

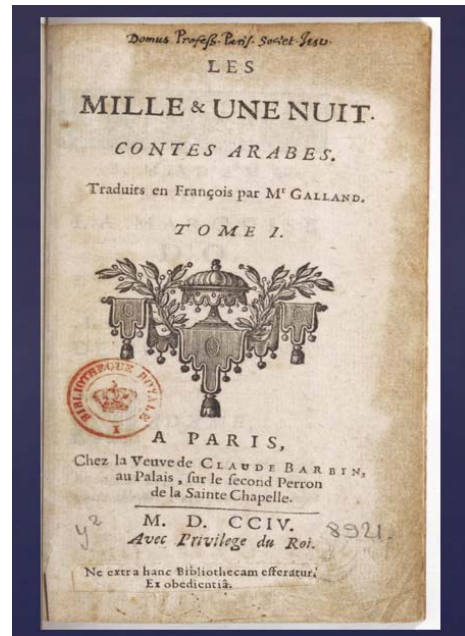
# The 1001 Nights in the 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Dutch Republic

{ Arnoud Vrolijk – MELCom International,  
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## The 1001 *Nights* in the Eighteenth-Century Dutch Republic

Arnoud Vrolijk

[Slide 2] It is almost impossible to say anything new about the history of the *Arabian Nights* or *Alf layla wa-layla*, perhaps the best known secular text in the world. Hundreds, if not thousands, of scholars have shed their light on the Arabic text and its first European translator, the French num`ismatist and `antiquary Antoine Galland. I needn't tell you that Galland's French translation, published from 1704 onwards by the widow Barbin in Paris, gained instant popularity at the court of Louis XIV and elsewhere in Europe.



And yet it is possible to bring new information to light, if only you change the focus a bit. Last year Dr Richard van Leeuwen of the University of Amsterdam, a well-known expert of the *Nights* and an old friend of mine, asked me if I would join him in a new project on the history of the *Nights* in the Netherlands. He would deal with the role of

the *Nights* in the Dutch Republic of Letters and Galland's correspondence with Dutch scholars; I would delve into the bibliographic history of the *Nights* in the Netherlands, or to be more precise, the history of the French and Dutch translations or retranslations which appeared in the Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century. In this presentation I will give you the first results of my own contribution to this project.



Manuscripts from Aleppo

[Slide 3] Before moving on to the history of the printed editions in the Netherlands, I will briefly touch on one Arabic manuscript at Leiden. It is a set of five volumes in a neat oriental hand and bound in European leather in the Islamic style (call number Or. 1251 and Or. 1292a-d). It contains a number of stories which have become associated with the *Nights*, such as 'Anis al-Jalis', 'The Ten Viziers', 'Basim the Blacksmith' and others. You may imagine my astonishment when, during my research on this manuscript, I received an email from a Cambridge PhD student, Mr Luca Koronli. He asked me if I knew anything about a certain story in the very same manuscript, and he told me about the existence of a similar manuscript in the John Rylands Library in Manchester. After a lively exchange of emails and scans it was possible to establish that the Leiden manuscript was written in the same hand as the Manchester manuscript, and that both hailed from the eighteenth-century Scottish physician and naturalist Patrick Russell (1726–1805), who lived in Aleppo and worked for the English Levant Company. It is all but certain that Russell sent this manuscript from Aleppo to

the Leiden professor Jan Jacob Schultens (1716–1778). Without the help of a Scottish doctor in Aleppo, this manuscript would never have made it to Leiden, and without Mr Koronli's generous help I would never have known about its true provenance and the existence of its sister manuscript in Manchester.

### *The Dutch Republic*

But enough of the manuscripts. The rest of my presentation will be devoted to the editions of the *Nights* in the Dutch Republic, both in French and in Dutch: how they fared in Europe, and the network of translators, printers, booksellers, scholars, dilettanti and book collectors.



