A CORPUS OF

REMBRANDT PAINTINGS

IV

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Stichting Foundation
Rembrandt Research Project

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IV

THE SELF-PORTRAITS

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A CORPUS OF
REMBRANDT
PAINTINGS

ERNST VAN DE WETERING

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Springer

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Paris, Musée du Louvre



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We are grateful for the help of René J.Q. Klomp (Stibbe Lawyers, Amsterdam) and Ralph E. Lerner (Sidley Austin Brown & Wood Lawyers, New York)

Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project
A CORPUS OF REMBRANDT PAINTINGS IV

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ISBN-10 1-4020-3280-3 (this volume)
ISBN-13 978-1-4020-3280-6 (this volume)
ISBN-10 1-4020-3276-5 (limited numbered edition)
ISBN-13 978-1-4020-3276-5 (limited numbered edition)

Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number 82-18790

This work has been made possible by the financial support of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and the University of Amsterdam (UvA).

Published by Springer,
P.O. Box 17, 3300 AA Dordrecht, the Netherlands
www.springeronline.com

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Typesetting – Pre Press bv,
Zeist, the Netherlands
Printing – Ter Roye printing company
Oostkamp, Belgium
Binding – Binderij Callenbach,
Nijkerk, the Netherlands

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Preface

The Rembrandt Research Project: Past, Present, Future

This book differs from the previous volumes of *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, not for the mere sake of change, but rather as a result of art-historical and methodological developments in our approach to the issues involved. Indeed, it became increasingly evident that our original working procedures required revision.

At first sight, our statement of the problem would seem unchanged: which paintings in Rembrandt's style were painted by the master himself? In preparing pre-vious volumes, however, it had become increasingly clear that our inquiry into the autograph Rembrandt oeuvre would be more effectively pursued by paying greater attention to the questions of when, where, and for what purpose the *non*-autograph paintings were done. Research on Rembrandt's workshop practice, the training of his pupils and the contribution to his production by these pupils and by assistants was therefore gradually intensified. Although this issue had already been explored in an essay in Volume II,[1] use of this knowledge in investigating authenticity was still germinal. In Volume III and in the catalogue of the exhibition *Rembrandt: The master and his workshop* held in Berlin, Amsterdam and London in 1991/2, Josua Bruyn published important essays outlining our growing insight into the structure of the workshop production.[2] During the latter exhibition, however, the application of this knowledge to the attribution issue still led to constructions that were only partly tenable. One of the central themes in this volume, but more especially in the forthcoming Volume V, is the relationship between the master's work and that of his pupils. We believe we have brought greater clarity into this problematic area. We are not primarily interested in connecting the names of pupils to non-Rembrandt paintings, but rather in discovering the conventions of seventeenth-century training- and workshop practices (which appear to have also existed in the workshops of, for example, Frans Hals, Jan Steen or Gerard Terborch).

This shift in approach affects the nature, organisation and magnitude of both this and the following volume. If the catalogue entries on disattributed paintings in previous volumes – the so-called C entries – are compared with our discussion in this and the next volume on paintings which we either suspect or are convinced are not by Rembrandt, these entries are often extensive, sometimes even more so than those on paintings we consider to be autograph Rembrandts.

The growing interest in the *raison d'être* of the putative non-Rembrandts, however, had other consequences as well. At the inception of the RRP in 1968, in order to define the field of investigation within workable limits, the point of departure was Abraham Bredius' 1935 canon of Rembrandt paintings. At that stage, the aim was to address all 611 paintings catalogued by Bredius (as well as the Rembrandts discovered after 1935).[3] Whilst working on Volume I, however, it became obvious that the project could not be completed within the intended time. Accordingly, the decision was taken, beginning with Volume II, to use the substantially smaller canon of Horst Gerson published in 1968,[4] effectively reducing the number of paintings to be treated from 611 to 420 works. This was done on the assumption that Gerson had correctly filtered out many of the paintings on Bredius' list that simply could not be by Rembrandt. However, taking Gerson's list as a basis itself turned out to be problematic when it became apparent that he had disattributed a number of paintings which, in the view of the RRP, could well be by Rembrandt.[5] A more serious matter was that restricting the group of paintings to be discussed by almost 200 meant that the number of dubious or in-authentic works was drastically reduced. What had initially seemed to be a labour-saving decision resulted in an unjustifiable limitation of the field of investigation with the result that any patterns in the workshop production became less clearly discernible. In fact, it became clear that paintings *not* included by Gerson were of paramount importance in the research conducted for the present volume for some of the 'self-portraits' disattributed by Gerson shed surprising new light on the nature of production in Rembrandt's workshop. The new insights were possible only because we had *expanded* the group of works to be investigated to an extent approaching Bredius' canon and when necessary beyond it.

This expansion and the greater attention paid to the non-Rembrandts naturally affected the scope of the book and the time necessary for the project. The Volume IV originally intended had to be split into two separate volumes to avoid creating a single unwieldy tome. The reason these volumes are devoted to specific categories of paintings, viz. the self-portraits in this volume and what we have come to call the small-figured history pieces[6] and related paintings in Volume V, is elucidated later in this *Preface*. A significant and regrettable outcome of this division (decided at a relatively late stage) is that some of the introductory chapters also relevant to this volume will have to be included in the following one. This applies to an essay on aspects of workshop training that seemed applicable mainly to small-figured history pieces but which – as we later discovered – is also relevant to self-portraits. The essay on methodological issues related to connoisseurship is also reserved for Volume V. Accord-

1 See *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* II, 1986, Chapter III, 'Problems of apprenticeship and studio collaboration', pp. 45-90 (E.v.d.W.).

2 See *Corpus* III, 1989, Chapter II, 'Studio practice and studio production', pp. 12-50; J. Bruyn, 'Rembrandt's workshop: functions & production', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt; The master and his workshop (Paintings)*, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie/Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum/London, National Gallery 1991-92, pp. 68-89.

3 A. Bredius, *Rembrandt schilderijen*, Utrecht 1935; *Corpus* I, 1982, *Preface*, p. XVII.

4 H. Gerson, *Rembrandt paintings*, Amsterdam 1968; *Corpus* II, *Preface*, p. X.

5 *The artist in oriental costume*, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais (I A 40); *The Apostle Peter*, Stockholm (II A 46); *Portrait of a 39-year old woman*, Nivaa (II A 62); *Bellona*, New York (II A 70); *Cupid*, Vaduz (II A 91).

6 With small-figured history paintings we mean those paintings with figures smaller than life-size and generally full-length. In such paintings, the space in which the figures occur is usually far more extensively defined than in the history pieces with life-size, virtually never full-length figures. For this reason the few landscapes from the period after 1642 are also included in this volume.

ingly, these two aspects are touched on only briefly in this *Preface*. The reader is asked to treat this *Preface* and the relevant essays in Volumes IV and V as relating to both books.

The history of the project in terms of the formulation of the questions and the choice of methods

While Volume V will include a more exhaustive essay on methodological matters, particularly the significance of connoisseurship in relation to Rembrandt research, some comment is needed here, at the outset, on the way this aspect developed within the RRP. It will be necessary to examine some of the crucial episodes of the RRP's history, since mistaken views on this matter persistently recur, not only in the press but also in the writings of professional colleagues about the project. To give some idea of just how radically our ideas have had to change since 1968, it might be useful to quote a passage from a lecture in which Josua Bruyn, the first chairman of the research team, introduced the RRP to the community of Rembrandt specialists at a symposium entitled *Rembrandt After Three Hundred Years* held in Chicago in October 1969:

'I should like to emphasise that the majority of rejected pictures, which till now tended to be relegated more or less automatically to his [Rembrandt's] school, do not belong there. Even Dr. Gerson, in his recent edition of Bredius' catalogue, resorts too often, in my opinion, to attributions to Flinck, Van den Eeckhout and Jan Victors, even though, in other cases, he considers rejected Rembrandt pictures later copies or imitations. I think that in these latter cases he is generally right. I also think that these later imitations, whether they are innocent pastiches or conscious fakes, are responsible for many more mistaken attributions than the school-pieces. These imitations [.....] present a formidable problem that has hardly been tackled at all. For the greater part, they have not yet been recognised, let alone grouped according to date and place. Some of them can boast fabulous pedigrees, going back to famous eighteenth-century collections, or were reproduced in eighteenth-century prints.' [7]

The advantage of this working hypothesis, no matter how untenable it later proved to be, was that it raised the expectation that scientific research could be an exceptionally useful tool for detecting these alleged later imitations. Materials and techniques would be encountered in such imitations and forgeries that would provide irrefutable evidence of a genesis beyond Rembrandt's time and circle.

The surprisingly strong *a priori* assumption that there would be many imitations and forgeries in circulation was undoubtedly in part due to the Van Meegeren affair in 1945-7 involving fake 'Vermeers' and other forgeries.[8] Having traumatised both the art-historical and museum worlds, this affair engendered veritable paranoia regarding possible forgeries. Yet this scandal, and the role of the laboratory in resolving it, also generated great optimism regarding the potential of scientific research methods in art-historical investigation. Without the need for a full-fledged Vermeer investigation, research conducted at the Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique in Brussels (one of the few laboratories specializing in this area at the time) demonstrated that the painter Han van Meegeren's claim to be the author of the most admired of the Vermeer forgeries, the *Supper at Emmaus* in the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam (the present Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum) was in fact true. Nor should one overlook the impact of the Van Meegeren debacle on the RRP in its initial period. Bob Haak, the instigator of the RRP, began his career in 1950 as an assistant to the art dealer D.A. Hoogendijk, who, after the 'discovery' of the painting by Abraham Bredius in 1937,[9] had acted as the bona fide intermediary in its purchase by the Boymans Museum. Naturally, the Van Meegeren affair made a deep and lasting impression on Haak. Over years of discussing the question of authenticity with Daan Cevat (an art dealer and collector of works by Rembrandt and his school), the suspicion of the existence of many later Rembrandt imitations was a steadily recurring theme. It was this suspicion that influenced the RRP's approach at the start of the project.

In this climate, too, the announcement that the RRP would make the greatest possible use of technical investigation was enthusiastically received. In the international press it was even suggested that, thanks to the application of these methods, the RRP would once and for all eliminate all doubts regarding the authenticity of paintings attributed to Rembrandt. As a result, the art historical world was under the impression that the members of the RRP held pretensions of writing the definitive Rembrandt catalogue, which quite understandably elicited very mixed feelings. After all, it was unlikely that all non-Rembrandts were later imitations or forgeries, since it was known that Rembrandt had had pupils who worked in his style. This, however, was an area of contention. The question was whether these pupils followed Rembrandt so closely that their work was indistinguishable from that of the master. The catalogue of Cevat's collection, for instance, had conjured up an image of the School of Rembrandt which seemed to preclude any confusion between the work of the master and that of his pupils.[10] The same would also apply to Sumowski's later publication, the monumental series *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler* (1983-1994). In his *Introduction*, Sumowski explicitly defended the idea that Rembrandt

7 *Rembrandt after three hundred years: A symposium,* Chicago 1973, p. 36.

8 See P.B. Coremans, *Van Meegeren's faked Vermeer's and De Hoogh's, a scientific examination*, Amsterdam 1949; and M. van den Brandhof, *Een vroege Vermeer uit 1937. Achtergronden van leven en werken van de schilder/vervalser Han van Meegeren*, dissertation, Amsterdam 1979.

9 A. Bredius, 'A new Vermeer', *Burlington Magazine* 71 (1937), pp. 210-211.

10 Exhib. cat. *Rondom Rembrandt. De verzameling Daan Cevat,* Stedelijk Museum 'De Lakenhal', Leiden 1968, with an *Introduction* by Bob Haak.

'with a teacher's unmistakable idealism, (had) tried to bring out the individuality of his pupils.' According to Sumowski, the fact that despite their training in history painting some of his pupils later worked as genre or landscape painters 'agrees completely with Rembrandt's ideal of the individual. The Rembrandt imitators did not work in his spirit.'[11] Thus, at the project's outset in 1968 it was possible for hundreds of paintings in the style of, but apparently not by Rembrandt, to be largely considered as either mala fide imitations or bona fide pastiches.

Whilst in theory it may sometimes be possible to prove that a painting is *not* by Rembrandt by means of technical investigation, the converse – using the same methods to prove conclusively that a painting *is* certainly by Rembrandt – is never possible. It may be redundant to labour the point that, on the one hand, historical works of art are complex man-made objects whose materials, manufacture, as well as style and quality can vary even when made by the same person, while on the other hand works that are closely related in just these respects could have been done by different painters, e.g. in Rembrandt's immediate circle. If only for this reason, it seemed useless to search for some material or technical idiosyncrasy specific to Rembrandt that would provide the key to the authenticity problem. Moreover, such a search would not be possible in practice, as we soon discovered: Rembrandt's oeuvre is accessible for this kind of research only to a very limited and varying degree. In their Diaspora, his paintings and those attributed to him have to some extent found their way into small museums, or private collections, where thorough investigation is scarcely feasible. For this reason alone, there is little likelihood of assembling the kind of corpus of comparative data that one might ideally wish. Collecting paint samples and samples of other materials from such valuable and important paintings, moreover, is also subject to great restrictions, depending on the museum or owner. Furthermore, the different material history of each painting may have introduced all kinds of changes and contaminations in the paintings, making any comparison of their material properties a very risky business.

The initially high hopes for the scientific research held by the project's initiators were therefore already seriously dampened quite early on. In particular, a symposium organised by the RRP together with the then Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science in Amsterdam in 1969, on the limits and possibilities of such research, proved decisive in this respect. Attending this symposium were those with experience in Rembrandt research using X-ray and other radiographic methods, experts on the analysis of grounds and other paint samples, and the analysis of wood supports and canvas.[12] The discussions demonstrated that, so far, the results of these research methods applied to Rembrandt had yielded little of significance for the determination of authenticity. For example, in so far as could be gathered, works by the early Jan Lievens appear to be identical in technical and material aspects to those by Rembrandt from the same period, while on the other hand, the striking incoherence of Kühn's research results on the grounds created the impression that no materials and techniques specific to Rembrandt or his workshop could be distinguished.[13] Moreover, the materials in question could have been used in Rembrandt's time or subsequently, often even up to the present time.

Nevertheless, we did not abandon the idea that some advance could be made by collecting, combining and interpreting the already existing information together with comparable new information. And this decision was to turn out to be crucial. For instance, in the first 15 years of the project dendrochronology proved to be of inestimable value. The gradually growing body of dendrochronological data compelled a radical revision of the above-cited working hypothesis. No single oak panel came from any tree felled substantially later than the year to which the painting in question was dated on the basis of style or the date it bears. Moreover, the fact that it seemed possible to demonstrate that two or more panels came from the same trunk in relatively many instances indicated that there was a high degree of probability that the works concerned were painted in the same workshop.[14] For instance, we long considered The Hague *Bust of an old man in a cap* (I B 7) to be a later imitation. Its panel, however, turned out to have come from the same plank as the panels of the Hamburg *Simeon in the Temple* (I A 12) and the Berlin *Minerva* (I A 38). The Braunschweig *Portrait of a man* (II C 70) and *Portrait of a woman* (II C 71) were also initially considered as later imitations, but the panel of the woman proved to have come from the same tree as the centre plank of the Chicago *Man in a gorget and black cap* (I A 42). Something similar occurred in the research on the grounds. For example, when, at our request, Kühn repeated his work in the collections of Kassel and Dresden, a certain type of double ground often encountered in Rembrandt's early paintings on canvas was also detected in paintings that the RRP had at first thought suspect.[15] Accordingly, it had to be concluded that they were not later imitations. Our own research published in this volume has shown the value of studying grounds (see Chapter IV).

However, neither dendrochronological investigation nor the research on grounds (for which relatively easily

11 W. Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler* I - VI, Landau/Pfalz 1983 - 1994, see esp. Vol. I, p. 14.

12 *Symposium on technical aspects of Rembrandt paintings*, organised by the RRP and the Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science, Amsterdam, 22-24 September 1969. A summary of this symposium was written by Renate Keller, but not published.

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

14 See *Corpus I*, pp. 683-85; *Corpus* II, pp. 865-66; *Corpus* III, pp. 783-87 and in the present volume *Table of dendrochronological data*, pp. 648-659.

15 H. Kühn, 'Untersuchungen zu den Pigmenten und Malgründen Rembrandts, durchgeführt an den Gemälden der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Kassel', *Maltechnik/Restauro* 82 (1976), pp. 25-33; 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. For our criticism of Kühn's initial working method and results, see Vol. I, pp. 17-20.

acquired sample material was made available) yielded *direct* evidence either for or against an attribution to Rembrandt. The X-radiographs that were acquired in vast quantities also failed to provide decisive arguments for an attribution to Rembrandt. But they did contain a wealth of information on such aspects as the manufacture, genesis, the use of the materials and the material history of the paintings in question. These three techniques dendrochronology, research on grounds, and X-radiography (with the latter's potential for investigating the canvas) came to play the most important roles in the project. Not only did they often provide interesting information, but just as importantly, they could be implemented on a larger scale than other research techniques, such as the sophisticated and expensive neutron-activated autoradiography with which some thirty paintings attributed to Rembrandt were investigated in New York[16] and later in Berlin. Nor did this technique provide the decisive key to the question of authenticity. However, it did sharpen our understanding of certain aspects of the artist's working method and of certain stylistic characteristics.[17]

Once it had become apparent (thanks to the results of dendrochronological research and the study of the grounds) that paintings previously doubted on stylistic grounds could not be later imitations or forgeries, the project participants were forced to accept their reliance on a form of evaluation largely consistent with traditional connoisseurship. However, in contrast to the usual lapidary pronouncements on a painting's authenticity – or lack thereof – made by earlier experts, the members of the RRP attempted to voice their arguments as explicitly as possible. Another difference with our predecessors was that – as said – we continued our intensive use of scientific research, but primarily to gain insight into the genesis and into aspects of the painting technique and the material history of the paintings under investigation. The painting as 'object', therefore, received greater emphasis than previously. However, connoisseurship, particularly evaluating the *peinture*, played a decisive role in arriving at an opinion as to its authenticity. That the *peinture* can often be better discerned in the X-radiograph than on the paint surface, together with the fact that each painting was investigated *in situ*, gave us the feeling that we could see more than our predecessors and that, therefore, our judgements were better founded.

Our procedure was that, for each trip, two members of the team (in changing combinations) would travel to investigate paintings on the spot in a geographically determined group of museums and collections. Naturally, this meant that they could not be studied in chronological order and that no individual member saw all of the paintings. Given the current opportunities and means of travel, in practice each member saw more than the previous generations of Rembrandt experts. However, like those experts, as a rule we had to have recourse to photographs and reproductions for an overview of the oeuvre as a whole (or, in practice, to investigate a relevant group of Rembrandtesque paintings in their interrelationship). For Volumes I – III, in addition to the detailed descriptions we made while investigating each of the paintings, we relied on black and white photographs and – to varying degrees – colour slides of details in the paintings. We only began making systematic use of colour transparencies while preparing this and the following volume.

At an early stage the question was raised by the RRP's critics whether a 'collective expertise' was in fact possible. However, the late 1960s and 70s was a time of great belief in teamwork generally, although it gradually became clear that actual sharing of visual experiences – let alone communicating them – is virtually impossible. As research in the past years has shown, memory – also visual memory – is not a particularly reliable instrument. Memories, thus also the images stored in the visual memory, are radically altered by a variety of factors. One might think that nowadays the ready availability of excellent photographic material would circumvent 'the unreliability of mental images', i.e. the tendency to distort mental images, but in fact working with photographs proved riskier than we initially thought, if only because it is well-nigh impossible to maintain awareness of the often large differences in scale in the visual material. Moreover, the technical characteristics of photographs from different sources differ significantly.

Connoisseurship nevertheless continued to be highly rated by the majority of the team members, particularly because the consensus in the opinions reached was often surprisingly strong. In the conscious pursuit of consensus, however, we scarcely realised the unnoticed role that group dynamics must have played.[18] In addition, the fact that a set of unconscious *a priori* assumptions implicitly and significantly affected our considerations was for a long time not fully understood. These assumptions concerned the limits of the variability of personal style, the gradual nature and regularity of an artist's development, and the (assumed limited) degree to which – in the case of Rembrandt – more than one hand would have worked on a painting. These aspects are addressed in greater detail in our essays in Volume V, which are devoted to the methodological implications of connoisseurship and the question of the participation of more than one hand in Rembrandt's production.[19]

The *a priori* assumptions of the relative constancy of

16 M.W. Ainsworth e.a., 'Paintings by Van Dyck, Vermeer, and Rembrandt reconsidered through autoradiography', *Art and Autoradiography*, New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 1982, pp. 9-99.

17 E. van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The painter at work*, Amsterdam 1997, Chapter IV.

18 A briefer discussion of the problematic side of working in a group may be found in the section 'Some reflections on method' (E.v.d.W.) in: the *Preface* to *Corpus* I, pp. XIII – XVII, esp. p. XVII; see also the comment by Haak, cited in: A. Bailey, *Responses to Rembrandt*, New York 1994, p. 61: 'You are prepared to take risks when you have a companion. If you are riding a bike alone and you come to a red light, you stop. But when you have a friend riding with you, you may give each other the necessary daring to ride through.'

19 See also E. van de Wetering, 'Delimiting Rembrandt's autograph oeuvre – an insoluble problem?', in: exhib. cat. *The mystery of the young Rembrandt*, Kassel, Staatliche Museen / Amsterdam, Museum Het Rembrandthuis 2001/02, pp. 58-81.

Rembrandt's style and the gradual nature of its development seemed to be justified as long as there was a certain 'density' of paintings well suited for comparison, existed in Rembrandt's oeuvre. This seemed certainly to be the case for the period 1625-42. Stylistic characteristics discerned in clusters of related paintings from a relatively brief period were extrapolated to the subsequent brief period. In the process, deviations from the period norm could either lead to disattribution or be 'tolerated' if they could be explained, whether on the basis of stylistic and technical developments or because the painting in question was assumed to have a particular function, for example, when it was unusually sketchy. At this point, since the results of technical investigation carried hardly any weight in attribution and disattribution, this strictly inductive stylistic approach was the only way forward. The need to underpin our views with thorough and solid arguments often led to rationalisations of these views that were as useful as they were dangerous. They were useful because the reader of *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* could follow, or have the sense of being able to follow, the process by which an opinion about a painting originated. Yet they were dangerous because specifying a set of explicit criteria in fact meant excluding the implicit, intuitively applied criteria. It was precisely in this twilight zone that *a priori* assumptions and other unconsciously introduced arguments could so insidiously influence the decision-making process. As one of the project's critics put it in conversation, the rational argumentation might, in fact, conceal underlying, more intuitive decision-making processes without the members of the RRP being aware of it.

In fact, in this phase of the project the members put so much faith in connoisseurship, precisely because of their efforts to provide a rational basis for their views, that objective data pointing in a different direction were sometimes 'reasoned away'. Salient examples of this are the *Head of an old man* (I C 22) and the *Bust of a laughing man in a gorget* (I B 6). Both works were disattributed by the majority of the team despite the fact that J.C. van Vliet made prints of them shortly after their genesis with an inscription by Van Vliet stating that Rembrandt was the 'inventor' of the painting in question. This commitment to the strict application of stylistic criteria led to the historical evidence being overruled. It was in instances such as these that consensus within the team was breached. In the case of I B 6 constantly recurring discussions led to a compromise: the painting was included in the B-category (*Paintings Rembrandt's authorship of which cannot be positively either accepted or rejected*). For I C 22 the author of this *Preface* incorporated a minority opinion, setting a precedent that was occasionally followed in subsequent volumes, where the dissenting opinion might concern either attribution or disattribution by the majority of the team.[20]

Public disclosure of differing viewpoints in this way was not merely intended to make known the fact that members disagreed. It was more importantly a deliberate demonstration that in historical research, where countless imponderable factors are involved, consensus among a group of researchers does not necessarily imply the correctness of their common judgement. More seriously, as the above examples of disagreement showed, differing 'Rembrandt images' had begun to emerge. At this point, Max Friedländer's remark in his *Von Kunst und Kennerschaft* of 1946 came to mind: 'One should gather up the courage to say "I do not know" and remember that he who attributes a painting incorrectly displays unfamiliarity with two masters, namely of the author, whom he does not recognise and of the painter, whose name he announces.'[21]

In the meantime, the team members began to realise that the working method adopted for the first three volumes of *A Corpus* could not be employed as such for the segment of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre from the 1640s and early 50s, because Rembrandt's presumptive oeuvre from this period – and its coherence – is surprisingly limited. A reassessment of the methodology, and perhaps a radical revision of the working method were clearly called for. This and other factors led to the decision to terminate the project with the publication of Volume III.

When financial support was requested in 1968 from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) – then still the Netherlands Organisation for Pure Scientific Research (ZWO) – it was assumed that the entire project would take no more than ten years. Since this term would be exceeded by twelve years with the publication of Volume III, it was not expected that further funds would be provided. Another reason for terminating the project was that three of the five members of the team were decreasingly able to participate in the actual conduct of the research and in writing the texts for the *Corpus*. This of course increased the workload for the remaining two members, all the more so because of growing disagreement over the epistemological question: that is, with what degree of certainty our judgements of authenticity could be stated. But the most important reason for ending the project was that four of the five team members had reached an age when they were also retiring from their other positions.

In April 1993, the four older members of the RRP, Josua Bruyn, Bob Haak, Simon Levie and Pieter van Thiel, announced in a letter to the editor of *The Burlington Magazine* that they had withdrawn from the project.[22] Their departure was scheduled to take place at the closing of the Rembrandt exhibition held in Berlin, Amsterdam and London in 1991-1992, in which several members of the RRP were involved. While working on Volume III, the author of this *Preface* had already been faced with the dilemma of whether or not to continue the

20 See *Corpus* Vol. I A 22, C 22, C 26; Vol. II B 8, C 70, C 71; Vol. III C 103.

21 M.J. Friedländer, *Von Kunst und Kennerschaft*, Oxford/Zürich 1946, p. 158: 'Man soll den Mut aufbringen, "ich weiss nicht" zu sagen und daran denken, dass wer ein Bild falsch bestimmt, damit die Unkenntnis zweier Meister offenbart, nämlich des Autors, den er nicht erkennt, und des Malers, dessen Namen er verkündet.'

22 J. Bruyn, B. Haak, S. H. Levie and P. J. J. van Thiel, 'Letter to the Editor', *The Burlington Magazine* 135 (1993), p. 279.

project once the four older members had retired, and had stated his desire to do so, although only on the condition that he could embark on a new course: one that at that moment was certainly not yet entirely clear. By the time of completion of Volume III in 1989, changes in the working method were already being tested, with Josua Bruyn the only older member of the original team, actively – albeit sceptically – participating in these experiments up to his retirement in 1993. That the four older members of the team, the founding fathers of the project, should have permitted their much younger colleague (who at the outset of the project had worked as an assistant, and only joined the team officially in 1971) to continue the project, was highly magnanimous. They could have simply decided with their departure to discontinue their legacy, the title and concept of the project. In their letter to *The Burlington Magazine* of April 1993, however, they expressed the view that while certain changes suggested by the author of this *Preface* had 'received a sympathetic hearing from the other team members' these changes had 'failed to generate the enthusiasm necessary for a concerted change of course'. This prescient formulation was certainly correct in so far that developing a new approach, partly with new team members, did indeed prove to be a turbulent process.

Continuation of the RRP was made possible by the renewal of generous support from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), which had funded the project since 1968 and from the University of Amsterdam (UvA), which adopted the RRP in 1999. The UvA supported the project from the beginning by making work time available for Josua Bruyn and (from 1987 onward) Ernst van de Wetering and by providing the structural facilities, such as housing, etc.[23] The latter was not the only member of the research team to remain. Lideke Peese Binkhorst, the secretary of the team up till then, who had also conducted research on provenances and reproductive engravings as of 1969 and played a crucial role in the production of the published volumes of the *Corpus*, decided to continue working on the project in its new form. In addition, Michiel Franken and Paul Broekhoff, the two research assistants affiliated to the project since 1989 and 1991 respectively, both continued their activities. The plan was to form a research group partly consisting of researchers from other disciplines – with whom we had worked closely in the past – and to attract a few new specialists, as well as several new members for the Foundation's board. The new team and the new board members were introduced in a *Letter to the Editor* of *The Burlington Magazine* in November 1993.[24] (The way the new team was assembled is described in greater detail below.) The same letter to *The Burlington Magazine* also announced that the owners and managers of the paintings to be investigated would be able to consult our catalogue entries well before their publication, so that they could react to the information they contained and to our views on the authenticity of their paintings. We also pledged that their corrections and additions would be incorporated and that their views and arguments, where they differed from ours, would be represented whenever possible in our texts. In retrospect, both intentions turned out to be problematic. Splitting our treatment of the paintings to be investigated (as described below) between catalogue texts – containing the more objective information – and the essay, *Rembrandt's self-portraits: Problems of authenticity and function* (Chapter III), on which work continued under considerable pressure up to the last minute, led to the owners being sent only the catalogue texts, while the decisive discussion often occurred in the chapter. Besides, although it was perfectly possible to react to the texts that were sent to them, this was seldom done.

In the first years following the renewal of the team and working procedure, several new members withdrew because – as with the previous team – the energy and dedication required for the work of the project proved difficult to combine with the demands of their professional positions. There were also disagreements over the work itself, while further friction associated with the question of intellectual property also played a part, a complex issue which is sometimes impossible to avoid when working as a team. The anticipated advances in interdisciplinary collaboration, however, where not wholly realized. Once again, it appeared that those who finally wrote and edited the texts (art historians with an affinity for particular auxiliary disciplines), largely had the task of interpreting the auxiliary specialist information in a wider context and editing it into the text. The initiatives for much of the more general research came from questions put by those overseeing the project as a whole, viz. the authorial members of the team.

Revision of both methods and core aims of the project was effected on various fronts. As early as 1975 it had already become clear that research on more general aspects of the production of paintings in the seventeenth century would be required to answer the many questions raised by the material investigated. Given the effort and, more pressingly, the time required for such research, it was initially thought that such 'supplementary' work might detract from the 'real' work because it rarely contributed directly to the central issue of authenticity. In fact, however, it often contributed considerably to the 'transparency' of the works under investigation and led to deeper insight into both workshop practice and into seventeenth-century ideas on certain pictorial aspects which, consciously or unconsciously certainly played a role in our assessment of paintings with an eye to their authenticity.

In reconsidering the RRP's goals and working methods, this supplementary research was increasingly integrated into the project.[25] Within the framework of

23 From 1968 to 1985, the project was housed in the Art History Institute of the University of Amsterdam (UvA) at 2 Johannes Vermeerstraat. In 1985, in connection with the retirement of Josua Bruyn, the project was accommodated at the Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science, 8 Gabriël Metsustraat in Amsterdam. In 1994 we returned to the Art History Institute of the UvA, which in the meantime had moved to 286 Herengracht in Amsterdam.

24 E. van de Wetering, 'Letter to the Editor', *The Burlington Magazine* 135 (1993), pp. 764-765.

the RRP intensive research was carried out on the manufacture and use of canvas, as well as on the production and trade of panels and the standard sizes and formats of such supports.[26] In addition, seventeenth-century practice was investigated with regard to the compositon of grounds and their application to panel and canvas in specialized workshops.[27] The long-pressing question of the nature of Rembrandt's binding mediums was also addressed.[28] A chapter on Rembrandt's method of working in the *Nightwatch* and his late paintings is included in the present author's book *Rembrandt: The painter at work* (see note 25).

Concerning the more artistic and art-theoretical aspects of Rembrandt's art, research was aimed at clarifying his possible views on the conception of a painting,[29] the function of underdrawing and underpainting,[30] the role of the coloured ground in the initial stage of the work processes,[31] the sequence in which areas were worked out,[32] the use of the palette,[33] notions of colour, light and tone and their interrelationship and their function in the depiction of space, illusionism and composition.[34] Seventeenth-century ideas concerning the 'rough and the fine manner' were also studied.[35] Attention was given to the place of the pupils in the workshop and educational methods in the painter's workshop,[36] and to the issue of seventeenth-century ideas on autography.[37] While our insight into the choice and significance of costumes in paintings by Rembrandt and his circle grew,[38] attempts were also made to deepen the (art-) historical context of works such as oil sketches[39] and 'tronies'.[40] The function and meaning of Rembrandt's self-portraits were subject to further investigation;[41] changes in Rembrandt's paintings due to ageing processes were set in the context of the aesthetic and art-theoretical considerations,[42] and factors that could have had a bearing on the development of Rembrandt's fame and the place of 'art lovers' in the appreciation of the master in the seventeenth century were also examined.[43] Patrons and buyers were subject to

25 Some of the results of this research was (re-)published in E. van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The painter at work*, Amsterdam 1997.

26 With respect to the panels, see *Corpus* I, pp. 11-17; J. Bruyn, 'Een onderzoek naar 17de-eeuwse schilderijformaten, voornamelijk in Noord-Nederland', *O.H.* 93 (1979), pp. 96-115; E. van de Wetering op. cit.[25], pp. 11-17. With respect to the canvas support, see *Corpus* II, pp. 15-44; E. van de Wetering op. cit.[25], pp. 91-130.

27 *Corpus* II, pp. 17-20; C.M. Groen, 'Schildertechnische aspecten van Rembrandts vroegste schilderijen, microscopische observaties en de analyse van verfmonsters', *O.H.* 91 (1977), pp. 66-74; H. Kühn conducted an analysis of grounds at the request of the RRP (see note 15); E. van de Wetering op. cit.[25], pp. 23-24; 95-128; in this volume, see Chapter IV and the *Table of Grounds* by C.M. Groen, pp. 660-677.

28 E. van de Wetering op. cit. [25], pp. 224-243; C.M. Groen, 'An investigation of the use of binding medium by Rembrandt. Chemical Analyses and Rheology', *Zeitschrift für Kunsttechnologie und Konservierung* 11 (1997) Heft II, pp. 207-227.

29 E. van de Wetering op. cit. [25], pp. 75-89.

30 *Corpus* I, pp. 20-24; E. van de Wetering op. cit.[25], pp. 23-32, 203-211.

31 E. van de Wetering op. cit. [25], pp. 22-23, 211-215; see Chapter IV and the *Table of Grounds* by C.M. Groen in the present volume.

32 *Corpus* I, pp. 25-31; E. van de Wetering op. cit. [25], pp. 32-44; 193-222.

33 E. van de Wetering, 'De paletten van Rembrandt en Jozef Israels, een onderzoek naar de relatie tussen stijl en schildertechniek', *O.H.* 107 (1993), pp. 137-151. In an edited form it appeared as: 'Reflections on the relation between technique and style: the use of the palette by the seventeenth-century painter', in: A. Wallert, E. Hermens. M. Peek (eds), *Historical painting techniques, materials and studio practice. Preprints of a symposium*, Leiden, 26-29 June 1995, pp. 196-201; E. van de Wetering op. cit. [25], pp. 133-152.

34 E. van de Wetering op. cit. [25], pp. 149-152,179-190, 251-257.

35 E. van de Wetering, 'Rembrandt's brushwork and illusion; an art-theoretical approach', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt: The master and his workshop* (Paintings), Berlin/Amsterdam/London 1991-92, pp.12-39; E. van de Wetering op. cit. [25], pp. 155-169.

36 *Corpus* II, pp. 45-46, see note 2: K. Bauch (*Rembrandt Gemälde*, Berlin 1966, pp. 47-49) suggested an attribution to Flinck in three cases and in one considered an attribution to J. A. Backer. In his revised edition of A. Bredius, *Rembrandt*, London 1935/1969, H. Gerson mentions G. Flinck as the (possible) author of twelve paintings; E. van de Wetering, 'Isaac Jouderville, a pupil of Rembrandt' in: exhib. cat. *The impact of a genius; Rembrandt, his pupils and followers in the seventeenth century*, Amsterdam/Groningen 1983, pp. 59-69; E. van de Wetering op. cit. [25], pp. 47-72; M. Franken, '"Aen stoelen en bancken leren gaen". Leerzame vormen van navolging in Rembrandts werkplaats', in: P. van den Brink en L. Helmus, *Album Discipulorum J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer*, Zwolle 1997, pp. 66-73; the forthcoming *Corpus* V, Chapter II: M. Franken, 'Variants within the painting production in Rembrandt's workshop'.

37 *Corpus* II, pp. 48-51; E. van de Wetering, 'The question of authenticity: an anachronism? (A Summary)', in: *Rembrandt and his pupils*, Nationalmusei Skriftserie n.s. 13, Stockholm 1993, pp. 9-13. Also published in *Künstlerischer Austausch / Artistic Exchange*, Akten des 28. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte Berlin 15.-20. July 1992 (ed. Th. W. Gaehtgens) 1993, Vol. II, pp. 627-630; in the present volume, Chapter I: J.A. van der Veen, 'By his own hand. The valuation of autograph paintings in the seventeenth century'.

38 M. de Winkel, '"Eene der deftigsten dragten", The iconography of the *tabbaard* and the sense of tradition in Dutch seventeenth-century portraiture', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995), pp. 145-166; M. de Winkel, '"Eene onbedenkelyke verandering van dragten, en vremde toestellingen omtrent de bekleedingen…". Het kostuum in het werk van Arent de Gelder' in: exhib. cat. *Arent de Gelder, Rembrandts laatste leerling*, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum / Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum 1998, pp. 87-98; M. de Winkel, 'Costume in Rembrandts self-portraits' in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, London, National Gallery/The Hague, Mauritshuis 1999/2000, pp. 58-74; M. de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings*, Amsterdam 2005.

39 E. van de Wetering, 'Remarks on Rembrandt's oil-sketches for etchings', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt the Printmaker*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum/ London, The British Museum 2000, pp. 36–63.

40 J.A. van der Veen, 'Faces from life: Tronies and portraits in Rembrandt's painted oeuvre', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. A genius and his impact*, A. Blankert (ed.), Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria/Canberra, National Gallery of Australia 1997/98, pp. 69-81; N. van Eck, *Jongemannen-Tronies*, master's thesis University of Amsterdam 2000; contributed to the symposium *'Tronies' in de Italiaanse, Vlaamse en Nederlandse schilderkunst van de 16de en 17de eeuw*, The Hague, 19/20 October 2000.

41 In exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, London/The Hague 1999/2000: E. van de Wetering, 'The multiple functions of Rembrandt's self portraits', pp. 8-37; V. Manuth, 'Rembrandt and the artist's self portrait: tradition and reception', pp. 38-57; M. de Winkel, 'Costume in Rembrandt's self portraits', op.cit.[38], pp. 58-74; see esp. M. de Winkel's Chapter II and E. van de Wetering's Chapter III in the present volume.

42 E. van de Wetering op. cit. [25], pp. 245-263; E. van de Wetering, 'The aged painting and the necessities and possibilities to know its original appearance', in: *Conservare necesse est, Festskrift til Leif Einar Plahter*, IIC Nordic Group, Oslo 1999, pp. 259-264; this article also appeared in: H. Cantz (ed.) *Horizons. Essays on art and art research. 50 Years Swiss Institute for Art Research*, Zürich 2001, pp. 399-406.

43 E. van de Wetering, 'The miracle of our age: Rembrandt through the eyes of his contemporaries', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. A genius and his impact*, A. Blankert (ed.), Melbourne/Canberra 1997/1998, pp. 58-68; E. van de Wetering, 'Rembrandt's "Satire on art criticism" reconsidered', in: *Shop talk. Studies in honor of Seymour Slive*, (eds. Cynthia P. Schneider, William W. Robinson, Alice I. Davies e.a.) Cambridge, Mass. 1995, pp. 264-270.

further investigation,[44] as were connoisseurship and aspects of human perception.[45]

While we were initially inclined to consider the publications resulting from such research as spin-offs of the project, it became increasingly clear that the knowledge so developed contributed directly or indirectly to the arguments bearing on the question of authenticity. The expansion of our knowledge of workshop practice and of the supply of materials, for example, or the ideas informing the genesis of paintings, helped us better to weigh the significance of particular observations and the results of scientific research. Hypotheses could be developed and tested. More than stylistic arguments alone could be brought to bear in arriving at a judgement of a painting's possible authenticity.

The model that took shape in our thinking was that of a (more or less marked) convergence of evidence from various different areas. In the catalogue entries in this volume, the reader will encounter an approach which, by probing the weight and significance of the data, by correlating this information in various combinations and progressively, step by step, following the inferences to be drawn from these correlations, is aimed at answering the following questions. Can the painting be seventeenth-century? If so, are there indications that it could come from Rembrandt's workshop? If that is the case, are there indications that it is a copy, or does the work betray a genesis which would suggest that the maker was also the person who developed the conception of the work? If the answer to the latter question is yes, can it be the work of Rembrandt himself, or of a pupil or an assistant, or was it executed by several people? The role of the signature also received more attention, though provisionally it carried weight only in the (re)consideration of paintings from the period up to 1642 (on this, see also below). Only when all the 'objective' data have been weighed are arguments regarding style and quality introduced.

This approach, which might occasionally seem pedantic, was adopted in order to avoid the risk of resorting to an *a priori* conception of Rembrandt's style, as sometimes occurred in Volumes I-III. These arguments do not all carry the same weight. However, in many instances they all point to the same likely solution which, depending on the strength and conformity of the constituent arguments, can be more or less probable. This is in no way altered by the fact that none of the constituent arguments are decisive in themselves, the point is the mutual cohesion of the arguments. Moreover, the arguments differ in nature, addressing not only the brushwork or the kind of pentimenti, but various aspects of the painting, such as: the support, format, composition and colour of the ground, the type of underpainting, the procedure regarding the order of working, the relation between foreground and background, the character and types of changes or sketchiness during the genesis of the work, physiognomic indications in the case of the self-portraits, the relationship with other works – which may or may not be by Rembrandt (for instance old copies of or prints after the work in question) – and any connection with seventeenth-century documents in which the work is mentioned. As for the support and ground, the scientific evidence can afford certainty, for instance in establishing a limiting date of origin, while in other aspects X-radiography and other kinds of radiography play an important role in clarifying the relationship to a possible prototype, for instance in the case of what appears to be a free workshop copy or variant (see for further discussion Chapter III, *The Bayesian approach*, pp. 108-109).

The process of discovery in a research project such as that of the RRP, may alter the entire calculus of probability. As will become clear in this volume, new information on a previously unimagined aspect of Rembrandt's workshop practice can revise the probabilities and shift the balance of the entire structure of convergent argument such that the earlier conclusion, developed from an assessment of the evidence previously amassed, now has to give way to a different solution (see IV 17, the Stuttgart *'Self-portrait'*, and Chapter III, pp. 117-132). Ultimately, of course, no conclusive evidence or proof can be provided, only degrees of probability, which may nonetheless be very high. The case of the Stuttgart *'Self-portrait'* also demonstrates that arguments based on style and quality can lead to very different judgements. In that particular case, the new assessment could – at least in part – be plausibly supported by the same set of arguments that had earlier suggested a diametrically opposite view of the painting's authenticity. Supplementary research (i.e. not directly applied to the problems of authenticity) was and remains crucial to a project like this (see notes 25 – 45).

Organisation of Volumes IV – V

The grouping of the paintings in Volume IV and V differs from the earlier volumes. The arrangement of Volumes I-III was based on the belief that proceeding strictly chronologically would be the best way of following Rembrandt's stylistic development. In view of the large number of stylistically related paintings produced by Rembrandt (and in his workshop) between 1625 and 1642, this seemed to be the obvious approach.

In the 1640s and early 1650s Rembrandt's output of paintings was so small and at the same time so diverse that no coherence can be found in the work of any one year. Certainly with the later Rembrandt, there are steadily fewer instances of formulae being followed in the production of a painting, so that a comparison of paintings on the basis of similar elements (eyes, nose, mouth, cap, turban etc.) is of little help in assessing them. Moreover, it is not always clear how long Rembrandt continued to work on certain paintings, hence the value

44 *Corpus* II, Chapter IV: J. Bruyn, 'Patrons and early owners', pp. 91-98; J.A. van der Veen, 'Schilderijencollecties in de Republiek ten tijde van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia', in: exhib. cat. *Vorstelijk Verzameld. De kunstcollectie van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia*, The Hague, Mauritshuis 1997, pp. 87-96; also published in English; J.A. van der Veen, three articles in: *De Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 1998 pp. 14-31, 1999 pp. 24-40 and 2003 pp. 46-60.

45 Forthcoming *Corpus* V, Chapter I: E. van de Wetering with the assistance of E. Gordenker, 'Reflections on method'.

of the dates on them is limited when it comes to locating them within the production of a particular period.

With the growing understanding of Rembrandt's workshop practice, moreover, it became obvious that each category of paintings had developed in its own way and made specific demands on the painter, if only because it was rooted in a specific tradition.

This insight had consequences for our art-historical, stylistic and technical determinations. In the introductory essays in the first three volumes the paintings were already considered in groups, but generally, for understandable reasons, only after the catalogue entries had been written (cf. *Corpus* I: 'The Stylistic Development'; *Corpus* II: 'Stylistic Features of the 1630s: The Portraits'; and in *Corpus* III: 'Stylistic Features of the 1630s: The History Paintings'). Work on these essays generated unforeseen refinements of our understanding of Rembrandt's pictorial ideas and methods which as a rule could only be incorporated summarily in the catalogue entries, if only to avoid repetition. This meant that the catalogue entries could contain no more than *part* of the stylistic arguments relating to the authenticity of the painting in question. As a result of this experience it was decided that, beginning with the present volume, stylistic arguments and matters relating to pictorial quality that might be important in assessing authenticity would be addressed in a separate essay (in the case of this volume, Chapter III titled: *Rembrandt's self-portraits: problems of authenticity and function)*. Thus, these essays differ from those in Volumes I-III in that the criteria that are set out are applied to the discussions of authenticity and of individual paintings in the essay itself.

Consequently, the arguments concerning authenticity or lack thereof are introduced both in the catalogue entries (with the more 'objective' arguments) and in the chapter on style and quality. As a rule the conclusions of the corresponding texts are briefly summarised in both.

Where possible, the point of departure was those works from the relevant category of paintings that are so documented that they can be considered autograph. In the case of the small-figured history scenes, they are so distributed over the chronology of Rembrandt's production that they provide a range of – in our view – significant criteria of authenticity for the period 1640-1669. As appears in Chapter III in the present volume, this was possible to a far more limited degree for the self-portraits. In the light of the nature of workshop production by Rembrandt and his pupils, which began to emerge during our research, the value of written documents is relatively limited. The documents in question must be buttressed with evidence from other areas, for instance a genesis characteristic for Rembrandt to be deduced from the X-radiograph (and sometimes, especially for the history pieces, the existence of preparatory and interim sketches).

By dealing with limited categories of paintings (self-portraits, small-figured history pieces) produced over a long strech of time, there was the risk that the range of criteria of authenticity used would be too limited. However, as will be evident from the relevant essays, it was precisely this restriction that allowed the possibility of not only grasping characteristics specific to this category, but also of gaining a clearer picture of Rembrandt's pictorial views and certain features of his artistic temperament.

We had earlier decided to avoid the risk of following a working approach whose basis would be too narrow. To this end, activities were developed covering a large part of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre. While preparing Volumes I-III we had been dealing with a gradually shifting 'front' in the chronology, and looked for comparative material chiefly in the earlier work that we had accepted. In our new approach, large parts of Rembrandt's later work are dealt with. The problematic field of the 1640s was approached in this fashion, i.e. both from the preceding period as well as retrospectively from the 1650s and 60s. This occurred on the more theoretical front[46] and in the writing of the so-called core texts, in which our observations, technical data, the documentation and literature are worked up to such a level that the detailed knowledge of large groups of paintings could continually inform work on the individual catalogue entries.

As already mentioned, this volume is devoted to the self-portraits (i.e. works, of whatever intended function, produced in front of the mirror and works by others, based on Rembrandt's own production in this field) and the forthcoming Volume V to the small-figured history paintings including the painted landscapes. Each volume covers the period *c.* 1640 to 1669. The catalogue section of this volume, however, will be preceded by a recapitulation of the paintings of the same categories that were painted between the early Leiden period and 1642. In this recapitulation the developments in our own views of the individual paintings will be given special emphasis. Newly discovered paintings from the period before *c.* 1640 are also discussed in the same context, but will be dealt with in more detail in catalogue texts under *Corrigenda et Addenda.*

Of course, to some extent this grouping, like all others, is to some extent artificial. Thus the line dividing self-portraits from 'tronies' is not always clear, nor is the distinction we make in Volume V between what we call small-scale and large-scale history pieces. In practice, however, the arrangement followed here has worked well. As is evident from our essay on the self-portraits, concentrating on physiognomy, for example, produced additional criteria. In the small-scale history pieces, the fact that the figures are in a much more elaborate setting than in the history pieces with life-size figures (as a rule half-length figures) proves to be important in the analysis of Rembrandt's painting techniques, particularly in relation to the rendering of space. Valuable attribution criteria can be developed from this, which will then also be applied to the few landscapes dated after 1642 treated in the same volume. We have decided to devote catalogue entries to lost paintings, as far as we know

46 E. van de Wetering op. cit. [25], pp. 155-190; E. van de Wetering, lecture: 'The unfinished in Rembrandt's work', Symposium Melbourne, 4 october 1997.

them from painted or drawn copies or reproduction prints (see in this volume IV 10).

Abandoning the ABC system

One of the most distinctive differences between Volumes IV-V and Volumes I-III is that we have abandoned the widely discussed ABC system.

In the earlier volumes, the A-paintings (*Paintings by Rembrandt*), the B-paintings (*Paintings Rembrandt's authorship of which cannot be positively either accepted or rejected*) and the C-paintings (*Paintings Rembrandt's authorship of which cannot be accepted*) in the earlier volumes were treated in successive sections of each volume. The principal reason for relinquishing this system was that in many cases no indisputable answer can be given to the question of authenticity. In Volumes I-III the B-category should perhaps have been the largest rather than the smallest. It is important to stress that the team's classification of a painting in one of the three categories was emphatically presented as a matter of *opinion*. The inclination to keep the B-category as small as possible was not so much an expression of great self-confidence in attributing or disattributing paintings, but rather an unconscious response to the social need for the greatest possible clarity relating to the art-historical, museological or financial value of a work of art. However, the *Corpus* volumes are not primarily intended to facilitate the unequivocal labelling of paintings in museums. Neither are they written for use in such matters as estate divisions, art investments, the art trade and so forth. The concern of the *Corpus* is research on Rembrandt's painted oeuvre, on the production in his workshop and the related methodological problems. The intention of Volumes IV and V is to report on that research and the considerations that played a role therein and not, as was still somewhat the case in the previous volumes, to serve as a reasoned list of authentic and inauthentic (and a number of doubtful) Rembrandts. The aim of our statements on the question of authenticity in this and successive volumes is to go no further than can be justified. Since, as stated earlier, arguments are employed in our discussions that inevitably imply various kinds of *a priori* assumptions, it is all the more imperative that the reader should think and decide along with us, as it were. This is why in each case we try to convey the full extent of our doubts. The same considerations led to the decision to present the paintings we believe to be authentic together with those we consider doubtful in the catalogue in chronological order (as determined by stylistic features and the dates found on the works).

Relinquishing the ABC system also means that the paintings we believe to be workshop variants on Rembrandt's works and which in the past were classified in the C-category, can now be considered together with Rembrandt's presumed prototypes. This underscores the point discussed above that along with authenticity the broader question of the production of Rembrandt's workshop has been given high priority.

These changes, however, do not mean – and this should be emphasised again – that we have renounced the RRP's original intention of making the question of authenticity its central concern. We do not share the view, held by some, that the entire production of Rembrandt's workshop, including his own oeuvre, should be seen as a single body of works in which differentiating between hands ceases to be relevant.[47] On the contrary, we are convinced that certain patterns in the workshop production as a whole will become visible and comprehensible only if we persevere in the attempt to isolate Rembrandt's own work from the large body of Rembrandtesque paintings. That is why we do not hesitate to express our own opinions as to the authenticity of the paintings dealt with.

The last, but certainly not the least important reason for abandoning the ABC arrangement was that it became increasingly clear that workshop practice in the production of paintings in Rembrandt's studio was even more complicated than we had thought. In particular, there is the possibility that conception and execution might have been in different hands, or that more than one hand might have been involved in the painting of a single work.

Relinquishing the ABC system, however, unfortunately means that the continuity of the original numbering is broken. As of this volume, a painting will be indicated by the number of the relevant volume and a serial number per volume, beginning with no. 1. In referring to paintings in previous volumes, we decided to add the number of the relevant volume (for instance, I A 12 or III B 10) for the sake of convenience. We apologise for this and other unavoidable breaks in the continuity. This also applies both to the minor and more major changes in the organisation of the entries discussed in the following section.

The organisation of the entries

The entries in Volumes IV-V have not been structured in quite the same way as in previous volumes. There were several reasons for this, all primarily relating to methodological concerns. In the first place, the strict distinction between description and interpretation in the old structure could no longer be justified. It implied a degree of objectivity in the descriptive sections that cannot, in fact, be substantiated. The illusionistic reality created in a work by painterly means cannot be adequately described as a true reality, as was done in the section headed *2. Description of subject* in the first three volumes. On the other hand, for the same reason there is little point in describing it as a collection of brushstrokes and colours in a flat plane as we tended to do under *3. Observations and technical information, Paint layer*.

In the past, for the sake of consistency, the description of the subject included aspects that also could be seen at a glance in the illustration of the painting and thus

47 E. H. Gombrich, 'Rembrandt new', *The New York Review of Books*, March 1970: 'Rembrandt's studio had the nature of a collective body of artists working under the supervision of the master'; A. Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol (1616-1680). Rembrandt's pupil*, Doornspijk 1982, pp. 18-19.

needed no description. Where other relevant aspects are concerned, it is often impossible to do justice to them in words. Of course, the description of the subject is a necessary discipline, which helps to make one aware of what is depicted. We remain fully persuaded that the work, even when well reproduced, does not entirely speak for itself. We also believe, however, that readers can see for themselves whether a figure is shown half or full-length, or turned to the left or the right, or gazes at the viewer, or is lit from the left or the top right, etc. Consequently, we no longer systematically provide this kind of information. We are now more concerned with drawing the reader's attention to those aspects that are or may be important in the interpretation of the painting, or are unclear or require explanation. This means that in our descriptions we no longer necessarily aspire to comprehensiveness, and therefore we decided that they would no longer be presented under a separate heading. Our observations on the subject are incorporated in the section *Introduction and description.* The first lines of this section are used to outline for the reader the problems presented by the painting in question, so that the main points in our discussion of the work will be clear from the outset.

In presenting observations, data and interpretations under the headings *Support, Ground* and *Paint layer*, we have abandoned the division into DESCRIPTION on the one hand and SCIENTIFIC DATA on the other, normally used in Volumes I-III. Experience had taught us that there was no point in making a sharp distinction between the two kinds of information. The significance and relevance of scientific data can vary greatly, especially in the case of paint samples. We have therefore now incorporated these data in the texts at those points where they serve a useful function.

Abandoning the rigid structure of the catalogue texts in the interest of greater flexibility in the presentation of information and interpretation makes this volume to some extent less easily accessible than previous ones. On the other hand, in the new form the relevance of information and the weight given to it are more readily apparent. The fact that this obliges the user to read the whole text may be seen as a drawback, but we have done our best to make our texts as readable as possible. Assessment of the various arguments is assigned to the *Comments* in the catalogue texts and in Chapter III in the case of the present volume.

Our very sparing treatment of the signature when present requires further explanation. In the section *Signature* we limit ourselves in this and the following volume to a transcription, and where necessary a summary description of the inscriptions encountered on the painting in question. While Volumes II and III were in preparation, cooperation had begun with a team of researchers led by Prof. W. Froentjes at the Forensic Laboratory of the Dutch Ministry of Justice in Rijswijk with the purpose of investigating the authenticity of signatures. The RRP contributed detail photographs of signatures on paintings dating from 1632 to 1642, which were analysed by the team using comparative handwriting analysis of those signatures with Rembrandt's name written out in full.[48] The aim of this pilot project was to determine whether comparative analysis as used by forensic handwriting experts could produce significant results in the study of signatures on old paintings.[49] This project proved so promising that it was decided to cooperate regularly with the researchers at the Forensic Laboratory, in a subproject involving the analysis of *all* signatures on paintings dating from 1642 to 1669, since this is the only way of establishing a hypothetical core of original signatures. The results of this research, however, could not be incorporated in Volumes IV-V. While the earlier signatures as a rule are better preserved because the majority were applied to panels, generally speaking the later signatures (primarily on canvas) are so badly preserved – and often reinforced by later hands – that they could only safely be investigated with comparative handwriting analysis after material investigation. Not only was the late Rembrandt signature easier to imitate; the subsequent overwhelming interest in his later work also meant that these signatures suffered more at the hands of cleaners and restorers and were more susceptible to forgery, making it far more difficult to isolate a core of reliable signatures for the period after 1642. However, the question of whether forensic handwriting analysis can simply be applied to Rembrandt's painted signatures, however, will have to be subjected once again to fundamental investigation: in daily life Rembrandt used Gothic writing. Signatures in Italian cursive or a derivation thereof were applied only a few times a year by the apparently far less productive later Rembrandt. One cannot therefore rely on the premise – essential for handwriting analysis – that Rembrandt's painted signatures were routine inscriptions. The question will have to be reconsidered whether handwriting analysis for Rembrandt after 1642 can yield reliable results. Under *Addenda* nos. 1 and 2 in this volume, the signatures do, however, play a role in our deliberations. In the period when these paintings in question originated (between *c.* 1632 and 1634), Rembrandt's monogram (and later his signature) evolved such that their shape in relation to the style of the paintings in question is far more significant. It certainly cannot be assumed that potential later imitators had specific knowledge of the stylistic evolution of Rembrandt's work in relation to the evolution of his signature. Moreover, in both cases it could be proven that the inscriptions were written immediately upon completion of the paintings. Nevertheless, there is in theory always room for doubt over an apparently original monogram or signature since it is not clear to what extent members

48 The choice of signatures on paintings dating from 1632 and later was based on the assumption that the monograms of 1625 to 1631 and the 'RHL van Rijn' signatures would provide insufficient evidence for producing a meaningful result.

49 W. Froentjes, H.J.J. Hardy and R. ter Kuile-Haller, 'Een schriftkundig onderzoek van Rembrandt signaturen', *Oud Holland* 105 (1991), pp. 185-204 (with an extensive English summary); idem, *A comparative handwriting examination of Rembrandt signatures.* Published in the proceedings of the XXVIIIth International Congress of the History of Art, Berlin 15-20 July 1992. Proceedings published by Akademie Verlag, 1993, pp. 595-606.

of Rembrandt's workshop were allowed to mark paintings in his manner.

The changes in the organization of the entries described above are reflected in the way in which illustrations are used. In Volumes I-III, as a rule illustrations of details of individual paintings were located in the catalogue entries, so that readers wishing to make comparisons had to leaf through the book in search of comparative material. In the essays on style and authenticity in Volumes IV-V, however, we have brought together as far as possible illustrations of those elements which we believe lend themselves to comparison. Colour illustrations are included where this is feasible and useful.

As with previous volumes, those seeking to use our book as a source for complete bibliographies of the individual paintings will be disappointed. In the case of Rembrandt little is to be gained by pursuing comprehensiveness in this regard. Anyone browsing through the files compiled by some museums containing *all* the texts in which the paintings in question are discussed or mentioned will despair at the sea of irrelevant occasional writing devoted to the artist. It is perhaps surprising to have to conclude that, in the case of a considerable number of Rembrandt's paintings, not a single text has ever been written that adds significantly to the purely visual knowledge of the work. We cite only those books, catalogues and articles that in our view make a contribution worth endorsing or contesting. Naturally, we also build on the knowledge gathered by others and on the insights provided by our predecessors and contemporaries, and we aim to use all of the historical sources available that can shed light on the RRP's central concerns. Nevertheless, the project's most important objective continues to be to extract as much information as possible from the paintings, as sources by themselves, and to establish the context from which they originated. We hope that, like us, the reader will be struck by the wealth of previously undiscovered aspects of these paintings that clarify the question of their authenticity and deepen our understanding of Rembrandt as an artist.

With this account of the modified design of the entries, the *Notes to the Catalogue* that were published in Volumes I-III (which there preceded the catalogue section) are now dispensed with.

The staff and financing of the RRP

Following a phase of preliminary research prior to the project's official commencement on 1 January 1968, the original team consisted of six members. Josua Bruyn, professor of art history at the University of Amsterdam, had previously worked on stylistic problems related to Rembrandt, and became the chairman. Bob Haak, chief curator and later director of the Amsterdam Historical Museum was responsible for initiating the project. He had been closely involved with the Rembrandt Exhibition in 1956 and since then had been intensively concerned with issues of authenticity surrounding Rembrandt. As author of the groundbreaking book *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst* (1964), Jan Emmens, professor of art theory and iconology at the University of Utrecht was particularly concerned with iconographic and iconological issues. Jan G. van Gelder, (emeritus) professor at the University of Utrecht, the Nestor of the group, had been the teacher of Bruyn and Emmens, and had previously worked on Rembrandt's early oeuvre. Furthermore, Simon H. Levie, director of the Amsterdam Historical Museum, and later of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, and Pieter J. J. van Thiel, chief curator, and later director of the department of paintings at the Rijksmuseum, also joined the team.

Jan Emmens died in 1971. Attempts to fill his position as specialist in iconology were unsuccessful. At the beginning of the project Ernst van de Wetering, the author of this *Preface*, and chairman since 1993, worked as an assistant. When Jan van Gelder fell ill in May 1968, he stepped in during the first research trip and remained involved with the research of the paintings, formally joining the team in 1971. Though not a scientist, his appointment in 1969 as staff member of the Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science in Amsterdam allowed him to maintain ties with the world of scientific investigation. In 1979, Jan van Gelder decided to end his involvement with the project once Volume I had appeared – it finally appeared in 1982 – but in 1980 he deceased.

The degree to which the members of the original team contributed to the activities varied greatly. This was only partly related to the demands made by their professional positions in museums and universities. Another reason was the differences that emerged between the team members' views of the desirable extent of scientific and other research in the project.

Lideke Peese Binkhorst had headed the secretariat since 1969[50] and, as indicated above, she became increasingly involved with other aspects of the project, such as pursuing the provenances of the paintings and reproductive engravings. Over the years, she was also closely involved in preparing the volumes for publication. In the course of the years she served as an indispensable link between the active members of the team, and between the past and present activities connected with the project. In 1984 Jacques Vis was recruited as an assistant and co-author for a number of the catalogue entries. He was succeeded in 1989 by Michiel Franken, who had earlier been Van de Wetering's assistant in the Central Research Laboratory between 1981 and 1983, assisting with the investigation of artists' canvas. During that period he had been introduced to various aspects of the project. He was to be occupied mainly with the preparation of the material for the planned volumes which resulted in 'core entries' (see above). He also worked on the entries on the small-figured history pieces for Volume V, which includes an essay by him on the artistic and educational-theoretical background of the workshop variant.

Paul Broekhoff, originally a student at the University of Amsterdam who had taken part in seminars related to the RRP, was affiliated with the project between 1991 and 1997. He first served as an administrative assistant. As a scholarly assistant he later worked chiefly on the present volume, contributing to the research on the paintings themselves and the provenance of the self-portraits and related copies and reproductive engravings, among others.

Whereas the original RRP team consisted of a group of like-minded art historians who invited outside experts to conduct additional research when necessary, the intention following the departure of the four older members in 1993 was that the new team should be interdisciplinary.

The nature of the collaboration with various specialists in the past had already resulted in their being considered as members of the team. This certainly applied to Karin Groen

50 This position was held by Truus Duisenberg from 1968 to 1969.

who, as a staff member of the Central Research Laboratory of Objects of Art and Science (now ICN) in Amsterdam, later of the Hamilton Kerr Institute in Cambridge, was cooperating with the project in the scientific study of Rembrandt's grounds and paints and media since 1973. From 1991 to 1998 she was able to participate even more actively in the project thanks to the Dutch chemical concern DSM, which made it possible for her to be given a half-time appointment in the RRP during this period. She contributed to most catalogue entries and wrote Chapter IV on the grounds in Rembrandt's workshop.

The cooperation, initiated in 1969, with the Ordinariat für Holzbiologie at the University of Hamburg was also continued and intensified. In the early years the dendrochronological examinations of panels were carried out by the wood biologists Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Prof. Dr. D. Eckstein, followed by Prof. Dr. P. Klein, who specialized in the dating of panels and other wooden objects of art-historical significance. Both Karin Groen and Peter Klein were invited officially to join the RRP team.

Huub Hardy, forensic handwriting expert of the Forensic Laboratory of the Dutch Ministry of Justice, was invited into the team to examine the signatures with colleagues at his laboratory.

Costume research, which was covered rather superficially in earlier volumes, became the concern of Marieke de Winkel. Recent developments in costume research justify giving the discipline a more significant place within the RRP. Marieke de Winkel became associated with the project in 1993 when she began writing her Master's Thesis, and later her Doctoral Dissertation, on the iconology of costume in Rembrandt's work. In 1996, she accepted a temporary post with the RRP which lasted until 1998, in which context she primarily worked on preparing the section on the large-figured history pieces from the period 1642-1669. However, she became increasingly involved in conducting research on and writing the relevant passages in the entries for this and the following volume. This volume also contains her essay on costume in Rembrandt's self-portraits (Chapter II).

Although a great deal of archival research relating to Rembrandt has been undertaken since the nineteenth century, new developments in this field meant that a historian with special expertise in archival research would be a valuable addition to the team. Through his work on a dissertation dealing with the circles in which Rembrandt was active, Jaap van der Veen became increasingly involved in the project. Like Marieke de Winkel, in 1996 he accepted a temporary post with the RRP. He was primarily responsible for preparing the section on the portraits between 1642 and 1669. He also contributed an essay on seventeenth-century views on the authenticity of paintings (Chapter I in this volume) and he compiled the relevant biographical data (pp. 335-349), for the period 1643-1669 and the *Appendix* to Chapter III.

Peter Schatborn (former head of the Print Room in Amsterdam) and Volker Manuth (from the Free University of Berlin and now Radboud University, Nijmegen) were invited to assist the project with respect to the drawings related to the paintings, and iconographic problems respectively. Since their responsibilities elsewhere precluded active involvement in the research, their share was limited to occasionally providing information or reporting opinions in their fields. This also applied to Ben Broos, who was invited into the team to shed light on the provenances of the paintings. However, his views on the function – within the framework of the *Corpus* – of the provenance of the paintings diverged so markedly from the project's aims that further collaboration was discontinued.

Interns were occasionally involved with aspects of the research for a limited period. In 1994 Emily Gordenker carried out literature research for the chapter on methodological questions to be published in Volume V, and gave valuable assistance in the writing of it. In 1999/2000 Natasja van Eck helped prepare the material for the 'tronies' and helped organise a symposium on this subject initiated by the RRP. Her research on the 'tronies of young men' by Rembrandt and his workshop represents a valuable contribution to our understanding of this category of paintings. In 1999/2000 Thijs Weststeijn investigated the landscapes to be treated in Volume V, and conducted art-theoretical research which relates to this category of paintings.

Lideke Peese Binkhorst officially retired from the project in November of 1995, but since then has assisted in the production of this and the next volume on a freelance basis. Adrienne Quarles van Ufford, her successor as a secretary, left in 1997 and was succeeded by Cynthia van der Leden and later by Margaret Oomen.[51]

Egbert Haverkamp Begemann and Peter Schatborn were part of the editorial board together with Lideke Peese Binkhorst and with Ernst van de Wetering, who wrote the greater part of the Volumes IV and V. The editors also constitute, together with Rudi Ekkart of the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD) in The Hague, the board of the Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project.

The translator of Volumes I-III, Derry Cook-Radmore, was succeeded by Jennifer Kilian and Katy Kist, with the assistance of John Rudge. At a later stage, Murray Pearson translated this Preface, the Summary, Chapters III and IV and Corrigenda et Addenda, and contributed invaluable editorial work.

The photographer René Gerritsen, specialized in various kinds of photography and radiographic investigation of paintings, contributed in many ways to the project.

In 1998, the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) decided to discontinue financing the project, a full thirty years after it began rather than the projected ten.[52] The translation and publication costs of Volumes IV and V will continue to be financed by NWO. From 1998 until 2003, the University of Amsterdam (UvA) covered our expenses. Until 2006 the project will be financed by donations.

The RRP's files and archives eventually will be transferred to the RKD. It will function as an independent archive in the interest of Rembrandt research to be managed and possibly expanded and interpreted by Michiel Franken.

The future of the project

It should be clear from the above that the Rembrandt Research Project does not end with the publication of Volume V. There are still three categories of paintings from the period 1642-1669 to be dealt with: the portraits, (what we refer to as) the large-figured history pieces, and the paintings now usually referred to by the seventeenth-century term 'tronies', single figures in historicising or imaginary costumes with various, often obscure connotations.

51 Over the years, the following individuals assisted in the secretariat: Jacqueline Boreel, Marianne Buikstra, Doris Dhuygelaere, Els Gutter, Emilie Kaub, Philine Schierenberg, and Rik van Wegen.

52 In 1998, Marieke de Winkel and Jaap van der Veen's appointments were converted into temporary grants of NWO allowing them to complete their dissertations. In 1999, Michiel Franken's appointment came to an end and he accepted a position at the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD) in The Hague. He is still involved with the completion of Volume V.

A great deal of preparatory work on these three groups of paintings was already carried out during our study trips and much of the information has been processed in the years since 1988, following the completion of the manuscript for Volume III. The RRP's *raison d'être* obviously requires that these basic entries be amplified with discussion of the question as to whether or not they are autograph Rembrandts. Thanks to the work undertaken between 1988 and 1998, many entries were completed in a first or even a second version. However, a substantial number of paintings still require a great deal of work. Hence, it is not at all certain that completion of the project with entries in the customary extensive format is feasible. The limits of what is physically possible loom large here – in all probability the solution will be to opt for a more abridged form. This solution is defensible. After all, much has changed since the inception of the project in 1968 and research on the material aspects of the paintings has been increasingly assumed by the museums. This is due in part to the emergence of a new generation of restorers for whom material research with (partly) art-historical approach of the questions has become more common-place. Another reason for conducting the remaining work of the RRP in a more succinct form can be justified on the basis of the results of the research to date.

As outlined at the beginning of this *Preface*, it had already become clear during work on the first volume that the original working hypothesis (see above p. x) is no longer tenable: there were hardly any later imitations. The group of shop works in the style of Rembrandt that have come down to us was evidently so large that it amply satisfied market demands for 'real' Rembrandts. As a rule, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century copies of certain Rembrandts can be easily distinguished from Rembrandt workshop products on the basis of features visible to the naked eye. Hence, we are now primarily concerned with distinguishing Rembrandt's autograph work from that of his workshop. Our implicit working hypothesis since may be formulated as follows.

> Paintings in the style of Rembrandt and with the aspect of a seventeenth-century painting, which on the basis of style and quality can scarcely be considered as works by Rembrandt himself, in virtually all instances originated in Rembrandt's workshop. Their relation to the work of the master can vary from a literal copy to variants which in invention are ever further removed from a given (or lost) prototype. Production in the workshop of free inventions in the manner of Rembrandt must also be taken into account. Works in which more hands are involved are encountered only rarely in Rembrandt's hypothetical oeuvre.

One could maintain that with the publication of Volumes IV and V, the RRP will have achieved its primary goal: a structure has now been revealed in the workshop production for a number of categories within the mass of paintings that have at some time been – or still are – attributed to Rembrandt. This structure can be extrapolated *mutatis mutandis* to the categories not yet treated by us.

Reviewing the three past decades, it is evident that this project – as with every project attempting to chart a complex phenomenon – is not only a path to resolving the problems involved, but also a learning process. The present volume, both in form and content, bears the traces of this learning process. Our work will have been futile if the results of that process do not have a broader significance. We hope that the results of this work, not only in the volumes of *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* but also in other publications, exhibition catalogues, lectures, filmed documentaries, etc., dealing with authenticity and many other problems relating to Rembrandt have deepened insight into the history of seventeenth-century Dutch art (and sometimes non-Dutch art of that period) and that our work will contribute to the methodological arsenal of art-historical scholarship.

Ernst van de Wetering
December 2004

Acknowledgements

The work on this volume began in the early nineties, although seen in its widest context, one should say that the work has been going on since 1968, the year in which we had the opportunity to study our first Rembrandt self-portraits under ideal circumstances, thanks to the hospitality of the staffs of the first museums and the first private owners we visited.

From the very beginning, we have collaborated with so many extremely pleasant people; we have enjoyed the help, support and encouragement of so many; we have benefited from so much advice, information and research data, photographic and other essential material, and we have had so many fruitful conversations that it would be impossible to acknowledge all these constructive gestures without being certain that, somewhere along the line, we had omitted to give someone their due credit.

For this reason, we have to be satisfied here with the expression of our extreme gratitude to all those who have helped and supported us and followed our work – although sometimes with growing impatience – with sympathetic interest.

Summary

The genesis of this volume and a survey of its contents

Having decided to adopt a thematic approach, as described in the above *Preface*, and to concentrate on the self-portraits exclusively, a complicated process of writing and continually altering and extending this volume began. In the course of that lengthy process, the third chapter titled 'Rembrandt's self-portraits: problems of authenticity and function', gradually came to assume the proportions of a book within a book.

It is hardly surprising that the examination of Rembrandt's self-portraits should become so complex. We were, after all, tackling one of the most intriguing problems in the history of art: why did Rembrandt place himself before the mirror so extraordinarily often in order to represent himself in numerous paintings and etchings as well as in a lesser number of drawings? And following on this question: why should problems of authenticity arise in such apparently personal works, and how are such problems to be resolved in the face of a virtual absence of any contemporary document concerning Rembrandt's self-portraits?

What follows is a summary of the results of our work. The reader will find the arguments that underpin our hypotheses and our discoveries in the volume itself: the relevant passages can easily be found using the references in the footnotes accompanying this summary. It is annotated in such a way that the user of this book will be able to find quickly the most important passages and reproductions in this volume.*

By using this summary, others who do not have immediate access to Volume IV of *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* can familiarize themselves with the results of our research set out in that volume. An off-print or digital version of the following text will accordingly also be made available for purposes of informing the press and other interested parties. Therefore the notes also refer to the most commonly used surveys in which all the paintings, drawings and etchings dealt with by us are reproduced. These surveys are referred to here by the abbreviations Br., Ben. and B. together with the relevant numbers.

Br.: A. Bredius, *Rembrandt Paintings*, 1935/69

Ben.: O. Benesch, *The drawings of Rembrandt*, 1954/73

B.: A. Bartsch, *Catalogue raisonné*, 1797; this time honoured numbering system of the etchings is used for instance by Chr. White and K.G. Boon, *Rembrandt's etchings*, 1969; W. von Seidlitz, *Die Radierungen Rembrandts*, Leipzig 1922; G. Schwartz, *Rembrandt: all the etchings reproduced in true size*, 1977.

But first a brief account should be given of the background to the slow and laborious genesis of this volume.

The genesis of this volume

The initial question we had to cope with was the authenticity of the 30 or so painted self-portraits from the period 1642 to 1669.[1] This is why our methodical considerations were aimed at this group of paintings alone.[2] After all, the paintings bearing Rembrandt's effigy from before 1642 had already been dealt with in Volumes I – III of the *Corpus*.[3] Yet the growing sense that our view of a number of these earlier self-portraits needed revision, as well as our altered opinions as to their authenticity, led inexorably to the realization that the paintings from this earlier period would simply have to be dealt with once again. A re-examination of all the painted self-portraits from before 1642 also offered the incidental advantage that two more self-portraits (from 1632 and 1634), newly attributed to Rembrandt by us, could be discussed in this context.[4] As to the attribution problems with those paintings bearing Rembrandt's effigy from the period 1625-1642, several changes in our views should be noted. Two paintings previously accepted as works by Rembrandt are now disattributed.[5] In two cases, paintings that had first been listed as copies were recognized as works by Rembrandt himself, whereas the corresponding works, initially accepted by us as authentic, were relegated to the category of copies.[6] Two paintings, in the earlier volumes not accepted as authentic, are now reattributed to Rembrandt.[7] In the case of two paintings that were partly overpainted at an early stage – one of which had originally been rejected by us altogether,[8] the other questioned but not rejected[9] – the initial versions of these paintings are now attributed to Rembrandt. One painting from the B-category in Vol. I (paintings whose origin from Rembrandt's hand can be neither positively accepted nor rejected) is now firmly accepted as an autograph Rembrandt.[10] In the case of 16 of the 22 paintings dealt with in this volume from before *c.* 1642, our opinions remained unaltered.[11]

During the course of working on the painted self-portraits to be catalogued in this volume, the need also arose to understand the *function and meaning* of these works. This question had barely been addressed in the previous volumes of *A Corpus*, but when one approaches Rembrandt's self-portraits as a phenomenon by itself it becomes an unavoidable issue. One has to realize that, until quite recently, the interpretation of Rembrandt's

* Where paintings, etchings or drawings are mentioned in the notes accompanying this text, reference is provided not only to the figure numbers and catalogue numbers in the present and earlier volumes but also, for those whose access to the text is via off-prints, to the Bredius (Br.), Benesch (Ben.) and Bartsch (B.)-numbers.

1 Cat. nos. IV 1 - 29.

2 See pp. 89 - 132.

3 *Corpus* I nos. A 14 (see Br. 1), 19 (Br. 2), 20 (Br. 8), 21 (Br. 6), 22 (see Br. 3), 33 (Br. 12), 40 (Br. 16), B 5 (11), C 34 (Br. 5), 35 (Br. 4), 36 (Br. 7), 37 (Br. 9), 38 (Br. 10), 40 (Br. 14); II nos. A 58 (Br. 17), 71 (Br. 18), 72 (Br. 19), 96 (Br. 21), 97 (Br. 22), C 56 (Br. 23); III nos. A 139 (Br. 34), B 10 (Br. 29), C 92 (Br. 25), 93 (Br. 33), 94 (see Br. 33), 96 (Br. 27), 97 (Br. 32), 99 (Br. 26).

4 Chapter III, pp. 202-206 and 207-211, IV *Addenda* 1 and 2.

5 IV *Corrigenda* I A 33 (Br. 12), II A 97 (Br. 22).

6 IV *Corrigenda* I A 21 (Br. 6) and I A 22 (see Br. 3).

7 IV *Corrigenda* III C 96 (Br. 27) and III C 97 (Br. 32).

8 II C 56 (Br. 23).

9 III B 10 (Br. 29).

10 I B 5 (Br. 11).

11 I A 14 (see Br. 1), 19 (Br. 2), 20 (Br. 8), 40 (Br. 16), C 34 (Br. 5), 36 (Br. 7); II A 58 (Br. 17), 71 (Br. 18), 72 (Br. 19), 96 (Br. 21); III A 111 (Br. 30), 139 (Br. 34), C 92 (Br. 25), 93 (Br. 33), 94 (see Br. 33), IV *Addendum* 1 (see Br. 157).

work in front of the mirror knew little constraint: every author felt free to follow his or her own imagination. To quote a number of examples: in 1906, in his book on Rembrandt, the Dutch art historian Frederik Schmidt-Degener wrote that

> 'it was Rembrandt's cult of his own personality that at first made him produce his self-portraits'.

Schmidt-Degener continued,

> 'Rembrandt then became the grave man who expressed everything in his self-portraits, including his unhappiness and his loneliness; but he also expressed his self-confidence, pride and triumph as an artist.'[12]

Jakob Rosenberg, in his monograph on Rembrandt of 1948, spoke of the

> 'ceaseless and unsparing observation which Rembrandt's self-portraits reflect, showing a gradual change from outward description and characterization to the most penetrating self-analysis and self-contemplation … Rembrandt seems to have felt that he had to know himself if he wished to penetrate the problem of man's inner life.'[13]

In 1985 Pascal Bonafoux asserted with great confidence that

> 'Self-portraiture with him [Rembrandt] was self-communing and prayer: it begins in 1625 and ends in 1669.'[14]

In Perry Chapman's book published in 1990, the most ambitious monograph on Rembrandt's self-portraits so far, the author suggested that Rembrandt's self-portraits

> 'represent in a truly modern sense an on-going quest for his own identity'

and that in his self-portraiture

> 'he remained motivated by the impulse to self-investigation to the end of his life.'[15]

In one crucial respect there appears to have been little change between 1906 and 1990: Schmidt-Degener, Rosenberg, Bonafoux and Chapman all assume that Rembrandt's many self-portraits – certainly those from his Amsterdam years (i.e. after 1632) – are highly personal creations 'generated by internal pressure', as Chapman put it. Implicit in all these views is the idea that Rembrandt's sequential self-portraits were private, intimate works, an idea which is still widely held.

While we were working on this volume, an exhibition on Rembrandt's self-portraits was held in London and The Hague (National Gallery, London 9 June - 5 September 1999; Mauritshuis, The Hague 25 September 1999 - 9 January 2000). We were involved in the choice of the paintings exhibited and in the writing of the essays for the catalogue. Furthermore, we made available the draft catalogue texts for the present book and other information. The exhibition catalogue, however, should not be considered a summary of the present book. Our ideas had already developed further by the time the exhibition opened. The exhibition itself moreover was an extremely valuable opportunity to study the works confronted with each other. This volume should therefore be considered as a next step in assessing the phenomenon of Rembrandt's self-portraits.

Our involvement in this exhibition had forced us to confront the question of function and meaning as the most urgent of all the problems surrounding Rembrandt's self-portraits. It became clear that our proposed answers – summarized below – to this latter question would have a bearing on the way we dealt with questions of authenticity.

However, addressing the question of function and meaning solely in relation to the painted self-portraits would make little sense without considering within the same context the issue of Rembrandt's self-portraits in its entirety. The need to study the *etched* self-portraits as well became especially urgent as some etchings seemed to contradict our ideas about the different functions of Rembrandt's painted self-portraits. Specifically, there were three etchings in which Rembrandt had included – either wholly or in part – renderings of his own face among a number of exercises and scribbles.[16] This would appear at first sight to confirm the old idea that Rembrandt was driven by 'internal pressure' to an almost obsessive, private preoccupation with his own image and identity.

The hunt for the significance of these study sheets (in which Erik Hinterding also participated) eventually led to an entirely new – and we believe coherent – outlook on the 31 etchings, finished and unfinished, that had hitherto been considered as more or less equivalent self-portraits.[17]

The *drawn* self-portraits were also investigated for their authenticity and function. Several had already been dealt with in our catalogue entries because it had been suggested in the past – incorrectly, in our view – that they were preliminary studies for painted or etched self-portraits. A new vision of the various functions of the drawn self-portraits emerged.[18]

Slowly the volume had grown to assume the character of a monograph on Rembrandt's self-portraits, but it could not develop into a classic monograph with claims to completeness. Many of our successive, supplementary revisions were added after the manuscript had largely been typeset, making such substantial re-organization of the kind one might have wished no longer possible. This was also true of the illustrations, as the reader will observe. We believe, however, that precisely because of this slow and often all-too-visible process of growth of our ideas, we developed an understanding of Rembrandt's self-portraits which, in many respects, suggested that both the artist and the person should be seen with new eyes. In our view, the most important outcome of our work is

12 F. Schmidt-Degener, *Rembrandt. Een beschrijving van zijn leven en zijn werk*, Amsterdam 1906, p. 9.
13 J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt. Life and work*, London 1964, p. 37.
14 P. Bonafoux, *Rembrandt, autoportrait*, Genève 1985, p. 8.
15 H.P. Chapman, *Rembrandt's self-portraits. A study in seventeenth-century identity*, Princeton N.J. 1990, p. 131.
16 Chapter III, figs. 171 (B. 363 I), 175 (B. 372), 177 (B. 370).
17 See pp. 190 - 199.
18 See pp. 145 - 157.

to have provided another stimulus, following the groundbreaking studies by Raupp, Woods Marsden and Marschke,[19] for the development of a new contextual framework within which the general phenomenon of the self-portrait can be further investigated.

Why so many self-portraits and for whom?

Current surveys of Rembrandt's self-portraits usually include some 90 works. The number varies because different authors hold different views on the authenticity of some of them. Separated according to the different media, Rembrandt's output of self-portraits was long thought to comprise *c.* 50 paintings, *c.* 30 etchings and 5 to 10 drawings. Among the painted and drawn self-portraits considerable differences of opinion exist as to their authenticity, although scarcely any disagreement has been registered where the etchings are concerned.

Around 10% of Rembrandt's painted and etched oeuvre thus appear to consist of works in which he represents himself. Only the drawn self-portraits constitute a relatively small percentage of works in that medium. In the majority of all self-portraits – paintings, etchings and drawings – Rembrandt must have studied himself closely in the mirror time and again and 'copied' this reflected image. This is evident from analysis of the ageing process visible in Rembrandt's face in these works. We thus have to imagine that Rembrandt spent a substantial part of his working life painting, etching and drawing before the mirror. As explained earlier, so long as the persistent assumption reigned – that he did so because of an 'internal pressure' – this led to the idea that Rembrandt must have been preoccupied with his 'self' in a manner unique for painters in the age in which he lived.

The alternative view presented here, developed on the basis of circumstantial evidence from various sources, is that Rembrandt's activities before the mirror should be seen in large measure in the context of a growing demand for 'portraits of Rembrandt done by himself' (contrefeitsel[s] van Rembrandt door hem selffs gedaen)[20] as self-portraits were referred to in the 17th century, the term 'self-portrait' only occurring much later. This market for self-portraits – or for portraits of artists otherwise produced – has to be seen in the context of a strongly developing interest in artists and their works in the 16th and 17th centuries on the part of a select and steadily growing community of 'art-lovers'. The interest of this group was increasingly focused on particular painters and on their specific style, whereas the actual subject matter of the painting was of secondary importance.[21]

Of course, there was also a great demand in Rembrandt's time for painted images in general, or prints of these images, that was primarily concerned with the subject matter. The 'art-lovers' directed their attention to exceptionally talented artists like Rembrandt. The situation in painting *then* might be compared with that of photography *now*. On the one hand images serving a great variety of purposes were mass produced, while on the other, well-known artists created interesting works for connoisseurs and collectors. In 17th-century art circles, the concept of 'name buyers' already existed (see note 21).

As a consequence of this growth of interest in the artists themselves and their resulting fame, a corresponding need developed for images of these famous figures (as was also the case with famous scholars, philosophers, nobility and military figures, etc.) Giorgio Vasari was the first to circulate portraits of artists on a large scale, by including them in the second (1568) edition of his *Vite*. These *'Lives'* of Italian artists were often preceded by their portraits printed from woodcuts made specifically for this purpose.

It becomes increasingly clear that Rembrandt, even as a young artist and subsequently throughout his life, must have enjoyed remarkable international fame. His activities as the creator of easily distributed and highly intriguing etchings must have made a significant contribution to that fame. The old story that Rembrandt died poor and forgotten belongs to the realm of myth and is increasingly recognized as such nowadays. Rather, it seems that Rembrandt's international fame among the 17th- century art-lovers continued to rise, and this, we believe, helps to explain the growing demand for his self-portraits. Among 17th-century Dutch artists, two others who were internationally famous among art-lovers in their own time, Gerard Dou and Frans van Mieris the Elder, also produced a relatively large number of self-portraits.[22]

The inescapable question which then arises is why other, even more famous artists such as Rubens, did not produce self-portraits in equal or even greater numbers. Rubens, however, produced no more than seven painted self-portraits, after one of these an exceptionally elaborate engraving was made by Paul Pontius. The impressions from this plate must have served as substitutes for painted self-portraits.[23] Something of the sort was also true, for instance, in the case of the painter of seascapes, Ludolf Backhuyzen (1630-1708), who was famous in his own time. Rubens and Backhuyzen, however, can be considered as specialists in particular areas: Rubens as the painter of history pieces and allegories (whether produced singly or as part of ambitious cycles) and Back-

19 H.-J. Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim 1984; J. Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance self-portraiture. The visual construction of identy and the social status of the artist*, New Haven 1998; S. Marschke, *Künstlerbildnisse und Selbstporträts. Studien zu ihren Funktionen von der Antike bis zur Renaissance*, Weimar 1998.

20 Amsterdam, Gemeentearchief, PA 234, inv. no. 309, dated 9 September 1685.

21 See E. van de Wetering, 'The multiple functions of Rembrandt's self-portraits', in exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, pp. 8-37, esp. 25-27.

22 See pp. 137 - 143.

23 *Paul Pontius*. Engraving (1630) after Rubens' self-portrait of 1623 in the British Royal Collection, Windsor Castle (see H. Vlieghe, *Rubens portraits of identified sitters, painted in Antwerp*, CRLB XIX-II (cat. no. 135) New York 1987; N. Büttner, '"Herr, Pietro Paulo Rubens, Ritter". Anmerkungen zur Biographie', exhib. cat. *Peter Paul Rubens. Barocke Leidenschaften*, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 2004, pp. 13-27.

huyzen as a seascape painter.[24] Their fame was based on such specialized works. On the other hand, it could be said that the *raison d'être* of the works of Rembrandt, Gerard Dou (1613-1675) and Frans van Mieris (1635-1681) was the exceptional technique and the illusion achieved through that technique, quite apart from the subject matter.[25] Whoever bought a self-portrait from one of these painters (or in the case of Dou and Van Mieris, for instance, a genre piece into which they had inserted their own portrait) not only owned a work typical of the artist's style and technique, but also acquired a portrait of its famous author.

What is now required is a thorough investigation of the dissemination of (self-) portraits of 17th-century Dutch artists in relation both to the subject matter in their oeuvre and to the esteem in which these artists were held by art-lovers. With the appearance of Sandrart's *Teutsche Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste* in 1675, which contains many portraits of European – including Dutch – artists and, as far as exclusively Dutch painters are concerned, Arnold Houbraken's *Groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* in 1718 – 21, the effigies of the painters of the Dutch Golden Age were as widely disseminated as Vasari had done for the Italian painters discussed in his *Lives*.

Other functions of Rembrandt's works before the mirror

Self-portraits were painted sporadically through the 15th and 16th centuries mainly as *memoriae*. As a rule, they originated out of a deep-rooted desire on the artist's part to be 'immortalized', and they often bear references to mortality.

The fact that in Rembrandt's self-portraits one has in the first place – in the words of Luigi Lanzi (1732-1810) – 'a depiction of the artist and at the same time a particular example of his style' does not mean, however, that all the works currently regarded as self-portraits of Rembrandt are also in fact 'portraits of Rembrandt by himself'. In this volume, it is argued with varying degrees of cogency, that such is the case only for 33 paintings, 4 etchings and 2 or 3 drawings.[26] This, of course, is considerably less than half of the number of works hitherto usually regarded as self-portraits of Rembrandt.

This is not to say, however, that some of the others were not also produced by Rembrandt in front of the mirror. In those cases it mostly was with other objectives in view. A group of 5 etchings from *c.*1630 have long been seen as studies of various facial expressions in which Rembrandt used himself as a model.[27] The artist in front of the mirror is simply the most patient and compliant of all models. Apart from these five studies of facial expression another ten etchings of Rembrandt's face from his first years as an etcher have also been preserved,[28] most of which have survived as single impressions, or in very few only. Even in these very early etchings, while he was still mastering his graphic technique, Rembrandt was evidently his own patient model. These studies further provided an ideal opportunity to practise what would later preoccupy him most as an etcher: the representation of the human figure.

As a painter the young Rembrandt was also using his own face in his efforts to solve certain artistic problems. Thus, in his early Leiden years he painted several studies in oils[29]. He also made a few drawn studies[30] before the mirror apparently with the aim of exploring and practising certain effects.

We suspect that Rembrandt also used himself as a model in the production of works that belong to that very loose category of paintings and etchings of half-figures, so popular in the 17th century, for which nowadays the term *tronies* has been reserved.[31] *Tronies* were not regarded as (self-)portraits, even though models (or the mirror) might have been employed in their production. It was rather their dress and their age and attitude that lent to these figures their particular significance (of religious sentiment, of bravery, or mortality, a reference to distant lands, and so on; 'character studies' and religious types are also counted within the category of *tronies*). The young Rembrandt used himself as a model, we believe, for three or more painted[32] and three etched *tronies*.[33] Sooner or later, of course, these became considered as self-portraits in the strict sense.

Paintings. Of the *painted* self-portraits done after Rembrandt's move to Amsterdam it may be assumed that virtually all of them were intended to be 'portraits of Rembrandt painted by himself', done for art-lovers who visited his studio. If so, they must have been produced on Rembrandt's own initiative and held in stock ready for sale. This would explain why X-radiographic investigations so often reveal that they were painted on previously used panels and canvases.[34] It would seem that in

24 See Chapter III, note 112.

25 Chapter III, figs. 70, 71, 87, 88.

26 See Chapter III, paintings: figs. 120 (Br. 2), 129 (Br. 11), 145 (Br. 16), 183 (Br. 17), 185 (IV *Addendum* 1, see Br. 157), 193 (Br. 18), 194 (Br. 19), 197 (IV *Addendum* 2), 198 (Br. 21), 203 (Br. 23, transformed into a *tronie*), 207 (Br. 30), 231 (Br. 27), 245 (Br. 29), 242 (Br. 34), 235 (Br. 32), 246 (Br. 37), 244 (Br. 36), 254 (Br. 38), 266 (Br. 42), 267 (Br. 43), 271 (Br. 49), 272 (Br. 50), 288 (Br. 48), 289 (Br. 51), 290 (Br. 58), 298 (Br. 53), 299 (Br. 54), 300 (Br. 59), 301 (Br. 61), 319 (Br. 52), 320 (Br. 55), 321 (Br. 60), 322 (Br. 62); etchings: figs. 149 (B. 7), 150 (B. 19), 151 (B. 21), 152 (B. 22); drawings: figs. 97 (Ben. 1177), 108 (Ben. 1176), 110 (Ben. 432, pupil's work?).

27 See Chapter III, figs. 126 (B. 316), 131 (B. 13), 132 (B. 10), 133 (B. 320), 134 (B. 174).

28 See Chapter III, figs. 96 (B. 338), 115 (B. 5), 116 (B. 9), 117 (B. 27), 118 (B. 12), and B. 1, 4, 15, 19, 24.

29 Chapter III, figs. 119 (see Br. 1), 123 (Br. 3).

30 Chapter III, figs. 91 (Ben. 437), 93 (Ben. 53), 95 (Ben. 54).

31 *Tronie* literally meant 'face' in seventeenth-century Holland. See D. Hirschfelder, 'Portrait or character head? The term *tronie* and its meaning in the seventeenth century', in exhib. cat. *The mystery of the young Rembrandt*, 2001/02, pp. 82-90; see also D. Hirschfelder, H-J. Raupp, '"Tronies" in de Italiaanse, Vlaamse en Nederlandse schilderkunst van de 16de en 17de eeuw.' Symposium. The Hague, Royal Library, in *Kunstchronik* 54 (2001), no. 5, pp. 197-202.

32 Chapter III, figs. 135 (see Br. 6), 137 (Br. 7), 138 (Br. 8).

33 Chapter III, figs. 90 (B. 17), 158 (B. 18), 159 (B. 20).

34 I A 20 (Br. 8), IV *Corrigenda* I A 21 (Br. 6), A 33 (Br. 12), II A 58 (Br. 17), III B 10 (Br. 29), C 96 (Br. 27), IV 1 (Br. 37), 5 (Br. 38), 9 (Br. 43), 10 version 2 (Br. 47), 11 (Br. 44), 12 (Br. 45).

the early Amsterdam years Rembrandt was somewhat over-optimistic in building up this stock: in later years two of these self-portraits were, we believe, transformed by workshop assistants into *tronies*, apparently to make them once more saleable. Two other early self-portraits were later repainted or altered to keep pace with Rembrandt's own ageing process. It would seem that any potential purchaser who wanted to acquire a self-portrait would have been able to see the self-portrait and its model side by side in Rembrandt's studio, and would naturally have expected a sufficiently accurate correspondence between the effigy and the man himself.[35]

It is striking that, among the later self-portraits – that is, those produced from roughly 1652 onward – we increasingly find rather large paintings. At the same time, we discovered that after 1655 – precisely the period in which Rembrandt encountered financial difficulties – no self-portraits were painted on previously used supports (Rembrandt worked almost exclusively on canvases in this period). Consequently, because it was usual for the patron to pay for the support separately, we infer that Rembrandt painted more self-portraits on commission during this period.[36] At this time, Rembrandt's international fame was on the increase. There are also indications, supported by a number of documents, that collectors from the nobility (and being a member of the higher nobility necessarily implied being a collector) were adding Rembrandt self-portraits to their collections.[37]

Etchings. Instead of the 31 etchings usually referred to as self-portraits[38] there are perhaps only four that were considered by Rembrandt himself as 'official' portraits of himself intended for wider dissemination. These originated in 1631, '36, '39 and '48.[39] Among the other 27, we believe we can point to seven or eight that were prematurely abandoned for various reasons – apparently as projects in self-portraiture that Rembrandt seems to have judged unsuccessful,[40] some of which immediately preceded the four successful etched self-portraits just mentioned.[41] Among these aborted works are the three 'study sheets' mentioned above.[42] In these three cases, after the intended self-portraits had miscarried (in two cases evidently through faults in the etching process)[43] the pieces of copper plate bearing the head were cut off and preserved to be used subsequently as a support for studies or for etching practice. Rembrandt's head (or sometimes only part of the head) is represented in quite some detail in these unfinished or aborted etchings, an observation that may be explained by Rembrandt's habit of beginning his etched self-portraits with the head.[44]

To summarize briefly, beside these four 'real' self-portraits and the seven or eight prematurely aborted efforts there remain the ten early studies in etching technique, mentioned above, the five studies in expression and two, possibly three, etched *tronies* bearing the artist's features.[45] This categorization has the virtue of bringing a certain order to the material, but to complicate the matter we should add that the etched *tronies* and some of the unfinished self-portraits were published in rather large editions and were apparently acquired by both contemporary and later art-lovers as real self-portraits because they bore Rembrandt's features. Rembrandt's tendency to leave works unfinished (two of the painted self-portraits also remained unfinished)[46] and the fact that his works were often characterized by fantastic, historicizing or orientalizing costume must also have contributed to the way in which the unfinished works and *tronies* bearing Rembrandt's facial features seem to have been quickly regarded as characteristic 'portraits of Rembrandt by himself'. The fact that the above rather cut-and-dried sub-divisions have nonetheless been employed may be seen as an attempt to clarify Rembrandt's *own* view of the functions of the 31 etchings that in our time have usually been indiscriminately labeled 'self-portraits'.

There is a tendency to consider the paintings as the most important self-portraits. However, it struck us that the four 'official' etched self-portraits all pre-dated the related categories of painted self-portraits[47] (in fashionable costume,[48] as double portrait with the artist's wife,[49] in historical costume possibly referring to major predecessors[50] and in working dress[51]).

Drawings. The functions of the drawn self-portraits are various. Only the most obvious and most frequently cited function should be excluded – that of a preliminary study for painted or etched self-portraits. Rembrandt's practice was to prepare his compositions 'in his head' and subsequently to work them out in a rather sketchy fashion directly on the support.[52] This would also have been the case with his self-portraits, which as a rule, after all, have an extremely simple composition. As already stated, we suspect that several of the drawings served as studies of particular effects, for example the complicated effects of light.[53] In one case, a drawn portrait may well have been done for an *album amicorum*.[54] The most interesting category fits into an already established tradition, the practise of fellow artists painting or drawing each other, often

35 See Chapter III, pp. 139-143, figs. 73-84 (Br. -, 23, 29, 37).
36 See Chapter III, p. 97 notes 23, 24.
37 Chapter III *Appendix* nos. 1, 6, 12, 25.
38 The etched self-portraits counted here are those included in the exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself* 1999/2000.
39 Chapter III, figs. 149 (B. 7), 150 (B. 19), 151 (B. 21), 152 (B. 22).
40 Chapter III, pp. 190-199, figs. 167 (B. 8), 169 (B. 16), 171 (B. 363), 175 (B. 372), 177 (B. 370), 180 (B. 2), 181 (B. 26).
41 Chapter III, figs. 167/166 (B. 8), 169/168 (B. 16), 171/170 (B. 7), possibly preceding 173 (B. 7) and 177/176 (B. 370) preceding 152/178 (B. 22).
42 See note 16.
43 Chapter III, figs. 171 (B. 363), 175 (B. 372).
44 Chapter III, figs. 166 (B. 8 I), 172 (B. 7 I-IV).
45 See notes 28, 27 and 33.
46 Cat. nos. IV 16 and 26 (Br. 58 and 52).
47 Chapter III, pp. 184-190.
48 Chapter III, figs. 149 (B. 7) and 183 (Br. 17).
49 Chapter III, fig. 150 (B. 19) and *Appendix* no. 9.
50 Chapter III, figs. 151 (B. 21) and 242 (Br. 34).
51 Chapter III, figs. 152 (B. 22) and 266 (Br. 42).
52 Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 74-89.
53 See note 30.
54 Chapter III, fig. 97 (Ben. 1177).

with an eye to the practical utility that such exercises may have had with regard to other projects.[55] But such mutual exercises or studies could later have assumed another role – that of friendship portraits, or served as souvenirs of memorable times in the studio.[56] A specific example of this latter, in our view, is the famous drawing of the full length depiction of Rembrandt which bears the inscription in 17th-century handwriting: 'Drawn by Rembrandt van Rijn after his own image / as he was attired in his studio'. Until now, this drawing has been thought to be an autograph self-portrait of Rembrandt. We believe there are sufficient indications to be able to conclude that we are in fact dealing with a composite copy based on two of Rembrandt's self-portraits.[57]

Non-autograph self-portraits

Rembrandt must have sometimes had his pupils copy his self-portraits, probably as exercises, in view of the common teaching practice, but also, as Samuel van Hoogstraten put it, 'to make his [the master's] art better known'.[58] Some of these copies were made after studies or '*tronies*' Rembrandt had done using his own features.[59] It will be obvious that this practice of copying has given rise to problems of authenticity that have long troubled both purchasers and scholars. Several times in the last 40 years, copies have been mistaken for originals while the actual originals, assumed to be copies, led a bleak existence on the art market or hidden in some museum depot.[60] In other cases copies assumed the place of their prototypes when the latter disappeared.[61]

In the investigation of such problems, X-radiography and infra-red photography often play an important part. These techniques allow one to a certain extent to reconstruct the genesis of a painting and, in doing so, they may allow one to distinguish originals from copies. And yet it sometimes appeared that such reconstructions of a painting's genesis were not consistent with considerations of style and quality. In these cases, where technical analyses seemed to exclude the possibility that the painting could be a copy, doubts nevertheless persisted as to the authenticity of the self-portrait in question. The further investigation of this conundrum led to one of the surprises resulting from the work on this volume; for it appears that pupils or assistants produced 'self-portraits' of Rembrandt.[62]

In this context, it is important to point out that Rembrandt, as far as is known, did not take on beginners as apprentices, but only youths or young men who already had a period of training with some other painter behind them, and whose aim was to learn to paint in Rembrandt's style. This was achieved through copying works by Rembrandt and – possibly in a further stage – by producing free variants after his works. There can be little doubt that such paintings were sold in the trade. Up to now we have always thought this was mainly a question of copies (and partial copies) and variants of Rembrandt's history pieces, but we are now certain that free variants after Rembrandt's self-portraits were also produced by pupils (and in all likelihood sold by Rembrandt in the trade). This discovery is based on the fact that several paintings bearing Rembrandt's effigy, which simply cannot be accepted as works by Rembrandt, nevertheless certainly originated in his studio. These studio products turned out to have been painted on canvases that had been prepared with a so-called quartz ground (a mixture of clay and ground sand in an oily binding medium). Karin Groen, an account of whose work is to be found in Chapter IV of this volume, has shown that canvases with a quartz ground did not occur in the Netherlands until they first appear in works by Rembrandt or in his style from 1640 on, beginning with the canvas for the *Nightwatch*. Roughly half such works painted between 1640 and 1669 have quartz grounds, whereas this type of ground has been found in the work of no other painter during the same period.[63] For this reason, we can say with virtual certainty of any 17th-century Rembrandtesque painting on canvas, even if an obviously non-autograph 'self-portrait', that if it was painted on a quartz ground it must have originated in Rembrandt's studio. Consequently, we can now infer with similar confidence that several of the members of Rembrandt's studio – most probably advanced pupils – were painting free variants after self-portraits of their master, works which subsequently circulated as autograph self-portraits of Rembrandt until well into the 20th century.[64] In turn, this discovery contributed to our conviction that Rembrandt painted his self-portraits not for himself but rather for a 'market' mainly consisting of art-lovers and collectors.[65]

What we find especially surprising here is that some buyers were apparently prepared to purchase, or were enticed into acquiring, *non*-autograph 'self-portraits'. In the first chapter of this volume, Jaap van der Veen has shown on the basis of abundant archival evidence that the desire of the buyer to acquire a work by the master himself rather than by one of his pupils or assistants – was becoming a factor of considerable importance in the 17th century. At the same time, however, these archival sources also show that there was confusion on this point. It would appear that the old workshop practice still existed whereby, as part of their training and as a matter of course, apprentices and assistants contributed to the production of the master; but that this tradition in-

55 Marschke, op. cit.[19].
56 See note 55 and Chapter III, figs. 101 (Ben. 1171), 104-107, 108 (Ben. 1176), 109, 110 (Ben. 432).
57 Chapter III, pp. 151-154, figs. 101-103 (Ben. 1171, Br. 42, B. 22).
58 'zijn konst openbaer te maken', S. van Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst*, Rotterdam 1678, pp. 195-197.
59 See notes 29 and 32.
60 Chapter III, figs. 119 (prototype for Br. 1), 123 (Br. 3), 124 (copy after Br. 3), 135 (prototype for Br. 6), 136 (Br. 6).
61 Chapter III, figs. 137 (Br. 7), 29-31 (Br. 46, 47 and Br.-Gerson 47A).
62 See Chapter III, pp. [29-44], esp. 129 Table D and figs. 243, 253, 269, 268, 59, 60, 57 (Br. 35, 40, 44, 45, 56, 57, Bauch 337), and fig. 1 of cat. no. IV 23 (Br. –).
63 See Chapter IV and Table IV.
64 See note 62.
65 See Chapter III, pp. 132-144.

creasingly came into conflict with the new trend of 'buying names' i.e. acquiring the work of the master himself.

Variations in style and consequent problems over authenticity

If the self-portraits that we believe are autograph works are once again compared with each other, one cannot but be struck by how great the differences in style between them can be, even when such works originated in the same year.[66] It would seem – and this is true not only of the painted self-portraits but also of the etchings and drawings – as though each project was for Rembrandt himself a new challenge. Each of his works, and especially the self-portraits, gives the impression that Rembrandt was an exploratory, questing artist, someone who never resorted to ready-made solutions but each time re-thought the means and the possibilities available to him – not only in relation to technical and stylistic aspects, but also in the way he 'directs' his figures and in the representation of light, volume and texture. This exploratory attitude is still in evidence in the very last self-portraits. Perhaps this is the only way to account for the dizzying development – certainly neither a smooth nor a consistent trajectory – of Rembrandt's art.

The exceptionally broad range of the changing characteristics of his works (including the self-portraits) meant that resolving questions of authenticity was particularly difficult. For this reason, part of Chapter III is devoted to the search for the most objective criteria;[67] and although this quest can hardly be said to have led to directly applicable tests, in an indirect sense it yielded numerous insights that were useful in forming our opinions of the authenticity of particular paintings. In addition, our research into the genesis of each painting and the development of insights into later alterations, including mutilation, that some of Rembrandt's self-portraits have endured, provided a basis on which we could gradually build up our opinion as to the authenticity of the paintings. Wherever possible in these investigations we made use of various research methods: dendrochronology, canvas research, X-radiography and infrared photography, chemical analysis of the grounds and paint layers, microscopic investigation of the paint surface and cross sections of paint samples. As a result of the application of these methods we developed a certain degree of familiarity with each of these paintings. It sharpened our eye for characteristics of style and quality, which played varying roles in forming our opinions. These opinions on authenticity are as a rule put forward with considerable reservation; we constantly tried to weigh the value of different arguments as objectively as possible. The paintings our predecessors had removed from Rembrandt's oeuvre were also carefully re-investigated and, in a number of cases, their attribution to Rembrandt restored.[68] By investigation of paintings that had long been generally rejected we succeeded in acquiring better insights into the activities of others in Rembrandt's studio.

Likeness and expression

Apart from the surprising differences in style among the self-portraits that we consider to be autograph works, we were equally struck by another phenomenon. Rembrandt apparently had difficulty in achieving a convincing likeness in his self-portraits. That he may have had problems in achieving a good likeness was already evident from two contemporary documents regarding his portraits of other sitters.[69]

Remarkable differences in physiognomy exist among the various self-portraits that we consider to be autograph;[70] in particular there are major differences in the way the eyes are painted – larger or smaller, wider apart or closer together. The shape of the face, too, can vary – in some paintings the face is longer and narrower while in others it has a more rounded shape – and so, too, can the way the various facial features are characterized. And yet Rembrandt seems to have studied his features each time with equal thoroughness, as can be seen, for example, from the fact that particular asymmetric facial features (particularly the eyelids and furrows of the forehead) are almost always carefully represented. These asymmetric features occasionally played a part in the investigation of authenticity. Thanks to these asymmetries we knew, for example, that the 'self-portraits' painted by pupils were not portraits for which Rembrandt himself had posed, because had that been the case these asymmetric features would not be represented as mirror-imaged in the way that they inevitably are in a self-portrait that originated in front of the mirror or in a copy of a self-portrait. We think that Rembrandt himself posed for only one drawn portrait.[71]

A strong tendency (still) exists to read Rembrandt's states of mind and even his (assumed) thoughts into his self-portraits. This tendency has contributed to the persistent myth that Rembrandt – in the words of Schmidt-Degener quoted in the opening lines of this summary – 'confided everything in his (late) self-portraits, including his unhappiness and loneliness; but… also his self-confidence and his pride and triumph as an artist.' As is well known, the history of cinematography has taught us that one is capable of reading all sorts of emotions and thoughts in an immobile face, depending on the context in which it is seen. Schmidt-Degener's words provide abundant evidence that, in the case of Rembrandt, it is not so much a question of reading emotions but rather the projection of 'knowledge', in the case of Schmidt-Degener, of elements of the Rembrandt myth anno 1906, into Rembrandt's face shown in repose.

66 See Chapter III, pp. 109-117; compare for instance figs. 193 (Br. 18), 194 (Br. 19) or IV 19 (Br. 53) and IV 20 (Br. 54).
67 Chapter III, pp. 116-117.
68 See Chapter III, p. 110 Tables A and B.
69 See Strauss *Doc.*, 1633/1 and 1654/4.
70 See Chapter III, pp. 96, 211, 290.
71 See Chapter III, fig. 110 (Ben. 432).

Aspects of Rembrandt's theoretical ideas on art

It becomes increasingly clear that Rembrandt was not only preoccupied with his personal pictorial problems, but with problems which can be seen in a much wider context of art history and art theory. It was undoubtedly his ambition to belong to the illustrious group of great artists in the history of painting. This is already fairly evident from the fact that, in his works, he often appears to want to measure himself against such great 15th and 16th-century artists as Leonardo da Vinci and Titian, Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden, and against older contemporaries such as the Caravaggists and Rubens. In Chapter II, Marieke de Winkel demonstrates that Rembrandt, especially after 1640, referred to his great predecessors of the 15th and 16th centuries by means of his costuming. Moreover, in reference to the emancipation of the art of painting, he made 'statements' concerning its dignity, for instance by depicting himself in working clothes. Apparently he 'communicated' on these matters through the costuming in his self-portraits.[72]

Contrary to strong doubts on this point in the past,[73] Rembrandt must also have developed his own theory of art. During the discussion of the painted self-portraits in this volume, several aspects of his theory are briefly referred to, particularly by reference to texts of his pupil, Samuel van Hoogstraten. In these texts from Van Hoogstraten's book on the art of painting (see note 58), one finds echoes of his teacher's ideas on the art of painting. Thus, Chapter III of this volume discusses Rembrandt's early application of different styles in relation to different subject matter, an art historical problem also known as the '*modus* issue in painting'.[74] Another concern that must have engaged Rembrandt throughout his life is compositional unity ('*eenwezich*heid'), with its associated hierarchical treatment of light.[75] Rembrandt's affair with *chance*, an Aristotelian theme that must have been much discussed in the 17th century, is also dealt with.[76] Rembrandt's presumed theories concerning a sketchy manner of painting and his use of relief in the paint surface, especially in the skin, are demonstrated with examples taken from Rembrandt's painted self-portraits dealt with in this volume.[77]

In conclusion

The case summarized above, *contra* Rembrandt's self-portraits constituting a kind of autobiographical search for his own identity(ies), can be taken to an extreme. One might then conclude that Rembrandt's self-portraits were in his own eyes no more than commodities produced for a particular sector of the art market. Were then such masterpieces as the self-portraits from 1640 and '69 in London, the *Large Vienna self-portrait*, or those from the Frick collection, Paris or Kenwood,[78] merely intended to serve as commodities? Did these works say nothing about the way Rembrandt saw himself? To think so would surely be a mistake.

The history of art as conceived by Rembrandt and his contemporaries, from classical antiquity and from the Renaissance, was a history of great artists who were so admired that all cultivated Europeans – including kings and emperors – knew or were required to know their names. All the evidence indicates that Rembrandt saw himself in this great tradition and considered himself the equal of the great masters of the history of the art of painting. Many of Rembrandt's contemporaries must also have seen him so. When one places Rembrandt in this context, it is obvious that both the creation and the acquisition of his self-portraits must have been freighted with significance.

On the other hand, we know that Rembrandt must have regarded the world of art lovers and connoisseurs of his time with a certain scepticism. If the present author's interpretation of Rembrandt's drawing of *c.* 1644, the so-called 'Satire on Art Criticism', is correct, Rembrandt must have had mixed feelings about his public.[79] Is it possible that those self-portraits, produced by pupils or other members of his workshop, especially in the decades of the 1640s and '50s, should have been intended for undiscriminating 'naemkoopers' ('name-buyers') who were blind enough to see masterworks in the spurious and second-rate? If this were the case, one of the puzzles that our research has brought to light would be solved, viz. the puzzle of the non-autograph, free variants based on Rembrandt's self-portraits that were produced in Rembrandt's workshop.

Our aim in this volume has been to place those works that have usually been referred to as Rembrandt's self-portraits in a new and coherent context. We hope that we have managed to do this convincingly. We also hope that our revisions of the limits of Rembrandt's autograph oeuvre, and our attempts to situate those works whose attribution to Rembrandt we can no longer accept will meet with the reader's approval. Although readers may be shocked by several unexpected disattributions, some may well find that we have been considerably more restrained in our exclusion of certain works from Rembrandt's oeuvre than our more recent predecessors.[80] We hope, finally, that our suggested revisions will in the long run contribute to a solid foundation from which to explore further the phenomenon of Rembrandt's art.

72 See Chapter II; see also M. de Winkel, 'Costume in Rembrandt's Self Portraits', in exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000; M. de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings*, Amsterdam 2005.

73 J.A. Emmens *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*, rev. edn. Amsterdam 1979.

74 See Chapter III, pp. 166-171.

75 See Chapter III, pp. 290-291.

76 See Chapter III, pp. 272-273.

77 See Chapter III, pp. 303-311.

78 See Chapter III, fig. 242 (Br. 34), IV 8 (Br. 42), IV 14 (Br. 50), IV 19 (Br. 53) and IV 26 (Br. 52).

79 Ben. IV no. A 35a; see E. van de Wetering, 'Rembrandt's "Satire on Art Criticism" reconsidered', in: *Shop Talk. Studies in Honor of Seymour Slive*, (eds. Cynthia P. Schneider, William W. Robinson, Alice I. Davies e.a.) Cambridge, Mass. 1995, pp. 264-270.

80 See Chapter III, p. 110 Table A and B.

Photo acknowledgments

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Essays

Chapter I

By his own hand. The valuation of autograph paintings in the 17th century

JAAP VAN DER VEEN

In the second volume of *A Corpus of Rembrandt paintings*, the question was raised whether the desire to distinguish between Rembrandt's hand and those of his pupils and assistants is a pursuit that could be called anachronistic. Could this be a consequence of the 19th-century cult of genius that fuelled the urge to isolate a master's work? Indeed, 17th-century painters themselves would not have been very particular about the autograph nature of their work. However, various sources indicate that their contemporaries were, in fact, eager to know exactly by whom a certain painting had been made and whether the master had received any assistance in executing the work. While it was difficult to draw any general conclusions from the meagre source material, it was nevertheless postulated in Volume II that the concept of differentiating the hand of the master and his workshop assistants is not anachronistic.[1]

The issue, however, was by no means resolved. For example, De Jongh felt that the ongoing discussions on the autograph status of 17th-century paintings relied too heavily on a late Romantic obsession with individualism and authenticity. He wondered whether this obsession was compatible with the analysis of a 17th-century situation, although he expressed some reservation. In the 17th century a distinction most certainly was made between 'original and less original work', and there were buyers who settled for nothing less than paintings by the hand of a specific artist. Nonetheless, De Jongh felt that 'a general fixation on authenticity such as we have known for years definitely did not exist.' On the contrary, 17th-century studio practice was characterised by close cooperation between the master of the workshop and his pupils and assistants. De Jongh considered it highly unlikely that in artists' workshops 'words were ever wasted on the matter of authenticity.'[2]

This discussion is hardly novel. Lugt, for instance, broached the subject in a 1936 article on Italian paintings that had once been in Dutch collections.[3] He believed that the matter of authenticity most certainly was a concern in the 17th century. Assessing contemporary statements regarding the authenticity of works of art, Lugt observed that 17th-century art lovers had a preference for 'principalen', defining *principaal* as an 'original by the master concerned'. According to Lugt, statements of this sort were plentiful. In apparent contradiction to this is his remark that attributions recorded in 17th-century inventories and sales catalogues should not be too strictly measured against current standards. After all, Lugt argued, at that time an artist's name was not so highly individualised, while nowadays it designates a sharply defined personality. At the same time, he noted that our knowledge of past attributions is based on information from inventories and sales catalogues, which should be viewed with great caution.

In this essay, I consider whether or not our preoccupation with differentiating between artists' hands is an anachronism. Given that this subject will be dealt with in general terms, much of this chapter will not directly relate to works by Rembrandt. To my knowledge, this is the first attempt to gather and analyse the archival material pertaining to the issue at hand. Drawing from contemporary sources, I will try to formulate an answer to the question of whether 17th-century buyers and owners of paintings were interested in the actual makers of these works, and if so, whether prospective patrons ever stated their wish that a painting not only be by a particular artist, but also that it be a fully autograph work.

To bring some organisation to the source material, which is quite diverse in nature, the following categorisation has been chosen. Those documents that address the issue of authorship as such constitute the core of the first section. They include discussions between purchasers and dealers about whether a given painting is an original or a copy, and conflicts about whether a painter was fully or only partially responsible for the production of a certain work. This material also includes certificates guaranteeing 'authenticity', as well as statements by artists regarding paintings made by themselves or by others. The second section deals with signatures on paintings. How common was it for 17th-century Dutch painters to sign their work? Are there any contemporary documents that address the practice of signing? To what extent was a signature of importance to painters or their clients? The third section is devoted to probate inventories, which are indispensable for our knowledge of the ownership of paintings in the past. Did the compilers of inventories consider it necessary to mention the names of painters? If so, did this practice change during the course of the 17th century, or did it remain constant? And how did one arrive at an attribution for a given work?

While this chapter focuses on the situation in the Dutch Republic, sources from the Southern Netherlands will also be taken into consideration. And not without reason. First of all, we know, largely thanks to Briels' publications, that Southern Netherlanders had a tremendous impact on the art market in the north.[4] From the last decades of the 16th century on, numerous artists emigrated to the Republic, where they greatly influenced developments in both the demand and supply sides of the market. Hence, by the 17th century the art trade in the Republic had long been dominated by Brabanders. Moreover, a large segment of the population that was interested in art was of Southern Netherlandish origin. Another reason for using sources from the

1 *A Corpus* Vol. II, pp. 60-61. For a summary of the current state of affairs see, E. van de Wetering, 'The question of authenticity: an anachronism? (A summary)', in: G. Cavalli-Björkman (ed.), *Rembrandt and his pupils. Papers given at a symposium in the Nationalmuseum Stockholm, 2-3 October 1992*, n.p. [Stockholm] 1993, pp. 9-13.

2 E. de Jongh in: 'Cultureel Supplement' of the *NRC Handelsblad*, 18 May 1990; and also in *Kunstschrift* 34 (1990), no. 2, pp. 2-3.

3 F. Lugt, 'Italiaansche kunstwerken in Nederlandsche verzamelingen van vroeger tijden', *O.H.* 53 (1936), pp. 97-135, esp. 110-112.

4 J.G.C.A. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in het begin van de Gouden Eeuw, 1585-1630*, Haarlem n.d. [1987], and his dissertation cited in note 8.

Southern Netherlands, particularly those from Antwerp, is that they offer the opportunity to make comparisons. In fact, some of the disputes regarding the autograph status of a work of art involved both Southern and Northern Netherlanders. The source material relating to Rembrandt and his art is discussed in a separate section at the end of this essay. To what extent are the general conclusions drawn from the collected material specifically applicable to Rembrandt? Before turning to the group of documents dealing with the question of authenticity, I shall first examine what the terms 'authentic', 'autograph' and 'principaal' can signify.

The terms 'authentic' and 'autograph', 'principaal' and 'copy'

The way in which the term 'authentic' is used today can cause confusion and will henceforth be avoided in this essay. Stemming from the Greek *authentikos*, 'at first hand', the term is synonymous with 'genuine', 'reliable', or 'truly by the one to whom a manuscript or work of art has been attributed.' Another, related meaning of authentic is 'original'. However, just as there are authentic letters and documents, so too are the copies of these pieces authentic by virtue of their formally prescribed format and legally valid upon certification by an authorised official. Legally, a certified copy does not differ from an authentic document; its form, content and validity are identical to that of the original. Provided it is drawn up in the legally correct form by a certified individual, a copy can literally be authorised.[5]

This is not the case with works of art, even though it will be shown that 17th-century artists signed or monogrammed paintings produced in their workshops, thus 'authenticating' them. With respect to paintings, 'autograph status' is a better phrase to use. In creating a work of art, an individual artist can be responsible for both its design and execution, or can involve assistants in its production. The term *principaal* is usually used to express a contrast with 'copy'. A copy is made after a work of art, which does not necessarily have to be an original.[6] A more detailed definition of the term 'original' – a work made by the hand of a certain master – is found in Franciscus Junius' *Schilder-Boeck, behelsende de Schilder-konst der Oude* published in 1641. Junius says the following: 'most are wont to prove their knowledge of art by being able to immediately distinguish originals from copies. The works that the excellent masters themselves have made after life, are here referred to as original pieces.'[7] In the Dutch Republic, the word 'original' is rarely encountered in 17th-century written sources (*principaal* is almost always used instead), while the term occurs more frequently in the Southern Netherlands. The earliest examples of its use date from around 1600.[8]

The earliest documents to reveal an interest in the autograph nature of works of art on the part of art lovers date from the first half of the 16th century. Although few of these documents exist, almost all of them are from Italy. It is unclear to what extent financial motives played a decisive role in the appreciation of a painting by a particular master. We know that contemporary numismatists' interest in forgeries of antique coins certainly did involve financial considerations. In fact, in his *Discorsi* of 1555, Enea Vico devoted a separate chapter to the problem of how to distinguish counterfeits and copies from genuine coins.[9] Vico pointed out qualitative differences between originals and copies, which in his view were always inferior. An antique coin could, however, have been so cleverly reproduced that only the experienced eye of the connoisseur could determine whether a given coin was an original or a copy.

The interest in autograph works of art was inextricably linked to the growing veneration of the individual artist.[10] This phenomenon grew only gradually, and thus cannot be dated with any precision.[11] In the Republic this development seems to have reached a temporary high

5 G. Geerts et al., *Van Dale. Groot woordenboek der Nederlandse taal,* 3 vols., Utrecht/Antwerp n.d. [1984, 11th edition], under 'authentiek' and its derivative forms. Walter Benjamin interpreted the term as it relates to publications on painting of the 16th to 18th century as 'the perceived uniqueness of the original work of art', quoted by J.M. Muller in: 'Measures of authenticity: the detection of copies in the early literature on connoisseurship', *Studies in the History of Art* 20 (1989), pp. 141-149.

6 L. de Pauw-de Veen, *De begrippen 'schilder', 'schilderij' en 'schilderen' in de zeventiende eeuw,* Brussels 1969, pp. 107-111. The author notes that the terms 'principaal' and 'origineel' both derive from French, but only the French word 'original' means: original painting. See also P. Bloch, 'Original, Kopie, Fälschung', *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 16 (1979), pp. 41-72. Contemporary appreciation of an original versus a copy may be inferred from the sometimes appreciable difference in price between them. Useful in this respect is: N. De Marchi and H.J. Van Miegroet, 'Pricing invention: "originals," "copies," and their relative value in seventeenth century Netherlandish art markets', in: V.A. Ginsburgh and P.-M. Menger (eds.), *Economics of the arts. Selected essays*, Amsterdam etc. 1996, pp. 27-70. E. Honig, 'The beholder as work of art: A study in the location of value in seventeenth-century Flemish painting', *N.K.J.* 46 (1995), pp. 253-297, examines the contemporary estimation of paintings on which more than one artist (often specialists) had worked.

7 '[..] plagten de meeste kracht haerer Konst-kennisse daer in voornaemelick te bewijsen, datse d'originelen staends-voets van de copijen weten t'onderscheyden. d'Oorspronckelicke wercken die de treffelicke Meesters nae 't leven selver ghemaeckt hebben, worden alhier door den naem van originele stucken te verstaen ghegeven', F. Junius, *Schilder-Boeck, behelsende de Schilder-konst der Oude, Begrepen in dry Boecken*, Middelburg 1641, p. 344. This is the Dutch translation of *De pictura veterum libri tres*, Amsterdam 1637.

8 Listed in an Antwerp inventory of 1614 is 'een originael ende copie van Hoywagen' (an original and a copy of a hay-wagon), E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw,* 12 vols, Brussels 1984-2002, I, p. 308. Around 1690 the Ghent painter Joannes de Cleeff appraised several paintings in an Antwerp estate, including a fruit basket with flowers and little shells 'wesende een excellent origineel van Ambrosius Boschaert' (being an excellent original by Ambrosius Bosschaert), J. Denucé, *De Antwerpsche 'konstkamers': inventarissen van kunstverzamelingen in de 16e en 17e eeuwen*, Antwerp and Amsterdam 1932, p. 347. 'Principaal' was used with greater frequency. In the inventory of Gillis van Coninxloo, drawn up in Amsterdam in 1607, the compiler of the inventory – undoubtedly helped by studio assistants – used the term several times, J.G.C.A. Briels, *De Zuidnederlandse immigratie in Amsterdam en Haarlem 1572-1630*, Utrecht 1976, pp. 231-235.

9 Muller, op. cit.[5], pp. 141-142. Parallels are found in diplomatic studies.

10 Important in this context is H. Miedema, 'Kunstschilders, gilde en academie; over het probleem van de emancipatie van de kunstschilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden van de 16de en 17de eeuw', *O.H.* 101 (1987), pp. 1-34.

11 I am aware that with respect to Italy, considerably earlier examples can be given of buyers wishing to own a painting by a specific master. The subject of the painting was of minor importance. Fifteenth-century

point around the middle of the 17th century. Art lovers were willing to pay exorbitant prices for a painting by a particular master, regardless of its subject or dimensions, just because it was an autograph work. Extremely illustrative in this regard is the statement made in 1665 by two Haarlem painters who, when asked about the price of a painting of a couple with a child and a greyhound by Bartholomeus van der Helst, replied: 'the painting in question is worth 300 guilders, but in view of the master's name and reputation we have appraised it at 400 guilders and no more.'[12] In their opinion, the artist's name and reputation increased the value of the painting by 100 guilders!

'Assembly line' production by anonymous artists

To avoid any misunderstanding it should first be noted that a significant percentage of the paintings produced in the Dutch Republic was made for the free market, and that in the buying and selling of these works the names of the artists were of little or no importance. The 17th century witnessed an extraordinarily high production of paintings; just how many were made can only be estimated.[13] Provisional calculations indicate that around 1650, when this artistic output had in all probability reached its peak, the Republic boasted between 650 and 750 painters, a figure which explains the high annual production. A substantial part of this was 'dozijnwerk' (paintings by the yard sold at a low price), i.e., landscapes, genre pieces, 'tronies' and the like intended for the free market. These 'assembly-line'-produced paintings were sold for a few guilders. Their value was determined by size, by the materials used and by the time spent on them. The buyer's principle concerns were the subject and the affordability of a work.[14]

'Assembly-line' paintings would not have been perceived by contemporaries as the work of a particular artist. On the contrary, when purchasing such simple, serially produced works, the name of the maker would have had little or no significance. Antwerp art dealers received orders containing only general instructions regarding the desired scenes, the size and the support; no mention was made as to who was going to execute the painting. In most cases, inexpensive works would have been sold anonymously. The range in both the supply and demand sides of the art market was enormous. On one end of the spectrum were the painters (many of whom specialised in a particular genre), who worked for the free market, and in many instances – in part through the art trade – sold their work anonymously; on the other end were the painters who made high quality products, sometimes worked on commission, and commanded much higher prices up to many hundreds of guilders. Obviously, the clientele for this latter category must be sought among the well-to-do burghers, and it is among these buyers and owners that we may presume a preference for *principalen*.

I. Documents pertaining to the autograph status of paintings

When considering to what extent the autograph status of paintings was valued in the past, it is useful to first make an inventory of the contemporary sources that address this subject. I have limited myself to collecting written sources, which have been chronologically arranged in an appendix.[15] The following issues are addressed successively: the nature of the sources consulted, their number and the period in which they originate. This is followed by a discussion of the documents themselves. Who was involved in the cases recorded, and which painters did they concern? Did buyers want assurance that the paintings they had purchased were actually made by a particular artist?

The sources

The source material, more than thirty 17th-century cases, supplemented by three documents from the first half of the 18th century, is very diverse. The documents

contracts sometimes stipulated that the work, or a part thereof, especially the face and the uncovered parts of the body, had to be executed by none other than the painter who had been commissioned to do the work, see M.O'Malley, 'Late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century painting contracts and the stipulated use of the painter's hand', in: E. Marchand and A. Wright (eds.), *With and without the Medici. Studies in Tuscan art and patronage, 1434-1530*, n.p. 1998, pp. 155-178. It is possible that such a stipulation was prompted by norms of quality. Southern Netherlandish contracts of the 16th century also point in that direction. In 1517 the Bruges painter Albert Cornelis contractually agreed to make an altarpiece on the condition that he 'zelve, metter handt, wel ende constich wercken zoude alle de naecten ende 't principale werc' (himself would work well and artfully, by his own hand, all the nudes and the principal work). Later it appeared that he had contracted out some of the work, with which his patrons disagreed, see W.H.J. Weale, 'Albert Cornelis. Hiérarchie des anges', *Le Beffroi* 1 (1863), pp. 1-22, esp. 18-20. M. Baxandall (*Painting and experience in fifteenth century Italy*, London/Oxford/New York n.d. [1976, 3rd edition], pp. 14-16 and passim) perceived a shift at the turn of the 15th to the 16th century: patrons placed greater emphasis on the quality of the work to be executed than on the use of costly pigments (ultramarine and gold). This does not mean, however, that the demand existed for fully autograph works, as painters generally left a large part of the execution in the hands of their apprentices.

12 '[..] sijnde 't voorsz. schilderije waerdich driehondert gulden, maer ten respecte van de meester sijn naem en reputatie hebben 't selve op vierhondert gulden getaxeert en niet meer', according to a statement of 31 December 1665, in Br. *Künstler-Inv.* VII, p. 301; and cf. ibid., pp. 299-300.

13 The economist Montias and the historian Van der Woude calculated that painting production in the 17th-century Dutch Republic came to almost four and a half million works. See J.M. Montias, 'Estimates of the number of Dutch master-painters, their earnings and their output in 1650', *Leidschrift* 6 (1990), pp. 59-74 and A.M. van der Woude, 'De schilderijenproduktie in Holland tijdens de Republiek. Een poging tot kwantificatie', in: J.C. Dagevos a.o. (ed.), *Kunst-Zaken. Particulier initiatief en overheidsbeleid in de wereld van de beeldende kunst*, n.p. n.d. [1991], pp. 18-50.

14 On the serial production of paintings, see H. Vlieghe, 'Maatwerk en confectie. Over de functie van historieschilderkunst in de Vlaamse stad van de 17de eeuw', in: J. van der Stock (ed.), *Stad in Vlaanderen. Cultuur en Maatschappij, 1477-1787*, Brussels 1991, pp. 255-268.

15 In compiling this list I relied on source publications, various articles in *Oud-Holland*, and a number of monographs on 17th-century painters. Naturally, I do not pretend that this overview, supplemented by documents I have discovered, is complete. Henceforth, reference will be made to the numbering in this appendix.

– mostly notarial deeds, partially legal in nature – consist of expert appraisals by painters and art dealers with the aim of identifying the makers of particular paintings. In most instances a statement was made as to whether a certain work of art was autograph, or whether other painters had been involved in its production. In two cases, the point of departure was a bet concerning the possible maker of a painting. Also included in the list are a number of certificates that were drawn up to remove any doubt about the autograph nature of a piece. While the relevant documents are not limited to a particular town, the fact that most of them are related to Amsterdam painters and buyers should not come as a surprise, given that this city was the most important art market in the Republic.

At first glance, the number of documents concerning quarrels about attributions or statements from connoisseurs on the autograph nature of works is not all that great. It should be noted, however, that it is difficult to systematically seek out such sources. This is compounded by the fact that in the majority of cities the most important archival material that could shed light on the subject – namely the records of the Guilds of St Luke – has been extremely poorly preserved. For example, hardly any archival documents have come down to us from the Amsterdam guild, so that we no longer can consult the *renvooiboeken*, in which such matters were presumably recorded.[16] Judicial archives undoubtedly can yield additional information. However, in the various cities where these have survived, their very magnitude makes them difficult to access.[17] For Amsterdam, the loss of the archive of the *Commissarissen van de Kleine Zaken* is especially serious.[18]

The period

Those documents that could be unearthed span the entire century, although they are unevenly distributed. The relatively modest number of cases found does not allow for any development to be traced. There is, however, a concentration of documents in the first quarter of the century, and again in the 1640s and 50s. Several of the cases that occurred in the first period can be linked to a shift in the art trade at the time of the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621). Various Antwerp art dealers sold large quantities of paintings in the north during this economically, politically and militarily advantageous period. Some dealers took advantage of the gullibility and ignorance of the burghers of the Northern Netherlands.

In 1608 the dean and the headmen of the Amsterdam painters' guild petitioned the burgomasters to prohibit the sale of paintings by foreigners. Through the cunning business at the public sales organised by these foreigners, paintings were sold for prices well above their actual market value. The guild members feared that the Dutch market would be inundated with 'vodden ende slechte leerkinderenwerck' (rags and shoddy work of apprentices). This was not only damaging to the competitive position of the painters, but also misled the public 'die door den banck [genomen] weynich kennisse van schilderyen hebben' (who generally have little knowledge of paintings). Five years later the painters submitted a new petition, which once again described how citizens were frequently tricked into buying copies instead of originals. According to the request, when the 'goede off principale schilderyen niet genoech na des vercopers wille mogende gelden' (good or principal paintings were not valued high enough in the sellers' view), they were kept back by these sellers. Thus paintings of good quality remained unsold and the market was ruined by countless copies and 'andere slechte vodden' (other bad rags).[19] Both requests make it clear that the distinction between an original and a copy was considered important, that many buyers of paintings were unknowledgeable, and that art dealers took advantage of this.

That this became a key issue in the 1640s and 50s may be related to the fact that the number of art lovers increased noticeably in this period. Montias observed a growing interest in matters of attribution and the autograph status of works of art in Delft sources from the same period.[20] A similar development can be noted in Antwerp. Moreover, it can be demonstrated that the Dutch art trade experienced a change at this time: a

16 In a 'renvooiboek' are recorded the verdicts of the headmen of the guild, acting as experts in resolving controversies that had been referred to them by a judicial board or voluntarily brought before them.

17 I queried several legal historians conducting research in the legal archives, with no results. Bibliographical research was conducted in the Nederlands Centrum voor Rechtshistorische Documentatie in Amsterdam.

18 When the parties involved agreed, the directors of this board handled cases as 'goedemannen' (arbitrators). A 'goedeman' not only meant arbitrator, but also expert. In the event that one considered oneself incompetent to arbitrate a dispute, then one sought the advice of generally recognised experts. In more comprehensive cases the aldermen's bench was called in. The aldermen could also refer a party to independent experts. For example, Gerrit Uylenburgh turned to the aldermen in 1672 to counter allegations regarding Italian paintings, which he had offered the Elector of Brandenburg for sale and which had been condemned by the latter's advisers as being 'vodden' (rags) and poor copies (Doc. 27). Uylenburgh requested the appointment of 'eenige neuterale meestersschilders ende andere kunstkennende persoonen hen de schilderkunst verstaende' (several neutral master painters and other knowledgeable persons who understand the art of painting). Henri de Fromantiou, the Elector's court painter and as such defender of his employer's interests, notified Uylenburgh that he would have nothing to do with the aldermen, GAA, not. A. Lock, NA 2239, pp. 80-81, dd. 7 May 1672. The aldermen subsequently appointed 15 individuals to inspect the paintings, a measure that met with De Fromantiou's disapproval. Upon his request the aldermen asked the headmen of the St Luke's guild to examine the works concerned, ibid., pp. 82-83 and 130-131, dd. 9 and 12 May 1672 and A. Bredius, 'Italiaansche schilderijen in 1672 door Amsterdamsche en Haagsche schilders beoordeeld', *O.H.* 4 (1886), pp. 41-46, esp. 42.

19 J.G. van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het gildewezen van Amsterdam*, 3 vols., The Hague 1929-1974, I, pp. 664-665; II, pp. 63-64; see also *A Corpus* Vol. II, p. 60 and note 129 and E.J. Sluijter, 'Over Brabantse vodden, economische concurrentie, artistieke wedijver en de groei van de markt voor schilderijen in de eerste decennia van de zeventiende eeuw', *N.K.J.* 50 (1999), pp. 113-143.

20 J.M. Montias, *Artists and artisans in Delft, A socio-economic study of the seventeenth century*, Princeton N. J. 1982, pp. 218, 227 and 247-258.

growing number of people who had no artistic training decided to try their hand at this profession.[21]

The art trade

It is not coincidental that the majority of cases somehow involved art dealers. A handful of cases had to do with an exchange or some other kind of transaction. The complaints launched against art dealers and auctioneers in the 17th century demonstrate that the sale of paintings was not always fairly conducted. Various documents attest to such dubious practices. For example, at a 1624 sale in Amsterdam, the auctioneer proclaimed that a certain painting was an original by Vincent Coeberghen, a claim that was later disputed (Doc. 8). An interesting detail noted by witnesses was that the buyer had not been able to get a good look at the painting because of the gathering twilight!

Some dabblers in the art trade had acquired a bad reputation through their trickery and deceptiveness. In The Hague, the 'utroeper van de vendue en wijncooper' (auctioneer and wine merchant) Hendrick Broeckman was called to defend himself against precisely this charge.[22] Someone had been subjected to his objectionable practices and lodged a complaint at the burgomaster's office. When the auctioneer was summoned to this office to clarify the matter, a treasurer by the name of Van der Does commented that his conduct was rather 'fishy'. According to Van der Does, Broeckman had put up a painting for auction on which the treasurer had bid eight guilders. Broeckman had then exclaimed: 'Wat acht gulden? Voor soo een heerlick stuck van Van Duynen?' (What, eight guilders? For such a splendid piece by Van Duynen?). Subsequently he had driven the price up to 17 guilders. After the auction, the treasurer had taken his new acquisition to the home of the painter, Isaack van Duynen, who specialised in fish still lifes. Upon hearing the treasurer explain that he had purchased an excellent painting by the artist, the latter responded that the work in question was in fact not by him but by one of his worst pupils. After expressing his sympathies, the painter assured Van der Does that he had been deceived. Van Duynen declared that Broeckman had purchased the painting from him for five guilders, a price that he would never have asked for his own work.

The painters

When one considers the painters whose works are the subject of debate in these documents, one is struck anew by the diversity. A few documents relate to Italian paintings. These include a work by Caravaggio (Docs. 6a-b, and compare Doc. 10), a painting said to be by Antonio Correggio (Doc. 7), a collection of paintings that Gerrit Uylenburgh had attempted to sell to the Elector of Brandenburg (Doc. 27), an alleged Titian (Doc. 29), and three paintings upon which a judgment was passed in 1692 (Doc. 31a). In the latter case, two Amsterdam painters and the art dealer Jan Pietersz. Zomer, all referred to as 'connoisseurs of paintings', deemed the paintings attributed to Jacopo da Ponte, called Bassano, Giovanni da Pordenone and Guido Reni to be 'ware principaelen' (true 'principalen'). Some time later, the individual at whose request this statement was made wrote a letter conveying his doubts about Zomer's expertise (Doc. 31b). He wondered whether the art dealer was indeed the right man to provide an accurate appraisal of Italian paintings. He did not dare trust Zomer on his word and felt it would be useful for the paintings to be accompanied by guarantees were they to be sold.[23] Although Zomer was *the* leading art expert in Amsterdam between roughly 1685 and 1724, it is not surprising that his connoisseurship of Italian art was doubted, as only a very few people in the Republic were knowledgeable in this area.[24]

With the exception of Dürer and a few Flemish masters, all of the other documents relate to artists originally from or active in the Northern Netherlands. While reputable names such as Abraham Bloemaert, Rembrandt, Bartholomeus van der Helst and Jan Davidsz. de Heem are certainly present, lesser known painters such as Jan Jansz. den Uyl, Hans Jordaens and Isaack van Duynen are also included on the list. The seascape painter Jan Porcellis, whose work was highly

21 A salient example is Laurens Mauritsz. Doucy (see Docs. 24 and 25). This Amsterdam hatter conducted trade in paintings in a relatively low price class. The paintings cited in his 1669 inventory were appraised by Ferdinand Bol and Gerrit Uylenburgh; they distinguished between work by Porcellis the Elder and the Younger and, moreover, identified a seascape by Anthonisz.: 'een see van Percelles' (a seascape by Porcellis) at 18 guilders, 'een storm van den Ouwen Percelles' (a storm by the Elder Porcellis) at 42 guilders, 'een zeetie van Hendrick van Antonisz.' (a seascape by Hendrick Anthonisz.) at 8 guilders, a 'duyntie van Percelles' (a dunescape by Porcellis) and 'een dito' (a ditto) at 8 and 6 guilders respectively, 'een watertie van de Jonge Percelles' (a small marine piece by the Younger Porcellis) at 5 guilders and 'een graeuwtje van Percelles' (a grisaille by Porcellis) at 4 guilders, GAA, not. G. van Breugel, NA 3505, pp. 191-200, dd. 5, 6 and 21 February 1669 and Br. *Künstler-Inv.* II, pp. 422-426. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, various art sellers were operating in cities such as Amsterdam and The Hague who had not been involved originally with the art business. Some of these newfangled dealers did not shy away from questionable practices, see J. van der Veen, 'De Amsterdamse kunstmarkt en de schilderijaankopen voor Peter de Grote', in: R. Kistemaker, N. Kopaneva and A. Overbeek (eds.), *Peter de Grote en Holland. Culturele en wetenschappelijke betrekkingen tussen Rusland en Nederland ten tijde van tsaar Peter de Grote*, Bussum 1996, pp. 132-139.

22 Doc. 28; Broeckman was summoned to court on numerous occasions in 1676, but it is not always clear what transpired. See GA The Hague, Rechterlijk Archief, inv. no. 145, fols. 186, 207, 219, 232v, 245, 265, 279, 290v and 311v and also fols. 193v, 210v and 238. In the period 1675-76 the painter Dirck Dalens submitted various claims against him, including some relating to paintings he had delivered, Br. *Künstler-Inv.* IV, p. 1413.

23 H. Ernst of the Municipal Archive of Amsterdam kindly brought this letter to my attention.

24 The number of collectors who owned good Italian art was small. Shortly after 1750, a German traveller noted that, while the Dutch indeed fostered a great love for painting, they did not know the first thing about Italian art, see C.W. Fock, 'De schilderijengalerij van Prins Willem V op het Buitenhof te Den Haag', *Antiek* 11 (1976), pp. 113-137, esp. 123. There were more contemporaries who doubted Zomer's expertise; in an elegy dedicated to Zomer, the book printer and art dealer Jan Goeree described him as 'in de Kunst een Kakelaar / In de Kunst een Jan de Dooper' (a cackler in art / a John the Baptist in art), quoted by A. Bredius, 'De kunsthandel te Amsterdam in de XVIIe eeuw', *Amsterdamsch Jaarboekje* 1891, pp. 54-71, esp. 69; and S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Jan Pietersz. Zomer (1641-1724), makelaar in schilderijen (1690-1724)', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 69 (1977), pp. 89-106.

appreciated in the 17th century, stands out somewhat with four mentions.[25] Conspicuously absent are Gerrit van Honthorst and Cornelis van Poelenburch, conspicuous because both painters had many pupils and followers and their paintings were popular among art lovers.

Mistaken identities: who's who?

Many examples can be cited of 17th-century families in which the father and one or more of the children were painters. As a result, misunderstandings could occur in the sale of paintings. Sales catalogues commonly feature meaningless attributions to 'Bruegel', or other surnames of painters for which further clarification would have been in order. For example, it is uncertain exactly which artist by the name of Jordaens is meant in one particular case (Doc. 23).[26] Confusion over the same surname was sometimes deviously invoked to deliberately cause a misunderstanding. It was a considerable difference if a painting by Jan Porcellis or one by his son Julius was put up for sale (Doc. 18). The case described below, which took place in 1650 and concerned a painting by Den Uyl, involved an especially subtle deception.

An exchange of paintings had been negotiated at an Amsterdam inn, which subsequently resulted in a quarrel as to whether or not Den Uyl the Elder or the Younger had been named as the artist of the works. The painter Dirck Bleker expressed his doubts about whether one of the paintings concerned was indeed by the elder Den Uyl, for it was 'niet fray genoech' (not splendid enough). The outcome of the decision was that the painting was guaranteed to be 'een principael van den *ouden, oprechten* Uyl' (a 'principaal' by the elder, real Uyl). Were this to prove otherwise, the aggrieved party would receive the work for free (Doc. 17). There must have been some deliberate obfuscation regarding the use of the appellation 'the Elder'. As it happened, the still-life painter Jan Jansz. den Uyl had two sons, who were both named Jan. To distinguish between them, they were commonly called 'the Elder' and 'the Younger'. Like his father, the elder Jan was a painter. Hence, 'Den Uyl the Elder' could refer to either the father or the eldest son. The man who had positively examined the Den Uyl still life on numerous occasions decided he wanted it, even though the uncertainty of whether the painting was indeed by Den Uyl the Elder continued to gnaw at him. A recurring theme in such cases is that the persons involved, even though they truly desired a certain painting, subsequently proved dissatisfied when they were told by others that the purchased work was at best only partially by the painter whom they had assumed to be the maker.

The judgements

Many documents attest to the fact that people generally turned to painters and professional art dealers for the judgement of paintings (fig. 1). From the 1630s on several independent connoisseurs became involved in matters of this nature. These connoisseurs were neither practising painters nor art dealers, but their opinions were taken seriously by contemporaries. While these experts presumably had considerable influence, those individuals who were professionally active in the art trade usually had the upper hand. When arguments were forwarded supporting an expertise, the persons involved usually appealed to the fact that thanks to their occupation and years of experience – many painters were also involved in the art trade – they were best able to form an opinion as to the work of other artists. One of the ways of testing an attribution was to compare the work in question to an unchallenged painting by the artist concerned. That even then this was sometimes inconclusive is evidenced by a case involving an alleged painting by Gerard ter Borch: the parties involved had to settle for a contradictory conclusion on the part of the various arbitrators (Doc. 34).

Buyers sometimes demanded a guarantee. Some requested a certificate of authenticity. We only know for certain of such certificates in the case of Ambrosius Bosschaert (Docs. 4 and 9), but it is highly possible that they were issued more frequently. In addition, on the request of their clients, painters later made declarations with respect to their own work (Docs. 4, 19, 22 and 28). In both instances it remains unclear how often this occurred. It seems to have been more common that a verbal or written transaction included an agreement that the buyer could demand his money back should the purchased painting prove not to be by the painter under whose name it had

Fig. 1. Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719), *Art critique: assessment of a painting on an easel by members of the society Pictura in Dordrecht, c.* 1710, pen and brush in brown ink, 14.8 x 20.3 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KdZ 6699



25 Docs. 11, 18, 24 and 25. A procuration from the Delft art dealer Abraham de Cooge of 27 May 1661, authorising a colleague to appear on his behalf in Amsterdam in the matter of a painting by Porcellis that had been purchased by Laurens Mauritsz. Doucy (Montias, op. cit.[20], p. 211, no source mentioned), certainly must have concerned the seascape discussed in Doc. 24. On Doucy, see note 21 and on De Cooge Docs. 20a-b.

26 This could have been Hans Jordaens the Elder, active as a painter in Antwerp and Delft, or his identically named grandson who worked in Leiden and Delft. The inventory of Abraham Jordaens, a brother of the latter, contains two landscapes 'geseght' (said to be) by Jordaens, possibly work by the young Jordaens (the estate also contained a portrait of the grandfather, but he was a history painter), Br. *Künstler-Inv.* V, pp. 1825-1826. The same source also cites paintings that are either 'geseyt' (said to be) or 'gemeent' (believed to be) by Moyses van Uyttenbroeck, Jan Lievens and Gabriël Metsu, a landscape after Claes Berchem, a work 'sonder naem' (anonymous) and a few entries with signatures.

been traded. Various cases reveal that such a positive attestation was either requested or granted (Docs. 1, 3, 4, 5b, 10, 17, 31a, 35 and 36). In 1619, five renowned Amsterdam painters declared that they considered a painting representing the *Crucifixion of St Andrew* to be an original by Caravaggio. An Amsterdam merchant had bought the painting two years earlier from the heirs of the painter Louis Finson. It was sold at auction as a 'principael' by Caravaggio. The new owner had subsequently sold it to an Antwerper, who wanted assurance as to the autograph nature of the painting, and demanded from the seller a certificate to be issued by impartial painters (Docs. 6a-b).

Absolute certainty could only be obtained from the maker himself. If he was no longer alive, an attempt was made to find witnesses who could provide reliable information, in the first place one could think of former studio assistants (Docs. 20a and 25). A sensational case in Brussels involving the contested Apostle series by Van Dyck demonstrates that even such first-hand witnesses did not always dare to formulate a definite opinion.[27]

'Principalen'

Sometimes mention is made of a 'genuine' or 'pure' *principaal*. This may have been meant to designate a fully autograph painting. Indeed, discussions centred not only on whether a painting was an original or a copy, but also whether or not it was a fully autograph work. Four cases (Docs. 1, 4, 19 and 22) deal with a painting by a certain artist, wherein the question is raised whether anyone else was involved in its production. For example, Bartolomeus van der Helst was emphatically asked, after already having declared that the painting concerned was a *principaal*, whether anyone other than himself had worked on it. In another case in which a painting was contested, it was claimed that Jan Porcellis had painted only a small section of a picture – and even that was questioned! – and the four painters whose opinion had been requested claimed that Porcellis' brother-in-law Hendrick Anthonisz. had been responsible for its execution instead. Such a work, the painters concluded unanimously, was not worthy enough to be sold as a work by Jan Porcellis.[28] Ambrosius Bosschaert testified that a flower piece was done by him alone. Another piece by his brother-in-law Hans van der Ast had been retouched by Bosschaert.

That 17th-century collectors explicitly wished to own undisputed *principalen* was not a phenomenon limited to the Dutch Republic. This desire existed elsewhere as well, particularly in Antwerp. While countless examples could be cited, for the sake of brevity only a few salient cases will be described here. One famous instance concerns a list of paintings which Rubens included in a letter of 1618 to Sir Dudley Carleton, the English envoy to the States-General in The Hague, which offered a selection of pictures in exchange for the latter's collection of antique sculptures. Rubens made a distinction between works executed by himself (five), ones painted by him in cooperation with another artist (two), and finally paintings by advanced pupils after his inventions and retouched by himself (seventeen). Carleton's first choice was precisely the five autograph paintings![29]

Through the mediation of this same Carleton, Rubens subsequently delivered a *Lion hunt* to Prince Charles, later king of England. Upon delivery of the painting to the royal court in London, Rubens' hand could scarcely be discerned in the execution. Moreover, the draughtsmanship was found to be inadequate, and the painting was returned to Rubens. The painter then promised to deliver another picture. This time he would paint it entirely on his own without any assistance. Rubens did, however, feel obliged to point out that a work solely executed by him was more expensive than a retouched painting by an assistant.[30]

Another interesting case involves the judgement of four paintings on panel representing the four elements. The works were shown by two art lovers to the deans of the Antwerp painters' guild. The deans determined that the paintings were not by the 'Velvet' Bruegel (Jan the Elder). They were of the opinion that the figures in one of the paintings had been painted by Hendrick van Balen, 'wesende in qualiteyt beter als de andere' (being better in quality than the others).[31] This expertise was publicised rather conspicuously, perhaps by someone who felt damaged by the verdict. Fliers 'ten regarde van vier stucken schilderije ter camere geiugeert' (regarding four paintings judged in the guild hall) were attached to the pillars of the Bourse in Antwerp.[32] The deans of the guild deliberated about this incident. The minutes in the *resolutieboek*, the book in which the resolutions of the deans were recorded, are extremely succinct and do not record the contents of the flier. Nevertheless, it seems that the deans were thoroughly ridiculed for their views in this case. They were thus so shocked that they decided to submit their case to their benefactor, the Elector of Bavaria, who could advise them of what measures would be taken.[33] Apparently, the author of the broadsheet

27 M.L. Galesloot, 'Un procès pour une vente de tableaux attribués à Antoine van Dyck, 1660-1662', *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique* 24 (1868), pp. 561-606.

28 Note that Rembrandt's inventory of 1656 includes 'een seestuck door Hendrick Antonisz. opgemaeckt' (a seascape finished by Hendrick Anthonisz.), Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 29.

29 Ch. Ruelens and M. Rooses, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres*, 6 vols., Antwerp 1887-1909, II, pp. 145 and 189.

30 Ibid., II, pp. 275 and 286-287; F. Haskell, 'Charles I's collection of pictures', in: A. MacGregor (ed.), *The late King's goods. Collections, possessions and patronage of Charles I in the light of the Commonwealth sale inventories*, London/Oxford 1989, pp. 203-231, esp. 209-210 and fig. 68. The rejected painting is in the Galleria Corsini in Rome.

31 Antwerp, Archief van de Academie, inv. no. 81 (13), fol. 73v, dd. 19 January 1699.

32 Ibid., fol. 74v, dd. 14 February 1699.

33 The outcome of this matter is unknown, nor have I been able to find a copy of the pamphlet. It is not included in J. Polak-Suetens (ed.), *Inventaris pamfletten, 1520-1881*, n.p., 1983. This matter is neither to be found in the *rekwestboeken* (Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Privilegekamer, inv. no. 786), nor in the *vonnisboeken* (Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Vierschaar, inv. no. 1358). Moreover, the so-called *Vliegende Bladen* at the university library of Ghent does not possess a copy, as the keeper of the collection, Mrs Sylvia van Peteghem, kindly informed me.

criticised the expertise of the deans, who, in their diligence, had commented on a detail in one of the four paintings.

Do the sources cited here provide sufficient evidence to support a provisional conclusion? In part they do. On the one hand, it has been pointed out that the number of sources is relatively small, and that it should be remembered that for a considerable portion of the paintings circulating in the art market, the names of the artists were of little or no concern. On the other hand, the diversity of the material gathered indicates that when considering the purchase of a painting, the name of the artist frequently must have been a decisive factor. Not only did buyers emphasise the desire to own a work by a particular artist, in some instances they stipulated that it had to be an entirely autograph work. In order to make certain of this, in questionable cases a judgement was sought from one or more art experts – usually painters and art dealers, sometimes assisted by connoisseurs. Absolute certainty could only be given by the artist himself. And, indeed, this is known to have happened; several incidents involved distinguishing between an entirely autograph work and one by a pupil that had been retouched by the master. The phrasing in the documents indicates that the latter type of painting was not considered entirely autograph, but was perceived as a good shopwork.

Art dealers appear to have been involved in most of the cases discussed here. What is striking is that the buyers of paintings only expressed their dissatisfaction after others had observed that these works could not have been made by the artists concerned. In most of the cases, the buyers had been satisfied up to that point! Not infrequently, buyers who felt they had been deceived blamed their lack of knowledge; they had 'geen kennisse' (no knowledge or understanding) of painting and had taken the seller at his word. Given that not all art dealers were equally trustworthy in this respect, some buyers demanded a certificate. Should the painting later prove to be a copy rather than an original, the buyer was then entitled to have his money refunded. In those situations where neither the painter nor the appropriate witnesses were alive, it was difficult to defend one's claim, leaving no option but to rely on the expertise of connoisseurs. There was growing scepticism regarding their 'expertise', especially toward the end of the 17th century.

II. Mark, monogram and signature

When considering the autograph nature of paintings, one wonders what value contemporaries placed on an artist's monogram or signature. Was an inscription of this nature seen as a guarantee that a work of art was autograph? Twice, in the documents discussed above, mention is made of a signature on a painting. One of these concerns a flower piece that was sold as a genuine piece by De Heem painted with his own hand (Doc. 30a), which the painter Ernst Stuven afterwards testified to having himself placed De Heem's signature on it (Doc. 30c). This was a matter of downright deceit. In the other case, the painter Claes van Bronchorst made a statement regarding an incident that occurred in the home of Sybert Cornelisz. Dogger of Delft (Doc. 15). The painter Adam Pick, together with several other individuals, had been to Dogger's house and, while standing before a large painting hanging in the front hall, had declared to the owner that it was by Evert van Aelst. Dogger then drew the artist's attention to a smaller painting which, according to him, had also been made by Van Aelst. Pick begged to differ, and after a brief discussion, made a bet with Dogger. He believed that Evert van Aelst had 'niet en heeft gemaect, noch geen handen daeraen gehad heeft' (neither made the smaller painting, nor contributed to it in any way) and even thought he knew who, in fact, had painted it. Dogger insisted that it was by Van Aelst whose 'naem onder de schilderij was staende' (name was [written] at the bottom of the painting). Pick countered this statement with: 'daer is niet aen gelegen, al staet de naem daeronder, hij heeft 't selve evenwel niet gemaect' (it matters not, the name may be on it, but still he did not make it).

Although it is not known who won the bet, we can conclude from the document that the owner had faith in the signature on the small painting. Evidently he truly considered it as proof of the maker. The visiting artist, on the other hand, attached no value to the signature. It is important to know that Adam Pick had been a pupil of Van Aelst, and was thus not only familiar with his style, but also with his studio practice. Hence his claim that he could name the maker of the painting is not so surprising.[34] This raises the question to what extent a signature on a painting provided a contemporary the assurance that the work indeed had been made by the artist concerned and was fully autograph at that.

The practice of signing

In the past, the incidence and significance of signatures on 17th-century paintings received only scant attention. Recent research has explored various directions. For example, the signatures found on paintings produced in Rembrandt's studio are discussed in previously published volumes of *A Corpus*. The results of Bruyn's investigation of a large number of signatures are discussed in three chapters.[35] Independently, handwriting experts have also analysed the signatures on paintings by Rembrandt, and on works attributed to him.[36] Jensen Adams has placed the issue of signatures in a broader historical perspective.[37]

34 Montias, op. cit.[20], p. 235 and *A Corpus* Vol. II, pp. 60-61, note 131. Could it have been a work by Willem van Aelst, a pupil of Evert van Aelst? After all, he vied with his uncle from a young age.

35 J. Bruyn, 'A descriptive survey of the signatures', in: *A Corpus* Vol. I, pp. 53-59; 'A selection of signatures, 1632-1634', in: Vol. II, pp. 99-106; and 'A selection of signatures, 1635-1642', in: Vol. III, pp. 51-56.

36 W. Froentjes, H.J.J. Hardy and R. ter Kuile-Haller, 'Een schriftkundig onderzoek van Rembrandt signaturen', *O.H.* 105 (1991), pp. 185-204.

37 A. Jensen Adams, 'Rembrandt f(ecit): the italic signature and the commodification of artistic identity', in: Th.W. Gaehtgens (ed.), *Künstlerischer Austausch*, 3 vols., Berlin 1993, II, pp. 581-594.

Fig. 2. Pieter Aertsen's trident with his initials, and the marks of his sons Aert and Pieter Pietersz.

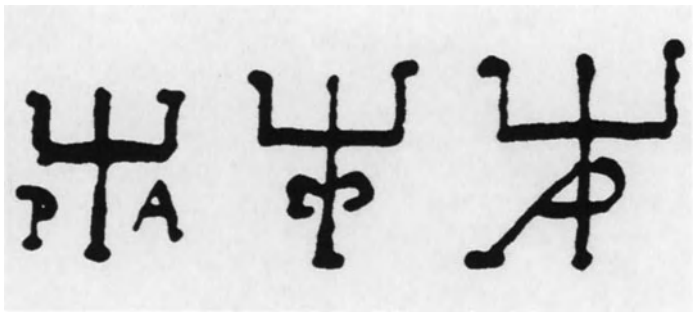
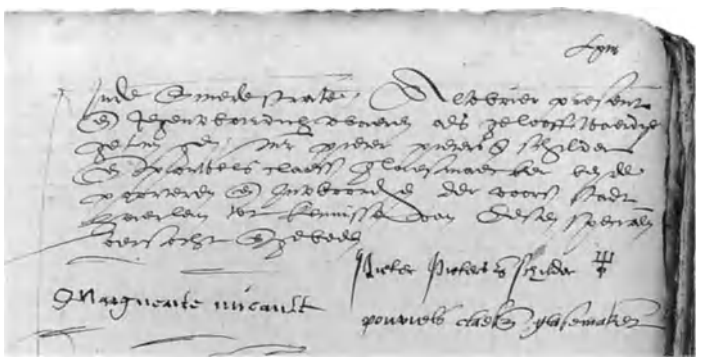


Fig. 3. Haarlem, Archiefdienst van Kennemerland, not. M. Jansz. van Woerden, NA 5, fol. 60-63, dd. 3 June 1583, esp. fol. 63
The painter Pieter Pietersz. witnessed the testament of Marguerite Micault and signed the document with his signature and his mark.



In order to assess the meaning and function of signatures and monograms, one must explore the various ways in which a product could be marked or signed. Generally, the identifying marks found on works of art can be divided into two categories: the personal mark of the artisan or his workshop, and the hallmark that was applied by representatives of the guild or the city council.[38]

Beginning with the latter group, the hallmarks, intended to guarantee quality and to prevent fraud, were part of the regulations governing various crafts. The guild supervised the production process by inspecting the materials employed by the artisans. The presence of a mark or stamp offered buyers some certainty about the quality of the raw materials used.[39] While hallmarks yield no information about the designer or the maker of a work of art, they do frequently indicate where and when it was produced.

The other category consists of personalised marks which were applied to the final products in the workshop, either by the maker himself, by his assistants, or by a workshop supervisor. The legal historian Oldewelt argued that an individual who executed a document in the presence of aldermen was required to stamp or mark it.[40] This occurred by signing the document with a '(hant)merck' (mark) or '(hant)teyken' (signature).[41] The mark drawn in pen was quite often a simple pattern consisting of a few horizontal, vertical or diagonal lines. This marking was done so that the parties involved could be called as witnesses in the event of a dispute. In and of itself, the mark had no binding legal significance.[42] In addition, artisans applied their own stamp or maker's mark to their products. This was done by many occupational groups, including gold and silver smiths, lockmakers, book printers, and, of course, painters. An example of this is the mark that Pieter Aertsen usually applied to his paintings, namely an upright trident (fig. 2). Aertsen added his initials 'P' and 'A' to either side of the shaft. Aertsen's two sons adopted their father's mark, adding their own initials to it.

In the second half of the 16th century it became an increasingly common practice in the Northern Netherlands to furnish paintings with a monogram. The next step was the introduction of the signature, a name 'written' in full, as written in pen on official documents. While the first examples of paintings with signatures in the Republic date from the end of the 16th century, it was not until a few decades later that the practice of signing became more common, at least among 'konstschilders' (master painters).[43] This does not imply, however, that the old-fashioned use of monograms became obsolete. In the 16th century, it was not uncommon for painters to add the monogram they used on their paintings beside or below their signature on official documents (fig. 3). This was done, for example, by the brothers Hieronymus, Frans and Ambrosius Francken in Antwerp.[44] In the Republic as well, artists continued to sign documents with their monogram, including the Amsterdam painter Anthonie Hals.[45] However, much

38 For the following I relied on several articles in: C. Van Vlierden and M. Smeyers (eds.), *Merken opmerken. Merk- en meesterteken op kunstwerken in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden en het Prinsbisdom Luik. Typologie en methode*, Louvain 1990.

39 For example, in conformance with a regulation in the ordinance of 1621, the ebony joiners in Antwerp were required to brand the Spanish wood with an S 'op dat de gemeijnte daer door nijet en worde bedroghen' (so that the community will not be deceived), R. Fabri, 'Aan- en afwezigheid van merktekens op 17de-eeuwse Antwerpse kunstkasten', in: Van Vlierden and Smeyers (see note 38), pp. 201-213, esp. 202. This Spanish wood was much cheaper than ebony.

40 W.F.H. Oldewelt, 'De geschiedenis der merken te Amsterdam', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 38 (1941), pp. 1-19.

41 The 'handteken' (signature), in Latin signaculum or *signum manuale*, literally means a 'mark made with the hand'. The definition in the *WNT* – a personal mark used as a signature by an individual who could not write – conflicts with that which is asserted here in accordance with Oldewelt, op. cit.[40].

42 I should like to note here that initially there was no direct link between the use of these marks and not being able to write. In contrast, in the 17th century illiterates generally signed with a cross, which the compiler of a document described as a 'mark'. In an important document such as that for an intended marriage, the practice of signing with a '(huis)merk', or personal mark, fell in disuse in the mid-17th century. Henceforth one only encounters in such documents signatures (surname or patronymic), or a cross.

43 All of this occurred much earlier in the Southern Netherlands. Jan van Eyck already signed his paintings in full.

44 F.J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche schilderschool*, Antwerp 1883, p. 342, note 1. They signed 'HF', 'FF' and 'AF', respectively. The painters in this family all signed differently thus avoiding any confusion regarding the maker of a given work. In 1597 Frans Francken signed a painting with 'den ouden Frans Francken' (the elder Frans Francken), to distinguish himself from his similarly named son. The latter signed, at least from 1606 on, 'ff. d. j.' or 'Den Jon. F.F.'. After the death of the elder Frans Francken in 1616, Frans II Francken began to sign with 'de oude Fr. Francken' (the elder Fr. Francken) and Frans III Francken alternately with 'F.Franck', 'Den jon. FFF' or with 'D. i. ffranck'.

45 For example, his signature on a declaration for the Amsterdam notary E. de Wit, NA 4511, fols. 98-99v, dd. 10 January 1680; he still signed this way in 1690.

Fig. 4a. Ambrosius Bosschaert (1573-1621), *Vase with flowers*, *c.* 1620, monogrammed 'AB', panel, rounded at the top, 64 x 46 cm. The Hague, Mauritshuis. Ambrosius Bosschaert's monogram appears prominently at the lower left.



earlier on, painters had begun to append a cursive variant of their signature to their paintings, which corresponded with their written signatures. As will become clear below, this development can be followed fairly closely in Rembrandt's work.

Although it is not my intention to offer a summary of the presence or absence of signatures on paintings, it is important to observe that artists, in so far as they even signed their works did so in various ways.[46] A few distinguished painters never, or seldom signed their work: for example, only a few signed paintings by Rubens are known.[47] Awareness of this rarity first appears in a 1735 sales catalogue, in which a painting by Rubens was praised as an unrivalled cabinet piece and special mention was made of the fact that it bore Rubens' 'origineele naam' (original name).[48]

Prior to 1600, Italian painters frequently signed their work with their name followed by a 'P' or, in full, with 'pinxit' or sometimes 'pinsit' (Latin for painted).[49] Only sporadically on Italian works does one encounter 'faciebat', or made. In the Southern Netherlands, 'pingebat' was more common. Jan Metsijs, for example, wrote it after his name on works dating from 1563, 1566 and 1572.[50] In addition, the term 'fecit' (Latin for made) was increasingly used. Jan van Eyck signed his paintings – not infrequently on the frame – with 'me fecit'. Seventeenth-century Dutch paintings bearing a signature almost always included 'f[ecit]'. 'Pinxit' seems to have only been used as of the last quarter of the 17th century in the Netherlands.[51]

Exactly which painters did and did not sign their work has barely been investigated. As noted above (see notes 13 and 14), for the vast majority of paintings produced, i.e. simple paintings executed for the free market that were made by a-dime-a-dozen workers and copiers, the maker was considered to be of little importance. I assume – and it is nothing more than a hypothesis – that such 'assembly-line' work was seldom signed. It is possible that the guild regulations were not effective with respect to these paintings, as they were mostly traded at the free weekly and annual markets. Painters who produced high quality products must have signed their work more

46 Examples are taken from catalogues raisonnés, summary catalogues of the permanent collections of several large museums, particularly that of the National Gallery in London, the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp and that of the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. A general description of this matter was given by J. Six, 'Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy', *O.H.* 4 (1886), pp. 81-108, esp. 81-85. More recently, this subject was addressed by a series of articles which appeared under the title 'L'art de la signature' in *Revue de l'Art* 26 (1974), pp. 8-56; B.L. Brown, 'Replication and the art of Veronese', *Studies in the History of Art* 20 (1989), pp. 111-124, L.C. Matthew, 'The painter's presence: signatures in Venetian Renaissance pictures', *Art Bull.* 80 (1998), pp. 616-648 and C. Gilbert, 'A preface to signatures (with some cases in Venice)', in: M. Rogers (ed.), *Fashioning identities in Renaissance art*, n.p. 2000, pp. 79-87. See also (though not relating to 17th century art) G. Hickey, 'Signature: identity, authenticity and marketing', *Surface Design Journal*, fall 1995, pp. 20-21 and 35-37. Stechow pointed out that it is possible to date undated paintings of some Dutch masters on the basis of the signature's form, provided it underwent a change in the course of time, see W. Stechow, 'Über das Verhältnis zwischen Signatur und Chronologie bei einigen holländischen Künstlern des 17. Jahrhunderts', in: *Festschrift Dr.h.c. Eduard Trautscholdt*, Hamburg 1965, pp. 111-117.

47 Jensen Adams, op. cit.[37], p. 581, note 6, cites four works: one from 1613, the others from 1614.

48 'Een dito Cabinetstuk door dezelve [Rubens], verbeeldende de vlugt van Joseph en Maria met het Kindeken na AEgypten, in der nagt, weergaloos van ordonnantie, Couleur en schikking, en tot iets seldsaams is te remarqueren de origineele naam daar op te sien met het jaar 1614. hoog 1. voet 4 3/4 duim, breedt 1. voet 9. duim' (A ditto cabinet piece by the same [Rubens] depicting the flight of Joseph and Mary with the Child into Egypt, in the night, matchless in its disposition, colour and arrangement, and it may be noted as being rare that it bears the original name with the year 1614. high 1. voet 4 3/4 duim, wide 1. voet 9. duim), in: *Catalogus van het lang-bekende welgeconditioneerde en uytmuntende Cabinet zoo van konstige uitvoerige als plaisante Schilderyen ... byeen versamelt door den Heer Mr. Johan van Schuylenburch*, The Hague 1735, p. 6, no. 23.

49 As did for example, a random example by Antonello da Messina: '1475. antonellus messaneus me pinxit', in a painting now in Antwerp *(Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten - Antwerpen. Catalogus schilderkunst oude meesters*, Antwerp 1988, p. 20, no. 4).

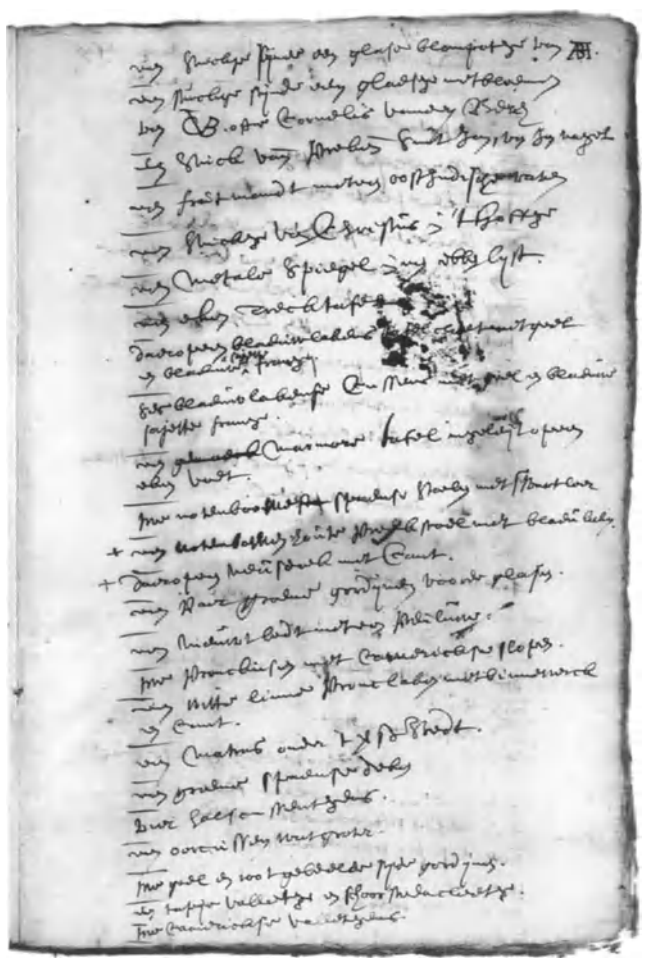
50 Ibid., nos. 5052, 871 and 5024; Metsijs also used the abbreviated notation 'ping.', ibid., no. 5076.

51 Six, op. cit.[46], p. 82. That is not to say that this manner of signing was unknown in the Netherlands. An early example is the inscription on the famous little portrait of the 16-year-old Hugo de Groot in the Fondation Custodia (coll. F. Lugt), Institut Néerlandais, Paris: 'Aeta meae 16', 'Hugo de Groot' and 'Jo.v(?).Ravesteijn Pinxit Ano 1599' (panel, diameter 30 cm. See E.A. van Beresteyn, *Iconographie van Hugo Grotius*, The Hague 1929, p. 30, no. C and p. 44, no. 2 and exhib. cat. *Dawn of the Golden Age. Northern Netherlandish art 1580-1620* [Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum], Amsterdam/Zwolle n.d. [1993], cat. no. 54). In later portraits, Jan Anthonisz. van Ravesteyn almost always placed an 'f' behind his name or monogram 'JVR'. Was the inscription on the 1599 portrait specified by De Groot?

Fig. 4b. Ambrosius Bosschaert (1573-1621), *Nude boy on a dromedary*, monogrammed, dated and signed 'AB', '1602' and 'Ambrosius Bosschaert de Jonghe', pen and brown ink, 11.3 x 16.4 cm. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 2185 (*Album Amicorum* of Samuel Radermacher)



Fig. 4c. Amsterdam, Municipal Archive, not. P. Barcman, NA 1266, cover B, document 12, dd. 13 April/17 May 1639. Ambrosius Bosschaert's monogram 'AB' occurs in this inventory of Aert Conincx.



frequently. One has the impression – actual statistics are missing – that this was done more and more frequently during the course of the 17th century.

Some painters signed their work inconspicuously. It is often quite a feat to detect Jan Jansz. den Uyl's trademark little owl in his still lifes. Other artists, on the other hand, placed their monogram or signature such that it could not be overlooked (figs. 4a-c). Otto Marseus van Schrieck signed in florid calligraphy and occasionally dated his work to the exact day. It is possible that variant signatures used by a single artist had to do with the wishes of a patron or the subject depicted. In the mid-1620s Jan Lievens, who generally provided his paintings with the monogram 'IL' or just 'L', signed two works in a beautiful cursive hand 'J.Livius'. The Latinised signature corresponds wonderfully with his representations of scenes from antiquity. Both the subject matter of the paintings and the manner of signing could have been suggested to the young painter by someone with a classical education.[52]

As noted earlier, the confusion of names could play a role in the art trade. This was not always a deliberate move on the part of the artists. On the contrary, many paintings by Philips Wouwerman, for example, bear the same signature: a 'W' preceded by the letters 'PHLS' in ligature. This signature was utterly clear, and avoided any confusion with the work of his brother Pieter Wouwerman, also a painter. In contrast, Julius Porcellis used his father's monogram and frequently did not date his work, which could – and did – cause confusion. Gerrit Heda sometimes signed his name the way his father Willem Claesz. Heda habitually did: the last name and no initials. Only a few of Gerrit's still lifes bear the signature 'Jonge Heda' (Heda the Younger).

One example was found where an art dealer commissioned a forged signature to be added to a painting in 1688 (Doc. 30c). It appears that such practices only became widespread in the last decades of the 17th century, when the demand for Dutch art from earlier in the century increased. Collectors in the Netherlands and abroad began to focus on 'old' art and many paintings were exported to other countries. In order to meet the tremendous demand, art dealers hired young painters to imitate old master paintings. Some of these arriviste, profit-seeking art dealers, most of whom had no roots in the painting milieu and thus lacked real expertise,

52 Exhib. cat. *Jan Lievens, ein Maler im Schatten Rembrandts* (Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig), n.p. n.d. [1979], nos. 6 and 7, and ibid., p. 15. Confirmation of this theory may be found in the fact that Lievens signed most of his etchings and woodcuts with his monogram 'IL', but his prints bearing Latin inscriptions, such as the portrait of Daniël Heinsius, with 'Ioannes Lijvius'. A work from 1638, thus painted in Lievens' Antwerp period, bears a comparable signature ('I. Lijvius fecit 1638'). In the course of time, Lievens began to use this form (sporadically?) as his signature; the latter signature closely resembles the artist's signature on a notarial document of the same year (ibid., cat. no. 34 and note 1).

committed unadulterated fraud. Countless copies, supplied by the copiers with false signatures at the request of their employers, were sold as originals to unsuspecting buyers.[53]

Contemporary sources on signatures

Article 15 of the ordinances of the Hague painters' confraternity 'Pictura' states that an apprentice who had advanced in his training to such a point 'dat hij zijn naem onder sijn werck [mag zetten]' (that he [may sign] his name on his work), was considered by the *Confrérie* to be a master painter.[54] In practice this will have meant that pupils did not sign their pictures while still working in their master's studio. In this context, it has been noted in Volume II of *A Corpus* that studio assistants were expected to work in their master's style.[55]

In those cases where the autograph status of paintings were at issue, only in a single instance (Doc. 15) was the artist's signature drawn into the argumentation. Once (Doc. 30c) a signature had been forged by an art dealer. These examples can be supplemented by several Antwerp documents. For instance, in 1576 the painters Frans (I) Francken and Frans (I) Pourbus made a formal statement on behalf of an Antwerp citizen regarding a *Cain and Abel* in the latter's possession. According to them, the work in question was 'opgemaect' by Frans Floris 'and signed by himself in his usual way with FF IN. ET F.A.'.[56] From the phrasing of the document it can be deduced that Floris, in fact, did not carry out all phases of the execution. After all, 'opmaecken' means the completion of a painting, preceded by such stages as applying the ground and 'doodverwen', or dead colouring.[57] Whatever the case may be, the owner of the painting must have found it reassuring that both former assistants of Floris recognised the artist's signature.

That the presence, or rather absence of a monogram or signature were used as arguments in legal cases, can be inferred from the following incident.[58] In 1656 the animal painter Jan Fyt accused an art dealer of having sold a painting of a *Landscape with a hare, hens and two birds* as a work by his hand. Fyt summoned the dealer before the court, but lost his case. The bench of aldermen rejected the painter's complaint because there was no signature on the painting! Without a signature there was evidently little reason to pass a sentence. The aldermen considered the artist's signature as a professional trademark.

This verdict is reminiscent of a well-known one, which Carel van Mander derived from Vasari's biography of Albrecht Dürer. He recounts how Marcantonio Raimondi faithfully copied prints by Dürer and published them with the master's famous monogram. Upon hearing this, Dürer travelled to Venice, where the prints had been issued, to complain about this practice to the city council. His protest was justified to the extent that Raimondi was ordered to remove Dürer's monogram from the prints. The concept of copyright on pictorial inventions scarcely existed in the early modern era; monograms, however, could solely be used by the rightful claimant.[59] The original function of the monogram, one

53 In his *Nieuwe Schouburg*, Jan van Gool reported on the dubious reputation of art dealers in cities such as Amsterdam and The Hague. Around 1750 a fierce dispute carried out in pamphlets flared up between the painter and art dealer Gerard Hoet the Younger who, among other matters, defended himself against Van Gool's attack on the art trade, L. de Vries, *Diamante gedenkzuilen en leerzame voorbeelden. Een bespreking van Johan van Gools Nieuwe Schouburg*, n.p. [Groningen] 1990. De Vries includes transcriptions of the pamphlets. It is noteworthy that both Van Gool and Hoet condemned the sale of copies as originals. However, Van Gool accused the art dealers, the initiators of this type of deceit, while Hoet blamed the copiers, those who actually made the works. From their discussion it appears that both the art dealers and the painters were extremely clever at forging signatures. Hoet proposed issuing certificates of authenticity, which Van Gool did not consider useful.

54 F.D.O. Obreen (ed.), *Archief voor Nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis*, 7 vols., Rotterdam 1877-1890, IV, p. 51.

55 In *A Corpus* Vol. II, p. 50, note 51 and p. 57, the regulations of the Utrecht St Luke's guild has been incorrectly interpreted. The third article of the supplement of 17 March 1651 to the body of regulations states that the 'gepermitteerde Meesters' (accepted masters) were not permitted to 'eenige vreemde, of ook inwoonende persoonen, op tytels als discipulen, ofte voor haar schilderende, en echter van haar handelinge niet zynde, ende haar eygen naam teekenende, aan te houden, ofte in het werk te stellen' (employ or recruit any strangers, or lodgers, either disciples or those painting for them, and do not have their manner of painting, and therefore sign with their own name), S. Muller Fz., *Schildersvereenigingen te Utrecht, bescheiden uit het Gemeentearchief*, Utrecht 1880, pp. 76 and 78. This meant that non-residents temporarily active as painters in the city of Utrecht could not engage the services of pupils or assistants who had their own 'handelinge' and signed their work. For an accurate interpretation, see M.J. Bok, *Vraag en aanbod op de Nederlandse kunstmarkt, 1580-1700*, n.p. 1994, p. 190, note 97. Jensen Adams, op. cit.[37], incorrectly concludes that 'guild regulations from Utrecht and The Hague directed that all work produced for sale by both pupils and assistants must bear the master's name.'

56 C. Van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570). Leven en werken*, 2 vols., Brussels 1975, I, pp. 472-473, Doc. 78 and cf. pp. 235-236, no. 89. After Floris had completed the work, he had the aforementioned Francken make a copy after it. Thus there were (at least) two versions in circulation. In 1655, the father of the Antwerp painter Jacobus Zoes owned 'een oude copye van Caïn ende Abel van Frans Floris' (an old copy of a Cain and Abel by Frans Floris), Duverger, op. cit.[8], VII, p. 140. In 1662 the Antwerp art dealer Matthijs Musson was offered a *Cain and Abel*, about which it was remarked: 'soo ick meyn van Flores' (which I presume to be by Floris), Van de Velde, op. cit., p. 508, Doc. 148. At the time, an autograph version was supposedly in Amsterdam, that is to say in 1637 (and in 1665) mention is made of 'een schilderije van Kaijn en Abel van Franske Floris gedaen' (a painting of Cain and Abel by Frans Floris), E.W. Moes, 'De inventaris van den inboedel nagelaten door Dirck Alewijn in 1637', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 9 (1911), pp. 31-54, esp. 46 and 53.

57 In *A Corpus* Vol. I, pp. 11-33, esp. 23, Van de Wetering distinguished three stages in the genesis of a painting: the invention, the dead colour stage and the *opmaken*, or execution; however, in many instances the latter term means little more than 'to finish' or 'to complete'. H. Miedema, 'Over kwaliteitsvoorschriften in het St. Lucasgilde; over "doodverf"', *O.H.* 101 (1987), pp. 141-147, esp. 142, quotes a passage by Van Mander in which images are discussed that 'maer weynigh begonnen, en ghedootverwt, *en werden namaels van anderen opghedaen*' (that were barely begun, and dead coloured, *and were later completed by others* [my italics]); Floris first made a chalk drawing (probably on the panel) and then let assistants 'voort varen' (continue).

58 Mentioned in Van den Branden, op. cit.[44], p. 1089.

59 H. Miedema, *Kunst, kunstenaar en kunstwerk bij Karel van Mander: een analyse van zijn levensbeschrijvingen*, Alphen aan den Rijn 1981, p. 138. The passage in Van Mander (after Vasari) drew the attention of Van Buchell, who provided a summary of it, G.J. Hoogewerff and J.Q. van Regteren Altena, *Arnoldus Buchelius 'Res Pictoriae'. Aanteekeningen over kunstenaars en kunstwerken voorkomende in zijn Diarium, Res Pictoriae, Notae Quotidianae en Descriptio Urbis Ultrajectinae (1583-1639)*, The Hague 1928, p. 72.

can only conclude, was that of a trademark.[60] Some art historians engaged in constructing artists' oeuvres or matters of attribution do realise that monograms offer but little security as to the autograph nature of works. It has already been noted that the presence of Pieter Aertsen's mark on paintings in no way guarantees that the works are fully autograph; the characteristic trident means little more than that the paintings in question originated in Aertsen's workshop.[61]

In several highly interested Antwerp documents from 1683 and 1684, the signature played a crucial role in the judgement of two artworks. The first document is a statement by the flower painter Nicolaes van Verendael, given at the request of the merchant Joannes Tresoniers. In 1682 Peeter Baets (Boots) had brought two small flower pieces to Van Verendael that had been done by a former pupil of this painter. Baets had asked him if he would overpaint these pieces, upon which they agreed a price on the condition that Van Verendael would add his signature to these two paintings ('sijnen naeme op deselve twee stucxkens soude moeten stellen'). The latter at first declined to do this but changed his mind when Baets promised never to sell the pieces in Antwerp. Van Verendael ended his statement by saying that the pieces concerned were not original works of his ('geene principale van hem comparant en sijn').[62] This did not end the matter, because several months later he was once again arraigned. The sequel can be read in a *resolutieboek* of the Antwerp St. Lucas Guild, in which appear countless judgements of the deacons of the guild. Although preserved until now this book has hardly ever been studied. Baets displayed the two flower pieces in the guildhall, signed with the name Nicolaes van Verendael ('geteeckent metter naem van Nicolaes van Verendael'). Asked for their judgment, the deacons replied that they were original and could be sold as such. Tresoniers, to whom the small paintings concerned had apparently been sold, did not let the matter rest and requested Van Verendael to appear at a meeting and give a full account to the deacons of what had transpired. The painter explained there that he had repainted the two paintings, syaing that he did not consider the same as originals and therefore would not sell them as such and that there were no originals of them; and whoever therefore brought them would be deceived. Nevertheless he had signed because he had overpainted the same [the two paintings] 'altemael heeft overschildert, seggende dat hij deselve niet en houdt voor [crossed out: principael] originael, ofte daarvoor niet en soude willen vercoopen ende dat daer geen originael van en is. Ende die 't daervoor gecocht hebben, dat die bedrogen sijn. Nochtans dieselve onderteeckent heeft, omdat hij deselve overschildert heeft'.[63] In short, Van Verendael placed his own signature on two paintings by his pupil that had been overpainted by himself. However, he did not consider them as originals and would not sell them as such.

When a few years later the deans were shown another flower still life, they considered it to be 'a *Veirendaeltje* [or shopwork], because several flowers had been done by someone else'.[64] This time, the *resolutieboek* does not mention whether the painting bore Van Verendael's signature. And, actually, this was of little consequence; after all, he was known to sign both entirely autograph works and workshop pieces to which he had added the final touches.

Most of the documents discussed in this connection thus far are related to events in Antwerp. Did the situation in the Dutch Republic differ? On the practice of signing, there is an interesting document that has long been known, yet its significance has never been mentioned in this context. This is a business agreement between a Rotterdam painter, Johannes van Vucht, and his fellow townsman, Abraham van Waesberge who, in addition to running a silk shop, was also an art dealer. Van Waesberge had lent the painter money on various occasions, and wished for some guaranty of being reimbursed at some time in the future. In 1635 Van Vucht promised to settle a part of his debts with paintings. The written agreement mentions perspectival works with 12 and 48 pillars; evidently, the value of every painting was calculated against the number of pillars depicted in it. The contract, moreover, established that

60 With a view to exporting their work, artists sometimes even added to their paintings behind their signature their place of residence or country, see 'L'art de la signature', op. cit.[46], p. 8 and p. 14, note 5, and here note 120.

61 W. Kloek, 'Pieter Aertsen en het probleem van het samenstellen van zijn oeuvre', *N.K.J.* 40 (1989), pp. 1-26, esp. 9-10. It is conspicuous that Aertsen's *City view with Ecce Homo* (Museum Ridder Smidt van Gelder in Antwerp; ill. in Kloek, fig. 13), a presumably fully autograph work and a key painting in his oeuvre (but not of his own invention!), is unusually elaborately signed, namely with his mark as well as his name (ibid., pp. 11 and 4). In 17th-century inventories, doubt is expressed on several occasions with respect to attributions to Aertsen (Utrecht 1646, Amsterdam 1648, Leiden 1667 and Rijswijk 1684 and notes 105 and 118). The artist's mark was, indeed, noted. In his copy of Van Mander's *Schilder-boeck*, the Antwerp art lover Peeter Stevens drew next to two paintings by Aertsen the artist's trident flanked by the letters 'P' and 'A' as he had observed them, see J. Briels, 'Amator Pictoriae Artis. De Antwerpse kunstverzamelaar Peeter Stevens (1590-1668) en zijn Constcamer', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* 1980, pp. 137-226, esp. 203. Stevens also recorded the marks and signatures of other painters.

62 Duverger, op.cit.[8], XI, p. 206; a second statement concerning this matter, ibid., pp. 206-207.

63 Antwerp, Archief van de Academie, inv. no. 81 (13), fol. 36, dd. 26 February 1684 and fol. 37, dd. 27 June 1684.

64 '[..] een Veirendaeltje, dan datter eenige blommekens gevoeght off onder waeren van een ander geschildert', ibid., fol. 62, dd. 28 January 1693. As the painter had died several years earlier, he could no longer be consulted! That signatures were indeed checked during such appraisals is evidenced in 1719: the Antwerp deans recorded that in a seascape with galleys that had been submitted in the guild hall they had read the 'naem van de meester' (the name of the master) on the front ship. In their opinion, the painting was splendid, but had been poorly overpainted in some places, ibid., fol. 101, dd. 24 July 1719. Sometimes a commissioning client insisted that an artist should sign the commissioned work. In 1695 the Antwerp painter Peter IJkens contracted to produce two paintings 'met syn eygen handt ende dat naer syn best vermogen ende rechte originele van syn eijgen handt geschildert *met synen naem ende toenaem daer op te setten*' (my italics) (by his own hand and according to the best of his ability and his duty painted originally by his own hand *with his name and surname inscribed*'), Duverger, op.cit.[8], XII, pp. 362-363.

the paintings to be delivered by the artist 'will be allowed to pass as work by Van Vucht, such as he has previously delivered to Van Waesberge and signed with his own hand.'[65] Hence, Van Vucht was allowed some assistance in his work, and after having signed the completed paintings, they could pass as his own work.

In the workshops, pupils and assistants were fully involved in the production process. Buyers, however, were not always willing to settle for less than fully autograph work. Or rather: when they purchased an original, they wanted certainty. The friction between artists and the buyers of their work is palpable in the documents. The practice of selling simple shopwork copies as autograph work dates from the 16th century, if not earlier. Van Mander wrote in his *Schilder-boeck* that contemporaries complained about Gillis Coignet because he sold 'zijn Jonghers Copien' (his apprentices' copies) as his own work after he had touched them up. Van Mander, who did not explicitly state whether the painter signed these works, condemned such practices.[66] For him, it was a matter of artistic honour; he considered such action reprehensible. However, charges could not be brought against the artist, because legally he had every right to do what he had done.

In the last case to be discussed here, one can sense a certain tension between the actual studio practice of many painters, and the buyers' expectations regarding the autograph status of paintings. In 1646, Marten van Langenhoven purchased five paintings by Jacob Jordaens. Two years after their delivery, on 25 August 1648, at the request of the buyer the painter made a formal statement about the works. Jordaens stated that the five pieces had been painted, overpainted and altered by himself. Had he done all this work himself? No, not entirely. He described his working method as follows. He had treated a few of the subjects previously, and had copies made of the initial versions. These were the copies that he had improved and elaborated where necessary. The corrections and additions by his hand were extensive enough that he considered the final results as *principalen*, equal to his other 'ordinaere wercken' (ordinary works). He had worked on two of the five works from the very beginning.[67]

In short, Jordaens was responsible for the design and part of the execution; he considered the final result on a par with his autograph works. Presumably the paintings in question were also signed, though this is not mentioned. What could have compelled Van Langenhoven to have Jordaens issue this statement two years after the paintings were purchased? Van Langenhoven was not a Southern Netherlander, but a merchant in wine and paintings living in The Hague.[68] Undoubtedly he had intended to sell the paintings concerned in his place of residence, or perhaps he had already done so. My reconstruction is that during the course of 1648 he had become familiar with the contents of a contract that Hendrick Hondius and Johan Philip de Bommaerts, called Silvercroon – both residents of The Hague! – had closed somewhat earlier with Jordaens on the orders of the Swedish court. In this contract, dated 21 April 1648, Jordaens received an order to deliver 35 paintings, the dimensions of which were listed and the subjects of which would be established later. The works were quite obviously intended as ceiling pieces, since it was specified that they were to be painted 'in het verkort' (foreshortened). Jordaens was to be paid 480 guilders for each work, so that the entire commission amounted to no less than 16,800 guilders. The artist was not given a great deal of time to finish the assignment; it had to be completed as early as 1 May 1649. Given the scope of the commission and the short delivery time, one may assume that Jordaens relied on the help of his assistants. This was even approved contractually: with respect to the work in hand, Jordaens 'would have to do it well and extraordinarily and paint part of it himself and the other part [will be done] by others, as Jordaens sees fit. And that which is painted by others he was obliged to paint over, such that it will be considered Sir Jordaens' own work and is therefore entitled to bear his name.'[69]

Thus, Jordaens also signed the work that had mostly been executed by his assistants![70] I consider it highly likely that Van Langenhoven spoke with his colleague

65 '[..] sullen voor hem Van Vuchts werck mogen passeeren, te weten soodanich als hij aen hem Van Waesberge voor desen heeft gelevert ende met sijn eygen hant geteeckent', P. Haverkorn van Rijsewijk, 'Johannes van Vucht', *O.H.* 9 (1891), pp. 39-51, esp. 43.

66 'Van hem wert doch met meerder reden gheclaeght / dat hy zijn Jonghers Copien vercocht voor sijn eygen werck / wanneer hy daer soo wat aengedaen hadde' (There were complaints about him, and with good reason / that he sold his apprentices' copies as his own works when he had worked on them somewhat), cited by De Pauw-de Veen, op. cit.[6], p. 110. Aernout van Buchell excerpted Van Mander as follows: '[Coignet] vercoft veel van sijne jongers copijen bij hem verbetert voor de sijnen' (Coignet sold copies by his apprenctices which he had improved, as his own work), Hoogewerff and Van Regteren Altena, op. cit.[59], p. 77.

67 My transcription of the document deviates somewhat from the text in: M. Rooses, *Jordaens' leven en werken*, Amsterdam/Antwerp 1906, p. 139. Careful reading of the handwriting reveals that various changes were made in the notary's minute.

68 Marten van Langenhoven initially lived in Rijswijk in 'de huysinge van sijn Hoogheyt den here prince van Orangien' (the house of his Highness the Prince of Orange), as he indicated in his will, GA Delft, not. F. Boogert, NA 1993, dd. 6 April 1645. In 1653 he resided in The Hague and maintained contact with, among others, the painter Christiaen van Couwenbergh (*O.H.* 8, 1890, pp. 223-224; and Br. *Künstler-Inv.* VI, p. 1975, there referred to as a 'Kunsthändler'). Around 1656 he went to Amsterdam 'bancquerot' (bankrupt), where in 1661 he witnessed the will of the 'fijnschilder' Jan van Houthuijsen, GAA, not. H. Westfrisius, NA 2820, pp. 207-210, dd. 2 December 1661. In 1663 he lived in 'de Keizerskroon' (as an innkeeper?), GAA, not. P. van Toll, NA 2425, fol. 154, dd. 29 August 1663.

69 '[..] well ende curieuslijck ten deele zelffs te schilderen ende ten deele door andere, sooals het bequaemst door hem Jordaens goet gevonden sal worden. Ende 't gene door andere geschildert sal wesen blijft hij gehouden zoo te overschilderen, dat het voor zijn signors Jordaens eygen werck gehouden sal worden ende oversulckx zijnen naem ende teeckeninge daer onder stellen', Stadsarchief Antwerpen, not. H. van Cantelbeck Jr, NA 3399, dd. 21 April 1648; Van den Brandeu, op. cit.[44], p. 828, Rooses, op. cit.[67], pp. 139-141; and R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jacob Jordaens*, Antwerp 1982, p. 30.

70 In 1641 six pupils are mentioned as being in his workshop, learning 'de const van schilderen' (the art of painting). These pupils are not recorded in the 'Liggeren' of the Antwerp St Luke's guild, Rooses, op. cit.[67]. p. 123. Given their age - the youngest was 18, the oldest 21 - they must have been advanced pupils who were fully involved in the workshop production. The same has been established for Rembrandt's pupils.

Hondius, or that he may even have read the contract himself.[71] Did this then disturb him? Had he purchased from Jordaens overpainted works by apprentices? The statement that the painter subsequently made must have reassured Van Langenhoven to some extent. Should there have been any doubt on the part of potential buyers for these works, he could then produce the formal document.

On the basis of the documents cited above, the following may be concluded. While it cannot be established precisely how common it was in the 17th century to provide paintings with a monogram or signature, I assume that this was rarely done for small, inexpensive paintings for the free market. These were anonymous to begin with, and remained so. Various documents, widely scattered in terms of time and place, though not isolated, show that it was not uncommon in a number of Southern and Northern Netherlandish artists' studios for master painters to apply their signature to works by pupils and assistants which they had retouched. They did not consider such paintings as originals, but as shopworks authorised by themselves. While one would expect that contemporaries were aware of this practice, it appears that this was not always the case. Some buyers had great trust in a signature, and evidently perceived it as a kind of guarantee. The original function of a monogram on paintings was that of a trademark. The mark guaranteed the buyer that he had purchased a high-quality product, but offered no certainty with respect to the autograph nature of the object. It is possible that in the course of the 17th century, owners began to perceive the (more personalised) full signature as a guarantee that the artist, whose name was on the painting, had indeed executed the work. Certainly contemporaries paid attention to signatures. Unscrupulous art dealers had good reasons for having false signatures applied to works, a practice which can first be pinpointed in the last quarter of the 17th century, but may have occurred by an earlier date. The practice in the more productive workshops of the master signing not entirely autograph works clashed with the buyers' demand for uncontested originals.

III. Probate inventories

The probate inventory is the last source used here to determine to what extent contemporaries were interested in who painted a work. In studying 17th-century inventories, one notices that names of painters sometimes turn up in estates of above- average size. The first question to be considered is whether this was also the case in inventories from the previous century. In so far as the rather sparse source material permits an answer, it turns out that it was not. Sixteenth-century inventories very rarely give the name of the painter of a work. This was the conclusion reached in separate studies pertaining to the ownership of art in England and in Antwerp.

An analysis of 613 inventories of the households of wealthy English burghers drawn up for the court in Canterbury between the early 15th century and the beginning of the 17th century, revealed that only 63 estates included paintings or sculptures. So, in at least nine out of ten households studied there were no paintings at all. Where paintings were found – usually religious works or portraits – there were few of them, on average less than two. In not a single case was the name of the painter given.[72] It may be assumed that there was little interest in 'names', but the possibility that the owners and those drawing up the inventories were simply unable to say who the artists were cannot be excluded. In a few exceptional cases it was noted that a work had been painted abroad – which could be taken to mean Flanders or Brabant.[73]

For the paintings owned by Antwerp burghers in the 16th century, we dispose over a study which examines 291 inventories.[74] The documents describe the paintings in some detail. In most cases they give information about the support, the type of paint used (oil or watercolour) and the subject, sometimes supplemented by a rough indication of the format, the condition in which the work was found or the kind of frame. Only eight of these inventories include the name of one or more painters. One is the inventory of a painter, Jan van Kessel. In the other seven inventories, 23 paintings are listed with an attribution. Given the total number of paintings listed, about 2975, this is an extremely low percentage.[75] Seven names are found in a single inventory.[76] The earliest attribution, in an inventory of 1552, contains a long description: 'A square picture, oil paint, in which the figure of a man is portrayed and which bears the inscription Quintinus Metzys me fecit anno XVc ende

71 In my opinion it is no coincidence that Jordaens' statement is in the same protocol as the contract between Jordaens and Silvercroon.

72 S. Foister, 'Paintings and other works of art in sixteenth-century English inventories', *Burl. Mag.* 123 (1981), pp. 273-282.

73 Ibid., p. 273.

74 G. Stappaerts, *Bijdrage tot de studie van schilderijen in privé-bezit te Antwerpen in de zestiende eeuw*, unpublished thesis, Free University of Brussels, Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, Department of Art History and Archaeology, 1988. The earliest inventories date from the 1520s; over two-thirds were drawn up after 1580, almost always by an Antwerp notary. In the last two decades of the 16th century, not only did the number of inventories increase substantially but they also became more extensive. Stappaerts does not mention any selection criteria, but the inventories turn out to relate to the 'better off' (ibid., p. 156), in other words magistrates, high officials and merchants, who comprise the largest group.

75 The exact number cannot always be determined. Not included are the drawings ('taferelen' on paper or parchment), prints (often maps) and the listings of 'een crucifix' (a crucifix); on the other hand, 'beelden' (images) are included unless this term refers to wood or stone sculptures, which may have been painted. The 'contrefeytsels' (likenesses) were counted in, although there may have been prints among them. A few inventories (Stappaerts, op. cit.[74], nos. 60, 81, 82 and 91) were left out of the calculations.

76 Ibid., nos. 19, 34, 61, 205, 214, 281 and 290. In the inventory of Van Kessel (no. 91) there are two pieces by 'Jacques' (conceivably Jacob de Backer), and in the shop on the painters' magazine in the Beurs 119 'enckel doecken, alrehande sorte ende sommige nyet volmaect' (single canvases, of all kinds and some not completed), 13 'dubbel doecken, Cortrycse personagien' (double canvases with Courtrai figures), an old painting by Hieronymus Bosch, a sea chart on parchment and 477 canvases 'alrehande sorten' (of all kinds); see also Denucé, op. cit.[8], pp. 11-12.

XIIe.'[77] The inventory compiler thus copied both the signature and the date literally.

As stated, only a limited number of inventories from the Northern Netherlands survive from this period. In those we do have, from Leiden and one or two small towns in the east and north, few if any names of painters are mentioned. It should not be thought, however, that in the 16th century the names of artists were considered entirely unimportant, and one has only to refer to the list of paintings which Pieter Pietersz. presented to the city authorities of Haarlem in 1574. They wanted to have a survey of the damage inflicted during the siege of the city. Pieter Pietersz. established which paintings had been lost, which 'meesters dezelve gemaect hebben' (masters had painted them) and how much the separate paintings were worth. Since the works had been seized, the names of the artists must have been supplied by the former owners. The list gives the names of Maerten van Heemskerck, Lucas van Leyden, Jan van Scorel and Pieter Aertsen. The other paintings remained anonymous.[78] From the beginning of the 17th century, a little later than in Antwerp, more and more names of painters are found in Amsterdam inventories, and these are no longer limited to just the leading artists. I would like to begin by looking at which inventories contain attributions to specific artists and which do not.

Inventories without painters' names

It would be wrong to imagine that painters' names are regularly given in 17th-century inventories. On the contrary, my own research into Amsterdam inventories from this period shows that in those inventories where the household effects were valued at 500 guilders or less, names of painters are never or only rarely found. Since a large part of the urban population in the Dutch Republic was either of limited means or very poor, inventories without painters' names make up by far the majority of such documents.[79] A broad indication of the proportion of rich and poor in Amsterdam can be gained from the *Middel op Begraven*, a burial tax based on the wealth and social position of the deceased. Between 1701 and 1710 only 2 per cent of those assessed fell into the highest tax group, while over 80 per cent fell into the lowest. Not surprisingly, many citizens possessed only the most essential household goods: bedding, some kitchen and eating utensils, and a few pieces of furniture. The financial circumstances of unskilled labourers did not allow them to spend much on luxury goods, the category to which paintings belonged. Nonetheless, in addition to prints, paintings could hang in their houses, but they were of the cheap, mass-produced variety. In inventories of households from this income level we cannot expect to find the names of artists.

Fig. 5. Amsterdam, Municipal Archive, not. J. van Loosdrecht, NA 1997, p. 753, dd. 5 August 1674



In the specification of the property that Helena Ritter brought into her marriage to Jan Appelaer and described by the latter, includes, among other items: '1 lantschapje, heel fijn, JvG' (1 landscape, very fine, JvG). The person who drew up the inventory took over, but did not 'solve' the monogram of Jan van Goyen. The monogram 'CVB' however, which appears in the inventory of Aert Conincx (fig. 4c), was correctly identified as belonging to Cornelis van den Berch by the person who drew up the inventory.

Inventories with attributed paintings

Seventeenth-century inventories containing attributions can be divided into several categories. First, there are the inventories of artists and dealers, in which those drawing up the inventory could rely on the expertise of people present in the workshop. Needless to say, these inventories record the names of many painters.[80] The second category consists of the inventories of collectors, which may have been drawn up with the aid of notes made by the owner.[81] One factor in the citing of names was, of course, that the paintings in the homes of art lovers were

77 'Een viercant tafereel, olyeverwe, daer op staet een mans personagie gefigureert ende daer staet bij een ghescrifte Quintinus Metzys me fecit anno XVc ende XIIe', Stappaerts, op. cit.[74], no. 19 and Denucé, op. cit.[8], pp. 1-4.

78 C.J. Gonnet, 'Oude schilderijen in en van de stad Haarlem', *O.H.* 33 (1915), pp. 132-144.

79 It should be noted that a relatively large number of inventories were drawn up for the small social elite and a relatively low number for the less fortunate classes. Art historical research almost always focuses on inventories of the first group.

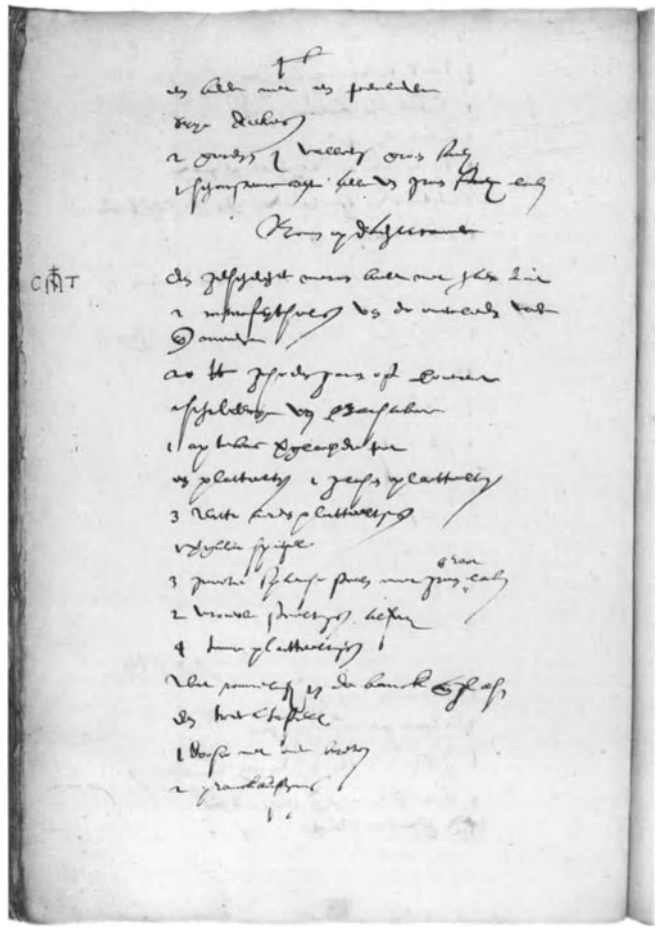
80 Many of these inventories are included in Br. *Künstler-Inv.*.

81 Some of the lists kept by collectors have survived, among them the 'register van de schilderyen en vande prenten' (register of paintings and prints) of Willem Vincent van Wyttenhorst of Utrecht (for the years 1651-1659, see J. van der Veen, 'Collections of paintings in the Dutch Republic during the period of Frederick Henry and Amalia', in: exhib. cat. *Princely Patrons. The collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia of Solms in The Hague* (The Hague, Mauritshuis), Zwolle 1997, pp. 87-96) and the (written) 'catalogus van mijne schilderyen' (catalogue of my paintings) of Valerius Röver (from the first decades of the 18th century), see J. van der Veen, 'Delftse verzamelingen in de zeventiende en eerste helft van de achttiende eeuw', in: E. Bergvelt, M. Jonker and A. Wiechmann (eds.), *Schatten in Delft. Burgers verzamelen 1600-1750*, Zwolle 2002, pp. 47-89 and 156-160, esp. 85-89. The inventory of the Amsterdam collector Isaac Rooleeuw mentions 'een boek behelsende een inventaris van des overledens kunst' (a book containing an inventory of the art of the deceased), GAA, not. G. Burghout, NA 7839, act 10, dd. 7 February 1711. When drawing up his own collection inventory in 1618, the art lover Melchior Wyntgis distinguished between originals

Fig. 6a. Cornelis Anthonisz. (*c.* 1499-1553), *Banquet of the members of the crossbowmen's civic guard, known as the 'Banquet of the copper coin'* (detail), marked and dated 'C.T. anno 1533', panel, 130 x 206.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. C 1173



Fig. 6b. Amsterdam, Municipal Archive, Arch. no. 5073, inv. no. 968, dd. 30 November-4 December 1624, concluded 9 July 1625.
Page from a probate inventory drawn up in the years 1624/5.



Included among the 17 crossbowmen (fig. 6a) is Cornelis Anthonisz., who portrayed himself with a drawing stylus in his hand. Above his head can be seen his mark: the bell of St Anthony with the letters 'C' and 'T'. In an Amsterdam inventory of 1624/5 (fig. 6b) is mentioned 'een geschildert Marienbeelt met haer kint' (a painted picture of Mary and her child); the artist's mark is drawn in the margin and must have been copied from the painting.

by artists of some reputation. The third category includes the inventories of wealthy burghers who had property worthy of description: both quantitatively and qualitatively, there was more to be found among the well-off than in more modest households. This difference seems to me of greater significance than the supposition that some notaries were better informed about art than others, and were thus able to make more attributions.[82] The presence of a monogram or signature, which could be read by the inventory compiler, must have played a large role as the painter of a work was being 'identified'.[83] Moreover, on his tour of the house the compiler of the inventory would normally have been accompanied by one or more persons who, if they had been involved with the household in one way or another, could provide special information about specific objects. In the case of paintings, they could give details about the subject and the possible maker. Numerous inventories contain information that cannot be explained in any other way. In exceptional cases it was deemed necessary for painters and dealers to value the paintings. During their 'visitation' these experts often compiled their own list, and the painters' names which they gave were subsequently incorporated into the inventory.

Seventeenth-century attributions

The term 'attribution' has been used above more than once. But can it properly be applied in the context of the 17th century? One meaning of the verb 'to attribute' is to

and copies; in a few cases he was unable to give the name of the artist. These sources, which nonetheless provide a great deal of information on attributions and uncertainty about them, are not considered further here.

82 This seems to me to answer Montias's view that 'with respect to notaries, my impression is that their degree of expertise varied widely', *Simiolus* 22 (1993), pp. 99-105, esp. 103, note 16. This may have applied to the Delft notary Willem de Langue, who was an art collector, but was certainly not the case with Laurens Lamberti of Amsterdam, whom Montias cites in evidence. The many artists' names found in the inventories drawn up by this notary are explained purely by the fact that he had a wealthy, predominantly Catholic clientele, and in the 1630s alone, the paintings were appraised by painters in five inventories drawn up by Lamberti, and it is virtually certain that the attributions were made by them (and not by the notary!). Another Amsterdam notary from the same period whose protocols contain many important inventories with a large number of attributions is Jan Warnaertz.; in at least six cases the paintings were appraised by experts. In contrast, in the protocols drawn up by their colleague Johannes Hellerus, whose office was frequented by many painters, there are hundreds of inventories of humble craftsmen in which not a single artist's name occurs.

83 Montias, op. cit.[20], pp. 235-236, is one of the few who paid attention to this matter.

believe that someone has done something or is responsible for something or, especially in relation to a text or a work of art, to ascribe to a certain author. The term is actually older than is suggested in the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*[84] and is already used in this sense in the 17th century.

An early and interesting example occurs in the will of Johan van Renesse, dean of the Janskerk in Utrecht. In 1618 he bequeathed to the church two large works painted on canvas 'one in oils, which is *attributed* to Albert Dürer, and the other *undoubtedly* Mabuys, both depicting the deposition from the Cross.'[85] Thus, one *Deposition* was described as attributed to Dürer, and another piece with the same subject was without doubt by Jan Gossaert! The term was also used by Aernout van Buchell, an Utrecht amateur who in 1622 saw in a collection in Leiden two studies of heads after which prints had been made 'which are *attributed* to Bruegel, by whom I have seen two very attractive 'principaele' in watercolours at Boyssens' in Leiden, which Boyssens believes to be by Joachim Patenier of Dinant.'[86] A final example is to be found in an Amsterdam inventory of 1695/6 in which two small round paintings are valued and ascribed by Jan Pietersz. Zomer to Hans Bol, but of which it is explicitly stated that they 'are attributed in the deceased's testament to the Velvet Breugel.'[87]

As we have seen, the compilers of inventories made use of the inscriptions on paintings, as they provided an easy way of naming works (fig. 5). It was not uncommon for a monogram to be accurately transcribed in the document (figs. 6a-b; see also fig. 4c). Occasionally there is a remark to the effect that a piece is 'marked' or 'signed'. The owners, too, used the signature in this way. In 1669, the widow of Daniel Goderis of Haarlem bequeathed a view of the beach at Zandvoort, painted by Hans Goderis 'gelijck in de schilderije aen de naem kan werden gesien' (as can be seen from the name on the painting).[88] The fact that in leading art centres such as Antwerp and Amsterdam many painters' names can be found in inventories dating from the early 17th century does not mean that this was the case everywhere. In a study of inventories in Dordrecht, for example, the first attribution was found in an inventory of 1629 and the next not until 1648.[89]

The involvement of expert appraisers

The growing interest in artists' names in Amsterdam in the course of the 17th century, and particularly after 1630, is revealed in part by the increasing number of inventories in which experts were responsible for appraising the paintings. They did so for private clients or by order of the aldermen. The appraisal of the movable goods, including paintings, was usually done by sworn appraisers, but their expertise in the field of art came to be increasingly questioned during the course of the 17th century. These doubts are explicitly stated in a number of documents. In 1669, two appraisers valued the paintings in the house of a deceased person, but the trustees responsible rejected this appraisal on the grounds that 'de geswooren schatsters huns oordeel niet grondich kundigh waeren van de konst ende waerde der schilderijen' (in their judgment the sworn appraisers were not thoroughly expert as to the artistry and value of the paintings). They arranged for a new appraisal, this time 'bij onpartijdige schilders en kunstkenners' (by impartial painters and connoisseurs). The painters Allart van Ever-

84 Under 'toeschrijven' (to attribute), the *WNT* (col. 669) states that this meaning of the term is comparatively recent. Van Mander does not use it.

85 '[..] het een met olyverf, dat Albert Dürer toegeschreven wordt, ende het ander *ontwyffelyck* Mabuys, beide beduydende het afnemen van den h. cruys'. The will, published in J.J. Dodt van Flensburg, *Archief voor kerkelijke en wereldsche geschiedenissen, inzonderheid van Utrecht*, 7 vols., Utrecht 1838-1848, II, pp. 76-92, esp. 78-79, also mentions a painting by Anthonie Mor and his own portrait by (Maarten?) de Goyer; it was filed with a notary on 12 September 1618 (Old Style).

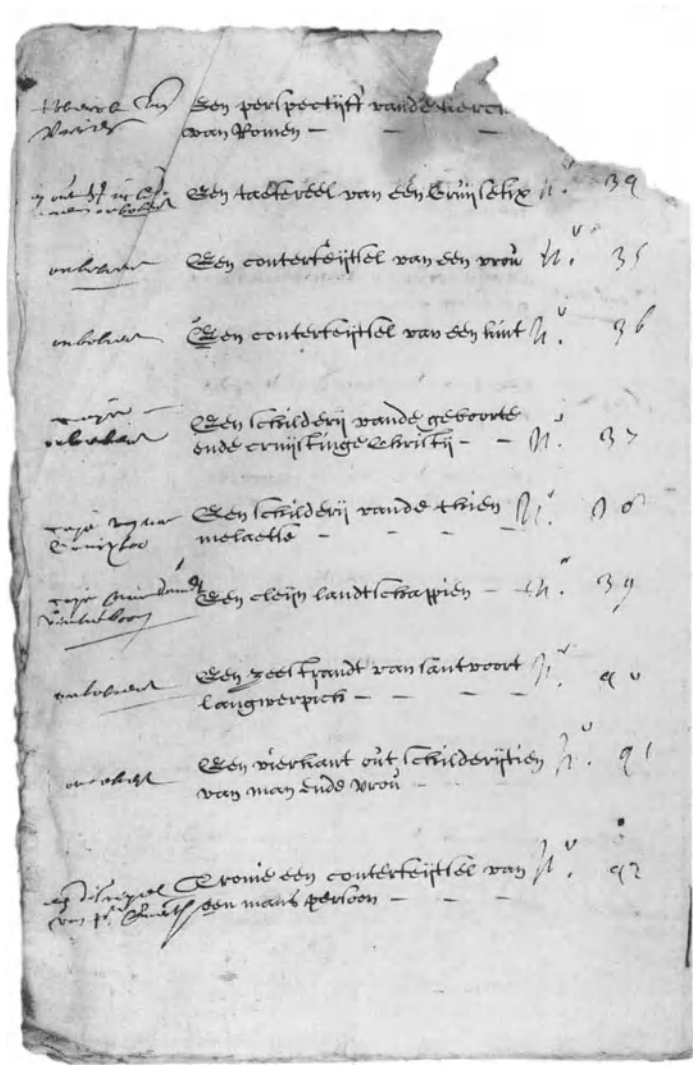
86 '[..] die men Breugel toeschrijft, waervan ic twee principaele van waterverwe seer aerdich gesien hebbe bij Boyssens te Leyden, meende deselve Boyssens te sijn Joachim Patenier van Dinant'. Cornelis Boyssens, the owner of the *tronies*, ascribed them by turns to Lucas van Valckenburch and Joachim Patenir. Van Buchell described them as 'twee tronikens seer aerdigh in waterverwe van Lucas van Valckenborg, als Boissens meende, hoewel sij gedruct sijn opden naeme van Bruegel' (two small *tronies*, very attractive, in watercolour by Lucas van Valckenburch, as Boyssens believed, although they are printed under the name of Bruegel), see Hoogewerff and Van Regteren Altena, op. cit.[59], pp. 56 and 60. The prints which bear Bruegel's name were published by Claes Jansz. Visscher. Are the 'twee cleyne troneties van Lucas van Valckenburch' (two small *tronies* by Lucas van Valckenburch) which Rembrandt owned (Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 53) these same heads?

87 '[..] in het testament van den overleden toegeschreven geschildert [heetten] te zijn van den Fluweelen Breugel', in the inventory of Rombout Jacob Jacobsz., GAA, not. S. van Jaarlandt, NA 4395, act 66, pp. 561-603, dd. 22 and 27 July 1695-6 April 1696. The attribution is in his will, GAA, not. W. Sylvius, NA 4928, act 32, pp. 196-201, dd. 23 June 1695. He had been given one of the two pieces by his sister. In her will, she referred to 'hare kleyne ronde waterverwge somerschilderijtie waarvan [..] hare broeder de weergae is hebbende' (her small round watercolour summer painting of which her brother has the companion piece), GAA, not. S. van der Sluijs, NA 3566, fols. 169-177, dd. 15 December 1675; in her inventory it is stated that she had given 'zodanighen waterverwege schilderijtie' (such a watercolour painting) to her brother.

88 Haarlem, Archiefdienst voor Kennemerland, not. W. van Kittensteyn, NA 305, fols. 67-68v, dd. 20 September 1669; she was certainly related to the painter. Jan Porcelllis established in his will of 19 December 1631 that his son Julius would receive all of the paintings included in his estate upon his death, 'te weten die met zijn testateurs eygene handt sullen wesen gedaen en met zijn naem geteykent' (namely, those done by the testator himself and signed with his name), Briels, op. cit.[8], p. 278, Doc. k.

89 J. Loughman, 'Een stad en haar kunstconsumptie: openbare en privéverzamelingen in Dordrecht, 1620-1719', in: exhib. cat. *De Zichtbaere Werelt* (Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum), Zwolle n.d. [1992], pp. 34-64, esp. 45. In the first half of the 17th century Loughman found only nine inventories with one or more names of artists, ibid., p. 51. In one of the first Dordrecht inventories in which special attention was paid to attributions, that of the physician Johan van Beverwijck and his wife, the painter Maerten van Tol acted as the appraiser. In addition to copies after Hieronymus Bosch, Pieter Aertsen and Rubens, there are 'vier cleyne schilderijckens, conterfeytsels van twee oude mans ende twee oude vrouwen, copien van Rembrants' (four small paintings, images of two old men and two old women, copies after Rembrandt), valued at ten guilders, ibid., pp. 59-61. Van Tol was already familiar with the paintings in the estate, since he had copied nine family portraits and had himself painted original portraits of two of its members.

Fig. 7. Amsterdam, Municipal Archive, not. P. Matthijsz., NA 483, fol. 564v, not dated (*c.* 1635).
This is a list with references to paintings with additions in the margin by the painters David Colijn and Dirck Pietersz. Bontepaert.



dingen and Jan Blom were, in fact, capable of properly assessing the paintings.[90]

If the appraisals made by experts in Amsterdam are chronologically arranged, it turns out that their services were ever more in demand as the century progressed.[91] In the first three decades of the 17th century, the expertise of painters was rarely called upon. From 1630, however, there was a noticeable change. Trustees and administrators began to use their services because a reliable appraisal was considered desirable in connection with the division of estates. Moreover, in time – starting in 1645 – the commissioners of the *Desolate Boedelskamer* (Bankruptcy Chamber) asked painters and dealers to appraise the paintings in the estates of bankrupts. The value of a painting did not depend solely on the format, or its condition, although such factors continued to play a role. The distinction between original and copy, or between an autograph painting and a workshop piece, were essential in determining a painting's value. To form a judgment about this, expert knowledge was required.

Who were the experts? In the first place, the painters and the dealers who were virtually always either trained in the profession, or very familiar with it. Around the middle of the century painters received assistance with some appraisals from an art lover, who was generally referred to as a 'kenner' (connoisseur).[92] Given that these connoisseurs carried out official appraisals, they must have been members of the Guild of St Luke. Painters were asked not only to appraise paintings, but to go through lists of paintings drawn up by others, which implied judging the accuracy of the attributions. An example of this is the inventory of the paintings of John Cartwright at Vianen. On 22 January 1653, two aldermen drew up an inventory of the movable property of this Englishman, who was having difficulty paying his debts.[93] A receiver was appointed, and he arranged for the list of paintings to be checked on 14 March by the local artists Jan Baeck and Cornelis Matheu. For 31 out of the 38 paintings (not counting the portrait of Cartwright and his wife), the aldermen had given the name of the painter. Of the remaining seven anonymous works, Baeck and Matheu identified five; two history pieces remained 'unknown', one being described as 'een Itailjaens stuck, onbekent, van een fraey meester' (an Italian piece, unknown, by a fine master). The two painters judged that all the works were originals, although there had been doubts about two landscapes. The aldermen had believed they detected the hand of Pieter Matheu in them.[94] The painters' verdict was that they were 'copies of Portengen', but this was crossed out and replaced by attributions to 'Verhagen' and 'Van der Laeck'.[95] According to the painters, another landscape was not by Matheu, as the aldermen had supposed, but by Herman Saftleven. Two artists were well represented in Cartwright's collection: Heyns (Hegnius), with eight works, and (Harmen) Hals, with nine.[96] The amended list was no doubt used for the public auction of the paintings, for which a reliable record certified by experts was evidently required.

Doubts about attributions

It is apparent from what has been said that doubts were expressed when attributions were made. Uncertainty on this point is expressed in various ways in inventories from

90 GAA, not. P. de Bary, NA 1731, pp. 221-235, dd. 25 February-11 March 1669; the painters generally gave higher valuations than the appraisers.

91 Amsterdam inventories with appraisals by experts: 1601-1610, one; 1611-1620, six; 1621-1630, six; 1631-1640, sixteen; 1641-1650, seventeen; 1651-1660, twenty-two; 1661-1670, twenty; 1671-1680, thirty-three; 1681-1690, thirty-three; and 1691-1700, thirty. Almost all of the documents are probate inventories, either from the notarial archives or the archives of the Desolate Boedelskamer. Those mentioned here do not, of course, provide a complete survey; in the notarial archives in particular there must be additional sources.

92 Examples in Amsterdam include Marten Kretzer, Isaack van Beest and Herman Stoffelsz. van Swol, all collectors.

93 P. van Meurs, 'Kunst in de archieven van Vianen', *O.H.* 26 (1908), pp. 177-202 and 225-241, esp. 236-240.

94 Either Pieter Matheu the Elder, the father of Cornelis Matheu, or his son of the same name.

95 This 'Verhagen' might have been either Joris van der Haagen or Dirck Verhagen.

96 The paintings attributed to Hals were all without doubt by Harmen Hals, who was active in Vianen around 1642. Cartwright also owned work by Balthasar van der Ast, which he would have bought in Middelburg, where he had earlier lived.

the 1630s on. This demonstrates not only how much attention had come to be paid to artists' names, but also the general realisation that the name of a painter could not always be definitely determined. The following review is based on the group of Amsterdam inventories referred to above, in which the paintings were appraised by experts.[97]

Name of the painter unknown

In many cases those compiling inventories were unable to give the name of the painter. On occasion this was stated.[98] All the evidence suggests that remarks such as 'daer van de meester onbekent is' (of which the master is unknown) apply principally to works that were 'old' or produced elsewhere. In many cases even painters were unable to supply the name, as is shown, for example, by a list of 57 cursorily described paintings compiled in about 1635. In the margin, two painters wrote terse notes suggesting possible artists. Next to at least 30 paintings, among them several old works, they were forced to put 'onbekent' (unknown) (fig. 7).[99]

Believed to be painted by

Doubts as to the name of the artist are not uncommon in 17th-century inventories. When the inventory was drawn up, one of those concerned might have expressed doubts as to the attribution, which was duly recorded by the compiler. Uncertainty on this point was phrased in the following ways: 'gedaen na 't schijnt door' (apparently done by)[100], 'oordelende te wesen van' (judged to be by)[101], 'soo men meent' (believed to be), 'soo geseyt wert' (said to be) or 'wert gepresumeert' (presumed to be)[102], 'gedaen door ... of door' (done by ... or by), or 'van of nae' (by or after)[103]. In one case, one of the parties involved expressed doubts about an attribution when the inventory was signed (Doc. 32).

The difficulties even experts had when making attributions can be gauged from the inventory of the ebony worker and art dealer Willem Albertsz. Deutgens. Of the 63 paintings appraised by Jan Looten and Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, 50 are attributed or, occasionally, identified as copies. Among the attributed paintings were some doubtful cases. Next to a landscape they wrote 'schijnt van Claes Moijert' (apparently by Claes Moijert) and beside a moonlight scene 'swijmtt na[a]r Van der Neer' (inclining to Van der Neer). In the latter case, the appraisal of 12 guilders is somewhat lower than that of two moonlight scenes by (Aert) van der Neer which were put at 20 guilders each. The appraisers thought that two 'moderne beelties' (figures in modern dress) might be copies after Willem Duyster. A seascape 'apparently by Pieter Molier' was put at twelve guilders, as was a seascape given to Mulier about which no doubt was expressed. Lastly, there is an interesting mention of 'een begonnen trony, schijnt Van Dijc' (an unfinished *tronie*, apparently Van Dijc). In view of the low appraisal of four guilders, should we be thinking here of the Rembrandt pupil Abraham van Dijck? There was also a copy after Rembrandt in Deutgens' shop.[104]

Corrections to the text

In instances in which painters and dealers valued the paintings, corrections and additions to the text are sometimes found, particularly in the inventories drawn up by order of the commissioners of the Bankruptcy Chamber. In the original document they can be recognised by differences in handwriting or in the ink used. The inventory procedure used by the Bankruptcy Chamber in Amsterdam must have been as follows. The compiler of the inventory listed everything he found in the estate on a sheet of paper, from which a clerk then made a fair copy. If it was thought necessary to have the paintings valued by artists, they were given either a fair copy of the inventory or the draft version. With this in hand, the artists went through the house, noting their appraisals on the list. In some cases they made corrections to the descriptions of the paintings; these were

97 See note 91. The Antwerp sources (very numerous on this point) are similar to those in Amsterdam.

98 The earliest Amsterdam example I know of dates from 1643. Apart from remarks such as 'de naam van de schilder onbekend' (name of the painter unknown), one finds others like 'van een oud meester' (by an old master), 'van een Duyts meester' (by a German master) or other possible places of origin. Examples from Delft are given in Montias, op. cit.[20], p. 233.

99 GAA, not. P. Mathijsz., NA 483, fols. 563-568, c. 1635. The document is damaged and incomplete. The attributions were made by the painters David Colijn and Dirck Pietersz. Bontepaert.

100 This designation is seen very rarely. Worth mentioning in this regard is 'een brieveschrijfstertje gedaan na 't schijnt door Gerard ter Burg' (a woman writing a letter apparently by Gerard ter Borch), appraised by Jan Pietersz. Zomer and Justus van Huysum at 80 guilders, GAA, not. F. Nolet, NA 6399, pp. 33-86, dd. .. April 1704; cf. Doc. 34 in the appendix to this essay.

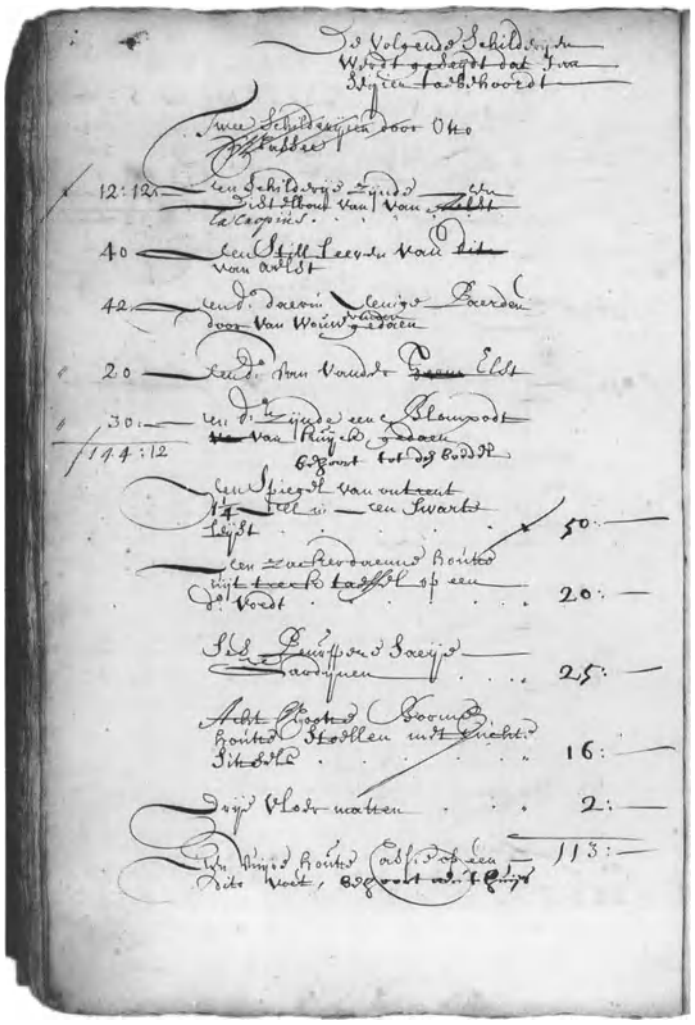
101 Among the 34 paintings which Marten van den Broeck transferred to Andries Ackersloot in 1647 were several old pieces (one from 1493!), of which it was stated that they were 'geoordeelt' (judged) to be by: 'Sotte Cleef' (Joos van Cleve), Lucas van Leyden, Dirck Barendsz., 'Key' (twice), Albrecht Dürer, Anthonie Mor and Jacob de Backer. A nativity was 'Italiaens geoordeelt' (judged to be Italian) and a woman's head described as rare was 'geo[o]rdeelt Moor of Holbeen' (judged to be Mor or Holbein), GAA, not. J. van de Ven, NA 1081, fol. 66r-v, dd. 28 March 1647 and Strauss Doc., 1647/1. In the case of work by contemporaries such as Rembrandt, Esaias van de Velde, Frans Hals or Jan Lievens such doubts are never once expressed!

102 This is often found in inventories, starting in the 1640s; in most instances it concerns works by deceased artists.

103 Examples of this come from the second half of the 17th century or later, thus 'een zeedtie van Peters off Molier' (a small seascape by Peeters or Mulier) (1694); 'een Italiaanse zeehaven, door Tomas van Wijk off Schellings' (an Italian port, by Thomas van Wijck or Schellincks) (1720/1; ascribed to Thomas van Wijck at the auction, see Hoet I, p. 258); and 'een kortegaarde van Palamedes of Codde' (a guardroom by Palamedes or Codde) (1734). For earlier examples from the list of paintings for the lottery of 1649, see note 114. Doubt as to whether a work was an original or a copy was expressed in 1651 when a piece valued by David Colijn at seven guilders was described as 'van Mompers soon off copye' (by Momper's son or copy).

104 GAA, not. J. d'Amour, NA 2162, pp. 151-177, dd. 22 January 1659, esp. 167 and 169; and Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/1. It is possible that the appraisers made use of Deutgens' sales records; the names in the inventory of persons with outstanding debts are certainly taken from an account book. Deutgens's widow was present when the inventory was drawn up.

Fig. 8. Amsterdam, Municipal Archive, DBK 393, fol. 82v, dd. 23 April 1688. In Cornelis de Flines' inventory, the corrections and additions included at the behest of the appraiser are clearly visible.



later incorporated in the fair copy. The corrections are often most enlightening.[105]

Only a selection of the available material can be presented here. A small painting originally attributed to Adriaen Brouwer was ascribed by Gerrit Uylenburgh to Jan Miense Molenaer.[106] Next to 'een keuckenschilderijtie daerin eenige persoonagie' (a kitchen piece with several figures) in another inventory was later added 'by Beuckelaer'.[107] Similar corrections are occasionally found in inventories drawn up by notaries, such as one dating from 1682 which at first contained only brief descriptions. A still life and a seascape were subsequently recognised by the art dealer Jan Roosa as the work of (Christiaen) Striep and (Johannes?) Beerstraaten.[108] In another inventory a landscape was first described as a Roeland Roghman, but was later attributed to (Gerrit) Uylenburgh by the dealers Jan Pietersz. Zomer and Anthony de Vos.[109]

The following example demonstrates the degree of concern for attributions in the 17th century. In 1688 the receivers of Cornelis de Flines had an inventory made of his possessions. The paintings were listed without the names of the artists; these were added later, in another hand. Perhaps it was known in advance that an expert would value the paintings separately. This was done by the ubiquitous Zomer, who identified work by Adriaen van de Velde, (Jan?) Pynas, Jan Lievens, Jan Weenix and Gerard de Lairesse and a copy after (Matthijs?) Bloem. In some cases the uncertainty as to the attribution of a work can be clearly followed. One painting was described as 'een snoeper neffens eenige fruyten ende een gekoockte kreeft' (a glutton beside some fruit and a boiled lobster). In a first revision, the words 'door Rubens gedaen' (done by Rubens) were added, no doubt at Zomer's direction. This was then crossed out and changed in the same second hand to 'Snijders'.[110] In addition, the compiler of the inventory had originally unwarily attributed two paintings to Otto Marseus. This entry was crossed out and both works were listed again. The first was said to be 'een distelb[l]om van Van Aelst' (a thistle by Van Aelst), but in the second revision this was changed to 'la Cropius'. The other still life was described as the work of (Willem) van Aelst. The attribution influenced the value. Zomer appraised the first piece at 12 guilders and 12 stuivers, and the second at 40 guilders (fig. 8).[111]

105 It goes without saying that this does not concern clerical errors and corrections. Examples from Amsterdam are cited in the following discussion, but the same procedure can be observed in documents in other cities. One example from Haarlem is the estate of Coenraet Coymans with an appraisal done by the painters Frans Hals and Pieter Molijn. The first painting on the list is a work by Pieter Aertsen, followed by a Road to Calvary next to which was originally written 'van Lange Pier d'Oude' (by Pieter Aertsen); this was crossed out (as was 'd'Jonge', or the Younger, which was added obliquely above) and replaced by 'Jochem Beukelaer'. The next item is a large landscape with the added remark: 'men meynt van Coningsloo' (believed to be by Coninxloo), Haarlem, Archiefdienst voor Kennemerland, not. M. Bardoel, NA 344, fols. 166-171v, dd. 24 April 1660, esp. 171, nos. 406, 407 and 408; no. 425 on this list remained 'onbekent' (unknown), while above no. 426, a landscape with brigands, the inscriptions 'van Van der Weijen' was added.

106 GAA, DBK 372, fols. 22-29v, dd. 15 February-22 April 1666, esp. 25. There are other corrections in the same inventory.

107 GAA, DBK 384, fols. 48v-53v, dd. 28/30 April 1678, esp. 49. Appraisals by Dirck Dircksz. Santvoort and Johannes Spilbergen.

108 GAA, not. N. Hemminck, NA 4351, act 154, dd. 21 March 1682.

109 GAA, not. G. Ypelaer, NA 5335, fols. 37-182, dd. 7 February 1702.

110 GAA, DBK 393, fols. 68v-87, dd. 3-5 March 1688 and the subsequent appraisal of the paintings on 23 April, esp. 82.

111 Ibid., fol. 82v. By 'la Cropius' is meant Nicolaes Lachtropius, who worked in Amsterdam until 1687 and emulated the style of Marseus. Willem van Aelst was a pupil of Marseus and worked in his studio. The inventory of Otto Marseus lists three flower and fruit pieces by Willem van Aelst, and a painting with 'daerin een meloen, drie rode pruymen en een half geschilde lemoen op een teljoor met een bos rode en witte druyven en een achtkante glas, wert geseght door Van Aelst gedaen te sijn' (a melon, three red plums and a half-peeled lemon on a plate with a bunch of red and white grapes and an octagonal glass, said to be done by Van Aelst) and 'een dito daerop een angelier, geseyt van Van Aelst' (a ditto, with a carnation, said to be Van Aelst). Evert Marseus, a brother of Otto and also a painter, signed the documents; any doubts as to the attributions would have been expressed by him or by a studio assistant, Br. *Künstler-Inv.* II, pp. 702, 704 and 706. Van Aelst painted not only the woodland scenes with animals and plants which were characteristic of Otto Marseus, but also faithfully imitated his flower pieces. Thus one of his paintings of 1671, with thistle, snake, butterflies, spider, snail and mouse (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle) is executed entirely in the style of Marseus, see L.J. Bol, *'Goede onbekenden'. Hedendaagse herkenning en waardering van verscholen, voorbijgezien en onderschat talent*, Utrecht 1982, p. 103. The estate of De Flines, lastly, included another painting which was first described as 'van der Heem' (by De Heem) but then renamed [van der] 'Elst', or Simon Verelst.

Workshop production, and paintings in the style of a given master

A 'copy' may have been executed by an assistant of the artist who painted the original, closely imitating the model in technique, subject and format; or by a follower who adopted the original conception or painting style – or sometimes both. There are inventories which indicate quite clearly that a certain work should be understood as the product of a workshop, or that it was akin to the style of a given master. These distinctions are noted in various ways. First, by listings of retouched paintings and of works done by a 'discipel' (pupil). And, second, inventories also refer to paintings done – by followers or former pupils – in the manner that a particular painter tended to work.

Retouched works

Judging by the written sources, it was normal practice in the workshops of painters such as Gillis Coignet, Rubens, Van Dyck, Jordaens and Cornelis Schut for the master to retouch the work of their pupils and assistants. Inventories and accounts of Antwerp dealers provide numerous examples of this. Among the goods of a deceased Antwerp notary the inventory compiler encountered a painting that was described as 'a Virgin Mary with Child, original or in any case retouched by the late Pietro Paulo Rubens, on panel, in oils, in a black frame, which the deceased bequeathed in his aforementioned will to the Brothers of Our Lady of this city.'[112] It is probable that this description was taken wholly or in part from the will.[113] Here we can follow the train of thought, so to speak, of the writer of the text: the owner had a special purpose in mind for one painting; it was a *Madonna and Child* painted by Rubens, which, while not completely autograph, had indeed been worked up by him.

References to retouched paintings are as common in Antwerp inventories and other archival sources as they are rare in the United Provinces, but nonetheless a few examples can be cited here. Rembrandt's inventory will be considered more specifically below. Another case is the list of paintings drawn up for a lottery held in Wijk-bij-Duurstede in 1649.[114] One of the works was a copy after Cornelis van Poelenburch; it was first described as 'geschildert' (painted) by him, but this was then corrected to read 'bij hem selfs geretouchiert' (retouched by himself).[115]

Done by a pupil

There is a significant number of references in inventories from the Northern Netherlands to paintings attributed to a 'disciple' of a particular painter, that is an advanced pupil or assistant. Cornelis van Poelenburch, Rembrandt, Frans van Mieris, Pieter van Laer, Ludolf de Jongh, Jacob Backer, Carel de Hoogh, (Pieter or Frans) de Grebber, Pieter Codde, Pieter de Molijn, Adriaen van de Venne, (Jan) Both, Cornelis Kick, Gerard de Lairesse, and from Antwerp Rubens and Jacob Jordaens might all be mentioned in this regard. Most references are to be found in inventories of painters, dealers and private individuals for which experts were brought in. In the case of a painting by a pupil it is not uncommon for it to be described as a 'principael'. This indicates that it was not simply a copy, but the pupil's own creation. The emphasis lay on the fact that the painting was created in the workshop of a particular master.[116]

Painted in the manner of

In the 17th century there were various terms for an artist's way of painting. The most frequently used are 'handelinge' (facture or handling) and 'manier' (manner). The first of these probably refers solely to the brushwork. 'Manner' should be interpreted more broadly. The manner of a painter includes his use of colour and drawing, but also his choice of subject. This term, and others referring directly to the way someone painted, such as 'trant' (style), 'methode' (method) and 'aert' (nature), are often encountered in inventories. Most occurrences are found in inventories dating from after 1680 in which, once again, experts were involved. Exact attributions were, of course, rarely possible and as a result experts resorted to these terms.[117] One of the first references is from 1640: a kitchen piece is described as by Pieter Aertsen 'off op sijn manier geschildert' (or painted

112 'Een Mariebeldt met kindeken Jhesus, origineel oft immers geretocqueert van wijlen hr. Pietro Paulo Rubens, op panneel, olieverve, in swerte lijste, d'welck den affl. in desen bij sijnen voorsz. testamente gelegateert heeft aen de lieve-vrouwe-broeders alhier', Stadsarchief Antwerpen, not. H. van Elslant, NA 4022, dd. 13 January 1663 and following days, especially fol. 8 (Denucé, op. cit.[8], p. 233 and Duverger, op.cit.[8], VIII, p. 278). This item is immediately followed by an 'Ecce Homo op panneel in vergulde lijste, copye, op panneel in lijste, *naer 't voorgaende Mariebeelt*' (Ecce Homo on panel in gilt frame, *copy*, on panel in frame, *after the foregoing Virgin Mary*), ibid., fol. 8v.

113 This could not be checked, however, because the protocols of the notary before whom the testament was executed have not survived. A later codicil (Stadsarchief Antwerpen, not. J. Pauwels, NA 2782, dd. 10 May 1661) gives no details.

114 In the vast majority of cases, the name of the painter of the work in the lottery is given. In four instances, the compilers of the list could not decide whether they were dealing with an original or a copy, and so 'van en nae' (by and after) was put in front of the names of David Teniers (the Younger), Jan van Bijlert, Abraham van Beijeren and Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem. These doubts were reflected in the relatively low appraisals of 25, 10, 12 and 15 guilders, respectively; see V. de Stuers, 'De lotery van Jan de Bondt, 1649', in: Obreen, op. cit.[54], II, pp. 71-93, esp. p. 82, no. 9, p. 83, no. 13, p. 84, no. 39 and p. 85, no. 49.

115 Ibid., p. 85, no. 51. Cornelis van Poelenburch was one of the five individuals who had appraised the paintings before the lottery, and the correction would have been made at his instigation. Equally, in the case of a copy after a work by Johan van Isendoorn, which he himself retouched, one suspects that he also provided this information: as well as being a sheriff he was an artist, and was also involved in the lottery, ibid., p. 88, no. 98.

116 The earliest example from Amsterdam, in the inventory of Pieter Codde of 1636, reads: 'twee stucxkens, bij den discipel van P[iete]r Codde geïnventeert' (two small pieces, invented by the pupil of Pieter Codde), A. Bredius, 'Iets over Pieter Codde en Willem Duyster', *O.H.* 6 (1888), pp. 187-194, esp. 190.

117 An early example of the use of the term 'manier' is found in the inventory of the Archduke Ernest drawn up (in German) in Brussels in 1595: 'Christy Creutzigung von Bruegels Manier', in: M. De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de XVIIe-eeuwse schilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden*, Brussels 1955, p. 259.

in his manner).[118] An inventory of 1642 lists, apart from originals by Gillis van Coninxloo, a piece done by him in collaboration with David Vinckboons and one 'nae de handelinghe van Coninxloo gedaen' (painted in the style of Coninxloo).[119] The two paintings which someone tried to sell in 1698 as originals by Godfried Schalcken (Doc. 33b) may be identical to 'een Venus die uyt zeeschuim geboren wordt, in de manier van Schalken' (a Venus born from the foam of sea, in the manner of Schalken) and 'een dito in de manier van dito' (a ditto, in the manner of ditto), which were described in the inventory of the Hague painter Anthony de Waardt in 1752.[120]

Diminutive forms of painters' names

In 17th-century inventories, diminutive forms of painters' names were occasionally used to denote imitations of a particular style or genre.[121] Such works, possibly painted in a small format, were neither originals nor copies. All the references to them date from the last quarter of the century and concern 'Wouwermannetjes' (four times), a 'Van der Meertje' (probably à la Aert van der Neer), two 'Droogslootjes' and 'a Ruysdaeltje'. Examples can also be found in Antwerp sources, often 'Brouwerkens'. This may refer to a small original (cf. Doc. 35), but in most cases, in view of the very low appraisals, these paintings must have been pastiches.[122] I have found no evidence of diminutive forms of names being used in the Northern Netherlands to refer to workshop pieces by several hands, such as we encountered in the case of the 'Veirendaeltje' (note 64).

In my examination of 17th-century inventories, I have considered the extent to which their compilers paid attention to the identity of the artist when listing the paintings in a household. Before 1600 the names of painters are rarely found in inventories, but occur more often during the course of the century. It must be said, however, that in inventories of a wide range of lower-class households, names of painters are rarely noted. With this reservation, it is certainly noticeable that in inventories of better-off burghers, especially from the 1630s, artists' names are given and it is not uncommon for a distinction to be drawn between a *principaal* and a copy. In exceptional cases it was even stated that a painting was done in the style of a particular artist, or was reminiscent of his manner of painting. In this section I have dealt mainly with 184 inventories (see note 91) drawn up in Amsterdam for which experts acted as appraisers and attributors. Never before systematically studied, these inventories contained a wealth of information. In a few cases it proved possible to identify corrections and additions made to the first version of the inventory at the instigation of the painters and other experts consulted. Doubts as to attributions were also sometimes expressed in these inventories.

IV. Rembrandt

In the preceding sections of this chapter, an attempt has been made to determine to what extent we can detect a preference among 17th-century buyers and owners of paintings for autograph works by particular artists. Up until now, Rembrandt has deliberately been omitted from the discussion of the contemporary sources that can shed light on this issue. The following sections consider whether contemporary sources relating to this question and dealing with Rembrandt and the assistants in his workshop are available, and if so, to what extent they confirm the picture already outlined. Discussed in turn are documents on the subject of authenticity, the signature and its possible significance and, finally, references in inventories, both of private individuals and Rembrandt himself, to paintings by and after him. To a greater extent than in the preceding sections, specific works figure in this discussion.

Rembrandt and documents on authenticity

Reviewing the documents on authenticity, on only one occasion was a painting sold as a work by Rembrandt the subject of a dispute (Doc. 13). The notarial act in question has not always been interpreted in this way, and is sometimes overlooked. In 1641 a brewer in Leiden had negotiated with an unnamed artist a transaction involving some paintings.[123] In the presence of a third

118 GAA, not. P. Barcman, NA 1267, act 3, dd. 5/6 January 1640. The same inventory lists another painting as 'nae Lange Pier' (after Pieter Aertsen). This description can perhaps be explained by the presence of Cornelis Dircksz. Cool, who signed as a witness. A prominent art collector, he was co-guardian in the will of the deceased (GAA, not. P. Barcman, NA 1264, dd. 29 November 1639).

119 Mentioned in *O.H.* 16 (1898), p. 145.

120 Br. *Künstler-Inv.* III, p. 1027; and P. Hecht, *De Hollandse fijnschilders. Van Gerard Dou tot Adriaen van der Werff*, Amsterdam-Maarssen/The Hague 1989, p. 203, note 3. If the paintings mentioned in Doc. 33b but not recognised by the painters Jacob Schalcken (a cousin of Godfried) and Arent Pijl as being originals by Godfried Schalken really were by his hand, the rather unusual signature on the back of both works, namely 'G. Schalcken, Pictor in Hollandia. Ao 1690' (Hecht, cat. nos. 42 and 43) may be explained - as Hecht suspected - by the fact that these paintings were intended for the foreign market. In Doc. 33a there is a reference to Schalken selling works in Kleve, where the artist's name would not have been known. The merchant Pieter van der Luyt dealt in paintings, apparently on an occasional basis. In 1702 his wife asked someone for payment for goods supplied; according to the details of this document, the 'goods' included paintings by Jan Miense Molenaer, Jan Steen and one of the Van Ostades, GAA, not. P. Carel, NA 6198, act 188, dd. 2 December 1702, and acts 162, 163 and 194.

121 See also De Pauw-de Veen, op. cit.[6], pp. 111-113.

122 In one instance such a 'Brouwerken' is followed by the word 'coppij' (copy) and in another it is preceded by 'Hollans'. De Pauw-de Veen, op. cit.[6], p. 111, cites several examples, among them 'Tenirkens', which in 1663 was explained as: 'dat syn dingen dar de wtdragers met de kopykens gan leuren van deur tot deur' (they are things that the second-hand dealers with copies peddle from door to door). She also cites the painter J. Verhoek, who in his translation of Roger de Piles's *Abrégé de la vie des peintres* calls such imitations 'pasteytjes', after the Italian *pasticcio*, from which the word 'pastiche' is derived.

123 The document refers to a 'seeckren schilder die als doen met sijne schilderijen ende coopmanschappen voorgestaen heeft op 't Raedthuys aen de deur van de voorsz. stede Weescamer' (a certain painter, who then with his paintings and wares was standing before the Town Hall near the door of the court of orphans), GA Leiden, not. D. Jansz. van Vesanevelt, NA 349, act 35, dd. 12 June 1641.

