were established.⁷

In the Netherlands in the nineteenth century, the old Dutch masters were in favor. Artists copied paintings after, for example, Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669) and Paulus Potter (1625-1654). The Trippenhuis in Amsterdam (the forerunner of the Rijksmuseum) was often filled with students and artists from all over the country who wanted to copy paintings of seventeenth-century artists.⁸ But the students and artists also looked beyond the Netherlands and copied after Italian artists, such as Titian (1488/1490-1576) and Raphael. Raphael's Biblical representations were a favorite subject for nineteenth-century copyists, and his altarpiece of the *Sistine Madonna* is one of the most copied paintings. Originally, the *Sistine Madonna* was an altarpiece commissioned by Pope Julius II for the monastery church, San Sisto, in Piacenza, showing the Virgin Mary carrying the Christ Child from Heaven down to Earth.⁹ On the left side, Saint Sixtus is kneeling, and on the right side Saint Barbara, since they were both worshiped in the monastery church.¹⁰ At the bottom, two winged putti are leaning on a balustrade while looking upward dreamily. These angels are famous figures nowadays and can often be seen in merchandising. For centuries, the altarpiece has elicited questions from spectators about the gazes of the Virgin Mary and Christ and the upward glances of the two cherubs.

In the nineteenth century, the *Sistine Madonna* was so famous among students and artists that they wanted to copy Raphael's painting skills, sell a copy after him on the art market, or keep it in their possession to decorate their studio. Since Paul Tétar van Elven was a student, artist, and teacher himself, he had recognized the importance of the art of copying throughout his life. Therefore, this painting also caught his attention. Tétar made nine copies of the *Sistine Madonna* (of which eight partial copies) next to some drawings. The complete copy that Tétar made of the painting will be the focus of this research along with a selection of the partial copies (fig. 2). The copies that Tétar did not sell and kept in his possession can still be admired

⁵ Oostdijk, "Kunst en kopie – het werk van Paul Tétar van Elven," 21.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ezendam and Reinders, "Zoek goed gezelschap... ga naar de oude meesters! Kopiëren van schilderijen in de negentiende eeuw," 7.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Henning and Schmidt, *Die Sixtinische Madonna - Rafaels Kultbild wird 500*, 23.

¹⁰ Ibid.

today alongside the rest of his collections in the canal house where he and his wife Louise lived from 1864, which is now open to the city of Delft as a museum.¹¹

Paul Tétar van Elven was a nineteenth-century artist, art collector, and teacher living in the city of Delft. He was born in Antwerp but has lived most of his life in The Hague and Delft. He mainly painted history paintings, (self)portraits, and copies after Dutch and Italian masters during his career. Since Paul did not earn enough money from selling his paintings, he wanted to have a steady income in addition to his varying income as an artist and also chose to teach.¹² In 1848, when Paul lived in The Hague, he got a job as a drawing teacher at the Hague Teeken Institute of the Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen.¹³ Later on, Tétar would be appointed as a teacher of hand drawing at the Royal Academy in Delft in 1854, which resulted in the couple moving to Delft in 1855.¹⁴ Paul Tétar van Elven was a multifaceted person: he was a teacher, an artist, art collector (he collected, among other things, “paintings, prints, books, precious and antique furniture, porcelain and costumes”¹⁵), and investor (he invested his money in companies that built railroads across Europe). Tétar spent the money he earned in part by buying art but also by making trips to museums in the Netherlands and abroad to make copies. In the 1860s, Tétar’s interest in making copies after Raphael’s altarpiece emerged.

The research question of this thesis addresses the context in which the nineteenth-century Dutch artist Paul Tétar van Elven added his own touches to his (partial) copies of the *Sistine Madonna* after Raphael. Only one case study has been chosen for this research for several reasons. First, this specific case study demonstrates how the rules of copying in the nineteenth century were followed in practice. Also, through this case study, some sources will be treated that have not been discussed before in this context, such as a regulation from the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister from the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the copying behavior specifically of Paul Tétar van Elven will be examined to reflect on the generally applicable

¹¹ Paul Tétar wrote in his will that his house with all its contents at 67 Koornmarkt should be opened as a museum after his death. This happened after his second wife, Mechelina van Duuren, died in 1926. In his will, he wrote the following: “On the other hand, I am delighting the city of Delft with my residence and f 25000 (twenty-five thousand guilders) on the condition that a permanent Museum will be established from it. The paintings, prints, books, precious and antique furniture, porcelain, and costumes will serve as a collection. The surplus furniture and household effects will go to my sole heir, but can be sold for lack of funds.” Original text in Dutch: “Wyders vermaak ik de stad Delft myn woonhuis en f 25000 (vyf en twintig duizend gulden) onder beding er een blyvend Museum van te stichten. De schilderyen, prenten, boeken, preciosa en antique meubelen, porcelein en costumes zullen dienen als verzameling. De overtollige meubelen en inboedel komen ten goede van myne eenige erfgename, doch kunnen bij gebrek aan fondsen ten gelde gemaakt worden.” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

¹² Hilkhuijsen, “Looking back: The art of drawing,” 35.

¹³ Ezendam and Reinders, “Romanticus tussen boterhandel en mechanica. De schilder Paul Tetar van Elven 1823-1896,” 351.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ From the will of Paul Constantin Dominique Tétar van Elven from 1887 (see note 11).

rules since Tétar was, next to his artistry, confronted with the copying culture relevant to art education. Tétar knew the importance of copying and copied after various masters himself. The (partial) copies of the *Sistine Madonna* by Paul Tétar will be examined, and light will be shed specifically on the striking face of the Virgin Mary and the two angels since these differ from how Raphael had initially painted them.

In the first chapter, more information will be given on the financial and aesthetic value of copies and their status in the nineteenth century. Primary sources will be used for this, including a letter written by Paul's wife Louise, who elaborates on his copies. It will be shown how copies related to the original works of art and how museums, artists, students, and patrons viewed copies in the course of the nineteenth century. Also will be addressed how museums looked at copyists since copyists at that time received very different treatment than today. The second chapter will look at the rules which applied to copying works of art in the nineteenth century. Special attention will be paid to the rules that existed for copyists at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in the 1860s. In the third chapter, the history and iconography of the *Sistine Madonna* by Raphael will be discussed before taking a closer look at Tétar's copies of this masterpiece, so that light can be shed on why this altarpiece was copied in the first place. In the fourth chapter, the full copy of the *Sistine Madonna* will be analyzed and compared to the original painting by Raphael to see how Paul Tétar put his own twist on it. A close look will specifically be taken at the facial features of the Virgin Mary since it shows similarities to the ones of his wife, Louise. It will be determined whether Tétar more often used his wife as a model for depicting female figures in other paintings. Also, the tracing drawings of the *Sistine Madonna* made by Paul Tétar will be examined to see if there was a transformation in the depiction of the holy duo and find out the function of those drawings. The tracing drawings give valuable information about Tétar's work process, which has never been brought to light before. In the last chapter, the partial copies of the two angels made by Paul Tétar will be brought to light. This chapter will show how there was an interest in changing the setting in which the two cherubs find themselves in the nineteenth century. It will be examined why these two angels became so famous independently and how the change in setting contributes to their popularity. The five chapters focus on different aspects of the objects of study: the original altarpiece by Raphael and the (partial) copies by Paul Tétar van Elven.

Chapter 1: The (financial) value and status of copies in the course of the nineteenth century

Copying at the Academy, museum, and in the workshop

Copying was an essential practice in the nineteenth century, whether in the Academic curriculum or the workshop's curriculum. In art education and private ateliers, composition, drawing from models, knowledge of anatomy, and copying after the great masters were widely practiced.¹⁶ A foundation of copying was laid for students by drawing from plaster examples and models.¹⁷ Next to that, the students started their training in copying by reproducing prints and engravings.¹⁸ When they advanced to painting, they were to copy works after the great masters.¹⁹ Copying was substantial so that the student could develop their inventiveness after engaging in the techniques and compositions of the old masters, to become familiar with specific techniques that the copyist wanted to stick to and apply to their own works.²⁰ It was believed that only a skilled artist could make a successful copy.²¹

Paul Tétar van Elven was enrolled as a student at the Institute for Teekenkundig Onderwijs of the Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen in Amsterdam in 1838 and later became a student at the Royal Academy in Amsterdam.²² The importance of copying at the Royal Academy is made clear in their regulations for education: "Directors will exert as much influence as possible on the students to encourage them to copy paintings here in the Rijk's Museum diligently."²³ As early as the eighteenth century, visiting museums to copy important works of art was part of the education young painters received.²⁴ In addition to being essential to students from the Academy, museums were highly interested in the copies which were produced since they were even displayed in museums and at contemporary exhibitions

¹⁶ Ezendam and Reinders, "Zoek goed gezelschap... ga naar de oude meesters! Kopiëren van schilderijen in de negentiende eeuw," 6.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, 42.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ezendam and Reinders, "Zoek goed gezelschap... ga naar de oude meesters! Kopiëren van schilderijen in de negentiende eeuw," 10.

²² Hoftijzer, *Kleinood aan een Delfse Gracht*, 11.

²³ van Leeuwen, *Kopiëren in Florence. Kunstenaars uit de Lage Landen en de 19^{de}-eeuwse kunstreis naar Italië*, 15. Original text in Dutch: "Directeuren zullen zoveel mogelijk invloed op de kweekelingen bezigen ten einde hen tot het vlijtig copieren van schilderijen in het Rijk's Museum alhier aan te sporen." (Translated by the author in March 2022).

²⁴ Altena and van de Laar, "Kopiëren in het Rijksmuseum: De kopieën van kunstschilder/restaurateur Arnold van de Laar (1886-1974)," 29.

alongside the original works of art.²⁵ Copyists were encouraged to travel to museums at home and abroad to copy works by great masters. At the time, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, for example, highly valued copyists and students and had a particular painting room set up in the museum to copy small paintings.²⁶ Other museums frequently visited by copyists in the nineteenth century were the Mauritshuis in The Hague, the Louvre in Paris, and the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Dresden.

A drawing by the nineteenth-century Dutch painter and draughtsman Pieter van Loon (1801-1873) from 1840 shows a hall in the Louvre filled with many copyists at work (fig. 3). The gallery is filled with easels, chairs, tables, and a scaffold. Some copyists copy the paintings from a distance, while others stand as close as possible to copy everything in detail. A copyist who has chosen a painting displayed relatively high on the wall can be seen, so he is copying while seated on a scaffold, which was placed there especially for him. In addition to the variety of ways of working, a variety of copyists can also be seen. In addition to the white men in top hats and long coats, a plurality of female copyists in long dresses and raised hair can be identified. Therefore, it is interesting to note that, although women artists in the nineteenth century did not receive as much attention as their male counterparts, there were several women copyists. Both male and female, these copyists were given special treatment by various museums, one of which was the Mauritshuis in The Hague.

The Mauritshuis was opened five days a week only to copyists so that they could copy paintings at the museum without being disturbed. It was difficult for the ordinary public to visit the museum when the copyists were at work and taking up much space. So, the other two days of the week, the museum was open for regular museum visitors. In a French catalog of the Mauritshuis (which was back then called the Royal Cabinet of Paintings) from 1826, the following is written about copyists by Johan Steengracht of Oostkapelle (1782-1846), the first director of the museum:

“Young artists who wish to study there are admitted there, five consecutive days a week; free access is also granted to amateurs who only need to have an entry ticket, which the concierge is responsible for delivering to them free of charge, in the morning.”²⁷

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Oostdijk, “Kunst en kopie – het werk van Paul Tetar van Elven,” 23.

²⁷ van Oostkapelle, *Les principaux tableaux du musée royal a la haye, graves au trait, avec leur description*, 4. Original text in French: “On y admet, cinq jours consécutifs de la semaine, les jeunes artistes qui veulent y faire des études; le libre accès est également accordé aux amateurs qui doivent seulement être munis d'un billet d'entrée, que la congierge est chargé de leur délivrer gratuitement, le matin.” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

For regular visitors, however, different rules applied to visiting the museum: “From 1821, the public was allowed to visit the paintings on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 10 a.m. to 1 a.m., provided they were ‘well dressed and had no children with them.’”²⁸ The fact that a museum like the Mauritshuis in the 1820s was open only two days a week for the ordinary public and five days a week for copyists shows the importance of copyists. Paul Tétar van Elven roughly worked as an artist from 1850 and also took advantage of the opportunity to copy paintings in various museums.

A traveling copyist who lived in a city of butter merchants and mechanics

When Tétar and Louise went on vacation, they went abroad or left for The Hague, where it was much more culturally interesting than Delft. A.L.H. Obreen, Paul Tétar’s old student and biographer, described how the Romantic Paul Tétar van Elven felt like there was little interest in culture in a city that revolved around butter trading and mechanics:

“He had the wistful smile of the Romantic minstrel amidst the stiff formulaic faces of mathematical professors. Next to the learned circle of the Academy Delft was for thirty years an urban society, not very poetic or artistic either. Industrialists, butter merchants, retired Indian civil servants, all excellent people but whose art education was little developed (...) That man must have suffered a lot inside; he, who had spent his youth in an artistic environment in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Paris, had worked in Dresden afterward to study the first masters, who dreamed of the highest conception of art; he saw his life path running amidst mechanics and butter merchants.”²⁹

Dresden was a cultural haven for Tétar where he could escape the mechanics and copy artworks to his heart’s content. When Paul and Louise traveled to Dresden in 1862, they went to open-air concerts and took excursions. Still, Paul also spent several days at the Gemäldegalerie Alte

²⁸ Nijhoff, *Notice Historique et Descriptive des Tableaux et des Sculptures exposés dans la Musée Royal de La Haye*, 17. Original text in French: “Dès 1821 le public fut admis à visiter les tableaux le Mercredi et le Samedi de 10 à 1 heure, pourvu qu’on fût ‘bien vêtu et qu’on n’eût pas d’enfants avec soi.’” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

²⁹ Obreen, “Ter nagedachtenis van Paul Tetar van Elven,” 188-189. Original text in Dutch: “Hij had den weemoedigen glimlach van den Romantischen minnezanger te midden van de stroeve formelen-gezichten der wiskundige professoren. Naast den geleerden kring der Academie was te Delft voor dertig jaren een steedsche zamenleving, evenmin erg dichtertlijk of artistiek. Industrieelen, boterhandelaars, gepensioneerde Indische ambtenaren, allen voortreffelijke menschen, maar wier kunstvorming weinig ontwikkeld was (...) Die man moet in zijn binnenste veel geleden hebben, hij die zijn jeugd had doorgebracht in een kunstenaarsomgeving te Amsterdam, te Antwerpen en te Parijs, daarna gewerkt had te Dresden, om de eerste meesters te bestudeeren, die droomde van de hoogste opvattingen der kunst, hij zag zijn levenspad loopen te midden van mechanika en boterhandel.” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

Meister, where he copied paintings.³⁰ Copies were made for practice, the art market of to keep in the artist's own possession. Even though nothing has been documented about the specific revenues of Paul's copies in the nineteenth century, a letter dated September 22, 1862, which Louise sent to her nieces provides a glimpse into the financial proceeds of a copy Paul made during his trip to Dresden:

“What a delightful country Germany is... We have returned with a smile on our faces, and although we have been away for six weeks, the time has flown by. Paul has again enjoyed and worked a lot, has brought six copies with him and left one behind, which was ordered by a Russian princess. It presented the portrait of Charles the 1st by van Dijck, and when Paul would have had time, she would have liked to have more; we were pleased with it because it is a significant allowance for our travel expenses. For himself, he sketched the famous Madonna di Sixto by Raphael, two life-sized angel heads by the great master, The Night by Correggio, Suzanna in the Bath by Paul Veronese, and The Four Apostles by Banjo Cavallo.³¹ All this is listed but not produced so quickly, and you will join me in congratulating Paul on his diligence, and if you knew how much we went outside, you would be even more amazed.”³²

In this letter she mentions that her husband sketched the *Sistine Madonna* and the angel heads for himself. Therefore, he had no intention of selling these copies which he made in Dresden in 1862. However, the proceeds from the copies which Paul did sell, as Louise's letter shows, for example reimbursed the travel expenses of their vacation to Dresden. A letter from Louise from 1861 reveals that the copies which Paul wanted to keep in his possession instead of selling were hung in his studio:

³⁰ Reitsma, *Het huis van de kunstenaar: Herinneringen aan een leven*, 111.