[Slide 4] During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Dutch Republic was highly susceptible to the literary fashions of France. The use of French was widespread among the cultural élite, and

this influence was reflected accordingly in the number of local French editions, or Dutch translations for those who did not know French well enough, but were eager to keep abreast of cultural developments. The Dutch book trade was well organised and influential throughout Europe, and during the heyday of the Enlightenment many French authors took recourse to the 'libraires de Hollande' to avoid the censorship of the Ancien Régime. Many Dutch publishers were of French Huguenot extraction, which greatly facilitated communications. This cultural exchange also included Orientalist works, though never as a dominant current. Among these I will only mention the *Lettres Persanes* by Montesquieu (1689–1755), which was first published in Amsterdam in 1721, although – to make things even more complicated – the work bore the fictitious

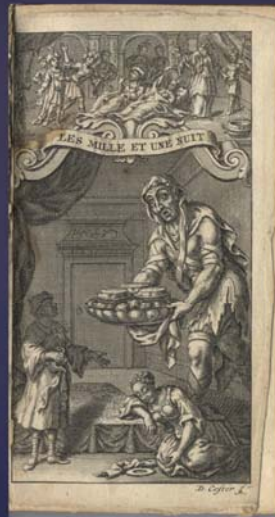
imprint 'Cologne, by Pierre Marteau'.<sup>1</sup> Voltaire's tragedy *Le fanatisme: ou Mahomet, le prophète* was first performed in Lille in 1741, but the first edition was printed in Amsterdam in 1743.

*The Dutch Editions of the Thousand and one Nights*



*Les mille et une nuit(s)*. La Haye: chez Pierre Husson, 1705-

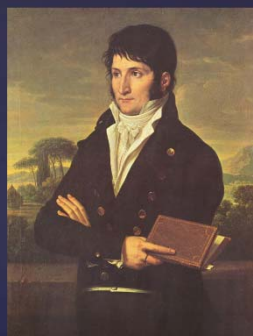
[Slide 5] In view of the cultural climate in the Dutch Republic, it is hardly surprising that from 1705 onwards a Dutch pirate edition of the *Mille et une nuit* followed on the heels of the original Paris edition under the same title, 'suivant la copie de Paris' in the same format and the same number of volumes (12), and invariably announced as 'revûë & corrigée'. It even repeated the royal *approbation*. The publisher was Pierre or Pieter Husson (1678–1733), of French Huguenot descent, who lived in The Hague.<sup>2</sup> After his death in 1733 his work was continued by his son Jean Martin (1706–1749), and when he died by the latter's widow, Maria Korsendonk. The Husson editions were printed and reprinted at least seven times between 1705 and 1761, a reliable witness of the unabated enthusiasm for the text in the eighteenth century.



David Coster (1680-1752)

[Slide 6] The original Paris edition contains no illustrations, but the Husson editions are enlivened with various attractive frontispieces, designed by David Coster. Coster, a prolific engraver, was born in The Hague around 1680 and died there in 1752. His work has been characterised as ‘without much artistic merit’,<sup>3</sup> but on more than one occasion the French scholar Margaret Sironval has devoted attention to the iconography of Coster’s plates, stressing the fact that they are the first depictions ever of the stories of the *Nights*. His illustrations include not only the famous bedchamber scene in the frame story of Scheherazade, and her sister Dinarzade and Sultan Schahriar, but also the story of Aladdin, and of Prince Ahmed, the Fairy Peribanou and her brother the dwarf Schaïbar.<sup>4</sup>

*Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino*



Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino

[Slide 7] The Leiden copy, a mix of Husson editions, entered the library as late as 1931. One bookplate of a previous owner attracted my attention: it is a crowned coat-of-arms, a draped ermine mantle and the

inscription 'Ex Bibliotheca Principis Canini'. This Prince of Canini is Lucien Bonaparte (1775–1840), a younger brother of the French Emperor Napoleon. During and after the Napoleonic Wars he lived on his estates in Italy. In ever greater need of ready money to finance the rehabilitation of the Bonaparte family by King Louis-Philippe, he sold off parts of his collection of books and antique vases. In 1839 a book auction took place in Rotterdam.<sup>5</sup> There, the Leiden copy of Galland's *Nights* fetched a price of six guilders, but we do not know who bought it.<sup>6</sup> The image of Lucien Bonaparte, by the way, was given to me gratis by the curator of the Museo Napoleonico in Rome.