Fig. 9. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait in a soft hat*, 1631 and 1633, etching, with additions in black chalk, 14.8 x 13 cm (B.7^{IV}). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (see also Chapter III, pp. 139-142)



party, it had been agreed that the brewer would exchange a number of paintings for a work that, according to the artist, was by Rembrandt. The artist assured the brewer that Rembrandt had painted the work in question for him personally. With that, the transaction was finalised.[124] While we do not know the outcome of the case, I believe that we can infer from the phraseology used that the authenticity of the piece was not (or no longer) accepted.

No other documents of this kind relating to Rembrandt's work are known. Nonetheless, Rembrandt must have been aware of the buyers' concerns about the autograph status of works. Two documents may be cited in this context which do not concern Rembrandt's own work, but which involved him directly. The first case, from 1653, was about whether a landscape with mountains, trees and a valley, and embellished with animals and figures, was actually by Paul Bril. A collector in Ghent, who had bought the painting from the Delft dealer Abraham de Cooge, had heard from some painters and dealers in Antwerp that it was 'geen origineel en is geschildert mette eijgen handt van Pauwels Bril' (not an original painted by the hand of Pauwels Bril).[125] De Cooge did not take the matter lightly and asked several Amsterdam experts for their opinion. They judged that the work was a 'suyver originael geschildert bij de hant' (pure original painted by the hand) of Bril (Doc. 20a).

The experts in Antwerp called their northern colleagues blockheads and declared that the seller was a swindler, so the Hollanders felt their reputation had been sullied. The Amsterdam 'lieffhebber' Marten Kretzer, one of those who had signed the statement, informed the buyer of this in a personal letter. Rembrandt was also consulted (Doc. 20b). After studying the painting carefully, he concurred with the judgment of his fellow citizens.[126] It was most unusual for Rembrandt to make such a statement. We have no other expert opinion delivered by him, and as far as is known he did not make official appraisals of paintings, as so many of his colleagues did.[127] The importance of this case was such that it required a statement that would add weight to the scales.

The second case involving Rembrandt took place in 1663. Constantijn Huygens the Younger wrote a letter to his brother Christiaan, who was staying in Paris, suggesting that he should have a look at the art collection of Everard Jabach. He was himself interested in this collection. While visiting Rembrandt, he had seen a drawing by Annibale Carracci and he wanted to know more about it. Evidently, Constantijn wanted to purchase the drawing, but was not entirely certain that it was by Carracci. He asked his brother when visiting Jabach, who had some 50 sheets by Carracci, to look for a drawing with many small, bathing figures and make a sketch of it. In this way Constantijn hoped to ascertain whether the drawing Rembrandt had was indeed by Carracci and not a copy. The latter possibility seemed to him most unlikely, in view

124 '[..] een stuck 't welck den schilder voornomt verclaerde bij mr. Rembrant gedaen te sijn ende selffs aen den voorsz. mr. Rembrant besteet te hebben' (a piece which said painter declared to be by master Rembrant and which indeed he commissioned from the aforementioned master Rembrandt), ibid. Although the document is accurately presented in A. Bredius, 'Een schilderij van Rembrandt? op de kermis te Leiden 1641', *O.H.* 26 (1908), p. 68, and it is rightly observed that it concerns the autograph nature of a painting attributed to Rembrandt, it is wrongly concluded that 'men omstreeks 1641 schilderyen van Rembrandt op de kermis te Leiden ventte' (around 1641 paintings by Rembrandt were traded at the fair in Leiden), ibid. This mistaken conclusion, which is reflected in the title of Bredius's article, is taken over in Strauss *Doc.*, 1641/2.

125 E. Duverger, 'Een betwist schilderij van Paulus Bril bij een Gents kanunnik', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Oudheidkunde en Kunstgeschiedenis* 35 (1965), pp. 191-200.

126 No painting by Bril is found in Rembrandt's inventory of 1656. Rembrandt could have seen his work at auctions, with dealers, or in the collections of art lovers. Johannes de Renialme owned a landscape by Bril which was valued at 90 guilders by Marten Kretzer and the painter Adam Camerarius, GAA, not. F. Uijttenbogaert, NA 1915, pp. 663-692, dd. 27 June 1657, esp. 678, no. 272 and Br. *Künstler-Inv.* I, p. 234. In 1665 a work by Bril in an Amsterdam estate was appraised at 300 guilders, ibid., III, p. 838.

127 Rembrandt was, of course, obliged to observe the guild regulations. That he did so is apparent from a dispute between him and a client over the resemblance to the sitter in a portrait of a woman. Rembrandt replied that he would complete the piece and abide 'aen 't oordeel van de overluyden van 't St. Lucasgilt' (by the judgement of the headmen of the St Luke's Guild), Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/4; see also J. van der Veen, 'Faces from life: *tronies* and portraits in Rembrandt's painted oeuvre', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt, a genius and his impact* (Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria and Canberra, National Gallery of Australia), Zwolle 1997, pp. 69-80, esp. 77.

of the convincing way in which the drawing was executed. The younger Huygens, who was keen on originals, was well aware that there were copies in circulation.[128]

Rembrandt's signature

Looking at the signatures on Rembrandt's painted works, we find that up to 1632 he normally used a monogram, which usually consisted of the letters 'RHL', sometimes without the 'L' or the 'H'. In 1632 he mainly signed his works with 'RHL van Rijn'. However, by the end of 1632 we find him using the signature 'Rembrant' (in the undated etching B. 38 'Rembrant van Rijn'). Early in 1633 he changed this spelling to 'Rembrandt'. In the case of a painting bearing the rare signature 'Rembrant' and dated 1632, the fact that this inscription was applied to the still wet background was one of the reasons for Van de Wetering to attribute this painting to Rembrandt.[129] During the course of 1632 Rembrandt began adding 'f' for 'fecit' to his signatures (fig. 9). Rembrandt originally wrote his name with a 't', but sometimes in 1633 this became 'dt'. Judging from the surviving paintings, it seems that he almost always signed his work.

Concentrating on the signed works, the following possibilities can be postulated. On the one hand, there could be an authentic signature on (1) an autograph work, or on (2) work done by Rembrandt together with an assistant, or on (3) work done in Rembrandt's workshop by an assistant with no intervention by the master; on the other hand, an unauthentic signature could be placed on (4) a painting done in Rembrandt's workshop by an assistant; or a signature copied by a later hand (for example, at the instigation of a dealer) could appear on (5) autograph work or (6) non-autograph work. Countless examples could be given of the last two possibilities. It is doubtful, however, whether the addition of false signatures by dealers to give paintings more 'weight' was very widespread much before the end of the 17th century. The forging of signatures, and the enhancing of existing, severely overcleaned signatures, happened frequently from the 18th century onwards.

It is not inconceivable that Rembrandt himself put his signature on the work of assistants. This is not ruled out in earlier volumes of *A Corpus*, such as in the case of the *Portrait of a young man in a hat* of 1634 in St Petersburg (II C 78); and in other instances (for example *Bust of a man in oriental dress*, Amsterdam, III C 101) it is regarded as a possibility (see, however, IV *Corrigenda* III C 101).[130] With some reservations, it was noted in earlier volumes that there must have been occasions in Rembrandt's workshop when assistants put the master's signature on works which they had painted. Some possible examples

Fig. 10. Anonymous (unknown Rembrandt pupil after Jan Lievens?), *Head of a boy*, panel, 27.5 x 20 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A 2391



of this phenomenon from the period up to about 1640 were proposed (*Bust of a man with a plumed cap* in The Hague, III C 98 and *Portrait of a man* in Sakura-City, III C 104; also *Bust of a man in a plumed cap*, U.S.A. private coll., I C 23 and *Portrait of a man* in New York, II C 68).[131] If the monogram 'RHL' on the *Bust of a young man in a turban* of 1631 in Windsor Castle (II C 54) is autograph, then Rembrandt authenticated this painting, which is now attributed to Isaac Jouderville. It was further suggested that Carel Fabritius may have been one of the pupils who used Rembrandt's signature. The *Slaughtered ox* in Glasgow (III C 122) tentatively attributed to Fabritius has a graceful 'Rembrandt' signature, which bears a resemblance to the way in which Fabritius signed the *Bust of a man (self-portrait?)* in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam.[132]

Only a few examples of paintings retouched by Rembrandt have survived. A *Head of a boy* in the Rijksmuseum once bore the remains of an inscription that was read as 'Rembrandt geretuceer ...[naar?] Lieve...' (Rembrandt retouched ... [after?] Lieve...) (fig. 10).[133] Some of the

128 H.E. van Gelder, 'De jonge Huygensen en Rembrandt', *O.H.* 73 (1958), pp. 238-241; Strauss *Doc.*, 1663/9. In 1656 Rembrandt owned two copies after Annibale Carracci, ibid., 1656/12, nos. 81 and 83.

129 E. van de Wetering, *Rembrandt, the painter at work*, Amsterdam 1997, in the dust jacket of the hard cover edition and *IV Addenda* I.

130 One wonders whether this was done with work that had been retouched by Rembrandt.

131 *A Corpus* Vol. II, p. 105; Vol. III, pp. 55-56.

132 Vol. III, p. 56, and figs. 24 and 25.

133 Sumowski *Gemälde* III, no. 1274 (as Lievens); B. Broos, 'Fame shared is fame doubled', in: exhib. cat. *The impact of a genius. Rembrandt, his pupils and followers in the seventeenth century*, Amsterdam 1983, pp. 35-58, esp. 38 and fig. c; and see the review by the same author of Strauss *Doc.* in *Simiolus* 12 (1981-1982), pp. 245-262, esp. 252-253 and note 35. The inscription is now illegible either with the naked eye or with technical examination. With a bit of good will a few letters can be deciphered, however they do not amount to much.

doubt as to the authenticity of this inscription was removed when the connection was made with the listing in 1637 of two paintings in the shop inventory of Lambert Jacobsz. in Leeuwarden. The first was described as 'een jongers troni met lanck kruil haijr [en] bolle blancke wangen' (a *tronie* of a boy with long curly hair [and] plump, pale cheeks), and its pendant as a 'jonck meiskes troni sijn weergade nae Lieves' (a *tronie* of a young girl, its companion piece, after Lievens).[134] For sale in Jacobsz.'s shop in Leeuwarden were copies produced in the workshop of Hendrick Uylenburgh during the period when Rembrandt worked with him. In the firm, copies were evidently made after Lievens, and as it appears under Rembrandt's supervision.[135]

The *Sacrifice of Isaac* in Munich, which is no doubt a workshop copy, has provoked much discussion. The part of the painting's inscription 'Rembrandt. verandert. En over geschildert. 1636' (Rembrandt. altered. And overpainted/or painted again. 1636) may refer to the changes in the composition, compared to the St. Petersburg prototype. The interpretation of the inscription remains, like the attribution, disputed.[136] Bruyn posited that the inscription is not by Rembrandt, but by the painter of the work, who must be assumed to be one of Rembrandt's assistants.[137] If this is correct, we have here another example of an assistant putting Rembrandt's signature on his own work.

Under whose name were such paintings sold? Rembrandt's? It has been suggested that Rembrandt himself did not always make a sharp distinction between his own work and that of his assistants. Indications of this can be found in Rembrandt's inventory of 1656. This source is especially important in this context because Rembrandt himself must have dictated the descriptions of the movable goods to the compiler. When an inventory was drawn up for the *Desolate Boedelskamer* it was customary for the owner to be present. In Rembrandt's case as well, the compiler must have been assisted by the artist during his tour of the house. The fact that some paintings are described as workshop pieces retouched or overpainted by Rembrandt certainly points in this direction.[138]

The inventory lists a painting of a woman and child as a work by Rembrandt; this is probably identical to the *Woman with a child in swaddling clothes* presently attributed alternately to Nicolaes Maes and Barent Fabritius.[139] One wonders under what names the paintings were presented to potential buyers. The inventory was meant to do no more than provide a broad survey of the movable property present in the estate. Were the descriptions in the inventory used when the goods were sold? This idea cannot be dismissed out of hand. For instance, it is fairly certain that a *Weeping woman* painted in Rembrandt's workshop can be identified with 'een crytend vroutgen' which was listed in an Amsterdam inventory as early as 1661 as being by Rembrandt.[140]

Thus Rembrandt may have put work by pupils on the market under his own name. On the other hand, it can be inferred from a few documents that he also sold paintings by pupils under their own names. On the back of a drawing, for example, there is a note in Rembrandt's handwriting that he had sold several pieces by his pupils Ferdinand Bol and Leendert van Beyeren, and probably a third one.[141] I assume that they were sold as works by the pupils cited. In 1657 the Haarlem painter and dealer Pieter Soutman acquired certain household effects and shop goods which included two *tronies* à l'antique by an unnamed 'dissipel' (pupil) of Rembrandt.[142] These exercises were probably put on the market by Rembrandt as such. The same applies to the paintings listed in 1637 in

134 H.L. Straat, 'Lambert Jacobsz., schilder', *De Vrije Fries* 28 (1925), pp. 53-76, esp. 73, nos. 21 and 22. The works on sale in the shop in Leeuwarden included copies from the workshop of Hendrick Uylenburgh, some after paintings by Rembrandt. Apart from the two copies after Lievens mentioned, there was available 'een cleine bleecke verschepene troni alheel int swart nae Jan Lieuves' (a small pale discoloured head completely in black after Jan Lievens), ibid., p. 72, no. 12; and also H. Schneider with the assistance of R.E.O. Ekkart, *Jan Lievens, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Amsterdam 1973, no. 221.

135 C. Hofstede de Groot, 'Rembrandts onderwijs aan zijne leerlingen', *O.H.* 33 (1915), pp. 79-94, esp. 85, believed that he could see Rembrandt's hand in the distinctively applied touches in the locks of curly hair and perhaps also in the light passages in the background.

136 For the autograph *Sacrifice of Isaac* in St Petersburg (signed and dated 'Rembrandt. f.1635') and the copy in Munich, see III A 108. The same view is taken in exhib. cat. *Het Oude Testament in de schilderkunst van de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam, Joods Historisch Museum), Zwolle 1991, cat. no. 9. M. Royalton-Kisch, 'Rembrandt's sketches for his paintings', *Master Drawings* 27 (1989), pp. 128-145, believes that the work in Munich was painted after a drawing by Rembrandt and that the *Sacrifice of Isaac* in St Petersburg was done later. At the Rembrandt symposium held on 16 and 17 January 1992 at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, E. Haverkamp-Begemann pointed out that H. von Sonnenburg was said to have detected retouches in the Munich painting (done by Rembrandt?). The provenance of III A 108 can be traced back with some confidence to 1656: the inventory drawn up after the death of Miguel Mendes de Vasconcelos of Antwerp lists 'un Sacrificio de Abraham de Rynbrant' (a Sacrifice of Abraham by Rembrandt), Duverger, op. cit.[8], VII, pp. 208-211, esp. 210. This collector may have been the first owner of the St Petersburg painting. Apart from two anonymous pieces produced in 'Olanda', the Rembrandt is the only Dutch painting in the collection, which otherwise consisted of work by a few Italians and a great many artists from the Southern Netherlands, particularly Antwerp.

137 Bruyn saw similarities with early signatures by Ferdinand Bol; *A Corpus* Vol. III, p. 55 and fig. 20.

138 See here notes 158 and 159. Probably a draft inventory was compiled first, from which a fair copy was made later by a clerk of the DBK. In this version there are no corrections of the type described above. If Rembrandt was indeed present when the inventory was drawn up, he would have been able to give all the information required; moreover, the goods were not (later) appraised, because everything was to be auctioned.

139 J. Bruyn, 'Rembrandts werkplaats: functie en produktie', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, pp. 68-89, esp. 71 and 79, and ibid., cat. no. 80, where Bruyn's attribution to Fabritius is supported. The listing in Rembrandt's inventory reads 'een vrouwtie met een kintie van Rembrant van Rijn' (a woman with a child by Rembrandt van Rijn), Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 3.

140 Ibid., p. 79, fig. 94 and notes 69 and 72 there, attributed by Bruyn to Samuel van Hoogstraten. For other suspected workshop pieces that passed for work by Rembrandt, see *A Corpus* Vol. II, p. 630; and Vol. III, p. 277.

141 Strauss *Doc.*, pp. 594-595; due to the condition of the document, the text is incomplete.

142 'Twe oude antickxe tronytgens van een dissipel van Rembrant, getax: op XVJ gul[den]' (two old antique tronies by a pupil of Rembrandt, valued at sixteen guilders), GA Leiden, not. J. Dou, NA 617, act 59, dd. 21 March 1657 (given in *O.H.* 53, 1936, p. 186, but not included in Strauss *Doc.*).

the inventory of Lambert Jacobsz.'s shop (see note 134): six works after Rembrandt and only one autograph piece.

Paintings by or after Rembrandt, or attributed to him in inventories

Besides the paintings from Rembrandt's workshop which are described in his inventory, there are many references to works by him in other inventories of private households. To what extent do they distinguish between originals and copies? In Volume II it was estimated that the number of paintings attributed to Rembrandt in probate inventories increased during the course of the century, and that the number of works described as after Rembrandt fell.[143] The trend is as follows.[144] Up to 1640, 9 paintings by Rembrandt and 17 after him are listed in inventories. In the next two decades these figures are 14 and 6, and 35 and 10, respectively. From 1661 copies after Rembrandt are mentioned only sporadically. In the 1670s, 61 'Rembrandts' and 11 copies were noted.[145] Inventories from the 1680s record only two copies after Rembrandt and the 1690s three, as against 27 and 19 'originals', respectively.

As pointed out earlier in *A Corpus*, these figures should not be interpreted as a sign that fewer copies were circulating in the second half of the 17th century, or that contemporaries came to attach less importance to the distinction between original and copy. The change is explained by the fact that gradually a great deal of knowledge was lost.[146] Many early references to copies are found in inventories in which former pupils or experts were involved in describing the works. In the last decades of the century such appraisals were made by painters and connoisseurs who had had no direct contact with Rembrandt's workshop. The over 100 'Rembrandts' listed between 1661 and 1700 include many *tronies*; precisely these individual studies of heads were likely to have been workshop products.

We have seen that in some cases the compilers of inventories recorded their doubts as to an attribution to a particular painter. Examples of this can also be found in the case of Rembrandt. In the inventory of the painting collection of Frederik Hendrik, from 1632, a painting of *Simeon in the temple* (I A 12) is described as 'door Rembrants off Jan Lievensz. gedaen' (done by Rembrandt or Jan Lievens).[147] An Amsterdam inventory of 1660 refers to two *tronies* 'van ofte nae Rembrant' (by or after Rembrandt). The experts involved in this case, Hendrick Uylenburgh and Thomas de Keijser, valued the heads at 48 guilders, but made no further comment.[148] A 1684 inventory from The Hague lists a *tronie* by Rembrandt, but evidently the authorship was not absolutely certain. Later it is described as 'wordt geseyt van Rembrant' (said to be by Rembrandt).[149] A curious case is a painting of a 'hoyschuur' (hay barn) attributed to Rembrandt which, upon being appraised by Dirck Matham and Gerrit Uylenburgh, was said to be by Gerrit Dou.[150]

More examples of such corrections can be given. One which has not previously been published comes from an Amsterdam inventory of 1666 in which Rembrandt's name was crossed out and replaced by the more neutral description *tronies*.[151] In 1647 a painting was sold at an auction in The Hague which was first listed as a 'princ[ipael] van Rembrant' ('principael' by Rembrandt) before being altered to 'naer Rembrant' (after Rembrandt).[152] It is entirely possible that this painting, which was knocked down at the auction in question for 6 guilders and 15 stuivers to the dealer Michiel Page, is the *tronie* described as 'geseijt van Rembrant' (said to be by Rembrandt), which was bought from Page some time later for 13 guilders.[153]

It can be deduced from these examples that contemporaries knew that there were paintings in circulation which closely resembled the work of Rembrandt but were not by his hand. This was also realised in other countries. The compiler of the catalogue for an auction held in London in 1689 carefully phrased his description of a head study: 'thought to be an Original of Rembrand'.[154] Finally, it should be noted that this interest in originals also applied to drawings. In Zomer's catalogue of about 1720, an album containing 60 drawings by Rembrandt is offered with the comment that there are no copies among them 'of een ducaat verbeurt' (or a ducat will be forfeit). This meant that the buyer would receive a ducat if he could convincingly show that there was a copy among the originals. This promise is not found in the case of other albums with drawings by Rembrandt. This suggests not only that buyers were keen

143 *A Corpus* Vol. II, p. 48.

144 The tallies are based on listings in inventories and transfers of movable goods using Strauss *Doc.*, HdG *Urk.* and additional documents discovered since these publications appeared. Rembrandt's self-portraits were included, but not his other portraits; doubtful cases were excluded, as were the inventories of Rembrandt's own possessions.

145 Six copies are listed in the inventory of the painter Lambert Doomer, who is thought to have been a pupil of Rembrandt, and four in that of the collector Herman Becker (see note 160).

146 Bruyn, op. cit.[139], pp. 70-71, investigated the question whether contemporaries were interested in who actually painted a work and came to the conclusion that in the first half of the 17th century, and particularly the 1630s, they indeed were, and that subsequently awareness of the difference between original and copy seemed to become blurred. This 'blurring' in my view means the loss of exact knowledge among owners as well as compilers of inventories and appraisers of paintings. At the same time there must often have been (many) overly optimistic attributions. This is not to say, however, that less interest was taken in who had painted a work.

147 Strauss *Doc.*, 1632/3 and I A 12.

148 Strauss *Doc.*, 1660/5, where the names of the appraisers are omitted. The lady of the house stated she had bought both heads from Pieter Heyblom, a dealer in mirrors and frames. In the same inventory a painting attributed to Jordaens is corrected - in a different hand - to 'alias Mompert' and valued accordingly at six guilders, GAA, DBK 365, fols. 272v-273v and 276-277, dd. 22 April/26 June 1660.

149 HdG *Urk.*, no. 357.

150 HdG *Urk.*, no. 323.

151 GAA, DBK 372, fols. 70v-78, dd. 28 May-21 October 1666. The inventory, which contains several corrections, does not give the names of the appraisers.

152 Strauss *Doc.*, 1647/2; and *A Corpus* Vol. II, p. 49, fig. 1 and note 48.

153 By Lieuwe van Aitzema, Strauss *Doc.*, 1657/4; in my opinion, HdG *Urk.*, no. 111 gives the wrong name for the buyer of this picture at the auction in 1647.

154 Anonymous auction in London on 16 and 17 December 1689, no. 146 (Lugt 32); in the same catalogue also (no. 241) 'An Original of Rembrand in a gold frame'.

to acquire autograph drawings, but also that the dealer did not dare to guarantee the authenticity of other 'Rembrandts'. Copies may have been inserted between original drawings in various lots.[155]

Several works which were painted by pupils and retouched by Rembrandt have been discussed above. Seventeenth-century inventories rarely mention such 'geretorqueerde' or 'geretuceerde' paintings. One exception is Rembrandt's own inventory. Virtually all the paintings listed there bear the name of an artist, and more than half the stock had been produced in Rembrandt's own workshop. Noteworthy exceptions include a seascape completed by Hendrick Anthonisz. – had it been begun by Porcellis? – and a painting by someone Rembrandt was unable to name.[156] Perhaps the attributions to Italian masters are open to question.[157] The inventory lists seven copies: apart from the two after Carracci, there are one after Adriaen Brouwer, one after Jan Lievens and three after Rembrandt himself. In addition, there were six paintings retouched by him and two overpainted by him.[158]

To this latter group belong three Vanitas still lifes which were described as 'geretukeert', or retouched, by Rembrandt.[159] Two of these works turn up again as Rembrandts in inventories of 1678 and 1710, and another in a catalogue of 1731. The inventory of the estate left by the collector Herman Becker in 1678 lists one painting as 'eenig stilleven sijnde een vanitas van Rembrant van Rijn' (a still life being a Vanitas by Rembrandt van Rijn).[160] Although the inventory lists originals and copies, and several times a piece is said to be in the 'manier' (manner) of a certain painter – namely Rembrandt (twice), Cornelis van Poelenburch, (Philips) Wouwerman, Jacob Pynas, 'Verburgh', Jan Lievens and Hercules Segers – it is likely that the still life was one of Rembrandt's retouched workshop pieces. One of the other Vanitas pieces in Rembrandt's inventory may be identical to 'een vanitas met een luyt leggende op een tafel van Rembrandt' (a Vanitas with a lute lying on a table by Rembrandt) in an Amsterdam estate of 1710.[161] This still life was appraised by Jan Pietersz. Zomer at 15 guilders and it is safe to assume that the attribution was by him as well. The same notarial act refers to a painting of Christ and John 'verbetert van Oratius Paulijn' (improved by Oratius Paulijn) – the observation of an art expert rather than a notary. In the division of the estate, all the paintings and prints were allotted to Cornelis Wittert, a leading art collector. In the catalogue for the posthumous sale of his collection, this still life turns up again as 'een Vanitas met een luit, door Rembrant van Ryn' (a Vanitas with a lute, by Rembrandt van Rijn).[162]

Contemporary inventories very rarely list works as being either by a pupil of Rembrandt or done in his style. Four examples can be given of work being said to be by pupils.[163] In one case, the name of the pupil was known to the son of the first owner, an indication that the painting (by Willem Drost) was primarily regarded as a product of the workshop of this pupil's master, Rembrandt. I know of only one example of a painting being described as done in Rembrandt's style. An inventory of 1720 mentions a 'stervende rijke man, trant van Rembrand' (rich man dying, style of Rembrandt). At the auction which followed shortly after the inventory was compiled, this painting was offered as a work by (Samuel) van Hoogstraten![164]

On the basis of the sources discussed here, it can be concluded, I believe, that in the 17th century there was a growing desire to own works identified as being by a particular artist, and painted entirely by his hand. This did not apply, however, to the lower classes, who made

155 P. Schatborn, 'Van Rembrandt tot Crozat. Vroege verzamelingen met tekeningen van Rembrandt', *N.K.J.* 32 (1981), pp. 1-54, esp. 3 and 21. Another album contained drawings that were described as 'extra puyk van Rembrant Originale' (extra fine originals by Rembrandt), ibid., p. 22.

156 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, nos. 29 (see also note 28 above) and 102, by 'een onbekent meester' (an unknown master).

157 Lugt, op. cit.[3], p. 112, wondered whether the names under which they were listed in Rembrandt's inventory were all correct. The modest prices sometimes fetched by 'Italian' paintings at auction suggest that they were not originals; striking examples are given in Lugt (op. cit., pp. 132-133, especially note 71). In the case of Rembrandt's estate, we may question the two works attributed to Palma Vecchio and Giorgione. In 1658 the DBK paid out 32 guilders and 5 stuivers to De la Tombe, who owned half of both paintings, see Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, nos. 34 and 109 and 1658/26, 27 and 28. This amount is far too small for these to have been undisputed originals by the masters named.

158 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, nos. 25, 27, 28, 33, 120, 123, 295 and 301. A newly discovered document concerns a portrait of a woman, being a copy of a portrait done by Rembrandt and retouched by him ('gecopieert na dat van Rembrant en door hem geretorqueert'), J. van der Veen, 'Onbekende opdrachtgevers van Rembrandt. Jacomo Borchgraeff en Maria van Uffelen en hun portretten door Rembrandt, Jonson van Ceulen, Van Zijl, Van Mol en Jacob Backer', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 1998, pp. 14-31.

159 Jouderville was one of the pupils who painted such still lifes. An Amsterdam estate contained 'een vanitas, sijnde een dootshooft van Soederwiel' (a Vanitas, being a skull by Jouderville), GAA, not. P. de Bary, NA 1714, pp. 361-375, dd. 16 October-11 November 1660, esp. 373. Compare with this 'een dootshooft, van Rembrant overschildert' (a skull, overpainted by Rembrandt), Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 295.

160 GAA, not. S. Pelgrom, NA 4767, pp. 324-378, dd. 19 October-23 November 1678; and H.J. Postma, 'De Amsterdamse verzamelaar Herman Becker (ca. 1617-1678); nieuwe gegevens over een geldschieter van Rembrandt', *O.H.* 102 (1988), pp. 1-21, esp. 17.

161 GAA, not. C. van Achthoven, NA 6417, act 383, pp. 871-901, dd. 24 November 1710, esp. 891.

162 *Catalogus van een overheerlyk en genoegzaem vorstelyk kabinet konstige en plaizante schilderyen .. byeen verzamelt door den Heere van Valkenburg..*, Rotterdam 1731, p. 7, no. 72. A handwritten note in the margin gives a price of 15 guilders.

163 Namely in 1657, 1676 (twice) and in 1712, see note 142 above and the review by J. Bruyn of Sumowski *Gemälde* I, *O.H.* 98 (1984), pp. 146-162, esp. note 39.

164 GAA, not. D. van Liebergen, NA 6301, act 11(I), dd. 4 November 1720-2 February 1721; Hoet I, p. 257, no. 14: 'De stervende Rykeman, door Hoogstraten f 21:-:-' (the dying Rich Man, by Hoogstraten f 21:-:-). Note that in 1656 Rembrandt possessed 'een rijcke man van Palma Vetio' (a Rich Man by Palma Vecchio), Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 34. In sales catalogues one finds several references to paintings done in the manner of Rembrandt, for example by Govert Flinck and Gerbrand van den Eeckhout. The inventory of the painter Cornelis Dusart lists a man's head by Rembrandt, which is described in the sales catalogue as in 'de trant' (the style) of Rembrandt. Another study of a head mentioned in the inventory is qualified with 'soo men meent' (as is thought to be by Rembrandt), whereas the sales catalogue calls it 'de trant van Rembrant' (the style of Rembrandt), Br. *Künstler-Inv.* I, pp. 45 and 46.

do with cheap, mass-produced paintings by artists whose names would usually not have been known to the purchaser. In the preceding pages the main focus has been on archival material relating to the question of authenticity as such. The number of documents known to date is not very large, but their diverse nature suggests that contemporaries took a lively interest in this question.

It is clear from certain sources that various painters in both the Southern and Northern Netherlands put their signature on work painted by assistants under their supervision. In productive workshops the monogram must have had the function of a trade mark, a hallmark avant-la-lettre. It is not easy to determine what a signature on a work of art meant to contemporaries. Inventory compilers read inscriptions on paintings and sometimes copied them down, but that does not necessarily mean that they regarded a monogram or signature as 'proof' of authorship. One would expect art lovers to have been aware of artists' prevailing workshop practice. Yet it is apparent from one case that a signature – that of Evert van Aelst – on a still life was seen by a contemporary as an indication that the work was actually painted by him. The interest in the names of artists is reflected in probate inventories, where, especially from the 1630s onwards, these names are given. In several cases the inventory compilers distinguished between copies and originals, and thought it necessary to express doubts as to an attribution. Also after about 1630, artists were more frequently brought in to appraise paintings, and careful attention was paid to attributions. It was not uncommon for the artists to 'correct' the attributions made by a notary or someone else.

Tension gradually developed between normal workshop practice and the expectations of buyers as regards authenticity, and this became especially palpable around the middle of the 17th century. Rembrandt must also have been conscious that some buyers had a preference for work by particular painters, and done wholly by their own hand. He himself was closely involved in a controversial case about a supposed painting by Paul Bril. In Rembrandt's inventory of 1656, for which he himself must have dictated the items for the compiler, a distinction is made between autograph work and paintings from his workshop which Rembrandt retouched or overpainted. In addition, however, there are specific examples of paintings being attributed to him which were only partly or not at all by his hand. We have no documents on the use or significance of Rembrandt's signature. Judging by surviving paintings which are presently regarded as workshop pieces and which bear his signature, it seems as if Rembrandt (occasionally?) authenticated work by his assistants with his name. We also cannot rule out the possibility that assistants put Rembrandt's signature on their work, presumably with his approval. There are numerous indications that, soon after they were sold, copies made in Rembrandt's workshop passed as work by the master. As was said earlier, Rembrandt himself may have contributed to this confusion. In any event, over the course of time a great deal of specific knowledge about paintings and artists was lost. The distinction between original and copy continued to be made as sharply, but the subtle difference between an entirely autograph work and a retouched workshop piece was rarely recognised towards the end of the 17th century, or was glossed over by auctioneers for commercial reasons.

Northern Netherlandish Documents from the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century in which the importance of the (supposed) makers of paintings is expressed, included here in Dutch with an English summary

[1] Haarlem, Archiefdienst voor Kennemerland, not. W. van Triere, NA 77, fol. 45r-v, dd. 24 februari 1606; *O.H.* 34 (1916), pp. 161-162 en J.G.C.A. Briels, *De Zuidnederlandse immigratie in Amsterdam en Haarlem 1572-1630*, Utrecht 1976, pp. 224 en 230, doc. Y

Jan de Vos, ongeveer 38 jaar oud, Andries de Vos, ongeveer 37 jaar, Pieter Ruyschout, 28 jaar, 'alle ingesetenen deser stadt Haerlem', verklaren op het verzoek van Henrick Cornelis van Leeuwen, 'goudsmith', dat zij op 17 januari laatstleden 'in den herberge van 't Vergulden Vlies binnen des[er] stadt Haerlem present ende jegenwoordich sijn geweest ten tijde Michiel de Fort, wonende te Amsterdam verruylde ende vercochte aen de voorsz. Henrick van Leeuwen, requirant, seeckere twee stucken schilderijen, daer denselven Henrick aengaff een ander stucxken schilderije met een vergulden koppe ende seecker gelde, ende sulx perfectel. gehoort, verstaen ende onthouden heeft, dat den voorsz. Michiel de Fort den voorn. zijne twee stucken schilderij[e]n den voorn. Henrick van Leeuwen toeseyden ende belooffde te leveren voor principaele stucken [doorgehaald: 'daer geen copien naer gemaeckt en waeren'] ende gemaeckt te sijn 't eene van [Abraham] Bloemaert tot Utrecht ende 't ander van [Gillis van] Conincxloo, sonder yemanden anders als d'voorsz. twee meesters aen de voorsz. twee stucken te hebben gearbeyt, nochte dat daervan eenige copien bij anderen gemaeckt souden zijn. Met sulcke bespreck bij de voorsz. Henrick van Leeuwen bedongen ende expressel. bij de voorn. Michiel de Fort belooft, dat zoo verre t'eeniger tijt bevonden werden, dat de voorn. sijne verruyl[d]e twee stucken schilderijen bij de voorsz. twee meesters selver niet gemaeckt off bij anderen gecopieert waeren, dat hij Henrick in sulcken gevalle deselve twee stucken om nyet hebben, ende op elx noch daerenboven zes ponden Vlaems aen gelde. Daerop den voorsz. coop ende reuylinge bij den voorn. partijen aengegaen ende ten wederzijden de leverantie in hun getuygen bijwesen gevolcht is.'

(At the request of the goldsmith Henrick Cornelis van Leeuwen, three individuals stated that they were recently at an inn in Haarlem at which time Michiel de Fort agreed to exchange two paintings for one small painting, a gilded cup and an (undisclosed) amount of money with the aforementioned Van Leeuwen. De Fort promised to deliver *principaele stucken* (original works), one by (Abraham) Bloemaert, the other by (Gillis van) Conincxloo. It was stipulated that the paintings had to be by the two painters in question and, furthermore, that the paintings were not allowed to be copied. Should the paintings prove not to be by the masters concerned or to have been copied by others, Van Leeuwen would receive them free of charge plus an additional 36 guilders per work. The paintings were exchanged under these conditions.)

[2] GAA, not. Jac. Jansz. Westfrisius, NA 545(A), pp. 33 en 34, dd. 29 mei 1614; Br. *Künstler-Inv.* VI, pp. 2172-2173 en Briels, op. cit. (doc. 1), pp. 266 en 268

Op het verzoek van Willem Benninck, notaris te Amsterdam, heeft notaris Westfrisius zich in gezelschap van Hans Rem en Jacob [doorgehaald: 'Adriaen'] van Nieulandt, 'beyde schilders', begeven naar het huis van Jan van Bronchorst in de St.Nicolaasstraat. Op 28 november 1612 had Benninck aan hem verkocht 'sestien stucken schilderijen, onder dewelcken de voorsz. Bronchorst sustineert hem vercoft te sijn dertyen [doorgehaald: 'princ...'] stucken, gedaen bij soodaenigen meesters als den voorsz. Benninck narreert in seeckere lijste daervan, soo onder den voorsz. Bronhorst als hem Wilhem Benninck elxs een copie is berustende [..], bij den genomineerden meesters niet gedaen sijn'. Aan Van Bronchorst wordt gevraagd de verkochte zestien schilderijen aan Hans Rem en Jacob van Nieulandt te tonen 'omme d'selven bij henluyden gevisiteert, geoirdeelt ende verclaert te werden bij wyen d'selven gedaen ende geschildert zijn. Waerop de voorsz. Jan van Bronchorst ter antwoort gaff: "ick houde mij aen [de] sententie van schepenen, bin oock noch niet van meining dieselve te laten seen"'. Aangezien Benninck de bewuste schilderijen 'al over jaer ende dach vercoft ofte verseth hadde' maar de koper tot dusverre had nagelaten te betalen, laat Benninck tegen de gang van zaken protest aantekenen.

(At the request of the Amsterdam notary Willem Benninck, notary Westfrisius went to the house of Jan van Bronchorst in the St. Nicolaasstraat accompanied by the painters Hans Rem and Jacob van Nieulandt. Benninck had sold 16 paintings to Van Bronchorst on 28 November 1612. Van Bronchorst asserted that 13 of the 16 paintings were not by the masters under whose names they were sold to him. He was requested to show the paintings to Hans Rem and Jacob van Nieulandt so that they could determine the identity of their makers. Van Bronchorst's response was: 'I will abide by the pronouncement of the aldermen and have no intention of showing you the paintings.' As the paintings had long been delivered, but not paid for, Benninck lodged a complaint against this state of affairs.)

[3] GAA, not. P. Mathijsz., NA 457, p. 458, dd. 23 oktober 1615

Michiel de Fort, poorter van Amsterdam, verklaart op het verzoek van Ambrosius Bosschaert, dat hij ongeveer vier jaar geleden te Amsterdam 'gecoft heeft [doorgehaald: 'hadde'] een tronye van Ste. Jeroen, wesende 't selve soo de vercooper seyde het eygen werck van mr.Bloemert, ende dat hij getuyge deselve tronye daernae weder vercoft heeft voor principael aen eenen Joris de Kammer, woonachtich tot Middelburch, voor de som[m]e van thien ponden Vl[aam]s, welcke voorsz. tronye daernaer bevonden geweest is maer een copie te sijn wt het principael werck van mr.Bloemert, sulx hij get. van de voorsz. Kam[me]r. daernaer weder heeft moeten goet doen den voorsz. somme van thien ponden Vl[aam]s'.

(At the request of Ambrosius Bosschaert, Michiel de Fort states that he had bought a *Hieronymous* in Amsterdam approximately four years earlier. The seller informed him that the work was by master Bloemaert. De Fort subsequently sold the painting as an original for 60 guilders. It later appeared that the painting was merely a copy of a *principaal* (original) by Bloemaert, whereupon De Fort was required to return the purchase sum to the buyer.)

[4] GA Bergen op Zoom, not. A. Molkeman, NA 6, dd. 4 november 1615; L.J. Bol, *The Bosschaert dynasty. Painters of flowers and fruit*, Leigh-on-Sea 1960, pp. 27-28

Ambrosius Bosschaert, wonende te Bergen op Zoom, verklaart voor Jan Knibbe, koopman te Middelburg, dat hij deponent 'een blompot die de voorn. producent vercocht heeft aen Hans de la Toor, coopman tot Amsterdam [..] met sijn eygen hant gemaect heeft, sonder datter yemant anders de hant aen gehadt ofte gewerct heeft. Ende belangende den anderen blompot die denselven Hans de la Toor mede gecocht heeft van de voorn. producent wel is gemaect bij Hans van der Ast, swager des voorsz. deponents, maer dat hij deponent selve den voorsz. blompot heeft geretocqueert ende overschildert'. Als getuigen tekenden Willem Nicolaj en de schilder Balthasar van der Ast.

(At the request of Jan Knibbe, a merchant in Middelburg, Ambrosius Bosschaert states that the flower still-life that Knibbe sold to Hans de la Toor, a merchant in Amsterdam, was made by him and that no one else was involved in its production. Another flower piece, likewise sold by Knibbe to De la Toor, was made by Hans van der Ast, Bosschaert's brother-in-law, but was retouched and overpainted by Ambrosius. The statement was co-signed by the painter Balthasar van der Ast.)

[5a] GAA, not. P. Ruttens, NA 611, dd. 15 november 1617

Hans Rem, Abraham Decker en Lucas Luce, 'schilders deser stede', verklaren op het verzoek van de koopman Daniel van Geel, dat zij enige dagen geleden ten huize van Van Geel zijn geweest en aldaar hebben 'gevisiteert twee stuxkens schilderije, beyde op coperen platen geschildert, wesende perspectiven, tempels, d'een den dach ende d'ander een nacht, groot sijnde gel. mette lijsten omtrent twee voeten, dewelcke sijlied[en] wel besien ende geëxamineert hebben, oordelen deselve maer te wesen copy ende gheen principale[n] [doorgehaald: 'bij'] die bij Hendr[ick] van Steenwijck, schilder tegenwoordich in Engelant, souden wesen gemaeckt'.

[5b] ibid., dd. 25 november 1617; Br. *Künstler-Inv.* VII, p. 167; Briels, op. cit. (doc. 1), pp. 268-269

Carlo Heldewier, 28 jaar oud, Isaac Coymans, 27 jaar, 'cooplieden' en Adriaen van Nieulandt, 'schilder', allen woonachtig te Amsterdam, verklaren op het verzoek van Daniel van Geel, 'mede coopman alhier', dat zij in september j.l. aanwezig waren ten huize van Jaques van Hanswyck toen Van Geel van Anthoni Goetkint, 'coopman van schil[derijen] tot Antwerpen, heeft gecocht twee coperen stucken schilderij, wesende twee kercken in perspective, d'eene een dagh ende d'ander een nacht, welcke schilderijen den voorsz. Goetkindt den producent finalijck[en] [..] heeft vercocht beyde voor principale, ende die gemaeckt souden wesen mette eygen handen van Hendr[ick] van Steenwijck, schilder tegenwoordich wesende tot Londen ende dat hij deselve daervoren heeft goet ende vast toegeseyt'.

(At the request of the merchant Daniel van Geel, the painters Hans Rem, Abraham Decker and Lucas Luce state that they saw two small paintings on copper of temples in perspective in Van Geel's house. They are of the opinion that both works are copies rather than *principalen* (originals) by Hendrick van Steenwijck, presently active in England. Two merchants and the painter Adriaen van Nieulandt state that they were present when Van Geel purchased the paintings in question from Anthoni Goetkint, dealer in paintings in Antwerp. Goetkint called both works originals made by Hendrick van Steenwijck, currently working as a painter in London.)

[6a] GAA, not. W. Cluijt, NA 349(A), fol. 213v-214, dd. 25 november 1619; *O.H.* 4 (1886), pp. 7-8 and *O.H.* 8 (1890), p. 204

Bernard van Someren, 47 jaar oud, Willem van den Bundel, 43 jaar, Pieter Lastman, 36 jaar, Adriaen van Nieulandt, 33 jaar en Louys du Pret, 30 jaar, 'alle gerenommeerde schilders

wonende binnen deser stede', verklaren op het verzoek van Jacob van Nieulandt, 'als last hebbende van Franchoys Segers, wonende tot Antwerpen [..] dat het stuck schilderij, namentlijck een crucificx van St.Andries, 't welck bij Franchoys Segers voorn. van Pieter de Wit gecocht is, naer haer getuyges ooch ende beste wetenschap is een principael van Michael Angelo Caravagio, daer vooren zij getuygen 't zelve stuck oock zijn houdende, seggende oversulcx 't selve 't stuck een principael van de voorsz. d'Angelo te wesen. 't Gene voorsz. staet presenteerden zij getuygen des versocht zijnde naerder bij eede te verclaren'.
[6b] ibid., fol. 214v-215, dd. 26 november 1619; *O.H.* 4 (1886), pp. 7-8

Pieter de Wit, 'coopman' te Amsterdam, 34 jaar oud, verklaart op het verzoek van Jacob van Nieulandt, 'last hebbende van Franchoys Segers, wonende tot Antwerpen [..] hoe waer is, dat ontrent twe jaren geleden [..] hij getuyge in openbare opveylinge ten huyse van wijlen Abraham Vinck van de erffgenamen van Loys Vincon za: gecocht heeft seecker stuck schilderij, wesende een St.Andries' cruysinge, 't welck bij den vercopers voor principael van Michael Angelo Caravagio vercocht ende bij hem getuyge voor principael oock gecocht is geweest, gelijck mede 't zelve stuck bij de schilders aldaer vergadert voor een principael van de voorsz. d'Angelo wierde gehouden, welcke voorsz. stuck schilderije hij getuyge verclaert naderhant aen de voorsz. Franchoys Segers vercocht te hebben. Alle 't welck hij getuyge verclaerde te zijn waerachtich, presenterende 't zelve des noot ende daertoe versocht zijnde naerder bij eede solemneel te verclaren.'

(Bernard van Someren, Willem van den Bundel, Pieter Lastman, Adriaen van Nieulandt and Louis du Pret, all renowned painters, state at the request of Jacob van Nieulandt, acting on behalf of François Segers, residing in Antwerp, that in their opinion a *Crucifixion of St Andrew*, a painting Segers purchased from Pieter de Wit, is a *principaal* (original) by Caravaggio. A day later, Pieter de Wit, a merchant in Amsterdam, states at the request of Jacob van Nieulandt that about two years earlier he had purchased a *Crucifixion of St Andrew* from the inheritors of Louis Finson at a public sale at the house of the late Abraham Vinck, which at the time was presented to him as a *principaal* by Caravaggio. On that occasion, the attending painters took the painting for a Caravaggio. De Wit subsequently sold the painting to Segers.)

[7] Utrecht, Utrechts Archief, not. C. Verduyn, NA U009a009, fol. 50-52v, dd. 29 april 1623 (o.s.); M.J. Bok, 'On the origins of the Flute Player in Utrecht Caravaggesque painting', in: R. Klessmann (ed.), *Hendrick ter Brugghen und die Nachfolger Caravaggios in Holland*, Braunschweig 1987, pp. 135-141

De notaris verklaart dat hij met twee getuigen is geweest ten huize van Herman van Vollenhoven, 'schilder ende borger alhier t'Utrecht', aan wie hij een op 29 maart 1623 te Antwerpen opgestelde verklaring heeft voorgelezen, die als volgt luidt. Ten overstaan van de Antwerpse notaris Gillis de Kimpe had François Segers, 'suyckerbacker' aldaar, verklaard dat 'hij over eenige maenden gecocht heeft van Herman van Vollenhoven, schildere woonende tot Wttrecht, eene geschilderde troignie, wesende eenen pijper, hebbende deselve Vollenhoven hem comparant toegeseyt, gelijck oock gedaen heeft Robrecht Nole, beeltsnijdere alhier, door wyens intercessie den voorsz. coop geschiet is, dat de voorschreve troignie soude geschildert sijn bij Antonio Corregio. Ende dat hij comparant bevonden hebbende dat deselve troignie bij eenen Georgioni emmers nyet bij den voirschreven Corregio soude geschildert wesen, hij de voirschreven troignie heeft laten visiteren bij de dekens ende oude dekens van Ste. Lucasgulde alhier op henne camere vergadert wesende, alwaer volgende henne attestatie dyenaengaende op gisteren gegeven bij den dienenden deken ende oudermans derselver gulde bevonden ende gewesen is, dat de voorsz. troignie van de voorsz. Corregio nyet geschildert en is'. Daarom verzoekt Segers aan Vollenhoven en De Nole ('den welcken hij verstaet daerinne mede verbonden te wesen') teruggave van de driehonderd gulden die hij als koopsom 'van den voorschreven troignie (aleer hij deselve oyt hadde gesien) heeft doen tellen, zijnde daertegen bereet de voorschreven troignie te restitueren'. Deze verklaring is overhandigd aan De Nole, die antwoordde dat 'hij de voorsz. troignie vercocht hadde op de brieven van den voirsz. Herman van Vollenhoven ende anders off voorder nyet'. Op de hem voorgelezen insinuatie antwoordde Van Vollenhoven, dat 'd'voorsz. troignie well voor 't werck van Corregio vercoft was ende bij hem ende een yder daervoor altijts gehouden is geweest, maer dat hij d'selve aen den voorn. insinuant nyet voor Corregio heeft wyllen vercopen [verbeterd uit: 'heeft vercoft'; erachter is doorgehaald: 'maer alleene'], nochte daervoor willen goet houden ende dat wt diverse brieven bij hem geïnsinueerde aen den insinuant geschreven oock nyet anders en sal blijcken dan dat hij geïnsinueerde 't selve voor een schoon stuck gepresen, maer geensints voor Corregio willen vercoopen, veel min vercoft, ofte willen goet houden heeft ende dat hij wt die oorsaecke oock d'geprojecteerde quictantie, bij den insinuant aen den geïnsinueerde eerstmaell overgesonden, nyet en heeft willen teyckenen, vermits hij insinuant daerinne hadde doen stellen [doorgestreept in de minuut: 'dat het p[ri]n[cip]aell ofte oreginaell van Corregio was, maer hem insinuant aengeschreven dat hij sulcx nimmermeer doen, nochte daervoor instaen wilde ende soo hij doen noch berouw hadde dat hij affgaen mochte, doch dat hij insinuant daernaer met andere quictantie sich gecontenteert ende de troignie sulcx die was ernstelyck begeert ende aengenomen heeft, soo dat hij insinuant als nu sich nyet en heeft te beclagen ofte jegens den geïnsinueerde te protesteren. Versoeckende voorts hij geïnsinueerde copie van den voorsz. acte ende mede van den attestatie van die van St. Lucasgilde tot Antwerpen'] dat hij geïnsinueerde 't selve voor 't p[ri]n[cip]aell soude goet doen ende tot Antwerpen soude geoordeelt worden, 't welck hij [doorgehaald: 'insinuant'] geïnsinueerde expresselyck nyet en heeft begeert, maer heeft hem tot Antwerpen aengewesen eenige van de beste schilders ende lieffhebbers die des grondich verstaen ende d'voorsz. troignie t'zijnen huyse ende elders gesien hadden, dat hij aen haer mochte vernemen wat daeraff was. Ende in sooverre hij hem nyet en hieldde gecontenteert, dat hij hem insinuant op zijn vrije voeten stelden ende daeromme nyet meer en soude schrijven, want hij geen moeyten en begeerden. Ende off se aldaer geoordeelt worden voor Corregio ofte yemants anders, dat hij evenwell tevreden moste wesen, blijckende bij verscheyden quictantien ende den geïnsinueerde heeft terugge gesonden totdat hij insinuant van alle pretensien ophielde. Meynende hij geïnsinueerde hiermede voldaen te hebben ende dat den insinuant hem behoorde te vergenoegen ende niet te beclagen, veell min te protesteren. Begerende hij geïnsinueerde dit aldus voor [doorgehaald: 'antwoort'] relatie gegeven te werden.'

(A Utrecht notary states that he read a document drawn up on 29 March 1623 in Antwerp to the painter Herman van Vollenhoven. According to this declaration a few months earlier Van Vollenhoven had sold a *Flute Player* to François Segers, which the seller said had been painted by Correggio. This was confirmed by the sculptor Robrecht de Nole. Upon learning that the work was by Giorgione, Segers presented it

for assessment to the deans and former deans of the St Luke's Guild of Antwerp. According to them, the work was not by Correggio. Accordingly, Segers requested a reimbursement of 300 guilders, the sum he had paid for the painting. At the time, the price of the painting had been established without Segers having had an opportunity of seeing it. Van Vollenhoven responded that the work had always been considered and traded as a work by Correggio, but that he had not wanted to sell it as such to Segers. In letters to Segers, Van Vollenhoven had merely spoken of a beautiful work. This is why he had been unwilling to sign the receipt sent to him by Segers, which stated that it was an original by Correggio.)

[8] GAA, not. W. Cluijt, NA 351(A), fol. 129r-v, dd. 14 juni 1624

Guilliame Wittebroot, koopman en Franschoijs van Uffelen, schilder, wonende te Amsterdam, verklaren ten verzoeke van Jacques van der Lamen, 'mede schilder alhier', dat zij in januari l.l. aanwezig waren toen 'de producent in openbare vercoopinge, gedaen door Gerrit Jacobsz., knecht van de Weescamer binnen deser voorsz. stede, gecocht heeft een seecker stuck schilderije, wesende de historie van Upsigge [Psyche?] voor de somme van 66 car. guldens ende dat alsdoen Joan Latoor, juwelier die alsdoen den meestendeel uytriep ende de schilderijen op 't hoochste prees, expressel. seyde ende verclaerde dattet selve stuck schilderije was een principael gemaeckt door Vincentius Coebergen. Verclaren voorts sij getuygen mede seer wel te weten dattet voorsz. stuck schilderije niet en is 't princepael van de voorsz. Coebergen, maer dattet selve is een copye naer 't princepael gecopieert, alsoo sij goede kennisse van schilderijen sijn hebbende. d'Voorsz. sr. Wittebroot verclaerde alleen voor affirmatyve redenen het princepael stuck van de voorsz. Coelbergen gesien te hebben ten huyse van Pieter Breugel, schilder tot Antwerpen. Ten lesten verclaren sij getuygen noch dat de producent ten tijde hij 't voorsz. stuck schilderije cochte, gestaen heeft op den Dam voor de deure alwaer de vercoopinge geschiede, sulcx dat hij bequamel. niet conde sien, te meer dewijle het tegens de avont ginck'.

(At the request of the painter Jacques van der Lamen, the merchant Guilliame Wittebroot and the painter François van Uffelen state that in January last they were present when Van der Lamen purchased a painting (a *Psyche*?) for 66 guilders at a public sale. On this occasion, the jeweller Joan Latoor [Hans le Thor], who served as auctioneer and praised the paintings highly, had emphatically stated that the painting in question was a *principaal* (original) by Vincent van Coebergen. Both declare that they know full well that this is not the case, but rather that it is a copy after the *principaal*. They believe that they are knowledgeable about painting. Wittebroot states that he had actually seen the *principaal* by Coebergen in the house of the painter Pieter Brueghel in Antwerp. Finally, they declare that Van der Lamen had not been able to get a good look at the painting during the sale, particularly because it was almost dark by then.)

[9] GAA, not. J. Jacobs, NA 395, fol. 82-84, dd. 2 augustus 1627

Martin du Gardin, koopman en Hans le Thoor, juwelier komen tot de volgende overeenkomst. Le Thoor heeft in 1624 een obligatie van 1029 ponden, 4 schellingen en 4 groten Vlaams gepasseerd ten behoeve van Martin du Gardin 'met speciale verbintenisse van alle de juweelen, schilderijen ende andere dingen, begrepen in de specificatie te desen annex, bij denselven Hans le Thoor als sijn eygen goederen sijnde aen den voorn. Du Gardyn als pandt metter minne in handen gestelt'. Ze komen hierbij overeen dat Martin du Gardin voor de genoemde obligatie met de rente zal behouden een partij juwelen, schilderijen en andere zaken, waarmee tevens een schepenkennis van 400 ponden Vlaams van 5 oktober 1620 zal zijn voldaan. De goederen staan beschreven in een 'facture van jewellen ende schilderijen mij toebehoorende die sr. Martijn de Gardijn in handen heeft tot verseeckeringe van 't geene hem schuldich was per obligatie'. Daarin worden genoemd 'seven [sic] stucken schilderijen, vijff van Bartellemij Spranger ende dry van Hans van Achen, oprechte principaelen die mij tot Brussel ingekoft staen ter somme van gl. 2700 contant, compt hier gl. 2700:-:-; noch eenen bloempodt gedaen van Ambrosius Boschardt sijnde een oprechte principael daer af men attestatie eijssen kan, cost mij ingekoft tot Middelborch 60 £ Vlaams, compt gl. f 360:-:-; noch een paradijsken met de penne gedaen van Symon Severins, hoogh duyts ende cost mij hier in Amsterdam ingekoft 12 £ Vlaams gl. f 72:-:-; noch eenen grootten agaet daer een lieve vrau natuerlick in gewassen is ende met oppallen rondom gesiert ende met silver verguldt tracy gegarniseert, cost ontrent hondert pondt, gl. f 600:-:-' en nog enige juwelen en agaten.

(In 1624, the jeweller Hans le Thor had drawn up an acknowledgement of debt to the merchant Martin du Gardin putting up as collateral jewels, paintings and other valuables. They now agree that as repayment of this loan Du Gardin may keep several jewels and paintings. Moreover, a loan of 1620 is also herewith settled. Among other items, the invoice lists five paintings by Bartholomeus Spranger and three by Hans van Achen, *oprechte principalen* (genuine originals), for which Le Thor paid 2700 guilders in Brussels, and a flower still life by Ambrosius Bosschaert, which he purchased for 360 guilders in Middelburg. That the latter is also a genuine original could, if so desired, be verified with a written statement.)

[10] GAA, not. W. Cluijt, NA 371, fol. 30r-v, dd. 27 februari 1630; *O.H.* 4 (1886), p. 9

Charles de Coninck, 'coopman' te Middelburg, verkoopt aan Jacob van Nieulandt 'een stuck schilderie, gedaen bij mr.Louys Vincon za: naer 't principael gedaen bij wijlen Michiel d'Angelo de Crawachy za: wesende een Uytdeelinge van de Paternoster aen de Preeckheeren' voor 600 gulden, te betalen binnen zes weken of binnen twee maanden nadat het schilderij aan Van Nieulandt is geleverd, 'met deze expresse conditie dat 't voorsz. stuck schilderie sal moeten sijn 't selve stuck 't welk (als geseyt is) bij den voorsz. Louwys Vincon is gedaen, 't welck sal staen ter judicature van Pieter Lasman, Adriaen Nieulant ende Franchoys Veenant, alle schilders binnen deeser stede [..], dan verstaen werdende dat 't voorsz. stuck [..] nyet en is daervoor 't selve gehouden ende vercocht wert, soo sal dese coope te nyet sijn [..]'. Mocht het schilderij binnen veertien dagen door de schoonmoeder van de verkoper te Brugge of elders worden verkocht 'ende de coop mitsdyen te nyet sijnde, sal d'voorsz. Nyeulant in 't gelach betalen zes gls, gelijck de vercooper tegenwoordich op dit gelach van gelijcken zes gls. betalen sal, doch de cooper aengaende zal de voorsz. Van Nyeulant tot bevestinge van dyen insgelijcx ses gls. betalen'.

(Charles de Coninck, merchant in Middelburg, sells a painting by Louis Finson after the *principaal* (original) by Caravaggio, namely *Handing Out the Rosary to the Dominican Friars* to Jacob van Nieulandt. The purchase price of 600 guilders must be paid within two months after the painting has been delivered to Van Nieulandt on the condition that it is a work by Finson after Caravaggio. Should the painters Pieter Lastman, Adriaen van Nieulandt and François Venant be of the opinion that this is not the case, the sale of the painting will be cancelled. Should the painting be sold within 14 days by the

mother-in-law of the seller in Bruges or elsewhere, whereby the transaction will no longer take place, Van Nieulandt will have to pay six guilders.)

[11] GA Leiden, Oud Rechterlijk Archief, Vredemakersboeken, inv. no. 47, vol. V, fol. 18, dd. 18 augustus en 1 september 1634; Br. *Künstler-Inv.* VII, p. 179; Briels, op. cit. (doc. 1), p. 280, noot 20

Jeremias de Haen eist van Pieter Joostensz. Warmont betaling 'van de somme van dertich guls. over coope van een stuc schilderije. De gedaechde gehoort, seyde dat hij het stuck schilderije hadde gecoft op conditie dat het bij Jan Porcelles moste sijn geschildert. Door faulte van accoordes partijen de wech totte justitie geopent'.

(Jeremias de Haen demands 30 guilders from Pieter Joostensz. Warmont in payment for the painting he sold to him. The latter responds that he purchased it on the condition that it was a painting by Jan Porcellis. As the parties are unable to reach an agreement, the case is brought before the aldermen.)

[12] GAA, not. J. van der Hoeven, NA 1641, dd. 27 februari 1641

Joan Rietvelt, 30 jaar oud en Jeuriaen van Borset, 26 jaar, leggen op het verzoek van de 'ebbenhoutwercker' Willem Jongel de volgende verklaring af. Van Borset is op 19 februari j.l. in het huis van de producent [=Jongel] geweest, alwaar hij gehoord heeft 'dat seeckere parsoon, mede ten voorsz. huyse sijnde, aen de producent geveylt heeft seecker stuck schilderij, 't welck geen hij seyde te willen vercoope[n], dat het selve van Albordur [Albrecht Dürer] geschildert was; ende sulcx soo bevonden soude werde off dat [anders] de coop van geender waerde soude sijn'. Rietvelt verklaart dat deze persoon aan hem het bewuste schilderij 'tot verscheyden maelen in presentie van diverse ander lieden geveylt heeft te vercoopen voor een stuck geschildert bij Albordur'.

(At the request of the joiner Willem Jongel, it is stated that someone offered Jongel a painting supposedly by Albrecht Dürer. Were this not to be the case, the sale would be cancelled. In the presence of various other individuals, the man had stated several times that he intended to sell the painting as a work by Dürer.)

[13] GA Leiden, not. D. Jansz. van Vesanevelt, NA 349, akte 35, dd. 12 juni 1641; *O.H.* 26 (1908), p. 68; Strauss *Doc.*, 1641/2

Cornelis Pietersz. van Thoornwijck, burger van Leiden, 50 jaar oud, verklaart op het verzoek van Bartholomeus Buijs van Woeringen, brouwer te Leiden, dat 'in de laetste Meytsche kermis binnen der voorsz. steede hij deposant geweest es ten huyse van den requirant voornomt, alwaer denselven requirant in handelinge off reuylinge was [doorgehaald: 'geweest es'] met seeckren schilder die alsdoen met sijne schilderijen ende coopmanschappen voorgestaen heeft op 't Raedthuys aen de deur van de voorsz. stede Weescamer [doorgehaald: 'soo dat den requirant voornt. met de/aen de voorsz. schilder in sijne deposants presentie als voorn. in de reuylinge off handelinge was met, gereuylt heeft twee'] nopende eenige stucken schilderijs jegens een stuck 't welck den schilder voornomt verclaerde bij mr. Rembrant gedaen te sijn ende selffs aen den voorsz. mr. Rembrant besteet te hebben; dat deselve reuylinge naederhant sijn voortgangh heeft gehadt, wijders niet'.

(At the request of Bartholomeus Buijs van Woeringen, brewer in Leiden, it is stated that in his house Van Woeringen had spoken with a painter about trading several paintings for a work which, according to the painter, was made by Rembrandt. He had personally ordered the painting from Rembrandt. The exchange subsequently took place.)

[14] Haarlem, Archiefdienst voor Kennemerland, Rechterlijk Archief, Kleine Bank van Justitie, inv. no. 116, no. 24, fol. 89v, dd. 8 december 1643; Br. *Künstler-Inv.* V, p. 1517

'Andries Michielsz. ey[se]r. contra Adriaen Muyltiens, woonende op 't Bagijnhof, ged[aagd]e. Om te hebben betalinge ende bij provisie nampt[issement] van de somme van [f] 22:-:-, noch [f] 2:10:- van de huer van caggeloven, noch [f] 1:2:- van een salm, noch aen hem ey[se]r te vergo[e]den 3 stucken schilderijen, dewelcke hij ged[aagd]e hem voor principaellen vercocht heeft ende maer voor copien geoordeelt worden, mette costen.'

(Adriaen Muyltjes is summoned to make several payments and, moreover, recompense the plaintiff for three paintings. Muyltjes sold these paintings to him as *principalen* (originals), but they were subsequently deemed as being mere copies.)

[15] GA Delft, not. F. Boogert, NA 1992, akte 53, dd. 6 juli 1644; A. Bredius, 'Drie Delftsche schilders: Evert van Aelst, Pieter Jansz. van Asch, en Adam Pick', *O.H.* 6 (1888), pp. 289-298, i.h.b. 290-291

Claes Bronchorst, 'schilder', en Wessel Lambrechtsz. Hagedoorn, beiden woonachtig te Delft, verklaren op het verzoek van Sybert Cornelisz. Dogger, 'tamboerijn deser stadt', dat 'op gisteren ten huyse van de reqt. [=Dogger] mede is [geweest] Adam Pic, schilder alhier, dewelke besiende seker groot stuc schilderij hangende in 't voorhuys bij den reqt., seyde: "dat is een stuc gedaen bij Van Aelst" ende dat bij den reqt. (wijsende op seker ander stuckjen wat cleinder, hangende mede in 't voorhuys sijnde) werde geseyt: "dat is ooc van Van Aelst". Daerop bij de voorn. Pic werde geseyt 't selve onwaragtig te wesen [..]'. Na 'eenige gevallen woorden de voorsz. Adam Pic seyde jegens den requirant: "geeft mijn een pond tabacq, ik sal ul. vijfendetwintig gulden aen geld daervooren geven, ic segge dat Evert van Aelst 't selve stucje schilderij niet en heeft gemaect, nog geen handen daeraen gehad heeft, maer ic sal ul. de man hier in huys brengen off seggen wie 't selve heeft gemaect". Dat daerop bij de voorsz. requirant werden [doorgehaald: 'geseyt dat'] gepersisteert [doorgehaald: 'ende aengehouden'] dat de voorsz. Van Aelst het immers hadde geschildert ende bij contrarie niet soude vertonen, daerbij voegde dat desselfs, Van Aelst' naem onder de voorsz. schilderij was staende. [doorgehaald: 'hij Pic'] Sijluyden metten anderen alsoo daerop wedden, namentl. dat de voorsz. Pic seyde te sullen vertonen, dat het voorsz. stucje schilderij bij de voorsz. Aelst niet en was geschildert, nog geen handen daeraen gehadt hadde [vanaf 'nog geen handen..' in de marge bijgeschreven] [doorgehaald: 'ende dat de voorsz. reqt. seyde dat hij 't selve immers hadde geschildert'], begerende op de voorsz. conditie hij Pic van de reqt. het voorsz. pondt tabacq te hebben, belovende de voorsz. 25 gl. daerboven te geven [doorgehaald: 'indien hij de voorsz. persoon niet en bragte(?), de persoon die 't selve stucjen gedaen hadde'], daerbij voegende: "gij en sijt geen eerlijc man soo gij mijn de voorsz. tabacq niet en levert". Dat dienvolgende den voorsz. reqt. hem geen pond tabacq heeft gegeven ende in presentie van haer getu[i]gen toegewogen [doorgehaald: 'heeft'], ende dat nog bij de voorn. Pic meede geseyt onder 't wegen van de voorsz. tabacq, dat hij de persoon soude brengen die 't voorsz. stucjen hadde geschildert ende dat de voorn. Van Aelst daer geen handen aen gehad hadde, niettegenstaende den deposant Bronchorst hem Pic voor de voorsz. weddinge de naem van de voorn. Van Aelst onder 't voorsz. stucje schilderij staende hadde vertoont, alsoo de voorsz. Pic seyde: "daer is niet aen gelegen, al staet de naem daeronder, hij heeft 't selve evenwel niet gemaect" [vanaf 'alsoo de voorsz. Pic..' in de marge geschreven], sonder nogtans dat in 't voorsz. wedden

ofte daervoor oft daernaer is geseyt ofte bedongen geweest, dat het selve soude sijn een principael van de voorn. Van Aelst, maer simpelijc gewet, gelijc voorsz. is, dat hij Pic soude aenwijsen dat het voorsz. stucje schilderij bij de voorsz. Van Aelst niet en was geschildert, maer bij een ander ende hij Aelst geen handen daeraen gehad hadde, ende daerop ontfangen heeft de voorsz. tabacq ende vijfendetwintig gl. in plaetse aen de reqt. soude geven, wijders niet'.

(At the request of Sybert Cornelisz. Dogger, two individuals, including the painter Claes Bronchorst, bear witness that the day before the painter Adam Pick saw a large painting in Dogger's front room and noted that it was by Van Aelst. Dogger then pointed out a somewhat smaller work in the same room, saying that it was also by Van Aelst. Pick denied this, whereupon they made a bet. Pick did not believe that Evert van Aelst had made or even worked on the smaller painting. He declared his willingness to fetch the maker, or mention his name. Dogger maintained that Van Aelst had painted it and pointed out that the painting bore his signature. Pick was not impressed by this argument. The witnesses declare that it was never stipulated that the painting had to be a *principaal* (original) by Van Aelst, but that Pick would demonstrate that it had been painted by another artist and that Van Aelst was in no way involved in its production.)

[16a] Haarlem, Archiefdienst voor Kennemerland, Rechterlijk Archief, Kleine Bank van Justitie, inv. no. 116, no. 28, dd. 30 april en 2 mei 1648; *O.H.* 42 (1925), pp. 275-276

'Jan Wijnnants ey[se]r contra Wouter Cnijf, meesterschilder, ged[aagde] omme te hebben betalinge ende bij provisie nampt[issement] van de somme van [f] 50:0:0, te weten 17 gul. van een stuck schilderij die de ged[aagde] de ey[se]r voor principael vercocht heeft, ende bevonden datte het maer copie is ende 33 gul. van schade die de ey[se]r daerdoor gelede heeft mette coste. Commiss[arissen] verleenen het eerste deffault, ordonneren de 2 citatie.'

[16b] ibid., dd. 2 mei 1648

'Jan Wijnnants ey[se]r contra Wouter Knijf, meesterschilder, ged[aagde]. t'Antwoorden op den eysch van [f] 50:0:0 staende ter lester rolle ofte het tweede deffault met het proffijt vandien te begeeren. De ged[aagd]e ontkent iets aen de ey[se]r schuldich te wesen, dienvolgende concludeert tot absolutie mette costen. De ged[aagd]e in rechte present neemt aen door Johannes Wolphaert binnen een weeck twee off drie te bewijsen dat het stuck schilderij in questie van Brouwer geschildert is ende dat het oock principael is. Commiss[arissen] vergunnen de ged[aagd]e drie weecken dach om te bewijsen dat het stuck schilderij principael is geweest.'

[16c] ibid., dd. 27 mei 1648

'Jan Wijnants eyscher contra Wouter Knijff, meester schilder gedaechde. t'Antwoorden op eysch van [f] 50:-:- staende ter rolle van den 2e mey 1648 ofte het tweede deffault met het proffijt vandien te begeeren. Commissarissen voor in desen te disponeeren, remvoyeeren partijen ende haerluyden different aen de eersame Frans Pietersz. Grebber, Frans Hals en Cornelis Symonsz. van der Schalcken omme henluyden te hooren ende te vereenigen, is doennelyck etc.'

(Jan Wijnants demands payment of 50 guilders from the painter Wouter Knijff, namely 17 guilders because the painting that the defendant sold him as a *principaal* (original) has been deemed a copy; and 33 guilders because of the damages he has suffered in this matter. Knijff denies owing anything and promises to prove within two or three weeks that the painting in question was painted by Adriaen Brouwer and that it is also a *principaal*. Judgement in this dispute is ultimately left up to Frans Pietersz. de Grebber, Frans Hals and Cornelis Simonsz. van der Schalcke.)

[17a] GAA, not. J. Quirijnen Spithoff, NA 1751, pp. 165-166, dd. 11 april 1650; *O.H.* 5 (1887), pp. 229-231 en S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Het "gewoonlijck model" van de schilder Dirck Bleker', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 29 (1981), pp. 214-220

Insinuatie van Huybert Verdonck ten laste van sr. Bartholomeus Blijenbergh. Op 1 april had laatstgenoemde 'ten overstaen ende door tusschenspreecken van Arent Harmensz. wijncop[er] ende Dirck Bleeckert als middelaers daertoe gebruyct met den inst. [..] opgerecht seecker contract van mangelinge, te weten dat gij g'inse. aen de inst. sout leveren seecker stuck schilderije, afbeeldende Maria Magdalena van de Jonge Bleeckert, daertegens den inst. weder aen u g'inse. in eygendom soude leveren een stuck schilderije van Den Uyl, bij u g'inse. t'uwen genoegen besichtigt; ende dat noch daerenboven den inst. aen u g'inse. soude voldoen ende betaelen de somme van hondert vijffendeseventigh gls. Waerop bij u g'inse. provisionelycken tot een teeken van coop een silveren ducaton van de inst. is ontf. ende gij g'inse. dienvolgende wel behoort hadde gehadt het voorsz. contract te presteren, doch daeraf tot noch toe (so 't schij[n]t) weygerich sijt gebleven, soo doet den inst. door mij nots. ende get. van u g'inse. als noch versoecken datelycke leverantie van 't voorsz. stuck schilderije, tevreden sijnde hij inst. van sijnder sijde van gelijcken terstont u g'inse. daerentegens het gemangelde stuck te leveren ende de bovengemelde pen. te voldoen.' Doet hij dat niet, dan zal 'hij genootsaekt [..] sijn daer over bij middel van justitie te[gen] u te procederen'. Blijenbergh antwoordt de notaris: 'ick ben gereet mijn stuck schilderij te leveren mits dat hij inst. mij daerentegens levert het stuck schilderije van den Ouden Uyl die [doorgehaald: 'over'] al omtrent thien jaren is dood geweest, gelijck hij mij verhandelt heeft ende daerenboven de voorsz. toebedonge penningen, daer op ick de ducaton hebbe ontf[angen]'.

[17b] GAA, not. J. Quirijnen Spithoff, NA 1751, pp. 191-192, dd. 23 april 1650

Sr. Arent Harmensz. van Sweten, 'wijncoper alhier ter stede', 30 jaar oud, verklaart op het verzoek van sr. Huybert Verdonck, 'winckelier' dat 'hij getuyge op den eersten deser in de herberge 't Hoff van Holland daer bij ende present is geweest, gehoort ende gesien heeft dat den requirant ende sr. Bartholomeus Blijenbergh met den anderen absolutel. naer voorgande loff ende both hebben aengegaen seecker contract van coop ende mangelinge in der voegen dat de voorsz. Bartholomeus Blijenberch aen den reqt. soude leveren seecker stuck schilderije uytbeeldende Maria Magdalena van de Jongen Bleeckert [doorgehaald: 'daertegen'] waervoren den reqt. aen de voorsz. Blijenbergh soude voldoen ende betaelen de somme van hondert vijfendeseventigh gls. ende daerenboven noch een stuck schilderije wesende principael van Den Uyl, welck stuck schilderije de voorn. Bartholomeus Blijenbergh verclaerden ten huyse van den reqt. alvoren tot diverse malen t'sijnen contentement selfs besichtigt te hebben ende oock door een kender van kunst voor hem hadde doen besichtigen ende dat de leverantie vandien op maendagh alsdoen ancomende den 4 deser soude gedaen werden. Waerop den reqt. aen de voorsz. Blijenbergh tot teecken van de effective coop een ducaton in minderinge op de handt gaff, die oock bij de voorsz. Blijenbergh daerop ontfangen wiert. Ende dat in 't contracteren, spreecken ende sluyten van de voorsz. coop noyt en is gesproocken ofte gerept dat des reqts. schilderije soude wesen een stuck van den Ouden Uyl, maer simpelyck geseyt te wesen een principael van Den Uyl, gelijck hij Blijenbergh 't selve hadde besichtigt ende doen besichtigen sonder van Ouden off Jongen Uyl te spreecken. Gevende diesang. voor seeckere redenen van wetenschap dat hij gete. bij alles aen, over ende present is geweest, oock selfs neffens Dirck

Bleeckert, schilder (die des reqts. voorsz. stuck schilderije [doorgehaald: 'uytten name'] door ordre van de voorsz. Blijenbergh besichtigt hadde) als goedemannen over de coop ende mangelinge hebben gegaen ende deselve helpen sluyten.'

[17c] GAA, not. P. van Toll, NA 2420(B), fol. 46, dd. 28 april 1650

Dirck Bleecker, ongeveer 30 jaar oud, verklaart op het verzoek van Bartholomeus Blijdenberch, 'coopman alhyer', dat hij in de week voor Pasen j.l. zonder nog de juiste dag te weten, op het verzoek van Blijdenberch is geweest ten huize van Doncker, 'hoedecramer alhyer in de Stilsteech woonende, omme te besichtigen seecker stuck schilderij aldaer hangende, 't welck d'voorn. Doncker seyde te sijn van Den Uyl, waerop hij deposant vraeghende of het van den Ouden [doorgehaald: 'off den Jongen Den Uyl'] was, alsoo hij deposant [=Bleker] daeraen twijffelde als zijnde niet fray genoech, soo heeft d'voorn. Doncker daerop geantwoord ende geseyt het van de Ouden was ende dat tot den advt. Trojaen de Magistris van deselffden Uyl oock een stuck hinck [waar]van dit de weergae was, waervoor hij seyde 1600 glds. geboden te sijn en indien hem 1000 glds. gegeven wierde, niet te weten off hij soude willen reuylen, en dat d'baillju van Kennemerlandt voor 't voorsz. stuck van De Magistris geboden hadde het beste stuck dat hij in huys hadde, mitsgaders noch hondert pondt aen geldt. Waernaer hij deposant des anderen daechs neffens de reqt. ende d'voorn. Doncker ende seecker ander persoon bij den anderen alhyer in de herberge van 't Hoff van Hol[an]t geweest zijn ende nopende 't voorsz. stuck te contracteren, als wanneer d'reqt. alvoorens eenige mentie van 't accoord werde gemaeckt tegen den voorn. Doncker [doorgehaald: 'verscheyden'] geseyt heeft: "Monsr. Doncker, eer wij van 't accoord beginnen te spreecken, soo moest ghij mijn verseeckeren dat het stuck is een principael van Ouden oprechten Uyl", daerop hij Doncker antwoorde: "Indien 't soo niet en is, soo sul je het stuck voor niet hebben". Waerdoor d'reqt. heeft beginnen van 't accoord te spreecken, seggende hij reqt. meer als thienmael: "Monsr. Doncker, soo het soo niet en is, soo soude ick verre te cort comen, alsoo voor mijn stuck (sijnde een Marya Magdalena van de deposant geschildert) mijn hondert pondt geboden is ende wil het niet minder als 1000 gls. geven". Daerop hij Doncker antwoorde: "Gij aestimeert u stuck te hooch, U.E. moet considereren monsr. Bleecker noch in 't leven is ende Den Uyl langh overleden is". Ende alsoo p[ar]tien [doorgehaald: 'doen ter teydt'] niet conden accorderen ende haer saeck aen de deposant ende d'andere persoon verbleven, dewelcke nae den anderen te spreecken uytgingen, soo heeft d'reqt. alvorens wederom geseyt: "Siet monsr. Doncker, gij moest mij verseeckeren dat het is van de Ouden oprechten Uyl die thien jaeren doot geweest is". Waerop hij deposant antwoordende: "Een jaer ofte twee onbegrepen", soo heeft d'voorn. Doncker "jae jae, soo 't niet en is, soo sult ghij het stuck voor niet hebben". Ende zij goedemannen buyten gegaen zijnde ende den anderen gesproocken hebbende, hebben de saeck gevonden als dat de voorn. Doncker aen de reqt. soude geven zijn stuck van de Ouden oprechten Uyl voor de voorsz. Maria Magdalena bij hem deposant geschildert ende noch de somme van 175 gul.'

(Huybert Verdonck [Doncker] reminded Bartholomeus Blijenbergh that they exchanged paintings in the presence of a wine seller and the painter Dirck Bleker: Blijenbergh agreed to deliver a *Mary Magdalene* by [Dirck] Bleker the Younger and Verdonck would provide a painting by Den Uyl, which Blijenbergh had seen in advance, plus a supplement of 175 guilders. Blijenbergh has yet to deliver the painting, and Verdonck requests that he comply with the terms of the contract. Blijenbergh is prepared to hand it over provided that Verdonck, in accordance with their agreement, give him the money and the painting by Den Uyl the Elder, who has now been dead for about ten years.

At Verdonck's request, a witness states that he was present when the contract was concluded and that Blijenbergh would exchange the work in question by Bleker for 175 guilders and a painting, the latter being a *principaal* (original) by Den Uyl. Blijenbergh had seen the painting at Verdonck's home on several occasions and also had it inspected by a connoisseur. There was no mention of its being by Den Uyl the Elder, nor was the question of whether Den Uyl the Elder or the Younger made it ever broached. This took place in the presence of Dirck Bleker, who also examined the painting in question at Blijenbergh's request. At Blijenbergh's request, Dirck Bleker states that he saw the painting at Verdonck's and that according to its owner it was made by Den Uyl. When Bleker asked him whether it was by Den Uyl the Elder, as he had his doubts because it was not splendid enough, Verdonck replied that it was by the Elder and that a work by the same Den Uyl was hanging in the house of Trojanus de Magistris, which was its pendant, and for which 1600 guilders had been offered. Lodewijck van Alteren, bailiff of Kennemerland, had apparently offered his best painting plus 600 guilders for the work at De Magistris'. When the agreement was drawn up, Blijenbergh asked Verdonck to guarantee that the painting was a *principaal* by the Elder, genuine Den Uyl. Verdonck said that should this not prove to be the case, Blijenbergh could have the work free of charge. Blijenbergh also added that if this was not so, he would back out of the deal, as he had been offered 600 guilders for the *Mary Magdalene* by Bleker and did not want to sell it for less than 1000 guilders. Verdonck felt that Blijenbergh had estimated the value of the painting incorrectly, given that Bleker was still alive and Den Uyl had long been dead. Blijenbergh was only prepared to honour the agreement if he were guaranteed that the work was by the Elder, genuine Den Uyl, who had died some ten years earlier. Verdonck confirmed this and the agreement was concluded under these conditions.)

[18] GA Leiden, not. K. Outerman, NA 445, akte 117, dd. 19 juni 1652; *O.H.* 24 (1906), p. 133; Briels, op. cit. (doc. 1), p. 280, noot 20

Hercules Patronis, 'schilder' te Leiden, verklaart op het verzoek van Joost de la Grange 'dat hij getuyge in 't laetst van maert ofte in 't eerst van april voorleeden deses jaers 1652 [..] mitten requirant geweest is ten huyse ende bij Lamber[t] Joosten van Heimansbergen, herbergier binnen deser stede, als wanneer den requirant hem Lambert Joosten afvraechde off het stuc schilderij dat hij requirant tegens denselve Lambert Joosten gerevelt hadde ooc niet van den Ouden Porcelles en was, alsoo hij Heimansbergen hem reqt. het daervoren hadde verhandelt ende niettemin bij andre geseyt wierden dat het de Jonge Parcelles hadde gemaect. Bij hem Heimansbergen geantwoort wierden: "hoe soude het van den Jongen Parcellis cunnen wesen?", noemende eenige lange jaren 't selve stuc in sijn huys gehadt te hebben, als wanneer hij Heimansbergen seyd dat den Jongen Parcellis maer een clein kint was, [..] seggende "hoe waer 't mogeluc dat soo een kint sulc een stuc maken soude" [..].'

(At the request of Joost de la Grange, the Leiden painter Hercules Patronis states that he accompanied De la Grange to the residence of the innkeeper Lambert Joosten van Heimansbergen. On that occasion, De la Grange asked the innkeeper whether the painting he had bought from him was, indeed, by Porcellis the Elder, which Van Heimansbergen had sold to him as such. Other individuals had told De la Grange

that it was a work by Porcellis the Younger. The innkeeper responded that the painting could not possibly be by Porcellis the Younger, as it had already been in his house for a long time, in fact, so long that the Younger Porcellis was but a small child when it had come into his possession. He deemed it impossible for a child to produce such a work.)

[19] Haarlem, Archiefdienst voor Kennemerland, not. W. van Kittensteyn, NA 274, fol. 7, dd. 8 juli 1653; Br. *Künstler-Inv.* I, p. 15

Jan Miense Molenaer, 'mr. schilder' te Haarlem, verklaart op het verzoek van Aechie Harmansdr., huisvrouw van Claes Jansz., wonende te Amsterdam, dat 'sekere twe stuckiens schilderij bij de requirante door twede ofte derde hant van hem deposant gehandelt, te weten 't ene wesende een boere-gesels[c]hapie daerin sittende een vroutie van vooren, met een blaeu rockie aen met d'ene voet op een stoof met de muyl uyt, wordende van een out mannitie gestreelt, met noch een Enckhuyser boerinn[e]tje sittende van achteren op een stoel; ende het andere wesende een keysnijertie op een twe stuyvers penneel. Dat de voorsz. twe stuckiens schilderij nu binnen de tijt van [doorgehaald: 'omtrent'] drie maenden bij hem deposant selffs sijn gemaeckt, sonder dat bij ymant anders daeraen iets is gedaen. Gevende voor redenen van wetenschap, seyt dat hij deposant de voorsz. stuckiens schilderij nu onlangs noch heeft gesien, sulcx dat dese verclaringe bij hem deposant wel ende naer de waerheyt wert gedaen.'

(At the request of Aechie Harmansdr., Claes Jansz.'s wife, Jan Miense Molenaer, master painter in Haarlem, states that the two paintings that she received from him, one of a *Peasant Company*, the other a *Stone surgeon* on a two *stuiver* panel, were made by him without the assistance of anyone else. He has recently even seen the paintings in question.)

[20a] GAA, not. J. van der Hoeven, NA 1649, pp. 1239-1240, dd. 16 september 1653; A. Bredius, 'Kunstkritiek der XVIIe eeuw', *O.H.* 7 (1889), pp. 41-44

Hendrick Uylenburgh, 'consthandelaer', 66 jaar oud, Marten Kretzer, 56 jaar en Lodewijck van Ludick, 46 jaar, 'beyden lieffhebbers ende eervaaren kenders van de schilderkonst', Bartholomeus Breenbergh, 55 jaar, Bartholomeus van der Helst, 39 jaar, Simon Luttichuys, 45 jaar, Pouwels Hennekyn, 39 jaar, Philip Koninck, 33 jaar, Willem Kalf, 30 jaar, 'alle vermaerde schilders, gesamentlijcken woonachtich binnen deser voorsz. stede ende mij notario seer wel bekent', verklaren op het verzoek van Abraham de Cooge, 'consthandelaer wonende binnen de stadt Delft [..] hoe waer is dat henluyden door den requirant voor oogen gestelt wesende seecker lantschapschilderij, lanck ontrent drie voet en vier duym, en hoogh twee voeten en vier duymen Amsterdamsche maet, sijnde wat geberght, geboomt en valeye, verciert met beeltiens, osgens, bockjens en schaapen, wesende een doeckjen op een paneel geplackt, op welck paneel van achter in lack was gedruckt het merck in margine naargeteeckent, welcke voorsz. schilderije bij henluyden getuygen met goede en partinente opmerckinge wel gesien en geïnspecteert sijnde, verstaen en oirdeelen gesamentlijcken dat hetselve is een suyver originael, geschildert bij de hant van Pouwels Bril. Gevende de voorsz. getuyge (namentlijck de voorsz. Uylenburgh, Kretzer en Van Ludick) voor redenen van haerluyder oirdeel en kennisse, dat sij verscheyde stucken van denselven Bril hebben gesien en selffs in eygendom gehadt; de voorn. Bredenbergh dat hij ruym seven jaeren lanck bij hem Bril heeft verkeert, hem meenigh stuck heeft sien maecken en selfs verscheyden van sijn dingen binnen Roomen gecopieert te hebben; ende de voorsz. Van der Helst, Luttichuysen, Hennekyn, Koningh en Kalff, dat sijluyden als schilders gewoon sijn te traghten goede schilderijen te beschouwen en bij gelegentheyt mede verscheyde stucken bij den voorsz. Pouwels Bril geschildert, hebben gesien en mitsdien sijne manier en handelingh seer wel kennen. Aldus gedaen [..]'. Als getuigen tekenden Jan Meurs en Anthony Rutgers van Terlouw.

[20b] ibid., dd. 16 september 1653; Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/16

Rembrandt van Rijn, 'vermaert schilder binnen deser stede, out ontrent 46 jaaren', verklaart op het verzoek van De Cooge 'het stuck schilderij, in de voorstaende attestatie vermelt, mede wel gesien, gevisiteert en geïnspecteert te hebben, en mitsdien met deselve verclaaringe sigh te conformeeren. Aldus gedaen, ter presentie van Johannes van Glabeeck en Jacobus Lavecq, sijn getuygens descipelen, als getuygen'.

(At the request of the Delft art dealer Abraham de Cooge, Hendrick Uylenburgh, art dealer, Marten Kretzer and Lodewijck van Ludick, both art lovers and experienced connoisseurs, Bartholomeus Breenbergh, Bartholomeus van der Helst, Simon Luttichuysen, Pouwels Hennekyn, Philips Koninck and Willem Kalf, all renowned Amsterdam painters, state that in their opinion the landscape with mountains, trees, figures and animals shown to them is a true original painted by Paulus Bril. Uylenburgh, Kretzer and Van Ludick explain that their verdict is based on the fact that they have seen and even owned various works by Bril; Breenbergh states that he had been in contact with Bril for more than seven years, had seen him make quite a few paintings, and had made copies of his work in Rome; the others attest that as painters they are accustomed to evaluating good paintings, and on occasion had seen works painted by Bril and, thus, are very familiar with his manner and handling. Jan Meurs and Anthony Rutgers van Terlouw sign as witnesses. Independently, but on the same day, Rembrandt van Rijn, renowned painter in Amsterdam, after thoroughly inspecting the painting states that he has reached the same conclusion. His statement is signed by his pupils Johannes van Glabeeck and Jacobus Lavecq.)

[21a] GAA, not. P. de Bary, NA 1706, pp. 1403-1404, dd. 23 november 1656

Cornelis Jansz. Kerfbijl, 47 jaar, houtkoper, Pieter van Roestraten, 25 jaar, schilder, mr.Paulus Claesz., 50 jaar, schermmeester, Theunis Pietersz., 35 jaar, ebbenhoutwerker, leggen een verklaring af ten verzoeke van Jan Molenaer, 'mede schilder'. Kerfbijl verklaart dat ongeveer zeven à acht weken geleden 'bij eenen Isaack Beuns, voor desen gewoont hebbende op 't Rockin, geveylt geworden is seecker stuckje schilderije, dat hij seyde een principael van den requirant te sijn, ende dat hij 't van de requirant tegens eenich ijserwerck hadde aengeruylt ende nae lof ende bot metten anderen overcomen sijnde dat hij getuyge daervoor soude geven twaelff guldens indien het een principael van den requirant was ende soo het sijn getuyges swager, voor wie hij het cocht aenstondt, is daerop gevolght dat den voorsz. Beuns hem getuyge affirmeerde dat het waerlijck een principael van den requirant was ende dat hij het hem selfs hadde sien schilderen, ende aengesien hij getuyge daernaer seyde dat het stuckje sijn swager niet aenstondt, dat Beuns het selfde dan aen hem getuyge overliet voor negen gulden, hoewel dito Beuns verclaerde dat het hem van Molenaer selfs wel op veerthien à vijfthien guldens quam te staen [..] hetselve aen hem getuyge soo goeden coop over ter oorsaecke van hunne goede kennisse'. Gezamenlijk verklaren zij dat eergisteren bij hen verscheen Isaack Beuns, waarop Kerfbijl tegen hem 'seyde dat het mettet voorsz. stuckjen haperde, hem afvragende hoe dat hij daeraen was gecomen'. Beurs verklaarde toen in hun aanwezigheid 'dat hij het hadde gecocht van een voddewijff op de Noordermerckt voor ses ten halve gulden'. Roestraten en

mr.Paulus Claesz. voegen hier nog aan toe 'dat hij 't sijn vrou had thuys gebracht ende tegens haer geseyt: "hier heb ick een stuckjen schilderij gecocht op de Noordermerckt bij Molenaer gedaen".' Gezamenlijk verklaren ze 'dat op de reproche van Kerfbijl van dat hij, Beuns, had verclaert dat hij het immers van Molenaer selfs had gecocht, denselven Beuns bekende sulcx waer was'. Beuns en zijn vrouw hebben beiden bevestigd 'dat de vrouw mede op de Noordermarckt bij de coop was geweest, sulcx dat d'voorsz. verclaringen directelijcken tegens den ander en liepen ende strijdich waeren'. Van Roestraten en mr. Paulus Claesz. verklaren nog dat zij Beuns en zijn vrouw hebben horen bekennen, dat 'sij wel in des requirants huys in de Voetboochstraet waren geweest, docht niet verder als in 't voorhuys, [marge:] oock dat den voorsz. Beuns een banqueroetier is, die noch binnen ettelijcke maenden cessie gedaen heeft'.

[21b] ibid., p. 1405, dd. 23 november 1656

Marritjen Abrahams, 31 jaar, huisvrouw van Wouter Ipesz., 'toemaecker van schepen', wonende in de Voetboogstraat in de kelder onder het huis dat van mei 1655 tot nu Allerheiligen j.l. bewoond is geweest door Jan Molenaer, verklaart op het verzoek van laatstgenoemde dat negen weken geleden door 'de gelase vensters van de voorsz. haer woonkelder, die op de placts van den requirant responderen[de] is, ontrent de middach gesien heeft, dat op deselve placts haer vuyl lijwaet waschte ende rijnichde, seeckere vrou genaemt Marij, sijnde de huysvr. van eenen Beuns die jegenwoordich woont in 't huys van des requirants swager in de Calverstraet, sijnde d'voorsz. Mary van aensien haer getuyge seer wel bekent'. Toen Marij daar was, waren 'den requirant ende sijn huysvr. ende alle domestiquen buyten op 't landt'.

(The wood merchant Cornelis Jansz. Kerfbijl, the painter Pieter van Roestraten, the fencing master Paulus Claesz. and the cabinetmaker Theunis Pietersz. make a statement on behalf of the painter Jan Molenaer. Kerfbijl says that seven or eight weeks earlier, Isaack Beuns had sold him a painting as a *principaal* (original) by Molenaer, which Beuns claims to have received from Molenaer himself in exchange for some ironwork. Kerfbijl bought it for 12 guilders on the condition that it was a *principaal* by Molenaer and that it would please his brother-in-law, for whom it was intended. Beuns assured him that it was truly a *principaal* by Molenaer and that he had seen it being painted by him. When it turned out that the work did not please Kerfbijl's brother-in-law, Beuns sold it to Kerfbijl for 9 guilders, even though it had cost him some 14 or 15 guilders. Kerfbijl subsequently told Beuns that the transaction was no good. In response to the question of how he had acquired the work, Beuns declared that he had purchased it from a rag woman at the Noordermarkt. Apparently, Beuns also reported this to his wife. This contradicts Beuns' statement that he had received the work in question from Molenaer himself.)

[22] GAA, not. J. d'Amour, NA 2156, fol. 208, dd. 5 juni 1658; Br. *Künstler-Inv.* II, pp. 401-402

Nicolaes van Helt Stocade, ongeveer 43 jaar oud en Willem Frericsz. de Mandt, ongeveer 29 jaar, beiden wonende te Amsterdam, verklaren op het verzoek van Cornelis van (de) Nerve, wonende te Rotterdam, dat 'sij deposanten op den naestlaetsten van de voorlede maend may daer bij ende tegenwoordich sijn geweest, dat sr. Bartholomeus van der Elst op de vrage, hem gedaen door des reqts. soon Adriaen van Nerve, off het stuck van Diana, dat hij Van der Elst voor den reqt. gemaect heeft gehadt een pricenpael [sic] was, geandwoort heeft gehadt dat het een principael was, door hem selffs gedaen. Ende dat hij verder gevraegt of imand anders daeraen geschildert heeft, andwoorde "neen"'.

(At the request of Cornelis van (de) Nerve, residing in Rotterdam, two individuals, including the painter Nicolaes de Helt Stockade, state that they were present when Bartholomeus van der Helst, in response to the question posed by Cornelis' son, Adriaen van Nerve, whether the *Diana* that Van der Helst made for Cornelis van Nerve was a *principaal* (original), said that it was, indeed, a *principaal* by him. In answer to the question of whether someone else had worked on it as well, Van der Helst responded negatively.)

[23] GA 's-Gravenhage, dd. 23 april 1661; F.D.O. Obreen (ed.), *Archief voor Nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis*, 7 vols., Rotterdam 1877-1890, IV, p. 79

'Gehoort hebbende ter caemere de quaestie van de Wedue van den Notaris Bernoille jegens den Commijs Noortwijck, raeckende een stuck schilderije bij haer gedaen verkoopen, voor principael van Hans Jordaens, ende gehadt daer op het advijs van den Vendumeester, is verstaen dat men het voorsz. stuck alvoorens moste sien.'

(A discussion took place in the chamber of the painters' society *Pictura* in The Hague concerning the case of the widow of the notary Bernoille versus the clerk Noortwijck with respect to a painting that was sold as a *principaal* (original) by Hans Jordaens. Although an auctioneer had previously given an assessment, it was nevertheless decided to first examine the work concerned.)

[24] GAA, not. Jac. Hellerus, NA 2488, pp. 555-556, dd. 9 juni 1661 [brandschade]; *O.H.* 6 (1888), pp. 21-24

Barent Cornelisz., 51 jaar oud, Allart van Everdingen, 39 jaar, Willem Kalf, 39 jaar, [doorgehaald: 'Nicolaes Berchem, out mede 39 jaren'] en Jacob van Ruysdael, 32 jaar, schilders wonende te Amsterdam 'hebben ten versoecke van sr. Laurens Mauritse Doucy geattesteert ende getuyght waerheyt te sijn, dat sij getuygen heden dato deses hen getransporteert ende vervoeght hebben ter woonstede van den requirant en aldaer gevisiteert ende besichtigt seker stuck schilderije, bestaende in see, strandt met eenige rotsen ende personagien bij den requirant, soo hij verclaert, gecocht van Abraham de Koge van Delft. Verclaert Barent Cornelisz. dat hij getuyge oordeelt de voorsz. see, schepen, beelden, lucht, booten ofte schuyten alsmede 't meeste gedeelte der rotsen niet bij Parcellus maar bij Hendrick van Anthonisz. geschildert te wesen. Verclaert Allart van Everdingen mede na lange en goede besichtinge van 't voorsz. stuck schilderije te oordeelen dat hetselve bij Parcellus niet geschildert is ende nyets daerin bij denselven Parcellus gedaen ofte geschildert te wesen, ten ware hij Parcellus yets aen de rotsen mochte geschildert hebben. Verclaert Willem Kalff mede na visitatie van 't selve stuck schilderije te oordeelen dat hetselve in 't geheel nochte ten deele bij de meergenoemde Parcellus niet geschildert is. Verclaert Jacob van Ruysdael, dat bij aldien den voorsz. Parcellus het voorsz. stuck schilderije begonnen heeft, dat hij oordeelt hetselve tegenwoordich sodanich is toegestelt, dat het onbequaem is om voor een stuck van Parcellus gelevert [te worden]. Verclaren sij getuygen noch al t'samen t'oordeelen dat dienvolgende het voorsz. stuck schilderij niet waerdich is voor een stuck van Parcellus vercocht en gelevert te werden. [..] Gedaen [..] in 't bijsijn van Meyndert Hobbema ende Harman Haije.'

(At the request of Laurens Mauritsz. Doucy, the painters Barent Cornelisz. (Kleyneknecht), Allart van Everdingen, Willem Kalf and Jacob van Ruisdael state that they have seen in Doucy's house a painting of a sea, with a beach, some rocks and figures. According to Doucy, he bought this coastal landscape from Abraham de Cooge in Delft. Cornelisz. deems that the sea, the ships, the figures, the sky, the barges and most

of the rocks were not painted by (Jan) Porcellis, but by Hendrick Anthonisz. After thoroughly scrutinising the painting, Allart van Everdingen says that it is not by Porcellis and that at the very most he painted some of the rocks. Kalf believes that the painting is neither entirely, nor partially by Porcellis. Van Ruisdael declares that if indeed Porcellis had begun working on the painting, it had by then worked on by others to such an extent that it could no longer be presented as a work by Porcellis. Meindert Hobbema and Harman Haije sign as witnesses.)

[25] GAA, not. H. Friesma, NA 3080, pp. 268-269, dd. 13 maart 1666; Br. *Künstler-Inv.* III, p. 1097; Briels, op. cit. (doc. 1), pp. 275 en 279-280

Hendrick Hopman, 55 jaar oud, 'schoolmeester', en Jacob Colins [Colijn], 52 jaar, 'schilder wonende binnen dese voorsz. stede', verklaren op het verzoek van Hendrick Velthoen, 'als order hebbende van Laurens Mourissen Doucy, hoe waer ende warachtigh, oock hun getuygen seer wel kennelijck ende indachtigh is dat seeckere schilderije representerende een seestrantge van den schilder Porcellis, onder den requirant berustende, maer alleenlijck is een copye geschildert ende gemaeckt ten woonhuyse van des voorsz. Colins vader salr. Voor reden van wetenschap allegerende sij get. 't gene voorsz. ende daerenboven noch, dat se 't principael vandien in, ofte omtrent den jaren 1627 lastleden in sijn, Colins vaders, huys gesien hebben ende naer hun onthout door seeckeren Set Cornelisz. Schanck van Drontem uytgeschildert ende naergecopieert is.'

(At the request of (the painter) Hendrick Velthoen, who is acting on behalf of Laurens Mauritsz. Doucy, two individuals, including the painter Jacob Colins (Colijn), state that a painting of a seascape by (Jan) Porcellis and owned by Doucy is merely a copy painted in the house of Jacob Colijn's father. They saw the *principaal* (original) in the residence of Jacob Colijn's father around 1627. In so far as they can remember it was copied at the time by a certain Set Cornelisz. Schanck van Drontem.)

[26] GAA, not. Joh. Hellerus, NA 2078, fol. 265, dd. 27 mei 1667; Br. *Künstler-Inv.* I, pp. 160-161

Gerrit Uylenburgh, [doorgehaald: 'schilder'], 42 jaar oud en Philips Coninck, 47 jaar, 'beyde schilders, wonende hier ter stede' verklaren op het verzoek van Gerrit Maertens, 'zuyckerbacker ende consthandelaer wonende tot Delff [..] dat de schilderije hem, Coninck, door den reqt. toegesonden en bij mij notaris ten overstaen van haer deposanten besegelt [doorgehaald: 'sijnde ten huyse van de voorsz. Uylenburgh'], zijnde van een slapende boer, die zijn gelt door een jonge uyt sijn beurs genomen wert, met een vrou haer vinger op haer neus houdende, zij deposanten wel hebben besien ende geëxamineert ende dat zij 't selve bevinden na hun oordeel niet [doorgehaald: 'geschildert te zijn'] van Adriaen Brouwer te zijn. Presenteren sulx des nood ende versocht zijnde nader te stercken.'

(At the request of Gerrit Maertens, confectioner and art dealer in Delft, the painters Gerrit Uylenburgh and Philips Koninck state that in their opinion the painting that Maertens sent to Koninck, namely of a sleeping peasant whose money is being taken from his purse by a boy with a woman resting her finger on her nose, is not by Adriaen Brouwer.)

[27] Amsterdam, 's-Gravenhage, Antwerpen en Rotterdam, dd. mei en juni 1672

In 1671 bood de schilder en kunsthandelaar Gerrit Uylenburgh antieke beelden en dertien, aan Italiaanse meesters toegeschreven schilderijen aan de keurvorst van Brandenburg ter verkoop aan. De aan het Berlijnse hof werkzame Henri de Fromantiou keurde de schilderijen af als 'vodden' en waardeloze kopieën. De schilderijen werden vervolgens naar Amsterdam teruggestuurd en in enkele steden door schilders en liefhebbers beoordeeld. In Amsterdam en Den Haag: A. Bredius, 'Italiaansche schilderijen in 1672 door Amsterdamsche en Haagsche schilders beoordeeld', *O.H.* 4 (1886), pp. 41-46 en pp. 278-280; idem, 'Italiaansche schilderijen in 1672 door Haagsche en Delftsche schilders beoordeeld', *O.H.* 34 (1916), pp. 88-93 en A-M. S. Logan, *The 'Cabinet' of the brothers Gerard and Jan Reynst*, Amsterdam/Oxford/New York 1979, pp. 91-97 en passim; in Antwerpen: Archief van de Academie, inv. nr.81(13), fol. 16v, dd 27 mei 1672 en Stadsarchief, not. J.B. Claus, NA 502, fol. 83r-v en 83v-84, dd 27 mei 1672 (Duverger, op.cit.[8], IX, pp. 376-377); in Rotterdam: GA Rotterdam, not. J. Verschueren, NA 1076, p. 163, dd 16 juni 1672

(In 1671, the painter and art dealer Gerrit Uylenburgh offered for sale several antique sculptures and 13 paintings attributed to Italian masters to the Elector of Brandenburg. Henri de Fromantiou, active at the Berlin court, rejected the paintings as being rubbish and worthless copies. The paintings were subsequently sent back to Amsterdam and in 1672 were appraised by painters and art lovers consecutively in Amsterdam, The Hague, Antwerp and Rotterdam.)

[28] GA 's-Gravenhage, not. G. Valette, NA 452, fol. 192r-v, dd. 5 juli 1676; *O.H.* 9 (1891), pp. 148-149

Dirck Koot en Geertruyt Dirckx van Dijl, huisvrouw van Anthonie Haesbroeck [en een derde persoon?] verklaren op het verzoek van Jacob Sprouw en diens huisvrouw, dat zij in december j.l., zonder de precieze dag te weten, 'hebben gehoort dat den reqt. aen d'heeren burgemren. deser stede clagende over eenige vuijge [?] quade actien bij Hendrick Broeckman, roeper van de venduen alhier op veele ende verscheyde boelhuysen gepleeght ende den voorn. Broeckman door over 't ... [?] sijn defentie te doen, den heer tresaurier Van der Does aldaer in de heeren burgemrs. kamer present sijnde, tegens de voorn. Broeckman heeft geseyt deese off dergelijcke woorden in substantie: Jae, Broeckman, gij bent soo pluys niet, gij bracht lest een schilderij op een venditie, daer ick op acht guldens instelden [doorgehaald: 'voor boodt'] daer gij aenstonts vijftien guldens voor boodt, seggende daer bij: "Wat acht gulden? Voor soo een heerlick stuck van Van Duijnen", jagende 't selve jegens mij tot seventien guldens toe op, waer op ick naer den voorn. Van Duijnen toegingh ende hem aenseghde dat ick soo een treffelick schilderij van hem hadde gecocht voor seventien guldens, die daer op seyde: "dat is van mij niet, maer van een van mijn slechtste discupels, ick beclaech je, u bent bedrogen. Broeckman heeft het van mij gecocht voor vijff guldens en ick wil dat voor mijn schilderij niet [doorgehaald: 'uyt'] laten [doorgehaald: 'geven'] gaen, dat [doorgehaald: 'op den voorn. heer Van der Does verders seyde: soude (?) het u wel voor vijftien guldens aen ...'] waerop den voorn. Broeckman seer ... [boos?] uyt de heeren burgemrs. kamer is weggegaen.'

(Several individuals state that they have heard that complaints regarding the conduct of the auctioneer Hendrick Broeckman have been submitted to the burgomasters of The Hague. Broeckman was called to account for these allegations in the burgomaster's office. The treasurer, Van der Does, charged that the opening bid for a painting at a sale was 8 guilders, but that Broeckman had subsequently called out 15 guilders, saying that 8 guilders was far too little for such a fine work by Isaack van Duynen. As a result the bidding was forced

up to 17 guilders. The buyer subsequently went to the painter Van Duynen and announced that he had purchased an excellent painting made by him for 17 guilders. However, the artist replied that it was not by him, but by one of his worst pupils and that the man had been deceived. Van Duynen recalled that Broeckman had purchased it from him for five guilders, a sum for which he would never sell his own work. Upon hearing this, Broeckman stalked out of the burgomaster's office.)

[29] GAA, not. H. Rosa, NA 3118, pp. 678-679, dd. 29 augustus 1686; A. Bredius, 'Een en ander over Willem Kalf', *O.H.* 42 (1925), pp. 208-209

Willem Kalf, Job Berckheyde en Gerrit Berckheyde, 'constschilders', verklaren op het verzoek van Alexander Browe [Browne], dat 'hun deposanten vertoont is seecker stuck schilderij, uytbeeldende de Matres van Tietiaen, op doeck geschildert, sijnde hoogh twee en een halff voet ende breet twee voet en een duym'. Ze hebben dit schilderij 'elck in 't bijsonder ende met malcander wel ende verscheyde maelen [..] besichtight om daerover te oordelen wat het selve schilderij mochte wesen, copye off principael van Tietiaen. Sij deposanten naer hun beste kennis ende onpartijdigh oordelen dat 't selve schilderij is copye ende geen principael, daer bij persisteren'. [marge:] 'Sijnde 't voorsz. schilderij, 't welck met mijn nots. signet in roden lacke is versegelt, als op desen staet gedruct.' Als getuigen tekenden Cornelis Mebeeck en Tomas van Kessel.

(At the request of Alexander Browe [Browne], the painters Willem Kalf, Job Berckheyde and Gerrit Berckheyde, state that the painting by Titian depicting his mistress has been examined by them on numerous occasions in order to assess whether it is a copy or a *principaal* (original) by the Italian master. They are of the opinion that it is a copy and not a *principaal.*)

[30a] GAA, not. Jac. Hellerus, NA 2529, pp. 299-301, dd. 30 april 1688; A. Bredius, 'Drie schilders-restaurators in 1685 te Amsterdam', *O.H.* 28 (1910), pp. 189-191

Thomas van Kessel, 'konstverkoper ende herbergier', wonende in 't Wapen van Kampen bij de St.Anthonismarkt, ongeveer 31 jaar oud, verklaart op het verzoek van sr. Jeronimus van Suijlen dat 'hij getuyge in de somer van 't verled[en] jaar 1687 [..] ten versoecke van Jan van Duren zr. konstkoper, aen den reqt. verkoght heeft een stuck schilderije, sijnde een blompot met veelderhande bloemen, als doen staande op sijn depts. achterkamer, voor een oprecht stuck van De Heem met sijn eygen handt geschildert (gelijck den voorsz. Jan van Duren hem getuyge vastelijck versekert ende belast hadde 't selve als een schilderije van De Heem te verkopen). Ende dat den requirant aleer hij 't selve stuck schilderije van hem getuyge kocht, expressel. seyde dat hij geen verstant hadde ende niet .... off het een stuck van De Heem was off niet, daerop eyndelijck de koop gesloten wiert voor driehondert en vijftigh guldens'. De koper betaalde hem dit bedrag 'in specie van drie guldens [..] ende daerenbooven aen hem getuyge twintigh, achtentwintigh stuyvers, penningen [sic] tot een vereeringe'. Op dezelfde dag dat betaald werd, heeft Van Kessel deze 350 gulden overgeleverd aan Jan van Duren, wonende op de Keizersgracht, in aanwezigheid van diens huisvrouw. Als getuigen tekenden Ernst Stuven, Claes Postel en Jan Kruijt.

[30b] GAA, not. W. Sylvius, NA 4893, fol. 604-605, dd. 19 juli 1688

Harmtje Nevins, jongedochter, verklaart op het verzoek van Eva Vogelesang, weduwe van Jan van Duuren, 'dat in de voorledene maend may Barent Poeraet [..] ten huyse van de requirante is gecomen en aen de requirante voorgestelt heeft dat er iets in til was wegens sekere schilderij, sijnde een blompot met blommen staende op een taeffel, berustende ten huyse van de requirante en dat de requirante een briefje soude tekenen dat hij Poeraet als een eerlycke man haer requirante soude daeraf helpen. En als de requirante hem tegemoet voerde dat sij sulx niet conde ondertekenen, omdat niet wist of dito schilderij haar man voor dese toegecomen had, dat dito Poeraet seyde: "soo sij sulx niet dede den schout daermede soude speelen" en haer reqte. uyt al haer goet setten. Waerop de requirante alsoo door desselff haer aenraede van dito Poeraet en het voortellen van veele swarigheden dito briefje heeft ondertekent'. Daarna was het door Poeraet meegenomen.

[30c] GAA, not. Jac. Wijbrands, NA 4483, p. 617, dd. 4 augustus 1688

Jannetge Jans, vrouw van Huybert Stuurman, verklaart op het verzoek van Eva Vogelesang, weduwe van Jan van Duuren, 'dat zij deposante ruym dry jaaren verleeden diverze maalen uyt de mont van des reqtes. man zal. gehoort ende verstaan heeft dat eenen schilder Stuwe in zeeker schilderije zijnde een [doorgehaald: 'fruytsch..'] grote blomstuk gestelt heeft de naam van eenen schilder van Heem'. Zij werkte indertijd aldaar als dienstmeid 'ende zelve uyt de mont als vooren van de voorsz. haar meester heeft verstaan'.

(At the request of Jeronimus van Suijlen, Thomas van Kessel, art seller and innkeeper, states that in the summer of the previous year he had sold a flower still life as a genuine work by (Jan Davidsz.) De Heem, painted by the artist himself, to Van Suijlen on behalf of the art dealer Jan van Duren. Van Duren had commissioned him to sell the painting as a work by De Heem. Before Van Suijlen bought the work for 350 guilders he had emphatically stated that he had no knowledge of painting and had no idea whether or not this was a work by De Heem. Ernst Stuven, Claes Postel and Jan Kruijt sign as witnesses. At the request of Eva Vogelesang, widow of Jan van Duren, it is stated that Barent Poeraet had visited her and informed her that something was amiss with respect to a flower still life in her house. Poeraet urged her to sign a letter to the effect that he had relieved her of the work in an honest way. When she replied that she could not do that, as she did not know whether the painting had belonged to her husband, Poeraet threatened her. She then relented and signed the letter. A woman, who had worked at the time as a maidservant in the residence of Eva Vogelesang and her husband, states at the request of Eva Vogelsang that more than three years ago she had been told on various occasions by Jan van Duren that the painter Stuwe [Ernst Stuven] had added the name of the painter (Jan Davidsz. de) Heem to a flower still life.)

[31a] GAA, not. D. van der Groe, NA 4157, p. 469, dd. 14 augustus 1692

Johan van Hughtenburg, Jan Pietersz. Zomer en Matthijs Wulfraet, 'konstrijcke schilders en kenners van schilderijen' verklaren dat ze bij de heer Henrick Decquer, bewindhebber van de V.O.C. gezien hebben 'een stuck schilderije, zijnde een brootbrekinge Christi bij de discipelen Emaus, verzegeld met het cachet van den notaris van achteren, en nadat sij het wel hadden besien en op het aldernaukeurigste geëxamineert na hun beste kennisse en wetenschap geschildert te sijn door Jacomo Ponto Bassano, en is een ware principael van deselve meester [..] en dat sij veele en verscheyde schilderijen van diversche voorname meesters hebben besichtigt en oock van Jac. Ponto Bassano en oversulcx desselfs handelinge en kunst kennen'. Verder verklaren ze dat 'een stuck schilderije, sijnde het vroutje in overspel door Jan Licinio d'Pordonone eveneens

een ware principael is van deselve meester, en ten derde een Christus in de schoot van Maria met engelen naer hun beste kennisse geschildert door Guido Reni, een ware principael van deselve meester'.

[31b] GAA, PA 334 (Archief van de Portugees-Israëlitische gemeente), inv. no. 680, pp. 556-558, dd. 23 oktober 1692

Brief van Hendrick Decquer aan 'de Heer Manuel Levij Duarte'.

'Ick weet niet wel uyt te dencken van wat notitie ick U Edht. copie soude senden konnen om daer door te konnen sien tot wat prijsen hij mij soude konnen verkoopen de 9 stux schilderijen in mijnen laesten genoteert, 't welck oock geen de minste haast heeft, soo dat sulx sal laaten berusten tot U Ehts. gewenste terugkomste uyt Engelant. Alleen sal ick segge dat ick seer soude twijfelen ofte sr. Somer genoegsame kennisse heeft om te oordelen ofte de stucken van de voornaamste Italiaansche meesters geschildert van hun eyge hand sijn, waarvoor die bij vele aangesien worden, waarom ick op sijn segge niet derve hoopen, vresende dat sulx somtijds niet soude geaprobeert worden waarom ick gesproocke hebbe om die daarvoor te garanderen omdat ick die selfs niet veel min mijn vriend die gesien hebben, dan ick vinde mij niet al te wel geëxpliceert te hebben, want mijne intentie niet geweest is dat U Eht. de 2 stucken soud garanderen, maar om klaarder te spreccken, soo was mijne intentie alleen of ick die soude mogen versenden om van mijn vrint gesien te worden of hij die voor Raphael en Guido quam te erkennen, en sulx niet sijnde, dat het mij dan soude vrij staen die weder op sijne costen teruch te laaten koomen om teruch geleevert te worden tot deselve prijs die ick daarvoor betaalt soude hebben en dat even en na gelijcke manier als met juwelen die op repentagie werden gegeven. Wat U Eht. daarop resolveert, versoeke alleen ten spoedigste te mogen weeten om het mijn vrient te konnen participeren om des te eerder op UE teruchkomst over de gemelte 9 stux en meerder partije te konnen handelen.' Spreekt in zijn brief verder over juwelen en verzoekt dan 'wat ick aen mijn vrient raeckende de twee stucx schilderijen van Raphael en Guido soude mogen schrijven'.

(Jan van Hughtenburg, Jan Pietersz. Zomer and Matthijs Wulfraet, artful painters and connoisseurs of paintings, give their opinion of three paintings that they have seen at the house of Hendrick Decquer. After a thorough inspection they concluded that a *Christ at Emmaus* was painted by Jacopo da Ponte, called Bassano, being a true *principaal* (original) by this master. They have examined paintings by important masters on numerous occasions, including works by Bassano, and are thus familiar with his manner and art. In their opinion the painting of *Christ and the woman taken in adultery* is a true *principaal* by Giovanni da Pordenone. To the best of their knowledge a *Christ in Mary's lap with angels* is by Guido Reni and a true *principaal* by this master. In a letter to Manuel Levi Duarte in which is mentioned a transaction involving paintings, Hendrick Decquer expresses his doubts as to whether the expertise of (Jan Pietersz.) Zomer is sufficient for judging whether the paintings were actually painted by important Italian masters. He writes that there are many who believe Zomer to be capable of this, however Decquer is reluctant to automatically endorse this. Should the works be sold, guarantees are advisable. He has someone in mind whom he trusts more than Zomer.)

[32] GAA, not. G. Ypelaer, NA 5329, akte 42, dd. 11 april 1693 en GAA, PA 234 (Archief van het Deutzenhofje), inv. no. 309, dd. 6 september 1685- .. april 1686

Op 11 april 1693 kwamen de erfgenamen van de koopman Joseph Deutz bijeen om de goederen die deze in 1684 had achtergelaten onder elkaar te verdelen. Alvorens de akte van scheiding te ondertekenen, wilde een van de betrokkenen aangetekend zien, dat 'een bataille 't welck staat te weezen van Wouwerman' naar zijn mening niet door deze was geschilderd. In de boedelinventaris van Deutz staat het bewuste schilderij beschreven als 'een bataille van P:Wouwerman'; het was door twee gezworen schatsters op 20 gulden getaxeerd.

(Among Joseph Deutz's heirs, gathered together to divide the property left by this merchant in 1684, is someone who, before signing the deed of partition, wishes to have noted for the record that in his opinion a *Bataille* listed in Deutz's inventory as by P(hilips or Pieter) Wouwerman and valued at 20 guilders by two sworn appraisers, is not by said artist.)

[33a] GAA, not. S. van Sevenhoven, NA 5275, akte 330, dd. 4 februari 1697 en ibid., akte 337, dd. 13 februari 1697 en cf. akte 341, dd. 17 februari 1697

Jan van Goor insinueert uit naam van Barent de Lange, wonende in Den Haag, Pieter van der Luyt, wonende te Amsterdam, over 'de twee schilderijen gemaekt off geschildert door George van der Schalcken', die De Lange hem ter hand had gesteld om 'binnen Kleeff te verkopen op halff winst'. Hij verzoekt hierbij om zijn aandeel in de opbrengst of, wanneer de stukken niet verkocht zijn, om teruggave. De geïnsinueerde antwoordt op 7 februari, dat hij nog het een en ander van De Lange tegoed heeft en bereid is 'na behoorlijcke liquidatie te voldoen wat alsdan zoude mogen wezen bevonden hem bij slot te competeeren'. In een tweede insinuatie van De Lange verzoekt deze aan Van der Luyt, 'coopman alhier [..] uwe reekening die gij geïnsinueerde ten laste van den insinuant sijt hebbende'. Hij meent zelf nog f 46:5:- van hem tegoed te hebben en verzoekt opnieuw de twee schilderijen terug of de waarde daarvan.

[33b] GA 's-Gravenhage, not. A. van der Smalingh, NA 1180, dd. 23 april 1698; A. Bredius, 'Archiefsprokkelingen. Een expertise van 1698', *O.H.* 47 (1930), pp. 157-158

Jacobus Schalcken en Arent Pyl, 'sijnde van competenten ouderdom ende wonende alhier in Den Hage, mij not. bekent', verklaren op het verzoek van Barent de Lange, 'mede wonende alhier in Den Hage', dat zij 'gisterenmiddagh [..] sijn geweest ten huyse van Pieter van der Luyt, wonende op de Veercaaij [Veerkade] alhier ende aldaer gesien twee stucken schilderijen, sijnde Venussen, die den voorn. Van der Luyt debiteerde te sijn twee stucken als principalen geschildert door de heer Godefridus Schalcke, mr. constschilder alhier in Den Hage, het welcke eghter jegens de waerheyt geseght was ende inderdaet niet anders dan copyen [doorgehaald: 'sijn'] waren. Gevende sij voor redenen van wetenschap 't selve heel wel te weten als van de kunst sijnde.' Ze zijn desnoods bereid deze verklaring onder ede te herhalen.

(Barent de Lange in The Hague, who gave two paintings by 'George van der Schalcken' to the Amsterdam merchant Pieter van der Luyt to sell on joint account in Cleves, requests by way of a notary what his share of the profit is, or in the event that the works have not been sold, to return them. Van der Luyt responds that De Lange still owes him, and is prepared to settle matters. In turn, De Lange contends he has yet to receive a small sum of money from Van der Luyt and again requests the two paintings back or their financial equivalent.

At the request of Barent de Lange, Jacobus Schalcken and Arent Pyl state that they went to the house of Pieter van der Luyt, residing at the Veerkade in The Hague, where they saw two paintings of *Venus* which according to Van der Luyt are *principalen* (originals) by Godfried Schalcken. This, however, is untrue since both works are mere copies. They know this, they say, on the basis of their knowledge of art.)

[34] GAA, not. D. van der Groe, NA 4194, pp. 358-360, dd. 20 september 1701; A.C. Steenis-Muntjewerf, 'Een weddenschap over een Terburch', *O.H.* 69 (1954), pp. 123-124

Jan Pietersz. Zomer, gezworen makelaar en Jan van Hughtenburgh, 'konstschilder', verklaren op het verzoek van Anthony de Vos, wonende te Amsterdam, dat op 12 april 1701 tussen de reqt. en Constantinus Francken van Antwerpen in het Herenlogement 'discours en weddenschap' is ontstaan 'over seker stuck schilderij no.1 't welck op de venditie van schilderijen aldaer mede soude werden vercocht, of hetselve origineel was van den schilder Gerard ter Burgh, dan of het een copie was.' Hierop ontving De Vos van Francken 'een dubbele gouden pistolet, om soo hij reqt. de weddenschap verloor, hij alsdan aen dito Francken tien tegens een wederom soude geven. Dat daerop vervolgens over het oirdeel onder de liefhebbers van de kunsten van hetselve stuck schilderij tegens ontrent een diergelijck stuck van dito Ter Burgh, 't welck hij Francken van buyten de stadt hadde laten comen en dat men daerontrent geen volcomen definitie konde geven, vermits men voor het naeste bevondt en meende die beyde stucken originele van dito Terburgh te sijn, tusschen den reqt. en de voorsz. Francken differentie voorviel, die sijl. alle beyde absolut aen hun get. verbleven om door haer afgedaen te werden, gelijck sij oock op den 20 van deselve maent april in presentie van partijen wedersijts de saeck bemiddelt en afgedaen hebben'. De requirant zou de dubbele gouden pistolet teruggeven 'ende dat daermede de saeck afgedaen soude sijn'. Beiden gingen met die uitspraak akkoord, waarop de zaak in de minne werd geregeld.

(At the request of Anthony de Vos, residing in Amsterdam, the sworn broker Jan Pietersz. Zomer and the painter Jan van Hughtenburgh state that in the Herenlogement on 12 April 1701, De Vos and Constantinus Francken of Antwerp discussed a painting that was to be sold as the first lot in a sale of paintings to be held there. Following an exchange of words regarding that particular painting, they made a bet as to whether it was an original by or a copy after Gerard ter Borgh. De Vos received a gold coin from Francken, to whom he would have to give ten gold coins should he lose the bet. In order to assist the art lovers in judging the work, Francken sent for a comparable painting by Ter Borgh from outside the city, but even then they could not reach a final verdict. De Vos and Francken turned to Zomer and Hughtenburgh to resolve their difference of opinion. These arbitrators came to the conclusion that De Vos had to return the gold coin and that the case was thus settled. Both parties agree with this verdict.)

[35] GA 's-Gravenhage, not. C. van Dansioo, NA 1458, dd. 8 januari 1728

Albert du Mont verzoekt de notaris of deze zich met twee getuigen wil begeven naar het huis van de weduwe van de heer Adriaen Moetjens, in zijn leven koopman in Den Haag, om haar te insinueren 'en aenseggen dat de drie schilderijen die sij juff. geïnsinueerde op den 23e november des voorleeden jaers 1727 voor een somma van vijfhondertentachtigh gulden als drie origineele stuckjes van Breugel aen mij insinuant heeft vercocht en die voor soodanige aen mij insinuant gelevert en door mij ook betaelt sijn en van welke coop en betalinge mejuff. de geïnsinueerde aen mij ondergeschreve gegeeven heeft een quitantie van inhoud als volgt: "Ik bekenne voldaen te sijn van monsr. Albert du Mont van de drie Breugeltjes die ik aen hem vercocht hebbe op den 23e november 1727 (w.g.) De wed: Ad: Moetjens". Bij meesters, liefhebbers en kenders van de schilderkunst geëxamineert en gesien wesende, bevonden werden geen origineele maer alleen slechte copien te sijn. Dat vervolgens ik insinuant daerop meer als eens versogt hebbende dat mejuff. de geïnsinueerde van die goetheyt wilde sijn van tot voorcominge van mijn insinuants ruïne, de drie voorsz. drie schilderijtjes (die mogelijk bij haer EE. uyt onkunde vercocht sijn voor 't geen sij niet en waren) wederom te neemen, ende de daervoor betaelde vijfhonderttachtigh gul: te restitueeren, haer EE: heeft gedeclineert. Ende alsoo ik insinuant geensints van meeninge ben de voorengemelte drie schilderijtjes mij voor Breugeltjes als voorsz. vercocht ('t geen sij echter niet sijn) te houden, soo sult gij notaris de voorschreve juff. de weduwe Moetjens insinueeren en aenseggen dat ik ondergeschreve alsnoch versoecke dat het mejuff. de geïnsi[nueerd]e behagen magh, sonder verder moeyelijkheyt de voorsz. drie schilderijtjes weder aen te nemen, ende de daervoor betaelde vijfhonderttachtig gul: te restitueeren.' In geval van weigering of uitstel zal hij 'tot voorcominge van mijne totale ruïne genootsaekt [..] haer EE: daertoe door middelen van rechten te constringeren, protesterende voorts van alle costen, schaden [..] Hage den 8e january 1728 (w.g.) Albert du Mon.' De notaris heeft zich op 8 januari 1728 naar het huis van de weduwe van Moetjens begeven en haar deze insinuatie voorgelezen. Ze antwoordde hierop met de woorden: ik heb het gehoord. Door de notaris gevraagd zijnde of zij aan dit verzoek wenste te voldoen, antwoordde ze ontkennend.

(At the request of Albert du Mont, a notary accompanied by two witnesses went to the house of the widow of Adriaen Moetjens, during his life a merchant in The Hague, to notify her that the three paintings that she had sold to Du Mont as three original works by 'Breugel' for 580 guilders, have been judged by master painters, art lovers and connoisseurs of painting not to be originals, but poor copies instead. As Du Mont has no intention of keeping the paintings – which she may have sold under that artist's name through ignorance – and has repeatedly requested her to take them back, in vain, and to reimburse him the purchase price, he has called on the services of a notary so that in the event of refusal further steps can be undertaken. When asked by the notary whether she plans to comply with this request, the woman's response is negative.)

[36] GA 's-Gravenhage, not. G. van Olden, NA 1927, akte 95, dd. 3 maart 1742; D.S. van Zuiden, 'Een expertise door Pictura in Den Haag', *O.H.* 34 (1916), p. 131

Dirck Kindt, 'constschilder, deeken van de constschildercamer Pictura alhier', Mattheus Terwesten, 'constschilder ende hoofdman van gemelte constcamer', Willem van Haansbergen, 'constschilder', Jan Vollevens, 'constschilder', Coenraad Roepel, 'constschilder' en Nicolaas Hooft, 'constschilder, alle meede hoofdlieden van de voorsz. constcamer mitsgaders Hendrick Verschuring, secretaris van de gemelte constcamer', verklaren op het verzoek van monsr. Pieter Boetens, 'borger en constschilder woonende tot Leyden', dat deze 'alhier op de constcamer van Pictura heeft gebragt de naar te melde drie stukken schilderijen, dewelke de voorn. Boetens affirmeerde te sijn die, dewelke hij den 11 november 1739 hadde gecogt van d'Heer Nicolaas François Waresquiel, stalmeester van den heere van Liebechart, woonende tot Rijssel, voor eenduysent negenhondertentwintig gld. Rijselsgeld, op conditien dat die alle drie geschildert waaren door den vermaarden constschilder en ridder Anthony van Dijck ende in de maand december 1739 door monsr. Laga van Rijssel over Duynkercke met de Rotterdamsche schipper Breda versonden op Rotterdam met adres aen Pieter Swanberger, beurtman van Rotterdam op Gent, als het eerste representerende een almoesenier die brood aan den armen uytdeelend, met diverse soo groote als kleyne fuguren, tot negentien in 't getal, staande op 't selve 't jaar 1629; het tweede verbeeldende een enkeld beeld in 't swart,

knielende op een kussen, met eenigh bijwerk; ende het derde een krijgsman mede knielende, ook met bijwerk geornеert. Met verzoek dat d'heeren comparanten [de] voorsz. drie stukken geliefden te ondersoeken ende examineren of ze waarlijk geschilderd waren door den voorsz. heer ridder Anthony van Dijk, 't welk zij verklaren nauwkeurig te hebben gedaen ende oversulx bij desen te verclaaren ende te certiceeren dat de voorsz. drie stukken schilderijen niet sijn geschildert door den voorn. ridder Anthonij van Dijck ende oversulx was hun oordeel met hun driën geen sesdepart van [de] voorsz. daarvoor uytgeloofden coopprijs waardig te sijn'. In aanwezigheid van de notaris en getuigen is op alle drie stukken 'van achter boven met een wit lintje de lijsten aan de ramen gespijkert en ieder op twee distincte plaatsen met het cachet van de voorsz. konstcamer versegelt. Gevende d'heeren comparanten voor reedenen van wetenschap, dat sij door langdurige en successive ondervindingen de hand in de schilderingen van gem. heer ridder Anthonij van Dijck seer wel kennen, en dat gem. drie schilderijen absolute niet geschildert sijn door voorgem. ridder Anthonij van Dijck [..] ende dat sij heren deposanten ter goeder trouwen naar hunne beste kennisse ende wetenschap voorschreven hun gedeponeerde wel met solemnelen eede willen stercken des noods ende daartoe versogt sijnde. Aldus verleden [..] op de voorsz. Kunstcamer van Pictura.'

(At the request of Pieter Boetens, painter in Leiden, six painters and headmen of the Hague confrérie *Pictura* and their secretary, declare that Boetens brought to the art room the three paintings that he purchased for 1920 Rijssel currency from Nicolaas François Waresquiel, residing in Rijssel, on the condition that all three were painted by the renowned painter and knight Anthony van Dyck. The first shows a chaplain dispensing bread to the poor with 19 figures and the date 1629; the second presents a figure clothed in black kneeling on a cushion with some decorative details; the third depicts a kneeling warrior, also with decorative details. He asks them whether these paintings were indeed made by Van Dyck. They state that the three paintings were not painted by Van Dyck and are, therefore, worth less than a sixth of the purchase price. All believe that their extensive experience has made them well acquainted with Van Dyck's hand and that they can, therefore, confirm that the three works are absolutely not by him.)

Chapter II

Rembrandt's clothes – Dress and meaning in his self-portraits

MARIEKE DE WINKEL

One of the most remarkable features of Rembrandt's presentation of himself in his self-portraits is his attire, the diversity and frequently prominent treatment of which significantly contribute to the great variety of self-portraits in his oeuvre. As clothing always conveys certain messages, it represents an important means of creating a specific image of oneself. This justifies an investigation of clothing as signifier in general, and makes it an interesting tool in the study of self-portraits in particular. What statements does Rembrandt make through his clothing? Does the dress in his self-portraits indicate a particular social rank (that of burgher, gentleman or artist) or is it perhaps also an expression of certain art-theoretical ideals (that of the *pictor doctus* or *pictor vulgaris*)? Because we have scarcely any personal statements by Rembrandt, certainly in comparison with Rubens for instance, how he perceived himself as an artist, his self-portraits represent the appropriate vehicle for exploring this.

While the role and importance of the clothing in the self-portraits has been treated to some extent, no independent study on this subject has been published to date. Hence, many aspects related to dress have remained underexposed or – because the subject has not been studied in a broader context – have been incorrectly interpreted. In the existing literature it appears that the correct identification of the items of clothing poses a greater problem than most authors realise. For example, the extent to which we are presented with a so-called fanciful costume versus a historicising or a historical one is not always equally clear, nor can contemporary attire always be identified as such. One of the aims of this essay is, therefore, to distinguish between 'real' and imaginary or non-contemporary clothing. The first part of this essay deals with contemporary attire in Rembrandt's self-portraits, divided into fashionable, military and working dress. The second part discusses the use of costumes that were not likely to have been actually worn by Rembrandt, and examines the possible sources at his disposal.

For the identification and interpretation of the significance of the clothing depicted, 16th- and 17th-century paintings and prints have been consulted, as have a variety of other primary sources including letters, lexicons and pamphlets. For the investigation of the clothing actually worn, probate inventories of 17th-century Amsterdam painters were examined.[1] While many of these inventories were published earlier by Bredius in his *Künstler-Inventare* of 1918, the items of clothing listed in them were largely omitted. These inventories have been reexamined in an attempt to set Rembrandt's use of clothing in a contemporary artistic context. The clothing listed in 21 of these inventories are included here in an appendix.[2]

Presuming that, on the basis of clothing, Rembrandt conveyed certain messages, it is important to distinguish for whom these messages were meant, that is, who comprised the audience interested in his self-portraits. The answering of this question is rather complicated and is the subject of ongoing research. Also the closely related question of whether there was a market for his self-portraits should also be scrutinised more closely. If we assume that Rembrandt made self-portraits for purely personal reasons based on an inner drive, one would expect him to have kept them in his possession. Telling in this respect is that not a single self-portrait is listed in the inventory that was taken in connection with Rembrandt's *cessio bonorum* of 1656.[3] This seems to indicate that they had already been sold. As is described in more depth in Chapter III, self-portraits of Rembrandt were found very early on in foreign royal and princely collections, including those of Charles I in London, the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm in Düsseldorf and Cosimo III in Florence,[4] as well as in important Dutch collections such as those of Johannes de Renialme, Joseph Deutz, Sibert van der Schelling and Jan van Beuningen.[5] Moreover, various family members owned self-portraits or portraits of Rembrandt, including Rembrandt's son Titus,[6] as did acquaintances, for instance Harmen Becker and Louis Crayers.[7] From this it would appear that the identity of the sitter certainly played a significant role. This can also be gathered from contemporary sources with references to a 'contrefeitsel van Rembrant door hem selffs gedaen' (a portrait of Rembrant done by himself),[8] or 'een tronye door Rembrant nae hem selven

1 With respect to archival sources, a selection had to be made from the available material. For example, I did not systematically consult wills.

2 This selection is based on the impression that the inventory of clothing is more or less complete. Unfortunately, some of the inventories mentioned by Bredius can no longer be consulted. It should be taken into account that generally inventories were taken only if there were actual possessions.

3 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12.

4 The following description of a painting in the collection of Charles I was made as early as 1639: 'the picture done by Rembrant. being his owne picture & done by himself in a Black capp and furrd habitt with a litle goulden chaine uppon both his Should[rs] In an Ovall and a square black frame.' See: I A 33 and Strauss *Doc.*, 1639/11. Among the works in the collection of Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine in Düsseldorf in 1719 was listed: 'Das Portrait von Rembrand, gemahlet von Rembrand' (for this source, see IV 11). In the catalogue of the collection of Cosimo III from before 1671 mention is made of a 'Ritratto di Rimbrans'. See also IV 28, and K. Langedijk, *Die Selbstbildnisse der holländischen und flämischen Künstler in der Galleria degli Autoritratti der Uffizien in Florenz*, Florence 1992, p. 151.

5 See the appendix to Chapter III, pp. 316-317.

6 The probate inventory of Titus' widow Magdalena van Loo of *c.* 21 October 1669 lists: 'Een conterfeytsel van des overledens Schoonvader' (A portrait of the father-in-law of the deceased); HdG *Urk.*, no. 310).

7 For Harmen Becker see note 9. The probate inventory of Adriana van Gheyn, widow of Louis Crayers (Titus' guardian), includes: 'Een conterfeytsel van Rembrandt van Rijn en sijn huysvrouw' (A portrait of Rembrandt van Rijn and his wife) GAA, not. A. Lock, NA 2262(B), dd. 4 August 1677 and HdG *Urk.*, no. 336.

8 The probate inventory of Joseph Deutz and Lucretia Ortt includes: '[No.] 15 Het contrefeitsel van Rembrant door hem selffs gedaen *f* 80:-:-' (The portrait of Rembrandt done by himself *f* 80:-:-) GAA, PA. 234, inv. no. 309, dd. 6 September 1685. The inventory of Pieter le Moine also lists: 'Een schilderije van Rembrandt van Rijn zijnde sijn conterfeytsel' (A painting by Rembrandt van Rijn being his portrait) GAA, not. S. van der Sluijs, NA 3533, fol. 327-338, dd. 23 May 1674. On this, see the appendix to Chapter III, pp. 316-317.

Fig. 1. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1632. Glasgow, The Burell Collection (II A 58)



Fig. 2. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, etching (B. 7)



geschildert' (a *tronie* by Rembrandt painted after himself).[9]

The fact that Rembrandt's self-portraits were included as such in royal collections during his lifetime; the existence of painted copies and non-autograph 'self-portraits'; and the fact that etched self-portraits were in circulation, indicate that there was a public demand for such works and that the buyers were most likely conscious of the sitter's identity. Rembrandt's probable awareness of a market for his self-portraits and the fact that they were potential collector's items must have been important for the way in which he presented himself pictorially.

'Divin van kunst en verstand' (Divine in art and wit)
Self-portraits of Rembrandt in contemporary clothing

Considering Rembrandt's self-portraits of 1625 to 1669, one is first struck by the fact that he only rarely shows himself in formal, fashionable garb. Where there is little to distinguish other painters in their self-portraits from contemporary sitters in portraits – other than the fact that they are sometimes shown holding the attributes of their art – Rembrandt portrayed himself in the same formal, fashionable attire as his patrons for only a short time. Only in two paintings from 1632 (II A 58 and IV *Addendum* 1, p. 609) and a closely related etching of 1631 (B. 7 I-XI), which has been preserved in 11 states, did Rembrandt portray himself in such attire (figs. 1 and 2). Nevertheless, the importance Rembrandt placed on this type of self-portrait is evidenced by the relatively large plate he used (14.8 x 13 cm) and the numerous states of the etching. Could this choice of attire be related to his move to Amsterdam, where he initially worked as a portraitist? Chapman's notion that 'Rembrandt in these self-portraits strives to emulate Rubens, who always depicted himself in fashionable dress,' seems somewhat exaggerated since this was the most common self-portrait convention at the time.[10]

In both of the aforementioned paintings and the etching, Rembrandt wears a black hat with a broad rim and an ornamental gold hat band, a black cloak with velvet facings over a plain black doublet and a type of neckwear that was known as a falling ruff. In the Glasgow *Self-portrait as a burgher* a bit of the red cord tying the ruff together at the neck is just visible. From *c.* 1620 on, this was the most fashionable type of neckwear; consisting of many layers of lawn, it could remain plain, be decorated with cut-work, or trimmed with lace.

The first three decades of the 17th century witnessed a relatively wide range in neckwear. Wearers appeared to favour one particular kind of collar for long periods of time. This is nicely illustrated in a letter by Maria van

9 Dirck van Cattenburgh owned in 1685 'Een stuck schilderij sijnde een tronye door Rembrant nae hem selven geschildert, daerom is een platte gestroyde vergulde lijste' (A painting being a *tronie* by Rembrandt painted after himself, around it is a flat spotted gilded frame) GAA, not. J. de Hué, NA. 5528(B), dd. 1 December 1685 and Strauss *Doc.*, 1658 [sic!]/22. Harmen Becker owned 'Een manstronie van Rembrant sijnde sijn eygen conterfeytsel' (A man's *tronie* by Rembrandt being his own portrait) GAA, not. S. Pelgrom, NA. 4767, pp. 324-378, dd. 19 October-23 November 1678 (see the appendix to Chapter III, nos. 13 and 10).

10 H.P. Chapman, 'Rembrandt's "Burgelijk" self-portraits', *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 8 (1989), pp. 203-215.

Reigersberch dated February 1635, in which she notes that her cousin Maurits Huygens was in the habit of wearing very small bands, just like the one shown in his 1632 portrait by Rembrandt (II A 57, Hamburg, Kunsthalle).[11] The choice of a particular type of collar can be considered as a sign of status and of the wearer's fashion consciousness. An indication of Rembrandt's sensitivity to fashion and/or status, is the fact that in portraits made in the 1620s and early 1630s of the stylish Constantijn Huygens, the sitter wears a similar falling ruff, as can be seen, for example, in his portrait by Lievens of 1627.[12] A striking feature of contemporary portraiture and of many of Rembrandt's portraits of male sitters around 1632 is the prevalence of the falling ruff. Shortly thereafter it was replaced with the falling band, a collar spread flat on the shoulders and trimmed with lace.[13] Very similar to Rembrandt's dress in the Glasgow *Self-portrait* (particularly the cloak folded down on the shoulders) is that in his *Portrait of Jacques de Gheyn* (II A 56, London, Dulwich Picture Gallery) also of 1632. Jacques de Gheyn, too, was a painter and according to Constantijn Huygens was so affluent that he could afford to neglect the art of painting.[14] By depicting himself in such elegant attire, was Rembrandt attempting to present himself on the same social level as his patrons? Given the large number of portrait commissions that he received in these years, he must have enjoyed a certain standard of living and could conceivably afford to dress in such a manner. The costly gold hat band and the velvet facings of his cloak betray a certain elegance and an awareness of status. In the last six states of the etching, which probably date from 1633, even costlier materials are introduced. The lace pattern of the ruff is further emphasised and the plain fabric of the cloak has been replaced by *caffa* (a kind of patterned velvet) lined with fur. At first sight, these embellishments with their almost exaggerated flamboyancy raise doubts as to the clothing's reality. However, this cannot be summarily ruled out, as will be shown below.

It is remarkable that when painters represented themselves in contemporary garb, as Rembrandt did in the self-portraits of 1632, they were usually dressed in the latest fashions, and often rather luxuriously.[15] The question this raises is to what extent this reflects the actual situation, or were the artists attempting to convey a more flattering image? A study of 17th-century probate inventories of Amsterdam painters reveals great differences in wealth, which affected the nature and scope of the artists' material possessions, of which clothing made up an important part.[16] The inventories in the accompanying appendix include Karel van Mander's shabby effects of 1606, which contrasts strongly with the extensive *garderobe* of the landscape painter Gillis van Coninxloo taken a year later (appendix nos. 1 and 2). In some of these inventories from the 1620s, the wardrobes are conspicuously luxurious. Clothing made of *caffa* or satin, and lace collars were not exceptional (appendix nos. 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8). Accordingly, a young and successful painter like Rembrandt could well have owned a *caffa* cloak lined with fur, lace collars or a gold hat band. These Amsterdam painters' inventories make clear that 17th-century painters were a diverse group qua income and prestige. Moreover, affluent painters did not always derive their wealth from their art. Some, such as Leendert van Beijeren (appendix no. 9), came from well-to-do merchant's families, while others, like Jan van de Capelle (appendix no. 17), had another, very lucrative source of income and painted more or less as a pastime.

Although Rembrandt, who acquired his wealth as an artist (and possibly as an art dealer), could afford sophisticated clothing in financial terms, the question remains whether he could actually afford it socially. Throughout the 17th century, extravagant dress on the part of burghers was considered highly undesirable from a social point of view as this would efface class differences.[17] This concern was voiced by the Reformed minister Willem Teellinck, among others, who in 1620 proclaimed that it is not one's purse but one's social position that determines what one can wear.[18] However, ministers were not alone in their objection to this disruption of God's order. Criticism of sumptuously dressed burghers also came forth from non-religious quarters, and stressed

11 See: H.C. Rogge, *Brieven van en aan Maria van Reigersberch*, Leiden 1906, p. 216. Nicolaes Tulp, both in his portrait by Rembrandt of 1632 (II A 51) in The Hague and the one of *c.* 1634 by Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy (Amsterdam, Six Collection), also reveals a preference for such small bands. Johannes Wtenbogaert generally wore a loosely pleated ruff known as a 'fraise a la confusion', as shown in his portrait by Rembrandt of 1633 (II A 80), in that by Michiel van Mierevelt of 1637 and that by Jacob Backer of 1638 (all in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

12 Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, on loan from the Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai. See also his portrait by Thomas de Keyser of 1627 (London, National Gallery). The earliest work in which Huygens is shown wearing this type of collar is his drawn self-portrait of 1622. See: H.E. van Gelder, *De Ikonografie van C. Huygens en de zijnen*, The Hague 1957, p. 18, no. 3.

13 See, for an example, Rembrandt's *Portrait of Maerten Soolmans* (II A 101) of 1634, Paris, private collection.

14 C. Huygens, *Mijn jeugd*, translated by C.L. Heesakkers, Amsterdam 1987, p. 75.

15 Compare, for example, the self-portraits of Anthony Mor of 1558 (Florence, Uffizi), Joachim Wttewael of 1601 (Utrecht, Centraal Museum), Nicolaes Eliasz. of 1627 (Paris, Musée du Louvre) and Judith Leyster of *c.* 1633 (Washington, National Gallery of Art).

16 See for Delft painters: J.M. Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century*, Princeton (N.J.) 1982. In the chapter 'The Economic Status of Artists', he signals not only a difference between the probate inventories but also a great variation in, for example, taxes, death donations and housing expenses. While most painters came from what he calls the middle and upper classes, Montias is struck by the rise in apparent wealth until mid-career of some painters, and mentions Rembrandt in particular.

17 A.Th. van Deursen, *Mensen van klein vermogen*, Amsterdam 1991, pp. 117-118.

18 'Daer sijn rijcke, ende machtige Coop-luyden, sy souden konnen gaen als Vorsten gekleed, maer sy doen wijselijcken, dat sy sich houden aen de Coop-luyden dracht. Het is niet de beurse, maar de staet welck de mate moet stellen aen de kleedinghe' (There are rich and powerful merchants, who could dress as princes, but they would be wise to keep to merchant's attire. It is not one's purse, but one's position that should determine the measure of clothes). W. Teellinck, *Den Spieghel der Zedigheyt,...*, Middelburg 1620, p. 24.

economic motives.[19] With respect to the issues addressed in this chapter, in the 17th century in particular there appear to have been problems in deciding just what was appropriate clothing for painters. This becomes clear from a remarkable pamphlet by a certain J. van B.,[20] an Amsterdam jurist, who in 1662 argued that it was high time that the government adopted measures to prohibit the wearing of satin and velvet by just anyone, otherwise the distinction between the various classes would be lost. He proposed that the nobility, members of the governments of the States and cities could wear whatever they wished, as laws could hardly be applied to those who made them. Also, no restrictions should be placed on merchants with a capital in excess of 40 to 50 thousand guilders. However, according to this draft regulation, all other 'tradesmen, shopkeepers and artisans' had to cast off their velvet and silk clothing and dress instead in 'wolle en andere stoffen bequame tot haeren dienst, ende dienstiger voor het Vaderlant' (wool and other fabrics suited to their work, and more profitable to the Fatherland). Painters appeared to be exempt from this rule in the author's view. 'However, as for the painters, I have not yet been able to come to a resolution: so very diverse are these people, and many are also passionate: some are indeed painters, who paint everything ingeniously, and are divine in art and wit. Others are merely daubers and painters in the rough.'[21]

From this may be inferred that in the 17th century talented painters could break through the social stratification, with the consequence that there were fewer established clothing conventions for painters than for other occupations. A painter's prestige appears to have been determined by his talent and resulting wealth, whereby he enjoyed a certain exemption from convention when it came to dress. It was no one less than Constantijn Huygens who, a few years before Rembrandt made the aforementioned self-portraits, and referring to the young Rembrandt and Lievens, voiced the opinion that a painter's God-given talent could elevate him to grandness, regardless of his background or training. In this connection, Huygens use of the adjective 'noble' to describe the two young painters is quite significant.[22]

'Een Iseren Ringhkraegh' (An iron gorget)
Self-portraits of Rembrandt in military dress

Although the clothing in a number of self-portraits from around 1629 could be considered contemporary, reality appears to have been manipulated. For example, in Rembrandt's drawn *Self-portraits* in London (Ben. 53) and Amsterdam (Ben. 54), the three closely linked etched *Self-portraits* (B. 1, 27 and 338) and the painted *Self-portrait* in Munich (I A 19), the length of his hair varies so greatly that he could not possibly have provided an accurate rendering of reality in all cases. In these self-portraits he wears a small, simple collar – possibly that of his shirt – over a coat embellished with frogging on the front. This decorative frogging stemmed from military dress and became a fashionable element in civil attire, especially during the second half of the 1620s and the first half of the 1630s.[23] The military connotation of this was surely familiar to contemporaries. This military aspect is particularly explicit in the *Self-portrait with gorget* in Nuremberg (fig. 3), likewise dated around 1629.[24] In addition to the comparable small collar, just as in one of his prints (B. 338; fig. 4) the painter sports a long lock of hair on the left side of his head. Such locks, referred to by contemporaries as *lovelocks*, were particularly fashionable in the 1620s among the aristocracy in France, England and

19 According to Schama, sumptuary restraints such as laws against the extravagent costs of weddings, banquets and funerals in the Netherlands imposed from the second half of the 17th century on in direct response to some pressing crisis, such as epidemics and trade depressions as a consequence of war. S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, London 1987, pp. 186-187. It is, furthermore, noteworthy that during the 16th and 17th century in the Netherlands no dress regulations were enacted. This is in contrast to the surrounding countries where they were numerous. See, for example: J. Zander-Seidel, 'Kleidergesetzgebung und städtische Ordnung – Inhalte, Überwachung und Akzeptanz frühneuzeitlicher Kleiderordnungen', in: *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* 1993, pp. 176-188 and L.C. Eisenbart, *Kleiderordnungen der deutschen Städte zwischen 1350 und 1700*, Berlin/Frankfurt 1962. These restrictions enacted by the secular authorities were not so much prompted by moral or religious motives, but must be seen as protective measures to safeguard the home market. See: N.B. Harte, 'State control of Dress and Social change in Pre-Industrial England', in: D.C. Coleman and A.H. John (eds.) *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England: Essays Presented to F.J. Fisher*, London 1976, pp. 132-165.

20 J. van B., *Een onderscheyt Boeckje Ofte Tractaetje vande fouten en dwalingen der Politie in ons Vaderlant*, Amsterdam 1662. W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 14 vols., The Hague 1892, vol. 2, no. 8670.

21 J.v.B, op. cit.[20], pp. 3-4: 'Doch wat aengaet de Schilders/ daer van en leyt noch geen resolutie by my: soo seer verscheyden sijn dese luyden/ ende oock veel dol van geest: sommige oock Schilders inderdaet/ die alles geestigh afmalen/ ende divin sijn van kunst ende verstant. Andere maer kladders/ en Kladt-schilders'. According to the *WNT*, in the 17th century the word *dol* meant insane as well as very elated, extravagant, passionate or wild. In this context, the latter meanings are more appropriate than the first. With *geest* the author is probably referring to the concept of *ingenium* or *inspiratio*, which artists were thought to have more of than other people. On the one hand, this characteristic was appreciated because it led to inventiveness which was necessary for creating inspired works of art, on the other hand, it tended to encourage eccentric behaviour in an artist which, in turn, ensured that the painter displayed socially malajusted behaviour. On this, see: H. Miedema, *Kunst historisch*, Maarssen 1989, pp. 206-208. Van Mander refers to 'Schilder Cranck-hooft' (painter madman) and 'Hoe schilder hoe wilder' (The more artistic, the more eccentric), K. van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilderconst*, Haarlem 1603, fol. 3. In the 17th century, a *kladder* was a painter without talent. In documents, the term *kladschilder* meant house painter, while in literary texts it also referred to an unskilled painter. See: L. de Pauw-de Veen, *De begrippen 'schilder', 'schilderij' en 'schilderen' in de zeventiende eeuw*, Brussels 1969, pp. 38-39.

22 Heesakkers, op. cit.[14], p. 84. The Latin text is: 'In Triarijs consulto reservavi nobile par Adolescentum Leidensium,' Strauss *Doc.*, 1630/5. See also: S. Slive, *Rembrandt and his critics, 1630-1730*, The Hague 1953, pp. 14-15.

23 Many examples can be found in the series of engravings by Abraham Bosse of that same period. On the influence of military dress on fashion, see: R. Bleckwenn, 'Beziehungen zwischen Soldatentracht und ziviler modischer Kleidung zwischen 1500 und 1650', *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 16 (1974), pp. 107-118. This frogging in military attire had in turn been adopted from Oriental dress.

24 Another version of this *Self-portrait* (I A 21) which is not by Rembrandt is in the Mauritshuis in The Hague. See C. Grimm, *Rembrandt selbst. Eine Neubewertung seiner Porträtkunst*, Stuttgart/Zurich 1991, pp. 24-28.

Fig. 3. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait with gorget*, *c.* 1629. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (IV *Corrigenda* I A 21)



Fig. 4. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, etching (B. 338)



Germany.[25] In Dutch portraiture, *lovelocks* are encountered almost exclusively in portraits of foreign military figures and of members of the court of Frederick, the elector Palatine.[26] This essentially aristocratic fashion is extremely rare in portraits of Dutchmen. And, it is thus highly doubtful that Rembrandt wore his hair in this manner.[27]

The gorget in this *Self-portrait* has been variously and speculatively interpreted in the literature on the version in The Hague.[28] According to Chapman, this piece of armour makes of the painter a patriotic defender of both Pictura and his fatherland.[29] In the *Corpus*, it was erroneously interpreted as a *vanitas* symbol signifying the transience of youth.[30] In fact, this collar is a remnant of the harness that fell into disuse with the advent of firearms.[31] In the 17th century it was frequently worn over a buff coat by soldiers and officers as well as by members of the civic guard as part of their outfit.[32] In the inventories of 17th-century painters, this and other items of military dress occur quite frequently. For instance, Rembrandt's inventory of 1656 lists an 'Isere Ringhkraegh' (iron gorget).[33] While in a number of cases (i.e. in Ferdinand Bol's inventory [34]) such items seem to be studio props, it

25 In France they were called *Moustaches* or *Cadenettes*, probably after the French nobleman H. Albert de Cadenet. See R. Corson, *Fashions in Hair, the first five thousand years*, London 1965, p. 206. The word 'liefdelok', used by Chapman 1990 (pp. 22, 38 and 143), is a literal translation from the English and was not a contemporary Dutch term. In Dutch 17th-century literature, such locks of hair are generally referred to as 'tuyten', as is evidenced by the satire by Elias Herckmans written in 1635: 'een 's linckernecksche tuyt' (a lock on the left of the neck). See: E. Herckmans, *Encomium Calvitii ofte lof der Kael-koppen*, Amsterdam 1635, p. 3 and C. Kilianus, *Etymologicum Tevtonicae lingvae, sive Dictionarium Tevtonico-Latinvm*, Amsterdam 1605 (15881), s.v.: 'Tuyte: oft locke van haer, Cirrus' (Tuyte: or lock of hair, *Cirrus*).

26 See also David de Bailly's *Portrait of Christian Rosencrantz*, a Danish nobleman, of 1641 (Hillerød, Frederiksborg).

27 The French lexicographer Antoine Furetière noted that the nobility did not condone this attire among the lower classes: '*Moustache*: se dit aussi des cheveux qu'on laisse croistre & pendre à costé des jous. Les hommes portoient autrefois une longue *moustache* du costé gauche. Les femmes ont des *moustaches* bouclées qui leur pendent le long des jouës jusque sur le sein. On faisoit la guerre aux servantes & aux bourgeoises, quand elles portoient des *moustaches* comme des Demoiselles. S.v. *Moustache* in A. Furetière, *Dictionaire Universel*, The Hague/Rotterdam 1690.

28 The gorget is frequently erroneously referred to in Dutch texts as a *halsberg*. This term, however, originated in the 19th century; in the Netherlands in the 17th century a gorget was called either a *ringkraag* or *gorgerijn*. See: J.P. Puype in: exhib. cat. *Het arsenaal van de wereld, Nederlandse wapenhandel in de Gouden Eeuw*, 1993, Leger- en Wapenmuseum Delft, p. 67.

29 Chapman 1990, pp. 34, 36, 39-40.

30 *Corpus* II, Addendum I A 21, p. 838.

31 In the 16th century the gorget was first worn under the chest plate with the defences for the upper arms attached to it. See G.C. Stone, *A Glossary of the Construction, Decoration and Use of Arms and Armor, in All Countries and in All Times*, New York 1934, pp. 250-251.

32 In the *Ordre op de Wapeninghe* by the States General, drawn up in 1599 and repeated in 1639, 'Ruyteren Cuirassiers, Ritmeesters, Lieutenanten ende Cornetten van de Compaignien' (cavalry soldiers, rittmasters, lieutenants and cornets of the companies) were required to wear a 'gorgerijn'. That this 'gorgerijn' was considered a very important part of the equipment is evidenced by the extremely stiff penalty imposed on anyone who did not wear it. See: J.B. Kist, *Musket, Roer & Pistolet, 17e-eeuws wapenhandwerk in de Lage Landen*, The Hague 1974, pp. 143-144.

33 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 279.

34 GAA, not. E. de Witt, NA. 4512, dd. 8 October 1669, fol. 466, marriage settlement of Anna van Erckel and Ferdinand Bol. fol. 474v.: 'Harnassen: een curas, een blanck schilt, een dito vergult, twee stormhoeden, een helmet' (Harnesses: a cuirass, a blank shield, a gilded shield, two headpieces, a helmet).

Fig. 5. W. Delff after M. van Mierevelt, *Frederick Elector of the Palatinate*, engraving



Fig. 6. W. Delff after M. van Mierevelt, *Christian, Duke of Braunschweig*, 1623, engraving



should be noted that many painters were members of the civic guard and that the gorgets were part of their proper gear. This was the case for the painters Lodewijk van der Helst (appendix no. 15) and Dirck Harmansz. (appendix no. 8), who in 1640 owned 'een degen' (a rapier), 'een ringh craegh' (a gorget), 'twee leere kolders' (two leather buff-coats) and a 'bandelier' (bandolier).

In the *Corpus* entry on the version of the *Self-portrait with gorget* in The Hague (I A 21), it is argued that the painter depicted himself as reflected in a mirror. This was based on the assumption that the gorget is shown in reverse because the rivet was customarily on the left side.[35] However, extant 17th-century gorgets are pivoted on one shoulder and fastened with a stud and a keyhole-slot on the other: the fastening could be on either the right or left shoulder.[36] In the *Self-portrait with gorget* the right side appears to be pivoted, as is the case for the gorget worn by Joris de Caullery (II A 53) in his portrait of 1632.

A second argument against the assumption that the painter depicted himself in mirror image is the position of the *lovelock*. Both pictorial and written 17th-century sources indicate that this lock of hair was always worn on the left.[37] In Van Mierevelt's well-known series of military portraits for Honselaarsdijk (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam), sitters shown with a 'lovelock', including Frederick, the Elector Palatine, his son Frederick Henry and Christian of Brunswick, without exception wear it on the left side. Aside from the *lovelock* motif, the pose, with the body turned slightly to the left and the frontal position of the head in Rembrandt's Nuremberg *Self-portrait with gorget* is highly reminiscent of that of the sitters in Van Mierevelt's series of portraits.[38] Engravings after this series by Willem Delff (figs. 5 and 6) intended for a broader public appear to have been exceptionally popular around 1629, particularly in Leiden as is evidenced by the fact that they occur as wall decorations in the interiors of Leiden painters.[39] In the Nuremberg *Self-portrait* Rembrandt possibly modelled his appearance on this series of aristocratic military officers. In short, this *Self-portrait* is not likely to be a realistic image (thus in reverse), given that the lovelock

35 According to the authors, I A 21 and also I A 22 must be in reverse because of the same reason. On this, see: *Corpus* I, p. 228.

36 See the *Wallace Collection Catalogue of European Arms and Armour*, London 1962, vol. I, nos. A231-A239.

37 As testified by Furetière, op. cit.[27] : 'Cadenette: Moustache, poignée de cheveux qu'on laissoit croître autrefois du côté gauche, tandis qu'on tenoit les autres courts' and by Herckmans, op. cit.[25], who refers specifically to a 'slinckerneckse tuyt'. In one of his etched Self-portraits (B. 338), Rembrandt wears the cadenette on the left side, which means that he took into account the reverse image the print would yield.

38 In 1775, the engraver Valentine Green also made this association, evidenced by the fact that he entitled his engraving after the painting 'Prince Rupert'. See: *Corpus* I, p. 229. Rupert was the third son of the Elector Palatine.

39 One of the prints (that of Christian of Brunswick) can be recognised in the background of a painting by the Leiden painter Jan Davidsz. De Heem, *Man seated at a table* of 1628 in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. According to his 1656 inventory, Rembrandt owned: 'Een dito (boeck met prenten) vol contrefijtsels van Mierevelt, Titiaen en andere meer' (A ditto [book with prints] full of likenesses of Van Mierevelt, Titian and others). See: Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 246.

was worn on the left.[40] Moreover, it is extremely doubtful that Rembrandt actually wore such a lovelock. Hence, this painting is a self-portrait only to the extent that he used his facial features. It is quite plausible that this work and other self-portraits with gorgets from the same period were characterised by contemporaries as *tronies* with military connotations.[41] The popularity of this sort of portrait and Rembrandt's production of military *tronies* (for which he did not use himself as a model) in these years would seem to indicate the existence of a market for this kind of picture.[42]

'...Sooals hij in sijn schilderkamer gekleet was' (...as he was dressed in his studio)
Self-portraits of Rembrandt in working dress

A drawing attributed to Rembrandt in the collection of the Rembrandthuis in Amsterdam (Ben. 1171; fig. 7) shows Rembrandt with legs spread and arms akimbo.[43] The painter wears a knee-length coat bound at the waist with a sash. The sleeves reach to the elbows and have a vertical slit along the front. Under the coat is a doublet with long, close-fitting sleeves and a turned up collar. He also wears slippers and a hat. Written below the drawing, which can be dated to around 1650 on the basis of the clothing, is:

'Getekent door Rembrant van Rhijn naer sijn selver sooals hij in sijn schilderkamer gekleet was.' (Drawn by Rembrandt van Rhijn after himself as he was dressed in his studio). [44]

Several self-portraits from this period show Rembrandt in similar clothing, including the *Self-portrait* in Vienna of 1652 (IV 8; fig. 8) and the one in New York of 1660 (IV 20). Because of their correspondence with the drawing, it has been assumed that Rembrandt depicted himself in working dress in these two works. While we would simply expect that 17th-century painters wore working clothing, we should question whether this was in fact the case. This proves more difficult to answer than one might think.

To start with, a comparison with self-portraits of contemporary painters does not yield an answer. As indicated above, the convention in self-portraiture during this period and the preceding one was for artists to present themselves in elegant, fashionable attire, even when they depicted themselves before their easel with their painting tools. In the literature, this phenomenon is frequently explained as a consequence of the aim of 16th- and 17th-century artists to elevate painting above the crafts and thereby raise the prestige of painting and the status of the painter.[45] An important argument for presenting oneself as a gentleman in elegant clothes is given by Leonardo da Vinci. He argued that unlike sculpture, painting was an activity that did not require great physical exertion and did not soil the painter, thus working clothes were unnecessary. This made painting a highly suitable activity for a gentleman who, should he wish to paint, could remain clothed in conformance with his social standing.[46] A related passage from Antiquity is found in Pliny to the effect that Nero's court painter Famulus (or

Fig. 7. Attr. to Rembrandt, *Portrait of Rembrandt*, *c.* 1650, pen and bistre, 20.3 x 13.4 cm (Ben. 1171). Amsterdam, Museum Het Rembrandthuis



40 E. Hinterding, 'Links en rechts in de etsen van Rembrandt', *Kunstschrift 2* (1996), pp. 50-51. W. Boeck, 'Rechts und Links in Rembrandts Druckgraphik', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 15 (1953), pp. 179-219.

41 III B 11, Florence, Uffizi; II A 97, 1634, Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen; III C 98, The Hague, Mauritshuis.

42 Compare with especially II A 43 of 1631, I B 6 of *c.* 1628, and I A 8 of *c.* 1628, I B 4 of *c.* 1631 and I A 42 of 1631. Listed in the inventory of the Frisian painter Lambert Jacobsz. of 1637 is: 'Een soldaet met swart haer [met] een Iseren halskraegh [en een] sluijer om den hals nae Remb[randt]' (A soldier with black hair [with] an iron gorget [and a] scarf around the neck after Rembrandt); Strauss *Doc.*, 1637/4.

43 Peter Schatborn recently suggested (verbal communication) that this drawing fits into a group of drawings he attributes to Willem Drost and that it could be dated to the early 1650s.

44 This text is on a separate piece of paper. According to Frerichs, the handwriting is 17th century. Zie: L.C.J. Frerichs, 'Nieuw licht op een oud handschrift', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 24 (1970), pp. 35-44. Jaap van der Veen assesses the handwriting as being late 17th century.

45 H.-J. Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1984, pp. 36-43; Chapman 1990, p. 49 and her Chapter 4. Regarding the status of the artist in general: P.O. Kristeller, 'The Modern System of the Arts', *Renaissance Thought II*, New York 1965, pp. 178-188.

46 See: M. Kemp, *Leonardo on Painting*, New Haven/London 1989, p. 39.

Fig. 8. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1652. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (IV 8)



Amulius) always worked in his toga.[47] Because these texts have a primarily art-theoretical undertone they do not necessarily reflect actual practice. Therefore Raupp posited that elegant clothing does not appear to have been actually worn in the studio.[48] However, there were painters who worked in formal garb. An 18th-century example is the French painter Jacques David, who according to contemporaries always painted in fashionable dress without spilling paint on it.[49] Moreover, when portraying royalty painters were required to work in the often very uncomfortable dress prescribed at court.[50] While strictly speaking artists could have worked in fashionable dress, the close fitting suits, large starched ruffs and wide cuffs in which 17th-century painters presented themselves in their self-portraits seem far too unwieldy to have been worn while painting. So, what did painters wear while at work and did any specific type of working dress in fact exist?

First, we must define what is meant by working dress. This could be clothing that was specially designed and made for particular activities, such as the present overall or dustcoat. It could also simply consist of just practical items not specially made for a particular professional purpose. The former category does not appear to have existed in the 17th century. Most occupational groups at the time wore functional protective garments but there was no specific working clothing.[51] In *Het menselyk bedryf*, a series of prints published by Caspar and Jan Luyken in 1694 illustrating various occupations, those who wear aprons are the pastry baker, the stonecutter and the silversmith. These aprons, called *schootsvellen* in the 17th century, consisted of a square piece of leather or fabric, one point of which was pinned on the chest or secured with a cord around the neck and the waist.[52] Such an apron is seen in Rembrandt's etching *The goldsmith* (B. 123; fig. 9) of 1655. These *schootsvellen* were considered typical wear for craftsmen and carpenters in particular. In 1655 the Frenchman Jean de Parival observed carpenters and masons 'without cloaks, but with their sticks and aprons' receiving instruction at an engineering school in Leiden.[53] These aprons were worn over everyday garb. In 17th-century probate inventories a distinction is sometimes made between daily and best clothing, which was reserved for Sundays and holidays or official occasions. Such a 'best' suit often distinguished itself from daily wear in the quality of the fabric, the colour (black) or simply because it was newer.[54] In a letter from Gerard Terborch the Elder to his son of the same name, a clear distinction is made between his 'daegelixe' and 'besste' suit.[55] From this letter it is clear that these suits had to last a long time and first be turned

47 Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae XXXV*, 120 and K. van Mander, *Het leven der oude, Antijcke, doorluchtighe schilders,...*, Alkmaar 1603, fol. 88. See also Raupp, op. cit.[45], p. 36. According to Raupp, painters dressed in formal wear because the dignity of art demanded a distinguished appearance. He refers to Pers' 1644 Dutch translation of Ripa, in which the personification of *Artificio* is: 'Konstigh en edel wort hij gekleet, om dat de konst door haer selven edel is, die men oock de tweede natuyre kan heeten' (Artfully and nobly he is dressed, because art itself is noble, which one can also call second nature).

48 Raupp, op. cit.[45], p. 36.

49 According to Miette de Villars 'David était toujours très soigné dans sa mise... il travaillait, lui, le conventionnel, en manchettes et habit de velours, peignant sans faire une seule tache à ses vêtements.' When pupils cleaned their palettes on their clothes, he reproved them, saying, 'il faut s'habituer de bonne heure à peindre proprement.' Quoted from: A. Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, New Haven/London 1995, p. 20.

50 Elisabeth Vigée-Le Brun referred several times to the difficulties she had with the rigid court costume which restricted her movements while painting. When she was working in her studio, however, she wore a painter's smock or a loose chemise dress. *The Memoirs of Elisabeth Vigée-Le Brun*, trans. by Siân Evans, London 1989.

51 The only exception being fishermen, who wore waders and a so-called 'visserspij', a smock that was pulled on over the head and often had a hood. For illustrations of fishermen, see: M. Royalton-Kisch, *Adriaen van de Venne's album*, London 1988, nos. 56, 85, 90, 91 and 99.

52 Also illustrated in Adriaen van de Venne's album, op. cit.[51], are men with 'schootsvellen', or aprons: nos. 45, 47, 48, 74 and 78.

53 '...Metselaers, Timmer-luyden, en diergelijcke meer; ... sonder mantels, maer met hare stocken, en schoots-vellen, &c., versien.' J.-N. de Parival, *De vermaecklijckheden van Holland...*, Amsterdam 1661, p. 189.

54 This appears from the inventory of the deceased Sijmon Jansz., a carpenter's apprentice who owned not only a black cloth suit for Sundays, but also five coloured daily suits and 'een leere schootsvel, een overtrecksel en een coleurde katoendoeck om het lijf te binden' (a leather apron, a frock and a coloured cotton cloth to wrap around the body), GAA, not. J. Leuven, NA 2738, dd. 17 February 1662, fol. 725-728.

55 On 3 July 1635, Gerard Terborch the Elder wrote to his son in London stating that he was sending him a few things including a mannequin. He also sent him two lengths of cloth of his best suit and his everyday suit. This could mean that the young Gerard Terborch had nothing but these

Fig. 9. Rembrandt, *The goldsmith*, etching (B. 123)



Fig. 10. P. Codde, *Art-lovers visiting the studio of an artist*, *c.* 1632, panel 38.3 x 49.3 cm. Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie



inside out and patched up before finally being discarded.

Mentions of specific working clothing are conspicuously absent in painters' inventories. At work painters apparently donned their everyday, worn clothing rather than any special attire. This seems to be illustrated in a painting by Pieter Codde of around 1635 (fig. 10). The connoisseurs visiting an artist's studio all sport the latest fashion, namely a doublet with a high waist and one even wears a wide, flat band. In contrast, the painter wears a doublet fashionable in the 1620s, with a lower waist, a tapering basque and large shoulder wings. He also makes a rather informal impression: he has slippered feet, his doublet is open and around his neck is a nonchalantly tied neckerchief, rather than a collar. The painter, thus, is shown in his daily, somewhat old clothes and without any item that might hinder his freedom of movement, such as a stiff collar or cuffs.[56]

Another studio scene provides an indication of what Rembrandt might have worn while painting. In his *The artist in his studio* of *c.* 1629 in Boston (I A 18; fig. 11), the artist wears a broad-rimmed black hat and a falling ruff, which correspond with the hat and collar worn by Rembrandt in the self-portraits in fashionable dress, such as the Glasgow *Self-portrait*, mentioned above. He has on a loose fitting, full-length grey blue coat held together at the waist with an orangish sash. The coat's front and back panels are buttoned to the knees. The closure of the sleeve is unbuttoned showing the doublet's beige sleeve. Just visible is a small white edge of the shirt sleeve. Attached to the shoulder is a kind of epaulette and a row of small loops, which contemporaries referred to as shoulder wings. The turned down shawl-collar and the inside of the sleeves are brownish, which may indicate a thick lining. This would explain the coat's heavy fall.

To date, this at first sight fairly uncommon coat has been primarily characterised in the literature as historicising. Chapman, for example, described it as 'a fanciful historicized painter's robe.'[57] However, the combination of a fanciful, historicising item of clothing with a clearly contemporary hat and falling ruff seems odd. The coat can be identified as a *tabbaard* or *rock*, an item of clothing in fashion in the 16th century and still in use in

two suits, which had to last a long time: '...ick seijnde u ock u kleet: kousebanden schoe en schoelinten, hoedebantken, 6 beffen, 6 noesdoecken, 2 mutsen. Schrijft al u linnen fraeij op so koent ghij altijt uw goet nae-sieen, dat ghij niet verlieest, ick seijnde u meer als een elle laeken van u besste kleet: om als den broeck kael is, dan koent ghij hem doen keeren: en van dit laeken well 2 nije voorstucken krijgen of een paer nije mouwen: wat ghij dan best van doen hebbet, ock sijn hijr bij lappen laeken tot u daegelix kleet.' (I am also sending you your clothing: garters, shoes and shoelaces, a hatband, 6 bands, 6 handkerchiefs, 2 caps. Be sure to make a good list of your linen so that you can always check whether anything has been lost, I am sending you more than an ell of cloth of your best suit: should your breeches become thin you can then have them turned over: and you can also make two new front panels or a pair of new sleeves from this cloth: whatever is most necessary, I have also enclosed lengths of cloth for your everyday suit). Exhib. cat. *Gerard Ter Borch*, The Hague, Mauritshuis, 1974, pp. 222-223.

56 In other professions, too, this appears to have been commonplace, as the 1645 inventory of the baker Jan Pietersz. reveals. In addition to three black and two coloured suits, he also owned 'eenige oude klederen bij den overleden inde backerij gedragen, dewelcke met wedersijts believen voor d'arme sijn gedestineert' (some old clothes worn by the deceased in the bakery, which by mutual consent are destined for the poor). Listed among the 'Mans linnen klederen: 18 linnen schortecleden en drij mansmutsen' (Man's linen clothing: [are] 18 linen aprons and 3 men's caps), which he would have worn in the bakery as well. GAA, not. J. Steur, NA. 1861, fol. 578-585, dd. 11 February 1645. Inventory of Jan Pietersz. bakker and Elsge Martens.

57 Chapman 1990, p. 84: moreover, she interprets the hat as a cap which corresponds better with her conviction that he is here wearing a historicising costume.

Fig. 11. Rembrandt, *The artist in his studio*, *c.* 1629, detail. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (I A 18)



Fig. 12. *Nightgown*, *c.* 1610-20. Lord Verney, Claydon House, Buckinghamshire



the 17th century as a housecoat, in which elderly gentlemen and ecclesiastics in particular had themselves portrayed at the beginning of that century.[58] When compared with the *tabbaard* as encountered in portraits of around 1630, however, some distinct differences can be noted. First, the *tabbaard* as normally depicted almost never has shoulder wings or sleeves and panels that can be buttoned lengthwise.[59] Moreover, the *tabbaard* is seldom girded in portraits and is almost always dark brown or black. Most of the deviating elements of the *tabbaard* in the Boston painting are, however, typical of fashion developments in the first three decades of the 17th century. For instance, the shoulder wings whose original function was to camouflage the shoulder seam became a decorative feature during the 1620s and gradually disappeared from 1630 onwards. Leaving open the sleeve along its entire length and letting it hang loose at the back also occurred in the first decades of the century, the way in which the side seams of the coat are only partially buttoned seems less common. Girding the *tabbaard* with a sash does, admittedly, also occur sporadically.[60] In short, the *tabbaard* worn by the painter in the Boston studio scene cannot merely be interpreted as a fanciful, historicising garment. Analysing the context of the scene helps in determining whether the painter's clothing is realistic. Thanks to better insight into 17th-century studio practice it has recently been established that the space in which the young artist is depicted closely resembles an actual painter's studio.[61] This space includes features such as the light from above and the presence of a grinding stone, palettes and bottles, etc., all also commonly found in an actual studio. As the colour of the young painter's *tabbaard* deviates from the generally brown or black ones shown in portraits, it would be interesting to find sources other than portraiture to determine whether such a *tabbaard* would have actually been worn. In 17th-century Dutch invent-

58 Regarding the various meanings of this old-fashioned item of clothing in the 17th century, also as official and academic wear, see: M. de Winkel, '"Eene der deftigsten dragten", The Iconography of the *Tabbaard* and the Sense of Tradition in Dutch Seventeenth-century Portraiture', *N.K.J.* 46 (1995), pp. 145-167.

59 The fur-lined, brown *tabbaard* in which Nicolaes Ruts had himself portrayed by Rembrandt in 1631 also has shoulder wings (II A 43).

60 See, for example, the way in which Cornelis van der Geest's *tabbaard* is girded with a black sash as he is shown receiving the grand-ducal couple in Willem van der Haecht painting of his picture gallery of 1615, Antwerp, Rubenshuis.

61 On this, see the articles by Ernst van de Wetering in: exhib. cat. *Geschildert tot Leyden Anno 1626*, Leiden Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal 1976, p. 20; and exhib. cat. *Rembrandt & Lievens in Leiden*, Leiden, Stedelijk museum De Lakenhal 1991, p. 44.

ories the *tabbaard* and also the *nacht-tabbaard*,[62] or nightgown, are described in all sorts of colours. In addition to the popular black and brown *tabbaards* there are also purple, green and especially grey ones.[63] These nightgowns were not, as their name suggests, intended to sleep in but as comfortable housewear. From inventories it appears that they were sometimes quite elaborate and thus suitable for receiving company. For example, the 1629 inventory of the famous admiral Piet Hein mentions: 'a purple *tabbert* of shot silk, laced with two gold and silk cords and lined with purple bays.'[64] Just what such a *nachttabbaard* might have looked like is illustrated by the one preserved in Claydon House, Buckinghamshire (fig. 12) that probably belonged to Sir Francis Verney (1585-1615).[65] Though lavishly made, the cut of this purple, flowered damask nightgown is strikingly close to that of the *tabbaard* worn by the young painter. The nightgown has the same long, unbuttoned sleeves, shoulder wings and a slate coloured shagg lining visible at the turned down collar.

A second distinguishing feature of the young painter's *tabbaard* is the fact that it has buttons over the full length of the sides. We see this also in a print by Willem van Swanenburg of 1609 (fig. 13) entitled *The Devil as painter.* The Devil wears a *tabbaard* with rows of buttons extending the entire length of the sides which is highly reminiscent of that worn by the young painter.

Because of its cut and details such as the shoulder wings, the young painter's *tabbaard* can be classified as old-fashioned. Nevertheless, it was not so outmoded around 1629 that it would no longer have been worn, and certainly not so antiquated that it should be characterised as historicising, as Chapman suggested. The fact that the gown is slightly outmoded, like the suit worn in the painting by Codde in Stuttgart (see fig. 10), could support the idea that the coat was actually worn in the studio while painting. For someone with a sitting occupation, such as painters, the choice of a long, comfortable housecoat was not so surprising, certainly as the fur-lined version afforded ample protection against the winter cold. Moreover, the *tabbaard* was a practical item of clothing because it could be girded with a sash and the sleeves could hang from behind (thereby not restricting freedom of movement). Hence, what we see in the Boston painting quite possibly reflects the garb actually worn while painting.

Fig. 13. W. van Swanenburg, *The devil as painter*, engraving



This supposition finds confirmation in documentary sources. In addition to his daily and best clothing, the inventory of the Leiden painter, Mattheus Jansz. Hyc, lists a *tabbaard* of grey cloth.[66] *Tabbaards* are also frequently mentioned in the Amsterdam painter's inventories studied. For example, in 1607 Gillis van Coninxloo owned a coloured *nachttabbaard* lined with fur and a coloured *tabbaard* with sheep's skin, while in 1629 Barent Teunisz. owned an old grey cloth *tabbaard.* The painters Abraham Vinck (in 1621), Rembrandt's master Pieter Lastman (in 1632) and Dirck Harmansz. (in 1640) also each owned a *tabbaard* (see appendix nos. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8). Sometimes painters bought these *tabbaards* secondhand, such as the Amsterdam painter Adriaen van den Bogaert who in 1621 purchased a *groffgreine tabbert* (a grosgrain gown) for 6 guilders and 10 stuivers at a public sale of property.[67] That these gowns were actually worn in the

62 In the 17th century these terms were often used synonymously. See: *De Winkel*, op. cit.[58], esp. pp. 148 and 150.

63 GAA, WK 968, dd. 22 February 1612: inventory of Adriaen Symens: '1 graue lakense tabbart *f* 25:-:-' (One grey cloth gown *f* 25:-:-). Idem, dd. 30 May 1628, inventory of the apothecary François de Penijn: 'Een groene nachttabbert met vissen gevoert' (A green nightgown lined with polecat-fur).

64 M.H. Van Visvliet, 'De kleerkast van Piet Hein', *O.H.* 23 (1905), pp. 189-196, esp. 193: 'Een paers weerschijne sijde tabbert geboort met twee koorden van gout ende sijde ende gevoert met paerse bay.'

65 See: J.L. Nevison, 'New Material for the History of XVIIth Century Costume in England', *Apollo* 20 (1934), pp. 315-320.

66 Br. *Künstler-Inv.* VI, The Hague 1919, pp. 2019-20. 27 February 1618, Mattheus Jansz. Hyc, painter in Leiden, owned a wardrobe consisting of: 'twee mantels met fluele beffen, d'een met drye coorden, en d'ander ongevoert; noch een roumantel; noch een dagelicxe mantel; een sattijne wambays; een blom fluwele brouck; een lakens rockgen, op zijn Spaens gemaeckt; een groene sijde grogrijn wambuys gepickeert; een swarte laken brouck; noch de dagelicxe clederen; een paar zijde hosen swart; twee paar gebreyde hosen; twee zwarte hoeden; tyen hembden; vijff cragen; een graeu laken tabbaert' (two cloaks with velvet collars, one with three cords, and the other unlined; a mourning cloak; an everyday cloak; a satin doublet; flowered velvet breeches; a cloth jerkin made in the Spanish style; a green silk grosgrain quilted doublet; black cloth breeches; also everyday clothes; a pair of black silk hose; two pairs of knit hose; two black hats; ten shirts; five ruffs; a grey cloth gown).

67 GAA, WK 948, dd. 6 November 1621, sale of the personal effects of Gerrit Govertsen Souburch, in the Warmoesstraat: '1 groffgreijne tabbert *f* 6:10:- door: Adriaen vanden Bogaert, schilder' (1 grosgrain gown for *f* 6:10:- by Adriaen vanden Bogaert, painter). Seven years later an inventory was drawn up of the estate of Gierte Pieters, his deceased wife. Because the painter was abroad at the time there are conspicuously few men's clothes listed in the inventory (only a cloak, two pairs of breeches and a jerkin). Yet mention is made of, 'een blau lakense rock' (a blue cloth gown) and 'een graeuwe rock' (a grey gown). GAA, not. L. Lamberti, NA. 568, fol. 15-19, dd. 20 January 1628.

Fig. 14. P. Codde, *Conversation between an artist and an art lover*, panel 43 x 56.5 cm. Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais



Fig. 15. J. van Spreeuwen, *A painter in his studio*, panel 51.4 x 32.8 cm. Private collection



studio can be inferred from Rembrandt's own inventory drawn up on the occasion of his *cessio bonorum* of 1656. 'twee bonte rocken' (two fur gowns) were listed in the 'Schilder Loos', a space interpreted by Scheller as the attic where the artist's pupils painted.[68]

In contrast to the *tabbaard*, *schootsvellen* are only seldom mentioned in artist's inventories. The inventory of the painter and linen packer Dirck Harmansz. lists 'negen mans schorteldoecken' (nine men's aprons) (appendix no. 8). Leendert van Beijeren had only one (appendix no. 9).

The assumption that painters generally wore a *tabbaard* at work gains support from many scenes of artist's studios with the artist represented in such clothing, for example in Codde's *Conversation between an artist and an art lover* (fig. 14) or in the work of Jacob van Spreeuwen (fig. 15).[69] An interesting feature in these scenes is that they frequently included an apprentice grinding paint who, unlike his master, usually does wear an apron.[70] In order to make the subject recognisable, these metaphorical scenes of painter's studios must represent a situation that was typical of prevailing studio practice.[71]

In addition to self-portraits in which the sitters are shown in fashionable or historical attire, from the mid-17th century onwards painters began presenting themselves in the successor of the *tabbaard*, namely the *Japonse Rock*.[72] This exotic looking gown based on the Japanese kimono was frequently made of brightly coloured and patterned silk or cotton and appears to have been worn frequently by painters. In Jan Luyken's *Het menselyk bedryf*, those with a sitting occupation such as physicians, lawyers, scholars as well as painters, are depicted wearing this housecoat and slippers. In an etching by Vincent van der Vinne (fig. 16) a painter is shown dressed in a *Japonse rock* in combination with a sleeping cap and slippers. Indeed, the *Japonse rock* occurs frequently in the inventories of painters. In the 21 examples of Amsterdam artist's inventories they are listed among the effects of painters in the second half of the 17th century, including Johannes Beerstraten, Jan van de Capelle, Edo Quiter, Lambert Doomer and Michiel van Musscher (appendix nos. 14, 17, 19, 20, 21). The latter kept his purple satin *Japonse rock* in his studio. The inventory of the painter Cornelis Dusart taken 4 December 1704 also mentions that he kept two chintz *Japonse rocken* in his studio.[73] One should realise, however, that during the second half of the century many patrons had themselves portrayed in a

68 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 346, 'Op de Schilder Loos. [...] twee bonte rocken'. Here erroneously translated as: 'On the Picture Rack. [...] two multicolored coats.' In 17th-century inventories, 'bonte' clothing usually refers to items lined with fur. According to Scheller, the 'schilder loos' was an attic above the first floor. R.W. Scheller, 'Rembrandt en de encyclopedische kunstkamer', *O.H.* 84 (1969), pp. 81-147, esp. 88. From other sources, including Houbraken, it is known that Rembrandt had his pupils paint up in the attic. In a document of 1658 or 1659 (see Biographical information), Rembrandt was summoned to remove 'de kachels en diversche afschutsels, op de solder voor sijn leerlingen aldaer gestelt' (the stoves and various partitions, in the attic, placed there for his pupils). From this it would appear that the pupils' studio was in the attic, presumably referred to as the 'Schilder Loos'.

69 See by the same painter: *A painter in his studio*, private collection (See: I C 5, fig. 5); *Painter*, London, Buckingham Palace, The Queen's Collection; *Young artist in his studio*, private collection and Jacob van Spreeuwen's *Painter in his studio*, Stockholm, formerly in the Sjöberg Collection. See Sumowski *Gemälde* I, no. 261 and IV, no. 1704.

70 See the apprentices in the studio scenes by Joris van Swieten of *c.* 1660, Leiden, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal; by Joos van Craesbeeck of *c.* 1640, Paris, Musée du Louvre; the print by Theodoor Galle after Stradanus *Color Olivi*. In the etching by Odoardo Fialetti (Bartsch 210), *The Academy of Drawing*, however, both the master and apprentices are wearing *schootsvellen*.

71 Also in some images of St Luke painting the Madonna, which can be considered the precursors of the studio scene, the saint is shown wearing a *tabbaard*. See H.U. Asemissen and G. Schweikhart, *Malerei als Thema der Malerei*, Berlin 1994, pp. 37-48.

72 The first 'Japonse rocken' or kimonos were annually presented by the Japanese emperor to the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.). Later these 'Japonse rocken' were to become an important export product. On this, see: A.M. Lubberhuizen-van Gelder, 'Japonsche Rocken', *O.H.* 62 (1947), pp. 137-151, and *O.H.* 64 (1949), pp. 25-38. Among the many examples of painters who depicted themselves in their self-portraits wearing a 'Japonse rock', Matthijs Naiveu (1675; whereabouts unknown), and Nicolaes Maes (Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum).

73 'Een oostinjese sitse Japonse Rock; een dito; 2 Roo lakense hemtrokken met silvere knoopen; 1 hemtrock met yvoore knoopen; 5 pruyken, met

Fig. 16. V. van der Vinne, *A painter in his studio*, etching



Fig. 17. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait drawing at a window*, 1648, etching (B. 22 I)



Japonse rock because this light, loose fitting garment draped well and lent them a certain timelessness.

Compared with the way in which other painters presented themselves in their self-portraits, the way in which Rembrandt depicted himself in working clothing is unusual.[74] In spite of the fact that little comparative material exists for the aforementioned drawing (Ben. 1171; fig. 7) in the Rembrandthuis, from the above we can conclude that *tabbaard*-like items of clothing were actually worn and that the drawing could well portray Rembrandt as he dressed in his studio, as the text added decades later suggests. Similiar to *The artist in his studio* (see fig. 11), Rembrandt here too wears a *tabbaard* in combination with a contemporary hat. The artist wears the same type of hat in his etched *Self-portrait at a window* of 1648 (B. 22; fig. 17). This cylinder-shaped hat, unjustly labelled by Chapman as being 'prosaic' and 'middle-class', is first found in portraits from 1645 onwards. For example, of Willem Coymans of 1645 (Washington, National Gallery) by Frans Hals and in Rembrandt's drawn portrait of Jan Six of *c.* 1647 (Ben. 749v). These were individuals to whom the terms 'prosaic' and 'middle-class' would certainly not have applied.[75]

Whether the item of clothing with long sleeves and a turned up collar worn over a doublet by Rembrandt in the etched *Self-portrait at the window* is indeed a *tabbaard*, cannot be said with certainty because only the upper part of the body is depicted. The turned up collar does, however, lend itself for comparison with that in the drawing in the Rembrandthuis. An even greater resemblance with the drawing, both with respect to the clothing and the pose, is displayed by the Vienna *Self-portrait* of 1652 (IV 8; fig. 8). In this painting the *tabbaard* is brown and the doublet underneath black. Instead of a hat, Rembrandt wears a large black bonnet, which leads one to question whether it could have been worn in reality. Because the bonnet is part of historical dress, its meaning will be discussed separately and in greater detail in the following section.

The unspecified 'mutsen', or caps, mentioned in artist's inventories could have been bonnets in some cases. In the inventories selected here a variety of caps is listed, including a 'taneit fluwelen cantoir mutse' (tawny velvet office cap) among the effects of Barent Teunisz. (appendix no. 6), a 'slaepmuts met een ondermuts' (a nightcap with an undercap) was owned by Leendert van Beijeren (appendix no. 9) and 'een roode Poolse mu[t]s' (a red Polish cap)[76] by Edo Quiter (appendix no. 19). As the first two mentions indicate, these caps were informal wear and meant to be worn indoors; a practice illustrated in the previously mentioned print by Van der Vinne (fig. 16).

en sonder knoopen; een koffer op de agterkamer met schilderkleeren' (one East Indian chintz 'Japanese' gown; a ditto; 2 red cloth waistcoats with silver buttons; 1 waistcoat with ivory buttons; 5 wigs, with and without knots; 1 chest in the back room with painting clothes). It is difficult to determine what exactly is meant here by 'schilderkleeren'; were these meant to be depicted or clothes that the painter actually wore? Br. *Künstler-Inv.* I, p. 49.

74 There was no tradition for painters to depict themselves in working clothing. Sculptors, however, did depict themselves in their aprons and with the tools of their trade, like Adam Kraft in the St. Lorenz church in Nuremberg (*c.* 1493-96) and Peter Vischer the Elder in the St. Sebald church in Nuremberg (*c.* 1488-1519).

75 Chapman 1990, p. 81.

76 This type of cap found more often in artists' inventories in the second half of the 17th century. Melchior de Hondecoeter also had, according to his inventory of 19 April 1695: 'Een flueele Poolse muts *f* 1:10:-' (A velvet Polish cap *f* 1:10:-); Br. *Künstler-Inv.* IV, p. 1211. This cap has two raised, fur-lined flaps and is encountered in various self-portraits, for example, in the one of Gerard Dou of 1663 in Kansas City (Sumowski *Gemälde*, II, no. 304). Joachim von Sandrart also depicted Rembrandt wearing such a hat in a drawing, which is reproduced under IV 8, fig. 7.

Fig. 18. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait, c.* 1655. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (IV 13)



A type of informal headgear Rembrandt sometimes represented himself as wearing in combination with a historical costume is a white linen cap which he quite likely wore in real life. Listed among the linens in his inventory of 1669 are '10 mansmutsen' (ten men's caps).[77] In a painting by Michiel Sweerts of around 1654 in the Frans Halsmuseum in Haarlem which depicts a group of pupils learning to draw after a model, the master, who is conversing with a visitor, is garbed in a red *tabbaard* and wearing a similar white cap. Studying the inventories of other painters makes clear that such white linen caps were, in fact, quite common (appendix nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21).

In the *Self-portrait* of *c.* 1655 (IV 13; fig. 18), closely related to the Vienna *Self-portrait* of 1652, and in that of 1660 in New York (IV 20), the painter appears to be wearing a hat with a wide, slightly curled up rim, rather than a bonnet.[78] From the point of view of the modern observer, the hat does not seem to contribute to the functionality of working clothing. Although donning a hat in a studio seems illogical, this should not be classified as fanciful. In the 17th century men almost always wore a hat, both outdoors and indoors. German and English travellers in the Netherlands were frequently astonished to find that the Dutch kept their hats on indoors, during a meal, in the company of others and even in church.[79] In the 17th century, members of the lower classes were required to remove their hats in the presence of superiors.[80] The general disregard of this 'hat honour' by the Dutch was explained by foreigners as a typically Dutch longing for egalitarianism, personal independence and freedom.[81]

In the *Self-portrait* in New York Rembrandt wears a doublet with a small standing collar under a *tabbaard* made of a fabric which due to the reflections appears to be shiny fabric. In the *Self-portrait* in Vienna he also wears a *tabbaard*, a brown one this time, over a doublet with a turned up collar. Visible underneath the doublet is a red, collarless garment which closes at the front centre and is worn over a white shirt. This red undergarment, also found in other Rembrandt self-portraits,[82] was called a *borstrock* or *hemdrock* in the 17th century. It had long sleeves and was worn by both men and women over a shirt for extra warmth. From probate inventories it appears that *hemdrocken* were very common among all social classes and were frequently made of a red, woollen fabric. They occur in the majority of our selected group of probate inventories, including those of the painter Dirck Hermansz. (appendix no. 8), who owned three 'roode hemtrocken' in 1640 and Simon Luttichuijsen who had one made of red satin (appendix no. 10). It is often mentioned together with knee-length red woollen

77 Strauss *Doc.*, 1669/5, no. 46.

78 Because of the latter painting's condition, the question remains whether this is not the result of earlier restorations.

79 See: J. Bientjes, *Holland und der Holländer im Urteil deutscher Reisender (1400-1800)*, Groningen 1967, pp. 218-219; and C.D. van Strien, *British travellers in Holland during the Stuart period*, Amsterdam 1989, p. 157.

80 This is the reason why, for example, in Rembrandt's *The Syndics* of 1661 (Br. 415, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) the servant has removed his hat in the presence of the wardens of the drapers' guild.

81 According to Adam Ebert who in 1678 visited Amsterdam '... der Hut ist eine Devise der Freyheit' (the hat is a device of freedom), A. Apronius [A. Ebert], *Reise-Beschreibung von Villa Franca der Chur Brandenburg durch Deutschland, Holland und Brabant, England, Frankreich etc...*, Frankfurt a/d Oder 1723 [1678], p. 37. Hans Benthem says in 1698 that 'Der Huht/ das Zeichen ihrer Freyheit/ mögen sie so gern auf dem Kopf haben/ daß so man jemand ohn demselben im Hause antreffen solte/ derselbe wohl den Fremden so lange stehen lässet/ biß er seinen Deckel geholet/ und mit Auffsetzung desselben jenen nöthiget auch bedecket und unhöfflich zu seyn. Diese Manier legen sie nicht ab bei Tische/ ja nicht einmahl beym Gottesdienst' (They like to have their hat – the sign of their freedom – on their heads; finding someone without it inside the house, he will let the stranger wait until he has found his cover, and in donning it obliges one to do the same and thus to be discourteous as well. They do not deviate from this practice at table or even during holy service), H.R. Benthem, *Holländischer Kirch- und Schulen-Staat*, 2 vols., Frankfurt/Leipzig 1698, vol. I, pp. 8-9. The 18th-century antiquarian Le Francq van Berkhey also associated this old symbolism to the national character of the Dutch: 'Dit zinnebeeld der Vryheid by de oudste Volkeren ontstaan, uit dienstbaarheid der Slaaven, die geen Hoed of Bonnet op 't hoofd mogten hebben, voor dat ze als vrygemaakten erkend wierden, is zeer natuurlyk by onze Landzaaten aangenomen, en vooral zedert dat deeze Landen vrygevochten waren' (This metaphor of freedom which originated among the oldest peoples, out of the servitude of the slaves, who were not allowed to wear a hat or bonnet, before being recognised as free, has naturally been accepted by the inhabitants of our country, and especially now since these countries have been independent). J. Le Francq van Berkhey, *Natuurlyke historie van Holland*, Amsterdam 1776, vol. 3, p. 501. Because of their egalitarian convictions members of religious groups like Quakers and Mennonites were not allowed to take off their hat for anyone except the Almighty. See M. Pointon, 'Quakerism and visual culture, 1650-1800', *Art History* 20 (1997), pp. 397-431, esp. 408.

82 See also the self-portraits: IV 4, 10 and 11.

underbreeches which were worn over a pair of white linen drawers or the shirt wrapped between the legs. The painter Cornelis de Bie (appendix no. 11) owned such a 'rood baijen onderkleet' (undersuit of red bays), which consisted of a 'hemdrock' and a pair of underbreeches, and Jan van de Capelle (appendix no. 17) owned several sets of this combination (see also nos. 2, 3, 6, 9, 14, 18, 19 and 20). This usually red undergarment was only visible in informal circumstances, which is why it is never seen in portraits.[83]

From the above it can be gathered that most of the clothes in which Rembrandt presented himself in his so-called self-portraits in working dress were actually worn in the 17th century. Various items such as the *tabbaard*, the slippers, the various forms of headwear and the *hemdrock* were considered informal attire and were worn by the painter for practical reasons and comfort. The great informality of this garb will have been the reason why painters generally preferred to portray themselves in a more formal manner. In this respect, Rembrandt was an exception.

Various authors have contended that Rembrandt was thus making a statement about himself. According to Chapman, Rembrandt wore working clothes in his self-portraits with the aim of presenting himself as an independent painter and a proud artisan.[84] She sees Rembrandt's presumed life-long quest for individual freedom as the primary reason for depicting himself in working attire. According to Raupp, Rembrandt depicted himself here as a 'pictor vulgaris' and the working clothes should be seen as a protest against the academic contempt of the 'schilderachtige', or picturesque.[85] He considers Rembrandt's portrayal of himself in working clothing as self-willed and a deliberate contradiction of the prevailing developments in the art of painting. This perception of Rembrandt as a non-conformist is not new in the literature and is in part based on Houbraken's statement that in the autumn of his life the painter mostly kept the company of common people and artisans in order to safeguard his personal freedom.[86] Furthermore, Baldinucci's remark that Rembrandt always wore unkempt and soiled clothing and was in the habit of wiping his brushes on his clothes may be interpreted as an illustration of this presumed social non-conformism.[87] Baldinucci obtained his information from Bernhard Keil, a Dane, who worked in Rembrandt's studio during the first half of the 1640s. Although this source seems to be reliable, various facts are inaccurate: this statement should therefore also be considered with caution.[88]

While art-theoretical statements relating to the wearing of working clothes are extremely rare, Raupp makes an interesting connection between the self-portraits of Rembrandt in working dress and an artist's anecdote recounted by Lomazzo in 1590.[89] According to Raupp, the wearing of working clothing by the painter could be seen as a visible sign of his humble esteem as well as of great respect for the art of painting. According to Lomazzo, even famous painters favoured by princes and elevated to knighthood were not guilty of haughtiness but maintained this humble attitude. As an example of this, he recounted an anecdote about Albrecht Dürer to the effect that the artist often went into town wearing his painter's clothes, just like Bramantino who frequently had his paint brush still tucked behind his ear.[90] Although Lomazzo's influence in the Netherlands seems to have been limited and his work is very rarely encountered in 17th-century libraries, Rembrandt possibly knew this story via Jan Six, who did own the book in question.[91] The painter and theoretician Von Sandrart, who was in Amsterdam around 1640, was also familiar with this anecdote and included it in his treatise of 1675.[92] Whether Rembrandt wished to make a personal statement about his freedom and independence as an artist by wearing working clothes, in my opinion, remains hypothetical. It is tempting to think that Rembrandt may have consciously attempted to emulate Dürer by

83 Such an undersuit of white satin is worn under a *Japonse rock* by one of the gentlemen in the late 17th-century dolls' house in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht. Only in regional dress the *hemdrock* was more visible; for example, see the peasant in the same dolls' house.

84 Chapman 1990, pp. 95-98.

85 Raupp, op. cit.[45], p. 179.

86 A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlandtsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1718, vol. 3, pp. 272-273. Although Houbraken says 'hij verkeerde in den herfst van zyn leven wel meest met gemeene luiden, en zulke die de konst hanteerden [...] en hy gaf' er deze rede van: Als ik myn geest uitspanninge wil geven, dan is het niet eer die ik zoek, maar vryheit' (in later life he mostly kept the company of common people and artisans [...] for which he gave this reason: if I want to give my mind diversion, then it is not honour which I seek, but liberty).

87 '...era accompagnato da un vestire abietto, e sucido, essendo suo costume nel lavorare il nettarsi i penelli addosso...' ('...that went together with vile and filthy clothes, it being his custom whilst working to wipe his brushes on himself...') in: F. Baldinucci, *Cominciamento, e progresso dell'arte dell' intagliare in rame, colle vite di molti de piu eccellenti Maestri della stessa Profesione*, Florence 1686, p. 79.

88 See J.A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*, Utrecht 1964, pp. 77-78.

89 Raupp, op. cit.[45], p. 180.

90 'E quelli ancora, ch'erano favoriti da i principi et essaltati a dignità di cabalieri, non però si sollevavano mai a superbia per gl'onori conseguiti, ma sempre più umilia vano se stessi et apprezzavano l'arte, quanto più eglimo erano estimati e riveriti. D'Alberto Durero si dice che spesse volte andava per la città con la veste nelle quale pigneva, non riputandosi niente più del suo valore; come faceneva ancora il nostro Bramantino, il quale spesso soleva portare il penello nell'orrecchia.' (And then also those who were favoured by princes and elevated to the ranks of the nobility did not become arrogant about the honours conferred upon them. Rather, the more they were admired and revered the less they thought of themselves and the more they valued art. Albrecht Dürer is said to have often gone about town wearing the clothes he painted in, heedless of his high standing, just like our own Bramantino, who often carried his brush behind his ear). G.P. Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio della Pittura* XXXI, Milan 1590, p. 333.

91 According to the catalogue of his library. *Catalogus Istructissimae Bibliothecae Nobilissimi et Amplissimi Domini Do. Joannis Six*, Amsterdam 1706, no. 409:'Idea del Templo [sic] della Pittura di Gio Paolo Lomazzo Pittore, Milano 1590'. As is the case with other books in his library, Six most likely purchased this book in Italy during his 'Grand Tour' from 1641 to 1642.

92 J. von Sandrart, *L'Academia Todesca della Architectura, Scultura & Pittura*, vol. II, Nuremberg 1675, p. 225. Von Sandrart was in Amsterdam from 1637 to 1645.

presenting himself in working clothes as a response to this anecdote. However, the anecdote chiefly demonstrates that if the painter, indeed, intended to make a statement about himself, it could just as well be interpreted as betokening his great respect for the art of painting than that it was meant as an expression of personal freedom or a form of protest against Classicism.

'Rembrants contrefeytsel antycks'(Rembrandt's portrait à l'antique) Rembrandt's self-portraits in antiquated costume

The inventory of Johannes de Renialme of 1657 includes the following item: 'Rembrants contrefeytsel antycks' (Rembrandt's portrait *à l'antique*).[93] This is usually taken to refer to Rembrandt's *Self-portrait* of 1640 in London (III A 139; fig. 28), but it could indicate any of his self-portraits in antiquated dress painted before 1657. The fact is that in the majority of his self-portraits Rembrandt did not depict himself in contemporary dress but in a costume that could be characterised in one way or another as historicising rather than realistic.

The manner in which Rembrandt depicted this costume changed in the course of his career. In the beginning there is a lack of detail in the representation of the different elements, and this closely resembles the conventional, general treatment of costume in the history pieces by his predecessors and contemporaries. Rembrandt's historicising costume in the late 1620s and early 1630s consists of no more than a cap-like beret, a cloak and a gold chain. The *Self-portrait* in Boston of 1629 (I A 20) can be regarded as typical of this group of works.

During the 1630s there is a move, particularly in the etched self-portraits, towards a more detailed and authentic-looking historical costume, for which Rembrandt seems to have used 16th-century prints from northern Europe as the main source. The painted *Self-portrait* of 1640 in London marks the high point of this development. Though the representation of the costume is much less detailed in the self-portraits of the 1650s and 1660s, in the case of the *Self-portrait* of 1658 in the Frick Collection (IV 14) and the *Self-portrait* of 1669 in London (IV 27) it can be shown that at this time Rembrandt continued to make use of the graphic work of his predecessors.

The most frequently encountered item of clothing in Rembrandt's self-portraits is the beret. Because this head covering plays such an essential role, it is well worth examining its origins and connotations in some detail. The beret or 'bonnet', as it was known in contemporary Dutch and English, is seen in various forms in Rembrandt's self-portraits. The type most often worn is a cap-like bonnet with a more or less capacious crown and a plain or decorated band surrounding the head.[94] Another type has a broad brim with slits that can be turned up completely or pulled asymmetrically to one side.[95] There is also a type with a peak at the front which looks very much like a modern cap.[96] Especially in the early self-portraits, the bonnet is sometimes adorned with one or more feathers.[97]

In the literature the significance of the bonnet has been interpreted in widely varying ways. In the *Corpus* the suggestion is made that the plumed bonnet could be seen as a symbol of transience.[98] However, there are hardly any concrete indications to support this. Raupp, on the other hand, saw the plumed bonnet as a reference to the imagination and the poetic *ingenium* of the artist, a quality through which the history painter distinguished himself from the portraitist.[99] According to Chapman, the bonnet had long been associated with the artist because of the habit of 16th-century painters of wearing it as part of their working dress.[100] The idea, however, that in the 16th century the bonnet was worn mainly by artists is incorrect. As will be explained below, in the 16th century the bonnet was part of fashionable dress and a very commonly worn item of clothing. Furthermore, there is no question of a tradition continuing into the 17th century, since at the beginning of the century artists no longer portrayed themselves with a bonnet.

Chapman also posited that the bonnet carried connotations of erudition and that Rembrandt portrayed himself wearing one to enhance his image as a virtuoso and to demonstrate that he viewed his role as being that of the learned history painter.[101] In this context Chapman cites the academic bonnet worn by professors and students at the University of Leiden. This academic association of the bonnet in artists' self-portraits is said to suggest the genius of the painter. As will be demonstrated, this notion too is not very likely. Finally it was suggested in the *Corpus* that by means of the bonnet Rembrandt was referring to the older generation of painters, and in particular Lucas van Leyden.[102]

The bonnet was, in fact, characteristic of 16th-century

93 Strauss *Doc.*, 1657/2, no. 292.

94 I A 20, I B 5, I A 33, II A 72, III B 11, II A 96, III B 10, III C 97, III C 93, IV 2, IV 5, IV 6, IV 20.

95 III A 111, III A 139, IV 1, IV 8, IV 9, IV 11, IV 14, IV 28.

96 IV 10 and perhaps also IV 15, B. 2 and Ben. 437.

97 I A 20, III A 111.

98 I A 20 (pp. 223-224).

99 Raupp, op. cit.[45], p. 170. Raupp quotes Van Hoogstraten, who on his front page has 'Terpsichore de Poetersse' say: 'Des Schilders Muze past een hooftpronk van pluimaedjen/ Van veele verwen nu zy't Schilderschool beheert: Met recht wort dees Godin als Jupiter geert/ Die Schilder en Poeet verrijkt met haer sieraedjen' (a feathered headgear suits the muse of painters/ Of many colours now that she manages the school of painting: rightfully, this goddess is bestowed the same honour as Jupiter/ Who enriches painter and poet with her jewels). S. van Hoogstraten, *De inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst anders de zichtbaere werelt*, Rotterdam 1678. Raupp also cites the Dutch edition of Ripa (by Pers) on *Capriccio-Fantasyen* (fol. 129): 'Het bonnet met verscheyden veeren, vertoont, dat dese verscheydentheyt van ongemene handelingen voornamelijck uyt de fantasyen heerkomt' (The bonnet with various feathers, displays, that this diversity of disparate acts primarily arises from the imagination). However, upon careful reading of Ripa it appears that here the feathers stand for variety rather than imagination. For example, compare in Ripa also: *Terpichore* (fol. 340) and *Riso-Lach* (fol. 278) where the 'bonnetje met alderhande veeren' (bonnet with assorted feathers) symbolises the excessive laughter as sign of instabilty. C. Ripa, *Iconologia, of uytbeeldinghe des verstands*, Amsterdam 1644.

100 Chapman 1990, p. 49.

101 Chapman 1990, p. 50.

102 *Corpus*, op. cit.[98], later followed by Chapman 1990, p. 47.

fashion. Throughout most of the century it was worn by all classes in many variations and usually in black.[103] Before the beginning of the 17th century, however, the bonnet went out of fashion and came to be thought of as outdated. This is apparent from the use of the term in the early 17th century, with bonnet being equivalent to 'old-fashioned' or 'old'. This sense is found, for example, in Randle Cotgrave's French-English dictionary published in 1611. Under the French word 'bonnet' he gives the expressions then associated with the term:

> '*Bonnet*: Bonnet, cap. *Du temps des hauts bonnets*. In old time, when men being rude and sillie, had not the wit to apparell themselves handsomely and hence; *Langue du temps des bonnets*, an old wives tale; or a stale, obsolete, or over-worne language; a fashion of speaking thats old, and quite out of fashion.'[104]

In his costume book *Dracht-Thoneel* of 1601, Zacharias Heyns also gives examples of old dress and uses the bonnet specifically to indicate the age of a particular costume.[105] Under *Den borger na d'out fatsoen* (the outmoded burgher), who wears the fashion of about 1550 and a bonnet, he has this rhyme: 'Also in Brabant many follow the old style, ...[wearing] on their head a *klapmuts* or bonnet'.[106]

The word 'klapmuts', used here as a synonym for bonnet, has given rise to a number of misunderstandings in the literature. In his *Künstler-Inventare* Bredius consistently misinterpreted the word as *bierkanne* (tankard).[107] Originally the term 'klapmuts' seems to have been used in the 16th century for the type of bonnet with two side flaps that could be tied round the head and which was apparently widely worn around 1520.[108] During the second half of the 16th century the term seems to have been used to denote a type of bonnet with a round flat crown and a narrow brim.[109]

Neither the bonnet nor the 'klapmuts' are found in 17th-century portraits and probate inventories, except in the case of young children. Throughout the century small boys were depicted with plumed bonnets in portraits. Confirmation that these were actually worn comes from inventories, where bonnets are listed under children's clothing.[110] Moreover, in the 17th century the bonnet was also part of servants' livery and of official costumes such as academic dress.[111] In these two categories of dress certain items of clothing are, as it were, frozen and preserved in a 'fossilised' form. In academic dress the bonnet has even been retained to this day. The statutes of the University of Leiden of 1631 show that placing a

103 C.H. de Jonge, 'De Kleederdracht in de Nederlanden in de XVIe eeuw. Het mannencostuum. Hoofdbedekking', *O.H.* 36 (1918), pp. 137-148.

104 R. Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*, London 1611, see under Bonnet. A similar expression seems to have been current in 17th-century Dutch. In the anonymous *Historie der Queesters, op de Noorder Eilanden van Holland gebruikelik*, Queesterdam 1683, p. 120, the 16th century is referred to as 'de tijd dat varkens klapmutsen droegen' (the days when pigs wore *klapmutsen*).

105 Z. Heyns, *Dracht-Thoneel*, Amsterdam 1601 (no page). For example his: 'Vlaminck na d'oude zede, Bedaecht borger, Den Hoochduyts, Den Switser en Den Switserschen Ioncker' (Fleming in the old fashion, Elderly burgher, The German, The Swiss and The Swiss Junker).

106 Heyns, op. cit.[105], 'Den borger na d'out fatsoen: In Brabant me veel volx na d'oude wet, ...[dragen] op hun hooft een klapmuts oft bonnet'.

107 For example: Br. *Künstler-Inv.* I, p. 88; II, p. 418. In Strauss *Doc.*, 1639/9, no. 11, 'een studenten Tronie nae Rembrant halff lichaems met een Clapmuts' is translated as: 'A head (?) of a student after Rembrandt, in half-length, wearing a trooper's hat'. This translation was adopted in *Corpus* III, p. 22, note 45. Recently Blankert has again drawn attention to this question, criticising the RRP for this, in his view, too modern interpretation of *klapmuts* as a head covering and defending Bredius' reading. A. Blankert, 'Rembrandt, his pupils and his studio', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt och hans tid*, Stockholm 1992/93, pp. 41-70, esp. 61. This confusion is in a sense understandable because in the 17th century the term was also used for a certain kind of porcelain bowl in the shape of an upside-down bonnet with handles and for a type of shallow wine glass. It is, however, clear that the *klapmuts* was indeed a head covering from, for example, the entry in the inventory of Abraham Wijs, GAA, DBK 366, dated 1-2 March 1658, fol. 46-55v.: 'Een tronie hebbende een clapmuts met een pluym op' (A *tronie* wearing a *klapmuts* with a feather). At the beginning of the century the *klapmuts* is still found in Amsterdam inventories of clothing, such as in that of Jan Pietersz Coeckebacker, cloth merchant on the Nieuwendijk, on 25 April 1612: 'een stijfe clapmuts' (a stiff *klapmuts*), and that of the tradesman Wouter Gysberts on 15 October 1622: '2 witte clapmutsen met ooren' (2 white *klapmutsen* with ears). GAA, InvWK, nr. 968 (unpaginated).

108 For examples of this type, see De Jonge, op. cit.[103], p. 138.

109 C. Kilianus, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae, sive Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum*, Amsterdam 1605, see under: 'Klap-mutse: Pileus planus, pileus planitie rotunda'; E. Mellema, *Le Grand dictionaire Francois Flamen*, Rotterdam 1610, see under: 'Klapmutse, Rond & plat bonnet' (Klapmutse, Round and flat bonnet); H. Hexham, *Het Groot woorden-boek gestelt in 't Engelsch ende Nederduytsch*, Rotterdam 1647, see under: 'Klapmutse, Scotch Bonnet or flat Cap'. In French the terms 'tocquet' or 'tocque' were used in addition to 'bonnet'. 'Tocque' is usually associated with the higher type of bonnet worn in the second half of the 16th century but it is also used for the lower type: 'Toque: A (fashion of) bonnet, or cap (somewhat like our old Courtiers velvet cap) worn ordinarily by scholers, and some old men'. Cotgrave, op. cit.[104], see under Toque.

110 For example in the inventory Claes Bas, merchant and Immetje Vinck: 'Kindergoet: een blauw satijne muts met pluijm ende Bagge te samen *f* 12:-:-' (Children's clothes: a blue satin cap with feather and jewel together *f* 12:-:-) GAA, not. P. Barcman, NA. no. 1266, dated 11 July 1637, and in the accountbook of Wendela Bicker: '1664: 1 boonet van fluweel met stricken a *f* 11:8:-' (1664: 1 bonnet of velvet with bows at *f* 11:8:-), GAA, De Graeff family archive PA. 76. inv. no. 610, fol. 232. This bonnet was probably for her two-year-old son Jantje. From the inventory of Dirck Starck, who had a haberdashery business, 'Inde winckel in't voorhuijs: drije fulpe kinderbonnetten; drije coleurde sijde kinder bonnetten' (In the anteroom of the shop: three velvet child's bonnets; three coloured silk child's bonnets), GAA, DBK no. 386, dated 12 October 1680, fol. 29-32, fol. 26. In France the term used for these child's bonnets was *tocquet*, the diminutive of *tocque*. '*Toquet*: A little *Toque*; or a kind of bonnet not so large as the Toque, worne moste by children'. Cotgrave, op. cit.[104], see under Toquet. 'Bonnet, Kindermuts van tryp, laken, fluweel, &c. *Toquet*' (Bonnet, Child's cap of tripp, cloth, velvet, etc. *Toquet*), P. Marin, *Nieuw Nederduits en Frans woordenboek*, Amsterdam 1701, see under Bonnet.

111 See for instance Heyns' no. 6: 'Den Lakey' (The Lackey), Heyns, op. cit.[105]. The servant in the 17th-century doll's house at the Centraal Museum in Utrecht also wears a matching flat bonnet with his grey livery. Although nowadays the lackey's livery is another kind of fossilised fashion (that of the mid-18th century), the older type of lackey's costume, including the cap, survives in the clothes worn in Holland by 'Zwarte Piet' (Black Pete), St Nicholas' helper. Another group who may have worn this fossilised dress was the Ashkenazi Jews. In contrast to the Sephardic Jews of Iberian origin, who dressed according to the fashion of the times, the Ashkenazi Jews from eastern Europe were distinguished by their archaic dress. The 'barette' long worn by the east European Jews (until after the 18th century) seems to have been 'a symbol of learning'. At first the 'barette' was everyday wear, but later it was only worn in the synagogue and was known as 'schabbes deckel'. See: A. Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume*, London 1967, p. 115. For illustrations see M.H. Gans, *Memorboek*, Amsterdam 1974.

velvet bonnet on the head of the graduate was an integral part of the ceremony for conferring a doctorate.[112] The association with learning which the bonnet acquired in the 17th-century imagination played a role, for example, in the portrayal of (pseudo)scholars in their study, a subject frequently depicted by the Leiden School.[113]

In the case of Rembrandt's self-portraits, the association of the bonnet with learning, as suggested by Chapman, seems plausible, but it could nonetheless put us on the wrong track. After all, the reason why the bonnet was part of academic dress was its age and its association with time-honoured tradition. Thus for painters the bonnet may just as well have had connotations of age rather than of learning. There is evidence to suggest that the former is more probable than the latter.

Apart from in depictions of scholars, the bonnet is found in 17th-century art in combination with a rather ill-defined, fanciful costume reminiscent of the 16th-century 'landsknecht' fashion which features numerous slits or stripes on the chest and sleeves. The presumed purpose of depicting figures in this historicising dress was to create a certain distance in time and place for the 17th-century viewer. In the 17th-century imagination this outdated costume was seen as truly ancient, so that it was also used in the portrayal of Roman soldiers in New Testament scenes or depictions of Batavians.[114] In reality this fashion, whose chief feature was the marked slits and slashes, was introduced only at the end of the 15th century by German and Swiss mercenaries, the so-called landsknechten. During the first three decades of the 16th century this style was adopted in a subdued form in the fashionable dress of European nobles and burghers.[115]

It is significant that in some of his self-portraits, Rembrandt portrays himself in the same historicising costume with bonnet that he wears as one of those helping in *The Raising of the Cross* of 1633 (II A 69). This could be taken as an indication that for Rembrandt the bonnet had primarily historical connotations, rather than alluding to learning. That contemporaries would have understood Rembrandt's intention in depicting himself in recognisably antiquated dress is clear from the listing of one of his self-portraits in the collection of De Renialme as 'Rembrants contrefeytsel antycks' (Rembrandt's portrait *à l'antique*). It should be noted that in the 17th century the term *antyck* was used to refer not only to classical antiquity but to the notion of 'old' in general.[116]

Although, as explained above, the beret no longer normally featured in 17th-century fashions, in the course of the century it seems to have become the artist's attribute *par excellence*. Just how this process took place remains unclear for the present. It would appear to have been Rembrandt himself who was the first to use this archaic item of clothing in his early self-portraits and continued to use it frequently throughout his life. This

112 '...en op den bestemden dach van de Promotie sal den Canidatus, gekleet met eenen swarten zijden-Damasten tabbart met Fluwele opslagen [...] op den oppersten stoel klimmen, en aen de zijde van den Promotor gestelt werden, dewelcke [...] solemni formula promoveren sal, en daer na hem [...] een gouden ringh aen zijn voorste vinger steken, een fluwele bonnet op het hooft setten' (...and on the day appointed for the Graduation the Candidate, wearing a black silk-damask gown with velvet facings [...] will take the highest chair, and be seated beside the Promotor, who will promote him *solemni formula*, and then put a gold ring on his first finger, and put a velvet bonnet on his head). *Wetten ende Statuten van de Universiteyt tot Leyden*, Leiden 1631, § 33. For academic dress at Dutch universities see also De Winkel, op. cit.[58].

113 See also for instance Rembrandt's etched *Scholar at table by candlelight* of *c.* 1642 (B. 148) and *Scholar in a dark study*, 1642 (B. 105). It seems that in paintings students were also sometimes depicted with a bonnet. See the 'studenten Tronie nae Rembrant halff lichaems met een Clapmuts' (a student *tronie* after Rembrandt half-length with a *klapmuts*), of Aert Coninck, already mentioned in note 107. Johan de Brune also mentions the *klapmuts* in connection with students: 'Zy (ongeleerde studenten) hebben misschien, dry letters, op een peperkoeck, geëten, of met een zeughe, door een school gheloopen: en dat heeft haer misschien den ringh aen de vingher ghesteken, en de klapmuts op het hooft ghezet'(They [unschooled students] have perhaps eaten three lettres on a gingerbread and have run through school with a sow: and for this, they may have obtained the ring on their finger and the 'klapmuts' on their head). J. de Brune, *Bankket-werk van goede gedagten*, vol. II, Middelburg 1660, p. 437. See also C. van den Ende, *Le Gazophilace de la Langue Francoise et Flamande, Schat-kamer der Nederduitsche en Francoische Tale*, Rotterdam 1654: '*Tocque*, Studenten kap, of muts' (Student cap or hat).

114 See also: H. van de Waal, *Drie eeuwen vaderlandsche geschied-uitbeelding 1500-1800. Een iconologische studie*, The Hague 1952, pp. 60-61. In the 17th-century mind this fashion for slashing was the characteristic feature of any historical costume. Up until the 18th century this mode of dress was thought to be older than it really was. The antiquarian Le Francq van Berkhey wondered at the custom among artists of depicting Romans as old Dutch soldiers, yet he still believed that the bonnet was worn as early as the conflict between the *Hoeken* and the *Kabeljauwen* (14th century) and that it appeared in 15th- and 16th-century drawings. J. Le Francq van Berkhey, op. cit.[81], vol. III, p. 495 and 519.

115 See Bleckwenn, op. cit.[23]. and J.H. der Kinderen-Besier, *Mode-metamorphosen. De kledij onzer voorouders in de zestiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 1932, pp. 54-55.

116 This topic requires a separate study. Here I shall confine myself to citing contemporary dictionaries. Van den Ende, op. cit.[113]: 'Antïque: Oud, Oude; à l'Antïque: Ná d'oude wijze, Na't oud gebruik; Antiquaire: Liefhebber van oude dingen' (Antique: Old; à l'Antïque: According to the old ways, According to old custom; Antiquarian: Lover of old things); H. Hexham, *A copious Enghlish and Netherduytch Dictionarie*, Rotterdam 1647, see under Antijck 'ofte Antijcks, Anticke, or Antick workes, Old or Ancient'; L. Meijer, *Woordenschat, verdeelt in Bastaardt-woorden, Konst-woorden, Verouderde Woorden, (*6th edition) Amsterdam 1688, see under Antijk, Antijks: 'oudt, snaaks' (old, odd); A. Furetière, op. cit.[27], 2e editie 1708, under Antique: 'Signifie non seulement, Ancien, vieux; mais en même temps, fait à l'ancienne mode, ou à la maniere des anciens. Il est opposé à moderne. [...] en parlent des hommes, des habits, ou des mots, ne se dit que par raillerie, & dans un mauvais sens; il signifie, qui n'est plus à la mode, qui est du vieux temps. Les mots & les phrases de la vieille Cour sont comme ces habits *antiques*, dont on ne se sert que dans les mascarades. Une perruque antique; des mots antiques. Antique signifie encore Très-ancien [...] On dit aussi par raillerie d'une vieille femme, que c'est une *Antique*. Elle a un air d'*antique*; pour dire, un air du vieux temps. A l'antique: A la vieille mode. Il s'est fait peindre habillé à l'antique. Ce buste de femme est coeffé à l'antique'. The term is often used to indicate a style of dress that is not modern. For example, Van Mander describes the old paintings of the early 16th-century artist Volkert Claesz of Haarlem as 'meer antijk als moderne' (more antique than modern), see K. van Mander, *Het leven der doorluchtighe Nederlandtsche en Hoogduytsche schilders*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 205. De Lairesse is the first to call for the term to be restricted to objects from classical antiquity: 'Met het woord recht Antiek, verstaa ik onvervalscht de Oudheid opvolgen; en niet gelyk veele doen, die hunne Beelden met een Mode vermengen, als Venus met een Ryglyf, Mars met een harnas en yzere handschoenen, Pallas met een stroohoed, enz.' (By the words true Antique I understand following antiquity purely; and not in the way of so many who mix their images with a fashion, such as Venus in stays, Mars with a suit of armour and iron gauntlets, Pallas with a straw hat, etc., G. de Lairesse, *Groot Schilderboek, waar in de schilderkonst in al haar deelen grondig werd onderweezen*, Amsterdam 1707, p. 137.

practice is also seen in the self-portraits by painters in Rembrandt's circle.[117] When portraying each other, these artists include a bonnet. An example is the portrait of Heijmen Dullaert by Philips Koninck dating from the 1650s.[118] Lambert Doomer included in his will his (still unidentified) portrait with a 'clapmutsje' painted by Willem Drost.[119]

A pressing question is whether these bonnets were actually worn by painters or merely imagined. In this connection it is interesting that a studio scene by Van Spreeuwen of *c.* 1630 shows a fashionably dressed visitor in the doorway while a painter stands at the easel wearing a gown and a bonnet (fig. 15).[120] It is possible that this is a depiction of an actual scene, but we cannot be certain. As discussed above, the gown is found in artists' inventories, but bonnets and *clapmutsen* are not. The four plush 'antique' caps owned by the painter Lodewijk van der Helst were not listed among his daily wear but among his studio props (appendix 15). It is nevertheless possible that the otherwise unspecified 'mutsen' or caps in artists' inventories were bonnets. Thus the possibility that painters actually wore the bonnet cannot be ruled out altogether. However, since the available material is inconclusive, this cannot be definitely confirmed at present.

By depicting himself wearing a bonnet in his self-portraits, Rembrandt used this historical, 16th-century item of clothing in a completely new context. He was the first artist to present himself in this way in his self-portraits. The impact of the image of the artist with a bonnet was such that it was immediately imitated in self-portraits by Dou and other Rembrandt pupils, and indeed in the course of the century the beret became the attribute of the painter in general. This image has persisted to our own day.

The presence of the gold chains frequently seen in the very earliest Rembrandt self-portraits has also been explained in varying ways. According to Chapman, Rembrandt intended the chains as a reference to the chains traditionally presented to painters by rulers as a mark of esteem. She cites Ripa, according to whom they also stand for the tradition inherited from the master. By depicting himself with a chain, Chapman argues, Rembrandt was referring to this tradition and thus to his renowned predecessors.[121] The problem with this is that, as far as is known, Rembrandt never received such a chain. Moreover, Chapman rightly notes that Rembrandt's chains differ from those of other painters in that they are draped around the shoulders. Artists such as Rubens, Van Dyck, Van Hoogstraten and Van der Werff, who truly received such chains of honour which often consisted of several strands, wore them diagonally across the chest, generally with a medal bearing a likeness of the ruler attached. Rembrandt depicted this type of chain in his *Aristotle* of 1653 (Br. 478).

The much narrower and draped chains in Rembrandt's self-portraits are similar to the ones worn by historical and biblical figures in his work. Pilate in the *Ecce homo* etching (B. 77) of 1636 is an example, as is the *Seated scholar* of 1634 in Prague (II A 95). They are also worn by women, like in the *Sophonisba* of 1634 in Madrid (II A 94). The way these chains are draped horizontally over the shoulders closely resembles the way they were worn in the early 16th century. Until around 1540 the chain was used in this way to give the desired broadening of the silhouette, as seen in both portraits and history pieces from this period.[122] Given that chains draped like this are seen with widely different historical figures in Rembrandt's work, it seems unlikely that their significance relates solely to the iconography of the artist. Like the bonnet, the chain appears to be part of the historicising costume that was based on fashionable dress at the beginning of the 16th century.

It has been suggested in the literature that Rembrandt's historical costumes came from his own collection of old clothes or that they were theatre costumes.[123] Difficult as it is to find concrete evidence of the use of existing historical costumes in Rembrandt's work, this possibility cannot be dismissed out of hand. So before examining the costumes in the self-portraits, it is important to look first at the source material on historical costume that Rembrandt might have been able to use.

Late 17th-century writings such as those of Pels of 1681[124] and Baldinucci of 1686[125] criticised Rembrandt

117 For example Ferdinand Bol, Sumowski *Gemälde* I, nos. 135, 136, 138, 143; Gerrit Dou, Sumowski *Gemälde* I, nos. 271, 261, 274; Govert Flinck, Sumowski *Gemälde* II, nos. 666, 669, 680; Samuel van Hoogstraten, Sumowski *Gemälde* II, no. 857. Philips Koninck, Sumowski *Gemälde* III, no. 1028.

118 Sumowski *Gemälde* III, no. 1029.

119 'des testateurs conterfeytsel van Drost geschildert met het clapmutsje' (the testator's portrait painted by Drost with the 'clapmuts'), GAA, not. N. Brouwer, NA., 3975, akte 46, dd. 4 May 1700, fol. 208-210. See also: Br., *Künstler-Inv.*, vol. I, p. 88. See also note 107.

120 Sumowski *Gemälde* II, no. 262.

121 Chapman 1990, pp. 51-54.

122 See for example Jan Mostaert's, *Adoration of the kings*, 1515-20, (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) and Hans Holbein's drawing of *Thomas More and his family*, 1527 (Windsor Castle). It is noteworthy that Rembrandt employed this element mainly in the 1630s, when broadening of the shoulders was again pursued (also by means of jewellery).

123 Chapman 1990, p. 72; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Enkele portretten *à l'antique* door Rembrandt, Bol, Flinck en Backer', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 32 (1980), pp. 2-9; E.E.S. Gordenker, '"En rafelkragen, die hy schilderachtig vond" was Rembrandt een voddenraper?' in: *Kostuum, verzamelingen in beweging*, Zwolle 1995, pp. 21-32.

124 'Die door de gansche Stad op bruggen, en op hoeken, Op Nieuwe, en Noordermarkt zeer yv'rig op ging zoeken Harnassen, Moriljons, Japonsche Ponjerts, bont, En rafelkraagen, die hy schilderachtig vond, En vaak een' Scipio aan 't Roomsche lichchaam paste, Of de éd'le leden van een Cyrus meê vermaste' (Who searched most diligently through the entire city on bridges, and on corners, on the Nieuwe and the Noordermarkt for armour, morions, Japanese daggers, fur, and frayed ruffs, which he found picturesque, and often tried a Scipio on the Roman body, or burdened the noble limbs of a Cyrus with it). A. Pels, *Gebruik en misbruik des tooneels*, Amsterdam 1681, pp. 36-37.

125 'Vistava spesso i luoghi de'pubblici incanti, e quivi faceva procaccio d'abiti d'uzanze vecchie, e dismesse, purchè gli fossero paruti bizzarri, e pittoreschi, e quelgi poi, tutto che talvolta fossero stati pieni d'immondezza, appiccava alle mura nel suo studio tra le belle galanterie...' (He often attended public auctions, where he acquired old, outmoded clothes that he found exotic and picturesque. Then, although they were sometimes filthy, he hung them on the walls of his studio among the beautiful ornaments..). Baldinucci, op. cit.[87], p. 79.

for his habit of collecting old weapons and second-hand clothing and using them as studio props. Rembrandt's inventory of 1656 indeed reveals a remarkably large amount of arms and armour which could have been used as props apart from their value as ethnographic and antiquarian curiosities.[126] A great many old or oriental weapons can in fact be identified in Rembrandt's history pieces. For example, in his *Samson betrayed by Delilah* (I A 24) of 1629/30 and *The Blinding of Samson* (III A 116) of 1636 the same Javanese kris of the *Sandang Walingkat* type is seen; it must have been painted after a real object that may have been part of his collection.[127] The inventories of other 17th-century artists also often mention weapons and sometimes old clothes, as the inventory of Lodewijk van der Helst (appendix 14) shows. According to his inventory of 1699, Michiel van Musscher had not only arms but some modern and 'antique' clothes in his studio.[128] Lambert Doomer owned 'Turcxe' (Turkish) clothing which a note in the inventory says was used for copying in paintings.[129]

The high degree of detail in the costumes in Rembrandt's work of around 1640 is frequently put forward as an indication that here real garments must have been used. The examples most often cited are the London *Self-portrait* of 1640 (III A 139) and the *Portrait of Saskia* in Kassel of 1633-1642 (II A 85; fig. 19).[130] Saskia's clothing can be dated fairly accurately to around 1530, and as we shall see the same can be shown to apply to the London *Self-portrait*.[131] Both Saskia's costume and her pose reveal a strikingly close resemblance to depictions of women by such German masters as the Cranachs and Hans Beham (fig. 20).[132] It is extremely unlikely that very old costumes of the kind depicted in these two paintings, and in the correct combination of over-garment, shirt and bonnet, would have been available over a hundred years later in Amsterdam.[133] So the question arises whether indeed a high degree of detail in the painting necessarily indicates that the object actually existed.

As Scheller rightly notes in his article on Rembrandt's collection, the use that Rembrandt makes of objects from it in his work is only incidental and bears no relation to the number of artefacts inventoried.[134] In contrast to the large number of weapons, the inventory contains no evidence of the collection of old clothing referred to by Baldinucci and by Pels. The only such items mentioned are 'a quantity of ancient textiles of various colours' and '[a pair of] costumes for an Indian man and woman'.[135] The latter two items could have been collected for their ethnographical value, but the first mention is particularly interesting. In 17th-century studio inventories in general we find pieces of fabric listed rather than complete garments. The inventory of Lodewijk van der Helst mentioned above, for example, refers to various silk and other fabrics from old garments 'used in painting'.[136] This shows that it was the fabrics from the old clothes that mattered. According to his inventory of 1694,

126 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 157: 'Twee Isere helmetten'; no. 158: 'Een Japanse hellemet'; no. 159: 'Een carbaetse helmet'; no. 167: 'Een isere rusting met een hellemet'; no. 181: 'Een hantroertie, een pistool'; no. 182: Een raer gefigureert Iser schilt van Quintijn de Smidt'; no. 186: Een gebreijt schilt'; no. 191: 'Een Cluijtbooch'; no. 279: 'Een Isere Ringhkraegh'; no. 312: '33 stucks anticq hantgeweer en blaes instrumenten'; no. 313: '60 stucks soo indiaens hantgeweer, pijlen, schichten, asegaijen en bogen'; no. 315: '13 stucks pijlen, boogen, schilden als anders'; no. 316: 'een turcxe boogh'; no. 319: '4 cluijt en voet bogen'; no. 320: '5 antieckse hoeden en schilden'; no. 339: '20 stucks helbaerden, slachswaerden, en jndiaense waijers'; no. 341: 'Een casket van een reus'; no. 342: '5 curas harnassen' (No. 157: two iron helmets; no. 158: a Japanese helmet; no. 159: a cabasset; no. 167: one set of iron armour and a helmet; no. 181: one hand gun and a pistol; no. 182: one curiously decorated iron shield by Quintin the Smith; no. 186 one plaited shield; no. 191: a palletbow; no. 279: an iron gorget; no. 312: 33 pieces of ancient hand weapons and wind instruments; no. 313: 60 pieces of Indian hand weapons, arrows, quivers, spears and bows; no. 315: 13 pieces of arrows bows, shields etcetera; no. 316: a Turkish bow; no. 319: 4 pallet- and crossbows; no. 320: 5 ancient helmets and shields; no. 339: 20 pieces of halberds, swords and Indian fans; no. 341: one giant's helmet; no. 342: 5 cuirasses).

127 Possibly listed as 'indiaens hantgeweer', although 'hantgeweer' could also refer to hand guns. Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 313. An identical kris is shown on Pieter Lastman's *Laban demanding back the idols* of 1622 in Boulogne sur Mer.

128 'Eenige antique en moderne klederen, bogen, flessen, pijlkokers, schilden, speelinstrumenten en Wat daeraen behoort *f* 20:-:-' (Some antique and modern clothing, bows, bottles, quivers, shields, musical instruments and appurtenances *f* 20:-:-) GAA, not. S. Wijmer, NA 4864, dd. 30 July 1699, inventory Elsje Klanes and Michiel van Musscher, fol. 165-181, esp. 178. See also Br. *Künstler-Inv.* III, p. 991.

129 In the inventory drawn up at Alkmaar on 3 January 1677 there is in the studio 'een kas met geweer, te weten: een musquet, twee houwers, een degen, twee pistoolen, boogh en pijle, een stormhoet, voorts een deel Turcxe kleederen om na te schilderen' (a case of arms, viz.: one musket, two broadswords, one rapier, two pistols, bow and arrows, one morion, also some Turkish clothes for copying). Th. Wortel, 'Lambert Doomer te Alkmaar', *O.H.* 44 (1929), pp. 171-187, esp. 177.

130 For example Dudok van Heel, op. cit.[123].

131 In particular, Saskia's 'tellerbarett', with its very wide diameter, and her elaborately decorated 'halshemd' with smockwork and broad sleeves are both characteristic of German fashion of this period. See: J. Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat. Kleidung und Haustextilien in Nürnberg von 1500-1650*, Munich 1990, esp. pp. 73, 131. Judging by contemporary painting, the colour red also seems to have been typical of women's dress in the German-speaking region.

132 On Rembrandt's use of prints by Hans Sebald Beham and Heinrich Aldegrever see: C. White, *Rembrandt as an Etcher. A Study of the Artist at Work*, London 1969, p. 166 and C. Tümpel, 'Beobachtungen zur "Nachtwache"', in: *Neue Beiträge zur Rembrandt Forschung*, O. von Simson & J. Kelch (eds.), Berlin 1973, p. 165, on Rembrandt's etching (B. 179) of the Monk in the cornfield which is derived from Aldegrever. Rembrandt's two etchings of peasants of 1634 (B. 177 and 178) are also based on works by Beham of 1542, see: J.LA..A.M. van Rijckevorsel, *Rembrandt en de traditie*, Rotterdam 1932, p. 120.

133 Although in the past clothing lasted longer than today, one has to bear in mind that clothes were often altered so that they could continue to be used until they were worn out. Even today museum curators find it extremely difficult to assemble a complete costume, with all its accessories such as the shirt and hat, of only a hundred years ago.

134 Scheller, op. cit.[68], p. 128. He specifically cites the incorporation of the medal by Pisanello in the etching *The three crosses* (B. 78), the Mogul miniatures as a source for the etching *Abraham and the three angels* (B. 29), the kris referred to above, the etching of *The shell* (B. 159), the bust of Homer and possibly that of Aristotle in *Aristotle contemplating a bust of Homer* of 1653 in New York (Br. 478). See also *Rembrandt's treasures*, exh.cat. Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis 1999-2000, passim.

135 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 336: 'Een pertije antieckse lappen van diversche coleuren'; no. 340: Een jndiaans mans een vrouwe cleet'.

136 'Verscheydene sijde en andere stoffen van Antiekse klederen en tgene daer aen dependeert behorende tot de schilderkonst' (Various silk and other fabrics from antique garments and that which belongs to it, used in painting), see appendix 15.

Fig. 19. Rembrandt, *Half-length figure of Saskia van Uylenburgh*, *c.* 1633/34-1642. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel, Schloß Wilhelmshöhe (II A 85)



Fig. 20. H. Beham, *Standing man and woman*, *c.* 1530, woodcut.



Caspar Netscher owned 'some pieces of silk and satin belonging to the studio'.[137] Entries on similar lines can be found in the inventories of Michiel van Musscher, Karel du Jardin and David Beck.[138] These pieces would have been used by the painters to study the properties of textiles and thus achieve a convincing rendering of materials in their work.[139] The 'quantity of ancient textiles of diverse colours' in Rembrandt's inventory would have been acquired for their patterns and colours and used in particular for studying the fall of drapery. There is nothing in his inventory to suggest that he had a collection of old costumes which he might have used for his *Self-portrait* in London and for the *Portrait of Saskia* in Kassel.

Equally, there is no concrete evidence for Rembrandt's supposed use of theatre costumes for the highly detailed historical dress in his work. In fact, an important characteristic of theatre costumes is their lack of detail, because the audience cannot see it from a distance. This was remarked on by Samuel Pepys in 1666 when during a visit backstage he was sadly disappointed on seeing the costumes close up that had so impressed him on stage.[140]

In the rare depictions of Amsterdam actors they wear a fanciful outfit vaguely based on the 16th-century 'landsknecht' fashion consisting of a bonnet combined with the costume with slits that had evidently become the stereotype.[141] In Karlsruhe there is a series of drawings by the German Hans Brentel, who was in Amsterdam in 1634, which are believed to be studies of Amsterdam actors.[142] One of them, dated 21 August 1634, shows a player with a slit bonnet and a knee-length tunic that is largely covered by a cloak. This costume too has more in common with the conventional historicising dress with few details in the works of Rembrandt's predecessors and contemporaries than with the elaborately detailed

137 'Eenige lappen van zijde en satijn, totte Schildercamer behoorende'. A. Bredius, 'Een en ander over Caspar Netscher', *O.H.* 5 (1887), pp. 263-274, esp. 267.

138 See the inventory of Du Jardin in Appendix 16: 'eenige lapjens sije stof' (some pieces of silk), the inventory of Michiel van Musscher, Appendix 21: 'eenige sijde lappen' (some silk pieces) and the estate of David Beck of The Hague of 1656: 'twee à drie gaze en syde sleyertjes bewaert om naer te schilderen' (two or three gauze and silk veils kept to be copied). Br. *Künstler-Inv.* IV, p. 1269.

139 See E. van de Wetering, 'Het satijn van Gerard Ter Borch', *Kunstschrift* 6 (1993), pp. 28-37.

140 'But to see their clothes and the various sorts, and what a mixture of things there was, ...would make a man split himself to see with laughing... But then again, to think how fine they show on the stage by candlelight, and how poor things they are to look now too nearhand, is not pleasant at all'. R. Latham (ed.), *The Shorter Pepys*, London 1985, p. 600.

141 Such as the figure in the middle in the illustrated scene from *Lucelle en Ascagnes* in a painting by Jan Miense Molenaer of 1639. Amsterdam, Theatermuseum.

142 J.Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Buitenlanders zien Amsterdam, voornamelijk rond 1634', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 70 (1978), pp. 170-185.

Fig. 21. Rembrandt, *The standard-bearer*, 1636. Paris, private collection (III A 120)



Fig. 22. T. Liagno, *Landsknecht*, *c.* 1600, etching



costumes of the years around 1640 in Rembrandt's own works.

By and large, these similarities between the theatre costumes of the day and the dress depicted in paintings can be explained by the fact that both appear to have been based on the same sources. We know that many painters made use of costume books.[143] Rubens, for example, did 250 studies of historical and oriental costumes after monuments and costume books between 1609 and 1612.[144] According to the 1656 inventory Rembrandt also had 'prints of various costumes'.[145] It is possible that he made use of such a print for the 16th-century costume of his *Standard-Bearer* of 1636 (III A 120; fig. 21). This painting, which is sometimes wrongly thought to be a self-portrait, shows marked similarities to a print of the same subject by Theodoro Liagno of *c.* 1600 (fig. 22). This print is part of a series of costumes of Moorish soldiers and landsknechten. For the latter group Liagno may in turn have made use of a print with the same subject by Hans Schäufelein of *c.* 1512.[146] Although it is possible that Rembrandt worked directly after Schäufelein, the parallels with the print by Liagno are more striking. Besides the characteristic pose with the hand at the waist, the notched bonnet with feather, the wide sleeve with slashes, the codpiece and the drooping moustache seem to have been taken from this print. All these elements were typical of the dress of the 'landsknecht' at the beginning of the 16th century. Rembrandt has added a sash and a gorget which were part of 17th-century military dress. The strong surge of interest in the

143 For instance in the inventory of Caspar Netscher in The Hague of 1694, 'een boekje van 14 bladeren, waerin zijn vrouwen van allerhande dracht' (a book of 14 pages, wherein women in all manner of dress). Bredius, op. cit.[137], p. 273. Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem in 1639: 'een langwerpig boeck met drachten' (an oblong book of costumes). Br. *Künstler-Inv.* VII, p. 82. Cornelis Dusart in 1704, 'een gebonden boekje met veelderhande vrouwenportretten op veelderhande manier gekleet' (A bound book with all manner of women's portraits dressed in all manner of ways); a book with 'Figuren van vreemde dragten en klederen' (Figures of foreign costumes and dress) and 'Joost Ammans drachten van Hoge en Lage Stands-personen' (Jost Amman's *Standenbuch*). Br. *Künstler-Inv.* I, pp. 42, 52 and 69. In 1676 the Middelburg artist and dealer Laurens Bernards has a: 'Tractaet van de Cleedinge' (Treatise on Clothing). Br. *Künstler-Inv.* III, p. 1043. In the inventory of the Antwerp painter Hendrik van Balen of 1638, in the studio: 'Een boeck gebonden in een witte Franchyne couffitorie van alle soorten van drachten' (A book bound in a white parchment cover of all kinds of dress) and 'een alderhanden drachtboeck per Giorgium Straubium in hoorne gebonden' (A book of all sorts of costumes by Giorgium Straubium bound in horn). E. Duverger, *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, 8 vols, Brussels 1989, vol. 4, pp. 209, 211. See also: B.M. du Mortier '"Hier sietmen Vrouwen van alderley Natien..."; Kostuumboeken bron voor de schilderkunst?', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 39 (1991), pp. 401-413.

144 The original is in the print room of the British Museum in London. K.L. Belkin, 'The Costume Book', *Corpus Rubenianum...*, vol. 24, Brussels 1980. H. and O. Kurz, 'The Turkish Dresses in the Costume-Book of Rubens', *N.K.J.* 23 (1972), pp. 275-290.

145 'Een dito [boeck] vol curieuse minijateur teeckeninge nevens verscheijde hout en kopere printen van alderhande dragt'. (One ditto [book] filled with curious drawings in miniature as well as woodcuts and copper engravings of various costumes). Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 203.

146 For the whole series by Liangno see: *The illustrated Bartsch*, New York 1983, vol. 38, pp. 22-33. For Hans Schäufelein (*c.* 1480-1540) see: F.W.H. Hollstein, *German etchings, engravings and woodcuts, 1450-1700*, Rotterdam 1996, vol. 42, no. 64.

advised the artist to make himself thoroughly familiar with old customs and habits and to acquire a knowledge of 'antique' clothes and ornaments, such as turbans, caps, bonnets and arms.[157] Goeree claimed that famous masters were in the habit of using prints by other artists as a source of such knowledge.[158] Rembrandt would have studied old prints foremost as a painter of histories. It was precisely Rembrandt's striving for the greatest possible authenticity of historical detail through study that Philips Angel lauded in 1642 and held up to other painters.[159] The increasing concern with historical accuracy, particularly in the depiction of clothing, in the course of the 17th century is apparent if we compare the comments on this subject made by Van Mander and Van Hoogstraten. While in his chapter on portraying dress Van Mander talks mainly about the flow of drapery, Van Hoogstraten, a Rembrandt pupil, emphasises the importance of historical authenticity in costume depiction.[160] The profound knowledge of historical dress which is especially evident in his self-portraits suggests that Rembrandt played a crucial role in this development.

At the beginning of his career Rembrandt's treatment of historical costume in his self-portraits closely resembles that in his history pieces. In his earliest known history piece, the *Stoning of St Stephen* of 1625 in Lyon (I A 1), and the Leiden *History piece* of 1626 (I A 6) Rembrandt's likeness can be identified among the bystanders. Not until a later self-portrait 'in assistenza' – the Munich *Raising of the Cross* of *c.* 1633 (II A 69) is more of the clothing visible. Here he wears a blue bonnet and a garment with a low-cut neck and slashed sleeves.

In the *Self-portrait* in Boston of 1629 (I A 20; fig. 23) the painter wears a similar blue bonnet with a white ostrich feather, a scarf with gold thread and a gold chain over a yellow cloak. The same combination of bonnet, chain and scarf, but in shades of brown, is worn by the artist in his *Self-portrait* in Liverpool of *c.* 1628 (I A 33) and in that in Paris of 1633 (II A 72).

Unlike the Utrecht *Caravaggisti*, who portrayed historical, 16th-century costume in a far from accurate and very rough manner, in his history pieces Pieter Lastman aspired to a more detailed and historically correct 16th-century costume.[161] In Rembrandt too from the middle of the 1630s one can see a development towards more authentic 16th-century dress that seems to stem from the use of 16th-century models. An early indication of this is provided by the small etched self-portrait (B. 2) and a closely related drawing (Ben. 437r; fig. 24), which can both be dated to around 1635.[162] In them, instead of the cap-like bonnet he has depicted up to then, Rembrandt wears a bonnet with a peak at the front whose shape resembles that of a modern cap. While at first sight there are no demonstrable 16th-century models

connection is the remark by Baldinucci that Rembrandt himself stated that the reason he made such extravagantly high bids for northern art in particular at auctions was to raise the prestige of the profession. 'quantià innumerabile di disegni, di stampe, medaglie, ed ogn'altra cosa, che e'credeva poter giammai bisognare ad un pittore. Merita egli però gran lode per una certa sua, benchè stravagante bontà, cioè, chè per la stima grande, che e'faceva dell'arte sua, quando si subastavano cose appartenenti alla medesima, e particolarmente pitture, e disegni di grand' uomini di quelle parti, egli alla prima offerta ne alzava tanto il prezzo, che non mai trovavasi il secondo offerente, e diceva far questo, per mettere in credito la professione' (countless drawings, prints, medals and all manner of other things he thought a painter might ever need. However, he deserves great praise for a certain goodness, albeit extravagant: given the tremendous esteem he had for his art, when works were sold at auction, especially pictures and drawings by great men of those parts, he started off with such a high bid that a second bid was never made. He did so, he said, to enhance the prestige of the profession). Baldinucci, op. cit.[87], pp. 79-80.

