A CORPUS OF

REMBRANDT PAINTINGS

Stichting Foundation
Rembrandt Research Project

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PAINTINGS
I
1625–1631

MCMLXXXII
MARTINUS NIJHOFF PUBLISHERS
The Hague • Boston • London

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A CORPUS OF
REMBRANDT
PAINTINGS

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Frontispiece:

Detail of no. A6, *History painting*, Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, on loan from the State-owned art collection department, The Hague.

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Preface

History of the Project

Is there any need for a new catalogue of Rembrandt's paintings? It was the growing conviction that such is the case that led to the Rembrandt Research Project. There is, of course, a wealth of scholarly literature on the subject, but it is hard to avoid the impression that much of its interpretation of the artist and his work is based on a picture of his painted oeuvre that in the course of time has become corrupted. By the 1960s it was difficult for an impartial eye to accept all the works currently attributed to Rembrandt as being by a single artist.

From the outset, those launching the initiative realised that only conscientious examination, making use of up-to-date methods of investigation whenever possible, could warrant a radical revision of the Rembrandt canon. The prospect was thus already a daunting one. The time, moreover, hardly seemed right for such an enterprise: preparations were already under way for the 300th anniversary of Rembrandt's death, in 1969, and major publications dealing with the very same subject of his paintings had been announced in anticipation of this event. But when the first of these appeared, in 1966, it gave the final impetus needed for translating what had been vague ideas into definite plans, and for putting these plans into action.

Financial aid from the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research made it possible to start on the first phase of the work in 1968. This included an intensive programme of travel, during which pairs of team members together visited various parts of the world gathering material on works attributed to Rembrandt. This material comprised a painstakingly detailed description of the painting as an object, together with photographic evidence. Success in this was, of course, wholly dependent on the goodwill of museum curators and private collectors; almost without exception they were willing to let their paintings be examined, under the best possible conditions. This phase, during which almost all the relevant paintings were examined, lasted some five years, from 1968 to 1972; after this, paintings were examined or re-examined only occasionally.

Processing the assembled material was, for the majority of the paintings discussed in the present volume, done in two stages. The search for a suitable form of editing and presentation, and experiments with this, was followed from 1973 on by the writing of draft texts. As this work progressed the most effective way of dealing with the subject gradually became clear, and the various drafts could then be brought into line within a common framework.

The starting point for the study

Research naturally began from the point which studies of Rembrandt had reached in the 1960s, though without explicitly analysing the situation as it then was. As time went on, however, we became confirmed in our impression that there is scarcely any verifiable, documented continuity in respect of the attribution of Rembrandt's paintings such as there has been, to some extent, for his etchings from the 17th century onwards. Such continuity does exist for a tiny handful of paintings, but it is hard to describe these as a representative nucleus; they leave the limits of the painted oeuvre entirely undefined. The process of illegitimate accretion to this oeuvre, which took place in the 18th and even as early as the 17th century, can be glimpsed from the prints put out in those years and purporting to reproduce paintings by Rembrandt (see also Chapter III of the Introduction). When John Smith published the first catalogue of the paintings, in 1836, his work inevitably reflected a corrupted tradition and consequently gave a distorted view. Eduard Kolloff (1854) and Carel Vosmaer (1868) deserve credit for bringing some kind of order into chaos, as Scheltema had done for the biography; but it was particularly the young Wilhelm Bode who, in the 1880s, produced a corrected image of Rembrandt's work, especially that from the early years. Though a critical tendency may have subsequently gained ground, it contributed relatively little to delimiting the painted oeuvre. Knowledge of the work done by pupils grew, and undoubtedly this helped to bring about a sharper picture of Rembrandt's own production. Yet only clearly identifiable works by these pupils were involved in this hiving-off; what remained formed a remarkably heterogeneous and extensive oeuvre. Bode himself (whose main interest had in the meantime shifted elsewhere) codified this, in collaboration with Hofstede de Groot, in a sumptuous work published from 1897 to 1905 by the art dealer Sedelmeyer; this may have been seldom consulted – if only because of the weight of its eight bulky volumes – but it does seem, from subsequent catalogues including that by Kurt Bauch in 1966, to have enjoyed a considerable authority. The vast amount of research done by Hofstede de Groot, not only in 17th-century documents but also in the 18th-century sale catalogues available to him, provided this conglomerate work with a documentary basis that even today is bound to impress anyone who is not familiar with the relative worth of 18th-century attributions. The way in which Hofstede de Groot, in the sixth volume of this *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis* (1915), catalogued indiscriminately both

paintings that actually existed (and on which he passed very magnanimous judgments) and old records of paintings created a confusing effect that was naturally unintentional.

Protests about this were not entirely lacking; but those voiced by Alfred von Wurzbach, tucked away in the third part of his *Künstlerlexikon* (1911), had more invective than scholarly critique about them, while the criticism offered by John C. van Dyke (1923) overshot the mark through his obsessional need to enhance the pupils at the expense of their master. After the almost absurd expansionist approach shown by W. R. Valentiner in a supplement to his earlier publication in the series *Klassiker der Kunst,* under the optimistic title *Wiedergefundene Gemälde* (1921), the lists made by Bredius (1935), Jacob Rosenberg (1948) and Kurt Bauch (1966) reduced the numbers somewhat and threw overboard some of the most obvious contraband. Nevertheless, the outlines were still set quite broad – scarcely less so than they had been around 1900; too broad to offer any guarantee that the interpretations, speculations and theories that had, over the decades, been based on this picture of the artist's work could be safely maintained. Bauch's two books on the early Rembrandt – the first (1933) directed towards a portrayal with an existentialist tinge, and the second (1960) towards defining an historical situation – provide examples of an interpretation of this kind, based on inadequately sifted material. To Gerson, whose publications appeared when our project was in its initial stage (1968 and 1969), goes the honour of having had the courage to bring open-mindedness to his critical approach to the received image. He did this on the grounds of qualitative criteria that are not always very clearly expressed, and which the reader can sometimes recognize behind his conclusions and at other times not. Although in a substantial number of instances his opinion has proved to be close to or identical with ours, we felt that the appearance of his books did not render our work unnecessary. His statements, both positive and negative, were indeed just as unspecific as those of his predecessors. We still believed that description of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre called for closer attention to a greater number of aspects of each painting, and more thorough supporting evidence for each and every interpretation. We were not alone in this feeling. Already in 1960, in the series of exemplary catalogues issued by the National Gallery in London, Neil MacLaren had given an unusually careful account of the attribution of the Dutch paintings in the Gallery's collection. Simultaneously with ourselves the Mauritshuis started to prepare a critical catalogue of its own Rembrandts, and some time later the National Gallery in Washington DC began a similar study. These studies were were by their nature limited to a single collection, and therefore can do little to cater for the need for a fresh interpretation based on all the comparative material available.

Objective and working method

It was plain, from the start, that preparing a new catalogue of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre could not be a task for one man: this would be impossible if only because of the amount of material for which a description had to be prepared during the first phase, within a relatively short space of time. The first step by those founding the project, therefore, was to form a team, and the make-up of this team was the first subject to be discussed. Bearing in mind the many and differing problems that could be expected in connexion with scientific investigations into the physical structure of the paintings, as well as with tracking down information in the archives, the question arose of whether experts in these fields ought not to be included in the team. This question was seriously considered but answered in the negative. Given the possibility of maintaining contact with experts in other fields whenever necessary, we decided that the homogeneity of method and results would be served best by forming a team consisting of art historians only. Without in any way diminishing our debt of gratitude to scientists, archivists, palaeographers and others for their sound advice and important contributions to the work, we believe that this was the right decision. The team that came into being at that time included, in addition to the five members listed on the title page, Prof. Dr. J. A. Emmens; his untimely death meant that he could not carry out his plans for a systematic study of Rembrandt's iconography. Prof. Dr. J. G. van Gelder took part in our discussions during some six years and we are much indebted to him for sharing with us his great knowledge and experience.

During the first phase of the work, members of the team operated in pairs – in constantly changing combinations – in studying paintings in different parts of the world. We have found this way of organizing the work most salutary in achieving a balanced result. Though the work of processing the collected material was spread less evenly among members of the team, weighing-up the arguments in joint discussion was again an essential part of arriving at interpretations and opinions. If the reader is occasionally aware that the catalogue entries are from different hands, he will we hope find this only a minor disadvantage.

A second basic principle was to try to learn and describe the features – including the purely physical features – of each painting, seen as an object, as fully as possible. This would naturally relate to the paint layer, but would also take in the ground and support. At the beginning we were by no means clear in what connexion, and by what criteria, the observations made would eventually be interpreted and assessed; our descriptive notes made on the spot consequently did not immediately follow a cut-and-dried pattern in all respects. Nevertheless, our expectation that this would make it possible for us to find a broader basis for making judgments was, in general, borne out. It must be added that our observations were made under widely-varying circumstances where the lighting, equipment and technical documentation available were concerned; these are specified for each catalogue entry. On top of this, however, the condition of the items described differed from one case to the next; this applies to the support, the paint layer and – especially – to the varnish, which to a large extent determines the visibility of the ground and paint layers and the interpretation of colours. In this latter respect, our descriptions cannot claim to be anything more than an approximation, with no pretension to scientific exactitude. The degree to which perception of colours is subject to unintentional selection and correction is wellnigh impossible to estimate, and is not infrequently found to differ from one person to the next. Much the same is true of the description and interpretation of paint structures, and their relationship to the ground. Leaving aside the considerable complications that wear, damage and restoration can introduce, the naked eye – alone, or with the help of only a magnifying-glass – is a relatively primitive tool. Only in a limited number of instances was there a microscope to hand to help us in investigating the problems that arose. Not until a late stage was a number of paintings, regarded as representative, systematically examined under the microscope, and an analysis made of paint samples taken for this purpose. This proved extremely valuable for our insight into Rembrandt's technique. For the bulk of the paintings, however, examination had to be limited to what could be seen at the surface, and the interpretation of what was observed must, however usable this might be for comparative purposes, be termed an overall one. We have, for example, called the layer that shows through discontinuities or translucent patches in the paint layer simply 'the ground' without further distinction, and have referred to it as such in our descriptions. It was only at a late stage that we formed the hypothesis that this layer (usually a light, yellowish brown) is in some cases not the actual ground but rather part of the preparatory brush drawing on top of it, executed in predominantly translucent brown; while the ground proper does show through this, it is not necessarily directly visible. It was naturally impossible to interpret afresh, in the light of this new view of things, hundreds of observations of widely scattered paintings. The chapter on Materials and Methods will, we hope, provide a framework into which our own observations and – more especially – future studies can be fitted.

We have mentioned above the relationship between our study and scientific research in the laboratory. We intended, from the outset, to benefit as much as possible from the latter and from the various photographic techniques; yet on the other hand we were aware that technical information alone would not provide us with criteria for authenticity. An international symposium held in Amsterdam in October 1969 and organized, on the initiative of Dr. J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer, by the Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science and our team provided a valuable insight into scientific methods and the way they could be used; but at the same time it confirmed the impression that the extent to which results obtained by technical means can be employed for the purposes of art history depends on how the art historian asks his questions and forms his hypotheses. During the course of our work a number of institutions were generous with their help, supplying us with technical data. We have indicated these data in the catalogue, under the appropriate headings, and it is striking how much these results have not only been obtained through a variety of techniques, but are also frequently described and interpreted in different ways. By themselves (that is to say without the framework provided by hypothetical links) they do not, in the majority of cases, offer any coherent picture of the technique employed by the artist. We are well aware that the use we have made of scientific data has been a limited one. Apart from elementary information on the materials used, we have not attempted a systematic study of pigments, media, drying agents, dilutants etc.; such studies may yield further specific technical information as analytical methods become more refined, though it remains to be seen whether the results will help to solve problems of attribution. We have, rather, selected such information as can clarify the stratified structure of the painting as it results from the actual painting procedure.

The most familiar technique, and one which the art historian has known for a long time, is the X-ray photograph. Apart from the broadest kind of interpretation – noting certain changes in shape and

composition – comparatively little attention has been paid in the literature to 'reading' these X-ray documents; this has been pointed out by Dr. M. Meier-Siem, of Hamburg, in the published account of a study undertaken at the Central Museum, Utrecht (1967). For us, the importance of X-rays came to lie mainly in understanding how the young Rembrandt set out his composition, applied the first layer of paint and worked towards completion. This being so, we attached a more than casual significance to the X-ray evidence, and a relatively large place has been allotted to reproduction and description of the X-rays. The relatively large number of X-rays available to us we owe to the generosity of many owners, both public and private, who put this material at our disposal. In addition, Dr. Meier-Siem provided us with copyfilms of X-rays taken by him, and Dr. S. Rees Jones of the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, went out of his way to procure those of paintings in various English collections.

Ultraviolet radiation and photographs, and infrared photographs, were a good deal less informative. The former were sometimes helpful in identifying subsequent retouching, though their practicability depends so much on the nature of the varnish layer that the value of the technique is extremely uncertain. Infrared photographs do occasionally throw light in a surprising way on how paint was applied, but where the preparatory stage of the painting process is concerned the absence of any underlying drawing in an absorbent material (like that used by the Early Netherlandish painters) means that in Rembrandt's case infrared photographs do not leave us much the wiser.

Dendrochronology has opened up new perspectives for the dating of oak panels. Prof. Dr. J. Bauch, Dr. D. Eckstein and Dr. P. Klein of the Ordinariat für Holzbiologie, University of Hamburg, have been most generous in sharing their results with us. Honesty demands that we should confess that in a number of cases the results considerably modified our provisional conclusions as to dating rejected paintings; in others where dating was not possible they could not of course be correlated with our own ideas on the subject. With paintings we consider to be authentic or contemporary the correlation was extremely satisfactory; with other paintings which we placed in a wider periphery, and naturally in a later period, the dating of the panel did sometimes prove to be remarkably early, even considerably earlier than one would expect in the case of authentic or contemporary paintings.

The 1967 Utrecht study mentioned earlier has already provided some insight into the possibilities of dating canvas, and in the five cases falling within the present volume we were very glad to make use of these. Further testing is currently under way, and one may hope that this method of dating will play a larger role in the forthcoming volumes.

Physical and chemical examination of sample material from the ground and paint layers already occupies a fairly important role in the literature, but this is only seldom clearly related to what the art historian is seeking. A first explanation for this can be found in the great degree of constancy in the materials used by painters over several centuries. Only in a small minority of cases, as when one meets a pigment that went out of, or came into, use at a known period, is a conclusion as to dating possible; even then the conclusion will be no more than an approximate *terminus ante quem* or *post quem*. A more general explanation, however, is provided by the differences in the sort of questions asked and the working method adopted by a scientist and an art historian, even when they approach the work of art as a shared subject of study. Each is conditioned by the traditions of his own discipline. Without being unfair to either, we might perhaps say that the scientist arrives at his interpretation from relatively fragmentary and, of itself, unstructured information relating to the physical make-up of the work of art, while the art historian is concerned mainly with the stylistic interpretation of the picture and its execution. Their common frame of reference ought to be an understanding, based on source studies, of the craft that governed artistic practice: this constraint is certainly not ignored, but is not taken sufficiently to heart in either field. As a result a coherent idea of the artist's working process is often lacking. There is much work still to be done on this point, but any useful contribution that Chapter II of the Introduction makes in respect of Rembrandt's early work must be due in no small measure to the fact that our team includes an art historian who was trained as an artist and can think like an artist.

Description and interpretation of the physical aspects, and hence of what one might call the microstylistic features, of the painting claimed a great deal of our attention; they take up a large part of our catalogue text, certainly far more so than in earlier literature. Though these parts of the text do not make absorbing reading, we felt that the thoroughness of these descriptions was essential: they provide, after all, the most important basis for our assessment, and we imagine that they will also provide indispensable material for any discussion of our conclusions. Alongside this, however, we have (especially when developing our notes and making connexions between the paintings discussed) made a point of discussing style in the traditional meaning of the

word – the features of composition, form, use of colour and treatment of light. Although it was not really likely that fundamentally new viewpoints would emerge in this respect, the great care we felt ourselves obliged to take in reaching our conclusions, and the need constantly to check observations and extrapolated features of style one against the other, did make it possible to achieve a more stringent analysis than is usually the case. However since we were paying attention to the painting technique employed, our approach was more than usually practical. The picture that results, as presented in Chapter I of the Introduction, is that of a strictly individual development; the many ties linking Rembrandt with his contemporaries in the Netherlands and abroad have deliberately been left aside, not because they are in general unimportant but because they can provide no basic criteria for defining his painted oeuvre. These links will be referred to in the catalogue entries, as and when they arise.

We have not been able to produce a comprehensive view of the iconographic significance of Rembrandt's work to the extent that we intended in the early stages. The place left empty by the death of Professor Emmens was not filled. We owe much to the publications of Dr. Christian Tümpel, Hamburg, who put his unpublished thesis at our disposal and with whom we had fruitful discussions. Both he and Dr. Colin Campbell, Exeter, who also made his unpublished thesis available to us, contributed greatly to our treatment of iconographic aspects of Rembrandt's paintings and their formal sources.

In general, we have limited ourselves, in most catalogue entries, to dealing with present knowledge in iconography and, in a few cases, to making suggestions based on views gained from this. Sometimes these differ sharply from commonly held and still rather romantically tinged ideas of the meaning that Rembrandt's pictures may have held for him and his contemporaries.

Some reflections on method

After what has been said on our working procedure and, particularly, on the scientific examinations that supplemented our observations, we feel the need, after some ten years' experience, to review the expectations we had when we started, and how far these changed as time went on. This is all the more apposite as we have the impression that those in the world of art history who are interested in our working method and its results are not always aware of the limited possibilities that scientific examination offers, and of the relative weight it carries when forming an opinion on a painting's authenticity.

Increasing activity in the field of scientific examination of works of art warranted the hope that the results of such research might help in forming an opinion as to authenticity. Our expectations were limited in this respect, and fairly well defined. We realized, for instance, that the results of scientific examination would never be able to provide proof of whether a painting was by Rembrandt himself, by one of his pupils or by a painter in his immediate circle. We did hope for firm evidence in the category of works which we believed, on stylistic grounds, might be later imitations of Rembrandt's style. Though here, too, we were well aware that in most cases we would have to say that the painting in question was 'not demonstrably later than the 17th century', we did however hope that with at least some of the works we examined it would be possible to prove a later date of production, and that on the basis of such cases we might extend this conclusion to others. In this respect we have had, over the years, to change our ideas drastically. We found not only that the number of 'demonstrably later' paintings was almost negligible, but even that some of those that we had, because of stylistic features, regarded as being 18th or 19th century in origin could be proved, or virtually proved, to date from the seventeenth. One need hardly say that coming to terms with this experience was a painful process. Insufficient knowledge of what might happen in 17th-century workshops had, it seems, led to our expectations following too rigid a pattern. On this point, scientific tests have belied our expectations. On the whole, however, the combination of thorough visual examination and scientific investigation has created a much broader basis for developing criteria of authenticity.

A major limitation on the usability of the results of scientific examination in answering questions of authenticity lies in the fact that there seems to be no marked difference in the use of materials and working procedures between Rembrandt and his close circle or even the wider circle of followers and imitators, since these methods and materials basically fit a general 17th-century workshop practice. This means that one has to search for individual features in the application of these common materials and methods on a minute scale – by studying the way the paint has been applied and the different stages in the execution relate to each other, but also by taking into account the organization of the composition, the characteristics of the 'stage-direction', and imponderables such as the mood of the painting. Style in the broadest sense, from the single brushstroke to the general design of a painting, constitutes the repertory of features which enable one to accept or reject a painting. Technical

features have, of course, to fit stylistic indications in order to converge with them towards an opinion; but only rarely are they of decisive importance. Most later imitations or fakes with a deviant technique have been eliminated already, in former waves of purification. What we are left with in Bredius' catalogue, our point of departure, are in general 17th-century paintings. Thus only incidentally will a significant departure from normal 17th-century painting practice provide a clue for rejection. Even with a method as elegant as dendrochronology, which may occasionally prove that certain panels derived from the same tree, one has no absolute proof that the paintings concerned are by the same hand – one is not prevented from ascribing one to Rembrandt, the other to somebody from his workshop or even to an imitator around the corner who bought his panels in the same shop. In fact, even if all Rembrandts were to be subjected to thorough scientific investigation, a decision on their authenticity would rest mainly on considerations of a very different kind.

Nonetheless, the idea that thorough knowledge of the painting as a physical object would produce more precise authenticity criteria has provided the unique situation that nearly all paintings accepted by Bredius were studied closely, and a considerable amount of new knowledge was gathered which was to some extent relevant to the quest for authenticity. Moreover, this situation created an exceptionally broad basis for connoisseurship on Rembrandt, though this in no way guarantees sound judgment; connoisseurship depends heavily on the discernment of eye and sensitivity of taste, not to mention the knowledge and wisdom necessary to understand the artist's ways.

Our attempt to define and purify Rembrandt's oeuvre amounts to an effort to find rational, communicable arguments to support our opinions. In the field of art history this is no new venture – the search for objective methods to differentiate between the hands of painters has been going on since the 19th century. Morelli's notion that elements of minor importance in a painting are produced by routine, and therefore betray an artist's involuntary habits, provided a method, thought of as objective, for distinguishing different hands in otherwise closely related paintings. This method, which was applied to paintings from the Italian Renaissance, is based mainly on the study of well defined shapes like ears, hands and fingernails. It was later elaborated by Berenson in the same field of Renaissance Art. With Rembrandt and with his pupils and followers, however, the definition of form is far less accurate than in paintings of the Italian Renaissance, while areas of little importance are usually hardly defined; the Morellian method is thus not easily applied to their paintings. The fact that in Rembrandt's paintings the brushwork is a most subtly varied and rich feature inspired A. P. Laurie in the 1920s to concentrate on the search for criteria by analysing the brushwork in comparable areas in comparable paintings. One cannot say that this method brought conclusive results. Transferring a graphological approach to the analysis of brushwork in a painting where the brushwork seems to be the most suitable for these investigations – the lit areas – the brushstrokes are applied with a particular aim in mind, connected with the suggestion of texture, light or shape; the brushwork thus varies in accordance with that aim. Moreover, Rembrandt's brushwork must have been recognized through the ages as being one of the main features of his style, and therefore served as a point of focus for pupils as well as imitators, just as his highly individual handling of pen and brush in his drawings was copied with the utmost care. Laurie's efforts, based as they were on the study of isolated passages, were rooted in ideas connected with the expressionist art of his days. This is not to say that individual features in the brushwork of a 17th-century artist should be denied any significance for identifying an individual artistic temperament. The study of these features is indispensable in the quest for authenticity, but reducing the brushwork to abstract patterns by means of macrophotography, as Laurie did in order to isolate comparable elements of paintings, is obviously not the right way; the brushwork can be significant only in the context of the entire painting. M. M. van Dantzig developed a method which he called 'pictology', in which he tried to combine Morelli's ideas with Laurie's while expanding the criteria for authentication with a variety of other features which he extrapolated from a body of generally authentic, accepted paintings. His work resulted in long lists of characteristic features which he elaborated for Frans Hals, Vermeer and also, though unpublished, for Rembrandt. His lists include features at a variety of levels, and thus do not suffer from the 'one-dimensionality' of Morelli's and Laurie's criteria. With pictology a painting has to 'score' at least a certain amount of points from such a list to be accepted.

At first sight, one might think that such a method is nearly identical with the process that, on a less conscious level, takes place in the connoisseur's mind. And no doubt the connoisseur's arguments, when he is forced to rationalize and formulate his considerations, will not differ basically from the criteria included in Van Dantzig's lists. In reality, however, the processes which take place in the subconscious layers of the connoisseur's mind seem to

differ basically from such an analytical model. It is more probably a synthesis which determines the processes involved. M. J. Friedländer used to illustrate this with the charming image of the connoisseur as an 'imaginary pupil' of the painter he is studying: he is following the processes of the artist's mind and hand rather than analysing the final result. It may be a truism to say that a painting is more than the sum of the features one may isolate by analysis. It is a mistake to think that even the most meticulous process of argument for or against the authenticity of a painting covers the whole of the visual experiences that led to that opinion. The chilling impression one gets of a method like that of Van Dantzig, let alone those of Morelli or Laurie, is of the reduction of the painting to an assemblage of isolated features, almost like the sum of a series of habits. Without stressing the romantic image of the artist, one feels this does not do justice to artistic or indeed any other human activity. In the case of a great artist like Rembrandt the friction between mechanistic methods of authentication and the richness of the artistic personality is all the more poignant, as the level of creativity of an artist may well be in inverse proportion to the continuity or regularity to be expected from the evolution of his style and even from the quality of his works.

The term 'habits', used to signify recurrent features in a group of paintings, is of course too narrow a definition of style. In the widest sense, limits to what is possible are set by the aesthetics acceptable to the period in which paintings are produced. More specifically connected to an individual is what could be called the artistic vision that one feels sets certain margins to what the artist makes or allows his hand to do, and his eye to see, while painting. Sometimes consciously, but mostly unconsciously, the spectator collects in his visual memory complexes of peculiarities regarded as indicative of the artist's vision. These can be isolated features, or much more complex characteristics which escape objective analysis but are nonetheless perceived and considered, rightly or wrongly, as typical for the artist.

When one tries to isolate a feature of this kind in the work from the Leiden period, the rendering of materials such as drapery and books comes to mind. In works from the years 1626–1629 one can see how much the specific nature of different materials is subordinated to the heavy, uniform rhythm of a handling of paint which, in a single homogeneous pattern, encompasses the plasticity of the surface, the swelling of the contours and the light and colour values seen under a particular lighting. A feature like this may well be called a clue to one of the secrets which account for the evident individuality achieved by Rembrandt in his early works. It is as if this and other features are held within certain boundaries, the limits of what a painter feels to be essential for a good painting. The onlooker, by observing a number of paintings, or rather by absorbing them in his visual memory, develops a certain understanding for these boundaries. This is what Friedländer meant by the connoisseur being a pupil, not collecting knowledge but rather developing a certain 'tact', an inner measure of what a painter thinks or feels to be effective, permissible or beautiful. Of course pupils and followers could to a certain degree actually develop the same 'tact'. Some of these features are however so complex that it is hardly possible to suppose they were absorbed and then mobilized when the pupils painted in Rembrandt's manner. An example of this might be the 'weight' of figures in a painting: comparing the work of one painter with that of another, one gets the feeling that each painter has his own perception of the mass his figures suggest. It is as if he does not rest until his figures sit and stand, move and even fly, emanating a specific feeling of weight which the onlooker registers. It was Heinrich Wölfflin who drew attention, in the field of architecture, to how our sensibility for the illusion of weight is generated by our own body sensations. A certain impression of mass can of course be reached in a variety of ways: by the proportions, by the extent to which limbs protrude from the main bulk of the figure, by the way the figure relates to its cast shadow or to the base it rests on, but also for instance by the direction of the brush stroke. This example demonstrates the number of variables that can be connected with a feature which is felt to be typical of an artist. In connoisseurship it is probably to a large extent the ability to 'taste' these complex features that counts more than the analysis of the elements that add up to them.

Still less easy to grasp in words is the way the paint surface, as a structured substance, relates to the degree of illusion aimed at by the artist. Of course, such a relation cannot be measured – it can hardly be described. It is only sensed, though sensed in a very precise way, by the onlooker. An attempt to put these feelings into words results in either a lapidary but very unspecific statement about the quality of the painting, or a poetic evocation in words that does not translate such a visual feature directly, but provides a metaphor of it. Friedländer proposed such poetic evocation as the only sensible way to do the artist justice once one is in a position where verbalization is necessary; something which in the very end is a rather questionable necessity.

In our catalogue entries the reader will find no

poetry. We positively mistrust poetic evocations of rembrandtish qualities. Deeply-felt songs of praise have been written in the past about highly suspect paintings in which no one believes today. The tone in our catalogue is usually very down-to-earth. Many of the subtleties which determine the quality of a painting, and which might even contain valuable clues as to its authenticity, may have been noticed and not put into words. Much energy has been devoted to a careful record of our close inspections of the paintings. This has certainly led to quite lengthy descriptions of observations which in many cases hardly contribute in the final analysis to the formation of our opinions. The recording of brushstrokes, colours, translucencies and so on sprang partly from the idea that certain clues might subsequently be derived from the body of these observations. Yet these descriptions are not complete; when, after some five years, we discovered that there was a fixed order in applying the paint (see Chapter II), we could find in our reports hardly any mention of which area overlapped another. This is a clear demonstration that every description is guided by certain assumptions and expectations as to the relevance of an observation, and that where relevant assumptions fail to be made, significant phenomena are not observed. Features such as small differences between the contours in the X-rays and those in the surface of the painting became understandable only through the theory just mentioned, and it was only then that these differences were consciously noticed. No doubt other features, just as interesting and significant, are being overlooked to this day. Careful examination of every single painting certainly did produce a mass of evidence which in one way or another helped to form a picture of idiosyncracies in Rembrandt's working methods and style to an extent where a body of paintings could be singled out which all of us were ready to accept as original. The limits of that body of work remained blurred. Many paintings questioned by us show basically the same features and peculiarities as the accepted ones, but they show them in a more or less different way. The essential question is how much divergence is to be accepted as possible within the work of one hand. Adopting a low tolerance of deviation from the 'norm' is of course the easiest solution to the problem, but this may lead to the rejection of originals. Gerson, for instance, rejected the *Artist in oriental costume* (no. A 40) on the basis of its deviations in the quality of execution. We tended to agree with him after our first inspection of the painting; however, the X-rays revealed hitherto unknown features of the genesis of the painting which made it virtually impossible to assume that it was not an autograph work. It is very hard to draw the consequences from such a case. It forces one to admit that the criteria and, in this case, the quality standards that were applied were too rigid; it means that one has to revise these criteria and standards because of internal evidence. But such undeniable evidence only rarely occurs.

A case like the initial rejection of the *Artist in oriental costume* is a demonstration of the force of preconception: that an artist has a certain limit as to the quality of his work. If that preconception is too strong, compiling a catalogue of an artist's oeuvre turns out to be hardly more than making a selection of his best paintings. Another preconception is the idea that the evolution of an artist must be thought of as logical: dated works that do not meet our expectations about his stylistic development may be either rejected or given another date. Although we have been well aware of the risk involved, we have in two instances gone so far as to assign to pictures dates differing from those inscribed – not too convincingly, to be sure – on them: the Berlin *Samson and Delilah* (no. A 24) inscribed 1628 we have moved forward to 1629/30 and the Cleveland *Bust of a young man* (no. A 23) inscribed 1632 we have moved back to *c.* 1629, thus relying on our conception of a logical evolution. The preconception of a logical evolution is obviously such an indispensable aid to finding one's way in an oeuvre that it is hard to do without. But these preconceptions may pave the way for misinterpretations as they tend to stretch reality along the ruler of causality. The gradual building-up of an intuitive understanding of an artist's vision is not purely the collecting of a stock of visual memories, but also the 'reconstruction' of an individual, with its possibilities and limits and even with its potentialities. One's opinions on authenticity are based a great deal on this reconstructed image of the artist, but every fresh confrontation with paintings seen before causes friction between one's image of the artist and the actual work of his hand. It is as if, time and again, a distortion occurs through one's own mental structure being projected on the imaginary mental structure of the artist. The emergence of the Utrecht *Baptism of the eunuch* (no. A 5) was, in this context, a most interesting experience for anybody who thought his image of the young Rembrandt was by then clearcut. Some of the reactions Defoer, who discovered the painting, encountered when he showed Rembrandt scholars his photographs were negative; the painting did not at first match their reconstruction of the artist's image. The set of arguments which later, after initial doubt, were adduced in support of the painting's attribution provide an appropriate demonstration of our working method.

number of paintings that we were unable to track down, and have been unable to discuss for lack of actual examination, total four (Br. 72, 83, 461 and 635). Three of these were included in a list of 27 missing Rembrandts published in a Letter to the Editor of the *Burlington Magazine* (112 (1970), p. 239), which produced no response. Some of the pictures have however since reappeared, and five of these are included in the present volume (nos. A 7, C 8, C 33, C 36 and C 40). We have added a number of paintings not listed by Bredius, which we consider either authentic or otherwise relevant from a scholarly viewpoint, most of them having been published or exhibited as by Rembrandt since 1937 (nos. A 1, A 5, A 14, A 15, A 35, B 2, B 3, C 1, C 3, C 4, C 5 and C 31) and one not yet known as such (no. A 22). Of three of these another version was already listed by Bredius as being an original (nos. A 14, A 22 and C 31).

The text for each entry comprises a descriptive, an interpretative and a documentary section. As has already been said, we are aware that our description of the physical features is of a rough-and-ready kind, based on the use of an ordinary household tapemeasure, a magnifying glass, and only occasionally more sophisticated equipment. In describing the paint layer we have, with similar reservations, aimed at achieving accuracy, especially as regards the state of preservation. In doing so we did not always avoid a certain amount of subjectivity. We originally tried in the descriptive sections entirely to disregard pictorial quality (understood as the relationship, seen within a stylistic framework, between the use of materials and the artistic intentions); but this would have led to such a colourless account that any judgment offered in the comments would not, for the reader, seem to bear any detectable relation to the observations described. Something of the same kind applies even more strongly to the description of signatures: here we have as a rule given at once our impression of whether the signature is from the artist's own hand or not; this avoids the risk, which offering a neutral description would bring, of generating an appearance of consistency and dependability where really there are divergencies. A descriptive survey of the signatures we look on as being authentic is provided in Chapter IV of the Introduction. In discussing the X-rays, too, we have as far as possible added an interpretation, without which a description would make little sense to the reader. In addition to the descriptions of support, ground and paint layer we have given details of the results of scientific examination of a number of the paintings we discuss; a number of experts and institutions were kind enough to make these available to us. Read in conjunction with the catalogue entries for individual paintings, and in particular with Chapter II of the Introduction, these results yield significant information in a number of cases. Even in instances where there does not for the moment seem to be any obvious significance, we have referred to what scientific data are available in a separate check list.

The interpretative comments (and their summaries) are meant primarily to provide a reasoned statement about attribution and dating, based on our observations of the paintings and on other available data. The signatures occupy a relatively minor place in the reasoning. Arguments are drawn mainly from the affinities and differences seen when a work is compared with others, and from the resulting possibility or otherwise of situating the painting within the context of Rembrandt's work. Mention, in 17th-century documents and sources, of works that are still identifiable today constitutes important confirmation of the validity of this context. It must be said at once, however, that even longstanding attributions need to be approached with caution, and that only in a handful of cases can it safely be assumed that a painting known today is identical with one mentioned in the 17th century. In developing our arguments, features which are termed 'stylistic characteristics' are discussed in each case in fragmentary form, and these are surveyed in Chapter I as a framework for the conclusions on the individual paintings. We also look briefly at stylistic relationships with the work of other artists, and at the nature and significance of the subject-matter.

In the documentary section we have followed in the footsteps of earlier catalogues of the painter's oeuvre and given a place to copies of the painting in question. We depart from normal custom, however, in being selective; copies devoid of any documentary or artistic importance – and there are more of these than we could ever trace – have in most cases been omitted, in the belief that achieving completeness would be both impossible and pointless. Attention has been given to the provenance of copies only when this seemed important for throwing light on that of the original. In referring to prints after a painting we have tried to cover all of these up to about 1800, because of the potential value of older prints as a source of information about the earlier appearance of a painting, its history and its attribution. Later reproductions, which seldom if ever add to our knowledge on these points, have been ignored. The list of engravers provided by von Wurzbach in his *Künstlerlexikon* has been of immense value in assembling this material; the same is true of the indexes we consulted in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, the Print Room of the British

The painting turned out to be linked with Rembrandt's oeuvre by a variety of aspects, at various levels. None of these aspects separately would have provided a conclusive argument in favour of the attribution, but all of them together provided a most elegant constellation of positive evidence. These included the size and composition of the panel, the nature and function of the ground and underpainting, the extent to which these were visible, the order of working and the characteristics of the areas left in reserve during the making-up of the painting, the way in which the edges of the paint surface were (partly) left uncovered, the degree and nature of changes in the composition, the way these demonstrated the painter's 'discussion' with Lastman (already familiar from the *Balaam,* no. A 2), characteristic features in the application of the paint, its consistency and behaviour in the course of time, certain compositional principles in the organization of the groups of figures, and certain peculiarities in the colour scheme. All this made it possible to accept unusual features in the spatial organization, the treatment of the foreground and landscape, the execution of Philippus' head, the posture of the cowering negro, etc., and induced us to adopt these features as hitherto unsuspected potentialities in our image of the young Rembrandt.

But not always are cases as clear as this. The indications for and against within the general 'Rembrandtishness' are often not as significant, and do not add up as overwhelmingly, as in the case of the Utrecht painting. Given the complexity of impressions, observations and findings on which an opinion or acceptance or rejection must rest, it is inevitable that in a number of cases the weighing of positive and negative evidence has been a subtle process which it is difficult to mould into rational reasoning. Even if the utmost care has been spent in rendering our train of thoughts, one may feel that, especially in the case of rejections, the reasoning tends to sound more self-assured than it deserves when the actual relevance of the arguments used is considered, and to reflect an excessive optimism about the possibility of basing attributions and rejections on precise criteria. The number of cases where the decision as to whether a painting is considered authentic or not is left open is fairly small (see nos. B 1–7). This can be seen as an indication that there has been an urge to express firm opinions. In this respect, this book is in the tradition of oeuvre catalogues that present a solid body of accepted works and just as solid a body of rejected paintings, in a situation where in fact there is always room for discussion and reconsideration.

The fact that this project is being carried out by a *team* of art historians has caused curiosity as well as outright scepticism in the scholarly world. The reason no doubt lies in the fact that, adopting intuition as a major tool for arriving at an image of the artist and his work, it seems an impossible arrangement to operate as a group, which by definition cannot share a joint intuition. Again a certain amount of optimism about the possibility of achieving better-defined criteria of authenticity might serve as an explanation. Once that optimism is adopted, there is no reason not to undertake an enterprise as enormous as ours with more than one person. Team work has its advantages and its dangers. The opportunity for sharing one's observations and mutually testing one's opinions has certainly been enriching and favourable to the quality of our work. The way decisions on a final opinion have been taken, and the unperceivable forces that have played their part in this process would – as with any team effort – be an interesting subject for a socio-psychological study. A closely knit group tends to feel less doubts or hesitations than an individual. The dilemmas of a team member were occasionally washed away by the cogency of the others. But the project has lasted long enough to allow initial hesitations that were swamped by the firmness of other's opinions to come back to the surface, and give rise to useful reconsiderations. The expression of open disagreement became a necessary consequence of our growing realization of the inevitability of subjectivity in the quest for authenticity. The fact that the opportunity to express dissenting opinions has hardly been used in this volume serves as a demonstration of the fact that a clarified image of the early Rembrandt oeuvre was developed on the basis of consensus. This clarification was a direct result of, and only possible through, the intense accumulation of visual experience and data about the paintings that our enquiry provided.

The catalogue

The scope, editing and arrangement of the catalogue call for some comment, apart from the practical notes that precede it.

The selection of the material to be discussed is based on the Bredius publication of 1935–37. Our first volume deals with paintings which can be considered as having been produced by Rembrandt in Leiden in the years 1625–1631, or which display a style derived from these; a few paintings that bear the date 1631 but give the impression of having been painted after Rembrandt's move to Amsterdam will be included in volume II, with the works from 1632 and subsequent years. For the Leiden years the

Museum, London, the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the Albertina, Vienna. Contemporary prints stand in a class of their own; the value of these as documentary evidence for the authenticity of the picture reproduced is discussed as a separate issue in Chapter III of the Introduction. Finally, we have gone into the provenance of the individual paintings. With all due honour paid to the colossal and invaluable work done by Hofstede de Groot and his assistants, we believe that the way in which his pedigrees (based as they are on old descriptions without quoting them) have been published has in fact rendered impossible any critical check, and has not infrequently suggested a continuity that can at most be regarded as hypothetical. Our pedigrees, too, are naturally to some extent hypothetical. Wherever necessary this is indicated, and we have so far as possible gone through all the old auction catalogues with the aid of Frits Lugt's *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes*. In order to enable the reader to form his own opinion we have cited *in extenso* the descriptions contained in these up to about 1800. In addition to this, all available sales catalogues up to this date have been combed afresh for references to Rembrandt with the indefatigable assistance of Mrs. L. Peese Binkhorst; while not always a rewarding task, this has yielded a number of interesting results. Collections consulted for this purpose included those of the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, the Bibliothèque Royale Albert I and the Bibliothèque des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, the Library of the University of Ghent, the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, the British Library, London, the Cabinet des Estampes and the Département des Imprimés of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie of the University of Paris. In addition, thanks to the kind permission of the late Dr. V. Loewinson-Lessing, Leningrad, and Dr. F. Lahusen, Kassel, we were fortunate enough to consult unpublished inventories of the collections of Catharina II of Russia and Wilhelm VIII of Hesse respectively.

In the bibliographical references that accompany most of the entries we have in no way attempted to be exhaustive; this is because we would have been unable to achieve a really comprehensive coverage, and did not in fact wish to do so. Experience shows that amassing references some of which are of scant interest does more to confuse than to illuminate. Apart from the references (at the start of each entry) to the most commonly consulted catalogues of Rembrandt's works by Hofstede de Groot, Bredius, Bauch and Gerson, we have quoted opinions from older and more recent literature only where these seemed to us to be germane to the interpretation being given. We can only hope that in making this selection we have not left out too much that is of interest.

Where the arrangement of the catalogue is concerned, our intention from the outset has been to arrange the paintings we regard as being authentic, given an A-number, in chronological order to give the clearest possible picture of a development. This was quite easy to do for the Leiden years. The large number of dated works, their relatively homogeneous character as far as style and subject are concerned, and the rapid and fairly clear stylistic development made it possible and meaningful to arrange the paintings in chronological order, and in an iconographical order within each year. Two limitations have to be placed on this. First, not all the works are dated, and these had to be fitted into the sequence on the basis of style and technique. Because of this state of affairs (which is in fact common enough) the value of a dating is virtually that of a symbol for a stylistic relationship, something that we tend perhaps all too readily to identify with chronological reality. Secondly there is, set against the bulk of history paintings, a smaller number of head-and-shoulders paintings which sometimes can be related stylistically to the former but usually cannot. When, in future volumes covering the Amsterdam years, a distinction can be more clearly drawn between categories of paintings, it will be sensible to discuss homogeneous groups each spanning a greater number of years.

After the paintings we regard as being authentic comes a small group with B-numbers. These are paintings about whose authenticity we have, for a variety of reasons, not been able to reach any definite decision one way or the other. We think that from the scholarly viewpoint it is right plainly to indicate this uncertainty, and to set out the arguments for and against as clearly as possible.

The C-category consists of a great variety of paintings, whose only common quality consists in their having been accepted as authentic by Bredius whereas, in our opinion, a sufficiently convincing relationship between them and the works we consider to be authentic cannot be found. The paintings in this category thus range from works of art in their own right (which though influenced by or connected with Rembrandt's work cannot be attributed to him) on the one hand, to copies and imitations on the other. We intended at first to distinguish between these two categories by grouping them separately, but as our work progressed this proved virtually impossible. Drawing a sharp dividing line between *bona fide* paintings by contemporary artists

and more or less old, possibly fraudulent imitations would require a much clearer insight into 17th-century standards than we possess. The situation is complicated further by the fact that only a small number of works by immediate followers can be attributed to known artists. One can indeed distinguish groups of paintings which seem to be by one hand, but with the exception of Jan Lievens (nos. C 1 and C 2), Gerard Dou (no. C 3 and possibly nos. C 5, C 10 and C 18) and Isaac de Jouderville (no. C 9) the artists must, for the time being, remain anonymous (nos. C 19 and C 20; C 25 and a painting that cannot now be traced). Copies after Rembrandt's work may or may not have originated in his immediate circle (see particularly under no. A 40) but even considering this they do not form a distinct group. Three paintings may, for various reasons, be assumed to reflect lost originals (nos. C 17, C 36 and C 41) but the possibility that this is also true of a few others cannot be excluded. A greater problem is however that in a number of cases it is all but impossible to decide whether the Rembrandtesque aspect is due to a deliberate, or even fraudulent, intention or to Rembrandt's direct influence on a pupil or follower. It is only false signatures, if they form part of the original paint layer, that can provide cogent grounds for labelling a painting as a forgery. It would be of greater interest, however, to discover more about the time and place of the production of these paintings. In only one instance have we been successful in this respect (concerning the author of nos. C 12 and C 14); in general, however, our feelings are vague in the extreme. Bearing in mind the secrecy of the forger's world, and the consequent lack of documentary evidence, this is perhaps not to be wondered at. One conclusion, based especially on a number of continuous pedigrees, is quite definite: imitations that give evidence of a greater or lesser degree of understanding of Rembrandt's style and technique were already being turned out in the 17th century. This may help to explain why the difference between the imitation and the school- or shop-piece has proved insufficiently clearcut to justify a separate heading for each category.

The primary aim of our work was thus to delimit Rembrandt's painted oeuvre, by reconsidering the authenticity of the paintings generally attributed to him. We have tried to interpret our observations of the paintings in such a way that they can be related to a conception of his style and working methods formed over the years, and presented in the first two chapters of the Introduction. Naturally, our views are not the last word there is to be said on the subject; they come from testing observations and data against a conception that is just as open to discussion as any scholarly hypothesis.

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ALLENTOWN, Penn., Allentown Art Museum
AMSTERDAM, Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science / Christie's / Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst / Gemeentemusea / Kunsthandel P. de Boer /

Rembrandthuis / Rijksmuseum / Sotheby Mak van Waay B.V.
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ANTWERPEN, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten
ARLES, Musée Réattu
ASCHAFFENBURG, Bayerische Staatsgalerie, Schloss Johannisburg
BALTIMORE, Maryland, The Baltimore Museum of Art / The Walters Art Gallery
BASLE, Art Collection Trust / Öffentliche Kunstsammlung
BAYONNE, Musée Bonnat
BERLIN (West), Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie / Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett
BOSTON, Mass., The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum / Museum of Fine Arts
BRAUNSCHWEIG, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum
BREMEN, Kunsthalle
BRIGHTON, Art Gallery and Museums
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COPENHAGEN, Statens Museum for Kunst
CRACOW, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie
DARMSTADT, Hessisches Landesmuseum
DENVER, Col., The Denver Art Museum
DETROIT, Mi., The Detroit Institute of Arts
DORTMUND, Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Stadt Dortmund, Schloss Cappenberg
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NIVÅ, Malerisamlingen på Nivågaard
NUREMBERG, Germanisches Nationalmuseum
OBERLIN, Ohio, Intermuseum Laboratory
OMAHA, Nebraska, Joslyn Art Museum
OSLO, Nasjonalgalleriet
OTTAWA, The National Gallery of Canada
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ENGLAND, private collection (X-ray The National Gallery London): A 15 fig. 2

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INNSBRUCK, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum (Copy X-ray by the Röntgen Technische Dienst Rotterdam after originals made by the Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft Zürich): A 29 fig. 2

JAPAN, MOA Museum (X-ray Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft Zürich): A 22 fig. 2

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–, (Copy X-ray by the Röntgen Technische Dienst Rotterdam after originals made by Dr. M. Meier-Siem Hamburg): C 24 fig. 2. C 26 fig. 2. C 30 fig. 2

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STOCKHOLM, Nationalmuseum: C 17 fig. 2

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Introduction

Chapter I

The Stylistic Development

The style characteristics one assigns to a work of art comprise a selection of observations and interpretations which is made with a particular purpose in mind. Our purpose has been to link Rembrandt's paintings done during his Leiden years on the grounds of their points of agreement, and to separate the non-authentic from the authentic where the differences exceed the borderline of what may be plausibly considered the work of one artist. From this it will already be clear that the characteristics to be ascribed to the young Rembrandt are far from forming a single, clearcut body of features; on the contrary, their definition is the result of a complicated process consisting mainly of a comparison of all the paintings eligible for consideration. In making this comparison, certain paintings can provide more or less well-documented initial points of reference; but these are not necessarily the most representative works, and the documentation, which is seldom conclusive, in fact serves mainly to confirm or bring precision to a connexion that has been arrived at in some other way. The same is true of signatures: though some of them make a more graphologically convincing impression than others, they take on the weight of evidence only when their appearance bears out a conclusion reached on different grounds.

The stylistic features adopted here to connect Rembrandt's paintings were not a starting-point but rather, as has just been said, the result of constant and conscientious comparison of findings. What we have inferred from them has, up to the very last moment, been subjected to minor modifications. Rethinking arose from the interpretation of technical data and stylistic features, and resulted in slight shifts in the limits set to what can be tolerated as variations within the oeuvre of one and the same artist. The fact that such rethinking could come at a late stage highlights the nature of the whole process, one that is marked throughout by the interplay between the most objective possible description and the extrapolation and comparison of what one feels to be characteristic features of style and technique.

Rembrandt's style and technique are not, of course, something self-contained. As occasion arises, the catalogue will point to relationships with his teachers' generation (mainly Pieter Lastman), with his contemporaries (especially Jan Lievens), and with his pupils (in particular Gerard Dou). For the purposes of tracing out a picture of his autograph work, however, these relationships can be disregarded.

There is relatively little uncertainty about Rembrandt's early activities as a painter, because of the large number of signed and dated works displaying close stylistic links. The Lyon *Stoning of S. Stephen* (no. A 1) has been chosen as our first entry because in certain illuminated areas one can recognize the manner of painting one knows from somewhat later works, and this together with the signature and inscribed date (1625) makes the work trustworthy as a starting point. In a wide format Rembrandt here makes a strong contrast between a relatively large, broadly painted area in brown shadows and a colourful lit area, in which the plastic suggestion of separate forms predominates over their spatial arrangement. It has been found that these forms were laid down and developed separately, the empty spaces that remained between them then being filled in with isolated heads devoid of any suggestion of further body shapes. The shaft of light, too, does nothing towards making the three-dimensional arrangement clearer; the townscape, forming a dark backdrop, is left out of the dramatic lighting. Differentiating the manner of painting to suit the facial types and expressions is very much the prime consideration. In this composition, fragmented from the viewpoint of both conception and execution, there is as yet little homogeneity of action.

We know of no less than six dated works from the year 1626, and these display a number of differing tendencies. All but one of them are vertical in format, emphasizing the painter's lack of affinity (already seen in the *S. Stephen*) with the horizontal format normal with Lastman and related artists. Rembrandt's works show an attempt at a greater concentration of the action and a more economic use of the picture area, even when various motifs are borrowed from the frieze-like compositions of Lastman. The Utrecht *Baptism of the eunuch* (no. A 5) does, admittedly, resemble the *S. Stephen* closely in a number of details such as the figures in the middle ground and the horses' heads: but the deliberation with which the artist places his figures on a sloping stage, has them filling most of the picture area in a sinuous grouping, and makes them gradually smaller as distance requires, brings a definite gain in spatial coherence compared to the earlier painting. The light (falling, exceptionally, from the right) does make some contribution to this, but does as little to create a distinction between the various planes as does the vista immediately adjoining the empty foreground; in the final analysis, the plastic quality of the figures predominates over the suggestion of the space around them. In the Paris *Balaam* (no. A 2, on a panel of similar size), with its limitation of depth and its enrichment and enlivening of plastic form in light and shadow, Rembrandt seems very quickly to have recognized his own weakness and strength. The construction is still produced by piling up shapes, with secondary motifs again

dictating the silhouette against the sky; but the action in the foreground is executed with a dynamic in the brushwork in which the colourful draperies and the vegetation in the foreground are equally involved. Though in this case the pictorial dynamic is related to the action, this is not necessarily always so, as will be clear in the works from 1627 where it is precisely the static form that appears charged with the same energy. This does not yet apply to the smaller and obviously less mature Moscow *Driving-out of the moneychangers* (no. A 4). Here the heads and gesticulating arms are distributed over the picture area as in the righthand half of the *S. Stephen,* and the manner of painting does not have the degree of differentiation and the richness of the *Balaam*; as far as we know Rembrandt was not to attempt such an overloaded composition, with half-length figures, a second time. The line of the *Balaam* was however at once continued in the like-sized Amsterdam *Musical allegory* (no. A 7); a similar fusion of still-life, draperies and areas of flesh in the fierce side-lighting is here further emphasized by the vigorous, almost brutal way of painting. The colour, certainly no less variegated than in the previous works, is counterpointed by the dark, neutral tones in the foreground and background. The Amsterdam *Tobit and Anna* (no. A 3), which is, as an interior, quite comparable, is also dated 1626, and nothing demonstrates better the rapid development that Rembrandt must have undergone in the course of that year. The design is, admittedly, not essentially different – the picture area is filled almost to the edges, the strong side-light creates tangible forms as in a high-relief – yet colour and rendering of materials are so much more subtle that the difference between this and all earlier works is astonishing, even when allowance is made for the considerably smaller size of the painting.

Alongside these five works in a vertical format the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6) is still, in format and in its scale and number of figures, in the mould of the *S. Stephen*; yet it is precisely because of this that the differences between it and the 1625 painting leap to the eye. The very carefully thought-out distribution of light and shade, creating alternating planes in light and in shadow, regulates the effect of depth and the way the figures are set out in space. The placing of the figures satisfies a symmetry which is apparent only after closer study. Looked at individually, the figures – again unlike those in the *S. Stephen* – exhibit a clear continuity of body structure. This finds expression, too, in the pictorial execution: architectural components and figures are frequently set down from background to foreground, not only in forms that are partly hidden by others but also in overlapping brushstrokes, indicating an approach that has changed markedly since the *S. Stephen.* As a result this painting shows a multiplicity of static forms that fail to produce an overall rhythmic pattern. A greenish-blue which recurs in the various planes (as one also finds in the *Balaam*) provides a linking element in an otherwise variegated range of colours.

Despite its exceptional nature, the small painting of *David before Saul* in Basle (no. A 9, dated 1627 and having the appearance of a painted sketch, or *bozzetto*) is close to the Leiden *History painting* from the viewpoint of 'stage-direction'. The tension set up between the standing, princely personages and their retinues on the one hand and the kneeling figures on the other, the way subjects are silhouetted, the use of cool colour accents in the foreground and background, together with a number of resemblances of detail, provide close links between these two paintings. The *David before Saul,* in its sketchy treatment and lighter colours, stands otherwise entirely alone even among the works from 1627; this may perhaps be accounted for by its function – only assumed as a hypothesis and in any case also exceptional – as a preparatory sketch.

The year 1627 is marked, for the rest, by a great concentration of thematic drama, by an even more intensive use of a specific lighting situation in which large masses stand out with often sinuous outlines, and – linked with this – by a reticence in the use of colour which makes local colour subordinate to the tonal value. The Berlin *Rich man* (no. A 10) and the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* (no. A 11) both show this, each in its own way. Both of them, in the great attention paid to the shifting contour, the swelling surfaces and the texture of the materials depicted in a sharply-defined light, follow on from the *Tobit and Anna.* Closely connected with the *S. Paul in prison* is the undated *Simeon in the Temple* in Hamburg (no. A 12), and taken together foreshadow the *Two old men disputing* of 1628 in Melbourne (no. A 13). In this latter painting the breakdown into planes and the contrast between light and dark are expressed entirely in all-embracing sinuous contours. The resulting rhythmic linear pattern and the limited range of colour (which is still full of variation in the details), form a clear continuation of the tendencies seen in 1627.

The picture we have of Rembrandt's production in the year 1628 is, perhaps more than can be justified, determined mainly by this lastnamed painting. It carries this weight because of the previously (though no longer!) visible dating, and to the fact that stylistically it leads on in a convincing way from previous works. This cannot be said for the Berlin *Samson and Delilah* (no. A 24), which bears a monogram of unusual shape and a 1628 date. Without

being able to offer a confident explanation for this[1], we feel that this painting is closely allied in so many ways to a group of works representing a clearly-recognizable stylistic phase falling around 1629/30 at the earliest that we can disregard it here. This means that Rembrandt's output in the year 1628, aside from the etchings he was now beginning to produce and the work that was presumably already done during the year on the *Judas repentant*, England, private collection (no. A 15) dated 1629, is limited to the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* and the Amsterdam *Self-portrait* (no. A 14) which though undated should, as we shall show in a moment, probably be placed in this year.

In view of the variety of objectives that will become evident in the works from 1629, the Melbourne painting provides only to a limited degree a point of reference from which to arrive at an understanding of these. Of the three works dated 1629, the *Judas repentant* (which was executed in at least three stages, and twice underwent drastic changes) is still closest to the preceding works. For the first time since 1626, as far as we know, Rembrandt again used a large panel. In the state in which the painting was finally completed, the action is concentrated within a pyramid-shaped group set to the right of centre which – just as in the *Baptism of the eunuch*, the *Balaam* and the *Simeon in the Temple* – is crowned not by a leading character but by one of the secondary figures. In an earlier stage of the composition this figure (like that in the *Simeon in the Temple*) stood out against a light background, but in addition to this Judas was, in the first version, counterbalanced by a figure set somewhat higher up to the left, and the light fell behind and along a curtain, which formed a dark repoussoir. Both this latter motif and the diagonal spatial relationship between the principal figures put the original form of the composition very close to that of the *Old men disputing* of 1628, making it even more likely that the *Judas repentant* was started in that year. In its final shape the painting shows the most meticulous rendering of detail, which confuses rather than clarifies the spatial coherence and even the dramatic relationships. It is as if this slightly unbalanced character was an outcome of Rembrandt's almost excessive striving to bring perfection to this ambitious history painting; the reintroduction of a richer colour-scheme and the strikingly careful rendering of materials, too, may well stem from the same cause. At all events, the last result reflects a tendency apparent during 1629 in as much as the light is, for by far the greater part, softened and strong contrasts of light and dark are avoided.

This tendency is seen quite clearly if one compares two such similar works as the small *Self-portrait* in Munich (no. A 19), dated 1629, and that in Amsterdam (no. A 14) which precisely because of a stronger contrast between light and dark must be placed somewhat earlier. In the Amsterdam painting the chiaroscuro is exploited to the full to achieve the greatest possible variety in the handling of paint, with the rough texture of the background, suggesting a plastered wall, forming a linking element and the contours (treated differently in each passage) providing a contrast with this. In this effect there is an unmistakeable relationship with the *Old men disputing* of 1628, and a dating in that year is plausible. In the Munich *Self-portrait* of 1629, on the other hand, the subject and the execution of the hair area and background are admittedly very closely related, but the brushwork is on the whole looser and hence more homogeneous, and the strength of the contrasts of light and colour is diminished in favour of a unity of atmosphere. This is achieved, inter alia, through the fact that the brushstroke, plainly visible as such, has gained a certain independence of the form it is depicting.

These two tendencies – a preference for subdued contrasts between light and dark, or even a uniform soft lighting, and a greater autonomy for the brushstroke – can now, in varying gradations and separately or combined, be detected in a number of works of which only one is dated 1629. In both respects the Nuremberg *S. Paul* (no. A 26) especially comes – allowing for the totally different subject-matter – very close to the Munich *Self-portrait*: the two works share both the subtle lighting giving a simplified modelling, and the freedom in the brushwork. In the *S. Paul* the changed approach results quite clearly in a new relationship between the surface pattern and the spatial effect. In the Melbourne *Old men disputing* the sinuous contours already had a large measure of linear independence by reason of a clearly organized chiaroscuro. In the *S. Paul* the rhythm of the line is broken, and the latter becomes an expression of a spatial independence of objects as they appear in a subdued lighting that binds the shapes together rather than separating them. The Boston *Artist in his studio* (no. A 18) in turn shows a strong affinity with the *S. Paul*, especially in the handling of the dimly-lit part of the room where the

1 We are inclined to regard the rather aberrant signature and dating as not being autograph (see no. A 24). The possibility of their being autograph but added at a later stage cannot be entirely ruled out. An example of antedating, presumably by Rembrandt himself and probably unintentional, is provided by the drawing of the *Raising of Lazarus* in the British Museum (Ben. 17) after Lievens' composition of 1631 and dated 1630 (see no. A 30 under *4. Comments*). An ulterior and presumably autograph signature with correct dating is seen on *The Artist in oriental costume* in the Petit Palais, Paris (see no. A 40 under *4. Comments*).

artist is standing; there is a certain similarity, too, in the use of the dark repoussoir on the right in the foreground, though this represents a more strongly contrasting element which is, by its geometric form, certainly unusual in Rembrandt. The *Supper at Emmaus* (no. A 16) in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, must also be placed in this context: just as in the *Artist in his studio*, the brushstroke in the light areas is related to the rendering of wood, plaster and still-life objects, yet has a freedom of its own; as in the *S. Paul* the contours undergo a certain simplification, and the lighting effect depends on two different light sources. The fact that the paint surface is however different here (smoother, mainly) from that in the other works in this group is due partly to the use of paper as the support, but also to a major part of the scene being shrouded in darkness. Related to the *Supper at Emmaus* in this respect and to the other paintings in other respects is, finally, the Turin *Old man asleep* (no. A 17). This painting is dated 1629 and thus provides confirmation of the chronological connexion between the works we have grouped together here on the ground of comparability of style. The modelling of the head using flat, dark shadows and finely-drawn touches of light recurs in identical form in the *Supper at Emmaus*, the subtle impasto of the voluminous draped garments in the tabard of the *S. Paul* and those of the painter in the *Artist in his studio*. Far more markedly than in any other work in this group it is now the subdued lighting and dark surroundings that are dominant.

It will be clear from the foregoing that the year 1629 represents a phase in Rembrandt's work during which he was putting into practice a widely varying range of possibilities, especially as regards lighting, yet doing so with a constantly and clearly recognizable approach to form and way of handling paint, and using frequently related compositional motifs. This variety makes it difficult (leaving aside the heads and head-and-shoulders portraits, which can best be discussed separately) to see how the works listed related chronologically to each other and to the few works dated 1630; one may perhaps assume that the Nuremberg *S. Paul*, which combines the greatest degree of subtlety with the maximum freedom of treatment, must be placed last in the list, and dated at around 1629/30. The situation is further complicated by a small group of three undated paintings that are fairly closely related to the 1629 works and which perhaps in part form the transition to the year 1630.

This group, which can perhaps most safely also be placed in 1629/30, includes first of all the *Samson and Delilah* in Berlin, which has already been mentioned (no. A 24) and bears a dating of 1628 which is most probably incorrect. This painting does, it is true, differ from the works mentioned above in its less static representation; but in approach and in the treatment of the figure of the Philistine – very succinctly modelled in the half-shadows and showing a lively articulation of the contours even though seen frontally – there is a striking affinity with the Nuremberg *S. Paul*. Against this, the meticulous elaboration of the foreground area, illuminated by a beam of light, seems more closely related to work that one may assume to be of later date, such as similar areas of the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* (no. A 28) or even works from the early Amsterdam years. It is difficult to say with any accuracy how close a connexion there is between the *Samson and Delilah* and the Frankfurt *Saul and David* (no. A 25), because of the very worn condition of the latter painting. As well as the spatial design, with the curtain providing a shielding element, both these paintings (which are of similar size) have in common the combination of a broadly-indicated figure in the half-light and a brightly lit and minutely detailed area, albeit in a slightly different spatial arrangement. In a somewhat different context again, the considerably larger *Raising of Lazarus* in Los Angeles (no. A 30) exhibits a number of (by now) familiar features: the modelling of Christ's robes reminds one of that in the Nuremberg *S. Paul*, but the rather fitful lighting – dramatic in a few spots of glancing light and quite sombre elsewhere, with dark repoussoirs – and the independence of the extremely detailed still-life motifs reach back to related features in the *Judas repentant* in its final state. The (as we shall see) very complicated genesis of the *Raising of Lazarus* leads one to assume, as for the *Judas repentant*, a fairly protracted period of work involving similar changes in the composition (from a more diagonal to a more frontal arrangement) and in the handling of light (from a contrast effect in the centre to one at the periphery).

In relation to the major innovations of 1629, the works from 1630 and the stylistically closely-associated paintings from 1631 that can, for this reason, be judged to have been done in Leiden represent, a consolidation and enhancement of these new ways, the enhancement applying to both the composition and the pictorial execution.

Both these aspects are illustrated by the *Jeremiah*, dated 1630 (no. A 28). Compared to the Turin *Old man asleep* of 1629, which is similar from the viewpoint of subject, one sees how much the composition has gained in unity; the curve described by the figure fills, both in the flat and in the suggested depth, a diagonal function which matches the spatial distribution and is reinforced by the dense beam of light and the concentration of colours differing widely in

warmth and intensity. As a pictorial enhancement, one is struck by the thinly-painted areas of half-light throughout the background to which the hint of ground showing through lends a warm glow, an effect that had been used only once or twice before and then in a different context, in the self-portraits in Amsterdam and Munich. A similar treatment is to be seen in the background of the Innsbruck *Old man* (no. A 29), also dated 1630, in which the strongly differentiated and, in some areas, meticulous manner of painting reminds one forcibly of that in the *Jeremiah*. This similarity between a history painting and a 'tronie' (head)[2] is in fact the exception rather than the rule. Towards 1629 an unmistakeable difference in intent and in execution between various categories of paintings becomes noticeable. Since we do not know for certain to what purpose they were produced – whether they were painted to order, for sale or solely for personal use – we can classify them only by their subject-matter and appearance and, within these groupings, by size and by the manner in which they were painted. They will be dealt with below.

The history paintings, which are virtually all we have been discussing up to now, continue to form a relatively homogeneous group in 1630 and 1631 as well, though the divergent tendencies outlined during 1629 pursued their course. The format and the scale of the figures in the *Samson and Delilah*, the *Saul and David* and the *Jeremiah* recur repeatedly, either with the contrasty lighting of the lastnamed work as in the *S. Peter in prison* of 1631, Belgium, private collection (no. A 36) and – as one may suppose – in the lost painting of *Lot and his daughters* (cf. pp. 36–37, figs 1 and 2), or with the softening brought about by a more or less dark background and an accent (thus rendered all the stronger) laid on a very detailed form in the light, as in the Amsterdam *Old woman reading* (no. A 37) dated 1631, in the undated Berlin *Minerva* (no. A 38), and – though in a smaller size – in the undated *Andromeda* in The Hague (no. A 31). A new type of composition, though again on a panel of like size, is seen in the *Simeon in the Temple* of 1631 in The Hague (no. A 34) with its uncommonly clearly-defined, vast depth and its large number of smaller figures, exhaustively modelled in broken tints when in the light and subtly sketched in monochrome in the shadowy distance. Akin to this, though far less ambitious in design, must have been the *Christian scholar* which we believe has survived only as a copy (no. C 17) and which presumably was also done in 1631.

It is more or less self-evident that the graphic quality of brushstroke common to all these works, where plastic form is endowed with relief in the lit areas or is hinted at graphically in the areas of half-light, must have posed its own special problems in works of larger dimensions. In a few cases these problems have been wholly surmounted, as in the *Christ on the cross* of 1631 at Le Mas-d'Agenais (no. A 35), where the subtly executed modelling of the single, naked figure forms an effective contrast to the dark background, which is barely indicated as a cloud-filled sky. Usually, however, the predictable problems can be quite clearly sensed. Not for nothing did Constantijn Huygens note, around 1630, that Rembrandt 'wrapped up entirely in his own work, likes best to concentrate in a smaller painting [than the lifesize paintings of Jan Lievens] and within a small compass to achieve an effect that one may seek in vain in very large paintings by other men'[3]. Huygens subsequently heaps exuberant praise on the *Judas repentant*[4], though even in that painting we already saw a treatment of detail that seems almost an anomaly in the context of the overall composition. Something of the same kind applies to *The Artist in oriental costume* in the Petit Palais, Paris (no. A 40), which may be presumed to date from 1631, where the figure – though on a smaller panel – is painted on a larger scale and where the painstaking attention to details of the costume present a certain inconsistency with the skilful spatial solution to the problem of the figure conceived in a statuesque pose. Finally, the same applies even more strongly to the *Raising of Lazarus* already mentioned, and to the Berlin *Abduction of Proserpina* (no. A 39), both painted on very large panels and both typified by a vaguely indicated and darkly lit setting with meticulous localized detail. Solutions to problems of this kind called for a fresh pictorial approach, one that Rembrandt was to find only during his years in Amsterdam.

Similar problems must have beset the artist to an even greater degree in painting the human face on a larger scale. All three of the heads which we have up to now been able to fit without difficulty into the pattern of stylistic development, as this is apparent from the history paintings, are small or very small in size. Even the somewhat larger *Man in gorget and cap* (no. A 8) can, with its emphatic and almost graphically-executed lighting effect, be associated with the history paintings of 1626 and 1627; the attribution is indeed based solely on this. Then come, after an

2 For the term *tronie* see p. 40, note 8.

3 '. . . *ille, suae se industriae involvens, in minorem tabulam conferre amat et compendia effectum dare, quod in amplissimis aliorum frustra quaeras.*' Ed. J. A. Worp, in: *O. H.* 9 (1891), pp. 125–126.

4 Quoted in entry no. A 15 under *5. Documents and sources.*

interval, the *Self-portraits* of 1628 and 1629 (nos. A 14 and A 19) which are closely related despite their differences. 'Self-portrait' is really a misleading term to use for these paintings, even though we shall, for want of anything better, continue to employ it; although the word 'study' runs the risk of being anachronistic, one cannot escape the impression that the artist was in both of these examples, as well as in a number of etched self-portraits, setting himself one particular problem of lighting, one that was also occupying him at that very time in painting the *Judas repentant*. This does not alter the fact that the earlier of the two was, years later in 1634, etched by J. G. van Vliet in a series to which the contemporaneous Dutch term *tronies* (heads) seems to fit best. Similarly the Innsbruck *Old man* (no. A 29), dated 1630, was reproduced by van Vliet in an etching three years later, but this very small painting also belongs quite evidently to a number of *tronies* consisting in part of so-called 'self-portraits' of the kind Rembrandt had been painting in both small and large formats since 1629, and which did much to decide his reputation among his contemporaries and for posterity.

Rembrandt must initially have reacted in a number of different ways to the difficulties this subject-matter brought with it, especially in a large format. This is at least how it seems to the art historian, who finds it extremely difficult to find consistent criteria for his attributions among the, on the whole, meagre range of common features displayed by these paintings, both between themselves and in comparison to history paintings from the same period.

The only etching dated 1629 is the remarkably experimental self-portrait 'done with a double needle' (B. 338). This etching not only seems symptomatic of Rembrandt's preoccupation with rendering heads and busts on a larger scale, apparent in the paintings from this year, but also offers a number of points in common with some of these paintings. The linear pattern of the hair curling outside the contour recurs in an identical form in the scratchmarks in the wet paint seen in the small paintings at Amsterdam and Munich. Most closely related, from the viewpoint of physiognomy and clothing, is the substantially larger *Self-portrait* in The Hague (no. A 21). In this, however, with its only occasional freedom in an otherwise largely blending treatment of the closed paint surface, one would not readily suspect the hand of the painter of the *Judas repentant* or even – other than in the small white collar – of the author of the Munich *Self-portrait*. One can find justification for maintaining the traditional attribution in the relatively minor similarities with the etching and the Munich *Self-portrait* and, more generally, in the evocative value of the careful way paint has been handled. It must be said however that analogies with most of his other works are slight, probably for the simple reason that in a painting like this Rembrandt for the first time reveals himself as the patient observer of his own features. If this hypothesis is correct, he does the same in the *Self-portrait* in Japan, MOA Museum (no. A 22) where the head, again in close-up but this time lifesize, is seen with just the same observation of detail and with an even smoother manner of painting and more subtle handling of light.

While both of these heads, which should be dated 1629, already have something of a finished perfection about them, in no way do they set out a definitive vision. The *Self-portrait* dated 1629, in the Gardner Museum, Boston (no. A 20), may well have been produced either earlier or later in that year, but it was obviously aiming at different objectives. The large panel is conceived as a broad, even overgenerous frame, within which the rather puny half-length figure, observed at some distance, is shown for the most part in summary fashion. The bareness of the form, which has been given a powerful suggestion of plasticity only in the illuminated parts of the dress, is such that Rembrandt's authorship is far from self-evident. Attribution of the painting to him is indeed possible solely on the grounds of evidence connected mainly with the technique and on a (naturally only hypothetical) assumption of the purpose the artist had in executing this figure painting at an unprecedented size, a purpose that seems to differ greatly from that of the other three 1629 self-portraits. Finally, the Cleveland *Bust of a young man* (no. A 23), though now bearing a date of 1632, would seem to fit in best with this group of heads. The relationship between the figure and the dark background, as well as the treatment of the face, links this painting most closely with the two self-portraits in the smooth manner, while other features recur in the Gardner *Self-portrait*. If one is justified in assigning the date of 1629 to the Cleveland painting, this confirms the impression that Rembrandt was at this stage trying out a variety of solutions for problems of light and form connected with the depiction of heads and busts.

The following *tronies* were both done on a very small scale. One is the Innsbruck *Old man*, already mentioned; the other, the Salzburg *Old woman at prayer* (no. A 27), which is even smaller and painted on copper, fits in its conception and execution into the picture of Rembrandt's development as a painter of historical subjects and – allowing for the difference of subject-matter and the exceptional

nature of the support material – is related reasonably well to the Turin *Old man asleep* of 1629.

One is struck all the more forcibly by the fact that the same model seen on a larger panel at Windsor Castle (no. A 32), probably datable as 1630/31, shows a similar lighting but has a completely individual handling of paint in the face, lit from the front right. Small dabs of paint in flesh colours, pink and a trace of grey model the entire surface in a way not seen in any other work. There is nothing to presage the vigorous brushstrokes and strong accents of the *Portrait of an 83-year-old woman* in the National Gallery, London (Br. 343), dated 1634. Other features do however provide sufficient support for the old attribution, and one must assume that what we see here is an isolated solution arrived at on this occasion during a series of experiments in portraying wrinkled skin.

Young skin seems to be the principal motif in the Liverpool *Self-portrait* (no. A 33), presumably painted at about the same time. In this large-format work (it is almost the same size as the Boston *Self-portrait*) the accessories, including the cap which had been given a full, plastic form in the earlier work, are dealt with summarily as scarcely more than a silhouette. Even the lit area of the head has little detail, though the continuity of the brushstroke, which bends to follow the form, is here clearly intended to generate the suggestion of plasticity. The result is, because of its rather empty appearance, not very satisfactory, although surely characteristic of the urge felt during these final years in Leiden to find a simplified form for the figure seen at some distance and on a large scale.

It is evident that the Liverpool *Self-portrait* was not really the answer to this problem. Yet one could hardly expect that the following attempts at finding a solution would be so utterly different as the *Young man* in Toledo (no. A 41) and the *Old man in gorget and cap* in Chicago (no. A 42). The former is dated 1631, but only in its completed state, painted on top of a markedly different version which is more rich in contrast. Although both are closely related to the Leiden paintings, there is of course no certainty that work on them was not completed only in Amsterdam. They are painted on panels of about the same size, but certainly do not form pendants. It can hardly be pure chance, however, that a young man and an old man should provide the subjects. The differences in treatment undoubtedly are connected with this to some extent. In the *Young man* the flesh areas are preponderantly painted thinly and almost fluently, and a rounding pattern in the brushstrokes indicates the plasticity of the head (seen for the most part in shadow) in a way that greatly simplifies its shape; the background shows some light and shade, but is practically smooth. In the *Old man* we see a broad brushstroke in the background, and in the lit area of the head a more clearly articulating, more impasto touch, which here and there even embraces the modelling in a vigorous movement. This quality is one that these two works share in respect of the accessories, in particular the feathered cap. Unlike the cumbersome modelling of the cap in the Boston *Self-portrait*, produced by means of hatching, and the barely plastic treatment of the silhouette in the Liverpool work, this item shows, in the Toledo and Chicago paintings, a use of broad brushstrokes which suggest the modelling effectively in nuances of light and dark.

In this latter respect these paintings clearly herald the style of painting of the Amsterdam Rembrandt; but then it remains amazing that he should reveal himself, later in 1631, as a practised portrait painter. The *Portrait of Nicolaes Ruts* in the New York Frick Collection (Br. 145) and the Leningrad *Scholar* (Br. 146) were to form the almost miraculous dénouement of what in the Leiden *tronies* had seemed a continuous process of experiment. Whether through the discipline imposed on the artist by a portrait being commissioned, or through making acquaintance with the practice of other studios, the move to Amsterdam during 1631 meant, for Rembrandt as the painter of busts and half-length figures, a new beginning.

J. B., E. v. d. W.

Chapter II

Painting materials and working methods*

Over the years there have been many publications discussing aspects of Rembrandt's painting technique[1]. So far, however, no clear and generally accepted picture of his working method has emerged. This is evident from, for example, the almost total absence of technical arguments in discussions about attributions. It is evident too, in the widely differing policies on cleaning Rembrandt's paintings, based on widely differing points of view about his painting technique[2]. The idea that Rembrandt had one fixed working method, one single method that can be taken as a point of reference whenever there are dilemmas as to authenticity, admittedly does not seem likely – certainly not one single method that he used throughout his career. One may assume that works that differ stylistically as strongly as those of the early and late Rembrandt will have differences in technique as well. What is more, the mental picture we have of artists in general implies that the more creative they are, the less likely they are to have set working methods. Rembrandt in particular is regarded, rightly or wrongly, as one of the most outstanding examples of the kind of artist enjoying great creative freedom and hence possibly showing technical whimsicality. It should not come as a surprise, therefore, that in evaluations of the results of research into Rembrandt's use of materials and painting technique one finds a respectful and resigned acceptance of the inconsistency of the technical data[3]. It would seem, however, that in his early years at least Rembrandt did approach the task of producing a painting by following a more or less set working method.

As data and observations on Rembrandt's Leiden paintings were analysed and correlated, distinct patterns emerged which prompted us to postulate a more or less consistent working method in the young Rembrandt, and to put this hypothesis to the test. Wherever such testing is possible using laboratory techniques, it has been carried out in collaboration with the Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science, Amsterdam[4].

This testing obviously could not, where the structure of the ground and paint layers are concerned, extend to all the paintings. Thorough investigation was possible of a number of paintings available in the Netherlands – the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6), the Utrecht *Baptism of the eunuch* (no. A 5), and in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum the *Musical allegory* (no. A 7), the *Tobit and Anna* (no. A 3), the *Jeremiah* (no. A 28), the *Old woman reading* (no. A 37) and the early *Self-portrait* (no. A 14). All these works could be subjected to close examination using the microscope. Two works in Paris, the *Balaam* in the Musée Cognacq-Jay (no. A 2) and the *Supper at Emmaus* in the Musée Jacquemart-André (no. A 16), were studied afresh – albeit only with a magnifying-glass – in the light of the hypotheses we had developed. These repeated observations yielded further confirmation of the theory we had evolved. Advantage was taken of the naturally limited opportunities for taking samples of paint and preparing cross-sections in order to check our suppositions, though this is not to say that our evidence is based wholly or mainly on these. The decisive evidence is made up of the totality of the many observations made with the naked eye or a magnifying-glass on the paintings described in the present volume; it is

1 A survey of the state of research into Rembrandt's painting technique was given by H. von Sonnenburg during the symposium on *Rembrandt after three hundred years* in the Chicago Art Institute in 1969. When the papers and discussion from this symposium were published in 1973, a bibliography on this subject compiled by von Sonnenburg was added (pp. 96–101); the paper and bibliography were republished in *Maltechnik / Restauro* 82 (1976), pp. 9–24. Later publications on the subject are: Ben B. Johnson, 'Examination and treatment of Rembrandt's "Raising of Lazarus"', *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin* 20 (1974), no. 2, pp. 18–35; H. Kühn, 'Untersuchungen zu den Pigmenten und den Malgründen Rembrandts, durchgeführt an den Gemälden der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Kassel', *Maltechnik / Restauro* 82 (1976), pp. 25–32; H. Kühn, 'Untersuchungen zu den Pigmenten und den Malgründen Rembrandts, durchgeführt an den Gemälden der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden', *Maltechnik / Restauro* 83 (1977), pp. 223–233; W. Froentjes in: *Rembrandt in the Mauritshuis*, Alphen aan de Rijn 1978; E. van de Wetering, 'De jonge Rembrandt aan het werk', *O.H.* 91 (1977), pp. 27–65; H. von Sonnenburg, 'Rembrandts "Segen von Jakob" ', *Maltechnik / Restauro* 74 (1978), pp. 217–241.

2 Cf. M. Doerner, *Malmaterial und seine Verwendung im Bilde*, Munich 1922 1st edn, Stuttgart 1960, pp. 332–338 and H. Ruhemann, *The cleaning of paintings*, London 1968, pp. 355, 356, 359.

3 Cf., for example, the contribution to the discussion made by R. Buck during the symposium mentioned in note 1, pp. 93 and 94; also H. Kühn, 'Untersuchungen zu den Malgründen Rembrandts', *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 2 (1965), pp. 189–210 and H. Kühn, 'Untersuchungen zu den Pigmenten und Malgründen Rembrandts, durchgeführt an den Gemälden der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Kassel', *Maltechnik / Restauro* 82 (1976), pp. 25–32.

4 The investigations were carried out in the autumn of 1975 in the Stedelijk Museum 'de Lakenhal' in Leiden, and in the summer of 1976 in the Rijksmuseum 'Het Catherijne Convent' in Utrecht and the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. In 1975 an opportunity for investigation was given by the curators of the Musée Cognacq-Jay and the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris. We are extremely grateful to the directors and staffs of these museums for providing facilities. Research into paintings in museums in the Netherlands was carried out in collaboration with Mrs. C. M. Groen, a colleague in the Analytical Chemistry Dept. of the Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science, Amsterdam. Drs. J. A. Mosk, head of the Analytical Chemistry Dept. at the Central Laboratory participated in the study of the painting in Utrecht. Analysis of paint samples was done with the assistance of Miss. W. G. Th. Roelofs, Miss. Th. B. van Oosten and Mr. P. Hallebeek of the Central Laboratory. Mr. IJ. Hummelen, of the Laboratory's Paintings Dept. helped in preparing panels with various ground layers on the basis of 17th-century recipes, and searched the literature in this connexion. Mr. E. Klusman, head of the Laboratory's Photographic Dept, made X-ray photographs of the panels thus prepared. To all of these the author is most grateful for their contribution.

* A first version of this chapter appeared separately in *Oud Holland* 91 (1977), pp. 27–65. Sincere thanks are due here to all those who offered criticisms of that initial version and suggested improvements. We are particularly indebted to Mrs. C. M. Groen for her assistance and advice during the preparation of this chapter.

interesting that the bulk of these observations could be interpreted satisfactorily – in some cases subsequently – only in the light of knowledge gained in the meantime. The same was true to a very large extent for the available X-rays (of 39 of the 42 authentic paintings), which in the relationship they bear to the forms visible at the paint surface could be read to make sense only when they are seen against the assumed sequence of Rembrandt's working method; they thus in their turn provide a large measure of confirmation of our theory as to the painting procedure.

The theory set out in the present chapter thus provides a framework into which each of the paintings has been found to fit with a greater or lesser degree of demonstrability (depending on the information available); the individual examples will not be cited here in every instance. It must be commented that no proof in the strict sense of the word is being offered – in general, one's visual observations are communicable only to a limited extent, and their interpretation becomes more plausible only as a variety of seemingly disconnected phenomena is accounted for by assuming a coherent and to some extent even documented procedure.

How far the various elements of this postulated working method are specific for the early Rembrandt is still a virtually open question. It is possible, even probable, that most of them were part of general workshop practice in the Netherlands in the 17th century and probably earlier. This is why the elements of this working method certainly cannot be used in isolation as criteria when considering whether a given painting is autograph or not. It may at best turn out, when at some future date paintings by contemporary artists in or outside Rembrandt's circle are subjected to a similar analysis, that groups of personal variants on such set working methods can provide criteria for authenticity.

This chapter is concerned mainly with the way Rembrandt worked in producing a number of early history paintings. Observations made on other and later paintings are sometimes brought into the discussion, but only when they can lend clarification. The main theme is the painter's working procedure, looking for the sense and logic underlying the various steps in the painting method that was adopted.

The support

In view of the great diversity of the types and colours of paper that Rembrandt quite clearly deliberately chose to use for his drawings and etchings in his later years[5], it is tempting to assume that for his paintings as well he deliberately varied his choice of support and preparation with a specific artistic purpose in mind. The possibilities of such variation that have been considered here relate mainly to the dimensions of panels (the type of support that was predominantly used during this period). Later, in the section dealing with the ground, we look at whether Rembrandt varied the colour of his preparation layer.

We tried whenever possible to examine the paintings out of their frames. This made it possible to look also at the edges and back of the panels, and to measure the panel thickness. Guesses as to whether a painting is complete or not could be checked against evidence provided by toolmarks and the like on the back and edges; dimensions could be taken with reasonable accuracy, and the composition of panels was recorded. In many cases a second opportunity was given to take the painting out of its frame, this time for dendrochronological examination[6]. In this way a great amount of material could be assembled about the supports on which Rembrandt worked.

Apart from a few small paintings done on copper[7] and one on paper[8], all the paintings we know of done by Rembrandt in his Leiden period are on oak panels. In a remarkably large proportion of these the back surface is still intact.

The panels on which Rembrandt did his paintings vary slightly in their composition. Most consist of a single plank; some have two and others have three members, invariably with butt-joints. The grain of the wood always runs parallel to the length of the panel. The connexion between the number of members and the format is not a regular one, although the smallest panels are always a single plank while the largest usually have three. The majority of the panels are bevelled at the back along all four sides down to a thickness of a few millimetres at the edges, probably to make it possible later to fix the panel into a frame (fig. 1). Practically all 17th-century Dutch panels correspond to this description. Where panels have been reduced in size since they were made, some or all of the bevelling has disappeared. However, not all the panels that are still complete show bevelling on four sides – quite often it is seen on only three, especially in the case of single-plank panels (fig. 2). This comes about from the way planks were sawn from a treetrunk, i.e. radially (at

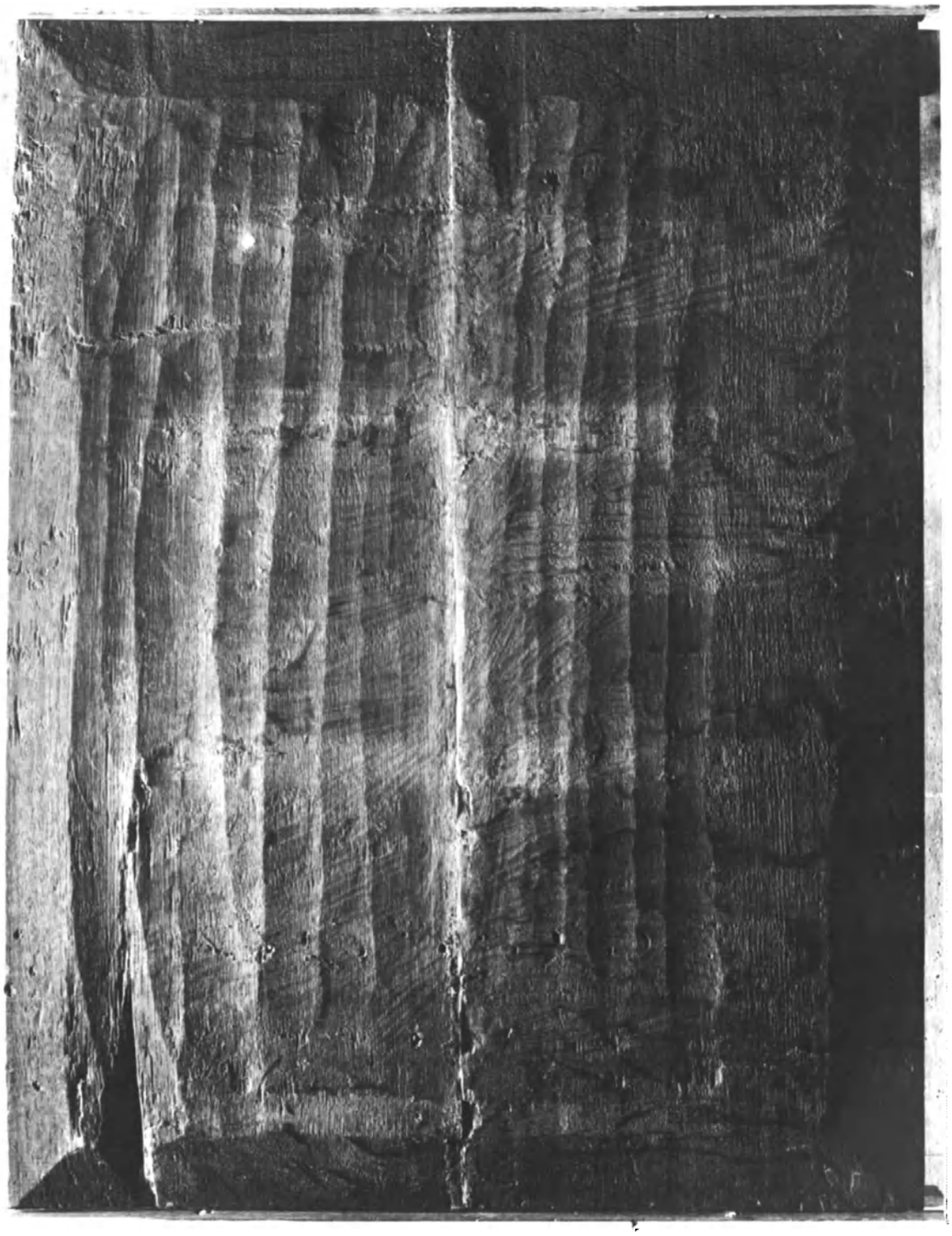
5 O. Benesch, *Rembrandt, selected drawings*, London–New York 1947, pp. 8–13; Chr. White, *Rembrandt as an etcher*, London 1969, pp. 14–18.

6 J. Bauch, D. Eckstein and M. Meier-Siem, 'Dating the wood of panels by a dendrochronological analysis of the tree-rings', *N.K.J.* 23 (1972), pp. 485–496. Additionally, Prof. Dr. J. Bauch, Dr. D. Eckstein and Dr. P. Klein have kindly made the detailed results of their investigations available to us.

7 Nos. A 27, B 5, B 6; cf. W. Froentjes, 'Schilderde Rembrandt op goud', *O.H.* 84 (1969), pp. 233–237.

8 No. A 16.

Fig. 1. Back of panel bevelled along four sides (no. A 5)



right angles to the annual rings), the reason being that a plank sawn like this has less tendency to warp. This way of sawing up a log produces what is fundamentally a wedge-shaped board, and this wedge shape can still often be seen to some extent (fig. 3). As the thinnest side of the wedge was sometimes only a few millimetres thick, the panel would not then need to be bevelled along one of its long sides. For the same reason, the bevelling along the short sides often becomes narrower towards the thin side of the wedge. The thickest part of the panels – including the large-format ones made up of more than one member – is usually about one centimetre thick. Protecting such a thin, often quite large panel while it was unframed obviously required precautions. Grooved battens were temporarily attached to two or four edges, as may be seen from the panel standing on an easel in the Boston *Artist in his studio* (fig. 4). As a result, the surface along the edges is sometimes found not to be covered with paint, wholly or in part (fig. 5).

When one surveys the dimensions of Rembrandt's

Fig. 2. Back of a panel bevelled along three sides (no. A 8)

Fig. 3. Side-view of a wedge-shaped panel (top) (P. Lastman, *Abraham's sacrifice*. Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis)

Leiden panels it is noticeable that they can nearly all be fitted into groups of panels having roughly the same measurements. Even the paintings that we regard as not being autograph but produced within Rembrandt's circle and others painted during the same period are often found to fit into these groups, as can be seen from the following list[9]. The dimensions may vary by several centimetres within the various groups.

A 1	The stoning of S. Stephen, Lyon	123.6 × 89.5 cm
A 6	History painting, Leiden	121.3 × 90.1 cm
A 30	Raising of Lazarus, Los Angeles (reduced in height to 96.2 cm)	... × 81.5 cm
A 39	Abduction of Proserpina, Berlin (reduced in height to 84.8 cm)	... × 79.7 cm
A 15	Judas repentant, private collection, England	102.3 × 79 cm
A 42	Old man in gorget and cap, Chicago (acc. to information from 1768, height originally about 90, now 83.4 cm)	[90] × 75.6 cm
A 20	Self-portrait, Boston, Gardner Museum	89.5 × 73.7 cm
A 41	Young man, Toledo (fits into a large group of panels used by other artists)	80.3 × 64.8 cm
C 20	Old man with crossed arms, Boston	74.7 × 59.5 cm
A 11	S. Paul in prison, Stuttgart	72.8 × 60.2 cm
A 13	Two old men disputing, Melbourne	72.3 × 59.5 cm
A 33	Self-portrait, Liverpool	69.7 × 57 cm
A 40	The artist in oriental costume, Paris, Petit Palais	66.5 × 52 cm
A 5	Baptism of the eunuch, Utrecht	63.5 × 48 cm
A 7	Musical allegory, Amsterdam	63.4 × 47.6 cm
A 2	Balaam, Paris, Musée Cognacq-Jay	63.2 × 46.5 cm
A 25	David playing the harp to Saul, Frankfurt	61.8 × 50.2 cm
A 24	Samson and Delilah, Berlin	61.3 × 50.1 cm
A 32	Old woman, Windsor Castle	61 × 47.4 cm
A 34	Simeon in the Temple, The Hague	60.9 × 47.8 cm
C 17	Christian scholar, Stockholm	60.8 × 47.3 cm
A 38	Minerva, Berlin	60.5 × 49 cm
A 37	Old woman reading, Amsterdam	59.8 × 47.7 cm
A 36	S. Peter in prison, Belgium, priv. coll.	59.1 × 47.8 cm
C 9	Minerva, Denver	58.9 × 45.5 cm
A 28	Jeremiah, Amsterdam	58.3 × 46.6 cm

9 Not considered here are: no. A 31, *Andromeda* in The Hague and no. C 5, *The flight into Egypt* in Tours, since both these panels have been reduced on more than one side; no. A 35, *Christ on the cross* in La Mas d'Agenais, the curved top of which results in changed dimensions and proportions; and no. C 10, *Nocturnal scene* in Tokyo, which is probably only a fragment.

Fig. 4. Panel with battens to protect two edges, as shown in *The artist in his studio*. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (no. A 18)

A 23	Young man, Cleveland (reduced a little in height to 57.7 cm and more in width to 43.9 cm)	... × ... cm
A 12	Simeon in the Temple, Hamburg	55.4 × 43.7 cm
A 17	Old man asleep, Turin	51.9 × 40.8 cm
A 22	Self-portrait, Japan, MOA Museum	49.7 × 37.3 cm
A 26	S. Paul, Nuremberg	47.2 × 38.6 cm
A 4	Driving out of the money-changers, Moscow	43.1 × 32 cm
A 10	Rich man, Berlin	42.5 × 31.9 cm
A 3	Tobit and Anna, Amsterdam	40.1 × 29.9 cm
A 8	Man in gorget and cap, whereabouts unknown	40 × 29.4 cm
A 9	David before Saul, Basle (reduced at bottom long side to height of 27.2 cm)	39.6 × ... cm
A 21	Self-portrait, The Hague (slightly reduced in height and width to 37.9 × 28.9 cm)	... × ... cm
A 18	The artist in his studio, Boston	31.9 × 25.1 cm
C 11	Foot operation, Switzerland, private collection	31.8 × 24.4 cm
C 22	Old man, Milwaukee, Coll. A. Bader	24 × 20.3 cm
A 14	Self-portrait, Amsterdam	22.5 × 18.6 cm
C 23	Man in cap, U.S.A., private collection	22.4 × 16.5 cm
A 29	Old man in a fur cap, Innsbruck	22.2 × 17.7 cm
B 1	Three singers, The Hague, Cramer Gallery	21.6 × 17.8 cm
B 2	The operation, The Hague, Cramer Gallery	21.5 × 17.7 cm
B 3	The spectacles-pedlar, Guernsey, coll. D. H. Cevat	21 × 17.8 cm
C 18	Man writing by candle-light, Milwaukee, coll. A. Bader (copper; acc. to information from *c.* 1790, height originally 15.7, now 13.9 cm)	[15.7] × 13.9 cm
A 19	Self-portrait, Munich	15.5 × 12.7 cm
A 27	Old woman at prayer, Salzburg	15.5 × 12.2 cm
B 6	Man laughing, The Hague	15.4 × 12.2 cm
B 5	Self-portrait, Stockholm	15 × 12.2 cm

At first, conditioned by the attempts seen in the art history field to reconstruct altar-pieces and pairs of pendants, one tries to explain this uniformity by assuming a particular functional or iconographical relationship between the paintings in a given format-group. The fact that in certain cases the panels are identical not only in their format but in their composition as well (in respect of the number and width of the component members) encourages such attempts at reconstruction with Rembrandt's works. Yet there are rarely convincing arguments for such a relationship; it must be thought far more likely that these are standard-sized panels that were commercially available. The brief digression into aspects of the manufacture and selling of panels that follows is mainly intended to make it clear how constrained Rembrandt was in this respect.

A painter did not make his own panels. Manufacturing panels was a craft that can be shown to have been a prerogative of the joiners' and cabinetmakers' guild. This had obviously been so self-evident that it was not stated explicitly in the charter of the guild in Leiden. At precisely the time that Rembrandt was working in Leiden, however, the joiners' and cabinetmakers' guild felt itself forced, in 1627, to lodge a request with the Leiden authorities for its charter to be extended to include this right. At that time one Jan Pietersz. van den Bosch, a woodturner by trade, who was not a member of the guild, had become active in the making and selling of panels; the guild obviously needed the regulations changed to prevent him[10].

Most probably there were still at this time no middlemen in Leiden in the trade between the producers and users of panels. This one sees from a petition to the Leiden authorities by Leender Hendricx Volmarijn of Rotterdam in 1643, to be allowed to open a shop in the town to sell paintings and artist's materials[11]. In listing what he sought to retail, he included panels. In the document setting out his request (which was in fact granted) he stated explicitly that no such shop existed in Leiden. In previous years he had indeed attended the open-air annual fairs selling his goods, but in that connexion

10 *Archieven van de gilden*, Leiden Municipal Archives 1921, p. 76 no. 20, G.B.B. 1627, M 192 688: 'Alteratie & ampliatie' of the charter of the cabinetmakers.

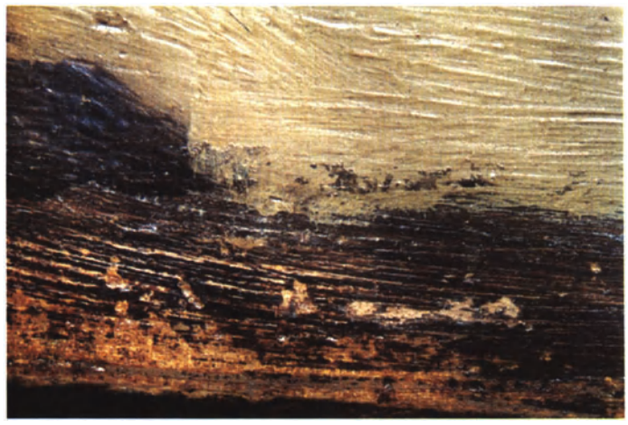
11 W. Martin, 'Een "Kunsthandel" in een klappermanswachthuis', *O.H.* 19 (1901), pp. 86–88.

he mentions only the sale of paintings. In all probability, therefore, Rembrandt will have bought his panels direct from the joiner. This could mean that he had them made 'to measure', to his own specifications, but it is not likely. From a variety of sources one learns that there was a wide choice of standard sizes, most of them known by the names of various coins – daalder size, 26-stuiver size, 4-shilling size, guilder size, 12-stuiver panel, 10-stuiver size and so on. Other standard formats bore a variety of names such as large kind, little pieces, whole and half salvadors, portrait panels (groote soort, cleyne stuckgens, heel en halve salvadors, conterfeyt panelen) etc.[12]

The assumption that these refer to measurements of area, with the length and width variable, comes from finding variants such as 'narrow guilder size' and 'guilder size longer', though these must be exceptions that prove the rule. There are indications that the size-names should be looked on as standard sizes with more or less fixed length and width dimensions. The most important piece of evidence for this – meaning that Rembrandt too would have been restricted to using standard sizes – is that the framemakers produced frames based on the same sizes. A document of 1637[13], for example, mentions 'Two guilder-size frames without panel; two 8-st[uiver] size frames', while in 1646[14] we read 'ebony frames: 4 twentysix size, 4 guilder size', etc. There must therefore have been some degree of standardization in the manufacture of panels on the one hand and frames on the other. The larger standard sizes one recognizes in Rembrandt's Leiden panels bear a relatively simple relationship to the Rhineland foot[15]. Panels used by him that can be placed in the same group quite often show a varying composition of one, two or three planks, indicating that a deliberate attempt had been made to achieve precisely this standard set of dimensions[16]. There is, in short, every reason to believe that Rembrandt kept to standard sizes when buying panels.

Because of the remarkable resemblance in both size and composition of certain panels that were evidently manufactured in one and the same

Fig. 5. Detail of no. A 6, showing unpainted edge



'series'[17], it is probable that Rembrandt bought several panels at a time. This supposition is further borne out by the appearance of whole lots of identical panels in some painters' inventories[18]; and the discovery by Prof. Dr. J. Bauch that in a number of cases two or more panels used by Rembrandt came from the same treetrunk is evidence for the correctness of this assumption[19].

The ground

In his study of the grounds on Rembrandt's panels and canvases – a study in which samples of the ground were taken for analysis from 75 paintings attributed to Rembrandt, from all periods – Kühn finally arrived at four main types: chalk, white lead, ochre and quartz grounds[20]. Surveying Kühn's results, Richard Buck voiced the opinion that 'each painting may have been a technical creation as well as a pictorial one'[21]. This opinion was inspired particularly by the fact that, according to Kühn's analysis, even within each of these four main groups there is seen to be hardly a single ground that has the same composition as the others. The grounds found in the Leiden paintings done on panel, which belong

12 See J. Bruyn, 'Een onderzoek naar 17de-eeuwse schilderijformaten, voornamelijk in Noord-Nederland', *O.H.* 93 (1979), pp. 96–115. The problem was first raised by W. Martin in the article referred to in note 11.

13 A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* IV, The Hague 1917, p. 1468: 'Twee guldensmaten lysten sonder panneel; Twee 8 st[uyvers]maten lysten'.

14 A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* VI, The Hague 1919, p. 2244: 'ebbe lysten: 4 sesentwintich maten, 4 guldens maten'.

15 1 Rhineland foot = 12 duim (inches) = 144 lijn (lines). 1 Rhineland foot = 31.395 cm, 1 duim = 2.616 cm.

16 Cf. *Balaam* (no. A 2) 63.2 × 48 cm, two planks; *David playing the harp to Saul* (no. A 25) 61.8 × 50 cm, three planks; *S. Peter in prison* (no. A 36) 59.1 × 47.8 cm, single plank.

17 The panels of the *Balaam* (no. A 2), the *Baptism of the eunuch* (no. A 5) and the *Musical allegory* (no. A 7) are identical in size and make-up – two planks with the join at the centre. A further group of similar panels is formed by those on which the *Samson and Delilah* (no. A 24) and the *David playing the harp to Saul* (no. A 25) are painted: both have identical dimensions, and the three individual elements (a wide plank in the centre and two narrower ones to the sides) have similar dimensions.

18 An example of the purchase of a series of identical panels might be detected in two items in the inventory of Jan Miense Molenaar (1668): '26 panelen van één stuck gelycke formaet' (26 single-plank panels of the same size) and '32 panelen wat groter van één stuck' (32 panels, somewhat larger, single-plank); see A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* I, The Hague 1915, p. 6.

19 As far as the Leiden period is concerned, these cases comprise nos. A 12, A 38 and B 7 (all three panels from one tree) and A 34 and A 37 (both panels from the same board).

20 H. Kühn, 'Untersuchungen zu den Malgründen Rembrandts', *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 2 (1965), pp. 189–210.

21 *Rembrandt after three hundred years: A symposium*, Chicago 1973, p. 94.

Fig. 6. Two light marks above the right hand, sharply defined at their lower edge, indicating damage caused to the panel during planing and filled in when it was primed (detail of X-ray of no. A 7)

Fig. 7. Detail of no. A 6, showing ground lying bare – particularly in the forehead and around the eye – and brownish underpaint in the shadow areas of the face

to Kühn's first group, show variants such as chalk/glue, chalk/ochre/glue, and chalk/ochre/white lead/glue, while panels with a chalk ground from the early Amsterdam period yielded variants with these ingredients in which there was oil as well.

This does, indeed, reveal a considerable variety. The question is, however, whether we should draw from this the same conclusion as Buck, i.e. that each painting is evidently a technical creation as well. To start with, the result of chemical analysis usually cannot be equated with a painter's recipe – it is at best a list of the ingredients discovered, sometimes with an indication of their quantitative relationships. When formulating one's objective, choosing the place from which to take a sample, deciding one's analytical method and interpreting one's results, one works – consciously or unconsciously – from a preconceived idea of the painting procedure used. It is precisely in investigating the bottom layer, or layers, of the painting that it is crucially important to be aware of what one is looking for and what one can expect to find. One should question whether the objective towards which Kühn's study was directed was the best one for unearthing the facts about the painter's technique; what triggered off his investigation was the surprising discovery of quartz in the ground underlying the late *Self-portrait* now in Stuttgart, which came to light in 1952 and was soon being viewed with doubt[22]. The unexpected occurrence of quartz in the ground provided one of the possible criteria for authenticity which still had to be assessed to see what weight it carried. The real question the study was aiming to answer was thus whether there were other Rembrandt paintings in which quartz occurred *in the bottom layer*. Because this was the objective in view, it may be that insufficient account was taken of the possible presence of the imprimatura or '*primuersel*', a coat that plays an important part both technically and optically in the preparation of a panel[23]. In by far the majority of cases no cross-section was made from the samples so it is now impossible to study them under the microscope and look for information on the structure of the grounds. In the article setting out the results of his study, Kühn mentions the occurrence of two and in one instance three preparation coats only in a number of canvases – apart from these he seems to work on the assumption of a single layer.

A technique for applying the ground to panels current in the 16th and 17th centuries was first to brush the panel (several times) with glue size and then to apply a thin coat of a mixture of chalk and glue. The main purpose of this layer was to provide an even surface by filling-in cavities in the panel; in the case of an oak panel these would include open grain and any damage that might have been suffered while the panel was being made (fig. 6). Once this chalk-and-glue layer had been scraped smooth, a thin translucent coat of oil-paint was applied – what van Mander calls the *primuersel* (sometimes

22 P. Coremans & J. Thissen, 'Het wetenschappelijk onderzoek van het zelfportret van Stuttgart', *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* 7 (1964), pp. 187–195. C. Müller-Hofstede, 'Das Stuttgarter Selbstbildnis von Rembrandt', *Pantheon* 21 (1963), pp. 65–90 and 94–100.

23 Cf. J. A. van de Graaf, *Het Mayerne Manuscript als bron voor de schildertechniek van de Barok*, Utrecht 1958, p. 22; see also note 20.

Fig. 8. Cross section (335 ×) from the top part of the white sash of the figure on the extreme left in no. A 6, showing from bottom to top: 1. the chalk and glue ground, 2. a thin layer of yellowish 'primuersel' (containing white lead and some brown pigment), 3. a dark mixture used for the underpainting (containing a translucent brown pigment, organic red pigment, white lead and possibly some chalk, black pigment and some red, either vermillion or red ochre), 4. a layer of white lead

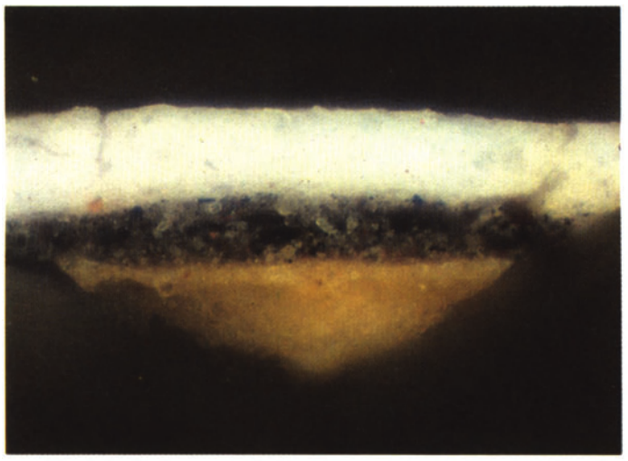
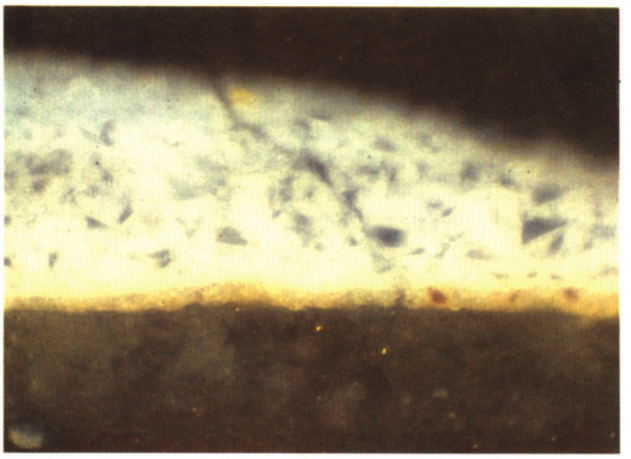


Fig. 9. Cross section (390 ×) from the whitish sky in no. A 5 (taken near the edge where it has been painted only once as opposed to the double layer elsewhere), showing: 1. the chalk and glue ground, 2. a thin layer of yellowish 'primuersel' (containing white lead and some brown pigment), 3. a layer of white lead, mixed with greyish particles (probably smalt)



translated as 'priming', which term should rather be kept to denote the first, chalk-and-glue layer)[24]. The principal functions of this layer were to make the ground less absorbent and to give it an appropriate tint (usually, so far as one can tell from observation, yellowish or – as in Rubens – greyish).

It is obvious that when samples of the ground are being taken and examined the difference between the two layers just described needs to be kept clearly in mind; this is not easy in practice, however, because the *primuersel* is very thin indeed and because the absorbency of the chalk-and-glue layer means that the boundary between the two layers is not clearcut. It may be that this provides the explanation for the wide variety seen in Kühn's results – at least where the grounds on panel are concerned. The chalk-and-glue layer and the *primuersel* taken together do indeed contain the full range of ingredients found by Kühn – chalk, glue, oil and pigments such as white lead and/or ochre or another brownish earth pigment.

One cannot of course rule out the possibility of Rembrandt having experimented with grounds; yet on the basis of a great many observations made with the naked eye we are for the moment inclined to believe that in Leiden Rembrandt did not make any experiments where the optical function of the ground is concerned. Where it is visible, the ground always appears to be a light yellowish-brown colour (fig. 7). One might put this down to the presence of yellowed varnish over a presumed white layer, yet even recently cleaned panels invariably show the same colour of ground. Joyce Plesters thought that the yellow colour of Rembrandt's grounds on panel could be explained by discolouration of the glue used as a binding medium for a white chalk ground, or by the discolouring effect of the oakwood to which the layer was applied[25]. Examination of paint samples from paintings dating from Rembrandt's Leiden years has shown that on the panels used by him the chalk-and-glue layer is covered with a thin light brown coat of oil-paint[26] (figs. 8 and 9). This ground corresponds remarkably well with a contemporary recipe that de Mayerne took down from the lips of the Amsterdam painter Abraham Latombé: 'For [a ground on] wood coat first with the glue abovesaid, and chalk, it being dry then scrape and render it even with the knife, then apply a thin layer of white lead and umber'[27].

For the moment, therefore, our results suggest that the young Rembrandt in Leiden experimented neither with the appearance nor with the composition of his grounds. Even if differences between one painting and another are seen (see no. A 11), it is still open to question whether Buck's interpretation of these differences as suggesting that 'each painting may have been a technical creation as well as a pictorial one' is right. In and before the 17th century

24 Karel van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, Haarlem 1604, republished with a translation and commentary by H. Miedema, Utrecht 1973, pp. 594–595. See also the report of a seminar on coloured grounds, directed by H. Miedema and B. W. Meijer: 'De introduktie van de gekleurde schildergrond en de invloed daarvan op de stilistische ontwikkeling van de schilderkunst in het bijzonder in de Nederlanden van de 16de eeuw', *Proef* July 1973, pp. 123–150. See also: P. H. Hendy, A. S. Lucas, 'The ground in pictures', *Museum* 21 (1968), pp. 266–276, esp. p. 268.

25 Joyce Plesters, paper read at the Symposium on the technical aspects of Rembrandt's paintings, Amsterdam 23 September 1969.

26 See nos. A 3, A 5, A 6, A 7, A 28. Cf. also K. Groen, 'Schildertechnische aspecten van Rembrandts vroegste schilderijen, microscopische observaties en de analyse van verfmonsters', *O.H.* 91 (1977), pp. 66–74.

27 E. Berger, *Quellen für Maltechnik während der Renaissance und deren Folgezeit*, Munich 1901, p. 118: 'pour le bois imprimé premierement avec la colle, susditte & croye, estant sec, gratté & equales avec le couteau, puis faites une couche legere avec blanc de plomb & ombre'; and p. 406.

Fig. 10. Detail (3.4×) of the book carried by the negro servant in no. A 5, showing the brown underpainting over the yellowish ground

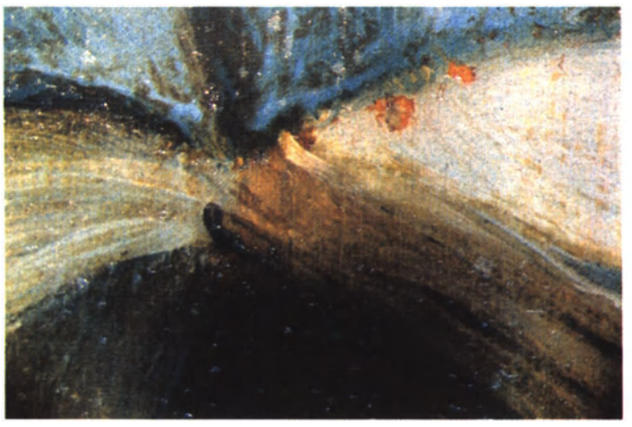
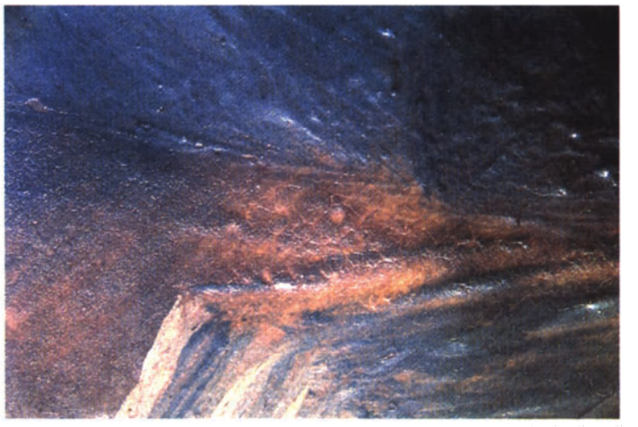


Fig. 11. Detail (3.4×) of the secretary's book in no. A 6, showing brown underpainting over the yellowish ground; the paint used for the underpainting has shrinkage cracks



applying the ground to a support was a job usually done by others, outside the studio. In the Leiden municipal archives there is a document showing that in 1676 in Leiden one Dirck de Lorm was authorized to make primed canvases and panels for painters in the town. He was to take the place of the framemaker Leendert van Es, deceased, who had been providing this service for painters up to then. According to de Lorm's petition, the painters had since the death of Leendert van Es been obliged 'to go and buy' their primed canvases and panels in other towns 'to their great trouble and expense'[28]. From this it appears that doing one's own priming was something that had disappeared from workshop practice. How long had this been the case? De Mayerne mentions, between 1620 and 1633, that he had been given a recipe for priming canvas by a Walloon 'Imprimeur' living in London[29]. There is evidence, then, that preparing canvases and panels was a separate craft, though the possibility of it being undertaken in the studio as well cannot be excluded.

Using information about the ground of a painting as a criterion for a specific attribution does not therefore seem justifiable. From the foregoing it will be seen, besides, that the degree of self-sufficiency enjoyed by the 17th-century painter's workshop in respect of its technical and material requirements is a subject that sorely needs research. It may very well prove that we are making rather romantic suppositions here, and this could colour our interpretation of the results of scientific examination of works of art.

28 Leiden Town-Clerk's Office Archives, 1575–1851, no. 9288 QQ 1673–1676: 'te gaen kopen ... tot haere groote moeyte en kosten' (transcription by J. van der Waals).

29 Appendix to van de Graaf's edition (see note 23), p. 138 no. 6; cf. also E. Berger's edition of the Mayerne Manuscript, in *Quellen für Maltechnik, während der Renaissance und deren Folgezeit*, Munich 1901, pp. 102–103, cap. 2.

The first lay-in and the monochrome underpainting

'Nothing is known either from sources or examination about any kind of underdrawing which Rembrandt could have done on these coloured primings'. This was one of von Sonnenburg's conclusions in his 1969 survey of existing knowledge of the technical aspects of Rembrandt's paintings[30]. He went on to put forward a suggestion of his own: on the basis of what can be made out in the way of tools in Aert de Gelder's workshop scene in Frankfurt[31], he suggested that de Gelder (and hence perhaps also his teacher Rembrandt) used white chalk on his coloured grounds when applying his first lay-in. He added that no research technique existed for making such an underdrawing visible.

Quite apart from the question of whether Rembrandt used white chalk for sketching on relatively dark grounds (used in his later period for canvases), doing so would not have made much sense on the lighter grounds of his early panels. No trace has been found in Rembrandt's Leiden panels[32] of a dark underdrawing of the kind that can be seen not only in Rubens' paintings on panels with a light ground, but also in at least one Lastman painting[33].

We believe that the assumption made by the restorer Johannes Hell is the most reasonable[34]. He

30 Cf. the publication cited in note 21, p. 91.

31 Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, no. 193.

32 Not with the naked eye or magnifying-glass in 'open patches', nor using infrared or IR-reflectography methods; for some specimens by the latter technique, see A. B. de Vries, M. Tóth-Ubbens and W. Froentjes, *Rembrandt in the Mauritshuis*, Alphen a/d Rijn 1978, figs. 86 and 92. The lines, presumably pen-and-ink, which have never been described but are plainly visible under the London *Ecce Homo* of 1634 (Br. 546), must be regarded as an exception. This 'grisaille' is painted on paper and may have originally been intended to be a drawing; Valerius Röver kept it among his drawings, as appears from his inventory, Amsterdam University Library.

33 J. S. Held, *Rubens, Selected drawings* I, London 1959, p. 19 fig. 1. The Lastman painting referred to is the *Triumph of Mordecai* in the Rembrandt House, Amsterdam, of which an infrared reflectograph was made by the Central Laboratory, Amsterdam.

34 J. Hell, 'Beobachtungen über Rembrandts Malweise und Probleme der Konservierung', *Kunstchronik* 10 (1957), pp. 138–141.

suggested that Rembrandt would as a rule have done his first lay-in with a brush and using brown paint of greater or lesser translucency, not only drawing lines but also applying a tone over largish areas (in the way a wash drawing is done). Our observations point in the same direction. We have frequently encountered thin areas of more or less translucent brown, red-brown or grey-brown paint, brushed on quickly, in many of Rembrandt's paintings on panel from 1630 onwards; these occur, for example, in the shadow and hair areas of portraits and the foregrounds of landscapes[35]. So far as the eye can tell, they invariably lie directly over the light ground. One's first inclination is to look on these areas as having been deliberately done in this way; it might be better to say that they have been deliberately left like this.

Areas of this kind occur hardly at all in Rembrandt's earliest paintings. On closer inspection, however, one finds a great many small patches that do meet this description but have for the most part not been left like this intentionally. They are often small corners remaining open in complicated outlines (fig. 10). One meets these bare patches (in which sometimes only the yellow ground is visible) especially at places where more than two areas abut each other. There is consistency in colour, translucency and the generally loose brushwork in what is seen within these patches – only the tone and direction of the brushstroke vary, and these bear a more or less clear relationship to what is being depicted. From study of the paint surface under the microscope and of the paint cross-sections that have been made we can state that areas like these lie immediately on top of the *primuersel* (fig. 8). The obvious assumption is that these are fragments of a monochrome underpainting (otherwise hidden from view) that have here remained visible. It is also clear as this phenomenon is met in many other paintings as well, that one is here seeing traces of a standard part of the painting process.

In some of these open patches, in between the brown tones or standing out against the yellow ground, one also finds lines; these are drawn with a brush, in paint tending towards the translucent. In physical appearance the tones and lines observed seem to belong together. They both occasionally show very fine shrinkage cracks, something which points to an (over-generous) use of oil rather than to a gluey binding medium (fig. 11). In instances where it has been possible to carry out a chemical analysis this paint has proved to have, as a major ingredient, an organic brown pigment that is possibly Cologne earth or bitumen[36]. This material could account for the shrinkage cracks described. It is noticeable, besides, that under the microscope the cross-sections show a varying and sometimes quite large number of pigment types in the paint used for this monochrome stage – yellow and red pigments, earth pigments and white lead are encountered in dark brown layers of paint that are for the most part intended from the start to disappear from view (fig. 8)[37]. It seems improbable that anyone would deliberately make up such a complicated mixture at this stage of the work. One can rather assume that at this stage Rembrandt was, wherever possible, using up the accumulated remains of paint (e.g. from the cleaning of brushes and palettes). This was not a habit peculiar to Rembrandt, but part of existing workshop tradition. In the so-called Brussels Manuscript of 1635 the painter Pierre Lebrun writes: 'The pinceliere is a vase in which the brushes are cleaned with oil, and of the mixture [of oil and dirty colours] is made a grey [colour, useful] for certain purposes, such as to lay on the first coats, or to prime the canvas. The pinceliere is a vase containing oil, in which the brushes are placed that they may not dry'[38]. It is likely that Rembrandt mixed these remains of paint with the abovementioned organic brown pigment that usually predominates in the mixture.

On the basis of these observations, one can imagine an early stage in the process of production of Rembrandt's paintings as a monochrome wash drawing done with the brush in oil-paint. What is now observed represents however only a fraction of what would be needed to give one a picture of the whole of the brush drawing. The observations made time and again through the bare patches do however provide confirmation of a theory on an early phase of his working procedure[39].

35 Such areas can be readily made out in the colour illustrations on pp. 55, 59, 97 and 113 of H. Gerson, *Rembrandt's paintings*, Amsterdam 1968.

36 When examining a number of cross-sections and samples, Mrs. C. M. Groen found that the main component of these layers is a translucent brown of organic origin; see Karin Groen, 'Schildertechnische aspecten van Rembrandts vroegste schilderijen', *O.H.* 91 (1977), pp. 66–71, esp. pp. 69 and 70. It is so far impossible to tell which of the organic brown pigments in use in the 17th century – Cologne earth (Kassel earth), soot brown and bitumen – was in fact used.

Froentjes believed that he had beyond question identified Cologne earth as the main component of the underpainting (de Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes, passim, esp. p. 211).

37 See *Baptism of the eunuch* (no. A 5) and the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6).

38 'La pinceliere est un vase où l'on nestoie les pinceaux avec l'huile, et de se meslange on fait un gris ... (illegible) ... et bon à certains ouvrages comme à faire les premières couches ou imprimer la thoile. Le pincelier est un vase où l'on met tramper les pinceaux dans de l'huile, de peur qu'il ne se seichent.' Translation from M. P. Merrifield, *Original treatises on the arts of painting*, London 1849, II, pp. 770–771, no. 4 (Dover reprint, New York 1967). See also: J. Plesters, 'Tintoretto's paintings in the National Gallery, Part II', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 4 (1980), pp. 32–46, esp. p. 41.

39 The recently developed research method of neutron-activation autoradiography is promising in its possibilities of approximately visualizing these underpaintings. For details of this method, see E. V. Sayre and H. N. Lechtman, 'Neutron activation autoradiography of oil paintings', *Studies in conservation* 13 (1968), pp. 161–185.

Fig. 12. Rembrandt, Study in pen and wash, presumably done in preparation of the second state of the *Judas repentant* (no. A 15). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

In this description, we have based ourselves on observations made in small open areas in the top paint layers, involving mostly glimpses of tone. It is not likely, however, that Rembrandt started straight away with a lay-in in tone; a first setting-out of the shapes using lines would be more natural. In his analysis of the drawings related to the Stockholm *Claudius Civilis* (Br. 482), Müller Hofstede remarked on very thin, rough sketch-lines that can be seen in the Munich drawing (Ben. 1061) of 1661[40]. These thin lines were also found by Mr. P. Schatborn, of the Amsterdam Rijksprentenkabinet, in drawings from the Leiden period; they appear in particular in a pen and wash drawing in Amsterdam (Ben. 9 recto; fig. 12) connected with the *Judas repentant* (no. A 15). Though it is difficult with a drawing to tell with any certainty which lines were drawn first, it is nevertheless probable that these thin lines constitute the very first sketch. In Ben. 9 recto they have been touched out in some places by, one can assume, Rembrandt himself with white body-colour, a further indication that they belonged to an initial, rough and partly discarded sketch version. This drawing may perhaps give us an idea of how the first lay-in for a painting on panel would have looked. In discussing the art of drawing, Rembrandt's pupil Samuel van Hoogstraeten stresses how important it is to keep the initial sketch very rough: 'first, draft what you intend in its broad sweep, on your paper' and 'where rough sketching is concerned this is the first principle of drawing well, and of such great importance that if the main bulk is shown fully, well and intelligently one often achieves more with this than can be obtained with much labour afterwards'[41]. From this one sees that in drawing the emphasis was very much on the first rough sketch. This may justify the notion that the painting, too, went through a stage of this kind, unless one has to assume that Rembrandt transferred his first lay-in onto the actual support from designs on paper (as is the case with so many other artists). The number of drawings by Rembrandt showing the whole of a composition is, however, remarkably small[42], and of these probably only a small proportion relate to the *first* sketch for a painting. Half of them demonstrably have to do with later changes in the design[43] or with a frame to be added[44], and one of them served as a guide to mounting a framed painting in a wall-panel[45]. There is every reason to assume that Rembrandt did not work out his compositions on paper first, but sketched them direct on the actual support. He must thus have been in the category of painters of whom Karel van Mander wrote: 'that some, well-practised, experienced and working with a firm hand ... are used to drawing fluently by hand on their panels what they have seen already painted in their mind's eye'[46]. We cannot, from the paintings

40 C. Müller-Hofstede, 'HdG 409, Eine Nachlese zu den Münchner Civilis Zeichnungen', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 25 (1956), pp. 42–55, esp. p. 44.

41 S. van Hoogstraeten, *Inleiding tot de Hooge schoole der Schilderkonst*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 27: 'ontwerpt het geheel van 't geene gy voor hebt, eerst in zijn groote zwier, op uw papier' ... 'wat verder het ruw schetssen belangt, het is de eerste grontvest van 't wel teykenen, en van zoo groot een belang, dat, wanneer het gros ofte geheel, wel en verstandich is aengeweezen men daardoor dikwils meer verrecht, als er namaels met grooten arbeit kan werden uitgevoert'.

42 Ben. 442 Br. 356; Ben. 1170/Br. 377; Ben. 1175/Br. 414; Ben. 92/Br. 471; Ben. 1061/Br. 482; Ben. 90/Br. 498; Ben. 969/Br. 555; Ben. 567/Br. 570; Ben. 8/Br. 539A. In all probability Ben. 581 and Ben. 757 are connected with lost paintings. In respect of Ben. 757 this is, bearing in mind the similarity to Ben. 442, a very convincing surmise by Mr. P. Schatborn. This summary does not imply any judgment on the authenticity of the drawings listed.

43 Ben. 90; Ben. 1061; Ben. 8. In the article by B. Haak, 'Nieuw licht op Judas en de zilverlingen van Rembrandt', *Album Amicorum J. G. van Gelder*, The Hague 1973, pp. 155–158, it is argued that this drawing might be a preliminary study for no. A 15. As will be evident from the *Comments* in entry no. A 15, examination of the full X-rays received later made it likely that drawing Ben. 8, too, is connected with a change in composition.

44 Ben. 969.

45 Ben. 1175, cf. J. Q. van Regteren Altena, '... De zoogenaamde voorstudie voor de Anatomische les van Dr. Deyman', *O.H.* 65 (1950), pp. 171–178.

46 Karel van Mander, op. cit. note 24, ch. XII, 4:
'dat eenighe wel geoeffend expeerdich
en vast in handelinghe doeck beraden
.....
gaen toe, en uyt der hand teyckenen veerdich
op hun pennelen, 't ghene nae behooren
In hun Ide's geschildert te vooren.

themselves, get any idea of what the first, sketchlike lay-in looked like. This is however, as explained above, possible to a limited extent for the monochrome sketch done in the brownish, translucent paint discussed earlier. This monochrome sketch can presumably be equated with what is referred to in 16th- and 17th-century texts as the 'dead colour', although as we shall see below this term could also refer to a different kind of underpainting.

Research into the painter's terminology has made it plain that for the 17th-century painter there were three main stages in the production of a painting: 'inventing' (often in the form of a drawing, which as we have just said was with Rembrandt done direct on the prepared support), the 'dead-colouring' and the 'working-up', followed (according to de Lairesse) by 'retouching'[47]. The dead-colouring stage was here evidently not a mere transitional stage, but a provisionally completed whole. Several 'dead-coloured' paintings are often listed in inventories – there were, for example, ten such in the 1632 inventory of Rembrandt's Amsterdam teacher Lastman[48]. This was made while Lastman was still alive, though usually such inventories provide a survey of the possessions of a painter who has died. Hardly a single one of all these dead-coloured paintings has survived[49]. It will have been not uncommon for such a painting, left in a dead-coloured state, to have been 'worked-up' subsequently by somebody else[50].

The setting-out of the design of a painting in monochrome must have been a very common method. In open places in works by painters other than Rembrandt one regularly finds traces of a monochrome stage. It is possible that the term 'dead colour' originally arose in connexion with the absence of colour in this stage of the painting[51]. The term was however also employed for underpaintings in colour. In an English manuscript for example, the 'Commonplace-book' compiled by Thomas Marshall *c.* 1640–50, there is a text cited in Dutch which can be linked with Antonie van Dyck. This describes a method of dead-colouring in which, for each individual area, the final colour is approximated in a flat tint: ' "Dead-colouring" is called the *maniera lavata*, that is to say the washed manner; because it fills in the area within the outline with only one colour'[52]. In an earlier passage in the same manuscript, bearing the title 'dead-colouring' in the margin, it appears that a 'light-applied colour' – most probably the 'one colour' of the passage just quoted can be equated with this – was applied over what was termed the 'scheme', in Dutch *stelsel*. The Dutch words *stellen* (= place) and *ordineren* (= arrange) were used[53] to describe the organizing of the composition. According to this manuscript this occurred before the dead-colouring. The full quotation reads '2. Dead-colouring [in the margin] 2. He should temper his paints well to the needs of the matter, to give the scheme – when it is dry enough – a lightly-applied colour'.[54] The fact that the 'scheme' needed some time to dry may be seen as an indication that this was also done in oil paint. It is not explicitly stated in this manuscript whether this 'scheme' was monochrome, but it probably was. Reference is made here to the manuscript from Marshall's Commonplace-book because in Rembrandt's early paintings too there are sometimes (though then only locally) areas that have been underpainted in an even colour close to the final one[55]. This working method is however encountered so sporadically that one cannot assume that we have to imagine, in Rembrandt paintings, a stage done in flat colours like that described in Marshall's Commonplace-book. That Rembrandt's basis for a painting was a monochrome, tonal version of his composition would, looked at against the background of his striv-

47 Lydia de Pauw-de Veen, *De begrippen 'Schilder', 'Schilderij' en 'Schilderen' in de zeventiende eeuw*, Brussels 1969, p. 297.

48 K. Freise, *Pieter Lastman, sein Leben und seine Kunst*, Leipzig 1911, pp. 19–21, nos. 32, 33, 34, 64 and 66 (in which six dead-coloured paintings are mentioned at once).

49 Cf. however one of the paintings from Rubens' Henri IV series in the Rubenshuis, Antwerp, and one of the heads in a group portrait in the manner of Dirck Jacobsz. of 1556 in the Amsterdams Historisch Museum (no. A 7343; catalogue Rijksmuseum 1976, inv. C 621).

50 A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* I, The Hague 1915, p. 8 no. 163: 'Een stuckje van Brouwer gedootverruwt en van Molenaer opgemaeckt . . .'.

51 The word 'doodverf' (dootverwe) must be taken primarily to have meant 'the colour of a corpse' until well into the 18th century; cf. *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*, III-2, The Hague-Leiden 1916, col. 2881–2883. It clearly implied the absence of colour, and this would seem to be originally true also when used in connexion with painting.

52 H. Vey, 'Anton van Dijck – Über Maltechnik', *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten* 9 (1960), pp. 193–201, esp. p. 195: 'Dootverwsel wordt genoemt la maniera lavata, dat is, de gewaschen manier geheten; omdat hij den omtreck van binnen maer alleenlyck met eenerlij veruwe schijnt overwasschen.'

53 Lydia de Pauw-de Veen, *De begrippen 'schilder', 'schilderij' en 'schilderen' in de zeventiende eeuw*, Brussels 1969, p. 248.

54 See note 52, esp. p. 194: '2. doodverwsel (in de marge) 2. Dient hij sijn verwen nae den eysch der saecke recht wel te temperen, om t' stelsel, als het nu droogh genoegh is, een lichverdich coleur te geven'.

55 This is seen to have happened in, for example, the *Baptism of the eunuch* (no. A 5). This painting exhibits a phenomenon that has frequently been observed (nos. A 6, A 15, A 37) – the uppermost layers of paint terminate 0.5–1 cm from the edges of the panel. On these unpainted edges one can see, apart from the ground, some brown paint that evidently forms part of the monochrome underpainting. In the case of the *Baptism of the eunuch*, however, one can see, especially along the lefthand edge, an even green that must continue beneath the bottom layers of paint and was quite obviously set down as a preparation for the landscape. In the *Musical allegory* (no. A 7), too, the existence of a layer like this can be assumed – a uniform layer of violet, as a preparation for the kaftan worn by the player of the viola da gamba. Examination of the X-ray of this painting makes it clear, however, that there is a rapidly executed underpainting with heightened lights (evidently part of the monochrome underpainting) underneath this even violet layer. This could be taken as evidence that Rembrandt too worked – at least at some points – in the way described in Marshall's Commonplace-book.

ing towards chiaroscuro, seem the most likely. Visual observations regularly lend support to this assumption. We know almost nothing of Rembrandt's own technical terminology. One may assume, however, that the monochrome underpainting which, in his case, directly preceded the 'working-up' corresponds to what in most of the sources is called 'dead-colouring'.

It remains to be explained what the function of this monochrome dead-colour stage was. Doerner[56] suggests, in his comments on Rembrandt's painting technique, that the monochrome underpaintings that he, too, had detected in Rembrandt paintings served primarily an optical function, in the finished painting showing through the upper layers which (in his view) were done in a predominantly translucent paint; but our impression is rather that the monochrome stage served primarily to establish the design of the painting in light and dark tones. An argument against Doerner's view is that contrary to his opinion the top paint layers were – certainly with the young Rembrandt – very largely opaque, as evidenced by the overlapping working method that will be described below. A second argument against Doerner's view is that not infrequently there were considerable departures from the forms set out in the dead colour[57]. That a dead-colour stage could be used as a way of producing a more or less final design is evident from the continuation of van Mander's comment (quoted above) on drawing directly on the support: 'These fellow-artists go to it, without taking great pains, working direct with brush and paint with a free approach and thus painting set down their pictures deftly in the dead colour; they 're-dead-colour' too sometimes, soon after, so as to achieve a better composition; thus those who are abundantly inventive go audaciously to work, thereafter making an improvement here and there'[58].

In those cases where Rembrandt used only brownish, translucent lines and tones for the first linear lay-in and the dead colour (as in nos. A 5, A 6, A 28 and A 37) the light tint of the prepared support will have been left unpainted in order to serve as the highest light. The X-rays and observation of the paint surface show, however, that from as early as 1626 there are paintings where a light paint containing white lead was also used at some points (nos. A 2, A 4, A 7, A 13, A 31). This use of light paint in the monochrome underpainting was first seen distinctly, and investigated by us, in the *Night watch* (Br. 410)[59]. Such passages are occasionally visible at the surface of the painting in patches of wear, at places where the depiction of a light area at the surface does not wholly correspond with the light-heightened area in the dead colour; the tips of the relief of this paint, which is often quite thickly applied, may become visible through wearing of the overlying paint. One sees this, for instance, at the neck of the young woman in the Amsterdam *Musical allegory* (no. A 7; cf. fig. 13). Such areas can be recognized in the X-rays (so long as they have not been covered by areas of surface paint containing white lead) by their very free and fluent handling and a fairly broad definition of form (fig. 14). One cannot say for sure why – at least for the Leiden period paintings, always done on light-coloured grounds – light paint occurs in the dead-colour of one painting and not of another. It is not unlikely that this was a correcting method used when (in the course of what van Manders calls 're-dead-colouring') a painting had suffered a loss of clarity in the distribution of light and shadow because the ground, where it had to act as the light, had become masked with dark paint. Such corrections can be compared to those Rembrandt made in body colour in some of his drawings (Ben. 6, 17, 76 and 82).

Fig. 13. Detail of the young woman in no. A 7, showing traces of light under painting in the shadow part of the neck

56 See M. Doerner, op. cit. note 2.

57 Doerner's theory of Rembrandt's working method is probably based principally on Rembrandt's late work, where a glazing technique is met more frequently, though not – according to our impression – to the extent that Doerner assumes. The slightly translucent nature of paint layers in his earlier work must to a large degree be due to physical changes in the medium, resulting in an altered refractive index making the paint layers somewhat more translucent. See also note 59.

58 Karel van Mander, op. cit. note 24, ch. XII, 5:

En vallender aen stracx, sonder veel quellen,
Met pinceel en verw', en sinnen vrymoedich,
En dus schilderende dees werck-ghesellen,
Hun dinghen veerdigh in doot-verwen stellen,
Herdootverwen oock te somtijden spoedich,
Om stellen beter: dus die overvloedich
In 't inventeren zijn, doen als de stoute,
En verbeteren hier en daer een foute.

59 On the painting technique in *The Night watch*, see E. van de Wetering, C. M. Groen and J. A. Mosk, 'Summary report on the results of the technical examination of Rembrandt's *Night watch*', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 24 (1976), pp. 68–98.

Fig. 14. X-ray of the same detail, showing the extent of the light underpainting

The 'working-up'

Rembrandt – certainly the young Rembrandt, but the painter of the *Night watch* as well (cf.[59]) – followed a more or less set working method in superimposing the colour on his monochrome design. This was one of the surprising discoveries we made when investigating Rembrandt's working procedure. He worked, basically, in planes – from the rear to the front, starting with the sky or rear wall and finishing with the foreground figures. The stage on which the action was to be played out was set down in paint at the same time as the sky or rear wall. The possibility of this being the case was so far from obvious that before our research started the question of whether there might have been a fixed sequence of operations had not been formulated. It was put forward as a possibility only when evidence for it began to pile up during the analysis of observations made on Rembrandt's early paintings.

The works of art that have survived from the history of Western art prior to 1700 include as far as we know comparatively few unfinished paintings. In a fair proportion of those that have survived the individual parts appear to have been painted one after the other, but the idea that in doing so the artist followed a fixed order has, so far as we know, never been advanced. Further research will undoubtedly show that a set procedure was not something peculiar to Rembrandt[60], and a statement by Gerard de Lairesse discussed below bears this out.

To our modern mind, it seems more natural to imagine the choice of the spot at which the artist works on his picture as being dictated by the totality of the painting being produced. This is why today's painter generally works standing up – so that he can repeatedly walk back a few paces to view the work as a whole. Seventeenth-century painters generally *sat* at their easel[61]. The painter in Rembrandt's *Artist in his studio* in Boston (no. A 18) is, it is true, seen *standing* at some distance from his panel, but on the bottom rung of the easel Rembrandt has faithfully recorded the deep grooves worn by the sliding feet of someone sitting often and for long periods on a chair placed in front of the easel (fig. 4)[62]. Working seated means that parts of the painting can be worked on without continually surveying the overall effect. One could say that this implies that the critical eye of the artist is not the only means of guidance for bringing the work to a successful conclusion. It means that there were more or less set ways of dealing with the separate parts of the painting; and this is indeed in keeping with instructions we find given in pre-19th-century sources[63].

In the first two stages of production of the painting, the 'inventing' and the 'dead-colouring', the main concern was with composition, shape and relationship between light and dark, taken as a whole. During 'working-up' the main concern is to give everything its correct colouring and render materials accurately, and to fix the final contours of the forms. There was, as we shall see, to some extent a practical reason for doing things in a set order.

How can one reconstruct the sequence followed in 'working-up' the painting? The most obvious way is to examine the contours, looking for evidence of overlapping. Usually in work by the young Rembrandt the various components (the clothing and flesh areas, objects, background, floor area and so on) were not painted wet-in-wet one with another, and one hardly ever finds layers of paint abutting each other along a common boundary. Nearly always the paint of one area slightly overlaps that of the other, showing that the overlapping part was painted the later of the two. In many cases it is possible to see with a magnifying-glass which layer overlaps which; there are various criteria that can be used in determining this. It can be seen from the direction of the brushstrokes, which in the upper layer are related to the contour while in the lower

60 One of the large panels by Isaac Claesz. van Swanenburgh illustrating the making of cloth, in the Lakenhal, Leiden, was examined with this in mind. It was found that the painting was worked up consistently in the same manner, from the back towards the front. In the course of a seminar in the Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science, Amsterdam, it was found that all but one of the 17th- and 18th-century paintings studied had been done on the same principle.

61 Cf., for instance, studio scenes by Aert de Gelder, Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt; J. A. Berkheyde, Uffizi, Florence; Cornelis Dusart (drawing), Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam; J. C. Droochsloot, Macon; D. Rijckaert III, Louvre, Paris; G. Dou, private collection, Duisburg; see also W. Martin, *Gerard Dou*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1913 (Kl. d. K.), no. 58 ff.

62 For a comment on this painting see E. v. d. Wetering, 'Leidse schilders achter de ezels', exhibition cat. *Geschildert tot Leyden anno 1626*, Leiden 1976/77, pp. 21–31.

63 As, for example, the Mayerne Manuscript, see E. Berger, *Quellenstudien für Maltechnik während der Renaissance und deren Folgezeit*, Munich 1901, p. 255 no. 191, p. 257 no. 192, p. 279 no. 216.

Fig. 15. Detail (3.4 ×) of the purple trousers of the swearing man in no. A 6, showing the purple overlapping the bluish green of his neighbour's dress, which lies on top of a layer of pinkish red

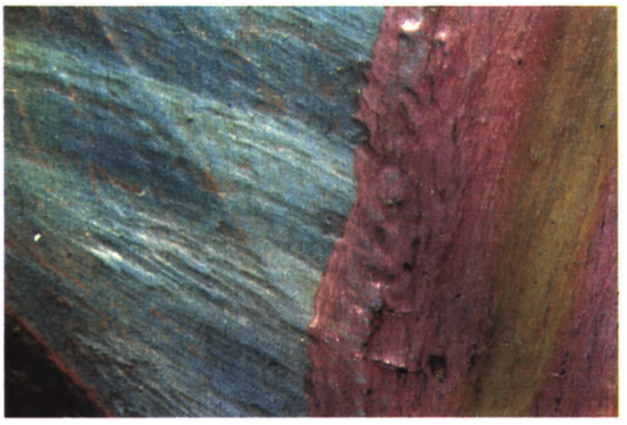
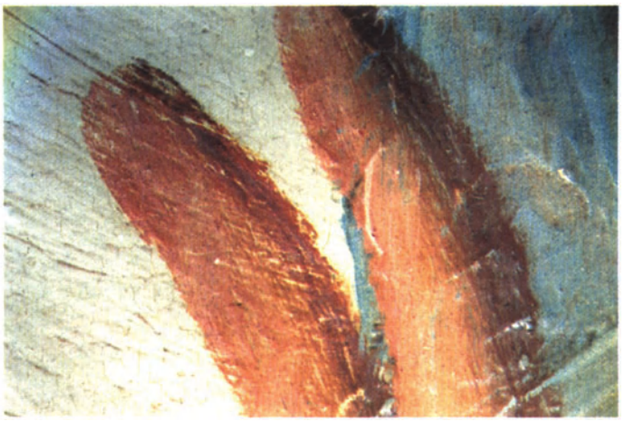


Fig. 16. Detail (3.4 ×) of the fingers of the swearing man in no. A 6, showing the underlying paint of the background where the top layer has worn away on the ridges of underlying brushstrokes



they are intersected abruptly by this contour (fig. 15). The surface of the brushwork of the underlying layer is quite often to some extent visible in relief beneath the overlapping layer. Often (because of wearing of the upper layer) such areas of overlap show the colour of the lower layer at some points in the surface. This lastnamed feature can lead to misunderstanding, where there are quite large overlaps such as in the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6; cf. fig. 16): in that case Bauch and Knuttel assumed, from the patches of wearing on the relatively strong relief of the overlapped layers, that the painting was the work of two hands[64]. Looked at in the light of observations on numerous other paintings an assumption like this becomes untenable, however; the overlaps observed must rather be seen as the outcome of following a fixed working sequence.

Assuming that each part of a painting is always painted in a single (or possibly double) stage, one can find successive overlaps from one area to the next. From these it is found that as a rule areas lying to the front of the scene overlap areas further back, and must consequently have been painted later. That each area was indeed done in a single (or possibly double) stage can in fact be assumed with quite a large measure of certainty, by reason of the homogeneity of the paint material, colour and brushstroke pattern which can usually be noted in each separate area. This might appear to be evidence of scant reliability – Rembrandt could surely have continued later in the same way at a given place? Yet it will be found, when we discuss below the autograph retouching done by Rembrandt himself, that he was only approximately successful in subsequently reproducing the consistency and colour of a paint used earlier; it is thus easy to detect where the artist has returned to a given area. Besides the evidence provided by such overlaps, there are however other signs that lead one to the same conclusion that Rembrandt 'worked-up' his paintings from the back to the front; these come from the X-ray photographs.

Radiography has been, and still is, used in connexion with Rembrandt's paintings mainly to detect pentimenti, to arrive at a clearer picture of his 'handwriting', and to get a fuller idea of a painting's state of preservation. On closer examination, however, X-rays prove to be capable of providing important information about Rembrandt's painting method. In this connexion the darker areas of the radiographic image play almost a more important role than do the light areas to which attention is normally directed. The areas around which he was working, e.g. figures towards the front, in fact quite often appear in the radiographic image as dark spaces left in reserve, at least in those cases where the artist used radioabsorbent paint in the background or middle ground. In fact these reserves correspond to areas of the monochrome dead-colour that remained visible at this stage of the work. The reason why they can often be seen in the X-ray is that these shapes were not, or were only partially, filled in with radioabsorbent paint when their turn came to be worked-up. As an example of this, the Utrecht *Baptism of the eunuch* (no. A 5) has parts of the chariot, the background figures and the horses as dark reserves in the sky (which is in paint containing white lead). There is no reserve for the horse's tail, which was painted subsequently and on top of the sky.

A searching comparison of the outlines of the shapes left in reserve in the light background, as visible in the X-ray, with the forms seen at the surface shows that the latter are for the most part somewhat broader than the contours of the shapes seen as reserves in the radiographic image – the

64 Bauch 1933, pp. 174–175; G. Knuttel, 'Rembrandt's earliest works', *Burl. Mag.* 97 (1955), p. 46.

Figs. 17 and 18. X-ray and photograph of a detail of *Tobit and Anna*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (no. A 3), showing how the figure of Anna in its final execution extends over the reserve left for it in the background

painted, worked-up forms extend some way beyond the boundaries of the forms left in reserve in the background paint (cf. figs. 17 and 18). They must, therefore, have been painted at a later stage. This phenomenon can be noted from close comparison of a great many radiographs with the corresponding paintings, and is seen not only in the foregrounds and backgrounds but in various intermediate planes of the compositions as well. We can therefore assume that Rembrandt did in fact make a general rule of working-up his dead-coloured compositions from the back of the scene to the front.

How consistently did he do this? Only once in a while does one find that the artist returned to an area towards the back of a picture; these instances can be termed *autograph* retouches. An example is the light patch on Philip's cloak below the eunuch's right arm in the *Baptism of the eunuch* in Utrecht (no. A 5); further examples occur in the sky of the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6), in between the self-portrait and the bearded figure to the right of this, as well as below the head of the animal sculpture on a column in the background of the picture.

A further group of autograph retouches can be more directly related to the back-to-front sequence of working. The form left in reserve in an area towards the back might turn out to be too large, taking on a different size, shape or position during the working-up. There could then remain a bare patch so large and obtrusive that Rembrandt was obliged to incorporate it in the area lying behind it. Occasionally a retouch of this kind done by Rembrandt has remained clearly apparent; an example is the right wing of the angel in the *Balaam* (no. A 2), which comparison of the X-ray with the painting shows to have been larger in the initial lay-in. When the cliff-face behind it was being worked-up the wing in dead colour was left in reserve. Rembrandt obviously decided that the final version of the wing should be smaller than the space he had previously left for it. This left him with a large bare patch that now had to form part of the cliff-face, and to be done in the appropriate colour. The traces of this operation are clearly visible: the green – too light when compared to the green of the cliff-face – is painted thinly and flatly. Other examples of autograph and

Fig. 19. Detail of skirt of the singing woman in no. A 7, showing an autograph retouch; the reserve left for a fold has been incorporated in the viola da gamba

ineptly-done retouches where reserves were left too large can be found along the outlines of the young woman in the *Musical allegory* (no. A 7). There, a fold for which provision was made in the upper face of the viola da gamba was, on second thoughts, not executed in paint (fig. 19). Various retouches of the kind occur along the contours of Christ and of the disciple shrinking back in the *Supper at Emmaus* in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (no. A 16). Again, the head of the *Artist in oriental costume* in the Petit Palais, Paris (no. A 40) was given too large a reserve in the background, and the background then had to be retouched along the righthand side of the head.

The unsatisfactory integration of these retouches might be the result of what we believe to have been workshop routine – namely, that a separate palette was prepared for each area of group of areas to be worked up during a given stage of the work. (A palette for flesh colours is described in the Brussels Manuscript[65].) This palette would not necessarily include all the colours required for the whole picture, merely those needed for this particular stage of the work[66]. Grinding colours is time-consuming, so when working area by area it must have been found more economical not to prepare the whole of the palette each time. This might explain why the substance of the paint used for the autograph retouches often differs visibly from the paint surrounding it. The implication of this is that the paint for making such retouches would have been made up by hastily mixing pigment and medium, thus producing a different and thinner paint.

However, it is more usual to find reserves left too small than too large. Interesting examples of this are seen for instance in X-ray photographs of the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6), where some of the figures and heads in the righthand half must have looked slightly deformed when the areas lying further back were worked up. In other figures, especially those on the left, the final contours and the reserves left for the figure correspond quite closely. The degree of correspondence probably provides an indirect indication of the degree of detail included in the area in question in the dead-colour stage. In the case of the Leiden *History painting* the X-ray gives the impression of the accuracy of definition of forms in the dead-coloured painting decreasing from left to right. As Mr. P. Schatborn pointed out to us, a similar phenomenon can be seen in a number of Rembrandt's drawings which deal with ambitious compositions.

It is not likely that all the elements in the dead-coloured painting had a reserve left for them during the painting-in of the areas lying to the back. The fact that the raised arm of the foreground figure to the right in the X-ray of the Leiden *History painting* is not seen as a reserve need not however mean that this gesture was a later addition. This arm could well have been dispensed with temporarily during the 'working-up' of the background in order to achieve the continuity the artist was seeking in the complex background scene.

It is clear from this and similar examples that certain phenomena at the paint surface and in the X-ray that are normally referred to as pentimenti are not in fact pentimenti in the proper sense of the word; they are in many cases features that stem directly from the method of work just outlined. The term 'pentimento' should be kept for changes made to a painting that has already been partly or fully worked-up. Examples of this in paintings from the Leiden period can be found in the *Musical allegory* (no. A 7), in the form of the added cast shadow on the tablecloth and the backrest of a chair painted over the harp; in the *Tobit and Anna* (no. A 3), where the furniture seen between the figures was totally altered; and in the chest area of the *Jeremiah* (no. A 28).

The functional reason for adopting the method we have been describing, that of working-up the picture from the back to the front, is discussed in an early 18th-century source which, though of later date, may shed some light on this question. The source in

65 M. P. Merrifield, *Original treatises on the arts of painting*, London 1849, II, pp. 770–771, no. 6 (Dover reprint, New York 1967).

66 The fact that pictures of studio scenes almost invariably show a complete palette need not be taken as incontrovertible evidence against this assumption, since in such scenes the palette undoubtedly plays a representative role. I know of only one example in which the palette is not shown as complete – the painting by Colijn de Coter *S. Luke painting the Virgin*, in Veure (Allier), France. One can moreover note, from the end of the 16th century to the beginning of the 19th, a remarkable constancy in the way the palette was set out.

Fig. 20. First state of Rembrandt's etching *The angel appearing to the shepherds* (B. 44), showing the background fully executed while the foreground, including the angel and the clouds surrounding him, is still in a preparatory stage. London, The British Museum

question is Gerard de Lairesse's *Groot Schilder-Boek*[67]. In a number of places the author advises the artist to follow a fixed working sequence, the first time when talking about the dead colour (by which he means an underpainting in colour): 'Here it seems to me that the surest and most certain way is to start from the back, especially when the landscape has most to contribute. For all things have to suit the lightness or darkness of the sky, and the tints of objects found; because the light on the foreground, and the boldness of the figures, must be matched to this, the which if begun differently might turn out very uncertainly.'[68] One gets the feeling that this argument may have been Rembrandt's most important consideration. This may be supported by the fact that the early states of a number of his most ambitious etchings[69] have the tonal values of the backgrounds fully decided while the foreground figures are still in a sketch stage (fig. 20). De Lairesse also recommends following the same order in the working-up stage: 'Here one must, to adopt the best manner, start from

67 Gerard de Lairesse, *'t Groot Schilder-Boek*, Amsterdam 1709, pp. 12–14.

68 'Hierin komt my voor, de allerwiste en zekerste wijze te zijn, het van achteren te beginnen inzonderheid wanneer het landschap meest te zeggen heeft. Derwijl na de helder of somberheid des luchts zich alle dingen schikken moeten, en de tinten der voorwerpen gevonden; want het licht op de voorgrond, en de kracht der beelden, moet daarna gepast worden, hetgeen, anders begonnen zijnd, zeer ongewis uitvallen zoude.'

69 *The angel appearing to the shepherds*, B. 44(I) (dated 1634 in state II ff); *Christ before Pilate*, B. 77(I), 1635; *The artist drawing from the model*, B. 192, *c.* 1639; the etching of *S. Jerome reading in an Italian landscape*, B. 104, *c.* 1653, also seems to have been produced in this way.

Fig. 21. Detail of clasp of the book in no. A 7, showing bluish green paint applied over a layer of pinkish red paint

the rear, that is to say the sky, and thus gradually towards the front ... thus one keeps an easy and moist ground behind the figures so as to make their outermost circumference merge into this, the which is, starting differently, impossible to achieve.'[70]. The reason given here may apply to de Lairesse's own generation but not to Rembrandt. Certainly with the young Rembrandt there is no evidence that he tried to merge the outlines of his forms into the wet paint of the areas lying behind them. De Lairesse puts forward yet another argument for working in this way; he points out the advantages that working in such a sequence offers over the relatively haphazard working-up of elements of the painting, basing his argument on the fact that paintings made following this latter procedure, 'thus in a disorderly way begun, take on an inevitable ugliness and deformity that make the Master more embarrassed than with an empty canvas.'[71] The final argument that de Lairesse gives for the method of working from back to front of the picture is 'that it is no less agreeable than useful, namely that one becomes aware that the work is progressing, and everything in arrangement and attitude is fitting well together, and by the fact of the eye being constantly stimulated and entertained the desire [to continue with the work] is aroused and incited as often as one looks at it.'[72] No decisive significance can be attached to De Lairesse, Rembrandt's junior by 34 years, as a direct source for Rembrandt's approach to producing a painting. Yet bearing in mind the unvarying nature of studio practices in the 17th century, such a detailed argument for a particular procedure can surely throw at least some light on what lay behind Rembrandt's working methods.

In the process of working-up Rembrandt's manner of painting differs from one passage to the next, the variation being governed by the nature of the material to be suggested, the intensity of the lighting and the position within the scene. Especially in strongly-lit foreground areas, the young Rembrandt handled his paint in a variety of ways. One could almost talk in terms of recipes that were followed, in corresponding parts of various paintings, in virtually identical form. Already by 1629, however, one is seeing a reduction in the number of effects and recipe-like technical solutions, and a move towards a more atmospheric treatment, both in colour and tone and in a more homogeneous surface texture. This transition is clearly apparent when one compares, say, the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 (no. A 11) and the Nuremberg *S. Paul* (no. A 26) which must have been produced no earlier than 1629/30.

The standard nature of the treatment in the earliest paintings is strikingly apparent from the fact that areas like the hairy beige cloak worn by the scribe looking up in the Leiden *History painting* and by Phillip in the *Baptism of the eunuch* exhibit the same, unusual craquelure pattern, due to the evidently identical composition of the paint used. Another example is the pale green tint over a layer of pink paint that occurs in the foreground figure nearest to the centre in the righthand half of the

70 'Hier moet men, om de beste manier te volgen, van achter beginnen, te weten de lucht, en dus allengs naar voren toe ... zo behoud men altoos een bekwame en vogtige grond achter de beelden, om den uitersten omtrek daar in te doen verdwijnen het welk, anders begonnen ondoenlijk is.'

71 '... dus onordentlijk begonnen, een onvermijdelijke misstand & wanstaltigheid bekomen, die den Meester méér verlegen maken dan met een leegen doek.'

72 '... dat niet min aangenaem als nut is, te weten dat men gewaar werd dat het stuk vordert, en alles by malkander, zo in schikking, als houding wel staat, en daar door gedurig het oög kittelt en vermaakt, waardoor de lust [om door te gaan], zo menigmaal men het ziet, opgewekt en aangezet word.'

Fig. 22. Detail (5.5 ×) of hair of the bearded man in front of a column in no. A 6, showing a blue glazing over the column extending over the hair and the scratch-marks indicating the latter

Leiden *History painting* (fig. 15). The first, most obvious assumption is that Rembrandt changed his mind about the colour of this part. If he did, he must have done so very soon, because the green too is overlapped by the area lying to the front. The assumption that one is here seeing an alteration is proved to be unfounded, however, when one finds the same combination of green over pink used in the still-life of books in the *Musical allegory* (fig. 21). The gold brocade cloaks of the extreme lefthand figure in the Leiden *History painting* and of the young woman in the *Musical allegory* are suggested with thick spots and stripes of paint on top of a translucent brown layer (fig. 19).

Stratification of paint also occurs when complex materials are being rendered, as in the striped sleeves of the eunuch in the Utrecht painting. Another form of stratified application of paint is that known as glazing. Apart from locally-applied glazes using paints suited to this purpose, like the red stripes on the eunuch's sleeves, glazes have also been applied over larger areas with the intention of binding the whole area together or toning it down. A very thin blue glaze occurs especially in middle-ground areas, e.g. in the Leiden *History painting* (fig. 22) and the *Baptism of the eunuch*. The use of glazes is however an exception rather than the rule with the young Rembrandt.

From his earliest works on Rembrandt made deliberate use of the paint relief, with the clear intention of exploiting the reflection of natural light on the impasto in order to enhance the intensity of highlights. Though the viewer will naturally look at a painting so that there is no shine from the surface, reflected rays of light nevertheless reach his eye from upstanding 'walls' of paint, and make a substantial contribution to the level of light from the area in question, as nearly every Rembrandt painting illustrates (fig. 19).

The last effect to be discussed is that obtained by making scratchmarks in the wet paint (cf. fig. 22)[73]. Normally Rembrandt used this method in order rapidly to obtain a certain texture in a material, especially hair and fur. He also used the technique in certain components of a landscape, such as stones and foliage. Once or twice, as in the lefthand figure in the Leiden *History painting*, it emphasizes an outline. One gets the impression that the more accurately a painting is done, the less scratchmarks there are – as in the Amsterdam *Tobit and Anna* of 1626 (no. A 3), the Hague *Self-portrait* (no. A 21) and a similar *Self-portrait* in the MOA Museum, Japan (no. A 22) both datable in 1629, the *Judas repentant* in a private collection, England, from the same year (no. A 15) and the Berlin *Abduction of Proserpina* of about 1631 (no. A 39). Possibly this indicates that Rembrandt regarded the technique as a short-cut to achieving a given effect.

Radical changes and re-use of panels

The foregoing provides a sketch of the working method normally followed by the young Rembrandt, as a procedure repeated with each of his paintings. Numerous observations made from the paintings themselves and from the X-rays do time and again endorse these assumptions about the way Rembrandt worked. Yet it is the X-ray material, too, that reveals a more complicated sequence of production with a number of paintings.

73 To achieve effects like this the young Jan Lievens used this before the date of the earliest work we know from Rembrandt. In the 16th century one comes across occasional scratchmarks, mainly employed to emphasize contours (e.g. in works by Lucas van Leyden) and – more systematically used – in stained glass windows.

These exceptional cases can be divided into several categories. In a number of instances Rembrandt removed part of the paint layer of an unfinished painting in order to make a change in the composition or to set out an entirely new composition – the Los Angeles *Raising of Lazarus* (no. A 30), the Liverpool *Self-portrait* (no. A 33), the Berlin *Minerva* (no. A 38) and the Berlin *Abduction of Proserpina* (no. A 39). In two cases he did not, so far as one can see, remove any paint before starting on a radical alteration – the *Judas repentant* (no. A 15) – or a minor change as in the *Artist in oriental costume* in the Petit Palais, Paris (no. A 40). And finally with four, or possibly six paintings he did a second painting on top of an earlier and probably completed painting from his own or another hand – the *Man in gorget and cap,* present whereabouts unknown (no. A 8), the Basle *David before Saul* (no. A 9), the Boston *Self-portrait* (no. A 20), the Windsor Castle *Old woman* (no. A 32), and – if they are by him – the *Spectacles-pedlar* (Sight) in the Cevat coll., Guernsey (no. B 3) and the Malibu *Man in gorget and plumed cap* (no. B 4).

Where this last category is concerned, it is not improbable that Rembrandt did this mainly when the paintings were not directly intended for sale. It can hardly be coincidental that (taken over the whole of Rembrandt's oeuvre) such re-used supports involve a noticeably large number of self-portraits – those in Boston (no. A 20), Liverpool (no. A 33), Glasgow (Br. 17), Karlsruhe (Br. 38) and Kassel (Br. 43). In two cases where an etched plate can be shown to have been used a second time self-portraits were similarly involved – the *Self-portrait leaning forward* (B. 5) and the *Self-portrait bareheaded* (B. 338). The Basle painting of *David before Saul* (no. A 9) was – if our conjecture that it was a modello is correct – also not intended to be sold.

One question involving the technical consequences of painting on a support that has already been used is whether Rembrandt covered over the earlier painting before starting on the new one. We were unable to carry out any scientific investigations aimed at answering this question. Study with the naked eye and with a magnifying-glass has not so far yielded any unequivocal evidence that Rembrandt had a set method in this respect. With the earliest example – the *Bust of a man in gorget and cap* (no. A 8) – there are strong indications that there is no intermediate layer. The artist would then have worked directly on top of the underlying picture, and there are not even any traces of a dead-colour stage to be found. Patches of wearing show various colours that can be logically connected with the painting underneath, and the same is true of the colours that can be glimpsed through the scratchmarks. There is nowhere – e.g. around the patches of wear or in one or other of the scratchmarks – a regularly recurring tone of any intermediate layer to be seen. Though in this instance there was, to judge by the X-ray, no attempt made to remove the underlying painting or rub it flat, this does seem to have been done with the Basle work (no. A 9). The underlying head of a young man can be made out as a light, ghostly image with blurred contours and without any distinct brushwork. This unusual radiographic image could indicate that the relief of the earlier paint has been rubbed down. It is unclear whether an intermediate layer was applied subsequently; the yellowish colour that shows through in a number of places could very well be an intermediate layer, though the possibility of it being the original ground certainly cannot be ruled out.

Two palimpsests from 1629 and 1630/31 – the Boston *Self-portrait* (no. A 20) and the Windsor Castle *Old woman* (no. A 32) – exhibit a noticeably dense manner of painting, with the paint applied opaquely everywhere. This might indicate that no intermediate layer was applied to act as a fresh ground. It was, after all, in these very years that Rembrandt was making increasing use of a light ground showing through in places, and this consistent use of opacity in the palimpsests from these years could indicate that the existing underlayer was unsuited to being allowed to show through. It is remarkable that numerous scratchmarks in the fur collar of the Windsor Castle *Old woman* (no. A 32) reveal a black paint layer at places where the underlying picture would not lead one to expect this. This could mean that in this instance Rembrandt applied a black intermediate coating – something that from the viewpoint of painting technique is hard to imagine. A far more logical solution is that noted by the Doerner Institute in a much later painting: in the Kassel *Self-portrait* of 1654 (Br. 43), painted over a woman's portrait, cross-sections of paint have, as Dr. Hubert von Sonnenburg, Munich, kindly informed us, shown that Rembrandt had covered over the underlying portrait with a coating of light flesh-coloured paint, the brushmarks of which are indeed visible at the surface. For the moment it seems that Rembrandt did not follow a set procedure when preparing for re-use a panel that had already been painted on.

In four instances – the Liverpool *Self-portrait* (no. A 33), the Los Angeles *Raising of Lazarus* (no. A 30), the Berlin *Minerva* (no. A 38) and the Berlin *Abduction of Proserpina* (no. A 39) – the X-ray shows that the artist removed part of the underlying paint layers either before beginning on a new picture or in order to make a change in the composition. In the first two

of these paintings the paint was removed with a tool that must have had a rounded profile. The long and slightly curving scrapemarks, clearly made with the right hand, are relatively narrow and do not show sharp edges. In between the scrapemarks, which show up dark in the X-ray and thus evidently go down to the ground, one sees the lighter image of paint that was not removed. One is struck by the fact that although the panel of the Liverpool *Self-portrait* was re-used for a totally different picture, only part of the first painting was removed – possibly only the part that was still wet enough to be scraped off easily. In the Berlin *Minerva* too, perhaps for the same reason, only part of the underlying – finished or unfinished – painting was removed. There, however, the artist obviously used something different from the quite narrow scraping tool with the rounded profile; a large, dark and shapeless patch gives one the impression that at this point a more thorough procedure was used to take the paint off. The outline with its projecting tongues (which have a slightly curving shape) gives signs of the paint having here been wiped off with a rag wrapped round the finger.

A number of technical aspects have not been considered in this chapter, especially those concerning the medium or media used by Rembrandt. We hope to deal with these problems in a subsequent volume.

E. v. d. W.

Chapter III

The documentary value of early graphic reproductions

When John Smith, in the seventh volume of his *Catalogue raisonné* in 1836, made the first attempt at listing Rembrandt's paintings, reproductive engravings inevitably played a prominent role. They formed an essential and numerically important supplement to what a single author could know from personal acquaintance. Since then, engravings have lost their importance as primary documentation.

When we look through prints from the second half of the 18th century we realize that this form of documentation is far from trustworthy: the name of Rembrandt as the author of the painting reproduced had to cover a motley collection. Clearly recognizable, and often still extant works by Cornelis Bisschop, Ferdinand Bol, Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, Carel Fabritius, Govaert Flinck, Aert de Gelder, Reynier van Gherwen, Eberhard Keihl, Philips Koninck, Salomon Koninck, Jan Lievens, Nicolaes Maes, Roeland Roghman and Peter Paul Rubens were published under Rembrandt's name; so were works which we now term as being of the Rembrandt School, and works that must have been relatively recent fabrications. Whether this was done in good or bad faith – in other words, whether the confusion must be explained by lack of knowledge or by commercial considerations – is a question we fortunately do not have to resolve here, and one for which the answer would perhaps have to differ from one case to the next. In just the same way the prices noted in sales catalogues give the impression that the buying public sometimes accepted the correctness of the attribution to Rembrandt, and at others did not give it credence.

What is true of the latter half of the 18th century is not automatically true of the 17th, especially the 1630s, when a number of prints claim to reproduce works by Rembrandt. There is, perfectly understandably, a tendency to lend to statements made by contemporaries the status of a certificate of authenticity, in regard not only to existing but to unknown works as well[1]. When the works listed in the catalogue require it, these prints will be discussed in the individual entries; it is worth paying attention here to the way the prints relate to each other and to their existing or hypothetical prototypes, so as to try to get some idea of the purpose for which they were made (and it was not to provide a certificate!), and of the significance that ought to be attached to their inscriptions.

It would seem that Rembrandt himself, around 1630, took the initiative that would lead to his major compositions 'being brought out in print'. It is safe to assume that the reproduction business, large in scale and strictly organized, that Rubens had created served him as an illustrious example. If our theory about the complicated genesis of the *Raising of Lazarus* in Los Angeles (no. A 30) is right, the large etching B. 73, which because of its elaborate execution signifies an innovation in Rembrandt's etched oeuvre, was in its first four states a reproduction of the second phase (now reconstructable only hypothetically) of that painting, done in the years 1630/31. It may be that already here Rembrandt's unsuitability for this work of reproduction became apparent: the painting was subjected to drastic changes, the etching to rather less radical alterations, and each pursued its own course of development. In Amsterdam Rembrandt was to reproduce a painting, the *Descent from the Cross* in two elaborate etchings, both dated 1633 (and both carrying the number B. 81). Here too, however, there are substantial changes from the painting in its final state. We know of no further attempts by Rembrandt to reproduce his own painted compositions (apart from a design specifically intended for this purpose, such as the *Ecce Homo* (B. 77) of 1635/36). It consequently cannot be called pure chance that in 1631 an outsider, J. G. van Vliet, came onto the scene.

The year 1631, the last in which Rembrandt worked in Leiden, appears on four etchings, some of them major, which name Rembrandt as the 'inventor' and carry the signature *JG* (in monogram) *v. Vliet*. One gets the impression that this sudden flurry of production, unpreceded by any known etchings by this artist, took place at Rembrandt's instigation, even though the relationship between the two men was probably not as close as it is represented in the literature[2].

The technical mastery of these prints makes Rembrandt's choice entirely understandable. How van Vliet reached this level of technique is not clear. His biography is practically non-existent; even about his name there is no absolute certainty. Presumably he is identical with one Johannes van Vliet '*Plaetsnijder tot Leyden*' (printmaker at Leiden) mentioned in 1634

1 A first selection of reproductive engravings regarded as reliable, and very largely followed until recent Rembrandt literature (Bauch 1966, nos. A 15–A 26), will be found in: W. Bode and C. Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt* VIII, Paris 1905, p. 161 ff.

2 W. Fraenger, *Der junge Rembrandt* I: *Johann Georg van Vliet*, Heidelberg 1920 (all published), p. IX: 'Johann Georg van Vliet gehört mit Dou und Lievens zu dem Leidener Werkstattkreise Rembrandts'. It is misleading to place the relations of van Vliet, Lievens and Dou with Rembrandt, which must have been of a quite different nature for each of them, on a par in this way. Fraenger is, for that matter, the first and only author to have devoted attention to the work of van Vliet as such. We shall not go further here into the longstanding argument whether van Vliet can be seen as a collaborator on some of the Rembrandt etchings from the Amsterdam period (something that is *a priori* unlikely), or as the author of a number of etchings in Rembrandt's Leiden style (for which adequate grounds are lacking).

1 J. G. van Vliet, *Lot and his daughters*, 1631, etching (B. II, 1)

2 J. G. van Vliet (?), *Lot and his daughters*, red and black chalk. London, The British Museum

and 1637[3]. It is definite, from Rembrandt's inventory of 1656[4] that van Vliet supplied him with at least a number of his own etchings. For the rest, only his prints can tell us anything about the relation that existed between him and the work of Rembrandt.

The three etchings reproducing history paintings and dated 1631 are in fact so eloquent that they give us definite information about the nature and generally even the format of the originals, all three of which have, as it happens, been lost. All three bear a monogram, the first two the letters *RH* and the third (the *S. Jerome*) *RHL*, combined with the name *van* (or *v.*) *Rijn*, in the way Rembrandt himself was to sign his paintings only in 1632. The word *jnventor* which follows, instead of the *pinxit* one finds repeatedly, does not however raise any doubt about all three etchings being reproductions of completed paintings.

It is possible that, as Fraenger supposed, the *Lot and his daughters* (B. II 1) was the first to be produced (fig. 1). The print unmistakeably (on the evidence of the proportions and the scale of the figures) reproduces a scene painted on a panel with the frequently-occurring dimensions of about 60 × 48 cm; it does so in reverse, as is clear from the light falling from the right. Akin in composition to the Berlin *Samson be-*

3 The few facts available are brought together in : K. von Baudissin, 'Van Vliet–Irrungen', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 48 (1927), pp. 108–110, with further references. One does not seem bound to assume, as this author does, the existence of both a J. G. van Vliet and another, different Leiden printmaker. – The solution adopted by C. Hofstede de Groot (in: *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 19 (1896), pp. 382–383) for the monogram *JG* as being Jan Jorisz. (= Johannes Georgii) is hypothetical, but at all events more satisfactory than the usual French and German readings of Jean Georges and Johann Georg respectively.

4 No. 277 'Een kas met printen van van Vliet naer schilderije van Rembrant'. See: R. H. Fuchs, *Rembrandt en Amsterdam*, Rotterdam 1968, p. 79.

5 A. M. Hind, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists ... in the British Museum* I, London 1915, p. 42, no. 115 as 'if not by Rembrandt certainly by Van Vliet'. There is an attribution to Moeyaert in Bauch 1933, p. 180; here, Rembrandt's lost original is dated around 1627.

3 J. G. van Vliet, *The baptism of the eunuch*, 1631, etching (B. II, 12)

4 Copy after Rembrandt, *The baptism of the eunuch*. Formerly Oldenburg, Grand-Ducal Gallery

trayed by Delilah (no. A 24) which we date as 1629/30, the original must in its style of painting and treatment of light have been very close to the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* (no. A 28) dated 1630; both paintings are of the same format already quoted. In particular, the *Lot and his daughters* shares with the *Jeremiah* the obscure spatial motivation for the main figure's sitting position that Fraenger complains of. The most probable dating for the lost painting is therefore 1630. How van Vliet brought the picture down to the size of his etching (27 × 22.2 cm) can in this instance perhaps be seen from a drawing (fig. 2) in red and black chalk in the British Museum (measuring 29.4 × 23.3 cm) showing the composition in reverse (i.e. in the same direction as the painting) in a slightly taller format[5]. It is not improbable that in this case the etcher's working drawing has, for once, been preserved; in some respects it presumably gives a somewhat clearer impression of the lost original, e.g. in the more strongly accented masonry arch to the left. When compared with the drawing the etching shows minor differences, such as the disappearance of a staff lying alongside Lot and the presence of shoe-strings beside his outstretched leg; these give the impression that in reproducing the painting van Vliet knowingly allowed himself one or two liberties.

The same impression is gained from the unusually large and extremely competently executed etching (49 × 39.5 cm) of the *Baptism of the eunuch* (B. II 12) (fig. 3). In this case the assumption is borne out by the fact that a number of painted copies of the lost original have survived, the best-known of which (fig. 4), previously at Oldenburg (sale Amsterdam, Frederik Muller, 25 June 1924, no. 154) measures 115 × 90 cm. Here too one sees – assuming that this copy is a reasonably faithful reproduction of the original – that in filling in the foreground and in his indication of space van Vliet went his own way: the form and tonal value of the vegetation (identifiable in the painted copy as horseradish, thistle and burdock) are quite different in his version, and the indication

5 Claes Jansz. Visscher, *The baptism of the eunuch*, engraving

of the hillside and the water is less emphatic. From the closely related landscape motifs and, again, the scale of the figures, we can be fairly sure that the lost original must have been of roughly the same type and size as the Berlin *Abduction of Proserpina* (no. A 39), painted on a panel that is now measuring 85 × 80 cm but was originally taller. One notices, too, that in van Vliet's etching the tonal value of the sky is lighter; on this point the painted copy, bearing in mind the matt grey sky of the *Proserpina*, deserves some confidence, and the preference for a lighter background, will be seen again in later prints. For all its fidelity to Rembrandt's invention, the etching thus shows a certain distance which, one must assume, in no way detracted from his status as 'inventor' in the eyes of a contemporary. That this concept was understood in broad terms is evident subsequently from a copper engraving published in Amsterdam by Claes Jansz. Visscher (fig. 5), in which the motifs from van Vliet's etching are rearranged in a horizontal format, this offering no obstacle to the inscription *Rembrant invent.* What is obviously the essential factor here is the sum total of the motifs, and not the way they are set out in the composition.

The third etching from 1631 (B. II 13) reproduces in reverse a lost painting of *S. Jerome kneeling in prayer* (fig. 6). This is demonstrated on the one hand by Rembrandt's autograph study in red and black chalk for the kneeling figure, now in Paris (Ben. 18), and on the other by the strong kinship, principally in the still-life and lighting, with the *Jeremiah* of 1630. The scale of the figure and the proportions of the picture area (35.4 × 28.4 cm) point however to a rather different type of composition and a somewhat taller format. A copy at Aachen[6] was, as appears already from the fact that it is in the same direction as the etching already shows, done not from the lost original but from the etching, and its very large

6 W. R. Valentiner ed., *Rembrandt. Des Meisters Gemälde*, 3rd edn., Stuttgart-Leipzig 1909 (Kl. d. K.), p. 518.

6 J. G. van Vliet, *S. Jerome kneeling in prayer*, 1631, etching (B. II, 13)

dimensions (102 × 89.5 cm) can give us no idea of the size of the painting. The proportions of the picture area of the etching match quite closely those of the panel on which Rembrandt painted *The Artist in oriental costume*, assumed to be from 1631 in the Petit Palais, Paris (no. A 40), which measures 66.5 × 52 cm. And indeed the dimensions of an unpublished painted copy showing the *S. Jerome* in reverse in relation to the etching are quoted as 64 × 51 cm[7]. The execution of the etching, which has a high degree of finish in the rendering of materials and detail, suggests an original that should be dated at around 1630/31.

These three etchings, unmistakeably drawn from paintings by Rembrandt, are joined closely by a fourth, bearing the monogram *RH* and possibly produced even before the *S. Jerome*: this is the undated *Old woman reading* (fig. 7) (B. II 18) after the painting, dated 1631, in Amsterdam (no. A 37; fig. 8). Here for the first time we are in a position to compare the reproduction with the original. The proportions of the picture area of the etching (27.4 × 22.3 cm) are virtually the same as those of the panel (59.8 × 47.7 cm), and the rendering is painstaking in the extreme. Two things strike one as characteristic discrepancies: the predominantly light background, which is only here and there given a tone by means of fine hatching and against which the figure contrasts in a way quite different from that in the painting, and the modelling, shown in fine gradations, of the areas where light falls on the cloak, which in the painting was crisply drawn in strokes of paint. Both these differences represent tendencies which appear in other van Vliet prints of Rembrandt's works and are important for assessing the nature of the prototypes he used.

7 Panel, 64 × 51 cm, monogrammed and dated *FR 1690* (or 91?); according to an old photograph in the RKD, in the Institut National Ossolinski, Lvov.

7 J. G. van Vliet, *An old woman reading*, etching (B. II, 18)

8 Rembrandt, *An old woman reading*, 1631 (no. A 37). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

The other prints are all '*tronies*', i.e. heads or busts of interesting types[8] – '*têtes de caractère*' as they were called later –, one from 1631, one from 1633 and five from 1634. As we shall see below, allowance has in this case to be made for a broader concept of 'invention'; the model reproduced may, but will not necessarily, be a work by the artist named as the 'inventor'. In connexion with this the question arises of how we have to imagine the contact between van Vliet and Rembrandt after the latter's move to Amsterdam during 1631. Hofstede de Groot has shown, in another context, that there was no further direct contact between the two artists after Rembrandt's change of residence[9]. Van Vliet stayed in Leiden, where he etched (besides the prints we have mentioned after Rembrandt originals) compositions of his own, a few works by Lievens from the latter's Leiden period (B. II 2 and 3) and, in 1635, a work by the Leiden painter Joris van Schooten (B. II 11); if documentary mentions of Johannes van Vliet do in fact relate to him, he was living in Leiden in 1634 and 1637. One comment must be made here:

8 The Dutch word '*tronies*' has been chosen here particularly on the grounds of the title *Diverse tronikens geets van J.L.* which refers to a series of seven numbered etchings (*c.* 16 × 14.3 cm) by Jan Lievens (Hollst. XI nos. 34, 35, 39, 40, 36, 41, 33), showing busts of two portrait-like young men in profile, three old men in exotic attire and two grey-haired old men seen in profile. Three etchings from this series were, one must assume, copied in Rembrandt's workshop in 1635 in the somewhat smaller etchings B. 286, 287 and 288 under his name and bearing the inscription *Rembrandt geretuck* or *geretuckert* (retouched) and, in two instances, the year *1635*. The word '*tronie*' (Old French *trogne*) meant, in general, 'head'; it could also be used with the meaning of 'representation' or even 'portrait', but usually – in contrast to the term 'portrait' – in a non-individual sense (cf. L. de Pauw-de Veen, *De begrippen 'schilder', 'schilderij' en 'schilderen' in de zeventiende eeuw*, Brussels 1969 (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie . . . Klasse der Schone Kunsten XXXI, no. 22), pp. 190–193. Cf. the mention of a painted *tronie* by Rembrandt in a Leiden inventory of 1644: 'Een out mans tronie sijnde 't conterfeytsel van den Vader van Mr. Rembrant' (an old man's face, being the likeness of the Father of Master Rembrandt) (HdG *Urk.*, no. 101). There was besides already mention in 1629 of 'een kleyn tronytge van Rembrant' in the inventory of the Leiden landscape painter Barent Teunisz. (A. Bredius, 'Rembrandtiana', *O.H.* 28 (1910), pp. 1–8, esp. p. 1).

An arbitrary significance could however easily be given to such *tronies*, or 'heads', with their neutral content. This happened with copies of various inventions of Rembrandt etched by van Vliet (and others) in series put out by a variety of 17th-century French and Dutch publishers. B. II 26 (fig. 9) became *Scandrebec Roy d'Albanië*, B. II 24 (fig. 11) became *Philon le Juif*, B. II 20 (fig. 18) became *Mahomet*, B. II 21 (fig. 14) became *Democritus*, B. II 22 (fig. 16) became *Heraclitus*. When these copies were copied these names might be retained (as happened with the last two), but fresh ones might also be attached to them. See S. Scheikévitch, 'Rembrandt et l'iconographie française au XVIIe siècle', *G.d.B.-A.* 3rd series 31 (1904), pp. 417–422; S. Slive, *Rembrandt and his critics*, The Hague 1953, pp. 31–32; L. Münz in: *Jb. d. Kunsth. Samml. Wien* 50 (1953), pp. 165–170; R.-A. Weigert, 'Le commerce de la gravure au XVIIe siècle en France . . .', *G.d.B.-A.* 6th series 41 (1953), pp. 167–188 esp. 180–181.

9 C. Hofstede de Groot, loc. cit., note 3.

9 J. G. van Vliet, *A young man in a gorget and cap*, 1631, etching (B. II, 26)

10 J. Lievens, *Head of a young man (self-portrait?)*. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst

Fraenger recognized in van Vliet's *Resurrection* (B. II 10), from a series of six etchings of scenes of the Passion from 1635, a motif that he regarded as a borrowing from Rembrandt's *Resurrection* in Munich (Br. 561), a work that was completed only in 1639 but begun earlier[10]. Unless one assumes that van Vliet was not borrowing from a Rembrandt painting but that Rembrandt was borrowing from a van Vliet etching, one must take it that contact was not entirely lost, or that van Vliet took the motif from a derivative of Rembrandt's painting, a few of which do in fact exist. There is thus no reason to doubt that van Vliet remained in Leiden. He did not produce prints of any further major compositions by Rembrandt, the relation between his etchings and Rembrandt's model became less clearcut from 1631 onwards, and in 1633 Rembrandt himself dealt with the reproduction of his *Descent from the cross*. It is justifiable to assume that the initiative for and supervision over van Vliet's production (if there had ever been supervision) were no longer in Rembrandt's hands.

Indeed, the master's back is not yet turned before the problems begin. What is one to think of the *Young man in a gorget and cap* (B. II 26; fig. 9), still dated 1631? The motifs are, taken one by one, known to us from Rembrandt's painted *Self-portraits*: the gorget from those in The Hague and in the MOA Museum, Japan (nos. A 21 and A 22), the cap with ostrich feathers, the small white shirt-collar and the gold chain from that of 1629 in the Gardner Museum, Boston (no. A 20), and the closed outline of the pear-shaped body can be found there as well. But Rembrandt virtually always (apart from two etchings of the so-called 'father', B. 292 and 294) turns the head to face the onlooker, and the facial type does not appear anywhere in his work. These two points of discrepancy from Rembrandt's work are at the same time points of agreement with that of Jan Lievens, who in his paintings, etchings and drawings repeatedly showed the face almost in profile, and in whose work a similar young man with a pointed chin appears a number of times (fig. 10). It would be rash to draw a conclusion from this, but it is clear that one cannot conclude either, without further thought, that there must have been a Rembrandt original corresponding to the print. A perhaps meaningless but none the less odd fact is that in the inscription *RHL* (in monogram) *v Rijn* the letter *R* of 'Rijn' does not, as in the etchings mentioned previously, take

10 Fraenger, op. cit., note 2, p. 85.

11 J. G. van Vliet, *An old man in a fur cap*, 1633, etching (B. II, 24)

12 Rembrandt, *An old man in a fur cap*, 1630 (no. A 29). Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum

the form of an italic capital, but that of the written capital as in Rembrandt's own monogram: closed at the left, and with a loop at the junction. In this respect, as well as in the treatment of the background which is left blank except for a small hatched area of shadow cast by the figure, this etching wholly anticipates the five *tronies* of 1634.

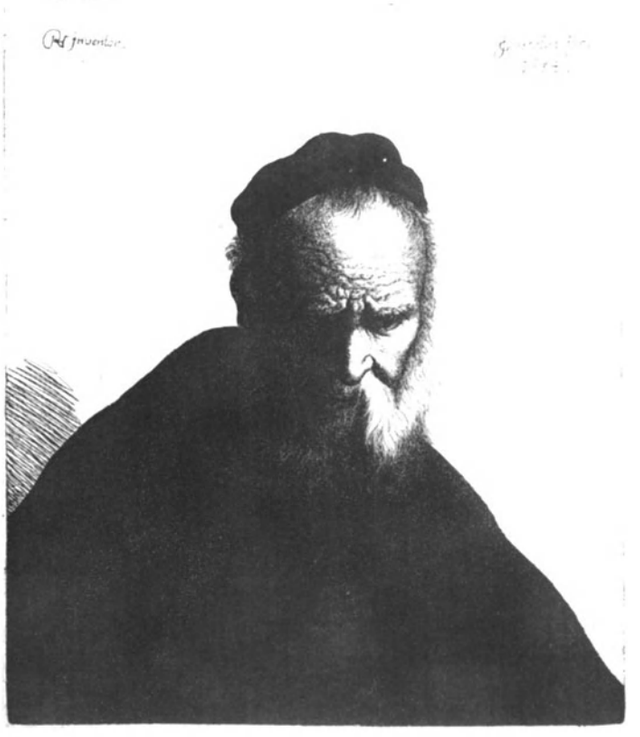
First, however, van Vliet was still to reproduce in 1633 a work painted by Rembrandt which survives today in the original (B. II 24; fig. 11) – the Innsbruck *Old man in a fur cap* of 1630 (no. A 29; fig. 12). The measurements of the etching (21.3 × 17.8 cm) and painting (22.7 × 17.7 cm) are practically the same, and remembering the etching done from the *Old woman reading* one might have expected a faithful and even subtle rendering. But one is disappointed – not only is there excessive emphasis on the contour against the background, but especially in the figure itself the relationships between the light values are totally out of balance; as a result the plastic coherence is lost, and there are obtrusive distortions, particularly in the eye, too large by itself and surmounted by an excessively large eyelid. Fraenger spoke of a '*Prozeß der Verrohung*' (coarsening process)[11], but one may also wonder whether the etcher was not working from an intermediate model – perhaps a drawing in the manner of that of *Lot and his daughters* (fig. 2) – without this time being in a position to consult the original.

11 Fraenger, op. cit., note 2, p. 38.

13 J. G. van Vliet, *Bust of a young man (after Rembrandt's Self-portrait no. A 14)*, 1634, etching (B. II, 19)

14 J. G. van Vliet, *Bust of a laughing man in a gorget*, 1634, etching (B. II, 21)

15 J. G. van Vliet, *Bust of an old man*, 1634, etching (B. II, 23)

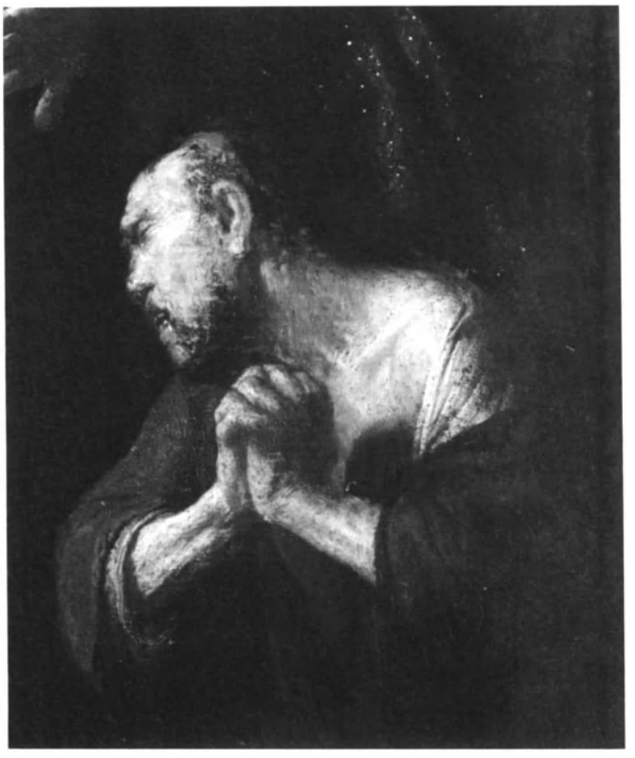


Of the last five *tronies* etched by van Vliet there are only two dated 1634, but in view of their common format (21.2 to 22.7 × 17.8 to 19 cm) and the identical treatment of the blank background with a cast shadow they make up a distinct group, even though not a numbered series. This is not to say that they do not present us with widely differing problems when it comes to defining the relationship to their prototypes. In three cases paintings have survived which on the grounds of careful comparison[12] we may assume to have provided the direct model: in one instance we believe the painting to be an autograph original, probably from 1628 (cf. fig. 13 and no. A 14); in a second case it is a work the authenticity of which is not immediately convincing (cf. fig. 14 and no. B 6); in a third case it is a painting we cannot

12 See relevant catalogue entries.

16 J. G. van Vliet, *A man grieving*, 1634, etching (B. II, 22)

17 Rembrandt, *Judas repentant (detail)*, 1629 (no. A 15). England, private collection



accept as being autograph (cf. fig. 15 and no. C 22). A fourth etching (fig. 16) shows a variant of the Judas figure from Rembrandt's *Judas repentant* of 1629 (no. A 15) and the fifth is for the time being still a puzzle to us (fig. 18). One gets the impression that van Vliet used quite different kinds of model (thus giving quite different meanings to the inscription *RHL. jnventor*) in order to arrive at what, looked at superficially, is a homogeneous series of etchings. The complications can be demonstrated most readily in the *Man grieving* (B. II 22; fig. 16). It is evident that the posture of the figure matches that of the principal character in Rembrandt's *Judas repentant* of 1629 (fig. 17); but the differences are no less obvious. The bared chest and forearms are now covered by a closed jacket with sleeves, and over the averted arm hangs a cloak which substantially broadens the man's silhouette. Are these liberties that van Vliet took vis-à-vis his model? Or was he working from a model that looked like this? And in the latter case, was this model a variant by Rembrandt himself – a preliminary study for the painting, for example? Or was it an intermediate model done by someone else, possibly van Vliet himself?

Although one cannot answer these questions with any certainty, one can quote a similar case which, if our interpretation of the material is correct, can throw some light on a problem of this kind. This involves an etching of an old man with a beard, which according to the inscription was done in 1633 by the Dordrecht artist Hendrik Dethier (1610–?) as being an invention by Rembrandt (fig. 19). The prototype for this etching (which is in fact hardly more than amateurish) was already recognized by Hofstede de Groot, in a small painting in Leipzig (fig. 20; no. C 25) which has since then rightly been rejected as autograph. The explanation of how it could nonetheless be reproduced as a Rembrandt invention turns out to be amazingly simple. Although the character of the original has been entirely lost in the insipid rendering, the small painting is unmistakeably based on the head of Rembrandt's *S. Paul* of *c.* 1629/30 in Nuremberg (cf. fig. 21 and no. A 26). In fact numerous 17th-century inventories show that painted *tronies* by or after Rembrandt were a popular commodity. It is quite clear, however, that the concept of invention (at least in the case of a famous artist, as Rembrandt

18 J. G. van Vliet, *An old oriental*, etching (B. II, 20)

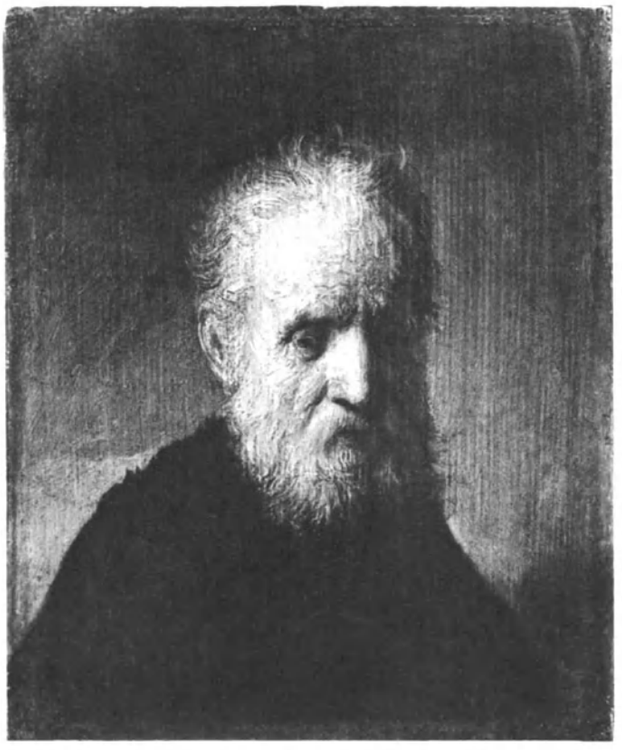
19 H. Dethier, *Bust of an old man*, 1633, etching

plainly was by 1633) was given such wide limits that a detail from a composition from his hand in a reproduction at second hand, and an unrecognizable one at that, could still be published under his name.

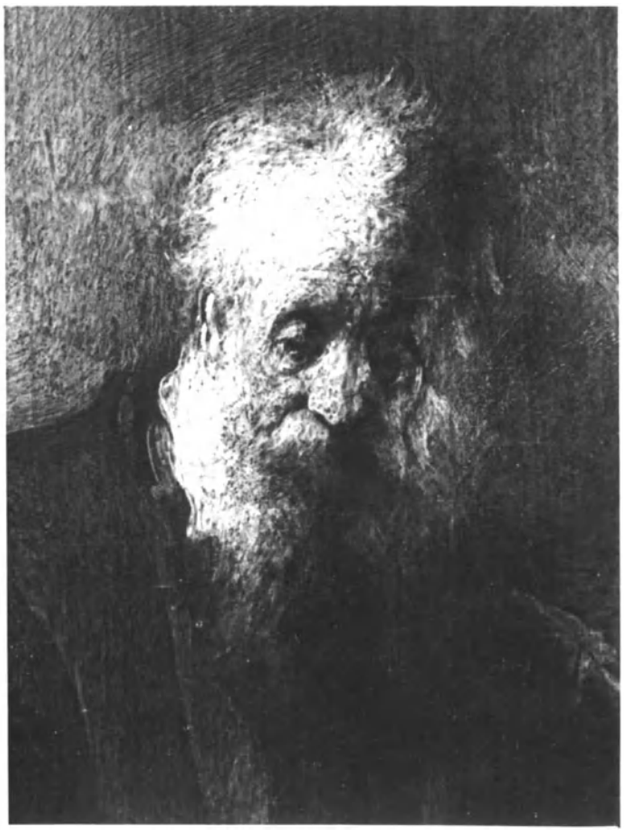
Van Vliet's *Man grieving* (fig. 16) is by no means unrecognizable, but it certainly is a detail from a Rembrandt composition, and we must make allowance for the existence of an intermediary model, whoever produced it. What has just been said applies in principle to *tronies* of this kind in general, and in cases where a painted model for a print is known we are still not excused the question of whether this is an autograph painting or merely represents Rembrandt's invention (i.e. is derived from a work by him). The authenticity of the model is in no way proved by the mere fact of a reproduction claiming to be of his invention. The hesitation that the *Man laughing* in The Hague (no. B 6) prompts on this score is not lessened by the probability, verging on certainty, that van Vliet's etching B. II 21 (fig. 14) is based directly on this painting. Nor is the *Old man* in the Bader collection, Milwaukee (no. C 22) made any more acceptable by the fact that etching B. II 23 (fig. 15) reproduces this painting; in this case it seems not unlikely that the motif was borrowed from a larger context – one can, for instance, think of the head of Philip in the lost *Baptism of the eunuch* (cf. fig. 4) – and the *RHL* monogram on the painting may constitute a correct statement in so far as it only indicates the inventor of the *tronie*. The only example we have of an autograph work by Rembrandt, probably from 1628, that was used by van Vliet and has been preserved is the *Self-portrait* in Amsterdam (no. A 14), which is reproduced on a slightly smaller scale in virtually the same format in etching B. II 19 (fig. 13; the dimensions are 22.4 × 16.5 for the painting, 22.6 × 18.8 for the etching).

This shows, at all events, that the prototypes used by van Vliet in 1634 were not invariably of recent date. Apart from this young man, old man, man grieving and man laughing, the group also contains an *Old oriental* (B. II 20; fig. 18), which appears to offer no point of contact that would explain Rembrandt's part in its invention. The fact however that the etching shows a rather Dou-like exercise in finicky detail might be seen as an indication that it does, at a greater or lesser remove, reproduce a

20 After Rembrandt, *Bust of an old man* (no. C 25). Leipzig DDR, Museum der bildenden Künste



21 Rembrandt, *S. Paul at his writing-desk* (detail), [1629/30] (no. A 26). Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum



Rembrandt model[13]. An *Old man*, given van Vliet's name (B. II 25; fig. 22), shows a different treatment and only in its later states carries an inscription *RHL* (in monogram) *in*, written in unusual lettering; in the first state discovered by Münz, however, it has a capital letter *B*[14]. This etching does not seem to be by van Vliet, nor does it have any direct connexion with Rembrandt's model[15].

In 1634 van Vliet's role as a reproducer of inventions by Rembrandt came to an end. Taking an overall view of his reproductions one cannot but conclude that their documentary worth for our knowledge of Rembrandt's paintings is very uneven. In 1631 when, as we can assume, he had direct access to the originals and reproduced these at least in consultation with Rembrandt, etchings were produced that are reliable as documentary evidence and show moreover great technical mastery. Immediately after Rembrandt moved away from Leiden this state of affairs changed. The etchings from 1633 and 1634 are solely of heads; their significance as evidence of Rembrandt's activity thus declines just as much as their artistic significance. The *tronie* is anything but an unambiguous subject where its invention is concerned: it was popular in character, with all the liberties that usually go with popularizing. The motif might correspond to a work of art created as such; but it might just as easily be isolated *ad hoc* from a wider context, and adapted to its new purpose. The name of the inventor evidently continued to be mentioned with exactly the same emphasis in all the widely varying cases.

This is not a very encouraging conclusion to come to, especially when one realizes that in the 1630s there was no engraver or etcher who was as close to Rembrandt as van Vliet had been. How two other artists, Willem de Leeuw and Pieter de Bailliu, became acquainted with his work, remains unclear. Willem de Leeuw is not known ever to have left Antwerp and set foot in Amsterdam; we do know for

13 It could also be a concoction: the costume resembles that of the *Old man* of 1633 (B. II 24; fig. 11), the head that of Lievens' *Oriental* ('Sultan Soliman') at Sanssouci (Schneider no. 152).

14 Münz II, p. 170, pl. 12a.

15 Though this etching too was published by the Paris publisher Langlois in a copy in reverse, as *Dr Faustus* (cf. note 6). – Not considered here are a few copies of etchings after Rembrandt attributed to van Vliet, with varying degrees of probability.

22 Wrongly ascribed to J. G. van Vliet, *Bust of an old man*, etching (B. II, 25)

23 P. de Bailliu, '*S. Anastasius*', engraving

sure that Pieter de Bailliu did not. Only from them are major compositions under Rembrandt's name known in print form, apart from the reproductions that quickly appeared of his etchings[16].

Pieter de Bailliu (1613–after 1660) worked, after spending some time in Italy, in Antwerp from 1640 onwards. His engravings of historical subjects reproduce almost without exception works by Italian and Antwerp masters. His reproduction of a painting of *A Christian scholar*, of which only a copy survives at Stockholm with the presumably correct date 1631 (no. C 17) forms an isolated case among his work (fig. 23). The Amsterdam publisher Cornelis Danckerts probably played a part in its production; he published a great many prints by Antwerp engravers (including some after works by Rubens), and his address appears on this print as well. This still does not explain, however, how De Bailliu came by his model. Perhaps one ought to assume that the original (now lost) was in Antwerp around the middle of the century. Even so, the title of *S. Anastasius* given (most certainly *ad hoc*) to the picture remains mysterious[17].

Things are even more of a problem with Willem de Leeuw, whose monogram is also read as W(illem) P(ietersz.) v(an der) Leeuw. It is assumed that he was born in 1603, and was a pupil of Pieter Soutman in Antwerp. His etchings, which are not very numerous, show him to have been a competent craftsman. Most are after Rubens originals; the half-length figure of *S. Paul the Hermit* after Lievens (cf. Schneider no. 66) seems to have been done from a work from the latter's Antwerp period. The three reproductions of Rembrandts signed by De Leeuw strike one as being out of keeping with the remainder of his work (just as was the case with the De Bailliu print). If we ignore the fairly coarse etching (fig. 24) which reproduces a painting that will be discussed later – the Stockholm profile portrait of the so-called 'sister' of 1632 (Br. 85) or, rather, a painted copy – then two major compositions remain, each of which present special problems in the way they relate to their surviving prototypes.

The large etching of *David playing the harp to Saul*

16 Salomon Savery in Amsterdam, for example, published a large copper engraving (35.5 × 50.5 cm!) of the *Driving-out of the money-changers from the Temple*, based on etching B. 69, and copies after the *Good Samaritan* (B. 90) were published by Savery and by Charles Errard in Paris.

17 For a further discussion see no. C 17.

24 W. de Leeuw, *A young woman*, etching

(fig. 25)[18] is usually regarded as a reproduction of the painting in Frankfurt (no. A 25). As we shall see in the discussion of that painting, there are however far greater points of agreement with a large copy on canvas which has been preserved in fragmentary form, and we must assume that Rembrandt's invention was known to the etcher through the medium of this copy. The other history painting reproduced by De Leeuw under Rembrandt's name in a slightly smaller etching (fig. 26)[19] is the painting of *Tobit and Anna* now in London (no. C 3). Up to 1926 this work was, in our opinion correctly, regarded as being by Gerard Dou, and we can only assume that Rembrandt's inventorship is in this case wrongly ascribed to a painting that is unsigned but is related to his work. Such an assumption is of course rather more plausible if one can suppose that the etching was produced in Antwerp, outside the sphere of influence of Rembrandt himself or of his immediate entourage. There is doubt on this point. Both prints, the *David playing the harp* and the *Tobit and Anna*, bear Latin inscriptions by the Amsterdam Roman Catholic scholar and poet Cornelis Gijsbertsz. Plemp (Amsterdam 1574 – Amsterdam 1638)[20]. They seem to have been specially written for these prints, though Plemp's autograph collection of epigrams written in 1638 provides no confirmation of this[21]. The same is however also true for the inscription composed by Plemp for the etching after Lievens' *S. Paul the Hermit*[22], which one would take to have been produced in Antwerp rather than in Amsterdam. The assumption, based on Plemp's poems, that De Leeuw was working in Amsterdam around 1638, i.e. before Plemp's death[23], is thus at least open to dispute especially as Plemp maintained

18 Hollst. X, no. 2, 40.3 × 32.4 cm. Inscribed at bottom left *Rembrant van Rijn inv.*, at bottom right *WPL* (in monogram) *eeuw fecit.*

19 Hollst. X, no. 4, 29 × 21 cm. Inscribed at bottom left *Rembr. van Rijn inv.*, at bottom right *WPL* (in monogram) *eeuw fecit.*

20 On him see [J.F.M.] Sterck in: *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek* VI, Leiden 1924, cols. 1134–1135.

21 University Library, Amsterdam MS II A 51, *Cornelii Giselberti Plempii Amsterodamensis Epigrammatum Libri IX, Amsterodami manu Auctoris 1638* VI, ep. 15: 'In Saülem, & Davidem'; ep. 17: 'In Tobiam maiorem'.

22 Ibid., VI, ep. 16: 'In S. Paulum Eremitam'. Apart from a few poems on portraits (ibid. IV 54, 90, 91, 92, V 1 and VIII 1), Plemp wrote no epigrams on pictures other than those mentioned in this and the preceding note.

23 F. G. Waller, *Noord-Nederlandsche graveurs*, The Hague 1938, p. 197. Cf. N. MacLaren, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Dutch School*, London 1960, pp. 338–340.

25 W. de Leeuw, *David playing the harp to Saul*, etching

26 W. de Leeuw, *Tobit and Anna*, etching

contacts with Antwerp[24]. It does seem reasonable to take the year of Plemp's death as an overall *terminus ante quem* for the etchings published with his poems. It is all the more strange to have to say that the documentary value of the inscriptions on the etchings is relatively slight; in one of the three cases it turns out that the invention cannot as the inscription states be attributed to Rembrandt, and in the others early copies served as models.

As might be expected, after what has been said, matters are worse rather than better where the *tronies* are concerned. Although these are in part related to the style of Rembrandt's work from his early years in Amsterdam, their treatment comes very close to what has been said in discussing van Vliet's etchings from 1634: the citing of Rembrandt as inventor calls for the greatest possible scepticism. Two etchings are traditionally attributed to De Leeuw. The *Bust of a young man with neckerchief and feathered cap* (fig. 27) has in the background, at top right, a strange monogram to be read as *JRi* and the date 1633; the type of letters and figures is reminiscent of that used in the address of Cornelis Danckerts as it appears on a number of prints[25]. That it was intended to indicate Rembrandt as the inventor can perhaps be deduced from a copy in reverse, published by Salomon Savery, which bears the inscription *Rembrandt Inventor*[26]. The hardly Rembrandtesque impression that the clothing and expression of the young man make is borne out by the painting that probably

24 His *Poematia* appeared there in 1631; see Sterck, loc. cit., note 20.

25 Hollst. X, Leeuw no. 14, 19.8 × 15.9 cm. There is still some doubt about the reading of the monogram. One might think of Jacques de(s) Rousseau(x), but this is probably not the right answer, if only because there is no *d* in the monogram.

26 Included in J. Phz. Schabaelje, *Den grooten Emblemata sacra*, Amsterdam 1654, as an illustration of the patriarch Joseph. Another copy, published by Langlois in Paris (cf. note 8) has *Gaston de Foix*.

27 Traditionally ascribed to W. de Leeuw, *Bust of a young man with neckerchief and feathered cap*, 1633, etching

28 Circle of Rembrandt, *Bust of a young man with neckerchief and feathered cap*. Pasadena, Calif., Norton Simon Museum of Art

served as the model (fig. 28)[27]. Bauch attributed it to Jacob Adriaensz. Backer[28], and at all events the motif does seem to have originated in Rembrandt's circle, even – according to the print – in or before 1633. As in the case of De Leeuw's print after Dou, it is apparent that Rembrandt's name here covers an invention looked on as representing his style. This hardly applies to the rather larger etching, also under the name of De Leeuw, which has in its inscription (in addition to the words *Remb: van Ryn inventor* and Danckerts' address) the title *Mariana* (fig. 29)[29]: this is clearly the portrait of a courtesan[30], and is devoid of any detectable connexion with Rembrandt's work. Also belonging to this category of what are in fact anonymous prints is an etching published by Salomon Savery (fig. 30)[31], which is presumably based on one of the quite numerous examples of the so-called father still frequently attributed to Rembrandt[32]. Although in this instance the motif does bear some relation to the work of Rembrandt, so that his invention is a not wholly fantastic assumption, this *tronie* too seems not to reflect a work from his hand.

After a close examination of the reproductive engravings by Rembrandt's contemporaries, the yield of reliable documentary evidence is found to be about as meagre as the attitude taken to the concept of invention was generous. The *tronies* in particular teach us that reproducing an invention was not only a question of copying, but also of varying, of isolating particular motifs, or even of reproducing prototypes

27 Panel 67.5 × 52.5 cm. HdG 431. W. R. Valentiner ed., *Rembrandt*, 3rd edn., Stuttgart-Leipzig 1909 (Kl. d. K.), p. 145. Sale of Ch. Sedelmeyer coll., Paris 25 May 1907, no. 158.

28 K. Bauch, *Jacob Adriaensz. Backer*, Berlin 1926, p. 30, no. 90.

29 Hollst. X, Leeuw no. 15, 20.9 × 16.6 cm.

30 On portraits of courtesans, cf. S. Slive, *Frans Hals* I, London 1970, pp. 91–94. – The *Mariana* print was regarded by Bauch (1933, p. 180) as a reproduction of a preparatory study for one of Lot's daughters (cf. fig. 1).

31 Used by Schabaelje (cf. note 26) as an illustration of a Roman ruler.

32 Cf. W. R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, Berlin-Leipzig 1923 (Kl. d. K), p. 13 left; Br. 635.

29 Traditionally ascribed to W. de Leeuw, '*Mariana*', etching

30 S. Savery, *Bust of an old man*, etching

which while bearing some relationship to Rembrandt's work were entirely unauthentic. Quite a wide currency must probably be ascribed to the attitudes that lay at the basis of such a procedure[33]. The large number of painted '*tronies* by Rembrandt' that were valued and bought and sold during the 17th and 18th centuries will not have been different in this respect from the versions reproduced in print form.

The situation is not quite as obscure where the small number of history paintings produced in print are concerned. Yet here, too, the trustworthiness declines immediately after van Vliet's etchings of 1631, and it remains essential to check Rembrandt's alleged inventorship from case to case. There is nothing to indicate that Rembrandt had anything at all to do with the publishing of the prints by De Leeuw, De Bailliu, Savery, or even van Vliet after 1631. On the contrary, one gets a strong impression that all the prints that appeared after 1631 did so without his knowledge or permission. This would also explain why the prints by van Vliet listed in Rembrandt's possessions in 1656 were expressly described as 'after *paintings* by Rembrandt'[34]; these were presumably only the etchings from the *Lot*, the *Baptism of the eunuch*, the *S. Jerome kneeling* and the *Old woman reading*, the results of a fruitful but shortlived collaboration. The end of this collaboration meant also the end of the production of prints after Rembrandt's paintings that are significant artistically and are reliable as documentary evidence.

J.B.

33 It seems to have been fairly common practice for publishers to use a more prestigious name for their prints than the prototype reproduced in them would justify. See, for example, an engraving by Cornelis Danckerts of *Two children with a cat*, carrying the inscription *f. Hals pinxit*, which is, as Slive has pointed out, after a painting with Judith Leyster's monogram (S. Slive, *Frans Hals* III, London 1974, p. 117, figs. 75 and 76).

34 See note 4.

Chapter IV

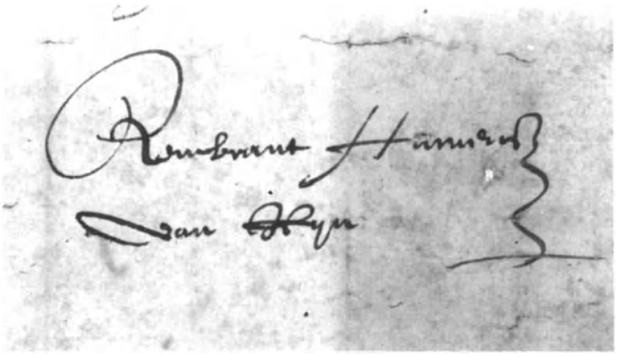
A descriptive survey of the signatures

It has been said elsewhere[1] that where the question of a painting's authenticity is concerned, we look on signatures as no more than confirming a connexion arrived at on stylistic and technical grounds. It may nevertheless be useful to look here at the range of what can be accepted as genuine Rembrandt signatures. The following pages do not pretend to do anything more than that; this survey can in no way be regarded as exhaustive, either as a complete collection or as an interpretation of the material. All we have tried to do is to survey the signature of those paintings we have come to consider as authentic.

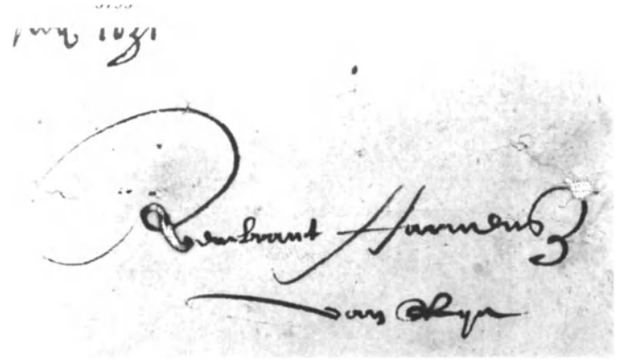
The documentation available to us is incomplete, and of uneven quality. This stems from the very nature of the material; signatures on paintings are frequently difficult to see and it is hard to judge their state of preservation. There may or may not be photographs available, and those that are may or may not be clear; sometimes we have to depend on our own sketches which cannot of course be looked on as absolutely faithful renderings. Our illustrations will consequently vary in both clarity and reliability.

Signatures on paintings are done with a brush, held in the hand steadied against a maulstick. This self-evident statement means that comparison with letters written with a pen is only partially valid, i.e. only to the extent that the artist sets out to imitate his own handwriting in, perhaps, a calligraphic version. This is in fact the case in a great many 17th-century paintings. Another category of signatures has printed characters imitated with the brush. As we shall see, Rembrandt used both methods, certainly up to 1627; only after then does a set formula gradually emerge for the wellknown monogram *RHL*, which he was to use until 1632.

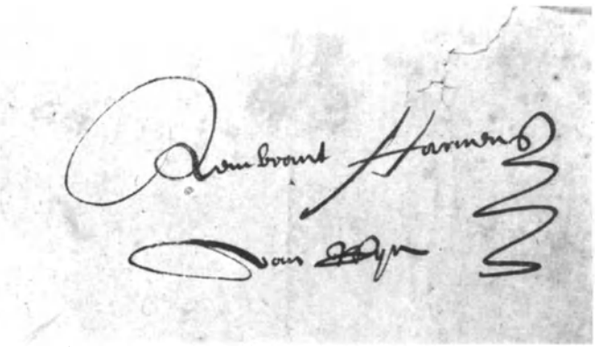
Quite a large number of examples of Rembrandt's handwriting have survived[2]. The earliest samples are five receipts for the apprenticeship fees for Isaac de Jouderville written between May 1630 and November 1631, right at the end of the Leiden period[3]. We are reproducing four of these signatures here, because alongside certain constant features they demonstrate the variations that occur in writing – even of a person's own name – done at almost the same time. The basic shape of the *R*, which is what principally interests us, stays the same: the stem is carried on into a curve sweeping upwards



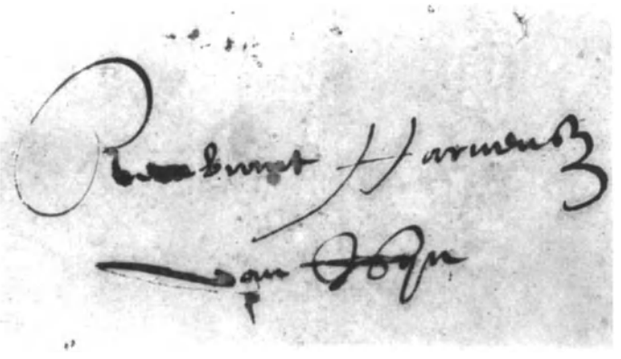
Signature, 15 November 1630. Leiden, Municipal Archives, Weeskamerarchief nr. 3793 f.



Signature, 1 May 1631. Leiden, Municipal Archives, Weeskamerarchief nr. 3793 f.



Signature (1 August 1631). Leiden, Municipal Archives, Weeskamerarchief nr. 3793 f.



Signature (after 19 November 1631 and before the final account of 25 March 1638). Leiden Municipal Archives, Weeskamerarchief nr. 3793 f.

1 Preface, p. XVIII.

2 A full survey of Rembrandt's authographs has never been made. The few letters by him that exist have been published (H. Gerson, *Seven letters by Rembrandt*, The Hague 1961), but lines written by his own hand on drawings and in documents have never been collated.

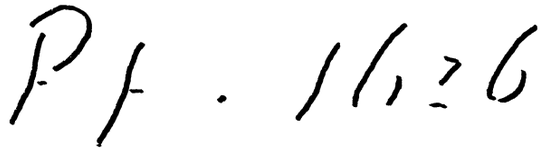
3 A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* VI, The Hague 1919, pp. 1952–1956. In all five documents Rembrandt spells his own name as *Rembrant*.

and then continuing as the bowl of the letter on the right of the stem (the *R* 'closed' on the left), with a loop forming at the point where this curve again approaches the stem on its right at mid-height before the line again continues into the oblique tail. The shape of the bowl and the size of the loop do however vary. The same can be clearly seen in the many dated etchings from the years 1630–1632[4]. From the years before 1630, from which we have no written texts, a number of dated etchings (from 1628 onwards) and, with less certainty, a few undated drawings[5] provide us with comparative material which on the evidence of the way the signature is done is closer to the written letters than is the painted signature. From the years 1625–1627 only paintings bear signatures accompanied by a date.

1625 – 1627

Three types of *R* appear during these years, two of them based on the written capital letter. One type (a), which occurs only exceptionally, has the 'closed' *R* just described, but without the loop to the right of the stem. A second type (b) shows an 'open' *R*, in which the stem does not continue into the bowl but terminates at the bottom, with the curve of the bowl starting afresh much higher up; this has no loop to the right of the stem. This *R* has the look of a written letter, due mainly to the greater or lesser amount of curve to the stem. A third type (c) is based on a printed capital, with a straight stem and, of course, no loop; it may, to give a perspective effect, be upright or (as is usually the case) sloping. Types b and c occur almost exclusively as part of a monogram.

Type a, the 'closed' script *R*, occurs (if our observations are correct) once, followed by a cursive *f.* (for 'fecit') and a year. This is the signature on no. A 1 (Lyon) of 1625, which is hard to read and impossible to reproduce. It is improbable that the *R* of no. A 6 (Leiden) of 1626 was also 'closed'; in its present state – which is difficult to read – it is 'open'. It

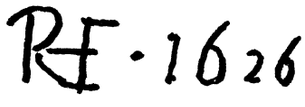


appears to be followed by an *f.* and not to form part of a monogram. In both these instances the inscription is of fairly generous size, written in an inconspicuous position on a large panel.

There are otherwise, for 1626, only monograms made up from the letters *R* and *H*. Once, in no. A 4, all three of letters *R*, *H* and *F* seem to be worked into the monogram. Some of the letters used tend very much towards the printed capital (type c), more so where they are more clearly intended to represent inscriptions on an object represented in the picture and where they derive an upright or sloping stance from the perspective of the object concerned. Other letters are more like a script letter, although the *R* is always 'open' without a loop to the right of the stem (type b); if the letters are placed on a neutral area, they are larger in size, more calligraphic in design, and sometimes contrasted light-against-dark. The monogram is never followed by an *f*, as is occasionally the case with etchings of later date[6], but by a dot and a date. One finds, from a roughly chronological survey, that there is no linear progression from one painting to the next in this respect; it can, however, be said that in 1627 the script letter (type b) gains the upper hand over the printed letter (type c), and becomes more ornate.

A 5 *Baptism of the eunuch*, Utrecht: ‹*RH. 1626*›. The open *R* has slightly curved shapes like that of a script letter (type b). The signature is applied as an inscription on a vaguely-indicated object on the ground; the slope of the letters seems to be connected with this.

A 4 *Christ driving-out the moneychangers*, Moscow: ‹*RH* (or *RHF?*). *1626*›. The upright stance of the letters, treated as printed capitals (type c) comes from their having the character of an inscription on a pillar. They have been scratched into the paint while it was still slightly soft.

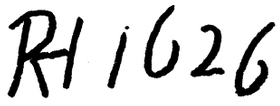


4 Cf. the Table of Signatures in Münz II, p. 49.

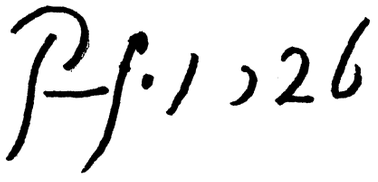
5 It is uncertain whether the partly truncated *R*s done in a differently-coloured chalk on three drawings in black chalk at Amsterdam (Ben. 30, 31 and 32) can be regarded as autograph. If so, they can best be dated as *c.* 1627.

6 E.g. in etchings B. 201, B. 262, B. 343, all from *c.* 1631.

A 2 *Balaam and the ass,* Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris: ‹*RH 1626*›. The letters are slightly bowed (type b), and run downwards with a slight slope, due to their position on a stone.



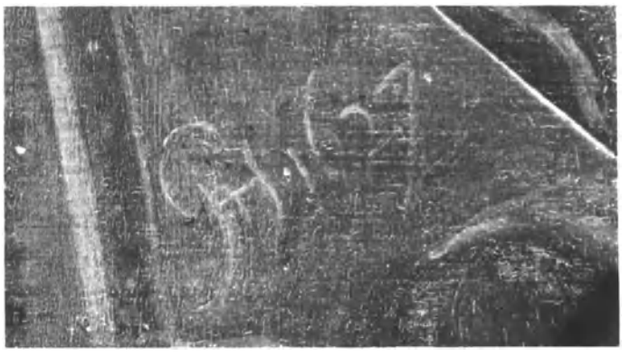
A 7 *Musical allegory,* Amsterdam: to be read as ‹*R* (the tail of which is no longer visible) *H. 1626*› (only a small part of the first *6* can now be seen). The comparatively large letters (type b) placed on a dark area differ most from the 1626 signatures, tending towards the swash script letters used twice in 1627 (nos. A 10 and A 11).



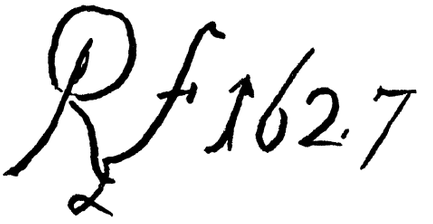
A 3 *Tobit and Anna with the kid,* Amsterdam: ‹*RH. 1626*›. The letters are shaped as printed capitals (type c), and are drawn to give the illusion of being an inscription carved into a floor-slab, the perspective treatment of which dictates the slope of the letters.

A 9 *David with the head of Goliath before Saul,* Basle: ‹*RH. 1627*›. The small, dark letters are shaped like printed letters (type c), and are sloped to match their position within the vague outline of an object on the ground, as was done in no. A 5; in form they are close to the monogram on no. A 3.

A 10 *The rich man from the parable,* Berlin: ‹*RH. 1627*›. The relatively large script letters, with a definite curve to the stems, are comparable to those on no. A 7, and like them are in a slightly lighter colour against a dark area.



A 11 *S. Paul in prison,* Stuttgart: originally ‹*RH. 1627*›? In its present state (*Rf 1627*) this signature, which is immediately adjacent to a restored area along a join, has clearly been reinforced at a later date, and altered. The slender shape of the large letters brings those of no. A 10 to mind.



To sum up, it can be said that there is some measure of coherence in the size, the shape and the colour of the monogram and the way it is used. Small signatures take the form of printed letters, or rather stiff script letters; repeatedly they are treated in an illusionistic way, with an upright or sloping stance dictated by the perspective; they are mostly applied in a dark paint. Large signatures take the form of script letters, with a greater or lesser degree of flourish; they are generally placed in a dark area where they often contrast by being lighter in colour. The great majority of the signatures are monograms of *RH,* followed by a dot and the date.

1628 – 1629

The picture for the years 1628 and 1629 is less complete and less coherent. The number of paintings with a reliable signature and date is relatively small, some of the signatures there are are quite difficult to make out, and the variety of the signatures verges on the confusing.

The main confusing factor is that two etchings dated 1628, both showing what is generally thought to be the artist's mother, bear in their second state monograms that in various ways are far closer to the wellknown *RHL* monogram of the early 1630s than they are to the signatures on most of the paintings dated 1628 and 1629. Etching B. 354 has an *R* that still reminds us of the last group we discussed by being open on the left; but it differs from all the previous examples in that there is, to the right of the stem, a bold loop from which the tail of the *R* drops away in a continuous line. The righthand stem of the *H* is formed by a separate line which continues to the right at the bottom, and a second separate line makes, with an angle, the crossbar of the *H*. More remarkable still is the monogram on the other etching, B. 352, which differs from the last in having the *R* closed on the left, thus incorporating all the characteristics of Rembrandt's later signatures. It is quite probable, as Bode was the first author to suggest[7], that this monogram ought to be read as *RHL* (for Rembrandt Harmensz. Lugdunensis, or Leydensis), if only because shortly afterwards the crossbar of the *H* is left out in a number of etchings, so that *RL* seems there to be the only possible reading[8]. As an example from among the etchings from the following years we can further mention the only etching dated 1629, known as the *Self-portrait done with a double needle* (B. 338); in this a very similar result (in reverse) is achieved with a different use of line.

The strange thing now is that the signed paintings from 1628 and 1629 still show absolutely no sign of the purposeful use of the characteristic components of the Rembrandt monogram we know from later years. Leaving aside the problematical signature and date on the Berlin *Samson and Delilah* (no. A 24; cf. entry), our survey of the signatures arranged according to the similarities between them runs as follows:

A 13 *Two old men disputing*, Melbourne: ‹*RL*.›. So far as one is able to read the comparatively large, light-grey letters (set against a dark background), the elegant script *R* is open on the left (type b) and has no loop on the right. The slender, cursive *L* is not visibly joined to the tail of the *R*. Although the year, once read as 1628, is no longer visible this must be looked on as the only indisputable signature on a 1628 painting. It is possible that there was originally a crossbar to the *H*; this would provide some resemblance to the monogram on the Berlin *Rich man* of 1627 (no. A 10).

A 17 *Old man asleep*, Turin: ‹*P* (to be read as *RL*) . . . *29*›. This reading is conjectural; the letters, which are more extremely difficult to distinguish, are partly visible in relief, occasionally emphasized by a light-grey line. Of the date that follows the letters, the *2* is reasonably clear, while the *9* can only just be made out. The *R* (the tail of which on the right is totally invisible) is clearly open on the left; the bottom of the stem curls boldly to the left and upwards. So far as one can tell, there is a similarity with the preceding signature, that on no. A 13.

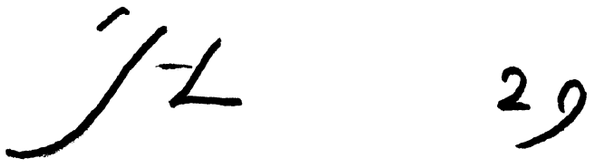
A 16 *Supper at Emmaus*, Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris: ‹*R*›. Done in the same short dark-grey lines used to depict the roughness of the plaster of the wall, this capital is open on the left. A striking feature is the way the stem is carried well downwards and away to the left, giving the letter a slender appearance. No other components of a monogram can be distinguished with any certainty.

7 W. Bode, 'Rembrandt's früheste Thätigkeit', *Die graphischen Künste* 3 (1881), pp. 49–72, esp. p. 55.

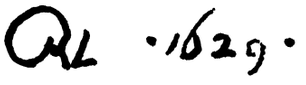
8 In etchings B. 13, B. 24 (I and II), B. 51, B. 66, B. 142, B. 165, B. 190, B. 292, B. 311 and B. 321. In these cases the transcriptions by Münz are correct, but those by White and Boon (Hollst. XVIII) generally not.

A palaeographical objection to the reading *RHL* is, as we found from conversations with J. D. van der Waals and as is the opinion of Prof. Dr. J. L. van der Gouw, that the cursive letter *R* would lead one to expect a more elaborate type of script letter for the *L* rather than a printed letter; following this reasoning, the crosswise line at the bottom of the righthand stem of the *H* should be seen more as a kind of serif. An explanation for the combination of somewhat disparate types of letter might be that the monogram arose from, firstly, the monogram *RH* (which in many cases tended towards the printed capital letter) as used by Rembrandt in 1626, and secondly the *R* he used in his written signature (figs. 1–4). One can further assume that the *L* used as a signature by Lucas van Leyden provided Rembrandt (and, to an even greater extent, Lievens) with an example.

A 19 *Self-portrait,* Munich: ‹*RHL . . 29*›. This reading is partly conjectural; the letters and figures are in a thin grey on the coarse surface of the brushed background, and the only readily visible features are the stem of the *R,* the *L,* the crossbar of the *H* and the figures *29*. To the right of the stem, the bowl seems to continue into a loop. As with the previous signature (no. A 16), the swash stem of the *R* (definitely open on the left), running well downwards and out to the left, is a striking feature; here, however, the *R* is expanded into a monogram with the letters *H* and *L*. A monogram which, as far as we can tell, is very closely similar occurs on the painting at Indianapolis considered by us to be a copy of no. A 22 (cf. A 22 under 7 *Copies,* 1).



A 15 *Judas repentant,* private collection, England: ‹*RL. 1629.*›. In light-brown, relatively small letters and figures. The *R* is closed on the left. The crossbar of the *H* is missing, as in the signatures of no. A 13 of 1628 and no. A 17 of 1629. The *L* touches the tail of the *R*. There are dots before and after the date.



A 20 *Self-portrait,* Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston: ‹*RHL . . . 9*›. The quite large letters in greyish brown are reasonably visible: the *R* is closed on the left; a loop cuts the stem at midheight, but the tail of the *R* is not a direct continuation of this.

A 27 *Old woman at prayer,* Salzburg: ‹*R*›(?). Very difficult to see and assess, in grey against a dark background. The *R* is closed on the left; it is impossible to tell whether it forms part of a monogram.

Summing up, one can say that in 1628 and 1629 the signature placed in an illusionistic way disappeared, and with it the printed form of letter. There is, however, considerable variation in the script letters used. The *R* open to the left may be squat in shape (no. A 17) or be quite slender; on one occasion it stands – so far as one is able to see – on its own (no. A 16), in a number of cases it seems to be followed by an *L* or the vestiges of one (nos. A 13, A 17), but in one instance it is expanded into a complete *RHL* monogram (no. A 19). The *R* closed on the left appears, leaving aside one signature (no. A 27) that is very hard to read, on two paintings as part of a monogram: in one case (no. A 15) this has to be read as *RL* without the crossbar of the *H* and without a loop to the right of the stem of the *R* – and hence fairly close to the similar monograms incorporating an open *R* – and in the other (no. A 20) there is the hint of the *H* and a loop (albeit rather strangely-shaped) cutting through the stem. This latter example is closest to the monogram becoming normal in 1630, without being entirely identical with it. If the date 1628 shown on etching B. 352 is correct, it does seem strange that there the familiar monogram was already complete!

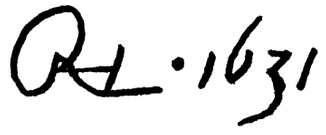
1630–1631

In these years the wellknown monogram *RHL* reigns supreme. The cursive capital *R* is invariably closed on the left, and variations are few. Those there are related to the loop to the right of the stem, which due to the use of the brush often blocks up or is totally absent, and to the sloping tail of the *R,* which may run obliquely downwards or may swing to the right in a more or less energetic sweep; there is, moreover, some variation in the presence or otherwise of the dot between the monogram and the date. Yet compared to the signatures on etchings, which show quite a wide range of differences of proportions and form, the design of the signatures on the paintings is remarkably constant.

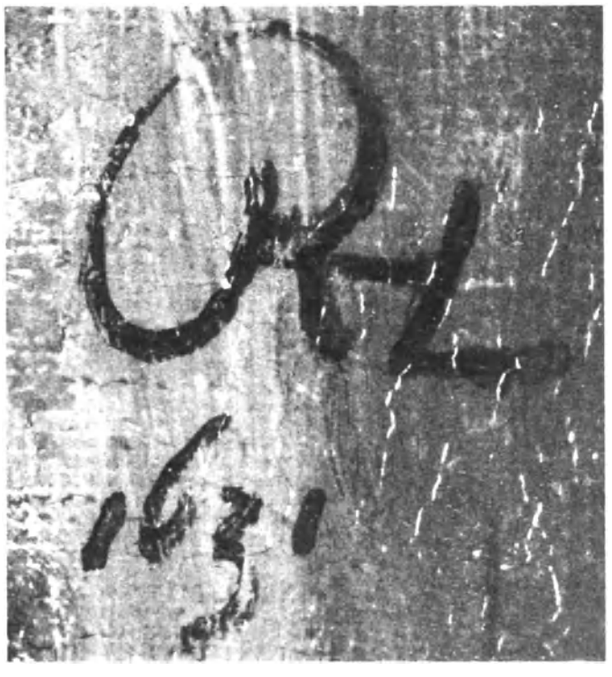
A 28 *Jeremiah,* Amsterdam: ‹*RHL 1630*›. The tail of the *R* continues from the bowl without a loop, and is bent quite sharply downwards; the figure *1* almost touches the *L*. There is no dot preceding the date. The slightly sloping position on a stone is reminiscent of the *Balaam* of 1626 (no. A 2).

A 29 *Old man in a fur cap*, Innsbruck: ‹*RHL 1630*›. The brush has traced out the very small letters with an obviously spontaneous variation in the amount of paint applied. The stem of the *R* is quite short, and continues into a tall bowl. The loop on the right of the stem is not open, but is implicit through the overlapping of the bowl by the tail on the right; the tail curves to the right and downwards, and then kinks to the right at a sharp angle. There is no dot before the date.

A 34 *Simeon in the Temple*, The Hague: ‹*RHL. 1631*›. The *R* is tall and quite slimly proportioned; the tail runs downwards and to the right in a supple curve. A dot separates the monogram from the date. The slightly sloping stance comes from the perspective of the bench on which the signature is placed.

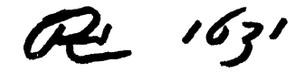


A 35 *Christ on the cross*, Le Mas-d'Agenais: ‹*RHL/1631*›. The *R* is tall and fairly slender. There is no dot following the monogram, and the date beneath it is written relatively small.



A 36 *S. Peter in prison*, private collection, Belgium: ‹*RHL. 1631*›. The *R* is rather more squat, but still projects well above the *L*. There is a dot between the monogram and the date.

A 37 *Old woman reading*, Amsterdam: ‹*RHL 1631*›. The letters and figures are placed in a neutral area, and are written at a rather sloping angle.



A 41 *Young man in a plumed cap*, Toledo: ‹*RHL. 1631*›. Written boldly and confidently, with a clear dot between monogram and date.

A 42 *Old man in a gorget and cap*, Chicago: ‹*RHL*›. This has a strong similarity to the preceding signature, but there is slightly more of a curve to both parts of the *L*.

The only signature that differs radically from what has by now become a virtually constant pattern is that on the *Artist in oriental costume* in the Petit Palais, Paris (no. A 40), which has ‹*Rembrandt f* (three dots) *1631*›. We have come to the conclusion that this is probably an authentic signature, but was added only later – it is thought, in 1633 – when changes were being made to the painting.

So far we have been dealing with signatures on what we regard as autograph paintings. These may not have given a pattern of constant or gradual change, yet they do have a certain cohesiveness – enough at all events for us to be able to assume that these inscriptions can (in so far as they can reasonably be read) be looked on as a hallmark set down by the artist's own hand. There are no instances (as there will be with later works) of obviously unauthentic signatures on authentic paintings.

In the absence of a graphological connexion, it is impossible to give a coherent survey of the signatures on paintings we do not regard as authentic; these will be discussed in the individual catalogue entries. In most cases they are found to exhibit more or less marked divergences from the authentic signatures, even though these may not always be easy to describe. In some instances they do come so close in form to that of an autograph signature that one wonders whether the artist may not also have put his signature on paintings produced, in his workshop and under his supervision, by others. No adequate answer can be given to this question as a generality; scientific testing of the relation between the paint of the signature and the overall paint layer might sometimes be able to provide some indication. In one case, that of the *Man in a plumed cap* in a private collection (no. C 23), such a study has been made; it showed that the signature was added immediately – presumably before the paint layer was quite dry – and before there was any varnish or dirt on the paint layer. This case involves a signature that graphically carries little conviction, on a painting that pictorially cannot be accepted as authentic but about whose age there can be no doubt. One must thus assume that quite apart from signatures fabricated at a later date on paintings that either already existed or had just been made, there were non-autograph paintings with Rembrandt signatures being produced quite early on. One can only guess at the motives of their authors. The conclusion, however, is like that arrived at in the previous chapter – even when it has in all probability been added directly to an old painting, a signature offers no absolute guarantee of authenticity. When rejecting this authenticity one would like to have some explanation for the presence of the signature; but in most cases an explanation is pure speculation, which may either be based on bad faith on the part of its author or remain a guess as to some undocumented bona fide motive.

J.B.

Biographical information

15 July 1606	Born in Leiden, according to Jan Janszoon Orlers[1]. Later statements on Rembrandt's age confirm the date to within a few years; they point to 1605/06 (14 years old in May 1620[2]), 1606/07 (24 years old in 1631[3]) and 1607/08 (26 years old in 1634[4]). Orlers mentions his parents as being Harmen Gerritszoon (sometimes styling himself van Rijn) and Neeltgen (Cornelia) van Suydtbrouck; their identity has been confirmed by many documents. They were married at S. Peter's Reformed Church in Leiden in 1589. Both were evidently Protestants, though belonging to otherwise Roman Catholic families. Rembrandt's father (d. 1630) was a miller, and from a family of millers. His mother (1568–1640) was the daughter of a baker; her maternal grandmother came from old Leiden ruling families. Rembrandt was probably the sixth of seven children, and was named after Reyntge (Remigia) Cornelisdochter van Banchem, his mother's maternal grandmother[5].
[*c.* 1614–1620]	According to Orlers, attended the Latin School in Leiden.
20 May 1620	Enrolled as a student at Leiden University: '*Rembrandus Hermanni Leydensis studiosus litterarum annor. 14 apud parentes*'[6].
[*c.* 1620–1623]	According to Orlers, he had no scientific leanings, and his parents were obliged to take him away from school. They apprenticed him to the Leiden painter Jacob Isaacszoon van Swanenburgh, with whom he stayed for some three years.
18 October 1622	Still living in his parents' house[7].
[1623/24 ?]	According to Orlers, worked for about six months with Pieter Lastman in Amsterdam. Subsequently set up his own studio ('*alleen ende op hemselven*'), apparently in Leiden.
14 February 1628	According to Orlers, 15-year-old Gerrit Dou joined Rembrandt as a pupil, remaining with him for about three years[8].
[*c.* 1628 ?]	A. Buchelius (Arent van Buchel) recorded in the notes for his *Res pictoriae* (a work never completed) that '*Molitoris etiam Leidensis filius magni fit, sed ante tempus*'[9] (. . . a Leiden miller's son is greatly praised, but before his time).
1 November 1629–1 November 1631	Six receipts written and signed by Rembrandt show that Isaac Jouderville was apprenticed to him during two years, at an annual fee of 100 guilders[10].
[*c.* 1629–1631]	Had contact with Constantijn Huygens, evidenced in the latter's manuscript *Vita,* in which Rembrandt and Jan Lievens are commended and compared[11].
1 March 1631	Bought a garden outside the Wittepoort ('White city gate') at Leiden, next to a garden belonging to the widow and heirs of Harmen Gerritsz., his father[12].
8–24 March 1631	Still living in Leiden[13].
20 June 1631	Hendrick Uylenburgh, an Amsterdam art dealer, signed a bond in favour of Rembrandt Harmenszoon of Leiden, or bearer, for a sum of 1000 guilders[14]. A number of other painters are known to have held bonds of this kind[15].
Second half of 1631	From the appearance of the date 1631 on two portraits of Amsterdam sitters it may be assumed that Rembrandt moved his activities to Amsterdam during the second half of that year.

1 I. I. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der Stadt Leyden*, Leiden 1641², p. 375. Reproduced in Haak 1969, p. 19.
2 HdG *Urk.*, no. 11.
3 Ibid., no. 16.
4 Ibid., no. 34.
5 H. F. Wijnman in: C. White with notes by H. F. Wijnman, *Rembrandt*, The Hague 1964, pp. 139–141 (notes 3–6).
6 HdG. *Urk.*, no. 11. Reproduced in White, op.cit., p. 5.
7 Ibid., no. 13.
8 Ibid., no. 87; Orlers, op. cit. (note 1), p. 377.
9 Ibid., no. 14.
10 A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* VI, The Hague 1919, pp. 1950–1955 (with facsimile).
11 HdG *Urk.*, no. 18. Cf. no. A 15 under *Documents and Sources.*
12 A. Bredius, 'Rembrandtiana', *O.H.* 28 (1910), pp. 193–204, esp. p. 202.
13 HdG *Urk.*, no. 19.
14 Ibid., no. 20.
15 Wijnman in: White, op. cit. (5), p. 142, note 13.

Catalogue

Notes on the Catalogue

The catalogue is arranged in three sections, according to how, in our opinion, each of the paintings can be related to Rembrandt:

Nos. A 1–A 42
Paintings by Rembrandt, arranged in chronological order year-by-year on the grounds either of a date shown on the painting or of a dating suggested by us; within each year the paintings are arranged iconographically – biblical and other history paintings are followed by busts and half-length figures without a clear thematic significance.

Nos. B 1–B 7
Paintings Rembrandt's authorship of which cannot be positively either accepted or rejected, in roughly chronological order.

Nos. C 1–C 44
Paintings Rembrandt's authorship of which cannot be accepted, including those that are usually associated with his work of 1625–1631 but were probably executed at a later date. The paintings are arranged in iconographical order, irrespective of their status as works by contemporary artists, schoolpieces, copies, old imitations or later imitations. For convenience sake the following works are singled out for special mention:
C 1 and C 2: attributed to Jan Lievens
C 3: attributed to Gerard Dou
C 5, C 10 and C 18: possibly to be attributed to Gerard Dou
C 9: attributed to Isaac de Jouderville
C 19 and C 20: both attributed to one anonymous follower
C 12 and C 14: both attributed to a South-Netherlandish imitator around 1700
C 17, C 36 and C 41: copies after lost originals

Each entry has the following sections:

1. Summarized opinion

2. Description of subject

3. Observations and technical information
Working conditions
Support – DESCRIPTION – SCIENTIFIC DATA
Ground – DESCRIPTION – SCIENTIFIC DATA
Paint layer – CONDITION (including Craquelure) – DESCRIPTION – SCIENTIFIC DATA
X-Rays
Signature
Varnish

4. Comments

5. Documents and sources

6. Graphic reproductions

7. Copies

8. Provenance

9. Summary

The interpretative sections 1, 4 and 9 are printed in a larger type than the descriptive and documentary sections.

The following notes on the descriptive and documentary sections will be found useful:

3. Observations and technical information

Support

DESCRIPTION: Dimensions are given in centimetres, as height followed by width. The terms 'left' and 'right' are used as they appear to a viewer looking at the painted side of the painting, even when the back of the painting is being described. In describing panels special attention has been given, wherever possible, to the thickness and the treatment of the back surface, in case these offer any indication of the manner and period in which the panel was prepared and of any change in format, possibly at a later date. Inscriptions, labels and wax seals are not discussed here, but are – when of interest – mentioned under *5. Documents and sources* or *8. Provenance*.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Whenever they are available, this includes for oak panels the results of dendrochronological measurements carried out by Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, joined later by Dr. P. Klein, of Hamburg University, who were kind enough to pass their findings on to us. For the method used, see J. Bauch and D. Eckstein 'Dendrochronological dating of oak panels of Dutch seventeenth-century paintings', *Studies in Conservation* 15 (1970), pp. 45–50; J. Bauch, D. Eckstein and W. Liese, 'Dendrochronologie in Norddeutschland an Objekten der Archäologie, Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte', *Mitteilungen der Bundesforschungsanstalt für Forst- und Holzwirtschaft* 77 (July 1970), p. 90; J. Bauch, D. Eckstein and M. Meier-Siem, 'Dating of wood panels by a dendrochronological analysis of tree-rings', *N.K.J.* 23 (1972), pp. 485–496; a short summary by J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer, 'An introduction to the scientific examination of paintings', *N.K.J.* 26 (1975), pp. 1–40, esp. p. 27. For the most important results, see the survey on pp. 683–685.

The number of threads per square centimetre in the five canvases used as a support for paintings and discussed in this volume (nos. C 2, C 4, C 8, C 19, C 21) was counted using X-ray films: the results have been compared with the chart given in M. E. Houtzager, M. Meier-Siem, H. Stark and H. J. de Smedt, *Röntgenonderzoek van de oude schilderijen in het Centraal Museum te Utrecht,* Utrecht 1967, p. 62.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: The word 'ground' has been used to describe what the eye (using a magnifying glass, and in some cases a microscope) sees in open places in the paint layer or showing through translucent areas. In some instances the more or less translucent underpainting ('dead colouring') may also be involved here.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Where available, information coming from a variety of sources and obtained and described in a variety of ways is reproduced without comment. In a few cases it was possible to make use of cross-sections specially prepared for the purpose by the Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science, Amsterdam. For a summary of the findings, see Chapter II of the Introduction.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Observations we mainly made with the naked eye; information was also obtained with the help of an ultraviolet lamp and from radiographs.

Attention was paid to the craquelure, a complex phenomenon which is difficult to describe, mainly in case this could give any indication of a variant dating or of the painting being produced in a specific way.

DESCRIPTION: The description is based on a fairly detailed inspection which was however generally made using only a magnifying glass, plus on a number of occasions a microscope. The authors are well aware that their description of colours, affected as this is by lighting conditions and by the state of the varnish and paint layer, is of relative value.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: The comments made under *Ground*, SCIENTIFIC DATA also apply here.

X-Rays

Technical data on the X-rays are given whenever they are known to us. Since it can be assumed that the X-rays were taken in different ways from one case to the next, the results are not immediately comparable with each other. We have tried to describe and interpret the X-ray (which is a complex piece of documentary evidence) in particular from the viewpoint of how the painting came about in its various stages. Intrusive features such as part of a cradle, wax seals, painting on the back surface, etc. are mentioned.

Signature

The transcriptions given do not of course give a clear impression of the signature being described. Where we could obtain satisfactory photographs, those on authentic paintings have been reproduced in Chapter IV of the Introduction, and others in the individual entries.

Varnish

This is mentioned only if, on the date mentioned under *Working conditions*, the varnish hindered us in studying and assessing the paint layer.

5. Documents and sources

Information which is significant solely in respect of the origin of the individual painting is as a rule given only under *8. Provenance*.

6. Graphic reproductions

We have tried to mention all prints from before the end of the 18th century, and to reproduce them where they are important for judging the attribution or examining any change the original has undergone; they are reproduced in the 'same direction' as the painting (and thus often in reverse compared to the print). In transcribing inscriptions on prints, words occurring some distance apart on a single line are separated by a —, and those appearing on different lines by a / .

7. Copies

This is taken to include drawn as well as painted copies. No attempt has been made at completeness, and we have as a rule mentioned (and sometimes reproduced) only copies that throw some light on the earlier form or significance of the original. We do not go into the provenance of copies unless it could give, or has given, rise to confusion with that of the original.

8. Provenance

Previous owners whom we have listed and who are not already included in Hofstede de Groot's *Verzeichnis* (HdG) are marked with an asterisk. The titles and descriptions appearing in old inventories and catalogues (up to about 1800) are as far as possible reproduced in full, including the measurements they quote. The latter have been converted into centimetres on the basis of the following data, taken for the most part from *Staring's Lijst van alle Binnen- en Buitenlandsche Maten, Gewichten en Munten . . .*, 3rd edn, Schoonhoven 1885:

Amsterdam foot	= 28.31 cm ; 11 inches 1 inch = 2.57 cm
Antwerp foot	= 28.68 cm ; 11 inches 1 inch = 2.60 cm
Brunswick foot	= 29.18 cm ; 12 inches 1 inch = 2.43 cm
Brussels foot	= 27.57 cm ; 11 inches 1 inch = 2.50 cm
British foot	= 30.47 cm ; 12 inches 1 inch = 2.54 cm
[French] *pied du roi*	= 32.48 cm ; 12 *pouces* 1 *pouce* = 2.70 cm
Nuremberg foot (*Schuh*)	= 30.40 cm ; 12 *Zoll* 1 *Zoll* = 2.53 cm
Prussian foot	= 31.38 cm ; 12 inches 1 inch = 2.60 cm
Rhineland foot	= 31.39 cm ; 12 inches 1 inch = 2.61 cm
Russian *archine*	= 71.10 ; 16 *verchokk* 1 *verchokk* = 4.44 cm
Vienna foot (*Schuh*)	= 31.61 cm ; 12 *Zoll* 1 *Zoll* = 2.63 cm

For the towns listed below, the units of measurement that follow each were either in use as indicated by the sale catalogue (when they are shown in brackets in the entry quoted) or have been assumed to be in use there prior to the introduction of the metric system:

Amsterdam	– Amsterdam foot
Antwerp	– Antwerp foot
Brussels	– Brussels foot
Kassel	– Prussian foot
Delft	– Rhineland foot
The Hague	– Rhineland foot
London	– British foot
Het Loo	– Rhineland foot
Paris	– [French] royal foot (*pied du roi*)
Pommersfelden	– Nuremberg foot (*Schuh*)
St Petersburg	– Russian *archine*
Salzdahlum	– Brunswick foot
Strasbourg	– [French] royal foot (*pied du roi*)
Vienna	– Vienna foot (*Schuh*)

Paintings by Rembrandt

A 1 The stoning of S. Stephen

LYON, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS, INV. NO. A 2735

HDG– ; BR.– ; BAUCH 41; GERSON 2; BR.-GERSON 531A

1. Summarized opinion

A well-preserved work, stylistically in sufficient agreement with other early history paintings by Rembrandt; on the basis of the signature and dating, together with other evidence, it can be accepted as the earliest work known with certainty to be autograph.

2. Description of subject

The scene is based on Acts 7: 54–60. The stoning of S. Stephen is taking place outside the walls of Jerusalem, the domes and towers of which can be seen in the background. Stephen is kneeling, with his arms spread wide, in the right foreground in the centre of a densely-packed throng of stone-throwers and onlookers. He keeps his gaze fixed towards the top left of the picture, whence a shaft of light – streaming down, according to the biblical account, from the opened heavens – gives a strong lighting, at two very distinct levels of intensity, of the group made up by Stephen and some of the figures surrounding him.

In the dark, to the left of this shaft of light, and in front of a wall, are two mounted figures, a high dignitary and a standard-bearer, and one of the stone-throwers. On a hillock in the middle ground, seen full-length and standing out above the group in the foreground, the young Saul sits with the outer garments of the stone-throwers over his knees. He points in Stephen's direction, while looking towards one of the by-standers alongside him on the hillock. On the extreme right in the background, close to the city walls, a group of three standing figures includes an old, bearded man (perhaps Gamaliel) who is making emphatic gestures.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined 20 April 1971 (J. B., S. H. L.), by satisfactory daylight and in the frame. Four X-rays, received later from the Laboratoire des Musées Nationaux, Paris, cover the upper lefthand corner and the horizontal centre strip including most of the heads.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain horizontal, 89.5 × 123.6 cm. Composed of three planks, widths measured in the frame from top to bottom: 29.5, 29 and 29 cm. The centre member has on the left a long (*c.* 31 cm) horizontal crack and a shorter crack. Back not seen: according to verbal information given by Mme M. Rocher-Jauneau, curator of the museum, a wooden cradle had recently been replaced with small glued blocks linked by stainless steel rods.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: The ground shows through in thin areas. It appears to be light yellow-brown, most clearly so in the shadow of Stephen's head.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: A cross-section (Laboratoire du Musée du Louvre) shows a thin, white layer *c.* 35 μ thick (not analysed but probably consisting of chalk and glue) and on top of this a thinner layer containing white lead and some particles of brown pigment (apparently the *primuersel*).

Paint layer

CONDITION: In reasonably good condition. The two joins have given rise to some, though minimal in-painting. The warm browns are thin, and have suffered somewhat. Craquelure: judging by the X-rays, this varies from one area to another.

DESCRIPTION: From the viewpoint of the handling of paint, the painting clearly has two quite different parts. The area to the left has fairly little detail, and is shown in flat and mainly dark browns, a dark wine-red with broadly-brushed dark shadows in the cloak of the front horseman, and a rather dirty blue in the clothing and cap of the standard-bearer. Only a few highlights, and one or two details such as the triple gold chain beneath the arm of the front horseman and his ear-ornament, are painted with smaller (and sometimes now slightly abraded) dabs of the brush. This lefthand area is bounded by the silhouette of the first stone-thrower, painted in dark grey and browns.

In the righthand part the foreground figures are painted more thickly and in greater detail. Stephen's cool-grey dalmatic provides, with its finely-drawn pinkish-red and yellow-brown ornamentation, the most striking colours. Flesh areas, where they are lit, are mostly depicted in thick paint, with white highlights and with shadows in a dark, thinner paint giving strong modelling. Besides the faces (of which the second from the right has a noticeably large amount of red) the hands and arms, too, are depicted sharply and directly, with small accents indicating the veins and wrinkles in the skin. The white draperies are likewise painted with forceful brushstrokes. Between the figures in the foreground the warm brown of the lefthand part is continued as a ground which does not contribute much to an impression of depth.

Above and between the heads, foliage is indicated by small touches of yellow-green, sometimes with thick edges, and to the right of the righthand stone-thrower in brown with scratch-marks. Vegetation is shown in a similar way to the far right at the bottom, in thick dabs of yellowish paint with scratch-marks to indicate small leaves between the legs of the righthand stone-thrower.

The two groups of figures in the middle ground are drawn increasingly sketchily the further away they are seen.

The architectural features in the background are in a rather dark greenish-brown with dark internal detail and rather light highlights, sometimes in pink. The tower furthest to the right shows a slight correction, and was presumably originally intended to be round.

In the sky the brushwork on the left follows the diagonal direction of the beam of light, in an opaque light grey; on the right the strokes follow the shapes of the clouds.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: A paint sample has been taken from the red of the lefthand horseman's clothing (Laboratoire du Musée du Louvre, February 1963). A cross-section was made from the sample, photographed (transparency M 1923) and described; it shows two layers, the lower consisting of an organic lacquer precipitated on aluminium oxide, and the upper of ochre with vermilion and white-lead.

X-Rays

General characteristic: the firm way in which illuminated flesh areas are painted is clearly reflected in the radiographic image, in which these areas are, moreover, surrounded by dark outlines. The degree to which this dark edging is seen is remarkable when compared to X-rays of the slightly later paintings, where this feature is sometimes present but is less dominant. One gets the impression that the design was here set out so precisely in the dead colouring that there are none of the overlapping areas in the paint layer that one sees to a striking extent in, for example, the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6). It is indeed not

Fig. 1. Panel 89.5 × 123.6 cm

wholly impossible that in no. A 1 the working method that is normal later on, i.e. working from the back of the scene to the front, was not followed consistently, and that the faces and vegetation placed between the main figures as 'in-filling' were developed at a late stage. Examination under a microscope would be needed to reach any definite conclusion on this point.

Various of the foreground figures do however prove, on comparison of their outlines with those seen in the X-ray, to have been painted at a late stage of the work. There are, for instance, changes in the contour of the turban and beard of the rider on the left, which partly overflow the space left for them in the sky which shows as a light area in the X-ray; the same can be said for the horse's head, the silhouette of the first stone-thrower from the left, the arm of the second, the rock in the hands of the stoner with raised arms and the hair of the stoner furthest to the right in the foreground.

A further peculiarity is that various areas that are dark and fairly flat in the surface paint layer appear quite light in the X-ray, and have a more lively appearance. This applies mainly to the background above the heads of the two horsemen and to the area between the front horse and the first stone-thrower. In the latter case this can probably be explained by the presence of a reddish brown subsequently covered over; this is still visible immediately below the horse's head and along the rear outline of the first stone-thrower, and is also used elsewhere in the painting as a fill-in colour; there may perhaps also be in the upper lefthand corner an area that was originally lighter, unless the phenomenon is due to an unevenly-applied dark paint which, because of its density, has a relatively high absorbency.

A number of changes are seen to have been made at a late stage to forms that were painted or laid-in previously. The area of shadow on the naked upper part of the body of the second stone-thrower from the left cannot be seen in the X-ray image, and must therefore have been painted on top of the light flesh tone. Modifications, which are difficult to interpret, have been made to the head of the second stone-thrower. Across the chest of the man with raised arms there is, to the left of the cloth folds visible today, one further fold.

Finally one can, around the head of the middle stone-thrower, see the grain pattern as small white lines much more clearly than elsewhere; in the hair and on the right in the forehead there are irregular and scattered dark islets, which would suggest loss of paint were it not for the fact that fine

Fig. 2. X-ray

scratches within them rule this out as a possibility. One assumes that an earlier version of the paint layer was scraped off (with only those parts that we now see as dark being left behind), and that this area was painted afresh, the light-coloured paint then making the wood-grain more visible at this point.

Signature

On the left above the standard-bearer's cap, in dark paint on a brown background ‹*R f. 1625*›. The *R* appears to be closed on the left, and the curve of the bowl seems to cut through the stem. In its formulation and shaping the signature differs from those we know from 1626 and subsequent years. The inconspicuous placing, and the correlation between the year 1625 and the style of the painting, inspire confidence. The physical appearance gives no reason for mistrust.

Varnish

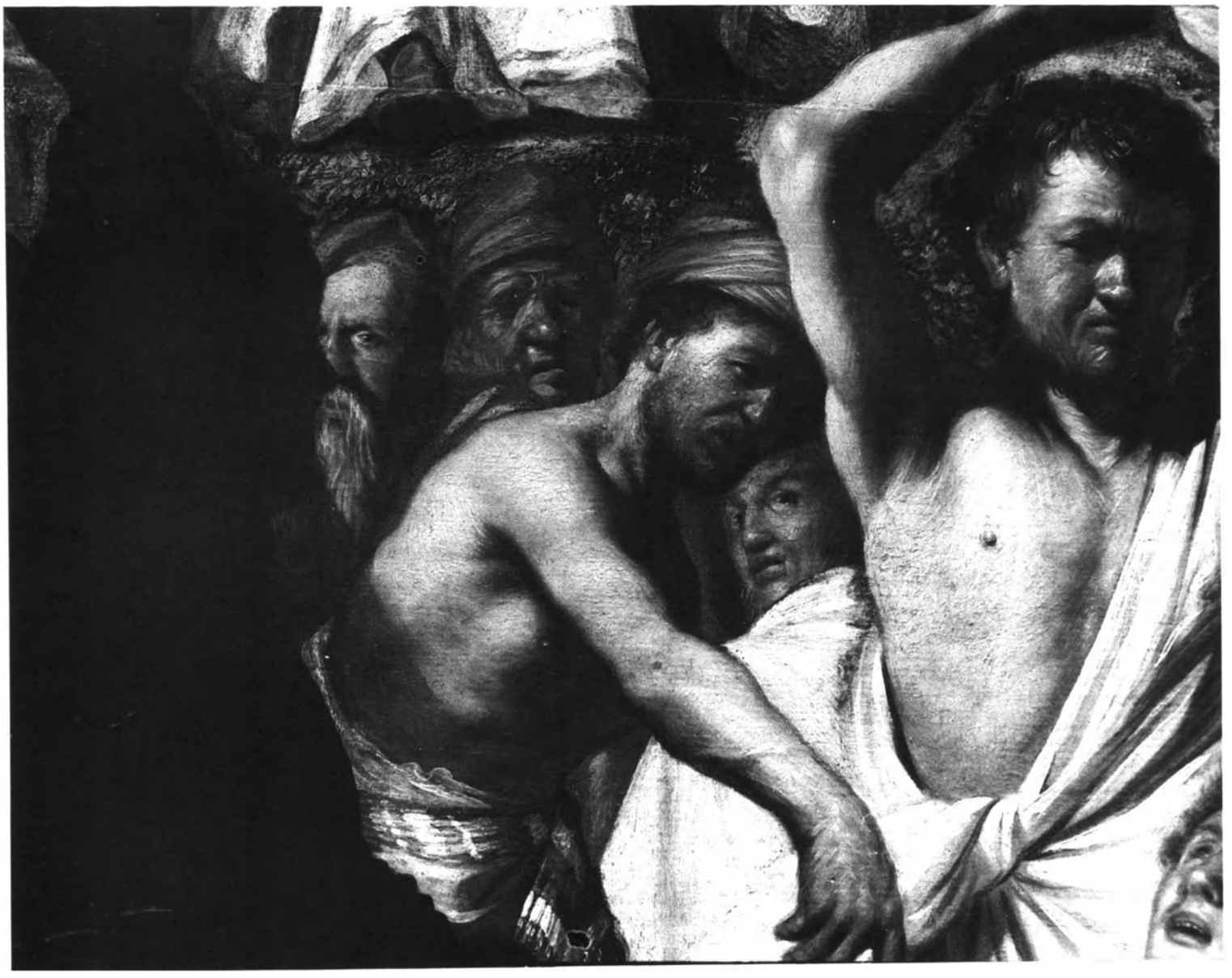
No special remarks.

4. Comments

Because of numerous points of agreement, which we shall enumerate below, with other early works by Rembrandt and because of the signature and dating, this painting discovered by Gerson[1] must be regarded as undoubtedly authentic, and as the earliest Rembrandt work known with certainty. Technically the painting is linked in several respects to other early works. The panel is of the same size and composition as that of the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6). The cross-section of the ground shows a structure similar to that found in the other early paintings (see Introduction, Chapter II).

Characteristic of the way in which the painting was done is the obviously separate treatment of the most prominent figures in the righthand section; the

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)



spaces between these have been filled in with heads or with a suggestion of the terrain. This impression is confirmed by the X-rays, since the motifs are very often found not to overlap when painted; on the contrary, the principal figures are surrounded by a dark outline. In this respect the treatment is quite different from that of the Leiden *History painting* of 1626 (no. A 6), where the rearmost forms are frequently overlapped by those in front of them, and where the picture was more obviously developed in planes, working from back to front. In general it can be said that in no. A 1 the three-dimensional construction is still much less carefully thought-out than in the Leiden *History painting*, and that the area infilling plays a greater role.

In connexion with this method of working it can be noted that the spatial arrangement is often unclear. From the viewpoint of their scale and placing, it is not clear how the figures on the left (which are treated as dark silhouettes) relate spatially to the other foreground figures. It is not always easy to see which figure (man, horse or dog) owns legs that appear vaguely in the brown area at the bottom.

A typical feature is the almost cramped piling up of groups of figures. In this respect there is indeed a similarity with some other works from 1626 – with

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

the *Balaam* at the Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (no. A 2) and, especially, with the Moscow *Driving-out of the moneychangers* (no. A 4); in the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6) we see something of the kind only in the background.

The use of paint in the righthand part of the picture is, apart from one or two changes in form and tonal value, remarkably direct and economical, and varies as required by the differing materials and facial types being portrayed. The closer forms are seen, the more plastic a shape they are given; this principle was to continue to play a major role in Rembrandt's work.

The contrast between the illuminated righthand part of the scene and the lefthand part remaining in semi-darkness dictates the overall appearance of the painting. The edges of the shaft of heavenly light are shown visibly low down, where they run across Stephen's body. Elsheimer (see I. Jost in: *Burl. Mag.* 108 (1966), pp. 3–6, fig. 1) had made a much bolder use of this effect; he has the martyr placed in a beam of light both edge-lines of which are depicted. It is possible that this lighting effect came to Rembrandt from Elsheimer, though from the absence of any other borrowings it would not seem that he knew the model himself. His repoussoir figures on the left,

Fig. 5. Detail (1 : 1)

shrouded in darkness, are heavily accentuated variants of similar figures in Lastman (cf., for example, Lastman's *Coriolanus and the Roman women*, Trinity College, Dublin; see no. A 9 fig. 6); in scope and execution, however, this part of the *S. Stephen* cannot be explained by Rembrandt's borrowing from Lastman's work or from that of the other so-called pre-Rembrandtists. It is easier to assume that the figure of Haman in the *Esther's Feast* at Raleigh (no. C 2), which we believe to be by Jan Lievens, had an influence here with its strong browns and red highlights. On the other hand, the treatment of the landscape and buildings in the background reminds one very strongly of Jacob Pynas (cf., for example, his *Paul and Barnabas at Lystra* of 1629, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, A 1586). The extent to which Rembrandt applied Lastman's long-standing motifs derived from the Raphael school is evident when one realises that both the S. Stephen type (with the gaze fixed heavenwards and the arms spread wide) and, especially, the man raising a heavy stone above his head in both hands had already appeared in Giulio Romano's *Stoning of S. Stephen* (S. Stefano, Genoa; F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven 1958, II, fig. 95). A direct model for the figure on the right, seen from behind and throwing a stone with one hand, might

be the spear-thrower in Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving of *David cutting off the head of Goliath* (B. 10; repr. H. Delaborde, *Marc-Antoine Raimondi*, Paris n.d., p. 279). Another possible direct model, this time for the motif of the three figures standing in front of the city and seen full-length above the heads of the foreground figures, can as Fuchs[2] has pointed out be seen in the engraving by Cornelis Cort from the *Stoning of S. Stephen* by Marcello Venusti (Hollst. V, no. 102).