This celebrity factor is interesting, of course, but it also means that the *Nights* from The Hague found its way abroad. At the same time one may note that no public library in France possesses a Dutch edition of the *Nights*, so there were limits to its dissemination, so to say. But it did go to many other places instead, for example Great Britain.

### *To England*



*Arabian Nights Entertainments, London 1706-*

[Slide 8] From 1706 onwards the first English retranslation from the French was published in London. This so-called 'Grub Street edition' is entitled *Arabian Nights Entertainments: Consisting of One Thousand and One Stories*, a title which has stuck ever since. The frontispiece shows a somewhat simplified version of the first

bedchamber scene, originally engraved by David Coster for the Husson edition, which had come on the market the previous year in 1705.<sup>7</sup> It is therefore obvious that the English retranslation was based on the Hague edition,<sup>8</sup> but curiously, one also finds claims to the opposite.<sup>9</sup>

### *Wetstein & fils*



Leiden: Wetstein, 1768

[Slide 9] Likewise, the Dutch *Nights* were exported to Germany. In 1768 yet another edition of Galland's French text was published in the Dutch Republic – this time in Leiden by Jacobus Wetstein and Son, who were of German origin. They used the original plates of the

Husson editions, but erased the name of the engraver David Coster wherever possible.

Copies of the 1768 edition survive in German public collections at Berlin, Emden, Jena and Weimar, and it would seem that the publishers intended it almost exclusively for export to Germany. It is known that the firm of Wetstein attended the Buchmesse at Leipzig and they may even have had a branch office there.<sup>10</sup>

### *Goethe and the Wetstein edition*

The copy of the Wetstein edition that is kept in the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek in Weimar has an interesting provenance, for it was once perused by the 'Olympian' Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832). It has been claimed that the *Nights* were 'a faithful companion' (ein treuer Begleiter) throughout his long life, which permeated Goethe's entire literary work, correspondence and diaries.<sup>11</sup> Yet he never personally owned a copy of Galland's French translation. Instead, he borrowed the 1768 Leiden edition from the Weimar library, of which he was director from 1797 onwards.<sup>12</sup>

Dr Christoph Rauch from the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin helped me obtain scans from the title pages, and Dr Stefan Höppner, project leader of the *Goethe Bibliothek Online* at the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, generously shared his knowledge with me.

*An edition NOT from Amsterdam'*



[Slide 10] Finally, and this is a curious story indeed, Galland's complete text appeared as volumes 7-11 of *Le cabinet des fées*, a comprehensive edition of French fairytales in 37 volumes, collected by the Chevalier Charles-Joseph de Mayer (1751–1825).<sup>13</sup>

This new edition of the *Nights* was published in 1785–1786 with an imprint reading 'A Amsterdam, et se trouve à Paris, rue et Hôtel Serpente'. Each volume is illustrated with three exquisite line-engravings designed by Clément-Pierre Marillier (1740–1808). The official permission to print, the *approbation et privilège du roi*, is conspicuously missing, as would only be normal in a foreign publication. Nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that any of these volumes were either printed or published in Amsterdam. The Paris address in the rue Serpente is that of the bookseller Gaspard-Joseph Cuchet (c.1750–1833).<sup>14</sup> And to remove all remaining doubts, the colophon of the same volume mentions the name of the Paris printer Claude (II) Simon, whose shop was in the rue St.-Jacques.<sup>15</sup> Why this easily detectable subterfuge? Scholars



have asserted that the publisher used a false imprint to boost his sales, simply by creating the suggestion of a forbidden book.