157 'Den Schilder moet in de Historien ervaren wesen: en d'oude zeden verstaan. Soo moetmen ook door het neerstig ondersoeken van Oudheden en Historien, alle de voornaamste geschiedenissen weten; op datmen wel van den inhoud versekerd zijnde soodanige Beelden van Mannen, Vrouwen, [...] en andere meer, met hunne eigene Kleedingen, verçierselen en toe-stellen uyt-rusten, en schikken na de verscheidentheid der Natiën [...] eigen zijn. Tot welk ook bysonderlijk noodig is, datmen wete alle de Oude Zeden en Manieren, soo van Godsdiensten [...] en menigte andere Schilderachtige en aaloude gebruiken. d'Antyke Kleedingen en ornamenten verstaan: Ook alle Mannelijke en Vrouwelijke toetakelingen, van Topsleuyels; Tullebanden, Gordels, Mutzen, Bonnetten, Hoofd-banden, Kapsels, Hulsles, Broosen, Bandwindsels, Voetsoolen, Rijg-schoenen, Slotsen, Borsijkijnen, Sonne-schermen, Kroonen, Voorhoofd-çiercels, Arm-ringen, Peerelsnoeren, Kettingen, Oor-ringen, enz. Item alle Oorlogs-gereedschappen ...' (The Painter must be experienced in Histories: and know the old customs. He must also, through diligent study of Antiquities and Chronicles, know all the main histories; so that, being sure of the content, he must master such figures of men, women and such, providing them with their own clothing, decorations and accessories, and arrange them according to the ways of the various nations. For which it is also necessary that he knows all the Old Customs and Manners, and Religions [...] and a host of other Picturesque and ancient usages, and is familiar with antique clothing and ornaments: as well as all the Male and Female appurtenances, such as Headveils; Turbans, Belts, Caps, Bonnets, Head-Bands, Hairstyles, Covers, Buskins, Swaddling bands, Foot soles, Laced shoes, Slippers, Purses, Sun shades, Crowns, Forehead ornaments, Arm rings, Pearl strings, Chains, Earrings, and so forth. Ditto all Implements of War, ...). W. Goeree, *Inleydingh tot de practyck der Al-gemeene Schilder-konst*, Middelburg 1670, pp. 75-76.

158 Goeree, op. cit.[157], pp. 50-51: 'Dat de konst vry wat bysonder frays uyt alsulke dingen [prenten van oude meesters] halen kan, daar aan mag van niemand getwijffeld worden: Want de exempelen konnen getuigenis geven, hoe gantsch geagt dit van Eeuw tot Eeuw geweest is, en hoe neerstig de Vermaarde Meesters hebben geweest, om de aaloude dingen, soo van schoone Statue-Beelden, Kleedingen, Zeden en gebruiken, met een onvermoeilijken yver te ondersoeken, en de nuttigheid daar van te kennen' (No one can doubt that art can derive much that is very fine from such things [prints by old masters]: For examples bear witness to how they have been generally esteemed from Age to Age, and to how diligent the Great Masters have been in studying with unceasing effort ancient things, such as beautiful Statues, Clothes, Manners and Customs, and learning their use, as well as to know their purpose).

159 Ph. Angel, *Lof der Schilder-Konst*, Leiden 1642, p. 47. See also *Corpus* III A 123.

160 This comparison was the subject of a lecture by Paul Taylor entitled *Van Mander and Van Hoogstraeten on Draperies*, given in Utrecht in December 1993.

161 For example, in his *Jephtha's daughter welcoming her father home* of *c.* 1620 (private collection, the Netherlands) the woman on the left wears a plumed bonnet in combination with a red dress with a decoration of black braid in 16th-century style. The soldier on the far right wears a bonnet together with a grey *paltrock* and duckbills or corned shoes with broad toecaps that were typical of the fashion around 1490 to 1540.

162 This drawing is dated around 1637 by Benesch. However, Peter Schatborn believes there is no objection to dating it earlier on the grounds of its close affinities to the group of drawings (Ben. 280a, 280c and 280e) of Saskia with Rombartus which are dated around 1635.

type of the 'landsknecht' and his characteristic costume was reflected through nearly the whole of the 16th century in a huge number of prints, above all in Germany and Switzerland but in other countries too.[147]

The same sources were used in the Amsterdam theatre. The costume book *Dracht-thoneel* already mentioned was compiled in 1601 by Zacharias Heyns specially for the use of the Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric 'Het Wit Lavendel'.[148] The account books of the Amsterdam theatre show that in the period 1637 to 1643 the actor and tailor Harmen van Ilt was responsible of making the costumes.[149] He was able to consult a 'drachtboeck' (costume book) which, according to the same source, had been acquired in 1638 from the bookseller and printer Abraham de Wees.[150] The compilers of these books based themselves in turn, particularly in the case of historical dress, on examples from the visual arts, as is evident from the best known of the 16th-century costume books, that of Cesare Vecellio of 1590.[151] Himself a painter, Vecellio based his examples of earlier modes of dress on monuments and paintings that he saw in churches and public buildings in Rome and Venice.

Moreover, the staging of plays at the Amsterdam theatre must have been greatly influenced by contemporary painting. An important part of the great tragedies in particular was the so-called 'vertooningen' or *intermezzi* with *tableaux vivants* that must have closely resembled contemporary history pieces. Vondel wrote in the foreword to several of his tragedies that in staging them he had been directly inspired by the paintings of Rubens and Jan Pynas.[152] So we must take into account a close correspondence between art and theatre in the field of costume conventions. This is apparent, for example, from the directions given by the Leiden playwright Jacob van der Duym for a piece of 1606 in which the allegorical figures are identified by clothing and attributes that appear to be based to a large extent on how they were depicted in art. The personification of the River Scheldt is to be 'antijcx ghecleed zijn, soo men een Rivier plach te schilderen' (dressed *à l'antique*, as a river is tended to be painted).[153] This shows that the theatre took its lead from art, probably more than was the case in reverse. Given that when it came to historical dress both painting and the theatre based themselves on the same sources, it seems probable that Rembrandt, whose collection of prints and drawings by old masters was unusually varied, more than anyone had a profound knowledge of old costumes.

Returning to Rembrandt's collection, we find that the prints and drawings are the only part which can convincingly be shown to have been repeatedly used by Rembrandt in his work.[154] As Campbell rightly observes, the collection of prints is characterised by the highest quality and variety and in quantity alone surpasses all the other art in Rembrandt's collection.[155] This alone forms an indication how great their value was to Rembrandt. This is confirmed by the testimony of various witnesses and documents as to the high prices he was prepared to pay for them.[156]

In 17th-century art theory the use of prints as sources for painting is recommended. In 1670 Willem Goeree

147 See for example: J.R. Hale, 'The Soldier in Germanic Graphic Art of the Renaissance' in: R.I. Rotberg and Th. K. Rabb, *Art and History: Images and their Meaning*, Cambridge 1986 and K. Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives*, Chicago 1989.

148 See the foreword in Heyns, op. cit.[105]. See also: C.H. de Jonge, 'Het Dracht-Thoneel van Zacharias Heyns', *Het Boek*, 2nd series, (1919), pp. 65-83. The costumes in Heyns are based on the older costume books of Breton and Deprez (of 1562) and of Slupery (1572). See: M.A. Ghering van Ierlant, *Mode in prent (1550-1914)*, The Hague 1988, p. 20.

149 *Ontfang & Uijtgift van d'Amsteldamsche Schouburg van de Jaere 1637*. GAA, PA 367, no. 425.

150 Ibidum, fol. 47. '19 maert 1638, aen Abraham de Wees voor een drachtboek *f* 3:10:-' (19 March 1638, to Abraham de Wees for a costume book *f* 3:10:-).

151 C. Vecellio, *De gli Habiti antichi et moderni di Diverse Parti del Mondo*, Venice 1590.

152 In the foreword to his *Gebroeders* (Amsterdam 1639): 'Hier word ick belust, om door Rubens, de glori der penseelen onzer eeuwe, een heerlijck en koningklijck tafreel, als een treurtooneel te stoffeeren' (Here I am inspired by Rubens, the glory of the paint brushes of our century, to stage a wonderful and royal scene as a tragedy). And in the foreword to his *Joseph in Dothan* (Amsterdam 1640): 'Josephs verkoopinge schoot ons in den zin, door het tafereel van Jan Pinas, hangende, neffens meer kunstige stucken van Peter Lastman, ten huise van den hooghgeleerden en ervaren Docter Robbert Verhoeven; daer de bloedige rock den Vader vertoont wort: gelijck wy in't sluiten van dit werck ten naesten by, met woorden des schilders verwen, teickeningen en hartstoghten pooghden na te volgen' (Joseph sold into captivity came to mind, through the scene by Jan Pynas alongside other artful works by Pieter Lastman in the house of the highly learned and experienced Doctor Robbert Verhoeven; in which the bloody coat is being shown to the father; likewise, conclusion of this play we attempted to match as closely as possible in words the painter's colours, drawings and passions). In the foreword to his *Batavische gebroeders of onderdruckte vryheit* (Amsterdam 1663) Vondel says that the prints of Tempesta after Otto van Veen's series on the Batavian revolt led him to write the play. See K. Bauch, *Der frühe Rembrandt und seine Zeit*, Berlin 1960, pp. 71-72.

153 'Antwerpia moet seer chierlick ghecleed zijn, als een jonghe Maeght, dan in de laetste uytcomst moet sy rou-cleeren aen hebben. Rijckdom moet seer rijckelick ghecleed zijn, met een coffert en inden arm, ende een stock bors inde hand. Neeringhe moet Borgherlick ghecleed zijn, hebbende by haer veel werck ghereedschap, ende eenen winckel-haeck inde handt. Troost der Schriftueren deghelick als eene Leeraer. Schaldis moet antycx ghecleed zijn, soo men een Rivier plach te schilderen' (Antwerpia should be dressed very finely, like a young maid, then at the end she should be in mourning. Wealth should be very richly dressed, with a chest under the arm and a money bag in the hand. Craft must be dressed like a burgher, with tools for all her work and a carpenter's square in her hand. The Consolation of Scripture respectably as a teacher. Schaldis should be dressed *à l'antique*, as a river is used to be painted). J. Struys, *Belegheringhe der Stadt Antwerpen, by den Prince van Parma*, Leiden 1606. In the 17th-century comedy of the *Schöne Phönicia* by Jacob Uyrer there is this stage direction: 'Cupido geht ein wie er gemalt wird mit verbundenen Augen'. In a Shrove Tuesday play about the *Ritterorden des podagrischen Fluß* we read 'Mercurius in seinen geflügelten kleidern, wie man ihn malt, [...] Jupiter ist kleid wie man ihn malt...'. in: M. von Boehn, *Das Bühnenkostum in Altertum, Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Berlin 1921, pp. 243-244.

154 See especially Van Rijckevorsel, op. cit.[132]; C. Tümpel, 'Ikonographische Beiträge zu Rembrandt I and II', *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 13 (1968), pp. 95-126 and 16 (1971), pp. 20-38; C.G. Campbell, *Studies in the formal sources of Rembrandt's figure compositions*, (diss.) London 1971.

155 Campbell, op. cit.[154], p. 100.

156 This is borne out by the remarks on this point by Ernst Brinck in 1642 (Strauss *Doc.*, 1642/10), by Van Hoogstraten, op. cit.[99], p. 212 and by Sandrart op. cit.[92], part II, Book III, p. 240. Also revealing in this

Fig. 23. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1629. Boston, The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (I A 20)



Fig. 24. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1635, red chalk 12.9 x 11.9 cm (Ben. 437r). Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald collection



for this type of bonnet, it is also worn by Isaac van Swanenburgh (*c.* 1550-1614) in his *Self-portrait* of 1568.[163] It is perfectly possible that Rembrandt knew this self-portrait because Isaac van Swanenburgh was the father of his first teacher, Jacob van Swanenburgh.[164]

Around 1636 another type of bonnet was used by Rembrandt. It has a wide, quite limp brim with deep slits and is sometimes adorned by plumes. Rembrandt wears this bonnet in his painted self-portrait with Saskia in his Dresden *Prodigal son in the tavern* of *c.* 1635 (III A 111) and in his etched *Self-portrait with Saskia* of 1636 (B. 19). The same type of bonnet is worn by the 'landsknecht'-like soldier behind Christ in Rembrandt's *Ecce Homo* etching of 1636 (B. 77) and in the *Standard-Bearer* of the same year described above, where it was argued that the costume may have been based on a print by Theodoro Liagno.

After 1638 Rembrandt no longer uses this kind of notched bonnet in his self-portraits and goes back to the cap-like type used earlier, for example in his *Self-portrait with plumed velvet bonnet* of that year (B. 20; fig. 25). A notable feature of this self-portrait is the greater detail in the costume. Rembrandt wears a richly decorated velvet gown or cloak which is lined with fur. Under it he has a '*paltrock*' or jerkin, a shirt with smocking and a decorated neckcloth that appears to be tucked into the jerkin. The jerkin was a garment typical of the first half of the 16th century. It had a pleated skirt that extended to the knee and it could be identified by its low, horizontal neckline.[165] The element of the small vertical slits on the breast of the jerkin in this self-portrait is related to the costume in the print by Lucas van Leyden of *c.* 1519, *Boy with skull* (fig. 26), which in the 17th century was regarded as his self-portrait.[166] The short, full beard in a style popular in the early 16th century seems to have been added only as an afterthought. This too suggests that Rembrandt was trying to transform his appearance to accord with 16th-century models. He evidently decided that the added beard was not a success because he left it out in an etching made in the following year (B. 21; fig. 27). In this etched *Self-portrait* in which Rembrandt leans his arm on a wall, he wears his hair long in combination with a moustache and a small tuft of hair on his chin that are entirely in keeping with the fashion of the day. One consideration that may have played a role was that the full beard made him less easily recognisable. In this etching Rembrandt again wears a similar bonnet and a gown with a decorated edge and a standing half-round collar. Another element through which Rembrandt indicates that he is dressed in the fashion of a century earlier is the chain with a cross that he wears over his shirt, which refers to the period before the Reformation.

As stated, the London *Self-portrait* of 1640 (III A 139;

163 Leiden, Stedelijk Museum 'De Lakenhal'.

164 This peaked 'cap' is also seen in the much later *Self-portraits* Br. 46 and 47 (IV 10), which are both copies after a lost original, and possibly also in the *Self-portrait* in Edinburgh (IV 15).

165 See: C.H. De Jonge, 'Bijdrage tot de kennis van de Kleederdracht in de Nederlanden in de XVIe eeuw; het mannencostuum,' *O.H.* 37 (1919), pp. 1-207, esp. 1-7.

166 See: B. Cornelis and J.P. Filedt Kok, 'The taste for Lucas van Leyden prints', *Simiolus* 26 (1998), pp. 18-86. It has been included as his portrait in the series of artists' portraits by Hendrik Hondius of 1610. At any rate by Karel van Mander. See his life of Lucas. K. van Mander, *Het leven der doorluchtighe Nederlandtsche en Hooghduytsche schilders, Het schilderboeck*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 215. The element of the small vertical slits is also seen in Rembrandt's etching *Self-portrait with cap and decorated cloak* of *c.* 1642 (B. 26).

Fig. 25. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait with plumed velvet bonnet*, 1638, etching (B. 20)



Fig. 26. L. van Leyden, *Boy with a skull*, *c.* 1518, etching



fig. 28) marks a high point in this development towards a more authentic 16th-century costume. It is characterised by a large amount of detail in the different parts of the costume which betrays a thorough knowledge of the nature of early 16th-century dress. Here the painter wears a black *tabbaard* or gown with brown, striped sleeves and a collar trimmed with fur. Under that is a *paltrock* or jerkin whose characteristic horizontal top edge is decorated with braid. Under the jerkin he has a *'wambuis'* or doublet whose high, standing collar can be seen at the neck.[167] The shirt worn under this has decorative smockwork[168] at the neck and a small frill that is typical of the first 30 years of the 16th century. On his head Rembrandt has a different type of bonnet to the one that he has worn in self-portraits so far. This type was also frequently seen in the early 16th century and was known then as 'een bonnet met boghe, linten en nestelingen' (a bonnet with jewel, ribbons and aiglets).[169] The broad, notched brim forms its main component. Next to nothing is seen of the crown because one is looking from below at the turned-up brim, which is adorned with medallions and gold thread.

Van Thiel rightly remarked that while the costume in the London *Self-portrait* is early 16th-century in style, it is not derived from the clothing in the *Portrait of an unknown man* by Titian in London or the *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione* by Raphael in Paris, both paintings that have been generally regarded as the prototypes of the London *Self-portrait* of 1640 and of the etching of 1639.[170] The theory that Rembrandt used these works as prototypes is attractive because both of them were in Amsterdam in 1639, and Rembrandt even recorded the composition of Raphael's portrait of Castiglione in a drawing now in Vienna (Ben. 451) when it was auctioned in April 1639.

Though Rembrandt's London *Self-portrait*, indeed, bears resemblance in composition to these two Italian paintings, he turned to other models for the costume. Rembrandt's dress can be traced back with remarkable precision to the fashion that prevailed in northern Europe between 1520 and 1530. During this period the fashion for men was more international than that for women; nonetheless, it is possible to speak of a Northern Netherlandish nuance. This most closely resembled German fashion, as seen for example in portraits by Cranach

167 For these terms see: De Jonge, op. cit.[165], pp. 1-207. The order of the different items of clothing is confirmed by the account of the crowning of Charles V as King of Lombardy in 1530: 'dye welcke die keyserlycke Maiesteit uphieven/ hem doende synen tabbaert ute/ en synen rock/ en deden syn wambeys voren open en het hemde...' (who lifted up the imperial Majesty, stripped him of his gown and his jerkin, and undid the front of his doublet and his shirt...). See: De Jonge, op. cit.[165], p. 166.

168 As the term indicates, this type of decoration was originally characteristic of smocks.

169 De Jonge, op. cit.[103], pp. 141-142. According to her, the account of Charles V's ceremonial entry into Valladolid in 1517 provides a good description of this type of bonnet:'Kaerle die coninck [...] hadde om syn bonnette een costelyke boghe [bagge], een juweel boven mate costelyck' (Charles the king [...] had on his bonnet a costly jewel, an exceedingly costly piece of jewellery). Aiglets are decorative points of precious metal.

170 Exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, p. 221.

Fig. 27. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1639, etching (B. 21)



and Dürer.[171] The sharpest contrast with German and Dutch fashion at this time was provided by Italian fashion, in which the silhouette was broader, the sleeves were much bigger and the costume had an entirely different kind of pleating. The greatest difference with Italy was in the use of colour.[172] This is illustrated by the sharp black and white contrasts in Castiglione's costume and by the bright blue costume with voluminous sleeves in the portrait by Titian, mentioned above.

Rembrandt again seems to have made use of 16th-century graphic art for the costume in the London *Self-portrait*. While no single model for this costume has been found as yet, individual elements can be traced to the work of Lucas van Leyden and Albrecht Dürer. With the omission of the feathers, the black bonnet with the medal and the turned-up brim with notches could be taken from the print by Lucas van Leyden already mentioned (see fig. 26). The square, standing collar of the doublet, on the other hand, resembles the form of the collar of the gown and doublet in the portrait of Lucas van Leyden drawn by Dürer in 1521. In it Lucas wears a black doublet trimmed with fur and a gown and jerkin that both are decorated with braid. In his *Self-portrait* Rembrandt has, so to speak, reversed these details: he wears a black gown with an edge of fur on the collar and a doublet and a jerkin which both have striped decoration on the edges. Rembrandt may have known this portrait of Lucas through the print which Hieronymus Cock made after the drawing for his well-known series of artists' portraits of 1572 (fig. 29).[173]

It is tempting to relate Rembrandt's development from an historicising to an authentic-looking 16th-century costume, as seen in the second half of the 1630s, to his large-scale purchases of prints from 1637 on.[174] At the sale of the collection of Gommer Spranger in February 1638, for example, Rembrandt bought 224 guilders' worth of prints and drawings, notably works by Lucas van Leyden and Dürer.[175] Recently Dickey and Manuth have linked this evident interest in, and purchase of, prints by Dürer to their reflection in Rembrandt's own work in these years.[176] This turns out to embody elements from Dürer's *Apocalypse* series and from his *Life of the Virgin*, which Rembrandt bought no less than seven times at this sale.[177] Both authors rightly observe that the pose and the use of illusionistic devices in the self-portraits of 1639 and 1640 did not derive solely from Italian portraiture. This formula was also well-established in the northern tradition, as shown for example by Dürer's *Self-portrait* of 1498 in the Prado and by the series of portraits of painters from the Netherlands by Hieronymus Cock.[178]

In the 1650s and 1660s Rembrandt continued to portray himself in historical costume in a number of his self-portraits, such as that of 1658 in New York and those of 1669 in Florence and London. Because Rembrandt in his later period turned to what is known as his 'rough

171 Bonnets tended to be more modest in size in the Northern Netherlands, however, and fashions were generally less extreme and fanciful than in Germany. The 'landsknecht' fashion, for instance, was much less pervasive in civil dress in Holland and showed less pronounced notching, as can be seen in the work of Lucas van Leyden. Another characteristic of clothing in the Northern Netherlands was that less use was made of vividly contrasting colours and more of subdued shades like brown, bottle green, mat purple and a range of greys. Moreover, in Germany the doublet was often worn on its own, whereas in the Northern Netherlands it was always an undergarment. On this see C.H. de Jonge, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van de Noord-Nederlandsche costuumgeschiedenis in de eerste helft van de XVIe eeuw*, Utrecht 1916, pp. 73-75, 79, 95.

172 De Jonge, op. cit.[171], p. 83.

173 D. Lampsonius, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae Inferioris effigies*, Antwerp 1572, no. 10. These and other series of famous artists are analysed in Raupp, op. cit.[45], pp. 18-31, where he underlines the wide circulation and importance of this series.

174 For instance at the auction of the Jan Bassé collection on 9-30 March 1637; see Strauss *Doc.*, 1637/2.

175 Strauss *Doc.*, 1638/2.

176 S.S. Dickey in her paper delivered at the Rembrandt symposium in January 1992 and in her: *Prints, Portraits and Patronage in Rembrandt's Work around 1640*, (Diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) 1994, pp. 105-200, and V. Manuth, *Tradition und Ikonographie – Zum Verhältnis von Dürer und Rembrandt*, Bonn 1993, Lecture in honour of Egbert Haverkamp Begemann; and London, Warburg Institute, 31 May 1995.

177 Manuth believes the explanation for the large number of purchases is that Rembrandt used these prints for teaching purposes in his studio and cites as evidence the direct borrowings from Dürer in the work of pupils in Rembrandt's studio at this time. On the other hand, Dickey, op. cit.[176], p. 21, note 70, thinks they were intended purely for the trade.

178 Campbell, op. cit.[154], pp. 64-65, first drew a link between the London *Self-portrait* and a portrait in Cock's series, namely that of Barent van Orley (no. 6). He says that Rembrandt's pose is reminiscent of late 16th-century Netherlandish portraits.

Fig. 28. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1640. London, The National Gallery (III A 139)



Fig. 29. H. Cock, *Lucas van Leyden*, engraving



Fig. 30. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1665-69. London, Kenwood House, Iveagh bequest (IV 26)



manner', the details of the clothing are not as clearly worked out as in the self-portraits of around 1640. Yet the costume in these late self-portraits consists in principle of the same 16th-century elements as in the London *Self-portrait* of 1640. It is apparent from the literature that the lack of definition in the way the costume is depicted makes it difficult to determine whether it consists of work clothes or historical dress. One of the main problems is that the gown worn in these self-portraits was essentially a 16th-century fashion, but survived into the 17th century as an indoor garment and was thus worn in the studio, as explained above.

This question is raised by the costume in the *Self-portrait* at Kenwood House (IV 26; fig. 30). For Chapman the fact that the painter wears a black gown with brown facings is a reason for regarding his dress as work clothes.[179] In this case, however, the costume must be considered historical because of the low, horizontal neckline of the red *borstlap* or bib and the pleated shirt, in whose edge a pattern has been suggested by scratching in the wet paint. As explained above, the low, horizontal neckline was characteristic of the first three decades of the 16th century. It was achieved by giving a jerkin this kind of straight neckline or by putting a separate, square *borstlap* in a jerkin with a U-shaped neck. These separate *borstlappen* were usually red and this in part explains why the red garment in the Kenwood *Self-portrait* can be identified as a *borstlap* rather than a jerkin.[180] In the first three decades of the 16th century the shirt had a broad neckline so that it often protruded above the jerkin, showing an edge of smockwork in a cross pattern (as Rembrandt wears in the Kenwood *Self-portrait*), or it reached up to the neck so that there was a small frill above the edge smockwork (as in the London *Self-portrait* of 1640).[181] This form of shirt and the low, horizontal neckline of the jerkin were so different from the 17th-century style of shirt and doublet that these two elements alone were probably enough to suggest historical dress. Apart from in the *Self-portrait* at Kenwood House, this also appears to be the case in the *Self-portrait at the easel* of 1660 in Paris (IV 19) and the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* of *c.* 1662 in Cologne (IV 25), in which, however, the clothing is so lacking in definition that it is very difficult to determine what the painter is wearing. In both works a brown gown seems to be worn, and that in Cologne has a shiny gold shawl collar. In the Paris *Self-portrait* the indication of the low, square neckline of the garment worn under the gown is the only clue that this dress is intended to be historical. Though the *Self-portrait* of 1669 in Florence (IV 28; fig. 31) is also painted in the 'rough manner', the 16th-century elements in the costume can be clearly recognised. Rembrandt wears a black bonnet with a notched brim and

179 Chapman 1990, p. 98. She calls it: dignified, imaginative working clothes. She believes the red shirt is Venetian.

180 On the occurrence of this accessory in the beginning of the 16th century see De Jonge, op. cit.[165], pp. 3-5. In paintings and inventories at this time these *borstlappen* are generally red. De Jonge cites that Dürer noted in his journal during his travels in the Netherlands: 'Item hab I Phillipsgulden für ein scharlach Brusttuch geben', and 'Dem Jacob Muffel hab ich geschenkt ein scharlach Brusttuch ein Elln'.

181 In the course of the century this frill was to develop into the ruff. See: De Jonge, op. cit.[165], pp. 129-139.

Fig. 31. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1669. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (IV 28)



Fig. 32. G. Britto after Titian, *Self-portrait of Titian*, 1550, etching



under it a hairnet with a knot at the front.[182] The wearing of a hairnet under a bonnet is typical of the beginning of the 16th century. This so-called *huyve* or caul was also worn independently and is frequently seen in the work of Lucas van Leyden.[183]

In the self-portraits in Paris, Cologne and Kenwood House a white cap is worn instead of a bonnet.[184] As argued above with reference to work clothes, it seems plausible that such white caps may indeed have been worn by artists while at work. This informal indoor garment is frequently found in probate inventories and is sometimes worn by elderly men in 17th-century portraits, for example in Rembrandt's *Portrait of Jacob Trip* of 1661 in London (Br. 314). This is not to say that the white cap conflicts with the historical dress Rembrandt wears in these self-portraits. Of interest in this connection is a print by Giovanni Britto after a self-portrait of Titian of 1550, which shows the artist drawing while wearing a fur-lined gown and a white cap (fig. 32). It is highly likely that Rembrandt knew this print because his 1656 inventory lists a 'very large book with almost all the work of Titian'.[185] It is noticeable that this type of cap is only seen in self-portraits in which Rembrandt depicts himself at work and with his painting tools.[186] I shall come back to the possible significance of these self-portraits.

While the costume in the above works can be defined as historical, there is very little detail in the depiction of the 16th-century elements and they do not appear to be based on actual models. But in this period there are two paintings in which Rembrandt seems to have borrowed from prints by well-known artists for the costume.

The first is the *Self-portrait* of 1658 in The Frick Collection (IV 14; fig. 33). The bright yellow garment with the eye-catching red sash has been incorrectly described by many authors as Venetian and even thought by Raupp to be work clothing.[187] Both in the colourfulness

182 This combination of hairnet and bonnet is also found in the *Portrait of Rembrandt* of *c.* 1650 in Washington (IV 6) from Rembrandt's circle. The rest of the costume in this painting is characteristic of the early 16th century. The shape of the jerkin with the vertical slit in the centre of the front is also seen in the work of Lucas van Leyden.

183 See for examples De Jonge, op. cit.[103], pp. 141-142. According to De Jonge the caul was not worn after 1540-1550. In 1580, however, it is still listed in an inventory: 'een silver mans vergulde Duytsche huyve; een golde huyve met rood gevoedert ende voor met peerlen ende rontsom geboort met golt borduersel; een golde manshuyve boven met een paerle huyve opt hooft' (a silver man's gilt German caul; a gold caul lined with red and with pearls at the front and edged all round with gold embroidery; a gold man's caul above with a pearl caul on the head).

184 The X-ray photograph of the Paris *Self-portrait* of 1660 reveals that originally Rembrandt painted himself wearing a bonnet.

185 'Een dito [boeck] seer groot met meest alle de wercken van Titian' (One ditto [book] very large, with almost all the work of Titian) and: 'Een dito [boeck] vol contrefijtsels van Mierevelt, Titiaen en andere meer' (A ditto [book] full of portraits by Van Mierevelt, Titian and others), Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, nos. 216 and 246.

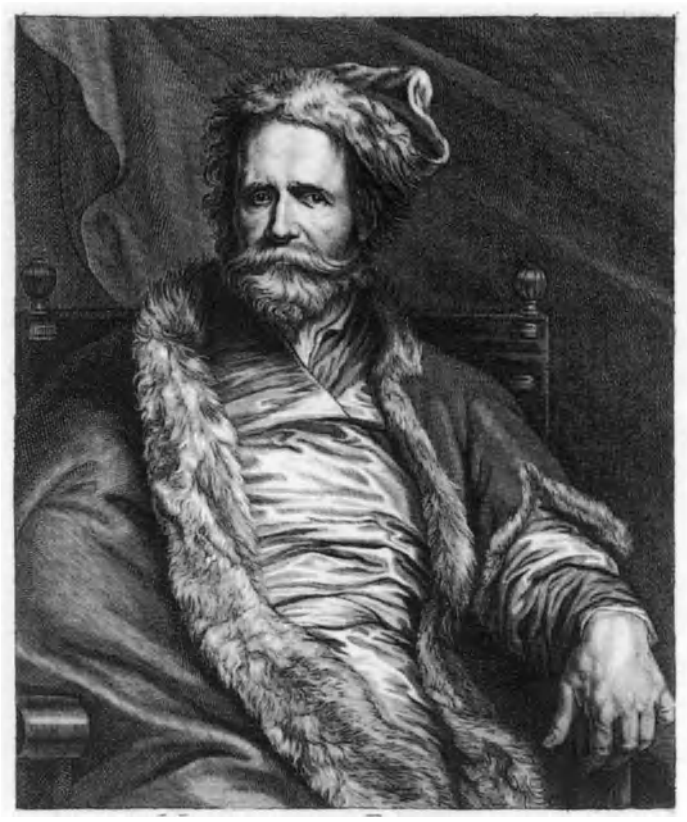
186 See also the etched self-portrait of 1658 attributed to Rembrandt (Hollst. S. 379). It is notable that the X-ray image of the *Self-portrait* of 1669 in London (IV 27) indicates that Rembrandt first depicted himself holding a brush in his right hand and wearing a white painting cap. Both were left out in the final version.

187 Raupp, op. cit.[45], p. 179.

Fig. 33. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1658. New York, The Frick collection (IV 14)



Fig. 34. C. Neeffs, after A. van Dyck, *Portrait of Martin Rijckaert*, etching



of the costume and in the frontal, seated pose this self-portrait is exceptional in Rembrandt's oeuvre. The costume can be characterised as an amalgam of 16th-century historical dress and oriental elements. The bright yellow, pleated garment with a low, horizontal neck closely resembles a jerkin. A brocade neckcloth has been placed inside the low neck, something also seen in the portrait of Jan Gossaert by Hieronymous Cock (fig. 35).[188] Otherwise Rembrandt wears a black bonnet and a brown cloak or gown over his shoulders. The diagonal fastening of the white garment under the jerkin is, however, not at all in keeping with this 16th-century costume. At that time the diagonal fastening was used only for oriental clothing. The red sash draped twice round the waist with the pomegranate-shaped fastener[189] and also the *rotting* or cane with the silver knob which Rembrandt holds in his left hand had connotations with the Orient.[190]

Rembrandt appears to have taken some of the costume elements from the print after Van Dyck's portrait of the landscape artist Martin Ryckaert (fig. 34). He may have known this print from Van Dyck's *Iconographie*, a series of artists' portraits published in 1645.[191] In this portrait Ryckaert wears clothing that is typical of Polish dress in the 17th century: a fur-lined gown (called a *delia* or *ferezja*) and under that a kaftan (*żupan*) tied at the waist with a sash, and on his head a *kolpak* trimmed with fur.[192] The elements borrowed by Rembrandt from this print

188 Chapman 1990, pp. 91-92, calls these brocade 'lapels' a fanciful reinterpretation of Renaissance dress; she rightly observes, however, that this element is also found in the painting *Jupiter with Philemon and Baucis* of the same year from Rembrandt's circle (Br. 481). Chapman believes that because of the striking yellow colour the costume must be regarded as Venetian.

189 Similar sashes are seen in orientally dressed figures in Rembrandt's early history pieces. A sash of this type is found both in Lastman's *The baptism of the eunuch* of 1623 (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle) and in Rembrandt's painting of the same subject of 1626 in Utrecht (I A 5).

190 The articulations of the cane indicate an oriental type of wood (possibly rattan). The term *rotting* is a corruption of the Malay *Rotan* (of the genus *Calamus*). During this period these canes were imported from Asia by the Dutch East India Company in large quantities. The 1664 inventory of the merchandise of Adriaen Bleecker, a dealer in East-indian goods, lists 1700 canes of very diverse quality. GAA, not. J.H. Leuven, NA 2738, dd. 29 July 1664, fol. 623-645. In Rembrandt's inventory of 1656, 'eenige rottingen' (some canes) are mentioned among his curiosities. Strauss *Doc.*, 1956/12, no. 190.

191 Published by Gillis Hendricx, 2nd edition: *Icones principum virorum doctorum, pictorum, chalcographorum, statuarum nec non amatorum...*, Antwerp 1645. Rembrandt's inventory of 1656 includes 'Een boek, vol contrefijtsels soo van van Dijck, Rubens en verscheijde andere oude meesters' (A book, filled with portraits by Van Dyck, Rubens and various other old masters); see Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 228.

192 On this see: I. Turnau, *History of dress in central and eastern Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century*, Warsaw 1991, pp. 71-78. Confirmation that contemporaries indeed recognised Ryckaert's costume as Polish is provided by the 1666 inventory of the Spanish king, in which it is described as: 'le très beau portrait d'un manchot habillé à la polonaise peint par van Dyck'. See: *La Peinture Flamande au Prado*, Madrid 1989, p. 205. The copy of the painting in the possession of the Antwerp painter Casper Thielens was described by the Swedish traveller Nicodemus Tessin the Younger in 1687 as 'ein alter man in einem fast Polnischen habit geschildert, biss an die Knien vom Van Dijck, die Mütze wahr grün Sammet mit Sobeln, und der Unterrock von rothem Sammet, der überrock wahr schwartz-breunlich mit Sobeln, er begerte ungefehr 100 Duc. darvor so es auch wohl werth wahr'. G. Upmark, 'Ein Besuch in

Fig. 35. H. Cock, *Jan Gossaert*, engraving



Fig. 36. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1669. London, The National Gallery (IV 27)



are the distinctive diagonal fastening of the kaftan, the sash and possibly the cloak. Rembrandt will have worked after the (reversed) print, as is indicated by the diagonal fastening which closes on the right. Rembrandt also appears to have borrowed the frontal, seated pose from this print.

As for the striking yellow colour of the jerkin, Rembrandt may have had in mind the anecdote told by Van Mander in his life of Lucas van Leyden:

> '[Lucas] was accompanied everywhere by the aforementioned Jan Gossaert, who acted in a very stately manner, resplendent in a garment of cloth of gold, and Lucas wore a jerkin of yellow silk camlet which in the sunshine also had the lustre of gold'.[193]

The link between the painting and this passage is highly speculative, but the possibility exists that Rembrandt knew this anecdote, given his interest in his celebrated fellow townsman and his familiarity with the work of Van Mander.

In the last year of his life, too, Rembrandt made use of elements from prints by illustrious predecessors for the costume in his self-portraits. In the *Self-portrait* of 1669 in London (IV 27; fig. 36) Rembrandt wears a doublet with a high fur collar which has two deep folds in the left panel and is fastened at the front with a button. This type of doublet does not correspond to the fashion as worn in the beginning of the 16th century and as used by Rembrandt in several of his self-portraits in historical dress.[194] There is, however, a close resemblance between this high-necked garment and the form of doublet worn in the middle of the 15th century.[195] The artist's portraits of Dirck Bouts and Rogier van der Weyden by Hieronymous Cock (figs. 37 and 38) may have served as the models for this costume.[196] The self-portrait has much in common with the portrait of Bouts in particular, for example the fur collar and the button at the front. This impression is strengthened by a comparison with the X-radiograph of the painting. This shows that originally Rembrandt held a brush in his right hand. Bouts also holds several brushes in his right hand. Rembrandt has added a small brown cap to the costume. The X-ray image reveals that at first Rembrandt planned a larger white cap in the style of that in the Kenwood portrait and that he only later changed it to its present form.

The use of authentic-looking 16th-century costume in the etched *Self-portrait* of 1639 and the London *Self-portrait* of 1640 was generally explained, through the connection

Holland 1687, aus den Reise schilderungen des Schwedischen Architecten Nicodemus Tessin d.J.', *O.H.* 18 (1900), pp. 117-128, 144-152, 199-210, esp. 203.

193 '...[Lucas] was overal vergheselschapt met den verhaelden Jan de Mabuse den welcken hem een [sic] seer statigh en prachtigh droeg, hebbende aen een cleedt van goude laken en Lukas hadde aen eenen rock van ghele syden Cameloot, dat in de sonne oock eenen glans hadde als van gout'. Van Mander, op. cit.[166], fol. 214v.

194 A similar doublet is also worn in the *Self-portrait* in the Thyssen collection of *c.* 1643 (IV 2).

195 See for example M. Scott, *A visual history of costume, The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, London 1986.

196 Chapman 1990, p. 131. Chapman relates this self-portrait to the portraits of the Van Eyck brothers in the same series. In my view, however, there is much less similarity with those two prints than with the portraits of Bouts and Van der Weyden.

Fig. 37. H. Cock, *Dirk Bouts*, engraving



Fig. 38. H. Cock, *Rogier van der Weyden*, engraving



made with Titian's *Portrait of an unknown man* or Raphael's *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione*, as a means for Rembrandt to emulate these illustrious Italian predecessors.[197] It has also been suggested that through this costume Rembrandt identified himself with the subjects, namely the courtier Castiglione and the poet Ariosto, who was believed in the 17th century to be depicted in Titian's portrait. According to this interpretation, Rembrandt presented himself in the two self-portraits as a gentleman-courtier or as the possessor of poetic *ingenium*.[198]

This does not accord, however, with the identification of Rembrandt's costume offered above, as the fashionable dress in northern Europe between 1520 and 1530. On the other hand, this identification is in line with the argument of Dickey and Manuth that in these self-portraits Rembrandt is less concerned with *aemulatio* of Titian and Raphael than with placing himself in the tradition of the portrait (or self-portrait) of the celebrated northern artist – less an aristocratic *gentiluomo* than a painter modelling himself on his famous northern predecessors.

The fact that the costume Rembrandt depicts in the etching of 1639 and the painting of 1640 can be quite accurately identified as a fashion worn in the Low Countries between 1520 and 1530 could be seen as evidence that he wanted to portray himself as a painter of the generation of Dürer and Lucas van Leyden. The reason for this could lie in the interest that Rembrandt showed in the 1630s and 1640s in the work of these two northern predecessors in particular. In the 17th century Lucas and Dürer were especially highly esteemed. Karel van Mander put them forward as models for the new generation of artists. He called them 'D'eere der Bataviers en der Germanen, Lucas en Albert' (The glory of the Batavians and of the Germans, Lucas and Albrecht).[199] In the life of Goltzius he remarks that in his time artists were persuaded that 'er geen betere plaatsnijders na Albert en Lukas opstaan zouden' (no better engravers would come after Albrecht and Lucas).[200] The special admiration for these masters was reflected in the amounts paid for their work.[201] At the auctions

197 Of the substantial literature the article by E. De Jongh, 'The Spur of Wit: Rembrandt's response to an Italian Challenge', *Delta* 1969, pp. 49-67, is the most important for this theory.

198 See: De Jongh, op. cit.[197] and Chapman 1990, pp. 71-78 and Raupp, op. cit.[45], pp. 170, 175-178.

199 K. van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, H. Miedema ed., 2 vols., Utrecht 1973, vol. I, fol. 43v, pp. 240-241. In his life of Dürer Van Mander calls them: 'Dese twee besondere lichten en vercierselen, d'een der Hoogduytsche en d'ander der Nederlanden, hebben oock malcander gheconterfeyt, en seer vriendelijck d'een den anders gheselschap ghenoten' (these two remarkable lights and jewels, the one from Germany, the other from the Netherlands, also painted each others' portrait and affectionately savoured each other's company). K. van Mander, op. cit.[166], fol. 209v.

200 In 1594 this led Goltzius to produce a series of prints in the manner of Lucas and Dürer; they were believed by experts to be genuine. Van Mander, op. cit.[166], fol. 284v.

201 In the life of Lucas van Leyden Van Mander says that in 1602 Goltzius paid a large amount to secure a triptych by his hand. Van Mander, op. cit.[166], fol. 212: 'Dit stuck door den gemelden Goltzius, ter liefde van de konst en uit hoogachting voor de werken van Lukas in den jare 1602 te Leiden tot een hoogen prijs gekocht' (This piece bought for a high price

mentioned above Rembrandt also proved ready to pay large sums for it.[202] The fame enjoyed by Lucas and Dürer, and in particular the fact that they were known both as good painters and as outstanding engravers, which was also Rembrandt's aspiration, must have made the idea of a self-portrait modelled on these two artists especially attractive.

It may be going too far to imagine that Rembrandt identified himself exclusively with these two artists. A case can also be made that he identified with his Netherlandish and German predecessors in general. A point in favour of this suggestion is that in both 1643 (IV 2) and in 1669 (IV 27) he depicts himself in 15th-century dress, as worn for example by Dirck Bouts according to the prints by Hieronymus Cock. The most important conclusion resulting from this study of Rembrandt's sources for historical costumes is that he did not rely on random 16th-century prints but on Cock's series of artists' portraits. The extraordinary accuracy of the costumes in his self-portraits in historical dress is explained by the fact that, besides using the portraits of 15th-century artists discussed above, he based himself mainly on the group of portraits of artists from the first half of the 16th century – most of which were done around 1520 (when Dürer was visiting the Low Countries).[203] It is noticeable that for his historical costume Rembrandt does not draw on the prints of artists of the late 16th century who were included in Cock's series. We may conclude from this that it was the artists from the distant past on whom he modelled himself. Of these – as a wealth of sources indicate – Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden were generally agreed to be the greatest, and here there is a convergence of the two explanations proposed here for Rembrandt's costume – based on portraits of artists – in his self-portraits in historical dress.

Conclusion

The contribution that the study of costume can make to research into Rembrandt's self-portraits is wide-ranging. Through costume, differences in function between self-portraits can be determined. The great variety of costumes – from those really existing to the fancifully historical – indicates that Rembrandt's reasons for painting self-portraits were very diverse. In the *Self-portrait with gorget* in Nuremberg, for instance, it becomes clear that the appearance of the painter has been manipulated to such an extent that the work must be thought of as a *tronie* in which the painter used himself as the model without the identity of the person depicted being of primary importance. In the painted and etched self-portraits where the painter presented himself in formal, fashionable dress, on the other hand, the identity of the sitter is significant. In the portraits in work clothes Rembrandt – assuming that his physiognomy was by then widely known – seems to give special emphasis to his role as a painter.

In the case of the self-portraits in historical or historicising dress, study of the costumes made it possible to determine the sources. It has been established that in these works, rather than using existing costumes, Rembrandt based himself on 16th-century graphic art and in particular on engraved portraits of his celebrated predecessors. This strong tendency to look to earlier artists and the remarkable historical accuracy may have had to do with Rembrandt's position as a history painter, for whom, as appears from Angel's *Lof der Schilder-Konst*, the authentic representation of the past was of vital importance. As to the significance of such costume, it seems likely that in this way Rembrandt wanted to present himself as an artist in the tradition of the Dutch and German masters of the past.

by the said Goltzius in Leiden in the year 1602 for the love of art and out of esteem for the works of Lucas). The city of Leiden was offered large sums for Lucas's Last Judgement by 'groote uitheemschen vorsten (die) hebben laten vragen om het te koopen' (eminent foreign princes [who] asked to buy it). The city fathers refused to sell, however, because 'zij het ter eere van hun vermaarde burger niet wenschten te missen' (they wanted to keep it in honour of their renowned citizen).

202 At the auction of the collection of Jan Basse on 9-30 March 1637 the most expensive item was a 'konstboeck van Lukas' (an album by Lucas) for 637 guilders and 10 stuivers. Strauss *Doc.*, 1637/2. This costly book was bought by Rembrandt's pupil Leendert van Beyeren. Paintings by living masters fetched less: in 1637 Rembrandt paid a little over 424 guilders for a large painting by Rubens. In 1642 Rembrandt paid 179 guilders for a single print by Lucas, 'het Ulenspiegelken' (now known as *The Beggar's Family*). The reason given for this high price was 'omdat het naulix meer te bekomen is' (because it is so hard to acquire). In the same year Rembrandt bought another print by Lucas for 250 guilders; Strauss *Doc.*, 1642/10.

203 Those of Barent van Orley (no. 6) after Dürer's so-called portrait of Jacob Rediger (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins), Joachim Patinier (no. 8) after a lost drawing and Lucas van Leyden (no. 10) (Lille, Musée Wicar); see Raupp, op. cit.[45], p. 31.

Appendix

Items of clothing belonging to painters living in Amsterdam from 1606-1705.

1. GAA, WK 941, dd. 31 october 1606. Clothing in the sale of the estate of the late Karel van Mander (Meulebeke 1548 – Amsterdam 1606). Note: This very humble wardrobe may not complete. As Van Mander had been ill for a while before he died, it is feasible that some of the items of dress had already been disposed of.

2 hoeden	*f -:13:-*	2 hats	*f* -:13:-
1 muts	*-:13:-*	1 cap	-:13:-
1 hoet, 1 lamfer	*2: 3:-*	1 hat, 1 hat scarf	2: 3:-
2 stropcousen	*1:16:-*	2 strap stockings	1:16:-
1 leer broek wambais	*1:13:-*	1 pair of leather breeches and a doublet	1:13:-
1 grofgreyne broek	*3: 7:-*	1 pair of grosgrain breeches	3: 7:-
1 Wambais	*1: 7:-*	1 doublet	1: 7:-
1 broek	*2: 7:-*	1 pair of breeches	2: 7:-
1 Wambais	*4:12:-*	1 doublet	4:12:-

2. GAA, not. F. van Banchem, NA 262, dd. 19 january 1607, fol. 55v-63, Clothing in the inventory of Gilles van Coninxloo (Antwerp 1544 – Amsterdam 1607). Note: For this inventory see also N. de Roever, 'De Coninxloo's', O.H. 3 (1885), pp. 33-56.

fol. 56.	Fol. 56:
Een groene laeckense mantel	A green cloth cloak
Een grauwen reysmantel	A grey travelling cloak
Een swart laeckense mantel	A black cloth cloak
Een roumantel	A mourning cloak
Een groffgreyne broeck	A pair of grosgrain breeches
Een oude broeck	An old pair of breeches
Een rooden onderbrouck	A pair of red underbreeches
Twee laeckens mans rocxkens	Two cloth jerkins
Twee groffgreyne rocxkens	Two grosgrain jerkins
fol. 59v.	Fol. 59v:
Twee oude bombasijne ed mouwen	Two old bombazine sleeves
Een paer sijt sattijnen mouwen	A pair of silk satin sleeves
Een paer groffgreyne mouwen	A pair of grosgrain sleeves
Twee rethulen met fluweel gestoffeert	Two *rethulen* (?) lined with velvet
Een gecoleurde nacht tabbaert met bont gevoert	A coloured nightgown lined with fur
Een gecoleurde tabbaart met schaepen gevoert	A coloured gown lined with sheepskin
Een root wollen hempt	A red woollen shirt
fol. 62v.	Fol. 62v:
Linnen	Linen
Vijff mans witte broucken	Five man's white under breeches
12 mans craghen	12 man's ruffs
ses nieuwe mans hembden	6 new man's shirts
Drie oude mans hembden	Three old man's shirts
fol. 63	Fol. 63:
ses neusdoecken	Six handkerchiefs

3. GAA, WK 948, dd. 28 August 1621, (not paginated). From the sold property of Abraham Vinck (Amsterdam 15? – 1621) Note: Incomplete. The absence of cloaks is exceptional. They may have been used to make children's garments. See also: N. de Roever, 'Drie Amsterdamsche Schilders', *O.H.* 3 (1885), pp. 171-222.

2 cragen	*f 1: 4:-*	*1 hoedbant met gouden slooten en essentgens*	*24:5:-*
2 cragen	*1:10:-*	2 ruffs	*f* 1: 4:-
2 beffen	*-: 6:-*	2 ruffs	1:10:-
2 hembden	*2: 4:-*	2 bands	-: 6:-
2 hembden	*2: 6:-*	2 shirts	2: 4:-
2 hembden	*2: 4:-*	2 shirts	2: 6:-
1 hembde	*2: 8:-*	2 shirts	2: 4:-
1 witte borstrock	*-:18:-*	1 shirt	2: 8:-
2 cragen	*-:13:-*	1 white waistcoat	-:18:-
1 grau doorsnee zijde pack	*2:12:-*	2 ruffs	-:13:-
1 laeckense broeck met goude coorden	*9: -:-*	1 grey cut silk suit	2:12:-
1 swarte satijne broeck met een wit wambas	*1:17:-*	1 pair of cloth breeches with gold cords	9: -:-
1 paer graeuwe satijne mouwen	*1: 6:-*	1 pair of black satin breeches with a white doublet	1:17:-
1 villiamort satijn wambas	*1: -:-*	1 pair of grey satin sleeves	1: 6:-
1 wit satijne wambas	*5:15:-*	1 'Feuille mort'(brown) satin doublet	1: -:-
1 graeu satijne wambas	*10: 5:-*	1 white satin doublet	5:15:-
1 geboorde leeren colder	*4: 5:-*	1 grey satin doublet	10: 5:-
1 caffa rockgen	*7:15:-*	1 edged leather buff coat	4: 5:-
1 swarte satijne broeck	*11:15:-*	1 caffa jerkin	7:15:-
1 weerschijne tabbert	*26:10:-*	1 pair of black satin breeches	11:15:-

4. GAA, Not. W. Cluijt, NA 369a, dd. 7 June 1625, fol. 225-228. Clothes belonging to the painter Cornelis van der Voort (Antwerp 1560 – 1624). In the inventory of his widow Cornelia Brouwers. See also N. de Roever, 'Drie Amsterdamsche Schilders', *O.H.* 3 (1885), pp. 171-222. Note: The total estate was valued at *f* 2217:2:8; the clothes at *f* 233:12:-.

fol. 225v.		Fol. 225v.:	
Een swarte laeckense mantel	*f 36: -:-*	A black cloth cloak	*f* 36:-:-
fol. 226v		Fol. 226v.:	
13 beffen met canten ende 2 paer povretten ende eenige canten	*6: -:-*	13 bands with lace and 2 pairs of cuffs and some pieces of lace	6: -:-
fol. 227		Fol. 227:	
Een caffa broeck een laeckens rockgen	*12: -:-*	A pair of caffa breeches and a cloth jerkin	12: -:-
Een caffa broeck ende laeckens rockgen	*25: -:-*	A pair of caffa breeches and a cloth jerkin	25: -:-

Een grau gesneden satijnne wambuys	*3:* -:-	A grey cut satin doublet	3: -:-
Een swart gesneden satijnne wambuys	*2:10:-*	A black cut satin doublet	2:10:-
Een out swart laeckense broeck ende rockgen	*4:* -:-	An old pair of black breeches and a jerkin	4: -:-
Een bombasijn wambays met swart satijnne mouwen met een graeu laeckens broeck ende rokgen	*6:* -:-	A bombazine doublet with black satin sleeves with a pair of grey breeches and a jerkin	6: -:-
Een paer oude graeuwe sijde coussen	*1:10:-*	A pair of old silk stockings	1:10:-
Een paer swarte sayette coussen	*1:* -:-	A pair of black sayette stockings	1: -:-
Een paer swarte coussen	*1:10:-*	A pair of black stockings	1:10:-
Een graeuwe laeckense rock	*8:* -:-	A grey cloth gown	8: -:-
Noch een oude rock	*4:* -:-	Another old gown	4: -:-
Een swarte laeckense roumantel	*14:* -:-	A black cloth mourning cloak	14: -:-
Een graeuwe laeckense man tel	*10:* -:-	A grey cloth cloak	10: -:-
een swarte mantel	*14:* -:-	A black cloak	14: -:-
3 swarte hoeden met banden (Pieter van Voorts hoeden)	*3:*-:-	Three black hats with bands (Pieter van der Voort's hats)	3: -:-
Een out groffgreyn rockge n	*1:*-:-	An old grosgrain jerkin	1: -:-
Een caffa rockgen ende broeck	*12:* -:-	A caffa jerkin and a pair of breeches	12: -:-
Een oude caffa broeck	*3:* -:-	An old pair of caffa breeches	3: -:-
Lijwaet		Linen	
Negen geraeffelde ende tien gesoomde cragen	*20:* -:-	Nine frayed and ten edged ruffs	20: -:-
drye geraeffeld cattoene ende twee gesoomde cragen	*4:*-:-	Three frayed cotton and two edged ruffs	4: -:-
Noch veertien mans hemden	*28:* -:-	Another fourteen men's shirts	28: -:-
Twee slaepmutskens, een gesteeken ende een legature	*-:12:-*	Two nightcaps, one embroidered and one legature	-:12:-
negen mans slaepmutskens	*1:* -:-	Nine men's nightcaps	1: -:-
Ses beffen met cant ende vier sonder cant	*9:* -:-	Six bands with lace and four without lace	9: -:-
Acht paer povretten met cant ende vier paer sonder cant	*5:10:-*	Eight pairs of cuffs with lace and four without lace	5:10:-

5. GAA, Not. W. Cluyt, NA 368b, dd. 29 December 1624, fol. 585-586. Clothing in the inventory of Pieter van der Voort (Amsterdam c. 1599 – Amsterdam 1624). See also Br. *Künstler-Inv.* IV, pp. 1177-1180. Note: This painter was the son of Cornelis van der Voort.

fol. 585v.	Fol. 585v.:
Een lichtgrau cleet met silvere en sijde knopen	A light grey suit with silver and silk buttons
Een paer blauwe sijde cousens	A pair of blue silk stockings
Een onder wambays met blauwe armosyne mouwen	An under-doublet with blue armosin sleeves
Een oude caffa broeck	An old pair of caffa breeches
Een onder wambays met purper satijne mouwen	An under-doublet with purple satin sleeves
Doncker grau laeckens winter cleet	A dark grey cloth winter suit
Een turcx groffgreyn rockgen	A 'turcx' grosgrain jerkin
Twee paer hantschoenen met een geborduerde ryem	Two pairs of gloves and an embroidered belt
Twaelff beffen met kanten	Twelve bands with lace
Twee beffen sonder kanten	Two bands without lace
Twee paer povretten mett kanten	Two pairs of cuffs with lace
Een geraevelde en twee gesoempde kragen	One frayed and two edged ruffs
Vier neusdoecken	Four handkerchiefs
Twee hemden	Two shirts
Een paer geborduerde hantschoenen	A pair of embroidered gloves
Een paer grauwe sijde coussebanden	A pair of grey silk garters
fol.586	Fol. 586:
Vijff oude koussens	Five old stockings
Een oudt bombasijne wambays	An old bombazine doublet
Een out gecoleurt satijne wambays	An old coloured satin doublet
Een swart kaffa broeck ende rockge	A pair of black caffa breeches and a jerkin
Een swart satijne wambays	A black satin doublet
Noch een satijne caffabroeck ende rockge	Another pair of satin breeches and a jerkin
Een roumantel	A mourning cloak
Een swarte mantel met armesijde gevoert	A black cloak lined with armosin
Twee coleurde mantels	Two coloured cloaks
Een swart laeckens roupack	A black cloth mourning suit
Noch een out roupack	Another old mourning suit

6. GAA, Not. J. Westfrisius, NA 652-B, dd. 19 October 1629, fol. 26-32. Clothing in the inventory of the wealthy painter Barent Teunisz. (1578/9 – 1629). See Br. *Künstler-Inv.* I, pp. 287-292.

fol. 26	Fol. 26:
Drie degens met een pongiart Een paer nieuwe schoenen	Three rapiers with a poniard A pair of new shoes
fol. 28v	Fol. 28v.:
Een swarte coffer met 15 banden daerinne bevonden	A black chest with 15 bands, in which is found:
Een grogreine mantel met caffa opslagen	A grosgrain cloak with caffa facings
Een rouwmantel	A mourning cloak
Een Engelse rock	An English gown
Een oude grogreine mantel	An old grosgrain cloak
fol. 29	Fol. 29:
Twee korte rouwmantels	Two short mourning cloaks
Een grauw sattijne wambes	A grey satin doublet
Een swart sattijne wambes	A black satin doublet
Een swart caffa broek met een rockge volle grund	A pair of black caffa breeches with a jerkin, full ground
Een caffa broek sterregens	A pair of caffa breeches with stars
Een borat rockie met en boratte broek	A borato jerkin with a pair of borato breeches
Een swart lakens onderwams met swart sattijne mouwen	A black cloth under-doublet with black satin sleeves
Een swart lakens broek met een lakens rockie	A pair of black cloth breeches and a cloth jerkin
Een out onder wams met een swart lakens broek	An old under-doublet with a pair of black cloth breeches

Twee swart lakens rockies	Two black cloth jerkins
Een bombasijne onder wams met een paer oude swart sattijne mouwen	A bombazine under-doublet with a pair of old black satin sleeves
Een oude boratte broek met 2 oude boratte rockies	An old pair of borato breeches with 2 old borato jerkins
Een paer tanete sijde kousen	A pair of tawny (brown) silk stockings
Een oude Engelse rock	An old English gown
Een oude grauw lakense tabbert	An old grey cloth gown
Een roodt lakens onderbroek	A pair of red cloth under-breeches
Een bombasijne overtrexel	A bombazine frock
Een out root wollen hembt	An old red woollen shirt
een paer sijde kousebanden	A pair of silk garters
Een taneit fluwelen cantoir mutse	A tawny velvet office cap
Een gout geborduyert hanghsel	A gold embroidered hanger
Een paer swart gebraide kousen	A pair of black knitted stockings
Drie mans hoeden met banden	Three men's hats with bands
Een geborduyerde reem met silver beslach	An embroidered belt with silver mounting
Een grote sijde vlag	A large silk flag
fol. 29v.	Fol. 29v.:
Linnen	Linen
6 mans hembden	6 men's shirts
2 linden onderbroeken	2 linen under-breeches
7 mans cragen	7 men's ruffs
6 1/2 paer poveretten	6 1/2 pairs of cuffs
9 neusdoeken	9 handkerchiefs
7 slaapmutsen	7 night caps

7. GAA. Not. L. Lamberti, NA 568, dd. 7 July 1632, pp. 511-518. Clothing in the inventory of Pieter Lastman (Amsterdam 1583-1632), who was Rembrandts teacher in 1623-24.

p. 511	p. 511
Twee swarte kousebanden met kant	Two black garters with lace
Een out sluyer	An old sash
Een paer sijde swarte kousebanden	A pair black silk garters
Vijff paer sijde gebraijde koussen	Five pairs knitted silk stockings
Twee paer lakense handschoenen met bont	Two pairs cloth gloves with fur
Twee paer lakense strophoosen	Two pairs cloth boothose
Twee riemen, een met silver beslach	Two belts, one with silver mounting
Een grofgreyn rockgen ende broeck	A grosgrain jerkin and breeches
Een lakens rockgen ende broeck met satijn coord	A cloth jerkin and breeches with satin cord
Een caffa rockgen ende broeck	A caffa jerkin and breeches
Drie satijnen wambuijsen met mouwen, goet ende quaet	Three satin doublets with sleeves, both good and bad
Een lakens rockgen ende broeck met een borat wambuys met mouwen	A cloth jerkin and breeches with a borato doublet with sleeves
Een corte lakense rouwmantel	A short cloth mourning cloak
Een machaijer nachttabbert met bont gevoert	A mohair night-gown lined with fur
Negen manshemden, goet ende quaet	Nine men's shirts, good and bad
Twee paer gebrayde onderkousen met een out	Two pairs knitted nether stockings with one old
Elf neusdoecken sonder cant	Eleven handkerchiefs without lace
Een neusdoeck vuyl	One dirty handkerchief
Drie neusdoecken met cant	Three handkerchief with lace
Twee linnen onderbroecken	Two linen drawers
Vier kragen, noch een vuyl ende een natt	Four collars, plus one dirty and one wet
Twee kragen met canten	Two lace collars
Thien paer linnen socken	Ten pairs of linen socks
p. 514	p. 514
Een lakense mantel met 5 koorden met armosijne duurgans geboord	A cloth cloak with five cords with entirely edged with armosin
Een grofgreyne mantel	A grosgrain cloak
Een lange lakense rouwmantel	A long cloth mourning cloak
Noch een lakense rouwmantel	Another cloth mourning cloak
Een swarte mantel met 3 koorden met sij geboord	A black cloak with three cords and edged with silk
Een nieuwe hoed met een bandt	A new hat with a hatband
Een roo onderbroeck met een wollen hemd	A pair of red under-breeches with a woollen shirt
Een witte broeck met 2 wollen hemden	A pair of white breeches with two woollen shirts
Twee paer swarte rosen	Two pairs black [shoe]roses
Een bombasijne overtrekbroek	A bombasin over trousers
Een paer handschoenen	A pair of gloves
p. 516	p. 516
Een swarte lakense broeck die Neeltge seijt dat haer van haer meester gegeven	A black cloth breeches of which Neeltge [the maid] says her master had given her

8. GAA, Not. P. de Bary, NA 1679, dd. 16 August 1640. Clothing in the inventory of Dirck Harmansz. (?- Amsterdam 1640). See also Br. *Künstler-Inv.* I, pp. 305-306. Note: This pupil of Cornelis van der Voort was also a linen packer.

Dry roode hemtrocken soo goet als quaet	Three red waistcoats, good and bad
Een swarte hoet ende roubant	A black hat and mourning hatband
Een lange roumantel	A long mourning cloak
Een corte dito sijnde tot herstel yutterbael	A short ditto destined for mending, from the bale
Noch een swarte dito	Another black ditto
Een paer mans gebreyde hant schoenen	A pair of men's knitted gloves
Een paer mans couleurde coussen	A pair of men's coloured stockings
Een groene cassiante tabbart	A green 'cassiante' gown
Op de boven voorcamer	In the upstairs front room
Ses mans oude hemden	Six old men's shirts

Twaelf nieuwe dito	Twelve new ditto
Noch ses dito wat ouder	Another six ditto slightly older
Negen mans schorteldoecken	Nine men's aprons
Twee doeckgens om de hals	Two neck cloths
Acht camerdoecksche rouw beffen	Eight cambric mourning bands
Twintich paer poveretten	Twenty pairs of cuffs
Vijfthien mans beffen	Fifteen men's bands
Seventhien socken	Seventeen socks
Een paer groene sijde hantschoentgens	A pair of green silk gloves
Een doosge met eenige vodden	A box with some rags
Twee mans mutsen	Two men's caps
Een paer mans hantschoenen	A pair of men's gloves
Een paer swarte sijde coussebanden	A pair of black silk garters
Dry swarte hoeden	Three black hats
Een stroyen hoet	A straw hat
Een riem	A belt
Een paer saye mans koussen	A pair of men's says stockings
Twee paer sijde ditto	Two pairs of silk dittos
Een swart lakense mantel met tarsenille opslagen	A black cloth cloak with 'tarsenille' facings
Een tarsinille broeck ende rockgen met satijne corden	A pair of 'tarsinille' breeches and a jerkin with satin cords
Een couleurde satijne wambais met swarte coorden	A coloured satin doublet with black cords
Een swart lakensche broeck ende rockgen	A pair of black cloth breeches and a jerkin
Een swarte satijne wambais	A black silk doublet
Een paer sijde couleurde coussebanden	A pair of silk coloured garters
Een satijn gepickeert wambais	A quilted satin doublet
Twee lakense broecken ende rockgens	Two pairs of cloth breeches and jerkins
Een oudt onderwambais	An old under-doublet
Een couleurde laekensche mantel met baye opslagen	A coloured cloth cloak with bays facings
Een grauwe hoet	A grey hat
Een out wambais met swarte satijne mouwen	An old doublet with black satin sleeves
Een paer witte sijde coussebanden	A pair of white garters
Een degen	A rapier
Een ringh craegh	A gorget
Een riem met silver beslagh	A belt with silver mountings
Een grau overtrecksel en een bombasijne wambais	A grey frock with a bombazine doublet
Twee leere colders	Two leather buff coats
Een out lakens cleet	An old cloth suit
Een out coleurt lakens wambais	An old coloured cloth doublet
Een borat rockgen ende broeck	An borato jerkin and a pair of breeches
Noch een borat rockgen	Another borato jerkin
Een lakensche broeck	A pair of cloth breeches
Een bandelier	A bandoleer
Een paer swart lakensche hantschoenen	A pair of black cloth gloves
Een paer groene overmouwen	A pair of green over-sleeves

9. GAA, Not. J. Spithoff, NA 1750, dd. 10 October 1649, fol. 399-405. Clothing in the inventory of Leendert Cornelisz. van Beyeren (Amsterdam 1620-1649). Note: Van Beyeren came from a wealthy merchant family and was a bachelor pupil of Rembrandt. See also Br. *Künstler-Inv.* I, pp. 250-253.

fol. 402	Fol. 402:
Een oude coffer daer in bevonden	An old chest containing:
Twee coleurde laersen	Two coloured boots
Een coleurde swarte hoet met een silverde hoedtbant	A black hat with a silver hatband
Een grauw laeckens cleet	A grey cloth suit
Een grauwe rock	A grey gown
Een grauwe mantel	A grey cloak
Een reyssack	A travelling bag
Een hoedecas	A hatbox
Twee hemtrocken	Two waistcoats
Vier paer ouwe kousen	Four pairs of old stockings
Een wit schorteldoek	A white apron
Een paer swarte sijde kousen	A pair of black silk stockings
Seven ouwe kousebanden	Seven old garters
Een paer ouwe cousen	A pair of old stockings
Een draegbant	A hanger
Een partij beffen, ponjetten ende oude vodden	A number of bands, cuffs and old rags
Een slaepmuts met een ondermuts	A nightcap and an undercap
Een tweede coffer, daer in bevonden	A second chest containing:
Een rode carpoes	A red capouch
fol. 403	Fol. 403:
Een coleurde mantel met cnopen	A coloured cloak with buttons
Twee paer sijde kousen	Two pairs of silk stockings
Een paer hantschoenen	A pair of gloves
Een grauw laekens cleet	A grey cloth suit
Een swart laeckens cleet	A black cloth suit
Ende sijdt groffgraeyn cleet	And a silk grosgrain suit
Een out fulpe cleet	An old plush suit
Noch eenige lijwaet van verscheyde soorten	Some linen of different sorts

10. GAA, Not. P. de Bary, NA 1717, dd. 30 January 1662, fol. 139-141. Clothing in the inventory of Simon Luttichuys (London 1610 – Amsterdam 1661). See also Br. *Künstler-Inv.* IV, pp. 1290-1291.

fol. 140		Fol. 140:	
Een swart felp rock met een dito broeck	*10:-:-*	A black velvet coat with a ditto pair of breeches	*f* 10:-:-
Een root satijne borstrock	*3:-:-*	A red satin waistcoat	3:-:-
Een ouwe sije broeck met een lapie bont	*3:-:-*	An old pair of breeches and a piece of fur	3:-:-
Een coleurde groffgrijne mantel	*16:-:-*	A coloured grosgrain cloak	16:-:-
Een saye somermantel	*10:-:-*	A says summer cloak	10:-:-
Een dito	*20:-:-*	A ditto	20:-:-
Twee ouwe grauw lakense mantels	*12:-:-*	Two pairs old grey cloaks	12:-:-
Een Moscovische rock	*8:-:-*	A Moscovian coat	8:-:-
Ses paer nieuwe leren hantschoenen	*2:-:-*	Six pairs of new leather gloves	2:-:-
Ses mans hemden soo goet als quaet	*8:-:-*	Six men's shirts good and bad	8:-:-
Een paer seye koussebanden ende schoenlinten	*2:-:-*	A pair of silk garters and shoelaces	2:-:-

11. GAA, Not. C. Tou, NA 1464, dd. 29 October 1664. Inventory of Cornelis de Bie (1621/2 – 1664). See also Br. *Künstler-Inv.* I, pp. 90-93.

Swart laken tot een mantel	Black cloth for a cloak
Een grau lakense mantel	A grey cloth cloak
Een grau lakens pack kleren	A grey cloth suit of clothes
1 lere wambas	One leather doublet
Een sijd pack kleren	A silk suit of clothes
Een swarte lakense mantel	A black silk cloak
Noch een grau lakense mantel	Another grey cloth cloak
Een swart lakens pack kleren	A black cloth suit of clothes
Een roode baye onderkleet	A red bays under-suit
Een roode scharlaken borstrock	A red scarlet waistcoat
Twee paer swart sijde cousen	Two pairs of black silk stockings
Een dagelijcx grauwe mantel ende pij	A daily grey cloak and frock
Noch een paer dagelijcxe cousen	Another pair of daily stockings
9 mans beffen	Nine men's bands

12. GAA, Not. H. Bruyneburgh, NA 3183, dd. 26 April 1666, fol. 185-188. Clothing in the inventory of the painter Pieter Linse.

fol. 186	Fol. 186:
Ses oude hemden	Six old shirts
9 sack neusdoecken	Nine pocket handkerchiefs
Twee mansmutsen	Two men's caps
Een kleurde mansrock	A coloured men's coat
Noch een kleurde mans rock	Another coloured men's coat
Een kleurt manskleet	A coloured men's suit
Een swart manskleet	A black men's suit
Een leer wambays	A leather doublet
Een out swart laekens kleet	An old black cloth suit
Een nieuwe kleurde mantel	A new coloured cloak
fol. 187	Fol. 187:
Twee nieuwe hemden met 7 beffen	Two new shirts with seven bands

13. GAA, Not. J. Leuven, NA 2740, dd. 27 December 1666, fol. 1113-1136. Clothing belonging to the painter Cornelis Doeck (Amsterdam 1613 – Amsterdam 1664), in the inventory of his widow Cornelia Rochels. See also Br. *Künstler-Inv.* I, pp. 102-110.

fol. 1116		Fol. 1116:	
Twaelf Mans hembden	*30: -:-*	Twelve men's shirts	*f* 30: -:-
Acht oude mans hembden	*4: -:-*	Eight old men's shirts	4: -:-
fol. 1117		Fol. 1117:	
Een blaeuwe sluyer, witte pluym met een pieck en oude deegen	*5: -:-*	A blue sash, a white plume with a pike, and an old rapier	5: -:-
fol. 1118		Fol. 1118:	
Een grofgreine oudt met bont gevoert rocje en broeck	*6: -:-*	An old grosgrain fur-lined jerkin and a pair of breeches	6: -:-
Twee oude swarte sijde wambessen en broecken	*8: -:-*	Two old black silk doublets and breeches	8: -:-
Een swart laekense lange rouwmantel	*12: -:-*	A long black cloth mourning cloak	12: -:-
Een swart laekense mantel	*24:-:-*	A black cloth cloak	24: -:-
Een swart laekens wambes en broeck	*18: -:-*	A black cloth doublet and breeches	18: -:-
Een paer swarte sijde koussebanden	*1: 5:-*	A pair of black silk garters	1: 5:-
Een oude coleurde lakense mantel	*6: -:-*	An old coloured cloth cloak	6: -:-

14. GAA, DBK 373, dd. 15 April 1667, fol. 160v.-167v. Clothing in the inventory of Johannes Beerstraten (Amsterdam 1622 – Amsterdam 1666). See also Br. *Künstler-Inv.* III, p. 8. Note: Beerstraten was Rembrandt's neighbour on the Rozengracht.

fol. 161	Fol. 161:
19 beffen soo groot als cleen meeste oudt	Nineteen bands, large and small, chiefly old
10 paer oude ponietten	Ten pairs of old cuffs
fol. 161v.	Fol. 161v.:
Twee greijne broecken ende twee dito wambassen oudt	Two pair of grosgrain breeches and two ditto doublets old
Een oude stoffe innosent	An old short stuff doublet
Twee roode onderbroecken	Two red under-breeches
Een roode laeckense borstrock	A red cloth waistcoat
Een Japonse rock	A 'Japonse rock'
Een oude grouwe laeckense mantel	An old grey cloth cloak
Een dito swarte mantel	A ditto black cloak

Noch twee dito mantels	Another two ditto cloaks
Een oude swart greyne mantel	An old black grosgrain cloak
Een oude greyne inosent	An old short grosgrain doublet
fol. 162	Fol. 162:
Een oude swarte hoedt	An old black hat
9 hemden	Nine shirts
Een blaeuwe sluyer halve breete	A blue sash, half width
7 sackdoecken ende 2 dassien	Seven handkerchiefs and two cravats

15. GAA, Not. J. de Winter, NA 2410, cat. 17, dd. 8 January 1671, fol. 91-99. Clothing and 'Antiquiteyten' in the inventory of Lodewijk van der Helst (Amsterdam *c.* 1642 - Amsterdam 1684), taken on the occasion of his move to his mother's. See and compare with Br. *Künstler-Inv.* II, pp. 406-410.

fol. 91	Fol. 91:
Op de achterkamer.	In the back room:
Drie optreck schilden,	Three militia shields
fol. 92	Fol. 92:
Een trommel,	A drum
Een leere vergulde pijlkoker, met diversche pijlen ende een boogh,	A gilded leather quiver, with various arrows and a bow
Een houte vergulde pijlkoker met verscheyde pijlen,	A gilded wooden quiver, with various arrows
Vier fulpe antykse mussen,	Four plush 'antique' caps
Drie ijsere antyckse stormhoeden,	Three iron 'antique' helmets
Twee paar Poolsche laersen,	Two pairs of Polish boots
Vijff Oostindische kabassen,	Five East-Indian wicker baskets
Een groene armosijne sluyer,	A green armosin sash
Ses hair paruycken,	Six hair wigs
Een rottingh sijnde een wandelstock met yvore knoop,	A cane, being a walking stick with an ivory knob
Drie hasegaye off wilde spietsen,	Three 'hasegaye' or savage's javelins
Een Turcxsche tabacks pijp,	A Turkish tobacco pipe
Verscheyde sijde en andere stoffen van antiekse klederen en 't gene daeraen dependeert behorende tot de schilderkonst,	Various silks and other textiles of 'antique' clothes and what belongs to it, as part of the art of painting
fol. 93	Fol. 93:
Een kepesol off sonnescherm,	A parasol
Drie heele groote boecken met acht parcquementen kassen alle met papiere kunst van Italiaensche, Nederduytsche en andere vermaerde meesters gedaen,	Three very large books with eight parchment casings, all containing drawings and prints by famous Italian, Netherlandish and other masters
Verscheyde borstels en pencelen behorende tot de schilderkonst,	Various bristles and brushes belonging to the art of painting
Op de Voorkamer,	In the front room
Fol. 94	Fol. 94:
Een ijser harnasch met een ditto ringhkraegh,	An iron suit of armour with a ditto gorget
Twee draeghbanden,	Two hangers
Twee leere kolders, d'een grooter als d'andere,	Two buff coats, one larger than the other
Een swarte lakense mantel,	A black cloth cloak
Een swart lijfkleet,	A black coat
Een swarte sijde mantel met armosijn gevoert,	A black silk cloak lined with armosin
Noch een swart sijdt wambus,	Another black silk doublet
Een leere optreckbroeck,	A pair of leather militia breeches
Een swarte groffgreyne innocentrock met armosijn gevoert,	A short black silk grosgrain doublet lined with armosin
fol. 95	Fol. 95:
Een paer nieuwe swarte sijde strop kousen,	A pair of new black silk strap stockings
Een wit silverelaken wambas met wit armosijn gevoert,	A white cloth of silver doublet lined with white armosin
Een onderwambas met geboorde passemente mouwen,	An under-doublet with sleeves edged with passements
Twee leere hantschoenen,	Two leather gloves
Een bevere moffel,	A beaver muff
Vier silvere en gout vergulde sluiers,	Four silver and gold gilded veils
Een leere hantschoen geborduurt met fijn gout en silver,	A leather glove embroidered with fine gold and silver
Een vergult kruythoorntje,	A gilded powder-horn
Ses flourse sluyers,	Six crepe veils
Drie felpe valcke kapjes,	Three velvet falcon caps
Een graeuwe laeckense innocent,	A short grey cloth doublet
Een brackanne mantel,	A barracanne cloak
Een degen met een ijser vergult gevest,	A rapier with a gilded iron hilt
Een leere portepee,	A leather 'porte epée'
Een slechte graeuwe laeckense innocent,	A plain short grey cloth doublet
Een nieuw swart laeckens kleet met een korte rouwmantel,	A new black cloth suit with a short mourning cloak
fol. 96	Fol. 96:
Een swarte felpe innocent met armosijn gevoert,	A short black velvet doublet lined with armosin
Twee swarte halve kastoor hoeden,	Two black half beaver hats
Een witte optreckpluym,	A white militia plume
Een half dosijn nieuwe hembden,	Half a dozen new shirts
Ses paer lobbetjes,	Six pairs of cuffs
Ses paer mouwen,	Six pairs of sleeves
Twaelff dasjens gestreept,	Twelve striped cravats
Hondert paer ponjetten,	A hundred pairs of cuffs
Ses halve hembden,	Six half shirts
Sestigh beffen,	Sixty bands
Twaelff neusdoecken,	Twelve handkerchiefs
Ses paer groote mouwen,	Six pairs of large sleeves
Ses dasjes met kant,	Six cravats with lace
Twaelff hemden,	Twelve shirts
Ses paer fijne akers,	Six pairs of fine tassels

fol. 97	Fol. 97:
Een linne leeman,	A linen mannikin
Een groote basfiool,	A large base violin
Twee verlackte rondassen,	Two round lacquered shields
fol. 98	Fol. 98:
Een kepesol off sonnescherm,	A parasol
Een stroyhoet,	A straw hat
Een weymans tas,	A hunter's bag
Een grauewe felpe mus,	A grey velvet cap
Een groote kabas,	A large wicker basket

16. GAA, Not. J. Matham, NA 4493, dd. 19 October 1678, fol. 584-601. Clothing in the estate of Susanna van Roijen, the deceased wife of Karel du Jardin (Amsterdam 1626 – Venice 1678). See A. Bredius,'De nalatenschap van Carel du Jardin', *O.H.* 24 (1906), pp. 226-230. Note: This wardrobe is most likely incomplete, as the painter was abroad at the time that the inventory was drawn up.

In 't sijdel kamertje	In the side room:
fol. 588	Fol. 588:
1 ouwe swarte hoet	1 old black hat
1 partij ouwe kousen ende prullen	1 part old stockings and rubbish
1 gevoerde lakense mantel	1 lined cloth cloak
Op de schilder kamer	In the painter's room:
fol. 589	Fol. 589:
2 vuurroeren, karbijn, 2 sakpistoltjens ende een trompet	2 firelocks, a carbine, 2 pockets pistols and a trumpet
Eenige rommeling	Some rubbish
Op de konstkamer	In the art room:
fol. 594	Fol. 594:
1 kisje van vurenhout met een los dexel daar op, daar in:	1 pine casket with a loose cover containing:
1 root seit gepickeert wambus met gouw klinkant in de snede	1 red silk, quilted doublet with gold clinquant in the cut
1 wit sautijne dito	1 white satin ditto
Eenige lapjens sije stof	Some pieces of silk
1 paar Poolssche schoenen	1 pair of Polish shoes
1 rotting	1 cane
1 degen ende 1 pook	1 rapier and 1 poker
fol. 597	Fol. 597:
1 kleurde grijne mantel	1 coloured grosgrain cloak

17. GAA, Not. A. Lock, NA 2262. dd. 13 August 1680, pp. 1177-1227. Clothing in the inventory of Jan van de Capelle (1626 – 1679). Note: This is a very lavish inventory of the possessions of a wealthy textile dyer and painter. See also A. Bredius, 'De schilder Johannes van de Capelle', *O.H.* 10 (1892), p. 31.

p. 1208	P. 1208:
Op de kunstcamer	In the art room:
Een Japonse rock van basten van boomen	A 'Japonse rock' made of tree bark
Een blaeuwe armosijne sluyer	A blue armosin sash
Twee orange ende een blaeuwe armosije lap	Two orange and one blue armosin cloths
Eenige optreck pluymen	Some militia plumes
p. 1209	P. 1209:
Een oude greyne mantel	An old grosgrain cloak
Een oude swartlakense mantel	An old black cloth cloak
Een gecoleurd charge de nime ondercleet met silvere knopen daerme	A coloured serge 'de Nimes' under-suit with silver buttons
Een watte cattoene borstrock sonder mouwen	A cotton padded waistcoat without sleeves
Een ouwe roo lakense borstrock en onderbroeck	An old red cloth waistcoat and a pair of under-breeches
Een Oostindische sije gesontheyt	An East-Indian silk waistband
Een out fiolette damaste borstrock ende onderbroeck	An old violet damask waistcoat and a pair of under-breeches
Een roo laeckense hemtrock en onderbroeck	A red cloth waistcoat and a pair of under-breeches
Een fiolet lakens hembtrock met lakens	A violet cloth waistcoat
Twee paer nieuwe violette coussen	Two pairs of new violet stockings
Een nieuwe roo carmosije lakense borstrock met bay gevoert	A new red carmosy cloth waistcoat lined with bays
Een ouwe roo l saye borst rock	An old red says waistcoat
p. 1211	P. 1211:
Twaelf nieuwe mans beste hemden	Twelve new men's best shirts
p. 1212	P. 1212:
Tien ouwe mans hemden	Ten old men's shirts
Twintigh catoene mansdasgens	Twenty cotton men's cravats
Tien linne mans mutsen	Ten linen men's caps
Dartig mans mutsen van ganseoogjens goet	Thirty men's bird's-eye caps
Een wit linne half hembt	A white linen half shirt
Vier packen mans onderclederen van Ganseoogjens	Four suits of men's bird's-eye underclothes
p. 1213	P. 1213:
Negen en veertich mansbeffen soo van linnen als camericxdoeck	Forty-nine men's bands both of linen and cambric
Tien paer beff Akers	Ten pairs of bandstring tassels
Sestien paer ponjetten	Sixteen pairs of cuffs
Sestien moye parelakers	Sixteen fine pearled tassels
Een bosje met befakers	A bundle of bandstring tassels
p. 1214	P. 1214:
Clederen	Clothing
Een swarte greyne broeck ende wambus	A pair of black grosgrain breeches and a doublet
Een gecoleurt laekens nieuw kleet	A new coloured cloth suit
Een gecoleurt lakens innocent nieuw	A new short coloured cloth doublet
Een dito van groflakens met een Engelse muts	A ditto of coarse cloth with an English cap

Een gestreept coleurde borstrock ende onderbroeck	A striped coloured waistcoat and a pair of under-breeches
Een sarge de nime gecoleurde rock met een broeck	A serge 'de Nimes' coloured coat and a pair of breeches
Een swarte greyne rock met een broeck	A black grosgrain coat with a pair of breeches
Een ouwe gecoleurde greyne rock	An old coloured grosgrain coat
Een ouwe scharlakense borstrock	An old scarlet waistcoat
Twee ouwe scharlakense broeken met een wambus	Two pairs of old scarlet breeches with a doublet
Een nieuw overtrecksel van tierentay	A new frock of tirentay
Een grauwe sarge voeringh uyt een mantel	A grey serge lining from a cloak
Twee nieuwe paruycken	Two new wigs
p. 1215	P. 1215:
Een nieuwe graeuwe hoet	A new grey hat

18. GAA, Not. J. de Winter, NA 2328, dd. 7 March 1687, pp. 379-380. Clothing in the inventory of Nicolaes Rosendael (Hoorn 1636 – Amsterdam 1687). See also: Br. *Künstler-Inv.* II, pp. 542-546.

p. 379	P. 379:
Een lange swarte lakense mantel	A long black cloth cloak
Twee swarte lakense korte mantels	Two short black cloth cloaks
Twee swarte lakense innocentrocken, d'een nieuw en d'ander gedragen	Two short black cloth doublets, one new, the other worn
Twee swarte lakense broecken specterende tot de rocken	Two pairs of black cloth breeches belonging to the coats
Twee koleurde lakense rocken en broecken soo nieuw als out	Two coloured cloth coats and breeches, old and new
Een root lakens onderkleet bestaende in borstrock en broeck	A red cloth undersuit, consisting of a waistcoat and breeches
Een root say onderkleet bestaende mede in borstrock en broek	A red says undersuit, also consisting of a waistcoat and breeches
Een grauw lakense borstrock	A grey cloth waistcoat
Een oude graeuwe lakense innocent-rock	An old short grey cloth doublet
p. 380	P. 380:
Veertien linne hemden	Fourteen linen shirts
Twee witte borstrocken	Two white waistcoats
Twintigh beffen	Twenty bands
Eenentwintich sackneusdoecken	Twenty-one pocket handkerchiefs
Acht dassen	Eight cravats
Twaelff witte slapemutsen, daer onder drie wollen	Twelve white nightcaps, three of them of wool
Vijff paer onderkousen	Five pairs of under-stockings
Vier paer boven kousen	Four pairs of upper-stockings

19. GAA, Not. H. Outgers, NA 3374, dd. 10 December 1694, pp. 140-145. Clothing in the inventory of Edo Quitter (?- Amsterdam 1694). See also Br. *Künstler-Inv.* V, pp. 1524-1526.

fol. 142	Fol. 142:
Een ijser Harnas	An iron suit of armour
Clederen vanden overleden:	Clothing of the deceased
Een swarte lakense mantel	A black cloth cloak
Een oude coleurde grijne dito	An old coloured grosgrain ditto
Een swarte lakense rock en broeck	A black cloth coat and breeches
Een coleurde lakense rock	A coloured cloth coat
Een oude pijlakense dito	An old cloth ditto
Een oud zijd swart camisool	An old silk black vest
Een swarte grijne broeck met 2 silvere knopen	A pair of black grosgrain breeches with 2 silver buttons
Een oud swartlakens camisool, en een dito broeck	An old black cloth vest, with ditto breeches
Twee paar oude coleurde kousen	Two pairs of old coloured stockings
Een rottingh en een oude deegen	A cane and an old rapier
fol. 143	Fol. 143:
Drie oude swarte hoeden	Three old black hats
Een roode Poolse mus	A red Polish cap
Een roode leere riem om 't lijff	A red leather belt for the waist
Twee swarte mouwetjes	Two black sleeves
Twee paar oude schoenen	Two pairs of old shoes
Een signetje van silver	A silver signet ring
Een paar paarse muylen	A pair of purple slippers
Twee oude Japonse rocken	Two old 'Japonse rocken'
Linnen vanden overleden	Linen belonging to the deceased
Een oude koffer met oude vodden van linnen en wollen niet waardigh te specificeeren	An old chest with old rags of linen and wool not worth specifying
Twaalf oude dassen soo van kanten als linnen alsmede naght dassen	Twelve old linen cravats with lace, as well as night cravats
Negen neusdoecken	Nine handkerchiefs
Ses paar witte linnen mouwen	Six pairs of white linen sleeves
Seven hembden soo oude als nieuwe	Seven shirts, old and new
fol. 144	Fol. 144:
In de was:	In the laundry:
Een borstrock	A waistcoat
Twee hemden	Two shirts
Twee broecken	Two pairs of breeches
Twee mussen	Two caps
Twee paar mouwen	Two pairs of sleeves
Drie dassen	Three cravats
Vier stropdassen	Four tie cravats
Vier neusdoecken	Four handkerchiefs

20. GAA, Not. N. Brouwer, NA 3981, dd. 2 July 1700, fol. 81-86v. Inventory of Lambert Doomer (Amsterdam 1622 – Alkmaar 1700). See also Br. *Künstler-Inv.* I, pp. 74-76.

fol. 83	Fol. 83:
Agtien mans hembden	Eighteen men's shirts
Seven manshemden	Seven men's shirts
Vuyl lijwaat	Dirty linen
Drie hemden	three shirts
Een rotting	A cane
Een houwertje met twee pistolen, en een stormhoed	A sabre with two pistols and a helmet
Een coleurde mantel	A coloured cloak
Een swarte mantel	A black cloak
Een swarte rok, en een coleurde rok	A black coat and a coloured coat
Een trijpe broek, en een sargie broek	A pair of trippe breeches and a pair of serge breeches
Twee borstrokken met silvere knopen, en een onderbroek	Two waistcoats with silver buttons and a pair of under-breeches
fol. 83v	Fol. 83v.:
Een coleurde Japonse rok	A coloured 'Japonse rock'
fol. 84	Fol. 84:
Seven dasjens	Seven cravats
Een paar handschoenen en een slaap-muts	A pair of gloves and a nightcap
Een coleurde lakense onderbroek	A pair of coloured cloth under-breeches
Een caleminke wambais	A caleminke doublet
Twee moffels	Two muffs
Een swarte hoed, en een paar koussen	A black hat and a pair of stockings

21. GAA, Not. S. Wijmer, NA 4837, dd. 20 July 1705, pp. 143-160. Clothing in the inventory of Michiel van Musscher (Amsterdam 1645 – Amsterdam 1705). See also Br. *Künstler-Inv.* III, pp. 993-994. Note: Probably incomplete.

p. 145	P. 145:
Op de schilderkamer	In the painting room:
38 linne mans mutsen	38 linen men's caps
Eenige beffjes eenige oude kam akers	Some bands and some old 'comb' tassels
En verder eenigh klyn linnengoet	Further, some small items of linen
p. 146	P. 146:
Een rode trijpe muts (doorgestreept)	A red tripp cap (crossed out)
Een paerse sautijne Japonse rock	A purple satin 'Japonse rock'
Eenige sijde lappen	Some pieces of silk textile
p. 147	P. 147:
Twee cieters, een harp, en een lier en een sakpijp	Two cithers, a harp, a lyre and a bagpipe
Twee laersjes, twee kookers met pijlen en twee boogen	Two booties, two quivers with arrows and two bows

Short glossary of historic textile terms

ARMOSIJN: *Armosin; Armozeen; Fr. Armoisin.* A kind of taffeta, originally imported from the East, but later also made in Italy and France (Lyons). The term might be Persian in origin, taking its name from the town of Ormuz.

BARKAN: *Barracan.* A strong kind of camlet of a coarser grain, the warp of silk and wool and the weft of Angora goat's hair, sometimes watered.

BAAY: *Bays; Baize; Fr. Bayette.* A kind of open woollen fabric, sometimes frized on one side, resembling flannel. Used for underwear such as under-petticoats, and waistcoats, often red in colour.

BOMBAZIJN: *Bombazine.* A fabric made with a silk warp and a worsted weft; its natural colour is grey, and it is subsequently dyed. Its surface has a twilled appearance. Usually of a black colour.

BOURAT: *Borato.* Fabric with a loose silk warp and a coarse woollen weft, similar to bombazine. Very widely worn throughout the entire century. Because of its dull surface it was also used for mourning.

BROKAAT: *Brocade.* Silk, often patterned, and interwoven with gold and silver threads.

CALEMINK: *Calimanco.* A glazed worsted textile.

DAMAST: *Damask.* A figured fabric of silk or linen, whose patterns appear in reverse on the back.

FELP, FULP: *Plush.* A long-napped velvet of cotton or wool or silk; usually a mix of wool and hair. From the Italian 'Felpa'. Initially imported from Genoa, later also made in Amsterdam.

FLOERS: *Crepe.* A transparent crimped silk fabric, usually black, used for veils, or scarfs.

FLUWEEL: *Velvet.* A silk or woollen fabric having a short dense pile, which can be cut or left uncut.

GANSEOOGJES: *Bird's-eye.* Diaper, any cloth woven with a small figure resembling a bird's eye. This was a strong fabric and often used for linens or cottons which had to be washed frequently, such as drawers.

GROFGREIN: *Grosgrain; Grogram.* A kind of Kamelot. A silk and worsted or mohair fabric of rich quality, showing a corded effect.

KAFFA: *Caffa.* An expensive silk velvet with patterned pile designs on a satin ground, sometimes also called taffeta.

KAMERIKSDOEK: CAMBRIC; FR. BATISTE. A fine white linen cloth in a plain weave. Named after the town Kamerrijk (Cambray).

LAKEN: *Cloth.* Very fine quality woollen fabric. The best qualities were manufactured in Leiden. Almost standard for mourning clothes.

PASSEMENT: *Passements.* A trimming of braids and fringes ornamented with beads, silk and metallic threads.

SAAY: *Says.* A thin woollen stuff, or sargie, of twill weave.

SAJET: *Sayette.* A textile of wool and silk often used for stockings.

SARGIE: *Serge.* A loosely woven twilled cloth with a worsted warp and a woollen weft, better quality than karsaij, in many different kinds and qualities.

TERSONILIE: Probably another wool and silk mixture.

TIRENTIJN: *Tirentaine.* A coarse linsey-woolsey, or all wool cloth.

Turcx: 'Turkish', a quality of grosgrain made in Leiden.

TRIJP: *Tripp.* A kind of imitation velvet made of wool or thread, often used for mules.

WEERSCHIJN: *Changeant.* Plain weave fabric with the warp in one colour and the weft in another.

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Chapter III

Rembrandt's self-portraits: problems of authenticity and function*

ERNST VAN DE WETERING

Introduction

Surely, a self-portrait is autograph by definition. After all, only the painter, draughtsman or etcher can be responsible for registering his own image as observed in the mirror. Yet the issue of authenticity is as pressing with respect to Rembrandt's self-portraits as it is with other paintings long attributed to the master. There are a number of reasons for this. The first is obvious: like any other painting, a self-portrait can be copied. This could take place in Rembrandt's workshop or elsewhere, in the seventeenth century or later. We know that a number of copies of Rembrandt self-portraits were made in his workshop.[1] Some early copies may have originated in other seventeenth-century workshops,[2] while a far greater number must have been painted after his death and even into the twentieth century. As a rule, the later copies are more faithful than the earlier ones.[3] Copies from Rembrandt's workshop are free copies in the sense that they were painted more or less freehand and usually not made with the help of tracing or other methods of transferring an image. They can also be called free because the makers did not try to literally imitate the brushwork of the prototype, as one finds in later copies. The brushwork in such paintings can be spontaneous, so much so, in fact, that should the prototype be lost (or erroneously considered a copy), a copy may have taken its place (see figs. 1 and 2 and IV *Corrigenda* I A 22, see also I A 14).

There is one type of non-authentic self-portrait whose existence became clear to us only when we had virtually completed this volume of the *Corpus*. This category of 'self-portraits' of Rembrandt was executed by workshop assistants or pupils.[4] They are not copies in the sense that they (more or less freely) duplicate a prototype. Rather, in the placement of the figure, the illumination, or the costume, for instance, they seem to be free variants of an autograph prototype by Rembrandt himself. In their free genesis, they can have the character of originals and for this reason they have been considered authentic Rembrandt self-portraits – and some may still be so considered up to the present-day (see Table D, p. 129).

The discovery imposes drastic limitations on the effectiveness of the methods, presumed to be objective, that we had initially hoped could introduce order into the group of paintings long taken to be Rembrandt's self-portraits. Nevertheless, these methods will first be discussed below, because we believe that their application made the problems presented by the self-portraits traditionally ascribed to Rembrandt more transparent than they had hitherto been. Indeed, the fact that the usefulness of these 'objective' methods of authentification was undermined by the discovery of the category of 'self-portraits' painted by other workshop members is due entirely to our effort to apply those methods as consistently as possible.

If a self-portrait is authentic by definition, the question arises as to how to designate non-authentic 'self-portraits'; after all, they are not strictly self-portraits. The issue of nomenclature is further complicated when we realise that the word 'self-portrait' did not exist in Rembrandt's time. A self-portrait was (with variations) indicated as 'a portrait of the painter (for instance Rembrandt) done by himself'.[5] For the sake of clarity in the following (and in the catalogue entries) the term self-portrait has been used for what we believe to be works done by Rembrandt himself, depicting himself, and 'self-portrait' (with single quotation marks) for those images of Rembrandt we believe were not executed by Rembrandt himself, even though they were probably made in his studio. We avoid designating non-autograph self-portraits as 'portraits of Rembrandt', as was done in the previous volumes of the *Corpus*, because it creates the impression that Rembrandt posed for them. From our analysis of the asymmetries in Rembrandt's features, discussed at greater length below (see the section *Physiognomy*), we have deduced that Rembrandt did not pose for paintings of himself created by others.

Possible objective criteria for attribution

It is evident that in examining the authenticity of work showing Rembrandt's effigy the self-portraits, objective indications are preferred to arguments based on stylistic and qualitative criteria, arguments usually referred to as 'subjective'. Accordingly, in what follows, several aspects of these paintings will be looked at to see whether they might provide the kind of reliable objective criteria we need. An obvious question is whether information on the *provenance* of the paintings would yield a core of definitively documented works, which could then serve as a basis in the investigation of the authenticity of other self-portraits. The question of whether, and if so, what significance may be assigned to the *signature* is also addressed. Furthermore, attention is directed to Rembrandt's *physiognomy*, its asymmetries and the specific traces of its ageing, since in the past these features were

* The use of the word 'function' – instead of, for instance, 'meaning' – has been chosen here to indicate that, in our view, each of these works has a specific *raison dêtre* either in the eyes of Rembrandt himself or of later owners, in the practice of the studio, on the 'market' or in collections.

1 Compare *The artist in oriental costume*, Private Collection (I A 40 copy 1); *Self-portrait*, The Hague (I A 21; IV *Corrigenda*, p. 597; see also exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, cat. nos. 14a, 14b). See also I A 22 copy 1, IV *Corrigenda*, p. 598, probably by the same hand as The Hague. There is also evidence that the San Francisco version of *Self-portrait with sketchbook* (IV 10, no. 2) was painted in the studio.

2 An example of a (drawn) copy after an (etched) self-portrait of Rembrandt made outside Rembrandt's workshop is the copy by the young Moses Terborch after B.7. See A. McNeil Kettering, *Drawings from the Ter Borch Family Studio Estate* (2 Vols), The Hague 1988, M. 84.

3 Sometimes later copies show deliberately differences from the original, perhaps introduced for the purpose of putting them on the market as newly discovered autograph self-portraits. For example, see *Self-portrait in a flat cap*, Windsor Castle (IV 1, *5. Copies*).

4 Gerson had already suggested this possibility, albeit on a limited scale, in Gerson 1968, p. 62.

5 E. van de Wetering, 'The multiple functions of Rembrandt's self portraits', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, pp. 17-19.

insufficiently analysed for their possible usefulness in helping to resolve attribution dilemmas. It is with such a group of paintings as the self-portraits, whose subject matter is relatively homogenous, that arguments derived from *X-radiographs* can tip the scales. Insight into Rembrandt's *working procedures* provides a basis for a better understanding of the stylistic differences between self-portraits from the same period. Material information concerning the *supports* – the canvases or panels – and the *grounds* applied to them will turn out to be highly significant. Finally, that complex of characteristics we customarily refer to as *quality* and from which we derive our 'subjective' criteria, contains possibilities for developing criteria that nevertheless possess a certain objective value.

But first the matter of our – largely unconscious – assessment of Rembrandt's *persona* demands attention since it plays a role in the quest for authenticity.

– Rembrandt himself

One might anticipate that our image of Rembrandt, as man and artist, would bear on the question of the authenticity of his self-portraits. We recently received a letter occasioned by a series of reproductions of self-portraits – some of dubious authenticity – in a newspaper article on the Rembrandt Research Project.[6] A reader of that article wrote:

'To the eye of one who enjoys rather than possesses expert knowledge of paintings, I see in the paintings reproduced here far more power, maturity, love of life and charisma in the genuine Rembrandts [more accurately, in those indicated as genuine Rembrandts in the captions of the reproductions accompanying the newspaper article]. *In general, one can say that these paintings evince Rembrandt's strong personality. Perhaps Rembrandt's character is a further criterion for discriminating between the genuine and the false.'*

Quite apart from our knowledge of the historical figure of Rembrandt gathered from written sources, there is this temptation to feel that Rembrandt's effigy affords us the kind of insight into his personality that allows inferences to be drawn about his nature and behaviour, both as man and artist. Drawings and etchings showing his features through a composition of lines, hatchings and tones still (partly thanks to the durability of rag paper) give us the feeling of being able to read Rembrandt's physiognomy and its expression. This is perhaps even truer of the brushstrokes with oil paint (petrified over the centuries) which seem to evoke the illusion that we have him before us, 'full colour', as a living being. The irresistible power of our imagination creates the illusion of meeting Rembrandt.

What we imagine Rembrandt's personality to be on the basis of the appearance of his physiognomy, combined with our knowledge derived from written sources, turns out to be in part determined by personal projections and by *a priori* assumptions. An example of such an assumption is the remark, first made by Henry Fuseli (1741-1825) but often paraphrased subsequently, that *'Shakespeare alone excepted, no one combined with so much transcendant excellence so many, in all other men unpardonable faults – and reconciled us to them'*.[7] Rembrandt's assumedly capricious genius has thus for a long time been advanced as an explanation for the enormous differences of quality that one observed in the oeuvre attributed to Rembrandt both then and since. The idea of Rembrandt as a solitary genius persisted for a long time. To quote Fuseli once again: *'If ever he* [Rembrandt] *had a master, he had no followers; Holland was not made to comprehend his powers'* (see note 7). If one assumed, as Fuseli and so many of his successors did, that Rembrandt was misunderstood in his own time and for that reason was scarcely imitated by any of his contemporaries, this could only lead to a far greater range in what was considered Rembrandt's own work than is accepted now. From this point of view, every Rembrandtesque painting apparently deriving from the seventeenth century had to have been painted by Rembrandt himself, certainly in the case of his self-portraits, which are, after all, 'autograph by definition'.

Some hundred years later, another *a priori* assumption, which in its implication would be important for the question of authenticity surrounding Rembrandt's self-portraits, was that of the unity of the life and work of a great artist like Rembrandt. Abraham Bredius' decision to begin his canon of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre with the self-portraits followed by the 'portraits' of the presumed members of his family[8] must have been determined by this *a priori* assumption. This was also the time when Gustav Mahler was writing *'partly autobiographically inspired symphonies'* from which, it is held by some even today, by *'listening we can learn more about Mahler's personality than by reading any biography, however exhaustive'*.[9] In the case of Rembrandt, it was above all the self-portraits, created in the assumed intimacy of self-reflection before the mirror, that were to represent Rembrandt as individual and therefore also as artist in his most personal and pure state. As a consequence of this assumption it was precisely these works, as well as the presumed 'portraits' of his family, that were least subjected to Bredius' critical selection. In our own time the authenticity of about half of this group of paintings is either rejected or seriously in doubt. The link between 'life and work' is one of the most attractive and therefore one of the most tenacious of all the *a priori* assumptions. It has not failed to influence Rembrandt research, and certainly it has enormous influence on the wider public.

To give one more example of the influence of a tacit image of Rembrandt on the conception of his work: surveying the literature of the last century, there is a

6 Lien Heyting, interview with E. van de Wetering in *NRC Handelsblad*, Cultureel Supplement, 12-4-2002: 'Rembrandt-onderzoek: een soort waarheidsvinding'; letter of H.J.C. Veth.

7 John Knowles (ed.), *The life and writings of Henry Fuseli, Esq. M.A.R.A., keeper and professor of painting to the Royal Academy in London; member of the First Class of the Academy of St. Luke at Rome*, Vol. II, London 1831, pp. 118-122.

8 A. Bredius, *Rembrandt paintings*, London 1937, nos. 1-62 and 63-131.

9 P. de Bruijn, 'Mahler, Mahler, niets dan Mahler', in: *NRC Handelsblad*, 12-1-2001, p. 35.

Fig. 1. Rembrandt workshop, copy after fig. 2, *c.* 1629, panel 37.9 x 28.9 cm. The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis (IV *Corrigenda* I A 21). For a colour reproduction see fig. 136.



Fig. 2. Rembrandt, *'Tronie' with Rembrandt's features*, *c.* 1629, panel 38 x 30.9 cm. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (IV *Corrigenda* I A 21). For a colour reproduction see fig. 135.



rather general concensus that Rembrandt must have been a relatively obstinate, self-willed person who, for instance, because of the artistic temperament associated with such a personality, left many of his projects uncompleted. Not only certain archival records and texts by Rembrandt's contemporaries, but also the nature of that part of his oeuvre that can be considered autograph, would seem to corroborate this impression. The possible relevance of such a representation of Rembrandt's personality to the problem of authenticity becomes clearer when people presume, on the basis of this hypothetical personality profile, that such an artist would be unlikely to summon the patience and attention required to copy his own work, let alone to literally repeat one of his own self-portraits. However, in the recent discussion over the attribution of the early *Self-portrait* in The Hague (IV *Corrigenda* I A 21; fig. 1), the possibility was proposed by Eric Jan Sluijter – and adopted by a number of art historians convinced by his argument – that Rembrandt could himself have copied this work (in a different style) after the Nuremberg version of that painting (fig. 2).[10] The profile of Rembrandt's personality that Schwartz developed in his *Rembrandt. His life, his paintings* may have inspired Sluijter's theory.[11] Schwartz' image of Rembrandt as a networking opportunist whose main aim in his early career was to work for the court of the Stadholder provides the opening for Sluijter's view. In this view, adapting an existing self-portrait by copying it in a style that would – as Sluijter argues – suit the taste of the court could have been one of Rembrandt's means of gaining access to the court. Here again, a specific though hypothetical view of Rembrandt's personality colours particular ideas on the question of authenticity.

In previous volumes of the *Corpus* the participants of the Rembrandt Research Project tried as far as possible to avoid speculation on Rembrandt's personality. In each volume, the section *Biographical data* has been restricted to a bare presentation of the written sources concerning Rembrandt in the relevant period, reflecting our determination to limit ourselves as far as possible to the facts. In determining what we considered to be Rembrandt's autograph oeuvre, however, there was indeed an implicit idea at work of the person, Rembrandt. In the *Preface* to this volume, it was remarked that we set out, if we were not actually compelled for methodological reasons to do so, from the assumption of Rembrandt's homogeneous development as an artist. An important reason for the (largely unconscious) choice of this *a priori* assumption was that the only viable approach to the problem of attributing works to Rembrandt was a rationalized selection based on stylistic grounds. We thus worked, of necessity, with an implicit idea of an artist who made no unexpected leaps in his use of stylistic resources, who, as expounded in the chapters on style in Volumes I to III[12], step by step and with great integrity gradually evolved his own visual language (a process to which, as was of course acknowledged, outside influences such as that of Rubens also contributed). On further reflection, however, there seems the possibility of circular reasoning at work, resulting in an image of a Rembrandt who moved methodically, almost as a scientist, from one step to the next in the development of his visual language. It would certainly not be the first time that an image of Rembrandt had been proposed after the image of its author(s).

From the fact of such conflicting images of Rembrandt one might have to conclude that he will always remain for us a stranger who inhabited a past that is, in the words of L.P. Hartley, *'a foreign country'*.[13] However compellingly the character of this stranger may seem to reveal itself in his self-portraits, we have to insist that this inference is a fallacy, if only because the problem – the central concern of this volume – is precisely the nature and the extent of that part of his oeuvre.

– Provenance

In its entirety, Rembrandt's oeuvre includes very few paintings whose provenance can play a significant role in attributing the painting in question to the master. This is certainly true for the self-portraits.

Of all the painted self-portraits, only two are documented in such a way that they are generally considered autograph on that basis: the 1629 *Self-portrait* in Liverpool (I A 33), and the one of 1669 in Florence (IV 28). However, the fact that they are described in contemporary documents as works by Rembrandt does not necessarily constitute a watertight guarantee. In the first case, this becomes apparent when the document's reliability is questioned more closely. The Liverpool *Self-portrait* (fig. 3) was generally assumed to be one of a group of paintings given by Lord Ancrum (who was in the Netherlands in 1629) to Charles I. Along with two other paintings, it was listed as a work by Rembrandt in 1639, in an inventory of the king's paintings drawn up by the Dutch painter Abraham van der Doort. One of these

10 E. J. Sluijter, 'The *Tronie of a young officer with a gorget in the Mauritshuis*: a second version by Rembrandt himself?', *O.H.* 114 (2000), pp. 188-194.

11 G. Schwartz, *Rembrandt. His life, his paintings*, London 1984.

12 *Corpus*, Vol. I, pp. 3-9: The stylistic development; Vol. II, pp. 3-13: Stylistic features of the 1630s: the portraits; Vol. III, pp. 3-11: Stylistic features of the 1630s: the history paintings.

13 L.P. Hartley, *The go-between*, London 1953, p. 1.

Fig. 3. Rembrandt workshop (Isack Jouderville?), *'Tronie' with Rembrandt's features*, 1630/31, panel 69.7 x 57 cm. Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery (IV *Corrigenda* I A 33), For colour reproductions see figs. 143, 144.



Fig. 4. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1669, canvas 71 x 54 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (IV 28). For colour reproductions see fig. 321, 331.



Figs. 5-7. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1640, canvas 93 x 80 cm. London, The National Gallery (III A 139), Entire painting, X-ray, detail with signature and inscription. For a colour reproduction see fig. 242.

Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

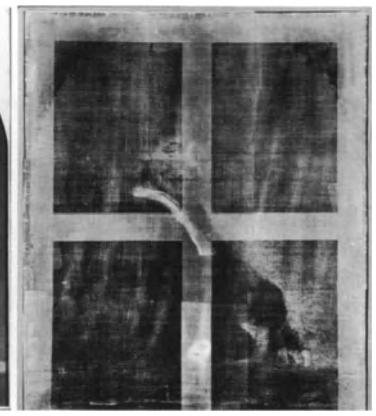


Fig. 7.



Fig. 8. Ferdinand Bol, *Self-portrait*, 1647, canvas 101 x 88.3 cm. U.S.A., private collection



other 'Rembrandts', '... a young Scholler [scholar] ... by a Seacole [turf] fire ...' is now lost. However, on the basis of a more reliable document it may be safely considered a work by Jan Lievens.[14] A second painting listed by Van der Doort as a work by Rembrandt, '... *an old woeman with a greate Scarfe upon her heade* ...', no doubt the painting now in Windsor Castle, is also attributed by us on stylistic grounds to Jan Lievens (I A 32, II *Corrigenda* A 32). Thus, the mention in the same document of the self-portrait presently in Liverpool (I A 33) as a work by Rembrandt affords only insecure grounds for an attribution to Rembrandt and, consequently, it cannot be used uncritically as a standard around which to group other paintings. In fact, this also proves to be impossible in practice. Stylistically the painting is *sui generis*: it deviates from what may be considered characteristic of Rembrandt in so many respects, including quality, that despite the fact that it was accepted as a work from the hand of the artist in Volume I, it is in fact most unlikely to be an autograph work by him (see the section *The self-portraits 1625-'40* in this chapter, pp. 179-182).

In the case of the painting in Florence (fig. 4), the documentary thread connecting it to Rembrandt is equally slender. We know that Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici visited Rembrandt's workshop on Thursday, 29 December 1667. He did not buy any work on that occasion. We know that he subsequently undertook a second journey from 18 September 1668 to 29 October 1669, again stopping in Amsterdam, and that between 29 June and 10 July 1669 he visited the *'botteghe de' pui eccellenti maestri'* (the studios of the best masters) in the city, although this does not necessarily mean that Rembrandt was included.[15] We know that a self-portrait by Rembrandt is mentioned in the *Inventario Generale de Quadri del Ser.mo Principe Leopoldo di Toscana*, which lists the paintings acquired by Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, or by others on his behalf, between 1663 and 1671. The description of a self-portrait by Rembrandt in this inventory relates, beyond any reasonable doubt, to the *Self-portrait* in the Uffizi, the genesis of which we date to 1669. In short, it is likely, but not certain that IV 28 was acquired or ordered by Cosimo in Rembrandt's workshop.

This is an exceptionally meagre crop of more or less reliably documented self-portraits. They cannot, therefore, serve as bridgeheads in the reconstruction of Rembrandt's autograph production of painted self-portraits, quite apart from the fact that the period spanned – from 1629 to 1669 – would be far too great. There is one self-portrait which, although it is not absolutely certain that it is mentioned in the documents, may be considered documented for other reasons: the 1640 *Self-portrait* in London (III A 139; fig. 5) with an inscription 'conterfeycel' (likeness) below the signature (fig. 7), which may have been added in the seventeenth century. This might be the self-portrait listed in the inventory of the art dealer De Renialme as *'Rembrants Contrefeijtsel antijcks'* (Rembrandt's likeness *all'antica*).[16] Of course, the combination of the document with the inscription on the painting and Rembrandt's sixteenth-century costume does not guarantee that it is the same painting. Nevertheless, though not decisive in themselves, there are arguments that reinforce each other and support the attribution. In the influence that it exerted on the work of

14 Strauss *Doc.*, 1639/11; J.J. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der Stadt Leyden*, Leiden 1641, p. 377.

15 G. J. Hoogewerff, *De twee reizen van Cosimo De' Medici Prins van Toscane door de Nederlanden (1667-1669). Journalen en documenten.* Published by the Historisch Genootschap, Derde Serie No. 41. Amsterdam 1919, pp. 66-67 and 270-275.

16 Strauss *Doc.*, 1657/2, no. 292.

Fig. 9. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait with shaded eyes*, 1634, panel 91 x 55.1 cm, detail. Las Vegas, U.S.A., The Wynn collection (IV *Addenda* 2)



Fig. 10. Rembrandt, *Large self-portrait*, 1652, canvas 112.1 x 81 cm, detail. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (IV 8)



Fig. 11. Rembrandt, *Small self-portrait*, *c.* 1655, panel 48.9 x 40.2 cm, detail. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (IV 13)

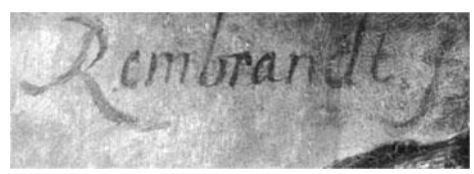


Fig. 12. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1642, panel 69.9 x 58.4 cm, detail. Windsor Castle, H.M. Queen Elizabeth II (IV 1)



Fig. 13. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 165[7/9], canvas 52.7 x 42.7, detail. Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland, on loan from the Duke of Sutherland (IV 15)

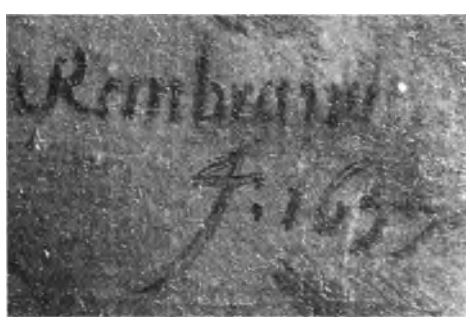
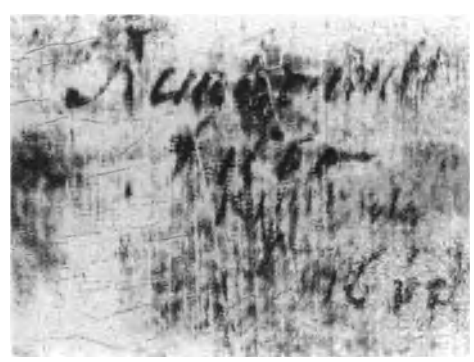


Fig. 14. Rembrandt workshop, '*Self-portrait*', 1660, canvas 75.6 x 61.1 cm, detail. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria (IV 21)



several of Rembrandt's pupils, especially Ferdinand Bol (fig. 8), and on the basis of a number of pentimenti and their nature (fig. 6), this painting is so strongly related to Rembrandt as an artist and teacher that it may be considered autograph. Though stylistic features also play a role in this determination, they will not be discussed here; after all, the point of the exercise in this section is to see just how far objective criteria can contribute to the solution of problems of attribution. And still, even should this painting be used as a further bridgehead, it can only directly contribute to an evaluation of the self-portraits made between 1639 and 1642, as will be shown below.

As the above demonstrates, efforts to trace back Rembrandt's self-portraits to his workshop solely on the basis of written sources yields virtually nothing. And even if such efforts were successful, this would not constitute valid evidence that the particular painting is an autograph work by Rembrandt since, as already mentioned, others in this workshop also produced 'self-portraits' of Rembrandt.

– Signatures

As is particularly evident in the case of several of the early self-portraits discussed in this book, the study of signatures plays an increasingly greater role in our attempts to define Rembrandt's autograph oeuvre.[17] The paintings mainly concerned are those with certain rare types of signatures within the continuously evolving sequence of Rembrandt's signatures between 1625 and *c.* 1642. Even in these instances, decisive significance is accorded to the signatures only when it can be demonstrated that they were applied to an original paint layer that was not yet dry (see for instance IV *Addenda* 1 and 2; fig. 9, and IV *Corrigenda* I A 22). But even then their authenticity – and with it the authenticity of the painting concerned – cannot automatically be taken for granted. We still know too little about the significance of the monogram and the signature in Rembrandt's commercial and workshop practice. Neither materially nor in terms of handwriting analysis have the signatures after *c.* 1642 yet been investigated as thoroughly as those between 1633 and 1642.[18] The reasons for this were given in the *Preface*, pp. XIX-XX. A striking number of the self-portraits after 1640 examined in this volume either lack a signature or bear a problematic one. Signatures are missing in seven paintings (IV 2, 4, 16, 17, 25, 26, 28), sometimes because they may have been over-painted (IV 2), or perhaps cut off (IV 25, 28); in other instances, the painting appears not to have been signed because it was unfinished (IV 16, 26), or was a free variant by another hand (IV 4, 17). Several paintings bear only the remnants of a signature (IV 5, 8, 12; fig. 10). In some cases where a signature was found, it appeared to be a

17 IV *Corrigenda et Addenda* pp. 598-601; 609-626; see also in this chapter the section *The self-portraits of 1625-'40*, and for instance, E. van de Wetering '"Old man with turban", an early Rembrandt rediscovered', in: exhib. cat. *PAN* (Pictura Antiquairs Nationaal), Amsterdam 11-18 Oct. 1998, pp. 10-20, esp. 18.

18 W. Froentjes, H. J. J. Hardy, R. ter Kuile-Haller, 'Een schriftkundig onderzoek van Rembrandt signaturen', *O.H.* 105 (1991), pp. 185-204; idem, *A Comparative Handwriting Examination of Rembrandt Signatures*. Published in the proceedings of the XXVIIIth International Congress of the History of Art, Berlin 15-20 July 1992. Proceedings published by Akademie Verlag, 1993, pp. 595-606.

later addition (IV 13; fig. 11). Only one of the six complete signatures on self-portraits after 1640 was in such a condition that it could be analysed by H.J.J. Hardy. It was found to be authentic (IV 1; fig. 12). The other five signatures that stand a chance of being authentic are in such poor condition that they could never be reliably assessed by a comparative investigation of handwriting (IV 9, 11, 14, 15, 21; fig. 13). However, the fact that the dates encountered generally correlate with the appropriate stage in the ageing of Rembrandt's face must be seen as an indication that the majority of the signatures we are dealing with here are contemporary.

A further complication looms since we know that a non-autograph 'self-portrait' from *c.* 1660 (IV 21) which was certainly produced in Rembrandt's studio was inscribed with a Rembrandt signature (whether autograph or not we do not know) on the still incompletely dried paint of the background (fig. 14, see the lower inscription).

As a basis for defining the authentic core of Rembrandt's later works, therefore, the signature is of remarkably little value. As long as no systematic comparative handwriting analysis of the signatures – together with a material investigation in each case – has been conducted for the period after 1640, arguments based on signatures will play little – if any – role in our determinations of the group of paintings discussed in the catalogue entries of this book.

– Physiognomy

Looking in a mirror we see ourselves in reverse. This has obvious consequences for the depiction of the hands in a self-portrait: the right hand with the brush (for Rembrandt was right handed) becomes a left hand, with all the ensuing complications (see IV 26). In the mirror, we see all the asymmetries in our face in reverse compared to the real face as seen by others or registered by a camera (or in an etched self-portrait which, when printed, is the mirror image of a mirror image). A portrait of Rembrandt by another painter should therefore be the mirror image of an actual self-portrait. It therefore makes good sense to investigate the value of possible asymmetries in Rembrandt's features as relevant indications in this context – that is, of course, if we can assume that Rembrandt always observed his features carefully and equally carefully depicted them in his self-portraits. If one analyses the process of ageing and the accompanying changes in Rembrandt's features, one cannot but conclude that Rembrandt time and again described his face extremely accurately when painting his self-portraits.

We found two, more or less significant, asymmetrical features in Rembrandt's face: in the eyelids and the vertical creases above the nose. As far as we know, they have never been mentioned in the literature on Rembrandt's self-portraits.[19] In Rembrandt's right eye (which, of course, in his mirror image in the painting appears to be his left eye), the eyelid is partially overlapped by a fold of skin above (figs. 15, 16, 17). In fact, this asymmetry is encountered in most of Rembrandt's self-portraits. This feature manifested itself early on, gradually becoming more pronounced during the course of the 1630s. In the Washington *'Self-portrait'* of 1650 (IV 6) and the two self-*portraits historiés*, *Self-portrait as St Paul* (IV 24) and *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* (IV 25), Rembrandt raises his eyebrows so high that the folds of the eyes are pulled taut (see figs. 312 and 315). In a number of the early self-portraits, on the other hand, he appears to have drawn his eyebrows so close together that *both* eyelids are partially concealed by the folds above the eyes (see fig. 129).[20] Among the late self-portraits, this is also the case in the *Large Vienna self-portrait* (fig. 18).

The asymmetry in the folds of the eyes is not equally distinct in all the paintings. This is partly related to the degree of elaboration of the painting, or the extent to which the eyes are cast in shadow. Moreover, the asymmetry of the eyelids could also have been disturbed by damage to the painting, or during a restoration.

Such exceptions and qualifications also apply to the second asymmetric feature in Rembrandt's face, the vertical crease in the forehead above the bridge of the nose. This does not run down the middle axis of the face, but slightly to the left as seen by the viewer, and runs into the left eye socket. On the other side of the bridge of the nose is a short vertical furrow (see figs. 16-18). Because Rembrandt's head is usually turned slightly to the right in his self-portraits, this furrow is often not visible.

The significance of these asymmetries in Rembrandt's physiognomy for the investigation of authenticity is that copyists or imitators sometimes overlooked them (see for example figs. 19 and 20). As noted above, they should in theory also prove useful in the hypothetical case where a 'self-portrait' of Rembrandt is actually a portrait of Rembrandt by another painter.

Other aspects of the physiognomy can also be significant in resolving dilemmas over authenticity. From *c.* 1639 onward, indications of horizontal creases, sometimes running at an angle to the lower right, are visible at the bridge of the nose (see figs. 15-18). One wonders whether these lines, which in the early 1640s were not yet such a clearly marked feature of Rembrandt's face (sometimes, they are clearest in the X-radiographs because of the differences in the thickness of the paint), can almost function as a 'secret' hallmark of authenticity for paintings of this period. Their presence in the *Self-portrait* in the collection of Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza (IV 2) was one of the arguments that led to a reconsideration of the painting's authenticity.

In addition to these creases, there are other facial features that alter as Rembrandt grows older. These changes fit into what might be called the 'logic' of facial

19 We earlier published our observations in this area in *The Burlington Magazine* 138 (1996), pp. 174-180 and in exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, pp. 14-17.

20 Compare also the etchings B. 4, 24, 320, 338.

Fig. 15. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1639 (B. 21 II), etching, detail of fig. 151 in reverse. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



Fig. 16. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1645/48, panel 68.5 x 56.5 cm, detail. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle (IV 5)



Fig. 17. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1659, canvas 84.4 x 66 cm, detail. Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Collection (IV 18)



Fig. 18. Rembrandt, *Large self-portrait*, 1652, canvas 112.1 x 81 cm, detail. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (IV 8)



Fig. 19. Rembrandt workshop, '*Self-portrait*', 1643, canvas 62.5 x 49.6 cm, detail. Germany, private collection (IV 3)



Fig. 20. Rembrandt workshop, '*Self-portrait*', 1660, canvas 75.6 x 61.1 cm, detail. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria (IV 21)



ageing. Such changes are more or less clear in the jaw line, the corners of the mouth and in the chin with its growing double chin. The traces of this natural process of ageing can play a role in evaluating problematic paintings. For instance, the stage in the ageing of Rembrandt's face in the *Self-portrait* in Windsor Castle (see fig. 249) is not documented in any other work, and yet correlates well with the painting's date of 1642. Here physiognomic aspects could provide additional arguments in favour of authenticity.[21]

One could argue that, because Rembrandt painted so many self-portraits, it must be possible to determine the accuracy of the likeness in each of them. However, it soon becomes apparent that our idea of what Rembrandt looked like is selectively dominated by just a few self-portraits although, of course, exactly *which* ones may differ from one individual to the next. For the present author, from the painted self-portraits after 1640, those that determine his image of Rembrandt's physiognomy in that period are the *Large Self-portrait* in Vienna (see fig. 55), the one in the Frick Collection (see fig. 286), the *Self-portrait* in Kenwood House (see fig. 323), and the one of 1669 in the National Gallery in London (see fig. 330). If Rembrandt – ageing gradually between 1652 and 1669 – looked as he does in these paintings, the question arises of whether, for instance, the eyes in the Washington *Self-portrait* of 1659 (see fig. 54) are not too big and those in the *Small Vienna self-portrait* (see fig. 283) too close together. However, although one feels tempted to give weight to such deviations in the facial likeness in considerations of authenticity, this criterion of hypothetical likeness – with the implicit assumption of a standard facial appearance – has to be handled with the utmost caution. It would in fact seem that Rembrandt sometimes depicted himself with smaller eyes, and at other times with larger eyes, sometimes widely spaced, and sometimes closer together (compare figs. 55, 283 and 286). And there are more such variations in the way in which he portrayed himself (see also p. 211).

One has the impression that Rembrandt usually depicted his nose quite faithfully. One need only compare the *Self-portraits* in Karlsruhe (see fig. 259), in Vienna (see figs. 55, 283), and those in The Frick Collection (see fig. 286) and Kenwood House (see fig. 324) to see this. In these virtually frontal self-portraits we see a fairly long nose with a bulbous tip and a comparatively prominent nasal bone. Comparing this nose to those in the self-portraits in three-quarter view, characteristics emerge that are not evident from the frontal position. This is clearly the case in the *Self-portraits* in Edinburgh (see fig. 53), London (see fig. 330) and Florence (see fig. 331). Seen from this angle, the nose protrudes in an almost straight line so that the marking of the nasal bone is virtually lacking. Evidently, Rembrandt's nasal bone was prominent in its width, but not in profile. In those self-portraits where the head is slightly less turned, something of the far side of the nasal bone is evident in foreshortening against that flank of the nose (see figs. 247 and 249). The manner in which deformations can occur in this detail of the face in three-quarter view can be important in the determination of authenticity. It is one of the details in the San Francisco version of the *Self-portrait with sketchbook* (see fig. 284) that contributes to the certainty that this painting must be a copy (see below). The copyist can betray himself in the depiction of this element of Rembrandt's physiognomy because he shows a lack of understanding of its anatomical and perspectival implications.

As will become clear below in the section *Style and Quality; a demonstration*, accuracy in the anatomical and plastic construction of Rembrandt's autograph works – no matter how freely painted – plays an important role. Here, however, as in other aspects of Rembrandt's physiognomy the condition of the painting always has to be taken into account. See, for instance, the Pasadena painting (IV *Corrigenda* III C 97) where the nose and other parts of the face have been disfigured by over-cleaning in the past (see fig. 236).

– X-Radiography

The 'palimpsest'

A significant proportion of those paintings usually considered self-portraits of Rembrandt were, as X-radiographs show, painted on panels or canvases that had been used previously.

At first sight, the frequency of the re-used support (for the sake of brevity here called a *palimpsest*, analogous to parchment that has been used twice) would seem to corroborate the prevailing view that the making of a self-portrait must have been a highly personal activity for Rembrandt.[22] Is it not likely that Rembrandt would have used workshop rejects for such private paintings? Thirteen of the self-portraits painted by Rembrandt himself (or, as we think, by pupils or workshop assistants) are on panels and canvases that had already been used (I A 20, IV *Corrigenda* I A 21, A 33, II A 58, III A 133, B 10, C 96 and IV 1, 5, 9, 10 version 2, 11 and 12). This is more than a quarter of the group of paintings in which Rembrandt is depicted. With paintings of other subjects, one encounters the *palimpsest* only rarely among the works by Rembrandt and the painters in his workshop. It occurs once in an early oil sketch (I A 9), in some *tronies* (I A 8, B 4, C 42, IV *Addendum* 3), and a few, mostly small, history or genre scenes (I A 18, A 38, B 3, C 11, and *La main chaude*, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland). The majority of these other *palimpsests* are works from the Leiden and early Amsterdam period: only two originated thereafter, both in the 1650s (*Joseph and Potiphar's wife* in Berlin, Br. 524, and the *Tronie of a young man* in the Louvre, Br. 292). The group of self-portrait *palimpsests*

21 E. van de Wetering and P. Brockhoff, 'New directions in the Rembrandt Research Project, Part I: the 1642 self-portrait in the Royal Collection', *Burl. Mag.*, op.cit.[19].

22 For arguments opposing this view, see the section *The various functions of Rembrandt's self-portraits* in this chapter (esp. pp. 137-143).

Figs. 21 and 22. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1645/48, panel 68.5 x 56.5 cm, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle (IV 5). Detail and corresponding X-Ray



deviates clearly from the other *palimpsests*, not only because it constitutes a proportionally surprisingly large percentage of one type of painting, but also because in the case of the self-portraits the use of already painted supports is spread over a long period. They are found in 1629, *c.* 1630, 1632, *c.* 1637, 1639, *c.* 1640/42, 1642, *c.* 1645, 1654, and *c.* 1655.

For a beginning painter, re-using a previously worked-on support could have been determined by economic considerations. This is true of Vincent van Gogh, for example. In the case of Rembrandt, however, it seems more significant that the *palimpsests* appear to be paintings that were not made on commission. The categories of *palimpsests* mentioned above, oil sketches, *tronies* and small history and genre scenes – and self-portraits – are categories of paintings that as a rule may be assumed to have originated on the artist's own initiative, and not as commissions. It is significant in this connection that Rembrandt never painted a single *portrait* over a rejected painting. There are indications that the supports for commissioned works were either charged for separately[23] or even provided by the commissioning patron himself.[24] For a work painted on the artist's own initiative, supports available in the workshop could be used (including rejected paintings; for example, portraits that for one reason or another had not been delivered).[25] The already painted supports of some of Rembrandt's *palimpsests* give the impression of having come from other workshops, perhaps having been acquired at auctions of the estates of deceased painters (compare for instance; figs. 21 and 22). Though not yet substantiated by documents, it is conceivable that partially painted supports acquired at such auctions cost less than pristine ones.

Painting on a previously used support had technical consequences, depending on whether or not the underlying painting was covered with a new, evenly applied ground. In most instances, Rembrandt appears to have worked directly on the earlier painting.[26] As a result, in areas where the paint was usually applied more or less transparently (like the eye sockets or the mouth) opaque paint had to be used in order to cover the paint of the underlying image – as, for instance, in the Windsor Castle *Self-portrait* (IV 1), where the overall opaqueness in the execution of the face may have played its part in the temporary rejection of the painting (compare fig. 249).[27]

As mentioned above one could speculate that *palimpsests* were not intended to be owned by others, but this idea proves to be untenable. Among the three paintings one assumes were given by Prince Frederik Hendrik himself to Lord Ancrum, the representative of the English king (who in turn gave them to his king Charles I before 1639), were two *palimpsests* (*The old woman* in Windsor Castle, I A 32, and the '*Self-portrait*' in Liverpool, I A 33). Moreover, one of the two early Rembrandts owned by Frederik Hendrik, according to an inventory of 1632, was also a *palimpsest* (the Berlin *Minerva*, I A 38).

The painter evidently assumed that a buyer would not see that there was another painting under the new work.

The fact that so many self-portraits were done over an earlier painting, therefore, says nothing about their value or saleability – and also nothing about their presumed function as 'private' works. On the other hand, it does have a bearing on the situation in which such paintings originated. It strongly indicates that Rembrandt (and his assistants) produced the self-portraits (in any case the *palimpsest* self-portraits) on Rembrandt's own initiative and not on commission since, as indicated above, the support was charged separately for commissioned works.

The notion that a painter could keep in stock self-portraits painted on his own initiative gains support from a document concerning a self-portrait by Frans van Mieris.[28] The custom for art lovers to visit artists in their worskhop surely created a situation where self-portraits could have been sold (see below).[29] The discovery that four early self-portraits by Rembrandt were subsequently transformed into later self-portraits (in two cases) or *tronies* (in the other cases), may indicate that, around 1633-'35, Rembrandt had too large a stock (see pp. 139-140 where this hypothesis will be discussed in more detail). In this connection it is interesting to note that among the 13 painted self-portraits originating after 1655, thus after Rembrandt's bankruptcy, there is not a single *palimpsest*. It is, after all, precisely in this period that one would expect supports to be re-used if economic considerations were the primary factor involved. The absence of *palimpsests* among the self-portraits of the last period of Rembrandt's life – along with the fact that the grander self-portraits originated at just this time – could indicate that these paintings were done on commission. In the light of the late Rembrandt's fame,[30] one cannot exclude the possibility

23 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/18 and 1661/5.
24 *Corpus* II, p. 91 note 3.
25 III C 96, C 115, IV 9. Two of Rembrandt's etched self-portraits were also done on etching plates that had already been previously used and (fairly inadequately) prepared for re-use (B. 338 and B. 5).
26 See *Corpus* I, p. 32.
27 C. White, *The Dutch pictures in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, Cambridge 1982, pp. 111-12, no. 168.
28 O. Naumann, *Frans van Mieris the elder (1635-1681)*, Doornspijk 1981, Vol. I, p. 184, document 30 April 1675.
29 See also exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, pp. 23-30.
30 S. Slive, *Rembrandt and his critics (1630-1730)*, The Hague 1953, Chapter IV; E. van de Wetering, 'The miracle of our age: Rembrandt through the eyes of his contemporaries' in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. A genius and his impact*, 1997/98, pp. 58-68; see also Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 265-272.

Figs. 23 and 24. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1669, canvas 86 x 70.5 cm. London, The National Gallery (IV 27). Detail and corresponding X-Ray. A lead white-containing underpainting shows up strongly.





that during this period it might have been not only Prince Cosimo de' Medici who may have ordered or purchased a self-portrait from Rembrandt (see IV 28), but that other art lovers (whether or not princely) also commissioned a self-portrait of Rembrandt for their collection.

In our opinion, the fact that a self-portrait from Rembrandt's workshop is a *palimpsest* cannot be considered as an argument in favour of an origin from Rembrandt's own hand. *Palimpsests* also occur among the doubtful 'self-portraits' (compare I A 33, III B 10, IV 11, 12). One of the copies of the lost *Self-portrait with sketchbook* (IV 10), the one in San Francisco (version 2), which we are convinced must likewise have originated in Rembrandt's workshop, is also a *palimpsest.* However, we now believe that a 'self-portrait' in Rembrandt's style, when painted over a previously used support, in all probability originated in Rembrandt's workshop.

The repentir

In investigating authenticity, it is not unusual to give great weight to repentirs (changes made during the execution of a painting) as evidence that one is dealing with an autograph work. After all, a repentir indicates that the painter changed his mind during the act of painting. The logical conclusion would be that in such an instance we are dealing with an original composition, and not a copy. Accordingly, the obvious conclusion would then seem to be that a Rembrandtesque self-portrait with one or more repentirs is a work by the master himself. De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes, for example, in their publication *Rembrandt in the Mauritshuis*, considered the presence of a pentimento as a conclusive argument in favour of the authenticity of the work concerned.[31] Our growing knowledge of Rembrandt's workshop practice now begs caution on this point. Among the history paintings treated in the next volume are works in which pupils or assistants paraphrased Rembrandt's prototypes (see Vol. V, Chapter II). This appears to have been a part of Rembrandt's training methods. Because they are in part freely conceived, repentirs can occur in such variants. Accordingly, the value of the repentir in isolating the core of autograph Rembrandts is limited and can only tip the scales in combination with other arguments – as, for instance, in the above-cited case of the London *Self-portrait* of 1640 (see pp. 92-93). Indeed, as became evident above, the presence of a repentir in combination with other arguments can be significant in identifying a painting as a workshop-variant (see for instance IV 11, 12, 17).

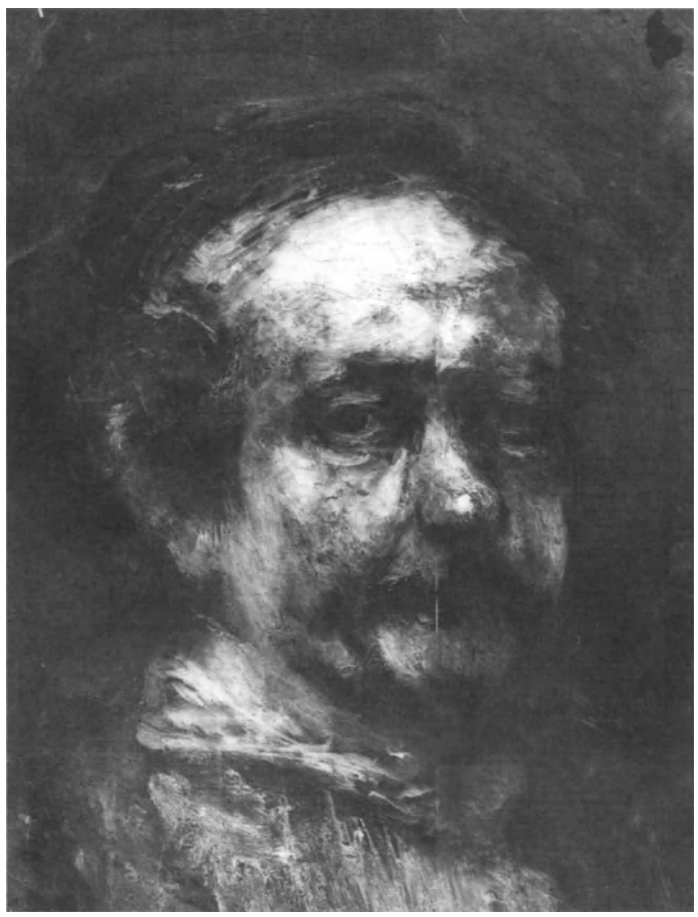
The application of white lead

One might ask whether any system can be discerned in

31 De Vries, Tóth Ubbens, Froentjes, pp. 214-217 under 8. *X-Ray examination.*

Figs. 25 and 26. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1669, canvas 71 x 54.2 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (IV 28). Detail and corresponding X-Ray. No lead white-containing underpainting.





the distribution of the radioabsorbencies in X-radiographs of comparable self-portraits that would be significant for the issue of authenticity. For this, one must turn to the evaluation of the degree to which white lead-containing paint shows up in the X-radiograph. In the case of self-portraits from *c.* 1640 to *c.* 1654, analysis of the X-radiographs affords relatively little clarity on this point, partly due to the fact that a number of *palimpsests* are found in this group (IV 1, 5, 9, 10 version 2, 11 and 12). Comparison of X-ray images yields more clarity in the case of self-portraits after 1654.[32] An example of such a comparison concerns the two late self-portraits in London (IV 27) and in Florence (IV 28). Apart from the different use of underpainting these two X-radiographs show such strong similarities in the distribution of radio-absorbent paint, direction of the strokes and the brushwork in the final highlights – aspects which deviate from the other late self-portraits – that one has to conclude that the two paintings originated at about the same time (figs. 23-24 and 25-26).

A survey of the X-radiographs of Rembrandt's portraits and self-portraits teaches us that he, presumably like many of his contemporaries, established the definitive distribution of light and shade only at an advanced stage. The consequence of this working method was that the lead white-containing paint was used relatively sparingly. This is corroborated by the fact that in areas where the tonal values in the painting itself fall below a certain level, there is a sudden drop in the radio-absorbency, since no (or little) lead white was added there (for instance fig. 26). Introducing the highlights last, means that the shaded areas, even when these are very narrow zones (for instance, the line above the illuminated eyelid), show up dark in the X-radiograph, such that the structure of the face remains distinct. Because of this procedure, a procedure no doubt also followed by his workshop associates, X-radiographic images of Rembrandt's self-portraits usually make a remarkably plastic impression and display almost the same 'likeness' as the finished painting.

An example of an X-radiograph that can refute the attribution of a painting to Rembrandt on the basis of the distribution of the white lead is the *'Self-portrait'* in Woburn Abbey (III C 93) (probably a copy after a lost self-portrait of *c.* 1640), where the light areas seem to have been blocked out in an early stage with fairly rough, sharply demarcated white lead-containing strokes (figs. 27 and 28). Comparison with the self-portraits from about 1640 reveals the fundamental difference in the treatment of the areas containing white lead (see figs. 5 and 6). A consequence of the way of working evident in the Woburn Abbey painting is that the modelling of the head had to take place in a subsequent stage by locally toning down the white lead-containing underpainting, something that

32 Moreover, differences in the radiographic settings with which the X-radiographs were made can make such a comparative evaluation risky.

Figs. 27 and 28. Follower of Rembrandt, *'Self-portrait' after a lost original (?)*, canvas 92.3 x 76.4 cm. Woburn Abbey, Beds., The Duke of Bedford (III C 93). Detail and corresponding X-Ray





does not occur to this extent in works by Rembrandt and his school.

The reluctance to add white lead to mixtures at the paint surface was general. According to a treatise on the art of painting from 1635: *'... you must take care not to use too much white, for it is like poison, inasmuch as its splendour diminishes the grace and beauty of the painting; it also weakens other colours, and spoils their shadows.*[33] From the highlights downward, a marked decline in radio-absorbency is usually visible in X-radiographs of Rembrandt's self-portraits. In paintings where the radio-absorbency in the cheek and chin is relatively strong, there is reason to doubt the authenticity. This applies, for instance, to version 3 of the *Self-portrait with sketchbook* (see IV 10 fig. 5). It has to be asked whether a painting with such a markedly different use of white lead could have originated in Rembrandt's workshop.

In interpreting the radio-absorbencies in Rembrandt's works one should realise that the painter may or may not have used white lead-containing paint in earlier stages of the work. The fact that this may vary has already been observed in Rembrandt's earliest works. We explained this variation in Volume I (see *Corpus* I, p. 24) as a consequence of the degree to which the first tonal sketch on the panel or canvas (the dead-colouring stage carried out with dark paint, partly transparently used) succeeded in creating an adequate division of light and shade (the ground serving in the lightest zones), and afforded sufficient clarity for the forms to be depicted in the next stage. When the legibility of the initial lay-in was disturbed in the process of 'dead-colouring' and 're-dead-colouring' (which with Rembrandt happened with a remarkably free hand), it may have been necessary to intervene with white lead-containing (i.e. opaque) paint. In that case the artist applied highlights and opaque intermediary tints to those passages where it was necessary to clarify the image of the underpainting as a whole.

– Supports, grounds and the first stages in the development of the painting

Certain aspects of the material structure of the paintings from Rembrandt's workshop, specifically the grounds and the supports, turned out to bear decisively on the question of whether or not a painting originated in Rembrandt's workshop, whether by Rembrandt himself or by a pupil or an assistant (see pp. 117-132).

Canvases and panels – as a rule already prepared with a ground – were bought by painters from specialists in this area. Our research has shown that these supports in the case of Rembrandt were never bought in large quantities at the same time but rather in limited numbers (see *Corpus* I, p. 17 and II, pp. 23-30). The bolts of unbleached raw linen used to make painter's canvas were produced by many different weavers from a cottage industry spread throughout Europe and were therefore, as a rule, distinctive.[34] Given that a bolt of linen was usually of a maximum 60-metres length, where several painters were buying canvas from the same dealer, a single bolt would have been rapidly distributed to various workshops. Each time Rembrandt bought canvases for himself and his workshop he would most likely have obtained lengths of canvas from a different bolt.[35]

While clusters of canvases, as many as five in a group, are shown to have come from the same bolt of linen in the period before 1642 (see *Corpus* II, pp. 26-29, Table B), this is rarely found for later years. A possible explanation for this could be that the trade in painting

33 M. P. Merrifield, *Original treatises on the arts of painting*, London 1849 (reprint New York 1967), Vol. II, pp. 810-813.

34 *Corpus* II, Chapter II, p. 18.

35 See *Corpus* II, pp. 25-31; also X. Henny, 'Hoe kwamen Rotterdamse schilders aan hun verf?', in: exhib. cat. *Rotterdamse meesters uit de Gouden Eeuw*, Rotterdam-Zwolle 1994/95, pp. 43-53, esp. 49 and note 85.

materials fell increasingly into the hands of retail merchants who bought lengths of (partly) prepared linen intended for sale from various specialised workshops. One should also remember, as already mentioned, that patrons commissioning portraits may have provided the canvases and panels themselves (*Corpus* II, p. 91 note 3).

The above observations explain the great variation among the canvases. In the relatively rare instances where two or more canvases with Rembrandtesque paintings on them come from the same bolt, one can be fairly certain that the supports in question were acquired for Rembrandt's workshop at the same time. However, one cannot conclude from this that they were painted by the same painter: they could as well have been painted by his assistants and pupils as by the master himself.[36] Investigation of the supports, thus, is not decisive with respect to the attribution of the painting in question, but can be crucial in determining whether certain paintings, as long as they show a Rembrandtesque style, were made in his workshop.

The grounds also display considerable variety, partly for the same reasons as the canvases. Accordingly, the grounds too can scarcely be seen as significant in the attribution of a painting to a specific hand. Since the way of preparing *panels*, as far as we know, remained virtually unchanged throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century, knowledge of the grounds on the panels in this framework plays a minor role at best. But in the case of *canvases*, knowledge of the composition of the ground turned out to be significant in a number of cases, unexpectedly shedding light on the production of Rembrandt 'self-portraits' that were not in fact painted by Rembrandt himself (see IV 17, 21, 22).

As first shown by Kühn and further elucidated by Karin Groen in Chapter IV, one specific type of ground turned out to be crucial for our knowledge of Rembrandt's workshop production, namely the quartz ground. Given the high incidence of the quartz ground in Rembrandtesque paintings and the total absence of such grounds on canvases painted by other Amsterdam painters during the same period, one must give serious consideration to the possibility that the quartz ground was not applied by outside specialists, but rather by assistants within the master's workshop. Consequently, when a canvas with a (evidently seventeenth-century) Rembrandtesque painting (even one relatively far removed in style and quality from Rembrandt's autograph work) has a quartz ground, we may now safely assume that it must have originated in Rembrandt's workshop (see further Chapter IV).

Although our insights concerning canvases and the grounds on canvases (as outlined above) will prove to be of surprising significance, the sparse knowledge of the first stages in the production of Rembrandt's paintings has played a decisive role in resolving questions of authenticity only incidentally.[37] The most important reason for this is that traces of the first stage of Rembrandt's paintings, especially of his later works, have been recovered only on a modest scale, whatever technique was used.

While, as we observed, the early Rembrandt generally applied his 'dead-colour' in monochrome tints (see *Corpus* I, pp. 20-25), the later Rembrandt made freer use of colour.[38] His decisions to elaborate certain parts and leave others 'unfinished' became increasingly arbitrary.[39] The possibility that this free approach to the painting process may also have been adopted by the people in his studio cannot be excluded. Consequently, aspects of the later Rembrandt's working procedure can provide touchstones for authenticity only incidentally (compare, for instance, IV 16).

When trying to recognize Rembrandt's hand in the genesis of a painting through its successive steps, it is essentially important to relate the observed 'gestures' of the brush to their presumed functional role in creating a pictorial illusion. One aspect – at first sight the most trivial aspect – of that ambiguous concept of 'quality' is the soundness of the artist's understanding of the manifold means by which this illusion is produced, an illusion which the viewer experiences as a reality in an evoked pictorial space. The next section will be devoted to this aspect of 'quality' as far as it may be relevant to our search for objective criteria that would enable us to resolve questions of authenticity.

– The quality of the pictorial illusion; a demonstration

Despite the fact that the (more or less) objective criteria treated so far seem to be of (varying degrees of) significance in resolving problems of attribution, for the major part of the body of works under consideration here one may have to rely in the end on the application of subjective stylistic criteria. If stylistic characteristics coincide with qualitative aspects, authenticity criteria might be derived from them that could to a certain extent be considered objective. Such properties relate to the painter's understanding of the structure of the shapes depicted, the organisation of the pictorial space, the treatment of light and atmosphere, the handling of foreshortening, etc. In what follows, such properties, which at first sight appear intangible, will be investigated for their relevance in resolving problems of authenticity by means of a case study. To analyse the usefulness of such features, a group of versions of the same self-portrait is examined in the hope that it will serve as a demonstration of the way criteria regarding quality may be deployed when tackling the question of authenticity in other paintings too.

Our case study concerns a number of versions of the *Self-portrait with sketchbook* (IV 10). The longest-known version of this painting was already in the famous Dresden collection by the beginning of the eighteenth century and

36 See for instance *Corpus* II, p. 24 fig. 8.

37 See for instance exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, cat. nos. 14a and 14b.

38 See Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 197-205.

39 See Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 205-211.

Fig. 29. *'Self-portrait with sketchbook'*, copy after lost original or fig. 30, canvas 85 x 65 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie (IV 10 version 4)



Fig. 30. Rembrandt workshop, *'Self-portrait with sketchbook'*, copy after lost original, *c.* 1655, canvas 74.5 x 61 cm. San Francisco, Cal., The Fine Arts Museums, Roscoe and Margaret Oakes collection (IV 10 version 2)



Fig. 31. *'Self-portrait with sketchbook'*, copy after fig. 30 before the painting was cut down into an oval, canvas 75 x 62.3 cm. England, private collection (IV 10 version 3)



Fig. 32. Jacob Gole, mezzotint after lost original of *'Self-portrait with sketchbook'*, *c.* 1700 (IV 10 version 1)



Fig. 33. '*Self-portrait with sketchbook*', copy after fig. 30 before the painting was cut down into an oval, canvas 76.2 x 63.5 cm. Milwaukee, Coll. Alfred and Isabel Bader (IV 10 version 5)



Fig. 34. Copy after fig. 32. Netherlands, private collection (IV 10 version 6)



was therefore long considered an original Rembrandt (fig. 29). Other versions surfaced in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Bredius included two versions as equals in his book, those in Dresden and San Francisco (figs. 29, 30), while in his revision of Bredius' book, Gerson even included three versions, all of which, however, he designated as copies after a lost original.[40] Gerson's third version, in an English private collection (fig. 31), was described by Bauch in his oeuvre catalogue as the best and possibly autograph version. Both Bauch and Müller Hofstede made extremely detailed analyses of this attribution conundrum, introducing valuable observations into the discussion.[41] In the meantime, the prevailing opinion is that the original is lost and that what remains is a group of copies, whether or not made directly after the original. As will become clear, the reproductive print executed in mezzotint by Jacob Gole (1660-1737) (fig. 32) must undoubtedly have been made after the lost original. This is important as it may well be that several of the painted versions are copies after copies. A version that surfaced in the 1970s entered the Alfred and Isabel Bader Collection in 1977 (fig. 33). The other versions will not be discussed here. Of those, the most complete version (fig. 34) was evidently made after Gole's print, while the last version (IV 10 version 7 fig. 10) is an insignificant copy of the head only.

A complicating factor in the investigation is that the condition of the paintings varies, making certain comparisons impossible. For instance, the painting in San Francisco was cut down into an oval (fig. 30).

For a self-portrait, the *Self-portrait with sketchbook* has a complicated composition. By combining the various versions and the print by Gole we have enough details to reconstruct the appearance of the original: Rembrandt represented himself drawing (or, what is far less likely, writing) in a book with a cut quill, while between thumb and index finger of the hand supporting the book he also holds an open metal ink pot. An essential feature of the original composition is that this hand rests on a gleaming black frame, also visible along the sides, which according to some versions extended to the top with rounded corners. The hand projects somewhat over the frame into the viewer's space. Accordingly, the painting must have been intended as a *trompe l'oeil*.

Rembrandt wears an intricate costume. Under a fur-trimmed gown is a doublet with a high collar. In the opening of the doublet is a red item of clothing which has long sleeves, for a strip of red also appears near the cuff. Beneath that is a white shirt fastened with a knotted white cord with tassels hanging from the ends. In the opening of the shirt, under the knotted cord, can be seen the bare skin of the chest. On his head is a cap with a 'visor', familiar from a few other self-portraits (Ben. 437 and B. 2).

Turning to more or less 'objective' criteria of authenticity, it must be stated that there is no documented evidence allowing us to trace the provenance of any of the versions of the *Self-portrait with sketchbook* mentioned above to Rembrandt's workshop, or any one else's for that matter. Quite significantly, the maker of the print,

40 Br. 46 and 47; Br.-Gerson 46, 47, 47A.

41 Bauch 1966, no. 323; C. Müller Hofstede, 'Rembrandts Selbstbildnis mit Skizzenbuch', *Pantheon* 26 (1968), pp. 375-390.

Fig. 35. Detail of fig. 29



Fig. 36. Detail of fig. 30



Fig. 37. Detail of fig. 31



Fig. 38. Detail of fig. 33



Fig. 39. Detail of fig. 32



Jacob Gole, was active relatively early (between *c.* 1680 and 1720). He could, thus, have known Rembrandt's prototype while it was still in good condition. Because Gole dated very few works, the chronology of his sizeable oeuvre is unclear. The mezzotint after Rembrandt's self-portrait, a print described by Wurzbach in his list of Gole's prints as a *'Hauptblatt'* (one of his most important prints)[42] could well have originated before 1700 and is therefore a document whose significance for our image of the prototype should not be underestimated. As to the signature, the Dresden and San Francisco examples bear only (traces of) signatures that lack the hallmarks of an autograph Rembrandt signature.

As to the physiognomic characteristics, it is immediately clear that the Dresden version stands apart (fig. 35). In its characterisation of Rembrandt's face, it differs far more from the face known from other self-portraits than do the other versions of the painting. This alone is sufficient reason to exclude the Dresden example categorically as the prototype. Moreover, the colour scheme and the treatment of light in this version are equally far removed from what one takes to be typical of Rembrandt in the 1650s. One can only be astonished that this painting could ever – and for so long – have figured as an authentic work.

The version in San Francisco (fig. 36) also manifests physiognomic features that argue against it being the prototype, specifically the curious outer corner of the eye where a dark accent indicating the outer rim of the eye socket is placed too high. Anatomically and physiognomically this detail is simply impossible, the kind of error typically made in painting a copy. The anatomically impossible treatment of the nasal bone discussed above also belongs to the same category of 'copyist's deformations'. Moreover, we shall see below that the painting contains similar 'mistakes' with respect to the construction of the hands with the book.

The structure of the head in version 3 is more convincing (fig. 37). Yet there, too, something is amiss in the treatment of physiognomic features, particularly in the eyes. In certain details, the depiction of the plasticity of lower and upper lids is rather peculiar. The upper eyelids are indicated by thin lines that do not merge, as it were, in the eye socket, while something odd has also happened to the shape of the lower eye lids, as though the moist rims and the transition of eye to cheek disrupt the plastic continuity of the head, even suggesting an anatomical deformation. Another peculiar deviation in the likeness of this version is the neckline, which runs at an angle somewhat to the right before curving to the shoulder, lending the sitter a rather jaunty bearing.

The version in the Alfred and Isabel Bader Collection (fig. 38), also exhibits a physiognomic deformation which, taken with other aspects, precludes it from being the prototype. Something has gone wrong with the structure of the lower half of the face. The chin appears too short, the relationship of the light on the chin to the light on the cheek is so strongly interrupted that creases in the corners of the mouth are suggested which, from a physiognomic point of view, are incompatible with what we consider typical of Rembrandt's features. It is a distinctive feature in Rembrandt's autograph self-portraits that the shaded area at the corner of the mouth usually is clearly demarcated and may be read as a shadow partly cast by the moustache. The eye socket in the Bader painting looks too high, and the angle of the furrow in the brow running to the upper right is unusual. The significant deviations in the *peinture* of this version will be reviewed later.

The Gole mezzotint immediately gives the impression that everything that was physiognomically 'wrong' in the versions mentioned so far is in this print correct (fig. 39). The depiction of asymmetrical features in Rembrandt's face seems entirely familiar, the anatomical and plastic structure is completely convincing, and in position and lighting the head agrees with the image of Rembrandt's physiognomy as derived from undoubted self-portraits.[43] Even the rendering of subtle details in the cheek and double chins and neck, in the structure of the nose, in the placement of the mouth in the face is totally convincing. Müller Hofstede believed that Gole had based himself on the version in San Francisco (fig. 36), but the depiction of Rembrandt's face in the print can scarcely be explained as a corrective intervention by Gole while copying the

42 A. Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, Vienna/Leipzig 1906. Vol. I, J. Gole; for J. Gole see also J. E. Wesseley, *Jacob Gole, Verzeichnis seiner Kupferstiche und Schabkunstblätter*, Hamburg 1889.

43 Compare the *Self-portraits* in Vienna (IV 8), in New York, The Frick Collection (IV 14) and in London, Kenwood House (IV 26).

Fig. 40. Detail of fig. 32



Fig. 41. Detail of fig. 30



Fig. 42. Detail of fig. 31



Fig. 43. Detail of fig. 33



Fig. 44. Detail of fig. 29



example in San Francisco, or indeed any other of the painted versions mentioned above.

Without knowing the prototype, the print gives the impression of being an astonishingly faithful and utterly successful graphic reproduction of a version unknown to us, which can hardly be other than the original – unless one were to assume that Gole's print reproduces a very faithfully painted, and now also lost, copy of that prototype which, given the nature of seventeenth-century copies (discussed in the introduction to this essay), would seem unlikely (see p. 89).

Comparison of Gole's print with the painted versions also confirms the print's reliability with respect to other parts of the figure. Looking at the hand holding the pen by Gole (fig. 40) and the same hand in the painted versions (figs. 41-44), we notice that the way the index finger and thumb grasp the pen differs from one painting to another. In the San Francisco version (fig. 41), the pen is tapered to such an extent that the fingers cannot grasp it, while the placement of the fingernail on the index finger is incorrect from both anatomical and perspective points of view, and the interrelationship of the phalanges simply impossible. The upper phalanges are far shorter than in the print. This inaccuracy in the depiction of forms can also be discerned in the way the back of the hand disappears into the sleeve.

At first sight, these judgements might appear to be based on criteria derived from precisely the academic norms of correct drawing that Rembrandt seems to have resisted. After all, Sandrart wrote: '*He* [Rembrandt] *did not hesitate to oppose our rules of art, such as Anatomy and the rules of proportion, perspective etc.*'[44] However, the fact that

44 J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie des Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, Nuremberg 1675, (ed. by Peltzer, Munich 1925) Part II, Book III, Chapter XXII, p. 326.

Rembrandt eschewed the 'academic' rules catalogued by Sandrart does not mean that he did not fundamentally understand the structure, the construction and the proportions of the forms he depicted. Comparison of the hand in the San Francisco painting (fig. 41) with that in the print and the one in version 3 (figs. 40 and 42), and in the painting in the Alfred and Isabel Bader Collection (fig. 43) makes it clear that tremendous differences in quality can be evident in the rendering of a hand holding a pen; differences that convey a great deal about the maker's understanding of how to represent such a complicated anatomical and plastic element, no matter how painterly the execution.

Similar observations may be made of a detail such as the thumb of the hand holding the ink pot. The thumb is just visible behind the ink pot. This passage differs in all of the versions mentioned, but only in the print does one sense that the prehensile logic of its position is properly understood. Comparable analyses could also focus on the fastening of the shirt and other details (see figs. 29-34). Only when all these elements are carefully compared with one another does it become clear how qualitative differences – in this case, differences in the understanding of how things are to be rendered – can be used in determining questions of authenticity.

When it comes to weighing arguments concerning *peinture*, of course, Gole's print is of no help. Here, however, the two X-radiographs at our disposal, are relevant (see IV 10 figs. 3 and 5). As noted above in our discussion of the pattern of radioabsorbent paint in the head, there is usually a certain progression in the radioabsorbency from the cheekbone to the chin. In version 3 (figs. 31, 37, 42), the distribution of radioabsorbent paint in this passage was perceived to be atypical.

In the Bader painting can be observed yet another deviation (figs. 33, 38, 43). A fairly smoothly applied complex of highlights creates a continuum in the illuminated areas. In their transition to the shaded areas, the highlights along the edges of these lit zones disturb the shape of the head and are anything but successful in achieving the desired effect of light or suggestion of plasticity (compare, for example, the tip and the wing of the nose, the base of the nose and the passage above the moustache).

With its grubby *peinture* and treatment of light, the Dresden example is hardly worth mentioning in this connection (figs. 29, 35, 44).

The handling of paint in the San Francisco version allows us to follow the somewhat pastose brushwork in relation to anatomy and treatment of light, both in the face and the hands. The brushstrokes, in fact, display an unusual degree of arbitrariness. There is no obvious aim evident in the way the paint has been applied other than 'roughness' as such. This is particularly clear if one inspects the hands in the X-radiograph (IV 10 fig. 3): what looks like lively brushwork is nothing more than a highly superficial imitation of a Rembrandtesque handling of the paint. Having said this, the character and treatment of the paint in this version nonetheless comes far closer than the others to our image of Rembrandt's autograph works. This, plus the fact that the painting was done on a previously used support and other familiar features evident in the radiographic image, make it highly plausible that this – and probably only this – version originated in Rembrandt's workshop.

Taking the composition together with the illusionistic and pictorial effect as a whole, it is striking that the print by Gole is overwhelmingly more persuasive than the painted versions (figs. 32, 39, 40). In prints in the mezzotint technique, justice could be done to the painterly treatment so characteristic of Rembrandt's later work. Accordingly, in this instance significance can be imputed to the details in this print. Judging from the print, the doublet, and the clothing in general, must have been further elaborated than the preserved painted versions would lead us to believe. The print also displays in the structure of the head, for instance in the transitions from the chin to the neck, many fine details which cannot be solely attributed to the printmaker (fig. 285). These are physiognomic details which, in the light of the above discussion of Rembrandt's physiognomy, may be considered characteristic. In evaluating the various versions, in addition to the head and the clothing, an important role is played by the hands with pen, ink pot and sketchbook with their complicated positioning, and in these respects too the print appears to be a remarkably faithful reproduction, showing an understanding of form, anatomy and spatial structure that is typical of Rembrandt. The presence and gravity of the body in its space, the gradation of the tonal values between the hands and head and between the hands themselves, the way in which the clothing conforms to the body, the role of the silhouette of the shoulder, hair and cap against the partially lit background, all these elements are remarkably more convincingly and coherently realised here than in the painted copies. The present chapter presents an ideal opportunity to compare details of the paintings under discussion. During scrutiny of the proofs, it became clear that certain details in three of the paintings – such as the eyes in their sockets, the nasal bone and the index finger with the pen – are so similar that one can only conclude that the Bader version (figs. 33, 38, 43) and the one in a private collection in England (figs. 31, 37, 42) must have been copied after the San Francisco version (fig. 30), of which we are convinced that it originated in Rembrandt's studio.

We hope that this case study demonstrates the way a close – almost pedantic – investigation of the quality of different works can yield arguments bearing on the question of authenticity.

– The Bayesian approach

At first sight, the result of this assessment of more or less objective criteria of authenticity may not seem very impressive. Are we then, in the end, driven back to traditional connoisseurship in our efforts to define the authentic core of Rembrandt's *oeuvre*?

The fact that none of this information is in itself necessarily conclusive, however, does not mean that it should

be discarded in our consideration of the case. In the methodological context such arguments may become far more significant.

Much epistemological discussion has been devoted to the question of the relative probability of the outcome of argumentation using arguments of various kind and significance. Our convergence model, which we already applied in some previous publications,[45] is consistent with a particular approach to such philosophical problems of scientific method known as 'the Bayesian approach', which employs a probabilistic logic to questions of belief. Thomas Bayes (1702-1761) observed that our beliefs are not all-or-nothing convictions based on simple yes-or-no answers to decisive questions, but rather that there are degrees of belief, that one arrives at a conclusion through inductive reasoning using arguments of varying probability. He also observed that a variety of evidence confirms better than an equal amount of homogeneous evidence.

Applying the Bayesian approach to our own research, one can argue that if several weak pieces of evidence support the belief that a painting could be by Rembrandt, the evidence becomes stronger to the extent that each piece of evidence tends to eliminate an alternative possibility.[46]

The way in which we have striven step by step to lay the ground for a responsible attribution or disattribution of a painting, whenever the objective arguments converge, is set out in the *Preface* to the present Volume. But quite apart from the question of whether or not a particular work is by Rembrandt, there are other questions relevant to our research that need to be answered. The fact that convergent objective indications can often lead to the certainty that a work must have originated in Rembrandt's workshop (apart from the question of whether it is by Rembrandt himself) will be shown to have been of essential importance for our investigation because the structural framework in which Rembrandt's own work can be placed thus became gradually ever clearer.

Three factors complicating the identification of the body of Rembrandt's autograph self-portraits

1. Variable and invariable aspects of Rembrandt's style

Over the past 60 years, a remarkable number of self-portraits, previously long thought to have been autograph paintings by Rembrandt, have been placed in doubt or were disattributed.

Table A shows the self-portraits after 1640 that were considered to be by Rembrandt in 1935, when Bredius listed them in his *The Paintings of Rembrandt*, together with several he either had not known (IV 10 version 3, IV 17) or apparently had already rejected (IV 23). The top row lists those paintings whose authenticity has remained unchallenged. The paintings in the bottom row of Table A are those that have since been rejected by one or more authors.

Table B (below Table A) shows which authors doubted or rejected which painting(s) from Bredius' (somewhat expanded) list.[47] The grounds on which the paintings in the bottom row of Table A were disattributed by the various authors listed in Table B were very rarely made explicit. In publishing their surveys of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre, tacit connoisseurship was clearly the basis on which, for instance, Rosenberg, Bauch and Slatkes excluded certain paintings. Scholars like Gerson and Tümpel restricted themselves to occasional brief statements at the most, as in the case of Gerson in his 1969 critical edition of Bredius' book: *'of unimpressive quality'* (Br.-Gerson 47) or *'I know the painting only from photographs, which do not give a favourable impression'* (Br.-Gerson 56; IV 21). In his own oeuvre catalogue of 1968, Gerson had already omitted paintings characterized in this and similar fashion. Tümpel listed his disattributions in A-numbers (A 69 – A 73 for self-portraits after 1640) and distinguished between paintings from Rembrandt's *workshop* (the Karlsruhe, Washington and New York paintings, resp. *Corpus* IV 5, 18 and 20) and Rembrandt-*imitations* (the Windsor Castle and the Vienna paintings, IV 1 and 11). Tümpel did not, however, provide explicit arguments to justify his relegations to these categories. Earlier rejections by other authorities with which he concurred he did not repeat in his book.

The fact that twelve self-portraits from the period 1640–'69, the paintings reproduced in the top row of Table A, have never been overtly questioned does not, of course, necessarily mean that they are autograph Rembrandts; and yet, given the general consensus that has evolved over a number of generations, the chance that they are indeed so is considerable. It should be noted that none of the six self-portraits painted after 1660 has ever been doubted in the literature. For reasons set out later in this chapter and in the relevant catalogue texts, we too are convinced of the authenticity of these twelve works. Moreover, with greater or lesser degrees of conviction, we believe that seven of the self-portraits previously doubted by one or more specialists are also autograph works (IV 1, 2, 5, 9, 16, 18, 20; see bottom row of Table B).

What makes the writing of this section so reminiscent of Baron Von Münchhausen's adventures is, as already seen in the *Provenance* section, that there is no broad or firm foundation of safely documented works on which to build. We have to wade through a quagmire of un-

45 E. van de Wetering and P. Broekhoff, op.cit.[21]; see also *Corpus* IV 1; E. van de Wetering 1997, in the hard-cover edition see the inside of the dust jacket; see also the present Volume, *Addenda* 1 and 2, pp. 609-626.

46 P. Horwich, *Probability and evidence*, Cambridge University Press 1982; C. Howson and P. Urbach, *Scientific reasoning: The Bayesian approach*, Open Court, La Salle, Illinois 1989; D. Steel, 'Bayesianism and the value of diverse evidence', in: *Philosophy of Science* 1996, Vol. 63, pp. 666-674. We gratefully acknowledge the help in this area we received from Sven van de Wetering, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver.

47 The authors selected for inclusion in this list were those for whom, in the publications cited, authenticity had a certain relevance.

Table A. • *Upper row: self-portraits 1640-'69 of which the authenticity has never been questioned.*
• *Lower row: self-portraits questioned or rejected by one or more authors.*
• *Numbers refer to the catalogue in the present volume.*



Table B*

Bredius 1935	34	37	36	35	40	38	39	41	42	43	46	47		44	45	49	50	48	58		51	53	54	56	57	•	59	61	52	55	60	62
Rosenberg 1948																															
Bauch 1966	316	319	317	318	•	320	321	399	322	324	•	•	323	325	328	326	329	327	336	337	330	333	332	335	334	•	338	341	331	339	340	342
Erpel 1967	74	77	75	76	A15	79	82	•	85	87	86c	86b	86a	88	91	89	93	90	102	103	95	98	99	101	100	•	105	106	96	108	107	109
Gerson 1968	238	253	240	•	•	262	•	268	308	310	•	•	•	320	•	324	343	329	•	•	376	389	381	•	•	•	403	419	380	415	399	420
Wright 1982	32	36	35	•	•	37	38	•	39	40	43	44	•	41	42	46	47	45	54	•	48	49	50	52	53	•	55	59	51	57	56	58
Tumpel 1986	168	A69	•	•	•	A70	•	•	169	•	•	•	•	A71	•	171	172	170	•	•	A72	173	A73	•	•	•	175	177	174	178	176	179
Slatkes 1992	256	257	•	•	•	258	•	•	259	•	•	•	•	260	•	262	272	261	•	•	263	265	266	•	•	•						
RRP 2005	III A139	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	10	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29

Painting not known by relevant author

23 Catalogue number in publication concerned

• Not numbered

Accepted as genuine by relevant author

Explicit or implicit doubts about authenticity by relevant author

Rejected by relevant author

* See note 47.

certainty where it seems that, like the Baron himself, we have only our own hair to pull on. But, as the above remarks on the Bayesian approach showed, the situation is not quite as absurd as that. Steadily detailing the argumentation ensures the growth of mutually strengthening connections which, like a gradually condensing lattice, allow our swamp to bear increasingly more weight until we dare to make the last jump of a connoisseurial judgement. To make a start, we have to justify the provisional acceptance of the twelve hitherto unquestioned self-portraits.

If one looks at these twelve self-portraits one sees a wide range of diversity. Naturally, the two self-*portraits historiés* (IV 24 and IV 25) are separate types because of their rather different facial expressions and postures. In these two paintings, as well as those in which Rembrandt shows himself at work (IV 19 and IV 26), tools or other attributes play a role. In a number of self-portraits, Rembrandt depicts himself with his hands either vaguely or prominently showing. Sometimes we see him half-length or from below the hips, in other self-portraits from the midriff or bust-length. There is, moreover, a remarkable variety in costume and headgear.

On closer inspection, the brushwork of these paintings, produced over the course of almost three decades, also shows considerable variation, much more in fact than one encounters in the works of any of Rembrandt's contemporaries. Renewed research on the young Rembrandt has demonstrated that such variation was, from the very outset, one of the most striking characteristics of his approach to painting. Thanks to the existence of etched copies that must have been carried out under Rembrandt's eyes by Jan van Vliet (1600/10 – 1668) after a group of Rembrandt's painted *tronies* from the period 1628 – '30, we can for that period rely on a significant group of documented heads and half-figures produced over a short period (figs. 45-52).[48] What is most remarkable about these works (and three equally securely documented, more expansive works from the same period) is the surprising range of stylistic resources apparently deliberately employed by Rembrandt.[49] This stylistic variety would remain characteristic of Rembrandt's art. Coupled with the uncertainty on the question of the workshop production of his pupils and assistants, this feature of his work has significantly contributed to the confusion surrounding the delimitation of Rembrandt's autograph oeuvre.

In the present context, the most intriguing differences among self-portraits catalogued in this volume those which are considered to be authentic, lie in the *peinture* of the heads. As in his *tronies* from the Leyden years, works thought to be autograph and which may have originated in one and the same year can differ greatly in the pictorial means employed. These leaps of style are incompatible with the idea of a gradual stylistic evolution; other conceptual models are needed.

One such alternative, already discussed at some length, concerns the choice offered in seventeenth-century art theory between the fine and the rough manner.[50] A striking example of a self-portrait in a fine manner is the one in Edinburgh of 1657/59 (IV 15), in which a degree of illusionism unusual for Rembrandt's late self-portraits is pursued with a meticulous technique (see fig. 53). If one assumes a gradual evolution of Rembrandt's style, this painting simply would not fit among the other self-portraits of the 1650s.

The faces in the Karlsruhe and the New York self-portraits from *c.* 1645 and 1660 respectively (see figs. 259 and 311) are also remarkably finely executed, each in its own way. In the later of these two works one sees traces of rougher brushwork beneath the locally finely blended paint layers at the surface (see IV 20 fig. 2). These rougher strokes could represent a stage in the genesis of this painting, which perhaps should not be defined as an underpainting, as Gerson, for instance, tended to do in similar cases.[51] These brushstrokes may also represent a stage in the genesis of the work intended to be the final phase but which in the event stimulated Rembrandt to continue further. Considerations of this kind are prompted by the 1659 *Self-portrait* in Washington (fig. 54), in which the ground is exposed in the face to an unusual degree, and the brushwork is amazingly direct certainly if compared to the Edinburgh *Self-portrait* mentioned above. As discussed in the relevant catalogue entry, in many respects – in a typically Rembrandtesque way – the Washington painting is subtle both in design and in the plastic and atmospheric effect that is achieved. However, if one compares it to the *Self-portrait* in the Metropolitan Museum, and to works such as the *Self-portrait* in The Frick Collection of 1658 or the *Small self-portrait* in Vienna (see figs. 311, 286 and 283), one notices that the more pastose brushwork evident in these latter paintings lies *below* the surface and is covered with thinner strokes. Over these, new highlights are locally applied which, in turn, are again concealed by further thin layers of paint. It is the resulting lack of correlation between the paint relief and the visible brushstrokes that makes it difficult at first to decipher the technique of Rembrandt's late works.[52] Apparently, in the execution of his faces, Rembrandt in his late years adhered to no clearly structured working method such as that evident in his (self-)portraits prior to *c.* 1642 (see figs. 183 and 193). In these earlier works, especially the commissioned portraits, the means necessary to achieve the final effect were basically pre-

48 E. Hinterding, *Rembrandt als etser: twee studies naar de praktijk van productie en verspreiding*, diss. Utrecht 2001, pp. 85-91; E. van de Wetering, 'Delimiting Rembrandt's autograph œuvre; an insoluble problem?' in: exhib. cat. *The mystery of the young Rembrandt*, 2001/02, pp. 58-81.

49 The other three documented early works are *Corpus* I A 13, 15, 17. For a discussion of the possibility that the early Rembrandt may have deliberately worked in different *modes* or *genera dicendi*, see pp. 166-171.

50 Van de Wetering 1997, Chapter VII; B. Schnackenburg, 'Young Rembrandt's "rough manner". A painting style and its sources', in: exhib. cat. *The mystery of the young Rembrandt*, 2001/02, pp. 92-121.

51 Br.-Gerson 45 and 60.

52 See for instance Eduard Kollof in 1854, cited in Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 155-156.

Fig. 45. Rembrandt, *Study in the mirror*, *c.* 1628, panel 22.5 x 18.6 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (I A 14)



Fig. 46. J.G. van Vliet, Copy after fig. 45, 1634, etching (B. II, 19)

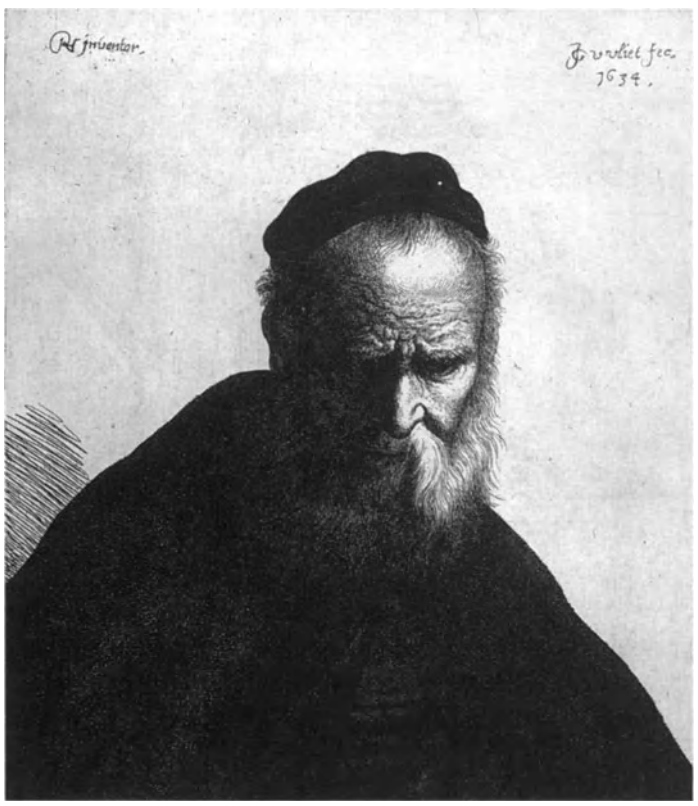


Fig. 47. Rembrandt, *Study for the lost Baptism of the Eunuch*, *c.* 1630, panel 24 x 20.3 cm. Milwaukee, Wisc., Coll. Alfred and Isabel Bader (I C 22)

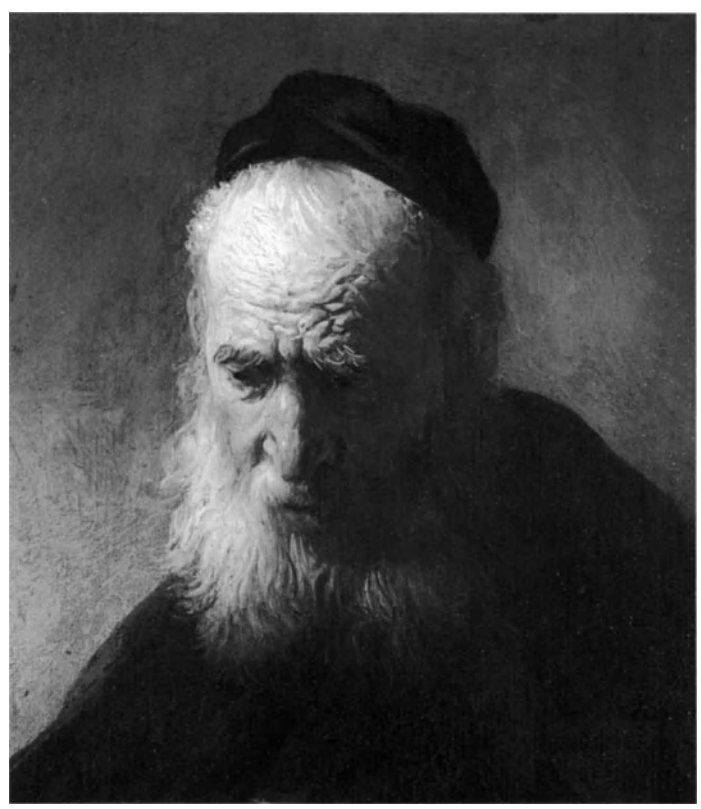


Fig. 48. J.G. van Vliet, Copy after fig. 47, 1634, etching (B. II, 23)



Fig. 49. Rembrandt, *Bust of an old man in a fur cap*, 1630, panel 22.2 x 17.7 cm. Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum (I A 29)



Fig. 50. J.G. van Vliet, Copy after fig. 49, 1633, etching (B. II, 24)



Fig. 51. Rembrandt, *Bust of a laughing man in a gorget*, copper 15.4 x 12.2 cm. The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis (I B 6)



Fig. 52. J.G. van Vliet, Copy after fig. 51, *c.* 1633/34, etching (B. II, 21)



Fig. 53. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 165[7/9], canvas 52.7 x 42.7 cm, detail (1:1). Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland, on loan from the Duke of Sutherland (IV 15)



Fig. 54. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1659, canvas 84.4 x 66 cm, detail (1:1). Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Collection (IV 18)



determined, which no doubt is the safer way to obtain the desired effects. Confronting the Washington *Self-portrait* (fig. 54) with the one in the Metropolitan Museum (see fig. 311) or that in the Frick Collection (see fig. 286) leads one to speculate whether, in the Washington painting, Rembrandt stopped at a relatively early stage of the painting process because the desired result had already been achieved. The Washington *Self-portrait* is not the sole example of a prematurely terminated work deemed by the master to be finished (see for instance Br. 323A or Br. 437). It may be appropriate to repeat here the oft-quoted passage from Arnold Houbraken, according to which Rembrandt is alleged to have said *'that a work is finished when the master has achieved his intention in it'*.[53] Some self-portraits must have remained unfinished even in Rembrandt's own judgement (the *Self-portrait* in Aix-en-Provence, see fig. 290, and possibly also the Kenwood *Self-portrait*, see fig. 319).

Such rationalisations, however, will probably never fully explain Rembrandt's amazing stylistic variability. As mentioned earlier, the fact that this variability is already evident in Rembrandt's early years might suggest that it arose from some as yet not fully understood aspect of his pictorial aims (see for instance pp. 166-171) or from an enigmatic trait in his artistic temperament. Efforts to resolve the resulting problems of attribution through a rigid conception of Rembrandt's style lead to a counter-productive reduction of Rembrandt's autograph oeuvre. This is the lesson the members of the Rembrandt Research Project eventually had to learn, for instance in the case of the Bader *Old man with a black cap* (see fig. 47), when the earlier negative opinion had to be revised under the pressure of new, more objective, arguments. Tümpel also seems to have adopted a strict, if not too rigid image of Rembrandt's style in excluding 16 of the 28 self-portraits after 1640 accepted by Bredius. Tümpel's view of Rembrandt's later style seems to be mainly determined by those works in which Rembrandt's often rather 'angular' style manifests itself as in, for example, the *Large* and the *Small* Vienna, the Frick and the Kenwood *Self-portraits* (see figs. 1 of IV 8, 13, 14 and 26). This may explain why Tümpel, alone among Rembrandt scholars rejected the Karlsruhe, the Washington (1659) and the Metropolitan Museum self-portraits (see figs. 1 of IV 5, 18 and 20).

As Table B (p. 110) shows, we do not agree with these and several other disattributions by Tümpel and others. This is partly due to the fact that we uncovered new evidence concerning the genesis and the condition of a number of these paintings. Because we now understood the extent to which the original appearance of some of these paintings had been distorted over time, we were able to approach the question of their authenticity with new eyes. But even a mental reconstruction of all self-portraits distorted by the ravages of time would not help to create a sequence with a sufficient stylistic 'logic' to make the identification of an autograph core a simple matter. Nor does it noticeably improve the situation if the works under discussion are analysed in the wider context of what is thought to be Rembrandt's painted oeuvre as a whole. The authenticity problems with history paintings, *tronies* and portraits in the period under concern are just as confusing as with the self-portraits.

By way of experiment, one can try to 'recognize' Rembrandt's hand by taking the never disputed paintings from Table A (p. 110) as a starting point when developing criteria for attribution. 'Objective' criteria of quality like those developed in relation to the *Self-portrait with sketchbook* (see pp. 101-108 above) may be included here.

Isolating and verbalising the properties common to these twelve paintings is an enterprise whose success depends almost completely on the questionable premise that author and reader see roughly the same when looking at the same image. The above demonstration with the *Self-portrait with sketchbook* required a comparison of more or less identical images produced by different hands in order to spot the *differences*. Now, different images (although with the same subject and presumed to be made by the same hand) have to be compared in a search for *common* pictorial features.

The twelve paintings (see p. 110 Table A upper row) seem to share the same qualitative properties identified above in the hypothetical prototype of the *Self-portrait with sketchbook* as typical of Rembrandt. To the extent that their material condition allows a judgement, our twelve generally accepted self-portraits, like the Gole print (see figs. 32, 39, 40), display a striking stability and subtlety in the treatment of the shape of the head. This treatment of shape appears to be dictated by a strong awareness of the structure of the skull, the anatomy of the face and its physiognomic features. Moreover, from Rembrandt's earliest portraits on, the heads are characterised by a specific plastic coherence that is also connected to specific atmospheric qualities, in that contours and inner boundaries (in keeping with Rembrandt's notion of *sfumato*)[54] are seldom sharp, and deliberately kept vague and open. As in the Gole print (see fig. 32), this atmospheric quality is further reinforced by the seemingly casual – but actually highly controlled – progression of light on the parts of Rembrandt's figure and in the pictorial space as a whole. Another remarkable feature of all twelve paintings is the specific stability which, even with Zeuxis bending forward, manifests itself as a typically Rembrandtesque experience of the 'weight' of the figure depicted.

Despite their differences, the twelve self-portraits under discussion also share an unquantifiable and yet specific variation in the *peinture* within each work. This varied *peinture*, in all its freedom locally, gives the forms depicted such a force of illusion that the viewer, extra-

53 A. Houbraken, *Groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* I, Amsterdam 1718, p. 259: *'... dat een stuk voldaan is als de meester zijn voornemen daar in bereikt heeft, ...'*

54 See Van de Wetering 1997, p. 188.

polating from such details to the rest of the painting, experiences the subject as a whole as having a specifically Rembrandtesque 'presence'. This presence, moreover, is mysteriously amplified by the concreteness with which Rembrandt has applied his paint locally such that the paint surface adds to the concreteness of the created illusion.[55] Svetlana Alpers refers to this when she writes that *'touch is appealed to by the* [Rembrandt's] *paint surface to represent the active apprehension of the world'*.[56] But Rembrandt's intentions here are probably closer related to the concept of *'kenlijkheid'* – used by Samuel van Hoogstraten in this connection, and possibly by his teacher Rembrandt too – which may be translated as 'perceptibility' and seems to refer to the viewer's estimation of his distance to the painted surface and implicitly to the created illusionistic form on the basis of visual cues provided by the paint's varying roughness.[57]

Ultimately, it is perhaps the imponderable sensitivity of Rembrandt's brushwork with its specific and exceptionally functional differentiation that plays the most important role in the 'recognition' of Rembrandt (compare for example, figs. 55 and 56). It is precisely these highly significant 'traces of the hand' of which the judgement remains one of the most subjective, least communicable criteria for the recognition of an authentic Rembrandt. For a detailed comparison of these two heads see pp. 263-266. On the deliberate use of 'chance' in the brushwork of the self-portraits from 1652 onwards see pp. 271-273. In the section *The self-portraits of 1640-'69* below, the criteria discussed above and other related criteria will be put to work in an effort to underpin our attributions/disattributions with stylistic arguments.

2. 'Self-portraits' produced by others in Rembrandt's workshop*

Strong doubts or downright rejection of the authenticity of a self-portrait previously attributed to Rembrandt inevitably raises the question: who then was the author of the painting or, at least, where and when was it made? As we saw in the previous section, Tümpel indicated some of the self-portraits that he had disattributed as works from Rembrandt's workshop. Gerson had already suggested that members of Rembrandt's workshop produced 'self-portraits' of Rembrandt.[58] But, curiously enough, neither author faced the considerable implications of this option for the *raison d'être* of Rembrandt's own self-portraits, an exemplary demonstration of the relatively casual, noncommittal character of these earlier disattributions based on connoisseurship, which may be partly explained by the lack of objective evidence to support these opinions. In other cases, self-portraits (rejected by the same authors) were indicated as imitations, which would suggest that they considered them to have been produced later and/or outside Rembrandt's studio. Again objective evidence was lacking.[59]

Thanks to the results of technical investigation in the course of the Rembrandt Research Project it has become increasingly clear that seventeenth-century paintings once attributed to Rembrandt but no longer considered authentic, be they *tronies*, history paintings, landscapes or works of whatever category, as a rule must have originated in the master's immediate surroundings.[60] The question of whether the same applies to the questionable self-portraits assumes an added charge since, after all, a self-portrait is autograph by definition (except when we are dealing with a copy).

In 1961 a newly discovered painting, which seemed to be a late self-portrait, was acquired by the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (figs. 57, 58). It could be demonstrated that the work had been painted on a canvas that was probably from the same bolt as the canvas of the Berlin *Jacob wrestling with the Angel* (Br. 528) and on a quartz ground, the type of ground dealt with earlier in this chapter and in Chapter IV which, according to the initial evidence revealed by Kühn in 1963, seemed to occur exclusively with works by Rembrandt and his workshop. The conclusion was therefore virtually inescapable that the painting originated in Rembrandt's workshop. Moreover, in view of the nature of several pentimenti found in the X-radiograph, it certainly could not be a copy. The conclusion that it was an authentic Rembrandt seemed to be inevitable. Nevertheless, significant authorities from the community of Rembrandt specialists, including Gerson and Haverkamp Begemann, declined to accept the work as an autograph self-portrait of the master. Sumowski's criticism (during the 1970 Rembrandt conference in Berlin) that Gerson had *'valued his own judgement above the objective findings'*[61] was perhaps the most apposite comment on the dilemma that had arisen.

In our own investigations of the painting, presented in entry IV 17, the objective indications that the painting had to be a work from Rembrandt's workshop became only more compelling. Moreover, the arguments of physiognomy – the asymmetries of the same kind and in the same sense as in the self-portraits considered to be authentic – supported the minority position of those who maintained that the painting was by Rembrandt himself. At the same time, there were strong arguments against that option. The *peinture* of the face is cruder and less differentiated than in any other self-portrait. In addition, the work shows a treatment of form, light and colour that

* Parts of this section were already published in Ernst van de Wetering, 'Thirty years of the Rembrandt Research Project', in: *IFAR Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 2001.

55 Compare R.N. Haber and M. Hershenson, *The psychology of visual perception*, New York 1973, pp. 297-300.

56 S. Alpers, *Rembrandt's enterprise. The studio and the market*, London 1988, p. 29.

57 S. van Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst*, Rotterdam 1678, pp. 306-309; see also pp. 305-308 in this chapter.

58 Gerson 1968, p. 66.

59 In the case of the Windsor Castle *Self-portrait* (IV 1), Tümpel may have based himself on White, op. cit.[27].

60 See Preface, p. XI.

61 W. Sumowski, 'Kritische Bemerkungen zur neuesten Gemäldekritik', in: O. v. Simson and J. Kelch (eds), *Neue Beiträge zur Rembrandt-Forschung*, Berlin 1973, p. 105.

Fig. 55. Rembrandt, *Large self-portrait*, 1652, canvas 112.1 x 81 cm, detail (1:1). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (IV 8)



Fig. 56. Rembrandt workshop, '*Self-portrait*', *c.* 1655, canvas 69 x 59 cm, detail (1:1). Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (IV 12). For an analysis of the differences in style and quality, see pp. 263-266.



Fig. 57. Rembrandt workshop, *'Self-portrait'*, *c.* 1659, canvas 68 x 56.5 cm. Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie (IV 17)



Fig. 58. Detail (1:1) of fig. 57



Fig. 59. Rembrandt workshop, '*Self-portrait*', 1660, canvas 75.6 x 61.1 cm. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria (IV 21)



Fig. 60. Rembrandt workshop, *'Self-portrait'*, *c.* 1660, canvas 73 x 65.3 cm. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums (IV 22)



Fig. 61. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait at the easel*, 1660, detail (almost 1:1). Paris, Musée du Louvre (IV 19)



Fig. 62. Detail (1:1) of fig. 59



Fig. 63. Rembrandt, *Flora*, canvas 99.4 x 91.3 cm. New York, N.Y., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Br. 114)



Fig. 64. Details of X-Rays of fig. 59 and fig. 63. These two fragments from the same bolt of canvas are placed such that the warp runs vertical. (The canvas of the Melbourne painting was turned through 90° when stretched.)



simply does not fit our image of Rembrandt in his late years, however diversified that may be. In the first version of our catalogue entry for the present book, we made a significant issue of whether our image of Rembrandt's multifaceted style should perhaps be adjusted in order to make room for this painting. This stage of our deliberations was reflected in the relevant entry in the 'Rembrandt by himself' catalogue.[62] At that stage of the project, we – or at least the present author – harboured a growing suspicion of the reliability of our connoisseurship (as well as that of Gerson and other Rembrandt specialists) and were convinced that a strict reliance on 'objective' arguments would be the only viable way out of this impasse.

There is, however, an alternative to attributing the painting to Rembrandt, a solution that nevertheless remains compatible with the objective evidence. Not only had Gerson and Tümpel already suggested that 'self-portraits' of Rembrandt could have been produced by other people in Rembrandt's workshop (see above); Bruyn's and Von Moltke's attempts to attribute the Stuttgart painting to Aert de Gelder also implicitly assumed this possibility.[63] The evidence required for such an option to be viable is two-fold: there must be sufficient indications that non-autograph 'self-portraits' of Rembrandt could, indeed, have been produced under Rembrandt's eyes: that is, when, on the one hand, as in the case of the Stuttgart work, material investigation proves that a painted self-portrait *must* have originated in Rembrandt's workshop; and on the other hand there has to be overwhelming, shared conviction, based on style and quality, that the painting in question *cannot possibly* be a work from Rembrandt's own hand.

These conditions were fulfilled in the case of two likenesses of Rembrandt painted on canvas, one in The National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne (fig. 59), the other in The Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge Mass. (fig. 60). Both stylistically and in pictorial quality, these

62 Exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, cat. no. 76.

63 J. Bruyn in his review of Sumowski *Gemälde* II, in *O.H.* 81 (1987), p. 228; J.W. von Moltke, *Arent de Gelder. Dordrecht 1645-1727*, Doornspijk 1994, p. 114 no. D11.

paintings have so little in common with works considered to be by Rembrandt himself that they were deemed by several authors, including the members of the Rembrandt Research Project who had studied both paintings in 1972, to be later imitations. We decided to devote individual entries to these paintings only after it had become clear that they must have been painted under Rembrandt's eyes.

Comparing the painting in Melbourne (fig. 62) with the *Self-portrait* in the Louvre (fig. 61) – both paintings bear a 1660 date and show Rembrandt in a comparable manner – one notices a number of fundamental differences in style and quality. The means with which form and light are suggested in the Melbourne painting, often with clearly visible, predominantly broad, sometimes grazing brushstrokes and lines drawn with a brush, differ fundamentally from those in the Paris painting. The head in the latter painting, in contrast, is subtly modelled by means of a free, yet highly differentiated use of the brush. Rembrandt's ability to depict the colour of human flesh – so highly praised in the seventeenth century[64] – is seen to full advantage in this painting. The skin in the painting in Melbourne, on the other hand, is of a loamy ochre colour. A clumsy highlight is set on the red-brown drinker's nose. The Melbourne painting deviates most evidently from Rembrandt's self-portraits in the structure of the head and the placement of the ear on the averted half of the face. Whereas in Rembrandt's self-portraits the contour of the cheek on the far side of the face runs more or less diagonally from the cheekbone to the chin, here the contour runs nearly vertically. Where the ear, in fact only the earlobe, is vaguely visible in the Paris painting, in the Melbourne painting we see the entire ear, apparently tilted too far out. The nose is too long in proportion to the chin, and the chin itself too small. Both lids of the close-set eyes are strikingly thick and curved and do not show the asymmetry typical of Rembrandt's self-portraits. When one turns to the clothing, one notices the schematic contours (see fig. 59). The most notable feature is the inclination to introduce regular segments of ovals in the shirt collar and the gown. Such great differences in style and quality exclude the possibility that the paintings in Paris and in Melbourne are by the same hand. Nevertheless, there is a distinct relationship between the two. In terms of facial type and illumination – even though the face is turned to the left – the Melbourne painting resembles no other generally accepted self-portraits as much as the one in Paris. One could therefore defend the proposition that its unknown author based himself on the Paris painting.

During the Rembrandt exhibition in Melbourne in 1997, the painting was presented in a 'side-show' as a regrettably unfortunate acquisition, surrounded by the results of scientific investigation. None of the Rembrandt scholars present evinced the slightest inclination to question the disattribution.

John Payne, Senior Conservator of the National Gallery of Victoria, who had investigated the painting with a view to the exhibition, found no evidence of the work having originated *after* the seventeenth century. Payne's research, moreover, did yield one significant fact: the canvas had been prepared with a quartz ground. Aware of Kühn's investigations, mentioned above, Payne wrote: *'Though extensive studies of these grounds in the work of other Dutch artists have not been made, it is reasonable to assume that they are to be found in the work of painters other than Rembrandt.'*[65] With the recently acquired certainty that a quartz ground in Holland was used exclusively in Rembrandt's workshop (see above and Chapter IV and *Table of Grounds*, p. 672 ff), its occurrence in the self-portrait in Melbourne must now be granted far greater significance than Payne believed. The strong suspicion that this painting came from Rembrandt's workshop has turned into certainty now that it has been shown to have been painted on a canvas from the same bolt of canvas as that on which the *Flora* in the Metropolitan Museum is painted (Br. 114; figs. 63, 64). The weave density of the two canvases and the texture – with the short slubs in the weft threads – are so very close, so unusual and so striking that one can only conclude both pieces of canvas must have come from the same bolt. The *Flora* is also painted on a quartz ground. The inevitable conclusion is that the Melbourne painting originated in Rembrandt's workshop.

The *'Self-portrait'* in the Fogg Art Museum (fig. 60) was found to be the third painting on canvas from the same bolt, also prepared with a quartz ground. In the manner of painting, this picture displays *mutatis mutandis* such strong similarities to the one in Melbourne that it has to be ascribed to the same hand. It reveals the same broad and spotty, occasionally grazing handling of the brush; the conception of form is comparable (again with the near vertical course of the contour of the averted half of the face; see figs. 62 and 68); there is a similar preference for the use of oval segments in the clothing; and – though rather less obtrusively so – the same loamy coloration of the skin, which cannot be compared to the way Rembrandt painted human flesh. While the Melbourne painting, with its almost sketch-like open technique, shows no pentimenti, the painting in the Fogg Art Museum does, which excludes the possibility that the painting is a copy. Just as the painting in Melbourne seems to be based on the *Self-portrait at the easel* in Paris (see fig. 61), so is the Fogg Art Museum *'Self-portrait'* (fig. 68) similarly related to the *Self-portrait* in New York (fig. 67) which, like the painting in Paris, is also from 1660. The fact that the supposed prototypes for the paintings in Melbourne and the Fogg Art Museum originated in the same year, together with the fact that the date, 1660, which follows the earlier of the two signatures on the Melbourne painting (see fig. 14), was placed on the background while it was not yet fully dried (as Payne discovered), lends further support to the idea that one of Rembrandt's workshop associates was busy paraphrasing two of Rembrandt's own self-portraits in that year.

64 HdG *Urk.*, p. 395 (Sandrart), p. 440 (De Piles), p. 457 (De Lairesse).

65 J. Payne, unpublished report, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne 1987.

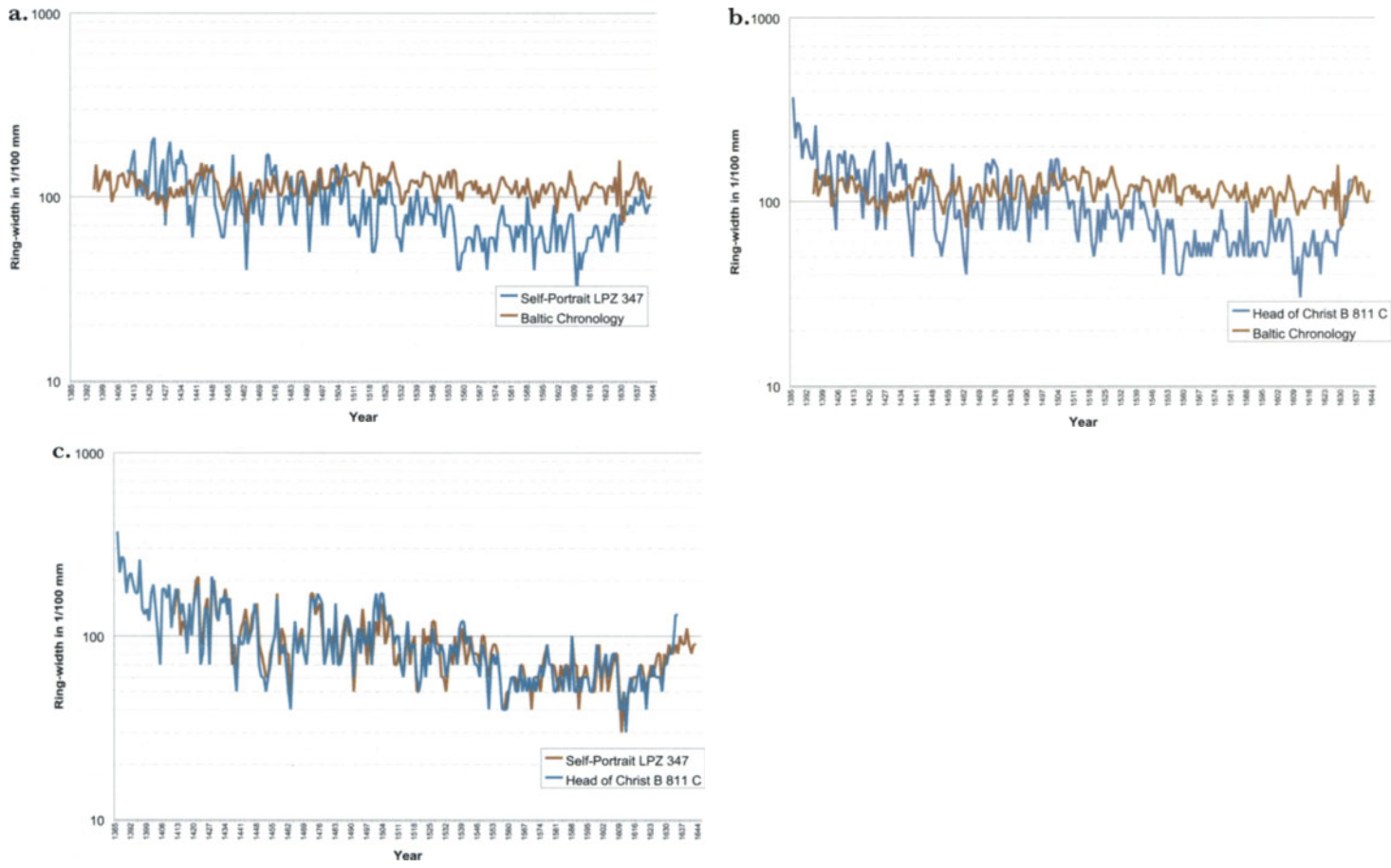
Fig. 65. Rembrandt workshop, *'Self-portrait'*, *c.* 1645, panel 25.8 x 21.3 cm. Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste (IV 4)



Fig. 66. Rembrandt, *Head of Christ*, *c.* 1645, panel 24.9 x 21.6 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie (Br. 622)



Table C. Dendrochronological investigation of the Leipzig *'Self-portrait'* (fig. 65) and the Berlin *Head of Christ* (fig. 66) showed that the two oak panels stem from the same tree. This tree grew in the Baltic area and was felled in 1643 or soon thereafter. It should be noted that although there is a good correlation between the graphs of the two panels and the Baltic chronology (as shown in a. and b.), this correlation may not be immediately evident because the tree-rings in both panels are thinner than in the chronological standard. It is thus the relative correlations that are significant rather than the absolute values of the widths of growth rings. A comparison of the graphs shown in c. reveals such a striking correlation that there can be no doubt as to the origin of the two panels from the same tree.



Since the self-portraits in Melbourne and the Fogg Art Museum deviate so radically from what may be considered characteristic of Rembrandt, and since all objective indications are that they come from Rembrandt's workshop, the conclusion that 'self-portraits' of Rembrandt were indeed made by others in the master's immediate surroundings seems inescapable. This conclusion would seem to be corroborated by a third comparable case, the *'Self-portrait'* in Leipzig (fig. 65). Dendrochronological investigation revealed that this *'Self-portrait'* is painted on a panel from the same tree as the panel of the *Head of Christ* in Berlin (fig. 66; see Table C). Judging from the style, both pictures are from the same period of 1645-50. If in fact the Leipzig painting is not by Rembrandt – we shall return to this question later in the chapter – then this painting would – almost certainly – also be a 'self-portrait' produced by a member of Rembrandt's workshop.

The confirmation of the hypothesis that 'self-portraits' of Rembrandt were painted by individuals other than Rembrandt – and in the master's workshop – had far-reaching consequences for the contents of this book. As mentioned earlier, we reached this conclusion when most of the catalogue entries were already in the press and after we had made available our contributions and the draft entries to the catalogue of the exhibition *Rembrandt by himself* in 1999. As a result, the questionable paintings catalogued in this volume had to be scrutinized with new eyes – and not just these paintings: certain self-portraits in Volumes I – III also needed to be reviewed in this light. These are dealt with later in this chapter.

The characteristics of the Stuttgart *'Self-portrait'* (see fig. 57), which certainly originated in Rembrandt's workshop – characteristics that deviate so strikingly from the stylistic profile discussed in the previous section and, more especially from the quality of Rembrandt's work, can now be explained if one accepts that this painting too must have been painted by another hand, yet almost certainly under Rembrandt's eye. And the same argument holds, as will be further developed below and in the relevant catalogue texts, for paintings such as the Vienna *'Self-portrait'* (IV 11) and the one from the Uffizi from roughly the same period (IV 12; see figs. 269, 281 and 268, 56). Those stylistic characteristics of the *'Self-portrait'* formerly in Weimar that are impossible to reconcile with Rembrandt's style, and those of the small Leipzig panel would now appear to have found their logical explanation (see IV 4 figs. 4 and 5). Further, the deviant stylistic characteristics and the poor quality of the *peinture* of the *'Self-portrait'* dated 1650 in Washington can perhaps also be explained (see figs. 255, 262). Because our understanding of this aspect of Rembrandt's workshop practice has now been given firm underpinning, a painting such as IV 23, at present untraceable, which has disappeared almost entirely from the Rembrandt literature since the 1930's, may perhaps after all be allocated a place within Rembrandt's immediate circle. Whether this might also be the case with the painting in Cincinnati (IV 7) or whether that is in fact a later imitation remains an open question.

Table D. Possible free variants produced in Rembrandt's workshop after Rembrandt's prototypes between 1640 and 1669

Hypothetical Prototype	 IV 3	 IV 4
 IV 9	 IV 11	 IV 12
 IV 14	 IV 17	
 IV 20	 IV 22	
 IV 19	 IV 21	 IV 23

Fig. 67. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1660, detail (1:1). New York, N.Y., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman (IV 20)



Fig. 68. Detail (1:1) of fig. 60



We not only surmise that the Melbourne and the Fogg *'Self-portraits'* are variants of autograph self-portraits rather than – as would appear to be the alternative – 'portraits' of Rembrandt for which he himself may have posed; we also suggest that the other doubtful 'self-portraits' mentioned above (provided they originated in the seventeenth century and, on the basis of the presence of pentimenti, are evidently not copies after hypothetical, lost originals) may also be free variants after Rembrandt's self-portraits.

This suggestion is in the first place based on our observation that, in cases other than the Melbourne and Fogg *'Self-portraits'*, significant relations may be noticed with self-portraits we believe to be from Rembrandt's hand (Table D). The idea that the non-authentic 'self-portraits' from the studio may be based on authentic ones is also supported by our observation that the production by pupils or shop assistants of free variants based on the master's history paintings, *tronies* and other paintings was common workshop practice (see the forthcoming *Corpus* V, Chapter II). Additional supporting evidence can be adduced from the fact that, where they occur, the asymmetries in the faces in the paintings concerned are of the same sense as in the generally accepted self-portraits.

In addition to the likelihood of the Melbourne *'Self-portrait'* being a free variant of the Paris *Self-portrait at the easel* (IV 19), this is even more likely to be the case with IV 23. At first sight it might appear that we are dealing with a partial copy after the Paris painting but, as discussed in the relevant catalogue text, the differences are too great for it to be considered a copy. The presence of a repentir also argues against that. Furthermore, we suspect that the Vienna *'Self-portrait'* (IV 11) and the one in Florence from *c.* 1655 (IV 12) are both based on the Kassel *Self-portrait* from 1654 (IV 9) (see Table D).

It is evident from the five presumed variants mentioned so far (IV 11, 12, 21, 22, 23) that our hypothesis, of non-autograph self-portraits as variants based on autograph self-portraits of Rembrandt, is only worth entertaining if one accepts that the distance between variant and prototype can vary widely, both with respect to *peinture* and to the placing of the figure. The choice of costume and lighting can also depart from that of the prototype to a varying degree; while, on the other hand, parts of the prototype may be more or less freely copied. These, however, are variables such as we have also encountered in the 'satellites' of small figure history pieces or partial copies after history pieces.[66] Having said this, the strong correspondences in particular unusual aspects of costume between the Frick *Self-portrait* and the Stuttgart *'Self-portrait'*, plus the same stage in the ageing of Rembrandt's physiognomy, may indicate that the work in Stuttgart is a free variant of that in the Frick Collection. In Table D other such possible relations are proposed. But further advances in this area can only be expected once the problem of free variants in Rembrandt's workshop practice has been studied in more depth and can be more clearly situated in general seventeenth-century workshop practice in this area.

A much more significant consequence of the foregoing is that Rembrandt must have had ideas about the *raison d'être* of his self-portraits that differ strikingly from long held ideas that are still cherished by many present day admirers of these works. The next section will be devoted to this complex problem.

3. The various functions of Rembrandt's self-portraits*

Different approaches to ordering

Any effort to identify what may have been the function(s) of those works usually called 'Rembrandt's self-portraits' will imply a specific categorization of the material. For instance, anyone taking those works as a biographical guide to Rembrandt's (personal and artistic) development will conclude that the chronological succession of these works represents the ideal grouping. As we follow the sequence of works showing the advance of the ageing process in Rembrandt's physiognomy, it seems as though we are not only following his maturation as an individual but also, through the stylistic changes in such a sequence, his development as an artist. From this perspective, any one of Rembrandt's self-portraits has the same function as another, whatever the differences of technique or format or manner of representation. Such strictly chronological ordering was chosen, for example, in the monographs by Pinder, Erpel and Wright.[67] The same choice was made in the catalogue of the London/The Hague exhibition *Rembrandt by himself.* Observing this chronology, the National Gallery exhibition mixed drawings, etchings and paintings to allow the visitor to experience this sequence as closely as possible.[68]

Perry Chapman, author of the most ambitious monograph to date on Rembrandt's self-portraits, preferred a division into what she took to be the relevant types, starting out from an assumption that these works document Rembrandt's different forms of self-experience.[69] Chapman distinguished various categories and dealt with them in separate chapters or sections of chapters: [1] the

* While working on this volume we became deeply involved in the 1999/2000 London/The Hague exhibition project *Rembrandt by himself.* In that context, the present author published an attempt to understand the possible function(s) of Rembrandt's self-portraits. Rather than reprinting that essay here, the following text will further elaborate on several aspects related to this issue. Critical remarks on the earlier essay, in reviews of that exhibition, will also be considered and where possible answered. It will also be necessary, in the context of this chapter, to look at the consequences of our views on the issue of function as far as it concerns questions of authenticity. For the use of the word 'function' in this context see * on p. 89.

66 J. Bruyn, 'Rembrandt's workshop: Function and production' in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, pp. 68-69, esp. 75-80.

67 W. Pinder, *Rembrandts Selbstbildnisse*, Königstein im Taunus/Leipzig 1943; F. Erpel, *Die Selbstbildnisse Rembrandts*, Vienna/Munich 1967; Chr. Wright, *Rembrandt: Self-portraits*, London/Bedford 1982.

68 Exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, London 9 June - 5 September 1999.

69 Chapman 1990.

artist as an actor; [2] as 'artist-patriot'; [3] in guises connoting his own artistic prowess and freedom; [4] as a virtuoso; [5] in Renaissance guise; [6] as melancholic; [7] as the artist in the studio with a new and sovereign self; and [8] in biblical roles.

Eddy de Jongh also proposed several types of self-portraits, though rather different from Chapman's.[70] While Chapman saw Rembrandt's self-portraits as works created on his own initiative, documenting self-interest and self-fashioning, De Jongh presumed that in Rembrandt's time a self-portrait, including one by Rembrandt, was seen in the first place as a commodity. Self-portraits, according to De Jongh, were collector's items for a small elite. He compares them to portraits of philosophers or other distinguished figures which were also collector's items at the time. De Jongh distinguishes six categories of self-portraits he considers were current in seventeenth-century Dutch art, five of which he could identify among such works by Rembrandt. Incidentally, De Jongh's categories also included self-portraits incorporated in larger paintings with another function or meaning – which implies that these self-portraits as such were no commodities or collector's items. De Jongh lists the following types: [1] the actual self-portrait portraying the artist with or without the attributes of his profession; [2] the portrait of the artist (done by himself) in a certain role other than that of an artist; [3] the physionomic study in which the artist uses himself as an expressive model; and further, [4] the representations of figures that partly bear resemblance with the artist (in this connection, De Jongh hints at the Italian Renaissance adage: *ogni dipintore dipinge sè* (each painter paints himself). De Jongh's last two categories of self-portrait deal with those larger works referred to above in which the painter has incorporated his own effigy, either with or without his attributes as a painter, in a group portrait [5] or without his attributes in a history painting [6]. (According to De Jongh, there is no example of category 5 to be found among Rembrandt's oeuvre, although Martin and Haverkamp Begemann suggested that Rembrandt incorporated a glimpse of himself in the *Nightwatch*, III A 146).[71]

This is not the place to discuss the correctness, relevance or completeness of such groupings. In proposing our categorization, which is much closer to de Jongh's than to Chapman's approach, we will refer back to these earlier proposals as necessary. Of course, each categorization reflects no more than a particular point of view. In this volume, Marieke de Winkel, for instance, devises a categorization based mainly on allusions implied in the types of costume Rembrandt is wearing, an approach that would seem, but only at first sight, to be closer to that of Chapman (see Chapter II).

The danger of anachronism

The present writer feels challenged, first of all, to define his position *vis-a-vis* the long held and still prevalent view that Rembrandt created his sequence of self-portraits as private works and that in these works he was primarily preoccupied with aspects of his own identity. Perhaps the most apposite expression of this idea is to be found in a passage in a publication by Chapman in which she summarizes the essence of her view of Rembrandt's self-portraits: *'..., Rembrandt's self-portraits have the qualities of personal works, generated by internal pressures. His lifetime preoccupation with self-portraiture can be seen as a necessary process of identity formation or self-definition'*.[72] For a long time, similar notions have coloured the idea of Rembrandt's persona to a considerable degree.

Roughly one tenth of Rembrandt's painted and etched oeuvre consists of self-portraits.[73] Whoever tries to grasp the question of the 'why' behind Rembrandt's production of self-portraits can only look to circumstantial evidence, since no document exists that could provide a direct answer to the question of Rembrandt's intention in these works.

The first question that has to be asked is whether the still prevalent view that Rembrandt's self-portraits should be seen in the first place as personal works is not an anachronism. Of course, the idea of Rembrandt as someone who (to quote Chapman again), with *'heightened self-consciousness'* and *'a unique drive to self-explorations'*, created *'product(s) of penetrating self-scrutiny'* will certainly give the present day viewer a strong sense of recognition. What is more sympathetic today than the idea of someone attempting to get to the root of his or her own identity (fig. 69)? After all, is it not precisely what the so recently vacated twentieth century expected of artists? The assumption that Rembrandt alone did this while producing numerous self-portraits satisfies our tendency – an inheritance of the nineteenth-century cult of genius – to see great artists as figures beyond their own time.

Chapman's emphasis on the parallels she draws between the written autobiographies of contemporaries on one hand (to be discussed below) and Rembrandt's life-long activity as the maker of self-portraits on the other, carries the implied assumption that Rembrandt's self-portraits ought to be considered in a certain sense as 'a whole' possessing a mutual coherence. The habit (which may also be detected in the present book) of treating Rembrandt's self-portraits as a separate category of works has undoubtedly helped to reinforce the tendency to see these as a kind of autobiography. Inevitably the next step is to see Rembrandt's activity in this area as a 'project', the term used by Andrew Small in his book on the alleged parallels, also often cited in earlier literature,

70 E. de Jongh, 'De mate van ikheid in Rembrandt's zelfportretten', *Kunstschrift* 1991/VI, pp. 13-23, esp. 13-14.

71 W. Martin, 'Rembrandt zelf op de Nachtwacht', *O.H.* 41 (1923-4), pp. 1-4; E. Haverkamp-Begemann, *Rembrandt: The Nightwatch*, Princeton 1982, p. 81.

72 H.P. Chapman, exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, Glasgow Museums & Art Galleries 1991, p. 13.

73 The nine drawn self-portraits, authentic or not, (figs. 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 101, 108, 110, 112) seem to be scattered incidences. They are dealt with in the section *'The drawn self-portraits (1629-1660). Remarks on their possible function and authenticity'* (pp. 145-157).

Fig. 69. Oscar Grillo, *Rembrandt in front of a mirror*, illustration from: Alan Passes, *The Private Diary of Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn Painter 1661*, London 1985



between Montaigne's essays and Rembrandt's presumed self-reflections.[74] Small, a literary historian but otherwise no Montaigne specialist,[75] based his view of Rembrandt as a self-portraitist on Chapman's monograph. His idea, already implied by Chapman, that we are dealing with a 'project' (or a set of projects) bars the way to the alternative understanding that there may have been fundamentally different functions and intended destinations for the different works in which we see – or think we recognize – Rembrandt's face portrayed.

The present author is convinced that the assumption that these works are the products (to repeat once more the essence of Chapman's view) of *'a unique drive to self-exploration … generated by internal pressure'*, is anachronistic. Of course, Chapman was fully aware of the dangers of anachronism that lay in wait for the interpreter of Rembrandt's self-portraits, but she was confident she had avoided this danger through her categorization which, at first sight, appears to be a historically sound iconological approach.

The crucial question is whether and to what extent an individual's experience of the self is subject to culturally determined influences. As members of a biological species, as far as it bears on our intelligence and our basic emotions, there can be scarcely any doubt that our genetic constitution has been virtually unchanged for thousands of years. The Homeric figures are, or at least seem to us, immediately recognizable. During the discussion kindled by the *Rembrandt by himself* exhibition on the question of whether Rembrandt's activities as a maker of self-portraits *'represent a conscious and progressive quest for individual identity in a truly modern sense'*,[76] some thought it was enough to utter the name 'Hamlet' to banish any suspicion of anachronism in this widely held view.[77] Others, including the present writer, are convinced that the experience of the 'self' can change radically under the influence of cultural processes.

The danger of anachronism in interpreting the *raison d'être* of Rembrandt's self-portraits had already been signalled by De Jongh in 1969, and was re-emphasized in his response to Chapman's book in 1991.[78] Hans-Joachim Raupp, in his 1980 book on artists' (self-)portraits and studio representations and in related publications, categorically dismissed the idea that a seventeenth-century individual might investigate, regard and represent himself under the aspect of unique individuality. In Raupp's conviction, such a form of self-reflection only developed during the course of the eighteenth century.[79] He came to the conclusion that the painter who painted a self-portrait in Rembrandt's day – and he was convinced that included Rembrandt himself – *'did not approach the mirror with questions and doubts, but with a fully prepared program'*.[80]

Taylor, in his book *Sources of the self: The making of the modern identity* (1980), without question the most important contribution to the cultural history of the 'self', never tires of warning of the dangers of anachronism in speculating on how figures from the past experienced their 'self'. In his treatment of Montaigne who, as we have already seen, because of his *Essays* was (and often still is) considered the older equal of Rembrandt as 'inquirer into his identity', Taylor writes: *'In order to conjure the demon of anachronism, we have to remind ourselves that the full question of identity belongs to the post-Romantic period, which is marked by the idea, central to Herderian expressivism, that each person has his or her own original way of being'*.[81] In another connection Taylor writes: *'Talk about "identity" in the modern sense would have been incomprehensible to our forebears of a couple of centuries ago'*.[82] Raupp, basing himself on the biographical literature of

74 A. Small, *Essays in self-portraiture. A comparison of technique in the self-portraits of Montaigne and Rembrandt*, New York 1996, p. XVII and 1; see also exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, p. 19; see S. Dickey, '[review of] exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000', *Art Bull.* 82 (2000), pp. 366-369.

75 D. LaGuardia, '[review of] A. Small, Essays in self-portraiture', *Renaissance Quarterly* 51/1 (1998), pp. 240-243.

76 Quoted from the dust jacket of Chapmans book.

77 M. Podro, '[review of] exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000', in *Burl. Mag.* 141 (1999), pp. 553-556, esp. 554; It should be noted that toward the end of the eighteenth century, Shakespeare, with his extreme individualization of characters compared with classical drama, was a central influence in helping articulate the new Romantic perception of self. But Shakespeare's characters cannot be taken as evidence that western self-perception remained constant or unchanged before and after the Romantic movement. See, for example, Johann Gottfried Herder, 'Shakespear (sic)' in: *Von Deutscher Art und Kunst. Einige fliegende Blätter*, Hamburg 1773, ed. Reclam Universital-Bibliothek no. 7497 (1988), pp. 65-91, comments by D. Irmscher, see esp. pp. 183-188.

78 E. de Jongh, 'The spur of wit: Rembrandt's response to an Italian challenge', *Delta: A review of arts, life and thought in the Netherlands* 1969, no. 2, pp. 49-67; De Jongh, op. cit.[70], pp. 13-23.

79 H.-J. Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1984, pp. 10-11; H.-J. Raupp, *Selbstbildnisse und Künstlerporträts von Lucas van Leyden bis Anton Raphael Mengs*, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum 1980, pp. 7-8.

80 Raupp 1980, op. cit.[79], p. 8.

81 Ch. Taylor, *Sources of the self: The making of the modern identity*, Cambridge 1980, p. 184, see also note 77.

82 Taylor, op. cit.[81], p. 28.

Rembrandt's time, believes that Rembrandt and his contemporaries primarily experienced their being through *'categories of Christian and humanistic ethics and by the doctrine of the temperaments and on disposition, with a strong streak of astrology'*.[83] The personalities and characters of the figures portrayed in these biographies were expected to be exemplary, either worth emulating or seen as a warning.

Chapman frequently refers to sixteenth and seventeenth-century autobiographies as supporting her interpretation of Rembrandt's activity in the field of self-portraiture.[84] The crucial question here, however, is whether written autobiographies of that time can be considered the highly personal exercises in self-scrutiny that Chapman takes Rembrandt's self-portraits to be. The other question that should also be asked is whether works carried out in such different media – the written word and the painted canvas or panel – can be considered equivalent tokens of the same type, notwithstanding Montaigne's beginning of his *Essais* in 1572 with the words *'c'est mois que je peins'* (I paint myself).

Recently, in her book on the autobiographical texts concerning the spiritual evolution of the Dutch lawyer and humanist (and art lover) Arnoldus Buchelius (1565-1641), Judith Pollmann devoted an important part of her introduction to the nature of autobiographical texts – the type of text for which the Dutch historian Jacques Presser coined the term 'ego-documents'[85], perhaps a rather inadequate indication in this context. Pollmann's survey happens to cover the period before and during Rembrandt's life. Her well balanced view of the autobiographical texts of that period comes much closer to that of Raupp's assessment of contemporary biographies (mentioned above) than to Chapman's approach of Rembrandt's self-portraits. After first mapping out the various literary models for the sixteenth and seventeenth-century autobiographical texts (models often referred to by the writers of these texts),[86] she concludes *'The acknowledgement of the influence of a variety of literary models is important because it provides a much more tangible starting-point for examining both the form and the content of autobiographical texts than the assumption that we have to do with the flawed results of an urge to examine the self.'*[87] Pollmann points out that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century 'ego documents' were, moreover, as much influenced by the book-keeping tradition as by literary examples. Seventeenth-century puritans' or pietists' autobiographies, for instance, are to be seen in the first place as almost administrative records of the signs of God's providence and other blessings experienced by the authors. In the present context, Pollmann's most important observation is this: *'Whether they were writing about the events of their times, about themselves, or about both, when authors explained why they were writing they stressed above all the usefulness of their texts.'*[88] Most autobiographies of that period boil down to moral lessons for the future readers of these texts. Like the biographical texts, they were in the first place meant to be of exemplary value for others rather than of private significance for their authors.

Pollmann does not entirely exclude the possibility of exceptions to this rule. However, her statement at the beginning of her survey of autobiographical traditions should, *mutatis mutandis*, be taken as a warning against approaching Rembrandt's production of self-portraits in Chapman's terms. Pollmann: *'Ever since Jacob Burckhardt described the Renaissance as the time when "man became a spiritual individual and came to recognize himself as such" the study of Renaissance autobiographical texts has primarily been concerned with their role as expressions of individualism or selfhood. Yet only very few Renaissance texts comply with modern expectations of what autobiographical writing entails.'*[89] Pollmann here refers to the 'classic' autobiographical texts by Petrarch, Cardano, Cellini and of course Montaigne,[90] at the same time expressing reservations as to whether even these texts are 'real' autobiographical texts in the modern sense, however much they would at first sight appear to be so.

But supposing autobiographical texts 'in the modern sense' had been produced in Rembrandt's time – which, after closer inspection of the 'classic' autobiographies mentioned above, seems most unlikely – there are still major obstacles to considering Rembrandt's self-portraits as an equivalent of any autobiographical text of his time. As Kristeller has shown, it was more than a century after Rembrandt's death before the different arts were seen as comparable media for the expression of the same kind of personal visions and emotions under the common denominator of 'Art'.[91] It was this belief in the potential interchangeability of the media, in this case written prose and painting, that created the conditions, from the nineteenth-century onwards, to see Rembrandt's self-portraits as *'perhaps the greatest single legacy of self-revelation in Western Art'* as Irving Lavin characterized it.[92] If Rembrandt had had the urge to 'search for his identity' he would, no doubt, have chosen to commit such reflections to the written word – as did his colleague Benvenuto Cellini when he decided to give shape to his 'Life of Benvenuto Cellini'.[93]

As we have said, Chapman was certainly aware of what Taylor called *'the demon of anachronism'*. At first she appears to be intent on avoiding anachronism, trying to place *'the various identities that he (Rembrandt) created'* (actor, soldier,

83 Raupp 1980, op. cit.[79], p. 7.
84 Chapman 1990, pp. 5, 7, 11-12, 55, 135, 136, 140 notes 17, 18.
85 J. Pollmann, *Another road to God: the religious development of Arnoldus Buchelius (1565-1641)*, diss. University of Amsterdam, 1998.
86 Gerolamo Cardano [1501-1576] for instance stated that he based his *De propria vita* (ed. Jan Lamein, Amsterdam 2000, p. 87) on Marcus Aurelius' philosophical diary; Rembrandt's fellow-townsman, Hermanus Verbeeck [1621-1681] in his *Memoriaal ofte mijn levensraijsinghe* (ed. by Jeroen Blaak, Hilversum 1999, p. 30) mentioned that he was inspired to write his autobiography by the *Biblebook Job* and Augustinus' *Confessiones*.
87 Pollmann, op. cit.[85], p. 21.
88 Pollmann, op. cit. [85], p. 23.
89 Pollmann, op. cit. [85], pp. 17-18.
90 Cardano, op. cit. [86]; Francesco Petrarca [1304-1374], *Epistola posteritati*; Michel de Montaigne [1533-1592], *Essais*, (1572-1588); Benvenuto Cellini [1500-1571], *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini* (1558-).
91 P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance thought and the Arts*, Princeton 1990, pp. 163-227, esp. 212-224.
92 Cited on dust jacket of Chapman 1990.
93 Benvenuto Cellini, op. cit. [90].

patriot, virtuoso, etc.) in a seventeenth-century context. As she sees it, Rembrandt would seem to have enacted before the mirror a series of programs, all of them conceivable in Rembrandt's time. But when she lays particular stress on the fact that Rembrandt represented himself – with partially shadowed face – as melancholic, a state of mind or 'humour' that was much discussed in his time, the boundary between cultural historical contextualization, and anachronistic misconceptions would seem to become porous.[94] This interpretation was rightly criticised by De Jongh and Royalton Kisch, who both pointed out that Rembrandt also employed the formula of the half-shadowed face in instances where it was simply not plausible that the theme of melancholy could have played any part. [95] (see also p. 234) It would seem clear that this formula must be seen in the context of pictorial options concerning the treatment of light rather than as a psychological reference.

What is particularly confusing in Chapman's approach to the problem of Rembrandt's self-portraiture is that, while she aims at working within seventeenth-century historical and art-historical categories, at the same time she takes as her starting point the idea that Rembrandt's activities in this field were generated by *'internal pressure'*. In doing so, she raises the alleged intensity of what she calls Rembrandt's *'career in individuation'* to a post-Romantic level.

The danger of falling into the trap inherent in Chapman's ideas is evident in Stephanie Dickey's critical view of the present author's earlier essay on the functions of Rembrandt's self-portraits, a criticism which, taken as a whole, amounts to a defence of Chapman's ideas. When Dickey asks herself why *'Rembrandt's students were regularly assigned to paint and draw portraits of him, primarily copies or variants of his own self-portraits'* she argues along the recognizable lines of Chapman's ideas that this fact would *'seem to reinforce a perception of Rembrandt's self-centeredness not only as a pictorial strategy but also as a personality trait'*.[96]

The way, too, that Ronni Baer, author of the most recent monograph on Rembrandt's first pupil, Gerard Dou, becomes ensnared in Chapman's ideas further illustrates the urgent need for a revision of this view of the *raison d'être* of Rembrandt's self-portraits. Some twelve self-portraits of Gerard Dou are known. Given the limited extent of this 'Fijnschilder's' known oeuvre, this is a significant proportion, leading Baer to declare that *'like Rembrandt, Dou charted his personal and artistic career through his self-portraits.'* (figs. 70, 71).[97] Her tendency, closely related to Chapman's, to see the production of self-portraits primarily as a somewhat idiosyncratic enterprise undertaken by the artist for his own purposes, is clearly expressed in her assumption that *'Rembrandt's abiding fascination with self-portraiture (…) made a lasting impression on his young pupil'*,[98] which implies that Dou produced his self-portraits on his own initiative, inspired by the example of his former master. At the same time, however, Baer points out that among the 27 works by Dou exhibited by the collector Johan de Bye in 1665, in his house, there were three self-portraits *'indicating'*, as she remarks, *'that by the time of Dou's artistic maturity, there was a market for his self-portraits, …'*.[99] With implicit reference to Rembrandt's alleged 'introspection' in his self-portraits, she observes that Gerard Dou's self-portraits *'bear no trace of introspection but rather present the public side of the artist'*.[100]

Rembrandt's self-portraits and our innate tendency to read an expression into a face

This may be an appropriate place to refer to the fact that in the vast majority of his self-portraits, Rembrandt's face is shown in a state of repose. In those self-portraits where this is not the case, as in the group of etched studies of expression from *c.* 1630 and in the three self-*portraits historiés* – 'as the Prodigal Son' (fig. 207), 'as St Paul' (IV 24) and 'as Zeuxis' (IV 25) from 1635, 1661 and *c.* 1663 respectively – there are clear reasons why his face is not represented in the composure suited to portraiture. These latter works, however, have undoubtedly been influential in the development of the idea that Rembrandt's other self-portraits show a particular expression.

Our innate tendency to read expression into a face accounts for the ease with which such different meanings have been attributed to Rembrandt's face in mimetic repose. The Dutch critic Lodewijk van Deyssel (1864-1952), for instance, saw *'resistance and doubt'* in the eyes of Rembrandt's etched self-portrait of 1639 (see fig. 151);[101] while the art historian Jakob Rosenberg, in his 1948 book on Rembrandt, claimed to notice that Rembrandt in the 1669 *Self-portrait* in London (see figs. 320, 330) '*looks at us with a slightly sarcastic humour'*. Rosenberg continues: *'This portrait seems to confirm the reports of Baldinucci and Houbraken as to Rembrandt's impetuous disposition, and his tendency to make brusque, ironical remarks. It recalls to mind the fact that he was by no means a saint in actual life. Yet even in this self-portrait the implications of the mature artist's humanity are not wanting.'*[102] For another example of a 'creative' reading of Rembrandt's facial expression and 'body language' see p. 271. Incidentally, it is worth pointing out the familiar psychological phenomenon, long known in film-making, that the specific emotion a viewer tends to read – actually to project – into a face in repose depends entirely on the dramatic context in which the face is observed.

Investigation of the different states of Rembrandt's etched self-portraits, or X-radiographic images of his painted self-portraits, provide no support for the idea that

94 Chapman 1990, pp. 29-33.
95 De Jongh, op. cit.[70] , p. 19; M. Royalton-Kisch, 'Rembrandt's self-portraits' [Review of Chapman 1990], in: *Print Quarterly* 8 (1991), pp. 304-308.
96 Dickey, op. cit.[74] , p. 369.
97 R. Baer, 'The life and art of Gerrit Dou' in: R. Baer (et al.), *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675. Master painter in the age of Rembrandt*, exhib. cat. Washington (National Gallery of Art)/London (Dulwich Picture Gallery)/The Hague (Mauritshuis) 2000-2001, pp. 26-53.
98 Baer, op. cit.[97], p. 29.
99 Baer, op. cit.[97], p. 30.
100 Baer, op. cit.[97], p. 35.
101 Cited by De Jongh, op.cit.[70], p. 17.
102 J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt. Life and work*, rev. ed. London 1964, pp. 50-51.

Fig. 70. Gerrit Dou, *Self-portrait*, 1663, panel 54.7 x 39.4 cm. Kansas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art



Fig. 71. Gerrit Dou, *Self-portrait as a painter*, *c.* 1665, panel 59 x 43.5 cm. Boston, Private Collection



Rembrandt was aiming at any deeply significant facial expression; for had this been the case, one would expect to see in the X-rays of the painted self-portraits evidence of alterations and revisions in the rendering of physiognomy. This is not the case; nor do the different states of the etched self-portraits ever affect details in the expression of the face. In so far as there are changes during the genesis of these works it is overwhelmingly a matter of solving purely pictorial problems: contours, changes in the treatment of light, aspects of composition, or changes in details of costume, headgear or collars etc. In the case of these latter types of alteration, one might expect them to be iconographically significant. However, in the quite frequent evidence of alterations in headgear, for example from a light cap to a dark one or vice versa, one has the feeling with Rembrandt (and with the members of his studio) that these mainly concern pictorial considerations – such as questions of light distribution – rather than matters of meaning (see for a possible exception pp. 150-151).

Art lovers and the self-portrait in stock

When the Utrecht *advocaat* and art lover whom we mentioned earlier, Arnoldus Buchelius (Aernout van Buchell, 1565-1641), came to Leiden in 1628, he visited the rector of the Latin school in that city, the art collector Theodorus Schrevelius, and the two talked about art and artists. Van Buchel made notes of this discussion which he later filed away between the sheets of his *Res Pictoriae*, his notes on the art of painting. One of these notes concerned the painter Esayas van de Velde, to which Van Buchel added: *'the rector Screvelius showed me his* [Van de Velde's] *portrait very lifelike on a panel by the Haarlem painter Frans Hals'.*

This vignette illustrates the way, in the communication between art lovers, the portrait of an artist could function; if there was an opportunity to show a portrait of the artist under discussion, the chance would apparently not be passed up. The small scene involving Buchelius and Schrevelius makes it clear that there was a demand among art lovers for portraits of artists, whoever they were made by. As Raupp and Manuth (among others) have shown, such works, whether painted or printed, were part of a rapidly growing tradition, a tradition that was already underway in the sixteenth century.[103]

The role of the collecting art lovers like Van Buchel and Schrevelius must be considered to be one of the most important factors in any explanation of (the greater part of) Rembrandt's production of self-portraits.[104] The

103 Raupp 1980, op. cit.[79]; V. Manuth, 'Rembrandt and the artist's self-portrait: Tradition and reception', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, pp. 38-57.

104 See also Van de Wetering, in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself* 1999/2000, pp. 22-36.

Fig. 72. Frans van Mieris the Elder, *Art lover in a painter's studio*, *c.* 1657, panel 17.7 x 13.3 cm (detail). Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister



significance of the phenomenon of the seventeenth-century art lover and connoisseur cannot be too strongly emphasized for an understanding of the world in which Rembrandt and the painters of his time were active. Terms such as 'the market', 'patrons' and 'buyers' – even 'collectors' – seem to have obscured the view of this fruitful, though complicated symbiosis – documented by innumerable contemporary sources of various nature – between painters on the one hand and non-painters who were intensely interested in the art of painting on the other.[105] The chemistry of this relationship was catalyzed by the prestige both parts derived from their illustrious predecessors; Alexander the Great and Apelles being the archetypal role models from classical antiquity, and from the sixteenth century, for instance, Charles V and Titian. The captions to Van Dyck's series of portraits of famous people of his time which later appeared under the title *Iconographie* illustrates the importance attributed to the art lover.[106] Nine of the persons portrayed were explicitly designated as art lovers.[107]

The visits by art lovers to famous artists in their studios (fig. 72; see Chapter II figs. 10, 14, 15) must have been of crucial significance in their symbiosis. These visits most likely created the opportunities for the purchase of self-portraits. There are indications that self-portraits were seen by the art lovers in Rembrandt's time as a combination of, on the one hand the effigy of a master, and on the other a specimen showing the specific technique or style of that master.[108] In Samuel van Hoogstraten's Dutch adaptation of Castiglione's *Il Libro del Cortegiano*, knowledge of the *'masters ... and ... their style'* is considered important knowledge for the cultivated citizen – and certainly for the art lover.[109] The Medici's collection of self-portraits would appear to be explicitly based on the idea that in the self-portrait, both the identity of the master and his specific way of painting are combined.[110]

For the purpose of selling a self-portrait to a visiting art lover one or more self-portraits must have been kept in stock. Cosimo de' Medici's agent in Amsterdam, Giovacchino Guasconi, reported that Van Mieris no longer possessed a self-portrait seen by the Grand Duke (in 1669), but that the painter was willing to execute another of the same dimensions.[111] Apparently Cosimo regretted not having purchased the self-portrait immediately when he visited Van Mieris in his studio in 1669. Now he had to discover that the painting had been sold to somebody else. It seems relevant to point out in this context that the famous painter of sea-scapes, Ludolf Backhuyzen (1630-1708), painted a considerable number of self-portraits, one of which he had reproduced in mezzotint, while it is known that he received many princely visitors in his studio – among whom the king of Prussia and the Russian tsar Peter the Great.[112]

Once the link is perceived between the production of self-portraits and the existence of an international community of art lovers, the correlation between the fame of individual masters during their lifetime and the number of self-portraits these masters produced, is evident. (This

105 See M. Winner, *Die Quellen der Pictura-Allegorien in gemalten Bildergalerien des 17. Jahrhunderts zu Antwerpen*, diss. Cologne, 1957; J. Brown, *Kings & connoisseurs: collecting art in seventeenth-century Europe*, New Haven 1995; E. van de Wetering, 'Rembrandt's "Satire on Art Criticism" reconsidered', in: *Shop Talk. Studies in Honor of Seymour Slive*, (eds. C. Schneider, W. Robinson, A.I. Davies e.a.) Cambridge, Mass. 1995, pp. 264-270; E. van de Wetering, 'The miracle of our age: Rembrandt through the eyes of his contemporaries' in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. A genius and his impact* 1997/98, pp. 58-68; E. van de Wetering, in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself* 1999/2000, pp. 8-37; C. Gibson Wood, *Studies in the theory of connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli*, New York/London 1988; M.J. Bok, 'Art-lovers and their paintings: Van Mander's Schilder-boeck as a source for the history of the art market in the Northern Netherlands', in: (ed. G. Luijten) *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish art, 1580-1620*, Zwolle 1993.

106 On this influential series see C. Depauw and G. Luijten (et al.), *Antoon van Dyck en de prentkunst*, exh. cat. Antwerpen (Museum Plantin-Moretus)/ Amsterdam (Rijksprentenkabinet) 1999-2000, passim.

107 See M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *L'iconographie d'Antoine van Dyck: catalogue raisonnée*, Brussel 1991, cat. nos. 3, 75, 93, 114, 165, 185, 189, 190, 193.

108 See E. Van de Wetering in: exhib.cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, pp. 28-35 for relevant sources.

109 S. van Hoogstraeten, *Den eerlyken jongeling, of de edele kunst, van zich by groote en kleyne te doen eeren en beminnen*, Dordrecht 1657, p. 26.

110 W. Prinz, *Die Sammlung der Selbstbildnisse in den Uffizien*, Vol. I: Geschichte der Sammlung (*Italienische Forschungen*, third series, vol. V) Berlin 1971; see also note 108.

111 O. Naumann, op. cit.[28], Vol. I, pp. 27-28, 185 (24 May 1675) Guasconi to Bassette.

112 Houbraken, op. cit.[53], II, p. 240; HdG I-X, 'Ludolf Bakhuyzen', in: Vol. VII, pp. 235-356, esp. 247-249; H. van Hall, *Portretten van Nederlandse beeldende kunstenaars*, Amsterdam 1963, pp. 10-12; G. de Beer, *Ludolf Backhuysen (1630-1708): sein Leben und Werk*, Zwolle 2002.

production does, of course, include the numerous impressions of reproduction-prints after painted self-portraits, as, for instance, in the case of Rubens.)

Rembrandt's painted self-portraits, as Eddy de Jongh proposed, do indeed seem to have been commodities, whether they were sold from stock or painted on commission. The fact that not a single self-portrait is listed in Rembrandt's inventory of 1656 may be seen as an indication that his self-portraits had been selling rather well. From the perspective developed above, one would have to conclude that Rembrandt's activity in this field, taken as a whole, should be seen as the result of 'external pressure' rather than the 'internal pressure' presumed by Chapman.

Beside the suggested role of the art lover as an important (in Rembrandt's case, no doubt, the most important) incentive in the production of self-portraits there were, of course, other motives for painting self-portaits. Eric Jan Sluijter, for example, has suggested that portrait painters would have kept a self-portrait in reserve to demonstrate to potential patrons their ability to produce a good likeness.[113] This could scarcely have been the reason for Frans van Mieris to have had a self-portrait in stock; but it is certainly possible that Rembrandt, particularly in his early Amsterdam years would need such proof of his competence as a portrait painter; for it was precisely during these years – in Hendrick Uylenburgh's workshop – that he was primarily active as a portrait painter. Sluijter's suggestion, like the need postulated above to keep self-portraits in stock for anticipated demand from art lovers, can perhaps provide an explanation for the following case.

Between 1994 and 2002 we were able to carry out investigations on a painting that seemed to be a self-portrait by Rembrandt yet which, in view of the manner of the painting in crucial areas, could not be straightforwardly attributed to Rembrandt (fig. 73). From photographs provided by the owner it became clear that since 1935, when the painting was still in a markedly different state (fig. 74), it had gone through several dramatic transformations before it was shown to us. A high cap with a tassel had been removed to reveal a beret. Also the long hair was partially removed to reveal much shorter hair, characteristic of Rembrandt's early Amsterdam self-portraits. The convincing Rembrandt signature and the date 1634, inscribed while the paint of the background was still wet, added to the significance of this mysterious painting. We came to the conclusion that the high cap, and the additions to the moustache and the hair, obscured an autograph self-portrait (fig. 75), and that all additions must have been carried out by one of his pupils or assistants under Rembrandt's eyes. The subject's costume and the coiffure as added in the second stage shows a certain affinity with Rembrandt's so-called *Half-length figure of a man in 'Polish'* [actually Russian][114] *costume* in Washington from 1637 (III A 122; fig. 233).

In IV *Addenda* 2, the painting and its peculiar genesis is presented in detail. Here a hypothetic explanation is given for this extraordinary metamorphosis of the painting from a self-portrait into the *tronie* of a man in quasi-Russian attire. This hypothesis arose from our realization that we had already been puzzled by similar cases in the past. There are three further cases of (partly) overpainted early self-portraits whose first appearance was most probably painted by Rembrandt. Firstly, there is the *Self-portrait* in Windsor Castle, where Rembrandt himself painted a new self-portrait in 1642 over a (possibly unfinished) self-portrait from *c.* 1633 (IV 1; figs. 82, 83, 84; see also figs. 246, 249), the *Selfportrait with an architectural background* in Paris (III B 10), a self-portrait from about 1635, seems to have been transformed around 1640. This may have been partly done by somebody from the studio by elongating the hair, broadening Rembrandt's torso and changing the cap. This painter must also have added the architectural background. Microscopic investigation could well show that the face has also been adapted to a later stage in the ageing of Rembrandt's physiognomy (figs. 79, 80, 81; see also figs. 245, 252).

The third case – closer to the case of the self-portrait under the *tronie* of a man in quasi Russian attire – is the Berlin painting in which a self-portrait from about 1633/35 (II C 56) was transformed into the *tronie* of a sixteenth-century soldier with gorget, and a slashed, feathered cap (figs. 76, 77, 78; see also figs. 202, 203). In this case, as with the newly discovered self-portrait, part of the face (the nose, the mouth and chin) has been left untouched. In that part of the face the quality of the painting is much higher than in the crudely executed additions (as was already noted in II C 56). This may be taken as a strong indication that the original self-portrait (of a type comparable to one of Rembrandt's Paris self-portraits from 1633 (II A 71; see figs. 193, 201) was from Rembrandt's own hand.

Our hypothesis is that these paintings in their first state had become unsaleable and eventually had to be adapted in some form to become saleable once again, either as *tronies* of popular types or as 'updated' self-portraits.[115]

The idea may seem far-fetched that a self-portrait could age, as it were, in the sense that after several years it would no longer be considered a valid effigy of Rembrandt. The idea, however, is corroborated by three works by Rembrandt. The inscriptions on the two much discussed impressions of an early state, both completed with black chalk, of the *Self-portrait in a soft hat and a patterned cloak*, from 1631, provide the clearest indication

113 E.J. Sluijter, 'The painter's pride: the art of capturing transience in self-portraits from Isaac van Swanenburgh to David Bailly', in: K. Enenkel a.o., (eds.) *Modelling the individual: biography and portrait in the Renaissance, with a critical edition of Petrarch's Letter to posterity*, Amsterdam/Atlanta 1998, pp. 173-196, esp. 175.

114 For 17th-century Russian dress see Irena Turnau, *History of dress in central and eastern Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century*, Warsaw 1991, pp. 86-108.

115 A similar type of transformation, in the same period, concerns a portrait of a woman which had apparently become unsaleable and was transformed into a Sybil with a book (III C 115).

Figs. 73 – 75. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait with shaded eyes*, 1634. Las Vegas, U.S.A., The Wynn Collection (IV Addendum 2). Photograph of the painting taken *c.* 1950; photograph of the painting taken *c.* 1935; photograph of the painting after restoration 2002.







Figs. 76 –78. Rembrandt and studio, *Self-portrait transformed in 'tronie'*, *c.* 1633, overpainted *c.* 1637, panel 56 x 47 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie (II C 56); X-Ray of the painting; tentative reconstruction of the underlying painting. The lower part of the face is not overpainted.







of this. These two sheets (figs. 85 and 86) carry signatures of the type that Rembrandt used from 1633 on. Stylistically, the black chalk additions belong to the 1633/4 period. It is therefore not surprising that Rembrandt, who was born in July 1606, should indicate his age on both 'completed' sheets with the inscription < *AET 27*>. The fact that in both cases he should have later, in retrospect, corrected the age of < *27* > to < *24* > and included the date 1631 in his inscription can only mean that considerable importance was attached to the exact age represented in the effigy concerned. A comparable example of a painting, at a later time altered by Rembrandt, being emphatically back-dated in order to correspond with Rembrandt's age on the self-portrait concerned, is the *The artist in oriental costume, with a poodle at his feet* in Paris, Petit Palais (fig. 145). The signature < *Rembrant* > in that painting (fig. 148), probably applied over an < *RHL* > monogram, fits within the small group of this type of signature (with a < *t* >, rather than the subsequently used < *dt* >) that Rembrandt used around the transition from 1632 to '33 (see also IV *Addenda* 1). The date < *1631* > corresponds with the year in which the painting in its first form (without poodle), including the face of Rembrandt, must have been produced.

De Jongh's hypothesis that Rembrandt's self-portraits should be seen in the first place as commodities would appear to be corroborated by the case of the transformed early self-portraits discussed above. Similarly, we find De

Figs. 79 – 81. Rembrandt (and workshop), *Self-portrait, c.* 1635, partly overpainted *c.* 1640, panel 80.5 x 62.8 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (III B 10); X-Ray of the painting; tentative reconstruction of the underlying painting.



Figs. 82 – 84. Rembrandt, *Selfportrait, c.* 1633, overpainted 1642, panel 69.9 x 58.4 cm. Windsor Castle, H.M. Queen Elizabeth II (IV 1); X-Ray of the painting; tentative reconstruction, based on X-Ray and infrared reflectography.



Jongh essentially correct in his identification of the other categories of self-portrait he listed, even if the functions or types he distinguished might have to be further differentiated. In the case of the young Rembrandt, for instance, De Jongh's third category, 'the physiognomic study in which the artist uses himself as an expressive model', would also include works in which Rembrandt used his own face to investigate pictorial problems such as light and shade (see fig. 119) or the modeling with flesh colours (see fig. 123). These functional aspects will be dealt with more in detail in the following sections of this chapter, where it will also become evident that what may seem unequivocally to have been the initial function of a work could soon have given way to a different function.

Such transformations in the meaning or function of what we are used to calling self-portraits will often have taken place when a work changed hands, either from Rembrandt to the first owner or from one owner to the next. In particular, this may have been the case with the category which De Jongh described as 'the representations of figures that partly bear resemblance with the artist, in the sense of 'ogni dipintore dipinge sè' (each painter paints himself). In the case of Rembrandt, with his 'Caravaggesque' fidelity *to* and consequently his dependence *on* nature, there is no doubt that he regularly used himself as a model when painting *tronies* (in the sense of busts or half-figures of anonymous figures, with varying connotations). For a subsequent owner of such a work, though, the fact that Rembrandt's face could be recognised might have become its main attraction.

Fig. 85. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1631-1633/34. B.7, state IV with drawn additions. Etching and black chalk, 18.4 x 13 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale



Fig. 86. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1631-1633/34. B.7, state II with drawn additions. Etching and black chalk, 18.4 x 13 cm. London, British Museum



Rembrandt's 'pupil-once-removed', Frans van Mieris – a pupil of Gerard Dou who became as famous as Rembrandt and Dou, represented his own features in almost a quarter of his works (according to Naumann 'thirty-one times in one hundred and twenty-one surviving paintings') ranging from actual self-portraits to genre pieces.[116] In *tronies* of jesters, drinkers, musicians etc. in which van Mieris used his own face (figs. 87, 88),[117] the double function of such a work may have been intended by the artist as well as understood by the first buyer from the outset. Yet a third function of such a *tronie* bearing Van Mieris' features was that it served as a precious specimen of Van Mieris' unique abilities as a painter.

In the case of Rembrandt – whose career began concurrently with that period about which, in 1630, Constantijn Huygens wrote that *'these days, one is confronted everywhere with the art of painting'*[118] – such a triple significance of his *tronies* bearing his own face may only gradually have 'grown' in the perception of those who acquired them. The multiple function of the works that included his effigy must also in due time have become part of Rembrandt's intention in producing these works (see, for instance, figs. 158 and 159). In the case of Rembrandt's self-*portraits historiés*, which belong to De Jongh's second category ('the portrait of the artist (done by himself) in a certain role other than that of an artist') a layered meaning and multiple function must similarly have been intended, either by Rembrandt himself or by a possible patron.

De Winkel demonstrated in Chapter II in this volume that in those self-portraits that must have been described in the seventeenth century as 'Rembrandt's likeness done by himself' or 'the portrait of Rembrandt painted by himself' (the great majority of what we are used to call Rembrandt's self-portraits), the allusions offered by the costumes to matters concerning the artist, his status and his honoured predecessors, particularly in some of the self-portraits from *c.* 1640 onwards, must also have added to their layered meaning and function.

For many less sought-after painters of Rembrandt's time the predominant functional significance of their self-portraits was provided by the *memoria* element, frequently underlined by *vanitas* attributes.[119] Such self-portraits in fact belong to that category of portraits over which Cornelis de Bie, in his Guilder Cabinet, wrote with reference to the portrait painter David Bailly: '….. *As he* [the painter] *makes the person* [portrayed] *look so real, that whoever steadily observes, would think it to be alive. The portrait of a person painted on panel is a memorial piece and* [at the same

116 Naumann, op. cit.[28], Vol. I, p. 126 (and note 205).
117 Naumann, op. cit.[28], cat. nos. 21, 26, 29, 41, 43, 59, 72, 77, 96, 107, 110.
118 C.L. Heesakkers, *Constantijn Huygens 'Mijn jeugd'*, Amsterdam 1987, pp. 70-71.
119 See for instance N. Popper-Voskuil, 'Selfportraiture and vanitas still-life painting in the 17th-century Holland in reference to David Bailly's vanitas ocuvre', *Pantheon* 31 (1973), pp. 58-74; and Sluijter, op. cit.[113].