³¹ Louise probably meant the seventeenth-century Italian painter Bernardo Cavallino. Louise did make spelling mistakes in her letters quite often. She sometimes seems to write phonetically, wanting to tell about the copies her husband painted as a proud wife, but does not know how to write certain foreign names.

³² Schmit, a letter which she sent to her nieces on September 22, 1862. Original text in Dutch: “Wat is Duitschland toch een verrukkelijk land... Wij zijn weder verrukt teruggekomen en ofschoon wij zes weken uit zijn geweest is de tijd ons evenwel omgevlogen. Paul heeft weder veel genoten en gewerkt, heeft zes copijen meedegebracht en een achtergelaten, die hem door eene Russische prinses besteld geworden. Het stelde voor Karel den 1^{ste} door van Dijk en wanneer Paul meer tijd had gehad had zij gaarne meer gehad, wij waren er zeer blijde mee want het was eene groote tegemoetkoming in onze reiskosten. Voor zichzelf maakte hij eene schets naar de beroemde Madonna di Sixto van Rafaël, twee levensgroote engelenkopjes van dien grooten meester – de Nacht van Correggio onder dien naam bekend de geborte van Chirustus voorstellende, Suzanna in het bad door Paul Veronese, de vier Apostelen van Banjo Cavallo, dit is alles spoedig opgenoemd doch niet zo spoedig vervaardigd, en gij zult met mij Paul wel een pluimpje voor zijn ijver geven, en als gij wist hoeveel wij naar buiten zijn geweest, dan zoudt ge u nog meer verwonderen.” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

“Oh, how much we have enjoyed, how divinely beautiful is that Germany... After we had first seen Berlin, we spent most of the vacation in Dresden, which is very lovely, inexhaustible in its beautiful scenery and very rich in art, a splendid museum where Paul worked fervently and could literally bathe in art so that his studio has again become very enriched...”³³

It is challenging to come up with precise amounts of money since these transactions are often missing. For example, nothing is known about the works sold and thus Paul Tétar’s financial returns, as there is no book of such documentation.³⁴ However, in the nineteenth century, a copy was a good and popular alternative to, for a reasonable price, still be able to hang an unaffordable masterpiece in the house. Today it is known that Paul Tétar copied at the Louvre in Paris, the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, the Royal Museum in Antwerp, the Trippenhuis in Amsterdam, and the Gallery of William V and the Mauritshuis in The Hague.³⁵ An 1852 register of the Rijksmuseum shows that Paul Tétar van Elven applied on January 21 to make a copy after a work by Potter (fig. 4) and thus copied famous works there.³⁶ Unfortunately, after having consulted the Mauritshuis library, Paul Tétar van Elven cannot be found in the Mauritshuis copyist books due to a gap in the archive of the Mauritshuis copyist books around 1850 (the time when he copied there).³⁷ However, it is possible that Tétar copied at the museum around this time, as he made two copies that he dated. The first is a copy of *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* after Rembrandt that he dated 1848, and the second is a copy of *The Presentation in the Temple* after the same master 1849. However, since copies of copies were also made in the nineteenth century, it is also possible that Tétar did not see the original works himself, albeit doubtful since Tétar regularly visited The Hague, given that it was more culturally interesting there, and he had lived there himself before he moved to Delft.

Copying a masterpiece in Dresden

Tétar made four visits to Germany: in 1861, 1862, 1863, and 1865. In 1863 he did not work, but he copied paintings such as Raphael’s *Sistine Madonna* in the remaining years.

³³ Schmit, a letter which she sent to her nieces on August 18, 1861. Original text in Dutch: “O, hoe veel hebben wij genoten, hoe goddelijk schoon is dat Duitschland... Nadat wij eerst Berlijn hadden gezien zijn wij het grootste deel van de vakantie in Dresden geweest, dat allerliefst is, onuitputtelijk in Schoone omstreken en zeer rijk aan kunst, een prachtig museum daar Paul fameus heeft gewerkt en zich letterlijk in kunst kon baden, zoodat zijn atelier weder zeer verrijkt is geworden...” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

³⁴ Reinders in *Die Sixtinische Madonna - Rafaels Kultbild wird 500*, 268.

³⁵ Reitsma, *Het huis van de kunstenaar: Herinneringen aan een leven*, 112.

³⁶ “Aanteekeningen van Kopieërenden en opgaaf van Bezoekers.”

³⁷ Due to the gap in the archive of the Mauritshuis’ copyist books only the Mauritshuis copy books of 1817-1840 and 1866-1868 can be consulted nowadays.

Obreen wrote an article in 1873 commemorating the Delft artist and providing insight into his lifestyle and the earnings from his copies: “Tetar was restrained in his lifestyle, and careful with the money he had earned in Dresden and elsewhere, making copies after well-known paintings.”³⁸ Tétar was thus frugal with the money he earned from selling his copies from Dresden, although he did purchase art objects, porcelain, and furniture as a collector. Paul’s copies were of good quality, and his contemporaries already noted this. Obreen wrote in the *In Memoriam* the following about the quality of Tétar’s copies: “The copies, made by him in Dresden and elsewhere, are in a word excellent. He has studied the Italian masters of the Renaissance with apparent passion.”³⁹ The copies made of Raphael’s *Sistine Madonna* will generally have sold well in the nineteenth century, taking into consideration that it was one of the most famous paintings and the various versions Tétar made of the painting.⁴⁰ However, the copies being discussed in this research all remained in his possession.

Despite the fact that Louise wrote that Paul could richly decorate his studio with several reproductions of masterpieces, it is questionable whether he did not already have the idea of bequeathing his house to the city of Delft after his death and allowing it to be opened as a museum.⁴¹ Tétar moved into the canal house in Delft in 1864 and in 1886 had the ceiling in the salon designed by Prof. Abraham F. Gips, who would succeed Paul as a teacher of hand drawing in 1894.⁴² On this ceiling, he had the names painted of Tétar’s great examples: Rubens, Rembrandt, Hals, Michelangelo, Velasquez, Paul Veronese, Murillo, and of course Raphael (fig. 5). This ceiling is reminiscent of a museum that also tributes artists.⁴³ The ceiling could indicate that Tétar perhaps already had the plan in his mind that his house would be turned into a museum after his death, although this can only be suggested. However, the influence Raphael had on the Delft artist Paul Tétar van Elven is obvious, since Tétar did not only make copies after him but even let his name be painted on the ceiling, together with the names of other great artists. That way, already during his lifetime, he decorated his home like a museum in which the great masters were venerated.

³⁸ Obreen, “Ter nagedachtenis van Paul Tetar van Elven,” 194. Original text in Dutch: “Tetar was in zijn leefwijze ingetogen, en voorzichtig met het geld dat hij te Dresden en elders had verdiend, door copiën te maken naar bekende schilderijen.” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

³⁹ Ibid., 195-196. Original text in Dutch: “De copiën, door hem te Dresden en elders gemaakt, zijn in een woord voortreffelijk. Hij heeft de Italiaanse meesters der Renaissance bestudeerd met kennelijke hartstocht.” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

⁴⁰ Reinders in *Die Sixtinische Madonna - Rafaels Kultbild wird 500*, 268.

⁴¹ See note 33.

⁴² Thijsse, interview.

⁴³ Reitsma, *Het huis van de kunstenaar: Herinneringen aan een leven*, 112.

The decay of copying due to photography and the idea of originality

However, the importance of copies changed in the course of the nineteenth century. With the rise of color reproductions and the medium of photography, copying became less and less common.⁴⁴ In 1826, Joseph Nicéphore Niépce invented photography by smearing a copper plate with photosensitive asphalt and placing it in a camera obscura. After the light had shone on the plate for eight hours, the first photograph was created. This groundbreaking discovery pushed the art of copying into oblivion.⁴⁵ People who previously commissioned copies of well-known works of art could now choose photographs, which caused the art of copying to fall into decline from the second half of the nineteenth century onward. In Delft, Emma Kirchner (1830-1909) was the first woman to practice the profession of photography.⁴⁶ The large number of photographs discovered to this day that Kirchner took shows that many people from Delft society visited her studio. She had a portrait studio from 1863 to 1899, during the same period when Paul Tétar lived on the Koornmarkt in Delft.⁴⁷ Most likely, Tétar knew Kirchner and may even have been one of her clients. However, there is no proof of this, but due to the reputation Kirchner enjoyed in Delft, it is evident that everyone was familiar with the portraits made by this photographer. The downside of Kirchner's popularity was that Tétar would receive fewer commissions for portrait paintings, so whether he was happy with the rise of this new medium is doubtful.⁴⁸

In addition to the medium of photography, the idea of originality emerged in the nineteenth century with the rise of modern art, which created an interest in the original rather than a copy.⁴⁹ However, the copies still made in the second half of the nineteenth century were sketchier and looked less and less like the original.⁵⁰ From then on, copyists used the masterpieces more for inspiration than literal imitation. Paul Tétar van Elven stuck to the classical painting style throughout his career and mostly held on to the idea of accurate imitations of the original rather than going along with the new art movements and ideas. Although there is no record of what Paul Tétar van Elven earned in his own time from his copies of the *Sistine Madonna*, it is known through an appraisal report what a copy after

⁴⁴ Altena and van de Laar, "Kopiëren in het Rijksmuseum: De kopieën van kunstschilder/restaurateur Arnold van de Laar (1886-1974)," 41.

⁴⁵ Oostdijk, "Kunst en kopie – het werk van Paul Tétar van Elven," 24.

⁴⁶ Notenboom and Reinders, *Emma Kirchner: Een 19^{de}-eeuwse fotografe belicht*, 3.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁹ Altena and van de Laar, "Kopiëren in het Rijksmuseum: De kopieën van kunstschilder/restaurateur Arnold van de Laar (1886-1974)," 41.

⁵⁰ Ezendam and Reinders, "Zoek goed gezelschap... ga naar de oude meesters! Kopiëren van schilderijen in de negentiende eeuw," 13.

Raphael was worth in 1967.⁵¹ This report states that the copy after Raphael with the Madonna and Christ and John the Baptist was worth 200 guilders. It is striking that Tétar's copies were worth very little in the second half of the twentieth century compared to other objects in his possession. For example, a self-portrait by Tétar was worth 1,000 guilders, and a landscape painting by an unknown master from the seventeenth century was worth 1,500 guilders. The appraisal showed that another copy of a girl with a tray was also worth only 150 guilders. However, this copy does not state to whom the original belongs. It is striking that a copy after the great Raphael was worth only 50 guilders more than a copy after a not-so-famous work. This shows that in the second half of the twentieth century, there was little interest in copies and they were no longer worth much either, even if they were painted after a master artist. Many copies were unfortunately lost in the twentieth century due to disinterest in them, making it unique that the entire collection of copies by Paul Tétar has been preserved in the museum.

Whereas copying was encouraged by museums and academies in the nineteenth century, it was discouraged from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. The subject of copying was at some point no longer part of the curriculum of the Dutch art academies, and whereas copyists used to have privileges at the museums, such as the museums being open five days a week only to copyists and students or having a particular painting room in the Rijksmuseum, copying was discouraged there as well.⁵² Copies have thus transformed in the nineteenth century in terms of valuation and status. People who previously commissioned copies were more interested in photographs and original modern artworks from the second half of the nineteenth century. Museums also laid down strict rules in their regulations, which ensured that there were not too many copyists present, that the copies were of good quality, and that there was no question of forgery when copying. Even though copying became less and less important in the second half of the nineteenth century and the rules became much stricter, this did not stop Tétar from making copies after great artists.

⁵¹ "Taxatie-rapport makelaarskantoor Beeuwkes. Hof-, Rijks- en gemeentetaxateurs (roerende en onroerende goederen)."

⁵² Ezendam and Reinders, "Zoek goed gezelschap... ga naar de oude meesters! Kopiëren van schilderijen in de negentiende eeuw," 13.

Chapter 2: The rules which applied to copying works of art in the nineteenth century: The difference between a forger and a copyist

Copyist regulations, books, and cards in museums in The Netherlands

In the nineteenth century, museums had established rules for copyists to prevent poor quality copies, plagiarism, and to make a museum visit as pleasant as possible for the copyist and the regular visitor. These rules were tightened in many museums in the second half of the nineteenth century to stem the flow of copyists. The rules for copyists include the general rules that applied to copying in museums and those that applied explicitly to the copies made. These rules were included in regulations, and sometimes an excerpt of the copyist regulations could also be seen on a copyist card (fig. 6). First, the general rules that applied to nineteenth-century copyists in museums will be discussed, and it will be shown how these rules were tightened in the second half of the nineteenth century.