The formal elements may well have been taken by Rembrandt mainly from 16th-century Italian material, but the type of picture – built up from compositional elements placed side-by-side and one above the other – follows the Lastman style. A comparison with the *Stoning of S. Stephen* by Jacob Pynas of 1617 (formerly London, coll. Dr. E. Schapiro; repr. by K. Bauch in: *O.H.* 53 (1936), p. 79, fig. 1), where the confrontation of Saul with Stephen is placed in the foreground, shows that the subject could however be depicted in widely differing ways in Lastman's circle. Alongside their differences of composition, the Pynas and the Rembrandt have one major point of similarity – the heavenly vision which the biblical text describes Stephen as seeing, and which Elsheimer and all other painters depicted in detail, is in both these paintings shown only as a blaze of light. Only Rosso had done this previously (engraving by Cherubino Alberti, B. XVII, p. 68, no. 51). Compared to Lastman and the Pynas brothers, Rembrandt placed his figures rather closer to the observer than was usual; this has been pointed out by Fuchs[2].

According to Gerson[1], the face seen above Stephen's head is a self-portrait; Erpel[3] moreover claims that the face seen to the right of Stephen's left hand is a portrait of Jan Lievens.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance[1]

– Bought for the museum at an auction in 1844.

9. Summary

On the grounds, inter alia, of the signature (which can be looked on as genuine) this painting can be regarded as an autograph work dating from 1625: it is the earliest work known with certainty to be by Rembrandt. At this early stage of his career, the filling of the picture area is seen to preoccupy the artist more than achieving a clear spatial arrangement, and in this respect the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6) represents a marked change. With this picture there are, however, also striking similarities such as the differentiation in the way paint is used, always meeting the needs of depicting different substances and different facial types, and matching the distance at which they are seen.

Other works from 1626 – and in particular the Moscow *Driving-out of the moneychangers* (no. A 4) – show a similar filling of area by amassing figures one above the other, thus exhibiting a clear relationship to no. A 1. This similarity also extends to the style of painting, with forms in the foreground given the strongest modelling and occasional small and subtle colour accents, and to the use of a variegated colour-scheme.

REFERENCES

1 H. Gerson, 'La lapidation de Saint Étienne peinte par Rembrandt en 1625', *Bulletin des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais* 3 (1962–1966), no. 4 (1962); idem, 'A Rembrandt Discovery', *Apollo* 77 (1963), pp. 371–372.

2 R. H. Fuchs, 'Rembrandt en Italiaanse kunst: opmerkingen over een verhouding', *Neue Beiträge zur Rembrandt-Forschung*, Berlin 1973, pl. 9, fig. 29.

3 F. Erpel, *Die Selbstbildnisse Rembrandts*, Vienna/Munich 1967, p. 138.

A 2 Balaam and the ass

1626

PARIS, MUSÉE COGNACQ-JAY, CAT. 1930 NO. 95

HDG 26 (26A); BR. 487; BAUCH 1; GERSON 6

Fig. 1. Panel 63.2 × 46.5 cm

1. Summarized opinion

A well-preserved, characteristic work from 1626, with reliable signature and date.

2. Description of subject

As related in Numbers 22: 27, the prophet Balaam is on his way to King Balak, accompanied by his two servants and escorted by a number of the princes of Moab.

The way is barred – for the third time – by an angel wielding a sword. The ass, able to see the angel who is invisible to Balaam, has fallen down. As Balaam urges her forward with blows of his staff, the ass turns her head in his direction and speaks to him, asking why he 'has smitten her these three times'.

The angel who, contrary to the biblical account, is alongside the path, rises above Balaam and the ass with sword raised.

The two servants appear as dark silhouettes on the right, behind Balaam. Behind them again, in the light, the mounted princes of Moab are seen. Two more figures can be partially distinguished behind the two clearly visible horsemen (in the area around Balaam's raised fist).

The background is largely occupied by a high, towering cliff-face. The angel is surrounded by clouds. Large leaves of burdock occupy the foreground on the right.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined April 1971 (B. H., P. v. Th.) in good daylight and out of the frame. Re-examined in May 1976 (E. v. d. W.). Four radiographs (taken by Rijksmuseum), together covering the whole of the painting.

Support

DESCRIPTION: oak panel, grain vertical, 63.2 × 46.5 cm. Planed down at 0.4 cm at the back and reinforced with a second panel, which is cradled. Composed of two planks, the lefthand 24.5 cm wide, the righthand 22 cm. A crack 19 cm in length runs from the bottom edge of the righthand member, at 16.3 cm from the righthand side.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellow, mostly covered with the translucent brown of the initial sketch, shows through in only a few places. In some cases these are small open patches along contours (e.g. beside the ears of the ass, along the raised arms of the angel and Balaam, and near the eyebrow on the shadow side of the angel's face), and in others are thinly-painted areas such as occur locally in the landscape and in the head of the rearmost of the two servants seen in shadow on the right.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: The paint layer is, so far as can be seen through the thick and badly yellowed varnish, in generally good condition. The X-ray shows paint loss in narrow zones, running parallel with the grain, in the sky and in the cliff-face above the Moabites. Paint loss can also be seen in the area of cloud to the left of the sword. There appears to be overpainting in a number of places, in particular in certain shadow areas; this is almost certainly the case in the hair of the righthand servant, in the right side of the angel's hair, in the righthand wing of the angel and in the dark areas of cloud. There is a narrow area of retouching along the join in the panel.

Craquelure: there is very fine, regular craquelure, predominantly vertical and horizontal in direction. In the shadow on the halter the paint is somewhat torn apart, possibly due to shrinkage.

DESCRIPTION: Virtually everywhere the paint layer is opaque, and sometimes markedly thick – e.g. in the pouch full of papers, in Balaam's tabard and in the leaves in the foreground. In the illuminated areas of flesh, too, the paint is relatively thick, while in the background it is again so substantial that it is possible there to follow all the brushmarks.

At a number of places not covered with opaque paint, and forming discontinuities or gaps in the paint layer, one can glimpse the transparent browns of the artist's sketch; this appears to have been done in both tone and lines. One can moreover see freely-applied brushstrokes in relief (appearing light in the X-ray) which are now covered by thinner and more precise strokes, as in the angel's garment, the illuminated foot of Balaam and the book still-life. These indicate that a light, opaque paint, too, was used in the underpainting.

The brushstrokes in general follow the shapes, and match the material being depicted. In Balaam's cloak, for example, they are long and supple; the tabard is executed in spotlike dabs of varying shape, while in the fur edging along the sleeves a light dabbing movement of the brush seems to have been used to lay on the paint. The many highlights on the foreground vegetation are grouped with a great many short dabs and spots of impasto, thus suggesting the shape and texture of the leaves.

Little use has been made of scratchmarks: they appear in the loose, flapping end of Balaam's turban and on the rock in the foreground; according to the X-ray, fine scratchmarks were made in the ass's mane, some of them then being closed again by subsequent brushstrokes.

It is possible in many places to see, not only from the X-rays but also from a patch of wear on the relief of the paint surface, that forms positioned closer to the front of the scene to some extent overlap those that lie further back; this points to a consistent method having been followed in working up the painting. The following are examples of this:

1. The outline of the cliff overlaps the sky.
2. The clouds around the angel, and the angel's hair, are on top of the blue-green paint of the cliff-face.
3. Just inside the outlines of the ass's head and neck traces of the underlying white of the angel's garment are visible.
4. Balaam's clothing overlaps the angel's garment on the left and the front horseman's clothing on the right.
5. The papers hanging forward from Balaam's pouch in their turn show traces in relief of the start of the ass's neck.
6. The present outlines of the two servants are wider than the dark spaces that can be seen in the X-ray, and consequently somewhat overlap the background and the horse.
7. The right forefoot and hoof of the ass somewhat overlap the paint of the soil beneath them.
8. The vegetation in the foreground does likewise.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

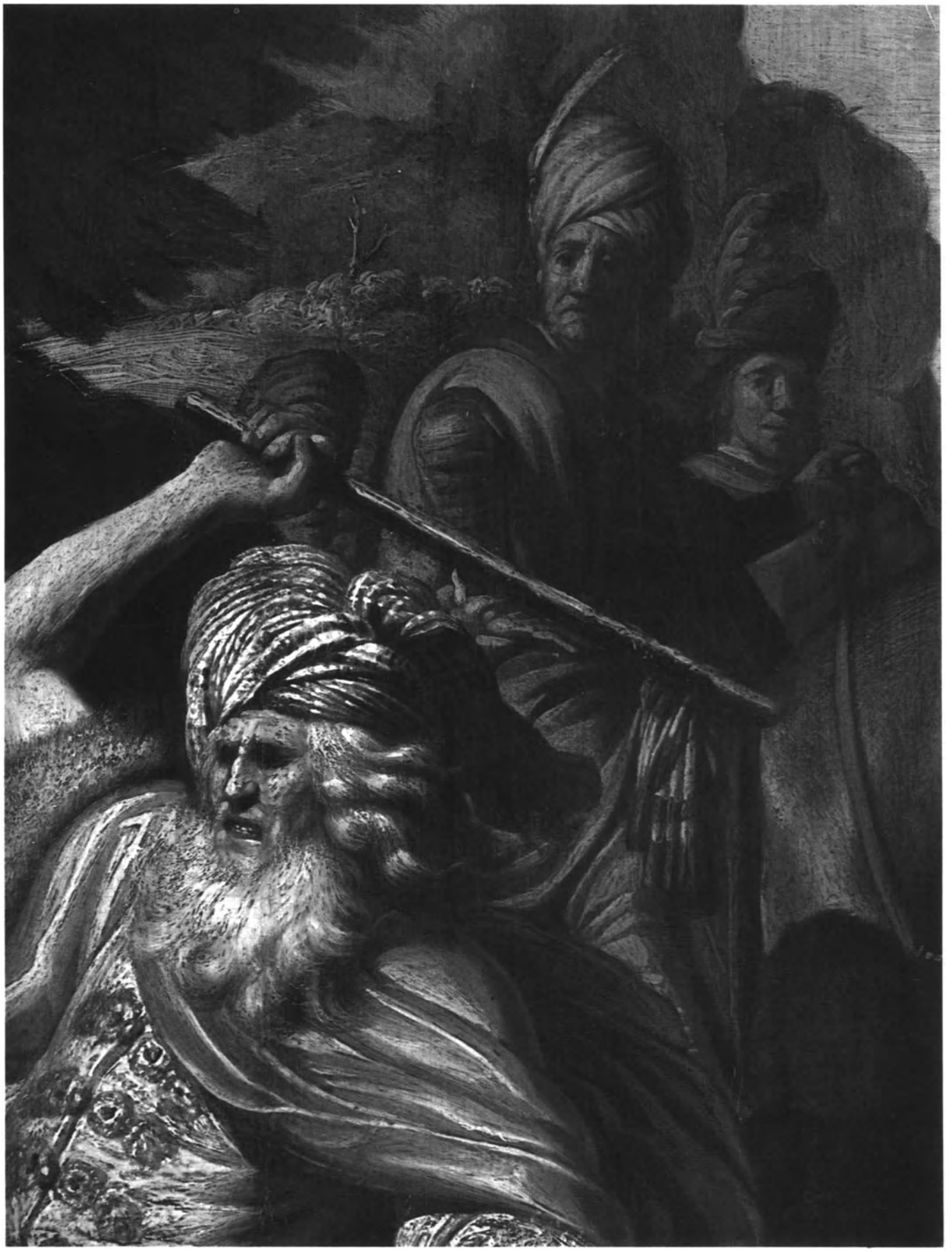
X-Rays

The case of overlapping just mentioned under point 6, and detected by comparing the painting with the X-ray, is not an isolated one. There are several quite clear instances where the outlines of shapes left in reserve in areas lying further back in the scene follow a course different from the final contours of the forms occupying them, as in the following cases:

1. Rather more of the lit slope of the cliff-face in the background could be seen between the wing and the edge of the hair to the right of the angel's head.
2. The reserve left for the wing on the right does not corre-

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)



spond to its present shape; the uppermost flight-feathers seem originally to have been intended to be considerably longer, and those at the bottom shorter.

3. The present outline of the ass's head in many places takes up more space than it did in the smaller shape left for it in the angel's garment. The space left for the ass's halter also originally followed a different line, and is now incorporated in the angel's garment; the halter was to have been attached at a point nearer to the animal's lower lip. This gave the halter a rather more pronounced curve, and it appeared less taut.

In all these instances we have confirmation of our statement that the artist worked from the back to the front. In the case of the uppermost flight-feathers on the wing seen in shadow, it proved possible to make out autograph retouching of an outline that had been left too wide (see Chapter II of the Introduction).

At a number of places the X-ray shows the light-toned image of touches of the brush and areas of paint where the appearance does not match the much more careful execution seen at the surface of the painting. This applies in particular to the angel's clothing, arm and head, to Balaam's foot, the area of ground around the ass's hoof (where provision had moreover been made for a cast shadow running in a different direction), and to the neck and head of the horse in the background. It is probable that these are the light areas of the dead colouring; some of them are also visible in patches of surface wear.

Signature

In a thin grey-brown on the rock in the foreground ‹*RH* (in monogram) *1626*›. The shape of the letters, resembling printed cursive capitals, is in good agreement with that of other 1626 signatures, which are sometimes rather more like printed letters and sometimes less. The final *6* is somewhat darker in tone.

Varnish

A thick and badly yellowed varnish makes it difficult to arrive at a correct impression of the colours and of the condition of the painting.

4. Comments

The technical and stylistic similarities with other works by Rembrandt from 1626, coupled with the reliable signature and date, are such that there can be no doubt about the authenticity of no. A 2, nor about the dating which Valentiner[1] had already put at 1626 before the signature and date were discovered.

This painting not only shares with the Utrecht *Baptism of the eunuch* (no. A 5) and the Amsterdam *Musical allegory* (no. A 7) the type and size of the panel, but its painting technique closely matches that of all the works from which detailed observations could be made. In the top paint layer, forms further to the front of the scene slightly overlap those seen further back, and the spaces left for these motifs – visible in the X-rays – betray the characteristic tendency to be smaller than the forms in their final state. The sky and suggestion of the terrain were in this case too, so far as one can tell from our observations, the first to be set down in paint on top of the dead colouring laid-in on the ground in browns and light-coloured paints.

Fig. 5. P. Lastman, *Balaam and the ass*. New York, Coll. Richard L. Feigen

In the handling of paint which is opaque overall, and in the limited use made of scratching, this painting is nearer to the Moscow *Driving-out of the moneychangers* (no. A 4) than to, say, the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6). Certain motifs in the movement of the figures, such as the position of the angel's arms behind Balaam and those of Christ in the Moscow painting, also offer similarities. In the striking composition, and the extensive detail in the modelling of certain features such as the still-life elements (Balaam's pouch, and the leaves in the foreground), this work represents a more advanced stage of development than the Moscow painting, and does indeed show a strong affinity with the Leiden *History painting* and the *Musical allegory*. The background figures are, with their sketchy brushwork, akin to the lit figures in the background of the Leiden painting, where one also finds the figures in shadow in the middle ground providing dark silhouettes.

The motif of the falling ass, placed obliquely to the left front, and of the prophet belabouring her, offers a clear similarity to the scene in a drawing by Dirck Vellert at Braunschweig, a fragment of a design for a glass roundel (where the angel is missing). Hofstede de Groot[2] assumed, in 1915, that this was a direct borrowing, as did Bauch in 1933[3]. Since then, however, a painting by Lastman dated 1622 (fig. 5), now in the collection of Richard L. Feigen, New York, has become known (exhibition cat. *The Pre-Rembrandtists*, Sacramento, California, 1974, no. 3); this, too, shows Vellert's ass, and it anticipates Rembrandt's version of the subject in so many respects that it must, as Bauch[4] and Broos[5] also believe, be looked on as the direct model. This is shown, apart from the posture of the ass, by a number of features: the way Balaam is tugging on the halter,

Fig. 6. Roman relief. From: *Galleria Giustiniana*, 1651

the position and silhouette treatment of the two servants (one of whom is in both works carrying a beaker), and the type of the angel. These detailed similarities are, at once, confirmation of a direct link between the two paintings. The composition has however been modified by Rembrandt to such an extent that one author has wondered – wrongly – whether his painting may not have been altered in format[6]. The treatment which Lastman spread sideways across a horizontal format is concentrated by Rembrandt into a vertical one; this is in line with a preference for the vertical format which is often seen in the young Rembrandt and is apparent again in the Utrecht *Baptism of the eunuch*. It has meant placing the angel diagonally behind the group of Balaam and the ass. The interplay between the various vigorous movements, the way the direction of gaze of the two main characters and the animal is organized (further enhanced by the direction in which the Moabites are looking), and the enlargement of the relative scale of the figures, combine to heighten the dramatic power of the scene, compared to Lastman's portrayal of Balaam which shows little coherence in its spatial composition.

Campbell[7] believes that this change in composition from that adopted by Lastman can be explained by looking at the resemblance between the placing and movement of the figures in no. A 2 and a detail in an engraving from a classical relief of a battle scene in the Giustiniani collection (fig. 6). Although the print he quotes dates only from 1651, he thinks it probable that Rembrandt could have had access to this material in some other way. The link with a relief could, as Campbell reasons, provide an explanation for the subordination of the spatial organization to its two-dimensional arrangement which is a typical feature of the painting. Since this characteristic is however also seen in other early works by Rembrandt, the explanation does not seem to be entirely relevant.

The subject of the painting is based on one of those themes which, in the late Middle Ages, occurred in a typological context (viz. in the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* in relation to the birth of the Virgin and the annunciation to Joachim) and it was treated independently in 16th-century prints (cf., for example, the engraving by D. V. Coornhert after M. van Heemskerck, Hollst. IV, no. 63+ illus.). In the 17th century the subject was seen, inter alia, as typifying the futility of human wisdom, with a reference to 2 Corinthians 1: 27, 'God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise' (cf. Ph. Picinellus, *Mundus symbolicus*, Lib. III, 269, Cologne 1695 edn, p. 194).

5. Documents and sources

In November 1641 (for dating see E. W. Moes in: *O.H.* 12 (1894), p. 240) the painter and art dealer Claude Vignon wrote from Paris a letter to François Langlois, called il Ciartres, who was also established in Paris as a publisher and art dealer but was apparently at that time travelling in the Northern Netherlands (G. G. Bottari, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura scultura ed architettura scritte da' piu celebri personaggi che in dette arte fioriron on dal secolo XV al XVII*, Rome 1757–73, IV. p. 303 and V. p. 270; for Langlois see also R.-A. Weigert in: *G.d.B.-A.* 6th series, 41 (1953), pp. 167–188). The writer informed Langlois that he had on the previous day valued the collection of Alfonso López, which was to be auctioned in mid-December 1641. He asked Langlois to pass on his greetings to Mozes van Uyttenbrouck in The Hague, to Honthorst in Utrecht and to Rembrandt in Amsterdam, and to bring back with him some works by the lastnamed. 'Gli dica pure, che io feci jieri la stima del suo quadro del profeta Balam, che comprò da lui il Sig. Lopez, il qual quadro si vendrà fra quelli sopraddetti' (Tell him, too, that I yesterday valued his painting of the prophet Balaam which Mr. Lopez bought from him, and which is to be sold with those just mentioned). We see from this that Alfonso López, who operated as the agent of France in the Northern Netherlands (see J. Turinier, *Alfonse Lopez, agent financier et confident de Richelieu*, Paris 1933), had bought a painting of the Balaam scene direct from the painter. Of the printed catalogue for the López sale, which is mentioned in the same letter, no copy is known today.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– A painting by Rembrandt of the same scene was in the Alfonso López collection. Since the scene is unusual, we can assume with a large measure of probability that this was the painting discussed here, which Alfonso López bought directly from Rembrandt and which was auctioned in December 1641 with his collection (see under *5. Documents and sources*).
– Coll. of the Amsterdam painter Simon Maris (1873–1935), who had discovered the painting[8].
– Dealer J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam 1905.
– Coll. Gustav Ritter Hoschek von Mühlheim, Prague (cat. 1907, no. 101).
– Dealer F. Kleinberger, Paris and New York.
– Coll. Ferdinand Hermann, New York; sale New York, 15 January 1918, no. 65.
– Coll. Ernest Cognacq, Paris; bequeathed to the City of Paris in 1928.

9. Summary

The unequivocal connexion between no. A 2 and a painting by Lastman, coupled with the numerous technical and formal affinities with Rembrandt's own paintings from 1626 rule out any doubt as to its authenticity, especially since it bears a characteristic signature and a matching date. It is, moreover, probably identical with the work mentioned as being in the López collection in 1641.

The independent treatment given to Lastman's model makes this a key work for analysing Rembrandt's early artistic approach.

REFERENCES

1 W. R. Valentiner, 'Opmerkingen over enkele schilderijen van Rembrandt', *Onze Kunst* 11 (1907), pp. 157–168, esp. p. 157–158.
2 HdG 26.
3 Bauch 1933, p. 15 and fig. 7.
4 Bauch 1960, pp. 101–102.
5 B. P. J. Broos, 'Rembrandt en zijn eeuwige leermeester Lastman', *De Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 26 (1972), pp. 76–96.
6 K. Freise, *Pieter Lastman*, Leipzig 1911, pp. 261–263.
7 C. G. Campbell, *Studies in the formal sources of Rembrandt's figure compositions*, typescript dissertation University of London 1971, p. 133.
8 W. Bode, 'Neuentdeckte Rembrandtbilder', *Zeitschr. f. b. K.* new series 17 (1905–1906), pp. 8–14, esp. p. 9; A. Bredius, 'Rembrandt's Balaam', *Burl. Mag.* 23 (1913), p. 59; C. Hofstede de Groot, 'Rembrandt's Youthful Works', *Burl. Mag.* 44 (1924), p. 126.

A 3 Tobit and Anna with the kid

1626

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM, INV. NO. A 4717

HDG 64A; BR. 486; BAUCH 2; GERSON 4

Fig. 1. Panel 40.1 × 29.9 cm

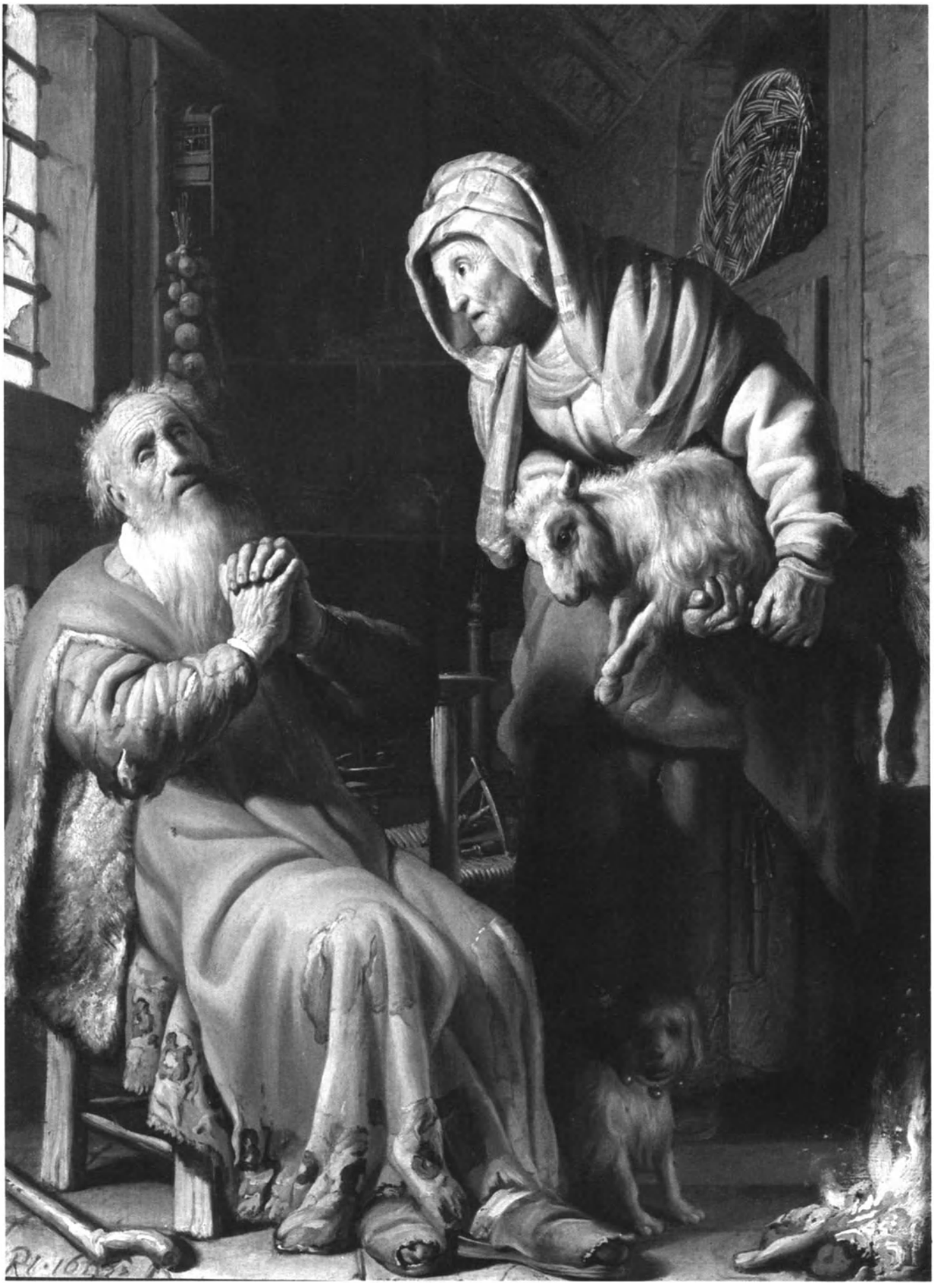


Fig. 2. X-ray

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved, authentic work signed and dated 1626 which because of its refined execution comes closer to Rembrandt's work of the next year than to any of the other paintings dated 1626. It can consequently be assumed to have been produced late in that year.

2. Description of subject

The scene is taken from the (apocryphal) Book of Tobit 3: 1–6. Blind Tobit is sitting, to the left in a small room, on a chair beneath a window. His wife Anna stands to the right of him on a raised wooden floor; behind her a door is ajar. She is holding a kid goat with both arms, clamped against her hip. Leaning slightly forward, she stares at Tobit wide-eyed; his upturned face, with its blind eyes, is turned away from her, and he raises his hands clasped together in front of his chest. In the left foreground Tobit's staff lies on the slabs of the floor, alongside his chair; on the other side of the chair, a little dog sits in front of a wood fire. In the centre behind the two figures is a chair, on the rush seat of which lies a yarn reel with a small spool (?). In front of this chair there is a candleboard stand. Above the door a round wickerwork basket is propped in a niche. Alongside the window, above a hanging string of garlic, is a small birdcage. Two shelves against the back wall support a can, a wooden box, a candlestick (?), a cloth, two plates, a leather water-bottle (?), and two small basins stacked one inside the other. The shabby room (the construction of which is not entirely clear) is closed above by an open half-span roof sloping upwards from right to left.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 7 April 1970 (B. H., P. v. Th.) in good daylight and out of the frame, with the help of an X-ray covering the whole painting.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 40.1 (± 0.1) × 29.9 cm. Thickness at left 0.6 cm, at right 0.5 cm. Single plank. At the back the panel is bevelled on all four sides, the bevelling being widest at the righthand side, where the panel is thickest.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): measured at top and bottom, and showing 251 annual growth rings (+ 5 sapwood) and 251 annual rings (+ 2 sapwood) respectively; mean curve 254 annual rings (+ 5 sapwood), datable as 1354–1602 (1607). Growing area: Northern Netherlands. Statistical average felling date 1622 ± 5[1]. In view of the large number of annual growth rings and the dense ring structure, it can be assumed that the sapwood took up at least 20 annual rings, from which one arrives at a relatively late felling date. Bearing in mind the date of the painting, one must assume a short period of storage for the wood.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Yellowish, as can be seen in a small area of damage high up on the righthand side of the panel, which is painted right out to the edges. Microscope examination shows this to have a layer of white with a very thin brown on top of it.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Very good. There are small areas of retouching just above Tobit's left sleeve, and to the right of the yarn reel. There is a touched-up scratch in the kid's hindquarters, and a few areas of retouching above the chair, level with the animal's head. Craquelure: a few very fine, tiny cracks can be seen in the thicker white areas, otherwise there is no cracking visible to the naked eye.
DESCRIPTION: The brushwork varies widely, and is invariably suited to the kind of material being portrayed. The paint has a bold relief, since the lightest areas, and some of the dark areas as well, have been painted thickly. Even in the darkest places the forms are usually clear and readily recognizable.

The illuminated part of Tobit's face is in pinkish and yellowish flesh tints with brownish colour used for the wrinkles, all done in a fairly thick paint; the shadow areas are somewhat thinner. The lid of his right eye shows strong modelling; the middle of the shadowed eye-socket above it is indicated by a short black line. The eyelid shadow is shown by a similar line. In the left corner of the eye the glisten of moisture is represented by quite a large blob of white paint, suggesting a tear. Tobit's left eye is, quite unlike the carefully detailed right one, dealt with summarily but nevertheless is distinct in shape with small, black licks of the brush for the shadows. The same black is used for the thickly-drawn line of the mouth, in the broadly-indicated ear and in the nostrils. The hair is painted out over the background in a rather fluffy grey and dark grey. The long, supple sweeps of the hair of his beard have grey and brown tints. The modelling of the hands is very similar to that of the face; wrinkles and veins are painted with great care, sometimes with a trace of grey and red. The fingernails, too, are painstakingly detailed, with a tiny highlight on each. The small shadow lines are in black.

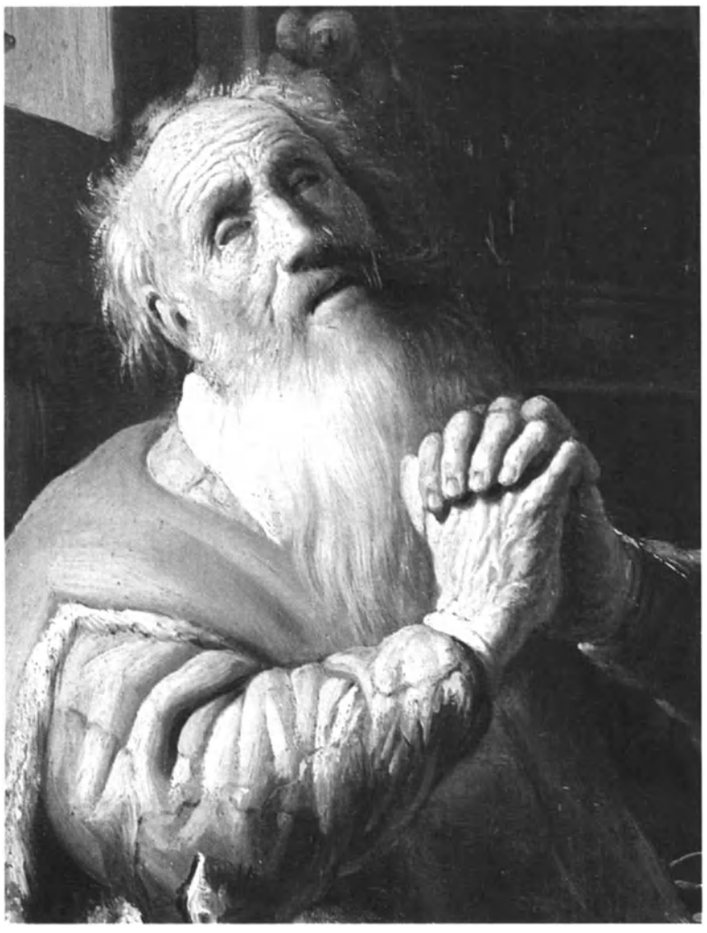
The pale red tabard hanging down over his knees is painted fairly thickly and smoothly, with brushstrokes that are visible here and there. The reflection of the glow from the fire in the folds at the bottom is shown in light red. The band of decoration along the bottom of the tabard is executed with bold brushwork in an ochre-like yellow, blueish grey and dark grey; these colours, thickly applied especially in the darkest hues, lie above the red of the tabard. The fur-lined inside of the drooping sleeve is painted with fine grey and brown touches of the brush, and in parts done with a light dabbing movement.

Anna's face is painted in the same way as Tobit's, although somewhat less thickly. The protruding eye has a clear, black pupil in a grey-brown iris. The thick white highlight in the eye runs from the black pupil across the grey-brown exactly as far as the white of the eye. The line of the mouth is, again, a short black stroke. The slightly worn ochre-yellow, grey-blue and rust-red stripes on the headshawl are done in thin paint on top of the almost white main tone. The shadow parts of the shawl are executed mainly in a fluently-applied light brown. A distinctive feature is the strong, dark-brown shadows, which are thinner among the more impasto, creamy whitish-brown of the jacket.

The head of the kid is elaborated painstakingly in relatively small dabs and strokes of the brush; black and a rather brickish red have been used for the eye. The animal's coat is rendered with long brushstrokes, showing the direction of the hairs and painted in a mixture of greyish, yellowish and slightly brownish hues. The dark, grey-brown silhouette of the hindquarters has, along the outline, for the most part been painted quite thinly in a browner colour over the fully-dried grey background. This brown paint has partly been scraped off again, with numerous scratchmarks.

The little dog, sitting shaded from the daylight and in the

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)



glow from the fire, is kept more vague than the goat-kid. The fire is painted fairly thickly in a bright light-yellow colour and a pale brick-red. Some of the flames have been placed over a dry background with glancing touches of the brush.

In contrast to the main action, the background is everywhere painted smoothly and thinly in greys and browns, though the wicker basket above the door has, relatively speaking, heavier impasto than the rest. The woven construction of the wickerwork can be followed accurately in the brushstrokes. The glass pane and the window recess, too, are rather more thickly painted than the remainder of the background.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Microscopic examination reveals that the grey-blue in Anna's headshawl contains not blue pigment, but black and white.

X-Rays

At only a few points does the clearly legible X-ray reveal differences from what might be expected from the paint surface. These differences can in part be seen as consequences of the working method adopted, and in part point to alterations made as work progressed.

As usual, the space left at an earlier stage for the figure of Anna is seen to have been too cramped, particularly along the righthand side; in its present state, the figure covers more of the wall, basket and door than it does in the X-ray.

A vaguely defined space was left in the paint of the wall to accommodate the rear legs of the kid. In some passages, such as Tobit's clothing and the goat's neck, the firm brushstroke which stands out as a light tone prompts one to consider the possibility of a local, light underpainting.

The shapes appearing between the two figures can be seen as an indication of changes introduced at perhaps quite a late stage. Where we now see Tobit's left arm there is the light image of part of a wheel with a wide rim and four visible spokes, probably a hand spinning wheel, with a thread running across it and obliquely down to the right; the outline of the wheel and the thread can still be detected in the relief of the paint surface. Partly overlapped by the wheel and immediately next to the contour of Anna we can see two identical vertical round posts topped by double knob shapes, which must be interpreted as the stiles of a chair set facing the front; the splat of this chair is also partly visible. The spokes of the hand spinning wheel, showing up as light-toned strips, are evidence that the outline of Tobit's left arm was placed a good deal further over to the left. There is moreover part of a light rectangle where we now see his left knee, giving the impression that there was a piece of furniture at this point; in this case one would have to assume that the border of the left leg was placed more to the left, and the present slightly askew position of the foot makes this not inadmissible. No space was left in reserve for the staff lying on the ground alongside Tobit, which must have been added on top of the paint of the floor, possibly as an afterthought.

Fig. 4. Detail with signature (enlarged)

One is struck by a light strip that runs along the righthand side of Tobit's face, which must perhaps be seen as a correction done at a late stage.

Four wax seals on the back of the panel appear as light patches on the X-ray image.

Signature

At the bottom lefthand corner (done to appear as if carved into a floor-slab) in grey – here and there accentuated with light paint – set, as the X-ray shows, in the wet paint ‹*RH* (in monogram). *1626*›. Clearly authentic. In form this signature is close to most of those from 1626, though in only one other painting (no. A 4) is it applied in this way, as an inscription in chiselled capital letters.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

Technically and stylistically no. A 3 is closely related to other works from 1626 from many points of view. From the X-ray we see that the spaces left for the foreground figures (wherever they can be seen in the X-ray as dark surrounded by light) exhibit the characteristic rather approximative appearance, slightly smaller than the area occupied by the final form. As with, for example, the *Balaam* in the Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (no. A 2) and the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6), forms lying further back in the picture are partly covered over at a later stage; this is here particularly true of the wickerwork basket and the door behind Anna's shoulder. Changes in composition are of minor significance, and involve mainly accessories that were altered at an advanced stage. The brushwork shows the somewhat viscous consistency we know from other works, which in this comparatively small format dominates the overall aspect even more. One is struck, particularly when comparing it with a painting such as the Moscow *Driving-out of the moneychangers* (no. A 4), by the extent to which paint has here been used to serve the ends of a meticulous depiction of materials and details. In this respect, as well as, for example, in the way the animal's hindquarters have been set off against the light-coloured wall with finely-incised scratch-marks, this painting comes close to the *Balaam* where materials have been rendered in a similar way, and is dealt with in the same way, in particular in the flapping end of Balaam's turban. Coupled with this there is, compared to other works from 1626, a more subdued palette, foreshadowing the tendency towards tonalism that becomes evident in works from 1627, particularly the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* (no. A 11). There is good reason to assume that of all the works we know from 1626 this was the last to be painted in that year.

There are contradictions and obscurities in the construction of the room (the roof gives the impression of covering a rectangular space, yet the walls are not parallel; the door behind Anna is not clearly an outside door, and might even be that of a cupboard); yet there is great clarity in the depiction of the figures. Although the source of the light coming from the front left is not seen, and the partly visible window plays hardly any part in the lighting, the latter still seems entirely natural; but it is in fact 'stage-managed' with the obvious intention of placing the accents where they are needed to create a suggestion of depth, and to focus attention on the essential elements in the story (the shabbiness of the patched tabard, the kid, and the expressions on the faces). In no other painting from this earliest period has Rembrandt made a more subtle use of lighting than in this work, which has two sources of light – natural daylight and the artificial light from the fire – played off one against the other.

As has already been pointed out by Jantzen[2], the engraving of the same subject done by Jan van de Velde after Willem Buytewech, of about 1619 (Hollst. IV, p. 77, no. 17), probably had a large part to play in the conception of this painting. One finds not only some of the same attributes (reel, garlic and birdcage) but also less indispensable detail such as the open roof-timbering. Contrary to what we might expect, the first draft revealed by the X-ray shows less rather than more similarity with Buytewech's scene, because there the hand spinning wheel is missing.

Buytewech, whose attention was divided evenly between the actors and the decor, which he sets out in detail, has according to the inscription depicted the moment when Tobit is repudiating Anna's supposed theft, and she is reproaching him for his suspicions. Tobit makes a gesture of rejection, and Anna adds force to her words with her raised right

hand. The situation can, from the viewpoint of composition as well, be compared to the engraving by J. de Gheyn II (Hollst. VII, no. 106, with illus.) in which a scolding woman is rebuking her henpecked husband. In Rembrandt's painting Anna does not speak – her expression is rather one of speechless amazement. Tobit is not rebuking her, but making a gesture that could signify either despair or remorse (cf. Judas in *Judas repentant*, no. A 15, and generally pictures of the repentant Peter or Mary Magdelene). Quite obviously Rembrandt has deliberately not portrayed the story of the misunderstanding between husband and wife, as Held believed[3], but the devoutness of Tobit, who according to the biblical text (Tobit 3: 1–6) began to weep, crying '. . O Lord . . . deal with me according to thy pleasure, command my spirit to be taken up . . . for it is better for me to die than to live . . .'. Anna is showing an appropriate reaction to his words. Campbell[4], who sees a prototype for Tobit's gesture in the certainly very similar figure of Jacob in Pierre Dufour's engraving of *Jacob recognizing Joseph's coat*, offered a similar interpretation of the picture, as 'a study of Tobit's misery'. Van Rijckevorsel[5] compared the figure of Tobit to a woodcut by C. van Sichem of the *Repentance of S. Peter* for the *Moerentorf Bible* of 1646 and to two drawings by Rembrandt of *Jacob recognizing Joseph's coat* (Ben. 95 and 106), but arrived at no conclusion as to the iconographic interpretation of the painting.

The Book of Tobit was extremely popular in the 17th century, as we can see from the edifying commentaries on it that were in circulation at the time. A book intended for Roman Catholic schoolchildren, *Die Historie van den Ouden Tobias ende synen Sone den jongen Tobias; inhoudende veel schoone leeringen . . .* is mentioned by J. B. F. van Gils (in: *O.H.* 59 (1942), p. 185) in editions put out in Amsterdam (Willem Jansz. Stam) in 1617, Antwerp (Alexander Everaerts) *c.* 1621 and Gouda (Johan Rammazeyn) in 1647; the first work published by Jan van Meurs in Antwerp after setting up as an independent publisher was the work by David van Mauden, *Speculum aureum vitae moralis seu Tobias ad vivum delineatus, explicatus et per selectiora moralia illustratus*, which appeared in 1631. The frequent appearance of themes from the Book of Tobit in Rembrandt's work (though not only in his) must therefore probably be explained not so much by a personal sympathy on his part, as Held suggested (op.cit.[3] p. 19ff), as by the high moral significance that was generally attached to the stories in this book.

For remarks on the model used for the figure of Tobit, see *4. Comments* under entry A 11.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

*– Possibly Pieter van Buytene sale, Delft, 29 October 1748 (Lugt 691), no. 102: 'De blinde Tobias met zyn Vrouw, door Rembrand' (fl.28.0) (cf. Hoet II, p. 231, no. 91).
*– Possibly sale Amsterdam 17/18 April 1759 (Lugt 1046), no. 103: 'Tobias zyn Huisvrouw bestraffende, door Rembrand van Rhyn' (fl.27.0 to Yver).
– Coll. Tschugin, Moscow, shortly after 1905. Restored in 1913 by Hauser in Berlin[6].
– Dealer J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam 1917.
– Coll. H. Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza, Schloss Rohoncz, Lugano.
– Coll. G. W. H. M. Baroness Bentinck - Baroness Thyssen, Paris (on loan to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, from 1956 until 1979).

9. Summary

The monogram matches the way Rembrandt signed his paintings in 1626. The signature and date are applied in the wet paint, so that no. A 3 can, for that reason alone, be counted as an entirely reliable document, which has besides been preserved in excellent condition. In its colour-scheme and manner of painting it has various points of agreement with works of the same date, though it is superior to them in the depiction of materials and the refinement of its colouring. It also, in its subdued range of colours and the pictorial execution, foreshadows the *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 (no. A 11). For these reasons, it is likely that the painting was produced late in 1626.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, pp. 488, 491.
2 H. Jantzen, *Rembrandt*, Bielefeld/Leipzig 1923, p. 40; see also : W. Martin, 'Buytewech, Rembrandt en Frans Hals', *O.H.* 42 (1925), pp. 48–51.
3 J. S. Held, *Rembrandt and the Book of Tobit*, Northampton (Mass.) 1964, p. 10.
4 C. G. Campbell, *Studies in the formal sources of Rembrandt's figure compositions*, typescript dissertation University of London 1971, pp. 153–154, fig. 37.
5 J. L. A. A. M. van Rijckevorsel, *Rembrandt en de traditie*, Rotterdam 1932, pp. 83–85, fig. 81–83.
6 W. Bode, 'The earliest dated painting by Rembrandt of the year 1626', *Art in America* 1 (1913), pp. 3 7; C. Hofstede de Groot, 'Rembrandt's youthful works', *Burl. Mag.* 44 (1924), p. 126.

A 4 Christ driving the moneychangers from the Temple

1626

MOSCOW, PUSHKIN MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, INV. NO. 1900

HDG– ; BR. 532; BAUCH 42; GERSON 5

Fig. 1. Panel 43.1 × 32 cm

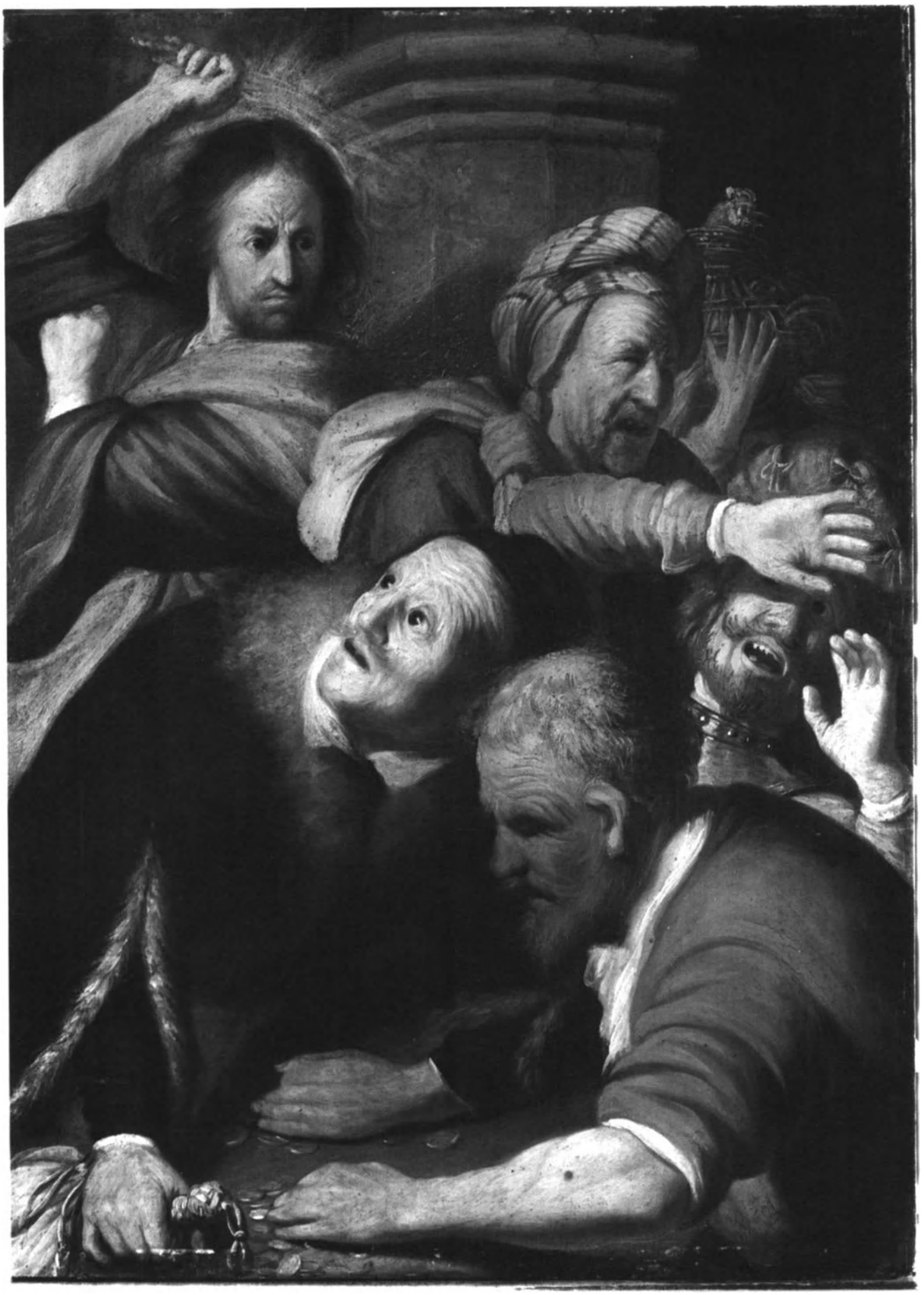
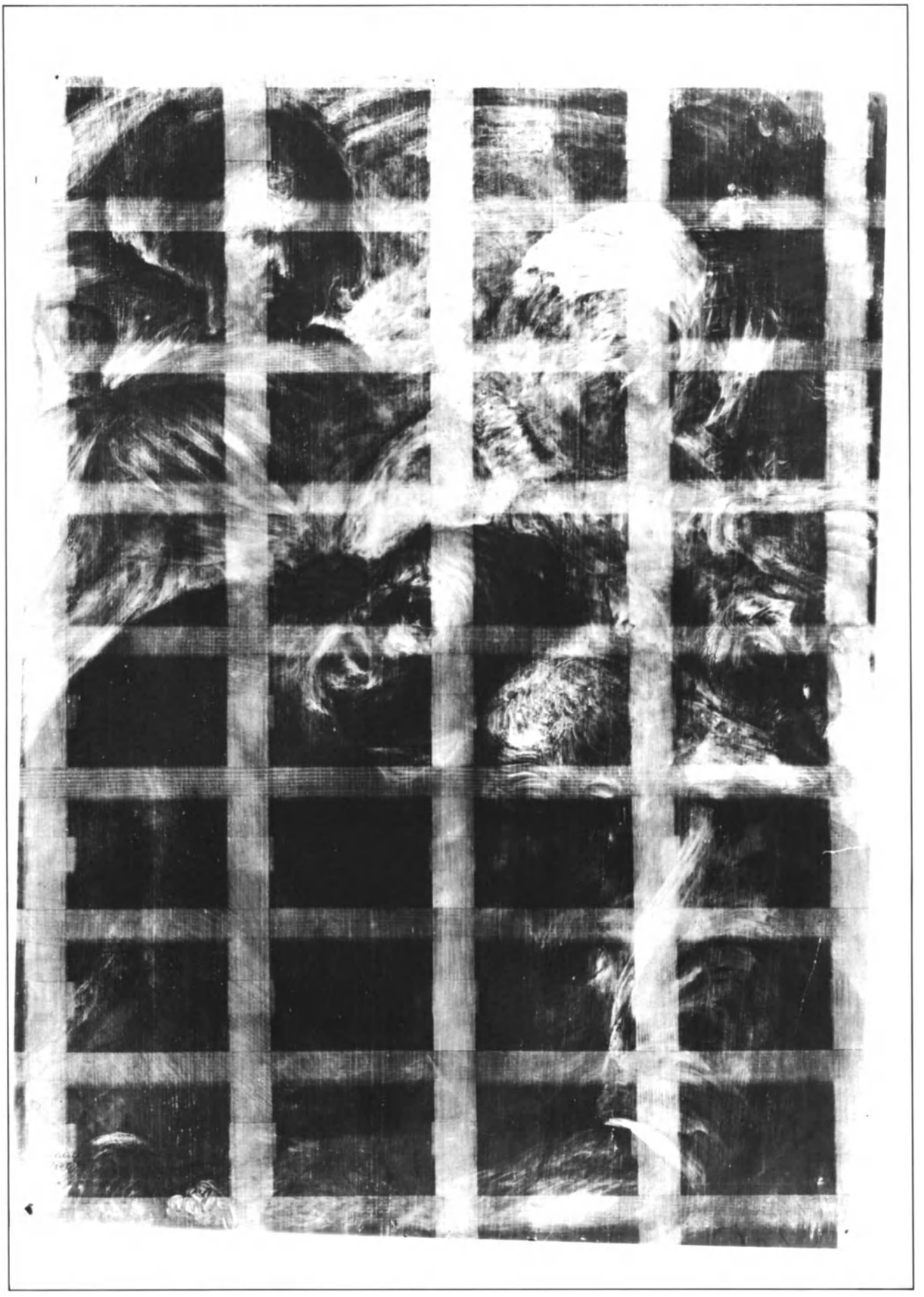


Fig. 2. X-ray



1. Summarized opinion

A well-preserved work with an authentic signature and date of 1626, the execution of which is characteristic though the composition is exceptional.

2. Description of subject

The scene is based on an episode related in all four Gospels (Matthew 21: 12–13; Mark 11: 15; Luke 19: 45; John 2: 14–15), and at greatest length by S. John.

Fleeing before Christ, who is lashing out with his scourge, a merchant squeezes through the narrow space between an octagonal pillar and the table at which three men are seated. One of them, wearing a tabard, looks round startled and grabs his moneybag. His left hand is held protectively over his money, which is sliding off the table as it tips over in the melée. The moneychanger on the right, too, grabs at the gold and silver coins. A soldier behind him raises his hands to ward off the blows of the whip. In the background someone, of whom we can see only a hand and a small part of the head, carries off a basket of poultry on his head. A second pillar is faintly visible in the darkness of the background, above the basket.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 4 September 1969 (J. B., S. H. L.) under strong artificial light and out of the frame, with the aid of an X-ray film (30 × 40 cm) slightly smaller than the painting itself on all four sides. A print of the X-ray was supplied later by the museum.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 43.1 × 32 cm. Single plank, back planed down to a thickness of 0.4 cm, and cradled.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not seen. In the lefthand lower part it is possible to see, from the paint surface and in the X-ray, that the ground was there applied in broad strokes.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: In sound condition, apart from a single repair in the sleeve of the man wearing a tabard and looking up; K. Yegorova[1], on the basis of ultra-violet photographs, mentions a few further points of retouching, and from this concludes (we believe wrongly) that 'the painting . . [has] . . suffered considerably'. A restoration carried out in 1930/31 and the removal of additions placed on all four sides of the panel are discussed below under *4. Comments*. Craquelure: there is some craquelure in the skullcap and sleeves of the moneychanger looking up, as well as in the red paint of the shoulder of the one at the front.

DESCRIPTION: There is a wealth of local colour: each article of clothing has its own, distinct colour such as pale violet (Christ's robe), a rather stronger, reddish violet (the soldier's cap), blue (the tunic of the turbanned merchant), yellow (the soldier's jacket), brick red (the tunic of the bearded moneychanger in the foreground) and a very dark red (the tabard of the moneychanger on the left). The paint in the draped clothing of the three figures at the rear is well drawn out in uniform brushstrokes. The highlights are in each case placed at the centre of the bulge of the fold. A wide variety of flesh tints gives each figure an individual appearance, and the brushwork too varies in the flesh areas. Paint is applied in one instance (as in the moneychangers at the front) in comparatively long and supple strokes following the shape, and in another in shorter brushstrokes running one over another (as in the lightest parts of the flesh areas of Christ and the fleeing merchant, which has fine internal detail in browns and red). The painting of the face and hands of the soldier has dabs of paint showing a relatively strong relief, and in his moustache and beard numerous short, curved scratchmarks have been incised into the wet paint. The shadowed flesh areas are in general in opaque paint, sometimes with supple strokes following the shape (as in the head of the moneychanger in the tabard, and the arm of the one in the foreground), at other times with short, restless strokes (as in the fleeing merchant); reflections of light are frequently used.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

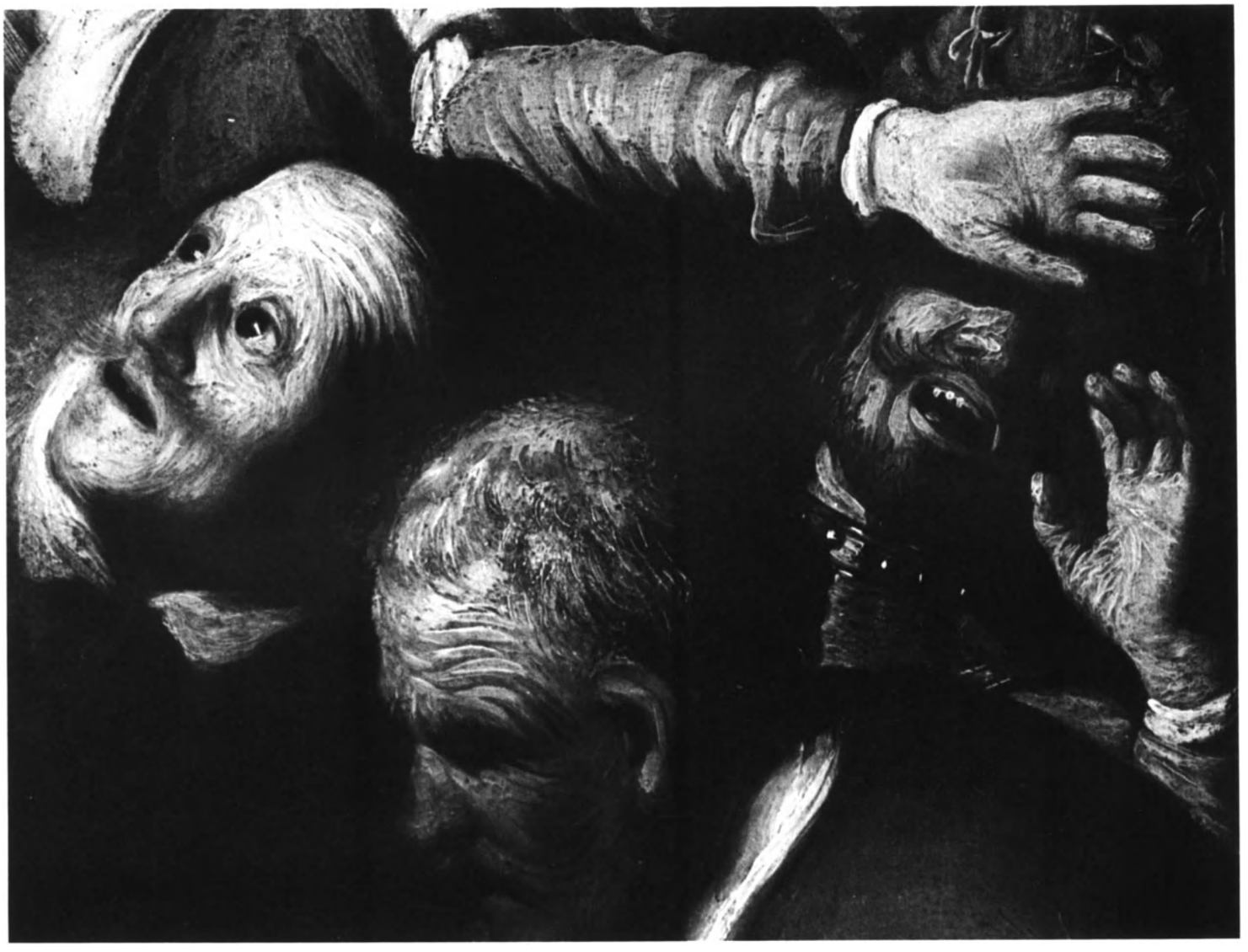
The X-ray print available to us does not show the whole of the painting, stopping a few centimetres short of the edge on all four sides. The cradle casts a strong image which interferes quite severely with the radiographic appearance of the painting. There is no evidence of the general conception of the picture having undergone radical changes while it was being painted. Yet there are a number of more or less obvious differences between the X-ray image and the visible paint surface; in particular, a number of forms appear in an unexpectedly light tone. Where the greenish blue shoulder of the fleeing merchant is concerned, this may have to do with the pigment used – areas with this colour show up light in other paintings as well (cf., for example, the young Moor holding the book in the *Baptism of the eunuch*, no. A 5). The other unexpectedly light forms (see 1, 2 and 4 below) are in all probability connected with local light underpainting.

1. One of these is the area between Christ and the fleeing merchant, at the place now largely occupied by the cast shadow of Christ against the pillar. The painting of this, seen as a light area in the X-ray, can also be made out in the relief of the surface paint, and shows up light through patches of wear as an impasto, yellowish-white paint. This area continues some distance underneath the upper outline of the sack slung over the merchant's shoulder. The locks of Christ's hair, and his shoulder, appear more clearly.
2. The light-toned shape of the merchant's turban in the X-ray appears, in the shadow part as well, in long, firm, light strokes that do not entirely correspond to their visible pattern today.
3. The outline of the soldier's gorget follows a slightly different line near the back of the head and neck of the moneychanger in the foreground. One can conclude from this that – at this point at least – the foreground figure slightly overlaps the area behind it.
4. The hand of the fleeing merchant with the sack over his shoulder appears, in the initial sketch, to have been indicated roughly in a paint that shows up light in the X-ray. The sack itself was evidently not underpainted in a light colour.
5. Comparing the visible parts of the white shirt on the foreground figure with their image in the X-ray, one gets the impression that the red jacket slightly overlaps the white areas.
6. The soldier's right eye was set lower, and had more detail.

Signature

The signature and date are on the front of the pillar, done in what appear to be lines scratched into already partly-dried paint ‹*RH* (in monogram: should perhaps be read as *RHF*). *1626*›. Our observations give no reason to doubt the authentic-

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)



ity. The character of the signature as an inscription in capitals carved into the pillar matches, in particular, that of the signature on no. A 3. The signature was discovered during restoration in 1930/31 (see under *4. Comments*).

Varnish
No special remarks.

4. Comments

When the painting was published by Bauch as a Rembrandt[2], the panel had been enlarged on all four sides to measure 53.2 × 40.8 cm (fig. 4). Just as in the case of the *Senses* (nos. B 1–3), the narrow framework of the picture had evidently been thought unsatisfactory at some time. As can be seen from the illustrations of the panel in its enlarged state given by Bauch[2] and Bloch[3], a figure wearing a straw hat had been painted on the righthand added strip (this figure is, incidentally, strongly reminiscent of the small figure added to the *Spectacles-pedlar*, no. B 3); presumably the form painted above and alongside the basket of poultry on the panel in its present state therefore belongs to a later overpainting. The added strips were removed in 1930/31 by the restorer Schuuring in The Hague[3]; it was on this occasion that the signature was discovered. Research in the Moscow Central Restoration Shops[4] in 1954 and 1962 led to the conclusion that the monogram and date were apparent only in the old varnish, and were thus not authentic. A later investigation in May 1970 (i.e. after our examination) showed that the letters and figures consist of grooves in the paint layer, though without sharp edges. From

this it was concluded that they must have been scratched into the paint layer when it was already partly dry, and ought after all to be regarded as authentic. Besides dirty varnish, some dark paint was also found in the grooves[1] (confirmed in a letter to the authors from Mrs. K. Yegorova, dated 15 July 1970). The upright stance of the letters and numerals is unusual, but can be explained by their being placed as a carved inscription on the vertical front surface of the pillar. If the monogram is to be read as *RHF*, it would differ in this respect from other signatures on works from 1626; in its illusionistic treatment, however, the signature matches that on the Amsterdam *Tobit and Anna* (no. A 3). There can no longer be any doubt as to its authenticity.

Apart from the signature, no. A 4 shows sufficient points of agreement with other early works by Rembrandt to make an attribution to him wholly acceptable, despite the objections raised by Knuttel[5], Grabar[4] and others. The same manner of painting appears in figures on a somewhat smaller scale in, for example, the Lyon *Stoning of S. Stephen* (no. A 1) and the *Balaam* in the Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (no. A 2); it has fairly little differentiation in the draperies, mainly uses strong, local colours, and is distinctive in the use made in flesh areas of a great many small strokes and dabs of colour to show eyes, mouths, wrinkles and veins. The composition, in which expressive faces and hands are crowded one on another, gives the strong impression that the artist's main concern was with depicting emotions in a dramatic situation. It is noticeable that form is, in the moneychanger at the front right, depicted more broadly than in the figures placed further back.

Striking similarities are shown by certain types in both the Leiden *History painting* of 1626 (no. A 6) – the secretary – and in *Tobit and Anna* from the same year – Anna – with the moneychanger in a tabard who is looking up, and the treatment of Balaam's arm raised to beat the ass in no. A 2 is close to that of Christ's arm.

It is not clear what tradition Rembrandt was following in this kind of composition, with its half-length figures piled one on top of the other. Bauch[2] thought that the composition might have echoed Utrecht prototypes, but the placing of the figures in the picture area seems unlike that usually adopted by the Utrecht school. Bauch subsequently mentioned an engraving by Ph. Galle after Stradanus[6] as the origin of the composition; this has a number of strikingly similar motifs which, in their turn, reappear in Rembrandt's etching of 1635 (B. 69). In particular the tilting of the table, which in the painting is only hinted at by the hands trying to hold on to the money as it slides off, must have come from this

Fig. 4. The painting in its pre-1930 state

or from a similar prototype. This does not, however, explain the curious arrangement within a cramped framework. Campbell[7], on the analogy of the influence he had assumed an ancient Roman battle-scene relief to have had on the *Balaam*, thought it 'probable that Rembrandt's treatment of this scene was influenced by the study of ancient Roman battle-scene reliefs . . .'.

The piling-up of half-length figures was indeed a trait of Rembrandt's; this can be seen from comparable parts of, in particular, the *Stoning of S. Stephen* from 1625 and the *Balaam* of 1626. But as far as we know he was not to use such a narrowly confined composition, with solely half-length figures, ever again.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance[1]

- Coll. P. C. Giraud, Moscow 1915 as: Rembrandt School[8].
- In 1924 in the Museum of Modern Art, Moscow.
- In 1948 in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.

9. Summary

Although no similarly cramped arrangement of half-length figures in violent action occurs in any other known work by Rembrandt, this painting is so close in style and technique to his other paintings from the year 1626 that there can be no doubt as to its authenticity. The similarities are to be found in the rendering of forms and materials, the colour-scheme and the facial types. Equally typical is the varied brushwork which is sometimes (especially in the foreground) almost coarse and sometimes builds up forms with small, colourful accents. Even the piling-up of figures in action recurs at least once, in a broader context, in the *Stoning of S. Stephen* of 1625 (no. A 1).

The signature, which on the basis of recent findings must be regarded as authentic, confirms the attribution.

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1 [K. Yegorova] in: *Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn. Paintings from Soviet Museums*, Leningrad [*c.* 1971], no. 1.
2 K. Bauch, 'Zur Kenntnis von Rembrandts Frühwerken', *Jb. d. Pr. Kunsts.* 45 (1924), pp. 277–280.
3 V. Bloch, 'Zum frühen Rembrandt', *O.H.* 50 (1933), pp. 97–102, esp. p. 98.
4 I. Grabar, *A newly discovered Rembrandt*, Moscow 1956 (in Russian), p. 4; German summary on p. 88.
5 G. Knuttel, 'Rembrandt's earliest works', *Burl. Mag.* 97 (1955), pp. 44–49, esp. p. 46.
6 Bauch 1960, pp. 110–112, fig. 76.
7 C. G. Campbell, *Studies in the formal sources of Rembrandt's figure compositions*, typescript dissertation University of London 1971, p. 133.
8 W. A. S. Shtavinsky, 'Dutch masters in Moscow private collections' (in Russian), *Starie Gody* 1915, pp. 111–112.

A 5 The baptism of the eunuch

1626

UTRECHT, RIJKSMUSEUM HET CATHARIJNECONVENT, INV. SCH. 380

HDG– ; BR.– ; BAUCH– ; GERSON–

Fig. 1. Panel 63.5 × 48 cm

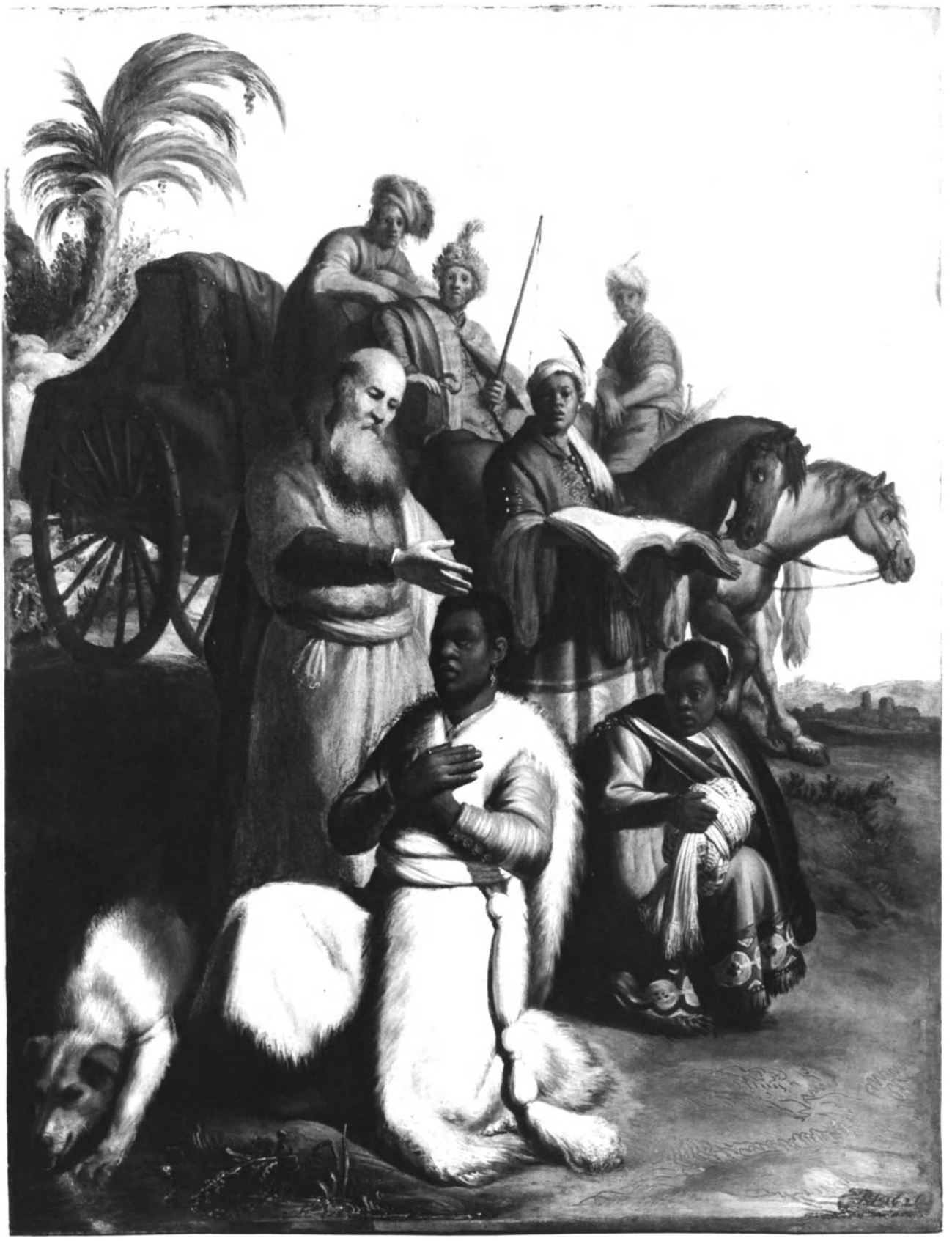


Fig. 2. X-ray

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well-preserved original from 1626, with reliable signature and date.

2. Description of subject

The scene is taken from Acts 8: 38. On a sloping bank the negro eunuch of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, kneels in the foreground; to the left and behind him, Philip stands with his right hand outstretched above the eunuch's head. In the left foreground a dog drinks from the water. On the right, alongside Philip, a negro servant on bended knee is holding the eunuch's turban. Behind these foreground figures a second negro servant stands holding open the book from which the eunuch was reading the prophecy by Isaiah when Philip met him. Some distance further back again is the eunuch's chariot, with two horses in harness and a charioteer and a servant sitting in it, and an armed rider facing left. These figures, together with the chariot and the heads of the two horses pulling it, stand out against the light sky, as does a palmtree and some brushwood on a hillock on the extreme left; on the right, in a low and distant vista, are the outlines of a town.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined 24 March 1976 (J. B., P. v. Th.) and a number of times subsequently (E. v. d. W.) before, during and after restoration in 1976, under extremely favourable conditions. Studied with the aid of a microscope, four X-rays, infrared and ultraviolet photographs, in collaboration with H. Defoer, curator of the museum, the staff of the Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science, Amsterdam, and the restorer, J. Diepraam. During this work it was possible also to study the structure of the paint layer along the open join between the separated parts of the panel.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 63.5 (± 0.1) × 48 (± 0.1) cm. Thickness *c.* 1 cm. Two planks, with a vertical join at 23.6 (± 0.4) cm from the lefthand side. The back has been planed with a concave blade; bevelled along four sides, over *c.* 3.5 cm on the right, *c.* 4 cm elsewhere. When the painting was discovered the two sections of the panel were held together only by three small battens glued at right angles across the join, and were not lined up quite correctly (the X-rays reproduced here were taken with the panel in this condition). Probably as a result of past treatment, they no longer fitted together accurately; during the 1976 restoration they were glued together, and some missing wood was replaced up to a maximum width of 0.05 cm. The three battens were removed.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Dr. P. Klein, Hamburg): measured at lower edge, left plank 212 annual rings of heartwood (+ 8 sapwood), datable at 1387–1598 (+ 8), right plank 193 annual rings of heartwood, datable at 1391–1583. Statistical average felling date of the tree from which the left plank comes 1618 ± 5. If, because of the age of the tree, one assumes at least 20 rings of sapwood, a felling date from 1618 onwards seems realistic.

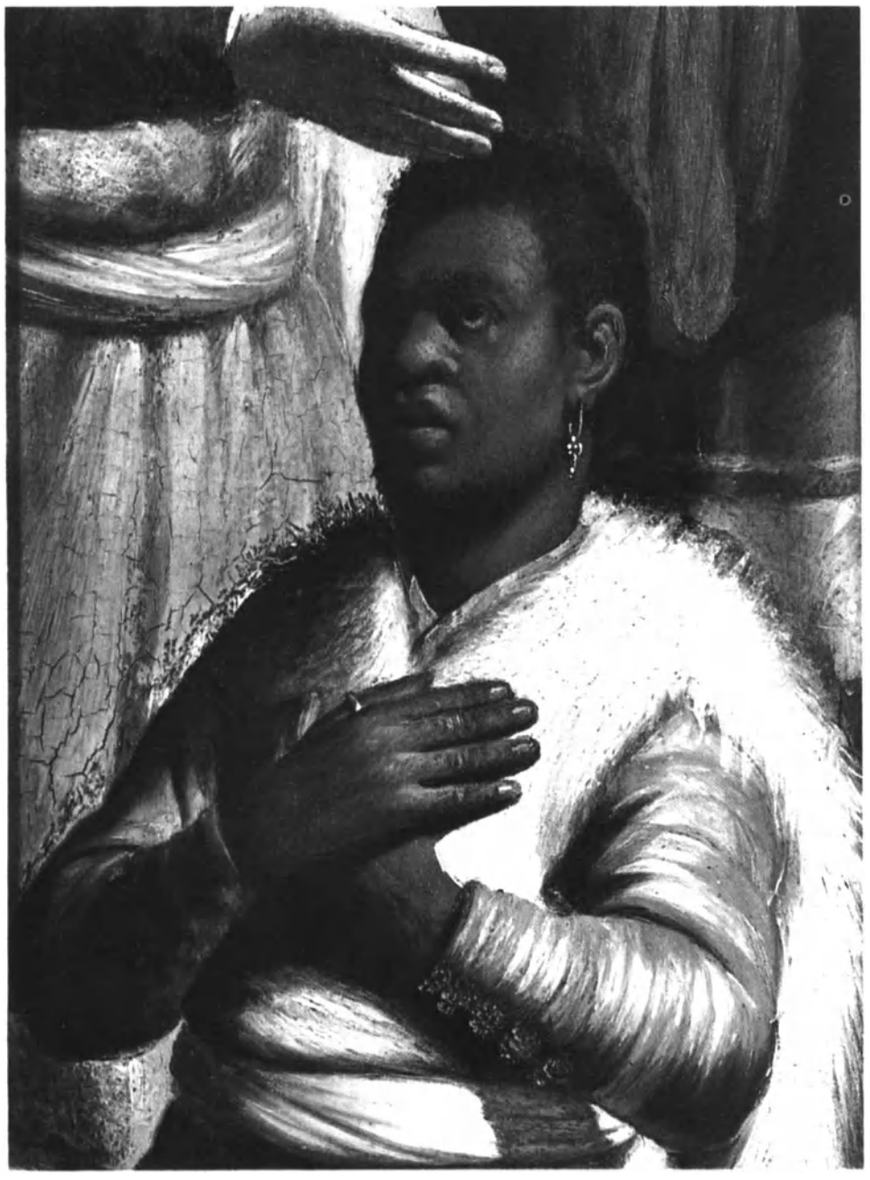
Ground

DESCRIPTION: Light yellow, as can be seen in the edges of the book pages and in small damages in the paint layer.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to a number of samples taken and analysed by the Central Research Laboratory, Amsterdam (Mrs. C. M. Groen and Mr. J. A. Mosk), the ground is composed of chalk and glue, of a yellow-brown colour particularly along the upper edge (object no. 897, samples 4, 5 and 18); X-ray diffraction showed the presence of chalk ($CaCO_3$). A brown layer was found above this, which various samples showed to consist of white lead and a small amount of dark-brown (and sometimes a little black) pigment; this layer can be regarded as the priming.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Generally speaking, reasonable. There is local wearing due to earlier overcleaning, especially at points where dark paint has been applied over harder paint containing white lead, e.g. in the hand of the kneeling servant and the necks of the horses. Philip's head, in particular, has suffered quite badly along the outline of the skull, in the hair and in the ear. A local loss of paint, very largely the result of nails being driven through the panel in the past to secure the battens fixed horizontally across the back, has occurred in the trunk of the palmtree, Philip's right shoulder, the elbow of the kneeling servant, the eunuch's right knee and elsewhere. During the recent restoration, the narrow gap along and on either side of the join has been primed to close it, and then inpainted. Further retouching has been applied to Philip's head, the outlines of the horses, the hand of the kneeling servant and to the sky at a point on the left where traces of a parasol have been retouched to integrate them into the sky.
Craquelure: here and there, for example on the eunuch's right knee, there is a regular net-like pattern; a few very fine cracks occur in the sky. There are small shrinkage cracks in the top lefthand corner, in Philip's tunic and between the open book and the eunuch's shoulder.
DESCRIPTION: Other than in a few gaps where the translucent underpainting is visible, the paint layer is opaque. Only occasional use has been made of glazes. Paint has been handled in widely differing ways, to suit the material being rendered. The hairy animal skin in which the eunuch is wrapped, for example, is painted with thick strokes of a whitish yellow, in part with a light dabbing touch, as are the light areas of the dog, which is otherwise in reddish brown. The cast shadow of the eunuch's sash, in a thin dark brown, appears in a gap between areas of light paint. Small strokes of brick red and violet with light-yellow highlights are used for the illuminated areas of his sleeves, with a dark violet for the parts in shadow. The sandy colour of Philip's tunic is applied with long brushstrokes. Along the eunuch's right shoulder, the form which had too large a space left empty for it may have been corrected at a late stage of the painting, in the same colour. In the same way the light paint of Philip's tunic below the eunuch's elbow has been applied at a late stage, as appears from the fact that it overlaps the dark paint of the shadow area beside the eunuch's waist. Alongside the eunuch's knee however, in a similar situation, the reddish brown underpainting has not been covered over. Philip's cloak has been painted quite thickly in pink, with a thin, dark reddish-brown used for the shadow. The skin areas of the two negroes to the front are modelled in short, delicate strokes and spots of an umber brown, while the face of the standing servant is indicated with a strong suggestion of shape in rather more fluently-blended, thick browns with yellow highlights and a little pink in the lips. A light, purplish pink and white are used in long, fine brushstrokes for his turban, with a thick and bright blue for the feather and for the more broadly-brushed tunic, on which braiding and buttons are indicated in light yellow and grey; the ornamentation along the bottom of the tunic is in a lighter tint, with a little greyish white.

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)



The kneeling servant wears a green-blue cloak painted in bold strokes with yellow-white to show the sheen, together with a light greenish-yellow tunic with a yellow-white pattern applied along the bottom edge in small, firm strokes against a brilliant blue band. The turban he is holding is painted in similar colours with fine brushstrokes, with the relief of the paint suggesting the plastic form of the folds, while in the part hanging down these are shown in dark paint. The figures on and alongside the chariot are drawn in fairly summary fashion, in broken tints such as pink, a harsh purple, light grey-blue and brown-grey, against and partly over the sky, which is painted in an almost evenly broken white that is slightly thicker along some contours. The visible parts of the horses also stand out against the sky in greys and in a purplish brown that can also be found, in a slightly darker shade, in the chariot. The cloth draped over the chariot is broadly done in blue-grey. The terrain to the right is painted in broad, lively strokes of grey-brown, rather thicker towards the bottom and partly lighter and with a trace of pink beneath the kneeling servant. At the bottom right numerous scratchmarks in the wet paint, drawn out into long squiggles, represent the roughness of the soil. Towards the left the ground is shown darker, with plants executed in quite thick dark brown, grey-green and ochre yellow. The water on the left is in browns with a hint of the dog's reflection in red. The area occupied by the tree at the top left is drawn in short, fat strokes of greyish green and a light brown-yellow, done wet-in-wet and to a large extent on top of the sky; it has a few scratchmarks.

Along the edges of the panel that are covered by the frame a second white layer appears beneath the present top layer in the areas of sky; this prompts the assumption, confirmed by the X-ray and by microscopic examination of the paint along the join in the panel, that the sky was painted twice; this was no doubt because of motifs – a broad-leafed tree and a parasol – for which

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

spaces were originally left and which were subsequently discarded; parts of these are clearly visible in the infrared photograph. The fact that the top layer of the sky is overlapped by the figures on and alongside the chariot means that this change in the artist's plan occurred at an early stage. The panel edges otherwise show a continuation of the laid-in areas, particularly of the landscape and foreground. It appears that the greater part of the left foreground has been underpainted in a flat green.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Prior to, and in preparation for, the restoration carried out in 1976, the Central Research Laboratory, Amsterdam took 19 paint samples, ten of them along the join in the panel (object no. 897, samples 1–19). Cross-sections were made of all but three of these. The following details of the method adopted and materials used can be given here.

One sample provides evidence of an underpainting, brownish but also containing pigments of other colours, located above the ground and priming and beneath the uppermost layer of paint (sample 4, from the extreme foreground, immediately to the right of the join and 1.9 cm from the bottom edge: white lead, ochre, organic red, dark brown and a little azurite). A ruddy brown underpainting like that exposed in the shadow part of Philip's clothing above the knee of the eunuch appears to extend also over other parts of Philip's figure (sample 1 from low down in Philip's hand, and sample 12 from his little finger: organic red and a little white lead, perhaps added as a siccative, in a large amount of medium). Study of the edges along the join has revealed this brown-red layer there as well. It may be that a red layer found in the costume of the chariot driver underneath a light red (sample 11, immediately to the left of the join: white with dark red and orange-red pigment, and above this azurite with white) also indicates the presence of a reddish underpainting at this point.

On the other hand, the head of the charioteer is painted directly on the ground (sample 7, just to the right of the join: white, a few fine particles of orange, dark brown and black). The very dark area above the dog's back also proves to have been painted immediately on top of the ground (sample 19, at the lefthand edge: fine, very dark brown to black). The same applies to the vista on the right (sample 14, at the edge: white

lead and azurite).

The fact that, as has just been described, the sky was painted twice has been confirmed by these tests (sample 10, immediately to the left of the join at 7.4 cm from the top edge; sample 15, immediately to the right of the join: a layer of white with almost colourless, pale grey particles). There is no explanation for the presence close to the upper edge of a black layer in between these two (samples 8 and 9, at 0.8 cm from the top edge, immediately right and left of the join respectively: a layer of white lead over the priming with a little dark blue and red, on top of this a layer of black particles in a medium, and on top of this again a layer of white lead with very pale grey particles).

So far as they can be identified under the microscope, the following pigments were used: white lead, ochre, azurite (with white lead and some organic red in the vegetation in the centre foreground; with white lead and a very small amount of orange and brown pigment in the vista at the righthand edge), lead-tin yellow (with white lead in the eunuch's clothing).

X-Rays

The X-ray image largely confirms the impression made by the paint surface. In general, the delimiting of dark forms by light areas is marked by a vague definition of areas left in reserve, as is often met with in X-rays of Rembrandt's paintings. There are only a few signs of changes in the composition being made during the work. The dark reserve intended for the chariot wheel on the left shows a larger wheel, with the hub placed lower than it is today. The tail and a rear leg of the horse carrying the armed rider are not visible as dark shapes in the light sky, any more than are details (such as the reins) of the other two horses; all of these have evidently been painted on top of the sky. Nor was a reserve left for the palm-tree, which on the contrary shows up light and has obviously also been painted over the sky. There is however a dark shape further over to the right and partly masked by the palm-tree, in the shape of an obliquely-placed ellipse; in all probability this should be read as a provision for a parasol.

A number of unexpected light patches appear in the group of figures: between the opened book and the eunuch's left shoulder, and to the left above the standing servant's shoulder. These must probably be explained rather by a thick and perhaps repeated application of paint than by an original intention to distribute lights and darks differently. Very noticeable are light zones that invade the heads of Philip and of the eunuch; in both cases the space left empty in the paint of the area behind them was cramped.

Three horizontal rows of light, narrow shapes correspond to the battens previously glued to the back of the panel. Rows of light, vertical marks are caused by the filled-in nail holes.

Signature

At bottom right, in dark brown on top of the brushstrokes of the thick sand colour ‹*RH* (in monogram). *1626*›. The *R* is open on the left, and has slightly curved shapes like a script letter. The signature is set inside a shape sketched in a similar dark brown, and perhaps somewhat worn away by cleaning; this is presumably to suggest a small length of wood or small branch. The form of the monogram shows convincing similarities with other monograms from 1626.

Varnish

Old varnish was removed, and fresh varnish applied, in 1976.

4. Comments

This painting was entirely unknown until 1974[1].

Fig. 5. Detail with signature (enlarged)

The extent to which it fits in – physically, technically, stylistically and iconographically – among the works from 1626 removes any doubt about it being an autograph work.

The panel has the same dimensions and the same two-plank construction as those used for the *Balaam* in the Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (no. A 2) and the Amsterdam *Musical allegory* (no. A 7). The composition of the ground matches that of the grounds that have been investigated.

From examination of the paint layer of these same paintings, it can be said that the painting technique used in no. A 5 shows a number of striking similarities with that of these works. Traces of a lay-in in translucent browns are also found here, and in the same sort of place as in the other paintings just mentioned – in the edges of the book (cf. the same place in the Leiden *History painting,* no. A 6) and in general in the brown shadow areas. There is also in no. A 5, presumably at the same stage, the local use of a translucent brown-red, in particular in Philip's clothing. No signs are seen of light paint being used in the underpainting, just as there are none in the *History painting* and the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* (no. A 28).

The paint layer in the sky differs from that in the *History painting* in that it was not only – as there – painted once with spaces left for the forms located in front of it, but was subsequently painted a second time; on this second occasion the forms of a tree with foliage to the left and a parasol to the right of this, for which spaces had been provided, were painted over. The first layer of paint is still visible along the edges of the panel, where it has not been covered by the second layer. It can be seen, from the overlapping of the paint layers, that here again forms further back in the picture were painted first with spaces (often appearing in the X-ray with a vaguely defined outline) left empty for the forms standing closer to the front. As these reserves were frequently made too small, there are slight discrepancies between the X-ray image and the final painted image; these are a

Fig. 6. Infrared photograph

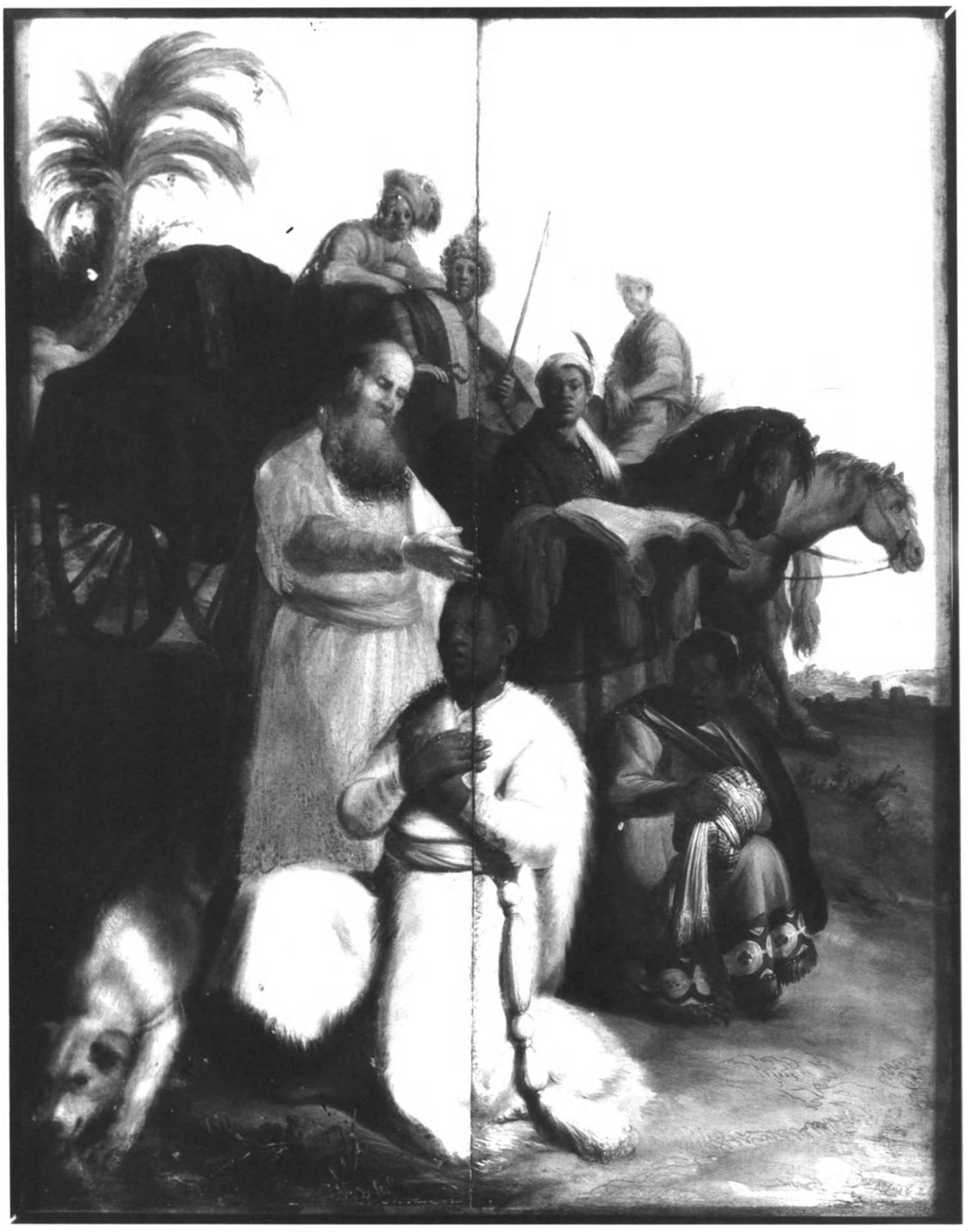


Fig. 7. P. Lastman, *Baptism of the Eunuch.* Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle

characteristic result of Rembrandt's method of working. As in all his early works, formal changes from the initial lay-in are few: they involve the reduction in size of the chariot wheel, the substitution of a palm-tree for the deciduous tree seen in the infrared photograph (fig. 6), and the removal of a parasol.

In the handling of paint various parts of the work strongly resemble areas in other works from 1626 and, in the sketchy execution and the broken tints of the background figures, the Lyon *Stoning of S. Stephen* from 1625 (no. A 1). A use of materials identical to that in the beige tunic worn by Philip occurs in the dress of the secretary in the Leiden *History painting*, where not only the colour but the symptoms of ageing (shrinkage cracks) are the same. In the Leiden painting and in the *Musical allegory* the rendering, in both the tablecloths, of an ornamented green-blue fabric is very closely akin to that of the tabard worn by the standing negro servant, while the way the clothing of the kneeling servant is modelled in straight strokes with yellow-white highlights closely resembles that of the hose of the crowned figure in the Leiden painting. The treatment of the drooping hand of the armed horseman, with the pointed fingers shown in straight short strokes, is seen again in the hand on the right carrying the basket in the Moscow *Driving-out of the moneychangers* (no. A 4). Unknown from other works is the way extensive scratching in the wet paint has been used in the right foreground to help to define the terrain, and the broad and slightly dabbing application of the thick, white paint in the animal skin worn by the eunuch.

When looking more closely at the place no. A 5 occupies among the other early works, one notices that the handling of the light (falling from the right) produces shadow areas that give the group of figures a clear, plastic articulation, contrasting with the illuminated righthand half of the *Stoning of S. Stephen.* In this respect the Utrecht painting shows a clearly more mature hand than the 1625 work. Compared to the five other works from 1626 it makes, from a number of angles, an impression of being less well-developed. The spatial construction, with the vague hill to the left and the very low vista immediately adjoining the foreground on the right, provides a barely adequate setting for the tall, piled-up group of figures; by itself, this is closely akin to the group in the *Balaam,* but in that work the limited three-dimensional effect and the powerful linear design are in happier accord. The colour-scheme, close though it may be to that of other works in individual areas, appears somewhat uncoordinated; this is apparent when one compares it to the Leiden *History painting,* which is certainly no less colourful but in which a recurrence of certain hues – especially green-blue – in different areas provides a more evident cohesion. It seems natural to assume that no. A 5 represents an early stage of work in the year 1626, while the Amsterdam *Tobit and Anna* (no. A 3) with its succinct modelling and sophisticated colour-scheme must come from late in the year.

Rembrandt's composition must clearly be seen in connexion with the example provided by Pieter Lastman; not so much in the painting at Berlin dated 1608 (K. Freise, *Pieter Lastman,* Leipzig 1911, no. 84) and the undated and probably later painting in the Frits Lugt collection (Fondation Custodia), Paris, as certainly the Munich work dated 1620 (Freise, op.cit., no. 86) and that at Karlsruhe dated 1623 (ibid., no. 85) (fig. 7). From none of these did Rembrandt take any motif exactly as it stood, as he did in the *Balaam;* yet in their overall form each and every one of the ingredients of the composition were borrowed from Lastman's work. From the Munich work this involved only the prominent position of a kneeling servant holding the eunuch's turban, and the kind of headgear and the raised elbow of the chariot-driver (shared by Rembrandt between the two figures on the chariot). The 1623 version at Karlsruhe is the foremost prototype of those we know: from this Rembrandt took the compositional features of the chariot (of similar type) with a group of trees above it (which he later changed to a palmtree) and the parasol (later discarded), and of the figures and horses standing out against the sky together with the low horizon with the vista. Other motifs such as the standing servant with the book, the charioteer with a whip and the dog come from the same source. The fundamental change which Rembrandt has made in setting out the composition is, as in the *Balaam,* to compress the scene inside a

Fig. 8. After M. van Heemskerck, *Baptism of the Eunuch* (engraving by Ph. Galle)

narrow, vertical format; this imposed demands on clarity of spatial relationships which he was barely capable of meeting and which also did not help to make the story clear. (In Lastman there is an evident relationship between the halted chariot and the baptism scene.)

The changed position of the chariot may perhaps reflect, inter alia, the model seen in Philip Galle's print after a design by Maerten van Heemskerck from the series *Acta Apostolorum* (Hollst. VII, nos. 206–240), with which Lastman will not have been unfamiliar and which shows remarkable resemblances to the righthand half of Rembrandt's composition (fig. 8). Though Lastman's forms may already be a good deal tauter than those of Van Heemskerck, those of Rembrandt with their predominantly axial construction and scant use of foreshortening are even more simplified and remarkably static compared to Lastman's turning, moving figures. Defoer[1] quite rightly pointed to a similarity between the figure of the eunuch and that in the probably earlier etching by Lievens of *Jacob anointing the stone at Beth-El* (Hollst. XI, no. 4) which shows a like approach. In his considerably later painting of the same subject, which we know only from copies and in an etching by J. G. van Vliet (cf. Introduction, Chapter III, fig. 3), Rembrandt was yet again to use Lastman's 1623 version as a starting-point for a composition, though he then placed the main figures in isolation in front of a clearly rising ground.

The theme of the baptism of the eunuch does not play any great role in medieval art. It occurs not infrequently in the 16th century. Sometimes there was a confusion between the deacon Philip (see Acts 6: 5) and the apostle of the same name, in the retables of altars dedicated to the saint; sometimes it appeared as a self-contained scene, and sometimes as part of a series of prints of the Acts of the Apostles (e.g. those by Philip Galle after Maerten van Heemskerck and by Adriaan Collaert after Marten de Vos). The story was furthermore a subject repeatedly used towards the end of the 16th and during the 17th century for the action of staffage figures in a landscape, not only in the Southern Netherlands but in the Northern Netherlands too – as in the work of Esaias van de Velde and of Rembrandt himself (Br. 439) – as well as in Italy, e.g. in that of Claude Lorrain. From a survey of known examples (A. Pigler, *Barockthemen* I, Budapest 1956, 1st edn, pp. 382–385; 1974, 2nd edn, pp. 389–392) one finds that the theme appeared relatively frequently in the Northern Netherlands in the 17th century. It is quite possible that this ties up with the significance the sacrament of baptism still held for Calvinism, as has been assumed by L. Réau (*Iconographie de l'art chrétien* III, 3, Paris 1959, p. 1070) and Defoer[1]. Besides, however, the story makes an emblematic point, that of the contrast between the blackness of the eunuch's skin and his soul being washed clean by the baptism; we see this from a sonnet by the Calvinist poet-preacher Jacobus Revius (1586–1658), 'Camerling Candaces', which starts with an allusion to the motif, current in emblematic literature since Alciati (1531 edn, E 3, *Impossibile*: 'Abluis Aethiopem quid frustra? ah desine . .'), of the impossibility of washing a negro white:

'Wie ist die seggen dorf dat moeyte sy verloren
Te wasschen in het badt een naecten moriaen?'
(Who dare say that it is lost labour
Washing a naked Moor in the bath?)

and ends:

'Ontfinck van hem den doop met een gelovich hert,
Sijn wterlijcke huyt bleef wel gelijcke swert
Maer witter als de sneeuw wiert hy aen syner sielen.'
(Received baptism from him [i.e. Philip] with a faithful heart,
His outer skin remained still black
Yet in his soul was he whiter than the snow.)

(J. Revius, *Over-Ysselsche Sangen en Dichten*, 1st edn, Deventer 1630; 2nd edn, Leiden 1634, p. 228; ed. W. A. P. Smit, Amsterdam 1930, pp. 235–236). The same idea is incorporated in an inscription on a free copy in a horizontal format, published by Claes Jansz. Visscher (Introduction, Chapter III, fig. 5), of van Vliet's 1631 etching after a lost Rembrandt painting probably dating from that year:

'Hic lavat Aethiopem nigrum pellitque colorem,
Non cutis ast animae, post pansa oracla Philippus.'
(Here Philip washes the black Ethiopian, dispels the colour

Not of his skin but of his soul, after having explained the prophecies)

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Bought by the Museum in 1976 from a private owner.

9. Summary

Because of numerous affinities with Rembrandt's early work, and of the signature and date, no. A 5 must be regarded as beyond doubt an authentic work from 1626. It represents an early stage of the stylistic development seen in that year, as can be seen from the relatively unsure handling of spatial relationships and the lack of coordination in the colour scheme. The composition is clearly reminiscent of prototypes by Lastman, although unlike the *Balaam* (no. A 2) this work has no literal borrowings from these models.

Apart from a theological significance based on the importance baptism held for Protestants, the subject also had an emblematic point to make, contrasting the blackness of the eunuch's skin with the whiteness of his reborn soul.

REFERENCE

1 H. L. M. Defoer, 'Rembrandt van Rijn, de Doop van de kamerling', *O. H.* 91 (1977), pp. 2–26.

A 6 **History painting** (Subject unidentified) 1626

LEIDEN, STEDELIJK MUSEUM DE LAKENHAL, CAT. NO. 814
ON LOAN FROM THE STATE-OWNED ART COLLECTIONS DEPARTMENT, THE HAGUE

HDG– ; BR. 460; BAUCH 96; GERSON I

Fig. 1. Panel 90.1 × 121.3 cm

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved painting that on the grounds of similarities with other works from 1626 and of (the vestiges of) an authentic signature and date can be regarded as genuine, and as the most ambitious work from the year 1626.

2. Description of subject

Since there is no satisfactory explanation of what the picture represents, this description will not identify any of the figures.

The action takes place out of doors in front of a palace-like building, and a town is hinted at in the background. The focus of attention is the gesture being made with his sceptre by a richly-clad figure wearing a white-plumed gold crown with arches; he stands with his retinue on the left and on a white-draped dais, facing towards three young men, two of them visibly armed, at the bottom of the steps. Two of these three are kneeling, and make gestures (as if protesting innocence?), while the third stands between them with his right hand raised taking an oath.

To the right behind this latter group one sees a troop of soldiers, with a subaltern at their head. To judge by the many sloping firearms and lances and the banner seen further off in the background one can gather that this is a relatively large force, approaching in more or less orderly fashion.

To either side of the crowned figure, and standing one step lower down on the dais, there are two officers. The one furthest to the left, clad in a rich tunic with slashed sleeves and wearing a slashed cap with plumes, carries a commander's baton in his right hand. The one on the right, partially hidden behind the kneeling figures, stands bareheaded and looking straight towards the viewer, his right hand resting on a staff. In the left foreground there are a pile of weapons and a drum.

Immediately alongside the crowned figure sits a secretary, looking up at the former with eyes open wide; he appears to be dipping his pen in ink, and on the point of recording his master's words in the book in front of him. Behind the crowned

Fig. 2. X-ray

figure is a small boy carrying his train, and a little further back still on the dais there are two bearded men and a number of figures armed with pikes. The most striking member of this group is a stout bearded man wearing a long, fur-trimmed cloak standing on the right behind the crowned figure. Immediately to the left of this stout man one sees the head of a young man, which will be referred to below as the artist's self-portrait.

In the background, crowded onto the stone plinth of a tall column topped by a sculpted animal resembling a sheep, are onlookers who cling to the column or lean against it. One of these onlookers sits on the plinth, while a man bare to the waist clambers up towards him. Another waves his cap.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 4 June 1969 (J. B., S. H. L.) in satisfactory daylight and in the frame, and again in autumn 1975 (E. v. d. W. in collaboration with Mrs. C. M. Groen, Central Research Laboratory, Amsterdam) with the aid of a microscope, the picture out of the frame, and fifteen X-ray films, together covering the whole painting.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain horizontal, 90.1 (± 0.1) × 121.3 cm. Thickness 0.6 to 1.2 cm. Composed of three horizontal planks, widths (from top to bottom) 31.6 (± 0.6), 28.9 (± 0.3) and 29.7 (± 0.8) cm. The upper join has been strengthened at the back with stuck-on pieces of wood of horizontal lozenge shape. Back bevelled on all four sides.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): top plank 175 annual rings heartwood, datable as 1421/22–1596; middle plank 163 annual rings heartwood, not datable; bottom plank 184 annual rings heartwood, datable as 1399/1400–1583. The top and bottom planks

Fig. 3. Places where paint samples were taken

come from the same treetrunk, datable as 1399/1400–1596. Growing area: Northern Netherlands. Earliest possible felling date 1611.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A warm light brown, as can be seen in thinly painted parts such as along the outline of the building on the left, of the background figures on the right and in the shadow areas of certain heads in the foreground, and in parts of margins about 1 cm wide round the edges that are only partly (or not at all) covered by an underpainting layer and were not covered over with paint when the painting was worked up (see below under *Paint layer*, DESCRIPTION).

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Studies by the Central Research Laboratory, Amsterdam, of cross-sections of paint samples has shown the ground to comprise two layers. It was found to have the same structure and composition in 6 of the 12 samples taken (see e.g. Introduction, Chapter II, fig. 8). The remaining six samples were in most instances incomplete, because the investigation had been aimed at discovering the structure and composition of the uppermost layers; in three of them traces were however found, as the bottom layer of a paint film, that showed so much similarity to the uppermost layer of the ground that this layer can there, too, be assumed to be continuous. The bottom layer consists of chalk with a glue medium. The upper of the two ground layers consists of white lead with a proportionally very small amount of a fine brown pigment. Since the grains of brown pigment occurred sporadically and were very small, it has so far been impossible to determine their nature with certainty, but they are probably grains of ochre or umber. The medium for the upper layer is oil. When a thin section of sample 5 was examined, transparent particles were found, in the upper layer of the ground, that most probably point to the presence of chalk that would have been added to the white lead.

Paint layer

CONDITION: The paint layer is generally in a very good state of preservation. Thinner shadow areas (at bottom right around the signature, for instance) have suffered a little. A great deal of discoloured varnish was removed during cleaning for the 1956 Leiden exhibition *Rembrandt als leermeester*. Craquelure: patterns of fine, divergent cracks are seen in some of the thicker areas.

DESCRIPTION: The figures in the foreground are painted with opaque and sometimes thickly-applied paint in green-blues, greys, white, lilac, yellow and some bright red, with a great many small (though sometimes also long) strokes and dabs of yellow and white to indicate embroidered cloth and other highlights; there are also a few scratchmarks in hair and various patterns, and in the fur cuff of the crowned figure.

Contrasting with this, the figures in the shadow in the middle ground are painted more thinly and sketchily in greys and half-tints, with numerous short, curved scratchmarks going through to the light grey sky in the case of the hair of heads seen against the sky, and with squiggly scratchmarks all over the fur collar of the stout bearded man.

The subaltern on the right in the middle ground is sketched broadly in green-blue over the brown ground; so are architectural features further back, though these are defined with slightly more thickly applied dark and light lines. The group of onlookers on the plinth are done in thin, broad half-tones against a light grey sky that though opaque is not thickly brushed.

The handling of paint in the foreground shows a wide variety, as demanded by the materials being depicted. The flesh areas are thicker and stronger in colour the closer they are to the viewer. Weapons are painted firmly and densely with strong catchlights, and are sometimes, mainly in the shield, on the left, edged by bands left in reserve that reveal the ground. The play of light over the cloth draped over the steps is shown in a thick white between broadly-brushed greys.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Twelve samples of paint were taken and examined by the Central Research Laboratory, Amsterdam, with a range of specific purposes in mind. For the location of the points from which these samples (numbered 2–13) were taken, see fig. 3. A major interest was to determine, in addition to the composition of the ground, the nature and composition of the underpainting. A further aim was to find out, at a number of points, whether a paint layer traces of which can be seen in open places in the paint film (and which as we believed can be identified as a monochrome underpainting) had indeed been placed directly on top of the ground, and whether this layer – which from its sketchlike application is certainly not continuous – in fact continues beneath parts of the surface paint. Both of these suspicions were in fact confirmed. As we expected, the underpainting was not encountered at all points. Layers that can be assumed to belong to the underpainting were found in samples 3, 5 and 6 (Introduction, Chapter II, fig. 8). The composition varies from one sample to the next, but is constant in one respect – the main component is a relatively large amount of a dark brown, translucent pigment(in all probability organic). Sample 3 also under the microscope showed carbon black, organic red, white lead and possibly some chalk, a little vermilion or red ochre. In sample 5, alongside the dark brown organic pigment, examination also showed white lead, chalk and a very small amount of red ochre. Sample 6 had, together with the dark brown organic pigment, white lead and a very little lead-tin yellow.

White lead and smalt were found in the sky in sample 7, together with colourless, translucent particles – possibly particles of smalt that had lost their blue colour. The layer found in sample 2 immediately on top of the ground, most probably the area of sky that has been overlapped by the self-portrait and the sceptre superimposed on it, contains fine azurite as well as white lead, and possibly also a tiny amount of an organic red pigment.

X-Rays

The radiographic image provides various clues to the working method adopted in different parts of the picture.

In the light and somewhat patchily painted sky and other light passages in the background one can see that for the most part very rough and rather cramped reserves were provided for the forms standing out against these areas; this is true of the heads of the two figures in the shadow of the building on the far left, the head behind the sceptre (the Rembrandt self-portrait), the stout bearded figure next to this, the first pikeman to the right of the column (no reserve was provided for the halbardier next to him, who shows up light in the light sky), the bareheaded officer, the head and trunk of the young man taking an oath (though there is no reserve for his upraised right arm) and the subaltern on the far right. In general, the sky and the buildings in the far distance were painted wet-in-wet in a single stage. The pikes and other weapons projecting against these appear relatively light in the X-ray, and have evidently been painted on top of them. When the artist came to using reserves that had been left too small, areas of the background that had already been executed were partly covered over by forms placed further to the front. This applies, naturally, to small areas of sky, the paint of which is then often discernible in scratchmarks depicting the hair of, for example, the stout man behind the secretary and the pikeman to the right of him; but it also occurs with part of a distant obelisk behind the bareheaded officer, and the leg of one of the figures standing on the plinth immediately behind the head of the young man taking an oath with hand raised. The latter's right arm, for which no space was left in reserve, has been painted over a fairly complicated area which adumbrates the army behind and has a round tower in the background; the concern for maintaining cohesion in this area may indeed have been a reason why the artist did not leave a space empty to accommodate the arm. Where the self-portrait head appears behind the sceptre one sees in the X-ray a number of haphazard strokes of paint that show up white; they may indicate that an earlier version was painted out with a light layer, on top of which the present head was then painted – this would have been at a relatively early stage, and at all events before the crowned figure's sceptre was placed over this area (cf. paint sample 2 described under SCIENTIFIC DATA.

In the large figures on the left and in the foreground area, the spaces left in reserve match the final execution much more closely. Evidently these areas were more carefully prepared in the underpainting, the execution here too being carried out (as one can tell from observations at the paint surface) from the rear of the picture to the front. One notices that above and to the right along the outline of the officer in a plumed cap (standing on the extreme left) the building and the clothing of the old man further back in the shadow appear very light, and that the latter is separated from the cloak of the crowned figure by a dark gap; one should probably assume that the arrangement of the lighting at this point was at an early stage (perhaps in the underpainting?) different from that seen today. The strongest white is found in the lobster-red righthand trouser-leg of the officer wearing a plumed cap.

In conclusion, one can say that in general the discrepancies between the radiographic and the paint-surface images do not point to changes having been made in form or composition, but are the logical outcome of the working method adopted; the only real alterations are where the profile head of the halbardier to the right of the column was not allowed for and had to be placed on top of the already-painted sky, and where the self-portrait head behind the sceptre has been done over an earlier version that was painted out.

Signature

Thinly drawn in dark brown at bottom right, on the grey of a stone ‹*R f.* or *RH* (in monogram). *1626*›. The vestiges of the signature, which can be regarded as authentic, are difficult to read, the *2* being scarcely visible. An argument in favour of the reading *R f.* is that we believe to have noted a similar signature on no. A 1; against this there is the fact that an *RH* monogram would be like other signatures from 1626.

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 2.5)

Fig. 5. Detail (1 : 2.5)

Fig. 6. Detail (1 : 1.5)

Varnish
No special remarks.

4. Comments

A comparison of this work with the Lyon *Stoning of S. Stephen* (no. A 1) – an obvious one to make, because of the similarity in format and in the scale of the figures – reveals differences in style and execution.

The spatial layout has become a good deal clearer. Starting with the diagonally-placed dais, the arrangement of the central, imperial figure flanked by the two officers forms a well-thought-out group counterpointed by the three young men, and providing what has been conceived as a three-dimensional symmetry. To the right of the latter group a space marked with cast shadows leads logically to the figures in the middle ground.

Fig. 7. Detail (1 : 3)

The distribution of light and shade is in general, through variation in the intensity of light, designed to separate the various planes; but it is less brusque and more readily explicable than in the Lyon painting, where the stark contrast does not correspond to a spatial separation. Beyond the middle ground seen in shadow (presumably from the building) the buildings and small figures in the background are again lit and pale in colour, so that the background has a better three-dimensional relationship to the foreground than in the Lyon work.

Though this painting, too, can be said to have a variegated colour-scheme, the appearance of green-blue and blue-grey in the foreground and background provides a linking factor, something quite new compared to the painting in Lyon.

Variety in the manner of painting to suit the materials being rendered is seen here as well, but the foreground figures in the light have heads and hands that are more thoroughly and skilfully developed and are given a stronger suggestion of plasticity. The paint surface does not, like that of the Lyon painting, form a virtually opaque mass; heads and figures have – especially in the shadow areas of the middle ground – been sketched thinly on top of a ground layer that shows through distinctly. The ground also shows through, or is exposed, in the shadow sides of the lit heads and in the still-life. There is a very large number of scratchmarks made in the wet paint; usually these go down to an underlying layer of paint, and only in the hair of the imperial figure do they penetrate to the ground.

In its execution no. A 6 differs from the Lyon painting most of all in that forms situated further to the front of the picture overlap other forms placed further back and painted earlier. One gets the impression from the X-rays that preparations for painting on the panel itself were done with precision only in the figures and still-life in the left foreground, those elsewhere being fairly rough and ready, and that here Rembrandt – relying on the covering power of his paint and working from the back to the front – generally made forms further to the front of the picture wider than the spaces he had left in reserve to receive them. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the painting was produced in various stages and was painted partly by a different hand[1], nor to think that 'Rembrandt has in fact reworked an (unfinished?) history painting by Lastman'[2].

The technical execution gives this painting a somewhat individual place among Rembrandt's early works, and yet there are clear similarities with

them. Leaving aside resemblances of detail (the secretary, for instance, reminds one strongly of one of the moneychangers in the painting in Moscow, no. A 4), it comes close in the handling of paint to the *Balaam* in the Musée Cognacq-Jay in Paris (no. A 2), and especially to the Amsterdam *Musical allegory* (no. A 7), where the treatment of flesh areas and various colour combinations recur virtually unchanged. The *Balaam* admittedly lacks the translucently sketched areas in shadow, but the compositional function of the more firmly painted figures in the mid-ground, and of the colour of the landscape background and its relation to the local colour in the foreground is similar. The background buildings done in green-blue, which can best be compared with the mountain background in the *Balaam*, are noticeably unlike those in the background of the *Stoning of S. Stephen*, where the brown-green buildings – drawn in considerable detail – create less of an effect of depth.

Even more than in the painting in Lyon (no. A 1), the resemblance to Lastman's work from the pictorial viewpoint seems no more than superficial. The difference in the way paint has been handled here to suit the material being rendered, the distance at which objects are seen and the intensity of the lighting is not found to the same degree in Lastman's far more uniform treatment. From the viewpoint of composition, and particularly of the means used to create depth, the similarity with Lastman's work– for example, as Martin has commented[3], with his *Coriolanus* of 1622 in Dublin (no. A 9, fig. 6)– is stronger; this is something that no. A 6 shares with Rembrandt's most Lastman-like work from 1627, the Basle *David before Saul* (no. A 9). The low angle of view incorporated in the lefthand half of the composition also points to Lastman's prototype[4].

The subject of the picture remains, for the present, unclear. If our reading of the scene, as showing a pronouncement being made by a crowned figure on three young men who are appearing before him, is correct, then none of the suggested interpretations would fit: Saul giving weapons to David[5], Coriolanus as conqueror[6], the Judgment of the consul L. Junius Brutus[7], the Sentencing of the son of Manlius Torquatus[8], the Clemency of Titus[9], Palamedes before Agamemnon[10], the Judgment of Saul on Jonathan[11], the Consul Cerealis and the German legions[12] and Ludolf and Konrad the Red before Otto I[13]. That the pronouncement being made in the picture is concerned with magnanimity or clemency (as in the Clemency of Titus), probably towards a conquered army, is only a surmise. It finds some support in a scene depicted in the frame surrounding a portrait of Wladislaus IV (or VII) of

Fig. 8. Attr. to S. Savery, detail of *Portrait of King Wladislaus IV of Poland* (engraving)

Poland attributed to S. Savery (the portrait after Pieter Soutman), dated 1634 (fig. 8). As an *exemplum* of *clementia* this shows how in 1634 the king, after delivering the town of Smolensk from siege by a Russian army, released – at the pleading of three officers on bended knee – a cut-off and conquered army that had surrendered unconditionally. Rembrandt's painting of course shows a different event (probably borrowed from classical history), but the resemblance between the two scenes – a prince and his generals on the left, with on the right three supplicants followed by an army with banners and weapons – makes one suspect that both conveyed a similar meaning.

Since soon after the discovery of the painting[14], the head of the young man behind the crowned figure to the right (which proves to have been given its present form only on second thoughts) has been regarded as a self-portrait of Rembrandt, and the likeness to works accepted as self-portraits – in particular etching B. 338 of 1629 – is indeed convincing. It has not however been commented so far that the young man in a plumed cap far back behind the crowned figure to the left also has the same features.

As has already been frequently noted, the shield lying in the foreground on the left occurs repeatedly in paintings by Gerard Dou, mostly depicting painters' studios and all presumably painted during the 1630s; cf. the pictures of studios in W. Martin, *Gerard Dou*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1913 (Kl. d. K.), pp. 57, 59 (dated 1637), pp. 63 and 83, and the Budapest *Soldier*, ibid., p. 89 left.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Dealer Asscher, Koetser & Welker, London 1924 (acquired by them as school of Rubens and recognized as a Rembrandt)[5].
– Coll. J. J. M. Chabot, on loan to Central Museum, Utrecht (1925).
– Sale coll. Chabot, The Hague 1 September 1942, no. 24.
– Recovered from Germany; State-owned art collections department, The Hague.

9. Summary

As a large history painting staffed with numerous figures this painting can be compared only with the *Stoning of S. Stephen* (no. A 1); alongside similarities in treatment there are also major differences that can be interpreted as progress in spatial composition achieved through the handling of colour and lighting. No. A 6 shows similarities to other Rembrandt works from 1626 in a number of respects; for example, the plastic treatment of the foreground figures resembles that in the *Driving-out of the moneychangers* (no. A 4), the handling of the distant view in blue-green is like that in the *Balaam* (no. A 2), and many colouristic traits are shared with the *Musical allegory* (no. A 7). The painting differs somewhat from these works in its execution, in that the overlapping of areas in the background by forms situated further forward in the picture is more pronounced. Because of resemblances, in the manner of painting and the interpretation of various components, with other works from 1626 and partly because of the signature this can be seen as a work by Rembrandt; it differs so much from the *Stoning of S. Stephen* dated 1625 (no. A 1) that it may be assumed not to have been painted immediately after that work.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch 1933, pp. 173–175; G. Knuttel, 'Rembrandt's earliest works', *Burl. Mag.* 97 (1955), pp. 44–49, esp. p. 46.
2 Br.-Gerson 460.
3 W. Martin, 'Een onbekend schilderij van Pieter Lastman', *O.H.* 42 (1925), pp. 57–60; cf. also Bauch 1960, pp. 97 ff; B. P. J. Broos, 'Rembrandt and Lastman's Coriolanus: the history piece in 17th-century theory and practice', *Simiolus* 8 (1975/76) pp. 199 228.
4 H. Guratzsch, 'Die Untersicht als ein Gestaltungsmittel in Rembrandts Frühwerk', *O.H.* 89 (1975), pp. 243–265, esp. pp. 247–248, 259–260.
5 C. Hofstede de Groot, 'Rembrandt's youthful works', *Burl. Mag.* 44 (1924), p. 126 (caption).
6 Mentioned in [E. Pelinck], *Stedelijk Museum 'de Lakenhal' Leiden. Beschrijvende catalogus van de schilderijen en tekeningen* 1949, p. 231 (no source given).
7 W. Stechow, 'Römische Gerichtsdarstellungen von Rembrandt und Bol', *O.H.* 46 (1929), pp. 134–139, esp. p. 135.
8 W. R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt Handzeichnungen* II, Stuttgart-Berlin n.d. (Kl. d. K.), pp. 401, 577; cf. also F. Saxl, *Lectures*, London 1957, I, pp. 299–301.
9 F. Schmidt-Degener, 'Rembrandt's Clementie van Keizer Titus', *O.H.* 58 (1941), pp. 106–111.
10 Van Gelder 1953, p. 285 (p. 13); cf. also M. L. Wurfbain in exhibition cat. *Geschildert tot Leyden Anno 1626*, Leiden 1976–77, no. S 26.
11 Sumowski 1957/58, pp. 223–247, esp. p. 231.
12 Bauch 1960, p. 99.
13 K. Demus according to exhibition cat. *Geschildert tot Leyden Anno 1626*, Leiden 1976–77, no. S 26.
14 Bauch 1933, p. 10.

A 7 Musical allegory

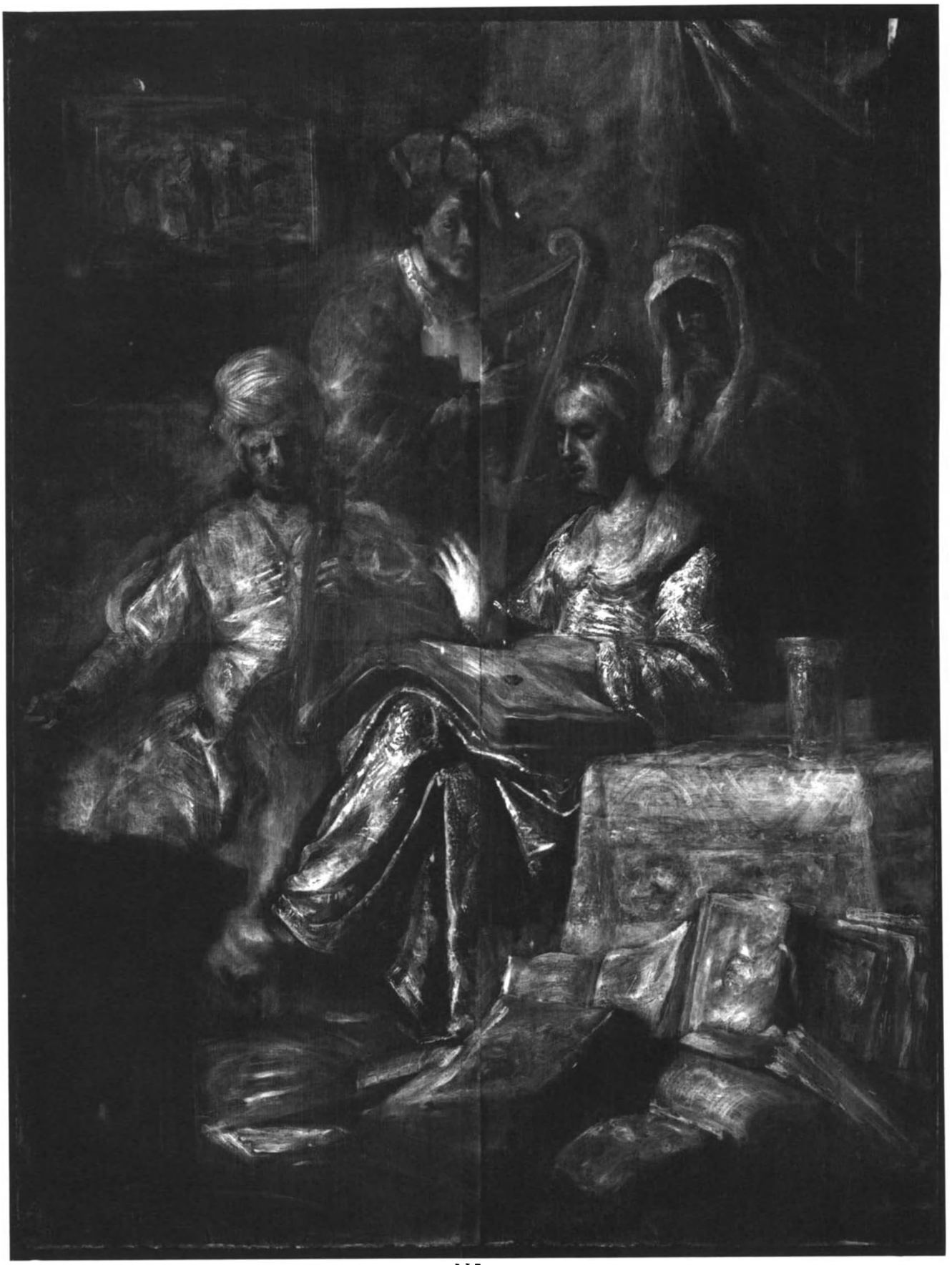
1626

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM, INV. NO. A 4674

HDG– ; BR. 632; BAUCH 97; GERSON 18

Fig. 1. Panel 63.4 × 47.6 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray



1. Summarized opinion

A well-preserved work, reliably signed and dated 1626, which fits well into Rembrandt's production during that year.

2. Description of subject

Four persons, two men and two women, are in a room where a beam of light falls from the top left. The older man is sitting on the left facing forwards and playing a viola da gamba. He wears a silk caftan and a turban. Standing obliquely behind him is a young man plucking the strings of a small harp, which appears to be perched on a chair the back of which hides part of the instrument. A richly-dressed young woman wearing a golden headdress incorporating a tall crest sits further to the front in the centre of the composition and in the strongest light, with her right foot on a raised pedestal and the left leg crossed over the right; she is reading from a large music book lying on her lap, and is (as we can tell from her half-open mouth) singing while she beats time with her raised right hand. To the right and behind her, leaning on the back of the young woman's chair, stands an old woman resting her chin on her hand. To the right, alongside the old woman, a table covered with a cloth bears a silver-coloured beaker with gold ornamentation and a small open box (probably a toilet box). The space in front of the group is occupied by a piece of furniture serving as a dark repoussoir, on which lies a violin. On the floor, beside and behind it, are a lute and a haphazard pile of books, some open, some closed. Some of the books are propped against the tablecloth.

On the partially-lit wall in the background, above the wainscot, hangs a painting of Lot's flight from Sodom, in a black frame lined with gold. A curtain hangs on the right.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined 12 November 1975 (B.H., E.v.d.W.) in good daylight, and with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp. Four X-ray films received subsequently (Rijksmuseum).

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 63.4 × 47.6 cm. Thickness at left 0.5 cm, at right 0.6 cm. Two planks: the join is at 23.2 cm from the right at the top, 23.6 cm from the right at the bottom. The back has irregular bevelling along all four sides over a width of 4–5 cm, and the lefthand plank has been planed with a concave blade.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Dr. P. Klein, Hamburg): left plank, measured at upper edge, 201 annual rings of heartwood, datable 1393–1593; right plank, measured at lower edge, 159 annual rings of heartwood, datable 1434–1592. The planks come from different trees. The almost identical dates for the youngest rings of both planks may be taken as an indication that these rings were close to the sapwood. Earliest possible felling-date therefore 1608. If, because of the age of the tree, one assumes at least 20 rings of sapwood a felling date from 1613 onwards seems more realistic.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Yellowish, as visible in a few tiny patches between areas of paint; this is clearest in the outline of the young woman's further shoulder.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: One sample was taken from the edge of the painting and examined by the Central Research Laboratory, Amsterdam. In the lower of the two layers found, microchemical reactions revealed chalk. Thin-layer chromatography showed that an animal glue had been used as a medium for this layer. In the upper layer microchemical analysis showed white lead; the grains of brown pigment seen in this when the cross-section was studied under the microscope were too few to allow analysis. Heat- and staining-tests showed that oil had been used as a medium in this layer. For an interpretation, see Chapter II of the Introduction.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Good apart from limited areas of inpainting along the join and a few points of local retouching, e.g. to the right of the young man's head, at the tip of the young woman's nose and to the left of the older man's neck. Craquelure: an extremely fine pattern can be seen in the thicker parts.

DESCRIPTION: Although the execution does not go into minute detail, it is still elaborate. This is true of both the widely varying handling of paint, related to the nature of the material being portrayed, and the colour scheme, which is extremely varied and even makes an impression of gaudiness.

The wide colour range is seen in the contrast between the local colours of various areas, in the materials shown as multicoloured, and – sometimes in a surprisingly daring way – within objects that have an even colour. The strong contrasts between local colours reach a climax in that between the glaringly red shoes of the young woman and the greens of the tablecloth. The illuminated side of the varicoloured turban worn by the older man has a harsh pink, ochre yellow, green-blue, pale yellow, violet, bright red and light green all in juxtaposition. Other multicoloured items include the old woman's headshawl, where light red, ochre yellow and blue stripes are set against a grey main colour, and the young woman's clothing in which ornaments in a strong vermilion red and lake red are placed on and against a golden yellow; in the hem of her garment light green ornamentation with strong dark green shadows and lake red motifs are against a light violet. The older man's caftan is an example of an apparently uniformly-coloured area that in reality includes a large number of colours. The basic light violet colour, which remains untouched in the small triangle between the dark repoussoir, the lute and the viola da gamba, has placed on it touches of a golden ochre yellow, very light yellow, light and dark blue-green and pure white, while the shadows are in a very dark violet. A further example is the binding of the closed book in the foreground, where a dark pink and strong light green have been worked over an ochre ground; in the leather clasp a light blue-green is placed over a strong dark pink. In the binding of the book standing upright on the right in front of the table a brownish ochre is set over a dark grey ground, and on top of this is a slight amount of salmon pink with light yellow highlights. These exuberant colours contrast with the foreground repoussoir done in thick brushstrokes of dark brown, and with the greys and grey-browns of the rear wall where the bright pink and light blue-green seen in the painting on the wall provide an accent of broken colours.

Just as with the rendering of materials, the painting and colouring of the heads are individualized. The head of the young woman, for example, is painted very smoothly and fluently, and in some places the colours even blend. The strongest lights do, it is true, still present a brushmark that can be clearly followed, but right up against the edges of the shadow areas the stroke becomes hardly detectable, while details such as the mouthline, nostrils and eye-socket shadows are placed in

this with robust licks of dark brown paint. The shadow areas are translucent where light merges into dark, but there is also an opaque greenish grey placed over a locally light underpainting, as is clearly visible in the neck area; the underpainting shows through a little in small patches of wearing. Most nearly akin to this is the way in which the young man's head has been painted, although the fact that he is rather less strongly lit and stands rather further back affects the tonal relationships and the manner of painting, which is somewhat more fluid and cursory than in the head of the young woman. In the old woman's head the handling of paint tends towards the chaotic, especially in the light area where small, loose brushstrokes with an irregular edge are used, in a fairly strong yellow and pink (with a white highlight on the nose), to suggest the ageing skin. The shadow area of her face is executed in an opaque and slightly muddy brown, with yellow-brown for the reflected light and small dark lines to show the wrinkles. In the older man's face paint is used quite differently; forceful flicks and touches of the brush are used to suggest shape, colour and lighting. Once again the use of a bright yellow is very noticeable, especially along the nose. The small highlights in the eyes, too, are yellow; that in the left eye takes the form of a short stroke.

The wide differences in the way the hands are painted are equally striking. The hands of the older characters are solid and well-constructed, and the way the older man is fingering the strings and holding the bow is particularly successful. The colouring is a subdued pink. The young woman's hands are noticeable for their strong pink colouring, and in the case of the hand in repose for the lack of modelling. The harp-player's hands, in contrast, are very accurately modelled; each hand has been dealt with differently, with the illuminated one in quite a strong light yellow forming the highest light against the pink of the shadow.

Little use is made of scratchmarks; only in the neck of the lute and here and there in the ornamentation of the young woman's clothing do we find lines incised into the wet paint.

It is possible with a strong magnifying-glass to detect parts of the underpainting, done in both translucent browns and an opaque light paint. At many places between the opaque areas, usually very limited in extent, there are small discontinuities in the paint through which the yellow ground can be seen; usually it is covered by a thin translucent layer of brown or red-brown, of varying tonal value. This occurs at sharp bends in contours, such as the further shoulder of the young woman, the young man's cap, and in usually very small shadow areas that are not developed further, such as the gap between the older man's silk cloak and the body of the viola da gamba. The translucent brown paint shows through here and there, where the uppermost paint layer has been applied thinly; this is the case, for example, on the left above the painting on the wall, on the older man's bent elbow and to the right of the young woman's neck. Traces of a light paint of fairly coarse consistency, applied with rapid strokes and touches and dabs, show through on the fingerboard of the viola da gamba, in the young woman's neck and elsewhere: they provide an indication that locally highlights were placed on the monochrome underpainting. Study of the X-ray gives an even clearer indication of this.

The areas to the front of the scene almost invariably slightly overlap those to the back, so that we know that the picture was consistently built up working from back to front. Only two dark areas slightly overlap areas lying further to the front: the black area of shadow on the tablecloth around the outlines of the books was put down only after the cloth had been painted, while the chair-back behind the young woman's further shoulder also slightly overlaps the shoulder – it was added as a pentimento at a late stage, since in the X-ray the harp is seen to continue further downwards.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Two layers of paint can be seen in a sample taken along the left hand edge, near the shoulder of the gamba player. The lower contains white lead, ochre, black pigment particles and some transparent brown particles, while the upper contains a mixture of white lead, some red ochre and azurite, black and transparent brown pigment particles. On top of these two layers there are three layers of varnish, on top of which a layer of black paint is found (apparently a retouch).

X-Rays

The image seen in the X-rays confirms, broadly speaking, what can be seen at the surface of the paint. Since all four figures are in the light while the background is predominantly dark, little can be said about the first lay-in of the figures, from the point of view of spaces left for them in the background. Dark bands and patches can be seen along some contours, as evidence that in the monochrome underpainting or during the laying-out of the painting allowance was made for a wider outline than was ultimately employed. This is the case, for instance, along the lower part of the young woman's leg.

Flowing brushstrokes show up light in the head of the older man, as well as in his clothing which may have been initially designed slightly differently. These correspond to the hints of a light underpainting that can be seen in relief in the paint surface.

The covering over of the lower part of the harp by the chair-back, mentioned already as a pentimento, is clearly visible in the X-ray. The tonal values in various parts of the background and of the feather in the harp-player's cap, which are in a slightly different relationship from that seen in the surface paint, probably result more from the thickness and consistency of the paint used than from the initial design having been different. The cast shadow of the open book in the foreground, visible in the surface paint, was not initially anticipated. There are no areas left in reserve for the shadows in the folds of the tablecloth, as there are for those in the woman's dress.

A phenomenon not so far seen in X-rays of any other panel is the two light marks, sharply defined at their lower edge and feathering off upwards, between the harp-player's right hand and his head. The back of the panel shows sound, bare wood at this point; the marks must, therefore, be connected with the preparation of the front surface. The most likely explanation is that damage was caused while the panel was being planed, and this was then filled in with priming.

Signature

In the centre of the repoussoir in the left foreground, in quite large, grey letters and numerals ‹*RH* (in monogram) *.1626*›. The *R* is open on the left, and the tail can no longer be seen; only a small part of the first *6* is still visible. The monogram is very like that on no. A 2; the use of a lightish grey in a dark area is seen again in, for example, no. A 10 and no. A 13. There is every reason to trust the signature's authenticity.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

The treatment of colour and the brushwork of no. A 7 allow it to be fitted without difficulty into the series of works produced in 1626, and it comes especially close to the *Balaam* in the Musée Cognacq-

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

Jay, Paris (no. A 2) – which is of exactly the same size – and to the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6). The latter has a large number of passages that are identical in colour and manner of painting; but one can assume that even the former would, if the yellowed varnish were removed, prove to have just as variegated a range of colours as no. A 7, and would show a similar bold directness in a brushwork which, while subtly rendering materials, never tries to conceal the nature of the paint itself. From the viewpoint of composition, too, it has the strongest affinity with these two works: the foreground features a still-life built up of lively and strongly-lit shapes, behind which the figures form a fairly compact group the members of which are distinguished one from another more by differences of colour than by a clear three-dimensional effect. In this respect, these three works must be described as more mature than the Utrecht *Baptism of the eunuch* (no. A 5), in which the construction of the group of figures in the plane is less substantial, making the spatial arrangement even less comprehensible; here, moreover, the palette though hardly less variegated is certainly less marked by violent contrasts. On the other hand the Amsterdam *Tobit and Anna* (no. A 3), also dated 1626, though like no. A 7 showing an interior scene, shows us with its subdued and broken colours (and consequent unity of the figures and interior) a clearly more advanced stage in the rapid development that must have taken place in Rembrandt's work during 1626. It seems logical to date no. A 7 not too late on in the year, after the *Baptism of the eunuch* but well before the *Tobit and Anna*.

The painting, which came to light in 1936, was published in 1937 by Bloch[1] and Held[2]. Cleaning led to the discovery of the signature and date, and since then the attribution has been doubted by none except Knuttel[3], who thought the execution to be quite different from that of the *Balaam*, and very poor. The virtually unanimous acceptance undoubtedly had something to do with the generally accepted view that Rembrandt was here portraying himself and his family dressed up and making music. Quite apart from the difficult question of whether

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

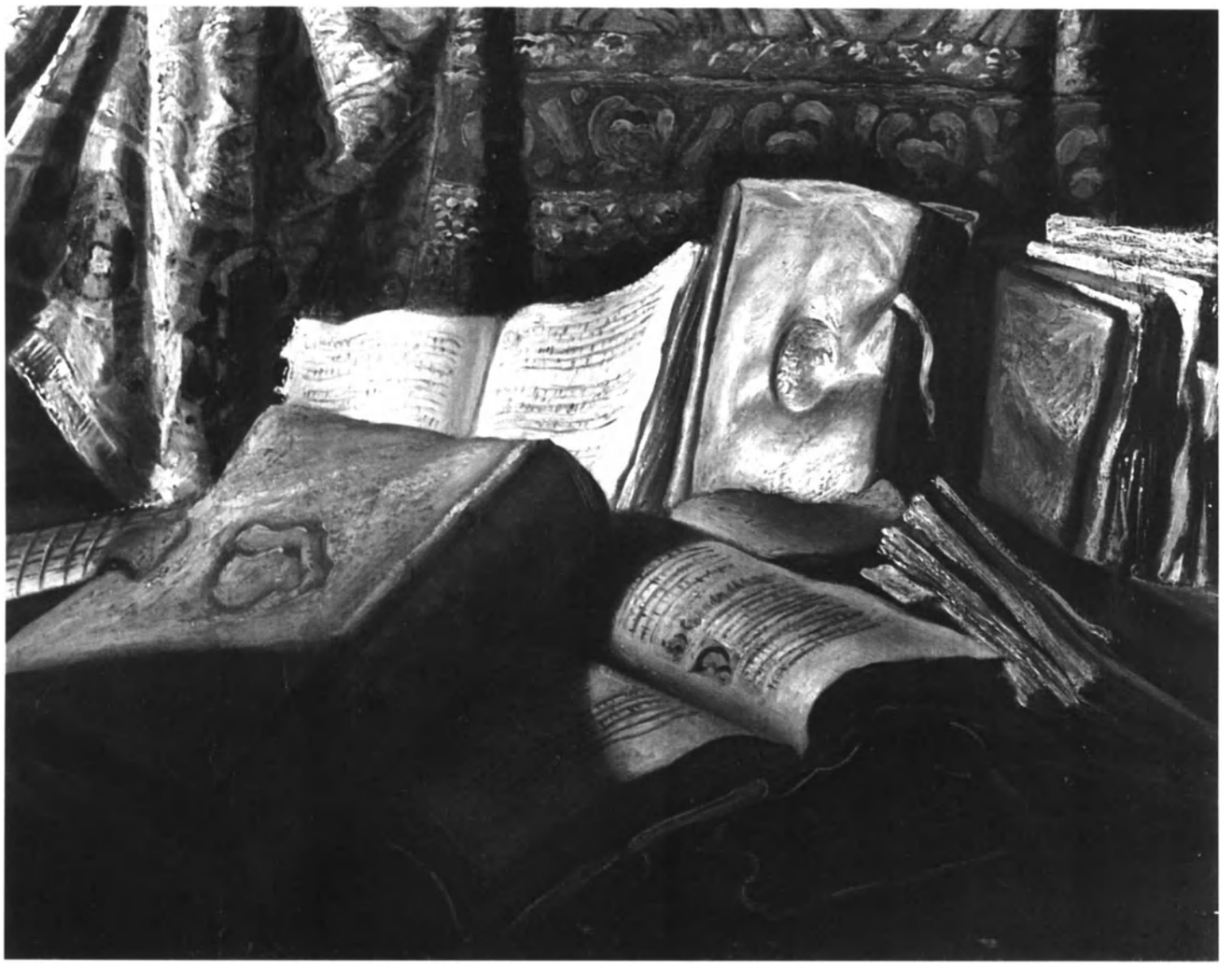
particular models were used for the figures shown (and if so, which) it is obvious that the picture has a meaning that has still not been deciphered.

Where the style of no. A 7 is concerned, Bloch[1] in particular stressed the picture's independence of Lastman. This applies certainly to the composition, less so to the colour-scheme. The latter does however, with its use of a great deal of pink contrasting with light, cool (though not blue) tints, remind one particularly of *Esther's feast* at Raleigh (no. C 2), a painting we believe to be by Jan Lievens and to be datable around 1625; it could certainly have made an impression on the young Rembrandt. No immediate prototype for the composition has been singled out: the rather stiff rhythm and the clothing of the figures still remind one most of Elsheimer, in for example his *Martyrdom of S. Lawrence* (National Gallery, London, cat. no. 1014; engraved by P. Soutman). Rembrandt may perhaps already have made use here, for the older man's clothing, of the figure of the negro king in the print after Rubens that he definitely used in 1627 (see no. A 9, fig. 7). Van Gelder[4] has rightly pointed out the similarity between the still-life of books and a lute lying on the floor with similar subjects treated by Jan Davidsz. de Heem (an artist of exactly the same age); the earliest of these, previously at Aachen, was dated 1625 (see I. Bergström, *Dutch still-life painting*, London 1956, pp. 164–165), and it is probable that Rembrandt borrowed the motif from this. He returned to this motif in subsequent years in a form increasingly abstracted into a dynamic chiaroscuro effect – in the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13) and the Nuremberg *S. Paul* of 1629/30 (no. A 26).

There have been various interpretations of the scene, none of them conclusive. Kieser[5] and Bauch[6] thought it might be an allegory of Hearing, and the latter also suggested an allegory of Music. Natural though these explanations appear, they do not account for the specific elements portrayed; and the scene fits ill into the series of known pictures with these meanings (cf. H. Kauffmann, 'Die Fünfsinne in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien, Dagobert Frey zum 23.4.1943* ..., Breslau 1943, pp. 133–157; A. P. de Mirimonde, 'Les allégories de la Musique', *G. d. B.-A.* 6th series, 72 (1968), pp. 295–324 and 73 (1969), pp. 343–362). Kieser and Bandmann[7] added a further idea to the first of these interpretations – they saw the harp-player as the young David forming a component in a representation of Hearing, thus attributing to the music a healing function as it had in David's playing before Saul. Bol[8], on the other hand, stressed the Vanitas aspect of music as mentioned in Ecclesiastes and in contemporary literature. Broos[9] saw the posture of the old woman as a melancholy motif, linking this on the one hand with the meaning of Vanitas he attached to the still-life of books and on the other with the scene (recognized by Münz[10] and van Gelder[4]) in the painting on the wall of *Lot's flight from Sodom*, which as a prefiguration of the Last Judgment (Luke 17: 28–30) he regarded as matching the Melancholy/Vanitas theme. This interpretation embraces too many diverse elements to be convincing. Haak[11] suggested that it might be intended as an allegory of Moderation, though without offering any further detailed interpretation. Finally, Tümpel (unpublished thesis, Hamburg, 1968) looked somewhere quite different for an answer – he believed that it might depict the Prodigal Son wasting his substance with riotous living, as represented in a woodcut by Maarten van Heemskerck (Hollst. VIII, no. 51, with illus.). The similarity to this print is slight; a more serious objection, however, is that the scene in no. A 7 does not lend itself to this interpretation – the usual signs of dissipation are entirely absent.

We are unable to offer any solution to the problem, and will go no further than to analyse some of the aspects involved and to offer one or two suggestions. The costumes shown might, on an analogy with similar ones in Elsheimer and Rubens, for example, point to an Old Testament, New Testament or classical subject; they might mean almost everything except a straight-forward group portrait. Although music-making does often occur in pictures of this last kind, it cannot here have the meaning then commonly given it of harmony between members of the family. In no. A 7 the music-making appears to provide the central theme. The books lying about on the floor are, so far as one can judge from the open pages, music books: the one leaning against the table shows what can with virtual certainty be identified as a lute tablature (with six-line staves), and that lying on the floor is most probably an 'air de cour', or part arranged for voice and lute (we are indebted for this information to Prof. Dr. F. R. Noske). In all, four musical instruments are shown, two of them being played (a viola da gamba and a small harp) and two unused (a violin and a lute). It might be commented here that in De Heem's still-life of books, which can be looked on as containing worthless, ephemeral objects, there is – if they include a musical instrument – either a violin (The Hague, Mauritshuis, no. 613 of 1628) or a lute (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A 2565, cat. no. 1123 A 2); and that the violin, being a dancing-master's instrument, had a connotation of frivolity (A. P. de Mirimonde in: *Revue du Louvre* 12 (1962), pp. 176–177). The players are an older and a very

Fig. 5. Detail (1 : 1.5)



young man; yet the principal figure in the group is very definitely the young woman singing. She receives the main lighting, and is luxuriantly dressed (a similar headdress is worn by one of the women of the court in the *Rape of Europa* of 1632 (Br. 464) and by an actress (?) in a drawing at Berlin (Ben. 317) as well as by Esther in Aert de Gelder's painting of *Esther preparing to intercede with Ahasuerus* (exhb. cat. Leiden 1956, no. 58, fig. 25)). The music being performed is clearly a song for single voice with accompaniment. The young woman seems to be beating time. From her facial expression, the song is a serious rather than a lighthearted one; it is understandable therefore that Bauch[6] should have thought, in addition to the two possibilities already mentioned, of Deborah's song of praise (Judges 5), and one might also call to mind the song of praise by Judith (Judith 16: 1–21). Yet the picture does not show any point of connexion with either of these biblical stories. Alongside the woman and presumably intended as belonging to her there is a table bearing an open box, probably a toilet box with (as one may suppose) a mirror inside the lid which is invisible to the viewer; in front of the box is a large silver beaker, partly gilt. One might also call to mind the combination 'wine, women and song' (which would make Tümpel's interpretation plausible), but against this there is the serious mood of the gathering, and perhaps also the type of beaker which has the form of the Communion cup used by the Dutch Reformed Church. It is possible that the beaker and toilet box symbolize a choice for the young woman or, at least, two aspects of a component of the theme. Behind the young woman stands an old woman; her posture and the direction of her gaze suggest close attention. She is a type that occurs repeatedly in the early 17th century: as companion to a younger woman (e.g. to Delilah in various of Rubens' de-

Fig. 6. Detail (1 : 1)

pictions of *Samson and Delilah*, and to Esther (or Judith?) in Rembrandt's painting at Ottawa (Br. 494) and in the painting by Aert de Gelder already mentioned); as procuress (e.g. in Honthorst and other Caravaggists); or as the personification of avarice, of winter or, especially, of old age (cf., for example, H. G. Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk. Neue Forschungen*, Brussels 1943, pp. 233–234, figs. 233–237). Something of the kind may be intended here; the old woman seems to be a contrasting companion for the young woman, and she is the only figure shown who is not taking part in the music-making. Behind her, a curtain conceals the right-hand part of the rear wall, and to the left of this in the light hangs a painting of *Lot's flight from Sodom*; no model for this has been identified, but the scene can be recognized readily enough (Genesis 19: 15–26). It is safe to assume that it has a bearing on the scene as a whole, but hard to know what this is. In the Roman Catholic tradition (Ph. Picinellus, *Mundus symbolicus*..., lib. III, 207–210, edn. Cologne 1695, p. 184) and among Protestant authors too (J. Revius, *Over-Ysselsche Sangen en Dichten*, ed. W. A. P. Smit, Amsterdam 1930, p. 36), the flight of Lot together with the turning of his wife into a pillar of salt when she disobeyed and looked back can be seen symbolically as an admonition to lead a religious life and to turn one's eyes away from transitory things ('Vidisse perisse est'): 'Non modo reliquenda sunt Sodom et Gomorrha, sed nec respicienda. Ex toto deserendus est tibi mundus, si perfectioni studere volueris. Rejice vanitatum phantasmata.' (Leave not only Sodom and Gomorrha, but do not look back. If ye seek perfection, stand back totally from the world. Cast aside the appearances of vanity). In particular the fire from on high that destroyed Sodom and Gomorrha represented the lust that man must flee ('Ne ardeas fugias').

The question that still remains is at what level of interpretation the various components described fit into a single context. Is the picture narrative, based on the Bible or some other writing? Or ought the four characters to be seen as personifications in an allegory of a more abstract kind? Suggestions have been offered in both these directions without any final explanation being arrived at. If the painting on the wall is indeed a call to cast aside the 'vanitatum phantasmata' and strive towards 'perfectio', can these two be seen in symbolic form in the toilet box and Communion cup? And in what relation to them does Music, manifestly the main motif, then stand? Might the gesture made by the young woman – situated right at the centre of the picture area – 'beating the measure' (Dutch: de maat slaan) portray for Rembrandt's comtemporaries an admonition to 'measured habits or the cardinal virtue of Temperance' (Dutch: Matigheid)? And what role is filled by the strongly-emphasized differences in age between the characters? If the 'ages of man' are being alluded to, why are there four of them? What is

meant by the clothing, partly exotic and partly archaic? Should any special significance be attached to the fact that the violin and lute are not being played?

It is hardly possible to give a reasonable answer to the question of whether people from Rembrandt's circle can be identified as having served as models for the characters. Defoer[12] believed that he recognized Jan Lievens in the harp-player, previously generally looked on as being a self-portrait. The viola da gamba-player, with his protuberant eyes and drooping moustache, shows some similarities to the officer on the right in the Leiden *History painting* and to the *Man in gorget and cap* (no. A 8); but there is no basis for the assumption that he is Rembrandt's father or, as is also sometimes supposed, his brother.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Coll. F. Cripps; sale London (Christie's), 16 November 1936, lot 155 (2100 gns to Speelman).
– Dealer D. Katz, Dieren; dealer N. Katz, Basle, sale Paris, 25 April 1951, no. 59.
– Private coll., Paris.
– Dealer E. Speelman, London, from whom acquired in 1976.

9. Summary

On the grounds of its close affinity to other works from 1626, no. A 7 can without any difficulty be fitted into Rembrandt's stylistic development during that year. The closest similarities are with the *Balaam* (no. A 2) from the viewpoint of composition and handling of paint, and with the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6) from that of brushwork and colour. The painting represents a stylistic phase that is clearly more advanced than that of the *Baptism of the eunuch* (no. A 5), but much less so than that of the *Tobit and Anna* (no. A 3). One may assume an influence from the work of Jan Lievens, in particular in the variegated colour range.

The iconography of the painting has still not been satisfactorily elucidated.

REFERENCES

1 V. Bloch, 'Musik im Hause Rembrandt', *O.H.* 54 (1937), pp. 49–53.
2 J. S. Held, 'Two Rembrandts', *Parnassus* 9 (April 1937), pp. 36–38.
3 G. Knuttel, 'Rembrandt's earliest works', *Burl. Mag.* 97 (1955), pp. 44–49, esp. p. 46. Cf. V. Bloch and G. Knuttel, *Letters*, *ibid.* pp. 259–260.
4 Van Gelder 1953, p. 284 (p. 12).
5 E. Kieser, 'Rembrandts musizierende Gesellschaft von 1626 in ihrer psychologischen und historischen Bedeutung', *Die Welt als Geschichte* 9 (1943), pp. 46–54.
6 Bauch 1960, p. 139.
7 G. Bandmann, *Melancholie und Musik*, Cologne-Opladen 1960, pp. 15–16. Cf. also I. Schmidt-Dörrenberg, *David und Saul. Variationen über ein Thema von Rembrandt*, Vienna 1969.
8 L. J. Bol, 'Rembrandts Musicerend gezelschap; een vanitas-allegorie', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 25 (1977), pp. 95–96.
9 B. Broos, in the weekly *Vrij Nederland* 37 (1976) 15 May, p. 25.
10 L. Münz, 'Rembrandts Bild von Mutter und Vater', *Jb. d. Kunsth. Samml. Wien* 50 (1953), pp. 141–190, esp. p. 156 note 12.
11 Haak 1969, p. 67.
12 H. L. M. Defoer, 'Rembrandt van Rijn, de doop van de kamerling', *O.H.* 91 (1977), pp. 2–26, esp. p. 18.

A 8 Bust of a man in a gorget and cap [1626/27]

WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

HdG–; BR. 132; BAUCH 109; GERSON 28

Fig. 1. Panel 40 × 29.4 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well-preserved painting which, though in many respects standing alone among the early works, is acceptable as belonging with them and can be dated around 1626/27.

2. Description of subject

Bust of a man with the body facing left, with head tilted to the right and half-turned towards the viewer.

The figure is wearing a gorget, a chamois-leather jacket and a brownish salmon-red cloak. On his head he wears a slashed cap with plumes. In front of the body we see the hilt and scabbard of a sword held under the right armpit. The figure stands out against a plastered wall with cracks; the light falls obliquely from the front left, and the upper half of the background is in shadow, with a clearly-defined edge.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 10 May 1973 (B. H., E. v. d. W.), in good daylight and out of the frame, with the aid of an X-ray film of the whole of the painting made by the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 40 × 29.4 cm. Thickness at right *c.* 0.9 cm, at left *c.* 0.3 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled over the full height on the right, not bevelled on the left; partially bevelled at top and bottom so that towards the lefthand end the ridges of the bevelling curve out towards, and meet, the edge of the panel. In the bottom lefthand corner a small rectangular wooden block (2.6 × 0.5 cm) has been let into the panel at a later stage. There is a split at the top edge, about 8 cm long and at approximately 3 cm from the left, reinforced at the rear with a small block of wood. Along the top and bottom edges on the front surface there are, respectively, 2 and 2 × 2 small (nail ?)-holes, some going right through the panel. Around these holes, some paint and varnish are missing.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: The ground cannot be detected with certainty at any point, because of the paint layer of an underlying painting.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: The overall impression is impaired by a great many retouchings that have darkened, and which were done partly to replace lost paint and partly to cover over an underlying painting that was becoming visible due to wearing of the top paint layer. Retouchings of the first kind appear mainly in the clothing and background, and of the second kind especially in the shadow part of the background where on the left, along the plumes and up to the location of the illuminated forehead of the old man's head in the underlying painting (see under *X-Rays*), one can see a large and thinly-applied area of overpainting; on the right an attempt has probably been made, using similar overpainting, to get rid of the red of the old man's cloak that was showing through. Craquelure: apart from shrinkage cracks in the jacket, the only craquelure to be seen is the very fine horizontal pattern in the forehead of the underlying head of the old man.

DESCRIPTION: The various parts of the painting have their own distinct colour. The salmon-red cloak with a grey lining, the ochre yellow jacket, the lead-grey cap, the brown-grey sash, the yellow-white and green plumes all form more or less self-contained areas of colour with gently graduated modelling. The two areas of the background, too, – light-grey and dark-grey – have this more or less pronounced effect of blocks of colour and tone. The gorget, with its lively and somewhat whimsical treatment, offers a strong contrast to this with numerous reflections in cold and warm tones, while the face with a wide range of yellow and greyish and pink flesh tints merging gradually one into the next again tends towards the massive, unitary modelling that is so typical of the clothing. The predominantly red, knobbly nose, with grey, brown and white touches of paint, and the prominent eye with its enormous highlight, are in concept and treatment again akin to the gorget.

The brushwork varies with the greater or lesser degree of consistency of the colour areas. In the jacket, cloak and sash the paint is applied with long, thick, fusing strokes following the direction of the folds. In the illuminated areas of the face, too, the relatively thick paint is – especially in the cheeks, chin and forehead – set down in strokes that follow the shapes and are barely distinguishable one from the next. At the nose, and around the eye, the short brushstroke is clearly visible. The shadow areas of the face, like those in the rest of the painting, are done in a massive, uniform manner, with hardly anywhere the slightest trace of translucency. Only in the transition from light to shadow in the loops of the cap and in the lock of hair to the left of the chin can a translucent brown be seen. The light barbs of the cap-plumes are indicated with thick, irregular lines of paint, with the shadows in a massive dark grey. In contrast to the confused reflections on the gorget, the sword hilt is done in small and precise strokes and (especially in the pommel) with a careful depiction of shapes. The hair on the right is painted using long, thin, wavy strokes for each strand; the highlights are placed on individual hairs with very thin, long scratch-marks. At a number of places locks of hair have been given a glisten with small, parallel strokes in ochre. Among the hairs of the moustache, shown with dirty grey licks of paint, are a couple of vigorous, curved scratches through which can be seen, from left to right, a dark brown and some yellow. The stubbly beard on the chin and neck is indicated partly with small scratchmarks and partly with small strokes of black and grey. One is struck by the way the lips in a pink flesh tint are close to the colour of the skin, while directly beneath the grey-pink line of the mouth the artist has placed pale and non-functional glistens of light. Certain peculiarities of the paint layer already prompt the suspicion that there is a layer of paint beneath that seen today; these include:

1. traces of relief that do not match the present picture, e.g. in the background to the left;
2. variations in the colour visible through scratchmarks: dark brown and yellow in the moustache and stubble, and light yellow-brown in the thin scratchlines in the hair;
3. certain colours showing through (in thin patches), in particular a bright red in the righthand part of the background and a light yellow-brown glimpsed in the lefthand patch of hair;
4. shrinkage cracks (in themselves an indication that paint has been placed wet on top of a paint layer that is not quite dry) on the shoulder, revealing a brown;
5. the overpaintings to the left of the plumes that allow a light colour to show through, much lighter than the background.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

X-Rays

These confirm the suspicion that there is an underlying painting. There is no difficulty in making out the illuminated areas of an old man's head, shown three-quarters to the left, and looking downwards at an angle. This is placed high in the picture area, on a larger scale than the present figure. There is enough hair, beard and moustache to allow an overall reading of the head. Tints that can be glimpsed through the surface of the paint layer give an indication (one that must be employed with caution) of the colour and distribution of light.

There is no evidence of efforts being made to remove the first painting when setting out the new figure, as is the case with, for example, the Basle *David before Saul* (no. A 9), the Liverpool *Self-portrait* (no. A. 33) and the Berlin *Minerva* (no. A 38). The light part of the present background was laid-in before the soldier's figure was painted, from which one deduces that there must have been an overall initial design. Space was left for the hair and cap, with irregular contours that are in places wider than these features are today. The sword hilt, on the other hand, is much more cramped in its reserve, with a fragmented contour which moreover followed a different outline.

The illuminated areas of the present head correspond to what can be seen in the X-ray. The shadow area of the face is, in the radiographic image, dominated by the nose of the underlying figure. The over-generous reserves along the cap and area of hair correspond in part to retouchings that can be seen at these points. One cannot rule out the possibility of their being autograph retouchings; bearing in mind the quality of Rembrandt's autograph retouching described in the Introduction (Chapter II, p. 27), they may have been retouched in turn by another, later hand. One gets the impression, from the appearance of dark, ribbon-like extensions along the contours against the light background, that light areas of the underlying painting were allowed to remain in being when that part of the present background was being painted.

Signature

Only very vague traces remain after removal of the unusual and doubtful signature mentioned in the literature ‹*RH* (in monogram). *v Rin.*›, and which can be seen in the illustration in Bredius (Br. 132).

Varnish

Slightly yellowed.

4. Comments

In its wide range of colours with clearly delimited areas of individual colour, and in the firm, dense application of paint which in many places is almost uniform, this painting fits in among Rembrandt's works from the years 1626–1627. As a subject – a bust done on a relatively large scale – it stands somewhat on its own among the history pieces with figures seen on a much smaller scale. Similarities with other works that taken in isolation may not seem so significant lead us, when taken together, to the conclusion that the attribution to Rembrandt can be accepted.

The highlight in the eye, which at first sight is obtrusive with its oblong shape, is found also to occur in a number of the figures in the Leiden *History painting* of 1626 (no. A 6), in particular in the eyes of the secretary who is looking behind him, of the second kneeling young man and of the young man swearing an oath. The two paintings are also linked by items of costume, such as the slashed cap with two

plumes of differing colours worn by the officer on the left, and by the similarity already noted by Bauch[1] between the subaltern with his wide-open eyes on the right (no. A 6 fig. 6) and the figure we are discussing here, both of whom radiate a slightly droll aura of self-importance. Peculiarities such as the fact that only one half of the moustache is scratched-in and that the beard stubble is scratched with separate, short, curved lines connect this painting to the Berlin *Rich man* of 1627 (no. A 10), as do the more general features of brushwork mentioned above.

The way in which the beam of light creates a strong contrast effect links no. A 8 to a number of other early works, such as the Lyon *Stoning of S. Stephen* (no. A 1) and the Amsterdam *Musical allegory* (no. A 7). It is remarkable here that the cap worn at an angle puts the side of the face towards the light in deep shadow.

The treatment given to the gorget is unusual; both in his earliest works (cf. the heap of weapons in the left foreground of the Leiden *History painting*) and in later paintings such as the Chicago *Old man in gorget and cap* of about 1631 (no. A 42) and the San Francisco *Portrait of Joris de Caullery* (Br. 170) which dates from 1632, Rembrandt rendered shiny metal more circumspectly, and with a smoother brushwork. There is, however, an analogy in the way the beaker in the *Musical allegory* has been rendered.

One may note that the underlying painting is, according to the X-ray, a man's head done in a fairly free manner so far as the visible, illuminated areas are concerned, and that from the point of view of scale and arrangement it makes in some ways a bolder and more sophisticated use of the picture area. It is impossible to date and attribute this underlying painting with any certainty; the style seems not unlike that of Jan Lievens in his busts of old men, such as the one at Leipzig (Schneider no. 161, K. Bauch in: *Pantheon* 25 (1967), p. 169, fig. 11); a somewhat later dating does however seem likely for that group. The type of the old man also does not match that of the known pieces by Lievens; it comes closer to Flemish heads of apostles (cf. for example Van Dyck's *The apostle Thomas* (G. Glück, *Van Dyck*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1931, p. 40, Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach collection, Essen). The fact that no. A 8 was painted on a panel that had already been used before does not militate against an attribution to Rembrandt (see no. A 9, *4. Comments*).

At all events, we have here – if our description and dating are correct – an early work by Rembrandt superimposed on a painting that in some ways is more advanced. If the latter were indeed by Lievens, this would throw an interesting light on the relationship between Lievens and Rembrandt at that time.

Where the picture itself is concerned, the slashed cap and exotic moustache are indications that this does not depict a Dutch soldier of the period, but is rather an individual type of interesting *tronie*, or 'head'. There is no foundation for Bauch's notion[1] that the sitter might be Rembrandt's brother Adriaen.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

1. Panel, 39.5 × 33 cm, private collection, United States, previously at London sale (Christie's) 25 May 1952, lot 148 (as 'De Poorter'), then with a dealer, Mortimer Brandt of New York (cf. *The Connoisseur*, March 1954, with colour reproduction on cover). Examined in October 1970 (B. H., P. v. Th.). Wrongly certified by Valentiner as being an original. The figure is rather larger in relation to the picture area than in no. A 8. The brushwork and the quality as a whole are such that this must be described as a later, free copy certainly not done by anyone in Rembrandt's entourage.

8. Provenance

- Brussels, private owner (before 1930).
- Coll. H. Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza (from 1930)[2].
- Coll. J. H. van Stratum, Geneva (1973).
- Sale London (Christie's), 29 March 1974, no. 54.

9. Summary

Although no. A 8 stands, as a bust, alone among the early oeuvre, there are sufficient features such as the brushwork, design, type of the figure, shape of the highlight in the eye and the use made of scratch-marks to justify including this work in the group of very early Rembrandts, and to suggest a dating of 1626–1627. The X-ray reveals an underlying picture of an old man, which does not seem to be by Rembrandt himself.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch 1960, p. 168.

2 Exhibition *Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, Munich (Neue Pinakothek) 1930, no. 268; A. L. Mayer, 'The exhibition of the Castle Rohoncz Collection in the Munich New Pinakothek', *Apollo* 12, no. 68 August (1930), pp. 89–98, illus. p. 96; V. Bloch, 'Zum frühen Rembrandt', *O.H.* 50 (1933), pp. 97–102, esp. p. 100, fig. 2.

A 9 David with the head of Goliath before Saul

BASLE, OEFFENTLICHE KUNSTSAMMLUNG BASEL, INV. NO. G 1958.37

HDG 34; BR. 488; BAUCH 3; GERSON 3

1. Summarized opinion

A very well preserved, unusual but undoubtedly genuine work, with authentic signature and date.

2. Description of subject

The scene is based on 1 Samuel 17: 57–58 (the presentation of David to Saul by Abner, Saul's captain), and probably also 18: 1 ('the soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David'). A fairly large number of people are shown as involved in the action, and their identities will be discussed further under *4. Comments*.

David is kneeling on the right, with the head of Goliath in his arms. Saul stands at the centre of the composition, facing the right and seen in profile; the train of his cloak is carried by two pages. Opposite him, obliquely behind David, stands Abner with Goliath's sword. An old man, whom we assume to be Samuel, stands between them, bowing forward.

A number of men are standing behind this main group, including one young man with Rembrandt's features standing immediately behind the bowing old man and looking to the front over the shoulder of another old man dressed in red who holds his hands clasped together. Above the heads of the figures behind the main group a forest of banners, lances and spears suggest the presence of the army. To the right of and behind the man carrying the sword are two horses; the first is being led by a groom, the further one is ridden by a standard-bearer who towers high above the group. Behind this rider to the left, and to the right of him, are more horsemen and foot-soldiers.

In the background, behind the figure of the bowing old man, is a brown-grey post; a spearman stands against it, with above him a roof that appears to be attached to the post with ropes. The whole seems to represent some kind of look-out post. To the left of this is the broad, curved canopy of an army tent, crowned by a ball and beneath a grey sky.

Everything described so far is in the middle ground and background, and is framed on the left by the figure, in *profil perdu*, of a richly-dressed archer on a horse (presumably Jonathan) looking obliquely into the scene, and on the right by a standing and a sitting warrior. In the left foreground, and seen half in shadow a few plants are growing, while on the right a spear lies pointing diagonally into the scene. The tip of the spear points at a small white dog with a golden-yellow collar, which is barking at the head of Goliath.

The entire scene is, to judge by the deep shadows, lit quite harshly from the right by light falling from behind the figures in the right foreground.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 14 June 1968 (J. B., S. H. L.), in good daylight and out of the frame. X-Ray film received later from the museum.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain horizontal, 27.2 × 39.6 cm. Thickness *c.* 0.5 cm. Single plank. A fine crack *c.* 9 cm long on the left, at 12.8 cm from the bottom. Back bevelled at top, right and left; the absence of bevelling along the bottom edge can probably be interpreted as an indication that the panel has been reduced in size, as the usual panel dimensions were *c.* 41.5 × 31 cm (16 × 12 Rhineland inches). This reduction in size presumably took place before the present picture was painted.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: There is a brown-yellow visible in the thin areas in the dark figure seen from the back at bottom right, and occasionally elsewhere in thin areas. Under the present painting an other partly erased painting can be seen in the X-ray; what we see therefore is either the ground showing through in coinciding thin areas in both paintings, or a second ground on top of the first painting.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Very well preserved. Craquelure: a very fine, almost invisible craquelure is clearest in the white cloud to the left of the look-out post.

DESCRIPTION: The execution is spontaneous, confident and rich in the sketchlike indication of shapes. The liveliness of the brushwork is maintained even in the background, where the paint is applied more thinly. Using mainly short and proportionately broad touches of the brush which never actually enter into details but which suggest postures, facial expressions and so on in a kind of shorthand, the scene has been painted wet-in-wet with a heavy impasto. There is some relief corresponding with the highest light, while the ridges along thick dabs of paint are often used to mark a light. The transitions from light to dark are pronounced, sometimes even abrupt, so that a plastically very convincing overall picture has resulted.

The colour-scheme is generally light, using light blue, whitish blue (David, the old man bowing towards him, and the rider on the left), light yellow and light salmon-pink heightened with yellow (Saul), and carmine red mixed with light grey and again light yellow and pink (man with the sword) colours. The garments have been given small, thick highlights in stronger accents of yellow, blue, red and white. The flatter shadow areas are brown. The blue-green of the large tent plays a major part in the colourful whole. The repoussoir on the right is executed mainly in translucent browns, lying immediately on top of the ground. The area of soil above the grey shadow zone is painted broadly with thick accents of light green above the blue-green leaves of bur; the latter are slightly glazed with a golden ochre colour.

The massive horse on the left is painted very solidly and opaquely, with long brushstrokes that flow round the shapes. The paint of the sky is notably thick, with clearly visible and lively touches of grey-white that become greyer towards the left. Some light blue and blue-green are worked into the cloud along the outline of the rider.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

When the painting is turned through 90° clockwise the X-ray clearly shows, in light and vaguely-outlined areas, a head with large, wide-open eyes and a fat, round nose with dark patches for the nostrils. The head is turned three-quarters to the left, the eyes fixed on the viewer. Above the illuminated forehead is a large, semicircular light area, perhaps the illuminated part of a turban. Below the head are a number of light shapes that seem to form part of a costume. A vague light patch in the lower lefthand corner (of the panel as rotated) continues these light shapes. The line of the right shoulder is vaguely visible, where one can see the dark traces of brushstrokes rendering the shoulder area of the figure.

From the fact that there are no brushstrokes recognizable in the light parts of the underlying head one can assume that the panel was partially scraped smooth before starting the new

Fig. 1. Panel 27.2 × 39.6 cm

painting. The yellow-brown ground, visible here and there at the surface, could then possibly be a layer put down over the scraped-off painting with the bold strokes that can clearly be seen in the X-ray image.

The present scene appears unchanged in the X-ray. One sees in many places that the painting was done very directly – often wet-in-wet. When the banner over the shoulder of the mounted standard-bearer was being painted, for instance, the light paint of the sky was partly wiped away by the brush. The same happened during the painting of the weapons standing up against the sky. Similarly, the paint used to show the light soil in the foreground was, while still wet, pushed aside to the outlines of the leaves when the foreground vegetation was being painted. These and other points indicate that the painting was, as usual, worked up from back to front.

Two solid white patches in the X-ray are caused by wax seals on the back.

Signature

At bottom centre, inside a dark brown outline, thinly applied in the same dark brown ‹*RH* (in monogram). *1627*›. The presence of the crossbar on the righthand stem of the *H*, which would make this into an *L*, cannot be made out with certainty. On an analogy with the 1626–27 Rembrandt signatures, the *RH* reading is the more likely. The letters, done as sloping printed capitals, differ from the other signatures from 1627 treated as script letters but match those of various 1626 signatures, in particular those on no. A 3 and no. A 5; in both those cases the slope of the letters is associated with a perspective effect, and in no. A 5 they are similarly placed inside an outline that seems to represent a vaguely defined object on the ground.

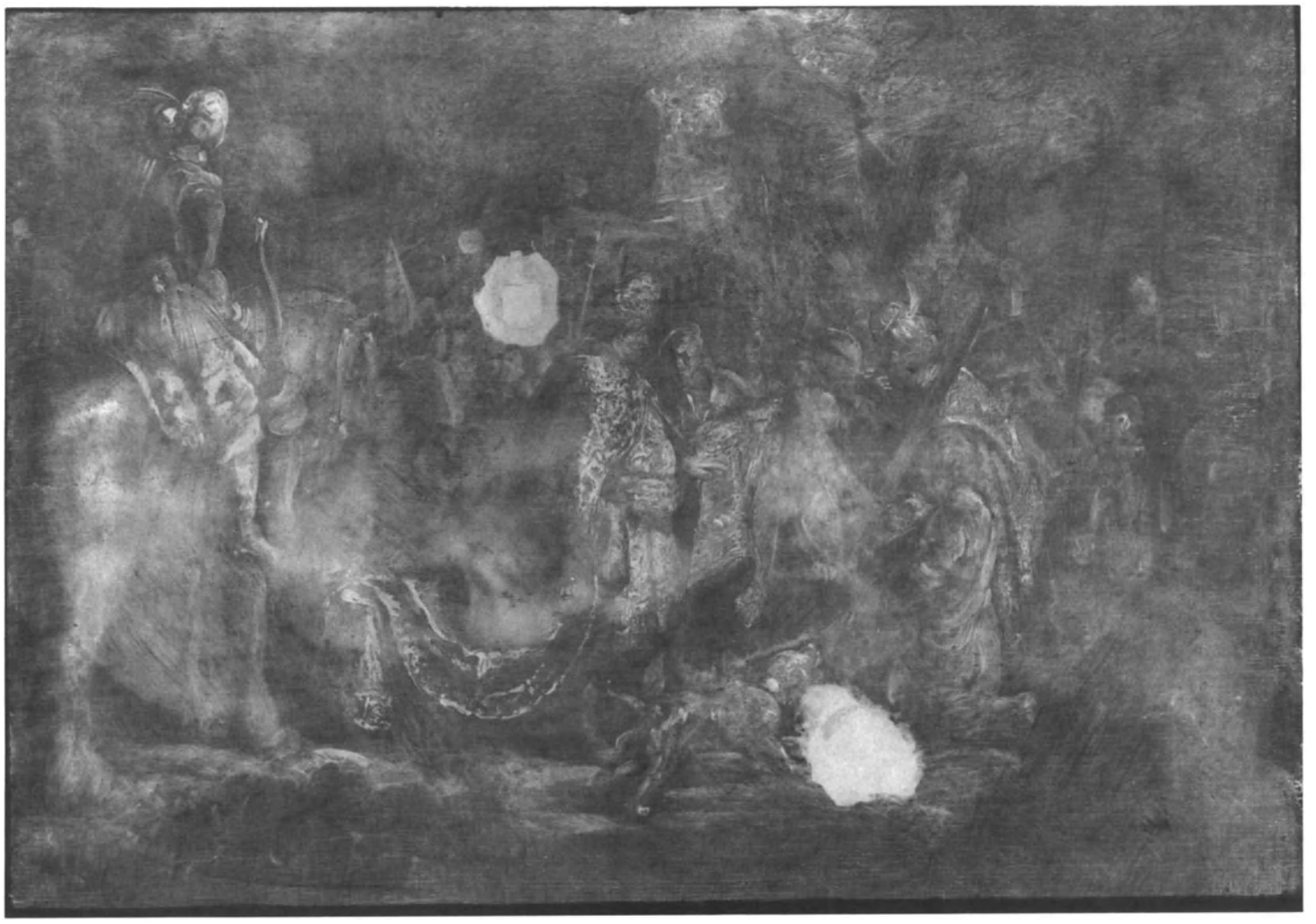
Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

Because of the sketchlike brushwork that is maintained throughout this little painting, it stands entirely alone among Rembrandt's early works. In the absence of any analogous work, one cannot say with any certainty whether this sketchlike character comes from some special function that no. A 9 may have served. Bauch[1] has rejected the possibility of this being a draft design or sketch, because it is signed. Yet seeing that the format proportions of the composition and the scale of the figures in smaller dimensions match those that were most usual with Lastman and were also used by Rembrandt in 1625 (no. A 1) and 1626 (no. A 6), the idea of this being a modello for a larger version is plausible. Presumably

Fig. 2. X-ray



the reduction in the size of the panel was made precisely with this in mind. That no. A 9 was regarded as a modello even in the 17th century is confirmed by the existence of a more detailed version of larger dimensions, not admittedly by Rembrandt but by a minor artist under his remote influence (see further under 7. *Copies*). It might be commented here that this was (so far as we know) the last time that Rembrandt used this type of composition.

The exceptional position of this painting makes it to some extent difficult to assess it in relation to other works. There can be no doubt as to its authenticity, however. True, we have no other example of a work in which the whole of the foreground and middle-ground are filled with short, colourful dabs and strokes of the brush, and where thick paint, often used wet-in-wet, gives such a rapid and summary indication of shapes; the brilliant execution nevertheless gives every reason to place trust in the signature, and we can accept the small head seen above Samuel (recognized as a self-portrait soon after no. A 9 was discovered in 1909) as such, on an analogy with the self-portrait in the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6).

The present picture has been done on top of an earlier painting, presumably after the latter – a head which cannot be placed stylistically – had been partly scraped off and covered with a fresh ground. It was not unusual during Rembrandt's Leiden years for him to re-use a panel that already carried a painting; with one exception (no. A 38) this invariably involved less valuable works – often *tronies* (as in nos. A 8, A 20, A 32 and A 33) – and the Basle painting must be counted among this group, especially if one regards it as indeed being a sketch.

The date, though previously[3] read as 1625 or even as 1631, must undoubtedly be read as 1627. This gives a plausible opportunity of placing the work within Rembrandt's stylistic development. The colour-scheme is admittedly exceptionally gay, yet the colour counterpoint of pink, light blue and yellow placed against the green-blue of the tent can already be seen in a more subdued gamut in, for instance, the Leiden *History painting*. As W. Martin[3]

Fig. 3a. Detail (1 : 1)

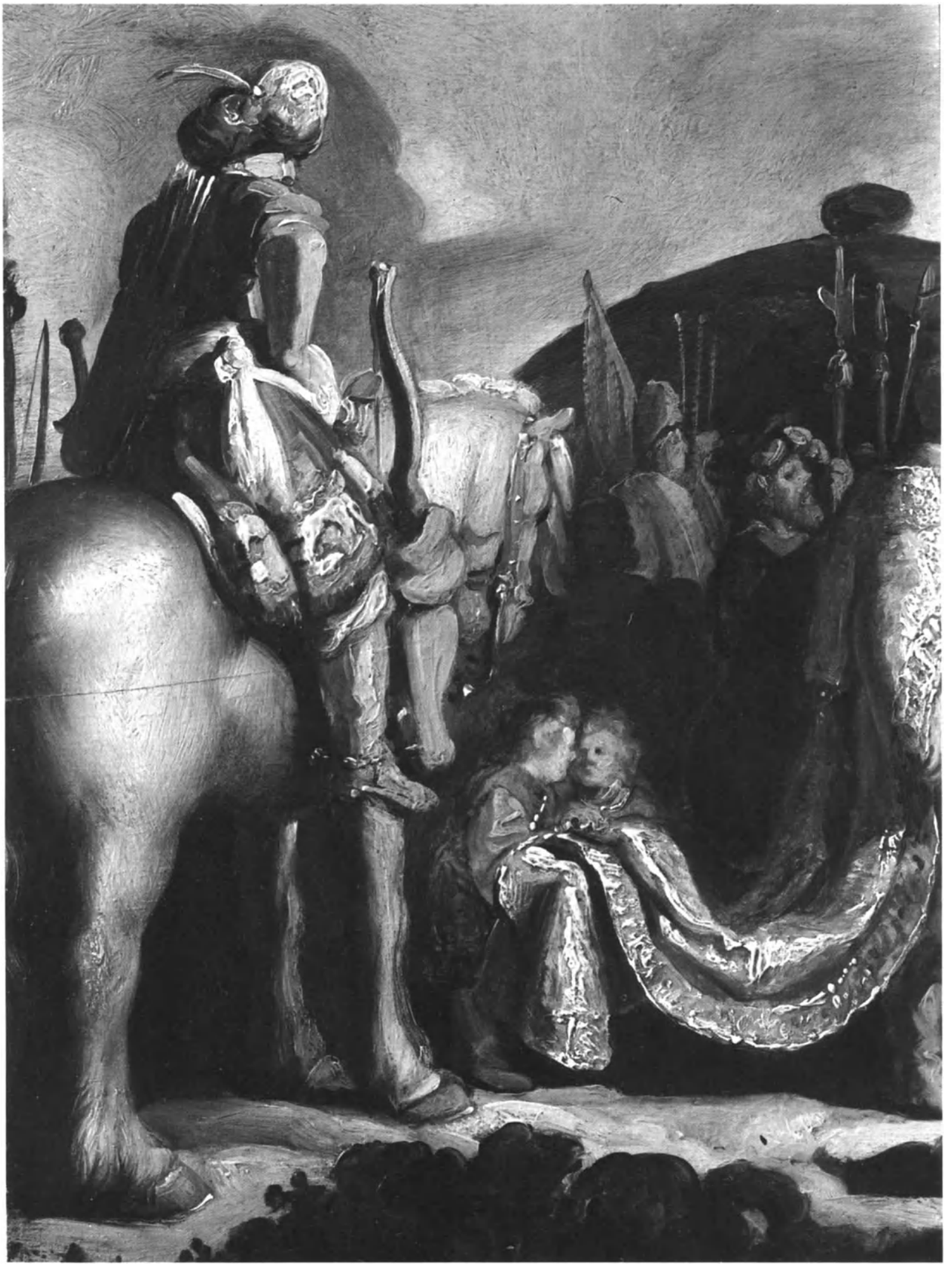


Fig. 3b. Detail (2 : 1)

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

has remarked, Rembrandt is here – even more closely than in the Leiden work – following the model of Lastman's *Coriolanus and the Roman women* of 1622, Trinity College, Dublin (see fig. 6). The tent used as a backdrop for the standing figures, the horseman on the left and the mounted standard-bearer on the right (in which Lastman's rider on the left has been, as it were, split in two), the standing repoussoir figure with a spear on the right (on the left in Lastman), and the forest of upward-pointing weapons are all motifs taken from Lastman; here they are set in a slightly different relationship, and in a light falling from the right, within a frame of similar proportions. If we are correct in interpreting the rider on the left as Jonathan, Rembrandt has given this component of the composition a new iconographic relationship to the main action.

Though Lastman's 1622 painting may have provided by far the most important point of departure for Rembrandt's composition, this draws on other prototypes as well. As has already been noted by Debrunner, van Rijckevorsel and Campbell[4] – the lastnamed pinpointing exactly the print that was used – the figure of Saul with the motif of the train-bearer(s) is taken from Rubens' Lyon *Adoration of the Magi*, via an anonymous engraving copied from Lucas Vorsterman's print (fig. 7). In later work, too, Rembrandt shows that he knew this print (cf. no. A 40).

One is struck by the fact that in respect of both prototypes the Lastman and the Rubens the borrowings relate to composition and motifs but not to their iconographical significance. This use of models irrespective of their original meaning, and in a fresh context, has already been seen in a number of works from 1626, e.g. in the use for the Amsterdam *Tobit*

Fig. 5. Detail with signature (enlarged)

Fig. 6. P. Lastman, *Coriolanus and the Roman women.* Dublin, Trinity College

and Anna (no. A 3) of a pathos formula taken from a picture of Jacob, and it recurs many times later in Rembrandt's work.

The horse and rider on the left resemble, in the massiveness of the horse's body, the drawing of a *Mounted trumpeter* in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (Ben. 21a), though one should not see it as being a direct preliminary sketch. The attribution of this drawing to Rembrandt is in any case open to a great deal of doubt and we believe it to be by Jan Lievens (cf. no. C 1 under *4. Comments*).

In the cruciform layout of the figures making up the central group, shown in both the postures (bowing opposite kneeling, standing opposite standing) and the colours (blue opposite blue, yellow opposite yellow), Bauch[1] recognizes the dual action ('*Doppelhandlung*') depicted in the scene. The relevant biblical text (1 Samuel 17: 57–58) mentions only one event – Abner, the captain of the host, bringing David with the head of Goliath before Saul, when the king asks David who he is. The deliberately stressed relationship between the kneeling David and the old man bowing before him provides the second subject, one that cannot be directly related to a biblical text. Bauch, who identified the man behind David wearing a turban as being Abner, saw the bowing old man as Samuel. Tümpel[5] admitted that there is a *Doppelhandlung*, but placed Saul opposite his son Jonathan and David opposite Abner. (It is evident, from Tümpel's note 28 on page 115, that he has misunderstood Bauch's identification, since one cannot believe that Bauch saw Samuel as being the man with the sword instead of the old man bowing.) Tümpel quite rightly refers to the role that Jonathan plays in the story and in pictorial tradition; it was from this moment onwards that Jonathan loved David (1 Samuel 18: 1), giving him his garments and weapons, and later shielding him against his own father. Bauch's identification of the bowing old man as Samuel seems acceptable, although one then has to assume that Rembrandt was not keeping strictly to the biblical text; after Saul had rejected the word of the Lord, Samuel broke with him, 'and Samuel came no more to see Saul until the day of his death' (1 Samuel 15:35); this statement is incidentally contradicted by the biblical account itself (1 Samuel 19:24). The prophet is bowing deferentially before the God-chosen David, whom he had shortly before anointed at God's command and who had, on the strength of this, triumphed over Goliath. The man standing opposite Saul must indeed, as Bauch too believes, be his captain Abner, who with a slight bow is presenting David to Saul while his shield-bearer stands behind him with his horse. The identification is further confirmed by the fact that there is a mounted standard-bearer immediately alongside this horse. Jonathan could very well be the rider on the left, who seems to be looking past Saul and Samuel and at David. He is wearing a quiver and has a large bow and sword beside him; these must surely be the weapons he was to give to David and with which, as Tümpel has pointed out, he was already in the 16th century frequently depicted. Taking this interpretation, the significance contained in the picture is not limited to the central group of four figures, but extends beyond this to the equally colourful rider, who stands in the full light and whose figure occupies a dominant position in the painting. The painting's subject is not only the moment of Abner presenting David to Saul, but also the relationship between the other principal characters in this biblical story: Samuel, who knows that in David he is greeting the future king while Saul remains unaware of this, and Jonathan who looks upon David and from that moment on, as the legal heir to the throne, places David's interests above those of his own father and of himself.

The theme is an unusual one. The connexion that Freise made with a painting by Lastman that has been lost since 1830[2] is probably unjustified; this work, described as *De plechtige ontvangst van David met*

het hoofd van Goliath (The ceremonial reception of David with the head of Goliath) presumably showed the iconographically customary scene usually referred to as *The triumph of David.*

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

1. What is not a copy in the true sense of the word, but rather an elaboration of the painting in a larger format, was in private German ownership in 1964: panel, 52 × 84 cm; coll. S. and G. Gump, San Francisco (prior to 1950), coll. Marsmayer, Schüttorf (1964). Apocryphal signature, painted over an earlier signature that is now illegible, beneath the sword which here lies diagonally on a stone in the foreground ‹*RHL* (in monogram)/*f* (?) *1644* (?)›; (photo RKD no. 51434; cf. Sumowski 1957/58, p. 224, fig. 9; not seen by us). The scene is placed in a rather larger framework, especially on the right where a mounted procession has been added. In its main features it follows no. A 9 quite closely. The artist has allowed himself liberties in details, particularly in the headdresses. To judge from the photograph, this is a painting from the second quarter of the 17th century, done by a rather poor artist under Rembrandt's remote influence.

8. Provenance

*– At some time owned by a member of the Oxenden de Dene family, of Kent, according to a wax seal on the rear of the panel (family bearings: *chevron accompagné de trois boeufs passants*; cf. J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial Général* II, 2nd edn, Gouda n.d., p. 369).
– Coll. of Eyre Hussey Esq. of The Lawn, Mudeford, Christchurch; sale London (Robinson, Fisher & Co.), 18 February 1909, no. 82 (as Eeckhout) (9½ gns to Richardson).
– Dealer Frank R. Richardson, London.
– Dealer R. Heinemann, Munich; temporary loan to Alte Pinakothek.
– Coll. August Janssen, Amsterdam.
– Dealer J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam; exhibited in: The Hague 1919 (cat. 13) no. 102; Amsterdam 1919/1920 (cat. 14) no. 60; Rotterdam 1920 (cat. 19) no. 41; The Hague 1920 (cat. 20) no. 94; The Hague 1926 (cat. 30) no. 145; Amsterdam 1927 (cat. 33) no. 108.
– Coll. P. Smidt van Gelder, Bloemendaal.
– Dealer D. Katz (1938).
– Coll. Max Geldner, Basle (1939); bequeathed to the museum in Basle in 1948, received in 1958.

9. Summary

Bearing in mind the great affinity in conception with the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6), the brilliant qualities of the exceptional, sketchlike execution and the confidence-inspiring signature, this little painting can beyond doubt be regarded as an original dating from 1627. A remarkable feature is the contrast it offers with other works from that year, all of which are anything but colourful and sketchlike; on the contrary, they present a subtle and detailed study of form and light in an extremely subdued, almost monochrome range of colour. The idea of its being a modello for a larger history piece comparable with those of 1625 and 1626 is a plausible one.

Fig. 7. After Rubens, *Adoration of the Magi* (anonymous engraving after L. Vorsterman)

REFERENCES

1 Bauch 1960, p. 119.
2 F. Stahl in: *Weltspiegel*, 1 August 1909, quoted by K. Freise, *Pieter Lastman*, Leipzig 1911, pp. 263–264; cf. also C. Hofstede de Groot, 'Rembrandt's youthful works', *Burl. Mag.* 44 (1924), p. 126.
3 C. Phillips, 'The new Rembrandt', *Burl. Mag.* 15 (1909), pp. 71–72; W. Bode, 'Neuentdeckte Bilder von Rembrandt', *Zeitschr. f. b. K.* new series 21 (1910), pp. 1–9, esp. p. 1; K. Freise, op. cit., p. 264; W. Martin, 'Een onbekend schilderij van Pieter Lastman', *O.H.* 42 (1925), pp. 57–60; van Gelder 1953, p. 279 (p. 7).
4 H. Debrunner, *Rembrandts frühes Schaffen*, Zurich 1929 (diss. Berne 1925), pp. 46–47; J. L. A. A. M. van Rijckevorsel, *Rembrandt en de traditie*, Rotterdam 1932, p. 70; C. G. Campbell, *Studies in the formal sources of Rembrandt's figure compositions*, typescript dissertation University of London 1971, pp. 40–41.
5 Tümpel 1969, esp. pp. 114–115.

A 10 The rich man from the parable

BERLIN (WEST), STAATLICHE MUSEEN PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, GEMÄLDEGALERIE, NO. 828 D

HDG 282; BR. 420; BAUCH 110; GERSON 19

1. Summarized opinion

A well-preserved work, undoubtedly genuine and with authentic signature and date of 1627.

2. Description of subject

The scene is, as seems reasonable from what Christian Tümpel has written[1], connected with the parable of the rich man in Luke 12: 15–21. In this parable Christ warns against covetousness, and tells the story of the rich man who took his ease, planning to live on the riches he had amassed, whereupon God said to him 'Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee; then whose shall those things be, which thou hast provided?' (Luke 12: 20).

In a room lit by a single candle the rich man, dressed in tabard, loosened ruff and cap, sits surrounded by moneybags, sheafs of folios, large books – including one with scratched-through texts (an accounts-book?) – and documents with hanging wax seals (debtors' bonds?). Some of this mass of paperwork is piled on the table in front of him, more is in a jumbled heap on a shelf against the wall, while a bundle of curled and crinkled paper hangs on a string attached to the same shelf. Here and there one can see texts in what looks like Hebrew lettering. A small set of scales, with their case, lie on the table. The man has just lifted the candlestick to throw more light on a coin he is holding in his right hand and examining through a pince-nez. The candle is hidden behind his hand, illuminating only the objects in his immediate neighbourhood, and himself.

The objects in the foreground are dark, either through being in the large shadow cast by the man's hand holding the coin, or because they are too far away from the source of light.

The furnishings at the back of the dark room are difficult to make out. The shelves of a cupboard with a small, open door against the background are filled with moneybags. A key is in the door lock, and further keys hang on a keyring. A clock stands on a stove to the left, and above this the beams of the ceiling can be seen very vaguely. To the left in the foreground, again seen vaguely, is a chair on this side of the table.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in November 1968 (S. H. L., E. v. d. W.), out of the frame and in good daylight. Two X-ray films covering the whole of the panel were received later from the museum.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain horizontal, 31.9 × 42.5 cm. Thickness at bottom *c.* 0.5 cm, at top *c.* 0.35 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled on three sides. The bevelling is relatively wide along the bottom (*c.* 4 cm); along the lower right and lower left it is *c.* 2 cm and *c.* 4 cm respectively, and becomes less wide further up, tapering off altogether before it reaches the top edge. The top edge is not bevelled at all, as might be expected from the lesser thickness of the panel at the top; this does not therefore point to the panel having been subsequently cut down in size. On the left, at 18.9 cm from the bottom, is a crack 3.5 cm long.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): lefthand edge completely measured, righthand edge partly; left 135 annual rings (+ 1 counted) of heartwood, datable at 1460–1594, right the last 30 annual rings of heartwood, datable at 1563–1592. Growing area: Northern Netherlands. Earliest possible felling date 1609. The earliest possible date of painting ought, on the basis of these figures, to be 1610; to explain the resulting time-gap one ought perhaps to assume that some annual rings were lost at the bottom edge when the panel was being prepared rather than that the wood remained unused for some 20 years.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Visible in one small patch, and appears to be yellowish in colour.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: This seems good, though it cannot be properly assessed because of the yellowed layer of varnish. In the background, between the stove and the open cupboard door, there is a relatively large area of overpainting (since darkened). There are also a few small and insignificant retouchings. Craquelure: a fine, predominantly horizontal and vertical craquelure covers the entire surface.

DESCRIPTION: The colour range is relatively limited. In the illuminated areas the predominant hue is a pale yellow-brown – in the leather moneybags, the scales and the case on which they are lying, and the paper and parchment surrounding the figure; all this is kept entirely in shades of a sandy colour. The opportunity of using red accents has not been seized, since even the wax seals in the light are in a pale pink which, like that of the edges of the book sandwiched between the papers on the shelf, is keyed to the basic pale brown tone. Dark browns and brown-greys dominate the shadows.

There is more colour in the figure of the man, though there too only to a limited extent. The tabard is in a cool, pale grey and provides the coldest tint in the entire painting. There are a few red accents in the face, around the eyes, with pink at the ear and mouth. A bright yellow has been used very sparingly in the clasp of the tabard and in the pince-nez. A bright white is used only in the part of the loosened ruff that is immediately next to the candle-flame, and in the topmost visible part of the candle itself.

Just as, by a reticent use, colour has been subordinated to the arrangement of the lighting, so too has the way paint is used. The paint layer is opaque practically everywhere; it is applied uniformly and flatly in the darker parts of the picture, but shows a slightly more subtly varied manipulation of the brush in the lit areas. Brushwork is matched to the nature of the materials portrayed only in the lightest areas – with thick, drawn-out short lines and touches in the leather of the moneybag and parchment bindings, with a 'crumbly' paint-stroke on the illuminated edges of the papers, with thick and smooth accents of light on the gold and silver coins, and with impasto dabs and dots in the gold-thread braiding at the man's shoulder.

Scratching has been used to give extra detail to the edges of one or two of the books or bundles of papers. In the man's face scratchmarks emphasize the moustache on the right and suggest the stubble on his chin.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The areas appearing light in the X-ray image match closely the more thickly-applied lights in the painting. One gets the impression that the painting was produced with a great deal of careful thought, and without any appreciable changes during the course of the work. The cast shadow of the pince-nez on the face, and of the stick of the moneybag on the document hanging down behind it, appear dark in the X-ray, evidence that these shadows had been planned at an early stage and allowance

Fig. 1. Panel 31.9 × 42.5 cm

made for them when applying the light paint.

The round, white spot in the righthand half is the image of a wax seal on the back of the panel.

Signature

This is in the shadow part of the pile of books on the table to the left, done in a slightly lighter colour than the surrounding area ‹*RH* (in monogram) *.1627.*›. More so than in most of the 1626 signatures, but (probably) just like that of no. A 11 from 1627, the letters have with their curved stems the character of rather calligraphic script letters.

Varnish

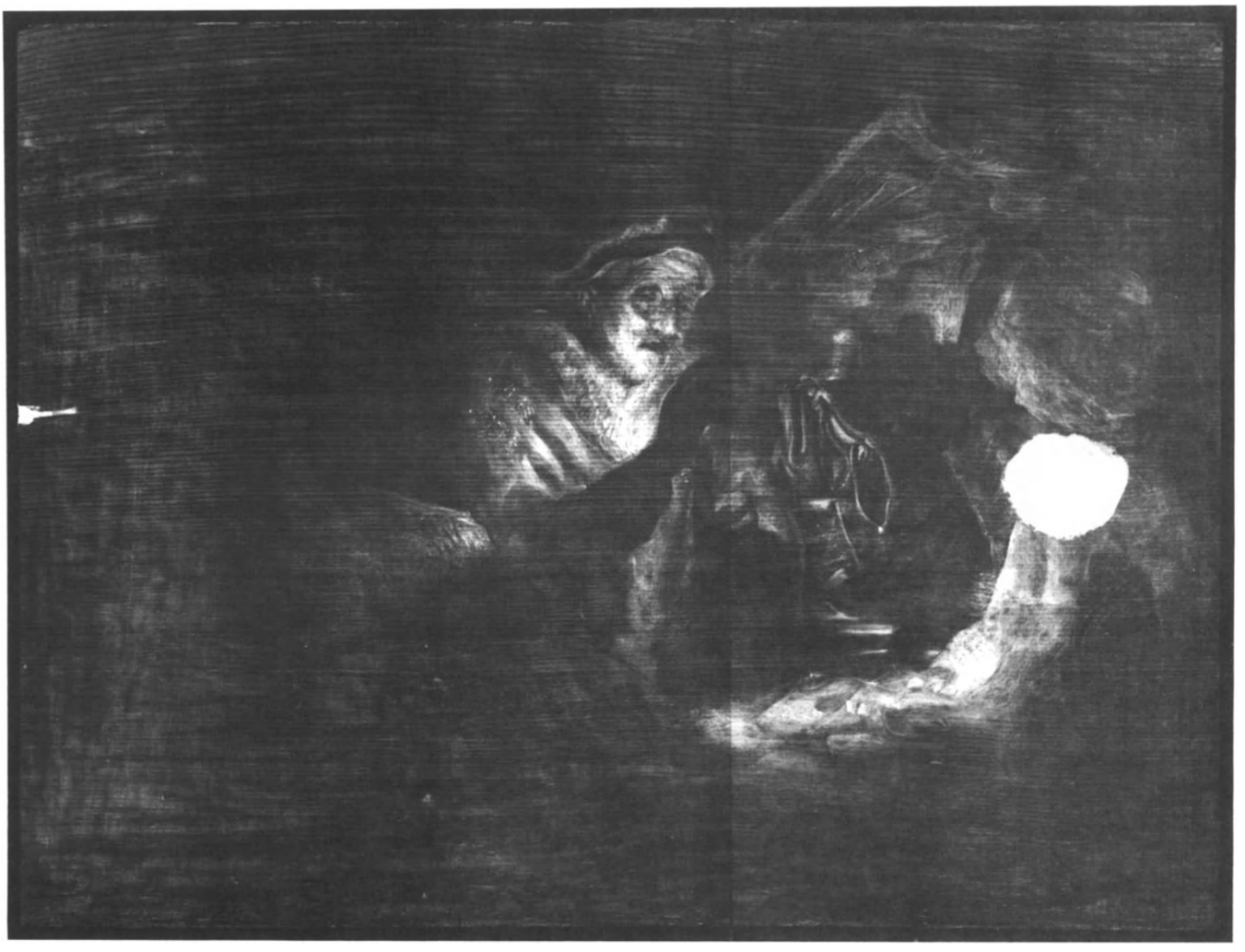
There is a heavy layer of yellowed varnish.

4. Comments

After the works from 1626 with their emphatic local colours, this painting is striking for its restricted colour range. In this respect it comes closest to the somewhat later *Supper at Emmaus* in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (no. A 16), where the (artificial) light source is similarly hidden within the scene. It would not however be right to ascribe this tendency to the monochrome solely to the specific lighting effect. In the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* (no. A 11), a daylight scene, local colours are subdued, though to a lesser degree, and the lighting effect is enhanced; this tendency was to continue over the next few years of Rembrandt's work.

While in this respect the work portends the future, it is in other ways linked to works from earlier years. We may notice that the model for the rich man is the sitter whose features were used for the richly-clad moneychanger looking up from the table in the Moscow *Driving-out of the moneychangers* of 1626 (no. A 4). The depiction of leather, parchment and paper in the still-life among which the man sits is akin to that in the *Balaam* in the Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (no. A 2) and the Amsterdam *Musical allegory* (no. A 7). In the present case the raking light playing along the lumpy, cockled surface is however reproduced even more subtly. The scratchmarks in the edges of the books in the *Balaam*, in the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* and in no. A 10 are all done in the same manner. The way sporadic, short, small, loosely-applied scratches have been worked into the mous-

Fig. 2. X-ray



tache and beard stubble can be seen again in the *Man in a gorget and cap* (no. A 8) and in the soldier warding off the blows in the *Driving-out of the moneychangers*.

The proportions of the figure in relation to the whole of the picture area, and its placing behind a strong repoussoir, are very similar to those in most of the other early works. The room in which the figure is seen is defined just as vaguely as those of the Amsterdam *Tobit and Anna* (no. A 3) and of the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison*.

The brushwork, too, shows a great deal of similarity with the other early work in its variety of method, in the opaque and somewhat syrupy handling of paint in the lit areas of cloth, leather and wood, in the sharp detail in metal objects, in the use of scratchmarks, and in the flat, thin treatment of the dark areas.

The position of the signature in the half-shadow in the foreground, and its shape with thin, curved lines and slender proportions, resemble a number of other RH monograms from the 1626–27 period, in particular those on the *Musical allegory* of 1626, the Leiden *History painting* of 1626 (no. A 6) and the *S. Paul in prison* of 1627.

There has never since 1881[2] been any difference of opinion in the literature about attributing this picture to Rembrandt; but there has been disagreement as to its meaning. Bauch[3] was the first to point out the resemblance to the picture of an old woman by candlelight by Abraham Bloemaert, reproduced in an engraving dated 1626 by Cornelis Bloemaert with the title *Avaritia* and a moralizing subtitle (fig. 5); from this he rightly deduced that Rembrandt's painting should not, as had previously been the case, be looked on as a genre scene, but rather as an allegory of Avarice. Tümpel[1] pointed out the 16th-century iconographic tradition of portraying the Rich Man from the biblical parable (Luke 12: 15 21). This tradition runs through until the work of Jan Steen (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, cat. 1951, no. 680; HdG I, 124), who included the figure of Death. The nocturnal circumstances in no. A 10 fit in with this interpretation, and

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

the Hebrew-like letters on the documents seen on the right seem a convincing argument for the biblical nature of the picture.

Both these interpretations call for a certain amount of supplementation, and prove not to be mutually exclusive. The connexion with Utrecht prototypes is not limited to that with Abraham Bloemaert's *Avaritia*. Rembrandt has, for the figure of the rich man, followed closely two models by Gerrit van Honthorst, whose influence has long since been pointed out by Nissen[4] and others. The motif of the right hand seen back-lit and holding a coin in

Fig. 4. Detail with signature (enlarged)

Fig. 5. After A. Bloemaert, '*Avaritia*' (engraving by C. Bloemaert)

two fingers is borrowed literally from a painting, dated by Judson as *c.* 1620, of an *Old woman examining a coin by lantern light* (present whereabouts unknown; J. R. Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, The Hague 1959, cat. no. 157; our fig. 6); here, the figure holds spectacles to the nose with the left hand, and at the same time holds a purse; Judson interprets the picture as an allegory of Sight, though a connotation related to avarice seems at least as significant. The motif of the left hand with the candle the flame of which is shielded by the other hand could of course come from various works by Honthorst, but it seems in all probability to have been taken from an *Old woman holding a candle and a purse*, of which Judson (op. cit., cat. no. 156) lists two painted versions and which was engraved by Cornelis Bloemaert (Hollst. II, no. 299; our fig. 7). According to the legend on the print, the old woman is holding an empty purse and lives free of care; she thus exemplifies not avarice – rather the opposite – but the moral tone with regard to worldly wealth is the same as in the other scene by Honthorst (and that by Bloemaert). These two models relate only to the figure of the Rich Man, not to his surroundings; yet these too are directly connected with the traditional – in this case, 16th-century – way of illustrating avarice. The debt-bonds and account books lying and hanging around him form a motif that can be seen in the portrayals of usurers, money-changers or tax-gatherers that were introduced by Marinus van Roymerswaele and were copied in large numbers. The essential feature of Rembrandt's picture thus seems to be that he has combined various motifs identifiable as Avaritia-symbols, within the context of a biblical scene. This has not altered the sense of the picture (Luke 12: 15 '. . . take heed, and beware of covetousness') but it has changed its character, which has thus become more expressly religious. It must be commented that Rembrandt's Rich Man, like the women of Honthorst and Bloemaert, is old and shrivelled, and in this departs from the tradition referred to by Tümpel. His clothing, too, differs from this tradition. It is not, as Tümpel believed, contemporaneous, but harks back to an earlier age; the combination of cap, ruff and tabard with braiding is most nearly reminiscent of the fashion of around 1580. Far from making the picture 'topical' a costume like this must, just as the slashed cap did with younger men (cf., for example, no. A 8), have helped to lend it a sense of historical distance.

The prototypes that have been identified here for Rembrandt's scene serve also to elucidate the stylistic conception of no. A 10. In the figure of the rich man, and in the lighting, we detect a great interest in Utrecht models; and yet the relation between the figure and the spatial framework, and the plastic filling of the surroundings, including the foreground, are entirely un-caravaggesque. On the basis of a rhythmic arrangement of contours, going back in part to Lastman, Rembrandt has here exploited a

Fig. 6. G. van Honthorst, *Old woman examining a coin*. Whereabouts unknown

Fig. 7. After G. van Honthorst, *Old woman holding a candle and a purse* (engraving by C. Bloemaert)

16th-century motif, achieving both the linear organization of large parts of the picture area and the suggestion of bulk by means of chiaroscuro contrasts. In this respect, no. A 10 is very close to the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 on the one hand, and to the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13) on the other.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance[5]

– Coll. M. D. van Eversdijck; sale The Hague 28 May 1766 (Lugt 1546), no. 82 (cf. Hoet-Terw. p. 533, no. 77): 'Rembrant van Ryn. Een oud Mans Pourtrait, houdende de hand voor de Kaars; met veel Bywerk. P. Breet 1 V. 4 D. Hoog 1 V. (gemeten zonder lijst en in Rhynlandse Voeten [=41.9 × 31.4 cm])' (Rembrant van Ryn. Picture of an old man, holding his hand before a candle; with many accessories. Panel. . . . (measured without frame in Rhineland feet) (fl. 20.– to Lemmens).
– Coll. Sir Francis Cook, Richmond.
– Coll. Sir Charles J. Robinson, London; gift to Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, 1881.

9. Summary

Apart from the authentic signature, the style and manner of painting also support entirely the attribution to Rembrandt.

The brushwork, seen in relation to the depiction of materials, finds a parallel in works such as the *Balaam* (no. A 2) and the *S. Paul in prison* (no. A 11). The lighting, though unique in this period, does fit into the range of possibilities that Rembrandt is seen to have investigated during these early years. The sinuous contours, suggesting a lumpy and cockled surface and a leathery consistency, and a liking for detail coupled with a relative clumsiness in rendering it, find exact analogies in Rembrandt's other early works.

A painting of the same subject and dimensions, no doubt identical with no. A 10, was sold in 1766 as a Rembrandt.

REFERENCES

1 Tümpel 1971, pp. 27–30.
2 A. Bredius, 'Drie vroege werken van Rembrandt', *Nederlandsche Kunstbode* 3 (1881), pp. 182–183; W. Bode, 'Rembrandts früheste Thätigkeit', *Die graphischen Künste* 3 (1881), pp. 49–72, esp. p. 54.
3 Bauch 1960, p. 139.
4 M. Nissen, 'Rembrandt und Honthorst', *O.H.* 32 (1914), pp. 73–80, esp. p. 76.
5 HdG 282.

A 11 S. Paul in prison

STUTTGART, STAATSGALERIE, INV. NO. 746

HDG 179; BR. 601; BAUCH 111; GERSON 22

1. Summarized opinion

A generally very well preserved authentic work. This is confirmed by the signature and date of 1627 visible today, even if these have been reinforced by a later hand.

2. Description of subject

The scene is probably based not on the New Testament account of Paul's imprisonment in Philippi (together with Silas – Acts 16: 23 ff) or in Caesarea (Acts 23:35 to 26:32) but rather on that in Rome, not related in the Acts of the Apostles, during which he wrote a number of epistles.

Paul is seated, presumably on a stone bench, in a vaguely-defined cell. The light falls along the cheek of a grated window-opening on the left, the remainder of which is out of sight; he wears a grey tabard. He is recognizable by his attribute, a sword, which in this instance is a large, two-handed sword leaning against the bench on the left with its point buried in the straw covering the floor. He faces three-quarters left, with his unshod right foot resting on a large, irregularly-shaped and fairly flat stone. The other foot, which is shod, is on the ground. Lying on his slightly raised right knee is an open book, and placed on this again is a sheet of paper, folded in two; his left hand both rests on and holds the book, and has a pen grasped between the fingers. His right hand is held against the mouth and chin, while he stares straight in front of him with wide-open eyes and slightly raised eyebrows. To the right of him, his cloak is draped on the bench and hangs down to the floor. Alongside him to the left, lying on the edge of the bench and partly drooping down from it, are a sheet of paper, a long, fringed cloth hanging in folds (presumably a turban), a thick leather-bound book, a leather travelling bag and, to the left of the sword, a smaller open book. Beneath the latter a chain is bolted to the stone bench, with a foot-iron attached to it and lying on the floor. The figure is in the full light, which also falls in a patch on the wall behind him; a round column is for the most part recessed into this wall and high up there is a round barred opening. To the right, in the darkness, a partly plastered wall is seen, parallel to the picture plane, in a part of the room lying further back; in this wall is a wooden door with a heavy hinge, its lower half invisible to us in a dark area of uncertain significance.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 12 June 1968 (J. B., S. H. L.) in good daylight and out of the frame. An X-ray film by the Rijksmuseum (covering the figure upwards of the left knee) was consulted later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 72.8 × 60.2 cm. Thickness *c.* 1.1 cm, and slightly concave. Three planks, measuring (l. to r.) 20.1, 23.5 and 16.7 cm in width. Back bevelled along all four sides, noticeably irregular along the top. Traces remain, along both joins, of canvas that has been removed and was evidently intended for reinforcement, and at the lefthand join are traces of paper that had been stuck on top of the canvas. Two battens, *c.* 5 cm wide, have been stuck across almost the full width at the rear, again to provide strengthening. These measures are presumably connected with the fact that at some time the panel has broken into three; at all events, the three sections have been glued together again, not entirely accurately (see under *Paint layer*).
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Appears to be yellow-brown, visible in scratch-marks in the fringe of the long cloth on the left and in the beard, and showing through in the grey of the stone bench on the left beside Paul's leg. Horizontal and diagonal brushstrokes visible in relief in the thinly-painted shadow area on the wall to the left are presumably due to the application of the ground.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Professor Dr. Ing. Edgar Denninger, formerly of the Institut für Technologie der Malerei, Stuttgart, kindly communicated to us the results of an examination carried out in 1966. In three samples, two taken from the righthand and one from the lower lefthand edge, a double ground was found. The bottom layer consists of chalk and glue used as medium; the latter was shown by chromatographic analysis to be animal glue with three aminoacids and to be 400 (± 100) years old. On top of this layer there is a yellow brown layer, consisting mainly of white lead, mixed with a fine brown pigment identified by microanalysis as raw ochre; this layer also contains scattered particles of charcoal black.

Dr. H. Kühn, Munich, kindly informed us, on the basis of a sample taken from bottom left, that the white ground is composed of chalk, some white lead, ochre and glue as a medium[1]. This analysis obviously refers to both layers without distinguishing them.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Assessment is made difficult by the thick and yellowed varnish layer; in general, the painting seems very well preserved. A small amount of strictly local damage has been caused by the panel having broken along the joins. When the sections were glued together again, the middle plank (which had perhaps become more markedly concave than the others) was planed slightly at an angle along a great part of the lefthand join and a small part of the righthand join, to bring it flush with the other two members. The paint layer has been restored along the joins, as well as along what is probably a vertical crack running from the bottom edge over about half the height of the panel, close to the righthand side. Craquelure: a fine, regular network of craquelure can be seen in many places. Small, irregular cracks occur only in the thick, dark areas of cast shadow under the saint's left arm and alongside his left leg.
DESCRIPTION: In general, the light areas are painted more thickly than the shadows, and thickest in the head, the hands and the cloth; in other areas catching the light the brushstroke is also invariably plainly visible. The length and movement of the strokes vary, and are frequently dictated by the material being rendered: short and running in various directions in the fully-lit parts of the wall, and following the sweep of the plastic form in the garments, where occasionally the slightly coarse paint surface indicates the heavy material falling in stiff folds. While the half-shadows are still in a fairly thick paint, the dark shadow areas are thinly done; an exception to this is the shadow cast by Paul's left leg, where the paint is crusty (probably through several layers having been applied one on top of the other).

The head, hands and foot have been painted with great care, with the wrinkles in the face and the veins of hands and feet emphasized. The highest lights are invariably applied with rather thicker paint, in white, yellow-white and pink, while the modelling shadows are in grey and brown-grey merging into brown or dark grey. The hand held to his mouth catches a

Fig. 1. Panel 72.8 × 60.2 cm

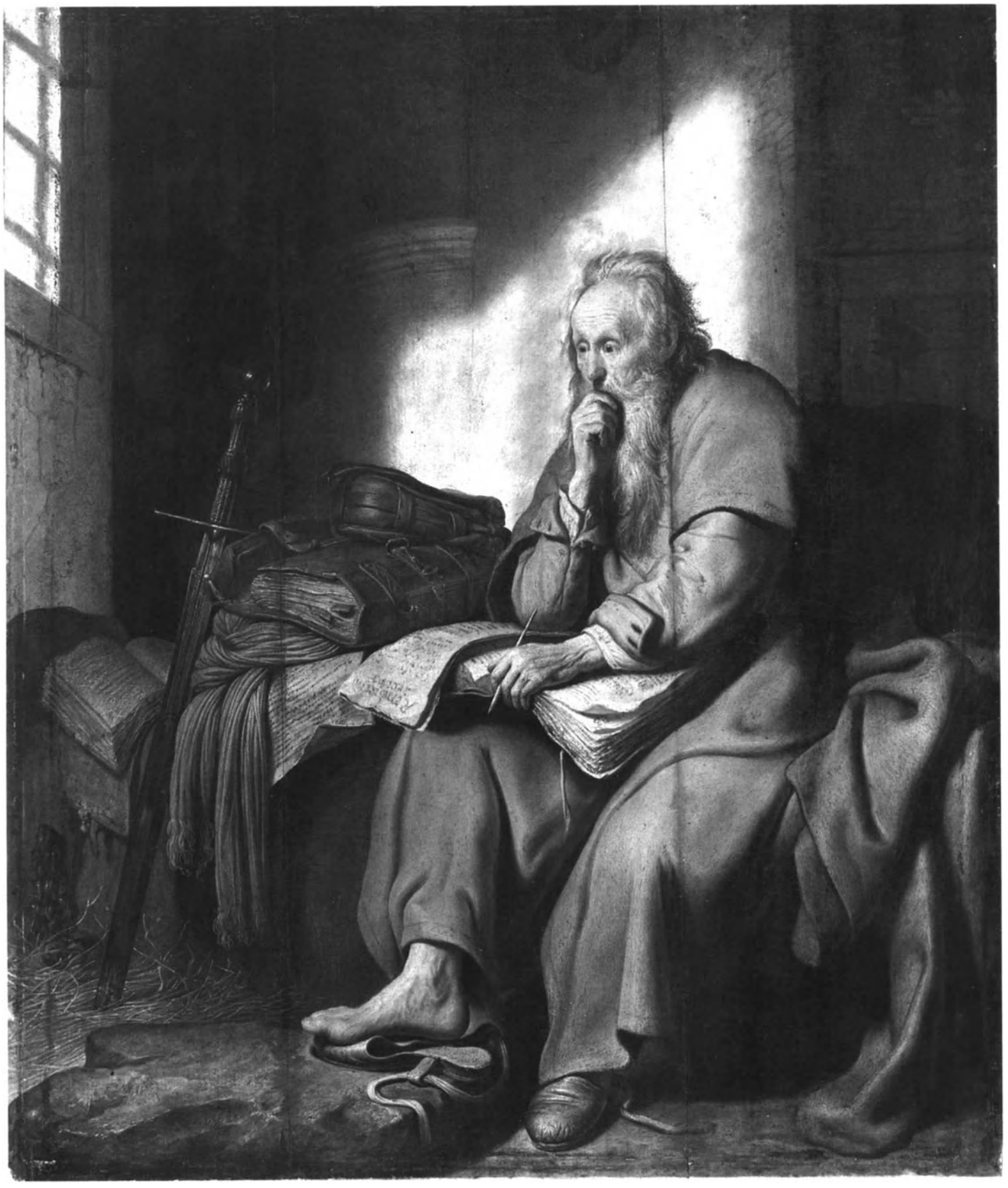
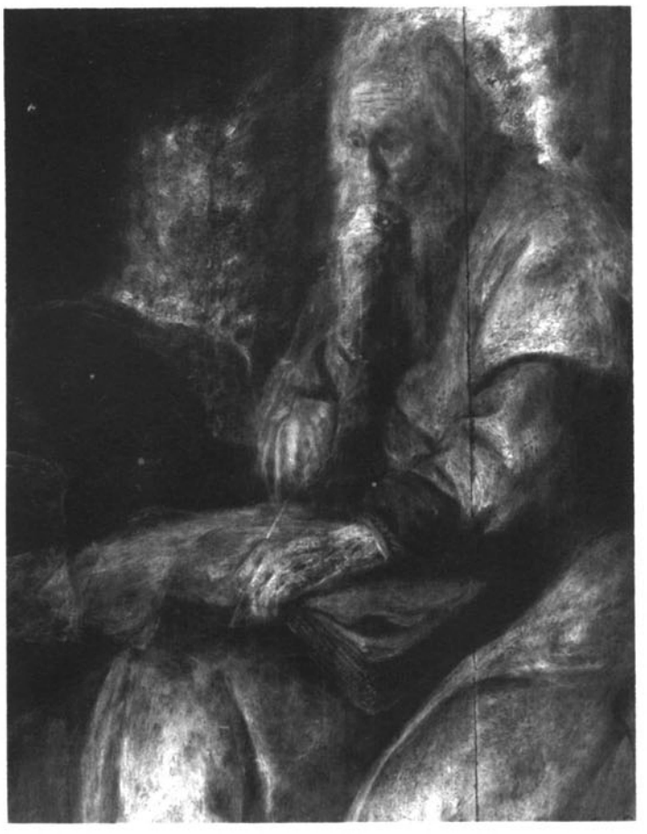


Fig. 2. X-ray



pinkish-red reflected light on its shadow side. The sandal on the left, too, receives reflected light from the naked right foot.

The still-life items are painted with close attention to the rendering of materials: the sword has crisp, bright highlights, the pages of the books are done with fine drawn-out lights and small shadowed edges. The structure of the edges of pages of the book on Paul's lap has been strengthened with fine scratch-marks, and the same technique has been used to accentuate the hair of the beard; at the back of the head, hair-fine scratches have been made in the paint through which the exposed white of the wall can be glimpsed.

The lights of the draped, hanging part of the cloak have (so far as one can tell through the yellowed varnish) been painted in fairly thick, cool blue. Elsewhere the range of colour used is limited, apart from the flesh tints, mainly to brown, ochres and greys in quite a wide scale of shades.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Professor Dr. Ing. Edgar Denninger, formerly of the Institut für Technologie der Malerei, Stuttgart, kindly communicated to us the results of an examination carried out in 1966. A sample taken approximately halfway up the right-hand edge (apparently from the paint of S. Paul's cloak) was subjected to microanalysis and appeared to consist of azurite, white lead and coarse particles of charcoal black.

X-Rays

The X-ray film available shows that at various points the shapes that were left in reserve in a light background at an early stage do not correspond exactly to those occupied today. A light-edged reserve which was (evidently later) covered over again to some extent with paint that shows light in the radiographic image can be seen on the right alongside Paul's head, and penetrates some way into the present outline of the shoulder; initially, therefore, the head was intended to be rather more upright, and the contour of the shoulder somewhat lower. It is evident that in this position the head was not executed in other than, at most, a non-radioabsorbent dead colouring: all that appears clearly in the X-ray is the present head and right hand, though these are not sharp everywhere (probably as a result of the going-over of details and the placing of shadows on top of light paint). There is also a reserve bounded by a sinuous contour, passing crosswise through the still-life features close to the figure; the present travelling bag projects above this, and is delimited by a stronger white image of paint that was evidently applied later in the background. Changes have also been made, perhaps in association with this, in the still-life by Paul's knee; only the part of the book seen to the right of his resting hand can be clearly read as matching its present state. To the left there is a jumble of blurred forms, only partially corresponding to those seen today; we can assume that at an earlier stage the whole of the open book was visible here, and that the sheet of paper folded in two was painted on top of it together with its cast shadow. In Paul's right sleeve, too, changes were made during the course of the work, to judge from the absence of any reserve made for the dark shadow along the sleeve of the tabard, and the strong, white strokes on the forearm.

Signature

1. In dark paint on the grey of the bench to the left of Paul's right knee, and immediately next to the restorations along the lefthand join in the panel ‹*R f 1627*›, in slender and painstakingly drawn letters and numerals, here and there with unusual flourishes (e.g. a separate, extra small curl beneath the *f*). In this form the signature is, from its meticulous and overdone shape, not trustworthy. Most probably it is (as has been generally assumed in the literature) the reinforced version of an original signature; this certainly did not include the *f*, and may have been an *RH* monogram of the kind we know from virtually all the 1626 and 1627 works, or *RL* as occurs a few times in 1628 and 1629. The slim, somewhat calligraphic shape of the letters and figures is, indeed, a good match with those in the Berlin *Rich man* (no. A 10).

2. In grey on the folded sheet of paper on Paul's knee ‹*Rembrand|fecit*›. As a formula this signature (moreover without the *t* of Rembrandt) would be unique. Apart from this, however, one can detect two distinct components in the inscription – short lines applied with a small and almost flat brush, which match the suggestion of letter characters in the following lines, and somewhat darker short lines done with a small and sharply pointed brush. Everything seems to point to the latter having been drawn to give to marks already existing the shape of the letters desired. This has however been only very partially successful: the *m* and the *a* look very forced, the *n* has far too long a shaft, and after the *t* of *fecit* there is a further sign that serves no purpose in the new arrangement. Presumably one cannot attach to this inscription the significance of an authentic signature. It is perhaps no coincidence that the spelling *Rembrand* was also used in the Pommersfelden catalogue of 1719, compiled by the painter Jan Joost van Cossiau, curator of the Schönborn collection where no. A 11 was located at that time.

Varnish

A heavy and yellowed layer of varnish makes observation difficult, and robs the painting of the dominance by cool colours that one can assume it would show were it in a clean condition.

4. Comments

Though one of the 'signatures' is probably false and the other is not reliable in its present state, no. A 11 is so closely akin to other earlier and later works that it must not only be looked on as an authentic work from 1627, but also be seen as an extremely important key to understanding Rembrandt's development.

Among earlier work, the Amsterdam *Tobit and Anna* of 1626 (no. A 3) in particular lends itself to a stylistic comparison. The relationship that was already apparent there between the handling of paint and the texture of the surfaces being portrayed – wrinkled skin, heavily folded materials with their stitching and buttonholes, plastered walls – is here taken further still. There are similarities, too, in details of technique, for example in the scratchmarks used in the dark hindquarters of the kid-goat and in the hair at the back of Paul's head.

The treatment of light is here even more strongly concentrated, and is moreover explained in a way that – by giving hints of a grated window that must be situated out of the picture to the left – makes a greater use of suggestion. (It is noteworthy that the grating throws its shadow on the side of the window opening but not on the rear wall; all there is to be seen there is a slightly darker and more thinly painted area to the left of the figure.) S. Paul's facial

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

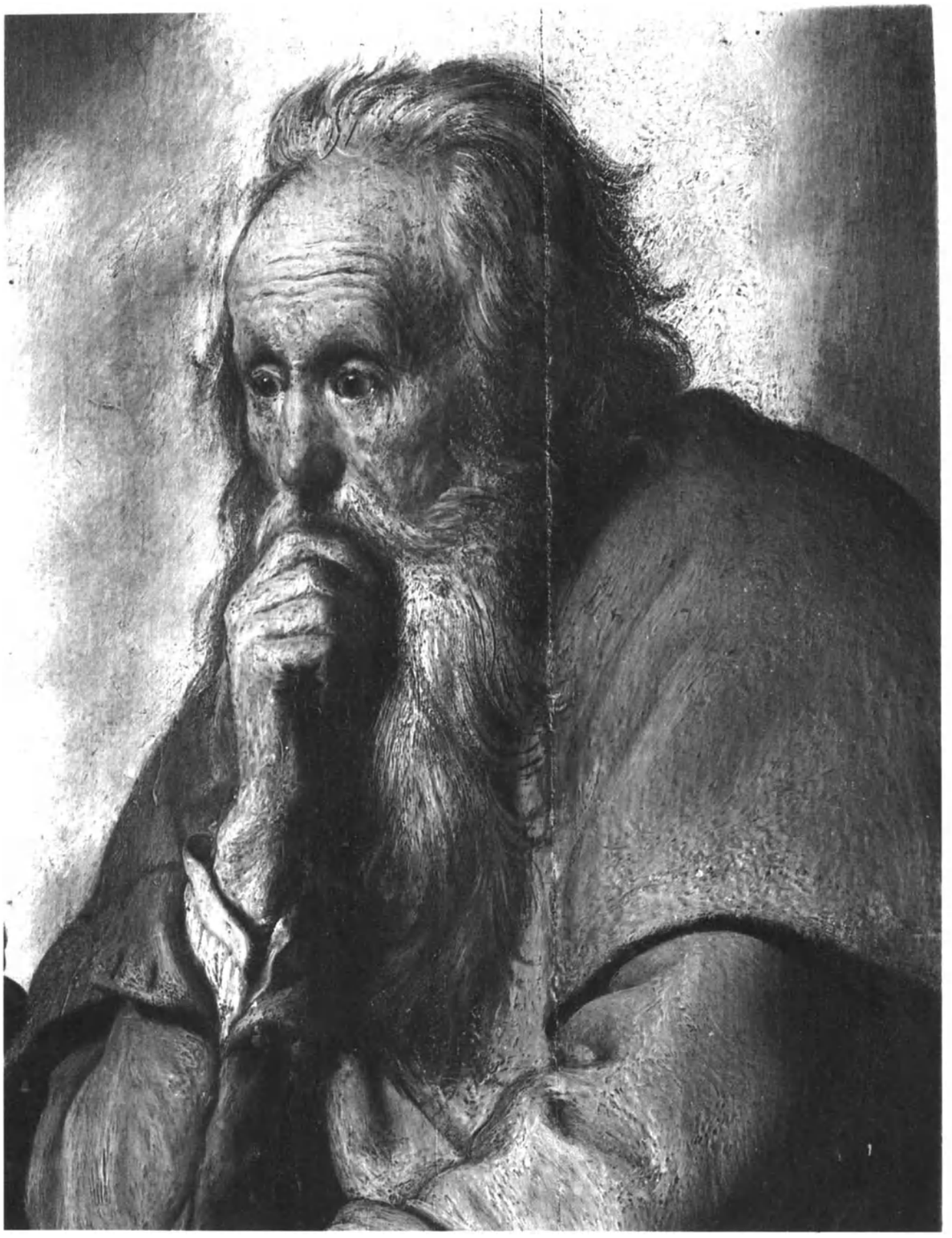
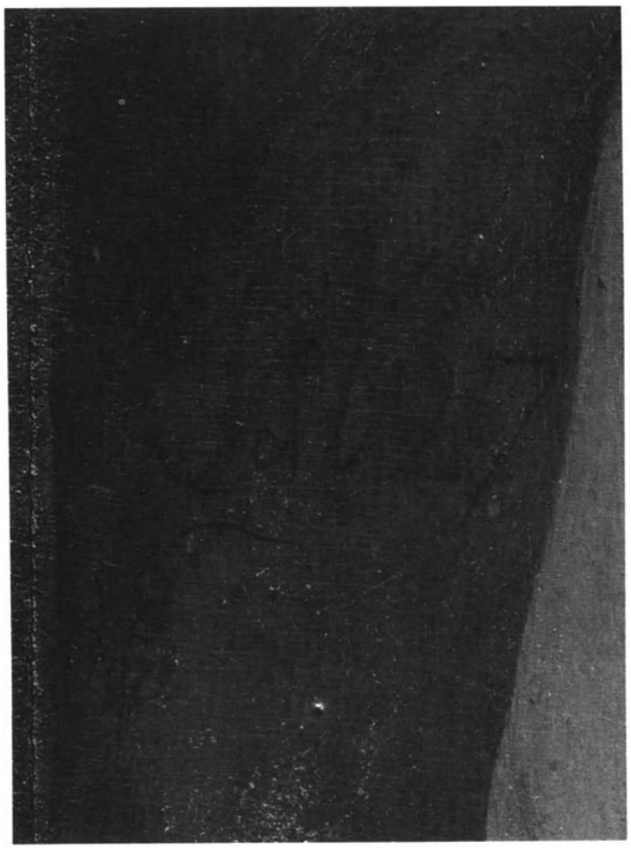


Fig. 4. Detail with signature (enlarged)



expression is quite comparable to that of Anna, though here there is iconographically a clearer meaning. The colour-scheme, which in the 1626 painting had already been reduced to quite pale tints that did nevertheless show some contrast of brightness, has been limited still further; it now spans a range of greys and browns, with white and small accents of red, against which only Paul's blue (?) cloak offers a definite local colour. There is the same lack of clarity in defining the room: it is impossible to gauge distances or angles, let alone grasp the structural function of various features. The linear pattern has certainly become richer in rhythmically coherent accents – the curving lines of the folds in Paul's tabard and cloak are continued in the shoes on the floor, the curling pages of the book and the papers and the undulating contours of the travelling bag.

Many of these features recur in other work from 1627, the Berlin *Rich man* (no. A 10), but especially also in the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* (no. A 12) which though undated comes in all respects very close to no. A 11. In the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13) the blocks of contrasting tonal value and colour separated from each other by sinuous contours will dominate the whole composition to an even greater extent.

Besides style and brushwork, the materials used, as evidenced by scientific examination, are in keeping with what is usually found in early panels by Rembrandt. This is true particularly of the composition of the two layers that form the ground, even if the scattered particles of charcoal black found in the upper one are exceptional.

Here Rembrandt uses for the first time a relatively large panel (it is about 70 cm high) for a single-figure composition. The way the apostle is represented is in line with tradition to the extent that he is shown with his attributes, the book (here expanded to form a complete still-life) and the sword. Comparison with, for example, the engraving by Willem Swanenburgh (Leiden 1581–1612) after Abraham Bloemaert (no. A 26 fig. 4) or the etching (Hollst. VII, no. 21) by Jacques de Gheyn III (Leiden *c.* 1596 – Utrecht 1644), and even with the outer face of the righthand wing of Lucas van Leyden's triptych of the *Last Judgment* at Leiden, shows that Rembrandt's representation shares the further motif of one foot resting on a stone; the meaning of this motif is not immediately apparent. The inscriptions on both the prints refer to Paul's conversion, setting an end to his impious life; in the Psalms the Lord, or belief in the Lord, is frequently likened to a rock (cf., for example, Psalms 40: 2 '. . . and set my feet upon a rock . . .'). The notion that Paul's stance with one foot on the stone and the other alongside refers to the contrast between his earlier and his subsequent life would need further confirmation.

To the traditional features of the apostle Rembrandt has added motifs that point to an historical situation; this is something he does again later (cf., for example, the *S. Peter in prison* in a private collection, Belgium, no. A 36). The grated window, the chain with the foot-iron and the straw on the floor are signs of the imprisonment which Paul repeatedly underwent. In the iconographic tradition his imprisonment in Philippi, when the doors were opened during an earthquake (Acts 16: 26ff), plays a certain role (cf. M. Liverani in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* X, Rome 1968, p. 224); the bestknown example of a 16th-century representation of this is the very narrow tapestry designed by Raphael from the Vatican series of scenes from the Acts of the Apostles. It is unclear which of Paul's stays in prison – in Philippi, Caesarea or Rome – is intended here; the first is improbable (since in Philippi he was imprisoned together with Silas), while the last, leading up to his martyrdom, is perhaps the most likely. The imprisonment may also be intended figuratively, as

S. Paul himself uses the imagery in his epistles (cf. Ephesians 3: 1 'For this cause I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles, . . .' and 4: 1 'I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you . . .').

Finally, it strikes one that with this single figure too Rembrandt is employing in clear detail the facial expression and expressive gesture that we have already seen suited to a dramatic context in previous works. The wide-open eyes and furrowed forehead are signs of great tension, and presumably of a meditative gaze. The apostle has interrupted his writing, and brought his right hand up to his mouth. This rather uncommon gesture has, perhaps not by coincidence, a precursor in Raphael's standing figure of S. Paul in the *S. Cecilia with four saints* in Bologna.

The model used here for S. Paul appears in many of Rembrandt's works, all presumably datable in the Leiden years in a series of drawings in chalk (Ben. 7, 16, 19, 20, 37–42 and 82, the last with an authentic but probably later signature and dated 1633); in six etchings (B. 260, 262, 309, 312, 315, 325); and as a biblical figure in a number of paintings. The latter include, apart from no. A 11, the *Tobit and Anna* of 1626 (no. A 3), the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* (no. A 12), the *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13), the Nuremberg *S. Paul* (no. A 26), the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* of 1630 (no. A 28), the *Simeon in the Temple* of 1631 in The Hague (no. A 34), the *S. Peter in prison* of 1631 (no. A 36) and the *Hermit* in the Louvre (no. C 16), which is directly connected with Rembrandt's work. The attempt made in some instances to identify this model with Rembrandt's father (Gerson 23 and 24) does not seem to have sufficient foundation, even if one chooses, on the basis of the inscription (*Harman. Gerrits. vanden Rhijn*), to look on the drawing of an old man now at Oxford (Ben. 56 recto) as being his portrait.

5. Documents and sources

In the inventory drawn up in Amsterdam on 13 January 1653 of the estate of Jacques Specx (1588/89 – 1652), who was Governor-General of the East Indies from 1629 to 1632 and returned to Holland in July 1633, mention is made of: '13. Een St. Paulus van Rembrandt' (W. Ph. Coolhaas, *Het huis 'De Dubbele Arend'*, Amsterdam 1973, p. 57). This mention could however equally well refer to another painting such as no. A 26.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Coll. Count Schönborn, Pommersfelden; cat. 1719, in the Gallery, second row no. 69: 'Ein in seinem Buch *studi*render *Paulus*, sehr gut. Von *Rembrand.* [Hoch] 2 [Schuh]. 3 [Zoll]. [Breit] 2. [= 68.4 × 60.8 cm] (Nuremberg feet); sale Paris 17 May 1867, no. 96 (fr. 4000). Bought for the Königliches Museum der bildenden Künste, Stuttgart.

9. Summary

There can be no doubt about the authenticity of no. A 11, nor about its being datable in 1627. The painting continues the limitation and cooling of the colour-scheme that had already been begun in at least one work from 1626, and shows a further advance in mastery of pictorial possibilities. The paint layer remains predominantly opaque. The heavily folded cloth and curling papers not only suggest a three-dimensional plasticity, but give the pattern of lines a new, rhythmic significance which is a feature of other work from 1627 and, especially, from 1628.

Iconographically speaking, the traditional single figure with attributes has been complemented with allusions to an historical situation, in a way that was to occur repeatedly in Rembrandt's work.

REFERENCES

1 cf. Kühn, p. 202.

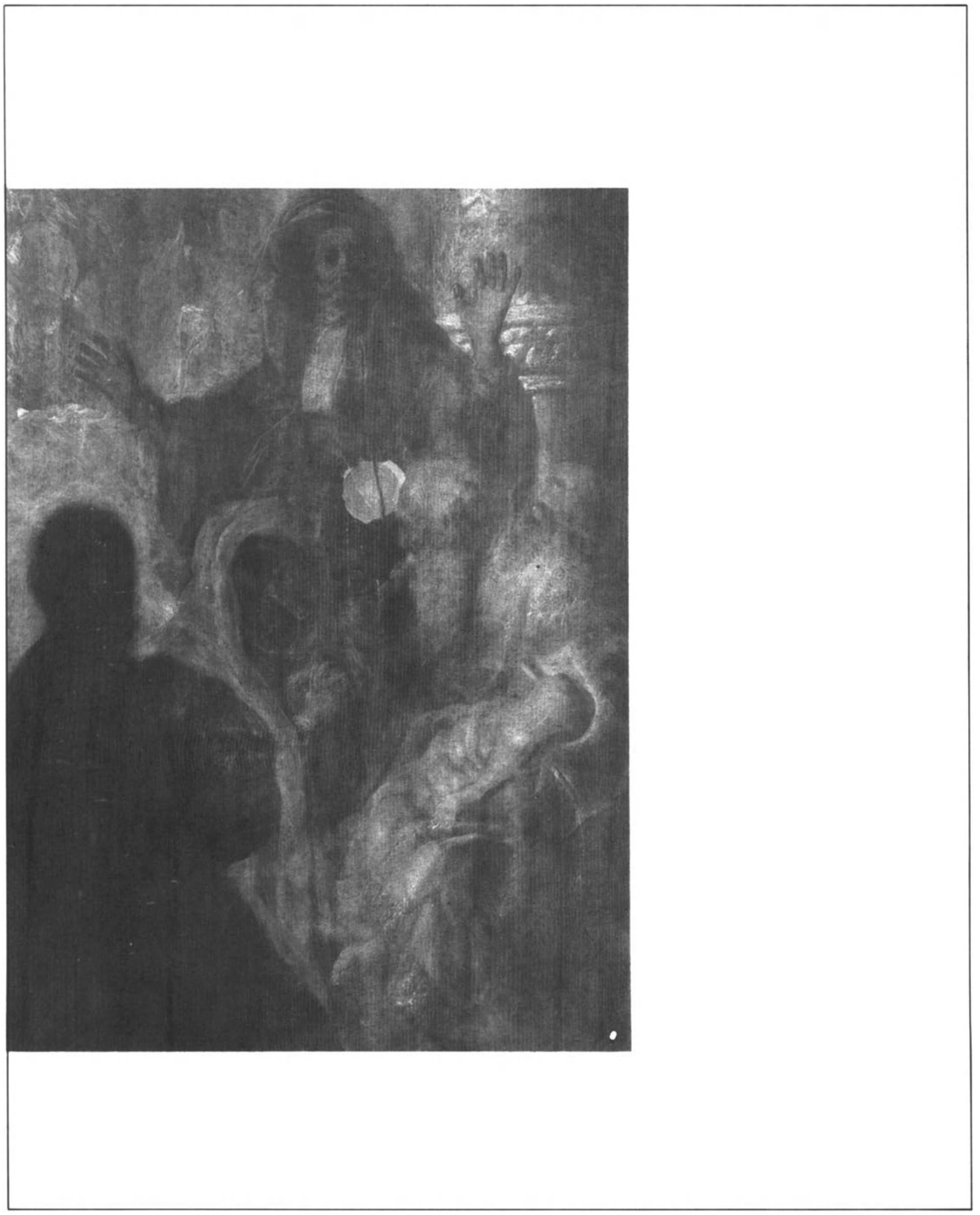
A 12 Simeon in the Temple [1627/28]

HAMBURG, HAMBURGER KUNSTHALLE, INV. NO. 88

HDG 81; BR. 535; BAUCH 46; GERSON 10

Fig. 1. Panel 55.4 × 43.7 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray



1. Summarized opinion

An authentic work, that because of similarities with dated paintings can be placed in 1627/28. A number of obtrusive overpaintings have been made, probably in 1775 and certainly not later.

2. Description of subject

The scene depicted is a moment prior to the actual Presentation (the Purification of the Virgin), when the old man Simeon, after singing the praise of Christ, turned to Mary (Luke 2: 34–35) and when Anna 'gave thanks likewise unto the Lord' (Luke 2: 38).

Simeon is down on one knee, in front of a wall lit from an unseen window on the left and of a column made up of two shafts of unequal diameter. He supports the Christ-child in his left arm, and addresses Mary, who with Joseph kneels opposite him. Above them we see the standing figure of Anna, 'a widow of about fourscore and four years' (Luke 2: 37), with both hands raised. To the right of the column, in the dark shadow, a candleholder attached to the column is seen above a downwards sloping partition, probably the casing round a winding staircase.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 16 November 1968 (J. B., B. H.) in satisfactory daylight and out of the frame, in conjunction with a partial X-ray film made by the museum and using a binocular microscope. Text drafted with the aid of another partial X-ray film (by the Rijksmuseum): from the lefthand edge to just past the head of the child, and from the head of Anna almost down to Joseph's knee.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 55.4 × 43.7 cm (top) to 43.8 cm (bottom). Thickness 1.1 (± 0.1) cm. Single plank. Back unbevelled on any of the four edges.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg). Lower edge completely measured, upper edge partly: mean curve 245 annual rings heartwood (+ 4 sapwood) datable 1349–1593 (1597). Statistically average felling date 1613 ± 5; given the considerable age of the wide-ringed tree, a felling date after 1613 is more likely. Growing area North Netherlands. The wood comes from the same tree as the panels of the Berlin *Minerva* (no. A 38) and the The Hague *Bust of an old man* (no. B 7).

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Appears light brown in scratchmarks in the cape-like fur collar of Simeon's cloak, though allowance must be made for the possibility of a pentimento at this point.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Observation is hindered by a very thick yellow varnish. The thickly painted lit areas (the wall, the figure of Anna, the illuminated parts of Simeon, the Child and Mary's hands) are perfectly or almost perfectly preserved. The thin, dark areas are overpainted to a greater or lesser extent, as are (most distortingly) the head of Mary and her blue cloak; beneath the blue one can (through the microscope) detect a grey. Craquelure: a pattern of very fine, regular cracks, difficult to see at the surface but plainly visible in the X-ray, covers large areas where it runs nearly perpendicular to the grain of the wood. Locally there are also somewhat longer small, equally vertical cracks, e.g. to the right of Anna's left hand. Hairline cracks, running in a random, spreading pattern, are visible in Mary's cloak (and partly along its outline) and in the figure of Joseph, two areas the first of which has been completely overpainted and the other partially. These small cracks however have nothing to do with the later overpainting, but are shrinkage cracks that are due to the addition of another paint layer in a late stage of the execution; they extend also over the parts of the figure of Joseph that have not been overpainted (thin brown areas in the belt and bag). They are clearly visible in the X-ray (see under *X-Rays*, point 4) and have thus not been caused by later overpainting, though they could well have formed the reason for it. In other overpainted areas (in the foreground, and parts of the right background) they do not occur.
DESCRIPTION: Leaving aside the locally thick blue of Mary's cloak, applied later, the painting shows a marked contrast between the thicker, light areas and the thinner dark brown and dark grey shadows; the figure of Anna occupies the midpoint between these two extremes, the colouring of her clothing tending to brown and grey. In the dark areas the brushstroke is, in general, difficult or impossible to follow. In light areas it varies greatly, and is applied with occasionally quite surprising colour accents.

The highest light is caught by the Child, painted fairly evenly in a moderately thick flesh colour. Simeon's face is built up with thick dabs of a strong, ruddy flesh tint, with long thin strokes in varying shades of grey for the hair and beard, a touch of bright red for the edge of the ear, and a black ear cavity. Short scratches have been made into the fat paint mass of ochre brown, grey and white that forms the illuminated part of the fur collar. The tunic is otherwise, in its light part, painted in a yellowish colour partly over a grey, with thin brown in the shadows of the folds. Simeon's very large hands are portrayed convincingly using summary touches of flesh colour; that in the shadow shows (later ?) edging in red-brown.

Mary's hands, in a somewhat lighter flesh tone, have greyish edges along the fingernails, which show tiny white highlights. Beneath the cloak, overpainted in a blotchy blue, one can (under the microscope) see grey paint, in good agreement with the X-ray image (see under *X-Rays*, point 4). In its present state, the head has been entirely overpainted.

The figure of Anna has to a large extent been enlivened with small touches of subdued colour; it is either built up from small brush-dabs, such as the hands and face (the latter in flesh tints with a little pink, with white dots on the eyelids and large grey irises), or set down in larger areas of colour, such as the brown headshawl, where small yellow-grey and red accents have been placed between the olive-green stripes, and thin, brown-yellow lines mark the sheen along the kinked folds. The garment is otherwise modelled in browns and greys, with the fur on the sleeves in a vivid lighter brown and the skirt with a lighter and darker grey to indicate ornamentation over a grey main tone.

The figure of Joseph has in some of the thin areas a transparent brown that is original, as are the browns in the rough-woven hat he holds in front of him. Darker areas have been painted in by a later hand with opaque brown. A random pattern of erratic tiny cracks can be seen over the whole figure; this is absent in the foreground, which has probably been thinly overpainted. In the very dark background on the right there is presumably flat overpainting, and fairly thick inpaintings are clearly apparent only beside the candleholder to the left, and along it underneath.

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

The lit wall and column are painted in very light grey with a lively and sometimes almost exaggeratedly restless brushstroke, thickest along and above Joseph's head up to a fairly straight, horizontal boundary level with Anna's right wrist, and in a narrow, outlined rectangular patch above her right arm. The darker grey of the shadows cast by the window bars is partly placed on top of this, and partly comes from gaps left in the thick light grey, (e.g. near Anna's right index finger) so that a dark colour can show through; there is presumably a dark, almost black layer beneath the light grey; this appears to be visible in the extreme top lefthand corner of the panel, as well as in small, dark gaps in the paint around Anna's fingers.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

1. Brushmarks are visible in the priming, mostly horizontal but occasionally running diagonally up to the right.
2. To the right of Simeon's head, above his fur collar, there is a light patch (also visible to some extent in the paint layer) in which it seems possible to recognize an eye, with a great deal of eye white. Though the paint mass of the fur collar makes it difficult to make out this shape, it can be assumed that Simeon's head as initially laid in was tilted back, with his gaze directed heavenwards.
3. Perhaps in connexion with this pentimento, a number of light dabs of paint run from Simeon's present mouth diagonally down and to the left, terminating close to Mary's headshawl in a wider area of light marks; these are unconnected with the ornamentation on Anna's skirt, but cannot by themselves be read as any clear shape. There is also a light streak running inwards diagonally to the left above Mary's present face. This does seem to indicate a shape, and one wonders whether it might have belonged to Anna's clothing; if so, this would mean that Mary could not always have been thought of as occupying her present position.
4. The cloak thrown over Mary's head shows a quite different pattern of folds, framing the face, from that visible today. In the X-ray image the hue is rather light, and this is in good agreement with the grey colour seen with the microscope beneath the blue.
5. There are a number of areas showing light in the figure of Anna, which were evidently originally done in a light paint and then covered over with a darker colour; this is clearest in the fabric (now brown and brown-grey) at her neck, above which there is now only a small white collar. It can also be seen in part of the brown-shaded forehead.
6. There are vague, light brushmarks in Anna's right sleeve, matching the relief of light paintstrokes showing through the surface. These should probably be interpreted as parts of the dead colouring executed in light paint.
7. The compass of Anna's hanging fur cuff has moreover been considerably extended, to the left and downwards, beyond the limits of the space originally left in reserve for it in the light background. The upper outline of this sleeve shows a reserve that stretches further to the right than the point where it is now intercepted by the hanging part of the headshawl.
8. Below and to the left, the widening of the shape of the sleeve has been brought about by first leaving a more roomy space in reserve (with the characteristically vague boundary) in a new, light background paint, which was partly overlapped by the fur edging of the sleeve in its final form.
9. The same background paint has been applied round and above Joseph's head, up to an indefinite but mainly horizontal boundary level with Anna's right wrist and in an approximately rectangular area above her right arm. This is perhaps meant to indicate some architectural feature. Beneath the wrist and between the forearm and head there are sinuous brushmarks

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

with light edges which make one wonder whether they indicated separate shapes belonging to Anna's clothing. Similar marks are seen along the top of Joseph's head.
10. Joseph's outline has been widened, compared with the space originally left in reserve for the head in the light wall behind it, and that left in Mary's cloak for the hat held in his unseen hands: the locks of hair and the back part of the head overlap the background, while the hat overlaps Mary's cloak.
11. The shrinkage cracks extend over Mary's cloak and over the entire figure of Joseph, including the non-retouched areas (thin patches in the belt and bag).

Summing up, the impression that, besides obvious changes in the outlines of Anna made during the painting, there were more radical alterations made to the composition cannot be corroborated by any unequivocal observations. That Simeon originally held his head tilted backwards is not unlikely. The vestiges of shapes in and to the right of Mary's head cannot however be interpreted with any certainty. Bearing in mind the imprecise but horizontal-seeming boundary of the irregular, thick white near Anna's hand, and the similar upright rectangle above her arm, one may wonder whether it may not have been intended to give the background a different structure. This seems all the more likely since later brushstrokes have at this point been placed on top of paint that was already dry. The brown of Joseph and the original grey of Mary's cloak were, to judge from the small shrinkage cracks seen there, painted over a layer of paint that was not completely dry, this perhaps having the nature of a dark underpainting.

Signature
At bottom right, in stiffly-drawn letters in dark paint on a dark background ‹*Rembrandt. f*›. This is inconceivable for the Leiden period, and is definitely a later addition by another hand (see a tracing in the *Katalog der alten Meister*, Hamburg 1956, no page numbers).

Varnish
Very thick and yellowed, making observation difficult.

4. Comments

Both in the model used for Simeon and in style and manner of painting, this painting has a close kinship with the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* (no. A 11) dated 1627. From the viewpoint of composition the kneeling figure of Joseph reminds one very strongly of the lefthand figure in the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13).

The similarity to the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* extends to the handling of light, which produces a contrast between the rear wall – given shape by patches of light – and a dark space opening up to the right; to the opaque and sometimes thick application of paint in the light parts, such as Simeon's heavily-draped garments; and to the resulting static character of this figure. The colour-scheme, which like that in the Stuttgart work is in the main virtually monochrome, is enlivened by small colourful accents, especially in the figure of Anna, and by a strong brown in the same figure. This use of colour shows some similarity to the painting at Melbourne. A dating of 1627/28 therefore seems likely. It should be kept in mind here that especially the small

Fig. 5. Etching by C. W. Weisbrod, 1775 (reproduced in reverse)

Fig. 6. J. Stolker, *Fancy portrait of Rembrandt*. London, The British Museum

shrinkage cracks that have occurred in the figure of Joseph and in Mary's cloak suggest a process of production stretching over some time.

In the course of this process a number of changes that have already been mentioned under *3. Observations* were made to the outline of Anna, and to the tonal value of the fabric at her neck. It remains unclear whether extensive changes were also made in the composition. All one can assume is that Simeon was probably originally portrayed with his head tilted slightly back; this would be in line with an iconographic tradition to which the *Simeon in the Temple* of 1631 in The Hague (no. A 34) also belongs, i.e. not addressing Mary (Luke 2: 34–35) but rather prophesying and praising God (Luke 2: 29–32).

The fact that the back of the panel has not been bevelled on any of its four sides prompts the question of whether it has been cut down later. There are, however, only meagre indications of this having been so. In the catalogues of three Paris sales (see under *8. Provenance*) the dimensions were quoted once in 1771 as '20 pouces de haut sur 16 de large', or 54 × 43.2 cm, and twice in 1774 as '20 pouces sur 15 pouces 9 lignes de large' or 54 × 43.7 cm, that is to say about the present size. The fact that in 1792 J. B. P. Lebrun[2], in a caption added to a print by Carl Wilhelm Weisbrod dating from 1775 and very accurately reproducing the painting in its present state (see *6. Graphic reproductions*; fig. 5), quotes the dimensions as '16 pouces de haut sur 14 de large', or 43.2 × 37.8 cm, must be due to a mistake. Any cutting-down of the panel must thus have taken place before 1771. One indication of this might be seen in a drawing by Jan Stolker in the British Museum (see *7. Copies*, 1; fig. 6); this is a fancy portrait of Rembrandt at a window, and shows on the easel a canvas (!) with the composition of no. A 12, but extending considerably further upwards. Unfortunately, Stolker was not a very reliable reproducer of older works of art, and his evidence is not enough to warrant the assumption that his drawing shows the authentic composition; what is more, he uses in another, admittedly presumably somewhat later, drawing (see *7. Copies*, 2; fig. 7) a background taken from no. A 12 which is however seen in a framework matching the present format. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin made a perhaps inadvertent increase in height to the picture area of no. A 12 when he sketched the painting in the margin of a copy of the catalogue for the Du Barry sale in November 1774 (see *7. Copies*, 3; fig. 8).

Meanwhile, Stolker's fancy portrait of Rembrandt does take on the status of important documentary evidence in another respect: it shows with amazing accuracy the state of the figure of Mary prior to the overpainting of her light grey cloak, as seen in the X-ray. Mary appears in a relatively light-coloured cloak, behind the dark figure of Joseph; a

Fig. 7. J. Stolker, Fancy portrait of Jan Six. London, The British Museum

heavy fold frames her face. The drawing furthermore hints at a vault in the dark space on the right, and a horizontal partition beneath the candleholder. These motifs can scarcely be made out today under the dark wash, and they escaped Weisbrod's notice in 1775 as well; his etching obviously includes all the overpainting present today. One can in any event conclude from this that the overpaintings noted were done between the date of Stolker's drawing, presumably around 1760, and that of Weisbrod's etching in 1775. One finds some support for the assumption that they were the work of Lebrun, after buying the painting in the Du Barry sale in November 1774, in the small sketch just mentioned done in the catalogue of that sale by Saint-Aubin; in this Mary is seen as a very light area. The reason for this overpainting was probably iconographic convention. The effect was that since then the group of figures has much less of a three-dimensional effect than Rembrandt intended: Mary's light grey cloak made a contrast to the dark figure of Joseph, and against Anna's garments, in a way that must have been strongly reminiscent of the distribution of light in the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628. The view through to the background on the right was moreover not as dark as it is today, and presumably its tonal value did not differ significantly from the shadows cast on the wall to the left.

The similarity noted by van Rijckevorsel[3] between the gesture of the prophetess Anna and that of S. Anna in the engraving of *La Vierge au berceau* by Marcantonio Raimondi (B. XIV, 63; fig. 9) is convincing evidence for a borrowing by Rembrandt. (Because of the lack of iconographic clarity of the Raphael/Marcantonio scene – Bartsch described the woman on the left bending over the cradle as S. Anna, and the standing woman with hands raised as 'une vieille femme' – it is even possible that Rembrandt took the standing old woman for the prophetess Anna.) Various authors, such as Weisbach[4], have already remarked that by placing the figures asymmetrically and using Joseph as a repoussoir Rembrandt turned the Renaissance model into a Baroque composition. Furthermore, the curious posture of Anna, turning her body slightly left but twisting her head back to gaze at the infant Christ ('And she coming in at that instant gave thanks likewise unto the Lord . . .', Luke 2: 38), is a movement motif derived from the story, one which Rembrandt had not found in his prototype.

For comments on the appearance of the model used for Simeon, see entry no. A 26. The model used for Anna, popularly identified as Rembrandt's mother, also appears in etchings B. 352 and B. 354, dated 1628, and is perhaps the same already seen in paintings from 1626 (nos. A 3 and A 7).

5. Documents and sources

None.

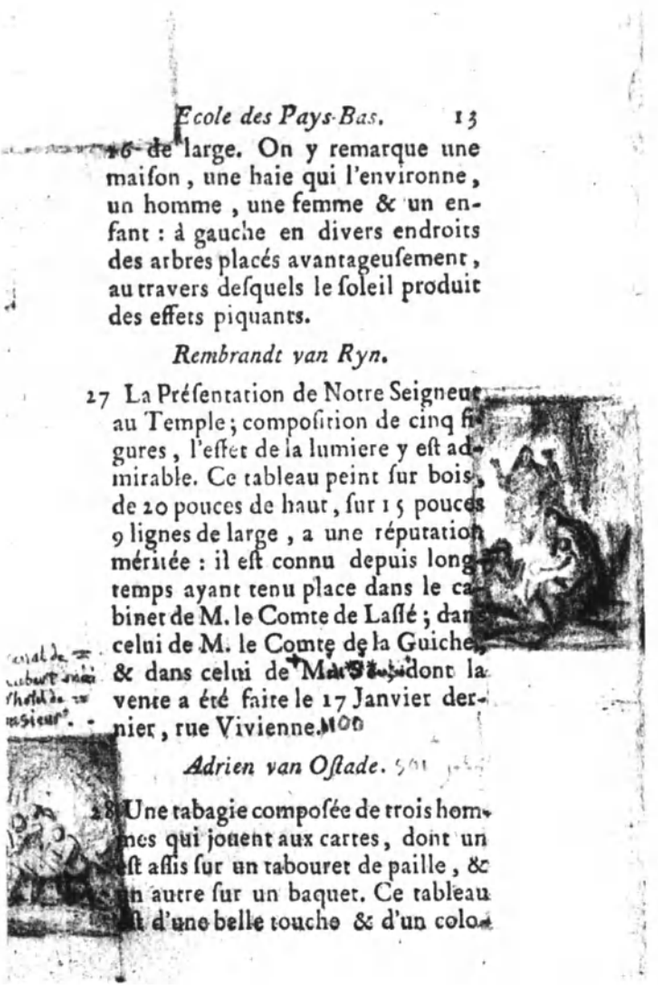
6. Graphic reproductions

Etching in reverse by Carl Wilhelm Weisbrod (Stuttgart 1743–Verden 1806), signed and dated 1775, with the coat of arms of Lebrun (fig. 5). Later included in Lebrun's publication of 1792[2], with the inscription: *Peint par Rembrandt – Gravé par Weisbrod, terminé par Le Bas. / Tiré du Cabinet de Monsieur Le Brun. / D' après le Tableau original de Rembrandt – De la grand^r. de 16 pouces de h^t. sur 14 de large.*

7. Copies

1. Jan Stolker (Amsterdam 1724–Rotterdam 1785), *Fancy Portrait of Rembrandt*, British Museum, London (1848.9.11.2; A. M. Hind, *Catalogue of drawings by Dutch and Flemish artists* IV, London 1931, p. 173, no. 1) (fig. 6).
2. Jan Stolker, *Fancy Portrait of Jan Six*, British Museum, London (1848.9.11.3; Hind, op. cit., p. 173, no. 2) (fig. 7). The figure is based not on a model by David Bailly, as the inscription states, but on a drawing by Guilliam de Heer (coll. B. Houthakker; sale Amsterdam 17–18 November 1975, no. 61)

Fig. 8. G. de Saint-Aubin, Sketch in a copy of the catalogue of the Comte du Barry sale, Paris 21 November 1774. Paris, Musée du Petit Palais



Ecole des Pays-Bas. 13

26 de large. On y remarque une maiſon, une haie qui l'environne, un homme, une femme & un enfant : à gauche en divers endroits des arbres placés avantageuſement, au travers deſquels le ſoleil produit des effets piquants.

Rembrandt van Ryn.

27 La Préſentation de Notre Seigneur au Temple ; compoſition de cinq figures, l'effet de la lumiere y eſt admirable. Ce tableau peint ſur bois, de 20 pouces de haut, ſur 15 pouces 9 lignes de large, a une réputation méritée : il eſt connu depuis long-temps ayant tenu place dans le cabinet de M. le Comte de Laſſé ; dans celui de M. le Comte de la Guiche, & dans celui de M. [illegible] dont la vente a été faite le 17 Janvier dernier, rue Vivienne.

Adrien van Oſtade.

28 Une tabagie compoſée de trois hommes qui jouent aux cartes, dont un eſt aſſis ſur un tabouret de paille, & un autre ſur un baquet. Ce tableau eſt d'une belle touche & d'un colo-

Fig. 9. M. A. Raimondi, '*La vierge au berceau*' (engraving)

that has survived in fragmentary form. The identity of the sitter has been doubted by J. Bruyn (in: *O.H.* 66 (1951), p. 155 note 1).

3. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (Paris 1724–1780), small sketch in the catalogue for the Comte du Barry sale, Paris 21 November 1774, copy in the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris (fig. 8). Cf. E. Dacier, *Gabriel de Saint-Aubin* II, Paris 1931, cat. no. 1039; E. Dacier ed., *Catalogues des ventes et livrets de salons illustrés par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin* II, Paris 1910 (Société de reproduction des dessins des maîtres), p. 13; E. Dacier in: *G. d. B.-A.* 6th series 41 (1953), p. 298.

4. Panel 21 × 17 cm, inscribed on the column *Rembrandt f. 1632*, private coll. Stuttgart (1956). Free, reversed copy in a much wider framework and with the addition of two figures behind Joseph. To judge by Mary's drapery it was produced after this had been overpainted, presumably in and certainly not after 1775. According to a letter from the Galerie Hans Bamman to Dr H. Schneider (before 1939; fiche in RKD), it was bought at a sale in Amsterdam by Louis Napoleon, King of Holland from 1806 to 1810, for his uncle Cardinal de Fesch in Rome, and was sold in 1842 to General Lepelletier in Strasbourg. Reproduced by Sumowski[5], who on the basis of it ventured, but then rejected, the suggestion that no. A 12 might have been cut down in size.

8. Provenance

The inventory drawn up in 1632 of the Stadholder's Quarters in The Hague, ('Op het cabinet van Zijne Excellentie': [no. 64]) mentions 'Een schilderije daerinne Symeon, sijnde in den tempel, Christus in sijne armen heeft, door Rembrants oft Jan Lievensz. gedaen' (A painting in which Simeon, in the Temple, has Christ in his arms, done by Rembrant or Jan Lievensz.) (*O.H.* 47 (1930), p. 205 no. 64; S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen . . . van de Oranjes* I, The Hague 1974, p. 186 no. 111). Like Hofstede de Groot (*O.H.* 47 loc. cit.), one can suspect that this mention refers to no. A 12, but this is by no means certain; one might for instance also call to mind, perhaps with greater probability, a piece like the half-length figure of Simeon with the Child signed *I. Livius* (sale Munich, 3 June 1908, no. 36; Schneider no. 26; K. Bauch in: *Pantheon* 25 (1967), p. 162, fig. 2).

– Perhaps Marinus de Jeude sale, The Hague 18 April 1735 (Lugt 447; quoted from Hoet I p. 437), no. 101; 'Een Stuk, verbeeldende Joseph, Maria, Simeon, met het Kindeke Jesus op zynen Arm in den Tempel, door Rembrand, zeer fraei' (A work depicting Joseph, Mary and Simeon with the little Child Jesus on his arm in the Temple, by Rembrand, very fine) (fl. 41.–).

– Coll. Comte de Lassé (according to cat. Vassal de St.-Hubert sale 1774, see below).
– Coll. Comte de la Guiche; sale Paris 4–7 March 1771 (Lugt 1900), no. 21: 'Rembrandt Van-Ryn. La Circoncision: c'est le moment où la Prophétesse Anna est en admiration. Un effet de lumiere rend ce Tableau très piquant; il est peint sur bois & porte 20 pouces de haut sur 16 de large' [= 54 × 43.2 cm].
– Sale [coll. Vassal de St.-Hubert] Paris 17–21 January 1774 (Lugt 2224), no. 23: 'Rembrandt Van Ryn. La présentation de Notre Seigneur au grand Prêtre, tableau composé de cinq figures, dont l'expression est on ne peut mieux rendue, & l'effet de lumiere agréable et piquant; il est sur bois & porte 20 pouces de haut, sur 15 pouces 9 lignes de large [54 × 42.5 cm]. Il vient du cabinet de M. le Comte de Lassé, d'où il étoit passé dans celui du Comte de la Guiche' (1500 francs to Le Brun for the Comte du Barry).
– Coll. Comte Jean du Barry; sale Paris 21ff. November 1774 (Lugt 2332), no. 27: 'Rembrandt van Ryn. La Présentation de Notre Seigneur au Temple; composition de cinq figures, l'effet de la lumiere y est admirable. Ce tableau peint sur bois, de 20 pouces de haut, sur 15 pouces 9 lignes de large, a une réputation méritée: il est connu depuis longtemps ayant tenu une place dans le cabinet de M. le Comte de Lassé; dans celui de M. le Comte de la Guiche & dans celui de M.*** [Vassal de St.-Hubert], dont la vente a été faite le 17 janvier dernier, rue Vivienne' (1110 francs).
– Dealer J. B. P. Lebrun (according to the etching by Weisbrod dated 1775, see *6. Graphic reproductions*), who in 1792 states: 'venait du Cabinet de Lassay; je le fis passer en Hollande'[1].
– Coll. Everard George van Tindinghorste; sale Amsterdam 26 March 1777 (Lugt 2665), no. 55: 'Rembrand van Rhyn, De Oude Simeon in den Tempel legt geknield op zyn regter Knie, terwyl hy op zyne andere, het kind Jesus in zyn linker Arm houdt. Hy is zo deftig van kleeding als gestalte: de grysheid zyner hairen en langen baard, geeven alle eerwaardigheid aan zyn aanzigt dat, in het profil van ter zyde gezien, na Maria toegekeerd is. Hy schynt op een aanduidende wyze te spreeken, tot haar die nevens Joseph voor hem vol eerbied neder geknield liggen. Het Licht gaat schuivend voorby Maria, en valt, tusschen haar en Joseph op Simeon en 't Kind, waardoor Joseph van agteren geheel in 't bruin gezien wordt, en dus een donkere party maakt, terwyl Maria, door de reflexie van 't sterke licht van Simeon en 't Kind, in 't aangezicht, dat van heiligen eerbied getroffen is, gedaagd wordt, het welk een zagte overgang van het donker tot het licht veroorzaakt. Agter hen staat Elizabeth, in een bruin gewaad haar handen met verrukking van een slaande, het welk alles tegen een witte muur en een kolom, door een sterk Zonnelicht bescheenen, uitkomt, en te zaamen een gecontrasteerde groeping, en de heerlykste uitwerking van Licht en Bruin veroorzaakt, waar in deezen grooten Meester altoos heeft uitgemunt, en waarvan dit Schildery, als een uitvoerig Proefstuk van zyn Penseel, de zigtbaare blyken uitleeverd. Hoog 21½, en breed 16½ duim [= 55.2 × 42.4 cm]. Pnl.' (Rembrand van Rhyn, The aged Simeon in the Temple, kneeling on his right knee while on the other he holds the child Jesus in his left arm. He is as dignified in garb as in form: the greyness of his hair and long beard lend venerableness to his countenance which, seen in profile from the side, is turned towards Mary. He seems to speak in a remonstrating manner to her as she kneels before him alongside Joseph, full of deference. The light falls past Mary and between her and Joseph onto Simeon and the Child, so that Joseph is seen from the rear, done wholly in brown and thus making a dark area, while Mary is lit by the reflection of the strong light from Simeon and the Child into her face, which is full of reverence, this produces a soft transition from dark to light. Behind her stands Elizabeth, in a brown garment holding up her hands in rapture; the whole stands out against a white wall and a column, lit by strong sunlight, and together causes a contrasted grouping and the most beautiful effect of light and brown, something in which this great Master has always excelled, and of which this painting, as a thorough specimen from his brush, gives visible evidence. Panel). (3000 guilders).
– Gallery in the Ducal Castle at Sagan.
– Coll. Fürst zu Hohenzollern-Hechingen, Loewenberg i.S.
– Coll. Count Reichenbach, Loewenberg i.S.[6]
– Coll. E. F. Weber, Hamburg; sale Berlin 20 February 1912, no. 212 (to Ch. Sedelmeyer, Paris).