Fig. 87. Frans van Mieris, *A man in oriental costume,* 1665, panel 14.3 x 11.3 cm. The Hague. Gallery of Willem V (on loan from Instituut Collectie Nederland (ICN), Rijswijk/Amsterdam)



Fig. 88. Frans van Mieris, *The song interrupted,* 1671, panel 32 x 26 cm. Paris, Petit Palais



time] *a jewel* [of art] *worthy of praise, which one can pass on to one's heirs to* [enable them to] *fathom* [the origins of] *their life even after a hundred years.'*[120] Although there is no known self-portrait of Rembrandt that contains any explicit reference to a memorial function, they may have had – or acquired – this significance for some. In the 1669 inventory of Rembrandt's daughter-in-law, Titus' widow Magdalena van Loon, *'A portrait of the father-in-law of the deceased'* is listed. No doubt this painting was in the first place seen as the effigy of a family member.[121] Today, of course, all works by Rembrandt showing his facial features will have a similar significance for many, together – and predominantly – with that other function mentioned by De Bie, that of *'a jewel* [of art] *worthy of praise'*.

Rembrandt's hundreds of self-portraits and the question of authenticity

The usual reaction to the large number of self-portraits that Rembrandt produced is one of surprise; yet when the numbers usually cited are added up (*c.* 30 etchings, *c.* 40 paintings and some five drawings) this is in fact only to count every occasion on which Rembrandt sat down before the mirror in order to depict his own face. To regard solely these works as the self-portraits is to see them in the first place from the point of view of the artist; but if, on the other hand, one regards Rembrandt's self-portraits as commodities, one arrives at a different calculation.

Even if one limits oneself to those works that one can consider as proper 'portraits' of Rembrandt (viz., excluding tronies, studies etc.) there must have been hundreds. Not only the copies after Rembrandt's self-portraits and the workshop variants, but also every single impression of the etchings bearing Rembrandt's likeness must often have been considered as (self-)portraits of Rembrandt. As will be argued later in this chapter, it was especially the numerous impressions of particular etchings made between 1631 and 1648 (see figs. 149-152 or fig. 180) that spread Rembrandt's effigy throughout Holland and among the art-lovers of Europe, in a quantity that must have reflected Rembrandt's growing fame.

Here, in the context of this apparently large 'market' for Rembrandt's self-portraits, we can now deal with the question that was raised in this chapter, the question of the authenticity in relation to the function of these works.

120 Cornelis de Bie, *Het Gulden Cabinet van de Edel Vrij Schilderconst*, Antwerpen 1661, pp. 270-72, '... *Midts hy den mensch soo naer het leven doet ghelijcken, / Dat wie het staegh bemerckt, voor t'leven sou bekijcken. / Het wesen vanden mensch gheschildert op panneel / Is een memori-stuck en loffelijck juweel, / Het gen' men laeten can aen sijn Erffghenaemen / Om noch naer hondert jaer hun leven te befaemen, ...*'

121 In view of the function of this book, there is no attempt here to deal with those history pieces in which Rembrandt incorporated his own face. For the function of such self-portraits, see Raupp 1984, op. cit.[79], pp. 243-262; exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, cat. no. 1.

With the paintings in particular, the question that demands an answer is: how can one explain the fact that a proportion of the painted self-portraits long attributed to Rembrandt himself are not from his own hand but were rather painted under his eyes and in his own workshop? The answer has to be sought, on the one hand, in the possibility that the demand for Rembrandt's self-portraits at times exceeded the supply produced by the master himself. But such an answer carries a further implication: that in Rembrandt's time a fundamentally different significance may have been attached to the idea of authenticity than today.

In the catalogue dealing with the 373 'Rembrandt' drawings owned by Carl Theodor, the Elector Palatine (1724-1799), Thea Vignau-Wilberg attempts to explain the fact that, after a long critical process of appraisal and elimination, only *c.*15 drawings from this collection could be identified as works from Rembrandt's own hand. The explanation she proposes is that: *'During the painter's lifetime, "Rembrandt" did not just denote a work from his own hand as an expression of his highly personal idiom. Instead, at that time it designated any work of art executed in his style'*.[122] Whether this can be the ultimate answer to our question posed above remains to be seen.

Jaap van der Veen, in Chapter I in this volume demonstrates that, for many in Rembrandt's time, the aspect of authenticity was very much a burning issue. This is evident from the fact that there were so many conflicts over this issue in the seventeenth century. It seems as though the traditional workshop practice, in which pupils and assistants contributed to the production of their workshop, began to conflict with a growing interest in buying autograph works from known masters. That Rembrandt in particular should have allowed *others* to produce a substantial number of his self-portraits seems to us, from the vantage point of the present time, a peculiar and uncomfortable idea. But it is also remarkable in the light of the documents assembled by Van der Veen, particularly when one considers the phenomenon through the eyes of a seventeenth-century art lover.

The case argued earlier in this chapter, *contra* Rembrandt's self-portraits constituting a kind of autobiographical search for his own identity(ies), can be taken to an extreme. One might then come to the conclusion that his self-portraits were in Rembrandt's eyes, no more than commodities produced for a particular sector of the art market. Were then such masterpieces as the self-portraits from 1640 and '69 in London, the *Large Vienna self-portrait*, or those from the Frick collection, Kenwood or Paris, intended to serve merely as commodities? Did these works say nothing about the way Rembrandt saw himself? To think so would surely be a mistake.

The history of art from classical antiquity and from the Renaissance as conceived by Rembrandt and his contemporaries was a history of great artists who were so admired that all cultivated Europeans – including kings and emperors – knew or were required to know their names (see note 105). All the evidence indicates that Rembrandt saw himself in this great tradition and considered himself the equal of the great masters of art history.[123] Many of Rembrandt's contemporaries must also have seen him so. When one places Rembrandt in this context, it is obvious that both the creation and the acquisition of his self-portraits must have been freighted with significance.

On the other hand, we know that Rembrandt must have regarded the world of art lovers and conoisseurs of his time with a certain scepticism. If the present author's interpretation of Rembrandt's drawing of *c.* 1644, the so-called 'Satire on Art Criticism'[124], is correct, Rembrandt must have had mixed feelings about his public. Is it possible that those self-portraits produced by pupils or other members of his workshop especially in the decades of the 1640s and '50s, should have been intended for undiscriminating, 'naemkoopers' ('name-buyers') who were blind enough to see masterworks in the spurious and second-rate? If this were the case, one of the puzzles that our research has brought to light would be solved, the puzzle of the non-autograph, free variants based on Rembrandt's self-portraits that were produced in Rembrandt's workshop. But if this is a genuine insight it also leads to the realization that Rembrandt's scepticism vis-à-vis a part of his public must have bordered on cynicism.

The phenomenon of the non-authentic 'self-portraits', painted under Rembrandt's eyes, surely deserves a more far-reaching analysis in the future.

After the completion of this section we decided to add further sections devoted to Rembrandt's etched self-portraits and the drawings that bear his effigy. In these sections, several new ideas concerning the functions of these works are raised for discussion.

122 Th. Vignau-Wilberg, *Rembrandt auf Papier. Werk und Wirkung/Rembrandt and his followers. Drawings from Munich*, exhib. cat. Munich/Amsterdam (Rembrandthuis), 2001/2002, p. 21.

123 J.L.A.A.M. van Rijckevorsel, *Rembrandt en de traditie*, Rotterdam 1932; Slive, op. cit.[30]; J. Gantner, *Rembrandt und die Verwandlung klassischer Formen*, Bern 1964; K. Clark, *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance*, London 1966; B. Broos, *Rembrandt studies*, diss. Utrecht 1977; Van de Wetering 1997, Chapter VII, pp. 155-169.

124 Van de Wetering 1995, op cit.[105].

The drawn self-portraits (1629 – 1660). Remarks on their possible function and authenticity*

Among the *c.* 85 works considered – with greater or lesser justification – to be self-portraits of Rembrandt, there are a number done on paper with chalk or pen, some of the latter with brownish and greyish washes, and in one case heightened with whitish washes. Two of these drawings were done during the Leiden period, around 1628/29 (figs. 93 and 95). The other 3 to 7 (depending on their authenticity and the question of whether they actually do represent Rembrandt) originated between *c.* 1633 and *c.* 1660 (figs. 89, 91, 97, 101, 108, 110 and 112).[125] In the Rembrandt literature these drawings have never been treated as a group, so that the question of their possible function has scarcely been given serious attention.

In the following discussion, several possible explanations for the existence of these drawings will be tentatively explored. In doing so, the question of authenticity has to be raised with each drawing again, since – as was also seen in the case of the painted self-portraits – it is important to know whether others in the workshop produced (self-)portraits of Rembrandt and if so why.

All nine drawings dealt with below (they are treated not chronologically but rather from the standpoint of their possible function) are in the main sketchily executed. At first sight it might seem that such drawings served as preliminary studies; but it is highly unlikely that Rembrandt would have made drawings as preliminary studies for his own painted or etched self-portraits. In fact, when one reviews his entire surviving oeuvre, the number of drawings that can be considered as preparatory to the composition of a painting or etching is remarkably small.[126] But should one infer from this that more were hardly ever made? Rembrandt could have decided that such scribbles were not worth keeping – assuming that he himself selected those drawings that have come down to us. The insight that Rembrandt, like many of his contemporaries, made use of sketchbooks – 'table books' – with sheets that could be wiped clean complicates this problem further.[127] The first conceptions for his compositions could have been set down in these books and by subsequent use of the book erased, although our investigations into the genesis of many of his works would indicate that Rembrandt was one of those painters of whom Karel van Mander wrote: they are *'used to drawing fluently by hand on their panels what they have already seen painted in their mind's eye'*.[128] For such artists, preparatory sketching of the composition on paper seems to have been hardly necessary and obviously in the case of self-portraits it would have been even less so, since for the most part the painter would have had the intended image in the mirror in front of him. Yet in the Rembrandt literature, in the case of several drawings, it has been repeatedly speculated that they might have been intended as preparatory sketches for painted self-portraits. This is, for instance, the case with the *Self-portrait, full-length* in the Rembrandthuis (see fig. 101), which is often taken to be a preliminary study for the *Large Vienna self-portrait* (IV 8).[129] It also applies to the drawing in the Albertina (see fig. 97), which is usually associated directly with the Paris *Self-portrait at the easel* (IV 19; see figs. 98, 99). It will be argued below that these and most other drawings dealt with in this section cannot have been made in preparation of Rembrandt's etched or painted self-portraits.

There is one drawing, however, that does appear to be an immediately preliminary study (fig. 89). This drawing, executed in black chalk,[130] is clearly related to an etching that is usually counted among the self-portraits, although mainly as a study *contre jour* for which Rembrandt appears to have used himself as model, the etching B. 17 from 1633 (fig. 90).[131] Both the execution of the drawing and its relation with the etching support the idea that we are

* I am grateful to Egbert Haverkamp Begemann and Peter Schatborn for their valuable comments during the work on this section.

125 Ben. I 53, 54, II 430, 432, 434, 437, V 1171, 1176, 1177. Benesch and others thought they could recognize Rembrandt's face in a sheet of studies in pen and bistre (Ben. 336; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, no. 174A). Given the usual dating of this drawing in *c.* 1635/6 it is, however, difficult to accept that this figure with its wrinkled face and its sagging skin could represent Rembrandt. Moreover, the figure is not looking 'in the mirror'.

126 See M. Royalton-Kisch, 'The role of drawings in Rembrandt's printmaking' in E. Hinterding e.a. *Rembrandt the printmaker,* exhib. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum/London, The British Museum, 2000/2001, pp. 64-81. Apart from drawings made in connection with portrait commissions there are no more than five drawings in which Rembrandt developed a conception with an eye to a specific etching, *Saint Paul in meditation, c.* 1629 (Ben. 15/B. 149), *Diana at her bath, c.* 1631 (Ben. 21/B. 201), *The great Jewish Bride,* 1635 (Ben. 292/B. 340), *Joseph telling his dreams,* 1638 (Ben. 161v/B. 37), *The artist drawing from a model, c.* 1639 (Ben. 423/B. 192) and the *St. Jerome reading in an Italian landscape, c.* 1653 (Ben. 886/B. 104). The other drawings where Royalton-Kisch sees relationship with specific etchings by Rembrandt (see note 1 of his article cited above) relate to single figures or small groups of figures of certain etchings.
The drawings that relate to the conception of paintings are: *The Baptism of the Eunuch, c.* 1630 (Ben. 13) (the painting is vanished but we know it from a reproduction print by J.G. van Vliet and a painted copy, see *Corpus* I, p. 37, figs. 3 and 4); *Ganymedes* (Ben. 92/*Corpus* III A 113); *Homer dictating to a scribe* (Ben. 1066/Br. 483).
Analysis of the genesis of the *Judas returning the thirty pieces of silver* (*Corpus* I A 15), and the *Claudius Civilis* (Br. 482) shows that these drawings, long considered to be preparatory sketches (resp. Ben. 8 and 1061), must have originated during the course of the work, apparently as preparation for subsequent radical changes (see our discussion in *Corpus* I A 15 and B. Haak, 'De nachtelijke samenzwering van Claudius Civilis in het Schakerbos op de Rembrandt tentoonstelling te Amsterdam', *Antiek* 4, 1969/70, pp. 136-148, esp. 143). *Abraham's sacrifice* (Ben. 90) was made by Rembrandt in preparation of a pupil's copy with changes after Rembrandt's prototype (see *Corpus* III A 108, *Copies* 2).

127 See E. Norgate, *Miniatura or the art of limning,* 1627/28, revised in 1648, ed. 1997 J.M. Muller and J. Murrell, esp. p. 109, notes 67, 311, Appendix 2, p. 238; Van de Wetering 1997, Chapter III, pp. 46-73.

128 K. van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vrij schilder - const,* Amsterdam 1604, Ch. XII, 4; see Van de Wetering 1997, Chapter IV, pp. 75-89.

129 See for instance exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself,* 1999/2000, no. 63.

130 The wash in the background appears to be a later addition.

131 G. Biörklund in: *Rembrandt's etchings true and false,* Stockholm/London/New York 1968, p. 58, points out the connection between the drawing and the etching; for further literature concerning the drawing in Marseille, see Ben. II, no. 430.

Fig. 89. Rembrandt, *Study in the mirror(?)*, *c.* 1633, black chalk, 11 x 11 cm (1:1) (Ben. 430). Marseille, Musée des Beaux-Arts



Fig. 90. Rembrandt, *'Tronie' with Rembrandt's features(?)*, 1633, etching, 13.2 x 10.3 cm (1:1) (B. 17 II) (reproduced in reverse)



dealing here with an autograph drawing of Rembrandt. If this is the case, however, it raises the question – in the light of the foregoing – of whether Rembrandt would actually have used *himself* as a model here. The curiously jutting head in relation to the trunk gives an impression that does not correspond with our image of Rembrandt's physical build. The jaw thrust forward (especially in the etching) and the upturned nose (in both drawing and etching) call into question whether in fact Rembrandt used himself or possibly someone else as a model here.

Rembrandt used red or, as in this case, black chalk mainly when drawing from life. Apparently this material best allowed him to set down at speed what he wanted from the rapidly changing reality and to add summary indications of light and shadow. The highly fleeting character of this drawing differs only by degree from the method and style in chalk drawings that Rembrandt made in the 30's.[132] The rough method of hatching is familiar from Ben. 82, 196, 280d, 428, 469; the locally erratically drawn lines with agitated wriggles, occasionally with loops, these too we know from Ben. 38, 414, 469, or in pen for instance B. 292. It seems highly unlikely that Rembrandt would have used this of all media for a study in front of the mirror, particularly in such an exceptionally hasty fashion. When the problems of the likeness – signaled above – are also taken into account, discussion should be broached as to whether or not this drawing and the related etching should be removed from the group of works usually designated as self-portraits of Rembrandt.

In the red chalk drawing from the National Gallery in Washington of *c.* 1635-38 (fig. 91) significance may shift for wholly different reasons. It is evident that there is a 'break' in the execution of this drawing. The beret and the shadow it casts on the face have been executed with the utmost care. This part of the composition has been modeled with fine hatching, whereas the rest of the face, the hair and the costume have been only summarily indicated with fleetingly drawn lines and sketchy shading. The reflex response of the viewer is to assume that the drawing is unfinished or arbitrarily differentiated in its execution in a way that seems to be characteristic of Rembrandt. But one can also see the drawing as a study exclusively of the beret. Undoubtedly, Rembrandt has here represented his own head and shoulders, but it is obvious that he is not concerned in the first place to make a 'portrait of Rembrandt by himself'. Since the iconological significance of dress and costume in Rembrandt's visual language is now much clearer, thanks to

132 Ben. 1973 82, 196, 277, 280a, e, d, 373, 403v, 403A, 414, 444, 469.

Fig. 91. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait (study of a cap?)*, *c.* 1635-38, red chalk, 12.9 x 11.9 cm (1:1) (Ben. 437). Washington, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection



Fig. 92. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait (unfinished)*, *c.* 1634, etching, 4.9 x 4.4 cm (1:1) (B. 2) (reproduced in reverse)



the work of Marieke de Winkel (see Chapter II),[133] perhaps it is also time to give closer attention to the incredible skill and precision with which, throughout his career and especially in his etchings and paintings, Rembrandt attended to the *invention* and the *rendering* of clothing. When Arnold Houbraken praises the exceptional variety of Rembrandt's art, he particularly singles out *'the apparel, in which he must be rated above others. Yes, in this he excels above all; and I know no-one who has made so many changes in sketches of one and the same item'* (fig. 92).[134] Against Rembrandt, Houbraken opposes the many painters *'in whose work the same figures and the same dress recur, as though they were all twins'*.[135] And indeed, among the many accurately rendered berets in Rembrandt's etchings and paintings one never finds 'twins'.

The Washington drawing contains the only precisely rendered beret in any of Rembrandt's drawings. A possible explanation for the origin of this drawing is perhaps that the beret, all in all a rather floppy affair collapsing under its own weight, a 'balloon' bulging and dented and pulled into a particular shape, precisely did not belong to the standard repertoire on which the painter practised during his training.[136] Concerning the representation of what he called *'Cloth or drapery'* [*'Laken oft Draperinghe'*] Karel van Mander wrote in 1604: *'I would discourage no-one from the aim of applying themselves to learn to render all kinds of materials from nature'*.[137] But when he advises that the painter [must] pay attention to *'everything that Arachne's art produces in abundance..., wool, rash [a very smooth woollen cloth], serge, silk .... with unflagging concentration'* he is talking about the clothing materials with which the body is attired.[138] The beret set on the head with its dense, sometimes felt-like material, made its own demands. Presumably, Rembrandt is here following the rule articulated by Van Mander that, in representing different materials, one *'must pay careful attention to the stretching and slackening, the*

133 See also M. de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and meaning in Rembrandt paintings*, doct. diss. Amsterdam 2003.

134 Houbraken, op. cit.[53], 1718, I, pp. 257-258: *'den toestel der kleedingen; waar in hy boven anderen* […] *is te pryzen. Ja hy munte daar in boven allen uit: en niemant weet ik dat zoo menige verandering in afschetzingen van een en 't zelve voorwerp gemaakt heeft'*.

135 Houbraken, op. cit.[53], 1718, I, p. 257: *'zulken, die dezelve wezens en kleedingen, even of het al tweelingen waren, in hunne werken te pas brengen'*.

136 See for example the model book of Chrispijn van de Passe, *'t Light der teken en schilderkonst*, Amsterdam 1643-1644, the IVth volume: *'in which is set out how one shall clothe all kinds of images in the most artful way with all kinds of materials: as well as the use of the lay figure' ('in de welcke wort verhaelt hoemen op het alderkonstighste wijse/alderhande Beelden sal bekleden met alderhande stoffen: mitsgaders het gebruyck van den Leeman')*.

137 Van Mander, *Grondt*, op.cit.[128], Ch. X, 8. *'Ick ontrade niet/datmen hem veel wende te leeren maken al verscheyden aerden van lakens nae t'leven/ …'*

138 Van Mander, *Grondt*, op.cit.[128], Ch. X, 5. *'Al wat Arachne const uyt brengt te vollen/moeten wy met opmerck vlijtich aenschouwen/ … wollen/Racen/Saeyen/ Sijden …'*

Fig. 93. Rembrandt, *Study in the mirror*, *c.* 1628/29, pen and brown ink, brown and grey washes, 12.7 x 9.5 cm (1:1) (Ben. 53). London, The British Museum



Fig. 94. Dirck van Baburen, *The Lute-player*, 1622, canvas 71.2 x 58.5 cm (detail). Utrecht, Centraal Museum



spring and jut, the way folds disappear and are cut short, as they are inclined to do by nature'.[139] The studious character of this drawing is evident in the emphatic way the beret's unpredictable lumpiness is accurately rendered. Rembrandt's head and shoulders merely serve as a mannequin, observed in the mirror, on which the beret was placed. From 1629 on, the beret had acquired for Rembrandt a particular significance, and in the centuries after his death it would become the artist's attribute *par excellence*.[140] Whereas in the first years Rembrandt modeled this headgear in only a general fashion, he would later pay far more attention to the specific behaviour of the different materials from which berets could be made. It would seem that this undated drawing, usually assumed to have originated in the 30's, marks a studious moment in this development. The fact that the other side of the sheet (Ben. 437 verso) has been used for studies, supports this hypothesis.

The Washington drawing with the beret is not the only one that may be considered as a study. The two drawn self-portraits from the Leiden years (figs. 93 and 95) also seem to have been intended by Rembrandt as studies, although with other objectives than in the case of the beret. Both these drawings are of the same size (12,7 x 9,5 cm) and are usually dated to 1628/29. Compared with the other drawings done in Leiden, they have been executed with a strikingly painterly technique. In both cases, brown followed by grey washes, applied to a sketch with the pen, ensure that the figure of Rembrandt is clearly placed in the light. In the treatment of a number of painted self-portraits done in Leiden it will be suggested that these works, e.g. the *Self-portrait* from *c.* 1628 in Amsterdam (see fig. 119) and that from *c.* 1629 in Indianapolis (see fig. 123), are studies in which particular problems were explored or practised: an unusual lighting, human skin, the open mouth. Perhaps these two drawn self-portraits from the same period were done with similar intentions. In the drawing in the British Museum (fig. 93) Rembrandt has conspicuously portrayed himself with a slightly opened mouth. This has been done – and this may well be the key to the significance of this drawing – in a manner one encounters among the Utrecht Caravaggists (fig. 94); that is, the light passes through the lips parallel to the mouth opening so that, on the side of the face in shadow, the corner of the mouth is lit.[141] In this drawing too the inside of the mouth itself is slightly lit as well. There can be little doubt that Rembrandt gave greatest attention to this part of the face. This observation relates to our surmise that in a number of his painted and etched Leiden studies Rembrandt was specifically preoccupied with the open mouth, this most expressive – and most difficult to realize – part of the face: in Van Mander's words, the *'two-lipped mouth and what is within it'*.[142] This interpretation of the function of the drawing in the British

139 Van Mander, *Grondt*, op.cit.[128], Ch. X, 9. *'Wel lettend'op t'spannen en neder storten/op uyt en in gaen/wech schieten/vercorten der ployen/nae sy van aerdt zijn gheneghen …'*

140 See in this Volume Chapter II, pp. 60-63.

141 This effect was described in R. Klessmann (ed.), *Hendrick ter Bruggen und die Nachfolger Caravaggios in Holland. Beiträge eines Symposiums im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig 1987*, Braunschweig 1988, p. 47.

142 Van Mander, *Grondt*, op.cit.[128], Ch. VI, 4, p. 159. *'Een twee-lipte mondt/met datter is inne.'*

Fig. 95. Rembrandt, *Study in the mirror*, *c.* 1628/29, pen and brown ink, brush and grey paint, 12.7 x 9.4 cm (1:1) (Ben. 54). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



Fig. 96. Rembrandt, *Study in the mirror*, 1629, etching, 17.4 x 15.5 cm (slightly reduced) (B. 338) (reproduced in reverse)



Museum also explains why it is precisely in this drawing that the play of light and shadow is indicated with such heavy washes, since only in this way could the portrayed effect be made visible.

Thus considered, the difference between such a drawing and a study painted in oils is a matter of degree. Once again, one cannot avoid noting the way that, in the world of Rembrandt research, the splitting of the oeuvre according to techniques – into paintings, etchings and drawings – and of scholarship into specialisms based on them hampers an integrated understanding of his work as a whole.[143] The fact too that the drawn self-portraits are treated here in a separate section is a manifestation of this over-specialization according to medium.

It is not immediately evident what Rembrandt's intentions may have been in the other Leiden drawing done in front of the mirror (fig. 95). Peter Schatborn suggested in 1985 that it might have served as preparation for the considerably larger etched *Study in the mirror* (fig. 96).[144] In the light of the ideas summarized above on the way Rembrandt conceived his work – but also in view of the many differences between the drawing and the etching (for example in the construction of the face and the turn of the head in relation to the trunk) – one can hardly assume that we are dealing here with an *immediately* preliminary study. The etching is furthermore one of the most spontaneous and direct works we know from the young Rembrandt. Certainly, the related conceptions regarding the treatment of light, particularly the role of the shadow cast on the wall behind the sitter,

143 For a further example see E. van de Wetering, 'Remarks on Rembrandt's oil-sketches for etchings' in: Hinterding e.a. op. cit.[126], pp. 36 – 63, esp. 54, where it is argued that the monumental drawing *Christ with his disciples in Gethsemane* (Ben. 89) in Teylers Museum, Haarlem, until now always seen as standing alone, can be considered as one of a series (part of it on paper!) of grisailles executed in oil paints in connection with an unfinished Passion series.

144 P. Schatborn, *Tekeningen van Rembrandt en zijn onbekende leerlingen en navolgers*, The Hague 1985, pp. 2-3.

Fig. 97. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1660, pen and brush with brown, grey and white washes, 8.2 x 7.1 cm (1:1) (Ben. 1177). Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina



Figs. 98 and 99. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait at the easel*, 1660, canvas 110.9 x 90.6 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (IV 19). Detail and corresponding X-Ray





could indicate a (loose) connection between the two works. Rembrandt would have considered the etching – which he also provided with a date and monogram and in which he added a 'love lock' to his coiffure – the more definitive product, even though he eventually took only a few prints from this plate. The formal and technical links between the drawing reproduced in fig. 95 and that in the British Museum (fig. 93) suggest that Rembrandt may also have made this drawing in order to explore a specific aspect of his art, although one cannot say with any certainty what that aspect might be here.

The above remark on the unnecessarily sharp divisions between Rembrandt's works executed in different media applies with even greater force to the Vienna drawing from *c.*1660 (fig. 97), which – since it surfaced in 1927 – has always been related to the *Self-portrait at the easel* in the Louvre (fig. 98; see also figs. 298, 302). In our entry related to that painting (IV 19), we attempt to show that the Albertina drawing in any case cannot have served literally as a 'model' for the Paris painting. From the position of the head, which can be determined from – among other things – the position of the ears in relation to the underside of the nose, or the way the cap is placed on the forehead, it is evident that Rembrandt sat before the mirror with his head more forward tilted; and yet there are clear links between the drawing and the painting, not only the headgear but also in the characterization of the head. A crude line along the right was tentatively identified by Benesch as a painting on an easel, which would link the drawing more firmly to the Paris *Self-portrait*. This line, however, could just as well have had a quite different significance. It might, for instance, be the remnant of a roughly indicated framing of the drawing (see, for example, fig. 108). The much more deliberately drawn rectangular form visible at the bottom left of the drawing does not appear in the painting; the way this form (a sheet of paper, perhaps?) is truncated suggests that the Albertina drawing probably no longer has its original format.

The most remarkable feature of the drawing – and for this reason it is discussed immediately after the two Leiden studies – is its strikingly painterly execution. Detailed technical research by Marian Bisanz-Prakken and Elisabeth Thobois, both of the Albertina, has once again underlined this.[145] According to their observations, the paper has first been covered with a brown ground layer (which is here transparent) – just as panels and canvases of the same period – before executing the drawing with a reed pen. Subsequently, parts of the background, costume and also of the face – on the chin – were covered with a transparent grey tone. In places, the eyes for example, particular elements have been defined more precisely with grey paint. Finally, the cap has been heightened using diluted white paint.

Such a deliberately painterly executed drawing is very rare in Rembrandt's oeuvre.[146] What could have been his intention with this drawing? As already said, essential differences between the two mean that it cannot have been a preliminary study for the Paris painting in the sense of a drawing made as a direct preparation for the execution of that painting. Furthermore, the painting in its first state looked very different from its final form: the X-radiograph shows that Rembrandt was originally wearing some large round headgear (fig. 99); one also

145 See cat. no. 60 in exhib. cat. *From Dürer to Rauschenberg: A quintessence of drawing, masterworks from the Albertina*, New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1997.

146 Examples include the drawing from Teylers Museum in Haarlem with *Christ and his disciples in Gethsemane* (Ben. 89), or the drawing in the British Museum (Ben. 154) that originated parallel to the London grisaille with the *Lamentation* (*Corpus* III A 107). Some of Rembrandt's copies after Indian miniatures were also executed using a mixed technique, no doubt because this was the best way to approach the tonal richness of the prototypes (see for instance Ben. 1200, 1202, 1203).

Fig. 100. Michael Sweerts, *The drawing school*, *c.* 1655-60, canvas 76.5 x 110 cm (detail). Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum



sees on the X-radiograph that Rembrandt's white shirt was originally visible almost to the shoulder.

Could this drawing then have been an *interim* work, as seems more often to have been the case with drawings that at first sight look like preliminary studies (see note 126)? For various reasons, the intervention to replace the monumental headgear originally worn by Rembrandt in the painting by a *'mansmuts'* (a man's cap) might well have required further consideration during the genesis of the Paris *Self-portrait at the easel* (see IV 19, *Comments*).

After Rembrandt's first, subsequently rejected attempt to portray himself with a light headgear in the Washington *Self-portrait* from 1659 (see IV 18 fig. 2), as far as we know, the Paris *Self-portrait* is the first in which he actually wears such a cap, an indoor type of headwear of which ten are listed amongst his linen in the 1669 inventory of Rembrandt's estate.[147] Rembrandt later portrayed himself with this same kind of headwear in the Kenwood *Self-portrait* (see fig. 319). Remarkably, in a number of other late self-portraits, Rembrandt also seems in the first instance to have wanted to depict himself in a white cap only to decide later to change this for a darker headgear (IV 20, 27, 29). Pictorial considerations may well have played a role in this repeated indecision over light or dark headgear, for instance in relation to the light 'hierarchy' in the painting (see also pp. 290-291). Perhaps it was in this connection that Rembrandt depicted himself in a white turban in his *Self-portrait as Paul* (IV 24).

The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that some other motive influenced the choice of a *'mansmuts'* in a self-portrait. As remarked by Marieke de Winkel in Chapter II, p. 58, in both self-portraits in which Rembrandt wears a *'mansmuts'* he also shows himself with his painter's tools. In this context, it may be significant that in the London *Self-portrait* from 1669 (IV 27) Rembrandt not only replaced the white cap with different headgear but also painted out his hands and the brushes he had originally been holding. De Winkel suggests there may have been a connection between Rembrandt's self-portraits with a *'mansmuts'* and the fact that, according to a print that Rembrandt undoubtedly possessed, Titian also wore such a light cap whilst at work (see Chapter II fig. 32). [148] In this connection, it is perhaps also telling that in his 1662/63 *Self-portrait as Zeuxis*, Rembrandt depicts the painter of classical antiquity in a light cap (see IV 25 fig. 1). And perhaps it is not without significance in this connection that Michael Sweerts portrays a painter in a drawing class with a similar white cap (fig. 100). Sweerts' painting, which seems to depict the painter receiving a guest, originated in or shortly after 1655 in Brussels, where Sweerts had founded an *'academy of drawing from life'*.[149] It is considered a highly accurate representation of this drawing school.[150] Apparently, then, the *'mansmuts'* worn by the painter while teaching and even receiving a visiting gentleman was more than merely a casual headwear. The change of headgear in the Paris *Self-portrait at the easel* may therefore reflect something other than merely pictorial considerations. But would Rembrandt have found it necessary, solely for himself, to make a drawing so thoroughgoing in its tonal approach as preparation for a change in his *Self-portrait at the easel*? One could speculate that he perhaps made it for someone else – a possible patron for the painting now in Paris perhaps – to show what the painting would look like in its new form. The presence of the truncated rectangular shape at the bottom left of the drawing would seem to rule out such speculation. If this is what remains of a depicted sheet of paper, it would imply that the 'situation' here is not that of the Paris painting, and any direct connection with the *Self-portrait at the easel* would disappear. One might then speculate that the drawing could have been a fragment of, for example, Rembrandt's contribution to an *Album Amicorum*.[151] But the Albertina self-portrait may also have had a function within a studio tradition that will be discussed later in this section.

It is evident why *Rembrandt, full length* in the Rembrandthuis was long considered to be a preliminary study (fig. 101). Strikingly close similarities with the painting from Vienna from 1652 (IV 8), especially with regard to the position of the trunk, the resting of the hands on the belt and – apart from the hat – several exact correspondences in the dress suggest the obvious inference that the painting has been based on the drawing (cf. fig. 102).

147 Strauss *Doc.*, 1669/5, no. 46: *'Op't achterkamertje': '10 mansmutsen'*.

148 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 216: *'Een ditto* [book] *seer groot met meest alle de wercken van Titian'*.

149 *'academie van die teeckeninghen naer het leven'*

150 G. Jansen, P. Sutton et al., *Michael Sweerts (1618-1664)*, exhib. cat. 2001/02, cat. no. XIX.

151 See C.L. Heesakkers & K. Thomassen, *Voorlopige lijst van alba amicorum uit de Nederlanden voor 1800*, The Hague 1986. We know that Rembrandt contributed to such alba: the *Album Amicorum Burchard Grossmann*, see Strauss *Doc.*, 1634/6, (Ben. 257; see fig. 111), the *Pandora Album of Jan Six* (Ben. 913, 914); Ben. 469 may also have been cut from an *Album Amicorum*.

Fig. 101. Pupil of Rembrandt, *Rembrandt, as dressed in his studio* (presumed composite copy after figs. 102 and 103), after 1652, pen and brown ink, 20.3 x 13.4 cm (Ben. 1171). Amsterdam, Museum Het Rembrandthuis



Fig. 102. Rembrandt, *Large self-portrait*, 1652, canvas 112.1 x 81 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (IV 8). The painting is seriously trimmed at the left and slightly at the right edge.



Fig. 103. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait drawing at a window*, 1648, etching (detail) (B. 22 I)



Even such a detail as the indent where the left shoulder passes into the upper arm appears in the drawing. But the correspondence of such a detail immediately raises the thought that perhaps the drawing is a faithful copy after the painting rather than a preliminary study for it. It is in any case highly unlikely, simply for the reasons set out above, that Rembrandt would have prepared such a roughly executed painting as the Vienna *Self-portrait* with such a relatively thorough drawing. Moreover, as argued in the catalogue text relating to the Viennese painting, the cusping at the lower edge of the canvas excludes the possibility that this painting was ever intended to be a full-length self-portrait.

In short, it appears far more likely that the drawing was copied by another artist – partly, at least – *after* the Vienna painting.[152] If that is indeed the case, the question arises of why Rembrandt is so much stockier a figure in the drawing than in the painting. One need only compare the position of the shoulders in relation to the head. The point where the shoulder-line intersects the jaw lies at the height of the underside of the chin in the painting, whereas in the drawing it is as high as the mouth. According to the Vienna painting and his other self-portraits, Rembrandt in reality had a markedly longer neck than shown in the Amsterdam drawing. There is only one self-portrait where the relation between head and shoulders is similar to that in the drawing:

152 Earlier doubts as to the authenticity of the drawing have already been expressed, although not in print. During discussions over the certain 'core' of Rembrandt's oeuvre of drawings between Peter Schatborn and Martin Royalton-Kisch, on the basis of stylistic characteristics, particularly the way of hatching, the drawing was connected to a group of drawings that are usually attributed to Willem Drost (1633 – '58) (Sumowski *Drawings* 3, pp. 1185-1241). Drost remained in Rembrandt's studio from *c.* 1648 to *c.* 1653, so he must have known Rembrandt's etched *Self-portrait drawing at the window* from 1648 and the Vienna *Large self-portrait* from 1652. See: J. Bikker, *Willem Drost (1633-1658). A Rembrandt pupil in Amsterdam*, doct. diss. Amsterdam 2001, pp. 9-14.

Fig. 104. Attr. to Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Portrait of a young artist at work (self-portrait?)*, *c.* 1645-50, pen and brush in brown, 10.2 x 8.4 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen



Fig. 105. Attr. to Heyman Dullaert, *Portrait of a young artist at work (self-portrait?)*, *c.* 1650-55, pen in brown, 8.3 x 7.8 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett



Fig. 106. Attr. to Arent de Gelder, *Portrait of a young artist at work (self-portrait?)*, *c.* 1660-62, pen in brown, 11.8 x 10.3 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



Fig. 107. Willem Drost, *Self-portrait, drawing*, 1652, etching



the etched *Self-portrait drawing at the window* from 1648 (fig. 103, see also fig. 152). Moreover, in this etching Rembrandt is wearing the same hat. The fact that in that self-portrait the shoulder-line also intersects the head at the level of the mouth is explained by Rembrandt's position: he is portrayed sitting, leaning on a table such that his head is lowered and held forward of the shoulders.

On the basis of the above, the hypothesis is suggested here that the author of the Amsterdam drawing based himself on the body of the Vienna painting and on the head and shoulders of the etching (see figs. 101-103).

Such a 'composite copy' would not have been made in this fashion without reason. Perhaps the inscription under the drawing: *'Drawn by Rembrandt van Rijn after his own image / as he was attired in his studio'* provides the key to an explanation.[153] Since Rembrandt portrayed himself at work in the etching, the obvious assumption is that during this period Rembrandt at work wore such a remarkable stiff, barrelled hat rather than the large floppy beret which he wears in the Vienna painting. Only later, as argued above, did the white cap come to play a role in the 'studio attire'. The sixteenth-century beret in the Vienna painting could perhaps have had other connotations related to the dignity of the painter's profession (cf. Chapter II fig. 35, where Jan Gossaert is shown with similar headgear). This beret therefore need not necessarily have been part of Rembrandt's working wardrobe. According to Raupp and de Winkel, the fact that Rembrandt portrays himself in a rumpled tabbard held together by a shawl-like belt indicates that Rembrandt wanted to refer to the honorable status of his profession by depicting himself in working clothes.[154]

Whereas the Vienna painting as a whole is not necessarily therefore a 'snapshot' of Rembrandt in his work clothes, this would apparently have been the case in the eyes of seventeenth-century insiders for the *Rembrandt, full length* under discussion. That at least is what the inscription on the drawing suggests. Although, admittedly, this subsequently attached text, in seventeenth-century script, is on a separate strip of paper stuck below the drawing (below which Mariette in the eighteenth century stuck another strip of paper with the French translation),[155] the older inscription appears to have been written on exactly the same type of paper as that of the drawing itself.[156] There is therefore good reason to suspect that the inscription might originally have been written on the reverse side of the drawing (in which case it must have stood either at the top or bottom margin whence it could have been cut off without damaging the drawing). Cutting off the inscription would then have preserved it when the drawing was backed with a piece of paper.

If the inscription did once stand on (the reverse side of) the drawing, this would not necessarily mean that it was introduced during Rembrandt's lifetime. Jaap van der Veen infers from the writing of the *r* and the *e* that the text could not have been written before the very end of the seventeenth century.[157] The information it conveys, however, might have been based on oral tradition. If the drawing was not produced by Rembrandt but, for instance, by Willem Drost (see note 152), this would mean that the passage in the inscription *'Drawn by Rembrandt van Rijn after his own image'* is misleading. Nevertheless, the reconstruction proposed here for the origin of the drawing would imply a different kind of authenticity. The drawing would in a meaningful way combine two autograph self-portraits of Rembrandt in such a way that a reliable image of Rembrandt in his studio was created.[158]

At first sight, the drawing in the Rembrandthuis would seem to be a remarkable occurrence. There is, however, a context into which this drawing, like a number of other portraits of Rembrandt (either drawn by himself or by others) that are discussed below, would fit: a studio

153 *'getekent door Rembrant van Rhijn naer sijn selver / sooals hij in sijn schilderkamer gekleet was'*

154 See Chapter II, p. 59; F. Baldinucci, *Cominciamento, e progresso dell'arte dell'intagliare in rame: colle vite di molti de'più eccellenti maestri della stessa professione*, Florence 1686, p. 79. *'... era accompagnato da un vestire abietto, e sucido, essendo suo costume nel lavorare il nettarsi i pennelli addosso ...'* ('... that went together with vile and filthy clothes, it being his custom whilst working to wipe his brushes on himself ...'); Raupp 1984, op. cit.[79], pp. 81-82.

155 *'Rembrant avec l'habit dans lequel / il avoit accoutumé de peindre'*

156 The remarkably coarse horizontal 'vergure' is identical on both pieces of paper (4 ridges on 5.5 mm).

157 Oral communication.

158 Such a fusion of two works by the master could not be an isolated case. In Volume V, Michiel Franken will suggest that the Washington *Joseph accused by Potiphar's wife* (Br. 523), which we are convinced was painted by a pupil, could be a fusion of the largely autograph Berlin version and (placed in mirror image) the figure of Asnat from the *Jacob's blessing* (Br. 525).

tradition whereby (self)portraits were made of – or for – studio fellow-artists. The German art historian Stefanie Marschke has recently investigated this tradition in her book on the functions of portraits and self-portraits of artists from classical antiquity to the Renaissance.[159]

The use of fellow-artists as models in various activities in the studio is an obvious recourse, probably at all times. Well-known examples of this practice include the so-called Garzone studies, for instance in Rafael's studio, where pupils posed for the master and for other members of the workshop.[160] That this also occurred in the Netherlands is evident, for example, from the testament of the Kampen painter Bernhard Vollenhove (1633- after 1691), a pupil of Salomon Koninck, which mentions a *'St Lawrence by Salomon Koninck in the year 1653 done after me'* ('St. Lourentius door Salomon Coning in den jare 1653 *naer mij gedaen*'). Vollenhove acquired the painting concerned from his former master and kept it.[161] In Rembrandt's studio too, it is known from a series of drawings by pupils and an etching of Rembrandt that young men, whether one takes them to have been pupils or assistants, served incidentally as models. Usually these models were drawn full length.[162] Several paintings from Rembrandt's workshop are evidently based on such drawings of models.[163]

There can be little doubt that, just as in Italy, in Rembrandt's studio too the heads of fellow-workers were painted and drawn for various purposes. Natasja van Eck, inspired by a remark of Josua Bruyn[164], has looked at the possibility that the frequently encountered *tronies* of young men in the style of Rembrandt could have been painted after models from the studio.[165] Previously, these paintings were normally attributed to Rembrandt, but we are now convinced that most of them were painted by other members of the workshop. It is fairly evident that the functions of works such as these could be various and rapidly interchangeable. What may have initially been made as an exercise could in due time assume the function, for instance, of a friendship portrait. Thus Vasari informs us that Lorenzo di Credi painted portraits of his master Andrea Verrocchio, his fellow-pupil Pietro Perugino and of himself. The portraits of Verrocchio and Perugino remained in the hands of the painter, the self-portrait of Lorenzo di Credi came into the possession of his pupil Gianiacopo.[166] Such (self)portraits apparently took on the functional significance of *Memoriae*. In Bellini's circle, too, similar portraits, both painted and drawn, were produced. Apparently out of respect and friendship, Bellini was portrayed by pupils including Giorgione and Titian.[167] Of the drawing by Giorgione, whose existence is known solely from a letter, it was reported by the writer that this was done during the time that Giorgione was still an apprenticed pupil of Bellini.[168] Such stories apparently had a wide circulation among the studios. Arnold Houbraken reports, for instance, that while Anthonie van Dyck *'was still with his master* [Rubens] *he painted his portrait'*.[169] We also have a documented example from Dutch sources. In the inventory of the Friesian painter Lambert Jacobsz drawn up in 1637 there was a portrait of this painter done by his pupil Jacob Adriaensz Backer.[170] In this case it is not known whether the portrait originated during the period of Backer's apprenticeship, although this seems likely.

We infer from the example of Giorgione's drawn portrait of Giovanni Bellini that this studio tradition involved not only paintings but also drawings. Marschke cites a number of Italian examples in which pupils reciprocally drew each other – presumably at the same time.[171] A number of drawn portraits of young men drawing seem to indicate that this may also have occurred with Rembrandt (figs. 104, 105, 106, 107), although whether these drawings are self-portraits or (possibly reciprocal) portraits is still a matter of discussion.[172] In the instance of a signed etching by Willem Drost from 1652 this appears almost certainly to be a self-portrait (see fig. 107). Obviously, the functional significance of such small works need not have been limited to that of mere exercises, but could also potentially have served as *memoriae*. It is tempting to place Rembrandt's small, drawn self-portrait in Rotterdam in this context (fig. 108). One infers from the way in which the drawing hand (the left hand in mirror image) has been obliterated by hatching that one is dealing with an autograph self-portrait suggested by minimal means. However, in view of the functional context discussed here, the possibility should not be excluded that other drawings which have hitherto been regarded as self-portraits of Rembrandt may in fact not have been drawn by him. The drawing from the Rembrandthuis apparently belongs to this latter category. This drawing, according to the inscription

159 S. Marschke, *Künstlerbildnisse und Selbstporträts. Studien zu ihren Funktionen von der Antike bis zur Renaissance*, Weimar 1998.

160 F. Ames-Lewis, 'The Renaissance draftsman and his models', in *Drawing: masters and methods, Rafael to Redon*, Royal Academies of Art, London/New York 1992.

161 G.P. Rouffaer, 'Vier Kamper schilders. Ernst Maeler, Mechtelt toe Boecop, Bernhard Vollenhove, Steven van Duyven', *O.H.* 5 (1887), pp. 295-308, esp. 297). I am grateful to Jaap van der Veen for this reference.

162 See for instance E. Hinterding e.a., op.cit.[126], cat. no. 51 with further literature.

163 Br. 591, 593; see also Sumowski's remarks on the *Abraham's Sacrifice* of Nicolaes Maes, Sumowski *Gemälde* III, no. 1316.

164 J. Bruyn, 'Studio practice and studio production', *Corpus* III, Chapter II, pp. 12-50, esp. 25.

165 N. van Eck, *Jongemannen-tronies*, unpublished master's thesis, University of Amsterdam 2000.

166 Vasari-Milanesi, Volume IV, p. 566; see also Marschke, op. cit.[159], p. 272.

167 See Marschke, op. cit.[159], p. 274 ff and 309-10.

168 The letter was written on 25th June, 1667, by the agent Paolo del Sera to Leopoldo de' Medici. Marschke, op.cit.[159], p. 309.

169 Houbraken, op. cit.[53], 1718, I p. 182. *'Hy heeft nog by zyn meester zynde, deszelfs pourtret, dat van zyn vrouw en verscheide anderen gemaakt, …'*

170 H.L. Straat, 'Lambert Jacobsz. schilder', in: *De Vrije Fries* 28 (1925), pp. 53-94, esp. 73, no. 24.

171 Marschke, op. cit.[159], p. 305; see however C. Goldstein, *Visual fact over verbal fiction. A study of the Carracci and the criticism, theory and practice of art in the Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, Cambridge/New York 1988, p. 56.

172 See Van Eck, op. cit.[165], pp. 33-40.

Fig. 108. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait, c.* 1660, pen and brown ink with washes, 6.9 x 6.2 cm (1:1) (Ben. 1176). Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen



intended first of all to give an impression of everyday practice (in this case of Rembrandt's working dress) in the studio, opens the possibility of including other works in this category. This would include, for example, the frequently reproduced drawing in Darmstadt (fig. 109) where Rembrandt is represented in a model drawing class, surrounded by pupils. The drawing in Berlin (fig. 110), in which Rembrandt has drawn himself – or some other draughtsman has depicted him – in his studio, could also belong to this category. What seems to be a palette hangs from the wall.

The authenticity of this drawing has hitherto never been doubted, yet there are several reasons why it should now be raised for discussion. To begin with, the *dating* of the drawing has long been a matter of discussion. Older authors have dated it to around 1645, whereas Benesch on the other hand felt there were arguments for dating it to

Fig. 109. Rembrandt-pupil, *Rembrandt's studio with pupils drawing from the nude, c.* 1650-60, pen and brush with brown ink, black chalk, heightened with white, 18 x 26.6 cm. Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum



Fig. 110. Rembrandt or pupil, *(Self-)portrait of Rembrandt*, *c.* 1645, pen in brown ink, with washes and corrections in white, 12.5 x 13.7 cm (1:1) (Ben. 432). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett



Fig. 111. Rembrandt, *Bust of an old man*, pen in brown ink with washes, 8.9 x 7.1 cm (1:1) (Ben. 257), in the *Album Amicorum* of Burchard Grossmann, 18 June 1634. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek



around 1635, some ten years earlier.[173] The later dating was undoubtedly dictated by the physiognomic argument: in the drawing, Rembrandt has a strikingly broad head with deeply recessed temples as in the '*Self-portrait*' in Karlsruhe (see fig. 259). For Benesch, however, this evidence of physiognomy apparently carried little weight. He saw similarities, which are certainly not convincing, with the painted self-portraits from the period around 1635. This is not the only point on which his arguments for an earlier dating fail to convince. His case that in matters of style and the use of washes he could show a relationship with the drawing from the *Album Amicorum* of Burchard Grossmann from 1634 is also unconvincing (fig. 111).[174] There is only slight stylistic affinity between the two drawings and there is a great difference in quality. In the Grossmann drawing the contours, the washes and the forceful lines with which the cloak is indicated all contribute to a convincing structuring of the figure. In the Berlin drawing, on the other hand, the washes are not only chaotic but in the main counterproductive. They disturb, for example, the suggestion of a table behind which Rembrandt sits and do nothing to prevent Rembrandt's arm appearing absurdly short.

While these arguments already raise doubts, a specific aspect of physiognomy should certainly not pass unmentioned. The draughtsman has paid rather close attention to the asymmetric furrows between Rembrandt's eyebrows. They are the mirror image of what we know from authentic self-portraits (see the section on *Physiognomy* in this chapter and figs. 15-18).

These remarks are intended as no more than an incentive to renewed discussion of the many questions raised by this drawing. In our view, however, there are good reasons to entertain doubts as to both its authenticity and the currently accepted early dating.

A drawing in the Lehman collection in New York must not remain unmentioned, even though the original state of this drawing has been seriously disfigured by grey and black washes introduced by another hand (fig. 112). The various dates given in the Rembrandt literature are even more disparate than in the case of the Berlin drawing (fig. 110). Valentiner placed it among the paintings from the mid-fifties.[175] He had in mind IV 11, IV 10 (version 4) and IV 14. Benesch, on the other hand, thought this drawing originated 20 years earlier, in *c.* 1636.[176] Haverkamp Begemann, who discussed the

173 Ben. 432.
174 Strauss *Doc.*, 1634/6.
175 W.R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Des Meisters Handzeichnungen*, Stuttgart/Berlin/Leipzig, 1925-34, II, p. 415, no. 668.
176 Ben. 434.

Fig. 112. Attr. to Rembrandt, *Rembrandt, half-length*, pen and wash, in bistre and Indian ink (most of the washes being added by later hands), 13,6 x 11,4 cm (1:1) (Ben. 434). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection



drawing in great detail in the recent catalogue of the Lehman collection, followed the suggestion of Sumowski that the drawing might be a preliminary study for the painted self-portrait in Windsor Castle (IV 1).[177] Apart from the fact that there are virtually no formal similarities between that painting and the Lehman drawing (the turn to the right and the hand held inside the cloak scarcely provide an adequate basis for assuming a direct link between the two works), one has to refer once more to the remark entered at the beginning of this section on the improbability of Rembrandt having any need for preliminary studies for his self-portraits. In view of the drastic effect of the later washes, there is little sensible that could be said on the question of whether the first version, now largely covered, is by Rembrandt or another hand. Now that the indications have become stronger that others also made (self)portraits of Rembrandt, the fact that Rembrandt's features are recognizable here – albeit with difficulty – can no longer be considered an argument in favour of attributing this drawing to Rembrandt.

As indicated at the beginning of the section, this survey of what is usually referred to as the drawn self-portraits of Rembrandt has not been ordered chronologically but roughly according to the presumed function of each separate drawing. In almost no case did this function turn out to be unambiguously clear. Yet we hope that the hypotheses that have been raised may contribute to further discussion of these works.

177 E. Haverkamp-Begemann in: *The Robert Lehman Collection VII, Fifteenth- to eighteenth-century European drawings (Central Europe, The Netherlands, France, England)*, New York/Princeton 1999, cat. no. 71; see that entry for further literature.

The self-portraits of 1625-1640 revisited

Although the main purpose of this book is to publish our insights relating to Rembrandt's self-portraits from the years *c.* 1640-'69, we nevertheless feel it necessary also to look once again at the self-portraits already published in the first three volumes of *A Corpus*. The reasons for this are set out in the *Preface* to this Volume (see pp. XVI-XVII).

In those cases where our views on the attribution of the relevant works remain unchanged, this aspect will as a rule receive little or no attention. However, where our ideas on this point have changed, the reasoning behind such changes are set out either below or in *Corrigenda* (p. 597 ff).

In discussing the Leiden and early Amsterdam self-portraits below, we do not adhere to a chronological order, since we are also attempting to bring into consideration the possible function(s) of the works concerned. Rembrandt's etched self-portraits will also be discussed below, as they may cast light on questions concerning the painted ones. Where interrelated questions of production, function and authenticity are concerned, particularly with regard to the early self-portraits, it is inevitable that one should sometimes be driven to speculation. We hope that by occasionally launching somewhat speculative hypotheses in the following we may perhaps stimulate future discussion of the many questions that remain open in this field.

– The Leiden period (1625-1631)

Of the works usually called self-portraits (whether painted, etched or drawn) produced during Rembrandt's six years as an independent artist in Leiden – the relatively brief period from 1625 to '31 – it is surely remarkable that Rembrandt's face is represented by himself (or in some cases by workshop associates) in no less than *c.* 30 works (leaving aside workshop copies) – which is more than a third of the *c.* 85 works usually considered to be self-portraits produced during his whole career.[178] Some twelve of these Leiden works were painted. In our view, hardly any of these paintings showing Rembrandt's face should be seen as strictly a 'portrait of Rembrandt painted by himself'. The position will be defended, in fact, that (except perhaps for one or two exceptional cases) the first such real 'portrait' was an etching produced only in 1631 at the beginning of Rembrandt's stay in Amsterdam (see fig. 149).[179]

– The painter and etcher as his most patient model

Technical and pictorial studies

Rembrandt made a rather large number of 'studies' – in the sense of works in which he tried out certain technical and pictorial possibilities. In the etchings from the Leiden period – and Rembrandt basically must have taught himself in this field – one can follow the different stages of exercise investigating the rendering of space, light and shade and the necessarily associated hatching techniques. It is hardly surprising that Rembrandt should have sometimes taken his own face as the subject of these studies.[180]

Working from life was part of the last stage of a seventeenth-century training in drawing.[181] No model would have been more patient in such studies than the painter himself. This must have been the reason, for example, that the young Moses ter Borch (1645-1667) made eleven studies of his face (nine drawings and two oil sketches) which happened to survive because they were carefully preserved by the Ter Borch family (fig. 114).[182] To take an earlier example, several studies drawn in front of the mirror by the young Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) have been preserved (fig. 113).[183] That the earliest etchings depicting Rembrandt's face may be considered as studies is supported by the fact that scarcely more than a single, or at most a few impressions were made (or, at least, are known today) of these etchings (see for instance figs. 115-118), which is also true of the etched studies of history scenes and related subjects of that period.[184]

The image that emerges from Rembrandt's early etched and drawn 'studies' of his own head in the mirror finds its equivalent in a small number of painted works. The first instance known to us, the Amsterdam study in back-lighting (usually dated to 1628) (fig. 119) is apparently linked to the most ambitious history piece in his newly developed style, the *Judas returning thirty pieces of silver* (figs. 121, 122). Pictorially, an intensified treatment of light was to play a major role in the *Judas*. After the descriptive rendering of the colourful figures in the picture space of Rembrandt's earlier history paintings, light had now become the main agent in organizing the image. The struggle for a satisfactory solution for the left part of the *Judas* is evident in the X-radiograph of the painting and from several drawings.[185] Rembrandt's problem with the figures in that part of the composition must have been that when they turned their attention to the focal event of the scene – the hand-wringing Judas – they had to be shown lit from behind, with the result that their faces would be for the most part in shadow. The Amsterdam study of Rembrandt's own face must have

178 According to the catalogue of the exhibition *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, cat. nos. 1-32.
179 See also M. Royalton-Kisch, op cit.[126], p. 108.
180 B. 1, 4, 5, 9, 12, 15, 24, 27, 319, 338.
181 P. Schatborn and E. Ornstein-van Slooten, exhib. cat. *Rembrandt as teacher*, Amsterdam (Rembrandt House Museum) 1984-85, pp. 19-22.
182 McNeil Kettering, op.cit.[2], Vol. I, pp. 286-351, nos. 52, 98, 99, 100 (2x), 101, 102, 103, 130; and two paintings (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum A 2241 and A 2118).
183 F. Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers*, Berlin 1936, Vol. I, nos. 26 and 27.
184 For instance B. 54, 160, 95, 106, 153, 116, 149, 115.
185 See *Corpus* I A 15; for a better reproduction of the X-ray see Vol. II, p. 837.

Figs. 113-118. *Studies in the mirror*

Fig. 113. Albrecht Dürer, pen 20.4 x 20.8 cm (verso). Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek



Fig. 114. Moses ter Borch, black chalk, heightened with white chalk, some brush in dark brown, 9 x 6.7 cm (1:1). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



Fig. 115. Rembrandt, *c.* 1628, etching (1:1) (B. 5 I)



Fig. 116. Rembrandt, *c.* 1628, etching (1:1) (B. 9)



Fig. 117. Rembrandt, *c.* 1628, etching (1:1) (B. 27)



Fig. 118. Rembrandt, *c.* 1629, etching (1:1) (B. 12)



Fig. 119. Rembrandt, *Study in the mirror*, *c.* 1628, panel 22.5 x 18.6 cm (1:1). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (I A 14)



Fig. 120. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1629, panel 15.5 x 12.7 cm (1:1). Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek (I A 19)



Figs. 121 and 122. Rembrandt, *Judas, repentant, returning the pieces of silver*, 1629, panel 79 x 102.3 cm. England, private collection (I A 15)





Fig. 123. Rembrandt, *Study in the mirror*, *c.* 1629, panel 42.8 x 33 cm. Indianapolis, The Indianapolis Museum of Art, lent by the Clowes Fund (IV *Corrigenda* I A 22). For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see fig. 328



Fig. 124. Rembrandt studio, Copy after fig. 123, *c.* 1629, panel 49.7 x 37.3 cm. Japan, MOA Museum (IV *Corrigenda* I A 22)



arisen in the context of solving that problem. The fact that the painting is unsigned would support this interpretation of the work's function as a study. One may therefore wonder why Rembrandt decided to paint virtually the same again. On the much smaller version of the Amsterdam painting in Munich (fig. 120), Rembrandt represents himself in a similar posture and almost identical lighting; but this time both a monogram and date (1629) have been inscribed by the painter. Did the two works have different functions? It may be significant that, whereas costume plays a minimal role in the Amsterdam painting, in the Munich painting Rembrandt paints himself with a shirt collar with a decorated border, turned over against the darker shiny material of a garment of a more formal character than in the Amsterdam version. More attention has also been paid to the characterization of physiognomy and the posture of the figure.

It is of course risky to produce a patron as a *Deus ex machina* to explain a puzzling art historical phenomenon. Nevertheless, the possibility is suggested here that the Munich *Self-portrait* may have been a smaller, slightly adapted repetition of the Amsterdam study ordered as a 'portrait of Rembrandt done by himself' in his revolutionary new style. A most unusual portrait, of course, unless one were to see it through the eyes of the admiring art-lovers and connoisseurs around Rembrandt – those art-lovers mentioned in contemporary texts written during or referring to Rembrandt's first years as a promising artist.[186] The idea that the Munich painting might have been handed over to a new owner immediately after completion is consistent with the fact that no studio copies have survived, whereas copies of the Amsterdam painting have, indicating that the latter painting remained in the studio and was eventually used by pupils to copy as an exercise. The fact that subsequently Van Vliet produced his print after the Amsterdam painting only in 1634 (see fig. 46), may be considered as another strong indication that the Amsterdam painting was still in Rembrandt's possession at that time.

In Volume I of the *Corpus*, it was proposed that the painting in the MOA museum in Japan (fig. 124) showing Rembrandt's face served as the prototype for a number of workshop copies. The RRP's attribution of the MOA painting to Rembrandt's hand was to a large extent dictated by strong stylistic similarities of that version with the *'Self-portrait'* in The Hague (see fig. 136). Both paintings show a similar, remarkably smooth, precious technique. Since there are now persuasive indications that the Hague painting cannot be from Rembrandt's hand but must rather be considered a copy after the Nuremberg version (see in this Volume *Corrigenda* I A 21, and below), the stylistic arguments put forward in favour of an attribution of the MOA version to Rembrandt lose their force. Moreover, the version in Indianapolis (fig. 123) not only contains several *repentirs* but also bears what seems to be a reliable Rembrandt monogram, placed on the background while this was still wet, which, together with specific characteristics of the brushwork, are surely convincing arguments in favour of re-attributing this version to Rembrandt, an option already advocated by Haverkamp Begemann and others (see in this Volume *Corrigenda* I A 22).

It is striking that the execution of the painting in Indianapolis has little in common with the Amsterdam and Munich paintings from the same period. Whereas the flesh tones in the latter two paintings are rendered by cursory, only locally merging brushwork needed to suggest the illumination of the face, the painting in Indianapolis manifests a careful and through-modelled rendering of human skin. It would seem that the task the painter sets himself here is totally different from that motivated by the problem in the Amsterdam painting (and in its Munich derivative). Here, one cannot help wondering whether rendering the continuity of the subtle *modelé* of the human face might have been the more important challenge.

It should be pointed out that the scale of the head in Indianapolis is more than twice that of the Amsterdam painting (and enormous compared with the painting in Munich). As far as is known, it is the first life-size representation of the human face by Rembrandt. In this connection, it is relevant that, after his apprenticeship with Lastman, he continued to paint figures in his history pieces on the same relatively small scale as he must have done under Lastman's supervision. The painting in Indianapolis appears to be a first attempt to paint the continuous surface of human skin as faithfully as possible on a life-size scale (including three facial spots, pimples, on his chin and jaw-line). Although we shall probably never know whether he already had in mind his future activities as a portrait painter, it is nevertheless a fact that the incidental magnification of the scale of his figures in this study and in the later Leiden *tronies* was to reap its reward in his later career as a portrait painter. Rembrandt was to develop an ability to suggest the continuity of the topography of the human face equalled by few other painters. He must, however, have had a further aim in this ambitious painting, the study of one of the most complicated parts of the human face, the mouth when open. This aspect will be dealt with below.

The fact that copies were made of the Indianapolis painting, presumably by early pupils in Rembrandt's studio, suggests that Rembrandt may have thought it an instructive example for young painters. That this painting, unlike the Amsterdam *Study in the mirror* discussed above, was given an RHL monogram immediately on completion may indicate that Rembrandt then regarded it as a work that would eventually leave his studio as a commodity, as may have been the case with

186 Strauss *Doc.*, 1628/1; 1630/5 section 1; 1641/8; E. van de Wetering, 'Rembrandt's beginnings; an essay', in exhib. cat. *The mystery of the young Rembrandt*, 2001/02, pp. 22-57, esp. 27-32. The thoroughly detailed and monogrammed *Old man with a turban* (IV Add. 3) depicted with the same lighting seems to have been intended as another saleable byproduct of the Amsterdam study of back lighting; Van de Wetering 1998, op. cit.[17].

the Munich version of the Amsterdam study (figs. 120, 119).

Studies of different facial expressions

Rembrandt's use of his own face in front of the mirror to explore the physiognomic expression of different (simulated) emotions has often been discussed. His later pupil Samuel van Hoogstraten was to advise his own pupils (and the readers of his book on the art of painting) with the words: *'thus must one transform oneself entirely into an actor (...) in front of a mirror, being both performer and beholder'*.[187] This advice no doubt reflects Rembrandt's own ideas on this point. In the exhaustive section of his *'Grondt'* that Karel van Mander devoted to the *'Wtbeeldinghe der Affecten'* (the rendering of emotions) he draws up an inventory of the physiognomic elements whose constantly changing interplay gives facial expression to different emotions: *'a forehead, two eyes, above them two eyebrows, and two cheeks beneath; further, between nose and chin, a mouth with two lips and all that is contained within it'*.[188]

The mouth with the surrounding musculature in all its mobility – as when shown open – must also in Rembrandt's time have been seen as one of the most expressive and most difficult facial elements to represent. In several Leiden works made before the mirror, Rembrandt depicts himself with open mouth, in some cases without giving the impression that he intended to convey any specific facial expression. The slightly open mouth in the Munich *Self-portrait*, for instance, is for the most part in shadow, with the lower position of the bottom lip localized by means of a red spot of light (fig. 120). The highly controlled execution of the constellation of light and shadow round the corner of the mouth lends to this extremely complex part of the face a convincing plastic and anatomical consistency. In the Indianapolis study (fig. 123), the mouth was studied as an opening between the accurately depicted lips within the subtle continuity of the facial *modelé*. The placing of the teeth in the mouth cavity and the way they merge into the shadow were given full consideration. Of the etched studies of facial expressions from 1630, in most cases Rembrandt again represents his face with open mouth (see figs. 126, 131, 134). One of these studies characterizes the laugh – or a broad smile – in masterly fashion (fig. 126).

That the convincing representation of a laughing face was seen as a special challenge is evident from several passages in Van Mander's *'Grondt'* that refer to this state. One such passage is worth quoting in this context:

Fig. 125. Rembrandt, *The Stoning of S. Stephen*, 1625, detail with *Rembrandt's features distorted by sorrow*. Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (I A 1)



Fig. 126. Rembrandt, *Expression study in the mirror*, 1630, etching (1:1) (B. 316 III)



'They are not wrong, those who reproach us [the painters] *that, in our faces, we are so poorly able to show the difference between laughing and crying. But if we study the life, we see that when laughing, the mouth and cheeks are stretched wider and are raised while the forehead descends, and between the two the eyes are squeezed and pressed so that they create small wrinkles toward the ears. But weeping eyes are not so round: the cheeks are narrower; also the bottom lip and the corners of the mouth fall.'*[189]

Rembrandt worked his very first study of his own face before the mirror, in 1625, into the background of his *Stoning of S. Stephen* (fig. 125). There he evidently tries to depict weeping, or at least great sorrow, although not with great success. The problem for the painter, identified by Van Mander, of distinguishing between laughter and weeping is very clearly demonstrated here in the rendering of the mouth. Rembrandt seems to have been only successful in expressing sorrow in the forehead, but there entirely in the spirit of Van Mander, who wrote:

'.... for wrinkles and furrows there [in the forehead] *show that within us is hidden a sorrowful spirit, distressed and full of cares, ...'*[190]

Rembrandt's earliest works – also the very earliest known to us, the three small panels with representations of the senses (*Corpus* I B 1, 2, 3, generally accepted since as works by Rembrandt[191]) – demonstrate how urgently the young painter would have felt the need to learn how to render the expressions of the human face credibly. After many not wholly successful attempts, mastery in this area is only achieved around 1630. Rembrandt's etching with the laughing face just mentioned, for example, is a brilliant realization of Van Mander's analysis of the laughing face (fig. 126).

More than thirty years later Rembrandt would again depict himself with a laughing face, not as a study this time but in a self-*portrait historié* as Zeuxis (see fig. 301). If

187 *'... zoo moetmen zich zelven geheel in een toneelspeeler hervormen. ... voor een spiegel, om te gelijk vertooner en aenschouwer te zijn.'* Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit.[57], pp. 109-110.

188 *'... Als/een voorhooft/twee ooghen/en daer boven/Twee wijnbrauwen/en daer onder verschoven Twee wanghen/oock tusschen neus ende kinne Een twee-lipte mondt/met datter is inne.'* Van Mander, *Grondt*, op.cit.[128], Ch. I, cap. 6 Fol. 23; 4, p. 159.

189 *'Sy en hebbent niet crom/die ons verwijten/dat wy soo qualijck connen onderscheyden/In onse troengen het lachen en t'crijten/Maer wy sien/als wy het leven bevlijten/Dat door t'lachen mondt en wanghen breyden En rijsen/t'voorhooft daelt/en tusschen beyden D'ooghen half toeghedruckt zijn en ghedouwen/Makende nae d'ooren toe cleyne vouwen.'* Van Mander, *Grondt*, op.cit.[128], Ch. I, cap. 6 Fol. 25 v.; 36, p. 168.

190 '[... Des Menschen ghemoedt.:] *want kreucken en groeven Daer* [op 't voorhooft] *bewijsen/dat in ons is verborghen Eenen bedroefden gheest/benout/vol sorghen.'* Van Mander, *Grondt*, op.cit.[128], Ch. I, cap. 6, Fol. 25; 29, p. 167.

191 Exhib. cat. *The mystery of the young Rembrandt*, 2001/02, cat. nos. 9, 10, 11. See also IV *Corrigenda*, p. 627.

our interpretation of this painting is correct (an interpretation that differs from Blankert's account of the picture's *raison d'être*),[192] then the Cologne *Self-portrait* would indicate that Rembrandt in the first place identified himself with Zeuxis as the great depicter of human emotions (see IV 25).

In this light, it would seem logical to assume that the Amsterdam *Bust of a young man laughing* from about 1630 is an autograph 'study' of Rembrandt's laughing face painted in front of the mirror (fig. 127). In Vol. I of *A Corpus* the traditional attribution of this painting to Rembrandt was queried and the painting removed from Rembrandt's oeuvre. A newly emerged piece of evidence, however, would seem to demand a reopening of the discussion: the panel on which the laughing head was executed comes from the same tree as the support of the *'Tronie' with Rembrandt's features* in Nuremberg, which has recently and convincingly been attributed to Rembrandt (see fig. 135, IV *Corrigenda* I A 21 and *Table of dendrochronological data*, p. 649). Another reason for subjecting our disattribution of the Amsterdam painting to fresh scrutiny is that Arie Wallert of the Rijksmuseum has claimed, on the basis of a neutron-autoradiographic investigation of the painting, that there were good grounds for re-attributing the work to Rembrandt.[193] He took his argument from the single successful autoradiographic image obtained in his investigation, the one in which radiation from manganese predominates (manganese is present in umber). In paintings investigated in this manner, for reasons that are not fully understood, the image showing the umber in the painting corresponds most closely with the painting itself.[194] Wallert's argument for reviving the attribution to Rembrandt is based on the spontaneity of brushstroke that he observed in the autoradiograph (which could also have been – and indeed better – observed in the painting itself). But spontaneity as such, certainly in seventeenth century paintings, is not a significant argument in the resolution of a dilemma of attribution. In works from Rembrandt's studio (or, for example, from the studio of Frans Hals), one regularly encounters copies or free variants that seem to be more spontaneous in execution than the autograph prototypes of the master.[195]

As to the new dendrochronological evidence, this in itself does not necessarily prove that the Nuremberg and Amsterdam paintings are by one and the same hand. It means only that there is a very high probability that both paintings originated in the same workshop (or in the same city: in one case, we know of two panels from the same tree, one of which was used by Rembrandt, the other by Jan Lievens[196]).

It is nevertheless worth weighing once again the arguments surrounding this question of attribution, particularly since the stylistic arguments adduced in Volume I to support the disattribution need to be reassessed in the light of our revised understanding of the variability of Rembrandt's style. Now that we can take it for granted that the *tronies* that were copied by Van Vliet in a series of prints (see figs. 46, 48, 50, 52) are all from Rembrandt's own hand, the alleged limits of Rembrandt's style that were adduced in the disattribution of the painting in Vol. I no longer apply. The argument used in this case that 'Rembrandt's work offers no precedent for the frequent use of an ochre colour in the face and for the strongly [ochre] coloured highlights (painted with a slightly dabbing touch)' is thus no longer valid. And the same holds for the argument that 'it 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'. These arguments have lost their force now that we accept the *Bust of a laughing man in a gorget* (fig. 128, referred to henceforth as the *Laughing soldier*) in the Mauritshuis as an autograph work by Rembrandt. The *peinture* of that (admittedly smaller) painting, displays a comparable use of dabbing touches, ochre colour both in the face and for the highlights, and also a modelling of the hair by means of highlights.

It is perhaps not a matter of chance that there is a certain (though superficial) kinship in the 'dabbing' execution of the two paintings. There are in fact reasons for suspecting that there may be a relationship between this deliberately free style of painting and the subject of a laughing figure. In this context a suggestion by Peter Schatborn in his review of Vol. I of *A Corpus* may be relevant.[197] Schatborn's remark was occasioned by the fact that, in Vol. I, out of three equally large works, all three painted on copper supports that are most unusually covered with gold leaf, only one, the *Old woman in prayer* in Salzburg (fig. 130) was accepted as authentic. The other two, the *Laughing soldier* in The Hague (fig. 128) and the *Self-portrait* in Stockholm (fig. 129), were seriously doubted and relegated to the B-category. The most important reason for doubt was that the *peinture* of the latter two paintings differed fundamentally from that of the *Old woman in prayer,* whose fine execution most closely corresponded to the conception of Rembrandt's early style of painting then entertained within the Rembrandt Research Project. Schatborn advanced the idea that these three small paintings, unmistakably related to each other because of the singularity of their identical supports, could have been intended as a demonstration of the way that different styles are applied to different themes. The step

192 Exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. A genius and his impact,* 1997/98, pp. 38-40 (with reference to the initial publication of Blankert's idea in a Dutch *Festschrift* in 1973).

193 A. Wallert, 'Over Rembrandts schouder', the science supplement of the daily *Volkskrant* 1 June 2002, p. W 1.

194 M.W. Ainsworth, P. Meyers, e.a., 'Paintings by Van Dyck, Vermeer and Rembrandt reconsidered through autoradiography', in: *Art and autoradiography* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 1982, pp. 9-99, plates 14, 21, 25, 45.

195 See for instance *Corpus* I A 14 Copy 1; *Corpus* III A 108 Copy 2; as to Frans Hals, see for instance the Amsterdam copy after the Paris *Lute player*, S. Slive, *Frans Hals*, Vol. III, cat. no. 19.

196 *Corpus* I A 24 and Lievens *Self-portrait*, priv. coll. USA (Braunschweig, *Lievens* exhib. 1979, no. 32).

197 P. Schatborn, '[review of] J. Bruyn e.a., A *Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*', *O.H.* 100 (1986), pp. 55-63, esp. 61.

Fig. 127. J. Lievens (?), *Study in the mirror*, *c.* 1630, panel 41.4 x 34 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (I C 34)



Fig. 128. Rembrandt, *Laughing soldier*, 1629/30, copper 15.4 x 12.2 cm (almost 1:1). The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis (IV *Corrigenda* I B 6)



Fig. 129. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1630, copper 15 x 12.2 cm (almost 1:1). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (IV *Corrigenda* I B 5)



from Schatborn's idea to what Białostocki has called 'the mode problem in visual art' is obvious.[198]

Before discussing the attribution problems of the Amsterdam *Bust of a young man laughing* (see note 218), it is worth making a short excursion to consider the 'mode problem' in more depth, since this may also allow a glimpse of the young Rembrandt's knowledge of a specific art theoretical idea and his – if probably only occasional – explicit application of that idea.

The term 'mode' connotes a range of meanings: a 'way of doing or being'; 'a method of procedure'; 'a form or manner'; but also 'a fashion or style'. A cognate term in English is 'mood'. In Greek antiquity, the form or manner of composing music was according to different tonal scales, *harmoniai* or modes. In reflections on the different *harmoniai* (the Dorian, Lydian, Phrygian, Ionic, etc. modes) these were very early associated with different human affects and temperaments (viz. moods).[199] The thinking about modes in later periods, up to the eighteenth century, also played an important role in literary theory and rhetoric.[200] In the interpretation of the works of Virgil, a threefold division between styles, the *genera dicendi*: the *stilus humilis*, *mediocris* and *gravis*, already taking root in Roman times, was connected to the variation in subject matter.[201]

Similar ideas played a role in the theory of the visual arts. On the basis of the art theoretical concepts underlying the rise of landscape painting in the Renaissance,

198 J. Białostocki, 'Das Modusproblem in der bildenden Kunst', in *Zeitschr. f. Kunstgesch.* 24 (1961), pp. 128-141, also published in J. Białostocki, *Stil und Ikonographie*, Dresden 1966, pp. 9-37.

199 This was not a closed system. Aristotle, for instance, differed from Plato over the question of what meaning in the ideal state should be attributed to the only two *harmoniai* accepted by Plato, the Dorian and the Phrygian modes. Plato thus attributed to the Phrygian mode the character of valour and resoluteness, whereas Aristotle inclined rather to attribute affective states such as passion and ecstasy. Such theories persisted into the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance and in discussion arising from these musical theories the number of modes varied from four to seven or eight depending on the wider cosmological or other context in which they were placed. See E. Vetter, *Concentrische cirkels. Modus, affect, sfeer en tijd in een middeleeuws muziektheoretisch gedicht*, diss. Utrecht 2000; Białostocki 1961, op. cit.[198], pp. 130-132.

200 F. Quadlbauer, *Die antike Theorie der genera dicendi im lateinischen Mittelalter*, diss. Vienna 1962; L. Fischer, *Gebundene Rede. Dichtung und Rhetorik in der literarischen Theorie des Barock in Deutschland*, Tübingen 1968. pp. 184-252.

201 Białostocki 1961, op. cit.[198], p. 131; see also F. Quadlbauer, op.cit.[200].

Fig. 130. Rembrandt, *An old woman at prayer*, 1629/30, copper 15.5 x 12.2 cm (almost 1:1). Salzburg, Salzburger Landessammlungen, Residenzgalerie (I A 27)



Ernst Gombrich demonstrated that there, too, a division into different modes was striven for; and he further showed that this development was strongly determined by elements from such ancient sources as Pliny and Vitruvius.[202] Parallel to the developments in literary theory, three modes were employed here too, the equivalents of 'low', 'middle' and 'high'. Poussin (inspired by the music theoretician Giuseppe Zarlino's *Istituzioni harmoniche*, as Blunt has shown),[203] began to speculate on the possible pictorial application of the more complex series of modes taken from musical theory. In this connection, Poussin considers the possible implication of using the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Hypolydian and Ionic modes in painting.[204] In this context, it is of the greatest importance to realize that in thinking about different modes an indissoluble linkage was demanded between form and content, or, style and subject matter. Poussin appealed to the different styles of Virgil, when stating: *'Great poets have demonstrated enormous care and remarkable skill in making their lines reflect what is being said, and in adjusting the rhythm so that the words produce an appropriate sound when spoken. Virgil has observed these principles throughout his poem, adapting his verse to fit three different sorts of speech which he distinguishes ....'*, following which Poussin shows how Virgil put these principles into practice.[205] Again, *three* modes are referred to here in the form of 'three

202 E.H. Gombrich, 'Renaissance artistic theory and the development of landscape painting', *G.d.B.-A.* VI/XLI (1953), pp. 335-360.

203 Blunt's discovery was published by P. Alfassa, 'L'origine de la lettre de Poussin sur les modes d'après un travail récent', in: *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* 1933, pp. 125-143.

204 Letter of Nicolas Poussin to Paul Fréart de Chantelou, Rome, 24 Nov. 1647. Translation published in: A. Mérot, *Nicolas Poussin*, Paris/London 1990, pp. 311-312.

205 *'... and he is so skilful in giving each line the sound appropriate to its subject matter that in truth it seems he can make us see the things he describes, simply through the sound of the words he uses. In passages where he talks of love, for instance, we see that he has skilfully chosen words which are soft, agreeable and extremely pleasing to the ear; in contrast, where he sings of some feat of arms or describes a naval battle or a sea adventure, he has chosen hard, harsh, unpleasant sounding words designed to provoke a sense of terror in those hearing or uttering them.'* Mérot, op. cit.[204], p. 312.

Fig. 131. Rembrandt, *Expression study in the mirror*, 1630, etching (1:1) (B. 13 I)



Fig. 132. Rembrandt, *Expression study in the mirror*, 1630, etching (1:1) (B. 10 I)



different sorts of speech' – the *genera dicendi* – that were determined by differences in subject matter.

Poussin wrote his letter on the modes to an art-lover in 1647. However, the ideas raised in this letter – certainly where Virgil's three styles are referred to – were common intellectual currency in seventeenth century Europe, including The Netherlands, and without doubt in Rembrandt's immediate circle too. One of Rembrandt's admirers, Theodorus Schrevelius, who in 1625 had become rector of the Latin school in Leiden, Rembrandts old school, must certainly have been familiar with this kind of thinking. We have already encountered Schrevelius in a conversation with Buchelius over the art of painting (see p. 137), a conversation that took place in 1628, during which in all probability he praised Rembrandt, the miller's son.[206] One cannot but wonder whether it was Schrevelius who, around 1630, encouraged Rembrandt to apply the traditional threefold *genera dicendi* to the art of painting. It should be pointed out that – as ascertained by the literary historian Jeroen Jansen – there was always room for variations and personal emphases in specific applications of these *genera dicendi*, 'the three different kinds of speech' mentioned by Poussin.[207] They must have been a topic of discussion during that period. The Leiden (and after 1631 Amsterdam) scholar Gerardus Vossius (1577-1649) devoted a part of his *Rhetorices contractae* to it. This book on rhetoric, published in 1621, was intended for educational use in the Latin school.[208]

As already remarked, the young Rembrandt was surrounded by a group of intellectual art-lovers, Schrevelius being one of them, and by connoisseurs who followed his work with great interest: this much is evident from texts from (or relating to) the period between 1628 and '30.[209] As far as the theoretical aspects of art were concerned, these devotees of the art of painting undoubtedly had some influence on the young painter. It is therefore perhaps no accident that the small series of paintings on guilded copper painted in such different styles appeared in precisely this period.

That so radically different types of figure were conceived in the series may be highly significant. On the one hand the laughing soldier, open mouthed and uncouth,[210] and on the other the old woman personifying piety,[211] represent two extremes (figs. 128, 130). The same is true of the *peinture* of the two paintings, rough in the depiction of the face of the laughing soldier, with fine brushstrokes in the detailed execution of the praying old woman. If these are intended to be the two extremes in a series of three *genera dicendi* – then the third painting, the self-portrait executed in a less extreme style (fig. 129), ought to represent the middle mode. In theoretical discussions in this area, the question of how the *stilus mediocris* should be represented has repeatedly been the matter of debate.[212] It may be rather risky, but it is nonetheless tempting to see in Rembrandt's three *tronies* on guilded copper the *direct* equivalents of the *stilus*

206 Strauss *Doc.*, 1628/1.

207 For the work of Jeroen Jansen in this and related areas see his: *Brevitas. Beschouwingen over de beknoptheid van vorm en stijl in de renaissance* (2 vols), diss. University of Amsterdam 1995 and his *Decorum. Observaties over de literaire gepastheid in de renaissancistische poëtica*, Hilversum 2001.

208 The *Rhetorices contractae* was a version, intended for education, of the sixth book of his *Oratoriarum Institutionum libri sex* (1606), in which Vossius dealt with the classical doctrine of the *genera dicendi*, including the necessary techniques, qualities, virtues and faults of these different styles. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Jeroen Jansen of the University of Amsterdam for information on the subject of the *genera dicendi* incorporated in this text.

209 Van de Wetering 2001/02, op. cit.[186].

210 H. Miedema, 'Realism and comic mode: the peasant', *Simiolus* 9 (1977) no. 4, pp. 205-219, esp. 211; E. de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw. Huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw*, exhib. cat. Frans Halsmuseum Haarlem, 1986, pp. 15-18. J. Verberckmoes, *Schertsen, schimpen en schateren. Geschiedenis van het lachen in de zuidelijke Nederlanden, zestiende en zeventiende eeuw*, Nijmegen 1998.

211 See *Corpus* I A 27; J. Bruyn, 'Jung und alt. Ikonographische Bermerkungen zur "tronie"', *Hendrick ter Brugghen und die Nachfolger Caravaggios in Holland*, Symposium Braunschweig, March 1987, pp. 67-76.

212 H. Lindner, *Der problematische mittlere Stil. Beiträge zur Stiltheorie und Gattungspoetik in Frankreich vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zum Beginn der Aufklärung*, Tübingen 1988.

Fig. 133. Rembrandt, *Expression study in the mirror*, 1630, etching (1:1) (B. 320)



Fig. 134. Rembrandt, *Beggar seated on a bank (expression study in the mirror)*, 1630, etching (1:1) (B. 174)



humilis, the *stilus gravis* and the *stilus mediocris*.[213] It should be noted that, in the discussions of the time concerning the *genera dicendi*, it was acknowledged that by no means every poet had command of all three styles.[214] If Rembrandt's series of three *tronies* is indeed a demonstration of the three modes, this would apparently indicate that he was deliberately staking his claim here, as an unusually ambitious young painter, to mastery of all three styles.[215]

It may not be without significance that Rembrandt included his own face in this series; a possible motive for this choice is discussed in the following section.

The aim of this excursion through the 'mode problem in the visual arts' was to make it clear that the similarities in the 'dabbing' technique evident in the Amsterdam *Bust of a young man laughing* and the *Laughing soldier* in The Hague could well be seen in this light. The choice of this type of *peinture* in each case would thus be correlated with the subject rather than be taken as an indication that the two works are from the same hand. In this connection, it is perhaps no accident that the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis laughing* (see fig. 301), displays the most free execution of all the late self-portraits. This is also true, in the etched study of the laugh (see fig. 126), which is apparently intentionally, more freely executed than the other studies of expression (see figs. 131, 132, 133, 134). That the choice of free brushwork for a laughing face – pre-eminently the fleeting expression[216] – could well have been a topic of discussion in Rembrandt's circle: that was the point of the digression above. It could equally well have been taken over as an artistic formula by other painters around Rembrandt among whom the painter of the Amsterdam *Bust of a young man laughing*.[217, 218]

213 If it were the case, a further question obviously follows: whether Rembrandt subsequently might also have established a systematic relation between subject and style. This question is not dealt with here.

214 Jacobus Pontanus, *Poeticarum Institutionum libri III*, Ingolstad 1594, lib. I cap. 11, pp. 36/37.

215 On Rembrandt's youthful ambitions, see Van de Wetering 2001/02, op.cit.[186].

216 For the effects of time on the constantly changing human physiognomy, see E.H. Gombrich, 'The mask and the face: The perception of physiognomic likeness in life and art' in: *The image and the eye. Further studies in the psychology of pictorial representation*, Oxford 1982, pp. 105-136; J.B. Bedaux, 'Portretten in beweging: Rembrandt als portrettist', in exhib. cat. *Kopstukken. Amsterdammers geportretteerd: 1600-1800*, ed. N. Middelkoop e.a., Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 2002/03, pp. 64-81.

217 Even Rembrandt's pupil Isack Jouderville made a poor attempt at this in his *Bust of a laughing man* in Museum Bredius which, compared with his *Self-portrait* in Dublin, is relatively crudely executed, yet with a painfully forced brushwork (see Vol. II, Chapter III, figs. 33 and 32).

218 There are several characteristics of the Amsterdam *Bust of a young man laughing* that argue strongly against an attribution to Rembrandt. These concern both the stylistic aspects (particularly the handling of light and the way of dealing with contours) and the features of physiognomy. In addition, there is a puzzling technical aspect. In the handling of light it is striking that the highlights on the forehead have virtually the same intensity as the light on the chin; whereas it is characteristic of Rembrandt that he reliably ensured that the light intensity decreased from forehead to chin. (This is the case even in the Indianapolis painting, see fig. 123, where the head is so tilted that the chin projects prominently.) In the *Laughing soldier* in The Hague (see fig. 128), this gradient in the light value is emphasized, ensuring that the effect of the light as a whole is intensified. The manner in which the highlights in the *Bust of a young man laughing*, dabbingly applied, are evenly and, as it were, superficially attached to the flesh tones in the lit part and not, as in Rembrandt, integrated with the brushwork, thus also argues against the attribution to Rembrandt. The treatment of light on the lit shoulder in the Amsterdam painting similarly suggests that it has been ill thought out. There is no evident logic in the way the light value diminishes from the brown collar to the shoulder, while the indifferent contour of the shoulder in question also contributes to a general lack of any effect of plasticity in this passage.
As far as the physiognomy is concerned, the large chin with its short beard is conspicuous, as is the knob of the nose. These are features that point more in the direction of Jan Lievens as the figure portrayed than toward Rembrandt. The same physiognomic features are evident in the large London *Self-portrait* of Lievens from the late thirties in which, furthermore, one can also see on the lit side the almost horizontal fold of skin running from the eye socket and bending upwards in the middle of the forehead (Sumowski *Gemälde* III, no. 1289). The first two of these

'Tronies' for which Rembrandt used himself as a model

In past decades it has been usual to employ the term *tronie* to refer to paintings with heads and half figures that could not be allocated to the category of 'portraits'. The anonymous figures depicted in such works were apparently meant to convey various connotations: piety, mortality, the enchantment of the East, old age, aspects of the military way of life, of nobility etc. etc. It was Albert Blankert, on the advice of Josua Bruyn, who introduced the term *tronie*, used in this sense, into the art historical literature.[219] Extensive investigation of the sources by Dagmar Hirschfelder has since clearly shown that the word *tronie* in seventeenth-century documents relating to paintings etc. meant no more than 'head' or 'face' and that the term could be used in highly diverse contexts (including that of actual portraits).[220] This, however, should not prevent us continuing to use *'tronie'* in the sense introduced by Bruyn and Blankert, rather than the mostly faulty descriptions often engendered by giving these works titles.[221] We should nevertheless be aware that the type of rational categorisation that we tend to aim at is at odds with the much more 'blurred' handling of categories common in the seventeenth century.

There are indications that *tronies* (used here and in the following as by Bruyn and Blankert) were in many cases painted from models.[222] The man earlier regarded as Rembrandt's father must have been one such model.[223] In many other cases, however, we are dealing with free copies of half figures from history pieces by the studio master.[224] Since most painters apparently preferred to paint *tronies* from living models rather than from their own imagination, it is understandable – and this goes for Rembrandt too – that apart from professional models they should have drawn on themselves, or their own close relatives, without this implying that these should be understood as self-portraits (or portraits of relatives) in the, our, strict sense.

It is not too much to say that, seen over the entire course of his career, there were more *tronies* produced by the other members of Rembrandt's studio than any other category of paintings. Rembrandt himself painted relatively few, and of these the most come from his Leiden period, when he painted *c.* 15 tronies.[225] Compared with the *c.* 50 tronies that Jan Lievens painted in the same period, that is a modest number. In Rembrandt's Amsterdam years, the majority of *tronies* were produced by pupils or studio assistants, most probably as

features and the small beard can also be clearly seen in Lievens' early *Self-portrait in profile* in Copenhagen (Sumowski *Gemälde* III, no. 1258). The posture of the figure in the Amsterdam painting under discussion with its outstretched neck and prominent Adam's apple would appear to have been typical of Jan Lievens. Compare the self-portraits already mentioned and the portrait of Jan Lievens by Antonie van Dyck for the *Iconographie*. The young man playing the harp in Rembrandt's *Musical Allegory* in Amsterdam (I A 7), convincingly identified by Henry Defoer as Jan Lievens in *O.H.* (91) 1977, p. 18, in addition to several other physiognomic features mentioned earlier also displays this idiosyncratic posture. This is also true of the painter in the drawing of a painter in his studio in the J.P. Getty Museum (Ben. 390) who, the present author is convinced, can be identified as Jan Lievens, see E. van de Wetering, 'Leidse schilders achter de ezel', in: exhib. cat. *Geschildert tot Leyden anno 1626*, ed. M.L. Wurfbain et al., Leiden De Lakenhal, 1976, pp. 21-31, esp. 29. The figure in this drawing, with its thrust foreward head and long chin, is also indicated as having a short beard.

With regard to a technical singularity of the painting, in the *Corpus* text relating to this painting (I C 34), under *Ground: scientific data* Karin Groen observes that the top layer of the ground (the bottom layer is a normal chalk/glue layer) clearly deviates from the type of ground that one usually finds on Rembrandt's panels, both in composition and colour. With this painting, the ground contains more chalk than usual and, as well as lead white, crude black pigment grains. One can only infer that this ground was grey and not the yellow-brown colour that was normal for Rembrandt's panels (see Table II *Grounds on panel*, pp. 660 ff).

As well as the physiognomic arguments, the stylistic arguments outlined above also argue for an attribution of the painting to Jan Lievens. The remarkable indifference to the potential of contours to suggest plasticity (which Rembrandt habitually employed so effectively and sensitively) is rather characteristic of Jan Lievens. Compare for example Sumowski *Gemälde* III, nos. 1236, 1255, 1259, 1260. This also holds for the latter's usually unrefined use of the possibilities of the light. We know too little about Lievens' preferences regarding the colour of the grounds of his panels to be able to draw any conclusion from the grey ground on this panel. The relation established by dendrochronology between the panel and the one on which the Nuremburg *Self-portrait* is painted makes an early dating (*c.* 1629/30), of the Amsterdam *Bust of a young man laughing* virtually unavoidable, but it does not exclude the possibility that we might be dealing here, if not with a work by Lievens himself, perhaps a copy originating in Lievens' or Rembrandt's studio (or their shared studio; see E. van de Wetering, 'De symbiose van Lievens en Rembrandt', in exhib. cat. *Rembrandt & Lievens in Leiden*, Leiden De Lakenhal 1991/92, pp. 39-47) of a lost prototype by Jan Lievens. In view of the above, we maintain our original standpoint that the Amsterdam *Bust of a young man laughing* was not painted by Rembrandt.

219 A. Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol (1606-1680), een leerling van Rembrandt*, diss. Utrecht 1976, p. 28; Blankert *Bol*, pp. 26-28; 57-59; Bruyn 1987, op. cit.[211]; L. de Vries, 'Tronies and other single figured Netherlandish paintings', *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 8 (1989), pp. 185-202; J. van der Veen, 'Faces from life: *Tronies* and portraits in Rembrandt's painted oeuvre', in exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. A genius and his impact*, 1997/98, pp. 69-80, esp. 71-73. Problems connected with phenomenon of the *tronie* were discussed during a two-day symposium under the heading *'Tronies' in de Italiaanse, Vlaamse en Nederlandse schilderkunst van de 16de en 17de eeuw*, The Hague, 19-20 October 2000, summarized by D. Hirschfelder and H.-J. Raupp, in: *Kunstchronik* 54 (2001), pp. 197-202.

220 D. Hirschfelder, 'Portrait or character head? The term tronie and its meaning in the seventeenth century', in: exhib. cat. *The mystery of the young Rembrandt*, 2001/02, pp. 82-90.

221 For example, most of the 'family' members in Bredius' catalogue are tronies; see A. Blankert in exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. A genius and his impact*, 1997/98, pp. 45-46.

222 See, for example, drawing from the Rembrandt school in the Frits Lugt Collection, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, reproduced by Jaap van der Veen, op. cit.[219], p. 71, fig. 4.

223 Van de Wetering, op. cit.[17] with reference to other paintings by Rembrandt and paintings by Jan Lievens, Gerard Dou and the Leiden painter Jacques des Rousseaux that made use of the same model (see also exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, cat. nos. 14a and 14b).

224 J. Bruyn, 'Rembrandt's workshop: function and production', in exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, pp. 68-89, esp. 79-80.

225 The four paintings are also included which, in our view, were intended as tronies for which Rembrandt posed himself (Br. 6, 7, 8, 11). The following of Rembrandt's Leiden *tronies* and their presumed connotations should be taken as tentative: two with pious women (Br. 63, 69); three old men (Br. 76, 77, 82); three (perhaps) oriental figures (Br. 7, 8, 72); five figures with military connotations (Br. 6, 79, 81, 132, 134); a young man *all'antica* (Br. 11); two Leiden *tronies* we know only from reproduction prints by J. van Vliet (see exhib. cat. *Rembrandt & Van Vliet: a collaboration on copper* (ed. by M. Enklaar e.a.), Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis 1996, cat. nos. 5 and 7). For six *tronies* Rembrandt used the same old man that was earlier regarded as Rembrandt's father (Br. 72, 76, 77, 79, 81, 82). For two others the so-called 'mother' posed (Br. 63, 69).

exercises and at the same time as marketable products. Then as now – although these days more in the form of interior kitsch – the 'character-head' with its different connotations must have been a favourite choice of domestic wall decoration.[226] Lyckle de Vries once voiced the opinion that all paintings by Rembrandt that usually are referred to as self-portraits should in fact be seen as *tronies*.[227] In only a few cases, probably, was he correct in this view: the Nuremberg *Self-portrait* (fig. 135), for example, may well be a typical *tronie*. But in the case of other assumed *tronies* with Rembrandt's features dealt with below, it is certainly not altogether clear whether these should be considered as 'pure' tronies in the sense of character heads intended for commercial trade. With the Nuremberg painting, this would seem to be probably the case simply because it was only at a much later stage that it would be considered a self-portrait. Gerard Hoet could still describe the Hague version of this painting in 1752 as *'Een Jongelings Hoofd'* (A Young Man's Head).[228] The young man wears a 'cadenette' or love lock, the elongation of the hair at the left side of the face. As Marieke de Winkel has elucidated in Chapter II of this volume, in the 1620s this hairstyle was mainly worn by aristocratic foreign officers. The seventeenth-century beholder may have read allusions to bravery, nobility or soldierly virtues in a painting like this – like in the many prints with portraits of such officers.

In our catalogue text in Volume I (A 21) concerning the Hague painting (fig. 136), although the work was thought to be unusual in its execution, it was nonetheless considered to be from Rembrandt's hand. Since then, several radically new angles have been opened up bearing on the question of its authenticity. The discovery by infra-red reflectography of a preparatory underdrawing for this work, made with the help of a cartoon, initiated a series of events which led the organizers of the *Rembrandt by himself* exhibition to decide to move the Nuremberg version of the painting forward as the original and to identify the Hague version as its copy by a studio hand.[229] In response, Eric Jan Sluijter defended the viewpoint that both paintings could be from Rembrandt's hand (see note 10) (this position was considered in the first section of this chapter). As Edwin Buysen has shown, a comparable discussion of these two paintings had already taken place in the nineteenth century, following virtually the same sequence of arguments.[230] At that time it was a contest between connoisseurs, but this time technical arguments play a significant part in the considerations. A few years before the discovery of the underdrawing, Claus Grimm had already shown by means of X-radiographs of both paintings that the Nuremberg version contains such clear evidence of an exploratory genesis whereas the Hague version shows no pentimenti at all, that on this basis alone the former has to be considered the prototype and the Hague version a copy.[231] As stated under *Corrigenda* I A 21 in this volume, we are now also of the opinion that the Nuremberg version is the original and the Hague version a copy. It will also be explained there why we are not convinced by Sluijter's arguments that the Hague painting is also by Rembrandt. The kinship in execution, already mentioned, between this version and the copy in MOA Museum of Art after the painting in Indianapolis, (see figs. 124, 136), makes it likely that that it is by the same hand. Assuming that these copies originated in Rembrandt's studio, this must have been the hand of an advanced pupil and Jørgen Wadum's argument that this pupil could have been the young Gerard Dou is certainly plausible.[232]

It is a telling illustration of the fallibility of connoisseurship as such that, in the case of three Leiden self-portraits, paintings that have now been proven to be copies were taken to be the originals. Firstly, the Amsterdam study (fig. 119) has replaced the Kassel version of that painting that had long been held to be the original. Secondly, as argued in *Corrigenda* I A 22, the Indianapolis version, we are convinced, is the original rather than the MOA version; and thirdly the Hague and Nuremberg paintings have exchanged places (see figs. 135, 136).

In the case of another painting, related to the Nuremberg painting (I C 36; fig. 137), a copy was considered to be the original until quite recently. In 1969, Gerson did not exclude the possibility that this painting was an autograph work, whereas (as is argued in I C 36) the facture of this work points to it being a copy. But in this case the prototype no longer exists. The lost prototype of that painting could equally have belonged to the *tronies* for which Rembrandt himself posed, although a possible connotation in this case is not so evident as with the Nuremberg painting. The fact that the young man with Rembrandt's features in this painting wears a shawl round the neck would have been read by his contemporaries as a reference to the east. The long golden chain over the shoulders and chest, on the other hand, may have had historical connotations.

If the hypothesis advanced in Vol. I, p. 223 is justified, that the monumental half figure of 1629 in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (fig. 138) contains *vanitas* references (at the same time the figure's attire would have carried eastern connotations), it is plausible that this

226 See the summary by D. Hirschfelder and H.-J. Raupp of the contribution on twentieth-century kitsch-'character' heads by J. Wadum to the symposium referred to in note [219], p. 201. One finds tronies as wall decoration in paintings by Rembrandt (*La main chaude*, Dublin), by Hendrick Gerritsz Pot (attr.), see *Corpus* I B 4 fig. 4; and and e.g. by Jan Miense Molenaer, Caspar Netscher, Willem van Mieris, Nicolaes Maes, Hendrick Martensz Sorgh (attr.), Adriaen Brouwer (or Joos van Craesbeeck), Quiringh Gerritsz Brekelenkam, Jacob van Spreeuwen (attr.).

227 De Vries, op. cit.[219]; meanwhile he withdrew that point of view (personal communication L. de Vries).

228 Hoet II, p. 404.

229 See Exhib.cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, cat.nos. 14a/14b.

230 E. Buysen, 'Rembrandt's *Selfportrait with gorget*: an ongoing debate', *O.H.* 114 (2000), pp. 155-163.

231 C. Grimm, *Rembrandt selbst: Eine Neuerwertung seiner Porträtkunst*, Stuttgart/Zürich 1991, pp. 20-28.

232 J. Wadum, 'Rembrandt under the skin. The Mauritshuis Portrait of Rembrandt with gorget in retrospect', *O.H.* 114 (2000), pp. 164-187.

Fig. 135. Rembrandt, *'Tronie' with Rembrandt's features*, *c.* 1629, panel 38 x 30.9 cm. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (IV *Corrigenda* I A 21)



Fig. 136. Rembrandt workshop, Copy after fig. 135, *c.* 1629, panel 37.9 x 28.9 cm. The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis (IV *Corrigenda* I A 21)



Fig. 137. Rembrandt studio, Copy after a lost *'tronie' with Rembrandt's features* of 1629/30, panel 61.4 x 46.9 cm. Whereabouts unknown (I C 36)



painting too should be seen in the first place as a *tronie*. In its present appearance – affected by wear and subsequent restorations – the face presumably deviates to some extent from its original appearance, yet it can scarcely ever have shown a compelling likeness to Rembrandt. The face is relatively long. With the eyes placed strikingly close together and a relatively narrow mouth and the thick, almost straight, dark line of the mouth between thick lips, it shows clear differences from the physiognomy known from other early (and later) self-portraits by Rembrandt. But a *tronie* based on the painter as model does not need to show close resemblance: for instance, a comparison of the tronies after the model previously referred to as 'Rembrandt's father' shows great differences between them.[233] The primary purpose of the gaze directed at the model or in the mirror must have been to test there, against reality, the pictorial factors that lend a plastic credibility to the face, such as a convincing treatment of light.

The painting in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum is remarkably hybrid in character. Above all, the cap seems to be an alien element. With the emphatic treatment of its shape and its precious technique, one is inclined to see another hand at work here. But the treatment of form and the nature of the contours of the cap, with the complexity of its folds foreshortened, the treatment of light and dark and the rhythm of the brushwork, all manifest Rembrandt's hand. One gets the impression that one is dealing here with a significant painting for Rembrandt's artistic development. It appears to have been an experimental field to try out several ideas that would subsequently develop into important pictorial devices. Here, for the first time in a painting with a single figure, Rembrandt applies the principle of kindred colours (*'bevriende kleuren'*)[234] as well as the darker repoussoir worked into the figure, as he would also do later in, for example, the *Portrait of Joris de Caullery* (II A 53) or in the *Noble Slav* (II A 48). In these respects, he elaborated on the pictorial solutions that he had so gloriously applied in the *Judas* (see fig. 121) but more especially in the *Two old men disputing* in Melbourne (I A 13): by placing related light tones beside each other in such a way that – behind a dark repoussoir – a heightening of the effect of light results. The masterstroke here is that the repoussoir is formed by a part of the figure itself, while the light part of the background is also involved in the constellation of *'bevriende kleuren'*. Another new element in this painting is the relatively low placing of the figure in the picture plane as a result of which the spatial effect is considerably enhanced. All these new ideas are to be found again in later works, in one or another form, but never so adventurously as here. The meticulous execution of the cap appears to have been a new concept that was to have no consequence for Rembrandt himself, but may perhaps have been of decisive significance for Rembrandt's pupil Gerard Dou.

Another self-portrait that at first sight appears to be intended as a *tronie* forms part of the series of pictures that were painted on gilded copper, discussed in the previous section (see figs. 128, 129, 130). Two of these, the *Laughing soldier* (I B 6) and the *Old woman in prayer* (I A 27) can certainly be included in the category of *tronies*. And because the three works, as argued above, appear to form a coherent series, it would then seem obvious to regard the Stockholm *Self-portrait* (I B 5) also as a *tronie* rather than a self-portrait in the strict sense. However, beside the reference to one of the modes – the *stilus mediocris*? – as suggested above, the painting could also refer emphatically to Rembrandt himself. The fact that he dressed in antiquated fashion could well signify (as Marieke de Winkel plausibly argues in Chapter II in the case of a number of his later self-portraits) that Rembrandt is referring here to one of his great sixteenth-century predecessors, Lucas van Leyden or Albrecht Dürer. In this context, Karel van Mander's repeated assertion may be of some significance: that Dürer double signed some of his history pieces by working his self-portrait into the composition as well as an inscription with his name or monogram.[235] In a wider context, Raupp calls such a self-portrait a 'personified signature'.[236] Could the self-portrait in the series on gilded

233 Rembrandt: Br. 72, 76, 77, 79, 81, 82; Lievens: Sumowski *Gemälde* III, no. 1236; Dou: Sumowski *Gemälde* I, no. 254; Des Rousseaux: Sumowski *Gemälde* IV, no. 1679.

234 See Van de Wetering 1997, p. 252.

235 K. van Mander, *Schilder-boeck*, Haarlem 1603-04, Vol. I, Fol. 209r, (H. Miedema (ed.), *Lives*, Doornspijk 1994-1999, Vol. I, pp. 94/95.

236 Raupp 1984, op. cit.[188], p. 244 and p. 246: '*Der Inhalt solcher Selbstdarstellung ist der Hinweis auf die Autorschaft.*'

Fig. 138. Rembrandt, *'Tronie' with Rembrandt's features*, 1629, panel 89.5 x 73.5 cm. Boston, Mass., The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (I A 20)



Figs. 139 and 140. Rembrandt, *History painting*, 1626, detail with self-portrait and X-ray. Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, on loan from ICN (I A 6)





copper be such a personified signature, by analogy with Dürer? It is interesting in this connection that, of the three small 'mode paintings' only the Stockholm self-portrait bears a reliable monogram (with the date 1630). If the two other paintings were not, in fact, originally signed (further investigation is needed here), this could be considered an additional argument that these three paintings were conceived as a single series.[237]

– The Leiden portraits of Rembrandt by Rembrandt

The possibility that Rembrandt, by analogy with Dürer, may have included himself as a personified signature in his painting gains more weight in the case of those history pieces in which he has included his own face.

The very earliest 'real' self-portrait of Rembrandt in which he is wearing contemporary dress (and where the physiognomy is not distorted by affective expression of some kind, as in the Lyon *Stoning of S. Stephen*, see fig. 125) is the Leiden *History piece* from 1626 (fig. 139).[238] The X-radiograph shows that the addition of this self-portrait may well have been an afterthought. The head was superimposed on a radio-absorbent layer of paint – even though in a relatively early stage of the work – such that an apparently earlier form, possibly another figure, was concealed (fig. 140). A year later, Rembrandt incorporated himself, in virtually identical fashion and in a comparable place, in an equally ambitious history piece that exists today only as an oil sketch, the Basle *David before Goliath* from 1627 (figs. 141, 142). The final painting may never have been executed. This sketch was in all probability painted on commission, since otherwise presumably no such *vidimus* would have been made: that Rembrandt worked his own face into the *vidimus* from the outset would therefore suggest that this was at the patron's request.

The working of a self-portrait into a larger composition belongs to a tradition that arose in the Italian Renaissance and it can have various different allusions – for example, in the context of *Memoria*: *'including his own portrait* [in a history piece] *for the sake of remembrance'*, as was written of a contemporary of Rembrandt.[239] That would hardly seem to be the intention here, however, given Rembrandt's youth, but another motive may have played a role. Alberti wrote in *Della pittura*: *'We can see how desirable this is in painting when the figure of a well-known person is present in a 'historia', for although others executed with greater*

237 The traces of possible monograms on the other two paintings of this series are not reliable in either case. It should be pointed out that in the seventeenth century it was not unusual in the case of two paintings that belonged together – specifically pendants – for only one of the two paintings to be signed. Investigation of handwriting by Froentjes' team (op. cit.[18]) revealed that in a number of pendants one of the paintings bore an autograph signature while a 'signature' had later been added, by another hand, to the pendant. On Rembrandt's activities in producing series, see E. van de Wetering, 'Remarks on Rembrandt's oil-sketches for etchings', in exhib. cat. *Rembrandt the printmaker*, Amsterdam/London 2000, pp. 36-63, esp. 38-58. See also B.48, 51, 66 from 1630, no doubt conceived as a series and, moreover, in the same period as the three paintings on guilded copper plates.

238 Rembrandt's face appears also in the *Raising of the Cross* and the *Descent from the Cross* from 1632-33 (II A 69 and II A 65) and the *John the Baptist preaching* from 1634-35 (III A 106). It has also been pointed out that Rembrandt's face, largely blocked by the figures in front of him, was worked into the background of the *Nightwatch* (see note 71).

239 Von Sandrart, op.cit.[11], p. 41).

Fig. 141. Rembrandt, *David before Saul*, 1627, panel 27.2 x 39.6 cm. Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel (I A 9)



Fig. 142. Detail with self-portrait of fig. 141



skill may be conspicuous in the picture, the face that is known draws the eyes of all spectators, so great is the power and attraction of something taken from nature'.[240] This idea is also found in Houbraken, when he writes: *'Certainly when the* [painters'] *own likenesses were included in the depictions of the old historical scenes, the literate art-lovers would have enjoyed finding them there.'*[241]

In short, whether commissioned or done on one's own initiative, there were several overlapping motives for working one's own likeness into history pieces. In the case of Rembrandt, the personified signature and/or the concession to art-lovers' requests for the portrait of an admired artist would probably have been the main reasons. If we consider these two possible explanations as the most likely motives for Rembrandt to incorporate his own effigy, then the small self-portraits in the Leiden *History piece* (see fig. 139) and the Basle sketch (see fig. 142), and perhaps also the Stockholm painting from the (presumed) series of three modes (see fig. 129), could well all have been conceived as self-portraits in the proper sense. In the brief discussion over the Munich *Self-portrait* (see fig. 120), the possibility was mooted that there, too, there could well have been a commission, occasioned by the Amsterdam study of back lighting, to paint a self-portrait for an art-lover. But that was no more than a cautious hypothesis (see p. 164).

In another case, ever since the discovery of the document quoted below, it has been taken for granted that around 1630 Rembrandt painted a 'real' self-portrait, the painting in Liverpool (I A 33; figs. 143 and 144). It was, after all, the painting that was in 1639 described by the Dutch expert Abraham van der Doort at the court of Charles I as *'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 Shoulds In an Ovall and a square black frame.'*[242]

There are, however, reasons to doubt whether this is an instance of *'his owne picture & done by himself'*. In the *Provenance* section of this Chapter (see pp. 91-93), the present author's doubts concerning this painting were already expressed. Those who studied it at the exhibition of Rembrandt's self-portraits in London or The Hague in 1999/2000, must have been struck by the great differences in style and, more particularly, in quality with works considered to be autograph. As we now know, variety in the young Rembrandt's style should not cause wonder; here, however, the handling of the brush in relation to the treatment of light and shade, and especially of form, seems to be incompatible with Rembrandt's pictorial intelligence and artistic temperament. Not only the rather feeble treatment of detail, whether of the face, the chain or the shawl, but also of such elements as the contours and the distribution of light in the background argue against Rembrandt. The manner in which the brushstrokes, as it were, passively accompany the shapes, while modelling the lit flesh parts, would seem to testify to a fundamentally different pictorial approach from that of Rembrandt. This rather primitive way of relating the brushstroke to the form is so relentlessly applied that the face in a peculiar fashion is deformed by it. The same poor conception of form is also evident in the hanging folds of the shawl knotted at the neck. If one compares the contours of the trunk with those in the *Self-portrait* in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum or in the Stockholm *Self-portrait* it is difficult to imagine that we could be dealing here with a leap in Rembrandt's own style. The alternative suggestion, that there must have been another hand at work, and a rather weak hand at that, is irresistible.

There is room for speculation here that this work might be a workshop variant. The suggestion that the painter could have based himself partly on the Stockholm *Self-portrait* (see fig. 129) becomes plausible when one compares the two mouths, and in particular the line of

240 Leon Battista Alberti, *Della pittura*, Florence 1435/36, book III 56.

241 Houbraken, op. cit.[53], 1721, II, pp. 178-9: *'Zeker wanneer de eigen beeltenissen in d'oude Historische verbeeldingen wierden waargenomen, zouden de beleezen konstminnaars... hun welgevallen daar in vinden'*. We will not deal with the self-portraits incorporated in larger compositions from the Amsterdam period (II A 69 and III A 106, and possibly II A 65 and III A 146). The various possible functions proposed above for the Leiden history paintings incorporated Rembrandt's self-portraits probably apply to the Amsterdam paintings as well.

242 Strauss *Doc.*, 1639/11.

Fig. 143. Rembrandt workshop (Isack Jouderville?), *'Tronie' with Rembrandt's features*, 1630/31, panel 69.7 x 57 cm. Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery (I A 33)



Fig. 144. Detail (1:1) of fig. 143



Fig. 145. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait as an oriental*, 1631, panel 66.5 x 52 cm. Paris, Musée du Petit Palais (I A 40)



Fig. 146. (Copy of) the hypothetic companion-piece to fig. 145, canvas stuck on panel 59 x 46 cm (enlarged to 68.5 x 48 cm) (Br. 83). Previously Paris, coll. Baron Arthur de Schickler



the mouth between the two full lips. The affinity in the way, in both paintings, the form of the black beret is defined argues for a relationship between the two works. In other respects, the painter of the Liverpool work appears to have based himself on the painting in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, with which it shares the same organization of light and shadow on the face and from which the supple, finely folded, intricately knotted shawl, and the long chain laid symmetrically over both shoulders, is perhaps borrowed (see fig. 138). It is not known with any certainty when or by what routs this painting came to England, but in any case, it must have been already there before 1639. The fact that there is a *palimpsest* here and that the underlying – apparently uncompleted – painting of a standing figure is of a type that Rembrandt was engaged with in 1631 (see fig. 145) forces one to the conclusion that the Liverpool painting originated in Rembrandt's studio. It could thus be an early example of a free workshop variant that ought actually to be counted among those *tronies* showing Rembrandt's features and bearing oriental or historical connotations (as treated in the previous section).[243] Martin Bijl, in an oral communication, has suggested that Isack Jouderville may be the author.

The *Self-portrait as an oriental* in the Petit Palais in Paris (fig. 145) in its original condition (i.e. before the addition of the poodle and the changing of Rembrandt's hair) should perhaps also be counted in the category of paintings in which Rembrandt used his own face without originally intending the painting to be a self-portrait. The question that should be asked here is whether the original function of this work did not have the significance of something approaching a 'one-figure history piece'. An orientally costumed figure by Isaack de Jouderville, which evidently derives from this painting (fig. 147), has to be interpreted as a figure from the passion story on the basis of the thirty coins painted on the table in the background (which must undoubtedly be Judas' thirty pieces of silver). The type of stick held by De Jouderville's figure would indicate that we are looking at Pontius Pilate, for it is the type of stick that Dutch judges of Rembrandt's time would take up when about to pronounce a death sentence. It is unclear what historical narrative the painting in the Petit Palais might have referred to in its first state, but there are indications that the painting was considered by Rembrandt himself at a later stage, around 1632/33, as in the first place a self-portrait. On stylistic grounds, the painting's most likely period of origin is 1631, while the changes (particularly the addition of the dog) occurred in 1632/33. Rembrandt superimposed a *Rembrant* signature (fig. 148) over the original RHL monogram, but dated the painting back to the period in

243 Other possible workshop variants of Rembrandt's self-portraits are I C 37 which may be based on B. 4, and I C 38 which may be based on the Stockholm *Self-portrait* (see fig. 129).

Fig. 147. Isack Jouderville, *Pontius Pilate*, *c.* 1631, panel 66 x 50 cm. Private collection



Fig. 148. Signature of fig. 145



which the head must have been painted, to 1631. (For an analysis of the evolution of Rembrandt's signatures in this period see *Addendum* I in this volume and p. 140 for other examples of antedating a work after it had been finished.)

Is it the case, then, the *Self-portrait as oriental* from the Petit Palais confronts us with a painting in which Rembrandt had used himself as model, but which subsequently, after a lapse of time, acquired more of the function of a self-portrait than was originally intended? The solution to this puzzle will require a closer look into the relation between this painting and a painting (that had originally about the same size) with a female figure in front of the same kind of background (Br. 83; fig. 146). The whereabouts of this latter painting, however, have been unknown since the 1930s.

The self-portraits from the Leiden period discussed here form only a limited part of Rembrandt's Leiden output as a whole. Trying to find some structure in his activity before the mirror during this period has proven to be a rather confusing experience. Perhaps our approach was wrong. It seems, however, that any attempt to gain a comprehensive grasp of this group – and the same holds for Rembrandt's other works from this period – founders on what seems to be a certain wilfulness and unpredictability in Rembrandt's artistic temperament. If one views Rembrandt as someone setting up his own business, he would seem to be allowing himself all possible room in order to experiment and to change direction.

In this respect, the Amsterdam years between 1631 and the beginning of 1636 would be entirely different; but by then Rembrandt was working within the context of a production-oriented commercial enterprise that was probably managed by someone else, by Hendrick Uylenburgh. It is very telling that, soon after his departure from Uylenburgh,[244] Rembrandt reverted to the same unpredictable working behaviour that had characterized his Leiden years.

244 Van de Wetering, op. cit.[237], p. 50.

– Rembrandt in Amsterdam (1631-1639)

– The etched in relation to the painted self-portraits

Opinions differ as to when Rembrandt established himself definitively in Amsterdam, a move long thought to have been accomplished in 1631. According to some, however, it would have taken place over a longer period of time between 1631 and '33. From Leiden, it was merely a matter of several hours to reach Amsterdam by taking one of the regular sailboats across the Haarlemmermeer.[245] It is therefore conceivable that Rembrandt could have remained based in Leiden whilst spending longer or shorter periods in Amsterdam for the purpose of carrying out his commissions in the workshop of the art dealer Hendrick Uylenburgh, lodging in his house.[246]

When one considers the nature of Rembrandt's production from 1631 onward, however, there is no question of a gradual transition. On the contrary, there is a clear break which has to be located sometime in the second half of 1631. One example of the radical changes that occurred was the production of commissioned life-sized portraits, which abruptly began at that time. It appears that this was also the time that Rembrandt began working and lodging with Uylenburgh. This conspicuous and major production of portraits, which also involved the participation of workshop assistants, ends equally abruptly five years later, after which Rembrandt only sporadically painted portraits. It has already been remarked that the end of this period coincides with his departure from Hendrick Uylenburgh, around the end of 1635.[247]

On the question of the precise nature of the collaboration between the two men, opinions differ. It was suggested in Vol. II of *A Corpus* that perhaps Rembrandt may have formally entered the employ of Uylenburgh with the aim of thereby qualifying for membership of the Amsterdam St. Lucas Guild. Guilds as a rule were not open for painters from outside unless these had first worked with a local master for a certain time.[248] As noted above, it is in any case clear that Rembrandt was here entering a much more commercially oriented working context than previously, and one which would seem to have been dominated by Uylenburgh. The latter's efforts as the possible publisher of a large, Mennonite-tinged printed Passion series designed by Rembrandt – Uylenburgh was a member of the Mennonite brotherhood – and the fact that the work on that ambitious project was halted as soon as Rembrandt left Uylenburgh would seem to confirm that Rembrandt's activities between 1631 and early '36 were to a large extent determined by Hendrick Uylenburgh.[249]

It is an intriguing question whether the change in the nature of Rembrandt's production of self-portraits should also be seen in the same context. One could, for instance, speculate that the over-production of painted self-portraits in the Amsterdam years from *c.* 1633 to *c.* 1635 (see pp. 139-142), was simply a corollary of a much more commercial situation. Be that as it may, the nature of both painted and etched self-portraits changed drastically the moment Rembrandt began to work with Uylenburgh. Whereas those few paintings done in Leiden that can be unreservedly considered as 'portraits of Rembrandt by Rembrandt', (e.g. the self-portrait incorporated in the Leiden *History painting* – see fig. 139), seem to have been intended for a limited circle of Leiden admirers (see p. 170), one has the impression that Rembrandt's Amsterdam self-portraits were aimed at a wider market.

Looking at Rembrandt's Amsterdam production of self-portraits as a whole, the question that inevitably arises concerns the nature of the relation between the etched and the painted self-portraits; for not only the painted self-portraits, but also the etched self-portraits from 1631 on seem to acquire a more formal character than in the Leiden period. The next sections will be devoted more particularly to those etchings where this is apparently (but *only* apparently) not the case.

For obvious reasons, etched self-portraits must have been more effective for the dissemination of Rembrandt's effigy than painted ones. Moreover, it was no doubt simpler and certainly cheaper to keep in stock prints bearing one's own effigy – as Rubens and, for instance, Ludolf Backhuyzen must have done, or those painters portrayed by Van Dyck in the context of what later would become the 'Iconography' – rather than paintings. Furthermore, the much lower cost of a print meant that it was easier to present as a gift. Paintings, after all, were unique works that would disappear into one or other collection; only exceptionally was a copy produced during his lifetime of any of Rembrandt's painted self-portraits from the Amsterdam period,[250] whereas a relatively large number of impressions from a single plate could be distributed. It has been estimated that 50 good and 200 reasonable quality impressions could be drawn from a single etching plate.[251] Given that Rembrandt's face (sometimes only a part of it) is represented in *c.* 30 etchings (of which some 15 were made in Amsterdam), theoretically thousands of effigies of Rembrandt, traditionally considered to be self-portraits, could have been disseminated throughout Europe. But this is a gross exaggeration of the case. It is more likely, however provocative the suggestion might seem at first sight, that Rembrandt did not make 30 but rather only four etched self-portraits – in the sense of finished *portraits of Rembrandt done by himself* intended to be distributed as such (see figs. 149, 150, 151, 152).

245 See *Corpus* Vol. II, pp. 78-79 and note 160.

246 See also S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Rembrandt: his life, his wife, the nursemaid and the servant', in J. Lloyd Williams e.a., *Rembrandt's women*, London 2001, pp. 19-27 esp. 22 (with further references).

247 *Corpus* Vol. II, Chapter III, p. 57, note 101.

248 *Corpus* Vol. II, pp. 59-60.

249 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Doopsgezinden en schilderkunst in de 17e eeuw – leerlingen, opdrachtgevers en verzamelaars van Rembrandt', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 6 (1980); Schwartz 1984, pp. 146-147; Van de Wetering, op. cit.[143], esp. pp. 50-51.

250 *Corpus* III C 93; IV 10 version 2.

251 E. Hinterding, *Rembrandt als etser: twee studies naar de praktijk van productie en verspreiding*, doct. diss. Utrecht 2001, pp. 49-50.

Fig. 149. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait with hat, hand on hip*, 1631, etching, 14.8 x 13 cm (1:1) (B. 7 VIII)



Fig. 150. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait with Saskia*, 1636, etching, 10.4 x 9.5 cm (1:1) (B. 19 II)



The possible size of the print issues of Rembrandt's etched self-portraits will remain largely a matter of speculation. Thanks to the survey published in 1967 by Nowell-Usticke, of the estimated numbers of Rembrandt's etchings on the art market in this period, one has a provisional idea of the size of the various editions issued.[252] These estimates, based on 'the numbers passing through the London auctions over a 20 year period', indirectly give a general idea of these editions – in particular, of the variation in their respective sizes. Among the self-portraits this variation is considerable. In the case of etchings that used to be referred to as self-portraits of Rembrandt but which we are now inclined to consider as *tronies* (figs. 90, 158, 159 and B. 23),[253] the editions must have been relatively large (*c.* 125-500). In

252 G.W. Nowell-Usticke, *Rembrandt's etchings: states and values*, Narberth 1967. To the estimates of Nowell-Usticke cited in the present text there must be added a further estimated number of prints that are in public and old private collections.

253 As became evident in the section devoted to drawn self-portraits by Rembrandt or attributed to Rembrandt, it may be doubted whether Rembrandt is in fact the model for B. 17 (see fig. 90). There are even stronger doubts over the identity of the model for B. 23.

Fig. 151. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait leaning on a stone sill*, 1639, etching, 20.5 x 16.4 cm (1:1) (B. 21 II)



the case of two of the four etchings postulated above as being the only 'real' self-portraits, the editions must also have been large, 225-500 and 125-225 respectively (see figs. 150 and 152). On the other hand, the edition of the first Amsterdam etching obviously intended as a 'portrait of Rembrandt by Rembrandt' (see fig. 149) was probably relatively small (*c.* 25). But there is a great deal of dry point work in this etching, which went through a remarkable number of states, so that a large edition was impossible. In this connection, it is significant that Van Vliet produced an etched copy of it in 1634 – at a time, thus, when he was collaborating closely with Rembrandt (fig. 153). It seems likely that the impressions of this copy, which bore Rembrandt's monogram, were intended to increase the stock of this formal image of Rembrandt. [254]

254 Chr. Schuckman, M. Royalton-Kisch, E. Hinterding, *Rembrandt & Van Vliet. A collaboration on copper*, exhib. cat. Museum Het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam 1996, p. 52.

Fig. 152. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait drawing at a window*, 1648, etching, 16 x 13 cm (1:1) (B. 22 II)



The edition issued of the fourth 'real' self-portrait, the *Self-portrait leaning on a stone sill* (see fig. 151) cannot have been much greater than *c.* 50-75 prints.

The most important reason for considering the four etchings reproduced in figs. 149-152 as the only (completed) 'portraits of Rembrandt done by himself' is that they in some way fit into a portrait tradition. It will be argued in the following section that a number of the other etchings that are usually considered as self-portraits may in fact be considered as aborted earlier versions of two of these four etchings and other unfinished self-portraits.

The fact that the *Self-portrait with hat, hand on hip* from 1631 (fig. 149) was Rembrandt's first self-portrait in fashionable, modern dress may be taken as an indication that he himself considered this his first 'real' self-portrait, for Dutch painters up to that time generally depicted themselves in their self-portraits in the dress of their time.[255] As Dickey has shown, this etching is also in other respects in keeping with an already existing type of artists' portraits.[256]

The second 'portrait of Rembrandt by Rembrandt' apparently intended for wide distribution was the *Self-portrait with Saskia*, a double portrait from 1636 (fig. 150).[257] This fits into a tradition, already venerable in the sixteenth century, of the portrait of the artist with his wife

255 See for instance L. Goldscheider, *Fünfhundert Selbstporträts von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Vienna 1936, nos. 161, 162, 171, 175, 184, 205, 206, 211, 214.

256 S. Dickey, 'Van Dyck in Holland: The iconography and its impact on Rembrandt and Lievens', in: H. Vlieghe (ed.), *Van Dyck 1599-1999: Conjectures and refutations*, Turnhout 2001, pp. 289-303, esp. 293 and fig. 8.

257 Some specialists, including Egbert Haverkamp Begemann and Erik Hinterding (personal communication) have suggested that Saskia might have been added as an afterthought. The difference in scale between the two half-figures could give rise to such an idea. However, the fact that Rembrandt, as a rule and (and also with single figures), usually intro-

Fig. 153. J.G. van Vliet, copy after B. 7 (see fig.149), 1634, etching, 14.2 x 12.8 cm (1:1)



(and sometimes other family members) behind which, as De Jongh has suggested, there lurks the motto *'Love brings forth Art'*.[258] Just as Rembrandt, in 1633, began to represent himself in his self-portraits in historicizing costume, and no longer in contemporary fashionable attire, so in this etched double portrait he has portrayed himself and his wife in antiquated dress.

The *Self-portrait leaning on a stone sill* from 1639 (fig. 151) is considered here to be the third etched 'portrait of Rembrandt by Rembrandt'. The ongoing discussions over the possible relation of this print to works by Rafael, Titian and Dürer already indicate that Rembrandt, with this work, must have been deliberately referring to the sixteenth century portrait tradition.

The fourth fully fledged 'portrait of Rembrandt by himself' is the *Self-portrait of Rembrandt drawing at a window* of 1648 (fig. 152). Because Rembrandt here depicts himself in working attire and with attributes of his profession, this self-portrait is often seen as evidence that Rembrandt had at that time developed 'a radically revised image of himself'.[259] Placed between Rembrandt's etched *portraits* of others than himself from the period of 1635 to '58, however, it is abundantly clear that this etching belongs to a type, a whole sequence of which Rembrandt made in those decades. As a rule, in these etched portraits the profession of the portrayed subject can be read from his attributes and/or gestures. In our view, the *Self-portrait drawing at a window* should be placed in this category which further contains the portraits of clergymen (Anslo, B. 271; fig. 154 and Sylvius, B. 280), a tax collector (Jan Uytenbogaert, B. 281), a young gentleman (Jan Six, B. 285), physicians (Bueno, B. 278 and Tholinx, B. 284; fig. 157), a calligrapher (Coppenol, B. 282 and B. 283), two auctioneers (Haringh Sr. and Jr., B. 274 and 275), a silversmith (Lutma, B. 276), an art-lover (Abraham Francen, B. 273) and a painter (Jan

duced a tone locally into his backgrounds, mostly low down in the image, argues against this possibility; for there is no trace of such hatching within the contours of Saskia's figure. Furthermore, if the figure of Rembrandt had originally been conceived as a single figure in the etching, it would have been given in an absurdly excentric place within the composition.

258 *'Liefde baart kunst'*, zie E. de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw. Huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw*, Zwolle/Haarlem 1986, pp. 57-59.

259 Chapman 1990, p. 79.

Fig. 154. Rembrandt, *Cornelis Claesz Anslo*, 1641, etching, 18.8 x 15.8 cm (B. 271 I)



Fig. 155. Rembrandt, *Jan Asselyn*, *c.* 1647, etching, 21.6 x 17 cm (B. 277 I)



Fig. 156. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait drawing at a window*, 1648, etching, 16 x 13 cm (B. 22 II)



Fig. 157. Rembrandt, *Arnold Tholinx*, *c.* 1656, etching, 19.8 x 14.9 cm (B. 284 II)



Asselijn, B. 277; fig. 155). A number of the individuals portrayed in such etchings are not shown in fashionable dress but in domestic attire or in their working clothes. It is only in the case of Ephraim Bueno, the auctioneers Thomas and Pieter Haringh and the alleged Clement de Jonghe (B. 272) that the subject's profession is not evident. It has been pointed out that, as far as can be verified, the etching plates of such portraits became the property of the portrayed subject who himself had control of the extent of the edition and the dissemination of the impressions.[260] Viewed in this light, the etched *Self-portrait of Rembrandt drawing at a window* should be regarded in the first place as a portrait of a type that he often employed during this period and not, as for instance Chapman alleged, as an indication that Rembrandt had developed 'a radically revised image of himself'.

Further corroboration for the hypothesis suggested above that only four etchings (figs. 149-152) were seen by Rembrandt as definitive 'portraits of Rembrandt done by himself' is provided by the fact that these four etched self-portraits have (or had) their equivalents among his painted self-portraits. In this connection, it has not previously been pointed out that, as far as can be established, all four etchings seem to have preceded the corresponding painted self-portraits of the same type. Thus, corresponding to the *Self-portrait with hat, hand on hip* from 1631 (fig. 149) are the oval *Self-portrait* in Glasgow (see fig. 183) from 1632 and the subsequent small self-portrait from the same year (see fig. 185); the etching from 1639 (fig. 151) is rightly considered to be the etched predecessor of the painted *Self-portrait* from 1640 (see fig. 242) in London and other similar self-portraits in sixteenth-century costume (IV 1 and IV *Corrigenda* III C 93). The etching with *Rembrandt drawing at a window* from 1648 is followed by the painted self-portraits in which Rembrandt represented himself in working clothes (figs. 1 of IV 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20) Although, as demonstrated above, this etching was in no way exceptional among Rembrandt's other *etched* portraits from this period (see figs. 154-157); it could well have prompted either Rembrandt himself to make, or potential patrons to commission *painted* self-portraits in working habit, a formula which (as Raupp proposed, and De Winkel plausibly argues in her chapter in this volume), was on the one hand new, at least in painted self-portraits, but on the other hand could have conveyed the time-honoured connotation of the painters' regard for the dignity of their craft (see p. 59).

Given the designation *'een conterfeytsel van Rembrandt van Rijn en syn huysvrouw'* (a likeness of Rembrandt van Rijn and his wife) for a painting that was in probably already in the possession of the widow of Titus' guardian, Louis Crayers, before 1677,[261] there seems little doubt that this, like the etching from 1636, was a double portrait of Rembrandt and Saskia. Since the Dresden *Prodigal son in the tavern* from *c.* 1635 (see fig. 207) in its original, probably much larger shape (see fig. 209) can scarcely be said to have a 'counterfeytsel' character, and since, as will be discussed below in more detail, it is unlikely that the Dresden painting could have been intended as *portrait historié*, it would seem highly improbable that this is the painting listed in the inventory of Louis Crayers. That work must have vanished. It can be assumed to have originated before Saskia's death in 1642, and could have been a painted equivalent of the etched double portrait considered here.

Beside the four etched 'portraits of Rembrandt by Rembrandt' dealt with above, all worked up in considerable detail, there are two others which – given Rembrandt's physiognomy, the degree to which they have been worked out and the relatively large editions (mentioned above) of these prints issued – would also seem to belong to the same category (figs. 158 and 159). Particularly in the case of the *Self-portrait with plumed cap* from 1638 (fig. 159), one could argue that this is a self-portrait of the same type as the *Self-portrait leaning on a stone sill* (fig. 151); the figure unmistakably shows Rembrandt's features, and it is likewise dressed in sixteenth century costume. However, the way this figure is depicted, with its rather wild moustache and beard, inclines one to assign this work to the category of *tronies* in which Rembrandt's features have been used, works which, as

260 G. Luijten, 'Rembrandt the printmaker: the shaping of an oeuvre' in E. Hinterding e.a., op. cit.[126], pp. 11-35, esp. 21.

261 See Appendix no. 9, p. 316.

Fig. 158. Rembrandt, *'Tronie' with Rembrandt's features*, 1634, etching 12.4 x 10.8 cm (1:1) (B. 18 I)



Fig. 159. Rembrandt, *'Tronie' with Rembrandt's features*, 1638, etching, 13.4 x 10.3 cm (1:1) (B. 20)



discussed when dealing with the Leiden self-portraits, may only *later* have been regarded as self-portraits.[262] The etched so-called *Self-portrait as an oriental potentate with a kris* from 1634 also probably belongs to this category (fig. 158), together with paintings like the Kassel so-called *Self-portrait with a helmet* from 1634 (fig. 204) and the *Half-length figure of Rembrandt* (fig. 214) of 1635, although in both those cases in our opinion most likely not executed by Rembrandt himself but by members of his workshop.

– Etched 'portraits of Rembrandt by Rembrandt', aborted or incomplete*

In the previous section an attempt was made to determine the *raison d'être* of six of the Amsterdam etchings bearing Rembrandt's effigy. Turning to a larger group of etched self-portraits of the same period, it seems at first sight difficult to arrive at any satisfactory hypothesis as to their function and significance. It is especially important to understand the *raison d'être* of these etchings because there are a number of highly unusual self-portraits in the group. By far the most puzzling are the three etchings usually referred to as 'sheets of studies with the head of the artist' (see figs. 171, 175, 177). To find the key to the background of their origin we must first ask whether these sheets are really comparable to other sheets on which a succession of jottings of various kinds have been tried out. If that were the case, that would almost imply that Rembrandt's gaze in the mirror was indeed the result of 'internal pressure' (see p. 133).

As a rule, Rembrandt covered his sheets of studies with pen sketches (see figs. 161, 162). Cramming various studies on a single sheet meant the optimal use of the available paper (or of a *'tafelet'* or *'tafelboekje'* (table book) a sketch-book with a limited number of sheets that could be wiped clean after being used as fully as possible, fig. 160).[263] Several sheets by Rembrandt have been preserved on which he tried to render a particular figure or a particular garment or article of clothing in different ways (fig. 161); while other sheets contain highly disparate sets of studies (fig. 162). Undoubtedly, many similar such sheets have been lost in the past or cut up into separate sketches. There also exist such sheets pulled from etching plates. In the case of an etching with beggars from *c.* 1631 (fig. 163), the plate was subsequently cut into five small plates which were then printed separately.[264]

It would seem obvious that sheets of studies would not

* This section was written together with Erik Hinterding.

262 In her essay in this volume, M. de Winkel maintains that this print should be considered a self-portrait in the strict sense.

263 See note 127.

264 Chr. White, *Rembrandt as an etcher. A study of the artist at work*, (London 1969), 2nd edition, New Haven and London 1999, pp. 173-74.

Fig. 160. Rembrandt, *Sheet of studies*, *c.* 1637, silver-point on prepared velum, 13 x 8 cm (1:1) (Ben. 341 recto). Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen



Fig. 161. Rembrandt, *Sheet with studies for John the Baptist preaching* (see III A 106), *c.* 1634-35, pen and bistre, 16.7 x 19.6 cm (Ben. 141). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



Fig. 162. Rembrandt, *Sheet of studies*, *c.* 1636, pen and brush in brown and red chalk, 22 x 23.3 cm (Ben. 340). Birmingham, The Barber Institute of Fine Arts



Fig. 163. Rembrandt, *Sheet of studies*, *c.* 1630-31, etching, 9.6 x 12 cm (B. 366)



be signed by their author. It is therefore remarkable that there exist some etchings by Rembrandt from around 1636, three sheets with woman's heads (presumably with Saskia as one of the models, B. 365 (fig. 164), 367 and 368) that are nevertheless signed and dated. One could infer from this that they may have been considered desirable items for art-lovers to collect – examples of a new 'genre' perhaps.[265] Ger Luijten has suggested that these three sheets with women's heads could have been intended as models to be copied by trainees.[266]

Yet by no means all the etched sheets of studies were signed. In the unsigned variants the separate sketches were always placed on the copper plate in different orientations; and this is the category that is significant for the discussion that follows. An interesting example here is the rather large etched sheet of studies with fragments of figures of beggars and two separate scenes with a woman in bed (fig. 165). This etching would seem to document in convincing fashion that sketches which one would expect to be drawn on paper or in a *table book* were also cast on the etching plate. The different elements of this sheet seem to include both 'snapshots' with studies of figures from Rembrandt's immediate surrroundings as well as purely imaginary figures.[267]

Why Rembrandt also used *etching plates* as 'sheets of studies' in this way remains unclear for, both from the point of view of the preparation of the plate and pulling impressions from it, the use of this support involved time-consuming and elaborate procedures compared with the direct use of paper or the pages of a *table book*. In addition, fewer prints were usually taken from these plates than those of the signed sheets of studies. The obvious inference from this would seem to be that they were not originally made for sale.[268] Did these etched sheets of studies perhaps originate from efforts to solve specific etching problems,[269] or might they have functioned in the context of Rembrandt's teaching practice?

In the light of the above, it is understandable that the three prints which, apart from sketches of diverse kinds, also contain (fragmentary) self-portraits, should usually be considered as sheets of studies. In all three cases the orientation of the various sketches differs from that of the head of Rembrandt and from each other.

If we were in fact dealing here with normal (etched) sheets of studies, Rembrandt's pre-occupation with his own appearance in these prints could after all be taken as sound evidence of *'Rembrandt's self-centredness not only as a pictorial strategy but also as a personality trait'*, as Stephanie Dickey has it.[270] In B. 363 (fig. 171), from around 1631 he rendered his entire face with an extremely thoroughly worked out interplay of light and shadow beneath the wavy boundary of a hat that is not worked out. On the same etching plate he made thumbnail sketches of beggars. Until now, this print has usually been considered as an assemblage of various elements on the plate, opinions differing over their sequence of origin. Chapman, for example, in her book on Rembrandt's self-portraits, suggests: *'there is obvious misbiting, and it is generally assumed that the ruined plate was arbitrarily used for unrelated studies. But what better way to admit defeat and confess the fear of failure than to picture oneself among the end results of carelessness and idleness* [i.e. beggars]'.[271] Luijten thought that *'Rembrandt probably started off with the beggars, and scribbles before adding his head'*. He points out, however, that *'the head is curiously placed in the composition'* and goes on to express his surmise that *'...the decision of where to cut the plate was only made later'*.[272]

If this sheet were assigned to the common category of sheets of studies the same would be true for B. 372 (fig. 175). On that plate Rembrandt made an extremely attentive rendition of solely his beret, with part of the forehead beneath it and a single eye together with cursory sketches of two trees, an individual eye and a separate indication of hair. Similarly, the etching reproduced in fig. 177, in which Rembrandt's whole face is sketched amid various jotted figures, would then also be a normal sheet of studies. These three sheets would in that case indeed lend support to the long-standing conviction that Rembrandt was obsessed with his own image.

If we are to find another explanation for the *raison-d'être* of these three sheets two points first need to be established. Firstly, Rembrandt seems never to have hesitated to change the format of his etching plates. In as many as 47 of his etchings, one or more parts of the original plate was removed either during or after the work.[273] Sometimes the removed part of the plate was used for another etching,[274] while in other cases the scrap pieces were probably reworked to produce new copperplate.

265 For a recent discussion of this group of prints, see S. Sell, '"Quicke to Invent & Copious to Expresse": Rembrandt's sketch plates', in Parshall e.a., exhib. cat. *The unfinished print*, Washington (National Gallery) 2001, pp. 55-70.

266 G. Luijten, cat. no. 29 in Hinterding e.a., op. cit.[126], pp. 155-156 with further references.

267 It is also possible that this kind of sketch sheet developed over a longer period. Thus, B. 372 is usually dated to around 1642, but at least two authors have dated the tree in this etching years later than the other subjects. See A. Hind, *A catalogue of Rembrandt's etchings*, London 1923, vol. 1, no. 155, and W. von Seidlitz, *Die Radierungen Rembrandts*, Leipzig 1922, p. 251.

268 From research on watermarks it is evident that the first, rare prints of B. 363 (fig. 171) – which is usually dated around 1631/32 – were only made around 1641. This clearly indicates that, in the beginning, no or hardly any prints were pulled from the copper plate, which was prepared or composed around 1631-32. See G. Luijten, in E. Hinterding e.a., op. cit.[126], pp. 115-118.

269 See Luijten op. cit.[126], p. 117.

270 Dickey, op. cit.[74], esp. p. 369.

271 Chapman 1990, p. 33 (see also her Chapter I, note 117).

272 G. Luijten, cat. no. 16 in Hinterding e.a., op. cit.[126], pp 115-18.

273 B. 1, 5, 8, 10, 13, 17, 18, 23, 24, 51, 54, 66, 70, 76, 90, 111, 117, 134, 150, 153, 158, 165, 166, 168, 171, 172, 179, 186, 222, 260, 263, 279, 291, 292, 304, 314, 316, 319, 321, 327, 345, 351, 352, 354, 356, 357, 363, 366. Further inspection shows that Rembrandt often reduced the size of a copper plate in the years preceding 1632. In subsequent years this evidently occurred much less regularly.

274 Thus the plate for B. 5 is cut from B. 54 , and that for B. 200 from a superfluous part of B. 70.

Fig. 164. Rembrandt, *Sheet of studies (with heads of Saskia)*, 1636, etching, 15.1 x 12.6 cm (B. 365)



Fig. 165. Rembrandt, *Sheet of studies*, *c.* 1641-42, etching, 15.1 x 13.6 cm (B. 369)



The second point that has to be clarified in advance is that Rembrandt, in his completed etched self-portraits, as far as we can ascertain, generally began with the head and completed it before proceeding further. This is most clearly seen in the *Self-portrait with hat, hand on hip* (fig. 173) from 1631, where only the head and hat were represented and worked out in the first states (see fig. 172). The head and hat must also have been completed first in the *Self-portrait drawing at the window* (fig. 152) before other parts of the plate were worked on; at least that impression is given by the first state of the etching. In the first state of another self-portrait (fig. 166), where – as in the first states of B. 7 (fig. 172) – a free head is placed high up in the picture plane, it is generally assumed that Rembrandt's intention was to depict himself to the hips by adding a trunk to this head. This plan having been apparently abandoned (possibly for the reason discussed below), the plate was subsequently sawn down so that only the head remained (fig. 167).

The above two preliminary remarks were necessary to underpin our hypothesis that in the three sheets of studies with (part of) Rembrandt's face (figs. 171, 175 and 177) we are almost certainly dealing with aborted projects that should have resulted in full-fledged 'portraits of Rembrandt by himself'.

On further study of the three sheets of studies with Rembrandt's head, two things attract attention. In both B. 363 and 372 there appears to be a serious misbiting along the contours of Rembrandt's head, no doubt the results of an accident during the treatment of the plate with acid (see figs. 171 and 175). In fig. 175, spotty misbitings are visible to the left of the beret, while in fig. 171 droplet-shaped traces of biting (referred to by Chapman in the above quote) are to be found in the headgear and to the left in the background. In both cases, this damage would probably have extended considerably further than is now visible on the prints taken from the plates which, we suspect, have been reduced from their original format (see figs. 170 and 174). The damage in these cases must have been sufficiently serious and irreparable for Rembrandt to abandon his intended projects of self-portraiture,[275] to saw down the plates and to use (or perhaps let others in the studio use) those parts with remains of the self-portraits as supports for sketches for whatever purpose.[276]

In B. 370 (fig. 177) there are no visible signs of any etching accident. Other factors that can no longer be

275 It is possible to repair this kind of damage by hammering the reverse side of the copper plate and polishing the (raised) front surface for a long time, but this involves a great deal of hard work, especially with large surfaces. In Rembrandt's print oeuvre, one can point to several examples which would suggest that such comprehensive repair operations were not his style. See, for example, B. 70, 76, 81 (I), 115, 116, 117.

276 The sheet of studies B. 370 (fig. 177) gives the impression that this perhaps reduced etching plate might also have been used by other individuals in Rembrandt's studio. As far as the group of figures seen from the back is concerned, the manner of the drawing, the way the figures stand, the quality of the rendering of their garments etc. all give rise to doubt as to whether they could have been executed by Rembrandt himself. Given the similarity of this group with the figures seen from behind of B. 176, one could imagine that the figures in B. 370 may have been done by another hand, perhaps a pupil of Rembrandt as a variant on the latter's etching.

Fig. 166. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait with long bushy hair*, *c.* 1631, etching, 14.5 x 11.7 cm (1:1) (B. 8 I)



Fig. 168. Hypothetical reconstruction of B. 16 (see fig. 169). The fur cap was added once the plate had been reduced in size. Rembrandt's hair is visible under the hatched strokes of the cap.

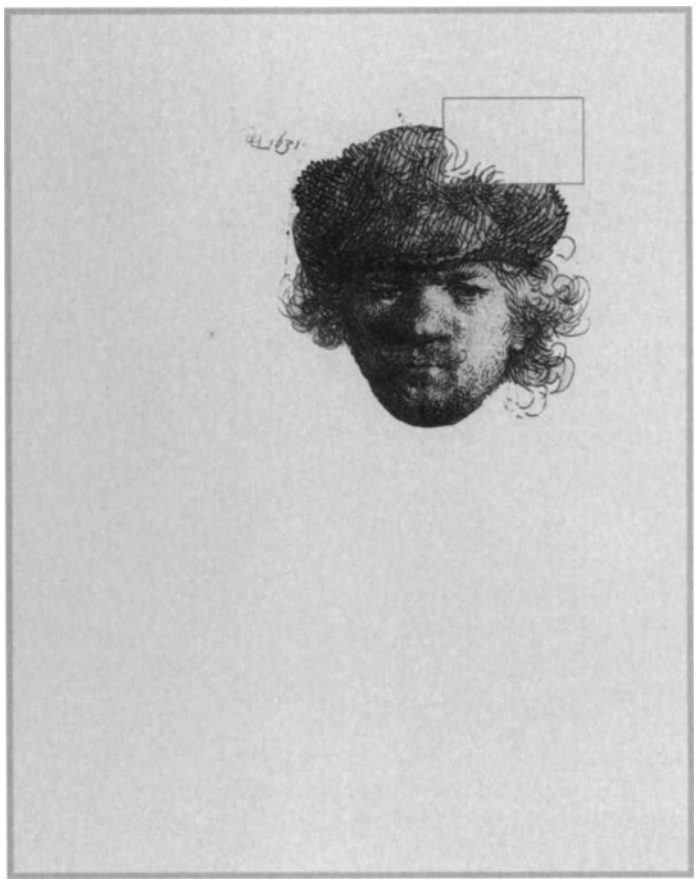


Fig. 167. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait with long bushy hair*, *c.* 1631, etching, 6.4 x 6 cm (1:1) (B. 8 III)



Fig. 169. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait in a heavy fur cap*, 1631, etching, 6.3 x 5.7 cm (1:1) (B. 16). The fur cap and the trunk, including the indication of the neck, are considered to have been added by Rembrandt after the putative half-length self-portrait on a larger plate (see fig. 168) had been aborted and the plate reduced in size. The trunk may originally have been intended to be turned to the left (see also figs. 166/167, 170/171, 172/173).



Fig. 170. Hypothetical reconstruction of B. 363, based on the measurements of B. 7 (see figs. 172/173)

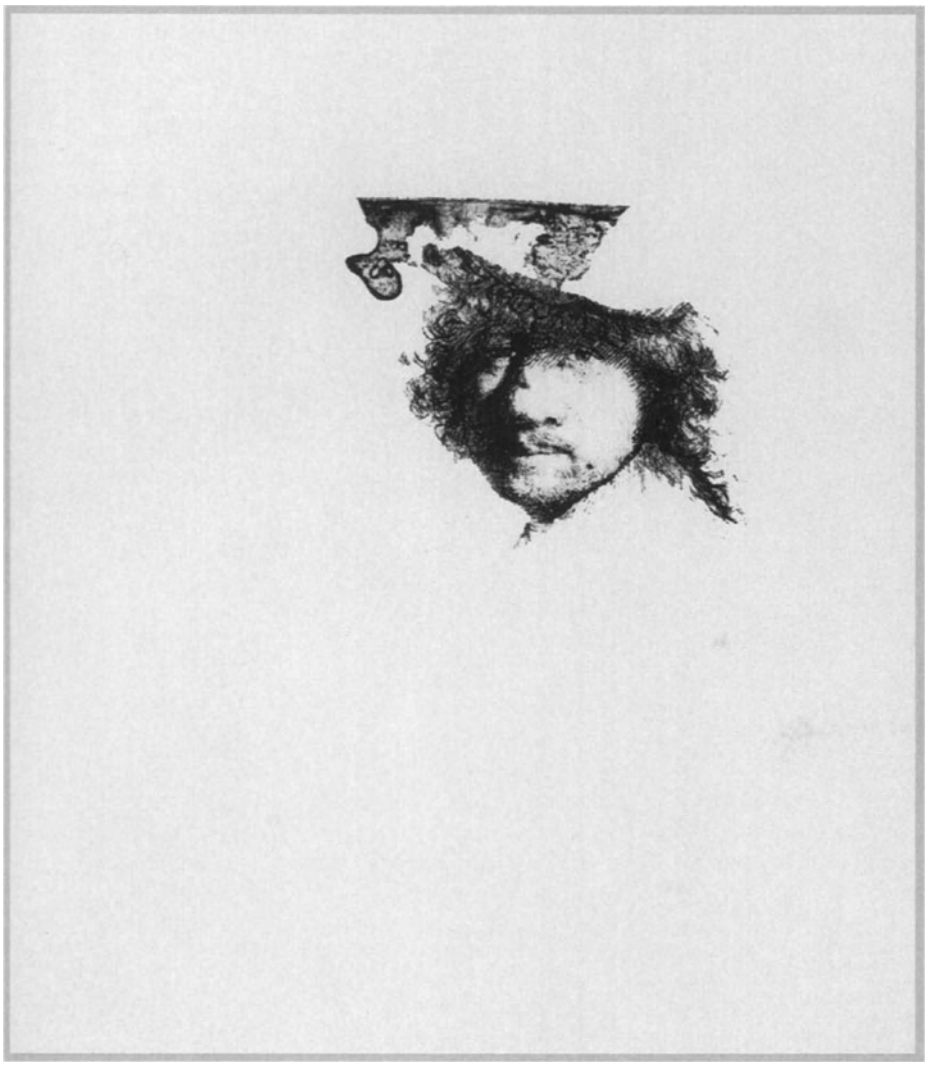


Fig. 171. Rembrandt, *Aborted self-portrait recycled in a sheet of studies*, *c.* 1632, etching, 10.1 x 11.4 cm (almost 1:1) (B. 363 I)



Fig. 172. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait with hat, hand on hip*, 1631 (reduced), etching, 14.8 x 13 cm (B. 7 IV)



Fig. 173. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait with hat, hand on hip* (reduced), 1631, etching, 14.8 x 13 cm (B. 7 VIII)



Fig. 174. Hypothetical reconstruction of B. 372 (see fig. 175)

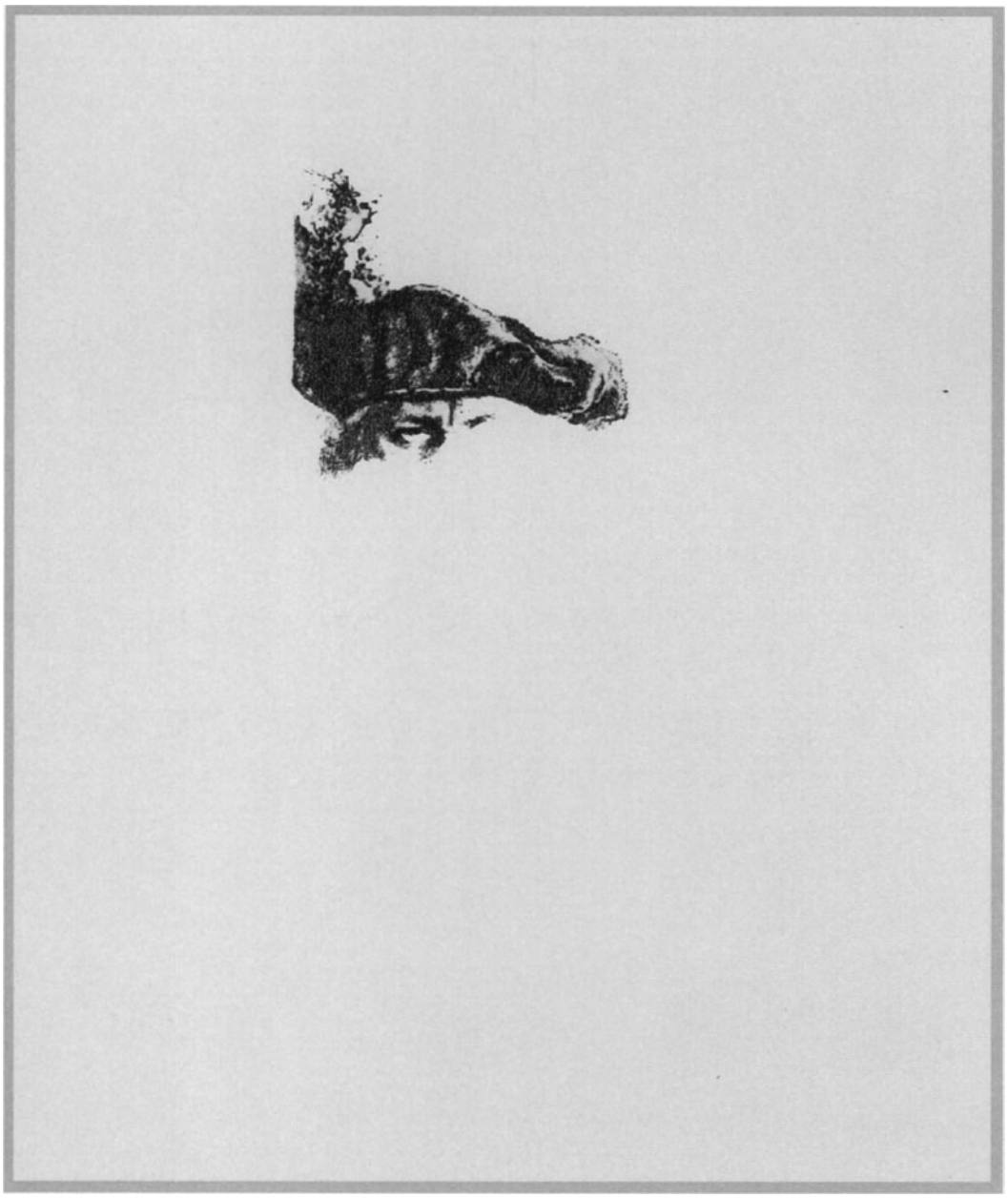


Fig. 175. Rembrandt, *Aborted self-portrait recycled in a sheet of studies*, *c.* 1642, etching, 7.8 x 6.9 cm (1:1) (B. 372)



ascertained could have played a role here, such as problems with the likeness or, for example, if this plate retained its original size, problems with the final placing of the figure (figs. 176-179). This latter possibility is suggested by the fact that Rembrandt, we now know, made this sketch sheet earlier than the date given by the non-autograph inscription < *RL 1651* >, perhaps as early as 1648, the year the *Self-portrait drawing at the window* was made. This had already been suspected but has now been confirmed by research on watermarks.[277] Once one is aware of this fact, one is alerted to the interesting similarities between that etching (see fig. 152, compare fig. 178) and the head on the sheet of studies discussed here (fig. 177). The indication of the shoulders to the left and right of Rembrandt's head suggest that he wanted to represent himself in this sketch – as in the *Self-portrait drawing at the window* – more or less frontally, with the position of the shoulders so high that one wonders whether it had not also been Rembrandt's intention here to portray himself leaning on his elbow(s), possibly even drawing. It is striking that in both etchings the light comes from the left, which is highly unusual in Rembrandt's etched self-effigies; the only other example is the etching with Rembrandt and Saskia in which Rembrandt also depicts himself while drawing (fig. 150). There would thus seem to be sufficient reason to entertain the

277 Seidlitz and Hind (op. cit. [267]) dated the print to 1648. There is a print of B. 370 with a Strasbourg lily watermark that can be dated to 1648. See N. Ash and S. Fletcher, *Watermarks in Rembrandt's prints*, Washington 1998, p. 185: Strasbourg Lily 36 G. Moreover, there is a print of B. 370 with the same foolscap watermark as several prints taken from the first state of B. 126 from 1648 (not in Ash & Fletcher).

Fig. 176. Hypothetical reconstruction of B. 370 (reduced), based on the measurements of B. 22 (see fig. 152)



Fig. 177. Rembrandt, *Aborted self-portrait recycled in a sheet of studies*, 1651, etching, 11.1 x 9.2 cm (1:1) (B. 370)



Fig. 178. Hypothetical reconstruction of B. 370 (reduced) (see fig. 179) projected on B. 22 (reduced, see fig. 152)

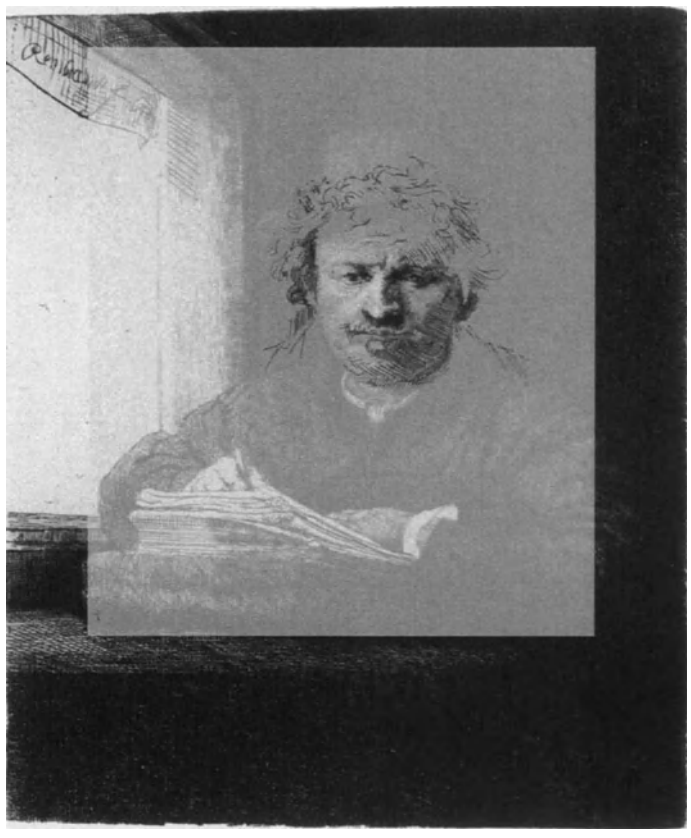


Fig. 179. Hypothetical reconstruction of B. 370, based on the measurements of B. 370 (see fig. 177)



Fig. 180. Rembrandt, *Unfinished self-portrait*, *c.* 1635, etching, 4.9 x 4.4 cm (1:1) (B. 2)



Fig. 181. Rembrandt, *Unfinished(?) self-portrait*, *c.* 1642, etching, 9.3 x 6.2 cm (1:1) (B. 26)



Fig. 182. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait while etching*, 1658, etching, 11.8 x 6.4 cm (1:1) (Hollst. S 379)



possibility that the self-portrait in this sheet of studies could have preceded the *Self-portrait drawing at the window* and could be seen as a first attempt – aborted for some reason – at making that self-portrait (see fig. 178, a montage with the figure from the sheet of studies projected on to the definitive etching).

It would also seem that a similar sort of trial and error procedure must have been involved in the making of the 1631 etching, but this time even more extensively and even more strikingly. It cannot be excluded that in this case there was more than a single attempt, as in 1648, before the execution of the definitive *Self-portrait with hat, hand on hip* (fig. 173), but three abandoned attempts. Here, it seems to have been more than merely technical problems that caused these projects to be aborted, rather as though Rembrandt was at this stage seeking the most suitable 'image' for the intended self-portrait. In the light of his move from Leiden to Amsterdam, which occurred (or at least began) around this time, this possibility is particularly intriguing.

It has already been indicated above that the first state of B. 8 probably documents an abandoned plan to produce a self-portrait down to the hips – bareheaded with long hair falling to the shoulder (fig. 166). The plate was subsequently cut down (fig. 167). Shortly before or after, Rembrandt seems to have entertained the idea of making an even more ambitious self-portrait. This was originally also bareheaded, as can be seen through the form of the cap (B. 16; fig. 169). In this etching the physiognomy has been worked out remarkably far. Whether or not the plate was originally larger is no longer possible to ascertain, but what can be said with certainty is that here, too, in the first place only a free head with curly hair was drawn on the plate (fig. 168), and that this was probably subsequently transformed and completed as a *tronie*-like figure with fur hat and a loose cloak or tabbard with a fur collar (fig. 169). It is the ambitiously worked out detail of the physiognomy in this print that leads one to assume that a formal 'portrait of Rembrandt by himself' was here initially intended. The same holds equally for the self-portrait, discussed earlier, that was aborted because of faulty biting, where Rembrandt had apparently intended representing himself with a fashionable hat and falling ruff (fig. 171). There remains perhaps some uncertainty over the dating of this print, but opinion on the whole tends toward an origin in 1631, which would mean that it is very possible that this aborted project could also have preceded the *Self-portrait with hat, hand on hip* (fig. 173)[278] which must have finally brought to fruition the series of early attempts suggested here. In the course of these efforts, the Leiden 'artist with the wild hair' seems to have transformed himself into the

278 See, for example, Schatborn in exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, no. 31 (*c.* 1631) and Luijten in Hinterding e.a., op. cit.[126], no. 16, who dates the etching to 1631-32 and correctly observes that the separate sketches on this plate could be dated differently.

fashionable young gentleman at the start of his Amsterdam career.

Of the Amsterdam etched self-portraits, three remain to be discussed. Their *raison d'être* is not wholly clear. The last of these, the etching dated 1658 on which Rembrandt is depicted drawing (fig. 182), may be considered (if it is in fact by Rembrandt, which seems likely) as a discarded equivalent of the etching of *Rembrandt drawing at the window* (see fig. 152).[279] The problem then remains of how to explain the existence of two remarkably small self-portraits, B. 2 and 26 (figs. 180 and 181). The etching reproduced in fig. 180 may be considered an abandoned project on which Rembrandt must have worked around 1635. The beret, otherwise worked out in great detail, has been left unfinished; in the light strip to the right above the band of the beret the hatching is missing. The possibility cannot be excluded that in this case too this may originally have been a larger unfinished plate from which the minuscule plate bearing only Rembrandt's effigy has been excised. The large number of prints that were pulled from this small plate early on leads one to suspect that it had become a sought-after collector's item that might have attracted art-lovers precisely because of its unfinished state.[280]

In the case of the unusually fluent, sketchily executed etching reproduced in fig. 181 we may also be dealing with an aborted project, even though it presents the remarkable situation where the figure (together with a bit of background) only partially fills the plate as a rectangular 'island' with rounded corners, i.e. it does not extend to the edge of the plate. The genesis of this print – usually dated *c.* 1642 – would need to be further investigated in this regard before we could gain more insight into its '*raison d'être*'.

Summarizing, the present author's conjecture that, during his Amsterdam period, Rembrandt produced two elaborate *tronies* with his own features (figs. 158 and 159). Further, four 'official' etched 'portraits of Rembrandt by Rembrandt' (figs. 149-152) together with several aborted attempts to arrive at such portraits (figs. 166, 169, 171, 175, 177, 180 and possibly the etching reproduced in fig. 181) were tentatively identified. Houbrakens statement about Rembrandt comes to mind here: *'But one thing is to be regretted and that is that he was so quick to change and move on to other things that many of his works were left only half-way finished.'*.[281] The effort to link a number of the aborted works mentioned above (figs. 169, 171, 175 and 177) to hypothetical projects that eventually should have resulted in fully fledged self-portraits (resp. figs. 173 and 152) somewhat undermines Houbraken's characterization of Rembrandt's manner of working. The fact that the results of the aborted projects apparently became desirable collectors' items for contemporary and later art-lovers has to some considerable degree influenced our present-day image of a Rembrandt who preferred the process above the finish. But in view of the tenacity with which Rembrandt strove to complete a number of the etchings dealt with in this and the previous section, it seems unlikely that he would have recognized himself in this image.

– The painted self-portraits from the first decade in Amsterdam

The self-portraits in fashionable attire (1631-1633/34)

Following the remarks above concerning the Amsterdam production of etched self-portraits, we should return to the first group of self-portraits of that period as a whole.

It has been usual in the literature to regard the etched *Self-portrait with hat, hand on hip* (fig. 149) and the Glasgow oval *Self-portrait* (figs. 183, 184) as the only and therefore exceptional self-portraits in which Rembrandt depicted himself dressed in the fashionable attire of his time. In Chapman's words: '*... they stand out from the entire body of his self-portraits*'.[282] But these works turn out not to be all that exceptional. In 1997, a (much) smaller painted self-portrait in contemporary dress was attributed to Rembrandt (IV *Addendum* 1, see fig. 185). This work will be discussed in more detail below. Moreover, thanks to research on watermarks, we now know for certain that Rembrandt worked up at least two proof prints of the *Self-portrait with hat, hand on hip* with chalk *after* the rather complex pose had already been executed on the etching plate itself (see figs. 85, 86).[283] The two chalk drawings with the etched head were thus not, as has long been thought, try-outs that originated during the course of the genesis of the etching, but should rather be seen as self-standing self-portraits, however unusual they may be with regard to technique.[284] In any case, in view of the fact that they were given signatures, these works have to be seen as works that Rembrandt himself considered to be

279 This seems to be the only etched self-portrait where, after the figure had been roughly sketched, the background was worked up – a procedure that Rembrandt customarily applied in his paintings and, as far as can be ascertained, also in his etchings with more extensive scenes (compare B. 44, 77, 104). The etching demonstrates why, in the other self-portraits, Rembrandt always appears to have begun with the head: if the likeness was unsatisfactory there was little point in continuing with the rest of the work. In such a case, the project would seem to have been aborted. It should be pointed out that in some (self-)portraits from Rembrandt's time, including one by Rembrandt himself, the physiognomy was added last (see B. 281). The reason this self-portrait should be considered a discarded effort is that only two impressions exist.

280 On the appreciation of unfinished art works already evident in classical antiquity and the possible link between this and Rembrandt's working habits, see Van de Wetering 1997, p. 164.

281 Houbraken, op. cit.[53], I 1718, p. 258.

282 H. Perry Chapman, 'Rembrandt's "burgerlijk" self-portraits', *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 8 (1989), pp. 203 –215, esp. 203.

283 B.P.J. Broos, 'Review of Walter L. Strauss and Marjon van der Meulen, "The Rembrandt Documents"', *Simiolus* 12 (1981-82), pp. 245-62, esp. 251; Chapman 1990, p. 61; Hinterding, op. cit.[48], p. 77; M. Royalton-Kisch, 'Review of H. Perry Chapman, "Rembrandt's self-portraits: A study in seventeenth-century identity"', *Print Quarterly* 8 (1991), pp. 303-8; Hinterding e.a., op. cit.[126] cat. no. 13 (contributed by M. Royalton-Kisch).

284 A third worked up version of B. 7 (third state) is in the British Museum in London. For arguments in favour of the authenticity of this print, see M. Royalton-Kisch, 'Rembrandt, Zomer, Zanetti and Smith', *Print Quarterly* 10 (1993), pp. 111-122, esp. 115. Given the poor quality with which the parts in chalk apparently were copied after the finished print, the present author strongly doubts that these parts were added by Rembrandt himself.

Fig. 183. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1632, panel 64.4 x 47.6 cm. Glasgow, The Burrell Collection (II A 58)



Fig. 184. Detail (1:1) of fig. 183



finished self-portraits. On the basis of the type of signature added, it can be accepted with certainty that these signatures were placed in or after 1633, even though the drawing bears the date 1631 in Rembrandt's own handwriting (for the antedating of these works, see pp. 139-140). One could imagine that we are dealing here with gifts – perhaps to admiring art-lovers, friends or relatives – as may perhaps also be the case with the above-mentioned small self-portrait, painted in oil on a tiny panel and emphatically signed and dated.

Rather than just two self-portraits in contemporary dress, then, there turn out to be five or even six: the etching from 1631 (see fig. 149), with – as argued above – the aborted etching with Rembrandt in fashionable costume B. 363 as its forerunner (see figs. 171, 170), two paintings from 1632 (figs. 183 and 185) and the two early states of the etching worked up in or after 1633 (see figs. 85 and 86). This is surely enough for this cluster of works not only to represent a significant phase in Rembrandt's self-portrait production as a whole, but also to be significant for our understanding of Rembrandt's conception of the self-portrait. This stage assumes even greater importance when one realizes that we are in fact dealing here with what seems to be the *actual* beginning of Rembrandt's production of formal 'portraits of Rembrandt by Rembrandt'. As explained in previous sections, the few paintings from the Leiden period that might be considered as 'real' self-portraits should rather be seen as incidental. Exactly why Rembrandt decided no longer to depict himself in contemporary fashionable dress from 1633 onward, but opted rather to represent himself in antiquated dress, and later occasionally in working clothes, is also a question that now assumes more weight (see Chapter II and p. 206).

There are no questions of authenticity with the group of self-portraits in fashionable dress; only the *Small self-portrait* of 1632 that we proposed should be added to Rembrandt's oeuvre is likely to be queried.[285] Despite the range of objective evidence converging on the conclusion that this can only be a work by Rembrandt (see for the argumentation IV *Addendum* 1, pp. 609-615), there remains the problem of its quality – or, rather, certain puzzling aspects concerning its quality.

In various respects, this work is a strong painting, with stylistic features that unmistakably corroborate the attribution to Rembrandt. In particular, the execution of the torso (as long as one ignores the strange hand that hangs before the midriff) shows the slightly bulging contours and a suggestion of light on the shiny fabric of the sleeve and along the velvet on the shoulder, done in a way that is typical of Rembrandt (cf. for example, the *Portrait of Nicolaes Ruts*, II A 43, and the *Portrait of Marten Looten*, II A 52, or the *Portrait of Herman Krul*, II A 81. In every respect, too, the concise but highly convincing execution of the collar argues for the attribution to Rembrandt. A comparison, for instance, with the *Jacques de Gheyn* and *Maurits Huygens* portraits (II A 56 and II A 57), paintings from the same year that are only slightly larger in scale, shows a similar freedom of treatment and the evident pleasure in introducing those small irregularities in the folds of the material that generate surprises in the play of the light on the surface of the collar. The most Rembrandtesque feature, however, is the interplay between tonal values, colour (particularly the flesh colour), treatment of light and the specific intensity of the effect of the light. In these respects, when hung between paintings from the 30's and early 40's during the *Rembrandt by himself* exhibition of 1999, the painting was wholly consistent with the other works shown.

And yet there is something 'wrong' with the painting. This has partly to do with the condition. The mouth, for example, indicated by minimal means on the yellowish ground and brown underpainting, has been deformed by the heavy abrasion during previous cleaning treatments that the painting has undergone. The transition from the shadowed cheek to the background has also suffered, as have the eyes. The shadowed eye, furthermore, appears to have 'grown away' from the other eye, as it were, through this having been painted again – probably by Rembrandt, though this is not certain – on a covering repentir and as a result having aged differentially (for the repentir see also figs. 188 and 191).

There are, however, two disturbing passages in the painting that cannot be explained by the condition. These elements are so disturbing, in fact, that they have for a long time stood in the way of an attribution of the painting to Rembrandt. In the first place there is the strange hand and secondly, less obviously, the present hat.

To gain an accurate understanding of the awkward little hand (fig. 186) (which, given its brownish-grey tint, should be seen as gloved), it should be borne in mind that the shape of the hand has been affected in different ways. Only during the restoration of 1997 did it become clear that what looked like an unusually narrow cuff was in fact meant to be only part of the cuff, the rest being overlapped by the cloak. One finds this, for example, in the man of *The Berensteyn Couple* (II C 68) or in the *Portrait of a man* attributed to Herman Doncker (see fig. 189). The hand itself moreover had been seriously over-cleaned. After restoration on the basis of what was left, the hand still remained a conspicuous 'Fremdkörper' in the painting. In the (even smaller) oil sketch with the *Portrait of Ephraim Bueno* in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (Br. 252) there is also a striking disproportion between the relatively large head and the arm, which is too short, and a rather small hand. But reference to that painting does not really help one accept the even greater disproportion in the present painting. In the *Bueno*, the brushwork evident in the arm and cuff, no less skilfully painted than the head or the collar, is characteristic for Rembrandt. That is, however, certainly not the case in this self-portrait. Here, not only is the hand too small, but more

285 See Van de Wetering 1997 (hard cover edition) inside dust-jacket.

Fig. 185. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1632, panel 21.8 x 16.3 cm (1:1). Private collection (IV *Addenda* 1). For the painting after restoration, see p. 610. Because this restoration was completed just before the present Volume went to press, it was no longer possible to modify the main text concerning this painting.



disturbingly, the position of the lower arm as implied by the carriage of hand and cuff would imply that the elbow ought to emerge far above the place where an elbow is in fact suggested by the bulging contour of the cloak.

There is thus a gross anatomical mistake of a kind one does not encounter with Rembrandt. From an *earlier* indication of the arm, cuff and roughly sketched hand that can be seen by infrared reflectography (IRR, fig. 188) (and in the case of the cuff also in the X-radiograph, fig. 187; see also IV *Addendum* 1, fig. 2) it is clear that whoever conceived the painting (and given the evidence assembled in the relevant catalogue entry, this can only have been Rembrandt) was perfectly well aware of the necessary coherence of the anatomical parts under discussion and of their correct scale in relation to the trunk and head. One can only speculate as to why Rembrandt did not elaborate the sketch of the hand and arm and why someone else should have later undertaken their addition in such un-Rembrandtesque fashion, both in form and execution. It should also be added that the fact that the original rough sketch of a hand, seen in the IRR image (see fig. 188), is visible as a system of very dark, evidently carbon-containing lines, almost certainly means that this hand (together with the suggestion of the tightly stretched folds in the cloak related to it) were not part of the original first lay-in, which was as usual executed in transparent brown paint and which shows less strongly than this under IRR. It would seem as though, at a later stage of his preparatory underpainting, Rembrandt tried to add a hand and cuff and the associated folds in the cloak by sketching with black paint (or grey in the case of the cuff). Subsequently, he may have abandoned his intention of executing the hand. Undoubtedly someone else then, sooner or later after the painting had left Rembrandt's studio, undertook – with little success – the completion of the decorous pose as it is known from other paintings (for instance fig. 189).[286]

With this hypothetical explanation for the existence of the rather absurd hand, the next question to consider is whether the intervention on the hat can also be attributed to someone other than Rembrandt. In fact, the painter who added the hand could also have altered the hat (figs. 190, 191). But why not simply assume, as we have done so far, that the present hat is a repentir of Rembrandt himself? There are several arguments against this, although none of them alone is decisive. From the X-radiograph it can be inferred that Rembrandt had originally depicted himself with a hat that was worn in the same way as in the etched *Self-portrait* from 1631 (see fig. 149) and the Glasgow *Self-portrait* from 1632 (fig. 183), with the rim elegantly turned upwards, pinching the front apparently so as to accommodate the forefinger when raising the hat (in our own time, this pinch has become the groove in the bowl of the hat). Apparently, this was the manner in which Rembrandt wore his hat at this time. The two self-portraits mentioned above – as well as the early states of B. 7 worked up with chalk in 1633/34 (see figs. 85, 86) – all appear to show how Rembrandt wished to be seen in this period. In this light, the change in the type of the hat in the small self-portrait under discussion here is so striking that the question legitimately arises of whether we are dealing with a later intervention determined by a change in fashion, perhaps executed by another painter (the same who added the hand?) at the request of the then owner of the painting. A striking indication of the pressure of continual change of fashion in the seenteenth century, even where this concerned the shape of your hat, can be found in a book of etiquette from 1675: *'And indeed if somebody, however decent and modest he may be, should stubbornly resist fashion (which is like a stream) – appearing among the people for instance with a high, pointed hat, whereas at present one wears a low, rounded hat, he would run the risk, like a Shrove Tuesday fool, of being jeered at by children and the rabble'*.[287] The same treatise advises following fashion *'if we do not want to be isolated from civic life'*.[288] Given the relative frequency with which hats in male portraits change, apparently in accordance with alterations of fashion, one is inclined to believe that this rule was also considered to apply to *painted* men wearing hats.[289]

Another reason to doubt that this is an autograph repentir of Rembrandt himself is that the new shape of the hat can scarcely be called a success. The bowl has become too wide on the left side and the rim projecting on the right has become club-shaped, which hardly contributes to the credibility of this brim apparently meant to be seen as slightly curled up (see fig. 185). But the most compelling evidence of another painter's intervention is the way in which the background has been re-worked around the new hat (fig. 190). A rather muddy paint has been carefully hatched around the hat in its new form in a manner that is wholly unfamiliar with the freedom with which Rembrandt – loosely scumbling the transitions – executed repentirs in his backgrounds (cf. II A 48, 53, 56).

If one supposes the painting in the form proposed here, as it would seem to have been intended by

286 The supposition that this addition must have occurred in the seventeenth century is corroborated by a copy (whereabouts unknown) which, to judge by the photograph (in the Netherlandish Institute for Art History), must have been done in the seventeenth century (see IV *Addendum* 1, *Copies*).

287 Jan Claessen ten Hoorn, *Nieuwe Verhandeling van de hoofsche wellevendheit en loffelyke welgemanierdheit, in Den Haeg aen het Hof en voorts door geheel Nederland, by treffelijke lieden gebruikelijk, onderwysende hoe men in alle voorval en ontmoeting sich wijselijk en lieftallig sal bestieren*, Amsterdam 1675, p. 69: *'En voorwaer indien iemand, hoe zedig, en ingetoogen hy ook wesen mooge, hardnekkig wil zijn en sich aenkanten tegen dese Mode, die een stroomvliet is; te voorschijn komende by voorbeeld, onder de menschen met eenen hoogen spitsen hoed, tegenwoordig nu men die laeg, en rond draegt, sal hy sich in gevaer stellen, van als een Vastelavonds gek, van een deel kinderen en ruigte uitgejout te worden'*.

288 *'... indien wy ons van het borgerlijk leven niet willen afsonderen.'*

289 See for instance Rembrandt's *Portrait of Frederik Rihel on horseback* (Br. 255); exhib. cat. *Art in the making. Rembrandt*, 1988/89, p. 138 (infrared photo); S.J. Gudlaugsson, *Katalog der Gemälde Gerard ter Borchs sowie biographisches Material*, The Hague 1959-60, cat. no. 185; S. Slive, *Frans Hals*, 3 vols; London 1970-74, Vol. III 1974, p. 111, no. 218.

Fig. 186. Detail of the painting before restoration



Fig. 187. X-Ray of the same detail as fig. 186



Fig. 188. Infrared reflectogram of fig. 185



Fig. 189. Attr. to Herman Doncker, *Portrait of a man*, *c.* 1635, panel 27.4 x 21 cm. Whereabouts unknown



Fig. 190. Detail of head and cap of fig. 185



Fig. 191. X-Ray of the same detail as fig. 190



Rembrandt (fig. 192), the composition turns out to have been both more dynamic and more monumental than in the painting's present condition (see [289a]).

Fig. 192. Digital reconstruction of the painting in its original state: the hat was reconstructed on the basis of the X-ray (see fig. 191), the hand, presumably added by another painter, was removed, see however p. 610

The early Amsterdam self-portraits in historicizing costume (1633-1635)

In 1633 Rembrandt must have decided to portray himself no more in contemporary fashionable attire but in costume that is more or less historical, at first rather vaguely but from 1639 onward more faithfully so. One could speculate that this decision was connected with a problem that seems to have been in the air, viz. the problem generated by the extremely rapid changes in contemporary fashion, which meant that one's appearance very soon became outdated, after a while perhaps even becoming to seem faintly ridiculous (see note 288). In this regard, the research of Emilie Gordenker (in relation to Anthony van Dyck), on the tendency in (self)portraits toward the adoption of a more timeless costume, is highly interesting.[290]

From 1633 until *c.* 1635 Rembrandt worked on so many self-portraits that – as mentioned before – this seems to have resulted in overproduction. This, at least, would seem to be the implication when one observes that some of these paintings apparently had to be re-worked in order to maintain their saleability (see p. 139). If one also counts these 'hidden' self-portraits and accepts the proposed dating of these works to between 1633 and '35, then Rembrandt must have worked on at least seven painted self-portraits in antiquated dress within these three years.[291]

First there are the two Paris self-portraits dated 1633: the *Self-portrait, bare-headed* (figs. 193, 201) and the *Self-portrait in a cap* (figs. 194, 205). The X-radiographic



289a That these ideas on the history of the painting only recently could be developed was partly a consequence of our renewed attempts (related to the writing of this text and *Addendum* 1 of this volume) aimed at understanding the 'cuff' that is visible in the X-radiograph (see fig. 187 and IV *Addendum* 1, fig. 2). In the process, the infrared reflectographic images were mounted and studied with fresh eyes, as a result of which the coherence of the constellation of dark lines, which in the unmounted images had appeared so chaotic, was discovered to relate to an arm that was only discovered under overpaintings that were removed during the restoration in the summer of 2005; see p. 610.

290 E.E.S. Gordenker, *Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) and the representation of dress in seventeenth-century portraiture*, Turnhout 2001, see esp. pp. 22-25 and 60. It is a tempting idea that there could have been a direct influence of Van Dyck on Rembrandt in this regard, although in the first instance it

evidence also suggests 1633 as the most likely date of origin of the (probably unfinished) self-portrait hidden under the Windsor Castle *Self-portrait* from 1642 (fig. 195, see cat. entry IV 1 figs. 1, 2 and fig. 84). If, as we suspect, the *Self-portrait* in Berlin, later transformed into a *tronie* of a German *landsknecht* (figs. 202 and 203, see also figs. 76-78), was originally painted by Rembrandt, it could also have originated in 1633 as it must originally have been similar in conception to the Paris *Self-portrait, bare-headed* (see fig. 193) though entirely different in *peinture*.

There are two self-portraits dated 1634: the newly discovered *Self-portrait with shaded eyes* (figs. 197 and 199; see also figs. 73-75 and IV *Addendum* 2), first publicly exhibited in 2003, and the Berlin *Self-portrait in motion* (figs. 198 and 200). The Kassel *'Self-portrait' with helmet* (figs. 204 and 206), also dated 1634, we do not believe to be a work of Rembrandt (see below).

If our surmise based on the X-radiodiographic evidence is correct, that the Paris *Self-portrait (with an architectural background)* (fig. 196; see also figs. 79-81 and figs. 245, 252) is an earlier self-portrait that was revised by another hand in *c.* 1640, this would mean that originally the work could also have been part of the prolific production of self-portraits during Rembrandt's first Amsterdam years. Such an early dating for the picture in its first form – *c.* 1635 – is primarily based on the fact that in the X-radiographic image of the Paris painting Rembrandt has a strikingly younger appearance than in the painting in its eventual form (fig. 196). But there is another argument in favour of a relatively early date of origin for this 'hidden' self-portrait in its first state. It is painted over a (possibly uncompleted) history piece with a scene that is closely related to one of Rembrandt's etchings from 1634, the *Christ and the woman of Samaria among ruins* (B. 71).[292]

It was suggested above that Rembrandt's lively activity in the field of self-portraiture between 1631 and '35 ought perhaps to be seen in the context of the ambitions of the Uylenburgh enterprise. This idea is corroborated by the fact that Rembrandt's production of painted self-portraits declined drastically once he had left Uylenburgh, only picking up again temporarily around 1640 and, later from 1652 onwards.

The first non-authentic 'self-portrait', or rather a *tronie* with Rembrandt's features, in our opinion produced entirely by another painter in the workshop during Rembrandt's stay with Uylenburgh, is the Kassel *'Self-portrait' with helmet* from 1634 (figs. 204 and 206). The arguments for our disattribution will be discussed below. It would seem that we are dealing here with a *tronie* in which Rembrandt's features are borrowed from the Paris *Self-portrait with a cap* from 1633 (fig. 205). The fact that such a variant on one of Rembrandt's early Amsterdam self-portraits could already exist in 1634 raises the need to look at this possibility in the other paintings of the group cited above. The RRP's conviction expressed in Vol. II, that the two Paris self-portraits from 1633 (figs. 193, 194) and the one in Berlin from 1634 (fig. 198) can be considered as autograph works, remains unchanged. As to the newly discovered *Self-portrait with shaded eyes* (see figs. 197 and 199), our arguments converging to an attribution to Rembrandt himself first of all consist of those concerning technical data and the signature discussed in IV *Addendum* 2. But it is considerations of the style and quality of this work which are decisive in leading to our conclusion that it must be attributed to Rembrandt.[293]

What was laid bare after removing the remaining passages that had transformed it into a *tronie* (see IV *Addendum* 2 figs. 3-9) was a self-portrait in which Rembrandt looks out at the viewer (or, in fact, at himself in the mirror) from beneath the shadow of his black beret (figs. 197, 199). The torso, clad in a grey tabbard lined with brown fur is turned to the right. The bright light, falling from the left, sharply illuminates the collar of a pleated shirt. The way the contours are treated is characteristic of Rembrandt. He was exceptionally sensitive and deliberate in choosing the course of his contours (see also *Corpus* II, p. 10). It was in the portraits and self-portraits from the early Amsterdam period that he saw the chance, on the one hand, of giving the contours of the dark parts of the costumes – as with the beret in this painting – a course that was so simple that it scarcely drew the attention of the viewer, so that the gaze was led more especially to the face; while on the other hand this course of the contours suggested the plasticity of the shape depicted, such that the spatial illusion of the composition as a whole is subtly reinforced.

Equally characteristic of Rembrandt's mastery and

would not have been Van Dyck's works that exerted such an influence. In his portraits, Van Dyck only begins to search for possibilities of this kind during the 1630's. The problem of the rapid obsolescence of contemporary fashionable dress could well have been a subject of conversation in a situation where – as Stephanie Dickey has plausibly argued – Antonie van Dyck and Rembrandt could have met each other. (Dickey, op. cit.[256]). In the first months of 1632, Van Dyck spent some time in The Hague, while at the same time Rembrandt worked frequently in The Hague on portraits of Amalia van Solms (II A 61), Joris de Caullery (II A 53), Jacques de Gheyn (II A 56) and Maurits Huygens (II A 57).
From a hypothetical meeting between the two artists, Stephanie Dickey believes one can deduce mainly effects on Rembrandt's work as a printmaker. But the possibility cannot be excluded that discussions on the subject of timeless costume could have influenced Rembrandt's choice in 1633 of the fancy dress and later the historicizing dress that he adopts in his painted self-portraits. The fact that during his visit to The Hague Van Dyck was working on his portrait of Jan Lievens, which was issued as a print, adds to the likelihood that Van Dyck and Rembrandt met at this time. If one asks the obvious question of why Van Dyck did not also make a portrait of Rembrandt during the same period, in the light of the above, one answer would be that Rembrandt himself had already made a portrait-print of himself, the *Self-portrait with hat, hand on hip* (B. 7). Seen from the perspective (outlined above) of the assumed function of a portrait-print, such a print after a design by Van Dyck was therefore in principle unnecessary.

291 See II A 71, A 72, A 96, III B 10, C 56, IV 1, IV *Addendum* 2.

292 See III B 10.

293 Earlier versions of the catalogue text and the following remarks on style and quality were already published in Ernst van de Wetering, *Rembrandt's hidden self-portraits/Rembrandts verborgen zelfportretten*, exhib. cat. Museum Het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam 2003, resp. pp. 17-25 and 2-16, and summarized and in part quoted in a sales catalogue from Sotheby's (London, *Old Masters*, July 2003).

Fig. 193. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait, bare-headed*, 1633, panel 61 x 48.1 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (II A 71). For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see fig. 201



Fig. 194. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait in a cap*, 1633, panel 70.4 x 54 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (II A 72). For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see fig. 205



Fig. 195. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1642, panel 69.9 x 58.4 cm, X-Ray. Windsor Castle, Coll. H.M. Queen Elizabeth II (IV 1) (see also figs. 82-84)



Fig. 196. Rembrandt (and workshop), *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1635, partly overpainted *c.* 1640, panel 80.5 x 62.8 cm, X-Ray. Paris, Musée du Louvre (III B 10) (see also figs. 79-81)



clearly perceptible in this painting, is the refined way in which he handles the warm and cool colour scheme of the skin. The viewer is, for instance, usually unaware of the complexity of rendering the gentle transition of the cheek to the chin, and from the chin to the second chin. Only very fine shifts in tonal values together with a well-considered combination of cooler and warmer hues make it possible to suggest the *modelé* of this passage convincingly. This probably also explains why the painter who converted the self-portrait into a *tronie* left this part of the painting, together with the nose and mouth, undisturbed. It is surely no accident that the same happened in the case of that other self-portrait that was reworked into a *tronie*, the *landsknecht* in Berlin (fig. 203; see figs. 76-78).

Both the superbly painted mouth, whose moistness is suggested by a few scattered lights, and the sensitive line of the mouth also argue for an attribution to Rembrandt.[294]

The way the still wet paint of the light background by the right contour of the hair is mixed with the brown paint of the hair is remarkable, the fluffiness of the hair being thus suggested by a minimum of means. This 'wet-in-wet' work also indicates how quickly this self-portrait must have been produced. One has to imagine that no more than a single day, two days at the most, were needed for the entire process of the painting through to its completion.

The most remarkable aspect, which argues strongly for Rembrandt's authorship, is the way the shadowed eyes are modelled with subtle shadows and reflected lights. In this respect, the painting demonstrates striking correspondences with the *Self-portrait in motion* in Berlin from the same year (see figs. 198 and 200), although this area is less well preserved in the latter. It is interesting to note that in one of the earliest paintings in which Rembrandt represents himself with shadowed eyes, the *Self-portrait* in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, this subtle play with reflected light is still virtually absent (see fig. 138). Samuel van Hoogstraten was later to write *'our Rembrandt has employed reflected light wonderfully; in fact, it would seem that this preference time and again for the bouncing of the light was his real element'*....[295] To realize just how refined is the painter's command of reflections here one needs to describe the means used and the effects achieved, since this part of the painting remained in excellent condition, having been protected by the paint used for the *tronie*, applied some 365 years ago (see IV *Addendum* 2).

With light falling from above, those parts which in a normally lit face are usually in shadow – here, the upper part of the eye socket, the bags under the eyes – are dark. In this painting the case is quite the opposite. In Rembrandt's left eye socket (as seen by the viewer) subdued light comes from below, and must therefore represent light that is reflected from the nose or perhaps from the cheekbone. This effect has a double advantage: the forms hidden in the shadow of the beret are still

294 See also Van de Wetering 1997, p. 172.

295 S. van Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 273. ...*'wonderlijk heeft zich onzen Rembrant in reflexeringen gequeeten, jae het scheen of deze verkiezing van 't wederom kaetsen van eenich licht zijn rechte element was ...'*

legible and – much more importantly – the effect of the light on the nose and cheek are thereby enhanced, or at least that is how the viewer perceives it. The secret of Rembrandt's treatment of light lies in the way he allows the rays of light to reflect back through the illusory space, so that the light becomes an active principle making a highly effective contribution – albeit inconsciously experienced – to the illusion of reality conveyed by the painting.

The other eye passage (which is rather less well preserved since it was only partially covered by the old overpaintings) shows comparable reflections. Here, light rays from outside the image seem to be reflected. They fall on the side of the nose, in the left part of the (concave) eye socket and on the right part of the (convex) bag under the eye. Once one is alert to these subtleties of treatment, one sees how well thought out the painting is. All these features of the style and quality of this (literally) resurfaced self-portrait add to the evidence arguing for an attribution of the painting to Rembrandt himself rather than to some other painter from his workshop.

The group of works which we believe to be self-portraits that Rembrandt painted in his first years in Amsterdam is not only diverse in execution, as will be discussed below, one is also struck by the curious variety in the depiction of physiognomy. In this latter connection, it was pointed out earlier that there are remarkable physiognomic differences between Rembrandt's depictions of his own face in his late self-portraits as well (p. 96). One is reminded of the conflict in 1654 between Rembrandt and one Diego d'Andrada over the likeness of a portrait of a young girl, painted by Rembrandt on commission from d'Andrada. The notary officiating in this affair wrote: *'The claimant is of the opinion that the aforementioned painting or portrait shows no resemblance at all to the face of the young girl.'*[296] One is even more reminded of the epigrams written by Constantijn Huygens in 1633, with reference to Rembrandt's 1632 *Portrait of Jacques de Gheyn* (II A 56), under the title *'On Jacob de Gheyn's portrait, which is not like him at all: jokes'.* According to one of these epigrams: *'If de Gheyn's face had happened to look like this, this would have been an exact portrait of De Gheyn.'*[297]

Because, unlike Constantijn Huygens with his friend Jacques de Gheyn, we are not able to test Rembrandt's self-portraits against reality, this epigram could be applied by the present-day viewer of any of Rembrandt's self-portraits, at least so long as this self-portrait is not compared with his other self-portraits from the same period. But if one compares, for example, the two Paris self-portraits from 1633 with each other (figs. 193 and 194) and with the one from 1632 in Glasgow (fig. 183) on the one hand, or with the two self-portraits from 1634 (figs. 197 and 198) on the other, the differences of physiognomy from case to case are significant: the eyes are now larger, now smaller; they are now wider apart, now closer together; the nose is longer or shorter. Also the ages legible on the various faces are strikingly different: the young man in the *Self-portrait with shaded eyes* from 1634 is closer to the youthful face in the Glasgow painting from 1632 (compare figs. 197 and 183) than to the maturer appearances in the two Paris self-portraits from 1633 or in the Berlin self-portrait from 1634 (see figs. 193, 194 and 198). Whether or not the vertical frown crease (and sometimes other forehead wrinkles) are shown is certainly partly responsible for this: to a large extent they can determine Rembrandt's appearance. The smooth boyish cheeks and the fleshy jaws in the Glasgow painting (see fig. 183) and the *Self-portrait with shaded eyes* (see fig. 197), on the other hand, give the face an entirely different character, mainly because in both paintings the forehead is in shadow so that the frown crease in not visible.

What is most striking here is that the artistic challenge Rembrandt set himself in painting these works must have been different each time. When one surveys Rembrandt's entire oeuvre and the rich pictorial developments within it, one feels in his case justified in thinking in terms of the 'investigation of pictorial means', however modern twentieth-century this characterization may at first seem. It is obvious that the self-portraits offered greater opportunity for such 'pictorial research' than commissioned portraits. It is particularly evident that Rembrandt constantly set himself new challenges with regard to the treatment of light and the role of the *peinture* in suggesting light effects, challenges whose solution almost inevitably led to consequences for the variant renderings of physiognomy (although Rembrandt's problems with facial likeness are by no means fully explained by this).

In the Glasgow *Self-portrait*, for example (see fig. 183), the upturned brim of the hat allows the light to pass such that one half of the face, from the temple to the chin, is fully lit. This gives Rembrandt the chance, to demonstrate an extremely subtle play of the different hues of the incarnate in gradually decreasing light (see fig. 184). This whole range of flesh tints (locally enhanced by subtly melting, reflected highlights that seem to make the quality of the somewhat greasy skin almost tangible) continues in the cool reflection of the collar on the underside of the chin. In the *Self-portrait with shaded eyes* (see fig. 199), where both eyes are left in shadow, this play of reflections (as described earlier) becomes much more complex. Further comparison of the two paintings makes it clear just how rich can be the range of pictorial variations within a single theme.

A comparison between the two Paris self-portraits from 1633 also gives rise to such speculations. In the *Self-portrait, bareheaded* (fig. 201) Rembrandt seems to have gone to an extreme in leaving visible the transparent brown underpainting: the background, the hair and the

296 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/4: *'... hij insinuant bevindt dat de voorsz. schildery ofte conterfeijtsel op verre nae niet en gelijckt het wesen ofte tronie van de voorsz. jonge dochter ...'.*

297 *'Talis Gheiniadae facies si forte fuisset / Talis Gheiniadae prorsus imago foret.'* J.A. Worp, *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens II*, Groningen 1893, pp. 245ff; see for a discussion of these texts, *Corpus* Vol. II, pp. 223-4; Strauss *Doc.*, 1633/1.

Fig. 197. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait with shaded eyes*, 1634, panel 91 x 55.1 cm. Las Vegas, U.S.A., The Wynn Collection (IV Addenda 2) (see also figs. 73-75)



Fig. 198. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait in motion*, 1634, panel 58.3 x 47.4 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie (II A 96)



Fig. 199. Detail (1:1) of fig. 197



Fig. 200. Detail (1:1) of fig. 198



shadowed parts of the face all show this differentiated dead colouring, modulated by free brush stokes, that has been left uncovered. Only where it is strictly necessary is opaque paint used, and even then still relatively thinly. It is tempting to see here an exercise in the contemporary Flemish painting technique, a technique which also allows the possibility of rendering the complex surface of the furrowed forehead in raking light by applying just a few well-placed islands of thin, light paint.[298] The result of the thinner execution of the light passages is that locally the underpainting also shows through in those parts, considerably reducing the force of the suggestion of light compared with the other Paris painting from the same year, the *Self-portrait in a cap* (fig. 205). In the latter painting, the *peinture* of lit passages of the skin is totally different. The paint here is more thickly applied with clearly visible short brushstrokes, whose uneven surface structure further intensifies the effect of light by reflecting actual light.

Rembrandt seems here, for the first time in a life-sized portrait head of a young person, to have explored the possibility of adopting a *peinture* in which the brushstrokes do not, as they do in the Glasgow *Self-portrait* (see fig. 184), for example, merge into one another. Now the brush does not try to imitate the actual quality of the smooth human skin that is rendered. That we would seem to be dealing with an experiment is evident from the fact that this method of working is not adopted in the *Self-portrait with shaded eyes* and the Berlin *Self-portrait in motion*, both from the following year, where the softness of the skin in the lit passages of the face were again imitated using a mainly smooth *peinture* (see figs. 199, 200) with only certain high-lighted passages showing some impasto.

In the other Berlin *Self-portrait* (later transformed into the *tronie* of a *landsknecht*) (figs. 202, 203 and 76-78), in those parts of the head that were not later painted over, one can see how Rembrandt also experimented – again in a life-size face – with the *peinture*. Here he worked with brilliantly applied broad brushstrokes that are left emphatically visible. In this regard, the painting in its original form is a complete contrast to the Paris *Self-portrait bareheaded* (see fig. 201), which is thinly and smoothly painted yet at the same time with a very open technique. In the case of the Berlin painting we are looking at an aspect of Rembrandt's pictorial thinking about life-size figures that first culminates in works around 1636/37 (see figs. 232-234). As is well known, this rough manner would only reach its full fruition in the fifties and subsequently (cf. figs. 55, 54, 315), but it must already have been in Rembrandt's mind during the Leiden period (see fig. 128).[299] In our view, the transformation of the Berlin painting possibly was the work of a second hand and most likely carried out in the workshop around 1637, when Rembrandt's rough manner of that period must also have influenced the style of his pupils. That such judgements remain largely subjective is evident from the fact that Grimm (re)attributed to Rembrandt not only those parts of the face that had not been overpainted but also the overpainting itself.[300] Given the extremely broadly applied brushwork of the painting in its first stage, discussion of the attribution (and dating) of this enigmatic work will no doubt continue for a long time to come.

The Berlin *Self-portrait in motion* from 1634 (figs. 198 and 200) can also be seen as experimental – although in a different respect. It has often been observed that in his early Amsterdam portraits Rembrandt went further than his contemporaries in the suggestion of movement by the portrayed subject.[301] An interesting example of this is the way in which, in his *Portrait of Johannes Uytenbogaert* (II A 80), Rembrandt allows the preacher's head, which is turned toward the viewer, to be partially eclipsed by the collar, thus in a rather surprising way enhancing the vitality of the portrait. Rembrandt repeats this solution in the Berlin *Self-portrait*, where he allows the jaw to be partially obscured by a shawl; but here he also tilts his head and torso in a manner that we otherwise only know from his history pieces from the same period.[302] Here, in this respect, Rembrandt has explored the furthest possibilities in his search for an illusion of life-likeness in a single figure.

Among the self-portraits from the early Amsterdam years, there is one painting, traditionally attributed to Rembrandt, the Kassel *Self-portrait with helmet* (fig. 204) dated 1634, that, as hinted at above, rather should be designated a product of Rembrandt's workshop. As early as 1968, Gerson already suggested that *'an attribution to Govaert Flinck should be considered'*.[303] In our text in Vol. II only the cloak was singled out as the work of another painter, while the execution of the head, the helmet and collar were accepted as authentic. In 1991, in his analysis of the face, Claus Grimm presented 'micro-stylistic' arguments in favour of an attribution of at least that part of the painting to Flinck.[304] He based himself on a

298 N. van Hout, *Rubens en dootverf*, forthcoming dissertation.

299 In Volume II of *A Corpus*, in the introductory essay, 'Problems of apprenticeship and studio collaboration', 1986, pp. 87-88, largely written by the present author, the Berlin painting was attributed to Govaert Flinck, even though this author was not convinced of this attribution (team decisions taken by majority vote could sometimes hold sway over personal opinions). This attribution also played an important though self-defeating role in the exhibition *Rembrandt. The master and his workshop* (exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, cat. no. 60). The astonishing quality of the part of the face that was not painted over has always made this author wonder whether that part of the painting was not from the hand of Rembrandt. Certainly, one also comes across similar flair in the brushwork of pupils – one could think of the 1636 Munich variant on Rembrandt's *Abraham's sacrifice* from 1635 (III A 108, copy 2). But further analysis shows that without a true mastery of the form, and without that ability to make the brushwork subservient to the suggestion of form, flair produces only mediocre results.

300 Grimm, op. cit.[231], p. 100.

301 *Corpus* II, pp. 3-4.

302 See for instance *Corpus* I A 24, III A 110, A 123, A 124, Br. 516, Br. 574.

303 Br.-Gerson 22; Gerson 157.

304 Grimm, op.cit.[231], p. 101, see esp. Grimm's colour plates 53 & 54. It should be noted that Grimm carries out his stylistic analyses mainly on the basis of a comparison of colour slides of details, mainly of the faces in the case of his study of the early self-portraits.

comparison of the face in the Kassel painting with a comparable passage in painting attributed to Flinck (Sumowski *Gemälde* II, no. 667). At this stage in our work we are convinced by Grimm's disattribution of the face, and now tend to disattribute the entire painting. In general, the relation of the *peinture* to the forms depicted in general and the brushwork in specific areas – for instance in the light effects on the shiny metal or in the fleshtones and, as already proposed in Vol. II, in the mantle – argue against Rembrandt's authorship. In the rendering of the reflections of light on the helmet and gorget, there is no indication of Rembrandt's characteristic handling of pastose paint, of the locally supple light accents flowing from the brush and the apparently casually placed grazing brush strokes cf. for example, the helmet in the New York *Bellona* (II A 70), or the compasses in the hand of the shipbuilder Jan Rijcksen (II A 77).[305] On the contrary, in the Kassel painting the light reflections are built up in a rather laboured fashion out of short messy stokes that have little suggestive power. Comparable weaknesses *mutatis mutandis* can be observed in the execution of the face. There too the handling of the paint lacks that finely judged functional variation, so characteristic of Rembrandt, that is carried by a vital understanding of the forms – specifically of their functional anatomy. One can best demonstrate the difference by comparing the rendering of form in the face in the Kassel painting (figs. 204, 206) with that in the head in the Paris *Self-portrait in a cap* (figs. 194 and 205). The correspondences in the placing and the lighting of the two heads (in both cases with parted lips) leads to the suspicion – already hinted at above – that the Kassel head is based on the Paris prototype. When one compares the intelligent construction of the eyes in Paris with the laboured execution of the 'buttonhole' eyes in Kassel, the great difference in quality is immediately apparent – a difference that is similarly evident in a comparison of all other parts of the two faces.

Given the problems in reconstructing Flinck's early oeuvre, it would be premature to adopt Grimm's attribution of the painting to Flinck without reservation. We are convinced that a number of young painters already worked with, and most likely under Rembrandt during his activity in Uylenburgh's enterprise which lasted to the end of 1635 or the beginning of 1636. It would fit the normal workshop practice in Holland in the seventeenth century in which training and production were fused in a natural way.[306] Walter Liedtke's attempts to refute the existence of a workshop, certainly in the period 1631 – '35, where works were produced in Rembrandts style and under his supervision, and where collaborations occurred between pupils/assistants and Rembrandt himself, will be dealt with in Vol. V.[307]

The Prodigal Son in the tavern: Self-portrait, portrait historié, or history piece ?

The painting in Dresden, shown there over many years as the *Self-portrait of the artist with his wife Saskia*,[308] is usually thought to have originated in or around 1635/36 (fig. 207). As long as it was assumed that Rembrandt's work and life were intimately interwoven, it seemed self-evident that first and foremost one was looking at these two figures as Rembrandt and Saskia in a domestic situation. As Rosenberg put it in 1948 – Rembrandt *'idolized his wife and represented her in a long series of portraits and allegories'*, to which Rosenberg added, *'not always in good taste'*. With this latter remark he was referring specifically to the Dresden painting.[309] Since Valentiner in 1925 pointed out that the painting represented The Prodigal Son in the tavern (the man in the painting being, of course, the son, with a whore on his lap, squandering his money), this painting has ever more emphatically been related to the iconographic tradition of this scene from the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15, 11-32).[310]

There is the further insistent question, however, of whether the painting should not be considered as a self-portrait as well. Several considerations bearing on this question are summarized in the third volume of *A Corpus* as follows. *'The simplest answer would be to assume, with Valentiner and Tümpel, that the Dresden work should be seen as a history painting – probably a fragment, but intended as such by the artist – in which Rembrandt used himself and his wife as models without any special intent. It remains noticeable that the figures appear – in contrast to the associated drawings (*see fig. 208 and III A 111 fig. 7) – *to relate not so much to each other as to the viewer, towards whom both are looking. This is probably one reason why various authors have tended to see the painting as a double portrait. Yet it seems out of the question that it was meant as a*

305 See for this detail of the *Portrait of the shipbuilder Jan Rijcksen and his wife Griet Jans, Corpus* II A 77; Grimm, op. cit.[231], colour plate 39.

306 See for instance J.G. van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het gildewezen in Amsterdam*, 3 Vols., The Hague 1929-1974; I.H. van Eeghen, *De gilden: theorie en praktijk*, Bussum 1965.

307 W. Liedtke, 'Reconstructing Rembrandt: Portraits from the early years in Amsterdam (1631-34)', *Apollo* 129 (1989), pp. 323-31, idem, 'Reconstructing Rembrandt and his circle: More on the workshop-hypothesis' in: R.E. Fleischer and S.C. Scott, *Rembrandt, Rubens and the Art of their time: Recent perspectives (Papers in Art History from the Pennsylvania State University, XI)*, 1997, pp. 37-59. Idem, 'Rembrandt and the Rembrandt style in the seventeenth century', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt/not Rembrandt*, 1995-96, Vol. II, pp. 3-39 etc.; see M. Franken, 'Variants within the painting production in Rembrandt's workshop' and E. van de Wetering, 'Collaboration in Rembrandt's workshop', two introductory essays in the forthcoming Vol. V of *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*.

308 See for instance the catalogue *Gemäldegalerie Dresden. Alte Meister*, 11th ed. 1968, no. 1559.

309 Rosenberg, op cit.[102], p. 23 and fig. 21.

310 W.R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Des Meisters Handzeichnungen* 1, Stuttgart-Berlin-Leipzig [1925], (Kl.d.K.), p. 488 nos. 383, 386; I. Bergström, 'Rembrandt's double portrait of himself and Saskia at the Dresden Gallery. A tradition transformed', *N.K.J.* 17 (1966), pp. 143-169; Chr. Tümpel, 'Ikonographische Beiträge zu Rembrandt', *Kunstchronik* 19 (1966), pp. 300-02; Chr. Tümpel, 'Ikonographische Beiträge zu Rembrandt zur Deutung und Interpretation seiner Historien', *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 13 (1968), pp. 95-126, esp. 116-126; A. Mayer-Meintschel, 'Rembrandt und Saskia im Gleichnis vom verlorenen Sohn', *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Jahrbuch* 1970/71, pp. 39-57; Tümpel 1986, pp. 110, 114-116, cat. no. 54.

Fig. 201. Detail (1:1) of fig. 193



Fig. 202. Detail (1:1) of fig. 203



Fig. 203. Rembrandt and studio, *Self-portrait transformed in a 'tronie'*, *c.* 1633, partly overpainted *c.* 1637, panel 56 x 47 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemaldegalerie (II C 56) (see also figs. 76-78)



Fig. 204. Rembrandt workshop, *'Tronie' with Rembrandt's features*, 1634, panel 80.5 x 66 cm. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel (II A 97)



Fig. 205. Detail (1:1) of fig. 194



Fig. 206. Detail (1:1) of fig. 204



Fig. 207. Rembrandt and one or more other hands, *The Prodigal Son in the tavern (Rembrandt and Saskia)*, *c.* 1635/36, canvas 161 x 131 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (III A 111)



Fig. 208. Rembrandt or pupil (F. Bol?), *The Prodigal Son in the tavern*, pen and wash, 17.7 x 21 cm (Ben. 529). Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut. The drawing seems to have been cropped along the right edge.



portrait, or even a portrait historié; Kahr, who rejected this idea, called it 'indecorous in the extreme', very rightly so even if only in respect of the open-mouthed, laughing man. If one nevertheless looks for some meaning for the Prodigal Son being recognizable as Rembrandt and the whore on his knees as Saskia, this can hardly lie in an allusion to their actual lifestyle. It can, seen in the context of the reigning views on sin and redemption, be sought only in an allusion to the humble admission of sinfulness of the sitters as representatives of erring humanity. The drawn-up curtain (which cannot be seen with any certainty as belonging to a bed, as Tümpel believed) might then be a symbol for the deeper truth being revealed to the viewer.'[311]

Solving the problem of the possible layers of meaning that Rembrandt may have intended in the painting is not only a matter of iconography; it also demands a closely detailed investigation of the painting's complicated material history. In addition, one also would like to know for whom such a large work might have been produced.

As Mayer-Meintschel has already remarked, differences of style and quality indicate that large parts of the painting (the woman's dress, the right sleeve of the man, his bandolier and sword) have been changed and repainted. This may have been done by another hand, probably by a member of the studio not long after Rembrandt had begun the work. Further research is needed to identify accurately those areas painted by the second hand.[312] Research of this kind might also show at what stage of the painting's genesis, or possibly in its later history, a woman with a lute – who is only visible in the X-radiograph as a frontal figure placed behind the other two figures – was painted out (see fig. 209). It is essential to know whether this decision was taken by Rembrandt, by the second painter involved or, less likely, in a later period.

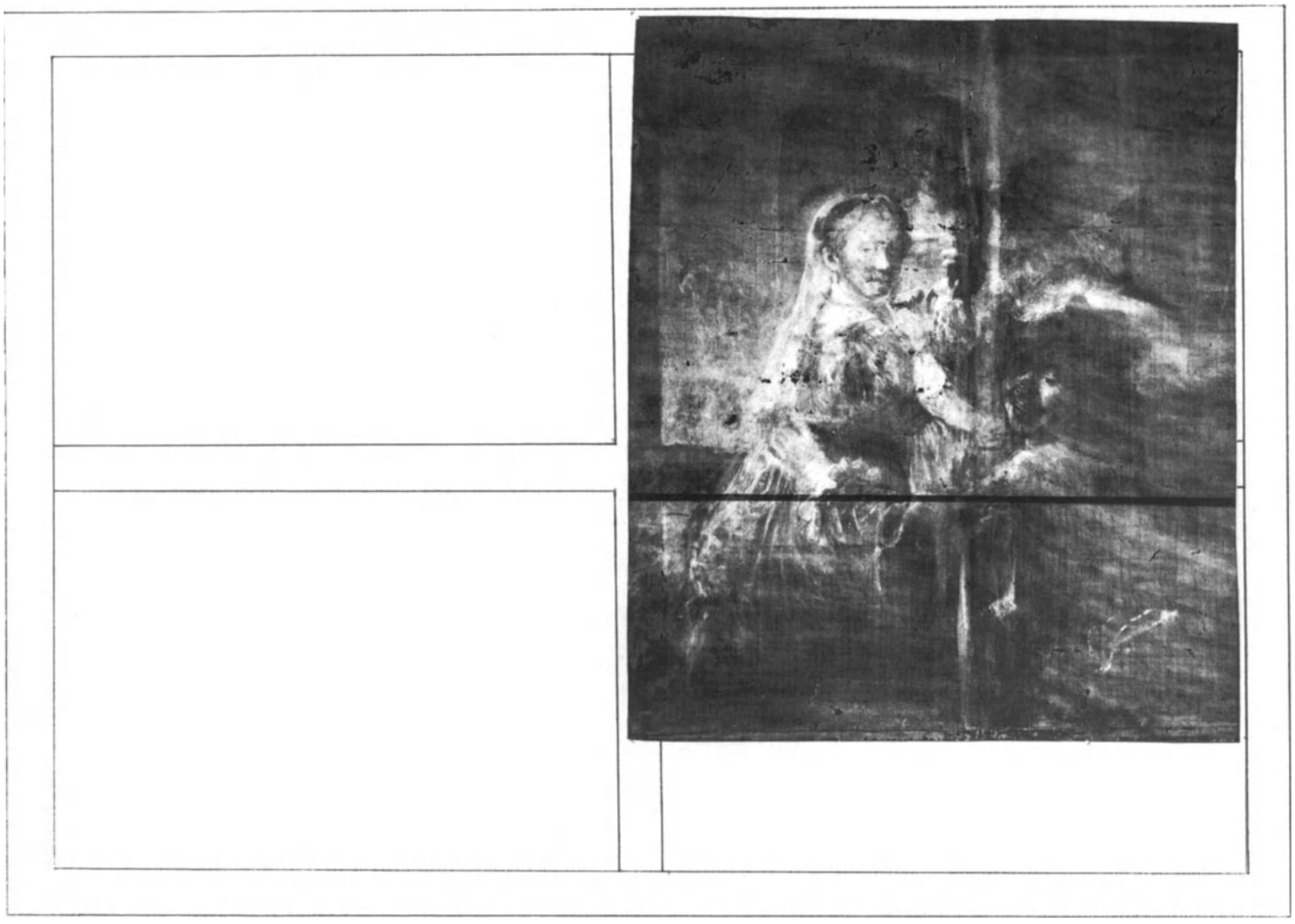
There can be no doubt that the painting has been trimmed on the left side: the fragmentary still-life on the table and the transected tally-board against the back wall testify to this. The hypothesis mooted below is that the painting could have been more than twice its present size originally. First of all, it should be noted that the seam in the still existing part of the original canvas runs horizontally, which may be seen as an indication that the painting originally had a horizontal format.[313] Traces of a shadow cast on the lower part of the tally-board and on the wall below it support this assumption. Since the sixteenth century, a woman writing on the board was a standard part of the iconography of this scene of the parable (see figs. 208, 211-213). Such a figure would require considerable space beyond the present left border of the painting. Drawings by or after Rembrandt

311 *Corpus* III, p. 146.

312 Mayer-Meintschel, op.cit.[310], pp. 48 and 52.

313 It should be noted, however, that two paintings from the same period, the St. Petersburg *Abraham's sacrifice* (III A 108) and its free copy in Munich (III A 108, *Copies* 2) have a horizontal seam but a vertical format (see Vol. II, p 24, fig. 8); Van de Wetering 1997, fig. 129.

Fig. 209. Hypothetical reconstruction of the original format of fig. 207 (*c.* 182.6 x 254 cm) based on the X-radiograph of the remaining part of the original canvas



showing this scene from the parable also have a horizontal format (see figs. 208 and 211). As they contain one or two more other figures, apart from the woman writing on the tally-board, this may also have been the case with the painting under discussion. In our entry in Vol. III it was suggested that the painting could originally have measured 150 x 200 cm (the remaining part of that original canvas now measures 144 x 131 cm. But it may well have been even larger than that. There is an indication in favour of the idea that the painting once extended further to the left and downwards as well. This indication concerns the dark bands, visible in the X-radiograph running along the left edge and in horizontal direction at about the height of the prodigal son's hand on the woman's hip (fig. 209). A dark band of roughly the same width runs along the top edge. It is likely that we are looking here at the traces of a preservation treatment carried out (using a radio-absorbent material such as an oil paint containing red lead or lead white of varying thickness on the reverse side of the canvas) before 1754, the year in which the painting is mentioned with its present dimensions (see III A 111, *Provenance*).[314] In our

Fig. 210. Rembrandt, *Portrait of a man trimming his quill*, 1632, canvas 101.5 x 81.5 cm, X-Ray. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe (II A 54)



314 The earliest report of a method of impregnating the reverse side of paintings on canvas is found in the Mayerne manuscript, see E. Berger, *Quellen für Maltechnik während der Renaissance und deren Folgezeit (XVI-XVIII)*, München 1901/Reprint Wiesbaden 1973 (Vol. IV), p. 315 (no. 303).

Fig. 211. Rembrandt or pupil, *The Prodigal Son in the tavern*, pen and bistre, 18.5 x 22.2 cm (Ben. 528a). Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts



text in Vol. III, this interpretation of the dark bands was rejected. At that time we thought that the radio-absorbent layer must have been on the face of the canvas, since it showed evident loss of paint. But of course paint loss could also have occurred from a layer of paint (introduced as a preservative measure) on the reverse side. There is a complication in that the restoration history suggests that the painting underwent a transfer in 1838 (*'auf eine neue Leinwand* (...) *übertragen'*). According to historical prescriptions for carrying out transfers,[315] the result of this would be that the original canvas – and therefore also any material with which this canvas had been treated from the back – would have been removed and replaced by a new support. However, it may well be that what appears to be described as a transfer was in fact a – possibly partial – lining treatment, in which case the original canvas – or part of it – with the paint layer on the back would have been retained and covered with the new canvas support.

In any case, we believe it is worth pursuing further the question of the possible preservation treatment on the reverse side of the painting in its original shape (see note 314). Traces of such preservative treatments have been found in the *Portrait of a man trimming his quill* (II A 54; fig. 210), and *Jacob blessing the sons of Joseph* (Br. 525), both paintings in Kassel. In those paintings it is clear that the radio-absorbent paint used in the treatment was not (or was hardly) applied to the canvas under the battens of the stretcher frame. These narrow zones under the taut canvas were evidently too difficult to reach with the brush. As in these paintings, the X-radiograph of the Dresden *Prodigal Son in the tavern* also seems to show the pattern of horizontal and vertical battens of the stretcher on which the painting was mounted, some time previous to 1754 and before the unknown date when the painting was reduced in size. This allows one – tentatively – to draw conclusions concerning its original format.

If one assumes that the horizontal and vertical bands to the left of Rembrandt's hand indicate the position of the cross-battens of a stretcher, this would mean that the painting must have been larger not only on the left but also below and possibly somewhat larger to the right, since no dark band is visible along the right edge (fig. 209).[316] In fact, it must have been originally a large painting, possibly of a format slightly smaller than that of *The blinding of Samson* (III A 116) and the *Danaë* (III A 119) (in its original format some 185 x 260 cm). This would also mean that the figures in the Dresden painting, like those in *The blinding of Samson*, were originally represented full length, as is also the case in drawings more or less closely connected to the painting (see figs. 208 and 211).[317]

As indicated above, the painting would have to be

315 V. Schaible, 'Die Gemäldeübertragung. Studien zur Geschichte einer "klassischen" Restauriermethode', *Maltechnik/Restauro* 89 (1983), pp. 96-129.

316 This assumption would imply that the cusping along the bottom edge would have resulted in distortions extending up to 40 cm. into the fabric, which in such a large canvas is not impossible; the traces of cusping along the underside of the remaining part of the original canvas continue for 10 cm. into the fabric (see III A 111 Support; *Scientific data*).

317 See also Ben. 100 verso.

Fig. 212. Title page of the play *Heden-daeghsche Verlooren Soon* by Willem Dircksz Hooft, 1630



subjected to an extensive 'archaeological' investigation before one could go beyond this rather hypothetical reconstruction of the painting's original format – a hypothesis advanced here mainly with a view to further discussion.

If indeed the painting once had this monumental format, the discussion mentioned earlier over the painting's layered iconography could perhaps take a new turn. It would then certainly have been a history piece rather than a double-(self)*portrait historié*, but this would not necessarily mean that the two figures, so long seen as Rembrandt and Saskia, are to be considered as no more than the main figures from a biblical story, for whom Rembrandt merely used himself and his wife as models.

It is evident from the fact that the playwright Willem Dirksz Hooft (1594-1658)[318] wrote a play called 'Heden-daeghsche Verlooren Soon' (A Contemporary Prodigal Son), which was performed in 1630 at the 'Amsterdamsche Academi', that the parable was a favourite metaphor for the person incapable of mastering his passions.The title page of this play (fig. 212) shows the scene in the tavern with figures in the dress of the period in which the play was published. A drawing by Esaias van de Velde dated 1629 (fig. 213) shows a contemporary prodigal son with, on the tavern wall behind him, a print or drawing referring to the episode in which the biblical prodigal son feeds from the same trough as the swine. It may therefore be assumed that Rembrandt and his contemporaries could identify themselves with the prodigal son, the sinner who eventually returns to his father's embrace. Tümpel's analysis, in his 1986 Rembrandt monograph regarding the iconography of the Dresden painting, does lend support to the idea that Rembrandt did expressly represent himself in the painting, together with Saskia, as sinners. Tümpel refers not only to the fact that, according to Van Mander, Albrecht Dürer had depicted himself as the Prodigal Son in the copper engraving *The Prodigal Son as Swineherd*, he also believes he has found indications in the theology of Rembrandt's time that marriage was associated with the human passions,[319] which might explain why Rembrandt has given Saskia's features to the sinful woman on his lap – and his own to the prodigal son.

But one can speculate over further layers of meaning in such a work. Bearing in mind the 'symbiosis' between artists and art-lovers which is discussed elsewhere in this chapter (see p. 138), there is a passage in Karel van Manders *Lives*, referred to by Gary Schwartz, which may provide a deeper understanding of the *raison d'être* of the Dresden 'Prodigal Son'.[320] The passage, which occurs in Van Manders 'Life' of Hans van Aken (1552-1615), reads as follows: *'he also portrayed himself laughing with a female called Madonna Venusta beside him playing on a lute while he stands behind her with a dish of wine in his hand.'*[321] Schwartz conjectures that the woman in Hans van Aken's laughing self-portrait was a courtesan from Rome, where the painter was living at the time. To some extent Van Mander's description of Van Aken's painting would also fit the Dresden painting, particularly in relation to the originally visible lute-player, since painted out.

But this may not be the primary significance of van Mander's text. More important perhaps is what follows. Van Mander continues: '*This* [painting] *was handled and executed so that people with understanding of art claimed never to have seen anything better, from him nor from anyone else.*'[322] Such a text could have been taken by later painters as a challenge to emulate Van Aken's laughing self-portrait, while the art-lover could have identified with those who judged Hans van Aken's painting on qualities that were apparently separate from any moral connotations of its subject. In taking Hans van Aken's prototype (whether the actual painting or Van Mander's description of it) and giving it another content, while adding more figures, Rembrandt may well have felt himself like Virgil, as referred to by Rembrandt's pupil Samuel van Hoogstraten advising prospective artists to choose a different subject from that of their model when taking over a good concept from another [artist]: *'It is no disgrace to write*

318 Wilhelm Dirksz. Hooft, not to be confused with the much more famous Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, was a craftsman. He wrote five plays: *Jan Saly*, 1622, *Doortrapte Melis*, 1623, *Styve Piet*, 1628, *Andrea de Piere Peerdekooper*, 1628, and *De Heden-daegsche verlooren Soon*, 1640.

319 Tümpel 1986, pp. 115-6.

320 Schwartz 1984, p. 192.

321 Van Mander, op. cit.[235], fol. 290r (English translation in H. Miedema, e.a., *Lives*, Vol. I 1994, p. 418): *'hy heeft noch hem selven lacchender wijse gheconterfeyt/ oock neffens hem een Vrouw-mensch/ Madona venusta geheeten/ spelende op een Luyt/ en hy achter haer staende met een schael Wijns in d/ handt'.*

322 Ibid.: *'dit was soo ghehandelt en ghedaen/ dat Const-verstandighe hebben ghesegt/ noyt beter van hem noch anderen te hebben gesien.'*

Fig. 213. Esaias van de Velde, *The Prodigal Son in the tavern*, 1629, black chalk and wash, 20 x 32.2 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



[new] *verses on a familiar tune that has already pleased the world … Thus is Virgil praised as a King of the Latin poets, since in his wandering Aeneas, following* [adopting the example of] *Homer's wandering Ulysses, he is never the inferior of his predecessor'.* [323]

If the Rembrandt/Van Aken connection suggested by Schwartz and its possible relevance outlined above are correct, the laughing man in Rembrandt's parable may well have been deliberately intended as a representation of Rembrandt himself, but without the weighty connotations previously suggested (in the closing words of the text quoted above from *Corpus* Vol. III) as the key to an understanding of the painting's *raison d'être.*

In this context, it is of interest to point out that Bruyn, in his essay 'Patrons and early owners', Chapter IV in *Corpus* II, makes a convincing case that Rembrandt painted his large history pieces on his own initiative and thus also chose himself the themes that he wished to represent in these works. It seems that in the first place they were intended as demonstrations of his art, produced with an eye to art-lovers (the fact that he bestowed a large history piece on Constantijn Huygens as a gift provides a striking example of this).[324] Apparently, the painting under discussion here was in its original form also intended as such a demonstration piece. However, as has been argued pre-eminently by Mayer-Meintschel, it appears that Rembrandt did not finish the painting himself (as, for example, must also have been the case with the Bucharest *Esther and Ahasverus* in its state of *c.* 1633).[325] According to Mayer-Meintschel, this would explain those parts of the painting that have been executed by one or more other hands, such that Rembrandt's earlier design was in part overpainted, most particularly the woman sitting in the lap of the prodigal son (cf. figs. 207 and 209).

Whether the painting was finished as a whole, by whoever, we shall never know; but if the hypothesis suggested above is plausible, viz. that the original form of the painting was preserved so long that the canvas had to undergo conservation treatment on the reverse side at some time before 1754, this would imply that for a considerable time the painting in its original larger size was considered as a finished work. Why it was (possibly drastically) reduced in format will also remain a puzzle. It is interesting to note, however, that when the painting was reduced in size it was adapted so as to fit into the tradition of two or three figure scenes, examples of which include paintings like that of Hans van Aken (mentioned

323 Van Hoogstraeten, op.cit.[57], 1678, pp. 192-193. *'Ten is geen schande op een bekende vois, die reets al de werelt behaegt, eenige vaerzen te dichten. … Zoo wort Virgilius als een Vorst der Latijnsche Poëten geëert, om dat hy in zijnen doolenden Eneas, den doolenden Ulisses van Homerus volgende, zijn voorganger nergens en wijkt'.*

324 For a discussion of this specific case, see III A 116, pp. 192-193.

325 Mayer-Meintschel, see note 312; E. van de Wetering, A. van Grevenstein en K. Groen, 'Esther before Haman, attributed to Rembrandt, *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 39 (1991), pp. 56-83.

Fig. 214. Rembrandt workshop (or Rembrandt?), *Half-length figure of Rembrandt*, 1635, panel 90.5 x 71.8 cm. England, private collection (IV *Corrigenda* III C 92) (reproduced after W. Bode and C. Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt*, Vol. III, Paris 1899. For a good colour reproduction see P. Bonafoux, *Rembrandt. autoportrait*, Genève (Skira) 1985)



Fig. 215. X-Ray of fig. 214



above) or comparable works by the Utrecht Caravaggists.[326]

The self-portraits of 1635-1639

Whereas the production of portraits declined rather rapidly around 1635, Rembrandt's activity as a painter of ambitious history pieces, and life-sized allegorical, mythological and historical single figures, increased considerably.[327] This working on a large scale seems temporarily to have had its influence on Rembrandt's manner of working in less monumental paintings as well: the *peinture* is freer, sometimes almost crude, and the definition of forms broader (see for instance figs. 233 and 234). These forms and the details within them are often handled with an astonishing frankness.

Rembrandt's own production of the large and more or less freely handled paintings during this period was in a number of cases accompanied by equally freely – or even more freely – executed workshop copies or variants by pupils or assistants. The Munich copy (with variations) after Rembrandt's St. Petersburg *Abraham's sacrifice* (III A 108) is a striking example of such a workshop product, seemingly executed with greater flair than Rembrandt's prototype.[328] This tendency can also be found in the workshop production of *tronies*, as for instance in *The man with dishevelled hair* (III C 100), whose inscribed date 1635 probably corresponds with the actual year of origin (see fig. 222). This *tronie* may have been painted by the same hand as the Munich *Abraham's sacrifice*. It would seem that, around 1635, pupils or assistants must also have painted their own inventions in a style so close to Rembrandt's own that these were at some stage assigned to Rembrandt's own oeuvre.

– Half-length figure of Rembrandt or autograph self-portrait?

The painting published in *Corpus* III (C 92) as a *Half-length figure of Rembrandt* (fig. 214), long considered to be an autograph self-portrait by Rembrandt, is one of these paintings that gave rise to authenticity problems (similar to those arising in the case of the Kassel *'Self-portrait'*, discussed above). In 1969, Gerson suggested that the painting might be a work by Govaert Flinck. In 1986, when Tümpel relegated it to the category of Rembrandt's workshop products, as a pupil's work, he too thought it possible that Flinck might be the author. [329] In the third volume of *A Corpus* it was suggested that we are dealing with a painting that was not painted in 1635 – as the inscription on the painting records – but that it could have originated in Rembrandt's workshop around 1638 (Vol. III, p. 595).

Fig. 216. Abraham Susenier (*c.* 1620 – after 1666), *Vanitas still-life with Rembrandt self-portrait*, 59.7 x 73.7 cm. Formerly S. Nijstad, The Hague

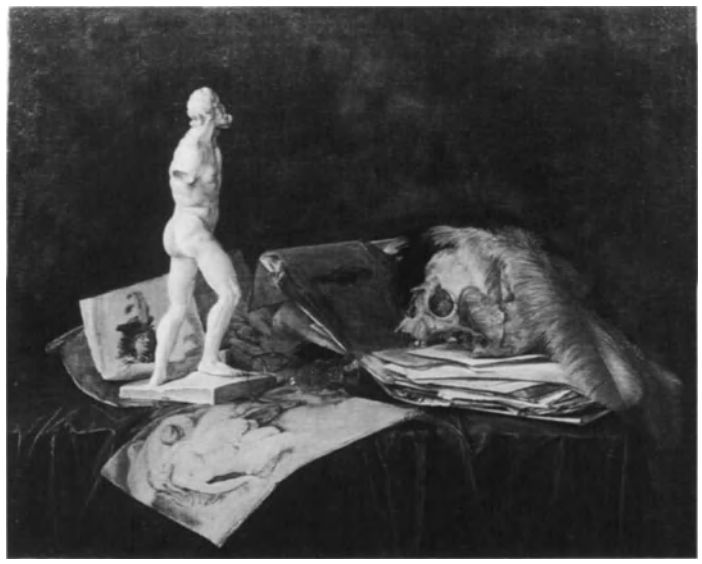


Fig. 217. *Portrait of Rembrandt.* Engraving from Arnold Houbraken's *De Groote Schouburgh*, Vol. I. The Hague 1718, fig. M, facing p. 272



326 See for instance Tümpel 1986, pp. 116-7.
327 See Vol. III A 108-114, 116, 119, 120.
328 Other examples are III A 109, *Copies* 1 and 2; III A 112, *Copies* 1 and 2; III A 116, *Copies* 1 and 2.
329 Tümpel 1986, A 64.

Fig. 218. Detail (1:1) of fig. 214



There are several reasons for once again raising the question of the authorship of this painting. The visual material that a user of the *Corpus* would have needed to arrive at his or her own judgement over this (long since virtually inaccessible) painting was missing from the relevant entry in Vol. III. In retrospect, it is regrettable that owners of paintings allegedly by Rembrandt, but whose authenticity we doubted (as, in this case, had others before us), refused us permission to publish the relevant visual material. In such cases, the user of the *Corpus* had to remain satisfied with reprints from very old reproductions of the paintings concerned.[330] This essay provides an opportunity to present the essential material relating to this painting after all. The X-radiograph in particular is highly interesting (fig. 215). In addition, the copy of the painting in a *mezzotint* from 1791 by Johann Peter Pichler (1768 – 1807) (see fig. 226) would seem to be more revealing than we had realized during the work on Vol. III. Another reason for looking again into the question of the attribution of this work is the discovery (in the interim period since the publication of Vol. III) of the *Self-portrait with shaded eyes* (see fig. 197), a painting which, in one respect, is closely related to the one under consideration. But, as will become clear, there are more reasons to reopen the case.

Interpreting the X-radiograph (fig. 215) is somewhat complicated by the fact that the brown paint covering the reverse side of the panel must have been slightly radio-absorbent. For the most part, however, the X-ray image is so clearly legible that one can draw conclusions as to the genesis of the painting. To begin with, the differences between the reserves and the definitive forms are so extensive that one can exclude the possibility that the painting might be a copy after a lost prototype. On the contrary, it is itself the prototype of a number of copies (see *Corpus* III, p. 596). In particular, the reserve of the

330 See also II C 61, III C 92, 97, 99, 104, 110, 111.

Fig. 219. Rembrandt, *Ecce homo*, 1634, paper stuck on canvas 54.5 x 44.5 cm. London, The National Gallery (II A 89)

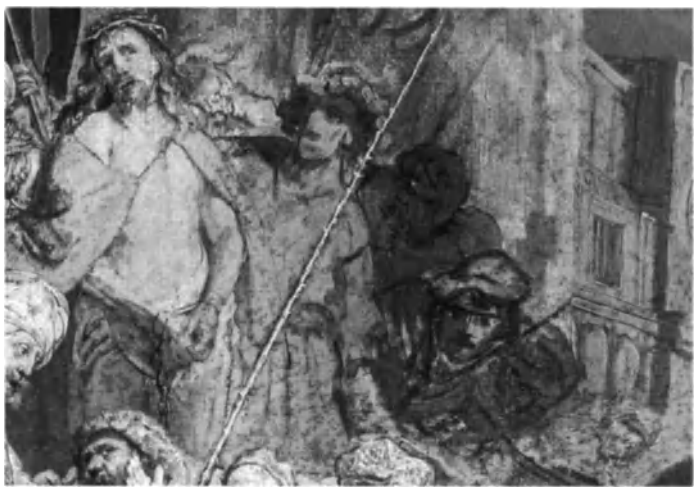


Fig. 220. Rembrandt, *Ecce homo*, 1635, etching (B. 77[I], reproduced in reverse). London, The British Museum



head with the originally shorter hair is markedly different from the final result. But, in addition, if one examines the contour that runs from the neck in the direction of the bottom right corner of the image, it is evident that the figure in its definitive form overlaps the background so extensively that one can only conclude that the initial design of the figure has been substantially changed during the course of the work. There is another striking *repentir* in the figure: in front of the abdomen can be seen a faintly revealed curved form, suggesting that originally a cuff was indicated there (for a similar case see also figs. 185-188) . The X-radiograph also shows that the painter had initially chosen another solution in the background: to the right of the head there is a roundish, dark form that could perhaps correspond to an earlier version of the shadow cast by the head. The pattern of radio-absorbent brushstrokes in the background in any case suggests the likelihood that the complicated shadow of head, beret and plumes now visible in the painting was not originally anticipated. A drawn partial copy after the present painting was incorporated in a *vanitas* still-life from about 1660 (fig. 216) that was first attributed to Johan de Cordua (Brussels *c.* 1630 – Vienna 1702) but subsequently recognized as a work by Abraham Susenier (Leiden *c.* 1620 – after 1666, probably Dordrecht). The fact that great attention was lavished in this painting on the rendering of the plumes and their shadows suggests that both the plumes and the figure's elaborate shadow may perhaps have held *vanitas* connotations for the seventeenth-century beholder (see *Corpus* I, p. 223 and *Corpus* III, p. 596).[331] In view of the clearly different course of this contour in Pichler's print, what at first may appear to be a repentir in the right contour of the beret, done with thickly applied radio-absorbent paint, is more probably a crudely executed restoration carried out sometime after 1791 (see fig. 226).

The method of working during the genesis of this painting could be seen as either audacious or, alternatively, given the indecisiveness of some of the dark reserves in the X-radiograph (e.g. the right half of the head) it could be seen as unsure. This is only one of the dilemmas posed by this painting, dilemmas which remain insoluble as long as we have no better documented picture of the boundaries between, on the one side, Rembrandt's own production (with all the associated uncertainty over the breadth of his stylistic range) and, on the other side, the production by an unknown number of young painters in his workshop.[332]

The conception and execution of the face in the present painting (fig. 218) presents us with another dilemma. Now that we know the *Self-portrait with shaded eyes* from the previous year (see fig. 197), and also in view of the similarity of the treatment of light on the face in that painting with the treatment of light in the Berlin *Self-portrait in motion* (see fig. 198), it is evident that around 1634 Rembrandt had developed a particular formula for the execution of a partially shadowed face (see p. 210). The interplay between light, shadow and reflected light in the eye sockets in the painting under discussion demonstrates clear connections with this formula. The question, however, is what we should conclude from this: is it a formula developed by Rembrandt that is here being used by a pupil/assistant, or is it Rembrandt who repeats it himself? The latter possibility can certainly not be excluded, since Rembrandt employs almost the same formula in the *Standard-bearer* from 1636 (see fig. 224). Why should the present painting not be counted among the works in which Rembrandt repeated the same formula, a formula that must have been seen by his contemporaries almost as a trademark judging by the fact that Arnold Houbraken, in the portrait he included in his *Groote Schouburgh*, showed Rembrandt lit in this fashion (fig. 217; see also fig. 150).

The most intriguing problem arises from the striking

331 See also N. Voskuil-Popper, 'Johan de Cordua. A forgotten Vanitas painter. 17th century', in: *G.d.B.-A.* 6th per. 87 (1976), pp. 61-74, esp. 69-70. The painting has since been attributed to Abraham Susenier by Fred Meijer of the Netherlandish Institute for Art History (Leiden *c.* 1620 – after 1666, probably Dordrecht).

332 E. van de Wetering, 'Delimiting Rembrandt's autograph œuvre; an insoluble problem?', in exhib. cat. *The mystery of the young Rembrandt*, 2001/2002, pp. 58-81.

Fig. 221. Rembrandt, *Ecce homo*, 1636, etching (B. 77^{II}, reproduced in reverse). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



Fig. 222. Rembrandt workshop, *Man with dishevelled hair*, 1635, panel 66.6 x 52.6 cm. U.S.A., private collection (III C 100)



relation between the genesis of the figure in the present painting and one of the figures in the *Ecce Homo* (large plate) (B. 77^{II}), an etching that originated in different stages during the period 1634 to '36. The particular figure referred to is the man on the left at the back of the platform on which Christ is presented to the people, the figure whose face is partially obscured behind another man (compare figs. 214 and fig. 221). It seems to be this figure who holds the mace with the long handle. It was already pointed out in *Corpus* III (p. 595) that this head in the second state of the etching shows a strong resemblance to the same passage in the painting under discussion here. It is certainly worth looking more closely at this resemblance.

If one follows the development of this figure through the course of the ambitious *Ecce Homo* etching project,[333] one can only conclude that unusual attention has been paid to this figure, which at first sight is merely one among many in this crowded scene. The arm with the mace is entirely absent in the preparatory grisaille for the etching (fig. 219). There is an indistinct rounded shape in the place where the figure's face will come. In the first state of the etching, the mace is added but the figure is wearing a beret of a different type from the final beret and without plumes (fig. 220). In the second state the figure acquires its 'final' beret, which is of identical shape to that in the present painting and is also adorned with two high plumes (one more bent than the other), just as they are depicted in the painting (fig. 221).

One is tempted to speculate on the puzzling parallel between the gradual transformation of the figure in the etching and the genesis of the painting under discussion; and here the question of the possible chronology in the development of the two figures plays an essential role. The painting is dated 1635 (fig. 223). The suggestion in *Corpus* III for a dating to around 1638 was based on the fact that one of the copies of this painting bears this date. A weightier argument for the later dating was that Rembrandt's posture in this painting seemed to be, in part, based on the *Standard-bearer* dated to 1636 (fig. 224) and for this reason, it was assumed, the painting must have originated after 1636. However, the inscription < *Rembran.. / f [...] 1635* > on the painting is so well preserved and so clearly legible that the year recorded in the inscription cannot be ignored (fig. 223).[334] As the second state of the etching, the state in which the man with the plumed beret first appears, is dated 1636, one may justifiably speculate on whether perhaps the figure in the etching is based on the painting under discussion here (with adjustment of the lighting). Another fact which fits this suggestion is that the figure in the etching is a mirror image of the figure in the painting. In this connection it is important to point out, as Royalton-Kisch has convincingly demonstrated, that the etching – and therefore this figure – was executed by J.J. van Vliet. Rembrandt would only have made limited additions using dry point on the etching plate, but not in this figure.[335]

If Van Vliet did base himself on the painting we are concerned with here, one must ask whether this could possibly throw light on the question of the painting's attribution. In working out all the figures sketchily outlined in the London grisaille (fig. 219), such as the figure with the mace and plumed beret, one would ex-

333 On this project see M. Royalton-Kisch Kroniek Rembrandthuis/ M. Royalton-Kisch, 'The role of drawings in Rembrandt's printmaking' in E. Hinterding et al., op. cit.[126], pp. 64-81; E. van de Wetering, 'Remarks on Rembrandt's oil-sketches for etchings', in: E. Hinterding et al., op. cit.[126], pp. 36-63.

334 The signature can only be investigated for its authenticity after intensive study of the paint surface itself and with the aid of technical photographs.

335 M. Royalton-Kisch in: E. Hinterding et al., op. cit.[126], cat. no. 24.

Fig. 223. Detail of signature (1:1) of fig. 214



Fig. 224. Rembrandt, *The standard-bearer*, 1636, canvas 118.8 x 96.8 cm. Private collection (III A 120)



pect Van Vliet to make use of a prototype by Rembrandt (all the more since, in view of the style and quality of his own products, Van Vliet would probably not have been given an entirely free hand to fill in the all too briefly indicated figures himself. This would argue in favour of the attribution of the painting under discussion to Rembrandt. However, one could also speculate that Van Vliet might have made use of the work of a pupil or assistant. This latter idea is supported by our surmise that in executing the plate for the *Ecce homo* print Van Vliet seems to have used the *tronie* of the *Man with dishevelled hair* from 1635 (fig. 222) as a model for the figure seen to the left (and slightly in front) of the figure with the plumed beret. If Van Vliet used a non-autograph example in this case, why should he not have used a possibly non-autograph *tronie* with Rembrandt's features (the present painting) for the figure with the mace and the plumed cap?[336]

Faced with such a complex tangle of interrelated problems, the only way to judge the authenticity of the painting would seem to be through recognition of the 'hand' and the pictorial 'mind' guiding that hand. But then new problems emerge. Our 1989 catalogue text in Vol. III mentions *'a great many jarring features'* regarding the pictorial quality of the painting, the most important of these being the composition as a whole. As formulated in that text (p. 594): *'In view especially of the ambitious composition, it is disappointing to see how clumsily the structure of the body relates to the arms hidden beneath the cloak; the depiction of form is so poor that large areas of the painting have a strange emptiness.'*

The question has to be asked, however, whether the painting in its present form still corresponds with the intentions of its author: Does for instance the way the figure is now framed below really correspond with the original state of the painting? Firstly, it should be noted that Rembrandt is wearing a short type of cloak, which can be inferred from the fact that the bottom edge of this garment, as far as can be seen, has a fringed trimming. This is most clearly visible along the right contour. This cloak appears to be similar to the short cloak in a drawing from the Leiden period (fig. 225). The suspicion – arising from the strange way the cloak is cut off – that the present painting is truncated is strongly corroborated by Pichler's *mezzotint*, already mentioned above (fig. 226), which suggests that the panel originally extended further left, right and below. It is evident from those parts of the

336 There is one factor that may shift the probability in favour of Van Vliet having based himself preferably on an autograph work by Rembrandt: the figure in the etching, initially not part of the concept but subsequently developed in three steps to become the figure with the beret with two plumes, could have been intended as an effigy of Rembrandt, incorporated in the etching as an afterthought. Just as Rembrandt includes his own effigy in several of his most ambitious history pieces from 1625 onward, beginning with *The stoning of St Stephen* (see fig. 125), he may well have also decided to have his image included in this ambitious etching, thereby following an established tradition; see e.g. J. Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance self-portraiture: the visual construction of identity and the social status of the artist*, New Haven 1998, Ch. 4 (The Florentine artist as witness in religious narrative) figs. 28/29, 32/33, 34/35, 36/37, 43/44, 45; Ch. 8 (Mantegna) figs. 59a,b/60; Ch. 12 (Raphael and friend) figs. 84/85; Ch. 19 (Zucchari and family) figs. 114/115. In almost all cases where he did this, he placed himself on the edge of the main group in the composition, and in most cases with his face partially hidden behind the figures in front of him. (Cf. figs. 125, 139, 142 in this chapter and *Corpus* II A 69; *Corpus* III A 106 and frontispiece and III A 146 (detail reproduced in exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999-2000, p. 89, fig. 1h). The singular genesis of this figure in the etching and the similarity of its eventual form with the figure in the painting under discussion here, which unquestionably bears Rembrandt's features, does suggest that the figure in the etching is perhaps meant to be Rembrandt. But, if that were the case, could this be taken as a firm proof that the painting is an autograph self-portrait?

Fig. 225. Rembrandt, *Man in a short cloak*, *c.*1630-1, red chalk, 24.5 x 17.5 cm (Ben. 45). St. Petersburg, The Hermitage Museum



Fig. 226. Mezzotint by J. Pichler, 1791



print that can be matched with the painting that Pichler studied the painting carefully and reproduced it with great fidelity. The differences between the borders of the two images may therefore be seen as significant, particularly the way the cloak is framed at the bottom left. A comparison shows that in the print the framing here is much more logical, spacious, and compositionally more satisfactory than in the painting in its present condition. In addition, the fact that the signature at the right edge of the painting has been cropped would seem further to confirm the inference that an edge of the image plane situated slightly more to the right than at present would represent the original form of the panel on that side. There is thus little doubt that the painting has been cropped on at least three sides.

What is peculiar is the wide, flat marginal band behind which Rembrandt is placed in Pichler's print. From the way the light falls on the top edge and front of this flat element, one might infer that this had been intended as an illusionistic element in the painting, rather than an abstract framing related to the lay-out of the print. One wonders, however, whether this was copied from an original part of the painting. Because the panel has been bevelled on all sides, including the underside (the bevelling underneath can even be discerned on the X-radiograph) it is not possible that strips of more than a few centimetres could be missing along the edges.[337]

Although the passage with the cloak becomes clearer with Pichler's print for comparison, that *'strange emptiness'* of this part of the painting still remains a stumbling block. This may have something to do with the uncertainty that attaches to the attitude of the figure. There can hardly be any doubt that the figure is depicted with hand on hip (the arm covered by the cloak). His elbow projects in the direction of the viewer. This posture, in which, seen from the position of the viewer, the foreshortened upper arm and the elbow are situated only a little lower than the shoulder, is also to be found in the *Standard-bearer* from 1636 (fig. 224). This, together with the fact that the unusual posture appears far less

337 In this connection, it is significant that the very large (originally much larger) panel is from a single piece of – almost certainly – beech. The latter is exceptional for Rembrandt and his workshop. As far as is known, Rembrandt's only other painting on a beech wood panel is *The slaughtered ox* in the Louvre (Br. 457). In the case of that painting, the kind of wood was determined by micro-anatomical investigation. The most important support for the supposition that the present painting was also painted on beech comes from the unusual pattern of the wood anatomical peculiarities registered in the radioabsorbent layers as visible in the X-radiograph.

[figs. 227-230 have been deleted] ▶

convincing in the painting under discussion here than in the *Standard-bearer*, was in *Corpus* III (as already mentioned) one of the most important reasons for considering the present painting to be a derivative of the *Standard-bearer*. As far as this less satisfactory posture is concerned, however, our painting could equally be seen as a predecessor of the *Standard-bearer*.

The impression a present-day viewer has, that Rembrandt's right hand is placed on his hip, is given by the lie of the folds of the cloak and by the fact that the decorative pattern on the second fold from the left is relatively strongly lit. Comparing the colours and tonal values of the lustrous reflections on the velvet of the cloak, one sees how tonally and in change of colour a differentiation is made between the direct light on the cloak and reflected light on those edges of the hanging folds and the constellation of folds at the shoulder that are turned away from the light. But it may still be the case that some detail has been lost through darkening with age in the darker passages, which could also have contributed to the apparently 'strange emptiness' of that part of the painting. [338] But even if one bears in mind this reservation, there are still disturbing aspects of this cloak. Thus, it is surprising that the painter has taken no opportunity to enhance the suggestion of the protruding elbow by, for instance, introducing an expected visual discontinuity in the horizontal decorative stripe on the cloak where the fold hangs from the elbow.