When artists wanted to copy a painting, a process had to be set in motion. First, the copyist had to ask for permission to reproduce a painting. An artist had to demonstrate that they were competent enough to make a copy; otherwise, the request was denied.⁵³ Asking for permission and the general rules associated with copying became increasingly strict during the nineteenth century. In a regulation of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam from 1857 (which applied around the time when Paul Tétar van Elven copied paintings), for example, the following is written about copying:

“The Museum and the Print Room may be visited daily, from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m., free of charge, except on Saturdays, Sundays, and public holidays ... Studying and copying the paintings is free to everyone during the days the Museum is open; to place easels, tables or other objects, however, one has to ask permission from the Council through one of the supervisors.”⁵⁴

Twenty years later, in 1877, new regulations were drawn up that further discouraged copying at the Rijksmuseum. Stricter rules were introduced as copying in museums was not considered practical, and there were complaints about the painters' equipment filling the rooms. An

⁵³ van Thiel, “Het Rijksmuseum in het Trippenhuis, 1814-1885 (IV)*: Kopiïsten en fotografen,” 65.

⁵⁴ “Reglement voor het bezoeken van, en het studeren op 's Rijks Museum te Amsterdam.” Original text in Dutch: “Het Museum en het Prentkabinet zijn dagelijks, van 10 uur des morgens tot 3 uur des middags, kosteloos te bezichtigen, uitgenomen op Zaterdag, en Zon- en Feestdagen ... Het studeren en kopiëren naar de schilderijen wordt gedurende de dagen, waarop het Museum geopend is, aan een ieder vrijgelaten; voor het plaatsen van schildersezels, tafels of andere voorwerpen, zal men echter, door eenen der opzigtters verlof aan den Raad moeten vragen.” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

excerpt from the Rules and Regulations of the Rijksmuseum and Print Room contains the following rules:

“Art. 48. While the production of chalk and pencil sketches is free to all visitors, prior permission from the director of the collection to which the objects to be copied belong is required in order to make copies. If this permission concerns the making of engravings, etchings, photograms, or casts, the condition will be attached that copies of such reproductions must be handed over to the Museum free of charge (...) Art. 52. The Director concerned shall determine how the object in question may be worked on.”⁵⁵

All data surrounding the copyists to whom permission was granted and the paintings to be copied were noted in a copyist book. The artist had to write down their name, the date, and the artwork being copied. These books were good overviews for museums of paintings and artists who were widely copied and therefore popular at the time. Next, they provide an insight into which paintings sold well, especially if an artwork was reproduced several times by the same artist. A page from the copyist book at the Royal Cabinet of Paintings from 1817 to 1840 shows that A. Schelfhout copied “a landscape after the great Bot” in 1817 (fig. 7).⁵⁶ Such a description of a painting was sufficient, and hardly ever did copyists write down the actual title of a painting in the copyist book. In addition, some copyists also wrote down their place of residence, but this was not always done either.

It is noteworthy that in the copyist book from 1866 to 1868, a new addition was made by keeping track of which copyists were present each day at the museum. In this way, the copyists could not abuse the permission of copying granted to them. The Rijksmuseum already kept track of the presence of copyists around 1850 since a copyist at the Rijksmuseum back then would lose their permission obtained if it had not been used for a month.⁵⁷ However, some copyists abused their permission despite this rule by visiting the museum to paint for an hour on the last day before it expired.⁵⁸ By doing so, certain regular artists retained their permission,

⁵⁵ “Uittreksel van het “Reglement op het beheer, de dienst en het toezigt van ’s Rijks Museum van Schilderijen en van ’s Rijks Prentenkabinet te Amsterdam”, vastgesteld bij beschikking van den Minister van Binnenlandsche Zaken van 1 Maart 1877”. Original text in Dutch: “Art. 48. Terwijl het vervaardigen van krijt- en potloodschetsen ieder bezoeker vrijstaat, wordt tot het maken van kopiën, waarvoor het gebruik van toestellen noodig is, een voorafgaand verlot van den Directeur der verzameling, waartoe de na te bootsen voorwerpen behoren, vereischt. Indien dit verlot betrekking heeft tot het maken van gravuren, etsen, photogrammen of afgietsels, zoo wordt daaraan de voorwaarde verbonden, dat toen exemplaren dier reproductie kosteloos aan het Museum worden afgestaan (...) Art. 52. De betrokken Directeur bepaalt de wijze, waarop naar het bedoelde voorwerp gewerkt mag worden.” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

⁵⁶ Original explanation of painting being copied in Dutch: “Een landschap naar de groote Bot.” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

⁵⁷ van Thiel, “Het Rijksmuseum in het Trippenhuis, 1814-1885 (IV)*: Kopiïsten en fotografen,” 65.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

while other artists did not get the chance to get on the list since only a limited number of copyists were allowed. By 1877, it had been reduced from one month to two weeks by the Rijksmuseum in the hope of counteracting this abuse of permission. The presence list from the copyist book of the Royal Cabinet of Paintings from 1866 to 1868 shows more interesting information (fig. 8). First, these pages show that copying was only done on Sundays. In addition, it shows that the copyists came from all over the world to copy paintings from the Royal Cabinet of Paintings. For example, the cities of Pittsburg, Berlin, Paris, Copenhagen, and Karlsruhe can be read alongside nearby cities such as Leiden, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Haarlem. This information provides insight into where copyists who visit particular museums come from.

In addition to being listed in a copyist book, the copyists themselves were given a copyist card, which contained all the information regarding the copy to be made (fig. 6). This copyist card showed the to-be copied artwork, its materials, and the dimensions. In addition, the catalog number and the date on which the copyist was granted permission to copy were given. Thus, from then on, the license was valid for two months (except if the artist did not come to copy for two weeks in a row). At the bottom of the card are the signatures of the copyist and the chief director of the museum. A copyist card, which listed all the details of a copy, was supposed to prevent fraud since a museum employee could ask for the card at any moment. In this way, the artists could demonstrate to the museum that they had permission to copy a particular painting, and the museum staff could verify that the copy was being made as agreed.

Preventing frauds

Next to the general rules that applied to nineteenth-century copyists in museums, copyists also had to follow specific rules while making the copies themselves. These rules were set up to prevent plagiarism. Even in the nineteenth century, some copies were made for illegal purposes.⁵⁹ For example, exact reproductions of paintings were made, confusing the difference between the original and the copy.⁶⁰ Even though artists strived to make a copy as true to life as possible, it had to be visible to everyone that it was not the original. Someone who did not follow the strict rules of making a copy was called a forger. A forger's goal was to precisely reproduce a painting that could be sold as if it were the original, that way defrauding someone.⁶¹ There were two main rules that artists had to follow for a copy to be legal. First, a copy was

⁵⁹ Benhamou and Ginsburgh, "Is There a Market for Copies," 15.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ van Thiel, "Het Rijksmuseum in het Trippenhuys, 1814-1885 (IV)*: Kopiisten en fotografen," 63.

not allowed to be painted at the same size as the original and often had to be made smaller.⁶² The exhibition catalog of *The Sistine Madonna. Raphael's iconic painting turns 500* from the Gemäldegalerie shows that the copies made of the *Sistine Madonna* were almost all made at a much smaller size. The original artwork by Raphael is 269,5 centimeters high and 201 centimeters wide, and most of the copies on view during the exhibition were one-third the size.⁶³ For example, the full copy by Paul Tétar van Elven was 54 centimeters high and 40 centimeters wide. The other partial copies Tétar made of the figures were all around the same size, except for a partial copy of Mary as a half-figure that he made 102 centimeters high and 83,5 centimeters wide. Indeed, for artists who copied while traveling, it was a practical consideration to choose a smaller size so they could copy more in a short time. In addition, the original artist's signature was not allowed to be copied.⁶⁴ Copying the original signature was an act that was not considered fraudulent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and was widely done, but in the nineteenth century this notion changed.

Even though these rules had been established, not all artists adhered to them, including Paul Tétar van Elven. Paul Tétar made a copy at the Mauritshuis of *The Penitent Mary Magdalen* after Mateo Cerezo (1637-1666). He made it in the same format as the original and copied the artist's original signature (fig. 9). The reason Tétar did not follow the rules of copying is unknown today. However, he never managed to sell this work as if it were the original since the painting was still in his possession and is stored in the museum.⁶⁵ However, this is the only case (of which it is known today) that Paul Tétar van Elven copied in a way that was forbidden. The way Paul Tétar was able to copy the painting at the Mauritshuis fraudulently leaves one in doubt about the extent to which the staff monitored copyists.

Monitoring the quality of the copies through the rules of Apostool

In addition to the cases where a copy was so good that it was indistinguishable from the original painting, there were also copies of poor quality. Museums tried to counter this by not giving just anyone permission to copy but by checking their competence first. Painters who were not skilled enough, according to the museum, to copy a painting were not allowed to copy. Next to that, the museum could keep a close eye on the copyists and, at any moment, ask

⁶² Ezendam and Reinders, "Zoek goed gezelschap... ga naar de oude meesters! Kopiëren van schilderijen in de negentiende eeuw," 9.

⁶³ Based on the copies which were on display during the exhibition at the Gemäldegalerie and are included in the catalog *The Sistine Madonna. Raphael's iconic painting turns 500*.

⁶⁴ Oostdijk, "Kunst en kopie – het werk van Paul Tétar van Elven," 23.

⁶⁵ Ezendam and Reinders, "Zoek goed gezelschap... ga naar de oude meesters! Kopiëren van schilderijen in de negentiende eeuw," 9.

for their copyist cards. Museums did not want an original work to lose its popularity because of a poor copy. These inferior copies were often produced in large quantities for the purpose of selling them. The Dutch painter and museum director Cornelis Apostool (1762-1844) instituted several rules in the nineteenth century that would prevent that “miserable copies were offered for sale by hand.”⁶⁶ Apostool explained that, as a result, “(...) the real pieces lost by this the striking thing which the first seeing or the not too frequent seeing of such pieces brings about.”⁶⁷ Apostool wrote these rules in 1817 in a letter to the Commissioner-General of Education, Arts, and Sciences in response to a request for advice on a proposal concerning the permission for copyists, which the deputy director of the Mauritshuis J. W. Pieneman (1779-1853) had submitted at that time.

Previously, the main reason for copying was to learn the techniques of the masters and create one’s own style, but by the first half of the nineteenth century, copies were already being made to sell. However, there was nothing wrong with good copies made to sell. The problem was that poor copies were made in large quantities for the market. After seeing a lousy copy, people who had not yet seen the original painting doubted its quality. Museums, of course, were also against the production of such poor copies since they would receive fewer visitors if people had no desire to see the original. Thus, to oversee the quality of reproductions and to counteract fraudulent behavior, Apostool came up with the following rules:

“(...) that no one would be allowed to copy anything who had not received special permission to do so from me and who could show signs of being sufficiently advanced to benefit from such a study; that for every piece from which one wanted to copy something one also had to obtain permission; furthermore that no one would be allowed to copy a whole painting on a similar size and that one would not even be allowed to do this in a smaller or different size without having obtained definite permission.”⁶⁸

⁶⁶ van Thiel, “Het Rijksmuseum in het Trippenhuys, 1814-1885 (IV)*: Kopiisten en fotografen,” 63. Original text in Dutch: “Ellendige Copyen werden onder de hand te koop aangeboden.” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

⁶⁷ Ibid., 63-64. Original text in Dutch: “(...) de echte stukken verloren hierdoor het treffende het welk het eerste zien, of het niet al te dikwerf zien van dergelijke stukken teweegbrengt.” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

⁶⁸ van Thiel, “Het Rijksmuseum in het Trippenhuys, 1814-1885 (IV)*: Kopiisten en fotografen,” 64. Original text in Dutch: “(...) dat niemand iets zoude vermogen te copieeren die hier toe niet van my speciaal verlof bekomen had en die blyken kon geven van genoegzaam gevorderd te zyn om van eene dergelyke Studie nut te kunnen trekken; dat men voor elk stuk waaruit men iets wilde naschilderen ook wederom verlof moest hebben; voords dat het aan niemand geoorloofd zou zyn eenige gehele schildery op gelyke grootte na te schilderen en dat men zulks zelfs niet in kleiner of ander formaat zal vermogen te doen zonder daar toe stellig verlof bekomen te hebben.” (Translated by the author in March 2022).

These rules of Apostool were very influential in the Netherlands and were also applied across the border, in Germany for example.⁶⁹ Paul Tétar van Elven's ability to copy had probably been checked before he could start working on his copies of the *Sistine Madonna*. Perhaps he had brought other works at the time by which he could demonstrate his skill and thus obtain a permit to copy at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

The missing information about Paul Tétar van Elven in the records of the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

The Dresden State Art Collections archive holds books with the requests for copies and permits from 1860 to 1870 and registers of copying permits from 1847 to 1871. Since Tétar copied Raphael's masterpiece at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in 1861, 1862, and 1865, his name should have been noted in these books. Interestingly, no references to Paul Tétar van Elven can be found in either book.⁷⁰ Were the records of the copyists at the Gemäldegalerie so poorly kept then, or does it mean that no application for copying was made in Paul Tétar's name and no copying permit was received? One might wonder after this discovery if Paul Tétar van Elven actually copied the *Sistine Madonna* at the Gemäldegalerie, or if he used a graphic reproduction of the painting, such as an engraving or a lithograph, which were quite easily distributed. Because there is no record at the Gemäldegalerie of whether Paul actually copied on location, only assumptions can be made today that can be supported with arguments. In addition to graphic reproductions, there is the possibility that in addition to copying original works of art, he also could have used the photography that was emerging in his day.⁷¹

Paul Tétar van Elven made circular partial copies of the two angels by Raphael, depicting the angels leaning on the clouds rather than on a balustrade (fig. 10). Paul Tétar was not the first artist to represent the angels in this setting, as the angels had been made in the same way quite often by other artists.⁷² This means that Paul Tétar most likely used reproductions as examples for his partial copies of the angels.⁷³ It is most likely that Paul Tétar also copied at the Gemäldegalerie itself next to using reproductions by other artists as sources of inspiration. First, Louise writes in one of her letters from 1861 that Paul painted at the museum itself.⁷⁴ The only copy Paul dated to 1861 is a partial copy of Mary, which may also have been his first

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ The following books have been consulted for this: *Copying applications and permits, 1860-1870* and *Lists of copying permits*.

⁷¹ Oostdijk, "Kunst en kopie – het werk van Paul Tétar van Elven," 24.

⁷² Reinders in *Die Sixtinische Madonna - Rafaels Kultbild wird 500*, 268.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ See note 33.

copy of this masterpiece (fig. 11). Thus, this partial copy was most likely painted at the museum rather than using a reproduction. In addition, the bright colors in the full copy by Paul Tétar may show that he copied the painting on location (fig. 2). Notably, the colors in the copy by Paul Tétar are very bright, and the copy is more colorful than the original painting is today. In 1856, the varnish of the original painting was lightened, giving Raphael's altarpiece a colorful look.⁷⁵ Paul Tétar thus saw Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* five years after the varnish was lightened, which is reflected in his copy. Nowadays it is forbidden to remove the varnish of Raphael's painting solely on aesthetic grounds without it being necessary for the preservation of the masterpiece.⁷⁶ Copies like Paul Tétar's, which have not been darkened to a severe degree over time, give us a glimpse of how colorful and bright the *Sistine Madonna* once was in its original condition.