9. Summary

The painting, which must have known a certain renown in the second half of the 18th century, is an undoubtedly authentic Rembrandt, on the grounds of the similarity with the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 (no. A 11), and can on the basis of certain features connected with somewhat later work be dated as 1627/28. It must have been fairly drastically overpainted, probably in and certainly not later than 1775, especially in the figure of Mary and in the dark area to the right. The three-dimensional effect of the composition has suffered substantially as a result. It is not entirely certain that the panel still has its original dimensions; any reduction that was made, which would have been particularly at the top edge, would have had to be carried out before 1771.

REFERENCES

1 Cf. Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, p. 491.
2 J. B. P. Lebrun, *Galerie des peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands* II, Paris–Amsterdam 1792, facing p. 1.
3 J. L. A. A. M. van Rijckevorsel, *Rembrandt en de traditie*, Rotterdam 1932, p. 76.
4 W. Weisbach, *Rembrandt*, Berlin–Leipzig 1926, p. 123.
5 Sumowski 1957/58, p. 223, fig. 1.
6 W. Bode, 'Rembrandts früheste Thätigkeit', *Die graphischen Künste* 3 (1881), pp. 49–72, esp. p. 54.

A 13 Two old men disputing, probably S.Peter and S.Paul [1628]

MELBOURNE, NATIONAL GALLERY OF VICTORIA, CAT. 1961 NO. 349/4

HDG–; BR. 423; BAUCH 5; GERSON 11

1. Summarized opinion

Despite a few paint losses this is a reasonably well preserved and entirely convincing work, and is moreover almost certainly identical with one of the paintings that Jacques de Gheyn III, in his will in 1641, had described as the work of Rembrandt. It bears a reliable signature, but the date of 1628 previously reported is no longer visible.

2. Description of subject

Two old men are seated in a room only partially lit by light coming from the left. The light falls on the top of the head and the back of the man seen on the left in the foreground just touching the frame; he is facing right, in *profil perdu*, and sitting on a folding chair that is largely hidden by the hanging folds of his yellow-brown cloak. His right foot is visible, and is bare. An open book rests on his knees in the full light, and he has three fingers of his right hand tucked between the pages. The other man, whose head and very light grey cloak partly catch the full light, leans over the armrest of his chair towards his companion and points with his right index finger to a place in the open book. In the lefthand side wall we can just see the frame and cheek of a window. To the right of this are a few disintegrating wooden planks, of uneven height and width, behind which the room appears to stretch further back in the darkness. A globe can be seen here, perched high up, while to the right is a plastered wall with an arch of masonry let into it. To the right of the two men is a table bearing a pewter inkwell and quill pen, a wooden reading-desk with papers and books on it, and left of this a candlestick holding an extinguished candle, and some books. Large books lie on a raised wooden floor in front of the hanging tablecloth, together with a leather travelling bag and, to the extreme right, a slightly pink-tinged yellowish (leather?) object.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 23 October 1972 (B. H., P. v. Th.), out of the frame and in excellent daylight. Ten X-ray films were available from the museum, often overlapping but not covering the whole surface.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain running vertically, 72.3 × 59.5 cm. The back is planed down to a thickness of *c.* 0.4 cm, and cradled. Single plank. Two small battens have been attached to the long edges, and paper glued round the upper and lower edges; to judge by the X-rays, there is an unpainted strip *c.* 0.6–0.8 cm wide at least along the lower edge.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg). Radial board. Left of the tree-heart 130 annual rings of heartwood, to the right 138 rings (up to the boundary of the sapwood?). Not datable.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not visible at any point.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: The surface shows a strong tendency to blister, and in some areas the paint is cupping. This misfortune has already caused some local paint loss, particularly in the cloak of the lefthand figure and in the shadows at the bottom right, which can be clearly seen in the X-rays. Craquelure: there is a fairly uniform net craquelure, clearly apparent everywhere and varying in form with the colour and brushwork. There are a few long cracks in the small white cloth under the travelling bag. Shrinkage craquelure is seen on the globe.
DESCRIPTION: The paint is applied opaquely everywhere, yet shows great variety. Some areas are dealt with broadly and mainly in large blocks of colour, as in the rather ruddy brown tunic and yellowish-brown cloak of the front figure and the cool grey of the other. In others close attention has been given to detail. The texture of the materials being rendered is in all cases expressed in the brushstrokes. In the face of the righthand figure, which catches the full light, the brushmarks suggest old, wrinkled skin. The paint shows some impasto, with fine strings of paint to reproduce the wrinkles and with a marked use of light yellow and white for the highest lights. The eyes, with their small highlights, effectively placed in the very large irises, are surrounded by eyelids and eye-sockets that are suggested rather than accurately defined by using tiny dots and strokes of paint. The hands and the single visible bare foot are done in the same way, with very small and sometimes dabbing touches of the brush; a very strong plastic effect is achieved using pink accents (e.g. on the bare foot) and fine, small highlights, combined with shadow lines drawn in brown and black. The *profil perdu* of the lefthand figure, on the other hand, is kept very simple, and shows no internal detail in the skin areas.

The tablecloth and the still-life on the floor are throughout done in a rather heavy impasto with lumpy paint in the highest lights, predominantly in yellows with a little pink and light green. The travelling bag is given a wealth of detail, with a strong suggestion of plasticity and structure, and is in a liver-coloured brown with white for the highest lights and for the stitching. The shadows are nowhere translucent.

The still-life items on the table are less strongly lit, and are painted thinly in warm greys and browns, with subtly placed highlights. The wall and background are painted fairly thinly though opaquely, with a clear brushstroke.

Scratchmarks appear in the hair of the lefthand figure and the beard of the righthand figure.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The general impression is that the X-ray image broadly corresponds to what is seen at the surface: where lights have been painted brightly, they appear as gradations of white in the X-ray as well. Marked differences in the handling of paint can be seen distinctly (as, for instance, the somewhat coarse structure of the hands as against the much smoother way the clothing is painted). Scratchmarks are apparent in the righthand part of the beard of the further figure.

The differences seen in the X-ray compared to the present surface can for the most part be interpreted as connected with a preparatory stage in the painting process, and occasionally with a late stage.

As a result of what is presumably a light underpainting, an illuminated area shows up in the bottom lefthand corner in which there are no reserves left for the curved legs of the folding chair on which the front figure now sits. One can however see a vertical light band with, along it on the right, a dark reserve; these presumably correspond to the illuminated and shadow sides of a straight chairleg (or is it perhaps a fold of drapery?) shown in the underpainting. To the right of this, indistinct white bands suggest the presence of an underpainting of drapery folds hanging almost vertically. The shape of the head,

A 13 TWO OLD MEN DISPUTING

Fig. 1. Panel 72.3 × 59.5 cm

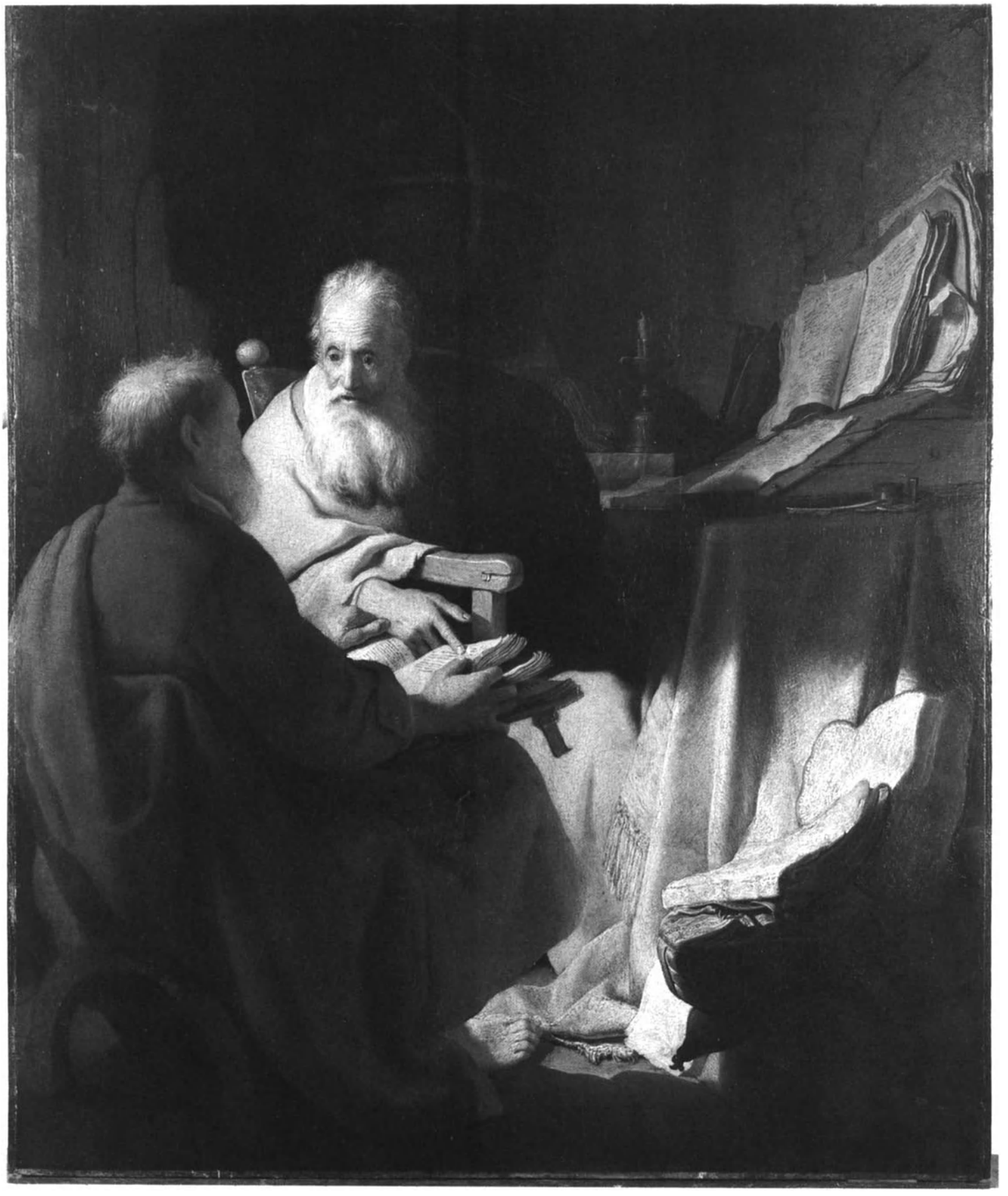


Fig. 2. X-ray

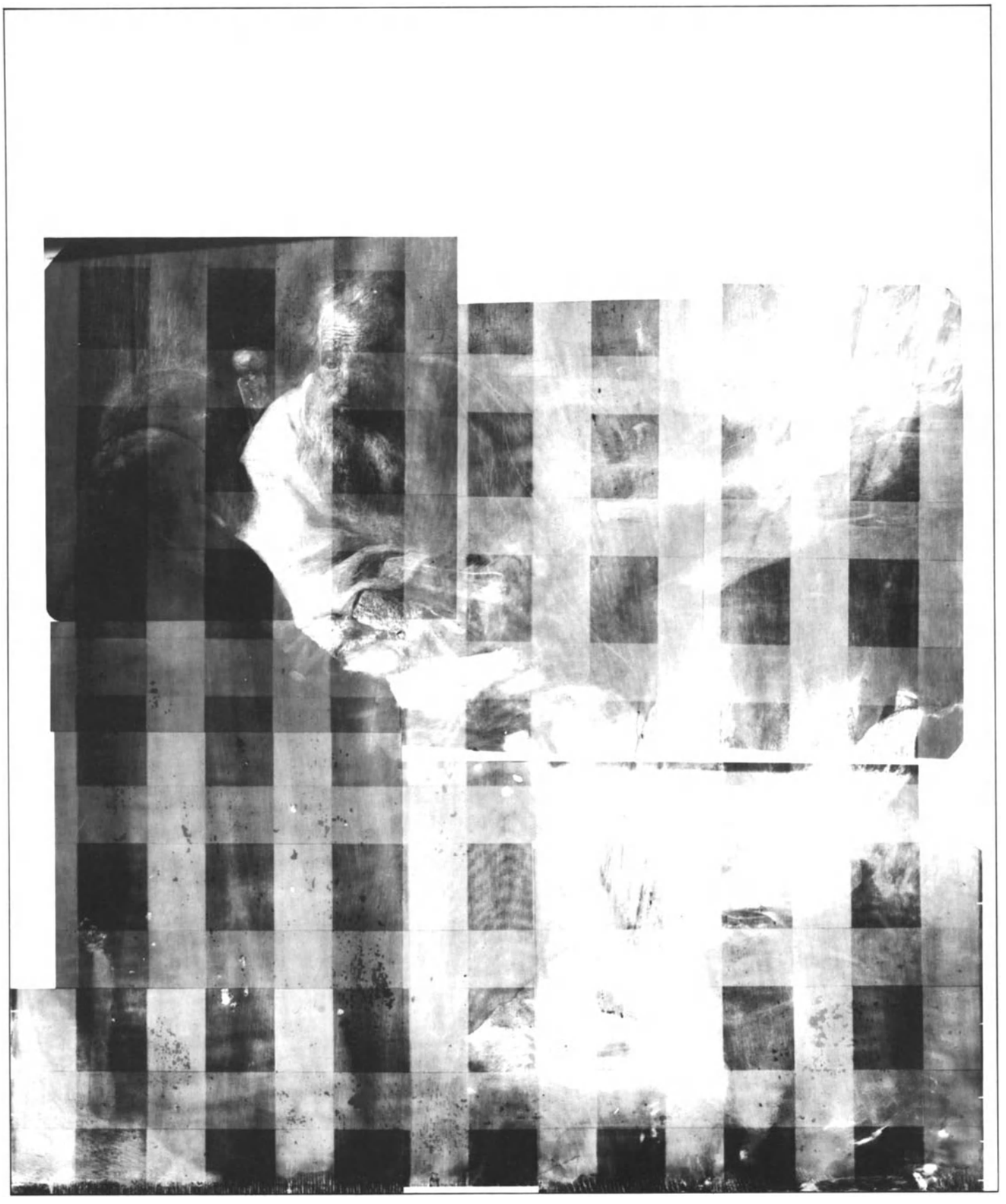
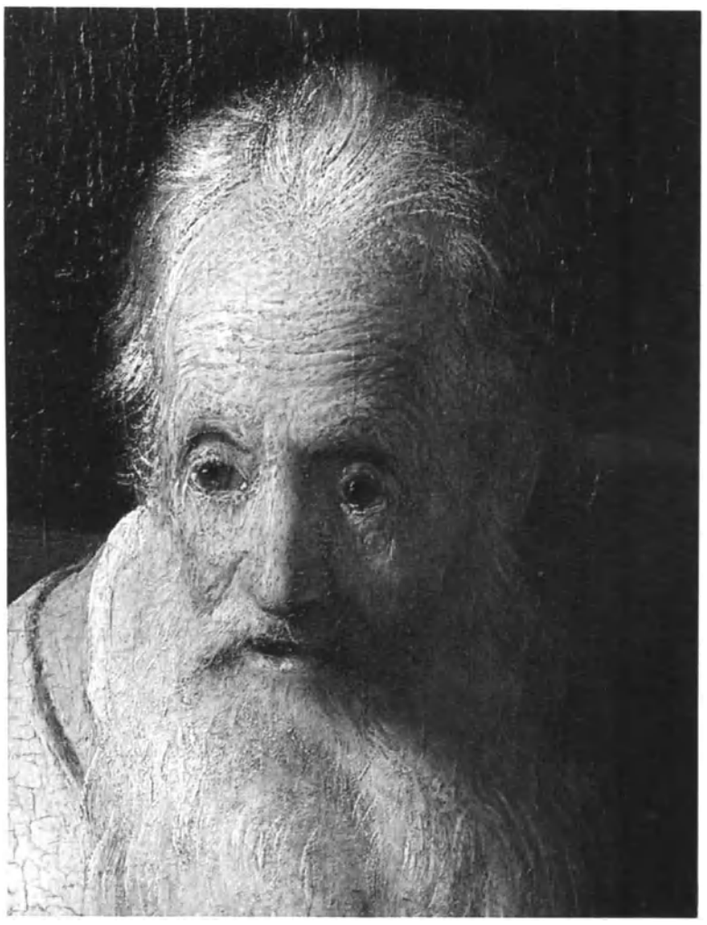


Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)



shoulders and right arm of the man in the front is repeated in the X-ray some 3.5 centimetres lower than the present position; partly as a very dark space left in a somewhat lighter grey (evidently the only slightly radioabsorbent paint that was used for underpainting the cloak of the righthand figure, and in which a rather lighter zig-zag stripe gave the pattern of folds belonging to this), and on the head in a woolly grey which shows that here the forms are depicted broadly with wide, short brush-dabs. The design of the present, taller figure of the man at the front must already have been decided before the figure at the rear was completed in its present thick paint (showing up as a strong white in the X-ray). To judge from the X-ray image it was left free, corresponding to the present contour, and his head placed higher up can be seen, though now in finer and more precise brushstrokes. Other features that must be understood as associated with a light underpainting include a highlight along the armrest of the further chair which runs slightly lower than its presentday equivalent and continues a short distance into his cloak on the left; a tilted, rectangular shape (perhaps an open book?) that appears vaguely and in a rather lighter tone immediately to the right of this; slightly lighter trailing stripes running downwards from the man's left shoulder (probably representing drapery); and some lightish marks which would seem to suggest preparations made for painting, rather lower down, the sheet of paper lying at a sloping angle on the reading desk (though without a space in reserve for the shadow cast by the head of the rear figure) and the leaning books alongside it. This would also suggest a lower position, in the dead colouring stage, for the still-life on the table and for the tabletop. Smaller discrepancies can be seen in various areas of the still-life. To some extent these are pentimenti made in the final stage of completion, e.g. the fringe of the tablecloth, which in the X-ray continues further to the right and part of which is now hidden by a fold hanging down low.

The main changes in the painting, compared to the light areas of the underpainting seen in the X-ray, are in making the front figure taller and in shifting upwards the tabletop and the still-life items seen on it, together with a toning-down of the light value of the lower lefthand corner of the scene.

Signature

At lower left (and not, as stated in the 1961 Melbourne catalogue, 'lower right') in light grey in large, slender cursive capitals that are difficult to read ‹*RL*.›. The *R* is open on the left and has no loop on the right of the stem; the *L* is not seen to touch the tail of the *R*. No trace could be found of the date of 1628 mentioned since the first publication in 1934[1].

Varnish

Traces of old, yellowed varnish remain in the deeper parts of the paint relief; there are otherwise no special features.

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

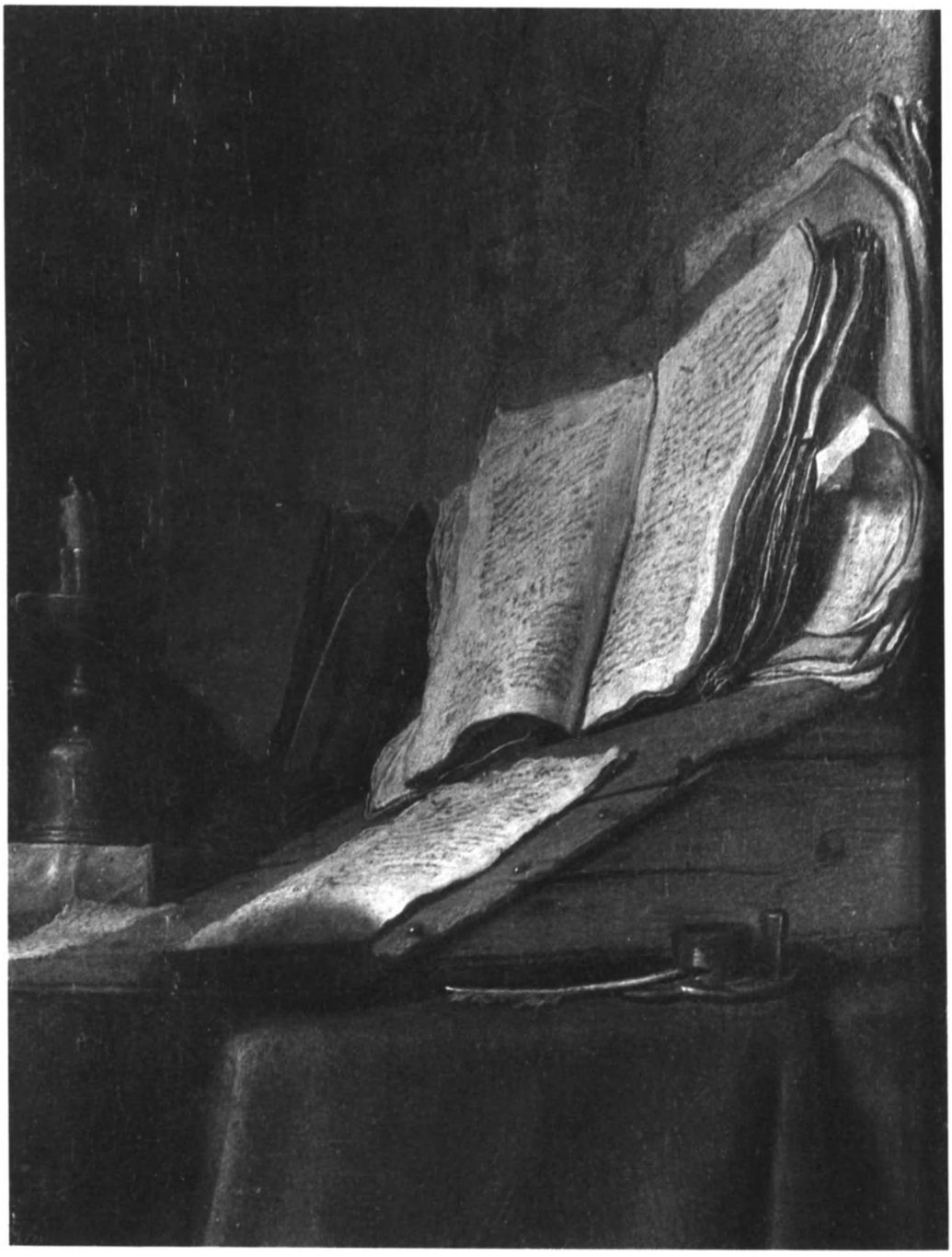
4. Comments

Before its discovery in 1934[1] no. A 13 was known only from an engraving by Pietro Monaco (see *6. Graphic reproductions*; fig. 7) published by W. R. Valentiner (*Rembrandt, Wiedergefundene Gemälde)*, Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig 1923, Kl. d. K., p. 110).

Quite apart from its high pictorial quality and a great many stylistic similarities with a number of early Rembrandt works, which are discussed below, there is some external evidence for the authenticity of no. A 13. In the first place, a drawing in Berlin (Ben. 7; our fig. 6), which was already recognized as a Rembrandt before 1934, is unmistakably a study for the man at the front, and shows him in the same proportions this figure has in its first state, seen in the X-ray image. Furthermore, a painting owned by Jacques de Gheyn III in 1641 and described as a Rembrandt (see *5. Documents*) resembles the scene in no. A 13 so closely that one must assume that it is most probably the same painting.

Three paintings are, partly because of the model employed for them (see entry A 11 under *4. Comments*), directly comparable with the *Two old men disputing*: these are the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 (no. A 11), the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* (no. A 12) and the Nuremberg *S. Paul* (no. A 26). There are direct links between these paintings in the way paint is applied. The present painting does differ from them to some extent in its colour, having a stronger diversity of hue where the others tend towards a monochrome palette. The way the almost white cloak of the righthand figure and the russet brown tunic and yellowish-brown cloak of the left-hand figure have been placed against the predominantly bright yellow of the tablecloth (which merges into green as it runs upwards into the shadow) reminds us more of the Utrecht Caravaggisti than of the colourfulness of 1625/26 and the veiled colouring that typified the year 1627. There is a remarkable variety in the use of colour in the face seen in the light, with both pink and yellow. The use of sinuous outlines to separate bands of contrasting brilliance is a little reminiscent of similar treatment in the *Rich*

Fig. 5. Detail (1 : 1.5)



man of 1627 at Berlin (no. A 10), but especially of the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* when one remembers that in that painting the figure of Mary was originally shown light against the dark repoussoir figure of Joseph.

The central feature of the painting, literally and figuratively, is the interplay of three hands round the open book. Rembrandt has gone more deeply than ever before into anatomical detail and into spatial relationship seen in light and shadow. The shadow part of the book makes a strong contrast with the light cloak, while the open pages catch the full light which, partly as reflected light, helps to illuminate the hands. This manipulation of light, with both subtle gradations and strong contrasts, continues into the rest of the painting as well, and is even more intense than in the *S. Paul in prison* or the *Simeon in the Temple*. In the Nuremberg *S. Paul*, the handling of light takes a different turn again. Bearing in mind the numerous close connexions with the *S. Paul in*

Fig. 6. Rembrandt, Study in red and black chalk (Ben. 7). Berlin (West), Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

prison of 1627 and the *Simeon in the Temple* that followed soon after, a dating in 1628 – in line with the inscription seen earlier – is wholly credible.

It is evident then that the meticulous attention to detail that Rembrandt lavished on, for instance, the rendering of materials and the construction of the illuminated armrest of the chair in the centre of the picture had a decisive influence on Gerrit Dou, who came to work with Rembrandt as an apprentice in the February of that year. A similar depiction of detail is certainly still seen in, say, the *Judas repentant* (no. A 15) which was probably begun in 1628; but in general it gradually becomes less prominent or does not give rise to such painstaking accuracy. What Dou does not take over from his master (cf. a work of similar composition such as the London *Tobit and Anna* (no. C 3), and what is so specially characteristic in no. A 13 and in a number of works from 1626 and 1627, is the way the portrayal of space is subordinated to forms which are placed close together and separated principally by chiaroscuro contrasts.

The changes seen in the painting in comparison with the parts of the underpainting that can be seen in the X-ray tend to raise the level of forms situated at the extreme left and right of the picture. The construction of the curved legs of the chair of the man at the front in relation to the backrest under his cloak is however now unclear, and the perspective clumsy. It appears from the X-ray, in so far as it shows the parts of the underpainting, that the folds of the cloak fell almost vertically, just as in the Berlin drawing; and one could perhaps see a leg of the straight chair that one gathers is there (without however actually seeing it) in the drawing. We must therefore assume that in order to give the lefthand figure – perhaps because of its increased height – a more stable position, Rembrandt altered the fall of the folds shown in the drawing, and added the chair-leg.

The meaning of the picture is not immediately apparent. There are no unambiguous personal attributes: the still-life has in general connotations of scholarliness, and the bag perhaps of journeying. The costumes suggest an historical and presumably biblical subject; a classical one is less likely. The bare right foot of the man at the front might point to his being an apostle.

The fact that the will of Jacques de Gheyn III dated 1641 (see *5. Documents*) mentions two anonymous 'old men' can be interpreted in at least three ways: either the scene had no specific meaning (which seems hardly likely), or the specific meaning was not known (this one cannot accept – de Gheyn had been in personal contact with Rembrandt, who painted a portrait of him in 1632), or a factual description was looked on as the best way of formally identifying de Gheyn's possessions. Remembering the wording of other wills and inventories, this is perhaps the most likely explanation. It is of interest here to note that the same will describes another Rembrandt painting (no. A 17) in a similar fashion, and a painting by Jan Lievens that certainly represents Vertumnus and Pomona (Schneider no. 95) is referred to as 'een fraye vrouwe tronige mit een out wijff daarbij' (head of a beautiful lady with an old woman beside her)[9]. The bald description given in the will is thus no argument against a more precise iconographic interpretation.

The caption to Pietro Monaco's engraving of 1743 (see *6. Graphic reproductions*; fig. 7) entitles the scene 'Elisha foretelling the king's attempt on his life', and mentions 2 Kings 6: 32. That passage, however, describes a different set of circumstances ('But Elisha sat in his house, and the elders sat with him'), and one can point to no iconographic tradition for the subject. One finds, moreover, that further fanciful interpretations occur in Pietro Monaco's *Raccolta di 55 Istorie sacre*[2].

Modern interpretations vary. Bauch originally thought of two philosophers[3], and later regarded Pietro Monaco's title (wrongly reproduced as

Fig. 7. Engraving by P. Monaco, 1743

'Elisha prophesying his death to Elijah') as probably being correct[4]. Van Gils suggested Hippocrates' visit to Democritus[5]; the picture does not however match the clear iconographic tradition for this theme (cf. W. Stechow in: *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek* 4 (1924), pp. 34–38). The same objection applies to the interpretation put forward by Benesch[6] of Democritus and Heraclitus (cf. A. Blankert in: *N.K.J.* 18 (1967), pp. 31–124).

The most acceptable explanation is that given by Tümpel[7]. He points out that from the depiction together of the two leading apostles Peter and Paul, the apostles of the Jews and of the Gentiles, there developed a type that showed them deep in conversation. Lucas van Leyden's engraving of 1527 (B. 106) presents this type quite clearly: the two apostles are seated in a landscape, identified by their attributes (the key for Peter and the book and sword for Paul), wrapped in argument and with Peter pointing to a passage in the book lying in Paul's lap. The scene closely resembles the outer side of the wings of Lucas' *Last Judgment* triptych, which hung in the Leiden town hall from 1577 onwards. The type continues during the 17th century as well. Tümpel mentions the early painting by Guido Reni at Milan, which may perhaps have been indirectly known to Rembrandt (cf. no. A 28). To this we can add a painting by the Master of the Judgment of Solomon (at Colnaghi's, London, 1976; cf. *Burl. Mag.* 118 (1976), December issue, 'Notable works ... on the market', pl. XX; our fig. 8), where Peter is shown with the key, and another by one of the Dutch Caravaggisti, probably Wouter Crabeth the Younger (Gouda 1595–1644), in the University of Nebraska Art Galleries, Lincoln (fig. 9) in which both apostles are shown with their attributes and where Peter, just as in Lucas's print, is pointing to a place in Paul's open book.

Rembrandt's painting differs from the type Tümpel has in mind in three respects: the action is taking place inside a study room, the apostles' individual attributes are absent, and the figure identifiable by his long beard as Paul is pointing to a place in the book held by the figure who must be Peter (instead of the other way round). This last point may have to do with certain views on the relationship between the two apostles which are known to have provided a subject for argument (cf., for example, I. Molanus, *De historia ss. imaginum et picturarum pro vero earum usu contra abusus libri IV*, Louvain 1594, pp. 134–136, lib. III cap. XXIV: 'Paullus quibus de caussis saepe à dextris Petri pingatur'). Tümpel explains the lack of attributes by the fact that (with one exception) Rembrandt always omitted these in multi-figured history scenes where the relationships and facial types were enough to mark out the characters. This is a not unacceptable explanation, although it still seems strange that particularly in what was a newly-formulated version of a relatively uncommon subject Rembrandt should not have included the traditional attributes among an otherwise abundant range of still-life objects. Account must incidentally be taken, from the evidence of the X-ray, of the earlier placing of a book on the lap of the figure at the back; in this case, Paul would originally have had at least one of the attributes related to him. Its being painted over would remind us to some extent of what happened with the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627, where the book did not disappear but was less accentuated as an attribute by having a sheet of paper painted on top of it. To explain the unusual location of the action in a study, Tümpel suggests that Rembrandt was, by showing this, alluding to Paul's visit to Peter (Galatians 1: 18: 'Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days ...'). This explanation is not unattractive; it must be commented – as Tümpel has done – that Rembrandt's solution found no imitators, and quite quickly resulted in incomprehension.

Fig. 8. Master of the Judgement of Solomon, *SS. Peter and Paul*. London, P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. Ltd (1976/77)

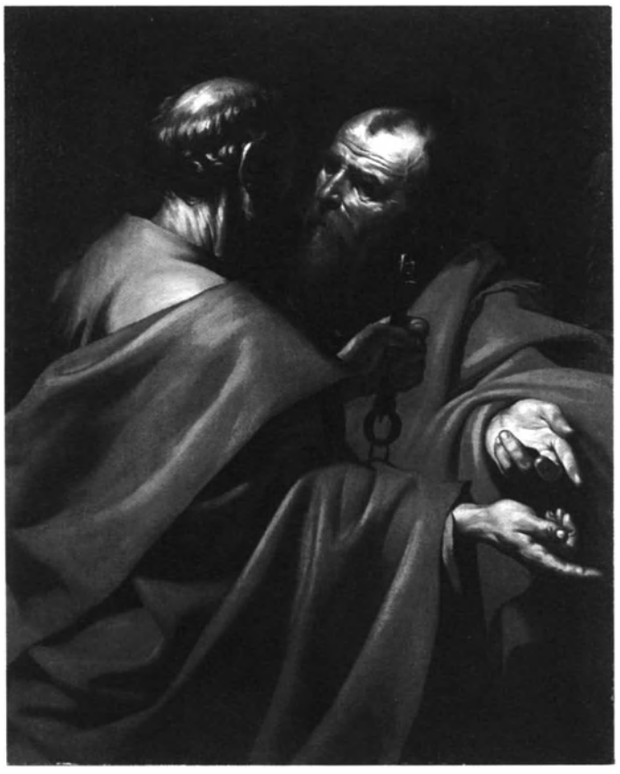


Fig. 9. Attr. to W. Crabeth the Younger, *SS. Peter and Paul*. Lincoln, Nebraska, University of Nebraska Art Galleries

There are two further things that can be said for Tümpel's interpretation. First, the posture of the rear figure with one arm placed on an armrest matches that of the figure in the Paris drawing (Ben. 15) identified, by the sword, as Paul; he appears without an attribute, however, in etching B. 149 based on this drawing. And secondly, the figure at the front shows a number of alterations, compared to the study in Berlin (Ben. 7), that point to Peter. The drawing had a shod right foot, while in the painting this has been replaced by a bare foot seen in the light; this emphasis makes it likely that an apostle is intended, and MacLaren already referred to the painting as *Two seated apostles*[8]. Finally, the model used for the drawing has, as Tümpel has remarked, an elongated head and, especially, a long beard; this model is beyond any doubt the same man Rembrandt repeatedly drew, and who was used in no. A 11 for the figure of Paul. In the painting, this type has been replaced by a man with a balding head and shorter beard, in keeping with the traditional Peter type.

Taking all things together, there is sufficient reason for accepting Tümpel's interpretation of the scene – Peter and Paul in conversation – and for assuming that Rembrandt was here trying out a bold iconographic innovation, in an initiative that did not win a following. The appearance of a picture of the apostle Peter and 'one of the Evangelists' at a sale in 1764 (cf. *8. Provenance*) would, if this mention can be connected with no. A 13, show that at that time there was still some – albeit incomplete – understanding of the picture.

5. Documents and sources

In his will dated 3 June 1641 the artist Jacques de Gheyn III, who originated from Leiden and was canon of S. Marie at Utrecht, bequeathed to his nephew Joannes Wtenbogaert, tax-collector for Amsterdam, a number of paintings by Rembrandt, Lievens, Brouwer and others, including: 'Item noch een schilderije van Rembrand gedaen, daer twee oude mannekens sitten ende disputeren, den eenen heeft een groot bouck op sijn schoot, daer comt een sonnelicht in'. (Item a further painting done by Rembrandt, wherein two old men sit disputing, the one has a large book on his lap, with sunlight coming in) (A. Bredius in: *O.H.* 33 (1915), pp. 126–128; J. Q. van Regteren Altena, *The drawings of Jacques de Gheyn*, Amsterdam 1936, p. 129).

6. Graphic reproductions

Engraving (same direction) in large-folio by Pietro Monaco (active as an engraver and mosaicist in Venice from 1735–1775) with the inscriptions: ELISEO CHE PREDISCE I REGI ATTENTATI CONTRO SE STESSO / *Eliseus autem sedebat in domo sua, et Senes sedebant cum eo. Reg. L. 4. cap. VI. V. 32* / *Pittura di Rembrandt del Reno posseduta dall' ill.^mo Sig. Bortolo Bernardi a S. Apollinare.* / *Pietro Monaco del. scol. – e forma in Venezia.* (Ch. le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, Paris 1857–1889, III, p. 38, no. 189). The print, executed in a Tiepolo-like style, strongly accentuates the mobility of the forms, and moreover shows clear divergences from the original: the room is more clearly delimited, though the planks on the left are construed as the thickness of the wall; the globe is slightly flattened, and located higher up in relation to the shoulder of the rear figure (Paul); the candle appears to be burning; on the left below the front figure (Peter) there is an irregularly-shaped object (a stone?); the uppermost item in the still-life to the right on the floor is reproduced as a book. All of these seem to be artistic liberties, devoid of any documentary

significance. The phrase 'a S. Apollinare' coupled with the name of the then owner of the painting probably refers to the Parish of Sant'Aponal in Venice.

A second Venetian print is mentioned in the literature as bearing the inscription *Eliseo profetante, del Rembrand: era presso Bartolomeo Bernardi a San Apollinare,* and as being no. 59 in a series of reproductions of mainly Italian paintings published in Venice in 1789 (cf. G. Moschini, *Dell'incisione in Venezia,* Venice 1924, p. 73; F. W. Robinson in: *N.K.J.* 18 (1967), p. 168). As this series was executed by Valentin Lefebvre (d. 1680/82), Silvestro Manaigo (d. *c.* 1734) and Andrea Zucchi (d. 1740), the print may well have been done earlier than the one by Pietro Monaco, with the inscription added only in 1789. We have seen no copy of it.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Almost certainly coll. Jacques de Gheyn III (1596–1641), canon of S. Marie at Utrecht, bequeathed by his will of 1641 to Joannes Wtenbogaert, tax-collector at Amsterdam (cf. *5. Documents*).
– Coll. Joannes Wtenbogaert (1608–1680), tax-collector for Amsterdam.
*– Probably coll. J. A. Sichterman, sale Groningen 20 August 1764 (Lugt 1401), no. 292: 'Een ongemeen fraai en natuurlijk stuk, door Rembrandt van Rhyn, zynde twee Pourtraiten, waar van het een verbeeldt, den Apostel Petrus, en 't ander, een der Evangelisten' (An uncommonly fine and natural piece, by Rembrandt van Rhyn, being two portraits, whereof the one represents Peter, and the other one of the Evangelists).
– Coll. Bortolo Bernardi of [the parish of] S. Apollinare [Venice], before 1775 and possibly as early as 1740, in which case the picture sold at Groningen in 1764 must have been a different one (cf. *6. Graphic reproductions*).
– Coll. D. Birnbaum, Felden Lodge, Exmoor, Herts (up to 1934).
– Dealer D. A. Hoogendijk (1934).

9. Summary

The painting belongs among the very rare works that are documented by 17th-century evidence, though there is no continuous trace. The signature is reliable, and there is no reason for doubting the date 1628 that could be read in the past; in the composition, handling of light and effect of depth the painting represents a more mature stage than the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 (no. A 11).

The part of the underpainting of the old man in the foreground that is visible in the X-ray matches fairly closely a drawing in Berlin that can be looked on as a study for this painting, thus providing confirmation of the authenticity of both.

The scene must probably be interpreted as Peter and Paul in conversation: despite the lack of the attributes of these apostles it fits into a tradition that can be traced through the 16th and early 17th centuries.

REFERENCES

1 Illustrated invitation from D. A. Hoogendijk & Co., Amsterdam, 27 October–12 November 1934; J. G. van Gelder, 'Rembrandt's philosophen in den kunsthandel D. A. Hoogendijk & Co., Amsterdam', *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 45 (1935) I, pp. 65–66; idem, 'Kroniek. Een nieuw jeugdwerk van Rembrandt', *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 47 (1937) I, pp. 353–355; W. R. Valentiner, 'Some early compositions by Rembrandt', *Burl. Mag.* 68 (1936), pp. 73–81.
2 U. Hoff, *Catalogue of European paintings before eighteen hundred,* National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne 1961, pp. 101, 125.
3 Bauch 1933, p. 195.
4 Bauch 1960, pp. 143–144; Bauch 1966, 5.
5 J. B. F. van Gils, 'Hippocrates op bezoek bij Democrites', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Geneeskunde* 16 (1936), p. 115; idem, letter in: *Burl. Mag.* 68 (1938), p. 248.
6 Ben. 7.
7 Tümpel 1969, pp. 182–187.
8 N. MacLaren, *The Dutch School,* London 1960 (National Gallery Catalogues), p. 339.

A 14 Self-portrait

[1628]

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM, INV. NO. A 4691

HDG –; BR. –; BAUCH 287; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

A well-preserved and authentic work, closely akin to and preceding the Munich *Self-portrait* dated 1629 (no. A 19).

2. Description of subject

Bust, facing three-quarters right and placed slightly left of the centre of the picture area. A strong light falls from the left onto part of the shoulder, the neck, the right ear and the cheek, and through the shock of curly hair. The nose and part of the area round the mouth, and a lock of hair above the forehead, just catch a little of the light. The head and body are otherwise dark, against a light background that suggests a plastered wall.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 26 May 1971 (J. B., E. v. d. W.), by reasonable daylight and out of the frame, with the aid of a binocular microscope and in conjunction with an X-ray photograph (by the Rijksmuseum) covering the whole painting.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 22.5 × 18.6 cm. Thickness at left *c.* 0.7 cm, at right *c.* 0.9 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled at top and bottom edges on the right, and very slightly bevelled on the lefthand side.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): measurement along the short edges is impossible because of battens fixed to the panel. Attempts to take measurements along the edge of the panel gave counts of 72 annual rings of heartwood, while those based on the X-Ray have 75 rings of heartwood; the wood could not however be dated.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Visible as a light yellow-brown in various scratchmarks and in discontinuities in the paint layer, e.g. in the shoulder on the left where the light and shadow merge, in the eye on the left, beside the cheek outline on the right and in large areas of the background (including those where the light grey is at its thickest).

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Very good. There is some retouching in the paint layer along the edges, especially on the left and right. Craquelure: only a few, small cracks appear in the white of the illuminated shirt-collar.

DESCRIPTION: Though in the lit areas of the face the paint is quite thick or even impasto, the paint layer has so little continuity that the warm ground frequently helps to determine the appearance. A light orange-brown forms the transition from the shadow to the illuminated area. In the highest light, beside the ear and in the neck, the light skin colour is opaquely applied with quite coarse dabs. In the righthand side of the face the shadow area is done wholly in a thin dark grey, of uneven opacity. The eyebrows, eyes and nostril are indicated within this in black, not sharply but with a clear suggestion of shape. The skin areas in the half-shadow show subtle gradations of a warm flesh colour, in tiny brushstrokes; a blurred highlight in broken white is placed in this, at the tip of the nose. A misty area of brown-red lies beneath this at the point of the chin and on the lips, which are modelled in a greyish haze on either side of a black mouth-line that shades off into grey. The stubbly beard on the lower jaw is shown by a similar grey haze on top of which, along the underedge of the chin, fine brushlines have been placed in a dark grey like crosshatching, with above these one or two brown dots. The ear shows a surprising range of colours: the edge of the ear is done in a thick pink flesh tint and a pinkish red, while the lobe is even heavier in the same colours with, on the left, a dot of pale flesh colour and a small amount of white together with, towards the lower margin, two fine, curved strokes of a thick golden yellow (these seem to suggest a double ear-ring, but are more likely intended as curling hairs seen against the light). Right at the bottom of the ear there is a trace of pure red.

The hair, for the most part set down in patchy grey and black, protrudes out over the background on the right with small flicks of the brush. Along the lefthand side and across the top of the hair numerous thin scratches penetrate right down through the paint to the ground; some of these curve in a single direction, others are S-shaped, others again intersect or converge at a point. Further small, coarse brushstrokes of grey have been applied on top of these scratchmarks. Above the subject's right eyebrow a projecting lock of hair is shown by a patch of russet brown in which there are a few scratchmarks and coarse licks of pinkish light brown.

In the neck, heavily applied greys form the transition between areas of light and shade. The shirt-collar, seen in shadow, is painted in the same way; where it is seen in the light, it is shown in white in very thick dabs. In the patch of light on the shoulder the jacket is painted with a few vigorous touches of opaque light grey, terminating abruptly at the bottom; below this, a thin and darker grey lies patchily on the top of the open ground. The rest of the body is indicated in a thin, dark grey that is not entirely opaque.

Throughout the background an opaque, cold grey – lightest by the shoulder on the left, darkest at the top right – forms a coarse surface done with dabbing touches of the brush running in various directions. The ground is frequently visible through openings in this opaque grey, especially at the top right. The hair continues (in paintstrokes and scratchmarks) out into the background; the slightly convex righthand shadow contour of the neck lies on top of a laid-down patch of background. The outline of the cheek has been produced by carefully butting the shadow area and the light background up against each other, with one or the other occasionally overlapping.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

Apart from the occasional sharpening-up of a final form compared to the space originally left in reserve for it, there is no sign of formal changes having been made. As the paint surface leads one to expect, the head and body show scarcely any internal detail, and the areas around the ear and on the left in the neck show up as the strongest white in the X-ray. The lively brushwork over the whole of the background is also clearly apparent, as are the numerous very energetic scratchmarks along the left and upper edges of the hair and (less distinctly) in the lock of hair above the subject's right eyebrow. The fine brushstroke used for applying the ground is only occasionally glimpsed.

Signature

None.

Varnish

No special remarks.

Fig. 1. Panel 22.5 × 18.6 cm (1 : 1)

Fig. 2. X-ray

4. Comments

Before examining the relationship between no. A 14 and other versions in which this portrait appears (especially that at Kassel), it might be well to define more closely the features of the painting and to test them against what one finds from other works by Rembrandt.

It is apparent that the brushwork presents substantial differences in various areas, differences that are determined mainly by the extent to which the form being rendered catches the light and by the nature of the material being reproduced. The parts of the head that are in half shadow or full shadow are depicted carefully but convincingly in their spatial relationship, with an extreme economy of means. Similar means, including in particular the use of hatching along the underedge of the chin, are employed to achieve a like effect in the *Self-portrait* of about 1629 in the MOA Museum, Japan (no. A 22) and the *Self-portrait* of *c.* 1629 in The Hague (no. A 21), as well as in the Munich *Self-portrait* (no. A 19) of 1629; in the latter, however, the brush is wielded rather more freely and a more systematic use is made of translucent paint in the shadows. The three-dimensional effect is helped by the slightly curving and sharply demarcated outline of the shadowed cheek against the light background; this occurs again in the Munich painting (albeit in a less pronounced form), where it is again an essential feature. The highly imaginative treatment of the hair (closely resembling that in the Munich painting) is geared entirely to creating an impression of depth; the scratchmarks in particular have a similar pattern, seen also in the etched *Self-portrait* (B. 338). In the treatment of the background, too, no. A 14 has the closest possible affinity to the Munich *Self-portrait,* as is indeed apparent from a comparison of the X-rays of the two works. These similarities alone are enough to warrant the conclusion that no. A 14 can be regarded as an authentic work, and should be dated at approximately 1629.

Against these more or less subtle qualities there is the surprising (relative) coarseness with which the highest lights in the ear, neck and shoulder are executed. In the Munich *Self-portrait,* a contrast like this occurs less markedly.

From the colour-scheme, a dating in 1628 would seem the most likely. The striking use made of pink, red, white and yellow in the illuminated ear reminds one most strongly of the pink and yellow tints in the lit areas of skin in the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* (no. A 13) which dates from that year, and then to some extent of the brighter colours that dominate the Basle *David before Saul* of 1627 (no. A 9).

Yet in the overall effect of the colour-scheme used in no. A 14 this painting stands on its own. It is not only a study in light and dark, but also a demonstration of how an almost monochrome palette can be enriched with one or two colour accents. The bright colours are concentrated mainly in the illuminated ear, whence there are transitions on the one hand to the flesh tints in the light (tending to a warmer hue) and the brown in the lock of hair over the forehead, and on the other to the cool grey on the lit shoulder. Most of all, however, the warm ground that shows through in many places (most of all in the penumbra on the shoulder) imparts a kind of glow to the greys that, in a range from dark to light, are the most extensively employed colours. In this respect no. A 14 already foreshadows a consistent use of the visibility of the ground showing through, a technique that appears in full force in about 1630.

Rembrandt had already depicted himself as a bystander in history compositions in the Leiden *History painting* of 1626 (no. A 6) and the Basle *David before Saul* of 1627. As a type, no. A 14 belongs with a number of etchings and drawings in which he used himself as a model. The lighting scheme used occurs again with one of the figures in the *Judas repentant* of 1629 (no. A 15) – the second standing figure from the left – and, applied to a single head, in the Munich *Self-portrait* of 1629; it is seen yet again, in a broader compass, in etching B. 17 of 1633 and in the preliminary study in black chalk for this etching, now at Marseille (Ben. 430).

It was only in 1959 that the painting was considered an original; it was subsequently recognized as such by Bauch[1] and Haak[2]. Bauch, in an excellent analysis[3], defended its authenticity against the claims of the version at Kassel (see 7. *Copies,* 1; fig. 4) that had been known of in the literature for a far longer period. Here we need only summarize his observations, adding one or two supplementary points. In the Kassel version, which has been subsequently cut down on the right and where moreover the head is seen on a somewhat larger scale in a narrower format, the contours are less well articulated and the internal drawing is coarser; there is greater emphasis on the plasticity of face and neck, making the forms appear swollen; the root of the wing of the nose on the left (present in the original only as a shadow effect) is missing. A thick highlight has been placed on the nose and, most surprisingly, on the neck. The hair is done in browns showing less differentiation, and the calligraphic style of the many broad scratchmarks, almost all curving in the same direction, differs greatly from those in no. A 14 and in the Munich picture (no. A 19). There is a visible brushstroke in the grey of the background,

Fig. 3. Etching by J. G. van Vliet, 1634 (reproduced in reverse)

but it lacks the very evident rhythm that is characteristic of these two last-named works. It is precisely in the aspects where no. A 14 and the Munich work strongly resemble each other that the Kassel version differs from both; the disparity we have mentioned between the chiaroscuro effect and the plastic form is typical of the copyist. Comparison of the X-rays of the two paintings confirms this conclusion, in that on the one hand the radiographic image of no. A 14 shows the rather vague definition (typical of Rembrandt) of the reserve left for head and hair in the light background, this background being done in paint handled in a practically uniform fashion, while on the other the X-ray of the Kassel version shows the background (which is, besides, handled quite differently) being instead laid down along the reserved shape with a certain amount of care, with the strokes sometimes running parallel to the outline of the reserve. One notices, too, that in the Kassel version the reserve left empty for the mop of hair matches the final result in no. A 14, where at the back the space left in reserve along the top has been made considerably more cramped, evidently to allow the background to show through between the fluffy hair.

One must, therefore, reject the notion of the Kassel version being the original, as Gerson[4] and Rosenberg and Slive[5] believed. Of the copies now known, it is the only one that we might assume to date from soon after 1628. Its age is hard to determine with any accuracy; J. Bauch and D. Eckstein, working from dendrochronological measurements, have been unable to arrive at a dating for the panel (see *7. Copies*, 1). Kurt Bauch[3,6] suggested Jan Lievens as the author of the Kassel copy, but there are insufficient specific resemblances with Lievens' work dated in this period. This painting at Kassel was, together with the self-portraits in The Hague and Munich, first recognized as a self-portrait and dated before 1630 by W. Bode (in: *Zeitschr.f.b.K.* 5(1870), p. 175; idem, *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, Braunschweig 1883, pp. 375ff).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

Etching B.19 by J. G. van Vliet dated 1634 (*RHL.* (in monogram) *inventor / JG* (in monogram) *v.Vliet fec.1634*) shows the figure in a much wider framework, with the addition of a part of the body and of a cast shadow in the background. Bauch[3] has pointed out that this etching is made after no. A 14 and not after the Kassel version (see *7. Copies*, 1); from among his arguments we may mention the similarities in the line of the cheek contour and the shape of the cast shadow from the hair on the neck. As has been demonstrated in the Introduction, Chapter III, this cannot in itself be seen as providing proof of the autograph nature of no. A 14.

7. Copies

1. Oak panel, grain vertical, 23.4 × 17.2 cm. Single plank. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe, inv. no. GK 229. HdG 533; Br.1; Bauch 288; Gerson 30. Examined in October 1968 (J.B., B.H.). Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): measured 104 annual rings of heartwood at the upper edge, and 102 at the lower edge; so far no dating has been possible. As to the composition of the ground, a report by Dr. H. Kühn, Munich, on a sample taken from the edge mentions chalk and glue. Painted over a light ground in fairly opaque and occasionally thick paint; for further details, see *4. Comments*. Listed in the Kassel *Hauptinventar* started in 1749 as no. 657: 'Rembrant. Ein Kopf ganz im Schatten mit bloszen Haaren gegen einen lichten Grund. [height] 9 Zoll. [width] $7\frac{1}{2}$ Zoll.' [= 23.4 × 19.5 cm]. Obviously the reduction in width by 2.5–3 cm mentioned by Bauch (op. cit.[3] p. 324 and note 3) had not yet been made in the middle of the 18th century. Up to 1960 this version was fairly generally accepted as an original, and still today is looked on as such by some authors (see under *4. Comments*). It is a copy made probably quite early in the 17th century, though it cannot be dated with accuracy nor attributed to any particular artist. Bauch (op. cit.[3] p. 328 and [6]) has suggested, unconvincingly, an attribution to Lievens. Copied from this version is the painting on panel measuring 25.7 × 22.2 cm in the collection of Sir John Heathcoat-Amery, Bt, previously with dealer Knoedler, New York, and in 1929 with dealer Kleykamp, The Hague (cf. Bauch[3] p. 325, fig. 191). To judge by the layout, it was painted before the Kassel painting had been made narrower in or after the third quarter of the 18th century.

2. Oak panel, 21.8 × 17.5 cm. Previously in coll. Matsvansky,

Fig. 4. Copy 1. Panel 23.4 × 17.2 cm. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe (1 : 1)

Fig. 5. X-ray of copy 1

Vienna, before that in coll. Dr. Gotthelf Meyer, Vienna (prior to 1873) and coll. Salomon Benedikt Goldschmidt, Frankfurt a.M., sale 11 March 1907, no. 26 ('Holländische Schule'). Published and attributed to Rembrandt by Th. von Frimmel (in: *Blätter für Gemäldekunde* III (1907), pp. 164–171, with reproduction and colour reproduction), from whom the details reported here are taken. According to Frimmel the painting has been reduced in size ('formatisiert') and he assumed that it would originally have matched the composition of van Vliet's etching. This is most improbable; a far more likely suggestion is the original arrangement that has survived in no. A 14. It is impossible to be sure whether this copy was, as Bauch (op. cit.[3] p. 325) assumes, made direct from no. A 14.

8. Provenance

- Coll.Dr. Alexander Patterson, Glasgow.
- Coll. James E. Mackay, Glasgow.
- Coll. Mrs. Mary A. Winter, Bearsden, Dumbartonshire.
- Sale London (Sotheby's) 27 May 1959, no. 135.
- Coll. D. H. Cevat, St. Peter Port, Guernsey until 1977.

9. Summary

This little painting is one of the first single heads by Rembrandt that we know of, and as a study of a very pronounced lighting effect it is, though not unique, quite unusual in his painted oeuvre. On the other hand it so closely resembles a series of early etchings in the way the artist perceives his own face, and is so like the Munich *Self-portrait* of 1629 (no. A 19) in concept and manner of painting, that there can be no doubt about either its being autograph or being datable at approximately 1629. The treatment of the illuminated areas of head, neck and shoulder, which is surprising in its brushtouch and colour range, suggests a date just before the Munich *Self-portrait,* probably in 1628. The Kassel version, long regarded by most authors as being original, is now clearly recognizable as an old copy. The etching by J. G. van Vliet dated 1634 is done not from this copy but from no. A 14. Apart from van Vliet's print, there are several other painted copies that vouch for the interest that the unusual handling of light evidently awakened.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch 1960, pp. 174–175.
2 Haak 1969, p. 34.
3 K. Bauch, 'Ein Selbstbildnis des frühen Rembrandt', *Wallr.-Rich.-Jahrb.* 24 (1962), pp. 321–332, esp. pp. 324–327.
4 Gerson 30; Br.-Gerson 1.
5 J. Rosenberg – S. Slive – E. H. ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture 1600–1800*, Harmondsworth 1966, pp. 51 and 267.
6 Bauch 1966, 288.
7 Catalogue of exhibition *Rondom Rembrandt,* Leiden 1968, no. 35.

A 15 Judas, repentant, returning the pieces of silver

ENGLAND, PRIVATE COLLECTION

HDG –; BR. –; BAUCH 47; GERSON 12; BR.-GERSON 539A

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved and reliably signed and dated work which on the grounds, inter alia, of numerous autograph changes in composition is certainly authentic. Though dated 1629 and certainly completed in that year, it was probably started during the previous year. It is documented as no other early Rembrandt work is, by a commentary written by Huygens around 1630.

2. Description of subject

The scene is based on Matthew 27: 3–5.

In an enclosed space, which thick columns indicate is part of the Temple though the architectural arrangement is unclear, the high priest sits on a shallow wooden stage close to a column on the right. The column is draped with a blue-green cloth, on which hangs a very large, ornamented shield. Behind the high priest stands a man wearing a tall cap; to the left of him, three men are leaning forward; the one furthest to the left wears a fur cape. Behind the man with the tall cap two more figures can be glimpsed, just left of the draped column. In the left foreground a man, seen from the rear, is seated at a table; the table is covered with a richly-ornamented cloth, and has a large book with parchment binding, a scroll of paper and a cloth lying on it. The full light from the left falls on this area, and to a lesser extent also illuminates the centre of the scene. On the right, in front of the high priest, Judas has fallen to his knees, with hands clasped together and chest bare; his head shows traces of blood. Onto the wood-planked floor he has thrown the (exactly) 30 pieces of silver which were his reward for betraying Jesus. The high priest and those immediately around him show their reaction to this, in gesture and facial expression. At the extreme right, on a step, lies a garment – evidently the cloak thrown off by Judas. Further to the rear two figures are seen approaching up a flight of steps. A copper lamp hangs above these steps. The background on the left is formed by a bare wall, with a column partly let into it. Towards the bottom of the wall, a greenish cloth with a turned-over fringe along the top is tacked to it, and continues across the column.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 9 June 1971 (B. H., P. v. Th.), on the wall and in the frame, by poor daylight plus some artificial light. Examined again in October 1976 (J. B., E. v. d. W.) in good daylight and out of the frame. X-ray photographs available later: 9 films taken by the National Gallery, London, covering the whole of the painting.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain horizontal 79 × 102.3 cm. Thickness at top 1.9 cm, at bottom 1.3 cm. Three planks, with joins at *c.* 27 and 56 cm from the upper edge. Back bevelled along all four sides, the bevelling having the least width along the bottom; a small groove has been made along both joins with a gouge, as is still done today by violinmakers to check the soundness of a glued joint.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: The four edges of the panel are unpainted, and show a light yellowish ground, which is not apparent elsewhere. Along the margins of the paint layer one can also see, from beneath this layer, a dark brown that presumably forms part of the underpainting (dead colouring) and which exposes the patches of ground just described along the edges of the panel.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Mrs. Joyce Plesters of the National Gallery took several paint samples from which cross-sections were prepared. The results of her investigations have not yet been published, but she has kindly allowed us to see her material. The cross-sections show the usual double ground, consisting of a chalk and glue layer covered with a layer containing white lead and some brown pigment.

Paint layer

CONDITION: The paint layer is somewhat worn in places, particularly in the head and arm of Judas and the head of the man in a cape, as well as in various shadow areas. At a number of places the paint is crusty, this being associated with autograph changes in composition. Presumably because of this the painting has wrongly been regarded, by Münz[1] and Gerson[2], as being partially in a poor condition. Craquelure: there is shrinkage cracking in many places, e.g. in the tunic of the standing figure behind the high priest, in the column and in the chair. The points where these shrinkage cracks occur often correspond to places where the top paint layer has been applied on top of forms painted earlier, as can be deduced from the X-rays or from the presence of an underlying layer of different colour that still is partly visible. A small amount of very fine craquelure can be noted in the still-life.

DESCRIPTION: In general the paint layer varies greatly in thickness and appearance. The dark areas on the right are predominantly thin, with a relative degree of impasto here and there (as in the draperies above the high priest's chair and in the shield). Elsewhere the paint frequently has a crusty appearance, with underlying forms – insofar as they can be interpreted as such – clearly visible as raised layers (see fig. 6). As we shall see later, there is a connexion between these crusty areas and changes made by the artist during the course of his work.

The handling of paint is marked by great thoroughness in the figures and other details; architectural features, however, are painted with a certain amount of nonchalance.

The close attention to detail is clearly apparent in the figure of Judas. In skin areas, tiny touches of a lighter flesh colour are placed over the yellowish brown skin tone to define the shapes. The effect is however now slightly spoilt through wearing in the brown shadow areas. The edge of the ear is red, and the same colour is used with tiny brushdabs to indicate the blood on the head and neck. The eye, almost completely closed, is meticulously defined, and tears are shown by very small points of white. There is a suggestion of teeth in light brown in the slightly open mouth. The fingers of the interlinked hands are in many cases outlined clearly in brown. The shadow cast by the shirt-sleeve on the arm on the left lends a feeling of depth. The clothing is modelled in brown throughout, and shows soft folds. The cord tied round Judas's waist, and the damaged patch in his garment by the knee, are rendered in great detail.

We find the same degree of detail in the high priest and the four men alongside him, though here there is a greater use of colour, and the embroidery on their rich clothing has led to a different technique being employed, working with small strokes and dots applied painstakingly as tiny highlights in white, light yellow and ochre-yellow. The high priest is clad in a purplish coat the sheen of which is shown with light purple: his brick-red cloak is ornamented with gold embroidery, and has a strong highlight. The turban, in light blue, brick-red and golden yellow, shows a closely observed pattern of folds. The

Fig. 1. Panel 79 × 102.3 cm

shoes have gold decoration. The face is dealt with in quite summary fashion. The hand, making a dismissive gesture, is painted in a greyish flesh tint and has effective edges of light along the fingers, with the inner margin of the fingernails clearly defined. In the high priest's right leg, and slightly above this, we can see in relief an underlying form that has been suppressed and must have been the same knee in a higher position (as is also apparent in the X-ray).

The standing figure behind the high priest wears a blue-green tunic and a green sash embellished with gold thread and a gold clasp. Here the paint is applied thickly, evidently on top of a previous lay-in. The cloak, again ornamented on the man's left shoulder with what appear to be Hebrew characters in gold thread, is heightened along the line of its contour with fine strokes of green. The two clenched fists, in a grey-brown shadow tint, do not have much shape (probably as a result of wearing). The face, which catches a fairly strong light from the left, is built up with small brushstrokes; the wide-open right eye is rendered with fine, short lines of pink for the lids and with a bright highlight on the dark brown of the iris. On the evidence of forms seen in relief, the headgear was previously taller. The two figures on his left, placed largely in the shadows, show a few details set down in fine brushstrokes that lend character to the heads that are otherwise in predominantly grey tones. The hand pushed forward has been given a clear shape with light edging applied relatively thickly.

The short cape worn by the man on the extreme left is done in small strokes and dabs and a few scratches, in browns, ochre and a little grey; this achieves a convincing effect of fur. The shiny material of his yellow garment is rendered using heavy brushstrokes of light yellow for the sheen on the folds where these catch the light. Where this yellow garment meets the edge of the book, it would seem that there is a grey-green layer beneath the yellow. The head is rendered with plasticity and detail, and red has been used in the shadow of the ear. The headgear is done with small touches of grey and light blue. The

Fig. 2. X-ray

outline of the back and shoulder is bounded by an area of conspicuously thick paint.

The silhouette of the figure seated at the table has no internal detail in the dark area; the rounding of the form and the posture of the figure are indicated by an economical use of a purplish grey in the contour of the cloak where this catches the light, and of the same colour and a slightly more bluish shade in the headgear. The fairly thick and very dark paint of the chair has a crusty surface.

The two figures seen behind the shoulder of the man wearing a tall cap are summarily executed in a relatively thin paint in rather ruddy browns; the facial expression and posture are indicated by small and effectively placed accents of light and shade.

The still-life on the table is in fairly thick paint, and here too we see a constant attention to detail. The orange-yellow parchment binding is ornamented with small blue motifs and brass studs shown in light yellow. Characters are clearly distinguishable on the open pages. The tablecloth has been painted with a slightly dabbing touch, in tiny, thick dots of light yellow and pink; the part that hangs down has ornamentation catching the light, done in thick strings and blobs, and squiggly scratchmarks have been added to emphasize the pattern. Lower down, an area of especially thick and badly cracked dark paint bounds a tabouret-like piece of furniture on the left and the garment of the sitting figure on the right.

The architectural forms are dealt with cursorily, and are difficult to grasp. To the right of the lefthand column there is a rather irregular application of grey in which, in relief, one can see a line curving upwards to the left; this continues in an arc shape in the column and a little to the left of it. Rather more to the right, above the tall cap, a similar line bends to the left, also marked in a slightly darker grey. A black or very dark grey underlying layer shows through in the wall area. The shadow side of the column presents a dark, crusty grey, on top of which there is occasionally a little brown; the latter has suffered from

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

wear, and the overall effect is blotchy. Irregular shapes can be seen in the column in underlying colour and in the paint surface. The wall alongside the column to the left is painted in greys and browns, and is bounded at the bottom by a light blue-green cloth with a fringe shown in fine, small strokes of impasto.

The green curtain on the right behind the high priest's chair is painted thickly, especially in the decorated edges. In the highest light the shield is painted heavily in light yellow and white, while the raised embellishment on it is suggested with small grey and white dots. The archway on the extreme right is executed quite thickly in a very dark grey, with the view through it in a thinner and lighter grey. The shapes of the lamp are shown in yellowish and brown paint. The figures on the steps are painted rapidly, using a few strokes that stand out light against the dark surroundings. A suggestion of joints and grain has been achieved in the wooden flooring by the direction and nature of the brushstroke used. The thirty pieces of silver, in thick paint, are each given a vivid highlight and small black shadow lines. An object of some kind (possibly a discarded purse?) can be seen, in relief and also to some extent showing through in colour, alongside Judas to the left. An underlying shape is visible in relief, running crosswise through the sitting figure and the second standing figure from the left and in the background right of the column.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: The interpretation of the paint samples taken by Mrs. J. Plesters will be published by her in due course. It may

already be said here that the apparently complex structure of the paint layer at various places is in accordance with the complicated genesis of the painting, as indicated by observations at the surface, and by the X-rays.

X-Rays

To a very large extent the radiographic image bears out the assumption, based on what has been observed at the surface, that the painting had an unusually complicated genesis; the X-rays add to these observations fresh data not all of which can be interpreted with precision. A few traces of wax seals that appear in the X-ray image can, of course, be ignored here.

In the righthand half of the painting, starting from the standing figure of the priest with the tall cap, the shapes that are legible show evidence of changes in form and lighting, but not of radical changes in composition.

1. In the light background just right of centre one can discern lines and a few darker bands (also seen at the surface) forming the lower part of a vault. Against this one can make out the figure of the standing man, partly (in the head with his tall cap and what seems to be a small beard, and in the cape disappearing over the shoulders) as almost dark reserves and partly (in the rest of his clothing) remarkably light. The latter gives the impression that he was once more brightly lit; but then one must bear in mind that density of the blue-green that now forms the topmost layer of paint in the tunic is such that it shows up light in the radiographic image (cf. for instance nos. A 5 and A 42). Changes have besides been made in the garment (particulary to the fastening at the neck), and the presence of more than one layer of paint is corroborated by numerous quite wide shrinkage cracks in the surface. Taken overall, this figure must however have occupied its present position from the outset.
2. The figures seen to the right above his shoulder showing as dark areas are left in a background that stands out remarkably light. One can deduce from this that they, too, were in this position from the beginning.
3. The seated high priest presents a fairly light and rather confused area that does not contrast at all clearly with the figure standing behind him; only the shadow side of his gesturing hand is apparent as a dark form, and this can most probably be interpreted as indicating that he, again, has always occupied this position. Some of the light shapes match the paint visible at the surface (small highlights on the turban, on the cloak hanging over the outstretched arm, and on the bottommost hem of the cloak). For the rest, they offer an image characterized by blurred brushstrokes that show up light and do not correspond with what can be seen at the surface, thus suggesting a light underpainting. A light area situated a little above the present position of the thigh points to the knee having been placed higher (as has been noted in the relief at the surface); a light patch at the front on the trunk can be read as a hand partly tucked into an opening in the garment; over the man's left shoulder, and left as a rather dark reserve, there seems to be a flap of a cloak that can be seen to run down behind the shoulder; and the light band to the right of this, bounded by the dark reserve of the man's left hand, appears to be an illuminated sleeve sticking out of the cloak. There are shrinkage cracks apparent in large areas of this figure, at their most evident in the face.
4. The figure of Judas seems always to have occupied its present position and have had roughly its present shape, to judge by the greyish X-ray shadow that gives a broad indication of the form and can be interpreted as a light underpainting, especially in the head and arms, and by the dark reserves left for his back and legs. In the topmost layer of paint his garment hangs down rather wider to the right and left of his body, which appears somewhat slimmer in the X-ray. Small shrinkage cracks can be seen particularly in the sleeve on the right and in the upper parts of the legs.
5. The patch on the ground to the left of Judas, noted as a relief in the paint surface and possibly representing a discarded purse, shows up darkish. From this point a slightly darker, curved band runs towards the left, presumably showing that at an earlier stage there was in this position a step with a concave curve. The present convex-curved step of the raised platform on which the high priest is seated shows a thin light edge. Above this, running horizontally, are a slightly lighter and a dark band, which appear to continue to the right past Judas and into the area where his cloak is lying; on the left this dark band coincides approximately with a dark joint in the podium seen in the paint surface. A dark reserve is vaguely visible to the right of Judas, perhaps intended for his cloak lying on the ground in a different position from that seen today. One has to assume that the foreground was initially arranged and lit a little differently; as a consequence, the area of shadow along the bottom edge offers a somewhat crusty surface. The thirty pieces of silver were painted as we see them today, on top of the paint of the floor and at a late stage; one lies partly in the dark band that indicates the shadowed front of a step in an earlier stage.
6. Although the X-ray provides no definite evidence of the moment at which the curtain and shield hanging against the pillar on the right were painted, the largish cracks in the paint of the curtain show that this was applied on top of other paint layers. One also gathers that the view through the archway on the right did not have its present layout from the beginning, from the fact that the X-ray has, in addition to spaces left in reserve for the small figures climbing the steps, a faint reserve (larger and higher up) for a figure that is not seen today.

In the lefthand half of the painting the X-ray shows traces of major changes in the composition. Dark and light areas in varying gradations appear and only partially correspond to the composition we see today. They can be looked on in part as the result of various layers of paint, containing greater or lesser amounts of white lead, being laid one on top of the other; because of this it is often difficult to reconstruct their intended form from one stage to the next.

7. On the far left, in the upper half of the background, a fairly dark area with an irregular border to the right can be read as a curtain that was covered over with the light paint that now extends over part of the background and thus appears as a greyish shadow on the X-ray. From the sometimes quite dark shade of the grey in this form, seen as a curtain, one can deduce that a space was left in reserve for it in a lighter background when the painting process was begun, and this was then overpainted. Inside this grey, and showing up as mainly dark, there is a curved line which is also apparent at the paint surface; this seems to be related to the hint of a vault further to the right (see point 1 above). Lower down, this grey is bounded by an irregular band of white running about one centimetre below the present border of the cloth nailed to the wall, and parallel with it; beneath this white band is a dark area in which only the books and tablecloth seen today are clearly defined. A part of the tablecloth suffering severe craquelure forms on the left the boundary of a stool visible as a dark reserve, and on the right that of the clothing of the sitting figure seen from behind. This craquelure shows that there is indeed an earlier layer of paint in this lower lefthand corner, now (partly?) covered by the top paint layer; but the X-ray tells us nothing definite about the form this area previously took. It was evidently not done in a paint containing white lead, or other radioabsorbent paints. It is possible that the contour of the suppressed curtain bending round to the right continued in a light and dark border cutting

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

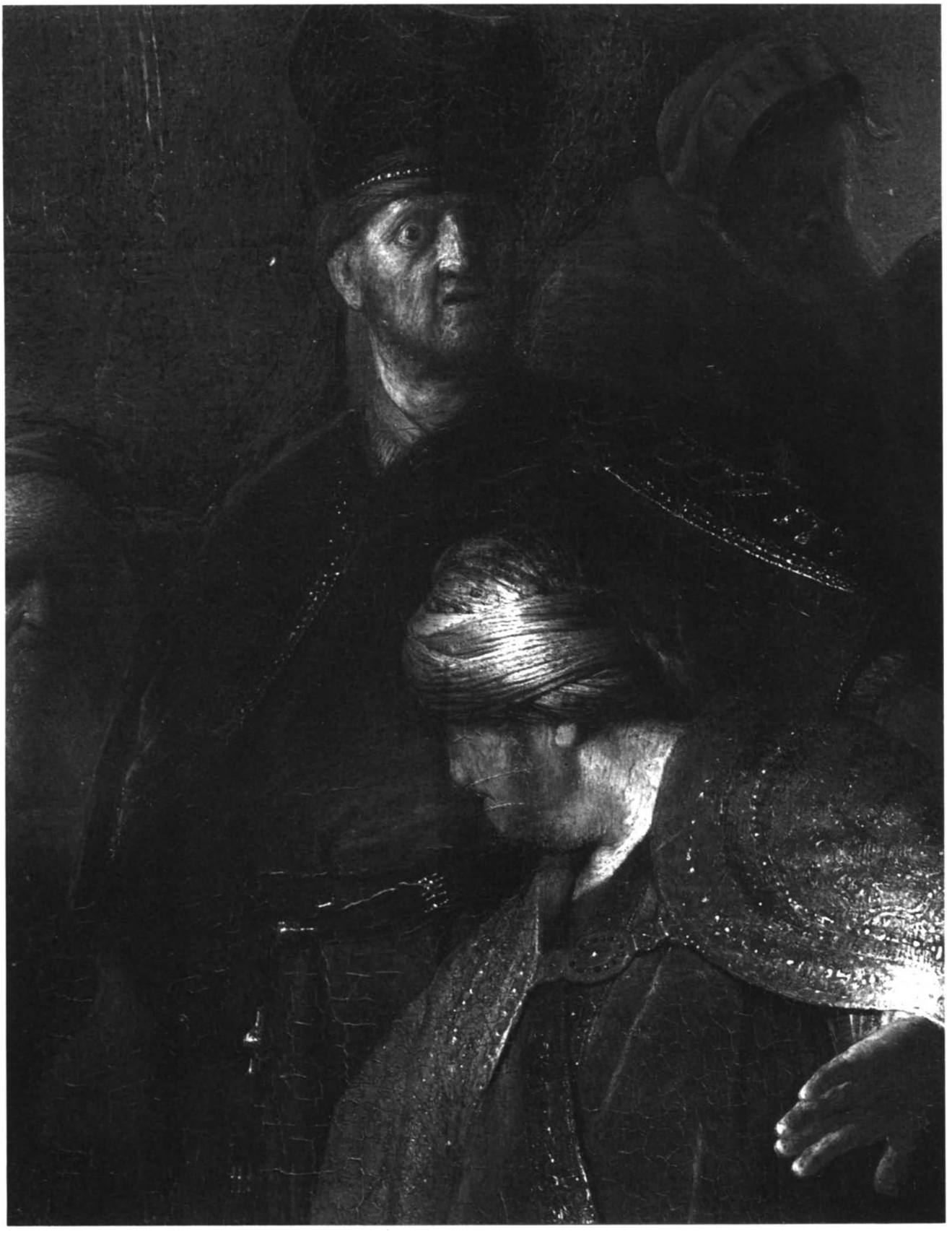


Fig. 5. Detail (1 : 1)

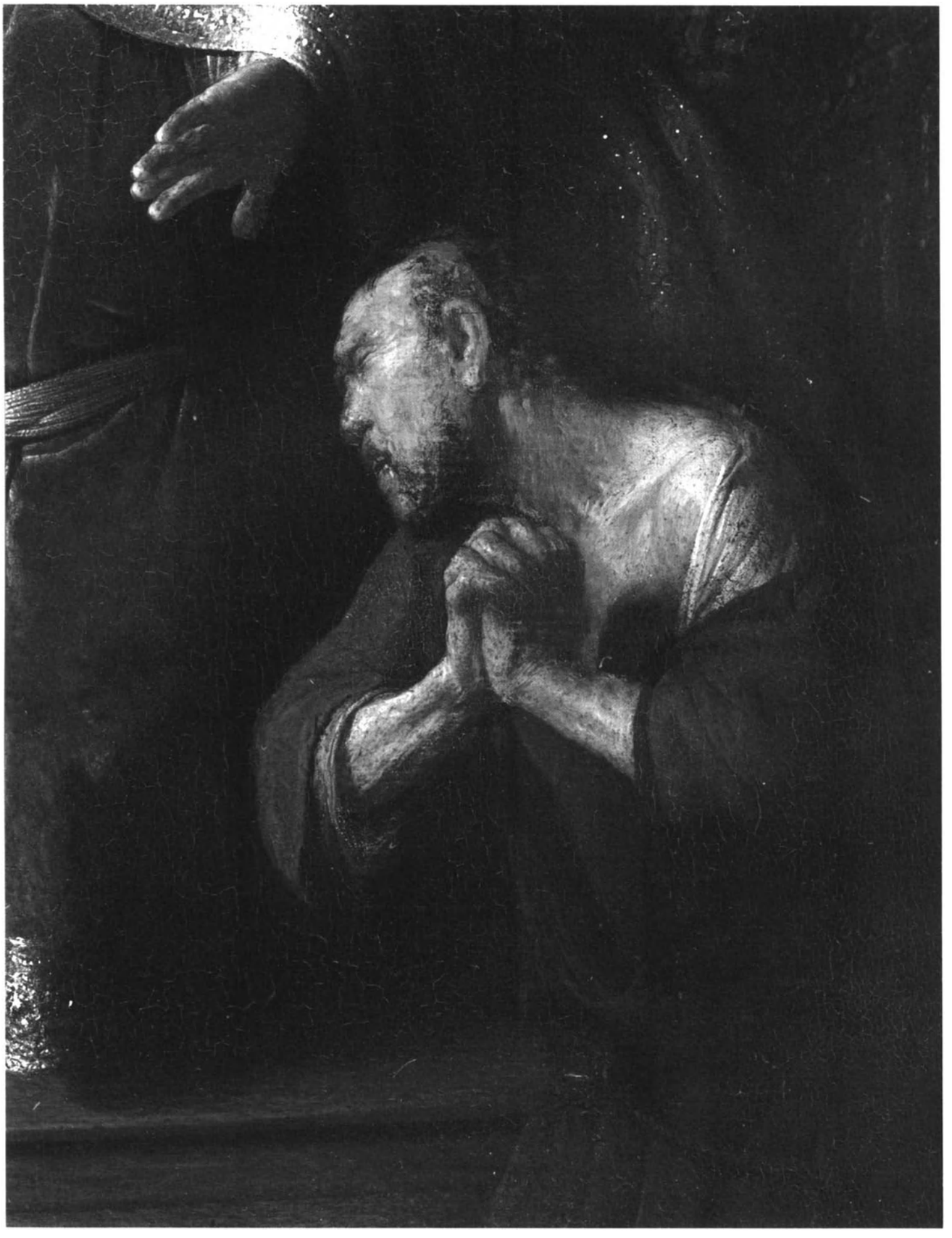
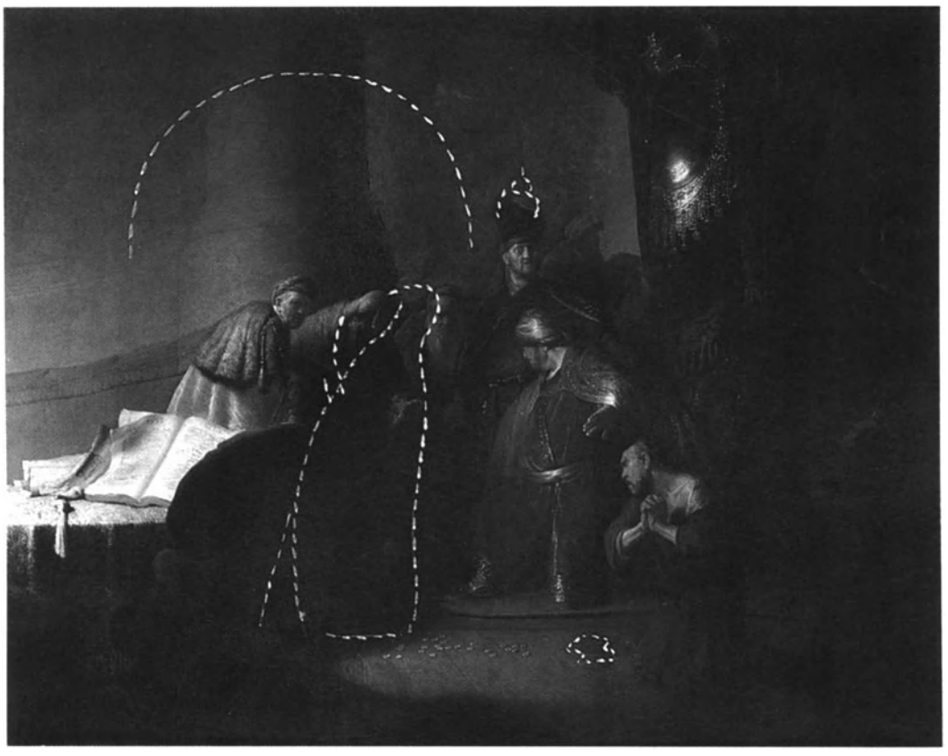


Fig. 6. The painting with underlying forms visible to the naked eye marked in white



through the small fur cloak of the man standing furthest to the left.

8. The sitting figure seen from behind appears in the X-ray as a dark area with light edging, most apparent on the left. The X-ray offers no evidence of the fact (mentioned under point 11 below) that he too has been at least partially painted on top of another figure that was also dark.

9. The man with the fur cape standing on the left appears in the X-ray just as he does in the surface paint so far as his yellow cloak is concerned. His head and part of the outline of his back are bounded by a white edging, though here the top paint layer of his headgear and his fur cape spills over it a little; further down, too, the presentday cape does not match what is seen in the X-ray as quite a light shape. Some of these discrepancies can be seen as corrections, but the variations of light and dark in the fur cape point to a different form – perhaps a knot in the curtain we have mentioned – having been painted in this position. The head of this figure appears quite dark, but the emphatic white edging might indicate that this dark shape is more likely to be the remains of a dark area from an earlier stage than a patch left in reserve for this purpose from the outset. Shrinkage cracks in the head and upper part of the body certainly point to the existence of further paint layers.

10. To the right of the curtain, which shows up somewhat darker in the X-ray, there is a lighter part of the background where, we can assume, there is an underlying light layer as well as the light paint that also lies on top of the curtain. The only element of the present painting that appears, vaguely, in this area is a lightish band corresponding to the righthand edge of the thick column. Left of this the X-ray however shows a somewhat darker form that is also discernible at the surface; erratic in shape, this is at some points (along the righthand side) bordered by a wide, lighter zone. By all appearances there was at this point a reserve, in a lit background, that was subsequently covered over with paint that gives a lighter image; here again, small shrinkage cracks point to the existence of further layers of paint. The erratic form cannot be interpreted with certainty, but one gets the impression that there was a figure enthroned high up against the background (with drapery hanging over his chair on the left?).

11. The old man now standing on the left of the standing priest is plainly visible in the X-ray, partly as a dark shadow, but is intersected by other shapes. He was obviously added at a late stage, and evidently borrows the dark reserve in the lefthand half of his figure from one already present at this point. As Haak[3] has already concluded, the latter has to be read in conjunction with the patch (appearing grey because of paint applied later) between the second and third standing men counting from the left and cutting through both of these, as well as with the tall, upright form seen in relief in the paint surface and also cutting through the seated figure seen from behind (see fig. 6): this is a repoussoir figure seen obliquely from the rear, leaning against the backrest of a chair the shape of which is clearly apparent in a dark reserve to the right of him (for the drawing Ben.8, which has an important bearing on this, see *4. Comments*). There was furthermore, left of the standing priest and looking over his shoulder, a figure whose head and shoulders (partly covered by later background paint) show up as grey; in the X-ray the head and shoulders now continue through the old man, placed a little lower down and covering them. The very light area against which the dark chair seen in the X-ray stands out was presumably formed partly by his clothing and partly by that of the standing priest.

Signature

In light brown paint, at the far right and level with Judas's waist ‹*RL* (in monogram)*.1629.*›. The *R* must be read as closed on the left; the *L* sits close to the tail of the *R*. The signature makes a wholly trustworthy impression.

Varnish

No special features.

Fig. 7. Rembrandt, Study in pen and wash, presumably done in preparation of the painting's second state (Ben. 8). Formerly Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (1 : 1)

4. Comments

Before all else, the description of the paint surface and of the X-ray image prompts the question of how the painting came into being, and how it relates to the drawings associated with it.

To some extent, this relationship is obvious at once. As Haak[3] already discovered on the basis of traces in the surface and of old and incomplete X-rays, the painting must in an earlier stage have shared major features with a drawing (Ben.8) previously in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (fig. 7): there, the area with the seated high priest (scarcely visible in the drawing) and the standing priest seems to receive more light, and contrasts with a figure placed diagonally left to the front of this and seen obliquely from the rear; this figure is leaning forward over the backrest of a chair standing in front of him (a straight chair in the drawing, a folding chair in the X-ray). The indication of an arch close to the head of the standing priest corresponds in the drawing with the line found in relief in the paint surface, and with one of the curved lines seen in the X-ray. The two figures to the right behind the standing priest appear in both the drawing and the X-ray in the place they occupy today, but looking over the standing priest's other shoulder there is in the drawing a small head that though visible in the X-ray cannot be seen in the picture today. The shield cannot be made out clearly in the drawing; what one sees is rather the appearance of a hanging curtain joining up with the curtain above it. Judas seems to be kneeling on a raised section of flooring rather than in front of one, as appears (albeit in different forms) in the X-ray and the top paint layer. Haak's conclusion that the focus of the light was shifted at a late stage away from the main group to the area on the left remains valid; one can also conclude that the standing, dark figure with his chair, present in the drawing and discernible in the X-ray, was later replaced on the one hand by the seated figure seen from behind on the left, and on the other by the old man standing alongside the standing priest. Finally, it can reasonably be concluded that the striking similarity between the drawing and an earlier state of the painting proves the drawing to be an authentic sketch or at least, as Bauch (1933, p. 71) assumed, an accurate reflection of one, and that the painting is indeed an original – the prototype for numerous copies known previously, and the object of Huygens' admiration (see *5. Documents and sources*). Since it was published in 1939 by Collins Baker[4], no-one has in fact doubted the authenticity of this version, though some reservations were voiced by Münz[1].

The complete set of X-ray films made in 1976 does

Fig. 8. Rembrandt, Study in pen and wash, presumably done in preparation of the second state of the painting's left hand portion, still showing the curtain of the first state and the figure of the standing priest shifted to the left (Ben. 9 recto). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

however throw fresh light on the genesis of the painting. The most surprising feature is the curtain for which a reserve (to a great extent subsequently covered over with paint containing white lead) was provided in the left foreground in an early – probably the first – stage of the work. It is quite obvious that in this respect the lefthand half of the composition initially bore a strong resemblance to a drawing at Amsterdam (Ben. 9 recto; our fig. 8). This drawing, long associated with no. A 15, shows three men wearing tall caps. The one furthest to the front is seated, bending forward, in a chair in front of a table; the second, more strongly lit, leans forward over a book set askew on the table; the third, on the right behind the table, stands in front of his chair in the light that falls from the left behind the curtain, and turns to the right in a way that reminds one strongly of the posture of the standing priest in the painting. Washes in varying degrees of dilution indicate the tonal values, and the curtain (partly drawn with the pen) is shown in broad, dark brushstrokes; further down, these form a very dark corner and foreground without any detailed indication of form. It may be noted at once that the lower of the seated men, and the one placed higher up with the book, can also be seen in the drawing Ben. 8 (fig. 7), though with the one directly above the other; in this drawing there are a number of pen-lines, difficult to interpret, filling the bottom lefthand corner below the shape that can perhaps be read as a round table with a cloth hanging down from it. These lines may possibly show two further figures, though these are cut through by two bold, diagonal pen-lines. It is not entirely clear whether account has been taken in this drawing as well of the presence of a curtain (it has in the upper lefthand corner a zig-zag hatching with below it a number of roughly vertical lines); such does not seem to be the case, and if it is in fact so then the curtain would in any case not have the same strongly-contrasting dark tone and lively form as in the Amsterdam drawing and in the X-ray.

Then there is the rough sketch in black chalk in Rotterdam (Ben. 6 verso; our fig. 9), which shows two seated men lit from the right; one is seen obliquely from behind, giving the impression that they are sitting at an unseen table. Scattered chalk lines in the background do not offer any clear picture, and can hardly depict a curtain.

The question of how these three drawings relate to each other and to the painting in its various stages is not easy to answer; this is partly because the reading of the X-ray allows differing assumptions on critical points. Two possibilities are discussed below. A constant point of reference in considering these might be that the standing priest on the right, the seated high priest and the figure of Judas were in their present positions from the beginning, to judge by the relatively minor changes in form and the intact reserves shown by their X-ray image (see *X-Rays,* points 1–4); another is that, as we have concluded from the description of the X-rays, a reserve was in the earliest stage left for the curtain in a lighter background (see *X-Rays,* point 7).

Possibility 1: if we assume that the curtain seen in the X-ray belongs to the earliest stage of the painting, while the form seen to the right of it (which is to be read as an enthroned figure; cf. *X-Rays*, point 10) does not, then we can take it that the drawing Ben. 8 (fig. 7) was either a preliminary study for this first stage, in which the curtain played no role of any importance, or a preliminary study for the second stage in which the curtain was abandoned. The Amsterdam drawing (Ben. 9 recto) would then, on this point, bear a far greater similarity to the first stage but would differ from it by having the standing priest (seen turning round) further to the left than the position the corresponding figure has always occupied in the painting; one would then have to assume that this drawing embodied an early idea which was substantially modified by moving the standing figure when the painting was executed. According to an observation made by Mr. P. Schatborn of the Amsterdam Printroom, it is precisely this

Fig. 9. Rembrandt, Study in black chalk (Ben. 6 verso). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans- van Beuningen

figure that is covered over to some extent with white body colour, and this would support this supposition. Then, however, a change would have been made in the painting (even if perhaps rather later) in comparison with the drawing Ben. 8 as well, with the addition of the enthroned figure. This change might have taken place at the same time as the painting-out of the curtain and the shifting to the left of the curved lines which had previously shown a vaulted construction on the right. Yet this is hardly likely, since in drawing Ben. 8 the curtain does not play any role nor is the seated figure present, so that it does not correspond to either the first or the second presumed stage. The Rotterdam drawing (Ben. 6 verso) offers too few points of similarity for testing these assumptions; the lighting from the right in this does not match that of any other document. From the foregoing it is however already plain that this first possibility must at its very least be regarded as unlikely, and that the premise on which it is based is probably false.

Possibility 2: if we assume that both the curtain and the enthroned figure formed part of the first stage and that the light from behind the curtain fell primarily on this figure, then none of the drawings we know corresponds to this first stage (cf. fig. 10). Both Ben. 9 and Ben. 8 recto would then have been done in preparation for a later version, and in Ben. 8 the righthand half of the composition would have been retained unaltered while the left was totally recast. In the first version (if we follow this second assumption) the kneeling Judas, face-to-face with a dominating figure enthroned high up (acting as the high priest), was placed obliquely to him, and the lower lefthand corner of the composition was presumably dark. It linked up with the curtain, which presumably continued far over to the right and perhaps as far as the dark figure with his chair, now suppressed and previously standing below the enthroned figure. In the second stage Rembrandt, if we follow this reasoning, first wanted to eliminate the enthroned figure but to keep the curtain, as in the Amsterdam drawing (Ben. 9 recto; our fig. 8); in this he added a group of three men around a table, the most strongly lit of whom is a version, moved to the left, of the standing priest already present on the panel. At the beginning this priest, with his body facing left and head turned to the right, formed a link between the high priest enthroned and Judas kneeling to the right of centre; in his new position, however, he would have the function of linking the group round the table on the left with Judas, and presumably also fill the role of the high priest, risen from his chair. This idea was abandoned in favour of that projected in drawing Ben. 8 (fig. 7), which retained the figure seen from behind with the chair and the entire righthand half (including the standing priest) in the existing form, but incorporated elements from the Amsterdam drawing (though without the curtain). These elements comprised the round table with two seated men, both seen almost in profile and the upper with a book standing out against a light and empty background. It is not impossible that this solution was also worked out in paint. The reserve (edged round with major corrections) that we see in the X-ray in the position of the head and upper body (done slightly larger) of the present man with the short fur cape would then previously have served for the man with the book, and have come about when this man was fitted into the light paint used for covering over the enthroned figure. The shape of the table cannot be traced with certainty in the X-ray, but it is quite possible that the almost straight line that borders the light, overpainted part of the curtain in the X-ray shows the position of what can be interpreted in the drawing as a round table bearing an open book on a reading-stand; the white band now visible along this line would then come from the final stage, and would tie up with the edge of the blue-green wall-covering subsequently again shifted upwards by about 1 cm. At all events, the lefthand lower part of the composition in this second version must still have been fairly dark, the background in

Fig. 10. Hypothetical reconstruction of the painting's first state

the lefthand half must have been fairly empty, and the link between the figures furthest to the left and the rest of the composition must have been weak. The third and final state of the painting does, at all events, show changes probably aimed at overcoming precisely these three objections. The dark figure seen from the rear behind his chair, who in the first state formed a contrast with the dramatic diagonal axis between the priestly figure seated high up and Judas but in the second merely split the composition into two unequal parts (as we can see in drawing Ben. 8), has been eliminated and replaced by the figure seen from behind as seated and turning round. By turning round in this way, this figure creates a fresh link between the extreme left and the rest of the composition. Placed further to the left, he makes a contrast with a new centre of light formed by the low table with its books, replacing the higher table that had previously been drafted and perhaps even painted. The background, which in the second state continued to the left the vaulted space already partly present in the first (see *X-Rays*, points 1 and 7), is now formed by a rear wall brought forward; this is given a strong convex accent in the shape of a half-column, and a colour accent in the shape of the wall-covering. In the process, the present man with the fur cape was presumably also brought closer and made larger than his predecessor with the book, and this would explain why on all sides his outline spills over the reserve visible in the X-ray. The heavy half-column can be seen as a vertical compensation for the horizontal row of forward-tilted heads, to the left of the standing priest, that came about through the standing figure seen from behind being replaced by the old man next to the standing priest on the right, by a man with a turban and outstretched hand, and by the man with the fur cloak in his present configuration. Presumably it was only at this stage that the shield hanging on the right was added, together perhaps with the view through the archway in its present state with two small figures approaching up the steps.

To summarize, one must conclude that in its final state the composition differs considerably from the intentions that can be deciphered from the first stage thus reconstructed; yet it does still bear a few traces of that first stage, not entirely incorporated in a fresh arrangement. This is most clearly so with the figure of Judas, which must originally have faced an enthroned high priest on the left, as an obvious antagonist; the link between these two figures was formed by a spatial diagonal which must have provided the pivot of the composition. One can only guess at Rembrandt's reasons for suppressing the enthroned figure and the curtain serving as a repoussoir on the left. It may be that the intended effect of depth was not pictorially satisfactory, or that the large number of figures between the enthroned figure and the

kneeling Judas impaired the link between the two that he was seeking. In the second version, which we believe we can detect especially in the drawing Ben. 8, the two figures immediately to the left behind Judas, who must initially have been of only secondary importance, have become his immediate antagonists. If we are interpreting the Amsterdam drawing (Ben. 9 recto) correctly, Rembrandt must further have considered moving the standing priest some way over to the left; if this had been done, then the direction of Judas's gaze would again have produced a clearer relationship between the two protagonists than there is in the final version, where Judas is rather isolated and is not looking straight at any of the priests. (In just the same way, Mary Magdalene in the Los Angeles *Raising of Lazarus* (no. A 30) is looking at the place where Lazarus had previously been placed: see that entry.)

This objection applied to perhaps an even greater extent to the second state of the painting, where the figures seated on the left were separated from the main scene by the standing figure seen from behind, and will have had very little relief at all. Such an interpretation can explain not only why the standing figure seen from the rear and the man reading on the left were replaced by figures whose attention is centred on the coins lying on the ground, but also why the table with books on it, already present, was moved to a much more prominent position in the light. The curious effect of this change of mind is that the strongest light falls on an accessory element of the composition which as a result offers serious competition to the main scene (as, once again, happens in the *Raising of Lazarus* as a result of the changes made in that painting).

From this reconstruction of the sequence in which the composition evolved, we can assume that the three drawings we have mentioned are not to be seen as first drafts, but as preparatory drawings for the second state of the painting. Logically, the Amsterdam drawing (Ben. 9 recto; our fig. 8) where the curtain present in the painting has been retained as a starting point ought to be the first in the series; it contains only a possible solution for the lefthand part of the composition and does not answer to the question of what Rembrandt was proposing to insert as a replacement in the original position of the standing priest he had moved to the left. This was perhaps followed by the Rotterdam drawing (Ben. 6 verso; our fig. 9), but although the curtain seems to be absent from this it does not otherwise form a transition to Ben. 8 (fig. 7), the drawing that presumably comes closest to the second state of the painting. This lastnamed drawing differs from the other two in having the two seated figures recognizable from those drawings separated by a large table on which an open book seems to rest on a reading-stand. The curious style of drawing, which especially in the righthand half stresses the outline rather than the structure of the figures, must be seen in the light of the fact that the entire righthand half of the composition was drawn *from* the painting in its first state.

Each of the versions of the composition of no. A 15 we have thus arrived at naturally poses its own questions about the relationship it bears to other works by Rembrandt, and about the use he made in it of existing compositional formulas. This is particularly true of the first version. Here, the starting point was a seated and a kneeling figure – a combination that was in current use in a wide range of variations for a wide variety of themes (cf. for example Lastman's 1619 work *David's letter to Uriah* in Groningen, reproduced by J. R. Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, The Hague 1959, fig. 66); Leonard Bramer (Delft 1595–1674), Rembrandt's senior by nearly ten years, was to use compositions very similar indeed to the supposed first 'state' of the *Judas repentant* in several works around 1640 (representing *The Queen of Sheba before Solomon*, *The Judgment of Solomon* etc.), without a direct connexion with Rembrandt's composition being demonstrable. This arrangement seems here to have been used in an interior that has various features in common with other representations of the Temple at Jerusalem in Rembrandt's works. Particularly if we assume that the view through the archway on the right was at this stage formed not by the present flight of steps but by a vaulted space with a standing figure (cf. *X-Rays*, point 6), the spatial arrangement must have shown a great similarity to that in the etching of the *Driving out of the moneychangers* dated 1635 (B. 69; fig. 11); here, the view on the right is a nave-like space (with a lamp similar to that in no. A 15) and there is on the left a raised section with a figure kneeling in front of the high priest, who is beneath a baldachin and surrounded by priests. In other cases we find the high priest seated at the top of steps (likewise set at right angles to the main area) beneath a baldachin with hanging curtains – in the etched *Simeon in the Temple* of 1630 (B. 51) and the painted version of 1631 in The Hague (no. A 34) – or on a high podium as in the London *Woman taken in adultery* of 1644 (Br. 566). The prominent position occupied by the curtain in this version of no. A 15 can also, to a slightly lesser degree, be explained iconographically in the other compositions just mentioned by biblical texts that talk of the 'veil' of the Temple (Matthew 27: 51, Mark 15: 38, etc.); stylistically, the use of an erratically outlined curtain as a depth-creating repoussoir against a light background matches the very

Fig. 11. Rembrandt, *Christ driving the moneychangers from the Temple*, 1635, etching (B. 69; reproduced in reverse)

similar division into light and dark planes by means of sinuous contours that we find in 1628, in the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* (no. A 13). As in that painting, the spatial effect was in this first version, certainly when compared with Rembrandt's earlier compositions in a horizontal format and with the Lastman models used for these, (presumably) constructed more on three-dimensional diagonals. The use of a light background with large dark repoussoirs as a means of enhancing the effect of depth, and the use of figures piled one on top of the other in different registers, represent a further continuance of tendencies we can see in the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* (no. A 12). Bearing in mind the extensive and radical changes undergone by no. A 15 one can assume that it had been worked on for a long time before the signature and date of 1629 were added, and that the first version was produced not long after the Hamburg painting, which we date as 1627/28, and the Melbourne work dated 1628.

The second version, as we know it from drawing Ben. 8 in particular, must have kept a great many of these traits, though without the strongly contrasting curtain and without the diagonal link between the main figures. A hint of the lower part of the vault, partly hidden by the curtain, above the figure of the standing priest may well have already been present in the first version (cf. *X-Rays*, point 1), more or less as in the etching of *Peter and John at the gate of the Temple* (B. 95) datable as 1628/29; but at all events this feature is now completed in the paint used to paint out the curtain (see *X-Rays*, point 7), with a groined vault forming part of this layer. It is not, incidentally, made clear how this is supported on the left; perhaps, as in the lost *Christian scholar* of 1631 (cf. no. C 17), it rested on the left on a side-wall, and the vertical lines in the drawing Ben. 8 may be meant to show this. One gets the impression that in this version there was still a fairly large space behind the figures, of whom those in the middle ground were lit by the light falling from the left while those to the front were in semi-darkness together with the table placed high up on the left.

In the final version the indication of depth and the lighting were substantially altered. The effect of depth was reduced in the lefthand half; the view through the archway on the far right was probably only now given the form of a rising flight of steps with small, partially visible figures; this was a solution that presumably had been adopted earlier in the etching of *Peter and John at the gate of the Temple* (B. 95), and which an imitator was to borrow in the Ottawa *Tribute money* (no. C 7). The light was concentrated at the extreme left in a way that reminds one vividly of the changes made in the final version of the *Raising of Lazarus*, a work that can be seen as

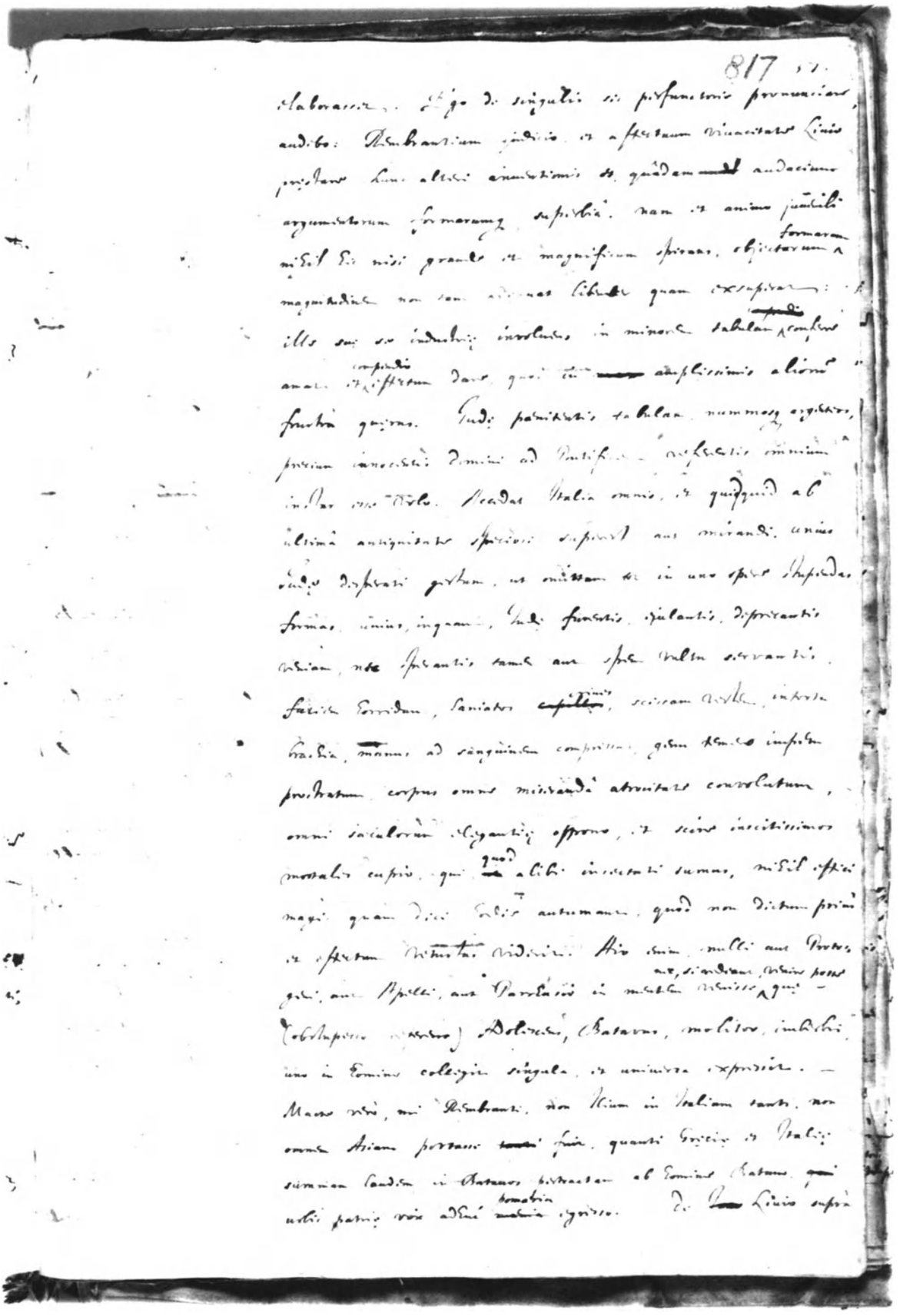
Fig. 12. Detail (1 : 1.5)

Rembrandt's next ambitious history painting. Even to the extent of minor features like the extremely detailed still-life that both paintings show on the right in the semi-darkness, or the old man with a reddish ear (seen bending forward and lit from behind) who in both instances appears on the left at the edge of the beam of light, the two paintings are strikingly similar. The last-named motif also brings strongly to mind the lighting used in the Amsterdam *Self-portrait* (no. A 14) and that in Munich (no. A 19) of 1629. In general terms, the increasing predominance of a rather dim lighting matches a tendency evident in other works from 1629.

The consecutive states of no. A 15 thus seem to correspond to divergent tendencies that can be found in other works from 1628 and 1629, and are described in greater detail in Chapter I of the Introduction. Characteristic features of the final state are, more than for other works from 1628 and 1629, the relatively varied palette and the large amount of detail. These may have something to do with the ambitious nature of the painting, as evidenced by its size and as reflected in the comments made by Constantijn Huygens (see 5. *Documents and sources*).

The theme, which was illustrated repeatedly afterwards in imitation of Rembrandt, was up to 1629 an uncommon one. It seems to occur for the first time in the illustration of the Luther Bible in the woodcuts by Christoph Murrer from around 1600 (Ph. Schmidt, *Die Illustration der Lutherbibel*, Basle 1962, p. 494 (Matth. no. 27), pp. 360ff), and not to have formed part of any other traditional cycle. The figure of Judas did receive some attention at the beginning of the 17th century, as belonging among the sinners of the Old and New Testaments (cf., for example, the series of prints by Willem Swanenburgh after Abraham Bloemaert, Hollst. II, p. 69, nos. 549–554). Bruyn has suggested that Rembrandt's point of departure in this case was not an iconographic tradition, but the vivid portrayal of Judas's repentance, corresponding to the 'vivacitas affectuum' as it is termed in the Huygens text reproduced below under 5. *Documents and sources*; 'Rembrandt would seem to have taken a more or less current formula for repentance – such as the repen-

Fig. 13. Constantijn Huygens' comments. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. KA XLVIII, fol. 817 ro



tant Magdalene in a *Pietà* by Annibale Carracci – and built his composition around it'[5]. Rembrandt was able, for this composition, to draw on the type usual for related situations, in particular the representation of Christ among the scholars. His striving for historical accuracy can be seen in the drawing of Hebrew letters on the cloak of the priest standing on the right, and of the lettering in the open book on the left (fig. 12), which has been read as either the Hebrew text 'to know Thy law'[6] or 'the Syriac word Allāhā – meaning 'God' – written in quite an elegant Syriac hand'[7]. The tall cap worn by the priest standing on the right, like that worn by all three figures in the Amsterdam drawing (Ben. 9 recto), would appear to be the *kolpak* common among Polish Jews (see the *Comments* on entry no. A 29).

No. A 15 has been copied many times (see *7. Copies*) and was imitated by Rembrandt's contemporaries, as for example in paintings of the same subject by Salomon Koninck (previously at Bonn, Provinzial-Museum, cat. 1914, no. 114, pl. 61; reproduced as being by Rembrandt in a mezzotint by Robert Dunkerton (1744–1811/17), Charrington 46; photo Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, Zurich, no. 2758), by Jacob de Wet the Elder (signed and dated 1636, London Art Market 1952, repr. Bauch 1960, fig. 188; signed and dated 1642, Copenhagen, Statens Museum cat. 1951, no. 804), and by Abraham van der Hecken (signed and dated 1654, Leningrad, Hermitage, no. 1752); there are also an anonymous etching (Hollst. XVIII, no. B E1 21) and a drawing by Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert (coll. E. E. Wolf, New York; catalogue of exhibition *The Pre-Rembrandtists*, Sacramento, Cal. 1974, no. 29 with illus.).

5. Documents and sources

The work was commented on around 1630 by Constantijn Huygens in a manuscript entitled *Vita*, preserved in the Royal Library, The Hague (ms. K.A. XLVIII). The relevant text (fig. 13) is found on fol. 817ro (of the whole file) or 37ro (of this particular manuscript); cf. Worp in: *O.H.* 9 (1891), pp. 125–27. The authors are indebted to Dr. P. Tuynman, University of Amsterdam, for a Dutch translation and annotations of Huygens' Latin text.

'As my own judgment I would venture to say merely this of each of the two of them [i.e. Lievens and Rembrandt]: that Rembrandt surpasses Lievens in his ability to pick out the quintessence [of his subjects] ([a]) and in the natural power with which he is able to move the spirit [of the viewer] ([b]), but that Lievens is superior to the former in proud self-assurance ([c]) in developing a subject ([d]) and in the, so to speak, proud audacity ([e]) of the parts of his pictures ([f]) and of the way they are depicted ([g]). For since his spirit, in part through the youthfulness of his years ([h]), is filled entirely with the sublime and the magnificent, the latter is inclined to make the models and objects that he has arranged in front of him ([i]) not so much lifesize as even larger, whereas the former, Rembrandt, since he gives himself wholly over to dealing with what he wants to express ([j]) from within himself ([k]), prefers to concentrate [his work] in a smaller picture, and to seek through compactness ([l]) to bring about an effect ([m]) that one may seek in vain in the largest ([n]) paintings by others. With the painting of the repentant Judas bringing back to the high priest the pieces of silver that were the price of Our innocent Lord, I will illustrate what is true of all his work. Let all Italy come, and all that has come down of what is fine and worthy of admiration from earliest antiquity: the posture and the gestures ([o]) of this one despairing Judas, leaving aside so many other breathtaking figures ([p]) [brought together] in a single painting, of this one Judas I say who, out of his mind and wailing, implores forgiveness yet holds no hope of it, or has at least no trace of hope upon his countenance; that haggard face, the hair torn from the head, the rent clothing, the forearms drawn in and the hands clasped tight together, stopping the blood-flow ([q]); flung blindly to his knees on the ground in a [violent] access of emotion, the pitiable horror of that totally twisted body – *that* I set against all the refined art ([r]) of the past, and I would that the brainless ignoramuses ([s]) should know this, those people who contend – a contention that we have argued against elsewhere ([t]) – that nowadays is neither being done nor being said anything that has not been said before or that classical antiquity has not already seen achieved. I assert, in fact, that there has never come into the thoughts of Protogenes, Apelles or Parrhasius, nor were they to come back to earth could there come into their thoughts, what separate features (and I am perplexed as I say this) a mere youth, a Dutchman, a miller, [still] beardless, has brought together and what universal ideas ([u]) he has brought to expression in the figure of one single man. Truly, friend Rembrandt, honour is yours: the bringing of Troy, of all Asia Minor to Italy had not such great importance as the fact that the highest honour that belonged to Greece and Italy has [now] been carried off for the Dutch [and that] by a Dutchman who has still hardly ever left the confines of his native town.'

a *judicium*: capacity for critical judgment, ability to arrive at a correct assessment of a given case or matter, recognizing the essentials or the heart of a matter, as shown by Rembrandt in his work. There is thus more 'consideration' underlying that work, and the essential features in it emerge clearly from among the secondary.

Against Rembrandt's *judicium*, in which he surpasses Lievens as a painter, there is the fact that Huygens, in the passage following that quoted here, says of Lievens that he 'judicio pollet in re quâlibet acri, profundo et supra virilitatem maturo'. This then relates to what is characteristic of Lievens as a person, in general: his strength lies in 'the ability, on whatever matter, to come to a judgment that is keen, deep, more mature than that of an older person', but – it is then added – at the same time he is rigid. In the passage we have here, it is however (in relation to Rembrandt) a question of power of judgment as seen in the work of the *artifex*, either as an *orator* or, as here, as a painter.

b *affectus*: a state of mind produced in one by some influence; for the painter as for the *orator*, a matter of moving the minds of those looking at the painting, or in the latter's case hearing or reading his words; thus, a question of appealing to the public's emotions. One means of doing this, though certainly not the only one, is the direct portrayal of emotion in a figure. One might have this in mind in connexion with what follows on the subject of Rembrandt's *Judas repentant*, though the opinion that Huygens is voicing here is a general one and applies as well to other works by Rembrandt that are not named, and not to history paintings per se alone nor solely to the 'vehement' *affectus* as portrayed in the figure of Judas.

vivacitas: the vital, natural living force, more than (mobile) vivacity, and thus in this case the 'natural' power to move the spirit.

With these two characteristics of *judicium* and *affectuum vivacitas*, Huygens is passing judgment on the painted works (collectively) of Rembrandt looked at not in themselves but as creations brought about by the natural aptitudes, qualities and characteristics of the artist. The same applies in respect of Lievens.

c *(inventionis) superbiâ*: to be understood as a quality of the artist that is evident in his work, a quality (sense of one's own worth, proudness of spirit) that here is not intended in any derogatory sense though the scale can very easily tip over and then become 'too much of a good thing' (haughtiness, or arrogance, or conceit). This is in keeping with what Huygens goes on to say later about Lievens as a person, among other things about 'nimia quaedam sui fiducia' (cf. note a).

Against Lievens' *superbia inventionis*, in which generally speaking he surpasses Rembrandt as a painter, there is the fact that 'in historiis' (in history paintings), though a great and admirable artist (*artifex*), he will not – as Huygens says in his more detailed discussion of Lievens – easily equal the *vivida inventio* of Rembrandt. Looked on as a characteristic of the 'inventive power' (*inventio*) of the artist, *vivida* renders the idea of 'natural vigor' (cf. note b on *vivacitas*); applied to the creations of the *inventio*, the various *argumenta* in a picture (see note d and f), *vivida* means 'imbued with life', 'bursting with life', 'true-to-life' (which is not the same thing as slavishly true to nature). In relation to history paintings (such as the *Judas repentant*), Huygens thus sees the difference between Lievens and Rembrandt not in the *inventio* as such – i.e. the faculty of the artist to invent (convincing) *argumenta* – but in the qualities of *superbia* (*inventionis*) and *vivida* (*inventio*).

d *inventionis (superbia)*: the *inventio* relates to the working-out of a subject, the thinking-out of which different parts or components (*argumenta*, see note f) are going to make up the scene as a whole that depicts the subject (such as, for instance, *Judas repentant*), and not the conceiving of the subject itself in cases where this has not already been dictated by the patron commissioning the work.

e *quâdam (argumentorum formarumque) superbiâ*: by interpolating the word *quaedam* ('so to say', 'a certain') Huygens here modifies the term *superbia*, which now qualifies the individual components and aspects of the pictures Lievens painted, in the sense of their proud (outward) appearance in the paintings. In the single word *superbia* Huygens is thus giving a characteristic of both Lievens' *inventio* and his *argumenta formaeque*.

audacium (argumentorum formarumque): in this linked pair the result of the *inventio* (the parts or components of the picture) and the external 'form' of these parts (the 'pose' of persons and animals, and the shape of objects) are mentioned together as two aspects of one and the same self-contained concept. These two aspects are in Lievens *audax* (showing daring) which, like *superbia*, is not to be taken in the unfavourable sense.

f *argumenta*: the subjects, not in the sense of 'the' subject-matter of a whole painting in the way that *Judas repentant* is the subject of Rembrandt's painting, but in the sense of the individual objects and models for the different components of the picure as a whole – figures, objects and the like, each separately. *Argumentum* can of course coincide with 'the subject' of a painting, for example when just a single vase of flowers is being painted.

g *formae*: the phrase 'the way they are depicted' as a translation of *formae* should be understood here as the choice made of the human figure-shapes and of the form or shape of the various objects the painter uses as models (the *objectae formae* mentioned below). For human figures, the *forma* includes whether they are standing, sitting, moving and so on. Thus Huygens employs as an expression the linked pair *formae statusque* of men and animals, where this involves the total of the (outward) shape and posture, and elsewhere he makes a distinction between specific gestures and posture (*gestus*) on the one hand and the more 'overall' *forma* on the other. In the case of objects, *forma* would mean, for example, what kind of jug, or seat, or room and so on is selected after the decision has been taken at the *inventio* 'stage' (or 'level') that a jug or seat or room is going to be shown in the painting.

h *et animo juvenili*: what is meant here is the 'attitude of mind that is proper to the young', and thus perhaps here 'with the exuberance of youth'.

i *objectarum formarum*: Huygens first wrote only *objectorum*; as he added *formarum* he altered this to *objectarum*. Possibly he at first intended to mean only 'objects'.

With *objectae formae* on its own one might be inclined to think of the 'shapes' that 'have been put before' the viewer of the painting, rather than of the actual (human) models and actual objects the painter has selected (see note g) and put before *himself* (in the studio or elsewhere). But Huygens is here (as he does subsequently for Rembrandt) saying something about the artist's way of working, and bearing in mind the initial use of *objecta* in his text, together with the contrasting emphasis of *suae* in the following part of the sentence dealing with Rembrandt, one ought to reject the first of these interpretations for *objectae formae*.

j *suae se industriae involvens*: the *industria* of the *artifex* is not meant as the, so to speak, 'outward' or 'physical' diligence or restless zeal that the artist devotes to his daily activity, which *diligentia aut assiduitas*, as Huygens relates subsequently, was very typical of both Rembrandt and Lievens, and even particularly the latter. *Industria* refers to the application of the means that art itself offers (the *ars* as opposed to 'nature' in the sense of the reality to be imitated in painting); it thus means modelling and shaping minutely (drawing on one's own inspiration and craftsmanship), and if necessary going over the work again and again in order to achieve an even better result, i.e. a result that will be more in accord with what the artist has in his own mind's eye as the ideal result, and with the image (of the subject in question) that comes from within the artist himself. About this (craftsman's) *industria* Huygens repeats, earlier in the manuscript, the old statement that however much in the *artes* the *industria* of the *artifex* may be an (indispensable) 'virtue', an excess of it becomes just the opposite.

A freer translation of *suae se industriae involvens* might be 'since he gives himself entirely over, concentrates (entirely) on, the working-out of the vision of the subject that is built up within himself, is 'prompted' by his *judicium*', provided that this is not understood as the 'development of the subject' in *argumenta*, i.e. the *inventio* (see note d). What Huygens is saying here comes down to saying that Rembrandt does *not* as it were 'lose himself' in depicting the separate components of his painting once these have been chosen; that he does *not* allow himself to be carried away in the reproducing of the various objects in the separate parts making up the picture in the way that – according to what Huygens says about him – Lievens seems to do.

k *suae*: from within himself. *Sua* here indicates the meaning of *industria* mentioned above, and emphasizes the contrast with Lievens who, for the rest, is equally wrapped up in his work showing an equal degree of industry, energy and devotion.

l *compendio*: 'summarized, within a small compass, with economy of means, without circumlocution' and possibly (in this case) 'on the mark'.

m *effectum*: the (intended) effect on the viewer of the painting.

n *amplissimis*: possibly 'the most magnificent, most splendid (pictures)'; though in contrast to the *minores tabulae* (smaller paintings) of Rembrandt, 'the colossal paintings' (of others).

o *(Judae desperati) gestum*: the specific posture of the body with the accompanying gestures (and facial expression); cf. note g.

p *tot stupendas formas*: the breathtaking depiction of so much (more) in this one painting, the form in which so much (more) is presented; in particular in this case, the stupefying way so many (other) figures are portrayed.

q *ad sanguinem*: to be understood here as '(tight) to the veins', 'till the blood-flow is affected', rather than 'until they bleed'.

r *omni elegantiae*: everything that has been achieved in the way of exquisite paintings (suiting a discriminating and refined taste).

s *inscitissimi mortales*: people without any understanding or knowledge (of matters).

t *alibi*: refers to a passage about spectacles later in the ms.

u *universa*: matters of general scope and validity, concepts in which are included many (or: all) specific phenomena; general ideas.

6. Graphic reproductions

A variant of the Judas figure seen half-length was reproduced in 1634 in an etching by J.G. van Vliet (B. II, 22) (see *Introduction*, Chapter III, p. 44). This was copied by Wenzel Hollar in a print of Democritus and Heraclitus, with the Judas figure used for Heraclitus and van Vliet's etching after the *Man laughing* in The Hague (see no. B 6) for Democritus[8].

7. Copies

Numerous copies have been listed in the literature, most extensively by Collins Baker[4]. The following can be added to the list.

1. The copy that was in the collection of Baron Arthur de Schickler in Paris around 1900 (Rembrandt exhbn. Amsterdam 1898, no. 5; W.R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt*, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1909 (Kl. d. K.), p. 9; HdG 123, telescoping the provenance of the copy and of the original then unknown) was sold with the collection of A. Preyer, The Hague, in Amster-

dam (Fred. Muller) on 8 November 1927, no. 10 as by Isaac de Jouderville, and was then said to be signed *Is J.* It is now in Prague (Narodni Galerie, inv. no. 08788; canvas 79 × 102 cm).
2. The copy that was with the dealer Katz, Dieren, in 1935 was prior to 1925 in the collection of Count Contini, Florence; during World War II it was with Goudstikker/Miedl (no. 5227) and in the Reichs Chancellery at Berlin, and is now with the State-owned art collections department, The Hague; panel 78.3 × 101.7 cm).

These two copies have been examined by us and have prompted no new lines of enquiry; there was no copying of pentimenti.

8. Provenance

– Coll. Robert Alexander (Edinburgh), sale London (Christie's) 31 March – 1 April 1775 (Lugt 2386), 2nd day, no. 66: 'Rembrandt. Judas, repenting, returns the thirty pieces of silver; great expression in the characters and very uncommonly high finished' (£59. 17s to Martin; apparently bought in).
– Coll. Robert Alexander, sale London (Christie's) 6–7 March 1776 (Lugt 2497), 2nd day, no. 64: 'Rembrandt. Judas returning the thirty pieces of silver.'
– Coll. James, First Earl of Charlemont, Dublin 1776.
– Sold in 1874 to Lord Iveagh.
– Coll. Lord Moyne (up to 1938 as Ferdinand Bol).

9. Summary

The painting, first published in 1939, proves on close investigation definitely to be the original, with autograph and radical changes, and identical with the work described and praised by Huygens. The signature and dating appear to be authentic, and wholly in keeping with this.

The X-rays and the available drawings indicate that the present state of the painting was preceded by two other states, of which the first in particular presumably exhibited a number of features of style that can be termed characteristic of Rembrandt's work from 1628. The initially very contrasty chiaroscuro treatment appears gradually to have given way to the subdued lighting that now dominates the main action, and is in line with a tendency typical of the year 1629. Changes that were equally radical, and had a similar effect, were made by Rembrandt in the next major history painting he did (no. A 30). In its final form, the painting stands out, through its extreme portrayal of detail and the quite richly varied colouring, among the works from Rembrandt's later Leiden years that are, in many respects, similar to it. The high esteem evident from Huygens' text is, in that text, clearly related to the requirement laid on an history painting by art theory – that of depicting the emotions. From the evidence of the numerous copies and imitations, the painting enjoyed great renown for some considerable time.

REFERENCES

1 L. Münz, 'Rembrandts Bild von Mutter und Vater', *Jb. d. kunsth. Samml. Wien* 50 (1953), p. 182 note 4.
2 Gerson 12 and p. 489; Br.-Gerson 539A.
3 B. Haak, 'Nieuw licht op Judas en de zilverlingen van Rembrandt', *Album Amicorum J. G. van Gelder*, The Hague 1973, pp. 155–158.
4 C. H. Collins Baker, 'Rembrandt's thirty pieces of silver', *Burl. Mag.* 75 (1939), pp. 179–180.
5 J. Bruyn, 'Rembrandt and the Italian Baroque', *Simiolus* 4 (1970), pp. 28–48, esp. pp. 30–31.
6 F. Landsberger, *Rembrandt, the Jews and the Bible*, transl. F. N. Gerson, Philadelphia 1946, p. 34 note 12.
7 M. H. Gottstein, letter in: *Burl. Mag.* 95 (1953), p. 212.
8 S. Slive, *Rembrandt and his critics, 1630–1730*, The Hague 1953, pp. 30–31.

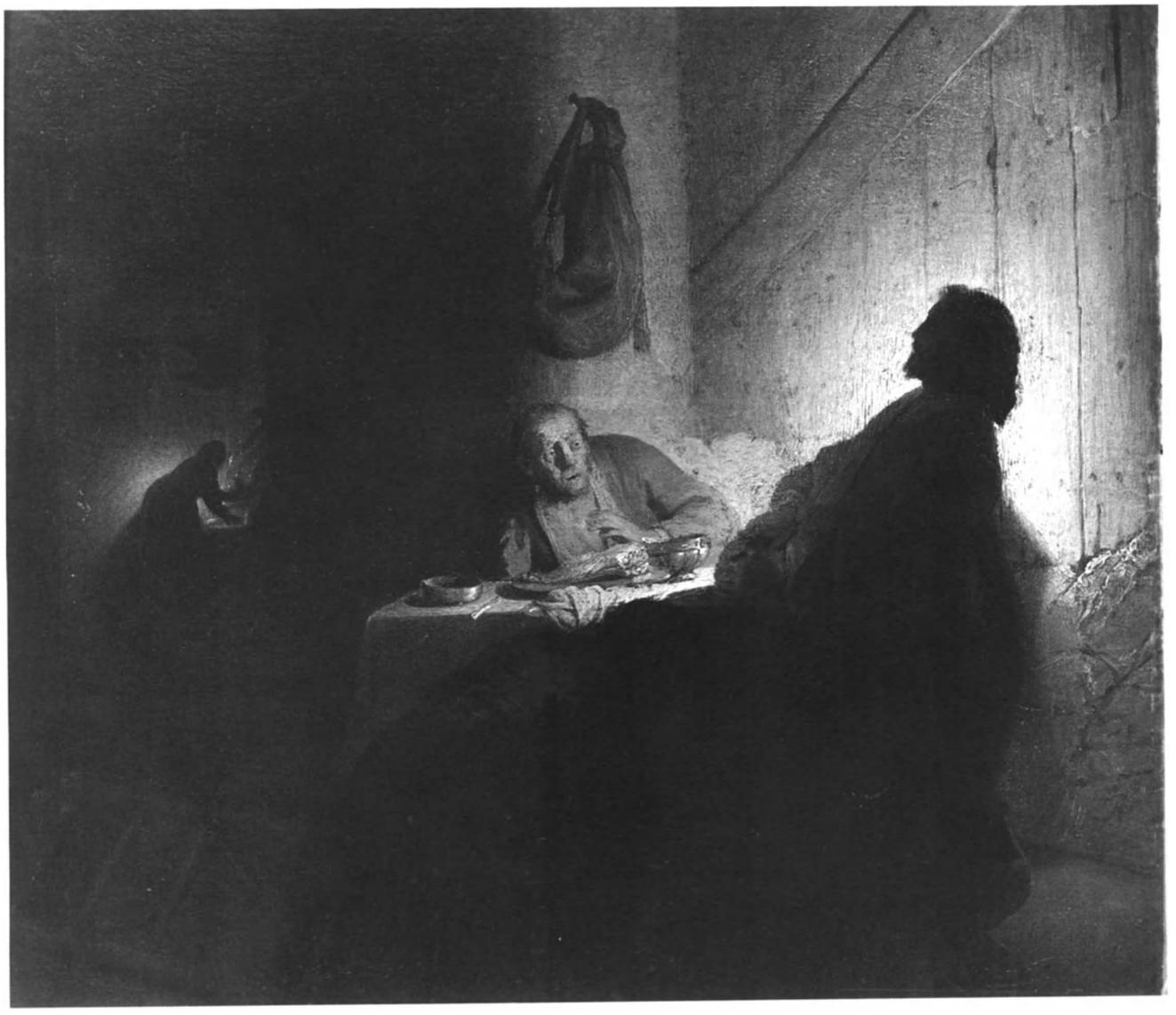
A 16 The Supper at Emmaus

[1629]

PARIS, MUSÉE JACQUEMART-ANDRÉ, INV. NO. 409

HDG 147; BR. 539; BAUCH 49; GERSON 14

Fig. 1. Paper stuck on wood 37.4 × 42.3 cm



1. Summarized opinion

Despite a certain amount of retouching, a reasonably well preserved painting that can be attributed to Rembrandt, and dated in 1629.

2. Description of subject

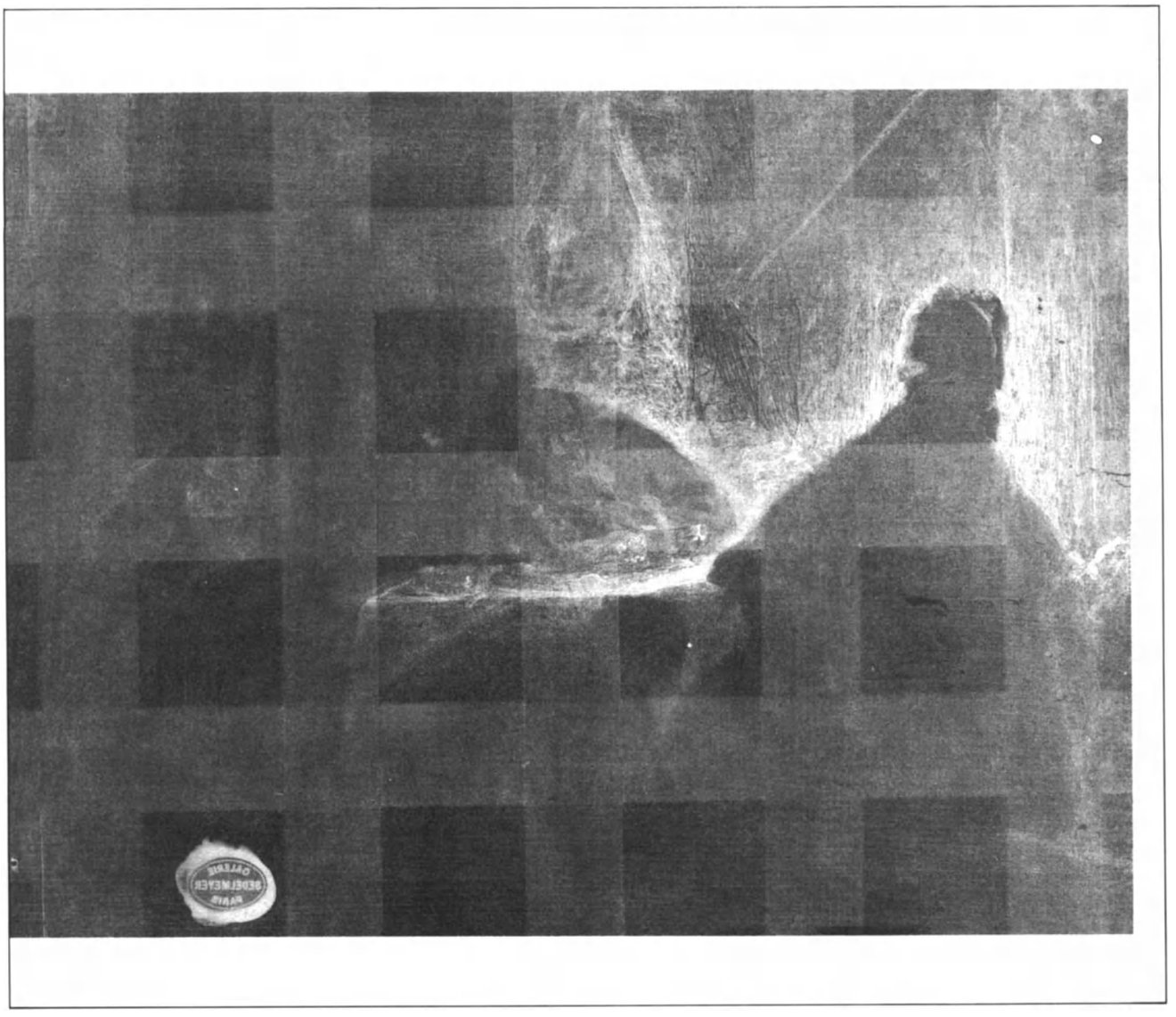
In the foreground of a room of complex shape, enveloped for the most part in darkness, the silhouette of Christ, seen in profile, stands out against the light tone of a side wall much of which is clad with planks. The moment depicted is that when Christ broke the bread to give it to the two disciples: 'and their eyes were opened, and they knew Him' (Luke 24: 30–31). There appears to be a source of light behind His body, the radiance from which forms a halo around the whole upper part of the body of the risen Christ. Behind the table, a seated disciple starts back with his hands raised slightly in fright; he is sitting in front of a kind of column, on which a large pouch hangs from a stout nail. A good deal of the light falls on him, and on vessels and a fish (?) on a platter, lying on the table. In front of the table, in darkness, the other disciple has dropped to his knees, his head to the right and the soles of his feet turned outwards to the left; behind him, to the left, a three-legged chair has toppled over unto the floor. Most of the space behind this, to the left of the column, is shrouded in darkness and suggests a deep but otherwise vaguely defined room; all there is to show this is the distant figure of a woman bending forward over her household tasks, seen against the glow from a hidden fire.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 14 April 1971 (J. B., S. H. L.) in good daylight, and out of the frame. Examined under an ultraviolet lamp. One X-ray film from the Rijksmuseum, covering almost the whole painting, studied later.

Fig. 2. X-ray



Support

DESCRIPTION: Paper stuck to wood, presumed to be oak, 37.4 (± 0.1) × 42.3 cm; surrounded by a narrow margin (about 0.1 cm) with a light-coloured substance (plaster?) under heavy varnish. Back cradled. Present thickness of panel *c.* 0.9 cm.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Very light brown, visible in the scratchmarks above Christ's right arm and in numerous hairline discontinuities in the paint layer higher up in the background, in the shadow cast by Christ, and elsewhere.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Examination is made difficult by the heavy, yellowed layer of varnish, which is moreover of varying thickness as a result of uneven local cleaning. The ultraviolet lamp reveals a number of places that have been retouched and painted-in. There is dark retouching at various points where a dark covering is laid over a light layer of paint that has subsequently worked through – at the upper contour of the head of the disciple who has fallen to his knees (against the cloth lying on the table), and in large parts of the contour of the figure of Christ (the head, chest and right arm and hand, and the loaf). Small localized areas have been painted-in at various points, including the left upper part of the background, at the centre in Christ's robe, and to the right of this. A thin wash has been applied over a dark area which starts at the left level with the uppermost leg of the overturned chair, continues along to the right, runs along the table and upwards, and covers a sizeable part of the dark zone to the left of the wall column. It is conceivable that the darker areas – the figures of Christ and the kneeling disciple, and the dark background – once showed more detail. Some wearing can occasionally be noted in the light areas, for example in the disciple behind the table, whose head and cheek contours have been retouched. Craquelure is absent, as might be expected with a paper support.
DESCRIPTION: Summing up, the surface in the large, dark areas can be described as fairly smooth and giving very little hint of

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

form. The accented highlights in the still-life on the table are slightly impasto. Thicker paint, with distinct and mostly vertical brushstrokes, is found only in the righthand section on both sides of (and partly extending into) the figure of Christ.

Large areas, the background, foreground and figure of Christ are in a thin, flat, opaque (and subsequently partly reinforced) dark grey that shows some internal detail only in the figure of Christ – a black edge to the robe, a rather thicker, lighter brownish-grey indication of the right arm and both hands, and a small, dark dot for the eye with some grey on the eye-pouch. The kneeling disciple is in almost black paint, with several scratchlines along the edges of the soles of the feet and across the right calf; the back is indicated with rather thicker bands of dark olive-green, and the belt with brown and small scratchmarks along the edge. The overturned chair is in brown; the figure of the bending woman is surrounded by a rather brownish yellow-ochre, with a few highlights.

A more varied use of paint, and a richer suggestion of forms, can be seen at the centre of the painting in the disciple shrinking back behind the table and in the still-life on it. The disciple's head has been built up, in the lit areas, with small dabs of warm yellow-brown set close together, with very dark brown-grey shadows and a less dense and slightly worn penumbra in lighter grey. The eyes, which are indicated rather than drawn with precision, have a single highlight facing the light-source. The dark brown line indicating the opening of the mouth has a few small, white touches to represent the teeth. The hands are depicted (in now slightly worn paint) in a summary fashion in the same yellow-brown flesh tint and grey, and the same colours are seen again in the chest and in the illuminated shoulder and sleeve, where the warm yellow-brown becomes thicker on the most brightly-lit elbow and forearm. The still-life has been painted, again in the same tints, using small brushstrokes, with small, thick white highlights on the cut end of the fish (?) and – less thick and partly in a yellowish-white – on the vessels; the individual lobes in the body of the metal bowl set on a foot have been separated by scratchmarks. In this whole area it is noticeable that some motifs – mostly those further to the front – have been applied over areas already painted. Thus, while the disciple's left hand is set into a space left in the paint of the grey shirt and the brownish-yellow of the tunic, the brushstroke for his cuff runs through under the bowl; the brushstrokes of the large grey platter and the brown-grey top surface of the tablecloth continue beneath the crumpled napkin. The (retouched) top outline of the head of the kneeling disciple is, in turn, on top of the crumpled napkin. And, finally, the yellow-brown elbow of the disciple behind the table can clearly be seen to continue under Christ's right hand and the (retouched) loaf.

The column starts at the bottom in a rather thick, opaque light grey – partly in small strokes following the line of the shoulder, above the disciple's head in vertical strokes and elsewhere in small strokes running in various directions – that thins out further up, with a less distinct brushstroke; the pouch hanging on the column is in slightly darker greys, with somewhat thicker paint to show the glisten of light. The wall to the right of the column has first been painted in a vertical band over a brownish layer in a thin and rather streaky grey, becoming progressively thinner higher up; in this area there is a cluster of long and more or less vertical scratchmarks, going through to the ground, which is unrecognizable as any shape. These are sometimes quite sharply curved, occasionally with irregular patterns at the bottom end. Below this, between the disciple's arm and the figure of Christ, irregular brushstrokes of a thicker grey are placed in a fairly sharply-bounded area, and appear to indicate a cloud of smoke (perhaps to mark the final contours of these figures?). A rather thick yellowish-white is applied in vertical strokes around Christ's head, and is thickest along the silhouette which has been given its final outline on top of light brushstrokes that are still visible. The illuminated lower edge of the horizontal plank (still visible in an earlier position slightly higher up) is brownish-yellow, as is the illuminated lower, broken end of one of the vertical planks on the right; the vertical joints are shown in grey which extends upwards as a thin haze over the ground. The plaster-work on the right shows haphazard lines in a darker grey over a fairly flat grey; the shadow cast by Christ is in a thin (and rather worn) dark grey. Thick spots of beige and white emphasize the upper, illuminated edges of the plastering.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The slightly grainy structure of the paper is clearly apparent in the traces of the ground visible in the X-ray image. In the darker area stretching from the left and into the figure of Christ, some gradations of light are just as faintly visible as they are in the paint layer seen today (e.g. around the figure of the woman in the background). Others are rather clearer (e.g. in the line followed by Christ's knee along the front of the table). The following features are noteworthy:

1. When the hanging part of the tablecloth was painted the contour of the back of the kneeling disciple was left in reserve

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

slightly lower than the outline we see today; the latter outline is likewise shown by the X-ray to be set into a later layer of grey on the tablecloth.
2. A continuous light area, some edges of which are unsharp, borders the outline of the left arm and shoulder of the seated disciple; at one end this does not follow the angle of the head and shoulder but continues to the present skull in a gentle curve, while at the other it continues into the upper surface of the table. It is possible that the head was originally intended to be hunched a little further back into the shoulders. Over this light area the elbow has first been extended to the right, and subsequently over this has been put the silhouette of Christ with the loaf.
3. In general there is confirmation of the observation made from the paint surface that shapes have, after being left in reserve in a light part of the lay-in, been extended slightly so that there are dark shapes overlying light areas. This is true especially of large parts of the figure of Christ.
4. Also confirmed is the observation that in two instances motifs further to the front have been placed on top of others: the metal bowl has been painted over the disciple's cuff, and the crumpled tablecloth is superimposed on the top surface of the table and the platter.
5. Here again, the cluster of scratchmarks to the right of the column cannot be interpreted as any particular shape, though looplike terminals at the bottom do suggest that the outlines of hanging cloth or garments might be involved.
6. A local loss of paint in the centre of the figure of Christ corresponds to the area of in-painting mentioned earlier.

One may conclude that the differences from the present picture that can be seen in the X-ray make up a fairly consistent set of corrections and finishing touches carried out during the course of the painting. They are still not such as to justify the description of 'beträchtliche Abwandlungen der Komposition' (substantial alterations in the composition) given by Müller[1]; this author did note a great many of the features described above.

Signature

On the right, almost at the bottom, in the same darker grey as the other lines in the grey plaster work: a distinct cursive ‹*R*›, open on the left and with a swash stem curving away to the left, on the right of which is another vertical stem that may perhaps be read as the vestige of other parts of a monogram. The signature definitely forms part of the original paint layer, and is comparable in shape to the signature on no. A 19.

Varnish

A heavy, yellowed varnish and very uneven cleaning hamper examination of the painting.

4. Comments

A certain paucity of suggested form in the dark areas, which may well be due partly to a certain degree of wearing which it is difficult to gauge exactly, does not alter the fact that the treatment of the illuminated areas – in particular the central section and the radiance from the hidden light-source – closely matches that in other works, especially the Turin *Old man asleep* (no. A 17), which is dated 1629. Just as there, the light (the source of which is not clearly defined) here throws behind Christ greyish shadows into a face otherwise suggested subtly with small touches of a brownish flesh tone, where tiny glimmers of light reinforce the form and, for example, indicate the teeth in the open mouth. The correspondence is so striking that there can be no doubt as to the attribution and approximate dating. The scarceness of impasto areas giving a clear depiction of form has to be explained by the unusual lighting effect that Rembrandt was trying to achieve here. Something of this can also be seen in the Turin painting, in the extremely restrained treatment of the glow cast by the fire and the sparse treatment over large areas that goes with this. The backlighting effect plays a comparable, even though not quite so dominant, role in other works – by daylight in the Boston *Artist in his studio* (no. A 18) (where moreover

there is a matching treatment of the wooden planking and crumbling plaster), and partly by artificial light in the Nuremberg *S. Paul* (no. A 26). The way in which in the lastnamed painting the light-source, assumed to be at the right, is shielded behind a dark, silhouetted repoussoir, already foreshadowed in the Berlin *Rich man* (no. A 10), is taken to an extreme in no. A 16 to the extent that the depiction of volume and space is partly sacrificed to the effect of showing Christ in silhouette against the wall lit from a hidden source. Perspective, already frequently neglected by the young Rembrandt, is here totally distorted to satisfy the needs of a two-dimensional pattern; this is most clearly evident in the placing of the horizontal plank along the righthand wall, which was indeed originally set higher up, where it was less obtrusive. From the spatial viewpoint neither the relation between the foreground and the scene in the left background, nor the organization of the foreground itself, is clear: the kneeling disciple does not act as a diagonal, since his feet are scarcely lower than what can be seen as the lower edge of Christ's robe, and the relationship between Christ and the table remains uncertain because the outline of the draped robe is (as the X-ray clearly shows) in front of the tablecloth. Lack of clarity of a quite different kind comes from the 'smoke cloud' between Christ and the disciple behind the table, which can probably be seen as a subsequent addition by Rembrandt himself aimed at emphasizing the two outlines, and by the cluster of long scratchmarks in the paint higher up above this, where it is unclear what shape this might have represented in either this or an earlier version.

This is the first instance of Rembrandt using paper as a carrier for an oil painting, and it is impossible to say with any certainty what his intention was in doing so. An analogy with the 1634 grisaille (London; Br. 546), on paper, for the etching of *Ecce Homo* (B. 77), and with Jan Lievens' *S. Jerome* (Schneider no. 48; now in the Lakenhal, Leiden) in grisaille on paper for the corresponding etching (Hollst. XI, no. 15), might suggest that no. A 16, too, was done with a similar function in mind. Against this there is the fact that no. A 16 is, in pictorial development, much closer to oil paintings on panels from the Leiden period, and that an etching of this calibre in 1629 is hardly imaginable. Full-fledged oil paintings on paper from the seventeenth century are rare, but they do exist. An example is *A ruined castle gateway* by Jacob van Ruisdael, London, National Gallery no. 2562. Monochrome landscapes in oils on paper by Jan van Goyen are not exceptional.

According to a quite plausible supposition put forward by Freise[2], the engraving by Hendrik Goudt

Fig. 5. After A. Elsheimer, *Philemon and Baucis*, 1612 (engraving by H. Goudt)

after Elsheimer's *Philemon and Baucis* (Dresden), dated 1612, provided a basis for the composition of no. A 16 (fig. 5). In this the light-sources (of which there are three) are admittedly not concealed, but the spatial distribution and the position of Jupiter make a connexion very probable. It must even be assumed that Elsheimer's example provided the main incitement for the highly unusual conception of the theme, showing Christ in profile as the main figure in a totally asymmetrical composition. It is clear however that essential motifs, in particular the repeated use of silhouetted figures hiding a light-source, and the disciple falling to his knees, do not stem from this source. The assumption made by Müller[1] of a connexion with the engraving by Egidius Sadeler after Tintoretto's *Last Supper* in the church of S. Trovaso in Venice is not convincing. In the most general sense, the use of concealed light-sources must be seen as deriving from sources connected with Caravaggio. The motif of a man kneeling bowed forward with the soles of his feet turned towards the viewer has similar antecedents, connected with the *Madonna di Loreto* (S. Agostino, Rome) and the *Madonna del Rosario* (Vienna) by Caravaggio. It is not entirely by chance that Velasquez, at almost the same time, was using a similar figure in *Los Borrachos* (Prado, Madrid).

The painting is mentioned for the first time in an Amsterdam sale of 1781 as a work by Jan Lievens (see *8. Provenance*). This leads one to suspect that it had been in the hands of the Paris dealer J. B. P. Lebrun, who repeatedly attributed to Lievens works done in (or in imitation of) Rembrandt's manner of 1629 (cf. nos. A 17 and C 13).

Whether the drawing in the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge (Mass.) (Ben. 11; exhibition cat. *Rembrandt after three hundred years*, Chicago 1969, no. 99 with literature references), which is generally linked with no. A 16, should indeed be seen as evidence of Rembrandt's handling of the theme remains doubtful until there is more certainty as to the authenticity and dating of this drawing, which is difficult to fit into Rembrandt's work.

A painting of the same subject, by Dirck van Santvoort, signed and dated 1633, in the Louvre (Inv. 2564; panel 66 × 50 cm; reproduced by G. Isarlov in: *La Renaissance*, July-September 1936, p. 43), is clearly based on the composition of no. A 16.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

*– Possibly coll. Willem Six, sale Amsterdam 12 May 1734 (Lugt 441), no. 57: 'Christus bij de Emausgangers, van dezelve [Rembrand van Ryn]' (170 guilders to Wilkens).
*– Coll. P. Pama, sale Amsterdam 30 January 1781 (Lugt 3208), no. 24: 'Lievens/Hoog 15½, breed 16½ duim [40 × 42.5 cm], op Paneel. Christus word gekend by de Dicipelen van Emmaus, zittende aan Tafel; verder ziet men een Meyd in de Keuken, iets klaar makende, het kaarsligt geeft een byzondere uytwerking, de Hartstogten zyn wonderlyk en alles geestig geordonneert.' (Lievens. On panel. Christ is recognized by the disciples at Emmaus, seated at table; further back one sees a maid in the kitchen, preparing something; the candlelight gives a singular effect, the portrayal of emotions is admirable and all is imaginatively arranged) (41 guilders to Strubink) (cf. Schneider no. 40).
– Coll. Comte F. de Robiano, sale Brussels 1ff May 1837 (Lugt 14692), no. 545: 'Rembrandt, Les disciples d'Emmaüs' (300 francs to Dervasnes).
– Coll. Dr. Leroy d'Estoilles, sale Paris 21 February 1861, no. 94 (3100 francs).
– Dealer Ch. Sedelmeyer, Vienna 1872 (cf. *Catalogue of 300 Paintings*, Paris 1898, no. 115).
– Coll. Epstein, Vienna 1873.
– Probably again dealer Ch. Sedelmeyer, Paris (wax seal on back 'Galerie Sedelmeyer, Paris').
– Coll. Edouard André, Paris; bequeathed to the Institut de France by his widow in 1912.

9. Summary

Because of the treatment of light, space and materials, and of the characteristic handling of paint seen in what are admittedly relatively small areas, this work can beyond any doubt be attributed to Rembrandt, and dated with a large measure of certainty in 1629. The signature, part of which is perhaps missing, is of unusual form and does not in itself provide reliable evidence. The design of the work reflects the preoccupation with lighting effects seen in other works from 1627–1629, though in no other case has it been handled in such an extreme way so as to imply a supernatural radiance.

The attribution to Jan Lievens given to the painting in an Amsterdam sale of 1781 suggests that it had been in the hands of the Paris dealer J. B. P. Lebrun, though there is no proof for this.

REFERENCES

1 W. J. Müller, 'Rembrandts früheste Darstellung des Emmauswunders', *N.K.J.* 23 (1972), pp. 113–120, esp. p. 115.
2 K. Freise, 'Rembrandt and Elsheimer', *Burl. Mag.* 13 (1908), pp. 38–39; idem, *Pieter Lastman*, Leipzig 1911, p. 143. See also: J. L. A. A. M. van Rijckevorsel, *Rembrandt en de traditie*, Rotterdam 1932, p. 78; W. Stechow, 'Rembrandts Darstellungen des Emmausmahles', *Zeitschr. f. Kunstgesch.* 3 (1934), pp. 329–341, esp. p. 333.

A 17 An old man asleep by the fire, perhaps typifying Sloth

TURIN, GALLERIA SABAUDA, INV. NO. 393

HDG 293; BR. 428; BAUCH 121; GERSON–

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved and convincing work, which is reliably signed and dated 1629 and in various respects akin to other works datable in that year. It is moreover almost certainly identical with one of the paintings described as the work of Rembrandt in the will of Jacques de Gheyn III in 1641.

2. Description of subject

In a room of no great depth that is otherwise almost entirely shrouded in darkness and in which one gathers there is a large fireplace, an old man sits in light falling from the top left. He is asleep, seated facing slightly to the left in an armchair and with his legs crossed. His head rests on his left hand, while his right hand is tucked into his tunic. A cloak hangs down from his shoulders and falls over his knees. Under his right forearm a long, gold-coloured object (a writing-case?) hangs on a chain. To the left alongside him, against the rear wall, a small, feeble fire burns on a small stone slab, with in front of it an earthenware jug, a bundle of twigs and a pair of tongs propped up on end. Against the very vaguely indicated rear wall, above the figure, two small bundles of smoked herring hang one above the other. To the right of these, above the man's head, we can see vaguely an area that could be the crumbling corbel of the chimneybreast. If this interpretation of the layout of the room is correct, the man is sitting against the righthand side of the fireplace.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 12 September 1972 (J. B., P. v. Th.) in very dim daylight, using an electric lamp and an ultra-violet lamp, with the painting out of the frame.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 51.9 × 40.8 cm. Thickness 0.9–1 cm. Two planks, 20.3 and 20.5 cm wide respectively. Back bevelled along all four sides.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Shows through light in very small patches of wearing in the left background, level with the elbow, and on the right alongside the armrest of the chair. Not visible elsewhere.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: In the thin background the paint has here and there suffered somewhat from overcleaning, as it has in the face, hands, the area to the right of the hand and around the signature. The three heavy fold-shadows in the cloak on the right have been retouched (on the evidence of UV examination). Otherwise the condition of the paint is quite good; in the thick areas of the clothing in particular it appears to be completely intact. No craquelure was seen.
DESCRIPTION: Around the figure, in both foreground and background, the paint is opaque but is thinly applied in such a way that the grain of the panel is everywhere apparent. The flat, dark grey-brown of the background is enlivened with a little lighter grey only along the lefthand contour of the figure; a few touches of thicker grey above the man's head would seem to represent crumbling plasterwork, and to the right of this the background continues in a dark grey. The dark brown-grey of the floor is also flat, and shows no brushstrokes; the gaps between the floorboards are indicated with horizontal brown lines. The small fire, done in spots of bright red with a little golden ochre, is likewise thinly painted and offers only one or two small highlights in ochre-yellow and a few tiny dots of yellow. It casts a weak light: a thin line of light in bright red runs to the left along the dark brown jug, the modelling of which is indicated by a weak sheen of light; there is a matt red reflection on the man's left shoe; one or two tiny impasto edges of light enliven the dark brown in which the bundle of twigs is drawn; and the black tongs, which throw a shadow on the wall, have one or two lines of light to suggest their shape, and three small white highlights. The herring hanging on the rear wall are depicted in much the same way – in brown with small dark-brown lines and a few patches and strokes of ochre-yellow, broken white and a trace of red. Above them there is another and even vaguer hint of a similar small bundle of herring.

Amidst these thin, flat areas, in which only a handful of objects are given shape with a minimum of light accents while the depiction of materials is otherwise practically ignored, the whole of the sleeping man's dress stands out in a relief formed by a far thicker layer of paint, following the lively pattern of the illuminated folds of cloth. The thick brown-grey of the tunic has small strokes of lighter grey on the highlights, with darker, small brushlines for the buttonholes and very small, whitish-yellow dots for the buttons; on the sleeve on the right, in between the thick strokes of brown-grey, a thin zigzag of ochre-yellow weaves to and fro as a light thread across a black slit. The collar is executed with a marked effect of depth, with short strokes of white in the lit surfaces and some dirty white in the shadows; the black lacing has thick yellow ends. The reddish dark brown of the cloak is somewhat thinner than the brown-grey of the tunic, and where the light falls on it is heightened with thickish grey brushstrokes; the shadows of long folds in the cloak are shown with thin (retouched) black. The breeches, in thick dark grey, show small white dots along a sewn-on patch. The small skullcap shows a rather thick and slightly worn cool grey over a layer that, like the background, is thin and dark. The skin areas are less thick than the clothing and are for by far the most part suggested subtly in very small dabs and dots of paint. In the highest lights (on the forehead, the ridge of the nose and the wrist on the right) small, heavy touches of yellowish flesh colour are on top of and alongside a thinner, brownish pink. The shadows, sometimes offering a strong contrast (as along the nose) are in a dark grey-brown with a black accent at the side of the nostril on the right, above which is a small white highlight. The eye sockets are drawn and modelled in thin brown, while the moustache is in thin grey with tiny dots of white; a thin whitish pink lies over the cheeks. A fine, undulating line of black marks the mouth opening, running above and along the white lower teeth. To a very minor extent the head has suffered from overcleaning; the hand on the right has fared rather worse.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

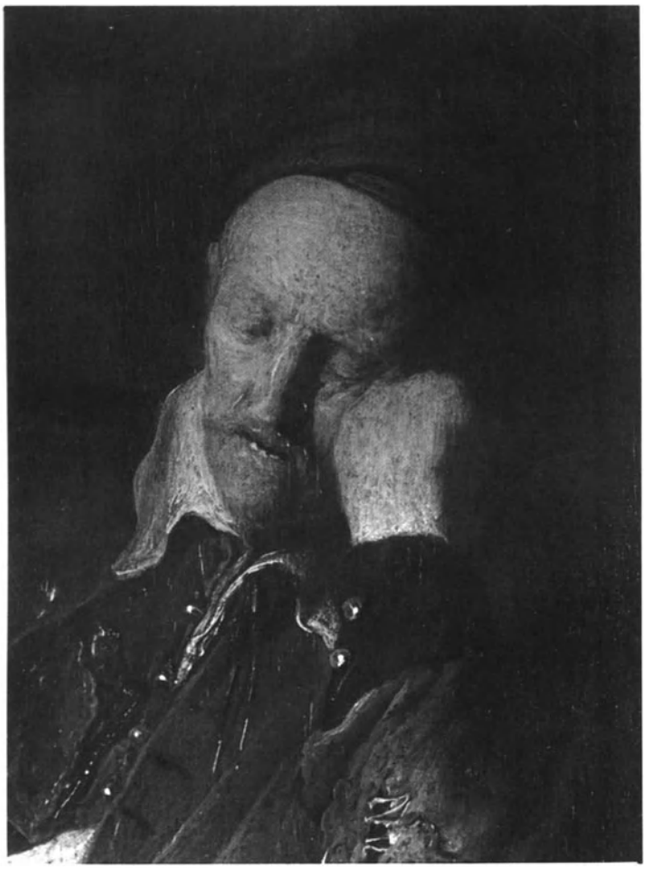
None.

Signature

At bottom right ‹*P* (to be read as *R*) *L*. . *29*›. Of the monogram one might reasonably expect to find, the most clearly legible part is the *R* open on the left (the tail is missing, making it a *P*); this consists of a short line on top of a wider letter shape showing up in relief. Next to this there is still one vertical stem visible,

Fig. 1. Panel 51.9 × 40.8 cm

Fig. 2. Detail (1 : 1)



followed at some distance by the *2* and a very vague *9*. The statement by J. G. van Gelder[1] that during restoration in 1951 Rembrandt's monogram disappeared and a monogram G D (for Gerard Dou) came into view presumably means that prior to 1951 Rembrandt's signature was (in a strengthened form?) more clearly legible. A Dou monogram cannot be read in it.

Varnish

Observation is hindered to some extent by a rather heavy varnish layer.

4. Comments

There is a striking contrast between the large, dark areas around the figure, painted thinly and flatly, and the figure itself richly modelled and detailed in generally thick paint with numerous extremely fine, small brushstrokes, lines and dots. The figure is evidently lit from an unseen window, without the light being shed to any appreciable extent on his surroundings. Nowhere, however, does the careful execution produce an effect of finickiness – on the contrary the artist has, using relatively few resources, created a wealth of plasticity and three-dimensional effect, and the manner of painting is anything but smooth.

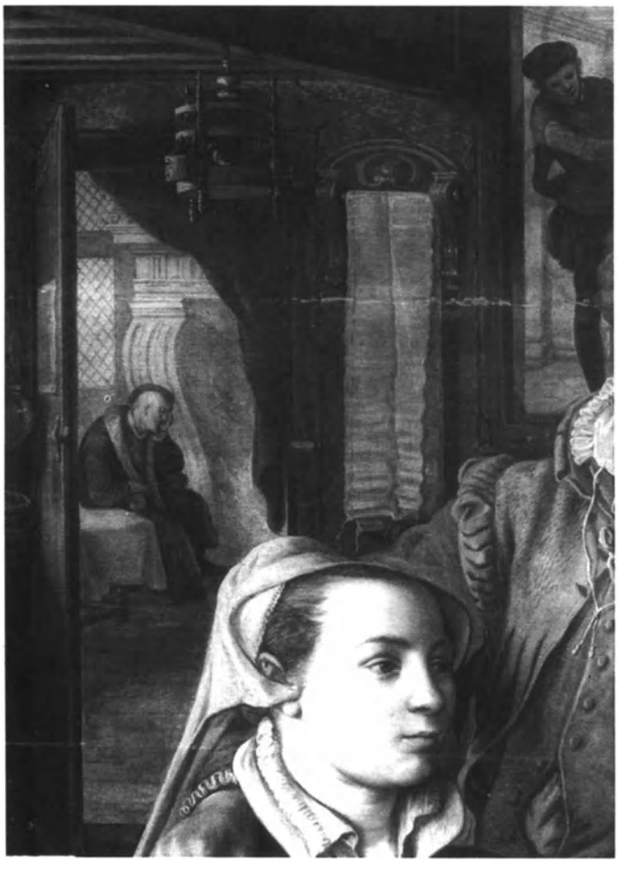
Though the various approaches to the task are nowhere combined in exactly the same way, they do appear individually in Rembrandt's work from his Leiden years. The extremely discreet treatment of form in dimly-lit areas reminds one of the Berlin *Rich man* of 1627 (no. A 10), as does the treatment of the head, which suggests rather than sharply defining. This latter feature is also characteristic of other works such as the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13) and the Nuremberg *S. Paul* of 1629/30 (no. A 26). The palette is, in the main, limited; it does not however tend towards lighter to darker grey (like that in various works from 1627 and 1628), but to a heavy and very varied application of dark greys with a few warmer tints in the skin areas contrasting with the surrounding flat, dark grey-brown; in this respect, too, the treatment is comparable with that of the *Rich man*, as well as with the *Supper at Emmaus* in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (no. A 16), a painting that probably also dates from 1629 and in which similar means are used to achieve a totally different effect. The posture of the old man presages that of the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* of 1630 (no. A 28), though there it will be integrated into a more homogeneous composition and lighting.

There is thus no reason to doubt – as Gerson[2] did – the correctness of the attribution to Rembrandt and the dating of 1629. In neither the interpretation of the manner of painting proffered here, nor in the reading of the monogram, is there any support for J. G. van Gelder's assumption[3] of a collaboration with Dou.

The lighting problem that Rembrandt was setting himself in this work does not really find a consistent solution; the daylight (?) coming from the top left plays, as a counterpoint to the weak glow from the fire, a role that is not really clear, since it falls almost exclusively on the seated figure. This problem of a dual light source was to be given a more convincing solution in the Nuremberg *S. Paul*, which can presumably be dated in 1629/30.

Unlike the bearded old man whom Rembrandt repeatedly used as a model in the years 1627–1629 (the Stuttgart *S. Paul*, no. A 11; the Melbourne *Two old men disputing*, no. A 13; the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple*, no. A 12; the Nuremberg *S. Paul*, no. A 26), and who also appears several times in Lievens' works, this model is not known from any drawn studies. Since 1890[4] he has been reputed to be Rembrandt's father. The earliest dated etchings in which he appears are dated 1630 (B. 292 and 321). We can probably already recognize his features as those of the richly-clad merchant in the Moscow *Driving-out of the moneychangers* of 1626 (no. A 4). The same model appears time and again in the work of

Fig. 3. J. Bueckelaer, *Merry company*, detail. Antwerp, Museum voor Schone Kunsten



Jan Lievens (for example in etchings B. 20 and 21, and in the painting at Dublin (cat. no. 607), presumably dating from before 1629) and that of Dou (e.g. in paintings in Leningrad (W. Martin, *Gerard Dou*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1913, Kl.d.K., p. 22 left), Kassel (ibid. p.22 right), in Lord Northbrook's collection (ibid. p. 63), Prague (ibid. p. 65), and so on).

As appears from *8. Provenance* the painting's history can be traced back to the collection of Jacques de Gheyn III (d. 1641), whose portrait Rembrandt painted in 1632 (see Br. 162). It was bequeathed by him to Joannes Wtenbogaert (1608–1680), tax-collector for Amsterdam and another acquaintance of Rembrandt's. Before it was brought to France by the painter J. A. J. C. Aved (1702–1766), who was trained in Amsterdam and made several trips to Holland, it was presumably in the possession of the Amsterdam merchant Hendrick Scholten (1617–1679) (on his collection of classical sculptures, see: J. G. van Gelder and Ingrid Jost in: *Festoen opgedragen aan A. N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta*, Groningen-Bussum [1976], pp. 297–304). In the sales catalogue of Aved's estate (Paris 24 ff. November 1766, Lugt 1563) it is stated that 'il acheta entier le fameux Cabinet de M. Scholt & les plus beaux Tableaux de M. le Comte de Wassenaër d'Obdam' and no. A 17 was not among the latter's collection when this was sold in The Hague on 19 August 1750 (Lugt 736). After leaving Aved's possession (before his death) it went through a number of Paris collections and was attributed to Jan Lievens by J. B. P. Lebrun, who owned it around 1780 and who gave the same name to a number of similar paintings by or in the manner of Rembrandt (cf. nos. A 16 and C 13). How it came to Turin is not entirely clear, but one can suspect that it was in the Musée Napoléon and was sent there around 1810, as happened to other works of art.

The meaning of the scene has still not been satisfactorily elucidated. The purely descriptive mention in the 1641 will of Jacques de Gheyn III (see *5. Documents and sources*) provides no clue; for reasons that have already been explained (see entry no. A 13, under *4. Comments*), one cannot conclude from this that at that time no particular meaning was seen in the painting. In the 18th century it was invariably called ' Un Philosophe'. K. Bauch[5] was the first to interpret it not as a genre piece but as a biblical scene – as the aged Tobit asleep; he commented that the sparrows' nest from which the droppings fell and made Tobit blind (Tobit 2: 10) was missing, but he nevertheless regarded this explanation as sound. Tümpel[6] listed no. A 17 among works that are still unexplained, though at the same time he believed that the work was probably a study for a picture of Tobit and Anna in an interior, and pointed as evidence to the London picture of this subject which we attribute to Gerard Dou (no. C 3). Dr. Tümpel furthermore pointed out to us privately that the man's patched clothing forms a reference to Tobit's previous prosperity (cf. also no. A 3); that in the etching B. 42 of 1651, too, a fireplace constitutes a prominent motif; and that the hanging herrings, also present in the etching, could form a motif associated with it and do not necessarily introduce any iconographic (e.g. erotic) meaning of their own into the picture.

The assumption that no. A 17 represents an historical, and presumably biblical, scene should not a priori be discounted; the interpretation of the figure as being Tobit would then be the most likely, especially since in another instance an old man seen in an interior was indeed understood as Tobit in the first half of the 18th century (cf. Br. 431). Serious doubts persist, however. There is nothing to show that the painting was a study, as Tümpel has suggested; the picture has to be looked on as complete in itself. But then it strikes one not only that Anna is missing, but that there is no hint of any kind (such as a spinning-wheel, hand spinning-wheel or spindle) that it is her

Fig. 4. Etching by F. A. Moitte (reproduced in reverse)

home that is being portrayed. And why, moreover, should Tobit be shown asleep? This would make sense only if Bauch were right in suggesting that the episode of Tobit's being blinded was intended – yet not only is the sparrows' nest missing, but this episode took place outside, not indoors by the fireside (this is, for example, how it is shown in the drawing in Rotterdam (Ben. 872), where Tobit is stretched out on the ground, with the shovel alongside him and his right hand tucked into the breast of his garment).

The last-named motif, which also occurs in no. A 17 and was specifically described in a 1641 text (see 5. *Documents and sources*), had attached to it the connotation of sloth or *acedia* (cf. S. Koslov, 'Frans Hals's *Fisherboys*: Exemplars of idleness', *Art Bull.* 57 (1975), pp. 418–432), usually in a thoroughly unfavourable vein. This makes it most improbable that the scene shown in no. A 17 could be placed on a par with, say, no. C 3; here, Tobit does it is true have his hands folded in his lap (cf. Proverbs 6: 10, 'Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep'; see Koslov, op. cit., p. 420), yet this is showing him to be inactive because of his blindness, not through sinful sloth in the meaning of Proverbs 19: 24, 'A slothful man hideth his hand in his bosom, and will not so much as bring it to his mouth again' (see Koslov, ibid.). Who the idle sleeper depicted in no. A 17 is supposed to be must be regarded as still unexplained. He may perhaps simply be the 'slothful man' of Proverbs 19. A general meaning of this kind is all the more conceivable since bawdy-house and tavern scenes in the 16th century (e.g. by Joachim Bueckelaer, see fig. 3), and into the 17th century as well (e.g. works by Adriaen Brouwer), the sleeping man by the hearth is a regular motif. It must probably in this connexion be seen as an allegory of sloth, on an analogy with, for example, the depiction of 'acidia' in the tabletop in Madrid attributed to Bosch (cf. K. Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft*, Berlin 1970, chapter on 'Der Schlaf im Wirtshaus', pp. 129–142, esp. p. 132ff). The fact that a hand thrust into the bosom was indeed generally given the connotation of sloth is confirmed by the interpretation that C. Plantijn, in *Thesaurus theutonicae linguae* . . . (Antwerp 1573), gives under the term 'traech zijn' – 'manum habere sub pallio' (we are indebted to Dr. H. Miedema of the University of Amsterdam for this information). The connexion that was made in the late Middle Ages between the vice of sloth and the melancholic temperament (cf. R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, *Saturn and melancholy*, London etc. 1964, pp. 78, 300, 599) may provide an explanation of the posture depicted, with the head resting on one hand; this typifies melancholy, and the melancholic person, but was also repeatedly used in the 17th century for personifications or representatives of sloth (cf. exhibition cat. *Tot lering en vermaak*, Amsterdam 1976, nos. 33 and 69).

A figure in identical dress and with the same posture, though with a different face, occurs in different surroundings in a painting dated 1645 and entitled *A philosopher in his study* by the Leiden painter Jacob van Spreeuwen (b. 1611; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A 1713, cat. no. 2225, on loan to the Picture Gallery of Prince William V, The Hague). This figure may derive from a lost drawing by Rembrandt for no. A 17, rather than from the painting itself.

5. Documents and sources

No. A 17 is almost certainly identical with one of the paintings by Rembrandt, Lievens, Brouwer and others that the artist Jacques de Gheyn III (1596–1641), who originated from Leiden, left in his will of 3 June 1641 to his nephew Joannes Wtenbogaert, tax-collector for the district of Amsterdam: 'Noch een out slapent manneken bij een vuyr sittende, sijn hant inden bosem hebbende, mede van Rembrand gemaeckt' (Further, an old man asleep seated by a fire, with his hand in his bosom, made by Rembrand) (A. Bredius in: *O.H.* 33

(1915), pp. 126–128; J. Q. van Regteren Altena, *The drawings of Jacques de Gheyn*, Amsterdam 1936, p. 129).

6. Graphic reproductions

1. Etching in reverse, with inscriptions: *Jean Liévens Pinx.– A. Moitte aquaforti triere sc.| Tiré du Cabinet de M^r. le Brun,| D'après le Tableau Original de Jean Liévens de 18 pou. edemie de Haut^r. sur 15 po^s. de L^r. Bois.* Evidently started as an etching by François Auguste Moitte (Paris 1748–*c.*1790), and completed as an engraving by Philippe Trière (Paris 1756–*c.*1815). Included in J. B. P. Lebrun, *Galerie des peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands* II, Paris – Amsterdam 1792, opposite p. 15. In this reproduction the man portrayed appears to look less old, and the construction of the fireplace is shown more clearly than is now the case in the painting, though without the perspective relationship between the floor-joints and the chimney-breast becoming entirely clear (fig. 4).

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Coll. Jacques de Gheyn III (1596–1641), bequeathed by his will of 1641 to his nephew Joannes Wtenbogaert (cf. *5. Documents and Sources*).
– Coll. Joannes Wtenbogaert (1608–1680), tax-collector for Amsterdam.
– Presumably coll. Hendrick Scholten (1617–1679), Amsterdam, as may be inferred from the notice in the catalogue of the Aved sale, Paris 24ff. November 1766 (Lugt 1563): 'il acheta entier le fameux Cabinet de M. Scholt & les plus beaux Tableaux de M. le Comte de Wassenaër d'Obdam'.
– Coll. J. A. J. C. Aved (1702–1766), peintre du Roi, Paris, as appears from the 1779 sales catalogue quoted below. Not included in the sale of his estate in 1766.
*– Coll. Rémond, ancien Maître-d'Hôtel du Roi, sale Paris 6ff July 1778 (Lugt 2874), no. 20: 'Rembrandt Van Rhyn. Un homme, en robe de chambre, dormant dans un fauteuil proche de sa cheminée. Ce tableau est d'un beau fini & d'un bon effet; il est peint sur bois: Hauteur 19 pouces, largeur 15 pouces [= 51.3 × 40.5 cm]'.
*– [Coll. Abbé de Gévigney], sale Paris (Paillet) 1–29 December 1779 (Lugt 3063), no. 201: 'Rembrandt van Ryn. L'Intérieur d'une Chambre dans laquelle est un Vieillard malade assis dans un grand fauteuil & endormi; il a la tête appuyée sur la main gauche, & la droite est dans son habit: devant lui est un feu allumé dans la cheminée, près laquelle est un pot de terre. Ce tableau, d'une belle pâte de couleur, & extrêmement fini, a l'expression la plus caracterisée. Il a été gravé à l'eau-forte par Rembrand lui-même. Il vient du Cabinet de feu M. Aved, Peintre du Roi. H. 19 p., l. 15 [= 51.3 × 40.5 cm] Bois'. (600 francs to Quenet = Lebrun).
*– Coll. Collet, sale Paris (Lebrun) 14–23 May 1787 (Lugt 4188), no. 49: 'Jean Lievens. L'Intérieur d'une Chambre dans laquelle on voit auprès du feu un homme endormi dans un fauteuil, le corps penché sur le bras gauche; il est vêtu d'un manteau brun-rouge, par-dessus un habit de la même couleur, la tête couverte d'un bonnet violet posée sur la main gauche, & la droite est à demi-cachée dans sa veste. Ce Tableau tres-harmonieux a toutes les beautés de ceux du bon tems de Rymbrants. Hauteur 18 pouces 6 lignes, largeur 15 pouces [= 50 × 40.5 cm]'.
– Coll. [de Calonne], sale Paris 21–30 April 1788 (Lugt 4304), no. 110 as Lievens; described as in the preceding sale's catalogue with the addition: 'Il se trouve gravé dans ma dixiéme livraison' (cf. *6. Graphic reproductions*).
– Coll. Destouches, sale Paris 21 March 1794 (Lugt 5171), no. 18: 'J. Lievins. Un Philosophe, assis & endormi dans l'intérieur de son laboratoire devant son feu; il a la tête appuyée sur la main droite; ce tableau qui tient à la belle maniére de Rembrandt, est gravé dans l'oeuvre du citoyen Lebrun. Haut. 18 pou. larg. 15 [= 48.6 × 40.5 cm] B.' (381 francs to Lebrun).
– Presumably Musée Napoléon and sent to Turin.

9. Summary

The manner of painting and the composition place this work convincingly between those from 1627 and 1630. There can thus be no doubt as to the attribution, and although the last digit of the date is only faintly visible the usual reading as 1629 is wholly in agreement with the stylistic interpretation. Since, moreover, the description given in the 1641 will of Jacques de Geyn III almost certainly relates to this painting, it may be counted among the earliest documented works. It is noteworthy that in the Galerie Lebrun and in the collections of subsequent owners it passed for a Lievens, owing no doubt to the attribution Lebrun gave it. A satisfactory explanation of what it represents has not yet been given; most probably the scene typifies the vice of Sloth.

REFERENCES

1 Van Gelder 1953, p. 293 (p. 21), note 54.
2 Br.-Gerson 428.
3 Van Gelder 1953, p. 293 (p. 22); idem in: *Burl. Mag.* 95 (1953), p. 37 note 9.
4 E. Michel, 'La jeunesse de Rembrandt, 1606–1631, III', *G. d. B.-A.* 3rd series 4, 32 (1890), pp. 154–166, esp. 159–163; idem, *Rembrandt*, Paris 1893, pp. 41–42.
5 Bauch 1933, p. 191; Bauch 1960, pp. 148–150; K. Bauch, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin 1967, p. 145.
6 Tümpel 1971, p. 20 note 3.

A 18 The artist in his studio

[1629]

BOSTON, MASS., MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, ACC. NO. 38. 1838

HDG– ; BR. 419; BAUCH 112; GERSON 20

Fig. 1. Panel 25.1 × 31.9 cm

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved painting which though not signed fits in among Rembrandt's work in most respects, and can probably be dated in 1629.

2. Description of subject

A painter stands on the left in a room with plastered walls and a wood-planked floor, lit from the left; in his left hand he holds a palette, brushes and a maulstick, in his right hand a single brush. He is looking, from some distance away, at a large panel set on a stout easel in the foreground; the back of this, in shadow, is seen at an angle. Behind him to the left, against the rear wall, are a table bearing a jug, bottle and an earthenware coal-pan (?), and a heavily-worn grinding-stone; the latter stands on a support consisting of a round tree-trunk resting on two small cross-bars. On the wall, two palettes hang from a nail. To the right, where part of the rear wall projects forwards, there is a wooden door.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 8 October 1970 (B. H., P. v. Th.) in good daylight and out of the frame. An X-ray film by the Rijksmuseum, covering almost the whole of the painting, and an infrared photograph by the Boston Museum were consulted later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain horizontal, 25.1 × 31.9 cm, varying in thickness from *c.* 0.6 cm at the bottom to 0.9 cm at the top. Single plank. Back bevelled on all four sides.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light, ochre-hued yellow shows through clearly in the shadow side of the panel on the easel, and in the background beside the grinding-stone. It seems doubtful that this is the colour of a ground applied directly to the support: the long brushstrokes – running horizontally, vertically and in curves – visible in relief under the paint layer are presumably not connected with a normal preparation (see *X-rays*).

Fig. 2. X-ray

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Apart from a retouched scratch that is still visible just below the top edge of the panel on the easel, and one or two small repairs, the painting is in good condition. Some dark shadow areas may have suffered a little. Craquelure: a few fine, mainly vertical cracks have formed in the thicker parts of the floor, and there is a little shrinkage craquelure in the shadow on the door.

DESCRIPTION: The paint is applied more thickly in the light parts than in shadow areas. The figure is painted succinctly, with a strong suggestion of plasticity. The clothing, in grey with a little purple on top of brown, is done fairly carefully but with fluent touches of the brush. The face, in which only the cheek and tip of the nose catch the light, is treated summarily but very effectively. The same is true of the hands, indicated by a few small strokes.

The easel and panel are kept in thin brown-greys, with lines in black and dark brown to define shapes. The light along the edge is done in a long, thin and subtly-varied line of white paint. The use of dark lines to show structure and define forms can also be seen in the righthand section of wall and in the door, where they have been drawn over fairly thin paint. They attract the eye emphatically at cracks in the plasterwork, at the beams and planks of the door and along the framework.

The floorboards are quite coarsely painted in a warm, yellowish ochre colour, which is thicker as it becomes lighter in tone. The joints between floorboards are indicated by brownish and greyish lines, reinforced by scratchmarks in the most impasto areas. The grain of the wood and dents and nailheads in the floor are shown here and there in a red-brown paint.

The objects behind the artist are done in thin greys and browns and ochres.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

Part of the easel and the panel appear darker in a lighter area matching the paint layer of the floor and wall; the thin light edge along the left of the panel is clearly visible. Running through this, and on both sides of it, there are however a number of quite haphazard brushmarks (also apparent in relief under the present paint surface) some of which show up as white paintstrokes – i.e. presumably of paint containing white-lead. On the right this layer appears to have been partly scraped away again, and to the left of centre – where the

Fig. 3. Detail (2 : 1)

palettes hanging on the wall and the thick brushmarks in the lit arm and shoulder are visible in the X-ray – there are random brushstrokes that show up darker than their surroundings. These can scarcely be connected with a normal preparation of the panel; one is more inclined to think in terms of vestiges of the paint layer of a totally different painting, or rather of a layer used to cover over an earlier picture.

Signature
None.

Varnish
No special remarks.

4. Comments

The wide variations within the confident way this work is painted are adapted to the varying nature of the materials being rendered – the plastered wall, the wooden floorboards and the heavy folds of the tabard. In this respect, as well as in the very limited range of colours, the handling of paint corresponds with Rembrandt's way of working as it appears in various works, from the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 (no. A 11) onwards. Various characteristics set this painting closest to works that carry the date

1629, or that can be dated in that year. The use of translucent browns and greys in shadow areas can, for instance, be seen in the dated Munich *Self-portrait* (no. A 19). The dark lines used to indicate shapes appear in a very similar form in the *Supper at Emmaus* in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (no. A 16). There is a further similarity with this last-named work in the strong contrast created by a dark repoussoir against a light wall, though here there is no real backlighting but rather a strong light falling from the left, with the shadowed rear of the easel and panel forming the dominant compositional motif. The treatment of the artist's tabard, done in quite thick touches of greyish paint, is with its powerful suggestion of material seen in depth reminiscent of the matching motif in the Turin *Old man asleep by the fire* (no. A 17), dated 1629. Finally, the predominantly light colour of the plastered wall used as a background links no. A 18 to the two *Self-portraits* nos. A 14 and A 19. Both the attribution to Rembrandt and a dating in 1629 are thus entirely acceptable. Following fierce discussion shortly after the painting was discovered[1], there has accordingly never been any doubt as to this attribution.

The X-ray in particular shows that the painter presumably made use of a panel that had already been painted on; this can often be seen in cases of works that were not intended for sale or that carried a low price – in one modello (no. A 9), in a series of heads (nos. A 8, A 20, A 32, A 33: cf. also no. B 4), and once also in a history painting (no. A 38), as well as in small works by imitators (nos. C 5 and C 11).

The interior is, admittedly, portrayed in a very summary fashion, but much more clearly than one usually finds in Rembrandt's Leiden works. There is more space than in the Amsterdam *Tobit and Anna* of 1626 (no. A 3); and there are none of the vague features one sees in the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 or even in the 1629 *Judas repentant* (no. A 15) in a private British collection. There is, indeed a certain quite exceptional consistency apparent in the use of linear perspective, strengthened by the cast shadows and shaded side of the forms. The effect this creates, of a considerable distance between the easel and the very much smaller figure of the artist and his utensils, is quite remarkable.

The floor-plan of the room, with a window in the unseen wall on the left and a projecting angle of the rear wall with a door, is in line with a common layout of rooms on the upper floors of Dutch town houses, with the door opening onto the stairs. The architect, Mr. H. J. Zantkuijl, Amsterdam, has been kind enough to tell us that the height of the room indicates that it is on the first of two upper storeys of a reasonably expensive house; the direction in which the floorboards are laid (at right angles to the house-front and to joists parallel to this) shows that the house – not having the earlier system of main beams and subsidiary joists – must have been built around the end of the sixteenth century or early in the seventeenth; the room is viewed from a point along the side wall, close to where the fireplace must be situated. Since, moreover, the lighting of the figure standing before the easel matches that of the two early *Self-portraits* (nos. A 14 and A 19), it must be taken as not unlikely that this extremely realistically drawn interior does in fact, as Bauch[2] believed, show Rembrandt's own workroom. One should then probably assume that the painter took the interior with the easel from life, and in this placed his own figure (observed wholly or partly in a mirror). That the figure does in fact represent Rembrandt himself, as Bauch[2,3], Erpel[4], Slive[5] and others have assumed, and not Gerard Dou as van Gelder[6] believed, seems conclusive when one compares the facial features with those in, among others, the two painted self-portraits just mentioned, the etched self-portrait of 1629 (B. 338), the drawn self-portrait in London (Ben. 53) and the heads – correctly regarded as self-portraits – in the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6) and the Basle *David before Saul* (no. A 9).

The meaning of the scene was linked by Bauch initially with a portrayal of Sight as one of the Five Senses[2], and subsequently with the emblematic depiction of the saying, ascribed by Pliny to Apelles, 'nulla dies sine linea'[3]. Both these interpretations must be seen as highly speculative; they do not, besides, explain the considerable distance that separates the painter from his painting. Van de Wetering[7], to explain this, saw a connexion with the notion common in art theory that a painter had to have a clear mental picture of his painting before he could start work on it: this is one of the three possible artistic approaches symbolized in a well-known anecdote, giving primacy in turn to imagination (*idea*), to chance (*fortuna*) and to experience (*usus* or *exercitatio*). According to this interpretation, the artist viewing his panel from a distance symbolizes the process of invention taking place in his mind, whereas the slightly later drawing of a painter in the Springell collection (Ben. 390) – which may portray Lievens – would symbolize the way of working that Hoogstraten ascribed to Lievens, who 'in d'aangesmeerde verwen, vernissen en olyen wonderen [zoekt]' ([seeks] wonders in the smeared-on paints, varnishes and oils), or in other words bases himself on chance effects. This explanation is a very attractive one, if only because it accounts for the specific situations that are shown in the painting and the drawing.

For all that, it is still unclear whether the large panel shown on the easel in no. A 18 must be seen as a symbol of the painter's activities or as one particular panel that Rembrandt was working on in 1629. In the latter case it would be natural to think of the *Judas repentant*, the dimensions of which (*c.* 80 × 100 cm) would then, in relation to the door seen in roughly the same plane, turn out to be quite large.

After the discovery of no. A 18 in 1925, and shortly before it was published soon afterwards by Hofstede de Groot[8], pieces of wood that had increased the height from 25.1 cm. to *c.* 37 cm were removed from the top and bottom (fig. 4). On the grounds of a copy that was already known (see *7. Copies*) and for other reasons the then owner, Capt. R. Langton Douglas, and Hofstede de Groot believed that this brought the composition back to its original form. A photograph of the panel in its larger state prompted Slive[5] to offer the opinion that the enlargements had been made by Rembrandt himself. Though the fact that the panel was made for a horizontal format (as is evident from the horizontal direction of the grain and the bevelling along all four sides at the back) does not rule out this hypothesis, it is most improbable. Not only is it contradicted by the copy just mentioned: it is, in particular, clear from the photograph of the painting in its larger state that the paint on the added sections was (especially at the top) a good deal darker than that of the adjoining area of the authentic panel. This can scarcely be explained by partial cleaning, as Slive suggests, but points rather to the darkening of paint of a differing composition. The argument that in a vertical format the composition would agree better with Rembrandt's intentions is, moreover, far from convincing. On the contrary, the greater height of the room is neither probable architecturally nor felicitous from the viewpoint of composition. According to information on the painting's history (see *8. Provenance*) the additions had already been made by 1745, presumably to allow no. A 18 to make a pair with no. C 12, with which it stayed until at least 1850.

It is certainly probable that no. A 18 served as the starting point for a series of paintings, mostly ascribed to Dou, of an artist in his studio; in these, however, there are invariably more accessories. They include panels in the New York Historical Society, Bryan collection (31.1 × 37.4 cm; illus. in Slive[5], fig. 5), in the Lord Samuel collection (53 × 63 cm, earlier in the Cook collection, Richmond; illus. W. Martin, *Gerard Dou*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1913, Kl. d. K., p. 57), in private ownership (44.5 × 51 cm; 1972 dealer L. Koetser London) and in the Henle collection, Duisburg (66.6 × 50.8 cm; Bauch 1960, pp. 221–222 and Bauch 1966, A 7, as: Rembrandt and Dou). Only the first and lastnamed of these paintings show the characteristic motif of the rear, seen in shadow, of the painting set on an easel.

Fig. 4. The painting in its pre-1925 state

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

1. Canvas (?) 27.5 × 34.2 cm, previously coll. William M. Chase, New York, sale New York (American Art Galleries) 16 May 1917, no. 250 ($460,—); according to a label on the back ('. . . école de Rimbran . . .') it came from France or Belgium. Illus: *Feest-Bundel Dr. Abraham Bredius*, Amsterdam 1915, pl. 18 fig. 3; further references in Slive[5], note 2. Not examined by us.

8. Provenance

*– Coll. La Roque, sale Paris (Gersaint) April 1745 (Lugt 619), no. 65 (together with our no. C 12): 'Deux Tableaux peints sur bois, de 12½ pouces de large sur 14½ de haut [= 33.7 × 39.1 cm]. Le premier qui est peint par le Rimbrant, et dont le clair obscur est admirable, représente un Peintre dans son Atelier, qui regarde dans l'éloignement l'effet de son Tableau. Le second, qui est de l'École de ce Maitre, représente une espèce d'Etable placée au bas d'une Tour au pied de la quelle il y a des Figures éclairées par une lumière vive qui se trouve cachée: ils sont tous deux renfermer dans des bordures

noires avec des filets dorez. Les deux Tableaux sont pittoresques et de goût'. (96 livres to Nelson).
*– [Favre and J. B. P. Lebrun] sale Paris (Basan) 11ff January 1773 (Lugt 2097), no. 25: 'Rembrandt. de 16 pouc. en quarré [= 43.2 × 43.2 cm]. Rembrandt en robe de chambre & bonnet fourré, tenant sa palette & s'éloignant de son chevalet pour voir l'effet d'un tableau qu'il est après à peindre, un fond uni & très clair fait détacher en brun le sujet & le rend singulier' (117.1 livres).
– Coll. Earl of Morton (Dalmahoy, Kirknewton, Midlothian), sale London (Christie's) 27 April 1850, no. 70 (6 guineas); still together with no. C 12 (no. 13).
– Coll. Lord Churston (London), sale London (Christie's) 26 June 1925, no. 14 (£1417.10s.).
– Dealer Capt. R. Langton Douglas, London.
– Coll. Mrs. Zoe Oliver Sherman, Boston, Mass. Given to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in memory of Lillie Oliver Poor, 1938.

9. Summary

In the handling of paint and colour-scheme no. A 18 is so close to a number of Rembrandt works from 1629 that there can be no doubt about attributing it to him or to dating it around that year. A slightly unusual feature is the clarity of perspective used to show the room: this perhaps comes from the fact that presumably a room that actually existed (i.e. Rembrandt's workroom) is being portrayed. The depiction of the artist must be seen as a self-portrait. Before 1745 the panel was given a greater height (probably to match no. C 12), but in 1925 it was restored to its present and original size.

REFERENCES

1 C. H. Collins Baker, R. Fry, H. Baker, A. Ravesteyn in: *Burl. Mag.* 48 (1926), p. 42, pp. 111–112, p. 162.
2 Bauch 1933, p. 63, p. 188.
3 Bauch 1960, pp. 140–141.
4 F. Erpel, *Die Selbstbildnisse Rembrandts*, Vienna 1967, p. 140, no. 5.
5 S. Slive, 'Rembrandt's "Self-portrait in a Studio"', *Burl. Mag.* 106 (1964), pp. 483–486.
6 Van Gelder 1953, pp. 290–291 (pp. 18–19).
7 E. van de Wetering, 'Leidse schilders achter de ezels', in: exhibition cat. *Geschildert tot Leyden Anno 1626*, Leiden 1976/77, pp. 21–31, esp. 26–28; republ. as 'Een schilderwedstrijd', *Bulletin Centraal laboratorium voor onderzoek van voorwerpen van kunst en wetenschap*, no. 0 (1977), pp. 71–91.
8 C. Hofstede de Groot, 'Rembrandt's *Painter in his Studio*', *Burl. Mag.* 47 (1925), p. 265.

A 19 Self-portrait

MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSGEMÄLDESAMMLUNGEN, ALTE PINAKOTHEK, INV. NO. 11427

HDG 542; BR. 2; BAUCH 209; GERSON 32

Fig. 1. Panel 15.5 × 12.7 cm (1 : 1)

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved and authentic painting, reliably signed and dated 1629.

2. Description of subject

Bust with the body almost in profile to the right, with the head seen three-quarters and thrust forward, the gaze fixed on the viewer from beneath raised eyebrows and a shaggy mop of hair. A white, open shirt-collar is worn above a dark jacket, with summarily indicated braiding on the front.

The light, falling from the top left, leaves the eyes particularly in deep shadow, and casts a shadow onto a plastered back wall, in the bottom righthand corner.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in January 1969 (S. H. L., P. v. Th.), in good daylight and unframed. X-ray photograph made available by the Doerner Institut, Munich.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 15.5 × 12.7 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled on all sides, over a width varying between 3.1 and 4 cm.

Between 1956 (cat. Rembrandt exhibition, Amsterdam-Rotterdam 1956, no. 5) and 1967 (cat. Alte Pinakothek, 1967, p. 55) extensions to the panel at the bottom and lefthand side, 2.8 and 2.3 cm wide respectively, were removed. In literature dating from before this restoration one invariably finds the dimensions of the enlarged panel quoted as 18 × 14 cm; according to the X-ray, the format was in fact *c.* 18.5 × 15 cm. The painting was, besides, frequently reproduced without the additions. It was illustrated by Bode-Hofstede de Groot[1] with the additions (though the text mentioned only that at the bottom, a wrong account of the facts that has often been perpetuated in the literature).

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): measured at top edge, shows 130

Fig. 2. X-ray (including added strips)

annual rings (+ 5 sapwood) and datable as 1486–1610 (1615). Growing area: Northern Netherlands. Statistical average felling date 1630 ± 5[2].

Ground

DESCRIPTION: An underlying ground is visible, as a yellow-brown, in the shadows of the face, in the scratchmarks in the hair and in translucent parts of the dress.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to a report from Dr. H. Kühn, Munich, a sample from the edge of the paint layer showed chalk, white-lead and a little ochre. Medium: glue[3].

Paint layer

CONDITION: Rather thin in the shadowed forehead and area round the eyes. There are a few very small inpaintings beside the corner of the mouth on the left and perhaps also in the eyebrows, otherwise the paint is in excellent condition. Craquelure: none clearly visible. There is perhaps a little craquelure in the shadowed half of the face, at nose and mouth level.

DESCRIPTION: The paint is predominantly opaque, and impasto in the collar, though there are occasional translucent areas. The pattern of brushwork can be readily followed everywhere,

and varies with the form depicted; in the background the paint is worked with largely dabbing movements of the brush into a roughly textured surface that creates the impression of a plastered wall.

The head is painted with small, integrated brushstrokes. The cheek in the light is in a yellowish flesh tint, with a little pink on the cheekbone. The earlobe, in a similarly opaque flesh colour, has a tiny white highlight on the left. Immediately alongside this the shell of the ear is indicated with a small touch of translucent paint. Elsewhere, transitions from light to shadow are invariably fluidly achieved with small strokes of grey laid on top of a thin and subdued flesh colour.

The forehead, in shadow, is executed in a grey of varying opacity. At the lefthand side, where a little flesh colour has been added, the paint is somewhat thicker. The righthand side of the face, hidden in shadow, is painted smoothly in an opaque grey-brown. The chin area, on the other hand, is partly translucent; the lower lip starts on the left with a small stroke of red merging into a pink, and passes through greyish white shadows into brown. The top lip is painted in translucent grey over red-brown. Four small thick brown spots are placed on the wide and thickly-painted black line of the mouth opening, perhaps to indicate teeth. The underside of the nose and the nostrils are in dark brown. The tip of the nose is painted in flesh tints with tiny dabs, like the cheek. A grey touch marking the shadow is placed on the ridge of the nose, and runs up into the shadow area above it. The shadowed eye-sockets are modelled with thin and partially translucent greys. The structure of the eyes is not sharply defined, and yet is effectively suggested by the dark pupils, grey-brown irises and the lighter grey used for the eye-white.

The shock of hair is executed, without much indication of structure, using relatively small brushstrokes in shades of grey, plus a little yellowish ochre colour above the forehead and beside the collar. A suggestion of undisciplined curls of hair has been created with scratchmarks, which on the left continue into the background.

The neck and throat are done with long strokes, in dark greys on which light grey accents have been placed. The collar is in impasto white, with distinct dabs of the brush giving shape to the hanging edge. The doublet is in a translucent grey-black, with opaque grey touches giving highlights on the shoulder.

The grey background is lightest on the left above the shoulder and on the right beneath the chin, and has a rather darker tone around and above the head. The cast shadow at the bottom right is in a mouse-grey; this shadow apart, the whole background is painted thickly and opaquely, with a predominantly dabbing touch; as one moves upwards on the right, along the outline of the chin, neck and clothing and around the cast shadow, this changes to a greater or lesser extent into short strokes following the contour of the head. On the left the paint of the background butts up against the line of the shoulder, forming a tiny ridge.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The shadow areas of the head, the clothing and the cast shadow form dark zones inside the background, which appears clear and light. Other than at the tip of the nose, where the relationship is not entirely clear, the X-ray bears out the impression of the paint structure gained from a study of the paint layer, confirming the direct way the work was painted.

The X-ray we examined still shows the added sections that have since been removed; these have a totally different, very light radiographic appearance.

Signature

On the right, level with the chin and in a thin grey ‹*RHL* (in monogram) *1629*›. The stem of the *R* curves far over to the left and downwards; the *R* is undoubtedly open on the left (cf. the signature on no. A 16), but the high-set bowl is now scarcely visible. The *1* and the *6* of the date are difficult to make out. The execution makes an impression of authenticity.

Varnish

A fine varnish craquelure covers the entire surface.

4. Comments

The execution is spontaneous, in that the less the artist was constrained by specific forms, the greater freedom and imaginativeness he shows in the handling of paint; this is, to a greater or lesser degree, the case everywhere except in the face. A use of opaque and translucent paint keyed to the lighting adds greatly to the pictorial richness of the paint layer. The colour-scheme is (apart from a little yellow, red and brown) virtually restricted to the range of greys; yet within this range there is such variegation that a certain suggestion of colourfulness results.

This trend towards a subtle monochrome in which a single warm accent within a wide range of greys achieves a pronounced effect, fits in perfectly with the style of several Rembrandt works from around 1629. The most convincing parallel of all in this respect, if we ignore for a moment the Amsterdam *Self-portrait* (no. A 14), is provided by the Boston *Artist in his studio* (no. A 18), though this work is admittedly neither signed nor dated. There is similarity, too, in the way material – in this case the wood of the floorboards – is suggested by a coarse-surfaced use of paint. The depiction of materials in the most strongly lit areas of one ambitious history painting, the *Judas repentant* of 1629 in a private collection in England (no. A 15), is similar within a more varied colour-scheme, and the emphatic light falling from the left is very much the same; the posture with the head tilted forward is also strongly reminiscent of the second standing figure from the left in that painting. When one adds to this the confidence-inspiring signature and date, there is every reason to consider no. A 19 an authentic work from 1629.

That this is, as Bode[4] was the first to assume, in fact a self-portrait can be deduced from the link with a series of heads, all similar in facial type, that started as early as 1626 in the Leiden *History painting* (no. A 6). This series also includes, from among the etchings, in particular B. 338 likewise dated 1629; from among the drawings, those in London (Ben. 53) and Amsterdam (Ben. 54); and from among the paintings the unsigned Amsterdam *Self-portrait* (no. A 14).

The lastnamed bears a strong resemblance to the Munich work in the lighting effect, in the brushwork (especially in the background) and in the form of the scratchmarks.

Another group of early self-portraits shows a far more careful and smooth use of paint; this group comprises the small, unsigned *Self-portrait* in The Hague (no. A 21) which probably dates from about the same time, that in the MOA Museum, Japan (no. A 22) which also shows a slightly opened mouth, and that in the Gardner Museum in Boston, Mass. (no. A 20) which is also dated 1629 though differing somewhat from the others in its large size and more formal nature.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Gotha, Herzogliches Museum, cat. 1890, no. 181.
– Acquired by the Alte Pinakothek in 1953 from the Herzoglich Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha'sche Familienstiftung, Coburg.

9. Summary

A well preserved painting that presents no problems at all from the physical viewpoint, and provides highly reliable evidence of Rembrandt's working method and artistic approach in and around 1629.

REFERENCES

1 W. Bode-C. Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt* I, Paris 1897, no. 15.
2 Cf. Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, pp. 489 and 491.
3 Kühn, p. 193.
4 W. Bode, 'Zur Rembrandt-Literatur', *Zeitschr. f.b.K.* 5 (1870), p. 175; idem, *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, Braunschweig 1883, p. 375ff, esp. pp. 377–378.

A 20 Self-portrait 1629

BOSTON, MASS., THE ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM, INV. NO. P 21N6

HDG 529; BR. 8; BAUCH 292; GERSON 38

Fig. 1. Panel 89.5 × 73.5 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray

1. Summarized opinion

A painting in a not entirely satisfactory state of preservation, which after some hesitation can be attributed to Rembrandt and – in line with the traces of a date it bears – can be dated in 1629.

2. Description of subject

Half-length figure, with the body facing three-quarters right; the head is turned towards the viewer, on whom the gaze is fixed. The figure is wearing a cap with a large ostrich feather, a scarf and a cloak, on top of which a gold chain with a medallion hangs over the shoulders and chest. The light falls from fairly high up on the left, leaving a large part of the body in shadow.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 7 October 1970 (B. H., P. v. Th.) by good, diffuse daylight and in the frame. Several infrared photographs and an ultraviolet lamp were available. X-rays (copy films) received later; six together covering the whole of the painting, and one showing the head separately.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 89.5 × 73.5 cm. Presumably it originally comprised two planks, with a vertical join *c.* 22 cm from the righthand side. A second straight division runs obliquely downwards and to the right, just passing through the left of the cap; it follows the direction of the grain, slightly from upper left to lower right, and is presumably the result of the panel having split. The back is cradled.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not observed at any point.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: The paint has suffered in the face and hair. Along the join and the crack in the panel the paint layer has split, and has been entirely in-painted. The appearance of the background has changed in places by the reappearance of an underlying picture (see under *X-Rays*). Craquelure: a craquelure consisting of tiny shrinkage cracks is clearly apparent in the light part of the cloak, and with a somewhat finer pattern is also seen in the dark part of the cap and plume and where brown paint has been used in the head. This cracking probably comes about in part from paint having been applied over another paint layer before the latter was completely dry.
DESCRIPTION: Assessment of the paint layer is made difficult by an underlying paint layer, and by the rather worn condition of the face and hair.

In the highest light the paint has been applied carefully and rather thickly. The brushstroke can, in general, be readily followed here; where this is not so, it is usually because of the condition.

The illuminated part of the face, which perhaps because of wearing offers a rather flat appearance, is painted in a yellowish flesh tint with a little pink on the cheek. Underneath this one can glimpse here and there a thinner lay-in, appearing brownish beside the upper lip and dark grey below the eye. In the somewhat imperfectly preserved area around the nose the lit wing of the nose is in a yellowish flesh colour; on the ridge of the nose this colour tends to a pink, while on the tip it becomes more grey and yellow. The dark grey of the nostril on the left is surrounded by a ruddy tint. The plastic structure of the upper lip is shown with a few touches of a greyish ochre colour placed over the thin brown of the lay-in. A small, cool grey stroke emphasizes the limits of the top lip. On the other side of the quite thick, very dark grey paint used for the mouth line, the lower lip is in a rather brighter red than the upper, with a small greyish highlight on the left. Small, short brushstrokes in grey and browns indicate the growth of beard on the chin and along the jawline. The neck is painted fairly thickly, in long strokes.

Because of wearing there is now hardly any modelling left in the shadow areas. Both eyes are indicated very summarily, with brown lines; a little red is used in both the corners of the eyes. A somewhat thicker highlight is placed on the man's right eyelid; the white of the eye is hardly distinguished from its brownish surroundings; the iris, with a fuzzy outline, is painted in grey with a rather lighter greyish ochre on the right and a small, greyish highlight on the left. The black pupil has (on the evidence of the ultraviolet lamp) been retouched. The eyebrow is indicated with oblique brushstrokes of dark grey running in various directions. The other eye shows similar features, with an even vaguer indication of form.

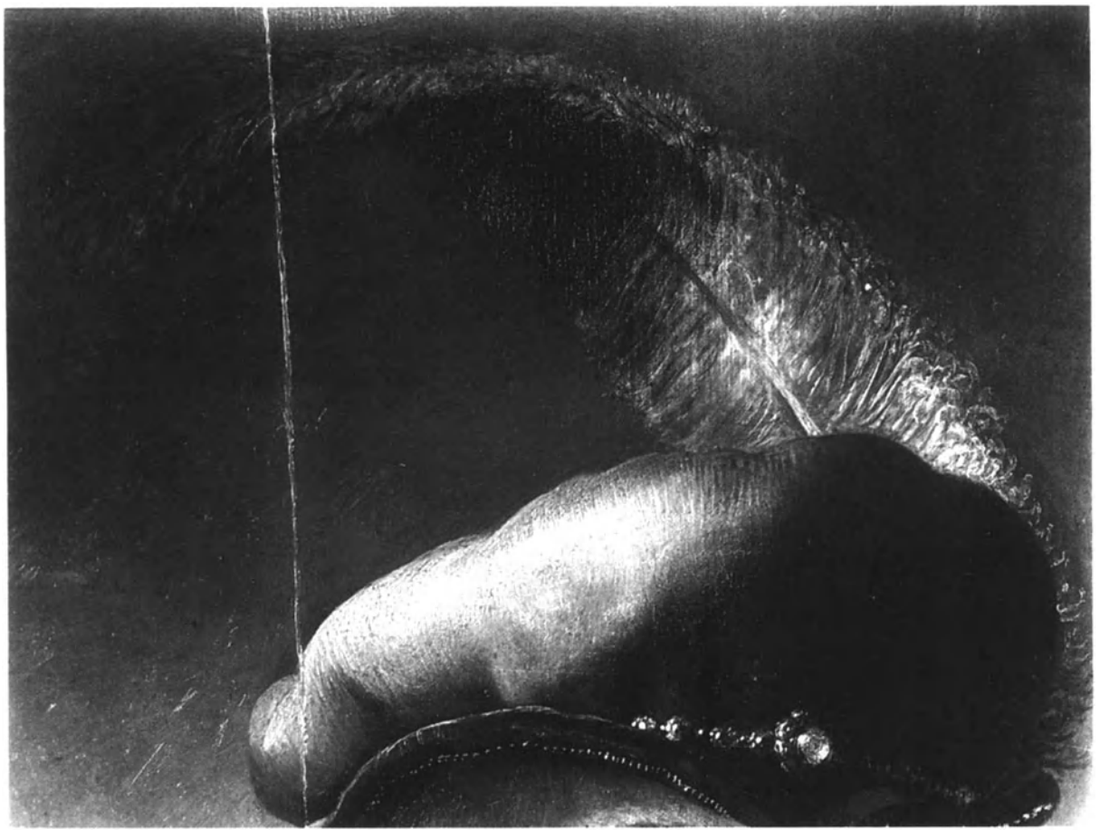
The hair, done in various tints of brown, has suffered as much as the shadow parts of the face, and is today devoid of any plastic structure. The shock of hair is not sharply separated from the background, which has been placed against and partly over it.

The cap has been given a very emphatic modelling, with mainly vertical and quite narrow brushstrokes in grey. The rim of the cap is in emerald green, with a thin edging of light done slightly thicker. Gold stitching along the under-edge of the rim is painted with minute vertical lines and dots. The jewelled ornamentation is suggested effectively, using quite thick light-yellow highlights. The outline of the cap has been taken back somewhat at the top and at the right and the background has been extended here over the boundary followed earlier by means of what may be termed an autograph retouch (see Introduction, Chapter II, p. 27). The lower part of the plume is executed in quite long, grey strokes that render the small, fluffy barbs very well. Further up the plume the manner of painting is similar, but the tone is more subdued. At half-height, in the shadow, the execution becomes much thinner, and brown is used (unless an underlying layer has here been allowed to contribute to the total effect).

The small, white collar is painted quite thickly in a broken white. The scarf is done thinly in long, greyish-green strokes, with small, thick dabs and dots of light yellow and ochre yellow added for the decoration. Where it is in the light, the cloak is in a brown-yellow; in the large area of shadow there is now practically no modelling left to be seen. The detail of the chain is shown with thick, light-yellow highlights, with an effective rendering of plasticity and depth.

The background has lively brushwork in a cool grey that darkens further towards the top of the picture, though there one sees intrusive traces of an earlier paint layer. Above the plume, for instance, small curved furrows are clearly apparent in the paint layer; these must have been caused by scratch-marks made in the paint layer that lies underneath. The scratchmarks are typical of those used for rendering hair. A very long dark zone that runs to a point at the bottom, lying to the right of the body outline and separated from it by an area of opaque, greenish-grey background paint, belongs to the underlying picture and probably forms part of the body of the figure in that picture. The cool grey of the present background lies on top of this dark area, which shows through it. On the

Fig. 3. Detail, infrared photograph (1 : 2)



right, level with the cap, are russet brown patches in the grey that are also connected with the first painting. Just as on the right, there is along the contour of the cloak on the left an opaque zone of green-grey, in brushstrokes following the shape, merging upwards into an ochrish grey.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays
The copy films available are fairly difficult to read, in part because of the clearly visible cradling but also because light and dark areas belonging to the different paint layers interfere one with the other.

Of the figure seen today, the highlights on the jewellery show up clearest, followed by the lightest of the brushstrokes on the illuminated shoulder and the cap and then, less light, the palest parts of the plume and the face (the latter with a more lively pattern of small brushdabs than one might expect from the paint surface). Parts of the background can also be seen to have been set down heavily along the present outline, and this is to some extent also apparent at the surface (along the contour of the body on the left, and to right and left of the plume).

Besides this, however, one also sees light areas of the background in which dark reserves appear; these can be read as belonging to a totally different figure which was set higher up in the picture area (and was, it seems, on a larger scale); the scratchmarks – evidently indicating hair – above the present plume also formed part of this figure. The outlines of this second figure can be roughly traced from both of the bottom corners. On the left the contour rises more steeply than that of the present figure, curving (in an illuminated area of drapery?) to the right towards the present cap; on the right it rises slightly more sharply and then fades out in the direction of the hair of the present head. Though a few more light areas are unconnected with the present painting, no further legible indications of the composition of this first painting can be found except for the scratchmarks already mentioned; these are high up in the picture area, and undoubtedly formed part of the hair.

Two round, white patches are the X-ray shadows of wax seals on the back of the panel.

Signature
At the extreme right, *c.* 30 cm from the bottom edge in a greenish brown ‹*RHL* (in monogram) . . .*9*›. Of the monogram it is mainly the large, cursive capital *R* that is visible fairly easily; this is closed on the left, and seems to have a bold loop on the right. Using a photoflood lamp, only the last figure of the date is vaguely legible as a 9.

Varnish
No special remarks.

4. Comments

This painting is a typical example of the small group of heads and busts that is extraordinarily difficult to either accept or reject as being the work of Rembrandt; this is because of the discrepancies that exist between them in respect of artistic approach and treatment, and because of the scanty points of con-

tact there are between them and the figure compositions (for a discussion of this problem, see Chapter I of the Introduction). In this instance a judgment is made even more difficult by the wearing that has taken place in the shadow areas of the face, and by the fact that an underlying paint layer affects the surface paint (in particular, this cannot have encouraged the artist to use translucent paints). In their present state, the signature and date are not characteristic enough to offer any guarantee for the attribution.

As for the underlaying paint layer, this is certainly no argument against an attribution to Rembrandt; the heads and busts that can be accepted as his work from around 1627–1630 are time and again found to have been painted on top of an earlier painting (cf. nos. A 8, A 32, A 33, as well as no. B 4), as has also a small history painting that must be seen as a modello (no. A 9). This may indicate that these works were intended mainly for personal use, and were not really meant to be sold. This cannot, of course, be taken as a cogent argument in favour of the attribution. The decisive question here is whether no. A 20 offers sufficient resemblances to heads and busts – and, perhaps, history paintings – that are looked upon as being authentic, and whether the differences there are can be adequately explained by this particular work having had a particular function or meaning (which will always be more or less hypothetical).

On this last point one can, because of the garb which also has an iconographic significance, assume that compared to the Amsterdam *Self-portrait* that we have dated as 1628 (no. A 14) and to the 1629 Munich *Self-portrait* (no. A 19) this work has less of the painted study about it, and has a rather more representational meaning. At first sight no. A 20 has little more in common with these two considerably smaller paintings than the major feature of the narrow beam of side-light. The painting is in general done more broadly, and in the head will never – even making allowance for its worn condition today – have had the subtle thoroughness of the Amsterdam *Self-portrait*, or the freer and nonetheless more effective suggestion of form we see in the Munich work; the background does, admittedly, show a lively brushwork, and yet it has none of the texture that is characteristic of the other two pieces. There is however still some similarity, in vision and execution, with the first of these self-portraits, where the light brown-yellow of the lit area of shoulder stands out somewhat patchily against the thinner brown shadow, and in the slightly coarse brushstrokes in the lit area of neck. On the other hand, no. A 20 does not show the dark background and continuity of paint surface of another set of self-portraits both probably dating from 1629 – that at The Hague (no. A 21), and that in the MOA Museum, Japan (no. A 22). Compared with these two works (one smaller and the other larger in scale) no. A 20 suggests, with its wide framework and the three-dimensional effect deriving from the lighting and from its overall broader execution, that a considerably greater distance separates the subject from the eye of both the viewer and the artist observing himself in a mirror. As a result, the rendering of material – both in the face and in the clothing, jewellery and background – is subordinated to the chiaroscuro effect. Yet with these two paintings there is, again, some similarity in execution: the way the plastic form of the lips is rendered, and the way the growth of beard has been shown with tiny brushstrokes used as a hatching, does remind one quite strongly of the corresponding parts of these two works. In the colour-scheme, where green (in the cap) and a hint of green (in the illuminated area of the cloak) play an unusually large part, there is a certain affinity with one of the history paintings, the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13); in this, the tablecloth in the half-light makes a very similar contrast with browns and greys. The background set down vigorously in greys along the contour of the body is a feature one knows, especially, from later works (cf., for example, no. A 40); it can be described as characteristic of many of Rembrandt's backgrounds in works showing single figures.

When all these resemblances have been noted, the problem still remains of whether the rather empty design and the paucity of modelling in the face (to the extent this is not due to its present condition), and the peculiar placing in the picture area which makes the figure seem a little puny and insignificant in its large framework (something that Bauch[1] already expressed surprise at), are qualities that can be accepted within the bounds to be set in delimiting Rembrandt's oeuvre. We believe the answer to this question can be a cautious affirmative. Our main reasons for this lie not only in the similarities in pictorial execution that have already been mentioned, but also in the fact that the whole conception can be fitted into Rembrandt's development during 1628/29, and can be linked with later works. This would be the first time he was showing a half-length figure on a comparatively large panel; and this must have presented problems for the artist that he was only partly able to cope with on the basis of past experience. The consequences were the greater viewing distance, and the effect this has had on lighting and modelling. This problem could not be solved in the way it was in nos. A 21 and A 22, which

Fig. 4. Unknown artist, *A man with a watch*. Whereabouts unknown

are in fact 'close-ups'. Alongside the rather weak overall design, one can in no. A 20 see solutions that – looked at against Rembrandt's future development as well – must be seen as significant. There is, for example, the confident painting of the illuminated shoulder and cap, and – especially – the effect of the closed contour and the lit shoulder against the background; the latter anticipates later works, in particular the *Man in oriental dress* in New York, dated 1632 (Br. 169). The problem of the partly-lit face, with both eyes in shadow, occupied Rembrandt from the outset and for years on end, especially in painted and etched self-portraits, and although the solution provided here is not of the happiest no. A 20 does in this respect too seem to fit in with the works we know. The date of 1629 arrived at from the vestiges of the signature on the painting is, taking into account the (as we have just seen) somewhat experimental nature of the work, wholly admissible, with the proviso that the pictorial kinship we have noted with two works from 1628 – the Melbourne painting already dated 1628 and the Amsterdam *Self-portrait* that we have placed in that year – point to no. A 20 having been produced early in 1629 or even in 1628–29.

There is not much more to be said about the underlying painting than what has already been described under *X-Rays*. The earlier figure seems to have been a hip-length or even knee-length, placed higher in the picture area and probably somewhat larger in scale. The nature and shape of the scratch-marks to show hair in no way rule out the likelihood of this figure (which must at least in part have been in a fairly advanced stage of completion) being a work by Rembrandt himself. It is noteworthy that this covering-over of a closely-framed figure with another done on a smaller scale and in a broader framework has already been seen, in the *Man in gorget and cap* (no. A 8) which we have dated as 1626/27; there, however, the head underneath was probably not by Rembrandt.

The subject shown in no. A 20 merits some attention, for this was presumably the first time the artist was portraying himself wearing jewellery and a cap with an ostrich feather. In the years to come he was to repeat this theme in variations of all kinds, in one instance with another model (no. A 41), thus triggering off a spate of imitations in the 17th and 18th centuries. The series of Rembrandt self-portraits have been searched for all sorts of psychological motives, but leaving these aside one must wonder what significance this garb could have had. It is obvious that the costume creates an archaic impression, and probably belongs to the category one finds referred to in 17th century Dutch inventories as 'op zijn antieks' (in the antique style). The prototype for figures of this kind appears to have been Lucas van Leyden's engraving of a *Young man with skull* (Hollst. X, no. B. 174), clearly interpretable as a depiction of Vanitas; in the 17th century this was taken to be a self-portrait, and was described as such by van Mander. The iconographic programme of this print might be repeated in its entirety in the 17th century – for instance by Frans Hals, *Young man holding a skull*, Peterborough, Proby Collection (S. Slive, *Frans Hals* I–III, London 1970–1974, cat. no. 61) – but the attributes could be replaced by others: for example in the (self- ?) portrait of an unknown, perhaps Leiden-born artist we reproduce here (the present whereabouts of which is unknown) a watch is held in the hand instead of a skull (fig. 4); yet in such instances the meaning remains unmistakable. In the Rembrandt, worldly finery is retained in the cap with the ostrich plume, the colourful cloak and the chain, but a more emphatic allusion to the transitoriness of things is missing. Bearing in mind Rembrandt's tendency – evident in his history paintings as well – to eliminate express symbolic attributes (cf. Tümpel 1969), one can assume that in this case too the idea of Vanitas is not, or not entirely, abandoned. It is interesting, in this connection, that a *Vanitas* by Frans Hals is mentioned in the estate of Pieter Codde; this is perhaps identical with the *Young man holding a skull* mentioned

above (cf. Slive, loc.cit.). One may wonder whether *Vanitas* paintings listed in Rembrandt's inventory of 1650 (in which there is not a single mention of a self-portrait), and described as being 'retouched' by him, must indeed – as one would at first sight be inclined to think – have been still-lifes (R. H. Fuchs, *Rembrandt en Amsterdam*, Rotterdam 1968, pp. 76–77, nos. 27, 120 and 123).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions[2]

1. Mezzotint (?) by Richard Cooper (1740–1814/15) described by John Smith (*A catalogue raisonné* ..., London 1829–42, VII, no. 445); not examined by us.
2. Anonymous print described by Smith (op.cit., no. 422); not examined by us.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance[2]

– Coll. Duke of Buckingham, sale Stowe House, Bucks., 15 September 1848, no. 421.
– Coll. Lord Ward.
– Coll. Sawyer, Hinton St George, Somerset; sale London (Christie's) 13 July 1895, no. 81 (1100 gns to Tooth).
– Dealer Tooth, London.
– Dealer Colnaghi, London.
– Bought by Mrs. Gardner in February 1896 through Berenson.

9. Summary

After some hesitation prompted by the rather poor modelling in the face and, especially, in the shadow areas, one can nonetheless come to the conclusion, on the grounds of features in the artistic treatment and in various details that are indeed characteristic, that no. A 20 is an autograph work. It has to be taken into account that there is some degree of wearing, and that there is an earlier layer of paint (depicting a somewhat larger figure placed much higher in the picture area) that especially in the background interferes with the present surface layer. A dating in 1629 (closely following on works from 1628) is plausible, and in agreement with the still legible vestiges of a presumably autograph date on the painting. As the first representation of a young man, usually the artist himself, in an old-style costume – cloak, gold chain and cap – the painting takes its place, from both the composition and iconography viewpoint, as the first of a series of works that was to continue through the years to come.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch 1933, pp. 150–160.
2 Ph. Hendy, *The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Catalogue of the exhibited paintings and drawings*, Boston 1931, p. 292.

A 21 Self-portrait

[1629]

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJK KABINET VAN SCHILDERIJEN, MAURITSHUIS, CAT. NO. 148

HDG 544; BR. 6; BAUCH 295; GERSON 39

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved painting (though slightly reduced in size some time prior to 1752) that to some extent stands alone among the works from around 1629; there can however be no doubt as to attribution and dating in that year, on the grounds of various detail features and of its overall high quality.

2. Description of subject

Bust, the body turned three-quarters to the right and the head almost full-face towards the viewer. The light, falling from the upper left, illuminates mainly the lefthand half of the head and a white shirt-collar, and reflects on the gorget. Neutral background.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 23 October 1973 (J. B., E. v. d. W.), in the frame, by good artificial light and with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp and an X-ray photograph provided by the museum, covering the whole painting.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 37.9 × 28.9 cm. Thickness at left *c.* 0.9 cm, at right *c.* 1.2 cm. Single plank. Back planed flat and covered with a dark paint (for analysis see[1]) except for fairly regular and relatively wide (4.5–5 cm) bevelling on all sides; this treatment gives the impression of being of later date.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): measured at lower edge, 99 annual rings heartwood, datable as 1497–1595. Growing area: Northern Netherlands. On this evidence, the earliest possible felling date would be 1610[2]. To explain the resultant, unusually long time-gap it can be assumed that some annual rings of heartwood were lost when the panel was (as there is evidence to show – see under *4. Comments*) slightly reduced in size.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Shows through, as a light, warm colour, in the black of the clothing, along the upper half of the outline on the right, and in the background to the right below this; it can also be seen in small brushmarks in the gorget and in the background to the right of the hair. By the lefthand side edge, level with the ear, there is an almost vertical thickening of a light substance that is incompletely covered by the paint; this is also visible in the X-ray, and is presumably priming.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[1] the ground consists of a yellowish white layer containing chalk. In places a layer containing white lead was found on top of the ground layer. It is possible that this is the '*primuersel*' which we found in all cases where we examined paintings of the Leiden period (see Introduction, Chapter II). This layer usually is very thin and difficult to distinguish, as are the occasional brown pigment grains which give the *primuersel* a yellowish tone. Froentjes' findings do not exclude the possibility that no. A 21 has the usual ground described in Introduction, Chapter II.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Good, apart from some local paint loss such as a few small gaps in the background to the left of the hair, and a vertical retouch beside the hair on the right. Small retouches are seen on the left of the wing of the nose, and around the shadowed eye on the right. Craquelure: a fine net pattern can be seen in the somewhat more thickly painted areas, with the horizontal cracks most clearly apparent. A less regular and extremely fine pattern appears in the black of the clothing.

DESCRIPTION: Though varying in thickness, the paint layer gives the impression of a continuous, unbroken surface. In general it is not all that thick – other than in the very thickest parts, the texture of the woodgrain is visible everywhere. The white of the collar and the lock of hair in the middle of the forehead show the heaviest impasto.

The background is painted in a fairly dark and predominantly cool grey, which becomes a rather brownish grey towards the top corners and bottom righthand corner. The brushwork is not strongly apparent, though it can certainly be discerned at various points. The lit parts of the head are done in small and generally blended touches of paint in a creamy flesh colour, with a somewhat dabbing application in the highest light. A fairly vigorous touch of paint borders the lower edge of the nostril and nose shadow. A rather flat pink appears here and there, especially in the flush on the cheek, and is also mixed into the flesh colour used in quite thick, curved brushstrokes to indicate the earlobe. No brushstrokes can be seen in the halftones along the cheek and in the nose, mouth and chin areas, where the colour shades off into a grey. Small, more or less vertical touches in flesh tone and grey are used to show the growth of beard and moustache. The vaguely-outlined bottom lip is in pink and red, with a strong and slightly blended white highlight, and a strong effect of plasticity is achieved. Above the mouth opening, very clearly shown by a line of black, the shadowed upper lip is suggested with a little pink and dark grey.

The iris and pupil of the eye on the left are defined vaguely in dark greys with a few flicks of an ochre-tinged grey in the lower part of the iris. The dark grey shadow of the eye-socket continues into the eyebrow, shown with small brushstrokes against the skin colour, and into the outline of the upper eyelid, which itself consists of a curved shape done with small touches of flesh colour. The eye on the right is very indistinct, and painted darker and more thinly.

In the shadowed, predominantly dark grey half of the face a vaguely shaped and thinly painted light is placed below the eye.

In the hair, set down in a dark brown-grey, fine brushlines are used to show the lightest catchlights and the darkest strands of hair. In the middle of the forehead, alongside a quite heavily painted lock of hair, are a number of impasto strokes in which flesh colour and grey run one across the other, probably as the result of a shape having been altered. Higher up in this lock of hair there are gently curving scratchmarks in the yellowish paint, going down to a darker grey layer. The border of the hair against the background (which is a little lighter on the right and a little darker on the left) is vague.

In the light, the collar is done in long, bold strokes of heavy white paint, applied wet-in-wet against the flesh colour of the neck; towards the right this white gradually merges into the dark grey of the shadow. The fringe-like hanging edge of the collar is rendered with small, thick strokes of white done wet-in-wet in the dark grey of the gorget. The latter is shown (in addition to gradations of grey) by stark grey edges of light and darker grey lines; the highlights on the throat portion and on the rivets are in white. The black of the clothing is painted with vigorous strokes running downwards to the right as they follow the form. The lefthand outline is painted wet-in-wet in the grey background, where there is an obvious pentimento – the con-

Fig. 1. Panel 37.9 × 28.9 cm

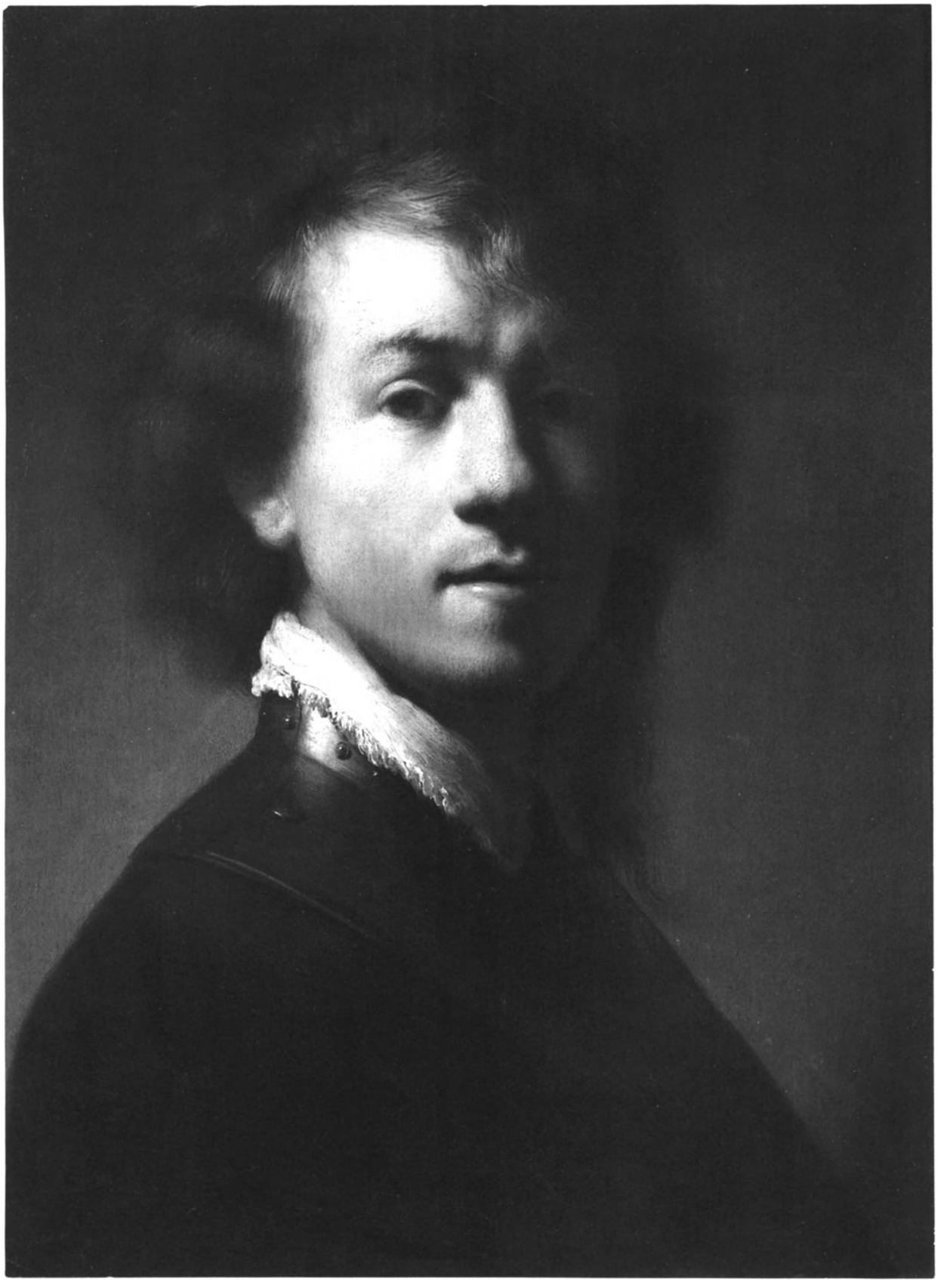


Fig. 2. X-ray

tour originally ran in a slightly arched form a little further to the left, starting from where the outline of the hair meets the collar. This is evident from the paint relief, and from the presence of a layer of dark paint visible beneath the grey.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[1] the flesh tones consist of white lead mixed with yellow and red ochre, thinly glazed with a red lake. The mouth is painted with a thicker layer of red lake over a reddish brown. The light parts of the hair consist of yellow ochre, while the brown parts contain brown ochre. The grey of the collar and gorget contains white lead and coarse grains of bone chalk. In the coat Cologne earth is used mixed with carbon black and particles of a red lake pigment. The background contains yellow and brown ochres and a little white lead and a blue pigment, presumably azurite.

X-Rays
The radiographic appearance is marked principally by the clear image of the ground as shown by the grain pattern, and by the fact that the substance used to paint the unbevelled part of the back of the panel evidently contained white lead (as is confirmed by Froentjes' analysis[1]). For the rest, it matches what can be seen at the surface of the paint. A light patch outlines the lock of hair hanging over the forehead. On the left, only a dark reserve for the present shoulder outline is seen, and not one for the earlier version.

Signature
None.

Varnish
No special remarks.

4. Comments

No. A 21 is, with its very careful brushwork, quite different from the other works making up the group of early self-portraits first recognized as such by Bode[3]. The chiaroscuro effect on the plastic forms of the face has been very closely observed and rendered, and yet does not have the very dominant function it takes on in the *Self-portraits* in Amsterdam and Munich (nos. A 14 and A 19), where the plastic structure of forms takes second place to it. Compared to these two works, the use of scratchmarks has been kept to a minimum, and this is symptomatic of the different nature of the paint layer: this (other than in the white collar) is not the thick, viscous paste in which a line-pattern of brushmarks remains distinctly apparent, but a thinner, smoother and almost sealed layer showing great surface continuity. The background, too, contributes to this effect; this is formed not by the textured material of a plastered wall expressed in the brushwork, as in nos. A 14 and A 19, but by a dark, neutral area. In these respects the *Self-portrait* in the MOA Museum, Japan (no. A 22) is very like this Hague *Self-portrait*.

The attribution to Rembrandt – which in the light of Froentjes' technical examination[1] does not encounter any difficulties – is thus justified not so much by a clear similarity to comparable works in its overall 'handwriting' as by on the one hand resemblances in motifs and details, and on the other by a strong impression of authenticity that is borne out by examination of the paint structure. The small white collar with its hanging, fringe-like edge is also seen, with a somewhat more rugged but nonetheless very similar use of paint, in the Munich *Self-portrait* of 1629. The way the earlobe is painted, with curving strokes, in quite thick paint and intermingled colours, is remarkably like that in the matching area of the same Munich *Self-portrait* and of the Amsterdam painting (no. A 14). In the small, thin lines used to show the stubble of beard and moustache, too, no. A 21 resembles both the *Self-portrait* (no. A 22) and the *Self-portrait* (no. A 14).

A similarity of a very general kind with nos. A 14 and A 19 can be seen in the subtle contrasting of cool greys with warmer tints. And yet the differences in the execution and in the degree of care in the actual appearance are so all-pervading that one is inclined to think that a difference in intention – the difference between a study and a portrait – underlies them. The difference in expression, between a certain ingenuousness in the two other works and the self-possessed stance and gaze fixed on the viewer in no. A 21, serves to reinforce this belief. Against this, there is the fact that though carefully painted no. A 21 does not have the air of a formal portrait. In none of the other early self-portraits is the head slightly raised – as it is here – with the effect of this emphasized – as here – by the steeply rising outlines of the body turned three-quarters to one side. That Rembrandt was indeed aiming at this emphasis can be gathered from his re-drawing of the lefthand shoulder contour, which was initially rounder and further to the left. This pentimento is an additional reason for assuming that no. A 21 is the original for a number of copies (cf. *7. Copies*).

The attribution finds some support in that given to the painting in the very select collection of Govert van Slingelandt (d. 1767). Van Slingelandt constantly improved his collection, inter alia by buying large blocks of paintings for the sake of one coveted work, but he kept a maximum of 40 paintings (cf. the letter from the then French *chargé d'affaires* in The Hague, Desrivaux, to the Duke of Choiseul in: *O. H.* 10 (1892), p. 221). The attribution to van Vliet during the painting's period in Paris (1795–1815) forms a strange intermezzo in its history, but is typical of a view commonly held at the end of the 18th century (cf. no. C 28 under *8. Provenance*).

One can suspect, from the fact that the bevelling found today on the back of the panel seems to be later in date (see *3. Observations*), that the panel was

Fig. 3. Copy 1. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum

subsequently worked on anew at the back and perhaps reduced slightly in size. Though some derivatives of this painting are substantially larger in size and fill a considerably broader framework (see *6. Graphic reproductions*), there are insufficient grounds for assuming that the panel was originally very much larger. When it was in the van Slingelandt collection in 1752 (see *8. Provenance*), at all events, it already had the dimensions we find today. These moreover match fairly closely those of the 17th-century copy in Nuremberg (see *7. Copies*, 1), though this shows the figure in a rather broader framework and is 2 cm wider. One must, therefore, allow for there having been some slight reduction in width. The result of a dendrochronological examination, showing a relatively large span of years between the felling date and the date of painting, supports the belief that some of the panel has been lost widthwise. Some reduction in height is also probable, however; this is suggested not only by the arrangement in the picture area of the Nuremberg copy, but most of all by the fact that, as a remarkably homogeneous group of panels (nos. A 3, A 4, A 8, A 10, C 7 and the slightly reduced panel A 9) show, the standard panel format at that time was about 41.8 × 31.4 cm (or 16 × 12 Rhineland inches). The total height would thus have been reduced by the small amount of 3 cm, and the width by about 2.5 cm.

A monogram noticed at the end of the 19th century at the bottom right of the Nuremberg copy poses the question of whether no. A 21, too, was previously signed on a strip from the righthand edge that has since been lost.

The gorget as part of the sitter's clothing recurs in a number of works (nos. A 22, A 42 and B 4), and still presents an iconographic problem. It is noteworthy that in the *Self-portraits* (nos. A 21 and A 22) the gorget is shown the wrong way round; this is betrayed by the fact that the flat-headed rivet for the hinge seems to be on the person's right shoulder, whereas it was in fact always on the left (we are indebted to J. B. Kist of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam for this information).

Apart from this self-portrait, only the etching of 1629 (B. 338) shows Rembrandt with the very modish long lock of hair ('cadenette') hanging to one side. As Professor Seymour Slive has remarked in a lecture (Rembrandt Symposium, Chicago, 22–24 October 1969, not published), the face in this *Self-portrait* has, because of the angle at which it is seen, the expression and the lighting, a remarkably strong resemblance to that of the very late *Self-portrait* (Br. 54) in New York.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

1. Mezzotint, showing the subject in a somewhat wider and considerably higher frame, with the title *Prince Rupert*, by Valentine Green (Salford near Evesham, Worcs. 1739 – London 1813), dated 20 June 1775, the first state of which includes the inscription *From the Original Picture, of the same size, in the Possession of Mr. Orme* (cf. Charrington no. 57). The dimensions are 47.1 × 35.8 cm (i.e. a good deal larger than those of no. A 21). Since the original had, by 1775, already been in The Hague for some considerable time, this print must have been made after a (larger?) copy.
2. Engraving by Alexis Chataigner (Nantes 1772 – Paris 1817) after Moreau in: Filhol, *Galerie du Musée Napoléon*, Paris 1804, I, no. 29 (as H. van Vliet). A not too faithful reproduction.
3. Engraving by Jean Massard (Bellême 1740 – Paris 1822) after a drawing by Dubois in *Musée Français*.

7. Copies

1. Oak panel, grain vertical, 38 (± 0.1) × 30.9 cm (fig. 3). Thickness *c.* 0.8 cm. Single plank. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, no. Gm 391. Examined January 1969 (S. H. L., P. v. Th.). A very faithful copy, datable in the 17th century and 2 cm wider, this is of relatively high quality yet has unmistakable weaknesses, most evident in the neck area. One notices that, unlike the original, some areas have been handled fairly freely and with a slight translucency, and the background on the left beside the shoulder line is in a thicker and lighter grey paint than elsewhere (as is not uncommon in Rembrandt's busts from a slightly later period). One cannot therefore rule out the possibility of it having been produced in Rembrandt's circle during the 1630s. An attribution to Flinck was suggested

in 1875 by R. Bergau (in: *Zeitschr.f.b.K.* 10 (1875), p. 224). In 1870 W. Bode (in: *Zeitsch.f.b.K.* 5 (1870), p. 175) had not yet listed this copy among the early self-portraits recognized by him as such; in 1875 A. von Wurzbach (in: *Zeitsch.f.b.K.* 10 (1875), p. 381) regarded it as a shop work, but did not consider the version at The Hague as being original either; in 1876 W. Bode (in: *Zeitschr.f.b.K.* 11 (1876), p. 125) considered it to be original together with the Hague version, and mentioned it as being monogrammed (cf. W. Bode in: *Die graphischen Künste* 3 (1881), pp. 59–60; idem, *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, Braunschweig 1883, pp. 378, 573; W. Bode – C. Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt* I, Paris 1897, no. 16 calls the Nuremberg version an authentically-signed and contemporaneous repetition). This last statement was endorsed by R. Bergau (in: *Zeitschr.f.b.K.* 12 (1877), p. 32); under a strong light, he was able to detect a monogram that he described as being made up of the letters *RHF*. The *Katalog der Gemälde-Sammlung des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 4th edn, Nuremberg 1909, p. 119 no. 391, mentions only an *R* at the bottom right. We observed no signature.

2. Panel, 35 × 32 cm. E. W. Moes (*Iconographia Batava* II, Amsterdam 1905, 6693.8) and C. Hofstede de Groot (HdG 544) refer to an old copy at that time held by A. Bredius in The Hague. Now in the J. Kronig collection, Monte Carlo (De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes, op. cit.[1], p. 46).

3. Panel, 38.8 × 26.6 cm. Copenhagen, Royal Museum of Fine Arts (cat. 1951, no. 577). Clearly a very indifferent and not entirely faithful copy.

4. Art dealer Rindermarkt, Zürich (1962), formerly collection Count Attems, Graz (De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes, op. cit.[1], p. 46).

8. Provenance

– Coll. Govert van Slingelandt, Receiver-General of Taxes for Holland and West Friesland, The Hague (Hoet II, 1752, p. 404): 'Een Jongelings Hoofd, door denzelven, h. 1 v. 1½ d., br. 11 d. [= 35.3 × 28.7 cm] (A young man's head, by the same [= Rembrandt van Ryn]).

– After van Slingelandt's death on 2 November 1767, it was intended for the sale to be held, under the terms of his will, on 18 May 1768 in The Hague (Lugt 1683), no. 11: 'La Tête d'un jeune homme; par le même Rembrant. B. Hau. 13½ Pou. Lar. 11 Pou [= 35.3 × 28.7 cm]'; but it was bought before 1 March by the Stadholder Willem V with the entire collection for 50 000 guilders (cf. information given by B. W. F. van Riemsdijk in: *O.H.* 10 (1892), pp. 219ff).

– From 1795 to 1815 in Paris.

– Since 1816 in the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, The Hague.

9. Summary

Although the attribution, based mainly on similarities in motifs and execution of details with the Munich *Self-portrait* of 1629 (no. A 19), is ultimately convincing, no. A 21 still, together with no. A 22, holds a somewhat exceptional place among Rembrandt's Leiden works by reason of the (compared with other busts) very careful execution and self-confident pose. In this, it comes closer to the painted portrait of a more formal kind. It is so far still unclear what significance must be attached to the gorget. The panel must have been reduced slightly in size before 1752.

REFERENCES

1 De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes, pp. 41–43, 214–215.
2 Cf. Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, p. 491.
3 W. Bode, 'Zur Rembrandt-Literatur', *Zeitschr.f.b.K.* 5 (1870), p. 175; cf. idem, *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, Braunschweig 1883, p. 375ff.

A 22 Self-portrait in a cap, with the mouth open

[1629]

JAPAN, MOA MUSEUM

HDG –; BR. –; BAUCH –; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved painting that must be regarded as the original for a large number of copies, some made in the 17th century; it is datable in 1629, and can be attributed to Rembrandt on the grounds of compelling similarities with no. A 21.

2. Description of subject

The sitter, with body facing to the right and head thrust forward and turned three-quarters towards the viewer on whom the gaze is fixed, has his mouth slightly open so that several of the bottom teeth are visible. The light, falling from the left, leaves large parts of the further side of the face in shadow. The cap, set at an angle on the longish hair, also throws a shadow over the subject's right eye. A folded brown scarf is worn on top of a gorget fastened on his right shoulder by a rivet with a large, flat head; a brown jacket is just visible to the left of this. The background is neutral.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 7 April 1976 (J. B., S. H. L.) by artificial light and out of the frame, with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp. An X-ray photograph covering most of the painting was received later (by the Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, Zurich, no. 8196; 24 kV, 1 min.).

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 49.7 × 37.3 cm. Thickness *c.* 1 cm on left, *c.* 1.1 cm on right. Two planks, with the join *c.* 19.5 cm from lefthand side. At the bottom left a small splinter has been broken off, and there is a small crack about 2.5 cm long. Back bevelled on all four sides; width of bevel a maximum of 4 cm at the bottom edge (curving to a lesser width towards both sides), *c.* 3 cm at the left, *c.* 3.5 cm at the right and just over 4 cm at top. There are traces of two horizontal battens having been stuck onto the panel, and the remains of adhesive.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light ground is exposed in a patch close to the shoulder outline on the left, where the scarf borders the gorget. It is also visible in scratchmarks in the hair on the left, and shows through in thin areas in the eyes and hair.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Chalk ground (according to a letter from Dr. Thomas Brachert dated 28 April 1970 reporting chemical analysis in the Doerner Institut, Munich).

Paint layer

CONDITION: Generally good. Under the ultraviolet lamp a few small retouches, of both old and more recent date, can be seen in the background. There is a local damage, caused by scratching, in the hair on the left. Craquelure: an extremely fine and very regular pattern appears in the flesh tints and cap, and also to some extent in the clothing in a vertical pattern that follows the direction of the grain.
DESCRIPTION: The background is painted in an almost uniform cool, dark grey, lightening somewhat on the left above the shoulder and rather less so on the right along the contour of the body. No brushstrokes can be seen.

In the light, the head is painted with small touches of a warm flesh colour, with a fairly flat pink on the cheek and a thicker white tinged with pink on the highest lights on the cheekbone, on the eye-pouch on the left, close to the nose and to the left below the wing of the nose, and in varying shades on the nose with an almost white highlight left of the tip. In the eye-pouch there are clearly-apparent small brushstrokes leading into a grey shadow area. The subject's right eye is shown using vague, dark grey lines in a thin and for the most part translucently painted area; the white of the eye is in grey (with the ground lying exposed on the left), while the iris is done fuzzily in a thin, translucent grey and the pupil is in a thin black. Above, along the upper eyelid, runs a fairly wide brown line; this is partly covered by the grey of the upper eyelid and the grey shadow of the eye socket above it. The shadow on the forehead starts as a still fairly translucent brown-grey, becoming a more opaque grey further up, with a single stroke of dark grey for the hair hanging over the forehead.

The subject's left eye is indicated in summary fashion with a little thin black and some grey for the white of the eye. There is an opaque dark grey shadow along the nose, with a light tint showing through alongside it. There is a suggestion of glancing light on the further cheek, using small strokes of a thin flesh colour partly overlaid with a thin grey. A little brown forms a transition to the grey of the remainder of the shadow area. Here the black of the hair lies partly over the contour of the face. Further down an opaque grey along the line of the chin suggests reflected light.

In the highest light the chin is done in a thickly-applied flesh colour, around and on which tiny lines of grey and – at the centre – of brown are used to show the growth of beard. The mouth opening is in a fairly thick (and slightly cracking) carmine-red; the teeth provide a contrast with this, in a rather thick grey with two thick white dabs on the left and some translucent brown on the right. On the left, the lower lip has a white mixed with pink, merging along the upper edge into a salmon pink and along the lower edge into a duller pink on top of which there are small, crosswise strokes of a grey mixed with pink. In the light, the top lip is painted in light pink, with fine touches of grey above it and a dull pinkish red beneath. At the top along the notch of the lip the skin area, in which a few small vertical scratchmarks indicate a stubbly growth and some grey is used to show the hollow in the middle, is bounded by strokes of rather heavily applied flesh colour.

To right and left the hair is set down in a fairly flat brown-grey which generally extends a little over the background; on the left the shape of curls is indicated by brushstrokes in a lighter grey and a number of scratchmarks most of which have a slight curve. The earlobe appears as a flat, thin brown with a little pink. The cap is painted in an almost uniformly thin black, and only along the outline is there occasionally a recognisable brushstroke in grey hinting at a slight sheen. The grey of the background has been strengthened a little along the left-hand outline of the cap.

The scarf is laid-in in brown, in which long, narrow and fairly thick strokes of grey produce the modelling; the shadow area to the right is in a greyish black. The gorget is done in long-drawn-out strokes of thin dark grey, with fine small lines in lighter and darker grey; the edge of the lower part is defined by a line of light grey, that of the upper section by a line that changes from white to grey. The flat rivet-head is shown by a vague shadow surrounding it, and a white highlight. The doublet is laid-in in brown, with long, broad strokes of a thicker and darker brown.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Only quite common pigments are found, such as ochre, vegetable black, white lead and red and yellow lake (letter from Dr. Thomas Brachert dated 28 April 1970, reporting chemical tests in the Doerner Institut, Munich).

Fig. 1. Panel 49.7 × 37.3 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray

Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft Nr. 8196 24 kV 7 Min.

X-Rays

As can be expected from the paint surface, the X-ray image shows little contrast. In the lefthand half one sees the background rather lighter than the darker space, partially outlined by a lighter line, that is occupied by the cap. The grey highlights in the scarf and gorget are clearly visible. The plainly recognizable illuminated parts of the head exhibit, in only the highest lights, a pattern of very small, gingerly and almost 'shuffling' brushstrokes. No changes in form can be seen.

On the left, especially, quite a large number of white dots and short, black strokes reveal partly-stopped woodworm holes.

Signature

None.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

This version, which has not as yet been described in the literature, of a composition known only from a number of copies (see under 7. *Copies*) is so much more convincing in its design than the other versions known to us that it can with full justification be regarded as the original. The play of light and shadow over the prominences and hollows of the head, seen in a complicated posture and lighting, is rendered with great subtlety, and the means the painter employs (which in the copies known to us strike the eye as being artists' devices used with a varying degree of success) here combine to form a pictorial entity that is homogeneous in its conception and execution. This is not yet to say that the painting immediately convinces one of being by Rembrandt. Apart from the rather indifferent handling of secondary areas, in particular the visible part of the doublet, it is precisely the subtlety with which in an exceptionally large (roughly life-size) head nuances of colour and light merge, and the brushstroke is made to play a minimal part in creating the effect of plasticity, that can be described as unusual. This treatment differs so much from what might be expected not only from Rembrandt's history pieces from around 1630 but also from a number of *tronies* (heads) that must clearly be attributed to him, that more cogent arguments are needed before no. A 22 can be included in his oeuvre.

There is evidence of two kinds for doing so. The first kind is external evidence: although no 17th-century mentions of self-portraits can be linked to any existing version of this type, it must to judge by the large number of copies (some of 17th century origin) have enjoyed a considerable reputation. The copy listed under 7. *Copies*, 1, carries an *RHL* monogram, and one must assume that already in the 17th century the prototype was looked on as being a work by Rembrandt. There is no foundation for the idea of a prototype by Lievens (Br.-Gerson 3).

Secondly, there is a whole series of similarities in the interpretation of forms and in manner of painting with one other work – the *Self-portrait* in The Hague (no. A 21). These similarities appear most clearly from a comparison of the illustrations, and of the descriptions of the paint layer written independently of each other. They can be summarized as follows: the flesh colour, in lit areas, shows at most a slight amount of relief from a short and carefully-applied brushstroke; the pink on the cheek is flat; pink is mixed into the thick flesh colour in the highlights. The latter are located in identical places, such as left under the eye, under and next to the wing of the nose, and along the upper edge of the top lip. The way the subject's right eye, including the eye-pouch and the shadow by the root of the nose, is dealt with is, in both cases, very similar. The mouth in no. A 22 has a more complicated plastic structure, yet the same shades of pink and red are used in both bottom lips. In both cases the growth of moustache is indicated with small scratches in the flesh colour, and that of the beard with small vertical brushstrokes in grey. If one adds to this the similarity of execution in both paintings of the predominantly grey area of shadow in the further half of the face, one cannot help but get the impression that the same author has observed the same forms in both cases, to a great extent has set himself the same problems, and has arrived at virtually identical solutions.

It must be commented that there are indeed differences between these two paintings, in format and also in treatment. In the illuminated areas of no. A 21 the paint seems to have more body, and this appears to be borne out by the X-ray (though it is a little difficult to interpret). The two gorgets show the shifting of the two halves over each other in exactly the same way, with short grey lines, yet the Hague painting has a more lively lighting effect. The reasons for believing in Rembrandt's authorship of the painting in The Hague (no. A 21) are, moreover, not wholly compelling, consisting as they do of similarities of motif with one or two other works, plus an appreciation of quality. If one accepts the rather lonely place that no. A 21 occupies among Rembrandt's work from 1629 by reason of its markedly close, continuous paint surface and the careful observation of plastic values under a strong sidelighting, then it seems reasonable to believe that no. A 22 takes the same tendency further in a larger format and with a very similar and even thinner execution. The resemblances found in the two paintings in this respect would seem amply to outweigh the differences that undeniably do exist between them. As

examples of a remarkable aspect of what might perhaps be termed Rembrandt's experiments in chiaroscuro studies applied to his own face, each of the two paintings lends weight to the attribution of the other.

Seen in this way, no. A 22 combines the compositional idea of the very small Munich *Self-portrait* dated 1629 (no. A 19), using the forward-thrusting head seen largely in shadow above a summarily-depicted body, with the thoroughness of plastic rendering of the rather larger The Hague *Self-portrait* that probably dates from the same year. It is tempting to conclude from this that no. A 22 must therefore also be dated as the last of these three; but one has to remember that Rembrandt was clearly tackling the problems that arise in painting the human face or bust in quite different ways at virtually the same time. Even after he seems to have arrived at an entirely satisfactory formula (meaning one comparable to his history paintings) in a small format in 1630 with the Innsbruck *Old man in a fur cap* (no. A 29), the variety of solutions remains almost incomprehensibly wide right into 1631. On the other hand, there was an extraordinarily great variety in 1629 as well; alongside the *Self-portraits* in Munich and (presumably) in The Hague there was, if the attribution and dating are warranted, also the *Self-portrait* in the Gardner Museum in Boston (no. A 20), which has remarkably little in common with the others. On the basis of the close resemblance with the Munich and, especially, the Hague *Self-portraits* it does however seem reasonable to look on 1629 as the most probable date for no. A 22. The similarity with various etched self-portraits from 1629–1631 is too vague to prompt any other dating.

When making the attribution to Rembrandt, which has up to now been done only by Gustav Glück in a certificate dated 24 May 1932, it has to be noted that the artist went no further along the path he was entering here – the life-size scale remains an exception, and the smooth style of painting used here remains unique. The subtle illusionism does not appear again in any other work, and equivocality of the brushed paint (both retaining a material aspect and giving a spatial, plastic illusion) is characteristic of his further experiments. One can certainly take it that the carefully blending manner of painting seen in no. A 22 made a great impression on Gerard Dou. The *Bust of a young man* (Hanover, Landesmuseum, no. PAM 812) by Paulus Lesire, who joined the Dordrecht guild of painters in 1631, appears to be based on it from the viewpoint of composition.

Finally, the motif portrayed (and hinted at in the Munich *Self-portrait*) is also most exceptional; the sitter, undoubtedly the artist himself, turns towards the viewer with his mouth open, and the intention is obviously to show him speaking. This is perhaps meant as a reaction to the stock literary theme, used among others by Constantijn Huygens on a number of occasions, that a picture has no voice (see J. A. Emmens, 'Ay Rembrandt, maal *Cornelis* stem', *N.K.J.* 7 (1956), pp. 132–165, esp. 153–154).

Note, December 1979: one of the authors (E.v.d.W.), though not having seen this painting itself, cannot help maintaining reservations as to it being an autograph work by Rembrandt.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

1. Anonymous etching (B. II, p. 171, appendix no. 87, sometimes ascribed to Bernard Picart, Paris 1673–Amsterdam 1733), signed *Rembrandt ft* with the *t* as an abbreviation as in numerous Rembrandt etchings from 1634 onwards. This etching shows the picture in reverse, but with substantial alterations: the framework is set wider and almost square, and the figure is wearing not a gorget but a kind of bandoleer to which is attached a large ring. It is not clear which version served as the basis for this imitation (probably datable in the 18th century) of a Rembrandt etching.
2. Mezzotint (fig. 8) by Johann Bernard (Vienna 1784 – after 1820) with inscription: TETE DE CARACTERE/*Gravé par Bernard à Vienne d'après le tableau original de Rembrand van Ryn qui est dans le Cabinet de S.E.M. de S. Saphorin envoy Extraordinaire* (Charrington no. 28, wrongly as by Louis Bernard). After the copy described under 7. *Copies*, 5 (q.v.); cf. the illustration with inscription in: *Studien und Skizzen zur Gemäldekunde* 2 (1916), Pl. XVIII. A drawing (black and white chalk with a little wash, on tinted paper; inscribed on verso: *Bernard Ca* (?) *of WWC*) probably done from this mezzotint is in private ownership in Utrecht (1974).

7. Copies

1. Oak panel, 42.8 × 33 cm. Indianapolis (Indiana), Indianapolis Museum of Art, Clowes collection (fig. 3). Previously coll. Prince Lubomirski, Lvov; dealer F. Mont, New York (1951); coll. Dr. G. H. A. Clowes, Indianapolis (Indiana). HdG 549; Br. 3; Bauch 289; Gerson –. Examined on 8 June 1972 (J. B., S. H. L.). The single-plank panel, with grain vertical, is cradled at the back. The paint layer lying over a light, yellowish brown, is in a good state of preservation. The background is in greys, rather thicker towards the bottom though without the brushstroke being clearly visible. The head, in the light, is done in fine, sometimes zig-zag strokes in a yellowish flesh tint; along the side of the nose are a few oblique strokes of warm yellow. Shadows are set down in browns, on top of which is a little patchy grey-brown and a flat grey along the outline of the cheek and chin. The subject's right eye is drawn somewhat unsurely in opaque brown-grey, while the other eye is extremely vague and in a grey-black. The sitter's right nostril is in black, while the other is shown by a black dot placed far over to the right. The mouth aperture is also shown in black, and the lower lip with a stroke of bright red; beneath this there is a pinkish red, with on the left some grey, white and pink on top of

Fig. 3. Copy 1. Panel 42.8 × 33 cm. The Indianapolis Museum of Art, lent by the Clowes Fund

Fig. 4. X-ray of copy 1

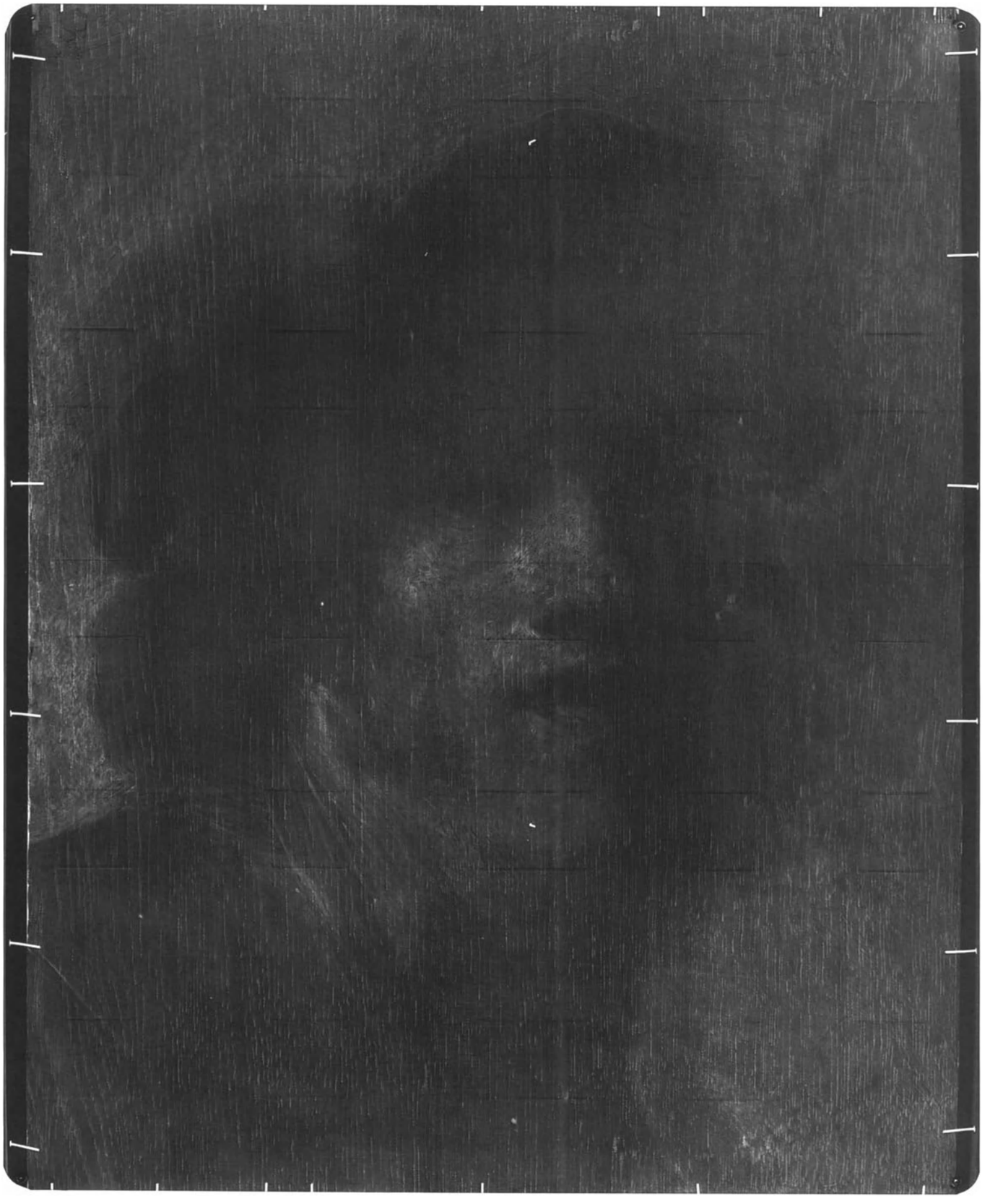


Fig. 5. Copy 2. Formerly Paris, coll. Pacully

Fig. 6. Copy 3. Whereabouts unknown

it, and in the centre a number of brown, curved strokes running crosswise. The growth of beard is indicated with small grey strokes, and scratchmarks that go through to the ground. The hair is in a flat dark grey, and on the left is indicated by curved scratchmarks. The work is signed at the bottom right with a fine brush in a thin grey ‹*RHL*› (in a monogram very like that on no. A 19). As will be seen from this description, the brushwork and use of colour show minor differences from no. A 22. It is noticeable that while various components do almost match the corresponding parts of no. A 22, they are less well integrated into the picture as a whole (e.g. the modelling of the lips, and the grey area of reflected light along the contour on the right). The whole of the shadow area lacks the suggestion of plasticity that marks it in no. A 22, while the locally thicker but structureless background makes a strange impression. Because of these features we considered this painting to be a copy even before we came to know of no. A 22.

An X-ray print received later (December 1979) appears to contradict this conclusion. It shows a space left in reserve for the left half of of the cap and for the body on the right that is bigger, in the first case even considerably bigger, than these forms appear in the final execution, where they correspond to those in no. A 22. The autograph retouches which served to incorporate the redundant portions of the reserves in the background can in fact easily be detected in the paint surface. One would normally take this to indicate that the Indianapolis picture should be considered an original. This idea is, however, hard to reconcile with a qualitative appreciation of the paint surface looked at on its own as well as in comparison to that in no. A 22. If the Indianapolis painting is correctly thought of as a derivative of no. A 22, it must have begun as a somewhat free variation of it and have become a faithful copy only in a later stage.

It shows the head on a slightly smaller panel but also in a somewhat narrower compass, especially towards the top (NB: all the available photographs show the painting in its frame!), and thus on an only slightly smaller scale. The technique appears to be very close to that of Rembrandt, and the possibility of its having been produced in his workshop cannot be dismissed out of hand. The reproductions in the older literature (e.g. in W. Bode – C. Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt* VII, Paris 1905, no. 546; in various editions of A. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt* (Kl.d.K.); and in: *Onze Kunst* 10 (1906), opp. p. 80) show the painting in an unrecognizable state – perhaps heavily overpainted – unless one has to assume that these were all reproducing a different version. Because of this Bauch (Bauch 1933, p. 209) regarded the work as a copy; later (Bauch 1966, 289) he revised his opinion after seeing (a reproduction of ?) the cleaned painting, and attributed it to Rembrandt. There is virtually general acceptance of this attribution, in both the older and the more recent literature; one exception to this was Gerson (Br.-Gerson 3), who posited a prototype by Lievens. The painting was discovered by Bredius in the collection of Prince Lubomirski (A. Bredius in: *De Nederlandsche Spectator* 25 (1897), pp. 197–199; idem, in: *Zeitschr.f.b.K.* new series 10 (1898–'99), p. 167), and attributed by him to Rembrandt on the grounds of the print mentioned above under *6. Graphic reproductions*, 1. The provenance assumed for this painting since Hofstede de Groot, from the P. Locquet sale in Amsterdam, 22 September 1783 (in respect of which it is, anyway, difficult to decide which version is involved) probably relate to the copy described below under 5.

2. Panel, 45,5 × 39 cm. Present whereabouts unknown (fig. 5). Previously coll. Pacully, Paris; sale Paris, 4 May 1903, no. 41 (bought in ?); lent anonymously to the exhibition *Maîtres hollandais ... Tercentenaire de Rembrandt*, Amsterdam (Frederik

Fig. 7. Copy 5. Formerly coll. de Mestral de Saint-Saphorin

Fig. 8. Mezzotint by J. Bernard

Muller) 1906 (no. 106, as Rembrandt, with illus.: '... a été donné par le roi Joseph d'Espagne, frère de Napoléon I, à un membre d'une famille noble en 1806 où il est resté jusqu'en 1906'); coll. Warneck, Paris (1915); sale Vienna (Schidlof), 28 March 1928, no. 84 (with illus.). HdG 549, 2. Not examined by us. To judge by the illustrations (in addition to the above-named, in: *Onze Kunst* 2,1 (1903), p. 125) this is a faithful, old and competent copy after no. A 22, reduced in height. When this work was exhibited in Amsterdam in 1906 it was possible to compare it with the version described under 1. above, which was on show in Leiden at the same time; Jan Veth (in: *Onze Kunst* 10 (1906), p. 84) considered the latter to be clearly superior and 'without doubt the original', and described our no. 2 as 'a fine copy, probably from the same period'.

3. Oak panel, 48.5 × 36.1 cm. Whereabouts unknown (fig. 6). Formerly coll. Mr. James Hope, New York. Previously coll. Count Cavens, Brussels (exh. Brussels 1909, no. 64); Georges Talon et al. sale Brussels (Fiévez), 10 March 1927, no. 85. According to an unsigned article ('Rembrandt, Notes on three early works by the Master', *Le Monde des Arts/The Art World*, 1925 no. 1, pp. 41–46, esp. 44–45 with illus.) this painting 'was sold in Brussels for 400 francs hardly two years ago [i.e. in 1923/24]. It was found a short time after in Amsterdam, and bought for a few hundred florins'; it would have belonged previously to the coll. Marcus Kappel, Berlin. Examined on 11 June 1972 (J. B., S. H. L.). The single-plank panel, with grain vertical, is split and shows irregular bevelling at the back; there seems to be sapwood along the lefthand edge. A light brown ground shows through in places. The paint layer is in a somewhat worn condition and shows inpaintings in various dark areas. The flesh tones are applied with quite broad brushstrokes. The shadows are in browns, more translucent than in no. A 22 and in the copy described above under 1. The effect it makes is, partly because of its condition, rather flat; the nostril and mouth aperture, painted as flat, brown areas, contribute to this effect. This picture appears to be a 17th-century copy on a slightly larger scale in a narrower compass, where the copied motifs have taken on a certain coarseness and the suggestion of depth has to some extent been lost.

4. Panel, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown. From the Gatschina Palace, Starye Gody, exhibition S. Petersburg 1908, no. 265. HdG 549,3. Not examined by us. To judge from a photograph (in the RKD) this is a faithful copy, and old.