As suggested above, the relative coarseness – a clumsiness even sometimes – in the execution of this painting may have to do with the influence that Rembrandt's activity as a painter of large history pieces had on his other works. The affinity with e.g. the *Belshazzar's Feast*, similarly dated 1635 (III A 110), is telling in this regard. But then, as already said, Rembrandt's pupils/assistants also seem to have followed him in this tendency (and may even have collaborated in a painting like *Belshazzar's Feast*, which only would increase the confusion apparent in the case of the present painting). The question of whether, with this painting, we are dealing with an autograph work by Rembrandt will therefore have to remain unresolved for the time being. Although this may seem an anti-climax, the above considerations concerning this work, which is enigmatic in so many respects, should contribute to future discussion once this painting becomes accessible.

– The Wallace collection *Self-portrait* reattributed

Judging by the ageing of Rembrandt's physiognomy, the *Self-portrait* in the Wallace Collection must have originated during the second half of the 1630s (fig. 231). The authenticity of this painting was first queried by Gerson. It was subsequently removed from Rembrandt's autograph oeuvre by Tümpel and by ourselves in Vol. III of *A Corpus* (III C 96). Our negative judgement was primarily based on a comparison with the Paris *Self-portrait in a cap* from 1633 (see fig. 205), despite the fact that a far closer kinship with the Washington *Man in Russian costume* from 1637 was acknowledged (fig. 233). In the view of the author of the present chapter, that disattribution needs to be reconsidered.[339]

It can be safely assumed that this painting must have originated in Rembrandt's workshop given the fact that the panel on which it was painted came from the same tree as the panel of the Berlin *Self-portrait in motion* from 1634 (II A 96; see fig. 198). Moreover, it was painted over an unfinished portrait of a woman (see III C 96 fig. 2): like so many of Rembrandt's self-portraits either painted by himself or by members of his studio (see pp. 96-98), the painting is a *palimpsest*.

It should be noted that the present-day shape of the truncated panel makes the head sit most unhappily trapped, as it were, within the semicircular, apse-shaped border, which has a very unfortunate effect on the work's appearance as a whole. The original, undoubtedly rectangular panel must have been larger than in its current condition (see Vol. III, p. 614). The high placing, not only of the figure of Rembrandt, but also of the underlying woman (one of whose eyes, revealed by infrared reflectography, lies even higher than the eyes of the self-portrait, see III C 96 fig. 4), argue that the original panel must have been taller.

Further, one should note that the placing of the ear in relation to the (rather foreshortened) nose and the line of the mouth (that slopes downward on both sides) indicate the painter's original intention of representing the head as seen slightly from below. This accounts for the apparently low crown of Rembrandt's skull, which may at first sight seem rather disfiguring. It should also be noted, however, that the head of *The Standard-bearer*, (see figs. 224 and 234), which shows various similarities with the painting under discussion, is also represented from a low point of view with the same consequence for the rendering of the face in its relation to the top of the head.

As is normally the case with *palimpsests*, the genesis of the painting under discussion is difficult to read in the X-radiograph. However, those parts of the reserve of the figure of Rembrandt that are legible in the radio-absorbent background show correspondences with the reserves in paintings attributed to Rembrandt himself. They are characterized by a blurring of the rather simplified contours with which the figure (or other elements) are defined by the radio-absorbent paint of the background or of other forms.[340]

The most pressing argument in favour of a revision of the attribution, however, derives from the *peinture* in the face. The apparently casual manner in which the eyes

338 E. van de Wetering, 'The aged painting and the necessities and possibilities to know its original appearance' in: *Conservare necesse est, Festskrift til Leif Einar Plahter*, International Institute of Conservation (IIC) Nordic Group, Oslo 1999, pp. 259-264; also published in: H. Cantz (ed.), *Horizons. Essays on art and art research. 50 Years Swiss Institute for Art Research*, Zürich 2001, pp. 399-406.

339 The painting was studied again in detail, out of its frame, and in good daylight and artificial light (E. v.d. W. 5-4-2001).

340 Compare III A 118 (the apostle in the foreground), 122, 128, 130 (the hat and right hand), 134, B 10 (the right hand contour), C 103 (idem).

Fig. 231. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 2nd half 1630's, panel 64 x 49 cm. London, The Wallace Collection (IV *Corrigenda* III C 96)



Fig. 232. Detail (1:1) of fig. 231

Fig. 233. Rembrandt, *Man in Russian costume*, 1637, panel 96.7 x 66.1 cm, detail (1:1). Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Collection (III A 122)
Fig. 234. Detail (1:1) of fig. 224 ▶



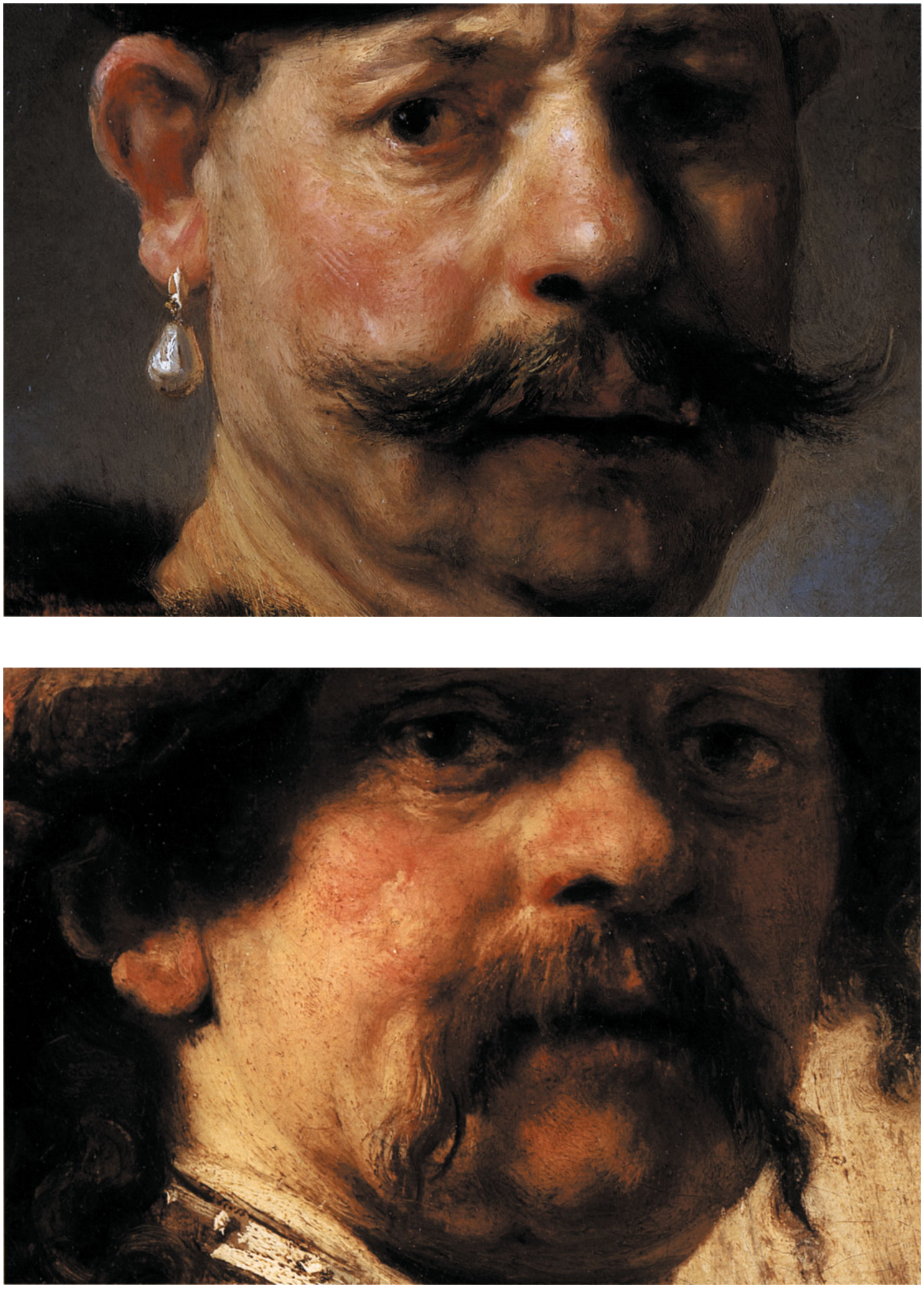


Fig. 235. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1639, panel 63 x 50.1 cm. Pasadena, Cal., Norton Simon Museum of Art (IV *Corrigenda* III C 97)



are painted, with the contours of the irises deliberately left blurred by the way the whites of the eyes have been painted (fig. 232), is very similar to Rembrandt's way of working in the Washington *Man in Russian costume* and the *Standard-bearer* (figs. 233 and 234). This is also true of the way in which, in areas of shadow, the light caught by occasionally projecting facial features is indicated. Comparisons between the paintings demonstrate so many correspondences of techniques, vision and temperament that it would be difficult to imagine that the self-portrait in the Wallace Collection could have been painted by anyone other than the author of the other two paintings cited above.

The crudeness of execution of this painting may be related to stylistic trends, touched on earlier (on p. 232). This evidently brief phase was in turn succeeded in 1638/39 by a reaction toward highly illusionistic tendencies (see pp. 245-247). The painting to be discussed now, the *Self-portrait* in Pasadena, should be seen as announcing this phase of Rembrandt's stylistic development.

– The Norton Simon *Self-portrait* reattributed

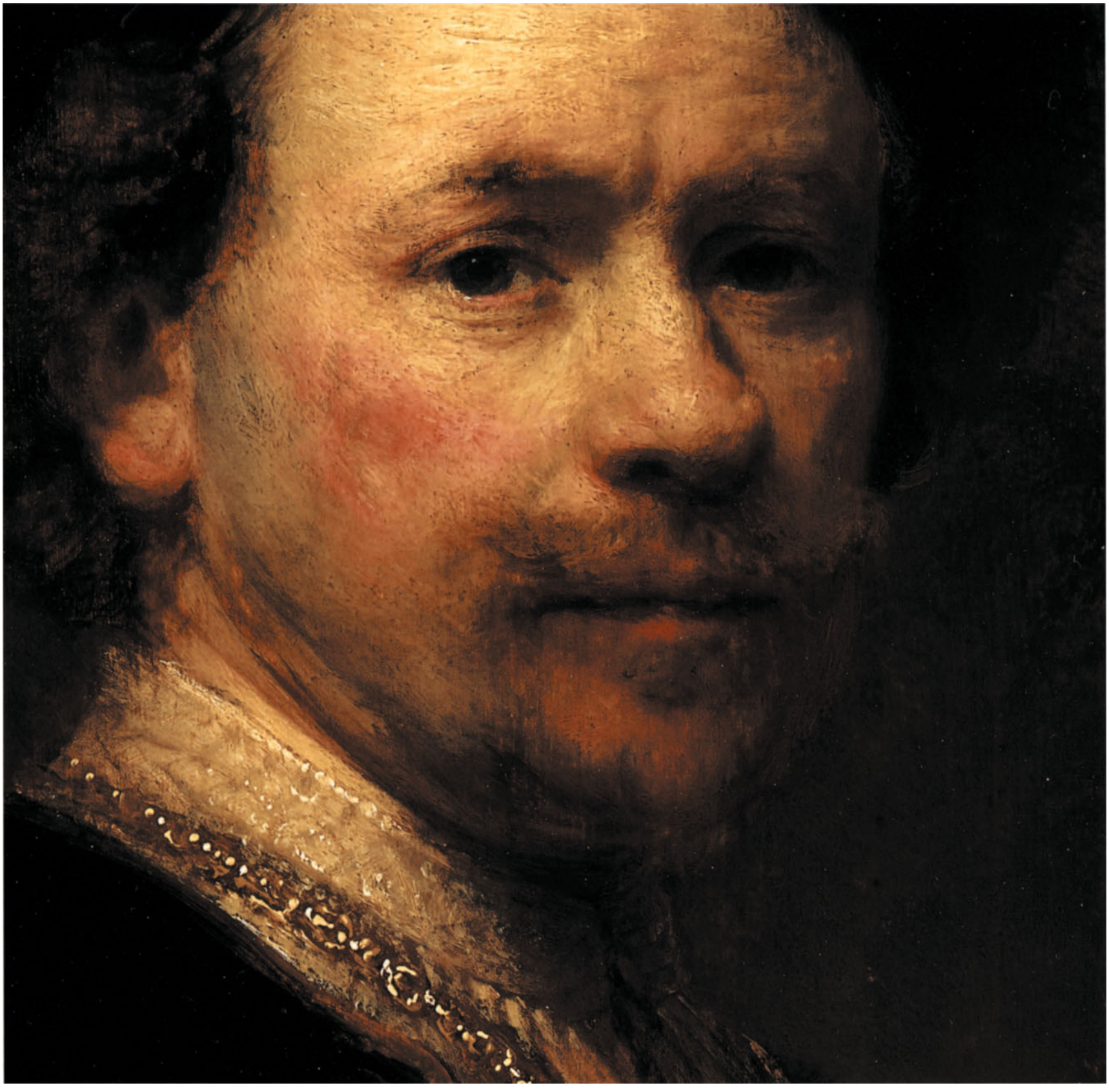
A reassessment of the attribution of the *Self-portrait* from the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena may be found among the *Addenda et Corrigenda* in this volume (see p. 605). It was only recently possible to gain insight into the state of preservation of this painting. During these investigations it was found that the head and the immediate surrounding area had been seriously abraded, possibly by repeated selective cleaning in the past, with the result that the contours and internal definition had been badly damaged. In subsequent restorations, certain aspects of the physiognomy, in particular the gradations of colour in the face, had been seriously disturbed. Now that we have a better idea of the picture in its original appearance we are of the opinion that there are sufficiently strong stylistic indicators in favour of a (re)attribution of the painting to Rembrandt. The following text is taken from the relevant part of the *Corrigendum:* 'In the context of the question of the authenticity, it is important to point out that the Pasadena painting (figs. 235-236) belongs to the less frequently occurring type of self-portrait where Rembrandt is represented with forehead exposed, whereas in the majority of Rembrandt's self-portraits the forehead is largely hidden beneath a hat of some kind and more or less concealed by the shadow cast by such headgear. It is characteristic of the self-portraits of this type that the highest light is shifted from the cheekbone and nose to the skull. As a result, the proportions of the face as a whole – like also for instance in the Florence *Self-portrait* from 1669 (IV 28; fig. 331) – seem rather different from those in the other, more common type of self-portrait. The overall high quality of the present painting on the one hand, and on the other the more 'compressed' proportions of the features, together with the (seemingly) strong colorism led to our suggestion in Vol. III that an attribution to Carel Fabritius deserved serious consideration.'

If one ignores the disfigurations resulting from the painting's turbulent history, there remains an image which, in style and quality shows significant links with paintings that we are convinced come from Rembrandt's own hand. The subtle differentiation in the course of the contours of the torso, for instance, with an angular element indicating a collar or some other detail of the apparel, exhibits a refinement characteristic of Rembrandt around 1640 (cf. III A 139; fig. 242). As a result of the painter's tendency to leave the ground exposed or visible through the transparently applied brownish paint of the first tonal sketch, the painting seems to have been released in a somewhat 'unfinished' state, which is typical of Rembrandt. But more importantly, the differentiation in the brushwork in these 'open' areas reminds one strongly of Rembrandt. The same holds for a local linearity in the painting, partly correlated with the sketchy nature of, in particular, the attire and the exposed part of the hand. One encounters this rather graphic approach by Rembrandt in the late 1630's – related to a striking preference for simple triangular forms on which the composition rests, as it were (cf. for example, III A 129, 133, 140, 145 or C 103, which is considered by this author to be authentic in a note on page 655 of Vol. III).

The stylistic and technical characteristics of the Pasadena *Self-portrait* described here and discussed in IV *Corrigenda* III C 97, converge on a judgement in favour of the (re)attribution of this painting to Rembrandt.[341]

341 In the literature there has been uncertainty over the dating of the Pasadena *Self-portrait*, partly due to the poor condition of the inscription

Fig. 236. Detail (1:1) of fig. 235



341 (continuation)
on the painting, located to the right in the background at the level of Rembrandt's shoulder. This inscription consists chiefly of small dots of paint applied later, by means of which the remains of the possibly original signature and date were retouched. Of the original signature there remain only parts of the <*Remb*>, and the (un-retouched) <*t*>. The year <*163.*>, seems to be solely constituted by retouches which may cover remnants of an earlier inscription. The condition of that part of the inscription seems to be so bad, however, that it leaves room for speculation about the possibility that the third digit could have been a 4. A number of authors have therefore proposed dating the painting to the early '40s. We prefer a dating to the end of the 1630s. In Vol. III (p. 621 *Signature*) we suggested that the last digit might have been an 8, but it could equally well have been a 9. We prefer a dating in or near 1639.

Rembrandt in Amsterdam (1639-1669)

– Stylistic considerations complementary to catalogue entries 1-29

The following part of this chapter complements the catalogue section of the book. The intention is to deal with the self-portraits from 1640 onward as a coherent whole such that arguments concerning style and quality can be brought to bear when judging questions of authenticity, whereas in the corresponding catalogue texts IV 1-29 the emphasis mainly lies on a consideration of the more objective criteria.

The first question that arises concerns the original *raison d'être* of the self-portraits dealt with in the sections below. Unlike the Leyden period, when Rembrandt used his face mainly for studies or as a model for *tronies*, we can be fairly certain that these self-portraits, including the self-*portraits historiés*, must all have been intended primarily as *'effigies of the famous Rembrandt executed in his style'*.[342]

As already remarked on pp. 109-117, when one looks at this group of self-portraits as a whole, one is struck by the range of the variation in conception and style. Moreover, this variation is undiminished even when one removes from the group those paintings no longer considered to be autograph works by Rembrandt, or works over which doubts remain (see p. 110, Table A and B). As we have seen earlier, in the case of Rembrandt a gradualist evolutionary approach simply fails to account for the changes in his style.

Marieke de Winkel's costume-iconographic approach (in Chapter II of this volume) certainly yields an explanation for the variety of costuming and pictorial aspects more or less closely related to it. But how can one account, for instance, for the great differences in style and conception between the *Self-portrait with the easel* in Paris and the *Self-portrait* in the Metropolitan, both from 1660 (see figs. 298 and 299), and the contrast in the degree of elaboration between the painting in Edinburgh and that in Washington (see figs. 53 and 54)? Why are some self-portraits cast in the form of *'portraits historiés'*, while the majority are not?

It is striking that this variety became more marked over the course of the fifties. Is this explicable merely as a consequence of the unusually great artistic freedom taken by the ageing Rembrandt, or could external influences perhaps have played a part? During the discussion in the methodological section of this essay of the remarkable number of *palimpsests* – paintings applied over other paintings – among Rembrandt self-portraits, it was pointed out that *palimpsests* no longer appear in his self-portraits from *c.* 1656 on while, taken as a whole, the self-portraits from that period become grander, both in format and in ambition. On p. 97 it was cautiously suggested that this could perhaps indicate that such self-portraits were made on commission. As far as we know from written sources, in the case of commissioned works the support was charged for separately.[343] In our treatment of the phenomenon of *palimpsests*, it was suggested that paintings executed over other paintings, discarded for whatever reason and whatever the subject, must have been done on the painter's own initiative using whatever support was available. From what we know of the 'symbiosis' between artists and art-lovers (see pp. 137-143), one can imagine a situation where the art-lover, during his visit to the workshop, might have bought from stock an already existing portrait of the artist, either painted by the artist himself or by someone else in the workshop (whether or not this were known by the buyer). Could it be that the self-portraits painted by Rembrandt after the mid-1650's were more often commissioned by collectors than previously? We know of only one such case with any certainty: the 1669 *Self-portrait* in the Uffizi (see IV 28). In other cases, the fact that it is precisely these self-portraits that one finds relatively early in the inventories of princely or other ambitious collectors is certainly suggestive in this matter.[344] Where a self-portrait may have been ordered by a collector, one can imagine that those who commissioned these works (in addition to providing the support or paying these separately) might have had their own particular requests concerning the conception and possibly even the execution of the paintings in question. To a certain extent, then, the striking differences in style and conception can be explained, but it is not a conclusive explanation (see pp. 111 and 211). The development in Rembrandt's entire oeuvre and the genesis of many of his works testify to the fact that he was a questing artist for whom each new work was potentially the beginning of a new artistic adventure.

The paintings discussed below, with particular regard to their authenticity, are divided into five groups, viz., self-portraits dated or tentatively dated to between *c.* 1639 and '42; 1643 to 51; '52 to '58; paintings from around 1659; from 1660 to 1662-'63; and from 1664 to 1669. This grouping emerges from the material itself and allows one to place each of the works dealt with in a manageable context.

The way in which the images to be reproduced are selected and confronted with each other obviates a good deal of verbal description. Naturally, criteria drawn from other areas of Rembrandt's oeuvre will be employed in the discussions regarding the authenticity of the works to be discussed wherever they can extend the range of useful criteria available to us. (For a brief survey of the most general stylistic criteria, see pp. 116-117). The reader is also advised to consult the relevant catalogue texts in this volume and Vol. III of the *Corpus*, even where there may be overlap with the following arguments.

342 See the section 'The various functions of Rembrandt's self-portraits' above; see also E. van de Wetering, 'The multiple functions of Rembrandt's self portraits' in exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999-2000, pp. 22-36.

343 See notes 23 and 24 above.

344 As to early princely owners of self-portraits of Rembrandt, see the Appendix to this chapter, nos. 1, 12, 25; Schwartz 1984, p. 349.

Fig. 237. Rembrandt, *Portrait of Nicolaes Bambeeck*, 1641, canvas 108.8 x 83.3 cm. Brussels, Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts (III A 144)



Fig. 238. Rembrandt, *Portrait of Agatha Bas*, 1641, canvas 104 x 82 cm. London, Buckingham Palace (III A 145)



Fig. 239. Rembrandt, *Portrait of a man, standing (Cornelis Witsen?)*, 1639, canvas 200 x 124.2 cm. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe (III A 129)



– The self-portraits from between *c.* 1640 and 1642 – Problems of attribution

Around 1640 Rembrandt painted a number of works in which he employed explicit *trompe l'oeil* formulae. One thinks here of the *Portraits of Nicolaes Bambeeck* and his wife *Agatha Bas* from 1641 (figs. 237-238), where the subjects are represented grasping the illusory painted frame, or leaning on it. The recently rediscovered Lanckoronski paintings dated 1641, now in Warsaw (Br. 219 and 359) also belong to this category.

Rembrandt seems to begin his pursuit of a *trompe l'oeil* type of realism in *c.* 1639. Early examples include the *Portrait of a man, standing (Cornelis Witsen?)* (III A 129; fig. 239) in Kassel and the *Portrait of a young woman (Maria Trip?)* (III A 131) in Amsterdam, both dated 1639. The *Two dead peacocks and a girl* (III A 134) presumably from the same year may (apart from the girl in the second plan) even be seen as a pure *trompe l'oeil*. In these three paintings the figures (and in the latter case the foregrounded dead peacock) are placed directly behind or partly projecting over an edge which is parallel to the picture plane, giving a fluent transition between the illusory space of the image and the real space inhabited by the viewer. This is also true, for instance, of *A dead bittern held high by a hunter* of *c.* 1639 (III A 133; fig. 240) which, like the *Two dead peacocks and a girl*, can be seen as an almost pure *trompe l'oeil* painting. In these paintings, the intention is unmistakeably to lead the seventeenth century viewer – if only momentarily – to believe himself confronted with reality. The *Portrait of Cornelis Claesz. Anslo and his wife Aeltje Gerritsdr. Schouten* (III A 143) from 1640 and the *Nightwatch* in its original form (III A 146), begun before 1640[345] and finished in '42, may also be counted among this category.

In these works Rembrandt was striving for pictorial 'deception' (*bedrog*), the term Samuel van Hoogstraten (who was trained by Rembrandt in the early 1640s) uses for this kind of illusionism in his book on the art of painting.[346] Evidently, Rembrandt's conception of the *trompe l'oeil*, and as a rule that of the pupils who followed him in this, does not entirely correspond with the later accepted norm, that *trompe l'oeil* paintings should preferably depict dead objects in a shallow space.[347] In the paintings of Rembrandt just mentioned – or, for example, in Carel Fabritius' *Goldfinch*[348] – living persons or creatures are mainly the subjects. Of Rembrandt's pupils, Samuel van Hoogstraten, Heyman Dullaert and to a certain extent Christoph Paudiss would paint a number of 'correct' *trompe l'oeils* with dead objects in a shallow space.

There is every reason to suppose that the London *Self-portrait* from 1640 (III A 139) should also be included in the category of 'living' *trompe l'oeil* paintings (fig. 242). The detailed execution and the way the life-sized figure leans on a parapet running parallel to the picture plane, plus the influence that this very painting had shortly after 1640 on the *trompe l'oeil* endeavours of a pupil like Ferdinand Bol (see fig. 8 in this chapter), all indicate that this must

345 E. Haverkamp-Begemann, *Rembrandt: The Nightwatch*, Princeton 1982, p. 14 and note 16.

346 Van Hoogstraeten, op.cit.[57], pp. 24-25.

347 For a theoretical discussion of aspects of perception involved in *trompe l'oeil* paintings, see Wolf Singer, 'The misperception of reality', in S. Ebert-Schifferer et al., *Deceptions and illusions. Five centuries of trompe l'oeil painting*, exhib. cat. National Gallery of Art, Washington 2002/03, pp. 40-51.

348 Sumowski *Gemälde* II, no. 610.

Fig. 240. Rembrandt, *A dead bittern held high by a hunter*, 1639, panel 120.7 x 88.3 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (III A 133)



have been explicitly intended as such by Rembrandt. A comparison with, for example, the *Portrait of Nicolaes Bambeeck* (see fig. 237) also clearly demonstrates this.

Rembrandt's explorations of the possibilities of *trompe l'oeil* in this period must also have involved his handling of the paint. As a rule, the brushwork from this period, such as in the London *Self-portrait* just mentioned, no longer strikes the eye as forcefully as in many of his earlier or his later works.[349] Which of the self-portraits from this period may have been painted with deliberate *trompe l'oeil* intentions, like the London painting, is difficult to ascertain. In the case of two of them, figs. 241 and 243, Rembrandt's presumed prototypes have been lost and all we know are derivatives. Two others, figs. 244 and 245, almost certainly no longer have their original format, so that we cannot be absolutely certain of the way the figure of Rembrandt was originally placed within the frame. In both paintings, moreover, large parts have been overpainted by later hands. This also applies to the sixth of the paintings dealt with here, fig. 246. In the stylistic analysis of this group of paintings, therefore, attention will mainly be focused on the execution of the faces.

One aspect of this group of works that particularly calls for attention is the dating which, in almost all cases, requires reconsideration. The *Self-portrait* in Windsor Castle (IV 1; figs. 246 and 249), usually dated to 1643, has been shown on investigation to bear the inscription 1642 and therefore has to be moved back within the hitherto accepted chronology of the self-portraits. The same applies to two other paintings from the group under discussion, one of which is possibly a copy (dated 1643) after a lost original of *c.* 1640 (fig. 243), while the other painting is usually dated in the Rembrandt literature to 1643, incorrectly in our view, and which we argue should be placed earlier, to *c.* 1640 (fig. 244). The self-portrait in Paris cut to an oval, on the other hand, originated later than the inauthentic date (1637) given on the painting (fig. 245).

Of the group of self-portraits from the period dealt with here, only two of the works can be safely attributed to Rembrandt on the basis of objective arguments: the London painting from 1640 – as argued on p. 92 (fig. 242) – and the one in Windsor Castle from 1642. Comparing the *peinture* of the two paintings, related in many respects, it should be noted that Rembrandt employed different approaches to painting (compare figs. 247 and 249). The predominantly well preserved face of the *Self-portrait* in Windsor Castle (the rest of the painting has for the most part been overpainted by another, much later hand) is executed using a combination of small strokes that partly respond to the shape and partly follow the direction of the light, sometimes as highlights with a little relief in order to heighten the intensity of the light, occasionally even appearing to imitate the surface of, for instance, a facial wrinkle. Locally, as to the left of the nose, the underlying paint (the painting is a *palimpsest*) plays a part in the paint relief. The subtle course of the transitions in the *modelé* is suggested in a way that guarantees the continuity of shape of the face as a whole. When it comes to the eyes, the *modelé* is intensified in the complex anatomy of that area of the face. All parts of this area react to the light suggested by the painter such that the continuous plasticity of the head as a whole is convincing.

Because the London *Self-portrait* of 1640 – unlike the painting in Windsor Castle – is painted on canvas rather than panel, it is difficult to compare the surfaces of the two paintings.

The brushwork in the London painting (fig. 247) appears to have been broader than in the painting in Windsor Castle and is comparable with the well preserved *Portrait of Herman Doomer* (fig. 250), also from 1640; but this broader brushwork achieves an astonishing subtlety in the tonal transitions and a suggestion of reality just as impressive as in the Windsor Castle painting.

A comparison of the heads of the *Self-portrait* from 1640 and the *Self-portrait* in Windsor Castle (figs. 247 and 249) enables us to trace the ageing process in Rembrandt's physiognomy from 1640 to 1642. In the head of the 1642 painting, the jaws and the parts round the mouth have become more massive, the double chin heavier, even the nose seems to have thickened. The comparison also demonstrates how closely Rembrandt must have scrutinized his own face in the mirror. In every part of the face, but especially in the relations of the lower parts, the process of change is legible. If one attempts to situate the *Self-portrait* from the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection in Madrid (IV 2; fig. 248) in relation to the two self-portraits from 1640 and '42 analysed above, the impression given by physiognomic indicators is that it must have originated before the *Self-portrait* in Windsor Castle from 1642 (fig. 249).

An inscription with the signature and dating of the Thyssen-Bornemisza *Self-portrait* (see IV 2 *Signature*) has probably been lost during the course of the dramatic material history the painting has undergone. The usual date of 1643 attributed to this painting, which has presumably been cut down in size (see p. 365), rests on the long accepted – although demonstrably incorrect – assumption that it was the pendant to the so-called *Posthumous portrait of Saskia* in Berlin (Br. 109), dated 1643 (for our arguments against this assumption, see p. 368). The traditional dating 1643 of the Thyssen painting can also be rejected on the basis of the physiognomic evidence. The chin is not so filled out and the sag of the cheeks not so marked as in the *Self-portrait* from 1642, suggesting that a date earlier than that year should be considered. Whereas Gerson doubted the attribution to Rembrandt and Tümpel and Gaskell rejected it,[350] we are

349 An exception is the *Nightwatch* where the locally grainy surface of the paint plays a role in both the suggestion of space and the expression of material. See Van de Wetering 1997, Chapter VII, esp. pp. 173-186.

350 Br.-Gerson 36 '..., *there are many strange features about the self-portrait which make the attribution to the artist and period doubtful.*'; Tümpel (1986) does not list the painting which implies that he neither accepts it as a work by Rembrandt nor as a product of his workshop; I. Gaskell, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection. Seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish Painting*, London 1990, pp. 134-139.

Fig. 241. Follower of Rembrandt, '*Self-portrait*', after a lost original(?), canvas 92.3 x 76.4 cm. Woburn Abbey, Beds., The Duke of Bedford (III C 93)



Fig. 242. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1640, canvas 93 x 80 cm. London, The National Gallery (III A 139)



Fig. 243. Rembrandt workshop (F. Bol?), '*Self-portrait*', *c.* 1640, canvas 62.5 x 49.6 cm. Germany, private collection (IV 3)



inclined, on the basis of several lines of mutually reinforcing objective evidence argued in catalogue text IV 2, to attribute this self-portrait once again to Rembrandt. The very poor condition makes any assessment of the work's stylistic character or quality difficult. The over-paintings introduced on and around the countless areas of damage, in particular in the face, certainly influenced Gerson's judgement. These have since been partly removed but the remains of these overpaintings and the traces of their removal disturb the impression one might otherwise have of the painting technique originally employed. During the exhibition *Rembrandt by himself* (1999-2000), it was plainly evident that as far as relations of light and tone are concerned, and the chromatic values of the head, the painting fitted among the established works of the period 1640-42. The original brushwork in the face seems, as far as can be judged, more closely related to that in the *Portrait of Herman Doomer* (fig. 250) and the London *Self-portrait* from 1640 (fig. 247) than to the *Self-portrait* in Windsor Castle (fig. 249). The panel on which it was painted has been found to come from the same tree trunk as the two panels on which, in or around 1640, Rembrandt painted the portraits of Herman Doomer (fig. 250) and Aletta Adriaensdr. (III A 132). All this taken together makes it highly likely that the Thyssen *Self-portrait* originated in that period.[351]

In addition, on the basis of physiognomic evidence, the hypothetical prototype of two apparently free copies after a presumably lost self-portrait of Rembrandt, the one in Ottawa (III C 94), the other belonging to the Duke of Bedford (III C 93), must also have originated around 1640 (fig. 241).

It is also tempting to include in this group of self-portraits the head (the only part together with the collar that has not been overpainted by other hands) of the *Self-portrait* in the Louvre (III B 10; figs. 245, 252). The painting has usually been dated to 1637, corresponding to the obviously non-autograph inscription. Grimm has already pointed out that this dating is untenable in view of the treatment of the face. In his view, a date between 1638 and 1640 would be more realistic.[352] The present face, we believe, was painted by Rembrandt over an earlier head that is visible in the X-radiograph (and which, in its turn, was evidently painted over a discarded history piece) (see figs. 79-81). The underlying self-portrait may have belonged to the group of self-portraits produced around 1633/4 when Rembrandt seemed to be confronted with the remainders of a serious over-production of self-portraits. It is our hypothesis that such works were either changed into later self-portraits or transformed into *tronies* (see pp. 139-140)[353]. Physiognomically, the Paris painting fits into the stage after 1640 rather than before. With regard to the *peinture*, it appears more closely related to the Windsor Castle painting (fig. 249) than to the London *Self-portrait* of 1640 (fig. 247) so that one should not exclude a date for the head of the Paris painting between 1640 and 1642. In order to gain a better understanding of this painting's complicated history than the X-autoradiographs permit, a very thorough microscopic investigation and the analysis of a series of paint cross-sections would be required; but to date this has not been possible.

Another painting belonging to the group treated in this section is the work that was stolen from the Gross-herzogliches Museum in Weimar in 1922 and which has emerged and disappeared again from time to time subsequently (figs. 243, 251). As we argue in the relevant catalogue text (IV 3), we share the view of Gerson and the authors after him that this painting cannot be an autograph work by Rembrandt. In every way, the

351 The other panels from the same tree are III A 132/Br. 355, from which date is derived, and III A 106/Br. 555, III A 140/Br. 217, and Br. 566 (see for further information *Table of dendrochronological data*, p. 651).

352 Grimm, op.cit.[231], p. 104.

353 E. van de Wetering, 'Rembrandt's hidden self-portraits', in *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis*, Vol. 202/1-2, pp. 2-14.

Fig. 244. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, *c.*1640, panel 72.2 x 58.3 cm. Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza (IV 2)



Fig. 245. Rembrandt (and workshop), *Self-portrait*, *c.*1640 – 42, panel 80.5 x 62.8 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (III B 10)



Fig. 246. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait in a flat cap*, 1642, panel 69.9 x 58.4 cm. Windsor Castle, H.M. Queen Elizabeth II (IV 1)



execution lacks the vitality which – despite their relative smoothness – characterizes Rembrandt's self-portraits from the period 1639 – '42. Whereas in those works – in so far as their condition permits – one perceives a varied (though in the main relatively smooth) brushwork, in this painting the tonal transitions are either achieved by blending or through very careful hatching. Physiognomically, too, as is argued in the catalogue text, the evidence is against attribution to Rembrandt's own hand. Nonetheless, we do believe that the painting originated in Rembrandt's workshop and Gerson may well have been right in suggesting Ferdinand Bol as the possible author. The possibility that it was copied after a lost original should certainly not be excluded. The assumption that it was painted in Rembrandt's workshop is corroborated by the fact that the canvas on which it is painted is almost certainly from the same bolt of linen as the canvases on which the portraits of Nicolaes Bambeeck and his wife Agatha Bas were painted in 1641 (see figs. 237 and 238). This, in turn, would support the supposition, prompted by the physiognomic argument, that the origin of the ex-Weimar painting (or of its prototype if indeed it is a workshop copy) should be dated to or around 1640 rather than 1643, the date given by the inscription on the painting – an inscription that has either been revived or added by a later hand. Taking all these arguments into consideration, this painting can be counted in the category of non-autograph 'self-portraits' from Rembrandt's workshop (see p. 129, Table D).

Surveying the group of works discussed above (among which the *Self-portrait* in Pasadena must also be included, see *Corrigenda* III C 97 in this volume), one can only conclude that there was great demand for Rembrandt's effigies during that period. We have counted some seven painted examples originating from the period between 1639 and '42, either from Rembrandt's hand or by students/assistants. [354] In the same period an etched self-portrait was produced, the one from 1639, which may be counted (see fig. 151) among the group of four 'official' self-portraits that – as the present author believes – were issued by Rembrandt over his whole career (see pp. 184-190).

It can hardly be without significance that after 1642 a remarkable silence descends over this area. As with the other categories of Rembrandt's painted works, so with the self-portraits there follows a break in production that is still not satisfactorily explained.[355]

– The self-portraits from 1643 to 1651 – Problems of attribution

Stylistically and technically, the series of paintings discussed above forms a relatively homogeneous group. In the ten years between 1642 and 1652, remarkably few painted self-portraits, whether painted or etched, were produced in Rembrandt's workshop (figs. 253-255; fig. 256 probably shows a later imitation). Stylistically, these works stand so distinctively apart that they have given rise to very different opinions regarding their authenticity. We believe in the authenticity of only one of them (fig. 254).

In the relatively large group of small-figure history pieces from the same period (to be dealt with in Volume V), one can still perceive a certain coherence in the means and techniques employed, from which basis one can derive criteria of authenticity. In the case of the paintings bearing Rembrandt's effigy from this period, however, this is not possible even if one relies on a comparison with the sparse portraits of this period either done by Rembrandt or within his studio (Br. 224, 251, 252, 265, 268). One is forced to resort to Rembrandtesque characteristics of style and quality in a more general sense, which certainly makes it more difficult to

354 The Pasadena painting (figs. 235, 236), the prototype of fig. 241, figs. 242, 244, 245, 246 and (the prototype of) the ex-Weimar painting (fig. 243).

355 A discussion of this problem will be published in the catalogue of Rembrandt exhibitions in Berlin and the Rembrandt House in 2006.

Fig. 247. Detail (1:1) of fig. 242



Fig. 248. Detail (1:1) of fig. 244 and cat. no. IV 2 fig. 1



Fig. 249. Detail (1:1) of fig. 246 and cat. no. IV 1 fig. 1



Fig. 250. Rembrandt, *Portrait of Herman Doomer*, 1640, detail (1:1). New York, N.Y., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (III A 140)



Fig. 251. Detail (1:1) of fig. 243 and cat. no. IV 3 fig. 1



Fig. 252. Detail (1:1) of fig. 245



Fig. 253. Rembrandt workshop, *'Self-portrait'*, *c.* 1645, panel 25.8 x 21.3 cm. Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste (IV 4)



Fig. 254. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1645-48, panel 73.5 x 59.6 cm. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle (IV 5)



Fig. 255. Rembrandt workshop, *'Self-portrait'*, *c.* 1650, canvas 92.2 x 75.4 cm. Washington D.C., The National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection (IV 6)



Fig. 256. Probably a late seventeenth-century imitation, *Rembrandt leaning on a windowsill*, canvas 82.5 x 68.3 cm. Cincinnati, Ohio, The Taft Museum (IV 7)



give underpinning to attributions and disattributions. It is virtually impossible to get to grips with the reasons of earlier authors for their attributions or disattributions of the works dealt with in this section because of the tendency of these authors generally to offer very little argument – or no argument at all – to back up their opinions. The case of the Leipzig '*Self-portrait*' (IV 4; figs. 253, 257) provides a striking example of a discussion that has been conducted so far with virtually no reasoned argument.

'Self-portrait', Leipzig (IV 4)

Schmidt-Degener, in 1916, was the first to reject the previously generally accepted attribution of this painting to Rembrandt (figs. 253, 257), proposing instead Carel Fabritius as the possible author.[356] Like many others since 1916, we are in agreement with Schmidt-Degener that this lively, colourful and in many ways attractive little painting is not from the hand of Rembrandt. Bredius and Van Regteren Altena,[357] however, maintained an attribution to Rembrandt. Undoubtedly, the fact that the figure is placed in front of a light background played a part in Schmidt-Degener's attribution of the painting to Carel Fabritius; but like Christopher Brown in his Fabritius monograph, and Sumowski in his *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, we reject this attribution (compare fig. 258). [358] With all the stylistic variation in Fabritius' (more or less certain) oeuvre there is always, in our view, an almost calligraphic quality to his *peinture*, a quality that is entirely lacking in the Leipzig painting. On the other hand, with its somewhat chaotic peinture, the painting lacks that pithiness and the consistency of the plasticity that is so characteristic of Rembrandt.

It can, however, hardly be doubted that it was painted in Rembrandt's workshop since the panel comes from the same tree as the panel of the *Head of Christ* in Berlin (Br. 622) (see p. 128 and fig. 66). The results of the dendrochronological investigation at the same time provide us with the earliest possible *terminus post quem* of 1645. That is precisely the period during which there seems to have been a swerve taken in Rembrandt's pictorial thinking. This is evident in the St. Petersburg *Holy Family* (Br. 570) from 1645. The *peinture* in that painting – broad in places, more colourful than previously – is found in Rembrandt's work from *c.* 1645 onwards. That this style seems to have been adopted by his followers in the workshop almost immediately can be inferred from the many partial copies sketchily executed in oil paint after Rembrandt's history paintings from around 1644-47.[359]

In our catalogue text relating to the Leipzig painting (IV 4), we adduce as evidence against an attribution to Rembrandt the fact that, physiognomically, Rembrandt's face in that painting fits the period around 1640. We consider it likely that the hypothetical prototype of the *'Self-portrait'* formerly in Weimar (IV 3), or IV 3 itself, dated by us to *c.*1640, may have been the prototype for the Leipzig painting (see p. 129, Table D). Given both the stylistic characteristics of the painting and the dendrochronologically determined *terminus post quem* argued above, the painting cannot have originated in that period. We are therefore of the opinion that it is a free variant of the kind produced by pupils or workshop assistants and consequently belongs to a frequently occurring type of workshop product to be treated in depth in Chapter II in Volume V.

The fact that the Leipzig painting must have originated at least five years after its prototype is not unique: as discussed in our catalogue text (IV 4), the same is also true of several other workshop derivatives after works by Rembrandt. It is not unusual for a workshop variant such as the Leipzig *'Self-portrait'* under discussion for the treatment of light and the *peinture* to differ so radically from its prototype (compare for instance the Copenhagen *Supper at Emmaus*, Br. 579 – which, we are convinced, is a workshop variant – and its prototype in Paris, Br. 580).

Self-portrait, Karlsruhe (IV 5)

The only reliably dated self-portrait from the period under discussion, between 1643 and 1651, is an etching, with *Rembrandt drawing at a window*, which bears the date 1648 (B. 22 II, fig. 260, see also fig. 152). The finely graded tonal values in this etching are subtly deployed in the service of the *modelé* and light effects. However, Rembrandt left the freely drawn lines rendering the hand with its sheaf of paper emphatically visible. This play between the extremely detailed and the cursory is a phenomenon that can be observed, for example, although on a far greater scale, in the *Hundred guilder print* (B. 74) from the same period (fig. 261). Such *non-finito* tendencies also characterize Rembrandt's paintings from this period, including the Karlsruhe *Self-portrait* being discussed here (IV 5; figs. 254, 259). In our catalogue text, this painting is tentatively dated to 1645 on the basis of an inscription on a copy. It is more likely, however,

356 F. Schmidt-Degener, *Catalogus der schilderijen en teekeningen tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam*, Rotterdam 1916, p. 29.

357 Br. 40; J.Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Kurt Bauch, *Rembrandts Gemälde*, Berlin 1966', *O.H.* 82 (1967), pp. 69-71, esp. 70.

358 C. Brown, *Carel Fabritius: Complete edition with a catalogue raisonné*, Oxford 1981, p. 132, fig. 63 and Sumowski *Gemälde* II. Also Frits Duparc in the catalogue of the 2004/5 *Carel Fabritius* exhibition in The Hague, implicitly rejects an attribution to Carel Fabritius.

359 Examples include the *Weeping woman* in Detroit (Br. 366), after the London *Woman taken in adultery* of 1644 (Br. 566) (this copy has been attributed by J. Bruyn to Samuel van Hoogstraten, see exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, pp. 79/80), and other comparable partial copies, for instance Br. 375 after the Petersburg *Holy Family* mentioned above, Br. 376 after the lost *Circumcision* from 1646 or Br. 248 and 372 after the Berlin *Susanna and the elders*, finished in 1647 (Br. 516) and similar works that cannot be linked to a known prototype (see for instance Br. 230, 231, 241, 244, 249, 250, 373, 374, 392). However, it is not only the *tronies* which evince this echo of the Rembrandt style of *c.*1645 and the immediately following years. For example, the London *Birth of Christ* (Br. 575), which we consider to be a product from the workshop, although conceptually dependent on Rembrandt's prototype in Munich from 1646, also betrays the influence of Rembrandt's sketchy, 'colourful' style of that period.

Fig. 257. Detail (1:1) of fig. 253 and cat. no. IV 4 fig. 1



Fig. 258. C. Fabritius, *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1645, panel 65 x 49 cm, detail. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen



Fig. 259. Detail (1:1) of fig. 254 and cat. no. IV 5 fig. 1



Fig. 260. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait drawing at a window*, 1648, etching, detail (B. 22 II)



Fig. 261. Rembrandt, *Hundred guilder print*, *c.* 1643-49, etching, detail (B. 74)



that it is from around 1648. As a result of an alteration of the original rectangular format by other hands, the composition of this self-portrait has been seriously distorted, with the axis of the face coming to lie along the vertical axis of the oval. In the original picture plane it was situated further to the left. Otherwise, however, the work has been well preserved.

This is in many respects a remarkable painting: although the treatment of the trunk is cursory, the subtleties in the modelling of the face have been rendered with great thoroughness and sensitivity. The fine *modelé* of the lips testifies to a strong ambition to reproduce the finest detail in this part of the painting. The unusual attention paid to the mouth must be related to the fact that Rembrandt has represented himself exceptionally here without a moustache, as a result of which both lips are lit. In the few paintings from the period round 1648 that can be attributed with any conviction to Rembrandt, especially the *Christ at Emmaus* in Paris from that year (Br. 578), this combination of minuteness on the one hand, and a freedom in the treatment of other elements, on the other, is strikingly similar to the execution of the self-portrait under discussion here. The etchings from around 1648 also show how Rembrandt during this period was inclined and able to reproduce the subtlest description of, for example, the surface of a dress without aiming at a uniform thoroughness of detail (figs. 260, 261).

Whereas Tümpel chose to reject the traditional attribution to Rembrandt of the Karlsruhe *Self-portrait* and to attribute it instead to an anonymous member of Rembrandt's workshop,[360] we are entirely convinced that we are dealing here with an autograph work. In many respects, however, the painting is so unlike any other that one can well understand Tümpel doubting its authenticity. Our conviction that the Karlsruhe *Self-portrait* is indeed an autograph work rests on observations, detailed in the relevant catalogue text, concerning the genesis of the painting and, more especially, the handling of paint. Even in the finely executed, lit passages of the face, or for example in a detail like the exquisitely painted eardrop, one encounters a rhythm and appropriateness of the brushwork where the strokes are applied in the service of illusion but at the same time evince a certain degree of autonomy. In this respect, the work is unmistakeably characteristic of Rembrandt: each touch betrays a way of handling the brush that is primarily determined by the function of that brushstroke and the context in which it is applied, regardless of the scale on which the painter is working. This manner, however, is clearly distinct from Rembrandt's brushwork in his later self-portraits. As discussed below (see pp. 271-273), from 1652 onwards Rembrandt deliberately seems to have allowed chance to play a crucial role in his brushwork while painting the face (see figs. 283, 53).[361] The delicate and particularly controlled brushwork in the face of the Karlsruhe *Self-portrait*, on the other hand, is closer to the self-portraits from around 1640.

360 Tümpel 1986, no. A 70.

361 Compare also exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, p. 16, figs. 17 and 18.

Fig. 262. Detail (1:1) of fig. 255 and cat. no. IV 6 fig. 1



Fig. 263. Rembrandt workshop, *Portrait of a warrior*, panel 128 x 103 cm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (Br. 256); companion-piece of fig. 264



Fig. 264. Rembrandt workshop, *Woman in fanciful costume*, panel 137.2 x 101.6 cm. Sarasota, Florida, The John & Mable Ringling Museum of Art (Br. 380); companion-piece of fig. 263



'Self-portrait', Washington (IV 6)

The physiognomy in the Washington painting (fig. 255, 262) shows too many deviant features to assume without hesitation that one is looking here at Rembrandt as seen by himself in the mirror. Quite apart from the question of whether the subject represented really is Rembrandt at all, there is so much in the execution that is at odds with our conception of Rembrandt's 'hand' that, like Gerson, Tümpel and Wheelock,[362] we find an attribution to Rembrandt untenable even though, in view of the painting's technical characteristics, there is much that speaks for an origin in Rembrandt's immediate circle. There is, for instance, a diversity evident in the execution of the different parts of the composition, a diversity that is not as such atypical for Rembrandt (see below the discussion of the Frick *Self-portrait*) but which does not demonstrate Rembrandt's rhythmic coherence of brushwork in relation to the variegated reality rendered.

In other words, it is above all the 'hand' – which of course implies a related 'mind' – that is anomalous. For example, the pastose passages in the hairnet, or the yellowish band across the chest whose impasto has been applied in a patient imitation yet without the economy and freedom so typical of Rembrandt. Other passages – as in the edges of the shirt collar and the slits of the sleeve – are dominated by a linearity that detracts from the illusion of plasticity. Nor is the handling of colour consistent with Rembrandt's autograph oeuvre. Where the yellow-white accord between the neckcloth and white placard strikes one as consistent with Rembrandt's style, the combination of such colours as mauve and light blue in the sleeve and the shoulder band of the paltrock is, on the contrary, rather odd; or the yellow, green, bright red and lake red in the caul, which in turn is partially covered by a beret executed in a remarkably strong brown.

We believe the hand of the painter of this work may be recognized in the *'Portraits' in fantasy costume* in Cambridge and Sarasota (Br. 256 and Br. 380; figs. 263 and 264) with which the Washington painting shares many of its stylistic and technical features (for a discussion of this hypothesis see catalogue entry IV 6 *Comments*).

In view of the deviant physiognomic features and unusual lighting of the head, the painting dealt with here can scarcely be allocated to the category of non-autograph 'self-portraits' from Rembrandt's workshop. There are, however, other possible approaches. It could be counted in the category of *tronies* with – or with roughly –

362 Br.-Gerson 39 *'the painting is an 18th- or 19th-century imitation'*; Tümpel 1986 did omit it altogether; A.K. Wheelock, Jr., *Dutch paintings of the seventeenth century*, National Gallery of Art, Washington 1995, pp. 296-300.

Fig. 265. Detail (1:1) of fig. 256 and cat. no. IV 7 fig. 1



Rembrandt's physiognomy, such as one finds from the late 1620s and early 30s, both in paintings and etchings, the category to which also the so-called *Portrait in fantasy costume* in Cambridge (fig. 263) could belong.

Given the striking difference in the handling of paint between the underlying stage – in so far as it is to be seen – and the handling of the paint at the surface, one might also entertain the possibility that the Washington painting was laid out by Rembrandt and later completely over-worked by another hand. The repentirs, which in part correspond with the first appearance of the painting, remind one of Rembrandt's manner of working. It would then belong to a category of paintings that we suspect had a similar kind of genesis, all of them finished by another hand in the 1650's (by painting over them more or less completely). As examples, we might mention here the Bucharest *Esther and Ahasverus* (III B 9), the Lisbon *Minerva* (Br. 479) or the New York *Christ and the woman from Samaria* (Br. 589). (This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in Vol. V, Chapter III.)

There is one puzzling characteristic that makes an allocation of the painting peculiarly difficult: viz. the facial expression. Among the undoubted self-portraits, a similar pronounced expression with raised eyebrows occurs in the *Self-portrait as St Paul* (1661) and in the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis laughing* from *c.* 1662/3 (figs. 300, 312 and 301, 315). An anonymous workshop assistant working around 1650 could not have based himself in this respect on an autograph prototype, unless it were a work now unknown to us or unless the underlying figure already bore this visual expression. The possibility, referred to above, that this underlying first version could have been painted by Rembrandt himself, should therefore not be rejected out of hand.

Rembrandt leaning on a windowsill, Cincinnati (IV 7)

In the catalogue text relating to the *'Self-portrait'* in Cincinnati (figs. 256, 265) (which, like the painting discussed above, bears the spurious date 1650) it is argued that this painting should not only be denied a place in Rembrandt's autograph oeuvre but should also be placed outside his direct sphere of influence. The argument, set out in the text, is based on both technical and stylistic evidence. In other words, it has to be a pastiche or, in view of the signature which seems to have been added by the author of the painting, perhaps a forgery. Initially, we shared Liedtke's view that the painting's origin should be dated to *'the other side of Arent de Gelder'*, that is, after 1727.[363] Arguments, set out in the catalogue text, relating to the history of the prototypes on which the composition and costuming must have been based, i.e. the *Girl leaning on a window-sill* from 1645 in Dulwich College (IV 7 fig. 6) and the *Self-portrait* from 1654 in Kassel (IV 7 fig. 7) make a date of origin before 1700 more likely. In the light of the discovery that 'self-portraits' of Rembrandt were made by workshop assistants, we must ask whether this painting after all may belong to that category. It is not entirely impossible. Provisionally, however, we find that the material characteristics of the painting – concerning both the preparation of the support and the painting technique – argue against this.

– The self-portraits from 1652 to 1658 – Problems of attribution

The two works that mark the beginning and the end of the period to be discussed now, the *Large Vienna self-portrait* (IV 8; figs. 266, 276, 18 and 55) and the (even larger) *Self-portrait* in the Frick Collection (IV 14; figs. 272 and 286), belong with those paintings that have so strongly shaped our idea of the late Rembrandt's painted oeuvre, and of his physiognomic appearance, that it would seem without question that they must be autograph works.

In several crucial respects, these two paintings are each other's opposite. In the Vienna painting, Rembrandt's body clothed with a brown tabbard almost dissolves into the background, while the light appears to be concentrated exclusively on his head and right shoulder. In the Frick painting, it is not only the head that catches the light (where this is not shadowed by the wide beret) but also the body clad in light materials and, equally if not more so, the prominent hands. The pictorial coherence of the image as a whole, however, is in both paintings as characteristic of Rembrandt as, for example, in the *Aristotle* in New York (Br. 478), the *Woman wading in a pond (Callisto in the wilderness)* in London (Br. 437), the *Portrait of Jan Six* in Amsterdam (Br. 276), the *Bathseba* in Paris (Br. 521), or as the *Jacob's blessing* in Kassel (Br. 525), works from the same period with which the two self-portraits share the same kind of brushwork, the same coherence of light effects integrated with the play of tonal gradation evoking a specific plasticity, and most of all the relation between the brushwork and the illusion thereby achieved. The diversified *peinture* with occasional broad brushstrokes characterizes the formal conception in both self-portraits, resulting in places in a rugged, rather angular formal language that typifies most of Rembrandt's oeuvre from this period.

The Large Vienna self-portrait (IV 8) and the 'Self-portrait' in Florence (IV 12), a confrontation

In writing the catalogue text that relates to the *Large Vienna self-portrait*, the present author primarily addressed the quality of that painting and therefore looked for the relation between the way the painter had used his resources and the powerful impression the painting makes (see IV 8).[364] Consequently, the stylistic means and the quality of the painting so specific to Rembrandt are already to some extent characterized in that catalogue entry.

To gain a sharper picture of the pictorial means used and the specific quality of the execution of the face in the *Large Vienna self-portrait*, it is useful to compare this face with that face in the *'Self-portrait'* from the 1650s in the

363 W. Liedtke in the catalogue of the *Taft Museum. European and American Paintings*, Cincinnati 1995, no. 1962.1, pp. 157-159, esp. 158.

364 See also E. van de Wetering, 'Rembrandt und das Licht', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt*, Albertina, Vienna 2004, pp. 26-39, esp. 35-37.

Fig. 266. Rembrandt, *Large self-portrait*, 1652, canvas 112.1 x 81 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (IV 8) (See for detail face fig. 55).



Fig. 267. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1654, canvas 72 x 58.5 cm. Kassel, Staatliche Museen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (IV 9)



Fig. 268. Rembrandt workshop, *'Self-portrait'*, *c.* 1655, canvas 69 x 59 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (IV 12) (See for detail face fig. 56).



Fig. 269. Rembrandt workshop, *'Self-portrait'*, 1655, panel 64.3 x 50.8 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (IV 11)



Uffizi (IV 12), a work which, as we shall see, we cannot accept as an autograph self-portrait by Rembrandt (compare figs. 55 and 56 of this chapter). Although the head in the latter painting is turned further to the right and the face lies deeper in the shadow of the beret, for the rest the correspondences are striking, as striking at least as the differences. It is however the differences that alert one to Rembrandt's qualities in the Viennese painting.

The most important differences between the two paintings concern the consistency of the paint and the brushwork in relation to form and lighting. It is not by chance that the Uffizi painting was characterized in its first description, between 1702 and 1710, as *'fatto di colpi'* (literally, done with blows [of the brush], meaning boldly painted). Comparison with the *Large Vienna self-portrait* shows that in this respect the Uffizi painting is '*plus Rembrandt que Rembrandt*'. In all lit parts, the paint has

Fig. 270. Rembrandt workshop, *Self-portrait with sketchbook*, *c.* 1655, canvas 74.5 x 61 cm; copy after a lost original. San Francisco, Cal., The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Coll. (IV 10 version 2)



Fig. 271. Rembrandt, *Small self-portrait*, *c.* 1655, panel 48.9 x 40.2 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (IV 13)



Fig. 272. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1658, canvas 132.4 x 102.8 cm. New York, N.Y., The Frick Collection (IV 14)



been applied with loose broad, if not coarse strokes of the brush only incidentally related to the plasticity of the head. (This coarseness is further accentuated by the fact that any unevenness in the paint surface, caused by the bristles of the brush, stands out clearly because the 'troughs' of the relief are filled with old, darkened varnish.) In the Vienna painting only the highlights on the cheekbone, the nose and (a single stroke) on the chin have been painted with a moderate *impasto*. In that painting, Rembrandt deliberately sought, as usual, a continuity in the plasticity of the face, whereas the author of the Uffizi painting was apparently satisfied with strong local effects. One need compare only the transition from the chin via the double chin to the neck. The suggestion of a loose skin, hanging in folds, in the Vienna painting is astonishingly convincing, and achieved by minimal means. In the Uffizi painting, this passage remains a constellation of scarcely controlled *'colpi'* without the suggestion of plastic continuity. There is a difference too in the moderation of tonal values, which also contributes to the essential difference in pictorial approach and to the striking difference in the quality of the handling of light between the two paintings. The gradual, highly con-

Fig. 273. Detail (1:1) of fig. 267 and cat. no. IV 9 fig. 1, showing the painting before the acid attack in 1978



trolled diminution of tonal values in the flesh tints from the cheekbone to the neck in the Vienna painting, so that the flesh colour of the chin becomes gradually cooler, contrasts with the abrupt and confused transitions in tone and colour in the Uffizi painting. In the Vienna painting, moreover, one observes a subtle play of reflections in shadowed parts of the head and neck, a refined use of subdued light that enables Rembrandt to lend a convincing continuity to the rounded surfaces of his forms. In this respect too, the Uffizi painting evinces only a weak echo of Rembrandt's mastery. For the positioning of that painting in the production of Rembrandt's workshop, see the following section.

Self-portrait, Kassel (IV 9)

The face of the *Self-portrait* in Kassel from 1654 has been so ruined, first through severe cleaning and related overpainting (fig. 273) and finally, as the result of an acid attack in 1977 and the subsequent attempt at restoration (fig. 274; see also IV 9 figs. 6 and 7), that the painting in its present condition must be considered a mere shadow of its original appearance. Only a few virtually undamaged passages, the shirt collar, the lit part of the tabbard and the chain, offer any basis for a microstylistic analysis that could bear on the question of authenticity. As insignificant as these passages may seem, comparisons

Fig. 274. Detail (1:1) of fig. 267 and cat. no. IV 9 fig. 1, after restoration in 1978



with similar details in paintings from roughly the same period do yield significant evidence in support of the attribution of this painting to Rembrandt. In all three passages under analysis, it is a question of the brush movement and the handling of the paint applied in the suggestion of certain elements of the image.

In the shirt collar in the Kassel painting a peinture has been used that is almost halfway between drawing and painting (fig. 275). The collar has been first roughly denoted by a few relatively broad strokes. The paint applied here was of such a consistency that the brush strokes, where the movement of the brush ends by lightly grazing the surface, leave a coarse, grainy effect and rather crumbly outlines. These 'grainy' effects – which can be seen as Rembrandt's deliberately applied 'sfumato'[365] – contribute to the atmospheric impression of the painting. Over these strokes, a rapidly drawn line of thick paint has been applied which becomes wider at the tip of the collar. In contrast to the broad strokes with their grainy, atmospheric sfumato, these sharp, thick lines force themselves on the viewer's perception according to the principle known in Rembrandt's day as '*kenlijkheyt*' (perceptibility).[366] The shirt collar, at first sight such an

365 Van de Wetering 1997, p. 188.
366 See p. 307.

Fig. 275. Detail (1:1) of fig. 267 and cat. no. IV 9 fig. 1



unassuming part of the painting, has in this way considerable functional significance in the creation of the spatial illusion. One finds the effect described here generously applied in the white drapery of the *Bathseba* in Paris (Br. 521), painted one year earlier. The tempo of the brush movements in the collar of the Kassel *Self-portrait* (under discussion here) is characteristic of Rembrandt, even if difficult to put into words. The grainy edges and the tailing off of the brush strokes can be seen as indications of that tempo. The shirt collar in the *Large Vienna self-portrait* from 1652 shows strong affinities with the collar in the Kassel *Self-portrait*, except that in this painting – in several ways more sketchily executed – Rembrandt has also scratched in the wet paint in order to define the form more precisely (compare figs. 275 and 276).

We can also find parallels with the execution of the chain in the Kassel painting in other chains in paintings we consider to be works by Rembrandt. This chain is indicated with several fleeting dabs, each continued by the next but also interrupted by dots of thicker paint that suggest the glinting reflection of light on the links (fig.

Fig. 276. Detail (1:1) of fig. 266 and cat. no. IV 8 fig. 1



Fig. 277. Rembrandt, *Unfinished portrait of a boy*, canvas 63.8 x 54.4 cm, detail (1:1). Pasadena, The Norton Simon Museum (Br. 119)

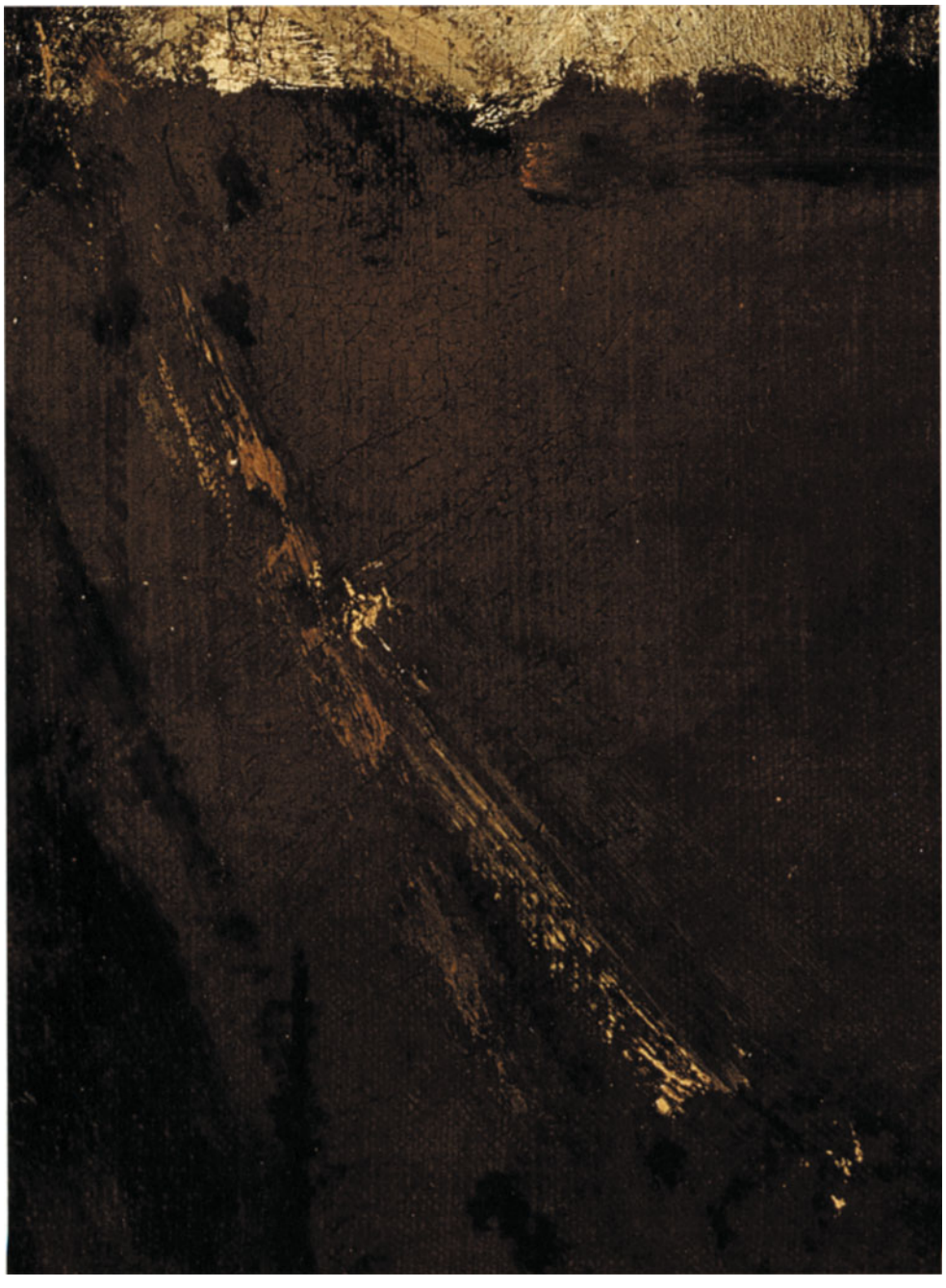


Fig. 278. Rembrandt, *Joseph accused by Potiphar's wife*, 1655, canvas 113.5 x 90 cm, detail (1:1). Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie (Br. 524)



Fig. 279. Detail of fig. 267 and cat. no. IV 9 fig. 1

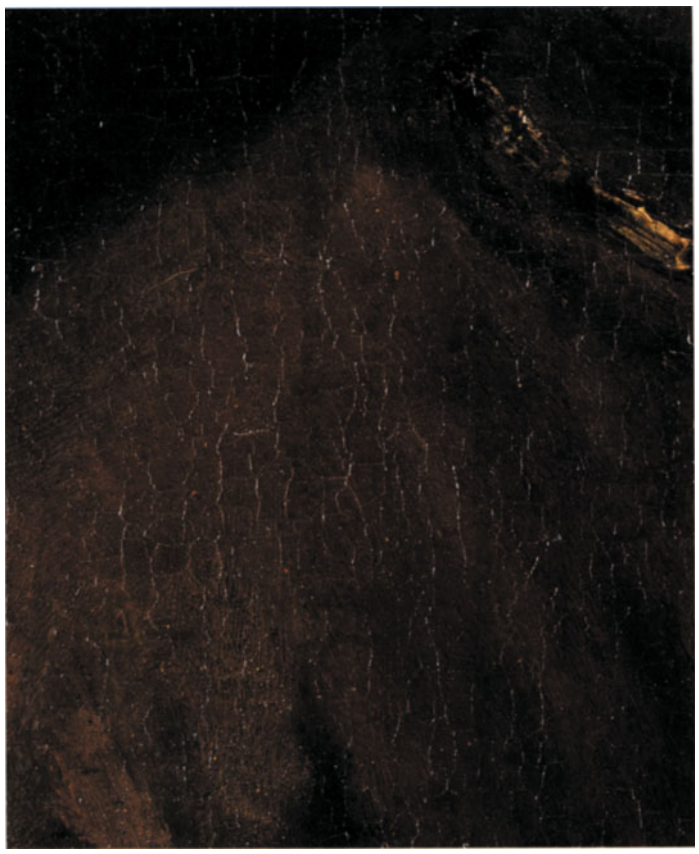


Fig. 280. Detail of fig. 266 and cat. no. IV 8 fig. 1



275). These dots have been placed in a fleeting rhythmic movement with the brush repeatedly more or less lifted. It is the combination of a particular speed and a specific rhythm in this movement that seems to be characteristic for the painter of this chain. The movement in denoting the chain with rhythmically placed dots can also be found – on a larger scale and even more schematically – in the unfinished child's portrait from *c.* 1655 in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena (fig. 277). It can also be found, albeit on a much smaller scale, denoting the chain on Potiphar's turban in the Berlin *Joseph and Potiphar's wife* from 1655 (fig. 278).

A third element in the Kassel painting that lends itself to comparison with a similar passage in a painting by Rembrandt from the same period is the lit folds on the shoulder. This passage bears strong affinity with the corresponding part in the *Large Vienna self-portrait* (compare figs. 279 and 280). As indicated above, the Viennese painting is in every respect more sketchily executed than the Kassel *Self-portrait* under discussion. Undoubtedly the larger format played a role in this. Just as Rembrandt takes a 'shortcut' in the shirt collar of the Vienna painting by scratching in the wet paint (see fig. 276), so too in the folds on the shoulder he sometimes makes use of fleetingly added dark lines. For the rest, both the manner of working, the style and the effect obtained in the two passages of the Kassel and the large Vienna *Self-portraits* are strikingly similar. This similarity is evident in the first place in the way the illusion is produced of strong illumination falling on the heavy, dark material. Then, the relief of the folds is suggested with subdued tonal gradations, using rather pastose paint. These effects are achieved in both paintings by applying a combination of broad paintmarks, subtly variegated in tone and colour, to a thin monochrome underlayer on which an initial general indication of the folds had already been introduced in black and brown paint. In the last stages, the darker concavities of the folds are locally indicated – more in the Vienna than in the Kassel painting – with black lines, as mentioned earlier. The effect of light falling on the shoulder is in both paintings enhanced by the upper arm dipping into a zone of shadow occupying the extreme foreground of the pictorial space.

Taking everything together, the striking similarities in the loosely defined, yet seemingly solid forms, and the tempo and rhythm of the brushwork with which these forms are evoked, all points to an origin of both paintings from the same hand and mind – of Rembrandt.

Two 'satellites' of the Kassel Self-portrait of 1654 (IV 12 and IV 11)

The *'Self-portrait'* in Florence (IV 12), which was earlier confronted with the *Large Vienna self-portrait* (see figs. 55 and 56) and disattributed by us as a possible Rembrandt, has played no role in the Rembrandt literature since Slive in 1953 suggested it was a copy. However, in view of the extensive repentir in the collar, the painting, can hardly be considered a copy. For this reason, we tried in the catalogue of the *Rembrandt by himself* exhibition (1999-2000, cat.no. 68) to keep open the possibility that we might, after all, be dealing with an autograph work. We were led to this position by the fact that there is consider-

able evidence for an origin in Rembrandt's workshop. Now we are certain that others in his workshop produced 'self-portraits' of Rembrandt (see pp. 117-132), it appears likely that the Uffizi *Self-portrait* is one of these. In our remarks on method at the beginning of this chapter we proposed that the Uffizi painting could well have been based on the Kassel *Self-portrait* from 1654 (compare figs. 273 and 274; see also p. 129, Table D). The bearing of the head in the Uffizi painting virtually matches that in the Kassel painting, while the forehead and eyes are very similarly shadowed by the headgear.

Another work, long considered an authentic self-portrait of Rembandt, the so-called *Mendelssohn 'Self-portrait'* in Vienna (IV 11), is also in our view a workshop variant which, like the '*Self-portrait*' in the Uffizi, discussed above, is based on the Kassel *Self-portrait* of 1654 (compare figs. 267 and 269). The painting's condition and an extremely thick layer of varnish make it difficult to get a clear idea of the *peinture* of large areas of this work. As far as it is possible to judge, the poor, rather ineffective execution argues against an attribution to Rembrandt. But the bearing of Rembrandt's figure is much more telling. It is often noticeable that the authors of either literal or of more or less free copies after Rembrandt's self-portraits (e.g. IV 10) or other paintings (e.g. the Munich *Abraham's sacrifice* (III A 108, *Copy* 2) have great difficulty in aligning the head correctly in relation to the body. In the case of the Mendelssohn '*Self-portrait*' (fig. 281), close scrutiny shows that the neck is much too long – not in relation to the shirt collar, but certainly in relation to the shoulder level implied where the bottom edge of the upright collar curves round to the back. Nor is this the only construction fault in this painting. In relation to an imaginary vertical axis through the mid-point of the mouth, the eyes are displaced compared with, for example, the construction of the head in the Kassel *Self-portrait* from 1654 (compare figs. 267 and 269). This displacement of the eyes gives the impression that Rembrandt is seen somewhat from below and is consequently looking down at the viewer. Nothing else from the construction of the head contributes to this impression. However, this distortion of the figure resulting from drawing errors has an unmistakable effect on the viewer. Richard Hamann characterized the Rembrandt of this 'self-portrait' as follows: '*1655, the year before the financial catastroph, Rembrandt in fur coat with golden chain. He stretches himself to his full height, like somebody who refuses to bend. It is the most majestic of all Rembrandt self-portraits, not with a commanding countenence but rather bearing his fate inwardly, as remote as a mountain in the shadow of evening. It is as if Rembrandt had entered a public gathering whose participants were mocking him with cat-calls and laughter. And suddenly all fall silent and rise from their seats.*'[367] This example of the unrestrained tendency to interpret Rembrandt's face and posture may be added to those already cited on p. 136 ff. Hamann's text witnesses to the readiness of the human imagination to read into Rembrandt's gaze and posture whatever expression may be dictated by the particular stage that the developing Rembrandt myth has reached at the time. A comparable interpretation of Rembrandt's posture in this painting was implied in a satirical lithograph, made by Albert Hahn in 1906, on the occasion of the festivities surrounding Rembrandt's 300th birthday (fig. 282).

Small Vienna self-portrait (IV 13)

The so-called *Small Vienna self-portrait* (figs. 271, 283) is probably preserved only as a fragment and has been partly obscured by restorations and overpaintings in connection with a number of serious cracks in the (nutwood) panel.

In several respects, the painting shows close affinities with the large Vienna and the Frick self-portraits, although, as discussed in the section above devoted to physiognomic aspects (pp. 94-96), there are remarkable differences in the scale and setting of the eyes. In the *Small Vienna self-portrait* the eyes are larger and closer together than in the other two works. However, if one compares the large Vienna and the Frick self-portraits, differences in this regard are also apparent: in the *Large Vienna self-portrait* the eyes stand remarkably far apart and are proportionally smaller than in the Frick painting.

Given the painting's condition, only the lit part of the face is eligible for analysis. The sharp edge of the shadow on the right cheek (as seen by the beholder) borders on one of several areas of overpainting that completely cover the shaded parts of the face. It is remarkable that the manner of painting in the lit parts is strikingly similar to comparable passages in the large Vienna and the Frick self-portraits, both on canvas (see figs. 55 and 286). Only the vertical brushstrokes with which the ground is applied to the panel locally interfere with the brushstrokes. As in the two larger paintings mentioned above, the subtle *modelé* in the face is the result of a process in which thickly and thinly applied paint layers, dabs or smooth brushstrokes, alternately overlap or cover each other resulting in a layered structure and a surface texture that evoke the texture and translucency of ageing human skin. This mimetic feat will be discussed in more detail below when dealing with the Kenwood *Self-portrait* (see pp. 307-311). In this context, the degree of controlled yet, as it were, at the same time aleatory brushwork is quite remarkable. As Joshua Reynolds observes in his discussion of Rembrandt's technique: '*Works produced in an accidental manner will have the same free, unrestrained air as the*

367 '*1655, dem Jahr vor dem finanziellen Zusammenbruch, Rembrandt im Pelzmantel mit goldener Kette. Er reckt sich auf wie jemand, der sich nicht beugen will. Es entsteht das majestätischte Rembrandtbildnis, aber nicht gebieterisch, sondern sein Schicksal verschlossen in sich tragend – weitab wie ein Berg im Abendschatten. Es ist als ob Rembrandt in eine Versammlung tritt, deren Teilnehmer eben noch mit Geschrei und Gelächter über ihn gespottet. Und plötzlich verstummen alle und erheben sich von den Sitzen.*' R. Hamann, *Rembrandt*, Berlin 1948, p. 122; F. Erpel quoted Hamann's text with approval in his *Die Selbstbildnisse Rembrandts*, Berlin 1973, p. 190.

Fig. 281. Detail (1:1) of fig. 269 and cat. no. IV 11 fig. 1



Fig. 282. Satirical lithograph referring to the festivities on the occasion of Rembrandt's 300th birthday by Albert Hahn, *Het Land van Rembrandt*, Amsterdam 15 juli 1906, fig. 1



works of nature, whose particular combinations seem to depend upon accident.'[368] This play with 'accident' is characteristic of Rembrandt's manner of painting in his late works, which do indeed usually have *'the same free, unrestrained air as the works of nature'*.[369] A visible brushstroke, however smoothly and precisely applied, always has a certain autonomy. This is also true in a painting as controlled and smoothly executed a face as that of the *Self-portrait* in Karlsruhe. It would seem, however, that in this respect Rembrandt deliberately changed course in his self-portraits from 1652 onwards. Even in a relatively finely executed self-portrait like the one in Edinburgh one can recognize, in the face, this role of 'chance' (see fig. 53).[370] It is evident from the fairly thorough treatment given to the subject in Samuel van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst* of 1678 that there was, in the seventeenth century, a keen awareness of the special role of the 'accidental'. [371] It is not at all unlikely that Van Hoogstraten was here expounding ideas that he had assimilated in Rembrandt's workshop. In the work of Van Hoogstraten's contemporary and fellow townsman Arent de Gelder, usually referred to as Rembrandt's last pupil, the 'accidental' played a decisive and undoubtedly a consciously permitted role.[372] One finds the 'accidental manner' in Rembrandt's late self-portraits, particularly in the lit part of the face. An example is Rembrandt's rendering of the transition of the reddish lip with its own type of skin and texture to the flesh-coloured skin below it near the lit corner in the mouth (see figs. 55, 283, 286). The brushwork in this detail in its 'accidental' way suggests the subtlety of such detail in a face. The hint of a local reflection, indicating the moist gloss of the lip, brings an extra element to this transition.

In the methodological part of this chapter (see pp. 89-144), the attempt was made to develop a set of generally applicable criteria of authenticity, ending in the rather hesitant statement that 'ultimately, it is perhaps the imponderable sensitivity of Rembrandt's brushwork with its specific and exceptionally functional differentiation that plays the most important role in the "recognition" of a painting as a work by Rembrandt. It is precisely these highly significant "traces of the hand" the judgement of which remains one of the most subjective, least communicable criteria for the recognition of an authentic Rembrandt' (p. 117). The phenomenon raised above, of the specific application, or rather the allowing, of controlled accident in painting, particularly in the face, would indeed seem to offer a crucial key to the recognition of Rembrandt's 'hand' and 'mind' in his late works. The same is also true of the atmospheric effect that arises through the differentiation in the ways in which the contours relate to their surrounding. In these regards, at least as far as the well-preserved parts of the painting are concerned, we believe we can clearly recognize Rembrandt's hand in the *Small Vienna self-portrait* (see fig. 283).

Self-portrait with sketchbook (IV 10)

As already observed, the prototype of the different versions of the *Self-portrait with sketchbook*, dealt with in some detail above (see pp. 101-108 and figs. 29-44), must have been lost. In our opinion, the most reliable image that has come down to us is the print of Jacob Gole (see figs. 32, 39, 40 and 285). This mezzotint gives the impression that the original painting must have been worked up in remarkably thorough detail, which may be correlated with the fact that Rembrandt employed several *trompe l'oeil* formulae; his hand holding the sketchbook rests on the inner edge of a painted frame, while his fingers and the corner of the sketchbook protrude beyond that frame in the same way as Agatha Bas' fan in her *trompe l'oeil* portrait from 1641 (see fig. 238). Consequently, the figure in the lost original must have given the impression of being placed in the same

368 J. Reynolds, *Discourses on Art, 1769-1790*, ed. Robert R. Wark, New Haven/London, p. 223.

369 A notable exception is the *Portrait of Catherina Hooghsaet* (Br. 391).

370 Compare p. 16, figs. 18 and 17 of exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000.

371 Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit.[57], pp. 237/38 and 280; see also J.A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*, diss. 1964; edition used: Amsterdam 1979, pp. 165-169; see also H.W. Janson, 'The "Image made by chance" in Renaissance thought', in *De Artibus Opuscola XL, Essays in honor of Erwin Panofsky*, 1961, pp. 254-266.

372 E. van de Wetering, 'Opmerkingen over de relatie tussen techniek, stijl en toeval bij Arent de Gelder; een vergelijking met Rembrandt' in exhib. cat. *Arent de Gelder, Rembrandts laatste leerling*, Dordrechts Museum, Dordrecht/Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Keulen, Gent (1998), pp. 18-35.

Fig. 283. Detail (1:1) of fig. 271 and cat. no. IV 13 fig. 1



space as the viewer. Of course, also paintings *without* such explicit *trompe l'oeil* tricks – especially those with life-size figures – would be experienced by the seventeenth century viewer as life itself. We can infer this from a passage in Houbraken's *Groote Schouburgh* in which the extreme illusionism of Rembrandt's (self-)portraits was praised. Houbraken writes: *'Among a multitude of his portraits that were worthy of fame there was one ... that he had painted after his own likeness which was so artfully and powerfully elaborated that even the most vigorous brushwork of Van Dyck and Rubens could not match it, aye the head appeared to protrude from it and address the beholders.'*[373] The fact that the *Self-portrait with a sketchbook*, painted around 1655, harks back to *trompe l'oeil* formulae employed by Rembrandt only around 1640 might suggest that it was a commissioned work. As argued earlier, it is conceivable that a number of large-sized, or otherwise ambitious self-portraits from the '50s and '60s were painted on commission (see p. 97).

Although the question of authenticity scarcely arises in the case of a lost prototype of a group of surviving copies, the question was nonetheless implicitly answered – positively – in the section of this chapter titled *The quality of the pictorial illusion; a demonstration* (pp. 101-108). All one need consider is the fact of the construction and the physiognomic idiosyncrasies of the subject, and the pictorial ideas behind their representation (most clearly evident from the print; fig. 285) to see that this lost painting may have belonged among the best of Rembrandt's self-portraits from the 1650s. In principle, the copy in San Francisco (fig. 284), which we are convinced was painted in Rembrandt's studio, shows in its brushwork and the handling of form a similarity with the self-portraits in Vienna and in the Frick Collection (cf. figs. 283 and 286), even though the workmanship of the copyist appears more superficial and the suggestion of form less subtly controlled than in the latter paintings and, we must assume, in the lost original.

Self-portrait, New York, Frick Collection (IV 14)

Analysing the exceptional pictorial richness of the *Self-portrait* in the Frick Collection (figs. 272, 286) puts other demands than the assessment of most of the other self-portraits. With these paintings as far as the question of authenticity is concerned it seems justifiable to mainly concentrate on the execution of the head. The way in which the head in the Frick *Self-portrait* is painted has already been discussed elsewhere in this book (see pp. 111-116); the brushwork in that head – technically as well as in relation to the continuity of the modelling of plastic forms that is so characteristic of Rembrandt – undoubtedly fits our idea of his technique and style of the 1650's. It is rather the richly clothed body and the way the two hands are painted that now call for analysis (IV 14 fig. 1).

Although Rembrandt will have conceived this work in the first instance as a self-portrait (in the sense of *'a portrait of Rembrandt by the painter himself'*), the possibility has to be allowed – given the way Rembrandt is attired – that we are also dealing here with a self-*portrait historié*. Rembrandt's partly shadowed head crowns a powerful, almost monumental body. It is no wonder that some authors found this frontally placed figure alluring, dominating the viewer with a regal air. However, the monumentalization of the mainly yellow-clad figure rather points in another direction. In one of the two paintings by Rembrandt that can with certainty be considered 'self-*portraits historiés*', the one in Cologne, Rembrandt portrays himself as the historical figure Zeuxis, the painter from classical antiquity, with whom he perhaps identified because the latter was considered the painter of human expression *par excellence* (see IV 25 *Comments*). In the case of the Frick *Self-portrait* too, although for a different reason, he could well be referring to a historical painter. In this connection, Marieke de Winkel has drawn attention to the text of Karel van Mander where he gives an account of the way in which Lucas van Leyden and Jan Gossaert dressed (see Chapter II, p. 76 and IV 14, p. 466). In the light of Rembrandt's high regard for the work of Lucas van Leyden,[374] the identification of Rembrandt with this famous fellow-Leydener, both painter and engraver, is not such a far-fetched idea. Having related that Lucas spent a great deal of time with Jan Gossaert of Mabuse, and that the latter *'dressed very grandly and beautifully, possessing a robe of golden cloth'*, Van Mander goes on to report of Lucas van Leyden that he too wore *'a jerkin of yellow silk camlet which in the sunshine also had the lustre of gold'*.[375] Both the strongly reflected lights glinting on the yellow material of Rembrandt's jerkin, especially on the chest, and in the refined suggestion of lustre where the material of the sixteenth century garment spreads over Rembrandt's lap, make it clear that he deliberately and emphatically intended to depict himself in a lustrous yellow garment. Chapter II of this book discusses the evidence that the attire in a number of Rembrandt's self-portraits did contain allusions to great fifteenth and expecially sixteenth century precursors. In the light of Van Mander's text, therefore, the prominence of the yellow lustrous material in the Frick *Self-portrait* could well be seen as a reference to Lucas van Leyden.

What is fascinating in this painting, and typical of Rembrandt, is the variation in the surface textures of the different materials shown, including the human skin.

The present author has argued elsewhere that the young Rembrandt, together with Jan Lievens experimented around 1626 with new possibilities for depicting materials. The two young painters were apparently seeking new ways of varying the texture and manner of working up the paint analogous to the differences in

373 Houbraken, op. cit.[53], I, 1718, p. 269.

374 See for instance Strauss *Doc.*, nos. 1642/10 and 1668/5.

375 K. van Mander, *The lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters*, Vol. I, H. Miedema (ed.), Doornspijk 1994, fol. 214v/0. 117. '... [Lukas] *was overal vergheselschapt met den verhaelden Jan de Mabuse den welken hem seer statigh en prachtigh droeg, hebbende aen een cleedt van goude laken en Lukas hadde aen eenen rock van ghele syden Cameloot, dat in de sonne oock eenen glans hadde als van gout'* (*'everywhere he was in the company of the aforementioned Jan de Mabuse, who acted in a very stately manner, resplendent in a garment of gold cloth, and Lucas wore a jerkin of yellow silk camlet which in the sunshine also had the lustre of gold'*).

Fig. 284. Detail (1:1) of fig. 270 and cat. no. IV 10 fig. 2



Fig. 285. Jacob Gole, mezzotint after lost original of *'Self-portrait with sketchbook'*, *c.* 1700, detail enlarged (IV 10 fig. 1)



Fig. 286. Detail (1:1) of fig. 272 and cat. no. IV 14 fig. 1



texture of the materials being rendered. Rembrandt, subsequently and particularly in his late period, would resume these experiments,[376] an approach which is very obvious in the Frick *Self-portrait.* The darker velvet of the cloak, the yellow satin of the jerkin, the linen of the shirt and the material of the red sash wound in folds, the human skin of the face and hands, the gilt-brocaded neckcloth stuck into the jerkin and the shine on the cane held in Rembrandt's left hand, all these elements of the depicted figure and attire when compared with each other demonstrate an emphatic diversification of the paint substance and brushwork. One might almost say that each of these constituent parts of the painting manifests its own style; yet at the same time it is astonishing how the painting coheres so magnificently. How does it contain this diversity in such an almost self-evident manner?

The most obvious reply to this question is that in everyday life the viewer is accustomed to a wide diversity of materials and differing surface structures within the context of perceiving a single object. We accept this variety because we perceive it in the context in which it occurs, in the case of this painting a human figure clad in different materials. In this sense, Rembrandt is an arch-realist; but unlike Anthony van Dyck, for instance, he appears to accentuate this variety. In a painting such as the Frick *Self-portrait* this diversity is given coherence by two other factors apart from the context: by the treatment of light and shadow and by a specific temperament deriving from by the personality of the artist.

With the predominantly light attire in this painting, one is inclined to overlook the consistent and highly refined management of the light, which contributes strongly to a particular illusion. The lightest passage in the painting as a whole is formed by Rembrandt's right hand and the light material of the shirt sleeve falling in folds from his wrist and underarm. One fold of the half-length yellow sleeve over the shirt sleeve catches something of the incident light falling from above- and anterior left. The perception of the intensity of that painted incident light is enhanced by the way the lustrous yellow material of the jerkin reflects in the shadowed inside of this yellow outer sleeve.

An equally important role in the suggestion of the incidence of light is played by the shadow cast by the arm and the dark cloak hanging over the arm of the chair. Remarkably, Rembrandt has not accentuated this shadow starkly, despite the intensity of the light. This shadow was originally darker, but that darker zone has been lightened again with scumbles using toned down yellow paint. This intervention is striking because in other places in the painting, e.g. below the sash with the pomegranate and by the cast shadow of the cane on the hand, the intensity and direction of the light are given an extra emphasis. The lightening of the shadow on the yellow jerkin has a particular effect on the viewer, as though in the zone of shadow the attenuated, reflected light lingers, as it were. This solution also means that the continuity of the form of the yellow jerkin is not too much disturbed.

The young Rembrandt must have already been aware that the introduction of strong reflections disrupts the organization of light in a painting while the intensity of the suggested light is all the more enhanced. He already applies this technique in the *Judas repentant* (I A 15) or in the *Raising of Lazarus* (I A 30). In the same way in the Frick *Self-portrait* shiny reflections are applied with clear white in the (apparently) gold brocade neckcloth round Rembrandt's neck. The shine on the walking stick similarly enhances the illusion of light. Through such details, however casually they seem to have been applied, the painting acquires an unusual gleam which contributes enormously to the intended illusion.

The lighting of the hand with the cane (fig. 287) in particular governs the spatial effect of the painting. This hand alone, the way the thumb, fore- and middle finger catch the light while the upper part of the cane casts its shadow over the back of the hand, so characteristically demonstrates Rembrandt's conception of form, light and colour that it confirms the obvious attribution of the painting to Rembrandt. What is most characteristic of Rembrandt in this passage is the way in which *peinture* and the intended illusion are interrelated and the degree to which the control of form remains visible within the freedom of the treatment of the hand. In this convincing suggestion of form, the edges and tails of the brush strokes play a significant function, both in the striking definition of the form and in the creation of the illusion that the skin catches and holds the light. The reddish glow in the fingertips and knuckle of the forefinger is an essential contribution to this latter aspect of the illusion. The relation of the vivid shine on the cane to the light accents on the fingers accentuates the very different natures of the two depicted materials; at the same time the shiny reflection on the cane above the forefinger show a similar graininess as the *peinture* of the skin. This similarity lends pictorial coherence to such a passage. It is this specific quality of Rembrandt's conception of painterly illusion that appears throughout the painting in different variants. The word 'rhythmic' is too one-dimensional to characterize this phenomenon, for time and again the illusion aimed at plays a part, in such a way however that the rendering of and the mutual relations between very differently characterized materials never fully becomes a descriptive imitation, even with the sensitively modelled head or such a delicately painted element as the sash with the pomegranate button. One can also see in such a detail how casually a sharp contour arises by the orange-yellow touch to the left of the join between the sash and the pomegranate (see IV 14 fig. 1). There are several such sharper contours introduced into the painting, e.g. at the boundary between the scarf and Rembrandt's neck, along the bottom edge of the sash or the sharp edge between light and shadow on the hand. They seem to draw the eye of the beholder whenever he

376 Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 173-179.

Fig. 287. Detail (1:1) of fig. 272 and cat. no. IV 14 fig. 1



wants to focus. It is as though the perception of the portrayed figure's concrete presence is enhanced through a kind of extrapolation from the visual stimuli from such places; and it is this presence – in whatever way it was enhanced – which makes the confrontation with this painting such an extraordinary experience.

– The self-portraits around 1659 – Problems of attribution *(IV 15-18)*

The four painted self-portraits attributed to Rembrandt (whether today or in the past), which in our opinion must have originated in or around 1659 (figs. 288-291), demonstrate astonishing differences in their execution – both between themselves and in relation to Rembrandt's self-portraits from before and after that year. This explains why, at one time or another in the past, the authenticity of all four of them has been doubted (see p. 110, Tables A and B).

With the small painting in Aix en Provence (IV 16), and the one in Stuttgart (IV 17) (which surfaced only in 1961) (figs. 290 and 291), doubts were so widespread that both paintings were dropped almost entirely from the Rembrandt literature. In the case of the painting in Edinburgh (IV 15; fig. 288), which is unusual in the thorough detail with which it has been worked out, doubt as to its authenticity only persisted in the circle of the RRP only as long as we entertained a strictly 'evolutionary' model of stylistic change in Rembrandt's oeuvre. However, once other ideas of Rembrandt's development and the potential stylistic variations in his work were admitted, it soon became clear that this doubt was unjustified, for there are many specifically Rembrandtesque features in the execution of this painting (see fig. 53).

The Edinburgh painting, nevertheless, remains a remarkable case, not only for its astonishing illusionism and, if our analysis concerning the original size of the painting is correct, for its unusual *mise-en-toile*. A particularly surprising feature is the lack of force in the light, such that the painting is in a certain sense 'muted'. This may be a consequence of the extreme detail in which it is elaborated and the virtual absence of light-reflecting impasto. In addition, although it is difficult to assess, the old varnish – introduced to the best of our knowledge in 1933 – may also contribute to the painting's dull appearance. Although on a smaller scale than in most of Rembrandt's self-portraits, the Edinburgh painting shows the freedom and variety characteristic of his way of working in its suggestion of the lively surface structure and colour of the skin. Particular traces of the brush, sometimes accidental, it would seem, play a role both in the catching and reflection of light on the paint surface and in the suggestion of plasticity of the facial topology. The lit features, such as the forehead, eyelids, and nose emerge from the shadows in differing ways. In their variety and the resulting suggestion of reality, these transitions from light to shade contribute to the atmospheric effect within the picture space that the late Rembrandt was constantly striving for.

Abandoning the 'evolutionist' approach also had its repercussion in our discussions concerning the authenticity of the Washington *Self-portrait* from 1659 (IV 18; fig. 289), since the differences in the general character and the 'scale' of the *peinture* between this painting and, for example, the *Self-portrait* in the Frick Collection painted one year earlier (see fig. 272), or the two self-portraits from 1660 to be discussed below, need no longer be regarded as decisively significant in this question of the painting's authenticity (see figs. 289 and 54; compare figs. 272 and 286, 298 and 310, 299 and 311). The Washington *Self-portrait*'s authenticity is seriously doubted by a number of Rembrandt specialists, including Egbert Haverkamp Begemann and Christian Tümpel, the latter preferring to designate it a work of Rembrandt's school.[377] Those members of the RRP who had studied the painting in 1970, at the beginning of the project, also came to the tentative conclusion that it could not be an autograph work by Rembrandt. At a later stage of the project, however, our analysis of the pictorial characteristics and the general quality of the painting convinced us that the Washington painting is indeed an autograph work by Rembrandt, notwithstanding the unusual departures from his other late self-portraits – for example, in the placing of the figure (turned to the left), in the lighting (from top right) and the unusually direct *peinture* in the rendering of the flesh. The technical and stylistic characteristics of this painting and the related question of its authenticity have already been discussed in the section *Variable and invariable aspects of Rembrandt's style* in this chapter (see p. 109 ff) and in the relevant catalogue text (see IV 18, *Paint layer* and *Comments*). The arguments will therefore not be rehearsed here.

One wonders how wide the range of Rembrandt's pictorial possibilities might be. The case of the surprisingly small, evidently unfinished *Self-portrait* in Aix-en-Provence would seem to test its flexibility to the limit (figs. 290 and 292). After Gerson had removed the painting from the Rembrandt canon in 1969 as a later imitation, the general feeling over this 'Goya-esque' painting was conveyed by Jeroen Boomgaard and Rob Scheller as follows: *'The attempts to complete Rembrandt's family album, in particular, led to the oddest discoveries, such as a Self-Portrait in Aix-en-Provence which no one any longer believes to be a Rembrandt'*.[378] However, as soon as it became clear from the evidence – the material characteristics of the panel, the ground and paint layer and the traces of ageing in the different elements of the painting as a whole – that we were not dealing here with a later imitation but rather with a seventeenth century painting, we were virtually obliged to assess the painting within the context of Rembrandt's oeuvre and its derivative workshop production.

377 Tümpel 1986, cat. no. A 70 *'from Rembrandt's workshop'*. Haverkamp Begemann expressed his doubts in an oral communication.

378 J. Boomgaard and R.W. Scheller, 'A delicate balance: a brief survey of Rembrandt criticism', in exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, p. 117.

Fig. 288. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1657 or 1659, canvas 52.7 x 42.7 cm. Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland, on loan from the Duke of Sutherland (IV 15). For a 1:1 detail of the face see fig. 53



Fig. 289. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1659, canvas 84.4 x 66 cm. Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Collection (IV 18). For a 1:1 detail of the face see fig. 54

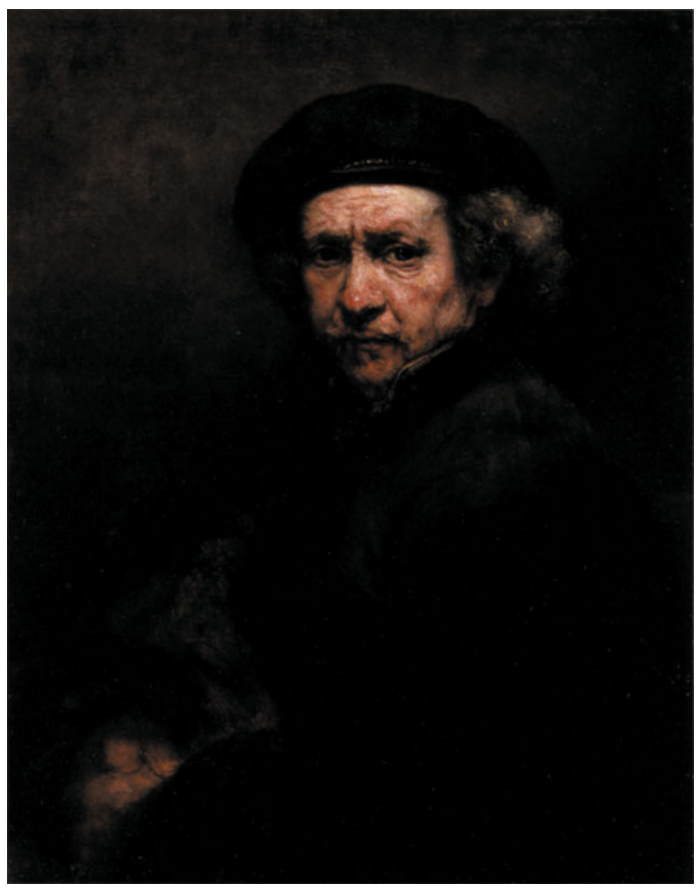


Fig. 290. Rembrandt, *Unfinished self-portrait*, *c.* 1659, panel 30.7 x 24.3 cm. Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet (IV 16)



Fig. 291. Rembrandt workshop, *'Self-portrait'*, *c.* 1659, canvas 68 x 56.5 cm. Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie (IV 17)



The fact that the painting is to a considerable extent unfinished is undoubtedly part of the reason that its expression has been – and still is – experienced quite differently, both physiognomically and pictorially, from that of Rembrandt's known portraits and self-portraits. It is hardly surprising that Francis Bacon (1909-1992) admired this painting and had a reproduction of it on the wall of his studio (fig. 293).[379] But this expression of the painting, so wholly untypical of Rembrandt in its ferocity, is mainly the effect of the way in which the image as a whole has disintegrated through the process of ageing. As a result of this unequal ageing – on the one hand the ageing of the ground that was left exposed in many places and has become lighter, and on the other hand of the paint applied to that ground, which has more or less darkened, the image of the painting has become more chaotic, even in its unfinished state, than its painter could have intended. This, for example, is the cause of the darkly charged expression of the eyes and the mouth. On further consideration, however, the working method followed is familiar and demonstrates the freedom and brio, the breadth and precision that we know from Rembrandt. Both the first lay-in (as far as it has remained visible), executed in brown paint in a graphic as well as tonal manner, and the way that high-lights and other opaque passages were applied to this sketch are familiar as Rembrandt's way of working. This is also true of the nature of the paint substance in the more elaborated passages that we recognize as being specific for Rembrandt. These features have been analysed in more detail in our entry. Now that the even smaller painted *Self-portrait* from 1632 (see IV *Addendum* 1) has turned out to be authentic, the small format of the *Self-portrait* in Aix is no longer a valid reason to doubt its authenticity. There were also apparently art-lovers and collectors who may have had an interest in small painted self-portraits of Rembrandt.

The *'Self-portrait'* in Stuttgart (figs. 291, 294 and 57, 58) had been the subject of heated debate in the years immediately following its emergence in the art world in 1961; but by the time Gerson omitted it without comment from his 1969 revised edition of Bredius' survey of Rembrandt's paintings, and also from his own oeuvre catalogue (thereby implicitly disattributing it), the commotion generated by this painting had died down. The members of the RRP who had investigated it in 1968 had reached a judgement just as negative as that of Gerson and many others. However, there remained the intriguing problem that the results of the physical investigation of the painting argued strongly in favour of its authenticity, as discussed in the above section *'Self-portraits' produced by others in Rembrandt's workshop* (see pp. 117-132) and set out in detail in our entry IV 17. The strongest argument in favour of the attribution to Rembrandt was the fact that it appeared to be a self-portrait – which is, by definition, authentic unless it is a copy; and in view of the nature of the *repentirs* visible in the X-radiographs this painting could not be a copy. The evidence appeared to point incontrovertibly to the conclusion that it had been done by Rembrandt himself. The asymmetries in the face, a criterion developed by ourselves (see the section *'Physiognomy'*, pp. 94-96), also pointed firmly to Rembrandt himself as the author who must have sat before the mirror to paint this effigy.

Rather than committing ourselves to an assessment of style and quality, and thus assenting to the prevailing view that this could not be a work by Rembrandt, we consciously allowed the tension to increase between, on the one hand, the weight of objective evidence in favour of the authenticity of this painting and, on the other hand, our negative judgement based on connoisseurship. At that stage, the painting was exhibited in the exhibition *Rembrandt by himself*, in London/The Hague, 1999/2000 as a *possibly* authentic work by Rembrandt. This impasse perhaps formed the most critical moment in the writing of this book. In retrospect it was also one of the most fruitful moments.

How this impasse was overcome can be read in the section *'Self-portraits' produced by others in Rembrandt's workshop* (see p. 117 ff). As set out there, the suspicion that others in Rembrandt's workshop had produced some of his 'self-portraits' (a suspicion which already existed) had now acquired a scientific underpinning through a sudden accumulation of new technical data relating to other 'self-portraits' which, on stylistic grounds, could not have been from Rembrandt's hand.[380]

The reasons why it appears immediately obvious to many who are familiar with Rembrandt's oeuvre that the Stuttgart painting cannot possibly be by Rembrandt need, however, to be set out explicitly. This is all the more necessary since it became evident during the 1999/2000 exhibition *Rembrandt by himself* that uninitiated viewers considered this painting to be one of the most impressive of Rembrandt's self-portraits. Had they known the extremely detailed article devoted to the painting by Julius Müller Hofstede in 1963, they would have felt confirmed in this view.[381] It is therefore useful to submit Müller Hofstede's analysis of the painting in its turn to analysis. In the process, a number of stylistic features – precisely because of the penetration of his approach – will stand out as central points which, in their singularity, were considered by Müller Hofstede as essential to Rembrandt. We, on the other hand, find that these very features provide the criteria which determine that an attribution of the painting to Rembrandt can be excluded.

There was mention above of the temptation to test the

379 With thanks to Martin Royalton-Kisch who drew our attention to this.

380 Werner Sumowski, the most insistent of all the advocates of the authenticity of this painting, once apprised of a summary of our insights published in the *IFAR Journal* in a letter of 29.4.2002 wrote: *'Your results regarding the Stuttgart painting are convincing. The reasoning leading to proof is compelling. I enjoy the fact that you have found the truth.' ('Ihre Ergebnisse zum Stuttgarter Gemälde sind überzeugend. Die Beweisführung ist zwingend. Ich freue mich, dass Sie die Wahrheit gefunden haben'.*); E. van de Wetering 'Thirty years of the Rembrandt Research Project: The Tension Between Science and Connoisseurship in Authenticating Art.' in: *IFAR Journal*, International Foundation for Art Research, New York, vol. 4, no. 2, 2001, pp. 14-24.

381 C. Müller Hofstede, 'Das Stuttgarter Selbstbildnis von Rembrandt', *Pantheon* 21 (1963), pp. 65-90.

Fig. 292. Rembrandt, *Unfinished self-portrait, c.* 1659, panel 30.7 x 24.3 cm (almost 1:1). Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet (IV 16)



Fig. 293. Francis Bacon in his studio, London 1962 (photo Irving Penn)



ultimate flexibility of the range of Rembrandt's pictorial possibilities. This question was also raised by Müller Hofstede in his article concerning the Stuttgart *'Self-portrait'*. He observed that the stylistic variation in Rembrandt's work is so great that each of his self-portraits – and this is certainly the case with the late self-portraits – seems to have been an autonomous creation. Müller Hofstede believed there was sufficient space for this painting to fit within this seemingly wide range of Rembrandt's hypothetical possibilities. After discussion of a number of Rembrandt's late self-portraits, Müller Hofstede wrote: *'Bearing in mind our knowledge of Rembrandt's late style, it is hardly surprising that each of the examples cited differs from the others and, of course, from the Stuttgart painting. It is the wide latitude for very different conceptual approaches that Rembrandt created for himself during these years, approaches whose differences lead to that variability which often leaves the viewer amazed, or even suspicious. His* [the viewer's] *conception* [of Rembrandt's late style] *developed on the basis of a few works, will not accommodate this newly discovered painting. It* [the viewer's conception] *turns out to be ossified and rigid'*.[382]

Having stated this, Müller Hofstede went on to argue that certain characteristics of the Stuttgart painting which he also found peculiar would now not only fit within this elastic conception of Rembrandt's style but were, moreover, (as interpreted by Müller Hofstede) what gave this painting a quality both exceptional and highly personal to Rembrandt. He even ended his argument with the following conclusion: *'Thanks to the penetrating power of its painterly performance, the Stuttgart self-portrait radiates a presence* [of Rembrandt himself] *that surpasses all the other creations* [i.e. late self-portraits by Rembrandt]'.[383]

A revealing example of Müller Hofstede's kind of reasoning concerns the *peinture* in the face. Müller Hofstede sees in this 'an unusually heightened freedom of performance'.[384] Accordingly, Müller Hofstede dilates upon *'the emphasis, the energy with which the physiognomy is shaped'*.[385] In an attempt to make this observation more specific he continues: *'In the short strokes that often overlap, sometimes leaving the dark ground exposed, we see a ploughing, kneading impasto which, supported by the light that here culminates with an unusually penetrating power of plasticity, transforms the face into a document of portraiture and the centre of a manifold and deepening expression.'*.[386] In this way of modelling the face, Müller Hofstede claims that Rembrandt is showing his true face without reserve, a face drawn by *'melancholy, worry and bitterness'*.[387]

It is curious to see how this analysis leads Müller Hofstede, apparently unconsciously, to an image of Rembrandt which he then takes as normative, yet an image which will no longer comfortably accomodate Rembrandt's autograph works. Thus he writes a little further on: *'In its peinture, the Cologne painting* [Rembrandt's *Self-portrait as Zeuxis laughing* (IV 25; figs. 301 and 315)] *is not so rich in variation; indeed, it is even monotonous compared to the Stuttgart painting.'*[388]

With his (in Müller Hofstede's words) *'ploughing, kneading impasto'* it seems as though the author of the Stuttgart painting has, as it were, disunited the various elements of the face (figs. 294, 295) – and not only the face: in the clothing too, plastic continuity is interrupted by divisions, whether through strongly accentuated folds of material or by local shadows. We are evidently dealing with a specific stylistic characteristic which betrays a pictorial temperament different from that of Rembrandt. Indeed, this striving would seem the very opposite of what we are used to consider as characteristic of Rembrandt, who aimed to give to his forms, wherever possible, a high degree of continuity (see p. 117). In the face of the Stuttgart painting these divisions (between the nose and upper lip, cheek and chin, the delineation of the nose and the nostril turned toward the light) are so heavily accentuated with brown or black paint that during our

382 *'Es kann im Hinblick auf unsere Kenntniss von Rembrandts Spätstil nicht überraschen, daß jedes der Beispiele vom anderen abweicht und natürlich auch vom Stuttgarter Bild. Es ist der große Spielraum für verschiedenartige Ansätze bei seinen Konzeptionen, den sich Rembrandt in diesen Jahren geschaffen hat. Sie bewirken jene, den Betrachter oft verblüffende oder gar mißtrauisch stimmende Verschiedenheit. Seine von einigen Objekten gebildete Vorstellung paßt nicht zu neu auftauchenden Bildern: sie erweist sich als erstarrt und unelastisch.'* , Müller Hofstede, op. cit.[381], pp. 82-83.

383 *'Dank der malerischen Eindringlichkeit strahlt von dem Stuttgarter Selbstbildnis eine alle anderen Schöpfungen überbietende Gegenwärtigkeit aus.'*, Müller Hofstede, op. cit.[381], p. 86.

384 *'Eine ungewöhnlich gesteigerte Gelöstheit des Vortrags.'*, Müller Hofstede, op. cit.[381], p. 79.

385 *'der Nachdruk, die Energie, womit die Physiognomie durchgeformt ist.'*, Müller Hofstede, op. cit.[381], p. 79.

386 *'In kurz absetzenden und immer wieder ansetzenden Zügen, mehrfach übereinanderliegend oder den Malgrund freilassend und in die Bildwirkung mit einbeziehend, mit tiefen Dunkelheiten im Gefolge, haben wir ein pflügendes, knetendes Impasto vor uns, das, unterstützt durch das hier kulminierende Licht, mit ungewöhnlich plastischer Eindringlichkeit das Gesicht zum Bildnisdokument und Schwerpunkt eines vielfältigen und vertieften Ausdrucks macht.'*, Müller Hofstede, op. cit.[381], p. 79.

387 *'etwas Schwermütiges, Sorgenvolles, wenn nicht Verhärmtes.'*, Müller Hofstede, op. cit.[381], p. 86.

388 *'Das Kölner Bild ist in seiner Pinselschrift nicht so abwechlungsreich, gegenüber dem Stuttgarter eher monoton.'*, Müller Hofstede, op. cit.[381], p. 84.

Fig. 294. Detail (1:1) of fig. 291 and cat. no. IV 17 fig.1



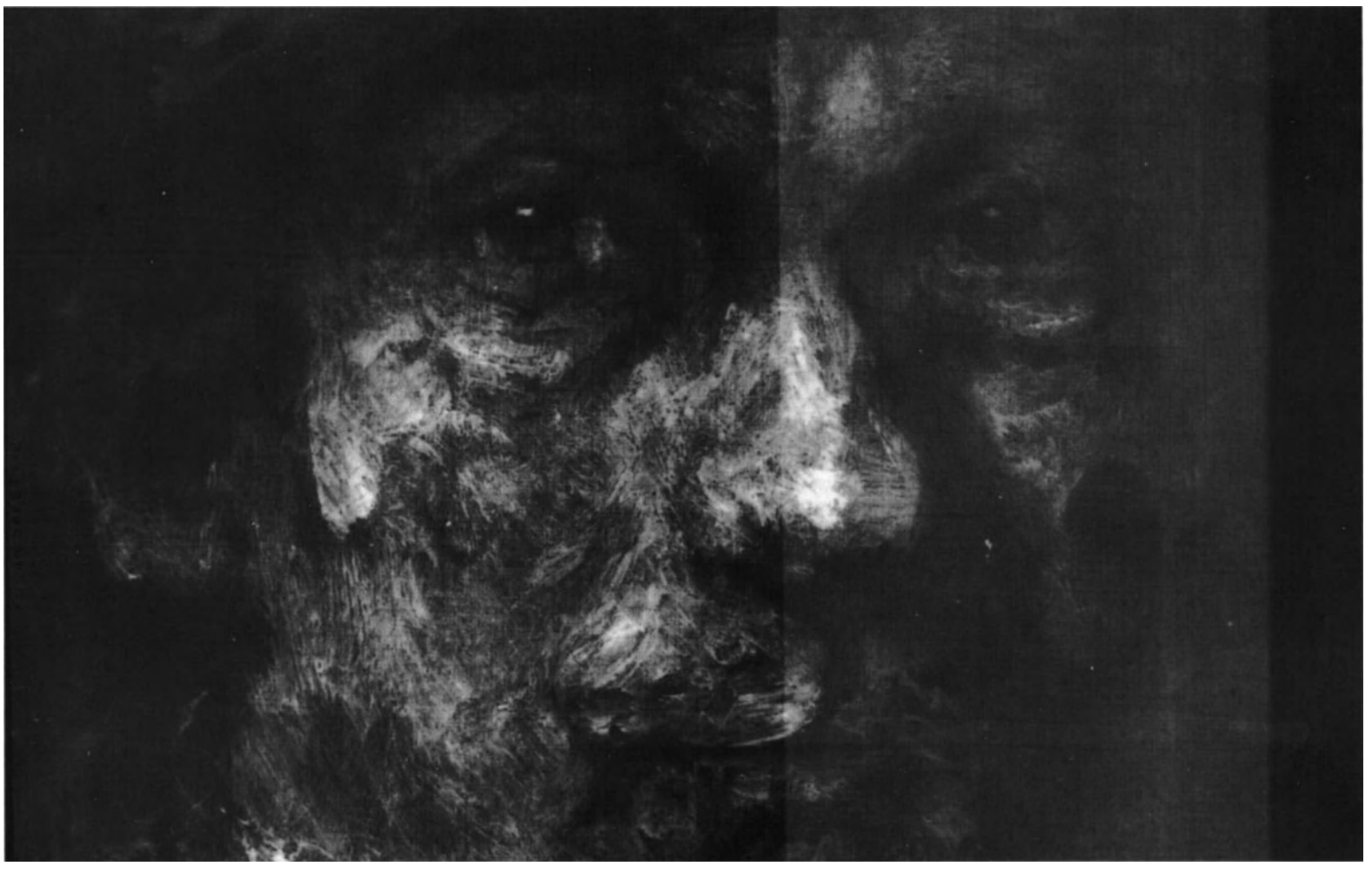
Fig. 295. X-Ray of fig. 294



Fig. 296. Detail (1:1) of fig. 272 and cat. no. IV 14 fig. 1



Fig. 297. X-Ray of fig. 296



investigation of the painting we entertained the possibility that we might be dealing here with the result of local overpaintings by a later hand. A paint sample taken in one of these zones, however, provided no evidence for this. It appears that we are in fact dealing with a specific characteristic of the author of the painting (see figs. 57, 58).

The result of this 'compartmentalizing' way of working is that the *peinture* in each of these 'islands' – particularly in the face – is attuned to the shaping of the relevant part in isolation rather than subordinated to the form of the face as a whole. This impression is confirmed by the X-radiograph (fig. 295; compare also figs. 296-297).

This way of working, however, affects the rendition of form. The nose seems to project from the face like a peculiar pear of uncertain shape on the right side, the mouth is lopsided. If one compares it, for example, with the Frick *Self-portrait* (see fig. 296), the face as a whole appears to be seriously deformed here. The emphatic handling of the Stuttgart painting, one element at a time, as it were, also has the result that Rembrandt's characteristic economy and selectivity in the use of impasto are absent here. Through excessive use of impasto, the face in the painting has rather startlingly become *'plus Rembrandt que Rembrandt'*, no less than for example the *'Self-portrait'* in Florence (see fig. 56) or the *'Self-portrait'* in Melbourne (see fig. 62). These paintings, which we now know to have originated in Rembrandt's studio, are accordingly of great interest as documents of Rembrandt's reception in his immediate circle. Evidently the broad brush strokes and heavy use of impasto played an important part in this reception. The phrase *'fatto di colpi'*, used to characterize the painting in Florence in the seventeenth century, would seem to corroborate this; while Houbraken's report of a painting by Rembrandt that could be lifted up by [the impasto of] the nose takes this image of Rembrandt into the realms of the absurd.[389]

In similar fashion to the *'ploughing, kneading impasto'* with which Rembrandt allegedly revealed his true nature, the atypical posture of the figure in the Stuttgart painting was also explained by Müller Hofstede in support of an attribution to Rembrandt.

Few artists in the history of art were so aware as Rembrandt of the anatomical structure, the static balance and the expressive significance of the poise of the head of his figures in relation to the trunk. In the Stuttgart painting, one is struck by the curiously leaning position of the upper torso and head. Müller Hofstede goes in some detail into this posture and points to an alleged parallel with *The young Jew* in Fort Worth (Br. 300), whose upper body is shown slightly leaning to the right (IV 17 fig. 7), but in fact the comparison between these two paintings illuminates precisely the unRembrandtesque character of the Stuttgart painting. Whereas in the painting in Fort Worth the head is tilted with respect to the trunk in an eloquent manner, it seems as though the head and trunk in the Stuttgart painting have been stuck on a rigid, inclined axis in a manner that is wholly unusual for Rembrandt, giving the figure a peculiar instability. Müller Hofstede, however, once again bends the evidence of this obvious divergence from Rembrandt's style to support his attribution of the painting to Rembrandt. While in the other late self-portraits he experiences something *'zugeknöpftes'* (reserved, withdrawn), he sees in the Stuttgart *'Self-portrait'* a completely different demeanour. *'Instead of withdrawing from, Rembrandt opens himself to the viewer. Part of this is the unforced manner in which he enters the pictorial space, in a leaning posture, without any counterbalancing turn as if he were still in motion, and without wanting to alter this at all, as if it were an everyday occurrence'*.[390]

In the arguments surrounding questions of authenticity, attempts were made in the past to give a role to a Rembrandt brought to life, as it were, as a specific *persona*. Some of these attempts were examined briefly under the heading 'Rembrandt himself', in the introductory section of this chapter. Müller Hofstede's style of reasoning in his case for the Stuttgart painting should once again sound a warning against the introduction of a biographical element into arguments concerning the question of authenticity. We are convinced that any arguments employed should be necessarily and exclusively confined to aspects of style, quality and technique. What may appear on a first reading of Müller Hofstede's article to be an enviably sensitive analysis, on further consideration turns out to be no more than a gratuitous assertion of criteria of authenticity that have been conceived and drafted in for the occasion. We should remind ourselves constantly, however, that we all run the risk of falling into the same trap.

– The self-portraits from 1660 to 1662-'63 – Problems of attribution *(IV 19-25)*

Earlier in this chapter, when dealing with the self-portraits from the Leiden period, an attempt was made to categorize these works on the basis of their 'function', by which was meant the purpose for which they were made and the way that they were perhaps 'read' by Rembrandt's contemporaries. This attempt followed the suspicion that the formal differences between these works, which is often considerable, may have been the consequence of Rembrandt having different reasons for working in front of the mirror. Thus, for instance, it appears that the paintings usually referred to as Rembrandt's self-portraits from his Leiden period should be considered either as *studies, tronies* or as *'portraits of Rembrandt by Rembrandt'*.

In the Amsterdam period, with a single exception, all the painted self-portraits may be counted in the last of

389 Houbraken, op. cit.[53], I, 1718, p. 269.

390 *'Seine Bedeutung in unserem Zusammenhang ergibt sich aus einer völlig anderen Verhaltensweise des Künstlers. Statt sich abzuschliessen, öffnet sich Rembrandt dem Betrachter. Dazu gehört schon die zwanglose Art, wie er ins Bildfeld tritt, in schiefer Haltung, ohne Kontrapostische Wendung, als ob es soeben geschähe, und ohne daran etwas ändern zu wollen so wie es jeden Tag passieren könnte.'*, Müller Hofstede, op. cit.[381], p. 86.

Fig. 298. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait at the easel*, 1660, canvas 110.9 x 90.6 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (IV 19)



Fig. 299. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1660, canvas 81 x 67.6 cm. New York, N.Y., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman (IV 20)



Fig. 300. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait as St Paul*, 1661, canvas 93.2 x 79.1 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (IV 24)



Fig. 301. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait as Zeuxis laughing*, *c.* 1662-63, canvas 82.5 x 65 cm. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum (IV 25)



these categories, as *portraits of Rembrandt by Rembrandt.*[391] However, as the results of Marieke de Winkel's costume-iconological research (see Chapter II of this volume) clearly indicate, it is useful to subdivide this category. One such sub-division could be based on the different messages that the attire in Rembrandt's self-portraits might have conveyed at the time to a putative community of initiated art-lovers; but it is also possible that other messages may have been encoded e.g. concerning the *tradition* within which a particular self-portrait should be seen.

The striking differences between two self-portraits dated 1660, the one in Paris (IV 19; figs. 298, 310) and the other in New York (IV 20; fig. 299, 311), would seem to bear out this idea. As in the case of the *Self-portrait with sketchbook* (IV 10; figs. 29-34), one cannot avoid the impression that the hypothetical commissioners or intended purchasers largely determined the choice of the particular type of self-portrait.

With the *Self-portrait at the easel* in Paris, Rembrandt seems to refer deliberately back to an older tradition of the 'portrait of a specific painter at work' with which we are familiar from, for example, the H. Hondius print series or from the self-portrait of Isaac van Swanenburgh, the father of Rembrandt's first teacher (figs. 302-305). The *Self-portrait* in New York, on the other hand, demonstrates the same characteristics as the many *tronies* of young men, which we strongly suspect to be portraits that Rembrandt's pupils painted of themselves or of each other (see also pp. 153-156) (figs. 306-309).[392] Unlike the Paris *Self-portrait*, in this painting Rembrandt does not wear historicizing costume. The gown, made of cloth with a slight sheen, leaves the red waistcoat and a white shirt just visible. Marieke de Winkel considers this attire to be Rembrandt's working dress, of the type worn in the drawing in the Rembrandt House (Ben. 1171; see fig. 101). The beret worn by Rembrandt (like those worn by the putative pupils in the paintings listed above (figs. 306-309) can be read as the quasi-old-fashioned artist's attribute that was introduced by Rembrandt and adopted by his pupils and which later would be taken up by such artists as Richard Wagner and others in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century.

The Paris painting (figs. 298, 310) is the first life-size self-portrait known to us in which Rembrandt represents himself, by means of the attributes of his profession, as a painter. The genesis of this painting reveals that he, in a highly characteristic manner, felt his way by stages toward its final form. In the self-portraits where he represented himself as painter, it is interesting to see how time and again he seems to have wrestled with this task, apparently seeking within the existing tradition for new pictorial solutions. The complex genesis of the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* (IV 25 fig. 2) and of the Kenwood *Self-portrait* (IV 26 fig. 2) are the most striking examples of this struggle, whereas, if our interpretation of the relevant X-radiographs is correct, in the London *Self-portrait* from 1669 (IV 27) and the one in Florence (IV 28) the painter's attributes were eventually removed during the progress of the work.

In the Paris painting too, other solutions were evidently sought during the course of the work. As a result of wear to the paint surface and with the help of X-radiography, the traces of that searching are clearly visible (see IV 19 figs. 1 and 2). Rembrandt's trunk was initially shown more frontally. Turning the trunk to the three-quarter position must have followed from the decision to give the panel on its easel a place in the composition. The traces of the earlier position of the brushes close to the right-hand edge of the painting indicate that the decision to add the panel was taken during the course of the work.

In addition to problems that entailed changes associated with the painter's attributes, Rembrandt also wrestled with pictorial problems, particularly problems concerning the organization of light. During the genesis of the painting, he seems to have explored variations in tonal relations and especially the interrelation between light passages. This process of achieving the desired hierarchy of light in the image as a whole can be followed by comparing the final painting with the X-radiograph.

It is worth raising the question of the art theoretical background behind Rembrandt's recurrent struggle for a coherent light hierarchy. Can this struggle be related to the concept, passed down by his pupil Samuel van Hoogstraten,[393] of *'eenwezich'* (being 'unified')? Van Hoogstraten introduced this term without further direct specification of its meaning, but in the passage devoted to Rembrandt's *Nightwatch* he speaks of the *'het groote beelt zijner verkiezing'* (literally: 'the large image of his choice' – meaning the composition as a whole). In this context, as is well known, he is referring to the way that Rembrandt, in painting the *Nightwatch*, chose to subordinate *'de byzondere afbeeltsels* (the particular portraits) *die hem waren aenbesteet* (that he was commissioned to paint)' to the composition as a whole.

The term *'eenwezich'*, however, must also have been applied in a much wider sense. This is evident from a verse that Van Hoogstraten quotes in the same passage of his book *'The genuine masters take into account that their work should be integrated as a whole, just as Clio learned from Horace: bring forth your work as it should be as one and unified.'* [394] In his *Ars Poetica,* Horace in these lines is warning against the yolking together of heterogeneous contents in poetry. Van Hoogstraten seems to take the advice to apply also to compositional principles. If by *'eenwezich'* is meant that the elements of a work are subordinate to the image as a whole – *'het groote beelt'* – and part of an organizational hierarchy, and if it were the case, which seems repeatedly

391 II A 97, III C 92; figs. 204, resp. 214-215, 227-230.

392 Br. 286-289, 292, 293, 296, 299, 311.

393 Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit.[57], p. 176. *'De rechte meesters brengen te weeg, dat haer geheele werk eenwezich is, gelijk Clio uit Horatius leert: Breng yder werkstuk, zoo 't behoort, / Slechts enkel en eenweezich voort.'*

394 Horace *Epistula ad Pisones* (Ars Poetica) 23: 'Denique sit quidvis, simplex dumtaxat et unum'. I am very grateful to Prof. Dr. D. den Hengst for his help.

Fig. 302. See fig. 298 and cat. no. IV 19 fig. 1



Fig. 303. I. van Swanenburgh, *Self-portrait*, 1568, panel 94 x 71.5 cm. Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal



Fig. 304. H. Hondius, *Portrait of Hendrik of Cleve*, etching. From the series *Pictorum … effigies*, Den Haag 1610, no. 38



Fig. 305. H. Hondius, *Portrait of Frans Badens*, etching. From the series *Pictorum … effigies*, Den Haag 1610, no. 65



Fig. 306. See fig. 299 and cat. no. IV 20 fig. 1



Fig. 307. Rembrandt workshop, *Portrait of a young man*, 1657, canvas 83 x 66 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (Br. 286)



Fig. 308. Rembrandt's workshop, *Portrait of a young man*, *c.* 1658, canvas 75 x 60.3 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (Br. 292)



Fig. 309. Rembrandt's workshop, *Portrait of a young man*, 1662, canvas 89.9 x 70.8 cm. St. Louis, Missouri, The Saint Louis Art Museum (Br. 311)



to be so with Rembrandt, that the organization of light also falls under the hierarchy within *'het groote beelt'*, this would explain why Rembrandt devotes so much attention to a carefully considered scaling of light intensities in his paintings.

In the painting under discussion, the *Self-portrait at the easel*, the strongly lit forehead originally extended further upwards, to the edge of the original (black) beret. This must have been the highest light, a role which was then subsequently taken over and considerably amplified by the white cap that had replaced the dark beret. (It has already been argued on p. 151 that we may be dealing here with an intervention also aimed at affecting the meaning of the painting.) By introducing the white cap as the highest light it was apparently necessary to undertake other changes in the organization of light. Thus, the originally prominent light shirt (which is visible in the X-radiograph, but probably only existed in the underpainting) was largely covered by an erect, dark collar. Another step in this process of a modification in the light hierarchy was to place the white cap partly in front of a relatively light zone of the neutral background, the result of which was to introduce a subtle variation in the degree to which the fiercely lit cap contrasts with the background. Furthermore, where the cap stands against the lightest part of the background, there arises an effect that one might describe as 'radiance'. This is an effect that Rembrandt developed from *c.* 1653 onward.

In the *Self-portrait* from 1660 in New York (figs. 299, 311) one also sees how seriously Rembrandt must have been preoccupied with the problem of a light hierarchy. Remarkably enough, the sequence of steps there is reversed. An original plan to place a light cap on the head must have been quickly rejected in favour of a large dark beret, so placed that the strongest light is reflected from the bared, rounded forehead. Other tonal values are all subordinated to that highest point of light.

A comparison of the execution and characterization of the Paris and the New York self-portraits (see figs. 310, 311) shows such great differences that one can understand why Tümpel should have rejected Rembrandt's authorship of one of them, viz. the New York painting. The physiognomic differences are particularly striking: the face in the Paris painting is elongated whereas that in New York is rounder. As a result, there are significant differences in the mutual proportions of facial features. Although remarkably subtle, the execution of the face, in fact of the entire figure in the Paris painting is broad, whereas the head in the New York painting has been worked in fine detail with keen attention to the plastic

Fig. 310. Detail (1:1) of fig. 298 and cat. no. IV 19 fig. 1



Fig. 311. Detail (1:1) of fig. 299 and cat. no. IV 20 fig. 1



continuity of the face as a whole. The clothing in the latter painting is also worked up in a more refined manner. It is as though in the New York painting more attention was paid to characterizing Rembrandt's individuality, whereas in the Paris self-portrait a greater pre-eminence was given to a depiction of the painter at work, fitting into a time-honoured tradition. On the basis of style and quality *both* paintings have to be considered as authentic works by Rembrandt.

There is, moreover, additional evidence for the authenticity of both these paintings. Both served as prototypes for variants that were painted in Rembrandt's workshop by the same hand. Tümpel claimed that the New York painting should be considered as a *'workshop product'*; but it is highly unlikely that one of Rembrandt's pupils would have taken another pupil's work as a prototype. The two variants (and yet a further variant after the Paris painting) were dealt with earlier in this chapter in the section *'Self-portraits' produced by others in Rembrandt's workshop* (on pp. 117-132 and in cat. nos. IV 21-23).

The *Self-portrait as St Paul* dated 1661 (IV 24; figs. 300, 312), whose authenticity has always been beyond doubt, is an unusual painting in many respects. It is unique in its conception (as an intriguing mixture of history piece and self-portrait) and with unusual lighting falling almost vertically from above. There is, however, a surprising connection to another of Rembrandt's self-portraits: Edwin Buysen in the catalogue of the *Rembrandt by himself* exhibition, 1999/2000, p. 212 has observed that there are strong similarities between the heads in the *Self-portrait as St. Paul* and the New York *Self-portrait* discussed above (figs. 312, 311). The proportions in the face and the placing of the darkly accentuated eyes are remarkably similar. The angle of turn of the head is identical in both paintings, except that the head in the *St Paul* is also tilted. It is also interesting that the eyebrows in the New York work are strikingly raised compared with most other late self-portraits. On the basis of these similarities it is tempting to speculate on the possibility that Rembrandt's head in the *Self-portrait as St Paul* was not painted in front of the mirror, but was perhaps roughly copied after the finely detailed head in the New York painting, with subsequent adaptation of the position and lighting, and of the facial expression (compare figs. 313 and 314). If this was so, it would mean that, in a manner analogous to the practice whereby others in the workshop made variants based on Rembrandt's autograph self-portraits, Rembrandt also based himself on an already existing self-portrait when he painted the *Self-portrait as St Paul.* Certainly, the fact that the lighting is unlike that in all other autograph self-portraits, together with the striking paucity of worked out detail in the head, makes it difficult to believe that the painting was done before the mirror.

One asks oneself why this painting, so unique in conception, is yet so obviously recognizable as a work by Rembrandt. As so often one finds it is the execution in relation to the image as a whole, and more particularly in relation to the desired illusion, that convinces. In this painting particularly where, as described in the catalogue text, there is much evidence that it was rapidly painted, largely wet-in-wet, one can only be astonished by how effective Rembrandt's working method was and how refined the way that the pictorial means were adapted to the purpose. One only needs point to the refinement with which the nuances of light-dark within the figure relate to the distribution of light and dark of the background (for commentary, see catalogue text IV 24). Similar evidence of stunning control over his pictorial means is provided by the effective variation in the scale of the stroke in relation to the different elements of the painting. But as in all the late (self-)portraits, the execution demonstrates not only control but also chance – 'chance' in the sense in which Reynolds described Rembrandt's technique (see p. 271). One could compare the rapid strokes with a loaded brush in the turban with the lively, accented impasto on the lit forehead. This impasto not only ensures that the light is, as it were, held there; the accented paint surface further serves as a cue evoking for the viewer the illusion of wrinkled skin in all its detail.

The elements mentioned above all contribute to the illusion of space in the image as a whole. Just how much Rembrandt plays with his means in achieving this is evident in the book in Paul's hands. Loose, slightly curled pages catch the light at the top corner, while the strong contrast between the rolled leather binding and the light-catching part of the opened pages suggests both space and light. In colouristic terms, the blueish grey shine of the leather provides a refined accent within the image as a whole.

Whereas in other late works by Rembrandt one gets the feeling that the painting has been composed on the basis of a certain system – even where, in comparison with early works, there is considerable freedom – in the *Self-portrait as St Paul,* apart from the initial lay-out there are hardly any different steps to be distinguished; it would appear to have been painted *alla prima* with an astonishing spontaneity and artistic freedom.

One might ask whether it is by chance that not long after the *Self-portrait as St Paul* originated as a kind of single-figure history piece a second self-portrait-*historié* was painted, the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* (fig. 315). If, as suggested above, Rembrandt's self-portraits from *c.*1655 onward were increasingly painted on commission, one might suppose that this was also the case with these two paintings. However, one might also suggest that we are dealing here with highly personal statements, one in the theological domain and the other in the theory of art. It could also be the case that in the climate of the art world in the second half of the seventeenth century both these possibilities could coincide since, through discussion, artist and patron would have been able to arrive at an agreed choice that would provide the latter with an interesting effigy of a famous artist. (For further dicussion of self-portraits-*historiés* in general see IV 24.) For both paintings, the question of what factors played a role in their creation remains, and perhaps will always remain, unanswered. In our catalogue texts we were unable to resist the temptation to suggest a *raison d'être* of both paintings arising from problems that may have pre-occupied Rembrandt personally.

Fig. 312. Detail (1:1) of fig. 300 and cat. no. IV 24 fig. 1



Fig. 313. Detail of fig. 299 and cat. no. IV 20 fig. 1



Fig. 314. Detail of fig. 300 and cat. no. IV 24 fig. 1. The head is tilted in vertical position.



As is well known, the honour falls to Albert Blankert to have found the important key to the iconography of the Cologne painting which hitherto (and subsequently) had given rise to so many wild speculations.[395] As argued in our catalogue text, however, we are not in agreement with Blankert's final conclusion, which he based on the hypothesis that Rembrandt and Gerard de Lairesse would have discussed the issue of idealism and realism in art in 1665 during the painting of the *Portrait of Gerard de Lairesse* (Br. 321, New York, Robert Lehman Collection). According to Blankert, following this hypothetical discussion, Rembrandt's *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* could have been conceived as a statement of his reaction to the art theoretical implications of the commonest anecdote in circulation concerning Zeuxis. According to this well-known anecdote, which we owe to Pliny, Zeuxis had used five beautiful women as models for a painting of Helen that he painted for a commission from the city of Croton. By combining the most beautiful parts of the five women, he was able to represent the ideal beauty of Helen. Blankert assumed that De Lairesse would have seen in this anecdote an important justification for the then current rise of idealizing classicism. Accordingly, in Blankert's view, Rembrandt wanted to demonstrate with his *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* that Zeuxis was also willing to represent reality in all its repulsiveness; for in his *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* Rembrandt is undoubtedly referring to another anecdote according to which Zeuxis painted an ugly old woman shortly before he died of a fit of laughing. Thus, in the same Zeuxis who served as an icon for the rules of art defended by De Lairesse, Rembrandt would have found the legitimation of his own realism, which was thought at the time to be so extreme.

An important argument against Blankert's hypothetical construct of the art-theoretical discussion between Rembrandt and De Lairesse is that we believe that the painting did not originate after 1665, the date on Rembrandt's portrait of De Lairesse, but as early as 1662/63, several years in fact before the young De Lairesse came to The Netherlands. We base this earlier dating for one thing on the fact that Arent de Gelder's free variants on the paintings of his teacher were as a rule based on paintings on which Rembrandt was working during De Gelder's apprenticeship (1661 to *c.* 1663) (for this discussion, see our catalogue text IV 25). In addition, we believe that this relatively early dating is also corroborated by the striking similarities of style and technique between the Cologne *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* and the *Homer* in The Hague (Br. 483) which originated in 1662/63.[396] As an alternative to Blankert's untenable Rembrandt-De Lairesse construction we suggest (on the basis of Van Hoogstraten's remarks on Zeuxis) that Rembrandt may have identified himself with the Greek painter, as Zeuxis is said to have excelled in the rendering of the human passions (see IV 25 *Comments*).

In discussing the series of late self-portraits dealt with so far it was often necessary to emphasize that the stylistic differences between works, even between works originating in the same year, could be considerable. In the following, however, it is the striking correspondences of style and technique between the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* and the *Homer* that will be used (in the usual way of art historical reasoning) as arguments in favour of dating both paintings to the same year (compare figs. 316 and 317). Should the remarkable iconographic similarities between these works play a role in this? In both paintings major figures from classical antiquity were depicted, both clad in shining gold apparel, both in movement, one laughing whilst painting, the other with raised hand stressing the rhythm of the verse he is reciting. Perhaps this idea is confirmed by the fact that the only other painting that shows kinship of style and technique with these two works, the *Claudius Civilis* of *c.* 1661/62 (Br. 482), also depicts figures from classical antiquity in action who, in part, wear highly emphatic facial expressions (fig. 318). In all three cases, faces are suggested in mimetic motion, indicated by free, individual brushstrokes, rather than described. The treatment of light and dark in the faces in the three works is schematic compared with that in the other paintings by the late Rembrandt that show the human face. The same can be said of the representation of clothing, where what is suggested is the glinting and shifting reflections of light rather than the hanging folds of material being studied as a plastic landscape. A palette knife was employed to work in the lustrous gold costumes in the *Homer* and the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis*, producing a relief of set glistening paint ridges. In both paintings, the effect of the glinting of the material has been amplified by scratching in the wet paint, sometimes with a zigzag motion, or by making grazing movements with the brush in order to create locally a grainy paint structure in the yellow paint.

Of course, these common features shared by the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* and the two paintings compared with it, the *Homer* and the *Claudius Civilis*, do not necessarily mean

395 A. Blankert, 'Rembrandt, Zeuxis and ideal beauty', *Album Amicorum J.G. van Gelder*, The Hague 1973, pp. 32-39. See also A. Blankert, in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. A genius and his impact*, 1997/98, pp. 38/39 and A. Blankert, *Selected writings on Dutch painting: Rembrandt, Van Beke, Vermeer and others*, Zwolle 2004.

396 See Strauss *Doc.*, 1661/5 in which document only the canvas for the painting is mentioned; 1662/11, in which document the painting is referred to as *'half complete'*; the finished painting was signed and dated 1663.

Fig. 315. Detail (1:1) of fig. 301 and cat. no. IV fig. 25 fig. 1



Fig. 316. Rembrandt, *Homer*, 1663, canvas 108 x 82.4 cm, detail (1:2). The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis (Br. 483)



Fig. 317. Detail (1:2) of fig. 301 and cat. no. IV fig. 25 fig. 1



Fig. 318. Rembrandt, *Claudius Civilis*, *c.* 1661, canvas 309 x 196 cm, detail (1:2). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (Br. 482)





Fig. 319. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1665-69, canvas 114.3 x 94 cm. London, Kenwood House, The Iveagh Bequest (IV 26)



Fig. 320. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1669, canvas 86 x 70.5 cm. London, The National Gallery (IV 27)



Fig. 321. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1669, canvas 71 x 54.2 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (IV 28)



Fig. 322. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1669, canvas 63.5 x 57.8 cm. The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis (IV 29)



that the *Self-portrait* must have originated in exactly the same period as the two other works. In an art theoretical sense, all three paintings might manifest a particular *modus* related to motion and especially to a mobile facial expression – that can be applied in different periods (see above, pp. 166-173). But the stylistic similarities between the two half-figures, the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* and the *Homer*, are in other respects so striking that an origin in the same period is the most likely explanation for these similarities. However, the strongest argument for a dating of the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* around 1662/63 remains the fact that Arent de Gelder must have seen it (as he also saw the *Homer*) before the end of 1663 in order to be able to paint his variant on this theme, which was never repeated by other painters, even though he did not actually paint that variant until 1685 (IV 25 fig. 4).

– The self-portraits from 1664 to 1669 *(IV 26-29)*

During the six years following the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis*, Rembrandt produced his four last self-portraits. Until now, no-one has ever expressed doubt as to their authenticity (figs. 319-322). Two of these works were painted during Rembrandt's last year of life, those in London and The Hague (IV 27 and IV 29). They are both dated 1669. As will be argued in catalogue text IV 28, we find reasons to believe that the late *Self-portrait* in the Uffizi was also painted in that year.

The fourth painting from this group, the *Self-portrait* in Kenwood, is neither signed nor dated (IV 26). There are different views to be found in the literature concerning its dating; but we believe it could have been painted at any time between 1663 and '69.

The Kenwood *Self-portrait* (figs. 319, 323, 324) is one of the pillars on which our idea of the late Rembrandt rests. And yet it stands so much by itself that, despite an abundance of general Rembrandtesque characteristics, neither conception nor execution bear much relation to Rembrandt's other self-portraits and portraits. The uniqueness of the work as a whole once again demonstrates that certainly the late Rembrandt followed no standard routine in the execution of his paintings.

In no other of Rembrandt's self-portraits does one have so strong an impression that one sees Rembrandt in person, before one's eyes. The way in which the lit side of the face is painted gives an amazing presence to the figure. It is worth asking why it is that, despite the summary treatment of the rest of the figure, the viewer gets the feeling that Rembrandt seems to be more alive here than in all his other self-portraits.

Clearly we are looking here at an unfinished painting. This is evident from the impatient sketchy manner in which the costume and contours of the body, the palette and brushes, paint rag and maulstick are indicated, and the broad shorthand manner in which the highest lights have been provisionally placed on the cap. The painting appears to be in a never-ending *statu nascendi*. The viewer is encouraged, as it were, to complete it by himself. Here, *'the beholder's share'*, as Ernst Gombrich called it, viz. our ability to see more than is actually there, is provoked in powerful fashion.[397]

It is tempting to ask to what extent Rembrandt was aware of this latter phenomenon. In the seventeenth century, of course, no-one would have used the term *'Gestalt'* in this context nor thought in other conceptual terms of present-day psychology, but there were certainly ideas held about human perception that must have been of great significance to Rembrandt.

Here, two texts taken from the treatise on painting by Rembrandt's pupil, Samuel van Hoogstraten, are highly interesting, not least because they would seem to be based directly on Rembrandt's own ideas on the phenomena concerned, and may therefore elucidate the thinking behind Rembrandt's approach to painting in the Kenwood *Self-portrait*. In this connection, it is relevant to point out that the ambitious and learned Samuel van Hoogstraten must have been collecting quotations on the art of painting from early on. Many of these quotations were worked into his treatise on painting, even where they do not serve the thrust of his own argument.[398] Indeed, this practice contributes to the incoherence of Van Hoogstraten's book, so striking on first reading, and the fact that sequential passages of his texts sometimes contain conflicting views. It also explains why certain conceptions of the art of painting in his book do not correspond with Van Hoogstraten's own artistic practice.[399] On the other hand, where the relevant ideas clearly correspond with Rembrandt's specific approach to painting as visible in his work there is reason (with the necessary reservations, of course) to assume that these ideas are based on Rembrandt's teaching, and therefore to take them as fragments of Rembrandt's own art-theory. It must have been quite normal seventeenth-century practice for a painter's pupils to keep notebooks in which to record recipes and formulae of various kinds and other data for later use. The set of texts known as the Mayerne manuscript contains partial transcripts of a number of such notebooks.[400] It is certainly possible that Van Hoogstraten in his treatise was in some cases drawing from a notebook compiled during his time as an apprentice with Rembrandt.

Two pages from a section on the art of drawing in Van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst* ('Introduction to the Higher School of the Art of Painting') give striking indications as to how a work like the Kenwood *Self-portrait* might have been seen by Rem-

397 Ernst H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion. A study in the psychology of pictorial representation*, London 1960 (1990), part III, p. 153.

398 Hans-Jörg Czech, *Studien zu Samuel van Hoogstratens Malereitraktat 'Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst: Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt* (Rotterdam 1678)', doct. diss. Bonn 1999, pp. 9-11.

399 McKim-Smith noticed the same phenomenon in her study of the relationship between Spanish treatises on painting and the studio practice of the painters concerned. See 'Writing and painting in the age of Velasquez' in Gridley McKim-Smith et al., *Examining Velasquez*, New Haven/London 1988, pp. 1-33.

400 Mayerne in: E. Berger (ed.), *Quellen für Maltechnik während der Renaissance und deren Folgezeit*, Munich 1901, reprint 1973, p. 95.

Fig. 323. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1665-69, canvas 114.3 x 94 cm. London, Kenwood House, The Iveagh Bequest (IV 26)



Fig. 323A. Rembrandt, *The standing syndic*, 1660s, pen and brush with bistre, wash and white body-colour, 22.5 x 17.5 cm (Ben. 1180). Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen



brandt and the art connoisseurs of his time.[401] These pages may well reveal the thinking behind the schematic, almost geometrical language of forms that Rembrandt used in his first designs and which is especially evident in the Kenwood *Self-portrait.* Even more interestingly, it is apparent from this text that the ideas behind what Gombrich, in his *Art and Illusion*, called *'the beholder's share'* seem to have been already developed in Rembrandt's time.[402]

That this information from Van Hoogstraten's book has never previously been mentioned in the literature on Rembrandt's painting can be explained by the fact that it occurs in a passage which, at first sight, appears to be devoted exclusively to the art of drawing (although it has to be said that, so far, scant use has been made of this rich text in the literature on Rembrandt's drawings as well).

In this text, Van Hoogstraten certainly did not separate the art of drawing – '*de tekenkonst*' – from that of painting. On the contrary: '*…above all it* [the art of drawing] *serves the art of painting, from which it is inseparable, such that without it the art of painting is not only wanting but is wholly dead and non existent'*.[403] Van Hoogstraten's remark implies that the painter, while painting, is expected in the first place to build on his ability to draw any given form correctly, which certainly was not always the case, *'because'*, as Van Hoogstraten adds, *'it has been long and widely felt that there are more painters who fall short in their drawing than in their colouring'*.[404]

It would seem that a painting which is still largely in such a sketchy stage as the Kenwood *Self-portrait* may well have been regarded by Rembrandt in the same way as a sketch on paper in which light and shade are roughly indicated (see for example one of the preparatory drawings for *The Syndics*; fig. 323A). Van Hoogstraten's remarks on this way of sketching are indeed highly relevant when applied to the Kenwood *Self-portrait*: *'Because you will find* [in such sketchily executed work] *parts that are roundish, square, triangular, longish or oblique in their form. Observe these shapes then with a half-closed eye without paying attention to any detail'*.[405] (In the margin of that passage, the term *'schemerzien'* (literally: dusk viewing) is added, apparently meaning 'to look through one's eyelashes'.)

Van Hoogstraten's subsequent explanation of the significance of *'this way of sketching globally'*,[406] covers precisely Gombrich's *'the beholder's share'*. This could apply to the artist, who reads the gradually materializing reality in his schematic design and develops it in detail. It applies even more to the connoisseur who in a sketch sees more than there actually is. Van Hoogstraten writes in a rather surprising fashion of the way the viewer projects a detailed reality into a rough design: *'just as when one notices a friend at a distance, or on meeting him in twilight, one suddenly sees and grasps his figure with the mind, in the same way a rough sketch often gives the connoisseur so great an impression that he is able to see in it more than the one who has made it'*.[407] The passages quoted above give a surprisingly explicit idea of Rembrandt's possible thoughts when he released a picture like the unfinished Kenwood *Self-portrait* in which the forms are typified by the kind of generic geometric forms mentioned by Van Hoogstraten in his characterisation of the rough sketch (see note 405).

Thanks to Samuel van Hoogstraten, we also know of another theory concerning human perception that may well be relevant for an understanding of Rembrandt's

401 Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit.[57], pp. 26-30, esp. 27/28.

402 Gombrich, op. cit.[397], p. 153.

403 *'Maar boven al dient zy tot de Schilderkonst, waer van zy zoo onafscheydelijk is, dat de Schilderkonst, zonder haer, niet alleen gebrekkelijk, maer geheelijk doot en gansch niet is.'* Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit.[57], p. 26.

404 *'… vermits het oud en algemeen gevoelen is, datter meer Schilders zijn, die 't aen 't wel teykenen, als aen't wel koloreeren gebreekt.'* Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit. [57], p. 26.

405 *'Want gy zult'er* [in een schetsmatig opgezet werk] *deelen in vinden, die rondachtich, vierkantich, driehoekich, langwerpich, of schuins van form zijn. Merk deeze gedaentens dan met een half schermerend oog aen, zonder op eenige kleinicheden te letten.'* Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit. [57], p. 27.

406 *'… deeze manier van in't gros te schetssen'.* Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit. [57], p. 27.

407 *'… even gelijk men zijn vriend van verre bespeurende, of by schemerlicht ontmoetende, strax als met het verstant zijn gedaente ziet, en bevat, zoo geeft een ruwe schets dikwils aen den kenders zoo grooten indruk, dat zy'er meer, dan dieze gemaekt heeft, in zien kunnen.'* Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit. [57], p. 27. Given Van Hoogstraten's scepticism regarding the connoisseurs and art-lovers of his time, one is tempted to read a certain irony into the last words of this passage. See Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit.[57], in *'aen de lezer'* also pp. 2, 3, 35, 76, 85, 127, 171/72, 183, 196/97, 216, 234,241, 309-21, 360; see also E. van de Wetering, 'Rembrandt's 'Satire on Art Criticism' reconsidered', in*: Shop Talk. Studies in Honor of Seymour Slive*, (eds. Cynthia P. Schneider, William W. Robinson, Alice I. Davies e.a.), Cambridge, Mass. 1995, pp. 264-270. It is more likely, however, that he is describing in a neutral fashion a property of human perception.

Fig. 324. Detail (1:1) of fig. 323 and cat. no. IV 26 fig. 1



ideas in relation to the Kenwood *Self-portrait* (as well as his other late works, to varying degrees). This concerns a phenomenon that Rembrandt undoubtedly would have been preoccupied with and which he may even have discovered himself: that a grainy quality introduced into the paint surface of a painted form gives the viewer the feeling that he palpably sees this form at an almost measurable distance from him. Van Hoogstraten in this context speaks of '*kenlijkheyt*' (perceptibility).[408] The present author has elsewhere given attention to Samuel van Hoogstraten's remarks on *'kenlijkheyt'*.[409] There it was also pointed out that, on this point, there is no connection with Van Hoogstraten's own ideas on the art of painting, which are also presented in his book, viz. *'that plasticity and spatiality* (*'ronding'* en *'uitheffing'*, literally: rounding and raising) *have to be achieved by a careful observation of lights and shadows in pictures that are evenly and smoothly executed, and in such a way that even artists are deceived and cannot believe that it is mere paint until touch assures them that it is so'*.[410]

In his works produced once he had freed himself from Rembrandt's influence, Van Hoogstraten indeed never made use of a coarse paint surface for enhancing the spatial illusion. But Rembrandt most certainly did. Influencing the viewer's perception by varying the surface texture of the paint in relation to the suggested space in a painting was a practice employed by Rembrandt more frequently – and with more sophistication – than by any other painter in the history of art. We are therefore justified in assuming that, in his exposition of the subject, Van Hoogstraten was repeating the ideas that he had heard from Rembrandt and may have noted during his training.

The reason for returning here to the theme of *'kenlijkheyt'* has to do with another aspect of the Kenwood *Self-portrait.* While the body and arms, the clothing and the palette have been so summarily depicted that *'the beholder's share'* is maximally invoked, the lit part of the face gives the impression that we have before us a living, breathing, potentially mobile face. The skin seems palpable and the manner of painting mysteriously seduces us into forgetting that we are looking at paint whereas the painting itself – even the face – is so broadly painted that it can only be counted among the paintings done in what was referred to in Rembrandt's day as *'the rough manner'*.[411] And yet the face is more alive, and in a certain respect seems more finely detailed than those in the meticulous and smoothly executed portraits and *tronies* by Gerard Dou and Frans van Mieris. In order to understand this effect, it is worth looking at Van Hoogstraten's text on the phenomenon of '*kenlijkheyt*' once again, beginning by analysing the experiment he describes to demonstrate that a somewhat grainy surface is perceived as highly concrete and at a seemingly measurable distance.

Van Hoogstraten posed the following question: *'Why is it, if you draw in the field from life, on blue paper, a blue sky with drifting clouds, that your paper appears to be so close to you and the azure of the heavens so infinitely far?'*[412] He then proposes that the blue paper with a sky depicted on it be held against the actual sky. His answer to the question he has posed is this: *'It is because your paper, however smooth you judge it to be, has a recognizable roughness, into which the eye can stare wherever you wish, which you cannot do in the smooth blue of the Heavens.'*[413]

By the word *'staeren'* (stare) when looking at the paper, Van Hoogstraten apparently means that the eye can focus on the fine grain of the paper's surface texture.[414] Research on visual perception has shown that the eye tends to focus on the finest detail perceptible in that part of reality to which the eye is directed.[415] Van Hoogstraten's account indicates that he – although it is more likely that it was originally Rembrandt himself, long before – was well aware that observing a surface structure so fine as the grain of paper (one should think here of hand-made seventeenth-century paper) is sufficient to experience perceptually the *'kenlijkheyt'*, i.e. the concreteness and closeness of a surface.

It is important for the following discussion that the grain of the paper presents a much finer surface texture than Rembrandt's impasto, which the present author earlier related to Rembrandt's purpose of creating the spatial illusion by exploiting the phenomenon of *'kenlijkheyt'*.[416] Rembrandt must have been aware that much finer traces in the paint surface relief, as fine as the grain

408 Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit.[57], pp. 307-308.

409 E. van de Wetering, 'Rembrandt's method – technique in the service of illusion', in exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings,* 1991/92, pp. 12-39, esp. 32-37; Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 173-179.

410 See Van de Wetering 1997, p. 185-186.

411 See, for instance, B. Schnackenburg, 'Young Rembrandt's "Rough Manner". A painting style and its sources', in exhib. cat. *The mystery of the young Rembrandt,* 2001/02, pp. 92-121.

412 *'Wat is 't, als gy op blaeuw papier een blaeuwen Hemel met drijvende wolken in 't veld na 't leven tekent, dat uw papier zoo na by u schijnt te zijn, en het Hemelsch lazuur zo oneindelijk verre?'* Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit.[57], p. 307.

413 *''t Is om dat uw papier, hoe effen gy 't ook oordeelt, een zekere kenbaere rulheyt heeft, waer in het oog staeren kan, ter plaetse, daer gy wilt, 't welk gy in 't gladde blaeuw des Hemels niet doen en kunt.'* Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit.[57], pp. 307-308.

414 According to the Dictionary of the Dutch Language/Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal (WNT), in the seventeenth century the word *'staeren'* (to stare) carried more the meaning of looking with concentrated attention than it does today, when *'stare'* tends to suggest a fixed, somewhat unfocused looking. Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie, Leiden, *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (WNT), 29 vols., The Hague 1864-1998, lemma *'staren'*.

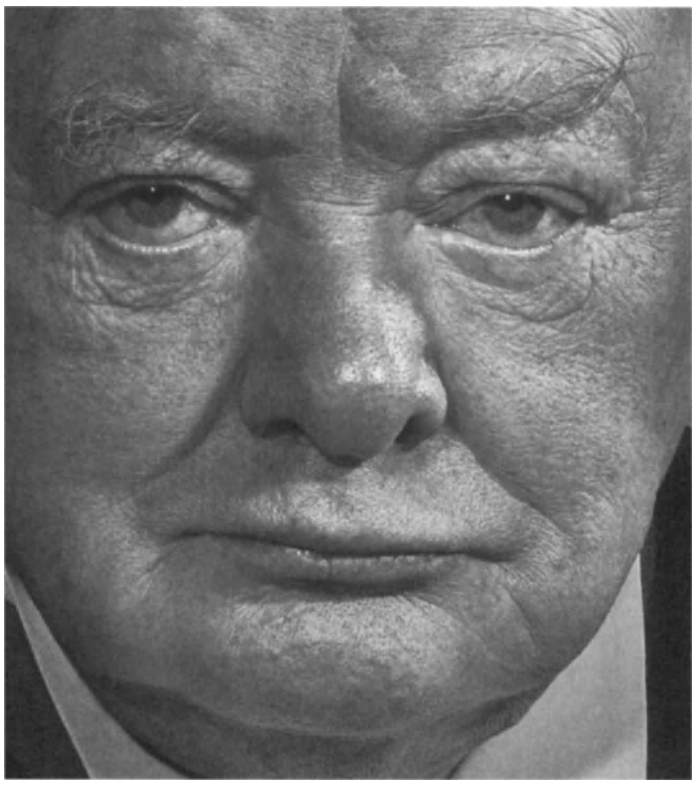
415 Dr. Jan Walraven, Senior Research Fellow of the TNO-Human Factors Institute, Soesterberg, The Netherlands, was kind enough to give the following information: *'Studies on visual attention and space perception suggest various explanations for the effect of a lifelike, almost forced (spatial) presence in the Kenwood Self-portrait. First, one of the various, so-called monocular cues that the visual system employs to derive the relative distances of objects in a visual scene, is the degree of detail by which these are registered in the retinal image.'* (See C.H. Graham, 'Visual space perception', in C.H. Graham (ed.), *Vision and visual perception,* New York 1965, pp. 504-547.) *'This is particularly true for the loss of detail in surface texture with increasing distance. Second, in attempting to focus the optical image properly, the eye will hunt for critical details in the visual scene, a similar process that occurs when one tries to get a slide focussed on a projection screen. Last, but not least, there is also the aspect of mental focus, the mind's eye, which is attracted by details contrasting with the more roughly painted surround. All these effects work in the direction of locking the viewer's eye on to the face in the portrait, and making this face manifest itself in an inescapable manner.'*

416 Van de Wetering 1997, pp 182-186.

of the paper, would influence perception. This could be highly significant in understanding Rembrandt's intentions with the *peinture* in the lit parts of the face of the Kenwood *Self-portrait*. There are countless fine indentations and scratches visible in the paint surface of these parts in the painting, the fine traces of the stiff hairs of a brush. However far-fetched this may seem at first sight, this surface texture is comparable with that of a human skin whose pores are visible, as is the case with older people, particularly men (fig. 325). This 'graininess' of the paint surface in the Kenwood *Self-portrait* is most clearly seen round the reflected highlight on the forehead, on the nose and in places on the cheeks and chin.

In the discussion of the skin in the *Small Vienna self-portrait* (see fig. 283), a minor detour was taken to consider Rembrandt's increasing use of the deliberately courted chance effects in the *peinture*. Writing about Rembrandt's painting technique, Joshua Reynolds observed that: *'works produced in an accidental manner will have the same free, unrestrained air as the works of nature'* (see note 368). In the face of the Kenwood *Self-portrait*, the correspondence with nature itself – in this case the skin of a man of Rembrandt's age – is indeed striking, precisely because of the role of chance in the rendering in paint of the irregularities in that skin.

Fig. 325. Yousuf Karsh, *Portrait of Winston Churchill* (detail), reproduced from *Portraits of Greatness*, Amsterdam 1960, p. 47



Rendering the human skin in painting was characterized in the Mayerne Manuscript, written in *c.* 1630, as a problem *'which is in truth the essence of the whole work'*.[417] As Paul Taylor has demonstrated on the basis of a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century written sources, it was seen as one of the great challenges of the painter's art to represent flesh as naturally as possible.[418] The problem was articulated by Samuel van Hoogstraten as follows: *'it is not enough to mix beautiful colours, one has to search for the real naturalness'*.[419] This problem must have preoccupied Rembrandt throughout his life. In the same context, Van Hoogstraten specifically refers to Rembrandt as one of the painters *'who regard this aspect of the art* [a natural rendering of the flesh] *extremely high'*. [420]

Earlier in this chapter it was suggested that the faithful study in Indianapolis from *c.* 1629 (see fig. 123) could be considered a (life-sized) study, in front of the mirror, of Rembrandt's own skin. It may well have been produced in preparation for his future practice as a portrait painter. The remarkably faithful way in which he rendered even the small facial blemishes and pimples around his chin in this painting documents the fidelity with which Rembrandt was already studying his skin in his early years (fig. 328).[421] There, however, the young skin is still smooth, a smoothness one tends to associate with the *style* of the young Rembrandt. But in the first place it should be seen as the result of a primarily mimetic intention on Rembrandt's part. Similarly, in the Kenwood *Self-portrait* one tends to consider the visibility of the *peinture* mainly as a *stylistic* characteristic that belongs to the late Rembrandt. But a comparison of Rembrandt's depiction of the skin in the Kenwood painting (fig. 329) with that in a portrait of a young woman from the same period (for instance Br. 398) demonstrates that the *peinture* in the latter is adapted to the nature of the smooth skin of a young woman. This argues for the idea suggested here that Rembrandt, in depicting his face in the Kenwood *Self-portrait* allowed a mimetic *peinture* to help represent the surface texture of his skin.

The search for this type of mimesis more generally occupied Rembrandt from the time of the *Musical allegory* from 1626 (I A 7) onwards (see also the discussion above on the Frick *Self-portrait*).[422] The idea proposed here would seem to be corroborated by a comparison of the *peinture* in the two faces in the *Jewish Bride* (Br. 416) and, especially, in a pair of late portraits, the *Man with magnifying glass* and *Woman with a pink* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The facial skin of the man seems to show intentionally more and livelier traces of the brush's bristles than that of the women (figs. 326 and 327).[423]

417 Berger (ed.), op. cit.[400], p. 289.

418 P. Taylor, 'The glow in late sixteenth and seventeenth century Dutch painting', in Hermens (ed.), 'Looking through paintings: The study of painting technique and materials in support of art historical research', *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 11 (1998), pp. 159-178. See also Eric Jan Sluijter, 'Goltzius, painting and flesh (...)', in: *The learned eye (...). Essays for Ernst van de Wetering*, Amsterdam 2005, pp. 158-177.

419 *'t Is dan niet genoeg, dat men schoone kleuren mengelt, maer men moet de waere natuerlijkheyt naspeuren.'* Van Hoogstraeten, op.cit.[57], p. 227.

420 *'Ik zwijge van Rembrant en andere, die dit konstdeel [een natuerlijke karnatie] wonderlijk hoog achten.'* Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit.[57], p. 228.

421 See in this Volume *Corrigenda* I A 22.

422 See E. van de Wetering 1997, pp. 173-186.

423 Compare also: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt/not Rembrandt*, 1995/96, I figs. 68 and 70.

Fig. 326. Rembrandt, *Man with a magnifying glass*, *c.* 1662, canvas 91.4 x 74.3 cm, detail. New York, N.Y., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman (Br. 326)

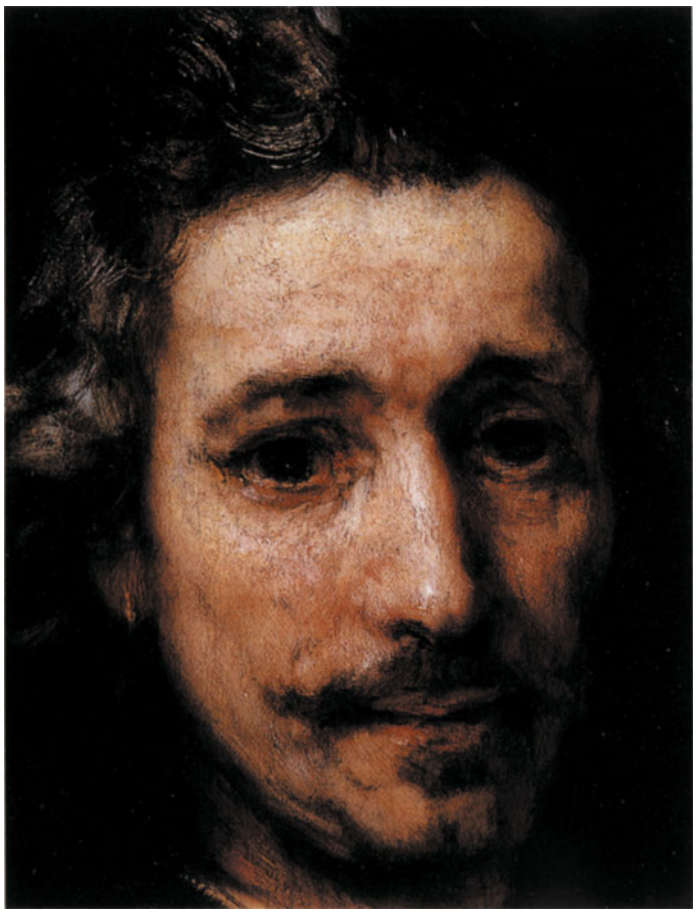


Fig. 327. Rembrandt, *Woman with a pink*, *c.* 1662, canvas 92.1 x 74.6 cm, detail. New York, N.Y., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman (Br. 401)



In fact, a method of mimetically depicting the pores in the human skin had already been described in the sixteenth century, although it remains open to question whether Rembrandt could have known the relevant text. In her dissertation on rendering the human skin in painting – and in particular in paintings by Van Eyck – Ann-Sophie Lehmann refers to a Latin text by Domenicus Lampsonius (1532-1599) that is relevant in this context, the *Vita* of the Liege painter Lambert Lombard (1506-1566).[424] The significance of this text is that it demonstrates that, well before Rembrandt, careful thought was already being given to what, at first sight, might seem a highly recondite problem – the representation of the pores of the human skin.

In the *Vita* of Lambert Lombard where attention is mainly concentrated on the emancipation of the art of painting from its guild restrictions, Lampsonius also goes into the question of the rendering of human skin. It is not clear whether he actually based this account on Lombard's studio practise. One of Lampsonius' remarks reads: *'that the imitation of the skin is only possible if pigments of a specific coarseness are used that correspond to the nature of the pores of the body concerned'*.[425]

Rembrandt would almost certainly have known a text of Vasari in which the pores of the human skin are discussed. The text concerned is the description of Leonardo da Vinci's attempts to achieve extreme realism in painting the *Mona Lisa*. Vasari writes: *'The eyebrows, through his* [Leonardo's] *having shown the manner in which the hairs spring from the flesh, here more close and here more scanty, and curve according to the pores of the skin, could not be more natural.'*[426] It is interesting to read how Samuel van Hoogstraten paraphrases this text, for in his rendition he implies that Leonardo not only suggested the pores but actually painted them. Having mentioned the hairs of *Mona Lisa's* eyebrows, Van Hoogstraten continues without making the relevant connection – as Vasari had – with these hairs: *'One sensed the little sweat holes in the tender skin.'*.[427] It is

424 Ann-Sophie Lehmann, *Mit Haut und Haaren, Jan van Eycks Adam und Eva Tafeln in Gent - Rezeption, Bedeutung und Maltechnik des Aktes in der frühniederländischen Malerei,* doct. diss. Utrecht 2004, pp. 78-85.

425 In the French translation by Hubeaux and Puraye the relevant passage reads: *'Cette ingénieuse imitation des différentes couleurs ne va pas sans donner quelque dureté aux pigments, laquelle rugosité doit être appropriée à la brillante figuration des pores de chacun des corps qu'il s'agit de représenter'*. See Jean Hubeaux, Jean Puraye, 'Dominique Lampson, Lamberti Lombardi … Vita. Traduction et notes', *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 18 (1949), p. 71. Lehmann raises the question of whether Lambert Lombard (or Lampsonius) could have based these ideas (on the mimetic rendering of the skin by means of pigment granules ground to a size corresponding to that of the epidermal pores) on Titian, who was highly admired in the sixteenth century for his ability to render the human flesh. She concludes, however, that the written sources give no indication that Titian might have availed himself of this method. Investigation of Titian's paintings also yield no evidence for his having entertained this possibility as explicitly as did Lampsonius/Lombard. See Lehmann, op. cit.[424], p. 80 and notes 416-419.

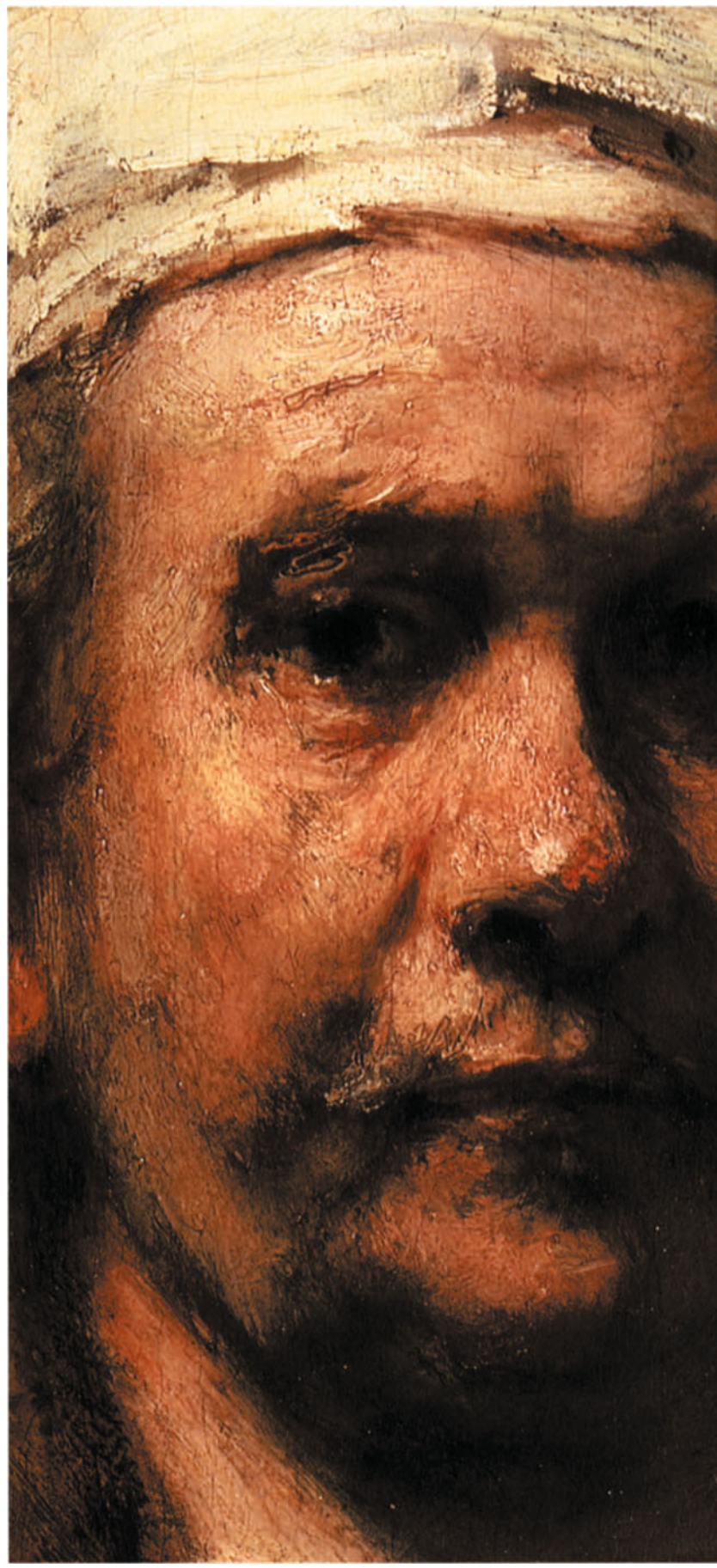
426 Vasari, *Le vite* … (the life of Leonardo da Vinci).

427 *'… men speurde de zweetgaetjes in het teedere vel'*. Van Hoogstraeten, op.cit.[57], p. 239.

Fig. 328. Rembrandt, *Study in the mirror*, *c.* 1629, panel 42.8 x 33 cm, detail (1:1). Indianapolis, The Indianapolis Museum of Art, lent by the Clowes Fund (IV Corrigendum I A 22)



Fig. 329. Detail (1:1) of fig. 319 and cat. no. IV 26 fig. 1



surprising that Rembrandt appears to have developed his own approach to the representation of fine detail in human skin painted as 'roughly' as that in the Kenwood *Self-portrait*. Rembrandt's painting of human flesh is an aspect of his technique that needs to be more thoroughly investigated.

Rembrandt died on the 4th of October 1669. The cause of his death is not known. In his abandoned studio, on or near the easel there was at least one painting still known to us with certainty. It is a painting which, in the relevant document (to be dealt with below), was referred to as *'a painting with Simeon'*. There can be no doubt that this was the unfinished *Presentation in the temple*, now in the National Museum in Stockholm.[428]

When Rembrandt's estate was settled after his death, there was apparently some confusion over the ownership of the *'painting with Simeon'*. The painter Allaert van Everdingen and his 25 year-old son Cornelis, also a painter, were asked to testify before the notary on this matter. It was known that they had visited Rembrandt in his studio and had heard him say that he was working on the *Simeon* painting commissioned by Dirck van Cattenburgh (1616-1704), an art-lover and gentleman-dealer. The young Cornelis van Everdingen, who evidently had visited Rembrandt more frequently than his father, added to his statement that he had also seen Rembrandt busy preparing a number of copper plates to be used for an etched Passion series, also for Dirck van Cattenburgh. This art-lover, originally a wine-merchant who later in his life, according to Bredius, *'speculated in all kinds of things, in ventures of both East and West Indies Companies, in houses and land and in trading various goods'*, had been in touch with Rembrandt since the early 1650's.[429]

As Van Everdingen's statement before the notary apparently relates solely to works that Dirck van Cattenburgh had commissioned, the possibility that there may have been other works in the workshop, perhaps also self-portraits, cannot be excluded. One can imagine that the unfinished Kenwood *Self-portrait* was still there, or the (signed, but scarcely what one would call finished) self-portrait now in The Hague, the painting which can rightly be called Rembrandt's last self-portrait. It was not only the Van Everdingens who must have visited Rembrandt in his workshop during the last months of his life; there were a number of others interested in the art of painting with whom, one way or another, either through business or friendship, Rembrandt had contact and who may have visited the workshop in that period – Abraham Francen, Lodewijck van Ludick, Herman Becker among others. These would all surely have known of the visit – or possibly two visits – paid to Rembrandt during his last years by Prince Cosimo III de' Medici. When the Prince was in Amsterdam in 1669, he visited the *'botteghe de' più eccellenti maestri'* (the studios of the best masters). It is not unlikely that Rembrandt was one of these. At the time that Cosimo visited the painter in his studio two years earlier in 1667, Rembrandt had nothing in a finished state to show to his visitor; but assuming that he did visit Rembrandt again in 1669, Cosimo may have bought or ordered the self-portrait now in the Uffizi, possibly having it sent to Florence later by Marchese Filippo Corsini, his agent in Amsterdam.

This is the one self-portrait whose first owner is known with near certainty. Cosimo by virtue of his position was a lover of art, although he was probably keener on 'fine painters' like Frans van Mieris and Gerard Dou than on Rembrandt. The prince may well have considered Rembrandt's self-portrait to be a painting in which *'one has a depiction of the artist and at the same time a particular example of his style'* as Luigi Lanzi (1732-1810), one of the later custodians of the Medici collection of self-portraits, was to phrase it.[430]

When that collection of self-portraits was arranged on two walls in the eighteenth century (IV 28 fig. 4), the painting in the Uffizi was probably reduced in size drastically. Moreover, it is now almost hidden behind a strongly discoloured or tinted layer of varnish, under which there also seem to be extensive overpaintings (figs. 321, 331). Consequently, the painting scarcely lends itself to stylistic analysis in its present condition, but as far as the question of authenticity is concerned, given the documentary evidence and the work's genesis in the late 1660s, such analysis is hardly necessary. Compared with the other three self-portraits of the group under discussion, each with its own *peinture*, the handling of the paint in this work is also distinctively different. The forms and particularly the highlights are indicated with casual strokes in relatively thick paint. Rembrandt seems to have painted this self-portrait remarkably rapidly, not only the clothing but the head too.

Our idea of Rembrandt's activities as a painter of self-portraits in the last year of his life was for a long time determined by the *Self-portrait* in The Hague dated 1669 (figs. 322, 332). This changed when in 1967 the remains of a signature and the date 1669 were discovered on the late London *Self-portrait* (figs. 320, 330). If the London and The Hague self-portraits are placed next to each other – as was actually the case during the 1999/2000 exhibition – the great differences in physiognomy are obvious. The painting in The Hague clearly originated later. The puffy face, the loosely drooping dewlap, the hair which has been allowed to grow to the shoulders, all points to a later origin for this painting. We see here an old man, whereas the London painting shows an ageing man but one still vigorously in command of his faculties.

In 1966/67, the London painting had its old varnish layers and local overpaintings removed, as a result of which Rembrandt's method of working can now be clearly read. What strikes one is the seemingly endless

428 A. Bredius, 'Uit Rembrandt's laatste levensjaar', *O.H.* 27 (1909), pp. 238-240.

429 For Dirck van Cattenburgh and other art-lovers mentioned below who knew Rembrandt personally, see J. van der Veen, 'Het netwerk van verzamelaars rondom Rembrandt', in B. van den Boogert (ed.), *Rembrandts schatkamer*, Amsterdam/Zwolle 1999, pp. 141-145.

430 Prinz, op. cit.[110], pp. 230 and 182.

Fig. 330. Detail (1:1) of fig. 320 and cat. no. IV 27 fig. 1



Fig. 331. Detail (1:1) of fig. 321 and cat. no. IV 28 fig. 1



variation in the traces of Rembrandt's hand. This variety does not seem to result from any deliberate striving for particular, locally different effects, but rather seems to be related to a deliberate allowing for chance in a kind of feed-back process guided solely by the precision of the apparently gradually developing pictorial intentions. It thus appears to have been a long process of successively refining and strengthening light and shade, the toning down of passages apparently considered too light, of corrections and still further outworking of detail. There are few works by Rembrandt in which this process is so clearly manifest, a process so utterly different from the approach to painting of the young Rembrandt, but also from the other three paintings from the group under discussion.

The nature of Rembrandt's movements during work on this painting can best be read in the scratchings in the earlobe and at the tip of the nose. One is inclined to read in these scratchings the motoric characteristics of an old man who, in brief spurts of concentration, seems to introduce clarifications – which in earlier paintings were executed with the brush – by impatiently scoring the paint with the back of the brush. A similarly impatient, erratic scoring of the paint is abundantly visible in the *Portrait of an elderly man* in The Hague, from 1667, and in the Kenwood *Self-portrait.* Whether the seemingly uncontrolled handwriting in these scratches is due to a lack of motor control is a very real question. On the other hand, in Rembrandt's late works, there are ample indications that Rembrandt still had a steady hand and complete control of fine movement; and the fact that in the same year he took on the etching of a Passion series (see above) must surely be seen as an indication that Rembrandt had no problem whatever with fine control of the hand whilst painting the self-portraits during that last year of his life. Rather, it is the motoric habits that he must have acquired following the discovery of allowing chance effects into the painting of human skin (see pp. 271 and 308) that have to be the explanation for the erratic nature of these scratchings and the brushstrokes in this painting.

One sees not only in the X-radiographs how thoroughly Rembrandt pursued solutions to extend his control over the pictorial unity (*'eenwezich*heid', see p. 290). In all aspects, the paint surface seems to testify to an unflagging quest for the right solutions. It is this absence or even refusal of the possibility of falling back on to routine that makes this painting such a moving and impressive document of Rembrandt's dedication to his art. Through this searching way of working in front of the mirror, guided both by direct observation and the controlling power of an exceptional imagination, there arises a rich interplay between rough, grainy brushstrokes – sometimes, as on the chin, abruptly curtailed touches – and thinly flowing, blurring passages. This interplay ensures a strongly atmospheric effect, because the eye of the beholder is repeatedly stimulated to focus, giving rise to the sensation that the forms are always emerging, ever more concretely. It is this weaving together of pictorial aims and painterly processes that make this painting's genesis such an unusually complex, yet natural event. A comparison of the finished work with its X-radiograph (IV 27 fig. 2) – when one sees what a large number of alterations were made during the painting's progress – demonstrates the high priority that Rembrandt was still attaching to pictorial aspects even in his last year.

This priority of the pictorial challenge is also evident in the sober, last self-portrait, the one in the Mauritshuis. Although executed in a most summary fashion (see IV 29, *Paint layer*, *X-radiography* and *Comments*), we see once again, perhaps even more clearly in the genesis of this painting, Rembrandt's untiring drive to find the best pictorial solutions.

This striving for pictorial unity (*'eenwezich*heid', see p. 290) in his images must have become second nature to him, or perhaps was so from the outset; but apparently such unity was seldom achieved straight off. The fact that this quest was once more renewed in this, his last self-portrait betrays how conscientiously Rembrandt approached his art. This is the only explanation for the, in retrospect, dizzying development that Rembrandt underwent in the work on the segment of his oeuvre discussed in this chapter. With every session before the mirror from 1625-1669, despite all the routine built up over the years, the art of painting (or the art of drawing or etching) seems to have been discovered anew, because the gaze in the mirror was just as new and just as exploratory each and every time (see in this connection IV 26 fig. 2).

In addition to the Uffizi *Self-portrait*, it is hypothetically possible – with the necessary reservations – to link yet another of the last four self-portraits to the name of its possible first owner: once again, we are looking at Dirck van Cattenburgh, who had ordered the *'Simeon'* and the never realized Passion series of etchings. In 1685, Van Cattenburgh was forced to sell a self-portrait by Rembrandt, referred to as *'en schilderij sijnde een tronye door Rembrandt nae hem selven geschildert'* (a painting, being a face by Rembrandt painted after himself).[431] The fact that one of the art-lovers who followed Rembrandt during the last years of his life possessed one of his self-portraits confirms – as argued in pp. 137-143 – that, however personal and self-willed his own quest in their genesis was and remained to the end of his life, Rembrandt did not paint these works solely for himself but also evidently for others. The realization of this fact gives these works an extra charge.

The present chapter (pp. 89-317) – which has become a book within a book – will be summarized in an overview and evaluation of this volume as a whole on pp. XXIII-XXX of this volume.

431 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/22. The date of the document is mistaken by Strauss and Van der Meulen. According to Jaap van der Veen it should be 1685 (oral communication).

Fig. 332. Detail (1:1) of fig. 322 and cat. no. IV 29 fig. 1



Appendix

Early references to self-portraits by Rembrandt

N.B. Where references to e.g. 'een conterfeytsel van Rembrandt' ('a portrait of/by Rembrandt') are not further identified, these are not included.

[1] In the inventory of the collection of Charles I of England drawn up by Abraham van der Doort in 1639 there is mentioned:
'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.'
I A 33; Strauss *Doc.*, 1639/11.
(See Chapter III fig. 143)

[2] In 1647, Martin van den Broeck handed over to Andries Ackersloot:
'Een contrefeytsel van Rembrants vrouw' (A portrait of Rembrandt's wife)
''t Contrefeytsel van Rembrant' (The portrait of Rembrandt)
'De minnemoer van Rembrant' (The wetnurse by Rembrandt)
GAA, not. J. van de Ven, NA 1081, fol. 66r-v, dd. 28th March 1647 and Strauss *Doc.*, 1647/1.

[3] In the will of Abraham Bartje(n)s:
'Twee efigien van den constrijcken schilder Rembrandt met sijn vrouw' (Two portraits of the artistic painter Rembrandt and his wife)
GAA, not. P. van Velsen, NA 1785, fol. 396, dd. 14th December 1648; Strauss *Doc.* 1648/7.

[4] In the inventory of the Amsterdam merchant, art dealer and collector Johannes de Renialme of 1657:
'[No.] 292 Rembrants contrefeytsel anteycke *f* 150:-:-' (No. 292 Rembrandt's portrait *à l'antique* f 150:-:-)
III A 139; GAA, not. F. Uyttenbogaert, NA 1915, pp. 663-692, dd. 27th June 1657, esp. 671; Strauss *Doc.*, 1657/2.
[N.B. Estimated by the painter Adam Camerarius and the collector-dealer Marten Kretzer]
(See Chapter III fig. 242)

[5] The inventory of Rembrandt's daughter-in-law, Titus' widow Magdalena van Loo, of *c.* 21th October 1669 lists:
'Een conterfeytsel van des overledens schoonvader' (A portrait of the father-in-law of the deceased)
HdG *Urk.*, no. 310.

[6] In the list of paintings purchased by Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici between 1663 and 1671 mention is made of a:
'Ritratto di Rembrans Fiammingo' (Portrait of Rembrandt the Fleming)
In the *Inventario Generale de Quadri [...]* and K. Langedijk, *Die Selbstbildnisse der holländischen und flämischen Künstler in der Galleria degli Autoritratti der Uffizien in Florenz*, Florence 1992, p. 151.
(See cat. no. IV 28)

[7] In the inventory of Pieter le Moine in Amsterdam:
'Een schilderije van Rembrant van Rijn zijnde sijn contrefeytsel' (A portrait of Rembrandt by Rembrandt)
GAA, not. S. van der Sluijs, NA 3533, fol. 327-338, dd. 23rd May 1674.
[N.B. In the same inventory there is also: 'Een conterfeytsel van Rembrants zoon' (A portrait of Rembrandt's son).]

[8] In the inventory drawn up on 3rd January 1677 at Alkmaar listing the contents of the house of the painter (and possibly Rembrandt's pupil) Lambert Doomer, there occurs:
'Rembrants conterfeytsel' (Portrait of Rembrandt)
Th.Wortel, 'Lambert Doomer te Alkmaar', *O.H.* 46 (1929), pp. 171-187, esp. 176.
[N.B. This entry occurs among a number of works by Doomer; so that the portrait concerned *could* therefore be from the latter's hand.]

[9] In the inventory of the house contents of Adriana van Gheyn, the widow of Louis Crayers [guardian of Titus]:
'Een conterfeytsel van Rembrand van Rijn en zijn vrouw' (A portrait of Rembrandt van Rijn and his wife)
GAA, not. A. Lock, NA 2262(B), pp. 1090-1116, dd. 4th August 1677, esp. 1100; HdG *Urk.*, no. 336.

[10] In the inventory of Harmen Becker:
'Een manstronie van Rembrant sijnde sijn eygen contrefeytsel' (A *tronie* of Rembrandt, being his own portrait)
GAA, not. S. Pelgrom, NA 4767, pp. 324-378, dd. 19th October – 23rd November 1678.

[11] Among the copper plates in Clement de Jonghe's (d. 1677) print shop, under the heading 'Rembrants' were found:
'[No.] 13 Conterf. van Rembr.'
'[No.] 71 Rembrant selvs'
GAA, not. J. Backer, NA 4528, pp. 117-146, dd. 11 februari 1679, i.h.b. pp. 137 and 138; HdG *Urk.*, no. 346.

[12] In 1683 recorded in the collection of the French King Louis XIV in Paris as purchased in 1671 from S[r]. de la Feuille.
No. 318: 'Un tableau de Raimbault représentant son portrait tenant une pallette de la main gauche et son appuy main de la droite avec une coëffe sur la teste'. (A painting of Rembrandt, showing his portrait holding a palette in his left hand and his maul-stick in the right, with a cap on his head)
M. Le Brun, *Inventaire des Tableaux du Cabinet du Roy*, Paris 1683.
(See cat. no. IV 19)

[13] Dirck van Cattenburgh in 1685 was in possession of:
'Een stuck schilderij sijnde een tronye door Rembrant nae hem selven geschildert, daerom is een platte gestroyde vergulde lijste' (A painting, being a *tronie* by Rembrandt painted after himself, surrounded by a flat, sprinkled, gilt frame)
GAA, not. J. de Hué, NA 5528(B), dd. 1st December 1685; Strauss *Doc.*, 1658 [sic]/22.

[14] In the inventory of the house contents of Joseph Deutz and Lucretia Ortt:

'[No.] 15 Het contrefeitsel van Rembrant door hem selffs gedaen f 80:-:-' (The portrait of Rembrandt done by himself f 80:-:-)
GAA, Arch.no. 234, inv.no. 309, dd. 6th September 1685.
[N.B. Estimated by the painters Jan Roosa and Steven Vennekool; in the division of property this self-portrait was allocated to 'de heeren Ortt'.]

[15] At an anonymous sale in Amsterdam on 9th April 1687, was sold:
'No.100. Van Rembrant, zyn eygen Conterfeytsel f 6:-:-' (Rembrandt's self-portrait 6 guilders)
Hoet I, p. 10, no.100; HdG *Urk.*, no. 362.

[16] In the inventory of house contents of Willem Spieringh in Delft:
'No. 48 Een trony van Rembrant sijnde sijn contrefeytsel' (A *tronie* by Rembrandt being his portrait)
GADelft, not. W. van Ruyven, NA 2290, deed 18, dd. 31st March 1689; HdG *Urk.*, no. 364.

[17] In the inventory of the house contents of Abraham Cosson there is an entry:
'Twee tronyen van Rembrant en sijn wijff f 15:-:-' (Two *tronies* of Rembrandt and his wife f 15:-:-)
GAA, DBK 397, fol. 156v-166v, dd. 31st March –1st/2nd April 1694.
[N.B. Estimated by the art dealer Jan Pietersz. Zomer]

[18] In the inventory of the collector from Cologne, Eberhard Jabach, Paris 17th July 1696:
'Nr. 123 Portrait de Rimbrands, ayant un linge blanc autour de sa teste, 1/2 figure grande comme le naturel, de luy-mesme. 100 liv[res]'. (Portrait of Rembrandt by himself, with a white linen cloth round his head, half-figure, life-sized. 100 pounds)
Vicomte de Grouchy in *Memoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris* 21 (1894), p. 255.
(See cat. no. IV 24)

[19] At an anonymous sale on 10th June 1705 was sold:
'Rembrants Conterfeytsel, op zijn Persiaen, door hem geschildert f 59: -:-' (Portrait of Rembrandt in Persian costume, painted by himself, 59 guilders)
Hoet I, p. 79, no. 30; probably indentical with Br. 16 (*Corpus* I A 40)

[20] In the printed sale catalogue of Jan de Wale, *heer van* Ankeveen (Amsterdam 12th May 1706) is found:
'Nr. 27 Rembrants Conterfeytzel, door hem geschildert' (Portrait of Rembrandt painted by himself)
Lugt 200, p. 2, no. 27.

[21] On 18th March 1711 the German Zacharias von Uffenbach saw at Sieuwert van der Schelling in Amsterdam:
'ein unvergleichlich Porträt ganz gross von Rembrandt durch ihn selbst gemahlt, welches gewiss bewunderns werth ist, und nicht genug kan betrachtet werden' (an incomparable, very large portrait of Rembrandt painted by himself, so admirable one cannot gaze on it enough)
Z.C. von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engeland*, 3 vols., Frankfurt/Leipzig/Ulm 1753-1754, esp. vol. III, p. 647; HdG *Urk*, no. 393.

[22] At an anonymous sale on Amsterdam on 6th May 1716 was sold:
'Zijn eygen Portrait van dito [Rembrandt] f 20: -:- (His own portrait by the same [Rembrandt] 20 guilders)
Hoet I, p. 198, no. 91.

[23] Arnold Houbraken mentions in 1718:
'Onder een menigte van roemwaardige pourtretten die hy [Rembrandt] gemaakt heeft, is'er een geweest by den Heere Jan van Beuningen, dat hy naar zyn eigen wezen had geschildert, 't geen zoo konstig en kraftig uitgewerkt was, dat het kragtigste penceelwerk van Van Dyk, en Rubbens daar by niet kon halen, ja het hooft scheen uit het stuk te steken, en de aanschouwers aan te spreken.' (Among many portraits deserving of fame that he [Rembrandt] made, there was one belonging to Heere Jan van Beuningen that he had painted of himself, which was so skilfully and artfully worked out that even the best brushwork of Van Dyck and Rubens could not match it; yes, the head seemed to emerge from the painting and speak to the viewers.)
A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1718-1721, esp. vol. I, p. 269.

[24] In the inventory of Catharina Berewout, who had been the widow of Bonaventura van Dortmont, is listed:
'Een stuck, verbeeldende Rembrant, hem zelf geschildert' (A piece, showing Rembrandt, painted by himself)
GAA, not. A. Tzeewen, NA 7602, pp. 69-82, dd. 18th/20th January 1719.

[25] Among the works in the collection of Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine in Düsseldorf in 1719 was listed:
'N. 93. Das Portrait von Rembrand, gemahlet von *Rembrand*' (The portrait of Rembrandt, painted by Rembrandt)
(See cat. no. IV 11, Copy 1)

[26] On 6th August 1722, at the sale of William van Huls: 'Rembrandt–His own Picture' was purchased by Thomas Brodrick for £ 80
F. Simpson, 'Dutch paintings in England before 1760', *Burl. Mag.* 95 (1953), pp. 39-42, esp. 41.

[27] The following entry appears on an undated list of paintings from the first quarter of the eighteenth century concerning one 'mevrouw van Sonsbeek':
'No. 38 Het portrait van Rembrandt door hem selfs f 50:-:-' (Portrait of Rembrandt by himself 50 guilders)
A. Bredius, 'Eenige taxaties van schilderijen in de XVIIe en in het begin der XVIIIe eeuw', *O.H.* 24 (1906), pp. 236-241, esp. 238.
[N.B. Estimated by the painter Anthony de Waardt]

[28] In the inventory of house contents of Catharina Grypestar (The Hague 1731/2) is found:
'Het portrait van Rembrandt door hem zelf geschildert f 80:-:-' (The portrait of Rembrandt painted by himself f 80:-:-)
Br. *Künstl.-Inv.*, p. 957. [N.B. without citation of source]
[N.B. Estimated by the painter and art dealer Jacques de Roore]

Chapter IV

Grounds in Rembrandt's workshop and in paintings by his contemporaries

C. (KARIN) M. GROEN

A ground, or priming, is applied to a support – canvas, wood etc. – to provide a suitable base on which to paint. In general, its composition is comparable to that of paint, namely consisting of one or more pigments in a binding medium laid on in one or more layers.

The ground's colour and texture play a role in the final effect of the painted surface. The colour largely determines the choice of painting technique. Thus, on a white ground the artist can work from light to dark, whereas on a dark ground the artist works in reverse order, with light highlights often the last strokes to be applied. From examination of paintings with exposed areas of ground, Rembrandt generally appears to have painted on a middle tone, determining the division of light and dark in the composition as a whole in an early stage of the painting process, with the ground functioning as an intermediary. This made it possible to paint rapidly and efficiently, while the chiaroscuro, so important in Baroque painting, was almost instantly achieved.

The ground differed depending on the type of support. Panels were still mainly used in the Northern Netherlands in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. From *c.* 1624 on Rembrandt worked on panel, sometimes on paper. As far as we know, he began working on canvas only in 1631. Theodore Turquet De Mayerne described the preparation of panels in three recipes in his *Pictoria Sculptoria & quae subalternarum artium,* an extensive collection of notes concerning technical aspects of art, the earliest dated entry being 1620. The so-called *Mayerne Manuscript* contains the most important written sources on painting technique in Rembrandt's time.[1] De Mayerne obtained his information from conversations with artists and other individuals dealing with artists' materials, and from recipes in older books, which he copied, or painter's exercise books with recipes, which he incorporated in his collection.

The value that can be attributed to a knowledge of the composition of ground layers – knowledge acquired through chemical analysis – depends crucially on knowing whether the canvases or panels were delivered already primed or whether they were primed in the workshop. The results of our research on Rembrandt's canvases (see Volume II, Chapter II)[2] seemed to indicate that they had already been prepared when they entered his workshop. They could have been purchased from any number of primers, or provided by the individual who commissioned one or more paintings. Accordingly, because the provenance of the primed canvases is unknown and the composition of the grounds varies, the value of the information on Rembrandt's grounds seemed fairly limited. As outlined below, this situation changed after 1640, when canvases appear to have been prepared in Rembrandt's own workshop on a relatively large scale. Moreover, this was done with a mixture unique for Dutch painting of the period, a fact which greatly enhances the relevance of the analytical results.

Research of Rembrandt's grounds to date

Since 1914, when Raehlmann placed samples from paintings under the microscope to identify their pigments, a great deal of data has been amassed on the pigments used by various generations of painters.[3] Grounds were largely ignored until ways of preparing the microscopic samples and grounds were developed that facilitated the examination of cross-sections of the paint layers. At best, a ground was initially considered part of the observed layer structure.[4] Extending over the entire surface of the support and identical in all of the paint samples from a single painting, the ground did not seem to be a promising area of research. Helmut Ruhemann, conservator at the National Gallery in London, in 1965 incorrectly noted that the grounds in Rembrandt's time did not differ much from those in use since the Middle Ages.[5] However, in 1968, the National Gallery also produced a publication, by Sir Philip Hendy, the Gallery's director, together with the chief conservator, Arthur Lucas, presenting a survey of the grounds from various traditions and periods.[6] While this publication remains valuable, we now have far more information at our disposal on the basis of which we would interpret some of their examples rather differently.[7] From 1990 onwards there has been an increase in publications on white and coloured grounds.[8]

1 Theodore Turquet De Mayerne, *Pictoria Sculptoria & quae subalternarum artium,* 1620, in: E. Berger, *Quellen für Maltechnik während der Renaissance und deren Folgezeit,* Munich 1901. J. A. van de Graaf, *Het De Mayerne Manuscript als bron voor de schildertechniek van de Barok,* Mijdrecht 1958.

2 See also: Ernst van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work,* Amsterdam 1997, pp. 91-130.

3 E. Raehlmann, *Über die Farbstoffe der Malerei in den verschiedenen Kunstperioden nach mikroskopischen Untersuchungen,* Leipzig 1914. A. M. de Wild, *The scientific examination of pictures,* London 1929.

4 For a bibliography of the early literature, see: Joyce Plesters, 'Bibliography, technical and scientific examination', in: Helmut Ruhemann, *The cleaning of paintings,* London 1965, pp. 461-472.

5 Ruhemann, op.cit.[4], p. 168.

6 Philip Hendy and A. S. Lucas, 'The ground in pictures', *Museum* XXI, 4 (1968), pp. 245-256, with twenty-two photomicrographs of cross-sections of paint and ground in colour with descriptive texts by Joyce Plesters on pp. 257-265.

7 Hendy and Lucas, op. cit.[6], on p. 268 they seem to suggest that, in Holland, the traditional manner of preparing panels was continued in the seventeenth century on canvases. However, from the text in Plesters' caption no. 15 it is clear that double, coloured grounds on canvas were found by the authors in paintings from the seventeenth century in the Netherlands. No. 14, Van Dyck, *Charles I on horseback,* is probably on a double ground of grey on orange-red and not on a ground of an orange-red mixture alone, as suggested in the caption.

8 To name a few: Alain R. Duval, 'Les préparations colorées des tableaux de l'école française des dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles', *Studies in Conservation* 37 (1992), pp. 239-258. Ella Hendriks, Anne van Grevenstein, Karin Groen, 'The painting technique of four paintings by Hendrick Goltzius and the introduction of the coloured ground', *Goltzius-studies: Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617,* (1993), pp. 481-497. Alain R. Duval, 'Les enduits de préparation des tableaux de Nicolas Poussin', *Techne* 1 (1994), pp. 35-41. Ségolène Bergeon and Elisabeth Martin, 'La technique de la peinture française des XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècles', *Techne* 1 (1994), pp. 65-78. Jill Dunkerton and Marika Spring, 'The development of painting on coloured surfaces in sixteenth-century Italy', *Painting Techniques, History, Materials and Studio Practice,* IIC Contributions to the Dublin Congress (1998), pp. 120-130.

In the period preceding Hendy and Lucas' article, Hermann Kühn in Munich had already conducted research on ground layers, but then solely in relation to the work of Rembrandt. This inquiry was sparked by the controversy surrounding the '*Self-portrait*' in Stuttgart (see IV 17), which was acquired as an important late Rembrandt and subsequently branded as a forgery. The ground of this painting was found to consist largely of finely ground sand, with a substantial quantity of clay minerals.[9] Because the significance of this finding was unclear – no such ground had been detected previously – Kühn subsequently conducted an extensive investigation of the grounds in paintings by Rembrandt, as well as those by a number of other artists for comparison.

Ninety seven paintings from various collections were examined in 1962, of which 48 at that time were attributed to Rembrandt, 10 were considered to be shop works or contemporary copies of works by Rembrandt, and 38 were by other Dutch painters from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. In 1965, Kühn published the results of his – in the meantime more extensive – investigation of the grounds of 122 paintings on canvas and panel from various periods ascribed to Rembrandt.[10] On the basis of these investigations, in which no cross-sections were prepared, his impression was that the grounds used by Rembrandt, both on panel and on canvas, varied enormously. This conclusion later proved to be incorrect. At the request of the Rembrandt Research Project and in collaboration with the Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Kassel, Kühn later again took samples of the ground and paint layers of the paintings in Kassel and prepared and analysed cross-sections of these samples.[11] The work in Kassel was continued in Dresden.[12] Consequently, the original notion that Rembrandt experimented with his grounds had to be modified. For a discussion on this subject, the reader is referred to Volumes I and II.[13]

In 1989 the National Gallery in London published the exemplary *Art in the Making. Rembrandt* to accompany the exhibition with the same title.[14] This catalogue contained information on the composition, build-up and colour of the ground layers of 20 paintings on canvas and panel by Rembrandt, organised in a table and with illustrations of the paint cross-sections in the catalogue entries. This investigation confirmed the results of Kühn's work in Kassel and Dresden and led to the conclusion that the grounds of Rembrandt's supports can be grouped into a limited number of types.

Grounds on panels

The present author has been studying Rembrandt's earliest paintings – all on panel and originating between 1626 and 1631 – in the Central Research Laboratory in Amsterdam in collaboration with and within the context of the Rembrandt Research Project since 1973. With a few exceptions, no significant difference has been detected between the grounds of the various panels:[15] only a single type appears to have been used, namely that described in the *Mayerne Manuscript*. De Mayerne had obtained the following recipe from the Amsterdam painter Latombé (who, like De Mayerne, was working in London):

'For [a ground on] wood, first coat it with the above said glue and chalk. When it has dried scrape and make it even with a knife, then apply a thin layer of lead white and umber.'[16]

In contrast to the early Italian panels covered with various layers of gesso, our investigation showed that the chalk ground on seventeenth century Dutch panels was thinly laid on (figs. 1, 2). Treating the panel with a mixture of chalk and glue was primarily intended to seal the openings in the wood grain in order to obtain a smooth surface.

The oil-containing top layer isolated the strongly absorbent chalk-glue ground from the (oil) paint layers to be applied during painting and provided a yellowish ochre-coloured surface on which to work. As a result, where it functioned as an intermediary tint among the dark and light areas of the composition, the colour of the ground often remained partially exposed.

This type of ground also recurs consistently on Rembrandt's later panels. In cases of deviation, for instance in the thickness of the layers or the total absence of one of the two layers, this can, as a rule, be explained by the location from which the sample was taken. For example, the top layer in a sample from the edge of the panel can be thicker than elsewhere because the paint of the ground accumulates along the edges when the panel is prepared. On the other hand, the bottom chalk layer is sometimes so thin that it is not found in a paint cross-

9 H. Kühn, 'Zwischenergebnis der Röntgenfeinstrukturanalyse von Grundierungen' in: Cornelius Müller Hofstede, 'Das Stuttgarter Selbstbildnis von Rembrandt', *Pantheon* 2 (1963), pp. 99-100. P. Coremans, Chr. Wolters, K. Wehlte, 'Bericht über die naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung des Stuttgarter Rembrandt-Selbstbildnissses', *Pantheon* 2 (1963), pp. 94-97. Paul Coremans, Jean Thissen, 'Het wetenschappelijk onderzoek van het "Zelfportret van Stuttgart". Bijdrage tot de Rembrandtvorsing', *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* 7 (1964), pp. 187-195. Paul Coremans, 'L' autoportrait de Rembrandt à la Staatsgalerie de Stuttgart, Examen scientifique', *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 2 (1965), pp.175-188.

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

11 Hermann Kühn, 'Untersuchungen zu den Pigmenten und Malgründen Rembrandts, durchgeführt an den Gemälden der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Kassel', *Maltechnik Restauro* 82 (1976), pp. 25-33.

12 Hermann Kühn, 'Untersuchungen zu den Pigmenten und Malgründen Rembrandts, durchgeführt an den Gemälden der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden', *Maltechnik Restauro* 83 (1977), pp. 223-233.

13 *Corpus* Vol. I, pp. 17-29; Vol. II, pp. 42-43.

14 David Bomford, Cristopher Brown, Ashok Roy, *Art in the Making. Rembrandt*, London 1989.

15 Karin Groen, 'Schildertechnische aspecten van Rembrandts vroegste schilderijen', *O.H.* 91 (1977), pp. 66-74. Ernst van de Wetering, 'De jonge Rembrandt aan het werk', *O.H.* 91 (1977), pp. 27-65. *Corpus* Vol. I, pp. 16-20. For the exceptions see Table II, pp. 660 ff.

16 Berger, op.cit.[1], Ms p. 11, no. 14, p. 118: 'Pour le bois. Imprimés premierement auec la colle susditte & croye, estant sec, grattés & equales auec le couteau, puis faites vne couche legere auec blanc de plomb & ombre.'

Fig. 1. A paint cross-section from a sample from the *Musical allegory* (I A 7, Br. 632) shows the usual build-up for the ground on panels: a chalk-glue ground with a lead white and umber *imprimatura*. The layers above the *imprimatura* consist of paint and varnish.

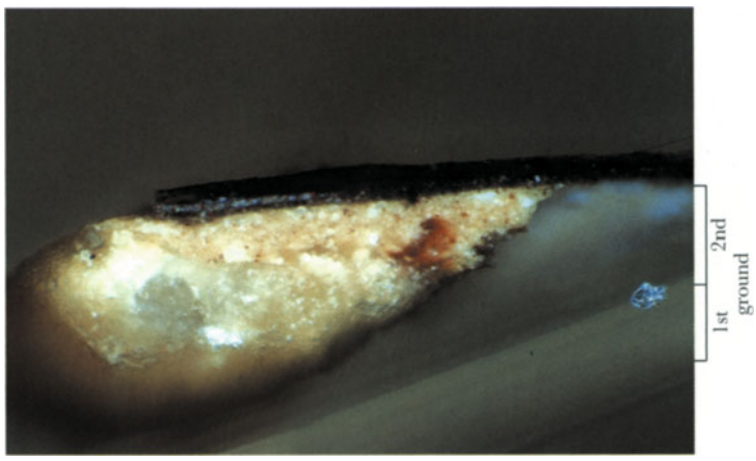


Fig. 2. Paint cross-section from a sample from the *Self-portrait* (IV Addendum 1, Br. 157), showing a thin layer of a chalk-glue ground with a very thin lead white *imprimatura* on top.



section: as mentioned above, the chalk-glue mixture was used primarily to fill the pores of the wood. Panels with this type of ground were employed on a large scale by Rembrandt and his workshop, as well as other – not only Dutch – painters in the seventeenth century and earlier. As a rule, painters probably purchased the panels thus prepared from professional primers.[17] Accordingly, grounds on panel will not be discussed further (see, however, Table II, pp. 660 ff). What follows addresses the grounds on the canvases of Rembrandt and his workshop, and those of other Amsterdam painters of his time.

Grounds on canvases

As in the case of grounds for panels, the *Mayerne Manuscript* is the most important contemporary source regarding the preparation of canvas. De Mayerne gives numerous – almost identical – recipes for this treatment.[18] First the protruding threads and other irregularities were removed after which the canvas was brushed with glue. Thereafter, one or two coats of paint were applied to fill any irregularities in the canvas and provide a smooth surface of a particular colour.

'Having stretched the canvas tightly, apply glue made from the remains of leather or size, which should not be too thick (it is assumed that you have first removed any threads that might be sticking out). When the glue is dry, prime rather lightly with brown-red, or red-brown from England. Let it dry, and make it smooth with pumice stone. Then prime with a second and last layer of lead white, [and] well chosen charcoal. Small coals(?) and a little umber earth to make it dry faster. One can give it a third layer, but two is all right, and [such a ground] will never break, nor split.'[19]

A source from 1777, at least in part copied from earlier sources, clarifies the reason for the application of a grey over a red coat. The anonymous writer says that one almost always applies the grey over the red, 'in order to render the right hue, a reddish grey, that in general agrees with all the colours in the art of painting'.[20]

Much less frequently one finds in Mayerne's papers the recipe for another type of ground:

'After [applying the glue] prime with lead white and a little umber. One priming is enough; if you apply two, then the cloth will be more even.'[21]

A mixture of lead white and a little umber would give a light yellowish brown colour.

According to an annotation in the margin, De Mayerne received the first recipe from a 'primer' in London who came from Wallonia. The second recipe,

17 Van de Wetering, op. cit.[2], pp. 21-22.

18 For example, see: Van de Graaf, op. cit.[1], nos. 6-20, respectively Ms p. 5, 7v, 10v, 11, 28v, 84, 85, 87, 90, 95, 96, 98v, 111v, 154; and Berger, op. cit.[1], nos. 2, 8, 13, 14, 53, 185, 186, 190a, 194b, 206, 210, 214, 253, 333.

19 Berger, op. cit.[1], Ms p. 5, p. 102: 'Ayant bien estendu vostre toile sur un chassis, donnes luy de la colle de retaillons de cuir ou size qui ne soit pas trop espaisse, (presupposé que vous aurez prémierement coupé touts les fils qui auancent). Vostre colle estant seiche imprimés auec Braun rot, ou rouge brun d'Angleterre assez legerement. Laisséz seicher, & applanissés auec la pierre ponce: Puis imprimés auec vne seconde & derniere couche de Blanc de plomb. de Charbon de braise bien choisy. Smale coales & un peu de terre dombre pour faire plus vistement seicher. On peult donner vne troisiesme couche, mais deux font bien, & ne s'escaillent jamais, ny ne se fendent.'

20 Anonymous, *Nieuwen Verlichter der Konst-schilders, vernissers, vergulders en marmelaers, en alle andere liefhebbers dezer lofbaere konsten*, 1777, Vol. 1, p. 167: 'Men legt dan bynaer altyd twee andere grond-laegen op de eerste, d'eene achter d'andere, de naerleste altyd puymende als zy wel droog is, eer men de volgende legt. Deze laetste gronden zyn gemaekt van Lood wit gemengelt met bruyn Rood en een weynig Kol-Zwart, om den grond een roodagtig Grys te geven, het welk generaelyk overeenkomt met alle de koleuren van de Schilderkonst.' Partially translated in: *Valuable Secrets in arts and trades: or, approved directions from the best artists: containing upwards of one thousand approved recipes...*, London 1802?, p. 141: 'When this colour is dry, you are to rub it again with the pounce stone, to render it smoother. Then lay another coat of white lead and charcoal black, to render the ground greyish'.

21 Berger, op. cit.[1], Ms p. 11, p. 116: 'Apres imprimés auec blanc de plomb, & vn peu d'ombre. Vne imprimeure suffit; si on y en met deux la toile sera plus vnie.'

like the above-quoted recipe for the ground on panel, came from the Amsterdam painter Latombé.

Willem Beurs also mentions a mixture of lead white and umber for grounds for the 'beeldschilder' [portrait painter?], calling it a greyish brown, which should be applied very thick and in oil.[22]

It was hoped that research on the grounds would afford clarity on several aspects. The main issue was whether systematic investigation of grounds would prove significant for the central theme of this book, namely the issue of authenticity. Another question was whether hypotheses about the dating of certain paintings could be formulated on the basis of the composition of the ground layers, in combination with specific canvases.[23]

Naturally, various other questions also played a role, such as whether in Rembrandt's case any relation could be found between the composition of the ground (and, in relation with its composition, the colour of the ground) and the type of representation.[24] Given that the colour of the ground influences the final pictorial effect, such a relationship is conceivable. Latombé, for example, added to his own recipe above – in which he recommended using lead white and umber – that for landscapes this priming mixture should be of a light colour. Beurs recommended that landscapes be painted on a grey ground, made with a mixture of lead white and black.[25] We found that Rembrandt painted landscapes and portraits on panels prepared, like all his panels, with a yellow ground as mentioned above. However, on many portraits painted by Rembrandt on canvas we encountered grey, as well as khaki and brown grounds. The tables of grounds below demonstrate that there is no connection between the types of ground used – its composition and related colour – and the type of painting by Rembrandt.

Gathering the information

I am indebted to many people from a variety of disciples whose collaboration has made this research possible. I am most grateful to the staff of the Rijksmuseum, especially Wouter Kloek, Manja Zeldenrust and Arie Wallert, who allowed us from the 1970's to the present day to investigate paintings in the museum's collection: both when we expressed the wish to examine Rembrandt's early paintings and the *Night watch* during restoration and, more recently, when we requested permission to take samples of works painted in Amsterdam but not by Rembrandt. I am grateful to Jørgen Wadum, Petria Noble, Carol Pottash and other colleagues at The Mauritshuis for the pleasure of their collaboration during the examination of many of the paintings in their collection. Dr A. Burmester, Chief Conservator and Head of Conservation at the Doerner Institute, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich, kindly provided information in the form of lengthy data plots with analytical results on paintings by Rembrandt and other Dutch 17th-century artists, some of which we have used. Samples from New York were examined at the Metropolitan Museum on the occasion of the (autoradiographic) neutron activation analysis of Rembrandt paintings in 1980. I am very grateful to Maryan Ainsworth who managed to locate the old samples for re-examination in pursuit of information on the composition of the grounds. Walter Liedtke kindly gave permission to examine the remaining Rembrandt/non-Rembrandt paintings in the Met. I want to thank Arthur Wheelock, René de la Rie, Melanie Gifford, Michael Palmer and Sarah Fisher of the National Gallery in Washington, both for retrieving old paint samples for re-examination in Amsterdam and for the fruitful working relation I have enjoyed with them over the years. I also want to thank Ashok Roy, Head of the Scientific Laboratory at the National Gallery in London, for lending samples and for his encouragement in this project. My gratitude is extended to Jo Hedley, Curator of European paintings at The Wallace Collection in London, Viola Pemberton Pigot, Head of Conservation at The Royal Collection in London, Jeroen Giltay, Curator of Dutch and Flemish Paintings at the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam, Dr Jan Kelch, Director and Gisela Helmkampf, Head of Conservation at the SMPK Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, Paul Huvenne, Director and Lizet Klaassen, Conservator at the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp; Shelley Svoboda, Associate Conservator of Paintings at the Baltimore Museum of Art; Rhona MacBeth, Assistent Painting's Conservator and Richard Newman, Conservation Scientist at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston; Eugene Farrel, Senior Conservation Scientist and Ron Spronk at the Straus Center for Conservation and Technical Studies at Harvard University Art Museums in Cambridge, Massachusetts; Marcia Steele and Kenneth Bé, Associate Conservator of Paintings at The Cleveland Museum of Art, Paul Haner, Conservator at the Saint Louis Art Museum and Paul Pfister and Hanspeter Marty, Conservators at the Kunsthaus in Zurich and others.

I have been aware that although my request for the removal of one or two small samples from the edge of one or two of their pictures seemed modest enough, in fact it involved a major operation including the transport of the paintings from the museum wall to the conservation studio. For the same reason I am indebted to Maija Santala at The Museum of Foreign Art Sinebrychoff in Helsinki, Scott Heffley, Conservator of Paintings and Melanie Strobel at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, Uwe Wieczorek, Curator and Daniel Fabian, Conservator at the Liechtenstein Collection in Vaduz, Görel Cavalli-Björkman, Director and John Rothlind, Head of Conservation at the National Museum in Stockholm, Hans Brammer, at the Staatliche Museen Kassel, for his help in tracing samples and sending several others; Narayan Khandekar, Conservation scientist, and especially the Head of Painting Conservation, Mark Lennard, at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles. Thanks to Mark I could also examine grounds on paintings outside Rembrandt's circle. Ian Wainwright, Manager Analytical Research Laboratory at the Canadian Conservation Institute kindly sent samples taken and analysed by three scientists, Raymond Boyer, J. MacGregor Grant, Nathan Stolov, who worked at the former National Conservation Research Laboratory of the National Gallery of Canada at that time. I am also grateful to Marion Barclay of the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa and to Martha Kelleher of the Art Gallery of Toronto for the opportunity to re-examine their samples. Pauline Kruseman kindly gave permission to take samples of paintings in the Amsterdams Historisch Museum, while Berna Copray of that museum was very helpful in gathering data on non-Rembrandt paintings, as was Jos Deuss at the Dordrechts Museum.

22 Willem Beurs, *De groote waereld in 't kleen geschildert, of schilderagtig tafereel van 's Weerelds schilderyen. Kortelijk vervat in Ses Boeken. Verklarende de hooftwerwen, haare verscheide mengelingen in Oly, en der zelver gebruik. Omtrent de meeste vertoningen van de zightbare nature. Leersamelijk den liefhebbers en leerlingen der Ed. Schilderkonst medegedeelt van Wilhelmus Beurs, Schilder*, 1692, p.19: '...omber met lootwit heel dik in oly...'. Beurs is not clear whether, with 'lootwit', he means lead white or a mixture of lead white and chalk.

23 *Corpus* Vol. II, pp. 26-29, Van de Wetering, op. cit.[2], pp. 91-130.

24 The colours mentioned (under the heading 'Observations and technical information') in the first three volumes of *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* must be treated with caution. They were based on observation with the naked eye or through a magnifying glass, and it was not always certain that the ground layer had actually been located. The colour of the ground can only be observed directly when a painting is unfinished or if there are 'open areas', places where it is not covered by paint. There are areas where the artist found the colour and tone of the ground in accordance with his pictorial intentions in that section of the painting. Unfinished paintings are exceptions to this and 'open areas' in the early paintings on panel can still be identified with the naked eye or under a stereo-microscope. With paintings on canvas, this is far more difficult. Sometimes, further assessment reveals that a seemingly exposed ground is actually a locally applied *imprimatura* or another under painting.

25 Berger, op. cit.[1], Ms p.11, p. 116: 'Pour faire païsages que vostre imprimeure soit de couleur fort claire'. Beurs, op. cit.[22], p. 21: 'maar voor een landschap – schilder menneemt swart met lootwit gemengt'. It is unclear which black pigment Beurs has in mind. He probably does not mean soot, which dries badly. When mixed with white, some vine (charcoal) blacks give a beautiful, bluish grey ground.

I want to thank all the people with whom and through whom specific analyses were carried out. Many pleasant hours were spent behind the electron microscope at DSM Research in Geleen. Saskia Kars at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam is to be thanked for a number of the electron micrographs, while thanks are also due to Peter Hallebeek for the XRD analyses carried out at The Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage in Amsterdam (ICN). I want to thank my employer, Rik Vos, Director of the ICN, who provided the time needed to bring this research to a conclusion. I apologise for not being able to name many more people – the owners, curators, conservators, and scientists – who made possible the research presented here.

Throughout the years, we gathered information on the preparatory layers on canvases wherever possible, often when a painting was in a conservation studio or laboratory for treatment or examination.[26] The initial results of our investigation of samples of grounds of paintings from before 1642 were published in Volumes I – III.[27] The infomation in the Tables on pp. 660 ff is largely the result of a new, targeted investigation and renewed analysis of extant samples conducted between 1990 and 2001.

In various respects, the available research material – partly our own and partly that of other researchers – was too heterogeneous to allow comparison of information from different sources related to the grounds. In many cases, the samples were taken and analysed with an objective other than that of studying the build-up and the composition of the ground layers. Moreover, even when the investigated samples were taken for the purpose of research on the ground, sometimes the published analytical results could not be used safely when trying to identify the type of ground concerned. Finally, with samples studied with different objectives and using various techniques within the framework of a single investigation the analytical technique itself sometimes failed to provide sufficiently decisive answers as to the nature and composition of the ground.[28]

Just how difficult the interpretation of analytical results can be when the build-up of the layers is unknown is illustrated by an example from Kühn's publications of 1965 and 1976. Kühn's 1965 survey of Rembrandt's grounds states that the colour of the ground on the canvas of the *Man trimming his quill* in Kassel (II A 54, Br. 164) is red, consisting of a single layer with a mixture of lead white and ochre. Kühn identified the lead white and the ochre by means of X-ray diffraction analysis (XRD), emission spectroscopy (ESA) and chemical microscopy.[29] As referred to above, at the request of the Rembrandt Research Project, Kühn again investigated the Rembrandts in Kassel (and Dresden) in 1976 in an attempt to answer a variety of questions. He also looked at the grounds again. The renewed analysis of the ground of the *Man trimming his quill*, this time based on the examination of a cross-section and chemical analyses (XRD and ESA), provided different information.[30] The ground now appeared to consist of two layers, the bottom one being red and the upper grey. The ochre and lead white encountered during the first investigation proved to be the red ochre in the bottom ground layer and the lead white in the upper one, respectively. Microscopic examination of the paint cross-sections revealed that black charcoal was mixed with the lead white of the upper layer, lending it a grey colour. Charcoal cannot be detected with XRD, the first analysis technique used by Kühn, and he therefore initially missed the two-layer build-up of the ground and the black charcoal. This clearly demonstrates the inadequacy of interpretating the results of instrumental (micro-chemical) analyses, without the microscopic study of a cross-section.

Another example of the difficulties of arriving at an unambiguous interpretation of analytical results concerns the presence of quartz. A substantial amount of quartz in a sample can be variously interpreted. It could indicate a double ground, the (often) red bottom layer of which is rich in quartz. Sand (chemically this is quartz) is usually found in red ochre, for it is an element of coloured earth used as a pigment. However, a quartz-containing ground could also be what we refer to as 'a quartz ground', whose main ingredient is powdered sand. In this case as well, a reliable determination is possible only when a cross-section of the sample is made and analysed.[31] See below for more on this type of ground.

In the context of the research presented here, the owners or keepers of paintings whose grounds had been examined earlier were asked to make the original embedded samples available for new chemical analysis and examination under the microscope. Unfortunately, the samples on which Kühn based his 1976 and 1977 publications were no longer available. Furthermore, as mentioned above, no paint cross-sections were made for Kühn's 1965 research and no sample material remained. The same applied to the samples taken by Froentjes between 1968 and 1970 during his investigation of the Rembrandts in the Mauritshuis.[32]

In those instances where no cross-sections had been made and where it was no longer possible to obtain one by renewed sampling, we decided to discard the published

26 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', in: *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 24 (1976), pp. 68-98. Maryan W. Ainsworth et al., *Art and autoradiography: insight into the genesis of paintings by Rembrandt, Van Dyck, and Vermeer*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1982. Anne van Grevenstein, Karin Groen and Ernst van de Wetering, 'Esther before Haman, attributed to Rembrandt', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 39 (1991), pp. 56-83. Around 1995, seven of the late Rembrandts in the Rijksmuseum were restored and investigated, as well as the early *Wttenbogaert*.

27 Updated (supplemented and corrected where possible) information on the grounds in *Corpus* Vols. I – III can be found in the tables in this volume.

28 For example: A. B. de Vries, Magdi Tóth-Ubbens, W. Froentjes, *Rembrandt in the Mauritshuis*, Alphen aan de Rijn 1978.

29 Kühn, op. cit.[10], p. 190.

30 Kühn, op. cit.[11, 12].

31 Thus the *Auctioneer* (1658) in New York (Br. 294) turned out to be painted on a quartz ground, and not on one composed of chalk and ochre. Kühn, op. cit.[10], p. 198. Ainsworth, op. cit.[26], p. 87.
In the course of the research we conducted during the 1993 restoration of *The anatomy lesson of Dr Deyman* (1656) in Amsterdam (Br. 414), it too, proved to have been painted on a quartz ground, and not on a chalk one, as Kühn believed he had demonstrated in 1965 (although it cannot be excluded that Kühn's sample derived from a chalk filling in a restored section of the painting, which was seriously damaged during a fire in the 18th century).

32 De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes, op. cit.[28].

analytical results.[33] Consequently, new and supplementary sample material from other relevant paintings had to be collected for the sake of a representative overview of the use of grounds by Rembrandt and his studio. A selection was made from Bredius' catalogue of other paintings on canvas, whose grounds should still be investigated.[34] The owners of the paintings were subsequently asked for permission to take a sample, either by the present author or the conservator or scientist of the institution in question. Fortunately, one or two samples taken from the far edges of the paintings – if the relevant section of the painting was well preserved – were usually sufficient. In most instances, the requests were honoured and with the help of the staff of the various museums, the research was able to go ahead.

In general, sufficient information was obtained by utilising a light microscope together with an electron microscope, with the attachment of equipment to the electron microscope that can identify chemical elements in tiny areas of the paint cross-section.[35] It was not always necessary to be certain as to the nature of all the components in the sample in order to make comparisons. When this did prove helpful, supplementary analytical techniques were employed.[36] An advantage of this way of working was that the amount of sample material required could be restricted to a minimum. One and the same paint cross-section could be examined and analysed both optically and with electron microscopy.

Limits to the possibilities of interpretation are inherent to art-technological investigation.[37] To answer questions about traditional workshop practice, a great deal of precise information is required, correlated where possible with written historical sources. Moreover, much time is needed to gather this information, if only because there are various restrictions on the number of paintings that are allowed to be examined.

When finally the results of our investigation were arranged in the presumed chronological order of the canvases, clusters of types of ground immediately became apparent (see Table III, pp. 662 ff). From the 1630s onwards, double, red-grey grounds, described in the recipe above, were used – with considerable variation – in Rembrandt's workshop. The quartz grounds began to be used in 1640, frequently alternating with double grounds and a few other types to be dealt with below.

Our investigation of the grounds of 153 paintings on canvas formerly or still attributed to Rembrandt (most in Bredius' catalogue) demonstrated that the double grounds constitute half of this number with 77 canvases. In our research on the grounds used by painters active in Amsterdam between 1640 and 1670 who had no affiliation with Rembrandt's workshop numerous double grounds were detected as well (see Table VII, pp. 676 ff).[38] The finding of so many double grounds (grey on red) is in accordance with the numerous times this type of ground was mentioned in the Mayerne Manuscript. Finally, double grounds were not unique to the Netherlands, or the seventeenth century. Flemish, French and Italian painters also used double grounds, and they persisted into the eighteenth century.[39]

However, these double grounds are not all exactly identical. Although the number of pigments used by artists was limited and the number of pigments used for the grey-on-red double grounds smaller still, differences could be detected in the paint mixtures used for the top lead-white containing layers. In general the differences

33 For this reason the published results of the grounds on the following paintings were not included in our Table 'Grounds on canvas': *Abraham's sacrifice*, III A 108, Br. 498, copy 2; *Raising of the Cross*, II A 69 Br. 548; *Christ*, Br. 630; *The Entombment*, III A 126, Br. 560; *The Resurrection*, III A 127, Br. 561; *The Holy Family*, II A 88, Br. 544; *Adoration of the shepherds*, Br. 574 all in Munich; *Self-portrait* in Kassel, IV 9, Br. 43; *Nicolaes Bambeeck* in Brussels, III A 144, Br. 218; *The Entombment* in Braunschweig, III A 126, Br. 560, copy 3; *The Circumcision* in Braunschweig (inv. no 241); *Hendrikje Stoffels* in Berlin, Br. 116; *Saskia as Flora* in New York, Br. 98.

34 A. Bredius, *Rembrandt Schilderijen*, Utrecht 1935.

35 Microscopy at the Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage (ICN), using a Zeiss Axioplan research microscope for examination in incident and transmitted illumination, polarizing microscopy and the study of fluorescence. Scanning electron microscopy with energy dispersive X-ray analyses is abbreviated SEM-EDX. The hyphen indicates that this is done with two pieces of equipment. With the SEM apparatus a section of the sample is reproduced. A small area can then be singled out for analysis by means of EDX. SEM-EDX was carried out at DSM Research in the context of the sponsor agreement between the Rembrandt Research Project and DSM. Sandra Coolen, at DSM Research, used a Philips CPSEM XL30 with EDAX detector. Backscattered mode at 25kV was used for elemental analyses. Secondary electron imaging mode was applied for the study of the topography of the embedded samples. At a later stage, SEM-EDX analyses were conducted at the Shell Research and Technology Centre in Amsterdam by C. Th. J. Mensch, using a Jeol 5900 with Noran detector in the backscattered mode at c. 25 kV for both analyses and the study of the topography of the samples. Before ICN acquired their own electron microscope in 2001, I also had access to the SEM of the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.

36 Peter Hallebeek, at the Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage (ICN), analysed samples using X-ray diffraction (XRD), Debeye-Scherrer powder patterns, Philips type PW 1026/10 camera, X-ray film CEA REFLEX 25, double coated, X-ray generator Philips PW 1010.

37 Dunkerton and Spring, op. cit.[8].

38 Grey (or rather flesh colour) on red double grounds were also used by the Utrecht painters Abraham Bloemaert (1564-1651) and Hendrick Ter Brugghen (1588-1629) among others. *See also* Leif Einar Plahter and Unn Simonsen Plahter, 'The Young Christ among the Doctors by Theodoer van Baburen', *ACTA (Institutum Romanum Norvegiae)*, Series altera in 8°, 3, (1983), pp. 183-229. Leif Einar Plater and Unn Simonsen Plahter, '*The young Christ among the doctors* by Theodoer van Baburen', *Conservare necesse est, Festskrift til Leif Einar Plahter på hans 70-årsdag*, 1999, pp.42-65. Unn Plahter, 'Baburen re-examined', *Conservare necesse est, Festskrift til Leif Einar Plahter på hans 70-årsdag*, 1999, pp.66-67. Unn Plahter commented to the author that the ground on the painting by Baburen must be regarded as a single layer of grey paint – rich in lead white – on top of two layers of different types of red earth (clay). The Haarlem painter Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1562-1638) used grounds of different colours and composition. The ground on his *The Baptism of Christ*, in the Frans Halsmuseum in Haarlem appears red to the naked eye, although the cross-sections show that there is a light-coloured second ground on top of the red. With thanks to Ella Hendriks for the paint cross-section and the information.

39 A double ground is found in an unfinished painting by a follower of the Lenain, *Three men and a boy*, National Gallery, London, cat. no. 4857. Double grounds in paintings by Canaletto arise in the 1730s: David Bomford and Ashok Roy, 'Canaletto's "Stonemason's Yard" and "San Simeone Piccolo"', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 14 (1993), pp. 34-41.

Fig. 3. *Portrait of a man* (II C 68, Br. 167)

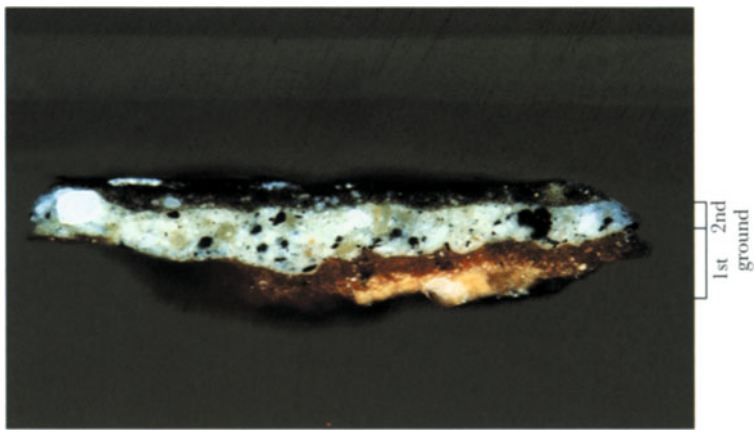
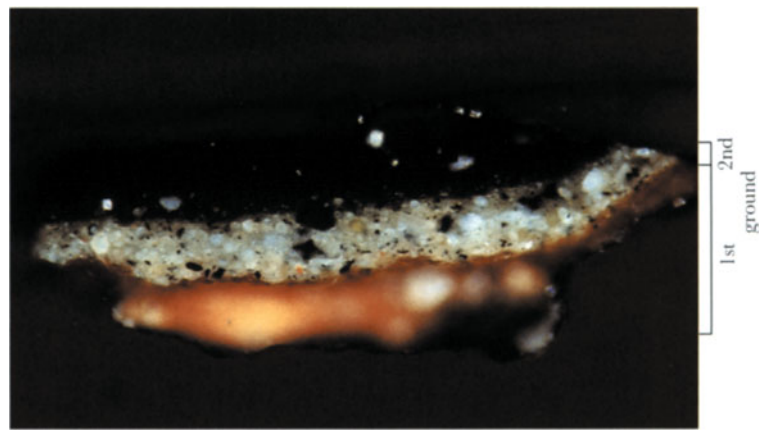


Fig. 4. *Portrait of a woman* (II C 69, Br. 331)



between the bottom layers were optically less striking and, on the whole, were not taken into account in this comparative study.[40] It was sometimes possible to find comparable characteristics of the grounds of different paintings to permit suggestions as to whether the paint used for them came from the same batch. Comparisons were based on the ratio of the pigments in the mixture, the size of the grains and their distribution, the presence of small additions of pigments other than the primary component etc. In our investigation, research on cross-sections provided a definitive answer apropos to questions regarding the similarities between various samples.[41]

Almost identical grounds, for instance can be seen in the cross-sections of the portrait pair in New York (II C 68 and II C 69, (figs. 3, 4). This was to be expected since portrait pairs were – in most cases – painted on canvas from a single bolt, primed by the same workshop and sold at the same time.[42] What was more surprising was to find, within the large number of double grounds, clusters of grounds that appeared identical. These samples of grounds derived from paintings on not necessary identical canvases. The similarity of the second grounds within a cluster is sometimes so striking that the possibility presents itself of dating a painting with relatively great certainty on the basis of just a few paint samples. This observation suggests that the canvasses were primed and maybe painted within a relatively short period.[43] The group of paintings with an identical ground assembled in the table below constitutes such a cluster. The result of our technical examination provides strong support for the dating of *Young woman in a cap* (II C 61) which, in the original entry, we suggested was 'an old imitation, probably done outside Rembrandt's circle'. The result confirms that it must have originated in Rembrandt's workshop (see Vol. IV Corrigenda II C 61, where it is listed as an autograph work by Rembrandt). The white-lead containing second ground layer in the instance mentioned displayed unmistakable similarities with other paintings included in Table I (see figs. 5 – 12).

Table I. *Paintings dated 1632/33, whose top ground layers are so closely related that the canvases may be assumed to come from a single batch of primed canvases. Characteristic similarities: the translucency of the paint between the lumps of lead white and the greenish overall tint caused by the mixture of soot with the lead white.*[44]

Corpus	*Bredius*	*Title*	*Date*	*Fig.*
II A 48	169	Man in oriental dress	1632	5
II A 51	403	The anatomy lesson of Dr Tulp	1632	6
II A 54	164	Man trimming his quill	1632	7
II A 79	341	Woman in an armchair	[1633][45]	8
II B 8	180	Man in oriental dress	–	9
III B 9	522	Ahasuerus condemning Haman (the ground of the underlying composition)	(1632/33)	10
II C 61	84	Young woman in a cap	163(2)[46]	11
II C 65	406	Jean Pellicorne and his son Caspar	163(2/3)[47]	12

40 Additional analytical results on the grounds will be published later. Duval 1992, op. cit.[8], distinguishes three types of red-brown ground. However, since he only mentions red and brown grounds it is not always clear whether the red or brown ground must be regarded as a single ground, or as the first layer of a double ground (grey on top of red or brown).

41 Proof of the pudding was an experiment in which slides of the cross-sections were projected 'blind'. It was possible to determine which samples came from one and the same painting, even though the pigment particles were sometimes unevenly distributed in the ground layer and despite the minuscule dimensions of the samples (appr. 0.1 mm long). See also: Karin Groen, 'Halcyon days for art history', in: *Shop Talk, Studies in Honor of Seymour Slive,* Cambridge Mass. 1995, pp. 89-91.

42 *Corpus* Vol. II, pp. 15-43. Van de Wetering, op. cit.[2], pp. 91-130.

43 This is the case, for instance, in the first version of *Ahasuerus condemning Haman* in Bucharest (III B 9), which was entirely overpainted in the 1650s and only visible in the X-radiograph. We tentatively date this version 1632/33, a dating supported by the research on grounds, see: Van Grevenstein, Groen, Van de Wetering, op. cit.[26].

44 The translucency is reminiscent of chalk, which, however, is missing. See also: Petria Noble, Jørgen Wadum, Karin Groen, Ron Heeren, Klaas Jan van den Berg, 'Aspects of 17th century binding medium: Inclusions in Rembrandt's Anatomy Lesson of Dr Nicolaes Tulp', in: Jacques Goupy and Jean-Pierre Mohen (eds.), *Art & Chimie, La Couleur,* Actes du Congrès, Paris 2000, pp. 126-129.

45 The *Woman in an armchair* (II A 79) in New York is not dated, but its pendant, *Man rising from his chair* (II A 78) in Cincinnati is (1633).

46 The type of signature *RHL van Rijn* on II C 61 was used only in 1632.

47 The type of signature, *Rembrant,* as found on II C 65 occurs only at the end of 1632 and the beginning of 1633.

Another small cluster is formed by the double grounds of *Nicolas Bruyning* of 1652 in Kassel (Br. 268) and *Aristotle* of 1653 in New York (Br. 478). Their grounds evince such strong similarities that they may both be considered as belonging to yet another separate batch (figs.13, 14). The top ground in both paintings contains coarse lumps of lead white. Rembrandt received the commission for the *Aristotle* in 1652, the year in which he painted *Nicolas Bruyning*.[48]

Our research also showed that The Mayerne's second recipe and Beurs' recipe, both cited above, had been employed by Rembrandt. A small proportion of the paintings that were investigated did indeed have a ground consisting chiefly of lead white with some umber, applied in one or more identical layers.[49] (fig. 15; Table V, pp. 674 ff). More surprising was to find that oil paintings are sometimes painted on canvases primed with chalk, with only a tiny amount of umber added. Chalk primings were supposed to cause flaking of the ground, at least when applied with size:

'As to what concerns the first laying of grounds on canvass, in watercolours, it is a method not commonly practised, because they may scale, and cannot be rolled without some difficulty. For this reason, the custom prevails of grounding the canvass with oil colours.'[50]

The chalk grounds in our study were indeed applied in oil. (See fig. 16 of the ground on *Moses with the Tables* of 1659 in Berlin (Br. 527) and Table VI, pp. 674 ff). In some cases some lead white was added to this type of ground. The use of chalk and chalk-lead white grounds in Rembrandt's studio seems restricted to the period after *c.* 1650.

Finally, there are also relatively dark grounds consisting primarily of brown earth pigments. An example of a painting with such a dark, single ground is the *Titus* of 1655 in Rotterdam (Br. 120; fig. 17). In general, it can be stated that over the course of his career Rembrandt chose increasingly darker grounds, from a buff or light grey colour to dark brown. There are exceptions; the early portrait pair in New York mentioned above for instance is painted on rather a dark grey ground. Moreover, we gained the impression from our research that the material used for the ground was not very important in itself, the materials being only a means to an end, namely to provide a suitably coloured surface to paint on.

The 'quartz ground', or, whitish natural earth

The most common single ground is the quartz ground, to which special attention is devoted here. In the grounds analysed up to Kühn's 1977 publication, a ground with an estimated amount of 70 to 80% quartz was found 15 times. This kind of ground occurred only in works by Rembrandt and his workshop.[51] Meanwhile, up to 2001 when this text was written, 45 of the paintings on canvas examined prove to have been painted on a single ground with a high quartz content.

Quartz grounds cannot be readily recognised in the cross-sections when examining them under the optical microscope under incident light. Usually one sees only a semi transparent, yellowish to dark brown mass in which particles are barely visible. This is because quartz's low refractive index is very close to that of the surrounding binding medium (a drying oil). In addition, the presence of a large quantity of darkened binding medium in the composition of the ground impedes visual evaluation. For the same reasons, without further analysis, a quartz ground also often cannot be distinguished from some types of oil ground in which chalk is the main ingredient.[52] Formerly, in order to make the quartz particles clearly visible under a light microscope, an approximately 30 µm thin section had to be made of the embedded paint sample so that it could be examined in transmitted light (see figs. 18, 19, 20).[53] Preparing a sample in this fashion is not only time-consuming, but much of the original sample material is lost. An electron microscope clearly makes visible the finely ground quartz particles without the sample having to be reduced to a thin section (figs. 21, 22, 23). Moreover, the ground in the sample can be immediately identified under the electron microscope using energy dispersive X-ray analysis (EDX). An overall EDX analyses of a quartz ground reveals silicon as the main component present, with smaller amounts of aluminium, potassium and iron and comparatively very small quantities of magnesium, calcium and sometimes also sodium, lead, titanium and manganese. Most of these chemical elements are components of the clay materials surrounding the quartz particles. The presence of calcium indicates that some chalk is present while that of lead points to a dryer having been added to the ground paste or the oil. Analysis of the often angular particles in a quartz ground yields silicon and oxygen only (SiO_2). X-ray diffraction patterns of these samples showed that the quartz present is alpha-silica, or ordinary sand.

48 Exhib. cat. *Rembrandt/not Rembrandt*, 1995/96, p. 65.

49 Research has demonstrated that both the painting of the architecture and the preparatory layers of the paintings in the Oranjezaal in Huis Ten Bosch Palace were done with beige paint consisting of lead white and umber. Lead white-umber grounds are also to be found on canvases of paintings by Frans Hals, Judith Leyster and possibly other Haarlem painters.

50 *Valuable secrets*, op. cit.[20], p. 142. Copied and translated from: Anonymous, op. cit.[20], p. 168: 'Men moet nogtans bekennen dat den doek eerst met Water-Verwe gegrond zynde, onderworpen is aen het schelferen, en maer zeer moeyelyk en kan opgerolt worden, het gene een beletzel is van – ze op diergelyke goeste te bereyden, en het gene vervolgens ons verpligt den zelven met Olie-Verwe te begronden'.

51 Kühn, op. cit.[11, 12].

52 For example, the ground in a painting by Gaspard Dughet in: Karin Groen, 'Scanning electron microscopy as an aid in the study of blanching', *Hamilton Kerr Institute Bulletin* 1 (1988), p. 43, plate 38. The ground in the painting by Dughet is rich in calcite and could be an earth. The ground of Jan Beerstraaten's *The IJ at the Nieuwe Brug in winter, seen to the west*, Amsterdams Historisch Museum SA 73, also has a brown ground that, without analysis, could be mistaken for a quartz ground. The ground in the painting by Beerstraten was identified as consisting of chalk. See Table VII, pp. 00 for more instances.

53 See: Coremans, op. cit.[9], figs. 114, 116.

In some paintings dated 1632/33, the top ground layers are so closely related that the canvases may be assumed to come from a single batch of primed canvases. Characteristic similarities are the translucency of the paint between the lumps of lead white and the greenish overall tint caused by the mixture of soot with the lead white.

Fig. 5. *Man in oriental dress* (II A 48, Br. 169)

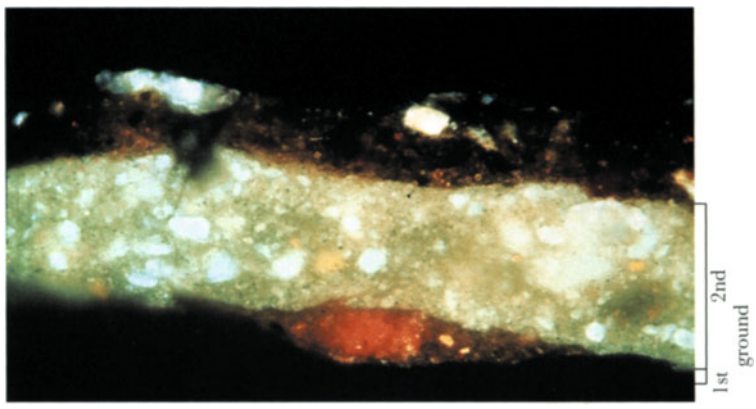


Fig. 6. The *anatomy lesson of Dr Tulp* (II A 51, Br. 403)

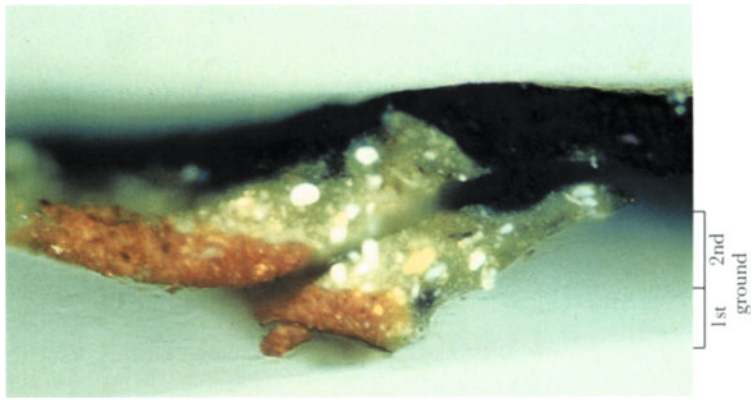


Fig. 7. *Man trimming his quill* (II A 54, Br. 164)

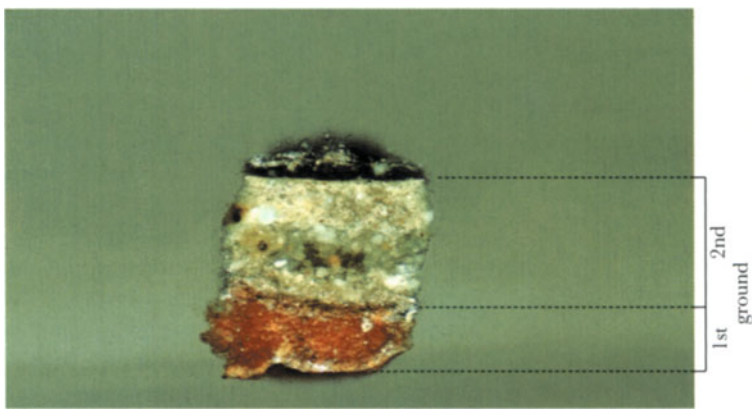


Fig. 8. *Woman in an armchair* (II A 79, Br. 341)

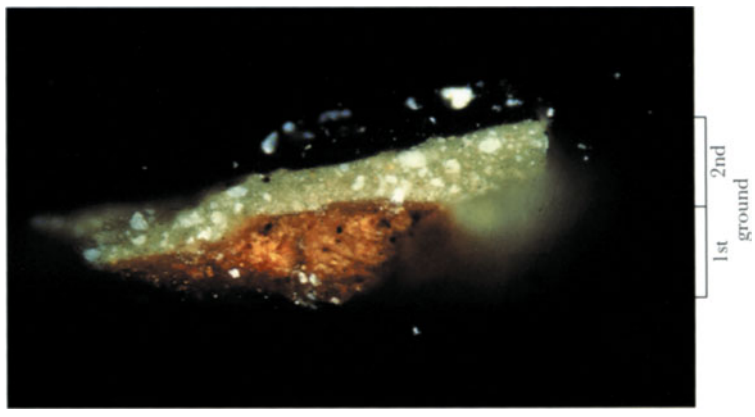


Fig. 9. *Man in oriental dress* (II B 8, Br. 180)

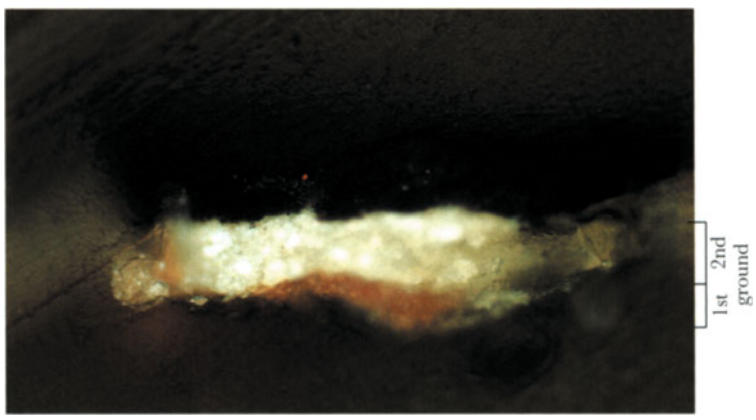


Fig. 10. *Ahasuerus condemning Haman* (the ground of the underlying composition) (III B 9, Br. 522)

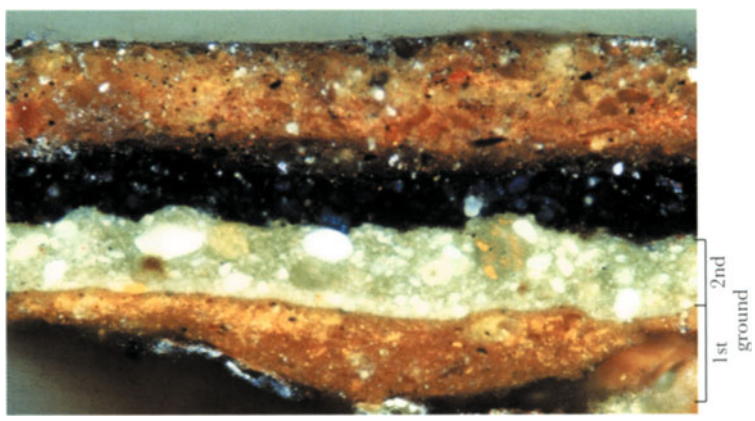


Fig. 11. *Young woman in a cap* (II C 61, Br. 84)

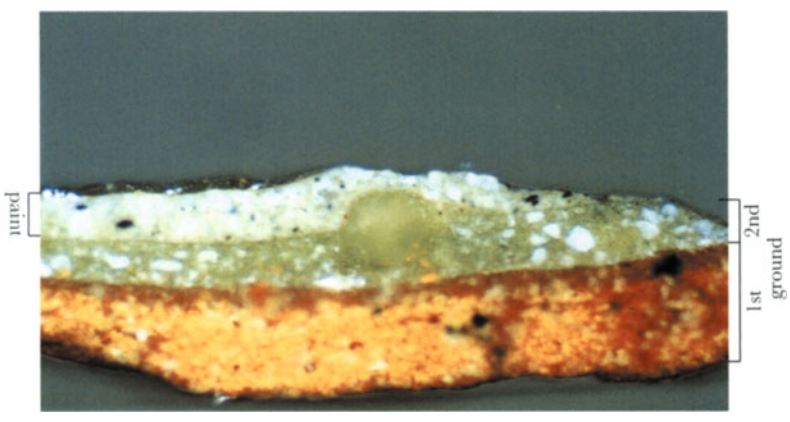


Fig. 12. *Jean Pellicorn and his son Caspar* (II C 65, Br. 406)



Sometimes the (second layer of the) grounds on different paintings evince such strong similarities that the paint for these grounds may be considered to derive from the same batch. Coarse lumps of lead white can be seen in the second ground of both figs. 13 and 14.

Fig. 13. *Nicolas Bruyning* (Br. 268)

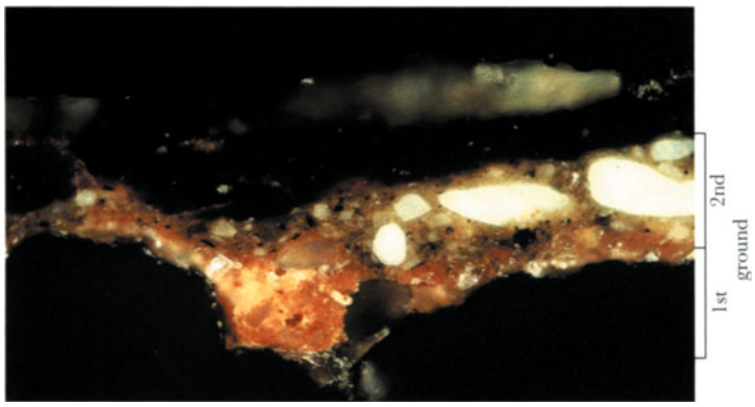


Fig. 14. *Aristotle* (Br. 478)

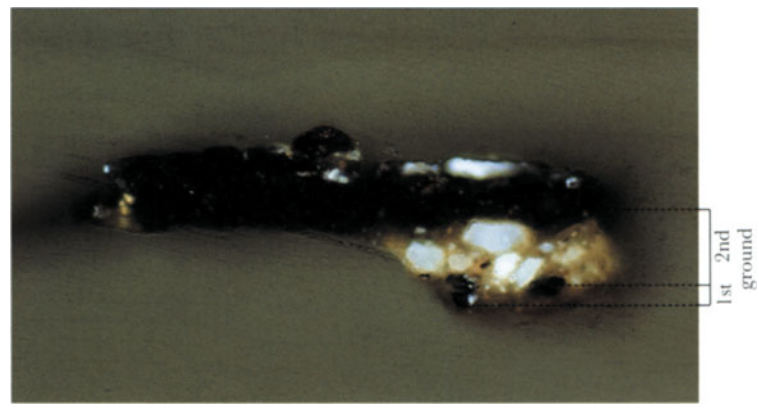


Fig. 15. Paint cross-section from a sample from *Portrait of a white-haired man*, 1667, (Br. 323) showing two layers with quite similar mixtures of pigments; lead white (coarse lumps), umber, charcoal black and a little quartz.