In addition to the painted copies Tétar made of the *Sistine Madonna*, he also made drawings and studies in watercolor.⁷⁷ So he studied and copied this masterpiece for several years during his career, producing (partial) copies and studies made with different materials: from pencil to watercolor and oil paint. However, if Paul Tétar saw the painting at the Gemäldegalerie, that does not explain why his name is missing from the copyist books and the applications for copy permission. If in Germany the rules really were as strict as those introduced in the Netherlands by Apostool, then it is strange that Tétar cannot be found in either book. To find out how Tétar managed to copy the *Sistine Madonna* without being included in the copyist books or books of license holders, the rules that applied at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister will be consulted. After all, Tétar mainly copied in the Netherlands but had to adapt to the rules in place in Germany.

The rules of copying at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

The Main State Archive Dresden is in possession of the book *General Directorate of the Royal Collections of Art and Science*, which contains information about copying artworks at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in the part "The Gallery Commission and the Copying of Paintings."⁷⁸ In this book, a printed regulation on the rules for copying the paintings at the Gemäldegalerie from February 1, 1856, has been preserved.⁷⁹ Since Paul began copying the

⁷⁵ Oostdijk, "Kunst en kopie – het werk van Paul Tétar van Elven," 24.

⁷⁵ Reinders in *Die Sixtinische Madonna - Rafaels Kultbild wird 500*, 268.

⁷⁶ Henning and Schmidt, *Die Sixtinische Madonna - Rafaels Kultbild wird 500*, 26.

⁷⁷ Reinders in *Die Sixtinische Madonna - Rafaels Kultbild wird 500*, 268.

⁷⁸ "Die Galeriekommission sowie das Kopieren von Gemälden" in *Generaldirektion der Königlichen Sammlungen für Kunst und Wissenschaft*.

⁷⁹ Ibid., file no. 240, sheet 7.

Sistine Madonna five years later; those rules still applied to him. These rules were established since copying was so common at the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, and a museum visit had to be as comfortable as possible for everyone. The regulations are introduced with the following text:

“To avoid the many disadvantages and disturbances that have arisen from the all too frequent copying of the paintings in the Royal Picture Gallery, partly for the visitors of the same [the gallery], partly for the gallery officials, in order to ensure that the gallery can also be used for artistic purposes in the future, without disturbing the visitors of the gallery, as well as the communication in the same [the gallery], at the same time taking into account the localities of the new museum, the following is hereby stipulated with the highest permission.”⁸⁰

It is striking that the rules, thirteen in total spread over four pages, are almost similar to those drawn up by Apostool in the Netherlands. However, the regulations from the Gemäldegalerie will show that the rules in force in Germany were sometimes even stricter than those in the Netherlands. Some of the most essential rules from the *General Directorate of the Royal Collections of Art and Science* will be further discussed to find out in what context Paul Tétar made his copies and why he cannot be traced in the copyist books and applications for permits.

First, copyists could not copy all year long at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister but were bound to specific months. The period for copying paintings at the Gemäldegalerie began on May 1 of each year and lasted until the end of September. The museum was open daily for copyists from 8 in the morning until 3 in the afternoon except for Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays on which the gallery was closed. Paul Tétar thus copied at the Gemäldegalerie sometime between early May and late September, which can be verified by the letters Louise wrote after their trips to Germany since they are dated. Louise wrote a letter in 1862, the year Paul made his complete copy of the *Sistine Madonna*, which was dated exactly September 22. In this letter, she wrote that they had just returned from a trip that lasted six weeks, which means that Paul probably copied at the Gemäldegalerie during August and September of that year.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Ibid. Original text in German: “Zu Vermeidung der vielfachen Nachteile und Störungen, welche durch das allzuhäufige Copiren der Gemälde in der Königlichen Gemälde-Galerie, theils für die Besucher derselben, theils für die Galeriebeamten entstanden sind, wird, um auch für die Zukunft die Benutzung der Galerie zu künstlerischen Zwecken für Künstler, ohne Störung der Besucher der Galerie, sowie der Communication in derselben, möglich zu machen, zugleich in Berücksichtigung der Localitäten des neuen Museums, mit Allerhöchster Genehmigung Folgendes hiermit festgesetzt .”(Translated by the author in April 2022).

⁸¹ See note 32.

Next, there were twenty places available for German copyists at the museum and ten places for foreign artists. Paul Tétar was one of the ten foreign artists who managed to secure a position as a copyist at the Gemäldegalerie. Domestic or foreign artists who applied for copying at the museum had to submit a written application to the Gallery Director, indicating the painting they wished to copy. They had to submit it together with the documents from which their artistic qualification was to be judged unless they were exempted from doing this by the Gallery. The written applications and documents which showed the artistic capability had to be submitted at the latest by April 15 to obtain a place as a copyist. The permissions which the Gallery Director granted were valid only for the year in which they were given. However, interruptions during the copying of a painting were not tolerated. If the copyist had not worked on a copy for more than three days without sufficient excuse, the permission given to copy would be considered expired, and their spot would be given to someone else. It seems that the rules regarding the permissions were even stricter than in the Netherlands because, at the Rijksmuseum, a permit only expired if a copyist did not show up for two weeks.

After having secured a license to copy, there were also some specific rules associated with the copies themselves. The copies to be made in the gallery could not exceed a certain size and could only be four cubits high and four cubits wide, which is about 280 centimeters. Whether the museum staff checked whether a copy was distinguishable from the original - despite the dimensions being the same- is unknown. In rare cases, to be determined by the gallery director in coordination with the inspectors and restorers, paintings could be removed from the wall for copying. When certain paintings were removed from the wall, they were kept close to their original exhibition place. Each copyist had to bring their own chair and table; the museum inspector provided easels after having paid a fee. When the artists were copying, they would keep quiet and avoid noise through, for example, talking or walking, to not disturb the other visitors. In addition, it was important that a painting, even if it was being copied, had to be visible to regular visitors. In addition, touching or tracing the outlines of the original painting was strictly forbidden.

A special request for the Sistine Madonna

Four specific paintings mentioned in the regulations were not permitted to be copied, as they were so large or hung so high that scaffolding was required to copy them since it was not allowed to take those paintings down. These four paintings were: the *Sistine Madonna* by Raphael, the *Madonna* by Holbein, *The Tribute Money* by Titian, and *Saint Magdalene* by Correggio. To copy one of these four paintings, special permission had to be granted by His

Majesty the King. Such requests were only accepted from excellent artists. This may explain why Paul Tétar van Elven is not found in the Gemäldegalerie's copyist books and permit requests. Since he wanted to copy the *Sistine Madonna*, a painting excluded from the normal application process, he had to request permission from the king. The fact that Tétar managed to copy the masterpiece in three different years shows that he was seen as an excellent artist who was granted permission and could therefore do justice to the painting. However, the fact that so many artists were able to copy the *Sistine Madonna* does not necessarily mean that they all received permission from the king. Some artists worked with reproductions rather than copying the original painting at the museum. However, Paul Tétar certainly did copy at the Gemäldegalerie itself. When an artist wanted to copy a painting in its original format, special permission again had to be obtained from His Majesty the King. However, Paul Tétar did not have to do this since he adhered well to the applicable rules when looking at the dimensions of his copies after Raphael.

This regulation thus shows that the rules for copyists were strict at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Dresden and that, as with the regulations set up by Apostool, a permit had to be obtained, and the measurements of the copy were carefully checked to ensure the quality of the original work and the copies made after it. Through these regulations, it is also valuable to know that Paul Tétar was one of the lucky ones to be allowed to copy Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* after having asked permission from His Majesty the King. So this today relatively unknown nineteenth-century Delft artist made a good impression on His Majesty the King, allowing him to make no less than nine copies of Raphael's famous masterpiece.

Chapter 3: The history and iconography of the Sistine Madonna by Raphael: An appearance of the divine in the earthly world

The Sistine Madonna as one of the highlights of Raphael's oeuvre

The *Sistine Madonna* is one of the most famous paintings of the Renaissance (fig. 1).⁸² There are not many paintings to which an entire exhibition is solely devoted, but Raphael succeeded in this with his altarpiece. In 2012, an exhibition at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister was devoted entirely to this painting and the dozens of copies made of it.⁸³ The genius of the altarpiece was already recognized at the beginning of the sixteenth century when it was made by one of the most important Italian painters of the High Renaissance, Raffaello Sanzio. Pope Julius II commissioned the painting to tribute Pope Sixtus IV, his late uncle.⁸⁴ Raphael had already made a name for himself in his own time and spent most of his life working in Florence and Rome. Raphael had made about sixty other paintings before starting his *Sistine Madonna*. Raphael mostly made frescoes and oil and tempera paintings. His oeuvre mainly consists of Christian representations in which he depicted passages from the Bible or Biblical figures. In addition to the religious paintings, he often made portraits of prominent and lesser-known people. Raphael's works are generally calm, balanced, do not show intense emotions or grand gestures, and have bright colors.

The *Sistine Madonna* was not the first work Raphael commissioned for Pope Julius II, as he was appointed to paint the papal residence. Raphael painted the Stanza Della Segnatura as early as 1509 (including the famous fresco of *The School of Athens*) and the Stanza di Eliodoro from 1511 (with *The Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple* and *the Liberation of Peter*). Julius II was so impressed with Raphael's artistry that he would remain employed as an artist at the Vatican throughout his whole life. In addition to the representations Raphael painted for the rooms in the Vatican and the Apostolic Palace, he was already known in his own time for the various Madonnas he painted. Madonna and Child was an often depicted subject in the sixteenth century's religious art, so Raphael showed it in different ways and varied in the persons added to it. For example, he made paintings where he added a young John the Baptist or the beardless Joseph. Despite these variations, the Madonnas in his oeuvre are always clearly recognizable because of the iconography and the use of color that was not deviated from. The *Sistine Madonna* that Raphael commissioned for Pope Julius II in 1512 or

⁸² Henning and Schmidt, *Die Sixtinische Madonna - Rafaels Kultbild wird 500*, 23.

⁸³ Ormond, "The Sistine Madonna: Dresden," 595.

⁸⁴ Henning and Schmidt, *Die Sixtinische Madonna - Rafaels Kultbild wird 500*, 51.

1513 is distinct from the previous Madonnas that Raphael had produced, which also explains the artwork's popularity. The altarpiece was made to be eventually donated to the Benedictine monastery church of San Sisto in Piacenza in the North of Italy.⁸⁵ The *Sistine Madonna* is a painting containing much hidden symbolism that can only be discovered by studying the work in detail and considering the original location where the altarpiece was displayed.

The hidden symbolism of the Sistine Madonna

The original altarpiece shows at its center a Madonna dressed in traditional red undergarments and a blue cloak with Christ on her arm. She stands on the clouds and shows the viewer, whom she looks directly at, an apparition of the spiritual world.⁸⁶ The aureoles above their heads emphasize the sacred status of Mary, Christ, Sixtus, and Barbara. On either side of Mary and Christ are Saint Sixtus and Saint Barbara depicted, to whom the pilgrim church was initially dedicated since this church would have possession of their bones.⁸⁷ Saint Sixtus looks up at Mary and Christ as he makes a gesture with his right hand. This hand gesture can be interpreted in several ways. On the one hand, it looks like he's making a gesture to an invisible audience while he is talking, but on the other hand, it can also be a gesture by which he shows the way. Saint Sixtus, the 24th pope of the Roman Catholic Church, shows several elements that seem to refer to Pope Julius II. For example, Saint Sixtus wears a cope⁸⁸, a papal tiara is placed in the left corner of the balustrade, and the pope's face resembles Pope Julius II's (fig. 12). Saint Sixtus does not wear the papal tiara on his head, as that is probably a way of paying respect to the Holy Madonna, who is, along with her son Jesus, the holiest person in this company. This feeling is enhanced by the white light haze surrounding the sacred duo. The vestments of Saint Sixtus show the symbols of the papal family of the Della Rovere, which are leaves and acorns.⁸⁹ The symbols of the Rovere family again show that Saint Sixtus must designate Julius II, who was born Giuliano Della Rovere.

Saint Barbara, however, has bowed her head and looks down. Although Saint Barbara is not depicted with her usual attributes, such as a crown and a martyr's palm, Raphael still managed to clarify that this is the Christian saint and martyr Barbara of Nicomedia. Legend has it that Barbara of Nicomedia was locked in a tower by her father Dioscorus to protect her

⁸⁵ Europeana, "The Sistine Madonna."

⁸⁶ Henning and Schmidt, *Die Sixtinische Madonna - Rafaels Kultbild wird 500*, 24.

⁸⁷ Schwarz, *Visuelle Medien im christlichen Kult*, 207.

⁸⁸ A cope (or *cappa* in Latin) is a long mantle or cloak which is worn for liturgical activities.

⁸⁹ Sgarzini, *Raffaello. Ediz. Inglese*, 70.

from the outside world and deter romantic suitors.⁹⁰ The tower in which she was locked up had only three windows, and that tower is often used in her iconography.⁹¹ Raphael's painting shows the tower where Barbara was imprisoned, as it can be seen behind the virgin martyr on the right. However, only a tower with no windows can be seen, which is enough to identify Saint Barbara. The fact that Barbara does not, like Sixtus, look at the two saints does not immediately mean something bad. A bowed head can be interpreted as a gesture of humility and surrender.⁹² However, when Barbara's gaze is followed, it seems that she is looking at the two angels leaning on a balustrade, who later become world-famous in their own right. Raphael added these two angels at the very end of the painting process for the benefit of the composition.⁹³ The left angel leans his chin on his left hand and, like the right angel, looks up dreamily and somewhere also expectantly.