Nevertheless, there is still a link between the *Cabinet des fées* and the true pirate editions from The Hague: two illustrations by Marillier are inspired by the work of David Coster, of Aladdin and Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Peribanou.

### *The Dutch Version of the Nights*

As a preliminary conclusion it must nevertheless be noted that the existence of several French-language editions of Galland's *Nights* from the Dutch Republic does not necessarily imply a deeply rooted interest among local readers, even if we take into consideration that the Dutch élite was well-versed in French. Publishers such as the Hussons and the Wetsteins essentially worked for an international market.<sup>16</sup>

Therefore, the actual popularity of the *Nights* in the Dutch Republic can much better be assessed with the help of a Dutch version, which would only have been of interest to local readers.



*De duizent en eene nacht.* Amsterdam: Pieter Aldewereldt, 1738

[Slide 11] The oldest copy of a Dutch retranslation of Galland's *Mille et une nuit* extant in the Netherlands is *De Duizent en eene Nacht, Arabische vertellingen*, published in 1738 by the Amsterdam bookseller Pieter Aldewereldt.<sup>17</sup> The translator signed his work

with his initials 'G.D.F.', and his true identity shall be discussed in a few moments. Aldewerelt ran his business from a shop on the corner of Keizersgracht and Wolvenstraat. He became a member of the booksellers' guild in 1728 and was active until his death in 1739.<sup>18</sup> His business was continued by his widow. Unfortunately, no complete set of this edition survives: Amsterdam University Library (UBA) holds only the first two parts in one volume.<sup>19</sup> Yet from an advertisement in the Dutch press we know that this translation actually consisted of eight parts, all printed in the same year 1738.<sup>20</sup>

Apart from the author's name, another mysterious element in the 1738 edition is a clumsily hand-coloured frontispiece.<sup>21</sup> It is obviously a copy of David Coster's frontispiece for the later Husson editions of the French text.<sup>22</sup> It mentions Hendrik Bosch, Amsterdam, as the publisher rather than Aldewerelt. This suggests, of course, that a copper plate had been used from an earlier edition.<sup>23</sup>

#### *Hendrik Bosch and Gillis Knotter*



*De duysent en eene nacht. Amsterdam/Leiden, 1719-*

[Slide 12] In 2015 our further inquiries have indeed revealed the existence of an earlier Dutch translation, a duodecimo co-edition by Hendrik Bosch, Amsterdam, and Gillis Knotter, Leiden, which was printed between 1719 and 1725. The only surviving copy is preserved in the library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, U.S.A.<sup>24</sup>

Here, too, we find the same frontispiece as the one that was later to be used for the 1738 edition. The library staff at Urbana-Champaign kindly helped us with information and scans.

*Gilbert de Flines ('G.D.F.')*



'G.D.F': Gilbert de Flines (Amsterdam 1690 – London 1739)

[Slide 13] As already noted, both in the 1719 and 1738 Dutch editions the translator identified himself only by his initials 'G.D.F.'. He was in all probability Gilbert de Flines, a silk merchant from Amsterdam.<sup>25</sup> He was born on 19 February 1690 as the son of Philips (1640–1700) and his second wife Agatha Steyn (1661–1697), the daughter of a Haarlem burgomaster.<sup>26</sup> His father was not only an enormously wealthy silk manufacturer and merchant, but also an art collector and amateur botanist. The painter Gerard de Lairesse (1640–1711) made a sketch of him as a young man amidst his collection of paintings, books, drawings and statuary.<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, we do not possess Gilbert's likeness.