Fig. 16. Paint cross-section from a sample from *Moses with the Tables* (Br. 527), showing a whitish ground consisting of chalk.

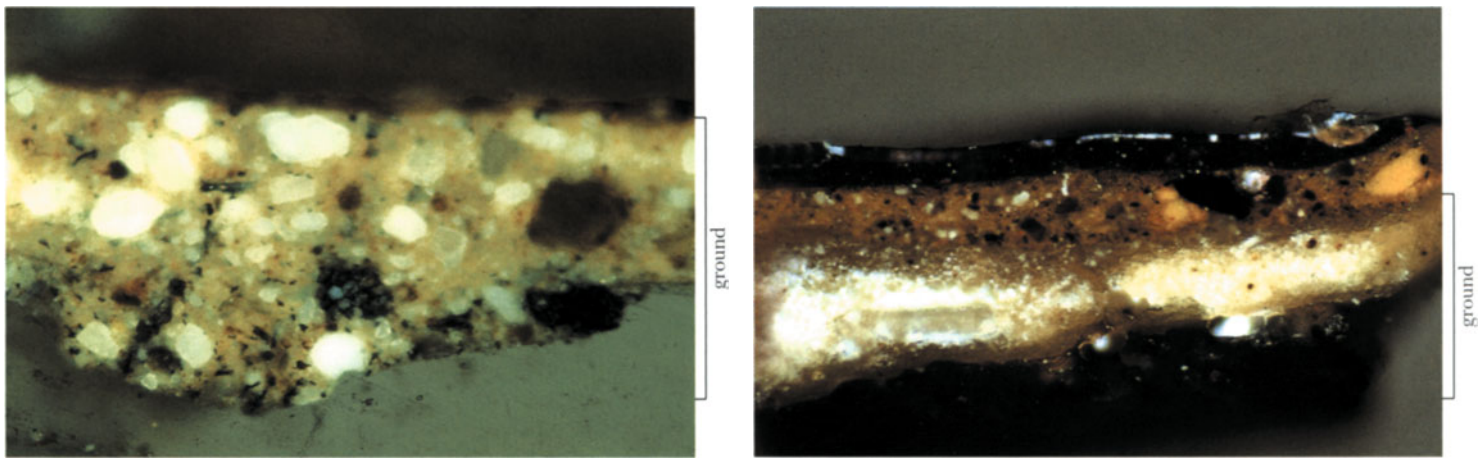
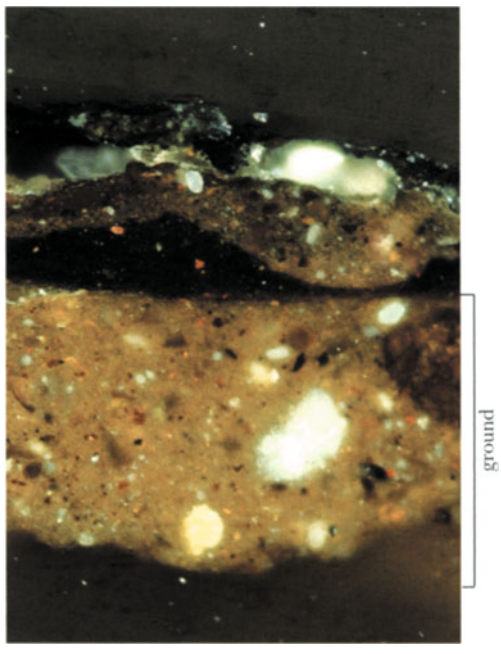


Fig. 17. Paint cross-section from a sample from *Titus* (Br. 120), showing a ground with a mixture of dark earth colours.



Electron microscopic imaging, which shows the distribution of the chemical elements throughout the ground layer in the sample, points to a percentage of quartz of *c.* 50 to 60 % by volume, a somewhat lower percentage than that mentioned above.[54] The broken and pulverised grains of sand – reduced to fine particles by grinding – are surrounded by clay minerals: tiny particles of illite can be seen and larger, elongated sheets of muscovite mica (K, Al, Si and a little Fe) and a single, large crystal of kaolinite. Coremans, Wolters and Wehlte also found the clay minerals phyllite, and, in smaller proportions, some chlorite and sericite.[55] The shrinkage cracks that can be

54 Although XRD is a sensitive method for the identification of quartz, the particles of most clay minerals are too small to be identified by XRD. This explains why, earlier in this article, a higher percentage of quartz was mentioned; an analysis of the quartz ground using XRD gives a higher percentage of quartz than one using SEM-EDX. Samples from the grounds in the *Night watch* (III A 146) and one from *Rabbi* in Berlin (Br. 236) were re-examined using SEM-EDX. Thanks are extended to Urs Mueller, specialist in clay as a building material, and to David Carson for the use of the Philips-FE7 XL30 ESEM-FEG (Environmental Scanning Electron Microscope-Field Emission Gun) at the Getty Conservation Institute in Los Angeles. At 20.0 kV, environmental mode at 1.0 torr, uncoated, working distance 10 mm, Oxford Inca System EDX.

55 Coremans, Wolters, Wehlte, op. cit.[9], p. 97.

seen under the electron microscope are a further indication of the groundmass being clay – shrinkage cracks being typical for clay.

The sand particles in Rembrandt's quartz grounds are very fine, with particles varying from approximately 5 to 60 µm and having sharp edges. The angularity of the sand particles indicates that the material used for the ground was pulverised shortly before being processed. From the bulging of sections of the surface of the grains in the samples of Rembrandt's quartz grounds it can be concluded that the grains of sand must have originally been rounded, possibly with a diameter of up to about 2 mm, before being prepared for paint. V-shaped depressions and grooves in the surface of some of the particles and the very sharp points of others signify that the material was subjected to mechanical force. The presence of conchoidally fractured particles, particles with smooth, shell-shaped convex or concave surfaces, suggests 'cracking' or breaking of the sand (see figs. 24, 25, 26). The sandy earth used for the quartz grounds, like other (mineral) pigments, was apparently ground, probably with a mill.[56]

In principle, sand is colourless, as are most of the clay minerals found. The colour of a quartz ground is determined by the varying quantities of brown and red iron oxides and umber present in this apparently, natural, whitish earth.

In the report of the technical examination of the '*Self-portrait*' in Stuttgart (IV 17), a link was drawn between the quartz ground and the earthenware industry in Delft.[57] Our study tends to support the hypothesis of the earlier researchers; the rather high content of quartz sand in the clay used for the ground, approximately 50 to 60 % point to a pottery clay, a plastic clay suitable for the manufacture of pottery and bricks. However, with only the tiny paint samples to go on, it is not possible to state with absolute certainty whether the material used for the quartz ground is a natural clay deposit, either imported from abroad or a local clay, or an artificially prepared mixture of sand and clay. In the seventeenth century the high quartz containing pipe clay, which has been called plastic clay *par excellence*, was extensively transported from England to potteries in Holland.[58] In contrast, by adding extra powdered sand to the clay, a clay's quartz content can easily be adjusted.

As far as the colour is concerned, Rembrandt's quartz grounds were most probably independent concoctions: varying amounts of various coloured earth pigments – and sometimes black – were added to the originally whitish sandy earth.

Although the term 'quartz ground' has been used for this type of ground since it was first encountered, the

Fig. 18. A thin section of a sample of the ground of the *Night watch* (III A 146, Br. 410) photographed in transmitted plus incident light. The quartz particles appear grey. The orange colour is due to the earth colours and the oil medium.

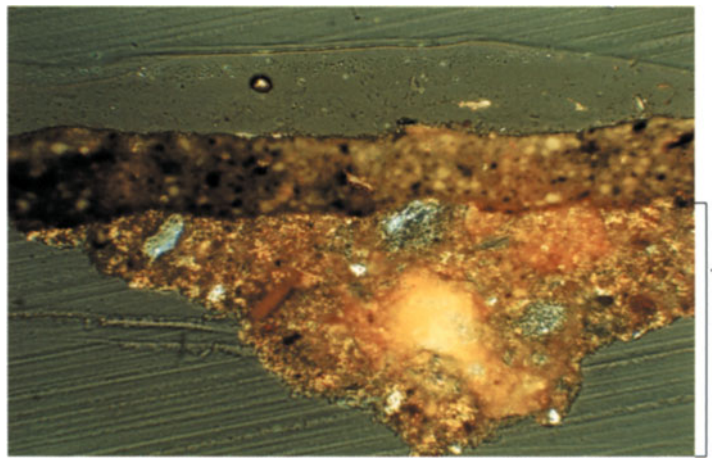


Fig. 19. A thin section of a sample of the ground of the *Jewish bride* (Br. 416) in transmitted plus incident light. A large grain of quartz can be seen. The smaller particles are obscured by the dark binding medium.

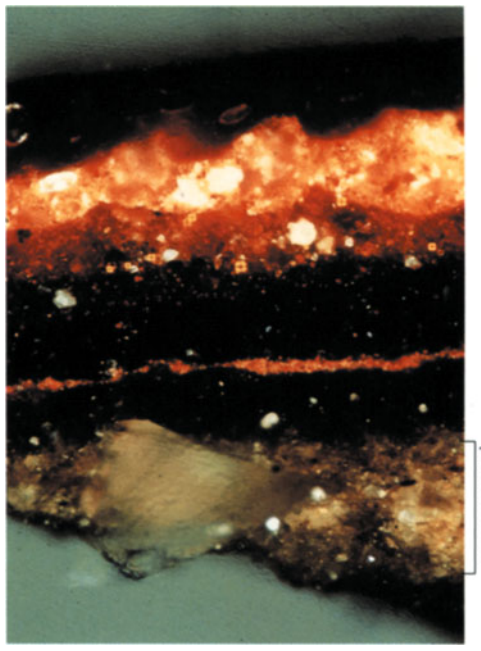
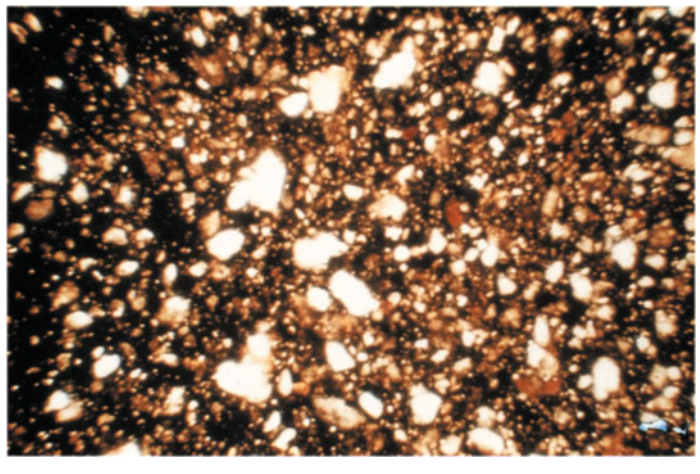


Fig. 20. A preparation of a finely rubbed sample of the ground of the *Night watch* in transmitted, polarised light, in which the bright quartz particles are visible due to their birefringence.



56 Karin Groen, 'Investigation of the use of the binding medium by Rembrandt', *Zeitschrift für Kunsttechnologie und Konservierung* 11 (1997), Vol. 2, pp. 222-223.

57 Coremans, Wolters, Wehlte, op. cit.[9], p. 97.

58 James Fairie, *Notes on pottery clays: the distribution, properties, uses, and analyses,*

Fig. 21. Back scattered electron image showing the topography of a cross-section of a sample from the red cloak of the bride in the *Jewish bride*. In the bottom layer large and small quartz particles stick out because of differences in hardness between the particles and the surrounding binding medium. (Photographed at DSM Research)

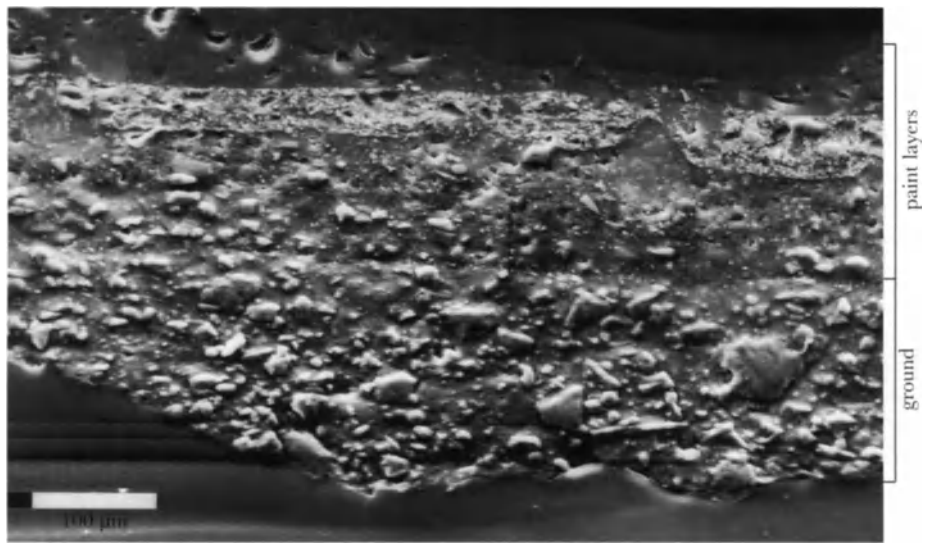


Fig. 22. Secondary electron image at a higher magnification of the ground in sample fig. 21. The absence of a strong black-and-white contrast is an indication of the presence of materials (pigments) with a low atomic number, such as natural earth including quartz sand and clay, in the surrounding binding medium, which also has a low atomic number. (Photographed at DSM Research)

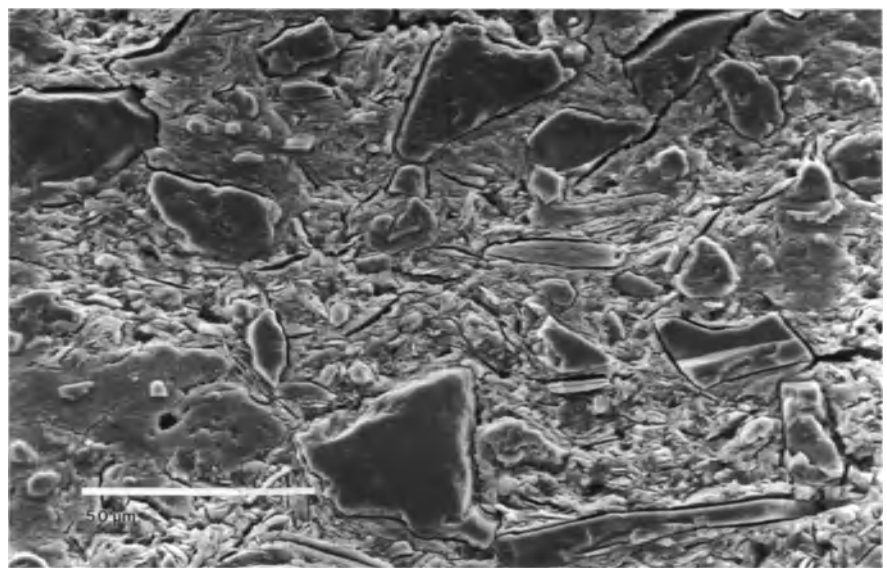
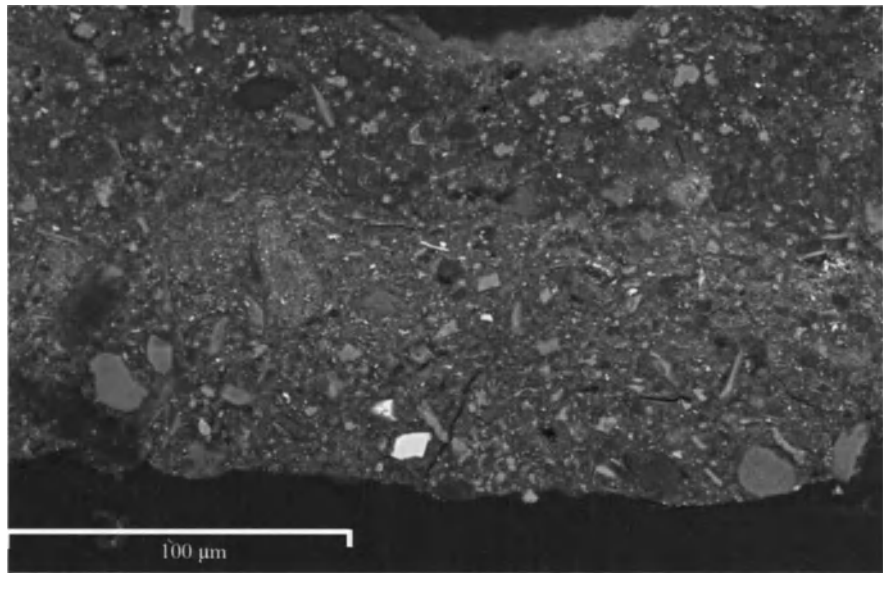


Fig. 23. Back scattered image of a sample of the ground of the *Night watch*. Vermicular clay particles surround the particles of quartz. (Photographed at the Getty Conservation Institute)



term is in fact misleading. It would be more appropriate to call this type of ground 'a whitish clay' or 'a natural earth'. However, although a single quartz ground can be distinguished both visually and chemically from a double ground – which is also made of a natural earth, albeit only its lower layer, referring to a quartz ground as 'a natural earth ground' would cause confusion. Not only could the quartz ground be confused with other grounds made of earth, but even with a chalk ground, since chalk is also a natural earth. For the sake of clarity, therefore, throughout this book, we use the term 'quartz ground' for the single ground of whitish earth with high quartz content.

As stated earlier, to date the samples of 153 paintings on canvas by Rembrandt and his milieu have been re-examined and where necessary analysed. Forty five of the grounds on these canvases were identified as 'quartz grounds', which is more than a quarter of the total number of examined grounds on canvas. They represent nearly half (42 %) of the grounds analysed to date from the period in which quartz grounds are found (between 1642 and 1669). The paint cross-sections reveal that the paste was thickly applied to the canvas, evidently to ensure a smooth painting surface in which the relief of the canvas threads would not be visible. A thickness of about 400 µm was measured on the canvas of the *Rabbi* in Berlin (Br. 236; fig. 27). From the paint cross-sections, it appears that a quartz ground was usually applied in a single layer and only very rarely in two or more layers, though when this is the case, their composition is more or less the same. Sometimes, the colour of the second layer differs through the addition of small amounts of other pigments. The anonymous written source referred to above recommends limiting the use of single grounds to large canvases. One advantage of a single layer of ground is that the painting can be rolled up. A disadvantage is that the threads of the canvas remain visible in relief through the paint, as was stated in an eighteenth century recipe:

'There are painters who prefer their canvases to have only one layer of paint (ground) rather than two layers, because the paint becomes less dull and the picture can more easily be rolled up for transport; however, since the canvas thread is very visible when only one ground layer is present, it is used only in the case of large works.'[59]

With the identification of quartz grounds we can now understand this quote, namely, the 'one layer of paint' in the written sources refers to a ground made with an earth – white, yellow, brown or red – not covered by a layer of lead white. 'Two layers' refers to a double ground of a layer rich in lead white on top of a red earth. The second

Figs. 24-26. Quartz particles in the ground of the *Jewish bride*. The pitting in the particle surfaces and the sharp, pointed edges must be the result of a mechanical action: grinding. (Photographed at the Free University, Amsterdam)

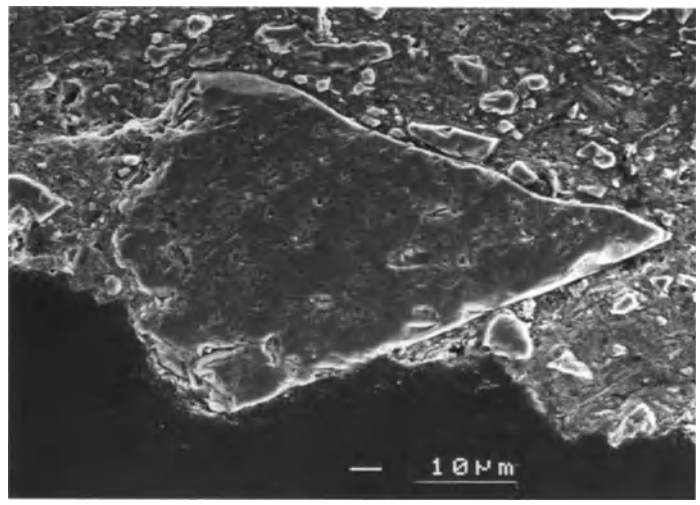


Fig. 25.

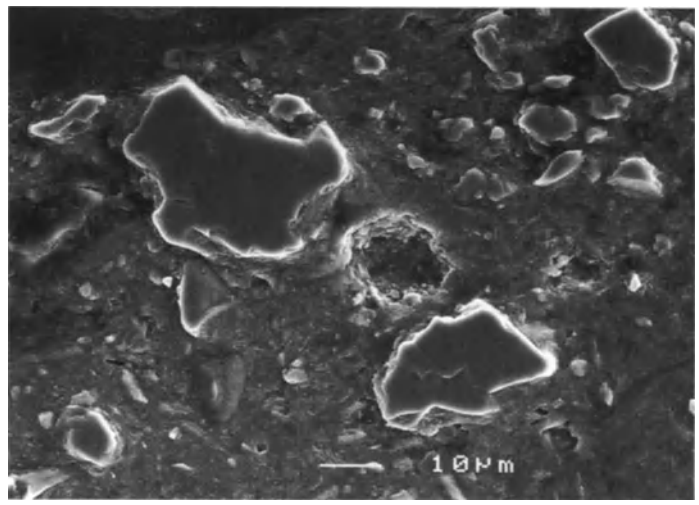
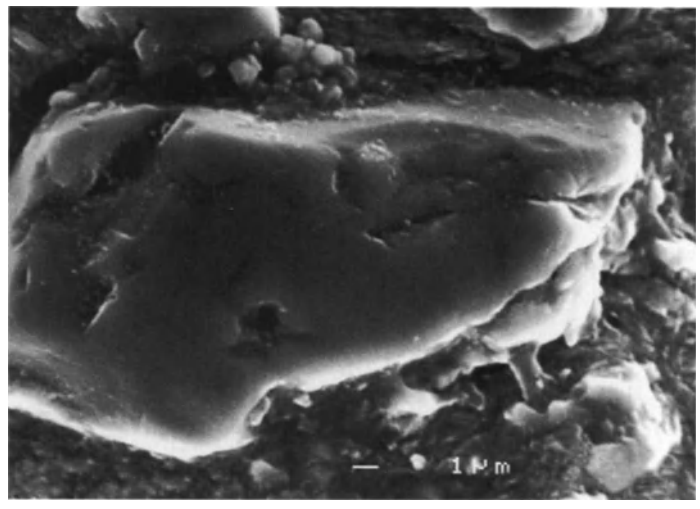


Fig. 26.



of ball clays, china clays, and china stone, London 1901, p. 24.

59 Anonymous, op. cit.[20], p. 167: 'Daer zyn Schilders die liever hebben dat den doek maer eene laege koleur en heeft, den welken zy prefereren voor den gonnen die'er twee heeft, om dat hy de koleuren min verdooft, en om dat hy gemakkyker oprolt als men hem wilt transporteren; nogtans aengezien den draed van den doek altyd zeer verscheynt op die, de welke maer eenen

ground would provide a smooth surface to paint on, but is also prone to cracking: not a good quality for a canvas that needs to be rolled-up. Rembrandt, by choosing a light-coloured earth for the ground for the *Night watch*, did not need a layer rich in lead white on top of the first ground to tone down its colour. Had he found it necessary, he could of course have adjusted its colour by mixing a bit of some dark earth or black through the sand and clay of the ground mass. That the *Night watch* seems to have stimulated the development of this evidently new type of ground may have been due to its exceptional size. The *Night watch* is painted on a canvas originally measuring about 420 x 500 cm. The fact that ground sand and clay were undoubtedly very inexpensive could have been the determining factor in the choice of these raw materials for this ground.[60]

Quartz grounds are usually very rich in binding medium[61], which presumes that canvases prepared with these grounds were supple and easy to roll up. The transportation of the rolled-up *Night watch* during and shortly after the Second World War is a striking demonstration that canvases with quartz grounds are still quite flexible even after hundreds of years.[62]

In the case of Rembrandt and his workshop, no link could be made between the dimensions of the canvases and the use of a quartz ground. It would appear that the *Night watch*, painted between 1640 and 1642, was the first canvas to be prepared in this manner and that such quartz grounds occur until the end of Rembrandt's career. In addition to the *Night watch*, they are found in portraits, 'tronies' and in history scenes of varying dimensions. This again implies that cracking or flaking of the paint was not Rembrandt's main concern; pictures of limited size do not need to be rolled-up.[63]

The idea that a canvas with a particular ground was used exclusively in Rembrandt's workshop implies with considerable certainty that the supports for paintings were prepared there. This is underscored by the fact that Dutch written sources do not contain a single recipe for preparing canvases with a 'quartz ground'. Such recipes can, however, be found in some French and Italian written sources, for instance in *Collection of essays on the Wonders of Painting*, written by the French painter Pierre Lebrun in Paris in 1635:

Fig. 27. Paint cross-section from a sample from *Rabbi* (Br. 236) showing the thick quartz ground.



'The canvases are covered with parchment glue or flour paste before they are primed with potter's earth, yellow earth, or ochre ground with linseed or nut oil. The priming is laid on the canvas with the knife or amassette to render it smoother, and this is the work of the boy.'[64]

Lebrun seems to distinguish between clay coloured earth for making pottery and other types of coloured earth. Richard Symonds, who travelled around Italy between 1649 and 1651 collecting information on painting technique, mentions the earth used for making bricks as useful for priming canvases as well:

'The earth that bricks are made is ground & usd for imprimatura'. [65]

As early as 1550, the Italian painter and architect Vasari recommended an earth as one of the ingredients in a mixture for making grounds.[66] In Spain, the Spanish painter Francisco Pacheco mentioned a ground made with clay.[67]

Thus, one might speculate on whether Rembrandt or someone from his workshop was aware of these traditions and developed this kind of ground for the use in Rembrandt's workshop. In order to underpin the hypothesis that, in The Netherlands, 'canvases with single quartz grounds are unique to Rembrandt and his studio,' grounds were examined from paintings by other seventeenth century masters active in Amsterdam between

grond en hebben, men gebruykt dien wynig dan voor groote werken'.

60 *Corpus* Vol. II, p. 43, note 90.

61 Low pigment volume concentration, PVC.

62 A. van Schendel and H.H. Mertens, 'De restauraties van Rembrandt's Nachtwacht', *O.H.* 62 (1947), p. 23.

63 It may be assumed that when the canvases come from the same bolt, the material for the quartz grounds is from one small batch. For example, the *'Self-portrait'* in Melbourne (IV 21, Br. 56), the *'Self-portrait'* in Cambridge Mass. (IV 22, Br. 57) and the *Flora* of 1660 in New York (Br. 114), are painted on canvases from one bolt and all three have a quartz ground (figs. 28, 29). The canvases of *The denial of Peter* of 1660 in Amsterdam (Br. 594) and *The circumcision* of 1661 in Washington (Br. 596) are the same; they also both have a quartz ground. Painted on matching canvases, the New York pendants *Portrait of a man with a breast plate* (Br. 223) and *Portrait of a woman* (Br. 364) also have a quartz ground, as do the New York pendants *Man with a magnifying glass* (Br. 326) and *Woman with a pink* (Br. 401, see also figs. 30 - 36).

64 Pierre Lebrun, Peintre, 1635, 'Recueuil des essaies des merveilles de la peinture', in: Mrs. Mary P. Merrifield, *Original treatises on the arts of painting*, Vol. II, 1976, p. 772 (originally published in 1849). The Dutch writer Simon Eikelenberg in the first quarter of the eighteenth century mentions 'potaarde', being mixed with linseed oil and used for the ground on panels. 'Potaarde' could either mean earth for making pots or earth for potting plants. Eikelenberg's notes on painting are kept at Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage (ICN) in Amsterdam.

65 Mary Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds, His Italian Notebooks and their Relevance to Seventeenth-Century Painting Techniques*, London 1984, p. 218.

66 G. Baldwin Brown (Ed.), *Vasari on technique*, New York 1960, p. 230: 'But first there must be made a composition of pigments which possess siccative qualities as white lead, dryers, and earth such as is used for bells....'.

67 Zahira Veliz, *Artists' techniques in Golden Age Spain*, Cambridge 1986, p. 68.

Fig. 28. Paint cross-sections showing the quartz ground on the '*Self-portrait*' (*Corpus* IV 22, Br. 57)

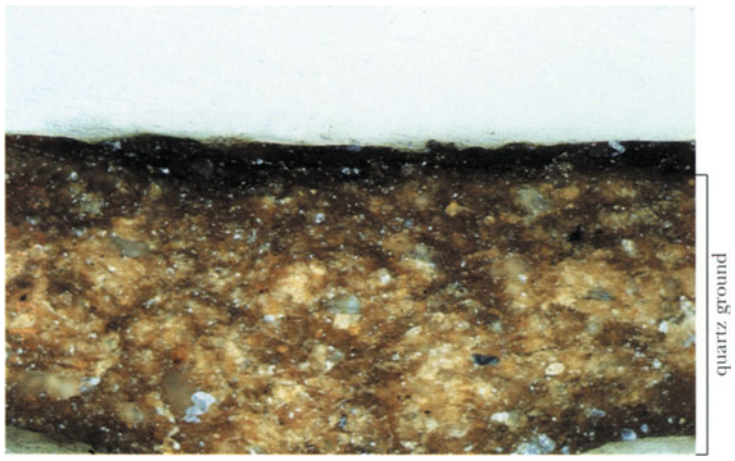
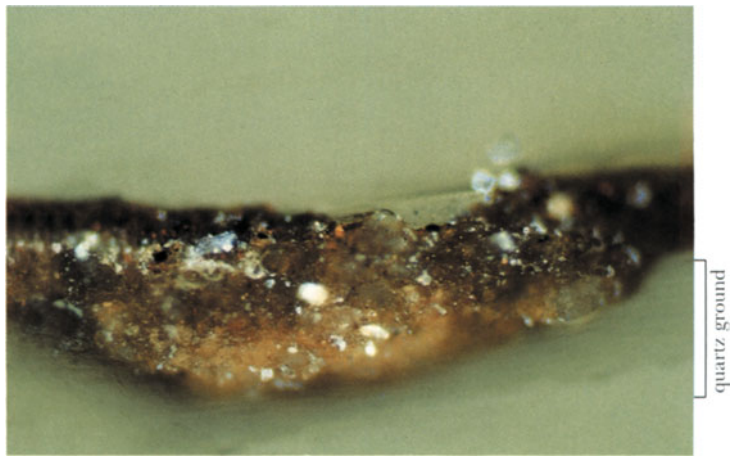


Fig. 29. Paint cross-sections showing the quartz ground on the *Flora* (Br. 114)



1640 (the year Rembrandt must have started work on the *Night watch*)[68] and 1669 (the year of Rembrandt's death), including some of Rembrandt's former pupils (Table VII, pp. 674 ff). These were painters who, in so far as is known, had no workshop connections with Rembrandt. A total of sixty grounds on Amsterdam canvases painted outside Rembrandt's workshop were analysed; not one had a quartz ground. Nor were any of the numerous Dutch paintings on canvas originating outside Amsterdam in the relevant period that were earlier investigated by the author found to be prepared with a quartz ground. Moreover, inquiries with colleagues, nationally and internationally, yielded no knowledge of the use of quartz grounds on Dutch paintings originating outside Rembrandt's studio. This confirms the suggestion that quartz grounds must be specific to Rembrandt and his workshop, and provides a strong supplementary criterion for attributing paintings with quartz grounds to painters working in his studio including the master himself, around or after 1640.

It is curious that the use of a single-layered quartz ground remained restricted to Rembrandt's workshop. Could we have stumbled onto one of Rembrandt's workshop secrets?[69] To date, a comparable ground has been discovered only in eighteenth century wall hangings[70] and in paintings by Italian and foreign artists when working in Italy. The technical examination of grounds used by painters travelling from the North to Italy has shown that these painters did not go to the effort of bringing the materials they traditionally used for their grounds with them when they went to work abroad. Instead, at least for the preparatory layers on their canvases, they used the materials that were available and in use locally. Van Dyck, for instance, painted on the traditional grey-on-red ground when he worked in Antwerp and London and on a (brown) clay ground when he worked in Italy, around 1625-7, when he painted *The Balbi Children* and *Agostino Pallavicini*.[71] Nicolas Poussin also worked on clay grounds when painting in Italy.[72] Poussin obviously found the clay used for The Getty's *Landscape with a calm* too dark in colour; he altered its tone with a light beige layer of lead white and ochre, the way he used to tone down bright red earth grounds when painting in Paris.[73] Poussin was not the only French painter using clay grounds while working in Italy; many other French painters did the same.[74] The Dutch painter Michael Sweerts also painted on dark coloured clay grounds but, as far as we know, only while he worked in Rome.[75] The practice of using a natural earth for a single ground goes back to the North of Italy at the beginning of the seventeenth century and perhaps earlier. Lodovico Carracci, painting in Bologna in 1612, used a single clay ground, purposely darkened by the addition of bone black.[76]

When Rembrandt received the commission for painting the *Night watch* he went to the trouble of finding clay that was light in colour, so that, to obtain the right tone to paint on, he did not have to revert to an additional layer of lead white which would be prone to cracking and, moreover, expensive. The ground already had the right colour and could if necessary be adjusted by adding a small amount of a coloured earth. The *Night watch* could

68 E. Haverkamp-Begemann, *Rembrandt: The Nightwatch*, Princeton University Press 1982, p. 14.

69 Van de Wetering, op. cit.[2], pp. 6-7.

70 In eighteenth century painted wall hangings by Pieter Barbiers (1749-1842) a preparatory layer was found containing approximately 60% quartz, the mineral serpentine and lead white. This sample was analysed through XRD by Peter Hallebeek at the Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage (ICN).

71 Van Dyck, Agostino Pallavicini, The Getty Museum 68.PA.2, ground examined by the author. Ashok Roy, 'The National Gallery Van Dycks: technique and development', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 20 (1999), pp. 59-63.

72 Duval 1994, op. cit.[8].

73 Poussin, *Landscape with a calm*, The Getty Museum 97.PA.60, ground examined by the author.

74 Duval 1992, op. cit.[8], in his extensive study of the grounds in French paintings of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Duval did find that French painters sometimes used brown grounds with a very high quartz content. Although he gives the dates of the paintings, he did not draw the conclusion that these grounds only occur on paintings made when the artists who made the paintings worked in Italy. In our opinion, the brown grounds rich in quartz could be clay grounds as opposed to the lower layer of red earth in a double ground.

75 Arie Wallert and Willem de Ridder, 'The materials and methods of Sweerts's paintings', in *Michael Sweerts*, Amsterdam 2002, pp. 37-47.

76 Lodovico Carracci, *Saint Sebastian thrown into the Cloaca Maxima* (1612), The Getty Museum inv. no. 72.PA.14, ground examined by the author.

Figs. 30-35. A selection of samples from paintings with quartz grounds, some appearing light in colour, some dark due to the addition of earth pigments and darkened binding medium: 30. *Seated woman with a handkerchief* (III C 114, Br. 369); 31. *Old man with a red cap* (Br. 258); 32. *Woman holding a pink* (Br. 390); 33. *The Apostle Paul* (Br. 612); 34. *Auctioneer* (Br. 294); 35. *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* (IV 25, Br. 61).

Fig. 30.

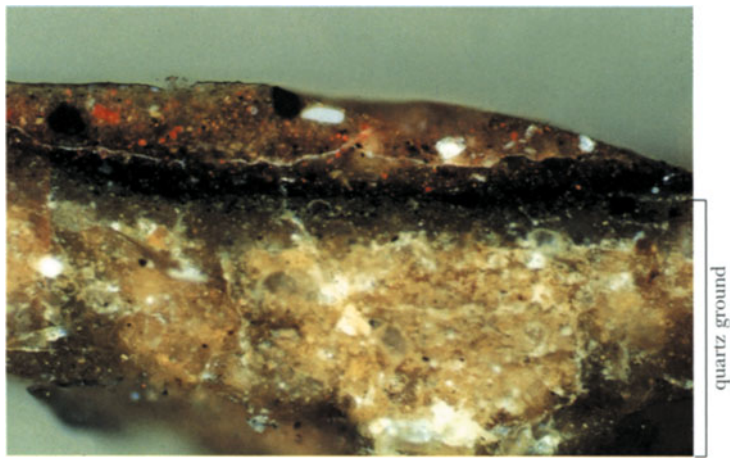


Fig. 31.



Fig. 32.

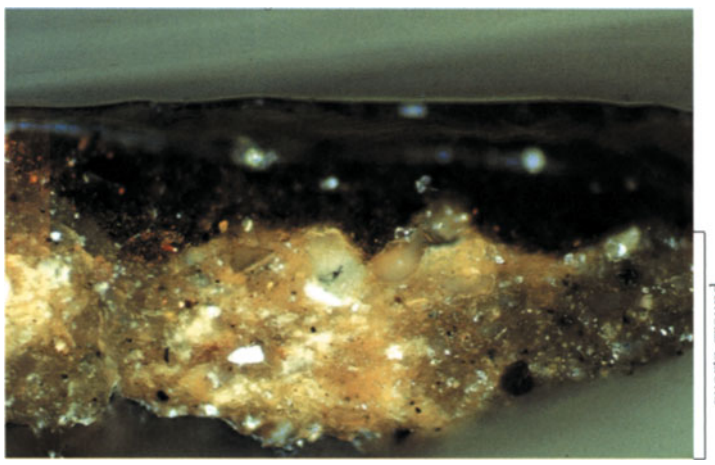


Fig. 33.

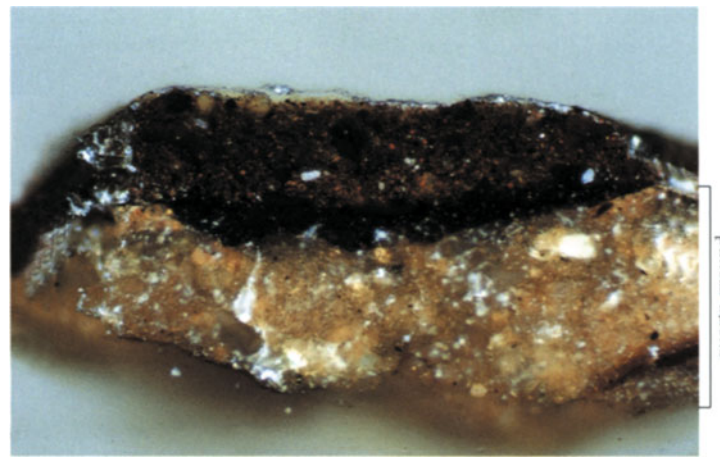


Fig. 34.

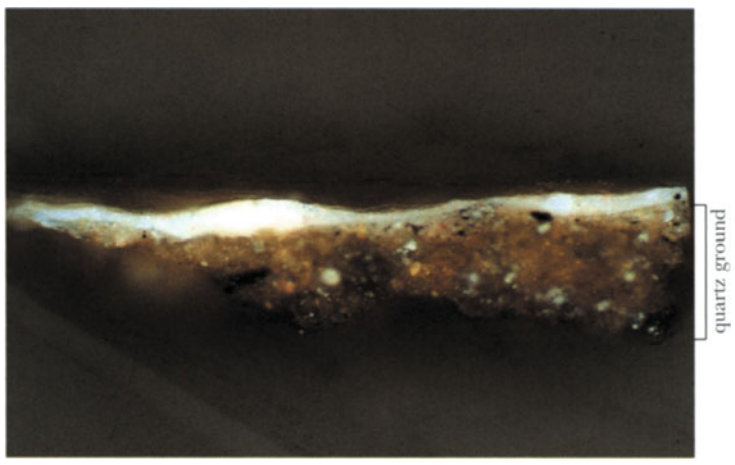


Fig. 35.

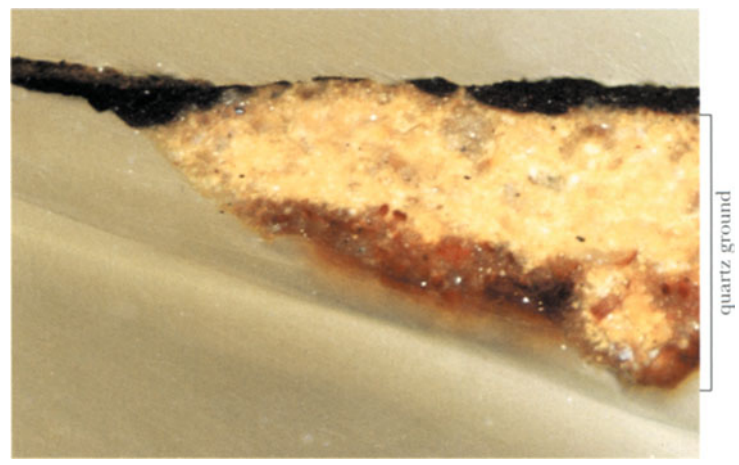
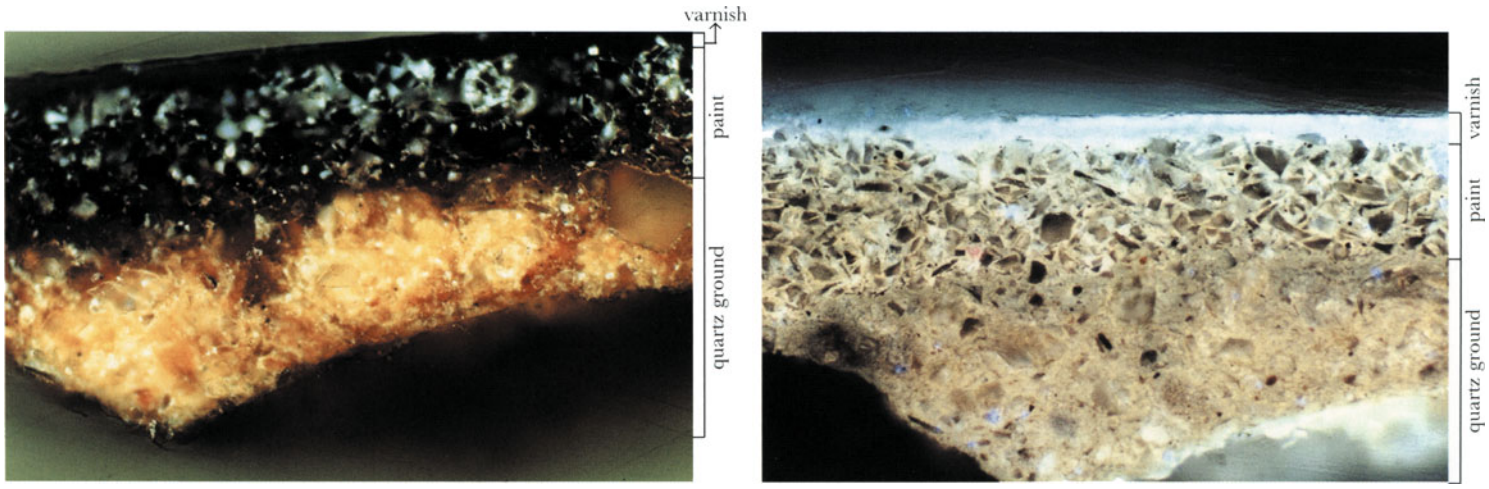


Fig. 36. *Evangelist writing* (Br. 618): 36a cross-section photographed using a halogen lamp, 36b photographed using a Hg-vapour lamp. The fluorescence generated by the Hg-vapour lamp clearly distinguishes the pigment smalt in the paint layer from the particles of quartz in the ground. The fluorescing layer at the top is a natural resin varnish.



safely be rolled-up for transport, at that time by boat. Rembrandt's choice of this type of ground could have been sparked off by written sources, by travelling artists or the search for clay in order to imitate the much admired Chinese porcelain.

Explanation of the Tables on pp. 660-677.

The research data outlined above have been incorporated in Tables II – VII, with separate tables for paintings on particular supports. As far as possible, all of the paintings examined have been organised in chronological order. On the horizontal axis are *Corpus* cat. nos and *Bredius* cat. nos (in Table VII replaced by the cat. or inv. nos of the picture's collection); the brief title; the presumed year of the painting's genesis; the painting's present whereabouts; the interpretation of the analytical results of the first ground layer; as well as that of the second ground layer and the (presumed) colour of the ground. "Presumed", since stating the colour of the ground posed a problem. Although micro-spectral measurements and translation of the measurements into a colour system are the only way of arriving at an objective, unambiguous judgement of the colour, on the basis of which the colours of the grounds on different paintings could be compared, taking spectral measurements on small areas directly on the cross-sections remains very difficult. The technique will hopefully be applicable in the future for colour measurements on the cross-section through the microscope. For the time being we had to convert to the assisted eye in judging the colour of the ground from the cross-section. Therefore the colour as mentioned in the tables is generally determined from paint cross-sections on the basis of the composition of the paint mixture encountered in them and, in the absence of a cross-section copied from the literature. We chose for cross-sections, because, in our experience, observation with the naked eye – not supported by microscopy of cross-sections – often yields unreliable statements about the colour of the ground. On the other hand, as a consequence of the unnatural illumination of the sample and the powerful magnification under the microscope, determination of the colour by analysis of cross-sections is feasible only to a limited extent. In a cross-section, at least the individual, different coloured pigment particles in a paint mixture can be distinguished, but the samples are too small to extrapolate from the sample to the colour and tonal value as seen by the naked eye on the painting support. Proof of this is that in rare instances where the colour in the cross-section can be checked against the painting, the ground layer in the cross-section, under the microscope, always proves to appear lighter than in the painting.

Quartz grounds present an additional impediment to determining the (original) colour of the ground because in contrast to lead white grounds, they are rich in, most probably discoloured, drying oil medium. The discoloration of quartz grounds can often be reinforced, when organic restoration material (such as that applied to the back of a canvas for lining) – which like oil can discolour – penetrates into the ground layer and mixes with its original binding medium. Nether-the-less all the drawbacks we decided to keep the column 'colour'.

In the last column there is the analytical techniques used and mention of when and by whom the samples were analysed. If the author has examined a paint cross-section herself then the reference 'Groen' has been added. Only in Table IV, quartz grounds, are EDX and XRD results fully mentioned. Table VII has grounds on paintings on canvas produced between *c.* 1640 and *c.* 1670 by painters other than Rembrandt and members of his workshop.

Table I see p. 324 in the text.
Table II Grounds on panel, pp. 660-663.
Table III Grounds on canvas (including the grounds in Tables IV, V and VI), pp. 662-671.
Table IV Quartz grounds, pp. 672-673.
Table V Grounds composed mainly of lead white and umber, pp. 674-675.
Table VI Grounds composed mainly of chalk, pp. 674-675.
Table VII Grounds on paintings on canvas other than by Rembrandt and members of his workshop produced in Amsterdam between 1640 and 1669, pp. 674-677.

Biographical information 1643-1669

JAAP VAN DER VEEN

What follows is a continuation of the *Biographical Information* which appeared in the first three volumes of *A Corpus* (Vol. I, p. 61, Vol. II, pp. 107-108 and Vol. III, pp. 57-59) and covers the period from 1642 to Rembrandt's death. Documents by or about Rembrandt are presented chronologically, as in the previous volumes. The source publication edited by Strauss and Van der Meulen formed the starting point, but if there was any doubt about the accuracy of the transcription the version in Strauss *Doc.* was checked against the original. The translation in Strauss *Doc.* has been improved or adjusted where necessary. The same applies to the interpretation of the texts in the footnotes, which also include references and secondary literature. Because of the extent of the material, references to the latter have been kept to the absolute minimum. The picture of Rembrandt's life is not always clear during these years. Thus while his affair with Geertje Dircx is dealt with in some detail in the sources and we are quite well informed about his financial difficulties in the mid 1650s, little is known about his life and work from 1642 to 1647. Lastly, mentions of Rembrandt's work in probate inventories or other sources are not included.

13 September 1646 — At an auction of 'marmore statuen' (marble statues) in Amsterdam, Rembrandt makes purchases amounting to 186 guilders and ten stuivers.[1]

29 November 1646 — Frederik Hendrik's Treasurer and Paymaster General is ordered to pay Rembrandt 2400 guilders for the delivery of a 'geboorte Christi' (Birth of Christ) and a 'besnijdinge Christi' (Circumcision of Christ).[2]

24 June 1647 — The burgomasters of Leiden inform the Amsterdam magistrate in a letter that Rembrandt is heir to one-fourth of his late father's estate; his father was assessed for 35 guilders in the register of the two-hundredth penny. They request that the Amsterdam register be adjusted.[3]

[Before November 1647] — At the request of Saskia's relatives, Rembrandt prepares an inventory of the goods that the couple jointly possessed on the day she died (14 June 1642).[4]

24 January 1648 — Geertje Dircx, the widow of Abraham Claesz., makes her will. Her mother is allotted merely her legitimate portion, to be paid out in the form of Geertje's clothing, but the 'juwelen t'haren lijve behorende' (jewellery belonging to her person) is explicitly excluded. With respect to all of her other possessions, she appoints Titus her sole heir. The latter must pay a bequest of 100 guilders as well as 'haer testatrices contrefeytsel' (the portrait of the testatrix) to Trijntje Beets of Hoorn.[5]

[25 June 1649] — According to a statement by Hendrickje Stoffels, Geertje Dircx, who was going to leave Rembrandt's house, entered into an agreement with Rembrandt on this day in the presence of Hendrickje and another woman. Rembrandt had promised to pay her a once-only sum of 160 guilders and subsequently an annual amount of 60 guilders for the rest of her life or, if necessary, a higher sum 't'sijner discretie tot haer eerlijcke nootdrufticheyt' (at his discretion according to her actual needs). In addition, Geertje's will of 24 January 1648 'ten voordele van des requirants soontge' (for the benefit of the requisitioner's son) would have to remain in force.[6]

25 September 1649 — Through the commissioners of the Chamber of Marital Affairs Geertje Dircx charges Rembrandt with breach of promise. Rembrandt does not appear and is fined the customary amount of one guilder.[7]

1 Strauss *Doc.*, 1646/5; the sculpture was on the account of Jacques Breyel of Antwerp.

2 Strauss *Doc.*, 1646/6; see for *The Birth of Christ* and (the lost) *Circumcision* Br. 574 and Bauch 1966, A 31 respectively.

3 Strauss *Doc.*, 1647/3; the assessment of 35 guilders represented the total of 7000 guilders.

4 Strauss *Doc.*, 1647/6; this document, which was drawn up privately and has not survived, is referred to in a later deposition, ibid. 1659/12. The valuation of the property was 40,750 guilders, ibid. 1662/14. As heir to his mother, Titus was entitled to half of the joint estate. Saskia's relatives were evidently concerned about Rembrandt's management of the finances.

5 Strauss *Doc.*, 1648/2; on Rembrandt's involvement with Geertje Dircx (*c.* 1605/10-after 1656), who, probably while Saskia was still alive, was Titus's dry nurse and with whom Rembrandt had a sexual relationship, see H.F. Wijnman, 'Een episode uit het leven van Rembrandt: de geschiedenis van Geertje Dircks', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 60 (1968), pp. 103-118 and D. Vis, *Rembrandt en Geertje Dircx*, Haarlem 1965. The jewellery referred to in the will was probably that which Rembrandt had given her and which originally belonged to Saskia. The obvious assumption is that Geertje's portrait had been painted by Rembrandt, but Vis, p. 63, believes this was not the case.

6 Strauss *Doc.*, 1649/4; Hendrickje Stoffels (*c.* 1626-1663), daughter of Sergeant Stoffel Jeger and Mechtelt Lamberts (H. Ruessink, 'Hendrickje Stoffels, jongedochter van Bredevoort', *Jaarboek Achterhoek en Liemers* 13 (1990), pp. 28-36), ran Rembrandt's household and became his new love.

7 Strauss *Doc.*, 1649/3.

[3 October 1649] Geertje Dircx, assisted by the cobbler Octaef Octaefsz., reaches a verbal agreement with Rembrandt.

[10 October 1649] Geertje Dircx and Octaef Octaefsz. go to Rembrandt's house to sign the previously reached agreement in the presence of notary Laurens Lamberti. However, Geertje refuses to do so.[8]

14(?) October 1649 Geertje Dircx and 'den eersamen wijtvermaerden schilder Rembrant van Rhijn' (the honourable and far-famed painter Rembrandt van Rijn) reach an agreement. She declares that she lodged with Rembrandt for a considerable length of time, during which she acquired the goods that she now has in her possession. This is why, in her will, she bequeathed her belongings to Rembrandt's son Titus. After leaving Rembrandt's home, she moved into a rented room. As she was having difficulty making ends meet, she turned to her former master for assistance. He is to redeem the silver and gold articles she has pawned and give her two hundred guilders 'onder de cortinge van 't gunt hij haer reets heeft verschoten' (minus the amount he has already advanced to her). In addition, he will give her an annual sum of 160 guilders toward her maintenance until her death, provided that her will of 24 January 1648 in favour of Titus is the sole legally valid will.[9]

14 October 1649 Octaef Octaefsz. testifies upon the request of 'den wijtvermaerden schilder Rembrant van Rhijn' (the far-famed painter Rembrandt van Rijn) that on 3 October last he and Geertje Dircx were in Rembrandt's house, at which time both parties reached an agreement.[10]

16 October 1649 Geertje Dircx again summons Rembrandt to appear before the commissioners of the Chamber of Marital Affairs. Rembrandt does not appear and is fined three guilders.[11]

23 October 1649 Geertje Dircx testifies to the commissioners of Marital Affairs that Rembrandt made verbal promises of marriage and gave her a ring. She declares 'van hem beslapen te sijn tot diverse reysen' (that he slept with her on several occasions) and requests that she be allowed to marry Rembrandt or alternatively that he support her. Rembrandt denies having made promises of marriage and states that he does not have to admit 'dat hij bij haer heeft geslapen' (that he slept with her). It is decided that Rembrandt must pay her 200 guilders annually and should further act in conformance with the contract of 14 October 1649.[12]

17 June 1650 At the request of the painter Jacob Ritsema, 'den E. constrijcken Rembrant van Rijn, schilder' (the noble artful Rembrandt van Rijn, painter) states that about two years earlier the former had shown him an album of drawings. From it, Rembrandt selected seven or eight drawings that pleased him and gave 24 guilders for them. This had happened 'op 't behagen van sijn requirants meester off se hem daervooren affstandich waeren off niet' (if it would please the petitioner's master, whether this would be acceptable or not). Subsequently, Pieter de la Tombe visited Rembrandt on various occasions to look at art. Rembrandt showed him the sheets in question 'seggende dat wat raers was van sijn, La Tombes, broeder gedaen.' (remarking that they were curiously done by his [De La Tombe's] brother). De la Tombe wanted to buy them, but Rembrandt was not certain whether the previous owner had agreed to sell them for the above sum. As it turned out, the owner did not want to sell the drawings and Ritsema gave Rembrandt his money back. Subsequently, De la Tombe managed to acquire the drawings for the same amount and then sold them on to Rembrandt.[13]

8 Strauss *Doc.*, 1649/7.
9 Strauss *Doc.*, 1649/6.
10 Strauss *Doc.*, 1649/7.
11 Strauss *Doc.*, 1649/8.
12 Strauss *Doc.*, 1649/9; when shortly afterwards Geertje drew up a power of attorney (ibid. 1650/3), she was about to move to 'Rarep'. Arnold Houbraken was no doubt referring to Geertje when in his biography of Rembrandt (HdG *Urk.* no. 407) he wrote of the 'boerinnetje van Rarep of Ransdorp in Waterlant' (country girl from Rarep or Ransdorp in Waterland). According to Houbraken, who would have been relying on information supplied by his teacher Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678), who had himself been one of Rembrandt's pupils around 1645, she was 'wat klein van persoon maar welgemaakt van wezen en poezel van lichaam' (a little small in stature but well-shaped and with a plump figure). These last words suggest that Geertje was a model in Rembrandt's workshop, cf. note 5 and Wijnman, op. cit.[5], p. 105. The mention of 'de minnemoer van Rembrant' (Rembrandt's nurse-maid) in a transfer of paintings (Strauss *Doc.*, 1647/1, which also includes portraits of Rembrandt and his wife) points in the same direction.
13 Strauss *Doc.*, 1650/4; the art dealer and bookseller Pieter de la Tombe (1593-1677) had had business dealings with him (ibid. 1656/12, nos. 34 and 109 and note 65 here) and twice had his portrait done by Rembrandt (*A Corpus* II, p. 92, note 7).

17 December 1650 — An account book kept by Elisabeth Coymans between 1649 and 1653, containing the records of the business that she and her eldest son Jean Deutz had set up together, includes an entry that the sum of 189 guilders and 17 stuivers was received from Rembrandt.[14]

13 March 1652 — Rembrandt pays the property tax ('verponding') for his house in the St Anthonisbreestraat.[15]

8 August 1652 — Geertje Dircx, who is confined in the house of correction in Gouda, requests the council of the Amsterdam Reformed Church to ask her relatives in Edam to apply for her release. The church council rejects this request 'dewijl dit een politicq werck is' (because this concerns a secular matter).[16]

10 September 1652 — Elisabeth Harmensdr. van Rijn rescinds the legacies of 300 guilders to her brothers Rembrandt and Willem which she had bequeathed to them in 1641.[17]

[5 October 1652] — Rembrandt sells to Jan Six 'sijns huysvrouwe conterfeytsel' (his [i.e. Rembrandt's] wife's portrait) as well as a 'Simeon' (Simeon) and a 'Johannis predicatie' (Preaching of St John).[18] In the same year Rembrandt makes two pen drawings in Six's album *Pandora*.[19]

19 October 1652 — Rembrandt's brother Adriaen is buried in the St Pieterskerk in Leiden.[20]

8 and 11 January 1653 — Rembrandt becomes the formal owner of his house in the St Anthonisbreestraat. At the transfer of ownership, Isaack van Beeck and Dirck Dircksz. Grijp stand surety.[21] On the instructions of Christoffel Thijs, who was the joint owner with Jan Belten, a notary goes to Rembrandt to hand over the deed of transfer ('kwijtschelding') of the house. The painter is not at home and the legal notice is given 'aen seeckre dienstmaecht daer ten huyse' (to a certain maidservant of the house). Rembrandt is asked to pay his half of the 40th and 80th penny tax.[22]

29 January 1653 — Rembrandt borrows 4180 guilders from Cornelis Witsen, councillor and former alderman of Amsterdam. He promises to pay back the loan within a year and pledges all of his possessions as security.[23]

1 February 1653 (fig. 1) — Rembrandt acknowledges that he owes Christoffel Thijs a sum of money, namely 8470 guilders and 16 stuivers, which represents the remainder of the purchase price of the house in the St Anthonisbreestraat, unpaid interest and monies lent by Thijs.[24]

[7 March 1653] — Rembrandt acknowledges that he owes Jan Six 1000 guilders because of an interest-free loan.[25]

14 J. Bikker, 'The Deutz brothers, Italian paintings and Michiel Sweerts: new information from Elisabeth Coymans's Journael', *Simiolus* 26 (1998), pp. 277-311, esp. 280, 286-287 and 311. Payment was made to Jean Deutz, who two months previously at an auction in the Amsterdam Herenlogement had bought paintings, sculptures and works on paper, a part of which could have been acquired by Rembrandt. Another possibility is that Deutz financed Rembrandt's purchase of marble statues at the auction in 1646 (see under 13 September 1646) – Rembrandt's purchase cost 186 guilders and 10 stuivers – and that that amount was repaid with interest.

15 Strauss *Doc.*, 1652/1 and cf. ibid. 1653/4.

16 Strauss *Doc.*, 1652/4 and cf. ibid. 1650/5. Geertje was released in 1655, ibid. 1655/2.

17 Strauss *Doc.*, 1652/6 and cf. ibid. 1641/7.

18 Strauss *Doc.*, 1652/7; this transaction with Jan Six (1618-1700) is apparent from a later document, ibid. 1658/18. The portrait of Saskia is in Kassel (II A 85), the *Simeon in the temple* is possibly a work by Jan Lievens (Schneider-Ekkart, p. 98, no. 26a), the *St. John the Baptist preaching* is the grisaille in Berlin (III A 106).

19 Strauss *Doc.*, 1652/11, resp. Ben. 913 and 914; the first drawing has the autograph inscription 'Rembrandt aen Joanus Six. 1652', ibid., p. 291.

20 Strauss *Doc.*, 1652/8.

21 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/1. Rembrandt had signed the contract to purchase the house in the Breestraat (the present Rembrandthuis) in January 1639 (ibid. 1639/1) and had moved into it, but the formal transfer of the property had not yet taken place. Now Rembrandt was forced to arrange this transfer. Only 6000 guilders of the purchase price of 13,000 guilders had been paid, see also the following note.

22 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/2 and cf. 1653/3 and 6. For the years 1650, 1651 and 1652 the heirs of the previous owner of the house in the Breestraat had paid part of the taxes on the rentable value. Moreover, since 1 November 1649 Rembrandt had made no further payments towards the interest he owed.

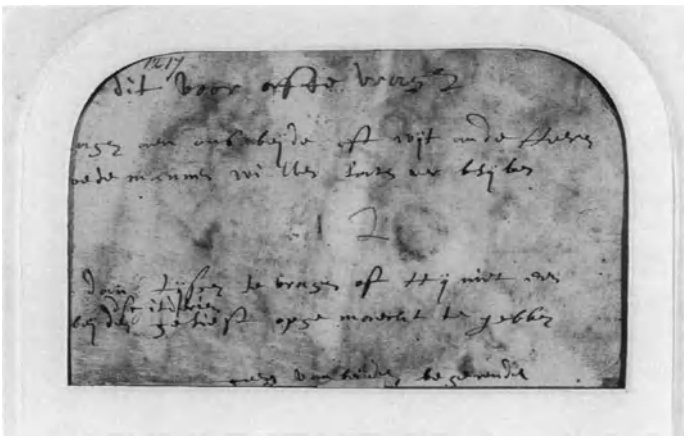
23 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/5; Cornelis Witsen (1605-1669) was paid in full five years later by the commissioners of the DBK, ibid. 1658/2.

24 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/6; Rembrandt had bought the house in 1639 (1639/1), but had by no means finished paying the purchase price, see under 8 and 11 January 1653 and also figs. 1a-b.

25 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/11; the bond has not survived, but the substance is apparent from a later document, ibid. 1657/3 and cf. 1659/15. Rembrandt had borrowed money from Six so that he could repay his debt to Christoffel Thijs.

Fig. 1. Rembrandt intended to supply paintings to Christoffel Thijs (1603-1680), evidently to pay back part of his debt (see note 24). On the verso of this drawing (Ben. 1169) there are notes in Rembrandt's handwriting from which it appears that he planned first to ask Thijs whether they should submit their case to arbitration and then whether he wanted to have the (two?) paintings finished. At the bottom of the sheet Rembrandt noted Thijs' answer: 'geen van beiden begerende' (he wants neither one).





14 March 1653	Rembrandt acknowledges that he owes Isaack van Hertsbeeck 4000 guilders plus 200 guilders interest. He promises to repay this sum within a year. He pledges all of his possessions as security for this loan.[26]
28 March 1653	Rembrandt authorises François de Coster to collect all of his outstanding debts.[27]
16 September 1653	Rembrandt van Rijn, 'vermaert schilder' (famous painter), concurs with the verdict of a group of experts regarding the authenticity of a painting attributed to Paul Bril.[28]
10 November 1653	Rembrandt authorises the apothecary Abraham Francen to collect debts for him.[29]
23 February 1654	The merchant Diego d'Andrada has a notary address Rembrandt about the portrait he is painting of a 'seeckere jongedochter' (certain young and unmarried lady). He has already given the painter 75 guilders and will pay the remainder when the painting 'volcomentlijck sal sijn opgemaeckt' (is fully completed). Given that this 'schilderij ofte conterfeytsel op verre nae niet en gelijckt het wesen ofte tronie van de voorsz. jongedochter' (painting or portrait bears not even the least resemblance to the person or face of the aforesaid young lady), he demands that Rembrandt alter the portrait so that it resembles the sitter. There is some urgency since she will soon be travelling to Hamburg. If the likeness is not good, d'Andrada will not accept the portrait and will want his down payment back. Rembrandt answers that he 'alsnu sijn handen aen 't stuck schilderij niet en wil slaen nochte hetselve opmaecken' (will not touch the painting or finish it) before receiving the remainder of the payment. Only then will he be prepared to complete the painting and 'stellen aen 't oordeel van de overluyden van 't St. Lucasgilt of het de dochter gelijckt dan niet' (leave it to the headmen of the Guild of St Luke to decide whether or not it is a good likeness). He will introduce changes if their verdict is unfavourable. If d'Andrada does not agree to this, Rembrandt will complete the portrait at his convenience 'ende als hij vendue hout van sijn schilderijen 't selve alsdan mede sal vercoopen' (and sell it when he holds an auction of his paintings).[30]
1 and 2 May 1654	Nicolaes Duysentdaelders has given Rembrandt a bill of exchange drawn on Otto van Cattenburgh and Rembrandt asks Otto's brother Dirck to pay him 1005 guilders plus 40

26 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/12; Isaack van Hertsbeeck (d. 1668) had lent Rembrandt money because of his debt to Christoffel Thijs. He was later repaid the full amount by the DBK, but had to return it because Titus' claim proved to be stronger, see below.

27 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/14; Heijmen Dullaert (1636-1684) signed as a co-witness; he is known as a pupil of Rembrandt, HdG *Urk.* nos. 410 and 427. The merchant François de Coster (1625-1653) died soon after this power of attorney was given. Rembrandt appointed Abraham Francen in his place, see 10 November 1653.

28 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/16 and here Ch.I, p.38; it was witnessed by Johannes (van) Glabbeeck (before 1634?-1686) and Jacobus Leveck (1634-1675), 'sijns getuygens dissipelen' (the witness' pupils).

29 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/17; Pieter de la Tombe signed as a witness. Abraham Francen (or: Fransz.) (1612-after 1672) is known to have been a friend of Rembrandt; he is presumably portrayed in one of his etchings (B. 273), see J. Six, 'Rembrandt's voorbereiding van de etsen van Jan Six en Abraham Francen', *Onze Kunst* 7 (1908), pp. 53-65 and K.G. Boon, 'Abraham Francen of Otto van Cattenburch', *De Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 24 (1970), pp. 89-91.

30 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/4; the young woman has been provisionally identified as Beatriz Nunes Henriques, a relative of D'Andrada, who was married in 1654 in Hamburg to Manuel Teixeira de Sampayo, see J. van der Veen, 'Faces from life: *tronies* and portraits in Rembrandt's painted oeuvre', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt, a genius and his impact*, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria and Canberra, National Gallery of Australia 1997/8, pp. 69-80, esp. 77.

guilders interest, or otherwise to set this amount against the sum of about 800 guilders which he owes Dirck van Cattenburgh. The latter agrees to the second of these proposals and states that he has given Duysentdaelders a draft for 245 guilders drawn on Hercules Sanders.[31]

19 June 1654 — Cornelis Gijsbertsz. van Goor reports from Amsterdam to Giacomo di Battista in Messina that he has shipped a painting for his friend. Rembrandt has been paid 500 guilders for the work. In addition Van Goor claims 15 guilders for expenses.[32]

25 June 1654 — The council of the Reformed Church deliberates on whether Hendrickje Stoffels 'in hoererij [heeft] verloopen met Rembrant de schilder' ([has] been living in unwedded cohabitation with Rembrandt the painter). She must appear before the council in eight days.[33]

16 July 1654 — Hendrickje Stoffels, 'woonende op de Breestraet tot Rembrant de schilder' (residing in the Breestraat with Rembrandt the painter), is summoned for the third time, but does not appear. She will be called to account for her conduct.[34]

23 July 1654 — Hendrickje Stoffels appears before the church council and admits to having committed 'hoererij' (unwedded cohabitation) with Rembrandt. She is admonished and denied from the Lord's Supper.[35]

30 October 1654 — Cornelia, the daughter of Hendrickje Stoffels and Rembrandt, is baptised in the Oude Kerk.[36]

10 December 1654 — Rembrandt acknowledges that he owes Christoffel Thijs an annual interest of 52 guilders, 11 stuivers and 4 pennies.[37]

24 November 1655 — Titus draws up his will. Should he die childless, Rembrandt will be his sole heir, 'niet willende [..] dat enige van sijne naer te laten goederen sullen comen off succederen op yemand van sijne vrunden van 's moeders sijde buyten wille van sijn voorn. vader' (not wishing [...] that any of the goods he leaves should go or descend to any of his relatives on his mother's side against the will of his aforesaid father).[38]

[December 1655] — From a bill (not preserved in the original) issued by the landlord of *De Keizerskroon* in the Kalverstraat, Rembrandt appears to have spent money in this respectable inn from 4 to 15 and 18 to 21 December. He rented a room there for five guilders a week for a period of four weeks, and another (extra?) room for an additional one or two weeks for the same amount. Various public sales were held as of 25 December.[39]

25 December 1655 — Lodewijck van Ludick and Abraham Francen declare that Rembrandt has bought a house in the Handboogstraat from Dirck van Cattenburgh, who acts on behalf of his brother Otto. Rembrandt pays in both cash (4000 guilders) and art (worth 3000 guilders). Van Cattenburgh will contribute 500 guilders and give the same amount again within a year, for which Rembrandt will deliver paintings and copper plates. This agreement was reached about a year earlier. Van Ludick and Francen make a valuation of the art supplied to Van

31 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/6 and 7. In 1650 the lawyer and merchant Nicolaes Duysentdaelders (*c.* 1620-1662) had bought a plot in the Handboogstraat and built a house on it which he sold on 23 October 1653 to Otto van Cattenburgh (1612-*c.*1666/70?), councillor ordinary of the Count of Brederode and treasurer and secretary of Vianen. He paid in part in the form of a bill of exchange which Duysentdaelders passed on to Rembrandt, I.H. van Eeghen, 'Handboogstraat 5', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 56 (1969), pp. 169-176. On 1 May, when the bill became due, Rembrandt asked Dirck van Cattenburgh for payment, because his brother Otto was no longer in the city. Rembrandt had business dealings with the merchant Dirck van Cattenburgh (1616-1704) from the early 1650s until his death. The painter Hercules Sanders (1606-in or after 1663) rented a house in the Handboogstraat from Otto van Cattenburgh. See also under 25 December 1655.

32 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/10 and J. Giltaij, *Ruffo en Rembrandt. Over een Siciliaanse verzamelaar in de zeventiende eeuw die drie schilderijen bij Rembrandt bestelde*, Amsterdam 1997, pp. 35-42 and app. B, xi; the work in question is Rembrandt's *Aristotle contemplating a bust of Homer* (Br. 478), cf. Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/16. The friend referred to is the Italian nobleman and art collector Antonio Ruffo (1610/1-1678), who had earlier commissioned the painting from Rembrandt, probably in 1652. Rembrandt later painted two other works for him for which Ruffo provided only a rough outline of what was required.

33 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/11; Hendrickje (see note 6) was pregnant with Rembrandt's child, ibid. 1654/18. When she failed to appear on 2 July, she was summoned again, ibid. 1654/12.

34 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/14.

35 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/15.

36 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/18.

37 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/20 and cf. 1655/3.

38 Strauss *Doc.*, 1655/6; Abraham Francen signed as a witness. The exclusion of his mother's side of the family may indicate that the 14-year-old Titus was under his father's influence or that he wanted to support him.

39 Strauss *Doc.*, 1655/7; it is not known what was sold at this time. The landlord charged Rembrandt a total of 130 guilders and 2 stuivers, ibid. 1660/2.

Cattenburgh: the paintings are assessed at 2447 guilders, and etchings by Rembrandt at 264 guilders and 16 stuivers. In addition, Rembrandt has given six small paintings by (Adriaen) Brouwer and (Jan) Porcellis worth 750 guilders, and for 400 guilders he will etch a portrait of Otto van Cattenburgh 'naer 't leven [...], van deucht als het conterfeytsel van d'heer Jan Six' (from life, equal in quality to the portrait of Mr Jan Six).[40]

2 March 1656 — Geertje's brother Pieter Dircksz. informs Rembrandt that he wants to go to sea, but that his freedom of movement is restricted by an order which Rembrandt has obtained against him. Rembrandt had done so without giving a reason, but Pieter Dircksz. now knows that Rembrandt may want him to appear as a witness. If he wants anything from him, it will have to be done straight away. Rembrandt answers that he wants to keep to the official procedure and will not allow the order imposed on Pieter Dircksz. to be lifted.[41]

3 May 1656 — A woman testifies at Rembrandt's behest that in 1650 at the request of relatives of Geertje she helped to bring her to the house of correction in Gouda. There she paid out approximately 140 guilders, a sum which was reimbursed by Rembrandt.[42]

6 May 1656 — In Edam two women make a statement at the request of Geertje Dircx, who resides there. Five years ago a woman asked them and two of Geertje's relatives on behalf of Rembrandt if they would agree to Geertje's being detained for another eleven years in the house of correction in Gouda. They did not agree to this. About eleven months ago one of the two women went to see Rembrandt and told him that she intended to have Geertje freed from the house of correction. Rembrandt warned her not to do that, wagging his finger and saying 'bij aldien ghi heen gaet, het sal u rouwen' (if you go there, you will be sorry). Undeterred by this threat, she obtained Geertje's release, though with great difficulty and despite the fact that in several letters Rembrandt tried to prevent it.[43]

17 May 1656 — Rembrandt assigns the house in the St Anthonisbreestraat to Titus as his legitimate inheritance from his mother's estate.[44]

18 May 1656 — Rembrandt authorises an attorney to appear in court for him.[45]

[30 May 1656] — Rembrandt acknowledges that he owes Daniel Fransz. a sum of 3150 guilders.[46]

14 July 1656 — Rembrandt makes it known that 'door verliesen geleden in de negotie alsmede schaden ende verliesen bij der zee' (due to losses suffered in business as well as damage and losses at sea) he is faced with financial problems. Since he cannot possibly pay his creditors, he applies to the Court of Holland for *cessio bonorum*.[47]

26 July 1656 — Hendrick Torquinius is appointed trustee of Rembrandt's estate.[48]

25-26 July 1656 — Frans Bruijningh, secretary of the DBK, draws up an inventory 'van de schilderijen mitsgaders meubilen ende huysraet bevonden in den boedel van Rembrant van Rijn' (of the paintings together with the furniture and household goods in the estate of Rembrandt van Rijn).[49]

40 Strauss *Doc.*, 1655/8; Thomas Asselijn signed as a witness (see note 108 here). Rembrandt, who was badly in need of cash, may have planned to sell his house in the Breestraat and move into more modest accommodation. In any event, the transaction did not take place. Lodewijck van Ludick (1607-1669) and Dirck van Cattenburgh were both merchants and active in the art trade. On the etched portrait of Six of 1647, see B. 285.

41 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/2; this matter probably had to do with Geertje. Shortly before, she had dismissed her brother Pieter as her guardian (ibid. 1656/1) and may (Wijnman, op. cit.[5], pp. 115-116) have begun proceedings against Rembrandt to obtain compensation for her, in her view unlawful, confinement in the house of correction at Gouda. In that case Rembrandt might have needed Pieter Dircksz. as a witness.

42 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/4; on the subsequent 6 May at Edam a statement was made at the request of Geertje, ibid. 1656/5.

43 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/5.

44 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/6; in the document it is stated incorrectly that the house is unencumbered.

45 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/7; Abraham Francen signed as a co-witness.

46 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/8; the promisory note registered with the aldermen ('schepenkennis') has not survived, but the amount is apparent from later documents, ibid. 1656/18 and 19. The surgeon Daniel Fransz. was a brother of the Abraham Francen mentioned here several times.

47 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/10; he lists as his principal creditors Cornelis Witsen, Isaack van Hertsbeeck, Daniel Fransz., Gerbrand Ornia (as guarantor of the loan from Jan Six of 7 March 1653), Geertje Dircx and Gerrit Boelens. He also lists his sister-in-law Hiskia Uylenburgh, though later there is no other evidence of a debt to her, ibid. 1656/20 and I.H. van Eeghen, 'Rembrandt en Hiskia', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 55 (1968), pp. 30-34. The reasons Rembrandt gave seem to refer to both the art trade and other business matters (freight?).

48 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/11.

49 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12. The inventory does not give a complete picture of what Rembrandt must once have had. Missing from it, for example, are painter's tools and etching materials as well as clothing and (self-)portraits. The inventory lists hardly any household effects. Yet there was enough to

6 September 1656	The Court of Orphans appoints Jan Verwout guardian of Titus and administrator of his property.[50]
27 September 1656	Rembrandt owes Daniel Fransz. a 'merquelijcke somma van penningen' (a considerable sum of money) and will pay him from the proceeds of an auction of 'zijne goederen en consten' (his goods and works of art). If the proceeds are insufficient, he promises to supply him with paintings. These will then be appraised by Lodewijck van Ludick and Abraham Francen as experts.[51]
27 September 1656	Daniel Fransz. authorises his brother Abraham Francen to receive 3150 guilders from Rembrandt.[52]
1 August 1657	Gerbrand Ornia gives notice to Lodewijck van Ludick that he holds a bond which Rembrandt gave in favour of Jan Six and for which Van Ludick stood surety. Ornia has learned from the officials of the DBK that he can expect nothing from Rembrandt and thus he is addressing himself to Van Ludick. The latter replies that he will discuss the matter with Ornia.[53]
30 October 1657	Titus revokes his previous wills and makes his half-sister Cornelia van Rijn his heir. Rembrandt and Hendrickje will be permitted to act as her guardians, while the former is granted the usufruct of the property left by Titus.[54]
22 November 1657	Titus draws up a new will. His half-sister Cornelia van Rijn is the heir to all the property of which Rembrandt may enjoy the usufruct. The latter is sole guardian of Cornelia and may administer the property she inherits as he sees fit. When Rembrandt dies, the income from the property left by Titus is to be used to support Cornelia and her mother Hendrickje Stoffels.[55]
30 January 1658	Cornelis Witsen is paid 4180 guilders by the DBK from the proceeds of the sale of goods from Rembrandt's estate as repayment of his loan of 29 January 1653.[56]
1 February 1658-13 January 1659	Rembrandt's house in the St Anthonisbreestraat is sold as part of his estate. After the first buyer fails to provide security, the house is bought for 11,218 guilders by the shoemaker Lieven Symonsz. with Samuel Gerincx as 'borgh ende medestander' (guarantor and co-owner). Rembrandt 'sal in 't vertrecken naer hem nemen twee kaggels ende diversche afschutsels, op de solder voor sijn leerlingen aldaer gestelt' (will take with him when leaving two stoves and sundry screens installed in the attic for his pupils).[57]
19 February 1658	The commissioners of the DBK rule that the four paintings which Rembrandt had given to Isaac Francx as security by agreement must be sold 'sonder prejuditie van 't geen de voorn. Ysaacq Vrancx daerop competeerde' (without prejudice to the claim of the aforesaid Isaac Francx).[58]

be worth taking to the pawnshop in April 1658. It is clear that either quite a lot had disappeared by the time the inventory was taken (Rembrandt had previously held an auction which lasted for several weeks, see note 39), or that for whatever reason goods were not listed. It may be that Rembrandt pawned works of art or, for instance, etching plates; these had to be included in the list of assets and liabilities ('staat') (not extant) but not in the inventory of the moveable property. R.W. Scheller, 'Rembrandt en de encyclopedische kunstkamer', *O.H.* 84 (1969), pp. 81-147 provides a detailed analysis; see also R. van Gelder and J. van der Veen, 'A collector's cabinet in the Breestraat. Rembrandt as a lover of art and curiosities', in: B. van den Boogert (ed.), *Rembrandt's treasures*, Zwolle 1999, pp. 33-89, *A Corpus* vol. II, pp. 93-95 and here Chapter I. On the bankruptcy, see S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669): A changing portrait of the artist', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, pp. 50-67, esp. 60-61.

50 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/14; on 4 April 1658 Verwout was succeeded in this position by Louis Crayers, ibid. 1658/11.

51 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/18; the loan was 3150 guilders, see under 30 May 1656 and below.

52 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/19.

53 Strauss *Doc.*, 1657/3; see under 7 March 1653 and below under [March] 1659.

54 Strauss *Doc.*, 1657/5; cf. the deed of 24 November 1655 and the will immediately below.

55 Strauss *Doc.*, 1657/8.

56 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/2 and cf. 1658/7.

57 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/3 and 1658/4 and cf. 1659/4. According to Houbraken, Rembrandt rented a warehouse on the Bloemgracht where his pupils worked in spaces partitioned off by sailcloth, HdG *Urk.* no. 407, §5.

58 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/6; Isaac Francx (1610-1663) had made a loan to Rembrandt of which 116 guilders and five stuivers was still outstanding and for which the artist had given four paintings as security. Francx was not to receive the entire amount back, see ibid. 1659/2, on the auction 1658/15 and on his claim 1658/24. That the loan to Rembrandt amounted to 200 guilders is apparent from the probate inventory of Cornelia Francx, widow of Hendrick Dircksz. Spiegel, in which the bonds include one for 200 guilders to the account of Rembrandt whereby it is noted that 90 guilders and 15 stuivers was received from the DBK, GAA, not. H. Outgers, NA 3244, deed 98, dd. 21 November 1679. Cornelia Francx was assigned this bond from the estate of her brother Isaac Francx, who died unmarried in 1663.

13 March 1658 — Hendrickje Stoffels petitions the DBK for the return of an oak cupboard which is still in Rembrandt's house. She is prepared to swear under oath that the cupboard belongs to her.[59]

4 April 1658 — To replace Jan Verwout the Court of Orphans appoints Louis Crayers as Titus' guardian.[60]

1 May 1658 — Two persons state that 'van seker persoon (die hij verstaet geweest te sijn de soon van Rembrant van Rijn, schilder) op sijn hooft geset wiert om te dragen seker groote spiegel met een swarte lijst' (a large mirror in a black frame was placed by someone [who he understood to have been the son of Rembrandt van Rijn the painter] on the plaintiff's head to be carried). The glass broke while it was being carried.[61]

20 May 1658 — As the guardian of Titus, Louis Crayers requests that the funds raised by the sale of the house in the Breestraat be blocked.[62]

13 September 1658 — Jan Six and Hendrick Torquinius, the trustee of Rembrandt's estate, annul the penalty clauses agreed on 5 October 1652 in two contracts between Six and Rembrandt.[63]

24 September 1658 — The commissioners of the DBK authorise Adriaen Hendricksz. [de Wees] to attend the sale of the works on paper from Rembrandt's estate and 'tot dien eynde deselve op de bequaemste maniere te sorteren ende verdelen' (to this end to sort and arrange the said works in the most appropriate way).[64]

17 December 1658 — The commissioners of the DBK allocate to Jacob de la Tombe 32 guilders and five stuivers 'van seeckere schilderijen' (for certain paintings) which 'soo in 't geheel als voor de helfte toebehoort hebbende' (were half or entirely owned by him) and which were sold together with other paintings from Rembrandt's estate.[65]

17 December 1658 — Isaac van Hertsbeeck, who has a preferential claim, is paid 4200 guilders from the funds held by the DBK after providing sureties in the event of a possible repayment.[66]

[December 1658] — The administrator of the insolvent estate of Rembrandt van Rijn, 'konstigh schilder' (artful painter), makes it known that the remaining works on paper 'met een groote curieusheyt te samen versamelt' (collected by him with great inquisitiveness) as well as 'een goede partije van teeckeningen ende schetsen van denselven Rembrant van Rijn selven' (a sizeable lot of drawings and sketches by the same Rembrandt van Rijn himself) will be sold at *De Keizerskroon* in Amsterdam.[67]

[1658] — A later agreement between Titus and Hendrickje Stoffels shows that in 1658 they established an art dealing business in which Rembrandt participated.[68]

1659 — At the request of Titus' guardian Louis Crayers, various persons make depositions which will serve to determine the amount of Titus' inheritance.[69] Rembrandt himself states that in 1647,

59 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/9; after Rembrandt's death a statement was made about the chest containing linen, clothing and silver worth 600 guilders, see HdG *Urk.* no. 314.

60 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/11 and here under 6 september 1656. It seems that Verwout had died shortly before. Louis Crayers (1623-1668) looked after Titus' interests conscientiously. A detailed list of books found in Crayers's house after his death includes 'een memoriaelboeck' (daybook) for the period 2 July 1665 to 31 December 1667 in which the first item is 'Titus van Rijn moet hebben f 4200:-:- soo veel van Isaack Hartsbeeck ontfangen' (Titus van Rijn to have f 4200:-:- this has been received from Isaac Hartsbeeck) (GAA, not. A. Lock, NA 2262, pp. 196-199, dd. 30 October 1668), while among his paintings there is 'een conterfeytsel van Rembrand van Rijn en zijn vrouw [Saskia?]' (a portrait of Rembrandt van Rijn and his wife [Saskia?]) (ibid., pp. 1090-1116, dd. 4 August 1677-14 January 1678, esp. 1100 and HdG *Urk.* no. 336).

61 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/13.

62 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/14.

63 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/18.

64 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/19; the auction took place on 20 December. The bookseller and art dealer Adriaen Hendricksz. de Wees (1595-1674) was well acquainted with Rembrandt, see under 19 March 1659.

65 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/26; payment was made a day later, ibid. 1658/27 and cf. 1658/28. Instead of Jacob de la Tombe (1604-1656) his brother Pieter (see note 13), who dealt with Jacob's estate, must be intended. The paintings sold which gave rise to the preferential claim belonged to Rembrandt and Pieter de la Tombe jointly, but it is likely that Jacob had lent his brother Pieter money for their purchase.

66 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/25 and see under 14 March 1653. This was opposed (successfully) by Louis Crayers on behalf of his ward, see 5 May 1660.

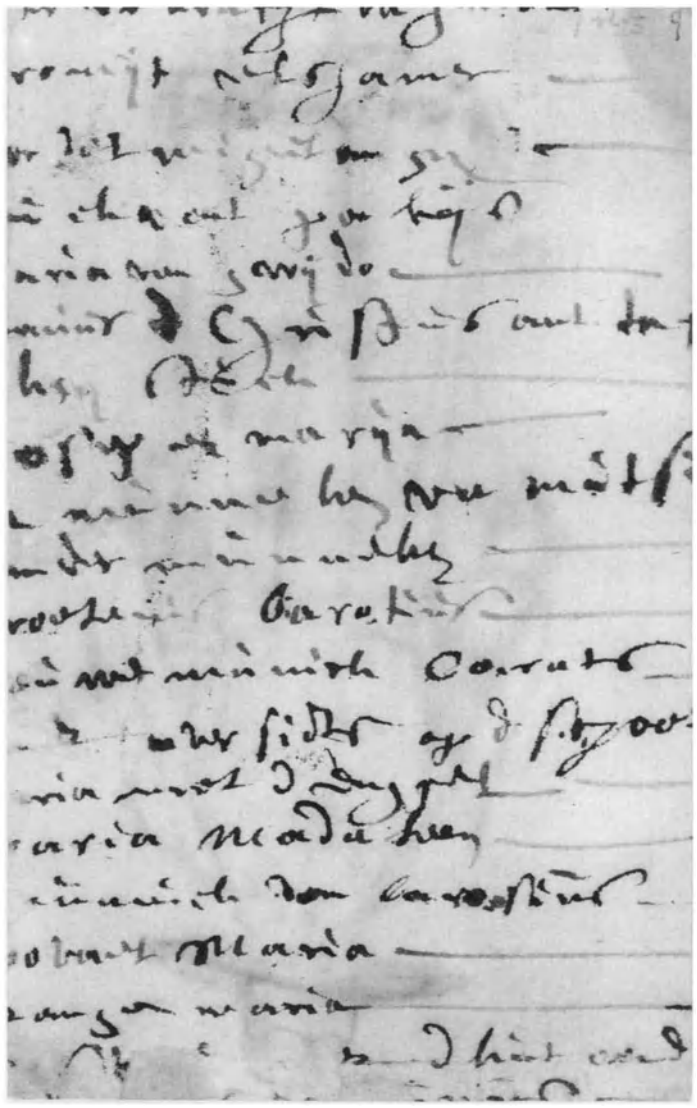
67 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/29; the printed auction flyer stated that the works on paper consisted of 'de konst van verscheyden der voornaemste so Italiaensche, Fransche, Duytsche ende Nederlandtsche meesters' (the art of several of the most prominent Italian, French, German and Netherlandish masters). The auction probably took place on 28 December. Rembrandt himself may well have drawn up an inventory of his collection of art on paper, see L. Münz, 'Eine unpublizierte Zeichnung Rembrandts', *Alte und Neue Kunst* 1 (1952), pp. 152-156 and here fig. 2.

68 See under 15 December 1660.

69 The documents were drawn up before a notary whose records were damaged by fire and this probably explains why some items are missing. Many documents are undated.

Fig. 2. On the back of this drawing attributed to Rembrandt (Ben. A 96a) there is a list of works, undoubtedly written by himself, which appears to be part of a draft inventory. Perhaps this draft belonged to a first, still provisional stocktaking for the purposes of the 1656 inventory (see note 67). However, partly in view of the fact that the works listed on the back of the drawing are prints and drawings rather than paintings, it is entirely possible that this list relates to the auction of Rembrandt's collection of works on paper in 1658.





at the urging of relatives of Saskia, he drew up a list of assets and liabilities and inventory of his property.[70]

Philips Koninck states that a little over seven years before he bought a string of pearls from Rembrandt.[71] Jan van Loo and his wife Anna Huybrechts state that they were 'seer goede kennisse' (very closely acquainted) with Rembrandt and Saskia and that the couple owned a number of pearls, a diamond ring, silverwork, a psalm-book and other valuables including many pewter, copper and iron objects.[72] On 19 March 1659 Lodewijck van Ludick and Adriaen Hendricksz. de Wees state that the value of 'de papiere konsten, rariteyten, antiquiteyten, medalien ende seegewassen' (works on paper, curiosities, antiquities, medals and shells and coral) which Rembrandt possessed between 1640 and 1650 amounted to about 11,000 guilders, and that of the paintings to about 6400 guilders. Both men have been on very close terms with Rembrandt in the past and continue to be so. They have seen his 'konst, rariteyten, schilderijen etc.' (art, curiosities, paintings, etc.) many times.[73] The cloth merchant Jan Pietersz. states that Rembrandt painted his portrait and 'neffens andere persoonen van hunne compagnie en corporaelschap tot sestien in 't getall in een schilderije' (together with other persons in their company and regiment up to sixteen in number in a painting), for which each paid 100 guilders 'd'een wat meer en d'ander wat minder, nae de plaets die sij daer in hadden' (some a little more, some a little less according to the place they occupied).[74] The merchant Adriaen Banck states that in 1647 he bought from Rembrandt 'een stuck

70 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/12 and above under 1647.

71 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/11; the painter Philips Koninck (1619-1688) belonged to Rembrandt's circle of acquaintances.

72 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/13.

73 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/14.

74 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/16 and cf. 1659/19; the work referred to here is *The Night Watch* (III A 146).

schilderije van Susanna' (a painting of Susanna) and that he paid him 500 guilders for it.[75] Abraham Wilmerdoncx states that Rembrandt painted his and his wife's portrait around 1642 and that he paid him 500 guilders plus 60 guilders for the canvas and the frame.[76] Nicolaes van Cruijsbergen, sergeant, states that the civic guard piece at the Kloveniersdoelen, which was painted by Rembrandt and in which among others he himself 'mede is geconterfijt' (was also portrayed), cost 1600 guilders for the work of painting it.[77] Lodewijck van Ludick states – possibly in the month of October – that in about the year 1644 he bought a 'Leander en Hero door Petro Paulo Rubens' (a Leander and Hero by Peter Paul Rubens) from Rembrandt for 530 guilders; Rembrandt had had the painting in his possession for four or five years at that time.[78] Hendrick Uylenburgh states that in about 1642 he served as an expert in a dispute between Andries de Graeff and Rembrandt 'over een stuck schilderije off conterfijtsel' (over a painting or portrait) which Rembrandt had painted for De Graeff. Together with other arbitrators he ruled that De Graeff should pay Rembrandt 500 guilders.[79]

(19?) March 1659 — Rembrandt acknowledges a debt of 1200 guilders to the merchant Lodewijck van Ludick, who has paid this amount to Gerbrand Ornia on Rembrandt's behalf. Rembrandt promises him that he will pay back this amount within three years in the form of paintings which he 'selffs sal schilderen' (will paint himself) and which will be assessed by experts. Furthermore, Rembrandt undertakes 'te sullen affschilderen en leveren een stuckje schilderije uytbeeldende de historie van Jonathan en Davidt, dat hij alreede onder handen heeft' (to complete and deliver a painting depicting the story of Jonathan and David which he is already working on).[80]

7 October 1659 — Rembrandt authorises Titus to act for him in his case before the commissioners of Minor Matters.[81]

1660 — The anthology *Hollantsche Parnas* appears; it includes several poems in praise of Rembrandt's paintings and etchings.[82]

[29 January 1660] — It is clear from a later document that on this date Lodewijck van Ludick sold Rembrandt three paintings by (Pieter) Lastman and (Jan?) Pynas.[83]

[5 May 1660] — The aldermen issued a verdict that Isaac van Hertsbeeck must refund Titus' guardian Louis Crayers the 4200 guilders he received previously on the grounds of his claim against Rembrandt.[84]

24 August 1660 — Louis Crayers ends the blocking of the proceeds of the sale of the house in the Breestraat.[85]

15 December 1660 — Titus, assisted by his father, and Hendrickje Stoffels agree to continue their partnership dealing in paintings, works on paper, curiosities and all related items until Rembrandt's death and for six years after that. They began this enterprise just over two years ago. Since 1658 they have bought household goods, paintings and other art, curiosities and tools and also paid the house rent and other charges, with each contributing half. Both have put their possessions into the partnership. Profit and loss were to be shared equally between them. Because they need help with their business, and 'daertoe niemandt bequamer conde sijn' (no one could be

75 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/17; on *Susanna and the elders*, see Br. 516. Rembrandt also painted Banck's portrait, Strauss *Doc.*, 1660/13 and Van der Veen, op. cit.[30], p. 78.

76 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/18. It is clear from later documents that this was a double portrait of Abraham Wilmerdoncx (1604-1669), governor of the West India Company, and his wife Anna van Beaumont (1607-1686); the last mention of it is in 1721.

77 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/19 and note 74 here.

78 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/20. Rembrandt had bought the work in question in 1637, ibid. 1637/6.

79 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/21. The deposition does not make clear whether the work was a portrait of Andries de Graeff (1611-1678) or of someone else (a relative?). The document has been linked to the *Portrait of a man standing* in Kassel, see III A 129 and cf. exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, no. 29 and Van der Veen, op. cit.[30], p. 76 and note 34.

80 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/15; this was Jan Six's loan to Rembrandt, for which Van Ludick had stood surety. Six had transferred it to Ornia, see under 7 March 1653 and 1 August 1657.

81 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/8.

82 Strauss *Doc.*, 1660/22-26.

83 Strauss *Doc.*, 1660/1. Van Ludick kept the paintings in his possession; on 28 August 1662 the transaction was cancelled.

84 Strauss *Doc.*, 1660/6; the tenor of this ruling is evident from a later document, see under 22 December 1662; on the loan see under 14 March 1653 and 17 December 1658.

85 Strauss *Doc.*, 1660/11; this made it possible for the buyer to deposit the purchase price with the DBK so that ownership of the house could be officially transferred to him, cf. 1660/18 and 1660/21 and here under 9 September 1665.

better qualified) than Rembrandt, they have agreed that he will lodge with them without being charged for rent, food and drink. However, Rembrandt owns no part of either the business or the household. Rembrandt acknowledges that he has borrowed 950 guilders from Titus and 800 guilders from Hendrickje for his essential living expenses and promises to repay the money from his earnings by painting.[86]

1661 — In the album amicorum of Jacobus Heyblocq there is a Rembrandt drawing of 1661 portraying *The presentation in the temple* which is accompanied by a poem in praise of the owner of the album beginning with the lines: 'Hier toont ons Rembrant hoe den ouden Simeon / Met vreucht sijn Heylant en Messias neemt in de armen' (Here Rembrant shows us how old Simeon / Joyfully takes into his arms his Saviour and Messiah).[87]

1661 — In his *Gulden Cabinet van de edele vry schilder-const* (Antwerp 1661) Cornelis de Bie praises Rembrandt's painting and etching and says: 'sijn ordonnantien, die ieders gheest verlichten,/ sijn Conterfeytsels, die naer 't leven sijn ghedaen' (his compositions which delight every mind, / his Portraits, which are done from life).[88]

30 July 1661 — Invoice addressed to Ruffo for a 'Gran Alexandro' painted by Rembrandt. The bill for the actual painting of the work is 500 guilders, plus 18 guilders for the canvas for the *Alexander the Great* and for a *Homer* that has yet to be done (or finished?) and other costs for transport and import duties. The person drawing up the invoice points out that Rembrandt has reminded him that he will paint the *Homer* for the same price. A note by Rembrandt ('als ider stuck 6 palmen breedt is en 8 hoogh sullen 't goede form[ae]ten weesen en de prijs aengaende en sullen den Heer niet overschatten') (if each piece measures 6 palms wide and 8 high, they are the correct size, and with respect to the price the gentleman should not be overwhelmed) may well be the reply to a commission from Ruffo (in 1660?) for (probably two) half-length figures.[89]

7 August 1661 — Hendrickje Stoffels, residing on the Rozengracht opposite the New Maze and sickly, revokes her previous wills and in a new will makes her daughter Cornelia van Rijn her sole heir. If she should die childless, everything will go to Cornelia's half-brother Titus. She asks Rembrandt to act as guardian of his daughter. He may administer the property as he sees fit and enjoy the usufruct of it. After her death Rembrandt may continue her partnership with Titus, which was set out in the contract of 15 December 1660.[90]

31 August 1661 — Hendrickje Stoffels, 'bejaerde dochter' (unmarried woman) residing on the Rozengracht, authorises her brother-in-law Jan Carstensz. Pleckenpoel, residing in Bredevoort, to collect money on her behalf.[91]

20 October 1661 — In a statement made by 'juffre.' (mistress) Hendrickje Stoffels, she is described as 'huysvrouwe van sr. Rembrant van Reyn, fijnschilder' (wife of 'signeur' Rembrandt van Rijn, master painter).[92]

1662 — Melchior Fokkens says in his *Beschrijvinge der wijdt vermaarde Koop-Stadt Amstelredam* (Amsterdam 1662) that 'alreedts vier schilderyen gemaakt [zijn]' (four paintings have already been made) for the town hall on the Batavians' war against the Romans, the first of which was 'geschildert door Rembrandt' (painted by Rembrandt).[93] John Evelyn refers in his *Sculptura or the history and art of chalcography and engraving in copper* (London 1662) to 'the incomparable Reinbrand, whose etchings and gravings are of a particular spirit.' The same year saw the publication of several

86 Strauss *Doc.*, 1660/20 and the will cited below which was made by Hendrickje on 7 August 1661; the fact that Titus was assisted by Rembrandt indicates that the agreement was concluded without the cooperation (or knowledge?) of his legal guardian.

87 Strauss *Doc.*, 1661/3. Various scholars, poets and artists made contributions to the album for Jacobus Heyblocq (1623-1690), headmaster of the Latin School in Amsterdam; on the drawing, see Ben. 1057.

88 Strauss *Doc.*, 1661/17.

89 Strauss *Doc.*, 1661/5 and Giltaij, op. cit.[32], pp. 43-56 and Appendix B, nos. xi a1-2. On the *Homer* (Br. 483) see also Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/11 and on Ruffo see under 19 June 1654.

90 Strauss *Doc.*, 1661/6; the painter Christiaen Dusart (1618-1682/3) signed as a co-witness.

91 Strauss *Doc.*, 1661/8; 'bejaerde dochter' means that she was of age and unmarried.

92 Strauss *Doc.*, 1661/12; Titus signed as a witness. This document indicates that, though not married to Rembrandt, Hendrickje was regarded as his partner; see also Rembrandt's codicil cited below.

93 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/15 and see also under 28 August 1662. The reference is to *The conspiracy of Julius (Claudius) Civilis* (Br. 482), which was probably hung in the town hall in 1662; it was certainly there in the summer of that year because the foreword to Fokkens' book is dated 21 July 1662. It was removed in the course of that year. Rembrandt had to make changes to the painting. It was not to return and was replaced by a work by Jurriaen Ovens. Only part of Rembrandt's large painting survives.

poems in praise of Rembrandt's etched portrait of Lieven van Coppenol and of a 'Haman by Hester en Assueer te gast &c. door Rembrandt geschildert' (Haman as the guest of Esther and Ahasverus etc. painted by Rembrandt).[94]

31 July 1662 — Karel van der Pluym stipulates in his will that if his wife dies childless, the children of Rembrandt's deceased brother Adriaen Harmensz. van Rijn are to receive 3000 guilders. Titus can expect the same amount.[95]

28 August 1662 — Lodewijck van Ludick and Rembrandt reach a settlement of their affairs. Van Ludick is to keep the three paintings (by Lastman and Pynas) which Rembrandt bought from him on 29 January 1660; in compensation Rembrandt will make a painting for him. The payment for two paintings sold to Van Ludick by Rembrandt for 600 guilders, to wit a 'karsnacht' (Nativity) and a 'besnijdenis' (Circumcision), will be set against the prints and 'plaetiens' (small copper plates), which Rembrandt had bought from Van Ludick at auction. Rembrandt is still owed 118 guilders, the difference between the value of the two paintings and that of his purchases at the auction, but he is obliged to repaint the circumciser in the above piece and fittingly improve it. Rembrandt owes Van Ludick 1200 guilders for the payment the latter had to make to Gerbrand Ornia; the 118 guilders mentioned will be deducted from this amount and the remainder, 1082 guilders, will be paid by Rembrandt as follows: Van Ludick will receive a fourth of the amount due to Rembrandt for the painting he did for the town hall and of the money he may receive 'bij verschildering ofte anders beneficeren, hoe 't mach vallen' (from repainting or otherwise benefitting, whichever is the case); in addition, Van Ludick is to receive half of everything Rembrandt earns by painting from 1 January 1663 until the debt is repaid. They affirm that they have no further claims on each other, except that Rembrandt must keep his promise 'wegens een conterfeytsel aen Van Ludick in seeckere occasie toegezeyt ende aengenomen te maecken' (regarding the execution of a portrait for Van Ludick as promised on a certain occasion).[96]

27 October 1662 — Rembrandt sells a grave in the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam.[97]

1 November 1662 — In a letter to Rembrandt Antonio Ruffo expresses his dissatisfaction with the *Alexander the Great* delivered to him. It is expensive and according to him has been painted on four pieces of canvas sewn together: the seams are visible. He proposes that Rembrandt repaint the work. If he agrees, Ruffo will order another three paintings from him, sketches of which are to be sent to him.[98] Rembrandt replies that he is greatly astonished by Ruffo's criticism. He believes his work has been most successful and is surprised by the complaints about the price and the canvas used. If Ruffo sends the piece back at his expense, Rembrandt is prepared to paint a new version. He admits that while working on the Alexander the Great he realised that it would have to be enlarged, but if the painting is properly hung no sign of this is visible.[99]

[7 December 1662] — Rembrandt borrows 537 guilders from Harmen Becker at five per cent interest and gives him nine paintings and two albums of prints as security.[100]

94 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/16, resp. 1662/17, 1662/18 and 1662/19 (and see Br. 530).

95 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/4. Karel van der Pluym (1625-1672) is believed to have been a pupil of Rembrandt in about 1646 and to have lodged during his apprenticeship with his uncle Willem Jansz. van der Pluym, a first cousin of Rembrandt, who drew his portrait (probably Ben. 433, see P. Schatborn, 'Van Rembrandt tot Crozat. Vroege verzamelingen met tekeningen van Rembrandt', *NKJ* 32 (1981), pp. 1-54, esp. 9). In 1648 he became a member of the St Luke's Guild in Leiden, and in 1652 headman and in 1654/5 dean, but later withdrew. He stopped painting in 1650/1 (probably professionally), D.J. Noordam, *Geringde buffels en heren van stand. Het patriciaat van Leiden, 1574-1700*, Hilversum 1994, p. 84 and note 212.

96 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/6: see under (19?) March 1659 and 4 June 1664. The *Circumcision* may be Br. 596; on *The conspiracy of Julius (Claudius) Civilis* see note 93 here. It is not clear whether the portrait Rembrandt promised to deliver was to be of Van Ludick himself. Parts of this agreement were not carried out, because Van Ludick subsequently made over his claims on Rembrandt to Harmen Becker, see under 4 June 1664 and 24 July 1668.

97 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/9; the transfer of ownership took place on 1 November, ibid. 1662/10.

98 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/11, Giltaij, op. cit.[32], pp. 43-66 and Appendix B, xi and here under 19 June 1654; the letter was to be delivered to Isaac Just, through whom Ruffo communicated with Rembrandt, by 'Vallembrot' or Giovanni Battista van den Broeck, the Dutch consul in Sicily. Van den Broeck probably had to wait in Amsterdam until the *Homer* was finished so that he could take it with him. See also the receipt of 16 November 1662 given by a captain who stated that he had received from Ruffo a painting packed in a chest, evidently the half-finished *Homer* being sent back to Amsterdam. The work did not arrive in Messina until 20 May 1664.

99 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/12; according to Giltaij, op. cit.[32], p. 47, there is no evidence that Rembrandt made a new version.

100 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/13; the document is not extant, but its contents become apparent when the debt is paid, see under 6 October 1665. Harmen Becker (*c.* 1617-1678) was a wealthy merchant and an art collector who frequently made loans to artists for which he received works of art as security. For transactions he availed himself of the services of Philips Koninck. At his death Becker possessed a number of paintings by Rembrandt, H.J. Postma, 'De Amsterdamse verzamelaar Herman Becker (ca.1617-1678). Nieuwe gegevens over een geldschieter van Rembrandt', *O.H.* 102 (1988), pp. 1-21.

22 December 1662	By order of the Court of Holland the ruling of the Amsterdam aldermen in the case of Isaac van Hertsbeeck versus Titus' guardian Louis Crayers of 5 May 1660 is confirmed. The former must pay the costs and is fined for making an appeal too lightly.[101]
[28 March 1663]	Rembrandt is given an interest-free loan of 450 guilders by Harmen Becker.[102]
28 March 1663	Rembrandt authorises Titus to act on his behalf.[103]
24 July 1663	Hendrickje Stoffels is buried in the Westerkerk in Amsterdam.[104]
[*c.* 1664]	In a list of 166 painters compiled by Gabriel Bucelinus no. 148 is: 'Rimprant, nostrae aetatis miraculum' (Rembrandt, the miracle of our age).[105]
4 June 1664	Lodewijck van Ludick assigns all his rights arising from his agreement with Rembrandt of 28 August 1662 to Harmen Becker and declares that he has received payment for them.[106]
21 July 1664	Codicil made by 'signeur' Rembrandt van Rijn, residing on the Rozengracht, in which he asserts that in the will of Hendrickje Stoffels 'zijn huysvrou zal.' (his late wife) of 7 August 1661 he was named guardian of their daughter Cornelia, and hereby stipulates that in the event of his death Christiaen Dusart will act as guardian.[107]
31 December 1664	At Rembrandt's request Abraham Francen and Thomas Asselijn make a statement. Francen says that nine or ten months ago Lodewijck van Ludick came to an agreement with Harmen Becker at the latter's house that he would take over the claim Van Ludick had against Rembrandt and would pay for this in cloth at the rate of eight guilders the ell. After Van Ludick saw the quality of the cloth, he decided this price was too high and said that he would be content with a sum of 500 guilders. A discussion arose as to the method of payment. Eventually Becker paid in cloth. Asselijn says that a few days afterwards he told Van Ludick that he had done good business. The latter replied by saying: 'wat soude ick een goede handelinge gedaen hebben, ick heb hem het laken wederom gepresenteert voor vijffhondert guldens' (what a good deal I made, I offered to give him back the cloth for five hundred guilders).[108]
26 January 1665	In the case of Isaac van Hertsbeeck versus Louis Crayers the Supreme Court confirms the earlier ruling by the Court of Holland.[109]
5 February 1665	Rembrandt, who is heir to half the estate of Pieter van Medenblick, authorises Titus to collect on his behalf from the Court of Orphans in Leiden what is owed him.[110]
20 and 21 March 1665	Hendrick van der Linden states that in his presence the bookseller and publisher Daniël van Gaasbeeck spoke to Titus on 22 December last and that it was agreed that Rembrandt would

101 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/14 and notes 60, 66, 84 and 85 above. Van Hertsbeeck appealed to the Supreme Court in The Hague, the highest court, see under 26 January 1665.

102 Strauss *Doc.*, 1663/1, the loan is apparent from its repayment on 6 October 1665.

103 Strauss *Doc.*, 1663/2.

104 Strauss *Doc.*, 1663/4.

105 R. Schillemans, 'Gabriel Bucelinus and "The Names of the Most Distinguished European Painters"', *The Hoogsteder-Naumann Mercury* 6 (1987), pp. 25-37. Gabriel Bucelinus (1599-1681) was acquainted with Rembrandt's former pupil Samuel van Hoogstraten, see also E. van de Wetering, 'The miracle of our age. Rembrandt through the eyes of his contemporaries', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt...* 1997/98, op. cit.[30], pp. 58-68.

106 Strauss *Doc.*, 1664/3 and see under 28 August 1662.

107 Strauss *Doc.*, 1664/4.

108 Strauss *Doc.*, 1664/6. Thomas Asselijn (*c.* 1620-1701) was a dyer and had something of a reputation as a poet; he was a brother of the painter Jan Asselijn (*c.* 1610/5-1652). The Asselijns were acquainted with Rembrandt and Francen. Around 1647 Rembrandt etched a portrait of Jan Asselijn (B. 277). In 1667 Thomas Asselijn owned 'een copie naer Rembrandt, daer Christus werd gegeselt' (a copy after Rembrandt, depicting the flagellation of Christ) (ibid. 1667/3) – this was probably the 'copye nae de geesselingh Cristi, nae Rembrant' (copy after the flagellation of Christ, after Rembrandt) (ibid. 1656/12, no. 302) in Rembrandt's estate – and in 1685 '2 conterfijtsels van Rembrand f 50:-:-' (2 portraits by Rembrandt f 50:-:-) (GAA, not. J. Paerslaken, NA 3474, dd. 20 January 1685).

109 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/2; see under 22 December 1662. Van Hertsbeeck was again fined for appealing too lightly. He was ordered to repay the money (ibid. 1665/7), and eventually complied (ibid. 1665/13 and 14). No part of his loan was ever repaid; the inventory of Van Hertsbeeck lists under 'de dubieuse ende desperate schulden' (doubtful and bad debts): 'Rembrand Hermans schilder volgens schepekennis en 't renteboek fo. 7 voor capl. 4000 gl. en een jaer intrest 200 gl., samen gl. 4200' (according to the certificate of indebtedness and the book of interest paid, Rembrandt, painter, owes 4000 guilders and one year's interest of 200 guilders, together 4200 guilders), GAA, not. A. van den Ende, NA 3663, fol. 92-101, dd. 18 October 1669, esp. fol. 158v and A. Bredius, 'Rembrandtiana', *O.H.* 28 (1910), pp. 1-18, esp. 5.

110 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/3; Pieter Claesz. van Medenblick had been married to an aunt of Rembrandt. Cf. 1665/4, whereby two individuals, one of them Karel van der Pluym, acted as trustees for the underage Titus.

make a portrait engraving. It was to resemble closely an existing portrait and was to be an engraving, not an etching. It was also to be much better than the portrait engraved by Pieter Holsteyn, which had been shown to Titus. He had declared plainly: 'mijn vader sal het veel beter maecken' (my father will do it much better). The work had to be ready in fourteen days. Adriaen van Gaasbeeck was also present during this conversation. He states that he heard Daniël van Gaasbeeck ask Titus if he knew of a meticulous engraver. Titus spoke highly of his father's abilities: 'Ja, mijn vader snijt seer kurieus' (Yes, my father engraves very meticulously). Van Gaasbeeck had thought that Rembrandt only made etchings, but Titus assured him that his father had very recently engraved 'een curieusen vroutgen met een pappotgen' (a precisely rendered woman with a porringer). When shown the print by Holsteyn, Titus laughed and said that it came nowhere near his father's work.[111]

3 June 1665 — Titus petitions the burgomasters of Amsterdam to support his application to the States of Holland for *veniam aetatis* (legal maturity). Attached is a letter of recommendation from Abraham Francen, Willem Jansz. van der Pluym and Jacob Claesz. Vermaeten, and a certified copy from the baptismal register of the Zuiderkerk. The burgomasters provide a letter of recommendation the very same day.[112]

19 June 1665 — Titus' request to be allowed to handle his own affairs despite being a minor is granted.[113]

22 August 1665 — As a preferential creditor of the estate of Rembrandt, who is the heir of Pieter Gerritsz. van Medenblick, Titus acknowledges the receipt of f 882:16:11 from the Court of Orphans in Leiden.[114]

29 August 1665 — Abraham Francen testifies at Rembrandt's request that about eighteen months ago he was asked by the latter to go to Harmen Becker to inform him that Rembrandt wanted to repay his debt to him, in which case Becker had to return the security, namely nine paintings and two albums of prints and drawings. Becker's answer was: 'Laet Rembrant eerst de Juno opmaken' (Let Rembrandt finish the Juno first). He also wanted something else from Rembrandt, but the latter did not think himself bound to do it. Becker then refused to accept the money.[115]

9 September 1665 — Abraham Francen and Bartholomeus van Beuningen stand surety for Titus in connection with possible repayment of the funds he will receive from the sale of the house in the Breestraat.[116]

12 September 1665 — Harmen Becker authorises someone else to act on his behalf in his case against Rembrandt.[117]

6 October 1665 — Rembrandt repays Harmen Becker for the two bonds with interest and the latter returns to him the security consisting of nine paintings and two albums of works on paper. Apart from the claim Becker still has on Rembrandt (taken over from Lodewijck van Ludick), the two no longer have any claims on each other.[118]

15 October 1666 — Maria de Witt responds to Johan van der Voort's request for permission to have a copy made of the portrait of their ancestor Willem Scheyffert van Merode painted by Hans Holbein the Younger and says that Rembrandt had at some time offered 1000 guilders for the original.[119]

18 November 1666 — Rembrandt authorises his son Titus to act on his behalf in all his affairs.[120]

111 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/5 and 6; the portrait in question was to be of Hendrick's father Jan Antonides van der Linden (1609-1664) and was to be included in a posthumous publication. The print was to be done after an existing portrait (probably one painted by Abraham van den Tempel). In the end Rembrandt produced an etched portrait after all (B. 264).

112 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/9 and 10. At the age of (nearly) 24, Titus was still a minor, which was a hindrance in 'sijne handelinge' (his dealings). He submitted this request with his father's agreement. Jacob Claesz. Vermaeten was married to a daughter of Willem Jansz. van der Pluym.

113 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/11 and 12.

114 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/16. Karel van der Pluym and Alexander de Koning stood surety for any possible repayment.

115 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/17; see under 7 December 1662 and 28 March 1663 and also HdG *Urk.* no. 310. The inventory of Becker includes 'een Juno van Rembrant van Rijn' (a Juno by Rembrandt van Rijn), possibly Br.-Gerson 639.

116 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/18; the contents of this document have been preserved through a later copy, S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Borgstelling van Titus van Rijn voor de ontvangst van het geld van de verkoop van het Rembrandthuis', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 1995, no. 1, pp. 23-28. On 5 November 1665 Titus acknowledged the receipt of f 6952:9:-. The cloth merchant Bartholomeus (or earlier: Bartholdus) van Beuningen (1623-1666) may have been a close friend of Titus.

117 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/19.

118 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/20.

119 Strauss *Doc.*, 1666/3.

120 Strauss *Doc.*, 1666/4; at first the painter Christiaen Dusart was also authorised, but in the original instrument his name is crossed out.

2 September 1667	Harmen Becker informs Rembrandt that their case will be judged by three arbitrators and asks him to hand over his papers. Becker has already provided his own papers and Rembrandt promises to do likewise.[121]
29 December 1667	Cosimo de' Medici visits Rembrandt, 'pittore famoso' (famous painter).[122]
10 February 1668	Titus van Rijn, 27 years old, assisted by his father Rembrandt van Rijn, residing on the Rozengracht, has the banns announced for his marriage to Magdalena van Loo, 27 years old, with the written permission of her mother Anna Huybrechts, residing on the Singel.[123]
28 February 1668	Titus van Rijn and Magdalena van Loo are married in the Nieuwe Kerk.[124]
[23 July 1668]	Rembrandt acknowledges a debt of 600 guilders to the painter Christiaen Dusart and gives him as security an album with 'werck van Lucas van Leyden, alsmede eenige tekeningen bij denselven Lucas van Leyden getekent' (work by Lucas van Leyden as well as some drawings made by the same Lucas van Leyden).[125]
24 July 1668	Rembrandt accepts the ruling in his case against Harmen Becker. He must pay him 1082 guilders, of which a third is to be 'in kunst off schilderijen [..] ter ordonnantie van de voorn. Harman Becker te maecken' (in art or paintings [..] to be made on commission of the aforesaid Harmen Becker) and supplied within six months. Titus stands surety.[126]
1 September 1668	Titus and his wife Magdalena van Loo draw up a will in Leiden, naming each other as their heir. Should Titus die first, Magdalena must raise any and all of their offspring and pay them 4,000 guilders when they reach adulthood. Should Titus die without issue and should his wife not bear a child after his death, instead of his legitimate portion, Rembrandt may retain that which he administers for Titus without his creditors being able to lay a claim on it.[127]
5 September 1668	Edward Browne writes in a letter that Amsterdam offers a 'strange variety of excellent prints.' 'Here are divers good ones of Rembrandt and some upon Indian paper that look like washing, though scratched after his manner.'[128]
7 September 1668	Titus is buried in the Westerkerk.[129]
22 March 1669	Titia, daughter of Titus and Magdalena van Loo, is baptised in the Nieuwezijds Kapel. Rembrandt, Anna Huybrechts and François van Bijler serve as the witnesses.[130]
4 October 1669	Rembrandt dies.[131]
5 October 1669	A notary calls at the home of the deceased Rembrandt on the Rozengracht and draws up an inventory of the estate consisting of household effects and clothing. The 'vordere goederen soo van schilderijen, teyckenen, rariteyten, antiquiteyten en anders' (the remaining property such as paintings, drawings, curiosities, antiques and other objects) are put in 'drie besondere camers' (three separate rooms) and are not specified.[132]

121 Strauss *Doc.*, 1667/4; for the verdict see below under 24 July 1668.
122 Strauss *Doc.*, 1667/6 and IV 28 here.
123 Strauss *Doc.*, 1668/1; the name of the intended bridegroom (i.e. Titus) is not followed by his profession, which was unusual. Magdalena van Loo (1642-1669) was one of the thirteen children of the goldsmith Jan van Loo (1589-1659) and Anna Huybrechts (1602-1669). Rembrandt had known the family for years. Jan's brother Gerrit van Loo was married to Saskia's sister Hiskia Uylenburgh. Rembrandt had painted Anna Huybrechts's portrait before 1666, ibid. 1666/1 and S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Anna Huibrechts en Rembrandt van Rijn', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 64 (1977), pp. 30-33.
124 Strauss *Doc.*, 1668/2.
125 Strauss *Doc.*, 1668/5; the debt to Christiaen Dusart is apparent from a document of 19 September 1670, when the guardian of Titus's daughter repaid this amount with interest and was given back the album and drawings, HdG *Urk.* no. 319.
126 Strauss *Doc.*, 1668/6 and see under 28 August 1662.
127 Y.M. Prins, 'Het testament van Titus van Rhijn', *Genealogie* 3 (1997), no. 1, pp. 8-9; Titus, who was sick and bedridden when the will was made, died shortly thereafter, possibly in Leiden.
128 C.D. van Strien, *British travellers in Holland during the Stuart period. Edward Browne and John Locke as tourists in the United Provinces*, Amsterdam 1989, pp. 181-182, esp. note 22. The physician Edward Browne (1644-1708) visited the Dutch Republic in 1668.
129 Strauss *Doc.*, 1668/8.
130 Strauss *Doc.*, 1669/1; Van Bijler was Titus's guardian.
131 Strauss *Doc.*, 1669/4; the date of death is given in a note by a relative of Rembrandt. The funeral took place four days later in the Westerkerk, ibid. 1669/6.
132 Strauss *Doc.*, 1669/5.

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IV 29 Self-portrait, 1669.
The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen,
Mauritshuis *588*

* 'Self-portrait': the quotation marks indicate that we have serious doubts as to the authenticity of the work concerned.

Abbreviations of names of persons involved in the research for the catalogue entries

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IV 1 Self-portrait in a flat cap

1642

WINDSOR CASTLE, H.M. QUEEN ELIZABETH II, INV. NO. RCIM 404120; CW 168

HDG 555; BR. 37; BAUCH 319; GERSON 253; TÜMPEL A69

1. Introduction and description

Since 1957, when Winkler suggested that it was a completely overpainted original, confusion has marked the interpretations of this painting's material history and consequently its art historical position.[1] This entry forwards arguments countering the opinion expressed in the 1982 catalogue of the British Royal Collection, namely that the painting is a late 18th-century imitation.[2] In fact, there is much to be said for its being an authentic, though severely overpainted self-portrait painted over an earlier, unfinished self-portrait by Rembrandt.

Rembrandt's face is illuminated from the left, and his gaze is directed at the observer. The painter's visible hand is partially tucked under the black cloak. He wears non-contemporary attire with 16th-century elements: on his head is a black, slashed cap – seemingly velvet. Visible under his cloak is a brown-red doublet with a row of slits over the chest and at the wrist one sees that he wears a red 'hemdrock' or waistcoat over a white shirt. At the opening of the raised collar of the doublet the upper edge of a smocked white shirt can just be seen. Two chains and a glistening gold earring complete the attire.

Working conditions

Examined on 5 October 1972 (J.B., S.H.L.) in Windsor Castle, in 1988 (K.G., E.v.d.W.) in the Hamilton Kerr Institute, University of Cambridge, on 16 April 1993 (K.G.) and 23 April 1993 (P.B., E.v.d.W.) in St James's Palace: out of the frame in both good daylight and artificial light, with the aid of an X-radiograph covering the entire surface, infrared reflectography and a binocular microscope. Several paint samples were taken during the examination in 1988.

The varnish did not hamper observation during our examinations.

Support

Oak panel, grain vertical, 69.9 x 58.4 cm. Single plank. Thickness varying from 0.7 cm at the left to 1.5 cm at the right. The back displays a few knots in the wood which also show up locally in the form of fissures and damages in the paint on the front. The panel has wide, irregular bevelling on all sides. In connection with the aforementioned knots, the progress of the wood grain is strikingly wavy. Earlier attempts to arrive at a dendrochronological dating of the panel failed. However, in 1992 Klein was able to establish that the oak panel contains 133 growth rings. Using the master chronologies of the Netherlands/Western Germany, the rings could be dated between 1612 and 1480, the youngest ring being a heartwood ring. On the basis of the sapwood statistic of Western Europe, an earliest felling date can be derived for the year 1619, with a more probable felling date somewhere between 1625....1629....1635 + xx. With a seasoning time of two years for the used wood and a minimum of seven sapwood rings, the painting could have been produced at the earliest from 1621 on. With a median of 17 sapwood rings and a seasoning time of two years, the painting could have been made from 1631 on.

Ground

Nowhere can a ground be observed with any certainty. From the examination of the paint cross-sections it appears that the ground consists of two layers (see fig. 4). The bottom layer is composed of a chalk ground with glue as a binding medium. Covering this layer is one consisting of lead white mixed with brown ochre. This layer is relatively thick at the edges of the panel, which may be related to the method of its application. This type of double ground has been encountered in many panels by Rembrandt and his studio (see *Table of Grounds* II, pp. 660-665).[3] From some of the paint cross-sections, the upper layer of the ground appears to be damaged, perhaps scraped off.[4]

Paint layer

Condition: The evaluation of the paint layer and its condition is tightly interwoven with a reconstruction of the painting's genesis and material history. These aspects are discussed in *2. Comments.* The conclusion reached there with regard to the painting's condition is only briefly discussed here. The entire costume, the arm and hand, and large parts of the background have been overpainted. The head appears to have been retouched only locally, particularly in and around the eyes and the moustache. Part of the background at the lower right, where the signature is, has not been overpainted.

Craquelure: A primarily horizontal craquelure pattern is visible in the entire paint surface. This craquelure is much finer in the face than elsewhere in the painting.

The paint surface displays differing levels which partially correspond with an underlying figure, discussed in *Radiography*. Moreover, the background is much thicker along the right contour of the cheek of the now visible figure. As we assume that this part of the background has no notable overpainting, it must be concluded from this variation in level that the background there – perhaps in conjunction with a correction of the contour – was more thickly applied. The overpainted sections of the costume have also been painted fairly thickly, which may explain the conspicuous relief of the collar. For an elaboration on the paint layer and the paint samples, see *2. Comments.*

Radiography

Due to the complexity of the painting's genesis, much of the interpretation of the X-radiographs and the infrared material has been incorporated in *2. Comments.* Aside from the illuminated areas in the face, visible in the paint surface, the X-ray image scarcely corresponds with the present image. The X-radiograph is dominated by a dark reserve for a half-length figure, which also seems to have represented Rembrandt, against a background in radioabsorbent paint. At the lower right, the silhouette of the torso, evidently turned to the right, merges into a clearly delineated dark form which, in spite of its unusual shape, must be read as the reserve for a shadow cast by the figure on the wall.

Fig. 1. Panel 69.9 x 58.4 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 249



Fig. 2. X-Ray



Fig. 3. Cross-section of sample from the earring in Fig. 1, showing lead-tin yellow on a reddish layer of red ochre, lead white and some red lake pigment, with a brown-discoloured varnish on top.

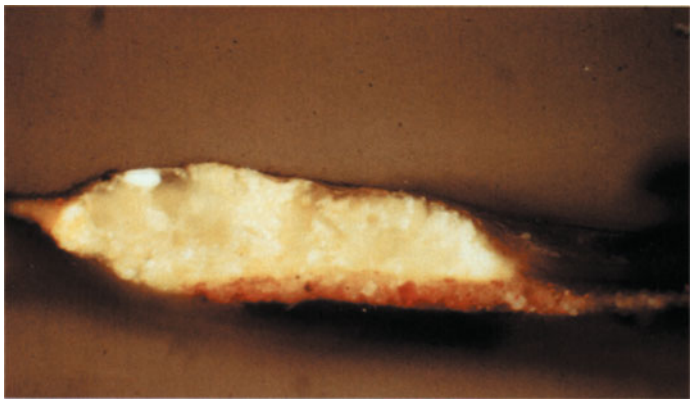
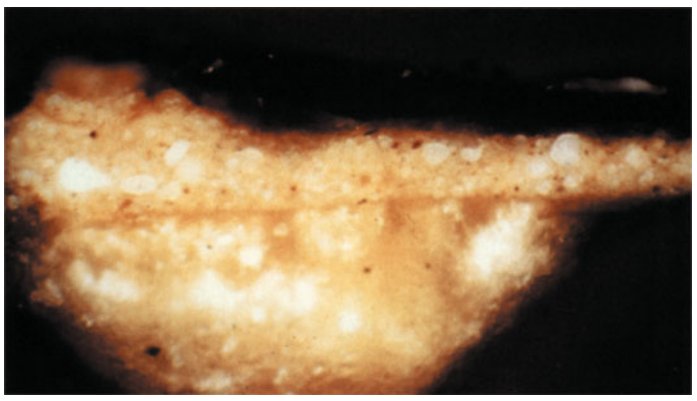


Fig. 4. Cross-section from a sample of the black cloak in Fig. 1, showing the chalk-glue ground, the imprimatura of lead white and brownish-black paint layer.



Both the radioabsorbent areas of the face visible in the paint surface and the accompanying raised collar – the upper contour of which is determined by the light falling on the neck of the visible figure – interfere with the underlying head.

In addition to the lit areas in the face and neck of the visible figure, also showing up in the X-radiograph are the ear with the earring, the highest lights in the two chains and the light paint of the cuff. With respect to the radioabsorbent areas in the face, it is important to note that it extends further at both temples, in contrast to what one might surmise from the paint surface. The vague, elongated shape showing up light, which runs approximately parallel to the contour of the chest of the reserve could be interpreted as a hand resting on the chest of the underlying figure.

The conspicuously sharp demarcation of the left background must have come about through the scraping away of not yet hardened paint with a narrow palette knife or some other tool. The dark line above the reserve for the cap is a slip made with the same scraping instrument.

Infrared reflectography revealed an eye to the right of the visible ear (see fig. 6). As discussed in *2. Comments*, this eye is part of the figure in the underlying painting visible in the X-radiograph and, given the frontal position of the head, can only be seen as the eye at the left.

The unevenness due to whorls in the wood grain, caused by knots at the extreme lower right, at the upper left and diagonally to the right of the head, is clearly perceptible in the dark sections of the X-radiograph. What is more difficult to explain is an irregular course of shorter and longer light stripes, whose wavy configuration is best understood as caused by anatomical features of the wood which scarcely correlate with the wood grain around the knots.

Signature

At the right in the background, at the level of the shoulder, in black <*Rembrandt. f. / 1642*>. The number *1* is part of the lower loop of the *f*. The last digit can be read clearly in raking light.

2. Comments[5]

For a long time the authenticity of the *Self-portrait in a flat cap*, which was probably first mentioned in 1801 and entered the British Royal Collection in 1814 (see *6. Provenance*), was not questioned. However, opinion differed regarding its condition after the matter was broached by Winkler in 1957. He believed that the painting in question was an entirely reworked original and stated that Rembrandt made a radical change to the cap (see note 1). While Gerson, too, detected later restorations, he felt that Winkler's assessment of the painting's condition went too far. Gerson thought that the bonnet had been altered by Rembrandt more than once.[6]

It was not until 1979/80, when cleaning tests where carried out by the restorer Lank with a mild solvent (one part methylated spirit to six parts white spirit), that the matter seemed to become clearer.[7] These tests showed that paint on the clothing and the cap were soluble. On the basis of arguments concerning the brushwork, Lank subsequently ascribed the entire painting to a 'skilled pasticheur (presumably working in the latter half of the 18th century).' Initially Lank had assumed that the face was original, but later changed his mind and suggested that it was by the same pasticheur. He arrived at this conclusion on the basis of his interpretation of the brushwork in the face – particularly near the eyes and the mouth – which he described as (around the right eye) 'painted with thin radiating streaks which extend into the upper lid and eyebrows,' observing that the 'orange and yellow lines below the eye are crude and formless.' He discovered similar 'hesitant and streaky' brushwork in various parts of the face, 'for instance in the mouth and moustache' and pointed out the 'uncertain way that the sitter's left cheek merges into the background.' Furthermore, Lank opined that 'the reflected light in the eye sockets lacks the transparency usually found,' citing

Fig. 5. Detail with signature (slightly reduced)



as an example the 1640 *Self-portrait* in London (III A 139). He suspected that the 'pastose effects were created by applying partially dried paint which would be difficult to manipulate.' He also intimated that the oak panel showed signs of 'deliberate distressing,' suggesting that the panel had been artificially aged, and expressed his belief that dendrochronological analysis would prove that the picture could not have come from Rembrandt's workshop.

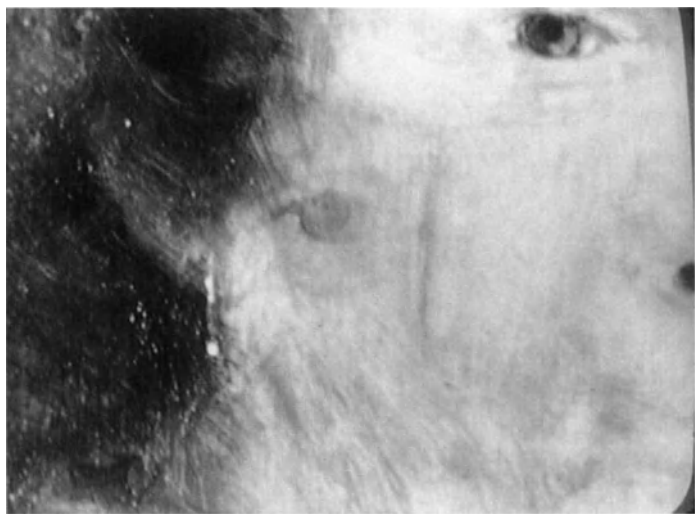
In his catalogue of Dutch pictures in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, White supported Lank's opinion and catalogued the picture as by an 'imitator of Rembrandt' (see note 2). He also referred to the provisional opinion of two RRP members, based on an investigation of the painting in 1972 and recorded in a letter of 11 October of that year, that it could not have been made either by Rembrandt or in his workshop.

In 1972, no X-radiograph of the painting was available. X-radiography, together with infra-red reflectography, were carried out prior to cleaning in 1979/80. Lank realised that the X-radiograph 'was not markedly different from X-radiographs produced by genuine Rembrandts of the 1632-1644 period,' but saw no reason to reconsider his attribution to a much later imitator. Investigation of the painting with infra-red reflectography revealed an eye in the cheek right next to the visible ear (fig. 6). Lank and White implicitly ascribed this eye to the pasticheur and White saw it as part of an underlying head visible in the X-radiograph. He considered this slightly turned head to be a self-portrait based on the *Bust of Rembrandt* in the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena (III C 97, see also IV *Corrigenda*). The view that the Royal Collection painting was by an imitator was adopted by Tümpel.[8]

Large areas of the paint surface do indeed display characteristics that deviate from what can be expected of a 17th-century painting in general and of Rembrandt in particular. In significant sections of the painting, the brushwork appears to have been applied wet in wet, the brushstrokes here appear remarkably intact and 'fresh'. The pictorial effect, the rendering of texture and the plasticity are weak in these zones and the colour is drab: the folds in the fabric are limp and unclearly delineated. The doublet and the sleeve, painted in a thick dark red paint and a lighter red for the highlights, were painted wet in wet, with arched strokes in a way uncommon to authentic works by Rembrandt; the lighter passages contribute little to the details, while the dense black shadows in no way enhance the plasticity of this area. The paint in the cloak and cap is as thick as that in the doublet and even more broadly applied; the effect of the grey sheen is virtually negligible.

While large areas of the background make the same 'fresh' impression, others have a more complex appearance. The pentimenti are perceptible in the shape of clearly delineated, black areas showing through. Evidently the contour of the cap, as Gerson had already noted, ran differently (see note 6). It does not seem probable that this repentir belonged to the 'fresh' layer mentioned above. The absence of such a layer can be more clearly distinguished in the background to the right of the cheek,

Fig. 6. Infra-red reflectograph of the cheek



chin, shoulder and upper arm all the way to the right edge. This area is characterised by a certain transparency, with an underlying, lighter layer showing through locally. It is precisely here that the signature is found. The nature of the paint layer in large parts of the face also differs from that in the 'fresh' areas. Signs of wearing are noticeable particularly in the flesh tones, where in places a darker paint layer shows through.

An analysis of paint samples was carried out by Groen at the Hamilton Kerr Institute in 1988 (see note 4). This revealed that the yellow highlight in the earring just at the earlobe consists of lead tin yellow, a pigment that was superseded by other yellows before 1750. From the cross-section of that paint sample it appeared that the yellow of the earring was applied over a dark flesh-coloured layer which contained coarse particles of a red lake pigment (fig. 3). The cross-section of a paint sample from the cheekbone contained an identical flesh-coloured layer at the paint surface with the same coarsely ground red lake particles. This layer therefore had to be at least as old as the lead tin yellow of the earring. Thus, the growing suspicion that parts of the painting, including the face on the surface, must have originated before the proposed dating of the painting in the second half of the 18th century was confirmed.

Indeed, the frequently encountered transparency of the shadows in Rembrandt's heads is missing in this one, yet this is common in the case of *palimpsests* (see pp. 96-98). This fact also undermines Lank's argument that the reflected light in the eye socket is lacking its usual transparency. The thin yellowish and orange strokes that Lank observed here and there in the details of the face, certainly could have been applied by a later hand. For the rest, a facture can be observed in the face which differs little from that encountered in authentic Rembrandts of this period (see pp. 250, 251, 253).

One could thus posit that the entire visible painting was not the result of a single session. Hence the question is justified whether it can be attributed to an unknown pasticheur whom the RRP in 1972, and later Lank and White, claimed was responsible for the painting. However, it is far more likely that – as Winkler already suspected – an old painting was drastically overpainted.

Fig. 7. Reconstruction of the underlying picture, based on a tracing of the X-radiograph and the position of the third eye (see figs. 2 and 6)



The results of the scientific analysis further undermined the 'pasticheur hypothesis'. With increasing clarity, this information began converging in the direction of the painting's origin in the 17th century in Rembrandt's studio, and in its original state as executed by Rembrandt himself. In the following, these arguments are outlined beginning with the general ones and moving on to more specific ones.

As mentioned earlier, in the highest light of the earring near the earlobe and in one of the chains was found lead tin yellow. This served as an important argument for dating the visible version (apart from the overpaintings) no later than 1750. The dendrochronological examination established a 17th-century origin of the panel. It proved to be from a tree of Dutch or Western German origin (see *Support*) and could have been painted from 1631 onwards which, as will become evident, fits in neatly with the dating of the underlying painting in the early 1630s. Examination of cross-sections of paint samples determined that the composition of the ground of this panel agrees with the double ground layers found in many of Rembrandt's panels, which – to judge from the recipe of an Amsterdam painter recorded by De Mayerne – must have been in current use in the Netherlands in the 17th century (see note 3). The results of the scientific investigation and the conjection based on the paint cross-sections that the underlying painting was locally scraped off down to the ground, prompted Groen in 1988 to formulate the hypothesis that the presumed pasticheur 'used a pre-existing, unfinished or damaged painting' (see note 4).

The suggestion that the alleged pasticheur had made his painting over an earlier attempted pastiche of a 'self-portrait' was hereby seriously undermined. It became clear that the underlying painting discerned in the X-radiograph was a 17th-century, and most probably Dutch work.

For this reason, the underlying painting – only visible in the X-radiograph – should first be subjected to further analysis. The silhouette of the reserve, which is easier to read when one ignores the face of the present figure showing up light in the X-radiograph, must be understood as a reserve in a radioabsorbent background for a portrait of a man – one very reminiscent of a self-portrait by Rembrandt. The combination of a cap perched above curling locks of hair that frame the head, the position of the eye discovered through infra-red reflectography (see fig. 6), and the technical and stylistic nature of the reserve (see below), is so in keeping with early Rembrandt self-portraits that it is virtually impossible to question this identification. However, this does not necessarily prove that the underlying portrait is an autograph work by Rembrandt. Yet there can be little doubt that it was produced in Rembrandt's workshop and in keeping with Rembrandt's working method. While White, on unclear grounds, suggested that the first head must have been more strongly in profile, comparable to the *Bust of Rembrandt* in Pasadena (III C 97, see also IV *Corrigenda*), there is far more reason to assume that it was presented *en face*, the head slightly tilted to the right (see also I B 5 and A 33, II A 72 and A 96, and III C 96). The appearance of a self-portrait reconstructed in this way (see fig. 7) is related to paintings such as the Berlin *Self-portrait* (II A 96), the *Self-portrait with shaded eyes* (IV *Addendum* 2) both from 1634 and the *Bust of Rembrandt in a black cap* of *c.* 1637 in the Wallace Collection (III C 96). In those paintings Rembrandt is set before a somewhat light back wall with a cast shadow at the lower right. Although Rembrandt portrayed himself around 1645 wearing a fairly small cap with short hair curved under just above the ears (compare IV 5), the chance that the underlying (self-)portrait visible in the X-radiograph was made in the 1640s is highly unlikely. The use of flowing, slightly blurred contours for the still relatively lightly-built torso points to a date in the 1630s. Those stylistic aspects and other idiosyncrasies that can be seen in the X-ray image of the underlying painting make an attribution to Rembrandt a very plausible option. The nature of the reserve, the brushwork in the background, the concentration of radioabsorbent paint along the contours and the spirit with which the image has been executed are reminiscent of the X-radiographs of paintings such as the *Noble Slav* of 1632 (II A 48), the *Portrait of Jacques de Gheyn III* of 1632 (II A 56) and the *Portrait of Johannes Wtenbogaert* of 1633 (II A 80). These features would seem to point to a date for the underlying painting of *c.* 1632/33 – probably 1633, in view of the historicizing costume.

There are no traces of radioabsorbent paint in the reserve for the underlying figure which, considering the placement of the 'third eye', might correspond with a lit cheek, a lit nose or forehead. As mentioned above, no trace of a first paint layer was found in the paint sample

taken from below the 'third eye'. This could mean that the underlying painting was unfinished. However, on the basis of the local damage of the imprimatura observed in the cross-sections of paint samples, the suspicion was raised, as stated earlier, that the painting may have been scraped off in places.

Other physical traces confirm that an attempt was made to eliminate the underlying image. This is clearly visible in the upper part of the background where the section showing up light comes to an abrupt end, the result of radioabsorbent paint being partially scraped away. This must have been done with a narrow instrument leaving dark hatched traces. The dark, slightly curved line that emerges above the cap at the left in the background is without a doubt a slip of the tool. The relative thoroughness with which the radioabsorbent paint could be removed, combined with the evenness of the diffuse edges of the scratches, indicates that it was still reasonably soft at the time. We know of a number of early works – the Los Angeles *Raising of Lazarus* (I A 30), the Liverpool *Self-portrait* (I A 33), and the Berlin *Abduction of Proserpina* (I A 39) – in which paint has been scraped away locally in a similar manner or, as in the Berlin *Minerva* (I A 38), has been removed with a cloth presumably wrapped around a finger. The way in which this was usually done, by means of slightly arched, vigorous parallel movements, conforms with what we see in this painting. That the underlying self-portrait must have reached a fairly advanced stage is evident from the scratch marks detailing the hair visible in relief in the surface.

Once it is established that the underlying painting must have come from Rembrandt's workshop and may well be by his hand, the question arises as to what happened to that first painting after it had been partially scraped away. Did it remain in this damaged condition until either the same painter or another later, perhaps even much later, painter reused the panel for another 'self-portrait' of Rembrandt? The assumption that it was a pasticheur from the second half of the 18th century carries two very curious implications. First, that a partially scraped off panel from Rembrandt's studio would have remained in this condition for more than a century before falling into the hands of a painter who then decided to use it for an entirely new, fake 'self-portrait' painted over the remains of the existing one. Second, that this fake 'self-portrait' would then have reflected a phase in Rembrandt's physiognomic development for which a forger could not, as far as we know, have had an example at his disposal. The facial features point to a stage in Rembrandt's life later than those represented in the London *Self-portrait* of 1640 (III A 139; fig. 8) and earlier than that of the considerably aged and more obese Rembrandt in the *Self-portrait* in Karlsruhe (IV 5) which we date *c.* 1645/48. One would have to assume that this pasticheur had so thoroughly understood Rembrandt's ageing that he could assign the correct date – 1642 – to this likeness. This is highly improbable.

As we have seen, the aspect of the paint in parts of the face and the background differs from that of the 'fresh' areas. Microscopic examination of the paint surface in these areas led to the growing suspicion that they are, in fact, overpainted. In addition, the brushstrokes in the face that Lank rightly considered atypical for Rembrandt are part of that intervention. When a flesh-coloured layer with its own craquelure pattern and containing coarser pigment particles than the top layer was found underneath the visible flesh colour of the hand, it became clear that there had, indeed, been considerable overpainting.

Fig. 8. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1640, detail. London, The National Gallery



Together, the aforementioned arguments suggest that the Royal Collection *Self-portrait* is not a pastiche, but rather an old picture subjected to such shameless overpainting that it could lead scholars and even a restorer to the conclusion that the whole painting was an imitation. This type of overpainting was called 'freshening up' (*rifiorire*). According to Baldinucci's *Vocabolario* of 1681, this was 'a most vulgar term by which the lower classes want to express that insufferable stupidity of theirs, to have an old painting occasionally covered with fresh paint even by an inexperienced hand, because it has been slightly blackened by the process of time. This action, not only deprives the painting of its beauty, but also of its air of antiquity.'[9]

The notion that this 'freshened up' work is actually an authentic self-portrait by Rembrandt gains support from a number of arguments, which are not necessarily conclusive in themselves but which, when taken together, make this attribution inescapable. As mentioned above, the face in the Royal Collection *Self-portrait* corresponds with the development of Rembrandt's physiognomy between 1640 and *c.* 1645. Studying the artist's self-portraits made between 1630 and 1669, we looked closely at a few facial features that copyists tended to overlook. For instance, near Rembrandt's right eye (which the viewer sees at the right, as a self-portrait is a mirror image) is a sagging fold of skin which in the course of time gradually hooded the eyelid. This, and many other inexorable traces of the ageing process, can be seen as signs of Rembrandt's intense scrutiny of his own features for every new self-portrait.

Other potentially significant facial features include a

vertical furrow above the nose curving to the left eye, as well as some horizontal wrinkles on the base of the nose which Rembrandt often indicated simply by varying the thickness of the paint and which, therefore, are sometimes visible only in the X-radiograph. The presence of these 'secret' traits in the Royal Collection *Self-portrait* bears on the question of its authenticity (see pp. 94-96).

Furthermore, the fact that the *Self-portrait* was made over another, discarded painting turns out to be an argument in favour of its authenticity. Traces of other, underlying paintings are found in approximately one third of Rembrandt's accepted self-portraits.[10] (See also pp. 96-98)

Finally, the signature becomes a key factor. As described above, it is located in an area that was not overpainted – although it may have been slightly strengthened. According to the handwriting expert Hardy and his colleagues from the Forensic Science Laboratory in Rijswijk, many characteristics of the letters and figures used, their spacing, scale, and degree of specific irregularities speak in favour of its being an autograph inscription by Rembrandt.[11]

All in all, these arguments lead to the conclusion that this work is a 17th-century painting, that it must have originated in Rembrandt's workshop, that its characteristics are those of an authentic self-portrait, and that it bears a signature which shows all the traits of an autograph Rembrandt signature. The only serious option remaining against the conclusion that it is an authentic work is that it might be a very accurate workshop copy after a lost self-portrait. Arguing against this, however, is the presence of several types of pentimenti frequently encountered in Rembrandt's work. The changes near the cap, already noted by Winkler and Gerson (see notes 1 and 6), is in keeping with changes of a type often made by Rembrandt in the costumes of his figures – especially in the case of his self-portraits. The X-radiograph also shows marked changes in the lighting in and near the temples. This would fit in with Rembrandt's frequent efforts to reduce the amount of lit area in his paintings to increase the concentration of light. Although pentimenti have no conclusive significance in the analysis of a work's authenticity, they are crucial in ascertaining whether a work is a prototype (regardless of the maker) or a copy. In this case, they can serve to confirm the authenticity of the *Self-portrait* in Windsor Castle.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 247.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

None.

5. Copies

White mentions three copies, two of which were sold at Christie's, one on 22 December 1949 (no. 64) and another on 2 August 1956 (no. 132) (see note 2). The third free copy cited by White, with a high hat instead of a cap, was formerly in Zurich and now is in a private collection in Paris. On the basis of the colour photograph of this copy known to us can be cautiously supposed that it is an 18th- or early 19th-century copy.

During an exhibition in 1988 organised by the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge for the 10th anniversary of the Hamilton Kerr Institute, a copy was displayed which, according to an inscription on the back of the painting, was produced by Douglas Cowper (1817-1839) in 1838. This copy did not deviate significantly from the original in its present state. This would indicate that the original was overpainted before 1838.

6. Provenance

– Presumably sale Amsterdam, 6 ff. October 1801 (Lugt 6316), no. 55: 'Rembrant. Hoog 27 1/2, breed 21 1/2 duim, Paneel. Het Afbeeldzel, van dien Beroemde Kunst Schilder, Levensgroote halver Lyf, in deftige ryke Kleeding, het Hoofd gedekt met een Mezetyne Muts, hy houd de Linkerhand in de Borst, en als met een ernstig gelaat iets beschouwende: dit Kunststuk, is helder en bevallig van Coloriet, en van een zeer uitvoerige Penceelsbehandeling, zynde een der schoonste van deeze Meester' (Rembrandt. High 27 1/2, wide 21 1/2 inches [= 70.7 x 55.3 cm], panel. The image, of that famous painter, life-size half-length, in dignified rich clothing, the head covered with a 'Mezzatino' cap, his left hand tucked in at his chest, and as if observing something with a serious expression: this work of art is bright and has a charming colour scheme, and very extensive handling of the brush, being one of the most beautiful [works] by this master.) (Purchased by A. E. Sterk for 1650 guilders.)
– According to Hofstede de Groot[12]: sale Amsterdam, 6 October 1809, no. 55. This sale is not mentioned by Lugt; this information is almost certainly a mistake.
– Coll. Baring, London (see note 2).
– Purchased by George IV in 1814 with the coll. Baring; recorded in storage at Carlton House in 1816 and 1819; later in the Picture Gallery at Buckingham Palace in 1841 and 1852.
– Since 1972 in Windsor Castle.

NOTES

1. F. Winkler, 'Echt, falsch, verfälscht', *Kunstchronik* 10 (1957), pp. 141-147, esp. 143.
2. C. White, *The Dutch pictures in the collection of her Majesty the Queen*, Cambridge-London, etc. 1982, cat. no. 168, pp. 111-112.
3. See also Vol. I, Chapter II, pp. 17-20 and note 27.
4. K. Groen, 'The examination of the portrait of Rembrandt in a flat cap', *The Hamilton Kerr Institute Bulletin* 1 (1988), pp. 66-68.
5. The following section of the entry was previously published with only minor changes by E. van de Wetering and P. Broekhoff in: *Burl. Mag.* 138 (1996), pp. 174-180.
6. Gerson 253; Br.-Gerson 37.
7. Unpublished examination report 553 of the Hamilton Kerr Institute, University of Cambridge, 16 January 1980.
8. Tümpel 1986, cat. no. A69.
9. F. Baldinucci, *Vocabolario toscano dell' arte del disegno*, Florence 1681, s.v. *rifiorire*. The English translation is cited from E. H. Gombrich, 'Dark varnishes: Variations on a theme from Pliny', *Burl. Mag.* 104 (1962), pp. 51-55, esp. 53.
10. See I A 20, A 21 (Nuremberg) and A 33, II A 58, III A 133, B 10 and C 96 and IV 5, 9, 10, 11 and 12. The use of discarded paintings occurs less frequently in Rembrandt's workshop for pictures of other subjects.
11. For an overview of the types of features they have found to be characteristic for Rembrandt signatures, see W. Froentjes, H. J. J. Hardy and R. ter Kuile-Haller, 'Een schriftkundig onderzoek van Rembrandt signaturen', *O.H.* 105 (1991), pp. 185-204.
12. HdG 555.

IV 2 Self-portrait

[*c.* 1640]

MADRID, MUSEO THYSSEN-BORNEMISZA, ACC. NO. 1976.90

HDG 565; BR. 36; BAUCH 317; GERSON 240; TÜMPEL –

1. Introduction and description

Ever since Gerson questioned this painting's authenticity in 1968 it has been omitted from surveys of Rembrandt's oeuvre.[1] In the 1990 catalogue of the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection it is listed as a work from Rembrandt's studio.[2] Account should, however, be taken of the painting's extremely poor condition. Moreover, the panel was most likely reduced with the ensuing consequences for the composition. Our evaluation of the work's genesis, its technical, stylistic and qualitative characteristics as well as observations with respect to Rembrandt's facial features lead to the conviction that there are more arguments in favour of its autograph nature than against it.

Rembrandt, seen to just above the waist, holds his balled right hand before his chest. Over a white shirt finished with a narrow collar he wears a black doublet, fashionable in the 15th century, with a high rounded neckline and trimmed with fur around the collar, along the front fastening and at the cuff. Two gold chains hang around his shoulders and a black cap tops his ear-length hair.

Working conditions

Examined on 28 October 1971 (B.H., E.v.d.W.), during the restoration in 1975 (K.G., E.v.d.W.), in 1988 (E.v.d.W., with I. Gaskell) and on 9 May 1995 (E.v.d.W.). Out of the frame, in good artificial light and with the aid of six X-ray films covering the entire painting, a binocular microscope and infrared reflectography. During the investigation in 1975 a number of paint samples were taken and analysed (K.G.).

Support

Oak panel, grain vertical, 72.2 x 58.3 cm. One piece. Back planed to a thickness of app. 0.7 cm and cradled. In the cap at the left is a knothole into which is inserted (possibly later) a rectangular piece of wood (see fig. 2).

The plank is a radial board sawed tangentially near the core of the trunk. The panel has been subjected to dendrochronological investigation by Dr P. Klein (May 1994). It contains 205 growth rings. With the master chronology of the Baltic/Polish region the rings could be dated between the years 1584 and 1380. This panel and those of four other paintings come from the same tree: *John the Baptist preaching* (III A 106), the *Portrait of Herman Doomer* (III A 140), *Christ and the woman taken in adultery* (Br. 566) and the *Portrait of Aletta Adriaensdr.* (III A 132). The latter painting has 206 growth rings including seven sapwood rings: 1621 – 1416. Therefore, the youngest heartwood ring of the tree from which these five panels stem was formed in the year 1614. Regarding the sapwood statistic of Eastern Europe, an earliest felling date can be derived for the year 1623, although a more probable felling date lies between 1627..1629....1633. With a minimum storage time of two years, the painting may have been created at the earliest from 1625 on. Assuming a median of 15 sapwood rings and a minimum seasoning time of two years, a date of creation is plausible from 1631 on.

The fact that the panel is planed along both sides, and that the resulting edges are thicker than usual for a 17th-century bevelled panel favours the assumption that it was originally larger. Other arguments for this assumption are the interruption of some visual elements at the top and bottom, the manner in which the paint layers along the edges have splintered off and, with the necessary caution, a print by J.N. Muxel (see *4. Graphic reproductions*, 1; fig.7). For a discussion of the painting's original format, see *2. Comments.*

Ground

While nowhere visible in the surface, the ground does shine through slightly in the transparent passages in the hair. Microscopic examination of cross-sections, X-ray diffraction analysis and SEM-EDX indicate that the ground consists of two layers: the bottom one is a chalk-glue priming, and the top one is an admixture of 50% lead white and 50% chalk (volume percentages) with the addition of a ferriferous brown pigment, probably umber. Given this mixture of white and brown of the top layer, the ground must be a light yellow brown. In the 17th century, lead white mixed with chalk was called ceruse. It is also encountered in the light underpainting in the *Night watch* (III A 146).

Paint layer

Condition: Extensive (restored) paint loss is found in the lit part of the face in vertical patches following the wood grain, showing up dark in the X-ray image (see *Radiography*). The paint layer has been touched up at the left in the cap where a piece of wood was inserted into a knothole (see *Support*). The technical investigation conducted during the 1975 restoration of the painting revealed that in large parts of the face the top paint layer fills the cracks in an underlying layer, and that this top layer extends over old priming fillings and lacunas in the original paint layer. From this it could be concluded that these areas (the area surrounding the eye at the left, the forehead and the shaded parts of the right half of the face) were overpainted. The background is entirely overpainted, as is clear from the fact that in numerous places the topmost paint layer of the background has flowed into the fine shrinkage cracks of the underlying paint layer. Analysis of the paint samples also point in this direction. A cross-section of a paint sample taken from the background at the right of the head shows that the ground is covered by a relatively thick, grey-brown paint layer that displays traces of abrasion. This is undoubtedly the original background. Over this are one or two dark layers in what appears to be a varnish-like binding medium; this dark paint must be considered a later overpainting. The abrasion of the original background explains why no varnish layer was encountered between the paint in the background and the overpainting; evidently, shortly after being abraded, apparently in an effort to remove the varnish, the painting was overpainted in places where this was deemed to be optically necessary. This reconstruction of the painting's fate is supported by the fact that the paint of the overpainted background exactly borders the con-

Fig. 1. Panel 72.2 x 58.3 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 248



Fig. 2. X-Ray

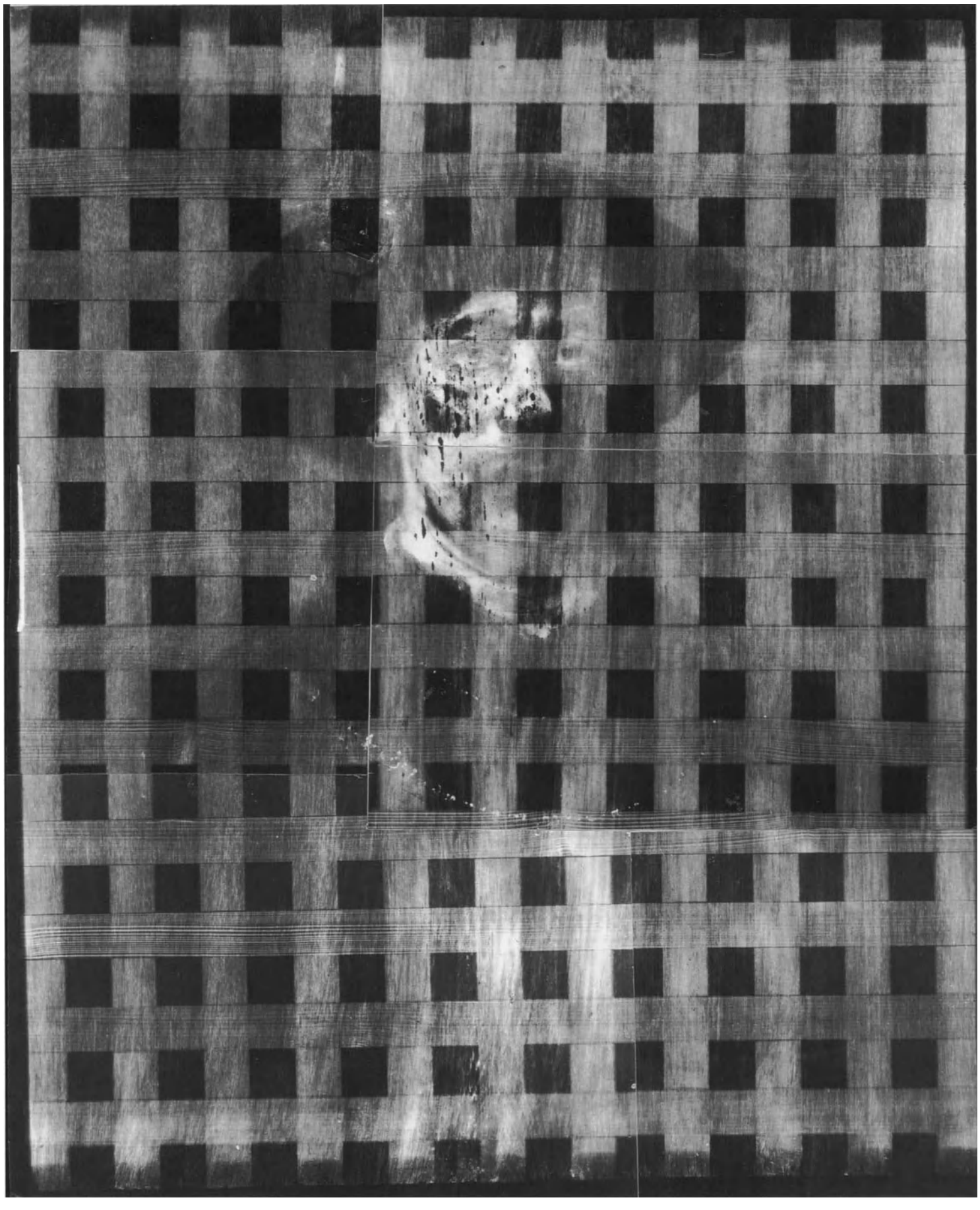
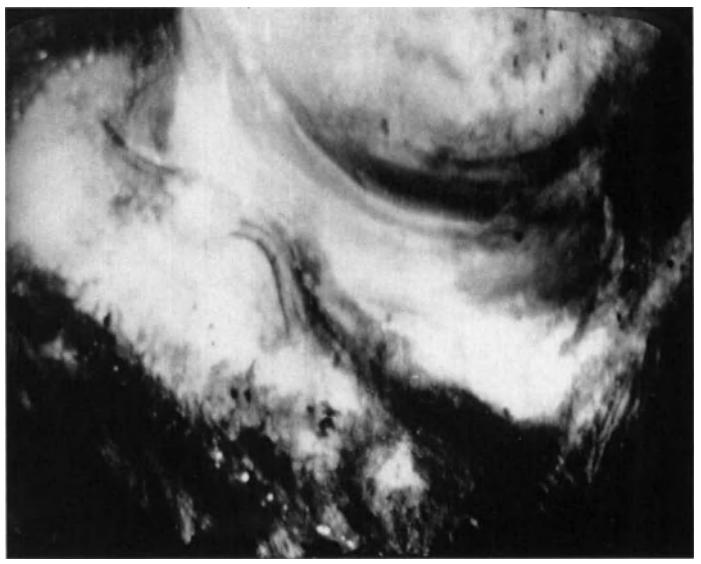


Fig. 3. Infrared-reflectogram, detail of feather above the cap



Fig. 4. Infrared-reflectogram, detail of collar



tours of the head and the body, while one would expect the paint of the figure to slightly overlap the background. Infrared-reflectography reveals a feather above the cap (fig. 3). This feather, which is also present in a copy of the painting (see *5. Copies*, 1; fig. 8), appears to have been covered by the same layer described above as overpainting. The samples that were taken in the area of the feather display a complex layering. However, it is not possible to determine when the overpainting was carried out. Given that the copy does not make the impression of having been painted in Rembrandt's workshop, it appears plausible that subsequent to the strong abrasion of the painting the feather was abandoned and covered with the new dark background. At this time, then, the cap – partially covered by the feather and its clasp – must also have been partly or even entirely overpainted.

Kühn detected Naples yellow in a paint sample taken from the fur trim along the doublet confirming the suspicion that this area was locally overpainted.[3] Although Naples yellow existed in the 17th century, it was most frequently used in the 18th century. To date, Naples yellow has yet to be found in paintings by Rembrandt or his circle.

Gaskell established that the hand was concealed under a layer of paint until *c.* 1935, and observed 'cupping in the area of the hand (very unusual on a panel support) and the eruption of the ground through the craquelure' and assumed that 'cleaning of this area with an aqueous solution (...) exacerbated the activity of the thick ground to the detriment of the paint layers.'[4]

He also noted that 'the original definition of the torso has been disturbed by extensive abrasion.' This, and the degree to which large portions of the painting were overpainted, provide additional indications that in the past the entire picture must have been severely overcleaned with resulting abrasion of the paint surface. Moreover, comparison of X-radiographs of the head taken in 1956 and in 1975 betray an alarming increase of paint loss in the face in this period (figs. 5 and 6).

Craquelure: various types of craquelure can be observed in the lit sections of the face (in the condition of 1988): a predominantly vertical and horizontal pattern connected to the working of the wood (the countless lacunae in the ground and paint layer correspond with this pattern), and an uneven pattern of cupping with raised rims displaying crumbling corners. The latter aspect is comparable to what was observed in the hand. In many places, the original paint of the background shows fine shrinkage cracks which are also manifest in the X-ray image. In turn, the overpainting in the background displays its own pattern of shrinkage cracks.

A number of pentimenti can be seen in raking light, a few of which are also visible with infrared reflectography. In addition to the above-mentioned painted out feather and its clasp and the originally differently shaped collar (fig. 4), in the paint relief can be seen an originally higher contour of the left shoulder. Also the course of the right part of the longer chain as well as the contour of the cap appear to have been altered.

X-ray diffraction analysis of a paint sample from the longer chain established the presence of lead-tin yellow. This pigment is found primarily in Northern European paintings and fell into disuse around 1750.

A characterisation of the painting manner is foregone in this section of the entry as the overpaintings and abrasion make it impossible to gain a reliable impression. Relevant observations are incorporated in *2. Comments.*

Radiography

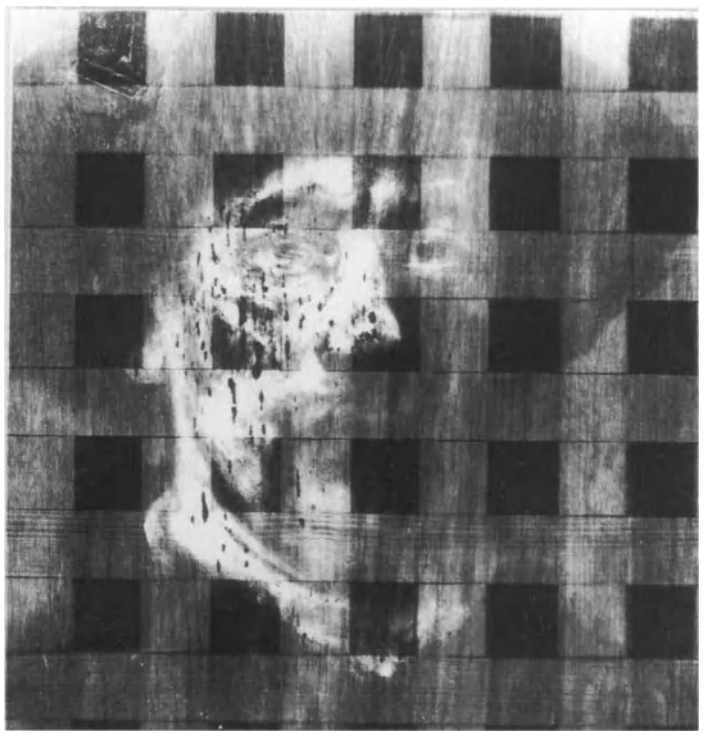
Although disturbed by the cradling, the X-ray image remains reasonably legible. The paint loss detected in the surface, primarily in the lit half of the face, shows up very clearly as a series of black, vertically oriented slender spots (see also figs. 5 and 6).

The division of light and dark in the radiographic image of the head agrees with what one would expect from the paint surface. The lightest areas showing up are the highest lights on the nose and on the neck. Traces of brushwork are not visible everywhere resulting in a somewhat blurred image. This may be a consequence of the serious abrasion of the paint surface.

Fig. 5. X-Ray, detail (1956)



Fig. 6. X-Ray, detail (1975)



Infrared reflectography of the fur collar at the left revealed a deftly painted, flowing line that does not correspond with the final form and is apparently part of the underpainting (fig. 4). An indication of a large feather arching from right to left was also observed which, as argued in *Paint layer* Condition, was probably painted out by a later hand. The feather is transected by the top edge of the painting.

Signature

None. A possible originally present signature could have vanished as a result of abrasion and overpainting of the background, and possibly also as a consequence of – as we suspect – the panel having been cut down.

2. Comments

The painting's authenticity had been accepted without reservation in the Rembrandt literature until 1968, when Gerson was the first to publish his doubts and even question whether the painting could have originated in Rembrandt's time (see note 1). Subsequent authors, such as Schwartz[5] and Tümpel[6] did not include it in their surveys of Rembrandt's oeuvre. Wright, on the other hand, considered Gerson's judgement too harsh and argued in favour of the painting.[7] When the RRP first examined the painting in 1971, our opinion was negative. This view was chiefly based on an assessment of the painting's pictorial quality. Its execution was seen as poor given the lack of three-dimensionality and texture and the absence of the diversity and variation in the thickness of the paint typical of a work by Rembrandt. The prevailing impression was that the execution was hesitant and missed Rembrandt's typical brushwork which contributes to the plasticity of the depicted forms. Moreover, the composition and character of the contours were perceived as being flaccid. In 1975 the painting was subjected to scientific examination. Materially, nothing was found to contradict a 17th-century origin or possible production in Rembrandt's studio. However, the objections relating to the above-cited pictorial properties were not dispelled.

The first published analysis of the problems related to this work was authored by Gaskell and appeared in 1990 (see note 2). From his assessment of the data, observations and opinions, Gaskell (who communicated with the RRP while conducting his research) concluded that the painting could have been by a painter in Rembrandt's studio or a follower. He adduced that the results of scientific examinations (1975 and 1988) countered Gerson's assertion that the painting was produced in a later period (see note 4). Gaskell referred to the fact that lead-tin yellow in the chain provides a terminus ante quem of around 1750 and that dendrochronological investigation had revealed that the tree from which the panel was taken, was cut between 1621 and 1633.[8] Gaskell, however, also remarked on the peculiarity of what he took to be a single white ground layer detected during earlier examinations.

Gaskell's most important arguments for rejecting an attribution to Rembrandt himself were related to the pictorial quality and the painting technique. He stated that 'the nature of the application of the paint in the surviving areas of the face is inconsistent with what is known of Rembrandt's own technique. The surface is characterised by imprecision in detail, an intermixture of paints rather than a subtle layering and a lack of confidence in the progressive application of paints' (see note 4). Given the fact that changes were found in the costume, but not in the face, Gaskell reasoned that the

painter was one of Rembrandt's studio assistants who relied on a lost self-portrait for the face and invented the rest.

Initially, Gaskell's solution appears elegant. Nevertheless, it may be useful to subject his arguments to closer scrutiny. As to his argument that the painting was executed on a white ground, it appeared from a re-examination of the paint-cross sections, that this white underlayer is covered by a yellow-brown *primuersel*. Thus, the ground is of a type commonly found on 17th-century paintings on panel in general and certainly on the panels used by Rembrandt and his studio. As for Gaskell's suggestion that the head is a copy, it should be mentioned that pentimenti rarely if ever occur in the heads of Rembrandt's painted self-portraits. Pentimenti like those in the collar and in the course of the contours are not unusual for Rembrandt's paintings, including his self-portraits.[9] Moreover, it is noteworthy that the division of radioabsorbent paint in the face, and especially its measured application, is distinctly similar to what is commonly found in Rembrandt's autograph self-portraits. Examples of possibly significant concentrations of lead white are the pastose strokes in the transition from the neck to the shoulder, on the cheekbone, on the upper lip to the left under the wing of the nose, and near the base of the nose. Perhaps equally significant is the drastic reduction in radioabsorbency from the cheekbone to the chin and in parts of the face in shadow. This is also true of the (virtually total) absence of radioabsorbency in the eyebrows, along the wing of the nose, in the moustache and the mouth. Comparing the head in these respects with obvious copies, the X-radiograph actually argues in favour of the painting's authenticity. The X-ray image, however, deviates from comparable X-radiographs (for example, the London III A 139 and Windsor Castle IV 1) in its smooth appearance, which is due to the fact that hardly any individual brushstrokes show up. In the analysis of the X-ray image in *Radiography* this phenomenon was connected to the harsh abrasion that this presumably fairly thinly painted work was subjected to.

Turning to the matter of physiognomy, the Thyssen painting displays no feature that would militate against its being a possible autograph self-portrait. The phase in the ageing of Rembrandt's face can be placed between 1640, the *Self-portrait* in London (III A 139), and 1645, the *Self-portrait* in Karlsruhe (IV 5). The double chin, and the lower half of the face are somewhat fuller in comparison with the London *Self-portrait*. None of the existing self-portraits display this particular phase in the gradual transformation of Rembrandt's face. It is important to ascertain that the asymmetry in the area of the eyes is comparable to the characteristic sagging fold of the eye lid at the right as observed in generally accepted authentic self-portraits (see pp. 94-96). The positioning of the vertical furrow(s) above the base of the nose is not as asymmetrically placed to the left as is usually the case. Then again, greater symmetry in this respect also occurs in the authentic *Large self-portrait* in Vienna (IV 8). The wrinkles at the base of the nose as indicated in the self-portraits around 1640 also appear in the Thyssen painting. Thus, physiognomically the head is acceptable, and even contains 'concealed' features. It also reveals an approach to form, especially a certain 'firmness' – difficult to express in analytical terms – that supports an attribution to Rembrandt. This impression may in part be determined by what is described in Vol. II, p. 12 as characteristic of Rembrandt's notions on how to achieve plasticity in portrait heads, namely '(...) that gradual transitions are more important than contrasts, and that the continuity of form takes precedence over its interruption by linear elements.'

The composition of the Thyssen painting is characterised by what could be called a striking simplicity; compared to the self-portraits in London and Karlsruhe mentioned above, the presence of the figure is even dull. The body and head are turned in virtually the same direction, the disposition of the clothing, the course of the contours, the shape of the cap and the silhouette of the lit part of the head display a remarkably rudimentary definition of form. The extent to which this is due to overcleaning can no longer be determined with any certainty: lost due to abrasion are fine details that may otherwise have lent the image a greater sense of space and liveliness. The reproductive print by Muxel discussed below creates the impression that the cap and the cloak were more detailed (see fig. 7). Other factors as well could have decisively influenced the appearance of the painting as a whole. Paint samples indicate that before being overpainted, the background was somewhat lighter which may explain why the sitter now hardly stands out from the present, dark background. Moreover, the contours are largely determined by the total overpainting of the background whereby certain subtle distinctions in their progression could have disappeared.

The fact that the format of the painting was most likely altered also negatively affects the image. As noted in *Support*, the way in which the panel was planed along the sides makes it entirely plausible that it was wider. The manner in which the hand has been cut off could point to a reduction at the lower edge. Moreover, the panel also appears to have been sawed off along the upper edge: infrared examination revealed that a feather in the cap is cut off by the upper edge. Serious splintering of the ground and paint layer along the upper and lower edges confirm that the panel was sawed off. The paint has also splintered along the planed edges at the left and right. On the basis of these findings, originally the panel was most likely both wider and taller. Given our knowledge of 17th-century standard formats it is worth speculating whether the size of the panel was identical to what Bruyn identified as a '12 stuivers' size, or app. 84 cm high and app. 62 cm wide (the present dimensions are 72.2 x 58.3 cm).[10] Accordingly, the panel would have been app. 12 cm higher and app. 4 cm wider. Thus, not only would the painting have been larger, but the proportions of the figure would have been more extenuated. The present format of the painting approximates the standard format of a group of panels that Bruyn identified as being what in the 17th century was described as 'grote tronie maat'

Fig. 7. Etching by J.N. Muxel



(large tronie size), or app. 73 x 50 to 60 cm. The panel might have been reduced in order to fit a frame intended for the latter panel type.

The only known reproductive print of the painting also provides strong arguments in favour of an originally larger format. It was made by Muxel and included in the catalogue of the Duke of Leuchtenberg's collection published in 1851 (see *4. Graphic reproductions*, 1, fig. 7 and *6. Provenance*). The print presents an image of the painting in which the figure is, indeed, set in a larger picture plane. At first sight, the print, which reproduces the painting in a simple line etching (an *Umriss*), appears to be a free interpretation of the original. However, upon closer scrutiny it proves to be a highly reliable document in many respects. Within the limits of this graphic medium, all of the still visible details in the painting have been reproduced with the utmost fidelity: for example, compare the links in the chain, the overlapping of the shirt by the fur collar, and the course of the contours of the cap. The absence of the hand in the print, as noted by Gaskell, agrees with what is seen in old photographs as well as with Hofstede de Groot's 1915 description with the explicit mention that it was 'ohne Hände' (without hands).[11] The genesis of the print also speaks for its reliability. Muxel was no run-of-the-mill engraver. He was a Munich painter who, after having been a drawing instructor to the family of the then owner of the painting, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, was appointed in 1824 as *Inspektor* of the duke's rather extensive collection of paintings. Nagler, his fellow townsman and the compiler of the *Neues allgemeines Künstlerlexicon* published in 1841, mentions that between 1835 and 1840 Muxel, on his own initiative, made etched

Umrisse of nearly all of the duke's paintings; incidentally, he also commissioned a few of the etchings from other artists.[12] The prints, published shortly thereafter, reveal Muxel as a highly intelligent observer with a sharp eye for stylistic features specific to the various schools as well as individual artists. Like his faithful rendering of detail, Muxel's evident need to differentiate the various artists and their styles (within the limits of the medium he used) speaks for the reliability of his reproductions. That Muxel did not use mechanical means for transferring the images is evident from small differences in proportions. The most important question here is whether there were typographical pre-conditions affecting the framing of his scene. Were this so, it could explain the larger picture plane with the accompanying changes in the lay-out of the present painting. However, this is not the case. The etching plates he used were substantially larger than the representations that are individually framed with an etched rectangle. Thus, Muxel could adjust the proportions of the frame to reflect those of the individual paintings. Seen together, his prints make clear that he paid close attention to the matter of framing and in no way sacrificed the verisimilitude of the etched copy to typographical uniformity. In the present case, therefore, the differences in framing between the print and the painting are significant.

From the above it could be concluded that the painting was reduced sometime after Muxel had produced his print between 1835 and 1840. The fact that the painting found its way to Russia at some unknown point, although almost certainly after 1852, where it may have received a new frame could explain its being cut down. There is a complication, however. In the various catalogues of the Leuchtenberg collection from 1825 to 1851 the dimensions of the frame are given as 2'3" x 1'10". When converted – even using the largest German unit of measurement, the Rhineland foot – they are slightly smaller than the present measurements (see *6. Provenance*). This notwithstanding, we are inclined to maintain the theory that the painting was cut down after Muxel made his print, and assume that the above-mentioned dimensions are, as can be the case with old measurements, extremely imprecise. On the basis of Muxel's print it can be concluded that the original image differed substantially from the present one. The figure, with more space around it and shown almost to the hips, initially exuded a certain monumentality. The pervading stiffness of the painting in its present form is nowhere evident in the print with the flowing progression of the cloak to the lower edge. Momentarily setting aside the question of authenticity (discussed below), when considered in its original form, the Thyssen *Self-portrait* assumes an exceptional place among Rembrandt's self-portraits.

The theory that the Thyssen painting was initially larger rules out Gudlaugsson's hypothesis, published by Gerson (see note 1), that it was the pendant of the so-called posthumous portrait of *Saskia* in Berlin (Br. 109). That these two paintings were pendants is also unlikely because the *Saskia* is painted on a heavy mahogany panel while the Thyssen painting is on oak.

The costume is not without importance for the interpretation of the painting. The doublet, in which Rembrandt also depicted himself in the London *Self-portrait* of 1669 (IV 27) is of the same type worn by 15th-century artists, including Dirck Bouts and Rogier van der Weyden, in the series of prints by Hieronymus Cock, which this engraver assembled together with the humanist Domenicus Lampsonius and published under the title *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae Inferioris effigies* in Antwerp in 1572.[13] While Rembrandt seems to have primarily used 16th-century prototypes for his self-portraits, the relationship of this painting and the one in London with the portraits of Dirck Bouts and Rogier van der Weyden point to a role that the Flemish Primitives could have played in Rembrandt's notion of the fundaments of his profession (see Chapter II).

The conception of the *Self-portrait* as conveyed in Muxel's print raises the question of whether the hand was, indeed, part of the artist's intended final result. As mentioned above, an illustration of the painting in which the hand is visible only first appeared in the catalogue of the Rembrandt exhibition held in Amsterdam in 1935.[14] A legitimate question here is whether an original pentimento may have been stripped away when the paint of the hand was uncovered. Perhaps the hand was still only in an underpainted state, which would explain its strikingly coarse execution.[15] The exposure of the hand and the possible application of the dark cast shadow to the right interrupted the flowing course of the fur trim – as it is seen in the print – and what remained is the somewhat stiff-looking straight cloak fastening, which contributes to the present awkwardness of the composition. Important in this respect is that in the above-mentioned prints by Hieronymus Cock the right hand of the painters is depicted.

Assessing the *peinture* of the painting is without a doubt the most difficult task. The implicit norm, as upheld by Gaskell, namely that the painting technique in such a head – should it be by Rembrandt – would be characterised by 'subtle layering', is no longer viable (see note 4). In fact, we know relatively little about the painting technique in the faces of Rembrandt's (self-) portraits of the early 1640s and virtually nothing at all about the extent to which the conscious application of layering played a definite role in these paintings. In this respect, investigation of cross-sections was possible only of heads in the *Night watch* (III A 146), whose layering proved to be remarkably simple.[16] The gradation of the flesh tones was realised as a system of strokes in a single paint layer. That, as in this painting, additional highlights and dark shadows were applied goes without saying. Another feature that may not be used to gauge authenticity (as Gaskell does in his entry on the painting) is the degree of precision in detail in the heads. In this case, he notes that details in the Thyssen painting are less meticulous than in Rembrandt's autograph heads. This suggestion of elaborate details relies on an illusion that is only dispelled when the painting is analysed from close by. Quite essential to Rembrandt's painting technique is the conscious blurring of details determined by inner contours, which reinforces the

Fig. 8. Copy 1. Canvas 62 x 49 cm. Present whereabouts unknown



plastic effect of volume and creates a sense of atmosphere that leads the viewer to suppose that he nonetheless sees crisp details (see Vol. II, p. 12). A more important question could be whether certain patterns in the directions of the brushstrokes might be significant in their relation to light effects and plasticity. However, no clear deviations from Rembrandt's manner can be detected in that respect.

Another argument for initially rejecting the painting mentioned in connection with the criticism within the RRP is that the with Rembrandt usual differences in the thickness of the paint are barely noticeable in this picture. This impression could partly be a result of abrasion of the brushwork. The X-radiograph does display significant differences in radioabsorbency in the passages containing lead white, thus indicating variations in thickness. On the other hand, less distinct paint relief is found in (self-) portraits from around 1640 than in the period before and after. It is important to realise that traces of the brushwork could have been eliminated by heavy-handed cleaning which, as Marijnissen found in old cleaning recipes, was sometimes done with an abrasive sand, a mixture of water and ground pumice stone, or a mixture of water and smalt or ash.[17]

One other argument related to the painting technique that could be used to reject the painting under discussion is that passages which are transparently executed in the (self-) portraits, such as eye sockets, seem to have been opaquely painted in the Thyssen painting. Apart from the question of whether overpainting plays a role here, it must be noted that in the 1640s Rembrandt used transparency in the shadows far less consistently than previously, for example, compare the *Portrait of Herman Doomer* in New York (see Chapter III fig. 250) which is also on panel.

The fact that a new dendrochronological investigation of the wood showed that the panel on which the Thyssen *Self-portrait* is painted comes from the same tree as four paintings whose attribution to Rembrandt is generally accepted (see *Support*), places the painting squarely in the studio of Rembrandt and adds fresh impetus to the question of its authenticity. Nevertheless, this and the above-mentioned considerations do not yield a definitive conclusion as to the painting's autograph nature. It does, however, allow the possibility of reconsidering the generally accepted rejection of the painting. In our opinion, the new information presented here argues strongly in favour of the painting's authenticity.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, pp. 247-248.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

1. Etching by Johann Nepomuk Muxel (Munich 1790 - Landshut 1870), inscribed: *N Muxel aqua f. / Rembrandt.* (fig. 7), in: J.D. Passavant, *Gemälde-Sammlung des Herzogs von Leuchtenberg*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1851, no. 147 and described on p. 29: '*Rembrandt's eigenes Bildnis* fast von vorn gesehen, in schwarzer mit Pelz besetzten Kleidung und einer Mütze auf dem Kopf. Eine doppelte, mit Edelsteinen besetzte Goldkette hängt über seine Brust. Dieses schöne Bild von sattem Ton gehört seiner zweiten Manier an. Lebensgross. / Holz. hoch 2'3", breit 1'10".' The print must have been made between 1835 and 1840 when Muxel made prints of the Duke of Leuchtenberg's collection (see *2. Comments*). Within the graphic medium used, it is an accurate reproduction of the painting. It shows the painting in the same direction as the original with the most notable differences being that the hand – visible in the painting only since *c.* 1935 – is not depicted (see *2. Comments*), and that the picture plane at all four sides – yet primarily at the bottom – is larger, which correlates with other indications that the painting must have been cut down in the past.

5. Copies

1. Canvas 62 x 49 cm (according to the owner), present whereabouts unknown (fig. 8). We know the painting only from a (poor) photographic reproduction. This copy is important for gaining insight into the genesis, or the material history of the original. The sitter's cap in the copy has a feather curving to the left and the cap's shape differs from that in the Thyssen painting in its present form: at the upper left the cap has a somewhat undulating contour while at the right it is substantially higher. Comparing the copy with the infrared reflectogram of the Thyssen *Self-portrait* (see *Radiography*) it appears that both the shape of the cap and of the feather correspond with the painted out shapes in the Thyssen painting. As this copy with its extremely detailed execution and the evidently strongly blurred modelling does not make the impression of having originated in Rembrandt's workshop, but rather of stemming from the 18th century, it would appear that the Thyssen painting was radically altered by later hands.

Other differences between the original and the copy: namely the depiction in the copy of but a single chain with an ornament on the chest; the addition of a gold chain around the edge of the cap; the V-shaped fur collar at the neck, and the different framing of the image must all be considered examples of artistic freedom on the part of the copyist.
2. Panel, dimensions unknown, present whereabouts unknown. This painting, too, is known by us only from a photograph (The Hague, RKD). Bust. In the area of the chest just below the longer chain is depicted a (gloved) hand. Unfortunately, on the basis of the available photograph it is not possible to date this copy with any precision: this could be important in further determining when the hand in the prototype was uncovered.

6. Provenance

– Coll. Eugène, vicomte de Beauharnais, prince de Venise, grand duc de Francfort, Herzog von Leuchtenberg and Fürst von Eichstätt (stepson of Emperor Napoleon I), Munich (d. 1824). *Catalogue des tableaux de la galerie de feu son altesse royale Monseigneur Le Prince Eugene Duc de Leuchtenberg a Munich*, Munich 1825, no. 133: 'Rembrandt, Paul, Van Rhijn né à Leyde en 1606, mort en 1674. Portrait d'un personage, portant au col une double chaîne d'or ornée de pierreries; il est vêtu de noir et sa tête est couverte d'un Bonnet noir. Sur bois. H. II.3 L. 1.10 [Bavarian foot = 65.6 x 53.2 cm].' In ed. 1841, no. 151; ed. 1845, no. 151 and 1851 no. 147 (see also *4. Graphic reproductions*, 1) the dimensions of the painting remain the same.
– Inherited by his second son Maximilian (d. 1852), who moved the collection to St Petersburg.
– By descent to his son Nikolai Maximilianovich, Prince Romanowski (d. 1891), by whom lent (with other works) to the Gallery of the Imperial Academy of Fine Art, St Petersburg, from 1886.
– Inherited by his elder natural son Nikolai Nikolaievich (d. 1928).
– Dealer Th. Lawrie & Co., London.
– Coll. Herbert S. Terell, New York (1902). Hofstede de Groot described the painting in 1915 as still in the Terell collection (see note 11). Valentiner makes no mention of it in his 1931 book in which he illustrated all of the paintings by Rembrandt in the United States.[18] At the time, the painting was probably already in the Buckley collection.
– Coll. Mrs Bertha Wilfred Buckley (younger daughter of previous owner), Basingstoke, Berkshire, sale London (Sotheby's) 23 June 1937, no. 128 (£ 11.500 by Hess).
– Possibly coll. Mrs Collins Smith.
– Coll. Edward Partington (d. 1943), Westwood Park, Droitwich, sale London (Sotheby's) 8 November 1950, no. 128 (£ 21.000 by K. Hermsen).
– Dealer Kees Hermsen, The Hague.
– Coll. R.W. Hoos, Wassenaar (from 1950). Sale London (Sotheby's) 21 March 1973, no. 14 (bought in).
– Dealer P. de Boer, Amsterdam (1975).
– Galerie Geiger, Basel (1976); when acquired.

NOTES

1. Gerson 240.
2. I. Gaskell, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection. Seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish painting*, London 1990, pp. 134-139.
3. Letter from H. Kühn dated 17 November 1987 to E. Bosshard, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection.
4. Gaskell, op. cit.[2], p. 138.
5. Schwartz 1984.
6. Tümpel 1986.
7. C. Wright, *Rembrandt: Self-Portraits*, London 1982, p. 42.
8. Gaskell based himself on the dendrochronological investigation conducted by J.A. Brongers and J. Bauch. In 1994, thus after the publication of Gaskell's book, new dendrochronological analysis by P. Klein revealed that the panel came from the same tree as four paintings by Rembrandt (see Support).
9. This includes changes in the collar (compare, for example, *I* A 41 and *II Corrigenda et Addenda* , p. 847, II A 80, III A 139) and corrections in the course of the contours (I A 20, A 22, A 40, II A 48, A 51, A 52).
10. J. Bruyn, 'Een onderzoek naar 17de-eeuwse schilderijformaten, voornamelijk in Noord-Nederland', *O.H.* 93 (1979), pp. 96-115.
11. HdG 565.
12. G.K. Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, 3rd ed., vol. 11, Leipzig 1835-52, pp. 179-180.
13. D. Lampsonius and H. Cock, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies*, Antwerp 1572, nos. 4 and 5.
14. Exhib. cat. *Rembrandt tentoonstelling*, Amsterdam 1935, fig. 11.
15. Because the hand lies over a black layer, the impression is made that it was only subsequently applied - namely after the clothing had received the finishing touches - only then perhaps to be rejected later.
16. 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, esp. 91-93.
17. R.H. Marijnissen, *Dégradation, conservation et restauration de l'oeuvre d'art*, Brussels 1967, Vol. I, pp. 67-72.
18. W.R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt paintings in America*, New York 1931.

IV 3 'Self-portrait' [*c.* 1640]

PRIVATE COLLECTION, GERMANY

HDG 578; BR. 35; BAUCH 318; GERSON –; TÜMPEL –

1. Introduction and description

Traditionally considered to be a work by Rembrandt, and accepted by Bredius and Bauch,[1] the present painting was rejected by Gerson in his 1969 revision of Bredius' book.[2] Gerson had seen the painting, which had been stolen in 1922 and resurfaced after the Second World War, when it was confiscated as 'private enemy property'. It was temporarily exhibited in Washington in 1967. Gerson's assessment that it was not by Rembrandt but rather by or after Ferdinand Bol has never been questioned in the subsequent Rembrandt literature. The present entry attempts to locate the painting more precisely in Rembrandt's workshop production.

Rembrandt is set against a dark background. The head turned slightly to the left is depicted virtually frontally, while the torso is turned somewhat more to the left. Rembrandt wears a dark red, it would appear velvet, cap with a wavy rim. Over the shirt is a red doublet with a row of short vertical slits. The collar with a decorative border is turned down. Over these items of clothing Rembrandt wears a fur-lined or fur-trimmed gown. From his neck hangs a double gold chain. The light falls fairly low from the left.

Working conditions

Examined on 10 April 1970 (B.H., P.v.Th.) in the restoration studio of the museum in Cologne, where the painting was stored during the legal case over its restitution to the Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach family; 10 October 1978 (J.B., B.H., S.H.L., P.v.Th., E.v.d.W.) in the restoration studio of the Rijksmuseum, when it was submitted for an evaluation, in good daylight and artificial light, out of the frame. A binocular microscope was available. An X-radiograph, made in the Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft in Zurich, was received later. This does not cover the entire painting but shows only the figure from the edge of the cap down to and including the chain (fig. 2).

Varnish: During the examinations mentioned above, the painting was covered with a severely yellowed, perhaps tinted, varnish.

Support

Canvas, 62.5 x 49.6 cm measured along the stretcher; the edges are covered with paper tape; the visible painted surface measures 61.1 x 48.5 cm. It has been claimed that the painting was cut out of the frame when it was stolen from the Grossherzogliches Museum in Weimar (presently Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar) in 1922. However, comparison of the painting's present measurements with those prior to the theft reveals that its dimensions have remained unchanged, suggesting that the canvas was cut along the outer edge of the stretcher.

According to the (incomplete) X-radiograph, the canvas is deformed by cusping along the upper and left edges. The two cusps on the upper edge measure 8.5 and 9.3 cm; at the left are three complete cusps measuring 9, 7.5, and 9.5 cm, respectively; weave density: 13.8 vertical threads/cm (13.2-14.5), 13 horizontal threads/cm (12.2-14.5). Given the greater spread of the weave density and the presence of many short thickenings in the horizontal threads, it may be concluded that these are the weft threads and that the warp thus runs vertically. Threadcount and weave pattern match those in the canvases of the *Portraits of Nicolaes Bambeeck* and *Agatha Bas* of 1641 (III A 144 and 145) to such an extent that it seems very likely that the three canvases come from the same bolt of linen.

Ground

Not observed.

Paint layer

Condition: Given the horizontal bands of paint loss, which generally extend over the full width of the canvas, the painting must have been crushed when it was rolled up. These bands, showing up dark in the X-radiograph, are located in the cap, the forehead, the upper eyelids, through the lower lip, in the section of the shirt near the collarbones and in the chest. The edges, especially along the top, were also seriously damaged. These damages necessitated restoration which probably took place in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, where the painting had been sent for safekeeping in 1946 and where it was exhibited from 13 January to 28 February 1967.[3] During our examination in 1978, the restored zones displayed a fine pattern of shrinkage fissures; the retouchings in the dark areas were already greatly discoloured. Given the visibility of the canvas structure in the paint surface, it may be assumed that the painting was severely pressed. Those areas not lost through mechanical damage are in reasonable condition. The transitions from the light on the cheekbone to the right of the nose to the zones of shadow are strengthened with primarily horizontal and vertical brush lines, most probably applied by the same restorer who reconstructed the lacunae.

Craquelure: The many, predominantly horizontal and vertical cracks that correlate with the fine canvas craquelure were probably caused by thicker threads of the canvas pressing into the paint layer.

The painting's execution consists largely of careful brushstrokes, hardly discernible in the face, so that subtle nuances in the modelling merge almost imperceptibly. Strong reflections are found in the right half of the face. The strongest reflection comes from the light on the collar at the right. Substantial attention has also been given to the reflected light in the shaded part of the nose. The wing of the nose shows up relatively light vis-à-vis the surrounding areas. Furthermore, a strong reflection has been applied under the tip of the nose as well as on the flank to the right of the nasal bone.

The modelling of the ear in shadow at the right is surprisingly elaborate. It, too, belongs to one of those areas where the painter wished to suggest reflected light.

The catchlights on the eyes and the lit areas of the irises are distinctly indicated. The accent of light in the

Fig. 1. Canvas 62.5 x 49.6 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 251



Fig. 2. X-Ray

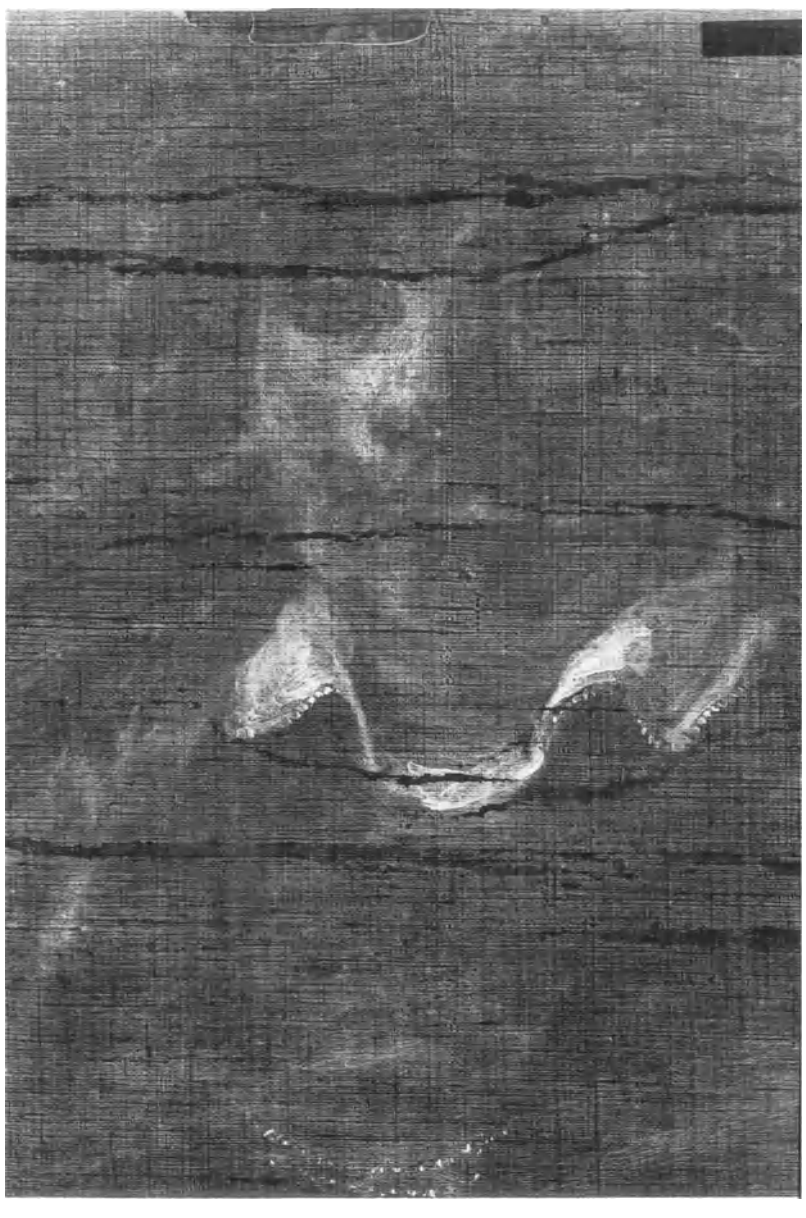


Fig. 3. The painting during restoration between 1946 and 1967



Fig. 4. Signature (enlarged)



iris as well as the catchlight on the eye closest to the light source are noticeably stronger than those in the other eye. The whites of both eyes are painstakingly indicated with brushstrokes that are not clearly related to the shape of the eyeballs.

The brushwork in the collar can be clearly followed, certainly in the highest lights where the generally straight strokes were explicitly left visible.

The red doublet is built up from an underlayer of ochrish paint covered with a thin transparent red layer. On top of this, slits are suggested in grey, yellowish and black strokes, yet they do not create the illusion of being openings revealing an underlying layer of fabric. The chain is composed of tiny – calligraphically applied – ochre highlights. Because the chain is covered with yellowed varnish, it is unclear whether only dabs of lead white or also accents of lead tin yellow have been applied here. The red lights on the cap are done in occasionally grazing strokes. In these areas, modelling has been suggested locally by means of dark hatched strokes.

An effort has been made to avoid sharp contours, including the collar where the contour of the inside half at the left has been applied with a somewhat grazing stroke.

Radiography

Aside from the dark horizontal bands where the ground and paint has flaked off, the X-radiograph corresponds with what one would expect from the paint surface. The radioabsorbent parts of the face correlate with the light passages on the paint surface. A few partially radioabsorbent brushstrokes are discernible on the shoulder at the left and on the gown to the right that do not correspond with the visible image. They may be part of the initial lay-in. Lead white has been incorporated in the reflections of light on the cheek, the chin and the throat as well as along the jaw at the right. The little highlights on the links of the chain are visible in the X-radiograph.

Signature

Lower left in the background with black paint: <*Rembrandt./f* [three dots arranged in a triangle] *1643*> (fig. 4). The signature was not studied with a microscope during the examination and can only be evaluated on the basis of a slide. The paint near the signature reveals traces of wear, while the signature itself is not worn at all, raising the question of whether the signature could have been added by a later hand on a worn background, or strengthened, after the original signature, whoever placed it, had been damaged by abrasion.

2. Comments

This painting endured a remarkable passage through the 20th century, which is worth recording here. While in the Grossherzogliches Museum in Weimar (presently Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar) on loan from the Grand Duke of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach it was stolen by looting soldiers on 18 April 1922. The soldiers cut the canvas from its stretcher, following which it must have been rolled up for a shorter or longer period of time and crushed, causing serious paint loss in horizontal bands (sometimes over the full width of the painting), including vital parts of the sitter such as the eyelids, the mouth and the shirt (see *Paint layer* Condition, *Radiography*, and figs. 2 and 3).

Together with two other paintings (a Ter Borch and a Tischbein that were stolen in Weimar at the same time) it resurfaced in the United States. The paintings were in the possession of a resident of Ohio, whose wife took them in 1945 to the Dayton Art Institute, where they were identified as the Weimar pictures. In 1946 the United States Department of Justice seized them as alien property and sent them to the National Gallery of Art in Washington for safekeeping. They remained there for twenty years, until in 1966 legal proceedings were begun to return them to Germany.[4]

Following a protracted legal battle over the rights of ownership, which also became politically charged, the painting was handed back to the West German government in 1967. The heirs of the original owner then fought to regain possession of the painting in several legal actions, ultimately succeeding in 1974. As noted in the *Introduction*, in 1969 Gerson published his opinion that the painting was not an autograph work by Rembrandt (see note 2). Other than detecting the hand of Ferdinand Bol – whether as an original or a copy – Gerson gave no reasons for rejecting the painting. In 1978, the painting's owner, Elisabeth, hereditary Grand-Duchess of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, sent it to the Rijksmuseum for examination. Following the museum's and the RRP's negative verdict regarding its possible reattribution to Rembrandt, the painting was sold to an unknown buyer and its whereabouts remained unknown until 2000 when it again resurfaced briefly, only to disappear again, this time into the collection of an anonymous private owner in Germany.[5]

Not only because it is a likeness of Rembrandt, but also materially – especially with respect to character and treatment, as well as the ageing behaviour of the paint – the present work is so closely related to Rembrandt's paintings and his workshop's production that it must have originated in the master's studio, regardless of who made it. This is confirmed by the fact that the canvas on which it is painted almost certainly came from the same bolt as the canvases on which two undisputed works by

Fig. 5. Copy 1. Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung



Rembrandt, the *Portraits of Nicolaes Bambeeck* and *Agatha Bas* of 1641 (III A 144 and 145), were painted. On the basis of Rembrandt's physiognomy, and the phase in the master's own stylistic development manifest in the present painting, it must have been done around 1640.

To evaluate the work, one must know which areas of the surface were reconstructed during the restoration of the horizontal bands of paint loss, and the extent to which this reconstruction has disfigured the image as a whole. In this respect, apart from photographs of the painting before it was damaged, a painting with the same image in Basle proved exceptionally useful. The Basle version is a late 18th- or early 19th-century copy of the present painting (see *5. Copies*, 1, fig. 5). Consequently, it can serve as a reliable source in assessing the reconstruction of the lacunae in the present painting. As it turns out, the reconstructed sections in the eyelids, the upper lip and the opening of the shirt deviate so markedly from the Basle painting and from the photographs of the present painting before it was damaged that the reconstruction can only be judged faulty. Aside from this, however, enough of the original paint remains to assess the execution which, although competent, and with the exception of the few determined strokes of light paint in the collar, is rather timid. The modelling in the face is indicated with careful, somewhat hatched strokes (not to be confused with the retouchings in the paint losses, which are primarily vertical and also hatched). Details such as the eyes and the tip of the nose also display the timid and superficial treatment that characterises the rest of the face. Comparing the execution of these features with that of the 1642 autograph *Self-portrait* in Windsor Castle (IV 1), for example, one is struck by the luminosity of the latter painting, a quality missing in the present one. Equally deviant from Rembrandt's works is the artless execution of the clothing and the chains. The pastose brushstrokes in the collar do little to mitigate this impression.

Gerson's attribution of the painting to Ferdinand Bol (see note 2), while interesting and well worth considering, also raised a number of questions. Did he consider the painting to be a copy by Bol after a lost work by Rembrandt, or was he referring to the possibility of it being a portrait of Rembrandt by Bol (or a copy thereof)? There is some merit to the idea of it being a portrait of Rembrandt, regardless of who painted it. In Rembrandt's accepted self-portraits the head is usually turned to the right (as seen by the viewer).[6] In those self-portraits with the head shown frontally, the torso is nearly always turned somewhat to the right. In the present painting, both the head and the torso are turned to the left. While this is an awkward position for a right-handed artist making a self-portrait, it is an obvious one for a right-handed painter portraying a sitter.

Though not decisive, several arguments that relate to the physiognomy seem to support the idea that the painting under discussion is, indeed, a portrait, in the strict sense, of Rembrandt. At the same time, however, the specific physiognomic features concerned argue against the painting's inclusion in Rembrandt's oeuvre. The zone of paint loss just above the eyes includes the (in this case important) upper edges of the eyelids and the folds above the eyelids (see Chapter III, pp. 94-96). With respect to these details, however, old photographs of the present painting (fig. 3) and the Basle version (*5. Copies*, 1, fig. 5) allow comparison with Rembrandt's autograph self-portraits. Differences in the crucial asymmetrical details of the eyelids and the creases in the forehead prove so great that on these grounds alone the present painting can be excluded as an autograph self-portrait. Nor can it be conclusively designated as a portrait because the asymmetry – insofar as it is present – in the region of the eyes, does not provide a mirror image of Rembrandt's autograph self-portraits. Were it a portrait of Rembrandt, the characteristic sagging fold of the eyelid should be visible on the left (as seen by the viewer). This fold is also missing in the other eye, yet another argument against its authenticity as a self-portrait. The other asymmetrical detail in Rembrandt's face, the creased frown generally to the left of the axis of facial symmetry, is clearly to the right of this axis in the present painting. This would again support the idea of it being a portrait, were it not for the fact that the short wrinkle which in Rembrandt's authentic self-portraits (cf. Chapter III, figs. 15-18) is found to the right of the larger crease, is also depicted on the right in this painting. In a portrait of Rembrandt it should logically be depicted on the opposite side of the bridge of the nose. In view of these observations, this painting cannot be considered as an actual portrait of Rembrandt. At best, it is a portrait that could have been

produced with the help of one of Rembrandt's self-portraits – in this case possibly lost – as we have found to be the case with other non-authentic 'self-portraits' from Rembrandt's studio (see Chapter III, pp. 117-132).

As indicated above, the inconsistencies in the physiognomy argue for rejection of an attribution to Rembrandt. Gerson's suggestion that it could instead be by Bol is understandable. The way in which the tones are blended by means of fine hatching or by scumbling wet-in-wet is strongly reminiscent of Bol's treatment of plasticity and reflected light. This also applies to the attempt made to maintain a consistent *sfumato*. While such pictorial objectives in the work of Rembrandt are achieved with highly varied brushwork, the rather pedantic execution of this painting indeed corresponds with Bol's style. In our discussion of IV 4, we argue that the present painting, or its prototype, must have been in Rembrandt's workshop around 1648. If it were by Bol, it would most likely have been painted before his departure from the master's workshop around 1640.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, pp. 248-249.

3. Documents and Sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

Hofstede de Groot[7] mentions a lithograph by Delpech of 1823 and an etching by A.L. Zeelander for King Willem II. We were unable to trace these works.

5. Copies

1. Canvas 56 x 43.5 cm. Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, inv. no. 1087 (fig. 5). The painting was seen in Basle and discussed with Dr Lindemann, the curator, and Mr Berkes, the conservator of the museum on 28 April 1999 (E.v.d.W.). It belongs to a pair, the pendant of which is a copy of the *Bust of a young woman* (commonly called *The artist's wife*) in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, see III C 103, *7. Copies*, 1. On the basis of the size, the initially oval framing, traces of which are clearly visible on both paintings, and the strong similarities in painting technique and ageing characteristics, it can be deduced that both paintings were conceived as pendants from the outset. Given the history of the Bachofen-Burckhardt collection, Dr Lindemann presumed that they must have been part of this collection in the early 19th century; according to Mr Berkes they display technical characteristics of late 18th- or early 19th-century paintings.
2. Canvas 55 x 46 cm. Turin, Galleria Sabauda, inv. no. 513. The painting was acquired before 1854 and previously also attributed to Maes.[8]

6. Provenance

– Coll. King Willem II, sale The Hague 12ff August 1850 (Lugt 19978), no. 87: 'Le même [Rembrandt van Rhyn]. H. 62 L. 49 Toile. Portrait du Peintre. Vu de face et la tête couverte d'une toque de velours rouge. C'est un fort beau tableau, d'un grand fini et qui peut occuper une première place parmi les produits du pinceau de ce grand artiste.' (fl. 3750 to Nieuwenhuys). (In the margin of the RKD sales catalogue mentioned at no. 86 "Portrait d'un rabbin [Rembrandt van Rhyn (II A 43)] sold f 3400 to Weimar – 's Hage" and at no. 87 "f 3750 to Nieuwenhuys". They probably changed numbers erroneously.)
– Coll. Princess Sophie of Orange-Nassau, who married Carl Alexander, Grand Duke of Sachsen Weimar in 1842.
– By inheritance to the Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach family who gave it on loan to the museum in Weimar just before World War I,[9] whence it was stolen by unknown plundering German soldiers in 1922 and brought to New York.
– Private coll. in Dayton (Ohio), where it turned up in 1945. It was then confiscated as 'private enemy property' by the United States Department of Justice and sent to the National Gallery of Art in Washington for safekeeping until 1966, when it was given back to the Federal Republic of Germany.
– Elisabeth, Grand-Duchess of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach claimed the painting as family property and sold it (see notes 4 and 5).

NOTES

1. Br. 35; Bauch 318.
2. Br.-Gerson 35.
3. Information about the painting's sojourn in Washington was kindly provided on our behalf by Nancy Yeide of the National Gallery of Art. Although no documentation regarding the painting's restoration was found in the Gallery's files, it is highly probably that it was treated there. A description of the painting in its unrestored state is given in a memorandum from the registrar's office of the Gallery, dated 28 February 1947. A photograph of the painting was also taken at that time (see fig. 3).
4. Cited from a report of 11 January 1999 by Nancy Yeide, based on the files of the United States Department of Justice and of the National Gallery of Art in Washington. See also: *NRC Handelsblad* 10-3-1971 and 15-10-1974; *Weltkunst* 43 (1973), p. 2212 and 44 (1974), p. 1633; and *Artis* June 1973, January and November 1974.
5. Correspondence with Elisabeth, hereditary Grand Duchess of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach in July/October 1996 and the art dealer Michael Rohe, Munich in February/April 2000.
6. The present volume includes three other paintings in which the head and body are turned to the left, as seen by the viewer. These are the painting in Cincinnati, which we consider to be an imitation (IV 7) and in which the figure's pose is based on *The girl in a window* in Dulwich (Br. 368); the certainly authentic *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* (IV 25), which is more readily a 'portrait historié' than a self-portrait in the usual sense; and the *Self-portrait* of 1659 in Washington (IV 18), in which the torso is turned almost *en profile* to the left and the head is lit frontally and turned to the left toward the beholder or rather toward the mirror.
7. HdG 578.
8. A. Baudi di Vesme, *Catalogo della Regia Pinacoteca di Torino*, Turin 1899, pp. 111-112, no. 389.
9. Not mentioned in the *Katalog des Grossherzoglichen Museums zu Weimar*, Weimar 1894, but in the museum catalogue of 1913, no. 298.

IV 4 ‘Self-portrait’ [*c.* 1645]

LEIPZIG, MUSEUM DER BILDENDEN KÜNSTE, INV. NO. 347

HDG 548; BR. 40; BAUCH –; GERSON –; TÜMPEL –

Fig. 1. Panel 25.8 x 21.3 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 257



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

Since 1916 the consensus has grown that this work cannot be an autograph Rembrandt. We devote a catalogue entry to it because the questions relating to the place of such a painting within the production of Rembrandt's workshop (where it undoubtedly originated, as will become apparent) are at least as compelling as those to do with a possible attribution to any other artist.

Rembrandt is shown frontally, chest length. His curling, brown hair reaches to his ears. He has a fair moustache and a tuft of hair under the lower lip and wears a black doublet, open at the neck, over a red *hemdrock* (waistcoat) and a white shirt with the collar turned down over the doublet. On his head he wears a black cap or bonnet floppy at the edge.

The figure is set against a light background. The light comes from the top left so that the bonnet casts a shadow over the eyes and the left half of the face. A brown zone with an oblique edge on the left above Rembrandt's shoulder probably represents a shadow thrown by a wall with a window to Rembrandt's left, or by a closed lower shutter of that window through which the light falls onto the back wall. The partly horizontal edge of this dark zone suggests the back of a chair, a wainscot or some other object with a straight top behind Rembrandt.

Working conditions

Examined 12 May 1970 (B.H., E.v.d.W.), and again on 21 January 1998 (M.F., E.v.d.W.) in good light, out of the frame, with the aid of UV light and a print of the X-radiograph covering the whole painting. Varnish: The painting has been partially cleaned, specifically in the light areas of the image. A good deal of old varnish remains on the background, on the clothing and on shadowed parts of the face.

Support

Oak panel, grain vertical, 25.8 x 21.3 cm. Thickness app. 6-7 mm. Single plank. The dendrochronological investigation, carried out by K. Bauch and P. Klein, Hamburg, showed that the wood originates from the Netherlands. Using the master chronology of that region the rings were dated as follows: 234 growth rings (of which 17 were sapwood annual rings) 1410-1643. In view of the sapwood statistic for the region, the earliest felling date is 1643. With a minimum seasoning time of two years, the earliest date for the painting of the work is *c.* 1645. The panel is from the same tree as the panel of the *Head of Christ* in Berlin (Br. 622; fig. 3).

There is slight bevelling at the bottom and top and (seen from the back) on the right on the sapwood side approximately 1 cm wide. At the bottom left (seen from the front) a broken corner of the panel has been replaced by a piece of wood. This damage no doubt is related to the fact that the strip of sapwood mentioned above is on that side of the panel. On the back of the panel there is reddish paint bearing traces of an inscription in light paint (see *Radiography*). There is a large knot near the right edge (seen from the front).

Ground

The fact that the grain of the wood is visible in the background of the painting does not mean that the panel was entirely unprimed. A chalk-like substance can be seen locally filling the grain. The possibility that a thicker ground may have been selectively removed from the background can be ruled out because the traces of the grain are also visible in open spaces between the brushstrokes, such as on the left and right at the collar.

Paint layer

Condition: In general the condition is satisfactory, though there are numerous small discoloured retouchings to do with wear and the grain of the wood. There are scratches in the paint along the top and bottom edges.

Craquelure: Mainly horizontal in the thick paint; vertical craquelure chiefly in the collar.

The work is painted with a sketchy, very open technique, with impasto used in the light passages in the face and the collar. The execution is not as *alla prima* as appears at first sight. An initial design was done in transparent brown paint. Traces of this phase show through or lie uncovered on the surface, in the doublet and at various points in the face. In the cap too traces of the initial lay-out in brown are visible in several places. The cap has been painted over this first lay-in with broad strokes of more or less transparently applied black. The transparent or semi-transparent passages along the outlines of the head covering look as if they are due to wear, but this is largely the effect of the speed with which this cap was painted in broad sweeps. Its front edge is indicated in thick black. The paint relief in this part is evidently intended to strengthen the effect of depth in the undulating edge of the cap.

Locally, the shaded part of the face is painted in opaque grey over a brown, apparently smooth, layer that probably belongs to the initial design. Here and there reflections are suggested in opaque paint, in particular on the cheekbone and beside the nose and mouth. Differences in transparency that have become more marked with time give the shaded part of the face a blotchy appearance. Moreover, the forms in this passage are disturbed by discoloured retouches which generally run vertically, for example over the cheek on the right, in the forehead and (most distractingly) above the eye on the left; because of these retouches this eye appears larger than intended. The eyes give the impression of having been done in one go because of the symmetrical positioning of the indications of the upper eyelids, the dark marks below them delineating the irises, and the greyish paint used to depict the whites of the eyes. The final tone of the shadowed part of the face seems to have been determined after the lit part had been done. The light, impastoed strokes in this passage are partly overlapped by transparent dark paint at the transition from light to shadow, evidently with the intention of altering its course. This is particularly marked at the cheekbone be-

low the eye on the left, where the light paint continues so far that one can speak of a pentimento. This observation is supported by the X-radiograph, which shows radio-absorbent paint continuing further upwards.

In the lit passages in the face there is a quite striking colourfulness: dark pink in the rosy cheek, a paler pink to the left of and under the nose, a brick-red glow below the lit nostril. Yellowish ochre is used in the impasto indicating the moustache, and a greenish yellow above the upper lip, under the mouth and on the inside of the lit part of the collar. Cooler hues tending towards blue are used in the lit areas of the nose, chin and neck. A feature which seems odd at first sight is an orange-like patch with a grey mark on it at the lit collar, where it disappears behind the neck. This may be intended to suggest light reflected by the neck.

Besides the pentimento at the cheekbone described above, there is another produced by the toning down of the background to the left of the cheek. Here dark grey paint has been added over thickly applied lighter paint; evidently with the intention of increasing the contrast between the light cheek and the background.

Radiography

The paint containing lead white that is visible on the surface shows up light in the X-radiograph. The thickness of this paint determines how light it appears: thus the fact that the broad strokes in the background to the right above the shoulder show up relatively light does not mean that this passage was originally lighter. The area showing up light at the transition from the lit part of the face to the shadow cast by the cap originally extended, as discussed under *Paint layer*, further above the cheekbone than the visible image suggests.

The area showing up light on the right in and beside the cap has to do with the knot in the wood at that point. The two light brush lines above and to the left of it belong to an inscription on the back of the panel. The light and dark traces along the left edge are for the most part explained by the fact that the strip with 17 (weak) sapwood growth rings, mentioned under *Support* is situated here and has been locally reprimed. The piece of wood added at the bottom left corner appears as a dark rectangle.

Signature

None.

2. Comments

It has never been doubted that it is Rembrandt portrayed on this small panel. Even though only a small part of the face is lit and there is hardly any details in the much larger part in shadow, this is a good likeness. The suggestion of the chin, the double chin and the neck, the cheek and the tip of the nose, the mouth with the moustache on the upper lip and the goatee – and all this caught within the silhouette of the figure with the distinctive tufts of hair on either side – are enough to characterise Rembrandt convincingly, despite the fact that the manner of painting is sketchy and the forms are not precisely defined. Accordingly, the painting was long regarded as a self-portrait, and hence as an autograph work by Rembrandt; all the more so because the adventurous lighting, one of its more distinctive aspects, corresponds to the accepted view of Rembrandt as 'the painter of light'.

While the identity of the sitter has never been doubted, the painting's authorship was questioned as long ago as 1916. In that year Schmidt-Degener was the first to attribute the work to Carel Fabritius.[1] Since then this artist's name has cropped up repeatedly, although others, for example Van Regteren Altena, have persisted in regarding Rembrandt as the author. He argued: 'Even where the use of colour is of the same level [as that of Fabritius], as in the *Portrait of Rembrandt* in Leipzig (Br. 40), one can equally point to parallels in Rembrandt's own work which strongly reinforce the argument that this is a self-portrait. Fabritius' style, after all, emerged from that of Rembrandt.'[2] In the most recent discussion of the painting's attribution, during an international colloquium in 1996 in Leipzig, none of the specialists present defended the idea that Rembrandt might be the painter, and there was a general inclination to accept Fabritius as the most likely alternative.[3] However, this view is not unanimous. Blankert, in particular, argued at the colloquium in favour of an attribution to the 'circle of Carel Fabritius'. Christopher Brown, the author of a monograph on Carel Fabritius who did not participate in the Leipzig discussions, catalogued the painting among the 'rejected attributions' in his oeuvre catalogue of the artist's works and continues to rule out Fabritius as a possible candidate.[4] Sumowski too saw no justification for an attribution to Fabritius (or to Rembrandt).[5]

The doubt as to Rembrandt's authorship is understandable. The work stands conspicuously alone among the other self-portraits from Rembrandt's later period because of its unusual colourfulness and its rough, if not chaotic brushwork. Moreover, it does not accord with what was for long the prevailing view of his production of self-portraits as documents driven by 'self-analysis and self-contemplation',[6] especially in the second half of his career.

Whoever painted this work, we can be sure that it originated in Rembrandt's workshop, and this is a crucial factor in the question of the genesis of this image of Rembrandt's face. Analysis of the dendrochronological data (see *Support*) revealed that the panel came from the same tree as the panel used for the Berlin *Head of Christ* (Br. 622; fig. 3). This tree could have been cut no earlier than 1643, and the panel painted no earlier than 1645 (see *Support*). While complex problems of authenticity surround the series of extant Rembrandtesque heads of Christ (Br. 620-627),[7] it is fair to say that the Berlin example is the most likely to be an autograph work by Rembrandt. In style and pictorial quality it approaches his works from the second half of the 1640s. It also displays a feature that appears to be characteristic of Rembrandt, a tendency to shift the eye in the averted half of the face 'outwards' in heads seen in three-quarters profile; compare, for instance, the Virgin in the St

Fig. 3. Rembrandt, *Head of Christ*, panel 24.9 x 21.6 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie (Br. 622)



Petersburg *Holy Family* (Br. 570), the Asnath in the Kassel *Jacob's blessing* (Br. 525) and the woman in the Amsterdam *Jewish Bride* (Br. 416).

Given that the making of one of the group of related heads of Christ, that in Detroit (Br. 621), is linked to a history piece by Rembrandt, the Paris *Christ at Emmaus* (Br. 578) of 1648, one could postulate that this group – and hence the Berlin head – was painted in or around that year. This would be an argument for dating the Leipzig painting to between *c.* 1645 and 1650. This date is also supported by the stylistic character of the work. It is fair to say that the Venetian-oriented style, which was to dominate the rest of Rembrandt's career, is first seen in 1645. This break, which need not be considered at length here, is so sharp that we can say with confidence that the present painting cannot possibly predate 1645. Establishing this *terminus post quem*, confirmed by the dendrochronological evidence, raises a curious problem. Rembrandt's features in this painting, and particularly their alteration through ageing, can be dated only with difficulty to 1645 or later. If our dating of the painting in Karlsruhe (IV 5) in or after 1645 is correct, then Rembrandt's features had already changed markedly around that time. The lower half of the face has become much heavier, the jowls are now pronounced and the whole head seems to be broader. This description of the changes in Rembrandt's face applies in any event to the etching *Rembrandt drawing at a window* dated 1648 (B.22; fig. 6; see also Chapter II fig. 17). The head in the Leipzig painting, on the other hand, is thinner in the lower half and corresponds in the degree of ageing to the self-portraits dating from the early 1640s. Most striking are the resemblances to the *'Self-portrait'*, formerly in Weimar (IV 3), which we believe to be a painting by one of the members of Rembrandt's workshop, possibly Ferdinand Bol, painted around 1640 (figs. 4 and 5).

It was Schmidt-Degener who pointed out that the close resemblances between the two works suggest that the present painting may have been based on the work just referred to (see note 1). This is a highly attractive theory. Not only is there a striking resemblance in physiognomy, but there are other shared characteristics that argue strongly in favour of Schmidt-Degener's hypothesis. The most persuasive aspect is that these two paintings are the only two prior to the Washington *Self-portrait* of 1659 (IV 18) in which both head and torso are turned to the left – in these two cases to exactly the same slight degree. For obvious reasons, in the case of a right-handed painter working in front of a mirror the head and torso are normally turned a little to the right in the direction of the panel or canvas standing next to the mirror. This position of the head also accords with light falling from the left, which is desirable when working with the right hand. The fact that the ex-Weimar painting and the one in Leipzig are exceptions to this rule, together with the close resemblances in physiognomy described above and the fact that these are the only two paintings to depict Rembrandt with an open shirt collar turned down in this particular way, make Schmidt-Degener's contention that there is a close relation between the two works compelling. It remains an attractive thesis even though, compared with the rough brushwork of the present painting, the ex-Weimar work is smoothly executed, and despite the fact that the lighting – although the direction of the light is the same – is radically altered in the Leipzig work because the larger cap casts a heavy shadow over the face.

We believe that the explanation for both the striking resemblances and the significant differences between the two paintings lies in an aspect of Rembrandt's workshop practice that is considered in detail in Vol. V, Chapter II, namely the production of more or less altered copies or variants by his pupils and other assistants. As a rule such 'satellite paintings' seem to be have been done shortly after the prototype, known in 17th-century Dutch as the *principael*, or were even begun while the *principael* was still being painted. Examples of this are the Washington *Joseph accused by Potiphar's wife* (Br. 523) after the Berlin 'principael' (Br. 524), and the London *Birth of Christ* (Br. 575) after the Munich prototype (Br. 574). However, there are also examples of 'satellite paintings' that must have been produced in Rembrandt's workshop later, sometimes much later, based either on Rembrandt's *principael* or possibly on a copy of this prototype made before it left the workshop. In the case of the *Descent from the Cross* of *c.* 1650 in Washington (II C 49, copy 2 fig. 8, Br. 584), the 'satellite painting' was based on a putative workshop variant of 1634 (Br. 551) after Rembrandt's prototype of 1633 (Br. 550). An example that is closer to the explanation proposed here is the free copy in Antwerp after the Kassel *Saskia* of 1633/34-1642 (II A 85, copy 4 fig. 10). This too is a case of a variant done in the 'rough manner', around 1650, based on a smoothly

Fig. 4. Rembrandt workshop, *'Self-portrait'*, IV 3, detail



Fig. 5. Rembrandt workshop, *'Self-portrait'*, IV 4, detail



executed prototype. Even in the case of the radical changes to the lighting in the Leipzig painting compared with the ex-Weimar work (or its putative prototype), a parallel can be found in Rembrandt's workshop practice which – if our dating of the Leipzig painting to around 1648 is correct – can be located in the same period. This is the nocturnal variant in Copenhagen (Br. 579) of *The Supper at Emmaus* in Paris (Br. 578), which itself is set in daylight. This example leads to the conclusion that before having a pupil make a variant of his *principael*, Rembrandt may have instructed him to change the lighting of the scene in the free variation after his prototype.

The question of the authorship of a variant like the present painting becomes less pressing when it is clear how much the artist relied on a prototype. The fact that we can see here an aspect of Rembrandt's workshop practice is in our view much more important. Nonetheless, in a case such as this, where the attribution has been debated for so long, and where the painting is of such quality, special attention must be given to this issue.

The suggestion, frequently made, that Carel Fabritius may have been the author of the Leipzig painting is not hard to understand. In the few paintings of his hand that have survived Rembrandt's most gifted pupil usually placed his figures (and his *Goldfinch*)[8] against a light background in a way that recalls the present work.

Carel Fabritius is thought to have been a pupil of Rembrandt from 1641 until 1643, when he returned to the Beemster, and may have remained in touch with Rembrandt until 1645. By that date at the latest he had set up as an independent master. His name crops up again in Delft documents from 1650. In 1652 he became a member of the Delft Guild of St Luke. He was killed when a gunpowder magazine exploded in Delft in 1654.[9]

If Carel Fabritius was the author of the present work, and if our dating between 1645 (the earliest possible date given the dendrochronological data) and 1650 is right, then it must have been painted after he left Rembrandt's workshop, or very shortly before at the earliest, since the evidence that he left in 1643 – or 1645 at the latest – is compelling. So to test the attribution, therefore, this painting must be compared with Fabritius's earliest known works. The first that is dated is the *Portrait of Abraham de Potter* of 1648 in Amsterdam,[10] and it is entirely different from the present painting. Other works thought to be early (e.g. the *Raising of Lazarus* in Warsaw and the *Mercury and Argus* in Los Angeles)[11] differ from each other as much as from the Leipzig painting. The dating problems with Fabritius are considerable. When Sumowski was trying to date the Rotterdam *Self-portrait*, one of Fabritius's most Rembrandtesque works, to somewhere between 1645 and 1654, he came to the conclusion that 'der Künstler stilwechselnd in rembrandtesker und individueller Manier experimentiert hat' (the artist experimented in varying styles, alternating between a Rembrandtesque and his own manner).[12]

The difference in style between the present painting and any work bearing the signature of Carel Fabritius is so fundamental, however, that on reflection an attribution to him is not really defensible. The 'graphic' element, i.e. a certain stylisation in the brushwork which is characteristic of Fabritius, is missing. On the other hand, the use of coarse 'blotches' characterizes the painting technique of the author of this work, but these blotches lack the specific 'autonomy' normally found in Fabritius. The prevailing argument at the Leipzig colloquium, that the work must have been painted by a highly gifted artist and that therefore Carel Fabritius was virtually the only candidate, is less persuasive now that there is a strong possibility that it is a (free) copy, as suggested above. This made it possible for the author to capture the peculiarities of the physiognomy relatively easily.

The execution lacks the brilliance and sureness of the

Fig. 6. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait drawing at a window*, 1648, etching (B. 22[I]), detail



paintings that can safely be regarded as by Fabritius. This, together with the 'Fabritius-like' formula with the light background, is what must have led Sumowski to speculate on a Fabritius influence that continued to play a role in Rembrandt's workshop after he had left for the Beemster. It can equally well be argued, however, that what we see as 'Fabritius-like' can be traced back to Rembrandt's own style; after all, Fabritius himself must have been decisively influenced by Rembrandt. Using a light background was certainly not the preserve of Carel Fabritius. This was in fact an old formula – one only need think of the Kassel family portrait by Maerten van Heemskerck[13] and of course Rembrandt's own works in which it was employed, in Leiden (I A 14, A 19, IV *Addendum* 3) but also, later, in the *Self-portrait* in Kenwood House (IV 26).

Sumowski linked this painting to a group of *tronies* and tentatively attributed them all to the same hand. To this group could possibly be added a painting that was identified by us as a freely executed (and possibly later cut into a tilted oval) partial copy now in Bayonne (Br. 372) of Rembrandt's *Susanna and the Elders* in Berlin (Br. 516), although the brushstrokes in it are broader than in the present work. What is certain is that between *c.* 1645 and 1650 *tronies* were made – some obvious partial copies by pupils or workshop assistants (Br. 366 after Br. 566; Br. 375 after Br. 570; Br. 376 after the lost prototype of the *Circumcision*, preserved as a copy in Braunschweig) which are comparable to this painting in various ways.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 255.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

None.

5. Copies

None.

6. Provenance

- Coll. Ernst Peter Otto, Leipzig.
- By descent coll. Gustav Moritz Clauß, Leipzig.
- Donated to the museum in 1861 as part of the Clauß'schen Stiftung.

NOTES

1. F. Schmidt-Degener, *Catalogus van schilderijen en teekeningen tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam*, Rotterdam 1916, p. 29.
2. J.Q. van Regteren Altena, '[review of] Kurt Bauch, Rembrandt Gemälde, 1966', *O.H.* 82 (1967), pp. 69-71, esp. 70.
3. Museum der bildenden Künste Leipzig. *Internationales Kolloquium zu Gemälden der Niederländersammlung 7.-9. November 1996*, Leipzig 1998, pp. 20-23; see also W.R. Valentiner, 'Carel and Barent Fabritius', *Art Bull.* 14 (1932), p. 213; Bauch 1966, p. 47; Br.-Gerson, p. 550.
4. C. Brown, *Carel Fabritius*, Oxford 1981, Rejected Attributions 5.
5. Sumowski *Gemälde* IV, pp. 2876-77.
6. J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt. Life & work*, London 1964, p. 37.
7. S. Slive, 'An unpublished Head of Christ by Rembrandt', *Art Bull.* 47 (1965), pp. 407-417.
8. Sumowski *Gemälde* II, no. 610.
9. Brown, op. cit.[4], pp. 147-152.
10. Sumowski *Gemälde* II, no. 602.
11. Sumowski *Gemälde* V, no. 2072, resp. II, no. 601.
12. Sumowski *Gemälde* II, p. 980.
13. M. van Heemskerck, *Pieter Jan Foppeszoon and his family*, panel 118.7 x 140.2 cm. Staatliche Museen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, GK 33.

IV 5 Self-portrait

[*c.* 1645/48]

KARLSRUHE, STAATLICHE KUNSTHALLE, INV. NO. 238

HDG 547; BR. 38; BAUCH 320; GERSON 262; TÜMPEL A70

1. Introduction and description

In his Rembrandt monograph of 1986, Tümpel eliminated without commentary this painting from Rembrandt's oeuvre, labelling it as a workshop product.[1] As will become apparent in this entry, this painting cannot be so easily rejected; in fact, strong arguments can be introduced in favour of maintaining the traditional attribution to Rembrandt. Admittedly, at first sight it does not fit easily into Rembrandt's oeuvre, being unusual both in execution and composition. However, the latter point can be largely explained by the reconstruction put forward below of the panel's highly complex material history. As to the first point, the painting must be seen in the context of the remarkable diversity of the work produced by Rembrandt and his workshop in the 1640s.

The sitter looks at us almost frontally with his body turned three quarters to the right. The clothing and finery are unusually complex and difficult to identify, in part because of their sketchy execution. The red cloak covering most of the torso appears to be held closed by a hand concealed beneath the fabric. The nature of the garment covering the neck, chest and shoulder is unclear. A comparison with Pilate's costume in the 1636 second state of Rembrandt's *Ecce Homo* etching (B. 77) suggests that it might be a loose collar. The fabric gathered into pleats most resembles brown velvet. A chain is depicted at the top edge of this collar. It either rests loose or is attached to it. A little lower is a second chain which seems to weigh down the fabric of the collar. The light, frilled collar of a shirt is just visible beneath the brown garment at the neck. On his head Rembrandt wears a small brownish black cap trimmed with a headband decorated with a glistening material. From both ears hang transparent pendants on gold rings which, as appears from the lit ear, pierce the lobes. A curious feature of the outfit is a dark piece of cloth hanging down at the neck on the right which is probably attached to the back of the cap.

Working conditions

Examined on 11 June 1968 (J.B., S.H.L.) and on 15 March 1989 (E.v.d.W.): out of the frame, in good daylight, with the aid of four X-ray films covering almost the entire surface, a stereomicroscope, an ultraviolet lamp and an infrared photograph. The remains of the signature were studied with infrared reflectography. The yellowed varnish hardly impedes examination.

Support

Oak panel, grain vertical, 73.5 x 59.6 cm including the pieces, with mitre joinings, which were added to turn an oval panel measuring 68.5 x 56.5 cm into a rectangle. The oval consists of two parts, which from left to right are 4.5 and 52 cm wide; thickness about 6 mm. The oval panel is not bevelled on the reverse. The narrow, left-hand part of the oval panel is so evidently different in ground and paint from the main part that this small strip can only be a later addition (see *Radiography* and *2. Comments*). On the right side of the oval panel, about 15.5 cm from the right edge, there is a vertical crack running slightly at an angle. Joining up with this, and running in the same direction, cracking continues in the pieces added at the corners.

After being enlarged to a rectangle, the panel was attached to a panel of softwood, which was later largely planed off before being cradled. The softwood panel must have consisted of several parts because the grain runs in different directions in what remains of it. These cover parts of the edge of the oval. For an interpretation of the material history of the panel, see *2. Comments*.

Ground

A light yellow ground shines through the transparent red paint of the cloak and at the right in the background.

Kühn believed he was analysing a single ground containing chalk, lead white and slight traces of ochre and glue as the medium.[2] Probably chalk-glue priming and 'primuersel' were analysed as a single layer (see Vol. I, pp. 18-19). The ground that shines through must be that of the portrait of a man underneath (see *Radiography* and *2. Comments*).

Paint layer

Condition: Except for a few thin patches, for example in the hair, the paint on the original part of the panel is in excellent condition. The 4.5 cm wide strip added to the left of the panel (see *Support*) – which the infrared photograph suggests may have been partly overpainted – has severely darkened with age.

Craquelure: In the most thickly applied passages, especially on the ridge of the nose, hairline cracks are visible only with a magnifying glass.

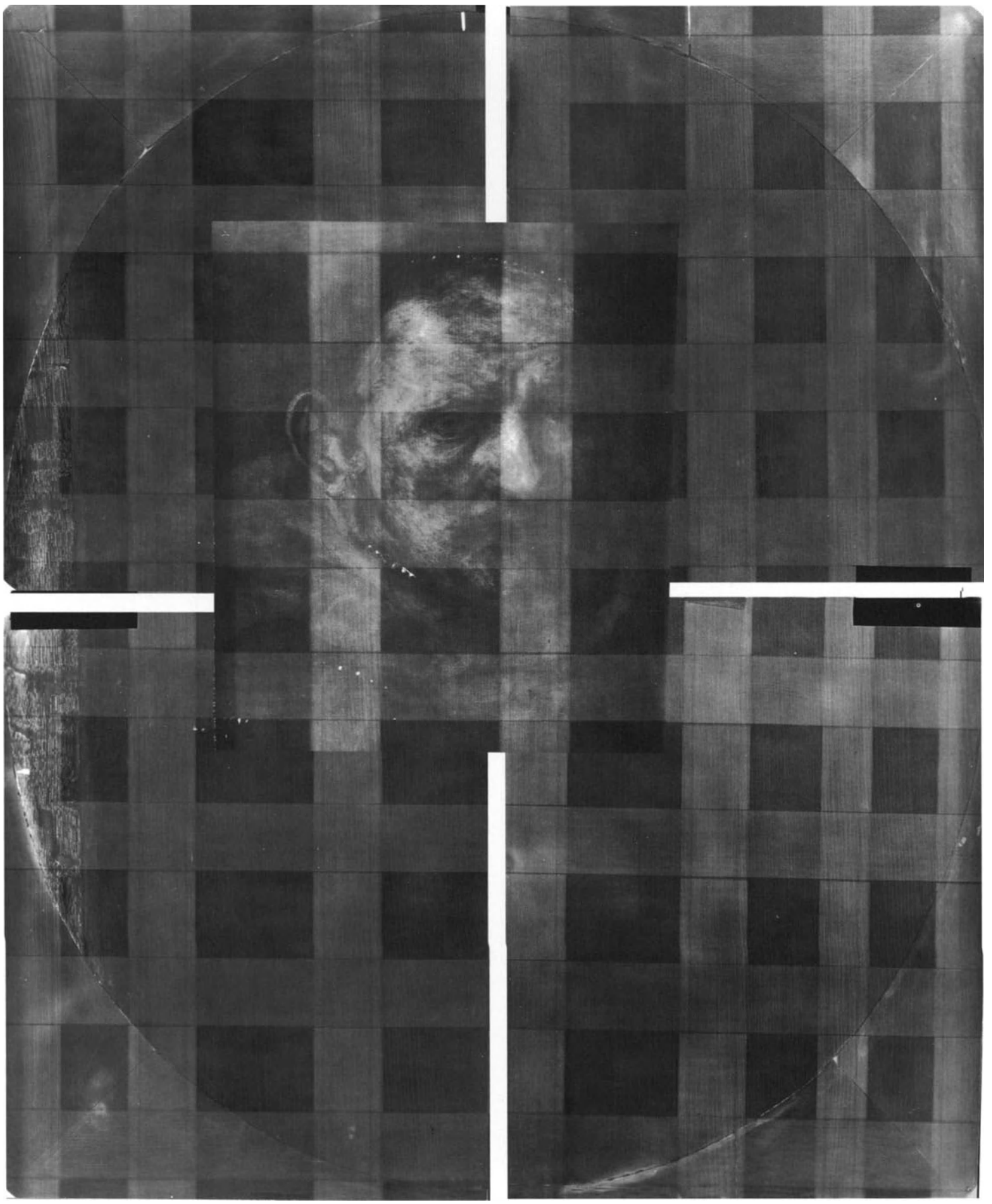
Because of its execution, the painting gives the impression of being unfinished in places. This is particularly evident in the costume, which was done swiftly and with little attention to details (this also applies to the chains) or to the structure of the folds. This sketchiness is all the more striking because the head is so finely worked and has a clearer plastic autonomy than any other element in the painting. This is enhanced in the lit passages by the highly varied yet always careful execution which, employing small, generally flat brushstrokes, suggests delicate curves and hollows, especially at the eyes and mouth. The shadow effects, which imply a rather powerful side light, give rise to a subtle play of wrinkles and curves in the skin of the forehead. The nose casts a fairly marked and rather broad shadow, beside which light, half-shadow and reflected lights evoke a three-dimensionally differentiated image of the unlit half of the face. The contour, which like most contours in this painting is not entirely sharp, nonetheless adds to the clear structure of cheekbone and cheeks. The principal feature of the colour scheme is the contrast between the predominantly warm hues in the figure and the cool, dark grey background, which is slightly illuminated in places; especially the cloak in transparent red paint plays an important role.

A number of obvious pentimenti can be seen in the paint surface. It is apparent that the cloak hanging in loose folds around the body originally lay a little higher

Fig. 1. Panel 73.5 x 59.6 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 259



Fig. 2. X-Ray



over the shoulder on the left. It evidently extended as far as the lower chain, because up to that point in the loose collar a red paint layer is visible in places under the top brownish layer. A dark red showing through the dark background on the right next to the shoulder and arm also indicates a pentimento. Evidently the contour first ran further to the right (for other pentimenti, see *Radiography*). The unusual appearance of the painting is also due to an underlying painting shining through at several points, particularly in the background to the left of the collar and in the hair and face of the sitter (see *Radiography* and *2. Comments*).

Radiography

The X-ray image shows that the *Self-portrait* was painted over another portrait. Almost exactly under the head in the *Self-portrait* is the head of a man wearing a ruff. The area occupied by each portrait in the X-ray image can be determined locally because the underlying head is executed more smoothly than the *Self-portrait* which is in a more coarsely textured paint. This difference in execution is especially noticeable when the two ears at the left are compared. Because of the coarseness of the paint, Rembrandt's ear lobe with its pendant shows up as a somewhat blotchy shape among the lit forms of the elaborately modelled ear, in even thick paint, and the equally smoothly executed cheekbone of the underlying figure. Rembrandt's left eye overlaps exactly the left eye of the discarded portrait. His right eye is slightly lower than that of the underlying portrait, which contributes to the mistaken impression that the first head has excessively large eyes. The ruff of the underlying figure shows relatively little radioabsorbency. There is no firm evidence that it was completed before the *Self-portrait* was painted over it. For example the finishing light accents normally applied to the edges of the pleats of such ruffs are missing. The series of points showing up light on the left below the head are due to the highlights in the chains of the *Self-portrait*. The significantly lighter appearance in the X-ray image of the appended strip of wood indicates that its ground differs from that of the original panel and that it is therefore a later addition.

Infrared photography: Because the cloak is done in red paint, the infrared rays easily penetrate the paint layer and are reflected by the light ground. As a result, a configuration of dark lines shows up very clearly. However, interpretation of the image is hindered because of the difficulty in distinguishing which of these lines belong to an underlying brush drawing and which were added at a later stage to indicate folds in the red cloak. The straight line running obliquely across the chest most likely belongs to an earlier version of the clothing and was intended to indicate where a coat or doublet was fastened. The clearly legible sleeve inset sketched in a few lines, must also be part of that garment. The lines running down from this inset before veering sharply to the right could be read as the contours of the sitter's right arm held in front of his body and covered by a sleeve. The thin vertical line would then mark the end of that sleeve. A line rising at an angle from the forearm to the right coincides with a fold in the cloak and so must lie on the surface, as do the short strokes running straight across it. Because the different lines seem to intersect wet into wet, it thus appears that the process of laying in the original coat and its subsequent transformation into a cloak took place in one and the same session. A line showing up dark next to the right-hand contour of the body, which runs obliquely to the right and disappears into the dark background, was evidently an earlier contour.

The infrared photograph also shows that the sleeves of the jacket continue into the pieces added to the oval panel to make it a rectangle. This is only faintly visible in the surface.

For the dark appearance in the infrared photograph of the strip added, see *Paint layer* Condition.

Signature

On the lower right in the background and in part where the earlier body contour was painted over: <*Rem*>; the remnants of a *b* are intersected by the edge of the oval panel. This fragment of a signature is legible only with the aid of infrared reflectography.

2. Comments

In order to assess the stylistic characteristics of this *Self-portrait*, its material history must be interpreted. The alterations to the format of the panel alone significantly affected the composition. Until now it has always been assumed – for example by Lauts,[3] and also by Tümpel (see note 1) – that the oval of the present central panel, without the additions which make it a rectangle, was the original format. However, this is improbable, if only because (as Pinder[4] and Schwartz[5] noted in connection with this painting) the oval portrait had gone out of fashion by the 1640s. Moreover the reverse of the central panel shows no trace of the kind of bevelling along the edge customary for ovals (cf. II A 59, A 60, A 62, A 72 and A 82). One then has to consider whether the panel might originally have been rectangular. The fact that the signature is cut off by the edge of the oval conclusively proves that the panel must have been cut down some time after the painting had been signed, regardless of the question of who signed it and when.

A curious feature is that the panel was later enlarged with a slat on the left side before its format was altered (see *Radiography*). It is probable that in this process the bevelled part of the panel on the left was removed to provide a sufficiently thick edge onto which the new strip could be glued. The enlargement may have been carried out to prevent too much of the sitter's body being cut off and to avoid having the edge of the painting too close to the head.

It cannot be established with certainty when the panel was cut down. Lauts (see note 3) pointed out that when it was in the estate of Hyacinthe Rigaud in 1703 it was not explicitly described as 'en ovalle', as some other items were, and concluded from this that at that point it must have been rectangular. This led Lauts to assume that by then the, as he thought, originally oval panel had been

Fig. 3. Infrared photograph



Fig. 4. Detail (1 : 1.5)

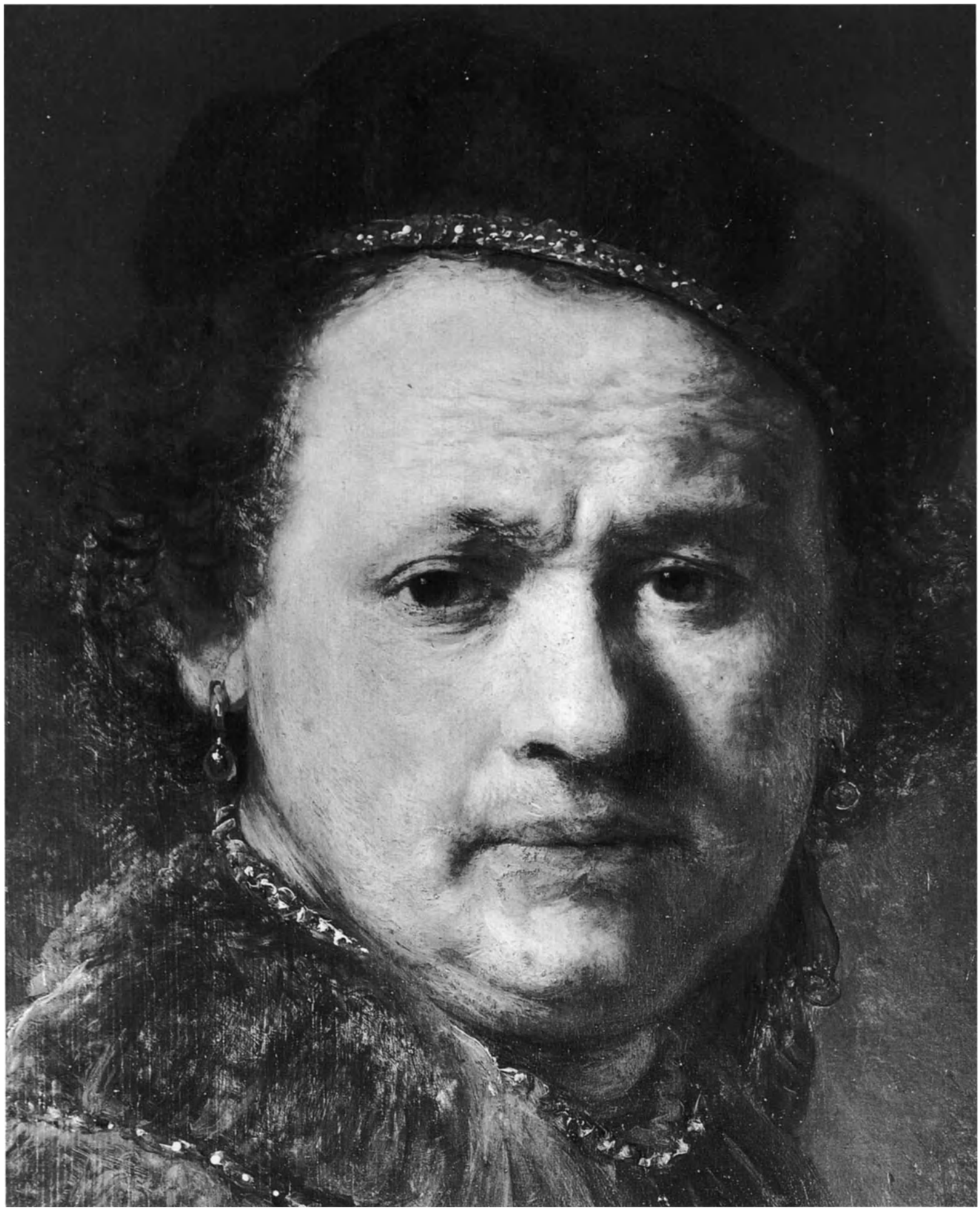


Fig. 5. X-Ray, detail



filled out to its present rectangular format. It is more likely, however, that at that stage the originally rectangular panel had not yet been cut down to an oval.

All in all, these complex alterations to the original panel resulted not only in a different format but also – and most importantly – in a change of the painting's composition. The figure was moved slightly to the right, so that the tilt of the head is brought in line with the vertical axis of the oval. This fixes, as it were, the frontal position of the head and thus the animated turn of the head in relation to the body is lost. A precondition for this suggestion of movement is that body and head must be placed asymmetrically in the picture plane, a customary device in 17th-century busts.

The present unusual composition may have been one of the features of the painting which led Tümpel to eliminate it from the artist's oeuvre (see note 1). The execution is also sufficiently unusual in various respects to give grounds for questioning the painting's authenticity. However, a partial explanation for this too can be found in the material history and above all in the genesis of the painting. Like several other self-portraits (authentic or otherwise), this work was painted on a previously used support (see Chapter III pp. 96-98). As can be seen in the X-ray image, the support of this painting originally bore the portrait of a man. His head is in virtually the same place and on the same scale as the head of Rembrandt painted over it. Judging by the X-ray image, this earlier portrait was done in a different, smoother style at variance with that of Rembrandt. This makes it extremely unlikely that the underlying head is by Rembrandt, as Gerson suggested.[6] It is conceivable that the panel came from the inventory of the workshop of another artist. It is impossible to say how much earlier this old-fashioned-looking portrait should be dated. The evenly starched ruff that the X-ray image reveals provides no specific evidence of date. This type of ruff came into fashion at the beginning of the 17th century and continued to be worn well into the 1650s.

Through wearing of the paint, the ear of the underlying head has become visible in the hair to the left of Rembrandt's ear. In the face, too, the paint of the head underneath comes to the surface in places, such as by the cheek on the left and in the shadow under the nostril and the tip of the nose. The *Self-portrait* is evidently not painted on an intermediate ground layer. The appearance in the X-ray image of the ruff without the finishing touches in the underlying portrait supports the thesis that it was not entirely finished (see *Radiography*). The extent to which a light yellow ground shines through the translucent paint in large parts of the costume and background of Rembrandt's painting shows that the underlying head had not yet been given a background or the rest of the costume. Thus, apart from the area with the head and ruff, the panel appears to have been covered only by a light ground, which the painter of the *Self-portrait* was able to utilise.

As is most clearly evident from the infrared photograph, the *Self-portrait's* first lay out was executed in very free black strokes and lines. In those cases in which neutron activation autoradiographs are available, sketchy strokes of this kind containing bone black, which are usually found beneath opaque paint layers, are often visible in costume passages (see II A 79, C 68 and C 69). It is safe to assume that this way of working was quite normal in Rembrandt's workshop and that such a sketch had the same function as a preparatory drawing. The fact that in places the initial design is so clearly visible to the naked eye is, however, one of the unusual features of this painting. As pointed out above, the painting was substantially altered in the initial stage; examination of the paint surface and infrared studies both reveal pentimenti, particularly in the costume (see *Paint layer* and *Radiography*). Grounds for justifying the way in which these pentimenti are barely concealed and the degree to which the painting appears to be unfinished can be found in 17th-century art theory, and the evidence we have as to Rembrandt's ideas about bringing works of art to completion.[7] One is almost inclined to regard the painting as an early demonstration of Rembrandt's approach to finish as manifested primarily in his later oeuvre.