Due to the large size of the canvas, the figures in the altarpiece are life-sized and impressive. This altarpiece represents an epiphany, an appearance of the divine in the earthly world. The sacred scene seems to reveal itself to the viewer, with the green curtains hanging open, the balustrade, and the pope's tiara belonging to the earthly sphere and everything behind it belonging to the spiritual sphere. The spectator stands face to face with Mary and the Christ Child, who are surrounded by all sorts of angelic heads in the background, almost all of which have their heads turned towards the holy duo. It seems as if Mary had just descended on the clouds to show humanity her son, who was the long-awaited Messiah. Mary and Jesus both appear to be looking seriously ahead, and the process of creating this altarpiece revealed that Raphael made adjustments to intensify their gazes.⁹⁴ Their gazes reflect the future and the tragic end of little Jesus, and they seem to be looking earnestly before the death that lies ahead at the end of his earthly life and suffering.⁹⁵ Their serious looks were most likely enhanced by their original placement in the church of San Sisto for which the altarpiece was intended. The original placement of the altarpiece was probably opposite the crucifix, which brought Mary face to face with her son's impending death.⁹⁶ The two angels form as it were the connection between both spheres, by being part of the heavenly event but still leaning on the balustrade. The composition always features two people: Mary with the Christ Child, the two saints Sixtus and Barbara, and the two angels. The triangular arrangement used in the placement of the saints

⁹⁰ Hall, *Hall's Iconografisch handboek*, 36.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Schwarz, *Visuelle Medien im christlichen Kult*, 180.

⁹³ Google Arts & Culture, "The Sistine Madonna."

⁹⁴ Henning and Schmidt, *Die Sixtinische Madonna - Rafaels Kultbild wird 500*, 24.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

and the gazes of the various figures lead the viewer's eye to the center of the scene, which is the appearance of Mary and Christ. Also, the upward-looking putti ensure that the viewer's gaze is directed back upward.⁹⁷

Raphael's lover as a source of inspiration for the Virgin Mary

In addition to using Pope Julius II as an example for the face of Saint Sixtus, Raphael probably also drew inspiration from someone else for the Virgin Mary. Old masters often used their lovers, wife, or other family member as a model for the figures they painted.⁹⁸ Raphael fell in love with a baker's daughter, Margherita Luti, who would model for him and keep him company during his painting assignments.⁹⁹ Instead of Margherita Luti being Raphael's mistress, several clues in her portraits indicate that she was married to the Italian painter, such as a wedding ring which can be seen in a portrait Raphael made of her (fig. 13).¹⁰⁰ Later on, Margherita would be referred to as La Fornarina since the portrait Raphael made of her had the same name. However, whether Margherita Luti is the same woman as La Fornarina and the Sistine Madonna is uncertain. However, they do look alike, and it is evident by the manner and poses in which he portrayed her and by the bracelet showing Raphael's name that they had an intimate relationship with the woman.¹⁰¹ Margherita apparently kept Raphael company while painting the *Sistine Madonna*.¹⁰² Next to keeping Raphael company during this painting assignment, the facial features of the Virgin seem to show similarities to his beloved La Fornarina.¹⁰³

Tétar's interest in the sacred subject

As a supporter of Catholicism, Raphael often depicted Christian representations of Mary and Christ. But why, in addition to the great interest in the art market in copies of works of art such as the *Sistine Madonna*, did this depiction appeal to the Delft artist Paul Tétar van Elven? Tétar traveled to Germany three times with his wife to copy, among other things, this Christian scene in various ways, so it must have been an important painting for him. For much of his life, Paul Tétar van Elven was Roman Catholic, which population registers can

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Museum Paul Tétar van Elven, "De kunstenaar staat model. Negentiende-eeuwse ideeën over kunstenaars en kunstenaarschap in prent gebracht."

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ The Guardian, "Art sleuth uncovers clue to secret Raphael marriage."

¹⁰¹ Schneider, "Raphael's Personality," 10.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Beard, *30-Second Great Art: From Masaccio to Matisse, 50 Artworks That Changed the Way We See Things*, 38.

demonstrate. In addition to denomination, population registers in the nineteenth century kept information on residents about names, gender, date of birth, place of birth, marital status, profession, and housing. In the population register of Delft from the period 1815-1876, Paul was noted to be a Roman Catholic painter of art, so he had the same religious beliefs as the Italian Raphael (fig. 14). Therefore, it was probably the case that, in addition to the fact that Raphael's painting was one of the most famous paintings and sold a lot in the nineteenth century, the sacred subject appealed to Paul Tétar. This could be an explanation why Tétar kept the copies in his own possession to decorate his studio next to selling them. Interesting is that his wife Louise had a different religion from her husband. In the population registers, she noted 'Dutch Reformed' by denomination, which may have influenced Paul's change in religious beliefs later in life. Paul left the denomination box blank in a later population register that ran from 1876 to 1892 (fig. 15). So, it seems that Paul Tétar was no longer a follower of the Roman Catholic faith in later life. However, what his religious affiliation was from that time on is not known since Paul Tétar did not once record it in the population register. Now, after having more information about the original painting by Raphael and Paul Tétar's possible motives for copying it, it is time to focus on the (partial) copies and how Paul Tétar managed to deviate them from the original.

Chapter 4: The female influence of Paul Tétar van Elven's first wife Louise in the copy of the Sistine Madonna after Raphael

Paul Tétar's first wife, Louise Schmit, was very involved in her husband Paul's artistry and always accompanied him on his trips abroad, where he was much engaged in painting in museums. Louise Schmit was born in 1823 in The Hague as the fourth child of Carel Leendert Schmit, a commissary at the Ministry of the Interior, and Elisabeth Catharina Luning. Paul married Louise in 1853, but their marriage would remain childless. However, Paul had a niece, Marietje, who often visited him and Louise in the canal house on the Koornmarkt in Delft and whom he portrayed or used as a model for when he painted a child. Louise played the piano, and with Paul, who played the flute, was actively involved in the Delft society Toonkunst. Together they made many trips through Europe until her poor health made her more confined to home. When Louise's health deteriorated, Paul too decided to stay at home instead of making trips abroad. The fact that Louise was an essential woman in Paul's life is reflected in some of his paintings.

Louise as a model for Paul's paintings

Paul portrayed Louise several times, but her facial features can also be recognized in many of his other paintings (fig. 16). For example, Paul's painting, *The Orphan Girls*, depicts a company of young girls and ladies in a courtyard (fig. 17). The orphans do different things: from reading a book to playing with a doll. In this painting, Louise's face can be recognized in the faces of several figures, such as the young lady in the middle with the needle in her hand who looks straight at the viewer and the standing young lady with a ball of wool in her hands. Louise's features can be recognized even from the young lady walking behind the bench, whose face was sketchily painted by Paul. Paul has depicted children and young ladies in this painting, so he used Louise's face as a model for the group of young ladies. Louise can also be recognized in the doll that the girl on the right holds under her arm. It is a funny detail that she was even used as a model for a doll of the time. The clothing worn by the doll also bears similarities to how Louise was dressed when Paul portrayed her. In addition to Louise, his niece Marietje was probably used as a model by Paul when he had to depict children, but that is another whole new research topic that can still be further explored.

The other painting in which Louise is shown as a muse is the full copy of the *Sistine Madonna* (fig. 2). The face of Paul's Virgin Mary is different from the woman painted by Raphael, and his first wife Louise can be recognized in it. From the other copies that Paul Tétar

produced during his painting career, it appears that he was well able to copy faces in a manner similar to the original. Still, in this copy, Mary's face is different from the original. For example, the face of the original Madonna looks sweeter and more fragile than the more rigid face of his wife, Louise. In Tétar's copy, Louise appears to have more of a straight nose, which is different from Raphael's Madonna. In addition, Louise's ears are distinctive compared to the tiny ears painted by Raphael. These physical features make Tétar's Madonna different from Raphael's and are very characteristic of his wife, Louise. When Tétar's Madonna is placed next to a portrait of Louise, the similarities are apparent (fig. 18). The face of the Christ Child also looks different than in Raphael's version, with the way Paul paints the eyes being very typical. The eyes that Raphael painted are pretty dark, while the eyes that Paul painted are large, contain a lot of eye white, and seem to look piercingly at the viewer. Therefore, the face that Tétar painted looks more mature than Raphael's Christ Child.

Paul Tétar was such a skilled artist that he was quite capable of painting a face like Raphael's in a way that the facial features would match. For example, Paul also made a copy after Rembrandt van Rijn's *Night Watch*, admittedly at a much smaller size, but the details are amazing. The way he managed to paint all the details of the various officers and other gunners while also mastering the *clair-obscur*, in which Rembrandt was a master, says something about his painting skills. Of course, it is not an exact copy of the original, and there are some differences to point out. Still, visitors of Museum Paul Tétar van Elven continue to marvel that the now relatively unknown Delft artist Paul Tétar van Elven was able to produce such high-quality copies after artists such as Rembrandt, Potter, and Raphael, which shows what a skilled copyist he was. His expertise is also why he received permission from the king in Germany to copy the *Sistine Madonna* in the first place. Even in the twenty-first century, Tétar's artistry is recognized when, in 2012, his complete copy of the *Sistine Madonna* was picked up in Delft to be exhibited during the exhibition at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister on the 500th anniversary of the original altarpiece. When the face of the Virgin Mary in Tétar's full copy is studied, it is striking that it resembles the portrait of Louise and the multiple faces of the orphan girls in the courtyard. It is likely that Tétar did intend to keep the copy in his possession since he also produced plenty of paintings in which the figures were all depicted very faithfully rather than his wife being used as a model for the facial features of the female figures.

The similarity between Raphael and Tétar

In addition to the fact that the Christian theme most likely appealed to Paul as a former Roman Catholic painter, and that it was one of the most popular paintings to copy, he also, like

Raphael, used his wife as a model for the Virgin Mary. Just as Raphael used the face of Margherita Luti as a model for the Madonna, Paul Tétar van Elven used the facial features of his first wife Louise. It is unknown if Paul Tétar was aware that Raphael had also used his loved one as a muse for the Madonna, but remarkably Paul Tétar chose to do the same in his full copy. Even though the rules were so strict at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Dresden, Paul managed to make his modifications to Raphael's masterpiece. However, it is not certain whether Tétar made the complete painted copy at the museum, or whether he finished it later at home, so there was also no way for the museum to control what he adjusted. Then it would be possible that Paul painted the face at a later moment when he was together with Louise. However, having painted his wife's face so many times, he could most likely paint this from memory. It was not an exceptional case that Paul Tétar used his wife as his muse, as there were several artists in the nineteenth century next to Raphael who did the same, such as the French artists Paul Cézanne (1839-1906), Claude Monet (1840-1926) and Auguste Rodin (1840-1917).¹⁰⁴ Louise was the woman closest to Paul Tétar, so she could easily be used as a model by him for his paintings.

Tracing paper as a medium for Tétar's drawings of the Sistine Madonna

In addition to the final copies that Tétar produced of the *Sistine Madonna*, five drawings on tracing paper have been made by him.¹⁰⁵ These drawings provide insight into the making process of his copies and whether his wife can also be recognized in the drawings that were most likely made as studies prior to the paintings. Tétar made drawings of the two angels, of Madonna with Christ, and one of the four saints with the two angels. Especially the drawings of the Virgin Mary with her child show a progression in the facial features. Unfortunately, all these drawings are not dated, so it is not known in what year Tétar produced them. It is also important to say something about the choice of material used for the drawings. Paul Tétar used transparent tracing paper for his drawings, which copyists used to trace the outer lines of an artwork. Tétar's drawings on tracing paper are not detailed, show only the outer lines, and have no shading. In addition, they are not signed or dated, as they most likely served only to study the original work to make subsequent oil paintings. If it was a drawing on regular paper, it could be assumed that Tétar made these drawings at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister to study the original painting in outline form. He could have done this by sketchily copying Raphael's

¹⁰⁴ Butler, *Hidden in the shadow of the master: The Model-Wives of Cezanne, Monet, and Rodin*.

¹⁰⁵ This number is based on the drawings that are in possession of Museum Paul Tétar van Elven and thus belonged to the estate of Paul Tétar van Elven.

painting from scratch at the museum itself. However, why did he specifically use tracing paper as a medium? Since it has already been shown that Tétar most likely did not use graphic reproductions directly and most likely only used them for inspiration for his copies of the angels, the possibility that he copied over the lines of an engraving or lithograph is ruled out.

However, there is a possibility that Tétar chose to draw on tracing paper to use it as a design drawing for the painted copies. If that were the case, then Tétar would have transferred the outlines of the drawing to the primed canvas or panel where his final copies would be applied.¹⁰⁶ For this technique, charcoal was applied to the back of a sheet of paper, and this sheet was placed on a primed canvas or panel. Then, on tracing paper, the outline of the painting to be copied was drawn with a pencil or traced over, making the outlines visible with charcoal on the backing of the final painting.¹⁰⁷ The charcoal could be applied directly to the back of the tracing sheet on which the outlines were drawn, or an additional sheet was placed under the tracing sheet that was covered in charcoal. There is no charcoal on the backs of Tétar's drawings, so the outlines must have been applied using another sheet of charcoal that lay beneath the tracing sheet and the canvas, panel, or millboard. This was a convenient way to apply a sketchy outline for an eventual painting on canvas or panel. Tétar made six of the copies after the *Sistine Madonna* on canvas, two on panel and one on millboard. Although suggestions can only be made that are supported by arguments, it can be examined whether it would be plausible that these drawings served as design- or underdrawings for his final paintings by comparing the dimensions.

A design drawing for Tétar's full copy of the Sistine Madonna

Although the drawing of the entire company is unfortunately in poor condition due to tears, folds, and the missing of certain parts, these drawings provide valuable information about the work process of Tétar (fig. 19). Although the drawing is not very detailed, it seems to be very similar to the painting from the distance of the figures from each other to the creases in the robes. To see if Paul Tétar actually used this tracing drawing as a design drawing for his final copy, the transparent paper can be placed on top of the oil painting. After having carefully laid the drawing on top of the painting during a visit to the drawing depot of Museum Paul Tétar van Elven, it was immediately apparent that the outline of the drawing exactly matched the full copy that Tétar made: from the placement of the papal tiara to the details in Saint Barbara's robe (fig. 20). Therefore, Tétar's drawing of the entire company most likely served

¹⁰⁶ Dibbitts, Verslype and Wallert, "Paulus Potters "Herders met vee": Rijksmuseum versus Woburn Abbey," 75.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

as a design drawing for the painted copy he made. The various drawings on tracing paper show that there was a demand on Tétar's part to be able to trace the outlines of the *Sistine Madonna*. Some of the drawings do not match one of the paintings that stayed in his possession, which may mean that he had made more copies of the *Sistine Madonna* but chose to sell them instead of keeping them himself. After all, Obreen mentioned in the In Memoriam that Paul made money with the copies he made of famous paintings in Dresden.¹⁰⁸ Since the *Sistine Madonna* was a highly copied masterpiece by then, he most likely will have sold copies after Raphael as well.