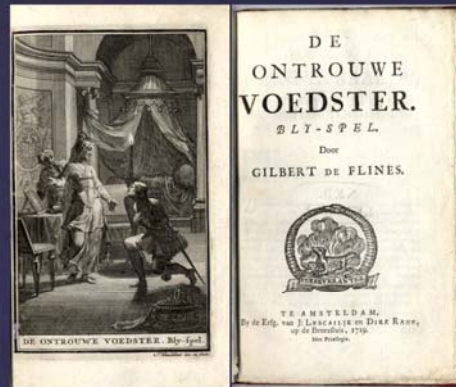
Gilbert grew up in an inspiring home full of art and books, but his mother died when he was only a boy of seven, and the death of his father in 1700 left him an orphan at the age of ten. It is not known where he spent the rest of his childhood. As a young man, he established himself as a merchant in the Doelenstraat, Amsterdam, and engaged in the import of raw and woven silk from Asia and the export of silks all over the world.

In 1711, at the age of 21, he married Susanna Elisabeth du Pree, also of French extraction. Unfortunately, his bride died in childbirth three years later, leaving him with a one-year-old daughter who would survive into adulthood, Agatha Maria (1713–1745).



'The Royall Exchange of London' in Cornhill (1720)

**[Slide 14]** In 1719 Gilbert de Flines established himself in London like many other merchants from Amsterdam. Operating from London, they had access to the British colonial trade. More important, however, was his role as a correspondent or agent for wealthy Dutch investors who bought up a large portion of the British national debt. In 1720 he obtained British citizenship and was appointed attorney. In 1736 he lived in Angel Court, Throgmorton Street, only a stone's throw from the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, where he conducted most of his business. In his 1720 survey of London, John Styrpe described Angel Court as 'very large and handsome, garnished with good Buildings, the Habitation of Merchants, and People of Repute'.<sup>28</sup> He never remarried, but had a relationship with a certain Mary Williams-Hayes, whose house was in George Street or York Buildings, Strand, a respectable but not very grand address. He also had natural children with her. In the last years of his life he bought the freehold of a property in Bromley-by-Bow, Middlesex, but its size, actual location or value are not known. He died on 14 February 1739, leaving his home in the country to his common-law wife, and was buried in the Dutch Reformed church in Austin Friars, in the centre of the financial district. His gravestone was destroyed during a Nazi air raid in the Second World War.<sup>29</sup>



Other works by Gilbert de Flines

[Slide 15] But what would explain his personal interest in the *Mille et une nuit*? De Flines was exposed to the same fashion of French literature in the oriental style as the rest of his countrymen. In this respect, however, it should be observed that Gilbert's father Philips was a prominent member of the amateur literary society *Nil Volentibus Arduum* ('Nothing is Arduous for the Ambitious', founded in 1669. This society sought to improve the deplorable tastes of the Dutch public by promoting French Classicist drama and by publishing correct translations into Dutch of the best French plays together with a commentary.<sup>30</sup> That Gilbert saw a role for himself in this field is shown by his other, admittedly modest literary achievements besides his retranslation of the *Nights*. In 1711, the year of his marriage at the age of 21, he published a slim volume of poetry in Dutch, based on an eminent example from Classical Antiquity: *Bygedichten op zinnebeelden, getrokken uit Q. Horatius Flaccus*, ('Accompanying poems to the emblems drawn from Q[uintus] Horatius Flaccus', Amsterdam 1711). Perhaps out of modesty, Gilbert de Flines published this little *travail de jeunesse* under his initials G.D.F. The posthumous second edition Amsterdam 1797, however, bears his full name, which greatly helped to identify De Flines as the Dutch translator of the *Nights*. In August 1719, the year of his departure for London and also of the printing of the first part of his retranslation of the *Nights*, he published a comedy in Dutch under his full name which was actually performed, *De ontrouwe voedster* ('The Unfaithful Governess'), a rhymed theatrical adaptation of the French novel *Le diable boiteux* by Alain-René Lesage (1668–1747), in which virtue eventually triumphs over immorality.<sup>31</sup>

In his private life, Gilbert de Flines witnessed several tragical incidents which no doubt left a mark on him. As already said, he was orphaned in 1700 when he was only ten years old.<sup>32</sup> The fact that his young wife died after only three years of marriage may also have caused him to believe in the fickleness of life which is so aptly expressed in the *Nights*. Or perhaps the young widower found solace in the translation of Galland's fantastic tales. In any case, his new life as a merchant and financier in London from 1719 onwards, and the exigencies of family life with his new partner Mary and children must have prevented him from ever publishing anything in the sphere of *belles lettres* again.