Assuming that the painting is autograph, dating it on the basis of stylistic and technical characteristics is somewhat difficult. The fine, yet always legible, brushwork in the face is most reminiscent of Rembrandt's self-portraits of the early 1630s (cf. the *Self-portrait* in Paris of 1633, II A 72, and that in Berlin of 1634, II A 96), though it is immediately apparent from the physiognomy that this would be a much too early date for the painting. The usual dating of the Karlsruhe *Self-portrait* to the 1640s rests above all on the physiognomy: compared with the London *Self-portrait* of 1640 (III A 139), the face has become fleshier and the cheeks flabbier. The sitter's frowning expression which Raupp[8] interpreted as a conventional allusion to the view championed by artists since the 16th century that painting primarily required intellectual effort (see also IV 8 *Comments*) is not found to the same extent in earlier self-portraits. The complete absence of moustache and the usual tuft of hair under Rembrandt's lower lip, which has no parallel in any other self-portrait after 1632, does not help to solve the dating problem (though it contributes to the unusual nature of this work). The etched *Self-portrait drawing at a window* (B. 22), which is dated 1648 in the second state, could be regarded as a *terminus ante quem*. In this etching the sitter's features are heavier than in the Karlsruhe painting. This must be why Hofstede de Groot dated the Karlsruhe painting to 1643-45.[9] Bauch preferred a date of around 1645 and pointed to a copy with the inscription *Rembrandt f. 1645*,[10] though its position does not correspond to that of the incomplete signature on the Karlsruhe *Self-portrait* (see *5. Copies*, 5; fig. 6). The stylistic differences from other work done at practically the same time, such as *A young girl leaning on a window-sill* at Dulwich (Br. 368) dated 1645, can be understood only if the premise is accepted that in this period almost every autograph work was an independent creation.

Supposing that the painting is a workshop product, a view that Tümpel was the first – and only – person to espouse (see note 1), the question then arises whether it is a portrait of Rembrandt by a member of the workshop or a

Fig. 6. Copy 5. Formerly Coll. Paul Ostra, Amsterdam 1941



more or less free copy after an existing self-portrait. The first possibility – that Rembrandt's portrait has been painted by someone else – is ruled out by the fact that the characteristic asymmetry in Rembrandt's face – the sagging fold of the eyelid on the right and the vertical furrow above the nose curving toward the left eye – is identical to what is seen in the self-portraits accepted as authentic (see Chapter III). Thus, the Karlsruhe work was painted in front of the mirror, or in some way based on an autograph self-portrait. The occurrence of a number of pentimenti and their nature (see *Paint layer* and *Radiography*) argue against the possibility that it is a copy. In fact, these alterations indicate a very free development of the conception, as is often found in works by Rembrandt; it is unlikely that a copyist would have made changes to such an extent and in this way.

The possibility that it is a free variant of the category discussed on pp. 117-132 should not be immediately excluded. However, as discussed in Chapter III, pp. 255-259 we are convinced that the painting's style and quality exclude that option.

3. Documents and Sources

None.

4. Graphic Reproductions

None.

5. Copies

Hofstede de Groot (see note 11) listed:
1. Coll. Count Keyserling, Mitau, exhibited there in 1894, no. 286.
2. Rectangular, partial copy after the head, Gaunø Castle, Denmark; exhibited Copenhagen 1891, no. 173.

Lauts (see note 3) adds three copies, one of which he believes may be identical to copy 1:
3. Canvas 57 x 46 cm, rectangular; sale Dr Raehlmann et al., Berlin (Lepke), 10 December 1907, no. 76.
4. Canvas 66 x 56 cm, oval; 1951 with art dealer in Zurich.
5. Canvas, rectangular, signed 'Rembrandt f. 1645' (fig. 6). The position of the signature in the background to the right of the shoulder does not correspond with that in the original. In 1941 in the collection of Paul Ostra, Amsterdam. The cloth hanging down at the neck on the right is not copied. This copy, which appears to be the work by a dilettante, was produced at the earliest in the 18th century.
6. Canvas, rectangular; coll. Jeanne Goeders, Verviers (photograph in the RKD).

None of these copies were seen by us.

6. Provenance

– Coll. Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743); in the inventory Rigaud drew up himself on his marriage in 1703 two self-portraits of Rembrandt are described (one of which, the *Self-portrait* discussed here, recurs in the collection of the Comte de Vence): '...Le portrait en buste de Raimbran ... 500 liv.' and 'Un portrait du mesme ... 200 liv.'.[11]

– Coll. Comte de Vence. Described in: *Description du Cabinet de M. le Comte de Vence*, Paris n.d. [1759] (Lugt 1073), p. 21: 'Dans le second Cabinet... Dans les deux coins sont aussi deux Rambrandt; celui contre la fenêtre est son Portrait, & vient du Cabinet de M. Rigaud, Directeur de l'Académie: M. Drouais le fils doit la réputation qu'il s'est acquise aux soins qu'il a pris de copier tous ses Portraits.' Sale Paris, 9-17 February 1761 (Lugt 1135), no. 44: 'Rembrandt-Van-Rhein. Un autre Portrait très gracieux, vû de 3 quarts & coéffé d'un bonnet en forme de toque. Ce Tableau est peint sur bois, il est de même grandeur que le précédent [de 27 pouces de haut, sur 21 pouces & demi de large = 72.9 x 58 cm] & a beaucoup de mérite. Il vient du Cabinet de feu M. Rigauld, Peintre du Roi.' (400 livres to Eberts); bought here together with seven other paintings by the art lover and banker Jean-Henri Eberts for the collection of Karoline Luise von Baden-Durlach (1723-1783) of Karlsruhe.[12]

NOTES

1. Tümpel 1986, cat. no. A70.
2. Kühn, p. 193.
3. J. Lauts, *Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe. Katalog alte Meister bis 1800*, Karlsruhe 1966, no. 238.
4. W. Pinder, *Rembrandts Selbstbildnisse*, Königstein im Taunus n.d. [1950] (1943[1]), p. 49.
5. Schwartz 1984, p. 409.
6. Gerson 262.
7. Van de Wetering 1997, p. 164.
8. H.J. Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim 1984, pp. 21-22.
9. HdG 547.
10. Bauch 1966, 320.
11. HdG *Urk.*, no. 387, pp. 444-445.
12. G.F. Kircher, *Karoline Luise von Baden als Kunstsammlerin*, Karlsruhe 1933.

IV 6 'Self-portrait' 1650

WASHINGTON D.C., THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, WIDENER COLLECTION, ACC. NO. 1942.9.70

HDG 574; BR. 39; BAUCH 321; GERSON –; TÜMPEL –

Fig. 1. Canvas 92.2 x 75.4 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 262



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

In his 1995 catalogue of Dutch paintings in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, Wheelock no longer accepts the present painting as a work by Rembrandt.[1] Gerson was the first to reject it, considering it to be an 18th- or 19th-century imitation.[2] In this entry we will argue – in line with Wheelock – that the painting, though not by Rembrandt, undoubtedly originated in the 17th century and most likely in Rembrandt's studio. Technical and stylistic evidence suggests that it could be painted by the same hand as two portraits in historicising costume formerly also attributed to Rembrandt. When taken together with other characteristics of this unusual painting, the strange discrepancy between the execution of the underlying image and the painting's final execution raises the question of Rembrandt's possible involvement in its conception (see Chapter III pp. 261-263).

A man resembling Rembrandt, his gaze fixed on the observer, stands with his right hand at his side, and his left hand resting on a shiny gold twisted cane. Adorning his ear is a pear-shaped pearl with a stroke of flesh-coloured paint suggesting a reflection of the skin. His elaborate costume consists of items of 16th-century clothing worn in the Netherlands and Germany. Over a gathered white shirt with a striped collar and a similarly gathered white placard with gold embroidered trim, he wears a gleaming yellow neckcloth tucked into the opening of a dark brown jerkin with reddish-brown shoulder bands and wide, slashed sleeves. The tilted brown cap on his head partly conceals a 'caul' (for a discussion of the costume, see *2. Comments*).

Working conditions

Examined on 8 April 1970 (J.B., S.H.L.) and in December 1989 (E.v.d.W.): in reasonable daylight and out of the frame, with the aid of infrared and ultraviolet photographs, a set of nine X-radiographs covering the entire surface and a binocular microscope. The results of the analysis of 13 paint cross-sections by B. Miller, conservation scientist of the National Gallery of Art, were available. These samples were re-examined in May 1991 (K.G.). A thick yellow varnish obstructed observation. This varnish was removed during the restoration of 1992-93 (see note 1). The painting has not been examined by members of the Rembrandt Research Project since then.

Support

Canvas, lined, 92.2 x 75.4 cm measured along the stretcher. There is marked cusping with occasional secondary cusping along the top and bottom where, as Wheelock noted, traces of the original selvedges can also be seen (see note 1). The pitch of the cusping along the top edge varies between 8.5 to 10.5 cm, the deformations extending app. 18 cm into the fabric; the pitch along the bottom edge varies from 9.5 to 11.5 cm extending app. 17 cm. Cusping is less distinct along the sides and only occasionally measurable along the left side due to the interference of the radiographic image of the wood grain of the stretcher; along the right side the measurable deformations vary from 6.5 to 8 cm; on both sides they extend only some 6 cm into the fabric. Thus, the canvas may have been cut down at the left and right. This suspicion is further reinforced by the fact that the hand at the right and the elbow at the left are truncated by the respective edges.

Threadcount: 13.1 vertical threads/cm (12-15); 14.9 horizontal threads/cm (14-16). Given the greater spread of the vertical threads, and the frequent occurrence of long thickenings in the vertical direction, there can be no doubt that the warp runs horizontally. This is confirmed by the observation of traces of the selvedges along the top and bottom. The (standard) width of the bolt of canvas from which this piece of canvas may have come might be 5/4 (Brabant) ell, i.e. app. 87 cm (see Vol. II, p. 19 note 30). It may have reached its present 92 cm through stretching prior to application of the ground.

Ground

A grey ground layer is visible in places of wearing in the sitter's jaw.

The cross-sections prepared in 1981 (see *Working conditons)* revealed that the ground consists of a reddish-brown bottom layer with a natural red ochre with some quartz and chalk. This layer is in turn covered by a layer of grey, suggesting a second ground layer. The grey layer contains lead white, bone black and a brown earth pigment. Miller found that in some cross-sections the grey layer was either missing or remarkably thin, which may indicate that the second ground layer was irregularly applied. Due to the fact that the top layer is radio-absorbent this phenomenon is also visible in the X-radiograph (see also *Table of Grounds* III, pp. 666-671).

Paint layer

Condition: There is no indication in the X-radiographs that paint loss has occurred anywhere other than along the edges. Our impression that the painting (as far as we could assess it given the thickness and yellowness of the varnish) is in a generally good condition was confirmed by the restorers of the National Gallery of Art in Washington.

While in the shaded parts of the face the thin, merging greyish and brownish tones are applied over far freer brushwork, the lit areas on the temple and the nose are painted with small thick brushstrokes. The gradual blending with adjacent tones contributes to the blurred appearance of forms that typifies this section of the painting. This, and the rather laborious application of paint, result in a rather unconvincing suggestion of illumination in the lit areas. The reflected lights in the shaded parts of the face enhance the suggestion of detail.

The variation in the execution of the different items of clothing is remarkable. A laborious and somewhat hesitant application of opaque and slightly pastose paint can be seen in the 'caul', which displays a striking variation of reds and browns. Occasional highlights appear in the 'caul' and in the locks of hair around the

Fig. 3. Infrared photograph



ear. The sensitive modelling of the cap has been accomplished by a dabbing movement of the brush and smoothly merging light and shaded tones which add to the highly convincing plasticity and rendering of material. The cap's headband is accurately defined with brownish and reddish brushstrokes. A summarily indicated chain with indistinct links is painted just above this band. The dark borders of the white shirt are rendered with long, swiftly applied brushstrokes. The whitish and gold tints of the neckcloth were achieved by means of glazing over the white paint with which the folds are indicated. The decorative band of the placard is laid in with a moderate impasto. The execution of the jerkin is much freer, with slashes defined in ochrish and grey tones on a black base. The change of direction of the brushstrokes in such details in the sleeve suggest that the figure's right arm is bent. His fist resting on the hip is indicated as a barely visible brownish triangle. His left arm and hand are also difficult to read. The foreshortening of the right forearm is primarily suggested by the awkward rendering of three splits in the sleeve. The torsion of the stick is indicated with some yellow highlights, while the hand emerges from faint greyish hazy brushwork (which may indicate a cuff) with some evidence of form provided by brownish and blackish lines. Around the head a halo of thinly applied greyish, brownish, and orangish tones can be discerned indicating a partly lit pillar or wall.

To the right of the fist tucked in at the waist, along the lower edge of the painting, an approximately 25 cm long strip of canvas has remained virtually uncovered.

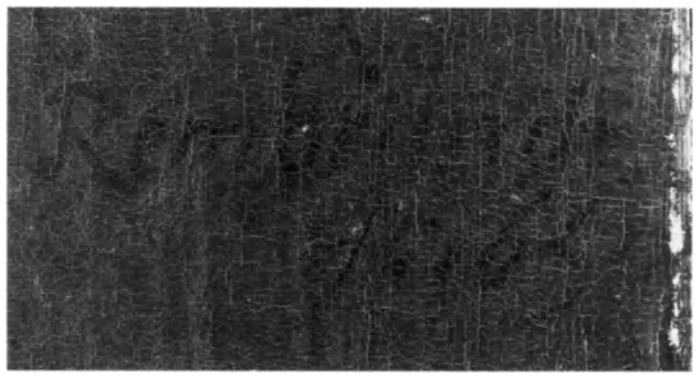
Craquelure: The thickly painted blackish brown front of the jerkin shows a crude pattern of shrinkage cracks (see also *Radiography* and the infrared photograph, figs. 2 and 3). The rest of the painting shows a craquelure normal with 17th-century paintings on canvas.

Radiography

Radioabsorbent zones obstruct the visible image, for example at the right near the forehead and the cap. They should not, however, be mistaken for pentimenti. This phenomenon may be related to the irregularly applied – and in places damaged – second layer of the ground (see *Ground*). Curved light lines in the right half of the background could indicate that the radioabsorbent ground layer there was applied with long, broad strokes of a priming knife.

On the whole, the radioabsorbent areas correspond with what one would expect from the painted surface. There is a change in the cap. In the X-ray image the contour of the cap appears as a broad, undulating contour running slightly to the left of the contour of the present cap (see also the infrared photograph). It appears that the cap originally stuck out less at the back of the head than the present one. A less dark reserve runs several centimetres to the left of the now visible dark reserve for the hair and the cap, indicating that this area was altered as well. For the rest, the cap shows up dark against a somewhat radioabsorbent background. Given the darkness of the reserve for the cap, one may conclude

Fig. 4. Detail of signature (reduced)



that no lead white was used when modelling it. Radioabsorbent strokes are evident to the right above the dark reserve, to the right of the chin and neck, as well as in the upper edge of the jerkin. Thus, one cannot exclude the possibility that the distribution of light in the background was initially differently conceived.

Halfway down the cane is a network of primarily vertical radioabsorbent strokes (also visible in the infrared photograph), which cannot be explained.

Perhaps a large amount of lead-containing siccative is responsible for the relatively strong radioabsorbency and the development of severe shrinkage cracks in the thickly painted waistcoat of the jerkin.

Signature

In the right background above the hand in brownish black: <*Rembrandt./f.1650*>.

2. Comments

In assessing Bredius' survey of Rembrandt's oeuvre, Gerson questioned both the authenticity of and a 17th-century date of production for the present painting. He considered it an 18th- or 19th-century hybrid imitation. This suggestion was prompted by the illumination of the head, which reminded him of that in early works by Rembrandt (Gerson undoubtedly had in mind the *Self-portrait* in Kassel (I A 14 *Copies* 1) which he believed to be the original), presumably from 1628, and the *Self-portrait* in Munich of 1629, I A 19), while he considered the painting qua 'composition and mood' to be characteristic of the late Rembrandt (see note 2). Wheelock also rejected the painting, but disagreed with Gerson that it is an 18th or 19th-century imitation. He believes it originated in Rembrandt's workshop (see note 1).

The painting certainly makes 'an unusual impression', as Erpel also noted in his book on Rembrandt's self-portraits.[3] What makes it so exceptional in comparison to Rembrandt's late self-portraits is the unusual and intricate costume, and especially the illumination of the head. On the basis of the location of the cast shadow of the ear and the earring, one may deduce that light falls parallel to the picture plane from the upper left, thus illuminating the head at an angle from behind. The rest of the face is in shadow; a complex interplay of reflected light and transitions in the shaded areas allows for a detailed reading of the modelling.

Gerson's observation that the illumination used for this head only occurs in Rembrandt's early work is accurate. In addition to the aforementioned early *Self-portraits* in Amsterdam and Munich, this illumination is also found in Rembrandt's early masterpiece of 1628/29, the *Judas repentant* (I A 15), in which the head of the leftmost standing figure is similarly lit, as well as the possibly related head of an *Old man with a turban* of 1627/28 (IV *Addendum* 3).[4] Van Vliet's print after I A 14 may well have been responsible for disseminating this lighting formula. This print must certainly have been known by pupils and assistants in Rembrandt's studio up to 1656, for according to the inventory from that year, Rembrandt owned 'Een kas met printen van van Vliet naer schilderije van Rembrant' ('a box of prints by van Vliet after paintings by Rembrant').[5]

In comparison to most of Rembrandt's late self-portraits, the head is turned relatively far to the right. Another unusual feature in this work is the expression of the eyes fixed on the beholder. The expression of the curiously small and summarily rendered eyes is determined by the raised eyebrows, a facial expression encountered also in the Amsterdam *Self-portrait as St Paul* from 1661 (IV 24) and the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* of *c.* 1663 in Cologne (IV 25). The nose gives the impression of being shorter than those in the accepted self-portraits. This, together with the closely set eyes and the receding chin, raises the question of whether, in fact, Rembrandt's physiognomy has been represented here. The resemblance to Rembrandt is so slight that when the painting was in the Sebastien Érard sale in Paris in 1832, the figure was described as a warrior (i.e. Admiral Maerten Harpertsz. Tromp) (see *6. Provenance*), undoubtedly because of the costume and the position of the arms – the right placed in the waist, the left one leaning on a cane.[6]

Like Gerson, we fail to see this as an autograph work by Rembrandt. Yet, like Wheelock, we see no reason for considering the painting as a later imitation. There are several arguments in favour of the painting's creation in the 17th century and as not too far removed from Rembrandt. These arguments will be outlined below, followed by an attempt to link the painting with two other works that could be by the same hand.

Material and technical aspects argue against the painting being a later imitation. The manner in which the canvas structure shows up light in the X-radiograph and the visibility and kind of slightly curved strokes with which the ground has been applied all favour a 17th-century date of origin. Examination of the paint samples revealed a double ground (namely a reddish-brown bottom layer and a grey top layer, see *Ground*), a feature found in many paintings on canvas from Rembrandt's studio; a type of ground that must have been widespread in the 17th century (see Chapter IV, *Table of Grounds* III, pp. 664-665).

The fact that no pigment was encountered in the paint samples that might specifically indicate an 18th or 19th-century date of origin is also significant. Microscopic analysis of 13 paint samples by Miller in 1981, as well as non-invasive analysis of particular passages with X-ray fluorescence spectometry (XRF) conducted by the Conservation Department of the National Gallery in Washington, showed that the pigments in the surface of the painting were all current in the 17th century, and in use in Rembrandt's studio. These include ochrous pigments, lead white, vermilion, red lake, organic brown, lead tin yellow and bone black. Another XRF examination in 1991 to determine the possible presence of later pigments in the light yellow areas of sheen on the shoulder near the yellow neckcloth again showed no specifically 18th- or 19th-century pigments. Only lead and iron were detected here, indicating the presence of lead white and yellow ochre.

Another argument in favour of a 17th-century origin relates to the sitter's garb and the fact that Rembrandt and his school frequently depicted historicising costumes. The costume appears to be assembled from items of clothing that were prevalent in northern Europe in the first half of the 16th century. The man wears a gathered white shirt with a standing collar embroidered with a striped pattern and bordered by dark lines that continue down the shirt's front. Little stripes at the neck and the back of the neck suggest a trim with small loops of black thread. This decoration of black silk embroidery on a white linen collar was a typical feature of 16th-century dress but obsolete in the 17th century. Over the shirt and across the sitter's chest is a gathered white placard with an embroidered gold border.[7] Draped around the shoulders is a yellow neckcloth, the ends of which are tucked into the opening of the brown jerkin. Worn in the first half of the 16th century, a jerkin was an overgarment that was probably closed at the sides and had a knee-length, pleated skirt. In the 1520s and 1530s, it often had a low, square neckline. In the Netherlands the jerkin was called a 'paltrock'. The one shown here has ample sleeves with slashes revealing an orange-yellow lining. The slashes on the upper arm are long, while those near the wrist seem to be much shorter. Whitish brushstrokes at the wrist suggest a narrow ruffle. On his head he wears a 'caul' (a close-fitting hairnet), which probably originated in Germany, and was also frequently worn in the Netherlands and Italy in the first half of the 16th century. In the Netherlands, the caul was called a 'huyve' and was sometimes made of gold thread richly decorated with pearls, and as seems to be the case here, could also have a red lining. The caul became obsolete after 1540/50.[8] A brown cap with a small decorative gold chain is perched at an angle atop the caul. The cap was a type of headgear popular throughout the 16th century.

Although an attempt has clearly been made to depict 16th-century dress accurately, several small details betray a familiarity with 17th-century costume. For instance, the fact that a caul was worn under a cap is very much in keeping with 16th-century fashion, but the way in which the hair has been left partly uncovered is a 17th-century deviation. The tuft of hair on the chin and the moustache are also typical for the 17th century. Furthermore, the addition of coloured strips on the shoulders of the jerkin and the gathering of the placard is at variance with authentic 16th-century dress.

Fig. 5. Rembrandt workshop, *Portrait of a warrior*, panel 128x103 cm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (Br. 256)



Fig. 6. Rembrandt workshop, *Woman in fanciful costume*, panel 137.2x101.6 cm. Sarasota, Florida, John & Mable Ringling Museum of Art (Br. 380)



The general accuracy of the costume is in keeping with the tradition of depicting antiquated costumes in self-portraits by Rembrandt and his school (see Chapter II). As found in Rembrandt's etched self-portraits of the late 1630's, or especially the London *Self-portrait* of 1640 (III A 139; Chapter II fig. 28), this style of dressing is reminiscent of German or Netherlandish attire of the first half of the 16th century. Because of the special attention Rembrandt and his workshop devoted to the faithful rendering of antiquated costumes, the Washington painting is much more likely to have originated in Rembrandt's workshop than to be an 18th or 19th-century imitation.

There is one feature that may even be called typical of Rembrandt's studio practice. Contour changes and modifications in the size or shape of headgear in works from Rembrandt's studio are frequently encountered, though this does not automatically imply autography by Rembrandt.

As described in *Paint layer*, one of the most peculiar aspects is the initially far freer execution and less turbid colour scheme of certain sections especially in the face. In this connection the striking resemblance should be noted to the *Portrait of a warrior* (Br. 256; fig. 5) in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge and its companion piece, the *Woman in fanciful costume* (Br. 380; fig. 6) in the Ringling Museum in Sarasota, Florida (for colour reproductions see Chapter III figs. 263, 264). Both paintings have clear technical and stylistic relationships with the Washington painting and demonstrate an equal interest in intricate, historicising costumes. The painting of the man, like the painting in Washington, is dated 1650, while the painting of the woman, as was quite common with pendants, is neither signed nor dated. They are not on canvas, but on panels of South or Central American origin.

During the examination of the Cambridge painting, we encountered similar technical characteristics as in the Washington painting: the striking difference between the very freely executed *peinture* below the surface and the final treatment, with much local detail in the modelling, especially in the face. The same phenomenon also occurs in the poorly preserved painting in Sarasota. Moreover, in the painting in Cambridge, as in the Washington *Self-portrait*, unexplained black intermediate paint layers have been discovered. Also the careful, strongly illusionistic execution of the face and the hands in the painting in Cambridge resembles that of the head in the Washington painting and shares the 'muddy' appearance of the upper layer. Furthermore, the two paintings reveal the same almost extravagant use of merging reflected lights in the head.

However, the pendant in Sarasota bears the strongest resemblance to the Washington painting. It, too, exhibits the previously described layered handling of the head. The wide range of execution of the Washington painting – from the fine modelling of the head to the almost indistinguishable shadowy hand – recurs in the Sarasota painting.[9] Both paintings (Washington and Sarasota) display sketchily applied linear elements alongside coarsely added painterly details. This is combined with paint used in a substance that displays an ageing process resulting in the crusty appearance of specific passages. Remarkably similar solutions were found for the (incid-

Fig. 7. Detail of fig. 6



Fig. 8. Detail of IV 6



entally radically overcleaned and partially retouched) contours of the woman's collar with similar solutions for the collar in the '*Self-portrait*' (figs. 7 and 8). Furthermore, a clear comparison can be made between the way in which the sleeve slits in the *Self-portrait* have been done and the way the openings in the woman's left shoulder seam have been indicated. The woman's chain and the turned cane in the Washington painting are also executed in closely similar fashion. In short, all three paintings show the same characteristics of a wide range of paint substance, painting technique, and detail and quality; the extremes in the precision of the modelling on the one hand, and the chaos in other details on the other; the marked preference for complicated fantasy costumes; and highly worked reflected lights in the heads. It is perhaps more than mere coincidence that the heads in the Washington and Cambridge paintings both do and yet do not resemble Rembrandt's physiognomy.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, pp. 261-263.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic Reproductions

None.

5. Copies

1. Canvas *c.* 70 x 60 cm, private collection. The painting was originally square. An approximately 10 cm strip was attached to the bottom, probably at the beginning of the 19th century, in order to fit it into an oval frame, which it still has in the available photographs. The copy shows the sitter as a bust in the same position and wearing the same costume as in the Washington painting. According to a comment by the owner, the painting has traditionally been attributed to Adriaen Bol. From an inscription on the back of the painting can be concluded that it was made before 1814.

6. Provenance

– Coll. Sebastien Érard (1752-1831), sale Paris 23 ff April 1832 (Lugt 12962), no. 119: 'Rembrandt (Paul) Van Rhyn. Portrait de Martin-Kappertz-Tromp, amiral hollandais. – Bois [sic!]; hauteur trente-trois pouces largeur vingt-sept. [= 89.1 x 72.9 cm]. trois quarts par la droite, ... la main gauche appuyée sur un bâton. Son corps, dévéloppé jusqu'aux hanches ... à l'endroit de la poitrine comme le corsage des femmes, ... chemisette à petites broderies noires, fermée sous le menton ...' (17.100 to Hope).
– Coll. William Williams Hope (1802-1852), Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire, 1832-1849. Sale London (Christie's), 14ff June 1849, 3rd day no. 116: 'Rembrandt. A Portrait of Admiral Van Tromp ...' (bought by Sir Anthony de Rothschild [1810-1876] for £ 483-0-0, London, Grosvenor Place and Aston Clinton, [by Aylesbury]).
– Coll. Lady Anthony de Rothschild (1821-1910), London 1899.
– Dealer T. Agnew and Sons, London.
– Coll. Peter A.B. Widener Collection, Philadelphia, cat. 1908.
– Gift of Joseph E. Widener to the National Gallery of Art, 1942.

NOTES

1. A.K. Wheelock Jr., *Dutch paintings of the seventeenth century*, National Gallery of Art, Washington 1995, acc. no. 1942.9.70, pp. 296-300.
2. Br.-Gerson 39.
3. F. Erpel, *Die Selbstbildnisse Rembrandts*, Berlin 1967, p. 177.
4. E. van de Wetering, '"Oude man met tulband", een teruggevonden vroege Rembrandt'/'"Old man with turban", an early Rembrandt rediscovered', in: *cat. PAN* Amsterdam 1998, pp. 10-20; Exhib. cat. *The mystery of the young Rembrandt*, 2001, cat. no. 75, pp. 356-359.
5. Strauss *Doc.* 1656/12 no. 277.
6. Wheelock, op. cit.[1], note 4.
7. A placard was a separate accessory that covered the chest and could be very decorative. In early 16th-century Dutch inventories this item is referred to as a 'borstlap'. See C.H. de Jonge, 'Bijdrage tot de kennis van de kleederdracht in de Nederlanden in de XVIe eeuw. Het mannenkostuum', *O.H.* 36 (1918), pp. 133-169 and *O.H.* 37 (1919), pp. 1-70.
8. The 'huyve' is found in several works by Lucas van Leyden.
9. Wheelock (op. cit.[1], p. 299) also observed a marked difference between the execution of the head and that of the costume. This prompted his suggestion that the *'Self-portrait'* might have been made by two artists, a hypothesis he ultimately rejected. Subsequently he saw in this difference in execution of the head and the costume a clear (stylistic) similarity to the *Man with the golden helmet* in Berlin (Br. 128). However, we see no significant similarities between both paintings.

IV 7 Rembrandt leaning on a windowsill

CINCINNATI, OHIO, THE TAFT MUSEUM, ACC. NO. 1962.1
BEQUEST OF LOUISE TAFT SEMPLE, 1962

HDG 593B; BR. 41; BAUCH 399; GERSON 301; TÜMPEL –

Fig. 1. Canvas 82.5 x 68.3 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 265



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

The authenticity of this painting was first questioned by Gerson in 1968, after which later authors no longer included it in their surveys of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre.[1] Subsequently Liedtke dated it to the beginning of the 18th century.[2] We also take the view that it is not by Rembrandt's hand and that it did not originate in his circle. We shall discuss below the reasons for this opinion and examine the relationship of the painting to the prototypes probably used by the presumed imitator.

His head resting on his strongly lit fist, a man with features roughly resembling those of Rembrandt leans on a windowsill. Over an open white shirt he wears a dark doublet, the visible sleeve of which has a series of slashes in the lower arm. From his left shoulder hangs a cloak which appears to be wrapped round his left forearm. It looks as if the fingers of the (gloved) left hand protrude from the cloak and rest on the windowsill. He wears a dark cap with a wide brim.

Working conditions

Examined 9-6-1972 (J.B., S.H.L.), in February 1989 (E.v.d.W.) and 10-5-1991 (K.G., E.v.d.W.): out of the frame, by strong artificial light, with the aid of an X-radiograph of the central part of the painting, an infrared photograph, a stereomicroscope and a condition report by R. Buck dating from 1963.[3] It was possible to take paint samples during the 1991 examination. The varnish does not hamper observation.

Support

Canvas, lined, 82.5 x 68.3 cm. Since the available X-radiograph only covers the centre of the painting, our information about cusping is limited. According to the condition report by Buck, clear cusping was seen along all four sides (see note 3). The X-ray image also shows shallow cusping on all four sides. From this it can be concluded that the cusping extends 15 to 20 cm into the weave on the four sides, which means that the canvas still has its original format. The length of the cusping visible in the X-radiograph ranges on the left from 10 to 11 cm, at the top from 9 to 10 cm, on the right from 9.5 to 13.5 cm, and at the bottom from 9.5 to 10.5 cm. The texture of the canvas is clearly visible in relief over the whole surface.

Thread count: 11.5 vertical threads/cm (11.25 – 12); 11.72 horizontal threads/cm (10.75 – 13). Given the greater range in density of the horizontal threads and the fact that more short slubs are found in them, we may assume that these are the weft threads and that the warp runs vertically.

Ground

A light grey ground shows through in many thinly painted areas, and has been left uncovered locally over very small areas.

Examination of paint samples revealed that the ground was applied in a single layer and that it consists largely of lead white with the addition of charcoal black, a little umber and a little chalk (see *Table of Grounds* III, pp. 670-671). The presence of lead white as the main constituent explains why the ground shows up so strongly in the X-ray image and contrasts so sharply with the threads of the weave. A most likely cause for this marked contrast is the deep penetration of the ground in the weave. From this it may be concluded that the canvas was not prepared with size in the usual way. The composition of the ground is not incompatible with this being a 17th-century work, but so far we have never found a ground of this kind in paintings by Rembrandt or his school (see also *2. Comments*).

Paint layer

Condition: The condition of the painting is generally very good. The impression of overcleaning which it gives locally is due to the paint having been unusually thinly applied at those points. Small retouchings along the top edge and (very sporadically) in the cloak and doublet that had darkened with time were observed by Buck in 1963 and replaced during a later restoration (see note 3). A series of horizontal brushstrokes in the background to the left of the cap probably has to do with a *pentimento* that had become visible and was integrated into the background by a later hand.

On 10 May 1991, 12 paint samples were taken by Groen and cross-sections prepared from most of them.[4] All pigments found in the analysis (bone black, umber, brown and red ochre, lead white, chalk, azurite, carmine [from cochineal], natural yellow ochre) were common in the 17th century and in part of the 18th century. The occurrence of coarsely ground azurite as the blue pigment in the greenish windowsill is highly significant. This indicates that the work is more likely to have been painted before *c.* 1720 than afterwards, since after that date Prussian blue rapidly replaced azurite on most artists' palettes. In one sample taken from his left sleeve an intermediate layer of varnish was found which probably indicates a change to the composition in this area after the painting had been varnished. For a discussion of the manner of painting and colour scheme, see *2. Comments*.

Craquelure: A fine pattern, mostly in the opaque flesh-coloured and white areas and in the more heavily painted parts in the background and the clothing.

Radiography

The predominant feature in the X-radiograph is the extremely clear image of the weave mentioned above and the numerous irregularities in the threads. The parts of the visible surface image which show up most clearly are the lit cuff and collar. The wrist and the side of the hand, the tip of the collar that is turned away and the ridge of the nose appear as vague, light patches. Running through the collar and head is a diffuse diagonal band of radio-absorbent material that cannot be related to the present subject.

The infrared photograph (fig. 3) shows a *pentimento* at the left contour of the cap. It is also visible in the paint surface. Evidently, the reserve left in the background for the cap was too large at this point. With that shape, the

Fig. 3. Infrared photograph



Fig. 4. Detail with signature (reduced)

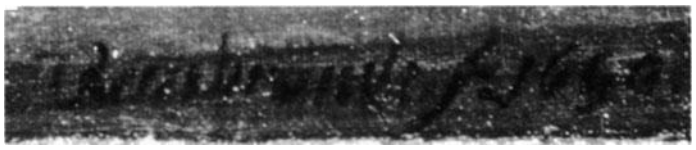
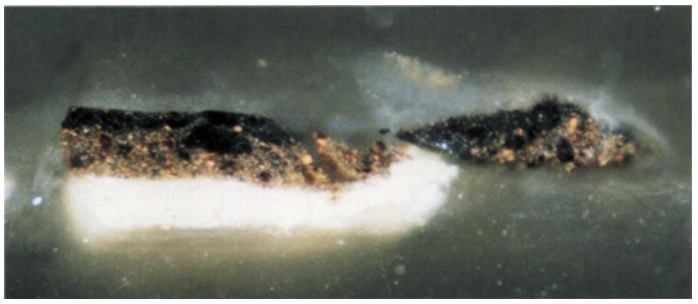


Fig. 5. Cross-section of the signature



crown of the cap did not align with the skull, and so the painter shifted the left contour of the crown to the right (see also *Paint layer*). At the position of the so-called glove on the windowsill the infrared photograph reveals a second *pentimento*. It appears that originally an arm protruding from the cloak and a hand with fingers curled over the edge of the windowsill were depicted. This *pentimento* can also be seen in the present paint surface in the form of several somewhat opaque patches of grey which differ from the transparent brown paint in which the windowsill is executed. A similar opaque grey was used for the glove. This makes it probable that the glove was added to replace the arm and hand.

Signature

Lower right in dark brown-black: <*Rembrandt. f. 1650.*> (fig. 4). The signature was most likely added by the maker of the painting as the brushwork of the signature is remarkably similar to that of the painting as a whole. This resemblance is primarily based on the unusual traces of evidently relatively stiff brush hairs, which caused locally separate lines alongside the main brushstrokes. The cross-section of a sample taken from the letter *b* supports the likelihood that the signature is by the maker: the paint of the signature has been applied directly on that of the side edge of the windowsill, and not on a layer of varnish, which would be likely for a signature added later (fig. 5).

2. Comments

The so-called *Self-portrait* in Cincinnati has played no significant role in the Rembrandt literature. It was not published until 1922.[5] In 1935 Bredius[6] first questioned whether it was a Rembrandt self-portrait or a portrait of an unidentified man by Rembrandt, and in 1968 Gerson was the first to express doubts as to the correctness of the attribution to Rembrandt (see note 1). He had not, in fact, seen the actual painting. Later authors omitted it from their surveys of Rembrandt's oeuvre. Liedtke suggests in his catalogue of the Taft Museum (in part on the basis of a written opinion given in 1986 by members of the Rembrandt Research Project and a first version of this entry) that the work is not only not by Rembrandt, but painted at a considerably later date. 'The palette alone,' says Liedtke, 'takes one (so to speak) to the other side of De Gelder (d. 1727) from Rembrandt, while the fluid technique, like this very type of fancy portrait, seems directly of the eighteenth century and anticipatory of Fragonard's *portraits de fantaisie*'.[7]

The execution is, indeed, different in almost every respect from what we regard as characteristic of Rembrandt's manner in the 1650s. It is noticeable that the larger passages with little detail, such as the cloak, the doublet and the background, are painted locally so thinly that the grey ground frequently shows through. In his condition report, Buck referred in this connection to 'thin semi-transparent washes' and warned 'this tone must not be misread as general abrasion' (see note 3). The impression of an almost watercolour-like treatment predominates in the overall look of the painting. This way of working is not typical of Rembrandt, who used transparent passages in his paintings only locally. In this portrait impasto is barely used, except in the lit wrist and the white cuff, and thickly applied paint is a rarity. In passages, which in a work by Rembrandt would show a solid paint layer, the brushstrokes are in general streaky, and in the lit flesh areas and eyebrows they are, as Liedtke puts it, 'feathery' (see note 2). The thinly applied, as it were hatched, dark strokes partly overlap the light passages, whereas with Rembrandt the light passages usually overlap the dark ones. The general appearance of the paint layer, while seemingly overcleaned at first sight, on closer inspection gives an impression of 'freshness', which is strengthened by the unusually fine craquelure.

The colour scheme is characterised by a range of mixtures in various shades which are used for careful modelling in the lit passages. While the colours seem restrained to a simple harmony of brown, grey and red, curious dissonants are noticeable. These are caused above all by clashing reds and reddish browns. Thus, the lower lip is done predominantly in a brick-red hue verging on orange to which spots of carmine have been added. A comparable dissonance in reds can also be seen in the cloak, which is thinly brushed in a brown and orange-like red with some black, and where along the fold of the arm diagonal strokes of carmine clash with the main colours. The lit hand also displays a range of poorly harmonising, warm hues: the fingers in shadow, painted in thin brown tones over the grey ground, are given contours in rather thicker brown and carmine. At the fingernails there are thick orange-red touches, while in the shadows of the palm of the hand an unusual combination of dark browns and carmine is used. In Rembrandt's autograph works such accumulations of disharmonies in the shades of red are not found, and the same could be said of other combinations in this painting: for instance, where the light strikes the sitter's right shoulder, an olive-coloured, greenish yellow partly overlies a warm, orange-brown. Equally, in addition to the expected greyish brown, a quite pronounced orange-like light brown is found in the shaded forehead, where the paint has been extremely thinly applied.

Fig. 6. Rembrandt, *Girl leaning on a windowsill*, canvas 81.6 x 66 cm (Br. 368). London, Dulwich Picture Gallery



Fig. 7. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1654, canvas 72 x 58.5 cm. Kassel, Staatliche Museen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (IV 9)



The construction and execution of the forms also show unusual deviations from what may be regarded as typical of Rembrandt's method of working. Apart from being placed remarkably far apart and out of alignment, the eyes differ markedly in their execution. The sitter's right eye, set in a dark flesh colour, is kept extremely vague. The shape of his left eye is indicated by streaks of carmine and further modelled with a few vague strokes in brown. The use of (carmine-coloured) lines and spots is seen in the design of the whole head and hand passage. In Rembrandt's works the use of pictorial means in such parts is a good deal more robust, with less hesitancy and diffidence.

Besides the curious painting technique and completely uncharacteristic colour scheme, there is a further argument in favour of an origin outside Rembrandt's circle, namely the way in which the canvas and ground show up in the X-radiograph. In the works of Rembrandt and his circle, the contrast in radioabsorbency between the imprint of the canvas in the ground and the ground itself is not normally very sharp. In those paintings, brushstrokes containing lead white stand out clearly against the pattern of the canvas. With this painting, the ground shows up so strongly that the brushstrokes with which the hand and the shirt collar are painted appear to be barely radioabsorbent. The explanation for this must be sought in a technical procedure for preparing the canvas which differed from the 17th-century Dutch method. Dutch recipes of the time always refer to sizing the canvas first, after which it should be rubbed with a pumice stone while still wet or flattened in another way so that its texture would become somewhat closed as a result of the fibres and threads sticking together (Vol. II, pp. 17-20, esp. notes 19 and 37). In this case the canvas was evidently not treated in this way, so that the ground was able to penetrate deeper into the threads, thus producing a strong contrast in the X-ray image.

This heightened contrast may also have been due in part to the composition of the ground. It contains an unusually large amount of lead white (see *Ground*). Another anomaly is that the ground appears to have been applied in such a way that the weave texture remained visible in relief. Examinations of paintings and analyses of recipes suggest that 17th-century Dutch canvases were so primed that an even surface was created (Vol. II, p. 20, esp. note 37); it is usually only through ageing that the texture of the canvas becomes (locally) visible. In the case of this painting the texture seems to have been prominent from the first.

Under *Signature* the arguments were presented for believing that the signature <*Rembrandt. f. 1650.*> must have been added by the painter of the work. If one accepts that the work indeed cannot be by Rembrandt, as argued above, this would mean that it must be seen as a deliberate forgery rather than as a pastiche.

In a letter to Liedtke of 10 September 1986, Bruyn pointed out that there is a clear relationship between this painting and the *Girl leaning on a windowsill* at Dulwich College (Br. 368; fig. 6). Trompe l'oeil figures at a window or doorway are usually depicted frontally or slightly *en trois quarts* and leaning on a sill or another support that is generally parallel to the picture plane (cf. III A 131, A

144, A 145, Br. 116, Br. 367, Br. 377, Br. 378, Sumowski *Gemälde* I, nos. 134, 136, 161, 162). The placing of the girl and the structure on which she rests *en trois quarts* in relation to the picture plane is an exception to the rule – and it is precisely in this respect that the two paintings closely correspond.

Needless to say, the adoption or repetition of a motif or a whole composition does not necessarily make a work a pastiche or a forgery. Rembrandt's own use of older works, which should be seen in the context of 'emulatio', is a case in point. Examples of pupils who took compositions by Rembrandt as the basis for their own paintings, probably following this line of thought, are numerous. The relationship between this painting and the *Girl leaning on a windowsill* in Dulwich, however, suggests a forgery rather than a case of borrowing. Comparison with the *Girl* reveals a number of correspondences that are so striking that they must reflect slavish imitation rather than just borrowing. Apart from the literal adoption of the *en trois quarts* placing of the surrounding structure already mentioned, there are other similarities in the design and execution of certain details of the setting; compare, for example, the way in which the windowsill connects to the rear wall. The painter of the work in Cincinnati evidently also studied the background of the *Girl leaning on a windowsill* closely, but interpreted it in a different way. He adopted the uneven surface of weathered plaster to the left of the girl without clarifying the architextural situation.

The execution of the lit plaster, for example, makes one suspect that the painter of the Cincinnati work had seen the original of the *Girl leaning on a windowsill*. He could not have copied an element of that kind from one of the graphic reproductions of the *Girl*. They show too little detail for that. Moreover, these prints are of a later date than the painting in Cincinnati, as shown by the occurrence in the paint of azurite, which ceased to be used around 1720 (see *Paint layer*).

There is one more element which strongly suggests that the painter knew the original work now in Dulwich. It may also offer a possible explanation for the technical and stylistic peculiarities in the use of thin, semi-transparent washes in the costume of the man in the Cincinnati work. This is the remarkable similarity in execution and colour scheme between his cloak and the not yet adequately explained repoussoir to the right of the *Girl leaning on a windowsill*. The repoussoir consists of a shape resembling a stone block resting on another topped by a light grey form which cannot be interpreted with confidence. The execution of both 'blocks' in a rather streaky red over grey (the choice of red must be seen as a continuation of Rembrandt's habit from 1625 of giving repoussoirs a reddish colour) is, as it were, 'sampled' in the Cincinnati work in the painting of the cloak and, in fact, of the whole costume. Another curious similarity is that what appears to be a gloved left hand in the Cincinnati painting closely resembles in form and colour the grey shape on the blocks that was difficult to interpret in the *Girl leaning on a windowsill*. There are other such quotations: the treatment of the shaded dark-red fingertips of the *Girl leaning on a windowsill* recurs in the fingertips of the man; the conspicuously gleaming highlight on the girl's nose (which is, incidentally, unusual for Rembrandt) is also taken over by the painter of the work in Cincinnati.

Roscam Abbing's research revealed that it is extremely likely that Roger de Piles bought the *Girl leaning on a windowsill* in Amsterdam in 1693 and took it to Paris.[8] This would make it the painting which, as 'La Servante de Rembrant', was to play a significant role in his work on art theory. Its subsequent popularity is reflected in the scale on which it was copied and cited, first in France and then in England, where it became part of a collection in London, most probably in 1776. The popularity of the *Girl leaning on a windowsill* might explain why the painter of the present work adopted its concept. Given the vicissitudes of the Dulwich *Girl*, it seems possible that the Cincinnati painting might have been made in either England or France. The occurrence of azurite, as described under *Paint layer*, is an important argument, however, for dating the work to the early 18th (or even late 17th) century and for locating its origins in whichever country the *Girl* was in at that time. That could be France if the work dates from after 1693. The fact that the Cincinnati painting is first encountered in France at the Marivaux auction in Paris (1806) could be seen as an argument, though not a very strong one, for a French origin. Another possibility, however, is the Netherlands. After all, to put together this kind of imitation other ingredients were required, namely the head of Rembrandt and an appropriate costume.[9] The curious broad, ruffled cap is seen in this form in only two self-portraits, the *Large self-portrait* in Vienna (IV 8) and the Kassel *Self-portrait* of 1654 (IV 9; fig. 7). The latter provides another connection with the Cincinnati painting: in the Kassel work too – and only there – a white shirt collar lies over the collar of the outer garment. The similarities in the course of the contours of both caps, above all, raise the question whether the imitator based his work besides the *Girl leaning on a windowsill* also on the Kassel *Self-portrait* (or a similar lost self-portrait). If he did use the Kassel painting, he must have seen it in the Netherlands, because it did not leave the Netherlands until 1750 and prints of it were not in circulation until the end of the 18th century. If the painter of the Cincinnati work also saw the Dulwich *Girl* in the Netherlands, it must have been before March 1693. This could imply that the Cincinnati painting was produced even earlier than 1693 and certainly not 'on the other side of De Gelder'.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 263.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

None.

5. Copies

None.

6. Provenance

– According to Hofstede de Groot (see note 5) and Liedtke (see note 2): Coll. Marivaux, sale Paris 27 January – 3 February 1806 (Lugt 7020). Not listed in sale's catalogue - unless it is no. 84: 'Un Homme vu à mi-corps, coëffé d'une Toque, Étude signée Rembrandt, 1640.T[oile].'
–* Listed in sale [Marivaux], Paris 10-11 June 1806 (Lugt 7119), no. 40: 'Rembrandt Van Ryn, 1650, Né près de Leyde en 1616, mort à Amsterdam en 1674. Le propre portrait de ce grand peintre, vu à mi-corps et de grandeur naturelle sur l'appui d'une croisée, la tête appuyée sur le poignet de son bras droit, et couverte d'une toque noire: il est vêtu d'un habit brun à manches crevées, le bras gauche couvert de son manteau avec collet, et poignet de chemise blanche. Ce portrait, d'un grand effet, n'est éclairé que sur le bas du visage et sur le poignet; le reste est d'une demi-teinte claire et transparente; sa date prouve qu'il était dans sa plus grande force. L'estime éclatante que l'on porte aux ouvrages de ce grand peintre, ne nous laisse aucun doute sur l'empressement que l'on mettra à se procurer celui ci. Haut. 30 pouces, largeur 20 p. [= 81 x 54 (sic!) cm], T.[oile]'.
– Coll. Count F.W. Rostopchin, Moscow, sale London 1844, (to P. Norton, according to Hofstede de Groot (see note 5); not in Lugt).
– Sold by Norton to Thomas Gurle, after 1854; sale London (Christie's), 24 May 1862, no. 102: 'Rembrandt. Portrait of the artist in a contemplative attitude, with his head reclining on his hand, and his elbow resting on a window-sill. His dress consists of a brown habit with slashed sleeves, and a mantle, the latter of which covers his left arm. Part of the face and the hand are illumined, and the rest is in half-tone. From the Collection of the Count Rostopchin, of Moscow' (to J. Smith for £ 152.5).
– Sir John Poynder Dickson-Poynder, Lord Islington (1866-1936), Rushbrook Hall, near Bury St. Edmunds, and 20 Portman Square (Home House), London (according to Knoedler's).
– Nils B. Hersloff, West Orange, NJ, before 1922-34.
– Dealer M. Knoedler and Co., New York, in 1934.
– Mr and Mrs William Semple, Cincinnati, in 1934.
– Louise Taft Semple bequest, 1962.

NOTES

1. Gerson 301.
2. W. Liedtke, 'Seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings', in: Museum Cat. *The Taft Museum. European and American paintings*, New York 1995, pp. 157-159.
3. R.D. Buck, Report on Condition, unpublished document from the Intermuseum Laboratory, Oberlin, Ohio, dated 9 October 1963.
4. The chemical clements present were identified by examining the cross-sections with SEM-EDX.
5. C. Hofstede de Groot, *Die holländische Kritik der jetzigen Rembrandt-Forschung und neuest wiedergefundene Rembrandt-bilder*, Stuttgart 1922, pp. 43-48. Hofstede de Groot had, however, included it in his 1915 book on Rembrandt (HdG 593b).
6. Br. 41.
7. Liedtke, op. cit.[2], p. 158.
8. M. Roscam Abbing, 'De trompe-l'oeil-anekdote over Rembrandts dienstmeisje', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 92/2, pp. 2-22. M. Roscam Abbing, *Rembrant toont sijn konst. Bijdragen over Rembrandt-documenten uit de periode 1648-1756*, Leiden 1999, p. 101 ff.
9. As regards the costume, there are similarities to a *Self-portrait* by Bol in the Museo Thyssen Bornemisza in Madrid (Sumowski *Gemälde* I, no. 136), e.g. the slashed sleeve of the doublet with an edge of white from the shirt at the wrist and the reddish brown cloak draped over the arm on the right from which protrudes a gloved hand that rests on a windowsill. Furthermore, the figure in this painting, which until recently bore a false Rembrandt signature, also leans his arm on a windowsill and rests his head on his hand.

IV 8 Large self-portrait

1652

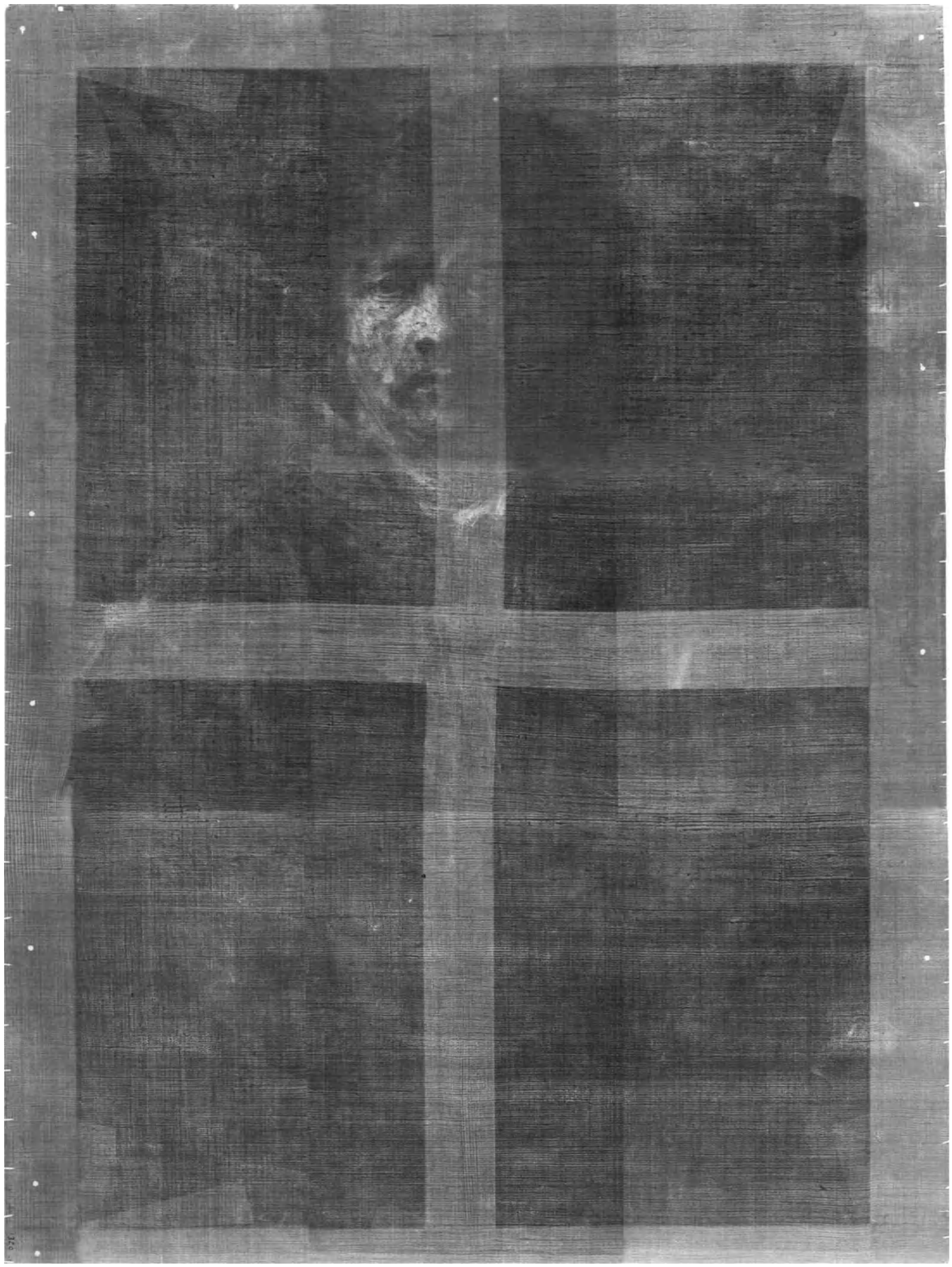
VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM, INV. NO. 411

HDG 580; BR. 42; BAUCH 322; GERSON 308; TÜMPEL 169

Fig. 1. Canvas 112.1 x 81 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 55



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

The *Self-portrait* in Vienna under consideration referred to hereafter as the *Large self-portrait* to distinguish it from the two other Rembrandt self-portraits in Vienna marks the beginning of what is usually referred to as Rembrandt's late style. In what follows we shall be mainly concerned with analysing the pictorial means deployed, the painting's iconography and its original size (see *2. Comments*).

Rembrandt stands with his hands at his waist, the left one resting on his hip, the right one with the thumb hooked behind a sash which holds a brown gown together. The clothing is noticeably plain. Under the gown, which has half-length sleeves with short slits, he wears a black doublet with long sleeves and a standing collar affording a glimpse of a white shirt. On his head he has a black cap.

Working conditions

Examined on 29 May 1970 (B.H., E.v.d.W.) and on 4 March 1989 (E.v.d.W.). Out of the frame, in good daylight, with the aid of UV light, a stereomicroscope, infrared reflectography and nine X-ray films covering practically the whole surface. A yellowed varnish layer somewhat affects examination.

Support

Canvas, lined, 112.1 x 81 cm. A single piece. On all four sides an app. 1.8 cm edge of the original canvas has been folded over the stretcher. The folded-over edges bear paint remains that correspond in colour to that of the painted image. On the folded-over right edge there appear to be remnants of the selvedge.

Along the bottom, top and right edges very faint cusping can be seen which cannot be measured with any precision. It extends into the canvas app. 7 cm at the bottom, app. 6.5 cm at the top and app. 9 cm on the right. Along the left edge a distortion of the fabric is visible only in the top corner. The fact that the signature at the bottom left is incomplete – apart from the date only the last two letters of the name are visible – leads to the conclusion that the canvas was cut down on the left. This also explains the missing elbow of the arm on the left. Since on the right the selvedge of the canvas still seems to be present, no more can be missing on that side than the app. 1.8 cm of the folded edge. Given the shallowness of the cusping at top and bottom, strips could also be missing there (for a discussion of the change of format, see *2. Comments*).

Thread count: 12.8 vertical threads/cm (12 - 13.5), 9.9 horizontal threads/cm (9.5 - 11). The horizontal threads show many short and some longer slubs. The vertical threads are much more regular in thickness. This difference in the nature of the threads indicates that the warp runs vertically; which would be confirmed by the presence of remnants of the selvage to the right.

Ground

A brownish grey ground is visible in the thinly painted parts of the cap and under the sash. The cross-section of a paint sample taken from the right folded edge shows a double ground with the bottom layer consisting mainly of red ochre with some umber and the top layer of a mixture of lead white, umber and a little black (see *Table of Grounds* III, pp. 666-667).

Paint layer

Condition: The state of the paint layer is good. There are a few insignificant old retouchings in the shadowed half of the face, the lower sleeve and the background.

Craquelure: An irregular pattern of cracks usual for a 17th-century painting on canvas; it is fairly pronounced in the lit part of the face, where the paint is applied slightly more thickly. For a description and an analysis of the painting technique, see *2. Comments*.

Radiography

The X-ray image largely corresponds to what the paint surface leads one to expect: only the lit part of the head and the white shirt collar show up clearly. This collar, in which scratchmarks are seen, appears to have had a slightly different shape on the right. The dark reserve for the body is lower on the left than the shoulder outline as now painted; the paint used to extend the shoulder hardly shows up except for a vigorously curved stroke.

Signature

At the bottom left in black in the wet paint: <*dt.f.1652*> (fig. 3).

2. Comments

Even more than other late works by Rembrandt, this painting can be described as a collection of marks and strokes. Yet there are few paintings in which the figure depicted has such a miraculous presence. Accordingly, here the brushwork will be analysed explicitly in relation to the illusion achieved. This will inevitably involve some speculation about the painter's intentions and the way in which he wanted to manipulate the gaze of the beholder.

The hands resting on the hips and the clothing are suggested with a deliberate vagueness and sharp contrasts and clear forms seem to have been avoided here with the apparent aim of drawing the viewer's attention to the strongly lit face, and ultimately to the eyes. It is striking that the gleam and transparency of the eye on the lit side of the face are so powerfully evoked that this eye becomes the centre, as it were, of the painting. The means by which this effect is achieved are surprisingly simple. The suggestion that the eye shines brightly arises through a small, clear white catchlight placed on, and partly beside, a subdued highlight applied earlier. This earlier highlight has its pendant, also subdued, in the other eye. The difference in tonal value between the highlights in both eyes enhances the impression that the eye on the right is further from the light source. The remarkably

Fig. 3. Detail with signature (slightly reduced)



Fig. 4. Pupil of Rembrandt, *Rembrandt as dressed in his studio*, 1652 or later, pen and bistre, 20.3 x 13.4 cm (Ben. 1171). Amsterdam, Museum Het Rembrandthuis



strong suggestion of transparency in the eye on the left is due to the presence of a firm, light grey touch at the iris. The abrupt top edge of that touch then creates the illusion of a cast shadow of the eyelid falling onto the upper part of the iris. The powerful illumination of the face is also suggested by the heavily pronounced shadow of the frown, the pronounced cast shadows of the nose, of the moustache drooping at the corners of the mouth, of the little tuft of hair on the lower lip, and of the chin on the neck. Through the reddish paint used for the underside of the lit nostril the impression is created that the light falls through the nostril, making it glow slightly.

Despite the precision suggested by the above description, the head seems to have been executed almost casually. The highlights are formed by quite coarse brushstrokes with a rugged impasto which strengthens the light effect. The transitions to shadows are sometimes fluent and in places abrupt, accentuating the autonomy of the brushwork. Thin yellow and pink glazes lie over the impastoed paint structure in various passages. The colour scheme of the head reveals great refinement in the lit parts in the interplay of warmer and cooler shades and the effective use of a reddish palette in the half of the face further from the light source, the forehead in shadow and the neck.

A grey underpainting lies exposed in the shadows in and around the left eye and in the vertical furrow above the nose, and in the cast shadows under the nose, next to the tuft of hair on the lower lip and to the left of the corner of the mouth. Microscopic examination of the paint surface established that this layer was not the same as the ground. The combination of pigment grains seen in the locally exposed ground differs significantly from that in the underlying grey layer, probably a local imprimatura in the head.[1]

As said, the clothing and hands are treated with extreme freedom. An almost chaotic interplay of patches, rough lines and 'bare' zones (produced by wiping paint away) depicts the pleated fabric of the gown. The use of the technique of wiping off wet paint to achieve a certain tone with an open texture is especially noticeable in this painting and is paralleled by the use of a similar method in some of Rembrandt's wash drawings from the same period, such as *Minerva in her study* (Ben. 914), dated 1652, and *Rembrandt's studio with a model* (Ben. 1161). In the gown otherwise there are large, loose strokes in various warmer and cooler hues of brown, with occasional loose dark brown strokes to indicate pleats. At the top edge of the shoulder on the left there is a band of more thickly applied paint in a somewhat lighter tint which ends in a sweeping stroke. As the X-ray image shows, this band served to extend the shoulder over the already painted background. The grey passages in the cap, most of which is an even black, were also the result of wiping away black paint locally so that the underlying layer became partly visible. On the right of the cap, on the other hand, the dark grey has been added through a few strokes and touches. In the sleeves of the doublet painted in black and dark grey, the lighter folds have also been suggested by locally removing the wet black paint. Where the paint has been wiped off, the canvas texture becomes an important factor, contributing to the atmospheric effect of the work. In the shirt collar, done with white, light grey and sometimes yellowish strokes, scratchmarks clarify the structure on both left and right.

The combination of the extremely assured, though summary, treatment of the relevant details in the face and of some passages in the clothes with the equally extreme casualness in the handling of other parts of the work may be regarded as characteristic of Rembrandt's approach to painting in the late period. One has the feeling that work has stopped at a point where parts of the painting are still at a preparatory stage (compare for example IV 18).[2]

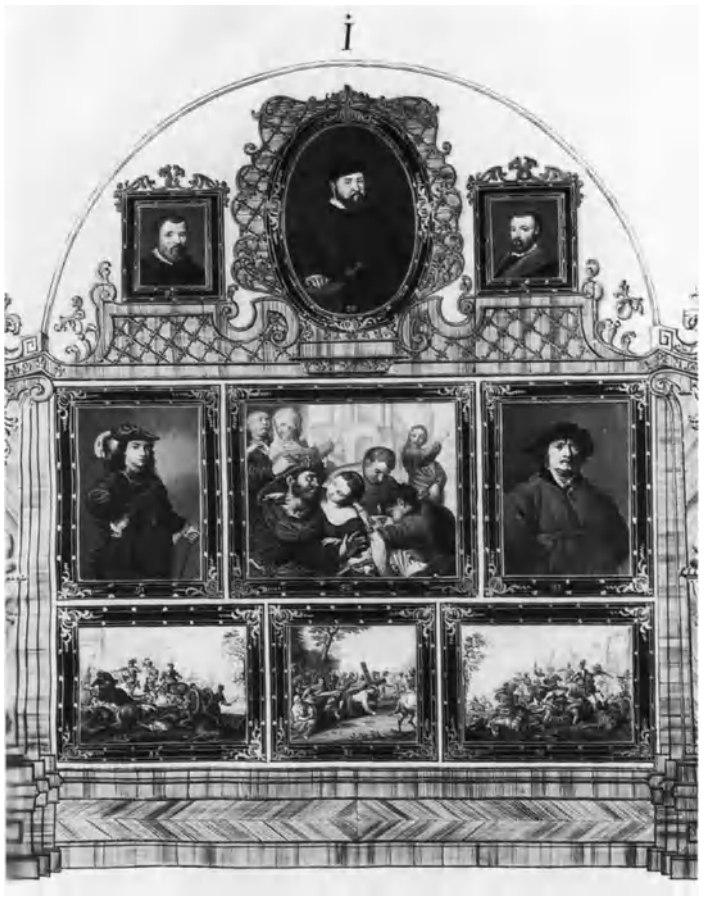
It has long been noted that the *Large self-portrait* bears a

striking resemblance in pose and dress to a drawing in the Museum Het Rembrandthuis in Amsterdam (Ben. 1171; fig. 4). Only the headdress and the positioning of the figure in the picture plane are different. The obvious question is what is the nature of the connection between drawing and painting. Bauch has suggested that the drawing should be seen as a study for the painting.[3] Others believe on stylistic grounds that the drawing dates from around 1655, or a few years after the painting, and so cannot be directly linked to it.[4] As far as we know Rembrandt made very little use of preparatory sketches for the whole of a composition, thus there is only a small chance that this is a preliminary study, the more so because it is most unlikely that a drawn study would be needed for a self-portrait. Moreover, the drawing is more elaborate than those which can be linked to the preparatory stages of paintings or etchings.[5] It was suggested on p. 152 of this volume that the drawing is a copy after the painting discussed here, with the head and hat borrowed from the etched *Self-portrait drawing at a window* from 1648 (B. 22; see figs. 101-103).

Whatever its relation to the painting, the drawing raises the question whether Rembrandt originally depicted himself full-length in the Vienna *Large self-portrait*. However, the presence of cusping along the bottom edge of the canvas rules out this possibility. From other evidence it is clear that the work no longer has its original format. As explained in *Support*, it must have been substantially trimmed along the left edge; the figure would have stood more in the centre. We are virtually certain about the reason for this alteration to the format: the painting had to fit into the Procrustean bed of a strictly symmetrical arrangement, whose lay-out survives in a painted catalogue of 1720. The arrangement at that time of the imperial collection in Vienna was recorded by Ferdinand Storffer (*c.* 1694-1771) in miniatures in opaque water colour of the separate wall arrangements (fig. 5). In the case of the *Large self-portrait*, the lay-out demanded that it should be the same height as a large panel (114 x 137 cm) by Jan Sanders van Hemessen[6] and that it should act as a pendant to – and so had to be made the same width as – a painting by Reynier van Gherwen (113 x 81 cm)[7]. In view of these alterations and of the faintness of the cusping found along the top and bottom edges (for the right side, see *Support*), it is not unlikely that a little of the canvas is missing on those sides too.

Though the drawing in the Museum Het Rembrandthuis in Amsterdam cannot be seen as documenting the original appearance of the *Large self-portrait*, it can contribute to our understanding of the painting in another respect. An inscription later added to the drawing and not in Rembrandt's handwriting may give us a key to the iconographic interpretation of both works. A narrow strip of paper was glued beneath the drawing with the words 'getekent door Rembrant van Rhijn naer sijn selves / sooals hij in sijn schilderkamer gekleet was' (drawn by Rembrant van Rhijn after himself / as he was dressed in his studio). On the mount to which the drawing and the strip of paper are attached there is also a free translation in French of the Dutch inscription. The first question to be answered is that of the dating of the inscription, since the reliability of the information given partly depends on this. In 1906 Hofstede de Groot stated, without supplying any arguments, that the Dutch text was added by Cornelis Ploos van Amstel (1726-1798).[8] This suggestion was accepted by among others Benesch, who, evidently on the basis of Hofstede de Groot's assertion, assumed that the drawing had once been in the collection of Ploos van Amstel. Frerichs has demonstrated, however, that it was never in Ploos van Amstel's collection, but in that of Pierre Crozat (1665-1740), which was auctioned in 1741. The catalogue of Crozat's collection was compiled by P.J. Mariette (1694-1774), and the French translation on the drawing's mount was identified as being in his handwriting. This means that the Dutch inscription must be earlier than 1741, and cannot thus have been added by Ploos van Amstel. Frerichs furthermore suggested that the drawing was acquired by Roger de Piles (1635-1709) prior to his imprisonment in the Republic in 1693, and that he subsequently sold it to Crozat. In the Crozat catalogue Mariette says that the great majority of Rembrandt drawings come from the collection of De Piles, who is supposed to have acquired them in the Netherlands. Given that the type of handwriting of the Dutch inscription does not rule out a date towards the end of the 17th century, it could have been added before 1693.[9] The information it gives is therefore more valuable for the interpretation of the drawing and the painting than it would have been if it dated from the time of Ploos van Amstel, close to a century later.

Fig. 5. Copy 2. F. Storffer, *Wall arrangement of the paintings in the Kaiserliche Bilder Gallerie*, Vienna, 1720



For Chapman, Rembrandt's pose and the suggestion that he portrayed himself in working clothes revealed an 'aggressive informality' which 'must have seemed shocking at the time'.[10] Raupp gave another interpretation, however, which accords well with the picture now emerging ever more clearly of Rembrandt as an artist who was in many respects very aware of his great predecessors.[11] This interpretation is also more in line with the growing awareness that in his self-portraits and depictions of his studio Rembrandt was making statements about the theory of art (discussed in a broader framework in Chapter II). In this connection Raupp pointed to a text of 1590 by the Milan artist and theorist Lomazzo in which he recounts how Albrecht Dürer walked through the city in the clothes in which he painted. According to Lomazzo, the painter Bramantino did the same, with a brush tucked behind his ear. Despite this expression of humility and – at the same time – respect for the art of painting, they continued to be greatly prized by their highly placed admirers, said Lomazzo. Raupp's conclusion as to the interpretation of Rembrandt's late self-portraits in working clothes is: 'Überträgt man dies (...) auf Rembrandts späte Selbstbildnisse, so bedeutet dies, dass Rembrandt sich durch die Demonstration seiner Bescheidenheit und Achtung vor der Würde der Kunst nicht nur eine eigene besondere Würde zuerkannt hat, sondern dass er auch mit berühmten Künstlern der Vergangenheit wie Dürer in *aemulatio* getreten ist'. To be sure, Raupp was hesitant to draw a direct link between Lomazzo's text and Rembrandt's self-portraits, as there is reason to believe that Rembrandt could not have known that text. However, Raupp left open the possibility that both Lomazzo and Rembrandt could have been basing themselves on oral tradition. He evidently did not know that Lomazzo's book is listed in the 1706 inventory of Jan Six's library (see p. 59). One cannot rule out the possibility that Rembrandt knew the text as a result of his connections with Jan Six.

There is, however, one complication: working clothes intended and made as such did not exist in the 17th century. How then are working clothes to be recognised in a painting, either today or by contemporaries at the time? As explained by De Winkel in Chapter II, painters could portray themselves in formal, fashionable dress, as Rembrandt did, for instance, in the Glasgow *Self-portrait* (II A 58). They could also show themselves in a historicising costume, usually derived from 16th-century fashion, as Rembrandt did for example in the London *Self-portrait* of 1640 (III A 139). Painters could also depict themselves in dress that had been out of fashion for some time, normal but worn-out clothing that had been reduced to the level of working clothes. An example is Pieter Codde's *Studio scene* in Stuttgart, which shows the painter wearing an old-fashioned doublet in the company of visitors to the studio dressed according to the latest fashion (see Chapter II fig. 10). In other cases painters depicted themselves in comfortable indoor clothes, which might or might not be old-fashioned, like the tabard in Rembrandt's *The Artist in his studio* in Boston (I A 18). For this reason other tabards, as in the work under discussion and the drawing in the Rembrandthuis, can be seen as working clothes. The form of the coats worn by Cornelis de Bisschop and Nicolaes Maes in their self-portraits of 1668 and 1685 respectively closely resembles that of the gown in the *Large self-portrait* (see Chapter II).

The Vienna painting thus turns out to belong to a specific category of self-portraits. We can accordingly assume that Rembrandt's contemporaries would have regarded the *Large self-portrait* as showing Rembrandt in working clothes, in agreement with the inscription of the Amsterdam drawing, and that they probably also understood the connotations, as suggested by Raupp, of this manner of self-representation. The same may apply to the implication, also suggested by Raupp, of the furrow in Rembrandt's forehead. Raupp linked this to the idea which had been gaining ground since the 16th century that the painter was not just a craftsman but someone who in the first place was intellectually engaged and so deserved to be counted among the practitioners of the Artes Liberales.[12]

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, pp. 263-266.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

1. Von Sandrart contains a portrait bust of Rembrandt engraved by Philipp Kilian (Augsburg 1628 - 1693) after a prelimary drawing by Von Sandrart which is probably based on the *Large self-portrait* (see *5. Copies*, 1).[13]
2. Etching by Anton Joseph von Prenner (Wallerstein 1683 - Vienna 1761) with inscription: *Alt. 40 Lat. 28 unc.* [= 105.2 x 73.6 cm] – *Rembrand pinx.* – *v. Prenner incidit* (from Theatrum artis pictoriae; fig. 6). Reproduces the painting in the same direction as the original, albeit proportionally somewhat narrower on both sides. Moreover, the print shows details that are not to be seen in the painting itself. Thus the slightly lighter band along the shoulder contour to the left in the painting is interpreted by the printmaker as a loose strip ending in a tassel at the set in of the sleeve. Other deviations from the original include a standing collar on the doublet trimmed with ribbon and an edge of fur along the half-length sleeve on the left, just below the elbow. Such details can be regarded as liberties that the etcher allowed himself. The print shows similar liberties in the facial features.
3. Engraving by Joseph (II) Eissner (Vienna 1788 - 1861) with the inscription: *Gez. von S.v.Perger.* – *Gest. von J.Eissner / Bildniss Rembrandt's.* Reproduces the painting in the same direction.

5. Copies

1. Drawing by Joachim von Sandrart, brown chalk. München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex iconographicus 366, Folio 35, no. 95 (fig. 7).[14] An inscription has been added beneath the drawing: 'renbrant Mahl: zu Amsterdam / OO'. This drawing was made by Sandrart as a model for the engraver Philipp Kilian, who made most of the prints of artists' portraits for Sandrart's *Teutsche Academie der Bau-, Bild-, und Mahlerey-Künste....* Sandrart drew studies for several of these artists' portraits. The drawing differs at several points from the *Large self-portrait.* The

Fig. 6. Etching by A. J. von Prenner, 1728



Fig. 7. Copy 1. Joachim von Sandrart, brown chalk. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek



major difference is that in the drawing Rembrandt wears a fur hat rather than a cap.[15] In a description of the painting by Von Mechel over a hundred years later Rembrandt also has a 'Pelzmütze' (see *6. Provenance*). The button with which the tabard is closed in Sandrart's drawing is not seen in the painting. In Storffer's miniature in the 1720 catalogue of the imperial collection in Vienna a button is, however, shown (see *5. Copies, 2*, fig. 5 and *6. Provenance*), just as in the print by Von Prenner. Despite these differences, in the frontal position of the head the drawing closely resembles the *Large self-portrait*. In the physiognomy, too, such as the marked, asymmetrically placed furrow above the nose, the right contour line of the face, the rendering of the folds at the chin and the lit patch of the tuft of hair on the chin, the drawing and the *Large self-portrait* correspond so closely that it is very probable that the drawing is based on the painting. Perhaps in that case the hat may be viewed as a liberty taken by the draughtsman. Several other similar portrait drawings by Sandrart also vary occasionally from their models.[16]

The drawing of Rembrandt's portrait must be dated before 1675, the year in which Sandrart's book appeared.

2. The *Large self-portrait* is included in a depiction in opaque watercolour by F. Storffer (Neufeld *c.* 1694 - Vienna 1771) of the wall arrangement of the paintings (fig. 5) (see also *2. Comments* and *6. Provenance*).

3. Copper 23 x 16.2 cm, signed <*PRem:f. 1650* or *2*>; Wallace Collection, London. The copy faithfully reproduces the head, but shows the body only to chest height. The copy was apparently already listed in 1719 in the 'Gemälde und Bilderschatz' in Pommersfelden: 'in dem kleinen Cabinet neben Ihre Churfürstlichen Gnaden, Retirade: no. 45 Ein/in gleicher Grösse/mit eigener hand gemahltes Contrefait, vom Rennbrand. Hoch. 7 Zoll, Breit. 5 Zoll [= app. 17.7 x 12.7 cm] (Nuremberg feet)'.[17] Unlike in the original, where as a result of the trimming on the left the figure is placed to the left of the central axis of the picture plane, in the copy the figure is to the right of the central axis; at the top more of the background is visible. The position of the figure in the picture plane and the fact that the copy is already mentioned in 1719 allow the conclusion that the copy was made before the original was cut down to its present format.

4. Canvas 79 x 64 cm; Coll. Prince of Liechtenstein, Vaduz.[18] Bust with a chain around the neck.

The following copies (photographs of which are at the Netherlands Institute for Art History, RKD in The Hague) provide no additional information about the original.

5. Coll. Marquis de Carcano. The figure is shown nearly to the waist, without the hands resting on the hips. He has a different kind of headdress and all sorts of details in the clothing are handled differently.

6. Canvas 75 x 63 cm, Coll. J.P. Sypkens, Toronto/ Groningen. The figure is shown to slightly below the chest.

7. Canvas 67.5 x 57 cm, dealer Wieth, Amsterdam (1951). Bust.

6. Provenance

– Collection Emperor Charles VI (1685 - 1740). Described in the *Bildinventar des Neu eingerichtes Inventarium der Kayl. Bilder Gallerie*

in der Stallburg welches nach denen Numeris und Massstab ordiniret und von Ferdinand à Storffer gemahlen worden, Vol. 1, 1720 (MS. Vienna) under no. 93: 'Des Reinbrand Contrafait von ihme selbst gemahlt' and depicted by Ferdinand Storffer in a painted miniature of the wall arrangement (see *5. Copies* 2, fig. 5).
– Described by Christian von Mechel in *Verzeichnis der Gemälde der kaiserlich königlichen Bilder Gallerie in Wien (...)*, Vienna 1783, p. 89, under no. 21: 'Von Rimbrandt. Sein eigenes Portrait, in welchem sich Rimbrandt in besten Jahren mit einer Pelzmütze auf dem Kopf in einem dunkelbraunen Pelzrock schilderte, um den Leib mit einer Binde gegürtet, in welcher er beyde Hände stecken hat. Auf Holz (sic). 3 Fuss 6 Zoll hoch, 2 Fuss 6 Zoll breit [= 110.6 x 79 cm, Vienna foot, measured in the frame]. Ein Kniestück. Lebensgrösse'.

NOTES

1. This is also seen in the *Portrait of Jacob Trip* in London (Br. 314); see: exhib. cat. *Art in the making*, 1988/89, p. 122; Van de Wetering 1997, Chapter VIII, pp. 211-215.
2. See also Van de Wetering 1997, Chapter VIII, pp. 203-211.
3. Bauch 1966, 322.
4. See e.g. Ben. 1171. J.P. Filedt Kok, *Rembrandt. Etchings and drawings in the Rembrandt house*, Maarssen 1972, cat. no. 1.
5. P. Schatborn, 'Tekeningen van Rembrandt in verband met zijn etsen', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis*, 1986/1-2, pp. 1-38; see also M. Royalton-Kisch, 'The role of drawings in Rembrandt's printmaking', in: E. Hinterding e.a. *Rembrandt the printmaker*, exhib. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum/London, The British Museum, 2000/2001, pp. 64-81.
6. Jan Sanders van Hemessen, *The calling of Matthew*, *c.* 1548, panel 114 x 137 cm; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 961.
7. Reynier van Gherwen, *Young man with gorget and cap with feather*, panel 113 x 81 cm; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 405. Sumowski *Gemälde* II, no. 821. This painting signed `*Rv Gherw*' was also regarded as a work by Rembrandt at the time. In the *Neu eingerichtes Inventarium* (...), Vol. 1, 1720 (see *6. Provenance*) it is described under no. 91 as 'Ein Junges Mannes Portrait von Reinbrand'.
8. C. Hofstede de Groot, *Die Handzeichnungen Rembrandts. Versuch eines beschreibenden und kritichen Katalogs*, Haarlem 1906, p. 227, no. 994.
9. L.C.J. Frerichs, 'Nieuw licht op een oud opschrift', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 24 (1970), pp. 35-44. According to Filedt Kok, op. cit.[4], the handwriting can be dated to the 18th century. Jaap van der Veen, however, dated it to the late 17th century.
10. Chapman 1990, p. 87.
11. H.-J. Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim 1984, pp. 179-181.
12. Raupp op. cit.[11], pp. 115-123, esp. 121-122.
13. J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, Nuremberg 1675, A.R. Peltzer ed., Munich 1925, p. 217.
14. R. Peltzer, 'Sandrart-Studien', *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, Neue Folge Band II (1925), pp. 103-165, esp. 103-128.
15. This is a Polish hat of a type that was widely worn in the Netherlands in the second half of the 17th century. Gerard Dou wears a hat of this kind in a self-portrait of 1663 (Sumowski *Gemälde* I, no. 304).
16. Peltzer, op. cit.[14], pp. 118-122. In the case of the drawing of Barthel Beham, Sandrart did not follow the model he is believed to have used exactly, and added a hat.
17. J. Ingamells, *The Wallace Collection. Catalogue of pictures Dutch and Flemish*, IV, London 1992, inv. no. P173, pp. 300-301. See this catalogue for further provenance information.
18. Exhib. cat. *Meisterwerke der Malerei aus Privatsammlungen im Bodenseegebiet*, Bregenz 1965, no. 79.

IV 9 Self-portrait

1654

KASSEL, STAATLICHE MUSEEN KASSEL, GEMÄLDEGALERIE ALTE MEISTER, CAT. NO. GK 244

HDG 536; BR. 43; BAUCH 324; GERSON 310; TÜMPEL –

Fig. 1. Canvas 72 x 58.5 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 274



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

Strong doubts as to the authenticity of this painting have been voiced in the recent Rembrandt literature. This issue is seriously complicated by the painting's turbulent material history. However, as will become clear, there are a number of arguments that speak for, rather than against the painting's authenticity.

Rembrandt is depicted in a dark brown gown, under which the collar of a white shirt is just visible. The forehead and eyes are overshadowed by the wavy rim of a black cap. Around his neck hangs a gold chain with a pendant.

Working conditions

Examined on 6 November 1968 (J.B., B.H.) in the frame, with a full set of X-ray films. A cracked yellow varnish hampered the evaluation of the paint layer at that occasion. Following its defacement with sulphuric acid on 7 October 1977, the painting was examined again in March 1978 during its restoration in the Doerner-Institut in Munich (B.H., E.v.d.W.), in good daylight and out of the frame, with the aid of the X-ray films. Re-examined on 16 January 1989 (E.v.d.W.) and again on 25-28 January 1994 (M.F., E.v.d.W.) in good light and out of the frame, with the help of ultraviolet light, a stereomicroscope and the X-ray films.

Support

Canvas, lined, 72 x 58.5 cm. Single piece. Cusping along the top and right edges is visible in the X-radiograph. The pitch of the cusping at the top edge varies between 15 and 28 cm and extends app. 26 cm into the canvas. The pitch of the cusping along the right edge varies between 8 and 24 cm and extends up to 15 cm into the canvas. Some secondary cusping is also evident along these edges. A deformation extending from the upper right part of the canvas to the bottom of the painting indicates that the canvas was primed while it was still part of a larger piece of linen. Moreover, a selvedge along the right edge visible in the X-radiograph and the marked distortions of the weave along the top edge make it highly likely that this canvas was a corner of a larger piece of primed linen (see Vol. II, p. 33). The *mise en toile* of the *Self-portrait*, in combination with the specifics of the cusping and the selvedge mentioned above eliminates the possibility that the *Self-portrait* was radically cut down at some time. By extension, the same can be said of an underlying portrait of a woman (see *Radiography*).

Threadcount: 14.48 vertical threads/cm (14-15), 12.73 horizontal threads/cm (11.5-13.5). The horizontal threads reveal slubs. Because of this as well as the greater spread of the horizontal threads, it may be assumed that the warp threads run vertically, which is confirmed by the presence of the selvedge along the right edge.

Ground

A light brown layer on the canvas became visible in places where the sulphuric acid used to deface the painting in 1977 had eaten through the upper layers. This locally exposed layer is part of the ground of a woman's portrait under the *Self-portrait* (see *Radiography*).

Kühn determined that this ground consists of a single layer containing an ochre pigment and oil.[1] (See Chapter IV, note 53). He described the colour as yellowish-grey on the basis of his microscopic examination, while we observed it as being light brown. Before the *Self-portrait* was executed, the woman's face was largely covered with a light flesh-coloured intermediate layer that must have served as a ground or local imprimatura for the head in the *Self-portrait*.[2] This layer surfaced locally in partly retouched areas of wearing.

Paint layer

Condition: During the examination of the painting in 1968 it was noted that there were overpaintings along the contour of the neck and left shoulder and a large retouched filling in the left background near the ear. The painting's condition was radically altered when it was seriously disfigured by sulphuric acid in 1977. The acid struck the painting in a number of places in and around the head, and subsequently dripped down the paint surface in vertical tracks to the bottom (fig. 3). The paint in these tracks has mostly been eroded down to the underlying paint layers, and in some places at the bottom of the painting down to the ground. Three streaks of acid damage are evident in the lit cheek of the face. Other tracks run from the left corner of the mouth, the tip of the nose and from under the shaded eye. Furthermore, there are five tracks to either side of the head in the background and in the clothing which, like the ones in the face, extend to the bottom of the painting.

Removal of the remaining varnish layer revealed that the painting's condition was extremely poor even prior to the acid damage. The head in particular was very worn and in some places overcleaned to such an extent that the flesh-coloured intermediate layer became visible (see *Ground*). Overcleaning of the paint layer was also found in the cap, especially above the forehead and in the background at the upper left. Overpaintings in the cap and the background were removed, while other less disturbing, partially transparent ones were preserved (see note 2). Areas ruined by the acid were retouched. Moreover, during the 1978 restoration, the overall condition of the painting was thought to call for the application of glazes in many places to create tonal cohesion. In addition, the cap, including the lit grey flaps, was almost entirely thinly overpainted. The same applies to large sections in the background around the cap. Large parts of the head, especially the areas of shadow and the transitions to the lighter passages also prove to have been thinly overpainted. Countless smaller retouchings and overpaintings in the eyes make it virtually impossible to assess them. Especially confusing is the presence of blue-grey catchlights in the iris – added later – which because of their placement make the pupil in the nearest eye seem quite large. What appears to be a highlight is probably local damage in the surface; here an underlying red layer is visible. With respect to the lid and brow, the structure of

Fig. 3. Painting with traces of sulphuric acid



Fig. 4. Detail with signature (reduced)



Fig. 5. Detail with signature (reduced)



this eye is almost entirely determined by in- and overpaintings, making it impossible to gain an accurate idea of its original appearance. The same applies to the base of the nose and the frown above it (see figs. 6 and 7).

The poor condition of the head, the cap and the background in particular substantially complicates the evaluation of the *peinture* in these areas. The still reasonably preserved white of the shirt collar was swiftly brushed, with a ridge of impasto terminating in a kind of glancing touch. Noteworthy is that the shirt collar does not have a counterpart at the same height on the opposite side of the sitter's neck. The gown is also done in lively brushstrokes. Folds are indicated with vigorous strokes and a rich constellation of closely related shades of yellow and ruddy brown. At the shoulder and the contour of the back the colour fades into a grey-brown. The gown's fit around the neck and over the shoulder is very convincingly rendered. The gleaming metal of both the chain and the pendant has been summarily suggested with yellow ochre, black, and touches of red-brown. The continuation of the chain is indicated with yellow-white dabs. For a more detailed description and evaluation of these passages see Chapter III, pp. 268-270.

Craquelure: The regular horizontally and vertically oriented craquelure pattern in the light areas is highly unusual for a canvas and could be an indication that it was long attached to a panel (see *2. Comments* and *6. Provenance*). A typical irregular pattern of canvas craquelure can be seen in the coat and in the background. The paint layer of the entire painting shows marked cupping.

Radiography

The only discernable traces of the *Self-portrait* in the X-radiograph are the tip of the nose, the ear at the left, the white collar and a few highlights on the chain. The outer rim of the shoulder at the left distinguishes itself from the rest of the shoulder by showing up light in the X-ray image. However, the X-radiograph is dominated by an underlying portrait of a woman. Showing up strongly are her face, the cap on her head, a millstone ruff, and a pentimento along the lower edge of the cap's wing. Horizontal brushstrokes of radioabsorbent paint are visible in the shadows of the eye sockets, below the nose and in the mouth. These strokes form part of the intermediate flesh-coloured layer between the head of the woman and the *Self-portrait* (see *Ground*). A dark reserve near the woman's left eye socket (whose position corresponds with the self-portrait's right eye) appears to have been wiped out in the intermediate layer when it was still wet.[3] The contour of the woman's right shoulder probably followed the edge showing up light of the sitter's shoulder in the self-portrait (see further *2. Comments*).

Also showing up light in the X-radiograph are several cloudy spots, which are most likely related to an irregularly applied ground. Narrow vertical dark tracks correspond with traces of the acid damage. Visible along the lower edge are fillings showing up white in the acid tracks, which apparently are deeper there.

Signature

In black, somewhat irregularly placed and shaped letters to the right next to the shoulder: <*Rembrandt / f.1654*> (fig. 4). Traces of another signature in a light-brown paint are found at the upper left: <*Rembrandt f*> (fig. 5). According to Von Sonnenburg, the latter signature is on a worn paint layer and thus could not belong to the original state of either the discarded or the final painting (see note 2). He suggests that it was added when the original signature could no longer be read. In our opinion, the upper left signature cracked along with the paint layer on which it was applied and is just as worn as this layer. Consequently, we do not believe that the signature was added later. Two presumably autograph signatures were also found in the Berlin *Joseph accused by Potiphar's wife* of 1655 (Br. 524). This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the initial signature was covered when the painting was reworked.

2. Comments

In 1721, the Delft collector Valerius Röver (1686-1739) purchased a 'portret van Rembrandt, van voren' (Portrait of Rembrandt facing front) from Franco van der Goes (1687-1767) – also from Delft – for 100 guilders. This

turned out to be a good bargain, for only three years later he was offered 200 guilders for the painting (see *6. Provenance*). In 1750, Röver's widow sold her husband's collection – including the 'Portrait of Rembrandt' – to Landgrave Wilhelm VIII of Hesse-Kassel for a total of 40,000 guilders. There is little doubt that the painting concerned is identical to the late *Self-portrait* in the Kassel Gemäldegalerie discussed here. The dimensions, as mentioned in the estate inventory drawn up after Röver's death in 1739, correspond only with the painting discussed here and not with the other Röver *Self-portrait* by Rembrandt in Kassel (II A 97). Moreover, the date given by Röver to the portrait – 1655 – matches that on this painting to the extent that the diagonal and horizontal lines of the last digit of what is now perceived as a 4 are clearer than the rest of this digit and could thus have been read in the past as a 5. Röver described the portrait in his 1721 catalogue as 'the portrait of Rembrandt, facing front in a cap, painted by himself in his best period in the year 1655.' It is virtually certain that this was the painting described in 1689 as 'a *trony* by Rembrant being his own likeness' (see *6. Provenance*).

Notwithstanding the fact that both descriptions state that the painting was executed by Rembrandt, doubts as to its autograph nature have grown. These were first voiced by Gerson, who felt that the attribution is not wholly convincing.[4] Subsequently, Schwartz and Tümpel omitted the painting from what they considered to be the autograph oeuvre of Rembrandt.[5] The following section makes clear just how difficult it is to evaluate the question of authenticity, given the painting's turbulent material history. Assessment of the brushwork, particularly in the face, is seriously hindered by the painting's poor condition.

In their current state, the lit areas of skin consisting of a multitude of turbid shades of flesh colour deviate from what we expect of Rembrandt in paintings of this period. This observation is primarily based on the fact that the familiar interplay of cool and warm tints found in authentic works is almost entirely missing. Furthermore no prominent brushstrokes are visible in the face. A disturbing feature is the manner in which the lights and shadows merge as more or less equally handled paint layers. This is atypical of Rembrandt's paintings of this period. Compare, for example, his *Large self-portrait* in Vienna (IV 8), the 1651 *Young girl at a window* in Stockholm (Br. 377) and the Rotterdam *Titus* from 1655 (Br. 120). It is characteristic of Rembrandt's works of the 1650s that the transition from light to shadow is realised with more or less broadly applied overlapping strokes so that the brushwork displays a certain autonomy. The absence (especially in the face) of these characteristics can be explained by the fact that virtually all of the shaded areas and transitions in the face of the present painting were done by later hand(s) (see *Paint layer* Condition). These areas have been carefully covered with opaque or semi-transparent, finely pigmented paint in such a way that they almost always partially overlap the adjoining lighter paint. As a result, the shadows appear to hover like clouds before the painting. While theoretically the plasticity of the head does not appear to be disrupted by this handling, a characteristic feature of Rembrandt's paintings of this period, namely the aforementioned 'angularity' of the transitions in tone and colour, may be concealed here. Comparison with a photograph of the face taken before the acid attack (fig. 6) shows the effect of the subsequent restoration on the painting's character (fig. 7).[6]

Where light and shadow merge and dissipate, the brushwork of the intact lit sections does not create the impression that the original painting was done in such softly merging tones as seen today. A constellation of freely applied light impastoed strokes is evident in places in the head. Traces of the characteristic 'crumbliness' at the edges of Rembrandt's brushstrokes[7] are visible along the outline of the lips, although there, too, the image is somewhat impaired by overpaintings. The course of the original brushstrokes is unusual in only one respect, namely where the horizontal traced of the intermediate flesh coloured layer (see *Ground*) partly interrupt the course of the brushwork. For the rest, the way the direction of the brushstrokes is related to the painted form is common for Rembrandt, as is the paint relief, used to enhance some highlights for example on the nose and the chin. With regard to the colour scheme, visible in those few lit areas in the head that can still be evaluated (in the jaw and chin), there is a subtle interplay of yellow and pink flesh tones with a greyish cast that does not essentially differ from what is found in Rembrandtesque heads from this period. (For a stylistic assessment of other, better preserved elements in the paining, see pp. 266-270)

That the *Self-portrait* was painted over a portrait of a woman with a white winged cap and a millstone ruff has been known since 1932 when Wehlte published a partial X-radiograph of the painting.[8] In the Rembrandt literature, this X-radiograph served as a spectacular example of a painterly palimpsest. The woman's portrait dominates the X-ray image to such an extent that the nose and the edge of the shirt collar of the sitter in the *Self-portrait* can only be distinguished with close scrutiny. Just what, if any, the standard method was for painting over an extant image is not clear. Important in this respect is the question whether or not it was common practice to apply a fresh ground over the first image prior to painting the new one. This aspect has not yet been systematically investigated. An examination of the traces of wear in the *Bust of a man in a gorget and cap* (I A 8), private collection, the Berlin *Joseph accused by Potiphar's wife* (Br. 524) and the Karlsruhe *Self-portrait* (IV 5) gave the impression that there was no intermediate layer between the underlying and the top painting. In other cases, for example the *Bust of an old woman* (I A 32 and II, *Corrigenda et Addenda*, pp. 839-40; as a work by Jan Lievens) at Windsor Castle and the *David before Saul* (I A 9) in Basel, it appears that an intermediate layer was indeed applied. Investigation of the drastically altered *Flora* (III A 112) in London revealed that the underlying picture of *Judith with the head of Holofernes* was partially covered with a grey layer.[9] As mentioned above, during the 1977 restoration of the Kassel *Self-portrait* Von Sonnenburg found that a flesh-coloured layer had been locally applied, particularly over the head of the woman (see note 2).

Fig. 6. Detail (1 : 1) before the acid attack and subsequent restoration in 1978



Fig. 7. Detail (1 : 1) after restoration in 1978



The reason for elaborating on this intermediate layer – or the local underpainting of the face in the *Self-portrait* – is that the partial wiping away in the course of work on the painting could indicate that the *Self-portrait* was painted on an incompletely dried underlayer. This might partly explain the somewhat flat aspect of the original brushwork in the face in so far as this can be distinguished. That a painting by Rembrandt was executed over an abandoned earlier painting is such a conspicuously frequently encountered phenomenon among the master's self-portraits (see Chapter III) that this can be considered as an argument in favour of the painting's origin in Rembrandt's studio.

The local underpainting of heads with a flesh-coloured layer must have become standard practice in the course of the 17th century. The earliest instance that we know of is the *Portrait of Menno Baron van Coehoorn* by Theodoor Netscher (1661-1732) painted shortly after 1700.[10] In *Het Groot Schilderboek*, De Lairesse describes how various areas in a painting can each be underpainted in a different colour: '... the canvas or panel can be prepared as follows: the paints, made thick by being ground with drying oil, must be thinned by being mixed with turpentine, and applied to the canvas or panel with a soft brush; the sky blue, and the ground grey or green, more or less dark, to the extent that your composition and design require. (...) One should not use fine and precious paints, but average ones instead, as long as they are thick and opaque.'[11] According to De Lairesse, an important reason for applying such local grounds is that they ensure that the sections concerned 'hunne volkomen schoonheid en kracht behouden' (retain their full beauty and power). The phenomenon of local underpainting in the painting of heads has not been sufficiently investigated to allow conclusions regarding the Kassel painting.

The painting's material history is unusual in yet another respect: in 1739 and 1750 it was recorded as being on panel (see *6. Provenance*). Röver, who catalogued his collection himself, made no reference of either the supports or the frames. However, the emphasis placed on the fact that it is 'op paneel en vergulde lijst' (on panel and [in] a gilt frame) in a description of the painting in a catalogue compiled after Röver's death in 1739 should be given some weight. This could mean that the picture was either transferred from panel to canvas after 1750, or that the canvas had been attached to a panel at an earlier stage and thus described as being a work on panel.

Transferring paint and ground layers from a panel to a canvas was done with increasing frequency as of 1748. This practice fell in disuse in the course of the second half of the 19th century.[12] The structure of the canvas as it shows up in the X-ray image is entirely in keeping with a 17th-century painting on a primed canvas, and thus precludes the possibility of such a transfer. It is far more probable that the canvas was pasted onto a panel and that this panel was then removed some time after 1750 and most likely before 1783, the year in which it was described as having been painted on canvas (see *6. Provenance*). The nature of the craquelure pattern supports the supposition that the canvas once was attached to a panel. The craquelure pattern, particularly in the areas containing lead white, consists of cracks which are predominantly horizontal and vertical; such cracks are usually formed by stresses in the wood perpendicular to the grain and are commonly found in panel paintings. That canvases affixed to panels at an early stage tend to display a panel craquelure rather than a canvas craquelure, which is characterised by irregularities, is evident from the *Portrait of Joris de Caullery* (II A 53; *Paint layer*, Condition). The Kassel painting also contains sections displaying a typical canvas craquelure, which will have come about after the panel was removed from the canvas (probably some time after 1750). Due to the predominance of the panel craquelure, it may be concluded that the painting was either attached to a panel from the very beginning, or not long after its execution.

The X-ray image of the underlying woman's portrait is Rembrandtesque in a number of respects, particularly in its brushwork. It represents a woman's head with an elongated face turned to the left. She wears a winged cap and a very narrow millstone ruff. It is virtually certain that the woman's portrait was unfinished when the *Self-portrait* was painted over it; in fact, it is probably mostly an underpainting. This assumption is based on the fact that the lower edges of the ruff's piping, which would normally have been indicated in small curved lines of white radioabsorbent paint, were not found in the X-ray image (for X-radiographs of finished ruffs see for instance III A 143 and III C 107).

Von Sonnenburg thought that the woman's head could not have been by Rembrandt (see note 2). Despite the risk of making statements regarding attribution based on the style and the quality of an X-ray image, we nevertheless share his opinion. The perspective and spatial construction of the cap and collar display conspicuous weaknesses, which would more likely be the work of a less accomplished painter, probably an assistant or pupil of Rembrandt, than of the master himself. We should not discount the possibility that the woman's head was painted considerably earlier than the *Self-portrait*, perhaps in the 1640s. The woman's costume is a type worn already at the beginning of the 1640s (compare III A 143 [1641] and III C 107 [1642]).

Notwithstanding the above deliberations, the question of whether the *Self-portrait* is an autograph work has yet to be answered. It is clear that the painting's genesis and subsequent material history significantly complicate making a reliable assessment of its stylistic and qualitative features. That it was the work of a later hand, someone outside Rembrandt's studio, is improbable for the chances are slight that a supposed pasticheur or forger would have been able to secure an unfinished work from Rembrandt's studio to use as a support.

Moreover, we saw that those sections where traces of the original application of paint are still visible, particularly areas of the costume still in reasonable condition – do not essentially deviate from other works by Rembrandt with respect to the colour scheme and the manner of painting. Assessment of the physiognomical aspects, which has proven useful in questions of the authenticity of

Rembrandt's late self-portraits, is in the case of the Kassel *Self-portrait* seriously hampered by its poor condition. The proportionally large eyes (the right one of which appears to be missing the characteristic sagging fold of the eye lid) and the definition of form in the forehead, such as the high eye sockets, the 'floating' wrinkle in the forehead and the disproportionately high contour of the forehead deviate from the facial features described on the basis of Rembrandt's self-portraits (see Chapter III). However, as explained in *Paint layer* Condition, the eyes, the base of the nose and the frowning wrinkle cannot be evaluated because of the nature and scope of the overpaintings.

For the time being, the arguments outlined above lead us to conclude that the *Self-portrait* in Kassel was definitely made in Rembrandt's studio. A more detailed analysis of the brushwork in well preserved passages, as elaborated in Chapter III, p. 266 ff, has convinced us that the present painting is an autograph work by Rembrandt and probably served as the prototype for two free studio variants, the *'Self-portrait'* in Vienna (IV 11) and the *'Self-portrait'* in Florence (IV 12).

3. Documents and sources

See *6. Provenance.*

4. Graphic reproductions

1. Etching by Joachim Jan Oortman (Weesp 1777 – Paris 1818) inscribed: *Dessiné par S. Le Roy. – Gravé par Oortman. / Portrait de Rembrandt* (fig. 8). Published in Filhol, *Galerie du Musée Napoléon* V, Paris 1808, no. 353: '... peint sur toile; hauteur soixante-onze centimètres huit millimètres ou deux pieds deux pouces; largeur cinquante-sept centimètres trois millimètres ou un pied neuf pouces. ... Ce bel ouvrage fait partie de l'exposition de la conquête de 1806.' The etching reproduces the painting in the same direction as the original. The background near the shoulder at the right is lighter than in the painting, whereby the contour of the bust is clearly visible there.
2. Engraving by Pierre Louis Henri Laurent (1779-1844) with the inscription: *Peint par Rembrandt. – Dessiné par Plonski. – Gravé par Henri Laurent. / Portrait de Rembrandt.* The engraving reproduces the painting in the same direction as the original.

5. Copies

1. Canvas 60.5 x 50.5 cm; Paris, Louvre, inv. no. R.F. 2667 bis. The painting was acquired as an original in 1928 from the collection of Alfred Boucher. Foucart considers this copy as a late work on the basis of the machine woven canvas, and the absence of a ground and underpainting.[13]

6. Provenance

*– In the 1689 estate inventory of Willem Spieringh (d. 1686) drawn up in Delft under no. 48: 'Een trony van Rembrant sijnde sijn contrefeytsel' (A *trony* by Rembrant being his own likeness). This inventory also includes under no. 67 'Een Christus als een hovenier van Rembrant' (Christ as a gardener by Rembrant). This latter mention refers to a painting that Valerius Röver bought from Willem van der Goes (1696-1751) in 1721 (III A 124). The *Self-portrait* in Kassel was, as is shown below, in the collection of Willem van der Goes' brother, Franco. Franco and Willem van der Goes were the sons of Adriaan van der Goes and Maria Spieringh, the daughter of the aforementioned Willem Spieringh. On the basis of this, the *Self-portrait* in Kassel can be identified as the one listed in Willem Spieringh's inventory.[14]

– Coll. Franco van der Goes (1687-1767). Sold in 1721 to Valerius Röver for 100 guilders, according to a mention in the inventory of the successive owner.

– Coll. Valerius Röver (1686-1739) of Delft; described in his 'Catalogus van mijne schilderijen, boeken, tekeningen, prenten, beelden, rariteiten' (Catalogue of my paintings, books, drawings, prints, sculpture, curiosities) drawn up by Röver himself. Mentioned among the works bought in 1721 under no. 69: 'Het portret van Rembrandt, van voren met een mutse, door hem zelfs in zijn beste tijt geschildert ao. 1655. [*f*] 100:-:- Hoog .. [left open] Gekogt van de Raadsheer Mr. Franco van der Goes en is mij ao. 1724 *f* 200:-:- voor geboden' (The portrait of Rembrandt, facing front in a cap, painted by himself in his best period in the year 1655. [*f*] 100:-:- Height .. [left open] Purchased from Counsellor Franco van der Goes and I was offered *f* 200:-:- for it in 1724).[15] The 'Catalogus van schilderijen' (Catalogue of paintings) compiled after Röver's death in 1739 (ms. UB II A 17-1) contains not only a description, but also information about the support and the frame under no. 4: 'Het portrait van Rembrand, van vooren met een muts, door hem selfs in zijn beste tijd gesc. op paneel en vergulde lijst, h. 28d, b. 22d [= 73 x 57.4 cm (Rhineland feet)] [f] 200:-' (Portrait of Rembrandt, frontal view in a cap, painted by himself in his best period on panel with a gilt frame).

– Sold in 1750 by Röver's widow to Landgrave Wilhelm VIII

Fig. 8. Etching by J.J. Oortman



of Hesse-Kassel (1682-1760): described as 'Het pourtret van Rembrant. door hem zelfs geschildert op paneel vergulde lyst, h.23d. [sic], br. 22d [= 60 x 57.4 cm]' (Portrait of Rembrandt painted by himself on panel [with a] gilt frame); the measurements of the height must be a mistake in the 'Catalogus van eenige nog in wezen zynde schildery-kabinetten, namentlijk; Van Mevrouwe Doüariere De Reuver, verkogt aan zyn Doorl. Hoogh. den Heere Prins van Hessen, voor de somma van 40000 Guldens' (Catalogue of some still existing collections of paintings, namely that of the widow De Reuver, sold to his Serene Highness the Prince of Hesse, for the sum of 40,000 guilders; Hoet II p. 393).

– In the *Haupt-Catalogus* begun in the year 1749, described under no. 561 as: 'Rembrants eigenes Brustbild mit einer schwarzen Mütze. Höhe 2 Schuh 4 Zoll Breite 1 Schuh 10 Zoll [(Rhineland feet) = 73.2 x 57.5 cm].' Described in *Verzeichnisz der Hochfürstlich-Hessischen Gemählde-Sammlung in Cassel*, Kassel 1783, as no. 53 in 'Das herrschaftliche Palais, nächst der Gallerie [auf der Ober-Neustadt]': 'Rembrandt van Ryn. Das Brustbild dieses Mahlers selbst, mit einer schwarzen Mütze und behängt mit einer goldenen Kette. Auf Leinwand, 2 Fusz 4 Zoll hoch, 1 Fusz 10 Zoll breit.'

– In Paris from 1807 to 1815, thereafter back in Kassel.

NOTES

1. 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. 29-30.
2. H. von Sonnenburg, 'Rembrandts "Segen Jakobs"', *Maltechnik/Restauro* 84 (1978), pp. 217-41, esp. 237-38.
3. For a discussion on such interventions in wet or dry paint, see Vol. I, pp. 32-33.
4. Gerson 310.
5. Schwartz 1984; Tümpel 1986.
6. Possibly the traces of previous, more accentuated brushstrokes have vanished due to abrasion. For a description of radical cleaning methods used in the past, see: R.H. Marijnissen, *Dégradation, conservation et restauration de l'oeuvre d'art*, Brussels 1967, vol. I, pp. 67-72.
7. Van de Wetering 1997, p. 188.
8. K. Wehlte, 'Aus der Praxis der maltechnischen Röntgenographie', *Technische Mitteilungen für Malerei* 48 (1932), p. 73.
9. Exhib. cat. *Art in the making*, 1988/89, p. 63.
10. Theodoor Netscher, *Portrait of Menno Baron van Coehoorn*, doek 109 x 85 cm; Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twente, inv. no. 106. The *Portrait of a man with a breastplate and plumed hat* (Br. 223) and its pendant the *Portrait of a woman* (Br. 364) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York appear to be two other cases. In and around the heads, roughly applied radioabsorbent paint can be discerned in the X-radiograph. The strongly contrasting threads of the support visible in these areas, however, indicate that this paint was applied to the back of the canvas. For another opinion, see exhib. cat. *Rembrandt/not Rembrandt* I 1995/96, pp. 26-27.
11. G. de Lairesse, *Het groot schilderboek*, Haarlem 1740[2] (1707), I, pp. 329-31: '...dat men het doek of paneel aldus kan bereiden: de verwen, met droogenden olie dik gevreeven, zal men met terpentynolie zeer dun mengen, en met een zacht kwasje het gemelde doek of paneel op deze wyze overstryken; de lucht blaauw, en de grond graauw of groen, min of meer donker, na maate dat uwe Ordinantie en Aftekening zulks vereischt. (...) Tot deze gronden zal men geen fyne en kostelyke verwen gebruiken, maar gemeene, als zy slechts lyvig zyn en wel dekken.'
12. V. Schaible, 'Die Gemäldeübertragung. Studien zur Geschichte einer "klassischen Restauriermethode"', *Maltechnik/Restauro* 89 (1983), pp. 96-129.
13. J. Foucart, *Les peintures de Rembrandt au Louvre*, Paris 1982, p. 95.
14. GA Delft, not. W. van Ruyven, NA 2290, doc. 18, dd 23 January-31 March 1689 (Urk. 364). See also the will of Spieringh's widow in which she determined that the entire estate was to remain undivided until her eldest child had reached the age of 20, ibidem, document 4, dd 21 January 1689.
15. Amsterdam, University Library ms. UB II A 18. Published by E.W. Moes in: *O.H.* 31 (1913), p. 20.

IV 10 Self-portrait with sketchbook

[*c.* 1655]

ORIGINAL LOST

One mezzotint by Jacob Gole (1660-1724) and at least six painted versions are known of this lost *Self-portrait.* Most of the paintings give the impression of being old. The successive rediscoveries of these paintings repeatedly raised the question of whether any of the versions then known could be the original prototype. Bredius included two of them in his catalogue as paintings by Rembrandt.[1] In his revised edition of Bredius' book, Gerson included three which, however, he described as copies of a lost original.[2] Later authors have adopted his view. In Chapter III on pp. 101-108 we attempted to explain why also in our view none of the existing versions can be considered as the prototype. Moreover, we conclude that the print by Gole gives by far the most faithful image of the lost prototype, which is why this print is included below as an independent version (version 1). Of the painted versions, the one in San Francisco is most likely to have originated in Rembrandt's workshop as a copy after the original.

The entries on the painted copies below begin with a brief summary of technical and other data, and include a recapitulation of the salient discussions of these paintings in the art historical literature. Our views of the various versions are summarised where necessary. For an extensive discussion on the links between them and their possible relationship to the lost prototype, see the discussion in Chapter III referred to above. The versions are designated by numbers given in the survey following this introduction.

Rembrandt is shown drawing with a pen in an open book. He holds a metal ink pot between the index finger and thumb of the hand supporting the book. The artist wears a fur-lined gown over a dark doublet with a high collar. Beneath this he wears a red *hemdrock* (waistcoat) which in turn affords a glimpse of the fastening of a white shirt, closed at the neck with a string with tassels. His chest is partly visible through the opening of the shirt below the string. At the wrist, beneath the sleeve of the gown can be seen the sleeves of the shirt and the red *hemdrock.* On his head Rembrandt wears a black cap with a visor which extends well beyond the headband (for this type of headgear, compare the etched *Self-portrait*, B. 2, and the drawn *Self-portrait*, Ben. 437 recto, both of which can be dated to around 1635).

In versions 1, 3, and 5 the figure is set in a painted black frame. The hand supporting the sketchbook appears to be resting on this frame typifying the painting as a *trompe l'oeil.* Because versions 2, 3 and 5 are incomplete, certainly with respect to the arched upper edge of the illusionistic frame, it may be assumed that the prototype was higher than these versions, which measure 74.5, 75 and 76 cm respectively. With the exception of the San Francisco painting (version 2), whose size has been radically altered, the width of the other versions (3, 4, 5), which in our opinion do not rely on the print by Gole, varies between 62.3 and 65 cm. On the basis of the close correspondences in width, the dimensions of these versions presumably originally matched those of the prototype. The only version in which the arched closure of the painted frame is visible (version 4, in Dresden), suggests a possible original size of the lost prototype of approximately 85 x 65 cm.

Rembrandt depicted himself with objects that refer to his profession as an artist in a few of his self-portraits. In the *Self-portraits* in Paris (IV 19) and Kenwood (IV 26) he shows himself with palette and brushes, and in the etched *Self-portrait with Saskia* from 1636 (B.19; Chapter III fig. 150) and the 1648 *Self-portrait drawing at a window* (B. 22; Chapter III, fig. 156) he is seen with a pen or other drawing implement and paper. Rembrandt is also shown drawing in an etching of disputed authenticity (see Hind 300A, Münz 28). In so far as is known, the *Self-portrait with sketchbook* discussed here is the only painting in which Rembrandt portrays himself drawing.

In the 17th century, drawing was considered both as an integral part of the training of an aspiring artist, and as a reference to the daily practice of the master himself (*excertitatio* or *usus*): one was aware of the fact that artistry was achieved not merely through natural talent and education (*ars* or *ingenium* and *disciplina*), but chiefly through constant practice.[3] In an engraving by Hendrick Goltzius of *Ars and Usus* (B. 111, Hollst. 123) the personification of *Usus* is shown drawing on a drawing board (an attribute of *Usus*), a pen in his right hand and an ink pot similar to the one Rembrandt is holding in his left hand.[4]

The print by Gole and six painted versions: a summary catalogue

N.B. Colour reproductions and further discussion of the works described below are to be found in Chapter III, pp. 101-108 and figs. 29-44.

Version 1 (fig. 1)
Mezzotint by Jacob Gole (Amsterdam *c.* 1660-1737) (Charrington 54). The sitter is depicted in the same direction as in the various painted versions. Only one state of this print is known, without an inscription. The impression in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam bears a written inscription in brown ink: *Rembrandt / Ad Se ipsum Pinxit – J Gole fecit.*

Hofstede de Groot[5] and Müller Hofstede[6] assumed that the print had been made after the painting in Dresden (version 4) and the one in San Francisco (version 2) respectively. Bauch,[7] on the other hand, suggested that the print portrayed the lost prototype: an opinion we share, as outlined in Chapter III.

The undated print was made between 1685 and 1720, the period from which a (few) dated prints by Gole are known.[8] This means that the print predates the first mention of any of the painted versions. As noted in Chapter III, in the depiction of the head as well as of the hands and the way in which they hold pen, ink pot and sketchbook, the print displays an image which, for structure, plasticity and a specific feel for detail, correlates far better with the image that emerges from authentic works by Rembrandt than any of the painted versions. Furthermore, physiognomic features, as we know them

Fig. 1. Mezzotint by Jacob Gole. For colour reproductions of details see Chapter III figs. 39 and 40



from other self-portraits, are so faithfully characterised in the print that we must assume that it accurately reflects the lost original.

Version 2 (figs. 2 and 3)
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., THE FINE ARTS MUSEUMS OF SAN FRANCISCO, ROSCOE AND MARGARET OAKES COLLECTION, INV. NO. 75.2.7[9]
HDG – ; BR.47; BAUCH – ; GERSON – ; TÜMPEL –

Support

Canvas, oval, app. 74.5 x 61 cm. Cusping is clearly visible along the top edge of the canvas, apparently produced when it was stretched in a rectangular format for priming. Pronounced cusping is visible along the right edge of the canvas extending about 18 cm into the canvas. Only very faint traces of the distortion of the weave can be seen along the bottom edge; no traces of cusping are found on the left side. Thread count: 14.8 vertical threads/cm (14-16); 12.25 horizontal threads/cm (11-15). Given the wider spread of density in the horizontal threads it may be assumed that the weft runs horizontally.

Paint layer

Condition. Retouchings and overpaintings are found in various places in the background. The clothing and the cap are worn and largely overpainted with a grey glaze. As is clear in the X-radiograph, local paint loss has occurred primarily along the top edge; to a lesser extent along the bottom edge; and only to a very limited degree in the figure such as in the wrist. Craquelure: A varied craquelure pattern can be discerned in various areas, which is entirely in keeping for a 17th-century painting on canvas.

Radiography

The hand with the book, the collar of the white shirt and the head show up light in the X-ray image. In addition, there are traces of an earlier painting making it very clear that the present work was executed over an existing, if unfinished painting (or fragment thereof), whose subject cannot be identified.

Signature

The signature at the upper left above the shoulder in the background is illegible. Of the date <*165.*> the last digit has been read as a *3*.[10] However, it could also be interpreted as a 4 or a 7.

Comments

This version presently in San Francisco was published by Tatlock in 1925. He reported the opinion of Bode and Hofstede de Groot that this version was superior to the Dresden version, an opinion shared by Mayer.[11] Müller Hofstede also considered the version in San Francisco (in 1968) to be the best example, deeming it an autograph work by Rembrandt (see note 6).

This is the only one of the existing versions to have an oval format which, because of the unfortunate excision of the hand holding the sketchbook, is undoubtedly the result of a later intervention. The *peinture* of this painting displays a certain variation and liveliness which is lacking in the Dresden version. As discussed in greater detail in Chapter III, the arbitrariness of the direction of the brushstrokes with respect to the anatomy depicted (for instance, in the hands) excludes a possibility that the painting in San Francisco is the prototype by Rembrandt. Moreover, the curious construction of the nasal bone and the eye socket, the proportions of the phalanges especially those of the index finger and the incorrect placement of the nail on that finger can only be signs of a copyist's incompetence. Technically – and on the basis of the X-ray image – this work probably originated in Rembrandt's workshop. The fact that it was painted on a previously used canvas (on similar *'palimpsests'*, see Chapter III, p. 96 ff) supports this view.

Provenance

– Coll. Edw. Lindley Wood, Earl of Halifax, in Temple Newsam, where Waagen saw the painting in 1856.[12] By descendance to the family Meynell-Ingram in Temple Newsam.
– Sale 1923 in Northern England to an anonymous art dealer who sold it the same year to the art dealer A.F. Reyre, London.
– Dealer Duveen, New York (1925).
– In 1956 acquired by the Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Foundation for the De Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco.

Version 3 (figs. 4 and 5)
ENGLAND, PRIVATE COLLECTION[13]
HDG – ; BR.-GERSON 47A; BAUCH 323; GERSON –; TÜMPEL –

Support

Canvas, lined, 75 x 62.3 cm, including a strip added to the bottom edge varying in length from 2.8 cm at the left to 4.1 cm at the right. At the lower left, in the sleeve, the paint layer and the canvas have suffered from mechanical damage. Cusping can be clearly observed along the left and the right side. Thread count: 15.9 vertical threads/cm (15-16.5); 14.0 horizontal threads/cm (13.5-14.5). Because of the almost equal spread in density of the vertical and horizontal threads it is not possible to distinguish the warp from the weft.

Ground

Analysis of a cross section shows that the canvas was prepared with a ground possibly applied in two layers consisting of red ochre, umber and a little quartz (see *Table of Grounds* III, pp. 670-671).

Paint layer

Condition. The red ocherish ground can be seen in places where the paint surface is very worn. A few worn areas, such as near the eyes, may have been reinforced with a smooth opaque (dark) brown layer of paint. This could explain the odd shape of the eye sockets. Craquelure: The craquelure has an uneven pattern and width. It is pronounced in the cap directly above the forehead.

Fig. 2. Canvas 74.5 x 61 cm. San Francisco, Cal., The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Collection (version 2). For colour reproductions of details see Chapter III figs. 36 and 41



Fig. 3. X-Ray



Fig. 4. Canvas 75 x 62.3 cm. England, private collection (version 3). For colour reproductions of details see Chapter III figs. 37 and 42



Fig. 5. X-Ray



The *peinture* in the head is varied, locally pastose and coarse. The hand at the left, the edge of the book, the white cuff and the lit part of the book at the far right have been painted rapidly and with relatively coarse paint. In its transition to the white shirt, the red of the doublet overlaps the white paint, whereby the peaks of the relief of the white paint can still be seen through the red. The buttons are indicated with simple highlights, always varied and toward the bottom in decreasing tones of yellow-ochre. Above the fastened button at the top is another yellow ochre highlight (of a button), which is related to a change in the open collar of the coat (see *Radiography*). Another change made during the genesis of the work has to do with the position of the hand at the right. Together with the book and the ink pot, it was originally planned higher and somewhat more to the left. The relief of the paint of the underlying hand shines through the worn paint surface of the overlying hand, painted relatively flat, particularly in the lit parts of the index and middle fingers. Arched shapes are indicated in black paint at the upper right and left corners of the greyish-brown background. In the arched shape at the upper right are highlights reminiscent of a painted frame such as that in the Brussels *Portrait of Nicolaes Bambeeck* (III A 144) and its pendant, the *Portrait of Agatha Bas* in the Royal Collection London (III A 145). These highlights seem to suggest part of a profile or a capital.

Radiography

Various changes were made during work on the painting. Traces of these pentimenti are visible in the paint surface (see *Paint layer*). Moreover, the shape of the red doublet does not accord with a triangle showing up light in that area in the available X-radiograph. This triangle is narrower and shorter and the tip terminates in a spot of yellow ochre paint visible in the paint surface which, given the distance to the button positioned at the tip of the triangle now visible, can also be interpreted as a button. A change made above the raised collar resting against the neck might be related to a correction of the contour. For a discussion of the pentimenti see *Comments*.

Comments

Although Müller Hofstede in 1968 considered the painting in San Francisco as the autograph version of Rembrandt's *Self-portrait with sketchbook*, he had earlier, in 1963, voiced his preference for the (unsigned) painting in England.[14] On the basis of the pentimenti, mentioned above in *Paint layer* and *Radiography*, and the colour scheme, he then thought that the present painting was probably the prototype. In 1966, Bauch believed that this version was the best of the known versions and suggested that it was an original from 1653. A few years later, however, he reversed his initial view that the present work was autograph (see note 7).

The presence of the pentimenti described above was also one of the reasons why in 1963 Müller Hofstede considered the version under discussion to be the prototype. In our view, the pentimenti are not related to changes in the development of the composition, but are rather corrections, introduced by a copyist, of errors made in copying the placement of certain parts of the composition. This is clearest in the complex passage with the hands, the pen, ink pot and sketchbook, which in its entirety is tilted with respect to its earlier position. Similarly, the other pentimenti can also be categorised as 'copying errors'.

There are various reasons for doubting whether the version under discussion should be considered as having originated in Rembrandt's workshop like the painting in San Francisco (version 2). The chalky tonality of the flesh colour, the atypical distribution of radioabsorbency in the X-radiograph of the face, and the stringy character of the light paint deviate significantly from what we know to be usual for Rembrandt and his workshop. It is more likely to be a later copy and it is tempting to think that it may have been made after the painting in San Francisco. In their deformation, in particular the curiously turned up line in the outer corner of the left eye and the far too short first phalanges of the index and middle fingers of the drawing hand, the two paintings agree to such an extent that a direct link between them has to be considered. This relationship finds confirmation in the similar, flawed rendering of the misplaced pushed out fingernail of the index finger on the pen in both paintings.

Since it is likely in that particular case that the primed canvas was provided by the patron, this provides no evidence for the origin of the present painting in Rembrandt's studio. Indeed, the presence of a red ground rather speaks against it: according to our own analysis of the grounds used by Rembrandt and his studio, red grounds – apart from the case mentioned above – do not occur unless they are covered by a grey or brownish *imprimatura* thus belonging to the extensive category of double grounds (see Chapter IV *Grounds*, p. 321).

Provenance

– Coll. Alexis Livernet, sale London 27-28 May 1808 (Lugt 7418), 1st day no. 75: 'Rembrandt ... His own Portrait, Purchased by Sir Joshua Reynolds – a capital Performance and sent to a friend in Ireland' [35 bought in]. According to Broun, Reynolds was acting as the dealer.[15]
– According to the present owner, bought at the 1808 sale by Sir Clement Cottrell Dormer, brother-in-law of Alexis Livernet.

Version 4 (fig. 6)
DRESDEN, STAATLICHE KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN DRESDEN, GEMÄLDEGALERIE ALTE MEISTER, CAT. NO. 1569[16]
HDG 537; BR. 46; BAUCH –; GERSON –; TÜMPEL –

Support

Canvas, lined, 85 x 65 cm. The original canvas is folded approximately 1 to 1.5 cm on all sides.

Ground

Brown, probably belonging to the ground, shows through in the left shoulder, in the light area of the binding of the book, and in the background along the contour of the cap. In a sample taken from the right edge of the picture,

Fig. 6. Canvas 85 x 65 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie (version 4). For colour reproductions of details see Chapter III figs. 35 and 44



Fig. 7. Etching by Johann Anton Riedel, 1755 (reproduced in reverse)



Kühn found a yellowish-white ground, consisting of chalk, beneath a dark paint layer.[17] Given the fact that a brown ground layer seems to shine through, the possibility should not be excluded that Kühn took his sample from the filling in a restored area (see *Table of Grounds* III, pp. 666-667).

Signature

Lower right in black paint: <*Rembrandt f 1657.*>. The rising loop of the *f* is linked to the digit *1*.

Comments

The Dresden version, mentioned in the inventory of the Electoral collection in Dresden of 1722-1728, was always considered to be by Rembrandt until 1925, when the version in San Francisco surfaced (see version 2). The genuineness of the Dresden painting was subsequently questioned by various authors. Bredius still accepted it in 1935, along with the version in San Francisco. Thereafter it was virtually unanimously rejected, though Gerson believed that the Dresden painting was the best of the existing versions (see note 2).

To the extent that they can be read under a thick layer of varnish, the colour scheme and the brushwork seem far removed from comparable passages in Rembrandt's autograph work of the 1650s. The signature displays a writing style that differs too greatly from signatures considered to be by Rembrandt.

It is further questionable whether the painting originated in Rembrandt's surroundings and even whether it was copied directly from the prototype. This doubt is also prompted by the deviating physiognomy with respect to the shape of the lower part of the face and of the eyes. All the other versions show closer similarity with Rembrandt's physiognomy as we know it from his autograph self-portraits than the Dresden version.

Graphic reproductions

1. Etching by Johann Anton Riedel (Falkenau-bei-Eger 1736 Dresden 1816). Inscribed: *Rembrant pi – Riedel. fe 1755. / No 212. – Hertel excud.* (fig. 7) reproduces the painting in reverse. This etching indisputably depicts the Dresden version, as the deviating physiognomic characteristics of the Dresden version mentioned above recur in the etching. Moreover, Riedel, who was deputy inspector of the Elector's collection of paintings from 1755 and inspector from 1757, also made reproductive prints of other works in the Dresden collection.

Provenance

– Listed as no. A 94 in the 1722-1728 inventory of the Elector's Gallery at Dresden, 'Rembrandt Contrefait. geliefert von Naumann' (acquired from Naumann).[18] Described in J.A. Riedel and C.F. Wenzel, *Verzeichnisz der Gemälde in der Churfürstl. Gallerie zu Dresden*, Leipzig 1771, p. 13 no. 23: '[Rembrant van Ryn], Rembrants Bildnisz mit der Kreyde (sic) in einer, und mit einem offenen Buche in der andern Hand; Eine Figur bis auf

den halben Leib. Auf Leinwand 3 Fusz hoch, 2 Fusz 3 Zoll breit [= 85 x 66.5 cm].'

Version 5 (fig. 8)
MILWAUKEE, COLL. ALFRED AND ISABEL BADER[19]
HDG –; BR. –; BAUCH –; GERSON –; TÜMPEL –

Support

Canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm.

Ground

Four samples containing the ground layer were analysed by Joyce Plesters in 1973 (who described it as a 'very thick "gravelly" or "pebbly" textured yellowish-grey layer of ground'[20] and in 2002 by Karin Groen. The ground, applied in one layer, with a drying oil as a medium, contains a mixture of lead white (much of it in the form of undispersed large granules), light ochre and a great deal of coarse charcoal black. In one of the samples of the ground, in addition to the pigments mentioned above, Plesters found 'a few translucent orange and red-brown crystalline particles of mineral iron oxide (natural ochre).' The slight variations in the composition of the ground, as it was found in the different samples (in the case of one sample Joyce Plesters mentioned particles of what she thought to be massicot), could be advanced as an argument that this canvas was prepared in the workshop of the painter responsible, rather than by a professional primer. Furthermore, the extreme unevenness of some of the charcoal particles observed by Plesters may, perhaps, serve as an indication that a 'home-made' ground was applied of a type that we have not so far encountered in works by Rembrandt and his studio (see *Table of Grounds* III, p. 670).

Paint layer

Condition. There are (presumably old) orange and pink retouchings in various parts of the face: to the left of the mouth and along the lit side of the nose, under the left eye and on the lower lid of that eye. More retouchings were applied in a later phase, including yellow strokes in the fastening of the shirt and whitish strokes in the face. The contour of the neck has also been retouched. During her investigation, Groen discovered the lines of a black underdrawing in the hand with the pen, near the top contour of the sleeve and in the cover of the sketchbook. Groen also found black underlayers in many places. In the chin she detected traces of what appears to be a light underpainting. Plesters, who studied an X-radiograph of the painting not known to us, was struck by the fact that 'by comparison, X-radiographs of known late Rembrandt self-portraits give a sharper and more striking image'. Groen observed that areas that are usually left open when applying the light tints are filled in with surface paint, imitating this effect. In particular, the shadow near the mouth seems 'sealed' with dark paint by the maker of the present painting.

Besides the pigments in the cross-section of the ground (lead white, very coarse charcoal black, yellow ochre and very little orange and red-brown ochre), Plesters found only pigments known to have been used by Rembrandt.

Fig. 8. Canvas 76.2 x 63.5 cm. Milwaukee, Coll. Alfred and Isabel Bader (version 5). For colour reproductions of details see Chapter III figs. 38 and 43



The fact that the dark background is done with paint containing (finely ground) charcoal black is unusual. In Rembrandt's autograph paintings this pigment is found only in the grounds of some of his paintings, and not in the paint layers themselves.

Comments

As with the following two versions, the painting in the Bader collection played no part in the discussions concerning the possible original. Its execution and painting technique deviate so markedly from our image of the technique used by Rembrandt and his workshop that we dismiss the suggestion that it could have originated in Rembrandt's circle.

Provenance

- Coll. of the British painter William Mulready (1786-1863).
- Art dealer Christenssen, Willesden (London).
- Art dealer Neville Orgel, London, from whom it was acquired in 1977 by the present owner.

Version 6 (fig. 9)
NETHERLANDS, PRIVATE COLLECTION,
HDG –; BR. –; BAUCH –; GERSON –; TÜMPEL –

Support

Canvas, 72 x 59 cm.

Comments

This painting was once shown to members of the RRP on which occasion it was characterised as a weak copy. One questions whether the copyist even worked after a painted

Fig. 9. Canvas 72 x 59 cm. Netherlands, private collection (version 6)



Fig. 10. Canvas 81 x 64.2 cm. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts (version 7)



version, given that the flesh tint found in the other versions below the fastening of the shirt is not included here. The painting almost certainly has been copied from a print: if so, more likely the one by Gole after the original than that by Riedel, after the Dresden version.

Version 7 (fig. 10)
BUDAPEST, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, CAT. NO. 859[21]
HDG –; BR. –; BAUCH –; GERSON –; TÜMPEL –

Support

Canvas, 81 x 64.2 cm.

Comments

This is a very weak copy, and the only one that does not include the hands, the pen, the sketchbook and the ink pot. No traces of the painted frame are found. Its feeble execution is so far removed from Rembrandt's manner of painting that the possibility of it having originated in the master's immediate surroundings may be discounted. Its closeness to version 3 may indicate that it is a copy after that painting.

Provenance

– Coll. Esterhazy.

NOTES

1. Br. 46 and 47.
2. Br.-Gerson 46, 47 and 47a.
3. See also II A 54 and A. Rüger, V. Manuth in: exhib. cat. *Wisdom, knowledge and magic. The image of the scholar in Dutch seventeenth century painting*, Kingston 1996/97, no. 15.
4. Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 58-60, fig. 72.
5. HdG 537.
6. C. Müller Hofstede, 'Rembrandts Selbstbildnis mit Skizzenbuch', *Pantheon* 26 (1968), pp. 375-390.
7. K. Bauch, 'Zu einem verschollenen Selbstbildnis Rembrandts', *Pantheon* 27 (1969), pp. 224-226, esp. 226.
8. J.E. Wesseley, *Jacob Gole. Verzeichnis seiner Kupferstiche und Schabkunstblätter*, Hamburg 1889, no. 111.
9. The painting was examined on 28 August 1968 (J.B., S.H.L.), in Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen and on 25 October 1971 in San Francisco (B.H., E.v.d.W.) with the help of several prints of the X-radiographs that did not cover the entire painting. X-radiographs covering (almost) the entire surface were received later.
10. Müller Hofstede, op. cit.[6], p. 375.
11. R.R. Tatlock, 'An unpublished Rembrandt self-portrait', *Burl. Mag.* 46 (1925), pp. 258-259, 261; A.L. Mayer, 'Notes and Letters, "An unpublished Rembrandt self-portrait"', *Burl. Mag.* 47 (1925), p. 160.
12. G.F. Waagen, *Treasures of art in Great Britain* III, London 1854, p. 333.
13. Examined on 6 September 1971 (J.B., S.H.L.) and on 22 April 1993 (P.B., E.v.d.W.): in the frame, in good daylight, with the help of an X-radiograph of the head.
14. See note 6.
15. F. Broun, 'Rembrandts in the collection of Sir Joshua Reynolds', unpublished typescript 1984, no. 21.
16. Examined in May 1970 (B.H., E.v.d.W.): out of the frame and in daylight. An old discoloured layer of varnish hampered observation.
17. H. Kühn, 'Untersuchungen zu den Pigmenten und Malgründen Rembrandts, durchgeführt an den Gemälden der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden', *Maltechnik-Restauro* 83 (1977), pp. 223-233, esp. 229.
18. J. Hübner, *Catalogue de la Galerie Royale de Dresde* (translation L. Grangier), Dresden 1856, no. 1165.
19. Examined in October 1995 (K.G.), May 1996 (V.M.).
20. Report by J. Plesters from the National Gallery, London, dated 29 August 1973.
21. Seen on 10 August 1972 (B.H., E.v.d.W.).

IV 11 'Self-portrait' 1655

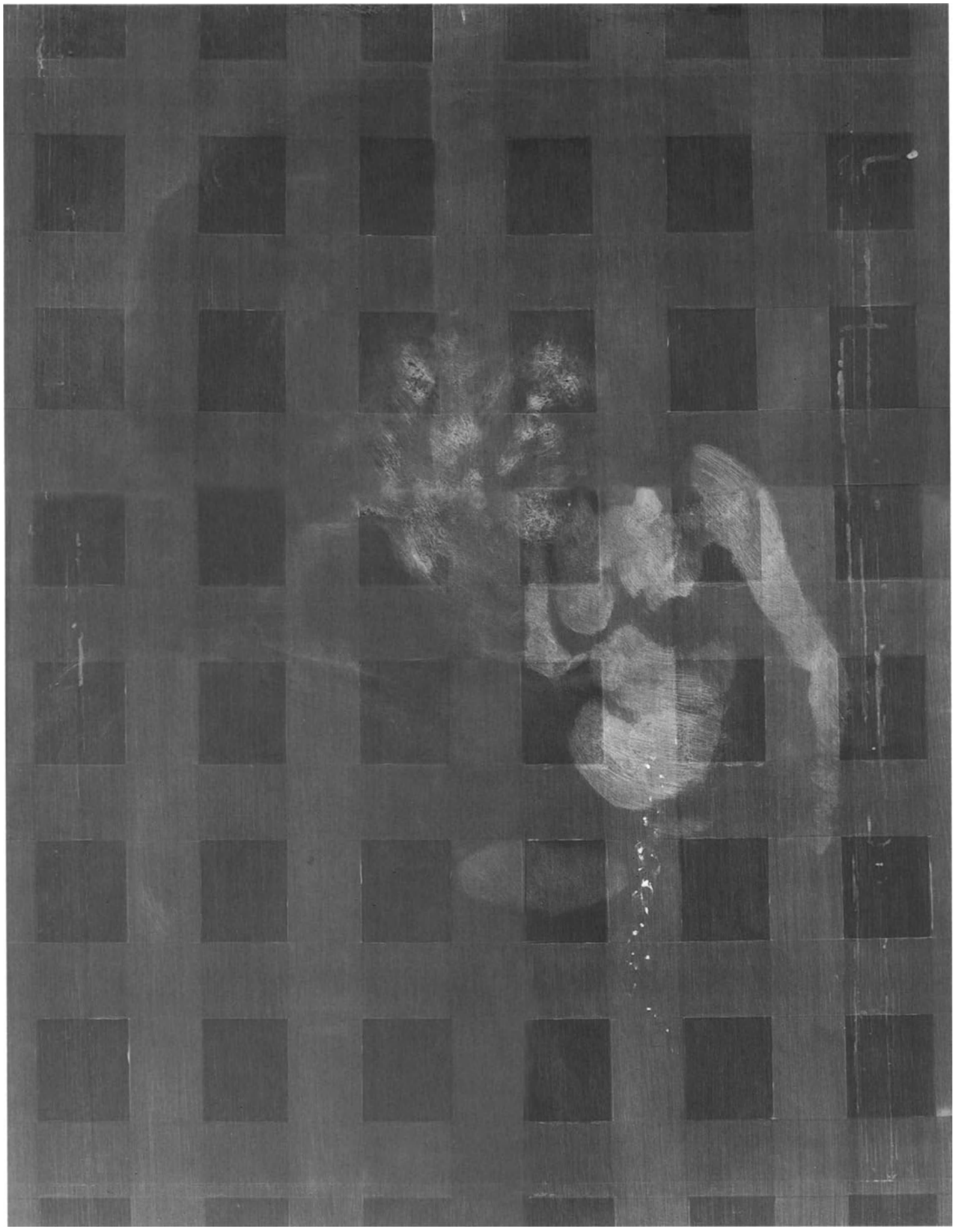
VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM, INV. NO. 9040

HDG 528; BR. 44; BAUCH 325; GERSON 320; TÜMPEL A 71

Fig. 1. Panel 64.3 x 50.8 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 281



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

The authenticity of this painting was never doubted in the literature until 1986, when Tümpel attributed it to an anonymous follower of Rembrandt.[1] Prior to that, discussions of the painting had focused exclusively on its supposedly poor condition. This entry takes a closer look at the painting's condition and examines the issue of attribution.

Rembrandt is shown *en trois quart.* He wears a dark brown gown with a turned up fur collar over a white shirt and a red brown *hemdrock* or waistcoat, and a black cap on his head. A gold earring adorns his visible ear and a gold chain with a medallion hangs from his neck. In the light of the question whether this could be an autograph self-portrait, it should be noted that the sitter's gaze does not appear to be directed at the beholder.

Working conditions

Examined on 29 May 1970 (B.H., E.v.d.W.), and again on 13 March 1989, September 1991 and June 1995 (E.v.d.W.): out of the frame, in good daylight with the aid of a complete set of X-ray films, a stereomicroscope, an ultraviolet lamp and infrared reflectography. A thick, yellowed, locally cracked varnish layer impedes observation.

Support

Oak panel, grain vertical, 64.3 x 50.8 cm (height and width measured without the added slats). Two planks, widths 24.3 cm (left) and 26.5 cm (right). The original two-part panel was affixed to an oak panel consisting of three pieces and subsequently cradled. Slats were added at the left and right sides; a strip of the new panel is visible at the top and bottom. This construction makes it impossible to discern potential traces of bevelling on the original panel. The measurements with the added pieces are 66 x 53 cm.

Dendrochronological analysis (by Dr P. Klein, Hamburg) of the two planks of the original panel showed (from left to right): 184 growth rings, dated 1430-1613 and 195 growth rings, dated 1422-1616. Both planks are from the same tree from the Baltic region. In the absence of sapwood, an earliest possible felling date of 1625 can be set, yielding 1631 as theoretically the earliest date that the panel could have been painted. Parts of the panel may, however, have been lost during its dramatic material history.

Ground

Nowhere observed with certainty.

Paint layer

Condition: Evaluation of the painting's condition is complicated by the rather obscure painting technique, further complicated by the presence of an underlying, probably unfinished painting (see *Radiography*). In the paint surface of the lit half of the face there are several apparently smoothly executed passages, which in the X-ray image seem to be painted with a restless pastose touch. While it would be tempting to consider these passages as overpaintings, this is not the case. The impression of smoothness is probably in part the result of the extremely thick layer of varnish that evens out the surface. To the extent that they are visible, strokes in the X-ray image correspond with streaks noticeable on the surface, thus countering the impression that these passages were extensively overpainted. More likely, the impasto has suffered from wear. The size of the grains of pigment also argues against the likelihood that the flesh-coloured layer on the surface is a later overpainting. This is evident, for example, in the lit section of the cheek at the left where an underlying ivory-coloured layer can be detected that must have become exposed through wear. That the painting was harshly cleaned and scoured is evident in the dark red of the nostril, now found only in the hollows of the paint relief.

The ivory-coloured layer that has come to the surface could be understood as a form of underpainting. The X-ray image gives no reason for maintaining the idea that the underlying image has become visible here.

While the ruddy glazes in the area of the crease of the cheek at the left are later overpaintings, it is not clear whether the shadows around the corner of the mouth and the moustache, painted as a series of small dark, wispy lines that fan out, were added later. The paint of these shadows partly overlaps and underlies the flesh colour, making it unclear whether this flesh-coloured paint is original, or whether parts were touched up by a later hand. The wispy lines do seem to be old: they are also found in an early copy in Munich (see *5. Copies*, 1, fig. 4). However, this does not exclude the possibility that old retouchings present in the Vienna painting were copied in the Munich version.

Furthermore, there are passages along the edges of the painting, in the hair above the ear at the left, and in the chest at the left, with a very distinct shrinkage pattern of craquelure that differs from that of the surroundings. These passages can be considered as overpaintings possibly done with a bituminous paint. It is not impossible that parts of the black and dark grey passages in the gown are also later overpaintings.

In various areas, such as in the turned up collar of the gown at the right, continuing to the jaw at the right below the mouth, in the red brown waistcoat to the left of the chain, and in the shoulder at the right, light (ivory white) dots and brushstrokes connected with the underlying image shine through the locally extremely worn paint surface (see *Radiography*). This ivory white paint seems to be covered with a locally applied black layer over which was painted the red of the waistcoat.

Furthermore, after being radically overcleaned, the cap was overpainted with an opaque brown layer, as were parts of the shadowed half of the face and the background. In the transition from the cap to the background this has been done with somewhat hatched streaks. This overpainting partly extends over the signature.

Craquelure: With the exception of the above-mentioned areas with shrinkage craquelure connected with later overpaintings, an extremely fine craquelure pattern

is found only in several places in the face (with the help of the microscope).

Despite the painting's worn condition, the local overpaintings in the background, cap and shaded parts of the face, the thick smooth varnish layer, and the fact that the ivory-coloured underpainting and the underlying image show through in places as a result of wear, enough of the original paint surface remains to assess aspects of the *peinture*. However, the degree to which the painting's condition determines its appearance can ultimately only be clearly ascertained by removing the varnish and later overpaintings.

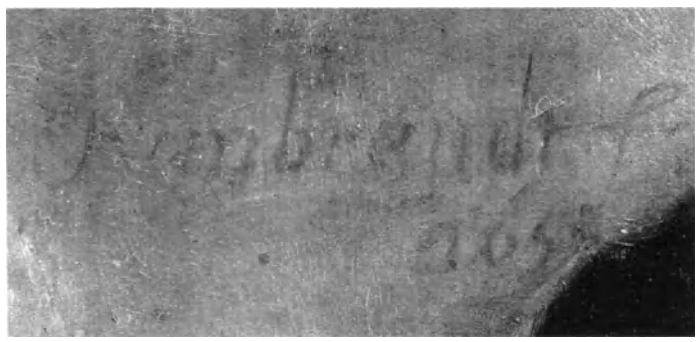
The painting lacks robust brushwork in the impasto and in the lit sections where the paint has been applied with a somewhat cramped brush action. The face is built up over a transparent brown underlayer visible in the forehead, near the nose and the eye socket of the eye at the left over which shapes appear to be delineated in darker brown, namely in the upper left half of the face, where the eye and the eyebrow are summarily drawn in dark lines. As stated in *Paint layer* Condition, account must be taken of the fact that more or less radical overpaintings in predominantly transparent paint were applied in all the shaded areas. The light sections of the head that are painted over the ivory-coloured underpainting described above have been executed in fairly long streaky strokes and local short, clotted strokes in flesh tones varying from grey to ochre yellow and pink. The nose is thinly painted in muddled, haphazardly applied dashes and strokes, and the pinkish strokes on the nasal bone do not contribute to a convincing plasticity. The pink of the nose wing is somewhat more intense than the greyish and yellowish flesh colour of the rest of the nose. The nostril is indicated by a dry, black, horizontal dab with an indistinct ruddy rim at the left. Here, too, the role of the painting's poor condition is difficult to estimate. The lightest point of the cheekbone displays a pastose islet pink and yellow. The collar is executed in fine strokes of ochre yellow, red and brown creating the impression of fluffy fur. The chain is indicated with thick, pastose highlights.

A pentimento can be noted at the right edge of the turned up collar to the left of the chin. Light paint of the neck shines through in that area, as do several short white strokes of the shirt collar partially extending under the collar as now visible (see also *Radiography*). In the left part of the collar and along the lower edge, where a spot of ochre yellow paint is visible with the same coarse texture as on the cheekbone, something of an earlier version of the collar can still be discerned. It seems to follow a broad diagonal path extending to the highlights of the chain. Accordingly, the red waistcoat, now covered by a dark brown, locally transparent layer, must have originally been wider.

Radiography

The X-radiograph is largely determined by an image of a nude female figure turned to the left underneath the present painting. The two arms and a part of the upper

Fig. 3. Detail with signature (reduced)



left leg of this somewhat slumped seated figure, whose torso bends slightly forward, show up clearly. Because the broad brushstrokes in this figure are equally wide and the illuminated sections visible in the X-ray image do not appear to have been further elaborated, the figure gives the impression of being an initial lay-in in radioabsorbent paint. This would also explain why the X-ray image presents no trace of the head, the hands, and the right leg. Although these passages could have been indicated in dark paint that does not absorb X-rays, local radioabsorbency would be expected had these passages been worked up.

In the X-radiograph only the head and a few highlights in the chain of the *'Self-portrait'* can be traced, along with the turned up collar mentioned in *Paint layer*. Originally, the brushstrokes delineating the lower part of the cheek extended all the way into the neck, and a radioabsorbent stroke of paint showing up light in the X-radiograph was placed in the now visible tip of the collar. In addition, the contour of the cap at the left appears to have been shifted.

Signature

In timid, dark brown grey letters near the cap at the upper left in the background: <*Rembrandt f/ 1655*>. As noted in *Paint layer* Condition, the signature seems to have been partly overpainted with the same layer as the cap and the background.

2. Comments

On the occasion of the Rembrandt exhibitions of 1956, Winkler wrote an article addressing issues of authenticity in which he also discussed the condition of a number of Rembrandt's works. About the present painting, he wrote: 'Not showing the crispness of brushstroke that one would expect from a late work, heavily flattened with a dull varnish and dead eyes, uninteresting in the shaded parts, one is tempted to call this painting a beautiful ruin.'.[2] Gerson, on the other hand, believed the painting's condition was better than Winkler suggested.[3] These differences of opinion show how difficult it is to gauge the condition of the painting and thus evaluate it.

Only removal of the very thick varnish layer could reveal the painting's actual condition and provide a more complete insight into its genesis, style and quality. Consequently, at this time we can do little more than simply consider the various possibilities with respect to the paint-

ing's authorship, which was rejected by Tümpel in his Rembrandt monograph of 1986.

First, the arguments will be explored that do not stand in the way of an attribution to Rembrandt, or at least situate the origin of the painting in Rembrandt's workshop. Subsequently, the arguments against an attribution to Rembrandt will be examined.

The arguments in favour of an attribution, or a place within Rembrandt's workshop, are important but not decisive. There are sufficient indications that the painting dates from the 17th century. Dendrochronological investigation shows that the two planks of the panel came from a tree from the Baltic area which was felled at the earliest in 1625 (see *Support*). Moreover, the fact that a work relying on the Vienna painting was already called a self-portrait in 1719 (see *5. Copies*, 1, fig. 4) argues for an early origin and makes it likely that the present painting came from Rembrandt's workshop. One other aspect speaks for an origin in Rembrandt's workshop. The X-radiograph of the painting shows a figure under the visible image. The fact that a significant number of Rembrandt's self-portraits, even if not executed by him (see IV 10 version 2 and IV 12), are painted over another, abandoned composition (see Chapter III, pp. 96-98) is not, of course, a cogent criterium for authenticity. However, it does carry some weight in judging this painting, especially in view of the subject of the underlying composition. The pose of the underlying figure is very close to that of Rembrandt's 1654 *Bathsheba* in the Louvre (Br. 521). The Vienna *'Self-portrait'* bears the date 1655 (see *Signature*), and should it indeed stand for the year of origin, the underlying painting could have been derived from the *Bathsheba*. As already noted (see *Radiography*), no elaboration of the visible areas of the underlying figure can be discerned. It appears to be merely a first lay-in. The somewhat uniform brushwork of this underlying painting is not reminiscent of Rembrandt's manner. The head, the lower right arm and the greater part of both legs are not visible in the X-ray image. Evidently these are shaded areas done in non-radioabsorbent paint. It is highly probable that the underlying painting is an initial lay-in for a copy, or a variant of the *Bathsheba*. It would then have been the first stage of a type of painting akin to the partial copy with the figure of Susanna after the Berlin *Susanna and the Elders* (Br. 518 after Br. 516) that certainly originated in Rembrandt's studio (see our discussion in Vol. V).

Arguments against an attribution to Rembrandt are principally related to qualitative, stylistic and physiognomic aspects. As mentioned above, Tümpel was the first to reject the painting. He considered the manner of painting different from that of secure works by Rembrandt (see note 1). He then attributed it to an anonymous Rembrandt imitator. To judge the painting on its present appearance, Tümpel's rejection is entirely understandable. The head, built up in thin streaky brushstrokes and short daubs, and the gown painted in brown sweeps with crude strokes to indicate the folds, indeed, exhibit no distinct relationship with similar passages in authentic works by Rembrandt. As Winkler noted earlier, one of the most divergent passages in the painting concerns the eyes, which lack a clearly defined structure. Moreover, the eye at the right is lacking the sagging fold of the eyelid that is characteristic of Rembrandt's self-portraits (see pp. 94-96). The painting diverges even further from the group of autograph self-portraits by Rembrandt in that the eyes do not seem to be fixed on the viewer. In addition, the vertical furrow above the nose that curves to the left eye, recurrently evident in Rembrandt's autograph self-portraits, is not found in its usual form in the painting under discussion. All of these features speak against the present painting's authenticity. Only the worrying uncertainty about its condition prevents outright rejection.

Given the above, it is worth looking more closely at another version of the painting now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (see *5. Copies*, 1, fig. 4). Although this painting served as the prototype for a series of copies varying greatly in quality, including one by Courbet, it is clear at first sight that it could not have been produced in the master's workshop, let alone be by his own hand.

As long as the painting under discussion was judged an autograph work by Rembrandt, the picture in Munich was generally considered to be based on it, although it is clear that the Munich version is not a copy in the strict sense. Besides the fact that it differs in format and that it is rounded at the top, the sitter is wearing a different gown and undergarment, another type of cap with an ornament, and no necklace or earring. Also, he holds his

Fig. 4. Copy 1, panel 82 x 67 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek



left hand to his chest. There are also compositional differences. The sitter is positioned further to the left and in a more spacious setting with more background visible at the left and right, and he is shown to the waist. In addition, the modelling of the head in the Munich painting makes a more convincing impression than that of the Vienna version; the construction of the eyes, for instance, is clearer. The same applies to the lit parts of the head, which make a more structured impression than in the Vienna painting. On the basis of such differences, it would at first sight seem rather unlikely that the Munich painting is a copy of the Vienna work. However, here too, the condition of the Vienna painting seriously hinders both proper judgement and comparison. Details in both are so close that there must be a direct connection between the two paintings. The pose and illumination of the head and the related shaded areas near the nose and the corner of the mouth at the left (if this passage in the Vienna painting is, indeed, overpainted, then the copy was made after it was overpainted), and the signature *Rembrandt f / 1655(?)* in the same place with the date under the name, are identical in both paintings. It is striking that the collar of the white shirt is indicated with identical undulating brushstrokes. Could it be proven that the Munich painting surely relied on the Vienna one, Winkler's characterisation of the Vienna painting as 'eine schöne Ruine' (a beautiful ruin) – one we are inclined to agree with – would gain greater validity.

To better locate the Munich version (in its decidedly un-Rembrandtesque technique) it is important to reconstruct its history and long provenance. It was in the collection of Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine (d. 1716, see II A 65) and first mentioned in the *Gründliche* Specification *derer vortrefflichen und unschätzbaren Gemählden...*, *In der* Galerie *der Churfürstl.* Residentz *zu Düsseldorff ...*, drawn up in 1719 under: 'N.93. Das Portrait von Rembrand, gemahlet von *Rembrand.*' According to this entry, the portrait hung in the same room ('Das zweyte Zimmer') as, and together with, the paintings of the Passion series (nos. II A 65, II A 69, III A 118, III A 126, III A 127, Br. 574 and the lost *Circumcision*). Remarkably, the dimensions of the portrait of Rembrandt given in the 'Specification' happen to be identical to those of the paintings of the Passion series, namely: 'hoch 2 Fuss 9 Zoll Breit 2 Fuss 4 Zoll' (Rhineland feet) [= 86.3 x 73.2 cm]. Moreover, like the paintings in the Passion series, it has a rounded top.

This means that a series of paintings by Rembrandt was already accompanied by a portrait of its maker early in the 18th century: a portrait, moreover, deemed autograph in the catalogue of 1719. It is not known when the Munich *Portrait of Rembrandt* was added to the Passion series. There is no mention of a (self-)portrait of Rembrandt (see II A 65, *8. Provenance*) in the inventory of Amalia van Solms of 20 March 1668 in which the seven paintings are first described as a series. It was first listed together with the series in 1719.[4]

Two possibilities can be inferred from the above: the Munich version is either an older painting adapted to match the format of the Passion series, or it was painted in its present form in the beginning of the 18th century to serve the same goal as Van der Werff's addition of a self-portrait to a comparable series.[5] Hofstede de Groot proposed that the Munich version was a copy of a lost original.[6] If so, the obvious question is whether the Vienna painting is also a copy based on the same prototype. Arguing against this construction, however, is the large pentimento in the collar in the Vienna painting, indicating that the collar of the Vienna version was originally lower. Because the collar in the Munich painting follows the one now visible in the Vienna painting, the Munich example should rather be seen as an embellished and elaborated copy of the Vienna picture.

In the light of the comparison between the Munich and the Vienna paintings and the dendrochronological data of the latter painting it is highly plausible that the Vienna '*Self-portrait*' is the prototype. Does this mean that it is an – indeed unusual – autograph self-portrait by Rembrandt? Another option would be that it is the work of one of Rembrandt's studio assistants.

As pointed out in Chapter III, there is strong evidence that collaborators in Rembrandt's studio were involved in the production of non-autograph 'self-portraits' of Rembrandt. The deviant features in the execution and physiognomic characteristics of the present painting, together with the somewhat unusual type and attitude of the sitter, make it likely that it too belongs to this category. Since we believe that these works – as in the case of the non-autograph history paintings from the studio (see the forthcoming Vol. V) – are free variants on a prototype by Rembrandt, it may in this case be worth considering that the Kassel *Self-portrait* (IV 9) served as a starting point.

Another painting by a studio collaborator based on the same prototype would be the '*Self-portrait*' in Florence (IV 12). In all three paintings the head is depicted in the same position, the faces display numerous physiognomic correspondences, and the clothing also largely corresponds (the same type of cap and gown). The three paintings are also similar to each other with respect to the illumination of the head, with the eyes remaining in shadow.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 270 ff.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

1. Etching in reverse after copy 1 (*5. Copies*, 1) by Carl Ernst Christoph Hess (Darmstadt 1755-Munich 1828) for *La Galerie électorale de Düsseldorf...*, Basle 1778. Inscribed: *Rembrandt pinx:* – *Hess fecit aqua forti.* and on a shield at the centre bottom the monogram *CT* of the Elector Palatine Carl Theodor (d. 1799). With the exception of the rounded top, there are no significant changes in the print seen in its entirety, although a piece is cut off in the painting. From this can be inferred that copy 1 was reduced after the genesis of the print in 1778 (see also note 8).

5. Copies

Several copies can be connected to the Vienna painting. However, these deviate in so many aspects from the Vienna *'Self-portrait'* that one wonders whether they were not made after another lost version. Far more likely, however, is that copy 1 formerly in the Düsseldorf Gallery served as the model for most of the other copies. In his account of his journey to Flanders and the Netherlands in 1781, also including Düsseldorf, Sir Joshua Reynolds notes that many students in the Gallery of Düsseldorf made copies of paintings in the collection. They even had at their disposal a large room especially for copying paintings, which explains the large number of (18th-century) copies after copy 1.[7]

1. Panel 82 x 67 cm, grain vertical, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv.no. 429 (fig. 4). A copy showing the figure in the same direction which, however, deviates in several aspects from the Vienna painting. Thus, the top edge of the support is semi-circular, apparently to match the Passion series (at the top of the support a piece of app. 5 cm has now been cut off), the figure is seen to the waist, wears a different cap with an ornament, a different undergarment, no necklace and rests his left hand on his chest. Still, tiny details from the Vienna painting have been adopted, including the white shirt collar with an identical brushstroke. Hence, a direct relationship between the two paintings is most likely. This painting was first mentioned in 1719 in Düsseldorf in the collection of Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine (reigned 1690-1716). [G.J. Karsch] *Gründliche* Specification *derer vortrefflichen und unschätzbaren Gemählden...*, *In der* Galerie *der Churfürstl.* Residentz *zu Düsseldorff...*, [1719]: 'N.93. Das Portrait von Rembrand, gemahlet von Rembrand. Hoch 2 Fuss - 9 Zoll Breit 2 Fuss - 4 Zoll [= app. 86.3 x 73.2 cm (Rhineland feet)]'. The measurements of the painting in Munich (82 x 67 cm) differ somewhat from the measurements as converted from the specification. This is relatively easy to explain. The height of the paintings in the Passion series also differs from the measurements given in the specification, while their width agrees quite well with that of the Munich '*Self-portrait*'. More significant is the fact that a piece of a few centimetres has vanished from the rounded top of this painting.[8] For a more detailed evaluation of the similarities and differences between the Munich and Vienna paintings and a proposal to date it in the beginning of the 18th century, see *2. Comments*.

2. Panel with a triangular top, app. 83.3 x 67.9 cm (according to the owner), private collection. This copy is related to copy 1, yet also deviates from it in the clothing and the hands. The figure has an earring in the ear just as in the Vienna painting. This may be the copy of the Munich painting (copy 1) noted by Hofstede de Groot (see note 6).

3. Canvas app. 66 x 55.8 cm. Coll. Catherina Lambert, sale New York 21 febr. 1916, no. 211, with ill. The copy reproduces copy 1 to just below the chest, without the hand.

4. Canvas 81 x 68 cm; Madrid, Palacio Real. This copy goes back to the Vienna '*Self-portrait*'.[9]

5. Canvas 87 x 73 cm by Gustave Courbet; Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Made after copy 1.

6. Provenance

– Coll. Earl of Carysfort, sale London (Christie's) 14 June 1828 (Lugt 11781), no. 53: 'Rembrandt. Portrait of himself with a gold Chain about his neck.' (£ 69 – s 6 to Rogers).

– Coll. Samuel Rogers, sale London (Christie's) 28 April - 10 May 1856 (Lugt 22964), 6th day, no. 719: 'Rembrandt. Portrait of the artist, in a crimson dress, and brown cloak edged with fur; he wears a jewel suspended from a gold chain, and a black cap. This noble work, of the very highest quality, is from the collection of the Earl of Carrysfort.' (£ 325 s. 10 to Christie & Manson).

– Coll. Evans-Lombe, sale Paris 27 April – 2 May 1863 (Lugt 27301), no. 22: 'Rembrandt (Paul). Portrait de Rembrandt. Il est en habit de couleur cramoisie et enveloppé d'un manteau garni de fourrure, sa tête est couverte d'un bonnet noir. Ce magnifique tableau provient des collections du comte de Carrisfort et Samuel Rogers' (6800 francs).

– Dealer Ch. Sedelmeyer, Paris, *Catalogue of 100 paintings*, II, Paris 1895, no. 30. (to Colnaghi 53,000 francs).

– Coll. Robert von Mendelssohn, Berlin (1895 for 58,000 francs).

– Kunsthistorisches Museum after 1938; purchased in 1942 from Mrs G. von Mendelssohn.[10]

NOTES

1. Tümpel 1986, cat. no. A 71.
2. F. Winkler, 'Echt, falsch, verfälscht', *Kunstchronik* 10 (1957), pp. 141-147, esp. 143: 'Ohne die Frische des Striches, die man bei der bedeutenden Anlage in einem Spätwerk erwarten muss, zu stark gebügelt, mit stumpfem Firnis und toten Augen, uninteressant in den beschatteten Teilen, fühlt man sich versucht, es als eine schöne Ruine zu bezeichnen'.
3. Gerson 320.
4. As appears from several prints made in 1776 under the direction of Christian von Mechel, in which the arrangement of the paintings on the wall of the various rooms is depicted, the *Portrait of Rembrandt* no longer hung with the paintings of the Passion series. On this, see: N. de Pigage, *La Galerie électorale de Dusseldorff ou catalogue raisonné et figuré de ses tableaux* (...), Basle 1778. The *Portrait of Rembrandt* is found under 'les Tableaux mobiles' (no. 295, Pl. XXIII).
5. A series of 15 'misterien' paintings by Adriaen van der Werff, also made for Johann Wilhelm, is interesting in this connection. This series was preceded by a painting in which the noble couple is surrounded by the seven Liberal Arts, and in which is included a self-portrait of the artist in the foreground. The Elector did not commission this painting. Van der Werff made it after the death of Johann Wilhelm - and after the entire series had been completed. In 1718, Van der Werff tried to sell it to Wilhelm's successor Carl Philipp, and in a letter he noted that: 'het werk van de 15 misterien al bereyts aan U UKD hoff berustende is, maar dat ook daar nog aan mankeerd, om voltoyt te zyn, en om in volkome perfectie te hebben, het 16de stuk, bestaande in de tytelplaat ... ook het pourtret van mijnzelve welk nog aen Ceuv. hof niet gevonden worden' (the work of the 15 'misterien' already at your Royal Serene Highness' court, in order to be complete and fully perfect is missing the 16th piece, existing in the title plate ... and includes my portrait which is not yet to be found at the Electoral court). From this information, one has the impression that the completion of a series of related paintings with a self-portrait of the maker of the series was not unusual in the beginning of the 18th century. On this, see: B. Gaehtgens, *Adriaen van der Werff 1659-1722*, Munich 1987, cat. no. 41, pp. 261-263.
6. HdG 595.
7. J. Reynolds, 'A journey to Flanders and Holland in the year MDCCLXXXI', *The works of Sir Joshua Reynolds...*; ed. E. Malone, London 1809[4], II, pp. 375-376.
8. Should Hess's print of 1778 (see *4. Graphic reproductions*, 1), in which the top of the painting is reproduced as semi-circular, correctly reproduce the painting, then the format was reduced after 1778. However, it is also possible that the painting was already reduced in 1778 and that the engraver did not faithfully follow the model. The painting was in fact described with its present dimensions in 1778 by N. de Pigage, op. cit.[4], no. 295: 'Peint sur bois. Haut de 2 pieds, 6 pouces; large de 2 pieds, 1 pouce' [= app. 81.2 x 67.7 cm]. This means that after the mention in 1719, the painting was reduced in height by app. 5 cm and in width by app. 6 cm.
9. Enrique Valdivieso, *Pintura Holandesa del siglo XVII en España*, Valladolid 1973, p. 347.
10. Cat. *Die Gemäldegalerie des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien. Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, Vienna 1991, p. 99.

IV 12 'Self-portrait' [*c.* 1655]

FLORENCE, GALLERIA DEGLI UFFIZI, INV. 1890 NO. 1864

HDG 539; BR. 45; BAUCH 328; GERSON –; TÜMPEL –

1. Introduction and description

This painting has generally been rejected since 1953, when Slive suggested that it is a copy.[1] Despite the obviously weak quality of the painting and its stylistic idiosyncrasies, we initially left open the possibility that it might be by Rembrandt himself, for the genesis of the painting speaks against it being a copy, and there is no reason to doubt that it was produced in Rembrandt's studio. Now that we are certain that others than Rembrandt himself produced Rembrandt 'self-portraits' in his studio, the weight of stylistic and qualitative differences from known autograph works leads us to believe that the painting is another of these studio products, in this case probably a free variant on the Kassel *Self-portrait* from 1654 (IV 9).

In the following, the technical data and information concerning the history and historiography of the painting will be presented. Our arguments concerning the disattribution of the painting are to be found in Chapter III of this volume, pp. 117-119 and 263-266.

Rembrandt is shown bust-length gazing out at the viewer. He wears a blackish-brown coat – open at the neck – over a white shirt, the collar of which is just visible at the right, and a red *hemdrock*, or waistcoat. On his head is perched a black cap with an undulating rim which casts a shadow on his forehead and eyes.

Working conditions

Examined on 11 September 1972 (J.B., P.v.Th.) and on 28 September 1995 (E.v.d.W.): in the frame, in good daylight and artificial light, and with the aid of six X-radiographs covering the entire surface. A thick, yellowed varnish layer somewhat hampers observation.

Support

Canvas, lined, 69 x 59 cm. The X-radiographs show that nine narrow primed strips of canvas have been attached to the lining canvas along all four edges. Their canvas weave is identical and does not match that of the painted canvas. The canvas, including the later strips, measures 76 x 61 cm.

Strongly pronounced cusping is visible in the X-radiograph along the top, left and bottom edges of the original canvas. The pitch of the cusps at the bottom edge varies between 13 and 16 cm and extends app. 16 cm into the weave. The pitch of the cusps along the top edge varies between 5 and 9 cm and extends app. 12 cm into the canvas. The top right edge of the canvas descends diagonally following a deformation of the entire weave, which slants toward the lower right. Along the upper and lower edges in the X-radiograph and in the paint surface's relief can be seen the original edges of the canvas, as well as the original tacking holes (the holes used to lace the canvas in a stretcher). Also visible in the X-ray image along those edges are stitches indicating that the canvas (before being stretched and primed) was hemmed to reinforce the edges.[2] The prominent cusps and the presence of the original tacking points and hems make it clear that the height of the canvas is original. The height is equal to the standard 17th-century canvas width of 1 ell.

The cusps along the left edge, which has been cut off straight, vary in pitch from 15.5 to 18 cm and extend app. 19 cm into the canvas. This means that no more than a few centimetres can be missing from this side. At the right, the weave exhibits several cusps of uneven length whose distortions vary substantially. The most radical distortion extends some 15 cm into the canvas. Since distortions can extend quite far into the canvas when it is unevenly stretched, a strip at the right of the original canvas may have been cut off. The traces of an underlying painting visible in the X-radiograph, which is cut off at the right by the edge of the canvas, could be an indication of this (see *Radiography*). However, the serious deformation of the top edge sloping down to the right mentioned above, and of the fabric as a whole, undermines the supposition that the canvas was initially much larger on the righthand side.

Thread count: 12.26 vertical threads/cm (11-13) and 14.07 horizontal threads/cm (13-15). The vertical threads display thickenings of varying length, while the thickness of the horizontal threads is more regular. Accordingly, it can be inferred that the warp runs horizontally, which is in keeping with the conjecture that the height of the painting covers the full (standard) width of the linen.

Ground

Not observed. The paint of different colours showing through locally does not belong to the ground layer, but is part of the underlying painting (see *Radiography*).

Paint layer

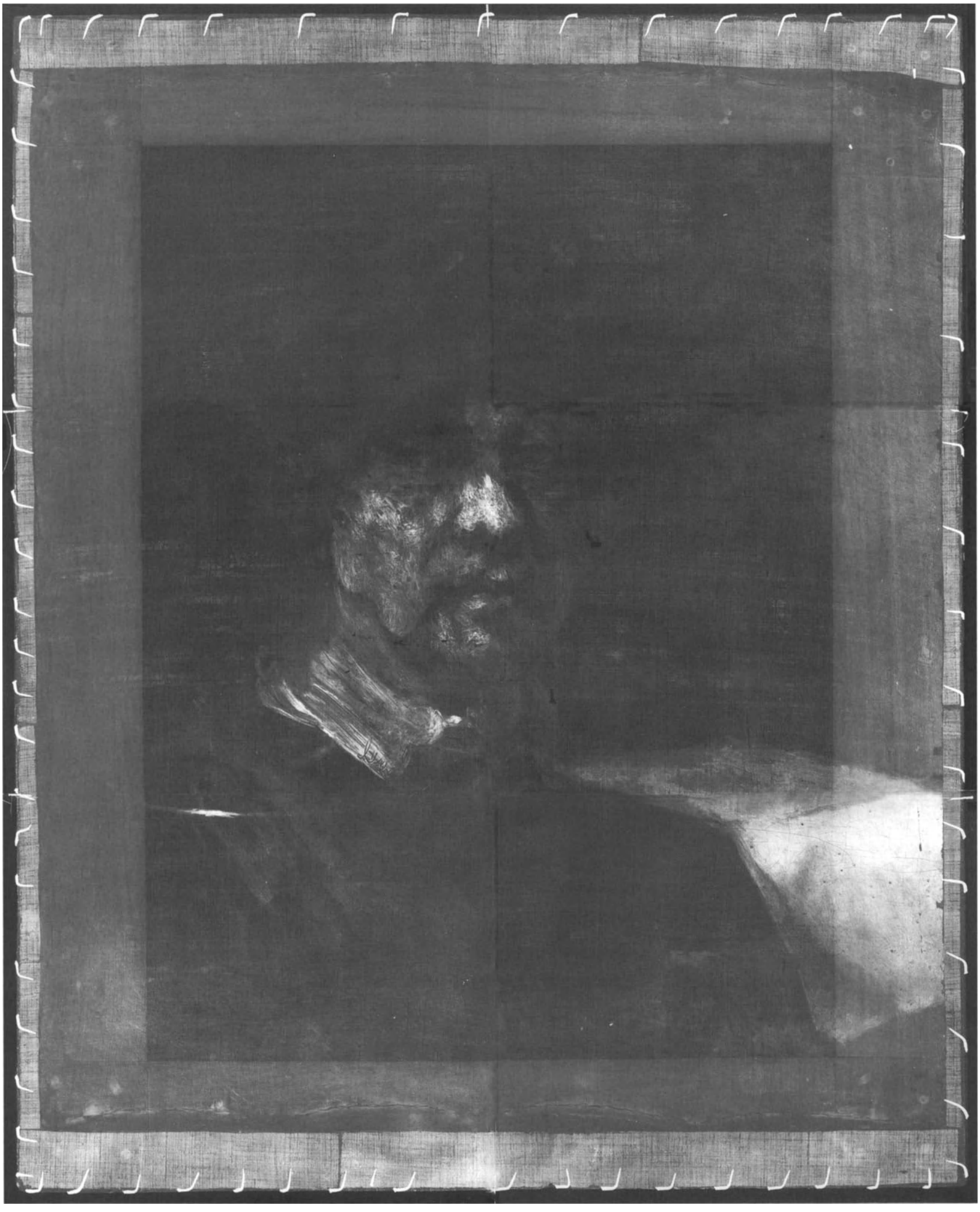
Condition: The X-radiograph displays local paint and ground loss (also visible in the surface) primarily due to the effects of a previous stretcher. This paint loss has been retouched in places. The edges were also restored in connection with the trimmings or additions described in *Support*. More serious are the extensive retouchings and overpaintings in the thin sections of the paint layer of the painting where the paint relief of the underlying still-life has been revealed by overcleaning. As discussed below, a pentimento below the lit cheek has become visible due to the wearing of the dark paint of the cloak painted over it.

The retouchings and overpaintings occur primarily in the background, the cap and the costume. Overpainting is also visible in and around the face. For example, most of the shadows in the face as well as areas in and around the eyes have been overpainted with greyish opaque paint. Furthermore, the reinforcement of contours in various places – often applied as clusters of wispy black brush lines – must be considered as later additions. They are found near the shaded shirt collar, below the jowl to the left of the chin, at the corners of the mouth, along the contour of the nose and near the eyelids. It is highly likely that reinforcement of the nostril and the pupils with black paint was also done later. As a whole these interventions, instead of being modest retouchings, can be described as rather freely applied overpaintings. The pastose sections of the head, including the lit part of the nose, have been severely flattened.

Fig. 1. Canvas 69 x 59 cm (without added strips). For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 56



Fig. 2. X-Ray



Craquelure: A fine yet clear craquelure pattern is visible in the lit sections of the head. A less delicate pattern is discerned in the remaining areas, which is affected locally by the aforementioned indentations of the earlier stretcher.

In view of the painting's condition, a description of the *peinture*, painting technique and colour scheme will necessarily remain limited to the lit parts of the face, the red waistcoat and the collar folded over it.

The paint relief of the brushstrokes in the triangle of the red waistcoat can still be clearly read, in part due to the wearing of a glaze (or a transparent overpainting by a later hand) which partially covers the bright red paint. Red lake has been thickly applied locally to indicate dark accents or shadows in the red section, such as in the shadow below the shirt collar and along the outer edge of the cloak.

The shirt collar in shadow at the right, enlivened with a few accents of reflected light, is indicated with dabs of grey paint suggesting folds. Here the edge of the collar is depicted by a row of swiftly applied dots, indicating some sort of decoration. The dark lines in and around the collar were most likely added by the later hand also responsible for the linear 'reinforcements' of the contours elsewhere in the painting (see *Condition*). To fully understand the genesis of this painting it is essential to note that the locally worn, wide, originally white shirt collar – visible in relief at the left – could never have been intended as the counterpart of the collar in shadow described above. Not only do they differ substantially in scale, but the relief of the underlying paint reveals that the shirt collar at the left (abandoned during work on the painting), also had a, now covered, seemingly incomplete, right counterpart that fitted more closely under the double chin than the collar now visible. Hence, a radical change was introduced at this spot during the painting process. The point of the final collar has no counterpart on the left. Painted over the earlier collar, and probably intended to fit more closely under the chin, the cloak nevertheless opens exposing the red triangle of the waistcoat and the shirt collar at the right, as in the *Self-portrait* in New York (IV 20). The paint in this part of the cloak in the Florence painting is so worn that the shape of the original coat collar can no longer be distinguished. While the reliability of reproductive prints is open to discussion, the one by Lasinio (*4. Graphic reproductions*, 2; fig. 4) gives an impression of the original appearance of the cloak (collar) and the cap. The relief of brushstrokes curving along the shoulder and the chest can be seen more to the left in the painting. That they do not belong to the underlying painting (described in *Radiography*) is evident from the fact that the yellow highlight on the edge of the metal dish in that painting intersects the relief of these strokes.

The lit areas of flesh and the lower lip are done in coarse, predominantly pastose paint, over which cool and warm, sometimes strong pink glazes have been locally applied. In some places the impastoed paint has been applied freely while in areas near a contour, along the jaw line for example, longer strokes correlate with the definition of form. Near the base and the lit wing of the nose, pastose paint has been applied over a fairly thin light paint layer. This may be a local underpainting used to cover the underlying painting (cf. IV 9). The lower rim of the lit wing of the nose has, as usual, been indicated with ruddy paint to suggest the glow of the wing of the nose caused by the filtered light. A lock of grey hair covering the sitter's summarily indicated right ear exhibits broad, wavy strokes done with a small amount of grey paint with a few highlights. Traces of the other ear can be discerned along the contour of the sitter's left cheek.

The moustache consists of a few strokes of brown paint over a dark underlayer. At the left it takes the form of thick, curved flesh-coloured strokes which are partially covered by the ochre-red of the upper lip. The jowl is indicated by a broad, abruptly ending vertical dab. As stated in *Condition*, the extent to which the areas in and around the eyes were worked on by later hands makes it pointless to describe the execution in this area. However, the summarily indicated light accents on the sitters' right eyelid and the drooping fold of skin may be considered original.

The light falling to the left and right of the vertical furrow is reminiscent of that in the *Self-portrait* in the Frick Collection in New York (IV 14). Tonal differences between the passages to the left and right of the furrow above the nose creating the impression that more light falls at the right than at the left, may have to do with the varying degrees of overcleaning in this area. The progression of the dark line of the furrow seems to be partially determined by later interventions. The relief of the better preserved light paint in this section makes it probable that the bottom of this furrow was not originally as straight as the dark line suggests, but was meant instead to curve in the direction of the left eye socket. A series of horizontal wrinkles is indicated below this furrow on the base of the nose in the relief of the impastoed light paint.

Radiography

The X-radiograph is dominated by a large form showing up light at the lower right, which does not correspond with the *Self-portrait* but belongs instead to an earlier image. This form is the lit part of an open book with a curled page at the lower right. Other forms belonging to this earlier scene can also be distinguished; for example at the lower left, under the final version of the collar of the *Self-portrait*, there is a horizontal, somewhat curving line which appears to be part of an ellipse that does not show up entirely. This line shows up lighter a little to the left of centre and its course leads one to suspect that initially a round (metal) dish was depicted here. The lightest spot on the line could then be considered a highlight. Its paint has been exposed through wearing of the paint surface and is light yellow. Also distinguishable in the X-radiograph are several vague, undefinable shapes in radioabsorbent paint in the lower half of the painting, particularly to the left of the book, which do not correspond with the visible image. For an interpretation of the underlying composition, see *2. Comments.*

The irregular spots in the book may be an indication

that the underlying painting was scraped off. Another instance of a painted support that appears to have been scraped down before being reused is the 1627 *David before Saul* in Basel (I A 9).

The local light underpainting of the head, mentioned in *Paint layer,* barely shows up in the X-ray image. This explains the recess in the radioabsorbency of the wing of the nose showing up dark in the X-radiograph, whose visible shape in the paint surface is determined by the light underpainting. The vertical line of radioabsorbent material at the neck does not appear to be related to either the underlying image or the *Self-portrait*, but rather to the ground or the lining adhesive.

The X-radiograph confirms the observation described in *Paint layer* that the *Self-portrait* experienced a radical change in the course of execution. Below the cheek at the left can be seen the white collar, which shines through the paint surface as a light form. Spiral-like scratchmarks were made in this collar while the paint was still wet. At a later stage, they were covered by paint containing lead white and were consequently partially filled by the paint while the first paint layer (with the scratchmarks) was still wet.

The X-radiograph shows that the neck was originally painted as a broader zone with long brushstrokes that merge with the paint of the earlier collar. With respect to the rest of the painting, the X-ray image corresponds with what one might expect from the paint surface.

Signature

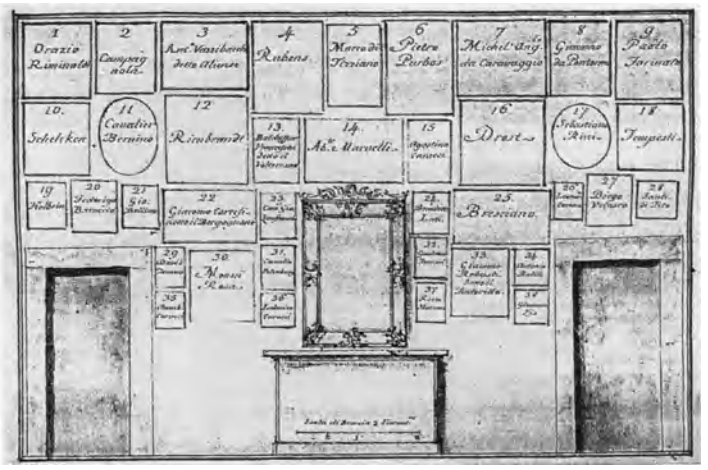
In the right background above the shoulder can be distinguished the fairly large, seriously overcleaned and partially overpainted letters <*Remb*>. There is sufficient room to the right of this for the remaining letters which, like the once possible inclusion of a date, are no longer visible (see also IV 19).

2. Comments

Since Slive (see note 1) posited in 1953 that the work under discussion might be a copy, its authenticity has been increasingly doubted, except by Bauch, who maintained that it was an autograph self-portrait by Rembrandt.[3] In contrast, Gerson[4] – with greater certainty than Slive – considered it a copy, while Chiarini argued that it was more likely by a contemporary pasticheur than a copier.[5] Tümpel[6] did not include the painting in his survey of Rembrandt's oeuvre. Meijer proposed subjecting the painting to further examination before passing a final judgement.[7]

Three paintings, generally considered to be self-portraits by Rembrandt, have been in Florence for a long time. We no longer consider the earliest of these (III B 11) to be Rembrandt's likeness. Particularly the two later paintings shed light on the collecting of Rembrandt's self-portraits by the Medici family in the 17th century. The provenance of the later of these two paintings (IV 28) can be traced to (or before) 1671. It is unclear when exactly the painting under discussion in this entry came to Italy. It was first mentioned there between 1702 and 1710.[8] As

Fig. 3. Drawing of a wall of the 'Cabinet of Small Works' of the Gran Principe Ferdinando de Medici in Villa Poggio a Caiano



discussed in IV 28, it is unlikely that Cosimo III de' Medici (1642-1723) brought it with him from one of his trips to the Netherlands. It could have found its way to Florence via one of the Florentine agents in Amsterdam, Francesco Ferroni, or his successor in 1673, Giovacchino Guasconi. Another possibility is that the painting entered the Medici collection through the mediation of (or as a gift from) the Elector Palatine in Düsseldorf, Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz (1658-1716). Close ties were forged between the Medici and Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz when the latter married Cosimo III's daughter, Anna Maria Luisa (1667-1743) in 1691. Johann Wilhelm had established and maintained frequent contacts with the Netherlands, and with Netherlandish artists, and negociated on behalf of the Medici in the purchase of paintings. Once in 1705 and again in 1708, he presented several paintings to Cosimo III's son, Gran Principe Ferdinando (1669-1713), for his 'Opere in Piccolo' (Cabinet of Small Works) in Poggio a Caiano.[9] Johann Wilhelm also gave self-portraits to Cosimo III: in a letter of 22 August 1713, Cosimo III thanked him for his gift of self-portraits by Van Dyck and Rubens.[10] Interestingly, the Medici collection already included a self-portrait by Van Dyck and one by Rubens as of 1676 and 1683 respectively, thus being presented with a second self-portrait of an artist, as in the case of the two Rembrandt *Self-portraits*, does not appear to have been unusual. The *Self-portrait* under discussion – the second effigy of Rembrandt after IV 28 in the Medici collection – could have been one of the gifts Ferdinando received from Johann Wilhelm.

What is certain is that the present painting was first mentioned in the estate inventory of Gran Principe Ferdinando drawn up between 1702 and 1710. At the time it was in the Medici villa in Poggio a Caiano, in the 'Cabinet of Small Works' (see *6. Provenance*). An 18th-century drawing of the rather compact and symmetrical disposition of the paintings in the cabinet (fig. 3) reveals that it served as a counterpart to a *Boy with a flute* by Drost with (approximately) the same dimensions.[11] It was only transferred to the Galleria degli Uffizi in 1773.

In the aforementioned inventory, the painting under discussion was mentioned as being by Rembrandt and described as *fatto di colpi*. Langedijk noted (see note 9) that in his *Vocabulario*, Baldinucci described this phrase as

'applied the colours in their place very forthrightly, be they light, dark or half tones [...] so that the picture has great plasticity and demonstrates great dexterity and command of the brush and of paint.'[12] Baldinucci contrasted this technique with *sfumato*. With its coarse facture, the present painting must have stood out from the other paintings. Unfortunately, much of its original spatial and colouristic subtlety has been lost as a result of its turbulent material history and extensive overpainting. This combined with the remnants of the very free brushwork in the face may have prompted Chiarini to consider the painting as a pastiche by a contemporary imitator (see note 5). He did not distinguish Rembrandt's hand in the *Self-portrait*, because the 'consistenza e razionalità della pennellata rembrandtiana' (the consistency and the logic of the Rembrandtesque brushwork) was missing. Chiarini based his opinion largely on the X-radiograph. In making his determination, Gerson, too, relied in part on the X-ray image in which he discerned 'a weak underlying structure' (see note 4).

The primary factor militating against the painting being a copy (as Slive had proposed) is its genesis. A radical pentimento is evident below the cheek to the left, where in the X-radiograph can be seen a shirt collar that appears to have been reworked at various stages. Signs of another collar are also visible in the paint surface at the right. Such traces indicate that the work could not have been copied after a painted prototype. Chiarini's conjecture that the *Self-portrait* was produced outside the studio is equally untenable due to converging indications with respect to the painting technique (as observed in the paint surface and the X-radiograph), and the fact that the support was reused. The theoretical possibility that it could be a portrait of Rembrandt by a studio assistant can be rejected because the asymmetrical aspects of Rembrandt's face, in so far as they are still legible, match those in Rembrandt's self-portraits made before a mirror (see Chapter III, pp. 94-96).

In the comparison of the execution of the head in the present painting with that of the *Large Vienna self-portrait* (figs. 55, 56; pp. 263-266), the differences in style and quality appeared to be so fundamental that it is difficult to defend an attribution of the painting to Rembrandt, all the more so since in other respects too it fails to conform to the series of characteristics which we postulated – on the basis of those self-portraits that have never been doubted – as charactertistic of Rembrandt (p. 110, Table A). As already mentioned in the introduction to this text, we believe that the present painting belongs with those variants produced by pupils or studio associates, based on Rembrandt's own self-portraits (in this case, we believe, it is a variant on the Kassel *Self-portrait* from 1654). In a certain sense, therefore, Chiarini's conjecture that the painting was a 'pastiche by a contemporary imitator' was not so far from the truth, except that the imitator has to be sought within rather than beyond Rembrandt's workshop. Among other considerations, the fact that this is a *palimpsest* is strong evidence for this view.

It is precisely for self-portraits whether autograph or not that Rembrandt and the members of his workshop tended to use already painted supports (see Chapter III). The X-radiograph reveals traces of an underlying painting in which the open book in the lower right is most prominent. If the segment of the elliptical shape at the lower left is, indeed, the edge of a gleaming metal dish, as is argued in *Radiography*, it is likely that the underlying painting represented a still life. Given the rather schematic execution of the book (to the extent that it can be assessed in the X-ray image), it is doubtful whether this still life originated in Rembrandt's workshop. Still lifes were not part of the standard repertoire of Rembrandt's workshop. In this connection the six *vanitas* scenes – presumably still lifes – listed in Rembrandt's 1656 inventory cannot be considered as being by his hand on the basis of their description.[13] It is noteworthy that Rembrandt retouched most of these paintings; most of them are described as 'geretukeerd'. One (no. 295) was even 'overschildert' (overpainted) by him (whatever this may precisely mean). There is also reason to believe that unfinished or finished paintings were specially acquired, for example, at the auctions of the estates of deceased artists, for reuse (see also IV 5). It may well be possible that it was more economical to use such 'second-hand' paintings than new ones as supports. What is interesting about a painting like this is that it gives us a living picture of contemporary Rembrandt-reception, whereby an exaggerated impasto (more Rembrandt than Rembrandt) was considered characteristic of the master (on this, see also p. 288).

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

1. Engraving by Paolo Caronni (Monza *c.* 1779-Milan 1842), inscribed: *Gravé par. P. Caronni. – dir. et terminé par J. Longhi. / Portrait de Rembrandt / peint par lui même.* It reproduces the painting in reverse and reduced on all four sides. The engraving is not an entirely faithful rendering of the painting. For example, the front of the cap is embellished with some kind of wreath of leaves and the engraver omitted the moustache.
2. Line engraving by Giovanni Paolo Lasinio (Florence 1789-Florence 1855), inscribed: *Rembrandt dip. – V.Gozzini dis: -Lasinio Figlio inc.*, in: *Reale Galleria di Firenze Illustrata*, serie III Ritratti di Pittori, Vol. III (1821), no. 160 (fig.4). It reproduces the painting in the same direction as the original. More folds in the cloak and the cap are visible in the engraving than in the painting.

5. Copies

None.

6. Provenance

– Coll. Gran Principe Ferdinando de' Medici (1669-1713), son of Cosimo III de' Medici. It is described in the inventory of his art kept in Villa Poggio a Caiano in the 'Opere in Piccolo' (Cabinet of Small Works), drawn up between 1702 and 1710 (A.S.F. Guardaroba 1185, II, c. 426): 'No. 233. Un quadro del Rembrans, che' rappresenta il ritratto del med.o Rembrans

Fig. 4. Line engraving by G.P. Lasinio



fatto di colpi, con berretto con pelliccia in capo; alto braccio uno, e uno sesto, largo braccio uno con suo adornamento nero con rapporti d'intaglio dorati'. (No. 233. A picture by Rembrandt representing the portrait of the same Rembrandt, boldly painted, wearing a fur cap; 1 1/6 braccio high and one braccio wide with its black frame with gilt carved ornaments.)
– According to Langedijk (see note 8), the painting entered the collection of the Galleria degli Uffizi in 1773 and was described in the *Nota dei Quadri pervenuti dalla Real Villa di Poggio a Caiano*, 29 Dic. 1773: '12°. Inv. No. 233. Un quadro in tela alto B[a] [braccia da panno] 1, larg. B[a] 1 1/3, dipintovi da Rembrandt, ritratto d'un vecchio, con beretto, e veste nera, con adornamento nero, filettato d'oro, e rapporti intagliati e dorati'. (12°. Inv. no. 233. A painting on canvas, 1 braccia [da panno] high and 1 1/3 braccia wide, painted by Rembrandt, the portrait of an old man wearing a cap and a black costume, in a black frame with a gold [band] and ornaments carved and gilt.) On a label at the back of the painting in brown ink: 'Dal P°a Cajiano / Dalla R. Guard:~ / 19 ocbre 1773'.
– In 1783, the *Self-portrait* was described by Zacchiroli as: 'LXVIII. Portrait d'un Homme, en bonnet & habit noir. Par Rembrandt. C'est son portrait.'[14]

NOTES

1. S. Slive, *Rembrandt and his critics 1630-1730*, The Hague 1953, p. 65 note 1.
2. For other examples, see: K. Nicolaus, *Het schilderij: materiaal, techniek-behoud*, De Bilt 1981, pp. 37-38, fig. 45.
3. Bauch 328.
4. Br.-Gerson 45.
5. M. Chiarini, *I dipinti olandesi del Seicento e del Settecento (Gallerie e Musei Statali di Firenze). Cataloghi dei Musei e Gallerie d'Italia*, Rome 1989, no. 69.236, pp. 488-490.
6. Tümpel 1986.
7. B. Meijer, *Rembrandt nel Seicento toscano*, Florence 1983, p. 16.
8. K. Langedijk, *Die Selbstbildnisse der holländischen und flämischen Künstler in der Galleria degli Autoritratti der Uffizien in Florenz*, Florence 1992, pp. 144-152.
9. M. Strocchi, 'Il Gabinetto d'opere in piccolo del Gran Principe Ferdinando a Poggio a Cajano', *Paragone (Arte)* 26, no. 309 (1975), pp. 115-128, esp. 116.
10. Langedijk, op. cit.[9], pp. 42-43 and 161; Th. Levin, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kunstbestrebungen in dem Hause Pfalz-Neuburg', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Niederrheins* 20 (1905), pp. 123-249, esp. 179.
11. Sumowski *Gemälde* I, no. 322; Strocchi, op. cit.[10], fig. 65; and M. Strocchi, 'Il Gabinetto d'Opere in Piccolo del Gran Principe Ferdinando a Poggio a Cajano', *Paragone (Arte)* 27, no. 311 (1976), pp. 86-87, nos. 12 and 16.
12. F. Baldinucci, *Vocabulario Toscano dell'Arte del Disegno*, Florence 1681, p. 48: 'Di colpi. Termine proprio di pittura: e dicesi, fatta di colpi quella pittura, laquale l'artefice condusse, col posare con gran franchezza le tinte al luogo loro, o chiari, o scuri, o mezze tinte, o dintorni che si fussero, dando ad essa pittura un gran rilievo, e facendo in essa apparire una gran bravura e padronanza del pennello e de'colori; tutto il contrario di quelle pitture, che diremmo sfumate o affaticate'. ('Di colpi'. A term proper to painting: a picture is said to have been painted 'di colpi' when the artist has applied the colours in their place very forthrightly, be they light, dark or half tones, or outlines, so that the picture has great plasticity and demonstrates great dexterity and command of the brush and of colour, as opposed to pictures one would call graduated or belaboured.) The Italian quotes in this entry were translated by A. McCormick.
13. Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12 nos. 25, 27, 28, 120, 123, 295. One of the versions of the *Self-portrait with sketchbook* (IV 10, the one in San Francisco) was also painted over an earlier scene with still life like elements.
14. F. Zacchiroli, *Description de la Galerie Royale de Florence,* second part, Florence 1783, pp. 76-77.

IV 13 Small self-portrait

[*c.* 1655]

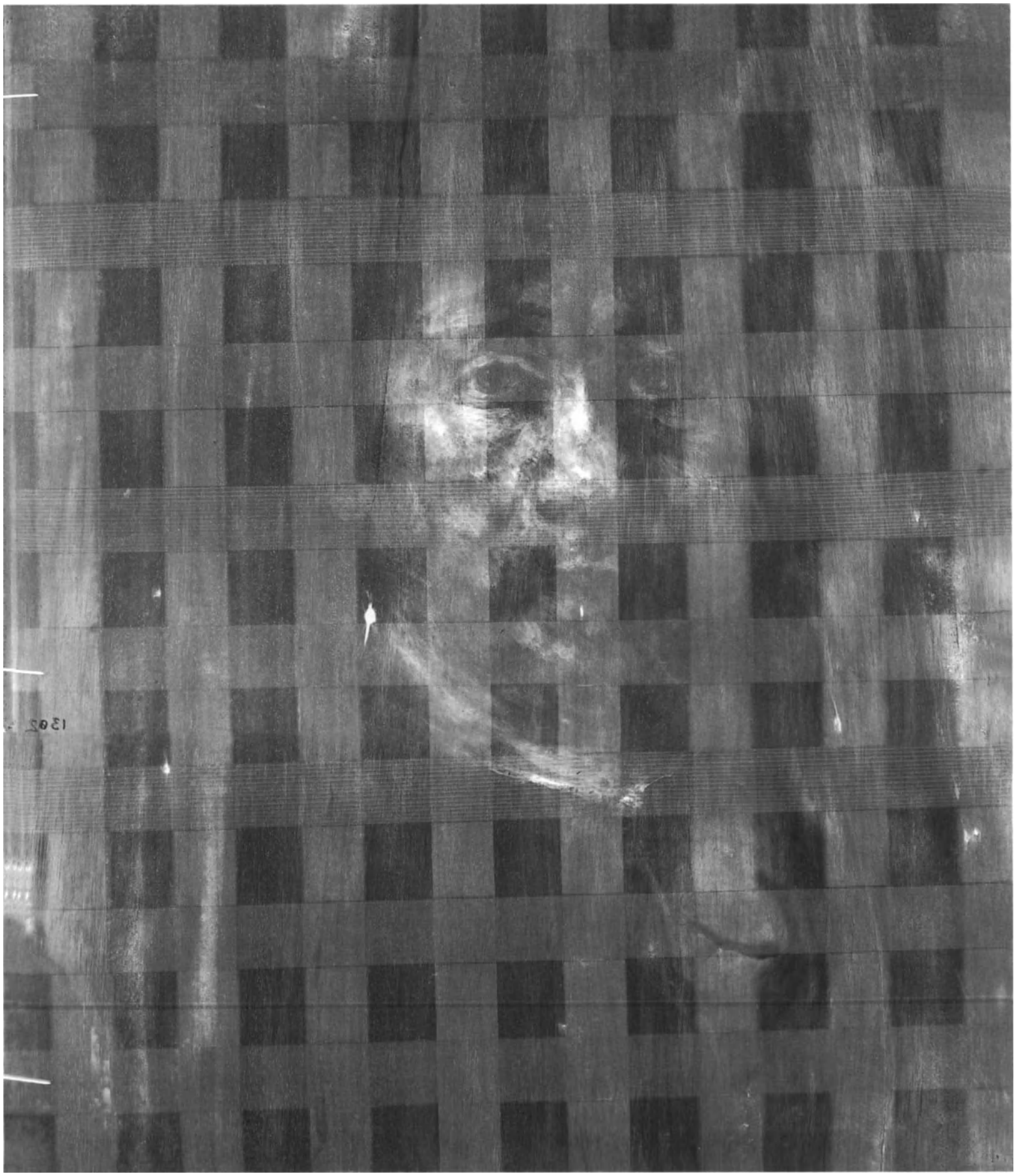
VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM, INV. NO. 414

HDG 581; BR. 49; BAUCH 326; GERSON 324; TÜMPEL 171

Fig. 1. Panel 48.9 x 40.2 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 283



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

This painting – henceforth called the *Small self-portrait* to distinguish it from the two other paintings bearing Rembrandt's effigy in Vienna – has received only scant attention in the literature. While its authenticity has never been doubted only, its date has been subject to discussion. An assessment of this (most likely cut down) painting is hampered by its complex material history and relatively poor condition.

Lit from the upper left, Rembrandt is shown in a frontal pose to just above the chest looking out at the viewer. He wears a brown doublet with a turned up collar over a white shirt and a red waistcoat, and a cap on his head.

Working conditions

Examined on 29 May 1970 (B.H., E.v.d.W.), on 22 March 1977 (J.B., S.H.L.), on 14 March 1989, in September 1991 and June 1995 (E.v.d.W.). Out of the frame, in good daylight with the aid of a stereomicroscope, an X-radiograph and infrared-reflectography.

Support

Walnut panel (*Juglans regia L.*),[1] grain vertical, 48.9 x 40.2 cm. Thickness 0.35 cm. Single plank. Glued to the painted panel is a second equally thick one with cradling. The cradle was renewed in 1942.

A large knot can be discerned at the right in the area of the red waistcoat. The panel itself displays a series of cracks. One extends from the lower left corner via the outer contour of the cap at the left to the upper edge of the panel. Another splits into two cracks at the collar of the doublet at the left, both of which then extend to the upper edge (one to the left of the ear through the hair and the cap and the other through the cheekbone and temple). Finally, two other cracks are found to the right of the collar: one running from the lower edge of the panel to the collar; and the other beginning just to the right of the former crack and continuing to the ear at the right. These cracks occasioned extensive overpainting in the past (see *Paint layer* Condition).

There are sufficient indications to presume that the painting was originally larger (see *2. Comments*).

Ground

A light yellow-brown shines through the locally thin paint layer in many areas, for example in the face, around the eyes, in the collar to the right, the chin, the doublet, the outer contour of the cap and the background. The ground in these areas displays a vertical pattern of brushstrokes, which appear to be straight and uninterrupted. The surface of the ground is so rough locally, that the relief of this 'washboard structure' plays a role in the structure of even the thicker paint layers. One wonders whether this type of ground is somehow related to the type of wood, given that two other paintings on walnut also have a roughly brushed ground applied in long vertical strokes in relief (see II A 45 and II C 80, *Ground* and also *Comments* below).

Paint layer

Condition: The painting was seriously overcleaned at some time. While sections of the head are well preserved, numerous areas give evidence of substantial overpainting. In the face, this is found on and along the crack in the panel near the temple and the cheekbone to the right, and in the ruddy continuation of the folds under the eye. The shadow on the upper half of the auricle, the shadow below the earlobe, the murky reddish-black passage to the right of the nose and frown, and the corner of the eye at the right have also been overpainted. Dark retouchings later applied over old ones are visible near the lower edge of the earlobe. Furthermore, murky grey spots added by a later hand are found to the right of the eye at the right, and include the dark parts of the eyebrow and sections of the shadows of the eye pouch. The nostril at the right, done in small fine strokes, is suspect. The dark lines above the eyelid to the left and those reinforcing the line of the mouth and the mouth corner at the left were strengthened later. The small brown lines in the first double chin, intended to cover the worn through ridges of the ground, and similar lines along the lower edge of the chin proper were also strengthened by a later hand.

The retouchings and sometimes radical overpaintings in the background and the clothing were induced by the knot and the cracks in the panel (see *Support*). Many small retouchings are also found in the background at the right down to and on the shoulder. A number of these retouchings must be of fairly recent origin as they can still be seen with ultraviolet light. Traces, probably of a red filler, shine through in the lower section of the middle crack.

In addition, layers of thin paint were applied over large parts of the background, the shaded sections of the cap and the red waistcoat, the shadow of the cap on the forehead, the hair, the shadow of the head on the collar at the right. The sharply delineated shadow of the face from the temple to the chin and the cast shadow of the nose are also mainly determined by such thin overpaintings. The strong contrast between the heavily overcleaned outer edge of the cap and the overpainted inner edge and shadow on the forehead make clear the extent to which such overpainting hampers an evaluation of the paint surface in the areas listed above (see also *Radiography*).

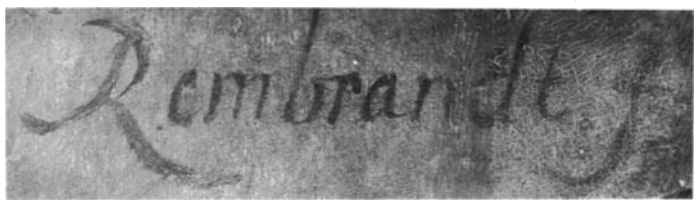
Craquelure: Locally an extremely fine craquelure pattern, only visible with the microscope. Overpainted passages, such as the retouchings on and around the cracks in the panel and the shadows in the face, display their own irregular shrinkage crack pattern.

Despite the paint surface's worn condition and the many overpaintings described above, an impression can nevertheless be gained of the *peinture* in parts of the head, particularly in the lit flesh areas. The execution of these areas is characterised by a wide variety of flesh tints and versatile brushwork, with loose, often overlapping strokes alternating with passages of coarse paint and smoothly applied pastose zones. The vertical brushstrokes of the ground play a role in the paint surface.

Fig. 3. Infrared-reflectography



Fig. 4. Detail with signature (reduced)



In the socket of the eye to the left – above the eye lid painted in a fairly thick light yellow – passages of light and shadow have been applied over a yellow brown undertone in a few freely applied strokes. This somewhat indiscriminate way of painting extends over the lit part of the forehead at the right to the very thin section above the eye at the right, where the vertical relief of the ground is manifest again. Both eyes are dominated by a bright white catchlight in the upper left of the black pupil. The folds below the eye at the left are indicated with alternately lighter and darker, ruddy and yellowish, sometimes coarse strokes. The lit half of the face has been executed in pastose, predominantly coarse paint. The impasto has been brushed smooth on the cheekbone at the left, the lit flank of the nose, and the vertical stroke on the cheek at the left. Above this smooth passage on the cheek to the left, a fine red glaze has been applied over the coarse paint, which presumably belongs to the original paint layer. The nose done in impastoed paint displays highlights on the ridge and tip of the nose. The mouth and surrounding area have been painted with loose dabs that correspond only partially with the structure of the face, with short red and pink strokes for the lips. The neck is painted in long strokes. Apart from the retouchings near the knot in the panel and the thinly overpainted areas of shadow described above, the red waistcoat – locally covered with a somewhat brighter red for the lit parts – is intact. The shirt collar is done in thick white and yellowish paint overlapping the red paint of the waistcoat. The underlying shirt is indicated by vertical white and dark strokes. The doublet is very summarily and fairly smoothly painted in a transparent brown, with some red at the edge of the turned up collar at the left. The dark (overpainted) edge of the shadow of the cap contrasts with its very worn outer rim, which was done in transparent dark brown. The difficult to pinpoint not overpainted sections in the background, for example around the contour of the cap at the left, are done in a transparent light brown. The paint visible in the hair to the left may belong to a transparent brown underpainting.

Radiography

Infrared-reflectography (fig.3) confirms the poor condition of the painting as described in *Paint layer* Condition. Overpainted areas, such as the edge of the cap in shadow or the shadows in the face, show up dark in the reflectogram. It also reveals that the contour of the shoulder to the right was originally higher as was that of the doublet open at the front.

The X-radiographic image is largely determined by the cradle and the vertical brushstrokes of the ground. With respect to the panel, the vertical cracks and the knot show up in the X-radiograph. Halfway up the right edge, at the lower left and along the upper edge of the panel can be seen light hazy zones caused by the thicker sections of the ground. For the rest, the X-radiograph corresponds with what is seen in the paint surface.

Signature

Next to the hat at the upper left in the background, along the upper edge, in dark brown paint: <*Rembrandt. f*>. The second leg of the *n* and the beginning of the *d* are written on an overpainting applied on the left crack of the wedge-shaped split in the panel. Thus, it can be concluded that the signature is false. It is plausible that the signature was added in this unusual place to replace an original one that may have been lost when the painting was reduced. The type of letters used excludes the possibility that it was copied from an original signature.

2. Comments

It is highly unlikely that the painting's present dimensions are original. The panel may well be drastically reduced as the larger than life-size head is set in a – for a self-portrait by Rembrandt – unusually narrow frame. The many cracks in the support may provide a clue for reducing it to its present format, planing it down drastically and glueing it to another panel. A few other paintings by Rembrandt and his studio assistants were also executed on walnut, namely the *Portrait of a man seated* (II A 45) and its pendant the *Portrait of a woman seated* (II C 80), both in Vienna, and the *Prophetess Hannah in the temple* (Br. 577) in Edinburgh. Also in those cases it appears that walnut is particularly

given to cracking and eventually breaking. The panel of *Prophetess Hannah in the temple* displays serious cracks (including a wedge-shaped one) like those in the *Small self-portrait*, and the panel of the *Portrait of a woman seated* (II C 80) also has two cracks at the upper edge.[2] Another indication that the panel was probably reduced is the presence of saw marks along the lower edge of a kind unusual for Rembrandt's panels. If our suspicion is correct that the painting was reduced, this would have taken place prior to 1783, when the painting with its present dimensions was mentioned by Von Mechel (see *6. Provenance*).

That the panel in question is walnut rather than the more usual oak is in keeping with the fact that as of 1639 Rembrandt primarily used other types of wood for his relatively few late paintings on panel. This seems to contradict Beurs' advice of 1692 to 'be certain [to use] solid oak' as 'not all wood is good'.[3] Equally unusual is the fact that the surface of the ground has a seemingly deliberately rough surface (see *Ground*). Near the eyes, the relief of this ground is so pronounced that it even plays a role in the structure of the surface of the thicker paint layers. A comparable rough ground applied in a vertical pattern of strokes in relief can also be observed in other paintings on walnut (see II A 45 and II C 80, *Ground*). The obvious explanation would be that such a rough ground is related to the nature of the support; but a rough ground could also have been a deliberate choice. It is somewhat reminiscent of Rubens' *streifige* (streaky) imprimatura which, however, does not show a deliberately applied relief. Another explanation for applying such a rough ground could be related to certain, nowhere explicitly discussed, ideas on whether or not a ground should have relief. One of the paintings giving rise to this notion is an unfinished painting by Adriaen van der Werff. Evidently, the coarse ground was deliberately applied on the panel concerned, a rather unusual occurrence for an artist known for his fine and smooth technique.[4] The underlying reason behind this may have been that the paint would adhere better to the ground layer.

As extensively discussed under *Paint layer* Condition, the *Small self-portrait* has been seriously overcleaned and overpainted. Curiously, in the rare instances that the painting is considered in the literature, the problems related to its condition are never mentioned. Even Gerson, who frequently made relevant comments on the condition of Rembrandt's paintings, remained silent on this matter.[5] Likewise, the question of its authenticity has never been the subject of discussion, the focus being primarily placed on its dating. In conformance with Bauch,[6] Gerson (later also Tümpel)[7] emphasised that a date of 1665 as suggested by Hofstede de Groot[8] was far too late, and dated it close to the *Self-portrait* in Edinburgh (IV 15) which bears the not entirely reliable date 1657 or 1659. When compared with other self-portraits from the 1650s, on the basis of the (reasonably well-preserved) physiognomical features it can be roughly dated to the mid-1650s. It is close to the 1652 *Large self-portrait* in Vienna (IV 8), also with a frontal view, and the 1658 *Self-portrait* in the Frick Collection (IV 14). Comparing the heads of the two Vienna self-portraits, the volume of the cheeks and the double chins in the *Small self-portrait* seems to have increased somewhat, which could justify a date several years after the *Large self-portrait*.

The similarity in the illumination of the head in the *Small self-portrait* and the *Large self-portrait* in Vienna is striking. In both self-portraits, the scalloped rim of the headgear casts a shadow on the forehead leaving a lit zone directly above the eyes. Also, the illumination of the ear at the left greatly resembles that in the *Large self-portrait*. As discussed in *Paint layer* Condition, many of the shaded areas in the head of the *Small self-portrait* have been thinly overpainted. As both self-portraits were in the same collection as early as 1783 (see *6. Provenance*) it is possible that the head in the *Large self-portrait* was used as a model during an early 'restoration' of the *Small self-portrait* in reconstructing the shaded passages in the head.

The many overpaintings in the head complicate a sound assessment of the physiognomical aspects of the *Small self-portrait*. Nevertheless, distinctive facial features in Rembrandt's self-portraits, such as the asymmetrical crease above the nose and the sagging fold of the eye lid at the right, have been preserved in the original paint application of the paint. There are no physiognomical traits that might challenge the authenticity of this self-portrait. One does notice, however, that the eyes are placed relatively close together (see also Chapter III, p. 96).

The execution of the head is characterised by great variety in the handling of the paint. Passages of coarse paint alternate with smoothly brushed pastose areas and locally loose strokes, for example in the lit forehead. The use of thin, sometimes glazing layers over the impasto conforms with what is commonly found in the late self-portraits. Furthermore, modifications of the contours of the shoulder and the doublet (see *Radiography*) exclude the hypothetical possibility that the *Small self-portrait* might be a copy after a lost original.

The X-radiograph, too, provides a familiar image of Rembrandt's handling of paint: the head is carefully modelled with locally coarse paint, and the division and measured application of radioabsorbent paint display clear correspondences with other accepted self-portraits by Rembrandt, for example the *Large self-portrait* (IV 8) of 1652 and the *Self-portrait* in Edinburgh of 1657/9 (IV 15). For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 271 ff.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

None.

5. Copies

1. Mahogany panel, 50 x 40 cm, present whereabouts unknown (fig.5). Examined on 8 September 1972 (J.B., P.v.Th.) in Lugano, in the frame and in good light. The signature was

Fig. 5. Copy 1. Present whereabouts unknown



copied with the addition of *n*[ach], of after. The vertical brushstrokes of the ground shining through in the Vienna original have been imitated in the paint surface of the copy, particularly in the left half of the face. The copy depicts the original in its already reduced state; and so literally, even to the reproduction of damages, that it must be a relatively late copy. 2. According to Wright, 'A reduced replica, with slight differences in the costume' is in Vaduz, Liechtenstein.[9]

6. Provenance

– In the Imperial *Gemäldegalerie* in Vienna since 1783. Described in: Christian von Mechel, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde der kaiserlich königlichen Bilder Gallerie in Wien...*, Vienna 1783, p. 91, no. 31: 'Von Rimbrandt. Sein eigenes Portrait, in welchem er sich schon bey Jahren in einem dunkeln Pelzrock und rothen Wamms, mit einem grossen runden Hut auf dem Kopf, geschildert hat. Auf Leinw. (sic.) 1 Fuss 6 Zoll hoch, 1 Fuss 3 Zoll breit [= 47.4 x 39.5 cm; Vienna foot, measured in the frame]. Ein Brustbild, Lebensgrösse.' Curiously, he noted that the painting is on canvas. Von Mechel probably confused the *Small self-portrait* with the *Large self-portrait*, which is on canvas and described by Von Mechel as being on panel.

NOTES

1. J. Bauch and D. Eckstein, 'Woodbiological investigations on panels of Rembrandt paintings', *Wood Science and Technology* 15 (1981), pp. 251-263, esp. 254.
2. Incidentally, the panels of both of the aforementioned pendants (II A 45 and II C 80) are large *c.* 90 x 68 cm, single planks. Evidently, walnut panels can have a large format.
3. W. Beurs, *De groote Waereld in 't kleen geschildert, (...)*, Amsterdam 1692, p. 18.
4. Adriaen van der Werff, *The Virgin with Christ and the infant St John*, panel 33.7 x 26 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum inv. no. C 1604. B. Gaehtgens, *Adriaen van der Werff 1659-1722*, Munich 1987, p. 338.
5. Gerson 324.
6. Bauch 1966, 326.
7. Tümpel 1986, cat. no. 171.
8. HdG 581.
9. C. Wright, *Rembrandt: Self-Portraits*, London 1982, pp. 43-44.

IV 14 Self-portrait

1658

NEW YORK, THE FRICK COLLECTION, INV. NO. 06.1.97

HDG 563; BR. 50; BAUCH 329; GERSON 343; TÜMPEL 172

Fig. 1. Canvas 132.4 x 102.8 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 286



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

The *Self-portrait* in The Frick Collection belongs to the group of paintings regarded as unquestionably autograph, although its large format, the frontal aspect of the sitting figure and the prominence of Rembrandt's costume are exceptional. The significance of these special features in a work that is unusually ambitious, not only pictorially but especially as a type of 'self-representation', has not previously been the subject of a thorough investigation. In the Rembrandt literature attention has been confined to (in our view) unconvincing speculation on the possible reason of the pose, the nature of the costume, and the 'meaning' to be attributed to the painting as a result. Here the frontal pose and the costume are given more detailed consideration. At the same time different explanations of this work's unusual features are reviewed.

Rembrandt has depicted himself life-size, in three-quarter length and almost frontally. He sits with his legs wide apart and his arms resting on the arms of a chair. He is wearing (as will be discussed further in *2. Comments*) an amalgam of 16th-century historical costume and 'eastern' elements. Over a white shirt that fastens diagonally he wears a bright yellow, pleated *paltrock* or jerkin with a low, horizontal neckline which is gathered at the waist. Around his neck he has a cloth of gold brocade whose ends are tucked into the front of the *paltrock*. On the left arm the yellow sleeve of the *paltrock* is rolled back, revealing beneath a long white shirt sleeve coming down to the wrist. A red sash is wound twice round the waist and knotted. The end of this sash hangs down from the weight of a stylised metal pomegranate. A brown cloak is thrown around the shoulders, covering the proper left arm down to the wrist. The cloak hangs down on the left and a large fold obscures the arm of the chair. On his head Rembrandt wears a broad, black cap with a scalloped edge and a brown headband. In his right hand he holds a cane with a round, silver-coloured knob.

The figure is set against a dark background. The light comes from the upper left, so that the cap casts an irregular shadow over the left half of the forehead and the ear. The cane throws a shadow on the hand.

Working conditions

Examined in April 1969 (J.B., B.H.), in February 1989 (E.v.d.W.), and on 14 November 1994 (E.v.d.W., E.H.-B., M.F.): on the first visit the painting was examined out of the frame by good artificial and natural light and with a complete set of X-radiographs; on later visits it was examined in the gallery at close range, in the frame, by artificial light and again with the aid of X-radiographs.

Support

Canvas, lined, 132.4 x 102.8 cm (size of the original canvas). There is a vertical seam 36.4 cm from the right side at the top and 38 cm from it at the bottom. Clear cusping can be seen along all the edges. At the top edge this varies in length from 7 to 14 cm and extends up to app. 21 cm into the canvas. The cusping at the bottom edge is noticeably irregular and very distorted. It ranges in length from 6.5 to 13 cm and can be traced for up to app. 30 cm into the weave. On the right edge the cusping, which measures from 12.8 to 23.5 cm, extends only up to app. 8 cm into the weave. On the left the cusping ranges from 11.5 to 17 cm in length and the faint undulations are similar to those on the right. On the basis of the differences between the cusping at the top and bottom edges, our provisional conclusion is that the canvas was probably app. 9 cm higher at the top and, given the faintness of the cusping along the sides and also given the closeness of Rembrandt's right hand to the edge of the canvas, slightly wider on the left and right.

Thread count: 13.86 vertical threads/cm (12.5-15) in both lengths of canvas; in the left one 14.42 horizontal threads/cm (14-15.25) and in the right one 14.84 horizontal threads/cm (14.25-15.5). The horizontal threads show numerous short thickenings in both pieces. In view of this and of the matching weave density, it may be assumed that both pieces are from the same bolt of canvas. The thicknenings in the horizontal threads and the vertical seam in the canvas indicate that the warp runs vertically. It is not unlikely that the left piece of canvas, which is now app. 65 cm wide, was originally one ell (app. 70 cm) wide (see Vol. II, *Table C*, p. 38). This would confirm our impression expressed above, that a strip of app. 5 cm is missing on the left. Given that there is similar cusping along the right edge, the same would apply there.

Ground

Kühn found a ground consisting of quartz, a little ochre and as the medium oil and resin.[1] He described its colour as yellowish white. A ground of this colour is highly unusual for a painting on canvas from this period. Accordingly, the initial thought was that Kühn had sampled an old restoration. On the other hand, the presence of quartz as a principal element in the sample he analysed could explain why the ground had such low radioabsorbency: the texture of the canvas shows up extremely faintly in the X-radiography. So far this phenomenon has been encountered mainly in paintings with quartz grounds. We may take it, therefore, that Kühn sampled the actual ground. He usually determined the colour of the ground through microscopic examination of the sample, which is a risky method in that the colour of the, in this case crystalline, material is much brighter with transmitted light than in reality. The ground of this painting – like that of other quartz grounds – is probably ochre brown (see *Tables of Grounds* III, pp. 666-667).

Paint layer

Condition: At first sight the painting appears to be in good condition. However, the 1968 Frick Collection catalogue notes on the basis of a 1964 restoration report by Suhr: 'There are a few scattered losses in the background. At some time the picture apparently suffered from exposure to heat; an area including the upper chest, right forearm, head and adjoining background at the right is pocked with small heat blisters, most of them visible

Fig. 3. Macrophotograph (magnification x 3) showing heat blisters



only under strong magnification'.[2] These losses are partly visible in the UV and infrared photographs (see fig. 3). Froentjes in 1978 suggested that this phenomena is comparable to the numerous small round holes in the paint layer in the *Anatomy lesson of Dr Tulp* in The Hague (II A 51).[3] Recent examination of the two paintings by Wadum, however, proved that the holes are not comparable in size, form and origin. According to him 'the pit-like losses in the Frick painting are the result of excessive heat or fire, which caused the paint layer to form blisters, which then broke open, leaving shallow amorphous craters'.[4] The cluster of paint islets on the chest gives the impression that the damage in this area was even more serious than Suhr suggested. The paint layer appears to be somewhat flattened. In the shadowed areas in the face a grey is found that probably belongs to retouchings and overpaintings carried out because of the damage by heat. The suspicion that these are later interventions is strengthened by the fact that the headband of the cap is overlapped at several points by this greenish grey. A similar greenish grey is also found locally on the top of the cap and on the ears. In these cases too the grey overlaps other paint. The hair on the left and right shows the same grey, which is here applied especially freely and without internal detail. In the lower lip and underneath it paint loss is visible in the form of small, shallow craters created by flaking.

In the dark brown at the end of the armrest on the right there is retouched damage at the location of the signature. In the restoration carried out here the form of the armrest seems to have been misunderstood: the lower horizontal contour is too high and the contour on the right is too straight. The black in the background, which determines the contour of the armrest below and on the right, looks dubious. It may be related to similar black passages around the top of the cane and between the fingers. There these black areas create contours – though otherwise their forms are ill-defined – in a way that is characteristic of retouchings that have darkened with time.

At the points in the face where an even, greenish grey underlayer, probably a local imprimatura, appears to be exposed, as in the shadow of the bag under the eye on the left, on the tip of the nose and under the lower lip, this layer shows vertical, black scratches or lines running towards the bottom left. They are also seen locally in the paint layer, as for example in the lower eyelid on the left, in the lower lip and in the left half of the moustache under the nostril (see Chapter III fig. 286). There they seem to be partly covered by original paint. This would suggest that these puzzling scratches or lines were created in the course of the painting process. If they are lines, they might be shading, which could indicate a type of underdrawing not previously encountered in paintings by Rembrandt.

Craquelure: The paint surface shows a pattern of crackling which becomes slightly coarser as the impasto becomes heavier, as in the shirt. Above a line running diagonally from the hair to the top right the craquelure is more marked. The paint layer in the area below this line is curiously smooth and worn.

The face is predominantly built up from yellowish, often pastose, flesh tints, after which additions were made locally with thin, sometimes translucent, pinkish layers of paint. This is the case, for example, with the lit part of the cheek on the right: here wearing of the top layers makes it clear that the moderate impasto itself had a lighter hue. The subdued pink tinge it now has is due to paint applied as a glaze. Something similar happens at the chin: here the impasto does not correspond to the pink running over it, which has accumulated locally in the raised edges of the impasto. Such pink layers are also found on the cheekbone, and a little lower they merge into an almost opaque reddish brown patch. In the area between the ear and the cheekbone, too, in a somewhat toned-down passage which continues as far as the pouch, it looks as if thin, near-transparent strokes varying in colour from muted pink to cool grey have been applied. Yet it is possible that the cool grey at this point is the true colour of the underlying impastoed strokes. Pink glazes are also seen in the ear lobe. However, it is hard to say whether these glazes are in all cases original. To the left of the jet-black nostril the underside of the nose is indicated, as usual, in a reddish colour.

In the brocade neckcloth, given that the paint has not been applied wet-in-wet, the final effect must have been achieved in stages. In the yellow fabric of the *paltrock* in the area below the red sash one can see how a yellowish impasto has been painted over a brownish underlayer here and there. This impasto is in turn partly covered by thin ochre-yellow paint, thus reducing the number of highlights. The result is a surface texture affording great richness to the fabric. The part of the *paltrock* above the sash is characterised chiefly by the very close and variously painted pleats. In the lower, shaded part of the *paltrock* a glazing greyish brown was used through which a lighter impasto shimmers in places. Again, the highlights cannot be followed locally, but seem to emerge from under and between thinner strokes.

The sleeve of the *paltrock* begins above the brocade neckcloth with fairly thick strokes which are toned down with shades of yellow and grey. Further down, the shirt sleeve is painted with robust white strokes over dark underlying paint, creating a very rich facture. The cloak is done in transparent browns.

In the hands, as in the face, there are glazes which partly cover the freely painted highlights on the knuckles and on the thumb, partly let them shine through and partly leave them bare, resulting in a complexity that is hard to follow at first sight. On the thumb of the hand on the left highlights have been coarsely applied and then partly toned down again. Because of this coarseness, the thumb comes to the fore. Here it seems that the effect of *kenlijkheyt* (perceptibility) has consciously been used through the manipulation of the surface texture in order to suggest space.[5] In this hand the brushstrokes correspond only in part to the form depicted and the lighting. In the hand on the right we see more or less the same except that there the paint marking the highlights is applied somewhat 'juicier' and has been put on with greater relief. Here too the surface texture evidently plays a part in the suggestion of space: the hand with the cane comes forwards because of the stronger use of impasto compared with the other hand. The effect of the paint relief is strengthened by accumulations of the paint used for the glazes but possibly also by remains of old varnish in the hollows of the relief. At the index finger the paint on the knuckle has been wiped off while wet in a curved line, apparently with a finger. Subsequently a reddish glaze was applied which partly covers both the wiped spot and the more impastoed area. The back of this hand also shows a complex structure in which reddish brown and yellowish paint applied in relief is filtered through a semi-transparent grey painted over it.

Radiography

The X-ray image largely corresponds to what the paint surface would lead one to expect. Nonetheless, closer analysis reveals that during work on the painting various alterations were made besides the moving of the pomegranate-shaped ball on the end of the sash which is visible on the surface. In most cases, however, these are discrepancies between a very freely executed underpainting containing lead white here and there and the final version painted over it. At the position of the waist on the proper right side there is a constellation of brushstrokes showing up light, which should probably be read as a part of the cloak gathered into folds. In the painting in its present form there is a 'bulge' of this kind both next to Rembrandt's right hand (below the sash) and beneath the hand holding the cane. Rembrandt evidently first intended to depict such a form more prominently in front of the body.

It is also possible that there is a pentimento under the chin. There the paint showing up light in which the shirt is depicted appears to have originally followed the neckline. From this it could be concluded with some reservations that the oblique fastening of the shirt was an afterthought. The reserve for the cap largely corresponds on the left of the head to its present outline, but on the right it follows an obliquely rising line. It is unclear whether we are indeed dealing here with a head covering with a different shape initially, particularly since the dark reserve ends abruptly at the seam in the canvas. Because of this we cannot rule out the possibility that the difference in radioabsorbency above and below this fluent line has to do with the irregular thickness of the ground.

Paint running horizontally to the right of the hand holding the cane shows up light. The original intention may have been to have a table here. Locally, for example across the upper part of the sash, there are very free strokes that show up light and, like the other forms just mentioned, are most probably part of a dead colouring stage.

Signature

On the end of the armrest on the right, in dark brown: *<Rembran / f. 1658>* (fig. 4). Visible in the middle of the signature is a slightly damaged area. The first letters may have been retouched. The letters *d* and *t* are omitted in the signature.

Fig. 4. Detail with signature (slightly reduced)



2. Comments

The *Self-portrait* in The Frick Collection belongs to the group of paintings regarded as unquestionably autograph, despite its exceptional place among the self-portraits. The scale, the colourfulness and the emphatic frontality of the broadly placed figure seem at first sight to be in a class of their own. There is a strong temptation to interpret all these qualities on the basis of the possible meaning of this manner of 'self-representation'. It is important to realise, however, that some of these characteristics can also be explained on the grounds of painterly considerations. Roughly speaking, Rembrandt's artistic efforts from the mid 1640s onwards can be viewed as attempts to resolve the conflicting interests of light and shadow on the one hand and colour on the other. It could be said that up to and including the *Night watch* (III A 146) of 1642 Rembrandt sacrificed colour and form to a convincing suggestion of light. Raising the power of the light meant that large parts of the scene must remain in shadow, and also led to colour being made secondary to the potential for intensifying the light effects.

Here one cannot help being reminded of the much-quoted passage in Van Hoogstraten about the *Night watch* in which, in addition to praising the painting, he expresses the wish that Rembrandt 'er meer lichts in onsteeken had' (had put more light in it).[6] One is inclined to think that this criticism might have been made soon after the painting was completed in the 1640s, rather than only later in 1678. What is certain is that towards the mid-1640s Rembrandt attempted to find alternatives to the spotlight effect and the sacrifice of colour. His solution seems to be larger areas of colour stemming from a more frontal lighting of frontally placed forms and figures; take for example the use of red in the *Holy Family* of 1645 in St Petersburg (Br. 570) (this was also the solution found by Velasquez in Spain, probably entirely independently, when he was seeking alternatives to a Caravaggesque treatment of colour, light and shadow). It is tempting to interpret the pictorial characteristics of the *Self-portrait* in The Frick Collection in the light of Rembrandt's apparent dilemma with this issue. The colouristic 'chord' of deep red, golden yellow and white was to govern Rembrandt's palette until the late 1660s. The device of frontal positioning and lighting of the figures was also to be used again and again, as was their placement embarrassingly close in the foreground of the picture plane. Paintings like the *Portrait of Jan Six* in the Six collection (Br. 276) of 1654 and the *Jewish Bride* in Amsterdam (Br. 416) are closely related to the Frick *Self-portrait* in this respect. The same applies to the history pieces like *Jacob blessing the sons of Joseph* in Kassel (Br. 525). The tension evident in the Frick *Self-portrait* between the loosely placed brushstrokes on the one hand and the consciously manipulated ruggedness of the paint surface on the other also accords with Rembrandt's ideas about the handling of paint and is revealed in the works mentioned from the period 1645 to 1669.

The problem of the 'meaning' of the painting can be approached from various angles other than that of style. Some have attempted to place the work in a biographical context. Others, among them we ourselves, are inclined to see it as a kind of *portrait historié* in which the painter depicts himself in the guise of a celebrated artist of the past. This will be discussed in more detail below.

An entirely different approach focuses on the question of the function of the painting or the wishes of potential buyers of a work of this kind. Our discussion will also examine whether Rembrandt's choice of this form of self-portrait was inspired by an artist's portrait by Anthony van Dyck that is very similar in many respects.

The dignified self-assurance expressed by Rembrandt's frontal, sitting pose has evoked regal associations for many authors. In 1966 Clark characterised the sitter as 'a philosopher king indifferent to misfortune' and on the grounds of this interpretation linked the work to the artist's circumstances, meaning by this the *cessio bonorum* that came into effect in 1656.[7] Indeed, Clark dated the painting to that year, although the last digit in the date looks more like an *8*. Clark's intuitive reading of the way in which Rembrandt portrays himself must be rejected as anachronistic. The same goes for the interpretations of Pinder[8] – who described the pose as that of a patriarch – and of Rosenberg,[9] who believed that Rembrandt had depicted himself in this painting 'as a sovereign in the realm of pictorial fancy'. Yet Rosenberg's intuitive interpretation is close to a possible reading that is conceivable within the 17th-century view of how the artist might see himself. This possibility was explored by Chapman, who assumed that here Rembrandt portrayed himself as a 'Prince of Painters'.[10] In the 17th century this term was frequently applied to Apelles, the famous painter of antiquity.[11] There are indeed good reasons for thinking that some of Rembrandt's self-portraits may contain allusions to great masters of the past (see Chapter II). As will be explained below, in the case of the painting under consideration here the fact that Rembrandt wears a *paltrock* of shining gold material may be such an allusion.

Before attempting an interpretation, it is worth briefly considering the clothes Rembrandt is wearing in this self-portrait. Many art historians have studied the nature and origins of this costume. It has often been described, following Clark's lead,[12] as Venetian. Others called it oriental or Jewish.[13] Van Gelder[14] and Weisbach[15] saw it as a fanciful outfit assembled from Rembrandt's collection of studio props, while Raupp[16] believed that here Rembrandt had shown himself in working clothes. This last hypothesis was rightly rejected by Chapman, who called the costume 'fanciful and old-fashioned'.[17] Except for Chapman's, the various interpretations of the costume were rarely supported by arguments. The idea that it is

Fig. 5. Hieronymus Cock, *Portrait of Jan Gossaert*, engraving from D. Lampsonius, *Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium Germaniae Inferioris Effifies*, Antwerp 1572



Venetian also turns out to be based on no more than conjecture inspired by the theory that Rembrandt derived the pose of the figure and the painting style from Venetian models, specifically Titian (see note 6).

As stated in *1. Introduction*, closer analysis of the costume reveals that it is a rather fanciful amalgam of 16th-century and 'eastern' elements. Most of the components correspond to the early 16th-century dress worn by Rembrandt in various self-portraits (see Chapter II). Thus the length and characteristic horizontal neckline of the bright yellow garment identify it as a *paltrock* such as was worn in the early 16th century.[18] The black, scalloped cap was also part of early 16th-century costume. The brocade cloth in the neck opening is also sometimes seen in 16th-century portraits, such as that of Jan Gossaert in the series of engraved portraits of artists by Hieronymus Cock (fig. 5).

In view of the 16th-century features of the costume and the striking yellow colour of the *paltrock*, there is a temptation to relate this costume to an anecdote about the Leiden artist Lucas van Leyden, who was much admired by Rembrandt. In his 'Life of Lucas' Karel van Mander describes a meeting between him and the court painter Jan Gossaert:

'everywhere he was in the company of the aforementioned Jan de Mabuse, who acted in a very stately manner, resplendent in a garment of gold cloth, and Lucas wore a jerkin of yellow silk camlet which in the sunshine also had the lustre of gold.'[19]

Even if there is no direct link between this description and the way Rembrandt depicts himself in this *Self-portrait*, it is fair to assume that his choice of the yellow *paltrock* might have been inspired by associations with this anecdote.

As already noted, the costume also contains obviously 'eastern' elements. The term 'eastern' is used here in the 17th-century sense: it could refer to today's Near East or the Levant but also to Poland or the Baltic states.[20] The diagonal fastening of the white garment under the *paltrock* was a characteristic feature of 'eastern' dress.[21] This was how the *kaftans* closed which were worn for centuries in the Near East and in areas under the influence of the Ottoman Empire such as the Balkans and Poland. The red sash tied round the waist, on the other hand, would have been associated in the 17th-century mind with the Far East. The so-called 'jointed' cane with the silver-coloured knob which Rembrandt holds also came from that part of the world. Such sashes and canes were used as fashionable, exotic accessories in men's dress from the middle of the 17th century. They were imported in large quantities from eastern Asia by the Dutch East India Company.[22] According to the inventory drawn up because of Rembrandt's *cessio bonorum* in 1656, he owned 'some canes'.[23] Canes of the type seen in the Frick *Self-portrait* also appear in the portrait of *Jacob Trip* of 1661 in London (Br. 314) and that of *Dirck van Os* in Omaha (Br. 315). In view of what has been said, there are not sufficient grounds to see the cane as a sceptre or maulstick, as Chapman proposed.[24]

A possible reason for adding these 'eastern' elements to the 16th-century costume will be discussed below. The most obvious explanation for the use of 16th-century dress is that it provides a more general allusion to a distant past, as it does, for example, in the *Aristotle* in New York (Br. 478). This is also the view taken by Chapman, who rightly observes that the costume in this *Self-portrait* shows resemblances not only to the historical dress in other self-portraits but to that in some of Rembrandt's history pieces, such as the protagonist's dress in *The conspiracy of Claudius Civilis* in Stockholm (Br. 482) of 1661 (see note 17). Her interpretation that by means of this 'somewhat imaginative conception of historical artist's attire' Rembrandt wanted to put himself in the tradition of his great predecessors is thus plausible, and consequently the idea of an allusion to one of the painters in the anecdote quoted above gains in probability.

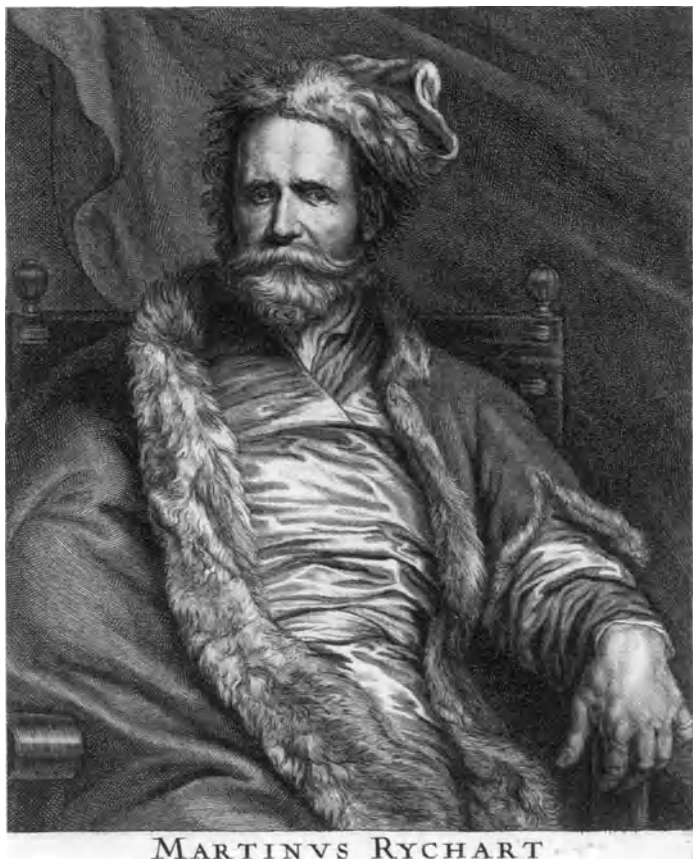
Slatkes too assumed that the dress implied a reference to a distant past when he suggested that here Rembrandt depicted himself as Jupiter.[25] This reading was based on the suggestion made by one of the present authors (E.v.d.W.) in a lecture at The Frick Collection in 1986 that the *Self-portrait* might have been painted as a pendant to the equally large, similarly frontal *Juno* in the Hammer Collection in Los Angeles (Br.-Gerson 639). Given that there can be no doubt at all as to the identification of the figure in the latter painting as Juno, if these two works are indeed pendants, then the obvious conclusion is that the Frick *Self-portrait* depicts Jupiter. On the basis of arguments set out below, we have abandoned this thesis, but Slatkes defends it by pointing to similarities to

Jupiter's costume in the *Jupiter and Mercury with Philemon and Baucis* in Washington (Br. 481) painted in the same year as the Frick *Self-portrait* by – we believe – a studio assistant.[26]

There are several arguments against Slatkes' theory. A document indicates, for example, that the *Juno* was probably not completed before 1665, although this need not rule out the possibility that it was begun in 1658.[27] The thread density of the canvases on which the works are painted does not match, so they cannot come from the same bolt. It has also been determined that the original sizes of the two paintings were not the same. Another argument against this hypothesis carries even more weight: Slatkes' belief that the Frick *Self-portrait* and the *Juno* were both in the possession of Harmen Becker rests on shaky foundations. The 1678 inventory of Becker does indeed mention, besides a 'Juno', a self-portrait by Rembrandt, but it is described as 'een manstronie van Rembrant sijnde sijn eygen conterfeytsel' (a *tronie* of a man by Rembrandt being his own likeness).[28] The current view is that the term *tronie* was used for a painting with a bust (a head) and not a three-quarter length piece of the size of the Frick *Self-portrait.* Moreover, according to the inventory, the two paintings were not hung side by side. The *tronie* of a man was in the 'voorhuys' or entrance hall and the 'Juno' a floor above in the 'voorcamer' or front room. Finally, the most important argument against the Jupiter hypothesis is that, while Juno is clearly identified by her crown and her peacocks, in the Frick *Self-portrait* all Jupiter's traditional attributes are missing.

The origins of the frontal, seated pose in this *Self-portrait* are generally traced in the literature to 16th-century Venetian painting.[29] As Chapman has demonstrated, artists like Titian, Veronese and Tintoretto indeed often portrayed their sitters almost frontally.[30] Though the seated, three-quarter length portrait was originally reserved for princes or popes as a symbol of their sovereignty, in the course of the 16th century it also came to be used for paintings of people who commanded respect, such as aged men and women. In the Low Countries Frans Floris used this pose in portraits of burghers.[31] So the seated, frontal three-quarter length piece is neither exclusively Venetian nor unique in Rembrandt's oeuvre. He used this formula from the early 1650s on in several of his portraits, for example in the etched *Portrait of a man* of 1651 (B. 272, the so-called Clement de Jonge), the etched *Portrait of Thomas Haringh* of *c.* 1655 (B. 274), the painted *Portrait of Nicolaes Bruyningh* of 1652 (Br. 268) and the painted *Portrait of Margareta de Geer* of 1661 (Br. 394). In the case of the last of these, the choice of a frontal, seated pose might have had to do with the venerable age of the sitter, but with the others this could not have been the reason. As argued above, from the late 1640s there is a general tendency in Rembrandt's work, both in the portraits and the history pieces, for the figures in the foreground to be depicted frontally. This predilection for a frontal pose is also apparent in some of his other late self-portraits. The *Self-portrait* of 1652 in Vienna (IV 8) and that at Kenwood of *c.* 1667 (IV 26) spring to mind.

Fig. 6. J. Neeffs, after A. van Dyck, *Portrait of Martin Rijckaert*, engraving from Van Dyck's *Iconographia*



In choosing this pose Rembrandt may possibly have been influenced by the portrait of the Flemish landscape painter Martin Rijckaert (1587-1631) by Anthony van Dyck. A comparison with an engraving by Jacob Neeffs after this artist's portrait (fig. 6) – which Chapman had earlier linked to the so-called *Portrait of Clement de Jonge* (B. 272) mentioned above – reveals marked similarities with both elements of the costume and the frontal, seated pose in the self-portrait under consideration.[32] This engraving was published in 1645 in the *Iconographia.*[33] It is highly likely that Rembrandt was familiar with this well-known series, which included a large number of artists' portraits.

It is worth noting that in this portrait Martin Rijckaert is also shown in 'eastern' clothes, namely in a dress that was typical of Poland in the 17th century.[34] In particular, the characteristic diagonal fastening of the kaftan, the sash and perhaps the cloak are elements which Rembrandt may have taken for the Frick *Self-portrait* from Neeffs' print after Van Dyck's portrait. The reason why Rijckaert is depicted in this 'eastern' dress is unclear, since we know of nothing directly linking him to Poland. Whatever the reason, it seems possible that this exotic, 'picturesque' costume inspired Rembrandt to combine his historicising dress with 'eastern' elements.

A question raised by the unusual format of this painting is the type of collection Rembrandt (or a client) may have had in mind for it. Schwartz considers this point and provides a tentative answer by suggesting that only an aristocratic or royal collector would be able to find a fitting place in his collection (or in a series of 'famous men') for such a monumental work.[35] One might then

think of a series like the one Don Antonio Ruffo built around the equally monumental *Aristotle* in New York (Br. 478). On the other hand, however, the Amsterdam merchant Sibert van der Schelling had a large self-portrait by Rembrandt in his collection which was described by the German visitor Von Uffenbach in 1711 as 'an incomparable portrait, very large, of Rembrandt painted by himself'.[36] The possibility that this refers to the present painting cannot be excluded.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 275 ff.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

None.

5. Copies

None.

6. Provenance

– Collection Earl of Ilchester in Melbury Park, Dorset (first mention in 1815, loaned by him to the British Institution).
– Dealer M. Knoedler & Co, London.
– Acquired by Henry Clay Frick in 1906 for £ 225,000.

NOTES

1. Kühn, p. 193.
2. *The Frick Collection. An illustrated catalogue* (Vol. I Paintings), New York 1968, pp. 266-268, esp. 266.
3. De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes, p. 89.
4. J. Wadum in an internal report of the restoration department of the Mauritshuis, The Hague, dated May 1997.
5. On the concept of *kenlijkheyt* see Chapter III, p. 307 ff and E. van de Wetering, 'Rembrandt's manner: technique in the service of illusion', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, pp. 12-39, esp. 33.
6. S. van Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 176.
7. K. Clark, *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance*, New York 1966, p. 127.
8. W. Pinder, *Rembrandts Selbstbildnisse*, Königstein im Taunus n.d. [1950] (1943[1]), p. 94.
9. J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1948, vol. I, p. 30.
10. Chapman 1990, pp. 88 and 94-95.
11. On this, see, for example K. van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, Haarlem 1604, Chapter 1, fol. 83, and ibid. *Het leven der oude antijcke doorluchtighe schilders*, Alkmaar 1603, fol. 76v. See also Chapman 1990, p. 94.
12. Clark, op. cit.[7]: 'not only is the grandiose frontal pose derived from Titian, but the pleated shirt is a part of Venetian sixteenth-century dress'.
13. Rosenberg, op. cit.[9]:'rich Oriental garments'; exhib. cat. *Exhibition of works by Old Masters, etc.*, London 1889, p. 37, no. 157: 'in a Jewish dress'.
14. H.E. van Gelder, *Rembrandt en zijn portret*, Amsterdam [1948], p. 50.
15. W. Weisbach, *Rembrandt*, Berlin/Leipzig 1926, pp. 87-88.
16. H.-J. Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim 1984, p. 179.
17. Chapman 1990, p. 91.
18. The structure of this garment is problematic. It is not entirely clear, for example, how the front panel and the sleeves are attached.
19. '...[Lukas] was overal vergheselschapt met den verhaelden Jan de Mabuse den welcken hem seer statigh en prachtigh droegh, hebbende aen een cleedt van goude laken en Lukas hadde aen eenen rock van ghele syden cameloot, dat in de Sonne oock eenen glans hadde als van gout'. K. van Mander, *The lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters*, vol. 1, H. Miedema (ed.), Doornspijk 1994, fol. 214v/pp. 116-117.
20. See *WNT* under *Oostersch*.
21. See: H. Tezcan and S. Delibaş, *The Topkapi Saray Museum. Costumes, embroideries and other textiles*, London 1986; J. Scarce, 'Das osmanisch-türkische Kostüm', in: exhib. cat. *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit*, Recklinghausen/Frankfurt/Essen 1985, pp. 221-239.
22. The articulations of the cane indicate an East Asian type of wood (possibly rattan). The term *rotting* is a corruption of the Malay *Rotan* (of the genus Calamus). During this period these canes were imported from Asia by the Dutch East India Company in large quantities. The 1664 inventory of Adriaen Bleecker, a dealer in eastern goods, lists 57 sashes (*gordels*) and 1700 canes (*rottingen*) of very diverse quality. GAA, not. J.H. Leuven, NA 2738, dated 29 July 1664, fol. 623-645. In the 17th century the sashes were usually worn in combination with another exotic garment, the *Japonse Rock*.
23. Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, no. 190. 'Eenige rottingen'.
24. Chapman 1990, pp. 91-92.
25. L.J. Slatkes, *Rembrandt. Catalogo completo*, Florence 1992, pp. 410-412.
26. Chapman had previously pointed out the resemblance (see note 17).
27. Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/17.
28. A. Bredius, 'Rembrandtiana', *O.H.* 27 (1910), pp. 193-204, esp. 196 and 200: 'Een manstronie van Rembrant sijnde sijn eygen conterfeytsel'. GAA., not. S. Pelgrom, NA 4767, pp. 324-378, dd. 19 October-23 November 1678.
29. Among others: J. Rosenberg, op. cit.[9]; K. Clark, op. cit.[7]; E.A. Saunders, 'Rembrandt and the Pastoral of the Self', *Essays in Northern European Art presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on his sixtieth birthday*, Doornspijk 1983, pp. 222-227, esp. 222; Chapman 1990, p. 93 and Tümpel 1986, p. 410.
30. Chapman 1990, p. 93 cites among other works Titian's *Portrait of Pope Paul III* of 1543 in the Gallerie Nazionale in Naples, the *Portrait of Johann Friedrich of Saxony* of 1550-51 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and Tintoretto's *Portrait of a senator* in the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin.
31. Frans Floris, *Portrait of a woman*, 1558, canvas 107 x 83 cm; Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. 74. Apart from this work, Chapman 1990, p. 93, note 73, cites examples by Jan Vermeyen and Quinten Metsys.
32. Chapman had already linked this print to the etched portrait of Clement de Jonge mentioned above. Chapman 1990, pp. 93-94.
33. Published by Gillis Hendricx, *Icones principum virorum doctorum, pictorum, chalcographorum, statuarum nec non amatorum...*, 2nd edn, Antwerp 1645.
34. He wears a gown (known as a *delia* or *ferezja*) with underneath it a kaftan (or *żupan*) that is tied round the waist with a sash and on his head a *kolpak* with a fur edge. On this, see: I. Turnau, *History of dress in central and eastern Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century*, Warsaw 1991, pp. 71-78. Confirmation that contemporaries would have recognised Rijckaert's costume as Polish is provided by the inventory of the kings of Spain of 1666 in which this portrait is described as 'le très beau portrait d'un manchot habillé à la polonaise peint par van Dyck'. See: *La Peinture Flamande au Prado*, Madrid 1989, p. 205. The copy of the painting owned by the Antwerp artist Gaspar Thielens was also described by the Swedish traveller Nicodemus Tessin the Younger in 1687 as 'ein alter man in einem fast Polnischen habit geschildert, biss an die Knien vom Van Dijck, die Mütze wahr grün Sammet mit Sobeln, und der Unterrock von rothem Sammet, der überrock wahr schwartz-breunlich mit Sobeln, er begerte ungefehr 100 Duc. darvor so es auch wohl werth wahr'. G. Upmark, 'Ein Besuch in Holland 1687, aus den Reise schilderungen des Schwedischen Architecten Nicodemus Tessin d.J.', *O.H.* 18 (1900), pp. 117-128, 144-152, 199-210, esp. 203.
35. Schwartz 1984, p. 350.
36. 18 March 1711, Sibert van der Schelling. 'ein unvergleichlich Porträt ganz gross von Rembrandt durch ihn selbst gemahlt, welches gewiss bewunderns werth ist, und nicht genug kan betrachtet werden'. HdG *Urk.*, no. 393.

EDINBURGH, NATIONAL GALLERIES OF SCOTLAND, ON LOAN FROM THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND

HDG 553; BR. 48; BAUCH 327; GERSON 329; TÜMPEL 170

1. Introduction and description

The authenticity of the *Self-portrait* in Edinburgh has never been doubted in the literature. To the extent that it has been the subject of discussion, only the question of its original size and the interpretation of the last digit of the date have received attention. This entry takes a closer look at these issues and explores the picture's place in Rembrandt's production of late self-portraits.

Rembrandt is shown bust length. He wears a gown over a white shirt and a grey brown doublet with a turned up collar open at the neck. Atop his curly brown, neck-length hair is a grey brown cap gathered at the border. The figure is placed before a neutral dark grey background, which is somewhat lighter at the lower right.

Working conditions

Examined on 4 June 1971 (B.H., P.v.Th.) and on 9 and 10 June 1983 (S.H.L., E.v.d.W.): out of the frame, in artificial light with the aid of a binocular microscope, an ultraviolet lamp and two X-radiographs covering the entire surface. The varnish does not hamper observation.

Support

Canvas, lined, 52.7 x 42.7 cm. Cusping is visible only along the lower and left sides. The cusps along the left edge vary in length between 5.5 and 6.5 cm and the deformations extend into the canvas up to app. 7 cm, while those along the lower edge vary in length between 6 and 7 cm and extend into the canvas up to app. 9 cm.

Thread count: 13.21 vertical threads/cm (13-14); 13.95 horizontal threads/cm (13.5-14.25). Given the virtually even spread of the vertical and horizontal threads it is not possible to distinguish the warp and weft.

Ground

A yellowish tint over which a somewhat transparent brown has been applied shows through in and near the scratched-in curls, in a few thin areas in the background, in the gown and in and around the cap. A grey underlying layer is visible in the tip of the chin and in the hair to the right of the cap. It was not possible to distinguish which of these tones is the actual ground.

Paint layer

Condition: Apart from the question whether and to what extent this *Self-portrait* was ever cut down, its condition may be described as reasonable, even though the degree to which it was subjected to retouching and overpainting by a later hand cannot be established with certainty. What is certain is that a fair amount of overpaintings were applied along the edges – the left edge in particular – both on the shoulder and in the background. Also in the background to the right of the head, overpaintings darkened with age seem to be present which, for example in the zone around the signature, are extensive and remarkably freely applied. In the head itself certain areas can be indicated as having been overpainted, though with varying certainty. For example, the dark tones to the left of the eye at the left were quite possibly reinforced by overpainting. However, it is noteworthy that microscopic examination of a number of these suspected overpaintings has revealed that the size and variety of the grains of pigment do not deviate significantly from that of the rest of the painting. That the craquelure in the shadows of the eye sockets seems to have been filled with paint locally could be seen as confirmation that this area was over-painted at a later stage. Even then, caution is still called for, as the ground seems to display local shrinkage cracks that could have already existed before the work was painted.

Craquelure: A locally small pattern of shrinkage cracks extends into areas that seem to be hardly or not painted, which may indicate that this craquelure was formed while the ground was drying. An irregular pattern of ageing cracks is found in the thickly applied flesh areas.

The painting is characterised by a fairly thin application of paint in the costume and the background, and a thicker one in the head. The moderate impasto in the lit sections is subtly differentiated, depending on the light effect. As already noted by Smith,[1] the 'fine style' of the execution of the *Self-portrait* is remarkable for the many subtle gradations in the light/dark and other tonal values.

The colour scheme in the face and the hair displays substantial variation. While the elaboration of the modelling seems, indeed, smooth, it is not purely descriptive. On the whole, the brushwork is relatively differentiated and determined by a certain rhythm. The most conspicuous aspect of this way of painting is the very light, sketchy, and sometimes hatched application of thin lines. Such linear elements are not later additions. For example, near the wrinkles in brown and grey paint done with lightly applied brushstrokes are small grey lines at the left that appear to merge with the flesh tones in the forehead. The continuation of the base of the nose toward the upper right has been indicated with some faint strokes. Thin grey strokes predominate in the less lit part of the forehead at the right. The cheek at the left has more pinkish flesh tints and greyish glazes, while the cheekbone is more ochrish and has been painted with a dabbing movement of the brush. The variation in technique is also evident in the way in which the hair has been painted, namely thinly and swiftly, sometimes almost grazingly, in curly strokes in greys, ochre and some red. At the left, some strokes of the hair have been applied over the edge of the cap in almost pure white, black and red. At the right, the hair is somewhat less pronounced, though also rendered in a rich variety of colour and with some curling, scratched-in lines.

A puzzling feature is that the collar to the right of the head displays two overlapping shapes, rather than one, as at the left; a straight demarcation corresponding with the border of the collar on the left. Both versions of that part of the collar appear to have been executed solely in thin dark lines, as though they had been left unfinished.