The transformation of Mary and Christ in the drawings

In addition to the possible making process of the painted copies, the drawings provide insight into how Paul Tétar depicted the Virgin Mary compared to the oil painting in which Louise can be recognized. Today there are three drawings on transparent paper depicting Mary and Christ, and these three drawings show a clear progression. The least detailed drawing of the duo is the design drawing which shows the four saints together with the two angels (fig. 19). Only the outer lines are visible in this drawing and the faces are not detailed. All the wrinkles in Saint Barbara's robe are visible in this drawing, while Mary's robe is a blank surface. Next come two drawings that are much more detailed, one showing Mary and Christ as half-figures and the other showing more of Mary's robe.

What is striking about the half-figure is that Tétar demonstrates an actual ability to copy faces faithfully (fig. 21). In this case, despite being sketchily drawn, the faces of Mary and Christ are similar to those Raphael originally made. For example, the eyes of mother and child are the same as Raphael had painted them, while Tétar chose completely different eyes for his painted copy. The way Tétar copied the faces of the other two saints in his painted copy shows that he could actually copy faithfully. Therefore, it was a conscious decision by Tétar to adapt the faces. The other more detailed drawing of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child shows that Paul Tétar wanted to put his own twist on the faces, although these faces again look different from how Raphael and Tétar painted them (fig. 22). What is striking about the faces as painted by Tétar in his final copy are the large eyes of the figures that look directly at the viewer. The eyes in the drawing, however, are much smaller. In conclusion, Tétar seems to have experimented with different facial features for the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child, where in the portrayal of the first, the face of his wife Louise was used as a model, which was not

¹⁰⁸ See note 38.

remarkable since he did so more often in the paintings in his oeuvre. In addition to the adjustments Tétar made to the holy duo, he also chose to depict Raphael's two famous angels in a different setting.

Chapter 5: The partial copies of the Sistine Madonna by Paul Tétar van Elven and the change of setting: Raphael's angels on clouds as a form of marketing

Nowadays, almost everyone is familiar with Raphael's world-famous angels, although probably not everyone associates the two angels with Raphael's *Sistine Madonna*. Instead, the two angels are recognized by the various merchandise based on them. The meaning behind the dreamily gazes of the two cherubs and their actual function in this heavenly company has been studied by art historians for many years. Some art historians say that the cherubs have an innocent gaze, while others recognize the putti as two impish children planning to do something naughty.¹⁰⁹ The two angels look differently from each other. They both look up, but their gazes are not focused on the same point. Saint Barbara's downward gaze causes the viewer to notice the two putti, but attention is then directed back to the holy company above by the upward-looking angels. The left angel has curly hair, only one wing is visible, and he leans with his chin on his left hand. Despite speaking in the "he" form, it is however not sure what gender the two angels are. The left angel raises himself slightly higher than the right angel, who leans on the balustrade with his arms crossed. As early as 1803, the two cherubs were first copied separately from the rest of the painting, and from then on it was done very often.

During an exhibition in Weimar in 1804, people probably saw partial copies next to copies of the entire painting for the first time.¹¹⁰ These partial copies showed only one of the figures instead of the whole company. In addition to the two adorable angels being depicted together by art painters, many artists also chose to represent them separately. Paul Tétar van Elven made four copies in which the two angels are depicted independently of each other. Tétar made two oil paintings on panel and two on canvas. In addition, it is interesting to note that Paul Tétar also made drawings on tracing paper of the *Sistine Angels*. But what is it about these two little angels that made them so attractive that they were portrayed separately from the rest of the holy company?

Eliciting sentimental feelings

It is said about the two angels that the spectators get a sentimental feeling from them and that, for that reason, they are often chosen as the subject of partial copies.¹¹¹ This sentimental feeling they create is enhanced when separated from the other figures.¹¹² When the

¹⁰⁹ Emison, "Raphael's Dresden Cherubs," 242-243.

¹¹⁰ Baeumerth, *Die Engel der Sixtina: Eine deutsche Karriere*, 30.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

two angels are shown separately, the original meaning behind the altarpiece falls away, namely the Madonna and Child.¹¹³ All that is left then are two cute-looking angels looking up dreamily. When the angels were shown in the original context, the saints above them were the main focus of their skyward gaze.¹¹⁴ Without the presence of these saints, the dreamy upward glances of the angels can be interpreted in different ways by the audience, such as sentimentality, wisdom, or thoughtfulness, which is the result of their popularity.¹¹⁵

The growing popularity of the two angels on clouds

A copying culture developed around the beginning of the nineteenth century in which partial copies of the angels were being made. The two angels were already painted separately, just like Paul Tétar did in 1862. In Germany, an artist who made partial copies of the cherubs at the beginning of the nineteenth century was Johann Julius August von der Embde (1780-1862). This interest in depicting the two cherubs soon spread to the Netherlands as well, where, among others, noblewoman Elisabeth Kemper already made a drawing of them together in 1823. In addition to taking the angels out of their original context and painting them as partial copies, an interest in changing the setting in which the angels find themselves also developed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The two angels were depicted not leaning on a balustrade, as Raphael had done initially, but instead leaning on the clouds in the nineteenth century partial copies. It is notable that this change of setting occurred only in the partial copies and not when the whole composition was displayed. This was also the case with Paul Tétar, who depicted only the angels on the clouds in his partial copies. In a tracing drawing of the two cherubs, Tétar seems to be experimenting with changing the setting (fig. 23). In this drawing, the two angels are drawn above each other instead of side by side. At the right elbow of the upper angel (originally the right angel in the composition) part of a cloud is drawn. So here, Tétar had the idea of letting the angel lean on the clouds instead of copying the original balustrade. The use of clouds instead of a balustrade can be linked to the dreamy gazes of the two and therefore contributes to the sentimental feeling that the two angels evoke.

Louise's letter of 1862 confirms that Paul Tétar made the two partial copies of the angels leaning on the clouds at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Dresden.¹¹⁶ This raises questions about the artistic freedom at the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in the 1860s. In

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ See note 32.

addition to managing to make adjustments to the face of the Virgin Mary, Tétar also made adjustments to the setting in which the angels were located. At the time, it must have been no problem for Paul Tétar to depict the angels leaning on the clouds instead of on the original balustrade. However, the extent to which the copyists were controlled by museum staff remains to be seen. In addition, it is not certain whether copyists made these alterations already at the museum itself or not.

Whatever the case was, it is not very remarkable that museums favored copyists who chose to make partial copies rather than just complete copies. The first advantage of partial copies is that they are ready sooner than complete copies. This is nice for the artist to copy parts of paintings in a short time, but also for the museum itself since the artist does not occupy a space in front of the artwork to be copied for as long as usual.¹¹⁷ For buyers of copies, partial copies were also an excellent option to have the favorite part from a painting without having to purchase the full copy.¹¹⁸ Finally, a specific part of a painting became more interesting precisely by separating it from the rest, as happened with the angels of the *Sistine Madonna*.¹¹⁹ By separating a particular part of a painting from its original context, there is much more freedom to interpret it.

The change of setting was so much in favor that postcards were even printed at the beginning of the twentieth century with the two cherubs leaning on the clouds.¹²⁰ Today there is all kinds of merchandising for sale worldwide showing Raphael's original angels, or the very popular angels on clouds by a copyist: from teacups to phone cases. There even was an exhibition at Museum Paul Tétar van Elven about the copies of the angels and the various items which include them. In addition to artists such as Paul Tétar van Elven making partial copies of, for example, the two angels, some aspects from Raphael's original altarpiece were also adopted by other nineteenth-century artists in their paintings. For example, the classical balustrade and curtain in the corner were two popular elements, as they were for the Amsterdam portraitist Thérèse Schwartz (1851-1918). Schwartz made a portrait of *The Six Daughters Boissevain* in 1916, adopting these two elements used by Raphael in his altarpiece (fig. 24). In addition to incorporating these decorative elements into the portrait, Schwartz also took advantage of the popularity of Raphael's angels by depicting the youngest daughter similarly to the right-hand angel: with her arms leaning on the railing and her chin resting on her hands.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 32.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Henning and Schmidt, *Die Sixtinische Madonna - Rafaels Kultbild wird 500*, 297-298.

Instead of the girl looking away as the angel does, she looks straight at the viewer. However, this does not make for a less adorable image.

All in all, it appears that Raphael's angels were loved by nineteenth-century artists. By taking the angels out of their original context and using them as the subjects for partial copies, their gazes can be interpreted differently by the spectators. Some artists strived to copy the two angels as faithfully as possible, while Paul Tétar van Elven joined the trend of depicting the angels on clouds, which contributes to the sentimental feeling viewers get from them. In contrast, the artist Thérèse Schwartz incorporated Raphael's curtain, balustrade, and angel into a portrait but translated it into modern times. Nineteenth-century artists therefore each copied the world-famous altarpiece and the two angels by Raphael in their own way. The popularity of the two angels continues, given that there are several items on sale nowadays at Museum Paul Tétar van Elven's store that feature the sentimental looks of the angels. Or do they look thoughtful after all?

Conclusion

This research has provided further insight into the copying culture and artistic freedom of copyists in the nineteenth century using the (partial) copies of the *Sistine Madonna* created by the nineteenth-century Delft artist Paul Tétar van Elven after Raphael as a case study. The present research showed that not much research had yet been done specifically on the copies of the *Sistine Madonna* by Paul Tétar van Elven and that certain elements, such as the drawn copies, had remained unexposed in the existing literature until now. The context in which Paul Tétar van Elven added his own touches to his (partial) copies of the *Sistine Madonna* after Raphael has been analyzed. The case study has been approached from different angles. The first chapter gave more insight into the (financial and aesthetic) value and status of copies in the nineteenth century, which looked at the role of copies for the Academy, museum and workshop. The second chapter looked at the rules which applied to copying works of art in the nineteenth century, where special attention was paid to the rules that applied in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, where the original painting is exhibited. The third chapter discussed the history and iconography of the *Sistine Madonna*. The fourth chapter analyzed the drawn and painted copies by Tétar, while other paintings were used as comparative material to demonstrate the influence of Tétar's wife Louise. The last chapter focused on the partial copies of the two angels and the change from a balustrade to clouds as a setting.

For this research, it was special that many primary sources could be used, such as Louise's letters, Obreen's In Memoriam, and the copyist books and regulations of museums. Since Tétar felt out of place in the city of Delft as an artist, he often went abroad with his wife to copy to his heart's content. Louise's letters and Obreen's text, even though nothing else has been documented about the financial returns from Paul's copies in the nineteenth century, indicate that he did sell some of his copies. Tétar was well aware of the importance of copying, which unfortunately fell into decline during the nineteenth century with the rise of modern art and photography. Still, Tétar stuck to the classical way of painting and continued to make copies throughout his career, although he did make some adjustments to his copies of the *Sistine Madonna*.

Various museums in the Netherlands and abroad used rules for copying. In the Netherlands, Cornelis Apostool came up with some regulations in 1817 that would ensure that the quality of museums and the original paintings on which copies were based would be guaranteed. These rules that applied in museums were written down in regulations, and the artists who wanted to copy a work of art had to get permission for it. To ensure that the copies

that were made were of good quality, the skill of artistry of the copyists was assessed so that not just anyone could make a copy. Specific rules also applied to the copies that were made. The license was confiscated when a rule was broken, or a copyist did not show up to work on the copy for too long. It was notable that Paul Tétar's name was not found in the books of requests for copies and licenses from 1860 to 1870 and registers of copy licenses from 1847 to 1871 of the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, where he copied Raphael's masterpiece in 1861, 1862, and 1865. However, the book *General Directorate of the Royal Collections of Art and Science*, which contains information about copying artworks in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, showed that large paintings such as Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* were not to be copied but that a special request had to be made to the king. It is important to note that the king allowed only very talented artists to copy such a painting, which says something about how Paul Tétar's artistry was already appreciated in his own time. Thus, Paul Tétar's request to copy the *Sistine Madonna* most likely went through the king and not the museum itself, making it untraceable through the museum. In addition to Louise's letters proving that Paul Tétar copied at the Gemäldegalerie itself, the bright colors in Tétar's copy also confirm this since the varnish of the *Sistine Madonna* by Raphael was lightened in 1856, and these colors are reflected in Tétar's copy.

The *Sistine Madonna* originally was an altarpiece Raphael commissioned for Pope Julius II to donate to the Benedictine monastery church of San Sisto in Piacenza in the North of Italy. The sacred subject most likely appealed to the Roman Catholic painter Paul Tétar van Elven next to the fact that it was one of the most famous paintings of his time. The Biblical representation shows an apparition of the spiritual world and contains much symbolism. The gazes of Mary and Christ have been much debated, but since the altarpiece in its original placement was opposite a crucifix, their gazes seem to reflect the future and the tragic end of Christ. In addition to having used the facial features of Pope Julius II for the portrayal of Saint Sixtus, it seems that Raphael used his lover Margherita Luti as inspiration for the face of the Virgin Mary. Should this indeed be the case, then Paul Tétar and Raphael both painted the faces of their loved ones.

Louise was more often used as a model by Paul when he needed to paint women in his paintings. In the *Sistine Madonna*, Louise's facial features are recognizable in the Virgin Mary. The lines of a tracing drawing were found to exactly match the complete copy Tétar made of the *Sistine Madonna*. Therefore, it is likely that Tétar used the tracing drawing as a design drawing for his final painted copy. Although Paul certainly copied at the Gemäldegalerie itself, it is questionable whether he already painted Louise's face there on the spot or did so at a later

time. There is also a possibility that the copyists did not fully complete their copies at the museum, so the museum had no control over their adjustments. In addition to copyists who made authentic reproductions in the nineteenth century, Tétar made an inventive copy of the *Sistine Madonna* by giving it a personal twist. Making an inventive copy rather than an authentic reproduction appears to have been an ignored subject in the nineteenth-century regulations of the Rijksmuseum and Gemäldegalerie.

Next to using Louise's face for the depiction of the Virgin Mary, Tétar placed the two angels in a different setting in his partial copies. From the nineteenth century onward, there was a trend to depict the two angels, together or separately, leaning on clouds instead of on a balustrade. Paul Tétar chose to follow this trend for his partial copies of the cherubs. There has been much research into why exactly the two angels are such a popular subject to depict as partial copies. It has been found that when the angels are taken out of their original context, where they look up to the saints above them, their dreamy gazes can be interpreted in different ways by the viewer. The interest in this free interpretation caused copyists to start making partial copies of the angels rather than complete copies, which museums and buyers of copies were happy to encourage.