5. Panel, 43 × 34.2 cm. Owned at the beginning of the 20th century by the de Mestral de Saint-Saphorin familiy, Switzerland (according to the caption on an old photograph, Hess, Berne, in the RKD) (fig. 7). Not examined by us. To judge from the photograph this is a rather coarse copy, where the forms are rounder and a broad brushstroke is apparent. This is beyond doubt the version that was in the collection of Armand-François-Louis de Mestral de Saint-Saphorin (1738–1805), successively Danish envoy in Dresden, Warsaw, Madrid, The Hague (1780–1788), S. Petersburg and Vienna, and in the sale of his collection in Vienna on 19 May 1806 (Lugt 7099), no. 11: 'Paul Rembrand van Ryn. Ein Jünglingskopf mit offenem Munde; ist geschaben. Holz. Höhe 1 Sch. 5 Zoll, Breite 1 Sch. 1 Zoll [= 44.3 × 34.2 cm]'. This is evident, quite apart from the identity of the last known owner, from the fact that the mezzotint by Bernard mentioned earlier under *6. Graphic reproductions*, 2 was unmistakeably made from this version. The hypothesis advanced by Th. von Frimmel (in: *Studien und Skizzen zur Gemäldekunde* 2 (1916), pp. 89–93) that the version in the de Saint-Saphorin sale, from which a painting by G. Schalcken went to the Lubomirski collection, was identical with the version later in that collection and now in Indianapolis (no. 1 above), is, though in itself quite plausible, thus shown to be

Fig. 9. Copy 6. attr. to A. Grimou. Arles, Musée Réattu

wrong. It can be assumed that the painting in the possession of de Saint-Saphorin, who lived in Holland from 1780 to 1788, is identical with the work in the P. Locquet sale at Amsterdam on 22 September 1783 (Lugt 3611), no. 325: 'Ryn (Rembrand van). Hoog 17, breed 13 duim. [= 43.7 × 33.5 cm]. Paneel. Een Manshooft verbeeldende een Borststuk, hy vertoont zich in 't Harnas en heeft een Muts op het Hooft, als gelykende naar het Pourtrait van deezen Schilder, het is zeer krachtig en van een fixe penseelstreek' (Ryn (Rembrand van). Panel. A man's head showing a bust, he is seen wearing armour and has a cap on his head, as resembling the portrait of the artist, it is powerful and with a firm brushstroke) (350 guilders to Yver). The more closely corresponding dimensions and the fact that the sale coincided with de Saint-Saphorin's period in Holland, plus especially the description of it as 'very powerful and with a firm brushstroke', are evidence that this provenance applies not to the copy described under 1 above (as has been assumed since Hofstede de Groot), but to this copy.

6. Canvas, attributed to Alexis Grimou (Argenteuil 1678 – Paris 1733), Musée Réattu, Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône): we are indebted to Miss N. J. Koomen of the University of Amsterdam for this information. The painter must have had the original, or a very close copy of it, before him. For comments on Grimou's admiration for and copying of Rembrandt (he may have travelled to Holland) see C. Gabillot in: *G.d.B.-A*, 4th Series 5, 53 (1911), esp. pp. 311–314; H. Gerson, *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der Hollandischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Haarlem 1942, pp. 91–92.

8. Provenance

– Coll. Count Bonde, Ericsberg Castle, near Katrineholm, Södermanland (Sweden) at the beginning of the 20th century (according to information from the then owner, dated 21 May 1976).

– Folke Zetlerwalls et al. sale Stockholm (Bokowski), 26–28 October 1955, no. 138 (with illus.), as a contemporary copy after Rembrandt.

9. Summary

Because of the convincing relationship between the interpretation of form and the pictorial execution, this well preserved painting must be seen as an original for a large number of copies, among which that at Indianapolis is frequently regarded as the original. The prototype must have been considered a work by Rembrandt in the 17th century. This attribution can be confirmed by the quite decisive similarities there are between no. A 22 and the Hague *Self-portrait* (no. A 21). It must be surmised that the very careful, smooth manner of painting, shown even more strongly by no. A 22 than by the painting in The Hague, represented in 1629 one aspect of Rembrandt's experiments in painting heads and busts and – especially – self-portraits. This, one can assume, explains the wide stylistic and pictorial variety found in paintings of this kind from the years around 1630.

A 23 Bust of a young man

[1629]

CLEVELAND, OHIO, THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART, ACC. NO. 42.644,
BEQUEST OF JOHN L. SEVERANCE

HDG 557; BR. 156; BAUCH 142; GERSON 101

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved, authentic painting which may originally have been rectangular. Despite its present signature and date of 1632, it was most probably painted around 1629.

2. Description of subject

A young man with curly brown hair is shown with the body facing a little to the left and with the head turned slightly to the right. The figure is placed in front of a uniform, neutral background, with the light falling from the left. He wears a dark grey cloak, which hangs slightly open at the chest, and a dark grey scarf with a fringe and yellow stripes is wound round the neck. A jewelled gold chain, with a richly-worked pendant, hangs over his shoulders and chest; a glistening ear-drop hangs from his right ear-lobe.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in September 1972 (S. H. L., E. v. d. W.) in good daylight and out of the frame, with the aid of an ultraviolet fluorescent lamp. A print reproducing a mosaic of three X-ray films received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical (but wavering towards the bottom), oval, 57.7 × 43.9 cm. Thickness at right up to 1 cm, at left up to 0.8 cm. Single plank. Back shows rough tool marks; bevelled along the bottom edge to a width of 3.5 cm with a straight ridge, and to 2 cm at the top edge again with a straight ridge. These straight ridges to the bevelling, taken together with the rather irregular shape of the oval, suggest that the panel was originally rectangular and was converted to an oval at some later date. The back surface has been covered with various layers of paint, the last being light brown in colour; an underlying dark brown layer can be seen in a rectangular gap left in the top layer of paint.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellow-brown ground shows through in large areas of the hair and in the clothing on the shoulder on the right.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Good as a whole. There are minor retouches in the left background in an area where there is a tendency to blistering, and fairly recent retouches in the area of hair immediately below the ear, in the shadowed cheek level with the corner of the mouth, and in the dark area just below the hanging end of the scarf. Craquelure: a very fine craquelure is seen in the face and in the more thickly painted parts of the clothing.
DESCRIPTION: The clothing and hair form more or less a single tone with the almost even background. The lit part of the face stands out strongly against this, with its fairly large areas of even lighting and pronounced flesh colour in which yellowish and pink hues predominate, and with the mouth forming a pinkish red accent. The background is painted fairly uniformly in a thin though almost opaque brown and with barely discernible brushmarks.

In the head the brushwork follows the facial contours with remarkable consistency, even in the shadow half of the face. The paint here has a rather murky tone, showing no translucency at all. The forehead has a yellowish tone in the highest light, done more thinly and tending somewhat towards a grey into the shadows. The yellowish face colour mixes, at the border between forehead and hair, with the grey paint representing the hair at this point; otherwise the hair is shown with a thin dark brown placed directly over the ground, and has possibly been allowed to remain to a great extent in the underpainting stage. A few scratchmarks have been made in the hair on the left.

The light on the cheek is placed with a relatively flat pink, which merges downwards into a greyish yellow. The paint is more thickly applied on the cheekbone. Comparable impasto is found above the left eyebrow, on the lit side of the nose and in the lit area between nose and mouth; at all these places the paint offers a definite relief. The shadow at the corner of the mouth is shown in grey, while the nose is mainly in a ruddy tint with thick, creamy lights along the ridge. Pink predominates in the wing and lower edge of the nose, the nostrils are a dark brownish black, and areas of shadow round the nose are in a dark brown that merges into an opaque grey. The transitions from light to shadow all tend towards a flat, grey tone which is then often followed by a brownish tint, as under the chin and the shadow side of the face; in the latter case grey reflections of light are placed along the contour with fluent strokes of grey.

The eyes are structured with care, with tints in the eyelids that vary between a yellowish colour and pink in the light, and rather more from brown to grey in the shadows. The lines delimiting the upper eyelids are built up with a variety of brushstrokes, the lower ones done rather broadly in a thin dark grey. The irises are painted in brown with dark grey edging, while the pupils (which are not exactly circular) have grey catchlights, that in the eye on the right being larger than the one on the left. The lower eyelids have a fine, tiny rim of moisture suggested with white paint. The white of the eye is shown in an opaque grey.

The mouth is painted in mainly horizontal strokes, the lower lip in a pink tending to red and with a touch of lighter colour at the main highlight. Towards the right touches of a quite pale pink run vertically, and towards the left corner of the mouth these follow the form more closely. The quite broad, brown mouth-line is placed partly on top of the pink of the upper lip.

In the scarf the dark grey paint is applied in long brushstrokes following the folds, the shadows being shown in rather thick strokes of black that do not contribute much to the suggestion of plasticity. The decorative pattern on the scarf is suggested with spots and stripes in dark yellow; these are so subdued that they have hardly any effect on the overall tonal appearance of the painting. The cloak is executed on the left in a flat and opaque dark grey-brown; at the right this is placed more thinly over the ground, with short brushstrokes following the direction of the light, the ground contributing to the tone. The chain is represented with thick dabs of ochre yellow, light yellow, black with white catchlights, grey and black (which is also used to show the shadow cast by the chain). The pendant is done mainly in a dark yellow, with light yellow to give accents of light.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

As far as the pattern of the woodgrain allows one to make out, the reserve for the figure left in the paint of the background is somewhat narrower than the figure visible at present. The shoulder line on the left in particular is steeper than it is now; it

Fig. 1. Panel 57.7 × 43.9 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray

Fig. 3. Infrared photograph

is obvious that the paint of the dress has been extended here over the background that had already been painted. Similarly, the scarf has been extended beyond the boundary of the reserve left for the neck on the right; the same applies to parts of the hair, as is also clear from the infrared photograph (fig. 3).

Some white spots in and near the chain and pendant, as well as a white line running through the throat, are due to material used to fill in holes in the back surface and to paint applied to the back of the panel; the present accession number of the Cleveland Museum has been painted on the back in white paint, and shows up in reverse.

Signature

In the right background level with the neck ‹*RHL* (in monogram)*van Rijn*/ *1632*›. The lettering is quite irregular, the individual letters somewhat spindly, and the figures in particular lack the succinctness that one is used to seeing in Rembrandt's script. The signature and date thus fail to make a reliable impression.

Varnish

A fairly thick coating of varnish hampers observation to some extent.

4. Comments

Up to now no doubt has ever been expressed in the literature as to the authenticity of this painting; and yet it is not easy to give a clear answer on the question of authenticity. While on the one hand the painting exhibits a great many features that we recognize from works that we consider to be genuine, it does not on the other fit in well stylistically with the paintings from 1632, the year given by the signature. Instead of the broad indication of form that typifies the Cleveland painting, the busts from 1632 show a more pronounced plasticity, with livelier contours and a stronger differentiation of tone lending the forms weight and a tactile quality. The brushwork of these heads is also looser and freer, while the treatment of light and shade has greater subtlety.

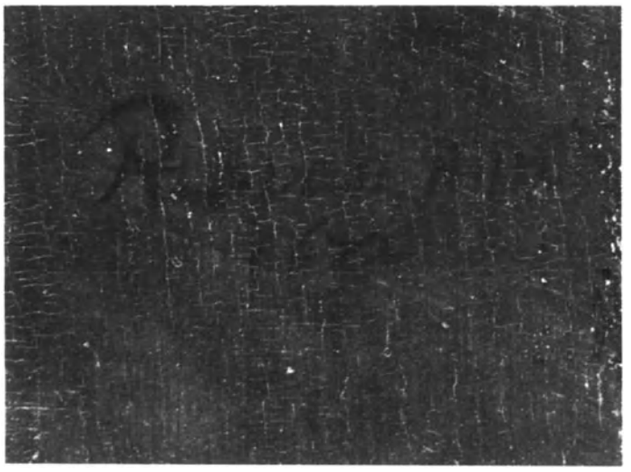
These are admittedly only differences of degree; yet they are substantial enough to make it difficult to place the Cleveland painting convincingly in the group of works from 1632. If one accepts the date 1632 on the painting as actually being its date of production, then it cannot be counted among Rembrandt's oeuvre, though it might be looked on as a work from his school. As has already been said, however, the execution of the painting presents features that do argue in favour of an attribution to Rembrandt. These include the subtle handling of paint (which for forms in the light provides an exact but never finicky definition against a broad and free depiction of accessories), the rhythm of the brushwork and the way the consistency of the paint is varied. There is a relationship between the handling of the paint and the quality of the resulting suggestion of form that is quite characteristic of the early Rembrandt.

Fig. 4. Back of panel

An answer to this dilemma might lie in assuming that the painting was produced at a date different from that given in the signature. The depiction of form and handling of paint do indeed point to the Leiden period rather than the early years in Amsterdam. Though there may be little uniformity among the group of busts and (self-)portraitlike '*tronies*' done during the Leiden period, one can nonetheless detect among them a particular approach to a subject of this kind; and no. A 23 comes much closer to this approach than it does to that seen in the paintings from 1632. In particular, there is a group of self-portraits that bear the date 1629, or must be placed in that year on stylistic grounds, with which the Cleveland painting can be compared – those in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston (no. A 20) and in the Mauritshuis in The Hague (no. A 21), and a third in the MOA Museum, Japan (no. A 22). The quite dark and opaque backgrounds – painted with barely discernible brushstrokes – seen in nos. A 21 and A 22 derive, like the similar background of no. A 23, from a concept which lessens the contrast between the figure as a whole and the background and instead emphasizes the lit parts of the face, making them stand out masklike against the rest of the picture. The simple, flowing contours are all of a kind: in each instance they are enlivened by a scarcely perceptible rhythm. In these early *tronies* the brushwork often follows the form in thin strokes. There is a striking similarity between the manner of painting and use of colour in the mouth of no. A 23 and that of the Hague *Self-portrait* (no. A 21); in both cases this is executed in the same pink tending towards a red, with a robust, horizontal highlight on the lit part of the lower lip. The way the limp material of the scarf, hanging in fine folds, is painted can also be seen in nos. A 20 and A 22, as well as in the Toledo *Young man* (no. A 41) also painted during the Leiden years. There are, finally, corre-

Fig. 5. Detail (1 : 1)

Fig. 6. Detail with signature (enlarged)



spondences between the X-ray image of no. A 23 and that of the *Self-portrait* in The Hague, particularly in the nature of the brushstroke and the distribuion of lighter and darker areas in the lit cheek on the left. All in all, the evidence for dating the painting in or around 1629 appears to be convincing enough.

As far as the picture's composition is concerned, which probably was originally rectangular (see 3. *Support*), the *Self-portrait, roughly etched* (B. 338) shows that Rembrandt was already in 1629 placing the figure with the body facing three-quarters left while the head is turned a trace towards the right. He used this pose again in 1630 in the Liverpool *Self-portrait* (no. A 33) and the etched *Self-portrait in a cap, laughing* (B. 316). The same motif appears again in 1632, in the *Portrait of the artist* in Glasgow (Br. 17), but when one compares that work, which is typical of 1632 paintings, with the Cleveland *Young man,* the differences in interpretation and manner of painting argue against its having been produced in the same year.

External evidence for placing the Cleveland work in the Leiden period around 1629 is provided by a number of busts (perhaps self-portraits) done by one of Rembrandt's pupils from this period, Isaac de Jouderville – one in Dublin (see no. C 9 fig. 6) and one in The Hague (Bredius Museum, no. 57-1946; illus. in W. Berndt, *Die Niederländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts* IV, Munich 1962, p. 147; Bauch 1960, p. 185 and A. Blankert, *Museum Bredius,* The Hague 1978, no. 80). The Dublin painting in particular is in terms of subject matter and conception – and leaving aside the somewhat forced pose typical of de Jouderville – remarkably close to the painting in Cleveland. The date that we are suggesting for no. A 23 means that little worth can be attached to the date of 1632 now seen on the painting – nor, consequently, to the signature. Indeed, the somewhat limp and spindly shaping of the letters and figures does nothing to persuade one of their authenticity.

The facial characteristics of the subject have prompted a search for the sitter's identity. That this painting should long have been looked on as a self-portrait[1] is surprising when one compares the features with those in generally accepted self-portraits. Bauch thought that the sitter could be identified as the young Ferdinand Bol[2]. If our assumption that the painting was done in Leiden is correct, there is no possibility of this being so; and even in 1632 Bol had not yet entered Rembrandt's studio. Richard Leslie (according to the files of the Cleveland Museum of Art) saw it as representing Isaac de Jouderville, on the grounds of the paintings considered to be the latter's self-portraits, and mentioned earlier. There are indeed facial resemblances, though they are not conclusive. The question is whether *tronies* of this kind can in fact be regarded as portraits at all. One can take it that another artist in the studio, or a fellow-lodger, posed for a painting which was being painted with a quite different purpose.

It has been wrongly suggested that no. A 23 would be identical with a painting described in the Gaignat, de Calonne and Choiseul Praslin sales, held in Paris in 1768, 1788 and 1793 respectively, as being a self-portrait and having a companion-piece. The placing of the body facing left would however rule out the possibility of no. A 23 ever having had a pendant. Moreover, Gabriel de Saint-Aubin's sketch after no. 10 of the Gaignat sale (E. Dacier, *Catalogue de ventes et livrets de salons illustrés par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin* XI, Paris 1921) shows an entirely different picture.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance[3]

– Coll. François Théodore Rochard, sale Brussels, 7–8 April 1858, no. 33, illus., erroneously listed as being dated 1652 and from the Julienne collection.
– Coll. Rochard, sale Paris 13–14 December 1866, no. 113.
– Coll. Alphonse Oudry, sale Paris 16–17 April 1869, no. 54.
– Coll. K[ahn], sale Paris 3 March 1879, no. 53.
– Coll. Senator M. Mir, Paris.
– M. Knoedler & Co., London.

– John L. Severance, Cleveland, Ohio (1921); bequeathed to the museum in 1936.

9. Summary

It is difficult to accept no. A 23 as an authentic work from 1632 because of the manner of painting. However, it does exhibit enough features to be acceptable as an autograph work by Rembrandt, though from an earlier period of his life; it fits best among the works from *c.* 1629. The genuineness of the present signature – the limp shaping of which arouses suspicion – must consequently be doubted. The bevelling on the back of the panel (with straight ridges) prompts the suspicion that it was originally rectangular.

REFERENCES

1 HdG 557.
2 Bauch 1966, 142.
3 HdG 615.

A 24 Samson betrayed by Delilah

[1629/30]

BERLIN (WEST), STAATLICHE MUSEEN PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, GEMÄLDEGALERIE, NO. 812 A

HDG 33; BR. 489; BAUCH 4; GERSON 9

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved and authentic painting, linked in many respects to a group of works produced in the years 1629/1630. For this reason we date it later than the year of 1628 indicated by the inscription it bears. The composition is most probably based on a sketch by Jan Lievens.

2. Description of subject

The scene is based on Judges 16:19. Delilah, who has at last wheedled out of Samson the secret of his strength, '. . made him sleep upon her knees: and she called for a man, and she caused him to shave off the seven locks of his head; . . .'.

Samson lies in the foreground with his head buried in Delilah's lap. She is seated on the ground, or on the bottom step of a small flight, holding a lock of his hair and pointing to it as she turns towards a Philistine coming down the steps behind her. The latter holds a pair of shears in his right hand, and his gestures and face betray great tension. A helmeted soldier peers round the edge of the bed-curtain, from behind which the tip of a curved sword also projects. The open door alongside him suggests that both he and the man with the shears have come from the adjoining room, as was described in the earlier attempts at sapping Samson's strength: 'And there were liers in wait abiding in the chamber' (Judges 16: 12). Delilah's bed can be discerned beside the partly-opened curtain.

A number of objects are standing and lying mainly in the area of shadow cast by Samson and Delilah: a pewter jug, a metal pot with twisted fluting, and a large copper-coloured dish.

The scene is lit from the left from, apparently, two light sources; the first throws a brilliant light onto part of the group made up by Samson and Delilah, while the other makes the Philistine's arm and hand with the shears, as he advances behind them, stand out against the illuminated plastered wall immediately behind him.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in November 1968 (S. H. L., E. v. d. W.) in good daylight and out of the frame. Four X-ray films, covering the whole of the painting, were received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 61.3 × 50.1 (± 0.1) cm. Made up of three planks with widths (l. to r.), measured at top and bottom respectively, of 14.1–13.3 cm, 26.5–26.7 cm, and 9.6–10 cm. Thickness of lefthand plank 1 cm, of the two others 0.6 (± 0.1) cm. Back bevelled at bottom and on right and left sides. Top edge not bevelled; vague sawmarks visible here suggest that a strip was sawn off at a later date; this idea is supported by the fact that, whereas the bottom edge shows an unpainted strip (see *Ground*), the top edge does not.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): all three planks measured: left plank 120 annual rings heartwood (+ 5 sapwood + 1 counted), datable at 1489–1608 (+ 6); centre plank 268 annual rings heartwood, datable at 1332–1599; right plank 75 annual rings, not dated. Mean curve left and centre 277 annual rings (+ 5 sapwood + 1), heartwood datable at 1332–1608. Growing area: Northern Netherlands. The planks come from different trees. Statistical average felling date 1623 ± 5.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A yellowish ground is exposed in an unpainted strip of max. width *c.* 3.5 mm along the bottom edge. The same colour shows through at many thinly-painted places.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Very good, apart from a few subsequently darkened areas of retouching in the background and bed-curtain, some strengthened shadow areas around the foreground figures (to the left of Delilah's right thigh and to the right of Samson's knees), and a small stopped hole in the left foreground. Craquelure: small shrinkage cracks, which may point to paint having been applied over a previous layer before this was dry, can be seen in various places, including the approaching Philistine's right hand and forearm, in the background along the outline of his shoulder and above his left shoulder, close to Samson's neck and hair, in the shadow areas of his clothing and in his feet. Large parts of the painting show no craquelure at all, while a fairly regular panel craquelure can be seen in thick areas such as Samson's coat.

DESCRIPTION: Apart from one or two areas in the light, the paint is for the most part thin. In places on the wall in the left background, where the light level is lower, the grey and greyish-ochre paint is applied thinly so that the yellowish ground shows through, and the same is true of the dimly-lit areas of the dark grey bed-curtain on the right. Shadows in the areas of skin and clothing are predominantly opaque, though not thickly painted. The light ground shows through only in the shadow half of the first Philistine's face and the transition from light to dark in Delilah's hair. The brushwork can, in general, be described as delicate. Certain areas are done with great precision in the rendering of materials and the suggestion of plasticity e.g. Samson's sash and the dagger hanging from it, and in the background the latch and handle of the open door. The flesh areas, too, are executed carefully in thin paint – Delilah's hand, foot and face, and the right arm of the Philistine holding the shears. In the most strongly lit parts of the foreground, the sash and Samson's yellow garment at the hip and the decorated blue-green edge of Delilah's dress the paint is thicker, and in Samson's garment is set down with a heavy impasto. In Samson's multicoloured sash and the decorated edge of Delilah's garment the small decorative motifs are accentuated with tiny crosses, wavy lines and circlets scratched into the paint; scratchmarks have also been used in indicating Samson's hair.

Compared to the effortless smoothing-on of paint seen almost everywhere, the paint in the lit part of Delilah's garment and in the tail of Samson's coat where it is draped across the floor is applied in thick splodges in a way that almost obliterates the rendering of material and the suggestion of depth and plasticity.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The X-rays show that when the illuminated parts of the background were being laid-in, spaces were left in reserve that do not in all instances match the final forms occupying them. This is true especially of the Philistine standing behind Delilah: his right arm projected less far out towards the left (and was probably seen as more foreshortened), and it seems that a start was made on committing this version to paint: both in the X-ray (as a lightish image) and in the paint surface (as a somewhat thicker grey) one can see light strokes beneath the present upper arm that might well be an earlier version of the rolled-up sleeve. Along the outline of the man's left shoulder and upper

Fig. 1. Panel 61.3 × 50.1 cm

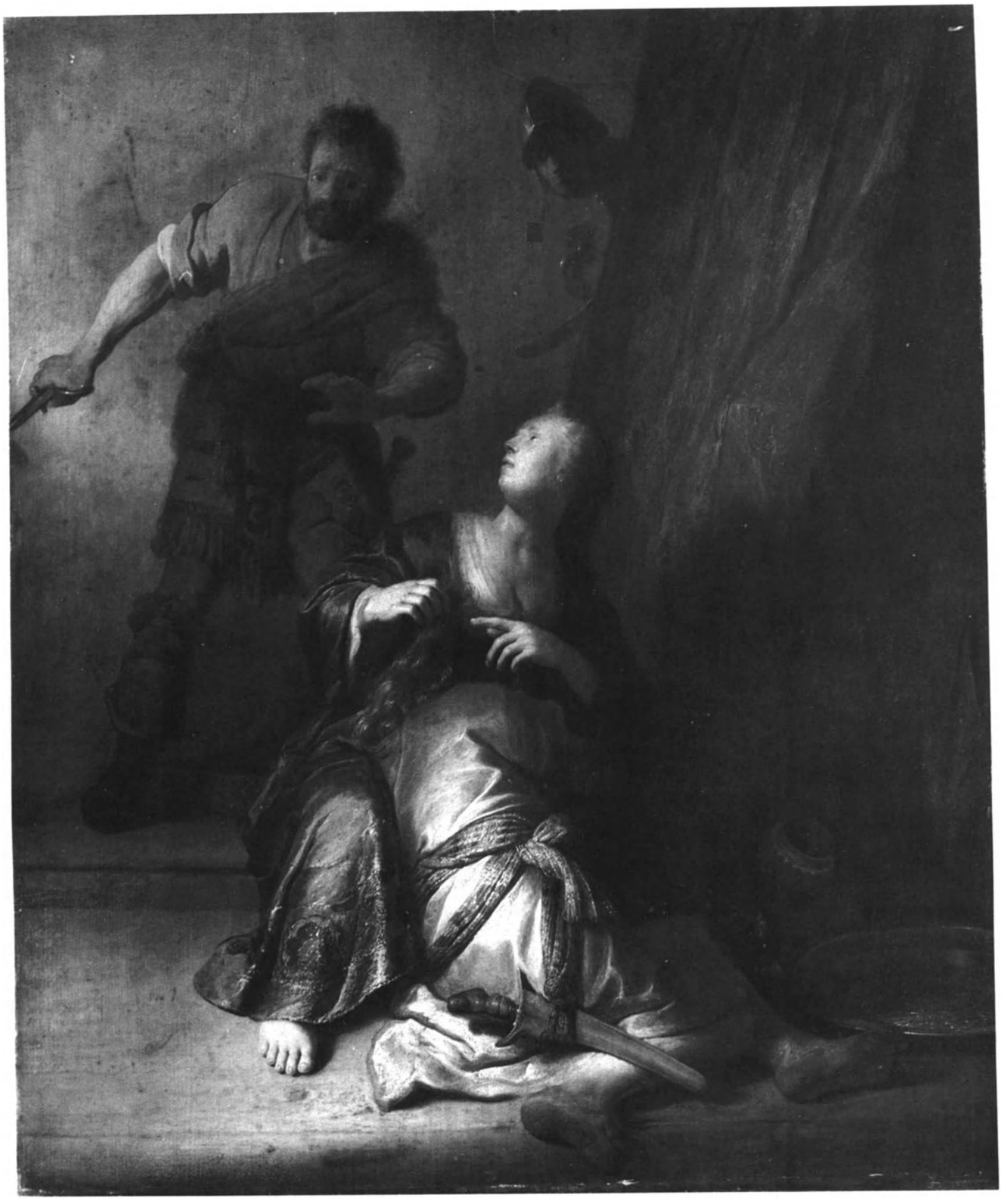


Fig. 2. X-ray

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1.5)

arm the small shrinkage cracks in the paint surface noted above probably indicate that this area had already been executed in paint, rather higher and with its edge somewhat further to the right, before the contour was taken back a little and the background extended to the left using paint containing white lead. A somewhat darker band runs from this shoulder obliquely upwards and to the right, and corresponds to a dark patch visible in the paint layer (was a quiver perhaps going to be shown here?). Small retouches, placed on top of existing paint and detectable from small shrinkage cracks that are clearly visible in the X-ray, are seen at the Philistine's right foot, which seems originally to have been positioned differently.

Paint containing white lead was used in the underpainting stage in the lit parts of Delilah's head and hands, and in the X-ray provides a rough indication of form; one can assume that her right hand was at that stage placed somewhat lower. A light sketched-in under-painting shows up clearly in the head of the second Philistine, and in a similar way a light circle appears above Delilah's head; this must perhaps be explained as the underpainting for an earlier and lower version of the ring of the door-handle.

Summing up, one can say that changes made during the course of the work are apparent mainly in the figure of the Philistine on the left; his arms, especially, were initially intended to be held differently.

Signature

In thin and very small light-grey letters and figures, on the bottom step on the left ‹*RHL* (in monogram) *1628*›. The monogram is unusual in more than one respect: the stem of the *R*, curving round, does not flow easily and the curve on the left does not seem to be entirely closed; to the right of the stem there is a loop which seems however to continue in a line running up to the top of the *L*! The tail of the *R* is linked to the crossbar of the *H*, and runs almost vertically downwards to drop far below the stem of the *R*. This would be the first time that Rembrandt signed a painting with a small *RHL* monogram, of roughly the type normally used from 1630 onwards; this thought occurred to Bode[1], who however provided a totally unreliable facsimile of the signature. In its line and proportions the monogram however differs markedly not only from the version usual later on, but also from those in two early etchings of the so-called *Mother* (B. 352/II and B. 354/II) that carry the date 1628. There is thus reason to suspect the monogram and date on no. A 24. Microscope examination by the museum staff (letter from Prof. Dr. Henning Bock dated 8 October 1975) has shown only that the inscription was done not wet-in-wet, but on the paint surface when this was already dry. We owe further information on the form of the monogram to the kindness of Dr. Jan Kelch (letter dated 12 January 1976).

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

In its handling of paint, colour scheme and composition no. A 24 shows a number of convincing similarities with other works from Rembrandt's years in Leiden. The way in which the paint has frequently been thinly brushed-on, in partly neutral tints, while other more colourful areas have been applied with a thicker or even syrupy paint points to a stage past the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* (no. A 11) of 1627 and the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* (no. A 12). Compared to the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13), the palette used in the centre of the picture, and based on the contrast between yellow and green-blue, is more varied; this colour range is reminiscent of, for example, the *Judas repentant* of 1629 in a private collection, England (no. A 15). A quite characteristic feature is the treatment of the subdued lighting on the right and in the middle ground, where plastically somewhat simplified forms have been suggested with a great economy of means. This applies, for instance, to the way the foremost of the two Philistines stands out against the delicately-lit background, and reaches its climax in the treatment of his tensed right arm. A subtle effect like this calls very much to mind the treatment given to the Nuremberg *S. Paul* (no. A 26), a painting that we believe must be dated in 1629/30. The Frankfurt *David playing the harp to Saul* (no. A 25), also datable around 1629/30 or even a little later, likewise still shows, in its very worn state, traces of a similar treatment. In the painting of Delilah's garment, and in the way the underlying ground is made to contribute to the colour in thin areas, there is some similarity with matching parts of the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* of 1630 (no. A 28). Because of these similarities in the manner of painting with works from 1629–1630, the date of 1628 found on no. A 24 is cause for some surprise.

This surprise is heightened by a comparison of the treatment of light, the three-dimensional composition and the linear pattern with those seen in Rembrandt's work from 1628. In the *Two old men disputing,* dating from that year, the figures play strongly contrasting roles within the lighting design. A repoussoir effect is created, which subordinates the suggestion of depth to the flowing rhythm of contours which generate a decorative ensemble within the picture area. In no. A 24, on the other hand, the light produces weaker contrasts; it plays more fitfully over the figures, giving them a less massive character. The contours have lost their autonomy and continuity, and take second place to the appearance of the figures in a clear spatial relationship, under a filtered lighting. The horizontals showing the flight of steps lend this space a certain independence; this is seldom seen in comparable compositions from 1629, and was never achieved before 1629, and it allows the diagonal links between the figures with their numerous foreshortenings to develop unhindered. In this respect the attempt previously made in the *Judas repentant* of 1629 seems here, with a smaller group of figures, to have met with greater success. In this respect, too, no. A 24 is most closely akin to the Frankfurt *David playing the harp to Saul*, where there is great similarity in the scale of the figures, the lighting and the spatial relationships. A similar handling of light is also found in the *Raising of Lazarus* (no. A 30) in Los Angeles, a work that must be placed around 1630/31, and in the Nuremberg *S. Paul*. In the lastnamed painting Rembrandt again placed a lit area (the left half of Paul's face) against a wall that is also lit, just as he has in no. A 24 with the right arm of the first Philistine: these are, besides, areas that show a striking resemblance to each other in the taut contouring and in the simplified modelling of the garments.

On the ground, therefore, both of the handling of paint and of various stylistic features (which are of course interrelated), it seems justifiable to date no. A 24 just before or in 1629 at the very earliest. An even later dating – shortly before or after Rembrandt moved to Amsterdam in the course of 1631 – should not be entirely ruled out. The same is true of the closely connected Frankfurt *David playing the harp to Saul*, for which the works from Rembrandt's early Amsterdam period offer some rather striking analogies.

Revising the date in this way – 1629/30 or even later, instead of 1628 – is at odds with the date shown on the painting itself (1628). As we have already pointed out (see *Signature* above), there is however reason to doubt the authenticity of the monogram and date. Its placing does admittedly resemble that of the signature on the *Judas repentant* of 1629, but the deviant form robs it of the conclusive force of evidence that would be needed to outweigh the unmistakable stylistic pointers that support a later dating. No. A 24 fits into Rembrandt's development only if one dates the painting not earlier than 1629/30; only then can it be seen as part of the artist's development that, over a very short span, leads on to the *Jeremiah* dated 1630 and to the *Raising of Lazarus*. Even then, it stands out because of the multiplicity of movement motifs; these had not been encountered in Rembrandt's work in such profusion since the ambitious history pieces of 1625 and 1626, and never in such a clearly defined spatial interrelationship. Kenneth Clark[2] has understandably spoken of 'a picture which passes a strict definition of Baroque on

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

almost every count', and this characteristic retains its validity even assuming a somewhat later date.

Some explanation for the novelty that no. A 24 represents in Rembrandt's development is supplied by the idea that the small monochrome sketch of the same subject in Amsterdam can, with a large measure of probability, be attributed to Jan Lievens and dated around 1627/28 (see no. C 1). This surprising result throws a new light on the origins of Rembrandt's composition. Just as, in 1626/27, he repeatedly took motifs from Lastman and used them in a new context (cf. nos. A 2, A 5, A 6, A 9), so in this instance – if our hypothesis is correct – he took one of Lievens' compositional ideas as his starting-point.

The use he made of it implies a fair amount of criticism: not only are the handling of light and the treatment of plastic form far subtler than in the Amsterdam sketch – the composition itself has been changed. The figure of the first Philistine now towers above the group of Delilah and Samson; this group has been turned through 90°, thus taking on a much stronger spatial significance than Lievens' profile figures; and the head of Delilah, as she looks round anxiously, forms a link between the different planes as well as being the point of intersection of the diagonal lines that run across the picture area. Lievens' view through to the rear is replaced by the open door, in front of which we see the head of the second Philistine as he slinks down the steps through an unseen doorway. A number of changes apparent in the X-ray indicate that even during the course of the work Rembrandt moved further away from the details of Lievens' prototype: the posture intended for the first Philistine's right arm is closer to that seen in the sketch, and this figure initially wore a quiver slung over the (other) shoulder. It is no longer possible to make out how he originally held his left arm.

All these changes led to a composition differing substantially from the sketch, but also to quite different motifs in the figures. The Philistine leaning forward with legs spread wide and arms swinging seems to be an entirely original creation by Rembrandt. For the foreshortened view of Samson's bent legs he probably used a prototype by Ter Brugghen, or one also known to Ter Brugghen when painting the sleeping Peter in two pictures of the *Deliverance of S. Peter* (French private owner and Schwerin, B. Nicolson, *Hendrick Terbrugghen,* The Hague 1958, nos. A 48 and A 61); we do not, unfortunately, know what a lost *Samson and Delilah* by Ter Brugghen (mentioned in an Amsterdam inventory of 1691; see: A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* V, The Hague 1918, p. 1847) looked like. Sumowsky's reference[3] to Honthorst's *Granida en Daifilo* in Utrecht is not convincing. A model for Delilah, seated and turning round, has with some justification been indicated in the works of Michelangelo – the *Doni Madonna* in Florence[4], and Eve in the *Temptation* in the Sistine Chapel[5].

No. A 24 shares its choice of the moment depicted with two works by Lievens, the early composition with half-length figures in Amsterdam (Schneider no. 13) and no. C 1. This choice is unusual in that in most artists' versions – e.g. that by Rubens, as well as a lost work by Lastman (K. Freise, *Pieter Lastman,* Leipzig 1911, p. 40 no. 26) – we are shown the actual cutting-off of Samson's hair. Rembrandt, however, chooses like Lievens the moment immediately before this as his subject, thus emphasizing the anxious tension filling both Delilah and the Philistines. In this respect, too, there is a similarity with the Frankfurt *David playing the harp to Saul* (no. A 25), where the moment just preceding the throwing of the spear is depicted, and where Saul's rolling eyes betray the great emotional strain he is under.

The theme of Samson and Delilah occurs repeatedly in the 16th century as an example of the power of woman to corrupt (cf. two series of woodcuts by Lucas van Leyden, Hollst. X, nos. B. 1, 6, 8, 10, 12, 16 and B. 2, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13). The warning against giving in to the lusts of the flesh is made gradually more insistent by the voluptuous appearance of Delilah and the addition of a bed (as in a print by Philip Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, Hollst. VII, no. 37), with additionally – though the bible text does not warrant this – a warning against drunkenness through the inclusion of drinking vessels (cf. M. Kahr, in: *Art Bull.* 54 (1972), pp. 282–299). In Rubens the stress is placed wholly on the first danger (in a painting previously in the Neuerberg collection, now coll. Margret Köser, Hamburg, illustrated by Kahr, op. cit. fig. 20: with a small picture of Venus and Amor in the background), while Rembrandt hints at both.

A drawing in Leiden once attributed to Rembrandt (Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit, no. 1850), which has indeed been quoted[6] as a preliminary study for the Berlin painting, has only the subject-matter in common with no. A 24. The drawing is now no longer attributed to Rembrandt; it reflects, furthermore, a much later stage in his development as a draughtsman. One can imagine, however, that for the figure of Delilah use was made of a model study in red chalk like that which has survived in the study of two women's legs in Amsterdam (Ben. 9 verso), dated around 1629. The model who sat for Delilah reminds one strongly of the type of the so-called *Sister*, as seen in the profile portrait of 1632 in Stockholm (Br. 85).

5. Documents and sources

See under *8. Provenance* below.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

Mentions in 17th- and 18th-century documents and later information refer to one or more paintings of this subject, without it being entirely clear which of them is identical with no. A 24. The information is found in Drossaers[7], Börsch-Supan[8] and Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer[9].

Fig. 5. Detail (1 : 1)

– The inventory of the Stadholder's Quarters of 1632 mentions, in the gallery, 'Een stuxken schilderie daer Sampson het hayr wert affgesneden, door Jan Lievensz. tot Leyden gemaeckt' (A little painting in which Samson's hair is cut off, done by Jan Lievensz. at Leiden) ([7] p. 203 no. 49;[9] p. 185 no. 87). Unlike Schneider (Schneider no. 13), Hofstede de Groot assumes in his commentary[7] that this cannot refer to the work by Lievens in the Rijksmuseum (inv. no. A 1627, cat. no. 1458) because this is too large (131 × 111 cm). The mention might also refer to our no. C 1, though this, too, is improbable – one would not expect to find a monochrome sketch in a prince's collection, and no. C 1 is more likely to be identical with a sketch listed in Lievens' estate (see entry for no. C 1, under 5. *Documents and sources*). Bearing in mind, however, the uncertainty as to attributions to Rembrandt or Lievens that one finds in this inventory of the Prince of Orange's collection (cf., for example, the *Simeon in the Temple,* no. A 12, and especially the *Abduction of Proserpina,* no. A 39), it is not in itself inconceivable

that a Rembrandt should be described as a Lievens. What would be strange in this case is the reference to a panel measuring about 60 × 50 cm as a 'little painting'. This objection applies even more strongly to the identification suggested by Börsch-Supan ([8] pp. 172–173 fig. 34, p. 196 no. 111) with an even larger painting (50 × 76 cm) which was in Schloss Königsberg up to 1945, and which he ascribes to Jan Lievens; to judge from the illustration this attribution is not a convincing one, though this still need not entirely rule out such an identification.

– In the 1707–1713–1719 inventory of Honselaersdijk, which had belonged to Friedrich I of Prussia since 1702, the list for the queen's prayer-chamber includes a 'Samson en Dalila van Rembrandt' ([9] p. 523 no. 41). According to Hofstede de Groot[10] this piece, which as Börsch-Supan too assumes is probably identical with that mentioned as being in the Stadholder's Quarters in 1632, is identical with our no. A 24. For Börsch-Supan, of course, it is however the same as the painting previously in Schloss Königsberg.

– In 1742 a second consignment sent from Honselaersdijk to Berlin of paintings selected for Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia by Count Otto von Podewils, Prussian Resident in The Hague, included as no. 39: 'Rembrandt, Simson und Delila' ([8] pp. 151, 158, 196 no. 111). This certainly refers to the same painting as that in the Honselaersdijk inventory, and probably also that listed in 1632.

– Ch. F. Nicolai (*Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam*, 1779, p. 659) mentions, in the 2nd and 3rd editions ([8] pp. 171, 187 note 72), a painting by Lievens of this subject as being in the Berliner Schloss.

– An inventory of the Berliner Schloss of 1793 mentions for the first time a Samson and Delilah by Govert Flinck, though not one by Lievens ([8] p. 187 note 73).

– Max Schasler (*Berlins Kunstschätze*, Berlin 1856) mentions *two* pictures of Samson and Delilah in the Berliner Schloss, one by Lievens and one by Flinck, the latter matching the dimensions of our no. A 24 ([8] pp. 171–172, 187 note 73). This prompts Börsch-Supan to assume that no. A 24 is identical with a piece already ascribed to Flinck earlier, probably from the possessions of the Great Elector; the first-named (which he recognizes as the Königsberg panel which disappeared after 1945 and which he attributes to Lievens) he however believes came from Honselaersdijk in 1742.

– Transferred to the Berlin museum in 1906 by the Emperor of Germany Wilhelm II.

There is little to add to the above confusing collection of evidence and commentary. That the attribution to Lievens by Börsch-Supan of the painting in Schloss Königsberg is not convincing is still no argument against his hypothesis that this painting was listed under Lievens' name in inventories of the Stadholder's Quarters and Honselaersdijk. In the final analysis, however, decisive arguments are lacking for both his and Hofstede de Groot's theory. The provenance of the work can accordingly be traced back with some measure of certainty only to 1793, in which year the work was in the Berliner Schloss as a Flinck. The possibility that no. A 24 (as well as no. A 39) was already in the Stadholder's collection in 1632 cannot be ruled out.

9. Summary

The attribution to Rembrandt, never disputed, is wholly borne out by the striking resemblances in pictorial conception and execution that exist between no. A 24 and a number of works that are either dated 1630 or mark the transition to that year. This gives reason to doubt the accuracy of the date of 1628 it bears which, because of the deviant form of the signature as well, must be regarded as unreliable.

In this composition, which even if one dates the work as 1629/30 is surprising for the tension set up by the spatial relationships between strong movement motifs, Rembrandt has worked with motifs borrowed from an oil sketch (no. C 1) which can be attributed to Jan Lievens and dated around 1627/28. The choice of the moment depicted, just before the dramatic climax of the story, also matches this.

The provenance of the painting prior to 1793 presents uncertainties of all kinds, though it is possible that it was already in the Prince of Orange's collection in 1632.

REFERENCES

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2 K. Clark, *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance*, London 1966, p. 24.
3 W. Sumowsky, 'Einige frühe Entlehnungen Rembrandts', O.H. 71 (1956), pp. 109–113, esp. pp. 111–112.
4 Br.-Gerson 488.
5 M. Kahr, 'Rembrandt and Delilah', *Art Bull.* 55 (1973), pp. 240–259, esp. p.241, note 11.
6 W. R. Valentiner, 'Opmerkingen over enkele schilderijen van Rembrandt', *Onze Kunst* 11 (1907), pp. 157–168, esp. pp. 159–160.
7 S. W. A. Drossaers, with notes by C. Hofstede de Groot and C. H. de Jonge, 'Inventaris van de meubelen van het Stadhouderlijk Kwartier met het Speelhuis en van het Huis in het Noordeinde te 's-Gravenhage', *O.H.* 47 (1930), pp. 193–236, pp. 241–276.
8 H. Börsch-Supan, 'Die Gemälde aus dem Vermächtnis der Amalia von Solms und aus der Oranischen Erbschaft in den Brandenburgisch-Preuszischen Schlössern', *Zeitschr.f. Kunstgesch.* 30 (1967), pp. 143–198.
9 S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer (ed.), *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes ... 1567–1795* I, The Hague 1974, (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, large series 147).
10 HdG 32.

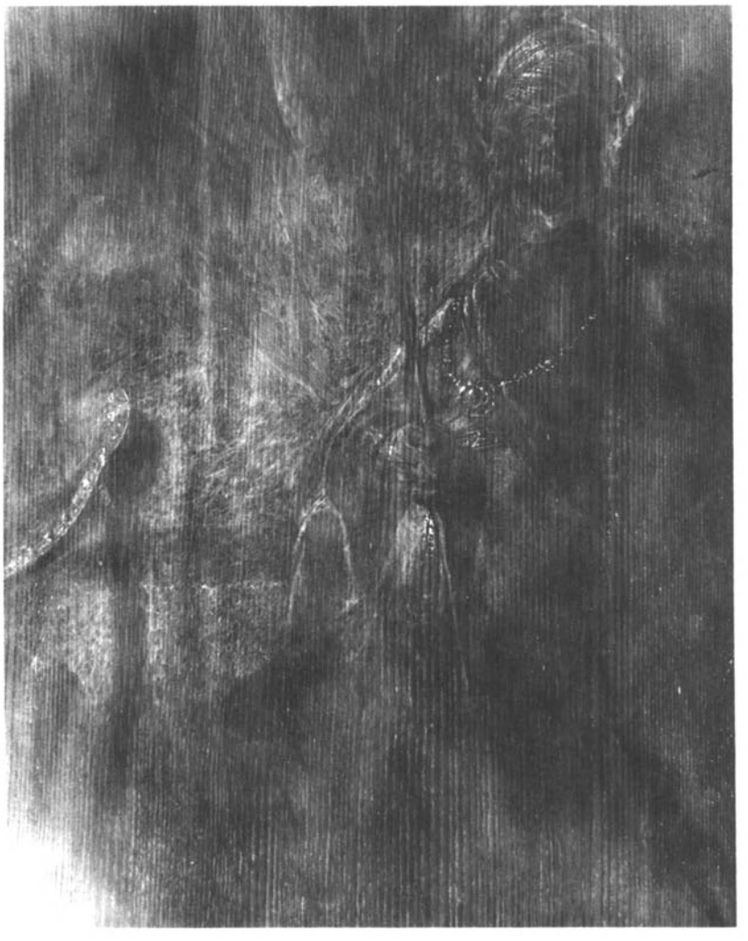
A 25 David playing the harp to Saul [1629/30]

FRANKFURT AM MAIN, STÄDELSCHES KUNSTINSTITUT, INV. NO. 498

HdG 35; BR. 490; BAUCH 7; GERSON 13

Fig. 1. Panel 61.8 × 50.2 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray



1. Summarized opinion

A poorly preserved painting that can be properly assessed only in the more heavily painted areas, but which is undoubtedly authentic and datable in 1629/30 or slightly later.

2. Description of subject

Saul is seated on a folding chair on a raised platform, in front of a curtain, and holds a spear in his right hand. His body is turned slightly to the left and partly catches the light; his face is towards the viewer, but his eyes are looking to the left, in the direction of the young David. The latter sits (?) alongside the platform in the half-shadow, and is only partly visible; he has his head bent forward, and both hands are playing the strings of a partly illuminated harp. A table covered with a cloth is seen between the two figures.

The scene is based on either 1 Samuel 18: 10 or 1 Samuel 19: 9. The first of these texts relates how David, after conquering Goliath, played the harp as he usually did 'when the (evil) spirit from God was upon Saul' (1 Samuel 16: 23) so that the evil spirit should leave him, and how Saul in his envy tried unsuccessfully to pin David to the wall with his javelin. In the second text the same thing happens after David has wed Saul's daughter Michal, and Saul has sworn before Jonathan that David shall not be killed.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 9 June 1968 (J. B., S. H. L.), in good daylight. A print from a partial X-ray (covering the central area from Saul's left hand to David's head) was received later from the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 61.8 (± 0.1) × 50.2 (± 0.1) cm. Thickness at bottom edge *c.* 0.8 cm. Consists of three vertical planks, with widths (l. to r.) of 12, 26.7 and 11.5 cm. Back surface in general quite roughly worked; bevelling at top and righthand sides, very vague bevelling at lefthand side and none at bottom. Two small pieces of wood have been stuck on at the site of relatively inconsequential cracks in the upper lefthand corner, and a third at the top of the righthand join.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): lower edge of the three planks measured: left 77 annual rings heartwood (+ 6 sapwood + 1 counted), centre 133 annual rings heartwood (+ 1 sapwood), right 60 annual rings heartwood (+ 1 sapwood). The right-hand plank is the innermost from the trunk from which the middle plank was also taken. Not dated.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellowish brown is visible in a number of thinly-painted places, particularly in the background and below Saul's left hand, as well as in the very small scratchmarks in the lowest part of Saul's sash. It seems that on Saul's right knee and left arm there are a number of greyish lines underneath the paint layer; their significance is not clear.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Only the more thickly painted parts are well to fairly well preserved – Saul's right hand and sleeve and the part of the cloak hanging down from it, a large part of his head and turban, the chain round his neck, the tablecloth and the illuminated part of the harp. All the remaining areas have suffered badly from overcleaning. There are numerous retouches in the less fully-lit or shadowed parts of the curtain, the rear wall and Saul's cloak. These dilapidated areas are not, as Gerson[1] has suggested, the result of some disease of the blue ('The picture has suffered a little from the disintegration of the blue colour . . .'). Craquelure: a fine and predominantly horizontal cracking can be seen, in strictly localized areas, only in a number of more thickly painted places, for example in the illuminated part of the harp and the spear.
DESCRIPTION: Large areas are, insofar as they can still be made out in their present condition, in quite thin greys and browns and done mostly with a fluent brushstroke. Lighter areas and colour accents in thicker paint are found only in the illuminated parts in the centre. The condition of the paint layer is such that the pictorial relationship between the various components is often seriously disrupted, and the three-dimensional construction the artist intended in the picture is hard to follow.

The curtain is, in its lit areas, in greys with a quick, easy brushstroke; as the grey grows darker towards the shadow area it becomes thinner, more badly worn and more heavily retouched. The rear wall is painted, above the table and along the outline of Saul, in small, short strokes of a thicker grey; where it becomes darker above the harp the paint is thinner, and its condition poorer. The floor, where one can discern the edge of a platform (part half-round and part straight), is likewise in a dark and shabby grey.

Saul's cloak is executed with a clear brushstroke in a light and opaque brown that has suffered in general from overcleaning; this is however worst in the shadow area, where there are numerous retouches. At the extreme right the dark drapery of the cloak has survived as no more than a thready trace of grey over a brown. The two legs of the chair seen on the right offer a similar picture: Saul's left hand, resting on the arm of the chair, has been totally worn away and retouched. The lit sleeve of the grey-white coat is still intact, and here the ornamentation has been done in small, lively strokes of white; the rest of the sleeve becomes more and more thin and worn as one moves downwards; along the bottom edge, in the shadow, one can still make out something of the original highlights in white and yellow.

Saul's right hand is well preserved, and in the light is painted very effectively in a yellowish skin tint with fine lines of pink and white and some brown and grey between the fingers and in the shadow. The comparatively well preserved face is suggested summarily but very convincingly, using the same colours with more relaxed brushdabs and small, short strokes. In the side towards the light there is a little pink on the cheek, and some red in the inner corner of the eye; the shadows are indicated in brown.

In his turban a strong suggestion of coherent form is provided by fine lines and dabs of golden yellow, blue and white with a little red. In a similar way the sash and the neck-chain (the latter in a golden ochre colour with yellow-white highlights) form lively accents in a thicker and fairly well preserved paint.

On top of the table the tablecloth is in shades of green, while the hanging part at the front is in a greyish blue-green and has a golden-yellow pattern painted wet-in-wet with, on top of it, some small grey and greenish strokes.

The figure of David and the parts of the harp in shadow are done in a thin dark brown and black; in the light the harp is in a lighter brown, and the tuning-pegs have been given a strong plastic effect with dark cast shadows and white and yellow

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

highlights. Through the strings of the harp (indicated in grey) one sees David's left hand, done in grey, brown and a little pink with a touch of white at the cuff, and the green of the tablecloth; these are in sound condition.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

In the X-ray print of part of the picture available to us some areas in the background appear to have been laid-in lighter and more lively, with small brushstrokes in a paint containing white lead, than the surface of the paint leads one to suspect. This is especially true of the rear wall to the left alongside Saul's right elbow, the adjacent part of the curtain and the hanging part of the tablecloth behind the harp.

A number of forms now visible at the surface do not entirely match the spaces left in reserve in lighter areas, which appear as dark patches in the X-ray: the harp must originally have been intended to be in a rather different position, and the angle of the outline of the cloak hanging down over Saul's right knee was meant to be a little less shallow. No space was left in the tablecloth (laid-in light, and evidently glazed over dark at a later stage) for David's left hand in its present position; it must perhaps have been placed at the point where there is now a dark patch a little lower down. The highest lights appear in Saul's neck-chain and clothing, and on and alongside the tuning-pegs of the harp. A few small light patches to the right along Saul's head are presumably connected with a subsequent strengthening of the grey of the curtain along the final outline.

Signature

None.

Varnish

No special remarks.

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

4. Comments

Despite the very unsatisfactory condition of the work, and the absence of a signature, the attribution of this painting to Rembrandt has never been doubted in the literature. The brushwork of the few areas that have remained in sound condition is, indeed, wholly persuasive in this respect, and in its composition and handling of light the painting shows a convincing similarity to other works from the years around 1630.

The way Saul's fist (placed exactly on the central axis of the painting) suggests with a minimum of precise detail a clear plastic form (one that, through the shadow it casts on the body, has besides an independent three-dimensional existence), and the way a large number of colour accents are combined in the shape of a turban, are identical with what we have seen in a range of works starting with the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 (no. A 11). There are great similarities with the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* of 1630 (no. A 28), as well as with the *Old man asleep* in Turin (no. A 17), in the predominantly thin use of paint, with a thicker paint appearing only in the illuminated parts; this is illustrated by the very

similar X-ray image (in respect of the Amsterdam painting – there is no X-ray available for the Turin work). A dating in or just before 1630 at the earliest is thus the most likely.

Another painting with which there are strong resemblances is the Berlin *Samson and Delilah* (no. A 24), which is presumed to date from 1629/30. The handling of paint, with for the most part thinly-applied greys and browns and very succinctly treated objects in the light (in this instance the harp), is very similar in both paintings. A further shared feature is the depiction of a quite shallow space, using varying levels and a curtain to enclose it. Saul's sideways glance, used as a means of conveying expression, is strongly reminiscent of the man standing behind the high priest in the *Judas repentant* of 1629 (no. A 15). The way Saul is seated in an Italianate folding chair calls to mind a number of model studies from 1631 (Ben. 20, 40, 41) in which a similar chair is seen at the same angle.

It is noteworthy how David, facing the lit and dominating figure of Saul, is not only placed lower down but is also to a large extent masked by the frame and seen in the half-shadow. The repoussoir figure seen as a silhouette – as we know it in, for example, the figure of Joseph in the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* (no. A 12) – thus takes on a great dramatic importance. It is probably deliberate that only his left hand and the harp are in the light: his playing is seen as the antagonist to Saul. This treatment of the *profil perdu* of a silhouetted figure modelled with a single edging of light was repeated by Rembrandt in a similar manner in the *Daniel and Cyrus* of 1633 (Br. 491). This correspondence raises the question of whether the date of the Frankfurt painting – and of the closely related Berlin *Samson and Delilah* – should not be put rather in the early Amsterdam years. Although it is difficult to take a firm stand on this, the possibility of a somewhat later date should not be ruled out. As additional support for it one may consider, besides the motif shared with the 1633 *Daniel and Cyrus*, the similarity between the frontal figure of Saul on the one hand and one of the kings in the lost *Adoration of the Magi* that probably dated from 1632 (cf. Br. 541) and the horseman in the 1633 *Raising of the Cross* in Munich (Br. 548) on the other. Moreover, a large-scale copy of no. A 25 would seem to have been produced in Amsterdam (see 7. *Copies*, 1).

There are various passages in the Bible that could provide the subject-matter for the picture. In 1 Samuel 16: 15–23 one can read how after the anointing of David by Samuel 'the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him'; David was sent for, 'And it came to pass, when the spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took a harp and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him'. During this episode relations between Saul and David were still untroubled, and the playing of the harp had a soothing effect on the king's 'melancholy' (cf. G. Bandmann, *Melancholie und Musik*, Cologne-Opladen 1960, p. 12ff). After David had been praised more highly than Saul because he had slain Goliath (1 Samuel 18: 7ff), and especially after he had wed Saul's daughter Michal (1 Samuel 18: 27ff), Saul became envious and hostile towards David, and in his rage twice tried to kill him with his spear while David was playing his harp (1 Samuel 18: 11 and 19: 9–10). That Rembrandt is illustrating one of these last two episodes is evident especially from Saul's rolling eyes; it is confirmed by the poem by Cornelis Gijsbertsz. Plemp which we shall mention later under *6. Graphic reproductions*, and which expressly interprets Saul's facial expression as one of envy and resentment; this is moreover in agreement with the meaning that the episode of Saul throwing his spear at David had in the late-mediaeval *Speculum humanae salvationis*, where it is taken as a prefiguration of the betrayal of Christ by Judas (cf. Bandmann, op. cit., p. 13 with further references).

It is not clear which tradition of imagery Rembrandt is following with no. A 25. There are no clear similarities with Lucas van Leyden's engraving (B. VII, 27), which is the most prominent 16th-century version of the subject. The spatial arrangement of the figures would seem rather to stem from a composition such as Lastman's *David's letter to Uriah* of 1619 in Groningen (K. Freise, *Pieter Lastman*, Leipzig 1911, no. 32: illus. in J. R. Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, The Hague 1959, fig. 66).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

Etching (B.II, p. 131, no. 44; Hollst. X, no. 2) (fig. 5) inscribed: *Rembrant van Rijn inv.* – *WPL* (in monogram) *eeuw fecit.* with a Latin text by the Amsterdam poet *C.*(ornelis *G.*(ijsbertsz.) *Plempius* (1574–1638):

Felle tument oculi; mala mens et amara Sauli est:
Livida quin putridus viscera rancor edit.
Non videt ergo suum, iuvenum fortissime, regnum;
Carpitur et regnum trux videt ille tuum.
Pollet (iô!) et fidibus domat hostem cernua virtus,
Gloria dum vulnus vel sine Marte facit.

(His eyes bulge with his bile; angry and bitter is the mind of Saul; yea, putrid ruin devours his bowels with envy. Because of this he sees no longer his own royalty, bravest of youths, but is consumed from within and with grim countenance sees none

Fig. 5. Etching by W. de Leeuw (reproduced in reverse)

Fig. 6. Copy 1. Whereabouts unknown

but yours. O, mighty is your excellence which in its humbleness conquers your enemy with the sound of strings, while even without a battle your military renown inflicts a wound.) (We are indebted to Dr. F. F Blok, of the University of Amsterdam, for the Dutch text which served as a basis for this translation.)

This print by the Antwerp etcher Willem de (or: van der) Leeuw (1603?–*c.* 1665?) has been taken in the literature to be a reproduction after no. A 25. The accepted dating of this print (and of de Leeuw's activity in general) in the 1630s is based on the fact that Plempius died in 1638. Though it does provide us with probably quite reliable information on a number of passages in this painting that are now legible only with great difficulty (the shape of the podium on which, and the baldachin under which, Saul is seated), the print is certainly not done from the original, but probably from the copy, surviving as a fragment, mentioned under 7. *Copies*, 1 below (fig. 6). This is shown by various details (the cast shadow of the plume and turban on the curtain, and of the spear on Saul's tunic; the swollen shapes of Saul's face; the position of the harp with respect to Saul's knee), as well as by the tonal values (Saul's relatively dark cloak, and the area of light around his head). (See also Chapter III of the Introduction.)

7. Copies

1. Fragment (167 × 131 cm) of a very large version on canvas (fig. 6), extending from David's head to halfway along Saul's left shoulder (cf. K. Bauch in: *Pantheon* 25 (1967), p. 165), examined by us in February 1969 at art dealer P. de Boer's, Amsterdam (J. B., S. H. L.). This version is so coarsely painted that it must beyond any doubt be regarded as a copy. In poor condition. More strongly coloured than the original: Saul's light brown cloak has become an orange-brown, and the grey curtain has become blue and white. If one can assume that the print by de Leeuw (see above under *6. Graphic reproductions*) was made after this copy, it is reasonable to suppose that the latter was produced in Amsterdam in the 1630s (perhaps to order for Hendrik van Uylenburgh, an art dealer with whom Rembrandt went to live). An attribution to Lievens (Bauch, op. cit. p. 166) lacks any foundation.

2. Panel, 34.8 × 28 cm. Partial copy or fragment with the figure of Saul seen down to knee level, on a slightly larger scale than the original. In 1930/31 this was with the dealer Goudstikker in Amsterdam (reproduced in *Catalogue des nouvelles acquisitions* . . . 39 (1930/31), no. 59) as a Rembrandt. Not examined by us. To judge from the reproduction this is unmistakeably a copy, though it does give some impression of the original appearance of the original, particularly in the shadow areas of Saul's cloak and the curtain.

8. Provenance

*– Perhaps identical with coll. Périer, sale [Paris] undated, *c.* 1757/1758? (Lugt 1025), no. 18: 'Saul & David, de Paul Rimbrandt; 24 pouces de haut sur 18 [= 64.8 × 48.6 cm]' (36.2 francs). ('La hauteur et la largeur des Tableaux est non comprise la Bordure dont la plus grande partie est très-Belle'.) – Sale Amsterdam, 14 August 1771 (Lugt 1955), no. 10: 'Rembrand. Een Bybelsche Ordinantie, op Paneel; hoog 25, breed 20 duim. [= 64.2 × 51.4 cm] ('zonder Lysten, Amsterdamse voetmaat'). In dit Stuk ziet men verbeeld Koning Saul, zittende, met een Werp-spies in zyn regterhand, en rustende met

de linker op zyn Stoel. Voor de Vorst vertoond zich David, welke in een nedergebogen gestalte, op de Harp speeld. Zeer fraay, uitvoerig en kragtig van ligt en donker' (Rembrand. A Biblical scene, on panel. In this piece one sees King Saul, seated, with a javelin in his right hand, and with his left resting on his chair. In front of the prince is David, crouched down and playing on the harp. Very fine, elaborately portrayed and with a powerful chiaroscuro) (241 guilders to Winter).
–Coll. Sophie Franziska de Neufville, née Gontard, Frankfurt. Bought by the museum with the entire collection in 1817.

9. Summary

In its present condition no. A 25 is only a poor vestige of what, to judge from the well-preserved areas, must have been a fine original. In conception, and so far as one can tell in execution, it is however so close to works from 1629/30 that there can be no doubt as to either its attribution or the approximate dating, which may be put at *c.* 1629/30 at the earliest. It shares the thin painting of the extensive shadow areas with the Turin *Old man asleep* of 1629 (no. A 17), the Berlin *Samson and Delilah* (no. A 24) and the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* of 1630 (no. A 28). Like these works, it differs in this respect from the 1629 painting of *Judas repentant* (no. A 15), with which there are otherwise similarities of concept and expression.

From an early copy on a much larger scale, and from the print made after this by W. de Leeuw, one gathers that the painting must have enjoyed an early success. It is noteworthy that the Latin distichs composed by Cornelis Gijsbertsz. Plemp for the print mention, in first place, Saul's bulging eyes (a feature seen also in the *Judas repentant*) as an expression of his rage.

REFERENCE

1 Br.-Gerson 490.

A 26 S. Paul at his writing-desk [1629/30]

NUREMBERG, GERMANISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM, CAT. 1909, NO. 392

HDG 177; BR. 602; BAUCH 120; GERSON 23

Fig. 1. Panel 47.2 × 38.6 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved work that although unsigned is entirely convincing, and may be dated at 1629/30 or slightly later.

2. Description of subject

The figure is placed in what is summarily depicted as the corner of a room with a few timbers showing the corner itself.

Paul is seen full-length and seated, and stands out against a rear wall which is parallel to the picture plane. His right arm hangs down over the chairback, with a quill pen held between the fingers. His left hand rests on a table set to his left and in front of him. His body, which is partly in the light, and the table which is in shadow and bears books that stand out against the side-wall, fill the part of the room we see. An oriental sword (yataghan) with a decorative tassel hangs in the corner with its scabbard. Daylight falls from the upper left onto the grey wall and the figure, which is turned almost square-on to the viewer; the side of the head away from the daylight also catches lignt coming from a light-source hidden behind the books, the radiance from which is clearly seen on Paul's left hand and sleeve and on the underside of the sword and scabbard.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 21 January 1969 (S. H. L., P. v. Th.) in moderately good daylight, with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp and two X-rays provided by the museum, and covering rather less than the whole painting.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 47.2 × 38.6–38.7 cm. Maximum thickness *c.* 1 cm. Composed of two vertical planks, the righthand one about 9 cm wide. Bevelling of uneven width along all four sides at the back. The top edge shows splintering, which might indicate the sawing-off of a small strip; taking the relative widths of the bevelling into account, this strip could be only very narrow.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Appears as a light yellow-brown, and is only occasionally visible through cracks, e.g. in the shadow area low down in the figure and in the sheet of paper (?) hanging down from the table at the far right; also in the area of shadow to the left of lower centre.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Assessment of the painting is made difficult by a thick layer of varnish, which is scratched in a number of places. Under the ultraviolet lamp one can see quite coarse small, local restorations in the lefthand side of the face and on the nose, with somewhat larger areas of restoration in the background on either side of the head. The X-ray shows a slight local loss of paint in the temple on the left, as well as in the places in the background just mentioned, apparently caused by scratches. The cloak beneath the knee and, especially, the sash appear to have suffered some wearing. Otherwise, the condition of the paint seems good. Craquelure: even with the naked eye a somewhat erratic network of tiny cracks, predominantly diagonal in direction (i.e. matching the brushstroke), can be seen in the clothing at breast height and in the area of the books; their nature suggests painting on a preceding layer before it was completely dry. A mainly horizontal pattern of extremely fine craquelure is seen in the X-ray in the light parts of the head, by the hand on the right and in the area round the sword-hilt.

DESCRIPTION: The paint layer is opaque almost everywhere, and in many places – even in shadow areas – is moderately thick to very thick. In general the light areas have more impasto. The brush movement, which can be followed most easily in the lightest areas, varies: there are short, thick dabs in the light grey background running in various directions at the top left but clearly following the outline at the shoulder, while in the half-shadow of the background these become flatter and broader, though again they run in varying directions. In the beams the brushstroke follows the grain of the timber, giving the beams a more even appearance than the surrounding wall.

The clothing and head are handled quite differently. Short, thick and sometimes parallel strokes alternate with longer and equally thick strokes in the light parts of the yellow-brown cloak, heightened with yellow in the brightest highlight; in conjunction with the flatter shadow areas they create a plastic pattern of folds. The sash is painted alternately in grey and black parallel lines, in which a decorative motif is added in orange-red and ochrish-yellow parallel strokes and an occasional more pointlike dab.

In the light the head has been painted very attentively, and is built up from small, lively strokes of thick paint in a skin colour that in the area around the eyes and in the lefthand part of the nose shows gradations of an ochre tint plus red and grey. The eyes, in which the pupil and iris appear as a single black dot, are not carefully drawn, and the ear is indicated vaguely. The head hair is in fine strokes of grey-white in the light, while the beard becomes increasingly vague further down.

The hand on the right is painted in the same way as the head though more carefully, with thickish touches of yellow, red and an ochre-like flesh tint, and has thick edges of light along the contour to the right of the back of the hand and left of the thumb; together with the shadow along the right side of the thumb, the latter give the hand its shape. The hand in the shadow on the left, under part of which one can detect a light layer (see *X-Rays* below), is in brown tones and is done fairly flat with scant internal detail.

There is similarly little distinctive internal detail in the dark wine-red tablecloth, over which there is a misty grey veil. The two large and somewhat greyer folds running down from the corner of the table provide some suggestion of shape.

The books, with gently sinuous contours and broad internal detail, are kept in browns and greys: the outline of the upper lefthand edge of the open book seen from behind has undergone some modification (see *X-Rays*).

The knob on the yellow scabbard, like the grey sword, has thickly painted highlights. The hanging tassels are shown with short lines and dots of yellow, red, grey and dark grey.

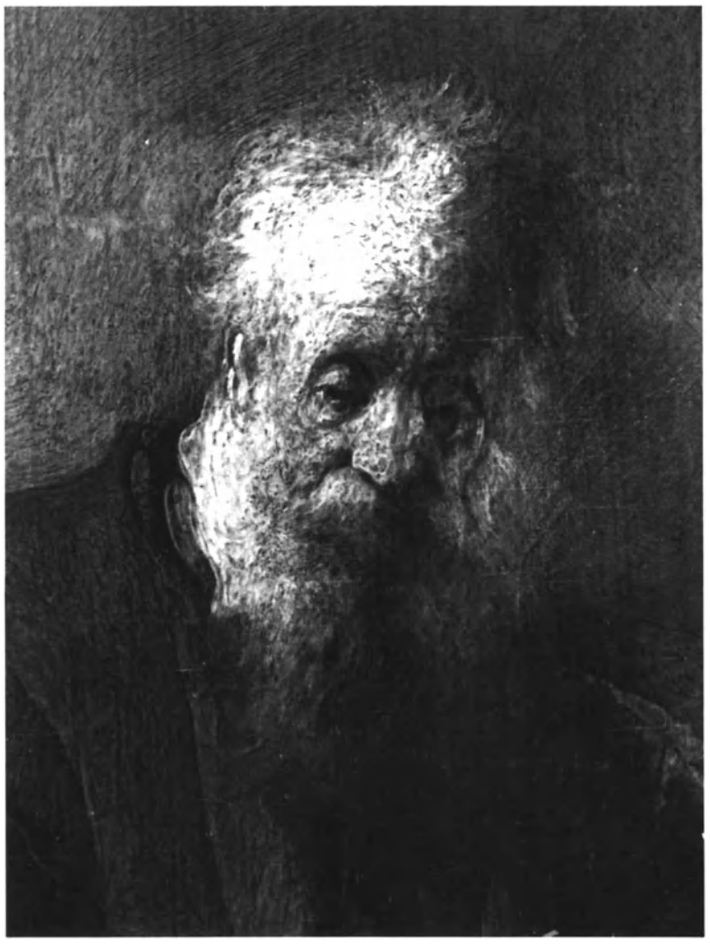
The colour scheme of the painting as a whole is restrained, with greys, yellows and browns in a wide range of shades, and a dark wine red.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The X-ray shows, in addition to diagonal brushwork running from bottom left to top right which probably has to do with the priming, a clear pattern of strokes in the light areas. One can see what is perhaps a light underpainting in the phalanges of the back and fingers of the dangling hand on the left, now covered by browns. Hardly any corrections have been made to originally-dark reserved forms. The outline of the open book seen from the back has undergone some change on the left and

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)



at the top, most markedly so at the upper lefthand side where the corner (which originally projected further) has been brought back, while elsewhere narrow areas along the edge appearing light have now been covered over and are dark.

In the corner of the room the X-ray shows a curved brushstroke to the right of the sword-tassel that does not match the paint layer above it. Though the highlights on the sword, hilt and ornamental tassel can be made out, and the brushwork in the joist and horizontal beam does show up to some extent, the X-ray image in this whole area is less clearly legible than elsewhere.

There has been some loss of paint in the head and the temple on the left, as well as in the scratches to either side of the head.

Above Paul's head one can in the X-ray see the wax seal on the back of the panel; remains of other wax seals are visible, though rather less clearly, along the sides and bottom edge.

Signature

None.

Varnish

A thick layer of varnish, which has been scratched here and there, severely hinders observation.

4. Comments

Comparison with a thematically-related earlier painting such as the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 (no. A 11) shows – especially in the head, but also for instance in the drapery – how much more freely and confidently the artist is now wielding his brush: the brushstrokes define the head less sharply, yet precisely because of this the suggestion of form is totally convincing. It stands out less sharply against the rather more restrained, though still lively, background than it did in works from 1627 and 1628. A comparable change can be noted in the treatment of the clothing, which shows the pattern of folds in the heavy cloth subtly in apparently self-contained patches of thicker and lighter paint. In this respect there is a strong resemblance to, for example, the Turin *Old man asleep* of 1629 (no. A 17) and the Los Angeles *Raising of Lazarus* of 1630/31 (no. A 30).

The use of a hidden light-source in addition to the

daylight entering from the left leads on the one hand to a strong contrast between the dark books and the right background, and on the other to an unexpected enlivening of the whole righthand side of the figure, taking in the hand, arm and even the shadow side of the head. The way this glow has been suggested very economically, with only a few strokes of paint, sets it apart from the caravaggesque effects in current use at the time. Compared to the presumably roughly contemporaneous *Supper at Emmaus* in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (no. A 16), the accent here is not so much on the contrast between light and dark as on the gradations in the half-shadow, and the way these relate to the highest light (itself already somewhat subdued). From this viewpoint a far greater unity in pictorial treatment has been achieved than in that work and in the *Old man asleep*, with which there is in some places, in the relatively free and suggestive use of paint, a greater resemblance than with earlier works. A somewhat experimental arrangement of light, similar to that in these two lastnamed works, seems here to have been used with greater maturity and more subtlety. Given these basic affinities, there can be no doubt about the attribution; a dating in 1629/30 (i.e. a little later than the *c.* 1628 suggested by Hofstede de Groot[1]) would seem the most satisfying, though a slightly later dating – as suggested by Vollbehr[2], who put the painting in 1630/31 – should not be ruled out.

There is a thematic kinship with the etching (B. 149) usually placed in 1629 and the drawn study for this in the Louvre (Ben. 15), which show an area with books used as a repoussoir very like that in no. A 26. The composition of these is however otherwise much closer to the roughly contemporaneous knee-length paintings of S. Paul by Lievens in Bremen (HdG 176 and Schneider p. 26 as Rembrandt; Bauch 1966, A 4 as Lievens and Rembrandt), and by Lambert Jacobsz. in Leeuwarden (K. Bauch, *J. A. Backer*, Berlin 1926, illus. pl. 2) which is dated 1629. Both these knee-length paintings and no. A 26 have certain points of resemblance with a print by Willem Swanenburgh after Abraham Bloemaert (fig. 4); these were pointed out by van Rijckevorsel[3]. The iconographic significance of this and other representations of S. Paul is made clear most of all by the fact that in the Lievens work in Bremen the text of 2 Thessalonians 2: 1 is shown on a sheet of paper, in Greek lettering. Münz[4] furthermore compared an etching of the philosopher Chilo holding a pen in his dangling right hand, by Jacques de Gheyn III, with no. A 26.

The model who sat for this painting appears in a number of works from 1626 through to 1631 (cf. no. A 11, under *4. Comments*); of these, a drawing in the Louvre (Ben. 39) shows the greatest likeness to no. A 26, though it could not be described as a direct preliminary study. Even if the drawing of an old man in Oxford (Ben. 56) does, as the inscription states, represent Rembrandt's father, the similarity is not sufficiently close for the model appearing in the works just mentioned to be identified with his father, as Gerson[5] does in the case of our nos. A 26 and A 28.

Fig. 4. After A. Bloemaert, *S. Paul* (engraving by W. Swanenburgh)

5. Documents and sources

In the inventory, drawn up on 13 January 1653 in Amsterdam, of the estate of Jacques Specx (1588/89–1652), who was Governor-General of the East Indies from 1629 to 1632 and returned to the Netherlands in 1633, one finds: '13. Een St. Paulus van Rembrandt' (W. Ph. Coolhaas, *Het Huis 'De Dubbele Arend'*, Amsterdam 1973, p. 57; cf. A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* V, The Hague 1918, p. 1613). This could however equally well refer to another painting such as no. A 11.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

Panel, 40 × 50 cm, in 1930 in coll. F. Beyer in Berlin (photo RKD).

For one etched and two painted variants of the head, see no. C 25.

8. Provenance

– Inventory number of an unknown collection in an inscription on the back: *Rembrand* (or: *Reinbrand*?) no. 48.
– Coll. Carl Freiherr von Fechenbach, Prince-Bishop of Würzburg (wax seal with family arms on back). Sale Berlin, 19 September 1882, no. C: 'Paul Rembrandt van Ryn. Ein Greis mit vollem weissem Haupthaar . . .' (bought in by the family)[6].
– Coll. Bodeck-Ellgau (Heidenfeld, near Schweinfurt), sale Cologne, 10 November 1890, no. 70, where acquired by the museum.

9. Summary

Though unsigned, no. A 26 wholly convinces one of its authenticity. The great attention given to a complicated lighting scheme places it close to works that bear the date 1629 or can be dated in that year, as do the skin areas and drapery suggested effectively with a free use of the brush, of the kind found also in somewhat later works such as, especially the *Raising of Lazarus* (no. A 30). A dating in 1629/30 is thus the most likely, and is supported by the similar treatment given to books used as a repoussoir in a drawing of *S. Paul* (Ben. 15) usually dated 1629, and the corresponding, uncompleted etching (B. 149).

REFERENCES

1 HdG 177.
2 Th. Vollbehr, 'Rembrandts Paulus im Gemache', *Mitteilungen aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum*, Nuremberg 1891, pp. 3–7.
3 J. L. A. A. M. van Rijckevorsel, *Rembrandt en de traditie*, Rotterdam 1932, pp. 73–75.
4 Münz I, p. 4.
5 Gerson 23 and 24.
6 W. Bode, *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, Braunschweig 1883, p. 366; idem, 'Rembrandt's Gemälde des Paulus im Nachdenken im Germanischen Museum zu Nürnberg', *Zeitschr. f. b. K.*, new series 14 (1902–1903), p. 48.

A 27 An old woman at prayer (commonly called Rembrandt's mother) [1629/30]

SALZBURG, SALZBURGER LANDESSAMMLUNGEN-RESIDENZGALERIE, INV. NO. 549

HDG 687; BR. 63; BAUCH 250; GERSON–

Fig. 1. Copper 15.5 × 12.2 cm (1 : 1)

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved little painting that although in many respects exceptional nevertheless offers sufficient points of connection for it to be acceptable as autograph and datable around 1629/30.

2. Description of subject

An old woman is shown half-length and facing three-quarters to the left, in an attitude of prayer. Her hands are held together, the head is bowed slightly forward and the eyes are downcast. The mouth is slightly open. She is wearing a red headscarf over a cap, and a large, loose fur cape hangs over her shoulders. A contour runs in a vague curve from below the hands towards the bottom lefthand corner, presumably showing the line of the dress. The undergarments consist of a white shirt beneath a yellow, tightly folded neckscarf. The ends of the latter disappear, crossed one over the other, into a red bodice.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 3 June 1970 (B. H., E. v.d. W.) in good daylight and artificial light, in the frame and with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Copper, 15.5 × 12.2 cm.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Gold shows through clearly especially in the red headscarf, and is seen here and there in the face and background.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to microscope examination by Mr. L. Kuiper, of the Mauritshuis, The Hague[1], gold leaf has been applied over the entire surface.

Fig. 2. After A. Bloemaert, *Old woman with a rosary* (engraving by C. Bloemaert)

Paint layer

CONDITION: Good. The ultraviolet lamp shows a few insignificant retouches in the background and along the bottom edge. Craquelure: none.

DESCRIPTION: The background is painted in an opaque grey. The surface of the paint in this area shows a fairly rough texture without individual brushstrokes being detectable.

The wrinkling of the skin of the old woman's face has been suggested by placing a multiplicity of small and thick touches and licks of paint on top of a rather darker and more flatly applied flesh tint. The same technique is seen in the grey shadows shown at the chin; in the shadow along the jawline and cheek the brushstrokes become longer. The lips are indicated with a little red. The teeth are thick blobs of white paint set on the black suggesting the mouth opening. The eyelashes are drawn with extremely fine, small brushstrokes. The shadow of the headscarf on the forehead is done in a thin, ruddy-coloured paint that thickens and merges into a grey towards the temple.

The headscarf itself, where it is in the light, is in a translucent red applied to the gold ground in small, straight strokes that broadly follow the form. The gold is exposed in the scratches made by the brush: this underlying layer of gold leaf lends great luminosity to the red, against which the highlights along the upper contour, shown in an opaque light grey paint, offer a dull and chalky aspect. The shadow parts of the headscarf are done in a very thick black, showing a great deal of lumpy relief.

The shirt is rendered with careful, small light-grey touches, and the neckscarf with long, thick, yellowish strokes. Once again, the gold ground shows through the translucent red used for the bodice. The cloak is in a wide variety of small touches of colour ranging from a light grey through to black and strong, ruddy browns. Here, the paint is applied in various directions, in an alternation of broad dabs and very thin, fine strokes.

The manner of painting in the woman's left hand is very like that in the face, but differs through an abundant use of thin highlights, frequently appearing as self-contained linear entities.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

No electron emission radiograph available.

Signature

To the right of the head, relatively quite large and in grey: ‹*R*› (closed on the left). It is extremely difficult to make out, and consequently has not been mentioned before in the literature.

Varnish

There is a slightly yellowed varnish.

4. Comments

The feature that characterizes this painting is a brushwork that makes use of very numerous, to some extent free-standing licks and crumbly strokes of thick paint, used in a very small format. It may be that the special demands of the subject-matter, i.e. the depiction of wrinkled skin, provide some explanation for this.

One complication in placing no. A 27 stems from the fact that it is painted on a support that Rembrandt seldom used, and has a very exceptional ground. It shares this with two other small paintings (nos. B 5 and B 6), which are moreover of exactly the same size, though stylistic similarities between the three works are slight. An assessment leading to acceptance or rejection of the Rembrandt attribution is thus a particularly difficult one, and represents a dilemma that has also faced both Hofstede de Groot (cf. HdG 322 and 687) and later Gerson, who did not include it in his 1968 book on Rembrandt whereas he unreservedly accepted its authenticity in the new edition of Bredius in 1969[2].

Of all the pictures of old women of the type that is generally identified as Rembrandt's mother, no. A 27 comes closest in facial type and in the character of the small, wizened face to the etchings from 1628 (B. 352 and B. 354). In them, however, the lighting is – especially in B. 352 – considerably more interesting than in the Vienna work, where the old woman's head is lit evenly. A similar frontal lighting of the face is also used in the *Old woman* (no. A 32) in Windsor Castle, with which our little painting shares the uncomplicated 'straight-ahead' stance. The placing in the picture area, and against a back-

Fig. 3. Etching by G. F. Schmidt, 1762 (reproduced in reverse)

ground suggesting hardly any room around the figure, is likewise remarkably uncomplicated compared to the *Self-portraits* nos. A 14 and A 19.

The way that areas of skin are suggested can to some extent be compared to that seen in the Turin *Old man asleep* of 1629 (no. A 17), with which no. A 27 moreover shares the motif, found in other Rembrandt works as well, of a slightly open mouth revealing teeth that are indicated with small blobs of white paint. No. A 27 shows some similarity to the 1630 *Old man in a fur cap* in Innsbruck (no. A 29), particularly in the treatment of the flesh parts. The way the chalky white highlights on the headscarf, which also partly provide the contour, are painted is very reminiscent of corresponding areas in the Amsterdam *Old woman reading* dated 1631 (no. A 37). These similarities with other Rembrandt works would seem to justify attributing the unusual little painting to him.

The signature is not clearly visible enough to play any part in making this judgment. A dating can be given in only approximate terms: there is a similarity of motif and artistic interpretation with the etchings of 1628, but it is difficult to put the painting technique in that year on the basis of comparisons; there are points of resemblance in this way of painting with some works from 1629–31, and 1629/30 seems a reasonable assumption for the date of no. A 27. If this is correct, this would be the first time the artist used the motif of a wrinkled hand seen in the light (cf. no. A 37).

As one can gather from the inscription on G. F. Schmidt's etching (see under *6. Graphic reproductions* below), the person depicted was already by 1762 being taken for Rembrandt's mother; this identification may have rested on an older tradition. The 1679 inventory of Clement de Jonghe (Münz II, pp. 210–211) includes among the copper plates by Rembrandt 'Rembrandts Moeder' (ibid., no. 10), though one cannot tell which etching this refers to. The same inventory also lists 'Een oude persiaensche vrouw' (ibid., no. 20) and a 'Sittende oude vrouw' (ibid., no. 71), and these can perhaps be identified with etchings that were also later looked on as showing Rembrandt's mother (B. 348 and B. 343 respectively). It is thus impossible to say with any certainty what views were held on this point in 1679. Rembrandt's mother, Neeltje Willemsdr. van Zuytbroek, was born in 1568 (cf. W. J. J. C. Bijleveld, *Om de Hoenderhof door Jan Steen,* Leiden 1950, p. 2, with a reference to Leiden municipal accounts for 1599), and was thus 62 years old in 1630.

Bauch[3] was the first to believe that Rembrandt's mother was here being shown as the prophetess Anna. This interpretation seems not impossible; the same model appears in the role of Anna in the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* (no. A 12). So far, however, no iconographic tradition has been demonstrated which has the prophetess depicted as a half-length figure seen at prayer, comparable with a Mater Dolorosa type.

Another possibility is that the picture does not relate to any specific biblical figure, but rather to old age and in particular to pious old age. As an iconographic analogy one might quote the engraving by Cornelis Bloemaert after Abraham Bloemaert (Hollst. II, no. 300a; our fig. 2) of an old woman – admittedly more simply dressed – with a rosary, which carries the inscription:

Quod trochus est puero, iuveni venabula, firmae
Aetati gladius, pietatis id arma senectae.

(What the toy hoop is to the child, what the hunting-spear is to the young man and the sword to the grown man, such the weapon of piety is to old age.)

It seems doubtful whether an enlarged copy mentioned under *7. Copies*, 1 below, showing a book, a crucifix and a rosary (?) in the background, has any relevance for an iconographic interpretation of the original; if it has, it would support that just given.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

Etching by Georg Friedrich Schmidt (Schönerlinde near Berlin 1712–Berlin 1765) (fig. 3), bearing the inscription *La Mère de Rembrandt du Cabinet du Sieur Godskoffsky/Rembrandt pinxit – G. F. Schmidt fecit, Berolini 1762.* An accurate reproduction in reverse; the only difference between the print and no. A 27 is the suggestion given in the print, by a small group of white flecks, of a decorative pattern on the inside of the headscarf, comparable to that in the *Old woman* (no. A 32) in Windsor Castle. It is possible that in the painting this pattern has been covered over with paint; there is a pattern of pimples in the paint in this position, more or less corresponding with Schmidt's white flecks.

7. Copies

1. Panel, 36.5 × 28 cm, a variant extended to knee-length. Wrongly as a Gerard Dou in the exhibition *Oude Portretten*, The Hague (Haagsche Kunstkring) 1903, no. 16, lent by Princess Cecilia Lubomirska, Krakow (illustrated in W. Martin, *Gerard Dou*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1913, Kl. d.K., p. 43 right). It shows, in the left background, a book, a crucifix and a rosary (?). It is unlikely that this copy reproduces the painting in Vienna in its original state; for one thing its composition is rather unhappy, and for another the existence of small copper plates prepared with gold leaf of exactly the same dimensions and coming from Rembrandt's entourage gives reason to believe that no. A 27 has not been cut down.
2. Panel, 23 × 17 cm, previously coll. Dr. Max Wassermann, Paris (photo RKD). A rather free copy, set in a somewhat wider framework. Signed and dated in left background *R. R. Boehmin geb: Dietrichin pinx: 1763:* Rahel Rosina Dietrich (Weimar 1725-Berlin 1770) was the wife of Carl Wilhelm Böhme (Grosspörthen, Saxony, 1720–Berlin 1795 (?)), who in 1761/62 left his position as a porcelain painter with Meissen and joined the porcelain factory in Berlin set up by Johann Ernst Gotzkowski (the then owner of no. A 27 – see *8. Provenance* below) at the wish of Frederick the Great. She was a sister of the painter Christian Wilhelm Ernst Dietrich (cf. E. Zimmermann in: Thieme-Becker IV, Leipzig 1910, pp. 195–196 under Böhme, Carl Wilhelm).

8. Provenance

*– In 1762 in coll. Gotzkowski (see *6. Graphic reproductions* above). The merchant Johann Ernst Gotzkowski (1710–1775) set up a velvet and silk factory in Berlin for Frederick the Great, and in 1761 a porcelain factory; in 1766 he became bankrupt (cf. Otto Hintze, *Historische und politische Aufsätze* II, 1908, p. 107ff). Presumably the copy described under *7. Copies*, 2 above was made when he sold the original, which reappeared in 1765 in the de Neufville sale in Amsterdam; it may perhaps have been exchanged with P. L. de Neufville for the Moscow *Incredulity of Thomas* (Br. 552), which was bought by the de Neufville brothers at the Roeters- van Lennep sale in The Hague on 30ff January 1759 (no. 1) and was bought by Empress Catherine II of Russia with the Gotzkowski collection in 1764.
*– Coll. Pieter Leendert de Neufville, sale Amsterdam 19 June 1765 (Lugt 1470), no. 81: 'Rembrant van Ryn, Een oud biddend Vrouwtje, halver Lyf geschilderd, als of het van Douw was. K. hoog $5\frac{1}{2}$ duim breed $4\frac{1}{2}$ duim [= 14.1 × 11.6 cm]' (Amsterdam feet) (Rembrant van Ryn, an old woman at prayer, painted half-length, as if it were by Douw. Copper.) (240 guilders to Locquet) (Hoet-Terw. p. 474, no. 79). In the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 'Rembrant van Ryn' has been altered to 'Rembrant van Ryns Manier'.
*– Coll. Pieter Locquet, sale Amsterdam 22–24 September 1783 (Lugt 3611), no. 323: 'Door denzelven. [Ryn (Rembrand van)] Hoog 6, breed 5 duim. [= 15.4 × 12.8 cm] Paneel. [Sic!] Dit is een biddend Besje met neergeslaagen Oogen en gevouwen Handen. zy heeft een rood Fluweele Kap op en een ruuw haire Mantel over de Schouders, de eerbied en aandagt hebben iets treffends, de Teekening en Couleur geeven een hooge ouderdom te kennen, en alle byzondere deelen zyn met zoo veel nauwkeurigheid als kunde behandelt, leverende dit kleine Schilderytje een bewijs uit van de groote bekwaamheden van deezen onverlykelyken Meester' (By the same [Ryn (Rembrand van)]. Panel [sic!]. This is an old woman at prayer with eyes downcast and hands folded. She has a velvet cap on, and a rough hair cloak over her shoulders, her reverence and devotion are striking, the drawing and colour indicate her great age, and all special features are done with as much accuracy as skill, this little painting providing proof of the great abilities of this incomparable master). (455 guilders to Fouquet).
– Mentioned for the first time in 1821 as forming part of the Czernin collection by H. Böckh, *Merkwürdigkeiten der Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien*, 1821/23[4].
– Coll. Count Czernin, Vienna, until 1980.

9. Summary

This small painting, the history of which can be traced back with fair certainty to 1762, is painted on copper with a gold ground, an unusual though not unique support and preparation layer. Although it does not fit easily into Rembrandt's early oeuvre, there are enough points of contact to make its authenticity acceptable, and a dating in *c.* 1629/30 the most probable.

REFERENCES

1 W. Froentjes, 'Schilderde Rembrandt op goud', *O.H.* 84 (1969), pp. 233–237, esp. 234.
2 Br.-Gerson 63.
3 Bauch 1933, p. 59; Bauch 1960, p. 170; Bauch 1966, 250.
4 [Catalogue] *Residenzgalerie Salzburg* . . . , 1962, no. 145.

A 28 Jeremiah lamenting the destruction of Jerusalem 1630

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM, INV. NO. A 3276

HDG 49; BR. 604; BAUCH 127; GERSON 24

Fig. 1. Panel 58.3 × 46.6 cm

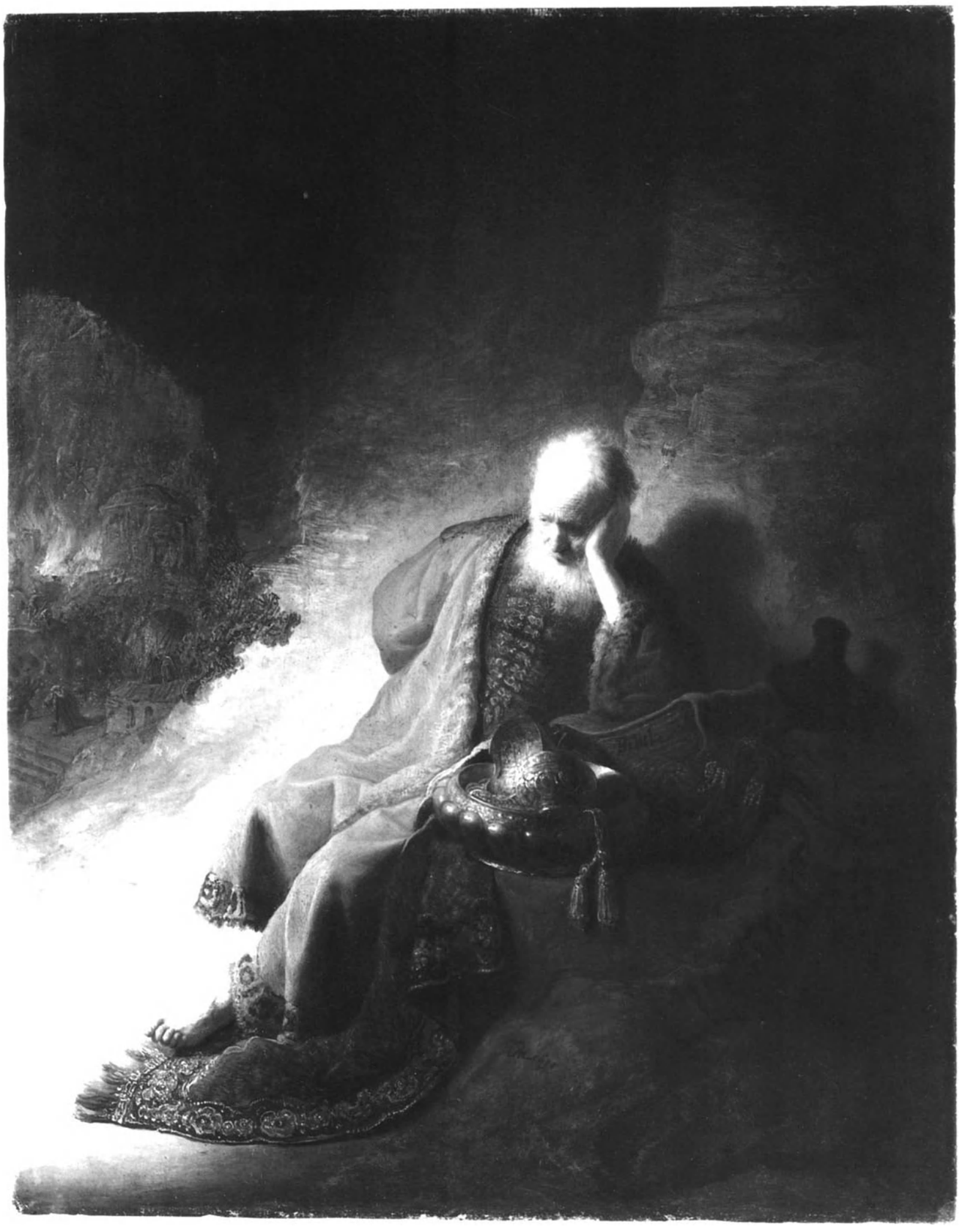


Fig. 2. X-ray

1. Summarized opinion

A very well preserved painting, reliably signed and dated 1630, that can be considered an authentic and very characteristic work from that year.

2. Description of subject

A grey-haired old man sits, with his head resting on his left hand, in front of a round column on a high pedestal seen dimly on the right. The light falls from the top left. He has his left leg almost fully stretched out towards the left, with the lower part of his right leg tucked behind it. His right arm is held behind his back. On a raised stone ledge beside him, which is partly covered by a dark-red velvet cloth with a richly-embroidered border, there are costly metal vessels, a book with the inscription *BiBeL* (on which he leans his left elbow), a bag, a shawl and a bottle. The bottle and his head throw their shadows on the pedestal. To the left, alongside the figure, a grey hazy area merges into the suggested shape of an archway forming part of the ruin-like setting in which the figure is seated. In the distance, through the arch and past some foliage, a burning city can be seen with a high, domed building and a city wall and gateway. A man is climbing a ladder against this wall, while a crowd of figures with spears fill the gateway, apparently entering the city. Outside the gate, beside a small building and trees on a broad flight of steps, a figure wrapped in a long cloak stands facing the left, with hands held over its eyes. Alongside this figure another runs towards the right. In the glow of the fire, above the town, a winged figure hovers with a flaming torch held in the right hand.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in the autumn of 1967 (J. B., B. H.), in good daylight and in the frame, with the aid of one X-ray film, covering the whole of the figure, from the museum.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 58.3 × 46.6 cm. Single plank. Back surface planed down to a thickness of 0.52 cm, and cradled.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): measured at upper edge, 237 annual rings heartwood (out of the 302 counted), datable as 1373–1609. Growing area: Northern Netherlands. Earliest possible felling date 1624[1]. Bearing in mind the great age of the tree, a total of 20 sapwood rings must be allowed for.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Light ochre colour, clearly visible in some of the scratches made in the wet paint to show braiding on the doublet and in the foliage to the left of the old man's elbow.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Paint samples were taken by the Central Research Laboratory, Amsterdam. In two taken along the upper left and right edges of the panel, a chalk and glue ground was found. An extremely thin layer containing oil as a medium was found on top of this layer, in a cross-section made from samples taken on the left edge of the dark area over the burning city. Grains of white lead could be distinguished in this layer, with occasional dark pigment particles. Since the samples had to be taken from the extreme edges of the panel, unambiguous interpretation of the cross-sections is difficult; these observations however point to the presence of a 'primuersel', of a composition basically similar to that usual in the grounds in the early Rembrandts.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Excellent. Cleaned in 1956, especially in the light areas. Craquelure: none seen.

DESCRIPTION: The illuminated parts of the figure and the area along his lefthand contour are painted fairly thickly, partly in fine dabs and partly in bolder strokes. The background is done in mainly broader strokes in a grey brushed out very thinly over the ground which shows through it. The most translucent paint is to be found in the rear wall above and to the left of the old man's head; the column and its pedestal are sketched in a similar manner, with an indication of profiles and of irregularities in the surface. Beneath the archway, which frames the upper part of the background done in a darker and opaque grey, the vista is likewise painted in for the most part very thin greys placed over the ground, with in the lighter areas the addition of a slightly opaque light green and a few strokes of ochre brown plus a little red for the orange of the glow from the fires. The small, winged figure holding a torch is sketched in this background with a few brushstrokes. The foliage alongside the view through the arch is painted quite differently, using short touches of thick green-grey, brown and a very dark grey, through which there are long, fine and generally tortuous scratchmarks.

A zone of light-grey paint runs along the lefthand outline of the figure; this is thickest, and coolest in colour, along the contour of the legs, where the brushstrokes follow the outline. This zone was painted in a relatively late stage, i.e. after the foot and before the tabard. It now stands out perhaps more distinctly than the artist intended; probably the adjoining and less opaquely painted area was in the same tint and has now changed colour slightly (which could explain the cloud-like appearance of the opaque zone). The tabard worn by the old man is in an opaque grey that appears to have a slightly purplish hue; it is quite heavily painted, with a sheen shown in a lighter tint part of which is painted in extremely fine brushlines in the form of a hatching. The fur edge of the tabard casts a black shadow, and is itself in fine touches of ochre-brown, ochre-yellow, grey and a little white, while the bottom edge of the garment is painted in grey and figured in green. The doublet is done in a rather opaque and quite dark green which slightly overlaps the paint of the vessels on the ledge; it has sharply-curved scratchmarks indicating braiding, which go through to the ground and to a flesh-coloured paint layer. The lit areas of skin are executed in extremely fine touches of an opaque flesh colour, while shadowed skin areas are in thinner ochre-brown with translucent patches alongside opaque grey areas.

The draped cloth, done with broad strokes of dark red, has a blue-green border with ornamentation heightened with thick dots and short strokes of yellow and grey, with a little white-yellow; in shadow these shapes continue in dark grey and ochre-brown. Where the light falls, the vessels on the ledge are shown in greys and ochre-yellow, with thick white highlights; the hanging tassels are in ochre-brown with some yellow. Inside the large basin, the shape of which is emphasized with thick, dark lines, one can see red beads. The book, the shawl on which it lies, the bottle and the bag are all shown in browns and black. The letters *BiBeL* are painted in black on the edge of the book-pages.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: In the cross-sections mentioned (under *Ground,* SCIENTIFIC DATA) a fragmentary thin layer containing some white lead, brown and blue pigment was found on top of the ground, covered by a layer showing a mixture of black,

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

ochre, some red ochre, fine azurite and a black pigment. Both layers show oil as a medium.

X-Rays

The X-ray image is rather amorphous in the drapery and skin areas, presumably as the result of a cautious brushwork gone over more than once. The highest lights in the hem of the dark red tablecloth and the metal vessels do however stand out sharply. The grey tabard appears as a fairly strong light area, as do the grey zone along the lower part of its lefthand outline and the lit areas of flesh (which offer little detail). The area of the green doublet shows up generally light, though in varying gradations that point to changes having been made in the figure's clothing; these changes are also visible elsewhere. In particular, the fur edging of the tabard seems in the X-ray to become less narrow towards the top, and to continue higher up against the head. There is a white line immediately next to the shadow this fur edging throws on the doublet. Various curved shapes run across the chest to the right, and then bend towards the man's left forearm (as can also be seen in a light line of relief in the paint surface). To the right of this curved line is a fairly strong concentration of white. One gets the impression that the figure was originally dressed in a garment that was either low cut or rent open at the front. There is a small, fine scratch along the curving edge of the neckline on the left. The scratchmarks in the braiding show up clearly. The man's left forearm is visible in a light area, presumably down to the elbow.

Signature

In the centre some way above the bottom edge, on the stone ledge beneath the still-life and written slightly downwards towards the right to follow the slope, in a dark grey-black ‹*RHL* (in monogram) *1630*›. The monogram and date make an entirely trustworthy impression.

Varnish

A thin layer of varnish, becoming thicker and irregular especially in the background, shows a fine horizontal craquelure but does not interfere with observation.

4. Comments

In the composition and scale of the figure no. A 28 is closely akin to works from 1629, in particular the Turin *Old man asleep* (no. A 17), but in the brushwork and the design the artist has clearly reached a further stage in his development. The composition has gained greatly in unity, through the fact that the figure leaning over to one side now describes a concave, three-dimensional diagonal that is emphasized by the distribution of light and dark and separates the bulky mass of the still-life and the column on the right from the distant view on the left. It is true that the manner of painting does, like that in the Turin work, make a clear distinction between the illuminated forms (given a plastic modelling in thick paint, and in some cases a high degree of detail) and the far thinner areas in the half-shadow and darkness; here, however, the latter have a translucency in the free brushwork of thin greys over the light ground that is entirely absent in the earlier painting (though that work does, admittedly, depict a virtually dark interior). This use of the reflective power of the ground, in fairly warm tints, is combined here with a subtle wealth of contrasting cool and warm colours.

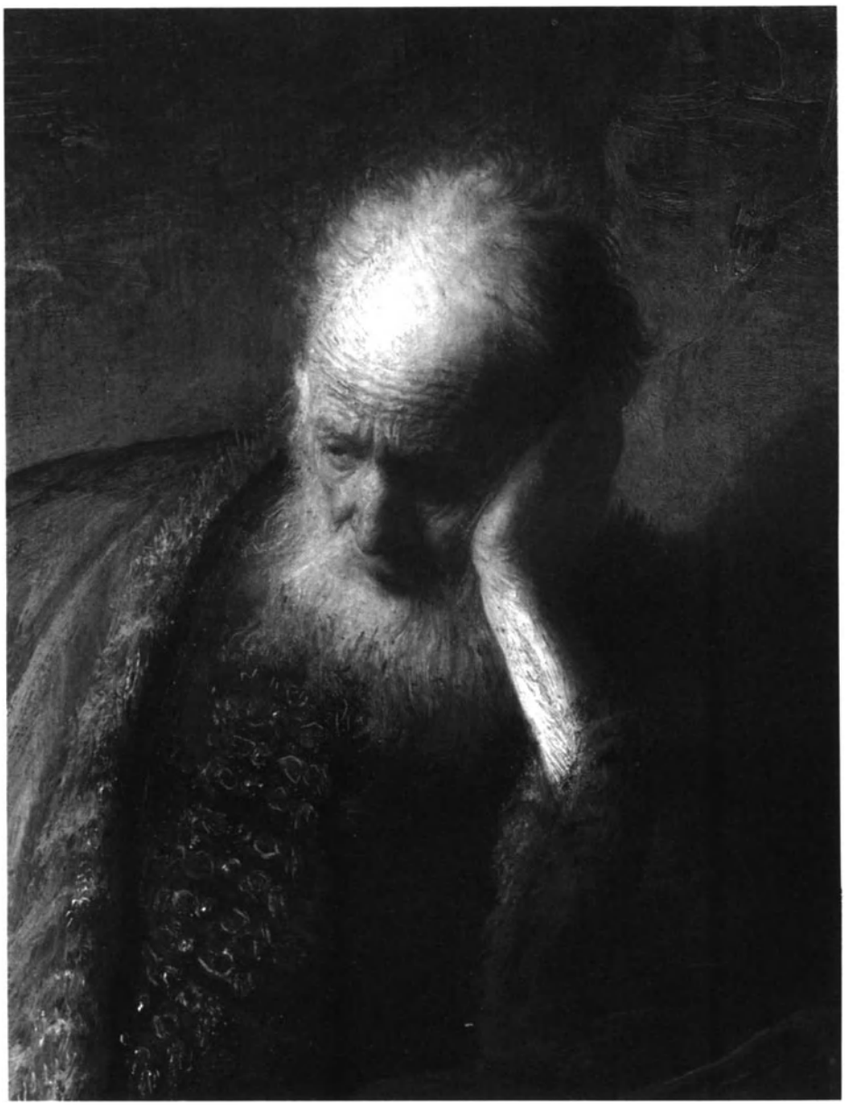
The sureness of the frequently fine-lined and almost draughtsmanlike use of the brush in the skin areas matches entirely what has been seen in Rembrandt's paintings of this type since, for example, the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13). All things considered, no. A 28 fits most convincingly into the series of authentic works, and also marks a change in the artist's understanding of the interplay between the ground and a translucently and loosely applied paint layer as one sees it used here and as it also occurs in the *Old man in a fur cap* in Innsbruck (no. A 29), again dated 1630. Considering, moreover, the remarkably good state of preservation, this work can be looked upon as an important record of Rembrandt's way of working in 1630. One can suppose that the very closely allied and now lost painting of *Lot and his daughters* (see Introduction, Chapter III, p. 36) was done in a similar manner.

From observations made from the paint surface and the X-rays, it may be inferred that some minor changes were made in the course of the execution. According to the X-ray and to microscope examination of the scratches in the braiding of the old man's doublet, the figure was originally depicted with chest bared and the present green doublet was painted over this. The thick light-grey paint along the legs was applied at a relatively late stage; contrary to Rembrandt's habit it overlies the paint of the foot. The grey tabard was however painted even later, as it overlaps the grey next to it. Changes appear, therefore, to have concerned mainly the figure's dress and its relation to the neighbouring area. The fact that the cross-section from a sample taken in the dark area over the arched view to the burning city shows a lighter layer underneath the dark top layer might indicate that the landscape with the burning city originally extended higher up.

The word *BiBeL* placed in black on the edge of the book pages arouses a certain amount of suspicion. No more recent date has been established for the black paint used, but the style of writing is curious and no similar inscription is to be found in Rembrandt's work. It does not appear in Schmidt's etching of 1768 (see *6. Graphic reproductions* below).

The attitude of the figure, and its function as a diagonal axis for the whole composition, represent the achievement of a formal unity which, more than in any of the previous works, places Rembrandt's artistic ideas at that particular moment in the mainstream of an international development that was governed mainly by Italian models. Van Rijckevorsel[2] was thus right to point to Italian prototypes for

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)



the Jeremiah figure. In particular the Peter figure in Guido Reni's *The apostles Peter and Paul* in Milan, datable in 1604/05 (C. Gnudi and G. C. Cavalli, *Guido Reni,* Florence 1955, no. 9) is in posture and function so close (in reverse) to Rembrandt's Jeremiah that a link between them is wholly probable, though it is not clear how Rembrandt could have known this composition. There were indeed prints after Reni listed in his possessions in 1656 (cf. HdG *Urk.,* p. 201, no. 209), but no early print after the Milan painting is known. Yet there is one hint that a composition like that of Reni was known in Rembrandt's circle in the early 1630s: one may assume that Jacob Backer's early painting *Hippocrates visits Democritus* (K. Bauch, *J. A. Backer,* Berlin 1926, no. 57 plate 11; in 1973 in coll. Dr. A. Bader, Milwaukee) is based on it.

It is evident, meanwhile, that Rembrandt was here using the same model as in a series of chalk drawings, etchings and paintings (see entry no. A 11, under *4. Comments*); in a number of drawings the model sits in a folding chair with armrests (Ben. 20, 40, 41). It is to be assumed that the situation of no. A 28 is based on the presence of a similar chair, which may have been included in a lost preliminary drawing.

The attitude of the figure is related to the usual formula for Melancholy (cf. R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy,* London 1964, passim, for instance the posture of 'Hypocondriacus'

Fig. 5. Detail with signature (enlarged)

on the title print of Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, ibid. pl. 112). It is not immediately clear in what thematic connection the figure is used here. The earliest mention of the painting, going back to 1767 (see *8. Provenance* below), refers to the figure shown as Lot, and the burning town as Sodom. Smith[3] catalogued the painting (on the ground of the etching, described under *6. Graphic reproductions* below, by Schmidt who did not specify the subject) once as *Lot in a cave* and once as *Anchises in a cave*. Vosmaer[4] reports these interpretations, speaks of *Le philosophe dans une grotte* and adds: '. . . ou une espèce d'allégorie en forme de *Vanitas*'. Michel[5] mentions for the first time the inscription of the word *BiBeL*, and describes the subject as uncertain. The interpretation of *Jeremiah lamenting the destruction of Jerusalem* seems to have appeared first in Bode-Hofstede de Groot[6], and it has since then found almost general acceptance in the literature (cf. for example, apart from articles dealing with Rembrandt, L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* II, 1, Paris 1956, p. 371; A. Heimann in: E. Kirschbaum (ed.), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* II, Rome-Freiburg-Basle-Vienna 1970, col. 391. Only van Gelder[7] has voiced doubts.

Though the inscription *BiBeL* is probably a later addition, a biblical subject must nevertheless be regarded as the most likely. In any event, Anchises was never depicted lamenting the destruction of Troy, but Lot does not provide any answer either – Sodom was not taken by soldiers, and Lot has never been shown mourning alone; nor does the figure at the top of the steps look like a pillar of salt. For the time being the most probable explanation seems to be that the attacked and burning city is indeed Jerusalem, being destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar as Jeremiah had prophesied and as is described in 2 Kings 25, 2 Chronicles 36 and at various places in the book of Jeremiah (32, 33, 39 and 52); the domed building shown could quite well represent Solomon's Temple[8]. There is nowhere any account of Jeremiah sitting lamenting outside the city; at most one might recall Jeremiah 32:2 and 33:1, where one reads that during the siege (but before the taking of the city) Jeremiah 'was shut up in the court of the prison, which was in the king of Judah's house'. But the picture could be, rather than a single biblical episode, a combination of motifs dictated by iconographic tradition. 'Der neben Jerusalem trauernde Jeremias ist [in the Middle Ages] die weitaus häufigste Einzelszene. Jeremias sitzt mit Melancholiegeste neben der belagerten oder bereits zerstörten Stadt, im Vordergrund die Blendung des Sedekias auf Befehl des Nabuchodonosor' (A. Heimann, loc. cit., and fig. 2: initial for Jeremiah 1 in the Stavelot Bible of 1097, British Museum Add. 28106, fol. 163 v.°). In the late-mediaeval *Speculum humanae salvationis* the lamenting Jeremiah, as a prefiguration of Christ entering Jerusalem, is illustrated either standing on a crenellated tower or wall or sitting on a hill outside a city (J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Mulhouse 1907–1909, p. 32, pls. 29, 105, 131; E. Breitenbach, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Strasbourg 1930, pp. 162–163). A link connecting Rembrandt with medieval iconography may be provided by illustrations in 16th-century printed bibles, where the Lamentations of Jeremiah are sometimes preceded by a woodcut showing the prophet seated in front of Jerusalem with his head resting on one hand (cf. fig. 6). A similar illustration, which was obviously meant to represent the prophet as the author of the Lamentations rather than at any particular moment from the biblical account, may well have been Rembrandt's point of departure. If he chose to depict Jerusalem as burning, the treasures from the Temple (which were carried off to Babylon) as lying next to Jeremiah, and King Zedekiah (who had fled from the city and, after being overtaken by the army of Nebuchadnezzar, had his eyes put out at Riblah) as the figure at the top of the steps with hands held over his eyes, the artist did not intend to represent any particular moment either but to illustrate Jeremiah's lament by adding to his figure various motifs indicating the downfall of Jerusalem. There remains to be explained the figure with short oval wings hovering above the city with a flaming torch, who has been noticed only by Réau (loc. cit.) and described by him as a demon kindling the fire. This may be correct – the wrath of God is repeatedly compared to fire in the Books of Jeremiah – but the appearance of this figure in a biblical scene is nonetheless surprising.

5. Documents and sources

None.

Fig. 6. Headpiece to the Lamentations of Jeremiah, in: *Den Bibel...*, Antwerp (Willem Vorsterman) 1532, fol. 101ro. Amsterdam, University Library

Fig. 7. Etching by G. F. Schmidt, 1768 (reproduced in reverse)

6. Graphic reproductions

Etching in reverse by Georg Friedrich Schmidt (Schönerlinde near Berlin 1712–Berlin 1775) (fig. 7), inscribed: *RHL* (in monogram) *van Ryn, pinx 1630. – g:f Schmidt fec: aqua for: 1768. / Dem Königl: Leib und feld Medico, Herrn Hoff-Rath F. G. Lesser gewidmet, / durch seinen freund Schmidt. / Tiré du Cabinet de Mr. César.* The etching reproduces the scene almost exactly; the framework is a little wider at both sides, so that the running figure seen in the vista through the arch is rather further from the edge. The shape of the bag has been misunderstood, and seems to have become that of a flattish hat. The flying figure in the glow from the fire and the inscribed word *BiBeL* are missing; whether the latter is due to carelessness or to the inscription not having been present at that time must remain an open question. Allowance should be made for the possibility of the etching having been made after one of the copies listed below under 7. *Copies*.

7. Copies

1. Coll. K. E. von Liphart, Dresden; dealer J. Preh, Würzburg (1941).
2. Private collection, Copenhagen.
3. Copy in reverse, most probably after Schmidt's etching, Glasgow Art Gallery, no. 305 (photo in the RKD, no. 4003).

8. Provenance

*– Anonymous sale Amsterdam 10 June 1767 (Lugt 1624), no. 13 [According to a note by J. van der Marck Ezn in a copy of the catalogue in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris, quoted by Hofstede de Groot (HdG 460), the collection sold then was that of 'Mevrouwe de Weduwe van den Heere Alewyn, geboore Geelvink, vrouwe van Mynden en de Loosdrechten'; as Mr. S. A. C. Dudok van Heel of the Municipal Archives, Amsterdam, kindly informs us, there is however no knowledge of a marriage between members of these families in the 18th century. Van der Marck's note must be taken to refer to the collection of Jacob Alewijn, whose widow, Margaretha Helena Graafland, died in 1766]: 'Rembrandt. Een extra fraai Stuk, waarin Loth verbeeld is, zittende in een Rots, en rustende met zyn linkerhand onder 't hoofd, en met de Elleboog op een Boek; voor hem staat een zilvere Schaal met eenige Kleinodiën, en in 't Verschiet ziet men de brandende Stad Sodom. Zeer krachtig en fraai van Coloriet, en uitvoerig op Paneel geschilderd. Hoog 23, breed 17½ duim [= 59.1 × 45 cm]' (Amsterdamse voetmaat). (Rembrandt [in the copies at the RKD and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, crossed through in ink: Van Vliet]. An extra fine piece, in which Lot is shown sitting in a cliffside with his head resting on his left hand, and his elbow on a book; before him stands a silver dish with some jewels, and in the distance one sees the burning town of Sodom. Very vigorous, fine in colouring and elaborately painted on panel. (100 guilders to Foucquet).
– Perhaps (if the etching by G. F. Schmidt mentioned under *6. Graphic reproductions* above was made after the original) in 1768 in coll. César, presumably in Berlin[9].
– Coll. Count Sergei Stroganoff, S. Petersburg, later Paris.
– Coll. H. Rasch, Stockholm; acquired by the museum in 1939.

9. Summary

In conception and manner of painting no. A 28 fits entirely into Rembrandt's work during the year of

1630, as indicated by the reliable signature. For one thing it clearly builds, in its composition, on work done in 1629; for another it shows, in the handling of paint, a greatly increased use of thinly-brushed greys over a ground that is allowed to show through, such as one finds in the Innsbruck *Old man in a fur cap* also dated 1630 (no. A 29) and from this time on in a number of works painted on panel. It is, partly due to its excellent state of preservation, a very important piece for understanding Rembrandt's development. One can deduce from it that Rembrandt's knowledge of, and interest in, Italian painting of the early Baroque had increased markedly in 1630.

The painting's pedigree can be traced back to 1768 but the subject depicted had been forgotten by that time. The attitude of the figure is typical of Melancholy and was already used for the lamenting Jeremiah during the Middle Ages. Rembrandt may have known of this through 16th-century bible illustrations, and his painting may well be interpreted as dealing with the same theme.

REFERENCES

1 Cf. Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, p. 491.
2 J. L. A. A. M. van Rijckevorsel, *Rembrandt en de traditie*, Rotterdam 1932, p. 80; cf. J. Bruyn, 'Rembrandt and the Italian Baroque', *Simiolus* 4 (1970), pp. 28–48, esp. pp. 32–34.
3 J. Smith, *A Catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French painters* VII, London 1836, nos. 9 and 190.
4 C. Vosmaer, *Rembrandt Harmens van Rijn. Sa vie et ses oeuvres*, The Hague 1868, pp. 2–3.
5 E. Michel, *Rembrandt, sa vie, son oeuvre et son temps*, Paris 1893, pp. 52–53.
6 W. Bode, C. Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt* I, Paris 1897, no. 39.
7 J. G. van Gelder, 'Jeremia treurende over de verwoesting van Jeruzalem', *Openbaar Kunstbezit* 7 (1963), no. 15.
8 R. Wischnitzer, 'Rembrandt, Callot, and Tobias Stimmer', *Art Bull.* 39 (1957), pp. 224–230, esp. p. 226.
9 *Catalogue of paintings, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam*, 1960, p. 261, no. 2024–A 5.

A 29 **Bust of an old man in a fur cap** (commonly called Rembrandt's father) 1630

INNSBRUCK, TIROLER LANDESMUSEUM FERDINANDEUM, CAT. NO. 599

HDG 677; BR. 76; BAUCH 124; GERSON 42

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved and authentic work from 1630, reliably signed and dated.

2. Description of subject

An old man is seen bust-length against a light background, with the body facing slightly to the left and the head turned a little to the right, the eyes again looking slightly to the left. He wears a tabard with a wide fur collar, over a doublet with slashes at the neck; on his head he has a tall fur cap that becomes wider towards the top, held on by a thin scarf wound round the head. The light falls from the top left.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in January 1969 (P. v. Th.) in good daylight and out of the frame. Infrared photograph and X-ray (copy film) received later from the Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, Zurich.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 22.2 × 17.7 cm. Thickness 0.7 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled on all four sides over a width of *c.* 2.8 cm.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellowish ochre colour is visible at many points in the background, especially along the top edge of the hat and at the shoulder outline of the fur collar, and over the whole of the collar itself. The ground also contributes to some extent to the colour effect here and there in the face, neck and hat. A very narrow strip of unpainted ground can be seen at the bottom centre, where the dark paint of the cloak terminates in a thick horizontal edge.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: The top and bottom edges have been slightly damaged. There is a small puncture in the right background, near where the hat bulges outwards on the right. A few small retouches are found in the left background, near the edge of the panel and level with the ear. Otherwise the condition is good. Last cleaned in 1957. Craquelure: not observed, other than in the retouches in the left background.
DESCRIPTION: The general picture presented by the paint layer is richly varied, clearly arranged and harmonious. The brushwork, without offering any impasto, includes both spontaneous strokes in the collar and background and carefully-measured and rhythmic series of small dabs in the fur cap, while the face has been done with a wide variety of supple touches that create the modelling. The overall image is given brilliance and plasticity by a frequent use of translucent shadow tones. A suggestion of a wealth of colour is produced by a very varied palette of greys and browns, to which the light, warm tone of the underlying ground invariably makes a contribution, plus a few accents of red placed near the eyes.

The part of the face in the light is painted using small brushstrokes in a flesh colour which both give modelling to the head and render the structure of the wrinkled skin. The man's right eye has a fair amount of detail. Around the dark grey iris with its black pupil the ground combines with the thin grey of the white of the eye; the borders of the eye are red, dark on the shadow side and becoming a pink in the light. At the lower border of the eye, three small dots of white on the left show the moisture in the eye. The eyelashes consist of three tiny yellowish-white hairs, set on top of the dark eye with small, quick flicks of the brush. Both eyelids bulge slightly, modelled in grey on top of the flesh colour. The crowsfeet wrinkles by the outer corner of the eye are done in a slightly impasted flesh tint; beneath the eye they are in a light grey placed on top of the flesh tone. The side-whiskers and shadow along the cheekbone are painted in small dabs of a quite dark grey. Small, light-grey highlights are placed along the edge of the jaw. The flesh-coloured ear, heightened with pink, has a light brown hole. The pronounced nose is executed in a flesh colour, with a hint of light grey laid along the ridge; the bridge is given shadows with small, crosswise strokes of grey, while the tip of the nose is accented with pink and a tiny trace of pure red. The fold running down the cheek from the nostril, in a brownish skin tint, is given a glow of light by a small stroke of grey. Broad, feathery strokes of dry paint have been placed on the grey moustache (into which a little ochre colour has been worked) to indicate the hairs. The slit of the mouth, in a flat dark grey, runs between the ruddy brown lips. The stubbly growth of beard is shown with light grey dots, followed by dots of a darker grey which increase in number until they finally coalesce and merge into an opaque dark grey shadow under the chin.

The side of the face away from the light is given very translucent shadows in a fairly dark grey, with the underlying ground showing through at the cheekbone and near the corner of the mouth. The ear and the reflection of light on the temple are done in touches of light grey. In this area the dark eye is indicated summarily though effectively: the pupil stands out hardly at all from the iris. The edge of the lower lid is coloured in a rather subdued red. The dark grey of the eyebrow continues into the corner of the eye, and becomes somewhat lighter along the nose, terminating at the ridge of the nose in small light grey strokes placed lengthwise.

The ground contributes subtly to the colouring of the almost black fur hat. The fold at the top right is shown by a small, thin stroke of light grey. On the left the illuminated side is done in small vertical grey stripes, running parallel to each other; here, a series of grey crosswise lines has been placed on the fold. At the sides of the hat, the edges have been painted on top of the grey background. The band of cloth wound round the hat is painted with long strokes in an ochre colour, with a little light and a little dark grey for the shadow. Where the bands of cloth cross over each other, a decorative motif in the material has been shown with ochre-coloured, grey and a few dark red strokes and dots.

The neck area has been executed in a translucent brown, with the underlying ground making its contribution to the tone. A misty grey overlies this, becoming opaque towards the throat where it is broken by four broad touches of light grey with a little ochre colour that indicate the rolled edge of the doublet. A number of grey transverse lines follow below this, indicating the slashes in the doublet. The fur collar is painted extremely thinly in brown, with the brush sometimes wiping and sometimes dabbing as a translucent layer of paint is placed over the light ground. At the shoulders the edges of the collar are painted well out over the background. In the largely very dark tabard the lively brushstroke becomes more and more visible as the tone lightens and the light ground beneath it increasingly shows through. On the right the edge shadow of the fur collar is marked more darkly.

The background, with the ground beneath constantly making its effect apparent, is painted freely in a light grey that shifts towards a darker and more opaque grey above and below

Fig. 1. Panel 22.2 × 17.7 cm (1 : 1)

Fig. 2. X-ray

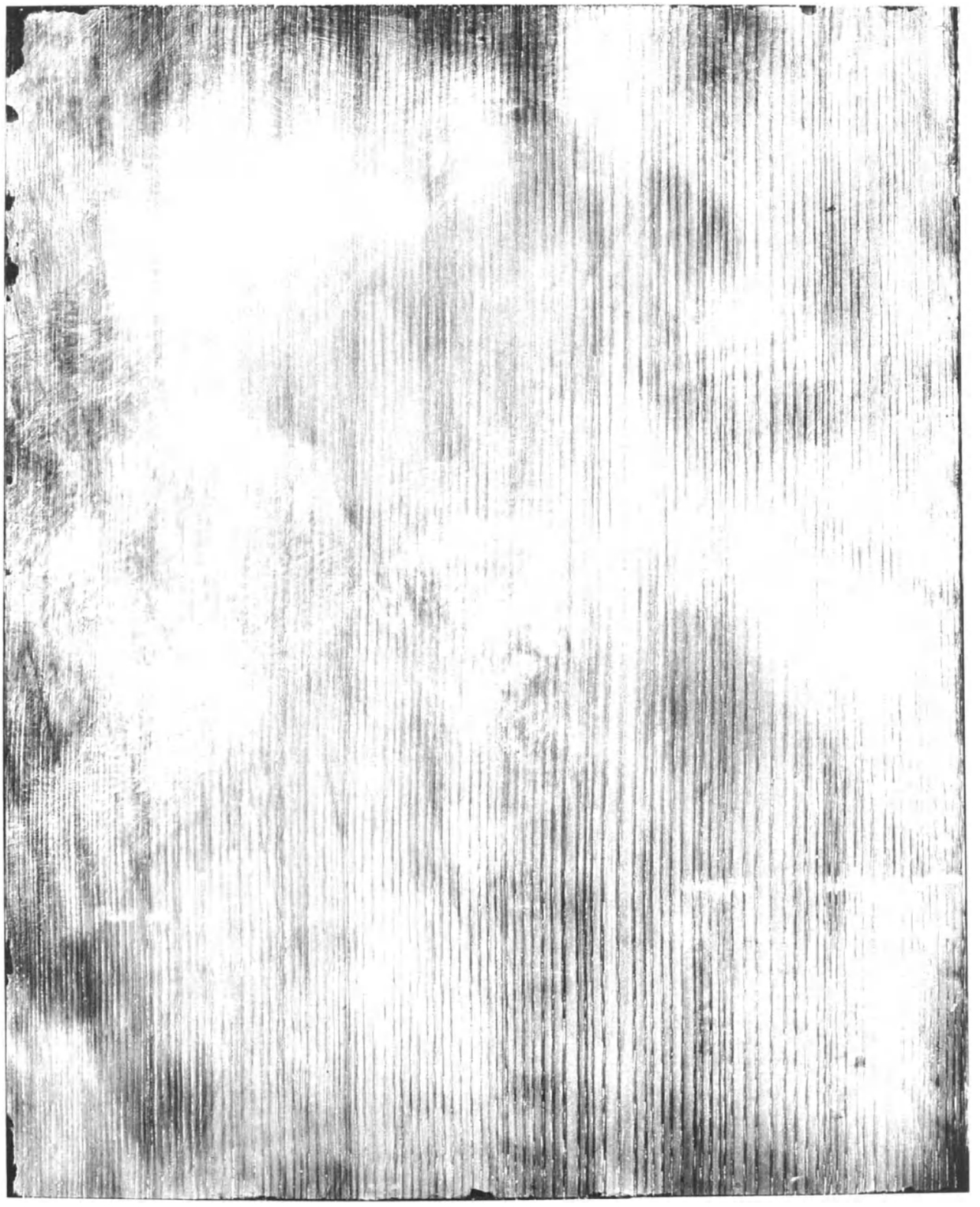


Fig. 3. Infrared photograph

on either side of the shoulders; at the bottom right the traces of a stiff brush can be detected in this. At either side of the head an opaque grey is placed up against the ears and hat, so that the ground ceases to be visible at these places. To the right above the shoulder, where the signature is located, the ground tone comes through as a rather ruddy colour, so that it there seems as if it is not the ground but the wood of the panel that is showing through.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The X-ray image shows no traces of changes having been made in the design while the work was being painted. The figure shows up to a large extent as a dark space set in the background, and the illuminated areas appear in total agreement with the picture we see today.

A certain patchiness of the radiographic image may be caused by local irregularities in the thickness of the priming layer; this would explain the occasional lighter and shadowy forms seen in the torso, hat and shadow side of the face that cannot be related to the picture. In the background this patchy image interferes with the uneven lighting on the freely-brushed light-grey background. The dark, narrow vertical bands that widen out towards the top and bottom edges of the panel may also have been caused by the preparation of the support. A primed panel was, as one learns from a number of recipes in de Mayerne's manuscript (J. A. van de Graaf, *Het de Mayerne manuscript als bron voor de schildertechniek van de Barok*, Utrecht 1958, p. 135 nos. 1 and 2), scraped flat with a knife; in doing this, the layer of priming was removed with extra force from small irregularities in the wood, which was planed with the grain. This hypothetical explanation is supported by the wood colour seen at the surface, showing through on the extreme right above the shoulder where the X-ray image is comparatively dark.

The light, horizontal patches a quarter of the way up the panel are caused by a substance (paint?) applied to the back of the panel.

Signature

Above the shoulder on the right, in black with a little grey on the *1*, the *6* and the tail of the *3* ‹*RHL* (in monogram) *1630*›. The design of the letters and numbers makes an impression of trustworthiness.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

Thanks to its clean and sound condition, the painting is easy to assess. The richly varied manner of painting can be clearly discerned everywhere, and nowhere does it cause the slightest doubt about its being autograph. The spontaneous treatment of the fur collar and the tautness of the painting of the hat and scarf, both perfectly matched to the portrayal of the materials; the functional thoroughness of the brushwork in the face, the light and fluent treatment of background, where on either side of the head there is rather more impasto to meet the need for an effect of depth – these combine in a seemingly self-evident execution that varies constantly from one part of the picture to the next, and which one cannot doubt should (on the grounds, too, of the comparisons we shall make below) be attributed to Rembrandt. The signature and date inspire confidence, and it may be accepted as firm fact that the work was produced in 1630.

There is thus a remarkable similarity with the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* of 1630 (no. A 28), where in the dark areas and the halftones in the foreground and background one encounters the same technique of using a hard brush in thin paint. Here, too, the light ground constantly contributes to the appearance of the paint surface, except on the left of the figure where there is a thin, opaque grey just like that on either side of the old man's head. From the pictorial viewpoint no. A 29 also has affinities with the way an old person's face has been painted in the *Old woman*, datable as 1630/31, in Windsor Castle (no. A 32) (where the fur collar, too, has been executed in a similar way).

Bode, in 1881[1], was the first to commend the subtle qualities of this painting, declaring that it far surpassed all previous works by Rembrandt showing the same sort of subject. Gerson[2], in contrast, wrote that the painting is indeed an original, but not one of Rembrandt's best works; as will be evident from what has been said earlier, we cannot share this view.

The model who sat for the old man, with his short moustache, little goatee and rather flattened hook nose, seems to be the same as the old man etched by Lievens wearing the same fur hat and seen in both left and right profile (Hollst. XI, nos. 38 and 39). The version in right profile (Hollst. XI, no. 39) belongs to a series of seven etchings entitled *Diverse tronikens geetst van J. L.* (various 'heads' etched by J. L.). After this version an etched copy in reverse was made *c.* 1635 probably by one of Rembrandt's pupils, and subsequently retouched by Rembrandt himself (B. 287). None of these etchings is dated. The model can also be recognized in a Rembrandt etching dated 1630 (B. 321), where he is shown wearing the same hat and tabard and facing three-quarters right, and in another 1630 etching (B. 304) where he appears facing the front and wearing a skullcap. The series of *tronikens* by Lievens shows a wide diversity of types and costumes, and by itself does nothing to indicate a closer interpretation. However, the fact that a similar kind of soft fur hat, widening towards the top, is worn by priests in the *Judas repentant* of 1629 (no. A 15) is an indication that the subject of no. A 29, too, is intended to be seen as a Jewish figure. This headgear does, indeed, match a high fur hat, made of sable and called a *kolpak*, worn by Polish Jews until well into the 19th century (cf. an etching

Fig. 4. Detail (3 : 1)

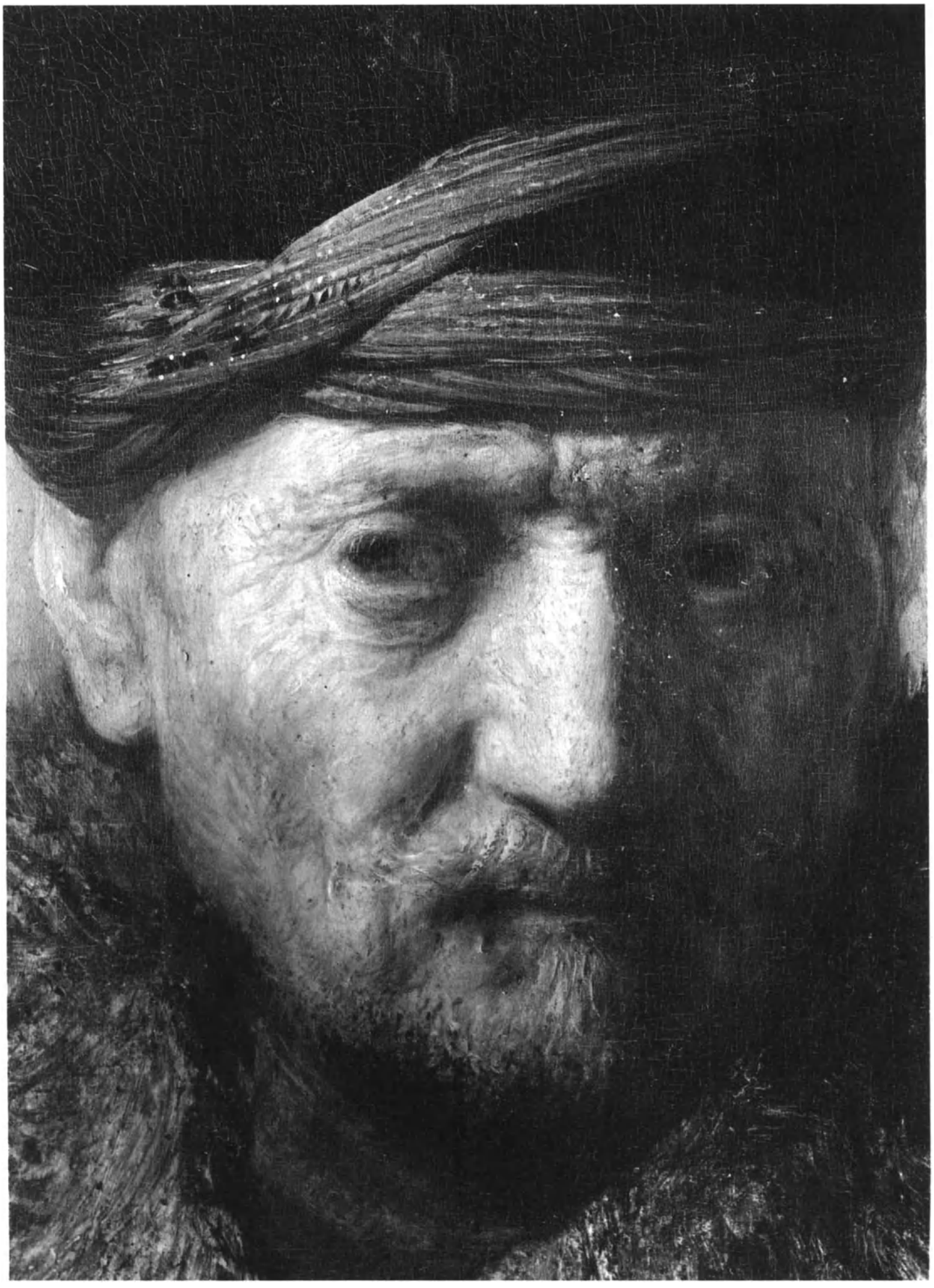


Fig. 5. Detail with signature (enlarged)

Fig. 6. Etching by J. G. van Vliet, 1633 (reproduced in reverse)

of 1765 by Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, see: A. Rubens, *A history of Jewish costume*, London 1967, p. 128, fig. 154). That the costume of no. A 29 was indeed seen as Jewish in the 17th century is further borne out by the fact that a French engraving based indirectly on it (see *6. Graphic reproductions*, 2 below) bears the title *Philon le Juif*; a painting (Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle, inv. no. 1147 as Ferdinand Bol) based on this (or directly on no. A 29?) shows, on the old man's hat, a slip of paper inscribed φιλῶν.

For the identity of the model, see entry no. A 17, under *4. Comments*. One may add to this that already in 1644 a Leiden inventory mentions 'Een out mans tronie sijnde 't conterfeytsel van den Vader van Mr. Rembrant' (An old man's head, being the likeness of the father of Master Rembrant) (HdG *Urk.*, no. 101).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

1. Etching in reverse by J. G. van Vliet (B. II 24), signed and dated: *RHL* (in monogram) *van Ryn in./JG* (in monogram) *van vliet fecit. /1633* (fig. 6). It is doubtful whether this etching was made directly after no. A 29 (see Introduction, Chapter III, p. 42). The main discrepancies are to be found in the tabard, which closes higher in the painting, and in the eye in the light, the top lid of which continues a little further outwards in the etching.
2. Engraving in reverse published by François Langlois alias Ciartres (Chartres 1589– Paris 1647), after the van Vliet etching (illus. in Münz[3] and S. Slive, *Rembrandt and his critics*, The Hague 1953, fig. 16). The low-fastening tabard shows that this print, like other prints published by Ciartres, is made after the etching by van Vliet and not after the original painting, as Münz[3] seems to imply. This engraving has the title *Philon le Juif* and forms part of a series of philosophers (cf. R.-A. Weigert, 'Le commerce de la gravure au XVIIe siècle en France. Les deux premiers Mariette et François Langlois, dit Ciartres', *G. d. B.-A.* 6th series 41 (1953), pp. 167–188, esp. p. 180).
3. Anonymous etching (Hollst. XVIII, p. 194, no. p; XIX, p. 315, fig. p) of poor quality. Probably after one of the two prints just listed.
4. Mezzotint by Michael Schnell (Bartenbach (Göppingen) 1721– Augsburg 1785). Inscription: *Ergo vivamus, dum licet esse bene / M. Schnell fecit – C. [um] G. [ratia] et P. [rivilegio] S. [uae] C. [aesareae] M. [ajestatis] – in Chalc. Gottl. Heüssü. sc. et exc. A. V.* Probably after one of the prints listed as 1. and 2. above.

7. Copies

1. Panel, 22 × 18 cm, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen inv. no. 1639; Schleissheim, Gemälde-Galerie (cat. 1909, no. 363). Acquired *c.* 1800 from the Galerie, Zweibrücken. To judge from the photograph, a quite accurate and rather poorly preserved copy, perhaps 17th century, with at bottom right a (false?) Dou signature: *GD* (in monogram). The monogram has been read as *CD*, and on the basis of this Chr. W. E. Dietrich (1712–1774) has been regarded as the painter. The most important difference from the original is in the imperfectly-understood, rolled and slashed part at the top edge of the doublet, which has been painted with short, straight strokes.
2. Panel, 21 × 17 cm, Schloss Pommersfelden, where it was perhaps listed (though with different dimensions) in the catalogue of 1719: 'Im kleinen Cabinet neben Ihro Churfürstlichen Gnaden Retirade, nr. 44: *Ein alter Manns-Kopff mit einer Blauen Hauben und Belz, Vom Rennbrand – H. 7 – B. 5 Zoll*' [= 17.7 × 12.6 cm] (cf. also no. 44: '*Ein, in gleicher Grösse, mit eigener Hand gemahltes Contrefait, Vom Rennbrand – H. 7 – B. 5 Zoll*'). Illus. in W. Martin, *Gerard Dou*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1913, Kl. d. K., fig. p. 26. Regarded by Martin (op. cit. p. 180) as an anonymous copy, after he had previously catalogued the painting as a doubtful attribution to Gerard Dou (W. Martin, *Het leven en de werken van Gerrit Dou*, Leiden 1901, p. 203, no. 134). Working from the unsatisfactory reproduction, it is impossible to tell whether this copy was made from that listed under 1. above or from the original.

8. Provenance[4]

– Came from England.
– Coll. de Hoppe.
– Coll. J. Tschager, Vienna, who in 1856 bequeathed the painting to the Museum.

9. Summary

This very well preserved and in all probability authentically signed painting is indisputably genuine and, like the *Jeremiah* (no. A 28), provides an outstanding example of the free and varied manner of painting – in some places opaque, but in large areas with the underlying ground contributing to the effect – which Rembrandt first used consistently in 1630 and applied in every part of his painting.

The headgear it shows is the *kolpak* commonly worn by Polish Jews, and later in the 17th century the figure was seen as the Jewish philosopher Philo.

REFERENCES

1 W. Bode, 'Rembrandts früheste Thätigkeit', *Die graphischen Künste* 3 (1881), pp. 49–72, esp. p. 61; idem: *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, Braunschweig 1883, pp. 380–381.
2 Gerson p. 490.
3 L. Münz, 'Rembrandts Bild von Mutter und Vater', *Jb. d. Kunsth. Samml. Wien* 50 (1953), pp. 141–190, esp. p. 165, fig. 185.
4 HdG 677.

A 30 The raising of Lazarus

[1630/31]

LOS ANGELES, CAL., LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART, MUS. NO. M. 72.67.2,
GIFT OF H. F. AHMANSON AND CO. IN MEMORY OF HOWARD F. AHMANSON

HDG ZUSÄTZE 107A; BR. 538; BAUCH 51; GERSON 16

1. Summarized opinion

A quite well preserved and undoubtedly original painting, which numerous and radical changes show to have been produced over a protracted period, probably during the years 1630/31.

2. Description of subject

The scene is based on John 11: 38-44. In a gloomy, cave-like setting partly closed off at the rear by a curtain one sees, set slightly at an angle to the picture plane, the grave from which Lazarus is rising; he is partly visible, and wrapped in grave cloths. Christ stands on the stone slab next to the opened grave, facing almost squarely to the front with his right arm raised, the mouth open, eyebrows raised and eyes open wide. His figure catches some of the light that comes from the left in a concentrated beam. The light falls most strongly on the woman bending forward towards the right at the foot of the grave; her loosely-hanging blonde hair identifies her as Mary, one of the sisters of Lazarus. She holds both arms spread outwards and forwards; her right hand stands out dark against her brightly-lit hair, while the left is lit along its outline and contrasts with Christ's robe.

In the dark area in the left foreground the figure of a second kneeling woman is vaguely seen, leaning slightly backwards, evidently the other sister, Martha; she has her right hand raised. Behind her a man with a cap and long beard leans forward, his back catching a bright rim of light. Behind Mary there are two more of the Jews who were present: an old man with the facial features ascribed to 'Rembrandt's father', dressed in a brocade garment, also leans forwards, while behind him and partly hidden behind Christ (with whom he shares a dim lighting) there is a simply clad old man with a long beard (perhaps one of the disciples) who leans slightly towards the left. To the right of Christ's left leg the heads of a few onlookers, who are apparently standing low down behind the grave, can be made out in the gloom. To the right of the otherwise indistinctly defined setting an oriental sword in a sheath, a bow and quiver of arrows, a plumed turban and a shawl can be seen hanging on the wall. Beneath these, along the short end of the opened grave, is a brick arch. Behind Christ to the right there is a curtain; it is not entirely clear how far this extends to the right. The extreme foreground, to the right of the figure of Martha, is vaguely discernible as uneven ground.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in November 1971 (B. H., E. v. d. W.), in good artificial light, with the painting cleaned but not yet restored, and not separated from the cradle. X-ray photographs were available during the examination, and prints from the X-rays and an infrared photograph reproduced by Johnson[1] were received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 96.2 × 81.5 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled and cradled; the cradle has since been removed and the remains of the original panel stuck to 'a moisture barrier, composed of two layers of end-grain balsa wood' (Johnson, op cit.[1] p. 32). A crack runs the full height just to the left of centre, first somewhat obliquely from the top down towards the right and then, at about 20 cm from the lower edge, in a curve to the bottom left. There are smaller cracks running parallel to the long one, on the left and – at the bottom – on the right.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Although no special investigation has been made of this point, there can in view of the identical pattern of cracks in the panel of the Berlin *Abduction of Proserpina* (no. A 39) be no doubt that the panel for no. A 30 too is a radial board, sawn through the centre of an oaktree (perhaps even the same tree).

Ground

DESCRIPTION: This cannot be given with any certainty, because of the various superimposed paint layers.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to the study by Johnson (op. cit.[1] p. 24), a yellowish-white layer (almost pure white lead), sometimes (ibid., figs. 7, 10) with light blue particles, sometimes (ibid., fig. 12) with fine black particles.

Paint layer

CONDITION: In general quite good, apart from restorations along the cracks and worn patches in the dark foreground, in the grave to the right of the figure of Martha, at the far left at the top in the background, and in Mary's face. Craquelure: as might be expected in a painting in which different layers of paint have been applied one over the other at various places (see *X-Rays*), the craquelure varies a great deal and often takes the form of shrinkage cracks. The onlooker leaning in on the extreme left, for instance, has a dense network of short, small cracks (Johnson, op. cit.[1] fig. 9), while the area with the dimly-seen heads to the right of Christ's leg has an irregular pattern of gaping cracks revealing a light layer, also shown by the X-ray at this point (ibid., fig. 14). Small irregular cracks are also visible in the lit side of Mary's face. In other areas the pattern is predominantly vertical (as at the bottom right) or predominantly horizontal (as in the right background by the still-life).

DESCRIPTION: In the highest lights the paint seems to have been heavily applied, as it does in a number of dark shadow lines especially in the objects hanging on the wall. Various greys dominate the colouring, and pronounced colours occur only in the most brightly lit parts and in the still-life items.

The skin areas and clothing of Christ are fluently painted, the garment with long strokes of grey and grey-brown running with the fall of the folds, the head in noticeably greyish flesh tints with a little red at the underside of the nose and a strong highlight in his right eye.

Similar opaque grey flesh tints are used for the head of Lazarus, with a purplish-seeming grey in the lips and eyelids. His shroud is executed subtly in shades of grey that hardly differ one from the next.

The bearded onlooker on the left next to Christ has a more orange-toned colour in his face, which is given plastic form with numerous small strokes and dabs and with highlights on the nose. His beard is rendered with long, fine strokes of brown and occasional touches of white. Otherwise, grey in varying gradations predominates in this figure.

The old man leaning forward above Mary, seen in a stronger light, is done in mainly small strokes of a thicker paint, which even in the shadow area does not become thin. In the head (reproduced in enlargement by Johnson, (op.cit.[1] p. 19) the brushstrokes follow the shapes of the face and the wrinkles, and the colour varies from a yellow-brown flesh tint to warm grey and brown in the shadow, a cool grey in the outline of the jaw and chin and in the moustache, and a fairly strong red in the drawing of the eyes and the internal detail of the ear. Fine, small white highlights are found on the temple, the cheekbone and the man's right eye. Small scratchmarks, exposing an underlying black, mark the hair at the temple and the beard at

Fig. 1. Panel 96.2 × 81.5 cm

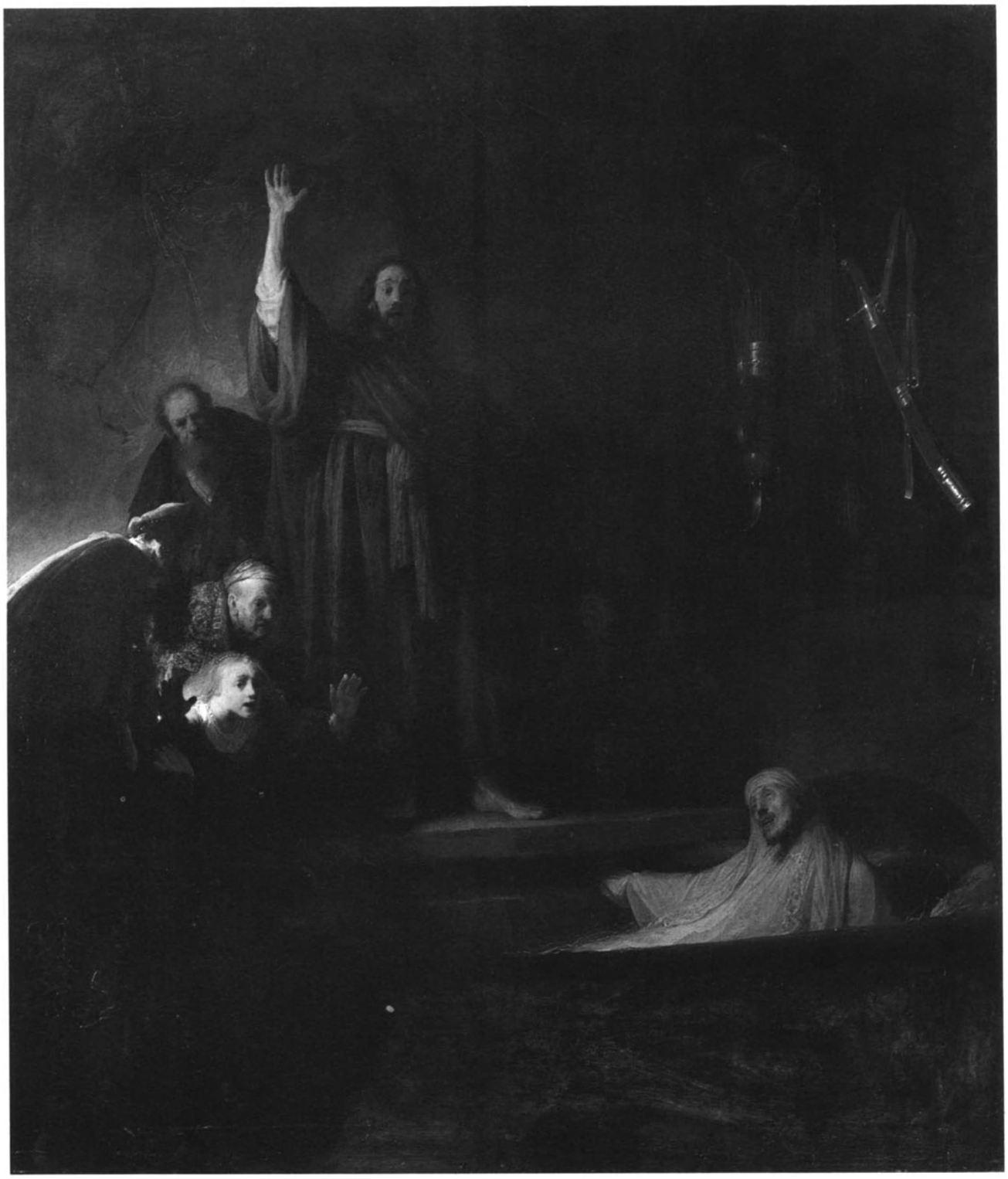


Fig. 2. X-ray

the bottom of the cheek. The same yellow-brown that is seen in the face recurs in the clothing and headgear, with on top of it short lines of light yellow and white that suggest a sheen and a pattern; particularly in the top of the cap and here and there in the clothing there are small strokes of the same cool grey that appears in the face.

No brushstroke can be detected in the pale, illuminated skin colour used for Mary. The light blonde hair is suggested with a few fine lines, and part of her right hand is let into this; her left hand is shown summarily, with a few lines of light to mark the edges.

The man leaning in from the left is lit most strongly where there are boldly painted highlights on his cap and dark purplish-red cloak, and on his neck where thick dabs of light yellow are placed over a darker skin tone. On the shadow side of his face, done in a greyish brown, the eye is indicated with a little black and the shadows with a dark brown.

The heads in the shadowy area to the right of Christ's legs are sketched rapidly, with the forms hinted at in a dark grey-brown; a light layer can be seen through an erratically-patterned craquelure.

The plumed turban hanging on the wall on the right is painted quite precisely, using a subdued red and a muted blue-green. Fine scratchmarks run down the folds of the hanging shawl. Highlights on the metal parts of the red-covered quiver, the bow and the sword are picked out with dabs and dots of ochre-yellow and white. Johnson (op. cit.[1] p. 24, fig. 11) found golden particles in the flat red of the sword-sheath.

The brick archway behind Lazarus's head is in an opaque grey, as are the stone slab and the grave itself. The lower edge of the grave merges into the (probably worn) area of foreground, where broad brushstrokes in a translucent brown placed over a light underlying layer offer an indistinct picture.

In the background, which from a warm, opaque grey above the back of the man leaning in from the left shades upwards into a darker and generally cooler grey, there are numerous indications of a rock-like structure together with – to the left of Christ's raised arm – scratchmarks that might represent foliage. A horizontal, and occasionally slightly diagonal pattern of brushstrokes is seen along the whole of the upper edge.

One can moreover see, in colour or in relief, a number of changes of form that can be interpreted as pentimenti, and partly (as will be seen from the X-rays) as the remains of a radically different composition. On the left, above the contour of the back of the man leaning inwards and along the right arm of the upper of the two old men next to Christ, one can see another, slightly curved contour. By the elbow and below the wrist of Christ's raised arm the outline has been corrected.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Johnson (op. cit.[1] pp. 24–27, figs. 7, 8, 10, 12) describes and reproduces four cross-sections:

1 From the grey background (ibid., fig. 7), counting from the ground upwards: a very fine black layer and a homogeneous grey surface layer.

2 From the dark red cloak of the figure leaning in from the left (ibid., fig. 8), counting from the ground upwards: a grey layer with charcoal-black particles, a light olive-green layer, a thin blackish-brown layer and a dark red with large white particles.

3 From Lazarus's grey shroud (ibid., fig. 10), counting from the ground upwards: a thin brown-black layer and a light grey, homogeneous layer.

4 From the quiver in the still-life (ibid., fig. 12), counting from the ground upwards: a thin brown-black layer, an olive-grey layer with white particles and a compact dark red layer with tiny golden particles.

The complex layer structure shown in these cross-sections must be interpreted in conjunction with a study of the changes made in the composition, as evidenced especially by the X-rays. On no account can they be taken, as they stand, as indicating Rembrandt's normal method of achieving particular colour effects.

X-Rays

The X-ray image differs greatly from what the present picture would lead one to expect. Where the forms seen today do appear in the X-ray, they often do so vaguely, and are often interfered with by others. Extensive light areas, partly intersected by dark stripes (the result of paint having been scraped away while it was still slightly soft) are found particularly in the upper right quadrant.

The now mainly dark foreground is occupied in the X-ray by a light area starting just inside the righthand edge and continuing to the left; around the foot end of the grave this is bounded at the top by a dark space describing two curves, while at the lefthand end it rises to roughly where the centre of Martha's figure is today. Martha's figure is shown mainly by a vaguely discernible dark shape at the lower edge, corresponding to the bottom outline of her garment; this rather darker patch merges into a horizontally-limited dark area in the extreme bottom lefthand corner. From this it may be deduced that in the first lay-in the lighting of the scene was different: light falling from the left illuminated the foreground, in which were left the dark shapes that might have belonged to a figure whose head could have been in a dark reserve just to the right above Mary's head. This area is now partially occupied by the figure – conceived later – of Martha, in the extreme foreground. Probably also connected with this lighting is the fact that the edges of the grave and the cover slab show up partly as a very definite white, in which there is a dark reserve beneath Christ's left foot. However it is improbable, since the strong white edges cut through other white patches as well as the reserve just mentioned, that they formed part of the first essay at the composition. The same applies to Lazarus's shroud and the masonry arch, which for the most part show up as relatively light.

The changes in tonal value extend to large areas of the painting. The background on the left next to Christ appears surprisingly light, but this applies even more to the region on the right next to his shoulder; in areas that are now entirely dark, light patches join one onto another downwards and to the right, the lightest to the right of his legs (where there are now the heads sketched in the semi-darkness). A light patch of irregular shape is also found in Christ's legs immediately to the right of Mary's left hand. The horizontal brushstrokes noted in the paint surface along the upper edge give a white radiographic image, especially strong at the right.

In the righthand part of the painting the X-ray shows groups of parallel lines, roughly vertical or tilted slightly towards the bottom right – the dark traces of what appears to be a mechanical operation to remove a layer of previously-applied paint; understandably, Johnson (op. cit.[1] p. 21) speaks of 'a total scraping away of an earlier image in the upper right quadrant . . . ' (though some of the dark marks continue past Lazarus and down to the bottom edge). Neither the areas affected by this treatment nor the light patches in the centre of the picture are (with one exception we shall describe in a moment) readable today as forms; but if they can indeed be understood as being the vestiges of forms (and not, for instance, light layers used to cover over previous, discarded forms) they bear out the earlier assumed lighting for the picture, with the light falling from the left and penetrating far over to the right.

The illuminated forms present in the paint surface today are to a great extent recognizable in the X-ray, though often with

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1.5)

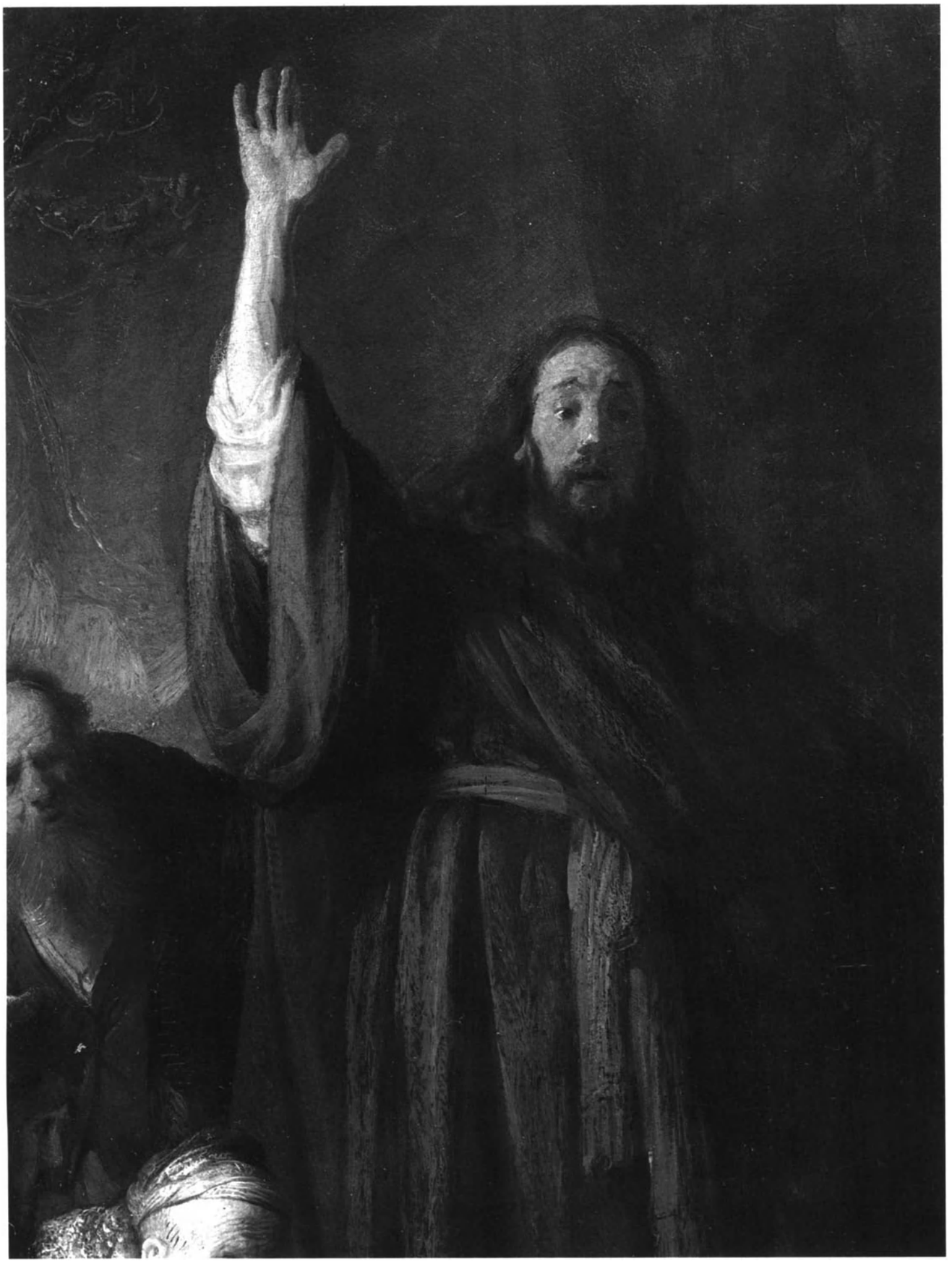


Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1.5)

Fig. 5. X-ray

Fig. 6. Rembrandt, *The raising of Lazarus* (turned into *The entombment of Christ*), dated 1630, red chalk (Ben. 17). London, The British Museum

very little clarity or continuity. This, too, makes one suspect modifications of a more or less drastic kind. Thus, the drapery of Christ's robe can be followed fairly readily (though not where the outlines are concerned), but his head, shoulders and right arm seem to have been gone over again or to interfere with other forms laid-in earlier. Mary is clearly discernible, but on the evidence of aberrant accents of light and the irregular craquelure on her forehead there must have been a different initial version of this or some other form. The same is true for the man leaning forward behind Mary. The onlooker at the far left appears quite plainly where the lit edges of his form are concerned, but he overlaps other forms; the latter is, as has already been said, true of Martha as well.

Finally, the X-ray clarifies one pentimento that has already been noted, and reveals a second. The pentimento along the back of the onlooker leaning in from the left and the arm of the onlooker next to Christ does not, as Johnson (op. cit.[1] p. 21, fig. 6) believed, turn out to be an earlier version of the back outline seen today, but is the space left for the outline of a left shoulder and raised arm belonging with the uncovered head of a man in a reserve at the far left (presumably in two positions); this man's outstretched left hand must have been in the position now occupied by the face of the onlooker next to Christ, which consequently appears unclear in the X-ray. The space left for the man with his left arm outstretched is in a later stage largely taken up by the onlooker leaning in from the extreme left. We know how the intended figure would have looked from Rembrandt's etching B. 73, where a man is seen with both arms outstretched. Moreover, discrepancies between the reserve for the head and left shoulder of the onlooker next to Christ and this figure's present form and a few reserves to the right of this, now partly covered over by the paint of the background and Christ's sleeve, give the impression that the man with outstretched arms was in another (and presumably later) stage seen in this position, further over to the right.

The second pentimento, observed only in the X-ray, relates to the irregularly shaped light patch already mentioned in Christ's legs, above and to the right of Mary's present left hand. This patch certainly, as Johnson assumed (op. cit.[1] p. 21, fig. 5), marks the earlier position of Mary's hand, but it does not have the shape of a hand: it suggests, rather, a flapping cloth hanging down from and to the left of her hand, with the latter stretched out further and slightly higher. This motif, too, has been retained in etching B. 73. The relationship of the painting with this etching will be discussed below under *4. Comments*.

The changes, which can still not be interpreted clearly in any detail, and the associated complications in the structure of the layers of paint, are evidence for an interpretation of the cross-sections published by Johnson as being unusual rather than representative of Rembrandt's working method.

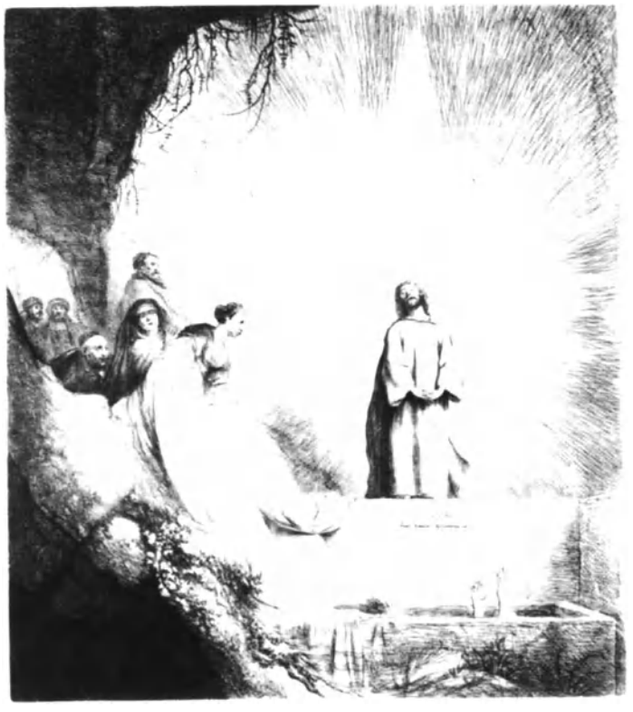
Signature
None.

Varnish
No special remarks.

4. Comments

It must be said, first of all, that there can be no doubt as to the authenticity of no. A 30. In both details and the essential conception the similarities it bears to a number of works from 1629/30 are sufficient to warrant certainty on this point. This applies, where component parts are concerned, to the figure of Christ, which with its frontal pose in a subtle lighting and the plastic suggestion of the drapery comes close to the Nuremberg *S. Paul* (no. A 26) and to the Philistine in the Berlin *Samson and Delilah* (no. A 24). There are numerous points of similarity with the *Judas repentant* dated 1629 in a private collection, England (no. A 15). These include details such as the type and execution of the old men on the left who appear in both works, leaning forwards and illuminated obliquely from behind, of the hanging still-life on the right and of a repoussoir figure on the left (in both cases added at a later stage); there is also the distribution of light (with the highest light well to the left of the point of dramatic focus) and the changes which – on the evidence of the X-rays – were made in this in the successive stages. The attribution and the dating around 1630 – with a caveat in respect of the interim periods for the various changes in composition, the duration of which it is hard to estimate – can therefore be taken as definite. The exceptionally large panel is a plank sawn through the very centre

Fig. 7. J. Lievens, *The raising of Lazarus*, etching



of the treetrunk – a radial board – probably imported from a region not yet identified, and very similar indeed to the panel used for no. A 39. The striking differences in brushwork, added to a number of radical pentimenti, point to a complicated sequence of production.

To this it must at once be added that the information that the painting itself provides about its genesis, and a comparison of it with Rembrandt's and Lievens' versions of the same subject (especially Rembrandt's etching B. 73) do throw some light – yet they do not answer all the questions, and in particular do not permit a precise dating for no. A 30.

A great deal of attention has already been paid to the comparison of this work with other representations of the same subject by Rembrandt and Lievens. This comparison takes in the following works: a drawing in red chalk by Rembrandt, in London (Ben. 17; our fig. 6), with a group of the *Entombment* added by the artist in the same material and with the date 1630; a painting by Jan Lievens in Brighton (Schneider no. 31) signed and dated 1631; an undated etching, matching this latter painting in reverse, by Lievens (B. 3, Hollst. XI, no. 7; our fig. 7); and Rembrandt's etching B. 73 (fig. 8) which is undated and usually taken as *c.* 1632.

The drawing in red chalk, dated 1630, shows a great resemblance to Lievens' etching (and thus also, in reverse, to Lievens' painting of 1631); to a lesser extent, in particular in respect of certain motifs (such as the frontal pose for Christ and the presence of a figure having the features of 'Rembrandt's father') this is true also of no. A 30. A great many authors have, on the grounds of these resemblances and of the dates on the London drawing (1630) and the Lievens painting (1631), thought that Lievens based himself on a composition by Rembrandt, using it first in reverse in his painting and then in his etching – cf. Münz[2], Benesch (Ben. 17), Bauch[3] and Haak[4]. Saxl[5] put forward convincing arguments that make it likely that Rembrandt's drawing dated 1630 is a copy after Lievens' etching, and was supported in this by van Rijckevorsel (J. L. A. A. M. van Rijckevorsel, *Rembrandt en de traditie*, Rotterdam 1932, p. 87) and Schneider (pp. 38, 261); the latter made the explicit assumption that Lievens' etching was produced subsequent to his painting of 1631, but offers no explanation for the then contradictory fact that the London drawing is dated 1630. The simplest explanation for this would be to assume that this date (if it does indeed come from Rembrandt's own hand) was added by him later on, and incorrectly. Whatever the relationship between Rembrandt's drawing and Lievens' etching may be, there is in both these theories the implication that Rembrandt's etching B. 73 forms the end of a series of works by him at the beginning of which stand the London drawing and no. A 30. Stechow[6] considered it 'evident that the composition of the drawing of 1630 was still very much in Rembrandt's mind when he painted the Los Angeles picture', and thought that 'the painting apparently has its firm place between the drawing and the etching of *c.* 1632'.

It now appears that the relationship of no. A 30 to Rembrandt's London drawing is much less close than that to his etching B. 73. There are indeed few similarities with the drawing, whereas motifs from various stages of the painting match motifs which appear (in reverse) in the early states of the etching:

1 In the X-ray one sees, on the extreme left, the reserve for a bareheaded man with his left arm outstretched and the other arm cut off by the picture frame (and probably with his head essayed in two positions); less clear signs make one suspect that a similar man, this time with both outstretched arms visible, was placed in a later stage on the right above the first and vertically above Mary. This same motif appears in reverse in etching B. 73, in the first five states bareheaded and in later states wearing a cap, placed above Mary and somewhat higher up in relation to her than in the second version just mentioned of this figure in the painting. In the etching his hand, thrust out obliquely forward, is for the most part in shadow, and has the same sort of depth-creating function that Mary's hands fulfil today in

the painting. If one can assume that a similarity in motifs means that the works were produced simultaneously, then this link would indicate that the (presumed) second version of the motif in the painting came about at roughly the same time as the early work on the etching, and that the alteration in the painting that led to it being covered over (by the onlooker alongside Christ, and Christ himself) represents a later stage.

2 The X-ray shows that the present figure of Martha was painted only after the bottom lefthand corner of the composition had been laid-in totally differently. The figure visible today is a somewhat simplified version, placed closer to Mary, of the corresponding figure seen in reverse in the first four states of the etching. From this it can again be deduced that the painting was in an advanced stage when the figure of Martha in its present form was put into both the painting and the etching. The change that this figure underwent in the fifth and later states of the etching shows that Rembrandt continued to work on the etching when no. A 30 was – in this area at least – already completed.

3 In the X-ray there is a white radiographic image at the position of Mary's left hand (which is a little more outstretched). This motif matches accurately one found (in reverse) in all states of the etching, where Mary's hand is covered by a flapping cloth. Since she is, as she leans forward, quite close to the head of Lazarus it is clear that this is meant to be the sudary mentioned in the biblical text (John 11: 44: '.. and his face was bound about with a napkin'), which she has removed from Lazarus's face. From this one may take it that in the stage of the painting where Mary was holding the napkin in her hand, the head of Lazarus must have been much closer to her, as it is in the etching. The X-ray does in fact show a dark space left in the white between the edges of the grave and the slab, roughly below the present position of Christ's left foot. It is reasonable to assume that at an earlier stage Lazarus's head and upper body were just to the right of centre, almost as centrally placed as in the etching. This would agree with the direction in which most of the figures – most of all Mary herself – are looking. Taken together with the observation discussed under point 1 above, this lastnamed alteration gives reason to assume that the shifting of the position of Lazarus and the suppression of the napkin took place at the same time as the painting over of the man with outspread arms, and at the same time as Christ was put in his present position (impossible so long as the man with outstretched arms was still partly at that point in the picture) and the heads seen in the dark area by his left leg were painted. Since all the forms eliminated in this stage of the painting are still to be found in the etching, it is probable that the etching was already in an advanced stage of completion when this alteration was made.

To sum up, one can assume that the painting is more likely to have been the first essay than the etching, with – on the X-ray evidence – a light foreground in which (to judge by the dark reserve bounded by two curves) there was probably a quite large figure on the left, with Lazarus's head just to the right of centre of the scene, and probably with a man with one outstretched arm on the extreme left. Prior to, or together with, the work on the etching this latter figure was shifted to the right and slightly higher up, and Mary holding the napkin and the dark repoussoir figure of Martha were painted on top of the earlier figure(s)in the foreground, where the lighting was considerably reduced. This 'second' stage is recorded in the etching. Only in the final stage, when the broad lines of the composition of the etching were firmly fixed, was Lazarus moved across to the right – though most of the figures are still looking at the place where he was originally!; were the sarcophagus, the cover slab and the masonry arch given their present form; was Mary's napkin suppressed; was Christ placed in his present position, previously partly occupied by the outstretched left hand of the man above Mary; was this latter man, with his forward-directed gesture, replaced by the present neutral onlooker beside Christ; and was the man with a cap leaning in from the extreme left towards Lazarus in his new position added (even in the paint surface he clearly represents a different paint layer from Martha). The old man immediately above Mary (with the features of what is known as 'Rembrandt's father') was presumably inserted only at a late (though not necessarily the final) stage of the painting.

If one therefore breaks down the sequence of the painting's production into, broadly, three main stages, the first 'state' of the painting seems to have some motifs in common with etching B. 73 but to differ considerably from it in composition, lighting and the filling of the foreground. The second 'state' of the painting must have been much closer to the etching as we know it from its first four states: the configuration of the man with arms outspread, Mary with the napkin in her hand and Martha shrinking back (all three rather less spaced out from each other), and the position of Lazarus vis-à-vis these figures, are in the painting in agreement with the corresponding features in the etching. After this, the two compositions diverge: the etching has, from its fifth state onwards, some not unimportant changes of detail (the figure of Martha is totally

Fig. 8. Rembrandt, *The raising of Lazarus*, etching (B. 73 II, reproduced in reverse)

altered in V, the man with outspread arms is given a cap in VI, and so on), and the painting undergoes a radical reorientation, with the result that Martha and Mary (without the napkin) form the only motifs that the etching and no. A 30 still have in common. The changes one must assume in the painting strongly remind one, incidentally, of those that must have been made in the *Judas repentant* (no. A 15), where the lighting was similarly drastically altered and figures were moved so that their final position no longer entirely matched the direction of gaze of the participants.

There is still the question of what was shown in the righthand half of the painting in the two earlier

stages and, especially, of where Christ was standing. As has already been seen, the radiographic image in this part of the painting is confused, and gives the impression of painted forms having been scraped away in the same manner as one finds in nos. A 33 and A 39; even when read in conjunction with the etching, the X-ray provides no clear answer. Bearing in mind, however, the similarities noted between the second 'state' of the painting and the etching in the lefthand half of the composition, there is justification for the working hypothesis that the composition was also otherwise (perhaps in a somewhat more compact form) in agreement with that of the etching. In this connexion, a discussion of the date and significance of the etching might be of some interest: it is usually dated as *c.* 1632, and looked on as a workpiece from the beginning of Rembrandt's Amsterdam period. A dating as late as this cannot of course be reconciled with the supposition developed above of a largely contemporaneous production of the etching and of no. A 30, for which a dating during the final years in Leiden remains far and away the most probable. An earlier date for the moment at which Rembrandt made a start on the etching is however perfectly defensible. In view of the similarity in the lighting and rendering of depth with the *Jeremiah* dated 1630 (no. A 28), it is not unlikely that etching B. 73, too, was begun in that or the following year. The signature *RHL* (in monogram) *van Ryn*, which Rembrandt used (as far as one knows) only in 1632 appears on the first state and shows that this was not completed until 1632. The difference in format, conception and technique from all other etchings from the latter Leiden years would then be explainable only from a presumed intention on Rembrandt's part – such as was seen on one further occasion shortly afterwards in Amsterdam, with the etchings of the *Descent from the cross*, B. 81 (I) and B. 81 (II) – of reproducing a painted composition in print form (see also Introduction, Chapter III, p. 35). The quite exceptional appearance of the hatched framing would at all events not argue against this notion; and there is some support for it in the fact that in the print Christ is seen making his gesture with the *left* hand (although such anomalies do occur now and again in Rembrandt's etchings). The painted composition, repeated more or less accurately in the etching, would then have been that of the second 'state' of no. A 30.

If the reproduction were to have been carried out with a high degree of fidelity, it would then be necessary to assume that the panel for it would have been considerably taller and have been shaped as a semicircle at the top. Does this seem at all likely? One cannot tell from the panel, greatly reduced in thickness, whether it has been sawn off in any unusual way at the top edge. The way the horizontal pattern of brushstrokes along the top edge has been painted does, however, draw the eye, this corresponding to a more or less strong concentration of white in the X-ray image. It is conceivable that this feature is connected with the removal of a part of the panel. Panels arched in a semicircle were used by Rembrandt shortly afterwards for the *Christ on the cross* of 1631, in Le Mas d'Agenais (no. A 35), and for a number of works in the Munich Passion series. The original height of about 136 cm that would be assumed for the panel would certainly be exceptionally large, but in view of the vertical grain direction there is no serious objection to such a supposition on purely physical grounds. It is also possible, however, that the lesser spacing between Martha, Mary and the man with outspread arms in the second 'state' of the painting compared with that in the etching also held for the figure of Christ, and that this was placed within the compass of the present panel without projecting so far above these other figures.

Leaving aside the question of whether the third 'state' also involved a change in format, the alterations that occurred in it can be described as follows: the figure of Christ became considerably smaller and to this end must have been placed further back; the partly-lit disciples behind his back became hardly discernible in the dark beside his legs, painted on an initially light layer; the upper part of Lazarus's body and the still-life of hanging weapons and clothing were moved so as together to fill the righthand half of the composition; and the curtain was moved slightly to the right and is now visible (with some difficulty) behind Christ to the right. One important consequence of this view of things would be that in the first 'state' of the painting the large scale of the foreground figure on the left and of Christ dominated the picture; that in the second 'state' the secondary figures became smaller (as one sees them in the etching), and that in the third 'state' Christ, too, is shown on a much smaller scale.

This hypothesis contains some speculative elements, and should be tested against the information available: against the X-rays, and against the four cross-sections published by Johnson (op. cit.[1] figs. 7, 8, 10 and 12). What is shown by the X-ray as light patches in the righthand half cannot unfortunately be interpreted as any particular shape. One gets the impression that the visible and formless concentrations of impenetrable paint (presumably containing white-lead) are partly areas covered over with a light paint where the artist went to work afresh, and do not correspond to light-painted forms. This might provide an explanation for the layer structure of the

Fig. 9. After Raphael, *S. Paul preaching in Athens* (engraving by M. A. Raimondi)

Fig. 10. After Raphael, *The death of Ananias* (engraving by M. A. Raimondi)

cross-sections from the quiver hanging on the right (the third mentioned under *Paint layer* above), which over a thin brown-black layer (the area of shadow behind Christ's back in his earlier position?) shows first an olive-grey layer with white particles and only then the present uppermost paint layer. The only other cross-section from the righthand side comes from Lazarus's shroud, and offers an uncomplicated picture – a thin brown-black layer (the shadow below Christ in his earlier position) and the light grey of the top layer. A further cross-section taken from an unspecified place in the background is equally uncomplicated – a very fine black layer (which can be any shadow area, or the preparation for it) and a grey. A very complicated structure – though one could hardly expect it to be otherwise – is found in the dark red cloak of the man leaning in from the left, where one must reckon with two if not three images piled one on top of the other, perhaps with intercalated light layers (acting as a ground). The successive layers might, for example, be interpreted in this way: first, over the ground, the man with one outstretched arm from the first 'state' of the painting done in the dead colouring ('a grey layer with charcoal-black particles'); the same executed in broken white, or alternatively a separating light layer (with vestiges of paint?) in broken white to serve as a ground ('a yellowish-white layer with blue, red and black particles'); in the second 'state' the light figure seen from behind in etching B. 73, whose outline runs parallel to, or coincides with, the contour of the back of the present figure ('a light olive-green layer'); sketched on top of this a monochrome figure leaning forward, as a preparation for the third 'state' ('a thin blackish-brown layer'); and finally the present topmost paint layer ('a dark red with large white particles'). A more thorough investigation would of course be needed to substantiate interpretations like these.

Saxl and Münz in particular have given close attention to the conception of no. A 30 and etching B. 73. For Saxl ([5] pp. 146–153) the painting represented, on the basis of Lievens' etching and Rembrandt's drawing after this, an early, relief-like, pyramidal composition, whereas the etching was a spatial arrangement built on diagonals and inspired by Raphael's *S. Paul preaching in Athens* (known through Marcantonio Raimondi's print B. 44; our fig. 9). Münz[7] analysed the composition of the etching, and later[2] pointed to the example of Rubens' *The miracle of S. Ignatius* (he probably meant *The miracle of S. Francis Xavier*). In a general sense, Saxl's reference to Raphael helps most towards an understanding of etching B. 73, though his interpretation of the relationship between painting and etching needs to be revised. Even if one chooses to call the composition of the etching, with its lively forms in a strongly dramatized setting and lighting, more advanced than that of the painting, one cannot see it as the outcome of a two-year-long development proceeding from Lievens' prototype and starting with Rembrandt's drawing from the latter. One must rather assume that in the painting Rembrandt finally discarded the pronounced baroque form that persisted in the etching in favour of a less revolutionary approach and a smaller and more homogeneous scale for the figures – either as a consequence of a change of format dictated by reasons we know nothing of, or by his own choice, and in either case perhaps partly influenced by Lievens' composition which had by then been carried out as both a painting and an etching. In this context it is interesting that the inventory of Rembrandt's possessions in 1656 lists not only an 'opwecking Laseri' by himself but also one by Lievens (R. H. Fuchs, *Rembrandt en Amsterdam*, Rotterdam 1968, nos. 38 and 42). To this may be added the fact that, according to the X-rays supplied to us by the National Gallery, London, and

the museum in Brighton, Lievens' painting is done on (part of) a canvas previously used for a different composition, from which one might deduce that it was not painted as a commission, but was rather done on his own initiative and in competition with Rembrandt.

Even in its final form the composition of no. A 30 has more to do with Raphael's prototype, i.e. with the *Death of Ananias* (known through Raimondi's print B. 42; our fig. 10) than it has with the versions of the *Raising of Lazarus* by Lastman and Jan Pynas that are often quoted in this connexion. This source seems to have provided not only the figure of Christ (a fusion of the two most prominent apostles in Raphael's composition) but also the combination of figures shrinking back and leaning forward, and the pattern of outstretched hands.

From the iconographic viewpoint it is noticeable that the disciples, of whom S. Peter especially plays an active role in the *Raising of Lazarus* in the late Middle Ages and still, for example, in Lastman and Jan Pynas, are not recognizable as such in no. A 30. Only the onlooker to the left of Christ can be a disciple, and even he is not identifiable. In etching B. 73 Peter, behind Christ's back, can still be recognized. In this respect no. A 30 bears some resemblance to Lievens' version of the theme: not only does this not have the apostles, but Mary and Martha are not clearly recognizable as such either. An unusual motif that occurs in both no. A 30 and etching B. 73 is the still-life of the dead man's weapons and turban hanging on the wall of the vault. These are repeated virtually unchanged in a drawing of a seated oriental figure, done in Rembrandt's entourage, in Windsor Castle (L. van Puyvelde, *The Dutch drawings.... at Windsor Castle*, London 1944, no. 660, pl. 72, as: B. Fabritius).

The influence of no. A 30 first made itself felt in borrowings by, remarkably, three Haarlem painters – by Pieter de Grebber in 1631 (painting in Turin; cf. H. Gerson, 'Rembrandt en de schilderkunst in Haarlem', *Miscellanea I. Q. van Regteren Altena*, Amsterdam 1969, pp. 138–142); by Jacob de Wet (painting of 1634?, cf. V. Bloch, 'Rembrandt begint', *Maandblad voor beeldende kunsten* 23 (1947), pp. 227–231; van Gelder 1953, pp. 278–279 (pp. 6–7) and p.299 (p. 27)); and by Willem de Poorter *c.* 1640 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek no. 337). In the 1640s Carel Fabritius was (in a painting in Warsaw) to keep closer to the composition of the etching – although in reverse, matching the second 'state' of no. A 30.

5. Documents and sources

It is possible, though not verifiable, that no. A 30 is identical with one or more of the following paintings:

'Een opwecking Laseri vanden selven' in the inventory of Rembrandt's possessions, Amsterdam 25 July 1656 (transcription by H. Heidenbrink in: R. H. Fuchs, *Rembrandt en Amsterdam*, Rotterdam [1968], p. 76 no. 38).

'Een Laserusverweckinge van Rembrant, *f* 600.–' in the inventory of the estate of the art dealer Johannes de Renialme, Amsterdam 27 June 1657 (A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* I, The Hague 1915, p. 231, no. 294).

'Een lazarusverwecking van Rembrand van Rijn' in the inventory of the possessions of Abraham Fabritius, Amsterdam 1670 (A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* III, The Hague 1917, p. 838).

'De opwecking van Lasarus door Rembrant gedaan' in the inventory of the estate of Pieter le Moine, Amsterdam 23 May 1674 (I. H. van Eeghen in: *Amstelodamum. Maandblad*....43 (1956), p. 113).

'Lazarus Opwekking, door R. Rhyn, het beste', coll. David Grenier, sale Middelburg, 18 August 1712 (Lugt 234), no. 96 [32 guilders] (Hoet II, p. 362).

'Lazarus Opwekking, Kapitael door Rembrant', sale Amsterdam 4 June 1727 (Lugt 358), no. 2 [105 guilders] (Hoet I, p. 316).

6. Graphic reproductions

Engraving, mainly in outlines, inscribed: *Rembrand./Des. par Michailoff, 1812.– S. Petersbourg.– Gravé chez Klauber./ Résurrection de Lazare/ du Cabinet de Mr. Duval./ Sur bois haut 38. pces l.ge 32½* [= 96.5 × 85 cm]. Michailoff is presumably identical with Pavel Nikolaivich Michailoff (1786–1840), a student of the S. Petersburg Academy. Ignaz Sebastian Klauber (Augsburg 1753–S. Petersburg 1817), a member of a wellknown Augsburg family of artists, was from 1796 in charge of the engraving class at that Academy. This engraving was, together with a number of similar ones, used as an illustration in the catalogue of the Duval sale in 1846 (see *8. Provenance* below).

7. Copies

1. Oak panel (cradled), 41.9 × 35.2 cm, signed at bottom right in light grey *Rembr...*, The Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 70.1010 (gift of Mrs. Dellora A. Norris) (fig. 11). HdG 107; Br. 537. Previously coll. Ch. Th. Yerkes, New York; sale New York 5 April 1911, no. 83 ($ 11,100 to Edward Brandus, New York); coll. W. Gates, New York; Angell-Norris Collection, Chicago. Examined on 30 May 1972 (J. B., S. H. L.). The ground is a reddish-brown. The paint layer has been rather overcleaned, and restored. In the crispness of forms and expressiveness of the figures the execution comes a long way behind that of no. A 30. Some dark areas are rather more clearly legible than in the original e.g. the dark grey curtain to the right behind Christ, from which one can assume that it must have been clearer in no. A 30 as well. Curious nuances in some of the colours (the clothing of the onlooker on the extreme left is purple with a pink and white edging of light, Christ's robe is purplish-blue, there is a bluish-grey in various areas and the highlights on the weapons are not only in yellow-white but also in an orange colour), and the red-brown ground cause some doubt as to the 17th-century origin of this copy: it certainly does not emanate from Rembrandt's entourage. Since the original came to light, the fact of this being a copy has been doubted in the literature by none except Bredius (A. Bredius, 'Eine Entlehnung Rem-

brandts an Jan Pynas' in: *Der Kunstmarkt*, 3 July 1914 and in a discussion of W. R. Valentiner's *Rembrandt, Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, in: *Zeitschr. f. b. K.*, new series 32 (1921), pp. 146–152, esp. p. 148), who regarded the smaller work as the original and the larger as an outstandingly good copy.

8. Provenance

*– Possibly in Rembrandt's possession until 1657, when his personal effects were sold at auction, and subsequently in various Amsterdam collections until 1727 (see *5. Documents and sources* above).
*– Coll. Philippus Joseph de Jariges, sale Amsterdam 14 October 1772 (Lugt 2069), no. 24: 'Rembrand van Rhyn. De Opwekking van Lazarus; op Paneel, hoog $37\frac{1}{2}$, breed $31\frac{1}{2}$ duim [96.4 × 81 cm]. De Heiland staat verbeeld ter zyde van 't Graf, zyne regter hand opheffende, in eene houding, als tegens den Verstorvenen spreekende; welke daar op ten Grave uitryst. Ten voeten einde van het Graf ziet men de Bloedverwanten van Lazarus, als verbaast zynde over het wonderwerk aan hunnen Vriend verricht. Het Hartstogtelyke is in dit Stuk zeer wel waargenomen, zynde voorts kragtig geschilderd.' (Rembrand van Rhyn. The raising of Lazarus; on panel, height $37\frac{1}{2}$ inches, width $31\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The Saviour is shown alongside the grave, raising his right hand, in a gesture as if speaking to the dead man; who is seen rising from the grave. At the foot end of the grave one sees the relatives of Lazarus, all amazed at the miracle performed on their friend. The emotions are very well observed in this piece, which is furthermore powerfully painted) (350 guilders to Odon).
*– Coll. Gottfried Winkler, Leipzig, according to Duval sale catalogue, 1846 (not yet mentioned in the catalogue *Historische Erklärungen* . . . published in 1768), until before 1812 (engraved in S. Petersburg in that year, see *6. Graphic reproductions* above).
– Coll. Jean François André Duval, in S. Petersburg since before 1812 and in Geneva after 1816. Duval (S. Petersburg 1776–Geneva 1854) was a Swiss goldsmith who was court jeweller to the Tsar in S. Petersburg from 1803; in 1816 he moved to Geneva with his important art collection, the paintings from which were bought in 1854 by the Comte de Morny and sold in the following year under the Duval name (cf. Thieme-Becker X, p. 240): coll. Duval, sale London 12–13 May 1846, no. 116 (there is an English and a French edition of the catalogue; the latter includes the engraving mentioned under *6. Graphic reproductions*) (£ 1155; on the evidence of the subsequent sale, bought in by the Comte de Morny).
– Coll. Comte de M[orny], sale Paris 24 May 1852, no. 17 (3100 francs).
– Coll. Jules Beer, sale Paris 29 May 1913, no. 52.
– Dealer Ch. Sedelmeyer, Paris (*Catalogue of paintings* XII, 1913, no. 20).
– Coll. Vicomte de Brimon.
– Dealer Ch. Sedelmeyer, Paris 1920 (where, according to a note by Hofstede de Groot in the RKD, it was seen by him in May 1920).
– Dealer R. Langton Douglas, London.
– Coll. Frau Dübi-Müller, Solothurn, Switzerland; on loan to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 1932–1959.
– Coll. Howard F. Ahmanson, Los Angeles.
– Gift of H. F. Ahmanson & Co., in memory of Howard F. Ahmanson, 1972.

Fig. 11. Copy. Chicago, Ill., The Art Institute of Chicago

9. Summary

The conception and manner of painting of no. A 30 bear so much resemblance to those of a number of Rembrandt's works from the years 1629–1630 that the attribution to him and a dating around 1630 can be taken as definite. The course of its production seems however to have been complicated by radical alterations, and one must therefore assume a longish process, probably stretching over the years 1630/31.

Of the, roughly, three stages that can be distinguished by means of the X-ray photographs the second must have had a composition which in its lefthand half bore a striking likeness to that of etching B. 73. Presumably this etching was started when no. A 30 was in this second stage. The dating of *c.* 1632 usually assumed for the etching can then apply only to its completion, and for its conception a dating in 1630/31 seems, stylistically, entirely possible. The unusual appearance of the etching could be explained if one looks on it as a graphic reproduction of the painting. The hypothesis that no. A 30 in its second stage would have matched (the reversed image of) etching B. 73 in the righthand half as well and perhaps even in an arched top section removed by Rembrandt cannot be checked against the X-ray photograph, since the X-ray is difficult to interpret in the righthand half due partly to paint having been

scraped away. It does allow one to conclude that the figures of Christ and Lazarus were given their present positions only in the third and final stage; as a result of this the character of the composition of no. A 30 changed radically vis-à-vis that of etching B. 73 despite a number of motifs still shared by the two pictures. It is possible that this final change was made under the influence of a composition painted by Jan Lievens in 1631 and – presumably later – also etched by him. A drawing by Rembrandt in London (Ben. 17) that was clearly made from the Lievens etching has created a good deal of confusion in the literature, since it carries the date of 1630 (which must be regarded as unreliable).

The complicated history of the production of no. A 30 also complicates the interpretation of the results of the technical investigations carried out in Los Angeles. The paint layer is, apart from a few worn patches and some damage along a crack, in fairly good condition.

Although the identity of no. A 30 with a *Raising of Lazarus* listed among Rembrandt's possessions in 1656 cannot be proven, it is wholly possible that he should have held onto a work into which so much creative energy had been poured. It is remarkable, too, that in 1656 he still owned a painting of the same subject by Jan Lievens.

REFERENCES

1 B. B. Johnson, 'Examination and treatment of Rembrandt's "Raising of Lazarus"', *Los Angeles County Museum Bulletin* 20 (1974), no. 2, pp. 18–35.
2 Münz II, p. 93.
3 K. Bauch, 'Zum Werk des Jan Lievens (I)', *Pantheon* 25 (1967), pp. 160–170, esp. pp. 166–167.
4 Haak 1969, p. 63.
5 F. Saxl, 'Rembrandt und Italien', *O.H.* 41 (1923–24), pp. 145–160, esp. pp. 146–147.
6 W. Stechow, 'Rembrandt's representations of the "Raising of Lazarus"', *Los Angeles County Museum Bulletin* 19 (1973) no. 2, pp. 7–11, esp. p. 8 and p. 11 note 6.
7 L. Münz, *Die Kunst Rembrandts und Goethes Sehen,* Leipzig 1934, pp. 11ff.

A 31 Andromeda [1630/31]

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJK KABINET VAN SCHILDERIJEN, MAURITSHUIS, CAT. NO. 707

HDG 195; BR. 462; BAUCH 254; GERSON 55

1. Summarized opinion

An authentic painting, produced around 1630/31, which is well preserved apart from some severe truncations.

2. Description of subject

Andromeda stands in the full light, which comes from the right, with both hands raised above her head and chained to a rockface. The upper part of the body, bent forward a little, is turned slightly to the left while the head faces slightly to the right. The eyes are turned to the right, and lend the face an expression of anxiety. She wears a cloth wrapped loosely about the hips, which almost entirely hides her legs. Long blonde hair hangs down loosely over her back. The feet and lower legs are hidden by a rock in the foreground, on which there is a grassy growth. Shrubbery grows against the rockface to which she is chained, at the foot of which are some bulrushes. The sea (the position of which vis-à-vis the rockface is not clear in the present state of the painting) stretches out on the right to the horizon, which can be seen against the only slightly lighter sky.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 24 October 1973 (B. H., E. v. d. W.), out of the frame and in very good artificial light and reasonable daylight, with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp and X-ray photograph.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 34.1 × 24.5 cm (± 0.4 cm: greatest width 24.8 cm at the level of Andromeda's face, smallest width 24.1 cm at the level of her knee). Thickness at the right 0.9 cm, at the left 0.7 cm. Single plank. The back has the partial remains of bevelling at the top and righthand side. Along the bottom the panel has been sawn off roughly, so much so that deep damages have been caused in the paint layer. The top and lefthand and righthand sides have also been sawn off; to judge from the partially preserved bevelling at the top and right, only narrow strips are missing here.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): measured at top and bottom edges, top showing 196 annual rings of heartwood (+ 1 counted), bottom with 196 annual rings of heartwood (+ 1 counted), mean curve 196 (+ 1) rings of heartwood, datable as 1506–1603. Growing area: Northern Netherlands. On the basis of these data, the earliest possible felling date would be 1618 ± 5[1]. Allowance must however be made for a reduction in the size of the panel on all four sides, and especially for the loss of a few rings of heartwood on the sapwood side to the right.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Yellowish, and visible along damaged edges and in scratchmarks in the bulrushes.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes [2] the panel is primed with a thin layer containing chalk. The information is not altogether clear with regard to the second layer; this appears in some places (at the upper edge and in the background) to contain only white lead, while in others (at the right side) a thin layer of a yellowish-brown colour was found, containing umber. It is not made clear if white lead was detected in this layer as well; the latter seems more probable, in which case the ground would be similar to the grounds in the other Leiden paintings examined, as it too has the same appearance.

Paint layer

CONDITION: There are recent retouches in the righthand half of the cloth round Andromeda's hips and in the sky. Possible overpaintings in the dark band on the left. Craquelure: small, fine cracks are seen in areas of flesh colour and white, and a few shrinkage cracks at the extreme left at the bottom.

DESCRIPTION: The way paint has been applied in this work varies widely, in both its thickness and its degree of liveliness. The controlled treatment of Andromeda's body contrasts with the free handling of the area of shrubbery at the top right, enlivened with numerous scattered scratchmarks; the thin and rather clumsily painted pale blue-green of the bulrushes contrasts with the solid and thickly-applied paint used to suggest the leaves in the left foreground, and offering a coarse surface. While the strong ochre-yellow colour of Andromeda's silky hair is applied very thinly along the outline of her back, with no evident brushstroke, the ochre-yellow used for the growth on the rock in the foreground is laid on in thick blobs.

There is also a great deal of variation in the precision with which forms are shown. Hardly any attention has been paid to rendering the shape and substance of the rockface to which Andromeda is chained. The suggestion of roughness and irregularity comes from its outline, and the lit part itself is painted evenly with a cool grey tending to a brown, with the brushstrokes for by far the greater part running parallel. There is a smooth transition to the very dark area of shadow. On the extreme left at the bottom, a paint relief visible beneath the topmost layer of black – taken together with the shrinkage cracks already mentioned – hints at an underlying layer of paint.

Great care has been given to the modelling of the body, especially the torso; the forearms and hands, which are more in shadow, are indicated summarily and to a greater or lesser extent set into their dark surroundings, and the shackles around the wrists are shown perfunctorily as small, dark bands. The head, too, is done relatively sketchily, though with great suggestive skill. The eyes are rendered with translucent brown irises, in which the pupils are shown with tiny specks of black. The same method has been used for the mouth, where the preparatory use of a translucent brown can be detected on either side of the mouthline, which is drawn with a thin stripe of black. It is noteworthy that the face has not a trace of a warmer skin colour – an ivory white passes into the cool grey of the half-shadows. These opaque areas lead over to the more or less translucent brown and grey-brown of the shadows. This colour-scheme, and this manner of painting, are maintained throughout the woman's body. Only the nipples are, in the light, shown in a pale pink. The characteristic appearance of the torso stems mainly from the direction of the brushstroke, which mostly matches the modelling of the body and the areas of taut skin and sometimes follows the contours.

The cloth is rendered quite simply in the light, using a clear white and grey; in the shadows the grey has a muddy and greenish shade. The small ornamental border, like the fringe, is done wet-in-wet with small, thin strokes of grey.

One can, in broad lines, reconstruct how the painting was produced. It may be assumed that the translucent brown parts, which are in many places visible under the edges of opaque areas and a large, sketchily-worked section of which can be seen in the shrubbery, formed part of a preparatory stage, extending in this manner over the entire panel. The sky and water, the bulrushes, and the rockface against which Andromeda is outlined, all in flat, opaque greys, were – on the evidence of the way these areas (painted wet-in-wet) fit one into the other – painted in that order. The rock in the foreground seems to have been painted on top of another paint layer.

Fig. 2. X-ray

In the sky, in a band above the bulrushes, there are a number of dark and mainly vertical lines lying underneath light-grey paint. Perhaps the rockface was originally meant to extend further to the right?

SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[2] there is a dark brown layer beneath light areas of the figure, which is interpreted as an underpainting. This layer extends, according to their findings, into the shadow areas of the body. It is, in our view, most probably identical with the indication of shadow parts of the body in the monochrome underpainting; it must correspond to other dark brown areas painted directly on the ground, such as are visible in the upper part of the painting, especially in the vegetation. A white lead layer is also mentioned as an underpainting for the figure, and this is in accordance with our interpretation of the radiographic image. As for the surface layers, this publication lists the following findings: the grey of the sky and sea is composed of white lead mixed with a large quantity of coarse black pigment (either ivory black or bone black) and a little azurite. In the irises on the right azurite was again found, and lower down malachite mixed with grains of yellow, brown and white pigments. The red in the irises consists of a red lake pigment. In the flesh tones a red lake pigment is mixed in lead white. The yellow of the rock in the foreground is yellow ochre, mixed with black and blue. The whitish-yellow in the flowers on the left contains white lead with a fair quantity of chalk, perhaps derived from a bleached organic yellow pigment precipitated on chalk. The dark areas of the background consist of ochres and umber with quite a large amount of coarse, granular white and black pigments. Spectrographic analysis of the trace elements in the white lead in the white cloth on the left leg (which according to the findings of the Mauritshuis team is assumed to be of a later date, and which they consider to be the first version of this cloth) showed no significant differences in the nature of the white lead used in both areas.

X-Rays

The X-ray offers hints as to how the painting was prepared and worked up, and shows changes in composition that were probably made in a fairly late stage.

Both arms appear partly in the X-ray image as an overall and rather light shape, which must be seen as the result of a light underpainting used in the illuminated parts of the body. One must certainly distinguish from this the stronger white image corresponding to the somewhat impasto highlight added during the working up of the painting. A further part of the preparatory stage is a rather light area that leaves a broad space in reserve to the left of the upper part of the body (presumably for a broad curtain of hair to hang down, this then having been drastically reduced in the final execution). A similar, rather light band leaves a dark space in reserve beside Andromeda's right leg, and one gets the impression that this was intended for the contour of a right leg that would be less completely, or not, hidden by drapery; the knee of this leg seems to be fairly clearly marked. That the drapery was initially intended to be less extensive is most obvious from the way the left leg is clearly visible in a fairly strong white; although there is no absolute certainty, one may assume that this leg, together with the foot, was only lightly underpainted – the relatively strong white image must be partly the result of the drapery being painted at a later stage. The right foot, too, is broadly visible as a light underpainting. Around the feet the terrain is shown with radioabsorbent brushmarks, with spaces left in this for the feet with their accompanying shadows. The light brushmarks seen in the bottom lefthand corner seem to represent a growth of some kind; they belong to this stage of the painting, and match the relief seen at the surface in this now almost black area. Quite obviously the rock in the foreground, which also shows up light in the X-ray image, was painted on top of the foreground in its earlier shape, and on top of the lower legs that were probably present only as an underpainting.

Signature

None.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

There can be hardly any doubt that no. A 31 no longer has its original dimensions when one considers the appearance of partially-preserved bevelling on only two sides and the traces of a crude reduction in size on all sides. From a description of July 1785 (see *8. Provenance* below) one gathers that this must have taken place before that date. Taking into account the vestiges of bevelling along the top and righthand side and the absence of any at the bottom and lefthand side, one must assume that more of the panel is missing at the bottom and left than at the top and right (where there is still so much of the bevelling left that the panel can there have been only very slightly reduced). One must therefore discount the possibility of the usual struggle between Perseus and the sea-monster having been shown further to the right. A position for the same scene on the left must be ruled out, firstly because of the iconographic tradition which had this scene taking place in and above the sea, and secondly because of the direction in which Andromeda is looking, and the lighting scheme.

From the vertical run of the wood-grain it can be concluded with a great deal of certainty that in its original state as well this panel was taller than it was wide. As it is not really probable that the dark area to the left of Andromeda extended much further out, it is also unlikely when we remember the average height/width ratio of 17th-century panels that the panel continued very much further downwards. The fact that the horizon runs level with Andromeda's knees means that a low viewpoint can be assumed, and this explains why the rocks in the foreground hide part of her leg. The same arrangement is seen in the painting of *The baptism of the eunuch* (Bauch A 16) that has survived in van Vliet's etching; there, too, the mid-ground figures and animals are overlapped by a hillock in order to stress the low viewpoint from which the group is seen.

The fact that the reed stems and bulrushes have their base virtually level with Andromeda's feet suggests that they are not far above the water; from this one can conclude that the rocks in the foreground do

Fig. 3. Copy. Cologne, private coll.

not project far above the water, and this would mean that the foreground cannot have taken up much space. For this reason, too, the panel cannot have continued all that far downwards.

This is confirmed to some extent by a copy of the painting (Cologne, private coll.; photograph Rheinisches Bildarchiv no. 30064; our fig. 3). In this (crude and not entirely accurate) copy the scene we have in no. A 31 is shown, with a few changes, in a rather larger compass; but as documentary evidence for the original format it is not wholly trustworthy – at both the top and righthand side it is larger than no. A 31 could possibly have been, bearing in mind the remains of the bevelling. The limit at the left-hand side does perhaps correspond approximately to that of the original: what in the original can still be seen as the beginning of a number of plants continues to the left in the copy. Along the bottom one must perhaps imagine the surface of the water in the foreground as stretching down to the edge, more or less as it does in the *Baptism of the eunuch* just mentioned and also in the etching of *Diana at the bath* (B. 201) and the painting of the Berlin *Abduction of Proserpina* (no. A 39).

On the whole, the materials used and the working method found in no. A 31 are in agreement with what one finds in Rembrandt's paintings from his early years. In particular the picture has links with various works painted by Rembrandt in the years around 1630/31. From the technique viewpoint it belongs with the paintings where the translucent underpainting is involved in the appearance at the surface, something first encountered in 1630 in the portrait of the *Old man in a fur cap* in Innsbruck (no. A 29) and in the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* (no. A 28). It also shares with this latter painting the use of numerous tortuous scratchmarks in the shrubbery.

There are other similarities of a different kind with the *Jeremiah*: there is for example the way the figures in both paintings lie along the diagonal, with this diagonal emphasized by a light-toned band in the background running parallel to the figure (in the *Jeremiah* this is an unexplainable cloudlike shape, in the *Andromeda* it is the grey area of rockface – seemingly just as lacking in substance – that merges into her silky hair). The female type used for *Andromeda* reapears literally in the etching of *Diana at the bath* (B. 201) already mentioned and dated around 1630/31. In its design and the lighting of the body, the *Andromeda* is like the *Christ on the cross* of 1631 in Le Mas d'Agenais (no. A 35). From the subject-matter angle there is some connexion with the *Abduction of Proserpina* and the *Rape of Europa* (Br. 464), painted *c.* 1631 and in 1632 respectively.

The signature and date may well have been lost when parts of the panel were sawn off. Bearing in mind the similarity that exists in a number of respects with other works by Rembrandt there need however be no doubt about attributing it to him, though the quality of the sky, water and foreground is disappointing. Bauch[3], influenced by the muted colouring, has wrongly talked in terms of a grisaille that might have been preparatory to an etching.

Datings put forward in the literature range from *c.* 1627/28[4] to 1632[5]. The links discussed above with other Rembrandt works, mainly from 1630/31, make it very likely that it was painted in those years.

As to the relationship the composition bears to traditional representations of this theme, the similarity that Sumowsky[6] has pointed out between no. A 31 and a drawing by Anthonis Blocklandt in Brussels probably stems from the existence of a common prototype.

Since it is practically certain that neither Perseus nor the sea-monster appeared in the original composition, one has to say that no. A 31 stands iconographically in total isolation. Of the pictures quoted by Pigler (A. Pigler, *Barockthemen* II, Budapest 1956, pp. 22–26) with the comment 'Nur Andromeda', two do in fact include the monster and the third is a preliminary study. Panofsky (E. Panofsky in: *O. H.* 50 (1933), p. 214 (footnote)) explains this unique iconography by saying that it is meant to show 'das

Erwartungsmoment, die gespannte Konzentration der psychischen Energien auf einen ausserhalb des Bildes befindlichen Erlöser'. Tümpel, supporting this, sees no. A 31 as an example of Rembrandt's attempt to concentrate the psychological content of a scene by means of 'Herauslösung'[7]. Perhaps one might see the picture as an example of trust in God, on the basis of a text by van Mander: 'D'onschuldighe Andromeda van Perseo verlost, toont ons, dat de vrome door de goedertieren beschickinge Gods, dicwils in d'uyterste benoutheyt wesende, onversiens verlost worden' (The blameless Andromeda delivered by Perseus shows us that the pious are through the merciful decision of God, often being in extreme distress, delivered unexpectedly) (C. van Mander, *Wtlegginge op de Metamorphosis*... fol. 41–41 v°, in: *Het Schilder-Boeck,* Haarlem 1603–1604).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

Panel, dimensions unknown. Cologne, private coll.; Rheinisches Bildarchiv no. 30064 (fig. 3). Shows the scene in a rather wider framework.

8. Provenance

*– Coll. Count Ch. de Proli, sale Antwerp [23?] July 1785 (Lugt 3926), no. 17: 'Rembrant. Andromède ayant les bras au-dessus de la tête liés à un rocher, elle est à demi-nue; à la droite sont quelques roseaux, une mer calme et un ciel sombre; tout y est d'une touche hardie, fière et pateuse; la figure y est d'un grand relief et d'un dessin correct, on y découvre une couleur argentine, et une magie du clair-obscur qui se manifeste dans tous ses ouvrages et qui a comme scillée la réputation de ce Peintre. Haut 12¼ po. large 9 (pied de France) [= 33 × 24.3 cm] B[ois.].' (44.10 francs).
*– Coll. Armand-François-Louis de Mestral de Saint-Saphorin (cf. no. A 22 under 7. *Copies,* 5), sale Vienna 19 May 1806 (Lugt 7099), no. 166: 'Paul Rembrand van Ryn. Andromeda an den Felsen geschmiedet. Holz. Höhe 1 Sch. 1 Zoll Breite – Sch. 9½ Zoll [= 34.24 × 25 cm].
– Coll. Jonkheer Van den Bosch, Brussels[8].
– Coll. Dr. A. Bredius, The Hague; on loan from 1907, bequeathed to the museum in 1946.

9. Summary

It can be assumed, with certain reservations, that this painting which has been cut down in size slightly at the top and right and rather more at the bottom and left is shown approximately in its original state by an old copy. On the grounds of technique and style it can be regarded as an authentic Rembrandt work produced around 1630/31.

On the X-ray evidence, substantial changes were made both in Andromeda's clothing and in the foreground during the course of the work, Andromeda's chained feet being covered over with a foreground repoussoir.

There can be hardly any doubt that both Perseus and the sea-monster were missing even in the original state (something that is iconographically most unusual).

REFERENCES

1 Cf. Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, p. 491.
2 De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes, pp. 63–68, 214–215.
3 K. Bauch, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte,* Berlin 1967, p. 133.
4 Br.-Gerson 462.
5 Bauch 1966, 254; Gerson 55.
6 W. Sumowsky, 'Einige frühe Entlehnungen Rembrandts', *O.H.* 71 (1956), pp. 109–113, esp. p. 111.
7 Tümpel 1969, p. 160.
8 *Musée Royal de Tableaux Mauritshuis à la Haye. Catalogue Raisonné...,* 1935, no. 707.

A 32 **Bust of an old woman** (commonly called Rembrandt's mother) [1630/31]

WINDSOR CASTLE, H. M. QUEEN ELIZABETH II

HDG 688; BR. 70; BAUCH 251; GERSON 37

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved work which partly because of the fact that the painting was mentioned *c.* 1639 as being a work by Rembrandt can be accepted as an original. It should be dated no earlier than 1630/31.

2. Description of subject

A woman, whose wrinkled skin indicates great age, is seen to just below bust-length to the left of the centre of the picture area, so that part of her hood is cut off by the frame on the left. She is turned a little to the right, and is looking straight in front of her with the eyes slightly closed. The light falls from above and a little to the right, so that her velvet hood – ornamented on its inner surface – throws a shadow on her face; beneath it can be seen a thin white headscarf. She wears a dark, fur-trimmed outer garment, with beneath it a small green bodice and a pleated shirt with a collar. The background is dark.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 5 October 1972 (J. B., S. H. L.) in fairly good daylight and in the frame. Print of an X-ray photograph received later, covering a field of 40 × 30 cm from just inside the lower righthand corner (Courtauld Institute of Art, London).

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 61 × 47.4 cm. Thickness at left *c.* 1.2 cm, at right *c.* 0.8 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled on all four sides; as can be expected from the varying thickness, more at left than at right. There are plane marks running in broad, wavy bands.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellow-brown can be seen in small cracks in the dark paint in the right and left upper background, i.e. in the thinly painted frame (or what seems to be a frame) to be mentioned below. The scratchmarks in the fur and in the decoration on the inside of the hood reveal not this ground, but a black.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: In the lighter and thicker areas this is good, though assessment is difficult in dark areas. This comes about partly from the fact that the present picture has been painted on top of another, so that the paint surface in the dark background and the lower parts of the clothing cannot be made out clearly. Most probably some overpainting can be assumed in these areas. Craquelure: in the head there is locally an extremely fine and rather erratic network of very small and some slightly larger cracks; some of these (on the nose) tend to follow the direction of the brushstroke, and presumably are connected with painting over another layer of paint before this was fully dry. An underlying black can be glimpsed in some of these cracks, especially in the shadow along the cheek on the left. A somewhat coarser pattern of shrinkage cracks appears towards the top and right in the dark background and in the darker part of the hood hanging down on the left. The dark zone at the lower centre again shows a finer pattern. This unusual picture of craquelure is undoubtedly connected as a whole with the presence of another painting underneath the present one.
DESCRIPTION: The background surrounds the figure as an opaque, flat and fairly thickly applied dark grey. Areas in the four corners have a different consistency of paint and, by being somewhat thinner, stand out from the remainder of the background; these can be read as the vestiges of a dark, oval painted framing. They extend further inwards at the top and bottom righthand corners than they do at top and bottom left, and are only indistinctly visible at the bottom. The border between a dark and a lighter area (which cannot be interpreted as any particular shape) runs along the lower half of the righthand edge; part of this is parallel to the presumed oval, but then curves away towards the right. The problem presented by this background is discussed below under *4. Comments*.

The face is done with numerous small, thick strokes, occasionally somewhat longer and broader, built up in varying combinations of a creamy flesh colour, grey and pink. The grey along the cheeks and on the chin is applied thinly, as a glaze; around the eyes it becomes stronger and provides a half-shadow or the suggestion of veins. The eyelids are painted with fine strokes of flesh colour with a little grey; the dark line above the eyelid on the left is in dark red with a lighter red stroke and that on the right is in black. A little grey supplies the white of the eye, next to the flat brown-grey of the irises, and, in the lefthand eye, to an extensive area of pink in the corner. The lower lids are in pink, with tiny spots and lines of white suggesting the reflection of light along their moist edge. The shadow in the cheek on the left is in a dark flesh colour with grey; a black can be seen through small open cracks at this point. The mouth is indicated by a long, continuous line of grey-brown, partly covered over by the grey of the upper lip. The lower lip has some pink with, on the left, a very fine highlight in pale pink. From the corner of the mouth on the left a few small, thick touches of pink and broken grey run obliquely downwards. On the right, in the chin, grey has been applied wet-in-wet with the skin colour. A strong black shadow contour runs along the top of the shirt below the chin.

The thin headscarf frames the face in a fairly flat dark grey, with an occasional black line, and on the right drops away in long strokes of grey. The outside of the heavy hood is painted quite flatly in purple, with fairly long, thin strokes; thicker dabs of various greys render the sheen of light. The illuminated inside of the hood shows, to the left of the face, a bold pattern over a layer of grey: irregularly shaped patches of a thick dark green are surrounded by a thin ochre-yellow border that becomes thicker towards the edges and has highlights in a thick light yellow. Along and within these edges the design is emphasized by scratchmarks, mostly of a convoluted shape; the border is again bounded by a sinuous line of dabs of dark green and dots of light yellow. In the area of shadow further up this motif is repeated with a very thin brown surrounding a very dark brown; it is repeated even darker in the shadow to the right of the face, with additionally some black, and there is an ochre-yellow indication of the ornamentation in smaller strokes and dabs.

The shirt, where it is seen in the light, has lively modelling using brushdabs in greys and broken white, with a rosette-like decorative motif in a rather warmer light grey-brown; on the left this slightly overlaps the fur.

The lefthand part of the fur trimming is in touches of grey and mouse-grey, with a touch of warm brown. On the right it is painted more in browns, with numerous scratchmarks. Towards the bottom the fur merges into a thin, flat dark brown-grey area the nature and condition of which it is hard to

Fig. 1. Panel 61 × 47.4 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray

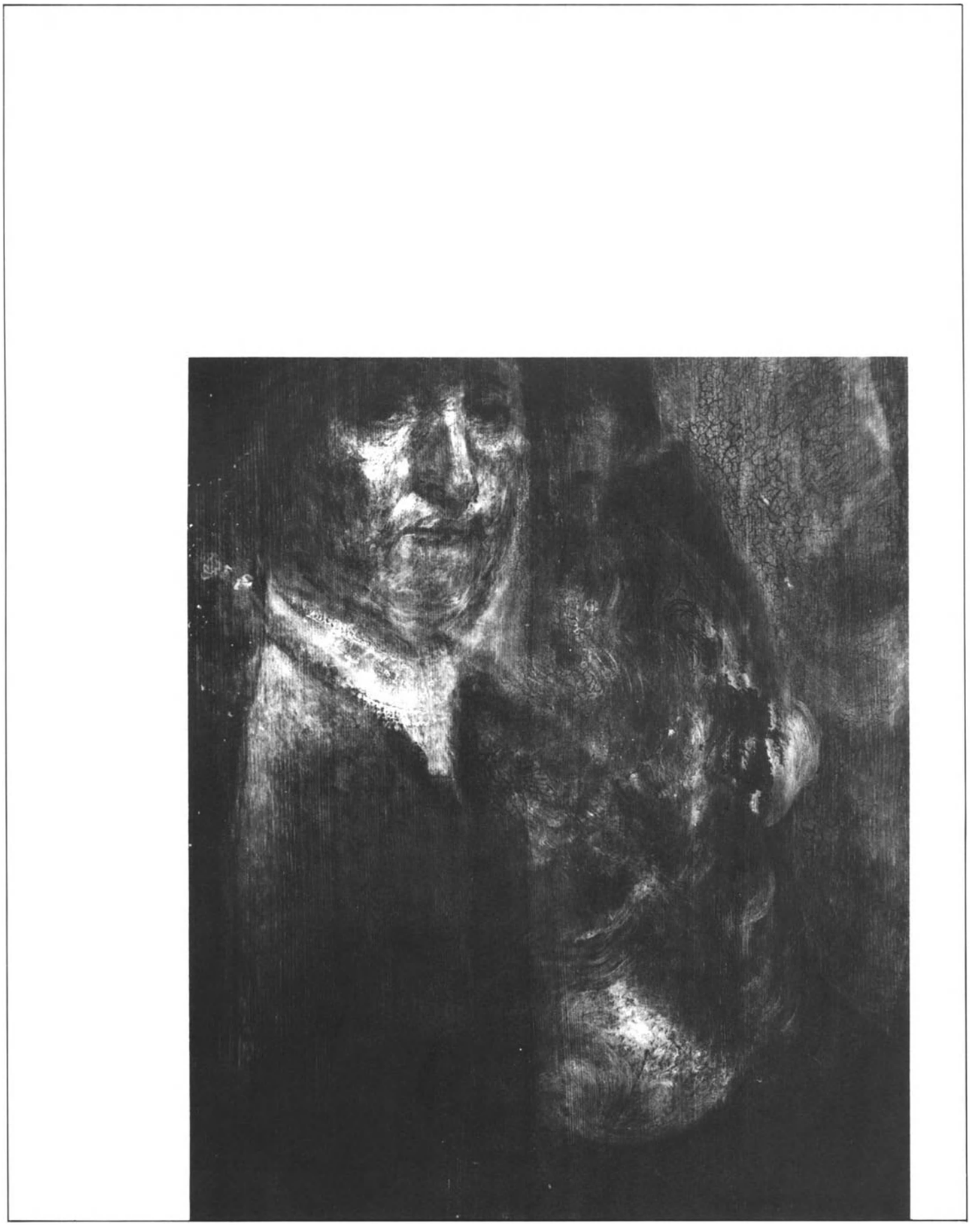


Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1.5)

judge. The bodice can just be seen in the centre, as a small triangle of dark green.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The only available print shows, when compared to the picture visible today, that the latter is at some points the result of a number of repaintings and corrections of previously painted forms. The contour of the further cheek on the right, especially, is in its final version dictated largely by the dark, opaque greys that are seen to have been placed over an area that was laid-in light. Numerous tiny shrinkage cracks can also be seen at this point (more distinctly in the X-ray than in the paint surface). There is confirmation that the shirt has on the left been painted on top of the fur, though one can also see that the grey of the fur was subsequently strengthened with a paint containing white lead. The dark green on the left on the inside of the hood shows up light in the X-ray.

The most striking feature of the X-ray, however, is that a man's head can be seen upside-down in the lower righthand corner; this is covered over by the picture seen today, though traces of it are still apparent to the naked eye. In particular the man's white collar and the outline of the illuminated part of his head, visible in the X-ray, can be vaguely made out alongside the hood and in the dark area beneath the fur collar. The man's head is turned slightly to the right, and tilted to the left. The highest light falls on the lefthand half of his head, while there is less light on his collar, ear, cheek, nose, wrinkled forehead and

wavy beard. The eye sockets and the righthand side of the face appear dark in the X-ray image. The vigorous and slightly curved scratchmarks by his nose and mouth form part of the painting of the fur collar in the top picture. It is noteworthy that at the paint surface these scratchmarks expose an underlying black (see under *Ground* above). Longer, wavy scratchmarks further to the left, in the beard, are however part of the underlying portrait, and cannot be made out distinctly in the woman's hood seen today.

Shrinkage cracks appear very clearly in various places where the top paint layer was laid fairly thickly and opaquely over the underlying layer, presumably before this was completely dry: they occur in the right background along the hood in the present picture, and alongside this in the pattern on the inner surface of the hood to the right of the chin.

Signature
None.

Varnish
No special remarks.

4. Comments

Inside the heavy hood, which has been given a pronounced three-dimensional effect, the whole of the light (and thus the pictorial stress) falls on a large part of the woman's face. The modelling, done painstakingly in small touches of the brush and mainly reproducing the broad shapes, leaving the details of the wrinkled skin to be suggested by the paint surface, does not appear in the same way in any other Rembrandt painting of this period. It differs from, for instance, the thick licks of paint used for skin areas in the (anyway very much smaller) painting of the Salzburg *Old woman at prayer* (no. A 27) in showing a far greater subtlety and reticence. The decoration on the inside of the hood is more familiar, with the colours and colour values varied to suit the amount of light and with the design reinforced with forceful scratchmarks. In form and colouring this area reminds one of, for example, the garment in the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* (no. A 28) of 1630. A very similar ornamentation occurs in the etching of a *Bearded man in a furred oriental cap and robe* (B. 263) of 1631. Other areas of accessory features – such as the economical but lively treatment of the shirt collar – also resemble work from the early 1630s.

It seems difficult to find a broader basis for the attribution by comparing the manner of painting with that in other works. Compared to, for example, the Innsbruck *Old man in a fur cap* (no. A 29), no. A 32 has none of the locally free and transparent style of painting. This may have to do with the fact of a second painting being hidden beneath the top paint layer, so that covering this over posed special demands; but beyond this it does seem from really all the busts from the Leiden years that Rembrandt's way of handling these had not yet settled down into a stable pattern.

Comparison is also made difficult by the very unusual lighting he has chosen here, striking the subject from the front and giving both sides of the face equal prominence. Among the other paintings only the Salzburg *Old woman at prayer* has this lighting scheme. Among the etchings, it is precisely those known as 'Rembrandt's mother' that show the closest resemblance in this respect – and of these not the earliest ones dating from 1628 (B. 352 and 354) but rather the somewhat later one dating from around 1630–1631 (especially B. 343).

Yet though the painting is not as a whole directly comparable to any other work by Rembrandt, the attribution is still acceptable: on the one hand on the grounds of the treatment of wrinkled skin, which suggests detail using numerous small touches without ever becoming finicky – a treatment that has an impressive quality and matches an interest that Rembrandt frequently shows; and on the other on the grounds of a powerful and vivid treatment of accessory items that would be improbable in, for example, Lievens (who might also be thought a likely candidate for the attribution because of the large amount of grey in the skin tints). Even less could Dou or another painter in Rembrandt's entourage be considered.

Because of the absence of any work that is directly comparable in its conception, it is difficult to date the painting exactly. Taking into account the similarity of motif and treatment of ornament used in the clothing that has been mentioned with works from 1630 and 1631, the year of production must presumably be around 1630/31, and no earlier than that. The arrangement of the lighting is further evidence for this: light is concentrated on the face and neck, and is not used to produce other high-contrast effects as is generally the case in works dated or datable in 1629. Moreover, the treatment of old, wrinkled skin in the London *Portrait of an 83-year-old woman* (Br. 343) of 1634 (which though admittedly a commissioned portrait is still comparable as subject matter) is so different, and in particular so much more forceful and contrasty, that one must surely assume a difference in date between the two paintings (cf. also the information given below under *5. Documents and sources* and *8. Provenance*).

A closer investigation would show to what extent the background seen today has been formed by later overpaintings. One would then probably have a clearer idea of the significance of the areas seen in the corners, which taken together appear to be the remains of an oval framing the axis of which is however

Fig. 4. G. Dou, *Head of a man*. Formerly Paris art-trade

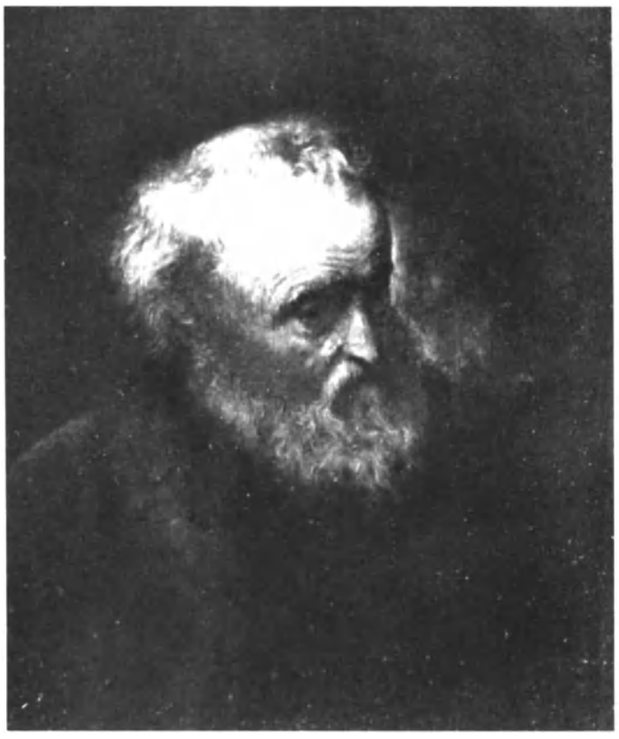


Fig. 5. Attr. to J. Lievens, *Head of a man*, etching (1 : 1)

to the left of the centre of the painting. This latter fact, coupled with the curious off-centre placing of the figure, might suggest that there was once more of the panel towards the left; but there is no evidence for this in the toolmarks on the back of the panel. Bearing in mind the occurrence of an oval framing in the roughly contemporaneous *Self-portrait* in Liverpool (no. A 33) which probably also comes from the collection of King Charles I of England, one may wonder whether both these panels may perhaps once have had unpainted spandrels and have been intended for a frame with an oval aperture (see also entry no. A 33 under (*4. Comments*).

The underlying man's head was also placed well off-centre, possibly to leave room for another motif (such as an evangelist's symbol). The type of the man depicted, with deep-set eyes, a long nose, a protruding ear, one lock of hair over the top of the head and others to the side, does not occur in Rembrandt's work. Slightly different heads in a very similar pose are found in a signed work by Dou (W. Martin, *Gerard Dou*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1913, Kl. d. K., p. 30 left (fig. 4)) and in Lievens' etching Rov. 66, Hollst. XI, no. 78. The facial type is comparable with that of a model who appears in two small etchings, B. II 53 (fig. 5) and B. 296; these have successively been attributed to Lievens by Bartsch, Hind (no. †369) and Hollstein (Hollst. XI, no. 74) and by Bartsch and Holmes (C. J. Holmes, *Notes on the art of Rembrandt*, London 1911, p. 217, no. 89); they have both been rejected as Lievens by Schneider (Schneider p. 266, Rov. 53 and p. 277, B. 296), and have been attributed to Dou by Münz (nos. 319 and 320). Given the uncertainty as to the authorship of these etchings, they provide no clue as to that of the head hidden beneath no. A 32. On the basis of what has just been said, and of the suspicion (see above under *Paint layer*) that the bottom paint layer was not completely dry when the top one was applied, it may be assumed that the first painting on the panel was done in Rembrandt's studio (by Rembrandt himself?).

As to the picture itself, the painting belongs to a group that nowadays are rightly regarded as depicting historical figures; Bauch[1] calls the subject a prophetess. The slightly closed eyes staring straight ahead might indeed suggest such a meaning, but in the absence of any attribute it is impossible to offer a specific interpretation.

5. Documents and sources

The panel bears on the back the burnt-in mark of King Charles I of England (C R with a crown) and, towards the bottom, W R 107. There can be no doubt that the painting is identical with that described in Abraham van der Doort's catalogue (of *c.* 1639) of the collection of Charles I as being in the Long Gallery at Whitehall (ed. Oliver Millar, *The Walpole Society* 37 (1960), p. 60, no. 101):

Done by Rembrandt & given to the kinge by my Lo: Ankrom	Item Betweene the . . . ffowerteene and last wind dowes an old woeman with a greate Scarfe uppon her heade with a peaked falling band In a Black frame.

The dimensions written by van der Doort's amanuensis as '1f11 [changed in the same handwriting to: 2f0] – 1ff6' [= 59.3 or 61.8 resp. × 46.4 cm] have been altered by van der Doort himself to read '2–0 – 1–7' [= 61.8 × 49 cm].

The back of the panel further carries a label: 'Given to the King by Sir Robert Kerr'[2]. Sir Robert Kerr (1578–1654) travelled to Holland in 1629 as the personal envoy of Charles I to the King and Queen of Bohemia, carrying condolences on the death of their eldest son[3] (see also under *8. Provenance*). As to the worth of the attribution to Rembrandt in van der Doort's catalogue, it must be pointed out that in another case a work that must most probably be regarded as a lost Lievens (cf. Schneider no. 11), and was similarly given to the King by Lord Ancram, is attributed by him to Rembrandt (cf. *The Walpole Society* 37 (1960), p. 57, no. 84).

Further complication is caused by a piece of evidence that up to now had not been connected with no. A 32. In the will, dated 3 June 1641, of Jacques de Gheyn III (A. Bredius in: *O.H.* 33 (1915), pp. 126–128); J. Q. van Regteren Altena, *The drawings of Jacques de Gheyn*, Amsterdam 1936, p. 129) there is – together with other works by Rembrandt (nos. A 13 and A 17 and the portrait of de Gheyn now in Dulwich, Br. 162) – a mention with no artist's name of 'een schilderije van een oude tronigne, die violet fluweel mit goude laeckenen gevoedert op het hooft heeft, wesende soe groot als het leven mit een lijst daerom' (a painting of an old person's face, with violet velvet lined with gold cloth over the head, done life-size with a frame around it). This cannot refer to no. A 32, which by 1641 must already have been in the royal collection for some considerable time: yet the description matches the subject of no. A 32 so closely that one may assume this to be a replica or copy. The fact that the de Gheyn will does not expressly list the painting as a work by Rembrandt could be in accord with this.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

1. For a presumed copy mentioned in 1641, see above under *5. Documents and sources*.

2. Parchment, 11.3 × 8.6 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum inv. no. A 4377. Signed WP. Listed in the 1712 inventory of the estate of Prince Johan Willem Friso of Orange (d. 1711) as being in the Court at Leeuwarden: 'Une vieille dame par Guillaume Paulet' (S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer (ed.), *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes . . . 1567–1795* II, The Hague 1974, p. 268, no. 254), where the artist is also given as Guillaume Pawlet (ibid., no. 251).

8. Provenance

The identity of no. A 32 with the painting in the collection of Charles I of England mentioned *c.* 1639 (see *5. Documents and sources* above) is beyond doubt. From the fact that the donor is mentioned on the label on the back of the panel as Sir Robert Kerr, it has been deduced that at that time he had not yet been raised to the peerage as Earl of Ancram, and that the gift was thus made prior to June 1633[3]. It has further been assumed that during his visit to Holland in 1629 Sir Robert Kerr came into possession of paintings some of which he gave to Charles I[1,3,4,5]. In view of the report by I. I. Orlers (*Beschrijvinge der Stadt Leyden*, Leiden 1641, p. 375ff, cf. Schneider p. 294, no. 116), concerning a work by Lievens (now lost, but listed in the inventory), that the Prince of Orange had this bought and presented it to the British ambassador who in turn gave it to the king, it is not unlikely that when Sir Robert Kerr returned from his mission in 1629 he did indeed take with him paintings intended for Charles I. It is not however possible to accept such an early dating for no. A 32 or for the Liverpool *Self-portrait* (no. A 33); it was therefore presumably in the possession of the English king since shortly before 1633, except during the Commonwealth (sold on 19 December 1651 to Bass – cf. The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods, ed. O. Millar, *The Walpole Society* 43 (1972), p. 265, no. 156[6]).

9. Summary

From the viewpoint of style there is no cogent substantiation of the attribution to Rembrandt. The background and dark lower part of the painting cannot, because of the condition which makes assessment difficult and because of the presence of the underlying picture, easily be compared with similar areas in other Rembrandt paintings. The lit areas, which are readily legible, show an extremely high quality coupled with a treatment that is only partially to be found in other works.

In these circumstances, the facts available about the picture's origins and the longstanding attribution to Rembrandt that goes with them provide important supporting evidence. It is true that as a result of the early confusion that occurred between Rembrandt and Lievens this attribution does not offer absolute certainty; yet the fact that Lievens' authorship is unlikely makes the mention of the painting by van der Doort as being by Rembrandt an important piece of evidence.

Only approximative dating is possible. The considerable confidence with which accessory details of ornament on the hood and in the collar have been executed point to the later Leiden years, no earlier than 1630–1631.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch 1966, 251.
2 J. G. van Gelder, 'Rembrandt and his circle', *Burl. Mag.* 95 (1953), pp. 34–39, esp. p. 37.
3 U. Hoff, *Rembrandt und England*, dissertation Hamburg 1935, p. 33; cf. Chr. White, 'Did Rembrandt ever visit England?', *Apollo* 76 (1962), pp. 177–184, esp. p. 180.
4 O. Millar, in exhibition cat. *The Orange and the Rose*, London 1964, p. 23.
5 Br.–Gerson 70.
6 C. H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the principal pictures in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle*, London 1937, p. 264, pl. 87.

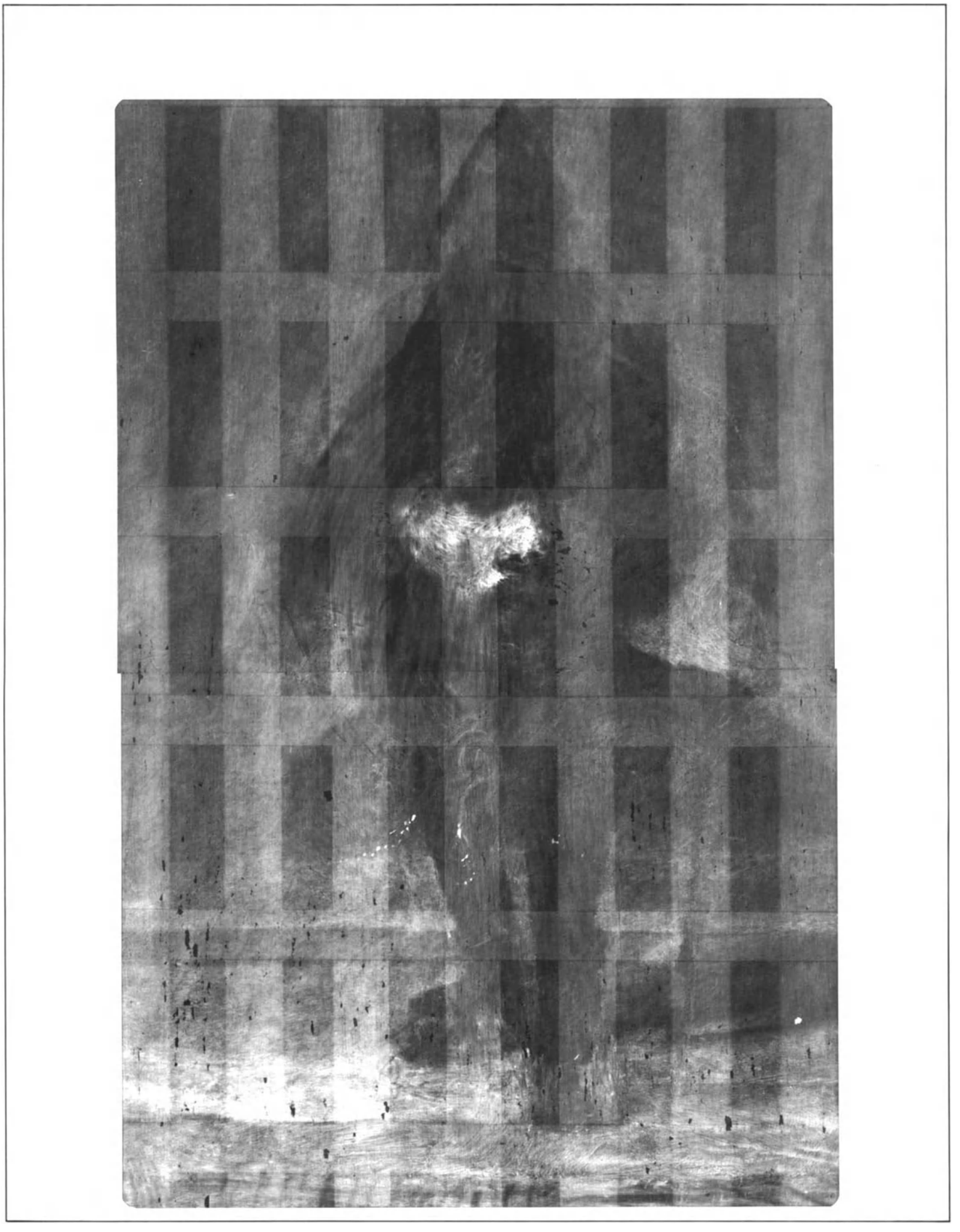
A 33 Self-portrait [1630/31]

LIVERPOOL, WALKER ART GALLERY, CAT. NO. 1011

HDG ZUSÄTZE 552A; BR. 12; BAUCH 297; GERSON 41

Fig. 1. Panel 69.7 × 57 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray



1. Summarized opinion

A painting whose imperfect state, due in part to an underlying painting, cannot be accurately assessed because of a yellowed layer of varnish but which can, all things considered, be regarded as autograph and dated in 1630/31.

2. Description of subject

A bust, with the body turned a little towards the left and the head slightly to the right, and the gaze fixed on the observer. The light falls from the left and illuminates the lefthand side of the face strongly while leaving the righthand half and the whole of the forehead in shadow. A black cap is worn over curly hair which stands out to each side. The sitter wears a dark garment with a fur-trimmed collar, over which hang the ends of a scarf knotted at the front. A gold chain, looped up at the centre, hangs over his shoulders. The fairly even background is lightest at the left, next to the head, and the picture is framed to an oval by spandrels in dark paint.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 9 June 1971 (B. H., P. v. Th.) in good daylight, and out of the frame, with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp. An infrared photograph and two X-ray films, covering 64.2 cm of the height of the picture and 40 cm of its width, were received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Panel, probably oak, grain vertical, 69.7 × 57 cm. Single plank. Planed down and stuck to a second panel, subsequently cradled.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light brownish colour, showing through to some extent in the hair on the left and in scratchmarks in the fur, can because of the presence of an underlying painting (see *X-Rays* below) not be unreservedly assumed to be the ground.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: A yellow layer of varnish hampers assessment of the condition. Numerous tiny patches of local paint loss in the background and clothing have been retouched. As confirmed by the X-ray and the infrared photograph, there has been some loss of paint next to the nose and mouth. Paint loss over the full width of the painting can be seen at the bottom, and can be put down to blistering. In general the paint layer shows a tendency to cupping. Apart from the paint losses that can be identified exactly, the face seems to have been refreshed in the shadows and near the eyes, eyebrows and eye-sockets. Parts of the scarf and the shadows beneath the chin and under the ear on the left also give a strong impression of having been strengthened. These suspicions found little or no confirmation under ultraviolet light, which suggests that if there is retouching it must be of some considerable age. Allowance must be made for the possibility that the unusual appearance of these shadow areas stems from the presence of an underlying paint layer (see *X-Rays* below). Craquelure: in the brown shadowed parts of the face, especially around the ear and along the nose, there is a slightly irregular network of cupped craquelure, together with one or two fine linear cracks.
DESCRIPTION: The paint layer offers a continuous surface, and varies little in thickness between dark and light areas. There is no pronounced impasto. The grain of the panel cannot be seen.

In its illuminated areas the face is painted in yellowish flesh tints with a little pink on the cheek and nose. The paint is opaque and has body, and the brushstrokes – of varying length – are invariably easy to make out. They usually follow the shape of the head, and due partly to the absence of any accents they contribute to the slightly chubby, round appearance of the face. The pink of the nose makes a sharp border with the ochre-coloured tint above it, and this dividing line between the two disappears only when the painting is viewed from some distance. A fairly insignificant and rather drawn-out highlight in a thin white has been placed on the left side of the tip of the nose.

The structure of the lefthand eye is uncertain, probably due to wearing: the white of the eye is a hazy grey, the iris is in a blotchy dark grey which has some brown showing through it, and the pupil is black. Vagueness in the structure of the features – such as a black stroke seen on the underside of the upper eyelid, and placed partly on top of the pupil – gives the definite impression that restoration has been carried out here. The same is true of a greyish veil laid over several features in this part of the face, and visible also over the shadowed part of the forehead and in the area of the eye on the right. This area round the righthand eye otherwise produces a more satisfactory effect of plasticity than does the other. The shadow on the right along the chin and jawline has probably been overpainted.

The nostrils are set within the shadow under the nose, which merges into the slightly thicker flesh coloured paint surrounding it. The moustache is done in tiny strokes of muddy grey, drawn out with the brush into the skin colour. The mouthline is drawn with a firm hand, dark over grey, while the lips are in a mid-red and a slightly lighter red with no visible brushstroke. The growth of beard below the mouth has no definite form; a minute line of glancing light is provided in an ochre colour.

The earlobe is executed vaguely in a ruddy brown and soon disappears among the hair where, along the outer edge, some of the underlying brown can be glimpsed. There is little structure to the hair, and it has a spotty appearance in places; there is a greyish haze above the ear. The ends of the hair, in a brownish grey, are indicated vaguely, and are placed on top of the grey background. The hair has a similar appearance on the right, but there it is somewhat darker and less translucent.

The cap, done in black, has traces of grey in places that catch the light, though without any clear plastic effect being achieved.

The knotted scarf is painted in muddy grey and brown, using fairly thick paint applied with long and clearly distinguishable strokes of the brush; the form is cluttered and weak. The short hanging end has an ornamental motif in thick light yellow and ochre yellow. The brown edge of shadow on the left half of the neck seems to be a later addition.

The fur collar is painted on the left in a ruddy brown and grey, and the brushstrokes can now hardly be made out. On the right the rendering of the material is enhanced with a great many scratched zig-zag lines running in various directions (very clearly apparent in the infrared photograph and also to some extent in the X-ray).

The black garment is executed in opaque, dark paint with a greyish haze on the left. The lefthand outline is vague and indeterminate, while on the right the grey paint of the background penetrates, wet-in-wet, into the black and to some extent mingles with it.

Fig. 3. Infrared photograph

The background around the head is a brownish grey, which merges into a cooler grey further out. The continuous paint layer shows a clear pattern of brushstrokes, especially in the areas of slightly thicker paint around the head; here, the brushstroke often follows the outline, particularly by the cap. A pentimento can be seen above the cap, in the shape of a triangle with a sharp apex, and indicates a suppressed form (see under *X-Rays* below).

The four spandrels of the oval framing are let into the background, and are done in a greyish black; the edge of the imprecise oval is rather limp and unsharp.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The illuminated parts of the head in the present painting show up clearly in the X-ray image as a pattern of quite long brushstrokes. It is noticeable that the light cheek area extends not only from the nose and along under the man's right eye, but also stretches a fair distance out to the left as a weaker white, to above the eye. The dark shadow cast by the hair must have been placed over lighter paint, and the eye-socket too has been partly glazed to make it darker. It is also not impossible that, at least on the left, part of the underlying layer (to be mentioned in a moment) contributes to the overall effect. The background also shows up lightish on the left and, especially, on the right along the outline of the dark reserve for the shoulder and hair. The highest lights in the chain and the decoration on the scarf provide a clear white, as does (though with less contrast) the broadly-brushed knot.

Disregarding the clearly visible cradle, the radiographic image is largely dominated by a full-length standing figure, appearing mainly as a dark form. The dark part of the trunk has bands, showing where paint has been scraped away; lower down, the legs and the shadow cast by the figure are visible as dark reserves in a light area representing the ground. The feet, placed almost at right angles to each other, are seen in two versions; the upper version, somewhat smaller and more sharply defined than the lower, is probably the later of the two. The ground area, which is quite light and has clearly distinguishable brushstrokes, reaches almost a third of the way up. The shape that can be seen above this makes one suspect that the figure was shown wearing a short, flared cloak. A dark triangular shape can be seen at the position of the headgear, and corresponds to the pentimento seen at the paint surface; possibly this triangular shape (which suggests a pointed cap or a mitre) is partly a result of the scraping away of the paint.

A rather ragged-edged reserve seems to run from the point where one might expect to find the man's left hand down to a point on the ground close to his feet. One might, with a great deal of caution, claim to see a stick in this, and there does seem to be a reserve for its shadow on the ground.

Local paint losses can be clearly seen in the X-ray image.

Signature

At the upper left in the dark spandrel, in red in quite thin letters ‹*Rembrant. f.*›. This bears no resemblance to authentic signatures by Rembrandt, and is undoubtedly a later addition.

Varnish

A yellowed layer of varnish hinders observation.

4. Comments

The condition of no. A 33 obviously leaves much to be desired, though the full extent of the wearing and restorations cannot by clearly determined. This makes assessment of the painting particularly difficult.

The main characteristics that are involved in an assessment, and lend themselves to a comparison with other works, can be listed as follows: the paint surface exhibits great continuity, and the paint has been fairly evenly applied – possibly because of the presence of an underlying painting. In general, the brushstrokes that provide the modelling are clearly visible, though they are less fluent and bold at the paint surface than they appear in the X-ray; this is something one would not expect in a copy. Nevertheless, the lit parts of the face have a somewhat empty appearance, with a lack of articulation. The light falls entirely on the face, and very little spills over onto the clothing and background; it does however create a strong effect of plasticity, particularly if the picture is viewed from some distance. Other than in the head, there is very little modelling in the painting, even in the parts of the scarf seen in the light.

In considering the attribution to Rembrandt, one is to a major extent faced with the problem that also arises with, for example, the *Self-portrait* of 1629 in the Gardner Museum, Boston (no. A 20) and the Toledo *Young man* of 1631 (no. A 41) – though to a greater or lesser degree it affects all the *tronies*, or 'heads', from these years. Rembrandt's study of the human face viewed under a complicated lighting and at varying distances is seen to have given rise to such a variety of treatments that it is extremely difficult to define their common features, and to draw any firm line as to what is acceptable within our understanding of the artist's oeuvre. The prime work for comparison must be the thematically related Boston *Self-portrait*, which was likewise painted on top of another picture. In both instances a similar lighting problem has resulted in a certain emptiness in the face, though it must be said that in no. A 33 the visible brushstroke lends more liveliness to the paint surface. The effect of light falling on the shoulders in the Boston painting is entirely absent here; on the contrary, one is struck by a rather vague and almost indifferent treatment of all the accessory items, reminding one in many respects of what is seen in the *Young man* in Toledo. Against this it must be argued that in that work the painting of the head, largely in shadow, is quite different – it is freer and more sketchlike, with a greater use of translucent effects, than no. A 33 (though in the latter the remains of the underlying picture may well have made translucent effects unfeasible). It is, in short, quite possible to see no. A 33 as one of a series of Rembrandt's experiments in dealing with a bust of a young man at

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1.5)

Fig. 5. Rembrandt, *The Persian*, 1632, etching (B. 152; reproduced in reverse, 1 : 1)

almost life size, under strong side-lighting and observed at some distance. This idea is a little more readily defensible if one then takes as the end of the series the Glasgow *Portrait of the artist* (Br. 17) dated 1632, conceived as a true portrait, where the modelling in the illuminated flesh areas offers a similar even appearance. The slightly shapeless impression made by a manner of painting that seems to be not really suited to the large scale of the work (though this impression be partly due to the painting's condition) nevertheless continues to cause some hesitation in attributing no. A 33.

There are three items of evidence that are enough to tip the scales and overcome this hesitation. If one proceeds from the assumption, based on the brushwork which is clearly visible especially in the X-ray, that no. A 33 must be regarded as an original and not a copy, then there can be scarcely any doubt that it is (as Ursula Hoff[1] was the first to assume) identical with the painting mentioned in van der Doort's catalogue of *c.* 1639 of the collection of Charles I of England, 'being his owne picture & done by himself in a Black capp and furrd habbitt with a litle gouldden chaine uppon both his Should[rs] In an Ovall and a square black frame' (see *5. Documents and sources* below). Because of the perfect agreement between this description and no. A 33, one must assume that this (or, in theory, another version of the same picture) came into England before *c.* 1639 and was regarded as a Rembrandt.

A second argument can be borrowed from the traces seen in the X-ray of an underlying painting. The treatment of this full-length standing figure is so like that of *The artist in oriental costume* in the Petit Palais, Paris (no. A 40) – including the correction of the position of the feet – that this composition, now partly scraped away and entirely overpainted, must with a great measure of probability be looked on as a

Fig. 6. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1631, etching (B. 7 IV; reproduced in reverse, 1 : 1)

work by Rembrandt. The placing of the figure in the plane and in depth, the matching (reversed) position of the feet and the light falling so as to throw strong shadows to the right put this composition (painted on a slightly larger panel) immediately next to the Paris work; and in this connexion the signed and etched pictures of exotically-garbed figures that are mentioned in our discussion of that work can serve as proof of Rembrandt's preoccupation with subjects of this kind. If one is correct in seeing in the X-ray of no. A 33 an indication of a stick held in the man's left hand, then the 1632 etching of *The Persian* (B. 152; our fig. 5) in particular is very similar indeed to the underlying figure. Naturally, the authorship of the underlying painting constitutes no proof for the attribution of the top painting, but it does provide strong circumstantial evidence, especially when one remembers that various of Rembrandt's early *tronies*, or 'heads', were painted over other pictures (cf. nos. A 8, A 20, A 32 and also no. B 4), and that he not infrequently scraped part of a layer of paint away – just as has been done here – before it was completely dry and hardened, either to make way for an entirely new picture (cf. no. A 38) or to make major corrections (cf. nos. A 30 and A 39).

And finally, no. A 33 comes so close to the self-portraits (particularly the etched ones) from around 1630 in the way the head has been observed and rendered that this, too, can be seen as evidence in favour of Rembrandt's authorship. The strongest similarity in lighting and detail is, significantly enough, with what is regarded as the most representative *Self-portrait* (B. 7), of which at least the earlier states date from 1631 (fig. 6).

This accumulation of evidence warrants the assumption that no. A 33 comes from Rembrandt's hand, and represents a still somewhat experimental stage – datable roughly as 1630/31 – in the series of *tronies* on quite large panels that began in 1629. Rembrandt will quite soon – still during 1631 – have found convincing solutions to the problems presented by paintings of this kind, probably when dealing with the difficulties encountered when carrying out his first portrait commissions.

The painted black oval frame occurs (other than perhaps in the lost original of no. C 41) once more, at about the same time, in the *Old woman* in Windsor Castle (no. A 32), though it is there remarkably and inexplicably placed off-centre on the panel. It is noteworthy that both these paintings can be assumed to have been already in the possession of Charles I of England; were the painted frames perhaps added to them there? This would provide a welcome explanation for the not very convincing execution, but in no. A 33 the grey background does not appear to continue underneath the black (though this cannot be verified in the X-ray, probably because the background of the underlying painting has produced a stronger X-ray image). It is perhaps conceivable that the painting was intended to have an oval mask inside the frame; the description given by Abraham van der Doort around 1639 'In an Ovall and a square black frame' (see below under *5. Documents and sources*) would certainly not contradict this.

5. Documents and sources

As Ursula Hoff was the first to assume[1], no. A 33 is in all probability identical with the painting described in Abraham van der Doort's catalogue of *c.* 1639 of the collection of Charles I of England as being in the Long Gallery at Whitehall (O. Millar, ed., *The Walpole Society* 37 (1960), p. 57, no. 87):

Given to the Kinge by my Lo: Ankrom
Item above my Lo: Ankroms doore the picture done by Rembrant. being his owne picture & done by himself in a Black capp and furrd habbitt with a litle goulden chaine uppon both his Should[rs] In an Ovall and a square black frame.
2–4–1–11 [= 72.1 × 59.3 cm]

Probably no. A 33 is also the work referred to in a list of 'Severall. Pictures [of St. James's, appraised 16 February 1649/50]' (O. Millar, ed., *The Walpole Society* 43 (1972), p. 264: 128. A. man w[th] a Chaine about his neck at £05–0–0 [by Rembrandt. . sold to Bass a/o 19 Dec. 1651]

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

Several copies are known to exist, but have scant documentary value.

8. Provenance

– Most probably in collection of Charles I of England by *c.* 1639 possibly since before June 1633 (see under *5. Documents and sources* above, and entry no. A 32 under *8. Provenance*).
– Sold during the Commonwealth to Major Edward Bass and others, on 19 December 1651 (see above under *5. Documents and sources*).
– At Penshurst in the 18th century; an inventory, probably dating from the middle or early part of the eighteenth century, entitled *Catalogue of the pictures at Penshurst*, taken by Mr. George Montague of Sawsey Forest (National Portrait Gallery) mentions: 'A Head, by Rembrandt' (letter from Mr. Edward Morris, Keeper of Foreign Art, Walker Art Gallery, dated 24 February 1972). Coll. Lord de l'Isle and Dudley, sale London (Sotheby's) 14 April 1948, no. 144 (to Ch. E. Duits).
– Coll. Mrs. Borthwick Norton, from whom it was purchased in 1953.

9. Summary

The condition of no. A 33 makes a proper assessment difficult, and the presence of an underlying painting provides an additional complication. In composition and lighting the painting fits, in its conception, into Rembrandt's work from around 1630/31. The execution is however – especially in the accessories but also in the largely coarse modelling of the head – not satisfactory in all respects; but this is in fact often precisely the case with *tronies* ('heads') done on a large scale *c.* 1630.

The idea of its being a copy is gainsaid by the brushwork, especially in the light areas (as can also be seen in the X-rays).

Positive evidence for its being autograph is provided by the figure seen in the remains of an earlier painting visible in the X-ray and the way this has been partly scraped off, by the attribution in the collection of Charles I of England which most probably relates to this work, and by the very close similarities with etched self-portraits, especially B. 7 of 1631.

REFERENCE

1 U. Hoff, *Rembrandt und England*, dissertation Hamburg 1935, p. 33ff.

A 34 Simeon in the Temple

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJK KABINET VAN SCHILDERIJEN, MAURITSHUIS, CAT. NO. 145

HDG 80; BR. 543; BAUCH 52; GERSON 17

1. Summarized opinion

Though imperfectly preserved in the background and slightly mutilated at the two upper corners, this is nonetheless an undoubtedly major work from the end of the Leiden period, reliably signed and dated 1631.

2. Description of subject

Like no. A 12, the picture depicts a moment just before the actual Presentation (the purification of the Virgin Mary) when the old man Simeon and the prophetess Anna are singing the praises of Christ (Luke 2: 25–38).

The action takes place in a very high, dim building, in a shaft of light falling from the left. The main group of figures, open to the front, is seen in the centre of the picture and at some distance, on a partly-lit plateau of large stone paving-slabs. Simeon is on the right in the full light, and has fallen onto one knee holding the infant Christ in his arms, his head facing the light and tilted back with the mouth open wide. Diagonally behind him to the left Mary crouches down on both knees, with her head turned towards him. To the left kneels Joseph, with the sacrifice consisting of two doves, overshadowed and partly hidden by the standing figure of Anna. The latter is seen from the side and rear, and is stretching out her right arm. This central group also includes two old men looking on from behind Mary and Simeon, and a third who bends forward behind (and is largely hidden by) Simeon. In the dimly-lit foreground on the extreme right, and on the same plateau, stands a bench on which a bearded old man is seated; the head of a second figure beside him can also be seen.

Beyond the plateau, in the lefthand part of the picture, a very dark, lower area stretches back and is reminiscent of the choir in a gothic church: clustered columns support three arches, framing completely dark spaces and curving away towards the left, and there is presumably also a vaulted roof which though only vaguely visible must certainly be very high. A gold-coloured altar and golden objects can be seen in the first two of these arches. A number of very small figures can be seen in the depth of this area; on the left a man gestures to a figure carrying a censer on a chain, while another figure is walking away into the distance and, right at the back, someone is kneeling.

In the darkness on the right there is the opening of a transept-like space occupied by a very wide and high flight of steps and filled with a crowd of figures (the Mauritshuis catalogue, 1935 edition, p. 274, gives their number as forty-two). Right at the top a high priest, wearing a mitre, sits under an enormous baldachin, flanked by a large number of dignitaries one of whom holds a long staff topped by three candles. A man and a woman are kneeling before him. A mass of people moves up the left side of the steps. On the right a man and woman are descending past a small group standing on the steps which includes a soldier in armour and helmet. At the bottom of the steps, a bowed old man stands looking up from an open book he is holding.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 24 September 1973 (B. H., E. v. d. W.) in good artificial light and in the frame, with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp and one X-ray film (covering the central portion).

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 60.9 × 47.8 cm. Thickness at left 0.7 cm, at right 0.9 cm. Two planks, with the join at 23.5 cm from the lefthand edge. Back bevelled along the top, righthand and lefthand sides, and only a little at the left on the bottom edge. There are traces of canvas having been stuck to the panel (see under *X-Rays*). Small parts of the panel were lost at the two top corners when in the 18th century an arched top was fitted to the picture (see under *4. Comments*); this is now masked by the frame at the front.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg). The planks come from different trees. Righthand plank: 110 annual rings heartwood, not datable. Lefthand plank: 216 annual rings heartwood, datable as 1374–1589; the wood comes from the same tree (and even from the same plank) as that used for a plank of the panel of the Amsterdam *Old woman reading* (no. A 37), the most recent ring of which may be dated as 1590. The earliest possible felling date is therefore 1605. Growing area North Netherlands[1].

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellow-brown shows through in thin areas, especially in the first of the columns and the arched opening next to it.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[2] chalk is used for the priming; white lead was found on top of this in some places. The translucent brown layer which was identified in places, containing umber and Cologne earth, is mentioned in connexion with the ground but with the possibility left open that it is part of the underpainting (see De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes op. cit.[2] p. 214, column IV and V); this seems to our mind to be more likely.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Well preserved in the thicker areas, so far as it is possible to tell through the varnish, but with considerable retouching in the thinner parts of the architecture and the baldachin. Discoloured inpaintings, both large and small, can be seen; some run with the grain, others diagonally across it. There are also retouches in the shadow along and below the face of the Child. Craquelure: extremely fine hairline cracks appear here and there. Shrinkage cracks can be seen in the old man in the right foreground, in the old man with the book, in the shadow part of Simeon's robe and in Anna's train; the first and lastnamed areas coincide with places where the X-ray, too, shows that paint has been applied over another paint layer.

DESCRIPTION: The handling of paint varies widely from one area to the next, and is dictated mainly by the lighting; paint is thickest in the main group in the full light, and thinnest in the dimly-lit architectural features. All the colour – mainly in broken, light tints – is concentrated in this main group, amidst the dark greys and browns of the surroundings.

In the figure of Simeon a striking variety of colours, applied in various ways and with great assuredness, achieves a detailed rendering of shape which nonetheless relies a great deal on suggestion. The head and wrinkled skin of the neck are done in small strokes in various flesh tints ranging through to the pink used for the fine, small lines showing the eyelid; the lower teeth are shown in the black aperture of the mouth; the hair and beard are rendered carefully in shades of grey and white; and tiny highlights are used to enliven the modelling. The hands, too, are done with tiny dabs of the brush. His robe is, in the lit parts, laid-in in a lilac basic tone, over which have been placed numerous strokes and dots of a lighter lilac, ochrish and yellow

Fig. 1. Panel 60.9 × 47.8 cm

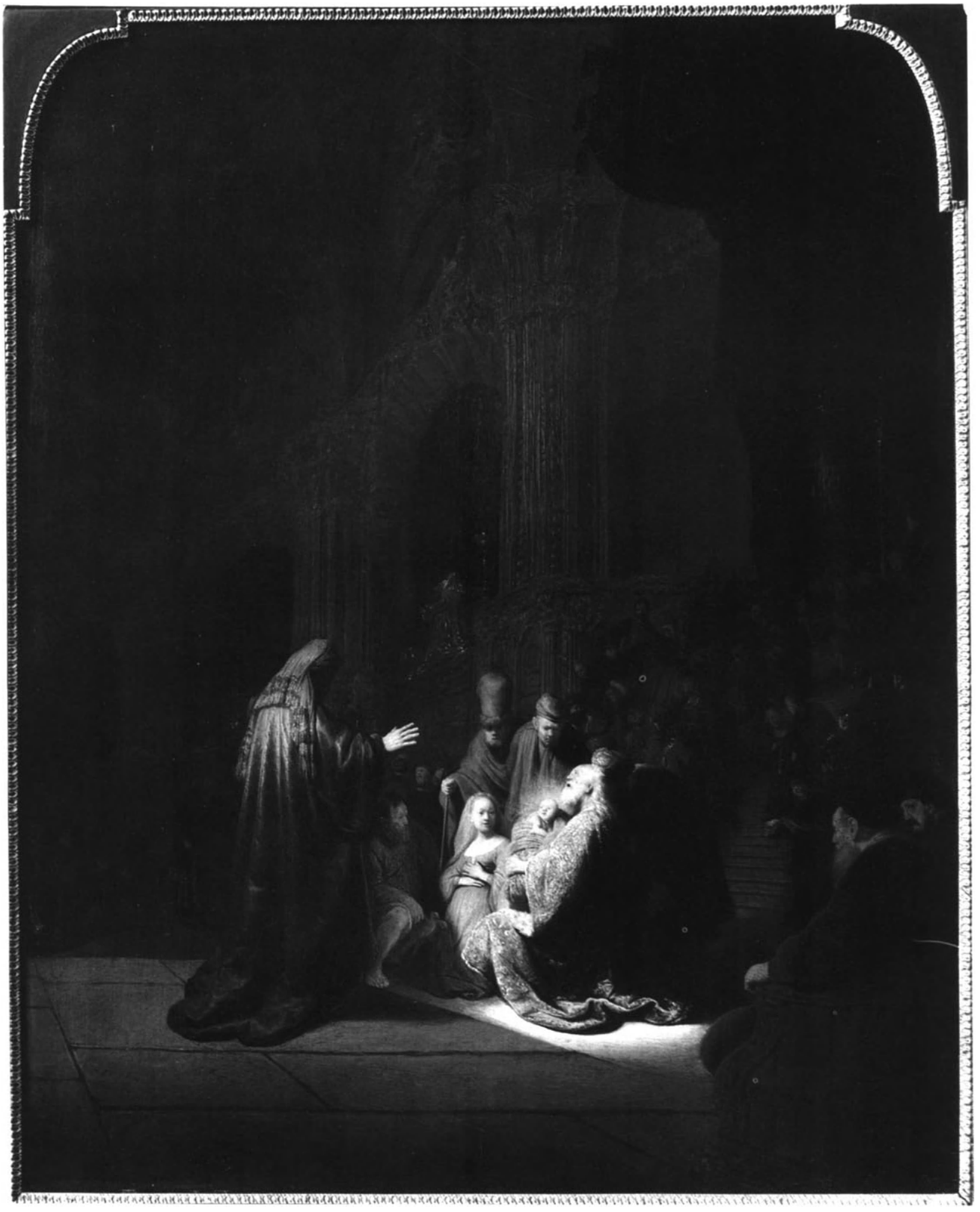


Fig. 2. X-ray

tints; along the shoulder and arm, curved and straight scratch-marks (going down to the basic tone) reinforce the hint of a pattern. In the darkness of the back of his robe, highlights continue partway along folds.

The Child is painted in a more general way, as is the greenish-grey blanket in which he is lying; he is wrapped in a cloth which presents a shot effect of brick-red with light blue in the fine folds. Mary's face is painted more smoothly and is paler than Simeon's; the flesh colour has a little grey, which also occurs in the hands, and small strokes of pink mark the eyelids and the ear. Her garment, in which the brushstrokes follow the fall of the folds, is painted in an even grey-blue.

Anna's clothing is in shades of a red tending to violet, which has quite thick paint in long strokes to show the sheen along the folds, where fine, diagonal strokes suggest the curvature of the cloth. The contours on the shadow side of her very wide sleeve are strengthened with dark, almost black paint. The draped headdress is indicated in fine and mainly straight strokes in an ochre colour and blue-green. Her hand, held in the full glare of the light, is rendered in great detail with small dots and tiny strings of white paint giving highlights on the nails and fingers and (running lengthwise) on the back of the hand.

The figure of Joseph is sketched summarily, predominantly in grey with some brown; there are numerous, minute light dots of paint. The suggestion is created that Joseph, in Anna's shadow, is catching some of the light reflected from Simeon and the Child.