### *Steven van Esveldt*



Amsterdam, Steven van Esveldt: 1744, 1755, 1770, c.1775

[Slide 16] But the story of Gilbert de Flines's translation does not end with his death. It enjoyed a steady popularity until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and after Pieter Aldewerelt's edition of 1738 it was reissued several times in 1742, 1755, 1770 and circa 1775. Not all of these editions have come down to us, however, and in some cases their existence can only be reconstructed with the help of advertisements in Dutch newspapers.

The last four editions were published by the Amsterdam bookseller Steven van Esveldt (active 1735–1776). Unfortunately, Van Esveldt did not mention either 'G.D.F.'

or Gilbert de Flines as the translator of the first eight parts, and his name was consequently forgotten.

For his later editions of the *Nights* Van Esveldt chose a modernised version of the multi-image frontispiece that Husson had once used, and which had also enhanced the Dutch retranslations of Bosch and Knotter (1719) and Aldewerelt (1738). This new engraving was made by Gerard Sibelius, who was born in Amsterdam in 1734, moved to London around 1770 and died there in 1785.<sup>33</sup> The bedchamber scene in the centre is basically the same, but the perspective is from the right, and Dinarzade sports a wimple. The surrounding pictures are the same as in the earlier engravings, but in a different order. The late Baroque architectural frame, however, has given way to a border of Rococo swags, scallops and acanthi.

This was the last edition by Van Esveldt, and also the last of the retranslations of Gilbert de Flines, the remarkable merchant and *homme de lettres*.

### *Conclusion*



[Slide 17] In conclusion, I can only say that what struck me most in the history of the Dutch *Nights* is the irrelevance of national boundaries. Patrick Russell, a Scotsman, sent a manuscript from Aleppo to the orientalist Jan Jacob Schultens. Galland's text

was published in the Netherlands, but by a bookseller of French Protestant descent, and it was retranslated by a rich merchant from the same background, who sought his fortune in London. Dutch editions of the French text were destined for an international market. A brother of Napoleon Bonaparte had one in his library in Italy. They were used for an English retranslation, and in Germany Goethe let himself be inspired by an edition from Leiden.

In the course of my research I have received the unconditional help of so many colleagues from all parts of the world, and I'm not afraid to admit that without their help I could never have done it. This irrelevance of national boundaries, both in the past and the present, and the spirit of cooperation, are exactly what I admire in Melcom International, and I am confident that it will endure, irrespective of political obstacles. Thank you.



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<sup>1</sup> *De Persiaansche spion, of Persiaansche brieven* ('The Persian Spy, or, Persian Letters'), Amsterdam: L. Foubert, 1736.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Mille et une nuit. Contes arabes*. Traduits en François par Mr. Galland, de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions & Médailles. 3<sup>e</sup> Edition, revûe & corrigée. Suivant la copie de Paris. A La Haye, Chez Pierre Husson, Marchand Libraire, au coin du Capel brug, 1705–....., description based on pt. 3 of UBL MRIJKE 1566; J.A. Gruys & C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus 1473–1800: Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkoopers met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1989), p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> 'Zonder veel kunstwaarde', Kossmann 1937, pp. 80–81; F.G. Waller, *Biographisch woordenboek van Noord Nederlandsche graveurs*, bewerkt door W.R. Juynboll, 's-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1938, p.69; [www.rkd.nl](http://www.rkd.nl).