The fact that many primary sources could be used for this research that have never been dealt with before in this context made it possible to make new discoveries, such as the rules that applied in the Gemäldegalerie in Tétar's time and the fact that an application had to be made to the king for copying the *Sistine Madonna*. There were also limitations to the research, as the financial returns from Paul Tétar's copies could not be proven, and as it was uncertain whether Tétar completed his copies at the museum itself. The only two sources that do show that Tétar made money from his copies are Louise's letter, in which she wrote that a copy sold reimbursed their travel expenses to Dresden, and Obreen's In Memoriam, which specifically mentions that Tétar made money from the copies he created in Dresden. Although it is certain that Tétar copied at the Gemäldegalerie itself, only assumptions can be made about how he managed to make the (partial) copies differ from the original. For future research, it would be interesting to perform infrared radiation on Tétar's painted copies of the *Sistine Madonna*, so that perhaps more can be revealed about his working methods and the possible use of underdrawings.

Even though Tétar, at a time when copies were in decline, stuck to the classical way of painting, he also adapted to the changing appreciation of copies, which involved innovation and an original rather than an exact copy. Although many artists in the nineteenth century chose to depict the two cherubs leaning on clouds in partial copies, and Paul Tétar was therefore not

a forerunner in this, he did give his own twist to Mary in the complete copy by using his own wife as his muse. As modest as Louise was in her letters, she had suddenly become the subject of one of the most famous paintings of the Renaissance. Where Raphael immortalized his beloved Margherita Luti in an artistic masterpiece, the Delft-based Paul Tétar van Elven used his wife's facial features for one of the most important saints. It is impressive that the entire copy collection owned by Tétar has been preserved to this day at Museum Paul Tétar van Elven, where visitors can admire the nine copies after Raphael. Even though Paul Tétar felt lost as an artist in a city that revolved around butter merchants and mechanics, by bequeathing his canal house as a museum, he made the city of Delft culturally richer with, among other things, his innovative copy of the *Sistine Madonna*.



Fig. 1. Raphael, *The Sistine Madonna*, 1512/1513, oil on canvas, 265,5 x 201 cm, (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister).



Fig. 2. Paul Tétar van Elven, *The Sistine Madonna*, 1862, oil on canvas, 54 x 40 cm, (Delft, Museum Paul Tétar van Elven).



Fig. 3. Pieter van Loon, *Painting session at the Louvre*, 1840, pen and ink on paper, measurements unknown, (Amsterdam, Museum van Loon).

Boven Voorzaak. Zitting van 7 Januarij 1852				
1.	Meelinger Rembrandt 21 Januarij			
2.	Cooyvanger G. J. van Tukken			
Boven achter Zalen.				
1	Tietar & Hrn Potter 21 Januarij	Hrn F. J. B. L. 21 Januarij	Schenck P. de Sloot 21 Januarij	
2	Gordkind H. van Velde fragn 21 Jan	Bosch Van Does 21 Jan		
3	Verhuur Verboom 21 Januarij			
4	Siberg Muller 21 Januarij	Scheerboom Potter 21 Januarij		
Beneden Zaal.				
	Meenink Van der Helst 21 Januarij	de Jong Willems 21 Januarij	Van Maas fragn 21 Januarij	Schenck Van Dijk 21 Januarij
	Overbaas Rembrandt 21 Januarij	Loman Van der Helst		Orgel Rembrandt 21 Februarij

Fig. 4. Page from "Aanteekeningen van Kopieërenden en opgaaf van Bezoekers", 1852, (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Archive).



Fig. 5. Prof. Abraham F. Gips, a section of the ceiling painting in the salon of Museum Paul Tétar van Elven dedicated to Raphael, 1886, (Delft: Museum Paul Tétar van Elven).

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Fig. 6. Copyist card from the Rijksmuseum with an excerpt from the *Rules of the Copyists*, 1939, (Den Bosch, Letter archive A. van de Laar).

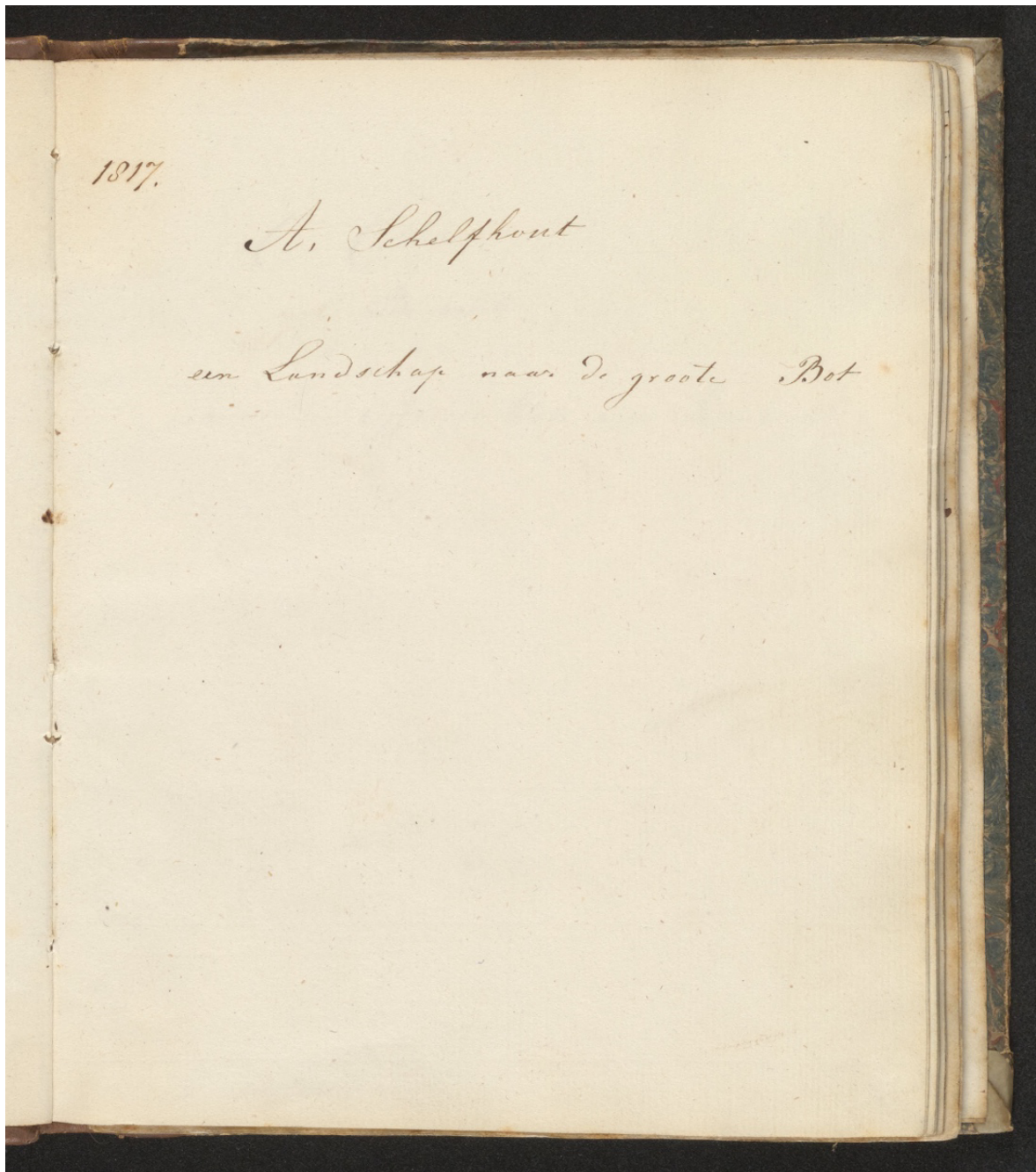


Fig. 7. Page from a copyist book (1817-1840) at the Royal Cabinet of Paintings, (The Hague, The Mauritshuis).

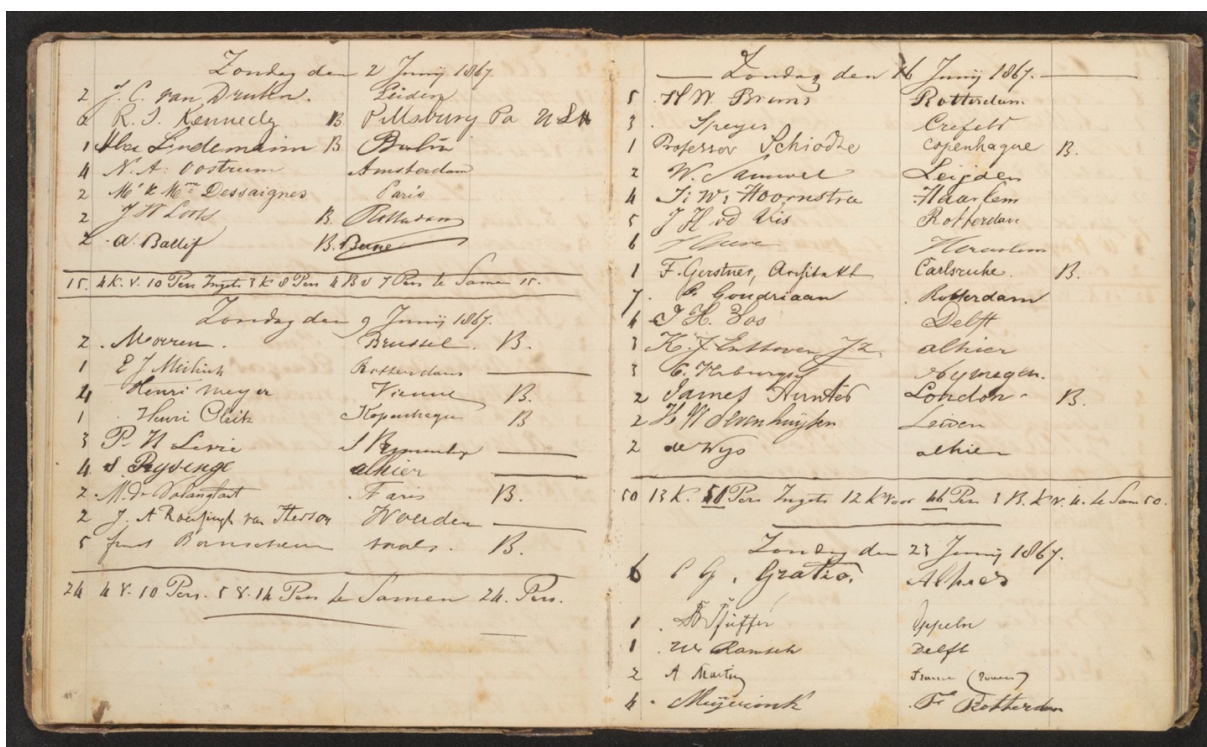


Fig. 8. Pages from a copyist book (1866-1868) at the Royal Cabinet of Paintings, (The Hague, The Mauritshuis).

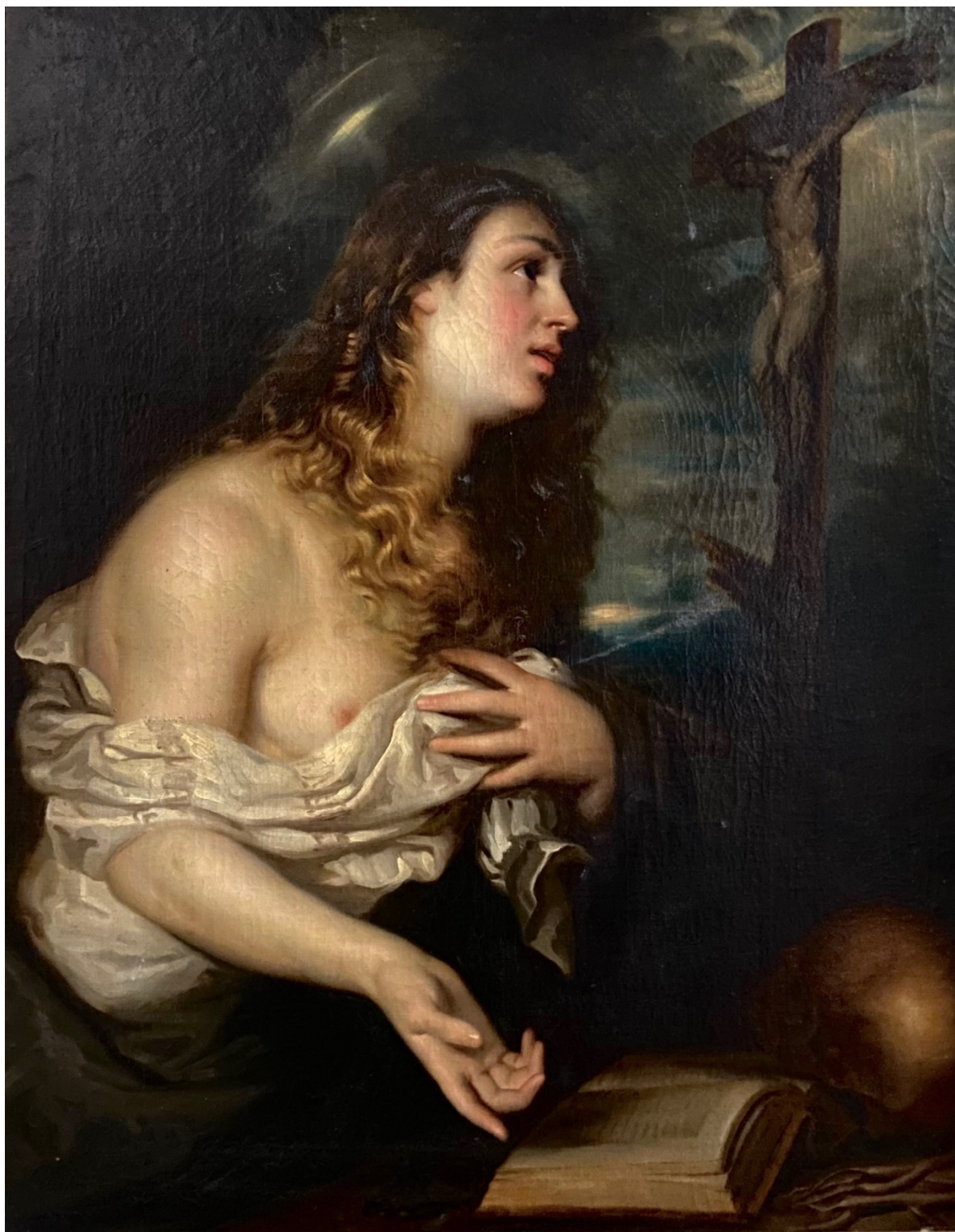


Fig. 9. Paul Tétar van Elven after Mateo Cerezo, *The Penitent Mary Magdalen*, date unknown, oil on canvas, 104 x 83,5 cm, (Delft, Museum Paul Tétar van Elven).