The two onlookers behind Mary and Simeon are again done with rather more colour, and painted effectively though without a great deal of detail; their flesh colour is rather more ruddy than that of the other figures, and a little red is also used together with the greenish grey painted along the draped folds of their clothing. The main feature of the third onlooker, behind Simeon, is his turban with its dots of light paint.

The two figures in the right foreground are, like the bench they sit on, shown broadly in muted tints.

The stone paving-slabs are executed in an opaque grey in the half shadows, and it is possible (see under *X-Rays*) that the relief visible here is determined to some extent by the layer of lighter paint that underlies them. This is certainly so for the inordinately strong relief beside and in Joseph's foot, which comes from an underlying light patch. The gaps between the slabs are indicated by fairly broad lines ranging from dark grey to black, sometimes bounded by a thin light edging. In the light, near to Simeon, the colour of the floor (consisting of an indeterminate material) is a light yellow and grey-yellow.

The floor in the space lower down beyond is in a dark cool grey, against which the few small figures stand out very little.

In the clustered columns the paint is more opaque as the colour tone becomes cooler. The nearest column is warmest in tone, through the use of browns and thin greys that allow the ground to show through. The same can be said for the dark opening beneath the first arch. The next two openings are done in an increasingly opaque, flat black, as is the large baldachin on the right, the uppermost part of which in particular appears to have been heavily retouched. The gold vessels and the altar in the openings of the arches are in browns with yellow highlights.

The crowd of people seen on the steps and behind the main group are sketched in a variety of browns, a lilac colour and greys, and with great sureness of touch. The flesh tints are greyish. Tiny spots of light pick out details in their clothing and, for instance, in the armour of the soldier on the right. One or two figures, such as the old man reading the book at the bottom of the steps, are vaguer and are given a less positive form.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[2] dark brown areas in the foreground and other dark layers detected as an underpainting contain Cologne earth mixed with bone black, red lake and ochres in varying proportions (see also under *Ground,* SCIENTIFIC DATA). As for the upper layers, he states: 'the blue in Maria's gown is azurite, which has been applied to the white lead in the form of "scattered blue", very finely distributed. Apart from red ochre, a red lake pigment has also been generously used as red colouring matter – *inter alia* in the areas of shadow, and for glazes in the background. Vermilion has been used very sparingly. It was found in Simeon's hand among other places. The yellow in this work consists principally of yellow ochres, sometimes mixed with white grains of white lead. The bright, pale yellow in Simeon's cloak proved, however, to consist of lead-tin yellow. The greenish-grey to olive brown colours in the background and in the flagstones in the foreground are composed of umber and white lead, ochre, smalt, bone black and red lake pigment.' No green pigment was detected.

X-Rays

The radiographic image is affected to some extent by the white marks produced by the remains of radioabsorbent paste from the canvas that has since been removed from the back of the panel. In various parts of the foreground the X-ray shows a strong white where the paint surface would not lead one to expect this, especially in the area to the right of Anna; this is an indication that in an earlier stage, perhaps that of laying-in the dead colouring, the distribution of light in the scene was intended to be rather different. This is hinted at, too, by the white continuing around Simeon's draped cloak, against which a dark reserve – evidently intended for a shadow cast by the third onlooker – stands out in contrast. In this foreground, appearing as mainly light, Anna's cloak is seen in reserve to be smaller (i.e. without a train). There is no reserve left for Joseph's foot; evidently he was not planned in his present position in his present form. In the area of the present Christ child, the X-ray shows a sharply outlined dark reserve in the cloak of the second onlooker, containing a light form that may be read as a face of a bearded man and in any case does not correspond to the present head of the Child; one may assume that these are traces of the Joseph figure as it was originally planned and carried to some degree of execution. The sharply outlined dark reserve would in that case not, as De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[2] suggested, correspond to Christ's halo, which would hardly produce a dark, sharply outlined image in the X-ray. The space for the third onlooker is considerably smaller than the area occupied today by his bulky cloak, and stands out against the white of the highlights of the bottom steps; these are now largely hidden by his figure, and are besides in the dark. The man holding a book at the bottom of the steps appears in the X-ray as a vague, light shape. At the bottom right there is a blurred, fairly dark reserve roughly coinciding with the shape of the bench seen at that point, but one finds no provision made for the old man seated on it in his present form.

Signature

In almost black paint on the bench in the right foreground ‹*RHL* (in monogram) *1631*›. Makes an entirely reliable impression.

Varnish

The varnish layer is uneven, but in the darker parts it is quite thick and tends to interfere with observation.

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

4. Comments

Although the conception and execution of various areas offer surprises of all kinds, there cannot be the slightest doubt about the work's authenticity and date of 1631: the affinity to works dated 1630 and 1631 is too close. The effect of concentrated light on shapes defined with a fine brushstroke that suggests rather than delineates is very comparable indeed to that found in representations of isolated figures like the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* of 1630 (no. A 28) and the *S. Peter in prison* of 1631 in a private collection, Belgium (no. A 36). In these one also finds the thin and transparent indication of depth in the halflight, contrasting with the thick, opaque layer of paint in the illuminated areas. The great diversity of the use made of paint, altering from one area to the next to suit the lighting, rendering of materials and colour, is here taken even further than it was in previous works.

A particularly surprising feature of the design is the way the illuminated main group has been placed in a complicated though fairly readily comprehensible spatial arrangement, that stretches both high up and far back. The linear perspective is, for Rembrandt, dealt with unusually consistently. The orthogonals of the paving-slabs and the arcade virtually all meet at a single vanishing point, just off the lefthand edge of the picture; only the steps in the 'transept', which one ought to read similarly as orthogonals, do not match up with the direction required by doing so.

Surprising, too, is the form of architecture, insofar as the condition of the paint and varnish in the dark areas allow this to be interpreted. The general layout reminds one most of a gothic church, yet it is hard to point to any prototype for the distinctly-membered clustered columns with their massive, spreading capitals and bases built up from small columns and blind arches; similar forms appear especially in the drawing of *Solomon's idolatry* (Ben. 136, as *c.* 1637) in the Louvre. The motif of a broad flight of steps leading up to an enthroned high priest occurs in a very similar form in the small etching of *Simeon in the Temple* of 1630 (B. 51), which in its spatial arrangement is a direct preparation for no. A 34 and in its figure composition provides the link between this painting and the earlier one of the same subject, now in Hamburg (no. A 12).

Also surprising in some ways is the range of colours in the central group which differs quite substantially, in its broken tints tending towards cool tones, from those in roughly contemporaneous works.

Hardly any of the numerous figure motifs incorporated in this composition can be found in a similar form in earlier works. One knows of no preliminary study for the crowd of people staffing the flight of steps, who are painted in a quite masterly manner. At most, one can detect in the two old men looking on from behind Mary and Simeon variants on a theme that is treated in a number of early Rembrandt drawings and etchings of beggars, and the third, only partly visible onlooker in a turban can be seen as having a remote connexion with the pen drawing in Berlin of an oriental figure bending forward (Ben. 10; as *c.* 1629 and as related to the Ottawa *Tribute money*; see no. C 7, fig. 6), where the light however falls from the right.

It seems quite evident, from a comparison of this picture with the earlier one in Hamburg (no. A 12), that the standing principal figure – previously taken to be a priest – must indeed as Bauch[3] has stated be the prophetess Anna. In the Hamburg painting, too, Simeon was probably initially depicted as he is here with his head tilted back and praising God, but was then shown in a later and final version as addressing Mary. Compared to the Hamburg work, the arrangement of the figures in the main group has been altered a little, and their number has increased; most of all, however, the extent of the space depicted is much greater and – as the most significant iconographic addition – the high priest is now seen to be present, albeit in a position well away from the centre of the picture. The model used for the figure of Simeon is the one repeatedly encountered elsewhere in Rembrandt's work (cf. entry no. A 11 under *4. Comments*).

The composition must have made a great impression, especially on the Haarlem painter Willem de Poorter (1608 – after 1648) who – irrespective of whether or not he was the author of the copy listed

Fig. 4. Detail (3 : 1)

under 7. *Copies* below – painted on a number of occasions pictures of a similar type and incorporating similar figure motifs, such as the signed *Christ and the woman taken in adultery* in Dresden (no. 1390) and the signed *Circumcision* in Kassel (no. 260).

When no. A 34 was in the collection of Prince William V of Orange (see below under *8. Provenance*) an arch-shaped piece was added to the top of the panel to give it the same height as the *Young mother* by Gerard Dou (Mauritshuis no. 32), which measures 73·5 × 55·5 cm. Two small pieces of the original panel were lost at the upper corners when this was done. It is possible that Philips van Dyk, a painter and art dealer in The Hague who bought the work (for the Prince?) in 1733, carried out this enlargement.

There is for the present no evidence to support a surmise that no. A 34 might be identical with a painting of Simeon with the infant Christ described as being in the collection of Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange in 1632 (cf. entry no. A 12 under *8. Provenance*).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

The oldest prints mentioned by Hofstede de Groot (HdG 80), the engravings by Johannes Pieter de Frey (Amsterdam 1770–Paris 1834) in *Le Musée Français*, those by Antoine Abraham Goujon-Devilliers (Paris 1784–1818) in the *Musée Napoléon* (in reverse) and the aquatint by F. C. Bierweiler (*c.* 1815) all date from after the panel had been enlarged – including the lastnamed even though it is rectangular. They provide no usable information about the earlier appearance of the painting.

7. Copies

1. Panel, 60 × 48.5 cm, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie (no. 1391), attributed to Willem de Poorter. An old and very faithful copy of no. A 34 in its original, rectangular form. Because of the worn condition of the background this copy tells one very little about the earlier appearance of no. A 34, though one does get the impression that the upper part of the baldachin and its hanging tassels were lighter in tone and did not stand out as a dark silhouette. It is noticeable that a number of cracks have been painted in the paving slabs that are not present in the original.

2. An old copy in the collection of A. Soós in London, not seen by us (cf. A. Soós, *Rembrandt, Simeon in the Temple*, London 1965, in which this version is regarded as the original).

8. Provenance

– Coll. Adriaan Bout, sale The Hague 11ff August 1733 (Lugt 427), no. 82: 'Simeon in den Tempel curieus en uytvoerig geschildert, vol Beelden, van zyn alderbeste en uytvoerigste tyd, hoog 23, breet 18 + ½ duym [= 60.2 × 48.8 cm]' (Simeon in the Temple, strikingly and elaborately painted, full of figures, from his best and most thorough period, height 23 inches, width 18½ inches) (430 guilders to Van Dyk[2]; 830 guilders, Hoet I, p. 391).
– Coll. William V of Orange. Inventories of Het Loo 1757/59 and 1763: 'Simeon in den Tempel met het kindeke door Rembrant – 2v. 6d. × 1v. 8d. [= 78.5 × 52.3 cm]'[4].
– Coll. William V of Orange, The Hague: 'Een uitmuntend Stuk, verbeeldende: Simeon in den Tempel met het Kind Jezus op zyn Armen, waar by Maria, Joseph en meer andere Figuuren, verwonderlyk schoon, zoo van Ordinantie als Dag, schaduw en uitvoerigheidt, door Rembrant van Rhyn; op paneel – 2v. 6d × 1v. 8d.' (An outstanding piece, depicting: Simeon in the Temple with the infant Jesus in his arms, together with Mary, Joseph and other figures, wonderfully fine in design as in light, shade and detail, by Rembrant van Rhyn) (Hoet-Terw. pp. 708–709).
– With the Orange collection in Paris between 1795 and 1815.

9. Summary

No. A 34, which is partly no longer in perfect condition, must be looked on as a high point in Rembrandt's style of the Leiden period, a number of whose qualities it epitomizes: these include in particular the strongly concentrated lighting coupled with a widely varying degree of detail and widely differing manner of painting in the various components of the picture. There had been hardly any preparation in previous works for certain other aspects such as, especially, the pronounced effect of depth in the architecture of the building, part of which is staffed with a mass of small figures. The type of this architecture, which occurs only sporadically in Rembrandt's work, does not seem to stem from any tradition.

The execution is extremely sure, both in the carefully and more thickly painted illuminated areas and in the thinner, sketched parts of the composition. Some change was made to the scheme of light and shadow while the work was being painted, as is in fact often seen during these years.

REFERENCES

1 Cf. Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, pp. 490–491.
2 De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes, pp. 73–76, 214–215.
3 Bauch 1933, p. 96; cf. W. Stechow, 'Rembrandt's 'Presentation in the dark manner'', *The Print Collector's Quarterly* 27 (1940), pp. 364–379, esp. p. 371, note 7.
4 S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer (ed.), *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes . . . 1567–1795* II, The Hague 1974 (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, large series 148), p. 652, m.

A 35 Christ on the cross

1631

LE MAS D'AGENAIS, LOT ET GARONNE, PARISH CHURCH

HDG– ; BR.– ; BAUCH 54; GERSON 56; BR.-GERSON 543A

Fig. 1. Canvas stuck on panel 99.9 × 72.6 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray

1. Summarized opinion

Transferred to canvas, but otherwise well preserved in the vital areas, reliably signed and dated 1631 and undoubtedly an authentic work.

2. Description of subject

Christ, wearing a white loin cloth, with gathering like that on a shirt and with the crown of thorns on his head, hangs with arms outspread from the cross; this is set parallel to the picture plane and a little to the right of centre, and occupies almost the entire height of the painting. His body, lit strongly from the top left, is twisted slightly to the left, while the head drops to the right against the shoulder. The face, with the eyebrows drawn together and the mouth open, expresses physical suffering. The hands, and each of the feet separately, are fastened to the cross with nails, and blood drips from the four wounds. Above Christ's head a quite large title is attached to the cross by two nails, and curls at the bottom right corner. The carefully written inscription on it, in Hebrew, Latin and Greek, reads: Jesus the Nazarene king of the Jews.

The shaft of the cross, to the bottom part of which pieces of treebark are still attached, is held firm in the ground by three stakes which, to judge by their split top ends, have been driven into the ground with heavy blows of a mallet, to act as wedges. The ground itself drops away outside the picture. On the right the trunk of a tree is visible, with a little foliage at top and bottom. Otherwise the background is filled by a dark and rather cloudy sky, which becomes slightly lighter level with Christ's head and torso, especially on the left.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 22 December 1970 (S. H. L., P. v. Th.) in good daylight and without the frame. A complete set of X-ray films received later from the Rijksmuseum.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Now canvas stuck on a panel, 99.9 × 72.6 cm, with an arched top. Panel composed of three vertical planks, with the back cradled. The canvas has crumbled somewhat along all four edges. It must be assumed that the work was originally painted on wood, an assumption that finds support in the nature of the mainly horizontal and vertical direction of the craquelure; but it must have already been transferred to canvas before it was placed on a new, cradled panel in 1854 (see below under *4. Comments*). The regular structure of the gauze-like canvas can now be seen in large parts of the paint surface where the paint is thin, such as in the upper part of the title, the shadow areas of the thighs and Christ's left shoulder, the bottom part of the shaft of the cross and large parts of the background.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Appears as a light yellow-brown in a large area to the right of the shaft of the cross. A whitish underlying layer invariably showing brushmarks, can be seen at other places – below the area of light yellow-brown just mentioned, to the left of the tops of the stakes at the bottom of the cross, and on the left level with Christ's midriff.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

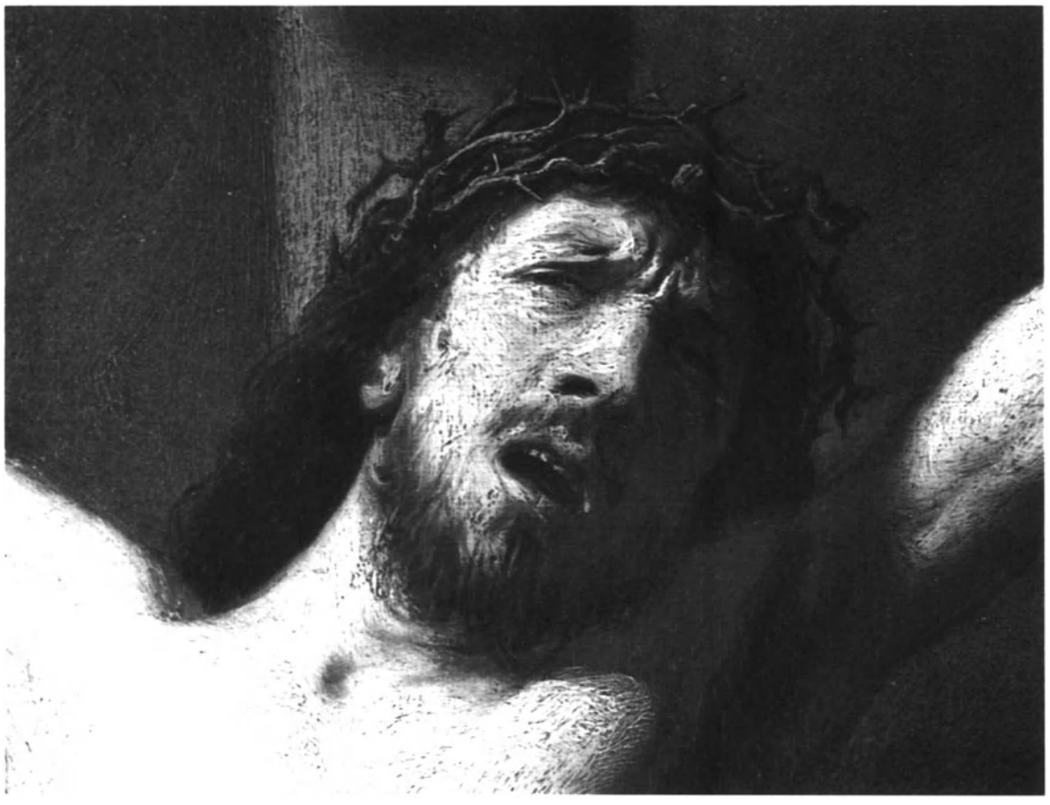
CONDITION: This is good in the vital areas, though flattened everywhere. There is a fairly large amount of local paint loss along the edges and in patches – mostly small, but one or two larger – in the background, especially alongside the lefthand outline of the body. The paint loss is however dispersed, and occurs mainly in secondary areas of the painting. The damages have been inpainted. The head and body are in very good condition apart from one or two repairs, particularly in Christ's right arm. Craquelure: in the thicker areas there is a fine, regular pattern of small cracks which is mainly horizontal and vertical in the torso and the grey of the background next to Christ's right arm, and less regular in the arm itself. The impression given is that of craquelure that has occurred on a panel.

DESCRIPTION: In general the background is painted thinly but opaquely. There is more impasto in the body, where some relief can be seen in the lighter parts as well as in the drops of blood. The effect of relief has now been substantially lessened by flattening.

The face, in the light, has a yellowish flesh tint, mixed here and there with a little pink and white. The paint is applied with a fine brush, using comparatively long, thick strokes running in various directions and defining the form. The eye in the lit part of the face is shown with great plasticity though without extreme detail, using bold strokes in a pink-yellow flesh colour for the lower lid, greyish white for the white of the eye and brown for the iris, the pupil and the line that borders the lower edge of the top eyelid. Deep brown shadows lie between the thick touches of flesh-coloured paint that accentuate the wrinkles at the bridge of the nose. The nose, like the cheek, is painted with fine, short brushstrokes. A tiny dab of carmine colour has been placed in the dark brown nostril. A small amount of grey, appearing as a blue, shows the fold running down from the wing of the nose on the left. The lips are done in a pale, muddy pink in strokes that follow the form, and this becomes a darker pink and brown on the shadow side of the face and along the inside of the top lip. The teeth are placed on the thin black of the mouth opening, with small dabs of a slightly greyish white. The whole shape of the open mouth is suggested convincingly by a most effective touch of light pink placed on the right in the shadow of the mouth area. The beard is painted with small touches and tiny strokes in various grey tints, over a thin, translucent brown. The half of the face in shadow is executed in browns, in some parts lying translucently over the ground. The eyelids are here indicated by light brown lines around the dark brown eye. Along the hairline and on the forehead, on the left, there are in the light both thick and thin brushstrokes in reds ranging from carmine colour to an orange-red. Above this comes the brown-black hair, with a few wavy strokes of brown where the light strikes it. The brown crown of thorns has strong dark shadows and heavily-painted grey highlights which – with a spot of yellow at one point – are done in strokes that define the shape.

The body, with subtle anatomical detail, is painted plastically with short overlapping strokes of thick paint varying from a yellowish skin colour to broken white. Beside the collarbones there are a few almost horizontal touches of pink on this skin colour. As in the face, the strokes of paint that create the modelling can everywhere be readily traced. The transitions to the shadows are subtly done, in greys that merge softly into brown. Along the outline on the right, the armpit and the underside of the arm there is, on the left, a smooth and opaque brown that is somewhat lighter than that of the shadow on the right. The armpit is shadowed in a slightly darker brown.

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)



The arms are dealt with in the same way as the trunk. The hands, like the face, are painted firmly and plastically with small, lively touches of pink, brown shadows and grey highlights at the tips of the fingers. The shadowed outer edge of the curved fingers of Christ's left hand is in a flat grey-brown with the ground showing through, while the shadow cast by this hand on the wood of the cross is executed in an opaque flat brown. The blood dribbling from the wounds is applied rather thickly (though it has been flattened) in varying shades of warm red with fine white highlights.

The legs, too, are painted like the trunk, but with rather less impasto and with the addition of a small amount of grey-pink, especially at the knees. On the illuminated side of the legs there is a greyish glaze over the half-shadows. In the shadow on the left, on Christ's left leg, the underlying ground makes a substantial contribution to the total colour effect. The outer contour of his right leg slightly overlaps the grey background. A hair-line of grey marks this outline, from the underside of the calf down to the foot and then – drawn out even more thinly – around the outline of the ankle. The carefully painted feet, being less strongly lit, have rather less plasticity than the hands.

The loincloth is painted with relatively long strokes, placed mainly parallel to each other and showing the folds, using greys for the shadows and white where the cloth is lit. The small line of shadow that makes the cloth stand out against the body on the upper left is done in light brown.

The wood of the cross is painted at the top with long, greyish strokes with a little brown that tends to a yellow on the left, near the hand in the light. The title is quite heavily painted at the bottom, but the rest of it is thin and in an opaque broken white. The inscriptions, in brown, are painted meticulously. At the bottom of the cross the treebark is indicated with thick dabs of grey and dark paint in the shadows. The dark righthand side of the cross, in shadow, may have been reworked somewhat, from knee-level downwards. The tops of the wooden stakes holding the cross firm have a little ochre colour, while the stakes themselves are grey, with dark shadows.

The background is done mostly in a thin dark grey, with the broad, winding brushstrokes of an underlying layer contributing to the effect and enlivening the paint image. Right at the bottom of the picture there is a rather lighter tone on the right, so that the stakes round the base of the cross are there vaguely silhouetted. Along the arms and upper part of the body a somewhat lighter and more opaque grey has been applied in clearly visible brushstrokes, mostly along the outlines. On the left, level with the loincloth, there is a rather ruddy brown tint where the dark grey merges into the lighter grey above, into which a little ochre has been incorporated. The whole of the background gives the impression of a dark night scene, with a slightly lighter cloudlike area towards the top. At the bottom right, however, one can distinctly make out the trunk of a tree, with vaguely indicated foliage at both top and bottom; some green-grey and a little brown has been used for that at the top.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

If one leaves aside the traces of the panel that was attached in 1854 – that is to say, a grain pattern that is clearly apparent in some places together with the dominating image of the cradle – the following features of the ground and paint layer can be made out.

Broad brushstrokes, running horizontally, diagonally or in

wavy lines, appear in large sections of the background, where they coincide with the layer observed beneath the top layer. The strongest areas of white in the X-ray are naturally to be seen in the thickest, lit parts of the torso and the loincloth, where the brushwork stands out quite distinctly. Yet parts of the background, too, give a lighter image than one might expect from the paint surface seen today; on either side of both arms there is a grey, which on the right is bounded by an oblique line crossing the arm at right angles a little above the elbow and terminating in the title. Shadowed contours, especially those of the arms, appear partly dark, while the cast shadows of the hands on the arms of the cross are not let into the lighter strokes of the beam itself and have evidently been painted dark on top of greys previously applied. Dark reserves left for the outer ends of the arms of the cross do not correspond with the ends seen today: the dark patch extends further on the left, and less far on the right. Broad, nervous brushstrokes are seen in grey along the whole bottom edge of the picture, where one gets the impression that an indication of uneven terrain had been present in the first lay-in.

Marks of paint loss are clearly visible in the X-ray partly as patches of irregular shape, but partly also – particularly in the background to the left of the upper part of the body – as small patches in vertical shapes or groups that are plainly the consequence of flaking along the grain of a wood support.

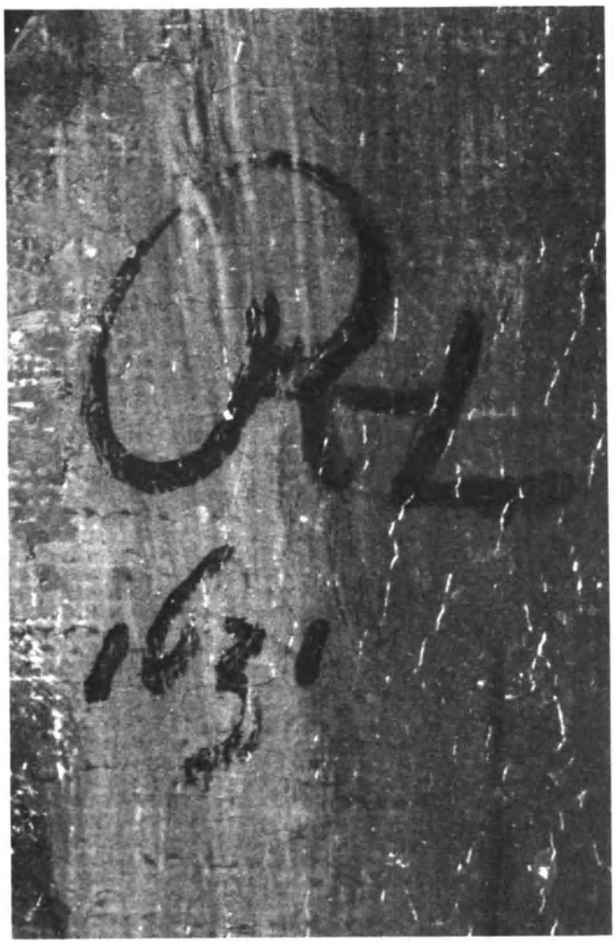
Signature

At the bottom on the shaft of the cross, fluently written in black ‹*RHL* (in monogram)/*1631*›. Possibly as a result of some slight wearing, the bowl of the *R* is interrupted in two places and the tail of the *3* has paint only along the edges.

Varnish

There are a few traces of old varnish, particularly in the relatively heavily painted areas.

Fig. 4. Detail with signature (enlarged)



4. Comments

Before looking at any other questions, one must first deal with the complicated state of affairs in regard to the original support. Bauch[1], who was the first to publish the painting after a certain amount of publicity in a local newspaper in 1850 had gone unnoticed, relates that there is in the parish records of Le Mas a statement from the Louvre according to which the painting was placed on a new wood panel in 1854; to this he adds that the painting was done on canvas, and stuck to a panel that was replaced by the present one in 1854. Madeleine Hours[2] states that the 1854 restoration was carried out by the restorer at the imperial museums, the painter Mortemart, that the painting was done on wood which on this occasion was probably backed and cradled, and that there may perhaps even have been a transfer. According to Jacques Foucart[3], finally, the canvas was stuck to a cradled panel in 1854, but there was probably no transfer carried out then. Without sight of the text of the Louvre statement of 1854, we are faced with contradictory reports about exactly what happened in that year. Presumably the paint layer was then already on canvas (though Hours does not mention this), and it is unclear whether this canvas had then already been stuck to a panel (as Bauch states explicitly) or was then placed on a panel for the first time (as Foucart implies). More important than this, however, is the question of what the original support was, and to this the X-ray provides a quite unequivocal answer. From the absence of any trace of an imprint of the canvas structure in the visible image of the ground on the one hand, and from the presence of a fine and mainly very regular craquelure and of paint loss running in a mostly vertical pattern on the other, it may be concluded that the ground and paint layer were originally on a wood support, where they must have remained for some considerable time. The way translucent browns have been used in the shadow parts, also lends support to this conclusion. As there are no signs of joins in the ground and paint layer, the panel probably consisted of a single plank. At some time prior to 1854, and probably because the paint losses were causing alarm, the painting was – one must assume – transferred to the canvas that is now visible in relief on the front surface; and in 1854 this canvas

Fig. 5. After Rubens, *Christ on the cross*, 1631 (engraving by P. Pontius)

was, for either the first or the second time, stuck to a panel. It is not unimportant to determine this, because for a Rembrandt dating from 1631 of a relatively but (compared to other contemporaneous works) not excessively large format canvas would be a most unusual support.

It is naturally the pictorial execution, however, that decides the question of attribution. The most characteristic features of this painting are to be seen in the way the figure is painted with firm strokes providing the modelling and with a limited range of colours; in the sparing use of a small amount of relief on the highest light contrasting with the translucency of the grey shadows along the body and legs; in the remarkable plasticity of the head and hands, with the shadow lines invariably done in brown; in the striking, tiny highlights on the drops of blood and telling accents such as the thin contour line below the leg and the touch in the shadow of the mouth area; and in the thin but opaque painting of the background. These features leave one in no doubt as to the work being autograph, and this is further attested by the monogram, the design and writing of which is wholly convincing.

Produced in 1631, this painting differs from contemporaneous works in the full-length naked figure being large in relation to the picture area. Only the *Andromeda* in The Hague (no. A 31), the attribution of which is in part based on its similarity to this work, shows a comparable composition. The light concentrated on the figure links the painting to a number of works from the years 1630/31 besides the *Andromeda*, such as the Amsterdam *Old woman reading* (no. A 37) and the *Simeon in the Temple* in The Hague (no. A 34). The face of Christ can be readily compared with the expressive studies made by Rembrandt of his own face, and especially with the etched *Self-portrait open mouthed, as if shouting* of 1630 (B. 13), where the folds of skin above the bridge of the nose and the open mouth are very similar.

Bauch[1] has pointed out, with good reason, that Rembrandt's painting offers so close a similarity to a print by Pontius, dated 1631, after Rubens' *Christ on the cross* (V.S. 295; our fig. 5) that it can be assumed that the print formed a starting point for the painting. For all the difference there may be in the conception of the naked figure and in the expression of the face, the similarity has to be described as striking, and is greater than with other Rubens designs such as the print by Vorsterman (V.S. 290). Rembrandt, like Rubens, placed the cross centrally in the arched picture area, above a low horizon and standing out against the sky. Christ's chest also arches some way to the left, with the head tilted over to the right. In view of a number of evident departures from a print, and of the fact that Rubens' composition itself was not new but goes back to a 16th-century tradition, it is relevant to point out, as support for this theory, that both the print and the painting date from 1631, and that shortly after this Rembrandt in his Munich *Passion* series gave evidence of his interest in the work of Rubens.

Lievens' *Christ on the cross* at Nancy (Schneider no. 35; our fig. 6), which also bears the date 1631, similarly shows knowledge of Rubens' prototype, though it is closer to Rembrandt's painting in conception and design. It may be assumed that Rembrandt and Lievens painted these works at virtually the same time, and in rivalry with each other. Both of them – like Rubens, though omitting the angels triumphing over death and the devil who appear in the print by Pontius – followed the type usual during the Counter-Reformation of the solitary crucified Redeemer: this figure occurs both with hanging head and eyes closed ('Crucifixus defunctus') and, after Michelangelo's model, with open mouth and head raised (cf. R. Hausherr in: E. Kirschbaum et al., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* II, Rome-Freiburg-Basle-Vienna 1970, col. 691–692). Knipping points out (J. B. Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands*, Nieuwkoop-

Leiden 1974, 2nd edn., I, p. 216 no. 112, cf. II, p. 453) that Rubens himself wrote, on a print from the engraving by Pontius now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the words: 'Clamans voce magna Jesus ait: Pater in manus tuas, Luc. cap.XXIII'. Rembrandt and Lievens were also following the example of Rubens in using the three-language inscription on the title, and the four nails.

Bauch[1], and following him Gerson[4], assumed that because of the arched top and the almost identical format no. A 35 must be seen as having a close connexion with the Passion series painted in the 1630s and 1640s for Prince Frederik Hendrik – a connexion as close, and as loose, as the other seven paintings show one with the other. Brochhagen[5] did not go quite so far as this, but mentioned no. A 35 as being, in respect of both content and form, the starting-point for the whole series. Foucart[3] rightly commented on the difference in the scale of the figure, and thought that no. A 35 must be regarded as being a prelude to the series but conceived independently of it; this would seem to be a correct interpretation. All authors are indeed aware that there is no mention of this painting in connexion with the *Passion* series in either Rembrandt's correspondence with Constantijn Huygens or the inventory of Prince Frederik Hendrik's widow Amalia van Solms. One can add to this that thematically, too, no. A 35 as a devotional picture has no place among a series (however loosely connected) of narrative scenes. Bauch's final remark that the painting could not have had a ritual function is not convincing without further argument; in Rembrandt's *Scholar,* probably painted in 1631 and which has survived in copy form (no. C 17), there is an unmistakably similar picture above an altar.

Brochhagen has pointed out[5], on the basis of the X-ray of the Munich *Raising of the cross* (Br. 548), that in the first lay-in of this picture the figure of Christ had the face turned more towards the observer than in the final version, and that this makes the posture of the body almost identical in the two paintings.

5. Documents and sources

None.

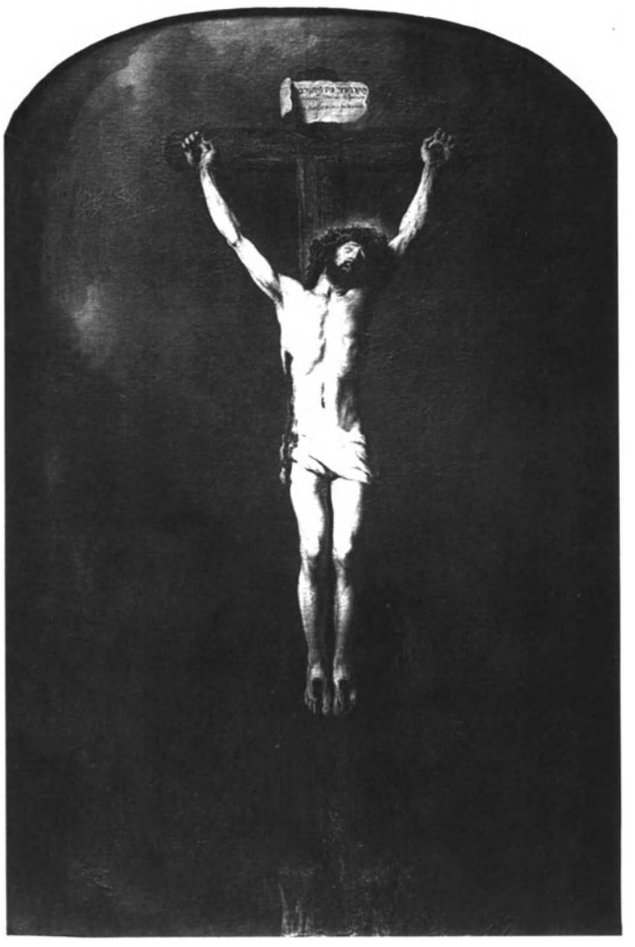
6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

Fig. 6. J. Lievens, *Christ on the cross*, 1631. Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts



8. Provenance

*– Possibly identical with: 'een stuk schildery verbeeldende Christus aan het kruys van Rembrand' (a painting showing Christ on the cross by Rembrand), listed in the estate of Catharina Elisabeth Bode, widow of Valerius Röver, Amsterdam 27 October 1703 (A. Bredius in: *O.H.* 28 (1910), p. 17).
*– Bought at the sale of a private collection at Dunkirk by Xavier Duffour, who gave it to the parish church of Le Mas d'Agenais in 1805[3].

9. Summary

Although the present canvas cannot be the original support, but forms the substitute for a panel, no. A 35 has nevertheless survived in a very reasonable condition. Its qualities make the signature (which is itself confidence-inspiring) and the date of 1631 entirely credible. While in subject matter somewhat unusual among the paintings from this period, it is very close to them in the way it has been painted. Though the format matches that of a series of scenes from the life and passion of Christ painted for Prince Frederik Hendrik in the 1630s and 1640s, it must

have been conceived as an independent work unconnected with them. A print after Rubens provided, formally and iconographically, an important point of departure.

REFERENCES

1 K. Bauch, 'Rembrandts Christus am Kreuz', *Pantheon* 20 (1962), pp. 137–144, esp. 138 and 142–143.
2 M. Hours, 'La Crucifixion du Mas-d'Agenais par Rembrandt', *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 19 (1969), pp. 157–160.
3 J. Foucart in exhibition catalogue *Le siècle de Rembrandt*, Paris (Petit Palais) 1970/71, no. 170.
4 Gerson p. 44.
5 E. Brochhagen, 'Beobachtungen an den Passionsbildern Rembrandts in München', *Munuscula discipulorum . . . Hans Kauffmann zum 70. Geburtstag 1966*, Berlin 1968, pp. 37–44.

A 36 S. Peter in prison

[1631]

BELGIUM, PRIVATE COLLECTION

HdG 122; BR. 607; BAUCH 134; GERSON 25

Fig. 1. Panel 59.1 × 47.8 cm

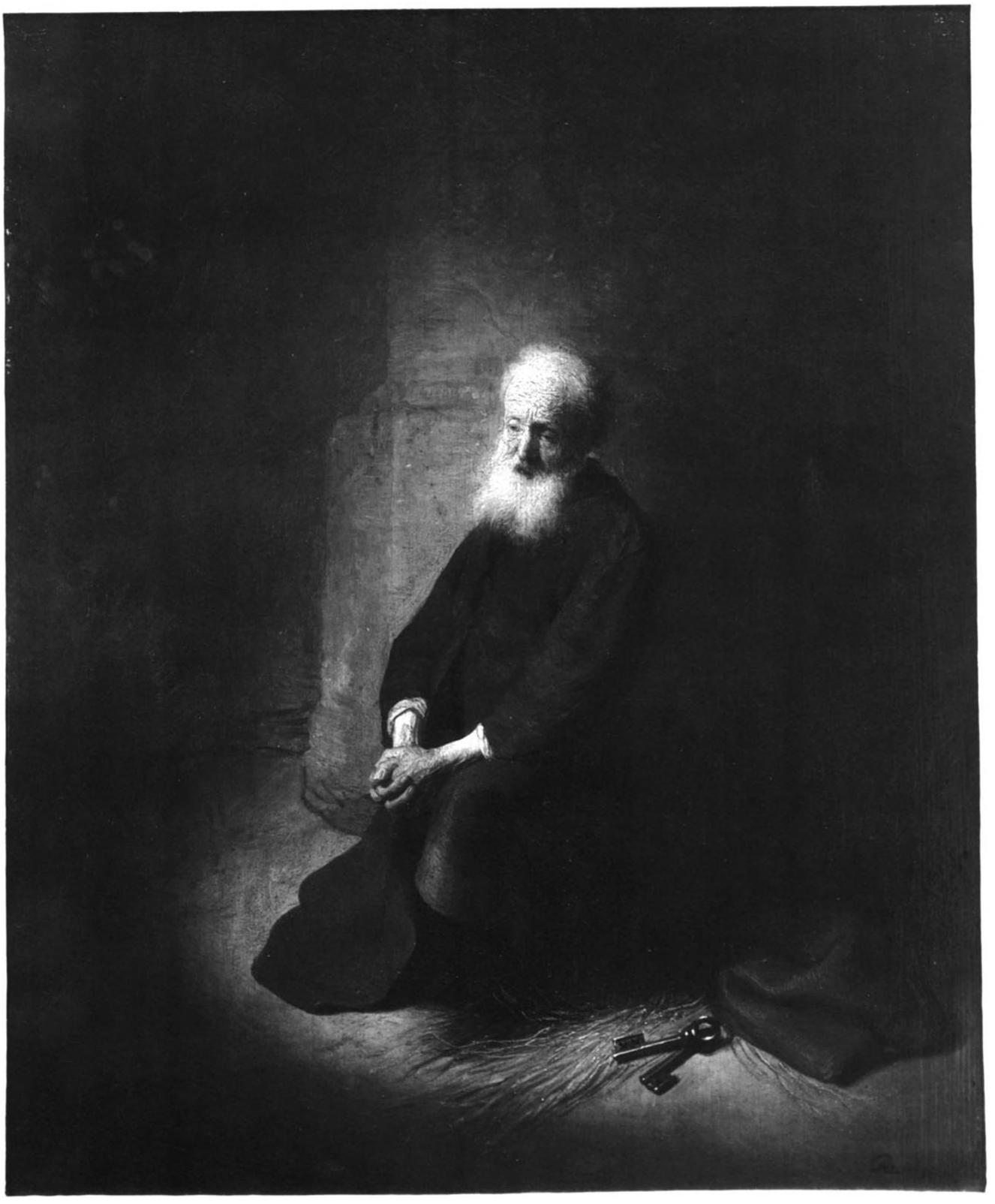


Fig. 2. Detail (1 : 1)

1. Summarized opinion

A very well preserved painting that on the grounds partly of the signature and date, which can be regarded as authentic, but especially of its strong resemblance to other works from 1630/31 must be considered an original Rembrandt.

2. Description of subject

In a shaft of light that falls from the upper left and leaves large parts of the setting dim or dark, S. Peter kneels on his right knee with his hands clasped before him and head tilted a little to his left; the eyes are slightly closed, and the mouth slightly open. On the right lie his cloak and, beside some straw, two large keys. The polygonal pedestal of a round column is seen behind him, with to the left of it possibly the hint of a staircase.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 25 March 1969 (J. B., S. H. L.) in reasonable light, and in the frame.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 59.1 (± 0.05) × 47.8 cm. Thickness *c.* 0.6 cm. Presumably a single plank, unless one must assume from what appears at the back to be a join about 24.5 cm from the lefthand edge that it is made up of two members. The panel is slightly convex and there are a few vertical cracks about the centre. At the back there is slight bevelling, over *c.* 0.5 cm, along the bottom and lefthand side, less still on the right and none at the top.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: In large sections where dark paint has been thinly applied a yellow-brown shows through, and this is exposed in a number of scratches (done to indicate straw) in the cast shadow below Peter's left leg.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Apart from a few retouches in thin areas, particularly in the left background, the state of preservation is excellent. If there is indeed a vertical join slightly to the right of centre, the paint layer has not cracked along it. According to the owner, it was cleaned in 1957 by A. Philippot. Craquelure: an extremely fine crack pattern can be seen in the head.
DESCRIPTION: The flesh areas are painted with minute, thick touches of the brush, and large parts of the clothing also have a substantial layer of paint with heavy strokes that follow the contours and lines of the folds. The whole of the surroundings is however painted extremely thinly, and in some places the brushwork leaves an underlying layer (ground or underpainting) visible.

The illuminated part of the head is executed entirely in short, thick touches of paint some of which lie one over the other; these follow the wrinkles and folds of the skin, in pink, yellowish flesh colours and a little white, while the shadow area is in a slightly thinner though still opaque brown with a touch of red along the temple. The eyes are modelled in a little brown, flesh colour and pinkish red, with grey for the white of the eye, some white on the left along the underside, and a little bright red on the right. A small white highlight is placed on the ridge of the nose, among touches of flesh tint. The mouth is shown by a touch of pinkish red for the lower lip above which is a dark area with a single, small blob of muddy white representing a tooth. The hair and beard are painted with fine strokes of grey and muddy white, becoming thinner further out. The paint of the lit part of the head is laid thickly over the background and hair and a little grey (of the column) has again been placed against the dividing line which seems to have been strengthened with a scratched line.

The hands (which are relatively large) are done in a warm yellowish brown, using somewhat less heavy touches of the brush than in the head, and in a very evocative manner. Thick, dark shadows separate the fingers from each other, and grey-white highlights are placed on the precisely-formed nails. The bare forearms are modelled with brown and muddy white, on the left using short brushstrokes placed crosswise.

The coat, buttoned at the front and revealing a grey-black doublet beneath, is at a number of places facing the light done in a thick, opaque brown and in others – especially on the sleeve on the right – in a thinner and translucent brown that fades away to the right and downwards into a black area of shadow. The cloak lying on the right, in a greenish dark grey, shows small highlights set crosswise on the edges of light along the folds.

The column is shown in mainly blotchy, thin touches of grey through which the yellow-brown ground can be glimpsed; along the figure these are a thicker light grey brushed with the outline along the sleeve; here it probably marks an alteration

from the outline provided for in an earlier lay-in, with a change from a slightly convex to a slightly concave contour for the sleeve.

On both sides of the figure the background is painted with thin strokes of ochre-brown with a little grey, merging downwards into a dark grey. The lit parts of the floor are painted in light, opaque yellow-brown, thickest along the outline of the figure. Alongside the straw, which is suggested mainly by long, thin strokes of brown and light yellow together with a few scratchmarks in the shadows, the two keys are modelled firmly in grey with black shadows and white highlights.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

None.

Signature

At bottom right, in a thick dark brown ‹*RHL* (in monogram). *1631*.› and making an entirely reliable impression.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

The handling of paint in no. A 36 offers a familiar picture: the way the figure, lit from the left, is done with lively and generally thick brushwork contrasting with the predominantly very thin painting and indistinct indication of the surroundings, and the way the column, for example, disappears upwards into the gloom, is entirely in line with the manner of painting in the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* of 1630 (no. A 28), which was executed on the same scale and on a panel of practically the same size. The colours used, with the rather rich brown of Peter's coat at the centre-point, result in less dramatic colour contrasts than in the Amsterdam painting, but the conception of the lighting and figure is very similar. It is obviously done using the same model, and just as in the case of the Jeremiah one can suppose that a lost model study in red chalk in the style of Ben. 20, 40 (both dated 1631) and 41 preceded the painting. Just as the right arm and leg were hidden by the clothing in the *Jeremiah*, so here both Peter's legs and feet are out of sight. A (presumably early) copyist took this as reason for adding a left foot (see 7. *Copies*, 1 below).

On the ground of the foregoing, Rembrandt's authorship of no. A 36 and the date of 1631 can be taken as quite definite, all the more so since the signature and date that appear on the painting give an impression of authenticity.

The scene represented does pose a minor problem. The setting in which Peter is depicted is – like that in the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* (no. A 11) – identified by the straw littering the ground, and perhaps also by the meagre light that evidently enters through a small window, as the prison into which he was thrown on the orders of Herod Agrippa (Acts 12: 4, 5). Though the chains that Peter was wearing on the night of his liberation by an angel (Acts 12: 6, 7) are missing, it is still very probable that he is depicted in prison. It was thus with good reason that Bode[1] called the painting *S. Peter in prison*, the title it usually carries in the literature. This is not all that common a theme, and when it was depicted Peter was generally shown in chains, as he is in the print by Philip Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck from the *Acta Apostolorum* series of 1575 (Hollst. VIII, p. 244, nos. 306–340), where Peter sits chained on the one side and is led away by the angel on the other. In no. A 36 the posture of Peter as he kneels on one knee, his clasped hands and slightly side-tilted head are reminiscent of motifs one repeatedly encounters in 17th-century pictures where Peter is shown as a repentant sinner, this often being made plain by the presence of a cockerel (cf., on this theme, John B. Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands*,

Fig. 3. After A. Bloemaert, *S. Peter repentant* (engraving by W. Swanenburgh)

Nieuwkoop-Leiden 1974, 2nd edn., II, p. 314). This type, which on the one hand forms an example of pious repentance by referring to the moment after Peter's denial of Christ, is for instance illustrated by a print by Willem Swanenburgh (Leiden 1581–1612) after Abraham Bloemaert (Hollst. II, p. 69, no. 549) in which Peter sits next to the cockerel and in a landscape, with hands clasped and gaze directed upwards (fig. 3). The figure of Peter for a scene like this could also be taken from a totally different context; this was done with the Peter seen, on one knee and with arms outspread, in the *Assumption of the Virgin* by Guido Reni (Genoa, S. Ambrogio), who was repeated, shown alone and with the addition of a cockerel, in a '*San Pietro in lacrime*' in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence (cf. C. Garboli and E. Baccheschi, *L'Opera completa di Guido Reni*, Milan 1971 (Classici dell'Arte 48), nos. 80a and 80c). With Rembrandt, in a sense, the opposite seems to have happened. One may assume that in the case of no. A 36 the posture of the figure of S. Peter, though occurring in the context of depicting *S. Peter in prison*, borrows certain features from that of a lonely and repentant Peter. This title was consequently given to the painting by Bode and Hofstede de Groot[2], and later as well.

The curious thing is that in a later copy (fig. 5, see *7. Copies*, 2 below) there is the addition, in the background, of the silhouetted figures of soldiers around a fire, and in an etching of 1770 by G. F. Schmidt (fig. 4, see *6. Graphic reproductions* below) the cockerel has also been added behind Peter; this shows that in the 18th century the picture was looked on as being *S. Peter repentant after the denial*, and detail was provided to clarify this meaning.

For comments on the model, who appears repeatedly in Rembrandt's work, see entry no. A 11.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

An etching by Georg Friedrich Schmidt (Schönerlinde near Berlin 1712–Berlin 1775) (fig. 4) with the inscription *f: Bol, pinx:– G.f. Schmidt, fec: 1770.| du Cabinet de Monsieur le C^ller Trible* (Wess. no. 170) reproduces the scene in reverse, but with a number of alterations and additions. The column and pedestal are placed a little further away from centre. The joints between large blocks of stone of which they are built are indicated, and Peter's shod foot can be seen in the shadow of his coat. A cockerel sits on the widened pedestal of the column, behind his shoulder. On the other side of the picture there is a view through past the column, below a partially-visible elliptical arch; a handrail leads downwards, and two helmeted soldiers and a number of other figures are seen before and in the glow of a smoking fire. Above this are buildings, and a full moon in the dark sky. Bode[1] and Bode-Hofstede de Groot[2] thought it probable that the etching was done after the copy listed below

Fig. 4. Etching by G. F. Schmidt, 1770 (reproduced in reverse)

under *7. Copies*, 2, in which some of the additions (the handrail and three silhouettes against the glow of a fire) occur. This is by no means certain; the differences in form, number and degree of precision of the additions are too great, and in the painting the view-through furthermore gives as a whole the impression of being a later addition to this painting, perhaps as a reduced imitation of the etching. That the etching might be a (very free) reproduction of no. A 36 is improbable in view of the fact that the very clear monogram would have stood in the way of an attribution to Bol. It was probably made after an unsigned copy, now unknown.

7. Copies

1. Panel, 59 × 50 cm, reproduced in the catalogue of the L. Salavin sale, Paris (Galliéra) 5 December 1973, no. 52 (attributed to Rembrandt; previously in coll. Comtesse de La Béraudière in Paris, sale New York 11–12 December 1930, no. 273). To judge by the reproduction, a rather more heavily painted copy, possibly 17th century, showing the figure on a slightly larger scale and in a narrower framework. The copyist has added an unshod left foot, the cast shadows on both sides are more sharply outlined, and the straw has been omitted. This latter change could be seen as an attempt to alter the scene from a *S. Peter in prison* to a *S. Peter repentant*.

2. Canvas dimensions unknown, formerly in the coll. Lanckoronski in Vienna (after the Second World War in the Munich Collecting Point, no. 547) (fig. 5). Mentioned by Bode (op. cit.[1] p. 386, note 1) as a good copy, probably German, from the early 18th century. In the view-through on the left a handrail runs downwards, and the silhouettes of three helmeted figures are seen against the glow of a fire. These show

some similarities to the corresponding figures in the etching by Schmidt (see above under *6. Graphic reproductions*), but other additions found there are absent, in particular the elliptical arch and the cockerel. So far as the photograph (Wolfrum, Vienna, no. 1262) allows one to judge, the whole of the view-through seems not to belong to the original painting, but to have been added later, in a layer of paint marked by pronounced craquelure along the outline of the column and pedestal. In doing so the contour of the shaft of the column has, through the addition of a profile receding inwards, been shifted to the right, matching its position in the etching (in reverse). This, too, shows that the view-through in this copy ought to be seen as an imitation of rather than a model for the etching.

3. Copy attributed to Gerard Dou, previously in coll. M. van Gelder, Uccle; mentioned by HdG 122 as being in private ownership in Brussels in 1912.

4. Panel, 59.3 × 47.7 cm, coll. Mrs. P. Churchill and others, sale London (Sotheby's) 19 December 1933, no. 120.

5. Panel, 59 × 50 cm, in private ownership in Paris 1943, subsequently with dealer Dr. Herbst in Vienna.

6. Panel, 53 × 38.5 cm, coll. Mrs. Yorke and others, sale London 6 May 1927, no. 48.

8. Provenance

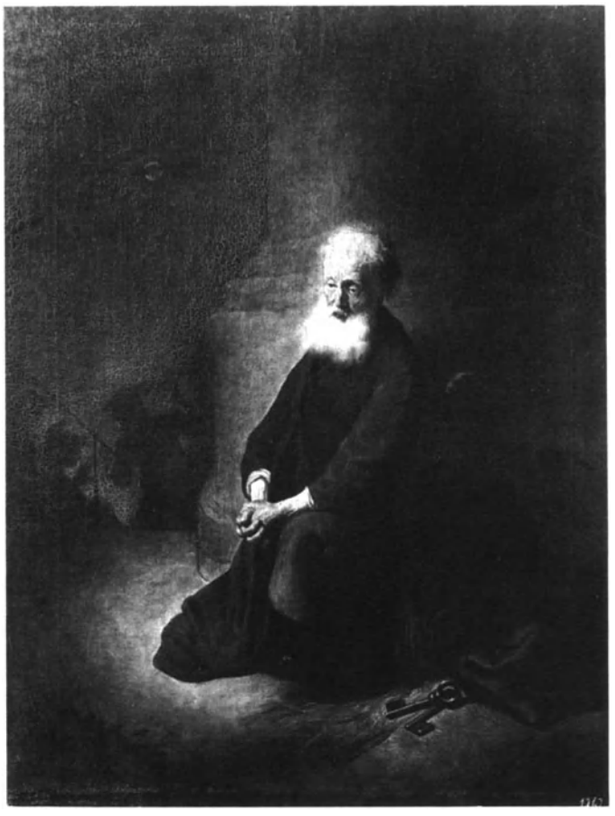
*– Possibly identical with: 'Een extra fraay stuk, verbeeldende Petrus in de gevangenis op zijn knien liggende, en zyn hande te zaamen houdende en biddende, kragtig en uytvoerig geschilderd, door Rembrand [in RKD copy altered in ink to 'school van Rembrand'], hoog 25 duym en breed 19 duym [64,2 × 48.8 cm]' (An extra fine piece, showing Saint Peter in prison on his knees, with hands held together and praying, painted vigorously and with detail, by Rembrand): coll. Pieter Habet, sale Amsterdam 11 ff April 1764 (Lugt 1374), no. 1 (54 guilders). Because of the note in the catalogue and the slightly different dimensions, this may be a copy; cf. lot no. 2 in the same sale, under entry no. C 16, 7. *Copies*, 2.

*– Coll. Comte de Choiseul-Praslin, sale Paris 18–25 February 1793 (Lugt 5005), no. 42: 'Rembrantz. Saint Pierre représenté à genoux & les mains jointes dans un intérieur de prison. La tête de cet Apôtre, vue presque de trois quarts, avec des cheveux blancs & une longue barbe, porte l'expression d'un repentir sincère, & toute la figure est dans un abattement de consternation qui caractérise parfaitement le sujet. Ce tableau, d'un fini admirable, est aussi d'une intelligence & d'une harmonie de couleur parfaite. Haut. 21 p. 6 lig. Larg. 17 p. 6 lig. [= 58 × 47.2 cm] B[ois]'. (1500 francs to Paillet).

9. Summary

Because of the reliable signature and a very strong similarity to the *Jeremiah* of 1630 (no. A 28), especially in the sometimes thin but lively and sometimes (in the light flesh areas) thicker, very suggestive and subtle use of paint, no. A 36 can be regarded as an authentic work, which is well preserved. On the evidence of its date of 1631, it carries on in that year the manner of painting already adopted in 1630. The colouring, centred on the rich brown of Peter's coat, offers less arresting contrasts than the *Jeremiah*, to which the painting otherwise shows a great resemblance that includes the scale of the figure, the dimensions and the lighting scheme.

Fig. 5. Copy 2. Formerly Vienna, coll. Lanckoronski



From the iconographic viewpoint it is noteworthy that the common theme of S. Peter repentant has clearly dictated the posture of the figure in the context of Peter's imprisonment. Reproductions and painted copies show the tendency to weaken the accent on his imprisonment, or explicitly to place the scene immediately after his denial of Christ.

REFERENCES

1 W. Bode, *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, Braunschweig 1883, p. 385.

2 W. Bode and C. Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt* I, Paris 1897, no. 41.

A 37 An old woman reading, probably the prophetess Anna 1631

(commonly called Rembrandt's mother)

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM, INV. NO. A 3066

HDG 316; BR. 69; BAUCH 252; GERSON 27

1. Summarized opinion

A not entirely well preserved but undoubtedly authentic work, reliably signed and dated 1631. The interpretation of the subject as the prophetess Anna is plausible.

2. Description of subject

The figure is seen almost full-length, seated and facing three-quarters right and leaning forward slightly. The light, coming from the upper left, falls on the lefthand side of her clothing, on the greater part of the open book resting on her knees, and on her right hand placed on the lefthand page. The face, under a hood, is in shadow and catches some of the light reflected from the pages of the book, on which there is a cast shadow to the front. The text is indicated in what seems to be Hebrew lettering. The massive folding chair, decorated with carving, is partly hidden by the bottom edge of the frame and by the heavy, dark red, fur-trimmed cloak.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 3 February 1970 (J. B., B. H.) in good artificial light and out of the frame. Re-examined on 21 January 1975 (J. B., P. v. Th.) after cleaning in 1970, in good daylight and out of the frame. Four X-ray films by the Rijksmuseum received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 59.8 (± 0.2) × 47.7 cm. Thickness *c.* 0.8 cm. Two planks of markedly different grain structure, with the join 24.2 cm from the lefthand edge. Rather wide (*c.* 4 cm) and fairly vague bevelling on the back along the lefthand and bottom edges, rather less along the righthand edge and very little along the top.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof.Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg). The planks come from different trees. The lefthand plank, with sapwood edge turned towards the outside of the panel (which is unusual), has 92 annual rings heartwood running obliquely, not dated. The righthand plank has 216 annual rings heartwood, datable as 1375–1590; earliest possible felling date 1605[1]. The wood comes from the same tree (and even from the same plank) as that of a plank used for the panel of the The Hague *Simeon in the Temple* (no. A 34).

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellow-brown is visible in small cracks in the paint and in a number of brushstrokes in the right background, level with the book. It also shows through in the thin, translucent parts of the red cloak.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Two samples were taken by the Central Resarch Laboratory, Amsterdam, from the top and upper right edges. The cross-sections show a white chalk ground, yellowed by a discoloured medium. In one of the samples a layer was found on top of this chalk ground, containing lumps of white lead, chalk and some fine particles of a brown pigment identifiable as the "primuersel" (see Introduction, Chapter II, *Ground*); the amount of chalk found in this layer is exceptional compared with the composition of "primuersels" in other accepted early Rembrandt paintings. The absence of this layer from the other sample indicates that along the very edge the second ground layer does not entirely cover the chalk ground.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Worn and retouched in a number of thin, dark areas, especially in the background – on the right level with the head, and adjoining this upwards in a vertically bounded area about 1.7 cm from the righthand edge. There is also wearing in the shadow part of the cloak beneath the book. The state of preservation of the cloak is, to say the least, uneven, and the glaze that covered the sheen of light has suffered badly. Craquelure: there is an extremely fine network of cracks, which are more irregular and gaping where the red paint of the cloak is heavily applied.

DESCRIPTION: The figure, surrounded by a carefully differentiated outline, stands out against a background that is painted for the most part thinly in a fairly dark, even grey; in this background there is a somewhat thicker, lighter area immediately to the right of the head. The paint is thinnest on the right, especially at the level of the book. According to an area showing up thicker in relief to the left of the head, the contour of the hood and shoulder once bounded the form more widely and originally ran down diagonally to the left (see *X-Rays* below).

The face is painted in a fairly flat brown-grey, merging on the left into a thin and slightly worn brown; summary, small strokes of a ruddy grey are used to indicate the eyes, mouth and nostril. The forehead is partly covered by a headcloth done in thicker grey. The same grey is used in short, thick touches in the fur of the collar and at the wrist and in the hem of the cloak visible on the extreme left.

The cloak shows clearly visible brushstrokes, running in various directions, of a warm, dark red that is translucent where the paint is thin and darker – almost to the point of being black – as it is more heavily applied. Where this paint has been shielded from the daylight by the frame the colour is a considerably stronger red. The heavily-brushed shadow areas over the chest and on the woman's right arm are very thick and dark. The sheen of light that renders the velvet material of the cloak on the left is done in a broken white and a little cool grey with long strokes; crosswise on these there are, particularly on the left, a number of extremely fine strokes with ragged ends. Examination under a microscope reveals that there are on top of these the remains of red paint used as a glaze. The area on the far left, along the woman's back, makes a somewhat purplish impression due to grey having been worked wet-in-wet into the red. Towards the bottom the cloak becomes darker, more patchy and difficult to read. The area round the knee on the right is an even, dark grey and rather worn, and stands out against the background. On the extreme right at the bottom the shape of the foot appears very indistinctly. The hood over the woman's head is in opaque browns, with a little ochre-yellow in the edge, and is enlivened by thick, whitish-yellow spots of light; the folded band wound around this is in yellow and ochre-yellow, with a light yellow sheen. The draped and folded shawl is painted with small dabs and dots on top of long brushstrokes, in yellow-brown with green transverse lines and light yellow highlights.

The very elaborately painted hand has, over a pale flesh colour, fine strokes of pinkish red, strongest at the base of the fingers, with on top of these extremely fine whitish and grey accents of light on the wrinkles, which are heaviest and longest near the wrist; along the upper edge of the hand the side of the thumb is done in ochre-yellow, a tint that is also used in the upper half of the hand and near the wrist for the highlights; along the lower edge, between the fingers and at the tips of the fingers there are bold, grey shadows. The book is executed in light and darker greys, with the text indicated in grey; beneath the light and darker grey of the open pages an underlying white

A 37 AN OLD WOMAN READING

Fig. 1. Panel 59.8 × 47.7 cm

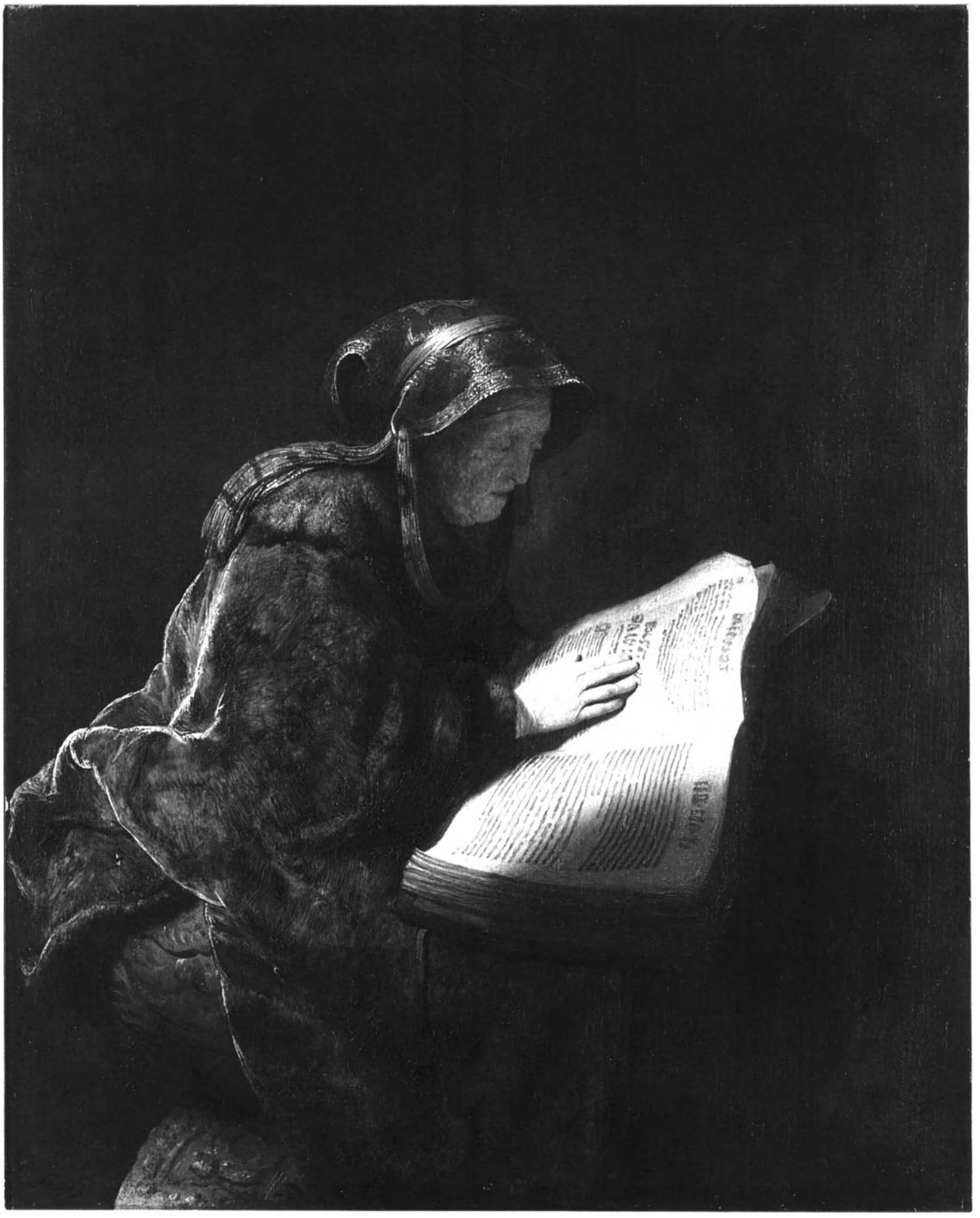
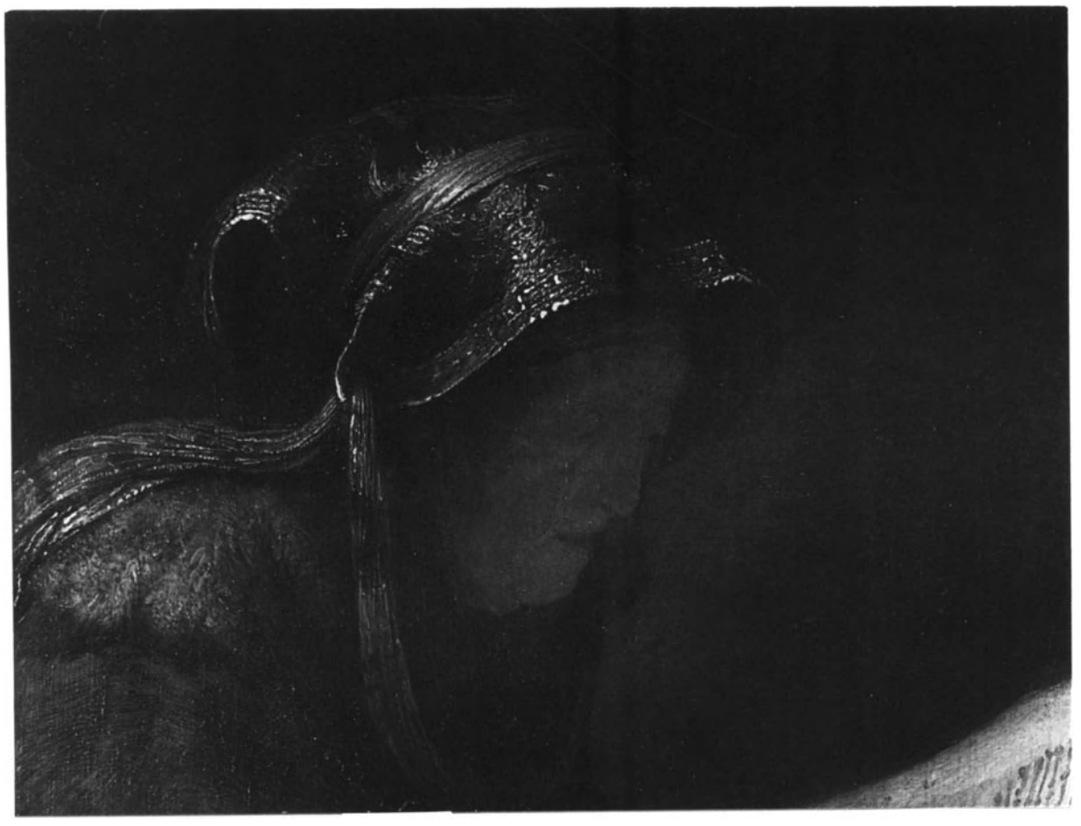


Fig. 2. X-ray

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1.5)



can be glimpsed through the cracks, especially in the corner where the shadow falls.

The chair is in a yellow-brown, accented with touches of dark grey-brown, a little black and some lighter brown that indicate the carving. Here, the paint terminates about 0.6 cm above the bottom edge of the painting and leaves a thin light brown (underpainting?) exposed.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: In one of the two cross-sections mentioned (see under *Ground,* SCIENTIFIC DATA) the ground layer is covered with a layer containing a mixture of ochre, red ochre and azurite. In the other sample only a black layer could be distinguished, covered with a layer of varnish containing reddish pigment particles.

X-Rays

The tonal values of the radiographic image differ somewhat from what the paint surface would lead one to expect. The background to the left of the figure appears for the most part quite light, and the same tone is continued around the head. On the left, in front of the headdress, one sees a reserve that (as already noted at the paint surface) does not match the present contour, but follows the shape of the head more closely and continues obliquely downwards to the shoulder. The situation is rather similar to the right of the head, where the projecting part of the present hat has not been set in a reserve. Moreover, the reserve left for the figure (which has a less bulging outline) has on the left not been followed entirely during the final execution.

The open pages of the book and part of their edges show up light, the only exception being the small cast shadow at the upper left and that of the hand on the book; the light and darker greys seen in the surface paint have thus been painted over an area laid-in light (and the white showing through is further evidence for this).

A chain, modelled with tiny highlights, can be made out quite clearly, lying over the fur collar. A vaguely-visible sheen of light on the cloak below the elbow cannot be seen at the paint surface.

One gets the impression that in the original design the background had a rather lighter tone than it has today, and that this muting of tone was connected with the chiaroscuro effects added later to the figure and book.

Signature

At bottom left in dark grey ‹*RHL* (in monogram) *1631*›; makes an entirely reliable impression.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

In many respects no. A 37 is linked to earlier work from the Leiden years. The thinly-painted, dark and fairly flat background also appears in the *Old man asleep by the fire* of 1629 in Turin (no. A 17). The beam of light in which the figure is placed was likewise already seen in that work, and recurs in pictures of this size and with figures on this scale in 1630 (Amsterdam *Jeremiah,* no. A 28) and 1631 (*S. Peter in*

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

prison, Belgium, private coll., no. A 36). Coupled with this is the toning down, during the painting, of some areas (such as, in particular, the pages of the book laid-in lighter and without the large cast shadow, and parts of the background) such as also occurred with the *Simeon in the Temple* in The Hague (no. A 34). Differences from the previous works include, first and foremost, the colour-scheme; this is determined by the red (a lake) used in the cloak, which to judge by the stronger colour found in parts masked by the frame has become badly discoloured and where – perhaps as a result of this – the brushwork is plainly apparent. Allowance must also be made, in this area, for a certain amount of wearing, as can be seen from the vestiges of a red glaze over the highlights; these were beyond doubt originally far more fully integrated with the total picture than they are today. (This same red is used in the Salzburg *Old woman at prayer,* no. A 27.) It is also unusual for the face, hooded and facing away from the light, to be completely in shadow. The face has not been given full modelling with reflections of light and subtle shadows, as is the case in the *Self-portraits* in Amsterdam (no. A 14) and from 1629, in Munich (no. A 19); instead, it is almost flat, with a subtle hint of modelling and reflected lighting. For the rest, the execution reminds one forcibly, where the very detailed hood is concerned, of similar areas in the *Judas repentant* of 1629 (no. A 15) and the *Simeon in the Temple* of 1631 in The Hague, and where the hand seen in the light is concerned of the *S. Peter in prison* of 1631. Bearing in mind also the confidence-inspiring signature and date, and the existence of the etching by van Vliet that will be mentioned below (under *6. Graphic reproductions*), no. A 37 must be regarded as an authentic if not perfectly preserved original. The sharply-defined brushwork in the highlights on the cloak is most unusual. An etching by van Vliet (fig. 7, see further under *6. Graphic reproductions*) shows a softer progression of tones in the sheen, which follows partly the same and partly a different pattern. It also shows the foot placed on a cube-shaped object (perhaps a foot-warmer?), which is logically in agreement with the raising of one leg on which the book is resting. Even allowing for the more precise rendering of forms typical of a graphic reproduction, the etching would seem to confirm the impression that the painting has suffered considerably from overcleaning.

Already around the middle of the nineteenth century the painting was thought to represent the prophetess Anna, which is how the work was entitled in the catalogue of the Schönborn sale of 1867; the idea that Rembrandt's mother sat for him in that rôle was introduced by the turn of the present century. A different view was taken by Emmens[2] who believed the book the old woman is reading to be the Bible and the woman herself to personify Religion. Tümpel[3] has claimed, probably correctly, that the painting does represent Anna, mainly on the evidence of an engraving by Karel de Mallery after Marten de Vos (fig. 5), no. 4 in the series *Icones Illustrum Feminarum Novi Testamenti* (Hollst. IV, p. 211, no. 36, wrongly under Hans (Jan Baptist I) Collaert, which has been identified by Colin Campbell[4] as Rembrandt's prototype. In the inscription to this print, which shows Anna seated and bent over a book, she is in accordance with Luke 2:37 described as 'senex vidua atque prophetis', and as serving God night and day in the Temple. The Hebrew-seeming letters in the book (which cannot however be read as a text[5]) in Rembrandt's painting supports this interpretation. (Whether the clothing can be taken as a reference to the tallith, or Jewish prayer-shawl as Tümpel[6] suggests, would seem doubtful.) That Rembrandt did indeed have such a mind's-eye picture of the prophetess Anna is seen most clearly from the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* (no. A 12) which probably shows the same model, though there the clothing is not identical with that in no. A 37. Further confirmation of this interpretation might be that Gabriël Metsu's *Old woman reading* in Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A 672, cat. no. 1555), which was painted a good thirty years later and has a close thematic affinity, shows in an indistinct background architectural features (a tabernacle in front of an apse?) that give the impression of the interior of a temple. Campbell further linked to his interpretation the conclusion that Rembrandt had, on the grounds of the biblical text and of the caption to de Mallery's engraving based on it, shown

Fig. 5. After M. de Vos, *The prophetess Anna* (engraving by K. de Mallery)

Fig. 6. P. Lesire, *The Cumaean Sibyl*, 1632. Whereabouts unknown

a night scene. This conclusion does not, when one considers the analogous lighting in comparable works, seem an entirely compelling one.

The fact that in the 1630s old women reading were regarded as being 'seers', that is to say prophetesses or sibyls, is confirmed by a work done, certainly under Rembrandt's influence, by Paulus Lesire (panel, 69 × 52 cm; sale Amsterdam (F. Muller) 28–29 November 1939, no. 925; up to 1940 signed and dated *P. Delesire 1632*; our fig. 6) which according to the inscription on a label attached to the headdress ('CVMA') and the text in the book ('te duce, si qua manent/ sceleris vestigia nostri/ inrita perpetua solvent/ formidine terras': Virgil, Eclogue IV, 13–14) must represent the Cumaean Sibyl. It is noteworthy, in this connexion, that in the catalogue of a sale in Amsterdam on 17 April 1708 (Lugt 212), under lot no. 268, a painting that cannot be identified with any certainty was described as 'een Profeeten Vrouwtje, van Rembrant'.

On the question of whether the model depicted here was in fact Rembrandt's mother, see the comments in entry no. A 27. The painting was already titled as such by Smith[7], who knew of it through van Vliet's etching.

It might be added, for curiosity's sake, that the head from no. A 37 is repeated later in reverse and on a much larger scale by Aert de Gelder in a painting that is believed to represent the *Blessing of Tobias and his bride Sarah* (exhibition *Meesterwerken uit vier eeuwen 1400–1800*, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans, 1938, no. 72, fig. 145).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

1. Etching in reverse by J. G. van Vliet (B. II no. 18; our fig. 7), signed and dated: *RH* (in monogram), *van Rijn jnventor, / JG*

Fig. 7. Etching by J. G. van Vliet (reproduced in reverse)

(in monogram), *van vliet fecit*. The largely blank background clearly represents a liberty of the kind van Vliet frequently took with his prototypes (cf. in particular his etching after no. B 6). It must nonetheless be assumed that the actual presence of a rear wall, as indicated by this lighting effect, was originally more clearly visible in no. A 37 as well. Next to the chair van Vliet shows a horizontal boundary to this rear wall, now perhaps vaguely visible in the painting at the bottom left (beside the signature); on the opposite side, in the shadows, one raised foot rests on a foot-warmer (?), of which now there is only a hazy trace of an outline in the bottom right of the painting. In other shadow areas, too, details are seen to have been lost; one of the ribbons hanging down from the book, for instance, is now only vaguely visible. A small cherubim's head on the armrest of the chair is now hardly recognizable as such. The print also shows highlights below the elbow and along the draped fold beneath it that are not (any longer) to be found in the painting but are vaguely visible in the X-ray.

7. Copies

1. Copy in the coll. Elector of Saxony, sale Amsterdam 22 May 1765 (Lugt 1462), no. 151: 'Een Oude Vrouw, zittende te Leezen, hoog 22 duim, breed $18\frac{3}{4}$ duim (Amsterdam feet) [= 56.5 × 48.2 cm]. Dit Vrouwtje heeft een Boek op haaren Schoot, en zit zeer aandachtig te leezen. Het is schoon en krachtig op Doek geschilderd. Bekend door 't Prentje van van Vliet' (An old woman sitting reading. This woman has a book on her lap, and sits reading very attentively. It is fine and vigorously painted on canvas. Known from the print by van Vliet). (41 guilders to Cok) (Hoet-Terw. p. 443, no. 142). As Rembrandt's name is not mentioned and the painting was on canvas, one can assume with Hofstede de Groot (HdG 316) that this was a copy.

2. Copy in the coll. De Reus, sale Paris 23–24 May 1777 (Lugt 2702), no. 87: 'Eleve de Rembrandt. Une vieille femme assise, & lisant. Elle a été gravée par Van Vliet. Hauteur 12 pouces, largeur 10 pouces 4 lignes [= 32.4 × 27.9 cm]. Bois' (13.10 livres to De Reus).

8. Provenance

*– Coll. Johan Antony van Kinschot, sale Delft 21–22 July 1767 (Lugt 1627), no. 25: 'Een in een boek leezende Vrouwe, stout en schaduwagtig geschildert, door denzelven [Rembrand van Ryn]. Paneel. Hoog 1 v. 11 d. Breed $1\frac{1}{2}$ v. (Rhineland feet) [= 60.1 × 47 cm] (A woman reading from a book, painted boldly and with shadow, by the same [Rembrand van Ryn]) (? to Pester).
– Coll. Count Schönborn, Pommersfelden (cat. 1857, no. 236), sale Paris 17 May 1867, no. 97, as: 'La Prophétesse Anne. Assise devant une table (sic!) . . .' (12,500 francs to the Grand-Ducal Gallery at Oldenburg). According to the 1867 sale catalogue: 'Noté dans le Cat. de 1719'; it cannot however be found in the 1719 Pommersfelden catalogue.
– Grand-Ducal Gallery, Oldenburg (cat. 1890, no. 192).
– Coll. M. P. Voûte, Amsterdam, acquired in 1922 from the Augusteum, Oldenburg; on loan to the Rijksmuseum; bequeathed by M. P. Voûte to the Vereeniging Rembrandt; taken over by the Rijksmuseum in 1928.

9. Summary

The similarities with other works from Rembrandt's Leiden years, especially in the well preserved thicker and lighter areas, are such that (bearing in mind also the signature, which must be regarded as authentic) there can be no doubt about the attribution to Rembrandt and the date of 1631. The state of the painting is evidently uneven. The red lake used in the cloak has discoloured quite badly. That it was extremely dirty at the time of the Schönborn sale in 1867 is obvious from the description in the catalogue ('assise devant une table'). It is not known whether any radical restoration was subsequently carried out; at all events, comparison with the van Vliet etching shows that a lot of detail has been lost in the dark areas. The cloak has also suffered quite severely from wearing.

The interpretation of the picture as the prophetess Anna is very plausible. It is doubtful, on the other hand, whether the model is Rembrandt's mother.

REFERENCES

1 Cf. Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, p. 491.
2 J. A. Emmens, 'Rembrandt's teachers and contemporaries' in: *Rembrandt after three hundred years: a symposium – Rembrandt and his followers* , Chicago 1969, pp. 113–130, esp. p. 123; idem, *Rembrandt e la sua concezione dell'arte. Conferenza tenuta . . . il 20 aprile 1970*, Florence 1978, p. 30.
3 Tümpel 1971, p. 31.
4 C. G. Campbell, *Studies in the formal sources of Rembrandt's figure compositions*, typescript dissertation University of London 1971, p. 152.
5 H.-M. Rotermund, 'Rembrandts Bibel', *N. K. J.* 8 (1957), pp. 123–150, esp. 131–134.
6 Chr. Tümpel, *Rembrandt*, Amsterdam 1975 (De grote meesters), p. 12.
7 J. Smith, *A catalogue raisonné of the works of the Dutch, Flemish and French painters* VII, London 1836, no. 592.

A 38 Minerva in her study [1631]

BERLIN (WEST), STAATLICHE MUSEEN PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, GEMÄLDEGALERIE, NO. 828 C

HDG 209; BR. 466; BAUCH 253; GERSON 90

Fig. 1. Panel 60.5 × 49 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray

1. Summarized opinion

A work that because of the presence of an underlying painting, and probably also as a result of surface disturbances and overpaintings connected with this, is in only a moderately good state of preservation, but must nonetheless be regarded as an autograph work by Rembrandt, probably dating from 1631.

2. Description of subject

In a dark room of indistinct shape a young woman sits with her body in left profile and the head three-quarters to the left. A dark red, fur-lined cloak with the bottom decorated in gold thread, fastened by a brooch, falls open at the front and covers most of her body and left arm, the chair on which she is sitting and the blue shiny garment draped over her left leg; this leg is stretched out to her front, and over it a sash hangs down from her waist. She wears a laurel wreath, with a small twig standing up vertically, above her long, blonde hair. To the left behind her, and covered with a heavy cloth, stands a table on which a bulky book, propped open against a lute, and other books are visible. To the right of the figure stands a globe (?). Above her head to the left, hanging on the wall or on a column (?), there is a shield with a Medusa's head; partly hidden behind it is a sword, and on top of it a helmet and perhaps a draped cloth (?). The light falls from the left, and illuminates mainly the figure and the wood-planked floor in the foreground.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in November 1968 (S. H. L., E. v. d. W.) in good daylight and out of the frame. Four X-rays films, together covering the whole of the painting, received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 60.5 (± 0.1) × 49 cm. Thickness at left *c.* 1.2 cm, at right *c.* 0.8 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled on left to a thickness of *c.* 0.8 cm, righthand side unbevelled; bevelling along the top the ridge of which terminates in the upper lefthand corner, while that at the bottom terminates just before the lefthand corner. From this last observation, taken together with the fact that the bottom edge is not straight and has been sawn leaving splinters, it can be deduced that at some time the panel has been reduced slightly (by *c.* 1 cm) at the bottom (supplementary information kindly supplied by Mr. Alexander Lobodzinski, of the Gemäldegalerie Restoration Department, letter dated 13 May 1969).
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg). Measured at top edge: 253 annual rings heartwood (+ 8 sapwood) datable 1341–1593(1601). Statistically average felling date 1613 ± 5; given the considerable age of the wide-ringed tree, a felling date after 1613 is more likely. Growing area North Netherlands. The wood comes from the same tree as the panels of the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* (no. A 12) and the The Hague *Bust of an old man* (no. B 7).

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not observed with the naked eye.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: At first sight the painting appears to be in a sad state of preservation. The paint surface is clearly legible only in the lit and somewhat more thickly painted areas – the head, the highlights on the clothing, and in parts of the edge of the cloak, the hanging still-life, the helmet and the floor. In large parts of the background and the cloak the paint image is impaired by larger or smaller crack patterns and overpaintings (quite apart from a substantial layer of varnish). As is apparent from the X-rays, there is an earlier picture beneath that seen today, and it is probable that the presence of this, and of the cracks it has given rise to in the later painting, can explain the unsatisfactory appearance of the paint surface and the overpaintings which also cover large parts of the floor area. (Already Bode[1] commented on the unsatisfactory condition which he put down to sunlight and overcleaning.) Craquelure: in large and mainly dark areas there are cracks, in a coarser or finer pattern, that have in some places brought about the formation of 'ice-floes'. These phenomena are more clearly visible in the X-rays, and will be discussed below under that section.
DESCRIPTION: The illuminated areas are marked by a careful manner of painting, with much attention given to detail. The head is done quite smoothly in an opaque, pale flesh colour, with a little pink in places; the woman's left eye is painted meticulously with a little pink along the edges and in the corner, a dark grey iris set in the light grey used for the white of the eye, and some black in the pupil. At the temple and on the right by the mouth, grey leads into the shadow area. The hair is shown with fine, small yellow lines. The accents of light on the stems and the edges of the leaves in the headdress are picked out with light lines and dots, as are the Medusa's head and the edge of the shield (in grey with strong white highlights); the sheen of light on the sword and the catchlights on the helmet are done with yellow lines and dabs and with a thick, round highlight. The cloak, which itself is in an indistinct reddish brown, has on its bottom edge thick dabs and touches of yellow, with here and there a little ochre-brown and greys for the shadows. The garment over the knee, painted in greys, shows thick lines of a pale light blue on the sheen of light, and placed partly as a pattern of parallel hatching; the bottom edge of the hem is picked out with dots of white.

The lute shows small, light lines with a muted highlight. Some of the books are painted so thinly that the grain of the panel is visible at that point. The floor is executed in a fairly thick grey-brown, making an entirely reliable impression only below the tip of the cloak where this is draped on the floor.

The fact that some of the lines showing the sheen of light on the garment draped over the knee continue beneath the surface of the cloak as it is seen today are evidence that a change was made in the form of the cloak. The contour of the forehead has, to judge by an underlying line of separation in the paint layer, been shifted a little to the left.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The presentday painting plays only a subordinate role in the radiographic image; the illuminated parts of the woman's figure and her clothing and the highlights on the helmet (though not those on the sword and shield) are apparent, as are the shape of the hair, the open book and – vaguely – of the lute. The sheen of light already noted beneath the present cloak is clearly visible.

These features, matching what can be seen in the uppermost paint layer, are however interfered with by others belonging to an underlying and totally different picture. The background appears for the most part light in the X-ray, as does the whole

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

lefthand half of the foreground. In these areas, that were evidently set down with a paint containing white lead, shapes left in reserve appear dark in varying gradations. The most clearly legible of these shapes is a (presumably) standing figure whose head, with a tall headdress, and shoulders are above the present head of Minerva and whose righthand outline runs downwards beside her to the right. To the right of this figure are irregular light and dark forms of uncertain significance (which are moreover interrupted by a white patch caused by a wax seal on the back of the panel). In the lefthand half of the picture one sees the images of various large shapes in the same dark mid-tone that predominates in the standing (?) figure. Within these shapes there is a very dark area, of irregular form, in which there are still a few hints of an earlier light paint, including in particular a number of very light marks above today's open book; the vaguely visible form of this book is also within this dark area. The curious, jerky contour of this area (especially at the lower left, where it projects a little into a reserve seen in a mid-tone) prompts the suspicion that at this point part of the still wet paint was removed mechanically (perhaps with a piece of cloth?): this would tie up not only with the predominantly very dark appearance of this area, but also with the observation (see under *Paint layer* above) that the grain of the panel is now visible at the paint surface in the open book.

The X-ray shows a multiplicity of craquelure patterns. In the light parts and in the lighter sections of the dark or semi-dark reserves, the main pattern is irregular and composed of small cracks forming an erratic network, though occasionally with free ends. This pattern, of what appear to be shrinkage cracks, is virtually identical with that seen in the light-painted parts of the *Abduction of Proserpina* (no. A 39). Low down, along the lefthand edge and at the left along the bottom edge, the small crevices seem to be concealed under a white radiotranslucency that has a cloudlike appearance. This pattern is apparent in Minerva's present cloak, combined with very large splits in the paint, while at the point where the garment is seen over her chest the pattern is relatively fine but has pronounced, small gaping cracks; this is also the case in and alongside the foot of the chair. On the other hand, her head and the area immediately to the left of it show extremely fine cracks.

It is evident that it is the effect of varying layers of paint in various parts of the painting that has led to this widely differing crack formation. So far, however, it has not been possible to read the underlying painting as a coherent picture (see also below under *4. Comments*); from the absence of traces of modelling in the top figure one may suspect that it was never completed.

Signature

Not seen. According to the older literature[1], the vestiges of a monogram became apparent around 1880 near the centre on the right, under an old retouching.

Varnish

Observation is made difficult by a heavy and yellowed layer of varnish.

4. Comments

Particularly when they are compared with corresponding features in the Berlin *Abduction of Proserpina* (no. A 39), the less easily-legible parts of no. A 38, the subtle handling of the head and the lively and plastically convincing treatment of the laurel wreath, the decoration on the cloak and the hanging still-life all provide justification for an attribution to Rembrandt, and for a dating in his latter years in Leiden – probably in 1631, as was postulated by Bode who discovered the work in the storerooms in Berlin[1]. It has to be taken into account, of course, that the larger part of the paint surface cannot be readily assessed, due to the presence of an underlying (presumably incomplete) painting and possibly also as a result of wearing and later overpainting. In this respect there is a certain analogy with the Windsor Castle *Old woman* (no. A 32) and the Liverpool *Self-portrait* (no. A 33), as well as with the *Judas repentant* in a private collection, England (no. A 15) where the overpainting – not of another picture, but of an earlier version – produced features that gave some authors to think that the paint layer was in poor condition. Reports (that cannot now be verified) that there were at one time traces of a monogram[1] indicate that at all events the legibility and perhaps also the condition of the paint layer in its present state have worsened over the last hundred years.

Accepting the attribution to Rembrandt makes it no easier to answer the question of whether no. A 38 is, as van Gelder[2] assumed, identical with a painting listed in 1632 in the inventory of Prince Frederik Hendrik as being in the Stadholder's Quarters, and described as a work by Jan Lievens: 'Melancholij, sijnde een vrouw sittende op eenen stoel aen een taeffel daarop liggende boecken, een luyt ende andere instrumenten' (Melancholy, in the form of a woman sitting on a chair at a table on which are books, a lute and other instruments) (see below under *8. Provenance*). Börsch-Supan[3] believed, working from the assumption that these works are identical, that the old attribution to Lievens could be supported; his stylistic arguments are not however convincing, especially since they take no account of the condition of the paint surface. Bearing in mind, furthermore, the confusion that occurs a number of times in the 1632 inventory between these two artists (cf. in particular nos. A 12 and A 39), the old attribution to Lievens cannot be looked on as an obstacle to identifying no. A 38 with the work listed in 1632, at least if it can be assumed that the description given then does in fact indicate the subject-matter of no. A 38. Van Gelder[2] thought that the picture could indeed be interpreted as representing Melancholy, as a derivative of Dürer's famous engraving and on an analogy with a painting in the Mauritshuis, The Hague (cat. no. 626) ascribed to Rembrandt or his school. This latter comparison cannot be seen as a valid one, since on close inspection the painting in The Hague cannot be accepted as being 17th century, let alone as a work from Rembrandt's en-

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 2)

tourage. But in other ways, too, the scene in no. A 38 does not accord with the traditional way of depicting melancholy. R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky and F. Saxl (*Saturn and Melancholy*, London 1964, pp. 376–399) do not list the picture among the descendants of Dürer's *Melancholia I*, and with good cause – the woman depicted does not have the typical drooping stance, but sits erect and alert; she does wear a wreath round her head, but this is of olive branches and – like the Medusa's-head shield and the helmet and sword – unmistakably points to Minerva, a goddess associated with a choleric rather than a melancholic temperament. The only relationship there is between melancholy and Minerva – providing, perhaps, the only explanation for the title given in 1632 – lies in the fact that occasionally the personification of melancholy could, like Minerva, appear as the leader of the seven Liberal Arts, and that conversely Minerva could sometimes adopt the attitude of Melancholy, as in Elsheimer's small painting in Cambridge reproduced in an etching by Hollar (Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl, op. cit., p. 385). Probably no. A 38 is indeed identical with the painting described in 1632, but paradoxically one must then assume that neither the subject nor the artist was identified correctly.

Further research is needed to show what iconographical type Rembrandt took as his basis for depicting Minerva. The same décor reappears in his version of the same theme dated 1635 (Br. 469); in the *Minerva* in Denver (no. C 9) the treatment given the theme seems to be directly dependent on no. A 38. One suspects, given the presumably early presence of no. A 38 in the Stadholder's collection, that the painting was done at the prince's commission through the agency of Constantijn Huygens, and perhaps to his instructions (cf. no. A 39). At all events, Rembrandt appears to have followed a number of the indications given in contemporary literature on the representation of mythological subjects. The fact that the highlights on the helmet are in light yellow (in contrast to the white ones on the remainder of the still-life) suggests that he was aware that Minerva wore a golden helmet, as specified in C. van Mander's *Uutbeeldinge der Figueren* (Alkmaar 1604; in: idem, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem 1604), Book 1, fol. 126 verso, where it is also stated that: 'sij hadde dryderley cleederen van verscheyden

verwen, als purpur, blaeuw, en wit ...' (she had three kinds of garment in various colours such as purple, blue and white ...).

A separate problem is that of the picture beneath the painting one sees today, as evidenced by the X-ray. The light-painted background seen in this is very similar to that in the X-ray of the *Abduction of Proserpina* in Berlin (no. A 39). For this reason one may assume that the scene shown is an outdoor one. Of the figures, only the standing (?) one, appearing above the present figure of Minerva, is reasonably legible. The overall configuration remains unclear, presumably partly because paint has been removed locally, as was done – with a view to a quite different composition – in the case of the Liverpool *Self-portrait* (no. A 33) and – for the purpose of making corrections – in that of the Los Angeles *Raising of Lazarus* (no. A 30) and of the Berlin *Abduction of Proserpina* (no. A 39). From the viewpoint of scale and number of figures the composition seems to have resembled the Berlin *Samson betrayed by Delilah* (no. A 24) and the lost *Lot and his daughters* (cf. Introduction, Chapter III, figs. 1, 2).

5. Documents and sources

For early mentions, see under *8. Provenance* below.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Most probably coll. Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange, in the gallery of the Stadholder's Quarters in The Hague; the 1632 inventory lists 'Een stuck schilderij de Melancholij, sijnde een vrouw sittende op eenen stoel aen een taeffel daerop liggende boecken, een luyt ende andere instrumenten, door Jan Lievensz.'[4].
– Perhaps identical with an entry in the inventory of Honselaersdijk 1707–1713–1719: 'Een dame van Rembrandt' (Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, op. cit.[4], p. 523, no. 39).
– Perhaps included in 1742 in a second consignment sent to Berlin of paintings selected from Honselaersdijk for Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia by Count Otto von Podewils, Prussian Resident at The Hague: '37. Rembrandt Dame'[3]. Described as being in the Schloss in Berlin by J. D. F. Rumpf (*Beschreibung der äuszeren und inneren Merkwürdigkeiten der Königlichen Schlösser in Berlin ...*, Berlin 1794, p. 24): 'Bildnis eines mit Lorbeeren gekrönten Frauenzimmers, in kleiner ganzer Figur, von Rembrandt'[3].
– Transferred to the museum in 1830 (G. F. Waagen, *Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, Berlin 1830, II, no. 346 as Ferdinand Bol)[3].

9. Summary

It is difficult to assess the condition of no. A 38 properly because of the effects of an underlying painting on the one above, and presumably also of the consequent overpaintings. The few readily legible areas warrant an attribution to Rembrandt and a dating in his latter Leiden years, probably in 1631. If, as can be assumed on the grounds of the presumed pedigree and other evidence, the work is identical with a painting described in the 1632 inventory of the collection of Prince Frederik Hendrik as being *Melancholy* by Jan Lievens, then the remarkable fact is that in this earliest source neither the attribution nor the description of the subject matter is correct: Lievens certainly cannot be regarded as the author, and the subject cannot be other than Minerva. The subject and the way it is handled, which recur in Rembrandt's entourage (cf. no. C 9) and in work by Rembrandt himself in 1635, may perhaps find their explanation in a commission from the prince via Constantijn Huygens (cf. no. A 39).

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2 Van Gelder 1953, pp. 293–295 (pp. 21–23).
3 H. Börsch-Supan, 'Die Gemälde aus dem Vermächtnis der Amalie von Solms und aus der Oranischen Erbschaft in den brandenburgisch-preuszischen Schlössern', *Zeitschr. f. Kunstgesch.* 30 (1967), pp. 143–198, esp. pp. 173–174, p. 196 (no. 110).
4 S. W. A. Drossaers, with notes by C. Hofstede de Groot and Jonkvr. C. H. de Jonge, 'Inventaris van de meubelen van het Stadhouderlijk kwartier met het Speelhuis en van het Huis in het Noordeinde te 's-Gravenhage', *O. H.* 47 (1930), pp. 193–236, 241–276; esp. 204 (no. 51). S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer (ed.), *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes ... 1567–1795* I, The Hague 1974 (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, large series 147), p. 185 (no. 89).

A 39 The abduction of Proserpina [1631]

BERLIN (WEST), STAATLICHE MUSEEN PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, GEMÄLDEGALERIE, NO. 823

HDG 213; BR. 463; BAUCH 99; GERSON 57

1. Summarized opinion

Though unsigned, this is undoubtedly an authentic work datable in 1631; it has been reduced slightly in height and is, apart from a few local damages, in a reasonably sound state of preservation.

2. Description of subject

The action takes place in front of the vaguely indicated edge of a wood, given distinct form only on the right in the form of a gnarled treetrunk and foliage rising in the middle ground. To the left of this, and partly in the full light, a four-wheeled chariot drawn by four (?) black horses careers towards the right over a sloping river-bank; this is fringed at the front left by burdock leaves and thistles and elsewhere has a tulip and other flowers and leaves. The front horse (the only one to be for the most part visible) has just entered the water with its outstretched hind legs (and the forelegs, which are barely visible); the water splashes up, though elsewhere on the left it has a still, mirror-like surface. To the right the water forms a dark area, towards which the chariot is moving. One front wheel and the richly-worked front of the chariot, adorned with a lion's mask, catch the full light, while the rear part covered with a dark cloth is in semi-darkness. On it, Pluto – wearing a brownish-red brocade cloak over his shoulders, has seized the young Proserpina; his right hand clasps her left leg and his left arm supports the upper part of her body, while at the same time his left hand grasps a ring joined to the foremost horse's bit by a chain. Proserpina, hanging in his arms, is fighting him off with both hands, clawing at his averted face with the right one. Her basket of flowers, upturned, tumbles towards the ground beside her. She wears flowers in her hair, a white silk gown with wide sleeves, and a gold and silver brocade cloak which hangs down from her shoulders and is tugged backwards by two young women and a negro servant, who are trying to hold her back but are themselves being dragged along. All one sees of the girl to the front is the raised blonde head, her two hands gripping Proserpina's cloak and her grey cloak with a purse and sheathed knife (?) hanging from it on chains. Beside her and a little higher up the second young woman, characterized as Diana by a small crescent moon worn above her forehead and a quiver on her back, is likewise gripping a fold of Proserpina's cloak; above her head one can make out that of a negro servant. To the left of this and of the righthand rear wheel of the chariot, in the semi-darkness, is the upper body of a helmeted figure with the mouth open, probably Minerva.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in November 1968 (S. H. L., E. v. d. W.) in good daylight and out of the frame. Nine X-ray films, together covering the whole picture, received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 84.8 (± 0.2) × 79.7 (± 0.2) cm. Thickness top left *c.* 1 cm, top right 1, 2, bottom left 1, 2, bottom right 1, 1. Single plank. A crack runs down the full height of the panel, from just left of the centre at the top slightly obliquely to a point about three-quarters of the way down the panel, from where it curves downwards to the left. A small piece of the wood has been broken off at the lower left. The back of the panel, painted black, has bevelling only along the left and right sides, over a maximum width of *c.* 3.5 and 2 cm respectively. Along the unbevelled bottom edge the panel has, as one can tell by the uneven edge and obvious splintering, been sawn off; smaller splinters from a sawcut are also seen at the unbevelled top edge. Three forms of reinforcement have been used to strengthen the cracked panel, and two of these are still present: a batten 5.5 cm wide has been screwed on vertically, over the full height; horizontally there are two bars close to the top and bottom edges, held on by brackets screwed to the panel; and there are still clearly visible traces of a horizontal batten having been slightly recessed and glued into the panel.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): Radial board, sawn through the centre of the tree. Measured at the top edge to left and right of the heart: left shows 180 annual rings heartwood, not dated; right shows 163 annual rings heartwood, not dated. Mean curve 184 rings heartwood, not dated. Growing region unknown.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A cool yellow shows through at the lower left, in part of the water surface and in the grey garment of the first of the young women being dragged along behind the chariot.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

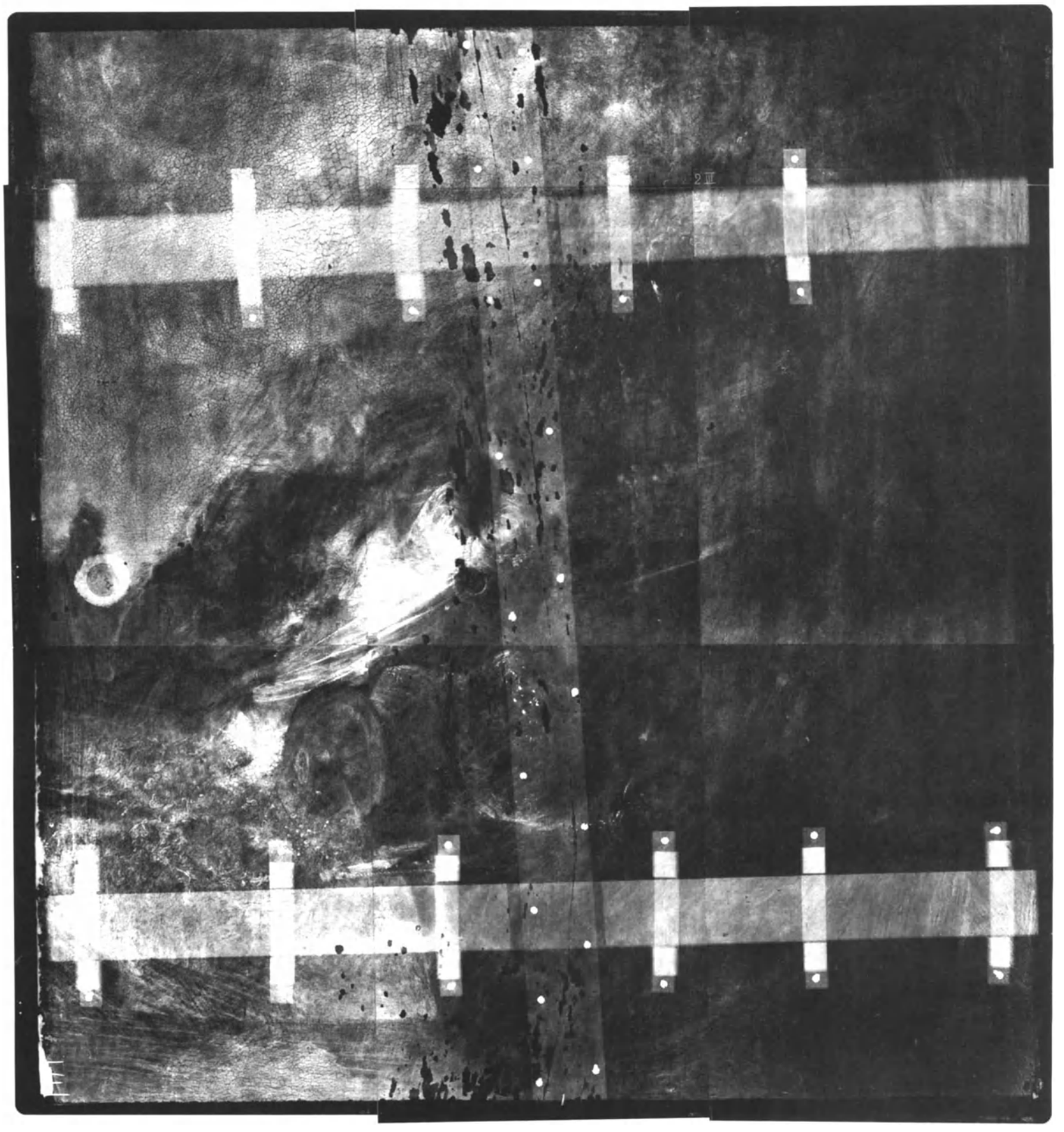
CONDITION: A great deal of local paint loss and restoration can be seen on both sides of the vertical crack, e.g. right through Pluto's face and in most of Proserpina's left hand. There are also local restorations, such as on the left above the back of the young woman at the front, in considerable numbers in the water beneath the belly of the front horse, and in a patch by the righthand edge just above the horses' heads furthest to the right (cf. also *X-Rays* below). Otherwise in satisfactory condition. Craquelure: in general there is a fine pattern of craquelure, which is very regular in Proserpina's light clothing. Against this, there is also an erratic and crevice-like crack formation in the sky and the upper part of the edge of the wood, in the lit vegetation in the left foreground and in the lit part of the surface of the water.
DESCRIPTION: The paint has in general been applied opaquely, with little articulation in the dark areas though in some of the illuminated areas with meticulous detail and great refinement.

The lit trunk of the tree stands out, in a little olive-green, from the dark area on the right, showing the separate shapes of leaves in various shades of green and, further back, light spots of paint suggesting leafy areas; these become vaguer and more lost in the brushmarks as the distance increases. The sky is for the most part dark grey, becoming a lighter grey only further up, with a little flat blue at the very top. In the green of the illuminated part of the river-bank the veins of the thistles and burdock leaves are picked out with fine, thick, light lines, with the lighter-coloured edges of the thistle leaves given yellow accents. The burdock leaves, light green at the centre, become a darker green along the edges with a little yellow and brown here and there. The flowers alongside the front wheel of the chariot are shown with dabs of pink and white, and some (including a tulip) are drawn quite carefully.

Apart from a thinly painted patch of light grey, the surface of the water is in dark grey; the spattering of the water close to the legs of the front horse is suggested with tiny specks of white. At the point where the mainly dark brown body of this horse stands out against a lighter area there is no trace of a reserve or of a differently-structured paint layer. The gloss of light on the horse's body has been shown with a little grey, some orange and small strokes of yellow. The rein is indicated with tiny lines of ochre colour and spots of yellow.

Fig. 1. Panel 84.8 × 79.7 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray



Alongside the front wheel of the chariot, drawn in greys, the front of the vehicle is painted with grey-green and yellow, with yellow highlights in the lion's mask.

The yellow highlights in Proserpina's grey garment are applied with supple strokes of the brush; her cloak, in broken white, has small motifs in grey and grey-blue, and large and very small highlights in white and yellow. Her pale face, modelled with white highlights (and with a little damage at the nose) has a great deal of detail, especially in the left eye.

Pluto's flesh colour (partly restored) is a yellow brown; his cloak consists of fields of brown with spots of yellow and with the edges in grey-white and red.

The clothing of the foremost of the two girls being dragged along beside the chariot is painted in a thin grey with a sheen of light; her small head-scarf shows green with decoration in an ochre colour, red and a cooler green. The red of her purse recurs in the reflected lights this throws onto the yellow of the sheath of her knife. The second girl's clothing is in dark grey, with blue on the inside of her sleeve. The negro servant's turban is green, while there is a little red in Minerva's helmet and lower lip.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

Dark patches bear witness to losses of the paint layer and ground, as already described under CONDITION. Where the genesis of the painting is concerned, the X-ray strengthens the impression already gained from the partially irregular craquelure that in the lefthand half of the picture large areas were originally laid-in (and partly executed) differently from their finished state. One cannot now make out clearly a number of vague shapes that stand out to the left above and through the chariot; right across them there are diagonal dark bands, indicating that paint has been scraped away. Similar scrape-marks are found at the lower left (see below). Other discrepancies between the X-ray image and that seen at the paint surface can most probably be linked to changes made to the composition seen today. To judge by a quite light area that runs down to about half-height and is bounded by an irregular dividing line against a darker area beneath it, the sky once took up much more space, continuing to the edge of the chariot; an irregular, dark projection close to the lefthand side gives the impression of there having been a space left in reserve for the figure of Minerva standing out against the sky (which was later shifted down a little). Above this ragged dividing line there is an almost uniform grey, with no appreciable boundary at the point of the present transition between the edge of the wood and the sky, marked entirely by the fitful pattern of craquelure already mentioned that might point to paint having been applied over another layer before it was completely dry. In the lefthand corner, too, there are traces of a different lighting scheme (presumably connected with the original form of the sky). Besides the light patch now visible on the surface of the water, the X-ray shows this area with more light, in part with dark scratches running diagonally downwards from left to right which can be interpreted as evidence of paint having been scraped away. Further, the right rear leg of the front horse does indeed prove (as has already been described) not to have been recessed into the paint but instead to lie over an area of light paint that is bounded quite sharply on the right (by a line running slightly downwards to the right). This area is bordered beneath by an almost horizontal, somewhat darker band; in an earlier stage of the painting this might have been intended to be an almost straight river-bank, seen in the full light. The highlights on the burdock leaves and other foliage, applied last of all, are – like other light areas – clearly visible, and make it hard to interpret forms that were laid-in earlier in this area.

Signature

None.

Varnish

There has been rather uneven cleaning, apparent especially in the sky.

4. Comments

The physical feature that first strikes the eye is that the panel of no. A 39 not only has practically the same unusual width as that on which the Los Angeles *Raising of Lazarus* (no. A 30) is painted, but also has a similar grain pattern and – linked with this – a crack of the same form in the same place. This prompts the suspicion (to be confirmed by closer investigation) that both these panels are radial boards, sawn across the centre of one and the same treetrunk and supplied by one and the same dealer. As was probably the case with the *Raising of Lazarus*, this panel was certainly somewhat reduced in height (see *Support*, DESCRIPTION above), either before or after it had been painted on. (As standard practice seems to indicate, the height of a panel of *c.* 80 cm wide, a '26 stuyver' panel, may be supposed to have been *c.* 108 cm, i.e. 23 cm more than it is now; see J. Bruyn in: *O.H.* 93 (1979), pp. 96–115.) These similarities do not, of course, constitute any kind of evidence for the attribution, but they do focus attention on the other striking correspondences there are with the *Raising of Lazarus*, both stylistically and from the viewpoint of painting technique.

Both paintings present a combination of brilliantly-lit dramatic motifs and dimly-lit areas seen within a largely indistinct setting; both show action taking place at various levels, without displaying any rigid horizontal or vertical element. In the colour-scheme, too, the works resemble each other – it is based on the concentration of a relatively small amount of local colour within a setting done in mostly dark greys – as they do in types and motifs such as the heads of Pluto and Christ and the forward-thrusting heads of the women. One also discovers from the X-rays that both paintings have features of their sequence of production in common; the lighting in the foreground was drastically altered in both of them, and the setting of figures against a lighter background – still retained to some extent in the *Raising of Lazarus* – also came into the *Abduction of Proserpina* with Minerva, placed on the extreme left. In both paintings there are areas that were laid-in earlier in light paint which has subsequently been removed. If, as the X-rays suggest, an almost horizontal line was originally intended for the river bank, such a motif would bring to mind the almost

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 2.5)

horizontal line of Lazarus's sarcophagus, and would further have a close resemblance to the way the river bank is shown in the etching of *Diana at the bath* (B. 201), generally dated as *c.* 1631. Against these strong resemblances with the *Raising of Lazarus* it must be said that in no. A 39 the illuminated areas – the chariot, the figures and the vegetation in the left foreground – have been given closely-observed detail and characteristic texture of a kind that in the *Raising of Lazarus* is found only in the hanging still-life on the cavern wall; one notices, too, that no use at all has been made of scratchmarks.

Finally, there are also similarities, in conception and motifs, with one or two other works from 1631 or slightly earlier: with the *Simeon in the Temple* in The Hague (no. A 34) and, particularly, with the lost painting of the *Baptism of the eunuch* known from the 1631 etching by J. G. van Vliet (see Introduction, Chapter III, fig. 3) and a number of painted copies. This last-named painting must have presented a very similar treatment of the foreground and of the repoussoir tree placed to one side.

There can consequently be no doubt that no. A 39 belongs to a group of works marking the end of Rembrandt's period in Leiden. This does not of course exclude the possibility that it was produced just after his move to Amsterdam in the course of the year 1631, particularly since a thematically very similar work like the Basle *Rape of Europa* (Br. 464) was painted in 1632. That will be the reason why the work is generally dated as *c.* 1632 in the literature; only Campbell [1] gave 1628/29 as a dating. And yet, because of the similarities enumerated above, a dating in 1631 is to be preferred. An additional argument for this is the fact that the painting was already listed in Prince Frederik Hendrik's collection in 1632. There can be no doubt that no. A 39 is identical with the painting of this subject hung in the gallery of the Stadholder's Quarters in The Hague, and mentioned as a Jan Lievens (see under *8. Provenance* below); and this despite Hofstede de Groot's objection that the Berlin painting 'can hardly be termed "a large piece"'[2]. It has to be remembered that the panel is in itself unusually large (and may once have been even larger than it is today) and was moreover, as appears from the inventory, hung in the midst of predominantly smaller paintings. What is stranger is that in 1632 no. A 39, together with the Berlin *Minerva* (no. A 38), was entered in the 1632 inventory as a work by Jan Lievens, whereas elsewhere a choice was left between two artists (cf. no. A 12). This confusion may have to do with the fact that Constantijn Huygens, whose enthusiasm for both Rembrandt and Lievens (cf. no. A 15) was probably responsible for a fairly large number of works by both of them being in the Stadholder's collection at so early a date, did not see the difference between them all that sharply, or could not make it clear to others. At all events the old attribution to Lievens, which was indeed replaced by the name of Rembrandt in the later inventories from 1707 onwards, finds no support in the stylistic features of the painting, as Börsch-Supan believed[3].

The attribution to Rembrandt has – apart from the 1632 inventory and Börsch-Supan's view based on this – never been put in doubt other than by Waagen[4], who in 1830 substituted the name of J. G. van Vliet. This is an attribution symptomatic of a misunderstanding already noticeable in the last quarter of the 18th century in respect of early work by Rembrandt, authentic or otherwise (cf. entry no. C 28 under *8. Provenance*).

The early presence of no. A 39 in The Hague makes one surmise, as Saxl[5] has already suggested, that this painting – of a subject that must be termed unusual for Rembrandt – was done at the commission of the Stadholder (through the agency of Huygens). The same might apply to the Berlin *Minerva* (no. A 38), and the commission for both probably preceded the one for the Passion series that is generally regarded as having been ordered by Prince Frederik Hendrik.

As for the interpretation of what is a far from everyday subject, Rembrandt would seem – perhaps working partly on the basis of instructions from his patron – to have incorporated various remembered features without following any one prototype faithfully. The result is that those quoted in the literature differ quite considerably. N. Restorff[6] pointed to the similarity (in reverse) the abducted Proserpina, with her cloak dragged obliquely downwards, bears to the figure of Fortuna(?) in Elsheimer's *Contento*, a connexion that has also been accepted by Keith Andrews in his publication of Elsheimer's rediscovered original[7]. According to von Wurzbach[8], van Rijckevorsel[9], Saxl[5], Kieser[10] and Clark[11], Rembrandt would have known the etching by Pieter Soutman (fig. 4) after the Rubens painting that was burnt in Blenheim Palace in 1861 or – more probably – after the oil-sketch, now in the Petit Palais in Paris. This connexion, too, is not improbable, in view of the way both Rubens and Rembrandt depict Pluto's horses and, especially, of the far from classical motif of the young woman clinging to Proserpina's garment. This would mean that through Rubens' prototype, which clearly goes back to classical sarcophagus reliefs (cf. for example that in the Louvre, C. Robert, *Die antike Sarkophagreliefs* III, 3, Berlin 1919, no. 359, pl. CXIX; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* I, Paris 1906,

Fig. 4. After Rubens, *The abduction of Proserpina* (etching by P. Soutman)

p. 101) Rembrandt would have indirectly been using these as a model. Campbell, on the other hand, believed that Rembrandt was already studying these independently[1]. The obvious difference from Rubens' conception, acknowledged by all authors, has been described by Clark as Rembrandt's 'wholly unclassical sense of truth'. The emphasis in Rembrandt's composition on a diagonal movement of the horses and the chariot led Frankl to assume a link with a painting by Lambert Sustris in Cambridge, engraved by Raphael Sadeler the Younger[12]. The close similarity between the foremost horse in the Rubens composition and the one in the Sustris (so close that either could have been in Rembrandt's mind) may in fact be explained by assuming that a lost Tintoretto painting of the same subject was the common prototype for both: a '*Raptus Proserpinae di Tintoret Vecchio*' measuring 3 × 10 Antwerp feet [= 86 × 286 cm] was among the paintings which Sir Dudley Carlton, the English ambassador in The Hague, acquired from Rubens in 1618 in exchange for his collection of antique sculpture (*Correspondance de Rubens*, ed. M. Rooses and Ch. Ruelens, II, Antwerp 1898, pp. 185–186). The general appearance of the wooded landscape, finally, is, as Held[13] has noted, connected with a type introduced by Elsheimer.

Even more than from the stylistic viewpoint, the connexion with classical reliefs – either direct or via Rubens – is important iconographically. Saxl[5] has already commented that the picture owes little to Ovid's text (Metamorphoses V, 385ff), and the presence of Minerva and Diana (so far noted only by Frankl[12], Campbell[1] and Kelch[14]) confirms this; Ovid mentions only anonymous maidens with whom Proserpina was picking flowers when she was carried off. The same is true of the play by Jacob Struys, *Ontschakingh van Proserpina. Met de Bruyloft van Pluto*, which though certainly staged earlier was first printed posthumously in Amsterdam in 1634; Saxl mentions this on the strength of the title print, copied after Tempesta, but does not go into the content of the play (which in the main follows the Ovid narrative, and does not involve Minerva and Diana). From the iconographic similarity of Rembrandt's representation to that of Rubens – and, even more strongly, to Rubens' later painting for the Torre de la Parada (now in the Prado) which clearly shows not only Minerva but Diana as well – it appears however that there was another version of the story in circulation, one that provides the foundation for all these depictions. It may be readily assumed that this was (directly or indirectly) the late-classical poem *De raptu Proserpinae* by Claudianus (d. 404 AD), which the existence of various editions shows to have been quite well known in the 16th and 17th centuries. There are, indeed, major points of similarity between Claudianus' text and Rembrandt's painting, alongside a few clear differences. According to the poem (II, 11ff) Proserpina sets out to gather flowers in the company of Venus, Diana and Minerva and of a number of Naiads and river nymphs. The goddesses are richly garbed. They pick the flowers, and Proserpina fills her basket and places a wreath of flowers about her head (II, 137ff). When Pluto appears (II, 204ff),the river nymphs flee but Minerva and Diana offer resistance: the first uncovers the Gorgon's head on her shield, and speaks angrily to him, while the latter prepares to shoot with her bow and arrow. One can claim to recognize the first of these two motifs in Rembrandt's picture, but not the second; instead, Diana together with a negro servant and a young blonde woman cling to Proserpina's cloak. If this young woman is meant to represent Venus, this would certainly run counter to Claudianus' account, where Venus is (as in other versions of the myth, quoted by Frankl (op. cit.[12], p. 164) party to the conspiracy, and takes no action during the abduction. There is a very suggestive similarity, though it is significant only when taken in combination with other motifs (the garment of the goddesses and the wreath of flowers round Proserpina's head, together with Pluto's 'murky cloak' (cf. II, 275) and the excitement of Pluto's horse (cf. II, 192ff)), between Rembrandt's landscape setting and Claudianus' vivid description (II, 101ff) of the flower-clad slope, the shady trees and climbing plants and the mirror-like waters of the lake of Pergus. Despite the discrepancies that have been mentioned it can be assumed that Rembrandt's iconographic programme was based on the text by Claudianus, presumably on the instructions of a patron or advisor (probably Constantijn Huygens, on behalf of the Stadholder).

5. Documents and sources

For early mentions, see *8. Provenance* below.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Coll. Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange, in the gallery of the Stadholder's Quarters in The Hague; inventory of 1632: 'Een groot stuck schilderie daer Pluto Proserpina ontschaeckt, door Jan Lievensz. van Leyden gemaeckt' (A large piece in which Pluto carries off Proserpina, done by Jan Lievensz. of Leiden). (Drossaers, op. cit.[2], [15])
– Inherited by King Friedrich I of Prussia on the death of William III of Orange. Inventory of Honselaersdijk 1707–1713–1719: 'Pluto die Proserpina schaeckt door Rembrant' (Pluto carrying off Proserpina by Rembrant). (Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, op. cit. [15], p. 529 no. 164)
– Removed to the royal castle in Berlin in 1720: 'Die Entführung der Proserpina durch Rembrandt'[3]. Described in Berlin by F. Nicolai (*Beschreibung der königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam,* Berlin 1779 2nd edn., p. 658): 'Ein stück worinn Löwen sind, von Rembrand'; and by J. G. Puhlmann (*Beschreibung der Gemälde, welche sich in der Bildergallerie, den daranstossenden Zimmern und dem weissen Saale im Königl. Schlosse zu Berlin befinden,* Berlin 1790, no. 171)[3].
– Transferred to the museum in 1830 (G. F. Waagen, *Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin* II, Berlin 1830, no. 312 as J. G. van Vliet).

9. Summary

Stylistically and physically, no. A 39 shows so many resemblances to works by Rembrandt from 1630/31, in particular the *Raising of Lazarus* (no. A 30), that there can be no doubt at all about the attribution and a dating in 1631. It must be assumed that the panel was somewhat reduced in height either before or after being painted on. The curious fact is that, through being mentioned in the Stadholder's collection in 1632, the painting can boast an unbroken pedigree from that time onwards (in which in fact the only missing item is a documented link with the artist's studio), but that this first mention quotes Jan Lievens as the author. This must be seen as due to an understandable confusion. Presumably the painting was bought from the artist, or even commissioned from him, through Constantijn Huygens, who would then have been responsible for instructions in regard to the iconography connected with Claudianus' *De raptu Proserpinae.*

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4 G. F. Waagen, *Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin,* Berlin 1830, II, 312.
5 F. Saxl, *Lectures,* London 1957, 'Rembrandt and classical antiquity' [January 1941], pp. 298–310, esp. 302–303; cf. [A. Warburg, lecture on 'Italian antiquity in the age of Rembrandt', May 1926, in:] E. H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography,* London 1970, pp. 230–232.
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14 *Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preuszischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Katalog der ausgestellten Gemälde des 13–18. Jahrhunderts,* Berlin 1975, p. 345.
15 S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer (ed.), *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes ... 1567–1795* I, The Hague 1974 (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, large series 147), p. 184 no. 82.

A 40 The artist in oriental costume, with a poodle at his feet

PARIS, MUSÉE DU PETIT PALAIS, CAT. 1907 NO. 925

HDG 350; BR. 16; BAUCH 301; GERSON–

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved painting that must be regarded as an original and, after lengthy consideration, attributed to Rembrandt. Apart from the dog, which was added later by the artist, it should probably be dated in the year 1631. As indicated by the signature which, though likewise added subsequently, may be taken as authentic.

2. Description of subject

A young man is seen full-length, standing in a room with his body turned slightly to the right and the head almost facing the viewer. He wears a turban with a plume, a shiny yellow tunic with a sash about the waist, and on top of this a purple cloak held fastened on his right shoulder. Both hands are gloved; his right hand he holds against his side, while the other rests on a stick. The legs, clad in trousers and boots, are for the most part hidden behind a poodle, with shorn hindquarters, that sits facing towards the right.

A table stands against the rear wall of the room; covered with a grey-green cloth, it bears a helmet and a silver goblet and a sash that hangs down over the edge.

The light comes from the upper left, and throws a fairly strong shadow of the man and the dog onto the floor, the material of which is not made clear.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 21 April 1971 (B. H., E. v. d. W.) in moderately good daylight and out of the frame, with the aid of five X-ray films covering the whole painting (by Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) and an infrared photograph of the bottom righthand corner.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 66.5 × 52 (± 0.1) cm. Thickness *c.* 0.6 cm. Two planks. Back bevelled at top and lefthand side.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch, Dr. D. Eckstein, Dr. P. Klein, Hamburg): righthand plank has 106 annual rings heartwood, datable 1504–1609. Earliest possible felling date 1629.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellowish brown is visible in the shadow part of the face and here and there in thin parts of the background.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Generally good. A few retouches in the background, and some fine scratches in the paint surface. Craquelure: fine, mainly horizontal craquelure, especially in and below the dog.

DESCRIPTION: The characteristic feature of the way the work has been painted is the varied handling of paint – the fluently brushed background and floor contrast with the precise and sometimes even pedantic painting of parts of the clothing. There is a clear connexion between the way the paint is applied and the material being rendered.

The man's head is executed with small brushstrokes in opaque flesh tints on the side facing the light, and in a translucent brown on the shadow side. The structure of the eye on the left is clearly defined, with a small touch of pink placed on the upper lid; the same colour recurs in the wing of the nose. The iris and pupil are painted precisely, with the iris in light brown on the lower side, opposite a catchlight, and becoming darker upwards into the pupil. The structure of the eye on the right tends to be indistinct, and merges into the shadow of the face; the pupil and iris do however have lights matching those on the left. The nose is given a plastic shape with a line of light along the ridge and a dot of light on the tip. The mouth is slightly awry, with a rather summary rendering of form. The chin, with an accurately-observed play of light on the cleft, is given excellent plastic definition. The hair is indicated roughly, is a little greyer and more opaque on the right than on the left, and tails off vaguely into the background. The turban is modelled with great care, the folds rendered effectively in brown-yellow, yellow, reddish brown and green tints. Decoration is added with small, thick dots of paint, and the clasp holding the plume has thick yellow and white highlights.

The shiny material of the golden-yellow tunic is rendered attentively; in the light areas it is painted quite thickly with clearly visible and mainly diagonal brushstrokes, in the shadow areas it is thinner, and in the fold on the left even translucent. The decoration is applied on top of this in an ochrish yellow, with very fine, thick, light yellow dots for the highlights and a thick dab of carmine red in the centre of the decoration. The sash is executed with long, thin strokes of a slightly muddy purple, emerald green and yellow. The gloves, with their wide cuffs, are embellished with many very small strokes and spots of light yellow. The one on the left is summarily indicated; the form of that on the right is rendered with great care. The purplish cloak displays a modelling of somewhat lumpy and sinuous folds, where the play of light is rendered very consistently and the suggestion of a heavy cloth has been achieved. The inside of the cloak is decorated with motifs in a yellowish paint, invariably with small white highlights.

The dog is painted boldly and plastically, with small brushstrokes rendering the curly coat in a variety of greys. Brown and russet tints are used in the ear.

The rear wall is painted, in the illuminated area, with very forceful, long and sometimes sinuate strokes running in various directions. Around the figure the paint is a little thicker and lighter in tone; on the lefthand side, from the shoulder downwards, the strokes follow the contour and the paint is even more heavily applied. On either side of the head, at the level of the forehead, the brushstrokes form an almost horizontal line that terminates on the right in a sharp point. To the right of the head there is a somewhat darker zone along the hair. In the transition to darker areas the paint becomes thinner and browner, and the underlying ground contributes to the colour here and there. The darker grey is less translucent, and offers less visible brushwork. The brushstrokes in the rear wall quite clearly continue downwards on the left, where the table stands, and the table together with the objects on it has been painted over the top of them. The helmet and goblet present strong highlights, while the sash – done in thick paint – is rather devoid of form.

The floor is painted in more or less the same way as the background: vigorously and with a clear brushstroke in the lights, and less thickly in the shadows. There is no sign of structure or rendering of material that might suggest what the floor is made of.

The part of the floor on which the dog is sitting is painted thickly, and in direct conjunction with the dog; the latter's shadow on the floor is firm and robust in shape, while the man's shadow is rather less sharply defined. Further back the floor

Fig. 1. Panel 66.5 × 52 cm

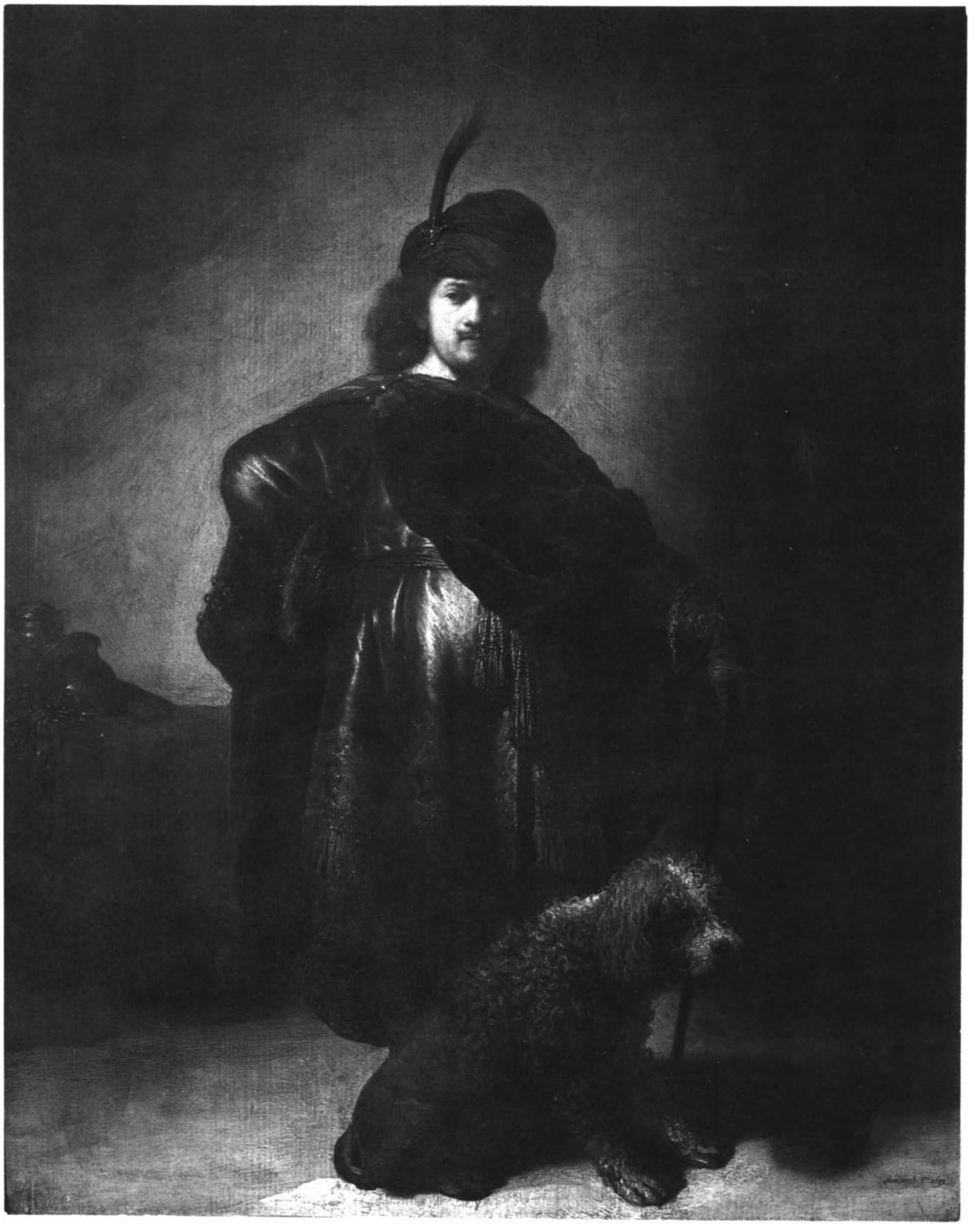


Fig. 2. X-ray

receives only a little light, and then in the shadow merges imperceptibly into the rear wall.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays
The whole of the legs and feet and their cast shadows appear clearly as reserves in the light paint of the floor. From this it may be deduced that the poodle was added at a time when the figure was shown in full; from the slight and fairly regular craquelure in this area it appears that this happened only when the paint was dry.

The continuation of the rear wall through the position of the table, already noted at the paint surface, is also clearly apparent in the radiographic image. The table was added only after the rear wall had been painted in its initial version.

In the rear wall, the thicker paint that has already been remarked as following the contour of the shoulder and arm downwards on the left produces a very white image in the X-ray; this white band, broadening out downwards, finishes at the top surface of the table where it runs a little towards the left, following the table-edge. The outline must therefore have been worked over after the table had been painted. The fact that the brushstrokes on either side of the contour run through and over each other are an indication that the figure and the rear wall were given their final form at the same time. Along the leg and thigh on the right there is also a slightly lighter band, a sign of the definition of the outline having been sharpened.

The zone to the right of the head, mentioned earlier, shows up in the X-ray as a clear, dark area bounded quite abruptly to the right by a grey that is a little darker still; this must presumably be interpreted as a reserve of considerably more generous proportions left in the background when this was laid-in in a light tone.

Below the left foot there is a dark patch, while the foot on the right is surrounded by a dark zone; the reserves left in the surrounding light area for both legs were evidently originally rather longer.

A fairly broad white strip can be seen beneath the feet, extending well out to left and right but not quite reaching the edges. The thought occurs that a step may perhaps have been planned at this point.

Traces of the signature are vaguely visible.

On either side of the head, level with the forehead, the X-ray shows a white band built up of small brushstrokes; on the right this makes a sharp angle downwards. This shape, already observed at the paint surface, is difficult to explain, and also appears in an old copy (see below under *7. Copies*, 1).

A sharp-edged scratch to the left of the man's right leg, running obliquely downwards, shows up black in the X-ray. At the bottom, beneath the foot on the left and to the right alongside this foot, there are dark traces of a few paint losses.

Signature
At bottom right in fine, small dark-grey letters ‹*Rembrant.f* (followed by three dots) *1631*›. The area where the signature is placed is, on the evidence of the infrared photograph and the X-ray, entirely intact and there is no trace of an earlier or different signature at this point. The slightly darker appearance of the area round the signature may be due to caution by a restorer who cleaned the painting less energetically there. See *4. Comments* below on the subject of the signature, which is unusual for 1631.

Varnish
No special remarks.

4. Comments

Together, the paint surface and the X-ray yield a clear picture of how the painting was produced. The reserve left for the figure in the light lay-in of the background was made too large at a number of places – certainly next to the head and by both feet. The table with the still-life lying on it had no provision made for it in the lay-in (and was thus presumably not planned), and was painted on top of the background after the latter had been executed. The lefthand contour of the figure, set down heavily at a late stage, does however take account of the presence of the table. At a late stage, too, the legs and feet will have been given their final form, not yet hidden by the poodle. On this point the X-ray is wholly in agreement with a copy listed below (*7. Copies*) which shows how important the cast shadows, falling to the right, were for creating an impression of depth in the composition. If there ever was, as one may surmise from the X-ray, intended to be a step along the lower edge of the picture, then on the evidence of the copy the completed first state of the painting no longer showed it. It is not clear what the light, horizontal structure on either side of the head represents; this is also found in the copy just mentioned, where it looks a little like a profile in a half-column supporting an arch. It must be regarded as definite that the dog, together with the irregularity in the floor on which it sits and with its cast shadow, was added only some time (possibly some considerable time) after the painting had been completed in its first state, and presumably after the paint had dried – there is no sign of the shrinkage cracks that frequently occur where an underlying layer has been painted over before it was completely dry. In assessing the painting it will therefore be considered primarily in the state it was in before the dog was added.

The structure of the paint layers and the sequence in which the components of the picture were painted do not militate against an attribution to Rembrandt. Furthermore, the change made in the composition – the addition of the table during the course of the painting – shows that no. A 40 must be regarded as an original and not a copy. This latter possibility does come to mind, because of a number of aspects of the manner of painting. In some places this is, admittedly, bold (and characteristic of Rembrandt), as in the rear wall; but elsewhere it is painstaking in the extreme (e.g. in the face) or even finicky (as in some parts of the ornamented yellow tunic and the gloves); the summary treatment given to the table and the still-life on it, and to the floor giving no indication of what substance it is made of, are surprising. One has to wonder whether these

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1.5)

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1.5)

curious weaknesses can be reconciled with Rembrandt's way of working in the early years of the 1630s, and the question has, understandably in some ways, met with a negative answer from some authors – from Knuttel[1], and from Gerson[2] who attributed the painting to a Leiden imitator of Rembrandt *c.* 1630–1633 and suspected that there was another signature underneath that seen today.

In nonetheless accepting an attribution to Rembrandt, our reasoning is as follows: the insight we now have – enhanced by the X-ray evidence – into the technique used in producing the painting makes it possible to appreciate more fully the unmistakable link there is with Rembrandt's working methods. The presence of over-generous reserves left in the background, and the rather clumsy filling in of the consequent gaps in the paint layer when the artist came to define the form more sharply, offer two features that do occur in some early Rembrandt paintings (see Introduction, Chapter II, p. 27ff). At all events, they rule out the idea of this being a copy, though the idea of it being an imitation is equally unlikely. While the meticulous rendering in some places, which can be put on a par with that seen in accessory items in works such as the *Raising of Lazarus* in Los Angeles (no. A 30) or the Berlin *Minerva* (no. A 38), may be specially eye-catching here in the centrally-placed figure, it does not detract in any way from the power of the pictorial design nor from the three-dimensional and plastic effect of the figure.

Fig. 5. Detail with signature (enlarged)

The stance, with the man's abdomen and right hip thrust forward slightly, is emphasized by the diagonal hang of the cloak; this space-creating effect has been lost entirely in the copy already mentioned, which is very early and can possibly be placed in Rembrandt's immediate circle. The way the head has been observed and shaped is, moreover, very close indeed to that seen in a series of small etched self-portraits. All things taken together, there can be no reasonable doubt about Rembrandt's authorship; and finally, the signature (which at first sight seems surprising) can, as will be explained in a moment, be interpreted as a hallmark for the painting's authenticity.

The motifs and the way they are perceived offer similarities with a number of works from the early 1630s, and the date of 1631 given in the problematical signature (discussed below) cannot be far off the mark. The placing of a figure against a back wall lit to varying degrees had, of course, already been a familar motif from 1627 onwards. A shiny cloth involved as positively in the lighting as it is here, forming a second focus of light besides the head, was first seen in the Berlin *Samson and Delilah* (no. A 24), which we date as 1629/30. From the same period there is the *David playing the harp to Saul* in Frankfurt (no. A 25), where one had for the first time a figure – likewise wearing a cloak and a plumed turban – of the same bulky build as in no. A 40. The subject matter of a single, exotically-garbed man seen under strong side-lighting appears again, in similar fashion, in the drawings of an *Old Pole* (Ben. 44) and of a *Polish officer* in Leningrad (Ben. 45), and in the etching of *The Persian* of 1632 (B. 152; see no. A 33 fig. 5). Rembrandt moreover painted it on a somewhat larger panel around 1630/31, as can be seen from the X-ray of the Liverpool *Self-portrait* (no. A 33). If, with all this, one takes into account the very careful treatment of detail, then a dating late in the Leiden period – i.e. 1631 – is the most likely.

Two problems remain: the dog and the signature. The dog has already proved to be a later addition, though not necessarily by another hand. On the contrary, both the fluent and assured manner of painting and the fact that a similar dog appeared in Rembrandt's work both *c.* 1631 (in the lost *Baptism of the eunuch*, according to van Vliet's etching, see Introduction, Chapter III, fig. 3) and in 1633 (in the etching of *The Good Samaritan*, B. 90) make it probable that he himself inserted the dog at a later stage on the completed painting. In conjunction with the signature *Rembrant.f* (with the *f* followed by three dots), which is quite exceptional for 1631, the addition of the dog prompts the notion that if the signature is autograph at all it will have been added at the same time as the dog. Though the signature is certainly unusual for 1631, it would not be exceptional for a somewhat later time; indeed, the spelling of the name without the *d* is not only seen in the 1632 *Anatomy lesson of Dr. Tulp* (Br. 403) and in a number of etchings from 1632 and 1633 – the *S. Jerome praying* of 1632 (B. 101) has *Rembrant ft. 1632*; *Joseph's coat brought to Jacob* (B. 38) has *Rembrant/ van. Ryn. fe.*; and the *Descent from the cross*, first plate (B. 81) shows *Rembrant.ft. 1633* – but strikingly similar signatures also appear on three paintings from 1633: the *David and Cyrus* (Br. 491) which is signed *Rembrant f 1633*, the *Christ in the storm* in the Gardner Museum, Boston (Br. 547) which has *Rembrant. f* (followed by four dots)/ *1633*, and the Ottawa *Young woman at her toilet* (Br. 494) where one finds *Rembrant.f 163* (*3*?). Since in the lastnamed painting there is also the closest possible match with no. A 40 in the shape of the letters and figures, the suspicion becomes virtually a certainty that Rembrandt signed – and correctly antedated – a painting completed previously in the year 1633. The signature, which Gerson[2] rightly regarded as unusual and understandably looked on with suspicion, can thus provide unexpected testimony for the authenticity of no. A 40. It seems moreover obvious to suppose that the signature was appended at the time the dog and associated features were added, and perhaps replaced an earlier one that was obliterated by the addition. In just the same way the etched *Self-portrait* B. 7 was signed in its fifth state with a monogram and the date 1631, but in the probably considerably later states with the (from the

Fig. 6. After Rubens, *Adoration of the Magi*, detail (anonymous engraving after L. Vorsterman)

8th state onwards) shadowed background this was hidden, and in the tenth state the signature *Rembrandt f.* appeared in a different and unshadowed place.

It is amply clear, from comparison with the series of painted and etched self-portraits from the early 1630s, that the model is Rembrandt himself. It is less clear how the picture ought to be interpreted. The costume could serve for both Old Testament personages (Saul in no. A 25) and New Testament characters (the rider in the Munich *Raising of the cross*, Br. 548); in particular, Rembrandt may have been remembering the print after Rubens' *Adoration of the Magi*, now in Lyon, which he had used for the Basle *David before Saul* (no. A 9) with its depiction of the third king (fig. 6); a variant of this was in turn used by Rubens himself for a portrait, that of Nicolas de Respaigne in Kassel. It is also possible, however, that the costume relates not to a biblical story but to more recent history. The Turks had, especially since the conquests of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, held a place in people's minds as a fascinating major power, and the impact this had on iconography has still to be studied. One does know that in the collection of the Stadholder in 1632 there is mention of 'Een schilderie van de dochter van den grooten Turck', and early in the 18th century a 'sultan Soliman van Rembrandt [should be read as: Lievens]' (S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van . . . Oranjes* I, The Hague 1974, pp. 210 no. 696 and 530 no. 177). When, in the inventory of the estate of the painter Lambert Jacobsz. in 1637, one finds the entry 'Een schone Jonge turcksche prince nae Rembrant' (H. L. Straat in: *De Vrije Fries* 28 (1925), p.72; cf. *Young man in a turban* in Windsor Castle, Br. 144), one should perhaps call to mind Suleiman's favourite son Mustapha who was murdered at his command, and whose tragic fate became a theme in 16th- and 17th-century literature (see E. Frenzel, *Stoffe der Weltliteratur*, Stuttgart 1963, pp. 448–451; information kindly supplied by Dr. H. W. van Helsdingen). Campbell has referred to the possible importance of 16th-century portraits of sultans for Rembrandt's oriental figures (C. G. Campbell, *Studies in the formal sources of Rembrandt's figure compositions*, typescript dissertation University of London 1971, p. 188 and note 120). The addition of the dog does not appear to provide positive evidence for any of the possibilities mentioned here.

A possible pendant, present whereabouts unknown, does not shed any light on the problems connected with no. A 40. This is the so-called portrait of Rembrandt's sister, previously in the collection of Baron Arthur de Schickler, Paris (HdG 505; Br. 83; Bauch 450). This painting, known to us only from reproductions, is said to have been on canvas stuck on panel; the dimensions are given as 59 × 46 cm (enlarged to 68.5 × 48 cm – the additions are presumably omitted in the reproductions available), and since the figure is placed in a rather narrower compass than that in no. A 40 the work could well have been painted as a pendant to no. A 40, or be a copy of such a companion piece. What is curious is that in this work, just as in no. A 40, there is a table with a number of objects on it in the lefthand part of the composition, and that the hand resting on the stick repeats the gesture in no. A 40 quite precisely (in reverse). For the rest, the reproduction offers too indistinct a picture of the painting technique to allow any opinion as to attribution or dating. The question of whether Rembrandt did in fact produce a painting of this type – whether or not as a pendant to no. A 40 – at about the same date, must be answered in the affirmative. Evidence of this is provided by a free copy in reverse by his pupil Isaac de Jouderville, who was also familiar with no. A 40 and other works by Rembrandt of 1631 (see no. C 9, esp. figs. 4 and 5).

Fig. 7. Copy 1. Whereabouts unknown

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

1. Panel, 70.4 × 50.2 cm; inscribed at upper left: ‹*Rembrandt ft/1641*› (fig. 7). Present whereabouts unknown; previously coll. E. Kums, sale Antwerp 17–18 May 1898, no. 126 (with older provenance), coll. A. M. Byers, Pittsburg, coll. Baron Arthur de Schickler, Paris. Examined on 2 February 1977 (B. H.). The oak panel (back cradled) consists of two planks, the join running just through the eye on the left, 23,3 cm from the lefthand edge. The ground cannot be seen with any certainty. It is, on the contrary, very typical of this otherwise faithful and fairly competent copy that it renders areas of translucent paint by mixing colours to imitate the effect of translucency. This occurs notably in the left part of the background, where the grey has been mixed with a reddish brown.

As the painting does not show the dog that Rembrandt added to the original, it was probably executed in the years between 1631 and 1633 (see *4. Comments*), and conceivably in Rembrandt's circle. It therefore constitutes an important document for the way copies were executed so to speak under the master's eye, possibly in Hendrik Uylenborch's 'academy'.
2. Panel, 35 × 29 cm, Vienne (Isère), Musée d'Archéologie et des Beaux-Arts, catalogue 1973, no. 80. A faithful but mediocre copy; deposited with the Sous-Préfecture de l'Isère, Vienne (information kindly supplied by Mr. Jean-François Garmier, Mâcon).

3. Canvas, 30.5 × 24 cm, exhibition *Autour de Rembrandt*, Knokke-le-Zoute 1969, no. 3; estate of F. Mogin-Zorn, sale Brussels 26–27 November 1974, cf. *Weltkunst* 15, November 1974, p. 2085. To judge by the photograph, a very poor copy.

8. Provenance

*– Probably identical with: 'Rembrants Conterfeytsel op zyn Persiaens, door hem geschildert' (Rembrant's likeness as a Persian, painted by him), sale Amsterdam 10 June 1705, no. 30 (Hoet I, p. 79; 59 guilders).
– Possibly coll. Comte de Vaudreuil, Paris (according to catalogue of Schamp d'Aveschoot sale; not in the Vaudreuil sale of 24 November 1784)[3].
– Possibly coll. Destouches, sale Paris 21 March 1794 (Lugt 5171), no. 283: 'Jean Lievens. Un homme vu debout, la tête coëffée d'un bonnet, surmonté d'une plume; il a le bras & le poing pliés & appuyés sur sa hanche, tandis qu'il est appuyé de sa droite sur sa canne: à terre, & devant lui, l'on voit un chien barbet en repos. Ce tableau de la couleur & de l'harmonie la plus parfaite, est digne à tous égards des beaux ouvrages de Rembrandt, auquel on l'a souvent attribué. Haut. 24 pou. larg. 16 pou. [= 64,8 × 43,2 cm] B.' (350 francs to Le Brun). Notwithstanding a slight difference between this description and the subject of no. A 40 (where the figure's *left* hand rests on a stick), there can be little doubt that the picture described was a version of the same composition. Whether it actually was the same picture remains doubtful in view of the somewhat smaller dimensions given in the catalogue. The attribution to Lievens is not too surprising, given the fact that the Destouches sale was directed by J. B. P. Lebrun (cf. nos. A 17 and C 13).
– Coll. J. Schamp d'Aveschoot, Ghent, probably already by 1810 (penned inscription on back of panel: *J. Schamp 1810*); sale Ghent 11 September 1840, no. 69 (16,709 francs to Auguste Dutuit)[3].
– Coll. Dutuit brothers, Rouen: Eugène 1807–1886, Auguste 1812–1902. Auguste Dutuit bequest to the City of Paris, 1902[3].

9. Summary

Given the nature and extent of the changes made during the painting of no. A 40 it must be seen as an original, and not as a copy as the somewhat pedantic execution of certain items might suggest. Far more persuasive, however, are the similarities in conception and technique that no. A 40 has with Rembrandt's work from the early 1630s. The figure was first painted, presumably in 1631, without the dog; this was added probably some time later and by Rembrandt himself. If the signature and date are authentic, as is likely despite their unusual form, then they were probably appended *c.* 1633 at the same time as the dog was painted.

It is not clear what significance should be attached to the depiction of Rembrandt himself in oriental garb.

REFERENCES

1 G. Knuttel Wzn., *Rembrandt, de meester en zijn werk*, Amsterdam 1956, p. 249.
2 Br.-Gerson 16.
3 Jean-Pierre Cuzin in: exhibition cat. *Le siècle de Rembrandt*, Paris (Petit Palais) 1970/71, no. 186.

A 41 Bust of a young man in a plumed cap

1631

TOLEDO, OHIO, THE TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART, ACC. NO. 26.64,
GIFT OF EDWARD DRUMMOND LIBBEY

HDG 577; BR. 143; BAUCH 138; GERSON 52

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved work, that can be accepted as authentic, in agreement with the reliable signature. The date of 1631 must be taken to refer to the time it was completed after undergoing fairly radical alterations.

2. Description of subject

A young man, wearing a dark cloak hanging open and a small scarf and a gold neck-chain with pendant, is seen half-length and facing three-quarters left. He is lit from the upper left, and a deep-red velvet cap throws shadow over a large part of his face. From a cast shadow above the righthand shoulder it can be assumed that the figure is close to a fairly light wall.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 13 September 1972 (S. H. L., E. v. d. W.) in fairly good daylight and artificial light, and in the frame. Four X-ray films covering the whole panel, and a fifth of the head, received later from the museum.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Panel, presumably oak, grain vertical, 80.3 × 64.8 cm (sight size). Two planks, with vertical join 24.2 cm from the righthand side. Back cradled.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Appears as a yellowish brown in the very thinly painted upper righthand corner of the background. Elsewhere it shows through in translucent areas, e.g. at the transitions from light to shade in the face and hair.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Fairly good, so far as can be judged through a rather thick layer of varnish. Vertical bands of very fine blisters, possibly due to the cradle, appear in the shadow areas of the face and to left and right of the head. Very slight local paint loss is apparent in the X-ray, to left and right of the neck and on the upper lip. A few small, vertical retouches are seen on the tip of the nose. Horizontal marks over the left cheek are probably traces of incompletely removed varnish. Craquelure: very fine horizontal cracks in the background; scarcely visible in the lit skin areas.
DESCRIPTION: The background is for the most part in a cool, opaque grey, lighter along the head and darker towards the edges. The brushwork can hardly be made out, though an exception to this is the area above the shoulder on the right, where the paint is more heavily applied with a brushstroke roughly following the shoulder outline. Evidently at this point there is thickly applied paint beneath the grey of the surface – the worn-through peaks in the relief are a good deal lighter. While the bottom righthand corner of the background is in thin and very dark paint, the somewhat lighter bottom lefthand corner has a rugged surface. This area has a curving upper boundary that runs into the outline of the shoulder; possibly the contour of the clothing originally took this line. The upper righthand corner of the background is very thin, and rather translucent.

The cloak and doublet were first painted in a dark brown-black, and then thinly overpainted locally with a lighter brown. Very dark, fluently painted shadows are placed along the open front edges of the cloak and below the chain and pendant. Broad, light strokes can be seen under the paint of the scarf; small, white worn patches provide, taken together, a comparatively coherent picture of deft, light touches of paint. A translucent red-brown also shows through in the scarf. On top of this a cool grey paint has been applied in the lit parts in strokes that follow the direction of the folds; a cool dark grey provides the transition to the black shadow. Small licks of grey and yellowish grey in the light, set crosswise to the direction of the folds, hint weakly at a pattern in the cloth.

The chain has been very deftly painted, quite heavily here and there and done with a richly varied brushwork and scratchmarks, showing firm licks of paint in ochre colours with white-yellow highlights interspersed with dark patches; the top link of the chain, on the shoulder on the right, is in a translucent, violet-tinged red – perhaps intended to suggest reflected light from the cap, which has the same colour. The pendant hanging down on the chest shows the same features of paintwork as the chain. The jewel in the centre of the pendant is laid-in in a thin black; the facets of the stone have highlights and reflections of light, and each differs from the others. The flat part of the pendant surrounding the jewel has a dark, red-brown colour with one or two highlights.

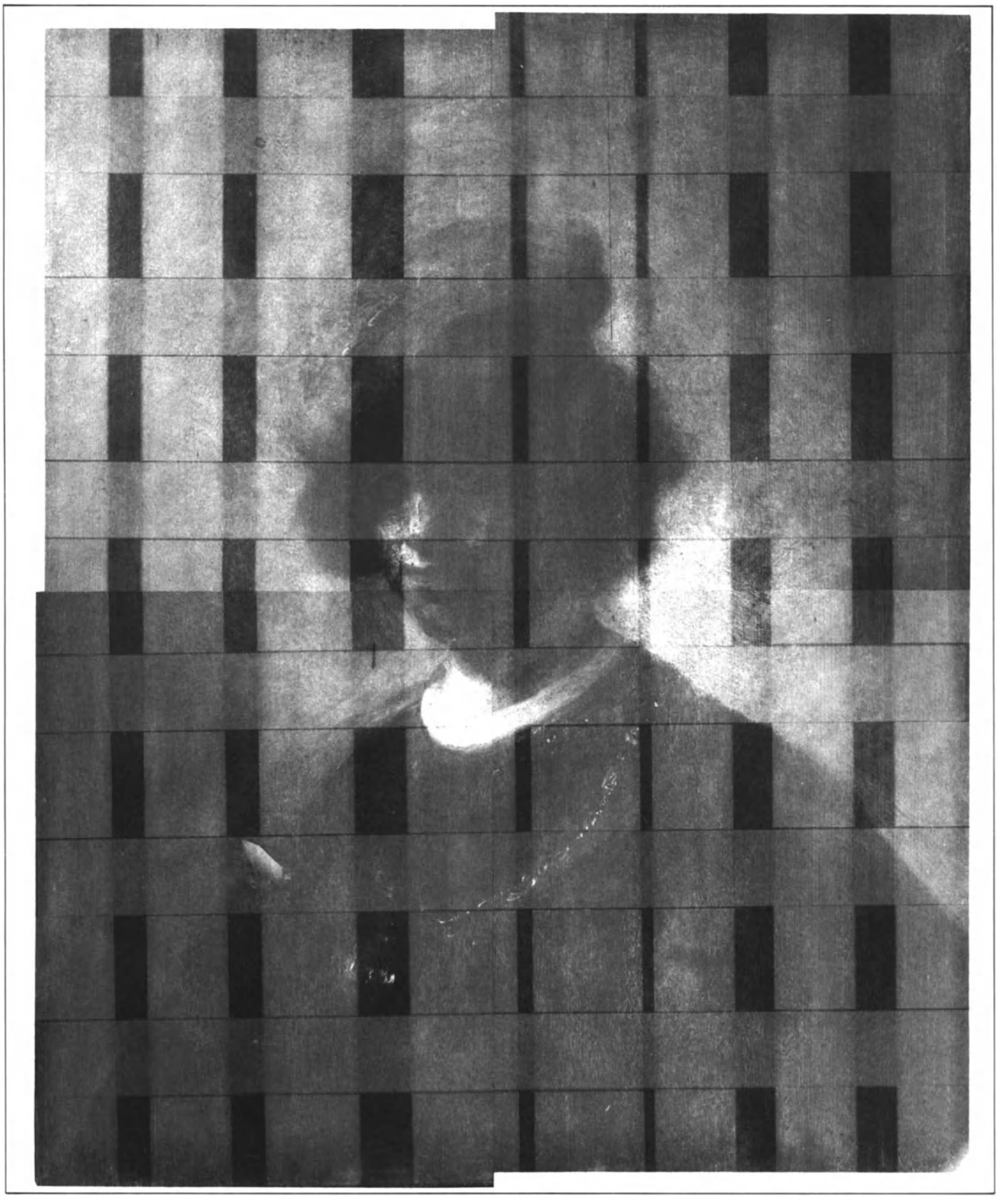
The cap is in a red tending towards violet, achieved by using red lake as a glaze over both a grey-brown in the dark parts and the impasto edges of light. The plume is painted in cooler and warmer greys, with a remarkably successful suggestion of depth and a convincing rendering of the material; the turned-over tip of the feather, seen in shadow, is done in a slightly translucent dark grey-brown. The ragged barbs are placed over the background with loosely-applied, short brushstrokes. To the right of the lower part of the plume, in the zone just above the outline of the cap, dark patches of wear in the grey background reveal that there was once a dark form (possibly part of a differently shaped cap) at this point. The shadowy grey shapes that are encountered along the lefthand contour of the cap, on the other hand, seem rather to lie on top of the light background as grey strokes of paint. The hair is in a very dark brown, applied over a translucent red-brown that can be glimpsed here and there, especially at the transition to the background, in among the touches of dark paint.

The face has been suggested with a great economy of means; detail of any kind is subordinated to the play of light and shade on the shapes of the face. The shadow areas seem to have been put down in an early stage in a translucent red-brown, over which the final tone was applied in an only partially opaque dark grey. Especially in the area around the eyes one is aware – almost to the point of it being obtrusive – of how muddy the grey paint appears, applied in strokes that follow the form of the eyes and eye-sockets. The dabs of paint here form a masklike structure that is visible in the relief. Within this, the eyes are indicated very summarily, with again a little cool grey for the whites of the eye on either side of roughly indicated irises. In the shadow areas around the eyes the reflection of light into the sockets is suggested by a haze of greenish grey. The handling of paint in the shadow side of the face and neck is comparable to that round the eyes. The cast shadows by the nose and mouth are thinner, and allow more of the red-brown underpainting to show through.

The illuminated parts of the face appear to have been done at a late stage, with a brushstroke that is difficult to follow, and so thinly that in parts of the chin and mouth the grain of the panel can be made out to some extent. The nose and the lit area above the top lip are done in a pink flesh tint, while the cheek, chin and neck have a more yellowish colour. The top lip is set

Fig. 1. Panel 80.3 × 64.8 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray



down very thinly with the brush in reds, parallel to the mouth-line. The touches used to indicate the bottom lip are for by far the greater part placed at right angles to the line of the mouth; the mouth-line itself is painted with a reddish black that becomes very thick towards the righthand end. The corner of the mouth in the lit side of the face is set down thinly in brown over the light flesh tint.

Apart from the traces of an underlying lighter paint in the background close to the right of the head and in the scarf, and the dark underlying shapes to the left of the shoulder on the left and above the cap, one can suspect a fifth alteration or pentimento – to the right of the present pendant on the chain a differently-shaped piece of jewellery can be glimpsed through the surface paint, perhaps similarly hanging on a chain.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The radiographic image, the tonal values of which are to some extent affected by the presence of the cradle, confirms to a very large degree the observations made from the paint surface and the suspicions based on these. The area to the right above the shoulder shows up relatively light, with clearly-apparent brushstrokes parallel to the shoulder-line; this lighter paint layer was evidently toned down with a darker paint at a late stage of the work. In the lower lefthand corner there is the image of a somewhat darker and considerably larger reserve, bounded by long brush-strokes that run along it; a reserve intended for the uppermost part of the contour, starting at the neck, also terminates here in a way that is not entirely clear. One gets the impression that in an earlier essay the figure continued, lower down, a good deal further to the left. The light paint strokes noted below the scarf are seen to form part of a light shirt-collar, painted with a few bold lengthwise strokes and a larger number of crosswise and diagonal strokes; this collar left a substantial part of the illuminated neck area exposed. The collar terminated abruptly on the right at the edge of a space left in reserve in the background; this space is today overrun somewhat by the contour of the neck, scarf and shoulder. Along the underside of the collar there is the clear image of highlights that have already been noted as a worn relief at the surface; these must have been part of ornamentation of the clothing different from that seen today.

The most striking departure from the presentday paint surface lies in the fact that the outline of the cap seen today no longer corresponds to the space left empty for it in the background and clearly visible in the X-ray. This reserve is intersected by the thin, light dabs of paint at the extremities of the lobes of the present cap, but it has in itself a taller shape and extends less to left and right; the top part can indeed be made out in the paint layer. The dividing line between hair and cap is not entirely clear, but one gets the impression that a large shock of hair stands out from the head under the upper part of the cap. No provision was made in the underpainting for the feather, and it was evidently painted in its entirety on top of the background.

The face shows, in the radiographic image, light areas that indicate fairly coarsely-applied paint containing white lead, used on the ridge of the nose, to the left of this and on the top lip and – less light – on the chin and in an area on the man's left cheek (this cheek is bounded a little more closely on the right in the X-ray than it is at the paint surface). The lefthand cheek had a somewhat narrower space left for it, and a rather more articulated outline, than it has at the surface.

The background has a different distribution of light from that seen at the surface; the left and, especially, right lower corners appear lighter than they are today.

The neck ornament noted in the paint surface, and placed differently from the one seen today, shows up as a number of highlights.

A pointed light patch, with a partly sharp edge and running through the outline of the body on the left, is probably caused by damage to the back of the panel (done during cradling?) that has been filled in with a radioabsorbent material.

Signature

At the left, towards the bottom, boldly and fluently done in black ‹*RHL* (in monogram). *1631*›. The bowl of the *R* was done with two touches of the brush. The assuredness with which the marks have been applied creates an authentic impression.

Varnish

Irregularly applied and unevenly removed varnish hampers observation to some extent.

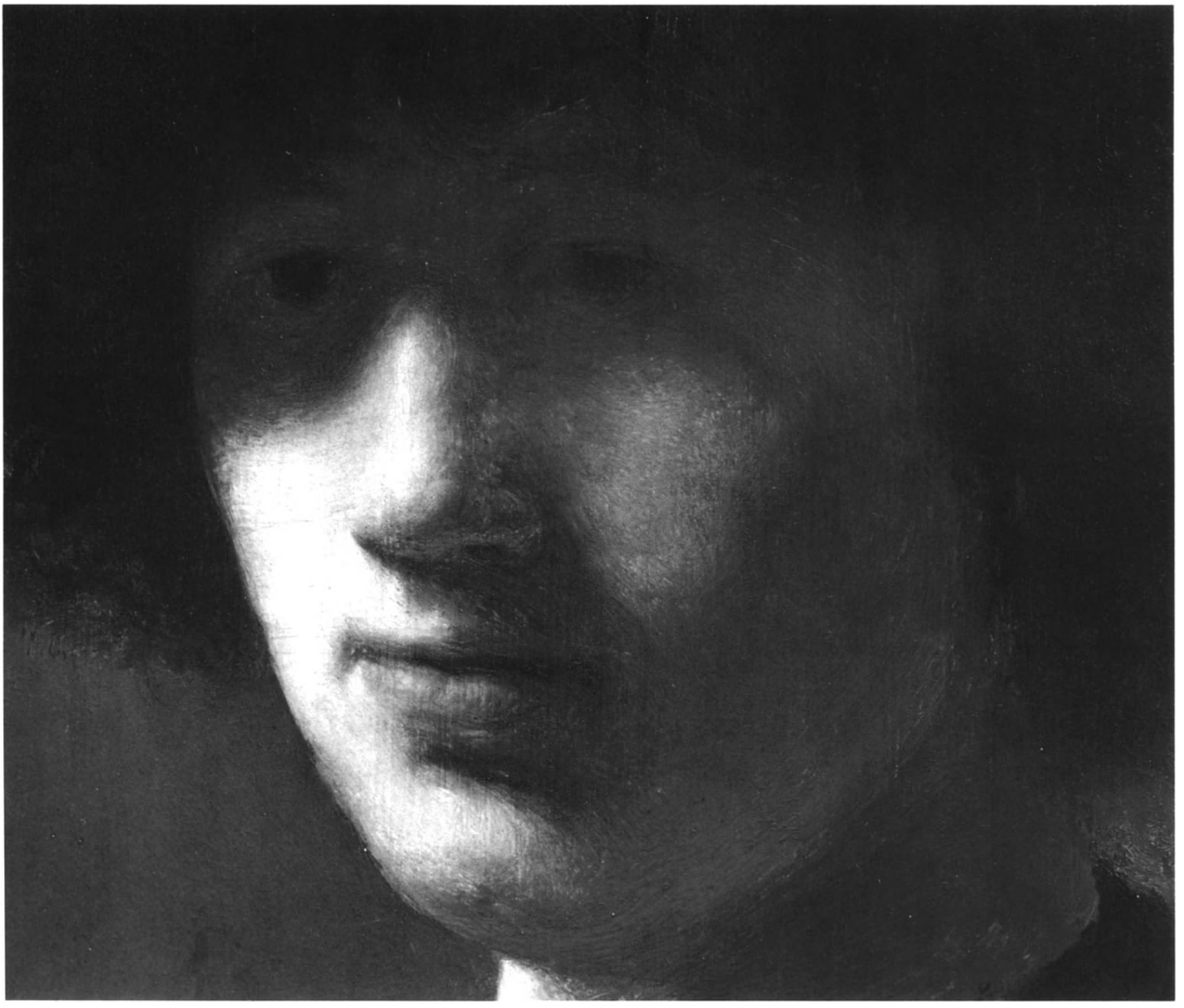
4. Comments

Though the conception and handling of no. A 41 can, in a general sense, be termed Rembrandtesque, and though the firm writing and characteristic form of the signature are positive evidence, the attribution to Rembrandt still demands fuller demonstration. The painting presents us to a very high degree with the problem, referred to elsewhere (Introduction, Chapter I, p. 7-9; entry no. A 20 under *4. Comments*), of the wide differences in execution seen in large-format busts and half-length figures from the years 1629–1631 that can be attributed to Rembrandt.

First, the X-ray confirms the suspicion, based on a study of the paint surface, that the painting did not have its present appearance from the outset, and was probably completed in a different form at an earlier stage. Some of the discrepancies between the X-ray image and that seen today can be taken as a normal consequence of the usual sequence of different stages of execution: this would apply, for instance, to the broadening of the figure past the righthand edge of the space left in reserve for it in the background, as well as to the far more radical change in the contour on the left. It might also – though only if one were to assume that the light patches visible in the X-ray in the face represent an underpainting – be true of that area as well.

On the other hand the large, light neck area and the white collar along this most probably belong to a completed state of the painting, one that preceded that seen today. This state also included, it may be assumed, the quite differently-shaped cap visible in the X-ray as a reserve and in the paint layer of the background as underlying dark paint, together with the ornamentation of the clothing that can be seen in the X-ray and in patches of wear at the paint surface. It presumably also showed the underlying pendant to the right of the present one. In this form the painting, with the main concentration of light on the neck area and the right background, must have had

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)



a markedly different appearance.

The painting must then have undergone substantial modifications, which can be reconstructed and arranged in sequence with a greater or lesser degree of certainty. One thing that is certain is that the cap was given a considerably wider and shallower shape, by painting new parts of it out over the background while previous parts were covered over by the plume and by a new background (further evidence of this having been done will be mentioned below). It is certain, too, that a large part of the illuminated neck area and the whole of the white neckband were covered over completely with the summarily-drawn scarf; on the right this has involved some widening of the neck area – carried out in what we have described earlier as a 'muddy' grey, stretching over large parts of the shadow area of the head. It was in this stage that the light impasto area in the right background was, as we have described, covered over, as part of a total repainting of the background that explains the present appearance being different from that in the X-ray; this also

allowed parts of the earlier cap to be overpainted. The plume was then painted on top of this new background; as is commonly found in like instances, no provision was needed for the feather in the new background (a reserve would have shown up, probably hazily, in the radiographic image). Since, furthermore, the topmost paint layer in the lit half of the face, with its contour disagreeing with the X-ray image, gives the impression of lying on top of the second background, it may be assumed that not only the shadow half of the face but the lit part as well was gone over again in this second stage. One can take it that the touches of grey that are placed on top of the new background on the left, outside the outline of the new cap, form part of a preparatory sketch of this cap done in grey. In this stage the neck ornament that now shows through below the paint of the clothing was overpainted, together with a larger or smaller part of the clothing, and today's pendant and chain (given a splash of light reflected from the cap) were added.

A number of these changes find their explanation in the same intention on the artist's part: this applies particularly to the lighting, which in the earlier state must have put the accent mostly on the neck area and right background, with only a secondary emphasis on the lefthand side of the face. In the final state the light on the neck and right background has been made far less emphatic, and the left side of the face receives the main light. Though the distribution of light in the face does not seem to have undergone any really fundamental revision, it is not inconceivable that the change from the taller and narrower cap to a lower and wider one projecting further out was nevertheless connected with this modification of the lighting scheme. The change in the dress is explicable only to the extent that the patterned scarf made a decorated border to the clothing unnecessary, and the chain may have been intended to show the posture of the body, previously suggested in another way. The second reworking of the lit and shadow parts of the face present something of a puzzle, especially since the result cannot be called all that successful – the effect of the grey laid over the shadow half is rather turbid, and the contour of the lit part has lost quite a lot of tension compared to the version visible in the X-ray.

There is no doubt that the first version, as it can be visualized mainly by means of the X-ray, can be attributed to Rembrandt. The way a figure lit only in secondary areas is placed against a background showing lively brushwork is very close indeed to the conception of the Amsterdam *Self-portrait* of *c.* 1628 (no. A 14) and the Munich one of 1629 (no. A 19), and shows a less specific similarity to the 1629 *Self-portrait* in the Gardner Museum, Boston (no. A 20). It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this version must be dated some time before 1631, though the rhythm of the brushstrokes in the background (dictated mainly by the direction of the contour of the figure) is nearer to that in the *Old man in gorget and cap* in Chicago (no. A 42), which cannot be put before 1631, than to that in the *Self-portraits* nos. A 14 and A 19. This makes a much earlier dating – *c.* 1629, for example – not all that probable, particularly since the lighting motif appears again, with minor changes, in the etched *Self-portrait* B. 17 dated 1633.

The reduction in the chiaroscuro contrasts noted in the second and final version matches, in general, a tendency that can be detected in the changes made to various works shortly before and after 1630, in particular in the *Judas repentant* of 1629 (no. A 15) and the *Raising of Lazarus* of *c.* 1630/31 (no. A 30). It thus fits quite readily into the picture we can build up of Rembrandt's ideas on this point. There are really only two things that show that this second stage of the painting did indeed come from his hand – the broad yet subtle execution of the edges of light on the new cap, and the signature and date of 1631 placed on the new background. There can be no reasonable grounds for doubting the authenticity of either, so that the dating of this second stage is also firmly established. One continues to be a little put out by the somewhat indifferent treatment given to the face, the scarf and the part of the neck in shadow; it is as if all attention to achieving plastic suggestion of form was centred on the lively and virtuoso execution of the new cap.

The end result is a painting that in its execution shows no great affinity to any of the other busts or half-length figures done on a large scale. It does share with the *Self-portrait* of 1629 in the Gardner Museum, Boston a certain vacuity in the broadly-drawn form that is not entirely compensated for by plastically effective modelling; in both instances this modelling appears most in the cap, though in the Boston work this is done in an almost draughtsman-like manner whereas here the artist uses broad, colouristic touches the plastic effect of which is totally suggestive. In this respect no. A 41 comes much closer to the Chicago *Old man in gorget and cap*, where not just the cap but the whole appearance gains a strong plasticity and suggestion of depth from this treatment. The great difference between both of them and no. A 41 lies in the lighting, which in the final version of the latter tends to soften the contours and thus to give an atmospheric rather than a plastic effect, most of all in the face where the forms – especially the nose and eyes – are concealed rather

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

Fig. 5. Detail with signature (enlarged)

than modelled by the chiaroscuro. The effect is rather like that in the Liverpool *Self-portrait* (no. A 33), the execution of which is however appreciably different from that of no. A 41. In the way the head is painted the painting is like none of those mentioned: the lit skin areas painted thinly with no visible trace of brushwork, and the shadow areas done in an opaque grey that does not however cover entirely, do not occur in the same way in any other work – least of all in the *Old man in gorget and cap* in Chicago, where the wrinkled skin seen in the light has prompted a lively brushwork and the shadow area is largely translucent in a way that becomes standard practice with Rembrandt in subsequent years. This difference in the handling of the shadow areas can however be reconciled with the development of Rembrandt's technique around 1630/31, more particularly with the use he started to make in that period of a translucent, dead-colour underpainting that is allowed to remain visible. From this, and from the greater uniformity of the treatment and the dynamic of the composition, it can be deduced that the Chicago painting was produced after the work in Toledo: only in the later painting does a brushstroke that is everywhere (including the lively brushwork of the background) more clearly articulated result in a suggestion of plasticity as well as of atmosphere and depth. One can, in the development that led to this, imagine no. A 41 as being an experiment carried out in stages – an experiment which as such was not entirely successful and in the head especially produced in a quite unique way a 'woolly' rendering of form, but which in the manner of painting the cap and the neck-chain already heralds the style of Rembrandt's early years in Amsterdam. It must be considered by no means impossible that it was in fact only there that no. A 41 was given its final appearance.

Because of the lighting used, and because of the paucity of articulation in the facial type, the individual appearance of the young man is given relatively little stress. He was at one time thought, by Valentiner[1] and Hofstede de Groot[2] among others, to be the artist himself; Bauch and Bredius[3] rightly rejected this identification. For the possible significance of depicting a young man with a plumed cap and jewellery, see the comments in entry no. A 20.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance[2]

– Not mentioned in: coll. Stephen Lawley, sale London 19 March 1906, as is usually stated.
– Dealer H. Reinhardt, Chicago.
– Dealer M. Knoedler & Co., New York.
– Coll. Edward Drummond Libbey, Toledo, Ohio; gift to the museum in 1925.

9. Summary

It can be deduced from mutually corroborative observations at the paint surface and in the X-rays that no. A 41 was originally completed in a different form and was afterwards largely or wholly overpainted. According to the X-rays, the first version must have possessed various characteristic features known from Rembrandt's work of around 1628–1631. In the final version the manner of painting is, especially in the head, quite different from that in comparable works. The execution of certain areas, in particular the plumed cap, resembles that in somewhat later works so strongly that this similarity taken together with the very reliable-seeming signature warrants the attribution to Rembrandt. The differences in technique with the Chicago *Old man in gorget and cap,* (no. A 42), which must probably be dated somewhat later in 1631, can furthermore be fairly readily explained by Rembrandt's technical development. It is possible that no. A 41 was painted only after Rembrandt's move to Amsterdam.

REFERENCES

1 W. R. Valentiner ed., *Rembrandt. Des Meisters Gemälde,* Stuttgart-Leipzig 1909, 3rd edn (Kl. d. K. II), p. 33.
2 HdG 577.
3 Bauch 1933, pp. 145, 214; Br. 143.

A 42 Half-length figure of an old man in a gorget and black cap [1631]

CHICAGO, ILL., THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO, ACC. NO. 22.4467

HDG 675; BR. 81; BAUCH 129; GERSON 46

1. Summarized opinion

A generally well preserved original, reliably signed and probably datable quite late in 1631. It was reduced slightly in height some time after 1767.

2. Description of subject

The figure is seen against a grey background, and is cut off only by the bottom of the frame. The body, wrapped in a black velvet cloak, is turned a little to the left, while the head – crowned by a black, plumed cap – is turned towards the right. A gorget leaves a narrow white collar and a brown doublet exposed; a gold chain with a pendant hangs over the shoulders. The light comes from the left.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 30 May 1972 (J. B., S. H. L.) under strong artificial light and in the frame. Five X-ray films were available for consultation, four covering almost the whole of the painting and one showing the head and shoulders with the cap; copyfilms of these, one ultraviolet and one infrared photograph, covering the whole, received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 83.5 × 75.6 cm. Three planks of approximately equal width. A small vertical crack, *c.* 5 cm long, at the top about 30 cm from the lefthand edge. Back cradled.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch, Hamburg). Central plank measured : 177 annual rings heartwood, datable 1423–1599. Earliest possible felling date 1619. The wood comes from the same tree as the central plank of the Braunschweig *Portrait of a woman* (Br. 338).

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellow-brown is exposed, or shows through, in and around the upper of the two feathers, in the brushstrokes in the dark areas of the background, in the hair by the man's right ear, in the shadowed skin areas and in parts of the black cloak.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Generally good. There is some wearing in the shadowed half of the face, where the edge of the upper eyelid and the iris and pupil have been slightly reinforced; some local paint loss is seen in the man's right ear and (due to a small dent going down to the wood) above his right eye, and a number of retouches in the cap and background. Craquelure: hardly any observed. Some extremely fine small cracks (mainly horizontal) in the light skin colour and (with a somewhat more complex pattern) in the chain.

DESCRIPTION: The figure, surrounded by a halo of opaque grey, is painted with a minimum of colour variation, and mainly in black, greys and flesh tints.

In the light, the head is painted with short brushstrokes, some fine and some broad, which mostly follow the curve of the forms; the thick and creamy flesh colour is heaviest on the cheekbone, the folds in the skin and between the crowsfeet at the corner of the eye. There is a little pink on the cheek, beneath the man's right eye and on the ridge of his nose. The upper lid of his right eye, which is flesh-coloured in the light and a translucent brown in the shadow, is enclosed between two brown lines joined on the left by a sharply-defined stroke of warm brown indicating a fold of skin. To the right, these terminate in the translucent brown shadow area. The white of the eye is laid-in in flesh colour on top of which there is a little grey-white, as a highlight against the effective indication of a shadow cast by the upper eyelid; below it there is a fine touch of grey. A narrow zone of ground is revealed in the thin dark grey of the iris; a thin black is used to show the pupil. The eyebrow is shown with a little grey.

Alongside the warm brown of the fold running down from the nose the moustache is shown in brownish greys, with tiny lines of light grey for the individual curling hairs. The mouth is for the most part suggested by a dark brown line, with a little vaguely-bounded brown for the lips. Small, fine touches of grey represent the goatee beard. The beard area is executed with strokes of darker and lighter greys running in varying directions, with a number of flecks of a cool grey.

The area of shadow below the cap and in the further part of the face is done in translucent browns, with the folds of skin indicated with a small amount of opaque grey.

The neck is done with quite long strokes of an opaque light skin colour; the ear is in a similar colour, and shown summarily. The small ear-ring in ochre yellow, with a thick highlight, throws a brown shadow, and the pearl hanging from it consists of a little grey brushed in a round shape with a white catchlight. The ground contributes to the colour effect as it shows through the loosely and thinly brushed grey of the hair.

The collar, above the gorget, is executed with bold and heavy strokes of white. White is used to show the patches of light reflected among the greys of the gorget; it is thick in the highest light and in the catchlights on the rivet-heads, and thinner where these rivets are reflected in the flat chest section. The reflection of light on the righthand half is in a light brown, that on the darker lefthand half in a dark brown.

A flat brown triangle of the doublet can be seen, bordered by darker brown cast shadows at the left and top. The cloak is broadly painted in a thin dark grey, with a thicker black in the folds and lighter grey where there is a sheen of light. The chain and pendant are in a fairly flat ochre brown, placed over the dark grey and black; their shape is marked by edge-lines and specks of ochre yellow and white-yellow, and a broad, black cast shadow runs along the bottom edge.

The cap is painted, like the cloak, in dark grey and black with grey showing the sheen of light. The upper plume has a green-blue impasto, while the lower has darker greys along the edges; both are painted over the background with loosely applied short brushstrokes.

In the light areas on both sides of the figure the background is in an opaque light grey, done with bold, free brushwork, and has been strengthened subsequently along the outline of the figure. Towards the top it merges into a thinner and darker brown.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The radiographic image agrees very largely with what is seen at the paint surface. The free handling of the background, the broadly brushed sheen of light in the cap and cloak and the sometimes fine brushstrokes in the flesh areas are all clearly visible. The plumes have not been recessed into the background, but the blue-green feather shows up on the cap with small, curved white marks. It would appear, from a comparison with the paint surface, that after the strengthening of the grey around the outlines of the figure the black cloak was again laid on top of this on the shoulder on the right and over a large area on the left, with a lively, rippling contour.

Fig. 1. Panel 83.5 × 75.6 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray

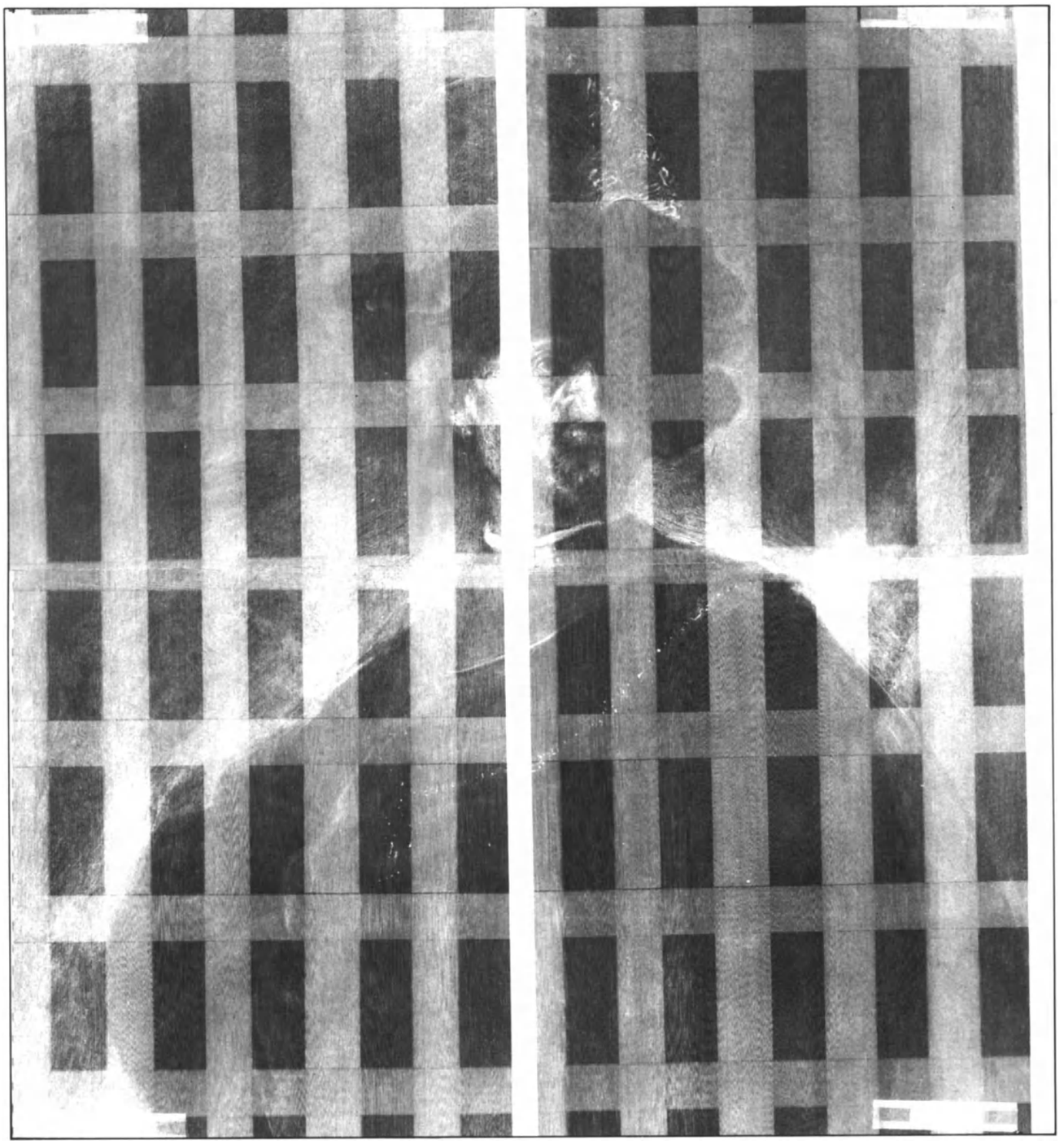


Fig. 3. Infrared photograph

Signature

At bottom left, in grey over the lighter grey background, in relatively large letters ‹*RHL*› (in monogram). Done with great assuredness, using several strokes in the closed curve and bowl of the *R*; the paint covers very incompletely.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

No. A 42 has been regarded as the original ever since it became known in 1911[1]; until then, the copy listed under 7. *Copies*, 1 below had been looked on as the original.

Characteristic features of the painting are a very

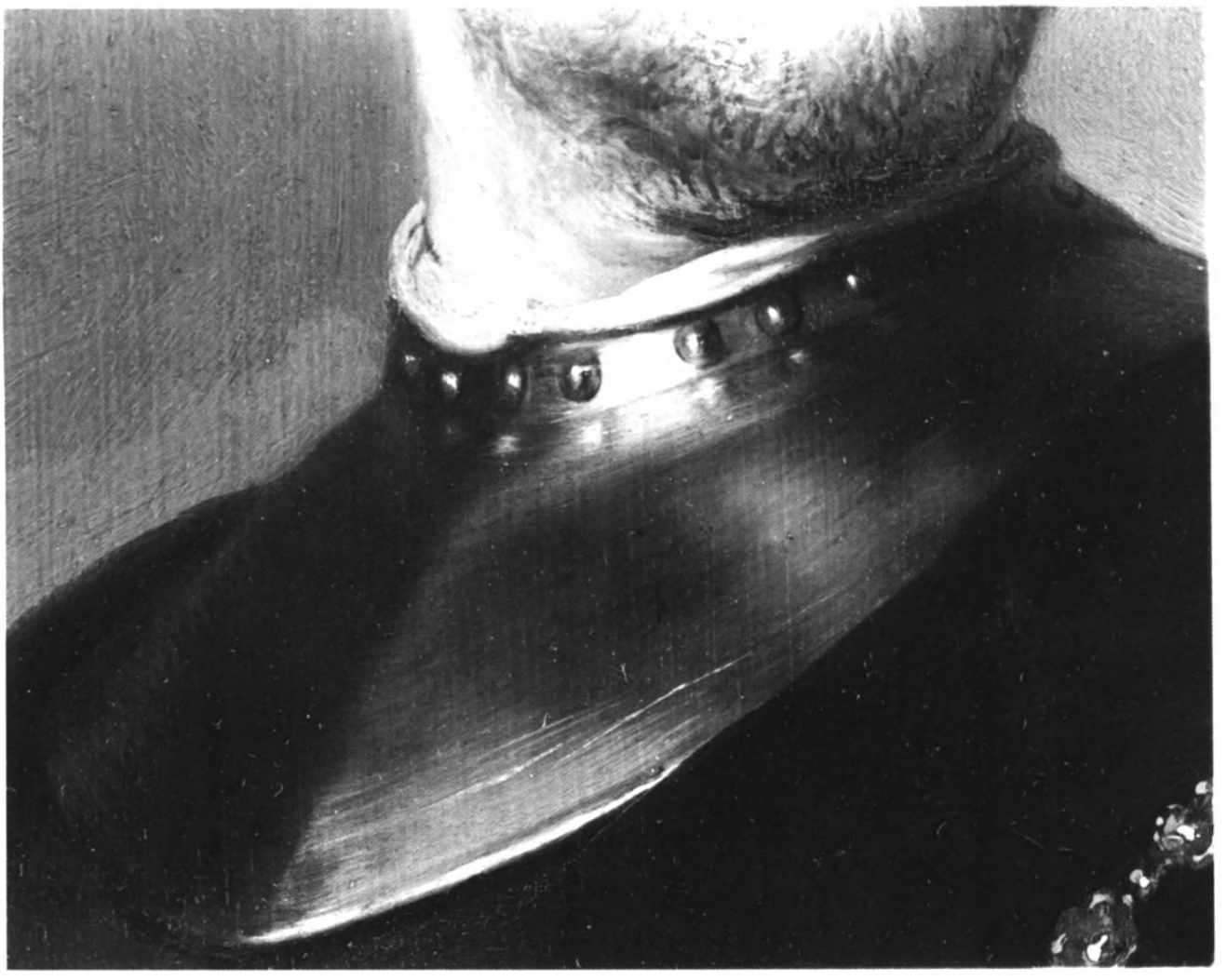
Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

free brushwork, which even in the head suggests the plastic form rather than accurately describing it, and a strict limitation in the range of colours. Among Rembrandt's work, the Innsbruck *Old man in a fur cap* of 1630 (no. A 29) is the first to offer opportunities for comparison. Apart from depicting the same model (the so-called father of the artist) there is a similarity in the handling of the background, which there too (though in a much smaller format) has relatively broad brushwork and allows the ground to show through; this similarity is clearly illustrated by the infrared photographs. There is also some similarity in the restricted colour range, though in no. A 42 it is a charcoal grey (applied in large fields) that dominates. These similarities, added to the sureness of execution and the monogram (which can be looked on as reliable), are enough to convince one of the authenticity of the work; in view of the freer execution, and of stylistic differences that will be discussed below, a dating some time after no. A 29 of 1630 would seem to be indicated.

These differences concern, most of all, the brushstroke. In the little painting in Innsbruck the brush has been wielded freely in the background and the fur collar, but for the most part with great delicacy in the figure itself. In no. A 42 the greater freedom in the brushwork extends over the whole of the dress, and the stroke has become bolder in the flesh area as well. One can of course relate this to the larger scale that the artist has chosen for this work, yet it does also reflect a more dynamic approach to form and to motif. In no previous work has so much attention been paid to achieving a lively contour. As a result of this, and of the rippling play of light on the folds, the wide cloak – which hides both arms – gains a strong feeling of bulk. At the same time Rembrandt's interpretation of the motif is novel in his work; the half-length figure with the head turned the opposite way to the body imparts a spiral movement which is continued by the waving tips of the feathers on the cap. This design, achieved with a great economy of means, gives the painting a place of its own among Rembrandt's work. It is natural to assume an influence from portraits by van Dyck, who had earlier used a composition like this in some of his Genoese portraits and in his second Antwerp period (cf., for example, the *Portrait of Jan van Montfort* from before 1628 in Vienna, engraved by P. de Jode – G. Glück, *Van Dyck*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1931 (Kl.d.K.), p. 282). In judging Rembrandt's composition one has to allow for the fact that the panel of no. A 42 was originally a little taller. It must have been reduced some time after 1767, when it was described as measuring *c.* 90 × 75 cm (see under *8. Provenance* below), dimensions agreeing with what may be supposed to have been the standard size of a 'guilder' panel (J. Bruyn in: *O.H.* 93 (1979), pp. 96–115).

Rembrandt had already dealt with similar sub-

Fig. 5. Detail (1 : 1)

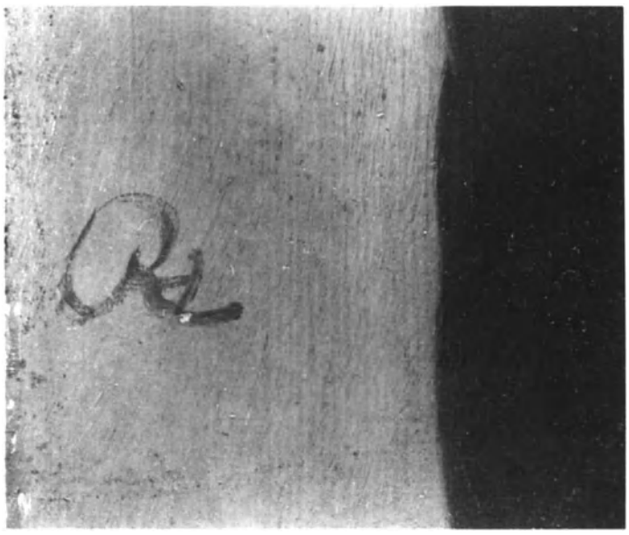


jects on large panels. The first example of this is the 1629 painting (no. A 20) in the Gardner Museum, Boston. In this the artist has not managed to avoid a certain insipidness, and the figure appears low down and puny in the broad framework. The Toledo *Young man* of 1631 (no. A 41) reveals, in the broader proportions of the figure, an attempt at a stronger plastic effect, but again both the head and the trunk seem rather vapid set against the grey background. In the Chicago panel the difficulties seem to have been overcome. The suggestion of bulk – achieved with the simple devices of a changing contour and an occasional sheen of light – and the dynamic turning of the body give this half-length figure the energy to fill the picture area adequately. The solution that has been found reminds one of the *Man in oriental dress* in New York, dated 1632 (Br. 169), but it also brings to mind the *Portrait of Nicolaes Ruts,* dated 1631, in the Frick Collection (Br. 145). Since virtually all the known authentic signatures from 1632 have besides the monogram *RHL* the words *van Ryn,* it is probable that no. A 42 dates from 1631, though it was probably produced only after Rembrandt had moved to Amsterdam. Dendrochronological examination reveals that the wood used for the panel comes from the same tree as that found in a panel dated 1633 (Br. 338), which points to an Amsterdam provenance of the support used for no. A 42.

Alan Burroughs[2] has correctly remarked, on the basis of X-ray evidence, on the innovation that Rembrandt's technique represents here.

In assessing the painting, allowance needs to be made for a certain amount of wearing and restoration of the man's left eye, which in its present form does not fit entirely satisfactorily into the plastic structure of the further side of the face. The copy

Fig. 6. Detail with signature (enlarged)



described below under 7. *Copies*, 1 presumably gives an impression of the original state.

As we shall explain in entry no. C 28, it may be assumed that no. A 42 served as a model for later imitations. Whether these ought to include *Man in a gorget and plumed cap* (no. B 4) it is impossible to say with certainty. The fact that the model who sat for that painting does bear some resemblance to the model used in no. A 42, though differing in many respects and seeming in particular to be considerably younger, makes it no easier to include no. B 4 in the series of autograph works dealing with similar subjects.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

1. A mezzotint by Jan Stolker (Amsterdam 1724 – Rotterdam 1785) shows the picture in a narrower framework and in reverse. A discrepant feature is the slashed doublet. The modelling of the head is so exaggerated that the result has something of a caricature about it; it is impossible to tell whether the print was made after the original or from a copy.

7. Copies

1. Canvas, *c.* 75.5 × 65.5 cm, England, private collection, examined 7 September 1971 (J. B., S. H. L.). A fairly old and very faithful copy, which shows the figure cut off a little higher up and in a somewhat narrower framework. Cf. W. R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt*, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1909 (Kl. d. K.), p. 44; cat. exhibition *Dutch Pictures*, London (Royal Academy) 1952/53, no. 36.

8. Provenance

*– Anonymous sale Amsterdam 10 June 1767 (Lugt 1624), no. 14 [According to a note by J. van der Marck Ezn in a copy of the catalogue in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris, quoted by Hofstede de Groot (HdG 460), the collection sold then was that of 'Mevrouwe de Weduwe van den Heere Alewyn, geboore Geelvink, vrouwe van Mynden en de Loosdrechten'; as Mr. S. A. C. Dudok van Heel of the Municipal Archives, Amsterdam, kindly informs us, there is however no knowledge of a marriage between members of these families in the 18th century. Van der Marck's note must be taken to refer to the collection of Jacob Alewijn, whose widow, Margaretha Helena Graafland, died in 1766]: 'Rembrandt. Het Hoofd van een Oud Man, zynde een Kniestuk, Levensgroote, met een donkere Mantel om, en een gouden Keten met een Medaille om den hals. Het hoofd is van vooren en op zyde te zien; gekeerd naar den linker Schouder, en gedekt met een Fluweelen Muts, voorzien met een groote Pluim. Zynde zeer helder, krachtig en uitvoerig op Paneel geschilderd. Hoog 35, breed 30 duim [= 90 × 77.1 cm]' (Amsterdam feet) (Rembrandt. The head of an old man, knee-length and life-size, wearing a dark cloak and with a chain and medallion round his neck. The head is seen from the front and to one side, turned towards the left shoulder, and covered with a velvet cap with a large plume. Very clearly, vigorously and elaborately painted on panel) (34 guilders to Ketelaar).
– Coll. M. P. W. Boulton (Tew Park), sale London 9 December 1911, no. 14[3].
– Dealer P. & D. Colnaghi and Obach, London.
– Dealer Julius Böhler, Munich.
– Coll. Marczell von Nemes (Budapest), sale Paris 17 June 1913, no. 60 (to S. de Ricci).
– Dealer Julius Böhler, Munich.
– Dealer H. Reinhardt, New York.
– Coll. Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Kimball, 1922.

9. Summary

The very free, economic and effective manner of painting makes this work one of Rembrandt's first successful half-length figures in a large format; it is datable in 1631 and was probably produced in Amsterdam. The spiral construction of the figure may owe something to a van Dyck prototype, but since the bold brushwork matches the mobility and suggestion of bulk in the figure this model has been wholly integrated into a personal interpretation.

The existence of probably old copies and imitations indicates that the painting must have enjoyed a certain reputation. According to the earliest mention, dating from 1767, the panel was at that time somewhat taller.

REFERENCES

1 W. Bode, 'Der junge Rembrandt und seine Werkstatt', *Zeitschr.f.b.K.* new series 23 (1912), pp. 210–212.
2 A. Burroughs, 'New illustrations of Rembrandt's style', *Burl. Mag.* 59 (1931), pp. 3–10.
3 HdG 675; catalogue *Paintings in the Art Institute of Chicago*, 1961, p. 365.

Paintings Rembrandt's authorship of which cannot be positively either accepted or rejected

B 1 Three singers (Hearing)

THE HAGUE, CRAMER GALLERY

HDG –; BR. 421; BAUCH –; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

To the extent that the original painting on the original panel is still visible, this can be accepted as autograph only if one assumes a very early date; in the absence of any comparative material from the years before 1625 this can be no more than hypothetical.

2. Description of subject

Due to enlargement of the panel at a later stage and the overpaintings connected with this (see under *3. Observations and technical information*), the painting seen today differs substantially from the original version.

A man and a woman are seen to the waist, seated at a narrow table; behind them stands a young man wearing a cap, with his right hand stretched out to the side. All three are singing from a songbook, of horizontal format, which rests partly on the man's arm and partly on the tabletop. The two halves of the book do not seem to match each other in size. The man wears pince-nez spectacles, and is beating time with his right hand. The woman wears a multicoloured turban, and the man a purple tabard. The group is lit by a candle set on the table. Except for the red curtain on the left, which catches the light, the background is in semi-darkness; one can make out a lute and a recorder hanging on the wall next to an archway-like passage, with above them a wooden shelf with books.

The later additions include the candle, the young man's hand, the curtain, the whole of the background and the backrest of the chair.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in 1968 (J. B., S. H. L.) in good daylight and out of the frame. X-Ray photograph of the whole painting (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) consulted later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Panel, according to X-ray probably oak, grain vertical, 21.6 × 17.8 cm. Let into a larger oak panel, grain vertical, 31.6 × 25 cm. The original picture area was thus enlarged at the bottom, top, left and right by 1.4, 8.6, 3.6 and 3.6 cm respectively. Back cradled.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not observed.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Both the original and the later paint layer are reasonably well preserved; for a discussion of these, see below under DESCRIPTION. Craquelure: the X-ray shows this mainly on the left, as long cracks forming a pattern of large squares in the paint on the added sections. There is a quite coarse, irregular and mainly vertical crack formation in the white shawl worn by the woman, and a fine, similar formation in the man's tabard. Small flakes of paint have been lost in both these areas.
DESCRIPTION: The figures, particulary the two at the front, and the book have been painted in the lit areas with fairly coarse brushstrokes that mostly follow the form. A much flatter handling of paint is seen in the areas added in and around the main scene. The nature of the treatment of paint on the added panel offers a clue for detecting overpaintings in the original picture: the flatly painted areas are on the sections framing the smaller panel, and extend inwards from there into the main scene. The quite flat painting of the curtain continues downwards in the even more flatly executed hand of the young man, the candlestick with the burning candle and the table, and can then also be followed in the lefthand corner of the book, the blue sleeve of the woman's garment, the adjacent part of her white shawl, the blue and green to the right of her hands (the coarsely painted hands, themselves devoid of plasticity, are perhaps slightly overpainted), the green tablecloth, the shadows of the front hand and sleeve of the man holding the book, on the edges of the book pages (where the structure of the underlying paint layer is still readily discernible), the bluish shadow side of the short sleeve of the purple tabard (again with the underlying layer visible), the green backrest of the chair and the whole of the background. Within the main scene all the deeper shadows have been strengthened in the same way (along the shoulder, head and neck of the man with the book, on his right hand, on the woman's face and shoulder and on the face of the young man), and the cap and upper body of the young man have been done using the same technique. The edge of the man's pince-nez spectacles has been drawn afresh in white against the dark body of the young man. It seems, too, that the man's eyes have been reinforced, possibly at a later stage.

The overall appearance of the painting is governed to a great extent by these additions and overpaintings. The brushwork of the original paint layer is still readily visible in the illuminated parts of the two front figures and the book. The dark flesh colours (in which a relatively large amount of red has been used) are done with quite coarse brushstrokes and using thick paint, as are the purple of the man's tabard and its brown fur trimming, the white of his shirt and of the woman's shawl, and the broken tints of her headgear.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The general feature is that on the original panel the brushstroke stands out clearly in the illuminated areas. To the right of the man's hand holding the book there are wide strokes, showing up rather light, that do not match the surface paint. At various points there are also broad traces of brushwork that do not follow the shapes and presumably have to do with the application of the ground. The flat painting of the additions and overpaintings shows up hardly at all. The additions do reveal a heavy and fairly even white from the ground layer; this covers the join between the panels, and here and there extends over the original panel.

Signature

None.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

As has already been made clear in the description, one can discern two main stages in the execution of the painting as we now see it – first the original painting, still partially visible today, of the inset panel, and secondly the additions and overpaintings. On the evidence of the painting technique, the design and the smooth bevelling of the added panel seen in both *The Operation* (no. B 2) and *The*

Fig. 1. Panel 31.6 × 25 cm (including additions)

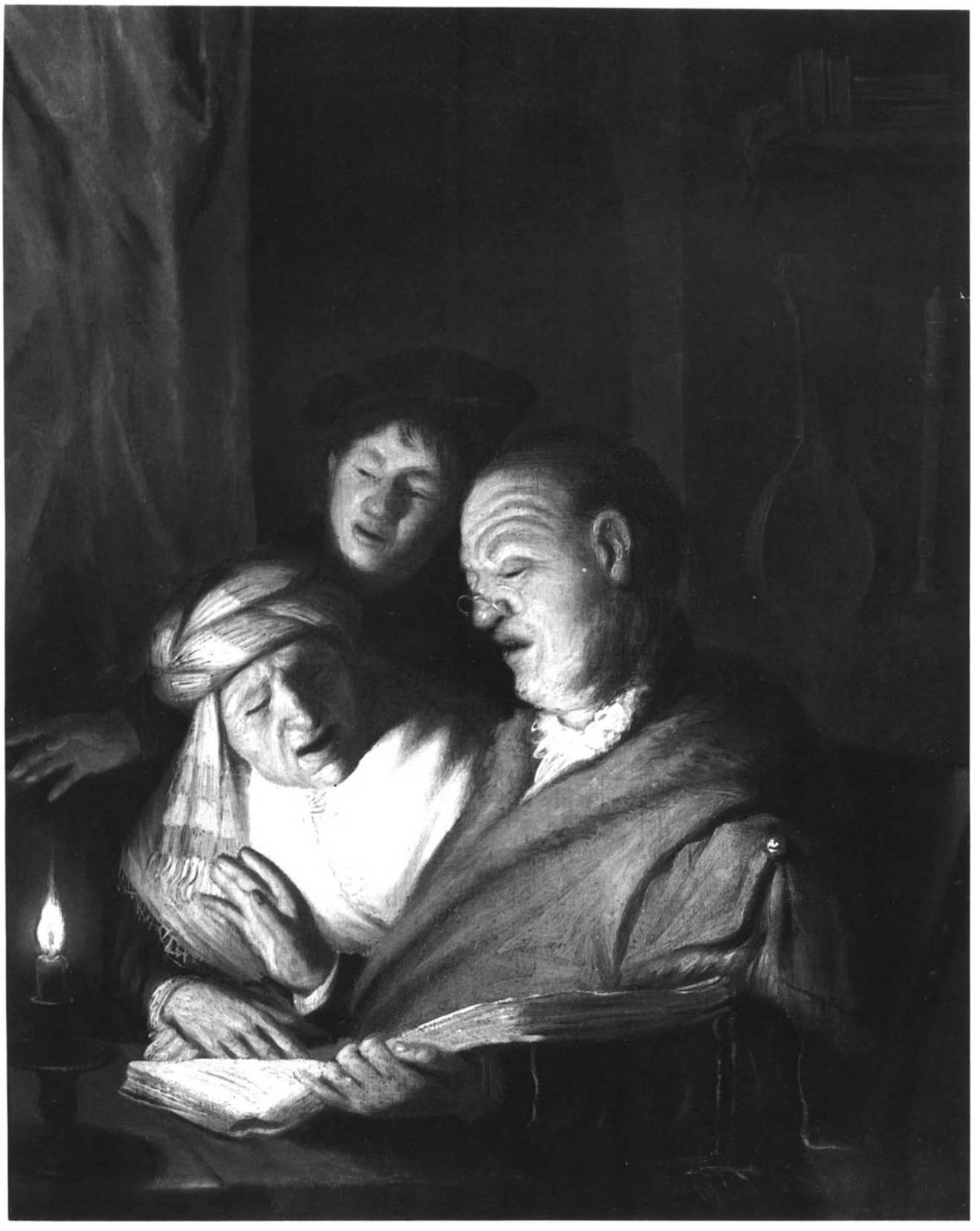
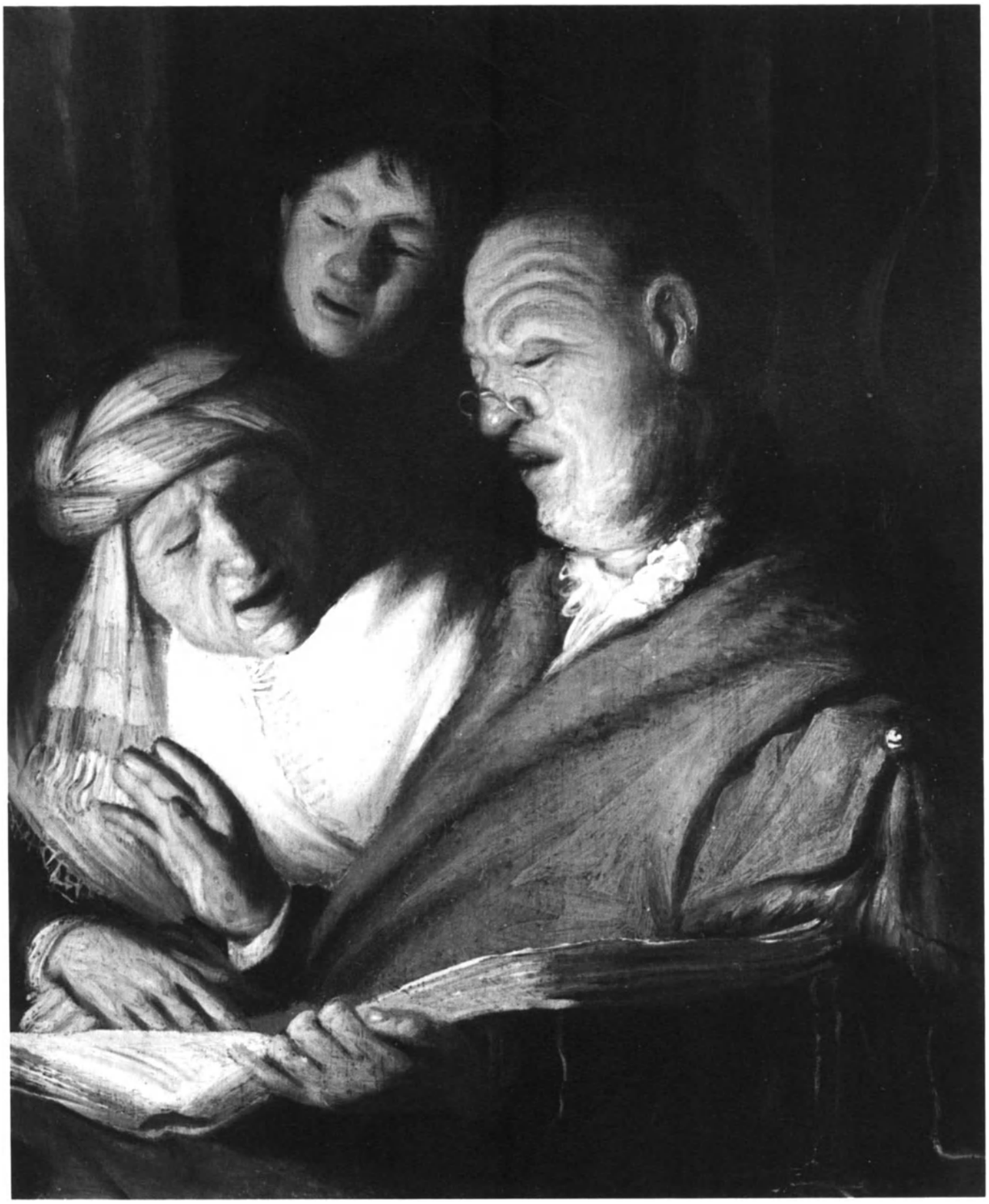


Fig. 2. X-ray

Fig. 3. Panel 21.6 × 17.8 cm (without additions; 1 : 1)



Spectacles-pedlar (no. B 3), which have been treated in the same way, the enlargement and associated overpaintings of all three can be dated broadly in the middle of the 18th century. Von Moltke and the compiler of the catalogue for the Leiden exhibition *Rembrandt als Leermeester* were therefore mistaken in believing that the painter of the original panel himself undertook the enlargement[1]. It may be remarked that enlargement of the panel similar to that of nos. B 1, B 2 and B 3 also occurred in the case of the Moscow *Driving-out of the moneychangers* (no. A 4), where the added motifs included a small figure comparable to that on the right in no. B 3. All four panels were probably given this treatment at about the

same time and for the same aesthetic reason.

The present condition of nos. B 1, B 2 and B 3 naturally makes it difficult to form any judgment on an attribution of the original execution. There is however enough discernible to permit an idea of their original appearance. Probably the three closely-grouped figures in no. B 1 were originally shown against a dark background. Undoubtedly the lighting, which has been altered by the addition of the burning candle and the consequent accentuation of the shadow and cast shadows, offered less contrast.

Even if one eliminates the candlelight effect, which in the literature is often discussed as being the main and clearly caravaggesque feature of the work, the composition of the original panel seen today – which may have been slightly, but not much, larger – still has a definite caravaggesque stamp in the tight grouping of the half-length figures, with their tilted heads. The horizontal format normal in caravaggesque paintings from the Utrecht School is missing, yet prints show that even there the upright format was used, e.g. in the *Two children singing* by C. Bloemaert after A. Bloemaert (Hollst. II, p. 81, no. 292 and illus.) where the figures are seen in a comparable lighting and with the same spatial arrangement against a uniform dark background. The colours, in particular the white, light blue, light brown and pale red striped turban worn by the woman, point to knowledge of Utrecht paintings from the first half of the 1620s.

The broad approach to a plastic rendering of form via the brushwork, the use of colour, the explicit depiction of facial expression and the close-up presentation of the admittedly somewhat clumsy but still carefully-thought-out composition are features that are incorporated in a similar but more effective way in Rembrandt's *Driving-out of the moneychangers* of 1626, a painting that lends itself most readily to a comparison with no. B 1. There, a detail such as the coarsely-formed ear of the moneychanger in the right foreground works more convincingly than does the weak ear of the man with the book we see here. The same is true of the rendering of the wrinkles in the foreheads of these two men, and of their hands. The hands in no. B 1 are also reminiscent, especially in the thickly-applied, strong red used in them, of the hands of the young woman in the *Musical allegory* of 1626 in Amsterdam (no. A 7); yet it is precisely this comparison that focuses attention on the weaker plasticity of this treatment in no. B 1, and on the relatively unsophisticated colour-scheme – based far more on local colour – that is used here. The similarity in technique and style with Rembrandt's early work (which is at all events not contradicted by the X-ray), coupled with a difference in quality, makes it likely that no. B 1 is either a beginner's work by Rembrandt himself, as Bloch[2] believed, or comes from his immediate entourage; Rosenberg[3] rejected the attribution to Rembrandt, and Bauch[4] suggested Gerard Dou. There is however no comparative material at all for an attribution to any pupil. Nor is Lievens a really likely candidate, as can be seen from, for instance, a comparison with the thematically related *Man singing* in the J. Reder collection, New York (H. Gerson in: *O.H.* 69 (1954), p. 179, fig. 2).

In view of our lack of knowledge of Rembrandt's own work prior to 1625 it is impossible to find in it sufficient argument for either confirming or excluding authorship by Rembrandt during the years around 1624/25.

The allegorical concept of the sense of Hearing is depicted in the form of the gathering of three singing figures in oldfashioned dress, without any explicit symbolism. This type of allegory appears towards the end of the 16th century. In all three of the pictures known to us from this series, the theme of the Five Senses is further combined with the making of a satirical point. In the *Three singers* this consists of the contrast between the singing of the young and the old, along the lines of 'Die met mijn spot gaet vrij van hier,/ Ick sing een deun op mijn manier' (He who mocks me may go scot-free, I sing a song in my own way) which appears as the caption to an *Old woman singing* by C. Bloemaert after G. van Honthorst (Hollst. II, p. 81, no. 297), or 'De fluit gaet Soet, tgeluijt is eel,/ Maar heer hoe klinckt een out wijfs keel' (The flute sounds sweet, the sound is noble, but Lord the noise from an old woman's throat), the caption to a *Flute-player* by C. Bloemaert after D. van Babueren, dated 1625 (Hollst. II, p. 79, no. 284).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

- Dealer N. Katz, Dieren 1930[2].
- Coll. Dr. C. J. K. van Aalst, Hoevelaken[1].
- Coll. Dr C. J. K. van Aalst, Hoevelaken[1].

9. Summary

The similarity that has been noted to the *Driving-out of the moneychangers* of 1626 (no. A 4), and that of *The Spectacles-pedlar* (no. B 3) to the *Stoning of S. Stephen* of 1625 (no. A 1), connect this painting and nos. B 2

Fig. 4. The painting with additions and overpainted areas shown in a lighter tone

and B 3 with Rembrandt or his workshop. Our knowledge of work produced under his supervision during these early years is insufficient to verify an attribution to a pupil. On the other hand, comparison with work by Rembrandt does not rule out the possibility that he painted the three pictures himself. Since the plasticity and effect of depth are less convincing than in the Moscow painting one would in the latter case have to decide on as early a dating as possible, that is to say in 1624/25, which for lack of comparative material can be neither confirmed or rejected.

REFERENCES

1 J. W. von Moltke, *Dutch and Flemish Old Masters in the Collection of Dr. C. J. K. van Aalst*, Huis te Hoevelaken, Holland, privately printed 1939, p. 266, pl. 64; exhibition cat. *Rembrandt als leermeester*, Leiden 1956, no. 2.

2 V. Bloch, 'Zum frühen Rembrandt', *O.H.* 50 (1933), pp. 100–101; cf. O. Benesch, 'An early group portrait drawing by Rembrandt', *The Art Quarterly* 3 (1940), pp. 2–14, reprinted: idem, *Otto Benesch, Collected Writings I*, New York 1970, pp. 130–139, esp. p. 137; idem, 'Caravaggism in the drawings of Rembrandt', *Extrait des Actes du XVIIme Congrès international d'Histoire de l'Art*, The Hague 1955, pp. 385–404; reprinted: idem, *Otto Benesch, Collected Writings* I, New York 1970, pp. 175–189, esp. pp. 177–178.

3 J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt. Life & Work*, London 1964, 2nd edn, p. 371.

4 Bauch 1960, pp. 227–228; Bauch 1966, p. 48.

B 2 The operation (Touch)

THE HAGUE, CRAMER GALLERY

HDG –; BR. 421A; BAUCH –; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

The same as for the *Three singers* (no. B 1).

2. Description of subject

Due to enlargement of the panel at a later stage and the overpaintings connected with this (see under *3. Observations and technical information*) the present picture differs substantially from the original version. It now shows a man, seen to waist-length sitting in a chair and cringing with pain as a barber, clad in a pink tabard with light blue stripes, operates on him above the ear with a lancet. On the right an old man, wearing a yellow-brown turban, assists the operation by holding a candle. In front of his arm we see a case with instruments. On the extreme left a pot stands on a heater, and behind it is a high, open-fronted cupboard containing bottles and other items. In the background there is an arched niche, with a few objects in it; alongside it hangs a jug and, above it, a wooden shelf fixed to the wall bears pots and bottles.

The later additions include the pot on the heater, the cupboard, the rear wall, the back of the man with the candle, and the patient's lower leg.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in 1968 (J. B., S. H. L.) in good daylight and out of the frame. X-ray photograph of the whole painting (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) consulted later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Panel, according to X-ray probably oak, grain vertical, 21.5 × 17.7 cm. Let into a larger oak panel, grain vertical, 31.7 × 25.3 cm. The original panel area was thus enlarged at the bottom, top, left and right by 1.6, 8.6, 3.8 and 3.8 cm respectively. Back bevelled all round and painted brown, probably truncated slightly at the top.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not observed.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: The condition of the original areas still visible is less good than that of the *Three singers* (no. B 1). The paint has in general been rather overcleaned, and slightly touched up here and there. In the faces the fairly heavy craquelure has darkened with dirt. Craquelure: according to the X-ray there is a fine netlike craquelure in the lit part of the barber's pink tabard. The added sections show the same crack formation as in the *Three singers*.

DESCRIPTION: The difference between the relatively plastic handling of paint in the original painting and the flatness of the additions and overpaintings is clearly apparent here, just as in the *Three singers* (no. B 1). The dark overpainting, extending inwards from the added surround, can be readily followed on the back of the patient's chair and the outline of the cloth round his shoulders (which stands out sharply against the chairback), on the shadow side of his arms and leg, in the dark red paint in the trunk of the man with the candle, on the shadow side of the latter's arm and hand, on the cast shadows on the patient's chest, on the barber's doublet and then in a wide arc across and along the shadowed back of the man with the candle and across his turban, across the barber's headgear, his right shoulder (the outline of which has been raised) and his right arm.

The eyes of the barber and of the man holding the candle have been retouched with hard, black lines.

The original paint layer shows predominantly broad, rather roughly applied strokes in the wrinkles in the patient's skin and the folds of his clothing, next to finer strokes in the pink of the barber's dress, and fine, small touches in the yellow-brown (plus a little pink) of the turban of the man holding the candle and the brown-yellow, pink and muddy white of his cape, which offers a contrast against his dark red clothing.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

In general characteristics not greatly different from the X-ray of the *Three singers*. It is noticeable that two patchy white zones to the left of the patient's upper arm do not match what is now seen in the shadow. There is also, at the position of the trunk of the man with the candle on the right, a lighter triangular field; its border on the left is visible in the paint as a relief line running downwards to the right. This is perhaps the contour of the cape, originally falling partly over the arm.

Signature

None.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

Apart from the fact of the original painting of no. B 2 being in a less satisfactory state of preservation, one can repeat here what has been said for the *Three singers* (no. B 1). The appearance of the picture has however been less distorted here, since there has been no substantial change in the lighting (though all the shadows have similarly been somewhat strengthened).

The caravaggesque traits in this instance prompt associations with the work of G. van Honthorst from the early 1620s, such as his *Dentist* in Dresden, from 1622, and his *Merry company* in Munich (J. R. Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst,* The Hague 1959, nos. 191 and 195). Added to this there is an echo of Lucas van Leyden in the head seen in profile with its hook nose and pointed chin, a facial type that occurs frequently in his prints (cf., for example, prints from the series showing *The life of Joseph* of 1512; B. 19, 21, 23.

The affinity with early work by Rembrandt that was noted in the case of no. B 1 is equally valid here.

As in the *Three singers* (no. B 1) and the *Spectacles-pedlar* (no. B 3) the allegory is here combined with a satirical point; in Dutch, 'having a stône in the head' is a term for 'not being right in the head', and the traditional theme of 'cutting out the stone' as a manifestation of human folly is here combined with the depiction of the sense of touch.

Fig. 1. Panel 31.7 × 25.3 cm (including additions)

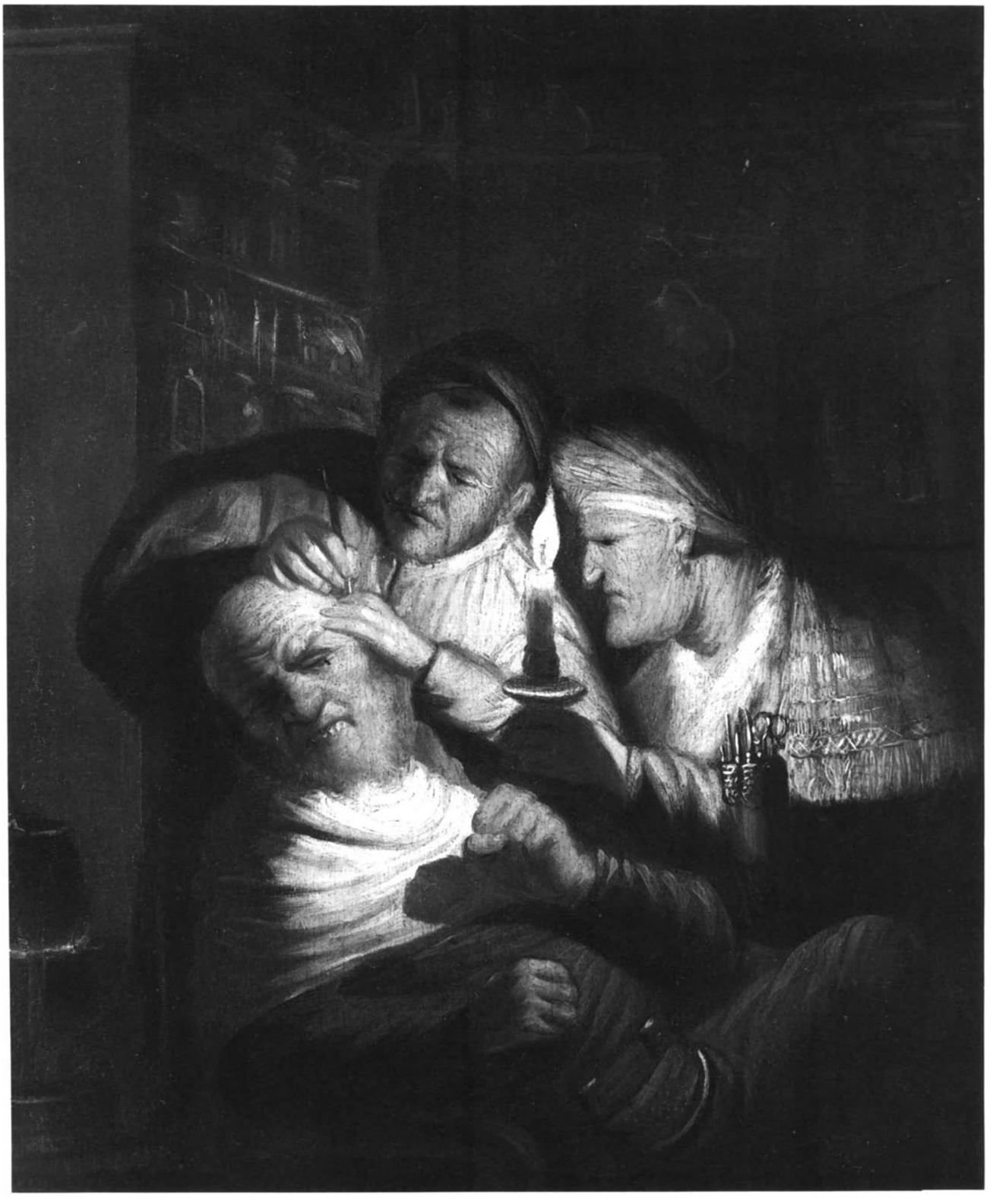


Fig. 2. X-ray

Fig. 3. Panel 21.5 × 17.7 cm (without additions; 1 : 1)

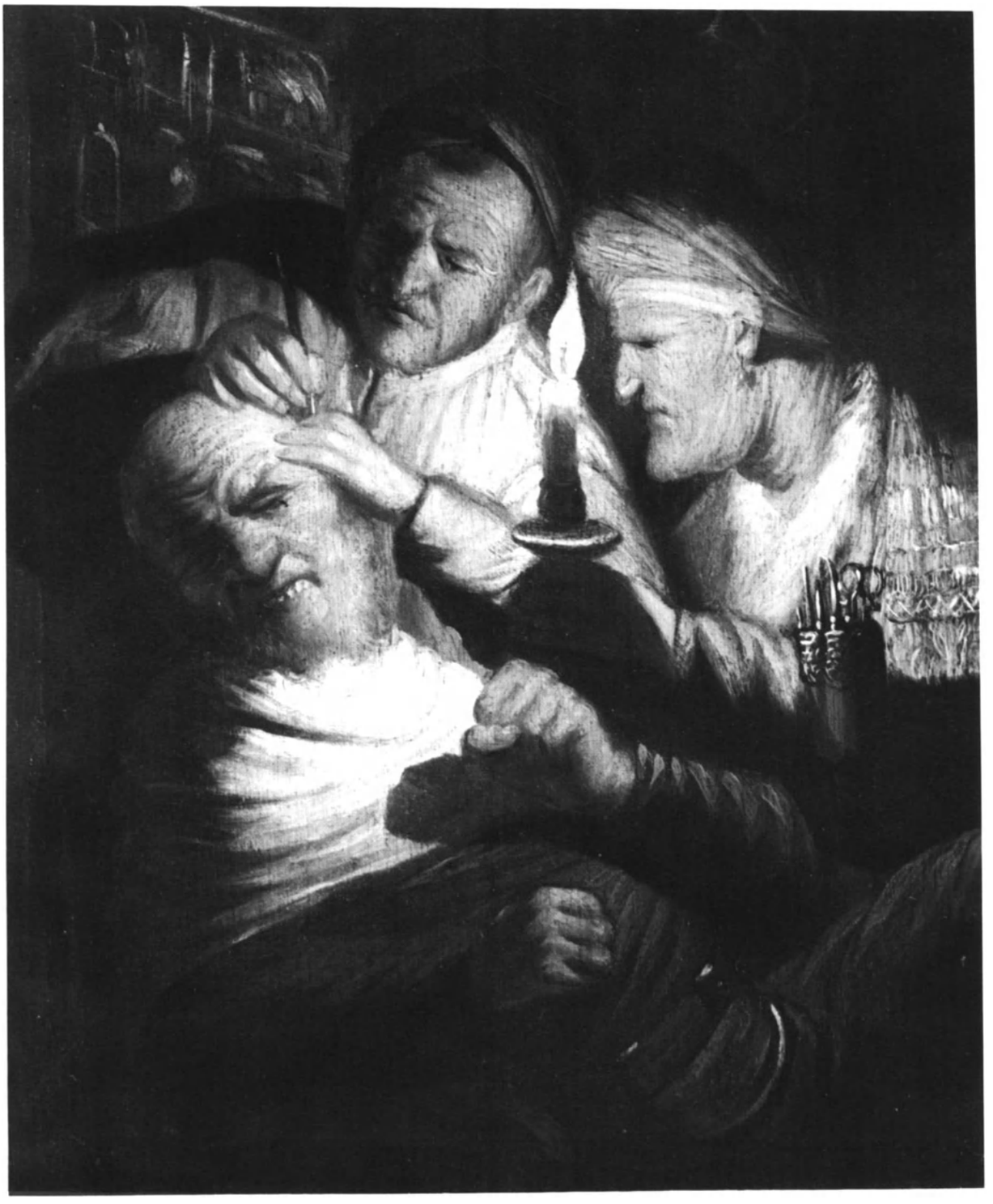


Fig. 4. The painting with additions and overpainted areas shown in a lighter tone

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Coll. Dr. C. J. K. van Aalst, Hoevelaken; discovered later than the *Three singers*[1].

9. Summary

Conclusion similar to that for the *Three singers* (no. B1).

REFERENCES

1 J. W. von Moltke, *Dutch and Flemish Old Masters in the Collection of Dr. C. J. K. van Aalst*, Huis te Hoevelaken, Holland, privately printed, 1939, p. 330, plate 78.

B 3 The spectacles-pedlar (Sight)

S. PETER PORT, GUERNSEY, COLL. D. H. CEVAT

HDG —; BR. —; BAUCH —; GERSON —

Fig. 1. Panel 32.8 × 25.3 cm (including additions)

Fig. 2. X-ray

1. Summarized opinion

As for the *Three singers* (no. B 1).

2. Description of subject

Due to enlargement of the panel at a later stage and the overpaintings connected with this (see under *3. Observations and technical information*) the picture seen today differs substantially from the original version.

Seen to the waist, a spectacles pedlar stands in left profile, with a large open box containing his wares (shiny, yellow-white spectacles, red and yellow-white bandages and paper strips) hanging over his stomach on straps. He wears a turban and a purple doublet with yellow slashing at the shoulder, and holds his left hand behind him. From his waistbelt hang a large money-pouch and a short-sword. He is handing a pair of pince-nez spectacles to an old man in a fur cap, who points to his eyes. Further back, between the two men, one can see an old woman with a black cloak over her head; she is already wearing spectacles, and peers through them with half-shut eyes. To the right, over the pedlar's shoulder, there is the head of a man wearing a brownish-red cap; he is disappearing through a door. In front of the door, on the far right, a round mirror stands on a table. At the top left a dark curtain has been hitched up.

The later additions include the mirror, a large part of the door, the curtain and the head of the man disappearing through the door.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in 1967 (J. B., S. H. L.) in good daylight and out of the frame. One X-ray film, covering the whole painting, received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Panel, according to X-ray probably oak, grain vertical, 21 × 17.8 cm. Let into a larger oak panel, grain vertical, 32.8 × 25.3 cm. The original picture area was thus enlarged at the bottom, top, left and right by 1.5, 10.3, 3.8 and 3.8 cm respectively. The back surface has been very regularly planed, bevelled all round with straight ridges, and painted brown.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not observed.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: As for the *Three singers* (no. B 1). Large areas of paint have blistered off in the uppermost part of the extension. Craquelure: of the same kind as the crack formation in the two other known paintings in the series.

DESCRIPTION: The difference between the relatively plastic handling of paint in the original painting and the flatness of the additions and overpaintings is clearly apparent, just as in the other two paintings of the series (nos. B 1 and B 2). The paint of the additions extends into the original picture over the whole of the background, including the curtain. These overpaintings run across the bulge of the old man's fur cap, and across the silhouette of its shadowed righthand edge and lie over the shadow on his trunk, on the small grey-white cuff and on the grey lines on the strips of paper hanging down from the box and on the shadow side of the box; others run along the carrying straps and the pedlar's purse, along his arm, shoulder and back, on the shadows of the folds of cloth over his stomach. Overpaintings also occur in the grey on his sleeve and the dark, uppermost part of his turban, and lie over the lefthand shadow and the strengthened righthand shadows on the old woman's face, on her black hood and on the thumb of her hand. The loosely-painted small head wearing a brownish-red cap does not match the other figures, and has like the curtain on the left been added with the overpainting of the background (cf. no. B 1 under *4. Comments*).

The original paint layer can be seen best in the old man's head and pointing hand. A typical feature is the fairly coarse ruddy yellow and carmine red brushstrokes placed close together over the purplish-red tone of the face. A similar purplish-red tone is seen in the old woman's face, beneath a yellow-white layer and grey overpaintings. The profile of the pedlar's head has been somewhat distorted by the overpainting of the background, and stands out sharply against it. The head and neck, where the white of the collar lies on top, shows a layer of yellow which seems to be original apart from retouches in the cheek and an eye redrawn in black. Below this there is a purplish-red colour, visible locally especially in the nose and lips. The hands, where these are original, are done with coarse dabs of the brush. The purple of the jacket, with original accents of light (the grey shadows of the folds belong to the overpainting), is thickly painted. The inside of the box, with its summarily indicated contents, is entirely original. The pedlar's pouch and the short-sword hanging at his side are set down harshly and insensitively with highlights, but are nonetheless probably for the most part authentic.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

Within the limits of the original panel the illuminated areas and the dark reserves left for the headgear of the three figures stand out reasonably distinctly, though accompanied by – and interfered with by – traces of a picture that was evidently painted on this panel previously. If the panel is turned through 180° one finds, at the top left, a seated naked figure leaning forward with the left arm raised as if in a defensive gesture. This figure is seated on an area showing up light in the X-ray (and bounded at the bottom by the light image of the brushstrokes belonging to the pedlar's sleeve). To the right, too, there are light shapes that are unconnected with the present-day scene.

The additions show, in the light image of what appears to be the ground, large black patches where this presumed ground layer is now missing.

Signature

None.

Varnish

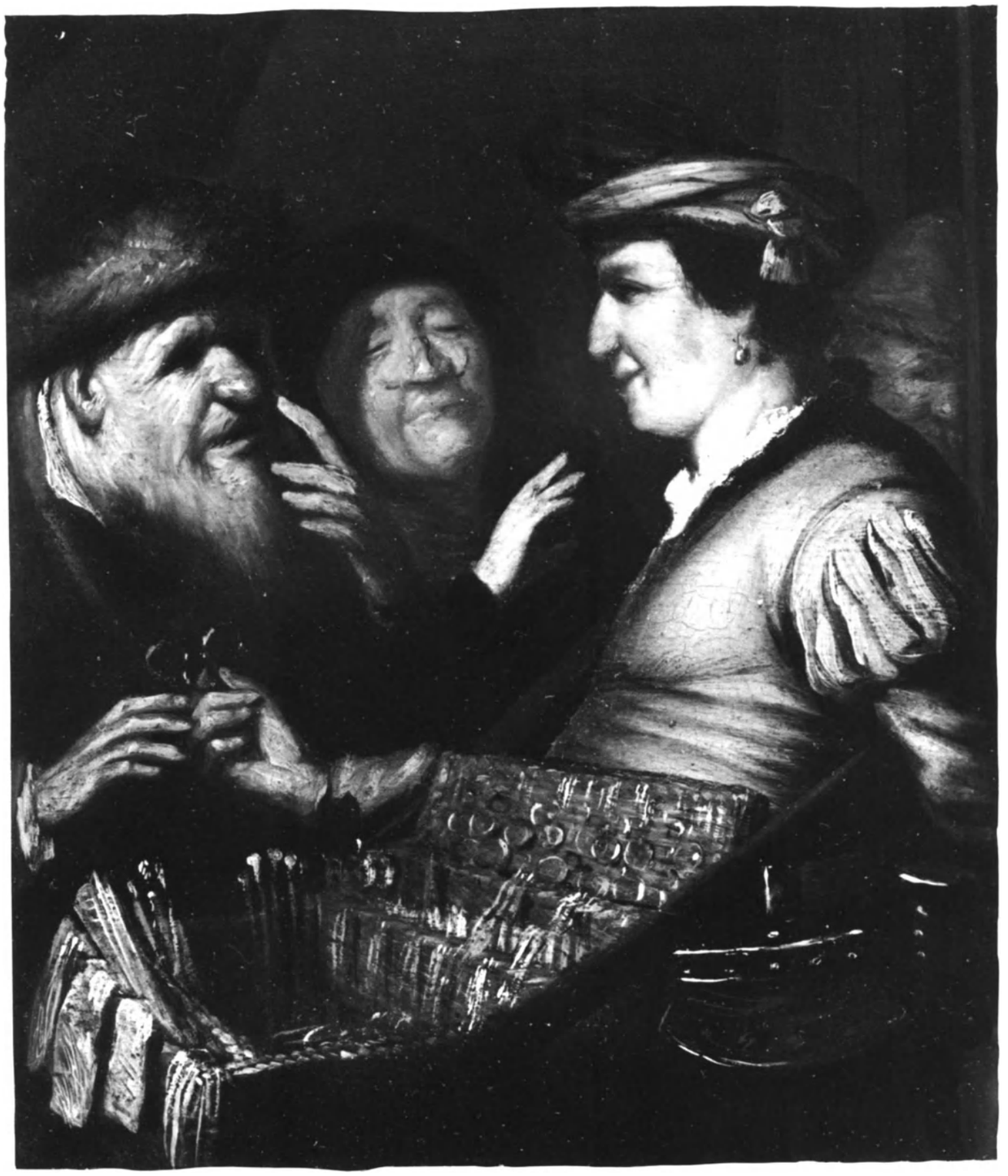
No special remarks.

4. Comments

What has already been said in discussing the *Three singers* (no. B 1) also applies here. In *The spectacles pedlar* too one must – besides the overpaintings that are connected with the enlargement of the painting – take account of areas of retouching that were possibly done at a different period.

The spatial grouping of the figures is a little less complex than in the *Three singers*, and comes closest

Fig. 3. Panel 21 × 17.8 cm (without additions, 1 : 1)



to the rather simpler arrangement in *The operation* (no. B 2). The colour combination of purple, yellow, rust brown and carmine may point to Utrecht influences, but no direct caravaggesque antecedents have been identified.

As with the *Three singers*, no. B 3 can be related to early work by Rembrandt, and in this case in particular one can cite the similarity in the facial type, and in the way the head has been painted, between the old man and a head (at the right, below Saul's feet) in the Lyon *Stoning of S. Stephen* of 1625 (no. A 1) and the head of the moneychanger at the front in the

Fig. 4. The painting with additions and overpainted areas shown in a lighter tone

Moscow *Driving-out of the moneychangers* of 1626 (no. A 4). In this case too, however, the comparison works to the detriment of no. B 3. The minimal articulation of the forms – in particular of the hands – makes us hesitate to pronounce on an attribution to one and the same artist on the basis of the unmistakeable resemblances. The picture that was, as one sees from the X-ray, painted previously on the original panel provides – insofar as it can be made out – no further evidence. It cannot be either explained thematically nor ascribed stylistically; it does not seem to bear any relationship to Rembrandt's early work.

There is one piece of evidence for a small painting of this subject already being in circulation in 1640 under Rembrandt's name. This consists of a (now anonymous) mention in an archive entry: 'Anno 1640 ghecoft een Stucxken, daerin een brilleman van Rembrant, geteykent N. 56 voor f. 31–10' (In 1640 bought a little piece, showing a spectacles seller by Rembrant, numbered 56 for 31 guilders 10 stuyvers) (HdG *Urk.*, no. 76; cf. HdG 278). It seems

unlikely that this mention of a *Spectacles seller* alone relates to no. B 3, as nos. B 1, B 2 and B 3 appear to have remained together until well into the 18th century, when all three panels were enlarged in the same manner. It is of course in no way certain that this does in fact relate to no. B 3, but since the subject, apart from etching B. 129 of 1635, is not really likely in a later painting by Rembrandt one's thought turns to an early work, and the idea of the painting mentioned here being identical with no. B 3 is not improbable.

Just as in the *Three singers* (no. B 1) and *The operation* (no. B 2) the depiction of one of the senses is here combined with a moralizing satire, in this case the trickery that had traditionally been personified by the spectacles-pedlar (cf. L. Lebeer, 'Ter verklaring van Bosch en Bruegel', *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis* 6 (1939–1940), pp. 139–229, esp. p. 151 and the illustrations on pp. 148–152; here it is explained that 'to sell someone spectacles' was already in the 16th century a common Dutch expression for cheating someone, misleading someone, doing someone down). Presumably the man seen making his exit on the right – admittedly painted in his present form at a later stage – is meant to be the lover of the woman who is duping her husband (cf. the engraving of 1611 by J. Th. de Bry, reproduced in Lebeer, op. cit. p. 151, where however the woman and her paramour are fashionably dressed and young).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance[1]

– Coll. Walter Riddell, Hepple near Rothbury, Northumberland.
– Coll. Sir John Riddell, London 1906.

9. Summary

A conclusion similar to that for the *Three singers* (no. B 1).

REFERENCES

1 Exhibition cat. *Rondom Rembrandt*, Leiden 1968, no. 37.

B 4 A man in a gorget and plumed cap

MALIBU, CAL., THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM

HdG 673; BR. 79; BAUCH 130; GERSON 47

Fig. 1. Panel 65 × 51 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved painting that on various points is linked to work by Rembrandt and his circle. It is not however possible, on the basis of comparison, to fit it into Rembrandt's work without further argument.

2. Description of subject

The man's figure is placed low in the picture area. The head, turned sharply in relation to the body facing three-quarters left, faces straight towards the viewer. Over the sitter's left shoulder a brown cloak is worn over a brown doublet; the edge of a small white shirt-collar is seen under the gorget. An ostrich feather is tucked under a thin gold chain encircling the cap.

The light falls from the left; the background is neutral.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in May 1968 (J. B., B. H.), in daylight and in the frame. Re-examined on 6 October 1972 (J. B., S. H. L.) in good daylight and in the frame. X-rays received later from the Courtauld Institute, London, covering most of the picture, except for bands along the edges, especially on the left.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Panel, probably oak, grain vertical, 65 × 51 cm (sight size). Two planks, with join running through the right-hand edge of the eye-socket on the left (24 cm from the lefthand side of the frame). Back surface bevelled along top and bottom edges; the right and left sides are concealed by wide battens that hold the panel in the frame. Back surface covered with stuck-on canvas, which has an even coating of paint.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Thread count of the canvas stuck to the back of the panel: horizontal 10–11, vertical 11–12 threads/cm. The canvases listed in the chart published in *Röntgenonderzoek ... Utrecht*, p. 62, show this thread count only after the middle of the 17th century. This confirms the suspicion that the canvas was stuck to panel only at a later date.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not observed.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Good, apart from a few small repairs at the join. Brown retouching inside the top of the sitter's left ear. Craquelure: a little very fine craquelure in the right background next to the cap and in the ear on the left.

DESCRIPTION: The manner of painting is typified, especially in the flesh areas, by the use of careful though somewhat blurred brushstrokes that make for a slightly vague definition of the plastic form. The flesh colour of the face is laid-in using a rather yellowish tone over which there are quite wide lights done in opaque paint, leaving the underlying layer visible as shadows in the wrinkles. These wrinkles are reinforced with small grey brushstrokes. The touches of paint run one into the other to varying extents. The eyes are painted carefully, with edge-lines of paint ranging from pink to red, tiny lines of moisture done in white at the bottom, and touches of red at the inner corners with a spot of white on the left. The pupil and iris run into each other to a greater or lesser degree, the irises being remarkably large and without sharp borders. A small, flat catchlight is used in both eyes. The mouth appears as a pale red, the effect created by a little grey and pink on the lips along a brown mouth-line. The ears are drawn broadly, with an accent in red placed in the shadow of the man's right ear. The hair beside this ear, and the stubble and hair of the beard and moustache, are executed in cool grey with a little brown and grey-white, using small brushstrokes that often blend a little into one another.

The neck on the left has an orangy tint set over brown, contrasting with the broken white of the shirt. The gorget is painted smoothly in cool greys with a blending use of the brush, and with thick white for the highlights. The cloak, offering little internal detail, is painted in browns while the doublet is in a warm brown-grey. The sitter's left shoulder has been extended out over the background a little, level with the gorget; to judge by paint that shows through the grey of the background, the cloak over this shoulder may initially have been a little higher up.

The cap, in dark grey with some brown showing through, is at the centre mostly executed with light-grey, parallel strokes of grey running diagonally, and the lower edge is marked with free strokes in an ochrish tint. The ostrich plume is painted with long brushstrokes in a variety of colours – browns, greys, ochre yellow and a little red. There are scratchmarks in the shadow at the outer end.

The background is painted in grey without any pronounced brushstroke being apparent, slightly more thickly along large parts of the outline of the figure. In the area of shadow at the lower left a darker translucent brown-grey lies over the grey. In the illuminated part of the background on the left, next to the head, a darker underlying colour appears to show through. At the bottom right the background is painted somewhat more opaquely, in a warmer tint.

In assessing the paint layer, allowance must be made for the presence of an underlying picture (see below under *X-Rays*).

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The radiographic image is quite a complicated one, through a combination of the following factors:

1. The material with which the canvas on the back was painted or stuck to the panel; this can be clearly seen in various larger and smaller areas as a canvas structure.
2. The paint layer belonging to an earlier picture painted on the panel. This shows the head of a young man which, turned through 180°, partly coincides with the righthand section of the present head. The image of this earlier painting causes confusing interference with that of the present head, with the left eye of the latter occupying almost the same place as the dark nostril of the underlying head, and the shadowed side of the face partly coinciding with the lit side of the nose of the underlying head. The notion that this earlier head might have been painted not on the panel but on the canvas stuck to the back of it is dispelled by the occurrence in the X-ray of a typical wood-panel craquelure in the light areas of the underlying painting. A stylistic assessment of the earlier head is difficult to make in any detail.
3. The paint layer belonging to the present picture. The body is clearly a dark reserve in a rather lighter background and is bounded by the light image of bands painted along the outline. During the execution of the painting the contour has encroached on these bands, slightly on the left and to a far more substantial extent by the cloak spreading out on the right. The light parts of the gorget show up sharply. On both sides of the head one can see light areas, which are to some extent difficult to make out clearly because of the canvas pattern mentioned under 1. above. The illuminated areas of the head are for the most part seen as a somewhat patchy image, suggesting a carefully-applied, short brushstroke. The highlights in the thin

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1.5)

chain encircling the cap and the roughly-drawn shape of part of the plume can be seen.

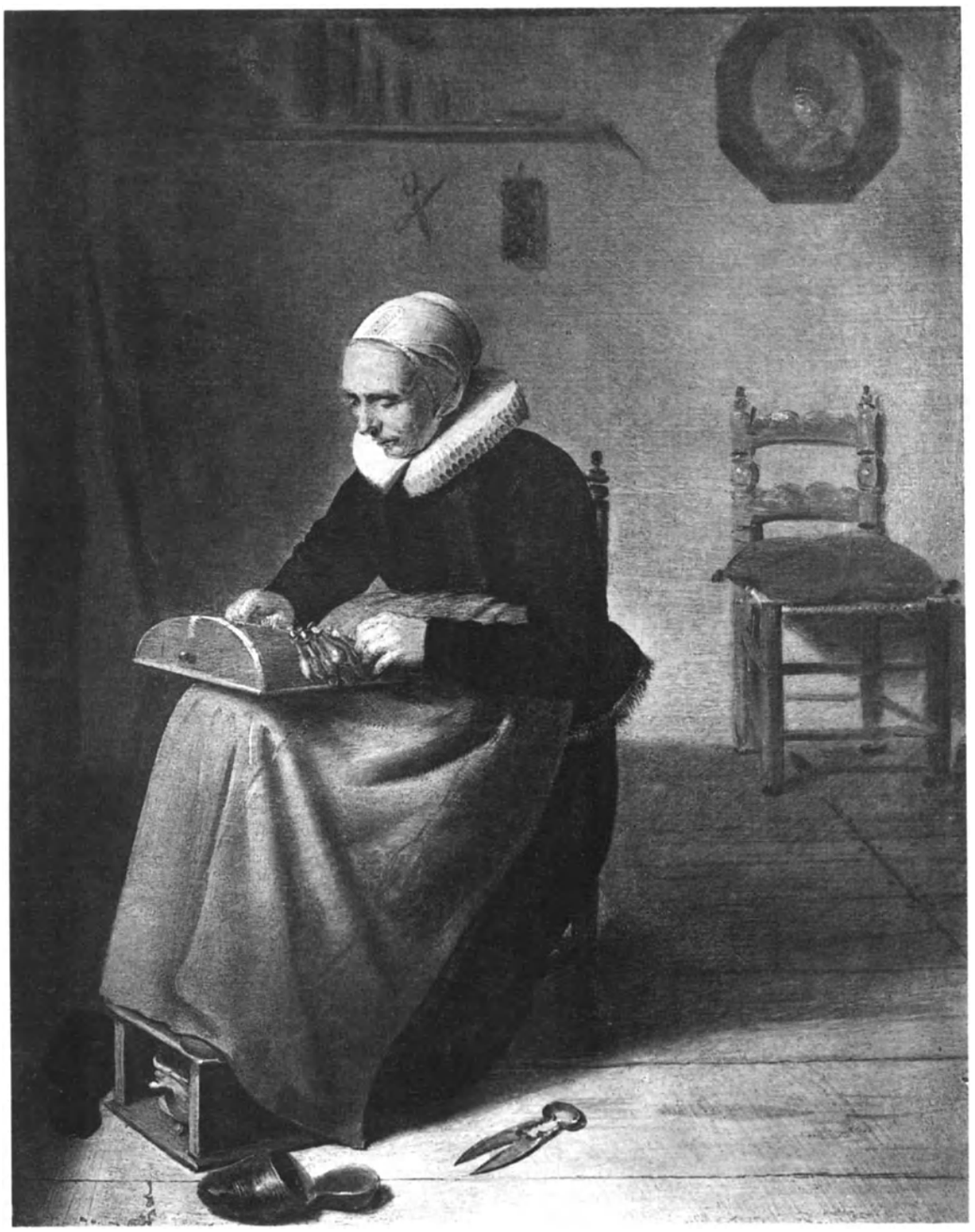
Signature

Underneath a signature ‹*Rembrandt.*/ *f*. .› in dark paint in the upper righthand corner a monogram ‹*RHL*› can be made out in somewhat lighter paint; the *R* of this coincides with the present-day *R* of Rembrandt. So far as one can tell, the rather ornate form of the *R* 'open' on the left, and of the *L* comes closest to that of the signature on the *Two old men disputing* of 1628 in Melbourne (no. A 13). As the signature is visible only to a limited degree, offering an opinion on its authenticity is difficult.

Varnish

No special remarks.

Fig. 4. Attr. to H. Pot, *Old woman making lace*. England, Private collection



4. Comments

One cannot, from the range of possible comparisons in respect of the manner of painting, the signature, the composition and the model depicted, arrive at any definite conclusion as to date and attribution. This is in part due to the fact that in the sparse number of portrait-like busts attributable to Rembrandt and dating from his Leiden period there is little stylistic stability.

It must be assumed that a painting of this type was already depicted in a work *Old woman making lace* that is sometimes attributed to Hendrik Pot (panel 27.5 × 22 cm; previously coll. Steengracht, sale Paris 9 June 1913, no. 58; now private coll., England; fig. 4). In that painting, the latest date for which can be around 1650, an oval painting is seen hanging on the wall in a dark, octagonal frame of the kind common between about 1625 and 1640; in spite of the very generalized reproduction, the subject is unmistakably the same as that shown in no. B 4. Another painting that would seem to imply knowledge of no. B 4 or of a similar picture is a signed work by Pieter

Fig. 5. P. Quast, *Bust of an old man*. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

Quast now in Rotterdam, previously ascribed by Bredius (in: *G. d. B.-A.*, 5th series 5, 64 (1922), pp. 1–12) to Jacques des Rousseaux (Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, inv. no. 1737) and at all events datable in the 1630s (fig. 5).

It can further be commented that the manner of painting in no. B 4 does not, of itself, give any reason to suppose that the work is a copy. One finds no features that a copyist has failed to understand, and besides minor corrections in some outlines the fact of the area of cloak that projects out past the righthand contour being painted on top of the laid-in background suggests that the painter was working on his own initiative. It is therefore reasonable to assume a date prior to 1640 or thereabouts.

The relationship between this manner of painting and that of Rembrandt's early work is however difficult to pinpoint. The highly convincing and almost illusionistic naturalness with which the head has been rendered is achieved by using generally rather blending touches of paint which are nowhere thickly applied, and which make the plastic form appear almost tangible, though also a little greasy. A similar treatment is not to be found in any of the *tronies*, or 'heads', from Rembrandt's years in Leiden. The way in which, for instance, the wrinkled skin of the Windsor Castle *Old woman* (no. A 32), on a comparable scale has been rendered with subtle touches of paint that blend less is quite clearly different. The yellowish basic tone of the skin colours, becoming more intense as an orangy tint at the neck, also strikes a strange note. In view of the diversity of treatments shown in the *tronies* attributed to Rembrandt from the years 1629–31, which seem to be due to differences in the subjects (old women, old men, young men) and in the viewing-distance and scale of the face (see Introduction, Chapter I, p. 7 ff.), it is hard to extract any decisive arguments either for or against the attribution from comparisons that show up both similarities and differences. There is a certain likeness to the *Self-portrait* dated 1629 in the Gardner Museum, Boston (no. A 20) in the execution of the flat background and, especially, in the plumed cap – but at the same time there is a world of difference in the flesh areas, the rendering of the trunk and the perception of the lighting effect. There is a substantial difference in execution from the two *Self-portraits*, both datable in 1629, in The Hague and in the MOA Museum, Japan (nos. A 21 and A 22), though there too one detects a tendency to an illusionistic portrayal. There is a striking similarity with the Chicago *Old man in gorget and cap* (no. A 42), datable in 1631, in the rendering of the gorget, as well as some similarity in the handling of the contour of the cloak; and yet there the painting of the background, flesh areas and clothing is totally different. Compared with the much smaller *Old man in a fur cap* of 1630 in Innsbruck (no. A 29), no. B 4 does admittedly show much less freedom in the painting of the background and accessories, but one might well interpret the way the head has been handled as applying a similar pattern of brush-touches on a large scale, albeit without the almost atmospheric effect this creates in the small painting.

In the final analysis the problem amounts to the question whether the similarities that have been discussed to point to Rembrandt's authorship, or whether they should be put down to a compilation of Rembrandtesque traits by an imitator from among his more or less immediate circle. If we leave aside composition and facial type for a moment, the manner of painting does not offer sufficient argument for one or the other. Bearing in mind the variation already mentioned between the *tronies* that can be attributed more or less convincingly to Rembrandt, one cannot rule out the possibility that he did on one occasion paint the subject of an old man with this colour-scheme and with this kind of brushwork. The fact that there is another painting beneath the present paint surface (though this is in this instance not clearly legible, and is stylistically

Fig. 6. Attr. to M. L. L. Willmann, *Bust of a man*, etching

indeterminate: see above under *X-Rays*) certainly does not militate against the possibility (cf. nos. A 8, A 20, A 32 and A 33); this fact can also be held responsible for a treatment that offers no translucencies, and can serve as an explanation for the most unusual superimposition of a brown tint over the opaque grey of the background in the lower lefthand corner – which gives the effect of a translucent layer of paint over a light-brown ground.

The prime argument for the second possibility lies in the differences that exist alongside the similarities, and most of all in the unimaginative character of the manner of painting which has some measure of freeness only in the gorget. If one works on the assumption that there is some cohesiveness in Rembrandt's experiments, a further jarring note is that the similarities noted relate to paintings that are rather different in their nature. This is true of the manner of painting, but also of the composition with its singular distribution of planes – the low-placed figure, intersected only by the bottom edge of the frame, reminds one of the Boston *Self-portrait* of 1629 (no. A 20), as well as of Rembrandt's etching of *A bearded man in oriental dress* (B. 263) of 1631 – and of the head facing exactly to the front set on shoulders turned three-quarters left. This latter motif, something very close to which is found in the same etching and also in a signed etching by Jan Lievens, *Old man in a turban* (Hollst. XI, no. 81), is thus not unknown in the work of Rembrandt and his circle, but the effect of depth it produces in no. B 4 is relatively slight; the tense, sideways glance with the exceptionally large irises to the eyes does not occur elsewhere, and it is hard to see what function it serves in this context. A strange feature is that at the lower left, i.e. on the side from which the light falls, there is a darker area in the comparatively light background, one that must be seen as a cast shadow. This motif, together with a frontal set to the head above an averted shoulder, occurs in an etching which in the Amsterdam Rijksprentenkabinet is attributed to M. L. L. Willmann (Königsberg 1630 – Kloster Leubus 1706; active *c.* 1650 in the Northern Netherlands, and under Rembrandt's influence) (fig. 6); this etching also shows some similarity to no. B 4 in the handling of the contours and of the wrinkles above the nose. With Rembrandt himself the head seen exactly square-on is most unusual. It might be interpreted as a symmetric arrangement of the much smaller head in the Innsbruck painting (no. A 29), and this would offer an explanation for the two unusually large ears. The features of the face might then well have been altered in the process; though mostly referred to in the literature as 'Rembrandt's father' as it first appeared in Rembrandt's painted work in 1629 and in his etchings in 1630, and also appears in works by Lievens and Dou, the features are not clearly recognizable in the face shown here, which in any case looks less old.

The monogram visible underneath the signature *Rembrandt./ f..*, which is certainly not genuine, seems relatively large and ornate, but is too difficult to see for it to be possible to offer any opinion as to its authenticity. To the extent it is visible, it seems to match best Rembrandt's monogram from *c.* 1628/29.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

1. Canvas, 62.5 × 47.5 cm, Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A358, cat. no. 2025); with an evidently unauthentic signature at bottom right: *Rembrand / f.1641* (?). Already in the National Collection (as a portrait of Willem van de Mark, Count of Lumey) in 1808. A weak and old copy in a fairly poor state of preservation.
2. Canvas, 47 × 39 cm, coll. Lady Exeter, Burghley House. Without the plume on the cap (photo Courtauld Institute B 57/1512). Not examined by us.

8. Provenance[1]

– Coll. Rev. Sir Henry Bate Dudley, Ely, Cambridgeshire (until 1824).
– Coll. W. Whitting (Southwick, Sussex), sale Brighton May 1877, no. 149 (as: 'Rembrandt: Head of William Tell').
– Coll. W. B. Chamberlain (Hove, Sussex), sale London (Christie's) 25 February 1938, no. 44.
– Coll. Sir Edward Mountain, London.
– Coll. Sir Brian Mountain Bt. (London), sale London (Christie's) 5 December 1969, no. 99.
– Dealer E. Speelman, London.
– Coll. Lord Samuel, Wych Cross, Sussex, until 1979.

9. Summary

Though it bears some relationship to a number of paintings by Rembrandt in his Leiden period, no. B 4 shows clear differences in the handling of paint, use of colour and arrangement in the picture area.

The difference in the way paint is applied may be due in part to the panel having already been painted on.

A puzzling aspect remains the use of colour in the face, with its tendency to a somewhat yellowish-brown skin tone and grey and various tints of red in the eyes.

The monogram underneath the present signature could, if authentic, point to a dating around 1628/29; the stylistic features that have been noted do not however lead to any definite conclusion.

REFERENCES

1 Exhibition cat. *Rembrandt als leermeester*, Leiden 1956, no. 10.

B 5 The artist in a cap and pleated shirt

STOCKHOLM, NATIONALMUSEUM, CAT. NO. 5324

HDG 570; BR. 11; BAUCH 299; GERSON 44

Fig. 1. Copper 15 × 12.2 cm (1 : 1)

1. Summarized opinion

A painting, poorly preserved in part, which is of unusual type and hence difficult to assess and hard to compare. An attribution to Rembrandt must not be ruled out.

2. Description of subject

Bust of a young man, with the body facing slightly to the left and the head turned a little to the right. He wears a black cap, placed high up on his curly hair. A dark outer garment, with broad revers, leaves visible the collar of a white, pleated shirt and a red doublet. The light falls from the left; the background is neutral.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in March 1969 and May 1976 (B. H., E. v. d. W.) in good artificial light and in the frame.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Copper, 15 × 12.2 cm.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Light metal shows through at a number of places.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Investigation by Froentjes[1] shows a layer of gold leaf over the entire surface, on top of a thin, greyish-white layer of white lead which has discoloured to a copper green. This was confirmed by X-ray diffraction and spectographic analysis of a sample taken from the edge of the painting.

Paint layer

CONDITION: There is considerable wearing in the background and, probably, in the hair. The black of the cap and clothing, as well as the dark parts of the red doublet, show a good deal of in-painting. Though the face has certainly not suffered to the same extent, allowance must also be made for some wearing especially in the dark areas; the eyebrows may have been reinforced. Craquelure: none visible.
DESCRIPTION: In the light, the face is done in very small, fine strokes running in various directions and not always following the modelling of the form. They are too small to produce an

effect of plasticity, yet they do lend liveliness to the paint surface. Here and there – in the wing of the nose, for example – a little red has been used. The shadow areas are painted quite thinly. The area where the hair and forehead meet cannot be read properly due to wearing. The man's right eye has been modelled carefully; the upper lid, bounded by a thin line of a ruddy colour, casts a shadow (shown by a line of grey) on the eye, while a fine touch of red marks the inner corner of the eye. The greenish-grey iris has a vague outline and a small catch-light; the pupil is small and black. His left eye has less detail, but is depicted in a similar fashion. In both instances the upper lid is bordered by a diagonal fold of skin. The eyebrows are drawn with small brushstrokes in a quite dark grey (and may have been strengthened by a later hand). The nostril is painted in a dark, reddish tint. On either side of the reddish-grey mouth line the lips are done in a fairly light red on top of which fine, greyish and slightly rounded lines run crosswise and provide an effective suggestion of plasticity. The growth of beard and moustache has been indicated by a haze of grey. The neck is executed quite flatly in a flesh colour.

The white shirt is portrayed with a few rapid strokes, and the pleated folds rendered with a zig-zag pattern of brushstrokes.

The background is done for the greater part in a light brown-grey, over a yellowish-brown underlayer that shows through; on the right, from the cap downwards, it is painted rather more thickly, with visible brushwork in a somewhat lighter shade.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

No electron emission radiograph available.

Signature

At top left, interrupted at the right by paint loss due to a dent in the copper in thin, even lines of dark-grey paint ‹*R . . . 1630*›. There is just room for filling-in the monogram *RHL*. The figures are very much smaller than the letter; neither the careful execution nor the shape makes an entirely characteristic impression.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

In assessing no. B 5 one needs to make considerable allowance for its condition. Indeed, only the face part of the paint layer (and of that mainly the lit area) can be judged properly, and even then possible wearings and retouchings that are not identified as such have to be allowed for. No weight can be attached to the signature, because of its partly damaged state and the difficulty of judging its authenticity.

If one works on the basis of the reasonably legible sections, it proves difficult to find any direct link between no. B 5 and any of Rembrandt's works. The most likely candidates would be the two little paintings done on copper plates of the same dimensions and painted on the (so far as we know) uncommon ground of gold leaf – the Salzburg *Old woman at prayer* (no. A 27) and the *Man laughing* in The Hague (no. B 6). No. B 5, with its careful though sometimes – especially in the area round the nose and mouth – quite effective handling of paint, shows no similarity at all to these works, though this does not exclude the possibility that the combination of this support and the subject matter of a young man's head might in this instance have led to precisely this manner of painting. This does not become any more improbable when one widens the comparison to a number of self-portraits done on panels – not so much the small and for the most part more freely-executed examples in Amsterdam (no. A 14) and Munich (no. A 19) as the larger one in The Hague (no. A 21), where the perception of form (particularly that of the mouth and chin) does show some similarity; here, however, where the manner of painting is for the greater part smoother, the plastic effect created by bold shadow accents is a great deal stronger. And even in the Innsbruck *Old man in a fur cap* (no. A 29), which is painted on panel and dated 1630 and is similar in design and lighting, and where the face has a fine pattern of brushstrokes, the execution of the modelling is richer and the suggestive power of the brushwork is greater.

It is of course impossible to find any cogent argument for the work's authenticity in the motifs portrayed; all one can do is to point to one or two similarities. The posture shown has a resemblance to that in the Liverpool *Self-portrait* (no. A 33), which we date as *c.* 1630/31; here, too, one finds the cap placed high up on the hair, with a similar outline. The pleated shirt is an old-fashioned detail of the costume and is not seen in any painted self-portrait from the Leiden period, though it does appear in a few etchings, such as B. 15 (initially dated 1630) and B. 24 (dated 1630). In the former etching, as well as in a few others showing the eyebrows drawn together (B. 13, dated 1630; B. 25, dated 1631, authentic?), one also sees a hint of the diagonal folds of skin round the eyes. It is conceivable that no. B 5, too, originally showed the eyebrows drawn closer together, and a more specific facial expression.

Although because of the copper support with a gold-leaf ground no. B 5 can almost certainly be situated in Rembrandt's immediate circle, the difficulty of comparing it with other works from his hand (due to some extent to its condition) prevents us from arriving at any definite conclusion as to its authenticity.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Coll. [Elias van der Hoeven], sale Rotterdam 20 July 1768 (Lugt 1700), no. 26 of the appendix: 'Een fraay Kopje, door Rembrand van Ryn, zynde zyn eyge Pourtrait' (A fine little head by Rembrand van Ryn, being his own portrait) (35 guilders to J. van der Marck; cf. Hoet-Terw. p. 664, no. 28).
– J. van der Marck Ezn. sale, Amsterdam 25ff. August 1773 (Lugt 2189), no. 446: 'Rembrand van Rhyn. Dezen Kunstheld heeft zich zelve in dit Stuk verbeeld, met een Mantel om en een Fluweele Mutz op 't Hoofd. Zeer kragtig geschilderd op Koper, h. $5\frac{3}{4}$, b. $4\frac{3}{4}$ duim (Rhineland feet) [= 15 × 12.3 cm]' (Rembrand van Rhyn. This hero of Art has portrayed himself in this work, wearing a cloak and velvet cap. Very vigorously painted on copper) (50 guilders to Fouquet).
– Coll. Count Duchatel, Paris[2].
– Coll. Countess Henri Delaborde, Paris (1915)[3].
– Coll. F. Lugt, The Hague, later Maartensdijk.
– Private coll., Vienna; bought by the museum after the Rembrandt exhibition in Stockholm, 1956.