<sup>4</sup> M. Sironval, *Album Mille et Une Nuits: Iconographie choisie et commentée*. Paris: Gallimard, 2005. (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade; 44), pp. 48–52, 82, 134–135; eadem, 'The Image of Sheherazade in French and English Editions of the Thousand and One *Nights* (Eighteenth–Nineteenth Centuries)', in Y. Yamanaka and T. Nishio (eds), *The Arabian Nights and Orientalism: Perspectives from East & West*, London etc.: I.B. Tauris, 2006, pp. 219–244, here 230–232.

<sup>5</sup> Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, appears to have been in Rotterdam and The Hague in July/August 1839, possibly to arrange the sale. See Fleuriot de Langle, *Alexandrine Lucien-Bonaparte, Princesse de Canino (1778–1855)*. Paris: Plon, [1939], p. 235 n.

<sup>6</sup> *Catalogus van eene fraaije verzameling boeken, behoorende aan Hare Excellentie de Prinses van Canino* [...], Rotterdam: Wed. Locke & Zoon, 1839, p. 21, No. 227 [KB, KW Verz Cat 4656:1], online via Google Books, accessed 11 Dec 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Chauvin 1892–1922, 4, pp. 70–71, Nos. \*185 A–F; MacDonald 1932, pp. 405–411.

<sup>8</sup> Sironval 2006, pp. 225, 230–230.

<sup>9</sup> Chauvin 1892–1922, 4, p. 27, No. \*21 K; K. Kobayashi, 'The Evolution of the Arabian *Nights* Illustrations: An Art Historical Review', in Y. Yamanaka & T. Nishio (eds), *The Arabian Nights and Orientalism: Perspectives from East and West*, London [etc.]: I.B. Tauris, 2006, pp. 171–193, here pp. 171–173.

<sup>10</sup> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek, Emden; Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena; Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar.

<sup>11</sup> For a detailed analysis of this influence see K. Mommsen, *Goethe und 1001 Nacht*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960.

<sup>12</sup> Currently the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar. See Mommsen 1960, pp. 320–321; E. von Keudell and W. Deetjen, *Goethe als Benutzer der Weimarer Bibliothek: Ein Verzeichnis der von ihm entliehenen Werke*. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1931, nos. 487, 530, 832,

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1510. We gratefully acknowledge the kind help of Dr. Stefan Höppner, project leader of the Goethe Bibliothek Online (<https://lhwei.gbv.de/DB=2.5/>). The Weimar copy of the 1768 Leiden edition was previously in the collection of Goethe's predecessor as librarian, Christian-Friedrich Schnauss (1722–1797). The two were friends and it is possible that before 1797 Goethe borrowed the book from Schnauss personally, but this remains unattested.

<sup>13</sup> Copies in the Library of the University of Amsterdam, OTM: O 76-23-59 and in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, 184 G: 1.

<sup>14</sup> F. Barbier, S. Juratic & A. Mellerio, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et gens du livre à Paris, 1701–1789*, I: A–C, Genève: Droz, 2007, pp. 587–590.

<sup>15</sup> A.M. Lottin, *Catalogue chronologique des libraires, et des libraires-imprimeurs de Paris [...]*, Paris: Lottin, 1789, repr. Amsterdam: Grüner, 1969, pp. 158–159.

<sup>16</sup> According to the *Catalogue Sudoc*, <http://www.sudoc.abes.fr>, accessed November 2016.

<sup>17</sup> Mateboer 1996, No. 316; Gruys & De Wolf, *Thesaurus*, 1989, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Van Eeghen 1960–1978, V, 340.

<sup>19</sup> UBA shelfmark OTM: OK 63-4409, available via <https://books.google.nl>, accessed 3 November 2016.

<sup>20</sup> *Amsterdamse Donderdaegse Courant*, 16 October 1738, No. 124, p. [2] bottom. Accessed via [www.delpher.nl](http://www.delpher.nl) on 25 October 2016. The price was three guilders and four stuivers, or eight stuivers per individual part.

<sup>21</sup> Waller 1938, p. 192; [www.rkd.nl](http://www.rkd.nl).

<sup>22</sup> For the names of Dutch engravers see the website of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RDK): [www.rkd.nl](http://www.rkd.nl).