Fig. 10. Left: Paul Tétar van Elven after Raphael, *Angel (detail of the Sistine Madonna)*, 1862, oil on canvas, 53,0 x 53,5 cm, (Delft, Museum Paul Tétar van Elven). Right: Paul Tétar van Elven after Raphael, *Angel (detail of the Sistine Madonna)*, 1862, oil on canvas, 53,5 x 53,8 cm, (Delft, Museum Paul Tétar van Elven).



Fig. 11. Paul Tétar van Elven after Raphael, *Mary (detail of the Sistine Madonna)*, 1861, oil on millboard, 33,0 x 20,5 cm, (Delft, Museum Paul Tétar van Elven).



Fig. 12. Left: Raphael, *Portrait of Pope Julius II*, 1511, oil on poplar wood, 108,7 x 81 cm, (London, National Gallery). Right: Raphael, detail of the *Sistine Madonna* (fig. 1).

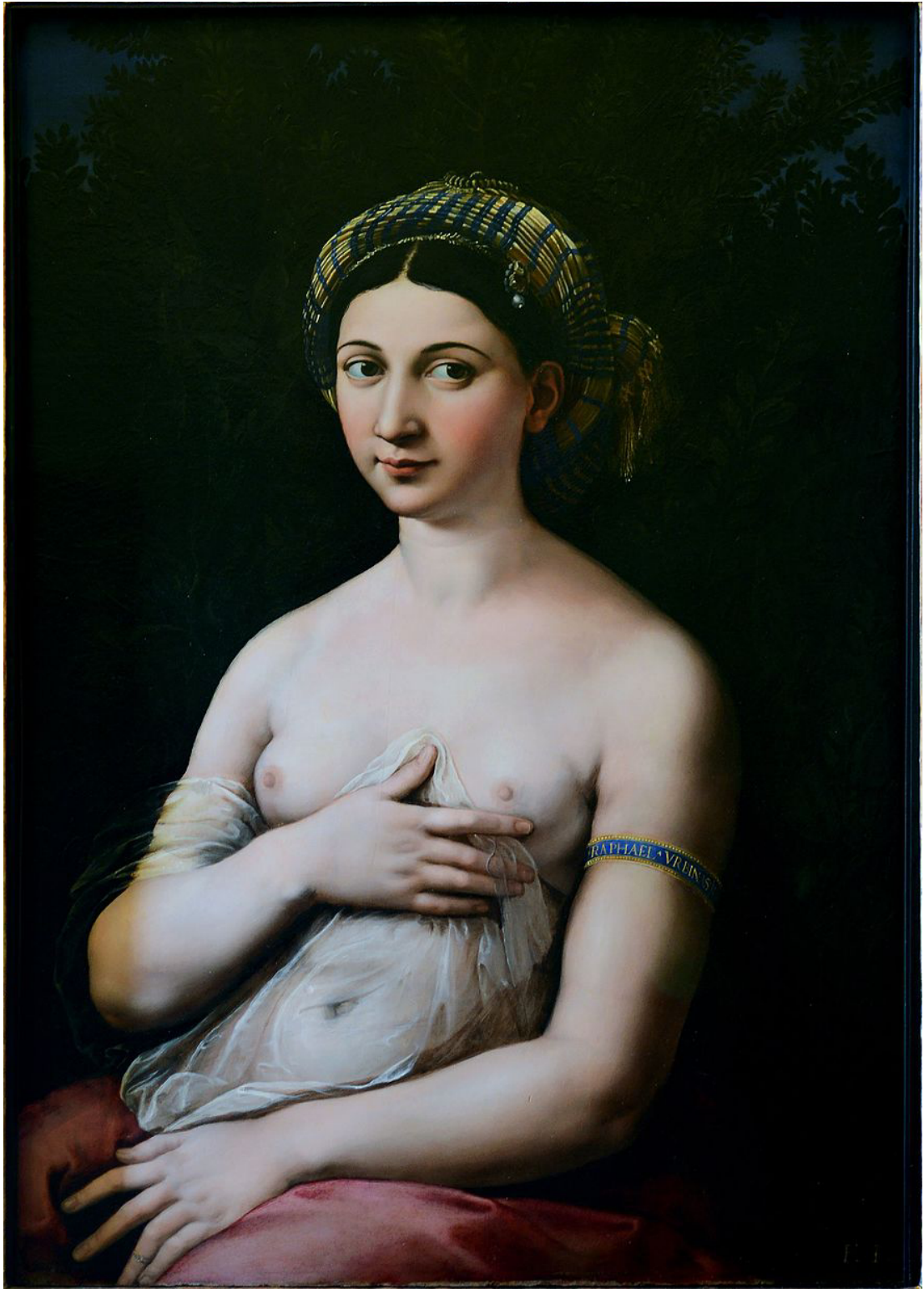


Fig. 13. Raphael, *The Portrait of a Young Woman* (also known as *La Fornarina*), 1518/1519, oil on wood, 85 x 60 cm, (Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica).

Volgnummer.	Dag- teekening en Jaar der Inschrijving.	FAMILIENAAM. (Familiennaam der vrouw.)	VOORNAMEN. (Voluit geschreven.)	M. (manneljk.) V. (vrouweljk.) Geslacht	Betrekking van elken per- soon tot het hoofd van het huizezin. (Niet in te vullen voor afzon- derlijk levende.)	Dag- teekening en Jaar der Geboorte.	Geboorteplaats. (Met aanwijzing der provincie voor inboorlingen, van het land voor vreemdelingen.)	Burgerlijke staat. H. (gehuwd.) W. (weduwenstaat.) S. (gescheiden van echt.)	Tijdens de Inschrijving.	Veranderingen en hare Dagteekening.	Kerk- genootschap. (Elk bepaald op te geven.)	Ambt, Hoofdberoep of Beroep, waarvoor men het hoogst is aangeslagen. (Elke soort bepaald aan- duiden; voor gepaten- teerden in overeenstem- ming met het patent.)
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	
		<i>Willems (Kloof)</i>	<i>Henricus L. Pieter</i>	<i>M.</i>	<i>Hoofd</i>	<i>16 Juny 1810</i>	<i>Delft</i>	<i>W</i>			<i>St.</i>	<i>Geestl.</i>
		<i>Bitterveld</i>	<i>Anna Maria Thoma</i>	<i>V.</i>	<i>Woon</i>	<i>17 Juny 1812</i>	<i>Amsterdam</i>				<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>
		<i>Stuyf</i>	<i>Petrus</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>18 Juny 1812</i>	<i>Delft</i>				<i>"</i>	<i>Woonst.</i>
		<i>Burg</i>	<i>Anna Maria</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>18 Juny 1812</i>	<i>"</i>				<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>
		<i>De Heer van Elven</i>	<i>Paul Constanten</i>	<i>M.</i>	<i>Hoofd</i>	<i>13 Juny 1812</i>	<i>Antwerpen</i>	<i>H</i>			<i>St.</i>	<i>Woonst.</i>
		<i>Schmit</i>	<i>Levina Catharina</i>	<i>V.</i>	<i>Woon</i>	<i>25 Juny 1812</i>	<i>Stuyt</i>	<i>H</i>			<i>St.</i>	<i>"</i>
		<i>Jan sen</i>	<i>Jacoba</i>	<i>V.</i>	<i>Woon</i>	<i>11 Dec 1810</i>	<i>Delft</i>	<i>O</i>			<i>St.</i>	<i>"</i>

Fig. 14. Detail of a page from the population register of Delft from the period 1815-1876,
(Stadsarchief, Delft).

Volgnummer der huizen van het wijk.	Volgnummer.	Dag- teekening en Jaar der Inschrij- ving.	FAMILIENAAM. (Familiennaam der vrouw.)	VOORNAMEN. (Voluit geschreven.)	M. (manne- lijk.) V. (vrouw- lijk.)	Betrekking van elken per- soon tot het hoofd van het huizezin. (Niet in te vullen voor afzonderlijke gezinnen.)	Dag- teekening en Jaar der Geboorte.	Geboorteplaats. (Met aanwijzing der provincie voor in- boorlingen, van het land voor vreemde- lingen.)	Burgerlijke staat. H. (gehuwd.) W. (weduwenstaat.) S. (gescheiden van echt.)	Tijdens de Inschrijving.	Veranderingen en hare Dagtekening.	Kerk- genoot- schap. (Elk be- paald op te geven.)	Ambt, Hoofdberoep of Beroep, waarvoor men het hoogst is aangeslagen. (Elke soort bepaald aan- duiden; voor gepaten- teerden in overeenstem- ming met het patent.)
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.		
421			De Heer van Elven	Paul Constanten Gerritsz	M.	Hoofd	1851	Delft	H.			—	Leeraar bij de Nat. School
			Schmit	Levina Catharina Gerritsz	V.	Woon	25 Juny 1852	Stuyt	H.			—	
			Jansen	Jacoba	V.	Woon	11 Dec 1850	Delft	H.			—	
			De Heer van Elven	Paul Constanten Gerritsz	M.	Hoofd	1851	Delft	H.			—	

Fig. 15. Detail of a page from the population register of Delft from the period 1876 to 1892,
(Stadsarchief, Delft).



Fig. 16. Paul Tétar van Elven, *Portrait of Louise*, date unknown, oil on canvas, 82,5 x 66,5 cm, (Delft, Museum Paul Tétar van Elven).



Fig. 17. Paul Tétar van Elven, *The Orphan Girls*, 1852, oil on canvas, 33,5 x 41,5 cm, (Delft, Museum Paul Tétar van Elven).



Fig. 18. Left: Paul Tétar van Elven, detail of *Portrait of Louise* (fig. 16). Right: Paul Tétar van Elven after Raphael, detail of the *Sistine Madonna* (fig. 2).



Fig. 19. Paul Tétar van Elven after Raphael, drawing of the *Sistine Madonna*, date unknown, pencil on tracing paper, 45,2 x 39,5 cm, (Delft, Museum Paul Tétar van Elven).



Fig. 20. Paul Tétar van Elven after Raphael, drawing of the *Sistine Madonna*, date unknown, pencil on tracing paper, 45,2 x 39,5 cm, (Delft, Museum Paul Tétar van Elven). Placed on top of the painted copy of the *Sistine Madonna* by Paul Tétar van Elven (fig. 2).



Fig. 21. Left: Raphael, detail of the *Sistine Madonna* (fig. 1). Right: Paul Tétar van Elven after Raphael, drawing of the *Sistine Madonna* (detail of Mary and Christ), date unknown, pencil on tracing paper, 31 x 17 cm, (Delft, Museum Paul Tétar van Elven).



Fig. 22. Left: Paul Tétar van Elven after Raphael, detail of the *Sistine Madonna* (fig. 2). Middle: Paul Tétar van Elven after Raphael, drawing of the *Sistine Madonna* (detail of Mary and Christ), date unknown, pencil on tracing paper, 50 x 25 cm, (Delft, Museum Paul Tétar van Elven). Right: Raphael, detail of the *Sistine Madonna* (fig. 1).



Fig. 23. Paul Tétar van Elven after Raphael, drawing of the *Sistine Madonna* (detail of the putti), date unknown, pencil on tracing paper, 49,5 x 36,4 cm, (Delft, Museum Paul Tétar van Elven).



Fig. 24. Thérèse Schwartze, *The six daughters Boissevain*, 1916, oil on canvas, 130,5 × 146 cm, (Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum).

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Fig. 1. Downloaded on 04-02-2022,

<https://gemaeldegalerie.skd.museum/en/exhibitions/gemaeldegalerie-alte-meister-old-masters-picture-gallery-and-skulpturensammlung-sculpture-collection-up-to-1800/>

Fig. 2. Downloaded on 04-02-2022,

<https://museumtijdschrift.nl/artspot/museum-paul-tetar-van-elven/>

Fig. 3. Downloaded on 18-02-2022,

<https://www.museumvanloon.nl/programma/archief/116>

Fig. 4. Image from “Aanteekeningen van Kopieërenden en opgaaf van Bezoekers.”

Fig. 5. Photographed by the author on 03-06-2022 at Museum Paul Tétar van Elven.

Fig. 6. Image from the article “Kopiëren in het Rijksmuseum: De kopieën van kunstschilder / restaurateur Arnold van de Laar (1886-1974),” 31.

Fig. 7. Scan made by Daphne Martens on 23-03-2022.

Fig. 8. Scan made by Daphne Martens on 23-03-2022.

Fig. 9. Photographed by the author on 25-05-2022 at Museum Paul Tétar van Elven.

Fig. 10. Left: Photographed by the author on 20-05-2022 at Museum Paul Tétar van Elven.

Right: Downloaded on 22-05-2022,

https://www.tripadvisor.nl/Attraction_Review-g188626-d319484-Reviews-or40-Museum_Paul_Tetar_van_Elven-Delft_South_Holland_Province.html#/media-attraction/319484/311886957:p/?albumid=-160&type=0&category=-160

Fig. 11. Photographed by the author on 25-05-2022 at Museum Paul Tétar van Elven.

Fig. 12. Left: Downloaded on 19-03-2022,

<https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/raphael-pope-julius-ii>.

Right: See fig. 1.

Fig. 13. Downloaded on 20-03-2022,

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:La_Fornarina_by_Raffaello.jpg

Fig. 14. Downloaded on 20-03-2022,

https://zoeken.stadsarchiefdelft.nl/detail.php?nav_id=62&index=2&imgid=62315527&id=130777611

Fig. 15. Downloaded on 20-03-2022,

https://zoeken.stadsarchiefdelft.nl/detail.php?nav_id=12&id=29290324&index=0

Fig. 16. Image from the book *Kleinood aan een Delftse gracht*, 10.

Fig. 17. Photographed by the author on 28-02-2022 at Museum Paul Tétar van Elven.

Fig. 18. Left: See fig. 16. Right: See fig. 2.

Fig. 19. Photographed by Lies van Zwieteren on 02-05-2022 at Museum Paul Tétar van Elven.

Fig. 20. Photographed by the author on 25-05-2022 at Museum Paul Tétar van Elven.

Fig. 21. Left: See fig. 1. Right: Photographed by Lies van Zwieteren on 02-05-2022 at Museum Paul Tétar van Elven.

Fig. 22. Left: See fig. 2. Middle: Photographed by Lies van Zwieteren on 02-05-2022 at Museum Paul Tétar van Elven. Right: See fig. 1.

Fig. 23. Photographed by Lies van Zwieteren on 02-05-2022 at Museum Paul Tétar van Elven.

Fig. 24. Downloaded on 25-05-2022,

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:De_zes_dochter_van_Boissevain_door_Thérèse_Schwartz_\(1916\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:De_zes_dochter_van_Boissevain_door_Thérèse_Schwartz_(1916).jpg)

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