9. Summary

The condition of the painting makes it difficult to form a judgment. The areas that can still be assessed to any real extent reveal a sensitive manner of painting and accurate observation, and although the handling of paint bears no direct resemblance to that of comparable, accepted works the difference is not so great that it could not be reconciled with Rembrandt's work. If one takes his etchings into account as well, there is indeed a certain similarity. The nature of the support may provide part of the reason for the different manner of painting, while the condition may perhaps be to blame for the impression of hesitancy the painting now makes on us. No definite conclusion can be reached as to an attribution to Rembrandt.

REFERENCES

1 W. Froentjes, 'Schilderde Rembrandt op goud', *O.H.* 84 (1969), pp. 233–237, esp. p. 234.
2 HdG 570.
3 A. Bredius, 'Trois tableaux de Rembrandt peu connus', *G. d. B.-A.* 5th series 3, 63 (1921), pp. 213–218.

B 6 Bust of a laughing man in a gorget

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJK KABINET VAN SCHILDERIJEN, MAURITSHUIS, CAT. NO. 598

HDG 543; BR. 134; BAUCH 113; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved painting that for a number of reasons – primarily that of being on copper with a gold-leaf ground that has not so far been found outside Rembrandt's circle – cannot despite the unusual handling of paint be rejected with certainty as not being original. If it were authentic, a dating around 1627/28 would be the most likely.

2. Description of subject

The body is turned three-quarters left, and the head a little to the right, raised and slightly tilted. The sitter, with half-length hair, a drooping moustache and a small beard, looks at the observer. He wears a gorget over a brown doublet the collar of which protrudes above the gorget. The light falls from the upper left, and the background is dark.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 25 October 1973 (S. H. L., P. v. Th.) by excellent artificial light and with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp. Four electron emission radiographs available (by Mauritshuis, The Hague).

Support

DESCRIPTION: Copper, 15.4 × 12.2 cm. Mounted on a wooden frame with a cradle.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Study by W. Froentjes[1] shows the support to consist of copper about 0.1 cm thick.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light metallic colour is visible in the scratchmarks in the moustache and chin, in the white of the eye on the righthand side of the eye on the left, in the continuation of the bridge of the nose above and to the right of the lefthand eyebrow, in the hair above the ear on the left, in thin parts of the gorget and at lower left in the background.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes ([2], pp. 49, 114) supply the following technical information: 'The ground applied to the copper plate consists of a thin layer of greyish white, which has clearly turned green, owing to contamination by the copper. The ground consists of white lead mixed with a small quantity of chalk. Over the entire surface of this ground, an extremely thin layer of metallic gold, in the form of gold leaf, has been applied.'

Obviously the whitish paint layer served mainly as an adhesive.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Reasonably good, apart from some paint losses above the man's left eye, in the forehead above his right eye, on the wing of the nose and on the left at the tip of the nose. Occasional local retouching in the hair on the right, on the shadow side of the head and in the background. Craquelure: not observed. The microscope examination by Froentjes showed some minor, fine craquelure in the light areas, with wider cracking only in the dark areas of brown.

DESCRIPTION: In the light, the head is built up with broad touches and dabs of the brush running in all directions and differing widely in colour and tonal value. In the main, ochre-coloured flesh tints have been used together with a little brown, as well as some pink and red for the narrower brushstrokes. Because of the wide differences in tonal value many of the brushstrokes stand in isolation, especially on the nose, below the eye on the left and on the cheekbone on the left. The strokes often overlap each other, though there is no systematic building up of the paint layer. Some of the brushwork contributes to the modelling of the head, but elsewhere it bears hardly any relation to it; indeed, some brushstrokes are placed in such a way that they seem to conflict with the modelling. In the lit part of the forehead there appears to be a black underlayer showing through the flesh colour, though the black might also be incorporated within the paint.

The sitter's right eye is drawn sketchily with several licks of paint that give a rough indication of shape. The nostrils are indicated perfunctorily, with small strokes of black set in the brown brushstrokes of the nose shadow; the nostril on the right, in particular, is in entirely the wrong place.

The moustache, done with coarse strokes of a thick brown and a little carmine red, has deep and quite wide scratchmarks to show the hairs. On the left the curl of the moustache is placed on top of the flesh colour of the cheek. The thickly-painted grey-white teeth stand amid the thick black of the mouth opening, while the lower lip consists of fairly broad, disconnected strokes of pink. Deep scratchmarks are also seen in the dark brown splashes of paint indicating a beard in the area of the chin. The roughly-delineated ear on the left is painted with a multiplicity of touches in a variety of colours, using ruddy flesh tints with a patch of carmine red in the shadow below the lobe. The neck area below the ear is executed with broad touches of a muddy brown.

The side of the head in shadow is painted in a similar way to the illuminated side but in dark browns, and makes a rather murky impression, while damages in this area give it a patchy appearance.

The hair is painted in a very dark brown, with mainly curved brushstrokes for the curls though without much effect of plasticity.

The edge of the collar is shown with a few strokes of fairly light brown paint. The gorget is done thinly in parts in a dark brown, with the gold ground showing through; in the shadows the paint is relatively thick. The large reflection of light and small catchlights on the rivet-heads are rather coarsely applied with a thick white.

The doublet is painted in a flat brown which merges into a black at the right.

Above the shoulders the background is applied in an opaque grey that to some extent follows the direction of the outlines. Further up there is a thinly-brushed dark grey in parallel strokes; the gold ground shows through this. At the top, the paint of the background once more becomes opaque, and still darker.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[2] supply the following information: 'The white in the painting is white lead, mixed in the flesh tones with yellow and red ochres and a little red lake pigment. Besides the red ochre and a red lake, a little vermilion has been used as a red paint, an example being the earlobe, where it has been glazed over with a red lake pigment. A thin streak of blue pigment was detected in the outside edge of the right ear, consisting of small particles of a deep blue – probably azurite. The brownish-red colours, ranging to brownish-black, are composed of ochres, umber and (bone) black, while Cologne earth was found in the more transparent brown areas (edges). In general, the pigments are of a comparatively fine grain, although in various places coarse pigments have been used.'

Fig. 1. Copper 15.4 × 12.2 cm (1 : 1)

X-Rays

The electron emission radiograph published by De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes (op. cit.[2] p. 50 fig. 9, and more generally in respect of its interpretation on p. 206) yields no significant information, mainly due to the fact that 'the electrons emitted come chiefly from the uppermost layer of paint'.

Signature

Fragments of the signature described in the 1864 sales catalogue (see *8. Provenance* below) as *Rt* and which should be located at the upper left can be made out, given a little goodwill. It is impossible to judge its authenticity.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

In the head and gorget the handling of paint shows a remarkable degree of freedom, and is even slipshod in its approach to the plasticity of the forms portrayed; in the dress and background it is flat and devoid of any plasticity or three-dimensional effect. The colour and lighting present an equally unfamiliar picture. Looked at by itself, no. B 6 does not seem a very likely candidate for an attribution to Rembrandt. Notes made by Hofstede de Groot (RKD, The Hague) tell us that he saw this painting in the Kleinberger gallery in Paris around 1893, and because of the etching by van Vliet (mentioned below under *6. Graphic reproductions*) was so convinced of its authenticity that he succeeded in persuading Bredius, the director of the Mauritshuis, to purchase the work in spite of the latter's initial hesitancy. It was generally accepted as an authentic work until Gerson[3] rejected it on the grounds of quality. There are however points to be considered that justify at least some reservation about rejecting the work.

In the first place, there is the etching by J. G. van Vliet described under *6. Graphic reproductions* below,

Fig. 2. Etching by J. G. van Vliet (reproduced in reverse)

which gives Rembrandt as the inventor (fig. 2). This etching reproduces the picture in reverse, the principal discrepancies being a considerably broader framework with slightly more of the body shown at the bottom, a background that is for the most part left empty with a hint of a cast shadow on the shadow side of the figure, an almost round edge to the area of hair produced in part by fine, curling lines that penetrate into the empty background, and the transforming of roughly-indicated forms (especially in the face) into forms modelled precisely with fine, small lines. Every one of these features is typical of the way van Vliet reproduced inventions by Rembrandt in five interrelated etchings done in 1634 (see Introduction, Chapter III, p. 43 ff). If one takes these features into account, then the similarity between no. B 6 and the corresponding etching is particularly close. For example, the dot of light paint on the centre of the ridge of the nose reappears in the print as a carefully modelled and anatomically abnormal bump, while the patch of shadow above the bridge of the nose is reproduced as a dark patch (positioned a little differently) that suggests an indentation in that part of the face. Only one or two details appear altered in the etching: the hair alongside and beneath the ear in the light projects outwards less, the neck is darker in tone, the collar is shown as standing up whereas the broad brushwork in the painting can be read rather as a collar lying flat, and the highlight on the gorget is narrower. These differences are however of too slight a significance to warrant doubt as to the direct relationship between the etching and no. B 6; yet this is not to say that van Vliet's inscription *RHL* (in monogram) *jnventor* can be taken as proof of no. B 6 being autograph (on this point, see the Introduction, Chapter III, pp. 44 ff and 50–51).

A second point to consider is the support, ground layer and format. The fact is that two works by Rembrandt or from his immediate circle – the Salzburg *Old woman at prayer* (no. A 27) and the Stockholm *Self-portrait* (no. B 5) – were painted on copper plates of the same dimensions and, above all, also on a gold-leaf ground. The latter feature is, so far as we can tell to date, extremely rare. This forms strong evidence that no. B 6 was most probably produced in Rembrandt's immediate circle or is even from his own hand.

The use of paint, which at first sight seems puzzling, must be looked at in this light. Does Rembrandt's early work offer any analogy for so coarse a manner of painting and so rough an indication of form? Among the paintings, only the Basle *David before Saul* of 1627 (no. A 9) lends itself at all well to a comparison. In that painting there are, alongside areas given finer articulation with a pointed brush, forms such as the figure of David that are depicted with broad licks of paint (albeit in a quite different range of colours), and which do indeed show kinship with the brushwork in no. B 6; in the repoussoir figure standing on the right (who with his drooping moustache in fact reminds one of the model for no. B 6) the gorget with its summarily shown catchlights on the rivet-heads is remarkably similar. The assumption that the Basle painting was a modello for a larger work provides, in that instance, a specific explanation of the far looser treatment which is unusual among Rembrandt's other early paintings. It is more difficult to find an explanation of this kind for no. B 6. Because of this, and because compared to no. A 9 the painting is less attractive in its colouring and has certain areas of deadness, one still hesitates to recognize the same hand in both works. Nevertheless, allowance must be made for the possibility that the young Rembrandt did occasionally adopt a coarser manner of painting. The etched oeuvre – cf. in particular the *Self-portrait* dated 1629 ('done with the double needle') (B. 338) – points in this direction. Yet there are some paintings, too, that have parts where the handling of paint shows a large measure of wilful independence vis-à-vis the plastic form; one thinks in particular of the area round the neck and ear in the

Amsterdam *Self-portrait* (no. A 14), which probably dates from 1628. If one were to accept no. B 6 as authentic, a dating close to that of this self-portrait and of the Basle *David before Saul* of 1627 would seem the natural choice.

Interpretations of the picture as being of Rembrandt[4] or of his brother Adriaen[5] must be regarded as unfounded.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

1. Etching by J. G. van Vliet (B. II 21) in reverse, signed *JG* (in monogram) *v. vliet fec.* and *RHL* (in monogram) *jnventor* (fig. 2). Copied in, among others, an engraving by François Langlois alias Ciartres (Chartres 1589 – Paris 1647) inscribed *HR* (in monogram) *Rembrant Inventor – F. L. D. Ciartres excud.* and entitled *Democritus*. Also in an etching by Wenzel Hollar (Prague 1607 – London 1677), together with a copy of van Vliet's *Man grieving* (after the Judas figure from no. A 15), as Democritus and Heraclitus (illus. in S. Slive, *Rembrandt and his critics*, The Hague 1953, fig. 15, and A. Blankert, 'Heraclitus en Democritus', *N.K.J.* 18 (1967), p. 113, fig. 44).

7. Copies

1. Panel, 24 × 20 cm. Mentioned by Hofstede de Groot (HdG 543) in 1915 as being in the collection of Baron Herzog, Budapest. Known to us only from a photograph in the RKD (neg. no. L 50782). The original panel (*c.* 16.5 × 14 cm) framing the head in roughly the same way as no. B 6 has had sections added on all four sides, the largest at the bottom. So far as the photograph allows a judgment, the manner of painting is not very close to that of no. B 6, and is of mediocre quality.

8. Provenance[4]

*– Possibly identical with 'Een laggende tronie van Reynbrant' mentioned in the inventory of the estate of the notary van der Ceel, Delft, in 1652 (A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* V, The Hague 1918, p. 1760).
– Sale Cornelia Schellinger, widow of Pieter Steyn, and others, The Hague 7/8 October 1783 (Lugt 3615), no. 72: 'Een fraay Krygsmans kopje, door denzelven (Rembrant); op Koper, hoog 6, breet 5 duim [= 15.7 × 13 cm]' (measured in Rhineland feet) (A fine head of a soldier, by the same (Rembrant); on copper) (2 guilders 16 stuivers to A. van der Aa).
– Coll. Munnicks van Cleef (Utrecht), sale Paris 4/5 April 1864, no. 79: 'Rembrandt van Ryn. Portrait d'homme (Rembrandt lui-même?). La tête de face et souriante, la bouche ouverte; le corps de trois quarts à gauche; hausse-col en acier, casaque brune. Fond neutre. A gauche, en haut, le monogramme Rt. Sur cuivre parqueté H. 0,22, L. 0,19 [m]' (2000 francs).
– Coll. Ch. de Boissière, sale Paris 19 February 1883, no. 40: 'Attribué à Rembrandt van Ryn. Tête de soudard, c[uivre] 21 × 17 cm' (370 francs).
The dimensions quoted in the two last-named sales lead one to suspect that the painting had been enlarged with sections that have since been removed.
– Coll. Langlois, Paris.
– Dealer F. Kleinberger, Paris; bought by the Mauritshuis in 1895.

9. Summary

The somewhat coarse manner of painting in no. B 6, which is slipshod with regard to the form it depicts, would not have suggested to anyone the notion of an attribution to Rembrandt had the relatively closely matching etching by van Vliet not mentioned Rembrandt as the inventor. It is obvious that in 1634 no. B 6 was regarded as a Rembrandt invention. The painting furthermore presents, in respect of dimensions and the material of the support and the (so far as is known quite uncommon) ground, the same features as two other works from Rembrandt's hand or from his immediate entourage. This fact practically rules out the likelihood of no. B 6 being a later copy produced outside his circle. The question of whether it is thus an autograph work is impossible to answer with any certainty. On the one hand this is not inconceivable, on the grounds of a comparable use of paint in a few other early works (in particular no. A 9 from 1627), while on the other the in some ways disappointing quality of the work stands in the way of an unreserved positive opinion.

If no. B 6 were an autograph work, a dating around 1627/28 would be the most probable.

REFERENCES

1 W. Froentjes, 'Schilderde Rembrandt op goud', *O.H.* 84 (1969), pp. 233–237.
2 De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes, pp. 49–51, 214–215.
3 Br.-Gerson 134.
4 HdG 543; *Musée Royal de Tableaux Mauritshuis à La Haye. Catalogue raisonné* . . ., 1935, p. 285.
5 Bauch 1960, p. 168, p. 258 no. 98.

B 7 Bust of an old man in a cap (commonly called Rembrandt's father)

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJK KABINET VAN SCHILDERIJEN, MAURITSHUIS, CAT. NO. 565

HDG 676; BR. 77; BAUCH 116; GERSON 36

1. Summarized opinion

A fairly well preserved work, which is linked in several respects with Rembrandt's Leiden works around 1630, yet presents stylistic features that prevent the authors from pronouncing judgment on its authenticity.

2. Description of subject

Bust with the body turned three-quarters left, the head facing a little to the right and tilted slightly to the left. The light falls from the left.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 23 October 1973 (J.B., E.v.d.W.) in good artificial light and in the frame, with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp and of two X-ray films by the museum together covering the whole painting.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 46.9(± 0.1) × 38.8(± 0.2) cm. Single plank. The right side is somewhat crumbly at the top, due to woodworm damage. Back bevelled remarkably regularly along the top, bottom and lefthand edges over *c.* 5-6 cm, to a thickness of 0.6 cm. The righthand side has similar regular bevelling, but only over about 1.5 cm and to a thickness of *c.* 1.25 cm, and the ridges of the bevelling terminate not in the corner but (at the top) lower down and (at the bottom) higher up the side. The panel has obviously at some time been made a good 3.5 cm narrower at the righthand side, perhaps because of the woodworm damage in the sapwood at that point. Because of this, dendrochronological measurement cannot provide a straightforward dating for the panel.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): top edge shows 216 annual rings heartwood, bottom edge 215 annual rings heartwood. Mean curve 217 annual rings heartwood, datable as 1353-1569. Growing area: Northern Netherlands[1]. On the basis of these figures, the earliest possible felling date would theoretically be 1584. Since the panel has been reduced on the right (i.e. the sapwood side) the felling date should be put later. This is confirmed by the fact that the wood has been found to come from the same tree as the panels of the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* (no. A 12) and the Berlin *Minerva* (no. A 38). The felling date of the tree has been established as 1613 ± 5; given the considerable age of the tree a felling date after 1613 is more likely. Growing area Northern Netherlands.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Long brushmarks are visible here and there through the thin paint layer (e.g. by the ear on the left) that might be connected with the ground. It is not however possible to determine the colour beyond doubt; this is in part made difficult by the confusing image of layers of colour overlying one another in various areas.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[2] the ground layer contains chalk. In the upper background, near the upper edge and near the cap, a thin layer containing brown ochre, umber and white lead was found, which they tentatively identified as the 'imprimatura' and which they presume to be identical with the paint layer that shows up light in the X-rays in dark areas of the painting. Kühn[3] reports (on a sample taken from the edge) a thickness of *c.* 0.02 cm.; he describes the ground as being yellowish-white, and comprising chalk and some ochre with a glue medium.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Reasonably good. A fairly large number of local retouches can be seen under the ultraviolet lamp; these cover thin patches and are seen here and there in the background and clothing (especially at the lower left), in the cap and in the temple, cheek area, the bridge of the nose and below the nose. At the top right they coincide with small white dots seen in the X-ray; short lines terminate in these, and they are evidently filled wormholes. Craquelure: only a few small fissures are seen in the background on the right, probably resulting from the yellow-brown paint being placed on top of the grey before the latter was completely dry.

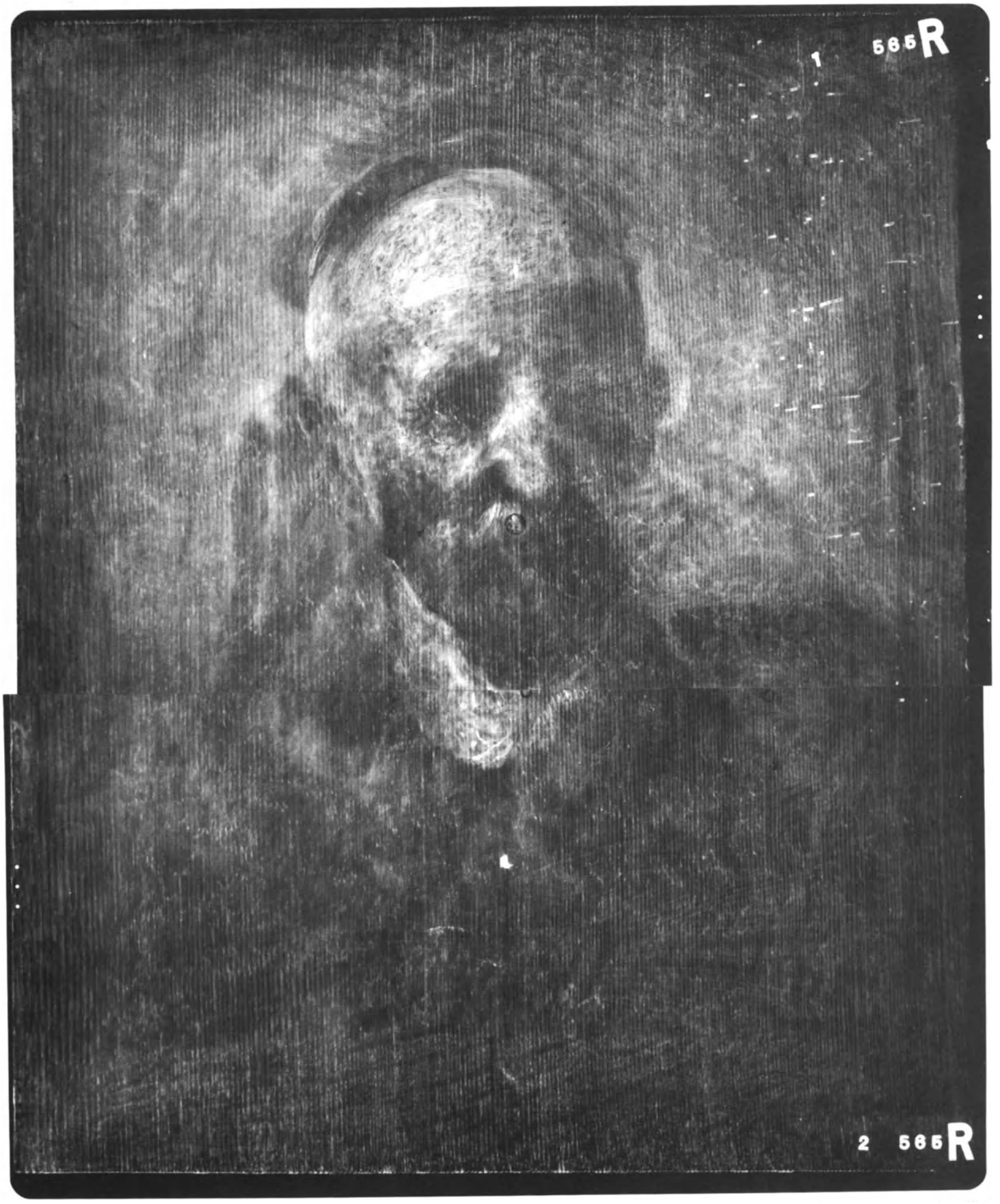
DESCRIPTION: In the more thickly painted areas the brushstroke is in general clear and quite broad, though it gives little suggestion of form; accessory details are painted with a vaguer and rather splotchy brushwork.

The background is painted in a green-tinged yellow-brown that is somewhat thicker around the head but elsewhere is thin, with the brushstrokes – rather lacking in coherence – mostly clearly discernible. A dark, greyish colour can be seen through this brushwork, especially at the top where the paint is thinner. Along the lefthand side and top of the cap the paint also covers over a taller part of the cap, laid-in in a darker colour. Here the top paint layer of the cap overlies the paint of the background, whereas on the right it is the background that partly masks the cap. Along the lefthand side of the painting the background merges downwards into a thin, darker grey in which no brushmarks can be seen though there is a light paint layer showing through. In this area the contour of the body is shapeless, and done in a vague dark grey. Along the righthand outline, from just above the ear downwards, runs a zone of grey (in part quite wide), over which are placed on the one side the brushstrokes representing the fur and on the other the yellow-brown paint of the background.

The head in the light is painted in a remarkably yellowish flesh colour, using quite thick strokes that follow somewhat confusedly the shape of wrinkles and eye-pouch; some of these can also be traced running obliquely upwards in the paint of the cap. A dark layer evidently underlying this can be glimpsed in thin places in the temple and, more strongly still, in the thin and patchy area of the cheek. A similar colour is exposed in the blotchy, greenish dark grey shadow of the eye-socket. The line of the upper eyelid has been strengthened with a little black. To the left of the point where the inner corner of the eye ought to be there are two bright red patches, set in a flat green-grey that constitutes both the white of the eye and part of the iris. The latter consists, otherwise, of an unsharp patch of black, with alongside and beneath it some more bright red with a shapeless white highlight on the lower edge. A stroke of light pink is placed on the left of the eye-pouch. The ear is painted with bold and mainly long strokes of a yellowish and brown-yellow flesh colour, with pinkish red along the edge of the ear and a small stroke of blue-grey. A similar combination of brown-yellow, blue-grey and pinkish red is found along the side of the cheek. Above and on the wing of the nose there is a little pink mixed into the flesh colour. The wing of the nose is bounded abruptly at the bottom by a stroke of grey with a touch of black for the nostril; the yellow-brown cast shadow has been retouched a little. The hairs of the moustache seen in the light are, like the beard on the centre of the chin, indicated with tiny strokes of grey, white and yellow and, on the extreme left, a touch of blue-grey. On the right this area merges, via a brown, into a dark

Fig. 1. Panel 46.9 × 38.8 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray



grey and grey-brown with a few lighter brushstrokes. The mouth is indicated with an unsharp line of brown.

The half of the face in shadow is painted in an opaque grey-brown, of a less or more greyish tone. The man's left eye is shown vaguely within this area, with a strong dark brown accent in the lefthand end of the line of the eye-socket and a few strokes of a lighter brown.

The cap is painted in dark grey, through which can be glimpsed the light tone of a continuation of the forehead – leading, especially on the left, to a number of retouches – and in a lighter grey along the bottom edge and on the reflections of light.

The shirt is executed with unorganized strokes of dirty white with thick edges of light; the fur in the light is done with broad strokes of yellow-brown with fleck-like highlights on the left and bright yellow dabs on the right, while in the shadow it is a patchy brown-grey with a cast shadow in black. The overgarment is painted thinly and dark on the left, while on the right it is in an umber brown with scuffed brushmarks showing the sheen of light.

The most obviously-apparent of the presumed pentimenti are two changes made in the cap; the upper outline seems to have described a wider arc, and the edge against the forehead appears to have been placed considerably higher. Explanations have still to be found for the dark layer beneath certain skin areas (perhaps a local underpainting?), the dark layer under large parts of the background (especially in the upper half), and the light layer beneath the darker part of the background at the bottom left (a light ground?).

SCIENTIFIC DATA: De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[2] detected a dark, brownish-grey underpainting under the paint of the face and the collar. In this layer bone-black, white lead and umber were found. In the yellowish white of the forehead white lead and yellow ochre were found, covered in places with a very thin red lake glazing. A mixture of yellow ochre and white lead was also found in the yellow of the collar. The red of the ear consists of a mixture of red ochre with vermilion. A similar mixture, with the addition of a red lake pigment, also seems to be present in the red of the right eye. In the background yellow and red ochres with grains of azurite and carbon black were found, mixed with varying amounts of white lead. The blue greys in the face consist of white lead mixed with blue grains of azurite. According to the same authors, the silver and copper found as impurities in the white lead (for example from the collar) are characteristic of old white lead.

X-Rays

In the distribution of light and description of shape, the radiographic image differs quite substantially from what one might expect from the paint surface. Some but not all of the discrepancies can be reasonably well explained by what has just been said above.

The background, particularly in its upper half, shows up lightish but rather patchy. The wider upper outline of the cap noted in the paint surface is discernible as a reserve, as is the continuation upwards of the forehead above a lighter zone coinciding with the lighter area of the presentday cap. The X-ray thus confirms, in this respect, the assumed pentimenti. (It is not correct to say, as do the 1935 catalogue[4] and Gerson[5], that the cap in its entirety is an addition.) The reflections of light at the left and top of the present cap also give a clear image.

One cannot however assume that the quite light appearance of the background is wholly or mainly due to the yellow-brown paint now forming its upper layer. This is shown most clearly by the fact that the strongest concentrations of white in the X-ray (e.g. those on the right along the outline of the ear and temple) do not correspond to the agglomerations of paint of this colour seen at the surface; there is no trace at all in the paint surface of the wide, vertical, dark smear-like bands seen to the left of the head in the X-ray (the significance of which is unclear). The obvious assumption seems to be that what shows up light in the background is for the most part a grey layer of the kind one sees exposed in the contour of the fur collar on the right, and that this layer – perhaps initially intended as the final paint layer or (less probably) as an underpainting – is responsible for the dark colour that shows through elsewhere in the surface of the background. One would then have to assume that this fairly dark grey contains quite a large amount of white lead (or other radioabsorbent material).

The area around the shoulder on the right does lead one to a similar supposition. Here, the fur collar in the shadow, together with the shadowed cheek, forms a cloudy grey shape, whereas one would, from the dark paint at the surface, rather expect a dark area. This passage is bounded horizontally quite sharply at the bottom by a dark area; this boundary only approximately matches the present border between light and dark on the shoulder, and does not coincide at all with the present sloping shoulder outline. It is not impossible – taking account, among other things, of the composition of etching B. 304 in reverse (on this point see *4. Comments* below) – that this boundary is connected with an earlier position of the shoulder outline.

The dark layer noted in the lit skin area does not however appear light in the X-ray, as may be seen from the remarkably dark area in the right cheek.

Except for the jumble of white brushstrokes in the shirt, neither the contour nor the internal detail of the clothing are seen in the radiographic image.

Signature

None.

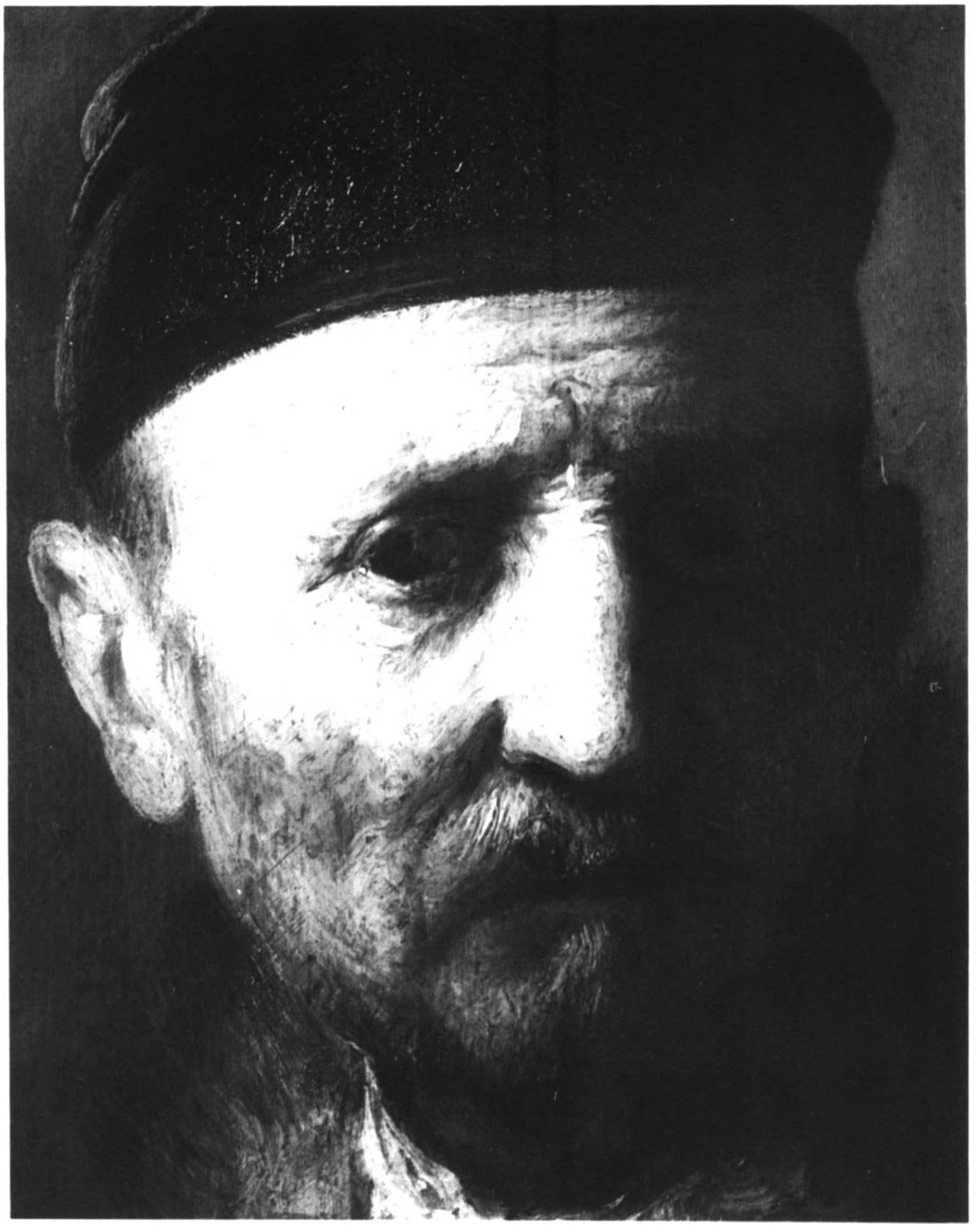
Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

Although never doubted as an authentic work by Rembrandt, the painting shows a number of characteristics that one has difficulty in reconciling with a picture of his style during the Leiden years. This is true of the brushwork, which is crude in the fur, the white shirt and even in the opaque shadow area of the head, and only moderately effective where it is more careful, as in the lit part of the face. The execution of the eye on the left, while not devoid of a certain virtuosity, is surprisingly sketchy, as is evident especially in the absence of a corner to the eye and the way the white of the eye runs into the iris; as a result, this eye exhibits a lack of formal clarity that must be termed most unusual for Rembrandt or any other Dutch painter from around 1630. Another reason for surprise is provided by the colour-scheme – the use of a relatively large amount of bright red in the lit eye, and of pinkish red and blue-grey in the ear and elsewhere, combined with a noticeably yellow flesh colour, a yellowish colour in the lighter part of the background and the fur, a cool grey in the cap and an umber brown in the clothing, does not en-

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)



courage an attribution to Rembrandt. A final jarring note is the handling of light; though the figure is in general lit from the left, there are in contradiction to Rembrandt's normal practice deep shadows on the left in the background and on the further shoulder.

Why, then, has the attribution to Rembrandt never been doubted? The subject of the painting,

usually described as the artist's father, does indeed show a strong resemblance to the model frequently depicted by Rembrandt (cf. particularly no. A 29 and a number of etchings) and commonly called his father. What is more, a number of features that are characteristic of the execution of no. B 7, particularly the use of red in the ear and the lit eye and of a cool grey in the area of the chin, are strikingly similar to what one finds in a figure – again the same model – in the Los Angeles *Raising of Lazarus* of *c.* 1630/31 (no. A 30), the old man leaning forward above Mary (cf. the enlarged colour reproduction published by B. Johnson in: *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin* 20 (1974), no. 2, p. 19). Even if one keeps in mind the difference in scale between the two figures, these similarities are remarkable and raise the question of whether no. B 7 may have been done by Rembrandt himself or at least by an artist in his immediate circle, in spite of the strangely coarse brushwork and the dull quality of the colour-scheme. It proves impossible – at least for the authors of this volume – to find an unequivocal answer to this question.

The strongest argument in favour of the idea that the painting was done either by Rembrandt or in his studio lies in the conclusions to be drawn from the dendrochronological examination of the panel. The wood used for it appears to come from the same tree as the panels used for the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* of *c.* 1627/28 (no. A 12) and the Berlin *Minerva* of *c.* 1631 (no. A 38), the latter painted over an earlier picture. There can be no reasonable doubt that all three panels were manufactured and traded in Leiden at about the same time and that at least two of them found their way to Rembrandt's workshop. When seen in this light, the similarities just noted between the manner of painting of no. B 7 and that of the *Raising of Lazarus* take on a new significance. Given the considerable stylistic differences that one finds between various 'tronies' that nevertheless appear all to have been produced by Rembrandt in the late 1620s, one may argue (and one of the authors actually holds this view) that this picture reveals yet another aspect of his style: a coarser manner than we tend to consider typical, and one that the artist may have used only once or twice, probably while he was working on the *Raising of Lazarus*. The fact, suggested by the X-ray, that the panel had been used earlier for a different picture (the subject of which cannot be established), does not in itself militate against this assumption; quite a few of Rembrandt's 'tronies' appear to have been painted over other pictures (cf. nos. A 8, A 20, A 32, A 33; cf. Introduction, Chapter II, pp. 32–33). It should be said, however, that in this case the re-use of a painted panel has resulted in effects that must be called unusual even if this procedure is taken into account, most so in the dark layer visible underneath the flesh colours in the head –, and in an equally atypical X-ray image that has so far defied any attempt at precise interpretation. If one assumes that Rembrandt himself executed the painting, then his etching of a *Man wearing a close cap* (B. 304; fig. 4), dated 1630 and usually thought to be largely based on it, may have been done simultaneously with the painting; the etching shows the man's cap pushed further up, more or less as it was originally in the painting and is still visible as a pentimento. This detail suggests in any case that the painting was completed only after the etching's first state.

As an alternative hypothesis, still based on the notion that Rembrandt himself owned the panel of no. B 7 together with the two related panels, one may speculate that the painting was done by a pupil in his Leiden workshop, possibly on a panel that Rembrandt had started working on and subsequently abandoned. This idea may seem more likely to those (including some of the authors) who think the execution of the painting incompatible with a manner of painting one can possibly see as Rembrandt's, even allowing for the considerable variation one finds in his pictures of this type. The question then arises of whether one can hold a follower responsible for a painting style that, though only moderately effective, is in a sense bolder than that of the master. The work of Gerard Dou, for instance, could prompt a negative answer to this question. Yet the work of at least one follower, the author of the Wilton House *Old woman reading* (no. C 19) and the Boston *Old man with his arms crossed* (no. C 20) shows a comparable – though not quite as marked – crudeness in the handling of paint and a similar use of colour, especially in the flesh areas. Though his work does not exhibit sufficient similarities to no. B 7 to warrant an attribution to the same hand, it may at least serve as a warning not to rule out the possibility of a pupil transforming Rembrandt's style in the manner peculiar to the painting under discussion. If this interpretation were correct, then the author could have based himself on Rembrandt's etching B. 304 in reverse – which in itself is not very likely – or it could perhaps be that both painting and etching were based on a common prototype, possibly a painting by Rembrandt.

Lastly, it could be maintained that the style and execution of no. B 7 differ from those of comparable paintings by Rembrandt and his immediate followers in so many respects – the conception of form and light as well as the brushwork – that the painting was not even done in his circle but is by a somewhat later imitator, who based himself not only on the

Fig. 4. Rembrandt, *Man wearing a close cap*, 1630, etching (B. 304; reproduced in reverse, 1 : 1)

etching B. 304 but also on a confused idea of Rembrandt's painting manner and possibly on the broad execution of later works from his hand. This hypothesis seems to have only a slight chance of being correct; the fact that the wood used for the panel comes from the same tree as two panels carrying perfectly authentic Rembrandt paintings would seem to preclude the possibility of this painting having been executed outside his circle and at a later date. Yet it should be borne in mind that, according to the X-ray, paint was applied to the panel before the present subject was painted; it is just imaginable that a possibly uncompleted picture by Rembrandt, or from his studio was overpainted by a later hand with the intention of giving it a more pronounced Rembrandtesque character. It should be mentioned, in this connexion, that the bevelling seen at the back of the panel is remarkably regular and therefore definitely unusual for the period around 1630. One has to assume in any case that the back surface was bevelled in this way only at a later date, though before the panel was reduced in size on the right-hand side (cf. 3. under *Support*). Could this have happened at the same time as the present painting was executed? And could the imitator who was responsible for the superimposed painting have arrived at a manner of painting which, in some respects at least, is so reminiscent of Rembrandt's *Raising of Lazarus*? One has to admit that thinking so would require a considerable stretch of the imagination. All in all, one cannot help feeling that an attribution to Rembrandt's circle or even to the artist himself and, in either case, a dating at *c.* 1630/31 are more likely than the idea of a more remote imitator.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance[4]

– Coll. Mrs. Harrisson, Sutton Place, near Seaford, Sussex until 1892.
– Bought by A. Bredius in 1892 through the Swedish painter Anders Zorn, Paris. Loan by A. Bredius to the Mauritshuis from 1892; bequeathed in 1946.

9. Summary

In style and execution no. B 7 exhibits a number of features that cause surprise when compared with similar works by Rembrandt. Neither the generally somewhat coarse and sketchy brushwork nor the dull colour scheme with scattered accents of bright red fits in easily with the picture of his style one gains from the various 'tronies' that can be attributed to him. An admittedly much smaller head in Rembrandt's *Raising of Lazarus* of *c.* 1630/31 (no. A 30) does, however, present some strikingly similarities, most of all in the use of colour, with no. B 7. The panel is, moreover, made of wood from the same tree as panels used for two authentic Rembrandt paintings from the late 1620s and early 1630s (nos. A 12 and A 38); it must be assumed, therefore, that the panel used for no. B 7 was in Leiden and most probably in Rembrandt's possession around 1630. From this fact, plus the similarities to the *Raising of Lazarus* already mentioned, one may tentatively conclude that no. B 7 reveals an aspect of either Rembrandt's manner of painting around 1630/31 or of a painting style practised by a pupil in his studio. A third possibility, that a later imitator was responsible for the picture, has little to recommend it.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, pp. 490–491.
2 De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes, pp. 57–59, 214–215.
3 Kühn, p. 194.
4 *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux et sculptures*, The Hague 1935, pp. 282–283, esp. p. 283.
5 Gerson 36; Br.-Gerson 77.
6 Chr. White, 'Rembrandt's etching of "The bust of a man, full face" (B. 304)', *Miscellanea I. Q. van Regteren Altena*, Amsterdam 1969, pp. 143–144.

Paintings Rembrandt's authorship of which cannot be accepted

C 1 Samson betrayed by Delilah

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM, INV. NO. A 4096

HDG –; BR. –; BAUCH –; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved work that can with a high degree of probability be attributed to Jan Lievens, but that will fit into his work only if one dates it around 1627/28 and at all events prior to 1629 (i.e. earlier than Rembrandt's version of the same subject, no. A 24).

2. Description of subject

The scene is based on Judges 16 : 19. Delilah sits, presumably on a dais, in the foreground of a room, with her head seen in left profile. With her right forefinger to her lips she warns a Philistine approaching from the left to silence, while with her left hand she lifts the hair of Samson, who sits on the floor with his body turned to the right and his head in her lap; his bare right arm hangs down limply. The Philistine has one foot forward down a step, and draws back with his upper body tilted back and eyes open wide; he grasps a pair of shears in his right hand. At some distance behind him there is an open door through which one can see figures armed with spears. Behind Delilah are the curtains of a bed; in the right foreground are a metal jug and dish and an overturned wineglass lying on a napkin.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 22 March 1974 (S. H. L., P. v. Th.) in fairly good daylight and out of the frame, with the aid of an X-ray film (Rijksmuseum).

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 27.5 × 23.7 cm including a later addition along the splintered lefthand side; this added section is 0.7 cm wide at the bottom and runs to a point at the top. Thickness *c.* 1 cm. Back bevelled on all sides, very wide at the bottom, narrow and irregular on the left. A vertical crack down the centre does not run the full height of the panel.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): measured at top edge, 100 annual rings heartwood (+ 5 counted), datable at 1503–1602(1607). Growing area: Northern Netherlands. Earliest possible felling date 1622[1].

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light, yellow-brown ground is readily visible in cracks in the paint layer in the front leg of the Philistine and in the scratchmarks in the shadowed part of Delilah's hair; it also shows through at numerous points in areas of shadow and in the background.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: A strip of extensive paint loss is seen along the added section on the lefthand side of the panel, stretching from the bottom edge to just below the Philistine's hand; here, the paint of the floor and background (including the end of the floor and step) comes from a later restoration. The light areas are otherwise quite well preserved, apart from some paint loss which is generally insignificant but rather more extensive along the lower edge (near Samson's left foot and on the right below the still-life). In the shadowed parts there is a good deal of wearing which, especially between the bed-curtains, has been retouched. Craquelure: an extremely fine, regular net pattern is seen in the thickest areas of paint.

DESCRIPTION: The entire work has been executed in greys and browns together with some white, and has the character of a grisaille. The light parts are fairly thick, done sometimes with streaky brushstrokes and elsewhere with rapid, sketchlike touches, in some places thick and dablike, and with small and rather randomly-placed highlights.

The lit areas of flesh and clothing in Samson and Delilah are painted in a creamy white, mostly with long strokes that flow one into another and continue partly into the rather coarsely and sometimes indistinctly articulated hands and feet. The hem and lining of the animal skin (?) worn by Samson is done with thick and dabbing touches. A pattern of slightly darker bands is shown in Delilah's dress. Here and there the shadows show internal detail in a dark grey, and are worn. The hair of both figures is drawn with fine lines of white and dark grey; at Samson's neck and by his jawline, and at the back of Delilah's head, the hair is indicated with small, wavy scratchmarks.

The Philistine is executed in the illuminated areas with lively brushwork in a whitish brown with fine white highlights, against which the white and grey of his sash provide a cool contrast. The often abruptly-edged shadows are in translucent brown and grey, with here and there some internal detail in dark grey.

The background is done in a translucent brown-grey, with the pattern of the brushstrokes indicating an arch or vault. In the view through the doorway the spears are placed wet-in-wet in the opaque grey of the sky, while the figures are drawn in a somewhat more transparent grey. Some small dots in yellow and light green, and a patchy orange, are set on top of the opaque grey.

The curtain is painted with straight and angular brushstrokes in an opaque grey with a little white where the sheen of light is strongest, and with the shadows shown sharply in translucent paint.

The metal objects in the foreground are depicted in a thin dark grey with white, confused highlights and one or two spots of broken white; the glass, which is awkardly drawn, is in greys with a few highlights in a muddy white and a spot of ochre.

The slabs paving the floor are painted in an opaque creamy white (restored at bottom right and left), and the joints between them are indicated cursorily with brown lines.

One strange feature is small dots and lines of ochre colour in the skin areas of Delilah and tiny spots of green in the shadow parts of her sleeves and her left knee as well as on the glass and the Philistine's right thigh. Some of these flecks of colour correspond with paint losses apparent in the X-ray, and must thus be regarded as later retouches.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The radiographic image very largely matches what one would expect from the paint surface. The only major discrepancy is that the drapery – appearing as a strong white – continues beneath Samson's drooping arm. Delilah's dress shows not only very fine light lines but dark ones as well, which are probably scratched-in. The brushwork otherwise makes a fluent and confident appearance, as it does at the surface.

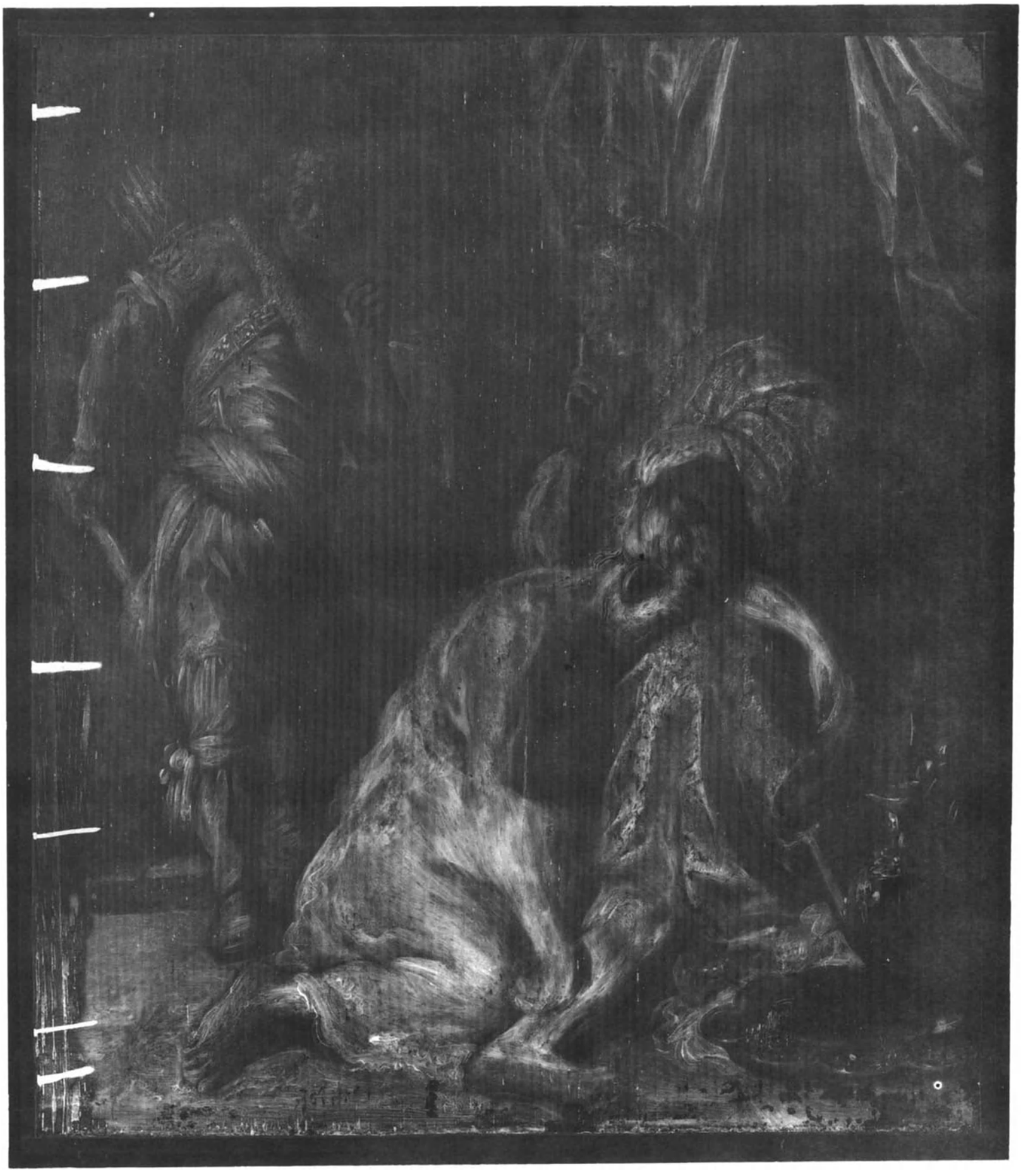
Paint losses are clearly apparent; they are occasional especially in the bottom righthand corner, and extensive along the lefthand side where a piece of wood has been added to the panel.

Signature

None.

Fig. 1. Panel 27.5 × 23.7 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray



Varnish
No special remarks.

4. Comments

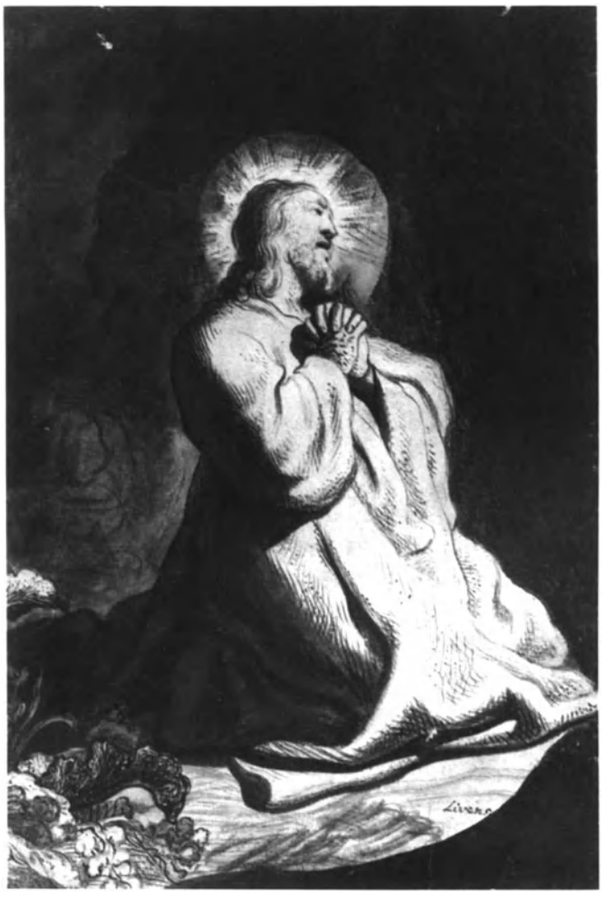
This little painting was published in 1956 as a Rembrandt from *c.* 1626[2]. As it is on the one hand related to Rembrandt's Berlin version of the subject (no. A 24) and on the other presents problems that demand specific discussion, we are including it here even though the attribution to Rembrandt has found scant support.

The idea of it being an autograph work done in preparation for the Berlin painting[3] must, indeed, be rejected. The rapid and generally rough way it is painted is totally out of keeping with Rembrandt's manner; even when – in certain parts of the Amsterdam *Musical allegory* of 1626 (no. A 7), for instance – he dispenses with detail, the touch is never this nonchalant and the highlights are never as arbitrary as they are here; the rendering of the still-life and of the floor, in particular, is quite superficial, though the fluent and assured painting of the figure of the Philistine has produced an entirely successful (but even then far from Rembrandtesque) result.

Besides the typical way paint is handled there are a number of other individual stylistic traits to be noted. The main group, under a strong side lighting, has a plastic form in which the sharply-edged areas of shadow create deep hollows. The standing figure is considerably smaller than the main group, which suggests that he is at some distance; furthermore he projects hardly at all above Delilah, which suggests a low viewpoint. Yet the perspective construction of the floor does not tie in with either of these deductions. Obviously the artist was not consistent in his treatment of perspective. One prototype used seems to be Jacob Matham's print after Rubens' painting in the Köser collection in Hamburg (Hollst. XI, no. 11; illus. in: M. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre de P. P. Rubens* I, Antwerp 1886, pl. 32; H. G. Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk, Neue Forschungen*, Brussels 1943, fig. 55; Kahr[4], fig. 19), from which the motif of the soldiers in an open doorway and Samson's limply hanging right arm have been taken. The figure of Delilah has been placed in profile, and she makes a gesture with her right forefinger that is frequently encountered in this situation (Kahr, op. cit., p. 259).

The question one has to ask is whether the features of conception and execution offer sufficient grounds for the attribution to Jan Lievens advocated by Sumowski[5] and Bauch[6], and if so how the painting relates to his oeuvre and to Rembrandt's painting (no. A 24). Both authors have worked from the assumption that no. C 1 was based on Rembrandt's painting, and Bauch[7] further put forward the view that no. C 1 was a sketch for Lievens' large canvas of the same subject with half-length figures, now in Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A 1627, cat. no. 1458; Schneider no. 13; see C 2 fig. 9). One would then have to conclude that the latter work dates from after 1628 (if one keeps to the date that appears on no. A 24) or even after 1629/30 (following our dating for no. A 24). From the little we know of Lievens' development, this is impossible; Lievens' style in 1629/30 is quite different (cf. Schneider no. 64) and the large Amsterdam canvas of *Samson and Delilah* must have been painted years before that (see entry no. C 2, under *4. Comments*). One cannot, indeed, see how no. C 1 could have served the artist as a sketch for a composition using large, half-length figures. Quite a different point is that the conception and execution do present points of contact with work by Lievens. The modelling of light areas using long, streaky brushstrokes is a constant feature of what we can look on as his early work (see no. C 2 under *4. Comments*), as is the impotence in achieving a logical three-dimensional construction, which in the early work is even more obvious and painful than it is in no. C 1. The liking for heads viewed simply in profile or frontally is also something we know of from early works, and the doorway with armed soldiers beyond is a motif that was used in precisely the same way in the *Pilate washing his hands* (Schneider-Ekkart no. S 351). Added to this there is the fact that no. C 1 comes very close in artistic approach to a group of works by Lievens that Bauch (before this painting was known) described most clearly (in: *Wallr.-Rich. Jahrb.* 11 (1939), pp. 256–258), without however venturing a dating. This group embraces a drawing of *Christ in Gethsemane* in Dresden ((fig. 3) Schneider no. Z 8; Bauch loc. cit.; van Gelder 1953, p. 283 (p. 11); Bauch 1960, p. 216); a drawing of *Moses praying during the battle against the Amalekites* in Leipzig (Bauch loc. cit., fig. 164; van Gelder 1953, fig. 13; Bauch 1960, fig. 177); a drawing of the *Foot operation* in Florence (illus. in entry no. C 11, fig. 5; Schneider-Ekkart no. SZ. 417); a drawing of a *Mounted trumpeter* in Amsterdam (Ben. 21a; Schneider-Ekkart no. SZ. 415); and the etching (monogrammed *RHL* with drypoint) of the *Beheading of John the Baptist* (fig. 4) that was earlier attributed to Rembrandt (B. 93; regarded by various authors as reworked by van Vliet; attributed to Lievens by Bauch, loc. cit., p. 256). In particular, this etching is so close to no. C 1 in the approach to depth, form and lighting that the attribution to a single hand cannot be doubted; yet it is precisely this etching that belongs to the Rembrandt apocrypha, which makes it less suitable as a document supporting an attribution to Lievens. An important piece of evidence is the inscription *Livens*

Fig. 3. J. Lievens, *Christ in Gethsemane*, pen and wash. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett



on the Dresden drawing, which is equally representative of the stylistic characteristics of the whole group, to which no. C 1 also belongs. The strong chiaroscuro contrasts suggest an effect of depth that finds little clarification in the three-dimensional construction; they accentuate the rather slack folds of the drapery and limp anatomical forms, that are comprehended more as a surface than as a structure; the dark shadows in cavities and along the shadowed sides of the bodies invariably describe similar patterns, and in both the drawing and the painting they have been given internal detail in exactly the same way. One notices, besides, a number of shared motifs: seemingly flat, folded-over fingers, a somewhat flattened and tilted profile to the heads, and roughly-rendered, rather futile still-lifes used to fill in corners of the composition. The group thus seems convincingly homogeneous. In the interpretation of form too it fits in well with Lievens' work from around 1625 (see no. C 2 under *4. Comments*), if one allows for the fact that in the earlier years compositions with half-length figures predominate, while here the figures are always full-length. It is possible, on the basis of what we believe we know about Lievens' development, to offer an approximate dating for the group – after 1625 and well before 1629, when Lievens' style had entered its final Leiden phase typified by considerable sensitivity to surface structure and by being noticeably closer to Rembrandt. One might make a further distinction in dating within this group; some works that are closer to the Leiden *Mucius Scaevola* drawing that dates from perhaps 1625 (Schneider-Ekkart no. SZ 412, fig. 54) can be placed roughly in 1626 (this would apply to the Amsterdam *Trumpeter* and the Leipzig *Moses*), and the remainder in around 1627/28. Our no. C 1 would come among the latter. It must be emphasized that a later dating for this painting could not be justified if it is looked at within the context of our understanding of Lievens' development.

This dating does however mean that the composition of no. C 1 is *not*, as has been assumed by all the authors who support the Lievens attribution, dependent on Rembrandt's painting in Berlin (no. A 24), which we place in 1629/30; on the contrary, it implies that Rembrandt based himself on Lievens' design. The notion that the Berlin painting might be an improved edition of a sketch by Lievens is contrary to current ideas on the relationship between the two artists, yet there is really only one, minor objection that can be offered to it: if one assumes that the Philistine has the facial features of Rembrandt[2], then he looks considerably older than must be considered possible in the years 1627/28. The argument is however as marginal as the identification of this head is no more than speculative; the pertinent arguments in favour of Lievens' work being earlier carry much more weight. The X-ray of no. A 24 shows, furthermore, that Rembrandt made various changes in his painting (see that entry under *3. Observations and technical information*); these indicate that he was not only radically changing the spatial and dramatic context vis-à-vis his prototype, but was also during the course of his work making changes that can be interpreted as getting further away from that model: in the posture of the Philistine (certainly in respect of his right arm, and perhaps also his left arm and right leg) and in the removal of the quiver (over his other shoulder). More subtle and in many respects more successful though Rembrandt's version may be, the relationship between the two painters is quite obviously more complex than has been thought up to now. For one thing, the coarsenesses and clumsinesses in no. C 1 cannot be looked on as 'the earmarks of a copy'[4]; what we are seeing is one stage in the tempestuous development of Lievens, aged about 20.

How much influence there was by Rembrandt in

Fig. 4. J. Lievens, *The beheading of John the Baptist*, etching

this stage of Lievens' development it is hard to say exactly; the strongly Utrecht character that marked his previous work has faded, and it does seem quite possible that the appreciation of chiaroscuro and its significance in producing a strong differentiation of plastic form was due to Rembrandt's work of 1626/27 (cf., for example, the Amsterdam *Tobit and Anna* of 1626, no. A 3 and the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627, no. A 11). And for another thing, Rembrandt was – if it is true that he used Lievens' composition some time later – not insensitive to the bold way dramatic action is here distributed in depth over several planes. One can imagine that at roughly the same time as Lievens was producing the *Samson and Delilah* Rembrandt was painting his sketch in Basle of *David before Saul* dated 1627 (no. A 9), in which the narrative is far more in the Lastman style, set out in a single, broad plane.

It is mainly the monochrome execution that makes it clear that no. C 1 must be seen as a sketch, and this is supported by the fact that in the inventory of Lievens' estate ten works are listed as 'sketches', including one described as 'A ditto of Samson' (see below under *5. Documents and sources*). Like Bauch[7], we think it probable that the sketch listed there is identical with no. C 1; at all events this is more probable than that the work should have been in the Stadholder's collection in 1632[5]. So it is a sketch; but for what? One knows of preparatory sketches for various of Lievens' etchings, but these were all done on paper. They include a detailed pen drawing in Dresden (Schneider no. Z 26, fig. 38) for the very early etching of *Mercury and Argus* (Hollst. XI, no. 18), a grisaille in oils dated 1630 in Leiden (Schneider-Ekkart no. 48, fig. 45) for the etching of *S. Jerome* (Hollst. XI, no. 15), and a drawing in red chalk in London (Schneider no. Z 11) for the etching of *The Hermit* (Hollst. XI, no. 17). No. C 1, as a sketch done on panel in browns and greys, thus stands to some extent in isolation. It calls to mind the monochrome sketches on panel that Rubens made around 1630 for use by engravers (cf., for example, J. Müller Hofstede in: *Pantheon* 28 (1970), p. 110) and that van Dyck produced presumably for the same purpose (cf. G. Martin, *The Flemish School*, National Gallery Catalogues, London 1970, p. 38). In Lievens' case this intention is less likely, bearing in mind his own activity as an etcher and the fact that he apparently did his preparatory designs for etchings on paper. C. Müller-Hofstede[8] has rightly pointed to a similar grisaille on panel by Lastman depicting *Abraham's sacrifice* (Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis; K. Freise, *Pieter Lastman*, Leipzig 1911, no. 10). Sketches like these may perhaps have served as a preparation for larger paintings; if so Rembrandt would, if our suspicions about the attribution and dating of no. C 1 are correct, have used this sketch by Lievens for its original intended purpose.

5. Documents and sources

Probably no. C 1 is referred to in the inventory of the estate of Jan Lievens, drawn up in Amsterdam on 3 July 1674 after his death on 4 June of that year (see: A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* I, The Hague 1915, p. 188): '[21] Een dito [een schets] van Sampson – *f* 4,—'.

It is far less probable that no. C 1 is identical with the painting in the collection of Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange described in 1632 as: 'Een stuxken schilderie daer Sampson het hayr werd affgesneden, door Jan Lievensz. tot Leyden gemaeckt' (A little painting in which Samson's hair is cut off, done by Jan Lievensz. in Leiden) (see. no. A 24 under *8. Provenance*); this was referred to in 1707–1719 as 'Samson en Dalila by Rembrandt' (ibid.).

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

For a larger and worked-up variant of the composition by Rembrandt see no. A 24.

8. Provenance

– Dealer Th. Agnew & Sons, London.
– Coll. Mrs. Derek Fitzgerald (London); sale London (Sotheby) 3 July 1963, no. 14.

9. Summary

Because of pictorial resemblances to paintings that can be regarded as the earliest output of Jan Lievens, and of stylistic similarities with a group of drawings and an etching that can be attributed to Lievens and dated around 1627/28, no. C 1 should also be attributed to Lievens and placed in this period. Bearing in mind Lievens' stylistic development a later dating is not possible, and the attribution consequently means that no. C 1 was painted before Rembrandt's painting of the same subject in Berlin (no. A 24). The monochrome execution marks it as a sketch, a number of which (including one of the same subject) are listed in the inventory of Lievens' estate.

REFERENCES

1 Cf. Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, pp. 491 and 494.
2 Catalogue of *Rembrandt* exhibition, Stockholm 1956, no. 3 (opinion of W. R. Valentiner).
3 J. G. van Gelder, 'Probleme der Frühzeit und Ueberblick über neue archivalische Funde', *Kunstchronik* 10 (1957), pp. 118–120, esp. 120.
4 M. Kahr, 'Rembrandt and Delilah', *Art Bull.* 55 (1973), pp. 240–259. esp. 258–259.
5 Sumowski 1957/58, p. 232.
6 Bauch 1960, pp. 214–216.
7 K. Bauch, 'Zum Werk des Jan Lievens', *Pantheon* 25 (1967), pp. 160–170, 259–269, esp. 166.
8 C. Müller-Hofstede, 'Die Rembrandt-Ausstellung in Stockholm', *Kunstchronik* 9 (1956), pp. 89–96, esp. 91.

C 2 Esther's feast

RALEIGH, N.C., THE NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART, INV. NO. 52.9.55

HDG –; BR. 631; BAUCH A 1; GERSON –

Fig. 1. Canvas 130.8 × 163.2 cm

1. Summarized opinion

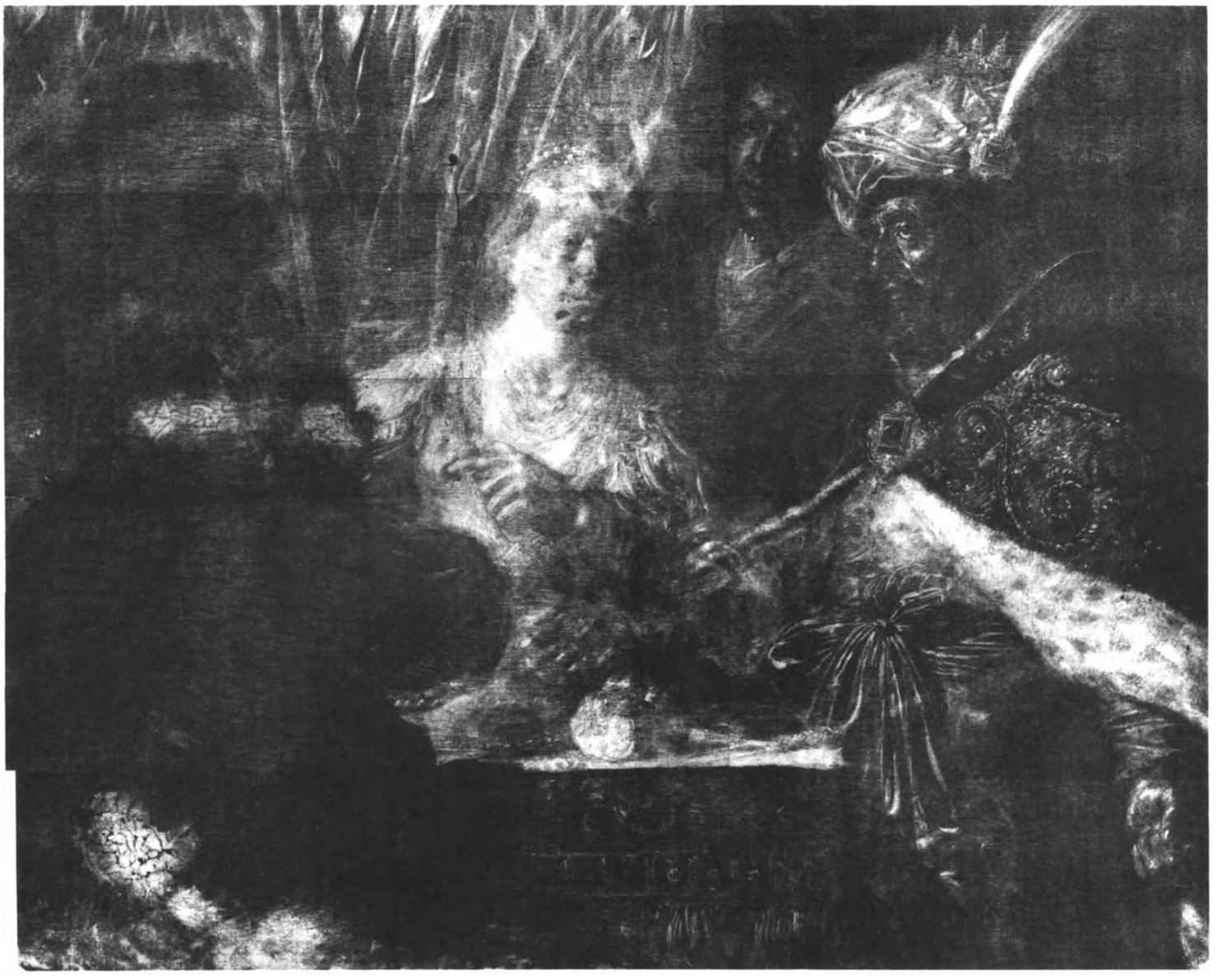
A generally well preserved work that must in all probability be attributed to the young Jan Lievens, and dated around 1625.

2. Description of subject

The scene is based on Esther 7: 1–7, which relates how Esther revealed to King Ahasuerus the designs of Haman to slay her and her people. The moment depicted is that just before the king 'in his wrath' gets up from the banquet and orders Haman to be hung.

Haman sits on the left in an armchair, his back to the viewer, in front of the laden banquet table, with his mouth open in fright and his right hand raised. His dark silhouette stands out against a curtain, which is white and lilac-pink on the left and carmine red and blue-grey on the right (cf. Esther 1: 6: 'Where were white, green and blue hangings. . .', though that text refers to a feast that took place earlier, and which Ahasuerus made for all the people of Shushan). This curtain becomes darker towards the right, and serves as a backdrop for the remaining, illuminated figures. Esther, seated behind the table, is pointing at Haman with her left hand as she leans over a little to the right towards the king. He is seated on the right, with both fists clenched, and glares at Haman. Between Esther and Ahasuerus there is the figure of a servant, which Bauch[1] identifies as the chamberlain Harbonah who is later to report that the gallows stand ready (Esther 7 : 9).

Fig. 2. X-ray



3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 28 April 1970 (J. B., S. H. L.) in good daylight and out of the frame, with the aid of a photograph taken during restoration and of 25 X-ray films together covering the whole painting. Examined again during the Leiden exhibition *Geschildert tot Leyden Anno 1626* (Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal) in 1976–1977 (E. v.d. W.), and 25 newly-made X-ray films received.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Canvas, lined, 130.8 (± 0.1) × 163.2 (± 0.1) cm (measurements of the original canvas, including an area with nail holes on the left only). Made up of two pieces, with a horizontal seam at *c.* 65 cm from lower edge. Cusping of the threads is apparent along the top and right- and lefthand sides.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Thread count: horizontal 13–15, vertical 14–15 threads/cm. The canvases in the chart published in *Röntgenonderzoek ... Utrecht*, p. 62, with this thread count mostly date from the second and third quarters of the 17th century.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A grey colour shows through to the left and along the bottom of Ahasuerus's turban, to some extent in his face, and more so in thin patches in the middle of the head of the servant. The same colour can be seen along various outlines, including that of the hand and face of Haman.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Stereomicroscope examination by the Central Research Laboratory, Amsterdam, showed the grey ground in places not covered with paint, e.g. along the hand of Haman.

In the curtain, to the left of Haman's head, the paint-layers were worn, and the grey ground could also be observed there. In the two spots mentioned above, samples were taken in order to discover the composition of the ground. Microscopic examination and microanalyses showed a mixture of a dark brown pigment, white lead, a little ochre and a very fine black pigment. The ground is very rich in medium, most probably oil (identified microscopically).

Paint layer

CONDITION: In general good, perhaps a little flattened. There is local paint loss and restorations, most severe along the lefthand edge with the nail-holes (which was evidently once turned-over); also seen in vertical damages to the left of Esther's head and in the top righthand corner, a horizontal damage across the upper part of Haman's back, and an area in the fringe of the chairback on the left; there are a few small retouches in Esther's face. In some flesh areas (Esther's hand and neck) the shadows show slight wearing. Craquelure: a varying pattern, coarse in the thicker whites with long, irregular cracks.

DESCRIPTION: The paint layer is generally opaque, with local use made of glazes (e.g. in the curtain and some of the jewels), and varies in thickness and treatment; sometimes it is brushed out thinly and broadly with bold touches of paint as an ornament or accent of light, or laid down thinly with thick highlights, while at others it is thickly applied and opaque. The handling of paint is marked in general by great directness and assuredness; the brushstroke is in most cases bold. The use of colour is typified by the contrast between a lilac red and light blue and yellow to yellow-brown, dark browns and light lake red, and by a copper-coloured sheen over the flesh tints of the two men on the right. The heaviest impasto is found in Ahasuerus's cloak, in various jewels and in the highlights on the king's hands and head.

The figure of Haman and his chair are painted mainly in opaque browns, his hair in grey-brown, his black-striped doublet in brown with a thin carmine red and with dark carmine in the deepest shadows and broad strokes of a strong, bright red where it catches the light. Around his head the curtain is laid-in in greys with broad strokes of grey-white on the sheen; on top of this a locally-applied lilac glaze leads into a carmine red background left of Esther's head, which in turn merges above her head and to the right into strokes of blue-grey.

These tints recur in deeper colours in the figures of Esther and Ahasuerus. Esther's gown is painted fluently in light blue, heightened in the light with white and with shadows in darker blue, with long, bold strokes along the slashing; small and quite thick ochre yellow strokes form the sequin ornamentation, while bolder thick strokes in pinkish red to carmine red are used for ribbons across her shoulders. Her pointing hand is done quite thickly in the light in a pink flesh tint, and modelled with thick highlights. Above the summarily drawn necklaces the flesh colour of the neck is heightened in the light with thick strokes of white broken with yellow; this occurs again even thicker in the higher lights in the face, which is also marked by a shrill pinkish red on the cheek and the strong cherry red of the lips.

The strongest red and pink are concentrated in Ahasuerus's sleeves and bodice; these are done with broad, free and often thick strokes of broken white with a little pink and, in the shadow, some carmine red, over which a pattern in bright red has been placed with bold, flat, curved brushstrokes. Contrasting with this there are lemon-yellow highlights on the sash, applied quite thickly; the sash, in a thin yellow-brown, is given shadows in dark grey and shows coloured bands in blue and red. Against this very plastic and colourful area the ermine hem and lining of the cloak are treated summarily with touches of white with spots of grey-black that sometimes blend wet-in-wet. The outside of the cloak is drawn boldly, brown on brown, in the shadows; in the light the gold embroidery has been placed as a lemon yellow hatching over a layer of warm brown. The head of Ahasuerus is strongly modelled with plainly apparent brushstrokes using reddish browns that occasionally barely cover, and is directly modelled. The strongest white is used for the thick white of the eye below a thin, brown-grey iris. Small, thick strokes of a matt orange-brown mark the glisten of light, while light yellow is used for the highest lights on the nose, cheek, forehead, around the eye and on the beard and moustache. On the fists, built-up in browns, the highlights are done with thick strokes and dabs of the same orange-brown and yellow colours. Similar tints recur in the crust of the loaf, deftly drawn in sometimes thick paint. The tablecloth is in flat greys, and Ahasuerus's turban is given form with bold strokes of white over light greys and a little matt orange-brown.

The treatment of the servant is more restrained: the head is in thin browns over the (occasionally visible) grey ground, slightly warmer and rather flat in the shadows, with quite wide brushstrokes in the lights in matt orange-brown, lightest and thickest in the white of the eye on the right. A red-brown is applied thinly on the cheek and, more strongly, in the lips. His doublet is done in a fairly flat blue with bands of dark grey, his cloak in broadly brushed dark rust-browns.

The forms are in general clearly built up towards the light from a quite dark mid-tone. One single pentimento can be discerned with the naked eye: a fold in the tablecloth standing out to the right shows through the sash worn by Ahasuerus. For other pentimenti, see under *X-Rays* below.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: A sample of the white underpainting was taken by the Central Research Laboratory, Amsterdam, on the edge of the table, and the X-ray diffraction pattern showed white-lead. Besides samples from ground and underpainting, one sample was taken from the blue area in the sash of Ahasuerus. In the cross-section the blue proved to be a rather fine dark blue mixed with white. The blue particles did not react with HCl and NaOH, but disappeared with strong HNO_3 and a brown precipitate was formed. These facts indicate that indigo was used. It was mixed with white lead.

X-Rays

In the righthand half of the picture the radiographic image very largely matches what one expects from the paint surface. The parts that show up light (apart from the traces of the ground engrained in the canvas) correspond in general very closely to the highlights applied at a late stage of the work.

One slight alteration can be detected in the ermine fur over Ahasuerus's right arm, seen in the X-ray to run further to the left; this was partly covered over at a late stage by a fold in the sleeve of his tunic. In the area above this arm and Esther's left upper arm, at the shadowed part of the servant's clothing, there is a patch that appears fairly light that may perhaps indicate a light underpainting similar to that also seen below the red sleeve and partly visible in the X-ray.

The still-life objects on the table show a number of changes. On the left, next to the present loaf which itself appears to lie partly on top of an underpainting showing up as light brushstrokes, there is in the pie a round, dark form (like that of a fruit).

The changes made in Esther's head seem to be more important. Not only do the light images of the areas of sheen on the curtain penetrate quite a long way into her headdress and hair, but her face and hair show in parts such a strong white, with darker spots at unexpected places, that one gets an impression

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 2)

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

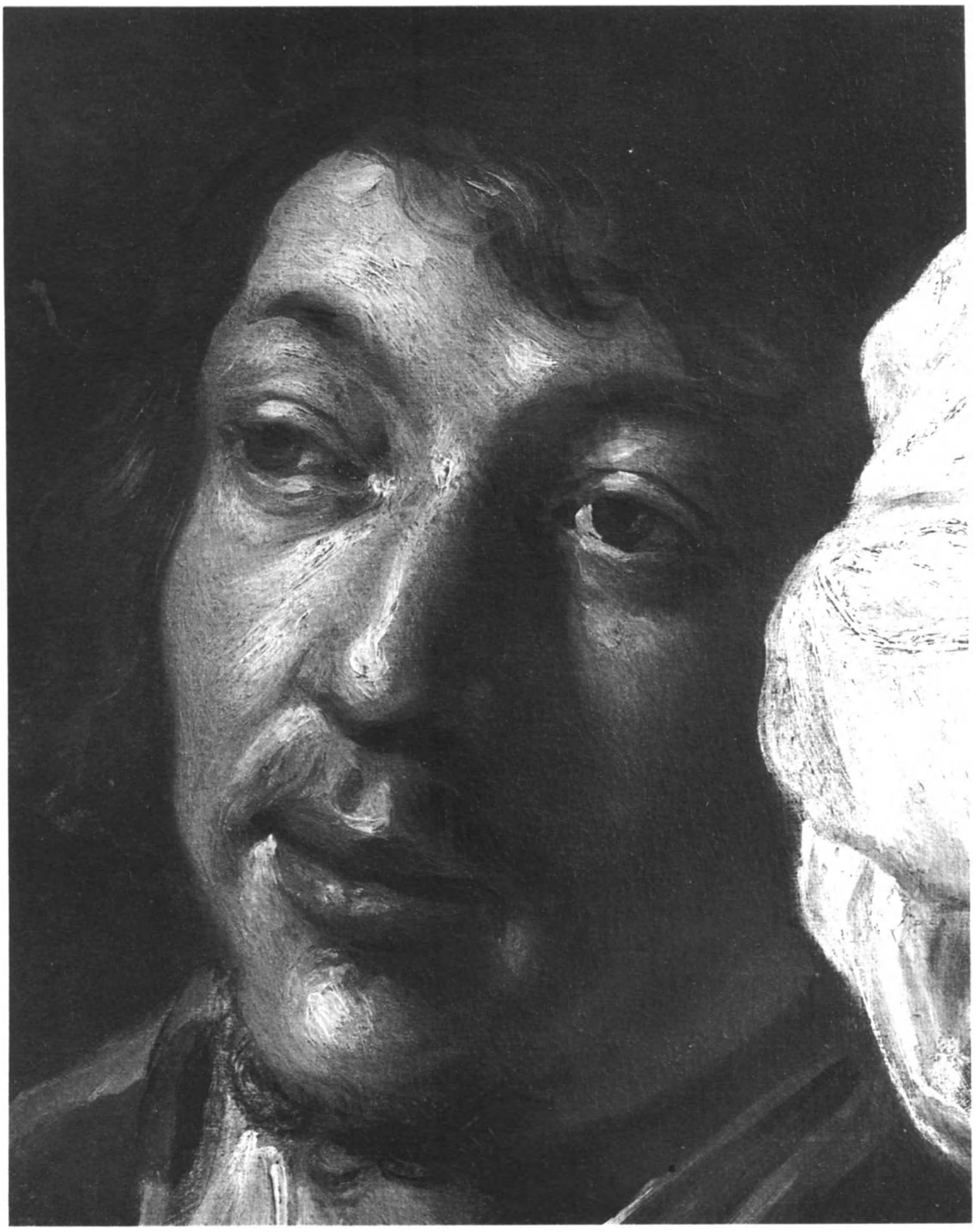


Fig. 5. Detail (1:1)

of the present version lying on top of an earlier one. This impression is confirmed by the fact that below her present right eye one finds the fairly unmistakable image of a second, and that a small line seen as a light image on the left looks like an edge of her veil positioned further to the right. The earlier head seems to have been placed lower down, but it is otherwise impossible to reconstruct its appearance.

Haman's silhouette appears only partially, as a distinct dark reserve in a lighter surrounding area. This is so for his right sleeve, which towards the bottom had a wider space left for it than it occupies today, where the pie has been painted partly over the sleeve. Also reasonably discernible as a dark reserve are the outline of his raised hand and the plume on his cap, though the image is otherwise determined by the ground showing up less or more strongly in the weave of the canvas and the stronger white of two long areas of irregular shape that seem to have nothing to do with the picture. One of these extends leftwards from the raised hand, while the other runs along the bottom edge of the canvas. Both display, in addition to a normal craquelure, a coarser pattern of gaping cracks; in the upper area of the two one can often see the weave of the canvas within these cracks, though sometimes there is a strong white like that from an infilling. In the lower area this crack formation goes together with substantial local paint loss which, according to a photograph taken at the time, was exposed during restoration in 1967.

Signature
None.

Varnish
No special remarks.

4. Comments

The attribution of this painting, with its striking though occasionally superficial effects, has long been a subject of argument.

Where the colour-scheme is concerned, one is struck by the contrasts between lilac and pinkish-red on the one hand and light blue and blue-grey on the other. Colour-combinations like these remind one of Utrecht painters who carry on a mannerist tradition (Abraham Bloemaert, Paulus Moreelse), and can still be found in Hendrik Terbrugghen. There is an echo of Caravaggesque sources in the combination of blue and brown in the figure of the servant, and in the yellow sash of Ahasuerus with its red and blue stripes. Fabrics striped with broad bands frequently appear in Utrecht paintings, in Honthorst and especially in Terbrugghen, and are found hardly anywhere else.

The group of figures shown to the hips, clustered together in a limited space and with one of them serving as a dark repoussoir, is quite clearly based on a type of composition imported mainly by Utrecht Caravaggists around 1620. An unusual feature in this is the idea – perhaps based on a biblical text (Esther 1: 6) – of having the whole scene closed off at the rear by a curtain; this motif, and its pictorial realization, can be termed characteristic. The facial

Fig. 6. Detail (1 : 1.5)

types used have no direct affinity to Utrecht practice and – more importantly – the handling of paint is more varied, less firm in the thin parts and with more impasto in the thicker than one would expect from artists of the Utrecht School. Bauch[1] has pointed to similarities with Haarlem history paintings from the 1620s, in particular with Pieter de Grebber's *Belshazzar's feast* in Kassel dated 1625; this is however based principally on Rubenesque prototypes, and what similarities there are with no. C 2 cannot be called very specific ones.

The foregoing may give a rough idea of the difficulties that arise when one tries to decide where and by whom no. C 2 was painted. The broadly interpreted stylistic features are evidence of familiarity with the work of Utrecht artists, but the divergences from their approach make it probable that the author must be sought elsewhere. This might be Haarlem, where Frans Hals shows clear signs of Utrecht influence and where someone like Judith Leyster reveals even more clearly a thorough knowledge of Utrecht models. It might also be Leiden, where a similar situation may have existed but is less clearly apparent. One can only hope to reach a plausible attribution by recognizing the picture's peculiarities as typical of an individual artist.

Four attributions have been suggested in the literature: Pieter Lastman, Rembrandt, Rembrandt together with Jan Lievens, and Lievens. Besides these, Held[2] has voiced the in itself perfectly understandable belief that no. C 2 is by neither Rembrandt nor Lievens, but by an artist unknown to us. Our final conclusion is that the preference must go to an attribution to the roughly 18-year-old Lievens.

An attribution to Lastman was suggested by Knuttel[3], who thought very little of the painting. This idea is comprehensible in view of the slightly archaic features of the colour-scheme, but there is nothing at all in the manner of painting that offers evidence of Lastman's authorship. It is not out of the

question that Lastman painted compositions with large halflength figures; a painting that, to judge from the description, was like no. C 2 in colour and composition and depicted *Manoah's sacrifice* (canvas 109 × 129 cm, lost in 1864 in the fire at the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam), was attributed to him (K. Freise, *Pieter Lastman*, Leipzig 1911, p. 40 no. 25). Attempts by Bauch (1960, pp. 55–56) to attribute other paintings with large-scale half-length figures to Lastman are not convincing.

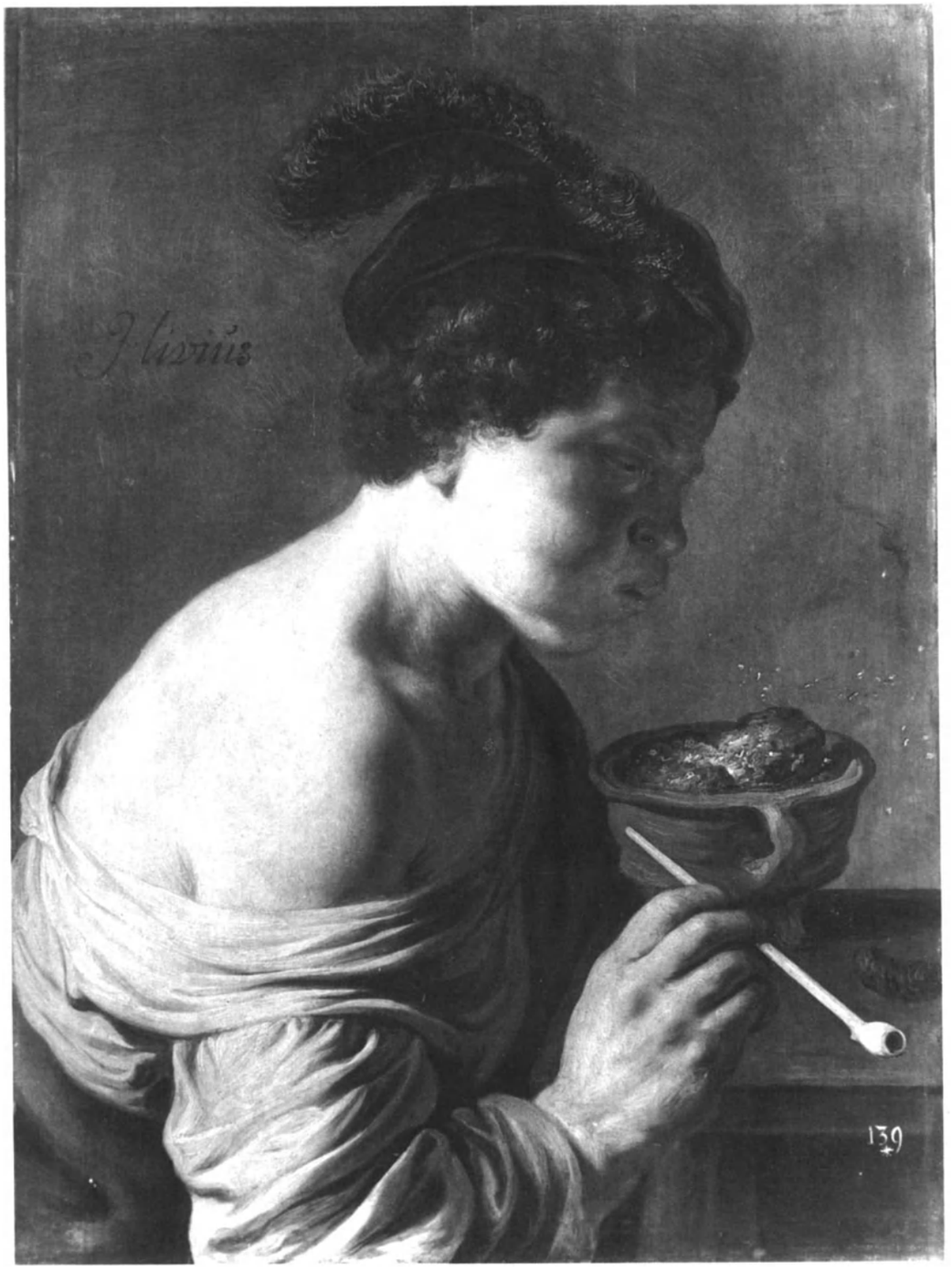
The attribution to Rembrandt has, since the painting became known in 1936, been supported by a great many authors[4]. Yet it has to be judged unacceptable: neither the style nor the handling of paint match with those of Rembrandt. In a case where Rembrandt reacts to Caravaggesque models, such as the Berlin *Rich man* of 1627 (no. A 10), he deals with them in a totally different way. Neither the types and poses of the figures nor the costumes and accessories portrayed in no. C 2 occur in his early works. The occasionally heavy-handed but invariably self-assured brushwork is completely unlike the studiously analytical design, often with a sinuous modelling, that we know from a number of Rembrandt's works. This becomes quite clearly apparent from a work such as the Amsterdam *Musical allegory* of 1626 (no. A 7), which in its choice of colours here and there comes close to no. C 2.

The idea of no. C 2 being a joint work by Rembrandt and Jan Lievens was first put forward by Bauch[1], and he later repeated and developed it further with increasing emphasis on the contribution made by Lievens[5]. His reason for doing so was apparently that no. C 2 does not fit into the early work by Rembrandt, and an attribution to the two artists together was thus to be preferred. The express premise in so doing was the assumption (presented as a certainty) that Rembrandt and Lievens had a shared studio – an assumption for which there is no clear foundation. The small painting in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (inv. no. A 2391, cat. no. 1461a) bearing the inscription *Rembrandt geretuceer Liev* (Schneider no. 221, Bauch A 2), which is frequently quoted in this connexion, probably has nothing to do with either Rembrandt or Lievens (cf. also Schneider-Ekkart, p. 308 and p. 332 no. 221). Bauch's arguments, particularly as he formulated them in 1967[5], could logically have led him to an attribution to Lievens. Probably one obstacle to this was the lack of any clear insight into the chronological development of Lievens' earliest work. A further difficulty is that the relationship between Lievens and Rembrandt around the year 1625 is still ill-defined. The idea, implicit throughout Bauch's article[5], that in the relationship between the two artists Rembrandt was invariably the dominant partner must be described as without foundation (cf. R. E. O. Ekkart in: exhibition cat. *Geschildert tot Leyden Anno 1626*, Leiden 1976/77, pp. 51–56). Finally, and this is really the most important point, it must be said quite firmly that there is nothing in no. C 2 that points either to a collaboration by two different hands or to corrections by a second hand. The fact that for Bauch[6] the painting made an impression of not being 'einheitlich' can be ascribed rather to a certain absence of a clear intention, and to the eclecticism the artist brought to his choice of means.

The attribution to Jan Lievens, first suggested by Bloch[7] and defended in particular by Gerson[8] and Sumowski[9], is far from self-evident. This is partly because of the uncertainties already referred to, but also and in particular – as became obvious at the Leiden exhibition (op. cit. nos. S 17, S 18 and S 29) – because of the substantial differences there are in composition and colour between works that on the evidence of unmistakable pictorial idiosyncracies are from one and the same hand, and that of Lievens. It is hard at present to explain these differences as representing successive stylistic phases, and they would seem to indicate a period of experimentation (ambitious rather than purposeful) before the painter found a clearly recognizable style during the period from 1629 to 1631 – the only dates that appear on Lievens' early work (Schneider-Ekkart nos. 64, 20 and 31).

This view of Lievens' earliest work would seem to be in line with the biographical facts given about him by I. I. Orlers (*Beschrijvinge der Stadt Leyden*, Leiden 1641, pp. 375ff; cf. Schneider p. 293), which show the young Lievens as quite definitely a child prodigy. At the age of 12 (i.e. in 1619) he amazed art-lovers with his work, and in 1621 as a 14-year-old he painted his mother (who is known to have died in 1622) so skilfully that all were astonished. It follows from this that it is quite possible that the earliest works by Lievens considerably predate the earliest known work by Rembrandt, dating from 1625. This applies especially to the *Young man blowing on a torch* and *Young man with pipe blowing on a glowing coal* in Warsaw (Schneider-Ekkart nos. S 364 and S 365; our fig. 7), each bearing the signature *J. livius* (done in careful lettering) which occurs on one further work. Far from being influenced by the work of Rembrandt around 1628/29, as Bauch assumed (op. cit.[5] p. 262), these two panels – joined closely by the *Homo bulla* in Besançon which is signed *IL* in capital print letters (Schneider no. 113) – display a purely Utrecht character in both subject-matter and treatment (cf. for example J. R. Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, The Hague 1959, nos. 161 and 179 datable

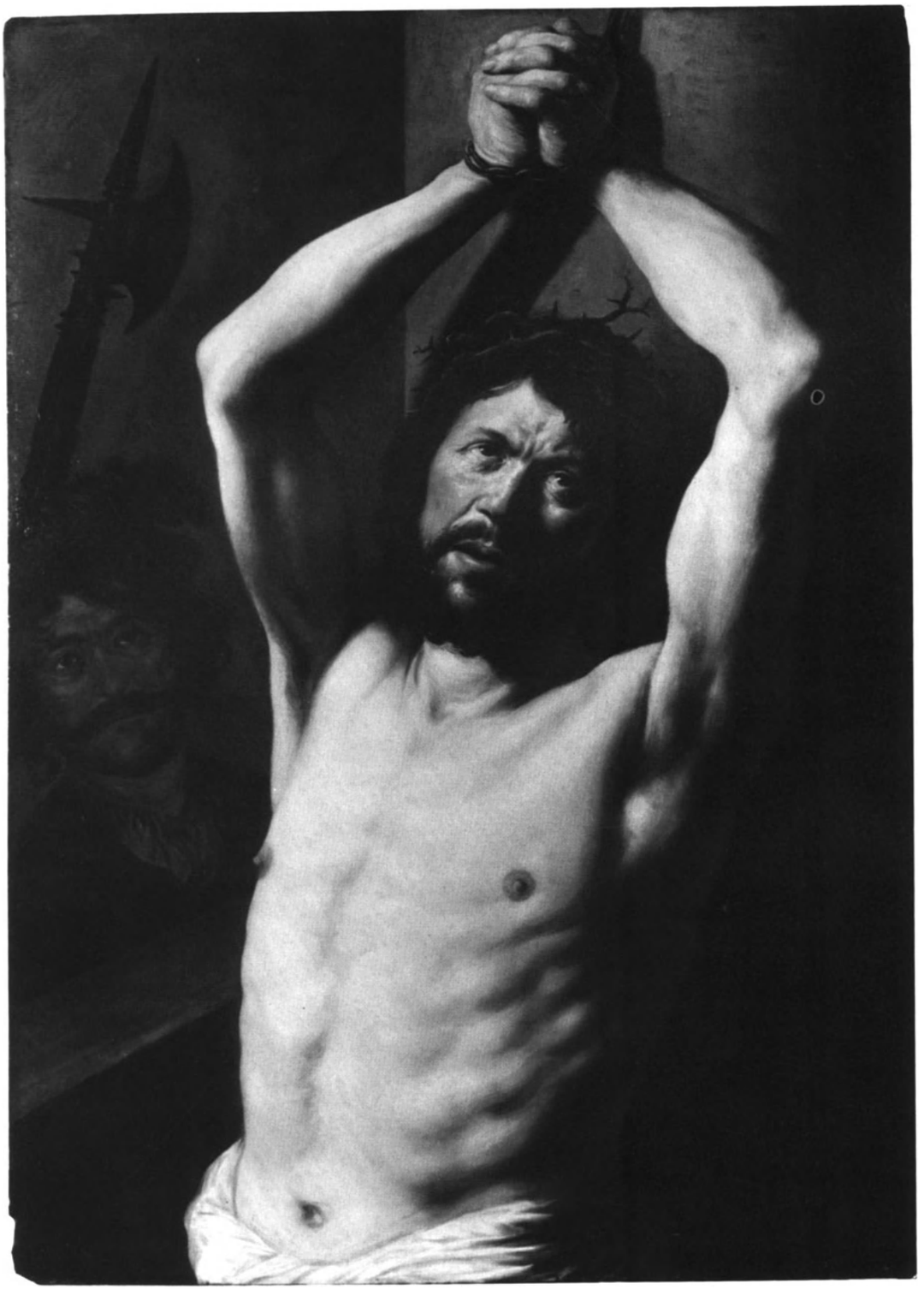
Fig. 7. J. Lievens, *Young man with pipe blowing on a glowing coal*. Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie



around 1620/21; B. Nicolson, *Hendrick Terbrugghen*, The Hague 1958, nos. A 14 of 1621 and A 29 of 1623). This is combined with a subdued colour-scheme, a curious clumsiness in the design, and a modelling that is often produced with long, thick strokes and at some points (in the head in the first of the two Warsaw works) quite coarse and somewhat confused highlights. A dating can be given only approximately – on the basis of the Utrecht prototypes employed, *c.* 1623 would be quite possible – but it is probable that this group comes first in the relative chronology.

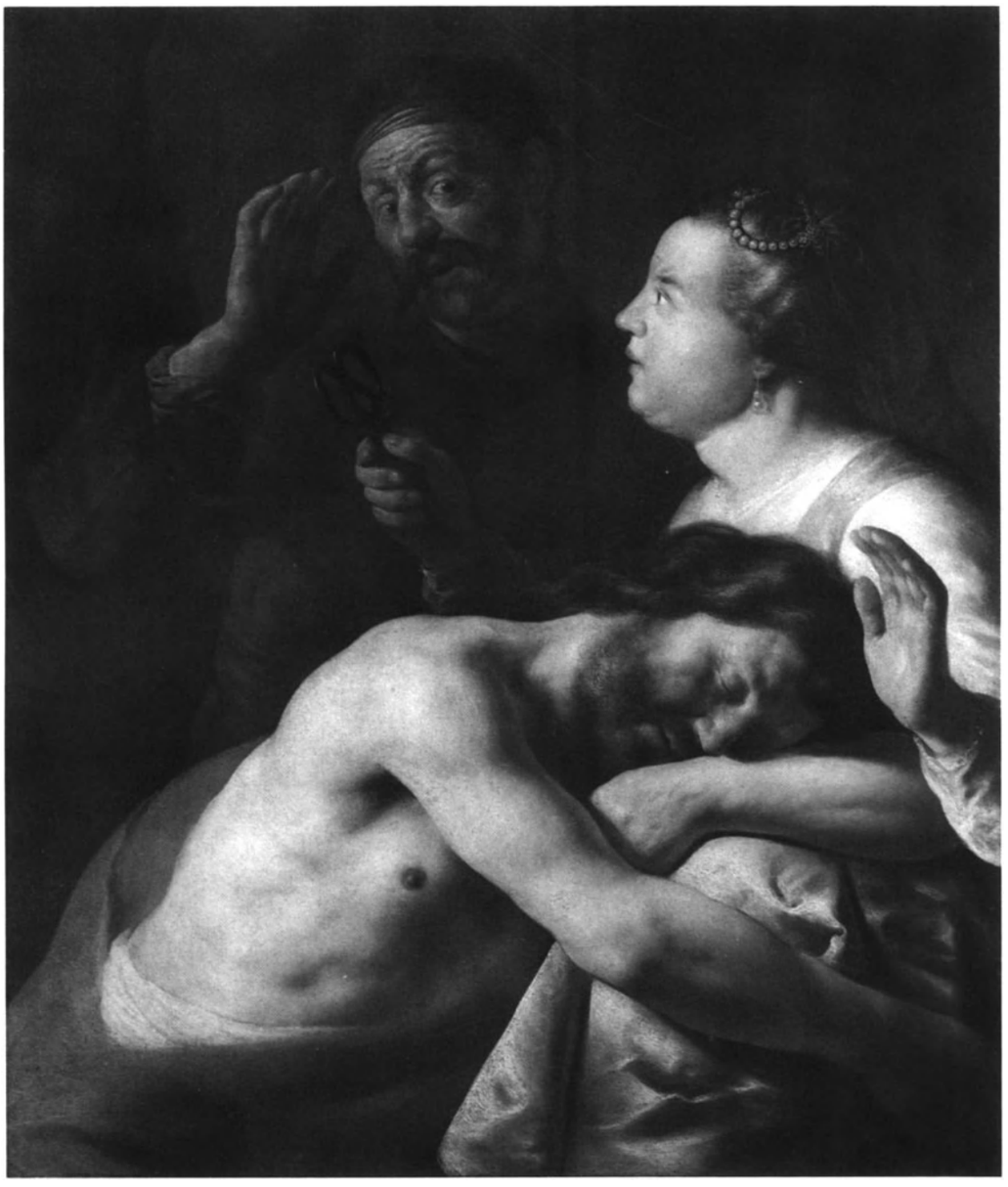
Among the works that should probably be dated somewhat later, the *Christ at the column* on panel, signed *IL* (Schneider no. 33; exhibition cat. Leiden 1976/77, no. S 17; our fig. 8), is still fairly close in

Fig. 8. J. Lievens, *Christ at the column*. The Hague, S. Nystad (1979)



brushwork to the paintings just mentioned. It is followed at some distance, it would seem, by such works as the *Four evangelists* in Bamberg, attributed convincingly to the artist by Bauch (op. cit.[5], pp. 260–263), and the signed *Samson and Delilah* on canvas in Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum inv. no. A 1627, cat. no. 1458; Schneider no. 13; our fig. 9). In the last-named work, the artist no longer keeps to the composition and format of the Utrecht Caravaggist formula and Madlyn Kahr (in: *Art Bull.* 55

Fig. 9. J. Lievens, *Samson and Delilah*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



(1973), pp. 240–241) has shown convincingly that a work by Guercino of 1619 served as his model. The painter's horizon has evidently widened, but he keeps his individual characteristics and has not escaped his individual weaknesses; in both the *Christ at the column* and the *Samson and Delilah* the effect of depth (which the addition of secondary figures shows has been aimed at) is rudimentary in the extreme. In all these works with the exception of the *Samson and Delilah* (which may therefore be dated relatively late) the brushstrokes remain coarse and the highlights especially in the poorly constructed head of Christ, are crude. The whole group shows an increasing use of local colours, a tendency towards classical clarity (in the clearcut profile of Delilah, for instance) and in general a greater stress on the outlines and a close attention to the anatomy of the naked figures. An attempt at dramatic effect is evident not only from the sometimes almost grimace-like facial expressions and the emphatic gestures, but also from a frequent and rather uncoordinated tilting of the axes of the bodies and heads. The group may also have included the lost *Isaac and Esau*, known only from a later and very large etching by J. G. van Vliet (*J. Lieuius. jnv.*; B.II.2); this was listed by Bauch[5] among the 'Kleinfigurige Historien' but is

Fig. 10. After J. Lievens, *Isaac and Esau* (etching by J. G. van Vliet)

more likely to have been a painting showing large and perhaps even lifesize full-length figures. The works – all half-length compositions – related to this group and differing not inconsiderably from one another, are unfortunately not signed. The panel of *Pilate washing his hands* (83.8 × 105 cm) in Leiden has been attributed by Bauch to Lievens (op. cit.[5] fig. 4; cf. exhibition cat. Leiden 1976/77, no. S 18) and linked to Haarlem works. Whether the latter assertion is correct one may doubt – a comparable work by Salomon de Bray dates from only 1635, and the composition is unmistakably a variant in reverse of a painting of the same subject by (or after) Terbrugghen now in Kassel (Nicolson, loc. cit., no. A 13); yet the manner of painting does certainly suggest the same hand as painted the previous group – the same emphatic brushwork results in a similar, somewhat inert modelling. There is however a new attention to colour – dark red and ochre yellow in Pilate's cloak against cooler purple-pink and white tints to his right and left – and to the depiction of materials; a can and dish are shown, boldly rather than effectively, with broad brushstrokes and are a direct borrowing, in reverse, from the Terbrugghen composition. A second panel (78 × 125 cm) in the Taylor collection in Chicago has also been attribut-

ed by Bauch (1960, pp. 114–115, fig. 78), and shows in a narrow framework a merry gathering of six persons, dressed for the most part in the costume of around 1625, forming an allegory on the *Five senses*. We do not know this painting in the original, but the awkward spatial composition, the appearance of one head seen exactly in profile and one seen square-on, and the modelling of hands and drapery are features that make the attribution a plausible one. The young man on the left turning round with his hand on his side can be seen as a Haarlem motif (as in Hals or Buytewech); this motif was employed in a similar way by the Leiden artist Joris van Schooten, Lievens' first teacher, in one of his civic guard group portraits of 1626 (cf. exhibition cat. Leiden 1976/77, p. 39, fig. g). One is struck by the stress on costume flourishes such as the figured material of a doublet and the ribbons on a woman's dress. The black-and-white reproduction gives the impression of a colourful painting. Finally, one ought to mention here the *Old woman reading* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. no. A 4702) (panel 81 × 69 cm) which both van Gelder (1953, pp. 285–286 (pp. 13–14), fig. 16) and Bauch (op. cit.[5] fig. 16) have attributed to Lievens. Here for the first time we encounter the subject of a wrinkled old woman, of the same type as the Rebecca in van Vliet's *Isaac and Esau* etching and as the old woman in Rembrandt's *Musical allegory* of 1626 in Amsterdam (no. A 7) and in his Amsterdam *Tobit and Anna* (no. A 3). Her dark flesh colour, with black shadows and the familiar confused highlights in a sand colour, offers an effective contrast with the creamy white headshawl with its brick-red stripes, the dark grey background and the pink gown. That this painting, too, is by the same hand is unmistakable from the brushwork, especially in the skin areas, and from the torpid rendering of the drapery, making the figure seem almost to fall apart into its separate components. A striking aspect, on the other hand, is the first appearance of a piquancy in the colouring that would seem to owe something to Utrecht models, and in particular to Terbrugghen. It must be emphasized that none of the works discussed so far shows any features that force one to assume contact with, or influence by, Rembrandt. At most there is, in the lastnamed painting of the *Old woman reading*, some colouristic affinity with Rembrandt's earliest work, in particular with the *Musical allegory* of 1626; but which of the two painters borrowed from the other remains a moot point. In any case a dating of around or before 1625/26 is on these grounds likely for Lievens' painting, and an earlier date can be assumed for at least some of the paintings discussed previously.

So how does the *Esther's feast* fit in with the works described here as being by Lievens? In our opinion the handling of paint is the decisive factor, with the proviso that the individual peculiarities already referred to present themselves here on a larger scale and in a clearer formal context. The thick and somewhat cluttered catchlights that in the *Christ at the column* mark the highest lights in the head (accentuating the eye area and the lower lip) and the hands are found again in no. C 2 in greater numbers and rather better coordinated – in the hands, in the still life on the table (though there they do little for clarity of form and rendering of materials), and most of all in Ahasuerus's head, where their matt yellow sand colour and the underlying dark flesh colour are strongly reminiscent of the same elements in the *Old woman reading*. Yet the somewhat flatter, broad highlights in Esther's face and the rather wooden modelling of her hand also remind one of earlier work, most probably of the *Five senses*. One cannot deny that fresh elements have been introduced: the broad red areas of sheen on Haman's sleeve, for instance, and the bold treatment of Ahasuerus's cloak, as well as the supple modelling of the head of the servant. We believe, though, that the similarities in pictorial temperament are strong enough for these innovations to be accepted as additions to the means of expression employed by one and the same artist, especially as the painting has, from the viewpoint of composition and colour as well, a clear affinity with the works by Lievens that have been mentioned earlier. The rendering of depth is scarcely any stronger than in the previous works, and nowhere measures up to the considerable demands the painter was making of himself; it is based solely on the figures overlapping each other, and on the dark repoussoir figure of Haman. The problems posed by having the latter in his chair, and Ahasuerus's legs projected forward have not however been solved, though the artist has managed to avoid the total disconnectedness of the various components that marks the spatial organization of the *Five senses*. A similar handling of the repoussoir figure is far from rare in drawings attributable to Lievens that we will not discuss further here (cf. exhibition cat. Leiden 1976/77, no. T 19 with further references). Other stylistic devices and motifs that match Lievens' characteristic habits are the emphasis on tilting figures and heads and the gesticulating hands, the attention given to figured fabrics and the details of Esther's dress in comparison with the *Five senses*; the draped curtain which nowhere except perhaps in the lost *Isaac and Esau* plays such a dominant role; and the striped sash worn by Ahasuerus that can be compared with the headshawl of the *Old woman reading* and which is similarly Caravaggesque in origin. The lastnamed

painting also heralds to some extent the overall colour-scheme, which has however in no. C 2 been brought to a level of variegation that (partly because of the restless colour of the background) seems extravagant. Like the confident but admittedly occasionally rather superficial handling of paint, the linear design of the composition has gained in clarity and cohesiveness. In these two respects no. C 2 can, though revealing the evident limitations of the artist, be regarded as the masterpiece of his youth – or rather, indeed, as a tour de force.

The question remains of what moment in Lievens' development no. C 2 represents, and of whether the painting contains anything pointing to a relationship between Lievens and Rembrandt at that moment. There is virtually no external evidence for a dating that would be at all precise. The still-life standing on the damask tablecloth seems to have Haarlem origins, but this does not offer a clue for a date as Hals had already used it in his civic guard piece of 1616. The repoussoir figure of Haman comes from prototypes by Honthorst, who was already using the motif in candlelit scenes from his Italian period around 1620. There is one dated work that might provide a clue – Rembrandt's earliest known painting, the Lyon *Stoning of S. Stephen* of 1625 (no. A 1). The way the broad picture area usual with Lastman, the Pynas brothers and their associates has been narrowed down by means of an area used in its entirety as a repoussoir cannot be satisfactorily explained from the work of any of these older masters. Partly because of the treatment of the red cloak of the rider on the extreme left, which in its colour value reminds one of Lievens' Haman, this area gives the impression of introducing an alien element. The possibility that Lievens' painting provided the example for this is worth considering. In that case no. C 2 would have at the latest to be dated in 1625, and Lievens would undoubtedly have to be seen as the motive force in the relationship. The similarity in colouring between no. C 2 and Rembrandt's *Musical allegory* of 1626 that we have already alluded to could then also be seen as a symptom of his dependence on Lievens, even though the interpretation of form and the brushwork are there already a great deal more consistent and more characteristic of Rembrandt's own development.

Without venturing any further here into the development of the style of the young Lievens and his relationship to Rembrandt (though see also entry no. C 1, *4. Comments*, for a further discussion of this) one may comment that it is only some years later that one sees a close rapprochement between the two artists, culminating in the treatment of themes such as the *Christ on the cross* (see no. A 35) and the *Raising of Lazarus* (see no. A 30) around 1630/31 in an evident spirit of emulation. Around that time Lievens owed a great deal to the intensity of Rembrandt's pictorial design, and he also drew profit from it in a lifesize composition such as the *Job* of 1631 now in Ottawa (Schneider no. 20). On the other hand Rembrandt was clearly to recall the composition of Lievens' *Esther's feast* on at least one further occasion – when he was painting the *Belshazzar's feast* (Br. 497) in about 1635.

5. Documents and sources

One cannot assume with certainty that any of the 17th-century references to paintings of *Esther and Ahasuerus* by Rembrandt relate to no. C 2. This applies to paintings in the estate of the Amsterdam art dealer Johannes de Renialme in 1657 (A. Bredius, *Künstlerinventare* I, The Hague 1915, p. 237; valued at 350 guilders), in the collection of Jan Jacobsz. Hinlopen around 1660 (HdG *Urk.*, no. 247) and in the 1682 inventory of the widow of Captain Aldert Matthijsz. (Ibid., no. 355, valued at 30 guilders).

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Certainly not (as Valentiner[4] assumed) identical with a painting that in the second half of the 18th century was in the collection of Moses (later: Josef) Flies in the Spandauerstrasse, Berlin (cf. Ch. F. Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam*, Berlin 1779 2nd edn, II, p. 619 and 1786 3rd edn, II, p. 838. Cf. HdG 46a). According to an etching dated 1776 by Johann Karl Wilhelm Rosenberg ('Dédié à Monsieur Moses Flies, Docteur en Médecine, Possesseur du Tableau Original') this painting, at that period attributed to Rembrandt, was a work by Aert de Gelder; the two halves of this, subsequently separated, have since 1967/68 been joined together again in the Musée de Picardie, Amiens (cf. exhibition cat. *Le Siècle de Rembrandt*, Paris 1970–71, no. 79).
– Dealer B. Sommelinck, Ghent.
– Sale Brussels (Fiévez) 16 December 1936, no. 80 (as: Aert de Gelder, signed and dated 1632).
– Dealer P. de Boer, Amsterdam (1936 to *c.* 1939).
– Dealer Charles A. de Burlet, Basle (until 1952).
– Dealer Dr. Hans Schaeffer, New York (1952).

9. Summary

No. C 2 does not have enough in common, in either conception or execution, with Rembrandt's earliest works to make an attribution to him acceptable. For this reason, and because the painting offers no evidence of being by two hands, one must also reject the idea of it being a joint work by Lievens and Rembrandt. A careful reconstruction of Lievens'

earliest work, datable roughly from 1623 to 1625/26, presents the picture of a group of large-scale works influenced mainly though not exclusively by the Caravaggist school of Utrecht. Within this group wide fluctuations in style can still be found. More or less constant features are however the somewhat inert rendering of plastic form, and especially a handling of paint that may be termed typical. These pictorial idiosyncracies can be found in no. C 2, and are what decide the attribution. The painting gives no sign of any influence by Rembrandt – on the contrary, Rembrandt may well have been influenced by no. C 2 when producing his earliest known work in 1625. The most likely dating is thus 1625, when Lievens was 18 years of age.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch 1960, pp. 112–119.

2 Julius S. Held, cited by M. Kahr, 'Rembrandt's Esther. A painting and an etching newly interpreted and dated', *O.H.* 81 (1966), pp. 228–244, esp. p. 229 note 4.

3 G. Knuttel Wzn., *Rembrandt, de meester en zijn werk*, Amsterdam 1956, pp. 240–242; cf. idem, 'Rembrandt's earliest works', *Burl. Mag.* 97 (1955), pp. 44–49, esp. p. 45.

4 W. Martin, 'Uit Rembrandt's Leidsche jaren', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, Leiden 1936–1937, pp. 51–62; Br. 631; J. G. van Gelder, 'Een nieuw jeugdwerk van Rembrandt', *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 47 (1937), pp. 353–355; Van Gelder 1953, pp. 281–282 (pp. 9–10); W. R. Valentiner, *Catalogue of paintings, North Carolina Museum of Art*, Raleigh 1956, no. 65; idem, exhibition catalogue, *Rembrandt and his pupils*, Raleigh, N.C. 1956, no. 1; idem, 'The Rembrandt exhibitions in Holland, 1956', *The Art Quarterly* 19 (1956), pp. 390–404, esp. 398–399; S. Slive, 'The young Rembrandt', *Bulletin of the Allen Memorial Art Museum* 20 (1963), pp. 120–149, esp. 139–141; J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt. Life and Work*, London 1964 2nd edn, p. 14 and note 7.

5 K. Bauch, 'Zum Werk des Jan Lievens', *Pantheon* 25 (1967), pp. 160–170, 259–260, esp. 162–163. Cf. Bauch A 1.

6 K. Bauch, 'Rembrandt und Jan Lievens', *Wallr.-Rich.-Jahrb.* 11 (1939), pp. 239–268, esp. p. 240 note 6.

7 V. Bloch, 'The problem of the early Rembrandt', *Burl. Mag.* 97 (1955), pp. 259–260 (letter).

8 H. Gerson, 'Probleme der Rembrandtschule', *Kunstchronik* 10 (1957), pp. 121–124 esp. p. 122; Sumowski 1957/58, p. 225; E. Haverkamp Begemann, 'Rembrandt und seine Schule', *Kunstchronik* 22 (1969), pp. 281–289, esp. p. 286; Br.-Gerson 631; Gerson pp. 22 and 38; H. Gerson, 'Rembrandt en de schilderkunst in Haarlem', *Miscellanea I. Q. van Regteren Altena*, Amsterdam 1969, pp. 138–142, esp. p. 139; Schneider-Ekkart no. S 349; R. E. O. Ekkart in: exhibition catalogue *Geschildert tot Leyden Anno 1626*, Leiden 1976/77, no. S 29.

C 3 Tobit and Anna

LONDON, THE NATIONAL GALLERY, NO. 4189

HDG 66; BR. –; BAUCH A 6; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved work that, though already at an early date reproduced as a Rembrandt invention, shows neither his design nor his execution. An attribution to the young Gerard Dou is more plausible.

2. Description of subject

A room with a timbered roof is lit dimly by light coming through a doorway or window on the left, beneath which a small wooden bench stands in the shadows. Anna is seen in lost profile, and partly in shadow, facing right and seated on an upturned basket; she is spinning flax with a spindle. To the right of her Tobit sits on an upright chair with armrests, his head bowed and eyes downcast and his hands folded together in his lap. Behind him is a rough wooden partition, and behind that a (barely visible) closet-bed. To the right, in front of this, there is a chest on which stand a pot, pan and other objects. There is a small fire in the right foreground, a pair of tongs (?) standing on end, some firewood and an earthenware pot and jug.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in May 1968 (B. H., E. v. d. W.) in good light and out of the frame, with the aid of an infrared photograph and one X-ray film (40 × 30 cm) covering the two figures and their immediate surroundings; a print of this X-ray was received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 63.8 × 47.7 cm. Consists of two planks, with an almost vertical though slightly skew (from top right to bottom left) join running virtually through the centre of the panel. The pattern of the grain seen in the X-ray shows that this is indeed a join and not (as one might suspect from its slightly oblique path) a crack. There are also a few vertical cracks. Back cradled.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Shows through as a brownish colour in the thinly painted outer side of the earthenware pot in the foreground.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: A cross-section prepared in the National Gallery Research Laboratory, from a sample taken in the sky seen through the open door, shows a double ground. The bottom layer consists of chalk and glue; the layer on top of it contains white lead and some brown pigment particles and can be identified as the 'primuersel'. This 'primuersel' is found as a thicker layer in cross-sections of samples taken at the lower right edge, and in Tobit's gown.

Paint layer

CONDITION: In general satisfactory. There is some wearing in dark areas, such as around Tobit's hands and to the right of his left thigh. Craquelure: none seen.
DESCRIPTION: Some light areas are thickly painted – the light browns of the wooden partition, the brickwork of the doorway and the white of the sky, where the light green leaves have been painted thickly on top of this. Some paint relief can also be seen in Anna's skirt, in the basket on which she is sitting and in the dark lines of the pots in the right foreground. The purple tabard worn by Tobit, and his green undergarment, are painted smoothly with careful and slightly blending brushstrokes. The stitching of the patch on his right shoulder is indicated with extremely fine scratchmarks; that of the patches on his elbow and right knee is drawn with very fine, short lines of paint. His hands have been carefully modelled with much detail, while his face is painted with rather bolder strokes. Anna's fur jacket is done with fine dabs of paint that are thick in the light; her headgear shows, in the light, small spots of light grey and brownish paint.

The dark areas, some of which are difficult to read, are thinly opaque and smooth, being thickest in the grey-green hearthplate within which the earthenware pot in the foreground forms a patch of thin paint. The grey paint below the arch of the opening is difficult to explain; some brown can be glimpsed under this grey.

A zone of rather different, and generally somewhat thicker paint can be seen along the outlines of Tobit's right shoulder and Anna's head and back; evidently too large a space was originally left in reserve for the two figures, and the artist himself retouched these areas at a later stage. The leaves of the climbing plant continue below the bottom edge of the doorway, showing that this contour was initially intended to be a little lower down.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Five samples were taken, from four of which cross-sections were prepared. A sample taken in the sky near the left door-post shows (on top of the double ground) a thin brown layer with no isolated pigment particles. According to an oral communication from Mrs. Joyce Plesters of the National Gallery Research Laboratory, this layer could belong to a brush drawing used to sketch the composition. The sky is done with paint containing white lead, smalt and transparent colourless particles. A sample taken in the dark area under the pot at the lower right edge shows a layer containing bone black as a pigment on top of the 'primuersel'. A sample taken from Tobit's gown, just over the lit part of Anna's sleeve, shows in the cross-section two paint layers on top of the 'primuersel', the lower one showing a mixture of brownish and red particles, the upper one white lead, red lake and some vermilion particles. The fourth cross-section, prepared from a sample taken at the right edge some centimetres above the post, showed a retouching.

X-Rays

The film available to a very large extent confirms what is observed at the paint surface. The over-generous reserves left for the two figures, mentioned above, appear as a clear, dark patch or – where they have been filled in with paint containing white lead – as a light image. Some areas reveal a livelier brushwork than does the surface, in particular in the background (the closet-bed) to the right of Tobit. One obvious pentimento can be seen: there was a spinning-wheel between the two figures, with its mid point roughly where Anna's right hand now is. A thread ran diagonally downwards to the left from the upper edge of this wheel; this (as can also be seen to some extent in the paint surface) clearly runs across Tobit's drooping sleeve. The X-ray offers no confirmation of the pentimento assumed by Holmes[1] for the outline of Tobit's cap, which he supposed to have been further up.

Signature

The vague remains of an inscription *Re.bra* along the lefthand edge of the beam over the door was already regarded by Holmes[1] as unreliable, and Maclaren[2] calls it false; the latter comments that it is painted on top of the varnish.

Fig. 1. Panel 63.8 × 47.7 cm

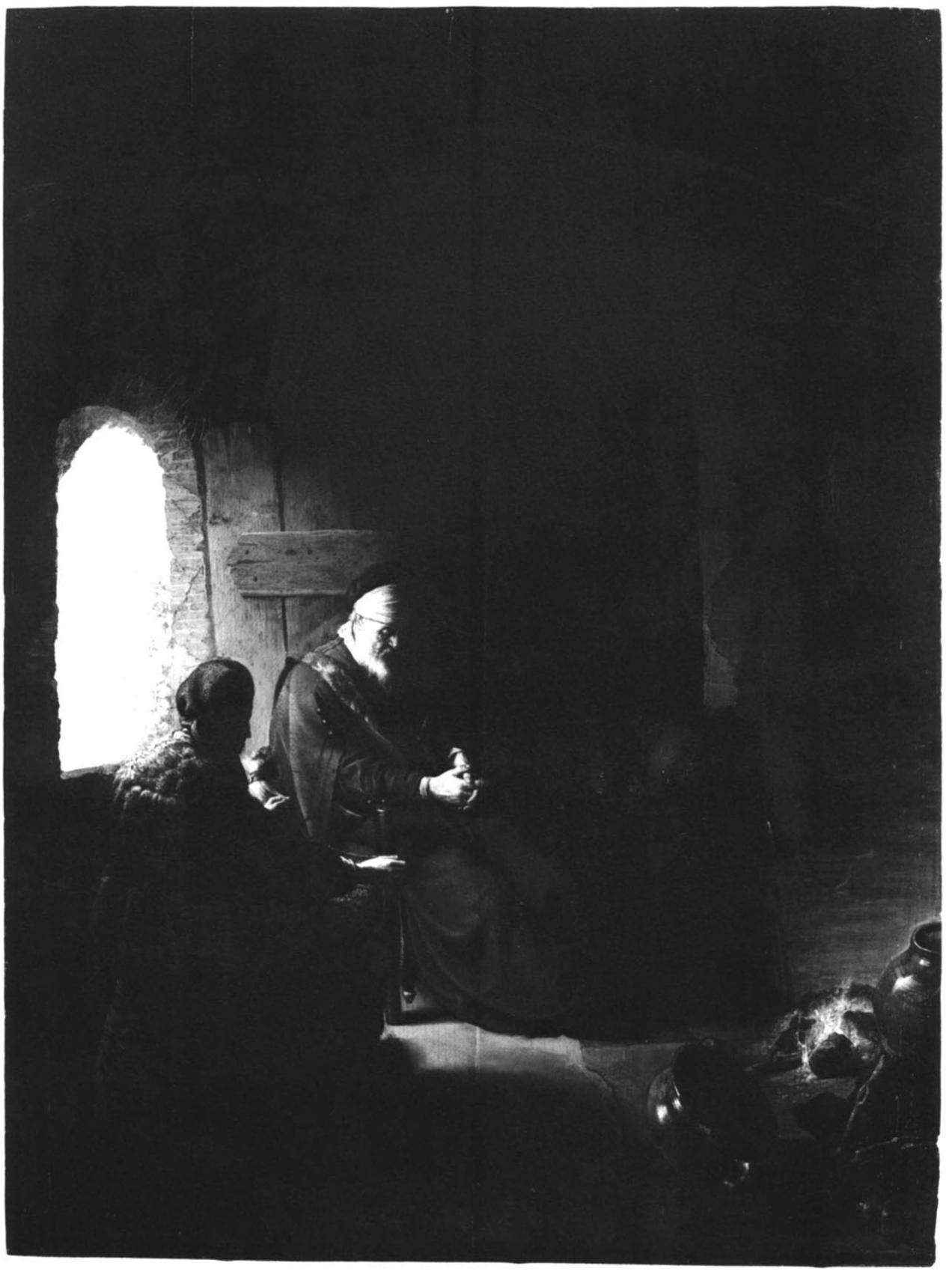


Fig. 2. X-ray

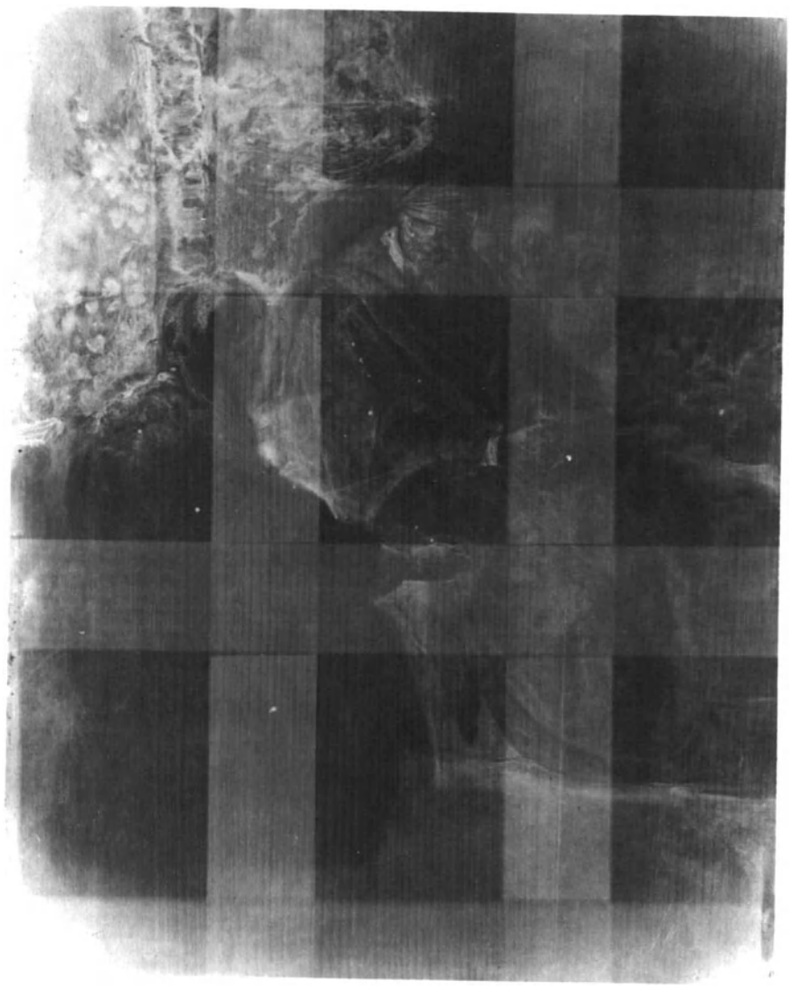
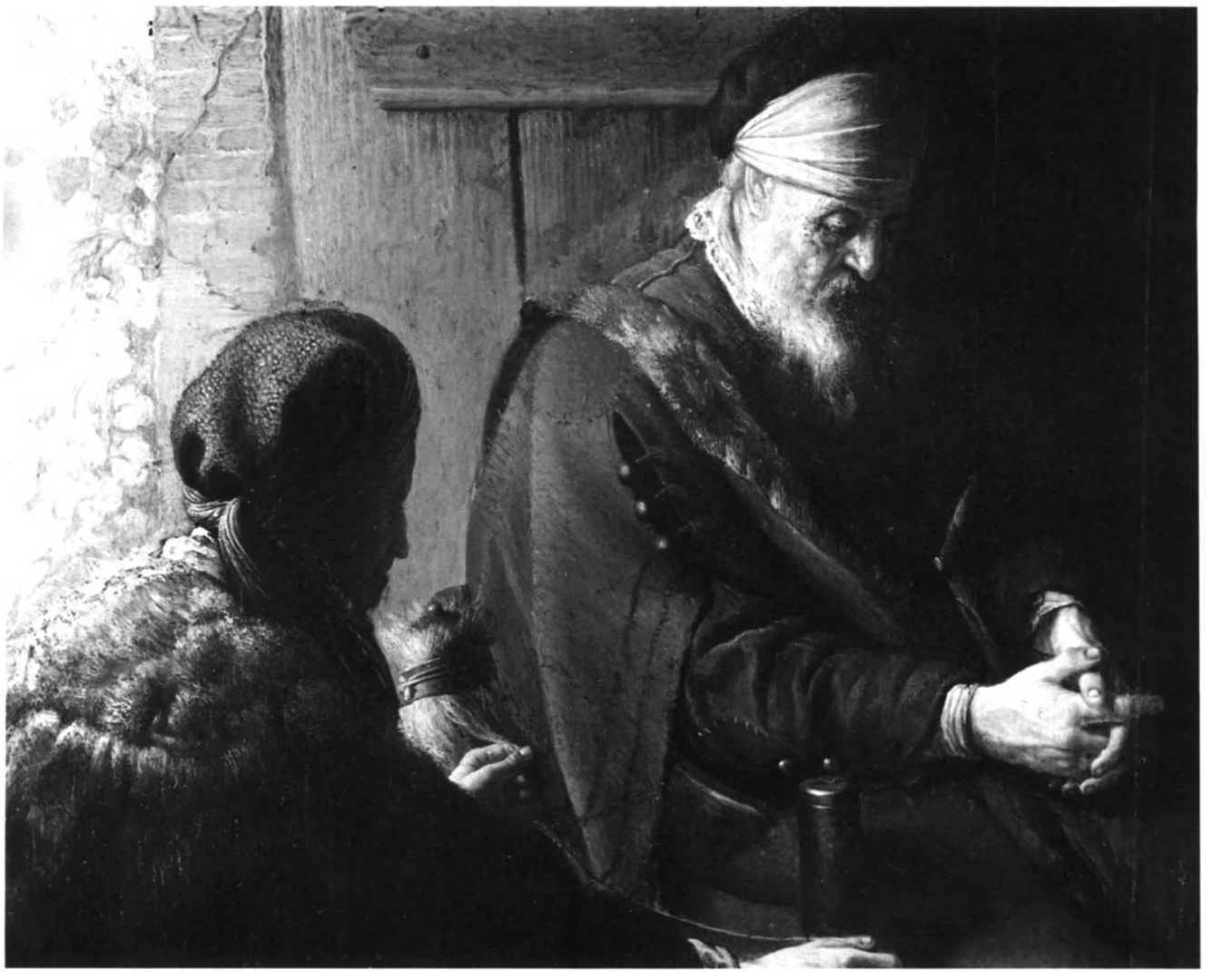


Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)



Varnish
No special remarks.

4. Comments

The handling of paint shows the differences that can be termed normal in a 17th-century painting between more heavily painted lights and thinly painted darks, with a few thicker dark lines. It is moreover clear that the artist was familiar with Rembrandt's method of working – compare, especially, the way the over-generous reserves have been filled in – and with his work from the years 1628–1630. Moreover, the composition of the double ground is similar to that found in early Rembrandt paintings. The treatment of light and composition have echoes of the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13); the treatment and features of Tobit's face remind one, as Maclaren[2] rightly remarks, of the Nuremberg *S. Paul* of 1629/30 (no. A 26). Yet it is precisely these comparisons that make the differences from Rembrandt's work obvious. The composition lacks the cohesiveness that Rembrandt creates with sinuous contours. The forms depicted are built up with careful brushstrokes, and even in the thicker areas the difference from Rembrandt's free but suggestive use of the brush, as in the head of the *S. Paul*, is plain to see.

The attribution to Dou, which was accepted up to 1926 (see below under *7. Copies*, 3. and *8. Provenance*), must with our present knowledge of Dou's early work be regarded as being the most likely. One would then of course have to assume that this painting, which stands relatively close to Rembrandt, was produced before a group of works that W. Martin (*Gerard Dou*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1913 (Kl. d. K.), pp. 12, 63–65, 67, 82 left, 83, 87, 101, 116) dated at

around 1630; since then one of this group (ibid., p. 82 left; cf. exhibition catalogue *17th Century art in Europe*, Londen 1938, no. 266) has been found to date from 1636, which probably means that the whole group should be dated in the later 1630s. A dating shortly after 1630 seems probable for no. C 3. To judge from the reproduction the *Vanitas with man smoking a pipe*, formerly in the Czartoryski collection in Vienna (Martin, op. cit. p. 66) seems to come closest to it.

Holmes published the painting in 1926, and looked on all the more thickly painted and livelier areas as Rembrandt's doing[1]. This notion was adopted by others including Maclaren[2], Bauch[3] and Rosenberg and Slive[4]; Held[5] doubted Rembrandt's contribution. There is indeed a mention in 1657 (Inventory of the art dealer Johannes de Renialme, see A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* I, The Hague 1915, p. 235 no. 302) of a painting (by ?) 'Rembrandt and Dou'. The idea of Rembrandt's collaboration was in this instance prompted by the existence of an etching by W. de Leeuw (see *6. Graphic reproductions*) which matches the painting fairly closely in reverse (fig. 4); it was presumably produced before 1638 (see *7. Copies* below and Introduction, Chapter III), and carries the inscription *Rembr. van Rijn inv.*. Münz[6] alone assumes that Rembrandt painted the lost original for this etching, and that no. C 3 is a copy by Dou retouched by Rembrandt. The other authors believe – in our opinion correctly – that the etching was done from no. C 3, but they link with this the conclusion that the painting was done for the most part by Dou but was retouched by Rembrandt. Looked at on its own, the work gives no reason to suppose that two different hands were involved – the retouches finishing it off are of what could be called a normal kind. The question of how the painting came at so early a date to be regarded as a Rembrandt can be answered only with surmises (see also Introduction, Chapter III, p. 48). The attribution to Rembrandt is not borne out by the style and manner of painting, and is indeed not accepted in the literal sense by those authors who assume that Rembrandt had only a – greater or lesser – share in its execution.

The attribution to Dou, which the painting at all events bore in 1881, was probably of older date; an 18th-century (?) drawing (cf. *7. Copies*, 3) after the painting carries the inscription *G. Douw f.*. A probably somewhat later painting by Dou, comparable in style with, for example, the *Old woman eating* in Schwerin (Martin, op. cit. p. 101), showed *Tobit and Anna at prayer*, though it is now known only from a line engraving by Reveil (ibid., p. 2 right; W. Martin, *Het leven en de werken van Gerrit Dou*, Leiden 1901, p. 184, no. 5). The requisites used in no. C 3 appear repeatedly in Dou's work, for example in the *Old woman peeling apples* previously in the Huldschinsky collection in Berlin (Martin, op. cit. p. 116). Dou, in his mature style, paraphrased the composition around 1645/50 in a painting in the Louvre (Martin, op. cit. p. 138) which as Maclaren (2 note 19) points out must also represent Tobit and Anna.

The picture must, on the evidence of the verses by Cornelis Gijsbertsz. Plemp below the print by de Leeuw, be regarded as an *exemplum* of piety in prosperity and adversity. For comments on the moralizing interpretation given to the Book of Tobit in the 17th century (see entry no. A 3 under *4. Comments*).

Fig. 4. Etching by W. de Leeuw (reproduced in reverse)

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

Etching by Willem de (or: van der) Leeuw (Antwerp 1603? – *c.* 1665?) (Hollst. X, no. 4; our fig. 4). Inscriptions: *Rembr. van Rijn inv.* – *WdL* (in monogram) *eeuw fecit* and the verses:

Paupere sub tecto Tobias perpendit inanes
Delicias hominum, et gaudia fluxa pius.
Sorteque divitiae veniunt, et sorte recedunt:
O pietas, laus est semper, honorque tibi.

This is the reading of the manuscript in the Amsterdam University Library, no. II A 51, book VI, epigram 17. The print has instead of *inanes*, wrongly, the word *manes* (communication by Dr. F. F. Blok).

(Tobit meditates devoutly, beneath his shabby roof,
upon the vanity of human pleasure and the transitoriness of joy.
Fate lets riches come and has them go.
To you, O piety, be ever praise and honour.)

The etching follows the painting fairly accurately, and allows itself one or two liberties only on minor points such as the still-life in the foreground, the twisting vine-tendrils and the flickering flames. It was presumably done in Antwerp, possibly prior to 1638 (the year in which Cornelis Gijsbertsz. Plemp died).

7. Copies

1. Canvas, 66 × 51.4 cm. Signed at top right with a large *R*. John G. Johnson collection, Philadelphia (no. 482). A faithful copy, probably of no great age.
2. Panel, 43 × 36 cm. Signed at bottom left *CWI* (in monogram). Hofje van Aerden, Leerdam. An old and very rough copy, of mediocre quality.
3. Pen-and-wash drawing, 16.6 × 14 cm, inscribed at bottom left: *G. Douw f.*. Previously coll. Bernhard Limburger, Leipzig (d. 1905); cf. F. Becker, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister in Privatsammlungen*, Leipzig 1922, no. 16 as Leiden School. Reproduces the composition in a slightly broader framework; probably 18th century.

8. Provenance[2]

– Coll. John Bell (Glasgow), sale Glasgow 1–5 February 1881, no. 357: 'Gerard Douw. Interior, old Man and old Woman seated at a window, on panel 25 inches by 18½ inches [= 64.4 × 47.7 cm].
– Coll. Sir Renny Watson of Braco Castle, Perthshire.
– Coll. Dennis Elliot Watson, London, from whom it was bought in 1926.

9. Summary

On the grounds of style and manner of painting the longstanding attribution to Dou, which no. C 3 bore at all events in 1881, is to be preferred to the notion first put forward by Holmes in 1926 that Rembrandt may have painted certain parts of it. The attribution of the invention to Rembrandt given by Willem de Leeuw's etching (which probably dates from before 1638) does not constitute reliable evidence.

REFERENCES

1 Ch. Holmes, '*Tobit and his wife*, by Rembrandt and Gerard Dou', *Burl. Mag.* 49 (1926), pp. 55–61.
2 N. Maclaren, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Dutch School*, London 1960, pp. 338–341.
3 Bauch 1960, pp. 220–221; Bauch 1966, A 6.
4 J. Rosenberg, S. Slive, E. H. ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture*, Harmondsworth 1966, p. 83.
5 J. S. Held, *Rembrandt and the Book of Tobit*, Northampton (Mass.) 1964, p. 27.
6 L. Münz, 'Rembrandts Bild von Mutter und Vater', *Jb. d. Kunsth. Samml. Wien* 50 (1953), pp. 141–190, esp. p. 178.

C 4 Tobit at his son's return

NEW YORK, N.Y., COLL. J. WILLIAM MIDDENDORF II

HDG –; BR. –; BAUCH –; GERSON –

Fig. 1. Canvas 108.5 × 143 cm

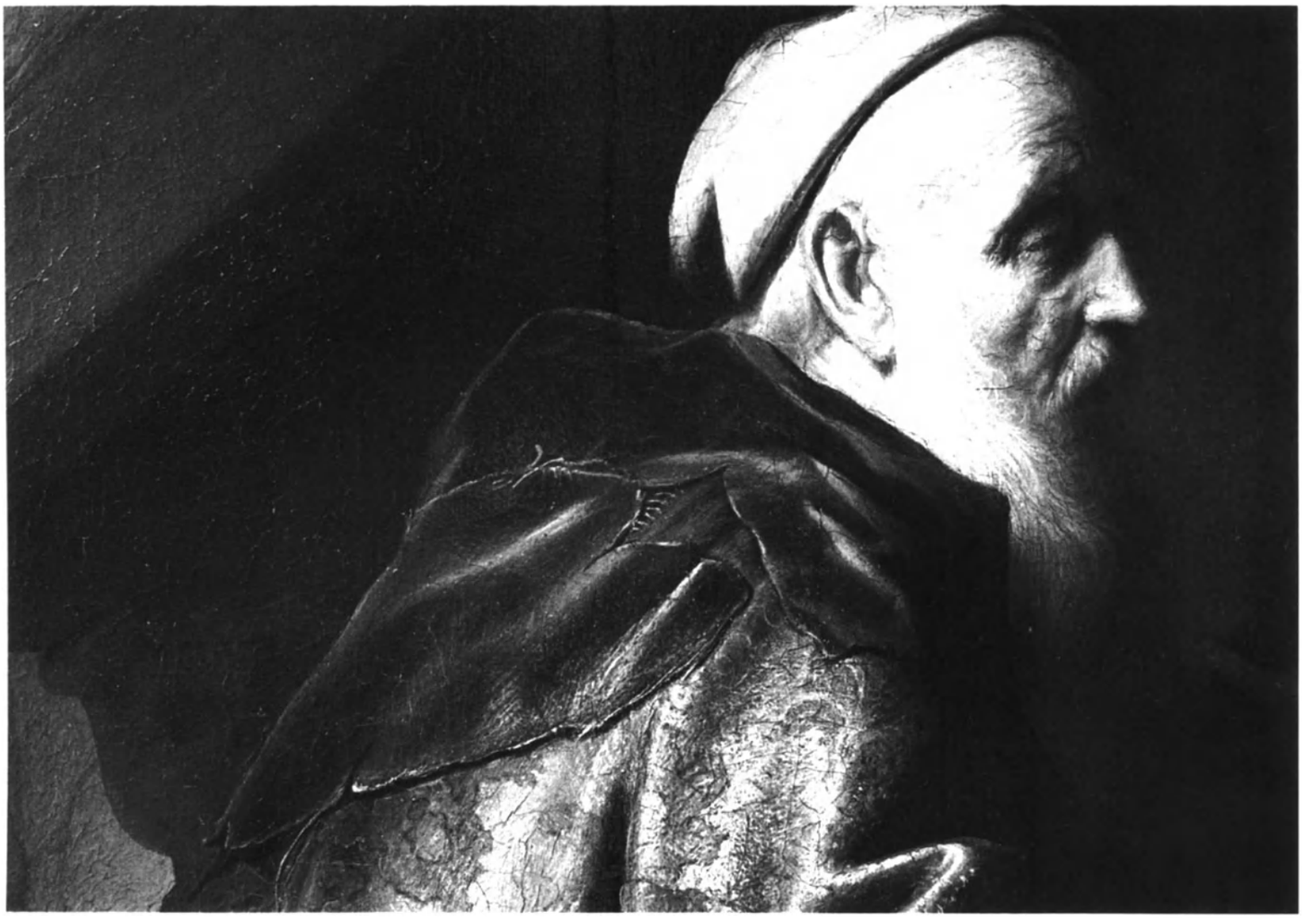
1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved work by an as yet unidentified artist. Despite certain similarities with the work of Rembrandt and of his circle from the years around 1628/31, it is not improbable that it was produced at a later date.

2. Description of subject

The subject is based on the (apocryphal) Book of Tobit 11: 9–10. In the foreground lit from the upper left the old, blind Tobit hurries towards the right; he is bent forward slightly and stretches his hands out in front of him, groping his way to the open door which is in the extreme right foreground. A small, shaggy-haired dog jumps up at him. In front of him are an overturned chair, in the extreme foreground an upturned jug and behind that an overturned candleholder stand and hand spinning-wheel. Through the door, outside and at some distance in the semi-darkness, one sees Anna and Tobias, kneeling and embracing each other; above and immediately behind them the angel Raphael, sitting side-saddle, clings to the saddle of an only partially visible ass (not mentioned in the biblical account) from which he appears to be sliding to the ground. The angel's silhouette stands out against the lightening sky. To the left of the open door a plastered wall runs further back; the plaster has fallen away here and there, revealing brickwork. In the wall, next to the door, is a rectangular opening with an open shutter. Behind the figure of Tobit a fireplace is set in this wall; at right angles to this and parallel to the picture plane one can see on the left the rear wall of the room, with the dark arch of an opening to a cellar, partly hidden behind a rough wooden partition that stands a little further towards the front. Above this one can see the underside of the treads and the rough-panelled baluster of a winding staircase; this does not open into the room, but the stairs are also vaguely visible in the dark archway. Under the stairwell a large basket with a handle hangs from a nail. In this corner, which has subdued lighting from a separate source on the left, there is a variety of objects: a

Fig. 2. Detail (1 : 1.5)



glazed earthenware dish and a grey-blue cloth lying on a wooden board, an earthenware sieve and a wooden tub, and (furthest to the front, level with the fireplace) Tobit's chair and one of his slippers.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 25 May 1971 (J. B., S. H. L.) and 21 September 1974 (J. B., B. H., E. v. d. W.), in reasonable daylight and in the frame. Seven X-ray films (24 × 30 cm) available, including one of the winding staircase with the signature and six together covering the figure of Tobit.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Canvas, lined, 108.5 × 143 cm (measured at the back along the stretcher).
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Thread count: horizontal 9–10, vertical 10–13 threads/cm. The canvases in the chart published in *Röntgenonderzoek . . . . . Utrecht*, p. 62, with this thread count date from *c.* 1662 and *c.* 1680.

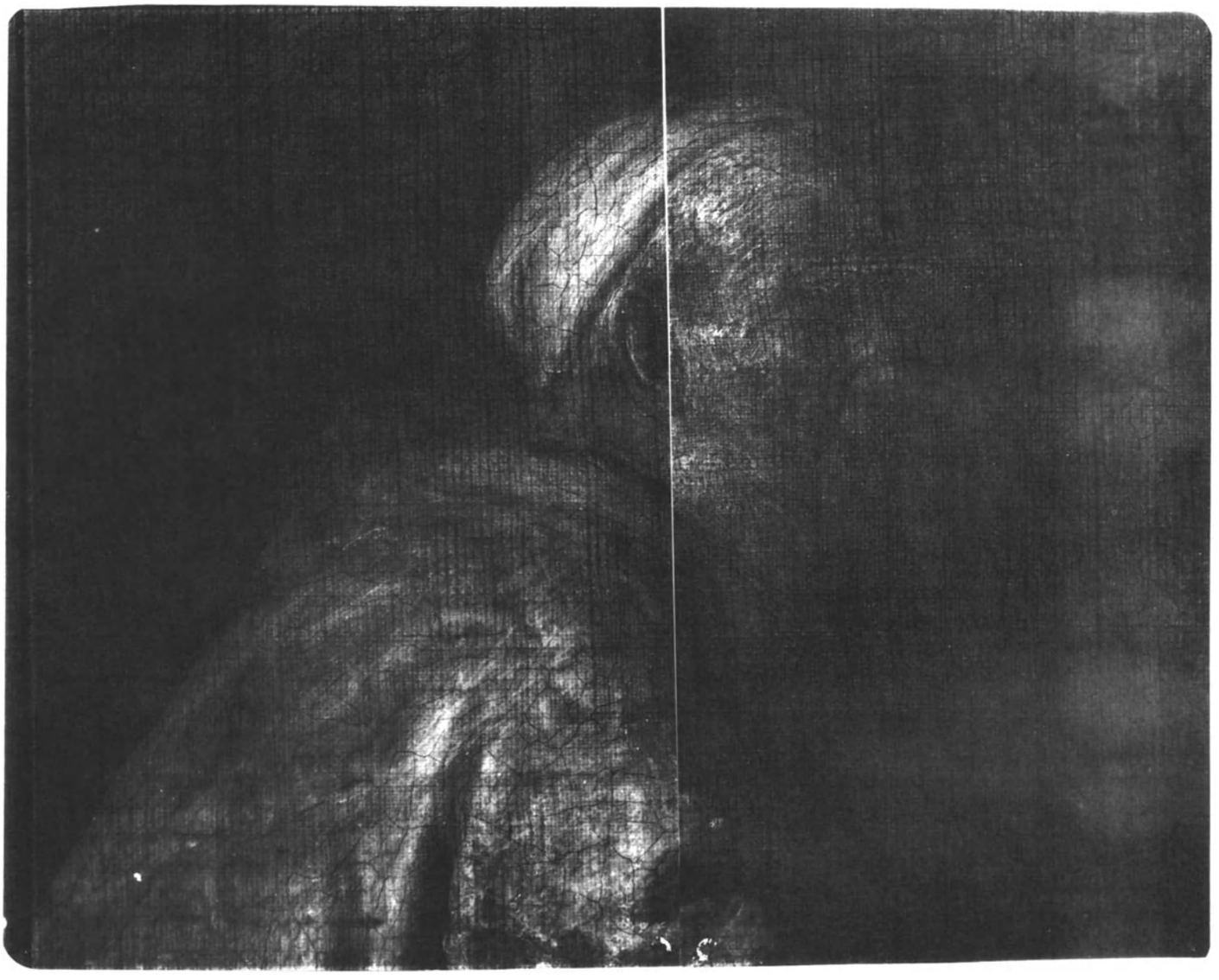
Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not seen with certainty.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: On the whole somewhat flattened. Worn and touched up at a few places, in particular in a number of dark areas of the view-through on the right. In some parts, such as the earthenware jug and Tobit's cap, small cracks have been closed with paint. Last cleaned in 1960[1], when according to the then owner no inpainting was done. Craquelure: the size of the craquelure pattern varies from one area to another. In the thinner, dark parts it is a fairly fine, irregular network, the cracks of which run erratically, sometimes continuing but often not; they have the appearance of shrinkage cracks, and are visible in the X-ray. In more thickly painted parts the pattern generally becomes coarser, showing a relation to the brushwork; for example, long horizontal cracks run through the horizontally-brushed paint of the illuminated floorboards, and this remarkable relationship can also be seen in the jug, in the foot on the left, in the doorpost and in the dark view-through on the right. It is even more striking that the cracks sometimes coincide with the boundaries of the painted forms – along large sections of the outline of Tobit's back, along the upper edge and (to a lesser extent) the lefthand side of the wooden shutter, along the heel of Tobit's right foot, along large parts of the outline of the hand spinning-wheel and along the lefthand end of the beam below the chimneybreast. The fissure-like nature of the craquelure might indicate that the artist frequently painted

Fig. 3. X-ray



on top of one or more layers of paint before they were completely dry. The quite exceptional connexion between the contours and the craquelure might also show that areas bordering one another were painted or gone over again at different times.

DESCRIPTION: The manner of painting varies. In some places (in areas where there is subdued lighting in the picture) there are soft, merging tints which show that the paint was applied in a fairly fluid state; in others the artist uses small touches of the brush with a mixture of colours; in others again there are long brushstrokes of thicker paint, once again mainly with various colours mixed or intermingled. In between the area of greys and browns with a little grey-blue on the left and the view-through done in muted tints on the right, Tobit – together with the objects to the right of him – forms the most brightly-lit and colourful centre-point of the colour composition, in a variety of greens and a gold colour inside a strongly-marked contour.

In the light, his head is executed in careful, parallel strokes of pale yellow with grey-white for the hair and beard and dark brown for the eyes and shadows, with a little pink used in the (noticeably large) ear. Strokes of white give the sheen of light on his cap, done in light grey. The flesh colour of his upper hand is made rather warmer than that of the head by using pink, greys and browns; these are applied with careful touches. The lower, more strongly-lit, veined hand is modelled painstakingly in pink, greys and some white; the illuminated arm is done in a pale yellow, with the veins in grey. The left leg is executed in similar fashion, together with the (remarkably large) left foot, seen in the light; this foot is painted, towards the right in the shadow, first in a somewhat translucent and then in a heavier grey. The right foot (which also strikes one as being large) has a great deal of detail in pink, brownish yellow, grey and white, with an ochre-coloured accent along the contour. The wide garment, enlivened with thinly brushed highlights, is predominantly moss green at the collar with brocade in lighter greens and grey-green in a pattern suggested by the brushwork and a few scratchmarks; sewn-on patches in ochre brown, with thin highlights, offer a subtle contrast to this, as does the lining of the wide sleeve painted vividly in greys, browns, a ruddy terracotta tint and some ochre yellow, applied in some places with thick, glancing touches and one or two scratchmarks. A

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

broad band reaching down to his feet is painted with smooth greys and a light-coloured sheen that show it to be made of satin. The brocade bands bordering this are shown in yellow-brown with small strokes and dabs of light yellow.

The wood-planked floor is painted in the foreground with firm, horizontal strokes of a sandy yellow, with ochre brown and light grey for the grain of the wood and darker brown and grey in the joins. To the left of this there is a darker, grey shadow area, above which greys with a little brown seem to represent an earth floor. Towards the right a stone slab, shown vaguely in an opaque grey, stands out against the floorboards, where a strand of straw and its cast shadow are strongly accentuated. The overturned jug forms a very colourful element in a reddish terracotta-brown with grey-white catch-lights and, on the belly and along the neck, a layer of grey in which small scratchmarks going down to the terracotta underneath and some blurred touches of colour (greys with a pale blue-green, green, ochre-yellow and grey-blue) show a decorative pattern. The overturned items of furniture behind it are drawn very sharply in grey-browns, an orangy brown and greys, with lighter yellow in the light and darker grey in the shadow; this is especially true of the well-worn backrest of the chair and the spinning-wheel with its meticulously rendered construction. The blending colour transitions used for modelling the objects make a major contribution to creating an illusionistic effect.

The illuminated plasterwork above them is done mainly in a quite even grey-brown, with sometimes thicker and sometimes thinner strokes of grey, grey-blue, greyish pink and ochre-yellow. The bricks are in a fairly thick terracotta-like brown, with accents of grey and grey-blue. The open shutter is executed in thickly painted colours – grey, a greyish pink and some brown – with brushstrokes parallel to the grain of the wood. The wooden doorpost is in a dirty brown mixed with grey.

The fireplace, seen partly in shadow, continues with its crumbling plaster and masonry in browns and greys the treatment already seen in the wall; the wooden beam is done in fairly flat browns with strokes following the grain. The winding staircase, done with brushstrokes following the grain, shows a mixture of browns and a thin grey. The plaster of the rear wall is in various lighter greys, with a light grey-blue and terracotta brown used for the bricks where these are revealed. The objects displayed in the middle ground are painted meticulously in broken tints, mainly of greys and browns, brown-grey and grey-blue, in minute detail (as, for instance, in the upholstery of the chair) or in larger fields of colour (as in the dish standing on edge), sometimes with blending patches of light in light grey and sometimes (as in the chair) with sharper edging of light or scarcely any sheen (as in the rough-textured edges of the staves of the wooden tub).

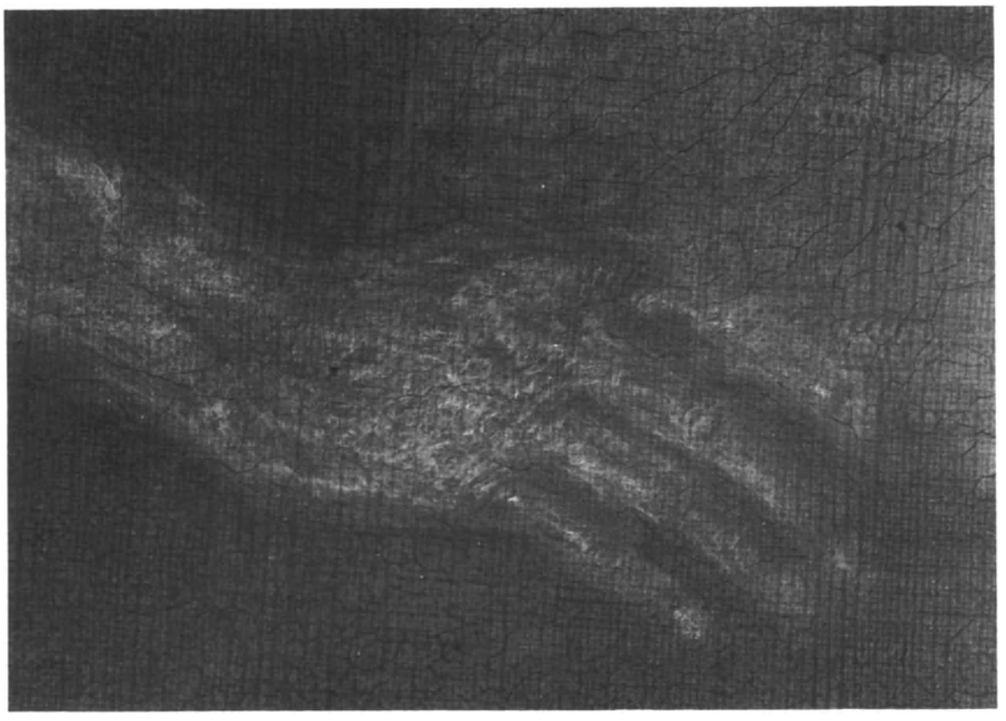
The view-through on the right is painted in less thorough detail and more thinly than the rest of the picture. This area has the most inpaintings. The young Tobias's gown is in a dark grey-blue, Anna's in brown and dark grey, and the angel's in an opaque brown-grey and greys (with internal detail that has been reinforced by a later hand), and the three of them form a compact group against the greys of the sky, which are lightest around the angel.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The areas giving a light image in the X-ray films available correspond very largely with what one would expect from the paint surface. Apart from a few largish edges of light and patches of sheen in Tobit's clothing, numerous small dabs and touches produce a cloudy, rather fuzzy picture, lacking the continuity of strong accents. In areas like his right hand and foot the match between the X-ray image and the brushwork at the paint surface is remarkably close.

Fig. 5. X-ray



This is not however true of all X-rayed passages; one notices that the cast shadow of the dog's left hindleg, visible in the paint as a narrow shape, appears in the X-ray as part of a broad, dark area in which, along Tobit's right foot and toes, there is no light zone to be seen such as there is in the paint layer. From this one may conclude that the floor area showing up light in the X-ray comes not from the top paint layer but from a layer applied in an earlier stage on top of which a far less radioabsorbent layer was later placed; narrower reserves were left in this latter layer for the shadows. Consonant with this is the fact that while the present ear of the overturned jug gives only a vaguely dark image, an earlier version of the same ear for which a reserve was evidently left in the earlier layer appears much darker, further over to the right: obviously, the jug was moved a little to the left during the course of the painting. This is confirmed by the fact that a reserve left in the chair stile in the light for the present top edge of the jug gives only a vague image, while a little to the right of this one can still just make out a darker reserve that must have been intended for the edge of the jug in its initial position. It is evident that the stile of the chair too, like the lit area of floor, was executed in a number of layers. It is noteworthy, moreover, that a light band is seen in the X-ray between the two stiles of the overturned chair, with its lefthand edge coinciding roughly with that of the shadow cast by the dog on the back of the chair while the righthand edge follows a curving line that does not match the present picture.

Around the dog's right hindpaw an oval ring, not completely closed, shows up somewhat lighter against fairly dark surroundings, giving an impression of being part of a shape for which preparations were made at this point in a light underpainting.

Likewise connected with a light underpainting, or at least with a version painted at an earlier stage, is the lightish radiographic image seen in the part of the cloak hanging over Tobit's shoulder and upper back; this does not match the present moss-green collar with its projecting contour and complicated folds, and must come from an earlier and more simply drawn form.

The plasterwork above Tobit's right hand appears quite light in the X-ray; it may have been covered over rather darker at a late stage.

Except for the signature, the scratchmarks seen in the paint surface do not appear in the available X-rays. In the film covering the area at the top left one can discern, in the slight concentration of white coming from the staircase (fifth plank from the left), the traces of an incised *R* (open on the left) followed by a smaller *L*.

Signature

At top left on the balustrade of the staircase, in scratchmarks in the paint going down to a dark brown ‹*RHL* (in monogram)›. The crossbar of the *H* is the least distinct component. The monogram with an *R* open to the left, the stem of which shows a marked curve at the bottom, and the *L* standing at some distance, shows little similarity of form with the monograms known from the years 1628 and 1629, and none at all with earlier and later ones. Upstanding edges of paint that has been pressed aside, such as usually occur when scratches are made in wet paint, are not seen. Besides the form and execution of the signature, its position high up in the background of a painting of this size is most unusual (see further under *4. Comments* below).

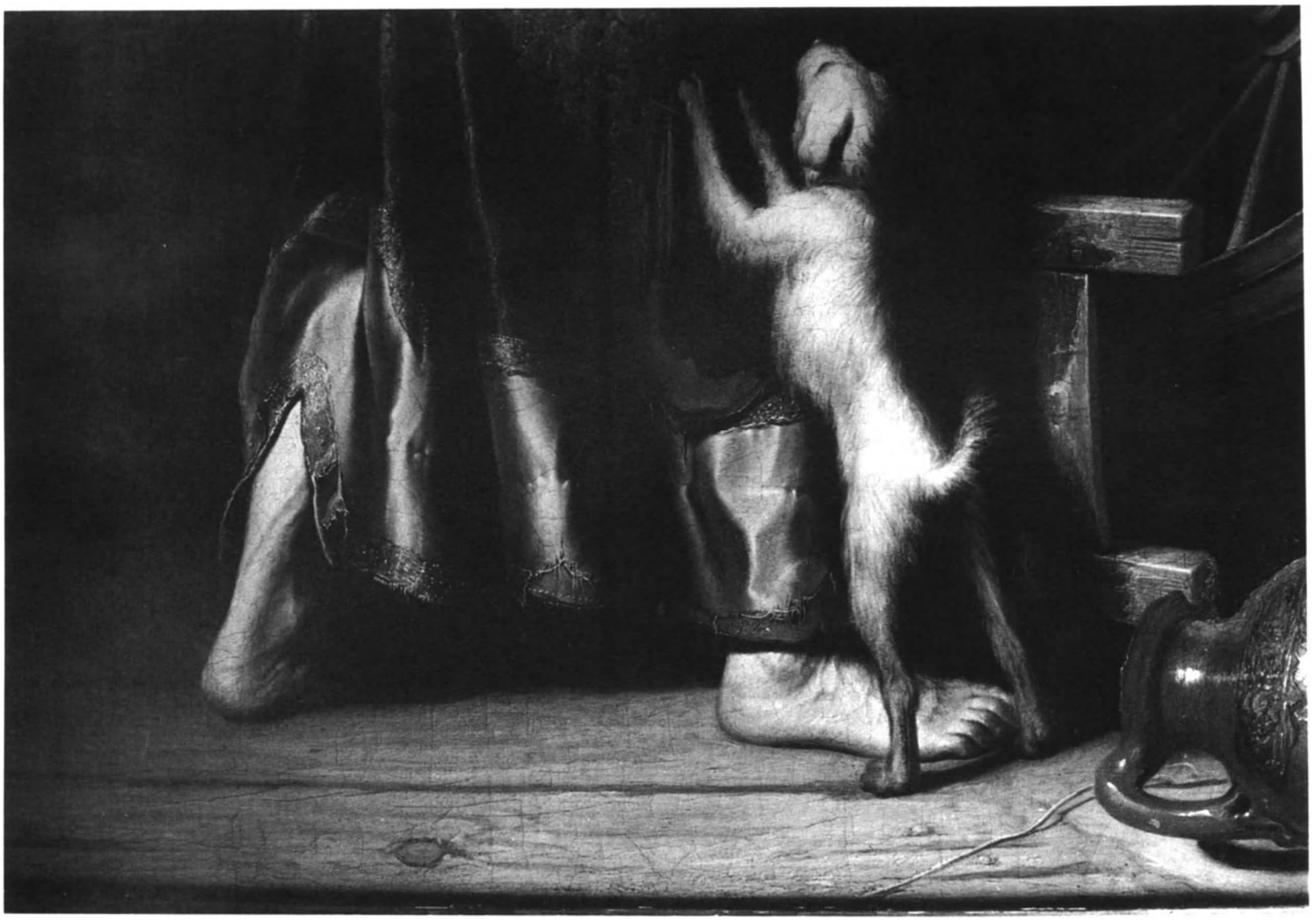
Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

The features of the paint layer described above provide a coherent picture of the genesis and construc-

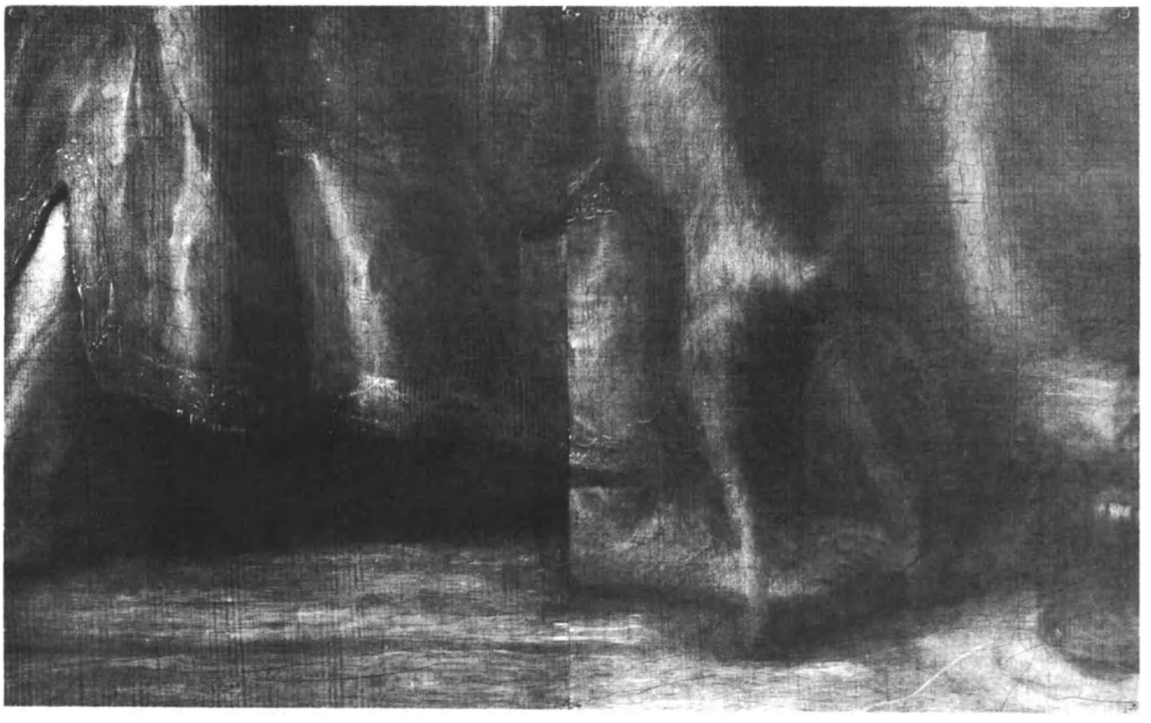
Fig. 6. Detail (1:3)



tion of this painting. The view-through on the right is painted fairly directly and relatively thinly in large areas of mostly subdued colours. Elsewhere the painting must have been done with small, occasionally rather blending touches of the brush, and in some parts in a number of layers. There is evidence of this in the shrinkage cracks occurring in some areas and in the X-rays, as well as in the fact that scratch-marks made in the top layer of wet paint in the decoration on the jug and in Tobit's garment do not go down to the ground and that the scratches in the area X-rayed do not show up in the radiograph. A grey containing white seems to have been mixed-in in areas where one would not expect it to such an extent – in the very thickly painted shutter and in various other planks, strips of wood and beams, and probably also in the bricks. In line with the method of working thus described is the striking absence of strong pictorial accents in vital areas such as flesh and draperies.

When these material features are compared with those seen in Rembrandt's work from his Leiden years, major differences are at once apparent. Compared to the forceful modelling of the draperies (which similarly contain white and are readily legible in the X-rays) in works – done, admittedly, on panel – such as the Amsterdam *Tobit and Anna* of 1626 (no. A 3), the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 (no. A 11) or the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13), the treatment of Tobit's dress is, even though materials are rendered effectively, laborious in its execution. This is even more true of the lit areas of flesh, which (both at the paint surface and in the X-ray) are in Rembrandt usually modelled in thicker paint applied with a brushstroke that while often fine has a markedly graphic quality;

Fig. 7. X-ray

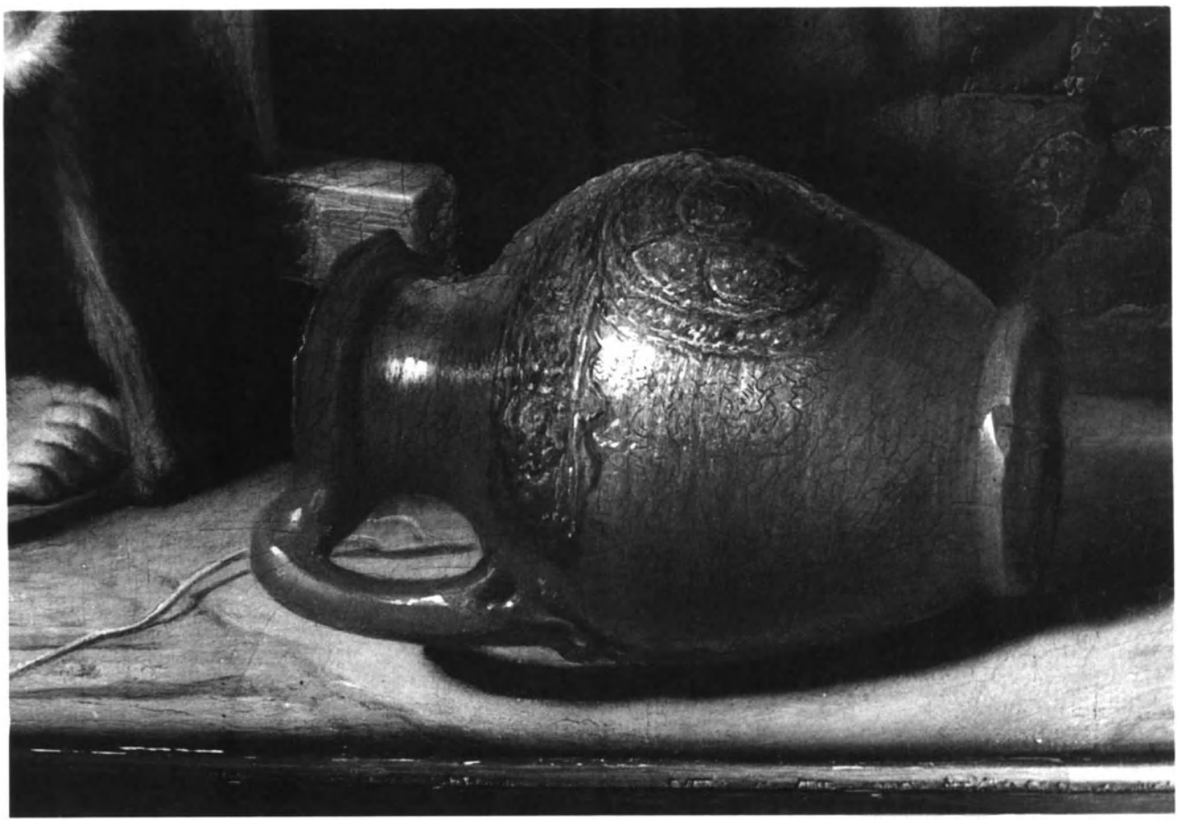


here, though sensitive, the brushwork is far more careful.

Shrinkage cracks appear repeatedly in works such as the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* of *c.* 1627 (no. A 12) and the *Judas repentant* of 1629 in a private collection (no. A 15). There however it can be explained either as working-up by means of a thin paint layer over a comparatively heavy underpaint in a limited area (the Joseph figure in the *Simeon in the Temple)*, or as the painting-over of smaller or larger areas in order to achieve changes in composition (as in the *Judas repentant*); it never occurs in large areas where no major changes were made. That the procedure used in this painting does indeed differ from Rembrandt's way of working (and for that matter from what can be described as the normal way of working) is, finally, plain from the close link between the contours and the craquelure; this must be termed most unusual, and must presumably be interpreted as the result of working-up the picture in several layers for each area.

This method, typified both by the recapitulation of shapes and the mixing and overlaying of different colours, seems to form part of the slow and painstaking rendering of minutely observed materials. Devoting untiring attention to the surface texture of wall-plaster and pottery, wood and cloth, to the constructional detail of the hand spinning-wheel, tub and the beam supporting the chimney-breast, to the signs of wear on objects in everyday use and even to cobwebs on the wall by the door, the artist has succeeded in creating an image that is totally convincing in the three separate parts into which the picture can be divided: the dimly-lit lefthand side, the twilight view through on the right and the strongly-lit foreground. The still-life in front of

Fig. 8. Detail (1 : 2)



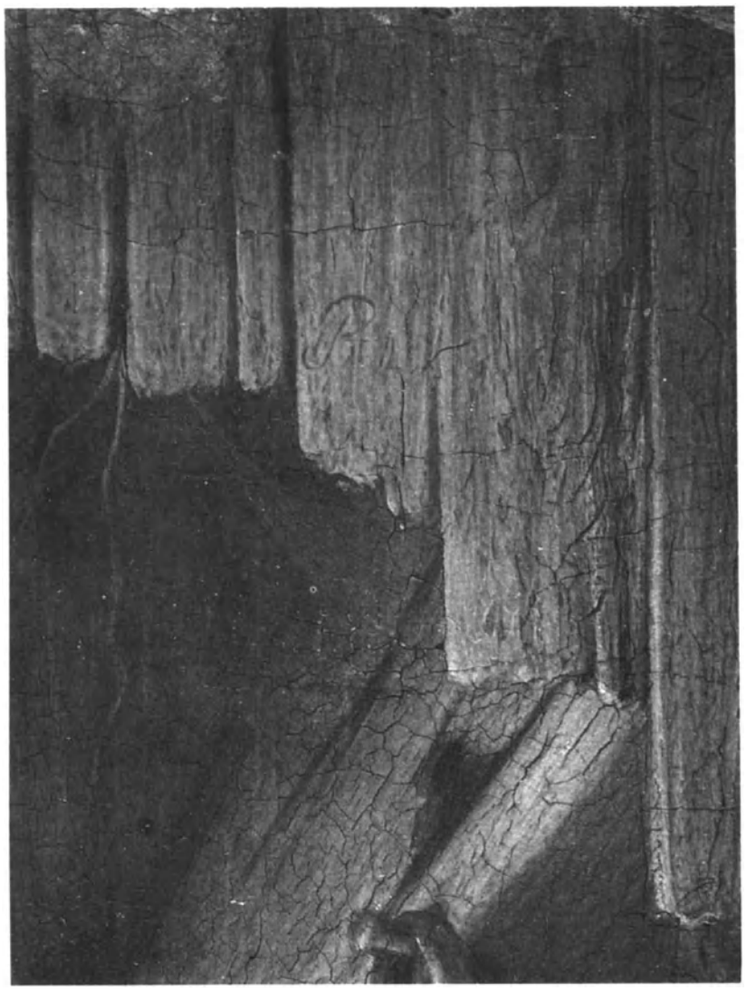
Tobit's feet almost amounts to a *trompe-l'oeil*.

In Rembrandt's early work there are many instances where one can find the same or similar motifs. Yet a comparison with, for instance, the *Tobit and Anna* of 1626 and the *Two old men disputing* of 1628 shows that in Rembrandt the rendering of materials, as an end in itself, was never given this degree of preeminence. On the contrary, materials such as draperies and books show a certain general resemblance to one another through their specific physical properties being subordinated to their pictorial appearance, the suggestion of plasticity of their billowing surface, their colour value as determined by a particular lighting and to the often sinuous rhythm of their outlines. Their constructional and material features interested Rembrandt less than their pictorial function. One does not, consequently, find the particular kind of textile emphasized to this extent in his Leiden work; most cloth materials are fairly thick, and fall in heavy, rounded folds suggested with a minimum of specific detail. Similarly, he shows crumbling plasterwork on a wall or floorboards with slight detail that enlivens the surface without emphasizing illusionistic effects, as for instance in the *Supper at Emmaus* in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (no. A 16) and the Boston *Artist in his studio* (no. A 18) both datable in 1629. The construction of a piece of wooden furniture, like the armrest of the chair and the reading-desk in the *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13), is closely observed without forcing itself to the viewer's attention as a motif.

In no. C 4 all these items have a more independent existence and are made less subservient to the dramatic context via the chiaroscuro. The artist has succeeded in maintaining the unity of the lighting in each part of the picture and has not, for all the extensive detail, lost sight of the main design. Yet neither the rhythmic cohesion of the forms nor the subordination of details to a concentration of interest dictated by the lighting and composition can be compared with what Rembrandt achieved in this respect during his Leiden years.

Here the composition is made difficult to follow by an overabundance of realistically depicted accessories as well as by a somewhat chaotic linear pattern resulting from a pictorially ineffective spatial construction. One must assume that Tobit has risen from his chair, yet the diagonal between the chair in the middle ground and the figure moving towards the right in the foreground, parallel to the picture plane, is interrupted by a zone of shadow, and the

Fig. 9. Detail with signature (enlarged)



colourfulness of the figure itself isolates it from the middle ground. The over-emphasized perspective, with a number of vanishing points one of which is highly excentric (it is placed outside the picture), is made especially noticeable by the fact that just above the figure moving to the right there is the leftwards-slanting accent of the fireplace. An accent like this is admittedly not unusual in Rembrandt's work (it can be compared with, for example, the patch of light on the wall in the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison*), but in this context it does, because of its three-dimensional implications, make a strange impression and does nothing to link the figure with its surroundings. The view-through on the right is not integrated into the picture all that successfully, mainly because though being out of doors it forms the most dimly lit part of the whole picture, and remains firmly isolated.

The colour scheme does not match the increasingly limited palette found in Rembrandt in the late 1620s. In particular, he does not have the numerous intermediate shades such as a less or more ruddy, opaque brown and a pinky-grey with blue-grey accents, nor the glaring terracotta of the earthenware jug or the various greens seen in Tobit's garment.

The conclusion we draw from all this is that neither the handling of paint, the stylistic approach nor the colouring will allow an attribution to Rembrandt. The fact that the comparisons made here relate to panels of smaller size does not invalidate this conclusion; the discrepancies are not adequately explained by a difference in support, and the scale of the figure of Tobit differs only slightly from that of, for example, the *S. Paul in prison* in Stuttgart.

The *RHL* monogram cannot therefore be accepted as a hallmark of authenticity. Is it a later addition by another hand? This might be indicated by the fact that though (as the X-ray shows) it was produced by the removal of paint, there are no raised edges of the kind usually shown by scratchmarks

made in wet paint (including those elsewhere in this painting); technically, this feature remains difficult to explain. The rather characterless shape of the letters allows for the notion of their being by another hand, and this is also suggested by the unusual form and strange placing of the signature.

The attribution to Rembrandt in fact dates only from the present century. In the B. Coymans sale of 19 March 1760 it was described as 'Koedyck, niet minder uytvoerig als van G. Dou' (Koedyck, no less elaborate than [work] by G. Dou), and subsequently in the G. Braamcamp collection as Dou[2], the latter name being then maintained right into the 20th century, though already in 1822 it was mentioned as 'more probably a Rembrandt' (cf. *8. Provenance* below). In 1936 A. Bredius and W. R. Valentiner made the attribution to Rembrandt[3]; this was maintained by van Rijckevorsel[4], von Moltke[5] and Haak[6], and further defended by Cevat[3].

When one tries to date the painting on stylistic criteria, one finds several elements that point to a date later than the years around 1628, the generally-assumed period of production. The very thoroughly differentiated rendering of materials represents in part a development from Rembrandtesque starting points (Tobit's patched clothing and veined skin; the crumbling plasterwork, etc.), but goes much further than anything one meets in any artist from Rembrandt's circle prior to 1630. In some respects (such as the treatment of Tobit's hands and arms) the treatment comes closer to that of Lievens in 1631 (*Job on the dungheap* in Ottawa); an attribution to Rembrandt and Lievens together[7] or to Lievens[8] has consequently already been suggested. Yet in Lievens, too, one would look in vain for the patient enumeration of so many accessories. Dou, whose name was given to the painting in the Braamcamp collection and whose authorship was championed by Held[9] and van Gelder[2], cannot be considered as a candidate for the attribution either. His early (and admittedly undated) works have in their interiors a more sober treatment of light (see, for instance, W. Martin, *Gerard Dou*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1913 (Kl. d. K.), pp. 64, 65, 101, 116); and in the larger heads (cf. the *Astronomer* in Leningrad, ibid. p. 22 left) there is an imperfect understanding of form with a blended use of paint that one does not see here. The variety already referred to in the rendering of materials, and in particular the rendering of the shiny white satin combined with the subtly-varied greens and the gold colour of Tobit's garment, are signs of an attention and sophistication one does not meet until around 1640. Finally, the group of kneeling, embracing figures shown in silhouette in the view-through on the right – quite successful if looked at in isolation – forms a motif that is admittedly reminiscent of Rembrandt's early work (cf. the silhouetted figures in the *Balaam* in the Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris, no. A 2), but because of its lively form it seems more imaginable around or after 1640 than *c.* 1630; one can even seem to detect in it traces of an influence from Rembrandt's work from the later 1630s (such as *The angel departs from Tobit and his family* of 1637, Br. 503, in Paris and the Dresden *Wedding feast of Samson* of 1638, Br. 507).

From this reasoning it would seem likely that the painting was produced not earlier than *c.* 1640. A dating as late as this finds some support in a comparison of the thread density of the canvas used with the few data that exist on this point (see under *Support* above); these could even indicate a date after 1660 or thereabouts. Bearing in mind the evident admiration for and emulation of the Leiden work of Rembrandt and Lievens, and of Dou as well, it is not improbable that one must look for the artist in Leiden. What is then remarkable is that the motifs and ideas extracted from these great models date mainly from around 1630. Eclecticism like this, ten years or so afterwards, remains something quite extraordinary, all the more surprising since this is the work of an artist who had a great mastery of form and shows considerable pictorial sophistication. This makes it hardly acceptable that he should be identified with Isaack Jansz. Koedijck (1616/17 – 1667/68, active in Leiden and Amsterdam), whose name was given to the piece in 1760 but whose work does not approach either the level or the specific style of no. C 4.

As we know, there is a further connexion with Rembrandt's work in the fact that both this painting and Rembrandt's etching B. 42 of 1651 use, for the figure of the blind Tobit, the formula provided by Raphael's blind Elymas from (the cartoon for) the Vatican tapestry of the *Blinding of Elymas*, a work that became known through, inter alia, the print of 1516 by Agostino Veneziano (in respect of the etching, see J. Veth in: *O.H.* 33 (1915), pp. 9–10); in both instances the right and left legs have been transposed compared to the prototype, though this may be explained through the use of an intermediate version. At all events, knowledge of this figure was by no means limited to Rembrandt. Cevat (op. cit.[3], p. 87, note 27, fig. 49) points to a drawing by Jacob Pynas (P. and N. de Boer Foundation, Amsterdam) in which the same prototype has been used for blind Tobit; on the other hand, Rembrandt himself did *not* use this figure in his early etching of the subject, B. 153. In any case, the motif was too wellknown for it to be possible to forge a specific link with Rembrandt on that score, unless one assumes that the unknown

artist took Rembrandt's 1651 etching as his model. This would give a more precise *terminus post quem.*

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Coll. B. Coymans, sale Amsterdam 19 March 1760 (Lugt 1088), no. 4; 'Een Blinde Tobias met Zyn Hondje, daar een Engel zyn Zoon aan zyn Moeder thuys brengt, van Koedyck, niet minder uytvoerig als van G. Dou. h. 3 v. 10 d. br. 5 v. 1½ d. [= 118 × 158 cm]' (A blind Tobit with his little dog, as an angel brings his son home to his mother, by Koedyck, no less elaborate than [work] by G. Dou) (115 guilders to van Diemen for Braamcamp).
– Coll. Gerrit Braamcamp, sale Amsterdam 31 July 1771 (Lugt 1950), no. 52: 'Douw (Gerard). Doek H. 42, br. 52 duim [= 108 × 133.5 cm]. Dit Schildery verbeeldt de Geschiedenis van Tobias. De Schilder heeft het oogenblik genoomen dat Tobias, door het streelen van zyn' hond, van zyn's Zoons aankomst verwittigd wordt. Men ziet deezen Gryzaard zeer yverig met de handen uitgestrekt als een' blinde hem te gemoete loopen; – voorts een' Tafel, Spinnewiel, Kruik, en dergelyke meer, welke hy in 't voortgaan schynt om ver gelooopen te hebben. Dit stuk is van eene fraaye ordonnantie, en de werkzaamheid der hartstogten is 'er verwonderlyk in uitgedrukt; het is veel in de manier van Rembrand geschilderd, wiens Leerling hy was.' (Douw (Gerard). Canvas. This painting shows the story of Tobit. The artist has chosen the moment when Tobit, through his dog's affectioned behaviour, becomes aware of his son's arrival. We see the old man rushing to meet him with great eagerness, with hands outstretched like a blind man; – there is also a table, spinning-wheel, jug and suchlike which he seems to have stumbled over in his haste. This piece is of fine composition, and the effect of the emotions is wonderfully portrayed in it; it is painted much in the manner of Rembrand, whose pupil he was). (290 guilders to P. Yver, via John Greenwood to R. Ansell).
– Coll. Robert Ansell, sale London 6–8 February 1772 (Lugt 1993), no. 57: 'G. Dow, The return of Tobias. This picture by its great effect of light and shaddow strikes you at first for a Rembrant, of whom Mr. Dow was a pupil.' (bought in for 110 guineas).
– Coll. Earl of Arundell, Wardour Castle, Tisbury, Wilts. (certainly before 1814) as Dou. Cf. John Britton, FSA, *The beauties of England and Wales* . ., XV, London 1814, p. 239 (as 'by Gerard Dow'); John Rutter, *An historical and descriptive sketch of Wardour Castle* . . ., Shaftesbury 1822, p. 48: 'Supposed to be by *Gerard Douw*, but is more probably a Rembrandt, amongst whose etchings is one, in which the subject is treated in a manner strikingly similar to this'.
– Coll. the late Anne Lucy Lady Arundell, Wardour Castle, sale London (Christie's) 12 July 1935, no. 64 as G. Dou (£651 to Asscher).
– Via dealer Asscher & Welker, London to dealer D. Katz, Dieren, 1935, as Rembrandt.
– Coll. Dr. C. J. K. van Aalst, Hoevelaken, 1936 as Rembrandt.
– Van Aalst sale, London (Christie's) 1 April 1960, no. 37 as Rembrandt.
– Coll. D. H. Cevat, St Peter Port, Guernsey, C I until 1978.

9. Summary

A satisfactory answer has still to be found to the problem set by this unusual and high-quality painting. On the one hand there are clear reminiscences of Rembrandt's work from the late 1620s together with certain similarities with work by Lievens from 1631 and early work by Dou, and on the other the conception is clearly different from that of any one of these artists, and the manner of painting and use of colour also differ from theirs. These would seem to constitute evidence for a somewhat later dating, not before 1640.

The history of the painting known from 1760 onwards sheds little light on the attribution. All that is obvious is that people have always seen it as having a Leiden character. But how (in 1760) it came by the name Koedijck is not clear. At all events, Isaack Koedijck can hardly be thought to have produced a painting of this quality. It is not improbable that the author of no. C 4 must be looked for in Leiden.

REFERENCES

1 Exhibition catalogue *Rondom Rembrandt*, Leiden 1968, no. 34 (with further references).
2 Van Gelder 1953, p. 292 (p. 20); C. Bille, *De Tempel der Kunst of het kabinet van den Heer Braamcamp* II, Amsterdam 1961, p. 13 no. 52.
3 D. Cevat, 'The Braamcamp Tobit', *Neue Beiträge zur Rembrandt-Forschung*, Berlin 1973, pp. 83–88 (with further references); esp. pp. 85–86, note 23.
4 J. L. A. A. M. van Rijckevorsel, 'Een vroege Rembrandt', *Historia* III (1937), pp. 298–300.
5 J. W. von Moltke, *Dutch and Flemish Old Masters in the collection of Dr. C. J. K. van Aalst*, Huis-te-Hoevelaken, Holland, privately printed 1939, p. 270, pl. 65.
6 Haak 1969, pp. 52–53.
7 G. Isarlov, 'Rembrandt et son entourage', *La Renaissance*, July-September 1936, pp. 1–50, esp. p. 16.
8 Münz II, p. 85 under no. 171; W. Sumowski, [review of Bauch 1960], *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 214 (1962), pp. 201–211, esp. p. 208.
9 J. S. Held, *Rembrandt and the Book of Tobit*, Northampton, Mass. 1964, p. 31, note 9; idem, *Rembrandt's Aristotle and other Rembrandt studies*, Princeton 1969, p. 113, note 14.

C 5 The flight into Egypt

TOURS, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS

HdG –; BR. –; BAUCH 43; GERSON 8; BR.-GERSON 532 A

Fig. 1. Panel 27.5 × 24.7 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray

Fig. 3. Infrared photograph of detail with signature (enlarged)

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved painting that was produced in Rembrandt's immediate circle around 1630 – possibly by Gerard Dou – and appears to be from the same hand as nos. C 10 and C 18.

2. Description of subject

The scene is based on Matthew 2: 13–14. In the darkness Mary and the Child, seated on an ass led by Joseph, move from the left rear towards the right front; like the sandy path in their immediate surroundings they are lit by an invisible light source. The belongings carried on the ass's back behind Mary comprise a bag and Joseph's tools (a carpenter's brace and a saw); a piece of drapery on top of them may be a blanket or forms part of her clothing. In the left foreground some thistles stand out against the lit path.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 20 April 1971 (P. v. Th., E. v.d. W.) by daylight and good artificial light and out of the frame. An X-ray by the Rijksmuseum covering the whole picture was available, together with an infrared photograph of the signature.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 27.5 × 24.7 cm. Thickness at bottom varies from 0.5 cm at right to 0.95 cm at left. Single plank. Back bevelled along top edge only, with the ridge running obliquely. The lefthand side and bottom edge clearly show traces of a fairly coarse saw, and this and the previous observation suggest that the panel has been reduced in size at the left and bottom.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A yellowish-white colour can be seen through wearing at the top edge, and may be the ground layer.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Some local paint loss, e.g. in Mary's cloak, around and in her face and headgear and in the right background, can be seen in the X-ray. As far as can be seen through the badly cracked layer of varnish, there are restorations in the background and the cast shadow, and the black lines in the shadow part of Joseph's clothing appear to have been subsequently strengthened. Craquelure: apart from that in the varnish, no craquelure was seen.
DESCRIPTION: The paint is in general more thickly applied in light than in dark areas. In light areas the brushmarks are clearly apparent; in the clothing of the figures they are relatively broad and follow the folds, usually lengthwise. Because of the paint condition Mary's face can no longer be judged properly; the Child's face is in a greyish flesh colour, painted quite simply as a round with a fairly broad brushstroke. The halo consists of a whitish touch of paint surrounding the head, and spills out a little above and to the side. In the shadowed head of Joseph the brushwork can scarcely be seen. His straw hat shows sharp, angular catchlights in an ochre colour. His hand holding the staff is painted with tiny strokes in various flesh tints, ochre and grey.

The ass's head and neck are in greys and ochre tints, portrayed effectively and deftly with touches of the brush that render both the structure and the rough silkiness of the skin. The structure of the hindquarters is unclear, and there is little rendering of texture.

Accessories such as the bag with its orange-coloured upper edge, the carpenter's brace and saw, the satchel at Joseph's belt and his staff are all done with thick edges of light and highlights in small, thin streaks of paint. The thistles in the foreground stand out against the light tone of the sandy path, but are rather uncertain in form and have no internal detail. The path, in the light, is in greys and ochre done with brushstrokes that are clearly apparent and run in various directions; it shows most impasto just above the thistles and becomes thinner and browner towards the shadows. The background today presents no brushmarks or detail of any kind.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

There are clear indications of an earlier painting, which is not distinguishable in any detail. Above Mary's head one can see, starting at her shoulder, the light image of an almost semicircular and clearly modelled form – probably that of a bald head, lit from the left (also visible to the naked eye in the paint relief). A dark reserve in a somewhat lighter area of background adjoining this to the right can be read as the upper part of a back and shoulder, so that one gets the picture of an old man bent forward. A dark area that intersects the legs of Joseph and the hind legs of the ass may form part of a reserve for an open book that the old man is reading. An irregular light shape stretching from Joseph's right shoulder down to the lefthand edge of the panel appears to represent cloth draped over an arm.

The radiographic image of the present picture corresponds entirely with the visible paint image. There are no appreciable discrepancies that would indicate changes made during the painting process.

It can be concluded from the X-ray that the artist used a panel that had already been painted on. This panel was, since it now has only one bevelled edge and shows sawmarks, probably cut down in size before being re-used.

Signature

At the lower right, thinly in grey ‹*RH* (in monogram) *1627*›. The last two figures of the date are difficult to make out, and have previously been read as 25^{1}. The monogram type is to some extent like others from the Leiden period, e.g. that on the

Fig. 4. Ascribed to Rembrandt, *The rest on the flight into Egypt*, etching (B. 59)

Basle *David before Saul* of 1627 (no. A 9), but the almost vertical letters are somewhat uncertain in their stance and stand, uncharacteristically, on a slightly rising line. The inscription's authenticity is extremely doubtful. The signature became visible during cleaning in or shortly before 1952[2], the date during a subsequent cleaning[3]. They were recorded but not accepted as Rembrandt's in a sale's catalogue of 1785 (see *8. Provenance*); the year was then read as 1622.

Varnish

There is a layer of varnish with quite severe craquelure.

4. Comments

The X-ray shows that there is an earlier painting beneath the one seen today. This can be interpreted as a knee-length picture of an old man reading (S. Jerome? a hermit?) of a somewhat Caravaggesque type, though the scale of the figure does not match that of the Utrecht Caravaggists; nor does the format, even when allowance is made for the fact that the panel must have been truncated at the left and bottom before it was painted on for the second time. The fact that a panel was re-used is not uncommon in Rembrandt's work, though this has mainly been found to happen in the case of informal pictures ('tronies' and one *modello*, no. A 9).

There is a fairly broad basis for comparing this picture with Rembrandt's early works. The composition, with its clear diagonal effect, comes close to that of the *Balaam* in the Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (no. A 2); in other respects it is also comparable with the etched *Flight into Egypt* (B. 54) of *c.* 1628. On this ground a direct link with Rembrandt's work must already be assumed. The application of paint also presents a number of similarities but these turn out to be of a rather superficial kind. In the suggestion of structure and texture of the objects depicted it is clearly inferior to that in paintings like the *Balaam*, the Amsterdam *Tobit and Anna* of 1626 (no. A 3), the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 (no. A 11) and the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no A 13). In particular, little attempt has been made to vary the rendering of different materials by using paint in differing ways. Especially in the lit parts, the handling of paint tends to be somewhat sluggish and to lack structural precision, despite the occasional addition of draughtsmanlike highlights. This is plain in the figure of Mary as a whole, the rendering of accessories such as the bag with the carpenter's brace and saw, and Joseph's hat and staff. The saw, for example, has become a rather ragged-edged object, and the staff an uninteresting and almost straight stick that is less convincing than the staff held by Balaam (in no. A 2). A comparison of the plants seen in the foreground of the same picture is even more strongly to the disadvantage of no C 5.

All in all, the execution of the painting is such that the attribution to Rembrandt, which was alternately accepted and rejected in the later 18th century (see *8. Provenance*) and was posited anew by Benesch[2], is not a tenable one. The signature and dating, which inspire little confidence, cannot stand in the way of this conclusion; bearing this in mind, the date of 1627 too loses its significance, and one can do no more than assume a date before or around 1630, roughly subsequent to the Rembrandt paintings used here as a model. One should think of an artist in Rembrandt's immediate circle, someone who was well acquainted with his work and was probably a direct pupil. The first name that comes to mind is that of Gerard Dou, whose earliest production is still something of a mystery. This idea is supported when one compares no. C 5 with a picture of *A painter in his studio* (panel 19 × 24.5 cm, private collection; fig. 5) which borrows a number of motifs straight from Rembrandt's works from 1628 and 1629 the easel from the Boston *Artist in his studio* (no. A 18) and the candle, the globe and the high table from the Melbourne *Two old men disputing*. Though not bearing a signature, this painting may safely be attributed to Dou on the strength of a number of objects that recur frequently in similar paintings he made of the subject. In the application of paint and, especi-

Fig. 5. Gerard Dou, *A painter in his studio*, private collection

ally, in the stress on lit edges of furniture and highlights on the draperies, it presents sufficient similarities to no. C 5 to make an attribution of the latter to Dou worth considering.

Tümpel[4] assumed that a print by Tempesta served as one model for no. C 5. Reference has also been made[5] to a connexion with an etching of the *Rest on the flight into Egypt* (B. 59; our fig. 4) which is attributed to Rembrandt and usually dated 1626[5]; it is indeed noticeable that the head of the ass is virtually identical, and that motifs such as Joseph's straw hat and saw appear with roughly the same shape (but in a different arrangement) though in this form neither of them is part of tradition. Mary's headgear and the thistles in the foreground, too, are roughly similar in the etching and the painting. The attribution of this etching to Rembrandt is, however, open to a good deal of dispute, and the possibility of both being by the same hand is worth considering.

The *Nocturnal scene* in Tokyo (no. C 10) and the *Man writing by candlelight* in the Bader collection, Milwaukee (no. C 18) are probably by the same artist.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

*– Coll. Johannes Lodewijk Strantwijk, sale Amsterdam 10 May 1780 (Lugt 3139), no. 207: 'Rembrant, hoog 11, breed 10 [= 28.2 × 25.7 cm] op paneel. De Vlugt van Maria en Joseph naar Egipten. Maria zit op een Esel, dewelke door Joseph geleid word, kragtig en fraay van licht en donker geschildert' (Rembrant, on panel. The Flight of Mary and Joseph into Egypt. Mary sits on an ass which is led by Joseph, vigorously painted with beautiful chiaroscuro) (40 guilders to de Wilde). Cf. HdG 86 b.

*– Anonymous sale, Amsterdam 5ff December 1785 (Lugt 3959), no. 124: 'Een Vlugt naar Egipten, in hetzelve ryd Maria met het Kindtje op een Ezel, hetwelke door Joseph geleid word, kragtig en fraay in de manier van Rembrand, door R.H. 1622. hoog 11, breed 10 duim' (... vigorously and beautifully painted in the manner of Rembrand by R.H. 1622...) (20 guilders to Fouquet).

– Coll. Chaussemiche, near Tours, from the end of the 19th century.

– Given to the Musée de Tours by the widow of Benjamin Chaussemiche[6] in 1950.

9. Summary

No. C 5 has been painted on a panel that had already been painted on and that was re-used (after being reduced in size). While the subject and composition of this painting do show similarities to those in early works by Rembrandt, the weaknesses in its presentation and execution militate against an attribution to him.

No C 5 was probably done around 1630 by a painter from Rembrandt's immediate circle – possibly Gerard Dou – to whom the *Nocturnal scene* (no. C 10) and the *Man writing by candlelight* (no. C 18) can also be attributed.

REFERENCES

1 Exhibition cat. *Rembrandt*, Stockholm (Nationalmuseum) 1956, no. 1; B. Lossky, 'Le "premier nocturne" de la période leydoise de Rembrandt', *Journées internationales d'études d'art, Cahiers de Bordeaux* 6 (1959), pp. 45–49.
2 O. Benesch, 'An unknown Rembrandt painting of the Leiden period', *Burl. Mag.* 96 (1954), pp. 134–135.
3 Exhibition cat. *Rembrandt als Leermeester*, Leiden (Lakenhal) 1956, no. 1.
4 Tümpel 1971, pp. 22–23, illus. 1 and 3.
5 Exhibition cat. *Bijbelse Inspiratie*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1964/65, no.32.
6 Exhibition cat. *Le Siècle de Rembrandt*, Paris (Petit Palais) 1970/71, no. 168.

C 6 The rest on the flight into Egypt

FORMERLY LUDLOW, DOWNTON CASTLE, COLL. DENIS LENNOX

HDG 87; BR. 540; BAUCH –; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

A painting, well preserved in parts, that has only vague points of contact with the work of Rembrandt and was certainly not painted either by him or with his collaboration.

2. Description of subject

The Holy Family is shown seated in the centre of the picture area. Behind them the righthand side of the painting is occupied by a towering cliff-face in front of which, to the right of Mary, there is a dead, gnarled oaktree whose thick branches project as a fork towards the top left. To the left of the cliff-face one sees a hilly wooded landscape. Mary is suckling the infant Jesus, wrapped in a blanket and lying on her lap in the crook of her right arm; she supports her breast in her left hand. Joseph, diagonally behind her to the left, reads from a thick book laid on a rock covered with a cloth. A cloth or cloak lies in the sandy foreground, together with a stick and a gourd. To the right of these there are large leaves of burdock with some flowers. At the upper right a basket cradle, a saddle with leather girth and a travelling bag hang from the tree.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 17 June 1971 (B. H., P. v. Th.) in excellent daylight and in the frame. Three X-ray prints (one covering the cradle, one the group of figures and one showing the major part of the sky with the two branches), one ultraviolet and one infrared photograph received subsequently.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 77.6 × 64 cm. Three planks, with approximate widths of (l. to r.) 16.7, 26.4 and 20.9 cm; these are of uneven thickness, averaging *c.* 0.7 cm at the left and *c.* 0.9 cm at the right. Back unbevelled.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellow ochre colour shows through at a number of points, as in Mary's neck, in the foreground by Joseph's cloak, and in the bottom righthand corner.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: In the upper half the sky shows a lumpy paint surface and a drab colour. The foliage between the fork of the tree-branch is a crusty layer of green and brown paint in which there is some paint loss. Mary's skirt has, in the light areas, a lumpy paint surface similar to that already mentioned in the sky, while the dark parts have a slightly crusty paint like that of the foliage just described. All these areas differ clearly in their structure from the remainder of the paint layer, and probably do not belong to the original paint. Where the foliage within the forked branch is concerned this seems to be confirmed by the infrared photograph, which shows a differing structure in this part of the picture. The painting is otherwise in good condition, apart from the shadow parts of Mary's face which have suffered a little. Previous to the last restoration of the painting (date unknown) Mary's foot was overpainted. Craquelure: in the sky, at the top, there is a network of numerous small cracks, with concentration in small and large shapes. At the bottom the paint is cracked less severely, though in a similar pattern. The paint has formed 'floes' in Mary's skirt. The shadow side of the horizontal branch of the tree has a regular horizontal and vertical craquelure, and this recurs above the trunk and basketwork cradle. Apart from this there is hardly any other cracking to be seen.
DESCRIPTION: In assessing the paint layer the upper half of the sky, the foliage between the fork of the branch and Mary's skirt have to be left out of consideration (see above under CONDITION). The application of paint differs a great deal locally, both in the brushwork and in its thickness. Generally speaking there is a link between the way the paint is applied and the kind of object being portrayed. In the objects hanging on the tree and in the foreground, forming still-lifes, the manner of painting is extremely careful and provides highly-developed detail. The basket cradle, in particular, has been executed in a painfully meticulous way; each strand of the wickerwork has been given its highlight and edging of shadow, and broken ends are rendered quite precisely. The whole has been carried out very skilfully, and achieves a high measure of verisimilitude. Though other objects are carefully observed, there has been no attempt in them to reach this extreme illusionistic effect; in them, too, the paint is often more thickly applied, especially in the wooden parts of the harness, the travelling bag and the stick lying on the ground. Within the figures, again, one finds variations in the degree of attention to detail and in the brushwork. Mary's foot, for example, is very carefully modelled: the play of light on each part of it has been depicted with extreme care and great plasticity, in fairly thick, light ochre-coloured paint, a trace of white and a little pinkish white. Even the toenails have been carefully rendered. In her face, too, the artist has aimed at a high degree of plasticity, using quite strong contrasts of light and a fairly extensive range of detail. The highest lights are painted relatively thickly and shadow areas are thinner, though in the latter the deepest shadows (like those under the nose and at the corner of the mouth) have been done in thick paint. In general the painter has worked from an underlayer in a yellowish flesh tone on which he has placed the lights, so that the underlay acts as an intermediate tone. The larger areas of shadow, like that at the neck, are fitted into reserves in the flesh tone. Particularly at the neck this has an opaque and somewhat muddy appearance. The depiction of form – supported in general by the brushwork – is weak in the breast area and, even more so, in Mary's left hand. The child's head is painted quite thinly in a yellowish ochre colour, using pink for the highest lights. Joseph's head consists of a light brown underlayer with detail drawn in grey and a very dark grey for the crescent-shaped eyes. The highest lights on the forehead and cheek are applied with a fine brush, using mainly horizontal strokes in light pink and grey.

A rather bolder brushstroke with thicker paint has, in general, been used in the clothing, though here – especially in the ornamentation – a certain amount of attention has been paid to detail. Mary's headgear consists of a white cloth, painted with distinct strokes with a fair degree of impasto, and a grey cloth above this also done in long strokes with an occasional touch of ochre colour and dark grey lines for the folds. A decorative pattern is indicated in bluish-green and an ochre colour. The part projecting above this is painted thickly in grey, with well-observed shadow and light achieving a strongly plastic effect. The jacket is in a brown-grey, painted fluently with distinct brushwork; the pattern of the decoration is indicated quite cursorily with a little ochre colour, blue-green and grey.

The white shirt worn by the child is painted heavily with grey shadows that are, so to speak, incised into the white paint. The blanket in which he is wrapped is done in a thick, pinkish, slightly orangy brown, with blue-grey for the pattern. The

Fig. 1. Panel 77.6 × 64 cm (before restoration; reproduced after: W. Bode and C. Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt* I, Paris 1897)

cloth wound round outside this is in long, fine strokes of ochre colour, with crosswise grey and dark grey brushstrokes for the decorative motif.

Joseph's clothing is executed quite perfunctorily in a purplish grey, using broad fields of colour without much visible brushwork. The book is in a muddy and ochrish white, awkwardly formed and painted with little suggestive effect, using wavering lines of grey for the text. In the shadowed edges of the pages there are very fine, hairline scratchmarks in the brownish-grey paint.

The foreground is rather indefinite in character, and done in very thin paint with a broad brush in an ochre colour and light greys. The touches of paint are placed with great care against the contours of the objects and figures, with brushstrokes following these outlines. To the left, below Mary's foot and at some distance from it, one sees a number of slanting scratchmarks that have been partly filled-in again, possibly by a very thin, fluid layer of grey paint that seems to overlie practically the whole of the foreground.

In the burdock-leaves in the right foreground the manner of painting is at some places broad and at others – where it renders the veins and stems of the leaves, drawn in with fine lines – extremely accurate. A wide variety of browns, ochre tints and muted greenish greys is used here.

The treetrunk, lost in shadow at the bottom, is painted further up – where it receives increasingly more light – with very wide, thick strokes in a range of browns and greys. The patchy touches and strokes of paint, some slightly dabbed or applied with a glancing contact of the brush, in part lie one over the other. They form a thick layer the stratified build-up of which can be clearly made out, partly as the result of an ochre-coloured underlayer remaining exposed here and there. Slightly curved vertical lines have been placed round the upper branch extending to the left; some of these have an edging of light the outlines of which form furrows in the paint layer of the tree. These are probably meant to represent rope, and the overpaints in the fork of the branch might perhaps (though this cannot be proved) be connected with the shape of an object hanging from the rope that originally adjoined them at the bottom.

The area of cliff-face immediately below the overhanging branches is painted with long, broad, horizontal brushstrokes in thick browns and greys. Below this, ivy-leaves are shown with sometimes very thick splotches of paint. The rock-face further down still is done with a thin, wiping touch with broad strokes; it is rather confused, and has little suggestive effect.

To the left of this area the trees and bushes, seen further off in the background, are to a great extent painted on top of a sky that was laid-in earlier; they are done with strokes and dabs of green and brown, and extensively worked with short and one or two longer, deep scratchmarks that expose the sky behind. The distant view is painted thinly in a lighter greenish grey; the brushmarks in the sky beneath it can be made out.

On the left, directly above the trees, the sky is painted quite thickly with clearly-apparent brushstrokes mainly running diagonally downwards to the right. Slightly further up there are also long scratchmarks, generally following the same direction as the brushstrokes. At the top the paint layer merges into the lumpy surface already described.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The general impression gained from the prints available confirms the differences noted in the handling of paint between the various parts of the picture. One finds, however, that the concentrations of white (radiotranslucencies) are not – especially in the figure-group – what one would expect from examining the paint surface. In some places, for example, the flesh areas show up hardly if at all, whereas Joseph's shirt and various shadow areas (along Mary's shoulder, on the ground below her leg and skirt, and below Joseph) do appear in the X-ray. This indicates that areas like these were first painted-in light and then toned down.

In the overpainted section between the forked branches of the tree the X-ray shows an area that appears somewhat blotchy, but darker than the equally patchy sky. The modelling edges of light on the foliage along the cliff-face stop short just below the lower thick branch, at exactly the same point where the character of the leaves changes in the infrared photograph as well. In the two branches the brushstrokes and concentrations of white offer a different appearance from that at the present paint surface.

Signature

None.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

In the handling of paint, treatment of light and colour-scheme, no. C 6 shows no more than a very distant affinity with Rembrandt's work.

In the sections showing most detail, such as the wickerwork cradle, there is far more of an illusionistic effect than Rembrandt ever provided. In areas showing a more spontaneous use of paint no. C 6 betrays a limited power of expression: the invariably visible brushwork certainly follows the forms, but provides little real support to the depiction of shape, which in by far the greater part of the figures shows evident shortcomings. In the most freely painted parts, such as the lighter sections of the treetrunk, paint is applied in a way quite foreign to Rembrandt, and indeed in a way that can be termed exceptional for the whole of the 17th century. Apart from the scratchmarks in the groups of trees in the background, those found elsewhere in the paint layer are most unusual. Because of this, a certain resemblance one can see to the landscape background in Rembrandt's *Abduction of Proserpina* in Berlin (no. A 39) – similarly partly painted over a sky laid-in previously – loses its significance. In colour and design the landscape comes closest to the work of the Haarlem school of tonal landscape painters like Pieter de Molijn, Salomon Ruysdael and Jan van Goyen, but in the bold painting of the foliage and the use of scratchmarks it shows a technique fundamentally different from that of this school.

The most concentrated light falls on Mary (especially the skin areas), on the child and to some extent on Joseph; yet one cannot say that this has been effectively exploited as it invariably is with

Rembrandt. This is due in part to an undefined fall of light on the surrounding landscape.

In some parts of the picture the use of colour is uncomplicated and limited, as in the background on the left, while in others such as the lit trunk of the tree it is unexpectedly varied, albeit within a limited range. The overall impression made by the painting in this respect is however one of a lack of cohesion; there is no harmony between the various areas. This lack of cohesion is exacerbated by the fact that the group of figures is not integrated into the landscape. The still-life in the foreground, too, has little link with its surroundings; one reason for this is the way the foreground has been painted where it adjoins these objects, and there is no properly worked-out shadow effect.

In trying to date the painting, the only feature that really gives anything to go on is the colour and type of the landscape; these do fit to some extent into the Haarlem School just mentioned (the influence of which in fact extended to other towns as well), and on this basis the year of production could be put at around 1635–40. Though the type and manner of painting of the Joseph figure do not clash with this, the fact cannot be taken as any clear confirmation of this dating. This is even more true of the figure of Mary; though this does, it is true, bear a certain general resemblance to the Mary in Rembrandt's etching of the *Holy family* of *c.* 1632 (B. 62), the strongly plastic treatment of the head and foot are more likely to be post-1640. The still-life items, and in particular the wickerwork cradle, are difficult to imagine outside the Leiden school of painters, and could date from about 1635 until quite late in the century. The strange headgear worn by Mary, which certainly seems to be a degenerate version of headdresses that occur in mid-16th-century German prints, provides no solution.

Though one is tempted, by the difference in the manner of painting within the work itself and by the lack of cohesion in the composition, to assume that this is an instance of collaboration between two artists, it proves difficult to draw any self-evident dividing line between the still-life and figures on the one hand and the landscape on the other (or, less likely, between the still-life on the one hand and the figures and landscape on the other). The difference in the handling of paint in fact occurs gradually, as will be plain from the description. Added to this there is the fact that the landscape does not carry the stamp of any artist known as a landscape painter. A collaboration between two artists is thus improbable, though it cannot be entirely ruled out.

Rembrandt's authorship was rejected by Rosenberg[1], an attribution to Dou, perhaps with the help of Rembrandt, that is often suggested in the literature[2] naturally depends very largely on the still-life. The landscape in the background does have something vaguely Rembrandtesque about it, but if one wants to see a Rembrandt pupil in this then Flinck would be a more likely candidate, on the grounds of his painting of the same subject dated 1636 (panel 50 × 75 cm, signed and dated 1636; Bayeux, Musée de Peinture; cf. J.G. van Gelder in: *Kunsthistorische Mededelingen van het Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie* I (1946), pp. 26–28; J.W. von Moltke, *Govaert Flinck*, Amsterdam 1965, no. 48).

One has to conclude, therefore, that the painting as a whole does not have enough of a clearly recognizable style for it to be attributed to a given painter or two painters working in collaboration, or even to be pinpointed with certainty within any local school, though one might on the basis in particular of the still-life think in terms of Leiden. A curious mixture of quality and incompetence, an ill-balanced use of colour, an inconsistent handling of light and a somewhat incoherent composition are characteristic features of no. C 6. The thought even occurs that its author was combining a variety of motifs and techniques at a time when they were no longer properly understood. On the other hand one is reminded of a similar painting, unconvincingly attributed to Rembrandt and Dou and indeed showing a comparable hybrid character and a closely similar treatment, viz. the *Parable of the hidden treasure* in the Budapest Museum (no. 342; A. Czobor, *Rembrandt und sein Kreis*, Budapest 1969, pp. 9–10).

One iconographic curiosity is the absence of the ass that normally appears in paintings of this subject, while the saddle belonging to it is shown.

Added note: The authenticity of no. C 6 was recently upheld by Wright, who mentioned that 'a light cleaning of what appeared to be relatively recent overpaint revealed the *RHL* monogram placed sideways on the hanging basket'. This monogram is purported to be visible in one of the good photographs that accompany the article; these include ultraviolet and infrared photographs and an X-radiograph. Neither these nor Mr. Wright's text give us cause to revise our opinion (see C. Wright in: *Pantheon* 39 (1981), pp. 212–216). It may however be added that the way in which the Virgin's left foot (not visible in our reproduction) is rendered is curiously reminiscent of a drawing of the *Holy Family* by Ferdinand Bol in Darmstadt (W. Sumowski, *Drawings of the Rembrandt School* I, New York 1979, no. 195), which is mainly based on Rembrandt's etching of the same subject of *c.* 1632 (B. 62).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Coll. A. R. Boughton Knight, coll. Major W. M. P. Kincaid-Lennox, coll. Denis Lennox, all at Downton Castle, Ludlow; sale London (Christie's) 4 May 1979, no. 106 (as from Rembrandt's studio).

9. Summary

This painting shows little homogeneity in composition, technique, use of colour and lighting. The linking of Rembrandt's name with it is due to a distant similarity to his work, seen most obviously in the concentration of light on the main group and in the type of the head of Joseph. Neither the brushwork nor the depiction of form, however, are of high enough quality or show sufficient similarity to Rembrandt's way of working for it to be possible to attribute the figures to him. While the still-life items show unmistakable resemblances to the work of Dou, no name can be attached to the landscape features. The painting's lack of cohesiveness gives some cause to suppose that this is a case of collaboration between two artists, but it is impossible to pinpoint clearly the work of two different hands. The dating, which one is inclined from certain parts of the picture to put at around 1635–40, remains problematical.

REFERENCES

1 J. Rosenberg. *Rembrandt. Life and work*, revised edn. London 1964, p. 371.
2 Van Gelder 1953, p. 293 (p.21) and note 56; J.G. van Gelder, 'Rembrandt and his circle', *Burl. Mag.* 95 (1953), pp. 34–39, esp. p. 37, note 9; Bauch 1960, p. 283; Bauch 1966, p. 49; Br.-Gerson 540.

C 7 The tribute money

OTTAWA, THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, ACC. NO. 15.231

HDG 117; BR. 536; BAUCH 48; GERSON 15

Fig. 1. Panel 41.8 × 32.8 cm

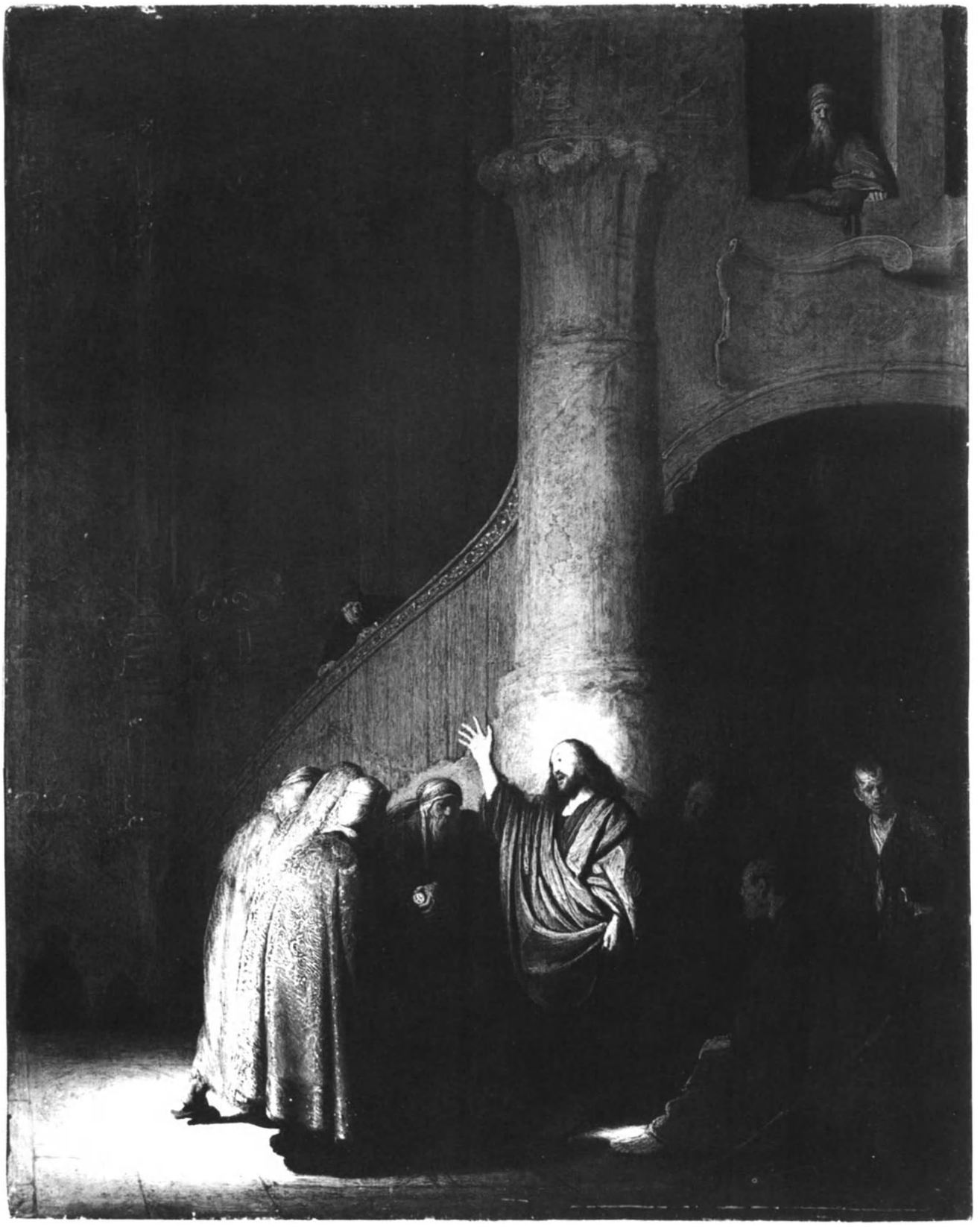


Fig. 2. X-ray

1. Summarized opinion

A fairly well preserved painting that must be ascribed to an artist from Rembrandt's immediate circle. It contains reminiscences of a number of works by Rembrandt including one from 1631, and therefore cannot have been produced before that year.

2. Description of subject

The scene is based on an episode related in Matthew 22: 16–21, Mark 12: 13–17 and Luke 20: 20–26.

In a setting partly lit by light falling from the left Christ stands in front of a column with a large foliate capital; he faces left, with his right hand raised, and speaks to a group of four Pharisees. Three of them stand, leaning forward slightly, almost in profile and alongside one another with their backs to the light; between them and Christ stands the fourth Pharisee, an old man who holds the tribute-money coin between the thumb and forefinger of his left hand, which he supports on the wrist of his right hand resting on a stick.

To the right of this illuminated main group, in the semi-darkness in front of a dark archway in the rear wall adjoining the column to the right, there is a group of two standing and two seated men, presumably disciples. Above the archway, and partially visible, are a cartouche and two window openings; a bearded man looks out of the lefthand window which has a cushion on the ledge. The beams of a ceiling seem to be visible in the dark space beyond the arch.

To the left of the column is wooden panelling, the curving top edge of which runs diagonally upwards to meet the column or continue behind it. An onlooker leans over the top of this panelling – he is obviously standing on a staircase (presumably a slightly winding one) out of sight behind it. To the left of this, against a rear wall interrupted by vaguely indicated pilasters or half-columns, one sees the silhouette of two figures; they are only partly visible, and are evidently coming up some steps that lead to the illuminated space in the foreground. The latter is paved with slabs of grey stone.

Although it is not clear whether the action is taking place indoors or in an outdoor setting surrounded by parts of a building, one may assume that the location is meant to be an interior in the Temple where Christ taught (cf., for example, Matthew 21: 23); the room of which one sees the two windows is perhaps meant to be the place where the Pharisees took counsel and from where they sent out some of their number or of their disciples with the Herodians to 'entangle him in his talk' (Matthew 22: 15–16; Mark 12: 12–13).

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 7 September 1972 (S.H.L, E. v.d. W.) in good daylight and out of the frame, with the aid of a microscope, X-ray film, ultraviolet and infrared photographs; examined again on 21 May 1974 (S.H.L.) in the frame and in an aluminium case with a perspex front panel.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 41.8 × 32.8 cm. Greatest thickness at right, *c.* 0.8 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled more on the right than on the left, with bevelling at top and bottom edges increasing from left to right; back surface painted in a dark colour.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Dr. P. Klein, Hamburg). Measured at bottom edge: 230 annual rings heartwood plus one counted on either side, datable 1377–1610. Because of the age of the tree one has to assume at least 20 or even 25 rings of sapwood; the felling date must be put at 1630 at the very earliest and possibly somewhat later.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: a light yellow-brown is seen only in a small patch in the column, described in detail below (see *Paint layer,* CONDITION).

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Reasonably good. The ultraviolet photograph shows that there are numerous local retouches, very limited in extent, mainly in the lower half of the painting; there are also larger retouches to reinforce shadow areas, such as those in the cloak of the third figure from the left, in Christ's raised arm and in the back of the man sitting in the right foreground, as well as along the edges. Halfway up the column there is a patch of irregular shape where the paint becomes suddenly thinner but where the grey of the column is (as is confirmed by microscope examination) continuous and unbroken; this patch gives a dark image in the X-ray, which would normally be interpreted as a paint loss. Craquelure: a relatively fine pattern of craquelure can be seen in the lit part of Christ's robe, and with rather more difficulty in large areas of the group of figures on the left and in the area to the right of Christ. Fine cracking is also visible in Christ's raised arm and hand, as well as in the area around his feet, where white shows through. There is quite a broad pattern of gaping cracks in the dark parts of the clothing, head and foot of the seated man on the right, as well as in the area to the right above his head; this could well be due to shrinkage. These cracks are readily apparent in the ultraviolet photograph, and appear to extend further especially to the left. From this one gets the impression that in the group of figures on the right changes have been made in the top paint layer compared to a previous version beneath.

DESCRIPTION: The paint is opaque everywhere; it frequently appears as crisply applied dabs and touches, and elsewhere has a lively brushstroke. A moderate use of colours is seen mainly in the figures, and there principally in those in the light.

The background is for the most part done in fields of grey, with lively brushwork running in various directions that on the left mostly follows the vertical lines of the pilasters or half-columns, and for the ornamentation at top and bottom has some yellow that is partly mixed with the grey and is set down with a curving stroke. The wooden panelling of the staircase is done with vertical strokes of a thick yellow-brown, with darker lines to show the joins between the planks and dark shadows along the profile of the handrail, in which small dots of white show a decorative motif. In the panelling above the heads of the three Pharisees to the left there is a slightly thinner area of paint, showing that an over-generous space was left in reserve and filled in later. Above the figure of the fourth Pharisee there is an irregular patch done in a thick light grey, joined not to the panelling but to the column to its right, as if the panelling too is covered with plaster at this point; it may be that this patch too can be explained as an over-large reserve left in the paint of the already completed panelling and filled-in later (though why should it be filled-in differently?). The column and architecture to the right of it are painted in greys, less precisely and less thickly as the colour becomes darker. The tips of the foliate

Fig. 3. U. V. fluorescent photograph

capital consist of thick dabs of grey, with above them a long zigzag line in the same colour. Firmly-drawn lines in greys show a profile along the archway and the edges of the cartouche, with more thickly-painted and lighter-toned greys used in the light.

The figures seen in the semi-darkness are shown with fluent, effective strokes and subdued shades: the bearded man above the green cushion in the window with muted accents of pinkish-red and green-blue, and the man leaning over the stair-rail with small blue lines in his black clothing and with his grimace-like face in a greyish flesh colour. The two figures coming up the steps, scarcely more than silhouettes, are picked out with a little yellow and grey. The disciples on the right have rather more detail, especially in the head of the man standing on the extreme right and in the edging of light round the foot and cloak of the seated figure seen in left profile, and are done in muted colours; the head of the man next to Christ on the right is drawn only broadly, in a quite thick, dark flesh colour with dark dots for the eyes.

The very dark shadows cast by the illuminated figures contrast with the light, thickly-painted cool greys of the paving slabs, in which lines of grey trace out the joins and a circular pattern.

Christ's face is in short strokes of a mainly light yellowish flesh tint, with a single touch of light pink by the nose, while a hint of shadow in light grey is placed in the fairly heavily-applied skin colour at the neck. No obvious connexion is apparent between the brushstrokes and the indicating of shape. There is scant internal detail; the mouth opening is shown with a dab of black, and a spot of carmine colour can be made out in each nostril. A tiny catchlight is seen in the eye on the right. The transition from the flesh colour of the face to the brown of the hair is vague, and one cannot tell whether this is due to wearing. The raised arm, in which the veins are drawn with small lines of grey, is in the same light yellowish skin colour as the face, with the spread hand in a slightly pinker tone; here, again, there is no clear link between brushstroke and form. The shadow side of the arm and hand is marked with a bold, dark outline, though this has been somewhat reinforced. His left hand, which is very large when compared to the raised right one, is drawn in the light with thick dabs of a warm flesh tint. The lit parts of the deep folds in Christ's robe are formed with thickly and firmly painted, and rather stiff, strokes of a subdued grey-blue alternating with brown-grey and black strokes used for the half-shadows and shadows within the folds. The mouse-grey undergarment, with black folds, has little suggestion of form, especially where it is seen by the raised right forearm.

The face of the old man holding the coin, standing for the most part in shadow and facing towards the front, has little sharp detail and is executed quite coarsely with sometimes lumpy blobs of flesh colour, becoming rather more yellow around the right eye. The beard is brushed more thinly in a dingy grey, with strokes following the lay of the hair. The front and rear panels of his blue-green cloak are held together by thin cords, built up from thick spots and strokes of the same colour. A muddy grey shirt is shown just as indistinctly as the cloak. Starting from a quite thinly applied base of dark grey, the headdress hanging down beside the man's right cheek is built up from short and partly parallel lines of lighter grey, small strokes of black and long strokes of yellow. The spread fingers of the left hand are shown with coarse, flesh-coloured touches, and separated by black shadows; the grey coin is accented with tiny, thick white dots. There is scarcely any definition of form in the man's right hand, done in a dark brown, resting on a stick in greyish-black.

The basic tone of the cloak of the front of the three figures on the left, which has a grey bottom edge, is brown; on top of this has been added the decoration (in which no clear pattern can be discerned) in thick yellow and white squiggles and blobs with occasionally zigzagging scratchmarks done in the wet paint. A very dark violet-red in the hem of the grey edging and the turned-out lining of the cloak recurs, mixed with white, at the shoulder as a pink, with also a further touch of yellow-pink. The adverted face, in brown, has no detail. The turban is executed with thick strokes of white-grey following the folds; it is held by a yellowish band ornamented at the front with a motif in black. The feet, hidden in the shadow of the cloak, are just discernible in the dark cast shadow on the floor.

The centre of the three figures on the left wears a light green cloak thrown over the head, done in thick paint that is partly stroked-on and partly dabbed on. Between the brushmarks one here finds obtrusive traces of engrained brown varnish, which also appear elsewhere.

The furthest of these three figures wears a cap painted with fine strokes of a whitish blue-grey, following the folds and merging into a flatter brown area of shadow. The hair is painted fluffily in a variety of greys, with slightly dry touches following the pattern of the curls and partly projecting out over the background. His fur cape is shown in light grey and brown, with fine, fluffy strokes. In the pale grey-blue cloak the brushstrokes mostly run parallel and nearly vertical. His dark, ochre-coloured sock is shown in relief with fine hatching on the Achilles tendon. The cast shadow of the foot and the shadowed side of it above the slipper form a large, dark area from which the lit part of the sole of the slipper projects, done in a little grey with a small rim of light in white at the heel.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The radiographic image is affected by alternating light and dark bands that run in the direction of the wood grain and lend the whole a restless appearance; they may perhaps be due to the thickness of the preparation layer varying with the surface of the panel.

Above the three-man group on the left there is a clearly defined dark area that has already been mentioned when discussing the paint layer and indicates a reserve left when the composition was being laid-in. One wonders whether the original intention was to place this group of figures higher up, or whether space was being left for the heads and shoulders of further figures.

The radiographic image broadly matches the picture seen at the surface, apart from the foreground. One sees a very much stronger concentration of white in front of the main group; this forms a whole with the light area to the left, whence it narrows down towards the right and continues as far as the foot of the seated man on the right. Evidently the foreground was in the initial lay-in done light over a wider area.

A light patch can be seen beside Christ's shoulder on the right, and in the paint a pink shows through here along the shoulder outline. This may come from the head of a figure behind Christ, present beneath the top paint layer.

The grey above and to the right of the head of the man holding the coin shows a substantial concentration of white, perhaps interpretable as the result of the infilling of an over-generous reserve, already described. The black patch in the column behind Christ, mentioned earlier, probably points to a local paint loss which is apparent in the paint surface as already described. The white spots in the centre just below the top edge of the picture and near the upper righthand corner are probably due to infillings (at the back?) with radioabsorbent

Fig. 4. Infrared photograph

Fig. 5. Detail (1 : 1)

material. Some parts of the signature – parts of the *6*, *2* and *9* and the loop in the stem of the *R* can be seen in the X-ray.

Signature

In the cartouche above the archway on the right, done firmly in yellow-brown ‹*RHL* (in monogram) *.1629*› followed by ornamentation comprising four short concave lines placed around a diagonally-set square. Parts of the *6*, *2* and *9* and the loop in the stem of the *R* have been strengthened slightly with grey and are visible in the X-ray. No other painting dated 1629 bears a monogram so closely identical with that usual on paintings from 1630–1632; the curve of the *R* is closed on the left, and there is a loop halfway up the stem. A slightly unusual feature is that the *L* has a stem finishing quite high up in relation to the *R*. The noticeably large size and the placing are particularly unusual.

The signature, date and ornamentation appear dark under an ultraviolet lamp but, as many other areas do the same, it is not clear what one may conclude from this.

Varnish

Traces of brown varnish are engrained here and there in the paint relief; otherwise there is nothing that calls for special comment.

4. Comments

In the motifs used no. C 7 shows numerous affinities to a number of works by Rembrandt. The three-dimensional construction and the distribution of light are reminiscent of the *Simeon in the Temple* of *c.* 1627 in Hamburg (no. A 12) and of the *Judas repentant* of 1629 in a private collection (no. A 15), where the motifs of the column and the rising flight of steps appear in different arrangements. The gesture Christ makes with his hand reminds one of that of the prophetess Anna in the first of these two paintings, but especially of that in the 1631 *Simeon in the Temple* in The Hague (no. A 34) where the floor is handled in the same way, where the type of the capital is similar and where there is also the motif of an old man seated half in shadow in the right foreground. This painting also shows the closest similarity of treatment. This extends to the change made in the lighting of the floor, apparent in both cases from the X-rays; the varied palette and the paint, with its erratic relief, of the lit cloaks of the Pharisees on the left would seem to be a version – less distinctly organized – of those seen in Simeon's cloak. It is thus quite understandable that no. C 7 should have been looked on as a preliminary stage of the The Hague *Simeon in the Temple*[1].

Yet the way these motifs are used and executed show beyond doubt that no. C 7 must be seen not as a preliminary stage but rather as a derivative, though it is still a work of undeniable quality done with an assured hand. The manner of painting, which in some places shows crisp, draughtsmanlike detail and in others (especially in the architectural features) is fanciful, finds no parallel in Rembrandt's work. The same is true of the way most of the figures are depicted; when their faces are visible – which is remarkably seldom – they are drawn with a witty, sometimes almost comical touch in a way one does not find in Rembrandt. The picture area has been utilized in an uneconomical way that bespeaks an imitation. The figures are unnecessarily dwarfed, and the remaining space is used clumsily. The column serving as the axis of the composition is a Rembrandtesque motif; but it is not apparently sup-

Fig. 6. Rembrandt, *Oriental leaning on a stick*, pen and bistre (Ben. 10). Berlin (West), Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett (1 : 1)

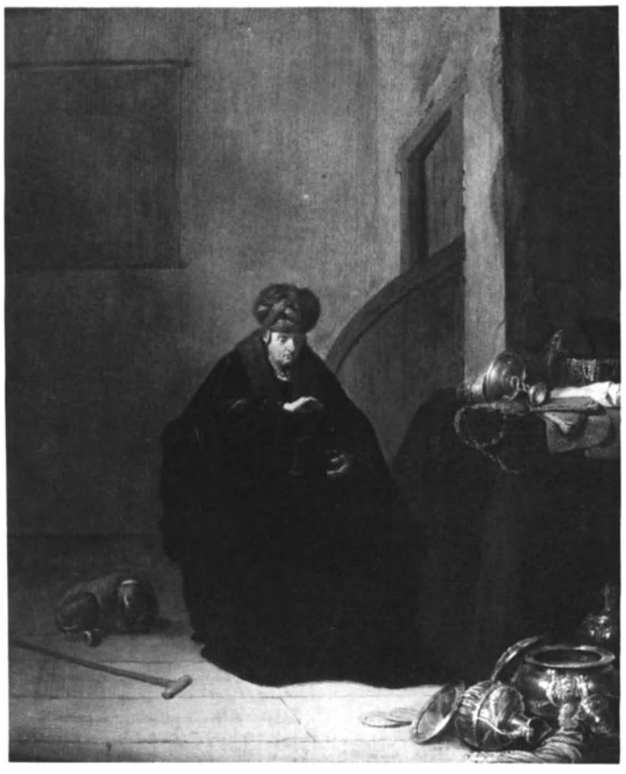
Fig. 7. W. de Poorter, *The woman taken in adultery*. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

porting anything, and has no clear relationship to a winding staircase (which itself starts and finishes in an unclear way). The three-dimensional effect created by the steps with the two figures approaching up them, which apart from the *Judas repentant* can also be seen in the etching of *Peter and John at the gate of the Temple* of about 1629 (B. 95), is spoiled by the vague area of wall stretching far up above them. The two men looking down from high up – the figure on the staircase is almost an Ostade-like bumpkin – must, like the windows and the cartouche on the right, be seen as no more than devices for filling in empty space.

All this does not get away from the fact that the author of no. C 7 must not only have known a number of paintings by Rembrandt but must also have been very familiar with his working methods, for instance the leaving of (admittedly overgenerous) reserves for shapes further to the front. Singularly enough, he makes the same kind of changes in the lighting of the foreground. Furthermore, he must have known Rembrandt's drawing of an *Oriental leaning on a stick* in Berlin (Ben. 10; our fig. 6), linked to no. C 7 by Weisbach[2]; not only did this serve (in reverse) for the third Pharisee from the left, but he used the motif of the cloak hitched up on the shoulder with hanging, tasselled cords for the fourth Pharisee holding the coin. For all these reasons the artist must be sought in Rembrandt's immediate circle at around the end of his Leiden period; the painting must have been done subsequent to the 1631 *Simeon in the Temple* in The Hague. The conclusion that the painting cannot have been done earlier is borne out by the date which dendrochronological examination assigns to the wood used for the panel. The tree from which it comes was felled in 1630 at the very earliest and possibly even somewhat later.

Though there is as yet no entirely satisfactory ground for attributing the work to any individual painter, it might perhaps be useful to comment that various traits of no. C 7 show some resemblance to the most Rembrandtesque works we know of by Willem de Poorter of Haarlem (1608 – after 1648),

Fig. 8. W. de Poorter, *A woman weighing gold.* Raleigh, N. C., The North Carolina Museum of Art



who is assumed to have been a pupil of Rembrandt during the latter's late Leiden or early Amsterdam days. The organisation of the picture area in no. C 7, with the relatively small figures set in front of a high building of indistinct structure, matches that in a series of works inspired to a greater or lesser degree by the The Hague *Simeon in the Temple,* the copy of which in Dresden (no. 1391) is attributed to de Poorter; one example is the signed *Woman taken in adultery,* also in Dresden (no. 1390; our fig. 7). In the lastnamed painting the same drawing by Rembrandt (Ben. 10) seems to have been used (though now turned into a caricature) for the foremost of the Pharisees, who wears a cloak that, while draped differently, reminds one in its execution of the treatment of paint of the corresponding figure in no. C 7. In another signed work, a *Woman weighing gold* in Raleigh, North Carolina (cat. 1956, no. 64; our fig. 8), the motif of the winding staircase appears – painted more thinly and smoothly – in a way that brings no. C 7 to mind. One does not however know of any comparable work by de Poorter from as Rembrandtesque a phase as that to which no. C 7 would have to belong.

The difficult question remains of what significance ought to be attached to the signature and date of 1629. They have been placed with a firm hand in the cartouche above the arch on the right, and are so large and calligraphic that they almost form part of the architecture depicted. This, in itself, is most unusual for a Rembrandt signature. There is however nothing to indicate that they were appended later, though it is not entirely clear why they, like numerous other brushmarks, show up quite dark in the ultraviolet photograph. About the only objection that can be offered to the shape of the letters and figures, seen in comparison with the etchings of 1629/30, is their extravagant size and the overly careful calligraphic quality. A satisfactory explanation, other than that the painter added them with a fraudulent intent, has yet to be found.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Dealer Capt. R. Langton Douglas, London.
– Coll. Alfred Beit, London. Acquired not long before his death in 1906, on the advice of Bode[1].
– Coll. Sir Otto John Beit (d. 1930), London.
– Coll. Lady Beit (d. 1946), London.
– Coll. Sir Alfred Lane Beit, London; Blessington, Ireland.
– Marlborough Gallery, London, 1966; acquired by the museum in 1967.

9. Summary

The manner of painting of no. C 7 exhibits, alongside a use of paint that is clearly related to that of Rembrandt's work, differences which mean that in spite of the enormous (and not readily explicable) signature and date (1629) it cannot be attributed to the master himself. The similarities there are with a series of works by Rembrandt, in particular the 1631 *Simeon in the Temple* in The Hague (no. A 34), must consequently be seen as borrowings by an artist working in his immediate circle who also made use of a figure study by Rembrandt. The painting cannot have been done before 1631, as is confirmed by the age of the wood used for the panel.

REFERENCES

1 W. R. Valentiner, 'Opmerkingen over enkele schilderijen van Rembrandt', *Onze Kunst* 11 (1907), pp. 157–168, esp. pp. 165–168.
2 W. Weisbach, *Rembrandt,* Berlin 1926, p. 610.

C 8 Christ at the column

BELGIUM, PRIVATE COLLECTION

HDG 126; BR. 534; BAUCH 45; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved original by an unknown artist working in the Leiden circle of Rembrandt and Dou, datable in or shortly after 1631.

2. Description of subject

On the dais at the top of a flight of steps, some of which are seen on the left, Christ is sitting on a cylindrical block of stone, clad in a loincloth. His body faces three-quarters left, with the head turned almost towards the viewer. His arms are apparently bound together behind the body. He looks towards a number of objects occupying the foreground – the purple robe, rod and crown of thorns, and two scourges, a shield and a breastplate.

In the centre behind the dais and immediately behind the figure of Christ stands a column, on a high pedestal that must rest on a floor situated much lower down; this is evident from the position of the halbardier with a plumed cap who is standing on the left, behind the dais and half behind the pedestal; he is seen only to just above the knees. The shapes of arches can be glimpsed in the dark background, suggesting a large gateway. On the right, in the semi-darkness of the background, one can make out two figures one of whom is holding a spear.

The light falls from the left, and the figure of Christ is lit relatively strongly with a marked shadow effect. There is a faint aura of light around his head.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 27 April 1970 (B. H., P. v. Th.) in reasonably good daylight and out of the frame. An X-ray film covering part of the picture was received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Canvas, lined, 76 × 65.4 cm. The edges of the original canvas may have been trimmed away all round, and certainly so at the top and left, where the relining canvas protrudes about 1 cm.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Thread-count: horizontal 16 threads/cm, vertical 17 threads/cm. The canvases in the chart published in *Röntgenonderzoek . . . Utrecht*, p. 62, with this thread count mostly date from the period *c.* 1610–1630.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: None seen.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Generally quite good. There are restorations along the edges, and some shadows have been reinforced. The arch of the gateway has been refreshed, and there may be further overpainting in the background. In the illuminated stomach area and the shadow part of the loincloth some of the craquelure has been closed with paint. Imitation cracks have been painted in the lower lefthand corner. Craquelure: There is an overall, widely-varying pattern of canvas craquelure, in general quite coarse. This is particularly so in the cracks on the column level with the waist of the figure of Christ. On the dais, to the left of the shield, there is a patch of shrinkage craquelure that may indicate a pentimento. In the shadow part of the loin cloth, small cracks have been filled in with brown paint.

DESCRIPTION: The general appearance of the painting is affected by the clearly apparent weave of the canvas. The handling of paint is in general careful. The brushwork can be readily followed in the lit parts of the body, in the thickly-painted loincloth and in the painstakingly executed still-life. The remaining areas are done fairly flatly.

Christ's head is painted relatively thickly on the side towards the light, in a yellowish flesh tint that leaves a dark tone exposed at the eyebrows and the wing of the nose. The cheek-bone and cheek are painted in the same flesh colour, with a tiny amount of red below the cheek. The eye on the left has on the lit side a flesh-coloured touch of paint, in which there is also a tinge of red, for the upper lid, and has a little white in the corner of the eye. The white of the eye is yellowish, and a black pupil is placed in the brownish iris. The deep, brownish-grey shadow in the corner of the eye and over the bridge of the nose is flat, as is the shadow side of the face in the same colour. In the eye on that side one sees only the black pupil. The shadow below the nose is indicated with a short black contour line. The moustache and small beard show some short scratchmarks into a greyish and black paint, the beard has been done with a few glancing strokes of grey on the side towards the light. A black mouth-line is set between the dark red lips. Brown hair, tending towards a black in the shadows, offers little detail; fine scratchmarks have been made on the left next to the highest light in the forehead where a dark underlayer can be seen, in the lock of hair above the eye on the right where there is a flesh-coloured underlayer, and in the transition between hair and background at the upper left (where the scratches are coarser).

The body, the shaping of which is rather devoid of tension, has been carefully painted in yellowish flesh tints. There are quite thick yellow-pink highlights on the base of the neck muscles, on the collar-bone and at the biceps, and white highlights on the chest. The penumbra along the rib-cage is in grey and brown, with an abrupt transition to the flat and evenly painted, murky brownish-grey shadow at the side of the body. On the arm this transition is more subtly handled, and one finds next to the flesh colour a grey zone followed by a lighter, translucent reddish-grey area that is joined, finally, by a grey zone that becomes more opaque at the outline. In the legs the paint is brushed lengthwise, in long and somewhat wavering strokes. A small amount of red is used at the knees and in the toes.

The loincloth is modelled in white, quite thick paint, with thin shadows in brown, in brushstrokes that fail to carry any conviction.

A pronounced yellowish flesh tint is used for the face of the halbardier, with his moustache and goatee beard painted on this in black. He has a bottle-green plume on his brown cap, and his thin and finely-folded grey scarf is decorated with spots of pink. He wears a grey-green tunic. The two small figures in the right background are done sketchily in a drab grey colour.

The still-life has been painted with great attention to detail and rendering of materials. The convex metal shield has a thickly-applied white reflection of light at the bottom, above which it is grey followed by brown at the top. Catchlights have been placed on each of the rivet-heads. The fine edges of light and shade are drawn quite sharply; yet the shape of the shield has not been reproduced entirely convincingly. Brown brush-strokes in the centre and on the right give a hint of rust. The breastplate, painted equally carefully, is greyer and gives the impression of being covered with dust. The cloak is painted with regular, sloping strokes of purple. The bamboo rod is shown in great detail, as are the two scourges. The most painstakingly detailed object is the crown of thorns, painted with numerous small dabs and modelled in the paint with brown and reddish tints.

The dais is executed very flatly, in a yellowish-seeming grey.

Fig. 1. Canvas 76 × 65.4 cm

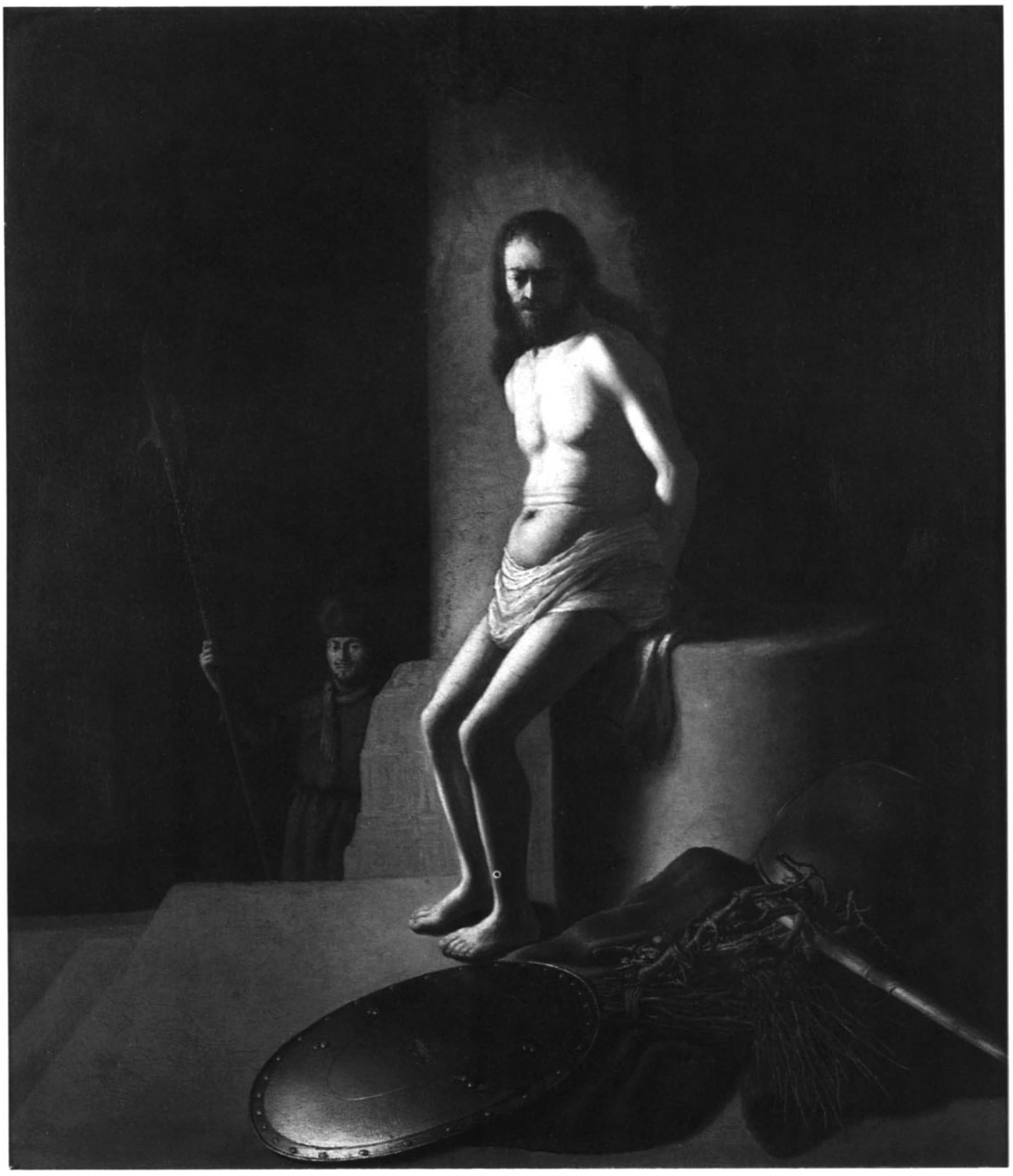


Fig. 2. X-ray

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

The pedestal of the column is given its structure with vertical and horizontal brushstrokes, though this brush technique is not continued to the right of Christ's legs. The column itself is, to the left of the loincloth, painted with a slightly dabbing touch. The aura of light round Christ's head is lighter than the grey of the column, executed very thinly and unevenly with glancing strokes radiating outwards. There appears to be an even lighter lay-in beneath the thin paint, and this makes some contribution to the final effect. Right at the top of the column are naturalistic leaf shapes in a drab grey, evidently intended to represent the capital. The grey of the cylinder-shaped stone on which Christ is half-sitting is cooler than the yellowish grey of its surroundings.

The very dark grey background (which has probably been fairly extensively overpainted) shows shapes like those of a gateway, and on the left outside the dark edge of this there is a colour accent in reddish-brown paint.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The film available shows only the figure of Christ, down to just below knee-level.

In general the reserve seen in the light image of the paint of the column for the figure of Christ is – most distinctly in the head, lower part of the trunk and the upper legs – larger than the space occupied by the eventual outline; the latter can be pinpointed in the X-ray only from the strong white image of the loincloth. It is evident that the background was at a later stage filled-in up to the present outline of the figure, using a paint that gives less light an image in the X-ray.

The shapes showing up light in the body correspond only to a certain degree with the distribution of light shown in the paint layer, and are of limited extent; they moreover suggest quite vigorous and broad brushmarks. One gets the impression that these are due at least in part to a light underpainting.

No reserve was made for the part of the loincloth that hangs down on the right, in its present form. In the background on the left the second arch and the figure of the halbardier (and especially his clothing and plume) are clearly visible.

Signature

None.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

The X-ray enables one, in the execution of the painting, to distinguish a preparatory stage, where provision was made for the shape of the figure in the light area of the background, from a later stage in which the final form only partly followed the shape of this reserve. An execution like this, and the individuality of the manner of painting, tell one that no. C 8 can be regarded as an original work. However, the fact that – to judge from the X-ray image – the reserve left in the paint of the column to accommodate the figure of Christ was in an early stage too generous on virtually all sides constitutes a decisive difference from what one finds in Rembrandt's work. The cautious, often flat and totally unimaginative way the picture is painted, the yellowish flesh tones, the precise and yet generally weak depiction of form (seen particularly in the still-life) and the evident inability to bring about an acceptable link between the figure and its surroundings, mark this as the work of a painter of limited potential. The attribution of the work to Rembrandt has justifiably been doubted by Białostocki[1], Bauch[2] and Gerson[3]. That the artist was imitating Rembrandt's example is obvious from the lighting and execution of the figure of Christ, which shows a superficial similarity to the *Christ on the cross* in Le Mas d'Agenais (no. A 35) of 1631 and the *Andromeda* in The Hague (no. A 31). A dating in or soon after 1631 is thus the most likely for no. C 8. Besides kinship with Rembrandt, no. C 8 also shows affinities with the work of Dou: the halbardier in the background is, in reverse, very largely similar to the *Soldier* attributed to Dou and placed around 1631 in Budapest (Museum of the Fine Arts, inv. no. 62.10; HdG I 323; W. Martin, *Gerard Dou*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1913 (Kl. d. K.), p. 89; Ágnes Czobor, *Rembrandt und sein Kreis*, Budapest 1969, no. 18 with illus.); in that work there is also a still-life composed of weapons, used as a corner filling of the kind that is in fact frequently found from 1626 onwards (Rembrandt's *History painting* in Leiden, no. A 6) and up to the end of the 1630s in paintings by Rembrandt's Leiden followers.

It does not seem that this painting can reasonably be attributed to any of the artists we know by name as being in contact with Rembrandt and Dou in the early 1630s. In particular, nothing has been found

that would link it to Willem de Poorter, seemingly the most likely candidate.

Iconographically this unusual picture of Christ at the column belongs among the 17th-century variants of a devotional theme that originated in the fifteenth century (E. Kirschbaum et al., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* II, Rome/Freiburg/Basle/Vienna 1970, pp. 126–127).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

- Coll. Edouard Aynard, Paris 1915.
- Coll. Stephan von Auspitz, Vienna.
- Dealer K. Bachstitz, The Hague (see: *Bulletin Bachstitz Gallery*, 1935, pp. 30–31).
- Sale London (Sotheby's) 23 May 1951, no. 100 with illus.

9. Summary

Thanks to its reasonably sound condition this painting can be readily assessed; bearing in mind, especially, the type of the Christ figure, the manner of painting of the body and loincloth and the lighting, it reveals a direct acquaintanceship with the work of Rembrandt during the years 1630–31, while the still-life and the halbardier are motifs that one finds in the young Dou. Weaknesses in the composition and execution of this painting (which mainly on technical grounds must be seen as an original) mark it as the work of a lesser artist who must have belonged to the circle of Rembrandt and Dou during the early 1630s. It has not been possible to arrive at an attribution to any particular artist.

REFERENCES

1 J. Białostocki, '[Review of] Kurt Bauch. Der frühe Rembrandt und seine Zeit...', *Kunstchronik* 15 (1962), pp. 180–189, esp. p. 187.
2 Bauch 1966, 45; cf. Bauch 1933, p. 181.
3 Br.-Gerson 534.

C 9 Minerva in her study

DENVER, COL., THE DENVER ART MUSEUM, CAT. NO. 1959 – 114

HDG 2 1 1; BR 465; BAUCH –; GERSON –

Fig. 1. Panel 43.9 × 35.6 cm

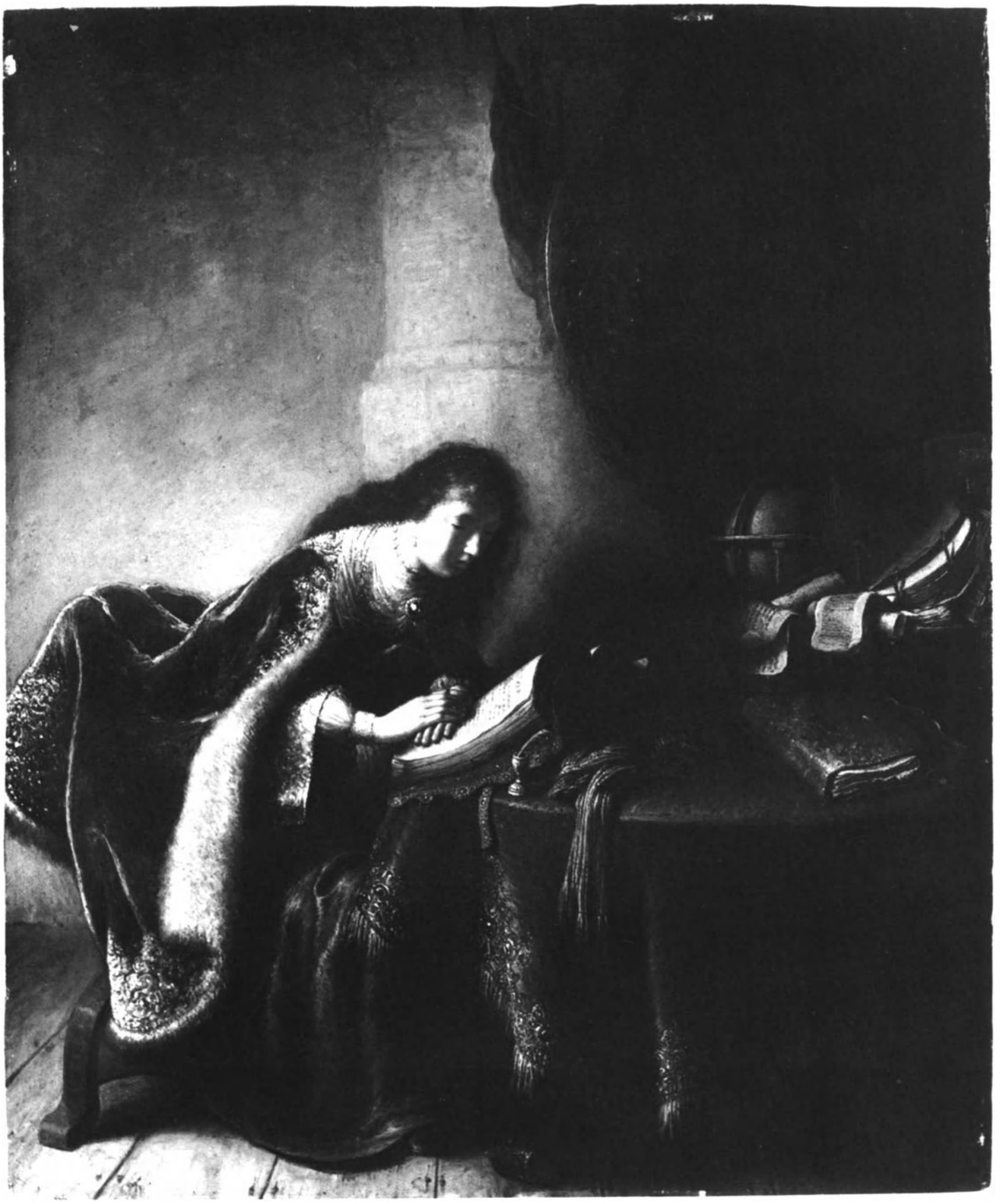
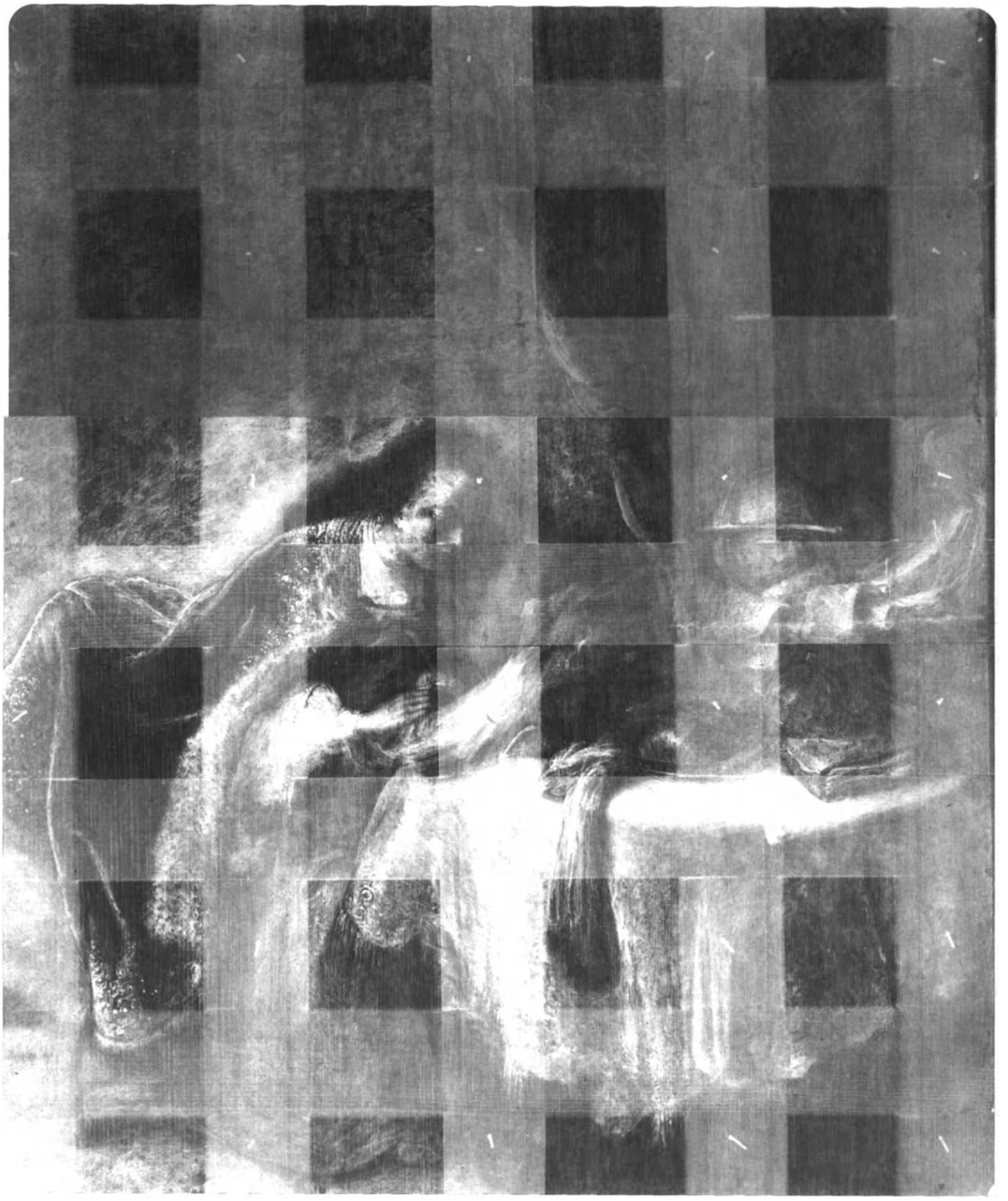


Fig. 2. X-ray



1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved painting produced by one of Rembrandt's Leiden pupils, Isaac de Jouderville, in or soon after 1631.

2. Description of subject

The goddess (identifiable from the Medusa's head on a shield hanging on the wall) is seated on a folding chair in a room with a wood-planked floor. The young woman is dressed in a slightly purplish, grey garment worn over a white shirt, with on top of this a wide, fur-lined brown-red cloak, the edges of which are embroidered with gold thread. The cloak is draped over the backrest of her chair. She wears a folded shawl, held together below the throat by a jewelled clasp, and a chain. She leans forward, reading, with her hands crossed one over the other on an open book that rests on a round table; the latter is covered with a blue-green tablecloth decorated with gold embroidery and a fringe. Also on the table are a folded cloth and a closed book, together with an inkwell shaped like an eggcup and a quill pen. Behind the table, and a little higher up, are two globes and a heap of papers. A column is sunk into the plastered rear wall, and in the shadows on the extreme right one sees the shape of an arch. A furled flag leans against the column, with the shield hanging partly over it on a chain; the neck of the Medusa's head, which is in relief on the shield, has drops of blood. A rather shapeless object, possibly a lute, hangs in an arch on the right.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 23 October 1971 (B. H., E. v. d. W.) in good daylight and direct sunlight, and out of the frame. An X-ray by the museum, covering the whole of the painting, was available; a copy-film was received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 43.9 × 35.6 cm. Single plank. Back cradled.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A yellow-brown shows through in thin patches in the background, at the outline of the hair and elsewhere.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Good. Craquelure: a very finely and barely discernible craquelure, mainly horizontal, is found in the tablecloth and at other places where the paint is heavily applied.
DESCRIPTION: The handling of paint varies widely, and the thickness of the paint layer is uneven. In the shadow area of the arch it is thin, in the shadows of the face thin and translucent; the remaining shadow areas are more thickly painted. The light rear wall has been brushed rapidly, with strokes running in various directions. The brushwork can also be followed in the other parts of the painting, in both the lights and the shadows, but there it is much less spontaneous and almost everywhere punctiliously follows the contours and the drawing of the forms. The paint of the whole of the tablecloth is caked, most heavily so on the upper surface of the table where there have been changes (see *X-Rays*).

In the head the brushstroke is almost blended; the shadow is thin, with the lit parts thicker. The eyelids have been done fairly thickly in pink. The handling of shadow along the cheek and chin do not help to create a convincing modelling. The hair shows little detail, and is painted with a vague and fuzzy contour against the background. The hands (which are remarkably long) are somewhat clumsily shaped, though it is obvious that a great deal of work went into them – the fingers are drawn carefully and accented with white lights, and an attempt has been made at enhancing the plasticity by adding areas of reflected light. The wrist is linked awkwardly to the sleeve. The play of folds in the grey garment has been produced laboriously, with careful hatching for the shadows. There is little firmness in the shaping of the cloak. The parts of the folds that catch the light have been accentuated with a streakily-applied greyish white; they are scarcely integrated into the somewhat translucent brown-red of the cloak, and the whole consequently makes a rather disjointed impression. The gold embroidery is executed with tiny spots and strokes of yellow and gossamer-thin lines of white.