<sup>23</sup> Buisman 1960, p. 296 nos. 1704-1707; see also Mateboer 1996, pp. 79-83; C. Dohmen, *In de schaduw van Scheherazade. Oosterse vertellingen in achttiende-eeuws Nederland*, Nijmegen: Vantilt, 200, p. 83; Gruys & De Wolf, *Thesaurus*, 1989, p. 20.

<sup>24</sup> Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, shelfmark 892.7 Ar1D1719, 8 parts in 2 vols, available via <http://www.library.illinois.edu/catalog/>. Selected scans of the book were kindly made available to us by Dennis Sears, whose help is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

<sup>25</sup> We are indebted to the help of Ernst-Jan Munnik of the Special Collections Services department of Leiden University Library, and Gwendolyn Verbraak of the Special Collection department of the library of the University of Amsterdam, who successfully searched their respective library databases for Gilbert de Flines on the basis of his initials. Also, the obsolete card catalogue of Leiden University Library turned out to contain a typed see-reference from G.D.F. to Gilbert de Flines. For various biographical sources on Gilbert de Flines see Biografisch Portaal van Nederland, online via <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/13459507>, accessed November 2016.

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<sup>26</sup> G. de Flines, 'De weduwe Jacob de Flines en Zoonen. Correspondentie uit de periode 1722–1729', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 77, 1985, pp. 89–106, here p. 93, online via [http://archieff.amstelodamum.nl/resources/1985\\_jb\\_77.pdf](http://archieff.amstelodamum.nl/resources/1985_jb_77.pdf), accessed 10 November 2016.

<sup>27</sup> The sketches by Gerard de Lairese of Philips de Flines in his study are in Leiden University Library, classmark PK-T-AW 4798, and in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, classmark RP-T-1913-15. The oil portrait of 1682, in which Philips de Flines wears a robe of Oriental silk, is in the Musuemslandschaft Hessen Kassel, inventory no. GK 461. There is an elaborate description of his art collection in a panegyric poem by Govert Bidloo, *Mengel Poëzy*, Leiden: Langerak, 1719, pp. 173–185.

<sup>28</sup> J. Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*. 2 vols, London: A. Churchill [etc.], 1720, online via <https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/strype/index.jsp>.

<sup>29</sup> A copy of his last will and testament of 8 July 1736, together with its codicil dated 27 March 1736 and probation by the Archbishop of Canterbury, are kept in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Inv. No. 1303/141; the same archive, Inv. No. 1303/142, contains negative transparencies of his gravestone. A facsimile of the coat-of-arms and inscription on this gravestone can be found in W.J.C. Moens, *The Marriage, Baptismal, and Burial Registers, 1571 to 1874, and Monumental Inscriptions, of the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars, London*, Lymington: [privately published], 1884, p. 191.

<sup>30</sup> On Nil Volentibus Arduum see B.P.M. Dongelmans, *Nil Volentibus Arduum: Documenten en bronnen. Een uitgave van Balthazar Huydecopers aantekeningen uit de originele notulen van het Genootschap*, Utrecht: Hes, 1982. Between pp. 2–3 a diagram explains the place of the De Flines family within the network of the society; A.J.E. Harmsen, 'Onderwys in de tooneel-poëzy. De opvattingen over toneel van het Kunstgenootschap Nil Volentibus Arduum', Doctoral dissertation, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1989.

<sup>31</sup> *De ontrouwe voedster. Bly-spel door Gilbert de Flines*. Te Amsteldam: By de Erfg[enamen] van J. Lescaijle en Dirk Rank, 1719 [UBL 1091 G 15].

<sup>32</sup> See the documentary novel by Machiel Bosman, *Elisabeth de Flines: een onmogelijke liefde in de achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam: Atheneum; Polak & Van Genneep, 2008.

<sup>33</sup> Waller 1938, p. 300; [www.rkd.nl](http://www.rkd.nl).