The objects on the table, too, display a somewhat finicky manner of painting that does little to define the forms whole; the shape of the inkwell, in particular, is unhappy. The folded cloth on the table is built up from very fine brushstrokes. Towards the rear it still more or less shows the shape of the rounded back of a lute that has been painted over; this instrument can still be seen in its entirety in the paint relief, as well as a helmet that originally lay on the closed book. The continuity of the paint surface is evidence that the painter himself made these changes (for further pentimenti, see under *X-Rays* below).

A more economical use of colour and of less detail has given the still-life of the books on the right greater unity, though here too the hesitancy and awkwardness of the brushwork remain. There is little firmness in the shaping of the furled flag, though the shield with its Medusa's head is relatively more successful in this respect. Below the shield there are a few quite randomly placed scratches that are visible only in relief (and in the X-ray), and show no clear connexion with either the flag or the shield.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The observations made at the surface are confirmed and supplemented by the radiographic image.

The background, which gives a light image, has a dark reserve for the woman's hair that is wider than the final shape. The reserve, visible in the paint surface, left for the leg of the chair is on the other hand a little narrower than the final version, and the end of it is straight instead of curving backwards.

The forehead appears as a light area that continues further upwards; evidently the hair has been painted over a flesh colour that was already present. The throat area, by the shawl running around the neck, forms an angular, light area that suggests a square cut-out in the garment. The light area corresponding to the hanging sleeve of the shirt continues further downwards, where an area laid-in light has obviously been covered over with a shadow tint. Edges of light along the shield and flag are also seen in the paint relief. In the blue-green tablecloth, appearing in the X-ray as a relatively strong white, one sees a somewhat different pattern of folds; the upper surface seems to be evenly illuminated over a larger area than it is today.

The changes in the still-life on the table already noted at the paint surface are clearly apparent in the X-ray; a lute and a helmet lying on the closed book have been painted over at a later stage. There also seems to have been a curling sheet of

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

paper lying over the edge of the table on the right. The book from which Minerva is reading would seem to have stood more upright, presumably in an early stage.

Signature
None.

Varnish
No special remarks.

4. Comments

The peculiarly laborious execution of this painting, which nevertheless contributes relatively little to the rendering of materials and the convincing construction of forms, and the lack of a concentrated lighting rule out any idea of this being an autograph work by Rembrandt. The laborious nature of the painting is plain both from the brushwork, which other than in the background is everywhere painfully careful, and from the repeated corrections made in the treatment of light and the numerous pentimenti. Obtrusive detail often interferes with formal coherence, and the play of light (which is indeed well thought out) gives a restless effect because of an overabundant distribution of light accents.

On a great many points there are features that provide a direct link with Rembrandt's work from the years 1627–1631, in respect both of the subject-matter and type of room and of the handling of light and colour. One can make a comparison with, for example, the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 (no. A 11), the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* (no. A 12) and the *Judas repentant* of 1629 in a private collection (no. A 15). There are points of contact with these works, and with the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13), in the choice and rendering of motifs such as the still-life with books and globe and the finely-folded cloth lying on the table. The choice of Minerva's (partly overpainted) attributes is the same as in the Berlin *Minerva* (no. A 38). Furthermore, the motif and in particular the colour and the brushwork of the cloak are strongly reminiscent of the Amsterdam *Old woman reading* of 1631 (no. A 37); the similarity between the painting in the treatment of the highlights on the folds is even such as to allow a dating for no. C 9 in or soon after 1631.

The painting must be attributed to a pupil familiar with Rembrandt's work from the Leiden period up to 1631. A similar conclusion has already been reached by Bauch[1], who successively suggested Salomon Koninck and Willem de Poorter, and by Gerson[2]. A small group of paintings shows so many similarities to no. C 9 that the latter may be taken to be from the same hand. This is especially true of a *Man in oriental costume* (panel, 66 × 50 cm) in a private collection (fig. 4). In this painting, which bears the illegible remnants of a signature, one finds the same laborious manner of painting as well as an identical rendering of forms (e.g. of embroidered cloth) with its peculiar, awkward distortions (e.g. of the hand); it even contains a radical pentimento (the head of an old man visible in the lefthand background) comparible to the one in the still-life in no. C 9. Just as the Denver *Minerva* is based mainly on Rembrandt's *Old woman reading* of 1631 in Amsterdam (no. A 37), the painting borrows its subject (in reverse) from an authentic Rembrandt of the same year: the *Artist in oriental costume* in the Petit Palais, Paris (no. A 40). Similarly, a *Knee-length figure of a woman* (panel 62.5 × 46.5 cm) in a private collection (fig. 5), unmistakeably by the same hand, turns out to be based (again in reverse) on the lost or untraceable companion-piece to no. A 40. It shows striking similarities to the Denver *Minerva* but also, particularly in the modelling of the face, to a *Bust of a young man*, a signed work by Isaac de Jouderville (Leiden 1612/13–Amsterdam before 1648), in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (panel 48 × 37 cm; cat. no. 433; cf. C. Hofstede de Groot in: *O.H.* 18 (1899), pp. 228–235; our fig. 6). There can be no

Fig. 4. I. de Jouderville, *Man in oriental costume*. Private collection

doubt that the paintings mentioned, including the Denver *Minerva*, are early works by de Jouderville, whose apprenticeship with Rembrandt is documented by his guardians' accounts as well as Rembrandt's receipts for the fee that was paid for him (100 guilders a year) over the years 1630 and 1631. His parents had probably been paying Rembrandt previously but they had both died late in 1629. De Jouderville seems to have followed Rembrandt when the latter moved to Amsterdam at some time in 1631 – the expenses for two journeys he made to that city have been recorded – and to have subsequently returned to Leiden, where he is mentioned as a tax-payer in 1635 (A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, The Hague 1915–22, VI, pp. 1940–1965; VII, pp. 126–128). The disarming naivety of his slightly later work, which is no longer based on Rembrandt models, is seen in the *Saul and David* in

Fig. 5. I. de Jouderville, *Half-length figure of a woman.* Private collection

Fig. 6. I. de Jouderville, *Bust of a young man.* Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland

Warsaw, which Gerson attributed, apparently correctly, to the artist (J. Białostocki and M. Walicki, *Malarstwo Europejskie w zbiorach Polskich 1300–1800*, Krakow 1955, no. 233).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance[3]

– Dealer Ch. Sedelmeyer, Paris (*Catalogue of 100 paintings* III, 1896, no. 32).
– Coll. P. Charbonneaux, Rheims.
– Dealer F. Kleinberger, Paris.
– Dealer Wildenstein, New York, 1955; acquired by the museum in 1962.

9. Summary

No. C 9, while displaying many similarities to a number of works by Rembrandt, is marked by an individual style. The quality of the execution, which has little suggestive power, rules out an attribution to Rembrandt. A range of motifs have clearly been borrowed from various works done by him during the years 1627–1631. The painting is, to judge from a number of pentimenti and other features, a laboriously-produced work by one of Rembrandt's pupils from his Leiden period, done in or soon after 1631. This pupil may be identified as Isaac de Jouderville (*c.* 1612–before 1648).

REFERENCES

1 Bauch 1933, p. 225; Bauch 1966, p. 49.
2 Br.-Gerson 465.
3 HdG 211.

C 10 **A biblical or historical nocturnal scene** (fragment)

TOKYO, BRIDGESTONE MUSEUM OF ART, CAT. 1965, NO. 2

HDG 333; BR. 533; BAUCH 44; GERSON 7

Fig. 1. Copper 21.5 × 16.5 cm (1 : 1)

1. Summarized opinion

A fairly well preserved fragment which, because of its stylistic characteristics, cannot be attributed to Rembrandt but rather to an immediate follower – possibly Gerard Dou – who may also have been responsible for nos. C 5 and C 18.

2. Description of subject

In the dark a number of men sit grouped by the glow of a fire that must be somewhere off the picture to the left. In the foreground, just to the left of centre, a seated man seen from the rear and facing three-quarters left is silhouetted against the light. He wears a sword at his belt. Further back, and next to him on the left, sits a man lit frontally by the firelight from the left. He has one knee drawn up, his head turned towards the right, and is wrapped in a cloak. Beside and half hidden by him, a man with a turban sits on the extreme left, with his head resting on his hand and a shield in front of him. Behind this group to the right stands a soldier in warlike costume, with his left foot on the ground and the right foot on a raised wooden platform in front of a wood fence. The light is reflected in his helmet and the armour covering his body and arms. A large sword hangs by his side, and his face is seen in left profile. A man wearing a cap standing behind the fence and leaning on it with one arm looks at him from the left. In the right foreground there is a dark mass in which one can discern a sleeping figure, wrapped in a blanket and with the right hand to the forehead. In the left background, above the sleeping man in the turban, three figures can be seen around a burning candle; one of these wears a helmet and breastplate. Above this latter group the shape of an arch appears vaguely in the high, dark background.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in 1969 (P. v. Th.) and 1971 (S. H. L.) in artificial light and in daylight. Infrared photograph received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Copper, 21.5 × 16.5 cm. Thickness about 0.7 mm – i.e. very thin. At the back the copper is visible through a partially-removed size-like layer, in lines running diagonally from top left to bottom right. Locally there are fine scratch-lines in the copper itself that run horizontally and vertically, and in some cases also diagonally, but nowhere coincide with the lines in the size-like layer. At the front the copper is visible at a number of points where paint has fallen away, in particular along the lefthand edge where towards the bottom, level with the figures, three quite large areas of paint are missing. The upper two of these show lozenge-shaped scratches in the copper, evidently made to provide a better tooth for an inpainting (which has however since disappeared). Along the top edge there is a fairly narrow zone showing paint loss and running from the righthand corner to about one-third of the width; this presents the same sort of scratching as the large damages at the lower left.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not observed.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: The lowest of the three patches of paint loss at the bottom lefthand side, already described under *Support*, DESCRIPTION above, has been inpainted in brown; smaller patches where the paint has come away can be found above the centre of the lefthand side. Along the righthand and lower edges small particles of paint are missing. At a few places, especially at the top left, small spots of paint are missing a short distance in from the edge of the copper plate. Apart from this and the other local paint losses mentioned earlier under *Support*, the paint layer – which is hidden beneath a thick and occasionally crusty layer of varnish – appears to be in sound condition. Besides the brown inpainting at the lower left there are a few more inpaintings in brown and dark grey along the lefthand side. Craquelure: a fine craquelure is apparent in the thick edge of the light brown cloak worn by the figure seen from behind on the left, and in the highlight on the soldier's breastplate.
DESCRIPTION: Insofar as the thick varnish layer allows observation, it can be said that the brushwork – portraying the forms somewhat perfunctorily – is invariably visible in the lit areas, and becomes rather more painstaking as the level of illumination increases. This interaction between brushwork and lighting is also seen in the fact that where the lighting is stronger the paint is often more thickly applied. The main shapes are in general coarse and drawn in a slovenly way, though here and there – in the armour-clad soldier, especially – they are sharpened with a crisper, more precise painting of detail.

The lit figure seen from the rear on the left wears a red cap and light-brown jacket, with breeches and boots in the same colour. The top of the boot is emphasized with fine, parallel brushstrokes; the cord tied round the boot is done with quite thick dots and strokes of paint in red, blue and yellow.

The head of the man sitting next to him is painted thickly in a flesh colour; his large hands, and the bare leg with a stocking sagging around the ankle, are painted more thinly. The coarse dark-brown shadow lines between the fingers are very effective when viewed from some distance. This man wears a brown cloak over a grey jacket and a white shirt. The turban of the man next to him appears as a grey-green. The border of the shield is painted fairly thickly, in alternate red and blue.

The highlights on the soldier's armour are placed with thick and generally sharply-drawn lines of paint. A patch of light on the convex surface of the breastplate stands out, with the thick yellow at the centre merging, through a gamut of thinner yellows and reds, outwards into the grey to black colour of the metal. The slashes in his salmon pink breeches are in a lurid green. His left hand, done in brown with a small touch of red along the edge and by the little finger, is noticeably large, while his brown right hand is rather lacking in form.

The man looking towards him wears a purple cap and a grey cloak with a brown sash.

The shadow side of the foreground figures appears black and impenetrable as does the whole of the background apart from the brownish indication of the arch shape on the left and the vague figures around the thickly-painted flame of the candle.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

No electron emission radiograph available.

Signature

Because of the condition of the varnish layer the signature is not immediately apparent to the naked eye, but it appears umistakably in photographs and colour transparencies; spread across two planks of the wooden fence on the right, in light

brown as ‹*RH* (in monogram; or *RHL*) *16.8*›. Signature and date call for closer investigation. The letters are quite perpendicular, and the tail of the *R* is very straight, which is unusual for a Rembrandt signature.

Varnish

The thick layer of varnish, which at some points is crusty, interferes considerably with observation.

4. Comments

Before making an assessment of the painting one has to consider whether it is complete or a fragment. This question is prompted in particular by the fact that the illuminated part of the scene (including two lit figures) is cut off abruptly on the left by the edge of the painting as one sees it today. The likelihood of a strip having been removed along the lefthand side is all the greater as there are large areas of paint loss at this side. One may assume that the part that has been lost (and which was probably already missing in 1754: see *8. Provenance* below) showed in addition to an unknown number of figures a fire that provided the source of light and the central point of the composition. The missing section was thus presumably quite wide, and one can guess at the original dimensions of the painting as 21.5 cm by about 30 cm. The comparison that Bauch[1] made with a nocturnal scene of similar proportions by Otto van Veen, *Claudius Civilis laying siege to Vetera* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A 426, cat. no. 2437), is thus even more to the point. Tümpel[2], quoted by Gerson[3], was the first to look on the painting in its present state as being a fragment; he compared the composition to that of a painting that is probably a copy after Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, in the Bredius Museum in The Hague (fig. 2, cf. A. Blankert, *Museum Bredius, catalogus van de schilderijen en tekeningen*, 's-Gravenhage 1978, no. 53).

Though the composition of the whole picture can no longer be assessed, the execution of the preserved fragment may be compared to that of a number of early Rembrandt paintings. These include, in particular, the Berlin *Rich Man* of 1627 (no. A 10), the Turin *Old Man asleep by the fire* of 1629 (no. A 17) and the *Supper at Emmaus* in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (no. A 16), all of which have the subject of a nocturnal scene with artificial lighting in common with no. C 10. In the Berlin picture the rendering of materials plays a more substantial role, the colour-scheme is more subdued and the accents of light are done more deftly; above all, the carefully observed details produce a rhythmical interplay of linear elements, compared to which the juxtaposition of forms in no. C 10 seems curiously unsophisticated. The *Supper at Emmaus* does contain passages that are executed in a similarly rough manner particularly in the hand of the seated disciple – but its lighting arrangement creates a much more effective suggestion of depth and drama than it does in no. C 10. The thoroughness given to the main figure in the Turin painting is lacking altogether in no. C 10. None of these three works contains striking colour accents comparable to those in the soldier's breeches, which echo far more Rembrandt's more variegated colour-scheme in the earlier years. The Basle *David before Saul* of 1627 (no. A 9), finally, recommends itself for comparison because of its similar format and figure-scale; this picture offers some superficial similarities, especially in the use of the figure lying down in the righthand lower corner as a repoussoir, and of a sword that is very like that worn by the armour-clad soldier. But this comparison only serves to emphasize the difference between the incisive rendering of forms in the Rembrandt and the sluggish execution of no. C 10. The inference clearly is, that the author of this painting was familiar with a number of Rembrandt's paintings of *c.* 1627–'29 but that he was a distinct personality of limited originality.

It even seems possible further to define this personality. The heavy brushstrokes used to indicate the illuminated folds of somewhat shapeless draperies, occasionally interspersed with thinner colour accents to show linear details, as well as the hesitant outlines of dark forms that are silhouetted against contrasting colours without, however, resulting in a convincing spatial effect, are features that recur in both the Tours *Flight into Egypt* (no. C 5) and the *Man writing by candlelight* in the Bader collection, Milwaukee (no. C 18). A tendency to using slack contours and a lack of articulation of shapes in vital areas are characteristics that these three pictures, while leaning heavily on Rembrandt models, have in common. There is thus every reason to suppose that one and the same follower was responsible for all three of them. An additional reason for this assumption may be seen in the fact that both the *Man writing by candlelight* and no. C 10 have been painted on a copper plate of uncommon thinness (*c.* 0.7 mm).

The identity of this Rembrandt follower cannot be established with absolute certainty. There is, however, some reason to suppose that Gerard Dou was responsible for the Tours *Flight into Egypt* and, consequently, for the group of related pictures including no. C 10 (see no. C 5 under *4. Comments*). The question of whether the Rembrandt monograms on nos. C 5 and C 10 are contemporary or later additions cannot be solved at this point. It does seem probable, however, from the pictures' presumed histories that already in the eighteenth they were all three considered works by Rembrandt.

Fig. 2. Copy after G. van den Eeckhout, *S. Paul, on the island of Malta, casts a snake in the fire.* The Hague, Museum Bredius

The subject-matter of no. C 10 has been interpreted in a variety of ways. Bredius and Bode[4] thought that it portrayed *Peter among the soldiers in the palace of the High Priest.* Hofstede de Groot[5] pointed out that it showed neither a clear Peter type nor the serving maid, and gave no. C 10 the title *Soldiers by a campfire.* Later authors such as Weisbach[6] and Bauch[7] rejected the idea of it being a genre picture and preferred the biblical interpretation, with the exception of Benesch[8]. The same line was taken by Bredius[9], though according to his later opinion it showed *Paul in the Roman camp;* in this view he was supported by Knuttel[10]. In his unpublished dissertation Dr. Christian Tümpel[2], who has been kind enough to make his conclusions available to us, tentatively entitles the picture *S. Paul, on the island of Malta, casts a snake in the fire.* He does so on the basis of its similarity to the picture after van den Eeckhout already mentioned (fig. 2) though this clearly shows the apostle in its righthand half and cannot therefore be considered a faithful reflection of the original composition of no. C 10. Gerson[3 11], like Bauch, adopted Bode's idea. It is however impossible to recognize either Peter or Paul in any of the figures depicted. As long ago as 1899 Hofstede de Groot[5] rightly stated that in the absence of clear iconographical indications it is impossible to identify any of the figures. It is conceivable that the scene shown in the present fragment will take on significance if any fresh evidence permits the reconstruction of the composition of which it originally formed part.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

*– Perhaps identical with: 'Un Tableau représentant Joseph expliquant le songe au Pannetier dans la prison, peint par Rembrandt, sur cuivre, de 7 pouces de haut sur 5 pouces & demi de large [= 19 × 14.9 cm]', coll. de Klenglin, sale Strasbourg 18 November 1754 (Lugt 849), no. 48.
– Dealer Sagert, Berlin, 1881.
– Coll. Otto Pein (Berlin), sale Cologne 29 October 1888, no. 64.
– Coll. Karl von der Heydt, Berlin (1915).
– Coll. K. Matsukata, Japan[11].

9. Summary

In all probability no. C 10 is the righthand portion of a horizontal-format painting that had a height of 21.5 cm and a width of about 30 cm. In the course of the truncation motifs that are indispensable for identifying the subject-matter have evidently been lost. Besides unmistakably Rembrandtesque features, the fragment in its present form shows a tendency to slack contours and a lack of articulation in the rendering of forms that make it impossible to attribute it to Rembrandt. There is, however, such a close similarity between the execution of no. C 10 and that of nos. C 5 and C 18, that an attribution to one and the same pupil – possibly Gerard Dou – working around 1630, is plausible.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch 1960, p. 119 and fig. 83a.
2 Chr. Tümpel, *Studien zur Ikonographie der Historien Rembrandts,* typescript dissertation Hamburg 1968, cat. no. 84.
3 Br.-Gerson 533.
4 A. Bredius, 'Drie vroege werken van Rembrandt', *Nederlandsche Kunstbode* 3 (1881), pp. 182–183; W. Bode, 'Rembrandts früheste Thätigkeit', *Die graphischen Künste* 3 (1881), pp. 49–72, esp. p. 54; idem, *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei,* Braunschweig 1883, pp. 373, 563 no. 45.
5 C. Hofstede de Groot, 'Die Rembrandt-Ausstellungen zu Amsterdam', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 22 (1899), pp. 159 164, esp. 159 no. 3; HdG 333.
6 W. Weisbach, *Rembrandt,* Berlin-Leipzig 1926, p. 120.
7 Bauch 1933, p. 182; Bauch 1960, pp. 119–121; K. Bauch, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte,* Berlin 1967, pp. 143–144.
8 O. Benesch, *Rembrandt. Werk und Forschung,* Vienna 1935, p. 3.
9 Br. 533.
10 G. Knuttel Wzn., *Rembrandt,* Amsterdam 1956, p. 67.
11 Gerson 7.
12 HdG 333; Catalogue *Bridgestone Gallery,* Tokyo 1965, no. 2.

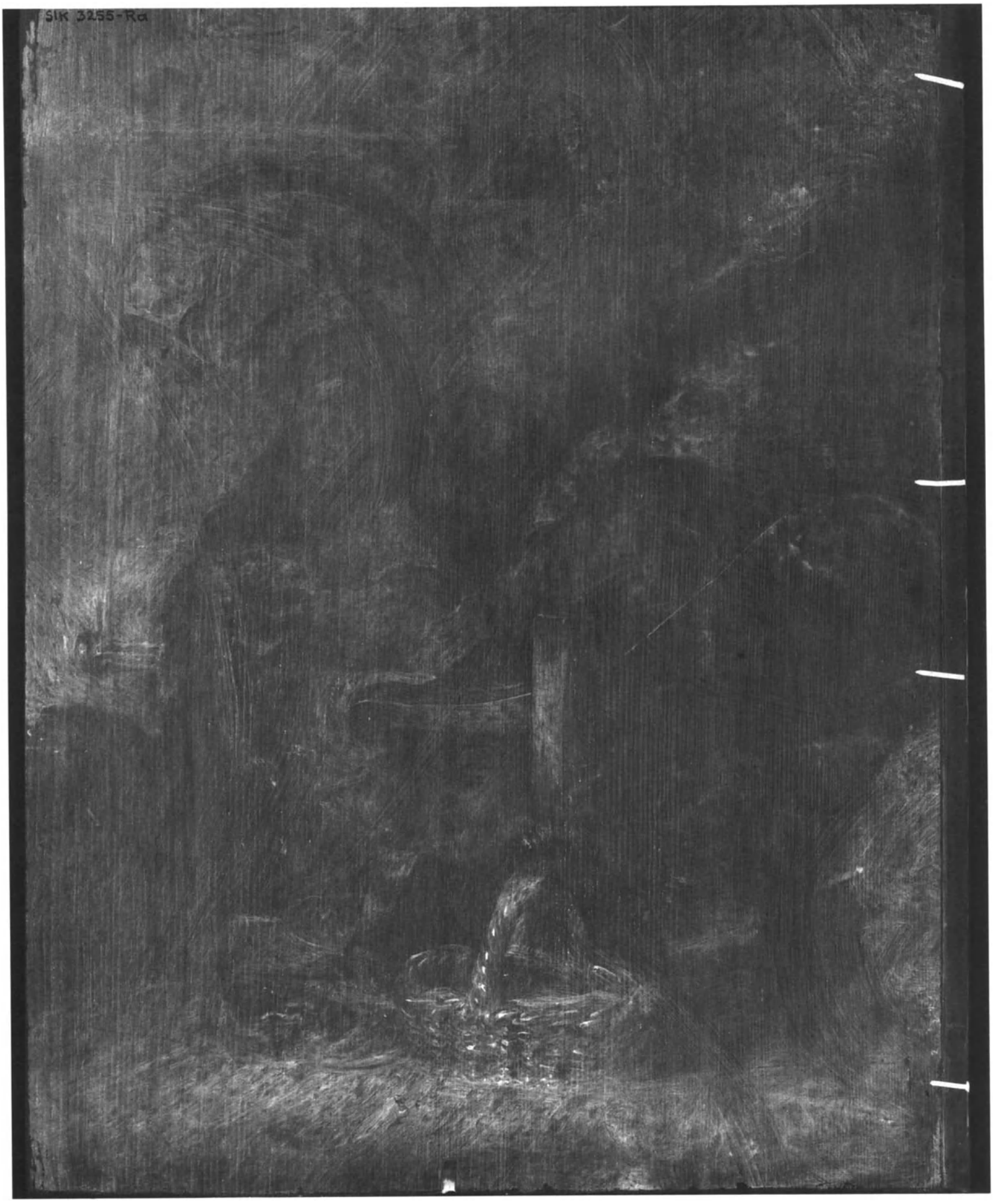
C 11 The foot operation

SWITZERLAND, PRIVATE COLLECTION

HdG –; BR. 422; BAUCH 98; GERSON –

Fig. 1. Panel 31.8 × 24.4 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray



1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably preserved work that cannot be regarded as autograph. Probably produced – by Jan Lievens? – within Rembrandt's immediate circle, and linked with his work of around 1628/29.

2. Description of subject

The patient sits in a folding chair, facing left, with both fists clenched in pain before his chest. His right leg rests on the knee of the barber-surgeon, who grasps the foot with one hand and with the other seems to be carrying out some operation around the base of the second toe. The barber sits near, or on, a benchlike piece of furniture on top of which to his right can be seen his bag of instruments; there is a wooden object (a footstove?) in front of him, against which the patient appears to rest his left foot.

On the wood-planked floor, in front of the chair, are a wickerwork basket and the patient's right shoe. The background consists for the most part of a light wall against which hangs an unrolled chart, map or something similar. Perpendicular to the wall is a wood partition, to the left of which wood shelves bear indistinctly-defined vessels while on the right there is a dark space in which an object that cannot be clearly identified is vaguely seen hanging against the partition.

The light comes from the left, and is strongest on the foreground.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 4 September 1972 (J. B., P. v. Th.) in good daylight, with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp and a microscope, and of an X-ray photograph by the Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, Zurich.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 31.8 ($\pm$ 0.1) × 24.4 – 24.5 cm. Thickness varies from *c.* 0.6 cm on left to *c.* 1.1 cm on right. Single plank. Back bevelled on all four sides, only slightly on the left, at a steep angle on the right and rather more shallow at top and bottom. A small batten is attached along the right-hand edge.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: In dark areas on the right, in particular on the raised edges of underlying brushstrokes, a light, whitish layer shows through, while in the lighter areas of the lefthand part of the painting one can see an underlying darker grey. Underlying brushstrokes, mainly long and curved, bear no relation to the present picture and seem to be connected with a previously applied layer of paint rather than with the preparation of the panel. As the panel thus probably shows elements of an earlier paint layer (see below under *X-Rays*), neither of these two colours showing through should be regarded as being the ground.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: In the shadows and half-shadows the paint layer has suffered quite badly, and has been restored with traced lines and thin overpaints. This is seen, for example, in the shadows and folds of the barber's tabard, in the shadow side of his face, his eyebrows and the outlines of his spectacles, the lower edge of his cap, the contour of the object on the shelf above his left shoulder and the rectangular object above this, the top lefthand corner of the background and passages in the dark background on the right, the shadow side of the chair and the cast shadow of the basket, the lower outline of the basket and shoe, and the joins between the planks of the floor. Craquelure: very fine, sometimes predominantly horizontal cracks can be seen over large areas, and a net pattern in some thicker parts (the front stile of the chairback, the patient's head and hands and the barber's hands).
DESCRIPTION: The extreme foreground is painted relatively thickly, with the planks done broadly in an opaque yellow-brown in the light, with a little grey-brown along the border and a thinner dark grey in the shadow. The joins between the planks have been strengthened later with brown lines; flat spots of grey must be intended to represent nailheads. The grey shoe is modelled with thick strokes and lines, with muddy-white spots of light on the string laces. The wickerwork of the basket is shown with coarse licks of light brown, ochre yellow, white-yellow and black paint, placed at angles to each other. The chair is depicted in an opaque brown, with edges and reflections of light; the chairback has a freer brushwork, in thinner browns.

The patient's jacket shows a fairly thick, opaque brown with brown-grey in the shadows, shoulder-seam and fold. His head is executed with quite uncohesive touches of flesh colour (with a lot of pink) and grey (for the hair and beard), and is not sharply defined; his ear and his two fists are drawn with confused dabs of a brownish flesh colour; his right leg is in a thin and rather grubby flesh colour overlying the dark grey that can be seen through it (see above under *Ground*). The foot, with shapeless and excessively long toes, is rendered about as summarily as the barber-surgeon's hands, which have scarcely any detail. The latter is painted even more thinly and reticently than the patient. His tabard is executed in a fairly flat, dull grey; the folds and shadows have been retouched. His face still has some matt brown flesh colour left, through which can be seen the underlying dark grey (see above under *Ground*).

The light wall at the back shows a light grey, somewhat worn in parts, and brown lines over an underlying dark grey that is particularly apparent at the high, raised points of the underlying brushstrokes. On the left the vaguely defined item of furniture is executed in a flat grey-brown; on top of it is the surgeon's bag of instruments, done in grey with white dots to indicate a length of cord. It is also unclear how the chart or map hangs from the upper rod, of which only the end-knob is shown, set curiously off-centre. The objects standing on the shelves (summarily drawn in brown) further to the right are also painted flat and indistinctly. The dark background on the right has suffered; very little can be made of it, or of the object – painted in a thinner, dark brown-grey – that hangs on the partition.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The radiographic image corresponds partly with what the paint layer leads one to expect. A fairly accurate reserve has been left in the lightish area of the background for the figure of the barber, as well as for the piece of furniture to the left of him. The lit areas of his face, of the whole of the foreground and the figure of the patient show up clearly. There is, however, no reserve for the dark righthand section of the background in its present form: the lightish image of the background extends to the upper righthand corner, bounded by a diagonal line run-

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

ning above the patient. There is also a light image of broad brushstrokes along the lower part of the righthand side (in the paint surface light strokes can be seen at both top and bottom on the right underneath the uppermost dark paint). One gets the impression that at an early stage the lighting scheme of the picture was intended to be different, and that there was an illuminated object in the foreground on the right. One can moreover see in many parts of the painting long, curved brushstrokes, some of which appear light in the X-ray while others are dark. Some of these can be seen at the surface, due to high parts of the underlying colour being visible through the covering paint. Most strikingly apparent is one running through the map, ending at the lefthand edge of this and thus giving the appearance of being part of its design. The impression gained is that these brushstrokes belong to a layer of paint rather than to a preparation layer, though they cannot be read as depicting any particular shape.

Signature

Very clear and carefully executed in light grey on the piece of furniture seen on the left ‹*P* (sic) *HL.* (in monogram) *1628*›. Though the shape of the monogram (with the *P* open to the left, which certainly cannot be seen as the remains of an R) bears some resemblance to that of Rembrandt's monogram on the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13), the *P* suggests a misunderstanding and the even drawing and ornate clarity of the letters cannot be called characteristic. The placing of the signature is moreover less discreet than in other works. This cannot therefore be regarded as an authentic Rembrandt signature. In one or two thicker parts the light paint overlies the craquelure. It is unclear whether these tiny areas have been reinforced; if not, this observation would point to the signature being a later addition.

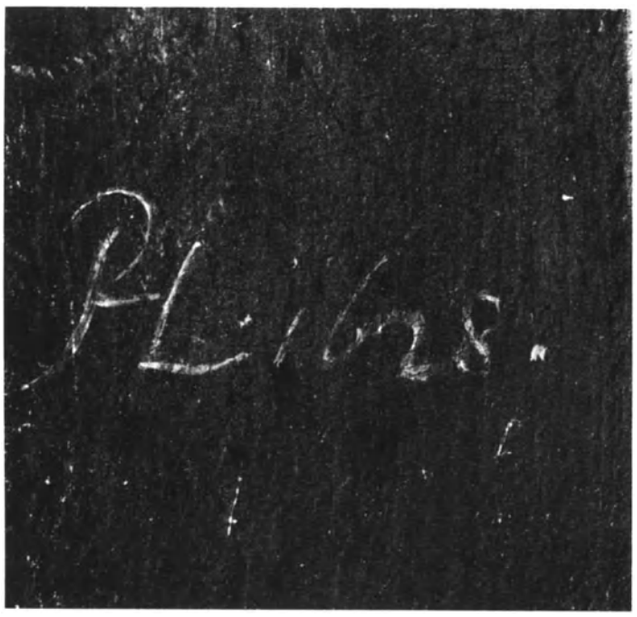
Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

The handling of paint and the colour-scheme of no. C 11 show unmistakable similarities with certain works by Rembrandt from the years 1627–1628. In particular, the almost monochrome character of the painting created by the limitation of the colour range to light and dark greys, yellow-brown and dark brown, with a few accents in warmer colours, is reminiscent of the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 (no. A 11) and the Boston *Artist in his studio* (no. A 18) which is datable in 1629. One might also see a more general similarity with Rembrandt's work in the

Fig. 4. Detail with signature (enlarged)



evidently deliberate reduction in the precision of form and thickness of paint as the subject is seen further away; even in this quite shallow room the floor and the objects standing on it are painted thickest and with the strongest light, the patient is less distinctly articulated, the barber less so still, and the light wall with the map and the still-life objects are shown very roughly indeed. The arrangement of the lighting, too, with the dark, empty space on the right, brings to mind Rembrandt's way of doing things (for example in the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple*, no. A 12, which can be dated in 1627). The faulty perspective of the joins between the floor planks need not in view of Rembrandt's peculiar indifference on this point – one thinks, for instance, of the Amsterdam *Tobit and Anna* of 1626 (no. A 3) and of the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 – be any obstacle to an attribution to him.

On closer examination, however, these resemblances prove to be relatively superficial, and do not extend to the manner of painting itself, and especially not to the suggestive power of the way Rembrandt used paint to render materials and to describe shape and space. Comparison of the relatively thickly painted floor planks in the foreground (fig. 3) with the corresponding area in the Boston *Artist in his studio* (fig. 1) shows on the one hand how insensitive the brushstroke is here, and on the other how in the viscous body of paint in that work a rendering of the uneven surface of the wood has been achieved by a suitable drawing of the joins between the planks. Here, the depiction of shapes is in general broad and with little articulation, and where an edge or reflected patch of light has been added – for instance on the armrest of the chair, on the lower rod of the map on the wall and in the still-life in the background – the effect produced is of a mis-drawing rather than a clarifying enrichment. Partly because of this the objects are lacking in three-dimensional clarity and articulation of form. This latter shortcoming is particularly obtrusive in the heads and hands, which may have suffered somewhat but which also display none of the preciseness of plastic structure that is, certainly in illuminated areas, so very typical of all comparable works by Rembrandt from these years. The disparity in quality that this involves makes an attribution to Rembrandt himself an impossibility. Gerson[1] left the question unresolved, and did not include no. C 11 among the work he recognised as autograph. Nevertheless, the similarities we have noted, even though superficial, do indicate some link with Rembrandt's work in or around 1628/29. In this connexion it is remarkable that the Boston *Artist in his studio* exhibits a pattern – not wholly identical but certainly very similar – of traces of underlying brushstrokes that are unconnected with the present-day picture.

A more concrete link with Rembrandt's circle is provided by the similarity with a wash and pen drawing in the Florence Uffizi (Ben. 51; our fig. 5), which some authors have attributed to Rembrandt[2] but which J. Q. van Regteren Altena (in: *O.H.* 42 (1925), p. 145) and Bauch[3] have more convincingly attributed to Jan Lievens. Schneider[4], who was the first to make known the existence of no. C 11, considered the painting to be the prototype of the drawing, while others put the relationship the other way about. (A later, weaker painted copy after the drawing or a painting based on it is in the Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal in Leiden, cat. no. 266.) Serious consideration must be given to the possibility that no. C 11 is by the same hand as the drawing in Florence attributable to Lievens (Ben. 51) and, perhaps, as the drawing of the *Mounted trumpeter* in Amsterdam (Ben. 21a) that is related to it. The somewhat clumsy design of the Amsterdam *Samson and Delilah* (no. C 1), which we attribute to Lievens, also reminds one to some though not a decisive extent of no. C 11.

As to the meaning of the picture, Bauch[5] has rightly drawn attention to a matching scene in a series of etchings by Jan Jorisz. van Vliet (one of them dated 1634) which portrays the Five Senses and in which the foot operation is, on the evidence also of the traditional attribute of a tortoise being present, representative of the sense of Touch.

Fig. 5. J. Lievens, *The foot operation*, chalk, pen and wash. Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

*– Coll. Marquis de Montesquiou, sale Paris 9 December 1788 (Lugt 4364), no. 48: 'Rembrandt. Un bon Tableau représentant l'intérieur d'une chambre où l'on voit un Chirurgien occupé à panser le pied d'un homme assis dans un fauteuil, exprimant par son attitude la souffrance qu'il éprouve. Hauteur 11 pouces 4 lignes, largeur 8 pouces 9 lignes [= 30.5 × 23.6 cm]. B[ois].'

*– Coll. James Gray, sale Paris 30–31 March 1868, no. 40: 'Le Chirurgien de Village. Dans l'intérieur de son officine, le praticien, les lunettes sur le nez, chaudement enveloppé dans une douillette garnie de fourrure, opère un homme à cheveux blancs, assis dans un large fauteuil près duquel est déposé un panier d'osier. Ce tableau est signé du monogramme HGL, Herman Gerretz, Leyde, avec la date 1628, l'année que Rembrandt quitta le moulin paternel. Bois – H. 31 c. L. 25 c.'

– Coll. Morton Arkwright, Gloucester[6].

Coll. W. C. Escher, Zurich (since *c.* 1930).

9. Summary

In view of on the one hand the peculiarly clumsy design and superficial rendering of form, and on the other the resemblances in lighting and arrangement of receding planes to Rembrandt's work from around 1628/29, no. C I I can with a high degree of probability be placed in Rembrandt's immediate circle and dated in, possibly, about 1630. The monogram and date have most probably been added later. The work was sold as a Rembrandt in 1788. An attribution to Jan Lievens merits consideration.

REFERENCES

1 Br.-Gerson 422.
2 J. G. van Gelder, 'The drawings of Rembrandt', *Burl. Mag.* 91 (1949), pp. 206–207, esp. p. 207; cf. van Gelder 1953, pp. 283–284 (pp. 11–12) and E. K. J. Reznicek, cat. *Mostra di disegni Fiamminghi e Olandesi*, Florence 1964, no. 61.
3 K. Bauch in: *Wallr.-Rich. Jb.* 11 (1939), p. 256 ff; Bauch 1960, pp. 213–214.
4 Schneider p. 70.
5 Bauch 1960, p. 141.
6 Br. 422.

C 12 Travellers resting

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJK KABINET VAN SCHILDERIJEN, MAURITSHUIS, CAT. NO. 579

HDG 89; BR. 556; BAUCH 50; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

An imitation dating from before 1745 and attributable to the same hand as no. C 14.

2. Description of subject

Under an irregular, shadowy arch in which a dark figure sits with back to the viewer, a group of figures is seated in front of a building, before a fire hidden from view on the right. Behind a woman with a child in her lap a man lies with his head propped on one arm; behind him again lies an apparently sleeping figure. On the left can be seen the lower part of a round tower, with a cracked wall and a grated window. To the right of this, and behind the group is another cracked wall in front of which a horse stands under a wooden lean-to roof. The fire provides the only source of light in the nocturnal scene; the wooden roof and the figures throw large shadows onto the buildings and, diagonally towards the front, onto the ground.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 26 October 1973 (J. B., S. H. L.) in good artificial light, out of the frame and with the aid of an X-ray film.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Paper stuck on oak panel, 38 × 33.7 cm. Thickness at left *c.* 0.8 cm, at right *c.* 1.0 cm. The panel has been widened at the right and left with strips of wood of a different kind; these are glued on with a slanting join on the left and an almost perpendicular join on the right. At the surface of the panel these strips have a width of *c.* 1.4 cm on both sides. The paper does not continue over these added strips, which have been brought up to the level of the paper with white priming before an extension of the picture was painted by another hand. The back shows bevelling at a fairly steep angle, with straight ridges, which was done after the widening of the panel. The differing angle of the joins might indicate that the original panel was also bevelled.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[1] the paper shows flax fibres (which means that it was made of linen). It is stuck to the panel with a thick greyish paint layer used as an adhesive and containing white lead, umber and a little brown and yellow ochre. The trace elements silver and copper in the white lead occur in an unusually low concentration compared to the other paintings dealt with by De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes, insofar as the white lead was examined from this viewpoint. Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg) of panel on which the paper is stuck: at top edge, 225 (+ 1) annual rings heartwood up to border with sapwood, datable as 1405–1630. Growing area: Northern Netherlands. Statistical average felling date 1650 ± 5[2].

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A brown appears to show through in scratchmarks and in numerous small discontinuities in dark areas.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[1], the very thin whitish-yellow preparatory layer on the paper consists of white lead.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Very thin (due to wearing?) in the black areas, all of which allow brown to show through to a greater or lesser extent. Otherwise good. Craquelure: not noted, as might be expected with a paper support. Cf., however, De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[1] who describe slight craquelure in the figures and other thickly painted large areas.

DESCRIPTION: The thin black extends at the top along the arch, over the whole repoussoir at the lower right, over the short length of wall behind the horse and in the shadow side of the woman. An opaque grey has been used along the edge of the arch, in the woman's cast shadow and in other shadow areas, as well as in the small roof above the horse in and under which there are numerous fine scratchmarks emphasizing shapes or catchlights. The wall of the tower shows strokes and dabs of ochre brown, a flatter brown-grey and dark grey lines to represent cracks and joins. Similar slightly lighter and more thickly painted colours with yellow-brown edges of light are used to show the structure of the slightly-illuminated part of the arch on the right. The flatly-painted rear wall in a terra-cotta-like brown (which at first glance could be taken for the sky) shows small grey lines evidently intended to represent cracks. Thick touches of a sand colour are found on the right along the silhouette of the man sitting under the arch, and somewhat less thickly on the lit side of the figures sitting on the ground, who have a little white in the highest lights. On the left below the shadow cast by the woman, in the greys and browns of the earth, there are a few more fine scratchmarks.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[1] state that 'the yellow consists of yellow ochre and the greenish-yellowish-brown tints of the roofs and background are composed of yellow ochre, brown ochre and umbers. New pigments dating from the 19th century or later were not detected'.

X-Rays

The radiographic image is dominated by the pattern of the grain of the panel, due to the material used to stick the paper to it. The only parts of the painting on the paper that show up to some extent are the light around the silhouette on the right and that on the woman.

Signature

About 9 cm from the bottom lefthand corner, in black letters ‹*Rembrandt. f*› (reproduced in: De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes, op. cit.[1], fig. 169). Considering the stiffness of the lettering, certainly not authentic.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

The execution is marked by a poor and superficial depiction of form that rules out an attribution to Rembrandt or even to one of his pupils. It is understandable, therefore, that Bauch[3] thought it to be a copy, made after a design for an etching dating from 1628/29. There seems insufficient ground for this assumption. The (admittedly misunderstood) use of scratchmarks and the way cracks in the wall have been shown do point to some knowledge of Rembrandt's paintings from *c.* 1629, such as the Boston *Artist in his studio* (no. A 18) and the *Supper at Emmaus* in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (no. A 16) (on paper stuck on wood), but the disproportionate emphasis on chiaroscuro – applied not with-

Fig. 1. Paper stuck on panel 38 × 33.7 cm

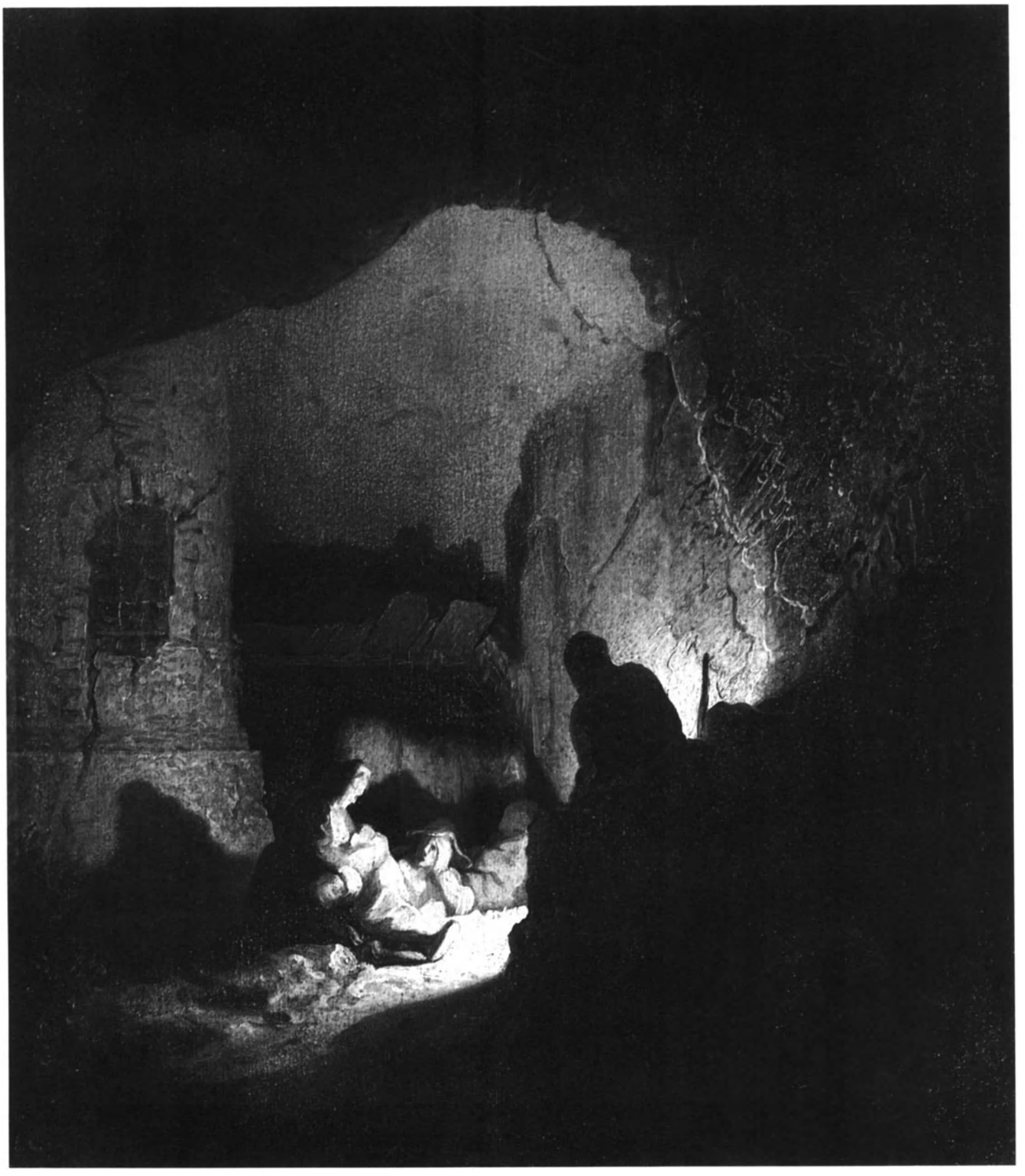


Fig. 2. X-ray

Fig. 3.

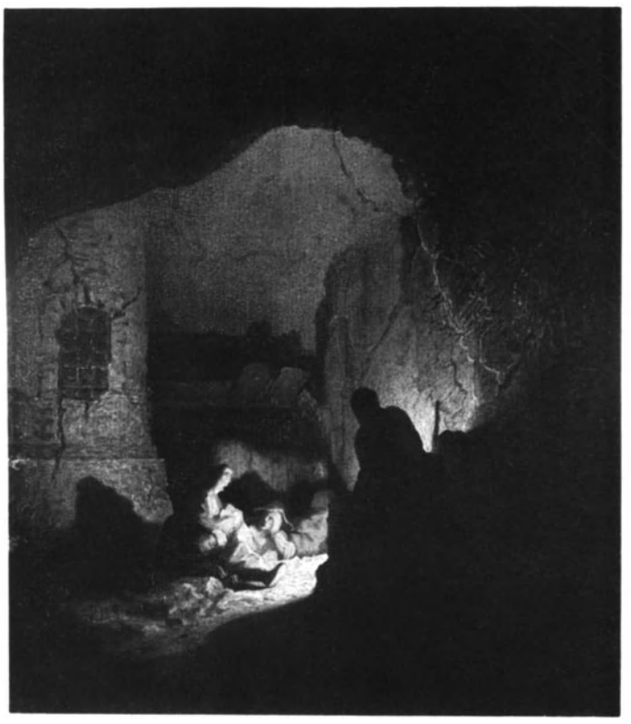


Fig. 4. Rembrandt, *The artist in his studio* (no. A 18). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. The painting in its pre-1925 state.

out a certain flair – suggests an imitation with a deliberately-sought Rembrandtesque effect. The signature, obviously unauthentic and not fitting into the Leiden period, may very well be contemporary with the painting and indicate an intention to pass the work off as a Rembrandt.

A further argument against the assumption that no. C 12 was based on a Rembrandt original is that the iconography of the scene is not clear. In general it has been thought to represent the rest on the flight into Egypt; Martin[4] has however rightly pointed out that because of the number of figures this interpretation is untenable, and has introduced the title of '*Le repos des voyageurs*'. The theme seems to be explicable only through a misunderstanding of 17th-century Dutch iconography, and does not fit into the normal repertoire.

The panel on which the paper is glued comes from a tree that was felled around 1650; this does not mean that this date has to be considered a terminus ante quem and the painting on paper could of course be older. The pedigree goes back to a Paris sale in 1745 (see below under *8. Provenance*); the painting was then attributed to the school of Rembrandt, and formed a pair with the Boston *Artist in his studio* (with which it was to remain until at least 1850; cf. figs. 3 and 4).

The painting has to be dated, therefore, well before 1745. This conclusion finds confirmation, and to some extent greater precision, in the fact that a painting that is based on a similar interpretation of the authentic Rembrandt works mentioned – the London *Man reading* (no. C 14) – can be traced back to 1749. The similarities between no. C 12 and the painting in London are even such that they may be seen as pastiches from one and the same hand, as was already noted by Van Dyke[5]. These similarities are seen in the composition, which in both works is based mainly on a foreground treated as a dramatic silhouette and bounded by a fragmented outline, combined with an emphatic chiaroscuro. Rather puny figures appear lost, in a space that is itself ill conceived. In both instances the palette is virtually monochrome, with impasto used in the lit parts. Another similarity is the abundant use of scratch-marks made in the wet paint, obviously meant to strengthen the shapes but lacking in effect. Even the formulation of the signature (insofar as this can still be made out on the London painting) is alike in these two works. In style and technique as well as in content the two paintings can be recognized as coming from the same hand. If the London painting is seen correctly as of Southern Netherlands origin and from around or soon after 1700, the same will be true of no. C 12.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

*– Coll. La Roque, sale Paris n.d. April 1745 (Lugt 619), no. 65 (together with no. A 18): 'Deux Tableaux peints sur bois, de $12\frac{1}{2}$ pouces de large sur $14\frac{1}{2}$ de haut [= 33.7 × 39.1 cm]. Le premier qui est peint par le Rimbrant, et dont le clair obscur est admirable, représente un Peintre dans son Atelier, qui regarde dans l'éloignement l'effet de son Tableau. Le second, qui est de l'École de ce Maitre, représente une espèce d'Etable placée au bas d'une Tour au pied de la quelle il y a des Figures éclairées par une lumière vive qui se trouve cachée: ils sont tous deux renfermer dans des bordures noires avec des filets dorez. Les deux Tableaux sont pittoresques et de goût.' (96 livres to Nelson).
– Coll. Earl of Morton, Dalmatory, sale London (Christie's) 27 April 1850, no. 13[4].
– Coll. W. Howgate, Leeds, from whom bought in April 1894 (620 guilders)[4].

9. Summary

From its superficial execution, and from the artistic interpretation based on a limited appreciation of Rembrandt's lighting effect, no. C 12 must be regarded as an imitation bearing a false signature. The piece was first mentioned in 1745; a date around or soon after 1700 seems the most likely. It may be attributed to the same hand as no. C 14. Between some time unknown prior to 1745 and the year 1850, no. C 12 formed a pair with no. A 18, which was enlarged probably for this purpose. The picture must be seen as a misinterpreted 17th-century Dutch genre scene.

REFERENCES

1 De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes, pp. 201–202, 216–217.
2 Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, pp. 490–491.
3 Bauch 1933, pp. 183–184; Bauch 1960, p. 133; Bauch 1966, 50.
4 *Musée Royal de Tableaux Mauritshuis à La Haye, Catalogue raisonné des tableaux et sculptures*, 1914 2nd edn, p. 308, 1935 3rd edn, p. 283.
5 J. C. Van Dyke, *Rembrandt and his school*, New York 1923, p. 162.

C 13 Two old men disputing

THE HAGUE, CRAMER GALLERY

HDG 343; BR. 424; BAUCH 6; GERSON –

Fig. 1. Panel 40.3 × 31.7 cm

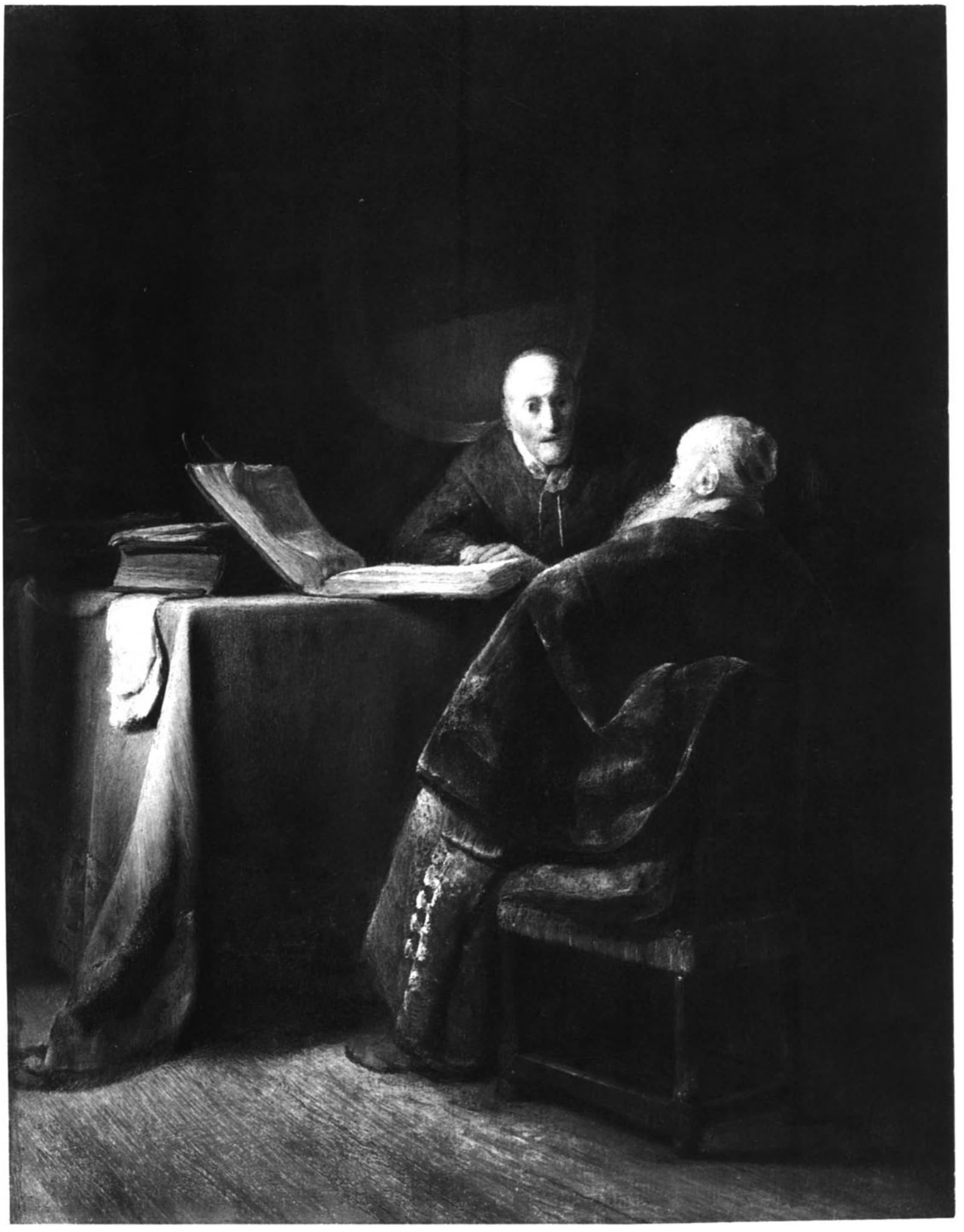
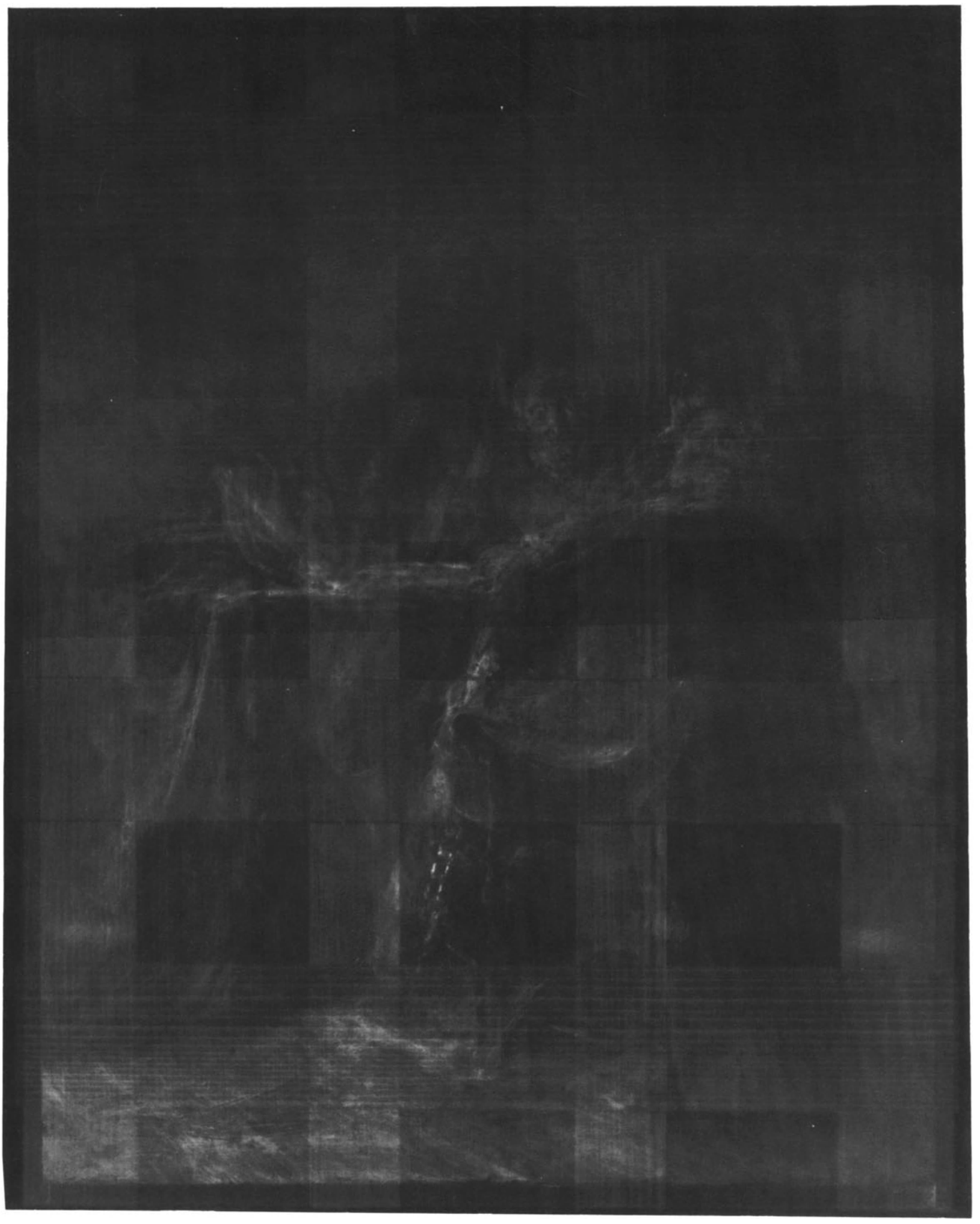


Fig. 2. X-ray



1. Summarized opinion

An imitation of Rembrandt's early style, which was not produced in his own circle; it should be dated before 1787.

2. Description of subject

Two old men, lit from the left, are seated at a table before a predominantly dark background. One sits behind the table, leaning forward with his right elbow behind an open book, while the other sits in front of it and is seen obliquely from behind. More books and papers lie on the lefthand side of the table.

In the left background there is an indistinct shape (a curtain?), and in the centre a shield (?) of elliptical shape.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 6 June 1968 (J. B., S. H. L.), in good daylight and in the frame, with the aid of an X-ray provided by the owner. Two horizontal-format X-ray films, together covering the whole of the painting, and one upright X-ray missing out only a small amount along the edges, were received later, together with an infrared photograph.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 40.3 × 31.7 cm. Single plank. As the painting was studied in its frame, it was impossible to tell whether or not the panel is stuck onto or let into another one. The infrared photograph, covering the whole of the panel, shows light edges indicating that it either has unpainted edges along the four sides or is let into a larger panel. Back surface planed down to a total thickness of *c.* 0.7 cm, and cradled.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not observed.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Satisfactory. Craquelure: none, apart from a few small superficial fissures.
DESCRIPTION: The picture is to a large extent painted with dense, straight and frequently parallel strokes that seldom contribute to the articulation of the forms. An underlying layer often contributes, in colour or relief, to the appearance of the surface – the lit part of the tablecloth, for example, is painted in a yellowish white over a greenish grey, and the grey shield-like shape in the background is over the very dark grey of the background itself. The men's clothing is shaded in black, both in the grey cloak of the man on the right and in the blue-green of the dress of the man behind the table, through whose very perfunctorily painted hand the blue-green remains visible. Some brown-red in the cushion on the chair and in the cloak of the man seen from behind, and a thickly applied sealing-wax red in the small skullcap worn by the latter, provide the only warm accents in an otherwise mainly greyish colour-scheme.

Various shapes now overpainted can be detected in the surface relief – a round hat (?) on the left above the open book, and the contour of a head and shoulder (?) above the man behind the table (see also *X-Rays* below). A strange feature is that in some lighter parts the paint has dried into very small, round particles.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The grain of the panel visible in the ground layer appears only weakly in the radiographic image. Besides light areas belonging to the present picture, one also sees areas that can be explained as pentimenti connected with this, together with others that have no connexion with it.

Apparently unrelated to the present picture is an only vaguely visible seated figure with a large, dark hat (?); his profile, turned to the right, is seen only slightly lighter in the dark background. Also unrelated is a figure rising above the man sitting at the table, the head of which gives a dark image; the figure's further course through the present-day table can presumably be traced in a number of long, lighter strokes that can be read as an upper leg projecting forward and clad in knee-breeches, in the present tablecloth (detectable in the present-day surface paint as a somewhat smoother area), and as a slightly bent lower leg extending into the draped clothing of the man now seen in the foreground. All these shapes, and in particular the dark reserves, offer an extremely weak radiographic image and do not give the impression of being part of a picture executed fully in paint.

A version of the head of the man to the front, the skull outline of which lies about 2 cm higher up than the present one, should perhaps be interpreted as a pentimento connected with the picture seen today. The uncertain accents of light used to show the lit lefthand side of this head are remarkably similar to other passages of the present painting; the outline of the back of this same figure, on the right, ran a little further out to the right, while the left shoulder was considerably higher than that we see today. His cloak previously hid less of the chair, and the chair was of a different type (a folding chair?). Finally, the curved light line along the righthand contour of the diagonally raised half of the open book on the table at the left must probably also be seen as a pentimento.

Summarizing, one can assume that the painting seen today has been painted over another picture that was executed at least in sketch form. Only two figures in this earlier picture can be made out at all distinctly; there may have been a third on the right. These figures were on a larger scale than those in the present painting; they cannot be dated with certainty (the knee-breeches worn by the central, standing figure do not give enough to go on in this respect). It is not clear whether they were by a different hand from that producing the present painting. At all events they cannot be regarded, as they were by Bauch[1], as a first sketch for the present figures done on a larger scale than today, nor can the centre figure be read as the cast shadow of the man behind the table[2]. Changes made in the still-life and in the man to the front can be seen as pentimenti.

Signature

None.

Varnish

A fairly heavy coating of varnish.

4. Comments

Neither the uniform brushstrokes, carefully placed alongside each other and showing hardly any connexion with the plastic form, nor the use of colour with its predominance of greys and blacks, can be

reconciled with work done by the young Rembrandt or his close followers. The forms are all equally mediocre, and their laborious but ineffective execution provides hardly any suggestion of the play of light or of plasticity. A comparison of this painting with that of a similar subject, the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* (no. A 13) – which is in fact quoted in the literature as an argument for the Rembrandt attribution – shows how much not only the manner of painting but the composition too differs from that of Rembrandt. Against that painting's billowing contours, which taken together with the chiaroscuro contrasts separate one depth-plane from another and at the same time create a rich linear pattern, there is here a clashing intersection of poorly-drawn lines outlining shapes, giving no clear suggestion of depth. Nor is there the slightest resemblance in manner of painting with the Turin *Old man asleep* (no. A 17), with which Bode[3] compared this piece when he published it.

In view of the use he makes of a great many greys and sandy-coloured intermediate and mixed tints one can assume that the author did have in mind a particular effect, which he thought of as Rembrandtesque. Seeing the use made of black shadows and other features, he must however have had a faulty idea of how Rembrandt worked. There can be no doubt at all that no. C 13 is an imitation. The starting point for it was probably Pietro Monaco's print after no. A 13 (the globe in which might then have provided the origin of the shield-like object shown in the background), and perhaps also the painting in Turin; the man behind the table, with his wide-open eyes and long chin, seems like a caricature of the model used for that painting. Gerson[4] already expressed doubts as to the authenticity of the painting and the design.

The dating of the work presents something of a problem. The brushwork and colour-scheme point, as has already been said, to an origin far outside Rembrandt's circle, and the colours used, in particular, bring 19th century production to mind. The copy listed below under 7. *Copies* 1, impress one, however, as being definitely of 18th-century origin and, what is more, the picture itself first appears (as by a pupil of Rembrandt's) in a Paris sale of 1787 (see *8. Provenance*). This fact suggests the possibility that it was actually produced in France earlier in the 18th century. This would help to explain its unusual aspect, peculiar even for a Rembrandt imitation. It is significant, furthermore, that it was sold subsequently in an auction held by J. B. P. Lebrun in 1788 as a work by Jan Lievens; obviously Lebrun preferred an attribution to Lievens for paintings in (or in imitation of) Rembrandt's manner of about 1629. He gave the same attribution to the Turin *Old man asleep* (no. A 17) and it must also have been he who ascribed the Jacquemart-André *Supper at Emmaus* (no. A 16) to that artist.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

Aquatint by A. Bissel (Biessel or Bysell), with inscription: *Peint par Rembrandt – Gravé par A. Bissell / LES DOCTEURS / Du Cabinet de Monsieur le Baron de Villiez / à Mannheim chez Dom: Artaria.* Bissel was active in Mannheim around 1790–1810 and worked for the publisher Artaria. As Rolf Fritz[5] convincingly suggests, the mention by Smith and by Hofstede de Groot[6] of a print by R. Barset is based on a misunderstanding, and the Bissel print was done not after no. C 13 but after the copy listed below under 7. *Copies*, 1, which was at Mannheim at the time.

7. Copies

1. Oak panel, 39.5 × 33 cm. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle (*Katalog Alte Meister*, 1966, p. 247 no. 1789; repr. in volume of reproductions p. 404; cf. A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon* I, Vienna-Leipzig 1906, p. 171 as L. Bramer). To judge by the strongly apparent, ruddy ground this is an 18th-century painting, and of poor quality. Reproduced in the print mentioned above under *6. Graphic reproductions*.
2. Bode (op. cit.[3], p. 4 note 2) mentioned what he considered to be a 17th-century copy in the Lahmann collection, Weisser Hirsch near Dresden.

8. Provenance

*– Sale coll. Le Roy de la Faudignère, chirurgien-dentiste, Paris 8ff. January 1787 (Lugt 4119), no. 324: 'Un Tableau peint sur bois par un Disciple de Rembrandt, représentant deux Philosophes occupés à disserter ensemble. Hauteur 15 pouces, largeur 12 pouces [= 40.5 × 32.4 cm]'.
*– Sale coll. [Marquis de Montesquiou], Paris (Lebrun) 9ff. December 1788 (Lugt 4364), no. 158: 'Jean Livince. Deux Philosophes occupés ensemble dans un cabinet qui est orné d'une table & autre accessoires. Ce Tableau fin de ton est d'une harmonie digne des bons ouvrages de Rembrant. Hauteur 15 pouces, largeur 12 pou. [= 40.5 × 32.4 cm]. B[ois]'.
*– Sale coll. de Lareynière, Paris (Lebrun) 3 April 1793 (Lugt 5025), no. 99: 'J. Lievens. Un tableau de deux figures, représentant des philosophes assis près d'une table, sur laquelle est un tapis. Ce morceau harmonieux tient à la manière de Rembrant. Haut. 16 pouces, larg. 12 p. [= 43.2 × 32.4 cm]. B[ois]'.
– Possibly coll. Duke of Westminster; sale London (Christie's) 4 July 1924, no. 90[4].
– Dealer Bottenwieser, Berlin 1924[3].
– Coll. Dr. Wolfgang Huck (exhibition *Gemälde alter Meister aus Berliner Privatbesitz*, Berlin, Akademie der Künste, 1925).
– Dealer P. de Boer, Amsterdam 1956.
– Coll. Dr. H. Becker, Dortmund, until 1979.

9. Summary

An imitation of Rembrandt's early work, from which it differs totally in manner of painting and colouring, probably based on Pietro Monaco's print

after no. A 13. Certainly not done in Rembrandt's circle, and probably produced before 1787, possibly in France.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch 1960, note 107; colour reproduction p. 147.
2 Bauch 1966, 6; W. Sumowski, 'Kritische Bemerkungen zur neuesten Gemäldekritik', *Neue Beiträge zur Rembrandt-Forschung*, Berlin 1973, pp. 91–108, esp. p. 95.
3 W. von Bode, 'Ein neu aufgefundenes Jugendwerk Rembrandts', *Zeitschr. f. b. K.* 58 (1924/25), pp. 1–4, esp. p. 2 (with colour reproduction); Bauch 1933, p. 195.
4 Br.-Gerson 424.
5 Rolf Fritz, *Sammlung Becker. I, Gemälde alter Meister*, Dortmund 1967, no. 77 (with colour reproduction of the painting and reproduction of the print).
6 HdG 343.

C 14 A man reading in a lofty room

LONDON, THE NATIONAL GALLERY, NO. 3214

HDG –; BR. 427; BAUCH 119; GERSON 21

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved and fairly old Rembrandt imitation, probably dating from the late 17th or early 18th century and painted in the Southern Netherlands. It can be attributed to the same hand as no. C 12.

2. Description of subject

In a very high-ceilinged room the light falls on part of the rear wall through a high, cross-barred window set in the lefthand side wall; the bottom left section of this window is covered by a shutter. The foreground is dark. In the middle ground is the dark shape of a table (on a raised platform?) with books on it; at the table is a man wearing a cap, his upper body barely more than a silhouette and merging into the dark mass formed by the closed window and table. On the right, in the semi-darkness, open books or papers are seen propped up in a shelf or reading rack, with above them two shelves bearing books and hanging papers together with a pair of globes. On the right in front of the bottom shelf there is the outline of a dark shape running diagonally upwards, perhaps the handrail of stairs.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in May 1968 (B. H., E. v. d. W.), in good daylight and artificial light and out of the frame. Four X-ray prints were available, together covering the whole of the painting.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain horizontal, 55.1 × 46.5 cm. Made up of three planks of very uneven width (from top to bottom *c.* 2.0, 30.1 and 23 cm) and with the bottom thicker than the other two. A horizontal crack at the left of the centre plank is at about 26.5 cm from the bottom of the panel. According to information kindly provided by Mrs Joyce Plesters of the National Gallery, the planks are scarf-joined over *c.* 0.6 cm (cf. *X-Rays* below); so far as is known this does not occur in Dutch panels, though it is often found in panel paintings by Rubens and this may indicate a Southern Netherlands origin.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): middle plank shows 246 (of 260 counted) annual rings heartwood (+ 1 counted against boundary of sapwood), datable as 1348 (1334) – 1593 (1594). Growing area: Southern Netherlands. Earliest possible felling date 1614 (bearing in mind the age of the tree, allowance has been made for 20 rings of sapwood).

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A reddish brown is visible along the edges and in the scratchmarks in the tablecloth. On the scientific evidence (see below) this underlayer is evidently not the priming, but may be an imprimatura.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to Mrs. Joyce Plesters, National Gallery, there is a thin, cream-coloured chalk ground.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Satisfactory. Craquelure: none observed.
DESCRIPTION: The paint is in general thick and opaque, applied with disordered brushstrokes and with deep scratchmarks indicating the form at unexpected places.

The most heavily painted areas are those in the sunlight – the stiles of the window and the open shutter, done with long strokes in a light, ochrish grey, and the lit wall done with confused strokes of impasto, partly blending, in light greys. The indication in brown of an arched recess in the rear wall is probably a later addition, as investigation by the museum has already shown[1]. Deep scratchmarks indicate the hinges of the open shutter, the boundary between the wooden windowframe and the plasterwork, and a few cracks in the wall. In the upper lights of the window there is a dull brown-grey colour with an indistinct indication of strips of leading.

In the semi-darkness to left and right of the patch of light, shapes are drawn in opaque greys, the man and the table being done very summarily. Deep scratchmarks pick out the lines along the lower edge of the sheet of paper hanging down on the right, as well as the squiggly pattern in the tablecloth.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Three paint samples were taken, two of which underwent microscope examination (communication from Mrs. Joyce Plesters).

1. Taken from thin, translucent black on the left, at the horizontal crack. A thin, translucent black over a thin layer of grey, with particles appearing more like ivory or bone black than charcoal black.

2. Taken in the yellowish white impasto of the window frame near the top edge. Over the ground a dark grey layer with black particles visible; a very thick pale greyish paint layer, based on white lead, with large nodules of white lead visible, one or two black pigment particles and what looks like tiny fragments of smalt (cobalt blue glass pigment); a very thick undulating, pale-cream-coloured paint layer, principally white lead.

X-Rays

The illuminated areas of the window and wall are apparent as somewhat vaguely shaped light patches, but extend rather further outwards than at the paint surface. The upper lefthand corner seen dark today shows the light marks of very broad brushstrokes running in various directions but mostly vertical. Further down and in the tablecloth, too, there are rather indistinct and weakish traces of white as an ingredient of the greys used. Much more radioabsorbency is seen where there is now the still-life of books on the right in the semi-darkness, tailing off vaguely upwards with an indication of unidentifiable shapes. A vague white line slants upwards through the handrail of the stairs, and curves away to the right level with the upper windows. The abundant scratchmarks, already alluded to, are clearly apparent as sharp dark lines. The horizontal joins between the three planks making up the panel show up in the X-ray as two lines of white in each case, due to planks having been scarf-joined (cf. *Support*, DESCRIPTION above) rather than given the butt joint normal in the Northern Netherlands.

Signature

Along the handrail of the stairs, as faint traces ‹*Rem*(.)*randt*›, which in formulation and shape does not match Rembrandt's signatures from his Leiden years[1]. A tracing is shown by C. J. Holmes[2].

Varnish

A thick and uneven coating of yellowed varnish.

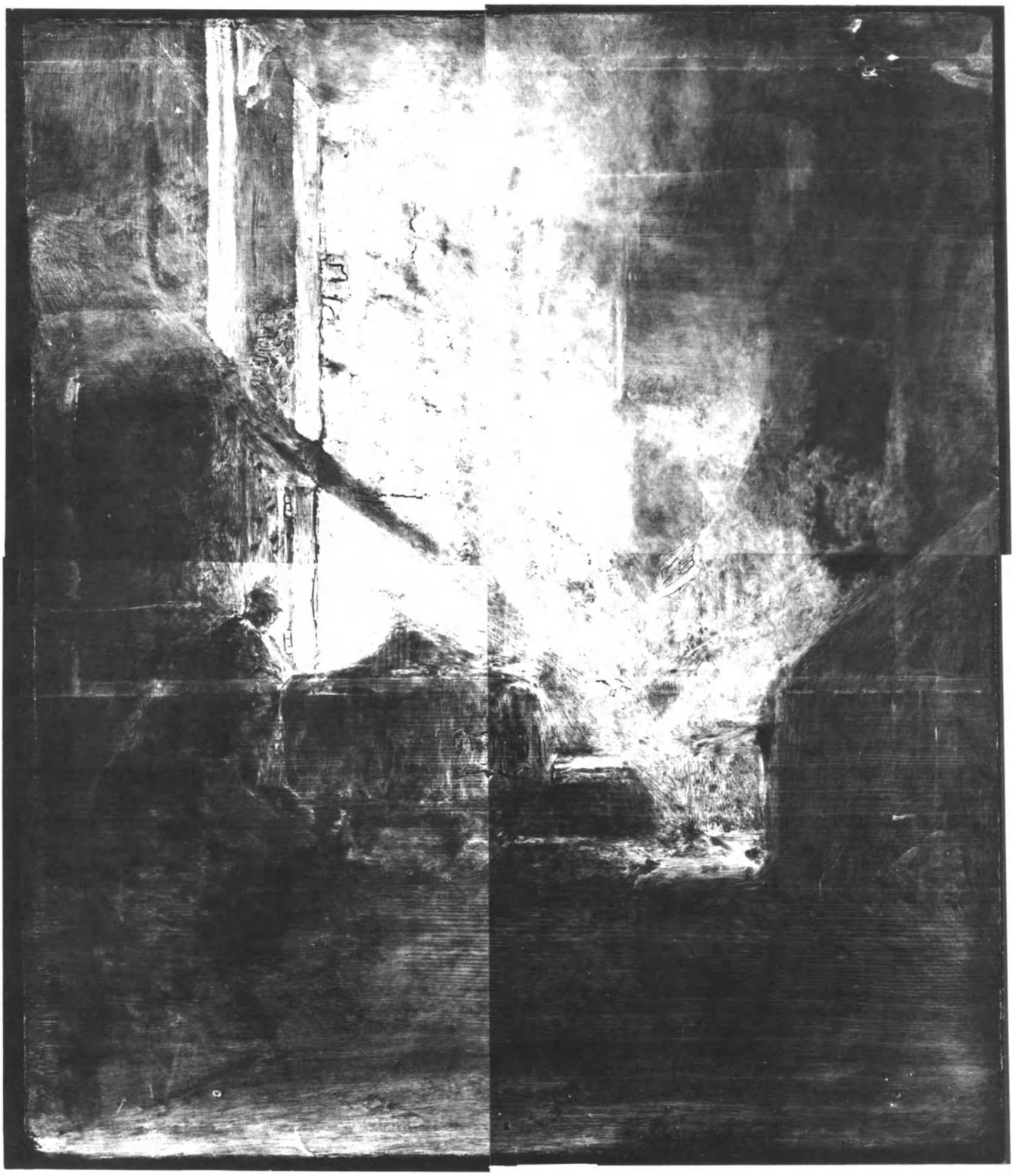
4. Comments

The attribution of no. C 14 has not up to now been doubted. It has however only a superficial similarity to Rembrandt's early work. The motif of the illumi-

Fig. 1. Panel 55.1 × 46.5 cm

nated walls resembles the treatment of the background in works such as the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* (no. A 12) and, to a lesser extent, the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison* of 1627 (no. A 11); that of the silhouetted shapes is like areas such as the still-life of books in the Nuremberg *S. Paul* (no. A 26). The

Fig. 2. X-ray



theme of a scholar in his room, too, is not uncommon in Rembrandt's circle. Yet the approach and the treatment of this theme are lacking in any refinement, and in every respect show an exaggeration aimed at effect – in the loftiness of the ill-defined room, in the chiaroscuro contrast between the sil-

houettes and the illuminated background, and in the perfunctory treatment of the forms seen in semi-darkness. The execution shows, as the X-ray confirms, a weak connexion between brushwork and indication of form, and in this respect differs totally from Rembrandt's manner of painting. The same is true of the way scratchmarks have been used to emphasize contours and even lines of script. The use of colour, showing dead tints in the darker areas, a lumpy light grey in the light and an improbable flat grey tint in the upper lights of the window, is devoid of any Rembrandtesque quality. Finally, the construction of the panel made up of three horizontal, scarf-joined planks is unthinkable for a 17th-century Dutch panel of upright format.

Because of the manner of painting the work has to be seen as a fabrication in a style that the author conceived as being Rembrandtesque without taking any real account of the way Rembrandt worked. Its history can probably be traced back to 1749 and a dating should not be looked for before the end of the 17th century. A very similar treatment may be found in the *Travellers resting* in The Hague (no. C 12), which can be attributed to the same hand, as was already noted by Van Dyke[3].

From a comment from Mrs. Joyce Plesters that panels constructed like this are often encountered in panel paintings by Rubens, one can assume that the support of no. C 14 is of Southern Netherlands manufacture. In view, moreover, of the probably Southern Netherlands origin of the wood it is likely that it was painted in that area as well. As the dendrochronological measurements show, an early 17th-century panel was used. In this connexion it may be mentioned that pictures of a similar subject under Rembrandt's name appeared quite early on in Antwerp: the print by de Bailliu after the original of the Stockholm *Christian scholar* (no. C 17) was made there around the middle of the 17th century, and a painting that can probably be identified with the *Old man in interior with spiral staircase* in the Louvre (Br. 431) attributed to Rembrandt was mentioned in an Antwerp inventory of possessions in 1673 (cf. J. Denucé, *De Antwerpsche 'Konstkamers'*, Amsterdam 1932, p. 264) and subsequently in the catalogue of the Comte de Fraula sale in Brussels on 21ff. July 1738 (no. 136).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

*– Conceivably identical with: 'Een Schrijvend Man in zijn Kamer door denzelven [Rembrandt], h. 1 v. 10 d., br. 1 v. 7 d. [= 56.5 × 48.8 cm]' (A man writing in his room, by the same) (21 guilders 10 stuivers), art dealer David Ietswaard sale, Amsterdam 22 April 1749 (Lugt 704), no. 35 (Hoet II p. 241, no. 36).
*–Conceivably identical with: 'Rembrandt. A Philosopher in his Study', [coll. Hamilton] sale London 24–25 January 1765 (Lugt 1422), 1st day, no. 12.
– Conceivably identical with: 'Rembrandt. Philosopher in his study', Earl of Harrington sale, London 30–31 March 1781 (Lugt 3244), 2nd day, no. 60 (9 guineas to Beauvoir)[1].
– Coll. Richard Cosway, RA, London in 1791 (*A catalogue of the entire collection of Richard Cosway . . . in . . . . his house in Pall Mall*, 1791, no. 16: 'Rembrandt. An old man reading at a window, into which the sun shines through a watery atmosphere. – The shadow of the divisions of the window are on the white wall, which constitutes the eye of the picture . . .'). Sale London 17–19 May 1821, no. 88: 'Rembrandt. An Interior, with a powerful effect of light' (£8. 11s. 6d.).
– Coll. Warburton Davies, bought probably between 1820 and 1830.
– Bought by National Gallery from his great-nephew Lieut-Gen. Sir Francis John Davies of Elmley Castle, in August 1917[1].

9. Summary

An imitation that must be placed well outside Rembrandt's own circle, and showing none of the marks of his school in either style or execution. The material and construction of the support indicate that the panel originated in the Southern Netherlands, and thus probably that it was also painted there. The pedigree goes back with a considerable degree of certainty to 1791, but the painting can possibly be traced to 1781 or even 1749. A dating in the early 18th century, or perhaps the end of the 17th seems the most likely. The *Travellers resting* in the Hague (no. C 12) can be attributed to the same hand.

REFERENCES

1 N. Maclaren, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Dutch School*, London 1960, pp. 331–332.
2 C. J. Holmes, 'An undescribed panel by Rembrandt', *Burl. Mag.* 31 (1917), pp. 171–172.
3 J. C. Van Dyke, *Rembrandt and his school*, New York 1923, p. 162.

C 15 A scholar reading

BRAUNSCHWEIG, HERZOG ANTON ULRICH-MUSEUM, CAT. NO. 234

HDG 228; BR. 429; BAUCH –; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved work, probably reduced slightly in size at the top; it may well have been produced as early as *c.* 1630, perhaps imitating a lost painting by Rembrandt or from his circle.

2. Description of subject

Seen against a light rear wall and sitting on the left obliquely behind a rectangular table covered with a circular cloth, a man wearing a cap bends over an open book with his head supported on his left hand and his right hand resting on the book. A number of other books lie to the right of him, and one very large book leans presumably against the bookcase that is seen on the right, partly hidden behind a curtain. In front of this, on the floor there is the hint of a globe.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in October 1968 (J. B., B. H.) in artificial light and in the frame. Four X-ray films, together covering the whole of the painting, were received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, visible dimensions 50.1 × 43 cm. Thickness 0.9 to 1.2 cm. Two planks, with join *c.* 22 cm from lefthand side. A crack *c.* 10 cm long runs from the bottom edge at about 18.5 cm from the righthand side. Wide bevelling at the back along the bottom, slight bevelling along the sides and none at the top.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): both planks come from the same tree. The left plank has 150 annual rings heartwood, the right 154 annual rings heartwood; mean curve 154 rings heartwood, datable as 1453–1606. Growing area: Northern Netherlands. Earliest possible felling date 1621[1].

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not seen.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to Dr. H. Kühn, Munich, consists of chalk with a little white lead and ochre, with a glue medium[2].

Paint layer

CONDITION: Satisfactory. Craquelure: in the thicker parts the paint surface is slightly cracked, creating 'floes'. Occasional individual cracks.

DESCRIPTION: The paint layer is applied opaquely, thickest in the dark outlines of the books and in shadow areas in the clothing and along the stile of the chair. Greyish tints predominate. The figure is painted with small brush touches: rather more thickly in the whites of the shirtsleeves and collar (which fail to suggest the form) and in the very perfunctory and confused flesh areas, thinner and flatter in the dark grey of the tabard and cap and the brown of the sleeves (where the dark shadows are thickly painted). A stroke of red gives a rough indication of the ear (which is placed too low).

The edges of the pages of the open book are indicated with thick black lines, enclosing the thinner white of the page. The other books are similarly drawn insensitively in browns and greys; the topmost book lying on its side is in a dark blue. The tablecloth is done in a flat greyish purple, with the decorated edge in grey and greenish grey with a few fine, erratic scratchmarks going down to a darker layer (their formal significance is not clear).

The curtain hanging down on the right is shown with long strokes of cool grey. The background is in a flat grey, with almost no visible brushwork, and turns into a slightly warmer brown-grey around the figure.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The radiographic image differs only slightly from what one expects from the paint surface. The foreground forms (other than on the extreme right) a fairly light area in which the foot of the table and the draped clothing of the figure, together with a cast shadow (?) to the right and a horizontal zone on the left, can be seen as dark reserves; no space has however been left in reserve for the chair. The grey tabard has about the same light tone as the thicker parts of the background; on the left the top paint layer of the background is seen to encroach over the outline of the tabard. In general, quite a lot of paint showing up light has been used along the contours when working up the background and the curtain, in brushwork that is not really easy to follow. As well as in the edge of the tablecloth, fine scratchmarks can be seen in the edges of the pages of the open book lying on the table and in those of the large book falling slightly open and propped against the bookcase. The wax seal mentioned under *8. Provenance* below appears clearly in the hanging part of the tablecloth.

Signature

At the bottom *c.* 20 cm from the righthand side in dark paint ‹*R.f.*›. The *R* is open at the left and shows a large loop halfway up the stem. The unusual use of the *R* without the other components of the monogram together with the stiff form of the letters makes it impossible to accept this signature as authentic. One cannot be sure whether it belongs to the original painting, or is a later addition. Bode[3] described it as a 'leider sehr beschädigte Bezeichnung und Datierung ..., die ich 1633 gelesen habe', though Riegel[4] provided a facsimile of the dark letters now visible and mentioned traces of white numbers that he looked on as the remains of an old inventory number.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

There are, thematically, a number of points of contact with the work of Rembrandt, though comparison shows that on all these points no. C 15 is far inferior to comparable works by him, and that in execution there is only a very superficial resemblance.

The light background is not uncommon in Rembrandt works from 1627–1629 (the Stuttgart *S. Paul in prison*, no. A 11; the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple*, no. A 12; the *Supper at Emmaus*, in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, no. A 16; and the Boston *Artist in his studio*, no. A 18). It there invariably gives rise to chiaroscuro effects and to a suggestion of the texture of materials provided by the lively use of paint; both features are entirely missing here. In general the rendering of materials is, even in the

Fig. 1. Panel 50.1 × 43 cm

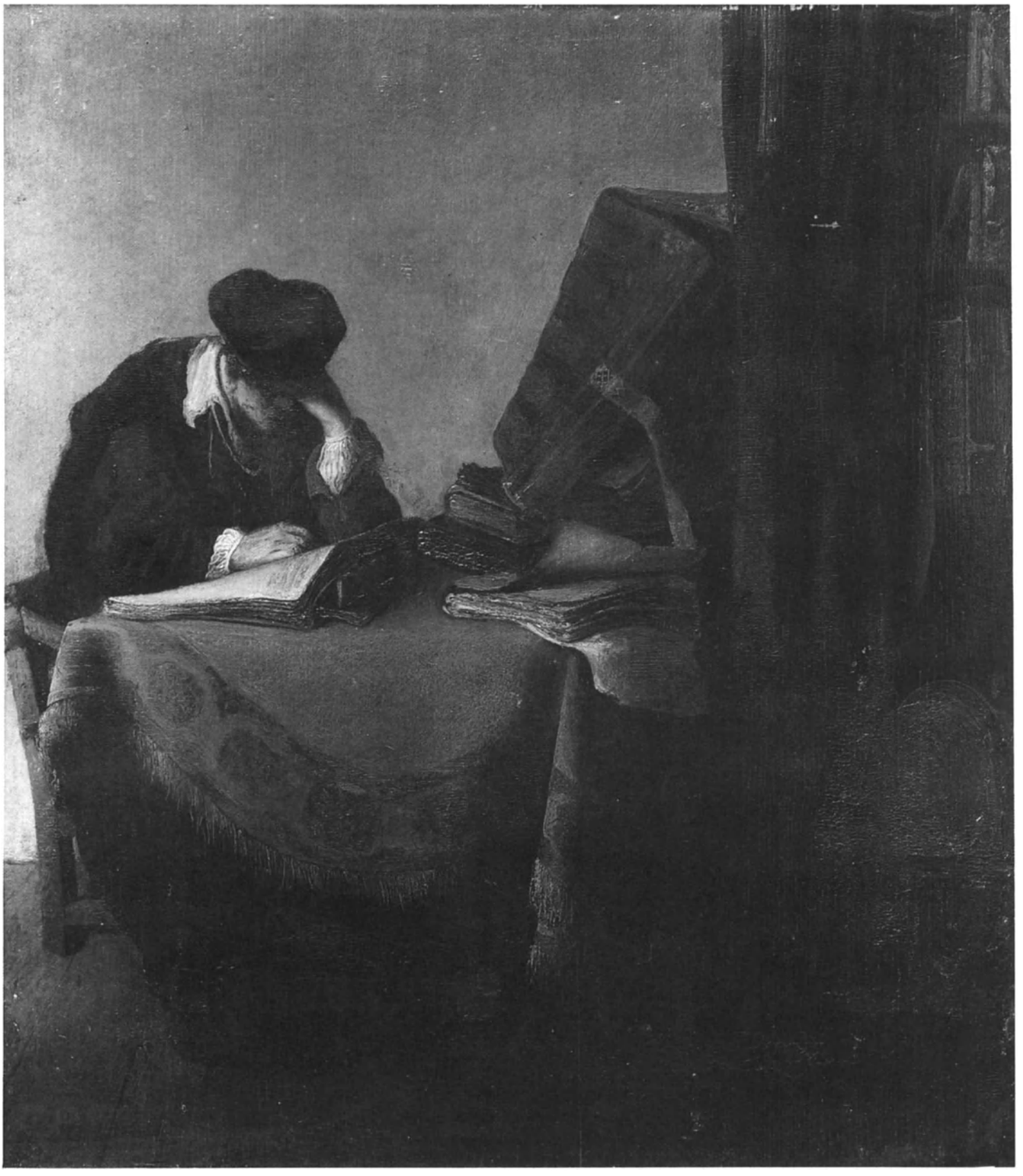


Fig. 2. X-ray

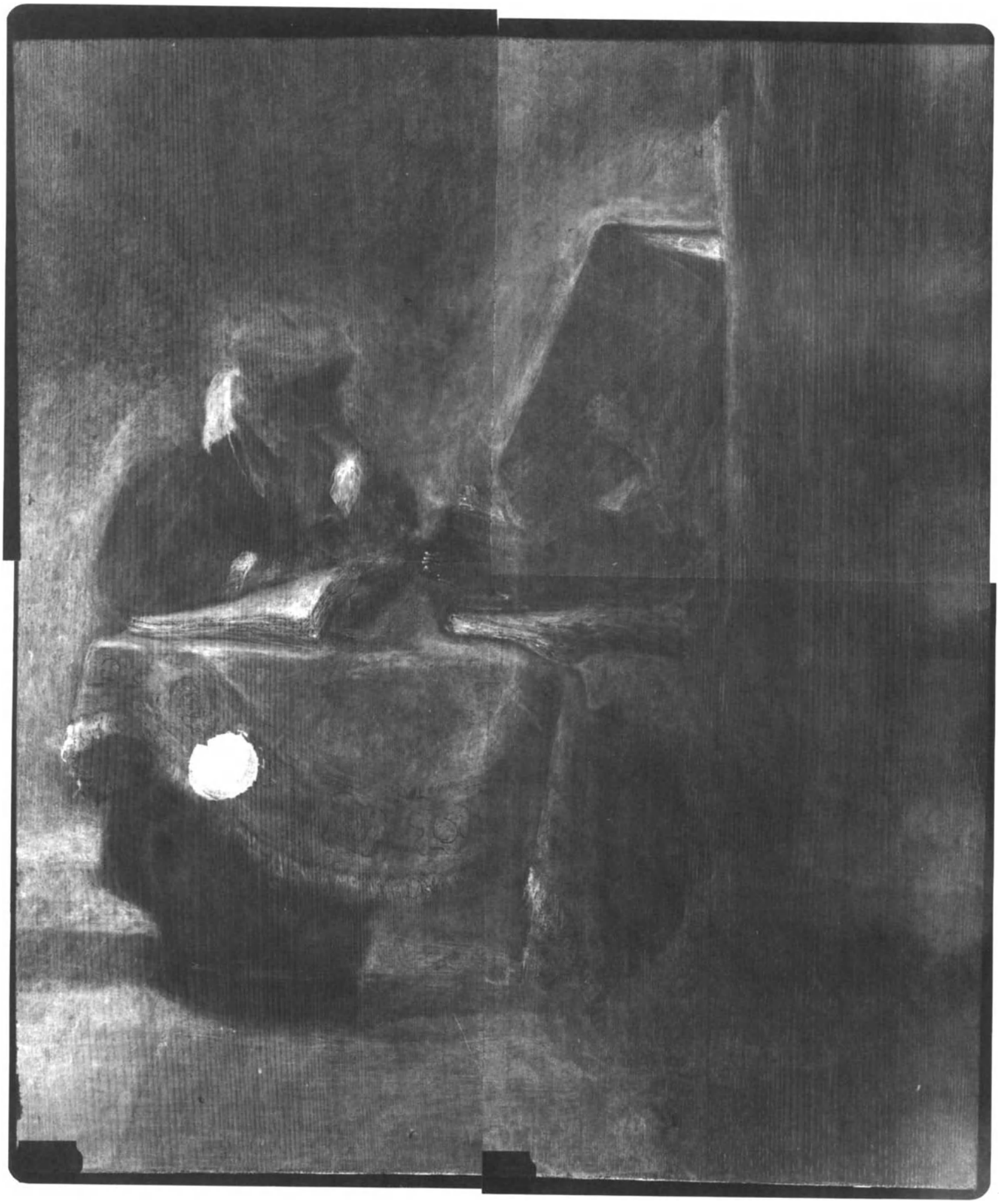


Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

tablecloth and the still-life of the books, extremely poor, as becomes plain from a comparison with, for instance, the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13). The portrayal of plastic form, too, is extremely weak. In neither the clothing nor the head and hands of the figure does the artist achieve more than a maladroit overall indication of form, without any of the close attention that Rembrandt gave to suggesting plastic and three-dimensional structure in the lit parts. Comparing the white collar in the Turin *Old man asleep* of 1629 (no. A 17) with the very similar motif in no. C 15 makes this quite evident. The effect of depth is noticeably awkward. The use of thick black lines over scratches visible in the X-ray in a thinner white, such as one sees in the open book, represent an approach and technique foreign to Rembrandt.

No. C 15 cannot, therefore, be regarded as anything more than a poorly interpreted imitation of Rembrandt's work from the years around 1628–1629, done without any grasp of the means Rembrandt himself employed. Understandably there has for many years been doubt about its authenticity.

After it had been accepted by Bode[3], Schmidt[5] declared it to be unauthentic without putting forward his reasons. Riegel[4], too, admitted 'dass das Bild mir stets bedenklich vorgekommen ist'; he further mentioned a comment by Waagen ('Gute Schule') and the fact that the painting was known in the Musée Napoléon as Fabritius. Hofstede de Groot[6] and Bredius[7] accepted the Rembrandt attribution, but it was rejected by Bauch[8] and by Rosenberg[9]. Bauch[10] thought it to be by a Leiden

Fig. 4. Ascribed to Rembrandt, *A scholar meditating*, black chalk (Ben. 46). Paris, Musée du Louvre

follower, van Gelder[11] suggested either a collaboration between Rembrandt and Dou or the author of the *Minerva* in The Hague (Mauritshuis, cat. no. 626 – a painting which we do not however consider to be 17th century), while Gerson[12] judged it to be an early work by Dou. The painter's lack of skill already described, and his lack of familiarity with Rembrandt's technique, would however rule out an attribution to a pupil or competent follower. The painting must be looked on as an unsuccessful imitation.

A drawing of a *Scholar meditating* in the Louvre (Ben. 46; our fig. 4), attributed to Rembrandt or to Gerard Dou (F. Lugt, *Musée du Louvre, Inventaire général des dessins . . . École hollandaise* I, [Paris] 1929, no. 247) resembles no. C 15 in its composition, especially with regard to the form of the tablecloth. Possibly the author of no. C 15 knew either this drawing or a lost painting that more or less matched it. One notices that the format of the drawing is taller and that – on the evidence of the absence of bevelling at the rear along the top edge of the panel, and of the placing of the figure relatively high up in the picture area – no. C 15 too may well have originally been taller; a similar, perhaps indeed the same, painting was described in a Paris sale of 1749 as being the same width and a good 6 cm higher (see below under *8. Provenance*). This makes a connexion between no. C 15 and either this drawing (Paris) or a lost Rembrandtesque painting even more probable.

It is impossible to pinpoint the date of no. C 15. The possibility of this imitation having been produced as early as *c.* 1630 merits serious consideration; dendrochronological investigation has yielded an earliest possible felling date that does not preclude its being painted in the late 1620s.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

*– Perhaps identical with: 'Een Studentje met een open Wambais, van Rembrant, seer konstig in een Lijst' (A student with his doublet open, by Rembrant, very skillfully done, in a frame), collection of the Remonstrant minister and historian Gerard Brandt, sale Amsterdam 27 March 1686 (not listed by Lugt; only known copy in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel), no. 2 (information kindly communicated by Mr. B. van Selm, University of Leiden).

*– Perhaps identical with: 'Un autre Tableau peint par Rimbrandt, d'un beau fini, et d'une belle touche; il représente un Philosophe qui lit. Il a 21 pouces de haut, sur 16 pouces de large [= 56.7 × 43.2 cm]' (withdrawn at 100 livres), coll. Mirabeau, Lempereur, Gersaint, Araignon, Delaporte (Araignon section), sale Paris 26ff. March 1749 (Lugt 698), no. 91.

– Ducal collection in Schloss Salzdahlum, where it was mentioned for the first time in the first printed catalogue published in Braunschweig in 1776 by Christian Nikolaus Eberlein: *Catalogue des Tableaux de la Galerie Ducale a Salsthalen:* 'Troisième Galerie, nr. 8 Paul Rembrant van Ryn. Un Philosophe appuyant la tête sur le coude est assis derrière une table couverte d'un tapis, & lit dans un livre qu'il a devant lui. Il y a encore d'autres livres sur la table. Sur bois, d' 1 pied 6 pouces de large, sur 1 pied 9 pouces de haut [= 42.8 × 49.9 cm]'.

– In Paris from 1806 to 1815 (seal of *Musée Napoléon* on back).

9. Summary

The weakness of form in no. C 15, and in particular the manner of painting which differs from that of Rembrandt, rule out an attribution to him or to one of his immediate pupils. There are however certain motifs that suggest a connexion with Rembrandt's work from the years 1628 and 1629, and it is possible that a lost painting by Rembrandt or from his circle may have served as a prototype. Allowance must be made for the possibility that no. C 15 was produced very early on, indeed almost contemporaneously.

The painting was probably reduced by *c.* 6 cm at the top, after 1749 and before 1776.

REFERENCES

1 Cf. Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, esp. p. 491 and fig. 5.
2 Cf. Kühn, p. 203.
3 W. Bode, 'Zur Rembrandt-Literatur', *Zeitschr. f. b. K.* 5 (1870), pp. 169–176, esp. p. 175.
4 H. Riegel, *Die niederländischen Schulen im herzoglichen Museum zu Braunschweig*, Berlin 1882 (Beiträge zur niederländischen Kunstgeschichte II), p. 236.
5 W. Schmidt, 'Zwei Bilder von Jan van Goyen und A. van Ostade in Braunschweig', *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft* 6 (1873), pp. 188–189, esp. p. 188; cf. idem, 'Zur Braunschweiger Galerie', *Zeitschr. f. b. K.* 18 (1883), p. 103.
6 HdG 228.
7 Br. 429.
8 Bauch 1933, p. 225.
9 J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt. Life and Work*, London 1964 2nd edn, p. 371.
10 Bauch 1966, p. 48.
11 Van Gelder 1953, p. 293 (p. 21).
12 Br.-Gerson 429.

C 16 A hermit reading

PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, INV. NO. 2541 A

HDG 192; BR. 605; BAUCH 125; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

A moderately well preserved painting that is in many respects closely linked to Rembrandt's work from 1630 and 1631 but is not from his hand. It must be by an unknown artist from his immediate circle, and either painted from a figure study by Rembrandt or copied from an autograph painting.

2. Description of subject

An old, bearded man sits facing obliquely to the left on an uneven eminence in the terrain, in light falling from the left. He leans forward slighly, and is reading from a large, limp book supported on his left arm; his right arm, with the hand clasped over the top edges of the pages, is hidden behind the book. His legs are crossed, and an undergarment and his left knee are visible between the front panels of his long, wide-sleeved outer garment; his feet are in wide kneeboots or stockings that sag in wrinkles over his ankles.

The figure throws a shadow towards the right on a gnarled tree-trunk, the twisted roots of which can be seen to the right in the semi-darkness. Partly supported by this tree-trunk, an untidy collection of sticks and beams with a few bundles of straw hanging down from above them form a vaguely-defined structure constituting a kind of sloping roof attached to a wall behind it. This wall runs slighly forward to the left where it is partly illuminated, revealing the masonry of a blind arch. Above the old man's head, on a projecting part of the wall, stands a small, round-bellied bottle with a cloth lying beside it and hanging down over the edge.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in September 1968 (S. H. L., E. v. d. W.) under moderate daylight and artificial light and out of the frame, and again on 2 June 1975 (E. v. d. W.). A copy film of an X-ray (30 × 40 cm) covering the central area with the whole of the figure was received from the museum after the first inspection.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 58.9 × 45.5 cm. Three planks. A vertical and slightly curving crack runs the full height, passing just through the old man's uncovered left knee. A short vertical crack runs upwards from the bottom edge close to the righthand side. Back cradled. A double thickness of oak can be seen along the edges; according to the museum's documentation, the second layer serves only to fill in bevelling to the thickness of the panel.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch, Dr. D. Eckstein, Dr. P. Klein, Hamburg): central plank 144 annual rings of heartwood (+ 1 counted). Not datable.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A yellowish white shows through in patches of wearing in the foreground.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Somewhat worn. A multiplicity of slightly darkened retouches, often stretched out along the grain of the wood, can be seen in thin areas. A fairly large, darkened inpainting is found in the background between the book and the old man's right thigh. There is paint loss along the whole length of the crack, and according to the X-ray this has been filled in with priming over a strip of varying width up to a maximum of *c.* 1.5 cm. The painting has been unevenly cleaned; only the head and hands have been freed of the yellow varnish. Craquelure: none seen.

DESCRIPTION: The range of colours is very limited, and consists of browns (from a yellowish to a dark brown) and greys (from cool to dark grey). In the areas that are not strongly lit the paint has been applied very freely with occasionally almost randomly placed brushstrokes. The hairs of the brush have at many points exposed the underlying layer, so that there is locally an effect of transparency. On the right the summary depiction of bundles of straw has been strengthened here and there with scratchmarks.

The opaque greys in the lit parts of the overgarment, undergarment and stockings are set down with relatively bold strokes that are easy to follow. Here and there small dark lines have been used to clarify the plastic structure of the clothing.

The most subtle painting is seen in the head and the hands holding the book. In the head the shadow areas with the eyes and mouth are sketchlike, in translucent browns, while the illuminated parts in a pinkish white are finished with touches of varying thickness that generally follow the plastic form but on the top of the head (where they are thickest in the highest light) slope slightly upwards to the left. The beard and hair are shown with thin and fairly long strokes of grey-white. The hands (which are noticeably large) are painted with thin touches of the brush on top of the light ground, which is visible here and there, in white, flesh colour, pink, and a cool grey that to a great extent dictates the colour appearance; the difference in tonal value between the phalanges gives the hands an angular shape. The same cool grey paint is seen again, even more strongly, in the edges of the pages of the book; it is entirely flat in the parts between the two hands, and in the parts of the book outside them on either side gives an indication of the separate pages in various tints.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

Perhaps partly because of the excessively contrasty quality of the copy-film available, it is not really suitable for a comparison with the X-rays of comparable works. The most plainly apparent light image is of the priming used during restoration to fill in the crack. Only the most strongly lit areas of the painting can be recognized, and this is in line with the predominant use – already described – of thin and partly translucent paint. Close to the righthand side, level with the old man's knee, a number of filled-in wormholes appear as mainly vertical light lines; these may however be situated in the wood stuck to the back of the original panel to fill in the bevelling.

Signature

In the righthand lower corner, written fluently in dark paint and sloping down slightly towards the right ‹*RH(L?) 163(0?)*›. A retouch done in connexion with the small crack mentioned earlier runs up to the righthand upright of the *H*, making it unclear whether this has been completed with a horizontal stroke to make an *L*. There are a few small, dark marks between the monogram and the date, of the kind seen elsewhere and identifiable as darkened retouches. The painting of the letters and figures, which is not uncertain but is somewhat cursory, is not such as to inspire confidence in the signature's authenticity; the shape and line exhibit differences from a reliable 1630 signature (cf., for example, that on no. A 28), most clearly in the reasonably well-preserved *3*.

Fig. 1. Panel 58.9 × 45.5 cm

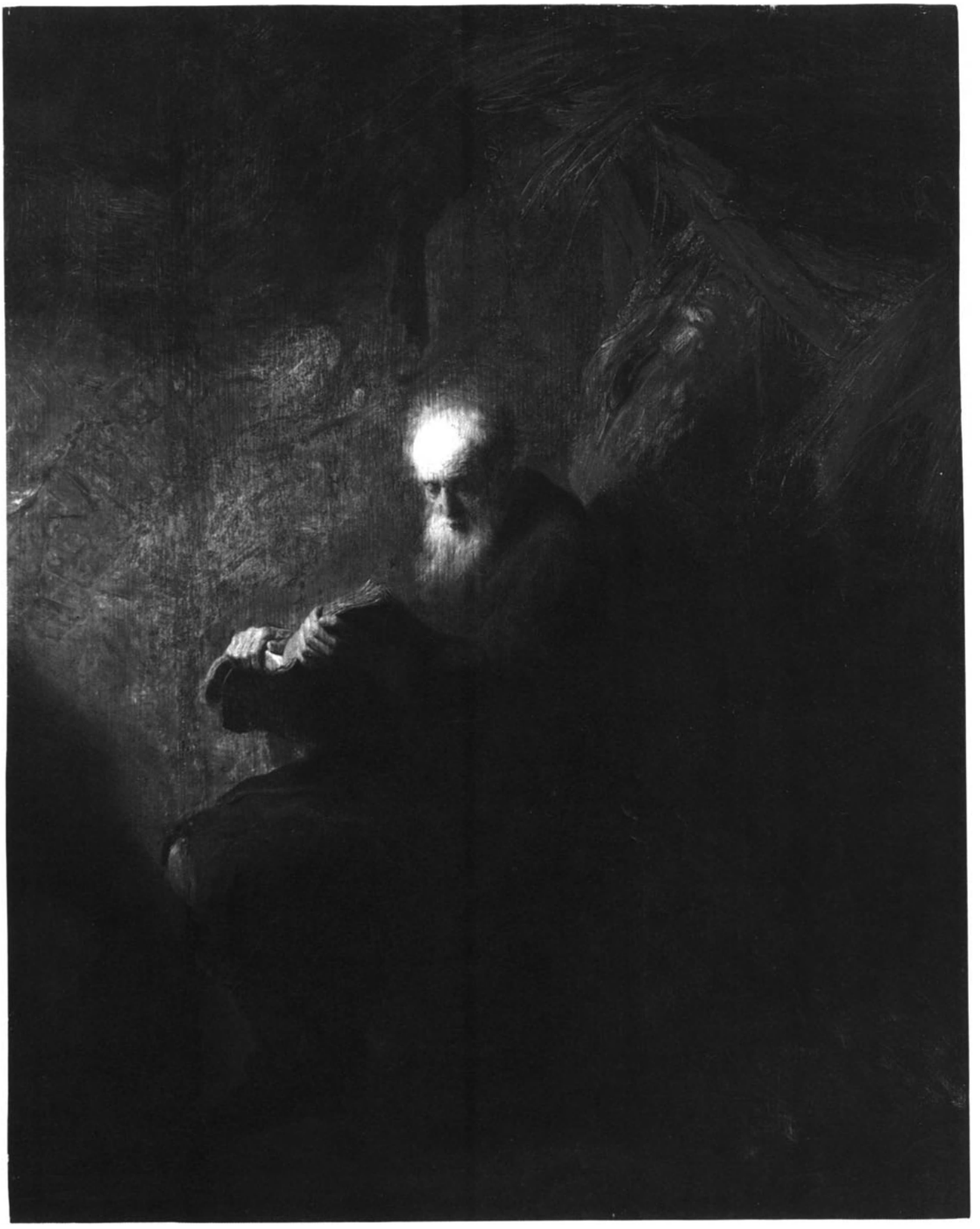


Fig. 2. X-ray

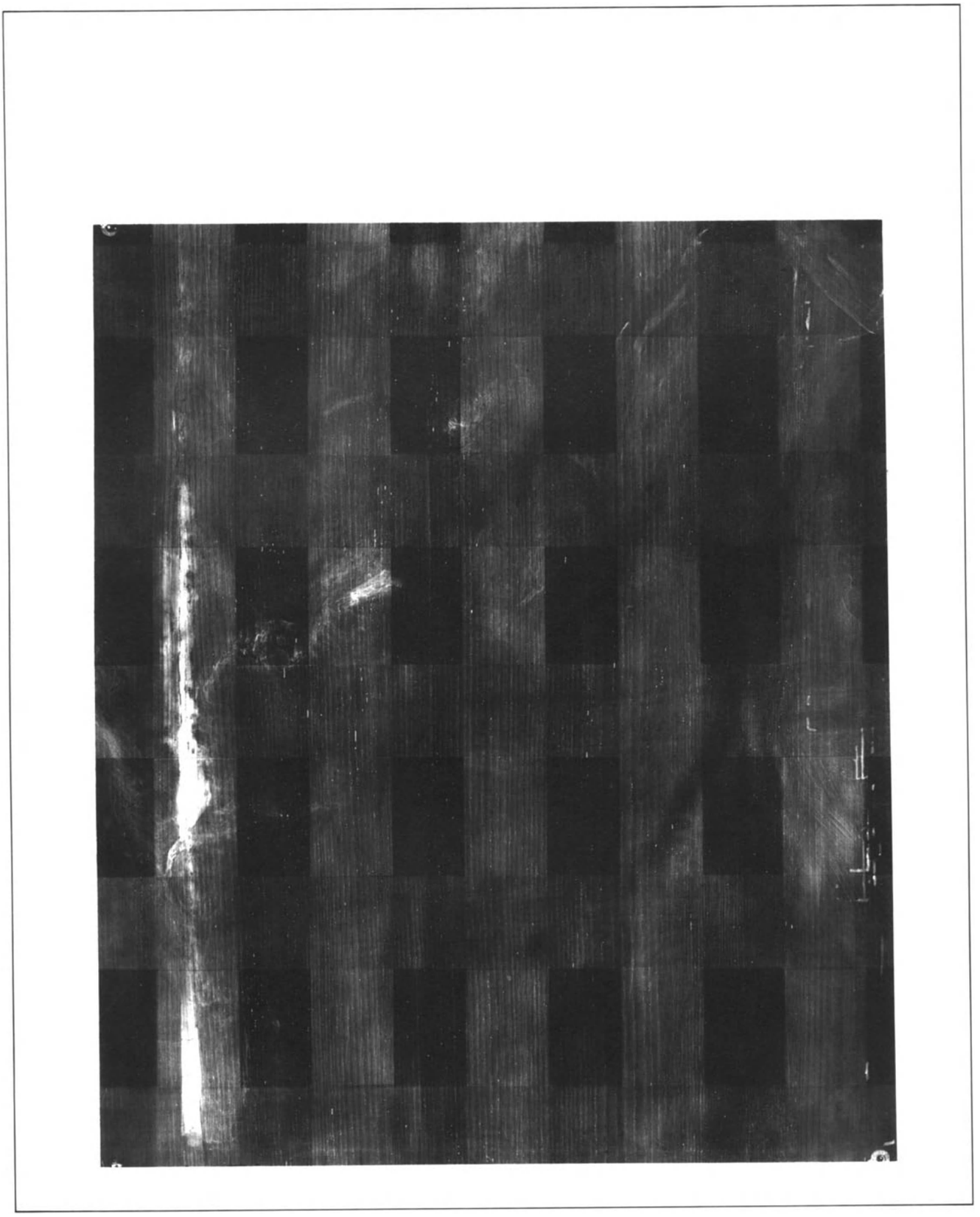
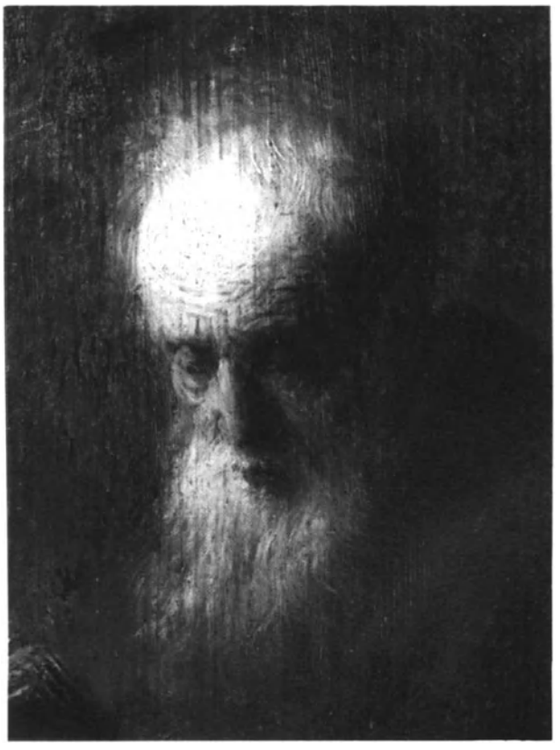


Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)



Varnish

A layer of yellow varnish covers most of the surface; it has been removed only from the lighter flesh parts.

4. Comments

Placing no. C 16 presents a curious problem. On the one hand it is, because of the way paint is handled, not acceptable as an autograph work by Rembrandt; on the other the painting technique and the thematic and compositional approach, as well as some external evidence, link it intimately with his work. Comparison with two closely similar works from Rembrandt's hand, the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* of 1630 (no. A 28) and the *S. Peter in prison* of 1631 in a private collection, Belgium (no. A 36), provides arguments for both points of view.

In both these works the lighting of the scene and the resulting contrast between the thin, more or less sketchily and translucently painted dark areas and the lighter areas done carefully in thicker paint are, basically, the same as in no. C 16. This makes it all the more striking that here, in both the dark and the light parts, the touch has a certain lack of discipline about it and thus shows – especially in the illuminated areas – a less intense observation of plastic form. Compared with the head in the *Jeremiah*, which offers the closest similarity in lighting, that of the *Hermit* is executed with somewhat loosely applied strokes, and is far from displaying the sureness with which Rembrandt's brushwork suggests foreshortenings and rippling surfaces. The hands are not appreciably larger than those in the *S. Peter*, yet here too the relationship between the pattern of brushstrokes (which in itself is lively) and the plastic structure of the curiously angular fingers has a less suggestive effect. The brushwork in the dimly-lit parts, which could almost be termed erratic, is likewise devoid of the formal discipline one finds in comparable works by Rembrandt. Finally, there is the strangeness of the colour-scheme, in which a cool grey dominates in an unusual way, and does not contrast with any warm colour apart from the more or less translucent browns. These differences from Rembrandt's work are such that it is impossible to look on no. C 16 as being autograph. Since the (imperfectly preserved) signature has a somewhat discrepant appearance it cannot provide an argument for an attribution to Rembrandt.

On the other hand, there is a great deal of evidence to show the link between no. C 16 and Rembrandt's work. The *Jeremiah* of 1630 and the *S. Peter in prison* of 1631 are not only (like other works from these years) on panels of virtually the same dimensions, but also show the same layout, the same lighting and even the same model. It is therefore not satisfactory to attribute the painting to Adriaen van Ostade, as Gerson[1] did 'without reserve', backing up his attribution with a reference[2] to a signed *Hermit* by van Ostade (panel, 67 × 58 cm; HdG III, p. 152 no. 3; now in Vaduz, coll. Liechtenstein, inv. no. 906; our fig. 6). The van Ostade, which we know only from a photograph, does indeed derive from no. C 16 (or a similar work) in its composition and various motifs, such as the right hand, but the interpretation and treatment are totally different. This comparison, precisely, makes it plain just how Rembrandtesque no. C 16 is.

There are indeed specific pieces of evidence for a more or less direct link between no. C 16 and Rembrandt's work, though even this material cannot be interpreted unequivocally. The major document involved is a large drawing in the Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar that was earlier attributed to Rembrandt (C. Hofstede de Groot, *Die Handzeichnungen Rembrandts,* Haarlem 1906, no. 521. Red chalk, grey wash, accented with pen (by another hand?), 35.9 × 26.3 cm) and of rather mediocre quality, which shows the same figure though barefooted and sitting in a folding chair in front of a table, in a framework narrower on the right and against a background of heavy architectural features that differs on the left (fig. 7). Münz[3] assumed that this drawing may perhaps have been made by J. G.

Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1)

van Vliet after the Paris painting (which he regarded as being by Rembrandt), and served as a starting-point for the 1631 etching B. 260 (fig. 8) which according to him was begun by van Vliet and completed by Rembrandt. Though this view of things cannot be accepted – the Weimar drawing certainly does not date from the early 1630s, and etching B. 260 has nothing to do with van Vliet – it does focus attention on a number of similarities in the lighting and in the modelling of the further side of the face that put the Weimar drawing and etching B. 260 closer to each other than to no. C 16. One wonders whether the etching and the drawing may have been based on a prototype that is now lost. J. Q. van Regteren Altena (in: *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 9 (1961), pp. 3–10, esp. pp. 5 and 6) offered the cautious suggestion that the Weimar drawing might originally (i.e. before it was worked on by another hand) have been a study in red chalk by Rembrandt, like a number of studies of the same old man in a folding chair that we know from Rembrandt's hand (Ben. 20, 40 and 41). This assumption, too, is unacceptable, if only because Rembrandt's drawings of this type are considerably smaller (22.5 to 25 × 14.5 to 17 cm) than the one in Weimar. It is however wholly probable – bearing in mind the twofold occurrence of an identical figure in various settings, i.e. in no. C 16 and the Weimar drawing – that there was a red chalk figure study by Rembrandt of the type we know, one which he himself used for his etching B. 260 and which was copied freely and rather clumsily on a large scale by a later artist, keeping the folding chair and adding the table and architectural features. Rembrandt was himself to employ the motif of the old bearded man with his head turned over his left shoulder once again, in a painting on paper dated 1633 (Br. 183).

There are thus two possibilities for the status of no. C 16: the painting is either based on a lost drawing in red chalk and done by an artist who – as Rembrandt

Fig. 5. Detail with signature (enlarged)

Fig. 6. A. van Ostade, *A hermit*. Vaduz, Liechtenstein collection

himself did in, for example, the *Jeremiah* (for which there must have been a similar drawing) – replaced the chair by a vague eminence in the ground that fitted in with his scene and also himself devised the remaining accessories, or it was copied from a painting already finished by Rembrandt in this form. It may well be that the unusual colour-scheme and the somewhat labile position of the figure in the composition are to some extent an argument in favour of the first possibility; but there is no really decisive argument one way or the other. In either case one can however assume that this is a painting produced in Rembrandt's immediate circle in the early 1630s.

It is interesting in this connexion that the 1637 inventory of the estate of Lambert Jacobsz. (H. L. Straat, 'Lambert Jacobsz., Schilder', *De Vrije Fries* 28 (1925), pp. 53–94, esp. p. 74, no. 34) mentions among other paintings after Rembrandt 'Een eremijt studerende in een rotse naar Rembrt in een vergulden Lijst' (A hermit studying in a cliff-face after Rembrt in a gilded frame). This is perhaps evidence for the circulation of copies after a painted rather than a drawn prototype by Rembrandt. There is nothing to support the suggestion that Lambert Jacobsz. himself painted the copies listed as in his possession (Straat, loc. cit., p. 59). Perhaps one ought rather to think in terms of copies supplied by the dealer Hendrik Uylenburch of Amsterdam, with whom Rembrandt lodged in 1632 and who owed money to Lambert Jacobsz. at the time of the latter's death (Straat, loc. cit., p. 67).

According to the inventory of 1656 Rembrandt himself owned 'Een hermietie van Jan Lievensz.' (A hermit by Jan Lievensz.; R. H. Fuchs, *Rembrandt en Amsterdam,* Rotterdam 1968, p. 76 no. 52). Possibly the composition of this painting matched that of Lievens' two etchings of the subject (Hollst. XI, nos. 16 and 17). In spite of a vague similarity to his work of *c.* 1630, an attribution to Lievens for no. C 16 does not seem justified.

The theme of the unidentified recluse, usually supplied with attributes such as a crucifix and a skull, was to enjoy a great vogue in the Leiden school, among Gerard Dou and his followers. It is a variant on the recognizable saintly figure who has withdrawn into a solitary life, usually S. Jerome, as depicted in a landscape during the 16th century both in the northern countries (Patinir, Marten de Vos) and in Italy (Girolamo Muziano, Paulus Bril). Lastman's *Hermit reading* dated 1611 (previously coll. Baron L. Janssen, Brussels; K. Freise, *Pieter Lastman,* Leipzig 1911, fig. 7) may have stimulated treatment of the unidentified anchorite in the circle of Rembrandt and Lievens. Compared to most other versions of the theme, including Lievens' etchings, there is in no. C 16 a remarkable absence of any expressly religious attribute. Bergström's[4] idea that the straw shown in the picture – interpreted as hay – might identify the figure as that of Isaiah (cf. Isaiah 37: 27 and 51: 12) does not carry much conviction.

Fig. 7. After Rembrandt, drawing in red chalk, grey wash and pen. Weimar, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

Fig. 8. Rembrandt, *Old man looking down*, 1631, etching (B. 260 II; reproduced in reverse)

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

1. Oak panel, 61 × 51.5 cm, inscribed on a plank in the upper righthand corner ‹*Rl. 1631*›. Basle, Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung, inv. no. 1170.
2. Panel, 63.5 × 46.9 cm. Coll. Eric C. Palmer, London (1947; photograph in RKD), as Rembrandt and Lievens. Probably identical with: 'Een dito als vooren [een extra fraay stuk], verbeeldende Paulus sittende te leezen in een boek, niet minder uytvoerigh en krachtig door denzelve [Rembrand], dito grootte [hoog 25 duym, breed 19 duym = 64.3 × 48.9 cm]' (A ditto as before [a very fine piece], showing Paul seated reading from a book, equally detailed and vigorously, by the same [Rembrand], same size) in the coll. Pieter Habet sale, Amsterdam 11ff June 1764 (Lugt 1374), no. 2 (sold for 61 guilders). The RKD copy of the catalogue has the note 'geen –, naar Rembr.' (not by, but after Rembr.). Lot no. 1 in this sale was also probably a copy; cf. entry no. A 36 under *8. Provenance*).
3. Panel, dimensions unknown, inscribed *L*. Private collection, Sweden (photograph in RKD).

8. Provenance

*– Coll. J. A. J. C. Aved, sale Paris 24ff November 1766 (Lugt 1563), no. 37: 'Rembrandt Van Ryn, Un Philosophe qui tient, avec ses deux mains, un livre ouvert; il est assis proche d'une chaumiere. Cette figure est d'une caractere noble, & par conséquent très estimable. Ce Tableau, peint sur bois, porte 21 pouces de haut, sur 16 de large [= 56.7 × 43.2 cm]' (withdrawn). The French court painter Jacques-André-Joseph-Camelot Aved (? Douai 1702–Paris 1766) was brought up in Amsterdam and visited Holland at least once again in 1751, when he painted a portrait of Willem IV of Orange. His estate included Rembrandt's complete etchings.
– Coll. Prince de Conti, sale Paris 8 April – 6 June 1777 (Lugt 2671), no. 287: 'Rembrandt Van-Ryn. Un philosophe assis près d'une chaumiere, & tenant un livre. Ce tableau a du mérite; il est peint sur bois: hauteur 18 pouces, largeur 13 pouces [= 48.6 × 35.1 cm]'. (1050 francs to Abbé Renouard). The dimensions, which are much too small, do not relate to another version in view of the buyer – cf. the mention below.
– [Coll. Abbé Renouard] sale Paris 10ff February 1780 (Lugt 3086), no. 75: 'Rembrandt. Un Hermite assis à l'entrée d'une grotte, paroissant profondément occupé à lire. Ce morceau d'une harmonie de couleur admirable, est peint sur un panneau de 22 pouc. de h. sur 17 de l. [= 59.4 × 45.9 cm]'.
*– Sale Paris (J. B. P. Lebrun) 2–4 February 1813 (Lugt 8291), no. 193: 'Rembrandt Van-Rhin. L'Intérieur d'une Grotte, où l'on voit un vieillard à barbe, assis les jambes croisées, tenant des deux mains un grand livre ouvert, qu'il s'occupe à lire; divers accessoires enrichissent ce tableau, qui est de la première manière de ce maître; il se trouve marqué de son monogramme, que nous garantissons authentique. Cet ouvrage, de la plus grande harmonie et du plus bel effet, offre une transparence et une finesse rares. Hauteur 21 p., largeur 17 p. [= 56.7 × 45.9 cm]; sur bois'. (371 francs).
– Coll. Mme Helflinger, Paris, around 1848[5].
– Coll. Albert Kaempfen, Paris; gift to the Musée du Louvre, 1904.

9. Summary

Because of the far-reaching similarities, in format, composition, lighting and the choice of model, with works by Rembrandt from 1630 and 1631 (the *Jeremiah*, no. A 28, and the *S. Peter in prison*, no. A 36, respectively) it must be assumed that no. C 16 was produced in his immediate circle in the early 1630s. The brushwork and colour-scheme are however so different from Rembrandt's that it is impossible to look on it as being an autograph work. Presumably Rembrandt did make a figure study in red chalk, now lost, of the old man sitting in a folding chair who appears frequently in his work; a number of drawings of this type have survived, and one must assume that there was a preliminary study for paintings like no. A 28 and no. A 36 as well. It remains uncertain whether the painter of no. C 16 based himself on a drawing like this, or whether he copied a painting by Rembrandt himself that was based on such a drawing.

REFERENCES

1 Br.-Gerson 605.
2 H. Gerson, 'Rembrandt en de schilderkunst in Haarlem', *Miscellanea I. Q. van Regteren Altena*, Amsterdam 1969, pp. 138–142, esp. p. 141.
3 Münz II, no. 41, pl. XIII.
4 I. Bergström, 'Oeuvres de jeunesse de Rembrandt', *L'Oeil* no. 173 (May 1969), pp. 2–9.
5 HdG 192.

C 17 A Christian scholar in a vaulted room

STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM, CAT. NO. 579

HDG 186; BR. 430; BAUCH 135; GERSON 26

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved painting that must for various reasons be considered to be an old copy of a lost original that was probably painted in 1631.

2. Description of subject

In a high, vaulted room with a wood-planked floor an old bearded man sits behind a round table beside an open window. He wears a skullcap and a drab blue tabard, and reads from a large open book propped at an angle against other books; some papers lie alongside this. His feet are resting on a footwarmer containing a coal-pan. Above his head a sheet of paper bearing a text hangs on the wall. A heavy oriental rug is spread over the table, and two claw-feet of the table can be seen beneath it.

In the murky foreground on the right is an open bookcase, with the key in the door and a bunch of keys hanging from it. Opposite this on the left a low, arched door in the foreground is closed.

Besides opening towards the front, the vaulted ceiling opens through a high arch towards the right into an arched window recess, and towards the back where a second room is seen behind two opened curtains. This latter room has a tiled floor, and light enters it from the left; a low door and a large circular niche (?) are set in the rear wall. To the right against the pillar separating the two rooms there is an altar-like structure in front of the curtain, and above this – flanked by pillars – a retable arched at the top and showing a picture of Christ crucified.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in March 1969 (B. H., E. v. d. W.) in artificial light and moderate daylight, and again in May 1976 (B. H., E. v. d. W.) in excellent daylight and with the aid of a microscope and four X-rays covering the whole of the picture, prints of which were received later. A sealed extra frame at the back prevented the taking of exact dimensions and made it difficult to examine the panel for bevelling.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 60.8 × 47.3 cm. Two planks, with the join just to the left of the man's head, i.e. a little to the right of the midline of the panel. Signs of possible bevelling on the back are seen only along part of the top edge.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Shows through yellowish in numerous places.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: In general satisfactory. Numerous small retouches in the grey of the wall on the right, and in the head of the figure. Craquelure: slight cracking in the thicker parts.
DESCRIPTION: The paint is applied remarkably thinly, so that at many points the yellow ground shines through not only in translucent areas but also in the brushmarks in places where opaque paint has been used. One is struck by the frequent use of lines, especially along the joins between floorboards and in the door on the left, that have been drawn with some lack of certainty and have often been gone over again; the broken line of the receding perspective of floorboard joins is given an almost obtrusive emphasis. Where the brushwork is apparent in larger fields (as in the rather thickly-painted greys in the vaulted ceiling of the central area) the strokes take a fairly arbitrary direction that makes no contribution to the structure or to the rendering of material in the forms depicted.

The most strongly-lit parts are opaque, though without impasto – the light blue and white of the window-opening (where the brushstroke is at right angles to the fall of light), the yellowish grey of the side of the window-recess which lies partly on top of this, and the blue-grey of the illuminated tabard which in the shadow on the left is in translucent brown. The lefthand wall, too, is in a somewhat thicker paint of rather muddy colour. The brown of the tablecloth has a decorated green edge, with a few touches of a stronger green at the side towards the light.

The old man's head and hand are portrayed quite precisely, with a certain fluency of execution.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The thin application of paint and the scarcity of opaque passages, as described above, are mirrored in the radiographic image which – even taking this observation into account – shows surprisingly little white. The lit wall behind the figure, for example, shows up hardly at all, and lit flesh areas are entirely absent. A few marks showing white do stand out in the arched top of the window-recess, and correspond with touches of grey paint that can be distinguished from the surrounding paint surface only by their extra thickness. (A further light patch is caused by a wax seal on the back of the panel.)

One discrepancy from the present picture is the broader reserve for the table-covering on the left, the outline of which abuts that of the door in the rear wall; this will be discussed under *4. Comments* in connexion with an engraving by Pieter de Bailliu.

Signature

In thin, small, dark letters at the bottom of the sheet of paper above the old man's head ‹*Rembrant. f(t?). 1631.*›. Dark shapes (more clearly visible in the infrared photograph) below the date resemble similar marks at the top of the sheet of paper, shown also in the etching by Pieter de Bailliu (see *6. Graphic reproductions* below). The signature takes a form most unusual for the year 1631 (see further under *4. Comments*).

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

What makes this painting a problem is the amalgam of on the one hand motifs, and their broad depiction, strongly reminiscent of some of Rembrandt's work from 1630/31, and on the other an execution that cannot be reconciled with an attribution to him.

The most important similarity in general appearance is with the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* of 1630 (no. A 28), where a similar old man (perhaps the same model, whom one meets repeatedly) is shown in a very similar colour-scheme for the clothing and table-covering, and moreover against a background in which the underlying ground to a great extent shows through the broadly-brushed grey. It is also like the 1631 *Simeon in the Temple* in The Hague (no.

Fig. 1. Panel 60.8 × 47.3 cm

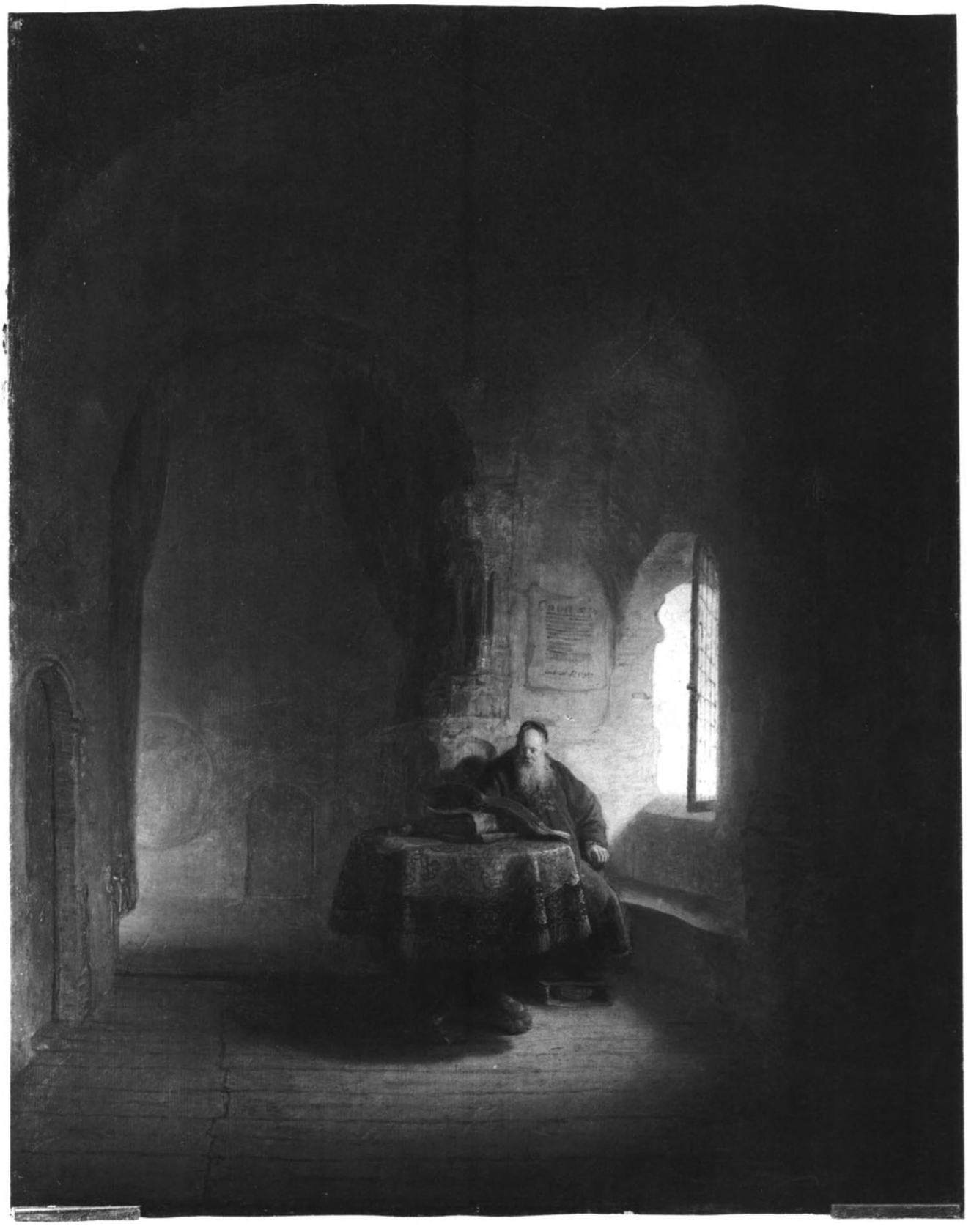


Fig. 2. X-ray

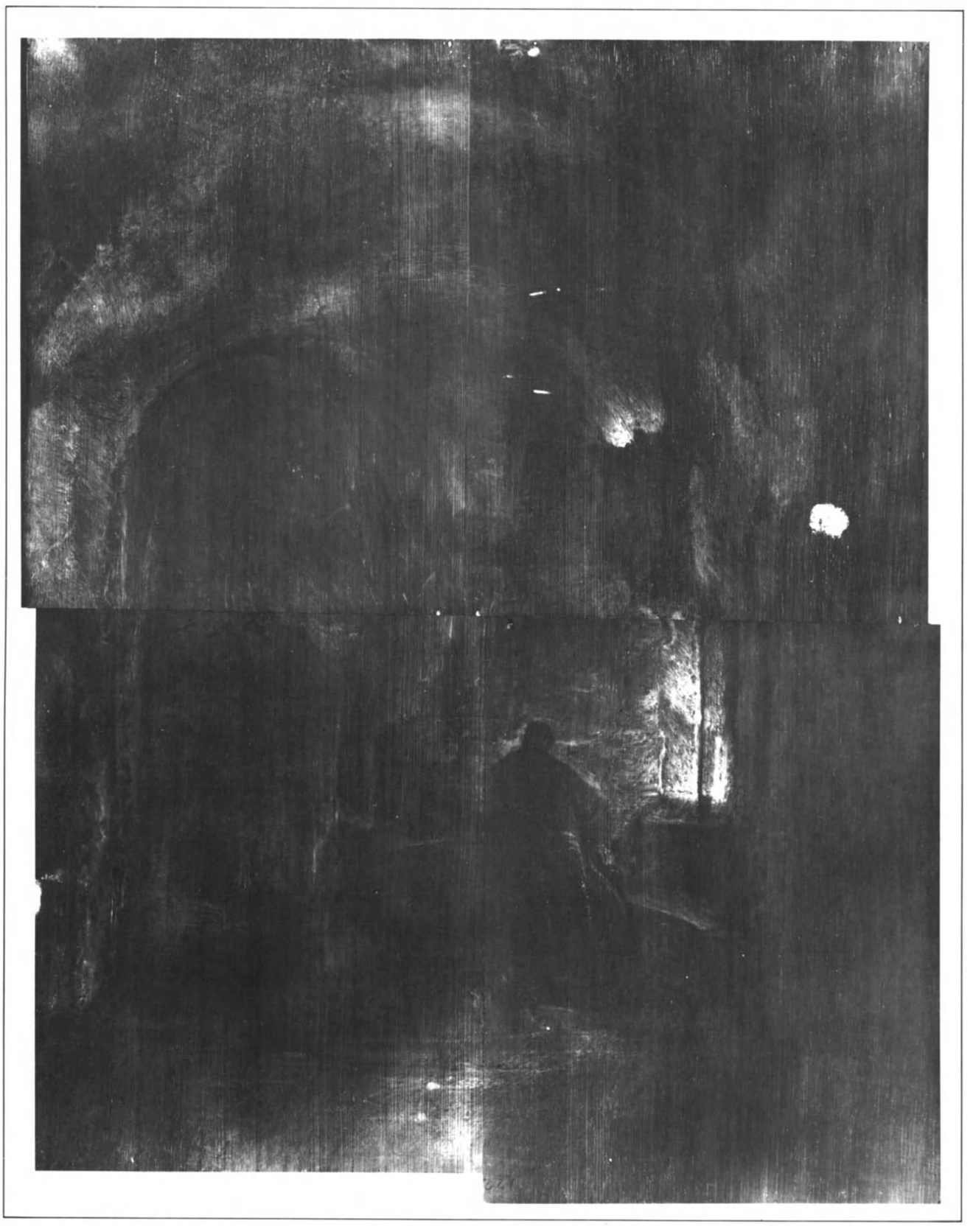
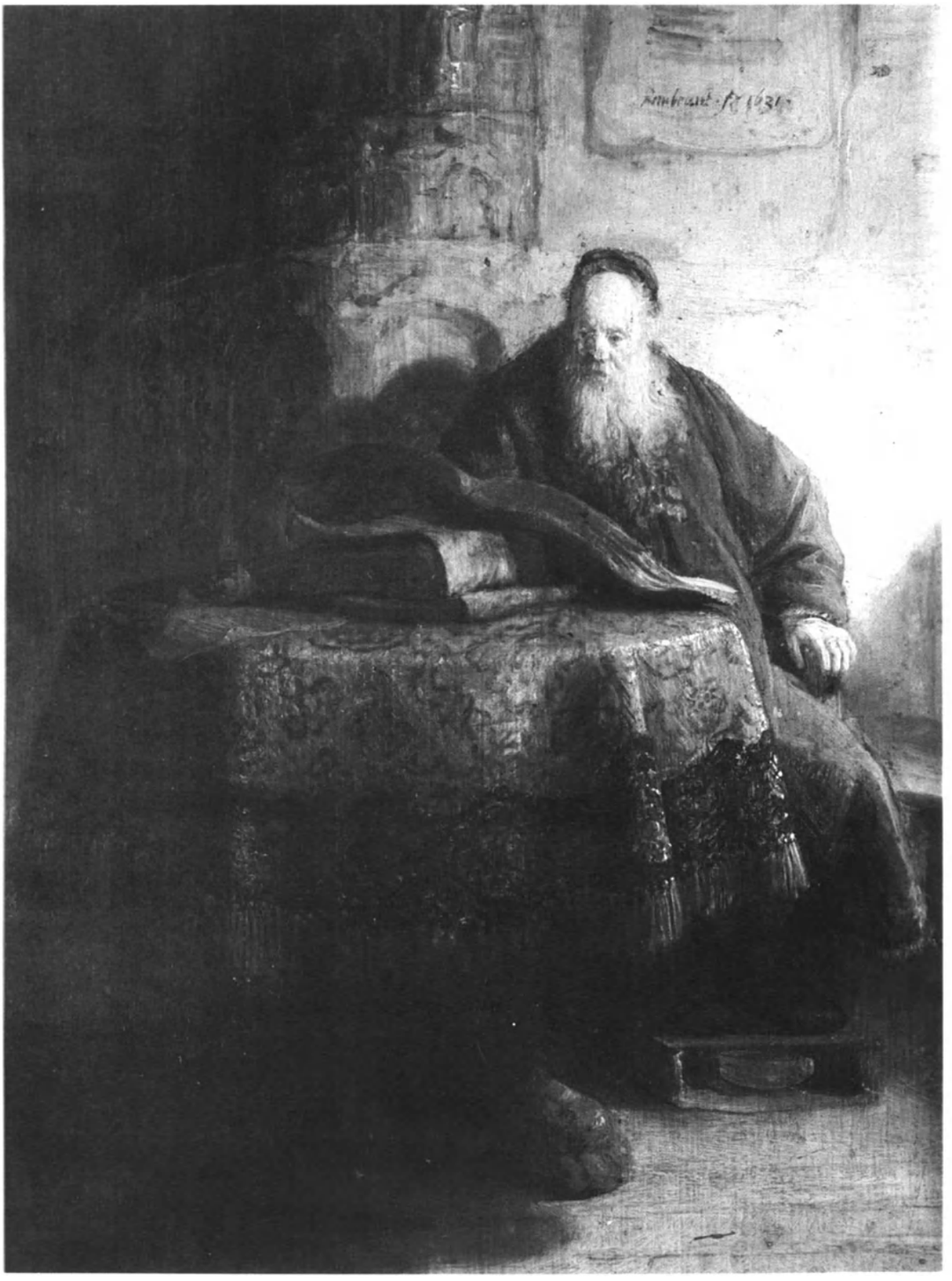


Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)



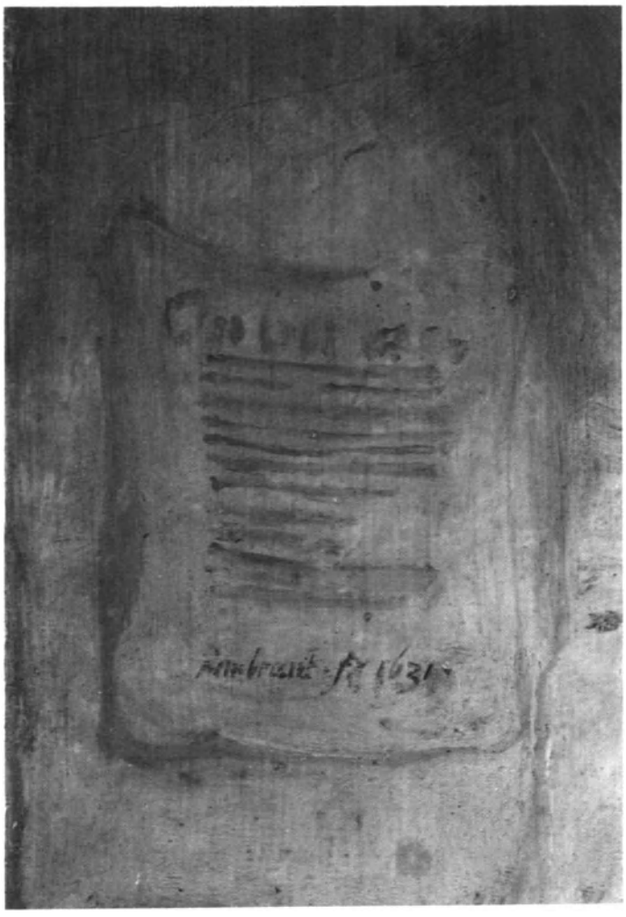
A 34), where the figures are seen on a smaller scale and at a greater distance in a high space drawn with great attention to linear perspective, and where the architectural motifs remind one of those in the altar-piece in no. C 17. And finally, the Christ crucified depicted in the altar-piece seems, insofar as it is legible, to match the *Christ on the cross* of 1631 in Le Mas d'Agenais (no. A 35).

Confronting these similarities there is a manner of painting that, both in the uncertainty with which many lines are set down and in the patchily and indistinctly painted areas, is lacking in firmness and suggestion of form. This applies less to the figure, which is painted with a certain fluency and yet without the finesse one finds in comparable figures by Rembrandt, than to the architecture, where one is struck by the confused handling of paint – at its worst in the two uncalled-for clumps of grey in the vaulted window-recess (cf. *X-Rays* above). The glimpsing of the ground through translucent areas thus loses all the purposefulness that an effect linked to light or space might have provided. The only area where paint is applied more thickly and firmly is the window-recess, where the view out through the open window is, partly because of the direction of the visible brushstrokes, far from giving a three-dimensional effect.

That the predominantly translucent effect of the painting is indeed connected with the manner of painting and use of materials is confirmed by the X-ray, which has little contrast and shows a rather patchy and weakly structured image.

The most obvious explanation for this combination of features is provided by assuming that no. C 17 is a copy from a lost original dating from *c.* 1631. This notion is strengthened by the deduction that can be made from a comparison with an engraving by Pieter de Bailliu (fig. 5), showing the same scene in reverse and assumed up to now to have been made after this painting. Leaving aside a number of minor differences (see below under *6. Graphic reproductions*), one sees that the table extends further away from the window, so that the outline of the rug hanging down from it touches that of the door in the rear wall; as a result, the central pedestal of the table (of which only two claw feet are visible) comes under the centre-point of the table, which it does not do in the painting. The strange thing is then that this shape for the table was on the evidence of the X-ray left in reserve in the painting, while there is no sign of it having been executed in paint. This removes the possibility of the etching having been done directly from no. C 17, and makes it likely that both are based on a common prototype. The painter of no. C 17 must at a late stage have allowed himself a certain amount of liberty vis-à-vis the original, though without carrying matters through properly where the construction of the table was concerned.

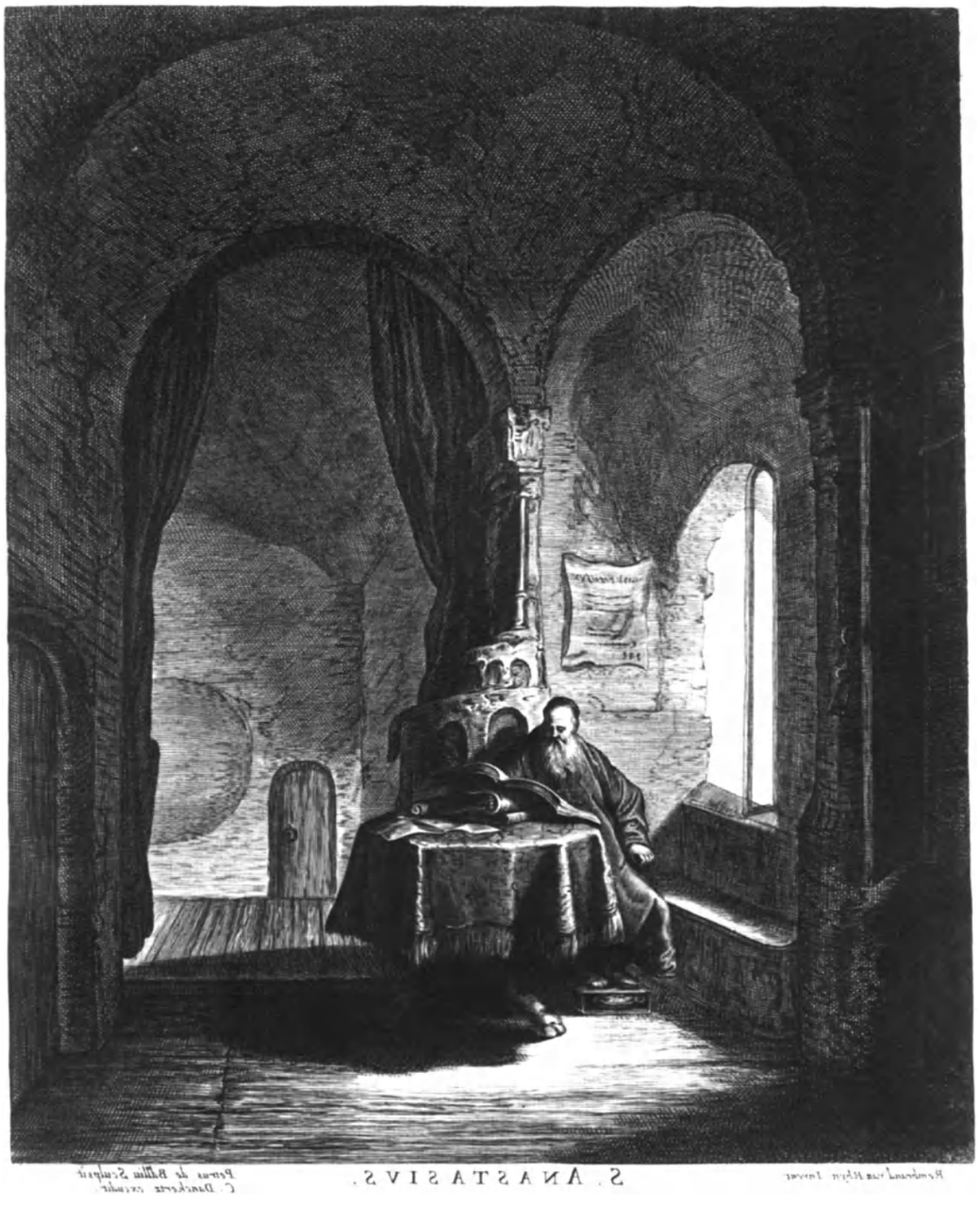
Fig. 4. Detail with signature (5:1)



For a variety of reasons the signature cannot be regarded as authentic. The spelling *Rembrant* (without the *d*) does it is true occur in a few signatures – cf. the examples mentioned in entry no. A 40 under *4. Comments* – but in 1631 the *RHL* monogram was invariably used except for the *Artist in oriental costume* in the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris (no. A 40), and there the signature was in fact probably added later. The shape of the letters, especially that of the *R*, is moreover rather different. Perhaps the inscription *Rembrant. f(t?). 1631.* ought to be seen as an addition made by the copyist on his own initiative. This could be based on a (less ostentatious) signature and date present on the original; unless, that is, this inscription is an even later addition, in which case the accuracy of the date (understood of course as that of the original composition) would be less easy to explain.

For the fact that the lost original was indeed a Rembrandt of 1631 is hardly open to doubt, bearing in mind the similarities noted above to the *Simeon in the Temple* in The Hague (no. A 34) in particular.

Fig. 5. Engraving by P. Bailliu (reproduced in reverse)



The interest shown in architecture and perspective common to both paintings seems to be typical of only a brief period in Rembrandt's development. This dating finds some support in a certain resemblance between the figure here and that of one of the scholars in Rembrandt's etching, dated 1630, of *Christ disputing with the doctors* (B. 66); this similarity was noted by von Wurzbach[1], who drew from it the conclusion that no. C 17 was an old forgery after which the Pieter de Bailliu print was made. There has otherwise never been any doubt expressed in the literature as to the authenticity of the painting, though Bode's opinion was not totally favourable[2].

One remarkable feature about no. C 17 or its prototype is that here the main light falls from the right, something that is unusual in general and very rare in Rembrandt (cf. however nos. A 5, A 9 and A 31).

Iconographically the picture is far from clear. It obviously fits best into the tradition of depicting S. Jerome in his study (cf. fig. 6 and also Rembrandt's etching of 1642, B. 105). Yet in no. C 17 there is no attribute of any kind that might identify this saint. A certain resemblance one can see to the situation in which Peter and Paul are depicted in the Melbourne painting (no. A 13) sheds no light on the problem, since neither Peter nor Paul can be intended here. The significance of the circular niche (?) in the rear

Fig. 6. H. van Steenwyck the Younger, *S. Jerome in his study*. Maastricht, Bonnefantenmuseum

wall remains unclear; it seems out of the question that it could be 'a rudimentary cardinal's hat', as van Rijckevorsel believed[3]. That the old man is a Christian scholar or one of the Fathers of the Church is plain from the picture of Christ crucified above the altar-like structure behind the figure. The de Bailliu print bears, for reasons unknown, the inscription 'S. Anastasius', this obviously meaning a saint and not the 16th-century protestant theologian Johannes Anastasius Veluanus (d. 1570), as has been suggested. Réau[4] regarded no. C 17 as being the sole portrayal of one S. Anastasius the Hermit; it has however been rightly pointed out that the painting does not depict any individual saint[5], at least not expressly. In Rembrandt's own circle it was imitated in the *Old man in interior with spiral staircase* in Paris (Br. 431), interpreted during the 18th century as being Tobit.

For the time being, nothing more definite can be said about the date of the copy. It certainly appears to be old, and dendrochronological examination might well yield more information on this point.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

Engraving of almost exactly the same scene, in reverse, with the inscription: *Rembrand van Rhijn Invent. – S. ANASTASIUS. – Petrus de Balliu Sculpsit. | C. Danckertz excudit* (Hollst. I, no. 34; our fig. 5). Apart from the difference already mentioned in the outline of the table-covering, the main discrepancies are as follows: the window seat is solid and not, as in the painting, a bench with a wavy outline standing on supports; the coal-pan in the footwarmer shows clearly a handle that is missing in no. C 17; the curtain in the archway is longer on the left; the shadow cast by the table has a slightly different shape; and the floor in the room at the back consists of floorboards running at right angles instead of tiles. The treatment of the walls suggests that the prototype gave a clearer impression of cracked and partly crumbling plasterwork than there is in no. C 17.

The engraving is undated, but since Pieter de Bailliu (1613 – after 1660) worked – after a period spent in Italy – in Antwerp from about 1640 until 1660, it must have been done after 1640 and presumably in Antwerp. The Amsterdam publisher, engraver and printseller Cornelis Danckerts I (Amsterdam *c.* 1603–1656) published numerous prints done by Antwerp engravers after Rubens and others.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Perhaps identical with: 'Rembrant van Ryn. Een oud Mannetje voor een Venster by Zyn Tafel, waar op een Tapyt, Boek &c. uitmuntend fraay. P. Breet 1 V. 6 D. Hoog 1 V. 11 D. [= 47 × 60.1 cm]' (Rhineland feet, measured inside frame) (Rembrant van Ryn. An old man in front of a window at his table on which a rug, book, etc. extremely fine. Panel) (131 guilders to Meusche). Coll. M. D. van Eversdijck, sale The Hague 28 May 1766 (Lugt 1546), no. 83 (Hoet- Terw., p. 533 no. 76). As the original was probably in Antwerp in the mid-17th century (see *6. Graphic reproductions* above) it is not unlikely that this is in fact no. C 17.
– Coll. Lucas van Breda jr. (1726–1799).
– Coll. Queen Louise Ulrika of Sweden.
– Coll. King Gustav III of Sweden.

9. Summary

The combination of very Rembrandtesque motifs with an unsatisfactory pictorial execution can be explained by assuming a lost original by Rembrandt, probably from 1631, reproduced in both no. C 17 and a print datable as *c.* 1650. Since the print matches, in a number of details, not the final painted version of no. C 17 but the initial lay-in detectable in the X-ray, this assumption becomes almost inescapable. This is probably an old copy.

The title of 'S. Anastasius' borne by the print is not readily explicable, and there is no reason to suppose that no C. 17 or the original was meant to depict a saint of that name.

REFERENCES

1 A. von Wurzbach, 'Der heilige Anastasius von Rembrandt', *Zeitschr.f.b.K.* 17 (1882), pp. 58–60.
2 W. Bode, 'Rembrandts früheste Thätigkeit', *Die graphischen Künste* 3 (1881), pp. 49–72, esp. 64. Idem, *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, Braunschweig 1883, p. 385.
3 J. L. A. A. M. van Rijckevorsel, *Rembrandt en de traditie*, Rotterdam 1932, p. 62.
4 L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* III, 1, Paris 1958, p. 72.
5 E. Kirschbaum et al., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* V, Rome, Freiburg, Basel, Vienna 1973, p. 135.

C 18 A man writing by candlelight

MILWAUKEE, WISC., COLL. DR. A. BADER

HDG 240; BR. 425; BAUCH 118; GERSON –

Fig. 1. Copper 13.9 × 13.9 cm (1 : 1)

1. Summarized opinion

A fairly well preserved painting produced *c.* 1630 in Rembrandt's immediate circle, probably by the same follower – possibly Gerard Dou – who was responsible for nos. C 5 and C 10. It was reduced slightly at the top some time after 1822.

2. Description of subject

An old man sits at night in a room behind a table. The sole source of light in the room is hidden behind a large, open book standing on end and propped against a number of indistinct objects one of which also appears to be a book. He is writing with a quill pen in a book lying diagonally in front of him. To the right behind the large open book there is a globe; lit shapes below this could be the pages of a third, open book. Behind the globe a sheet of paper bearing an illegible text is nailed to the wall, with a bottle hanging above it. The globe, the paper and the nails holding it to the wall (the latter are apparent only from their cast shadow) throw dark shadows onto the plastered wall, as does the figure of the man close in front of it. The direction of these – the divergent shadows of the nails, for instance – suggest to the viewer the exact position of the hidden light source.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 19 September 1972 (S. H. L., E. v. d. W.) by bad daylight and artificial light. Examined again in November 1973 under favourable conditions in the Central Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science, Amsterdam, with the aid of an infrared and an ultraviolet photograph. A restoration report dated 1958 from Prof. Josef Hajsinek, Vienna, was available.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Copper (nailed to a rough cradle), 13.9 × 13.9 (± 0.1) cm. Thickness 0.72 mm (measured at lower righthand corner and including ground, paint and varnish layers).
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light grey is visible at many points with the aid of a microscope.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Fairly good. There is some wearing in dark areas. Paint losses have occurred especially at places where the support has been bowed; the lower corners of the copper plate, in

particular, have been bent, and the risk of further bending must have been the reason for attaching the plate to a cradle. Paint loss also occurred around the nails when it was fastened to the cradle (with 9 nails). There are dents and scratches along the righthand edge, near the globe, and damages of this kind can be found to a lesser extent elsewhere. Craquelure: none seen.

DESCRIPTION: The application of paint varies, and probably because of the flat and non-absorbent metal support the brushwork can be followed everywhere, even in the dark areas.

The whole of the foreground and the shadow and cast shadow of the old man form practically one single, large, dark area; yet within this area the various component parts can be made out one from another through slight variations of tone and colour. The cast shadow behind the figure, for instance, is done with relatively bold but thin brushstrokes in a very dark grey; this tone lightens a little along the outline of the old man's back, so that his body shadow and cast shadow can be distinguished one from the other. Further down the dark tone takes on a somewhat browner tint, becoming a lighter brown along the top edge of the upright book and thus creating the impression of translucent paper in the uppermost, slightly curling pages of the book. The upper part of the wall, which is less strongly lit, is in a restless and patchily applied grey, through which one seems to glimpse a layer of brown. Lower down the grey of the wall becomes warmer and merges into a sand-coloured yellow. There, the brushstroke becomes shorter and the paint layer thicker as the level of lighting increases. The most brightly lit, wedge-shaped area between the outlines of the figure and the book stands out in relief above its surroundings.

The man's outer garment, in an orangy pale brown in the highest light, is heavily painted where it is most strongly lit. In the semi-illuminated areas, where the colour merges into a grey-brown, the paint is applied flatly with a careful brushstroke. The shadow cast by the head on the overgarment, and the shadow side of the head, fuse together in a black and quite thickly painted area. The lit side of the face, emerging from this dark area, is executed in very small lumpy blobs – placed alongside and over each other – in a yellowish and a reddish flesh colour with brownish intermediate tints. From below the hair, painted wet-in-wet against the skin area, a large earlobe protrudes in pink. The black shadow part of the cap matches the shadow area of the head and overgarment in tonal value, but is painted more thinly, almost translucently. The lit part of it is pinkish-brown, changing in the less strongly-lit parts into a violety brown. In the hand only the thumb and forefinger holding the pen are strongly lit; they are shown very summarily, with a few thick strokes of pink and yellow-pink. The presence of a middle finger is barely suggested by a vague edge of light, and the rest of the hand is lost in shadow. The pen is drawn with a few strokes of white forming a contrasting accent to which is added a dark grey edge of shadow.

The sheet of paper on the wall merges into the wall itself in colour and manner of painting, and is separated from it primarily by the thinly drawn outline on the left, and above and to the right by the shadows it casts on the wall. The relief of ripples and a fold in the paper is rendered by a slight contrast between light and shadow areas. The globe is done in the light in the same blond sand colour as the illuminated part of the rear wall, while the wooden ring encircling it is a little browner with a fine rim of light; the upright has a somewhat cooler colour. The dividing line between the shadowed upper half of the globe and the shadow it throws on the wall can be made out, though with difficulty, by the fact that the globe is there a dark brown-grey while the cast shadow is a cooler dark grey. The bottle is shown vaguely in dark browns with an almost black outline. The contour of the brownish yellow area on the extreme right, against the outline of the limp binding of the upright book, is set down in lighter paint.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

No electron-emission radiograph available.

Signature

None. The initials *G. D. F.* on the sheet of paper between the 2nd and 3rd lines, which were visible on reproductions prior to 1958 (though not on the reproduction print by Lebrun of 1790, see *6. Graphic reproductions* below) disappeared during restoration carried out in 1958 by Prof. J. Hajsinek, using a mild solvent. The paint layer gives the impression of being sound at this point, and the continuity of the light paint relief is unbroken.

Varnish

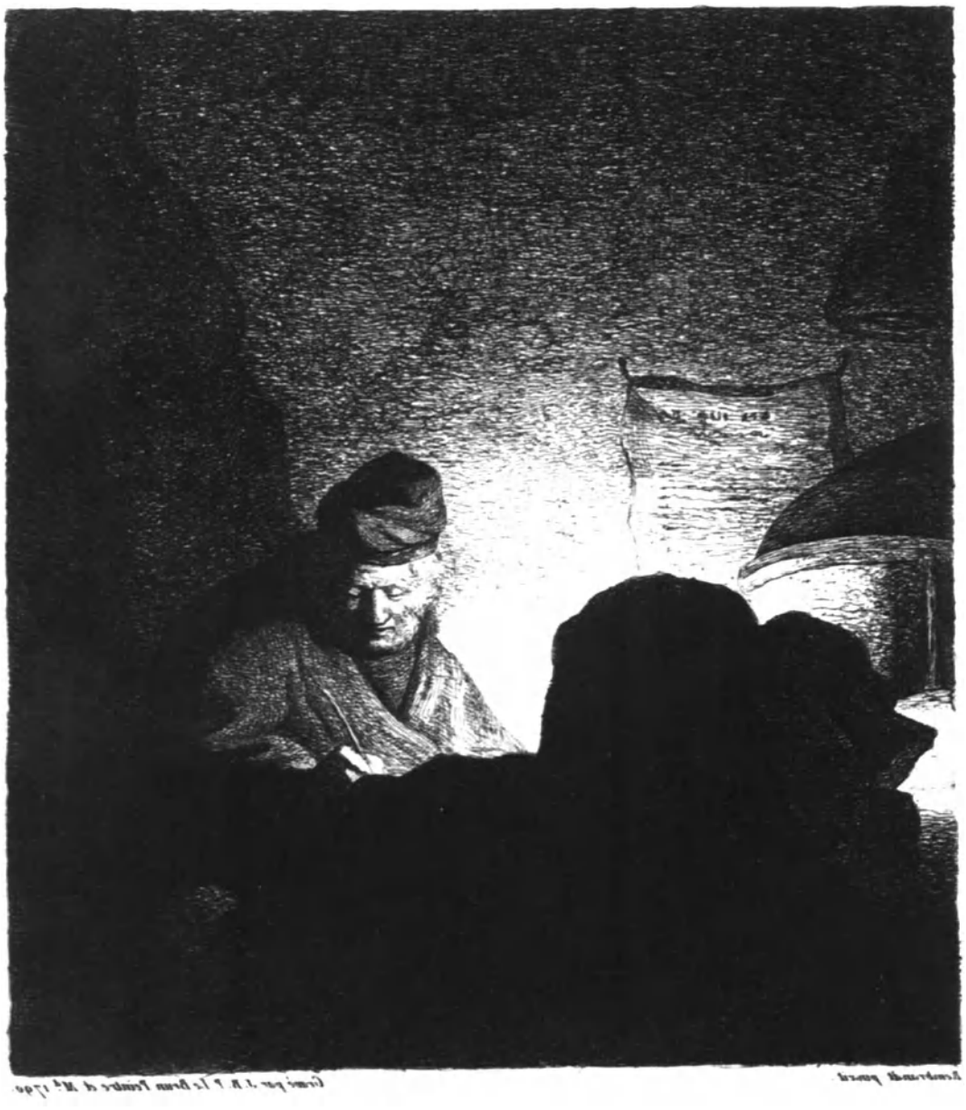
No special remarks.

4. Comments

Before looking at this painting in relation to similar works, it must be noted that it has been reduced at the top. This is seen from the etching by J. B. P. Lebrun after the painting, dated 1790 (fig. 2; see below under *6. Graphic reproductions*); the inscription states that the painting is 'de même grandeur que l'Estampe'. The etching is up to 0.2 cm smaller in width, but 1.8 cm larger in height. That Lebrun did in fact reproduce this version of the painting is evident from the great accuracy with which etching and painting match each other (apart from the format), and from the fact that he mentions that the painting is on copper. Bauch[1] mistakenly believed that the print was done after a version now unknown. As late as 1822 the painting reproduced by Lebrun was described as having different dimensions in height and width, though on that occasion – no doubt by mistake – its height was given as less than its width (see *8. Provenance*).

A comparison with early paintings by Rembrandt in which one or a few figures appear in comparable lighting shows that in contrast to the thorough articulation and detail in the figure and its surroundings that typify the Berlin *Rich man* of 1627 (no. A 10) and to a lesser extent the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13), the contrasting elements are here treated in larger, uniform areas so that there is a less subtly-graded distinction between areas of light and shadow. A similar increase in intensity of the contrasts occurs in a slightly later stage of Rembrandt's development, e.g. in the *Supper at Emmaus* in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (no. A 16) and in the Nuremberg *S. Paul* (no. A 26), probably dating from 1629 and 1629/30 respective-

Fig. 2. Etching by J. B. P. Lebrun (reproduced in reverse, 1 : 1)



ly. This lastnamed painting lends itself very well to a comparison, since the solution found for the foreground areas shown silhouetted against backlighting is so akin that one can assume a direct connexion between the two paintings. In the *S. Paul* the lighting scheme is however far subtler because of the lighting of the figure and its surroundings from two sources. The lighting of the *Supper at Emmaus* is also less simple. In both instances the dramatizing of the contrasts between light and shadow also serves a function connected with the picture content; in no. C 18 the dramatic lighting on the rather fatuous-looking scrivener seems a little pointless.

In depiction of form and manner of painting, too, the similarity with Rembrandt's early paintings is no more than superficial. The simplification of shapes that tends towards absence of form, where the limply meandering contours give no hint of underlying structure in either the foreground or the scribe himself, is not seen to this extent in the young Rembrandt, as a comparison with the works just mentioned clearly demonstrates. The quality of the unremarkable manner of painting in the light areas, where the paint is applied either with a dabbing touch or as thick, sluggish strokes, is disappointing when set beside these works.

There is at least one painting hitherto attributed to the early Rembrandt with which no. C 18 has a great deal in common; this is the *Flight into Egypt* in Tours (no. C 5). First of all there is the concentrated lighting of the scene from a single, unseen light source, and the associated almost pedantically-consistent arrangement of the cast shadows; and secondly there is the way the dark areas flow togeth-

er to form a single, large and continuous area. The light ground against which the bulky forms stand out – in no. C 18 the wall behind the writing man, and in the *Flight into Egypt* the sandy path – is in both cases done in greys that merge into colourful ochre tints; the paint is there set down partly with a dabbing brush movement or with small, thick touches placed in varying directions. Elsewhere, the paint is applied with long, sluggish touches, as in the clothing and still-life parts of no. C 18 and in Mary's cloak, Joseph's legs and the mass of folds and the objects on the ass's hindquarters in the *Flight into Egypt*. The tiny accent seen in the quill pen, recurs a number of times in Joseph's hat. Only the brushwork in the head and neck of the ass, with small, deft licks of paint, is absent from no. C 18. It is in the depiction of form, and most of all in the lack of clarity in rendering the anatomy, that the parallels between the two paintings are most striking: the unclear way the scrivener seems, as it were, to float inside his overgarment, and the way the strangely-twisted head (which is too small) is placed disconnected atop a shapeless mountain of cloth, is very like that seen in the figure of Mary. The hand of the man writing is, in the rough-and-ready way it is portrayed, very like Joseph's hand. There are similarities in the colour-scheme, too: there is a remarkably close predilection for using tints, varying from one item to another, of opaque, bright light browns in variation ranging from orangey to rather cooler shades.

The great affinity there is between these two paintings, and their shared differences in quality and execution from the early work of Rembrandt make it likely that we are dealing here with someone from Rembrandt's immediate circle who has a style and temperament of his own. The same follower was probably responsible for the Tokyo *Nocturnal scene* (no. C 10) which, apart from a slightly more variegated colour scheme, shows very similar brushwork and the same use of somewhat shapeless silhouettes.

The problem of dating no. C 18 must be considered with this in mind. In the case of the Tours *Flight into Egypt* the value of the date of 1627 it bears has been shown to be uncertain, and the same applies to the date of 1628 found on the Tokyo picture. No. C 18 ties in with Rembrandt's work from around 1629–1630. For the time being, one can offer no more precise an estimate for the date of no. C 18 than circa 1630.

It must still be commented that the copper support is in this case not – as it is a number of times with Rembrandt or those close to him (cf. nos. A 27 and B 5 and B 6) – covered with gold leaf. It has, however, the same remarkable thinness as the support of the Tokyo picture (no. C 10).

As long ago as 1904 Frimmel[2] gave a warning against attributing no. C 18 to Gerard Dou on the grounds of the initials that have since disappeared, when he noted in discussing them that 'Ausdrücklich ist zu bemerken, dasz die Signatur: GDF. (...) mit gänzlich fremder Farbe von fuchsigem Ton später aufgesetzt ist'. Bredius[3] had already recognized the falseness of this signature in 1898. Van Gelder[4] and Gerson[5] wrongly considered that the letters could be interpreted as a Dou signature. Nevertheless, an attribution to Dou deserves serious consideration because of the similarities that exist between the Tours *Flight into Egypt* and an early work by this artist (see no. C 5 under *4. Comments*). The false inscription may therefore have indicated the picture's veritable author.

Another version (see *7. Copies* below) of the same scene on panel, which Bredius[6] regarded as the original, seems to be a poor copy.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

1. Etching in reverse by Jean-Baptiste Pierre Lebrun (Paris 1748–1814), 15.7 × 13.7 cm (fig. 2). Inscribed: 'Rembrandt pinxit. – Gravé par J. B. P. Le Brun Peintre et Md. 1790. / Un Philosophe écrivant / Gravé d'après le Tableau de Rembrandt, Peint sur cuivre de même grandeur que / l'Estampe. Tiré du Cabinet du Citoyen Le Brun, Peintre et Md. de Tableaux. / A Paris chez l'Auteur, rue du Gros Chenet No. 47, et chez Poignant, rue Serpente No. 14.' Included in: J. B. P. Lebrun, *Galerie des peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands* II, Paris-Amsterdam 1792, opp. p. 1.

7. Copies

1. Panel, 15.4 × 13.7 cm. Present whereabouts unknown (Br. 426). C. Fairfax Murray sale, Paris 15 June 1914, no. 24; sale Amsterdam 27 October 1927, XLVIII. This copy does have the same dimensions as the original before it was reduced, but the scene is shown larger in relation to its framework.

8. Provenance

*– Possibly identical with: 'Een Kaarsgezigtje, door Rembrandt van Ryn, h. 5 en een half d., br. 5 d. [= 14.3 × 13 cm]' (A candlelight scene), Jan van Loon sale, Delft 18 July 1736 (Lugt 466), no. 26 (105 guilders) (Hoet II, p. 391).

*– Possibly identical with: 'Een Schryvend Mannetje, door denzelven [Rembrand van Rhyn]' (A man writing, by the same), sale Amsterdam 15 April 1739 (Lugt 503), no. 88 (10 guilders) (Hoet I, p. 580)[3].

– J. van der Marck Ezn. sale, Amsterdam 25ff August 1773 (Lugt 2189), no. 261: 'Rembrand van Ryn. Een zittend Mannetje, op Koper, h. $5\frac{1}{2}$ × b. $5\frac{1}{4}$ duim [= 14.4 × 13.7 cm] (Rhineland feet). Hij is verbeeld zittende te Studeeren by een Kaars-ligt. Kragtig en fraay behandeld' (Rembrand van Ryn. A seated man, on copper. He is shown sitting and studying by the light of a candle. Vigorously and finely done.) (25 guilders 10 stuyvers to Hellein or Elin).

– Dealer J. B. P. Lebrun, Paris 1790 (see *6. Graphic reproductions*); J. B. P. Lebrun sale, Paris 11–30 April 1791 (Lugt 4705), no. 56: 'Rembrandt van Ryn. L'intérieur d'une Chambre où l'on voit un Philosophe occupé à écrire. Il est éclairé par une lumière cachée. Il a la tête couverte d'une toque et est enveloppé d'un manteau. Sur la droite un globe terrestre, une imprimerie attachée contre la muraille, et autres accessoires, enrichissent ce petit tableau qui est du plus grand effet, et d'une belle harmonie. Nous l'avons gravé nous-mêmes dans notre ouvrage des maîtres Flamands, Hollandois et Allemands. Il paroîtra avec le texte. Hauteur, 5 pouces; largeur, 5. C[uivre].' (610 francs to Le Brun).
– Coll. Robert de Saint Victor at Rouen, according to: J. B. P. Lebrun, *Galerie des peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands* II, Paris-Amsterdam 1792, p. 5: '... a passé à Rouen dans le cabinet du citoyen Robert, ci-devant S. Victor'; Robert de St.-Victor of Rouen sale, Paris 26 November 1822 and 7ff January 1823 (Lugt 10344), no. 69: 'Par le même. [Rembrandt (Van Ryn)]. Un Philosophe, couvert d'un manteau et coiffé d'une toque, écrivant à la lumière, dans un intérieur meublé de quelques accessoires analogues au sujet. Pour tout éloge, nous dirons que ce savant échantillon est gravé dans la collection des peintres flamands et hollandais de feu M. Le Brun. B.[ois] (sic!) 1. 5 p. h. 4 p. [= 13.5 × 10.8 cm] (sic!)' (321 francs).
– Coll. Dubois, Vienna.
– Coll. F. X. Mayer, Vienna.
– Purchased by the present owner from M. Mayer, grandson of F. X. Mayer.

9. Summary

No. C 18 is on copper that is not coated with gold leaf, and was reduced slightly in size some time after 1822. Its pedigree and attribution to Rembrandt can be traced with certainty back to 1773, and perhaps to 1739 or even 1727. In design and interpretation of its subject it comes close to some works by Rembrandt that can be dated in 1629 or 1629/30, though an unmistakable difference in quality leads one to conclude that it cannot be attributed to him. Together with the Tours *Flight into Egypt* (no. C 5) and the Tokyo *Nocturnal scene* (no. C 10), both of which show a strong resemblance to it in manner of painting, lighting and depiction of form, it is probably by an artist from Rembrandt's immediate circle – possibly Gerard Dou –, working around 1630.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch 1966, 118.
2 Th. Frimmel, 'Ein Rembrandt aus der Galerie Le Brun', *Blätter für Gemäldekunde*, I (1904–05), pp. 21–23.
3 A. Bredius, 'Kritische Bemerkungen zur Amsterdamer Rembrandt-Ausstellung', *Zeitschr. f. b. K.* 10 (1898–99), pp. 161–168, esp. p. 166.
4 Van Gelder 1953, p. 293 (p. 21) note 53; idem, 'Rembrandt and his circle', *Burl. Mag.* 95 (1953), p. 37 note 9.
5 Br.-Gerson 425.
6 Br. 426.

C 19 An old woman reading

SALISBURY, WILTS., WILTON HOUSE, COLL. EARL OF PEMBROKE

HDG 320; BR. 68; BAUCH –; GERSON 34

1. Summarized opinion

An incomplete though otherwise well preserved painting, probably datable shortly after 1631, originating in Rembrandt's immediate circle and from the same hand as no. C 20.

2. Description of subject

Intersected by the frame on the right, an old woman leans forward towards the left over an open book resting on her knees, hidden beneath a wide skirt. The light falls obliquely from the left, also illuminating part of the background.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in May 1968 (J. B., B. H., E. v. d. W.) and again on 1 September 1971 (J. B., S. H. L.), in the frame on the wall and in poor light. A print of an X-ray of the head (National Gallery, London) was received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Canvas, lined, 74.4 × 62.7 cm (sight size). No cusping of the threads observed.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Thread count: horizontal 13 threads/cm, vertical 13–14 threads/cm. The canvases in the chart published in *Röntgenonderzoek ... Utrecht,* p. 62, with this thread count date from shortly after 1600, and occur throughout the 17th century.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light grey can be seen in scratchmarks in the righthand half on the book, and is perhaps the colour of the ground. Similar scratchmarks in the lefthand half however expose a dark brown, apparently belonging to a passage that was done dark in the underpainting.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Good, with only insignificant and strictly local paint losses. Last cleaned in 1963[1]. Craquelure: a fine, regular pattern is seen.

DESCRIPTION: The whole handling of paint is typified by the frankness with which large areas have been covered with broad, almost uniform brushstrokes giving a minimal indication of plasticity, against which the head (in a structure built up from thicker touches of paint) and the book (done with almost disorganized strokes and scratches) offer a contrast.

The background is painted with an opaque warm grey, somewhat thicker where it is lighter in colour, especially in a straight-edged area in the extreme upper lefthand corner, along the lefthand outline of the figure, and in an area above the book. Around the figure the brushstroke follows the contour. The headshawl, done in a dark brown-grey (appearing brownish purple against the contrasting background) is modelled with fine reflections of light that nevertheless produce only a limited effect of plasticity. There is no really clear structure or texture, either, in the headband wound round the shawl and rendered with narrow strokes of thick ochre brown. The dress is painted in a dark, opaque grey-brown, with a darker and very summary indication of the shadows.

The face has been built up on top of a greyish layer, using small and larger touches of flesh colour, sometimes overlapping and sometimes not meeting, on the chin, upper lip, bridge of the nose and eye-sockets. By the bottom lip grey is placed thicker against and over the vermilion red of the lip; a spot of grey shows a tooth in the thick black of the mouth-line. The shadow cast by the spectacles and nose cuts across the area of skin as a dark carmine colour. The headgear casts a dark brown shadow. A light grey highlight is placed on the ridge of the nose, and a yellow impasto provides the highlights on the frame of the pince-nez spectacles. The hairs of the eyebrows and lashes are for the most part shown by fine scratchmarks. The gathered shirt is shown in flat touches of grey with thin white and dark lines.

The book has been laid-in in strokes of brown-grey, on top of which thick, uneven and coarse-grained paint has been placed in an almost white light-grey. The lines of text have been drawn in this, wet-in-wet, with strokes of a brown-grey. Long, gently-curving scratchmarks help to show the edges of the pages; on the right, where they are most numerous, a light grey layer is exposed, and on the left a dark brown layer. On the inside of the back of the book there are somewhat incoherent touches of a strong brick-red and pink.

The tassel hanging down on the left of the book is set over the grey background in long black and grey strokes; the background is in turn on top of the grey-brown clothing, which is unusual and indicates that the topmost layer of the background is a second layer, applied to cover over a part of the figure that had already been painted. A dark shape can in fact be glimpsed in the space between the book and the headshawl; in the paint relief a dividing line can be seen, slanting up and to the right from halfway across the lefthand page, and is possibly the original outline of the woman's right arm.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The available print of the head and neck area is uneven in tonal value and allows little in the way of observation.

In the white patches in the face the scratchmarks around the eyes and the highlight in the spectacle-frame are clearly apparent. The topmost scratchmark on the extreme right of the book is just visible as a dark line in an area showing up light. It appears from areas giving a light image that the lower edge of the gathered shirt had been placed both higher and lower.

The area already noted as a pentimento running diagonally downwards to the left from halfway up the headshawl is seen as bold, long, oblique brushstrokes.

At the upper right along the shawl, where the background is rather dark, one sees the lightish image of brushstrokes following the outline. This may provide confirmation that, as has already been suggested when describing the paint layer at the bottom left, the background was gone over again in a darker tone at a relatively late stage, and painted up to the edge of the figure.

A batten of the stretcher can be seen at the top.

Signature

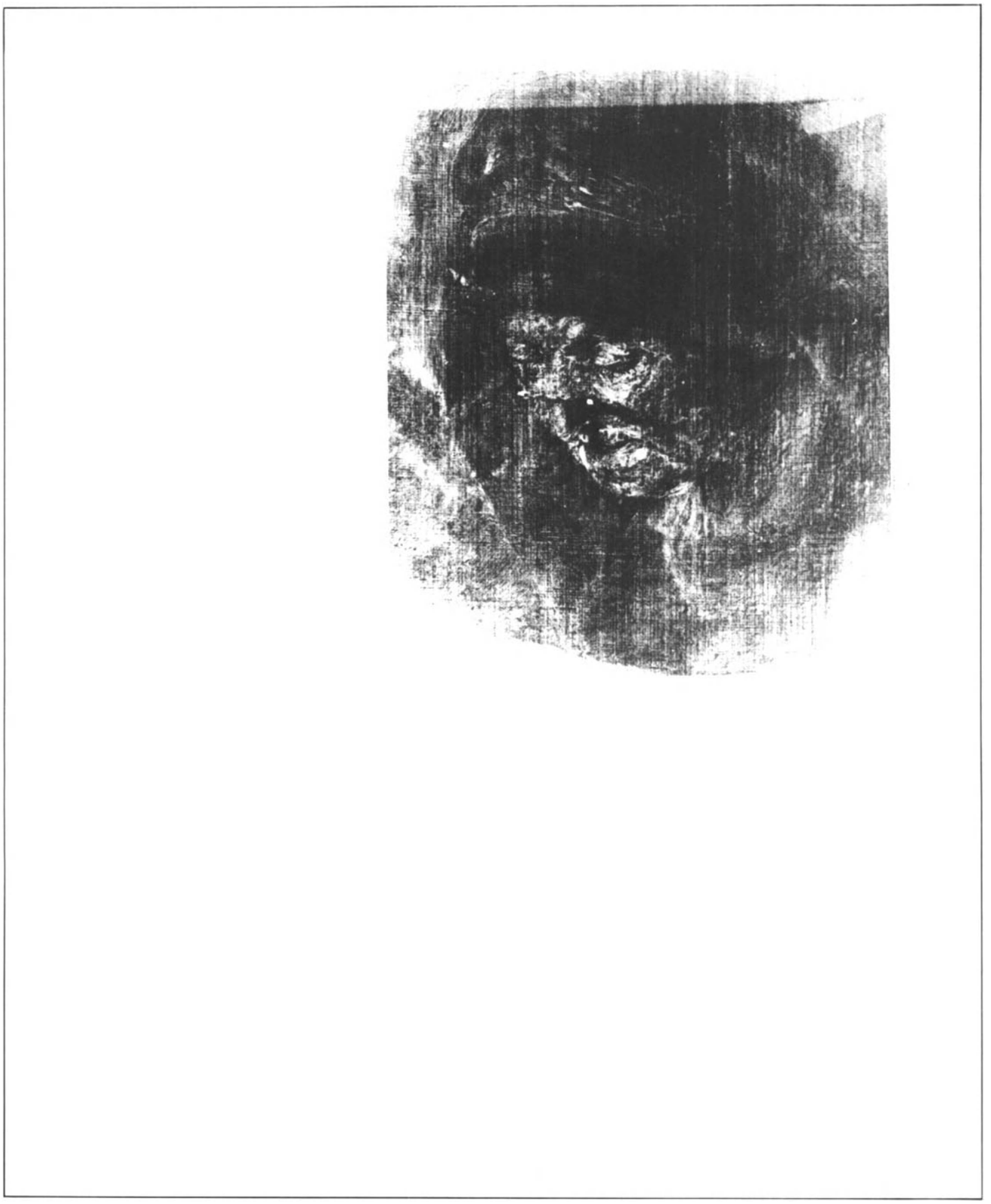
None. A signature *Rembrandt P.*, already on the evidence of its wording clearly not authentic, is mentioned in the older literature[2], but disappeared presumably during one or other of the cleanings in 1933 and 1963[1]. An older signature was perhaps lost when the canvas was reduced in size (see below under *4. Comments*).

Varnish

No special remarks.

Fig. 1. Canvas 74.4 × 62.7 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray



4. Comments

Looked at on its own, the composition is a strange one in its present form: the way the figure is cut off on the righthand side is almost inconceivable for a 17th-century painting. If one assumes that the work was once larger on that side, then it almost certainly follows that unless it was square in format it must also have been larger at least at the bottom or top and then perhaps also on the left. There is thus every reason to believe that two old copies (see under 7. *Copies* below and fig. 4) showing the figure full-length in a framework that is wider on all sides reproduce the picture in its original proportions. This is all the more likely since the light area with straight borders in the present top lefthand corner is seen to form part of a continuous light band (perhaps the patch of light from a window on the rear wall?). One also sees that the figure sat roughly in the centre of the picture area on a folding chair shown in semi-darkness, the armrest of which ought still to be visible on the right in the present fragment. The hem of the draped cloak was enlivened a little by the sheen on a wide, lighter-coloured ornamental band, and the light rear wall rose up immediately behind the figure. Neither the hands nor the feet were visible. In discussing the problem of attribution one has to take into account the presumed original appearance of the painting.

The attribution to Rembrandt has already been rejected by many authors: by Bauch[3], who later suggested a pupil[4] and by van Gelder[5], Münz[6] and Sumowski[7] who thought it was by Lievens. Sumowski rightly points out the similarity with the Amsterdam *Old woman reading* of 1631 (no. A 37), but no. C 19 has such an individual stamp and differs so much in scale and execution that it may claim to show a conception of its own. It is impossible to tell, a priori, which of the two paintings came first. What one can say is that in the identity of the sitter, who appears in both Rembrandt and Lievens works, and in the manner of painting the Wilton House painting exhibits features that link it very closely indeed with Rembrandt's circle in the years around 1630.

The idea of painting a figure full-length and sitting in a chair at nearly life size comes as a surprise. Possibly a painting like the *S. Paul* after (or by?) Jacques de Gheyn III in the National Gallery, London (no. 3590) provided the incentive. The painter has in a large format used very large fields of colour from a palette consisting for the most part solely of greys and grey-browns. The result is a certain vacuity of form; the figure itself in particular shows, other than in the head, a minimum of articulation (all the more so since neither the limbs nor the extremities are seen), strengthening one's impression of looking at cloth draped over a lay-figure. The book too, though painted with rather more bravura, is somewhat lacking in clarity of form: the curling of the pages is quite arbitrary, and the red stitching on the back is no more than an isolated colour accent. The face, however, is built up skilfully from small dabs of paint that give a convincing suggestion of the forward-tilted head and of the texture of the wrinkled skin.

When one tries to explain how the painting thus described relates to Rembrandt's works, it is obvious that its very restrained colour-scheme does fit in with a tendency evident in Rembrandt's (though not only Rembrandt's) work during the years 1627/29. There is also a more specific resemblance – that between the thick and somewhat isolated islets of paint that suggest the features of the face on the left by the chin and those in, for example, the flesh areas of the (much smaller) *Old man asleep* of 1629 in Turin (no. A 17). Against this there is the fact that the plasticity of the clothing is rendered very perfunctorily, and has none of the thoroughness that marks the Turin painting. At the points where the sheen of light gives modelling to the headshawl the effect remains rather superficial and arbitrary; the folds that are suggested do not come from tension in the surface of the cloth such as would occur here from the headband being knotted around it. The portrayal of the book is equally shallow, and is not derived from a carefully observed structure as it invariably is in the still-lifes of books we know from Rembrandt's works from 1626 onwards. Finally, the lack of clarity in the three-dimensional disposition (how do the figure and chair relate to the wall behind them?) is not as much of an argument against accepting Rembrandt's authorship as is the lack of care in showing the texture of the plaster on the wall, something that can be counted as one of his favourite motifs. Taking all things together, the similarities seem too slight, and the differences too strong, for it to be possible to include the painting among Rembrandt's output. It may be commented that no work by him with just this composition – a figure seen full-length and large-scale – is known from around 1630. There is admittedly a likeness of composition with the etching of an *Old woman seated in a cottage with a string of onions on the wall* (B. 134), where a similar silhouette appears, but this similarity cannot be interpreted as a decisive argument for an attribution of any kind.

Whereas Rembrandt is not known to have produced large-scale paintings on canvas around 1630, Jan Lievens certainly did. There is even a record of a picture by him of a similar subject, a life-size *Student reading at a fire* in the collection of Charles I

Fig. 3. Detail (1.5:1)

(Schneider no. 116). Yet while the resemblances with Lievens' paintings may perhaps be stronger, they too cannot be called decisive. The contrast between faces built up from small, dissociated dabs of paint and bodies indicated in a very cursory way recurs in various of Lievens' busts of old men from around 1630; an extreme instance of this is the painting in Schwerin (with false monogram *RHL*; Schneider no. 169 and Bauch 1966, A 5 as Lievens and Rembrandt). The placing of somewhat vague highlights that do nothing to elucidate the structure is something else one occasionally finds with Lievens. His work does offer comparisons with the brushwork of the face: in particular, the *Job on the dunghill* of 1631 (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, inv. no. 4093; Schneider no. 20) presents the same rather disconnected touches of paint in the illuminated skin areas, where the cool grey also has a part to play and there is a similar suggestion of old, wrinkled (and, in this case, veined) skin. It has to be said, however, that the pattern of the brush-touches in no. C 19 is more controlled and takes more account of the form being suggested than it does there and in general with Lievens. And, surely just as important, the thorough pictorial treatment in the Ottawa painting extends far more over the whole of the picture, so that there are no areas of emptiness. An attribution to Lievens is thus not all that plausible on the grounds of comparison. A dating around or shortly after 1630 remains likely, on the basis of the similarities that have been noted with dated works by both Rembrandt and Lievens and of the tonalist tendency of the colour-scheme.

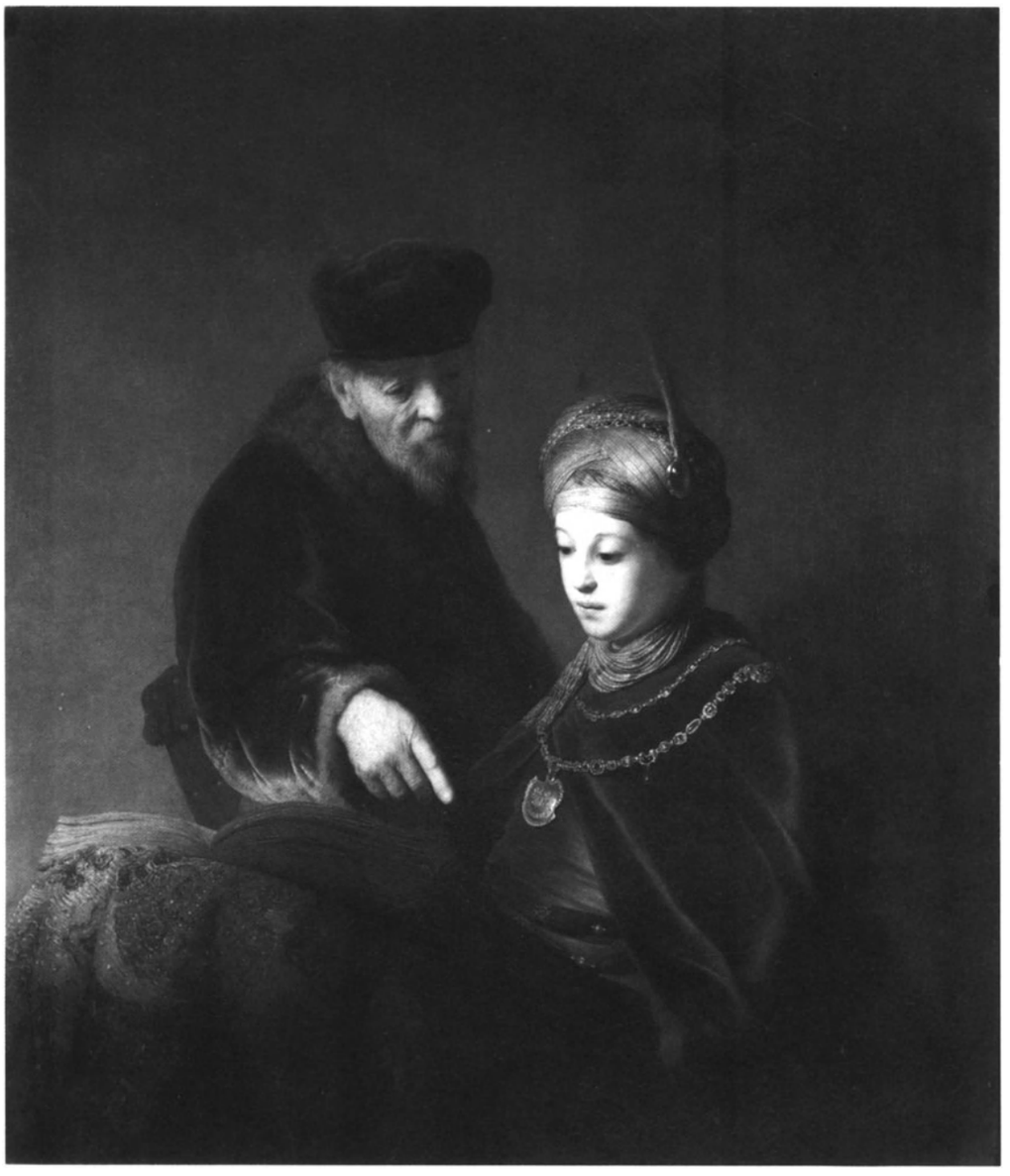
There is a striking similarity in conception, and to some extent also in treatment, with the knee-length piece *Eli instructing Samuel* (fig. 5) usually ascribed to Dou or Lievens (canvas, 104.5 × 89.5 cm; coll. Craven, sale London 27 November 1968, no. 87; private collection USA; Schneider p. 32, note 1: 'Als Ganzes im Stil weniger Lievensartig'; J.G. van Gelder in: *Burl. Mag.* 95 (1953) p. 37, composition by Rembrandt or Lievens, executed by Dou or another artist). In this work, painted in general with a finer brushstroke and more smoothly and which, if

Fig. 4. Copy 1. Private Collection

by Lievens, must indeed date from *c.* 1629/30 the way the book is placed on a formless piece of furniture covered with a cloth and made to act as the base of the composition is very similar; even the handling of the book in a brownish grey, with long scratchmarks, bears some resemblance, though the pages curl less and lack the coarse-grained white. There is a close parallel in the way a soft sheen of light, doing little to give a plastic effect, has been placed on the indistinctly-modelled clothing such as Samuel's purplish-brown cloak; and finally one is struck by the absence of three of the four hands.

A second work to which no. C 19 bears striking resemblances is the panel of an *Old man with arms crossed* in Boston (no. C 20). Though in this the handling of paint in the flesh areas is even rougher, it is so like that of the Wilton House painting in a number of respects that both these works can without any doubt be attributed to the same hand. The treatment of the half-closed eyes, with straight scratchmarks radiating outwards for the lashes, the modelling of the nose and the use made of dark carmine-

Fig. 5. Ascribed to G. Dou or J. Lievens, *Eli instructing Samuel*. On loan to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



red in certain shadow areas are identical in both paintings. There is a great similarity, too, in the approach to the drapery, which is rather lacking in form compared to the skin areas and the folds of which are shown hardly at all. The handling of the background, which is slightly thinner in the Boston panel than the twice-painted background in the Wilton House canvas, is very similar. A notable difference between the two paintings is that in no. C 19 the hands are almost deliberately hidden, while in no. C 20 one painstakingly detailed hand occupies a central position in the composition.

Is *Eli instructing Samuel*, too, by the same artist as nos. C 19 and C 20? The possibility certainly merits consideration. The handling of paint in that painting is admittedly finer and – in the drapery as well – more careful, and the colour-scheme is more varied than in the two other works; yet there are remarkable similarities in conception, especially with that of the Boston *Old man*. In both instances a tilted head is set somewhat disconnectedly atop a roughly-defined body, and a single, illuminated and wrinkled hand is an important motif in the composition. In the *Eli instructing Samuel* the drapery and accessories are done more thoroughly than in either of the other two paintings, but the rather limp highlights on the clothing, producing only a moderate effect of plasticity, are strongly reminiscent of those on the head-

shawl in the Wilton House *Old woman reading*. A lack of spatial clarity, concealed by intersecting elements, is found in both paintings. The fairly uniform grey background, somewhat less opaque in the Boston work and more so in the other two, is common to all three paintings. Because of these similarities it seems not totally impossible that the painter of *Eli instructing Samuel* is identical with the author of nos. C 19 and C 20, and that a difference in the dates when they were produced explains the difference seen between the relatively careful way the first was painted and the freer and sometimes rather coarser brushwork of the two others.

As to the relative and absolute chronology of these three paintings, one can offer no more than surmises. If we are dealing with one, single artist it is conceivable that he changed from a careful to a more cavalier handling of paint, and from a more to a less varied palette; if that were so, *Eli instructing Samuel* would precede the other two paintings. Even if only nos. C 19 and C 20 are by the same hand, one could say of their author that he was painting under the influence of both Rembrandt's and Lievens' work around 1630, though in a format and on a figure scale that is more reminiscent of Lievens than of Rembrandt. A *terminus post quem* of 1631 would be defensible for both works; Rembrandt's *Old woman reading* in Amsterdam (no. A 37) could have formed the prototype for the old woman shown reading in no. C 19, as well as for the centrally-placed, illuminated hand in no. C 20. The painter must have been a close follower of Rembrandt and Lievens in their final years in Leiden. Alan Burroughs has put forward the name of Salomon Koninck in connexion with the Boston painting (see entry no. C 20); the notion is difficult to verify, but should not be dismissed out of hand.

For the iconographic interpretation of no. C 19, see under entry A 37.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

1. Canvas, 114 × 94 cm, private coll. (fig. 4); shows the figure full-length. Examined in August 1971 (B. H.) (cf.[7] fig. 60). Earlier coll. Earl of Aberdeen (Dollis Hill), sale London (Christie's) 20 March 1899, no. 52; coll. Sir John Charles Robinson (Sewton Manor, Swanage, Dorset), sale London (Christie's) 25 July 1924, no. 127; coll. Jean de Coen until 1939; coll. Louis Keyzer, Cape Town. Probably identical with: 'Een Portrait van een oude Vrouwe, met den Bijbel op haere Knien, door den selven [Rimbrant]. Hoogh 3 v. 9 d., breet 2 v. 9 d. [= 107 × 80 cm]' (160 guilders), Coll. Comte de Fraula sale, Brussels 21 ff July 1738 (Lugt 488), no. 312. See: E. Rosenthal, *Rembrandt. An early portrait of his mother*, publ. by S. Keyzer, Cape Town 1977.
2. Panel, 64,5 × 49 cm, coll. Svanström, Gothenburg (1965); shows the figure full-length. Cf. H. C. Andrews, 'Another Rembrandt?', *The Connoisseur* 55 (1919), pp. 103–104 (with colour reproduction).

8. Provenance

– Purchased by Thomas, 8th Earl of Pembroke (d. 1733), 'perhaps as early as 1685, when he was in Holland'[1]. C. Gambarini of Lucca, *A description of the Earl of Pembroke's pictures*, Westminster 1731, p. 74, no. 3 in the yellow Damask Room: 'Rembrant an old Woman reading with Spectacles'.
– Coll. Lord Pembroke, sale 5–10 July 1917, no. 543 (bought-in).

9. Summary

The strange composition of the painting in its present state makes it likely that the copies described under 7. *Copies* reproduce it as it originally was. The attribution to Rembrandt already current by 1731, which is rejected by many authors, does indeed meet with difficulties – the differences from his work seem greater than the similarities with it. There can be no doubt that it originated in Rembrandt's circle about 1630. The problem lies in the strongly individual character and the high pictorial qualities of the painting, which cannot be looked on as merely a derivative of no. A 37. An attribution to Lievens is implausible on the grounds of a comparison with his Ottawa *Job* of 1631 and a few other works. Too many differences remain, in particular in the way the facial structure and texture have been suggested with small, systematically-applied dabs of paint, for it to be acceptable.

One must think in terms of an artist from Rembrandt's and Lievens' immediate circle, from whose hand also came certainly the Boston *Old man with arms crossed* (no. C 20) and possibly a third work, the *Eli instructing Samuel* (fig. 5), as well. A dating shortly after 1631 seems the most probable.

REFERENCES

1 Sidney, 16th Earl of Pembroke, *A catalogue of the paintings and drawings in the collection at Wilton House, Salisbury, Wiltshire*, London-New York 1968, p. 47 no. 124.
2 Br. 68.
3 Bauch 1933, p. 226.
4 Bauch 1960, note 127; Bauch 1966, p. 47.
5 J. G. van Gelder, 'The Rembrandt exhibition at Edinburgh', *Burl. Mag.* 92 (1950), pp. 327–329, esp. p. 328.
6 L. Münz, 'Rembrandts Bild von Mutter und Vater', *Jahrb. d. Kunsthist. Samml. Wien* 50 (1953), pp. 141–190, esp. p.146, note 6.
7 W. Sumowski, 'Kritische Bemerkungen zur neuesten Gemäldekritik', *Neue Beiträge zur Rembrandt-Forschung*, Berlin 1973, pp. 91–110, esp. p. 106.

C 20 An old man with his arms crossed over his chest

BOSTON, MASS., MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, INV. NO. 03.1080

HDG 672; BR. 73; BAUCH 123; GERSON 43

Fig. 1. Panel 74.7 × 59.5 cm

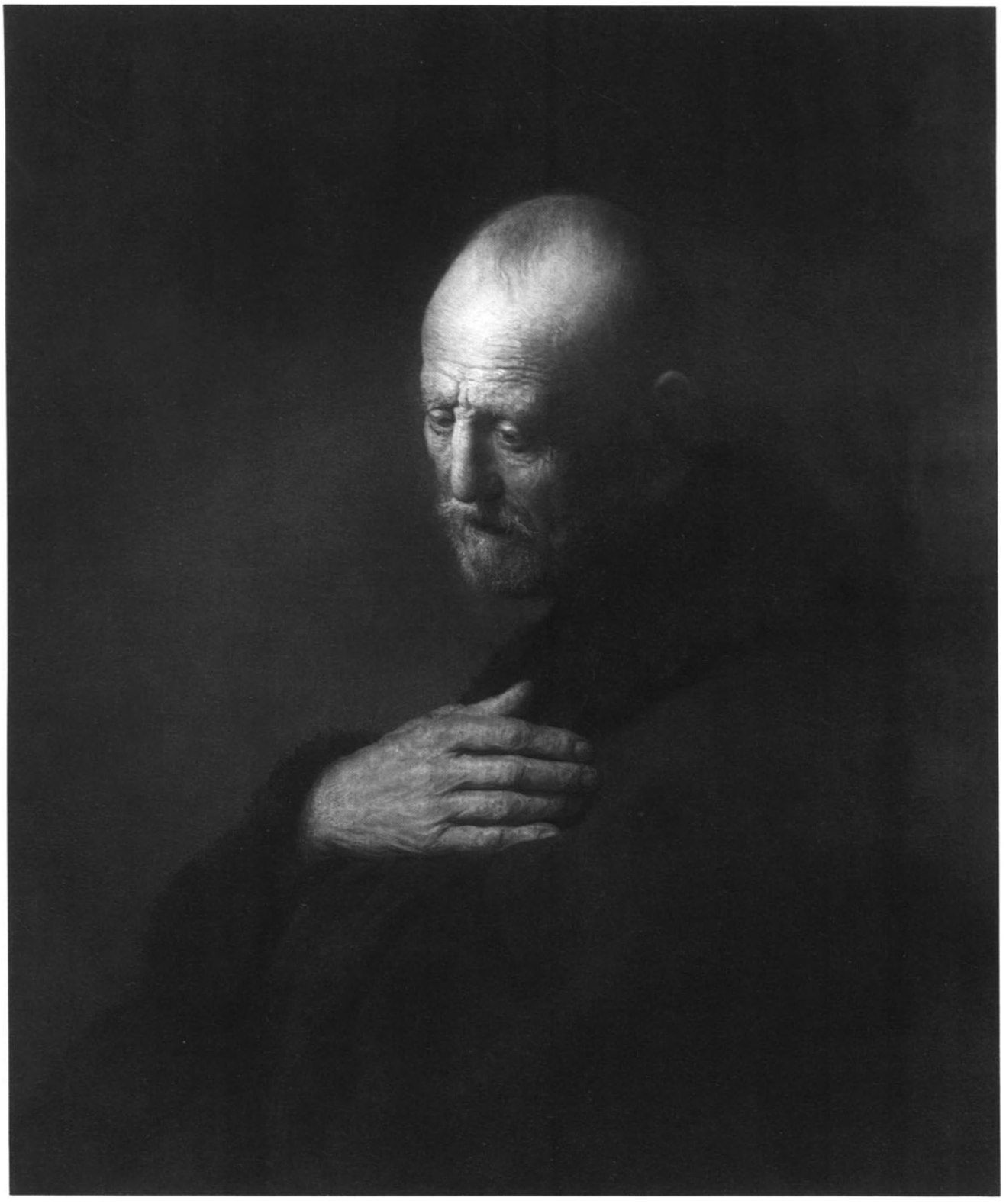


Fig. 2. Detail (1 : 1)

1. Summarized opinion

A generally well preserved painting that was produced shortly after 1631 in Rembrandt's immediate circle, by the same artist as no. C 19.

2. Description of subject

A half-length figure, done virtually life-size, of an almost totally bald old man with a moustache and stubbly beard. The body is turned to the left with the head three-quarters left, tilted slightly and bent forwards. The eyes are half-closed, and the mouth slightly open. His arms are crossed over his chest, and only his right hand can be seen. He wears a brown garment with a fur collar and edging. The background on the right is largely occupied by a grey curtain, though this is hardly distinguishable from the remainder of the grey, neutral background.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 6 October 1970 (B. H., P. v. Th.) by excellent daylight and out of the frame, with the aid of an X-ray (of the head and hand) by the museum.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 74.7 × 59.5 cm. Single plank. Back cradled. Two layers of wood are visible at the side edges; this may indicate the making-good of bevelled edges for the purposes of cradling, or may be from the addition of a second, thin panel to strengthen the first.

The front of the panel shows on the left a pronounced grain structure that is visible in relief; on the right the grain structure is normal. From this it may be surmised that the panel is a radial board, sawn nearly through the heart of a tree which was, according to observations of Prof. Bauch, close to the left side of the panel.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch, Hamburg): measured at the top, 198 annual rings of heartwood (+ 3 counted towards pith), 1 ring sapwood. Not datable.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light, ochre-coloured underlayer shows through along the outlines of the head and fur.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: In general good, especially in the flesh areas. The brown of the cloak may have suffered somewhat. Craquelure: long, slanting cracks are seen in the light on the forehead; small and mainly parallel cracks appear on the nose. Otherwise no craquelure is apparent to the naked eye.

DESCRIPTION: The manner of painting is in the head typified by a rather over-generous application of paint, which has the yellow flesh colour placed over a first lay-in in a greyish-ochre skin tone, using a variety of brushstrokes, mainly small and short but occasionally long. On the forehead the quite thick strokes of paint used for the lights run in various directions, though all more or less in line with the wrinkles (the latter strengthened with brown). The highest light is done in a yellowish white. Here the brushstroke slants slightly upwards to the left, and does not entirely follow the curve of the skull. The hair is shown with a little grey and a few sharp and somewhat uncertain scratchmarks.

The construction of the eyes is a little clumsy, with coarse and heavily painted eyelids, executed with dark red in the edges and shadow folds and, particularly in the eye on the right, with a lighter red in the corner of the eye and on the lid. Here and there the red has presumably been mixed with some white, producing a purplish effect. In both eyes the iris is dark grey with a rather hazy brown, and the black pupil is not sharply defined. On the lower eyelids the lashes are suggested – more strongly on the left than on the right – with short, radiating scratchmarks. Touches of white are used for those on the upper eyelids. The eyebrows, first sketched-in in black, have then been shown with a spotty grey, emphasized on the right with a few small scratches.

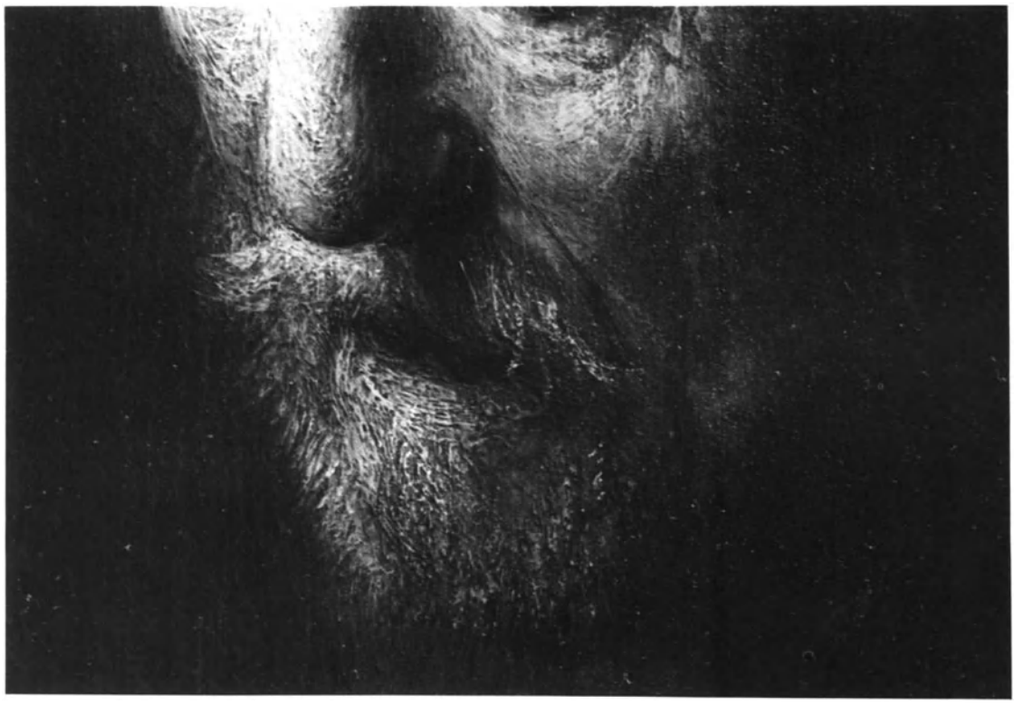
The shadow in the corner of the eye on the right, done in a heavy ruddy grey, continues with no change in tone into the shadow along the nose. The ridge of the nose is painted in yellowish flesh tints, while the colour at the tip of the nose tends towards a purple. The nostril, consisting of a heavy, thick dark-red touch of paint, runs out in the form of a blob into the cast shadow beside the wing of the nose.

The moustache is in a muddy white-grey, and rendered with little structure. There is scant plasticity to the mouth, which consists of a number of careless, curved strokes in a thick dark red for the mouth-line, and a few vague dabs for the underlip. The growth of hair below the lower lip is painted in short strokes of a somewhat ochrish white-yellow together with some blue. A similar blue is seen again in the hairs of the beard and beneath the righthand corner of the mouth. The growth of beard along the chin on the left is done with small greyish-white strokes, continuing below the chin and to the right along the cheek as black parallel strokes; it becomes somewhat vague past the ear, but above the ear and on the shadow side of the head it continues in quite long, parallel hatched lines. Below the chin the effect is heightened with a few straight, spiky scratchmarks. The shadow area, in a ruddy brown, exhibits no clear brushwork. The ear, with ochrish lights on the pinna, has little detail and is modelled weakly.

The hand is predominantly ochre in colour. The lively brushstroke can be readily followed; on the back of the hand it runs for the greater part lengthwise, while on the fingers it is set mainly crosswise. The fingernails are grey, with fairly heavy shadow lines along the cuticles. The fingertips are set against the cloak with heavy, black contours that give a shadow effect. The quite strong shadow lines between the fingers are brown, shading off into lighter tints. The upper outline of the hand and the base of the thumb have been corrected over the paint of the background.

The fur collar is brushed thinly, in black and a very dark grey, on top of the underlying light, ochre-coloured ground, with a translucent effect. On the man's shoulder and left arm his cloak has been painted in a similar way, with here and there

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)



– in particular below the hand – a little grey and more opaque paint. The fur on the left, where the hand projects through it, is in an opaque, very dark grey. The contour is done with short strokes set at right angles to it, indicating the texture of the fur.

The background is grey, and in general shows few brushmarks. Where some are seen, as on the extreme left level with the eyes, the underlying ground contributes to the effect to some extent. Running to the right from immediately above the man's head, the curtain differs scarcely at all in colour and structure from the rest of the background; all that shows it to be a curtain is the slate-grey shadow of a fold to the right of the head, running down obliquely to the right to where it continues just behind the line of the man's back. On the left the background is overlaid by the contours of the figure, while on the right the curtain lies on top of the outlines. At the crown of the head, the background to the left is very thin over a width of half a centimetre and does not directly meet the skull as that on the right does. The curtain which now forms the righthand part of the background was clearly painted after the figure had been completed. Judging by the paint structure, this was done by the artist himself, probably over an earlier paint layer.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The film available (covering the head and hand) presents an image differing hardly at all from what one would expect from the paint layer. The correction observed by the hand is also apparent in the X-ray. The brushstrokes in the background show up a little more clearly. Cf. the illustration in Alan Burroughs[1].

Signature

None.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

Seen at some distance the painting is undoubtedly effective, and in its design and handling of light one cannot imagine it as other than coming from Rembrandt's immediate circle. On closer inspection, the application of paint and the modelling are seen to differ from those found in Rembrandt's work, and lag far behind in quality. The brushwork is, in the flesh areas, certainly deft and bold; yet it almost always lacks the ability to enhance form and plasticity and to enrich the rendering of materials. The frequent use of various shades of red and blue is at odds with the use Rembrandt makes of colour. The scratchmarks do not have the suggestive power one finds in Rembrandt. The hand, despite diligent observation, does not have a matching suggestion of plasticity and texture. When one gauges the mutual proportions of the body, hand and head, the head is seen to be remarkably small. The light falls from the upper left, yet the effect of this has not been consistently carried through in the man's clothing.

While the last two observations cannot provide an argument against an attribution to Rembrandt, the earlier points made do mean that no. C 20 cannot be seen as an autograph work. Burroughs[1] came to the same conclusion from the X-rays and thought that Salomon Koninck might be the author, while Gerson[2] suggested that it was 'an early copy? By G. Dou?'. Strong similarities in interpretation and in the handling of paint, and a striking resemblance in

Fig. 4. Detail (1:1.5)

the treatment of the areas round the eyes and in the way the scratchmarks are made warrant the assumption that no. C 20 was painted by the same hand as the *Old woman reading* at Wilton House (no. C 19), and in the same period (i.e. shortly after 1631). In this picture too part of the background was painted in a late stage of the execution, as it is in no. C 20 (if one is not to assume that this is a later addition). The turning and tilting of the head are probably based on a painting by Rembrandt datable in 1631 that has survived only in copies and which shows 'the artist's mother' (cf. no. C 41); the stress on a single illuminated and wrinkled hand is not really imaginable without the example provided for it by Rembrandt's *Old woman reading* in Amsterdam (no. A 37), dated 1631.

The sitter is without doubt the same model who frequently sat for Rembrandt during his years in Leiden, and who is indeed named as 'Rembrandt's father' (see nos. A 17 and A 29). The gesture of the arms crossed in front of the chest may stand for penitence (cf. C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Amsterdam 1644, pp. 34b–35, where under 'Conversione' we find the sentence: 'Zij hout beyde handen kruyslingh voor de borst, vertoonende teyckens van groot berou en leetwesen' (She holds both hands crossed before her breast, showing signs of great penitence and contrition). It is not clear whether in this case repentance is being depicted in general or in the form of a biblical character – specifically, Judas or Peter – as has been assumed by Hofstede de Groot[3] (Judas or Peter), and by Bauch[4] and Gerson[2,5] (Peter). The facial type makes Peter hardly likely.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

1. Canvas, 45 × 35 cm, coll. G. K. Korn, Heidelberg (1934); shows the figure to below the hand (photograph in RKD).

8. Provenance[3]

– Coll. F. Newcombe, Bristol. Purchased by the museum in 1903.

9. Summary

In all its aspects this painting has the stamp of an original work, produced under the direct influence of the young Rembrandt; but in handling of paint, use of colour and lighting effect it is clearly different from his work. The author, who was also responsible for the *Old woman reading* (no. C 19), must be sought in Rembrandt's immediate circle soon after 1631.

REFERENCES

1 A. Burroughs, 'A problem in the Rembrandtesque', *Miscellanea Leo van Puyvelde*, Brussels 1949, pp. 352–356.
2 Br.-Gerson 73.
3 HdG 672.
4 Bauch 1966, 123.
5 Gerson 43.

C 21 Half-length figure of a man in a turban

PHILADELPHIA, PENN., PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART, ACC. NO. 61–195–1, GIVEN BY THE REVEREND THEODORE PITCAIRN

HDG 345; BR. 133; BAUCH 133; GERSON –

Fig. 1. Canvas 83.5 × 63 cm

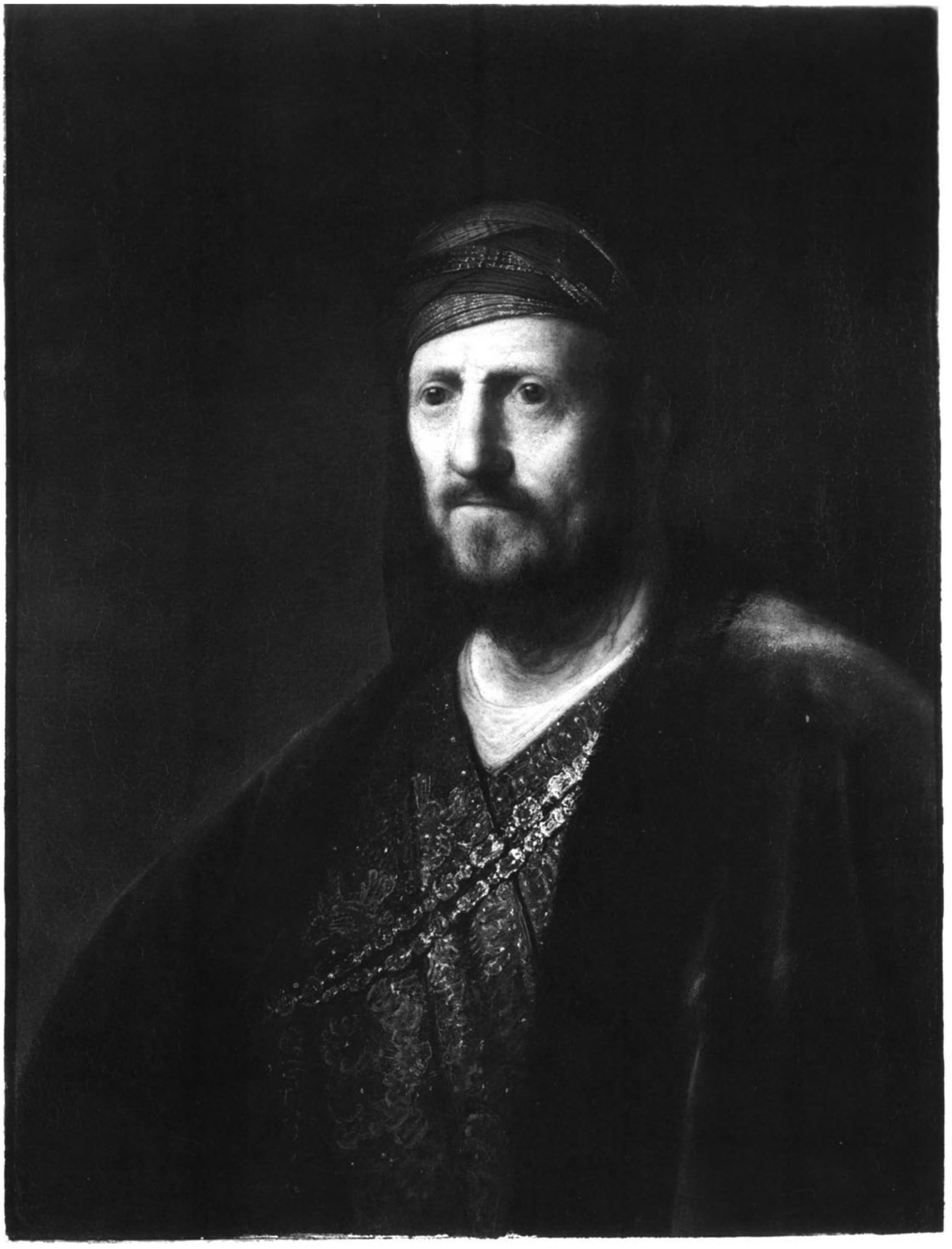


Fig. 2. X-ray

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved work that shows some stylistic affinities with Jan Lievens' work of around 1630.

2. Description of subject

The man faces slightly to the left, looking straight ahead with the eyes open wide. He wears a turban with a dangling end on the left. A velvet cloak covers his shoulder and arms, and hangs down wide revealing at the front the panels, wrapped one over the other, of an overgarment made in a figured material. A double gold chain hangs diagonally over this, and a light-toned shirt is seen above it. The background is neutral, and the light falls from the left.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 21 April 1970 (J. B., S. H. L.) in moderately good daylight and artificial light and in the frame, with the aid of an X-ray mosaic made up from 7 films and of infrared and ultraviolet photographs.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Canvas, lined, 83.5 × 63 cm (sight size). The X-ray clearly shows cusping of the canvas along the righthand, lefthand and bottom edges.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Thread count: horizontal 13 threads/cm, vertical 12–15 threads/cm. The canvases in the chart published in *Röntgenonderzoek .... Utrecht,* p. 62, with this thread count date from after *c.* 1615 and occur throughout the 17th century.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light brown ground can be seen in a number of the very numerous scratchmarks in the overgarment.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Flattened. Slight restorations at some places, e.g. to the right of the man's left eye, and extensive local paint loss at the righthand side just above the bottom edge. There are darkened retouches here and there, as in the righthand part of the cloak and the dangling part of the turban. Craquelure: a fine and not entirely regular craquelure is seen in the thicker areas.
DESCRIPTION: The paint surface gives in general the impression of being continuous, and over large areas (in particular the very even background) the brushwork cannot be made out as such. The lit areas of skin and the turban are painted fairly thickly, and there is some impasto in the chain seen in the light. Greys, grey-brown and a pale flesh colour dominate the colour-scheme.

The head in the light is painted fairly heavily with a scarcely discernible (flattened) brushstroke in a pale flesh colour, with a thicker whitish paint here and there. The contour on the left is vague, and done with strokes of grey.

The upper lid of the man's right eye shows a greyish flesh tint, between lines of brown and a little red which on the right become lost among the brown-grey shadow of the eye socket. The lower edge of the eye is indicated, not all that convincingly, with a thickly-applied grey flesh colour with white highlights and flecks of pinkish red, continuing into the area around the inner corner of the eye. Within a greyish to brown-grey white of the eye the very large iris is indicated – unsharply and with scant suggestion of shape – by a patchy brown and part of a circle drawn in dark brown; below an irregularly shaped white catchlight there is a spot of dark grey next to the black pupil (placed rather high up), with a trace of brown over this. The subject's left eye is painted in similar fashion (and has been somewhat overcleaned on the right); along the lower edge there is a broad band of pink mixed with a little grey on the right and, underneath this in the centre, a small stroke of white (set strangely low). The eyebrows are in thin greys, with a few diagonal strokes of brown on the right.

Brushstrokes running along the length of the nose mark the dividing line against the cheek. The area of shadow along and below the nose is done in opaque browns (and has been somewhat restored). On either side of the dark mouth-line the lips are shown in flat grey-browns with a few touches of pink. The moustache and beard on the centre of the chin are in thin greys with occasional darker touches, while the beard along the jaw is in darker brown-greys showing no apparent brushstroke (with one or two retouches).

A grey area over the forehead and the cheek on the right leads into the shadow area, done in browns. Within this area the ear and neck appear in flat strokes of brown against and over the dark grey background. In the light the throat is painted in a thickly applied light flesh colour with strokes of murky grey and brown representing folds of skin.

The turban is partly in a dark blue-green with dark grey shadows, and partly in grey-brown with dark brown shadows, enlivened with small dots and strokes of white, light yellow, brown and green. The dangling end is done with strokes of grey.

The shirt is depicted indistinctly in greys. The overgarment, closed in front of the body, is executed in a dark greyish brown in which a number of curling scratchmarks (seen in the X-ray to be very numerous) indicate a pattern; these scratchmarks have for the most part been filled in again with brown and ochre yellow paint. The slanting folds are shown by large bands of brown-black. The chain, built up from accents of ochre yellow and a thick light yellow, is bordered by dark brown shadows. The velvet cloak has a flat, dark grey-brown (with darkened retouches), with grey used for the sheen of light.

The background is executed in a practically even, opaque dark grey, darkest towards the top and right.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

In the lit part of the head one sees, besides white patchy brushmarks, a number of dark patches that create a strangely discontinuous image. There is a remarkably light band running along the whole of the outline and strongest on the left, in the background that is otherwise less light. The blue-green parts of the turban also show up light. From a clearly discernible darker reserve it is evident that the outline of the man's left shoulder initially rose more steeply, up to the level of the earlobe. Highlights like those on the velvet cloak can also be seen, crossing irregularly in front of the body, on the overgarment. In this whole area there are many more scratchmarks than one would suppose from the paint surface; they have obviously to a large extent been filled in again with paint.

Signature

None.

Varnish

A thick layer of yellow varnish hampers observation.

Fig. 3. Detail (1:1)

4. Comments

The careful and unimaginative manner of painting and the resulting poverty of form and colouring govern the whole appearance of the painting. They rule out an attribution to Rembrandt and make it difficult to believe, as Gerson[1] did, that it was produced in his immediate circle. The physical appearance of the paint layer, in particular the fine, even craquelure, does however make it likely that it is of considerable age, possibly even from the period around 1630.

The facial type of the man portrayed has, as was noted by Hofstede de Groot[2], reminded people of the so-called father of Rembrandt. Whether this resemblance is due to the use of a model or of a prototype such as Rembrandt's etching B. 321 remains an open question.

In some respects the painting reminds one of Jan Lievens' work of around 1630 rather than of Rembrandt's. This is true of its execution – the predominance of grey tones in the flesh parts, the abundant use of scratch-marks in the wet paint and the often merging brushwork – as well as of its composition and style – the asymmetrical placing of the figure, the relatively broad spread of light with the figure merging softly into the shadows, and the way a somewhat empty form is bordered by a slack contour. Until a clearer picture of Lievens and his following has emerged, it is difficult to tell whether the painting should be connected in some way with his production or be given a later date.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance[2]

– Coll. Donovan, England.
– Coll. T. Humphry Ward, London.
– Dealer Th. Agnew & Sons, London (1898).
– Dealer Ch. Sedelmeyer, Paris (*Catalogue of 100 paintings* V, 1899, no. 38).
– Coll. Mrs. F. May, Brussels (exhibition Leiden 1906, no. 34).
– Coll. Rev. Theodore Pitcairn, Bryn Athyn (on loan to the Philadelphia Museum, 1929), from whom it was a gift in 1961 (according to a letter from J. Rishel, curator of Philadelphia Museum, dated 19 February 1975).

9. Summary

Because of its uncharacteristic execution the painting cannot be attributed to Rembrandt, nor does it seem to be by one of his immediate followers. It presents some general resemblances to Jan Lievens' work of around 1630, and might, if it is not of a later date, be connected with this artist's production.

REFERENCES

1 Br.-Gerson 133.
2 HdG 345.

C 22 Head of an old man

MILWAUKEE, WISC., COLL. DR. A. BADER

HDG –; BR. 633; BAUCH 343; GERSON 29

Fig. 1. Panel 24 × 20.3 cm

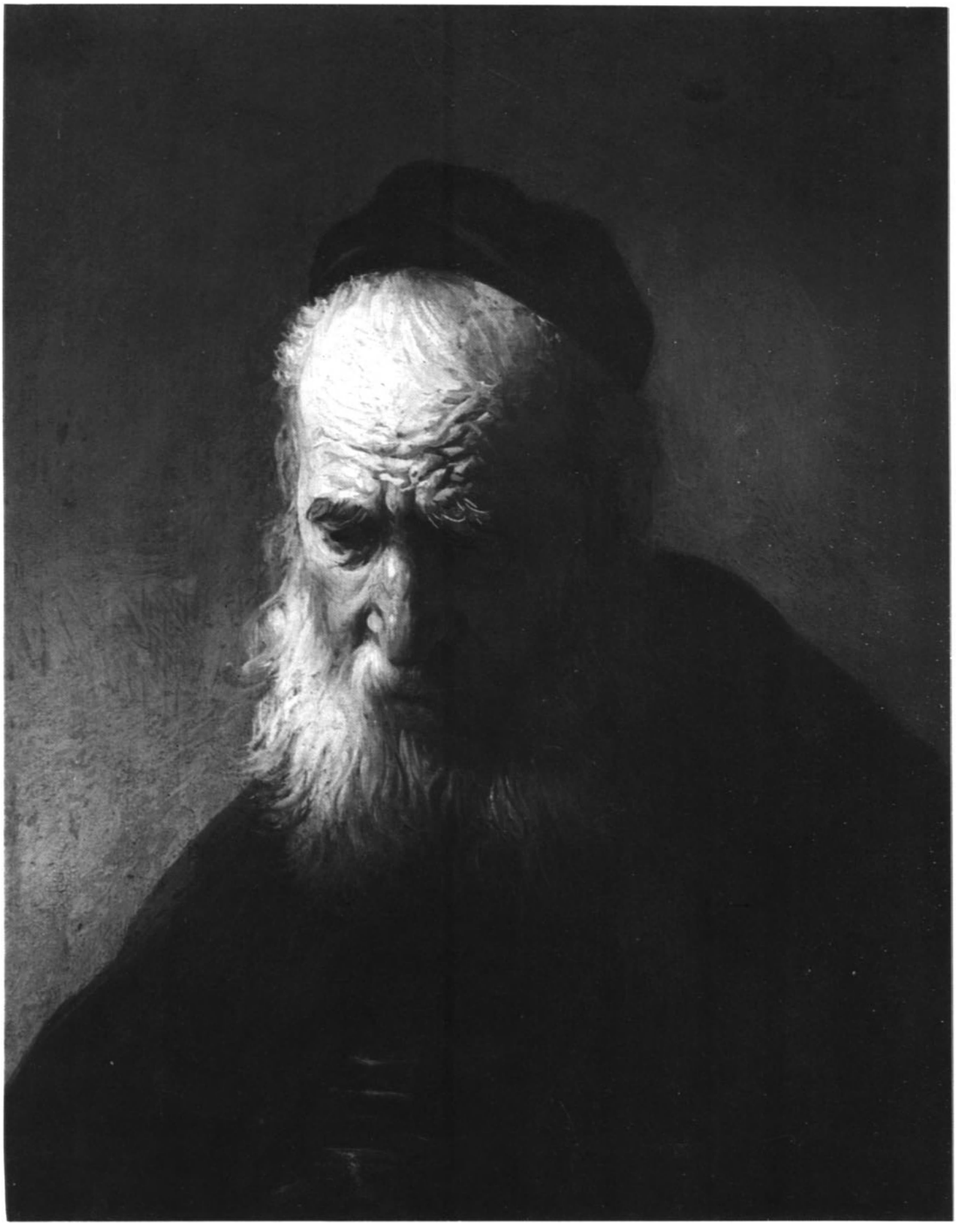
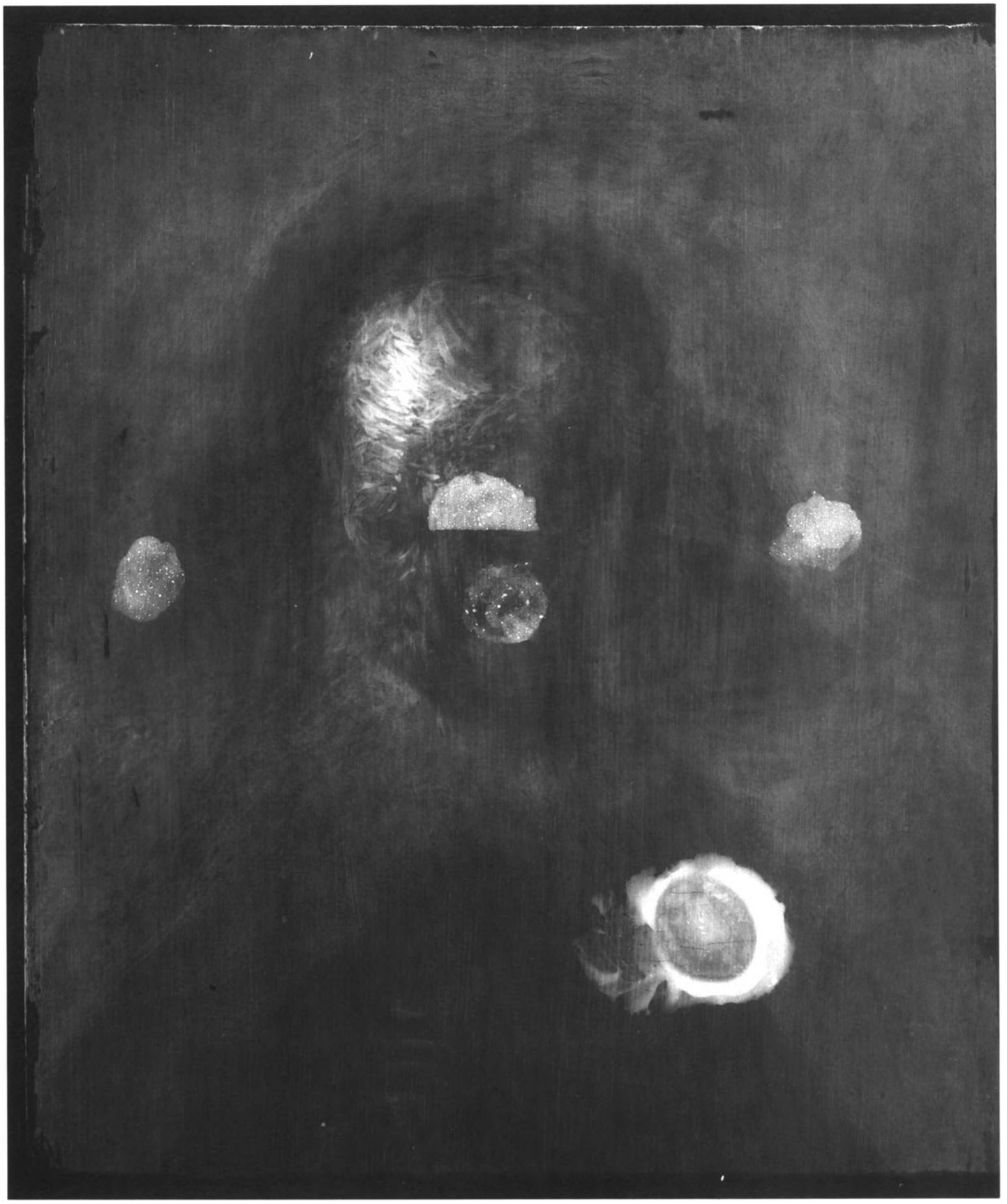


Fig. 2. X-ray



1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved painting from Rembrandt's immediate circle, reproduced in 1634 as his invention in an etching by J. G. van Vliet.

2. Description of subject

Bust of an old bearded man; the body is turned slightly to the left, the head a little more towards the viewer and bent forward with the gaze directed downwards. He wears a small black skullcap, and a black cloak over a dark doublet. The light falls from the left, leaving part of the head in shadow.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 18 January 1973 (P. v. Th., E. v. d. W.) in reasonably good daylight and out of the frame. An ultraviolet lamp was available, and an X-ray film by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam was received later. Re-examined in March 1974 (J. B., B. H., S. H. L., P. v. Th., E. v. d. W.)

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 24 × 20.3 cm (± 0.1 cm). Maximum thickness 0.7 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled over 3 to 4 cm on all four sides. A splinter of wood 3 cm long is missing at the top of the lefthand side. The lower half of the righthand side has been planed away a little and shows half-exposed wormholes. This is (to a lesser extent) also the case at the upper lefthand side.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellowish brown can be seen in the scratchmarks in the eyebrow on the right and in the somewhat worn area round the mouth. In interpreting this observation the presence of a perhaps unfinished underlying painting (see *X-Rays* below) should be taken into account.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: On the whole good. The paint layer shows slight local wearing; some retouching in the left bottom part of the background is discernible under ultraviolet light. The X-ray reveals a number of paint losses along the edges. Craquelure: a fine crack pattern in the more heavily painted light areas, and a number of horizontal cracks in the shadow side of the face. A fine pattern of shrinkage cracks can be seen in the background at the top and in the half-lit area in the righthand part of the beard.
DESCRIPTION: In the light the paint has been applied quite thickly and opaquely, even in the half-tones, and the brushwork can be readily followed at these places. In the dark clothing and in the shadows at the eyes and mouth there is some use of translucent paint, with no clearly discernible brushmarks. In the light the head is painted in a yellowish and pink flesh colour, with thick, short, broad strokes running in all directions that nonetheless suggest the shape of the skull reasonably well. Two paint layers can be clearly made out: a rather fluidly painted underlayer, and the thick touches of paint placed on top of this. The latter show the wrinkles in ochrish and light-grey flesh colours that take on a violet tone towards the shadows. The folds of the wrinkled skin are drawn in quite coarsely in light brown in the lightest area, and very boldly in dark brown in the shadow. On the forehead the transition between light and shade is fairly abrupt.

Neither eye has any detail. On either side of the nose, curved strokes run out from the corners of the eyes, in flesh tones in the light and in greys in the shadow. On the left the iris and pupil are combined in a single, comma-shaped dab of black. On the right the shape of the eye is given with two parallel, curved strokes. The bushy eyebrows are painted on the left using small strokes in ochre and dark grey with a few fine scratchmarks, and on the right with touches of grey over an underlayer that shows through and with broad scratchmarks going through to a yellowish brown, possibly the ground.

The shadows at the bridge of the nose are in a russet brown. Long highlights in a thin broken white are placed on the quite long, flowing strokes of flesh colour used for the nose. On the left two teardrop-shaped touches of pink are placed on the nose, the lower providing the wing of the nose and the upper forming part of the side of the nose. These two brushstrokes are separated by a strong line of shadow in a ruddy brown which joins up with the fold of the cheek, done in the same colour.

The mouth area, where a light underlying layer, possibly the ground, contributes to the colour, is slightly worn. The reddish-brown mouth line is quite wide, and its shadow side is done with a fairly thick, opaque greyish paint. The shadow area of the face is coarsely executed in a muddy brown.

The beard is executed with supple brushstrokes, most of them clearly distinguishable, in a greyish white; in the half-shadow this is mixed with a little ochre colour, and in the shadow there are long, narrow strokes of a very dark grey in which numerous fine, long scratchmarks expose a russet layer beneath (perhaps belonging to an underlying paint layer? – see below under *X-Rays*). On the side towards the light the hair of the beard is painted wet-in-wet in the background. The cursorily-drawn ear on this side repeats, in a subdued tone, the skin colour used for the cheek.

The indistinctly shaped skullcap is in a brownish grey in the light and a very dark grey in the shadow; the sheen of light on it is done in a light, opaque grey. Its outline is accentuated slightly by the fact that here a dark layer lying beneath the background and the cap can be glimpsed in the small chink separating the grey of the background from the grey-brown of the cap.

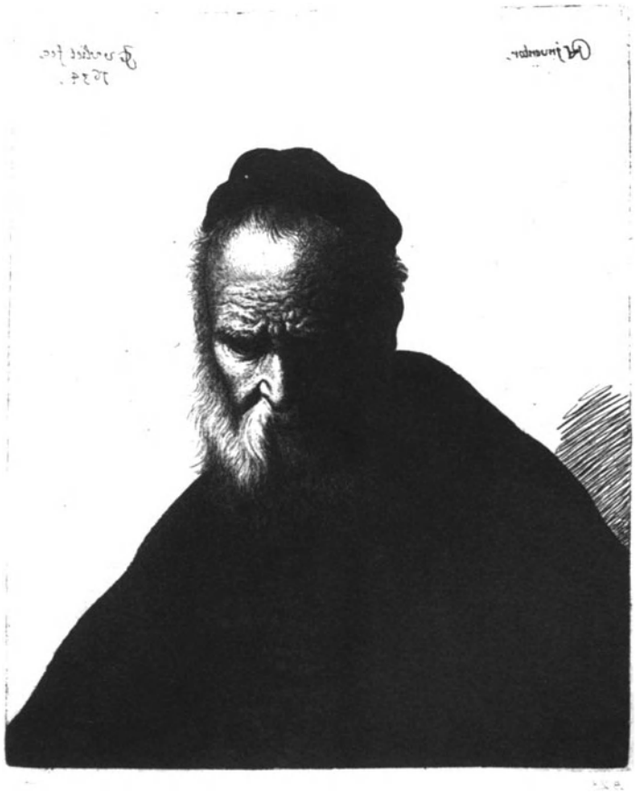
The clothing is painted in translucent very dark grey to black, with scarcely discernible internal detail. The revers of the cloak on the left has a thick outline. The doublet is shown with very thin horizontal strokes of light grey. On the left the rounded bulk of the body is suggested, not very convincingly, by a highlight in dark grey which broadens towards the top; on the inner edge this is rather worn.

The fairly dark grey background is painted quite smoothly along the lefthand side and at the top. Around the head there is a zone of lighter grey in which the stroke of a harder brush has revealed a dark underlayer. At the bottom left the brush is used along the contour with a rather dabbing or dragging touch. Even if one takes into account the presence of a perhaps unfinished painting underneath the present one (see *X-Rays* below), there is a striking lack of homogeneity.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The present picture is clearly discernible in a radiographic image encumbered to some extent by the shadows of various wax seals on the back of the panel, and by hazy light shapes that may stem from defects in the X-ray. The illuminated parts of the painting show up clearly, and the outlines of the trunk can be seen as a weak range of contrast between various gradations

Fig. 3. Etching by J. G. van Vliet, 1634 (reproduced in reverse)



of light; a number of divisions between lighter and darker grey that run roughly parallel to these gradations are connected in part with the differing paint materials used for the doublet, the revers of the cloak and the cloak itself.

Besides this there are however dark reserves in a background that was evidently painted earlier, suggesting that previously another picture had been laid-in – probably that of a larger head with a body outline rising more steeply on the left. There is no clear evidence that this head was completed, though the light area cutting through the beard on the left possibly formed a part of it (e.g. as a collar).

Signature

At top right in a thin dark grey ‹*RHL* (in monogram)›. The *R*, which is open on the left, has a relatively short and quite straight stem, with a loop placed high to the right of it and a fairly straight tail running downwards from this. The upright and somewhat stiff appearance of the letters remind one more of the signature on no. C 10 than of a signature on any of the paintings we accept as being authentic.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

This painting, first published in 1937[1], has already been rejected by Bauch[2] as not being autograph; on the grounds of its execution, the majority of the authors believe that opinion to be correct.

Excessive attention to rendering the appearance of old, wrinkled skin has led to a configuration of dabs and strokes of paint that do not really come together to form an integrated whole. This peculiar brushwork, found also in the beard, can be seen as a coarser version of Rembrandt's technique as we know it from, for instance, the Nuremberg *S. Paul* of 1629/30 (no. A 26). A strange feature is the predominantly yellowish tinge of the colour of the face, despite the use of pink skin tints.

The type of the old man in some ways matches the types Rembrandt was drawing, etching and painting around 1630, though not to the extent that one and the same model can be recognized. The direct relationship is apparent far more in the posture and lighting which one can also find in, for example, the Melbourne *Two old men disputing* of 1628 (no. A 13), in a drawing in Berlin (Ben. 41) and the associated etching B. 291, and in etchings B. 260 and B. 315 both dating from 1631.

A major problem is to know what link there is with the etching by J. G. van Vliet dated 1634 (B. II, 23) inscribed *RH* (in monogram) *jnventor* and showing the same picture as no. C 22 in reverse (fig. 3; see *6. Graphic reproductions* below). The discrepancies between the etching and the painting can to some extent be looked on as typical of van Vliet's interpretation of his prototypes, as we know it from four further etchings two of which can be checked against the paintings they reproduce (cf. Introduction, Chapter III, pp. 42ff, figs. 13–18; nos. A 14, B 6). This applies especially to the larger picture area, the indication of small curls of hair standing out against the background, the stronger modelling of certain areas such as the illuminated part of the drooping moustache, and the addition of a cast shadow in the background. The remaining discrepancies, in particular the slightly different position of the ridge of the nose, are too slight to warrant support for Bauch's surmise[2] that van Vliet's etching was based on a lost original and not on this painting. One can be practically certain that he regarded Rembrandt as the 'inventor' of no. C 22. As has already been explained (see Introduction, Chapter III, p. 46). this can, but need not, point to the existence of an autograph prototype. In this case the manner of painting exhibits a coarseness in the modelling and a lack of cohesion in the background that one cannot accept as possible with Rembrandt. There is every reason to think that this *tronie*, or 'head' was painted by someone in his immediate following about 1630. Heads of this kind, as a painting or a print, must have formed a popular purchase at that time. As such, no. C 22 is comparable with other small painted heads like nos. C 23, B 6 and C 25, the last two of which were reproduced as prints by van Vliet and Dethier respectively while the first-named also carries an old signature.

One can assume, by analogy with another van Vliet etching also dated 1634 (B. II, 22) which – probably done after an unknown intermediate prototype – reproduces the main figure from Rembrandt's *Judas repentant* of 1629 (no. A 15), that the motif used for no. C 22 too has been taken from a larger context; evidence for this could be the old man's posture and the direction in which he is looking.

Even if the drawing in Oxford inscribed *Harman.Gerrits.vande Rhijn* (Ben. 56) does indeed portray Rembrandt's father, there is no justification for assuming with Bauch[2] and Gerson[3] that no. C 22 shows the same model.

The underlying and probably uncompleted picture can be interpreted here only in very broad terms. It seems to be a bust with body outlines that rise quite steeply, and thus vaguely reminiscent of the *Self-portrait* in The Hague (no. A 21).

Note, December 1979: one of the authors (E. v. d. W.) does not rule out the possibility of no. C 22 being an autograph work by Rembrandt. One reason he hesitates to reject the painting is the importance he attaches to the documentary value of the van Vliet print. Another is the painting's stylistic character: the coarseness of its execution should not be entirely excluded from our conception of Rembrandt's manner of painting, as it was part of the image quite a few of his followers had of this.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

1. Etching by J. G. van Vliet, inscribed: *RH* (in monogram) *jnventor.* – *JG* (in monogram) *v vliet fec./1634.* (fig. 3). There is every reason to believe that this etching, which reproduces no. C 22 fairly faithfully in a proportionally larger picture area, is based directly on it (cf. *4. Comments* above).

7. Copies

1. Panel, dimensions unknown, previously Paris, coll. Dr. Oulmont. To judge from the reproduction (W. R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1921 (Kl.d.K.), p. 103), an extremely rough and weak copy.
2. Canvas, 74 × 64 cm, Rome, Galleria Doria. Judging from the reproduction (J. O. Kronig, 'Un Rembrandt sconosciuto a Roma', *Bolettino d'Arte* N.S. 1 (1921/22), pp. 145–148), a very free and probably 18th-century Italian paraphrase (cf. the Italian provenance of no. C 22 mentioned under *8. Provenance* below).

8. Provenance[4]

– Coll. Prince Gonzaga, Vicenza.
– Dealer Van Diemen, Amsterdam (1931).
– Coll. D. Bingham, New York.
– Dealer Ch. E. Duits, London.
– Coll. Sidney J. van den Bergh, Wassenaar, sale London (Christie's), 30 March 1979, no. 127.

9. Summary

Though having a thematic affinity with a number of Rembrandt works from around 1630 no. C 22 cannot be accepted as autograph, because of the poorly organized and (particularly in the lit areas) remarkably coarse manner of painting, of the muddy shadow areas and of the strange flesh tints that tend towards a yellow. It can however be assumed that an etching by J. G. van Vliet dated 1634, and naming Rembrandt as the inventor, reproduces this painting. As in a number of other cases this 'inventorship' does not embrace the execution of the prototype. The *tronie* shown in no. C 22 may have been taken from a larger context; the painting can, like nos. C 23 and C 25, and perhaps also no. B 6, be placed in Rembrandt's immediate circle around 1630.

REFERENCES

1 Br. 633.
2 Bauch 1960, p. 261 note 130; Bauch 1966, 343.
3 Gerson p. 23 and no. 29.
4 Br.–Gerson 633.

C 23 Bust of a man in a plumed cap

U.S.A., PRIVATE COLLECTION

HDG –; BR. 636; BAUCH –; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

A moderately well preserved work from Rembrandt's immediate circle, with an unreliable signature and date of 1629.

2. Description of subject

A bearded man is shown with the trunk and head turned slightly to the left, looking straight at the viewer with eyes open wide. A red cap adorned with a brown plume is worn over hair falling to the shoulders, and throws part of the face in shadow. He wears a brown doublet over a pleated shirt, and a gold chain hangs diagonally across his chest; a red cloak is wrapped round his shoulders. The light falls from the top left.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined during the spring of 1973 (B. H., E. v. d. W.) under ideal conditions, using a variety of scientific methods in the Amsterdam Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science and with the aid of an X-ray covering the whole of the painting, an infrared and an ultraviolet photograph.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 22.4 (± 0.1) × 16.5 (± 0.2) cm; the righthand side is slightly curved. Thickness *c.* 0.8 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled at top, left and right.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): measured at bottom edge, 81 annual rings heartwood, datable as 1521–1601. Growing area: Northern Netherlands, in the same area as that from which the panel of no. A 21 came (letter from Prof. Dr. J. Bauch 2 December 1971). Earliest possible felling date 1616[1].

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Shows through as a light yellow-brown in many places in the clothing and plume.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: The painting was investigated in the Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science in Amsterdam. Sixteen samples were taken, twelve of which were prepared as cross-sections. As the sampling took place in most cases in connection with the restoration of the painting, the majority of the samples were taken in areas which were suspected to be retouched or overpainted. The information about the original technique of the painting is therefore only limited. As for the ground, the bottom layer exists of chalk and glue. In several cross-sections from different areas a second layer consisting of chalk and glue was found; this however also contains fine brown pigment particles. The amount of glue in this layer exceeds that of the bottom layer. Most probably, therefore, the panel was prepared with a double ground, the second layer of which was tinted yellowish through the addition of some ochre.

Paint layer

CONDITION: The face, cap and plume are in reasonable condition. Paint has been lost in the hair on the right, where the lack of continuity of the paint surface over a large, irregular area indicates that the original paint layer has disappeared. Damages in the background and clothing run in a narrow horizontal band 3 cm from the lower edge over a distance of 7 cm measured from the lefthand side, and in a narrow vertical band 2 cm from the righthand side extending up 7 cm from the bottom edge. There are damages along the bottom and at top right in the neighbourhood of the signature. Minor retouches are seen in the background and clothing. The fact that old damages in the clothing are filled in with one layer of red, translucent paint, while around these places there are (on the evidence of microscopic examination of a paint cross-section) two layers of translucent red, shows that the original red glaze has been subsequently overpainted with a second. The hair on the right, too, must have been overpainted: the black paint that has been inpainted in the large patch of damage does not give the impression of being kept accurately within the border of this patch. At thin places in the translucent parts of the doublet and in the cap there are dark vertical stripes which presumably continue beneath the paint of the face in the intervening area. They are quite unconnected with the picture. Examination of a cross-section of paint taken at this point shows them to be composed of grains of black pigment and comparatively very few grains of white. Possibly these are the traces of wiping or scraping, the vestiges of an earlier version or a different picture that was mechanically removed. Craquelure: fine and mainly horizontal cracks are seen in light and shadow areas.

DESCRIPTION: The tonal value of the background varies from an opaque dark grey above the shoulders to a brownish grey at the top right and a lighter, cooler grey in the top lefthand corner. It is in the latter corner that the brushwork can be most readily followed: the paint has been applied with fluent, and mostly straight strokes that have occasionally exposed the underlying ground. The brushstrokes in this area roughly follow the contour of the plume, and then run more or less parallel to each other in a diagonal direction. To the right the strokes are smaller and more varied.

The lit areas of the face are done with hesitant, flicking touches of the brush, sometimes leaving the ground exposed along their edges, in pale and mainly ochrish flesh tints. At the tip of the nose and in the fold of the cheek on the left there are reddish tints, while the lit side of the tip of the nose is pink with a white highlight. There is a striking use of cool, light grey in the eye-pouch on the right and along the contour of the nose.

The shadow parts of the face are painted in an opaque and dull dark yellow-brown. Around the eye on the right some lighter flesh tints are used to indicate some reflected lights. The transition from light to shadow is at many points a rather dingy blur, and it seems as if the shadow area as a whole was painted later than the light part.

The hair of the beard and moustache are done in brown and black brushstrokes, poorly controlled and lacking in suggestion. Here and there, particularly below the nose, the ground has been exposed (or the paint layer removed by overcleaning?). Thin vermilion-coloured lines, placed wet-in-wet among the hairs of the moustache, suggest the skin of the upper lip showing through between them. Accents of light on the moustache are shown both with thin lines of yellow and with scratch-marks made in the paint.

In the eye on the right, seen half in the light, the righthand corner and the pupil are somewhat translucent. The light grey for the white of the eye and the uniform grey of the iris are applied with small, careful strokes, and a minute catchlight is placed high up on the eyeball. The shadow on the upper eyelid forms, in both colour and handling of paint, a single whole with the shadow part of the face. In the corner of the eye on the left a bright vermilion has been used, following the edge of the lower eyelid.

The eye on the left in the shadow is drawn in murky, muddy paint, and the iris and pupil form an unorganized patch of black.

Leaving aside the question of how far the hair around the

Fig. 1. Panel 22.4 × 16.5 cm (1:1)

Fig. 2. X-ray

damaged area on the right has been overpainted, one can say of the original paint layer (clearly traceable in the relief) that the strands of hair are suggested with bold, wavy brushstrokes extending out over the grey of the background; on the left the liveliness of the hair is shown mainly by means of scratchmarks which in the upper part, inside the outline of the original coiffure (see *X-Rays*), reveal the yellowish ground; under this – certainly in the lefthand part of this area – one can see the colour of the background.

The cap and clothing are dominated by a loose manner of painting and depiction of form, while the paint is for the most part translucent. A lively and very thinly applied translucent brown appears in the plume and at some places in the doublet, and a strong red is used as a glaze for the cap and cloak (though see above under CONDITION). The small clumps of light paint in the plume are noticeably out-of-place; similar small blobs are found in the middle of the doublet, and appear to have no particular function; possibly they form part of an initial lay-in. While the red in the lit part of the cap owes its light tonal value to a hint of ground showing through it, that in the lit area of the cloak is opaque; as the area does not appear light in the X-ray this paint is however hardly likely to contain white lead. The shirt is done with a hesitant brushwork, and drawn clumsily in a greyish white. The neck area is fairly opaque in the light, in colours matching those in the lit side of the face.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Chemical analysis identified the following pigments: white lead, lead-tin yellow, various ochres, vermilion. In the red layers applied as a glaze, the presence of the dyestuff cochineal was demonstrated at bottom left, while in the righthand part of the cloak there were two layers of redwood precipitated on chalk; the lower of these layers could be identified as sappanwood. These red lakes were identified by using thin-layer chromatography.

X-Rays

The illuminated flesh areas and the white collar show up relatively little, and only partly match the appearance of the paint surface. The dark reserves left in the background (which gives a lightish image) are, for the areas of hair to either side of the face, considerably smaller than the space occupied by the hair today.

The situation around the man's right eye is unclear; shapes giving a light image can be seen in this shadow area, and do not correspond clearly to the depicted form. They continue to the left of the eye, beyond the outline of the face and out into the dark area of hair. It is noticeable that the shadow on the right of the face (described already as opaque and appearing to have been painted later than the illuminated part) gives a relatively strong image, and moreover continues into the present area of hair. One cannot conclude without further evidence that this comes from a change in design – it is more likely connected with a paint material unusual in such an area. To the right and left above the shoulders the background gives a relatively light radiographic image. The letters *AG* seen in reverse match letters painted on the back of the panel; a wax seal on the back of the panel can also be seen.

Signature

At upper right, in grey ‹ *RHL* (in monogram) *1629*›. The monogram, with the *R* closed on the left, a loop to the right of the stem and a tail that seems to continue in the horizontal of the *L*, is very like the monogram used by Rembrandt in paintings from 1630–1632; it also strongly resembles that on the painted *Self-portrait* dated 1629 in the Gardner Museum (no. A 20), and on the etched *Self-portrait* B.338 also dated 1629 with which it shares the relatively high position of the loop, above the crossbar of the *H*. The shaping of the letters does not seem spontaneous, and does not carry conviction.

Examination of two paint cross-sections revealed no traces of varnish or dirt between the paint of the background and that of the signature, and indicated that the signature was probably placed immediately on top of the background paint before this was completely dry.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

The model used for this painting, with his singular facial expression, the lighting, the depiction of form and the manner of painting, plus the presence of a Rembrandt monogram, make it understandable that when this painting came to light in 1936 it was regarded as being a Rembrandt[2].

Later authors[3] have rejected the painting without ever having actually seen it and without offering any arguments in support of their views. Bauch saw a resemblance to the work of Rembrandt's pupil Jacques des Rousseau. We, too, do not believe this to be an autograph work by Rembrandt; yet a relatively extensive technical and physical investigation has yielded facts that would not, in themselves, give reasons for doubt. After discussing these data, we shall below consider the stylistic and qualitative aspects of the painting; and it will be seen that our decision rests, in the last analysis, mainly on criteria of quality.

First of all one must discuss the signature. When doubt is cast on the genuineness of a signed painting on stylistic and quality grounds, it is often assumed that the signature was added later by another hand. It was for this reason that paint samples were taken from the edge of two damages at the signature, and cross-sections prepared for examination under the microscope. In cross-sections from the site of later overpaints, one normally finds dirt and traces of varnish trapped between the bottom layer and the overpainting. In this case there were none – the impression gained was rather that the medium in the background paint was still moist when the signature was appended. The signature therefore almost certainly belongs to the painting, and is not a later addition.

Dendrochronological examination of the panel yielded significant information (see above under *Support*, SCIENTIFIC DATA). It is certainly possible that the panel on which no. C 23 is painted was used in 1629. It was also found that the curve plotted with measurements taken from this panel shows so many similarities with the curve obtained from dendrochronological measurements of the panel of the *Self-portrait* at The Hague (no. A 21) that the trees from

which the panels were made must have come from the same growing area, and indeed may perhaps have stood close to one another. The fact that no. A 21 is dated, on stylistic grounds, around 1629 makes this coincidence even more striking. It should be noted however, that the panel of no. C 23 was not manufactured with care.

The cross-sections of paint samples show a ground not found up till now in early paintings by Rembrandt. Instead of the usual 'primuersel' (on top of the usual chalk and glue ground) containing white lead with or without an addition of chalk and some brown pigment, and in an oil medium, the second ground layer of this painting consists of chalk with some brown pigment in a glue medium. Thus, although the colour and structure of the ground correlate with what we know of Rembrandt's grounds the composition of one of the layers differs basically. As long as we do not know for sure whether the grounds were applied in the studio or by craftsmen outside the studio, the significance of such a deviation cannot be estimated.

The pigments shown by the tests do not include a single one that is not in the short list of pigments found so far in Rembrandt's paintings (*Symposium on the technical aspects of Rembrandt's paintings, Abstracts*, Amsterdam 1970 (stencil), passim). In among pigments, such as white lead, ochre and vermilion, that have appeared almost constantly over the centuries lead-tin yellow stands out as a pigment providing us with a *terminus ante*: according to research by H. Kühn (in: *Studies in conservation* 13 (1968), pp. 7–33) this pigment no longer occurs after 1750 or thereabouts.

The test results just described, obtained by scientific methods and having widely varying significance, do not prevent one from attributing no. C 23 to Rembrandt – indeed, the dendrochronological evidence together with the tests on the signature would seem rather to encourage such an attribution.

There are a number of stylistic features, too, that point to a direct link with Rembrandt's work. The interest shown in a lighting that throws vital parts of the face in shadow is – allowing for all the differences in execution – found also in, for example, the *Self-portraits* of 1628/1629 in Amsterdam and Munich (nos. A 14 and A 19 respectively), in the Boston *Artist in his studio* of 1629 (no. A 18) and in the Toledo *Young man* dated 1631 (no. A 41). The facial type, with the long straight nose, occurs in such works as the Amsterdam *Musical allegory* of 1626 (no. A 7) and the Innsbruck *Old man in a fur cap* of 1630 (no. A 29). The wide-open eyes are seen in, for instance, the Leiden *History painting* of 1626 (no. A 6). An execution with the occasionally very loose and translucent treatment of the browns, as seen in, particularly, the plume, first occurs in the Innsbruck *Old man in a fur cap* of 1630. The strong translucent red with the ill-suited opaque light areas and the to some extent inexplicable blobs of paint remind one of comparable areas in the Salzburg *Old woman at prayer* (no. A 27). These are, however, in all cases only partial resemblances mainly involving motifs.

Compared with these paintings no. C 23 is much inferior in its execution. At places where the depiction of form does not call for much in the way of accuracy (e.g. in the plume and the hair) the treatment is easy-going and effective. The same relaxed approach however produces a far less convincing result in the doublet and cloak, even when allowance is made for the painting's state of preservation at these places. The undisciplined, wavy brushstrokes on the doublet militate against any suggestion of plasticity and three-dimensionally tangible bulk. Contrasting with these out-of-place flourishes there is the painfully careful application of paint in the gold chain and the white collar of the shirt; yet these, too, are unsuccessful – both the chain and shirt are totally devoid of any suggestion of three-dimensionality and especially poor in the rendering of materials. The lack of coordination between the brushwork and the form and material that one notices here is also found in the way parts of the face are painted. The moustache and beard are done with hesitantly applied dabs, in an inappropriate variation of muddy shades, and the scratchmarks do not serve the function for which they were intended. There is no suggestion of depth. And finally, the manner of painting in the illuminated skin areas has a characterlessness that is quite inconceivable in a work by Rembrandt himself. The dingy ochrish paint is applied unsurely. It becomes even murkier at the outlines and transitions to the shadow areas that were probably – atypical – executed in a later stage of the work. In the shadowed eye, and in the one in the light which not only from the compositional viewpoint forms the centre-point of the picture, one meets the same drab paint, handled in the same hesitant way.

These features of paint substance and paint application mean that one must abandon any idea of no. C 23 being by Rembrandt himself. On the other hand, there can be hardly any doubt that it must have been painted in Rembrandt's circle in Leiden. It was given Rembrandt's monogram and the date 1629, most probably at the time of its production or very soon afterwards.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Coll. Burckhardt-Sarasin, Basle until 1936 (communication from Dr. Otto Wertheimer to the present owner).

9. Summary

Both on the grounds of features of style and painting technique and on the basis of the results of scientific tests of the materials used, the genesis of this painting can with a high measure of probability be placed in Rembrandt's circle in Leiden. The nature and quality of the handling of paint make it hard, however, to assume that it is from Rembrandt's own hand. It must rather be attributed to one of his pupils during his Leiden period, or to another painter close to him. The fact that the signature and the date of 1629 were almost certainly appended immediately after the picture had been painted might indicate that the works of pupils or younger followers were given his monogram as soon as they were completed.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, esp. p. 491.
2 Br. 636.
3 J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt, Life and Work*, Londen 1964, 2nd edn. p. 371; Bauch 1966, p. 49; Br.-Gerson 636.

C 24 Bust of an old man with a bald head

KASSEL, STAATLICHE KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN KASSEL, SCHLOSS WILHELMSHÖHE, INV. NO. GK 232

HDG 372; BR. 148; BAUCH 143; GERSON 107

1. Summarized opinion

A moderately well preserved painting, probably painted in Rembrandt's immediate circle soon after 1630, and possibly based on a lost original.

2. Description of subject

Bust, turned slightly to the left with the head bent forward and tilted to the right. The man is almost entirely bald, and has a moustache and rather wispy beard. He wears a dark cloak over his right shoulder, with a brown jacket. The light falls from the left, and the background is neutral.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in October 1968 (J. B., B. H.) in good artificial light and in the frame. An X-ray film of the head was received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, *c.* 48.7 × 40.2 cm. Thickness *c.* 1.1 cm. Single plank. Back normally bevelled at left, scarcely so at right, slightly at the top and unbevelled at the bottom.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): 214 annual rings heartwood (+ 1 sapwood), statistical average felling date 1616 ± 5. Growing area: Northern Netherlands[1].

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A brown-yellow shows through in translucent shadow areas of the head and the clothing on the right.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Kühn[2] in an analysis of the ground layer, found chalk and glue.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Generally good. The paint has a slightly bubbled appearance on the left above and very slightly into the crown of the head. Craquelure: not seen.

DESCRIPTION: On the dome of the head the paint has been applied with some degree of impasto, in short, mainly diagonal brushstrokes running downwards to the right. At the contours the strokes follow the outline of the skull. The shadow areas are done partly in grey, over a loose underpainting in brown. The top of the head is for the greater part painted quite thinly, with a thicker highlight. The forehead is rather more thickly painted, and the brushstrokes here are aimed at providing modelling, using grey and light pink for the wrinkles. The eyebrows consist of fine, small strokes of a brown-yellow paint, with one or two darker accents.

The eyes are defined very summarily indeed, on the left with a short red line for the lower lid and a greyish spot as the iris and a black one for the pupil, while the right has the dark spot of the pupil set in a grey stroke amidst a translucent ruddy brown.

The cast shadow of the nose is indicated with a dark red-brown that continues upwards into the shadow line of the wing of the nose. The beard and moustache are done in grey over an ochre brown. The area of shadow along the jawline and at the temple is in ochre brown and grey. The ear is shown only vaguely.

The clothing is executed on the left in a very dark and opaque paint, while on the right there are broad strokes of a thinner and slightly translucent brown, with no appreciable attempt at defining form or material. One can detect at some places a cloudy, more opaque grey laid over the translucent brown.

The background has been painted with barely visible brushstrokes in an opaque grey paint that produces an insensitive effect by its tonal value as well as by the unarticulated way it meets the outline of the figure. At the lefthand contour there are a few brushstrokes of the clothing that run out over the background. The feathery hairs at the left of the head are also placed on top of the background.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Kühn[3] identified bone black, brown ochre, red lake and some white lead in the clothing.

X-Rays

The relationship of lights to darks in the painting is recognizable in the radiographic image. The quite short brushstrokes seen in the lit parts of the head are invariably clearly visible, and these areas almost everywhere exhibit the same moderate degree of radioabsorbency, except for the nose the ridge of which presents a band of strong white running as a marked vertical line.

Signature

In the right background above the man's shoulder, in a fairly dark grey ‹*RHL* (in monogram followed by an oblique stroke in the form of an inverted comma) *1632*›. The shape of the letters and figures shows no significant difference from Rembrandt's signature around 1630–32, but the use of the monogram without the addition of 'van Rijn' is unusual for paintings by Rembrandt dated 1632.

Varnish

There is a quite badly yellowed coating of varnish.

4. Comments

Especially during his later Leiden years Rembrandt explored the motif of an old bearded man with the head bent forward, and sometimes tilted slightly to one side, in a number of etchings and drawings, though one never meets an entirely bald-headed model. His interest in the play of light and shadow on wrinkled skin is evident from a drawing like that in Stockholm (Ben. 38) and from an etching very similar to this (B. 325), dated 1630. In painted form we find the motif treated, on a smaller scale, in paintings like the Nuremberg *S. Paul* of *c.*1629/30 (no. A 26) and the Amsterdam *Jeremiah* of 1630 (no. A 28), in which the artist seems to have employed the same model as in most of the etchings and drawings. As a painted bust of a similar type (though working from another model, generally known as the 'father') only the Innsbruck *Old man in a fur cap* of 1630 (no. A 29) has so far been found wholly acceptable as authentic; because of its very small size, however, this painting can give us only a limited impression of the pictorial character of Rembrandt's *tronies*, or 'heads', of old men done on a larger scale – at least if he did in fact paint these, as we are led to believe from the existence of a number of imitations as well as from the repeated occurrence in old inven-

Fig. 1. Panel 48.7 × 40.2 cm

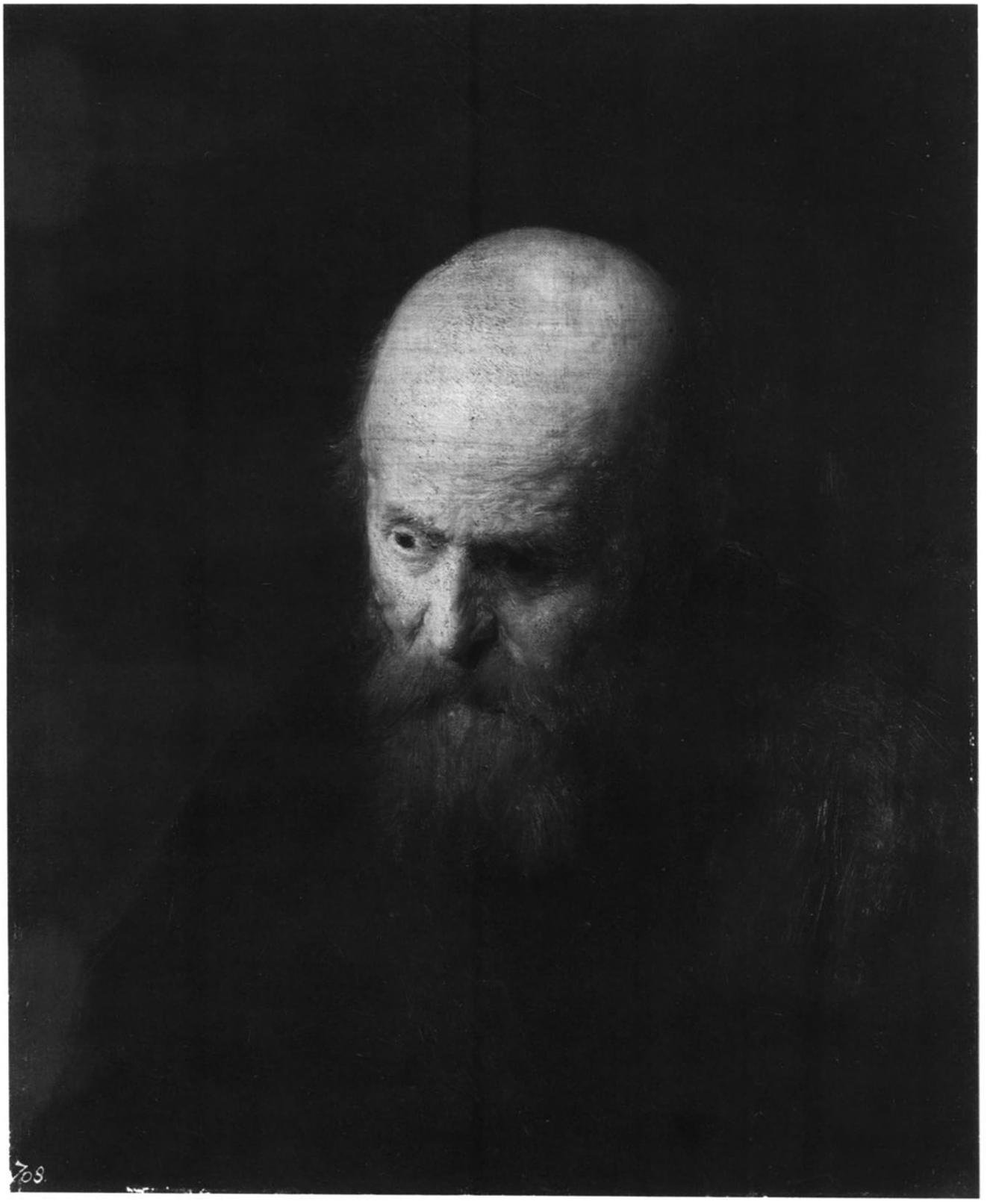


Fig. 2. X-ray

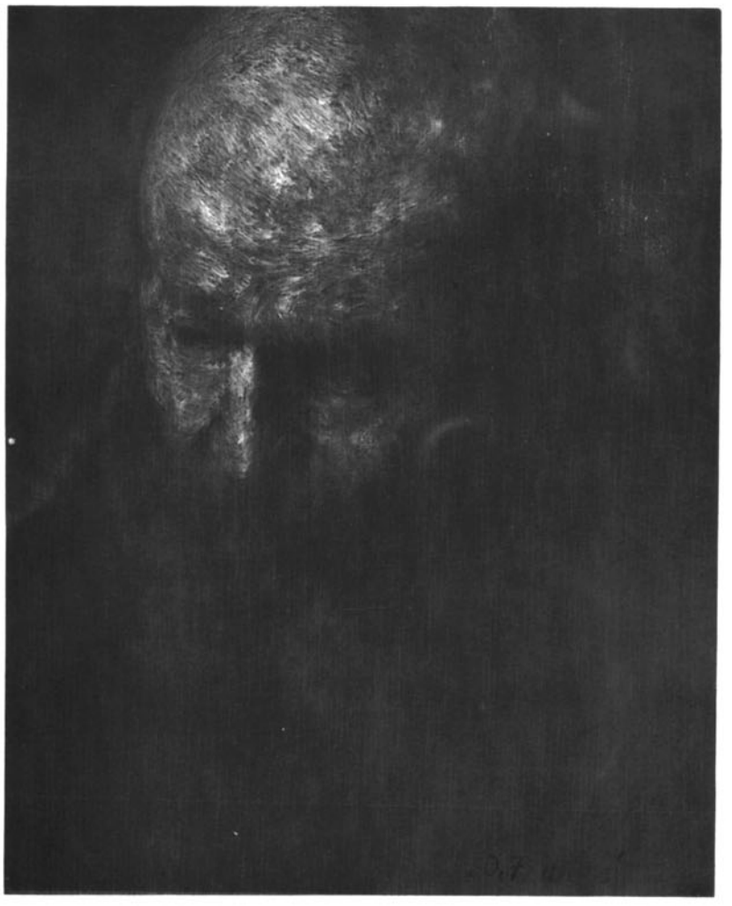


Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)

tories of paintings described as such. The picture we can try to form of paintings in this category is thus necessarily based only on indirectly comparable material – the small head in the Innsbruck painting and the even smaller heads of the figures of saints and prophets, and (from a slightly later period) that of the *Bust of an old man* dated 1633 in the Houghton Collection, New York (Br. 183). These however all resemble each other in that they all lead one to expect that, though the handling of paint may be more or less free, it invariably shows deftness in the articulation, and displays a wealth of three-dimensional suggestion through a chiaroscuro treatment built up with subtle gradations.

How far does no. C 24 satisfy such expectations? In its broad lines the painting makes a clearly Rembrandtesque impression. This is due not only to the motif and the handling of light, but also to the relief of the brushwork in the fairly thickly painted parts of the head and to the brown underpainting (partly exposed, and partly covered with a thin coating of grey) in the shadows of the head and the righthand half of the clothing; all these features unmistakably resemble Rembrandt's way of working. The reluctance one feels to recognize this painting as autograph stems from a number of considerations that by their nature cannot be allowed the weight of absolute, firm evidence.

One of these is that in the picture as a whole the artist has not achieved balance between the tonal values (of the kind one finds as a matter of course in Rembrandt's work). The opaque grey background frames the figure insensitively, and does nothing at all to suggest depth. In the head the eye in the shadow forms an over-heavy dark accent – making it a poor match for the other eye – and the same is true of the cast shadow beneath the nose and along the wing of the nose. But nor does the brushwork, on closer inspection, live up to the expectations described earlier. The very free brown brushstrokes (to be seen as an underpainting) in the righthand half of the clothing might not in themselves be impossible in an original, but set against the heavy grey of the background they fail to give any meaningful suggestion of plasticity.

Again, the patchily applied grey in this area does nothing to help produce formal clarity; the same must be said of the very similarly-handled area of shadow in the righthand part of the head, which loses itself in a completely formless and undifferentiated gloom. In the lit parts, too, the brushstroke is far from adequate in the sense of having the sureness of touch one might expect from examining Rembrandt's small heads. The confused brushstrokes on the forehead do not produce a coherent image of wrinkled skin; the eyes, both in the light and in shadow, are done with a feathery brushstroke and consequently lack a clear structure. The radiographic image confirms this – it owes its atypical appearance to the diffuseness of the patchy radioabsorbency; moreover, the sole strongly contrasting feature (a band of very pronounced white running vertically along the ridge of the nose) focusses attention on the fact, difficult to reconcile with Rembrandt's sense of form, that the application of paint in this area (especially to the left of the bridge of the nose) does not match the rendering of plastic form at all well. And finally, the contours show a remarkable lack of articulation, in particular those of the left of the body where there are none of the indentations and bulges typically used by Rembrandt to create the effect of plasticity; where there is some articulation (in the area of the lefthand cheek), the effect is confused and lacking in suggestion. Summing up, one can only conclude that the brushwork and colour-scheme of no. C 24 do not measure up to what one might expect from a *tronie* by Rembrandt, no matter how freely he might have painted it. Even though such expectations are based on material that is not directly comparable, the firm sense of form one sees in that material – as revealed in the way paint is handled – constitutes a fundamental feature that is missing from the present painting.

If no. C 24 thus cannot be accepted as a genuine Rembrandt, where should it be placed in relation to his work? Bauch[4], who also plainly did not believe it to be autograph, called it the best of several versions. Apart from one or two copies quite devoid of artistic merit we know of only one other version, and that from a reproduction (see below under *7. Copies* 1). It is not inconceivable that there was indeed a Rem-

Fig. 4. Wrongly ascribed to Rembrandt, *Bald man looking down*, etching (B. 298 I; reproduced in reverse, 1 : 1)

brandt original that served as a prototype for both that painting and the one in Kassel. This notion takes on even more probability when one considers etching B. 298, which belongs to a group of apparently non-authentic etchings (Münz II, pp. 169ff, no. 297 as by Rembrandt? Reworked by J. G. van Vliet; our fig.4) and all carrying an apocryphal monogram *RHL* and usually the year 1631. This etching shows a bald-headed man looking downwards who in many respects resembles that seen in no. C 24, except that his mouth is slightly open and the lighting is handled with greater consistency. The etching moreover has a clear indication of the shape of a cloak hanging over one shoulder, which also appears in the copy just mentioned and in an 18th-century mezzotint (see *6. Graphic reproductions*)but is hardly legible in the Kassel painting – one further reason to see the latter as a derivative from a lost prototype.

If there was in fact a painting by Rembrandt with this subject, one may suspect that it was described in the Pieter Locquet sale in Amsterdam, 22–24 September 1783 (Lugt 3611), no. 326: 'Door Denzelven [Rijn (Rembrand van)]. Hoog 19½, breed 16 duim [50.1 × 41.1 cm] (gemeeten met de Amsterdamse Voetmaat van Elf Duim in de Voet). Paneel. Dit verbeeld een oud Manshoofd halverlyf met een kaale Kruin' als met aandagt iets beschouwende; Meesterlyk en fix gepenseelt' (by the same .... Panel. This shows the head of an old man, half-length with a bald pate, looking at something with attention; painted in firm and masterly fashion) (21 guilders to Fouquet). This painting cannot be identical with that in Kassel (which had already been there since about 1752), nor with the other copy (which has different dimensions).

Whether or not no. C 24 can be looked on as a copy after a lost authentic Rembrandt, it was most probably produced shortly after 1630 and in Rembrandt's Leiden circle. It comes very close to his work from around 1630 in both motif and execution. One then has to assume that the painter used an unusually old panel, or one made from old wood – dendrochronology has indicated a felling date of 1616 (± 5 years), which is uncommonly early for a panel the painting on which certainly cannot be dated before 1630. What significance can be attached, in this connexion, to the carelessly worked back surface is not entirely clear; perhaps one ought to think in terms of a panel that was originally larger, and was only later (though before being painted) reduced to its present dimensions.

A final complication is presented by the monogram and date of 1632 found on the painting. The former does not differ enough from that used by Rembrandt in the years 1630–31 (cf., for example, that on the *Christ on the cross* in Le Mas d'Agenais, no. A 35) to warrant suspicion on its own. Yet without the addition of 'van Rijn' it is most uncommon on paintings dated 1632; only the signature included on a written sheet of paper seen in the *Portrait of Marten Looten* of 1632 in Los Angeles (Br. 166) consists, in the same way, of the monogram without the added words. (The etchings from 1632 show a great variety of signatures, twice with the monogram alone.) Because of the unusual combination of the date 1632 and the monogram alone it is hard to accept unreservedly the signature on no. C 24, and in any case it could not outweigh the objections there are to the painting as such. At most one might assume that the date 1632 represents the year of production, with the monogram indicating the 'inventor'. Gerson[5], besides, voiced doubts as to the authenticity of the signature, based on his observation that the grey of the background at that point differs in nature from that of the remainder of the background – an observation we did not make.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

Mezzotint by Valentin Daniel Preisler (Nuremberg 1717–1765), dated 1755. Shows the figure in the same direction; the reproduction lacks so many of the characteristic features of the painting that it is unlikely that no. C 24 served as a direct prototype.

7. Copies

Of the 'several versions' mentioned by Bauch[4] only one is known to us from a reproduction (leaving aside one or two copies of negligible significance):
1. Panel, 45 × 34 cm. A. Schmetz sale, Berlin 14 March 1905, no. 46 as Jan Lievens (with illus.).

8. Provenance

– Coll. Landgrave Wilhelm VIII of Hesse. The *Haupt-Catalogus* begun in 1749 mentions as no. 708: 'Rembrant. Ein alter Manns Kopf/auf Holtz in verguldetem Rahm. Höhe 1 Schuh 7 Zoll, Breite 1 Schuh $3\frac{1}{2}$ Zoll [= 49.6 × 40.5 cm]'. The number 708 has been painted on the front of the painting, at the bottom on the extreme left. Probably bought in 1752 from Count Algarotti in Venice[6].
– From 1807 to 1815 in Paris, as corroborated by a wax seal on the back bearing the inscription 'Musée Napoléon'.

9. Summary

Despite its Rembrandtesque general appearance, no. C 24 does not measure up to what one might, from (admittedly small-scale) works by Rembrandt, expect to find in *tronies* or heads of old men (on a larger scale) that he may have produced. The pictorial balance, the suggestive power of the brushwork and that of the contours do not reach the level of Rembrandt's ability to achieve plasticity by his handling of paint. It may be that a lost original provided a basis for this painting; one can at all events assume it to have been produced in his Leiden circle soon after 1630.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, pp.488–494, esp. p.493.
2 Kühn, p.196.
3 H. Kühn, 'Untersuchungen zu den Pigmenten und Malgründen, durchgeführt an den Gemälden der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Kassel', *Maltechnik-Restauro* 82(1976), pp.25–33, esp. p. 30.
4 Bauch 1966, 143.
5 Br.-Gerson 148, Gerson 107.
6 *Katalog der Staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Kassel*, 1958, p. 117.

C 25 Bust of an old man

LEIPZIG DDR, MUSEUM DER BILDENDEN KÜNSTE, INV. NO. 804

HDG 390; BR. 140; BAUCH –; GERSON–

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved painting, to be considered a paraphrase of the head in Rembrandt's *S. Paul* in Nuremberg (no. A 26). Possibly to be dated in or before 1633. Attributable to a hand that can also be detected in another painting.

2. Description of subject

Bust of an old man with a short, broad beard, seen with the body turned three-quarters to the right and the head slightly towards the viewer. He wears a dark brown garment with a faintly visible (fur?) revers. The head is lit from the upper left, and throws a shadow onto the wall behind.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 12 May 1970 (B. H., E. v. d. W.) in reasonably good daylight and out of the frame. An ultraviolet lamp and X-ray photograph were available during the examination.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 20.4 × 16.7 (± 0.1) cm. Thickness 0.9 cm (left) to 0.7 cm (right). Single plank. The back has even bevelling, *c.* 4 cm wide, on all four sides.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): measured at top edge, 85 annual rings heartwood (+ 1 counted), dated 1468 (1467)–1552. Growing area: Northern Netherlands. Comes from the innermost part of the trunk, meaning that heartwood as well as sapwood has been sawn away so that the premises for a dating are in fact no longer satisfied.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A fairly dark brown colour is visible in small patches above the shoulder on the left, close to the beard, possibly the ground.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Good. Under ultraviolet light it is apparent that the painting has undergone hardly any retouching in recent times. Craquelure: none seen.
DESCRIPTION: Over the entire surface the paint has been applied so thinly that there is scarcely any real paint relief, while the relief of the grain structure of the panel can be made out everywhere, even in the lit areas of the head. Despite careful application of the paint, the brushwork is at all places easy to follow. In the light parts of the head, where the paint has been applied with almost uniform strokes in colours that vary from a matt light yellow to a pink, the brushstroke follows the direction of the wrinkles. The hair of the head and beard is depicted with a finer handling of paint, in light greys. A number of firm scratchmarks have been made in the grey paint near the temple. A strong pink has been used in the illuminated ear and by the nose, while a carmine-like red is seen in the shadows around the man's right eye and in the fold running down from the nose. Short strokes of a bright red have been used in the lower eyelid and pouch of the cheek. The pupil of the eye is set as a small black-brown blob of paint on top of the brown iris, while the left lower edge of the iris is marked with a tiny line in a greyish colour that could serve equally well as a catchlight or as the white of the eye. In the shadow side of the face internal detail has been painted over an opaque brown using a darker brown; in this side of the face the iris and pupil of the eye are represented by an irregularly-shaped spot of black. The outline of the forehead and cheek against the hair and beard, respectively, is very difficult to make out clearly.

The dress is rendered in a slightly translucent, dark brown (indeed, almost black) paint; other than on the upper arm, where one sees a fluid, zigzag stroke, the brushwork is hardly visible here. Internal detail is shown with small strokes of black.

In the lighter areas the background is in opaque paint, in a light grey to the right and left of the shoulders merging upwards into a darker cool grey. A brown shows through in the darkest places.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The paint layer yields hardly any legible radiographic image, whereas there is a strongly dominant and almost continuous light pattern coming from grooves in the wood-grain that have been filled in with a radioabsorbent material. This indicates that open cavities in the wood have been stopped with a preparation containing white lead, without their first being filled in and without the wood having first been treated with glue. The light pattern is interrupted only by a few darker patches some of which run roughly perpendicular to the grain.

Signature

None.

Varnish

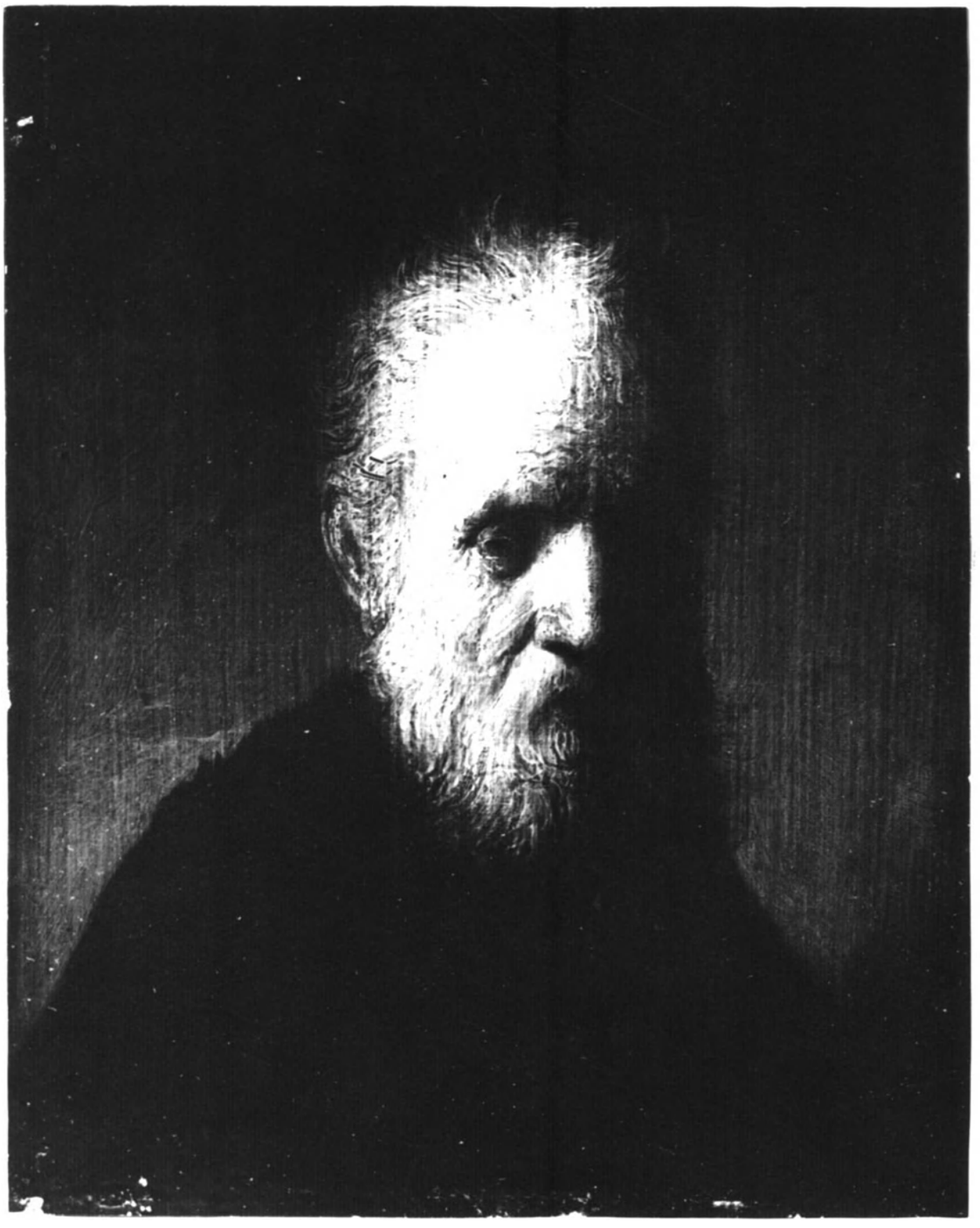
No special remarks.

4. Comments

Because of the somewhat uniform and thin handling of paint, lacking in suggestive power, that is found even in the illuminated parts of the figure, and because of the indifferent depiction of the eyes and ear, no. C 25 must be described as a weak painting that cannot be considered for an attribution to Rembrandt. Moreover, the method of applying the ground as revealed by the X-ray is not in line with that known from Rembrandt's work. A further aberrant feature is that the paint is applied so thinly that the paint layer yields hardly any radiographic image.

Yet already in the 1630s some connexion must have been seen between this – or a similar – work and Rembrandt; the etching dated 1633 by Hendrik Dethier (Dordrecht 1610–?) described below under *6. Graphic reproductions* (see Introduction, Chapter III, fig. 19), which unmistakably though rather unsuccessfully reproduces the same composition, mentions him as the inventor. The relationship becomes plain when one realizes that no. C 25 is simply a paraphrase of the head of the Nuremberg *S. Paul* (no. A 26; see fig. 3 in that entry), whence identically-lit forms have evidently been taken piecemeal from Rembrandt's free and rather impasto treatment, to yield in no. C 25 a much more

Fig. 1. Panel 20.4 × 16.7 cm (1 : 1)



careful portrayal which in some places (as in the ear) clumsily adds extra detail and in others (such as the outline of the cheek on the right) is unclear.

It is impossible to say with certainty whether Dethier did his etching after this or another version of this head. One argument for the former possibility may be that no. C 25 shows a rather individual though by no means strong manner of painting that seems to occur in one other work – a small painting of an *Old woman* (not known to us in the original) of practically the same size and bearing an incomplete monogram *R.* . . . (fig. 3); this is sometimes attributed to Rembrandt in the literature, and looked on as portraying his mother (panel, 21.1 × 17.1 cm, pre-

Fig. 2. X-ray

viously Geneva, coll. A. Silvestre; A. Bredius in: *Burl. Mag.* 25 (1914), p. 325; W. R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde,* Stuttgart-Berlin 1921 (Kl. d. K.), p. 12; HdG 685A; Br. 66; Bauch 1933, p. 226 as not by Rembrandt). This painting, showing an identical lighting and interpretation of form, seems (like no. C 25) to be based not on personal observation but on a Rembrandtesque prototype. In this instance one can imagine the prototype to be a work by, or in the style of, Gerard Dou; various such works exist, invariably entitled *Rembrandt's mother* (cf. W. Martin, *Gerard Dou,* Stuttgart-Berlin 1913 (Kl. d. K.), pp. 37–43). In the modelling of the eye socket and mouth area some of

Fig. 3. Anonymous (painter of no. C 25), *Old woman*. Formerly Geneva, coll. A. Silvestre (1 : 1)

them show a strong resemblance to the *Old woman* under discussion (cf. in particular Martin, op. cit. p. 43 left, now in the museum in Warsaw). There is however no knowledge of a print by Dethier after that painting of the kind he made after no. C 25.

These two paintings can give us an idea of how '*tronietjes* by Rembrandt' might have looked (they occur by the dozen in 17th- and 18th-century inventories and sales catalogues, and often valued or bought at low prices). Thus, Hendrik Verschuring (Gorkum 1694/95 – The Hague 1769), grandson of the painter of the same name and himself a painter

and mezzotint-maker besides being an excise officer, owned no less than five – including two pairs – carrying Rembrandt's name and depicting old men and women, of precisely these dimensions (8 × 7 duim [= 20.8 × 18.3 cm], 9 × 8 duim [= 23.4 × 20.8 cm] and 10 × 8 duim [= 26 × 20.8 cm]). They were listed at the end of his catalogue, and evidently did not count as valuable (see Hoet II, p. 482). This does not, of course, constitute sufficient grounds for identifying no. C 25 and the similar *Old woman* with the works concerned, but it is reasonable to assume that many 18th-century mentions relate to paintings of this calibre. Rembrandt's name, by modern standards misused in such cases, evidently indicated more the inventor of a type than the creator of the individual object.

In the same way the relationship between Dethier's etching and no. C 25 demonstrates the dubious significance of Rembrandt's name appearing as inventor on 17th-century prints (for a discussion of this problem, see Introduction, Chapter III).

One cannot say with any certainty who the author of no. C 25 and the closely related *Old woman* was. Given the fact that Dethier worked in Dordrecht and was still very young when he made his etching, it is not wholly impossible that his Dordrecht contemporary Paulus Lesire (Dordrecht 1611 – after 1656) was the intermediary between Rembrandt's prototype and Dethier; Lesire became a member of the Dordrecht painters' guild in 1631, and his early work does, on the evidence of his *Young man* in Hanover (Landesmuseum PAM 812) which is based on Rembrandt's *Self-portrait* (no. A 22), and of his *Cumaean Sibyl* (see no. A 37, fig. 6), reveal a fairly thorough knowledge of Rembrandt's Leiden production.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

1. Etching by Hendrik Dethier (de Thier, de Thieer) (Dordrecht 1610–?), showing broadly the same picture, in reverse, and with the inscription: *RV Rijn. In./HD* (in monogram) *thieeR f/1633* (see Introduction, Chapter III, fig. 19). Notwithstanding the maladroit reproduction it can be assumed that this etching was done after no. C 25, and may provide a *terminus ante quem* for the painting.
2. Engraving in reverse, in an oval frame, by Giuseppe Longhi (Monza 1766 – Milan 1832) with inscription: *Joseph Longhi sc. 1800 / Tabula extat Mediolani apud Fr. Gavazzeni.* In the left background there is the signature: *Remb.f./1639.* Done not after no. C 25 but after the copy mentioned below.

7. Copies

1. Oak panel, oval *c.* 23.5 × 18 cm, private collection in the United States. (Bauch 1960, p. 173 and fig. 153 as by Rembrandt, p. 261 note 130 as: 'ein mindestens erheblich besseres Exemplar'; Bauch 1966, 344 as a deftly painted copy, the best of various versions); examined in April 1969 (J. B., B. H.). Originally rectangular, enlarged by about 5 cm at the bottom prior to 1800 (according to the print by Longhi – see *6. Graphic reproductions*, 2). Apart from the change of format, this version differs from no. C 25 in the somewhat broader shape of the head, in having somewhat clearer modelling in some parts (ear and eye), and in the manner of painting. The last-named is typified by rather thinner and sometimes cursory small brushstrokes and by the admixture of some red into the flat brown of the shadow half of the face. There are scratchmarks in the hair on the left at the same place as in no. C 25. The colour, especially, points to a relatively late date of production, probably in the 18th century. The Rembrandt signature reproduced in the Longhi print is absent. The provenance from the Gavazzeni collection in Milan that Hofstede de Groot [1] attached to no. C 25 on the grounds of the print relates to this copy.

8. Provenance[1]

– Coll. H. G. Bohn, London.
– Coll. Percy Macquoid, London.
– Coll. Julius Otto Gottschald, Leipzig (cat. 1901, no. 25). Bequeathed by him to the museum in 1903.

9. Summary

Though the careful handling of paint, achieving little suggestion, would not appear to indicate a close link with Rembrandt's early work, no. C 25 is a fairly accurate paraphrase of the head in his Nuremberg *S. Paul* (no. A 26). An in turn particularly clumsy etching by Hendrik Dethier, dated 1633, shows the same subject in reverse and gives Rembrandt as the inventor. While it must be regarded as possible that a lost original formed the basis for no. C 25 and the etching, it is also probable that Dethier used this painting as his model. The painting was done by an artist who cannot be identified with any certainty (Paulus Lesire ?), and from whose hand there is also an *Old woman* likewise derived from a Leiden prototype. These two paintings throw some light on the nature of the numerous *tronietjes*, or 'little heads', that circulated during the 17th and 18th centuries under Rembrandt's name.

REFERENCES

1 HdG 390.

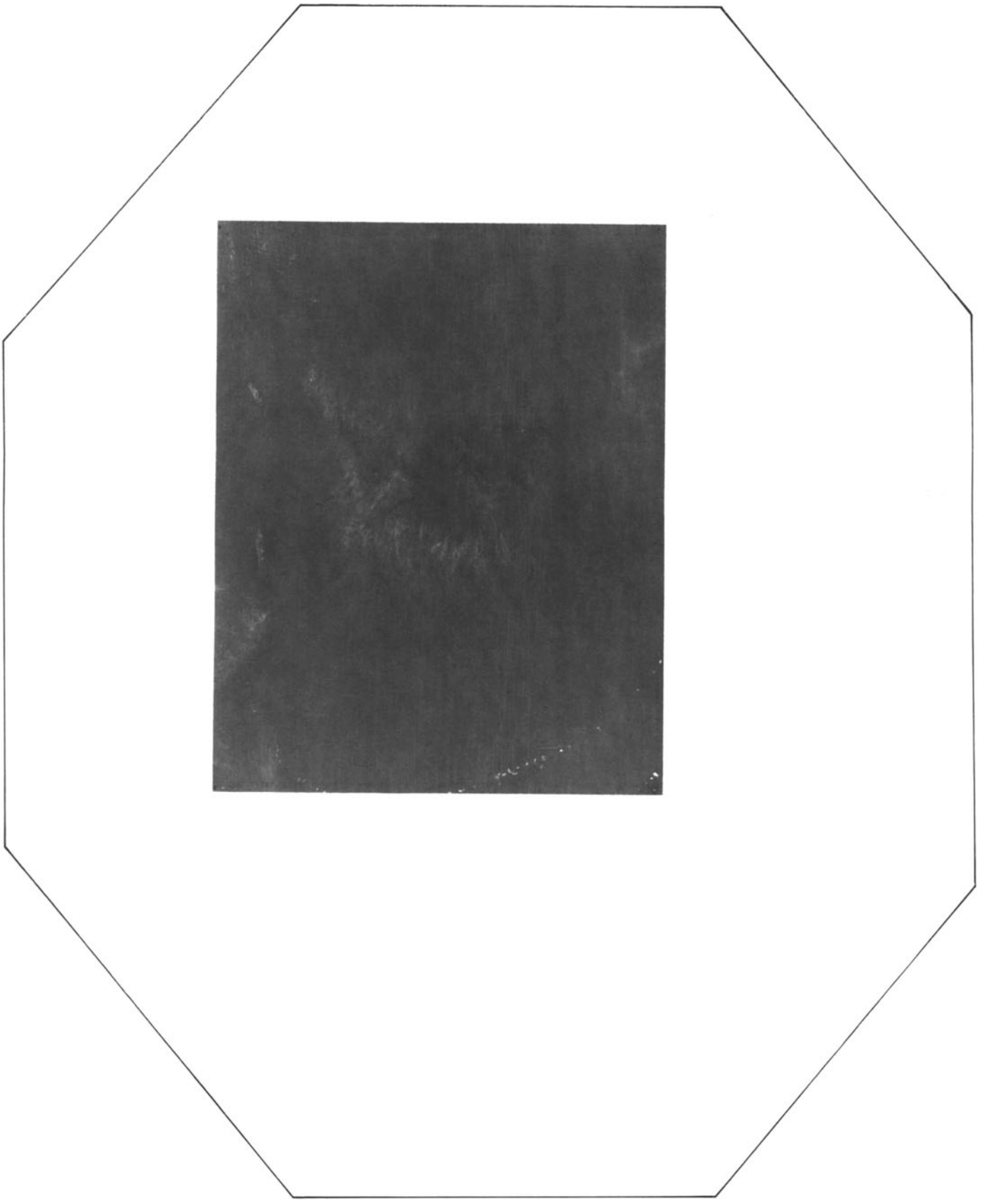
C 26 Bust of an old man wearing a cross

KASSEL, STAATLICHE KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN KASSEL, SCHLOSS WILHELMSHÖHE, INV. NO. GK 231

HDG 371; BR. 141; BAUCH 128; GERSON 50

Fig. 1. Panel 67.4 × 55.9 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray



1. Summarized opinion

A fairly well preserved work that to judge from the manner of painting must be an imitation and which must, on the evidence of its pedigree, date from the 17th or early 18th century.

2. Description of subject

An old, bearded man, seen waist-length and wearing a black cap and widely-flaring black cloak, faces slightly to the left. Two long gold chains hang over the cloak, the lower with a cross pendant. The light falls from the left and a faint shadow is cast to the right of the figure on what is apparently a back wall.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in October 1968 (J. B., B. H.) in good artificial light and out of the frame. An X-ray film of the face extending to below the beard was received later from Dr. Meier-Siem, Hamburg.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, octagonal, grain vertical, 67.4 × 55.9 cm. Thickness *c.* 1 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled along the lefthand and righthand sides, slightly so along the top edge, unbevelled on the bottom and diagonal sides; the latter give the impression of having been sawn after the panel had been made.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): A radial board (i.e. sawn through the centre of the trunk). Left of the core 113 annual rings heartwood, not datable. Right of the core 118 annual rings (+ 6 sapwood), not datable.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellowish colour can be seen in the brushmarks and in small scratches in the background.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to Kühn[1], yellowish and composed of chalk, white lead and yellow ochre, in a medium of glue with a small amount of oil or resin.

Paint layer

CONDITION: So far as the layer of varnish allows one to judge, quite well preserved apart from local retouches in the background. Craquelure: all that can be seen is small cracks in the crusty surface of some of the retouches.
DESCRIPTION: In the lit areas the head is built up, over a yellowish flesh colour, with distinct and fairly thick strokes in colours varying from a blueish grey to a pinkish red and representing wrinkles and folds of skin. The ridge of the nose is marked by a series of broad, whitish yellow strokes, with oblique strokes on either side (pink in colour on the left). The man's right eye is surrounded by a circle of tiny red to dark red strokes, with along the lower edge a number of small touches of white to show the rim of moisture. The murky grey used for the white of the eye is placed against a somewhat carelessly defined, brown-grey iris with a black pupil.

The beard and moustache are indicated with jumbled strokes of white, yellow-white, yellow, red and grey. There are thin scratchmarks in the paint of the moustache, vaguely curving and continuing into that of the dark mouth opening, and of the beard where they have a distinct curve.

The shadow areas, like the lit parts of the face, are painted with dabs and strokes (though here providing a far less clear suggestion of form) of ruddy grey, some darker yellow, and brown. The structure of the sitter's left eye is shown only perfunctorily; greenish strokes over a red-brown indicate the eyebrows in the shadow. The ear is painted very thinly, with a thicker touch of brown-red in the centre.

The cap and cloak are executed in black, with grey strokes showing the play of light. The sheen of light on the undergarment is shown with long brushstrokes and shorter hatched strokes.

The chains and cross are done with small dots and strokes of ochre yellow and light yellow, with occasionally a little pure white.

In the background a fairly thin grey lies patchily over the ground, most opaque on the left and somewhat lighter and thicker on the right above the shoulder. Especially at the top and right near the figure one sees numerous small brushmarks and scratches that do not however provide a pattern of brushstrokes. The contours come about from the grey having been painted up to or just over the edge of the figure.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Kühn[2] took three samples in order to identify pigments used in the paint layer. One sample from a white highlight in the lower chain, consisting of white lead, contained Cu and Ag as trace elements. A sample from the black in the cloak contained a brown pigment, either ochre or umber, and vegetable black. A sample of yellow paint applied in the lower chain contained lead-tin yellow I.

X-Rays

The image of brushwork and scratchmarks shows up clearly in the partial film available. There are a number of light accents in the background to the left of the head, evidently covered over again. The shoulder outline on the left (so far as it is visible) seems from a relatively light area in the background to have originally been left in reserve with a steeper downward slope.

Signature

On the right halfway up the righthand side, in quite thin, flatly-brushed brown ‹*RHL* (in monogram).*1630*›. The shape of the fairly large letters and figures make an impression of stiffness. The *R* is open on the left, and in this it differs from signatures known from the years 1630–32.

Varnish

A badly yellowed coating of varnish hampers observation.

4. Comments

In spite of a number of similarities to works by Rembrandt that will be mentioned below, there can be no doubt that no. C 26 has to be seen as an imitation. The author certainly had a rough idea of how Rembrandt handled paint, but only a limited understanding of his manner of painting. One can it is true find some analogy for the pattern of brushwork in the lit part of the head in the Innsbruck *Old man in a fur cap* of 1630 (no. A 29), but on comparison with that work the execution in no. C 26 is found, even allowing for the difference in scale, to be coarse and uneconomical; furthermore, there is a variety in the colours that is inconceivable in the flesh areas for an early work by Rembrandt. In the background an attempt has been made to imitate the effect of a layer

Fig. 3. Detail with signature (enlarged)

of grey paint brushed loosely over the ground, like that seen for instance in the background of the Chicago *Old man in gorget and cap* datable in 1631 (no. A 42); but the strokes and scratchmarks totally lack any rhythmical pattern and betray a no more than superficial understanding of the way this effect was achieved by Rembrandt (or by his pupils, such as Flinck). The rather ineffective indication of the black cloak and its outline remind one at best of what one sees in the Toledo *Young man* dated 1631 (no. A 41); yet it is even poorer and the rendering of the chains and the ornament even more superficial, than in that work. The background there – as in other comparable works – shows to the left of a figure lit from the left a relatively light area, not a dark one as it does here. Moreover, it must be termed highly unusual that the background paint seems to lie mostly against or even over that of the figure, whereas with Rembrandt the paint of the figure would slightly overlap that of the background. The extremely fine scratchmarks in the paint of the moustache and beard achieve little effect. The belief that this is an imitation is strengthened by the stiff shape and unusual colour of the signature and date (fig. 3). The date of 1630 is moreover suspect in itself: for a composition like this a date of 1631 or even 1632 would have been more plausible. The subject and dress bear a distant resemblance to Rembrandt's etchings of old men B. 262 and B. 312, which are normally dated as about 1632 and 1631 respectively. The faintly indicated cast shadow on the back wall corresponds with a motif not found in authentic Rembrandt busts prior to 1632.

That no. C 26 is in fact quite old is evident from the pedigree, which can be traced back to 1731. Neither examination of the wood support nor investigation of the ground and pigments have however yielded any further information on this point. Rembrandt, too, did on a number of occasions use a radial board, sawn through the centre of an oak-tree, for very large panels (cf. nos. A 13, A 30 and A 39). The octagonal shape does however strike a discordant note – the diagonal sides appear to have been sawn after the panel had been made but before it was painted. It must be thought likely that octagonal panels were only exceptionally used around 1630; those we know as octagonal usually appear to be a sawn-down rectangle. (Oval panels were certainly mounted in octagonal frames, and such a frame was probably portrayed in the octagonal panel of Rembrandt's *Self-portrait with helmet* in Kassel of 1634, Br. 22.) In this respect, too, the shape of the support belies the authenticity of no. C 26.

The fact that in the 18th century imitations of this kind were accepted as originals may have to do with the reputation that Rembrandt enjoyed, in Germany in particular, as a painter of wrinkled faces (cf. J. J. Winckelmann, *Erläuterung der Gedanken von der Nachahmung* in: *Kleine Schriften und Briefe* (W. Senff ed.), Weimar 1960, p. 97).

Note, December 1979: one of the authors (E. v. d. W.) does not exclude the possibility of no. C 26 being an autograph work by Rembrandt. Where the objections presented above are based on the execution of the background and on the paint of the background occasionally overlapping that of the figure, allowance should be made for the possibility of the background having been painted twice. Given the fact that Rembrandt's production of *tronies* during his Leiden years shows little consistency in style and, particularly, in the rendering of materials, judgement should, in the case of *tronies*, be based on a general impression of stylistic and qualitative features. He therefore finds insufficient grounds for definite rejection of the attribution to Rembrandt. In support of this he draws attention to the fact that the painting is on a radial board – a kind of support that does not seem to have been common and is frequently met with in Rembrandt's production.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– In 1731 listed as no. 167 in the inventory of the estate of the Landgrave Carl of Hesse (d. 1730) (cf. E. Herzog, *Die Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen*, Kassel-Hanau 1969, p. 14). The *Haupt-Catalogus* of the Landgrave Wilhelm VIII

(1682–1760), begun in 1749, mentions as no. 3: 'Rembrant van Ryn. Ein Manns-Brustbild mit einem an einer Kette hangenden Creuz auf Holtz, in 8-eckicht verguldem Rahmen. 2 [Schuh] $2\frac{1}{2}$ [Zoll] × 1 [Schuh] $9\frac{1}{2}$ [Zoll] [= 69.3 × 55.2 cm]'. In 1807–1815 in Paris, as corroborated by a wax seal on back inscribed round the edge 'Directeur gén. des Musées Napoléon').

9. Summary

From the evident attempts at achieving a Rembrandtesque effect, but using a technique that reveals a no more than superficial acquaintance of Rembrandt's work, no. C 26 must be regarded as an imitation done outside Rembrandt's circle. Since the painting was already in Kassel before 1731 it must be an old imitation, from the 17th or early 18th century.

REFERENCES

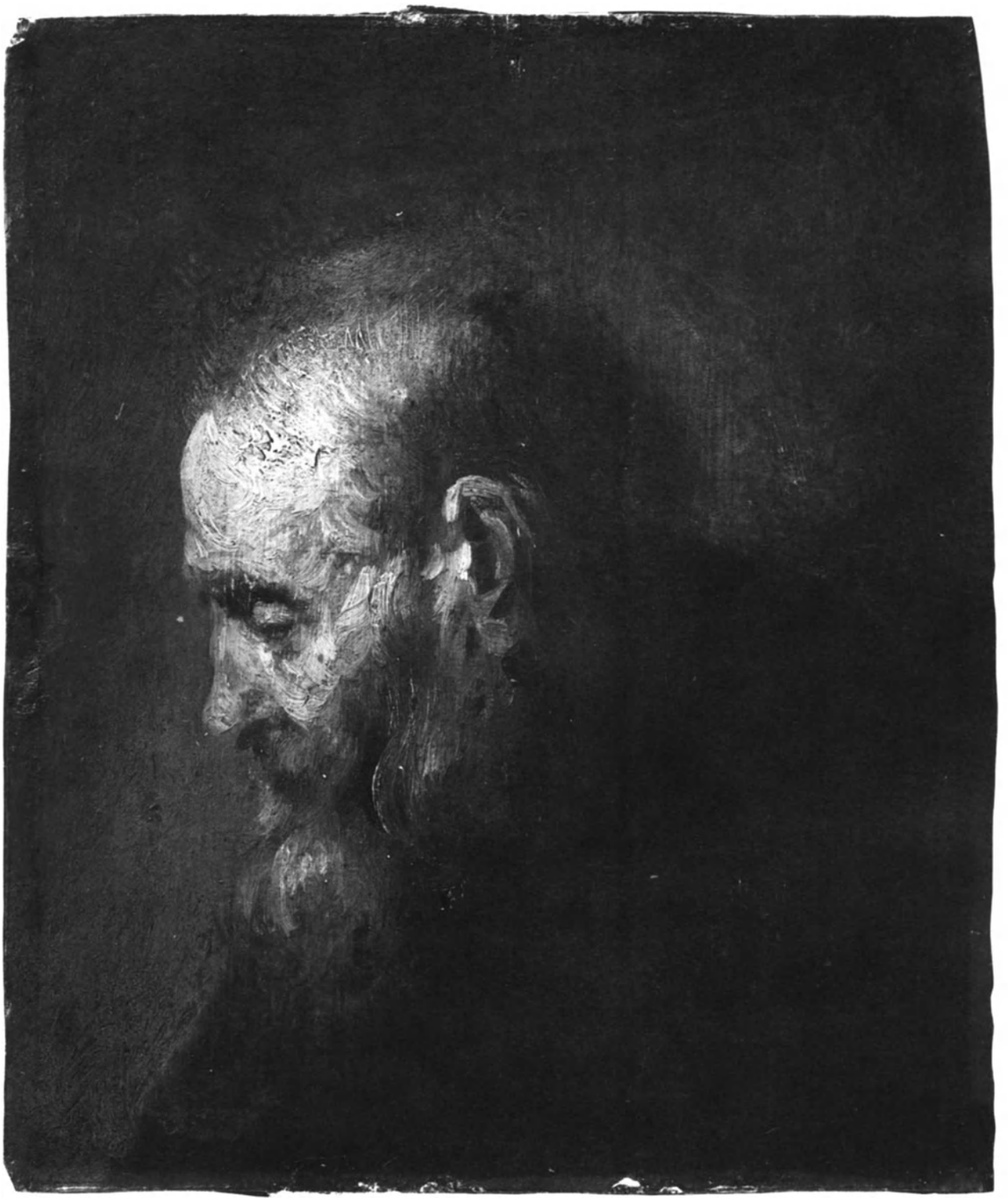
1 Cf. also Kühn, p. 196.
2 H. Kühn, 'Untersuchungen zu den Pigmenten und Malgründen Rembrandts, durchgeführt an den Gemälden der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Kassel, *Maltechnik-Restauro* 82 (1976), pp. 25–33, esp. p. 30.

C 27 Bust of an old man looking downwards

COPENHAGEN, STATENS MUSEUM FOR KUNST, INV. NO. 1636

HDG 388; BR. 136; BAUCH 345; GERSON –

Fig. 1. Panel 19.6 × 16.3 cm (1 : 1)



1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved painting, not by Rembrandt but possibly a copy of an older prototype perhaps by Rembrandt or one of his circle.

2. Description of subject

Bust of an old, bearded man. The head, in profile, is turned to the left and bent slightly forwards and is lit strongly from the upper left.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in March 1969 (B. H., E. v.d. W.) in good daylight.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 19.6 × 16.3 cm. Thickness *c.* 0.6 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled on all four sides.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not seen.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Good. Craquelure: not seen.
DESCRIPTION: In the face the paint is used in short, broad, separate strokes that more or less follow the plastic structure. The colour-scheme is set mainly by an orangey brown. There are reddish touches on the nose and under the eye, with carmine-like brown-red above and – somewhat lighter – below the eye. The same colour is used in the shadow of the ear. A ruddy brown is also found in the hair, especially near the crown of the head, and strokes of white and grey are also used. The clothing is indicated vaguely in grey and dark grey.

The organization of the lighting and the suggestion of depth in the background, where there is thick, opaque grey on the left that becomes a thin dark grey towards the right, are impaired by a light band that roughly follows the outline of the head.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

None.

Signature

At the upper right in dark brown ‹*RH* (in monogram)›. The *R* is closed on the left. The lack of any sign of the *L* does occur, certainly prior to 1628, but is invariably coupled with an 'open' *R*. If only on this score, the signature cannot be authentic.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

The execution of no. C 27 is too coarse, the paint surface too continuous, the colour-scheme too orangey and the link between brushwork and form too weak to justify an attribution to Rembrandt. Bauch[1] surmised that it might be a copy of a lost Rembrandt original, while Gerson[2] thought that – because of the poor quality of this version – it must be doubtful whether it is based on an autograph painting by Rembrandt.

Since the posture in profile does occur in etchings of other models (such as those of the *Bald-headed man in profile* of 1630 (B. 294) and three studies of old men's heads of *c.* 1630 (B. 374), and the model and the posture are reminiscent of the *Head of an old man* engraved by van Vliet (cf. no. C 22), it must be thought possible that no. C 27 goes back to an older prototype, perhaps done by Rembrandt or one of his circle. The predominance of orangey shades might be explained as the result of copying from a painting with a yellowed coating of varnish.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Perhaps identical with 'Een Hooft van een Oud Man in profil, door Rembrandt. h. 7 d., b. 6 d. [= 18.3 × 15.6 cm]'. 26 guilders to Brouwer for Avet at sale of Coll. Count of Wassenaer Obdam, The Hague, 19 August 1750 (Lugt 736), no. 5 (Hoet II, p. 290, no. 5). Not in J. A. J. C. Aved sale, Paris (Remy) 24ff November 1766 (Lugt 1563).
– In the Danish royal collection in 1775; transferred to the Statens Museum for Kunst in 1900[3].

9. Summary

On the grounds of execution, colouring and general poor quality, no. C 27 cannot be regarded as a work by Rembrandt. It may be a copy after a lost original by Rembrandt or one of his circle.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch 1933, p. 205; Bauch 1960, p. 175.
2 Br.-Gerson 136.
3 Karl Madsen, *Fortegnelse over den Kgl. Malerisamlings billeder af aeldre malere*, Copenhagen 1904, no. 279b.

C 28 **Bust of an old man in a gorget and cap** (commonly called Rembrandt's father)

LENINGRAD, THE HERMITAGE MUSEUM, CAT. NO. 756

HDG 681; BR. 80; BAUCH 117; GERSON 49

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved old imitation, probably done in the 17th century.

2. Description of subject

The figure is placed fairly low in a narrow, octagonal picture area, with the body turned slightly to the left and the head seen almost frontally. The man wears a plumed cap; this throws a shadow on the face, which is lit from the left. A folded neckerchief lies over the gorget, with a shirt-collar projecting above this. A gold chain hangs diagonally over a dark grey doublet; halfway down this is a pendant ornamented with a cross. A black cloak is draped over the shoulders, partly covering the chain. The background is neutral.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 15 August 1969 (J. B., S. H. L.) in good daylight and artificial light and out of the frame, and with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp and an X-ray film covering the whole painting.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, octagonal, grain vertical, 35.4 × 26.3 cm. Two planks, with vertical join 20.5 cm from the lefthand edge, 5.8 cm from righthand edge. Cradled. Back bevelled along the horizontal and vertical edges (and made up to uniform thickness for cradling), unbevelled along diagonal edges.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronological study was not possible, since at the time of Prof. Bauch's (Hamburg) visit to the Hermitage the panel was battened on all sides.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light brown is visible in a number of discontinuities in the paint layer – in a small gap along the shoulder contour on the right where the paint of the background does not quite meet that of the doublet and cloak, in small scratchmarks in the beard, and in a small vertical damage by the lefthand side level with the ear.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Darkened retouches are apparent in the grey background, along the edge and on the join. Retouches visible in the thin black of the cap, mainly in the lefthand half, and in the gorget. Left nostril and mouth-line slightly reinforced. Craquelure: a few fine cracks can be seen, e.g. on the bridge of the nose.

DESCRIPTION: In general the relief of the grain of the panel is clearly apparent through the quite thin paint layer. In the head there are a number of rather thicker highlights on the nose and cheek; the plumes and the neckerchief have a lumpy relief, and impasto has been used in the edges of light on the gorget and the chain.

In the lit parts the head is set down with a yellowish flesh colour that acts as the mid tone. On top of this, accents of light and shadow have been placed with very thin strokes of a whitish flesh tint and brown respectively; these sometimes appear as a hatching unconnected with the shape, most clearly so in the highlight on the ridge and tip of the nose. The man's right eye is drawn with similar short brown lines, reinforced with pinkish red lines and with fine, tiny white accents for the moisture along the lower edge. In the white of the eye, done in a broken white, the iris has rather fuzzy limits and is painted in dark grey, with on the left a small white highlight and a pupil (not entirely concentric) in grey-black. In the patch of the shadow by the wing of the nose on the left a thin brown partly covers a line of red. The moustache and small beard are shown with small strokes of grey and fine touches of white; on the jaw the stubble is indicated with strokes of black and grey and, on the curve of the chin, a few scratchmarks. The line of the mouth is in thin grey, gone over repeatedly (and retouched somewhat on the right). The shadowed areas are painted with patches and lines of opaque grey and light brown, and are nowhere clearly translucent. Within this shadow the man's left eye is seen quite vaguely, drawn in mainly greyish lines over brown. The black pupil is placed a little too high up in the greyish iris. The righthand ear and the top of the left are joined to the area of shadow with little articulation; only the lit part of the lefthand ear is done with strokes of flesh colour and a lightish pink, with white catchlights on the earlobe and on the ear ornament.

The upper part of the neck area is painted with quite thick strokes of ochre yellow, presumably intended to represent a shirt-collar. The neckerchief, painted in dark grey, has a lumpy relief and shows small bands of ochre yellow below the chin. The gorget is executed in greys, at some points with fine strokes, and with an area of sheen in white, thickest around the edges.

The doublet, painted in a fairly flat dark grey, has strokes of lighter grey on the horizontal bands of sheen. The cloak is in a thin, flat black with strokes of grey showing the dull reflection of light. The chain and pendant are in ochre brown and grey with edges of light and highlights in light yellow, providing an unsure suggestion of form. The cap, like the cloak, is done in a thin black (retouched). The plumes are grey, and like the grey neckerchief present a lumpy relief; in the upper plume this extends further to the left than does the present shape of the feather.

The background is painted in a fairly even grey, somewhat thicker along the shoulder outline on the left, where the pattern of brushstrokes can be discerned. The black of the cloak forms a somewhat hesitant and uncharacteristic outline where it lies over or against the grey.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The plumes and neckerchief show up light to a very large extent; the thicker brushwork along the outline of the shoulder is also plainly apparent, while there is a certain concentration of radioabsorbent paint along the rest of the contour as well. The outline of the shoulder on the right may have originally been a little higher up. An evident pentimento is seen in the repositioning of the lefthand outline of the cap and upper plume, initially further over to the left.

Signature

In grey, with a quite bold brushstroke (gone over several times), on the right above the shoulder and readable as a monogram ‹*RHL*›, though the crossbar of the *H* is unclear and the horizontal of the *L* is not clearly joined to the vertical stem. The monogram certainly seems to belong to the original paint layer, but the shape is somewhat disconcerting (see below under *4. Comments)*.

Varnish

There is a layer of discoloured varnish, of uneven thickness.

Fig. 1. Panel 35.4 × 26.3 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray

4. Comments

It is impossible to say with certainty whether the composition has survived in its original state. On the one hand the fact that the diagonal edges at the back of the panel are unbevelled suggests that an originally rectangular panel may have been reduced at some later stage. On the other the figure would, if the composition were expanded to fill a rectangle, sit rather small and low in the picture area. Unlike oval panels, octagonal ones do not to our knowledge occur in Rembrandt's work and seem to have been rare in Holland during his lifetime; one exception is known today – the *Self-portrait with helmet* in Kassel (Br. 22) – but that was probably originally an oval picture with the (usual) octagonal frame in painted form. The panel of the Kassel *Old man wearing a cross* (no. C 26) was originally not octagonal, but rectangular.

The manner of painting prompts one, from various points of view, to reject the attribution to Rembrandt that up to now has always been accepted in the literature. The lit areas are marked, particularly in the head but also in, for instance, the gorget, by the use of fine brushstrokes and touches of fairly regular form for the dark and – especially – light accents; occasionally these take on the form of fine hatching. Though brushwork like this does appear a few times in the flesh areas in Rembrandt's early work, particularly in some of his early self-portraits (nos. A 14, A 21 and A 22) to show the growth of beard in mainly dark tints, it is not found in Rembrandt in the way it is here, as the principal indication of the high and other lights. The effect created by this careful, somewhat finicky brushwork is however very slight. The suggestion of form in the nose and eyes is mediocre. Not only is the modelling of the dark clothing poor (something one admittedly meets in Rembrandt's dark greys and thin blacks), but the contour is placed indifferently against the background. The background itself, in contrast to what one normally sees in grey backgrounds in Rembrandt's work from his early years, is pictorially lifeless despite the rather more heavily painted areas around the outline of the figure. Details such as the gold chain and the neckerchief are rendered in a way approaching the Rembrandtesque, but the shaping is uncertain. One cannot escape the impression that nowhere are forms the outcome of the artist trying to render forms as he actually saw them; they are rather modelled on pictorial forms already existing as such.

Indeed, no. C 28 belongs to a group of obviously popular versions of the so-called father model (by or in the manner of Rembrandt and Dou) and appears to be derived, directly or indirectly, from the two versions by Rembrandt himself known to us – the small panel in Innsbruck dated 1630 (no. A 29) for the face and posture, and the larger Chicago panel datable in 1631 (no. A 42) for the dress; the only added detail is the neckerchief which, combined with the gorget but without a visible shirt-collar, is seen inter alia in the *Self-portrait* in the MOA Museum, Japan (no. A 22) and in that in Kassel from 1634 (Br. 22). Before a number of changes were made the outlines must, where the contour of the plumes and cap on the left are concerned, have looked even more like the Chicago painting.

Yet it is precisely comparison with the versions in Innsbruck and Chicago that makes it clear how much freer and richer in suggestion of form and depth the treatment of those paintings is. The fine but supple strokes used to suggest accents of light and dark in the flesh areas of the Innsbruck painting have, in no. C 28, become drawn lines. As a three-dimensional composition no. C 28 lacks the clarity of that painting and most certainly the tension of the figure rising as a spiral in the Chicago work. In the rendering of material, too, it is much inferior to the latter.

Finally, the monogram may well be based on that of the Chicago painting, but where the *H* and *L* are concerned there is some lack of understanding of the relationship between these two letters; the placing matches that of the Innsbruck work.

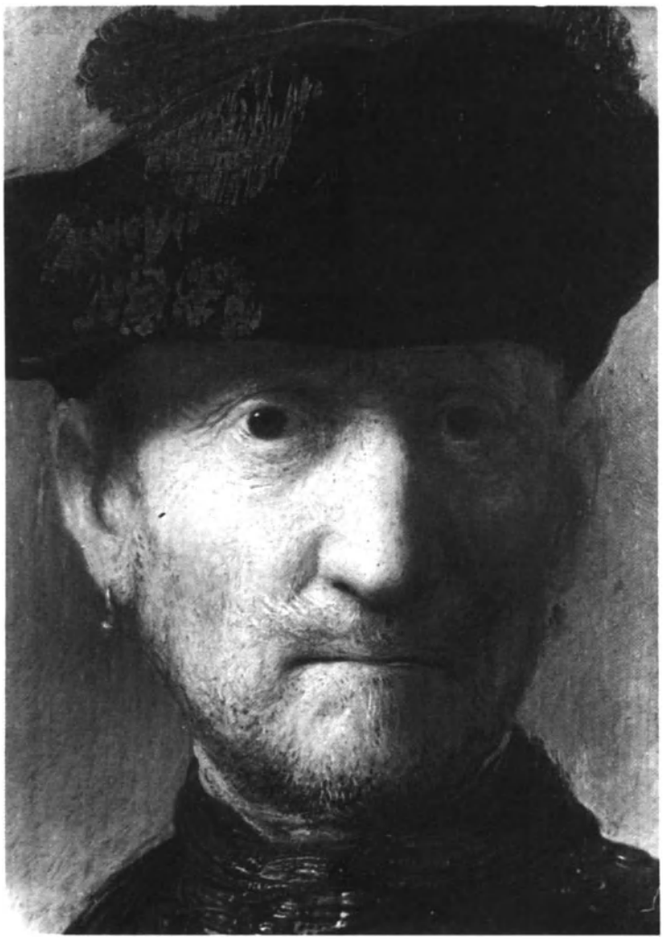
The obvious assumption is that no. C 28 was ultimately based on at least two authentic prototypes. If the deviant monogram was indeed appended by the painter of this panel in imitation of an original monogram, then one must even conclude that the painting was meant to be passed off as an original.

A noteworthy feature is the author's presumable acquaintance with various of the early works of Rembrandt, and his attempts to approach their manner of painting. In this no. C 28 contrasts with other imitations, that are based on etchings and differ substantially from the viewpoint of technique (cf., for example, nos. B 7, C 30, C 42 and C 43).

The technique of the painting gives no reason to assume a time or milieu greatly distant from the 1630s.

'Tronies' (heads) after Rembrandt were already in existence at an early date, as appears from inventories such as those of the estates of the art dealer Lambert Jacobsz. of 1637 (see H. L. Straat in: *De Vrije Fries* 28 (1925), esp. pp. 72–73) and of the wood merchant Cornelis Aertsz. van Beyeren, father of Rembrandt's pupil Leendert van Beyeren, of 1638 (see A. Bredius in: *O.H.* 5 (1887), p. 236). Documentary evidence for the possibility that the studio of Hendrik Uylenborch (in whose house Rembrandt

Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1)



was reported to be living in July 1632) was responsible for the production of copies or variations of paintings from Rembrandt's late Leiden and early Amsterdam years will be dealt with in our Volume II.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance[1]

– Coll. Pierre Crozat (1665–1740), Paris. Described in the inventory of his estate, drawn up on 30 May 1740, as no. 173: 'Un petit tableau peint sur bois octogone, de douze pouces et demy sur neuf pouces et demy de large [= 33.7 × 25.6 cm], représentant un officier avec un bonnet ayant un hausse col, peint par Rainbrand, dans sa bordure de bois, prisé 150 l.' (M. Stuffmann in: *G. d. B.-A.*, 6th series 72 (1968), p. 101 no. 371).
– Coll. Louis-François Crozat, marquis du Châtel (1691–1750), Pierre Crozat's eldest nephew, who inherited his paintings.
– Coll. Louis-Antoine Crozat, baron de Thiers (1699–1770), who was to inherit Pierre Crozat's paintings in case his eldest brother, Louis-François, would die without male heirs (Stuffmann, op. cit., pp. 32–33). Described in *Catalogue des Tableaux du Cabinet de M. Crozat, Baron de Thiers*, Paris 1755, p. 82: 'Dans le milieu de la partie cintrée, le Portrait d'un Homme vêtu de noir, avec un bonnet, & une chaîne au col; par Rembrandt: sur bois, de 13 pouces de haut sur 10 pouces de large [= 35.1 × 27 cm]'.
– With the entire Crozat de Thiers collection bought for Catherine II, Empress of Russia, at the instigation of Diderot and after negotiations conducted by François Tronchin, in 1772. *Catalogue raisonné des Tableaux qui se trouvent dans les Galeries, Sallons et Cabinets du Palais Impérial de S. Petersbourg, commencé en 1773 et continué jusqu'en 1783* (manuscript), no. 970: 'Paul Rembrant. Portrait d'homme. Il est peint en bonnet sur la tête et une Chaine d'or au Col. C'est un beau morceau et très fini. D'autres l'attribuent à Guillaume Van Vliet, qui excellait dans ce genre. Buste. Sur bois. Haut 8. V[erchokk] Large 6 [= 35.5 × 26.6 cm] Exagone.'

9. Summary

The application of paint, which at some points is finicky and uses light strokes set down as hatching and at others is flat and lacking in three-dimensional effect, makes it impossible to see this as an original Rembrandt.

The shapes are so weak in character and so timidly portrayed that one gets the impression that the painting was from existing works rather than from life. No. A 29 in Innsbruck, dated 1630, would indeed seem to have provided the prototype for the composition and for the rendering of the head, while the clothing is probably based largely on that in no. A 42 in Chicago. The monogram does seem to belong to the original paint layer, but is not convincing. The technique as such would not suggest a date long after 1630.

The Rembrandt attribution was already doubted at the time of Catherine II of Russia, and as was the case around 1800 for other heads done in Rembrandt's early style (cf. no. A 21) no. C 28 too was coupled with the name of Guillaume (!) van Vliet.

REFERENCES

1 Yu. Kuznetsov in: *Rembrandt Harmensz. van Ryn. Paintings from Soviet Museums*, Leningrad [*c.* 1971] no. 2.

C 29 **Bust of a man in a cap** (commonly called Rembrandt's father)

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., THE FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, ACC. NO. 1969. 57, BEQUEST JAMES P. WARBURG

HDG 682; BR. 74; BAUCH 114; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

An imitation, of uncertain date.

2. Description of subject

Bust of an oldish man, with the body almost in right profile and the head nearly square to the front, looking at the viewer. A cap casts a deep shadow over most of the face, which is lit from the left. He is dressed in a coat with an embroidered collar.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 13 October 1970 (B. H., P. v. Th.) in good daylight and in the frame with the aid of an X-ray film by the museum.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 20.3 × 17.2 cm. Single plank. Cradled.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch, Hamburg): measured at the bottom, 123 annual rings heartwood. Not datable.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellow-brown can be seen in the wide scratchmarks and where the upstanding grain ridges have worn bald.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Apart from in the face and coat collar, the paint layer is in general cracked on the upstanding ridges of the grain. This gives the painting the appearance of being worn, though this phenomenon could also come from a different cause. Craquelure: there is fine craquelure here and there.

DESCRIPTION: The paint is very thickly applied in the collar and fairly thick and even in the face, apart from the tip of the nose and a small patch on the cheek where the paint is thinner. The face, executed with small touches and accents of light that do nothing to give a suggestion of form, is painted rather confusedly in a muddy yellowish brown. The transition to the shadow above the eyes is abrupt. The entire shadowed part of the face is done in brownish and russety grey-brown, with brushstrokes that are clearly apparent round the eye sockets. The eyes are not indicated at all clearly, though there is a fairly bright catchlight in the one on the right. The outline of the face has been strengthened here and there with strokes of dark grey. The nostril and fold in the cheek are shown with touches of grey-brown; the upper lip and mouth-line merge to form a dark area.

The cap, painted with quite distinct strokes in browns, is outlined all the way around; the decoration has highlights of pure white, and part of it is scratched in.

The thick ribbons of paint in the collar are a dark cool grey, a yellow ochre colour and bright red and white, modelled into an illegible pattern with curly scratchmarks. Very broad and a number of finer, parallel scratchmarks, partly intersecting other earlier and half-masked curved scratches, must be meant to suggest the play of light on the clothing, which is painted in a murky yellow-brown.

The grey of the background, which at the top is in brushstrokes following the shape of the cap, is extremely thinly painted except on the right by the man's jaw.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

Apart from the cradle, which dominates the radiographic image, the lightest area is provided by the thickly-applied paint of the collar. A few lit parts of the face and clothing show up less light, and in these one sees the coarse scratchmarks on the shoulder as dark marks. The background appears lightish at points where the grey paint is seen at the surface to be somewhat thicker, in particular on the right by the jaw and along the cap; the brushwork gives the impression of accentuating an existing outline at a later stage rather than forming part of a homogeneous background in which a reserve was left for the shape of the figure.

Signature

In the upper righthand corner, monogrammed and dated ‹*RHL 1629*›. The letters are weakly formed, and especially in the very high start to the tail of the *R* differ from any type of Rembrandt monogram.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

The working method adopted by the author of no. C 29 is typified by a number of technical peculiarities not found in Rembrandt. The X-ray shows that the background was not uniformly applied at an early stage; the paint was strengthened along the main outlines at a late stage, in fairly flat areas. The way highlights and a chaotic decorative pattern have been indicated by deep scratchmarks is likewise most unusual. The cracking of the paint seen on the ridges in the grain of the panel would seem to point to an abnormal use of materials rather than to later physical wear and tear alone. The unusual technique that this would imply, taken together with the extremely weak and coarse execution – the poor plasticity and insensitive handling of light –, rules out any attribution of this work to Rembrandt; it was as a matter of fact already doubted by Bauch[1] and rejected by Gerson[2]. A further example (fig. 3, see below under 7. *Copies*, 1) is of even poorer quality.

The model, lighting and placing of the subject in the picture area all derive in a general sense, though not directly, from authentic work by Rembrandt. The faulty technique and the overall appearance of the painting point to it being an imitation, impossible to date with any accuracy.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

Fig. 1. Panel 20.3 × 17.2 cm (1 : 1)

Fig. 2. X-ray

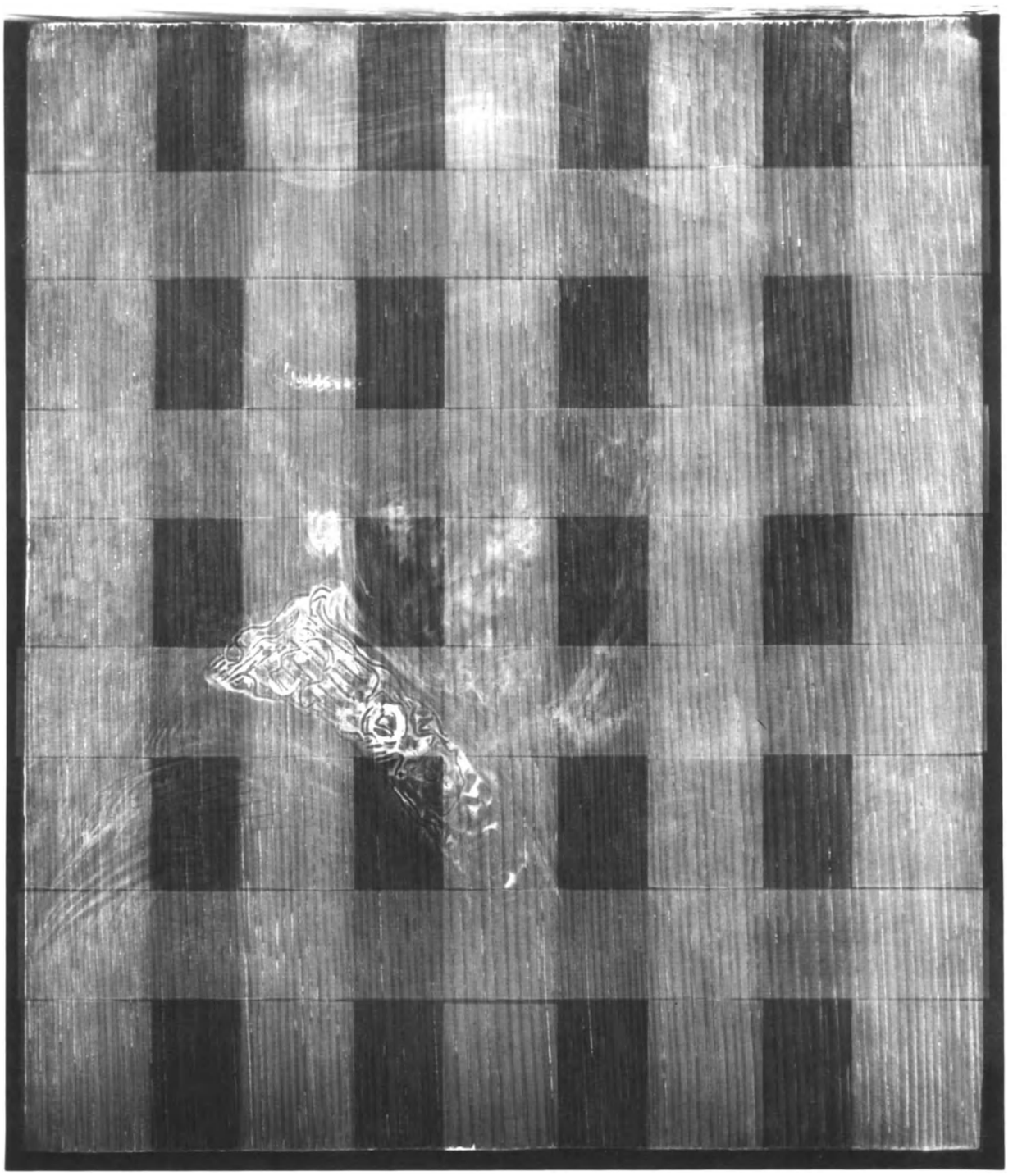


Fig. 3. Copy 1. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst

7. Copies

1. Panel, 20 × 17 cm (grain horizontal); Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, cat. 1951, no. 576; HdG 678 (fig. 3). Extremely poor and clumsy, probably copied after no. C 29.
2. Panel, 20 × 17 cm; coll. Dr. E. Hahn, Paris 1952 (photo in RKD).

8. Provenance

- Dealer Julius Böhler, Munich, before 1915.
- Coll. Ludwig Mandl, Wiesbaden[3].
- Coll. R. Busch, Mainz[4].
- Coll. Paul M. Warburg[5].
- Bequeathed to the museum in 1969 by James P. Warburg.

9. Summary

Because of its technical peculiarities and poor execution this painting must be considered an imitation; its date is hard to estimate.

REFERENCES

1 K. Bauch, 'Ein Selbstbildnis des frühen Rembrandt', *Wallr.-Rich.-Jahrb.* 24 (1962), pp. 321–332, esp. p. 325, note 4; Bauch 1966, 114.
2 Br.-Gerson 74.
3 HdG 682.
4 W. R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde,* Stuttgart-Berlin 1921 (Kl.d.K.), p.9.
5 Br. 74.

C 30 **Bust of a man in a cap** (commonly called Rembrandt's father)

KASSEL, STAATLICHE KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN KASSEL, SCHLOSS WILHELMSHÖHE, INV. NO. GK 230

HDG 674; BR. 78; BAUCH 347; GERSON 31

1. Summarized opinion

Imitation of uncertain date.

2. Description of subject

Bust with the body turned well to the left, the head seen almost frontally and lit from the left.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined in October 1968 (J. B., B. H.) in artificial light and in the frame. One partial X-ray film (by Dr. M. Meier-Siem, Hamburg) extending from the forehead down to and including the shirt, received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 48 × 36.8 cm. Thicker on right than on left, *c* 0.8–0.9 cm. Two planks, with join 16.8 cm from righthand side. Vertical crack at top righthand corner. Back has bevelling on all four sides, wider on right than on left.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): lefthand plank 104 annual rings heartwood (+ 2 sapwood), not datable; righthand plank 152 annual rings heartwood, datable as 1422–1573. The planks come from different trees. Earliest possible felling date for the tree from which the righthand plank was made: 1588.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not determined with certainty.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to Kühn[1], chalk and glue.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Local paint losses are seen here and there in the background, clothing and head, especially along the vertical grain, together with retouches. Otherwise satisfactory. Craquelure: none seen.

DESCRIPTION: The lit parts of the head are painted with thick, haphazard strokes of a yellowish flesh colour and pink. The shadow cast by the nose, in a grey tending slightly to a lilac-pink, changes abruptly to a patch of brown-green shadow on the cheek. The borders of the eyes are in a lilac-pink on the left and in reds on the right. Coarse, dark brushstrokes are used to indicate the hair, beard and moustache.

The body is shown as a shapeless area of brownish grey painted over a larger area of dark grey; the shirt tends towards impasto, with daubing touches of greys and white.

The background, in grey, is thickest along the outlines of the body and the lower part of the head, where the brushstrokes follow the outlines.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to Kühn[2], greyish white paint in the collar contains white lead (trace elements Fe, Cu, Ag) and vegetable black. Black from the costume contains vegetable black, some red lake and some white lead.

X-Rays

The confused image of the brushwork just described is plainly discernible in the X-ray. Some local paint losses are apparent, especially along the join in the panel.

Signature

None.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

The painting is typified by a coarse and totally insensitive execution and an aberrant use of colour. The author seems to have worked from a number of early Rembrandt etchings – in type and lighting the head to some extent matches (in reverse) that of the *Bearded man in a furred oriental cap and robe* of 1631 (B. 263). The cap is borrowed from the *Man wearing a close cap* of 1630 (B. 304). It is not impossible that the use of exaggeratedly coarse brushstrokes is ascribable to an idea of Rembrandt's manner of painting gained from much later work by him. Confusion of this kind prior to the last quarter of the 19th century, with its new-found historical insight into development, would certainly not be surprising. It is hard to understand how no. C 30 has, until recently, been seriously regarded in the literature as being a work by Rembrandt.

The extremely poor quality also makes it difficult to date no. C 30, even approximately. The strange shadow tints however suggest a date well after 1630. The construction of the panel is not however at variance with 17th-century usage, nor are the composition of the ground and the pigments used. Dendrochronology has provided a date for one of the planks that form the panel – the wood must have already been available at the end of the 16th century. One has to assume that the painter used a panel that had been in stock for some considerable time or was made from wood previously used for other purposes.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance[3]

– Coll. von Friesen (Dresden), sale Cologne 26 March 1885, no. 123.
– Coll. Habich, Kassel; acquired for the museum in 1892.

Fig. 1. Panel 48 × 36.8 cm

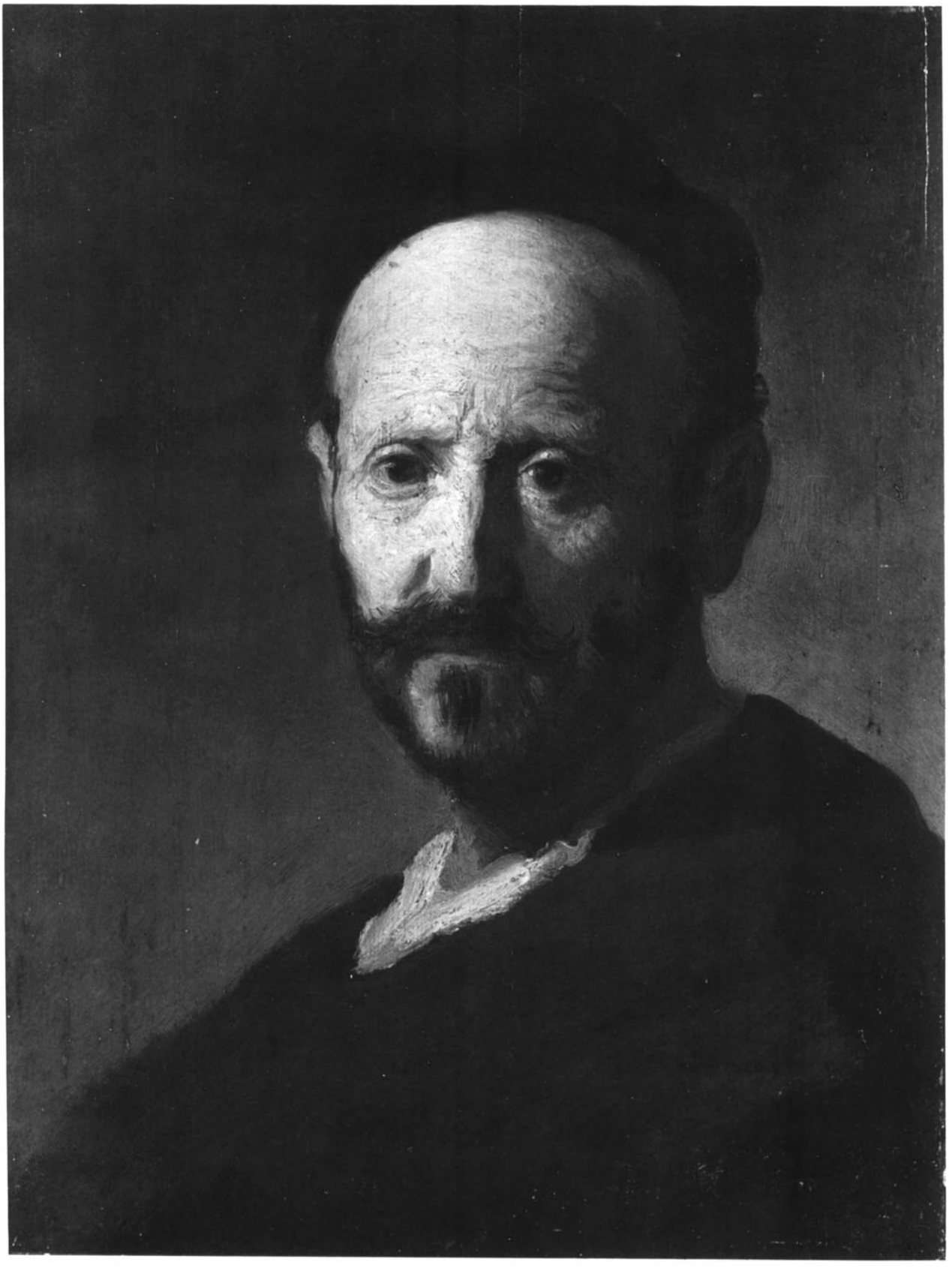
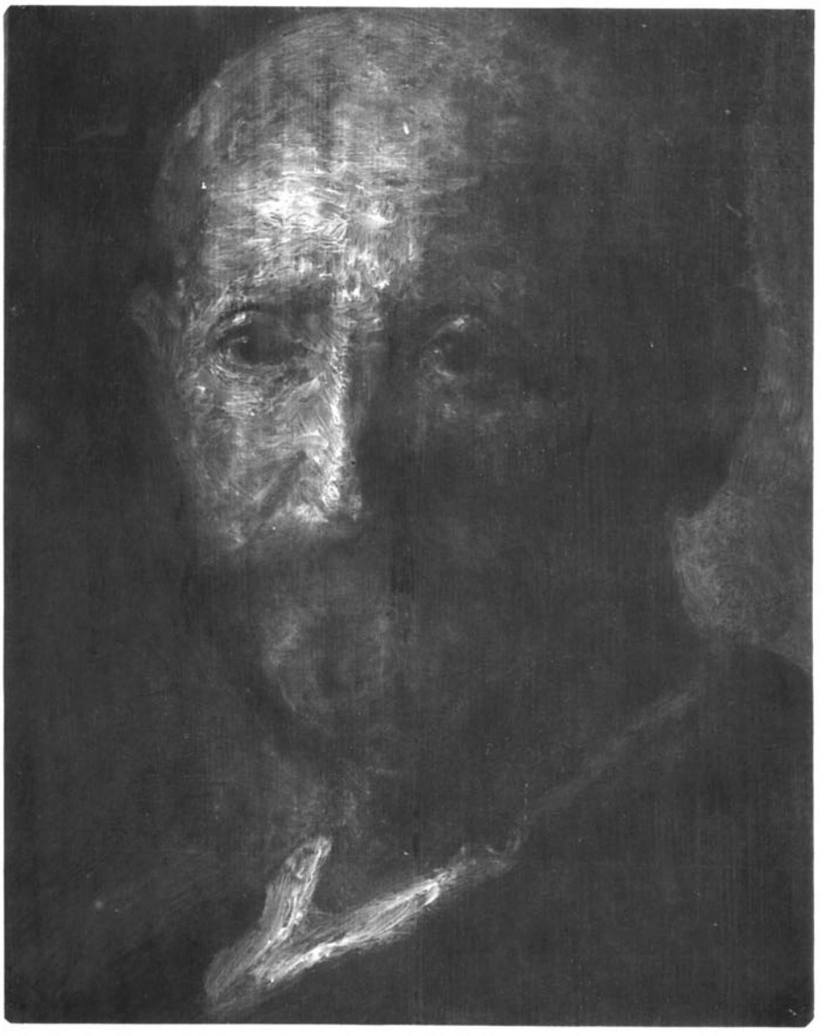


Fig. 2. X-ray



9. Summary

To judge from the coarse execution and strange use of colour, this is a fabrication produced with the aid of several Rembrandt etchings and datable well after 1630.

REFERENCES

1 Kühn, p. 194.
2 H. Kühn, 'Untersuchungen zu den Pigmenten und Malgründen Rembrandts, durchgeführt an den Gemälden der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Kassel', *Maltechnik/Restauro* 82 (1976), pp. 25–33, esp. p. 30.
3 HdG 674.

C 31 Bust of a man looking downwards

OXFORD, THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, INV. NO. A 804

HDG –; BR. –; BAUCH 115; GERSON –; BR.-GERSON 138 A

Fig. 1. Panel 16 × 13.1 cm (1 : 1)

1. Summarized opinion

One of a number of versions (see below under 7. *Copies*) that bear a distant relation to a motif seen in the work of Rembrandt and Jan Lievens around 1630, but appear to date from a somewhat later period. This version is a moderately well preserved painting, of a quality rather above that of the two others.

2. Description of subject

The man's body is turned to the left, the slightly-tilted head faces three-quarters left and the gaze is directed downwards. The light falls from the left.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 10 April 1972 (B. H., E. v. d. W.) in good daylight and in the frame.

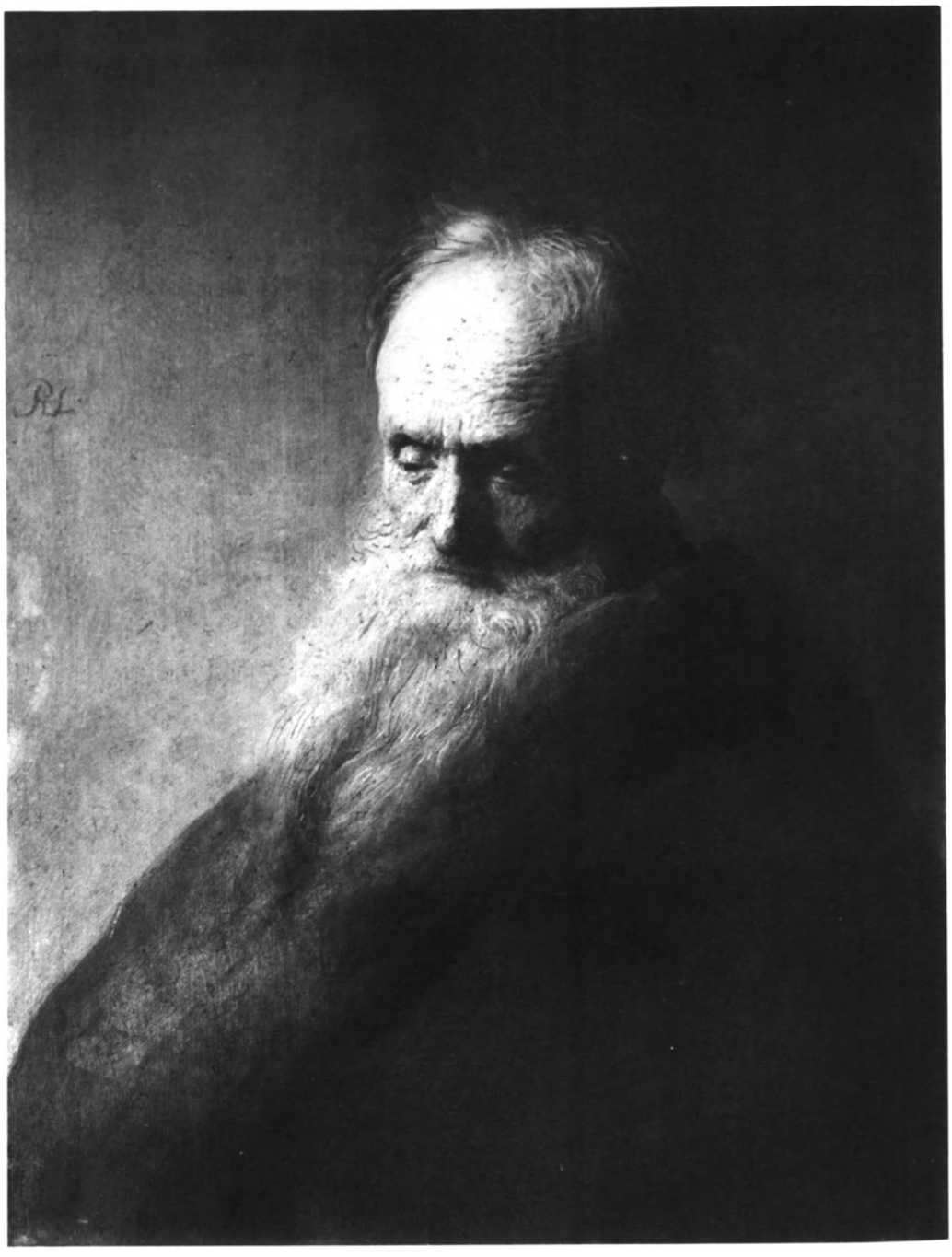
Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain horizontal, 16 × 13.1 cm. Thickness 1.2 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled on all four sides.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellow shows through in large thin areas and at worn places. The brushstrokes of the ground can be seen relatively distinctly through the paint layer.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Fig. 2. J. Lievens, *Old man*. Schwerin, Staatliches Museum



Paint layer

CONDITION: The brown in the hair, beard and shadow side of the face give the impression of being worn. There are a few darkened retouches in the background. Craquelure: none seen.
DESCRIPTION: Only in the face is the paint applied at all thickly. In the lit parts the brushwork marks the wrinkles and folds of skin, and a remarkable variety of colours is used. Pink, light yellow and white dominate in the ridge of the nose and the forehead, and ochre yellow on the man's right cheekbone and cheek. Alongside this there is, below the eye, a purplish red and a bright, orangey red, together with a light blue-grey at and beside the eyelashes, on the cheekbone, and in the inner corner of the eye. The nose is modelled with fluid strokes in a warm yellow, various tints of pink and brown. The shadow half of the face is painted in a dull yellow-brown, greys and some green-grey, with strokes some of which follow the form while others are abrupt and clash one with another. The man's left eye is indicated in subdued brown-greys, with a little dull dark red at the inner corner and on the right at the eyepouch. The ear is drawn very sketchily, in brown applied over the ground.

Fig. 3. Anonymous etching (reproduced in reverse)

The beard and moustache run one into the other around a mouth area that is indicated indistinctly in black and dark red, with a pink light on the lower lip. They are executed in a thin, translucent black and worked up with (original?) small strokes suggesting the hairs. The hair on the head is laid down in a translucent brown, with on top of this a yellowish-tinged grey on the left and a deep black on the right.

Broad strokes of grey are used to mark the light on the folds in the clothing, while the dark parts are in a flat brown-black.

The background is in a grey to grey-brown colour, lightest around the head, brushed in various directions and thinly applied so that the ground is slightly apparent everywhere. The shape of the head has been partly left in reserve in this, though on either side of the dome of the head the hair is painted on top of the background.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

None.

Signature

None.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

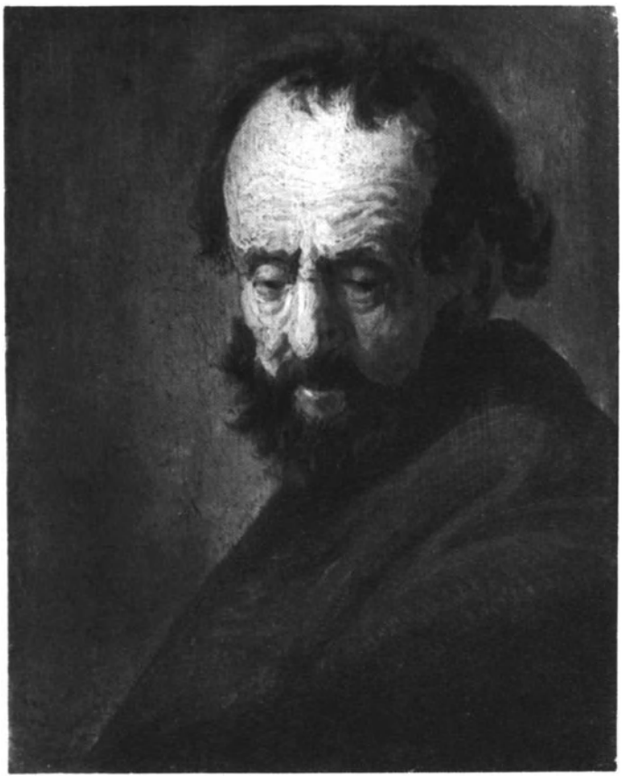
No. C 31 on the one hand shows some similarity in motif to work by Rembrandt and Lievens, and on the other differs from them in execution. The differences involve in particular the use of colour, which in the lit areas is a good deal more variegated than one finds in their early work. Nor does one, in any of the authentic Rembrandt paintings from the years around 1630, see such a free brushwork (which moreover becomes somewhat chaotic in the shadow side of the head). In both these respects no. C 31 does bear some resemblance to paintings regarded by us as being 17th-century imitations, such as the *Old man wearing a cross* in Kassel (no. C 26). An unusual feature is the use of a panel of vertical format with the grain running horizontally; the thickness, too, can be termed unusual in relation to the modest dimensions of the panel. A somewhat aberrant appearance is given by the relatively distinct brushstroke of the ground layer; the latter is also remarkably light in colour. All things considered, no. C 31 must be regarded as an imitation, though a dating in the 17th century is by no means impossible.

No. C 31 was first published by Isarlov[1], and was considered by Bauch[2] to be the best of various versions. One can agree with this judgment inasmuch as this painting seems to give a clearer depiction of the subject than do the two others listed under *7. Copies* below.

This motif is, as we have already said, similar to one found in the work of both Rembrandt and Lievens – an old bearded man with the head turned to one side and tilted slightly forward. In its pose and lighting no. C 31 comes closest to the panel at Schwerin attributable to Lievens (Bauch 1966, A 5 as Rembrandt and Lievens), which on the evidence of a *RHL* monogram once passed for a Rembrandt (fig. 2). A very similar motif occurs in the *Hermit Reading* in the Louvre (no. C 16); then, slightly altered in the pose and lighting, in Rembrandt's etching B. 260 dated 1631 (cf. J. Q. van Regteren Altena in: *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 9 (1961), pp. 3–10; Münz II, p. 61 no. 41, pl. 13, wrongly attributed to van Vliet; See C 16 fig. 7); and finally, again with variations, in his small painting on paper of a *Bust of an old man* of 1633 (Br. 183).

One may wonder whether Rembrandt himself painted a lost variant, in which a man with dark hair and a short, dark beard (such as one can find in his pictures of apostles in 1633/34) took the place of the old man with a long beard, or whether some later imitator replaced the one type with the other. For the moment there does not appear to be enough evidence for postulating a lost original; the print mentioned below under *6. Graphic reproductions* does not offer any indication of this either (fig. 3). We share the doubt voiced by Gerson[3] on this point. The existence of various versions of a work without there

Fig. 4. Copy 1. Houston, Texas, The Museum of Fine Arts



having been a lost original that provided a common prototype is probably less uncommon than one might imagine. In this situation, selecting one out of these versions remains a comparatively arbitrary choice; it can be justified only by a certain superiority in pictorial quality compared to the other known versions.

Added note: The authenticity of no. C 31 was recently upheld by Wright, who saw similarities in treatment and in the model depicted to the figure of Joseph in the *Rest on the flight into Egypt* (no. C 6); see C. Wright in: *Pantheon* 39 (1981), p. 214.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

An anonymous etching published as 'Ecole de Rembrandt' by Isarlov[1] (with further references) does indeed seem to reproduce no. C 31 in reverse and in a slightly broader framework (fig. 3). All the forms are rendered somewhat more smoothly and with greater detail, but the discrepancies – mainly the addition of a cast shadow behind the head – are insignificant. Insofar as the painted versions listed below under 7. *Copies* differ from no. C 31 (for example in the area of hair by the ear), the etching is most like this version. There is no evidence that the etching reproduces another, lost version. The dating of the etching is extremely uncertain; attributions to Joan van Noordt (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet), Salomon Koninck and Gerbrand van den Eeckhout are based on the probably unjustified assumption that it would have been produced within Rembrandt's circle.

7. Copies

1. Oak panel, grain vertical, 15.8 × 12.2 cm. Thickness *c.* 1 cm. Single plank. The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas (no. 52–17); Br. 138. Examined on 16 April 1969 (J. B., B. H.). Previously with dealer E. Douwes, Amsterdam (1934); dealer W.E. Duits, London-Amsterdam (1935). This version is fairly close to no. C 31 in execution (fig. 4).

A yellowish brown ground shows through in thinner parts of the clothing and background, and is visible along the right-hand outline. The face is painted with thickish strokes in a yellowish flesh colour with ochre yellow along the contour of the man's right cheekbone and with a noticeably large amount of pinkish red on the nose and around and in his right eye. The shadow side of the face is for the greater part painted with quite thickly applied browns. A fairly thick dark brown is used in the hair and beard, alongside a thin, translucent lighter brown. Towards the right the brown of the clothing merges into black; the lights on the folds are indicated broadly with dark grey. In the background the lighter yellow-brown to the left of the head becomes a thin grey in the darker areas.

The treatment of the subject varies somewhat from that in no. C 31; in particular, the hair stands out rather more on either side of the head, and the tilt of the head is simplified in that both eyes are placed on the same horizontal axis. The rather rougher treatment of the somewhat simplified motif makes one suspect that this version was copied after no. C 31. In view of the technical and pictorial resemblances, there is no reason to suppose that this copy is very much more recent.

2. Panel, 15.5 × 10.5 cm (according to Hofstede de Groot); HdG 456, Br. 137. Privately owned, Paris. Not examined by us. Previously coll. Stephan von Auspitz, Vienna; dealer K. W. Bachstitz, The Hague. To judge from the photograph, the execution is even coarser than that of the other versions. The short, wispy hair suggests that this version was copied after no. C 31 and not after the one in Houston.

8. Provenance[1]

– Dealer P. Cailleux, Paris (1936).
– P. M. Turner Bequest, 1951.

9. Summary

Though the motif does have some connexion with one found in the work of Rembrandt and Jan Lievens from around 1630, the execution of no. C 31 (and that of the other two versions) points to a later date of production outside Rembrandt's circle. A dating in the 17th century must be considered possible.

REFERENCES

1 G. Isarlov, 'Rembrandt et son entourage', *La Renaissance* July-September 1936, pp. 1–50, esp. pp. 14–15.
2 Bauch 1966, 115.
3 Br.-Gerson 138 A.

C 32 Bust of a man wearing a gold chain

LEIDEN, STEDELIJK MUSEUM DE LAKENHAL, NO. S 372

HDG 266; BR. 135; BAUCH 132; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

An imitation of unknown and possibly considerable age.

2. Description of subject

The face is lit from the left, and is seen almost frontally; the man's hair is quite long, and he has a moustache and small beard. A pleated shirt (?) projects above a brown garment with a low-cut neckline, and a wide gold chain is worn over the shoulders. There is an ear-ring in his right ear.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 27 April 1976 (J. B., S. H. L.) in good daylight and out of the frame, with the aid of an X-ray film.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 19.3 (± 0.1) × 16.1 cm including an L-shaped addition of later date (see *Ground*) along the top and lefthand side with arms *c.* 2 cm and *c.* 0.9–1.0 cm wide respectively. Back planed down to a thickness of *c.* 0.5 cm and stuck to a second panel, which is cradled.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): measured at bottom edge 118 annual rings heartwood (+ 1 counted), datable as 1495–1612/1613. Growing area: Northern Netherlands. Earliest possible felling date 1628.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellow-brown shows through in the background, especially around the head and in the shirt; the colour seen through the paint is a little lighter still on the added portion of the panel, which suggests that this portion was prepared in a way different from the rest (see also *X-Rays*) and must be considered a later addition.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Good, apart from a little local paint loss, e.g. on the left in the temple, the eye and the cheek above the moustache. Craquelure: a small and regular pattern can be seen here and there, as above the eyebrow and in the eye socket on the left and in the part of the face in shadow.
DESCRIPTION: The lit parts of the head are painted with thick strokes of a quite dark flesh colour, running in various directions and sometimes corresponding to the modelling of forms and of wrinkles. A little pink has been placed on the cheek on the left, in a rather stronger shade on the wing of the nose on the left and, with a small flick of the brush, below the corner of the man's right eye. The eyes are drawn in brown, with no indication of modelling.

The shadow part of the face comprises a thickly painted and opaque dark area along the nose and continuing in the moustache, some greyish paint along the shadow of the nose, and a thinner and somewhat translucent area of brown. A heavy black runs along the righthand contour, becoming very thick towards the left along the chin.

The hair is shown with blackish strokes and lines, sometimes quite thickly applied, through which the ground can be glimpsed in various places.

The lifeless grey of the background, thinnest and most translucent around the head, becomes darker and more opaque towards the edges; the brushwork on the added portion of the panel differs somewhat from that elsewhere.

The shirt presents a patchy grey paint applied over the ground which continues to show through; the rest of the clothing is done in a mainly thick brown to dark brown, with brushstrokes following the form. The chain is depicted very roughly, in a thick ochre yellow.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The radiographic image matches very closely what is seen at the paint surface. The portion added along the top and lefthand side of the panel has a slightly different tone, and has no pattern of brushstrokes such as is seen to some extent elsewhere in the background; this confirms the observation described under *Ground*.

Signature

None.

Varnish

None.

4. Comments

The total mediocrity of the rendering of form makes comment virtually unnecessary. It is symptomatic of this that Hofstede de Groot[1] described as a gorget what we see as being a pleated shirt. It is apparent from every part of the painting that this is a fabrication, done with a technique quite foreign to Rembrandt; this is seen most clearly in the fact that the paint of the background around the head not only has the lightest colour but is also the thinnest and most translucent! In handling his motif, too, the painter does not seem to have let himself be guided by any clear prototype.

That the painting has been rejected by Gerson[2] is less surprising than that it could ever have been thought to be a Rembrandt. Bearing in mind the dendrochronology findings one cannot, because of the panel used, rule out a fairly early date; it also seems possible, however, that an old panel was used at some later time.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

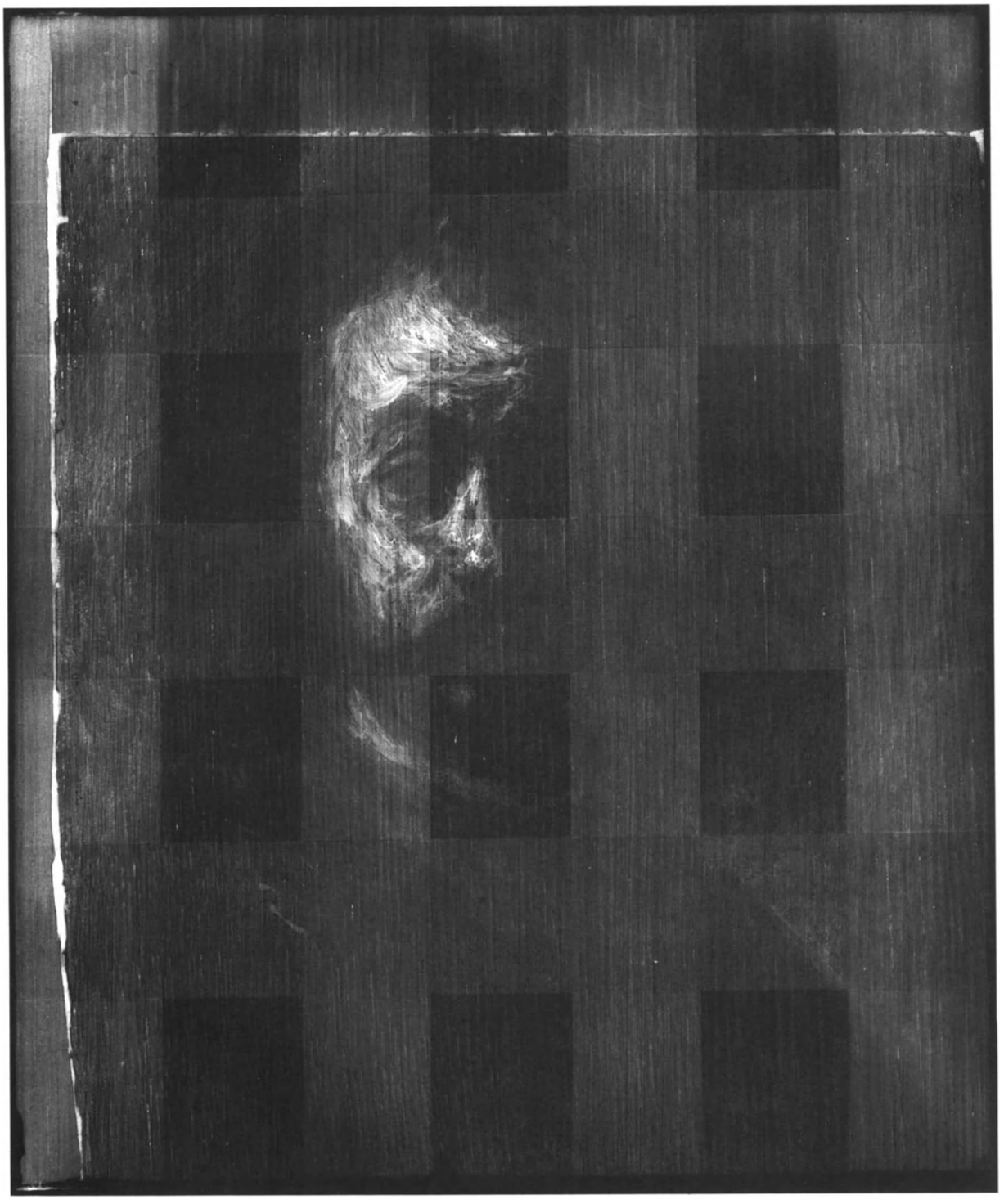
None.

8. Provenance[1]

– Dealer F. Kleinberger, Paris.
– Coll. L. Nardus, Suresnes. Given by him to the museum in 1907.

Fig. 1. Panel 19.3 × 16.1 cm (1 : 1)

Fig. 2. X-ray



9. Summary

The inferior execution, using a technique quite unlike that of Rembrandt, shows this to be a crude imitation; its age is hard to estimate, though it is on an old panel.

REFERENCES

1 HdG 266.
2 Br.-Gerson 135.

C 33 **Bust of a laughing man** (commonly called a self-portrait of Rembrandt)

COLL. BARON EDMOND DE ROTHSCHILD

HDG 572; BR. 15; BAUCH A 27; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

A well preserved but poorly executed imitation of latish date, which cannot however be estimated precisely. There is no reason to assume that it was based on an original.

2. Description of subject

With his body facing three-quarters right and head turned towards the viewer, a round-faced man looks towards the viewer, laughing broadly. He wears a black cap over half-length hair, and his black clothing reveals a white shirt-collar; a gold chain hanging over his clothing is vaguely visible. The light falls from the left, and the background is neutral.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 23 April 1971 (J. B., S. H. L.) in moderate daylight and in the frame.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain horizontal (!), 20.5 × 17.3 cm (sight size). Thickness *c.* 1.1 cm. Single plank. The back surface, bearing coarse, vertical toolmarks, has quite wide bevelling on the right and very little on the left; a strip *c.* 0.4 cm wide has been rabbatted to a depth of *c.* 0.25 cm along the bottom edge.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellow-brown shows through in numerous thin patches. The grain is relatively strongly apparent.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Good. Craquelure: not seen.

DESCRIPTION: The head is painted, in the illuminated areas, with strokes and dabs of browns and greys that mostly show little articulation; highlights have been placed in muddy yellow and white on the forehead and temple, in muddy yellow on the bridge of the nose, in white on the tip of the nose and in a little pink on the lefthand wing of the nose. The eyes are indicated vaguely with a brown patch at the position of the irises. Strokes of a greyish red show the lips above and below a dark mouth-line within which there is a strip of grey at the top edge, perhaps meant to represent the upper teeth. The shadows are in a patchy, fairly opaque grey-brown that allows the ground to be seen in thin patches. The hair is shown in the same way; the earlobe is a flat spot of brown.

A tiny chain is shown with ochre-yellow dabs and dots along the edge of the cap; the latter is in a flat, thin black through which the ground can be glimpsed. The shirt-collar is indicated with thick, orderless strokes of white. The thin black of the clothing contains a few indications of form applied in a somewhat thicker dark grey; in the dark grey area of shadow on the right, thin small strokes of ochre-yellow and a few yellow dots represent a chain.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

None.

Signature

At top right, in brown, there is a vague indication of letters and figures ‹*Rembrandt f* / *163*(3?)›. The *R* is open on the left; the other letters are clumsily shaped and placed irregularly. The resemblance to Rembrandt's signatures showing this formulation in 1633 is very slight.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

The patchy and totally unarticulated execution, unsatisfactory with respect to both colour and draughtsmanship, does not for a moment suggest a work by Rembrandt. The attribution to him, though maintained by Bredius[1], was consequently rejected by both Bauch[2] and Gerson[3]. The unusual construction of the panel, which has its grain running horizontal despite the vertical format, makes one doubt a 17th-century origin, as does the translucency of the ground (cf. no. C 35). The signature and date – probably deliberately written indistinctly, as they often are in such cases – point to a fraudulent intent. This makes the discussion as to the correct reading of the date[2] seem rather comical.

The question of whether no. C 33 comes from a design by Rembrandt, and possibly from a lost original, met with an affirmative response from Bauch[2], though there is insufficient evidence for this. He compared the subject of no. C 33 with an engraving produced by Lambert Antoine Claessens (Antwerp 1763 – Rueil, Seine-et-Oise 1834; active in Amsterdam from 1797 – before 1810) after Frans Hals, with the title *Le rieur*. E. W. Moes (*Iconographia Batava* II, Amsterdam 1905, no. 6693.6) thought – doubtless because of the un-Hals-like appearance and the presence of a gorget, as found in several of Rembrandt's self-portraits (cf. nos. A 21 and A 22) – that this print might reproduce a lost original by Rembrandt, and it has since then played a certain role in the literature as a Rembrandt document (cf. HdG 601a; Bauch 1933, p. 208; Bauch 1966, A 25). Yet it is precisely what this print and no. C 33 have in common, and what prompted Bauch to see no. C 33 as possibly a copy of an original study – i.e. the slightly backwards tilt of the laughing man's head –, that is entirely missing as a motif from the numerous etchings by Rembrandt of his own face bearing a variety of expressions. If one adds to this the fact that, as Bauch himself noted, the composition of Claessens' print (with the emphasis on a protruding elbow) does not fit in with Rembrandt's work from around 1630, then Moes' attribution becomes untenable and there is no longer any ground for assuming that there was a prototype from Rembrandt's hand for no. C 33.

Fig. 1. Panel 20.5 × 17.3 cm (1 : 1)

The motif treated in no. C 33, if it in fact reminds one of any 17th-century artist, is most like Jan Steen. Laughing heads of the kind were in the 18th century sometimes regarded as portraits of Adriaen Brouwer (cf. J. Bruyn in: *O.H.* 66 (1951), p. 222 note 1). It is not impossible that such was the case with no. C 33 as well; in a London sale (Hobbs) on 3–4 April 1765 (Lugt 1446) one finds under no. 33: 'Rembrandt. A head of Brower and a head of Rdt' (£0. 5s. 0d.).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Coll. E. Warneck, sale Paris 26 May 1926, no. 68.
– Coll. F. Adda, sale Paris 29 November–3 December 1965, no. 124.

9. Summary

Its style and execution mark no. C 33 as a painting that has no connexion at all with the work of Rembrandt or of his immediate circle. The presence of a signature suggests that this is a deliberate forgery. It is impossible to give it a precise date, but there is no reason to consider it contemporary with Rembrandt's work. It may have passed in the 18th century for a portrait of Adriaen Brouwer.

REFERENCES

1 Br. 15.
2 Bauch 1933, p. 208; Bauch 1966, A 27.
3 Br.-Gerson 15.

C 34 Bust of a young man laughing

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM, INV. NO. A 3934

HDG 531; BR. 5; BAUCH 298; GERSON 33

1. Summarized opinion

A partly worn work produced in the immediate circle of Rembrandt and Lievens, probably datable around or after 1630.

2. Description of subject

Bust, with the body turned three-quarters to the right but the head facing slightly towards the left, the eyes fixed on the viewer. The light, falling from the upper left, leaves the right-hand side of the figure in shadow. The open mouth, with the corners drawn back and baring both rows of teeth, and the slightly-closed eyes show that the man is laughing. The background is formed by a somewhat cracked, plastered wall.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 23 January 1974 (B. H., P. v. Th.) in moderate daylight and good artificial light and out of the frame, with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp. X-ray by the Rijksmuseum available, covering almost the whole of the painting.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 41.5 × 34 cm. Thickness *c.* 0.9 cm at left, *c.* 0.6 cm at right. Single plank. Back bevelled on all four sides, rather wider on the left (*c.* 3 cm) than on the right (*c.* 1.5 to 2 cm).

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): measured at top edge, 226 annual rings heartwood (+ 6 sapwood); at bottom edge 223 annual rings heartwood (+ 7 sapwood). Not dated.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light ochre colour can be seen everywhere in the brushstrokes in the background, as well as in the area to the left of the head and above this in the crack in the wall. It is also visible in the hair and cap, in the clothing in the outer half of the shoulder on the left, and by the outline of the neck on the right.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Two samples were taken by the Central Research Laboratory, Amsterdam, along the left hand join, *c.* 2 and 5 cm. respectively from the bottom edge. In the second of these samples the structure of the ground can be seen best. The lower layer is a chalk and glue ground; this could not be seen in the other cross-section. In both cross-sections a layer was found (on the chalk ground in the first case and directly on the wood in the other) containing a mixture of white lead, chalk and crude black pigment particles. If this layer is to be identified as the 'primuersel' (as is the most plausible interpretation) it is to be considered unusual compared to the 'primuersels' found in early Rembrandt paintings, in which there appears to be less or no chalk in this layer (see however no. A 37); the presence of chalk may simply be due to the use of white lead of a cheap quality to which chalk had been added. The presence of crude black pigment grains is a deviation from what one normally finds in Rembrandt paintings; as a rule occasional fine grains of brown pigment are found in the 'primuersel' (cf. however no. A 11).

Paint layer

CONDITION: The lit part of the face is in good condition. The shadow side of the face and neck have however, as the ultraviolet lamp confirms, been entirely overpainted. There is also total overpainting of the cap and hair, apart from the lock of hair above the forehead. The background on the left above the shoulder shows a very thin overpaint. Elsewhere in the background the visible grain of the panel has been retouched a good deal, and there are other minor retouches; small retouches are also noted in the clothing. Craquelure: none seen.

DESCRIPTION: It is hardly, if indeed, at all, possible to describe the shadow areas because of their poor condition. In light areas the paint has been applied fairly thickly in the face, less heavily in the clothing and very thinly in the background. The brushwork can be readily followed everywhere.

In the face the short, broad brushstrokes in opaque and fairly thick paint have a modelling function. It is easy to see how the paint was applied – especially in the area of the eye on the left the strokes clearly lie one on top of another. The forehead has a quite dark ochrish tone, with a little grey mixed into it above the bridge of the nose. Above the eye, on top of this ochre colour, two large highlights in a pink flesh colour run one into the other; there is a blueish highlight above the wing of the nose, and a russet one well over to the right against the shadow. These highlights have been painted with a slightly dragging, almost dabbing touch. Similar somewhat dabbed highlights in a fairly dark ochre colour with some broken white are placed on the rather longer strokes of flesh colour used for the cheek. The tiny wrinkles of the eye-pouch are rendered in some detail, with relatively broad strokes of a greyish flesh colour and grey. The eye, which though not defined precisely is suggested quite effectively, has grey for the white of the eye, a clear black pupil with an oval basic shape and a slightly angular outline, and an iris over which has been drawn a very thin layer of grey paint, found also towards the eye socket in the shadow. There is a horizontal catchlight on the iris. The eyebrow is indicated with a small flick of black. The broad wing of the nose is drawn, on the side towards the light, with a thick ochre-coloured dab of paint; the ridge and tip – on which highlights have been placed – are painted in an ochre colour, pink and a greyish-seeming violet. The shadow side of the nose is done in a translucent grey, with no readily-apparent brushstroke. The eye on the right is rendered in the same way as that on the left, but with even less detail and in a subdued range of colours. The cheek on the right is shown with broadish strokes of a light skin colour and an ochrish grey, and also has a highlight. In between russet coloured lips, the lower of which has a thin line of white as a highlight, the broken upper teeth are indicated in a muddy white and brown. The lower teeth have staring white edges of light. The tongue is done in a ruddy brown. The brown fold in the cheek on the left merges into the thickly-painted dark brown shadow of the mouth cavity. The grey shadow cast by the nose is slightly translucent. The light growth of beard on the chin is done with a flicking touch in a thin greyish black.

The clothing, in the light, is in a yellowish brown, while in the shadow area (done in a translucent grey) the underlying ground visible in the brushstrokes, clearly contributes to the colour, especially on the left. The contour of the shoulder on the left is accentuated by drawn lines in a thin grey. The shirt is painted, in the light, with ochrish white strokes; in the shadow along the vee-shaped neck it is in a flat grey.

In the background the brushstrokes are everywhere clearly apparent, in thin grey paint, and run in all directions other than close to the head, where especially on the right they follow the rounded outline. The underlying ground is visible almost everywhere, due to the use of a hard brush. On the left above the shoulder the grey becomes a little purplish. Above this area there is an indication of a crack in the wall, slanting upwards and again visible immediately above the head.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: In both cross-sections mentioned under *Ground*, SCIENTIFIC DATA, a dark brown layer was found on top of

Fig. 1. Panel 41.5 × 34 cm

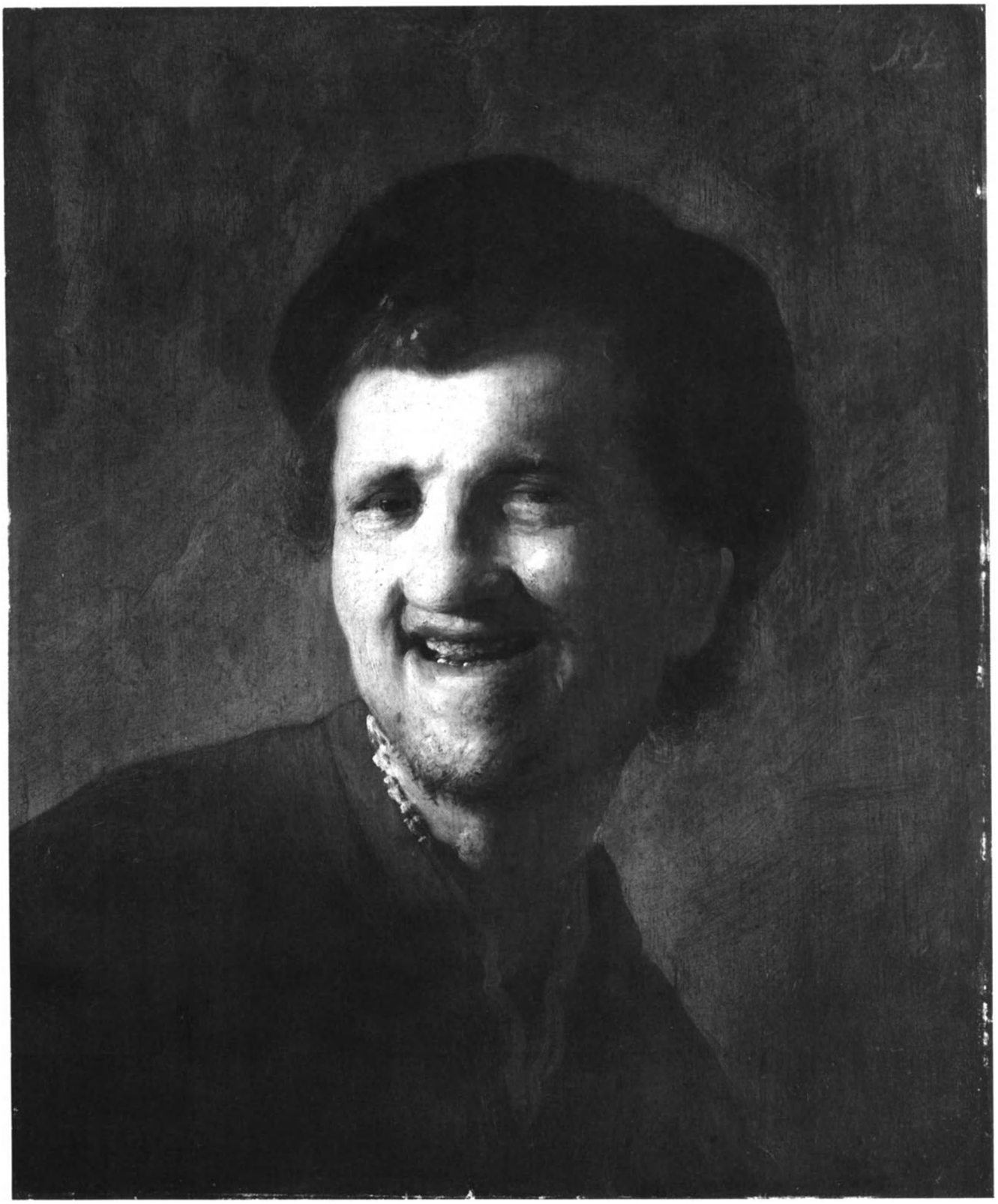
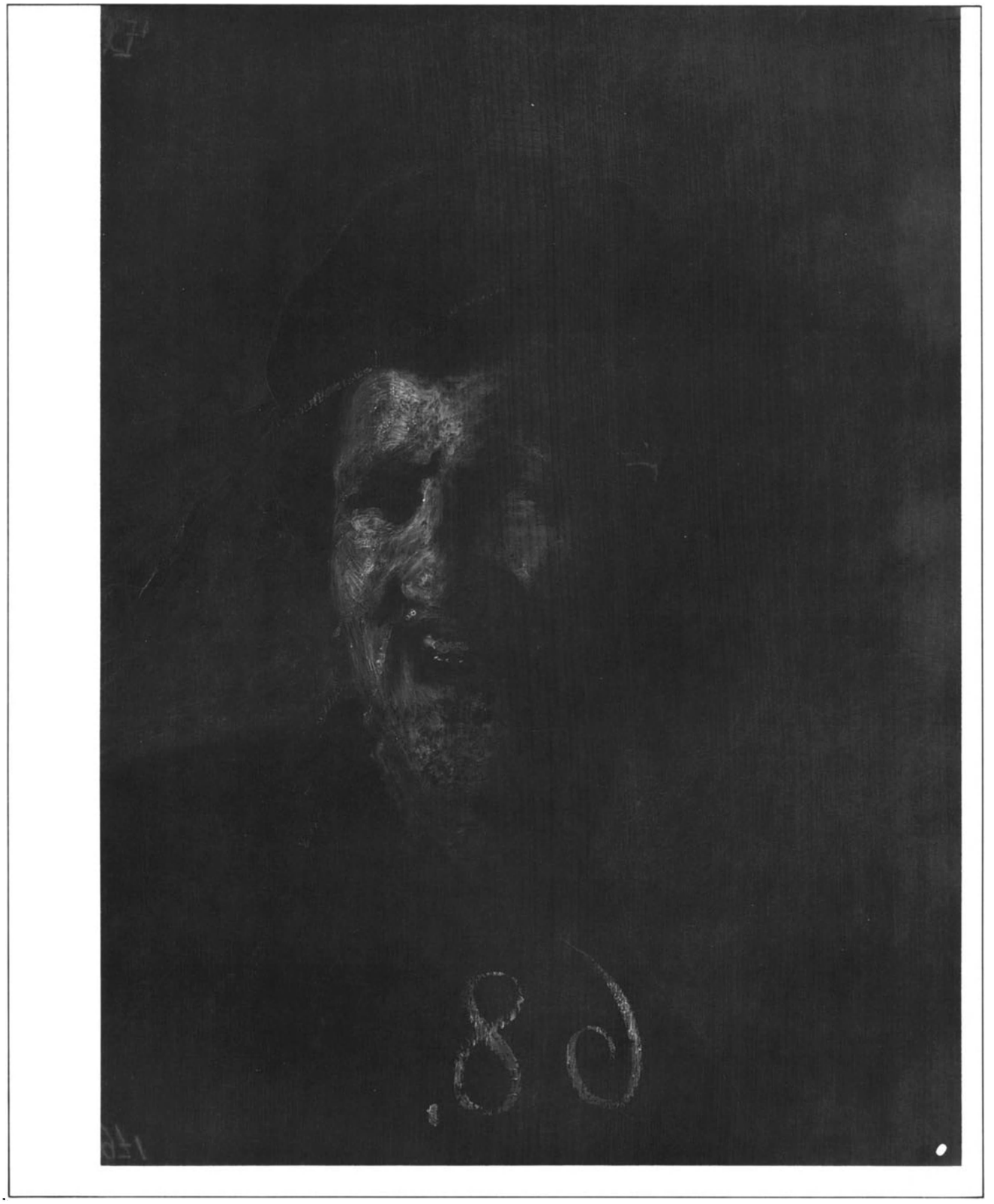


Fig. 2. X-ray



the 'primuersel', containing particles of black, dark brown and dark red pigment.

X-Rays

The radiographic image shows traces of figures (*68*) drawn on the back surface of the panel in white paint, together with isolated strokes; the latter occur on the left in the cap, alongside and below the corner of the mouth on the left, and in the background and clothing to the left of this.

The figure is fitted into the background (which gives an unevenly light image) in a reserve that more or less matches its present-day outline. In the lit part of the head the brushmarks are clearly visible, and correspond to what is seen at the paint surface.

Signature

At top right, done with a supple brush in fluently-written large letters in a fairly light grey ‹*RHL* (in monogram)›. The *L* with the stem bent in an accolade shape and the tail of the *R* running almost parallel to its stem differ from those in the usual signatures of the young Rembrandt. The letters are limply shaped, and their appearance prompts grave reservations as to the signature's authenticity.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

A substantial part of no. C 34 (the cap, hair and shadow side of the face and neck) cannot be assessed because of the overpainting. The well preserved part seems to be spontaneously painted, freely and broadly in the background (which a crack shows to be a wall) and more restrained in the face, with short strokes giving the modelling. The X-ray confirms these observations.

Rembrandt's work offers no precedent for the frequent use of an ochre colour in the face and for the strongly coloured highlights (painted with a slightly dabbing touch). So far as the poorish condition of the area of hair above the forehead allows one to judge, it also has to be said that hair like this, lying loosely on the head and with a certain amount of modelling given by highlights, is not found in Rembrandt. The purplish grey on the left above the shoulder and the drawn outline to the shoulder on this side are likewise features one does not expect in his work.

The manner of painting, with the evident stratification of the brushstrokes, and the pronounced use of light are akin to Rembrandt's style of the late 1620s. The motif of an extremely thinly painted background, shown by a crack in it to be a plastered wall, occurs in both Rembrandt and Lievens. Rembrandt made use of this effect in his *Man in gorget and cap* (no. A 8), which must date from 1626/27; there, however, the background is applied fairly thickly in an opaque paint (this method of working may have resulted from the presence of the first painting on the panel, which could have made it impossible to employ a translucent treatment allowing the ground to show through). In Lievens' signed *Bust of an old man* in the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin (cat. no. 607; Schneider no. 158), which must have been painted in the later 1620s, the same effect is used in a way far closer to the thin painting of no. C 34. In Lievens parts of the face such as the eye and ear are however described much more accurately, and the fine and thoroughly developed manner of painting – achieving a high level of verisimilitude in rendering materials – is unlike that in no. C 34. In other early works by Lievens, too, one does not detect any of the style of working that typifies the present painting and which might provide a basis for an attribution to Lievens, attractive though it would be to see it as a self-portrait by him; a number of facial peculiarities would seem to suggest that the model may have been Jan Lievens. The long, rather narrow chin with a little goatee beard, the relatively small mouth, the protruding tip of the nose and the way the long bent neck is set on the bent shoulders are all found in the figures that have so far been identified as portraits of Jan Lievens (cf. H. L. M. Defoer in: *O.H.* 91 (1977), p. 18). For the time being it is impossible to come to a definite attribution; one can however assume that the painting was done by an as yet unidentified artist working in Rembrandt's and Lievens' immediate circle.

Up to now it has been assumed that this laughing head is a self-portrait by Rembrandt, done as a study of facial expression, and this view has led, in the literature, to psychological interpretations of extravagant profundity[1]. Really the only thing that argues in favour of the interpretation as a portrait of Rembrandt is the shape of the nose with its wide-flared nostrils; yet this shape is very much part of the change that comes about in a face when a person is laughing. The least typical feature, for Rembrandt's face, would be the quite sharply pointed jaw, something that does not change its shape. The confidence with which this identification is generally advanced ought at least to be viewed with doubt.

One cannot say definitely to what extent this painting involves observation of a man laughing in order to record the facial phenomena that accompany a laugh. There does seem to have been an intention of the kind behind a number of etchings Rembrandt made around 1630, in particular the *Self-portrait, leaning forward, listening* (B. 9), the *Self-portrait, frowning* of 1630 (B. 10), the *Self-portrait open-mouthed, as if shouting* of 1630 (B. 13), the *Self-portrait in a cap, laughing* of 1630 (B. 316) and the *Self-portrait in a cap, with eyes wide opened* of 1630 (B. 320); there is a noticeable resemblance between the last-named

etching and no. C 34 in the stance of the figure. The facial expression shown in no. C 34 does not appear in an explicit iconographic context, any more than it does in the etchings just mentioned. It unmistakably contains however one or two elements connected with the traditional depiction of the laughing fool. The broad nose, the wet mouth with bad teeth, the tongue pressed up against the teeth and the part-grown, fluffy little beard are traditional features of the rather feeble-minded fool type, as portrayed by Cornelis van Haarlem around 1597 in his so-called *Portrait of the fool Pieter van der Morsch* (sale London (Christie's) 22 March 1929, no. 17; photograph Courtauld Institute of Art, Witt Library, London; a copy of this was published by van Thiel in: *O.H.* 76 (1961), p. 163).

Where the dating of no. C 34 is concerned one might perhaps, from the connexion with Rembrandt's preoccupation with facial expressions in the year 1630, decide on a dating around or after 1630.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

1. Panel, 41 × 30 cm, sale Brussels (Galerie Trussart) 19 November 1956, no. 18 + illus.; previously in coll. Sir Charles J. Robinson, London; dealer Ch. Sedelmeyer, Paris, 1898; coll. Henri Heugel, Paris, 1898[2]. An accurate but weak copy.
2. Panel, 16.5 × 16 cm, in coll. Prof. Dr. L. Ruzicka, Zurich, 1939; previously sale Lucerne (Fischer) 30 August –4 September 1937, no. 1660. A weak copy.
3. Drawing in black chalk heightened with white, on blue paper, monogrammed JS; a somewhat free and rather weak copy, more likely done after no. C 34 than after one of the painted copies. The drawing was in the von Beckerath collection as a work by Jan Steen, and was at a period unknown exhibited in the Paris École des Beaux-Arts (note on the back of a photography by Braun & Cie, no. 65936, Kunsthistorisch Instituut der Universiteit Amsterdam). Illustrated in: A. Rosenberg, *Terborch und Jan Steen*, Bielefeld 1897, p. 63 (as Jan Steen).

8. Provenance[2]

*– Possibly identical with 'Een laggende tronie van Reynbrant', mentioned in the inventory of the estate of the notary Van der Ceel, Delft, in 1652 (A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* V, The Hague 1918, p. 1760.
– Coll. Count Esterhazy, Nordkirchen.
– Dealer F. Kleinberger, Paris, *c.* 1903.
– Coll. F. Stoop, Byfleet, Surrey.
– Dealer D. Katz, Dieren, 1937 and 1948.
– Coll. Mrs. Hartogs, Arnhem.
– Dealer D. Katz, Dieren, 1958.

9. Summary

The execution – in itself skinful – of the head with short, broad brushstrokes and large highlights with a slightly dabbing touch, the yellowish flesh colour and the purplish tinge in the thinly painted background, and a detail like the drawn-in contour line on the shoulder rule out a Rembrandt attribution for no. C 34. The Rembrandtesque features of the handling of paint, lighting, colouring and motif make it likely that the painting was produced in his circle.

The possibility of Lievens being the author has been considered, but so far as one can discover Lievens never painted in this way either. The background of a plastered wall occurs as a motif in both Rembrandt and Lievens in and shortly after 1626. The relatively fluent manner of painting and the quite pronounced treatment of light seem to correspond to a later phase of Rembrandt's development, so that one must consider a somewhat later date for the production of no. C 34. The early 1630s are the most likely, soon after Rembrandt had etched a number of studies of his own facial expressions. There is however every reason to doubt the identification of the sitter as Rembrandt.

REFERENCES

1 F. Erpel, *Die Selbstbildnisse Rembrandts*, Vienna/Munich 1967, p. 17.
2 HdG 531.

C 35 **Bust of a young man** (commonly called a self-portrait of Rembrandt)

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., THE FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, ACC. NO. 1969. 56, BEQUEST JAMES P. WARBURG

HDG –; BR. 4; BAUCH 291; GERSON –

Fig. 1. Panel 21 × 17 cm (1 : 1)

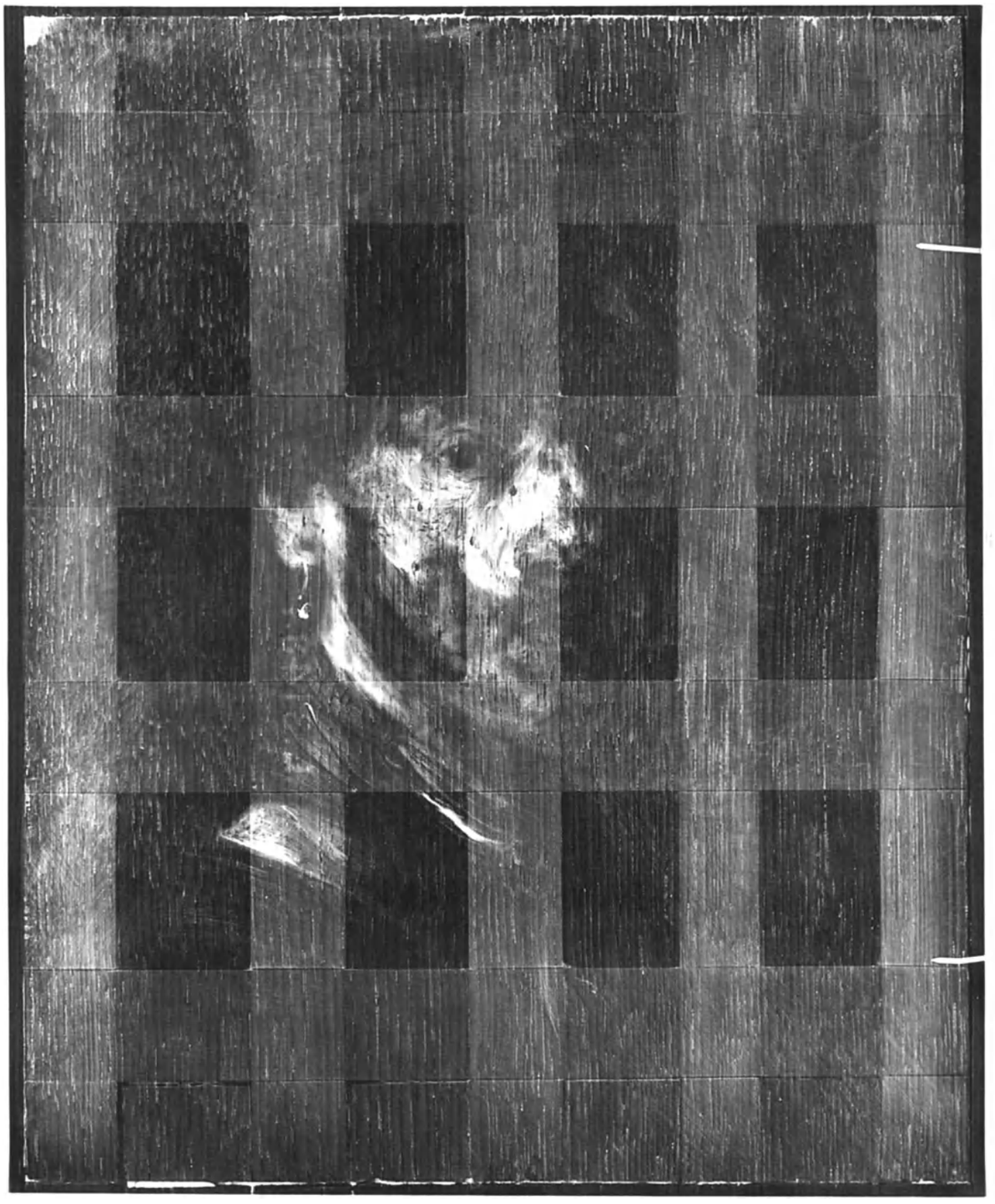
1. Summarized opinion

An imitation of uncertain date.

2. Description of subject

Bust of a young man facing three-quarters right, with the head turned a little further than the body towards the viewer, on whom the gaze is fixed. The light falls from the upper left. Long, curling hair hangs down on the nape of the neck, and he wears an ear-ornament and a neckerchief over a gorget. The background is neutral.

Fig. 2. X-ray



3. Observations and technical information

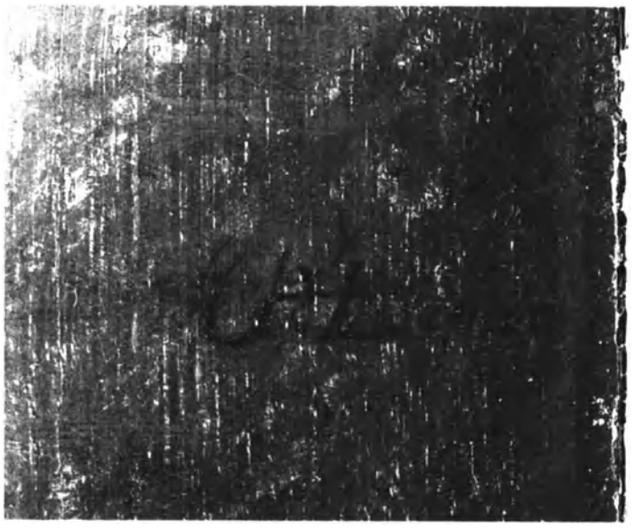
Working conditions

Examined on 13 October 1970 (B. H., P. v. Th.) in good daylight. A print of an X-ray covering the whole painting was received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 21 × 17 cm. Single plank. Back cradled. The panel has been let into a narrow frame, made out of a single piece of wood, which brings the total size to 22.9 × 18.4 cm. At the back the cradle does not extend over this framing; at the front it was not covered by paint at the time of examination.

Fig. 3. Detail with signature (enlarged)



SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch, Hamburg): measured at top strip of the added framing, 114 annual rings heartwood, datable as 1501–1614. Earliest possible felling date 1629. Growing area Northern Netherlands. As the narrow frame must have been added after the cradle had been applied, i.e. in fairly recent times, the dating arrived at, though curiously agreeing with the pretended date of the painting, must be considered irrelevant for the dating of the latter.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: The colour of the wood is plainly visible in thin patches, especially in the clothing and in scratchmarks in the hair and neckerchief. From this it can be deduced that the ground is very thin or has become translucent.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Fairly heavy wearing in the hair and in the dark browns of the clothing. Craquelure: none seen.
DESCRIPTION: The brushwork is in general disjointed, and frequently fails to suggest plasticity and material. The lit part of the face is, except for the area along the man's right jaw, painted relatively thickly with quite broad strokes of yellowish white, pink, an ochrish yellow and a little light blue (to the right of his right eye and at the wing of the nose). Especially on the nose and in the cheek, the brushstrokes have a slovenly appearance, and the jaw area (done in a cloudy, penumbral tint) does not link up convincingly. Nor is there a satisfactory transition to the shadow side of the face, painted in flat, opaque browns. The subject's right eye is drawn with hesitant lines, and has a small grey and rather dull catchlight set on a vaguely outlined black iris. There is an abrupt transition from the grey-brown colour in the righthand part of the upper eyelid to a light yellowish white in the lefthand part. Above this eye there is a badly worn and inexplicable dark area. His left eye is done perfunctorily in browns with a little grey. The greyish and indistinct mouth-line is placed uncertainly, as are the short grey lines describing the outline of the jaw. The very badly worn hair is given a certain amount of structure by means of weakly drawn and quite thin scratchmarks.

In the neckerchief, painted with strokes of a thin, muddy grey, a number of long, wide scratchmarks follow the direction of the folds but do nothing to help suggest plasticity. Above them, at the throat, there are more and rather finer scratchmarks set at right angles to the lay of the cloth. A thick ribbon of paint, appearing just as abruptly as the thickening of paint at the jawbone, runs diagonally down through the neckerchief to what must represent a knot. The gorget has a broad, grey-white reflection of light at the shoulder.

The background has a certain liveliness in the brushwork, in a grey that is lightest to either side of the head at neck level.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The radiographic image confirms the lack of cohesiveness seen at the paint surface. A wide zone shows up dark along the edge of the jaw, this tying up with the observation that this area connects awkwardly with the cheek. The lit area of the neck appears rather broader than in the paint surface, and the limits of the sheen of light on the gorget are outlined more sharply using small, crosswise brushstrokes (cf., however, older reproductions like that in Bauch[1] where one sees a similar sharper boundary). The thick ribbon of paint in the grey neckerchief is clearly apparent.

Signature

On the right, level with the neck, in black ‹*RHL* (in monogram) *1629*›. The bowl of the *R* has partly disappeared due to wear. The loop to the right of the stem lies well above the crossbar of the *H*, and this must be termed most unusual. The monogram appears to be based on that used by Rembrandt in 1630–1632, but would be exceptional on a painting done in 1629. The letters are noticeably large, and rather punctiliously done. The signature cannot be looked on as genuine.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

The handling of paint and of light, showing little relationship one to the other, are so confused and ineffective that they do not even approach Rembrandt's way of working. The way paint has been applied, and the scratchmarks, show that the artist was indeed attempting to imitate Rembrandt's manner; further evidence of that is the use of colour (in which however blue has wrongly been included) and the lighting. The picture is generally considered to be a Rembrandt self-portrait, though the likeness to Rembrandt's facial features must certainly be termed superficial. The head is – mainly in its presentation and overall arrangement in the picture area – broadly reminiscent of self-portraits from the late 1620s. It is not however possible to point to any direct borrowing from, for instance, etchings. At most, the motif of the long hair might be based on the misunderstood 'cadenette' or love-lock in etching B. 338, also monogrammed and dated 1629.

The incoherent manner of painting, not only apparent at the paint surface but also reflected in the radiographic image, reveals not the slightest familiarity with Rembrandt's style of *c.* 1629, and rules out even the possibility that the painting might have

been done by one of his circle. The now translucent ground points to a way of preparing the panel that must at the very least be termed unusual for Rembrandt and his school. It must be looked on as a fairly coarse Rembrandt imitation. The date of production is difficult to estimate; the painting technique, though at variance with what one would expect from a 17th-century work, does not give any clue for a later dating. Dendrochronological examination could be applied only to the addition made to the original panel at a later date and its result – possible felling date from 1629 (!) onwards – has, therefore, no bearing on the date of the painting. As a trivial detail it may be added that the gorget has been painted without any real knowledge of what one was like – the flat rivet-head of the hinge, which in the self-portraits appears on the artist's left shoulder as seen in the mirror (cf. nos. A 21 and A 22), is missing.

The attribution, accepted by Bauch[1,2], of the painting published by Valentiner[3] as a Rembrandt was doubted by Gerson[4].

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

- Dealer N. Beets, Amsterdam.
- Dealer Th. Agnew & Sons, London.
- Coll. Paul M. Warburg, New York in 1926[3].
- Bequeathed to the museum by James P. Warburg in 1969.

9. Summary

The painting shows some resemblance in motif to Rembrandt's self-portraits from around 1629, but it is executed so uncertainly, coarsely and disjointedly that it must be classed as a deliberate but not very successful imitation of uncertain date.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch 1966, 291.
2 Bauch 1933, p. 160.
3 W. R. Valentiner, 'Two early self-portraits by Rembrandt', *Art in America* 14 (1926), pp. 117–119, esp. p. 118–119.
4 Br.-Gerson 4.

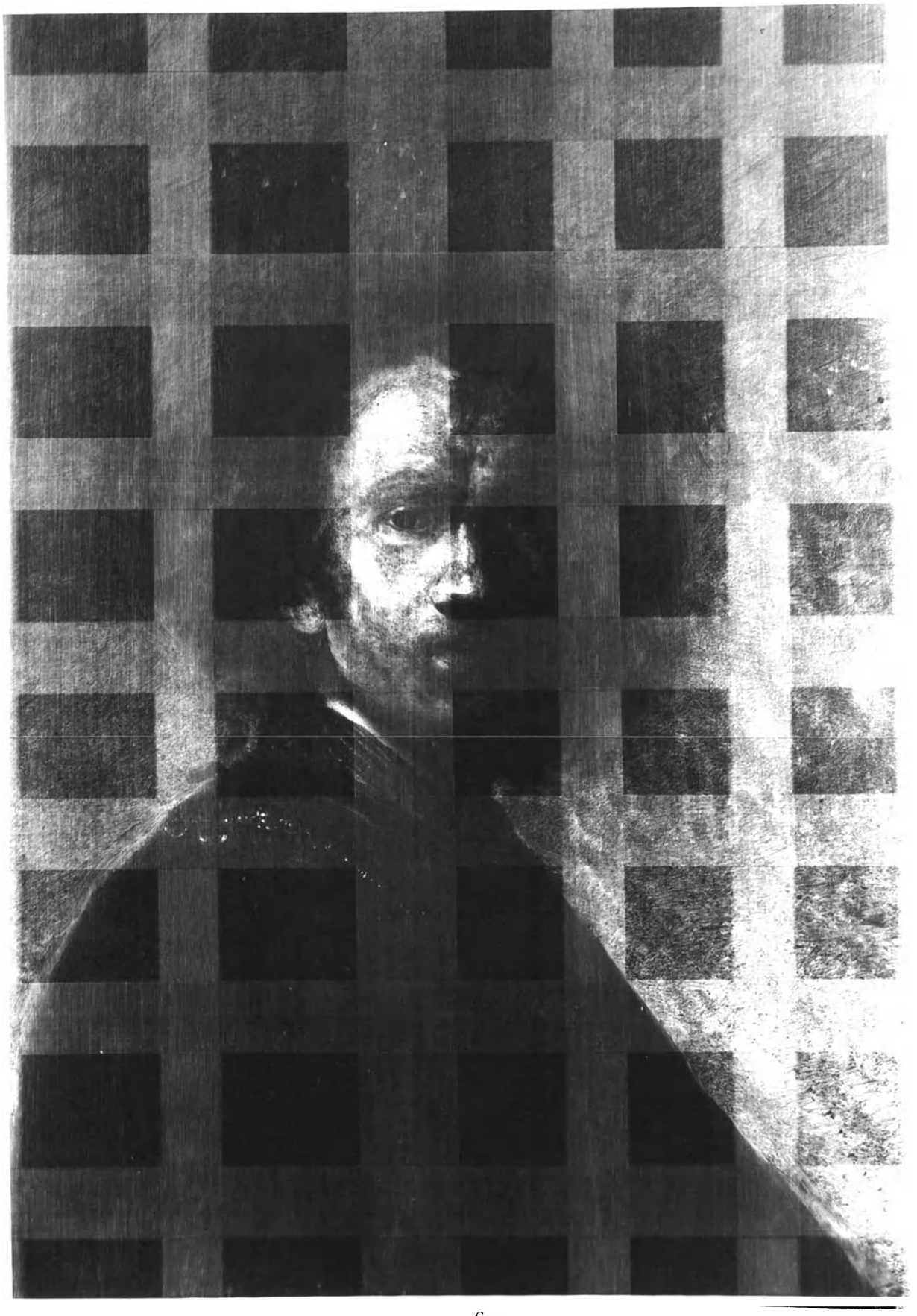
C 36 Bust of Rembrandt

PRIVATE COLLECTION

HDG 552; BR. 7; BAUCH 294; GERSON 40

Fig. 1. Panel 61.4 × 46.9 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray



1. Summarized opinion

One of two known old copies after a lost original from *c.* 1629–30.

2. Description of subject

Bust, the body facing almost fully to the right and the head, lit from the left, turned towards the viewer.

A gold chain hangs over the black garment, and a brown neckerchief is worn round the neck.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 8 april 1976 (J. B., S. H. L.), in artificial light and in the frame, and again in October 1979 (B. H., E. v. d. W.) in good daylight and out of the frame with the aid of a microscope and two X-ray films covering almost the whole painting. An infrared photograph of the whole painting and one of the head were made available by the owners.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 61.4 × 46.9 cm. Two planks, with join slightly left of the centre. Back surface planed down to a thickness of *c.* 0.3 cm (left) to *c.* 0.5 cm (right) and cradled; a trace of bevelling is visible along the bottom edge. A splinter of wood has come away at the bottom left.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (J. M. Fletcher, Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, Oxford University): measured at top of left plank, 184 annual rings of heartwood, datable 1426–1609 ± 1; at top of right plank, 151 annual rings, datable 1457–1607. Earliest possible felling date 1629.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light yellow-brown is visible in the hair, eyes and other thin areas in the head and background. Visible in the background is the relief of underlying thick, slightly diagonal brushstrokes.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: A report by the Center for Conservation and Technical Studies of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., kindly communicated by the owner, mentions four samples, of which one was prepared as a cross section. The latter can be interpreted as showing that the ground consists of the usual two layers; the lower of these contains chalk and some white lead, the second (to be considered as the imprimatura) white lead, chalk, ochres and bone black. The latter layer corresponds to the light yellowish-brown which shows through the paint surface.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Fairly good, apart from local retouching that can be made out along the shadow side of the face to below the chin, above the bridge of the nose and in the left background by the hair. Ultraviolet examination, described in the abovementioned report by the Center for Conservation and Technical Studies of the Fogg Art Museum, moreover revealed retouched abrasion in the eyes, the lower part of the nose and mouth, below the chin and below the ear and in dark areas in the garment and background. The conclusion drawn by the Center from the infrared photograph, that the shape of the mouth has been altered by restoration, does not strike one as convincing.

DESCRIPTION: The background is painted for the most part in a thin and fairly dark grey, becoming thicker and lighter towards the bottom; on the left this lighter grey is brushed broadly along the contour of the body, while on the right horizontal strokes run from the outline towards the edge of the panel, with the black of the clothing lying partly over the grey and the grey determining the contour and overlying the black only at the bottom. On the left forehead the highest light is marked by small, almost horizontal strokes of white; beneath the subject's right eye a whitish flesh colour spreads out towards the pink of the cheek. The nose, in a warm flesh tint, has a little pink at the wing and thick, somewhat overemphasized white highlights on the ridge and – placed strangely high – on the tip.

His right eye is carefully drawn, the upper eyelid with two careful lines of brown with, between them, a little pink flesh colour, brown-grey and a white highlight; the lower lid is in pink with on the left (and set remarkably low) a small stroke of white. Below the pink eye-pouch there is a white stroke shading into a grey towards the right. The white of this eye is painted in a sharply outlined white on the left, and in a grey that does not cover fully on the right. The iris is shown in a thin, only partially opaque grey, and the pupil in black. The inner corner of the eye is indicated roughly in a little brown covered with greys that continue, somewhat patchily and translucently, into the shadow of the eyesocket. The eyebrow is drawn thinly in greys, mostly on top of the flesh colour. The other eye is vaguer, executed in thin greys through which the ground can often be glimpsed, and with some brown in the inner corner.

The shadow areas are for the most part in rather cloudy greys, at some places covering fully and at others letting the ground show through. The patch of light on the further cheek is done in a dark flesh colour. To the left of the contour of the forehead a brown band is probably an extension of the forehead over an area that was originally meant to form part of the hair. The shadowed underside of the nose shows a thin grey over brown, in which the nostrils are flat patches of a carmine-tinged black. The cast shadow below it has a rather denser grey, with dark grey touches for the moustache which, in the light, is shown with a little black done wet-in-wet with the flesh colour.

The insensitively drawn mouth-line is black, probably on top of red; the lips are painted with predominantly horizontal strokes – without creating a plastic effect – of greyish red for the upper lip and a brighter red, with some pink and white on the left, for the lower lip. Above the top lip, strokes of an orangey flesh colour set along the outline accentuate the accolade shape.

Along the jaw on the left is a fairly broad brushstroke covered with a grey haze; the neck has been distinguished from this by linked strokes of thin black. Close up against this, at the neck, the ground is exposed and the grain of the panel is clearly visible; along it a touch of thick skin colour follows the line of the neckerchief. The shadow on the throat to the right is done in a dark grey, slightly translucent towards the bottom. The ear on the left has touches of pink and, in the shadow, a grey-brown. The hair is executed in touches of thin and mainly grey paint, with touches of brown and one or two dabs of grey on the light. The grey of the background seems to penetrate into the hair at various points.

The neckerchief is painted with parallel strokes of browns and greys, with wet-in-wet white and ochre-brown. The flat grey-black of the dress occasionally allows the ground to show through. Thicker, black shadow-lines are placed along the chain, itself painted in dark grey, wet-in-wet with brown and a little ochre-yellow and with a few spots of yellow and dabs of black; in the shadow the chain is shown in dark grey, and the pendant is done in a little yellow worked wet-in-wet with the grey.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: The report, mentioned earlier, by the Center for Conservation and Technical Studies of the Fogg Art Museum describes four paint samples.

One, taken from the yellow used in the chain, contains lead-tin yellow and white lead.

A second, taken from a highlight in the chain, contains white lead.

The third, described as black from the background taken from the bottom righthand corner (possibly, however, from the top righthand corner?), contains bone black, white lead, chalk, clay, yellow and brown ochres, red and yellow (?) lake and azurite. One may add that the composition of this sample suggests the use of accumulated remains of paint (e.g. from the cleaning of brushes and palettes) for an underpainting, over which the top layer would mainly contain bone black. A cross section, which would perhaps confirm this interpretation, has not been prepared.

The fourth, described as black taken from the top righthand corner (possibly, however, from the bottom righthand corner?) has been prepared as a cross section. It is described as showing by optical examination on top of the two ground layers, yellow and brown ochres and red lake; scanning electron microscopy identified white lead, calcite and possibly clay.

X-Rays

The radiographic image corresponds to a large extent to what might be expected from the surface. In the lighter areas the background shows up as a pattern of small, short strokes running mainly in the same direction, predominantly horizontal but following the contour around the head; on the left along the body one also sees longer strokes clearly following the contour and also observable at the surface. The reserve left for the figure and that left for the iris in the white of the eye have unusually sharp borders. In the lit flesh areas a pattern of brushstrokes is seen only vaguely; the concentration of white on the nose and beneath and above the eye shows unusual discontinuities.

Signature

None.

Varnish

The painting has been unevenly cleaned, so that a yellowish varnish remains in various areas, mainly in the background.

4. Comments

The subject is strongly reminiscent of two self-portraits by Rembrandt, one in the Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, dated 1629 (no. A 20) and the other in The Hague, datable to the same year (no. A 21). The conception of the face, and its overall form as it appears in light and shade, are close to that in the small picture in The Hague (which shows somewhat more youthful features). The more generous portion that is visible of the body, as well as the way a chain and neckerchief help to suggest its build, causes it to look similar to the larger panel in Boston. Small wonder, therefore, that the painting has been fairly generally accepted as a work by Rembrandt. Only Gerson[1] refrained from any comments on its authenticity 1968/69, because the picture had 'not been available for inspection for the last twenty years'; after having seen the painting, he wrote to the owner in a letter of 29 May, 1976, that he was inclined to attribute it to Rembrandt, with the remark that overpainting made the original paintwork barely recognizable (see however *3* under *Paint layer*, CONDITION). The attribution was also endorsed by Joseph Gantner, former professor of Art History at the University of Basle, in an unpublished letter. On close examination, however, there appears to be ample reason for rejecting the attribution, though on stylistic rather than scientific grounds.

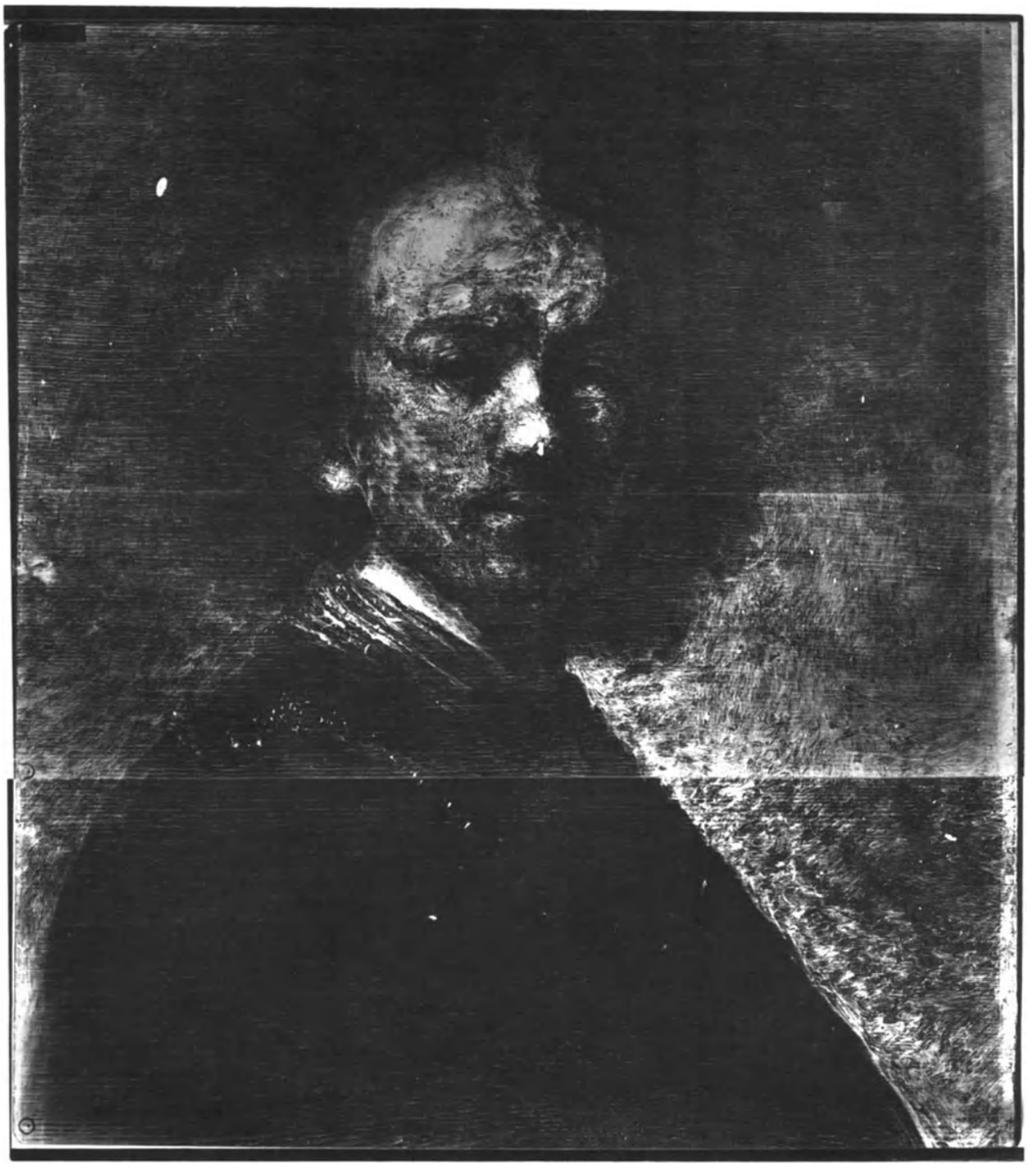
Scientific data and technical observations point to a dating for the painting in the 1630s. The panel used may on the evidence of the dendrochronological data have been painted on anywhen from the early 1630s onwards. The double ground corresponds to what is usually found in paintings by Rembrandt and his contemporaries. The pigments identified do not point to any deviation from what was usual in Rembrandt's circle. Even the technique, involving a brown underpainting (visible in the grey-black garment) and the use of translucent paint in shadow areas, is basically similar to Rembrandt's.

In its execution, however, the painting shows marked differences from Rembrandt's manner of painting. These differences concern the rhythm of the brushwork, the way highlights are applied, and the nature of the contours of the body against the background. As for the brushwork, this is of a meagreness and lack of certainty that is inconceivable for Rembrandt. Where the individual brushstroke is most clearly recognizable, it becomes obvious how little it contributes to a clear suggestion of form. The highlights on the forehead and the nose stand out as isolated white accents, suggesting an incongruous glossiness of the skin. Just as unusual are the sharp lines with which the eyelids, the wing of the nose and, to a lesser extent, the jaw-line on the left have been drawn; they stand out as insensitively as the highlights and, like these, fail to convey the suggestion of depth and plasticity that is so striking in, for example, corresponding passages in the *Self-portrait* in The Hague. Similarly, the insensitive mouthline and the clearly delimited but awkwardly modelled lips fail to give the impression of roundness that is achieved in that painting. Equally atypical, and symptomatic of the same tendency to render forms piecemeal instead of grasping their function in a pictorial whole, is the way the white of the eye on the left is set off sharply from the iris; Rembrandt almost invariably uses here a blurred outline in order not to disrupt the homogeneous appearance of the eyeball. Even allowing for a certain amount of

Fig. 3. Copy 1. Whereabouts unknown

retouching in some of these parts, one can only conclude that their execution differs significantly from what Rembrandt was producing around 1629 – in the suggestion of depth and plastic unity, and especially in lending an atmospheric quality to the whole surface of a face. The same is true of the relationship between the head and the body. The total effect is a mask-like face, joined awkwardly to a trunk the form of which is unconvincing, owing mainly to the weak rhythm of the contours. Even a detail like the chain betrays an approach different from Rembrandt's; its execution deviates markedly from his usually somewhat chaotic rendering of the gold by means of an endless variation of forms and lumpy highlights. In the painting under discussion, the highlights are uniform light blobs in darker, regularly-shaped links which as a result produce a glassy appearance. The background, while corresponding to Rembrandt's usage in the overall distribution of darker and lighter areas, is surprising by

Fig. 4. X-ray of copy 1



the unusual predominance of horizontal brushstrokes in lighter areas on the right.

If, on the grounds just mentioned, an attribution to Rembrandt can be ruled out, the question remains of whether the painting should be considered an old copy after a lost original that would have to date from 1629/30, or a compilation by a follower based on various self-portraits, mainly those in The Hague and the Boston Stewart Gardner Museum mentioned above; there is much to be said in favour of the former possibility. The piecemeal treatment of various shapes and accents, which fail to integrate in a convincing representation of form, may be called typical of a copyist. Equally typical is the use of strokes of an orangey flesh colour along the outline of the upper lip, which are somewhat similar to Rembrandt's treatment of the corresponding passage in the *Self-portrait* in The Hague but have come out just off-colour. Especially significant, however, is the existence of a second version of the same subject

(see 7. *Copies*, 1; figs. 3 and 4). This picture differs in so many respects from that under discussion – particularly in the more lively brushstrokes but also in, for instance, the size and expression of the eyes – that one cannot assume that one was copied from the other. They would seem both to have been done after a common prototype of which each of them reflects different features. It is reasonable to assume that this prototype was a self-portrait by Rembrandt from *c.* 1629/30 that is no longer known.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

1. Panel, 45.5 × 39.5 cm (grain horizontal). Sale London (Sotheby's) 21 June 1950, no. 76. Not seen by us. Both the photograph (fig. 3) and the X-ray (fig. 4) give the impression of a rather more spirited execution than that of no. C 36. Both paintings seem to derive from a common prototype (see above under *4. Comments*).

8. Provenance

– Coll. R. B. Berens, London (exh. Royal Academy 1899, no. 53).
– Coll. Carl Robert Lamm, Rosslags, Näsby (Sweden); sale New York 21 February 1923, no. 620.
– Dealer D. Katz, Dieren; sale of estate of N. K(atz), Paris (Charpentier) 7 December 1950, no. 53.
– Coll. Antenor Patino, Paris.
– Sale Paris (Palais Galliera) 26 November 1974, no. 28.

9. Summary

Although there is no reason to doubt that the painting dates from the 1630s, it cannot, because of its different – careful though ineffective – manner of painting, be attributed to Rembrandt. The motifs employed are virtually all to be found in known Rembrandt self-portraits. The painting makes the impression of being a copy, and this idea is strongly supported by the existence of a second version. Both paintings appear not to be interdependent and to have been done after a common prototype, which was, in all likelihood, a lost self-portrait by Rembrandt of *c.* 1629/30.

REFERENCES

1 Br.-Gerson 7; Gerson 40.

C 37 Bust of Rembrandt

PRIVATE COLLECTION

HDG 530; BR. 9; BAUCH 300; GERSON 45

1. Summarized opinion

Imitation of uncertain date.

2. Description of subject

Bust, with the head seen square-on and the body turned slightly to the left. The full light falls on the face from the front, while the bottom lefthand corner of the background (which has more or less the appearance of a plastered wall) is also strongly lit.

The edges of the open collar of a white shirt can be seen at the neck of a dark brown doublet.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 1 February 1973 (B. H., P. v. Th.) in reasonably good daylight and out of the frame. An X-ray film (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) covering the whole of the head and neck was received later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 50.9 × 37.4 cm. Thickness *c.* 1.4 cm. Single plank. Thin strips of wood *c.* 0.5 cm wide have subsequently been added round the edges. Back has bevelling on all four sides, very wide at the bottom.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronological investigation (Dr. P. Klein, Hamburg) did not provide a date.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light ochre yellow shows through in the skin areas, in the hair (especially along the contours), in the lower lefthand part and at places in the rest of the background (especially at the left and top).

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: In general, reasonably good. Besides a few insignificant paint losses (confirmed in the report by the restorer Traas dated April 1958, in the owner's possession) the shadow areas give the impression of being somewhat worn. This may however be due to the artist's unusual technique (see DESCRIPTION below). The correctness of Winkler's statement[1] that the painting was unrecognizable by reason of its very poor condition was already doubted by Gerson[2]. Craquelure: a fine and rather irregular net pattern of tiny cracks is seen in the slightly thicker areas.

DESCRIPTION: In general the paint layer is very thin and slightly translucent in the head, continuous and thickish here and there in the clothing, and with more impasto in the background.

The fully-lit face is done very thinly, with individually detectable, fine touches of translucent light greys and a ruddy colour for the cheeks and chin. Only occasionally do these brushstrokes follow the forms of the face, giving the whole a somewhat patchy appearance. The ground showing through imparts a yellowish tone to the face.

The eye on the left has a pointed almond shape, the upper boundary consisting of a dark brown line that thins out to either end. The upper eyelid and the area above it are in long, thin brushstrokes of a dark grey-brown, to which the underlying ground contributes. On top of this there is a thin, broad stroke of light grey. The lower side of the eye is marked, unclearly, by a band of light flesh colour with no visible brushwork. The colour of the white of the eye is a muddy grey on the left and is dictated mainly by the underlying ground on the right. The pupil is in a very thin dark brown, with tiny spots where the ground is almost exposed, and some opaque grey overlies parts of this; a small and fairly strong white catchlight is placed in the centre. The iris is dark brown, part of it very thin and translucent. A muddy white catchlight is placed at the top left against the edge of the eye, with a smaller one beneath. The iris has a contour, of uncertain shape, standing out clearly against the white of the eye.

The other eye is painted in roughly the same way, again with a great deal of ground showing through. The uncertainty of form is rather more noticeable here – the brown of the iris partly overlaps the line bounding the lower edge of the upper eyelid, for instance. The eyebrows are painted in dark grey, vaguely in some parts, especially on the right, while at others – especially on the left – they are accentuated with small hatched lines.

Below the eye-pouches, close to the nose, there are diagonal strokes of light grey paint that bear hardly any relation to the surrounding flesh areas. The same grey, already seen on the upper eyelids, is used again – somewhat whiter and thicker – for the light at the tip of the nose. The light on the ridge of the nose consists of pinkish white strokes set crosswise. Shadow lines along the wings of the nose, quite wide particularly on the right, are painted in a brown-grey. The nostrils are not clearly marked, and almost run one into the other in an area of dark grey shadow. The moustache is shown with very thin touches of grey.

The mouth (set slightly askew) comprises a muddy red for the lips and an indistinct mouth-line drawn with numerous dabs of a very dark grey-brown, merging into the broad shadow at the corners of the mouth.

The areas of shadow below the mouth and on the chin are built up from small grey strokes and tiny, convoluted strokes of brown and grey. The roundness of the face is suggested by areas of shadow darkening towards the edges, more marked on the right than on the left; these are done in a translucent grey with clearly apparent brushstrokes, with the ground showing through. The shadow on the right becomes stronger as it nears the contour and turns into an opaque grey forming a brown-grey band at the temple, cheek and tip of the chin; this is applied with a glancing touch over an almost black underlayer.

The hair is executed in dark greys with slightly brownish greys in the light, using broad and rather patchy brushstrokes that suggest the curls in a limp fashion. The paint is partly opaque and partly translucent (when the latter it reveals the underlying ground), so that here too an appearance of wearing is produced. On the whole the hair has been given little plastic form. The contour is painted wet-in-wet with the background; a number of curls have been placed over the background at a later stage, when the latter was already dry.

The throat area shows a very dark grey underpainting which already appeared further up in the shadow part of the right-hand side of the face, and which is exposed on the outer side of the contour and determines the latter. In the throat, brown and light brown paint – partly translucent and applied in small strokes – lies on top of this; these strokes must be intended to provide modelling and an edging of colour, but they produce an unsubtle effect and muddy colours. The edge of the shirt is painted with a certain fluency, in a muddy white to which an underlying black contributes, though without any clear suggestion of shape. The clothing is painted in grey and dark grey over a dark underlayer with, particularly on the left, brushwork that can be made out as mainly broad strokes.

The background is painted thickly in grey, with firm strokes of the brush that have caused scratchlines. The underlying ground is glimpsed at a great many places. In the area at the bottom left a substantial amount of white has been mixed in

Fig. 1. Panel 50.9 × 37.4 cm

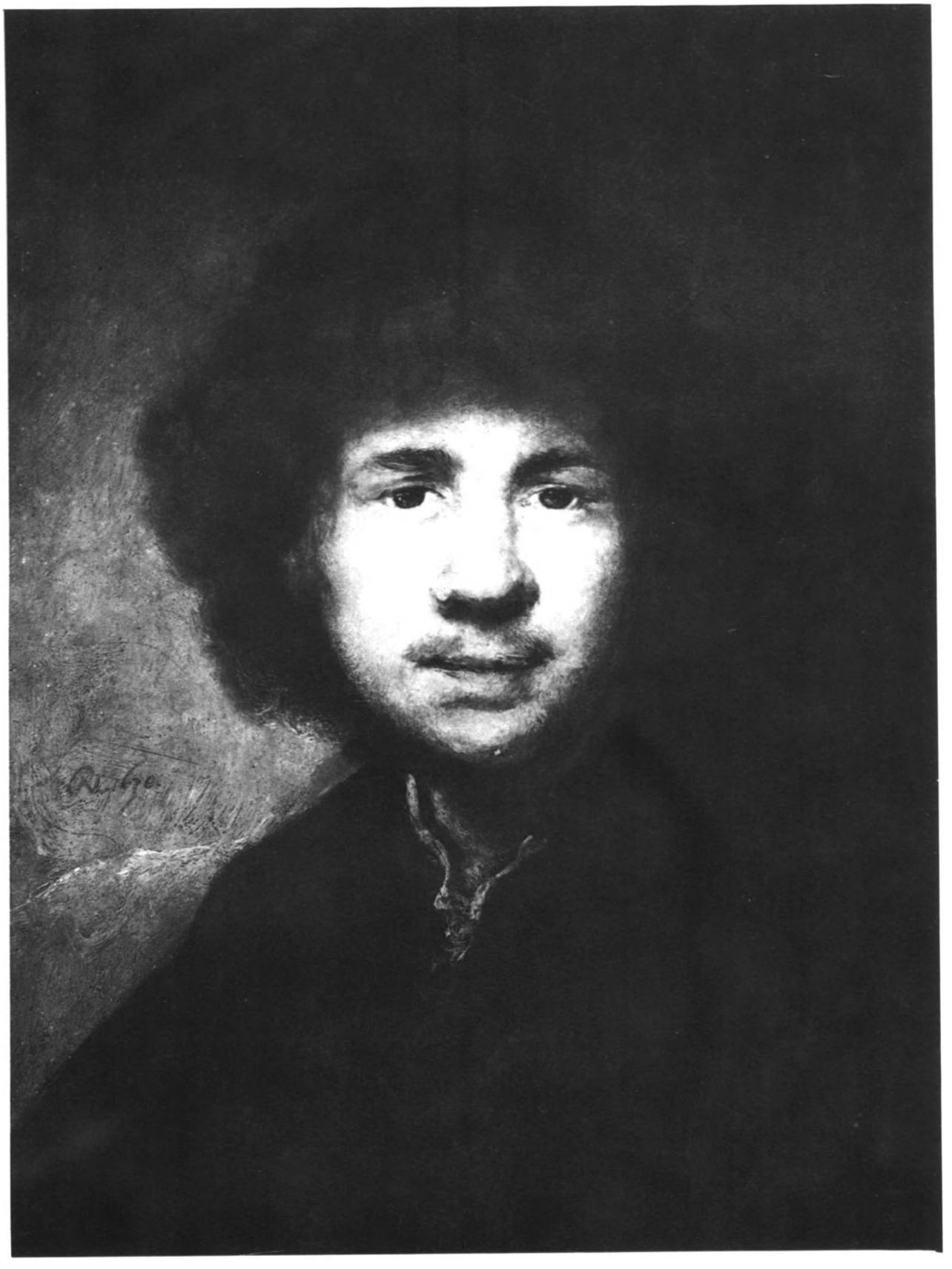
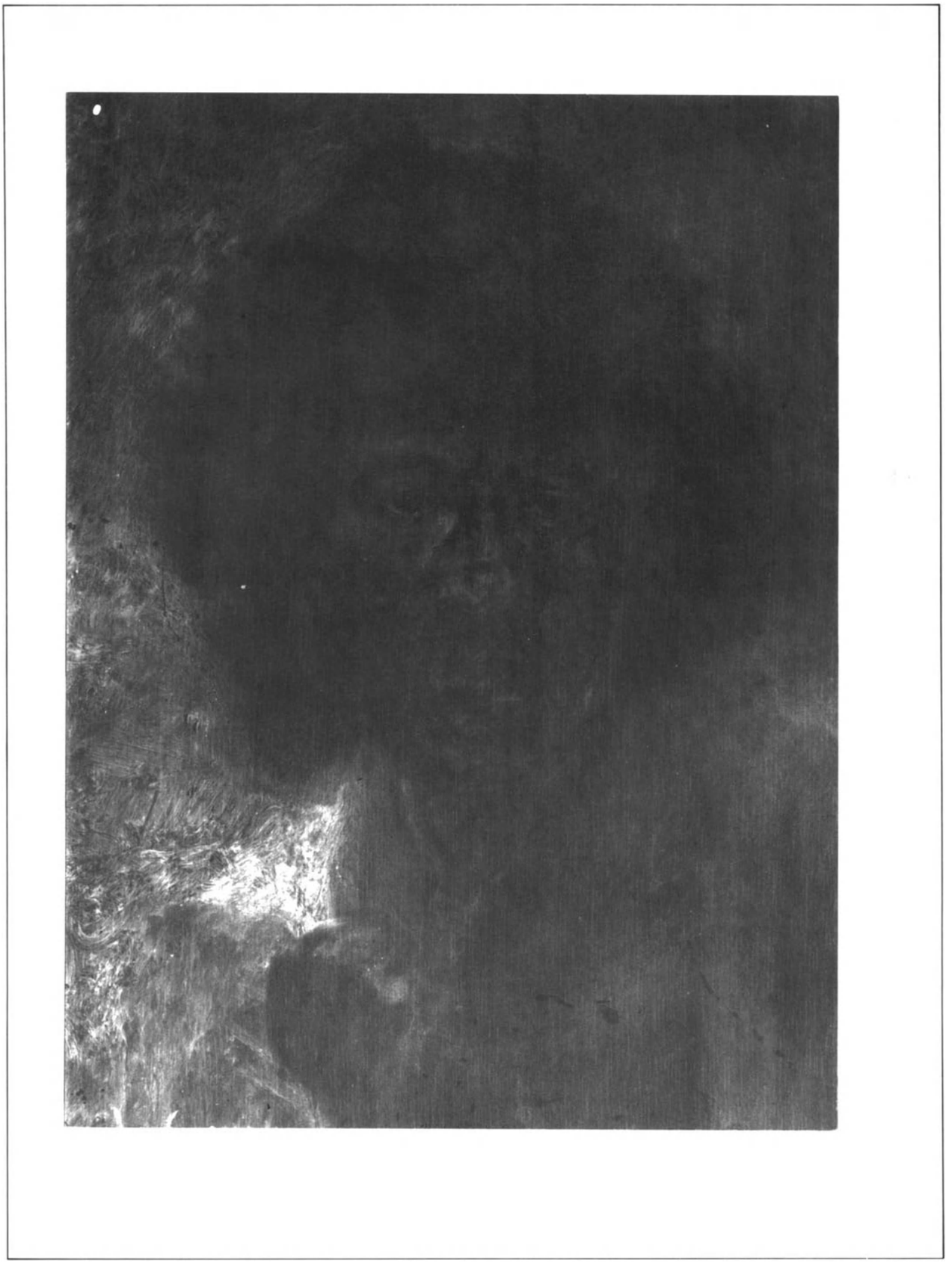


Fig. 2. X-ray



with the grey to give the effect of a plastered wall. In the space between hair and shoulder there is an inexplicable patch of very dark grey, followed further out by an area of opaque light grey. At the extreme left a large ochre-coloured brushmark has been placed at this level. The background darkens towards the top, and here – especially above the head – the brushwork shows a jumble of strokes running in various directions. A zone of shadow slants downwards to the right of the head; by the outline of the shoulder the background again becomes a somewhat lighter grey.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The radiographic image is striking for its distribution of white, which does not match what might be expected from the lighting of the picture. Only the strongly lit patch in the lower left background shows up as a fairly bold white in the X-ray, while the background appears relatively light further up as well. Within this light area the figure gives a predominantly dark image, with traces of internal detail in the face that while not unsharp provide only a low contrast.

Clear changes have been made in the area to the left of the neck, where the very strong concentrations of white certainly link up with the light patch in the background (in the brushwork as well) but are now almost entirely covered by the shoulder on the left. Joining onto this shape at the lower right there is an unidentifiable form, given a certain appearance of plasticity by some white at its upper edge.

Signature

In the background on the left, level with the neck, in grey and done with a great many small, feathery strokes over the practically dry background ‹*RL* (in monogram) *1630*›. The lack of continuity in the line, which results for instance in the *R* which is meant to be 'closed' on the left having a break in it, already brands the monogram as an imitation. Moreover, the crossbar of the *H* is missing; while this is admittedly seen in a number of etchings (cf. Introduction, Chapter IV, note 8) it never occurs in paintings after 1629, and before then it is found only in combination with the 'open' *R*. The painting and the signature would seem to be from the same hand.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

Despite a certain superficial resemblance to, for instance, Rembrandt's *Self-portrait* of 1629 in Munich (no. A 19), the manner of painting of no. C 37 is nowhere like any works done by him around the year 1630. The structure of flesh areas in the light done with small strokes showing little coherence and using a great deal of grey, and the shadows painted in a similar fashion, are totally foreign to Rembrandt's technique, which always differentiates strongly between light and shadow areas; they are even rather unlike the technique of other painters from the same period. The background, which at first glance resembles that in the Munich *Self-portrait*, proves on closer inspection to show a less coherent pattern of small and sometimes sinuous brushstrokes, running in somewhat arbitrary directions, of a kind never

Fig. 3. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, etching (B. 4; 1 : 1)

seen in Rembrandt. Nor does one ever see in Rembrandt's work the blurring of the outlines of the face, which here entirely dissolve into tiny brushstrokes.

The frontal lighting, already in itself very unusual, has not been carried through consistently – while the face is lit virtually square-on, the background with its strong concentration of light on the left and a dark zone one reads as a shadow on the right, makes it seem as if light comes from the left. The catchlights in the eyes betray a similar inconsistency; there are three on the left suggesting several light sources, and only one on the right, and none of them corresponds to a frontal lighting. One never finds Rembrandt neglecting logic in this way.

In other details, too, the manner of painting cannot be described as other than non-Rembrandtesque. The form and plastic construction, especially of the flat-seeming eyes and the mouth, are nowhere clearly defined by the repeated application of small touches of paint. The artist must have had no idea at all of how Rembrandt used paint to suggest shape.

This conclusion is endorsed by the X-ray – the blurred image shows only a very small amount of radioabsorbency in the face, certainly when seen in relation to the background, and thus points to a different working method and a different use of materials.

The way the monogram has been painted with small brushstrokes shows hesitation, and is typical of an imitated signature.

Although the painting has till now been accepted as authentic by all authors, including Rosenberg[3], Bauch[4] and Gerson[2] and J. G. van Gelder (private communication), it cannot be seen as anything but an imitation, produced outside Rembrandt's immediate circle. It is at present impossible to offer any dating.

The changes seen in the X-ray make it likely that the artist did not make direct use of a prototype, though he certainly must have known work by Rembrandt. The author may have had sight, in particular, of the etched *Self-portrait with a broad nose* (B. 4), which shows a similar posture and lighting (fig. 3).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance[5]

– Not as Hofstede de Groot assumed identical with A. Grill sale, Amsterdam 10ff April 1776 (Lugt 2525), no. 31: 'Rembrand, of een ander. Een zeer fraay Mansportret, met een muts op 't hoofd, zynde het beeldtenis van Rembrand, zeer krachtig en konstig geschilderd. h. 20 br. $15\frac{1}{2}$ d. [= 51.4 × 39.8 cm]' (Rembrand, or another. A very fine man's portrait, with a cap on his head, being the likeness of Rembrand, very boldly and skilfully painted.) (15 guilders 15 stuivers). The cap mentioned in the description is absent in no. C 37.
– Sale London *c.* 1857 (to Count Julius Andrássy).
– Coll. Count Julius Andrássy, Budapest.
– Dealer D. Katz, Dieren.
– Coll. H. E. ten Cate, Almelo.
– Coll. E. Vis, Lausanne (after 1952 on temporary loan to the Mauritshuis).

9. Summary

In every respect the painting must be described as quite alien to Rembrandt's style and manner of painting; it was certainly not produced in his circle, and it is difficult to suggest any particular origin. The author had no idea of Rembrandt's working method or use of materials. He may have based himself on an etching (B. 4).

REFERENCES

1 F. Winkler, 'Echt, falsch, verfälscht', *Kunstchronik* 10 (1957), pp. 141–144, esp. p. 143.
2 Br.-Gerson 9; Gerson 45.
3 J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt*, Cambridge, Mass., 1948, p. 25; revised ed. London 1964, pp. 39–40.
4 Bauch 1966, 300.
5 HdG 530; exhibition catalogue *Rembrandt als leermeester*, Leiden 1956, no. 8.

C 38 Bust of a young man (commonly called a self-portrait of Rembrandt)
NEW YORK, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, ACC. NO. 53. 18,
BEQUEST OF EVANDER B. SCHLEY

HDG 564; BR. 10; BAUCH 293; GERSON –

Fig. 1. Panel 22.2 × 16.6 cm (1 : 1)

Fig. 2. X-ray

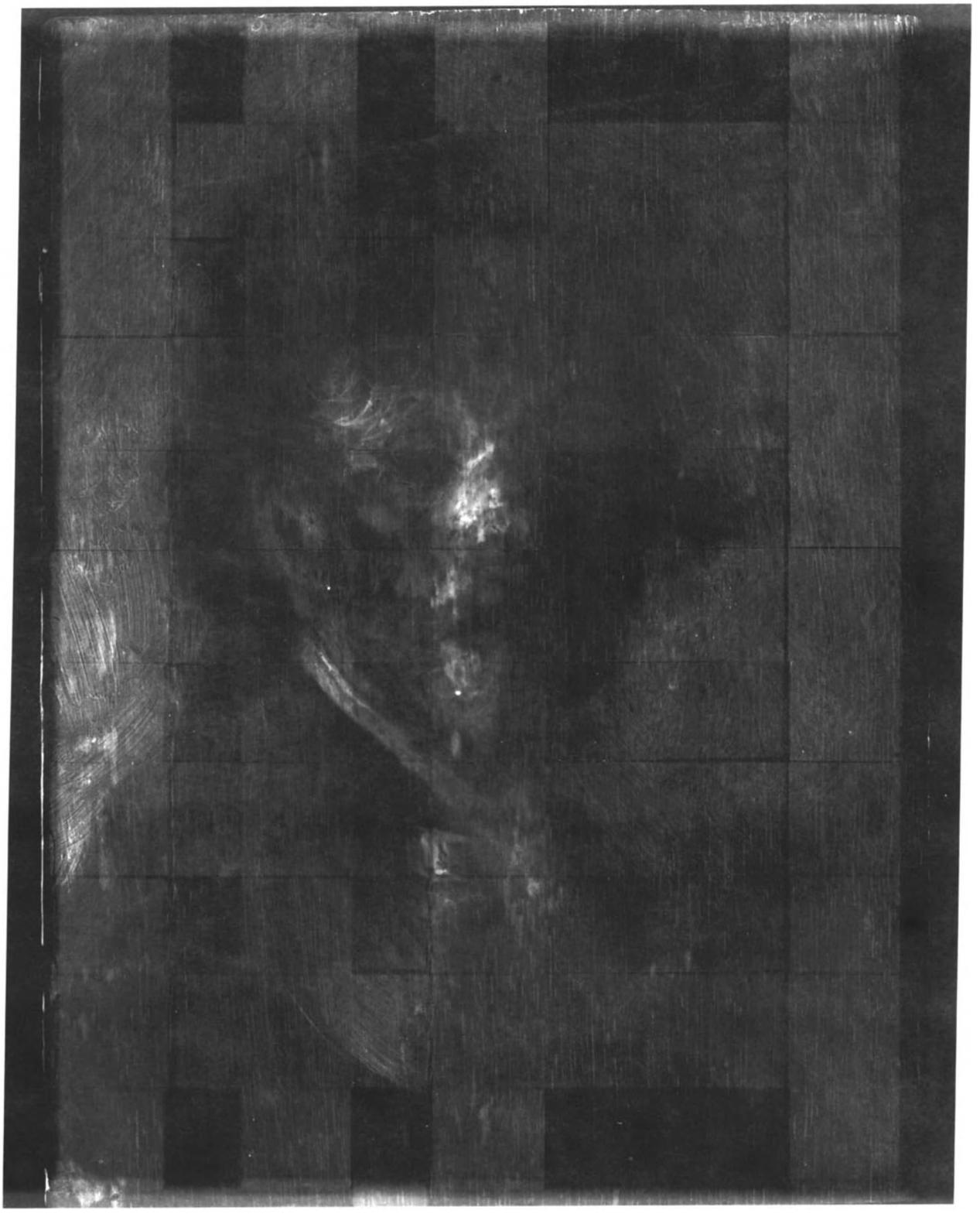


Fig. 3. Engraving by J. F. Schröter (reproduced in reverse)

1. Summarized opinion

An imitation, probably datable well after 1630.

2. Description of subject

Bust, with the body facing three-quarters right and the head turned towards the viewer. A dark garment is worn over a white shirt, and a dark cap on the head. The background is neutral, with a dark patch of shadow at bottom right.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 24 April 1969 (J. B., B. H.) in reasonable light and in the frame, with the aid of an X-ray film (by the museum) covering the whole of the painting.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 22.2 × 16.6 cm. Single plank. Back cradled. A crack *c.* 5 cm long runs up from the bottom edge at about 3.5 cm from the righthand side. To judge by the photograph (fig. 1) the edges of the panel are not intact.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch, Hamburg): measured at bottom edge, 164 annual rings heartwood (+ 4 counted towards pith), 13 rings sapwood. Statistical average felling date 1613 ± 5.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not seen. In the right background, immediately next to the brown-grey patch of shadow, a dark colour shows through the grey paint at some points; it can hardly be assumed that this is the ground.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Good. Craquelure: none seen.
DESCRIPTION: The paint is thickest in a number of dark areas – in the dark brown of the nostrils and the shadow cast by the nose, in the black cast shadow under the cap, and in the eyes.

In the light areas the head is painted with broad strokes of a pale flesh tint, among which there is a thinner pink to the left of and below the young man's right eye. In the eyelid and the lit part of the eye-socket this flesh colour is broken with brown, and towards the chin with a little grey and brown. His right eye is shown with a small brown line, and by a dark brown stroke suggesting the shadow cast by the eyelid and continuing as a small line of red to the left of the iris; this red recurs in the lower edge of the eye. There is no clear-cut corner to the eye. In the iris and pupil a black is placed over brown, and a small catchlight is added in grey. In the eye-socket towards the bridge of the nose there is a touch of grey (tending towards a green), and the moustache is indicated thinly in the same colour. The nose is modelled convincingly with dabs of flesh colour. Above a dark mouth line the upper lip is shown in a slightly purplish red, while the lower lip has a brighter red. The shadow along the chin is done in an opaque brown-grey, which becomes a thin brown-grey in the further side of the face. In this part of the face the eye is drawn with brown lines, a little grey-brown on the lid and some grey in the iris; the man's left ear (which is visible but should not be) is shown in grey. The other ear is painted with pinkish strokes, and the hair is done with free brushstrokes in browns. The lit part of the neck shows strokes of a thick yellowish flesh colour.

The cap is mainly a dark grey with touches of red-brown, the overgarment dark grey with heavy accents of black, and the doublet is brown. The shirt is shown indistinctly with small strokes of white.

The background has been painted around the figure in a fairly thick grey, becoming a somewhat thinner and darker brown-grey towards the top. There is a dark, brown-grey patch of shadow at the bottom right, and this seems to continue under the paint of part of the background and the clothing.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The distribution of the white differs so much from that of the light areas at the paint surface that – judged from the latter – it produces a confused and unorganized image. The strongest white is found on the nose, level with the eyes, while the lit cheek for the most part has little or no white.

On the right the cap shows a sloping outline further to the left, where evidently a smaller reserve was left for it in the background. Oblique strokes of white on the left in the shoulder area suggest that in his initial lay-in the artist incorporated the reflections on a gorget at this point.

Signature

In yellowish brown, in the right background level with the chin, a relatively large monogram that can be read as ‹*RL*›; the most clearly legible component is the *R*, excessively ornamented with flourishes and 'open' on the left. The monogram is so unlike any Rembrandt monogram that it cannot be considered authentic.

Varnish

This shows an evenly distributed, irregular pattern of varnish craquelure.

4. Comments

It will already be apparent from the description that the brushwork and use of colour differ substantially from those found in Rembrandt's early work. The almost frivolous, sketchy touch often approaches the plastic form with some skill, but shows a certain degree of superficiality. This occasionally leads to illogical effects, as in the distribution of light in the eye-socket on the left. The quite firm strokes of brown used to draw the eyes, one continuing as a small red stroke, are totally unlike Rembrandt and his school, and the same is true of the way the background has been built up. The rendering of dress is singularly weak, and does not seem to come from any observation of actual clothing. The use made of paint produces a most unusual radiographic image. Because of the signature too, which does not seem to be a later addition, the painting must be seen as a deliberate imitation, done with a certain artistic flair. The Rembrandt attribution was already doubted by Gerson[1].

Though it cannot be connected directly with any painted or etched self-portrait, no. C 38 does betray some knowledge of the early Rembrandt self-portraits; the facial type comes closest to that in The Hague (no. A 21). The use of colour and the technique do not however show any really thorough acquaintance with Rembrandt's early work. It is difficult to give a date, but the rather aberrant use of colour and the quite free brushwork (especially in the hair) suggest a date well after 1630. The pedigree, though not continuous, can be traced back to the end of the 18th century.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

Engraving by Johann Friedrich Schröter (Leipzig 1770–1836) with inscription: *Rembrandt pinx – Ioh: Fred: Schröter sculps. Lipsiae 1790 / Das Original ist in dem Cabinette des Herrn Hauptmann Wincklers.* Shows the picture in reverse (fig. 3).

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

*– Coll. Gottfried Winkler, Leipzig (see *6. Graphic reproductions* above); not mentioned in: *Historische Erklärungen der Gemälde welche Herr Gottfried Winkler in Leipzig gesammlet*, Leipzig 1768, and therefore acquired after that date.
– Coll. King Leopold II of the Belgians (d. 1909).
– Dealer F. Kleinberger, Paris[2].
– Coll. J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (Hudson Fulton Exhibition, New York 1909).
– Coll. Evander B. Schley, bequeathed 1952.

9. Summary

Because of its pictorial features no. C 38 must be seen as an imitation, based on a general picture of Rembrandt's early self-portraits and painted with a technique rather different from his. It is difficult to date, but it must have been produced well after 1630 and definitely before 1790.

REFERENCES

1 Br.-Gerson 10.
2 HdG 564.

C 39 Bust of a young man (commonly called a self-portrait of Rembrandt)
PRIVATE COLLECTION

HDG 591; BR. 13; BAUCH 296; GERSON –

Fig. 1. Panel 20 × 17 cm (1 : 1) (photograph from the 1930s)

Fig. 2. Etching by Th. Worlidge (in reverse)

1. Summarized opinion

A very poorly preserved painting that, to judge from the relatively intact areas, is not by Rembrandt or any of his immediate circle; it was probably derived from a prototype regarded during the 18th century as being by Rembrandt.

2. Description of subject

Bust of a youngish man with the body facing almost fully left and the face (which has a small moustache and a rim of beard) turned towards the viewer. The hair, standing out high and wide, is gathered together at the nape of the neck to the right. On top of a brown garment he wears what is presumably a cuirass, consisting of a gorget with a row of buckles along it and a shoulder-piece with rivet-heads. A gold chain with a pendant of irregular shape hangs over the gorget. The light falls from the left, and the background is neutral.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 22 August 1973 (B. H., P. v. Th.) in good daylight and in the frame, with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Panel, probably oak, grain horizontal, 20 × 17 cm. Single plank. Glued to a second panel, also with the grain horizontal, and cradled.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not clearly visible, possibly light brown.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: The paint layer has suffered badly from flaking, and over large parts of the surface there are horizontal patches of paint loss and inpainting. In the face the whole of the tip of the nose with the wings and nostrils, the eyes and the shadow area are thus of recent date, as inspection under the UV lamp confirms. Craquelure: the remaining original paint has a pattern of small and slightly gaping craquelure in the arm and shoulder area; the hair has partly a fine and mainly vertical craquelure, and partly a coarser pattern of 'floes'.
DESCRIPTION: The body is painted entirely in browns, and it is only from the relatively well preserved but still confused indication of buckles and rivet-heads, done with touches of ochre colour and yellow with small white highlights, that one can deduce that parts of a cuirass are intended; there is no clear indication of the material in either colour or structure.

On the relatively intact shoulder area a patch of light has been indicated with touches of grey placed over the brown, showing a hatched pattern above the chain. The chain and pendant are painted heavily in the light, with an ochre colour and dabs of yellow and with small strokes of white. To the left of the pendant the chain, done in thinner paint, is shown very perfunctorily indeed.

The background seems to have been executed in a practically even grey.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

None.

Signature

None.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

Although to a large extent the painting cannot today be assessed because of its dilapidated condition, the handling of paint in the more or less intact parts shows such weakness in the rendering of form and material that an attribution to Rembrandt or to any artist in his immediate circle can be regarded as out of the question. The attribution and the date of *c.* 1629, first advanced by Valentiner[1] and accepted by Bauch[2] and others, were already rejected by Gerson[3].

The portrait's appearance, with the exaggeratedly large shock of hair and thin fringe of beard, is enough to prevent it from fitting into the series of known self-portraits of Rembrandt; nor does a chain worn over the gorget ever appear in Rembrandt's work. The construction of the panel, with the grain running along the short dimension, is unusual. On the other hand there is the fact that, when in sound condition (fig. 1) the face made a better impression than it does today. Moreover, this painting and

Fig. 3. Copy 1. Whereabouts unknown

probably also another, larger version of the same portrait must already have been in circulation in the 18th century. For no. C 39 this is probable on the evidence of the mezzotint dated 1765 by David Martin listed below under *6. Graphic reproductions*, 1, which reproduces the picture with the eyes open over-wide as a Rembrandt self-portrait. Hofstede de Groot[4], and Gerson[5] as well, assumed that an etching by Thomas Worlidge (who died in 1766) after a painting in the possession of the Duke of Argyll (fig. 2) was done from the same painting. It is noticeable, however, that Worlidge shows not only a longer head but also – differing from no. C 39 and from Martin's mezzotint – a round pendant; moreover he gives the gorget, cuirass, row of buckles and shoulder-piece much more precise detail (even though their functional relationship is hard to make out). Apart from this latter point, the etching is far more akin to another larger version painted on canvas (61.5 × 48 cm; (fig. 3), see *7. Copies*, 1 below) that shows a similar face and pendant but again does not offer the same detail in the cuirass. This removes the probability of Worlidge having worked from no. C 39 (or even having been its author, as Gerson[5] cautiously suggested), and of its having ever been in the Duke of Argyll's possession. One must rather assume that all the versions, painted and printed, known to us were based on a prototype now unknown. Whether this was by Rembrandt remains doubtful, if only because of the strange and rather unconvincing costume and coiffure of the derivatives. In the mid-18th century a painting on panel was in circulation as a Rembrandt, and might perhaps have been the lost protoype: in the Tierens sale in The Hague, 23ff July 1743 (Lugt 582), no. 229 was: 'Un Portrait en Cuirasse, par le même [Rembrandt], haut 2 pieds large 1 pied 5 pouces [= 62.5 × 44.5 cm]' (40 guilders 5 stuivers; cf. Hoet II, p. 113, no. 227); Da Costa sale The Hague 13 August 1764 (Lugt 1400), no. 58: 'Rembrant. Een Krygsman in 't Harnas. Hoog 2 V. 0 D. Breet 1 V. $7\frac{1}{2}$ D. [= 62.5 × 50 cm]' (Rembrant. A soldier in armour) (66 guilders to Grebe, Rotterdam).

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

1. Mezzotint by David Martin (Anstruther 1737 – Edinburgh 1798) (Char. III). Inscribed: *Ipse pinx[t] – DMartin fec[t] 1765. / Rembrandt.* It shows the same subject as no. C 39 in reverse, with a few discrepancies that nevertheless substantially alter the expression; the head is tilted more markedly to one side, the eyes are large and open wide, and the eyebrows slightly raised. 2. Etching by Thomas Worlidge (Peterborough 1700 – Hammersmith 1766). Inscribed: *Rembrandt's head by himself, Copyed from the Original Painting now in the Collection / of his Grace the Duke of Argyle, – by Tho[s] Worlidge Painter in Bath* (fig. 2). It shows the same subject as no. C 39 in reverse, with as main discrepancies the long shape of the head, the relatively small eyes and the round shape of the pendant instead of an irregular, shield-like shape; these differences match what can be seen in another painted version (see *7. Copies*, 1 below). This last remark does not apply to the extensive detail in the cuirass.

7. Copies

1. Canvas, 61 × 47.5 cm. (fig. 3). Sale Amsterdam 11–13 December 1923, Suppl. no. 963; coll. Evers brothers, Arnhem (1938). In the essential features of the head (the long shape, the position of the eyes and the shape of the mouth) this is closer to the etching by Worlidge (*6. Graphic reproductions*, 2) than to no. C 39, though on the other hand it gives only a vague indication of the cuirass that is portrayed very precisely in the etching and roughly in no. C 39. It cannot therefore be assumed that this version provided the immediate prototype for one or other of the two.

8. Provenance

– Not, as Hofstede de Groot believed, identical with a painting that J. Smith (*A Catalogue raisonné* . . . VII, London 1836, no. 236) described on the grounds of the inscription on the etching

by Worlidge, as being in the Duke of Argyll's collection; this painting was probably sold during the sale of the Duke of Argyll's collection, London 19ff March 1771 (Lugt 1905), no. 58 (5th day): 'Rembrandt. A Portrait', and subsequently in London, 9 June 1899, no. 40: 'Rembrandt. A Portrait of an Officer (said to be his own when young). From the Duke of Argyle's Collection. 16½ in. by 20½ in. [= 42.5 × 53 cm].'
– Coll. M. Onnes van Nijenrode, Breukelen.

9. Summary

So far as can be judged given its present condition, no. C 39 cannot, because of its weak execution and poor handling of form and colour, be attributed either to Rembrandt or to an artist in his immediate circle; the panel on which it is painted has an unusual construction. A larger version on canvas is perhaps a reflection of a lost prototype both for the painting and for an etching by Thomas Worlidge (d. 1766); this prototype need not have been by Rembrandt.

REFERENCES

1 W. R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1921 (Kl. d. K.), p. 7.
2 Bauch 1933, pp. 152, 200; Bauch 1966, 196.
3 Br.-Gerson 13.
4 HdG 591.
5 H. Gerson, 'Imitaties naar Rembrandt', *N. K. J.* 21 (1970), pp. 301–307, esp. p. 304.

C 40 Bust of a young man (commonly called a self-portrait of Rembrandt)
SWEDEN, PRIVATE COLLECTION

HDG –; BR. 14; BAUCH –; GERSON –

Fig. 1. Panel 47.1 × 33.4 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray

1. Summarized opinion

An imitation, to all appearances not 17th-century but of later and unknown date.

2. Description of subject

Bust of a young man, framed quite closely, facing three-quarters right and lit from the left. He looks at the viewer through what seem to be slightly closed eyes beneath raised eyebrows, with his mouth a little open. He wears headgear of indistinct shape, and unidentifiable dress. The background is of even tone.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 3 May 1976 (B. H., E. v. d. W.) in reasonably good daylight and out of the frame. An X-ray film (by the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) was studied later.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain vertical, 47.1 × 33.4 cm. Thickness *c.* 0.7 cm. Single plank. Top and bottom edges rather irregularly worked. Back surface roughly planed, with slight bevelling on all four sides.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Visible in the inner corner of the subject's right eye and elsewhere, and appears to be very light in colour.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: The grain of the wood shows through and has been retouched here and there. There is a damage in the cheek facing the light. The background is worn and has been touched up at some points. Most probably the paint layer has been artificially aged by means of deliberately causing wear damage. Traces of black in the valleys of the paint relief, especially in the lower half of the picture, are perhaps also connected with attempts at this. Craquelure: a mainly vertical craquelure is seen in the face, and a mainly vertical craquelure in the clothing has locally, below the chin, a somewhat fissure-like, irregular net pattern.
DESCRIPTION: The background is done basically in an opaque brown, though because of severe wearing this has a great many bald patches that have been touched in rather ineptly with a (now darker) grey translucent paint. The brown becomes a little lighter towards the edge of the headgear. On the left it is unclear whether this light colour belongs to the background or to the lit part of the head-covering. The lower edge of the latter runs in an arc from the left shoulder across the forehead and – insofar as it can be made out – continues towards the right shoulder. The dark area along this edge and on the right next to the head is a dark brown, in part slightly translucent.

The shape of the clothing is shown even more indistinctly. There is a hint of a loose grey cowl, with an indication of folds running in an illogical pattern and painted in a muddy grey colour. Grandiose but inept brushstrokes on the right, in a mixture of light grey and ochre colour, are devoid of any suggestion of form. At the neck on the left the greyish area merges upwards into horizontal, random strokes in ochre colour and light grey that may indicate a shirt and then, without any boundary, become an even dingier neck area. The brushstrokes in the dress are frequently long and feathery, wet-in-wet and dirty in colour.

The illuminated part of the face has evidently been painted directly over a light ground, while the shadow parts along the cheek and chin have been placed on top of a black (or at least very dark) colour. The entire lit skin area has a continuous, enamel-like character, and the direction of the brushstroke is not clear. Both the poorly articulated highlights on the nose and cheekbone and the darker, cool areas of shading in the forehead, around the eye on the right and at the mouth are worked wet-in-wet into the flesh tone. There is also, here and there, a light blue-grey colour mixed fluidly into the yellowish flesh tone, especially at the bridge of the nose and in the eye-sockets.

The eye areas are painted clumsily and with scant suggestion of form. The border between the drooping eyelid on the left and the eye itself lacks articulation, and is grubby in colour. The grey iris and pupil cannot be readily distinguished one from the other, and the white of the eye is in an unnatural dark grey. The eye on the right shows the same features, but is also totally unsuccessful from the point of view of plasticity.

The part of the underlip in the light is in a bright and carefully brushed red, the shadow part in a strong light brown.

The shadow area beneath the nose forms, together with the mouth aperture and the shadow of the lower lip, chin and cheekbone, a continuous dark and opaque zone showing only a vague indication, in a very dark brown, of the line taken by the rest of the lower lip. The reflected light on the underside of the chin is shown with a murky brown. The moustache is in small strokes of grey, some of which are merged wet-in-wet with the flesh colour.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The radiographic image broadly matches what one expects from the paint surface. In the head, both at the left and at the right along its outline, there is more radioabsorbency than the paint surface would now suggest; one may deduce from this that at some places shadow tints have been placed on top of a light flesh colour.

The relatively light radiographic image of the brushstrokes in the clothing indicates that white lead was mixed in with the paint used here, and helps to explain the muddy appearance of these passages.

Signature

In brown, on the right next to the edge and level with the lower lip ‹*RHL* (in monogram)›; slightly worn.

Varnish

There is a thick coating of varnish.

4. Comments

Neither the manner of painting in the head (enamel-like in the light flesh areas and with various tints abutting these and done wet-in-wet, creating a muddy effect) nor that in the dress (feathery, pretentious strokes with no suggestion of form) is anything like that of Rembrandt.

As the X-ray confirms, shadow tints have been placed partly on top of light areas and a considerable amount of white lead has been mixed in with the paint of the clothing (making this look muddy); this

procedure is totally unlike that of Rembrandt and his followers. The use of colour – especially in the yellowish flesh tints, modelled with a light blue-grey done wet-in-wet – is likewise clearly different from that in comparable works by Rembrandt. This, taken together with the mediocre suggestion of form and rendering of materials, makes it impossible to attribute no. C 40 to Rembrandt or to anyone in his immediate circle, or even to look on it as a 17th-century painting. Furthermore, the narrow proportions of the panel differ from those normal in the years around 1630. It is not improbable that the author was acquainted with the *Self-portrait* in the MOA Museum, Japan (no. A 22), to which it has some resemblance in the facial type and the overall composition. The Rembrandt attribution has already been rejected by Rosenberg[1], Bauch[2] and Gerson[3].

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

- Dealer Mettes, The Hague 1929.
- Dealer Asscher & Koetser, Amsterdam.
- Dealer C. Agnew, London.
- Coll. Consul Ivar Hellberg (exhb. 'Mitt bästa konstverk', Stockholm 1941, no. 60).
- Sale Stockholm (Bukowski), 8–11 November 1961, no. 218.

9. Summary

On the evidence of the manner of painting, which differs from that usual in the 17th century, this is an imitation of little artistic merit, the age of which is difficult to estimate.

REFERENCES

1 J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt, Life and Work*, London 1964 2nd edn, p. 371.
2 Bauch 1966, p. 47.
3 Br.-Gerson 14.

C 41 **Bust of an old woman** (commonly called Rembrandt's mother)

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJK KABINET VAN SCHILDERIJEN, MAURITSHUIS, CAT. NO. 556

HDG 686; BR. 67; BAUCH –; GERSON –

Fig. 1. Panel 18.2 × 14 cm (1 : 1)

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved painting, one of the numerous copies of a lost original that probably dated from 1631.

2. Description of subject

Bust of an old woman with the body almost in profile towards the left and the head, tilted forward a little, turned three-quarters towards the viewer. Her gaze is directed slightly downwards. Her head, and the pleated white shirt worn under a fur-trimmed cloak, are lit from the top left. An ornamented head-shawl hangs down on either side of her head from a fur cap.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 23 October 1973 (J. B., E. v. d. W.) in good artificial light and in the frame, with the aid of an X-ray film.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain horizontal (!), 18.2 × 14 cm. Thickness *c.* 1.1 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled remarkably evenly on all four sides over a width of *c.* 2 cm and to an unusually thickness of *c.* 0.4 cm.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: Dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): measured at lefthand edge 149 annual rings heartwood (+ 3 sapwood + 1 counted, at right-hand edge 148 annual rings heartwood (+ 3 sapwood + 1

Fig. 2. X-ray

counted). Mean curve 149 annual rings (+ 3 sapwood + 1 counted), datable as 1451–1599. Growing area: Northern Netherlands. Statistical average felling date 1616 ± 5[1].

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A yellow-brown shows through in thin patches in the shadow part of the head and in the background.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: The ground consists, according to De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[2] of a mixture of white lead and chalk.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Reasonable. Numerous local retouches in the face, the head-shawl on the left, the left background and on the shoulder. Craquelure: a few thin, fine horizontal cracks in the face and clothing.

DESCRIPTION: The face is done in the light in a great many flesh shades, here and there in muddy browns and, especially round the eyes, in a little grey with small, flat dabs and strokes. A plastic effect has been achieved in the nose with finely-applied brushwork and a subtle varied use of colour; on the other hand the eyes, done with thinner paint, are flat and lacking in plasticity. The mouth area, built up with longer and shorter strokes, has not been suggested effectively despite all the care expended on it.

The border between light and shadow areas in the face is not well organised. In the shadow parts a relatively strong ruddy grey has been used in the lower half of the face, with (retouched) browns by the cheek and cheekbone. The paint is applied rather more thinly in the shadow areas of the face than in the lit part.

Fig. 3. Copy 1

The darker parts of the clothing and headgear are executed in an almost continuous uniform black-brown; the fur parts are in a confused brown with rows of small, regularly-spaced strokes set at right angles to the contours. The head-shawl across the forehead, over the shoulder and along the face on the left is done with cool grey accents of light and highlights over a thin dark brown. The tiny folds in the shawl are indicated with small lines of dark brown.

The background is set down in an even, opaque cool grey, with bold strokes running in various directions. It extends in some places over the outline of the figure, for instance by the headgear on the left, and in others under it, as at the right by the projecting hairs of the fur cap.

SCIENTIFIC DATA: According to De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes[2] a thin layer containing white lead was applied directly on the ground in the background area. The face and the collar have been underpainted with a thin dark grey layer consisting of white lead, carbon black and some brown ochre. The greyish background contains white lead, carbon black and various ochres containing many coarse grains of pigment. In the original areas of the coat coarse-grained brown ochres, carbon black and white lead were found. The flesh tones contain white lead and ochres; they are (partly?) glazed with a paint containing red lake pigment. In the collar white lead was found with the trace elements silver, copper and manganese. The red jewel in the head ornament is done with a thick layer of red lake with a little red ochre, while in the green jewel there is malachite, mixed with a fairly large quantity of blue azurite. The yellow used in the green jewel contains yellow ochre; coarse-grained white lead is mixed into this yellow, as it is in the grey of the head ornament. The blue used in both eyelids looks like azurite. The dark brown of the coat consists of Cologne earth mixed with black pigment and brown ochre.

X-Rays

One is struck by the very strong white pattern produced mainly by the white lead of the ground in the grain of the panel. Against this the lit part of the face, the shirt and the grey background appear dimly. The space left in reserve in the background for the figure corresponds only approximately with the figure seen today, and is somewhat more cramped. For a reproduction see: De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes[2].

Signature

None.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

The attribution of no. C 41 to Rembrandt, accepted in the past by Bredius[3], has already been doubted or rejected by many authors since Hofstede de Groot[4], and certainly with justification. The uncertain execution and almost general weakness of form, the dead background and the unusually varied palette in the flesh tints rule out this attribution. What is more, the way the support was made differs from early 17th-century usage – the grain runs parallel to the short side, and the panel is relatively thick and bevelled remarkably evenly at the back, as is usual with later panels. The composition of the ground, containing a large quantity of white lead, also points to a later date. As a result the radiographic image is atypical, showing hardly any brushwork recognizable as such.

Nonetheless, the occurrence of a great many other versions none of which seems to be authentic gives one the impression that they all, like no. C 41, derive from a lost original, probably by Rembrandt. The only reason we are basing our discussion on the version in The Hague is that this is listed in the Bredius publication we have taken as our point of departure.

When one tries to form some idea of what the lost original looked like and what place it occupied in Rembrandt's work, other portrayals of the same model offer one little to go on. It is true that similarly interpreted facial forms, similar items of clothing and a similar lighting from above – creating a small cast shadow almost vertically below the nose – are found in etchings B. 343 (*c.* 1631) and B. 348 (dated 1631), but these do not show the turning of the head on the shoulders that characterizes the composition of no. C 41. This motif does occur in two pictures of old men, the etched *Bust of an old bearded man looking down* (B. 260) and the painting of a *Hermit* dated 1631 in Paris (no. C 16) which though not autograph is still very closely connected with Rembrandt's work. Possibly 1631 is indeed the most probable date, and the lost original for no. C 41 would then have fol-

Fig. 4. Copy 7

Fig. 5. Copy 12

lowed rather than preceded the painting in Windsor Castle (no. A 32) which shows the same model wearing different headgear but otherwise the same dress, and which we date as 1630/31. Presumably it shared with the lastnamed painting the rectangular shape with painted oval frame in black, as do the majority of the known copies, among which the version from the Sedelmeyer sale (see *7. Copies,* 1 below) which was preferred by Bauch (but which he reproduced, wrongly, as being oval; cf. Bauch 449). It surely cannot be assumed that the rectangular shape shown by no. C 41 reproduces the original format, and the oval form of some other copies (listed below under *7. Copies,* 7–10) is admittedly common with Dou, probably a little later, but does not appear so early with Rembrandt. Added to this there is the fact that the copy from the Sedelmeyer sale seems to be the most satisfying from other viewpoints as well – the position of the eyes relative to each other and to the mouth gives a more homogeneous foreshortening of the slightly tilted head than one sees in any of the other versions, and this copy also seems superior to the others in the plastic and three-dimensional effect of the body and the tonal value of the background. Though the various copies have slightly differing dimensions, they tell one more about the size of the original than might appear at first sight. Leaving aside the versions with a rectangular picture area, which show a varying and often unconvincing layout, most of the ovals are found to measure about 24 × 19 cm, dimensions that match the painted-in oval of two of the extant rectangular copies including that from the Sedelmeyer sale (see *7. Copies,* 1). One can therefore take it that the rectangular panel of the lost original measured, like that version, about 29 × 22.5 cm, and was of the same format as for instance the portraits of Jacques de Gheyn III and Maurits Huygens (Br. 161 and Br. 162) in Dulwich College and Hamburg respectively, both dated 1632. It is not impossible that the lost original can be detected in: 'Rembrandt, Rembrandt's Mother, a very capital Picture, in fine Preservation / height 0 feet 11 inch, width 0 feet 8 inch [= 28.5 × 20.5 cm]', sale London 27 February – 1 March 1766 (Lugt 1506), first day no. 66 (7 guineas).

The lost original must have made a great impression on two pupils. The author of nos. C 19 and C 20 used the turn and tilt of the head in exactly the same way in the Boston *Old man with arms crossed* (no. C 20). Gerard Dou, in a number of oval pictures of the same model, clearly borrowed the expression

and dress from this prototype, though omitting the tilt and turn of the head which in his paintings invariably stands upright on the shoulders.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

Only those versions are listed reproductions and dimensions of which are known to us.
1. Panel (rectangular with painted oval framing), 29 × 22.5 cm (Bauch 449; our fig. 3). Coll. Ch. Sedelmeyer, sale Paris 25–28 May 1907, no. 159.
2. Panel (rectangular with incomplete painted oval framing), 23 × 19 cm. Sale Brussels (Fiévez) 16 December 1929, no. 29 as Gerard Dou (reproduced in catalogue, pl. XIV).
3. Panel (rectangular with incomplete painted oval framing), 23 × 19 cm. Sale Düsseldorf 17 October 1913, no. 19 as Gerard Dou (reproduced in catalogue).
4. Panel (rectangular with uneven painted oval framing) 24 × 18 cm. Private coll. Antwerp (1956).
5. Panel (rectangular with incomplete painted oval framing). Dealer Jurschewitz, Paris (1927).
6. Panel (rectangular with incomplete painted oval framing), 23 × 19 cm. Coll. W. F. J. Laan, sale Geneva 9 June 1934, no. 125 (reproduced in catalogue).
7. Panel (oval), 23.7 × 19 cm (fig. 4). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d' Histoire, Foundation Lucien Baszanger.
8. Panel (oval), 24.8 × 19.7 cm. Cambridge, Mass., The Fogg Art Museum, no. 1962.147.
9. Panel (oval), 25 × 20 cm. Coll. O. Bondy (Vienna), sale New York 3 March 1949, no. 77 (reproduced in catalogue); cf. W. R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1921 (Kl.d.K.), p. 112 (under 'Paintings ascribed to Rembrandt').
10. Panel (oval), 37 × 29 cm. Coll. Lord Rossmore at Rossmore (photograph in RKD).
11. Panel (rectangular), 21.8 × 16.8 cm. Coll. W. C. Alexander, London.
12. Panel (rectangular, 23 × 18 cm. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum (cat. no. 257; our fig. 5). Figure placed very high in picture area against a light background. Scientific data: dendrochronology (Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, Hamburg): measured at top edge 142 annual rings heartwood, datable as 1444–1585. Growing area: Northern Netherlands. Statistical average felling date 1605 ± 5.

8. Provenance

*– Perhaps identical with: 'Le portrait d'une vieille Femme, par le même [Rembrant van Rhein]. Il est peint sur panneau & porte 7 pouces de haut sur 5 pouces de large [= 19.2 × 13.7 cm]' (10 guilders, withdrawn), coll. de Angelis, sale Brussels 15 September 1763 (Lugt 1317), no. 10.
– Coll. F. J. O. Boymans, sale Utrecht 31 August 1811 [B], no. 79: 'Rembrand (van Rhyn). Une tête de femme à moitié éclairée, d'une touche hardie et vigoureuse, on la prend pour la mère de cet auteur célèbre. P. h. 18. l. 14 [cm]'.
– Coll. C. J. H. Franssen, sale Rotterdam 17 March 1890, no. 21 as: G. Dou(?).
– Coll. Dr. A. Bredius, on loan to the Mauritshuis from 1890. Bequeathed in 1946.

9. Summary

One of the numerous copies – and certainly not the most faithful – made after an obviously much admired lost original by Rembrandt that can probably be dated 1631 and already had a direct influence on two pupils, Gerard Dou and the author of nos. C 19 and C 20.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch, Eckstein, Meier-Siem, pp. 491, 494.
2 De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes, pp. 189–190, 216–217.
3 Br. 67.
4 HdG 686; W. R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1921 (Kl.d.K.), p. 123 (S. 35); J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt. Life and Work*, London 1964 2nd edn, p. 371; Bauch 1966, 449; Br.-Gerson 67.

C 42 **Bust of an old woman** (commonly called Rembrandt's mother)

ESSEN, COLL. H. VON BOHLEN UND HALBACH

HDG 685; BR. 64; BAUCH 249; GERSON 35

1. Summarized opinion

An imitation, based on the etching B. 353 which was formerly wrongly attributed to Rembrandt.

2. Description of subject

The old woman's face is seen from the front in strong light falling from the left, with the righthand part lost in shadow. A black head-shawl surmounts her face and spreads out indistinctly over a black overgarment trimmed with black fur. The body is turned slightly to the left; a white shirt, with an upstanding collar, projects above a red bodice.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 20 April 1968 (J. B., S. H. L.) in satisfactory light and in the frame. Two X-ray films, one taken with a moving tube, received later from Dr. Meier-Siem, Hamburg.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Panel, wood type impossible to determine from the front surface, grain vertical, 35.4 × 28.9 cm. Single plank. Back planed very thin, glued to a second panel and cradled (additional information kindly supplied by Dr. M. Meier-Siem, Hamburg, by letter dated 11 June 1974). A crack runs about 4 cm obliquely downwards from the top edge, starting *c.* 8.7 cm from the lefthand side. The back of the second panel has numerous worm-holes (filled in with a white substance) over an area measuring about 26 × 13 cm around the centre; cf. also the X-ray observations. A number of small, clean, round holes (probably also worm holes) visible at the front surface have been filled in with paint, now differing in colour from their surroundings – three at the woman's right eyebrow, one at the tip of her nose, one on the left in the upper lip, three in the white shirt and one just above it in the throat.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: A light brown is visible in the scratchmarks in the shirt and bodice, and shows through in the cast shadow above the woman's left eye and in black parts of the head-shawl and overgarment. In view of an underlying painting it is uncertain whether this actually is the ground.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Satisfactory. Craquelure: a fine, regular pattern of shrinkage cracks, not seen in the X-ray, is visible in the background and in large parts of the dark head-shawl and overgarment. An elongated area at the top in the head-dress shows further gaping shrinkage cracks. This crack formation must be connected with the fact that there are two paintings, one over the other, and prompts the assumption that the first was not completely dry when the second was done on top of it.
DESCRIPTION: The lit areas of the face are painted relatively thickly with disorganized brushwork providing no suggestion of plastic form and using yellowish white and a little pink. Erratic scratchmarks in the paint can be found on the left on the cheek and above the eye, and smaller scratches filled in with black where the lower eyelashes are placed on the eye-pouch. The eye itself is defined very vaguely indeed, and there is no indication of an inner corner. The upper eyelid is given a shadow in red towards the right, and shows short, erratic brushstrokes in red. Similar brushwork is also seen along the eye-pouch and in the mouth area at the mouth-line, which is done in a deep red. On the ridge of the nose a blue-grey and a red stroke, both placed lengthwise, lead into the shadow area consisting of a mixture of brown, grey and ruddy tints. The chin area is made up from a jumble of brown and lighter strokes, from which on the left project a number of dark strokes that seem to be meant to represent a shadow stretching well over to the left.

An overabundance of scratchmarks indicate the collar edges, an embroidered diamond pattern and small folds in the yellowish-white shirt, while below this a triangle of confused, translucent red represents a part of a bodice. The head-shawl is done in a thin, flat grey-black, in which vaguely-seen lines show the position of the edges; a light layer, perhaps the ground, can be glimpsed in a number of places, and elsewhere towards the outline a grey like that of the background shows through. It is unclear how this headgear relates to the dark area below it, where dark brown strokes and a few scratchmarks are apparently intended to depict a fur edge.

The background is in a totally opaque grey, showing hardly any brushmarks. On the right, above the headgear, two curved shapes are visible in relief in the background, giving the impression that there is another picture beneath the top paint layer.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

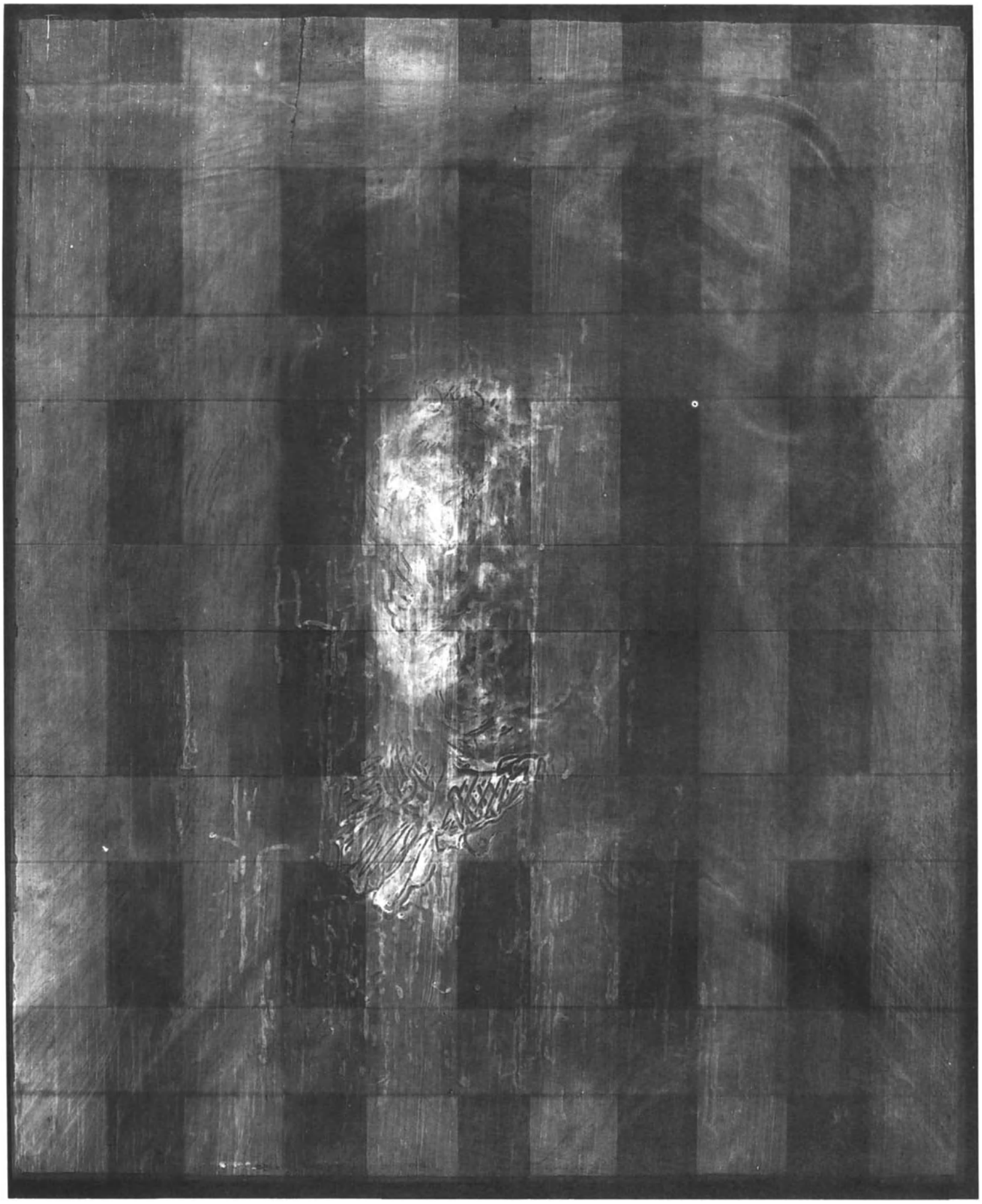
X-Rays

The radiographic image is a little difficult to follow, since in addition to the grain of two panels and to the filled worm passages already mentioned (mainly vertical, with a crosswise connexion here and there) there are two different paintings to be seen. The clearest parts of the present painting are the lit areas of the face and the shirt, both appearing as confused in the X-ray as they are at the visible paint surface, and transected by the clear-cut trace of scratchmarks; the light on the woman's left eye and some subdued light in the shadow in the chin area can also be seen. The background shows long, straight brushstrokes placed roughly around the figure, though these belong to a great extent to an underlying picture – they penetrate large parts of the black head-shawl, and within it they mark the outline of a different and smaller figure. The present contour of the head-shawl is nonetheless visible in general, more or less faintly; the grey of the background has evidently, within the context of the present painting, been strengthened somewhat on top of an existing grey that still shows through in parts of the shawl.

Parts of the underlying picture that are still visible include, first, a dark shape left in reserve and readable as a cap, above which there are the contours of a curved plume, visible as dark lines wiped out into the lighter background (partly with light edges, caused by the displaced paint). These contours (especially the light edges) can also be seen today in relief at the paint surface. Secondly there is, further to the right and left of a head that is otherwise no longer legible (apart perhaps for a section of the cheek outline on the right) beneath the present head, the dark reserve left for the hair hanging down. Thirdly, the shoulder part of a body probably turned slightly to the left is indicated with a few lighter strokes and dark bands. And finally there are a few straight, slanting stripes – some lightish, others dark – that run upwards level with the head and are intersected by the frame on the right (as if forming part of a double-barrelled gun carried on the further shoulder). The way the underlying painting has been done, with predominantly broad lines that appear to have been produced by wiping-out the paint, seems most unusual for a 17th-century painting.

Fig. 1. Panel 35.4 × 28.9 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray



Signature
None.

Varnish
Fairly thick, and yellowed.

4. Comments

The extremely disorganized handling of paint, with strange colour accents (in the lit eyelid and elsewhere), together with the superabundance of scratchmarks that frequently fail to show form as they are intended to do, make it impossible to believe that the painting was done by Rembrandt or even within his circle. The execution is so coarse, and there is so little suggestion of form, that it must rather be described as an extremely superficial attempt to achieve a Rembrandt-like effect. One can comment, furthermore, that neither the flat, opaque grey background nor the use of so much flat, thin grey-black devoid of modelling is imaginable in Rembrandt or his pupils. Everything points to the work being an attempt at simulating a Rembrandtesque effect, made without any understanding of Rembrandt's actual manner of painting.

This conclusion can be supported with two arguments. In the first place, the old woman has been painted on top of another picture which, so far as one can see from the X-ray, is laid in with a most unusual technique that must be termed inconceivable for a 17th-century Dutch painting. This first, apparently uncompleted painting was still not fully dry when the present picture was done on top of it; this can be assumed from the fissure-like nature of the irregular craquelure.

In the second place, the portrait does not, as has been generally assumed in the literature[1], resemble Rembrandt's etching B. 352 of an old woman, of 1628, but rather etching B. 353 (fig. 3). This latter etching has long been regarded as an imitation of B. 352 in combination with B. 354; it was attributed by A. D. de Vries Az. (in: *O.H.* 1 (1883), p. 294) to Samuel van Hoogstraten and by Chr. White and K. G. Boon (Hollst. XVIII, p. 183, no. B. 353) to Michael Lukas Leopold Willmann (Königsberg 1630–Kloster Leubus 1706). This etching was clearly the prototype for the painting, which with one or two variations (the cast shadow of the head-shawl does not extend so far downwards) resembles it so closely that the apparently arbitrary scratchmarks on the cheek at the left and elsewhere become understandable as borrowed from the etching.

The date of no. C 42 cannot for the moment be determined with any accuracy. Etching B. 353 provides a *terminus post quem* of shortly after 1650. Closer investigation of the type of wood used for the panel and, if possible, dendrochronological measurements might perhaps yield more precise information.

Fig. 3. Formerly ascribed to Rembrandt, *Bust of an old woman*, etching (B. 353; 1 : 1)

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance[2]

– Coll. Arthur Sanderson, Edinburgh.
– Dealer Ch. Sedelmeyer, Paris (*Catalogue of 100 paintings* XI, 1911, no. 31).
– Coll. Sir George Donaldson, London.
– Dealer Cottier & Co., New York.
– Dealer A. Preyer, The Hague.
– Coll. Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Essen.

9. Summary

From the execution – in itself confused, and differing in brushwork and use of colour from the habits of Rembrandt and his school –, from the interpretation of the underlying painting seen in the X-ray, and from the use made, as a prototype, of an etching once wrongly attributed to Rembrandt, one must conclude that no. C 42 is an imitation. There is every reason to assume that it was not done until the second half of the 17th century at the earliest.

REFERENCES

1 J. Veth, 'Portret van Rembrandts moeder', *Onze Kunst* 14 (1908), pp. 194–198; Bauch 1933, pp. 57, 182; Bauch 1960, p. 170; Bauch 1966, 249; Br. 64.
2 HdG 685.

C 43 **Bust of an old woman** (commonly called Rembrandt's mother)

BASLE, PRIVATE COLLECTION

HDG –; BR. 65; BAUCH A 3; GERSON –

Fig. 1. Panel 13.5 × 11.3 cm (1 : 1)

1. Summarized opinion

An imitation, probably from the 19th century.

2. Description of subject

The figure, lit from the upper left, is seen from the front. The dark head-shawl stands out against a light background.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 13 June 1968 (J. B., S. H. L.) in good daylight and in the frame.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Panel, probably oak, grain vertical, 13.5 × 11.3 cm (sight size). Single plank. According to von Liphart[1] the original panel has been planed very thin and stuck to a second panel; this could not be seen with the painting in its frame. Back cradled (despite the very modest dimensions).
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Not seen (though suggested by the way paint is applied; see below under *Paint layer*). The ground seems quite thin – the grain structure is visible generally in the paint layer.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Satisfactory. Craquelure: not apparent. There are a few small, irregular cracks at the bottom edge in the black, possibly in paint dating from the addition of a strip that was subsequently removed shortly before 1913[1]. A few small vertical or diagonal fissures are seen elsewhere in the paint layer.
DESCRIPTION: There is hardly any difference in the thickness of the paint layer between the various parts, and the paint is almost uniformly opaque. Touches of various tints applied with a uniform thickness suggest a paint layer that at some places is translucent and allows a light brown ground to show through, and at others is worn and restored. The former occurs in the background that, while painted round the head in a compact grey, is done in the corners in a cloudy grey interspersed with brownish yellow; there are also brown and a few grey vertical stripes that look as if they came from wear on the panel grain and discoloured retouches. On the grey-black head-shawl, wear on the grain of the wood has been imitated with brown paint. The clumsily formed face is painted with careful touches of yellowish flesh colour and grey, while the fur of the overgarment is done with black and brown-yellow worked one into the other.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

None.

Signature

At top right in brown over grey, broken and poorly legible (as if worn) ‹*R 1627*›. The shape and formulation differ from those of Rembrandt's signatures of 1627. Von Liphart[1] wrongly read the year as 1623.

Varnish

A fairly heavy layer.

4. Comments

The observations reported above, which unfortunately could not be checked by microscope examination or any other technical methods of inspection, indicate that this is an imitation done with a great deal of patience and a certain degree of sophistication, the paint layer of which simulates the effects of a stratified structure and various signs of age. Its pictorial merits are nonetheless very slight.

It has already and rightly been rejected by Gerson[2]; Bauch[3], on the grounds of observations that while correct in themselves were misinterpreted by him, regarded it as a work by Jan Lievens retouched by Rembrandt.

In view of the 'naturalistic' character of the imitation, a date in the 19th century seems likely. The added section with seccative craquelure that was mentioned by von Liphart[1], and was removed on his instructions shortly before 1913, would seem at first sight to argue in favour of an earlier dating; yet it could quite well form part of the strategy of the forger, who in other respects as well exhibited a thorough knowledge of the effects produced by ageing and restoration. The same remark would apply to the cradling, inappropriate for such a small panel. Though our documentation on the imitation of signs of age is meagre, it can be assumed from the presence of physical symptoms simulated in the paint (e.g. in a copy after Br. 49 we have examined) that an imitation like this in the 19th century is by no means inconceivable.

In this instance, as for no. C 42, it is probable that etching B. 353 which has long been rejected as a Rembrandt served as the basis for the composition (C 42 fig. 3). This would not explain the eyes being open to different extents and looking in different directions, but the long nose and prominent jaw would certainly be in keeping.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Coll. Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaijevna, S. Petersburg (catalogue in Russian by Baron Wrangel, 1913, no. 22).
– Coll. Frau von Dehn, S. Petersburg[1].
– Coll. Dr. Tobias Christ, Basle.

9. Summary

Imitation, probably from the 19th century. The paint layer simulates the effects of ageing and restoration.

REFERENCES

1 E. von Liphart, 'Reiseeindrücke' II, *Zeitschr. f. b. K.*, new series 24 (1913), pp. 267–274, esp. pp. 272–273, fig. p. 272.
2 Br.-Gerson 65.
3 Bauch 1933, p. 220; K. Bauch, 'Rembrandt und Lievens', *Wallr.-Rich.-Jahrb.* 11 (1939), pp. 239–268, esp. p. 249; Bauch 1960, p. 208; Bauch, 1966, A 3.

C 44 Bust of a young girl

HELSINKI, SINEBRYCHOFF ART MUSEUM, THE FINE ARTS ACADEMY OF FINLAND, INV. NO. 85

HDG 499; BR. 328; BAUCH –; GERSON –

1. Summarized opinion

A reasonably well preserved painting by an unknown hand, date difficult to estimate.

2. Description of subject

Bust, facing three-quarters left and looking at the viewer. The light falls from the left, and the background is neutral.

3. Observations and technical information

Working conditions

Examined on 14 August 1969 (J. B., S. H. L.) in good daylight and out of the frame, with the aid of an X-ray film.

Support

DESCRIPTION: Oak panel, grain horizontal, 26 × 20.6 (± 0.1) cm. Thickness *c.* 1.2 – 1.3 cm. Single plank. Back bevelled along all four sides, at top and bottom over *c.* 3.8 and *c.* 3.2 cm respectively, at left and right over *c.* 5 and *c.* 3.2 cm respectively. Sawmarks producing a milled-edge effect are seen on the left and right; the righthand side is not entirely straight, but slightly concave. The bottom edge shows some splintering.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Ground

DESCRIPTION: Hardly discernible. Brown seems to show through in the shadow close to the temple.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

Paint layer

CONDITION: Over large areas, especially in the left and upper background, the hair and the shadow part of the head, the paint has suffered somewhat and there are retouches, many now darkened, along the horizontal grain. Probably the shadow on the cheek on the right has also been strengthened with a dark grey. Craquelure: a few cracks can be seen in the thickest parts of the lit areas of the face, though they do not appear on the X-ray.
DESCRIPTION: The head in the light is painted quite thickly with a yellowish flesh colour, thickest on the ridge of the nose, with brushwork that is visible to some extent but does nothing to help the suggestion of form. Pink is used here and there on the thickly painted eyelids, along the ridge of the nose and on the cheeks. The eyes are drawn with grey-brown lines, inside which the white of the eye is painted remarkably heavily; the black pupils are positioned somewhat unevenly in the brown irises, and there are tiny white catchlights; a rim of moisture along the lower eyelid is indicated, not very effectively, with dots of white. The heavy mouthline, painted in a thick dark brown, lies partly over the pink upper lip, while the lower lip is executed in a pinkish red with four small spots of white on the left.

The shadow areas give the impression of being a little more thinly painted but are not translucent, partly because of a grey layer (which on the right cheek may be a restoration).

The hair is painted rather formlessly in brown, through which the ground can be glimpsed at various places. Small greyish stripes run downwards over the forehead from thin patches at the hair-line. The earlobe and an earring and pearl are indicated very perfunctorily.

The pleated shirt is indicated, with streaks of white and broken white that do not suggest its form. The cloak shows, over a dark brown, strokes of a lighter brown together with white and yellow highlights such as also appear on the indistinctly shaped buckle, done in a dull ochre yellow.

In the lower left background there is a thickish mouse grey, applied with clearly discernible brushstrokes; further up the grey becomes darker and thinner.
SCIENTIFIC DATA: None.

X-Rays

The radiographic image corresponds generally to what is seen at the paint surface. The brushstrokes show up clearly in the lit areas of the face. The space left in reserve for the hair seems slighty smaller than this area is in the final execution.

Signature

None.

Varnish

No special remarks.

4. Comments

In the lit parts of the head the depiction of form is unarticulated. In other parts, especially in the hair and dress, it is if possible even more indistinct. On top of this there is the fact that the way this panel is used (with the grain running horizontally in a vertical format) is uncommon for a 17th-century painting. It is hard to estimate the age of no. C 44, but one can assume that it is most probably a work done with a particular effect in mind. That a Rembrandtesque effect was aimed at might be deduced only from the nature of the finery worn by the sitter (which is, in fact, indicated very unclearly); one cannot see a direct link with any work by Rembrandt. Symptomatic of the characterlessness that marks the whole painting is the fact that the subject has on some occasions been taken for a young girl (as in the exhibition in The Hague in 1903, and in most of the literature) and on others for a boy (for example in the Amsterdam exhibition of 1898, and by Bauch[1]).

The costume, which is at all events old-fashioned in its effect, provides no clue; the coiffure – if it is to be seen as 17th century – seems rather though not definitely to point to the subject being a young girl.

The attribution by Bauch to a pupil from Rembrandt's Leiden period[1] cannot be ruled out.

5. Documents and sources

None.

6. Graphic reproductions

None.

7. Copies

None.

8. Provenance

– Coll. Perret, 1862 (in which year it was exhibited in Mar-

Fig. 1. Panel 26 × 20.6 cm

Fig. 2. X-ray

seilles) according to a label on the back, on which a later owner signing with the monogram AF (?) also refers to Blanc[2].
– Unknown French collection A. F.(?).
– Dealer F. Kleinberger, Paris[3].
– Coll. D. F. Scheurleer, The Hague; exhibitions Amsterdam 1898, no. 10, as 'Jongenskop... omstreeks 1629' (A boy's head ... *c.* 1629); The Hague (Haagsche Kunstkring) 1903, no. 110, as 'Portret van een jong meisje' (Portrait of a young girl).
– Dealer J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam.
– Coll. Gustav Ritter Hoschek von Mühlheim, Prague (exhibition 'Ausstellung von Werken alter Kunst', Berlin 1914, no. 134A).
– Dealer J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam.
– Coll. Sinebrychoff, Helsinki.

9. Summary

A rather weak painting in which a Rembrandtesque effect has been attempted; the age is difficult to determine.

REFERENCES

1 Bauch 1966, p. 48.
2 Ch. Blanc, *L'Oeuvre de Rembrandt* II, Paris 1873, p. 292.
3 HdG 499.

Tables and Indexes

Table of technical reference material

The following table lists available scientific reference material relating to paintings discussed in the present volume. The data themselves are included in the text of our catalogue entries. Other than for the dendrochronological data (listed on pp. 683-685), no effort has been made to give a survey of the individual information. As a specification of scientific data obtained and interpreted by different methods may easily yield misleading results, only the existence and amount of reference material are indicated, together with the places where it was examined and is currently kept. As for the X-rays listed, most though not all are in the museum's or owner's records as well as in our files, as originals, copy films or paper prints. X-rays of the whole or virtually whole area of paintings are listed in a different column from those covering only part of the painting. A question mark indicates that the number of samples taken and cross-sections prepared is unknown to us. The institutes where research was carried out are listed as follows:

Amsterdam	Central Research Laboratory
Cambridge, Mass.	Center for Conservation and Technical Studies of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University
The Hague	Professor Dr. W. Froentjes, assisted by Mr. L. Kuiper, former restorer at the Mauritshuis, and Mr. W. Verschuren, chief assistant at the Forensic Science Laboratory of the Ministry of Justice, Rijswijk (cf. De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes)
London	National Gallery Research Laboratory
Los Angeles	Los Angeles County Museum of Art
Munich	Doerner-Institut
Paris	Laboratoire du Musée du Louvre
Stuttgart	Institut für Technologie der Malerei

	Support		Ground and paint			Photographic documents				Remarks
	dendrochronology	thread-count	research institutes	number of paint samples	cross-sections	X-radiograph: complete	X-radiograph: partial	infrared photograph	U.V. fluorescence photogr.	
A 1 *The stoning of S. Stephen*, Lyon			Paris	1	1		+	+		
A 2 *Balaam*, Paris						+				
A 3 *Tobit and Anna*, Amsterdam	+					+				
A 4 *Driving-out of the moneychangers*, Moscow						+				
A 5 *Baptism of the eunuch*, Utrecht	+		Amsterdam	19	16	+		+	+	
A 6 *History painting*, Leiden	+		Amsterdam	12	12	+				
A 7 *Musical allegory*, Amsterdam	+		Amsterdam	1	1	+				
A 8 *Man in gorget and cap*, whereabouts unknown						+				
A 9 *David before Saul*, Basle						+				
A 10 *The rich man*, Berlin	+					+				
A 11 *S. Paul in prison*, Stuttgart			Munich Stuttgart	1 4			+			
A 12 *Simeon in the Temple*, Hamburg	+						+			

	Support		Ground and paint			Photographic documents				Remarks
	dendrochronology	thread-count	research institutes	number of paint samples	cross-sections	X-radiograph: complete	X-radiograph: partial	infrared photograph	U.V. fluorescence photogr.	
A 13 *Old men disputing*, Melbourne	+						+			
A 14 *Self-portrait*, Amsterdam	+					+				
Copy 1 of no. A 14, Kassel	+		Munich	1		+				
A 15 *Judas repentant*, private collection			London	11	11	+				
A 16 *Supper at Emmaus*, Jacquemart-André, Paris						+				
A 18 *The artist in his studio*, Boston						+		+		
A 19 *Self-portrait*, Munich	+		Munich	1		+				
A 20 *Self-portrait*, Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston						+		+	+*	*taken before the cleaning of 1954
A 21 *Self-portrait*, The Hague	+		The Hague	10	2	+				
A 22 *Self-portrait*, Japan			Munich	?	?	+				
A 23 *Young man*, Cleveland						+		+		
A 24 *Samson and Delilah*, Berlin	+					+				
A 25 *David playing the harp to Saul*, Frankfurt	+						+			
A 26 *S. Paul*, Nuremberg						+				
A 28 *Jeremiah*, Amsterdam	+		Amsterdam	2	1		+			
A 29 *Old man in a fur cap*, Innsbruck						+		+		
A 30 *Raising of Lazarus*, Los Angeles			Los Angeles	4	4	+		+	+	
A 31 *Andromeda*, The Hague	+		The Hague	12	2	+		+	+	
A 32 *Old woman*, Windsor Castle							+			
A 33 *Self-portrait*, Liverpool							+	+		
A 34 *Simeon in the Temple*, The Hague	+		The Hague	13	2	+		+	+	
A 35 *Christ on the Cross*, Le Mas d'Agenais						+				
A 37 *Old woman reading*, Amsterdam	+		Amsterdam	2	2	+				
A 38 *Minerva*, Berlin	+					+				
A 39 *Abduction of Proserpina*, Berlin	+					+				
A 40 *The artist in oriental costume*, Petit Palais, Paris	+					+		+*		*detail with signature
A 41 *Young man*, Toledo						+				
A 42 *Old man in gorget and cap*, Chicago	+					+		+	+	

	Support		Ground and paint			Photographic documents				Remarks
	dendrochronology	thread-count	research institutes	number of paint samples	cross-sections	complete X-radiograph	partial X-radiograph	infrared photograph	U.V. fluorescence photogr.	
B 1 *Three singers,* Cramer Gallery						+				
B 2 *The operation,* Cramer Gallery						+				
B 3 *The spectacles-pedlar,* coll. Cevat						+				
B 4 *Man in gorget and cap,* Malibu		+*				+				*of canvas covering back of panel
B 5 *Self-portrait,* Stockholm			The Hague	2	2					
B 6 *Man laughing,* The Hague			The Hague	5	1	+*		+	+	*electron emission radiograph
B 7 *Old man,* The Hague	+		Munich The Hague	? 11	? 2	+		+		
C 1 *Samson and Delilah,* Amsterdam	+					+				
C 2 *Esther's feast,* Raleigh		+	Amsterdam	4	2	+				
C 3 *Tobit and Anna,* London			London	5	4		+	+		
C 4 *Tobit,* coll. Middendorf		+					+			
C 5 *Flight into Egypt,* Tours						+		+*		*detail with signature
C 6 *Rest on the flight into Egypt,* formerly coll. Lennox							+	+	+	
C 7 *The tribute money,* Ottawa	+					+		+	+	
C 8 *Christ at the column,* private collection		+					+			
C 9 *Minerva,* Denver						+				
C 10 *Nocturnal scene,* Tokyo								+		
C 11 *Foot operation,* private collection						+				
C 12 *Travellers resting,* The Hague	+*		The Hague	16	3	+		+	+	*of panel on which paper has been stuck
C 13 *Old men disputing,* Cramer Gallery						+		+		
C 14 *Man reading,* London	+		London	3	3	+				
C 15 *Scholar,* Braunschweig	+		Munich	1		+				
C 16 *Hermit,* Paris	+						+			
C 17 *Christian scholar,* Stockholm						+		+*		*detail with signature
C 18 *Man writing by candlelight,* coll. Bader, Milwaukee								+	+	
C 19 *Old woman reading,* Wilton House		+					+			

	Support		Ground and paint			Photographic documents				Remarks
	dendrochronology	thread-count	research institutes	number of paint samples	cross-sections	X-radiograph: complete	X-radiograph: partial	infrared photograph	U.V. fluorescence photogr.	
C 20 *Old man with arms crossed*, Boston	+						+			
C 21 *Man in a turban*, Philadelphia		+				+		+		
C 22 *Old man*, coll. Bader, Milwaukee						+				
C 23 *Man in plumed cap*, private collection	+		Amsterdam	16	12	+		+	+	
C 24 *Old man*, Kassel	+		Munich	2	?		+			
C 25 *Old man*, Leipzig	+					+				
C 26 *Old man wearing a cross*, Kassel	+		Munich	4	?		+			
C 28 *Old man in gorget and cap*, Leningrad						+				
C 29 *Old man*, Cambridge, Mass.	+					+				
C 30 *Old man*, Kassel	+		Munich	3	?		+			
C 32 *Man wearing a gold chain*, Leiden	+					+				
C 34 *Young man laughing*, Amsterdam	+		Amsterdam	2	2	+				
C 35 *Young man*, Cambridge, Mass.	+					+				
C 36 *Bust of Rembrandt*, private collection	+		Cambridge, Mass.	4	1	+		+		
C 37 *Bust of Rembrandt*, private collection	+						+			
C 38 *Young man*, New York	+					+				
C 40 *Young man*, private collection						+				
C 41 *Old woman*, The Hague	+		The Hague	4	1	+		+	+	
Copy 12 of no. C 41, Braunschweig	+									
C 42 *Old woman*, private collection						+				
C 44 *Young girl*, Helsinki						+				

Table of dendrochronological data

This survey of the dating of the wood of panels discussed in the present volume is based on dendrochronological examinations carried out by Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Dr. D. Eckstein, of the Ordinariat für Holzbiologie, University of Hamburg, who were later joined by Dr. P. Klein; their findings will be published in: J. Bauch, D. Eckstein, P. Klein and G. Brauner, 'Dendrochronologische Untersuchungen an Holztafeln von Rembrandt-Gemälden', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 24 (1982). No. C 36 was examined by Mr. J. M. Fletcher, of the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, Oxford University.

In cases where the presence of sapwood made it possible to pinpoint the boundary between heartwood and sapwood, an average felling date for the tree has been arrived at; depending on the age of the tree, allowance then needs to be made for 20 ± 5 annual rings of sapwood.

In cases where no sapwood was present, and an unknown number of annual rings of heartwood might have been lost, the last ring of heartwood counted was used to arrive at the earliest possible felling date.

	last dated annual ring of heartwood	number of annual rings of sapwood present	conclusion as to felling date		other information	date panel was painted	
			earliest poss.	stat. aver.		as inscribed on picture	as accepted
A 3 *Tobit and Anna*, Amsterdam	1602	5		1622 ± 5	because of dense structure after rather than before 1622	1626	1626
A 5 *Baptism of the eunuch*, Utrecht	1598	8		1618 ± 5	because of age of tree after rather than before 1618	1626	1626
A 6 *History painting*, Leiden	1596	–	1611			1626	1626
A 7 *Musical allegory*, Amsterdam	1593	–	1608		because of age of tree after rather than before 1613	1626	1626
A 10 *Rich man*, Berlin	1594	–	1609			1627	1627
A 12 *Simeon in the Temple*, Hamburg	1593	4		1613 ± 5	because of age of tree after rather than before 1613; from same tree as nos. A 38 and B 7	–	1627/28
A 13 *Two old men disputing*, Melbourne	?	–	?		radial board, not datable	1628 (formerly)	1628
A 14 *Self-portrait*, Amsterdam	?	–	?			–	1628
A 14 Copy 1, Kassel	?	–	?			–	?
A 19 *Self-portrait*, Munich	1610	5		1630 ± 5		1629	1629
A 21 *Self-portrait*, The Hague	1595	–	1610		probably a few rings lost through later reduction in size	–	1629
A 24 *Samson and Delilah*, Berlin	1603	6		1623 ± 5		1628	1629/30
A 25 *David playing the harp to Saul*, Frankfurt	?	7		?		–	1629/30
A 28 *Jeremiah*, Amsterdam	1609	–	1624			1630	1630
A 31 *Andromeda*, The Hague	1603	–	1618		some rings lost through later reduction in size	–	1630/31
A 34 *Simeon in the Temple*, The Hague	1589	–	1605		from same tree as no. A 37 and therefore from same date	1631	1631
A 37 *Old woman reading*, Amsterdam	1590	–	1605		from same tree as no. A 34	1631	1631

	last dated annual ring of heartwood	number of annual rings of sapwood present	conclusion as to felling date		other information	date panel was painted	
			earliest poss.	stat. aver.		as inscribed on picture	as accepted
A 38 *Minerva*, Berlin	1593	8		1613 ± 5	because of age of tree after rather than before 1613; from same tree as nos. A 12 and B 7	–	1631
A 39 *Abduction of Proserpina*, Berlin	?	–	?		radial board, not dated	–	1631
A 40 *The artist in oriental costume*, Petit Palais	1609	–	1629			1631	1631
A 42 *Half-length figure of old man*, Chicago	1599	–	1619		from same tree as Br. 338		1631
B 7 *Old man*, The Hague	1569	–		1613 ± 5	from the same tree as nos. A 12 and A 38 and therefore from the same date		soon after 1630?
C 1 *Samson and Delilah*, Amsterdam	1607	–	1622			–	1627
C 7 *The tribute money*, Ottawa	1610	–	1630		because of age of tree possibly somewhat after 1630	1629	not before 1631
C 12 *Travellers resting*, The Hague	1630	(1)		1650 ± 5	the painting is on paper stuck on wood	–	–
C 14 *Man reading*, London	1594	–	1614			–	?
C 15 *Scholar*, Braunschweig	1606	–	1621			–	*c.* 1630?
C 16 *Hermit*, Paris	?	–	?			163(0?)	early '30s
C 20 *Old man with arms crossed*, Boston	?	1		?		–	soon after 1631
C 23 *Man in plumed cap*, priv. coll.	1601	–	1616			1629	1629?
C 24 *Old man*, Kassel	1601	1		1616 ± 5		1632	early 1630s
C 25 *Old man*, Leipzig	1552	–	1567		from middle of trunk, numerous rings thus lost	–	between 1629 and 1633?
C 26 *Old man wearing a cross*, Kassel	?	6		?	radial board not datable	1630	?
C 29 *Old man*, Cambridge, Mass.	?	–	?			–	?
C 30 *Old man*, Kassel	1573	–	1586			–	?
C 32 *Man wearing a gold chain*, Leiden	1613	–	1628			–	?
C 34 *Young man laughing*, Amsterdam	?	8		?		–	early 1630s
C 35 *Young man*, Cambridge, Mass.	1614	–	1629		the wood examined is that of a narrow framing, not of the panel proper	1629	?
C 36 *Bust of Rembrandt*, whereabouts unknown	1610	–	1629			–	1630/40
C 37 *Bust of Rembrandt*, private coll.	?		?				
C 38 *Young man*, New York	1593	13		1613 ± 5		–	well after 1630
C 41 *Old woman*, The Hague	1596	4		1616 ± 5		–	after 1631
C 41 Copy 12, Braunschweig	1585	–	1600			–	after 1631

It was found impossible to date the panels of four authentic works (nos. A 13, A 14, A 25, A 39) and of a number of paintings which may safely be considered approximately contemporaneous (such as nos. A 14 copy 1, C 16, C 20, C 24, C 34). In a number of cases the panels concerned were radial boards (nos. A 13, A 39).

In the case of six panels where datable planks still show some sapwood, and where it is thus possible to estimate the felling date with greater certainty than when an unknown number of rings of heartwood have been lost (nos. A 3, A 5, A 12, A 19, A 24, A 38), the period between the statistically average felling date and the date of painting is, respectively, 4, 8, 14 to 15, – 1, 6 to 7 and 18 years. The average of $8\frac{1}{3}$ lies well above the normal 5 years[1] and three cases show a considerable deviation, two (nos. A 12 and A 38) above and one (no. A 19) below the average period.

It should be borne in mind, however, that quite often the considerable age of the tree suggests a greater number of sapwood than the average of 20 and, therefore, a later felling date than is indicated by the statistical average (nos. A 3, A 5, A 12, A 38).

In the case of fifteen authentic or roughly contemporaneous paintings the datable planks of which do not contain sapwood (nos. A 6, A 7, A 10, A 21, A 28, A 31, A 34, A 37, A 40, B 7, C 1, C 7, C 15, C 23, C 24) research yielded an average period, from earliest possible felling date to date of painting, of upwards of 15 years, the estimated number of years varying between 2 (no. A 40) and 26 (no. A 34). Where the large panels (no. A 6 and to a lesser degree no. A 34) are concerned this ties up with a tendency – noted in a totally different context[2] – to use for these panels planks of wood that had laid in storage longer or been less economically sawn. In general a less economical way of working when sawing the wood – resulting in the loss of an unknown number of annual rings of heartwood – does offer a possible explanation in the case of smaller paintings as well (nos. A 10, A 21, A 28, A 37, B 7, C 25). On top of this, however, account has to be taken of the fact that several panels have more or less demonstrably been reduced on the sapwood side (nos. A 21, A 31, B 7); this naturally leads to the loss of annual rings and – if information derived from other panels from the same tree is lacking – to the felling date being estimated too early. The time elapsing between the hypothetical felling date and the date of painting is, for the panels of paintings we regard as later works or imitations, difficult to establish, since there is usually a great deal of uncertainty about the date of painting. In only one case (no. C 7) has dendrochronology confirmed the dating of a work, already thought to be by a follower for reasons of style, as later than the year inscribed on the picture.

Apart from the dating of wood, dendrochronological examination has yielded interesting information on several panels, as having been made of wood that comes from one and the same tree. This may be taken to mean that panels thus connected were manufactured and sold by the same joiner and, more likely than not, purchased by the same painter or, at least, by painters in the same town at about the same time. As far as the panels dealt with in this volume are concerned, this applies to three groups of panels: nos. A 12, A 38 and B 7, nos. A 34 and A 37, and nos. A 42 and Br. 338. In the case of no. A 42 the panel's connexion with that of a portrait from Rembrandt's Amsterdam period points to it having been painted after he had moved to that city during 1631.

1 Cf. J. Bauch and D. Eckstein in: *Studies in conservation* 15 (1970), esp. p. 47.

2 Cf. data given in D. Eckstein and J. Bauch, 'Dendrochronologische Altersbestimmung von Bildtafeln' in: exhibition cat. *Vor Stefan Lochner. Die Kölner Maler von 1300 bis 1430*, Cologne 1974, pp. 21–23.

Index of paintings catalogued in volume I

Present owners

AMSTERDAM, Rijksmuseum — A 3, A 7, A 14, A 28, A 32 copy 2, A 37, B 4 copy 1, C 1, C 34
ARLES, Musée Réattu — A 22 copy 6
BASLE, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel — A 9, C 16 copy 1
–, private collection — C 43
BELGIUM, private collection — A 36, C 8
BERLIN (West), Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie — A 10, A 24, A 38, A 39
BOSTON, Mass., Museum of Fine Arts — A 18, C 20
–, The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum — A 20
BRAUNSCHWEIG, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum — C 15, C 41 copy 12
BURGHLEY HOUSE, Northamptonshire, coll. Lady Exeter — B 4 copy 2
CAMBRIDGE, Mass., The Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University — C 29, C 35, C 41 copy 8
CHICAGO, Ill., The Art Institute of Chicago — A 30 copy 1, A 42
CLEVELAND, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art — A 23
COPENHAGEN, Statens Museum for Kunst — A 21 copy 3, C 27, C 29 copy 1
DENVER, Col., The Denver Art Museum — C 9
DRESDEN, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister — A 34 copy 1
ENGLAND, private collection — A 15, A 42 copy 1
ESSEN, coll. H. von Bohlen und Halbach — C 42
FRANKFURT AM MAIN, Städelsches Kunstinstitut — A 25
GLASGOW, Art Gallery — A 28 copy 3
GOTHENBURG, coll. Svanström — C 19 copy 2
THE HAGUE, Cramer Gallery — B 1, B 2, C 13
–, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis — A 21, A 31, A 34, B 6, B 7, C 12, C 41
–, State-owned art collections department — A 6, A 15 copy 2
HAMBURG, Hamburger Kunsthalle — A 12
HEIDELBERG, coll. G. K. Korn — C 20 copy 1
HELSINKI, Sinebrychoff Art Museum, The Fine Arts Academy of Finland — C 44
HOUSTON, Texas, The Museum of Fine Arts — C 31 copy 1
INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana, Indianapolis Museum of Art, Clowes Collection — A 22 copy 1
INNSBRUCK, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum — A 29
JAPAN, MOA Museum — A 22
KARLSRUHE, Staatliche Kunsthalle — C 13 copy 1
KASSEL, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe — A 14 copy 1, C 24, C 26, C 30
LEERDAM, Hofje van Aerden — C 3 copy 2
LEIDEN, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal — A 6, C 32
LEIPZIG DDR, Museum der bildenden Künste — C 25
LE MAS D'AGENAIS, Lot et Garonne, parish church — A 35
LENINGRAD, The Hermitage Museum — C 28
LIVERPOOL, Walker Art Gallery — A 33
LONDON, The British Museum — A 12 copies 1 and 2
–, The National Gallery — C 3, C 14
–, coll. A. Sóos — A 34 copy 2
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Listed are previous owners (under proper names), institutions (under place names) and anonymous sales (under place names in chronological order).

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Two old men disputing	see under Bible, New Testament, S. Peter and S. Paul

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