Fig. 1. Canvas 52.7 x 42.7 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 53



Fig. 2. X-Ray

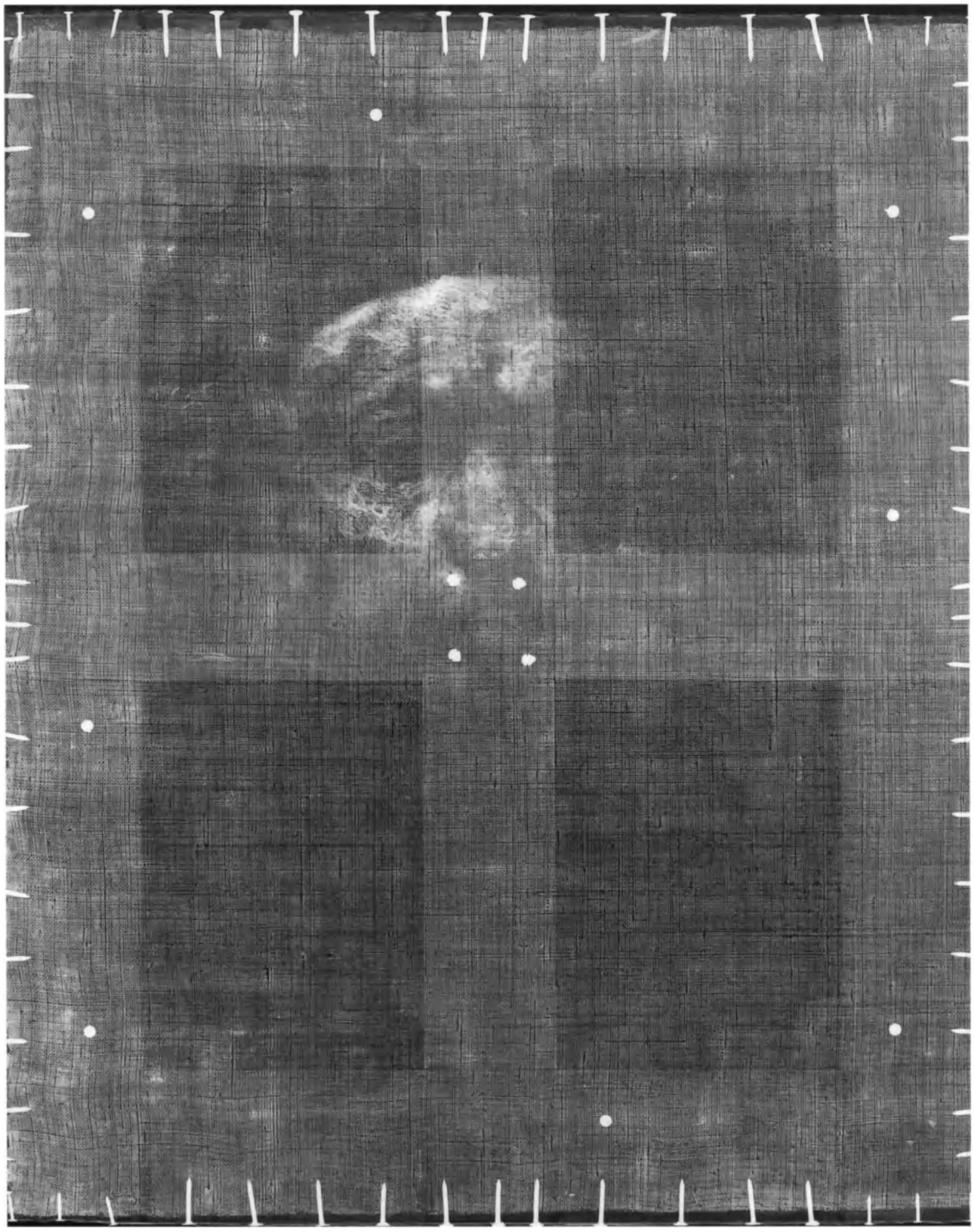
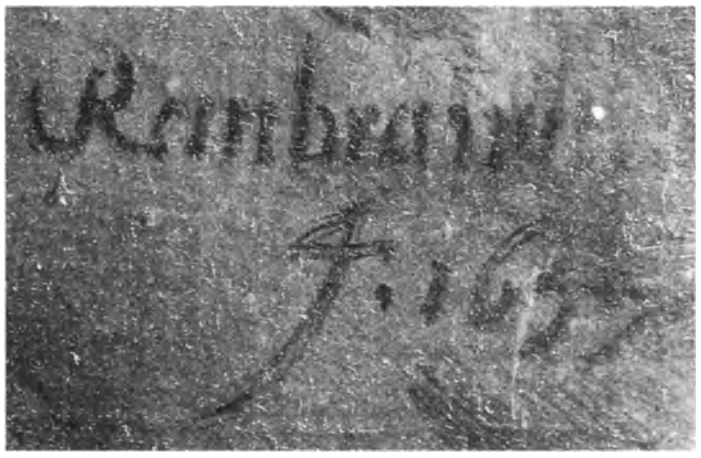


Fig. 3. Detail with signature (reduced)



Radiography

The radiographic image is largely determined by radioabsorbent material filling the irregularities in the fabric. This material may impregnate from the back, in which case it is possibly a radioabsorbent lining adhesive, or from the front, in which case it is the ground. As a consequence, the concentrations of radioabsorbency in the face contrast relatively little.

Signature

In fairly thin dark grey paint at the lower right in the background: <*Rembrandt / f.165?*>. Smith (see note 1) read the last digit as a 5, but it has also been interpreted as a 9 (Bode,[2] Hofstede de Groot,[3] and Wright[4]) or a 7 (Erpel,[5] Bauch,[6] Gerson,[7] Tümpel[8] and Lloyd Williams[9]). The *f* and the upstroke of the *6* display paint only on their edges.

2. Comments

There are paintings that have always been considered part of Rembrandt's oeuvre without ever having been thoroughly studied. One of these is this *Self-portrait* from the collection of the Duke of Sutherland in the National Gallery in Edinburgh. Discussions of this painting in the Rembrandt literature of the last 60 years have been limited to questions concerning the original dimensions of the canvas and the last digit of the date. The only author to make an adequate remark on this painting was Smith (see note 1), who wrote in 1836: 'This interesting bust portrait is painted in a fine style, and is so like reality, as to be almost deceptive.' Indeed, the painting's almost photographic character is what lends it its unusual place among Rembrandt's late self-portraits. How this effect was achieved will be discussed below. It will be shown that the scale of the head relative to the picture plane and the placement of the head in the picture plane play an important role. These aspects have contributed to the repeated questioning of the original dimensions in the literature. Important here is the fact that the painting was larger at the beginning of this century than it is now, as is evidenced by a reproduction of the painting in Valentiner's 1908 *Rembrandt* (fig. 4).[10] This last reproduction clearly shows that a strip of canvas was added to each side: a narrow strip at the top, somewhat wider strips at the left and right, and the widest one at the bottom. However, the dimensions given by Valentiner, and earlier by Bode (see note 2), are identical to the present ones. Bode's remark that the painting was 'Ringsum angestückt' (had additions on all sides), indicates that he – as well as Valentiner – considered only the central section of the painting as original and based their measurements on it. Smith (see note 1) had already observed that the canvas had been enlarged. In his mention of the measurements ('1 ft. 8 1/2 in. by 1 ft. 4 3/4 in.' [= app. 52 x 42 cm]), he added 'Enlarged to 2 ft. 2 1/2 in. by 1 ft. 8 3/4 in.' [= 67.3 x 52.7 cm]. These strips were probably removed when the painting was treated by the Hague restorer De Wild in 1933 and were certainly no longer present when Bredius published it in 1935.[11]

Fig. 4. Canvas with added strips (reproduced after W.R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt*, Stuttgart-Berlin [1908], Kl. d. K., p. 401)



In so far as is known, there is no extant documentation regarding De Wild's restoration and the strips of canvas that were removed have disappeared, making it impossible to ascertain whether they could have been added in Rembrandt's workshop, as Wright (see note 4) suggested.[12] It must have been so clear to those who knew the painting in its enlarged state that the strips were a later addition, that it was permissible to remove them. Only this would explain why Smith explicitly described it as being 'enlarged'; why Bode and Valentiner ignored the strips when indicating the painting's measurements; and why De Wild removed them. That De Wild did not take the decision lightly but proceeded with caution can be deduced from the fact that in the case of another painting that he restored, Rembrandt's *Man in armour* in the

Fig. 5. Engraving by P.W. Tomkins, 1817



Fig. 6. Rembrandt's workshop, *Portrait of a woman*, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, on loan from the Duke of Sutherland (II C 82)



City Art Gallery and Museum in Glasgow (Br. 480), he did not remove the strips of canvas that may have been added later to the painting. Wright's criticism of De Wild's restoration of the *Self-portrait*, that '... it was obviously a folly to reduce the picture to a format never intended by the artist' (see note 4), in our opinion is misplaced. The results of the analysis of the canvas, moreover, contradict Wright's conviction that the painting was meant to be larger (see *Support*). On the basis of the marked cusping along the left and lower edges, it can be inferred that the original canvas could not have been much larger along these sides, although the depth of the deformations of 7 and 9 cm respectively, leaves open the possibility that the painting was 5 to 10 cm larger at the lower and left edges. While the absence of cusping along the upper and right sides does not rule out the possibility that the painting was larger there, it could not have been by much, otherwise the placement of the head in the picture plane would have been compositionally awkward (on the absence of cusping as a result of 17th-century grounding practices, see Vol. II, pp. 15-43).

Exactly when the strips were added to the original canvas is difficult to determine. The painting was already enlarged at the beginning of the 19th century, as can be seen in an engraving by Peter W. Tomkins of 1817 (*4. Graphic reproductions*, 1, fig. 5). This print is included in a book by W.Y. Ottley published in 1818 containing descriptions and prints of the paintings in the collection of the Marquess of Stafford. The *Self-portrait* is described as follows: '... It is painted on canvas, and measures 2 feet 2 inches in height, by 1 foot 8 3/4 inches [= app. 66 x 52.7 cm] in width. This picture is square, although rendered apparently oval, by means of the frame, in order to make it correspond in form with the following picture, to which it hangs as companion [= 'Rembrandt. The Portrait of a Lady']' (see *6. Provenance*).[13] From this description, the *Self-portrait* appears to have been altered to serve as the pendant of the *Portrait of a woman*, also in the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh on loan from the Duke of Sutherland, probably since 1806, but certainly since 1808 (II C 82; fig. 6).[14] Ottley described the latter painting as measuring '2 feet 3½ inches in height, by 1 foot 9 inches in width [= 69.8 x 53.3 cm]', which is virtually identical to the dimensions he gave for the *Self-portrait*. The slight difference in width and height is negligible, certainly considering that the *Self-portrait* was fitted with an oval frame in order to match its supposed counterpart.

It is highly likely that the *Portrait of a woman* originally had a portrait of a man as its pendant.[15] However, given the differences in style and date of origin alone – the *Portrait of a woman* is dated 1634, while the *Self-portrait* was made in the 1650s – it is clear that this supposed pendant could not have been the *Self-portrait* discussed here. Furthermore, there are no indications that the paintings were ever together prior to 1806. The *Self-portrait* was bought by Lord Gower in 1802 at a sale of the collection of the Countess of Holderness (see *6. Provenance*), but probably on behalf of the Third Duke of Bridgewater, while the *Portrait of a woman* was in the Destouches collection in Paris in 1794. The Destouches sales cata-

logue makes no mention of a pendant for the woman's portrait, nor of a self-portrait by Rembrandt. From this data there is every reason to believe that the *Self-portrait* was enlarged with strips of canvas while in the collection of the Earl of Ellesmere to serve as the pendant of the *Portrait of a woman*, and that these were the additions removed by De Wild.

Returning to Smith's comment concerning the painting's unusual illusionistic effect, the rather off-centre placement of the head in the picture plane and the scale of the head relative to the picture plane contribute to the curiously strong presence of the figure depicted. As for the *mise-en-toile*, the conspicuous placement of the head to the left in the picture plane lends the face a certain snapshot effect, as it were. Furthermore, the scale of the head relative to the picture plane gives the viewer the impression of being very close to the sitter. This intimacy is further reinforced by the fineness of the painting's execution, as noted by Smith. There is yet another aspect that contributes to the over-illusionistic quality of the head, namely the illumination. While in most of Rembrandt's self-portraits the contrast of light and dark is generally stronger, this head is fairly evenly and frontally lit. The way the eyes are set in the shadowed eye sockets, the unusually strong plasticity of the nose thanks to the small, powerful cast shadow under the nose, together with the relatively modest progression in tonal values within the head, contribute to its unusual, 'photographic' character. The same can be said of the extraordinarily strong spatial effect created by the light accents of the individual hairs in the locks above the ears, and the extremely sensitive modelling of the velvet beret with its highly differentiated contour. The way the lit head rises up from behind the turned up dark collar also plays a role in the heightened illusion of the head.

In this, and in the even, virtually frontal illumination of the head and the light accents in the hair alternating with the scratched-in lines in the wet paint to indicate the curls, the Edinburgh *Self-portrait* is very close to Rembrandt's *Self-portrait* in Washington (IV 18), in which the sitter wears a comparable costume and the same type of beret. These two self-portraits are also comparable with respect to several physiognomical peculiarities, such as the small tuft of hair on the lower lip and the pointed moustache. The position of the head in the Washington *Self-portrait* differs in that it is reversed and shown somewhat more frontally than the Edinburgh one. Given these similarities, one wonders whether these self-portraits were produced in the same period.

First, however, it must be considered whether these similarities could be explained by supposing that one of the paintings is a reverse derivative of the other. Before addressing this question, it should be pointed out that the handling of the paint differs greatly in each painting. While the execution is relatively fine and without marked impasto and forms are subtly modelled in the Edinburgh *Self-portrait*, the handling of the head in the Washington painting (the only section of the painting eligible for comparison) is strikingly coarse – with far less extensive attention devoted to the modelling – and exhibits conspicuous use of the exposed ground. As is argued in Chapter III and in the catalogue entry on the Washington *Self-portrait*, Rembrandt evidently considered this painting completed at an early stage of its execution. The Edinburgh *Self-portrait* differs significantly in its extreme elaboration, and thus the two paintings cannot be compared qua *peinture*. The theory that one of the paintings might be a reverse derivative of the other becomes even less likely when one considers the disparity between the turns of the heads. The Edinburgh head is turned three-quarters, whereby the degree to which Rembrandt's nose sticks out following a concave line is quite conspicuous – like that in the *Self-portrait* in London of 1669 (IV 27) – while the Washington head displays an almost fully frontal view. The fact that the asymmetry in the face (the sagging fold of the eye lid at the right and the vertical furrow above the nose curving to the left eye) is similar in both heads argues against the idea that one of the paintings could be a reverse derivative of the other. The similarities between the two self-portraits with respect to the resemblances and the stage of ageing of both faces, can best be explained by assuming that the paintings were produced in the same period. Given the unreliability and the difficult-to-decipher last digit of the inscription in the Edinburgh painting, it would be more plausible to adhere to the date on the Washington painting (1659) for both works. However, it should be taken into account that the inscription on the Washington painting is extremely worn and has been reinforced with dark lines in several areas. As a consequence, this date cannot be used as an absolutely reliable source for establishing the date of the Edinburgh painting.

The comparison of the paintings, further elaborated in Chapter III, pp. 111-116; 281, shows the great range of Rembrandt's style in the 1650s. The same holds true when comparing the *Portrait of Catharina Hooghsaet* in a private collection (Br. 391) of 1657 with other portraits produced in the 1650s. This stylistic range implies that a concept such as Rembrandt's 'late style' – certainly when used to denote his so-called rough manner – should be applied with caution.

3. Documents and sources

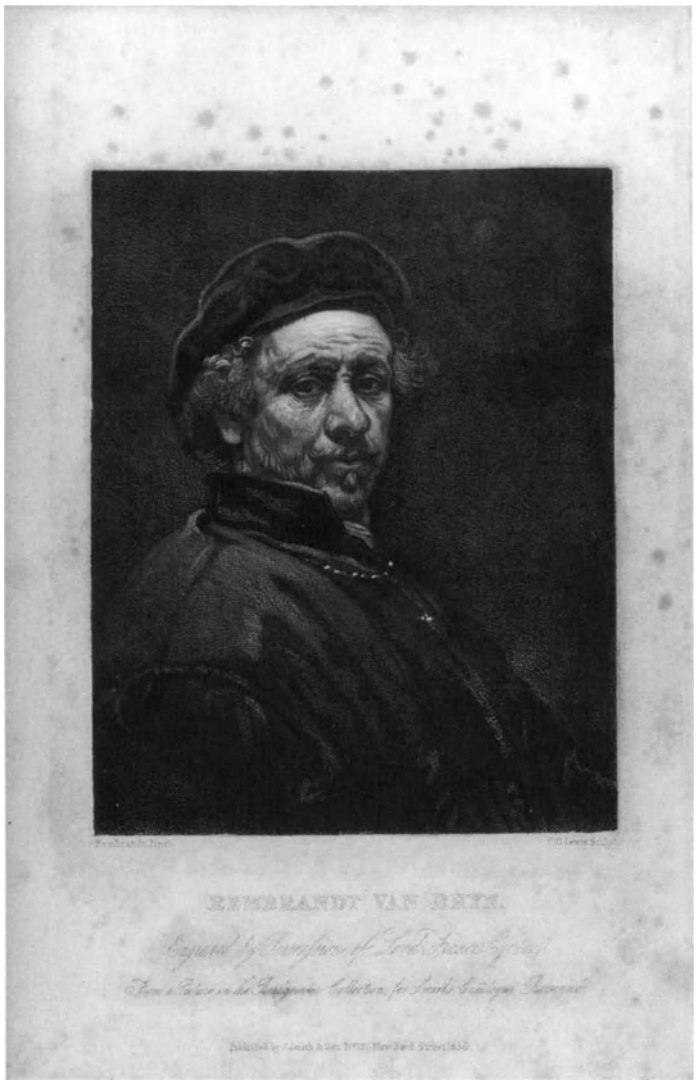
None.

4. Graphic Reproductions

1. Engraving by Peter William Tomkins (London 1760 - London 1840), inscribed: *His own Portrait. / 66 / Rembrandt. – 1.8 3/4 by 2.2.* [= 52.7 x 66 cm] */ Drawn by W.M. Craig. Engraved by P.W.Tomkins / 1817* (fig. 5). Reproduced in Ottley (see also *6. Provenance* and note 13).

The print reproduces the painting in the same direction as the original. Certainly at the left and lower edge, but also probably at the right and upper edge, the print provides an image of the painting including the additions, whereby more of the gown and the left shoulder is shown. The collar at the right, where a pentimento may have been applied in the painting, is curled in the print. The cap is somewhat higher with more pronounced folds than in the painting.

Fig. 7. Mezzotint by Ch. G. Lewis, 1836



2. Mezzotint by John Young (1755 - London 1825) (Charrington 189). The print reproduces the painting in the same direction as the original. This print seems to be closely allied to the print by Tomkins (*4. Graphic Reproductions*, 1). Quite likely one of the prints was made after the other.
3. Mezzotint and engraving by Charles George Lewis (Enfield, Middlesex 1808 - Felpham 1880), inscribed: *Rembrandt Pinxt. – C.G.Lewis.Sculpt. / Rembrandt van Rhyn. / Engraved by Permission of Lord Francis Egerton. / From a Picture in the Bridgwater Collection, for Smith's Catalogue Raisonné./ 1836* (fig. 7). The print reproduces the painting in the same direction as the original, including the additions. It seems as though an arm placed in front of the body was depicted in the lower added strip. This would concur with Bode's description that the sitter had 'die Hände vor dem Körper zusammengelegt' (his hands folded in front of his body) (see note 2). Lewis, too, was unable to decipher the date, leaving it indistinct in the print.

5. Copies

None.

6. Provenance

– Coll. Countess of Holderness, sale London (Christie's) 6 March 1802 (Lugt 6370), no. 56: 'Rembrandt - His own Portrait. A most striking Picture; a Character, full of Energy and impressive Sensibility, painted in a bold masterly Style. This Portrait may vie with the finest Works of Titian.' According to the copy at the RKD, for £ 81 s. 18 to Lord Gower, as was also noted by Hofstede de Groot (see note 3).

According to Lloyd Williams (see note 9), however, the painting was purchased by Lord Gower at this sale, but probably on behalf of the third Duke of Bridgewater (d. 1803). Thereafter in the collection of Earl Gower, first Duke of Sutherland, inherited by his son Lord Francis Leveson Gower, first Earl of Ellesmere (1800-1857) and thence by descent to John, fifth Earl of Ellesmere and later sixth Duke of Sutherland.

The picture was mentioned in Ottley (see note 13): '... This picture, which probably represents the artist at about the age of seven and forty, is painted with his accustomed boldness of pencil and vigour of effect. It is painted on canvas, and measures 2 feet 2 inches in height, by 1 foot 8 3/4 inches in width. This picture is square, although rendered apparently oval, by means of the frame, in order to make it correspond in form with the following picture [= II C 82], to which it hangs as companion.' As discussed in *2. Comments*, the *Self-portrait* was enlarged to serve as the pendant of this portrait of a woman.
– In 1946 on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

NOTES

1. J. Smith, *A catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French painters* VII, London 1836, no. 204, pp. 84-85.
2. W. Bode - C. Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt* VI, Paris 1901, no. 430.
3. HdG 553.
4. C. Wright, *Rembrandt: Self-Portraits*, London 1982, p. 31.
5. F. Erpel, *Die Selbstbildnisse Rembrandts*, Berlin 1967, p. 182.
6. Bauch 1966, p. 17.
7. Gerson 329.
8. Tümpel 1986, cat. no. 170.
9. J. Lloyd Williams, *Dutch art and Scotland: a reflection of taste*, National Gallery of Scotland, 1992, p. 128.
10. W.R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Des Meisters Gemälde*, Dritter Band, Stuttgart/Berlin n.d. [1908], (Kl.d.K.), p. 401.
11. Br. 48.
12. Gerson and subsequently Schwartz did not exclude the possibility that the painting was originally larger (Br.-Gerson 48; Schwartz 1984, p. 350).
13. W.Y. Ottley, *Engravings of the most noble The Marquis of Stafford's Collection of Pictures in London, arranged according to schools and in chronological order, with remarks on each picture*, III, London 1818, no. 66, plate 36 with description on p. 98. *The Portrait of a Lady* (III, no. 67) is described as follows: 'Rembrandt. The Portrait of a Lady. / Here we have, no doubt, the representation of what the artist considered a female face of perfect beauty: and to say the truth, the young lady may fairly boast the advantages of abundant flaxen hair, a clear complexion, and a pleasing countenance. She is richly dressed in the costume of the time. This portrait, which is of an oval form, is in Rembrandt's finished manner, and was probably painted a few years earlier than the piece last described. It is painted on pannel, and measures 2 feet 3 1/2 inches in height, by 1 foot 9 inches in width.'
14. The 1808 catalogue lists four Rembrandts: '134 Self-portrait; 138 Portrait of a Lady; 193 Hannah and Samuel; 169 Burgomaster'. However, there are only three Rembrandts listed in the catalogue of 1806. One can make the following presumptions:'112 Rembrandt [...] Rembrandt (is the *Self-portrait*); 116 Portrait [...] Rembrandt (is the *Portrait of a Lady* or the *Burgomaster*); 170 ... Rembrandt' (is the *Portrait of a Lady* or the *Burgomaster* or *Hannah and Samuel*). So it is possible that the *Portrait of a Lady* and the *Self-portrait* were together by 1806 but not certain. Kind communication by J. Lloyd Williams.
15. The St Petersburg *Portrait of a young man in a hat*, also of 1634 (II C 78), is mentioned in the literature as a pendant as well, though incorrectly (see II C 82, *4. Comments*).

IV 16 Unfinished Self-portrait

[*c.* 1659]

AIX-EN-PROVENCE, MUSÉE GRANET, INV. NO. 860-1-162

HDG 524; BR. 58; BAUCH 336; GERSON –; TÜMPEL –

Fig. 1. Panel 30.7 x 24.3 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 292



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

Fifty years ago the work under discussion was described by Rosenberg as follows: 'The small panel portrait in Aix-en-Provence has all the boldness and immediacy of a Goya, with broad patches of light and dark merged by fluid half tones. This is obviously a preliminary study for a larger life-sized portrait. Oil sketches of this sort are rare in Rembrandt's work and always show a greater freedom of handling than the final painting. They possess to some degree the fleeting suggestiveness of Rembrandt's drawings. The excessive sadness of the man's gaze and his dishevelled appearance reflect a critical stage of his life. This may well be the year in which he had to endure the loss of Hendrickje.'[1] Ever since Gerson first labelled the painting as an imitation in 1969, no one has risen to its defence.[2] It even is illustrated in one of the essays in the catalogue of the Rembrandt exhibition in Berlin/Amsterdam/London in 1991/92 as 'Anonymous (twentieth century?)'.[3] However, as will become evident in the following entry, there are valid reasons for reconsidering Gerson's verdict.

A head with Rembrandt's features is shown virtually frontally – turned fractionally to the right. The upper body is turned a little further to the right. The sitter wears a black *tabbaard*, or gown, with a raised collar, under which a red garment is just visible. The inside of the collar is lighter, and may be the lining of the gown. Rembrandt also wears a brown cap at an angle. Above the forehead to the right, it appears as though the rim of the beret is sticking out from under the gathered headband.

The light enters from above just right of the vertical, illuminating the face almost directly from the front. This can be deduced from the fact that both wings of the nose catch the light.

Working conditions

Examined on 22-2-1970 (S.H.L., P.v.Th.); 8/9-3-1998 (M.F., E.v.d.W.) in good artificial light, and out of the frame. Ultraviolet and infrared photographs as well as an X-radiograph were later made available. The painting is covered with an old, strongly yellowed varnish, which somewhat hampers observation. The varnish displays a very dense, vertical craquelure pattern.

Support

Oak panel, grain horizontal, 30.7 x 24.3 cm. Single plank. The back of the panel has been irregularly bevelled along all sides to a width of 2-5 cm (fig. 3).

The panel contains 200 growth rings. This wood originates from the Baltic/Polish region. Using the master chronology of this region, the rings can be dated between the years 1511 – 1312. Regarding the sapwood statistic of Eastern Europe an earliest felling date can be derived for the year 1520. Given that the grain runs horizontally, which is unusual for a panel with a vertical format, the panel is most likely a fragment of a larger one. Hence, the date of the last growth ring does not necessarily mean that the tree was felled in the early 16th century.

Ground

The yellow-brown ground is exposed in many areas, particularly in and around the eyes and the mouth, in the throat, the neck, the hair at the right and the collar (cf. the white areas in the infrared image, fig. 4).

The ground shines through in thinly painted sections of the background, especially at the left above the cap. The luminescence and the colour of the ground in this painting are familiar from many 17th-century panels, including those from both Rembrandt's early and late period. Thus, it may be assumed that the panel was prepared with the customary chalk-glue priming, covered with a 'primuersel' of lead white and a brown pigment in an oil-like binding medium that is encountered on many panels (cf. Vol. I, pp. 17-20). The locally exposed ground of the London *Woman wading in a pond* (Br. 437), for example, corresponds closely with that of the present painting qua colour and structure (so thin that the grain shines through somewhat).

Paint layer

Condition: There are a number of scratches in the paint layer, particularly in the transition from the cap to the forehead, along the upper edge of the cap and at the right in the background. That these are the result of later mechanical damage is confirmed by the fact that additional – modest – paint loss has occurred in their vicinity. The right and bottom edges have been overpainted.

It may be assumed that the paint layers and the many places where the ground has been exposed have separated optically in the course of the painting's material ageing (see *2. Comments*).

The genesis of this, in areas, exceptionally sketchy and evidently unfinished work can be clearly discerned in many places. The initial indication of forms seems to have been done with thin brown paint. During that process or directly thereafter, more or less dark, at times very dark brown transparently applied paint was used in a sketchy manner to create the details in restless brushstrokes varying greatly in width.

The first lay-in of the painting can still be seen in places, in and around the eye at the left, in the wrinkles in the part of the forehead above it, and in the temple and the shadow of the hair to the right of Rembrandt's cheekbone. Some of the brown 'washes' serving to indicate light and shadow may also belong to this phase. Traces of black and organic red paint that is sometimes used in transparent washes seem to belong to a subsequent stage, when the more thickly applied details were added to the brown sketch described above. The black sketch lines occur along the upper and lower edge of the mouth, to the right of the collar at the left, and along the right contour of the head. These lines consist of rapid, tangentially applied strokes, rather than smooth contours. The organic red has been used thickly for the mouth line – a procedure, incidentally, that can be detected in many works attributed to Rembrandt. Transparent and sometimes spotty, the red is found in the eye socket at the right,

in the hair on the same side, and at the left in the forehead and the shadows of the nose.

It would appear that in the subsequent stage cool grey half tones were applied to the cheeks, the nose, the forehead and in the hair. Where these lead-white containing sections (showing up grey in the infrared photograph and thus presumably also containing black pigment) are directly on the ground – on the nose and in the face at the left – they contrast sharply with the ground resulting in a spotty image. Locally – such as on the tip of the nose – this also causes distortions in the indication of plastic form. An explanation for this phenomenon could be that in the course of time the ground has become lighter and that initially the tonal values of the grey passages and the areas of ground left exposed corresponded better, whereby the plastic coherence of the face was greater (see also in *Comments*). Highlights have been applied in the forehead and on the nose, wet in wet, on the grey in pastose paint.

The cap has been relatively extensively modelled. The modelling of the bulging fabric has been indicated in shades of thinly applied yellowish and greyish browns, and subsequently elaborated in the shadow with partially hatched black-brown strokes that strengthen the plastic effect. Along its light upper edge, the spatial structure of the lit surface has been indicated with wavy, partially hatched strokes of yellowish paint. A thin, yellow-white line along the right contour of the cap specifies the shape.

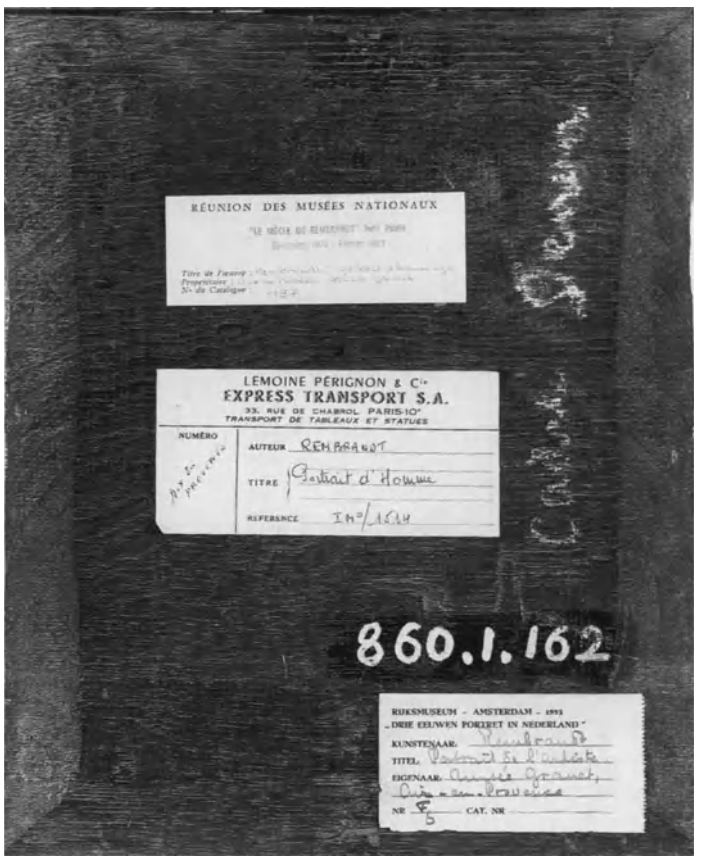
The gown has been painted with thin, loosely brushed dark brown paint over the brown of the initial lay-in shining through locally. A black area extends from the raised collar at the left over the same shoulder. This dark section evidently plays a role in the light effect and serves to indicate that the light falls somewhat from the upper right. A cleaning test carried out in the past revealed that the background along the left edge is grey. The background seems to have been executed in two phases. Over a loosely brushed initial lay-in (sections of which are still visible at the top and right), opaque paint was used toward the bottom effecting a progression of tone whereby the background became darker toward the bottom. In the process, the contours of the shoulders were determined.

Radiography

The wood grain – actually the pattern of pores filled with ground – plays a major role in the X-radiograph. A constellation of light 'moonbeams' occurs in the panel in the light stroke near Rembrandt's chest, a phenomenon that is determined by climatic causes. Also visible at this place is the inventory number in radioabsorbent paint on the back of the panel.

The X-ray image of the head corresponds with what the paint surface would lead one to suspect, with the exception of three spots, one to the left of the temple at the left and two on the cheek at the right. As labels on the back of the panel cover these areas, it cannot be ascertained whether there is any radioabsorbent material in these places on the back of the panel.

Fig. 3. Back of panel



Signature

None.

2. Comments

In his review of Clark's *An introduction to Rembrandt*, Roberts gave a brief and, for the following evaluation of the problems surrounding the attribution of the present painting, useful characterisation of this work. Roberts began by saying that the painting 'is rightly rejected by Gerson' and continued: 'It is very cleverly painted, full of brio, and with a surprising amount of underpainted panel showing through the face and hair, but there are also many weaknesses, the area round the forehead and eyes is slack and vaguely defined, and the shadowed underside of the cap is suspiciously bituminous. If it were authentic, the panel would have to date from *c.* 1659-61, it would then be the only independent, post 1632, self-portrait well below the scale of life.'[4]

Roberts' text is oddly ambivalent. On the one hand, it supports Gerson's disattribution in discerning 'weaknesses' in the 'vaguely defined' zone around the eyes and referring to a 'suspiciously bituminous' area in the cap, which implicitly supports Gerson's idea that it is a later imitation. We, however, did not see any evidence in this area of what in Roberts' day was referred to as 'bituminous', in the sense that the paint should display the kind of shrinkage fissures considered characteristic of 19th-century paintings.[5] On the other hand, Roberts praises the work's 'brio' and, for a 19th-century imitation, pro-

Fig. 4. Infrared photograph



Fig. 5. Ultraviolet photograph

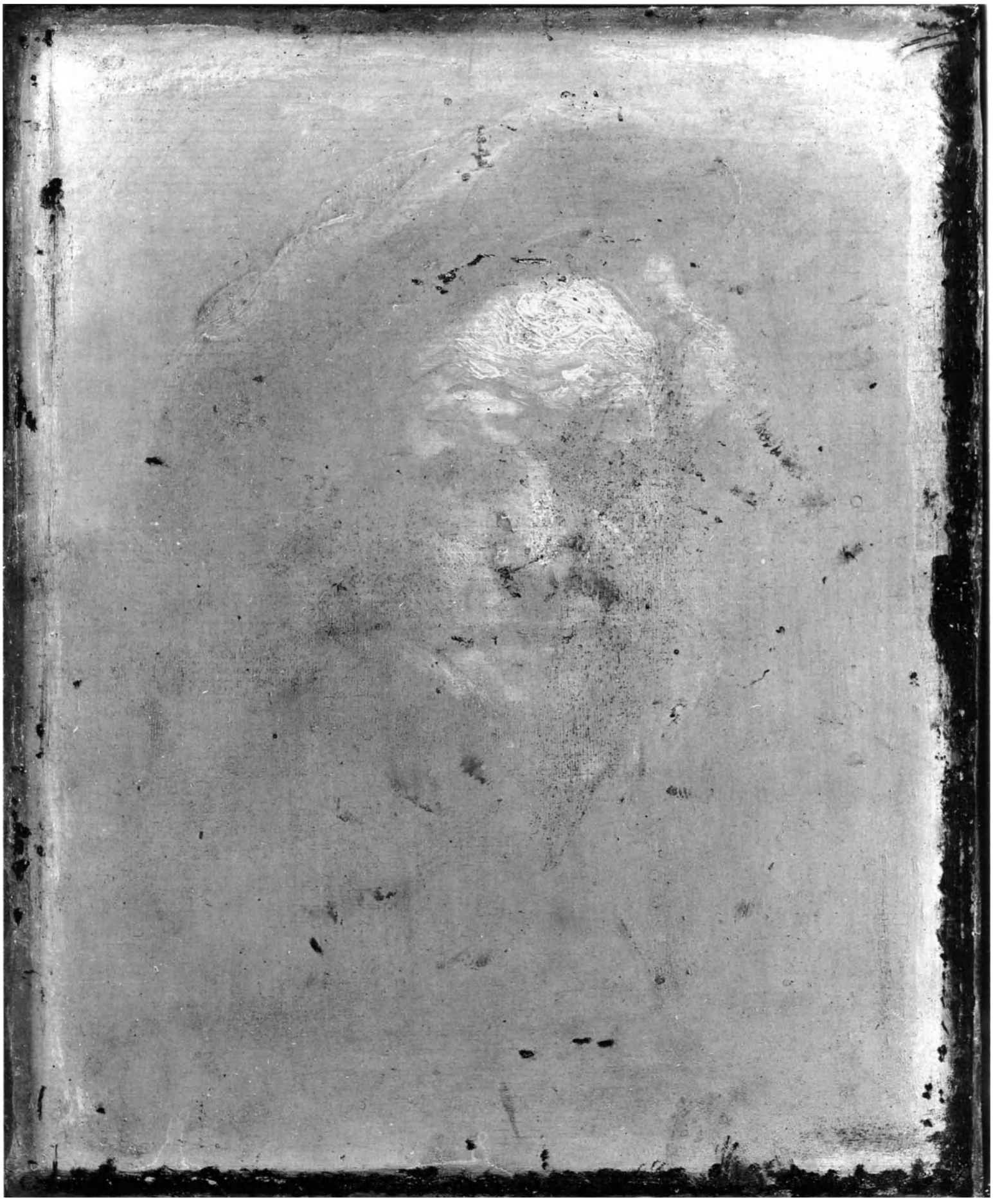


Fig. 6. Photograph in raking light



poses an exceptionally precise date for it 'if it [the painting] were authentic'.

While Roberts noted, rightly as appears in our description in *Paint layer*, that a surprising amount of 'underpainted panel' is exposed, he did not conclude that the painting could well be unfinished. Given that the areas where the ground and the initial lay-in are exposed are identical to 'the area round the forehead and eyes', which Roberts describes as 'slack and vaguely defined', this conclusion would have been obvious – all the more so because the painting does not bear a signature, something one would expect to find in a later imitation.

During our examination in 1998, we became convinced that we were dealing with a 17th-century painting. The nature of the paint surface, the way it has aged, and the type of panel, rule out the possibility of its being a later imitation. This is supported by the result of the dendrochronological analysis in so far as no growth ring dating from after Rembrandt's death was found. That the last growth ring is exceptionally early, from 1511, can be explained by the fact that the grain of the panel (which is taller than it is wide) runs parallel to the short side which, generally speaking, is unusual for a 17th-century panel, though is found at times with smaller panels.[6] Evidently, we are dealing with a fragment of a larger panel. With respect to the format, it fits in with a group of panels, including I A 18 and I C 11 (see Vol. I, p. 16). Supporting the idea that the panel stems from Rembrandt's time are the nature of the irregular bevelling and the fact that the wood comes from the Baltic/Polish region, as is the case for the great majority of the master's oak panels.

A number of factors led to our conclusion that the painting under discussion is in all probability an authentic, unfinished work by Rembrandt. We hope to demonstrate in the following that the only two other options – namely, that it is a 17th-century imitation made outside of Rembrandt's studio, or a 'tronie' produced in his studio – are not realistic alternatives.

From the start it should be noted that the assessment of the work is complicated by a thick yellowed and heavily cracked varnish layer. A more serious impediment for the evaluation are the results of material ageing, which has significantly deformed the work visually. These results are what is described in *Paint layer* as the visual separation of the colour of the ground and the intermediate tints in the cheeks, the nose, the forehead and the hair executed in opaque paint in part applied directly on the ground. The fact that, and the way in which, the ground in the tip of the nose has remained exposed makes it probable that the tonal value of this passage was originally the same, or darker than the opaque areas in the nose. Accordingly, it may be concluded that the ground was initially darker. Presumably because of the change of the refractive index in aged oil paint (a phenomenon that Laurie made plausible in 1926[7]), the 'primuersel' became more transparent, whereby the underlying white, chalk-glue priming influenced the tonal value of the ground. The opaque half tones which, according to the infrared photograph (fig. 4), seem to contain a black pigment, in turn could have darkened somewhat. These differences in ageing must have resulted in the image's present, distinctly incoherent appearance, one far more chaotic than ever envisaged by the painter while at work. Assessment of the work is undoubtedly influenced by this distortion of the tonal and plastic structure of the head. The way in which the section of exposed ground in the neck disturbs the effect of shadow there can be taken as a confirmation of the ideas about the painting's ageing as proposed here. They would also partly explain the weakness in the forehead and around the eyes mentioned by Roberts. These sections of the painting were also originally darker and thus more tonally integrated in the image.

Fig. 7. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1660, pen and brush with brown, grey and white washes, 8.4 x 7.1 cm (Ben. 1177). Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina



The separation of the elements described here, and even the stages of the painting's genesis afford the possibility of gaining insight into the painter's working method. Characteristic for Rembrandt's working method is the mixture of linear and painterly elements which have been freely, almost nonchalantly applied but which are locally very precise (see, for example, the pastose rim of light along the right contour of the cap). A strong correspondence may be noted here with Rembrandt's working method in washed pen drawings.[8] The same combination of casualness and precision found in the present painting can be observed, for example, in the drawn *Self-portrait* in Vienna (Ben. 1177; fig. 7) of around 1660. This precision, incidentally, applies especially to the handling of the lines on the side from where the light comes from. These lines have been applied so thinly that they play a role in the suggestion of light and shadow. The same phenomenon can be discerned in the work under discussion: along the right, more strongly lit, side of the figure the sketchy brush lines are thin and controlled. Equally little attention has been devoted to the specification of the eyes both in the aforementioned drawings and in the painting under discussion – compare the thick black dots in the Vienna drawing with those in the painting.

There are a number of features that allow us to locate the work among other self-portraits and make the dating proposed by Roberts plausible. That the feasibility of this dating in itself supports an attribution to Rembrandt was a step that Roberts did not take. The two works closest to the present painting in a number of respects are the *Self-portraits* in Edinburgh (IV 15) and in Washington (IV 18). In all three paintings, Rembrandt wears a black gown with a raised collar pressing slightly into his cheek; he wears the same sagging, grey-brown or blackish cap with a 'visor' emerging from under the gathered headband; and has a relatively narrow face. Only the position of the head differs in the three works; turned to the right in Edinburgh; to the left in Washington; and almost frontal in the work in Aix. The combination in the present painting of the head in this position and the type of lighting speaks for its authenticity. In so far as we can ascertain, it is not derived from an existing self-portrait, something more likely of a pastiche or a shopwork. In view of the unreliability of the inscription on the Edinburgh painting, we propose dating it and the Washington *Self-portrait* to the same period, namely around 1659. On the basis of the above, an argument could be made for assigning the same date to the painting in Aix. Hofstede de Groot already reached this conclusion, dating the painting to around 1659,[9] while Bauch dated it to about 1660/1661.[10] It should be clear that in themselves, none of these arguments are decisive. However, they do converge to the extent that they begin to reinforce each other and when taken together underpin the hypothesis that the present painting is, in fact, autograph. In this connection should be mentioned a seemingly trivial aspect of the position of Rembrandt's torso; the line of the shoulder at the left runs substantially higher than the other, more slumping shoulder. This position also occurs in a drawn self-portrait of Rembrandt in Rotterdam (Ben. 1176; fig. 8), showing the artist drawing. An explanation for this phenomenon can be that the 'higher' shoulder – the mirror image of Rembrandt's right shoulder – is shown in this position in connection with the painting and drawing activities of the right arm. The higher shoulder of the mirrored right arm could bolster the hypothesis that the present painting is an authentic self-portrait. This also applies to the colours in which this initial, evidently unfinished lay-in of the painting was executed. From a work such as the *Portrait of a boy* in Pasadena (Br. 119), which also must have originated in the second half of the 1650s, we know that Rembrandt used a range of tints consisting of brown, black, white or yellowish white, yellow and red ochres and, locally, red lacquer for his initial lay-in. Thus, an initial, painterly lay-in was achieved with an economy of means applied to a brown ground, whereby – as in the shirt collar in the Pasadena painting – a further differentiation could be made with opaque greys (the far more elaborated face of the boy must not be considered here, as this portrait was probably commissioned). A comparable colour range for the initial lay-in has also been discovered in the very worn *Self-portrait at the easel* in Paris (IV 19), whereby its genesis is easy to read.

Fig. 8. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, pen and bistre, 6.9 x 6.2 cm (Ben. 1176). Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen



Finally, an explanation must be sought for the unusually small format of this *Self-portrait*. As Roberts rightly noted, among the more or less life-size self-portraits produced after 1632 it is the only one on such a small scale. Rosenberg, as mentioned above (see note 1), resolved this question by describing the painting as a sketch. However, this is not a very plausible explanation. As argued elsewhere,[11] given Rembrandt's method of working directly onto the final support it is unlikely to have been preceded by an oil sketch. In this respect, it can be noted that we also do not share the commonly held opinion that the drawn self-portrait in Vienna (Ben. 1177) mentioned above is a preliminary study for the Paris *Self-portrait at the easel* (cf. IV 19). It makes more sense to consider the Aix painting as an autonomous – though unfinished – self-portrait made on commission or for sale to art lovers (see Chapter III). In this respect it bears comparison with the recently discovered, equally small *Self-portrait* of 1632 discussed in this volume (IV *Addendum* I, p. 609 ff).

When the painting under discussion was first examined by the RRP, we shared Gerson's judgement, namely that it was 'a later imitation'. We did not expect to change our minds in 1998, when we again inspected it in situ. Nevertheless, during that visit and subsequently, we became convinced that the Aix *Self-portrait* is most certainly an autograph work by Rembrandt. Our reconsideration is partly due to the fact that over the years we have acquired a far greater insight into Rembrandt's working method and use of materials than previously. In addition, our understanding of the ageing process of old paintings has grown. We can only hope that the readers of this entry will also be persuaded by the evidence that has emerged in the course of research on the painting.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 281 ff.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

None.

5. Copies

None.

6. Provenance

– Coll. J.B.M. de Bourguignon de Fabregoules, Aix-en-Provence.
– Bequeathed in 1863 to Musée Granet in Aix-en-Provence.

NOTES

1. J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt*, Cambridge, Mass. 1948 p. 32.
2. Br.-Gerson 58.
3. Exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, p. 120.
4. K. Roberts, '[review of] K. Clark, *An introduction to Rembrandt*, London 1978', *Burl. Mag.* 121 (1979), pp. 124-26.
5. It is generally assumed that shrinkage cracks in the paint in both 19th-century and earlier paintings are usually the result of an incorrect painting technique.
6. For example, see Br. 13, 67, 226, 249, 262, 264, 288, 328, 622.
7. A.P. Laurie, *The painter's methods and materials*, New York 1967 (1st ed. 1926), pp. 8, 131-132.
8. cf. Ben. 1174, 1177, 1178, 1180, 1182.
9. HdG 524.
10. Bauch 336.
11. Van de Wetering 1997, Chapter IV.

IV 17 'Self-portrait' [*c.* 1659]

STUTTGART, STAATSGALERIE, INV. NO. 2614

HDG –; BR. –; BAUCH 337; GERSON –; TÜMPEL –

Fig. 1. Canvas 68 x 56.5 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 294



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

The excitement caused by the Stuttgart Gemäldegalerie's acquisition of an unknown late self-portrait by Rembrandt in 1961 gave way to shock when soon afterwards the painting was labelled a fake in the German press. The affair was the first occasion in the history of Rembrandt research that an extensive physical examination using scientific methods was carried out with the purpose of establishing authenticity.

Below we shall summarise and reevaluate the results of that examination and report on our own assessment and investigation of the painting, setting out our assessment of its attribution.

The half-length figure of a man with Rembrandt's features is placed frontally and slightly to the left of the central vertical axis. The body and the head are depicted as leaning a little to the right as seen by the viewer. Over a white, pleated shirt with a collar, Rembrandt wears a grey garment fastened obliquely and over that a brownish red jerkin. The ends of a gold brocade neckcloth are tucked into the horizontal neckline of the jerkin. Over all this he wears a gown trimmed or lined with fur. Part of the turned-down lapel on the right is not covered in fur. At its top corner a shiny element is visible which can be interpreted as a metal fastening, for example a hook or part of a clasp. Over his brown, here and there greyish, hair, he wears a red head covering with an unusual structure: above a stiff, broad headband a swelling, bonnet-like form is seen which in part bulges in front of the headband. Also in front of the headband is what appears to be a black, turned-up brim with a split in the middle.

The figure is placed before a dark background that is lit to some extent on the right above the head covering and to the right of the collar. The figure is illuminated virtually frontally from above.

Working conditions

Examined 12 June 1968 (J.B., S.H.L.) and again 19 and 20 January 1998 (M.F., E.v.d.W.): out of the frame by good light and with the aid of a stereomicroscope, UV and infrared photographs and an X-ray mosaic of the whole painting. Paint samples taken in 1962 are kept in the Institut Royale du Patrimoine Artistique in Brussels. They were reexamined there in July 1998 (K.G.). The numbers of the paint samples given in the text correspond to the numbers under which they are stored in Brussels.

Support

Canvas, lined, 68 x 56.5 cm. Single piece. All round there is cusping which ranges in length from 6.5 to 9.5 cm and whose depth varies greatly on all sides from *c.* 7 to 20 cm per side.

Thread count: 13.4 vertical threads/cm (12.3-14.5) and 15.1 horizontal threads/cm (14-15.7). Given the greater density and regularity of the horizontal threads and the presence of a weaving fault in the horizontal direction leading to the joining of two threads (evidently warp threads), we can assume that the warp runs horizontally. In view of the height of the painting (68 cm), it is possible that the strip from which the canvas was taken was 1 ell wide (see Vol. II, p. 38). Wehlte suggested that this piece of canvas and that used for the *Jacob wrestling with the angel* in Berlin (Br. 528) might have come from the same bolt.[1] The similarity is indeed striking, both in density – the Berlin painting has 14.7 (14.2-16) warp threads/cm and 12.3 (11.6-13.5) weft threads/cm – and in weaving characteristics, particularly the wide variation in the thickness of the threads and the nature of the local thickenings in them. There are two objections to the premise that both canvases are from the same bolt, though neither is necessarily conclusive. As suggested above, because of the height of the Stuttgart painting (68 cm), it is possible that the canvas came from a bolt with a (standard) width of 1 ell (*c.* 70 cm). The *Jacob wrestling with the angel* probably no longer has its original format. It must have been larger at first, if only because the part of the painting with the signature was cut out and put in the present bottom corner. The larger of the two pieces of canvas which make up the support must have measured at least 1.5 ell but was probably wider. Secondly, a weaving flaw was found in the Stuttgart painting which we have not found in the Berlin work.

As to the first point, the canvas of the Stuttgart painting might also have come from a broader piece, although there was a preference for using the full width of the material. As to the second point, the weaving fault need not have extended the entire length of the bolt. It is unlikely that the support of the Stuttgart painting belonged to the piece of canvas from which came the narrow strip above the seam in the *Jacob wrestling with the angel* (Br. 528) since, according to Kühn's findings, the quartz grounds of the two works differ in structure.[2] The close affinity between the two canvases and their grounds on the other hand supports the thesis that the Stuttgart '*Self-portrait*' came from Rembrandt's studio.

On all four sides, about 4 cm from the edge, runs a line of old indentations from which paint has been lost. These are the traces of the inner edges of an older – perhaps the original – stretcher. There are no indications that the canvas has been substantially cut down. Indeed, the depth of the weave distortions argues against this, as does the fact that the outermost cusping at each corner, having about the same length as the other deformations, appears to have approximately its original length.

Ground

Laboratory studies in 1962 showed that 70 to 80% of the ground consisted of quartz grains (a pure and translucent sand) to which was added a kaolin-like, more plastic substance described as a kind of pipe clay. The quartz grains Kühn found in the samples were so small that it was concluded that the quartz must have been ground fine before being used for the ground.[3] As this was the first time that a quartz ground had been found in a painting either by the master or someone of his circle, this aspect received the closest attention during the examination in 1962. Kühn observed the ground in eight samples from the

Fig. 3. Ultraviolet photograph



Stuttgart painting. Grounds of this type have since been found only in works by Rembrandt or his school. In the meantime, quartz grounds have been detected in approximately half the paintings on canvas painted by Rembrandt between 1642 and 1669, or canvases with Rembrandtesque paintings that apparently derive from his workshop during this period. Such grounds were found in no other paintings produced in Amsterdam during the same period (see Chapter IV and *Table of Grounds* IV, pp. 672-673).

Quartz grounds are normally brown. The smooth brown layer visible in the eye socket and the upper eyelid on the left is probably a part of the ground that has remained uncovered. On this layer sketchy, rough black lines can be seen which are in turn partly overlapped by flesh-coloured layers. The same brown layer is visible above the lobe of the ear on the right and in the shaded part of the bottom of the tip of the nose, among other places. In the shoulder on the right large areas of the ground seem to be exposed (see also *2. Comments*).[4]

Paint layer

Condition: The appearance of the painting is marred by its rather poor condition at various points. This damage is due in part to heavy-handed overcleaning of the paint surface in the past. In addition, there are numerous losses caused by the flaking of paint in the ground and paint layers as a result of poor adhesion of the ground to the support and great climatic variations. The consequences of this process of deterioration are clearly evident in the X-radiograph of the areas executed in radioabsorbent paint. The paint loss through flaking manifests itself here in the form of dark patches whose contours generally consist of a combination of straight lines. As the ultraviolet photograph shows, the damages were to a large extent restored not long before 1962 (fig. 3). These poorly done restorations are seen in the face: in the forehead, the eye on the right, on the right side of the nose and to the right of it, on the left in the neck and continuing into the fur collar and shirt, in the ears and the hair both left and right, in both corners of the mouth and in the bottom, dark part of the head covering, to the left and slightly to the right of the centre. The paint losses in these places have been filled with a white material and rather crudely retouched mainly in browns with some black. The losses in and around the eye on the right, on and to the right of the nose and at the corners of the mouth are so serious that their restoration could have distorted the physiognomy of the face.

Similar retouched paint losses also occur to the left and right in the fur collar, at scattered points in the background, and in the clothing, such as in the jerkin, corresponding in particular to indentations made by an earlier stretcher. When these lacunae were filled, craquelures in the vicinity were also filled with an ivory-coloured substance (chemical analysis revealed that it contained chalk). In addition, there are numerous small gaps which have not been retouched, especially on the cheeks and in the fur to the left.

As stated, these retouchings are clearly seen by UV fluorescence (fig. 3). There are also retouchings that are not revealed by this technique. This indicates that the painting was restored in different periods. Thus, along the top edge of the head covering, particularly in the middle, there is a series of pinkish red lines applied obliquely over dark paint; given that they run over craquelure, they must be regarded as later additions. These retouchings appear to have been done in imitation of a passage on the left along the top edge of the head covering. In this passage the artist has rubbed dark paint over a red underlayer in such a way that the peaks of the relief in the red paint form an irregular pattern. To both left and right of the fur collar some small retouchings have been applied using the same pinkish red with which this pattern was imitated along the top edge.

There may be other, less easily identifiable old restorations. The discrepancy between the X-ray image and the paint surface on either side of the chin may indicate that the jowls visible in the former were painted over by a later hand. This might mean that the brown layer under the chin and the black strokes to the right of it – including those at the corner of the mouth on the right – are later additions. Analysis of two miniscule paint samples taken form this area (K.G. 2-11-1998) has reinforced this suspicion.

In the jerkin there are horizontal strokes in a transparent brown paint which has been used to overpaint this passage as a whole. On examination of the paint samples taken from this zone, this layer was identified as a glaze containing resin, which was added later (samples 6 and 11). A broad grey area on the left in the jerkin that looks like a cast shadow also turns out to be a later overpainting.

The appearance of the painting is adversely affected not only by this damage and the traces of old restorations described, but also by remains of varnish and other residues in the relief of the impasto. The higher parts of the impasto, however, have been cleaned. This gives the surface of the painting, particularly in the face, the look of artificially patinated wood carving.

As a result of the damage described above caused by rough cleaning, at several points underlying paint strokes have become visible.

Craquelure: A quite fine canvas craquelure can be seen, especially in the dark passages. In the areas containing lead white the craquelure pattern is fairly coarse and corresponds with that in 17th-century paintings. Stretching craquelure running diagonally occurs at the corners.

Description of the paint layer is complicated by the fact that underlying paint is visible at the many worn places. In the neck and on the left at the shirt collar heavily worn, thick whitish brushstrokes can be seen which were probably part of the freely executed initial lay-in. In addition, on the right in the shadow of the neck thick blackish brushstrokes have become visible which probably also belonged to the initial design. On the left in the red jerkin, a badly worn, rather thick black brushstroke can also be seen. In a cross section of a paint sample taken from the grey garment, immediately on top of the quartz ground was found the paint probably used

for the initial design (sample 14). Along with bone black it contains a red, probably a red ochre. When one looks at the places where the initial lay-in comes to the surface, the picture which emerges is that of a sketch-like phase in which thickly applied blackish, yellowish white and reddish brown paint was used. On the right under the nose, at the moustache, where flesh-coloured paint has crumbled away here and there, a fairly large area of dark grey paint is exposed. This suggests that a layer in this colour may have been applied locally as an imprimatura, perhaps in certain shadowed parts of the face.

The way in which in various areas underlying paint has been exposed by wearing, i.e. leaving the relief of the brushstrokes more or less intact, suggests that during this phase the painting had some time to dry before being worked on again. The same goes for the other parts – for instance, the head covering which, as will become apparent, was painted twice and the area at the collar and neck – which were altered at a later stage. We found traces of underlying phases of work like those described here in the equally badly worn *Self-portrait at the easel* of 1660 in Paris (IV 19).

It is difficult to determine whether and to what degree the lit parts of the face have a light underpainting. In the paint sample (21) with a complete layer structure taken from the forehead, only one thick layer of light paint was found immediately on top of the ground. This and another sample (22) were taken from highlights in the forehead – in all probability from the edges of the two gaps caused by flaking which can be seen above both eyes in the X-radiograph. Using SEM-EDX, lead white with very little bone black, a little red ochre and (probably) red lead were detected in the samples. The white and red pigments were insufficiently mixed in a way which suggests that the colours were on different parts of the brush. Thissen, who carried out the analysis of these samples in 1962, believed, correctly in our view, that this layer was applied in two phases with a very brief gap in between. From this may be inferred that both these phases belong to the final execution of the face. The lower layer would then be part of the flesh colour, and the upper of the highlights, which must have been added immediately afterwards. The fact that these layers lie directly on the quartz ground could lead to the conclusion, with one reservation, that in the initial lay-out of this part of the face there was no heightening with light paint (the reservation is because of the possibility that such heightening is absent at exactly those points where the samples were taken). Yet during work on the face there must have been a phase that could be regarded as underpainting. The black strokes near the eye on the left which are immediately over the ground (see *Ground*) probably form part of it. However, the shadowed part of the eye socket must have been worked on after the incarnadine had been painted: at the eyebrow on the left (slightly worn) dark paint lies over the light impasto.

Over the impastoed paint of the face red and flesh-coloured glazes have been applied which are worn through on the impasto. The predominantly warm, flesh-coloured tones of the face thus handled display traces of bright pink and violet-like and greenish greys. Because of the effort that has gone into defining its form, the head as a plastic and anatomical entity gives the impression of being remarkably elaborated, despite the strikingly rough manner. This is true of the complex anatomical structure of the cheekbones and cheeks and of the nose. In the eye on the left the eyeball has been painted with great control: the grey iris runs round the black pupil as a fairly flat band, slightly lighter than the catchlight added with a lick of grey paint. Little can be said about the eye on the right because of the many paint losses in that part of the painting. However, a relatively light brushstroke can be seen above and partly on the eyelid which can be interpreted as the fold of skin that hangs over that eyelid in many of Rembrandt's self-portraits.

Thin black brushstrokes have been applied locally, for example on the right near the moustache. It is likely that these are a later addition. They are in an area of extensive paint losses. The nostril on the left is indicated by a firm black stroke. The red of the nostril, which is meant to glow through, also occurs in the lower lip and the chin.

The virtually frontal lighting and placement of the face, means that the locks of hair on either side of the head correspond closely in tonal value. The same is true of the depiction of the ears. On the left the lock of hair is a little more three-dimensional, with greyish and yellowish indications of individual hairs, than the one on the right, where the hair is roughly indicated by murky greys.

Below the shirt collar the pleating is done in greyish and yellowish touches applied to the wet paint. These pleats run partly across the overlapping, grey panels with faint highlights of a garment fastened obliquely. The gold brocade of the neckcloth tucked into the jerkin has been done by painting ochre, white lights and a little black into each other wet in wet.

The fur of the standing collar is achieved by means of running and hatching touches in the reddish yellow and grey paint applied wet in wet. The collar's structure is unclear because, and this applies to both sides, separate 'compartments' bordered by folds are depicted. On the right the tonal values of the fur collar and of the adjacent part of the background are so close together that the principle of 'related colours' may perhaps have been deliberately applied here.[5]

As described under *Ground*, the folds of the gown on the shoulder to the right are done with sweeping strokes of blackish brown paint over a brown underlayer, in all probability the quartz ground. On the shoulder to the left broad strokes of thin paint with a limited tonal range have been used.

The head covering is painted in red, over which shadows in dark greys have been added. Its folds derive their plasticity from oblique, hatching strokes. On the left the shadow is indicated by blackish paint which along the top edge, as described under *Condition*, is found only in the deepest parts of the red impasto. This may be an effect intended by the artist to suggest a plastic form; it is also found in the middle of the cap. This effect may have been strengthened by wearing. In the dark, lower part of the head covering the black paint is very worn. Yellow paint is

exposed there which belongs to a small gold chain that shows up clearly in the X-radiograph. As will be explained under *Radiography*, this chain was part of an earlier (probably completed) head covering of a different shape than the one now visible.

At first sight the background appears to be an even, dark brown. Gradations have been applied, however, so that, for example, the lighter part of the head covering stands out against a slightly lighter background and – as mentioned – the lit collar on the right against a lighter background.

A light, reddish brown layer has been applied over the underpainting of the jerkin on which vertical folds are suggested in semi-transparent paint. The glaze over this turns out to be a later addition (see *Paint layer*, Condition).

Radiography

There are several obvious differences between the X-radiograph and what the visible image leads one to expect. Some of these are clearly pentimenti.

Most striking is the area by the neck and the beginning of the shoulder which shows up light. Worn spots in the paint surface at these points reveal white paint. In the discussions of this discrepancy in the literature it is assumed that more of the shirt was visible here.[6] However, the original intention may have been to show in the first lay-in the skin at the transition from neck to shoulder. On the left of the discrepant light zone in the neck can be seen the edge of a standing collar curving outwards. A shoulder line corresponding to this could be taken as evidence that the fur collar should be viewed as an afterthought.

Other substantial differences between X-radiograph and paint surface are found in the head covering. The coherent appearance of the radioabsorbent paint in the zone above the forehead and the combination of rounded contour elements suggest a shape typical of a cap. Originally a chain (also visible at worn places on the surface) was shown on the headband of this cap, resembling the one on the cap in the Washington *Self-portrait* of 1659 (IV 18). Below the chain a line shows up light that can be read as indicating the edge of the head covering in its earlier form. In a cross section of a sample taken from the right of the head covering (sample 16, later reduced), Thissen found a layer containing yellow ochre, a red pigment, and a brown and a black pigment under two layers of red belonging to the now visible image. This may indicate that the underlying cap was greyish brown, similar to those in the *Self-portrait* in Edinburgh (IV 15), the *Self-portrait* in Washington of 1659 (IV 18) and the one in Aix-en-Provence (IV 16).

As mentioned above, it is noticeable that the line of the chin with the sagging jowls in the X-radiograph corresponds more closely to what we are familiar with from Rembrandt's undoubted self-portraits than to what we see on the surface. As mentioned under *Condition*, the jowls may have been painted out by a later hand. The scratchmarks in the hair are clearer in the X-ray image than on the surface, indicating that the grey paint in which they were made is radioabsorbent.

Signature

None.

2. Comments

Rarely have discussions about a painting's authenticity engendered such controversy as in the case of this work. Rembrandt specialists from various countries were involved, but the political debate was confined to Baden Württemberg, the German *Land* that had made available what was then an astronomical sum to the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart for the purchase of the painting. When shortly after its acquisition it was flatly asserted in the press that the work was a fake, the *Land* government demanded laboratory tests. As mentioned above in the *Introduction*, this was the first time in the history of Rembrandt research that scientific examination was to play a major role in determining authenticity. It was not until 30 years later, in 1992, that the Belgian art historian Marijnissen provided the first overview and analysis of the affair.[7] In what follows grateful use is made of Marijnissen's text.

The case became a political scandal due to the fact that the former director of the Netherlands Institute of Art History (RKD), Schneider, and the Brussels museum curator Van Puyvelde had already stated in 1936 (and confirmed in a letter of 4 November 1961) that the work was a 'modern imitation'. However, the staff of the Stuttgart museum omitted this information in their recommendation to the Minister of Culture, who was responsible for approving the purchase. They had not raised this point because the examination of paint samples and X-radiographs carried out at their request by the Doerner Institute in Munich and the Institut für Technologie der Malerei in Stuttgart had produced results which in their view made it impossible for the painting to be a 19th-century or modern imitation. Among the materials used in the painting, the Doerner Institute had found none indicating an origin after the 17th century.[8] Wehlte, who had studied the X-ray image, was convinced that it could not be a modern canvas and had even established that the weave closely resembled that of Rembrandt's *Jacob wrestling with the angel* in Berlin (Br. 528). He had also pointed out that the nature of the damage to the paint layer was consistent with that due to the ageing that may occur with 17th-century paintings.[9]

Schneider and Van Puyvelde had seen the painting in its location at that time, a castle on Mallorca; it had not been published before but it was known that the owner wanted to sell it. Only later did it become clear that they had seen it in a substantially overpainted condition. The London restorer Hahn, who worked on it in 1960 for the dealer Speelman, stated that: 'Certain flaking had previously taken place and this had been stopped and crudely restored or painted out with a bituminous paint which had cracked accordingly'. Hahn added: 'I can guarantee that this painting is of the 17th century and in my opinion an authentic selfportrait by Rembrandt'.[10]

The person who claimed that the painting was false

and immediately announced this to the press – after most of the overpainting had been removed and it had been acquired by the Stuttgart museum – was the suspect Hungarian 'painting specialist' Porkay.[11] The effect of Porkay's verdict no doubt had to do with the fact that the echoes of the Van Meegeren affair had not entirely faded. So it was hardly surprising that Coremans, the director of the laboratory in Brussels, the Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique (IRPA), which had proved that Van Meegeren's *Christ at Emmaus* was a fake, was asked to take a leading role in the investigation of the Stuttgart painting. The German laboratories which had advised the staff of the Staatsgalerie at the time of the acquisition were again involved. As a foreigner, however, Coremans was seen as neutral and he played the main part in the investigation, which accordingly took place largely at the IRPA. The principal question to be answered was whether or not the painting was a 19th-century fake, as claimed by Schneider and Van Puyvelde and later Porkay.

At that time there was hardly any reference material on Rembrandt's paintings with which to evaluate the results obtained. At first the only such material was X-radiographs. An unexpected discovery meant that attention concentrated on the composition of the ground. Examination showed that its main constituents were quartz and kaolin. This type of ground had never been found before in a 17th-century painting. Initially this led Coremans to think it more likely that the work was indeed a fake; he saw this discovery as a *condemnation tacite*.[12] As a result, a large-scale study was organised of the grounds used by Rembrandt, painters in his circle and a broad sample of his contemporaries. Kühn carried out this survey (see also Vol. I, pp. 17-20) and found 14 paintings with a similar quartz ground in a total of 200 examined.[13] Thirteen of the 14 were at that time regarded as autograph works by Rembrandt. No such ground was found in any other 17th-century painting. Thus Kühn's study produced results arguing in favour of the attribution of the Stuttgart '*Self-portrait*' to Rembrandt. In any event it considerably increased the likelihood that the work originated in Rembrandt's workshop.

Accordingly, the main object of the investigation had been achieved. Taken together with the results of earlier research, there was now sufficient, corroborating evidence that Stuttgart had not bought a modern imitation and that the staff of the museum had been right to disregard the opinions of Schneider and Van Puyvelde. While it was known that Wehlte and Coremans were both strongly in favour of an attribution to Rembrandt, the report on the investigation signed by them and by Wolters, the director of the Doerner Institute, limited itself to the following conclusion:

'The members of the working group have no doubt that the Stuttgart '*Self-portrait*' is an old painting. Its production in a later period can, therefore, be excluded. The technical data suggest that the painting is an original 17th-century Dutch work. There is no indication of its being an imitation or a copy. Attributing it to Rembrandt or to another master is not within the immediate competence of this scientific-technological working group. It can, however, provide others with a consistent complex of the results of its investigations, which could facilitate attribution.'[14]

The reason for this restraint was not simply scholarly caution. It turned out that some of the art historians familiar with Rembrandt's work had serious doubts about ascribing the painting to him, which were not allayed after seeing the results of the investigation. However, Bauch, Müller Hofstede, Rosenberg and Sumowski had unreservedly favoured the work's authenticity in publications (in the case of Müller Hofstede in a very lengthy, lyrical analysis, see note 1 and p. 283 ff). Gerson hesitated for a long time[15], but in the end implicitly upheld the disattribution to Rembrandt by omitting the work from his own oeuvre catalogue of 1968 and his revised edition of Bredius's book in 1969. As far as we know, his view – that the work is an imitation – is stated only in a letter of 1970.[16] The views of many others are also not explicitly reflected in the Rembrandt literature. Some of these written opinions, sometimes extended in confidence, were included in Marijnissen's summary and analysis of the affair in 1992. This was based primarily on documents in the archives of Coremans's laboratory in Brussels. It may be assumed, however, that there are many more such documents in the archives of the Staatsgemäldegalerie in Stuttgart. An analysis of all the surviving material would doubtless cast an interesting light on the history of connoisseurship, as in the case of the *Holbeinstreit* which raged in 1871.[17]

The fact that this case concerned a likeness of Rembrandt certainly added to the confusion and the heat of the debate. It is undeniably difficult to imagine that a self-portrait is not autograph unless it is a copy. Given that so many pentimenti were found in the painting that there was even talk of two 'phases', it could hardly be thought of as a copy. A solution proposed by Boeck was that the painting had been begun by Rembrandt and finished by a pupil – the name of Arent de Gelder was mentioned.[18] Renger wondered whether both 'phases' might have been executed by the same pupil (see note 18). But this again raised the 'self-portrait problem'. Precisely because it was a self-portrait, if Rembrandt was not involved, the painting would have to be seen as an imitation – possibly originating in Rembrandt's workshop. This line of reasoning may have been behind Gerson's position.

The members of the RRP who studied the work in 1968 concluded that it must be an old painting. On stylistic grounds, however, they decided that it was not by Rembrandt's hand. In his review of the second volume of Sumowski's *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, Bruyn suggested that it might be the work of Arent de Gelder, a view he repeated in the catalogue of the Rembrandt exhibition in 1991/92.[19] The suggestion was adopted by Von Moltke in his 1994 oeuvre catalogue of De Gelder.[20] This attribution is based on a superficial resemblance to the two early portraits in Paris ascribed to this artist.[21] However, apart from similarities in the choice of a predominantly reddish colour scheme common to the three works and the 'rough manner' of painting, the differences in the 'hand' and the treatment of the paint are such that

Fig. 4. Detail



Fig. 5. Detail in raking light



Fig. 6. X-Ray, detail



we can rule out the possibility that the portraits of a husband and wife in the Louvre and the present painting are by the same artist.

The Stuttgart painting no longer features in recent Rembrandt literature. It seems as if almost everyone is resigned to its rejection, although in Stuttgart it is still presented as a work by Rembrandt. When studying confronted with the painting in 1998, our (M.F., E.v.d.W.) reaction was also one of disbelief that it could be by Rembrandt. The unfamiliar aspects of the physiognomy, pose and lighting undoubtedly contributed to this response. So did the at first sight unusual costume, with the high fur collar and the curious head covering.

The most aberrant feature in our eyes was the extremely rough manner in which the face was painted (figs. 4-6, see also p. 288).

A virtually universal acceptance of the work's rejection emerged and persists despite the fact that some of the results of the scientific studies carried out in 1961 and 1962 argued in favour of its authenticity. The nature of the ground, regarded as specific to Rembrandt, and the many pentimenti, ruling out the possibility that it was a copy, were the most important objective factors pointing to an attribution to Rembrandt. The fact that Gerson, whose deliberate omission of the work from his oeuvre catalogue of paintings by Rembrandt turned out to carry great weight, had taken little or no account of these aspects provoked fierce opposition from Sumowski, who said that Gerson 'seine Urteilskraft höher einschätzt als den Wert sachlicher Befunde' (values his own judgement above the objective findings).[22]

In our reexamination of the painting in 1998 we discovered more significant information about its facture and the materials used than the investigators of 1961/62. The data gathered in recent decades on the genesis and materials of Rembrandt paintings provided a far more detailed context in which to place the findings about the Stuttgart work.

As to the canvas, while in the period up to 1642 groups of paintings on canvas from the same bolt are regularly found, such clusters are rare after that date. The similarity between the canvas and that of the Berlin *Jacob wrestling with the angel* (Br. 528) is so close that there is a reasonable chance that both came from the same bolt.

Thirty paintings have now been added to the 15 by Rembrandt or his workshop with quartz grounds which Kühn found in his study. All 45 are by Rembrandt or from his immediate circle. Given that to date we know of no painting with a quartz ground by a painter outside Rembrandt's workshop, the likelihood that the work comes from that workshop only increases (see *Table of Grounds* IV, pp. 672-673).

The manner of underpainting also points towards Rembrandt, although as a rule this can be only sporadically followed for understandable reasons and so as yet no definite conclusions as to a consistent method of working can be drawn.[23] It can be said, however, that the underpainting and a (possible) local imprimatura in the Stuttgart painting are familiar from some late works by Rembrandt. The black and light, partly reddish, linear elements applied in the initial design of the Stuttgart painting and the way in which these brushstrokes were put on quite thickly are seen in several other works. The clearest view of this phase in the working process is provided by the unfinished *Portrait of a boy* in Pasadena (Br. 119).[24] In the *Self-portrait at the easel* (IV 19) in Paris we also found similar traces of the initial lay-in. The presence of a local, dark grey intermediate layer in parts of the head is familiar from works of around 1660.[25]

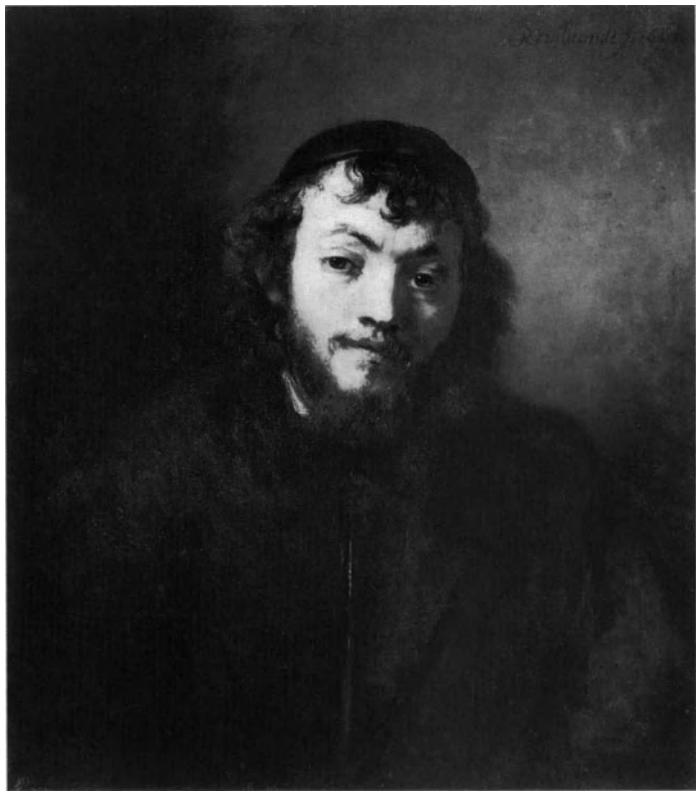
Analysis of the pentimenti also provided support, more so than in 1962, for an attribution to Rembrandt. Now that many more late self-portraits by Rembrandt have been X-rayed, it is apparent that the kind of pentimenti in this painting closely resemble those in some of these works: radical alterations in the head covering such as in the Stuttgart painting are frequent (cf. IV 2, 19, 20, 27 and 29). The same applies to changes to the collar and other elements of the costume (cf. IV 2, 5, 14, 19, 27 and 28). Moreover, Rembrandt's pentimenti sometimes seem to be related to his tendency to reduce the number of highlights (cf. IV 19 and 27). The alteration to the neck in the Stuttgart work could be viewed as belonging to these latter two categories of pentimento.

As was established in the examination prior to acquisition, none of the pigments used in the painting falls outside the range customary in the 17th century and found in Rembrandt's works. It would be significant for a possible attribution to Rembrandt if a mixture were found in this painting which also occurred in a work whose authenticity has never been doubted. The strongest lights in the gold brocade cloth are executed in a mixture of extremely finely ground, bright yellow ochre with an organic yellow precipitated on chalk (sample 13): the same mixture occurs in the turban in the Amsterdam *Self-portrait as St Paul* (IV 24).

In addition, many of the working methods in individual passages closely resemble those in paintings whose authenticity has never been questioned. This is the case, for example, with the execution of the gold brocade (cf. the *Self-portrait* in the Frick Collection, IV 14) and with the painting of thin, partly translucent layers over more thickly applied passages in the face.[26] The practice of rubbing paint darker than the underlayer into the paint relief, as found near the cap, is also seen in the desk in the *Titus* in Rotterdam (Br. 120). It belongs to Rembrandt's repertoire of techniques for suggesting the texture of a surface while also adding to the atmospheric effect of a volume in the pictorial space. The way in which at various points in the face (and especially on the shoulder to the right) the ground appears to be exposed – further examination of paint samples from these places will be required to show whether this is indeed the case – could mean that the painting was left unfinished. As with the self-portraits in Aix-en-Provence (IV 16) and Kenwood House (IV 26), for example, this might explain the absence of a signature.

While preparing this volume, an additional attribution criterion was developed: the asymmetry in Rembrandt's physiognomy (see Chapter III). Despite the poor condition of the eye on the right, it is fair to assume from the X-ray image that the fold of skin there covers more of the eyelid than the fold at the other eye. The other asymmetries in the face are also familiar from Rembrandt's autograph self-portraits. The furrow in the brow is slightly to the left of the centre line of the face and continues into the socket of the eye on the left. The line of this furrow is accentuated by a scratchmark in the wet paint running in the same direction. The lowest of the group of wrinkles at the bridge of the nose tends to run obliquely to the right, as it does for example in the Washington *Self-portrait* of 1659 (IV 18). The fact that these asymmetries run in the same direction as those in the self-portraits accepted by us as autograph rules out the possibility that this might be a portrait of Rembrandt by a

Fig. 7. Rembrandt, *Portrait of a young Jew*, 166(?), (Br. 300). Fort Worth, Texas, Kimbell Art Museum. This painting is discussed on p. 288 in connection with the leaning posture of Rembrandt in IV 17.



member of his workshop painted in his late style. It was either painted before a mirror – in which case it would definitely be an autograph self-portrait by Rembrandt – or based on an autograph self-portrait by Rembrandt.

In the course of our investigation, this latter possibility became a strong probability (see the section, '*Self-portraits' produced by others in Rembrandt's workshop* in Chapter III of this volume pp. 117-132). Whereas, on all technical criteria, everything argued that this ought to be a self-portrait of Rembrandt, nevertheless it became apparent that it need not necessarily have been from Rembrandt's hand. As we learned, others in the workshop appear to have painted free variants after Rembrandt's own self-portraits. The sole possibility of identifying such paintings and removing them from Rembrandt's oeuvre remained an analysis on the basis of style and quality. The arguments that convinced us to disattribute the painting are set out in Chapter III, p. 283 ff.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

None.

5. Copies

None.

6. Provenance[27]

– Probably coll. Nicolás Cotoner (1608-1680), Grand Master of the Order of Malta, Palma de Mallorca. By inheritance probably coll. Cardinal D. Antonio Despuig y Dameto (1745-1813); after 1840 coll. Don Luis Despuig y Rotten; coll. Fernando Tryols Morell, Palma de Mallorca.
– Dealer E. Speelman, London, 1958.
– Acquired by the museum in 1962.

NOTES

1. C. Müller Hofstede, 'Das Stuttgarter Selbstbildnis von Rembrandt', *Pantheon* 21 (1963), pp. 65-90, esp. 88.
2. Kühn, pp. 201-203.
3. P. Coremans, Chr. Wolters, K. Wehlte, 'Bericht über die naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung des Stuttgarter Rembrandt-Selbstbildnisses', *Pantheon* 21 (1963), pp. 94-100, esp. 96.
4. Coremans, e.a., op. cit.[3], p. 97.
5. Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 252-253.
6. Müller Hofstede, op. cit.[1], p. 73.
7. R.H. Marijnissen, 'Het Stuttgarts vermeend zelfportret van Rembrandt. Archivalia van een wetenschappelijk onderzoek'. *Academiae Analecta. Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 52 (1992) 1, pp. 1-18.
8. Marijnissen, op. cit.[7], p. 4 notes 5 and 6.
9. Marijnissen, op. cit.[7], p. 4 note 12: 'Die Art der mit erheblichen Zeitabständen zu datierenden Verletzungen bietet eine ziemlich sichere Gewähr dafür, dass es sich um ein Gemälde eines betrachtlichen Alters handelt.'
10. Marijnissen, op. cit.[7], p. 7 note 28.
11. See for instance, M. Porkay, *Auf dem Karussel der Kunst*, Munich 1956.
12. Marijnissen, op. cit.[7], p. 9 note 41.
13. Kühn, pp. 191-192.
14. 'Bei den Mitgliedern der Arbeitsgruppe besteht kein Zweifel darüber, dass es sich bei dem Stuttgarter Selbstbildnis um ein altes Bild handelt; eine Entstehung in moderner Zeit ist somit ausgeschlossen.
    Der gesamte technische Befund besagt, dass dieses Werk ein Original des holländischen 17. Jh. ist. Es gibt keine Anzeichen dafür, dass es sich um eine Nachahmung oder Kopie handeln könnte.
    Eine Zuschreibung an Rembrandt oder einen anderen Meister gehört nicht zur unmittelbaren Kompetenz dieser naturwissenschaftlich-technischen Arbeitsgruppe. Indessen kann diese den Kollegen einen zusammenhängenden Komplex von Forschungsergebnissen verschiedener Art zur Verfügung stellen, der die Zuschreibung erleichtert.' Coremans, e.a., op. cit.[3], p. 97.
15. Marijnissen, op. cit.[7], p. 8 note 33.
16. W. Sumowski, 'Kritische Bemerkungen zur neuesten Gemäldekritik', in: O. v. Simson en J. Kelch (eds), *Neue Beiträge zur Rembrandt-Forschung*, Berlin 1973, p. 105 note 100.
17. U. Kultermann, *Geschichte der Kunstgeschichte*, Vienna/Düsseldorf 1966, pp. 251-262.
18. Discussion after Sumowski, op. cit.[16], p. 109.
19. J. Bruyn, 'Review of] Sumowski Gemälde II', *O.H.* 101 (1987), pp. 222-234, esp. 228; J. Bruyn, 'Rembrandt's workshop: function & production', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, p. 86.
20. J.W. von Moltke, *Arent de Gelder, Dordrecht 1645-1727*, Doornspijk 1994, cat.no. D11. Von Moltke proposed: 'I believe that this painting was unfinished in Rembrandt's studio when De Gelder was his pupil in the early sixties. He completed it in Rembrandt's manner. The face could be by Rembrandt, while the cap and the body, which appear rather flat, are by De Gelder'.
21. Sumowski *Gemälde* II, nos. 798, 799.
22. Sumowski, op. cit.[16], p. 105.
23. Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 203-222.
24. Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 202-204.
25. Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 211-215.
26. Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 215-222.
27. B. Bushart, 'Zur Herkunft des Stuttgarter Rembrandt-Selbstbildnisses', *Pantheon* 21 (1963), pp. 90-93.

IV 18 Self-portrait

1659

WASHINGTON, D.C., THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, ANDREW W. MELLON COLLECTION, ACC. NO. 1937.1.72

HDG 554; BR. 51; BAUCH 330; GERSON 376; TÜMPEL A 72

Fig. 1. Canvas 84.4 x 66 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 54

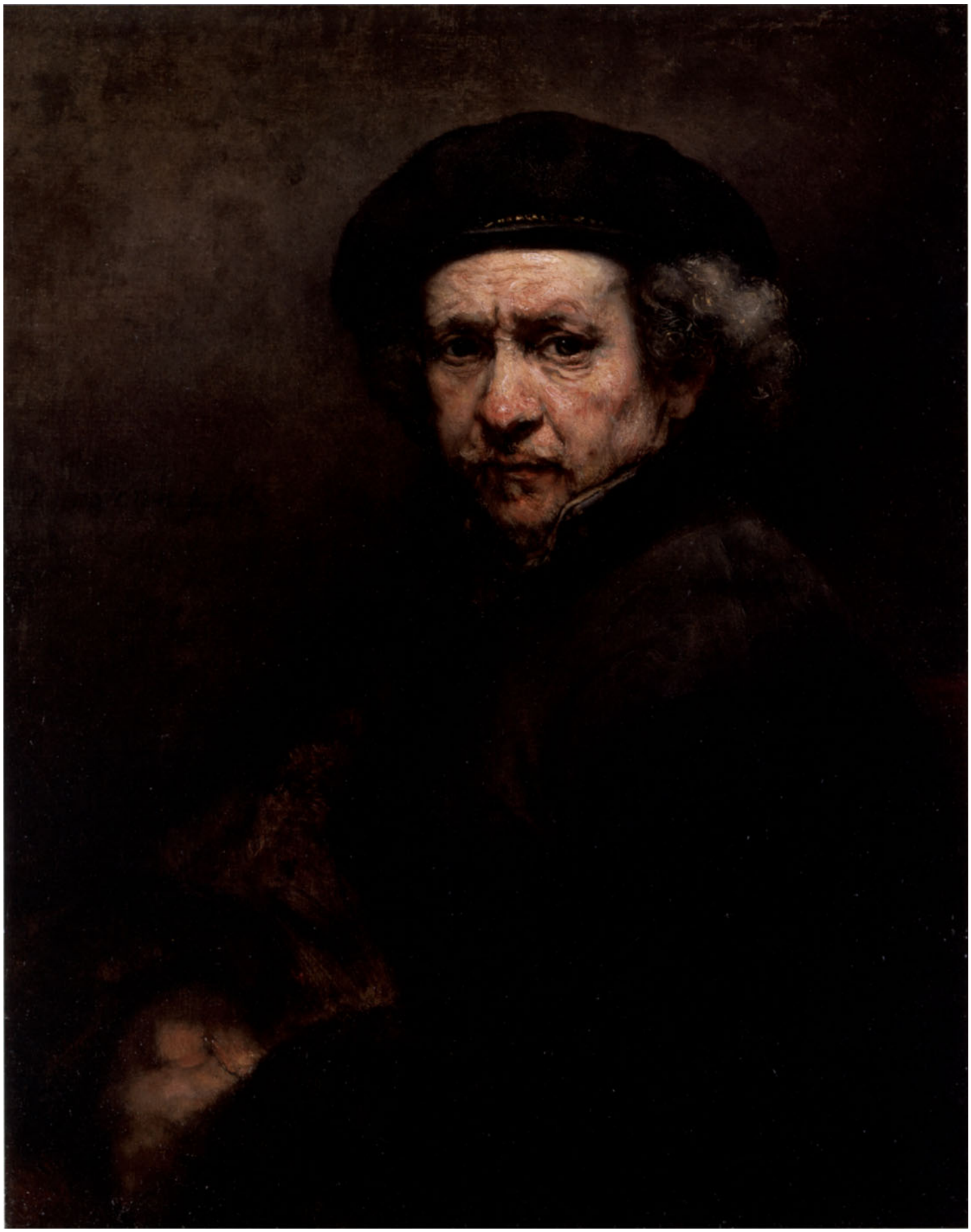


Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

The unusually rough execution of this painting has led some to question its authenticity. Tümpel, for example, listed it in his survey of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre as a studio work.[1] In this entry an explanation will be proposed for its unusual execution and arguments will be presented in favour of its authenticity.

Rembrandt is seated, his hands clasped together in his lap. Visible at the far right near his shoulder and back is a vague red shape with a straight upper edge, presumably the back of a chair. Rembrandt is dressed in a grey doublet with a stiff, raised collar which, because his head is turned toward the viewer, presses slightly into his cheek. A hint of brown fur to the left of the torso, near the hands, and in the lap creates the impression that a fur coat is draped over his right shoulder. He wears a black cap encircled by a narrow gold chain, which causes the lower edge to flare out.

Working conditions

Examined on 9 April 1970 (J.B., S.H.L.) and (after restoration in 1992) on 12 November 1994 (M.F., E.v.d.W.). Out of the frame, in good day- and artificial light, with the aid of the X-radiographs and a binocular microscope.

Support

Canvas, relined, 84.4 x 66 cm. The edges of the canvas have been taped all around. As the back of the relining canvas has been coated with lead white, the unusually fine and regular canvas structure, visible in the X-radiograph, is not necessarily that of the original canvas, but could be that of the relining canvas. This suspicion, namely that the relining canvas dominates the X-ray image is confirmed by the fact that the paint surface displays features related to the original support that do not correlate with what can be observed in the X-ray image (see also *Portrait of a man trimming his quill*, in Kassel, II A 54). For example, at the upper edge of the stretcher there are dark wavy lines that do not correlate with the finely woven structure of the canvas visible in the X-radiograph. Faint traces of these same wavy lines show up in the infrared photograph. They may have to do with the wear suffered by the thicker threads in the original fabric, indicating cusping in this area of the original canvas. According to Hofstede de Groot, the canvas was originally much smaller (68 x 53 cm), in which case it must have been enlarged by additions to both sides and at the bottom at a later date.[2] However, no traces of seams can be found, either in the actual paint surface or in the X-radiographs. He may have mistaken indentations from a stretcher for seams (see fig. 3). Based on the presence of cusping along the upper edge, the painting could not have been much larger originally, at least on this side (see *4. Graphic reproductions*, 2).

Ground

A greenish-grey coloured layer is found on the surface in several areas, including the upper eyelid and near the corner of the right eye, in the scratchmarks in the hair, near the right nostril, the fold of the cheek, the mustache, the lips and at the right in the goatee. It is unclear whether this is local imprimatura, or the actual ground of the canvas. The fact that in various places in this green grey layer there are overcleaned traces of – what appears to be – a monochrome brown lay-in, makes it more likely that this green grey is the ground of the canvas. A brown monochrome lay-in appears also on the surface in places in the background and in the fur.

Analysis of paint samples reveals that the ground consists of two layers. The bottom one is thick and reddish-brown in colour, and is covered by a very thin layer, described by Wheelock as light grey in colour.[3] As no samples were taken from the face, it is unclear whether the exposed greenish-grey layer there is identical to the top greyish ground layer apparent in the samples.
A sample from the lower edge of the garment, kindly provided by Melany Gifford of the National Gallery in Washington in 1997 and examined by Karin Groen, also showed the presence of a double ground. The lower layer consists of an orangish-red natural earth with a little black; the top layer contains a mixture of lead white and a little umber and bone black (see *Table of Grounds* III, pp. 666-67).

Paint layer

Condition: After removal in 1992 of the varnish and some of the discoloured overpaintings, it appeared that the painting must have been rather severely overcleaned sometime in the past. As a result, the surface paint layer has vanished in places, thus revealing the underpainting, or the ground. This is particularly evident in the thin areas of the background and in the clothing. Although this damage was partly retouched in 1992, no attempt was made to conceal all of the traces of wearing. Some old overpaintings, especially in the background, were left untouched because they could not be safely removed. The original paint surface has also disappeared in places where it is not immediately noticeable, especially in parts of the face where the underlying greenish-grey layer, mentioned in *Ground*, is exposed. Microscopic investigation revealed traces of brown paint in these areas, most likely belonging to the initial lay-in which was lost when the painting was (over)cleaned on earlier occasions. Also the fact that the peaks of the paint relief of the underlying light paint have become visible through the dark paint of the cap, confirms that the painting was overcleaned in the past.

Craquelure: An irregular craquelure typical of a 17th-century painting on canvas.

Several characteristics of Rembrandt's late working method are almost exaggerated in this painting, most significantly is the difference between the facture in the lit areas of the head and other areas of the painting. Paint is applied thickly in areas that catch the most light, such as the forehead, the ridge and tip of the nose, and the strongly illuminated cheek and cheekbone, whereas, in contrast, the paint in the background, hands, and costume has been thinly applied with light brushwork and is even trans-

Fig. 3. Infrared photograph



Fig. 4. Detail with signature (reduced)



lucent in places. This translucency may in part result from the painting's worn condition. Somewhat lusher brushstrokes are found solely in the lit thumb resting on the clasped hands.

In another respect too the execution appears to be 'plus Rembrandt que Rembrandt': at first sight the application of the impasto seems exceptionally uncontrolled, and done with an almost carefree touch. Equally unusual is the draughtsman-like brushwork in some places, for instance around the right eye and near the lips. When painting these features, Rembrandt habitually avoided sharply defined strokes, instead creating a blurred effect.

A Rembrandtesque feature, evident in this painting to an uncommon degree, is the effect created when clearly defined strokes are applied over vague, almost hazily executed areas. The fur, in some areas painted with remarkable translucency, combines free and broad swaths partially merging into the dark background, with finer strokes, as well as a few tiny touches suggesting the individual hairs of the fur. This interplay of soft and sharp focus produces an atmospheric effect. This is clearest in the hair, where the cloud of various shades of grey suggesting the mop of hair in relation to the fall of light is accented with delicate brushstrokes, somewhat coarser streaks, and restless scratchmarks applied in the wet paint. Thus, individual wisps of hair appear to be lit independently. A similar, equally refined interaction between delineation and diffusion is evident in the mouth and the area around the chin, where the goatee and the ends of the mustache stand out clearly against the less distinctly rendered flesh.

Radiography

The X-ray image is disturbed by the canvas stretcher and by the presence of radioabsorbent material on the back of the relining canvas (see *Support)*. As a consequence, only the most radioabsorbent parts of the painting show clear contrast, primarily in the lighter areas of the face.

Radioabsorbent paint shows up in the area of the head covering, whose shape does not correspond with the present cap executed in dark paint. The shape of the earlier headgear is narrower at the left and right, and appears to consist of folds of soft fabric billowing over a wide headband (see figs. 5 and 6). The degree of radioabsorbency of the paint and the light spots of wearing in the paint of the present cap indicate that the colour of the fabric of the earlier head covering must have been light.

Signature

Dark brown; at the left in the background <*Rembrandt f. 1659*>. The signature is worn and in many places strengthened with fine dark lines.

2. Comments

The painting's authenticity has been the subject of discussion both within and outside of the Rembrandt Research Project. Evidently without any hesitation, Tümpel even included the painting in his survey of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre as a shopwork (see note 1). Wheelock, however, expressed no doubt in his catalogue of Dutch paintings in the National Gallery in Washington (see note 3). That the authenticity of this painting has become the subject of discussion is due primarily to its unusual execution (see *Paint layer*). The astonishingly open technique, with the coarse, rather sketchy handling of the lit parts of the head deviate from our accustomed image of Rembrandt's late self-portraits. The execution of the rest of the painting, in particular the hands and the fur coat is also decidedly sketchy. These elements reveal little structure in their form, although it is difficult to determine the extent to which the condition of the painting contributes to this impression.

Compared with other self-portraits, this painting is differently conceived in other respects as well. While Rembrandt is usually seated facing right, in this painting he is turned to the left. The illumination also differs from what is found in most self-portraits: normally the light falls from the upper left, while here the figure is essentially frontally lit from the upper right. The familiar play of light and dark on the face, namely the strong cast shadow near the nose on the half of the face turned away, and a zone of shadow along the contour of this side, is not found in this painting. Instead, the shadow cast by the nose falls on the upper lip and the light entering from above creates dark cast shadows in the eye sockets.

Another singular aspect is the light-coloured paint glinting through the dark cap. This may have been the phenomenon that led Hofstede de Groot to suppose that the cap was a later addition (see note 2). He must have reasoned that the light paint belonged to the hair and the background. While Bauch[4] adopted these suppositions, Gerson[5] noticed that they were not confirmed by the X-radiograph. In fact, the X-radiograph reveals, just as that of the 1669 London *Self-portrait* (IV 27), the presence of another, underlying light-coloured head covering, a white cap like the one worn in the *Self-portraits* in Paris of 1660 (IV 19) and – in a somewhat different form – in Kenwood House (IV 26).

The question now is whether the anomalies described above deviate sufficiently from Rembrandt's style to suppose that someone else, either an assistant as Tümpel assumes (see note 1), or someone working later, could have executed this painting.

First, the possibility of whether or not the painting could be a later pastiche must be considered. However, it should be borne in mind that the atypical placement of the figure has no precedent. An imitator would most likely rely on the generally accepted image of his subject, or an actual, traceable model (as is the case of the *'Self-portrait'* in Cincinnati, IV 7), and not introduce uncharacteristic features, like the ones discussed so far. The *Self-portrait* under discussion can be connected with a painting, whose

attribution to Rembrandt is not doubted, namely his *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* of *c.* 1662 in Cologne (IV 25). In both works the direction of the sitter and the illumination are identical. Nonetheless, the Washington painting cannot possibly be based on the *Self-portrait* in Cologne, which differs too much in various aspects. On the other hand, the Cologne painting does make clear that elements such as the sitter turned to the left and the light falling from the upper right are well within the range of possibilities for a self-portrait by Rembrandt, and can not be used as arguments against an attribution to him.

The sketch-like, in places very coarse, execution of the painting can be explained if one accepts that Rembrandt considered it finished at a rather early stage. In some respects, it seems to be just an underpainting. Yet the fact that the degree of completion evinced by all of the elements is sufficient to allow the painting to function as a portrait, argues strongly for its being finished. Details which could be considered finishing touches, such as the highlights in the face and hair, have been applied. This is also true of the shoulder area subtly modelled in shades of grey, which strongly determines the effect of light and space. With regard to the seeming lack of finish in the hands, one need only compare the rendering of the hands in the *Self-portrait* of 1669 in London (IV 27).

One could also ask to what extent the painting's overcleaned condition contributes to its rather sketchy and unfinished impression. This also applies to the exposed areas of ground in the face (see *Paint layer*, Condition). However, such exposed areas are not unusual for Rembrandt's late self-portraits. For example, they are found in the eye sockets, near the corner of the mouth at the left, and in the shadow cast by the moustache in the *Large Self-portrait* of 1652 in Vienna (IV 8). It must be stated, however, that none of the late self-portraits exhibit this tendency to the same degree, nor do they reveal the singular greenish tone in similar exposed passages.

Rembrandt's pupil Aert de Gelder also frequently used a greenish-grey ground. Theoretically, this raises the question of whether De Gelder might have been responsible for this painting. On the other hand, Rembrandt may well have been using a greenish-grey ground (or local underpainting) when Aert de Gelder worked in his studio. In that case, De Gelder's use of such a ground would simply represent a continuation of an artistic practice he had been exposed to while working in Rembrandt's studio. The composition of the top layers of the ground – lead white, bone black and a little umber (see above under *Ground*) – suggests that the ground may have been intended to be grey. Karin Groen noticed that the binding medium of the top layer of the ground has yellowed. This may have effected the overall tone of the ground.

Our explanation of the seemingly unusual execution of the illuminated areas of the head in this *Self-portrait* is that it represents a phase in Rembrandt's working process which he usually took further in other paintings. This gains support from the fact that the lead white skeleton of this painting, as visible in the X-radiograph, is very close to those in other works from this period. Accordingly, the thick underlying paint indicating highlights in a preliminary stage of those works must be related to what we actually see on the surface of the picture in Washington. This becomes clear when comparing the execution of the head in the Washington painting with that in the *Self-portrait* of 1658 in the Frick Collection in New York (IV 14). In the latter work, Rembrandt took the painting process further by painting over an underlying, in areas heavily impastoed, version of the head. He covered this preliminary version with thin, at times translucent layers alternating with highlights, some of which are partly covered by final touches. Such a complicated surface structure of paint makes it virtually impossible to reconstruct the genesis of the head step-by-step, particularly because much of the relief visible in the paint surface is determined by underlying impasto.[6] In the Washington painting, the impastoes, which function as the final highest lights, seem to be analogous to the underlying impastoes in the Frick painting. Thus, it could be assumed that Rembrandt concluded work on the *Self-portrait* under discussion at a far earlier stage than the Frick *Self-portrait.* The explanation given here gains support from Rembrandt's credo, as reported by Houbraken, 'that a work is finished when the master has achieved his intention in it.'[7] Even more striking in this respect is a remark by Van Hoogstraten. The following passage, in which he discusses the relationship between the Greek painters Protogenes and Apelles, seems to apply to the self-portrait under discussion: 'Therefore, great masters sometimes have things [works] which were fortuitously done [painted] in the first application, [and which] they left unfinished for fear of ruining them. Thus, the ground of your canvas or panel is useful in the colour scheme and with the aid of only a few touches can make your work easier.'[8] Analysis of the refined suggestion of space and light, the subtle atmospheric effect and the powerful and convincing delineation of form in the Washington painting makes it clear that despite its overcleaned condition, it is undeniably 'fortuitously painted.'

If the reconstruction of Rembrandt's technique proposed here is plausible, then the seemingly uncontrolled application of impasto in the lit areas of the head could be part of a first heightening of a preliminary thinly executed underpainted sketch. The primary function of this heightening was to intensify the light, partly by means of the paint relief, and only in second place to help determine form. Also supporting this reconstruction are the deft strokes modelling form in the eyes, the tip of the nose, the lips and the moustache. In an almost sketch-like fashion, these strokes define details that in a later stage of execution, such as in the Frick *Self-portrait*, would be elaborated with rugged touches, which contribute to the characteristic atmospheric quality of Rembrandt's work. In this respect the Washington *Self-portrait* can be compared with *A woman wading in a pond* in London (Br. 437). In that painting as well some of the initial sketch-like brushstrokes were left untouched, yet the painting is signed and dated and, therefore, must have been considered finished by Rembrandt.

Nevertheless, Rembrandt achieved a successful atmo-

Fig. 5. Detail



Fig. 6. X-Ray, detail



spheric effect in the Washington *Self-portrait* in an entirely characteristic manner. As described above in *Paint layer*, this effect is achieved through the subtle interplay of focused and blurred elements in the *peinture*, for instance in the hair and in the area of the mouth. Another factor contributing to this quality is the emphatically modulated intensity of the lighting from the forehead to the chin, as well as the manner in which the faintly illuminated shoulder, fur cloak and hands play a role in the composition as a whole.

The drastic alterations of the head covering (see *Radiography*) can be seen as support for the attribution. It is significant that in other late self-portraits, too, the form and tone of the head covering was modified during the painting process. On several occasions, an originally light-coloured head covering was changed into a dark one. This oscillation between light and dark head coverings appears to be primarily determined by pictorial considerations. The question of the hierarchy in the highlights must have played a crucial role in Rembrandt's pictorial thinking. In many portraits or self-portraits the highest light is on the sitter's forehead. It is noteworthy that in his late self-portraits, Rembrandt made continued attempts to shift the lightest area to the head covering, only to give it up in several instances, including the painting under discussion (e.g. IV 20, IV 27, IV 28, IV 29).

A final feature inspiring confidence in the attribution of this painting to Rembrandt are the scratchmarks in the wet paint, especially their nature and the way they are used. As usual, they are applied especially in the hair and in the moustache. Lacking any calligraphic properties, they are fairly casually and chaotically applied with an object that, given the transition from thin to thick, must have been somewhat flat. Similar scratchmarks are found in the Kenwood *Self-portrait* (IV 26). In fact, in these last works they still display the restless touch, often with a kink in the progression of the scratching, displayed by the scratchmarks in the hair in Rembrandt's earliest *Self-portrait* (I A 14) in Amsterdam.

This text was written at a time when we were not yet clear that his 'self-portraits' were sometimes painted in his studio by others than Rembrandt himself. Such works are not mere portraits of Rembrandt, since they show his (asymmetric) features in mirror image, just as in his autograph self-portraits. Moreover, they show pentimenti typical of Rembrandt (see, for instance, IV 11, IV 12 and IV 17). We believe our assessment of the present painting's quality, and our understanding of its genesis, provide sufficient basis for the attribution to Rembrandt himself.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, pp. 109 ff and 281.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

1. Mezzotint by Richard Earlom (London 1743-1822), 1767, with on both sides of a coat of arms the inscription: *Rembrandt Pinx*^{t} – *J Boydell Excudit* – *Earlom Sc/1767* (Charrington no. 49) (fig. 7).[9] Reproduces the painting in reverse and in a framing that is somewhat broader at the left and at the right, and slightly higher at the top. Facial details, such as wrinkles, bags, stubble, and even a vein on the temple are strongly emphasised in comparison with the painting. The light falling on the prominent shoulder is differently interpreted. In the mezzotint, Rembrandt sits in a somewhat more upright position than in the painting, and almost his entire elbow is shown. The fur cloak draped over the shoulder, vaguely visible in the painting, is explicitly shown in the print and even runs behind the back to below the elbow of the other arm. The hands are equally detailed and the thumbnail of the upper hand is accentuated by means of tiny highlights. The presence of such details in the print, however, does not mean that they were originally present in the painting (as could be assumed in this case) and later vanished through overcleaning. The nature of the graphic medium is such that details not found in the painting could, in fact, be included in the reproductive print.[10] The vertical form behind the sitter, possibly the back of a chair, is not included in the mezzotint.

Fig. 7. Mezzotint by R. Earlom, 1767 (reproduced in reverse)



2. Mezzotint by Henry Edward Dawe (Kentish Town, near London 1790 – Windsor 1848) with the inscription: *H Dawe Sculp*^{t} / No 13. – Rembrandt / From the Original Portrait painted by Himself. (Not in Charrington). Reproduces the picture in reverse in a framing which is slightly higher at the top and at the left, and narrower at the right and especially at the bottom. The sitter's eyes are opened wide. The arms, the hands, the fur cloak and the upright form behind the sitter's back have not been taken over from the original. This brings to mind Hofstede de Groot's remark that the figure was illustrated without hands, and also his mention of the smaller

dimensions and observation that the painting must have been enlarged at the bottom at a later date (see note 2). However, it is unclear just what conclusions can be drawn from this. John Smith, however, described the sitter in 1836 as 'seated, with his hands joined.'[11] Whether Smith had seen the painting in person or based his comment on the print by Earlom is not entirely clear.

5. Copies

None.

6. Provenance

– Coll. George, 3rd Duke of Montague and 4th Earl of Cardigan [d. 1790], by 1767 (see *4. Graphic reproductions*, 1 and note 2). By inheritance to his daughter Lady Elizabeth, wife of Henry, the 3rd Duke of Buccleuch of Montagu House, London and later to John Charles, 7th Duke of Buccleuch.
– Art dealer P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., New York, 1928.
– Art dealer M. Knoedler & Co., New York, 1928.
– Coll. Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington, 1929.

NOTES

1. Tümpel 1986, cat. no. A 72.
2. HdG 554.
3. A.K. Wheelock Jr., *Dutch paintings of the seventeenth century. National Gallery of Art*, Washington 1995, pp. 261-265.
4. Bauch 1966, 330.
5. Gerson 376; Br.-Gerson 51.
6. See for a discussion of the late Rembrandt's painting technique: Van de Wetering 1997, Chapter VIII.
7. A. Houbraken, *Groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* I, Amsterdam 1718, 2nd ed. (1753), p. 259: 'dat een stuk voldaan is als de meester zyn voornemen daarin bereikt heeft.'
8. S. van Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 321: 'Daerom hebben groote meesters ook wel dingen, die in 't eerste aenleggen een gelukkige welstant hadden, onopgemaekt gelaten, van vreeze dat zy die zouden bederven. Zoo kan 't ook gebeuren dat de grondverwe uwes doeks of paneels in 't koloreeren te pas komt, en met eenige duwkens geholpen, uwen arbeyt verlicht.'
9. J. Boydell, *Sculptura brittanica: a collection of prints, engraved after the most capital paintings in England*, London 1769, vol. II, no. 16. Subsequently published in: Mr Boydell's *Exhibition of Drawings...* 1770, nos. 83 and 179: 'Rembrandt. Portrait of Rembrandt. In the Coll. of the Duke of Montagu. Drawn and engraved by Mr. Earlom.'
10. H. de Vries, 'Van lachende man tot Democritus', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 95/2, pp. 24-39.
11. J. Smith, *A catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French painters*, VII, London 1836, no. 215.

IV 19 Self-portrait at the easel

1660

PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, INV. NO. 1747

HDG 569; BR. 53; BAUCH 333; GERSON 389; TÜMPEL 173

Fig. 1. Canvas 110.9 x 90.6 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 310



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

This *Self-portrait at the easel* has received little attention in the literature despite, or perhaps thanks to, the fact that Rembrandt's authorship has, in our view correctly, never been doubted. It is the first of the late self-portraits in which Rembrandt depicted himself with painter's tools. He placed greater emphasis on these implements in this likeness than in his other self-portraits, where he sometimes painted them out. This entry focuses attention on this aspect as well as on Rembrandt's characteristic working method in the production of this painting, which can be easily followed due to the paint surface's worn condition.

Rembrandt is shown to just below the waist, the body turned to the right, the head seen almost frontally, and the gaze directed at the viewer. He sits in a chair with his right arm on one of the armrests. Before him is a panel, which must be set on an easel not visible in the painting. In his left hand he holds a palette and brushes and in his right one a maulstick. He wears a white shirt with a round neck under a black *paltrock*, or jerkin, with a low square neckline; whose right sleeve can be seen at the wrist. Over this is a dark fur-trimmed gown. On his head is a white cap. The light falls from the upper left.

Working conditions

Examined in October 1968 (S.H.L., E.v.d.W.) and on 23 December 1997 (M.d.W., E.v.d.W.): in the frame in good artificial light, and with X-ray films covering virtually the entire surface.

A thick, yellowed varnish layer somewhat hampers observation.

Support

Canvas, lined, 110.9 x 90.6 cm. Single piece. In the X-radiograph no measurable deformations can be detected at the left and right edges. There is faint cusping at the top and bottom varying in pitch between 14.5 cm and 19 cm at the top; and between 7 cm and 12.5 cm at the bottom.

Because the vertical threads run at a marked angle (with a deviation of about 8 cm toward the lower left) one could conclude that the painting was stretched in a tilted position. However, this is not supported by the painting's composition. Moreover, the change of course of the horizontal threads is only minor. The canvas thus seems to have been irregularly stretched prior to being grounded. From indentations a few centimetres in from all of the edges, which appear to document the inner edges of a very old – if not the original – stretcher, it can be deduced that the painting in its present position tilts only slightly to the right. Given the countless short and long thickenings in the vertical threads, the warp most likely runs horizontally. The absence of cusping along the left and right edge indicates that the canvas was cut from a longer, prepared strip of linen.

Thread count: 14.5 horizontal threads/cm (14.3-15.5); 12.6 vertical threads/cm (12.3-13.5).

Ground

The grey ground probably contains paint residue from the cleaning of brushes and palettes. Countless small, predominantly yellow and red or red-brown particles of dried-out paint, which may well be scrapings from the palette mixed with the ground or dead colour, have become visible through wearing of the surface (see also Vol. I, Chapter II, p. 21). Similar specks are also present in the 1661 *Self-portrait as St Paul* (IV 24), the 1660 *A young Capuchin monk* (Br. 306) and the 1660 *Denial of St Peter* (Br. 594). These paintings are all in Amsterdam, and this phenomenon was detected when they were restored in 1990-1991. Fresh analysis of paintings from the same period elsewhere would probably uncover more examples of this studio practice.

Paint layer

Condition: The paint surface displays traces of wearing in many places. There are no indications that the wearing was ever retouched or overpainted.

Craquelure: The craquelure pattern common for a painting on canvas. All the corners display a striking pattern of diagonal cracks extending locally almost to the centre of the painting, indicating that it was very tightly stretched in the past.

Due to wear underlying layers locally show through the surface. On the whole, the painting's execution is relatively simple. The hands are sketched in muted reds and yellows over underlying greys. While there are pronounced local strokes, the hands are generally fairly thinly executed in flat tints. The palette, brushes and maulstick are swiftly indicated in reds and yellows. Only along the maulstick's upper edge is the form defined with hatching strokes. The quill sleeves of the two left brushes display several curving highlights. The presence and position of these highlights suggest that Rembrandt's brushes were round and the brush hairs relatively short. As in the hands strokes of thin paint were used for the clothing. A reserve seems to have been left in the clothing for the shoulder seam. The collar is suggested with a few bold strokes of red and yellow; the shirt appears to have been toned down in comparison with an earlier lighter lay-in (see: *Radiography*). The execution of the hair, too, is relatively straightforward, with some coarse grazing strokes in the lit section and freely applied dark strokes to the right of the right contour of the cheek. The ear, almost entirely visible, is roughly indicated, and the shape of the earlobe lacks the usual plasticity. Here, unlike in other self-portraits, the upper edge of the auricle – done with red, coarsely applied paint – is indicated. Compared to the rest of the painting, the head and the cap are far more elaborately modelled with freely applied, easy to follow brushstrokes. The cap has been sketchily painted over a somewhat darker underlayer, the earlier baret, which can still be seen in the section in shadow. The cap is rendered with considerable plasticity, the folds in the fabric being strongly lit. Coarse underpainting plays an important role in the general aspect of the face, particularly in the

forehead, the cheekbone and the cheek, the nose and the lit area below it. The flesh tones are applied over this underpainting in thinner, richly nuanced paint. Pink-yellow and locally almost greyish flesh tints determine the overall coloration of the face. The nostril turned to the light is indicated at the bottom with ruddy paint. The shadows, eye sockets and shaded parts of the face display a remarkable variation of tints; an even underlayer like that in the shaded areas in some of the master's self-portraits is nowhere to be found. Thin scratchmarks were made in the wet paint in the edge of the cap, near the right contour of the cheekbone and the cheek, and along the collar. The moustache at the left of the mouth is done with a few small strokes. The shadow under the chin is painted in transparent grey, the double chin being demarcated with dark lines that may stem from an earlier stage, possibly the underpainting.

The light 'halo' above and to the right of the head both generates an alternation of light and dark, and connects the lit part of the cap with the background according to the principle of 'related colours'.[1]

Along the right edge of the picture surface is a strip of brown paint tapering toward the top: whether this is an original layer of paint or an overpainting is unclear. This dark strip was copied as part of the easel in reproductive prints of the painting as early as 1800 (see *4. Graphic Reproductions*, 1 and 2; figs. 6 and 7).

Countless traces of the underlying paint have become visible due to the wearing of the paint surface (mentioned in *Paint layer* Condition), thereby shedding light on the genesis of the painting. Visible at the lower right next to the present brushes are yellow, coarsely executed fanning lines that are probably associated with an earlier sketched version of the bunch of brushes (fig. 3). A round shape to its left continues under the edge of the now visible palette, and might have indicated the palette at an earlier stage. Yellow strokes are also found under this first cluster of 'brushes'. The entire passage makes the impression of originally having been differently conceived. Furthermore, the red-brown and yellow strokes shining through the present hand with the maulstick seem also to belong to an earlier version of this part of the painting. The relative sketchiness of these strokes suggests that they are traces of a first lay-in.

In this earlier stage, the contour of Rembrandts left arm and shoulder is five to ten centimetres further to the right than the present one, while a dark, coarsely executed line (visible due to wearing) near the present shoulder contour at the left could be its pendant. These traces suggest that the torso was initially shown more frontally.

A heavy, locally worn, black brush line parallel to the upper contour of the right hand may also be part of the first lay-in; and, a black line shining through above the palette is related to the present position of the torso. Neutron-activation autoradiography has revealed in other cases that a significant part of Rembrandt's first lay-in was executed in bone black.[2] The frequent traces of underlying reddish and yellowish strokes encountered in this painting indicate that Rembrandt used these colours for his lay-in as well. For example, there is a robust red stroke under the red-brown and dark brown shape that Joachim Oortman interpreted as the armrest of Rembrandt's chair in his etching of 1808 (fig. 7). Moreover, the ruddy strokes that have surfaced on the shoulder due to wearing and the yellowish strokes on the front of the shoulder most probably belong to the first lay-in, as does the zone below Rembrandt's right hand that is thinly executed over a yellowish-brown underlayer. In the extreme lower right corner is some brown and orange-yellow paint, whose function in the present image is unclear.

The white paint of an earlier version of the shirt that shines through to the left of the neck is without doubt also part of the underpainting. Given the nature of the relief of the paint of the first lay-in, which has surfaced through wearing, it must have been dry before work on the painting was resumed.

The complicated genesis of the headgear, discussed in *Radiography*, can be read to some extent from the paint surface. The shape of a dark beret-like cap, for instance, shows up partially above and to the right of the head in the background. The underpainting of the present cap (replacing the beret-like cap), the temple and the forehead shows up in relief.

Radiography

The most important difference between the X-ray image and the paint surface is a large reserve around the head, which can be read as a cap like the one in the New York *Self-portrait* (IV 20). That this is not a phantom, but an elaborated form intended by the painter, becomes clear when one follows the strokes of lead-white containing paint discernible in the X-radiograph along the contour of this form. Rembrandt, we may thus conclude, initially wanted to portray himself wearing a large dark cap.

A second remarkable difference between the X-radiograph and the final painting is related to the collar. More or less parallel to and under the strong radioabsorbent strokes indicating the lit neck is one stroke showing up strongly and a series of related short strokes that most probably belong to the underpainting of a light shirt, which disappears under the jerkin. This part of the shirt is now covered by the higher collar of the gown.

As noted in the description of the paint layer, the pastose paint showing up light and visible in relief on the surface above the present cap is also part of the underpainting. The artist must have roughly indicated the cap with this paint after rejecting the beret-like cap. The lit forehead in its underpainted state extended further up. Two thin lines of the rim of the final cap show up light in the underpainting of the forehead. The nose, too, is prepared with a sketchy, lead white underpainting.

The light areas showing up light on the shoulder at the upper left and right in the background, where two such spots are angled one above the other, are unrelated to any stage of the composition. The structure of the canvas is clearly visible in these spots, indicating that they are due to radioabsorbent material on the back of the original linen (see Vol. II, Chapter II, p. 17). Other spots in the background and in the torso of the figure are related

Fig. 3. Detail and signature (1:1.5)



to an irregularly thick application of the ground. The catchlight on the corner of the painted panel and the lit adjoining edge show up vaguely.

Signature

Lower right in black paint <*Rem / f.1660*> (see fig. 3). In this case, Rembrandt appears to have abbreviated his normal signature. It is not so close to the painting's edge that it could have been cropped at any time.

2. Comments

The *Self-portrait* under discussion is one of those paintings that allows a clear reading of Rembrandt's very free working method. For example, as described in *Paint layer*, the worn-through brushstrokes indicate that initially Rembrandt's torso was more frontal. Consequently, the hand with the brushes could have been closer to the edge of the painting, as suggested by the fanning light lines to the right of the present brushes. Quite possibly, the decision to include the panel precipitated the torso's more *en trois quart* turn. As described in *Paint layer* and *Radiography*, these were not the only deviations between the initial lay-in and the final result.

Curiously, here as in his other late self-portraits, Rembrandt felt compelled to seek new and satisfying solutions with respect to the position of the body and the hands and type of headgear. The presence of this kind of pentimenti can even be considered typical of Rembrandt's self-portraits. One of the other self-portraits where the headgear received its final form only after a series of changes is the *Self-portrait* in New York (IV 20) from the same year. Interestingly, the X-radiograph of that painting reveals the presence of an initial cap painted in light paint, which was subsequently transformed into a large black beret. In that case, the change was the reverse of that in the *Self-portrait* under discussion.

This painting is the only self-portrait in which Rembrandt affords us a glimpse of his palette – that is to say a part of it. The palette is partly hidden behind the panel on the invisible easel, and recedes into the background merging into the darkness. Only three dabs of paint can be distinguished, namely white, yellow ochre and vermilion. Accepting Van de Wetering's hypothesis that, like other 17th-century painters, Rembrandt worked with selective palettes, it can be assumed that – as is common in 17th-century self-portraits – a palette for the flesh tones which according to the De Mayerne manuscript, 'in truth is the essence of the whole work' is represented here.[3] It is striking that Rembrandt seems to have portrayed himself with a panel, given the very narrow edge of the support depicted, while the Paris *Self-portrait* itself is on canvas. In the only other late self-portrait (in Kenwood House, IV 26) where Rembrandt shows himself with a support on his easel, it has a broad edge suggesting that a stretcher with canvas is depicted (see Vol. II, Chapter II, pp. 33-35). Equally noteworthy is that Rembrandt depicted the panel in the present painting almost vertically, while the use of the three-legged easel as represented in 17th-century studio scenes implies that the support would lean against

Fig. 4. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait, c.* 1660, pen and brush with brown, grey and white washes, , 8.4 x 7.1 cm (1:1) (Ben. 1177). Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina



it at an angle (cf. for example, the Boston *Artist in his studio* of *c.* 1629, I A 18, and Arent de Gelder's, *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* in Frankfurt).[4] It would appear, then, that the virtually vertical position of the panel may have had a compositional function.

Within Rembrandt's oeuvre, the Paris *Self-portrait at the easel* is the first in a series of self-portraits in which the artist shows himself at work before his easel and holding the tools of his trade. This type of self-portrait derives from one popular in the Netherlands in the second half of the 16th century.[5] For instance, many artists are shown in this way in Hondius' 1610 series of etched artists' portraits, some of which are based on self-portraits.[6] However, this type became rare from the beginning of the 17th century on. It is tempting to connect the *Self-portrait* under discussion to one of 1658 by Isaac Claesz. van Swanenburg (1537-1614), the father of Rembrandt's first teacher. Van Swanenburg presents himself wearing a black cap (comparable to Rembrandt's initial head covering in the painting described here), and working on a virtually vertical panel. Rembrandt surely knew this *Self-portrait* by one of Leiden's leading citizens, who served five times as burgomaster between 1596 and 1606 (see also p. 290 and fig. 303).

The Paris *Self-portrait at the easel* has received scant attention in the literature. Only Chapman has discussed it at length, in her book on Rembrandt's self-portraits. She detects a significant change in Rembrandt's notion of his professional identity. According to her, by portraying himself with his tools and wearing what Chapman considers 'working attire' and a 'mundane painter's cap', Rembrandt presents himself as an artisan.[7] In doing so, he would be attempting to distinguish himself from his more academically oriented colleagues and may even have been deliberately representing himself as a *pictor vulgaris*, rather than a *pictor doctus*, or learned painter. Here Chapman followed the theory introduced by Emmens on the antithesis between these two kinds of painters.[8] However, Emmens'

Fig. 5. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait while etching*, 1658, etching, 11.8 x 6.4 cm (1:1) (Hollst. S. 379)



theory lacks plausibility and has been convincingly refuted by Miedema, who argued that the term *pictor vulgaris* does not occur in 17th-century sources.[9]

Further undermining Chapman's view is the question of whether the painter is, in fact, wearing 'informal working clothes'. As we have seen in Chapter II, the jerkin with a low horizontal neckline and the collarless, pleated white shirt with a straight neckline were not worn in the 17th century. In our opinion, this costume clearly implies a reference to the 16th-century past.

Interestingly, there are several other self-portraits in which Rembrandt shows himself wearing a white cap, including the *Self-portrait* in Kenwood House (IV 26) and the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* in Cologne (IV 25), where he also initially portrayed himself at work.[10] In the late *Self-portrait* in London (IV 27) Rembrandt first wore a comparable broadly brushed white cap, as can been seen in the X-radiograph. And, he was initially depicted with his painting materials in that painting as well. In short, all of the late self-portraits in which Rembrandt at some stage had, or still has, a white cap, also show him with his painting implements or at work. However, this is hardly reason enough for designating such headgear as a painter's cap, as Chapman did. Mention is made in Chapter II of ten linen 'mansmutsen' (men's caps) that were listed in the inventory made after Rembrandt's death. It seems, therefore, natural to assume that such a white cap was part of Rembrandt's actual casual or working clothes. Such white linen house caps are frequently encountered in the probate inventories of non-painters, and also in portraits, for example that of Jacob Trip (Br. 314). At first, the fact that Rembrandt combined the white cap with a historicising costume in all of the portraits mentioned above seems curious. The black beret-like cap that Rembrandt initially wore in the present painting, as the X-radiograph reveals, would have better suited this historicising costume. Still, it may have been thought in the 17th century that a white cap was part of a 16th-century painter's daily working attire. This impression finds support in a 1550 print by Giovanni Britto after a *Self-portrait* by Titian, in which he wears just such a cap. Rembrandt would have known this print as he owned a 'very large book with almost all of Titian's work,' according to his 1656 inventory.[11]

That Rembrandt must have actually worn such caps while working (in addition to the hat we see in Ben. 1171 and B. 22) is evidenced by a drawing (Ben. 1177; fig. 4) and an etching (Hollst. S. 379; fig. 5) both in the Albertina, Vienna, in which he shows himself at work. Benesch perceived a direct link between the drawing and the painting under discussion, undoubtedly because of this head covering as well as superficial similarities. He considered the drawing a preparatory study for this painting.[12] However, the fact that the white cap was evidently common garb for Rembrandt diminishes the relationship between the painting and the drawing, particularly as the way in which it is set on the head differs significantly. Finally, Rembrandt's attire is different in the drawing and in the painting. The strongest factor weighing against Benesch's hypothesis is that the frontality of the head in the drawing is greater and the head bends forward somewhat more than in the present painting (compare the position of the ear in relation to the mouth). The drawing must, therefore, be considered as an independent record of the painter in front of the mirror (see also pp. 150-151).

The early provenance of the *Self-portrait at the easel* is exceptional. The painting can be securely traced to 1671, when it was purchased along with 33 other paintings by Louis XIV from a certain 's^{r} de la Feuille'. This was concluded by Hulftegger,[13] who pointed out that mention is made in the *Comptes des bâtiments du Roi* of the purchase of 34 paintings from De la Feuille's collection on 16 March 1671: 'au s^{r} de la Feuille pour 34 tableaux des meilleurs peintres d'Italie et autres, représentant plusiers histoires, portraits et paysages 30.000 livres.'[14] Consequently, she determined that these paintings can be identified with nos. 294-326 (including the *Self-portrait at the easel*) in the inventory of the royal collection that was drawn up by the court painter Charles Le Brun in 1683.[15]

The painting subsequently remained in the French royal collection until it was transferred to the Musée du Louvre by the revolutionaries in 1793. The *Self-portrait at the easel* was in France before 1671, thus shortly after its execution (the painting is dated 1660). Rembrandt's fame in France was great in the 17th century and it is possible that the painting was acquired by a collector.

To date, nothing about De la Feuille has come to light in the literature. Schnapper cautiously suggested that he might have been a merchant.[16] He may perhaps be identi-

Fig. 6. Etching by J.P. de Frey



Fig. 7. Etching by J.J. Oortman, 1808



fied with Daniel de la Feuille (d. 1709), who was born in Sedan and active there between 1665 and 1683. From 1683 on he worked in Amsterdam as an etcher, engraver, publisher, draughtsman, printer, and a book, art and map seller, writer, watchmaker and goldsmith. In 1691 he was registered in the Amsterdam booksellers' guild as 'etser en konstverkoper van Sedan, vluchteling' (etcher and art seller from Sedan, refugee). The fact that De la Feuille fled to Amsterdam may mean that he had contacts in that city, and that as a merchant he was able to lay his hand on the painting under discussion at an early date.

Vilain and Foucart suggested that the painting may have been in the collection of the Parisian banker Jabach before it came into De la Feuille's possession.[17] In the 1696 inventory of the Jabach collection is mentioned a self-portrait described as a 'Portrait of Rembrandt, with a white cloth around his head, half-length figure large as life, by himself.'[18] On the basis of this description and the allegedly low price, Vilain and Foucart believed that this was a copy of the *Self-portrait at the easel* discussed here, which Jabach commissioned when he sold the original sometime before 1671.

This hypothesis is not convincing. Even though, as Vilain and Foucart argued, Jabach's inventory lists a large number of copies, these are described as such, while the mention of the Rembrandt explicitly states that it was made by the master himself. Furthermore, its valuation compared with that of other paintings in this inventory is not commensurate with that of a copy.[19] Finally, in the entry on the *Self-portrait as St Paul* in Amsterdam (IV 24), we suggest that the self-portrait mentioned in the Jabach collection can be connected to that painting on the basis of the description and other details related to the provenance.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 288 ff.

3. Documents and sources

See *6. Provenance.*

4. Graphic reproductions

1. Etching by Joh. Pieter de Frey (Amsterdam 1770 - Paris 1834; in Paris from *c.* 1800) inscribed: *Peint par Rembrandt. -- Gravé par J: de Frey. / IIe. Portrait de Rembrandt.*(fig. 6). Reproduces the painting in the same direction.
2. Etching by Joachim Jan Oortman (Weesp 1777 - Paris 1818) inscription *No. 329. -- REMBRANDT.-- Eco.le Flam.de / Dessiné par Plonski. -- Plonski. del. -- Gravé par Oortman. / Portrait de Rembrandt.* (fig. 7). Free reproduction of the painting in the same direction, with the painter shown seated and his right arm leaning on the armrest of a chair. Published in F. Filhol, *Galerie du Musée Napoléon* V, Paris 1808, no. 329: 'Rembrandt. Portrait de Rembrandt. Dessiné par Plonski, gravé par

Oortman. Peint sur toile; hauteur un mètre trente-trois centimètres quatre millimètres ou trois pieds cinq pouces; largeur quatre-vingt-dix centimètres six millimètres ou deux pieds neuf pouces. Ce tableau sort de l'ancienne collection des rois de France.'

5. Copies

Vilain and Foucart's suggestion that there was an old copy in the inventory of the Jabach collection (1696) is improbable, as explained above (see *2. Comments*).
1. Copy by Fantin-Latour of 1864, Musée de Lyon, (cat. Vincent, no. VII-139 and pl. LVIII).[20]
Other copies are mentioned by Hofstede de Groot and in the catalogue of the Louvre.[21]

6. Provenance

– Coll. S[r] de la Feuille.
– According to the *Comptes des bâtiments du Roi*, the painting was purchased from s[r] de la Feuille for the collection of Louis XIV in 1671 (see notes 13 and 14).
– Coll. Louis XIV. C. Le Brun, *Inventaire des tableaux du cabinet du roy*, Paris 1683, no. 318: 'Un tableau de Raimbault représentant son portrait tenant une pallette de la main gauche et son appuy main de la droite avec une coëffe sur la teste, haut de 3 pieds 4 pouces 1/2 sur 2 pieds 8 pouces 1/2 de large [= 109.59 x 87.91 cm], peint sur toille avec sa bordure dorée.' In the margin is a note 'veu a Paris le 8 aoust 1690' (see note 15).
– Transferred to the newly established Musée du Louvre by the revolutionaries in 1793.

NOTES

1. Van de Wetering 1997, p. 252.
2. P. Meyers, M.W. Ainsworth and K. Groen, 'Pigments and other painting materials', in: *Art and autoradiography: insights into the genesis of paintings by Rembrandt, Van Dyck, and Vermeer*, New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 1982, pp. 101-104, esp. 103.
3. Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 146-147.
4. Sumowski *Gemälde* II, no. 749.
5. See for example Isaac van Swanenburg's *Self-portrait*, 1568, Leiden Stedelijk Museum 'De Lakenhal'; Anthonis Mor's *Self-portrait*, 1558, Florence Uffizi; Joachim Wttewael's *Self-portrait*, 1601, Utrecht, Centraal Museum; and Abraham de Vries' *Self-portrait*, 1621, Amsterdam Rijksmuseum. See also Chapman 1990, pp. 95-96.
6. H. Hondius, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium praecipue Germaniae inferioris effigies*, The Hague 1610. In it, see especially the portraits of Pieter Aertsen (no. 30), Anthonis Mor (no. 37), Cornelis Visscher (no. 42), Otto van Veen (no. 59), Cornelis Cornelisz. (no. 63), Frans Badens (no. 65), Adam Elsheimer (no. 69) and Gerrit Sweelinck (no. 70). See also: H.-J. Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim 1984, pp. 36-39.
7. Chapman 1990, pp. 95-97.
8. J.A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*, Utrecht 1968, esp. pp. 30-38, 42, 45-48, 67-69, and 73-75.
9. H. Miedema, [review of] J.A. Emmens, 'Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst', *O.H.* 84 (1969), pp. 249-256, esp. 252-255.
10. The same applies to Rembrandt's etched *Self-portrait* of 1658 (Hollst. S. 379; fig. 5) in which he is shown at work etching and, again, wearing a white cap.
11. 'Een dito [boeck] seer groot met meest alle de wercken van Titian' and 'een dito [boeck] vol contrefijtsels van Miereveld, Titiaen en andere meer,' Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12, nos. 216 and 246. For an investigation into the relationship between Rembrandt and Titian see Van de Wetering 1997, Chapter VII.
12. Ben. 1177.
13. A. Hulftegger, 'Formation des collections de peintures de Louis XIV', *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de l'art français* 1954-55, pp. 124-134, esp. 133-134.
14. J. Guiffrey, *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi sous le Règne de Louis XIV*, vol. 1, Paris 1881, col. 553.
15. A. Brejon de Lavergnée, *L'inventaire Le Brun de 1683. La collection des tableaux de Louis XIV*, Paris 1987, p. 336 (no. 318).
16. Brejon, op. cit.[15]. See also: A. Schnapper, *Curieux du grand Siècle. Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe Siècle. II Oeuvres D'art.* Paris 1994, pp. 69, 271-272.
17. J. Vilain and J. Foucart in: exhib. cat. *Le siècle de Rembrandt. Tableaux hollandais des collections publiques françaises*, Musée du Petit Palais, Paris 1970/71, pp. 186-89. Later repeated in: J. Foucart, *Les peintures de Rembrandt au Louvre*, Paris 1982, p. 72.
18. No. 123: 'Portrait de Rimbrands, ayant un linge blanc autour de sa teste, (HALF!) figure grande comme le naturel, de luy-mesme. 100 liv[res].' M. vicomte de Grouchy, 'Éverhard Jabach, collectionneur Parisien', *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 21 (1894), pp. 216-292, esp. 255.
19. See: De Grouchy, op. cit.[18]. For instance, the inventory includes the paltry amounts of 50 livres for originals by Rubens (a life-size Susanna, p. 275) and by Pieter Brueghel the Elder (a winter landscape, p. 261). Originals by Holbein are assessed at 125 livres (p. 253). Moreover, the prices of the copies differ greatly: copies after Titian are listed for a mere 20 or 30 livres, while copies after other Italian masters are valued at 150 livres. In contemporary French inventories can be noted a great price difference for (purported) Rembrandts. Among the paintings in the marriage portion of the painter Hyacinthe Rigaud of 17 May 1703 there were seven originals by Rembrandt, varying in price from 80 to 800 livres. HdG *Urk.*, no. 387. In the inventory of Catharine Coutard, wife of Charles Aubrey, of 22 December 1728 a painting on canvas is described as follows: 'représentant le portrait de Rembrandt, original; bordure de bois doré' estimated at 300 livres. D. Wildenstein, *Inventaires après décès d'artistes et de collectionneurs Français du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1967, p. 84.
20. H. Foccilon, 'A propos d'une copie de Rembrandt par Fantin-Latour', *Beaux-Arts* (1923), pp. 248-249.
21. HdG 569; A. Brejon and J. Foucart, *Catalogue sommaire illustré des peintures du Musée du Louvre*, Paris 1979, vol. 1, p. 111.

IV 20 Self-portrait

1660

NEW YORK, N.Y., THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, ACC. NO. 14.40.618
BEQUEST OF BENJAMIN ALTMAN, 1913

HDG 562; BR. 54; BAUCH 332; GERSON 381; TÜMPEL A 73

1. Introduction and description

Tümpel did not include the painting discussed in this entry as an autograph work by Rembrandt in his 1986 monograph, attributing it instead to an anonymous artist from the master's circle.[1] Previous to this, members of the RRP had suggested that the head and the cap in an earlier form had been painted by Rembrandt who had left the work unfinished; while the rest of the painting, including the hat in its present shape, the background and the costume, had been painted by another hand.[2] In the meantime, in addition to an X-radiograph a set of autoradiographs has become available, affording further insight into the genesis of the work.[3]

Rembrandt is shown *en trois quart*, gazing out at the viewer. Atop his curly grey hair is a large black cap. At the neck the edge of a white shirt emerges from under a red waistcoat. Over the waistcoat is a doublet with a tall raised collar, which in turn is covered by a gown with the tip of a collar folded down at the left. The sitter is set before a brownish background.

Working conditions

Examined on 23 April 1969 (J.B., B.H.) and 15-16 November 1994 (M.F., E.v.d.W.). Out of the frame in good light with the aid of a stereomicroscope, four X-ray films covering the entire surface, and prints of autoradiographs.

Support

Canvas, lined, 81 x 67.6 cm (measured along the stretcher); a 1.2 cm wide strip of canvas has been attached to the upper edge. Below this strip, the X-radiograph reveals an app. 1 cm wide length of the original canvas which is unpainted and was probably folded over at some point. This strip must be the original edge of the canvas. This is confirmed by regularly spaced holes in the canvas along the upper edge of this length that are visible in the X-ray image, some of which also show up in the surface. These holes correspond with the cusping, which extends as far as app. 6 cm into the weave. These must have been the points where the canvas was originally stretched. The left edge of the canvas displays pronounced cusping, which extends up to 12.5 cm into the weave; shallow cusping is visible at the right and extends up to app. 3.5 cm into the weave with only a few weak deformations. The absence of pronounced cusping in this case does not necessarily mean that the painting was cut down on the right and lower sides. The shallow distortions observed along these edges could well be secondary cusps (see Vol. II, p. 35). On the basis of the unpainted edge at the top and the pronounced cusping visible along the left and upper edges, the canvas of the painting under discussion may be a corner piece of a larger strip of primed linen.

Threadcount: 14.5 vertical threads/cm (14-15.5); 16.2 horizontal threads/cm (15-16.5). There is no difference in the range of the density of the horizontal and vertical threads, making it impossible to determine the direction of the warp.

Ground

Analysis of a paint cross-section revealed that the ground consists of two layers. The transparent light brown bottom layer contains mostly chalk and some ochre or umber. The top ground layer closely resembles the bottom one, but is slightly greyer due to the addition of some black.

The two ground layers are also visible locally in the paint surface. A yellowish grey seemingly belonging to the upper ground layer can be discerned at the right in the gown, at the left in the standing collar, near the contour of the shoulder, and in the background along both the left and right edge. In worn areas at the upper right are vestiges of the yellow brown bottom ground layer (see *Table of Grounds* III, pp. 668-69).

Paint layer

Condition: There appear to be traces of a worn dark brown paint layer in the clothing in the areas where the yellowish grey of the upper ground layer is now apparent. This is especially the case in large areas in the chest at the right, in the less open sections of the sleeve at the right, in the collar and the shoulder at the left, as well as in smaller areas in the gown at the left near the fastening. The fact that the relatively light ground is now visible in these areas disturbs the plasticity of the bust, because this is precisely where the viewer expects to find shadows.

There are also disturbances in the dark paint of the background where the ground has become exposed. For example, dark brown hatched strokes have been applied over the yellow grey ground along the upper part of the left edge. These strokes appear to have been somewhat overcleaned and therefore in this area, too, more of the ground can be seen than was originally intended. Showing up in the X-radiograph is a long vertical stroke app. 9.5 cm from the right edge, which is also visible in relief in the surface. Under the microscope it displays local ruddy brown patches rising to the surface, which could perhaps be interpreted as a section of the back wall. More vestiges of worn dark brown can be discerned to the right of this vertical stroke which, however, could also be retouchings. Narrow irregular strips along the lower and upper edge were later retouched and partially overpainted.

Craquelure: An irregular pattern of craquelure characteristic for a painting on canvas.

For a further discussion of the paint layer, see *Radiography* and *2. Comments.*

Radiography

As early as 1931, Burroughs noted that the X-radiograph of the head reveals changes particularly in the headgear and in the hair.[4] In the X-ray image, a lock of hair shows up light to the left of the ear at the left, which in the paint surface is visible only in relief in the background. The changes in the headgear are more complex. On the basis of the X-radiograph and the autoradiographs it was suggested in *Art and Autoradiography* that the headdress had undergone four different stages: 'a painter's turban, a small beret, and a very full velvet hat with tassel (and

Fig. 1. Canvas 81 x 67.6 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 311



Fig. 2. X-Ray

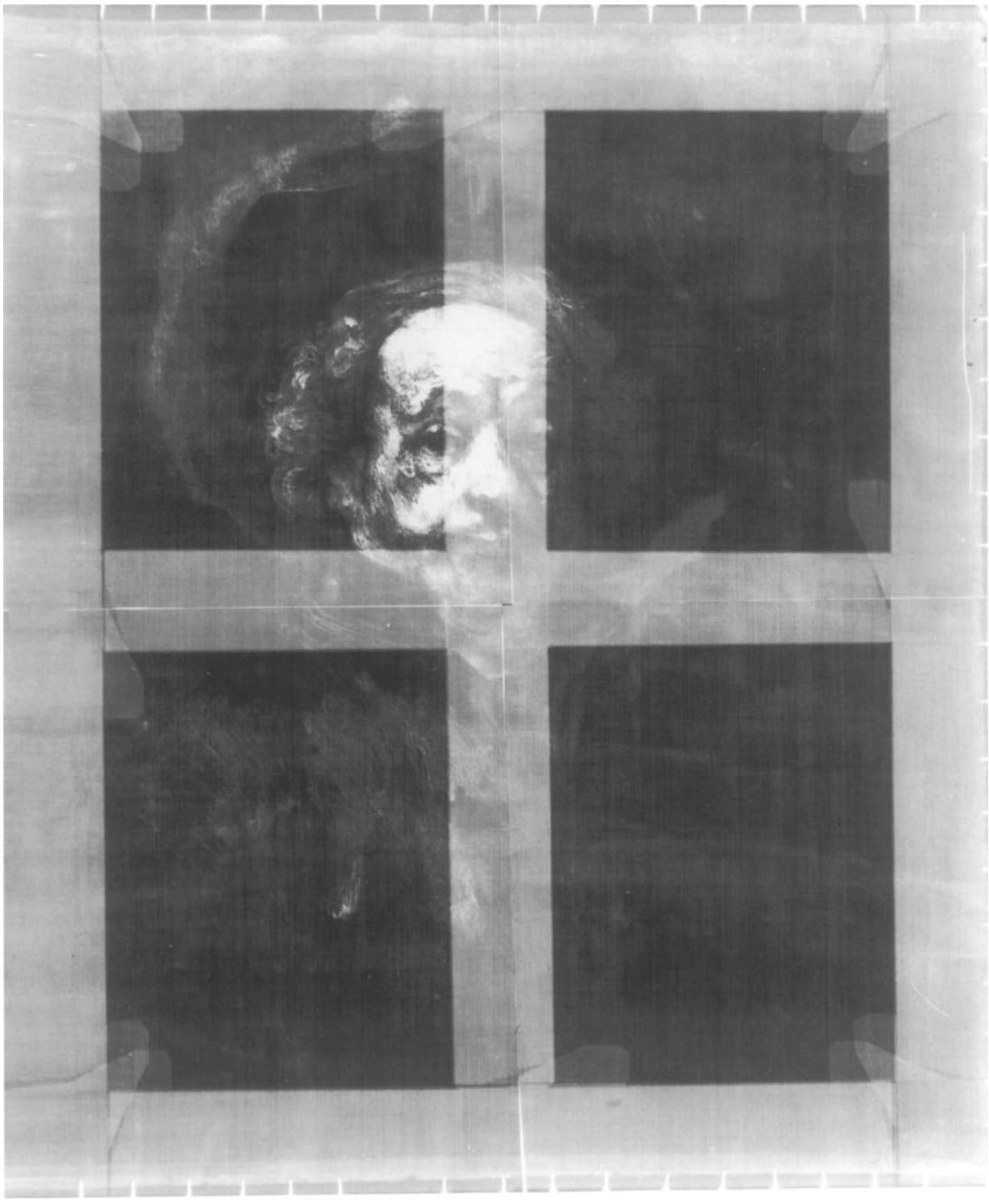


Fig. 3. Autoradiograph no. 8



extensions of this form to the lower right and left sides), the final version seen in the painting'.[5] In the following, this issue is further explored by first comparing the X-radiograph (fig. 2) with the eighth autoradiograph (fig. 3), in wich phosphorus – found in bone black – shows primarily, and then relating the information gained to various aspects of the paint surface. A detailed discussion of all of the alleged hat shapes is necessary because it is the only way of shedding light on the genesis of the work, and by extension on the question – initially raised by the RRP – of whether more than one hand was involved in the painting's production.

A flat cap (erroneaously described as 'a painter's turban' by Ainsworth et al., see note 3) shows up light in the X-radiograph. The temperament of its facture corresponds with passages in the face also discernible in the X-radiograph, particularly in the eye sockets, which can be interpreted as underpainting. Accordingly, it may be cautiously concluded that this cap only reached the stage of underpainting.

With respect to the other presumed changes to the headgear suggested in *Art and Autoradiography*, we did not note the small beret succeeding the flat cap. Ainsworth et al. also perceived two different shapes of a large hat: a broad velvet hat with a tassel and the final version seen in the painting. In our opinion, there is only one other hat in addition to the flat cap, namely the one now visible in the paint surface. What Ainsworth et al. considered to be a 'broad velvet hat' on the basis of the eighth autoradiograph matches the greyish paint in the background applied around the present shape of the black hat. This greyish 'halo' also corresponds with the paint showing up light in the X-ray image, from which it may be concluded that this greyish paint consists of a mixture containing black (bone black showing up in the eighth autoradiograph) and white (lead white discernible in the X-radiograph). In the left background below the ear it is particularly clear that this grey paint is part of the background and not an indication of a larger hat. The same applies to an area to the right above the standing collar showing up both in the X-ray photograph and in the eighth autoradiograph. This area should also be understood as being part of the background rather than of an earlier version of the hat.

The shape reserved in the grey 'halo', as seen in the X-radiograph, while being somewhat larger, is not an entirely different head covering than the final hat. Visible in the reserve for the hat in the upper left of the X-radiograph is a broad stroke with an edge showing up relatively light along the contour of the final shape of the hat. This matches in the paint surface a ruddy brown streak with a pastose edge, which was applied to lower the hat in this place.

An argument for an earlier, somewhat different type of head covering may be that in the eighth autoradiograph there are a few black streaks that start off wide and narrow to a point at the top. These are meant to indicate folds, which extend into the higher earlier part of the hat. In its present appearance the hat makes a flat impression. However, with some effort similar internal detail can also be distinguished in the present hat.

Fig. 4. Detail with signature (slightly reduced)



Many of the predominantly short vigorous brushstrokes in the head visible in the X-radiograph also show up in relief in the paint surface (see figs. 5 and 6). However, the distribution of colour in the face – a myriad of pinkish, yellowish and orange flesh tones – does not correspond with these strokes. These light pastose brushstrokes must therefore belong to an underlying phase of the work or an underpainting over which a thinner layer of paint was applied.[6]

Finally, it should be noted that the broad diagonal brushstrokes to the left in the clothing showing up indistinctly in the X-radiograph are also visible as pink strokes in the surface. They may well be part of the initial lay-in. As Von Sonnenburg indicated, lines showing up in the eighth autoradiograph, which Ainsworth et al. considered part of the preliminary sketch, correspond with finishing dark touches in the topmost paint layer and thus do not belong to the initial lay-in.[7]

Signature

Lower right in black <*Rembrandt / f 1660*>. The *R* is the least distinct; some letters and part of the date may have been strengthened.

2. Comments

The 1660 *Self-portrait* in New York has never received much attention in art historical literature. Benesch suggested that it is a pendant of the so-called *Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels* of 1660, also in the Metropolitan Museum (Br. 118; fig. 7).[8] This notion was adopted without comment by Bauch,[9] and also deemed possible by Gerson.[10] Tümpel, however, pointed out that Benesch's view is not supported by a common provenance for the two portraits.[11] Moreover, the fact that both paintings are on different kinds of canvas, although not a decisive factor, does undermine the theory that they were originally produced as pendants (see Vol. II, pp. 23-29). Tümpel also perceived a difference in quality. This prompted him to

Fig. 5. Detail (1:1)



Fig. 6. X-Ray, detail



consider the *Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels* as an autograph work by Rembrandt, notwithstanding the difficulty in evaluating the painting due to its poor condition, and to attribute the *Self-portrait* to an artist in Rembrandt's circle.

As mentioned above, members of the RRP doubted the authenticity of a part of the painting upon its examination in 1969. While considering the head autograph, they typified the execution of the clothing as superficial and incoherent. They conjectured that Rembrandt had never finished the clothing, and that it was completed later by someone else. Also the spotty appearance of the background raised doubts about the authenticity of this section of the painting. Since the paint of the background partially overlaps and is partly overlapped by the final shape of the cap, they subsequently concluded that the cap and the background had been altered later by someone else.

As mentioned in *Radiography*, Burroughs noted a change in the headgear as early as 1931 (see note 4). According to the 1982 publication (see note 3), the autoradiographs of the painting purportedly revealed that the head covering had been altered several times. Four possible shapes for the hat motif were alleged. As explained in *Radiography*, we discern only two hats, the first of which most likely existed solely in underpainted form, and a second one that was moderately altered in size and shape in the course of the painting's production.

The significance of this discussion is that there appears to be no reason to doubt the unity of the work's genesis. The impression that the painting is by a single artist is reinforced by an evaluation of the frequently encountered ruddy strokes in the painting. For example, red brown strokes give the cap its definitive form. This colour is very close to the characteristic ochrish red found in many places in this painting. While this red only indicates the colour of a single item of clothing (the waistcoat), in the rest of the painting these red brown passages seem to suggest reflected hues. These occur in the neck and along the chin, jaw and the cheek at the right, where they appear to be reflections of the red waistcoat. Furthermore, the brown gown has a notable amount of red, particularly at the left, which may indicate reflections from an unvisible source. A ruddy dab in the iris of the eye at the right as well as the red brown lock of hair just above the ear may have the same function. Both the red brown and the yellowish and greyish tints with a violet cast found in the folds of the brown gown as well as the manner of indicating the folds on the shoulder seam, leads one to wonder whether these were intended to suggest the texture of a shiny material. Such ruddy and yellowish tints are missing in the right part of the gown; in the light parts the greyish ground is largely exposed with some overlying brown visible locally. If this is construed as traces of an overcleaned brown paint layer applied in the shaded area of the gown (see *Paint layer*), the notion that the gown was completed later by someone else no longer seems to be the most obvious explanation. The presence of red and red brown tints along both the upper contour of the cap and in the gown, moreover, corresponds so closely with the colour scheme of the rest of the painting that it is difficult to imagine that the present appearance of the coat and cap could be the result of intervention by a later hand. Also the spottiness of the background which, as previously stated, initially raised the suspicion that both the background and the final hat could have been changed by a later hand, can sooner be explained as the consequence of the worn condition of certain sections of the background (see *Paint layer*, Condition). This can in part be deduced from the parts where the yellowish grey ground (i.e. in the gown) reveals traces of a brown paint layer heavily overcleaned locally.

Fig. 7. Rembrandt school (?), *Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels*, 1660, (Br. 118). New York, N.Y., The Metropolitan Museum of Art



As is further clarified in pp. 288-294, we do not share Tümpel's opinion that the painting is not autograph. In fact, the genesis and the established working method as well as specific facial features speak in favour of its authenticity.

As with all of the self-portraits that we consider to be authentic, this *Self-portrait* is also an autonomous entity. The relatively fine modelling, rich in subtly inflected flesh tints found only in the Edinburgh *Self-portrait* (IV 15); the red accents, found only in the Hague *Self-portrait* of 1669 (IV 29) in a somewhat comparable manner; the use of the left section of the rounded forehead as the strongest lit area due the slanted placement of the beret, a solution also present, for instance, in the Uffizi *Self-portrait* of 1669 (IV 28); these are variations of Rembrandt's pictorial solutions which, however, were never routinely applied. The brushwork, too, with its marked variations in scale and function, corresponds fully with our image of Rembrandt's artistry in this respect.

In Chapter III and elsewhere[12], we suggest that Rembrandt may have produced his self-portraits for art lovers, who considered such a painting as both a portrait of a famous artist and as a sample of his exceptional style and

skill. A painting like the present one demonstrates not only an aspect of Rembrandt's style, but perhaps also his reception as an artist whose finely executed illusionism was still highly appreciated. It is regrettable that we will probably never know for whom such a painting might have been intended, or whether Rembrandt's choice of the pictorial means used in this painting were, in part, determined by the wishes of this hypothetical art lover.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 290 ff.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

According to Hofstede de Groot, there is a print after this *Self-portrait* by Georg Friedrich Schmidt (Berlin 1712-1775).[13] However, Wurzbach[14] makes no mention of it in his study of prints after paintings by Rembrandt, nor have we been able to find it.

5. Copies

None.

6. Provenance

– Coll. Duc de Valentinois, Paris, 1738.
*- Coll. [Bonnemaison, peintre], sale Paris 15-17 July 1802 [Lugt 6479], no. 43: 'Rembrandt. 1660. Le propre portrait de Rembrandt, la tête couverte d'une tocque noire, & vêtu d'une robe de couleur brunâtre, de grandeur naturelle & vu à mi-corps. Ce Tableau capital, & du plus beau faire de Rembrandt, sort de la collection du feu duc de Valantinois. – Haut.r 30 pouces, larg.r 25 [= 81 x 67.5 cm]. T[oile].'
– Coll. Lord Radstock, sale London 12-13 May 1826 (Christie's), no. 31: 'Rembrandt. Portrait of Rembrandt, by himself. An admirable Picture. A black Hat or Cap, placed obliquely on the head, gives a very brilliant relief to the countenance, which is lighted up with rich effect. The flesh exhibits every variety of tint, harmoniously blended: – a true representation of nature. From the collection of the Duc de Valentinois – 30.5 inches by 25.5 [= 77.5 x 64.8 cm]' (299.5 to A. Baring Esq.).
– Coll. A. Baring, London.
– Coll. Lord Ashburton, The Grange, Hampshire and Bath House, London, 1826. The collection was sold in 1907.
– Dealer A. Sulley & Co., London 1908-1910.
– Dealer Ch. Sedelmeyer, Paris (*Catalogue of One Hundred Paintings* XI, Paris 1911, no. 24).
– Coll. Benjamin Altman, New York, bequeathed to the museum in 1913.

NOTES

1. Tümpel 1986, cat. no. A 73.
2. See, for example, exhib. cat. *Rembrandt / not Rembrandt* II, 1995/96, cat. no. 15.
3. M.W. Ainsworth, J. Brealey, E. Haverkamp-Begemann and P. Meyers, 'Paintings by Van Dyck, Vermeer, and Rembrandt reconsidered through autoradiography', in: *Art and Autoradiography: Insights into the genesis of paintings by Rembrandt, Van Dyck and Vermeer*, New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 1982, p. 70 and p. 99 (note 52).
4. A. Burroughs, 'New illustrations of Rembrandt's style', *Burl. Mag.* 59 (1931), pp. 3-10, esp. 10.
5. Op. cit.[3], p. 99 (note 52).
6. Van de Wetering 1997, Chapter VIII.
7. Von Sonnenburg, op. cit. [2], I, p. 20.
8. O. Benesch, *Rembrandt. Werk und Forschung*, Vienna 1935, p. 65.
9. Bauch 1966, 332.
10. Gerson 381; Br.-Gerson 54.
11. Tümpel 1986, cat. nos. 189 and A 73.
12. E. van de Wetering in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999, pp. 10-36, esp. 23-36.
13. HdG 562.
14. A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, II, Vienna/Leipzig 1910, pp. 449-450.

IV 21 'Self-portrait' 1660

MELBOURNE, NATIONAL GALLERY OF VICTORIA, INV. NO. NGV 104/4

HDG 579; BR. 56; BAUCH 335; GERSON – ; TÜMPEL –

Fig. 1. Canvas 75.6 x 61.1 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 62



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

Stylistically, this painting is so far removed from Rembrandt that we initially considered omitting it from the *Corpus*. However, once it became demonstrably clear, during the completion of this book, that the painting must have originated in Rembrandt's workshop, it fulfilled a crucial role – together with the closely related work in the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Mass. (IV 22) – in our development of an understanding of the origin of 'self-portraits' that are not thought to be autograph works by Rembrandt but which nevertheless must have been painted before his eyes.

Rembrandt is shown to his midriff and placed in front of a darker background that is locally somewhat lighter to the left of the head and above the shoulder. He wears a light yellow cap with a white, turned-up rim. Beneath a red smock he wears a white undershirt with turned down collar. Over these undergarments Rembrandt wears a brown tabard with a black, upstanding collar.

Working conditions

Examined on 24-10-1973 (B.H., P.v.Th.) and in September 1987 (E.v.d.W.) out of its frame, under very good natural light. The painting was thoroughly investigated in 1997 by John Payne, Senior Conservator of Paintings of the National Gallery of Victoria; during which investigation paint samples were taken and analysed. His report of this investigation (dated 23 July 1997) was made available to us.[1] Payne's observations and analytic results play an important role in this entry.

Support

Canvas, lined, 75.6 x 61.1 cm. Single piece. On the X-radiographs weak cusping was observed along the top and bottom edges. Above, the distance between cusps varied from 8.5 to 8.1, and below from 10 to 13 cm. They continue *c.* 15 (+5) into the fabric.

Thread count: 8.2 vertical threads/cm (7.3 – 9); 11 horizontal threads/cm (10 – 11.5). There is a clear qualitative difference between the vertical and horizontal threads. The remarkably thick short thickenings in the vertical threads indicate that that these threads have been spun from predominantly short fibres.[2] Since in such cases the threads of the warp are the most regular threads with the longest fibres, one can safely assume that the horizontal threads constitute the warp. Linen with the same thread density and the identical weave characteristics were also encountered in the *'Self-portrait'* in the Fogg Art Museum (IV 22) (73 x 65.3 cm) and the *Flora* in New York (Br. 114) (104 x 91 cm) (compare figs. 3 and 4). In view of the shared features, the pieces of linen on which the three works have been painted must certainly have come from the same bolt of canvas. The widest of the two strips of linen joined at by a vertical seam in the last-mentioned painting (where the warp runs vertically) is 77.3 cm wide. In the two self-portraits, the width of the strips used (the height of the painting, since the warp runs horizontally) measures 75.6 and 73 cm respectively. From the relative constancy of this width of the linen strips used for these three paintings one can infer that the bolt of linen from which these three canvases originated must have been *c.* 80 cm wide.

Ground

According to the Payne report 'the ground is a mixture of quartz and earth pigments giving a mid to dark brown colour. It appears that a large part of the image we see is exposed ground.'

The type of ground that Payne encountered fits comfortably within the series of quartz grounds found in about half the investigated works on canvas produced exclusively by Rembrandt and his studio between 1640 and '69 (see *Table of Grounds* III and IV, pp. 668-673).

Paint layer

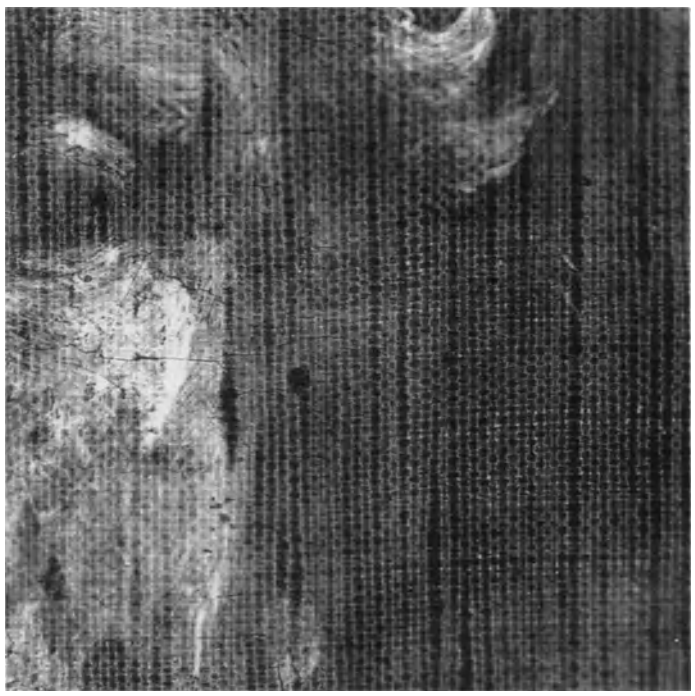
Condition: According to Payne 'the brushwork has been softened and flattened to some degree in a previous treatment of the painting, perhaps a combination of lining and cleaning procedures.' (see note 1). As a consequence of the edges of the canvas wrapped around the stretch bar having been cut off earlier, the paint at the margins is damaged. In this connection, the margins have been overpainted to a varying width with scumbled paint. One cannot exclude the possibility that parts of the exposed quartz ground may have darkened considerably as such grounds contain a relatively high percentage of binding medium. The lining adhesive may also have had a darkening effect.

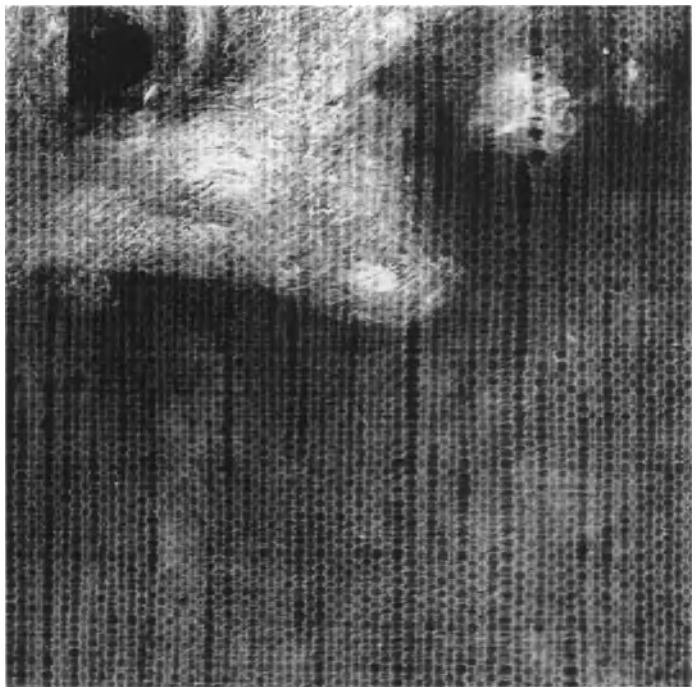
Because the ground is exposed in many places, traces of the first lay-in of the painting can be detected. Payne observed that 'in a strong light it is possible to see black lines which appear to be the first delineation of the form.' He saw some of these lines 'as initial descriptions of the hair, the forehead, the cap and the neckline'. However, Payne left open the possibility, correctly in our view, that other comparable dark lines could have been drawn at a later stage of the genesis of the painting. One finds them, for instance, indicating the boundary between cap and forehead and between collar and tabard. On the basis of the rough underdrawing, the painting would seem to have been executed *alla prima* with – in the head – generally broad strokes of covering paint in the lit parts and with thinner scumbled strokes in the shadows. In view of the way the paint of these passages overlaps the other paint, the highest lights (on the forehead and the nose, and on the cap) must have been applied in the last stage of the work. The costume has been executed in a comparable manner. The bulk of the chest and shoulders is placed in a subdued light with broad strokes of thin paint, upon which, subdued highlights are at different places indicated in an extremely cursory fashion. Here and there, the structure of the costume is clarified by fleeting lines, mostly black, sometimes done with light paint.

Radiography

The X-radiograph confirms the observation that the painting was executed *alla prima*. As far as the paint is radioabsorbent, the complex of different touches with which the head, the headgear and costume have been

Figs. 3-4. Details of X-Rays of IV 21 and *Flora*, New York (Br. 114). Warp horizontal





built up, shows up in the X-ray image. The radio-absorbent strokes are all visible on the paint surface, confirming the suspicion that no light passages were present in the first lay-in, which must have been confined to the darker brush lines that Payne observed.

Apart from this, the X-ray image is dominated by the structure of the fabric. Payne surmised that the clear visibility of the canvas structure did not correspond with the nature of the ground, in which he encountered no lead white or other strongly radioabsorbent material, but this visibility could be due to a lead white-containing lining adhesive that he had not otherwise analysed. It is more likely, however, that it is the ground itself causing the structure of the canvas to stand out so clearly. Given the tendency in the 17th century to flatten a canvas by means of the ground,[3] one would expect that with precisely such an unusually rough canvas as this one the paste needed to fill the canvas structure must have been relatively thick and therefore relatively radioabsorbent. The fact that the thickest parts of the thickening in the threads of the weft (situated closest to the surface) show up darkly corroborate this supposition. This suspicion is also confirmed by the fact that in two other paintings whose canvas derives from the same bolt (see *Support*) and that are both primed with a quartz ground, the X-ray image of the canvas is similar (compare figs. 3 and 4).

Signature

In the background to the right of the collar, there are two signatures, one above the other. According to Payne (see note 1), the top and more legible of the two, *<Rembrandt / f 166[0?]>*, has been added later. The one below, which is barely legible, but whose traces can be more or less picked out under infrared, *<Remb...dt / f 1660>*, was probably applied immediately after completion of the painting (fig. 5). Payne came to this conclusion on the basis of a cross-section that shows 'the paint to be clearly related to the paint layer on which it rests. There are no residues of varnish or apparent traces of dirt between the signature and the underlying paint.' The latter signature is partly overpainted with the same paint with which the edges of the whole painting are retouched (see *Paint layer* Condition). The script of the older of the two signatures is so poorly legible that it cannot be judged. The script of the later inscription displays a graceful calligraphy which betrays that whoever added this signature could have had little familiarity with Rembrandt's own late signature.

2. Comments

During the Rembrandt exhibition in 1997 in the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne, *A Genius and his Impact*, a 'sideshow' was devoted to the painting under discussion

Fig. 5. Detail of signatures. Computer composite of IR photographs (1931)

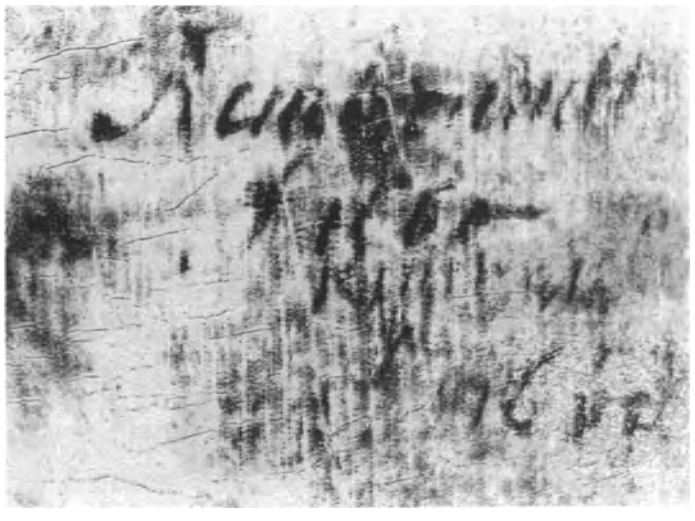


Fig. 6. Detail of *Self-portrait at the easel*, Paris (IV 19)



Fig. 7. Detail of '*Self-portrait*', Melbourne (IV 21)



here, carefully separated from the exhibition itself. Whereas the painting was acquired by the Gallery in 1933 as a late self-portrait[4] – and thus in a certain sense as the ultimate Rembrandt – it was now discreetly labelled as 'Manner of Rembrandt, Portrait of Rembrandt'.[5]

That it differs markedly in many respects from the majority of Rembrandts late self-portraits could hardly have escaped anyone when it was first acquired in 1933; but the other self-portraits also differ between themselves, in each case in a different respect (Chapter III, pp. 109-117). In those days, unless one was dealing with evident copies it was for obvious reasons more difficult to doubt the authenticity of what seemed to be a Rembrandt self-portrait. This would have been the reason that Bredius included the painting in his catalogue in 1935. The fact that he reproduced it next to a stylistically closely related 'self-portrait', now in the Fogg Art Museum (IV 22), can perhaps be seen as an indication that he – and following him Kurt Bauch, who also placed reproductions of the two paintings next to each other[6] – thought that the relationship between the two paintings lent support to their attribution to Rembrandt. After all, it is an obvious idea that the two paintings, taken together, might mark a stage in Rembrandt's 'development'.

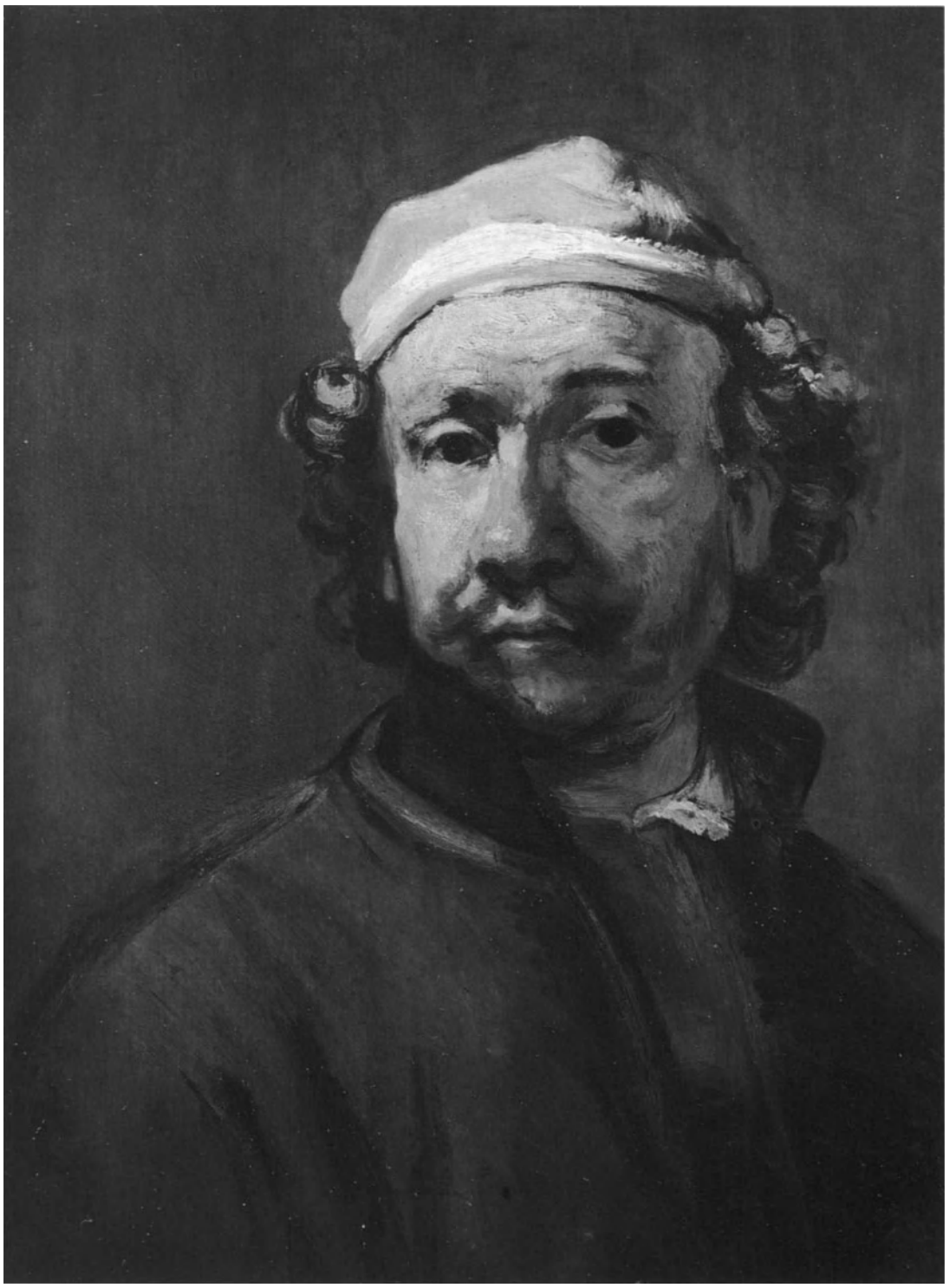
In his review of the history of collecting works by Rembrandt in Australia, Timothy Potts wrote that: 'Already before the painting left London there were rumblings about whether it was 'right'. These soon grew into a small torrent of scepticism after the work arrived …'. [7] Doubts as to the authenticity of the Melbourne piece must, however, have existed already before this. For instance, in 1894 it was recorded by Fairfax Murray as 'ascribed to R …' after it had been designated, previous to that, as 'Rembrandt by Himself' (see *6. Provenance*).

Once Bredius had accepted it in his canon, Rosenberg also accepted it in 1948 and, as mentioned above, subsequently Bauch too in 1966.[8] In his new edition of Bredius' book in 1969, Gerson expressed reservations: 'I know the painting only from photographs, which do not give a favourable impression'.[9] However, he had omitted the painting from his own oeuvre catalogue of 1968, indicating that he did not really believe in its authenticity. Tümpel also omitted it from his 1986 survey of Rembrandts oeuvre.

The members of the RRP, who first examined the painting in Melbourne in 1973, communicated to the National Gallery in 1982 the tentative opinion that they had formed during that working visit: 'At that time [1973] we felt that the painting must be a Rembrandt imitation of uncertain date, most probably not dating from the seventeenth century. Although this is only a provisional opinion, it seems unlikely that we will arrive at a more favourable conclusion later on.'.[10] John Gregory too, the author of an exceptionally thoughtful analysis of the case, in 1984 came to the conclusion: '…it seems more fruitful to suggest that the *'Self-Portrait'* originated somewhat later than 1669, in a milieu in which Rembrandt's late style was admired but imperfectly understood.'.[11]

John Payne, the Senior Conservator of Painting of the National Gallery of Victoria quoted above, through his own investigation came to a different conclusion: 'The material content of the painting does not provide the evi-

Fig. 8. Copy 1



dence to discredit an attribution to Rembrandt, the attribution lives and dies on issues related to the appearance of the work, in short, connoisseurship.' The opening that Payne saw was the hypothesis that one might be dealing with an uncompleted work by Rembrandt. Payne was rightly wrestling with the question: 'If it is not Rembrandt, then who produces an unfinished version of a Rembrandt self portrait and why is it signed as if by Rembrandt?'. An important factor in his doubting the provisional conclusions of the RRP, and the validity of John Gregory's arguments, was the quartz ground he had encountered in his investigation. Payne knew through the investigations of Kühn published in 1963 and 1965 that quartz grounds occurred rather frequently in late Rembrandts.[12] He assumed – erroneously, as we now know – that quartz grounds were also used in other seventeenth century studios. Payne concluded that there were more indications of a 17th century origin for the painting than of a later one. It has since become clear that the presence of the quartz ground compels one to the conclusion that the painting must have originated in Rembrandt's studio (see Chapter IV and *Table of Grounds* III, pp. 668-669) a

conclusion that is further corroborated by the evidence that it is painted on canvas taken from the same bolt of linen as that canvas on which the *Flora* in New York (Br. 114) was painted.

Holmes correctly pointed out in 1933 a certain affinity between the present painting and the *Self-portrait on the easel* from 1660 in Paris (IV 19). The affinity concerns especially the construction of the head. The Paris *Self-portrait* differs from the other self-portraits considered to be authentic in its longer, slightly narrower face with strikingly long nose and, as it appears due to the somewhat raised eyebrows, rather more curved eyelids. These physiognomic features are also found – in rather exaggerated form – in the present painting (figs. 6 and 7). The role of the rather similar cap in the handling of light is also related. Our suggested explanation for these correspondences is that, in producing his 'self-portrait', the painter of the Melbourne painting – undoubtedly a member of Rembrandt's workshop – based himself on the Paris piece. *Mutatis mutandis*, he would have worked according to the procedures normally used in the production of other studio variants in Rembrandt's workshop (see Chapter II in the forthcoming Volume V). Viewed in this way, the present painting should have been admitted to the Melbourne exhibition as a striking demonstration of Rembrandt's impact.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 127 ff.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

None.

5. Copies

1. Fundaçao Medeiros e Almeida, Lisbon/Portugal (HdG 561, Br.-Gerson 56, p. 551) (fig. 8). Examined March 2000 (E.v.d.W.) out of its frame in good daylight.
Support. Oak panel 56.3/56.8 x 44.0 cm. The panel comprises two planks of unequal width (left *c.* 17.5 cm, right, *c.* 26 cm), joined by a seam which inclines to the left when viewed from the front. The panel is very slightly beveled over a maximum width of 0.5 and 1 cm respectively along the top and bottom sides. Right and left show no trace of beveling. Since the framing of the figure in the present copy is narrower on all sides than in the Melbourne painting, the question has to be asked whether the painting has been reduced in size by later hands. The unusually excentric placing of the figure and the unequal width of the two parts of the panel also give rise to the same suspicion. At the left-hand edge of the panel one can see that this edge is the result of breaking that panel. This break could have been the reason for further reducing the size of the painting, which – given the inclined course of the joint between the two planks – it would seem, may be the reason the panel is tilted. This would also explain why the figure in the copy is tilted to the left compared with the Melbourne prototype.

Dendrochronological analysis by Dr. P. Klein, Hamburg, showed that the latest heartwood ring, which lies near the seam of the panel and presumably therefore must have been situated close to the sapwood, dates from 1635. With a minimum of 2 years for seasoning, an earliest creation of the painting is possible from 1644 upwards. On the assumption of a median of 17 sapwood rings and 2 years for seasoning a creation is plausible from 1654 upwards. The wood concerned originates from the Netherlandish/Western Germany region. On the basis of the dendrochronological data it seems likely, though not necessarily the case, that the copy originated shortly after the prototype.
Ground. In places along the edge where the paint has flaked off, the impression is given that the painting has been done directly on the wood. The aspect and ageing behaviour of the painting differ in this regard from what we are used to from Rembrandt's panels or panels from his workshop.
Paint layer. The execution of the painting also argues against an origin in Rembrandt's workplace. The broad execution of the prototype in Melbourne is translated into a laboured approach to the prototype executed wet in wet with muddy colours. The customary logic of execution, with highlights and deepest shades added last, is not found here. If the painting did originate in the seventeenth century, it must have come from outside Rembrandt's circle. Given the tonal relations in the background and the greater tonal continuity in the shadowed parts of the face in the copy, the suspicion is confirmed that the ground of the Melbourne prototype, and therefore all parts of that painting where this ground is exposed, have darkened considerably.
Provenance. Coll. Marquess of Lothian, Newbattle Abbey, Scotland; Schaeffer Galleries, New York; N[athan] K[atz] sale Charpentier, Paris 7 December 1950, no. 54; coll. Baronesse Cassel van Doorn, sale Charpentier, Paris 30 May 1956, no. 44.

6. Provenance[13]

– Coll. Margaret Cavendish Harley, 2nd Duchess of Portland (1715-1785), Bulstrode Park, Buckinghamshire, possibly before 1756; recorded by Grimston in 1769 at Bulstrode (as by Rembrandt); recorded by Pennant in 1773-74 as hanging in the diningroom at Bulstrode (as 'Rembrandt by Himself'). By inheritance to the 4th Duke of Portland (1768-1854); listed in the inventory of Bulstrode Park, 1809 (prepared by Thomas Hill junior), no. 39.
– In inventory of Burlington House, London, 1810, no. 27, as 'A Portrait of the Artist Rembran[d]t'.
– Removed with other paintings from Burlington House to Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire, early nineteenth century. By inheritance to the 5th Duke of Portland (1800-1879), Welbeck Abbey and to the 6th Duke of Portland, Welbeck; recorded by Fairfax Murray in 1894[14] as hanging in the entrance hall at Welbeck (as 'ascribed to Rembrandt').
– Acquired from the 6th Duke of Portland on the advice of Randall Davies and Sir Charles Holmes for the Felton Bequest in 1933 (see note 4).

NOTES

1. *Portrait of Rembrandt in the manner of Rembrandt NGV 104/4*, Report on the status of the painting at July 23, 1997 by John Payne, Senior Conservator of Painting [Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria].
2. See Vol. II, p. 21; Van de Wetering 1997, p. 99.
3. See Vol. II, p. 20, note 37; Van de Wetering 1997, p. 97 note 45.
4. Sir Charles Holmes, 'A Rembrandt portrait from Welbeck', *Burl. Mag.* 62 (1933), pp. 103-107 and plate II.
5. Timothy Potts, '"Holland to New Holland": Rembrandt in Australia', in: Blankert 1997, p. 15 (caption).
6. Bauch 1966, 334, 335.
7. Timothy Potts, op. cit.[5], p. 18.

8. Jakob Rosenberg, *Rembrandt,* 2nd edition, London 1969, p. 371; Bauch 1966, 335.
9. Br.-Gerson 56.
10. Letter by P.J.J. van Thiel dd. 25th November 1982 to Dr. Emma Devapriam, then Curator of European Art of the National Gallery of Victoria.
11. John Gregory, 'The paintings and drawings', in: *Rembrandt in the collections of the National Gallery of Victoria,* Melbourne 1988, pp. 21-76, esp. p. 72.
12. H. Kühn, Anlage II in: C. Müller Hofstede, 'Das Stuttgarter Selbstbildnis von Rembrandt', *Pantheon* 21 (1963), pp. 99-100; Kühn 1965, pp. 191-210.
13. U. Hoff, *European paintings before 1800 in the National Gallery of Victoria,* 4th edition, Melbourne 1995, pp. 234-235.
14. C. Fairfax Murray, *Catalogue of the pictures belonging to His Grace the Duke of Portland, at Welbeck Abbey, and in London,* London 1894, no. 6.

IV 22 ‘Self-portrait’ [*c.* 1660]

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUMS, INV. NO. HUAM 1977.6

HDG – ; BR. 57; BAUCH 334; GERSON – ; TÜMPEL –

Fig. 1. Canvas 73 x 65.3 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 68



Fig. 2 X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

As expounded in Chapter III, p. 127 ff, this painting shows such material, technical and stylistic affinities with the *'Self-portrait'* in Melbourne (IV 21), that there can be no reasonable doubt that both works are from the same hand, and must have originated in Rembrandt's workshop. In this entry, it will suffice to furnish technical details and information concerning its provenance.

A half-figure with the features of Rembrandt is placed before a dark background slightly illuminated in the left upper corner. A small fringe of beard runs below Rembrandt's chin and along the jaws. He wears a large, black cap with a wavy brim. The composition of his costume is not entirely clear. A turned-over shirt collar is vaguely visible on the right along the neck and collar. Over the shirt Rembrandt is wearing a red smock which is partially covered by some indeterminate dark clothing. Over this, Rembrandt wears a tabard, hanging open, with a high collar.

Working conditions

Examined 5 September 1972 in the Bronfman collection, Montreal (S.H.L., E.v.d.W.) in good daylight, in the frame. X-radiographic material received later from the Courtauld Institute, London, and the current owner, the Fogg Art Museum (both times 1 film with only head and part of the upper body).

Support

Canvas, 73 x 65.3 cm. Single piece. Threadcount: 8.4 vertical threads/cm (7.7 – 9); 11.4 horizontal threads/cm (11- 12.7). In the vertical threads there are numerous sometimes relatively long, sometimes very short thickenings indicating that mainly short fibres were used in spinning those yarns. The horizontal threads are more even and closer. From this one can infer that the warp runs horizontally. The canvas comes from the same bolt as the canvases on which the *'Self-portrait'* in Melbourne (IV 21) and the *Flora* in New York (Br. 114) were painted. From the width of the larger of the two canvases constituting the support of the *Flora*, and the height of the Melbourne canvas (the warp there also runs horizontally) it can be inferred that this bolt was presumably 80 cm wide. This, together with the painting's format which is almost square, makes it likely that the top and/or bottom have been cut down (see also *Signature*).

Ground

Analysis of a paint cross-section showed that the canvas was prepared with a quartz ground, applied in a single layer (see *Table of Grounds* III, pp. 668-669).

Paint layer

Condition:
In the lit parts, good. In the costume and the background many minor restorations are evident. The paint is raised with the craquelure, which indicates that the canvas underwent (wax) lining when cupping had already occurred. Long vertical cracks in the paint indicate that the painting was once rolled up in the horizontal direction.

The painting is in general thinly painted, compared with the head which is the only part where the paint has any body. It is executed with a loose hand, with flair even, worked out in further detail than the Melbourne painting, which seems unfinished in comparison with the present painting. Just how attractive this loose handling of the brush can be found is evident from Roger Fry's enthusiastic appraisal of the painting in 1933, first published in the Burlington Magazine: 'I doubt whether the possibilities of expression by pictorial means have ever been pushed so far as this. It exhausts every conceivable resource of the painter's art. What brilliance and surety of handling in the rapid brush work of this amazing notation of form!'[1] Compared with Rembrandt's autograph self-portraits from the same period, however, it strikes one that – in its rhythm and in its relation to the forms represented – this loose touch misses the differentiation and effectiveness of a real Rembrandt. For Rembrandt, the continuity of form generally takes priority above the demonstration of *sprezzatura,* which in fact characterizes this painting and is here applied uniformly and rather crudely. Rembrandt's sensitive representation of human skin here gives way to a motley assemblage of broad strokes, dominated by yellow and pink-brown accents that break up the form and nowhere approach flesh tones as in autograph works by Rembrandt, an aspect of his art that was highly praised by his contemporaries.[2] Furthermore, this patchiness foils any effect of the action of light. The same lack of effectiveness also characterizes the way the costume is painted.

Radiography

The available X-radiograph shows the structure of the canvas, the light – apparently lead white-containing – parts of the face and a few light streaks in the costume in places where the paint is rather thickly applied. The light strip on the left, below the chin, presumably shows the lead white added to the lit flesh colour here.

Earlier X-ray investigation revealed a large monogram *<AS 95>* (fig. 3) in the bottom left corner. For the deciphering of this monogram see *6. Provenance.*

Signature

None. One can speculate on the possibility that a signature may have been lost with the presumed reduction of the canvas (see *Support*).

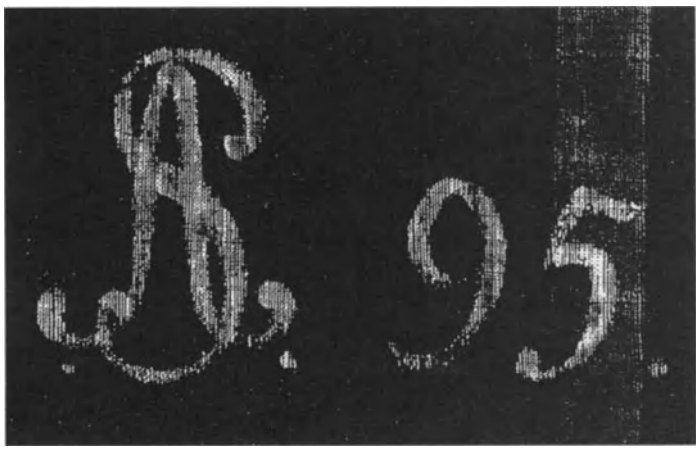
2. Comments

In Chapter III, pp. 117-132, it will be argued that we are dealing here with a free variant on the *Self-portrait* from 1660 in New York (IV 20). For a further analysis of the painting and its relation to IV 21 see there.

3. Documents and sources

None.

Fig. 3 Detail of monogram and inventory number, X-Ray



4. Graphic reproductions

1. Mezzotint by M.D. Alston. According to the legend accompanying the reproduction of the mezzotint in *Apollo* in 1929 this print was made 'by permission of the former owner, the Marquis Guido Serra de Cassaro'.[3]

5. Copies

None.

6. Provenance

*– Gallery Sułkowski in Rydzyna, Coll. August Sułkowski (1729-1786) in Rydzyna palace near Poznán, Poland. This new information on the painting's eighteenth-century whereabouts came to light because a monogram *AS* – which was convincingly linked to August Sułkowski by Bohdan Marconi in 1957[4] – was discovered on the original canvas in the X-radiograph. The added number 95 apparently refers to an inventory number.

– Coll. Marquis Guido Serra de Cassaro (before 1929) (see notes 1 and 3).
– Mrs. W.R. Mitchell.
– Sale London (Christie's) 10-7-1953, no. 77.
– Coll. G. Farkas, New York.
– Samuel Bronfman, Montreal, bought the painting from the Mattheissen Gallery, London in 1959.
– Acquired in 1977 by the Fogg Art Museum.

NOTES

1. Roger Fry, 'A self-portrait by Rembrandt', *Burl. Mag.* 38 (1921), pp. 262-263, ill. p. 260.
2. S. van Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst*, Rotterdam 1678, pp. 227-228; J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie des Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, Nuremberg 1675, (ed. by Pelzer, Munich 1925) Part II, Book III, Chapter XXII, p. 203.
3. Reproduced in *Apollo* 10 (1929), p. 117.
4. Bohdan Marconi, 'Jedenaście Obrazów z Nieznanej Galerii Sułkowskich w Rydzynie' [Eleven paintings from an unknown gallery Sułkowski Rydzyna], in: *Nadbitka z Biuletynu Historii Sztuki* [Bulletin of Art History], R. XIX (1957) no. 2, pp. 169-177; idem, 'Korespondencje-Polemiki' [Correspondence-polemics of the article of the Sułkowski's Gallery in Rydzyna], op. cit. R. XX (1958), no. 3/4, pp. 381-382, in the translated attachment stated as 'not yet published': 'no. 17 Rembrandt, selfportrait, ca. 1660, oil canvas. Reverse: AS 95/white/'.

IV 23 'Self-portrait' [*c.* 1660]

WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN

HDG – ; BR. – ; BAUCH – ; GERSON – ; TÜMPEL –

1. Introduction and description

We have given this painting a separate catalogue number because we consider it to be one of the free variants on autograph self-portraits of Rembrandt, executed in his workshop by one of his pupils or assistants.

Rembrandt is shown to just below the shoulders. He is wearing a white cap and a tabard above which the collars of what appear to be two white shirts protrude slightly.

Working conditions

The painting is only known to us from a reproduction[1] and from a black and white photograph taken in connection with the sale of the painting at Christie's in London, on 7 december 1982. At that time Christie's must have been in possession of an X-radiograph (see *X-radiographic investigation*)

Support

Canvas 50.2 x 38.7 cm. Not only the close framing of Rembrandt's life-sized bust, but also the fact that canvas has been used as the support suggests that the painting may have been originally considerably larger. In the presumed period of its origin (not long after 1660) a panel would normally have been used as support for a relatively small format such as the present painting, cf. for example Br. 291, 296, 298, 320, 497, 498.

In the past the painting was enlarged by means of a piece stuck on the bottom, an intervention that was reversed in 1932 by the restorer A.M. de Wild when the painting was in the hands of the art dealers De Boer in Amsterdam.

Ground

Unknown.

Paint layer

Condition: To judge by the photograph, reasonable. The fact that the *pentimento* to be discussed later became visible at the surface locally, above the cap, would seem to indicate that the painting has been somewhat over-cleaned. The photograph gives the impression that the painting had been touched up (earlier than 1932) with freely placed dark touches that must have been intended to strengthen plasticity and enhance the contrasts between light and shade. These retouches include the brushlines that strengthen the eyebrows, the nose contour on the shadowed side, the nostrils and the shadow under the nose. Such touches have also been applied to the hair, the left ear, along the right cheek contour where the lower chin meets the chest etc. On the possibility that the painting has been drastically reduced in size, see *Support.*

As will be discussed in Chapter III, p. 132, the handling of the paint, as far as this can be seen from the photograph, shows only superficial affinity with that of Rembrandt.

X-radiographic investigation

In a letter dated 30 July 1982, Gregory Martin of Christie's London informed us that the X-radiograph shows a pentimento along the upper contour of the cap. This confirmed what was suspected from the photographs of the paint surface: that the contour of Rembrandt's cap had been altered, possibly by the author of the painting. This repentir is already recorded in the mezzotint of P. Louw in the 18th century (see fig. 3).

Signature

In the top right corner, missing from fig. 1, the inscription < *Rembrandt* > can be discerned (fig. 2). Although the letter-type and 'typography' of this inscription broadly correspond with Rembrandt's own signature, the rather unsteady, piecemeal appearance of the individual letters and the way the letters are placed in relation to one another rules out any possibility that we are dealing here with an authentic signature. If our suspicion is correct that the painting has been drastically reduced in size, this inscription must have been added after the reduction.

2. Comments

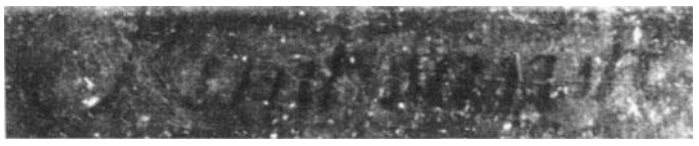
When this painting was auctioned in 1927 it fetched a relatively high price, undoubtedly because it was at that time considered by such art historians as Martin, Schmidt-Degener and Van Rijckevorsel to be an authentic self-portrait by Rembrandt. Bredius, however, did not include it in his oeuvre catalogue of 1935. The painting thereafter rapidly sunk into oblivion. It is not so surprising that it should have been long considered a work by Rembrandt. That it is an old painting is documented by a mezzotint by Pieter Louw from the second half of the 18th century (fig. 3). The overall material aspect and the traces of ageing (as far as can be inferred from the photograph) correspond with what one would expect in this regard of a painting from Rembrandt's time. Given these facts, since the painting shows Rembrandt's head in a way that is strongly reminiscent of the *Self-portrait at the easel* in Paris (IV 19) – while at the same time there are such significant differences in the proportions of the head and in the cap and clothing that it can scarcely be a copy of that painting – it must have seemed a reasonable inference that one was dealing with an authentic Rembrandt self-portrait from the period around 1660. If one further bears in mind the then prevalent notion that Rembrandt's self-portraits were highly intimate documents of self-scrutiny, this conclusion must have been almost inevitable.

Following Bredius' rejection, we know of no explicit reason why no-one else wanted to take up the question of the painting's authenticity. Presumably a role was played by the fact that the head, its position and physiognomy, hairstyle and its lighting in the present painting are so similar to the Paris painting that a strong dependence on the latter could hardly be denied. The comparison, however, also shows strikingly the peculiarity of the proportions in the present painting, in particular the low forehead and the inadequate room for the skull in the white cap. Furthermore, comparison of the handling of the paint in the two paintings clearly shows how much weaker and more hesitant this is in the present painting.

Fig. 1. Canvas 50.2 x 38.7 cm



Fig. 2. Detail with signature

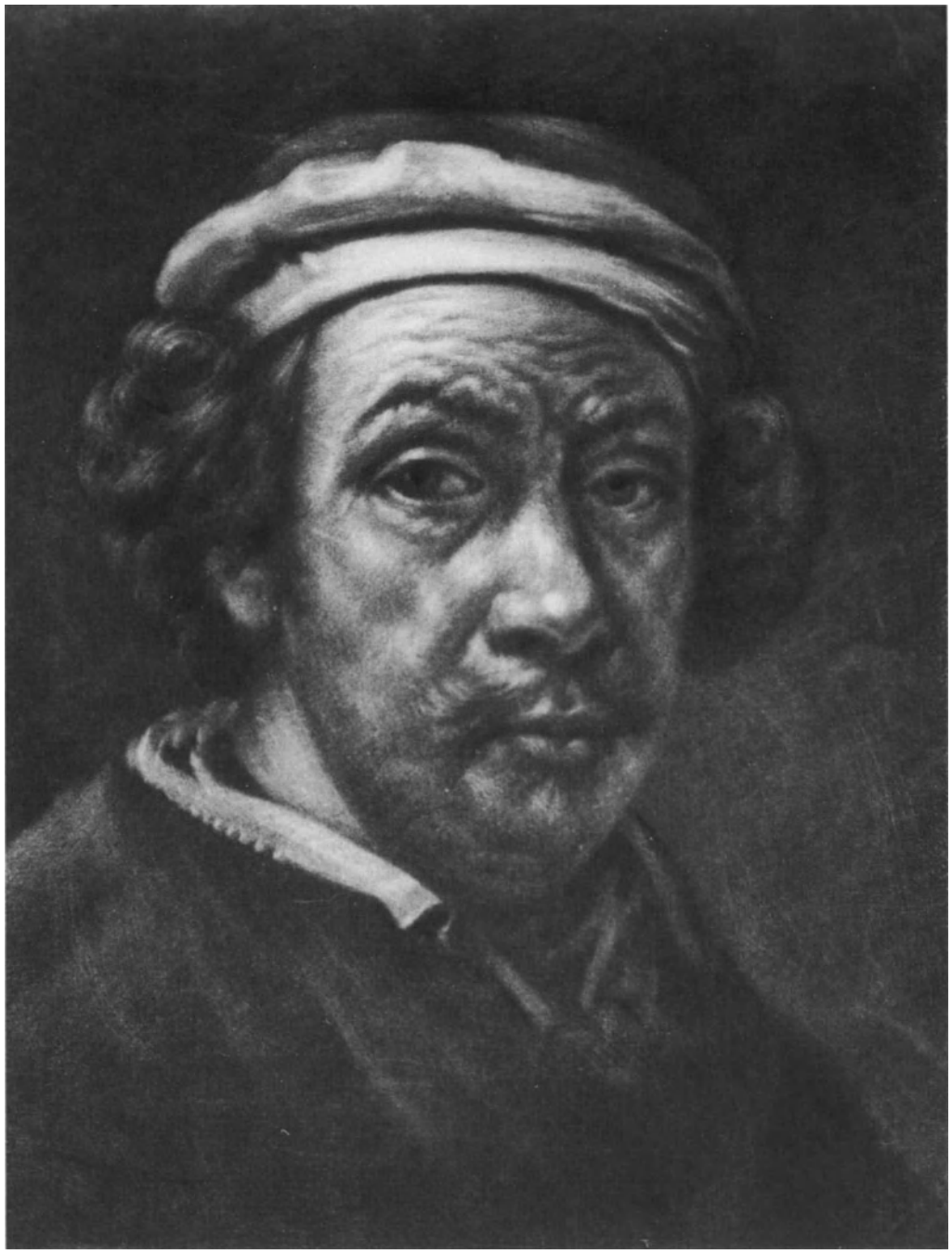


These arguments are sufficient for us to exclude the possibility that we could be dealing here with an autograph work by Rembrandt. We raise the question here, however, because we believe that it belongs to the category of free studio variants, as we have proposed in this book (see p. 129, Table D). For the reasons discussed above, we seem to be looking here at a variant after the Paris *Self-portrait* from 1660, which we also believe to be the case with that painting in Melbourne dealt with under IV 21. The two variants were obviously executed by different hands.

3. Documents and sources

None.

Fig. 3. Mezzotint by P. Louw (reproduced in reverse)



4. Graphic reproductions

1. Mezzotint attributed to Pieter Louw (1720? – Amsterdam shortly before 1800) (Charrington no. 10) (fig. 3).

5. Copies

None.

6. Provenance[2]

- Art dealer T. Sabin, c. 1927.
- Amsterdam, art dealer De Boer, c. 1932.
- Coll. Sir John Crompton, Inglefield.
- Sale London (Christie's) 17-12-1982, no. 141 with ill. (to Leggatt).

NOTES

1. J.L.A.A.M. van Rijckevorsel used it as the frontispiece in his *Rembrandt en de traditie*, Rotterdam 1932.
2. Sales catalogue Christie's, London, 17-12-1982, no. 141.

IV 24 Self-portrait as St Paul

1661

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM, INV. NO. A 4050

HDG 575; BR. 59; BAUCH 338; GERSON 403; TÜMPEL 175

1. Introduction and description

The fact that Rembrandt depicted himself as the apostle Paul in this picture has been the source of much speculation in the Rembrandt literature. This entry further examines the painting's meaning, analyses its pictorial characteristics, and places it within the context of Rembrandt's oeuvre and his ideas on the art of painting.

Rembrandt shows himself half-length, his body turned to the right and almost *en profile*. His head is turned to the viewer, at whom he looks out from beneath raised eyebrows. He holds a partly rolled-up manuscript, evidently with both hands. The rolled-up part is sheathed with a leather binding or cover. Over a white shirt and a dark brown doublet with a turned up collar he wears a dark brown robe that is open at the front. Clutched under his left arm at the chest is the hilt of a sword. He has a moustache, and under his lower lip is a small tuft of hair. On either side of the head, curling, grey hair spills out from under a white and yellow cloth wound as a turban. The figure is set against a partially illuminated, seemingly weathered wall, where a barred frame can be discerned with some difficulty in the shadow at the right. Given the division of light and shade on the face, the light falling on the figure from the left must enter steeply.

Working conditions

The painting was examined on numerous occasions and under various conditions (P.B., M.F., K.G., E.v.d.W., M.d.W.). The most extensive analysis conducted under ideal conditions took place in the conservation department of the Rijksmuseum when the painting was restored in 1990-1991. The X-radiograph and a binocular microscope were used. Eight samples of the ground and of the paint were taken.

Support

Canvas, lined, 93.2 x 79.1 cm. Single piece. Vague cusping can be discerned along the left, top and bottom edges. It extends into the canvas from app. 7 to 10 cm to app. 16.5 cm at the left; it is between 7 and 8.5 cm long and extends app. 7.5 cm into the canvas at the top; and is between 7 and 9 cm long and extends app. 9 cm into the canvas at the bottom. Vague distortions (evidently secondary cusping, the length of which cannot be measured) are visible along the right edge up to a maximum of 2 cm from the edge.

Thread count: app. 12.7 vertical threads/cm (12-13); 11.4 horizontal threads/cm (11-12). Because the spread of the threads is very regular and both the vertical and the horizontal threads display similar thickenings, it is difficult to establish which are the weft and which the warp threads. One of the horizontal threads appears to have snapped, which could indicate that the weft is horizontal.

All around are scratchmarks that were apparently applied in the still wet paint by the painter (see *Paint layer* and *2. Comments*).

Ground

Analysis of paint samples reveals that the top ground is grey in colour and consists of two layers: first a layer with red ochre and a large amount of chalk and medium, then a layer of lead white with brown ochre, bone black and a little chalk (*Table of Grounds* III, pp. 668-669).

The ground is visible in the scratchmarks mentioned in *Support* and *Paint layer*, and in areas of wearing in the background.

Paint layer

Condition: The condition of the paint layer is generally good. Some local paint loss can be seen in the X-radiograph, for instance along the left and right edges, near the forehead and in the background around the turban. There are only two relatively large areas of damage. One is a 10 cm long, horizontal fissure right across the nose, with an app. 5.5 cm loss of paint. A vertical, dark spot in the X-radiograph represents paint loss in the illuminated section of the manuscript. The pastose parts, namely the highest lights on the forehead and the nose, are slightly flattened. The paint layer in the background at the right and below in the brown robe is slightly worn and appears to be blanched. Comparison of a paint sample from the relevant part of the clothing with one from a comparable area that does not display this phenomenon, showed that the surface of the first sample had a far more open structure with 'loose' material, while the second sample was smoother and had no 'loose' material. Accordingly, the grey haze originated from scattered light on the paint surface and one can indeed speak of blanching in this instance.

The removal of thick, discoloured and cracked varnish layers and overpainting during the restoration of 1990-1991 not only uncovered a scratched-in framing line (discussed in *2. Comments)*, but also a new element crucial for the iconographical interpretation of the painting. A summarily indicated barred window with a semi-circular top and a slanting sill emerged from under the black pigmented varnish layer covering the background in the upper right corner.

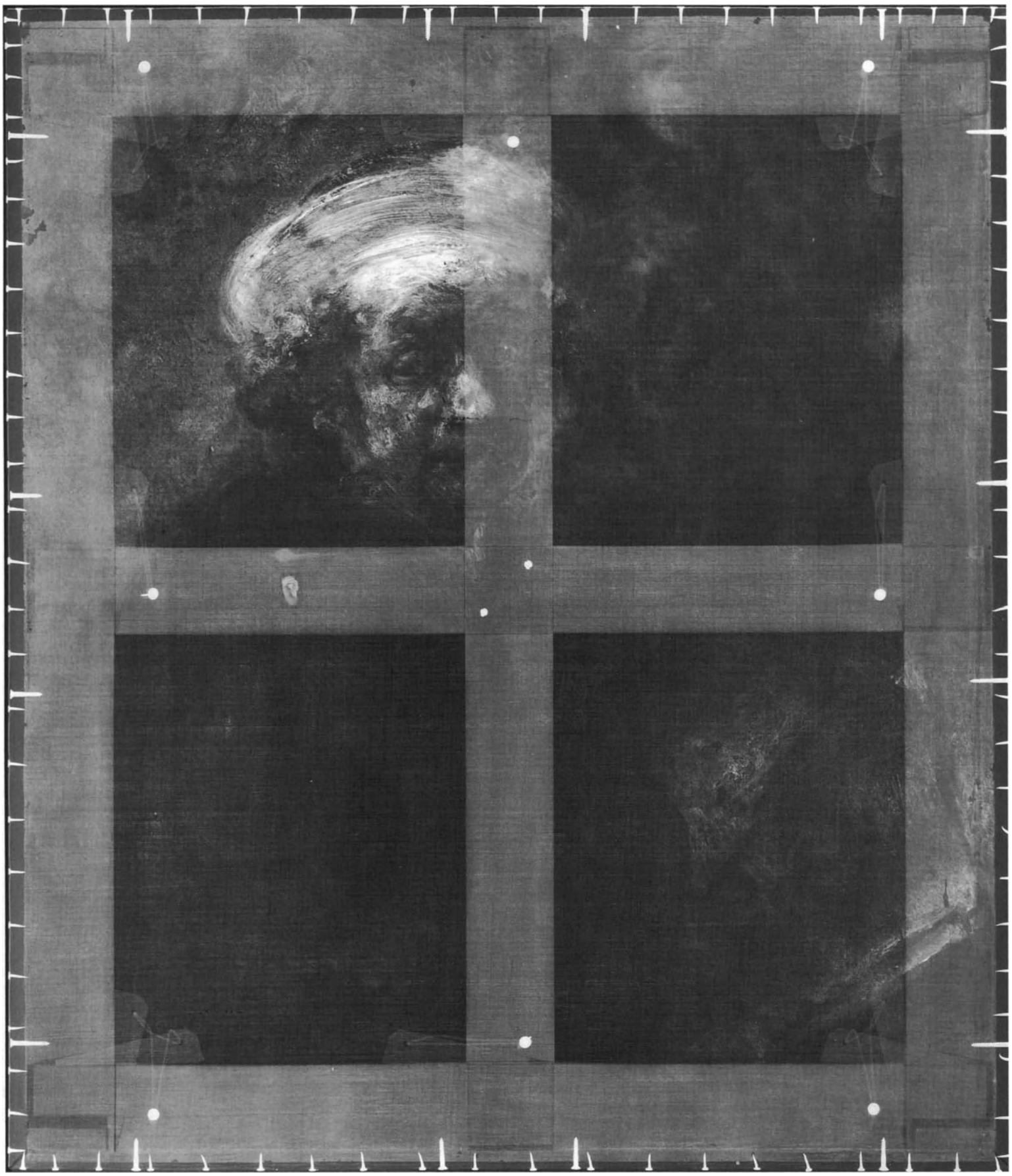
Craquelure: Distributed over the entire paint surface is an irregular pattern of craquelure that is characteristic for a painting on canvas.

In addition to the bright highlights that probably belong to the dead colour stage mentioned in *Radiography*, other parts of the painting seem to have been prepared with a local imprimatura. The use of such underlying layers, which have little or nothing to do with the colour of the final layer of paint, is also encountered in other late works by Rembrandt.[1] Some black paint shines through the white paint along the top edge of the turban. In turn, this black paint appears to have been applied over the grey of the background. The black paint layer could be part of a local imprimatura. A grey-pink layer can be seen on top of the ground in one of the paint samples taken from the brown robe. It probably functioned as the underpainting for the robe, which would explain the reddish tint shining through locally in that area.

Fig. 1. Canvas 93.2 x 79.1 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 312



Fig. 2. X-Ray



Examining the paint surface, one has the impression that the painting was done wet-in-wet, very directly and with great speed. Moreover, the colour scheme is rich and varied in the face, and in the clothing and background. In these respects, it is one of Rembrandt's most painterly late works. The question of whether it was indeed, painted wet-in-wet and thus produced in a single session cannot be answered with certainty. At first sight, this does appear to be the case for the turban, where one can clearly see how the various white, yellow, greyish and creme-like tints are laid over or spread into one another so that the paint relief of the underlying layers is churned. Three layers were observed in one of the paint samples taken from the yellow stroke of paint in the turban; the upper layer revealed a mixture of yellow ochre and lead white that was applied over a layer containing more lead white which, in turn, was done wet-in-wet over a layer containing only lead white. This bottom layer possibly correlates with radioabsorbent underpainting locally visible in the X-radiograph. Along the left contour of the turban and at the right near the shaded part of this head covering can be clearly seen how the paint overlaps the background paint (sometimes in a grazing manner), from which it may be assumed that the light-grey tints of the lit part of the wall behind the figure and the dark grey of the shaded part were present when the turban was completed. The opposite appears to be the case along the top edge of the turban, where the grey of the background locally overlaps the turban. In this passage are small ochrish strokes, placed at an angle to the contour, and painted over the above-mentioned black underlayer. However, reconstruction of the sequence of the execution of this passage is relatively complicated. A slender, light stroke, which first seems to be part of the complex of strokes completing the turban is partly covered with ochre. One could conclude that the dark top edge of the turban is not only a remnant of an earlier phase of the painting, but was consciously retained and locally elaborated by the painter.

The light strokes in the lit curls seem to have been worked out in the same phase as the turban. A similar wealth of colour is also evident here – grey, ochre, yellow and reddish brown with whitish highlights – and have been applied over an earlier version of the hair. However, the various phases of that working process are difficult to distinguish. The hair may largely have been done in a single go, with some white highlights, accents, and almost graphic details applied in the final phase of the work. Such strokes occur in the hair, as well as (though with black paint) in the face and the clothes. These dark, final accents include the little line on the raised left eyebrow, the nostril on the lit side, and dark streaks near the mouth and the moustache as well as the swiftly laid lines indicating the shoulder seam and the sleeve inset of the gown. One wonders, too, whether the black strokes in the collar and along the opening of the robe also belong to this final stage. The strong pink highlights on the cheek-bone, on the nose and on the upper eyelid were also added in a late stage of the work.

The shaded parts of the face exhibit a remarkable tonal variety. Modelling is achieved with reddish, yellowish and greyish tints for the shading, which suggest a complex play of reflections. The colouration of the cool tints normally found in the lit part of the face, near the jawline next to the ear and below, is here a striking mix of greenish, blue-grey and violet-like hues alternating with brownish flesh tones and even orange. The brushwork is as diverse as the colour scheme: pastose licks, thin, glaze-like streaks or swiftly dotted strokes, as in the forehead where they have been applied in close succession, greatly enliven the paint surface. The diversity of the colour scheme and the handling of the paint in the face seems endless and defies classification.

The great variety of colour also extends to the clothes. In places, the brown of the robe tends towards green, or violet tints, for example in the sleeve, or even tints shading into grey. It should be noted that the relatively extensive blanching of the paint of the sleeve and chest affects the appearance of these places. The robe displays a rapid, almost casual handling of paint with small hatched strokes for local details, such as the trim of the doublet. The brown tint of the robe in the turned half of the body is surprisingly strong. Here, lighter brown reflections contribute significantly to the play of contrasts and tonal relationships with the background. In places, the brushstrokes of the robe overlap the grip of the hilt of the sword, indicating that this curiously sketchy and casually executed attribute is not a later addition. Some plastic structure is introduced in the diffuse shapes of the clothing by means of dark black contours brushed over pink and grey tints. The powerful line of shadow along the thumb serves a comparable role, and causes the hand with the rolled up part of the manuscript to project more: an effect which is enhanced by the grey highlight on the leather cover of the manuscript.

Like the other parts of the painting, the background exhibits a host of muted colours ranging from cool grey to reddish with a dark underlayer shining through.

Small specks and flakes of brilliant yellow paint scattered throughout the paint surface were mixed in the paint of the background and deliberately applied. The authors of the Rijksmuseum restoration report, drawn up after the painting was treated in 1990-1991, believe that in his late period Rembrandt added such specks in order to avoid the monotony of more or less monochrome surfaces.[2] Similar colour accents, though not as specks, are also found in paintings by Titian. Relying on information acquired from Titian's pupil Jacopo Palma Giovane (1544-1628), Boschini reports in 1664 that Titian 'enlivened a surface' by adding 'a smudge of red, like a drop of blood.'[3] Rembrandt may well have been familiar with such studio practices via word of mouth before Boschini published them. Similar specks were found – though to a lesser degree – in the *Young Capuchin monk* of 1660 (Br. 306) and in *The denial of Peter* (Br. 594) both in Amsterdam, where pinkish and red specks of colour are mixed into the paint respectively. Analysis of the specks in the present painting and of the *Young Capuchin monk* reveals a mixture of a very fine iron oxide pigment (ochre) with a trace of titanium as a natural ingredient. Comparable

yellow, brown and reddish specks were found in the *Self-portrait at the easel* of 1660 in Paris (IV 19). Another possible explanation for the presence of such specks is discussed in the entry on the latter painting.

Scratched-in lines running along the four edges of the painting were discovered during the most recent restoration. In the past, they must have been experienced as disturbing and were painted over. Martin Bijl, formerly the chief restorer of the Rijksmuseum, discovered these scratchmarks while removing the overpainting. He demonstrated that they were a framing-line introduced by the painter at an advanced stage of the painting process. The scratchmarks appear to have been made with a blunt implement (the butt end of a brush, for example) in the locally still wet paint. The dark paint was scratched away to the red ground, while the more quickly drying light paint, namely in the background above and in the manuscript, was left largely intact. According to Bijl, the scratches, therefore, must have been made one or two days after completion of the pages of the manuscript and the background (see 2. *Comments*).

Radiography

The X-ray image largely agrees with what one would expect from the paint surface. The lit part of the forehead, the nose and the headcloth show up light. The dark zone along the top edge of the turban indicates that it is only partially reserved in the background. The reserve ends near the right part of the lit turban. The long brushstrokes of lead white retaining paint belonging to the turban overlie a cloudy shape not visible on the surface, which may have been one of the light parts of an underpainting. A light spot in a rectangular frame does not appear to be related to the painting process; it most probably relates to the stretcher.

Signature

At the left in the background, near the shoulder in dark paint: <*Rembrandt.f./1661*>. The loop of the *f* is connected to the first *1* of the date. The signature may have been strengthened with black paint. The shape of the *R* is atypical.

2. Comments

Like the Cologne *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* (IV 25), the painting under discussion is so exceptional among Rembrandt's other self-portraits that one must question whether it was, properly speaking, intended as a self-portrait. This question seems obvious, given the attributes with which Rembrandt depicted himself. They, together with the illumination and Rembrandt's unusual facial expression, contribute to the work's exceptional character.

The light falling virtually from above grazes over Rembrandt's features, chiefly illuminating the rounding of the forehead, the cheekbone, the nose and the part of the lip above the moustache. Also unusually strongly lit are the upper and lower eyelid of the eye at the left. Along with the right half of the face, which as usual is turned away from the light, much of the face remains in shadow,

Fig. 3. Detail with signature (reduced)



including the chin and a large part of the cheek. Noteworthy is that the furrowed lower part of the rounded forehead is largely in shadow. Obviously, the physiognomy is influenced by this unusual illumination. However, the remarkable facial expression also plays a role here. Rembrandt depicted himself with eyebrows raised so high as to produce pronounced wrinkles in the forehead, in a way that is not found in any of the master's other self-portraits. The expression is reminiscent of his early etched studies of facial expressions (B. 8, 10, 13, 316 and 320). There, too, one finds a forceful expression deforming Rembrandt's face combined with a striking 'likeness'. The first impression is that the wrinkling in the forehead indicates surprise, or startlement. In his treatise of 1682, Goeree, indeed, indicates that 'when in painting one wants to depict an expression of astonishment, the wrinkles on the forehead must be raised from the middle'.[4] On the very same page, Goeree gives yet another possible interpretation for this facial expression, namely that 'Een Rimpelachtig Voor-Hoofd geeft meest altijd d'overdenking van veel groote dingen te kennen' (a wrinkled forehead almost always suggests the pondering of many weighty matters). The apostle in Rembrandt's earlier *St Paul in prison* of 1627 in Stuttgart (I A 11; fig. 4), has a similar facial expression. The fact that Paul is shown with his hand cupping his chin could mean that 'd'overdenking' (the pondering) here, and therefore perhaps also in the Amsterdam painting (fig. 5), is the central motif (for further remarks concerning the painting's possible meaning, see below).

As the scratchmarks along the edges of the image allow certainty as to Rembrandt's intentions with regard to the placement of the figure within the framing-line, in this case we can safely analyse compositional subtleties as well as other pictorial features of the painting. First, comparing this work with ones from the 1630s, we see that Rembrandt's views on the alternation of light and dark between the figure and the background have changed. While the early Rembrandt still set the lit parts of the figure against the dark part of the background, and the dark parts against the light section of the background, he later reversed this procedure. In the present painting, lit parts of the turban, the hair and the shoulder border on the lit part of the background, and the shaded parts of the face and torso are set against the shaded part of the background. With the exception of the face dominated by

Fig. 4. Rembrandt, *St Paul in prison*, 1627, detail. Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie

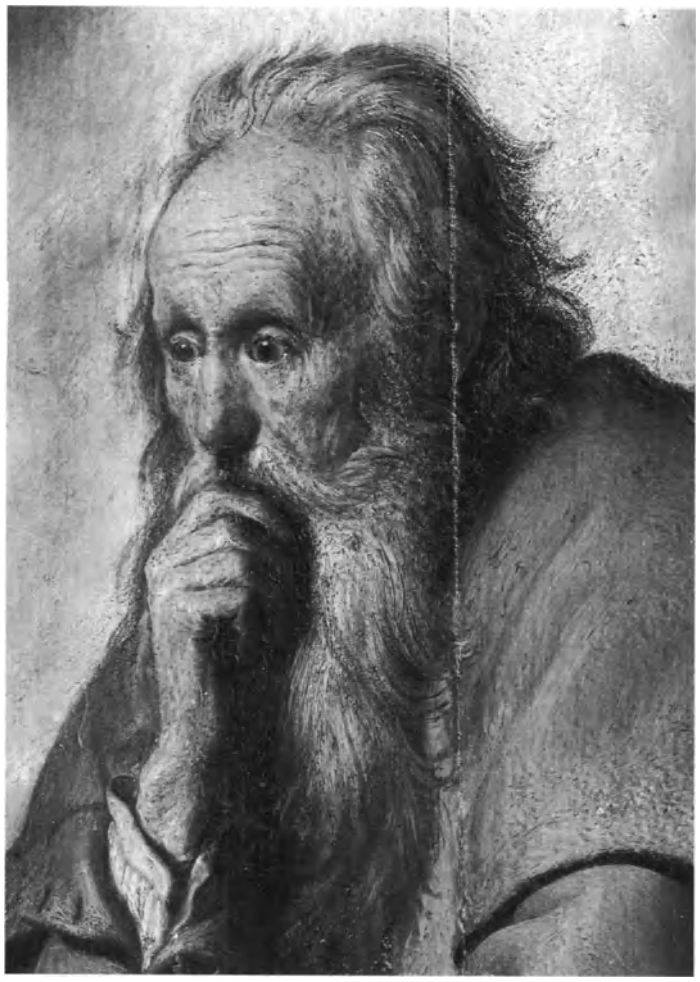


Fig. 5. Detail



strong contrasts of light and dark, only a few (modest) contrasts have been introduced because of this handling of the light: for example, to the left of the neck, at the right near the collar and in a few places near the manuscript. Just how deliberately Rembrandt varied this interplay between the figure and the background is evidenced by the subtle variation in the illumination around the manuscript. In this painting, Rembrandt undoubtedly consciously followed the principle of 'bevriende kleuren' (related colours), about which Rembrandt's pupil, Samuel van Hoogstraten, wrote that paintings with 'harsh contrasts of light and dark [...] resemble chess boards. [...] I therefore advise you to not jumble light areas and shadows too much, but instead order them aptly in groups; allow your strongest lights to amicably accompany your lesser lights, I assure you, that they will shine forth gloriously; allow your deepest darks to be surrounded by lighter darks, so that they will make the power of the light stand out all the more powerfully.'[5] Accordingly, this painting – unlike his other self-portraits – acquires characteristics akin to those Rembrandt was reaching for in his history pieces.

Thanks to the framing of the scene we also know with certainty that Rembrandt cut off the lower arm with the hand as well as the rolled-up part of the manuscript. As a result, they partially disappear behind the frame, as it were. This manner of truncating occurs more frequently in Rembrandt's late work. And, he wielded this technique with increasing boldness in his late portraits (compare, for example, the *Portrait of a white-haired man* of 1667 in Melbourne, Br. 323, and the *Portrait of an elderly man* in The Hague, Br.-Gerson 323A).

The reasons underlying this manner of composing could not be established on the basis of written sources. In any case, the scratched-in lines testify to Rembrandt's preoccupation with a compositional means of cropping. This may have been linked to ideas about enhancing illusionism in a situation – such as generally occurs in the late Rembrandt – in which the *peinture* and the manner of detailing initially seem to contradict his obvious aim of creating a convincing illusion of reality.[6]

The fact that the cusping in this work is so vague on three sides of the canvas may be taken as an indication that it was larger in its original primed state. The hypothesis that the painting was also conceived and executed on a larger scale by Rembrandt himself therefore deserves consideration. Should this be the case, the scratched-in framing-line would mean that Rembrandt must have decided to reduce it to its present dimensions. Such an intervention can be seen in a few early etchings, such as B. 66 and 165. The self-portrait under discussion would then constitute the first painting in which such an intervention, by Rembrandt himself, is documented with a fair degree of probability.

The painting was simply considered a self-portrait in the art-historical literature until 1919, when Schmidt-Degener – on the basis of the vaguely visible sword and

the manuscript – posited that Rembrandt had depicted himself as the apostle Paul, an interpretation that has generally been accepted ever since.[7] As an attribute, the sword refers to Paul's execution with this weapon, or to the metaphorical 'sword of the spirit' mentioned by Paul in his epistles (Ephesians 5:8).[8] The second traditional attribute is a Bible in the form of a bound book, which symbolises the word of God, or the epistles written by the apostle himself, frequently in the form of a scroll.[9] That Rembrandt has depicted himself holding a partially rolled-up manuscript makes it likely that he intended to portray himself as the apostle Paul with the epistles.

Because of their angular shapes, the otherwise difficult to distinguish characters on the manuscript are vaguely reminiscent of Hebrew script, though none can actually be identified as such (fig. 6). Van Thiel suggested that the word at the upper left consists of six Hebraised Latin letters ending with SIS.[10] Given that the first and the third letter appear to be identical, Van Thiel theorised that the word might be EFESIS. This would mean that Rembrandt wanted to portray the apostle Paul with the epistles to the Ephesians. However, due to the difficulty of reading the word EFESIS from the indistinct letters, Van Thiel's theory has never been seriously addressed in the art-historical literature.

The barred window in the section of the wall in shadow that was uncovered during the restoration of 1990-1991 does, however, lend support to Van Thiel's hypothesis, as will be demonstrated. This discovery allows the scene depicted to be identified as Paul's confinement in prison. Thus, there is an iconographical link between the present painting and Rembrandt's *St Paul in prison* of 1627 (I A 11) in Stuttgart. As outlined in the *Corpus* entry on the Stuttgart painting, Paul's imprisonment was rarely depicted in painting. The entry also described that Paul was imprisoned four times: in Phillipi, in Caesarea and twice in Rome. Moreover, the possibility was introduced that in depicting this subject Rembrandt may have been referring to imprisonment in a figurative sense. Paul refers to himself as the prisoner of the Lord most particularly in his epistles to the Ephesians (thought to have been written during his house arrest in Rome in about 61-62 AD)[11], such as in Ephesians 3:1: 'For this cause I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles...,' and in Ephesians 4:1: 'I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord...'[12] For this reason, Van Thiel's hypothesis that Rembrandt presented himself in this painting as Paul with the epistles to the Ephesians deserves serious consideration.

Schmidt-Degener thought that the painting was part of a series of apostles, among which he also counted the paintings dated 1661 of the so-called *Christ* in New York (Br. 629), the so-called *Mary* in Épinal (Br. 397), the *Apostle James* in a private American collection (Br. 617), the *Evangelist Matthew* in Paris (Br. 614) and *Apostle Bartholomew* in Malibu (Br. 615).[13] In addition to the related subject matter of these paintings, their more or less identical compositional scheme, the scale of the figures and the fact that they are depicted half-length, their virtually identical dimensions represent important arguments in favour of this supposition.

Fig. 6. Detail (1:4)



Series of apostles and evangelists belonged to a widespread tradition. Numerous 16th- and 17th-century engravers and painters made such series.[14] As Van Mander relates, such series even existed in the form of *portraits-historiés*, such as the portrait of Rutger Jansz. as the apostle Paul by Cornelis Ketel, to which the painter added another five paintings, thus creating a series of repentant sinners and converts from the Old and New Testaments.[15] Moreover, according to Van Mander, Ketel painted a series of *tronies* or heads of Christ and the twelve apostles based on portraits of other painters and art lovers.[16]

In 1920 Valentiner elaborated upon Schmidt-Degener's hypothesis that the painting was part of a larger series of apostles of more than ten half-length figures.[17] He also suggested that such sizeable series could have been commissioned by a church.[18]

The assumption that the present *Self-portrait as St Paul* belonged to a series of paintings of apostles and evangelists was adopted by subsequent authors.[19] Tümpel, who believed that the series proposed by Schmidt-Degener and Valentiner was incomplete, or incorrectly composed, even added a number of other half-length apostles and evangelists to it.[20] Curiously, the fact that the series then included more than one painting of a single saint (there are several paintings of Paul and Matthew) posed no problem for him.

For the sake of the discussion of the 'series' hypothesis, it is important to note that there are no known documents confirming that Rembrandt was commissioned to paint such a series, or even the existence of such a series by the artist.

Gerson pointed out that the quality and the style of the

Fig. 7. Copy 7.



pictures ascribed to this supposed series differ substantially.[21] While the variation in quality could, perhaps, be explained by Rembrandt calling on the assistance of members of his workshop in the production of such a series, it is difficult to clarify why the provenances of the paintings are all unrelated. Given that no more than a single painting of a saint or an apostle by Rembrandt ever appears in the various inventories, Chapman rightly concluded that these works were most likely made and sold independently.[22]

The exhibition *Rembrandt's late religious portraits* (at the National Gallery, Washington, 30 January - 1 May 2005) gave us occasion to investigate the present painting with Melanie Gifford of the National Gallery in Washington. We discovered that the size of the 'image size' of the present painting, marked with scratches in paint that had not yet dried (see above under *Paint layer*) appeared to correspond to the image size – indicated with freely painted black borders – of five other Apostle paintings, all of which are dated 1661 and all executed in the same remarkably swift manner as the present painting: the Louvre *St Matthew* (Br. 614), the Getty *St Bartholomew* (Br. 615), the Zurich *St Simon* (Br. 616A), the New York *St James Minor* (or *Christ*) (Br. 629) and the *St James Major* in a private collection (Br. 617). During this investigation we also became convinced that all six paintings were painted by the same hand, by Rembrandt. These observations do support the surmise that these six paintings belonged to a single series.

Quite apart from the issue of whether the present painting belonged to a series, it occupies an unusual place among the half-length figures of apostles and other saints because Rembrandt used his own features rather than those of an anonymous model for Paul. The interesting question this then raises is whether the painting was primarily intended as a depiction of the apostle Paul or as a self-portrait.

One could suppose, like De Vries, that Rembrandt simply saw himself as an inexpensive and patient model for this painting, and that it should not, therefore, be considered primarily as a self-portrait.[23] This notion, however, is simply not tenable: Rembrandt's appearance in this *Self-portrait* deviates significantly in a number of respects from the way in which Paul was traditionally depicted. More specifically, Rembrandt did not attune his facial features to those usually given to the apostle. Paul is always shown with a bald forehead and a long beard, which is how Rembrandt portrayed him in the painting of 1627 mentioned above. That Rembrandt presents his own beardless face must mean that he considered it important for his features to be recognisable in this *Self-portrait.* Accordingly, this painting may be a (self-)*portrait historié* and not, as De Vries conjectured, a portrayal of Paul for which Rembrandt used himself as the model for purely practical reasons.

Such a portrait type is not unique in Rembrandt's oeuvre: we see it earlier in his 1659 *Portrait of a man as St Paul* in London (Br. 297). Just as in the *Self-portrait as St Paul*, the identification of the man as Paul in this portrait is only possible on the basis of the traditional attributes, namely the sword and the book. This work, too, appears to be a *portrait historié*, though of an unknown sitter. That there was a certain tradition for a *portrait historié* as Paul can be inferred from Van Mander's remark in the abovementioned biography of Cornelis Ketel that in 1587 the latter was commissioned to paint a portrait of the Amsterdam mystic Rutger Jansz. as a 'opsiende Paulus' (Paul looking up).[24] Moreover, painters in Rembrandt's circle depicted themselves as evangelists, including Barent Fabritius in his half-length *Self-portrait as St John* of *c.* 1660 in Munich[25] and that by Willem Drost as the same evangelist of 1655-60.[26]

Rembrandt's choice to make a self-portrait of himself as the apostle Paul is unusual. We know of one other mention of such a self-portrait, namely a small oval by Anthonis Mor of his own likeness in the guise of the apostle Paul listed in the 1682 inventory of the Antwerp merchant Diego Duarte.[27] The unusual lighting and the outspoken expression with the raised eyebrows in the present painting engenders a physiognomy that is not encountered in unmistakable self-portraits of the same period, for example works in which Rembrandt depicted himself as a painter. Curiously, Rembrandt also showed himself with raised eyebrows, though laughing, in his other self-*portrait historié*, the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* in Cologne (IV 25).

Just why Rembrandt chose to portray himself as the apostle Paul has been the subject of much attention in the literature. Some authors, including Tümpel and Chapman, believed that the painter must have had a deep,

personal involvement with this particular apostle. Tümpel postulated that in identifying with Paul, Rembrandt intended to acknowledge the imperfection of his life and his dependence on God's mercy.[28] In line with this, Chapman interpreted the painting, in our opinion too freely, as 'the culmination of his confessional statements of his faith.' She continued, 'but Paul also provided profound inspiration for Rembrandt's artistic self, for Paul's religious genius, embodying as it did the extremes of near-godly ecstasy and earthbound humility.'[29]

Just as Peter is considered to be the most important apostle by Catholics, his counterpart Paul became equally important for the Protestants during the Reformation. The 'rechtvaardigingsleer' or doctrine of the justification by faith based on Paul's epistles and which held that man is absolved from sin through faith alone (*Sola Fide*) became extremely popular within the reformatory movement of the 16th- and 17th century. According to Paul, belief in Christ was more important than keeping to the letter of (biblical) laws. Because of this, in the 17th century he was perceived as the most important and most universal of Christ's apostles, particularly by the Protestants.

It is tempting to see a correlation between Rembrandt's personal vision of faith and Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 3), where he called for people to believe in Christ but not to adhere to any one movement preached by a mortal (like himself), because this would only sow dissent among the Christians.[30] Although we know of no texts that demonstrate the currency of this association in the 17th century, this passage could have evoked associations at the time with contemporary conflicts between the adherents of the various movements within Christianity.[31]

In connection with the question of whether the painting should be interpreted primarily as a self-portrait or a depiction of Paul, it is worth noting that in the earliest mention of the work it is described as a self-portrait. The painting may have found its way as such into a prominent collection shortly after completion. The 1696 inventory of the renowned collection of the banker Eberhard Jabach in Paris lists a 'Portrait of Rembrandt, with a white cloth around his head, half-length figure large as life, by himself' (see 6. *Provenance*), a description which fits the present painting. The first secure mention of the painting is in the inventory of Cardinal Neri Corsini's collection, drawn up prior to 1750, in which it is described as 'Il proprio Ritratto di Reimbrant', and as having been purchased from a widow named 'Whleugel'.[32] The latter is Marie-Thérèse Gosset, widow of the painter Nicolas Vleughels (1668-1737), a Parisian though originally from the Southern Netherlands, who had been the director of the French Academy in Rome.[33] Vleughels travelled regularly to Paris, where he could have acquired this *Self-portrait*.[34]

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 294 ff.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

1. Engraving by Giuseppe Longhi (Monza 1766-Milan 1831) of 1799, when the painting was in the Palazzo Corsini in Rome. Inscribed: *Rembrandt pinxit Joseph Longhi sc. Med.*[ni] – Rembrantii Effigies/ Ex Archetypo extanti in aedibus Corsiniis Romae. On the manuscript: *Rembrandt . f/ Longhi sc./ 1799.*
2. Mezzotint by Charles Turner (1773-1857) in 1809 in: *The Kinnaird Collection or Cabinet Picture Gallery*, London 1809, pl. 2. Inscribed: *Rembrandt. A Portrait of himself. Brought from the collection of the Corsini family at Rome by Mr Buchannan. 3' by 2'6 1/8. Pub*[d]*. Jan. 2. 1809.*

5. Copies

1. Copy by Joshua Reynolds made on 20 April 1750 in Rome; present whereabouts unknown.[35]
2. According to HdG a copy is in Riga, Museum of Fine Arts, cat. 1899, no. 187.[36]
3. Canvas 95 x 71 cm; sale Comte de la Ferrières, Paris (Drouot), 2 December 1912, no. 36 as after Rembrandt.[37]
4. Canvas 60 x 48 cm; sale Hahn, Frankfurt am Main 5 April 1936 as Rembrandt school, catalogue 17 March 1936, no. 134. A rather primitive 18th- or early 19th-century copy.
5. Canvas 97 x 72.5 cm; this presumably 18th-century copy was in the Rotini y Cía collection, Seville in 1964.
6. Copy by Enrique Valdivieso, sale J. de Muñoz de Ortiz of Valencia; sale Berlin 12 December 1911, no. 74. Presumably an 18th-century copy.
7. Canvas 62.5 x 48 cm; Turin, Galleria Sabauda, inv.no. 575 (fig. 7). Until 1864 it was in the collection of the marquesses Tancredi and Giullietta Falletti di Barolo, Turin.[38]

According to Magnanimi, there is a copy in the House of Representatives in Rome (canvas 64.5 x 48 cm, inv. no. 341).[39] This painting, however, is not a copy of IV 24 but of the Rembrandt school painting *Bust of a man with a plumed cap and gorget* (Br. 192), in The Detroit Institute of Art (see Vol. III, p. 631, fig. 4).

6. Provenance

*– Possibly coll. Eberhard Jabach. The inventory of this collection, drawn up in Paris on 17 July 1696, mentions: 'nr. 123 Portrait de Rimbrands, ayant un linge blanc autour de sa teste, 1/2 figure grande comme le naturel, de luy-mesme. 100 liv[res].'[40]

*– Coll. Nicolas Vleughels in Rome. According to the inventory of Cardinal Neri Corsini (1685-1770), purchased before 1750 for 100 scudi from Marie-Thérèse Gosset, the widow of Vleughels: *Inventario dei quadri comprati coi proprii denari avventizii dall'Emo Sig:*[r] Cardinal Neri Maria Corsini (before 1750) no. 15: 'Dalla Vedova Wleughel. Il proprio Ritratto di Reimbrant s[cudi] 100.' (see notes 32 and 33)

– Coll. Corsini. Mentioned in the *Inventario di tutti i quadri* of Palazzo Corsini, drawn up in 1750. In the 'Galleria' as no. 164: 'Il Ritratto di Reimbrant di sua mano. comprato sc[udi] 100. Comprato da Madama Wleughles'.

– Palazzo Corsini in Rome until 1807.

According to a note on an inserted piece of old stretcher, the painting was taken to England in the summer of 1807 by the London art dealer William Buchanan.[41] According to his memoires, he sold the painting for 500 guineas.[42]

– Coll. Lord Charles Kinnaird, Rossie Priory near Dundee, before 1809. By descent in the family until 1936.

– Coll. J.G. de Bruijn, Muri, Switzerland. On 28 May 1936 purchased for £ 47,500 (*f* 350,000).

– Since 1956 on loan to the museum from Mr and Mrs de Bruijn-van der Leeuw. Bequeathed to the museum in 1961 by Mrs I. de Bruijn-van der Leeuw.

NOTES

1. See Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 211-215.
2. Unpublished examination and restoration report by the conservation department of the Rijksmuseum 1991.
3. M. Boschini, *Le ricche minere della pittura Veneziana*, Venice 1664, the introduction.
4. 'Die sich in de Schilder-Konst van een Trek wil bedienen, die verwondering moet uytdrukken, moet de Rimpels des Voor Hoofds uyt het midden na boven schorten'. W. Goeree, *Natuurlyk en schilderkonstig ontwerp der menschkunde* ..., Amsterdam 1682, p. 107.
5. S. van Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst*, Rotterdam 1678, pp. 305-306: 'harde aaneenstooting van licht en bruin [...] wel schaekberden gelijken. [...] Daerom beveele ik u [aan] niet te veel met lichten en schaduwen door een te haspelen, maer de zelve bequamelijk in groepen te vereenigen; laet uwe sterkste lichten met minder lichten minlijk verzelt zijn, ik verzeeker u, datze te heerlijker zullen uitblinken; laet uwe diepste donkerheden met klaere bruintes omringt zijn, op datze met te meerder gewelt de kracht van het licht mogen doen afsteeken.' See also Van de Wetering 1997, p. 252.
6. Van de Wetering 1997, Chapter VII.
7. F. Schmidt-Degener, 'Rembrandt en Vondel', *De Gids* 83 (1919), pp. 222-275, esp. 226.
8. The hilt of the sword with its fanning grip is not contemporary but that of a so-called 'Katzbalger', a German sword from *c.* 1500. Also in his earlier depiction of Paul in Stuttgart (IA11), Rembrandt included an early 16th-century type of sword.
9. See on this E. Kirschbaum, *Lexicon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, Rome/Freiburg/Basel/Vienna 1976, vol. VIII, pp. 132-135.
10. P.J.J. van Thiel, 'Zelfportret als de Apostel Paulus. Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669),' *Openbaar Kunstbezit* 13 (1969), nos. 1a-1b.
11. Nowadays, they are no longer considered authentic but rather as the work of a follower written in Paul's spirit. In the 17th century, these letters were still generally considered as having been written by Paul. According to the *Statenbijbel* these epistles were believed to have been written in Rome.
12. Such a metaphor is found in Timothy 1:8 and Philemon 1:1 and 1:9.
13. Schmidt-Degener, op. cit.[7].
14. For example, Hendrick Goltzius produced a series of prints of the apostles, see Hollst. VIII, nos. 34-47. Painted series of evangelists are known by Hendrick Terbrugghen and Frans Hals. Artists in Rembrandt's circle also painted series of the four evangelists or of the apostles, such as Lambert Jacobsz. (Sumowksi *Gemälde* VI, nos. 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326); Salomon Koninck (Sumowski *Gemälde* III, no. 1114); and Jan Lievens (Sumowski *Gemälde* III, nos. 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1240).
15. 'And for his brother Thomas Ophogen he made the same again, and a further five figures: that is Peter, lamenting that he had forsaken Christ; the converted sinner Magdalene; the Publican; Saul falling on his sword; Judas hanging himself'. K. van Mander, *The lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters*, H. Miedema (ed.), Vol. I, Doornspijk 1994, fol. 275v, p. 361.
16. Ibid., fol. 276, p. 362: '[Ketel] heeft onder handen twaelf Apostelen met den Christus, tronien/grooter oft also groot als 't leven/ en zijn conterfeytselen van eenighe schilders en const toeghedane/ seer aerdigh ghehandelt en goet van teykeninge' (Ketel is presently working on the heads of the twelve apostles with Christ, larger or as large as life, being portraits of some painters and art lovers).
17. W.R. Valentiner, 'Die vier Evangelisten Rembrandts', *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt* 32 (1920-1921), pp. 219-222. He made a distinction between two series of paintings: the first group consisted of the four evangelists, which included the Paris *Matthew* (Br. 614), the aforementioned London *Portrait of a man as St Paul* (Br. 297), whom he identified as Mark, the figure whom he considered to be Luke in Rotterdam (Br. 618), and the so-called *John* in Boston (Br. 619). According to Valentiner, the *Self-portrait as Paul* belonged to the second group, which in his view also included – among others – the *Bartholomew* in Malibu (Br. 615) and the *James* in Boston (Br. 617).
18. Ibid., p. 219: 'Aus dem erhaltenen Bildermaterial läßt sich noch ein weiterer umfassender Auftrag für das Jahr 1661 rekonstruieren, der möglicherweise von einer Kirche ausging, der Auftrag auf eine Folge von vier Evangelisten, auf Halbfiguren Christi and Maria und auf eine Reihe von Apostel und Heiligen.' Later Valentiner added to this theory by suggesting a 'hidden Mennonite church'. This is highly improbable in the 17th-century context. W.R. Valentiner, 'The Rembrandt exhibitions in Holland, 1956', *Art Quarterly* 19 (1956), pp. 390-404, esp. 400.
19. L. Münz, 'A newly discovered late Rembrandt', *Burl. Mag.* 90 (1948), pp. 64-67 and O. Benesch, 'Wordly and religious portraits in Rembrandt's late art', *Art Quarterly* 19 (1956), pp. 335-354.
20. Tümpel 1986, p. 339.
21. Br.-Gerson, under no. 614, p. 613: 'The series, however, is not a "closed" set, and is rather uneven in quality and execution, so that Valentiner's original idea – that they all belonged to one commission – is rather unlikely.'
22. The probate inventory of Gerrit van Heusden, who died in Delft in 1667, mentions: 'een stuckje schilderij van Paulus door Reymbrant' (a painting of Paul by Rembrandt). HdG 292; Strauss *Doc.*, 1667/5. The inventory of the lawyer Jan Ingels, drawn up on 7 January 1654, includes 'een St. Jan van Rembrandt' (a St John by Rembrandt). Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/1. In 1652, Jan Six purchased a 'Simeon' (Simon) by Rembrandt, which was probably made by Lievens, see: Biographical Information.
23. L. de Vries, 'Tronies and other single figured Netherlandish paintings', *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 8 (1989), pp. 185-202.
24. Miedema, op. cit.[15], p. 361, fol. 275v. 'Omtrent 't jaer 1584 heeft Ketel oock ghemaeckt een opsiende Paulus, soo groot als 't leven/ tot aen de knien/ naer 't leven van Rutger Iansz gedaen voor Hans Ophogen' (Paul looking upwards, life-sized and knee-length: done after life from Rutger Jansz, made for Hans Ophogen).
25. Sumowski *Gemälde* II, no. 588.
26. Sumowski *Gemälde* I, no. 326.
27. It is described as follows: 'van Antonio Moro. 129. een kleyn rondeken syn eijgen contrefeijtsel inde figure van sanctus Paulus *f* 12:-:-' (by Antonio Mor. 129. a small round [panel] with his own likeness as the figure of St Paul *f* 12:-:-). G. Dogaer, 'De inventaris der schilderijen van Diego Duarte', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1971), pp. 195-221, esp. 214. This historicising self-portrait is no longer known.
28. Tümpel 1986, p. 367.
29. Chapman 1990, p. 120.
30. 1 Corinthians 3: 4-8; 21-22.
31. This is expressed by Elisabeth Charlotte, the Duchess of Orléans in a letter to her half-sister Luise from Paris of 14 December 1720: 'I am, as the apostle Paul says, neither of Apollos, nor of Paul, nor of Cephas, neither Reformed, nor Catholic, nor Lutheran, but want to be a true Christian to the best of my ability and will live and die in that endeavor,' E. Forster (trans.), *A woman's life in the court of the sun king. Letters of Liselotte von der Pfalz, 1652-1722*, London/Baltimore 1984, p. 261.
32. G. Magnanimi, 'Inventari della collezione Romana dei principi Corsini', *Bollettino d'arte* 65 (1980) July-September, pp. 91-126 and October-December, pp. 73-114, esp. 105. Our appreciation is extended to G. Jansen who allowed us to consult the unpublished report of the Rijksmuseum regarding the present painting.
33. B. Hercenberg, *Nicolas Vleughels, Peintre et Directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome, 1668-1737*, Paris 1975.
34. He knew the Jabach collection, that is the drawings. See Hercenberg, op. cit.[33], p. 192.
35. See exhib. cat. *Reynolds*, Royal Academy London 1986, p. 21, note 47.
36. HdG 575.
37. According to G. Jansen in an unpublished report at the Rijksmuseum.
38. [G. Vico], *Indicazione sommaria dei quadri e dei capi d'arte della R. Pinacoteca di Torino*, Florence 1866, p. 59, no. 430 (Rembrandt); A. Baudi di Vesme. *Catalogo della Regia Pinacoteca di Torino*, Turin 1899, p. 111, no. 388 (copy after).
39. Magnanimi, op. cit.[32], (July-September), esp. p. 95.
40. M. vicomte de Grouchy, 'Éverhard Jabach, collectionneur Parisien', *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 21 (1894), pp. 216-292, esp. 255.
41. 'From the Corsini Palace of Rome/ brought to England by William Buchanan Esq. in Summer 1807.'
42. W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of painting, with a chronological history of the importation of pictures by the great masters into England since the French Revolution*, London 1824, vol. 2, p. 179, no. 4.

IV 25 Self-portrait as Zeuxis laughing

[*c.* 1662-63]

COLOGNE, WALLRAF-RICHARTZ-MUSEUM, INV. NO. 2526

HDG 560; BR. 61; BAUCH 341; GERSON 419; TÜMPEL 177

1. Introduction and description

Few works by Rembrandt have such a turbulent historiography as this unusual painting. Though Blankert's identification of the subject as a self-portrait as the classical painter Zeuxis seemed to have resolved the iconographic problems presented, his interpretation of Rembrandt's choice of subject to our mind needs to be revised. The painting's material history, date and possible function will also receive attention.

The sitter is shown half length, turned to the left and bending forward a little, with the head turned towards the viewer. The mouth is somewhat open in a laugh. The slightly closed eyes and raised eyebrows strengthen the impression that he is laughing. Though the features are distorted through the action of laughing, there is every reason to believe that in this painting Rembrandt depicted himself, or at least used himself as the model. The nose with its slightly concave outline – protruding noticeably given this position of the head – (see pp. 94-96) is characteristic of Rembrandt and is also seen in, for instance, the *Self-portraits* in Edinburgh (IV 15) and London (IV 27). The jaw line with the distinctive pouches and the projecting tufts of hair that partly cover the ears are familiar features of Rembrandt's late self-portraits. The rounded, wrinkled forehead with eyebrows raised high can also be found in the *Self-portrait as St Paul* of 1661 in Amsterdam (IV 24). The question whether this means that the painting is intended as a self-portrait merits further consideration (see 2. *Comments*). In what follows it is assumed that the sitter is Rembrandt.

Rembrandt is wearing a dark gown over which a broad scarf or shawl collar with a golden sheen appears to hang in folds. Emerging from under the (yellowish) white cap is curly hair that extends to just below the ears. Round his neck is a red ribbon with a gold medal hanging from a single link. At the lower edge of the picture plane part of a stick with a shining knob, possibly a maulstick, is visible. Depicted at the far left is a figure *en trois quarts* with a strikingly formed face. This curiously narrow figure is cut off by the left edge of the picture and extends above the painter. The forehead is on a piece of canvas added later (see *Support*). Apart from a large, curved nose, a protruding chin and a mouth with an apparently receding upper lip, the forms, dress and so on are difficult to discern. An arrangement of necklaces appears to hang from the neck. The top strand is raised in the middle by a dark ribbon worn round the neck and only the left half of it can be made out. Below it, a gold chain is suspended by three links from a second dark ribbon hanging down to chest height.

Working conditions

Examined 7 June 1968 (J.B., S.H.L.) and November 1984 (E.v.d.W.). Examined again 30 October 1995 (P.B., A.Q.v.U., E.v.d.W.): the painting out of the frame, by daylight and artificial light, with X-radiographs covering nearly the entire surface and with the aid of a stereomicroscope and infrared reflectography. A thick, probably tinted, yellow layer of varnish impedes examination.

Support

Canvas, lined, 82.5 x 65 cm. Single piece. The top corners are later additions, 18 x 9.8 cm on the left and 13.4 x 11.3 cm on the right. These corners were probably lost by being folded over and subsequently falling off. Traces of the folds at the bottom left and right show that the corners there were folded over for some time.

Although the museum's catalogue of 1967 says that the canvas is 'stark eingerissen' at the edges,[1] clear cusping is visible along all sides except for the bottom. On the right and left the deformations in the fabric extend about 15 cm into the weave and at the top up to about 12 cm. Given the nature of the cusping on the right and left, no more than about 10 cm of the canvas can be missing on either side. Strips could also be missing at the top and bottom. The maulstick and traces of brushes visible along the edge of the image are an indication that the canvas at the bottom was considerably larger, perhaps large enough to contain the painter's hand that is holding the tools mentioned.

Thread count: 9.2 vertical threads/cm (8.5-10); 10.75 horizontal threads/cm (9.75-11.5). The direction of the warp cannot be determined from these data.

Ground

Kühn and later Groen (sample) detected a yellowish brown quartz ground, and identified the materials used for this ground as quartz and yellow ochre.[2] In the damaged areas along the edges we observed a brownish grey ground (see *Table of Grounds* III, pp. 668-669).

Paint layer

Condition: It is very difficult to determine the condition because of the thick, yellowed and probably tinted varnish layer, which also affects the colours observed. The scratchmarks on the collar, for example, appear to reveal a dark layer underneath, but in fact they are full of accumulations of discoloured varnish. Two horizontal cracks run from left to right across practically the entire width of the canvas. The top one runs from the centre of the chin of the figure on the left into the painter's cap, where it briefly disappears before continuing from the other side of the cap almost to the edge of the painting. The second crack runs across the painter's chest, slightly above the medal on the red ribbon. On the left it extends almost to the figure at the left edge, and on the right almost to the edge of the canvas.

The forehead of the figure on the left was painted, as noted above under *Support*, after a piece of canvas had been added to the top left corner. The black paint used in this added piece appears to be the same as that used to overpaint a long vertical strip running from the chin to the chest of the figure on the left. The infrared image (fig. 3) prompted the question whether the passages showing up black, such as at the eyebrows, the pupils and underneath the chin, were later strengthened with black. This, though, was not immediately confirmed upon further examination of these areas using a microscope. The black at the neck is

Fig. 1. Canvas 82.5 x 65 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 315



Fig. 2. X-Ray



not, however, entirely trustworthy and appears to have been applied over the red paint of the ribbon.

Infrared reflectography reveals overcleaning at the back of Rembrandt's neck, just below his hair, at various points in the chest and in the background beside the nose of the figure on the left. Some paint loss is evident in damaged areas along the edges.

Craquelure: The irregular craquelure pattern runs horizontally in the main.

The Cologne *Self-portrait* is unusually roughly and freely painted. The face is done with a heavily loaded brush in places, elsewhere with light dabbing movements and with an eye to the relief. The direction of the brushstrokes seems to take little account of the forms. For instance, a fairly arbitrary dab of paint has been placed over the nostril. The manner of painting is thus more concerned with suggesting light than with defining form. The broad, flowing strokes done with 'juicy' paint have raised edges. At the same time the figure on the left is only cursorily delineated, with the lack of clarity increasing in the lower areas.

Because it was flattened, probably during lining, but also because of the thick layer of varnish, the paint surface shows relatively little differentiation. Projecting impasto is found in the light passages, such as the head, the collar of the gown and the painter's cap. To a much lesser extent impasto is seen too in the nose, mouth and chin of the figure on the left. The surface relief is also affected by forms rejected during the working process (see *Radiography*). Thus a little above the lower chain on the breast of the figure on the left a narrow, curved shape can be seen in relief and slightly further to the right some vertical lines related to a similar shape in the X-ray image and the fingers of Rembrandt's raised right hand visible in it. Here and there whitish and flesh-coloured paint of this hand also shows through, as does a lock of hair sticking out to the right of the painter. Heavy relief related to an underlying form can be seen at his mouth.

At the left eyebrow Rembrandt appears to have drawn his finger through the still wet paint. In the forehead the relief of the impastoed paint applied in an undulating movement strengthens the suggestion of wrinkles. The raised right eyebrow is indicated by two diagonal, transparent strokes in opposite directions which conform to the undulating movement. The ear is painted over the grey-brown hair in a strong red.

The shining scarf or shawl collar of the gown is painted in long, more or less impastoed, vertical strokes with extremely elongated, modelled highlights. These highlights with their straight corners were done using a palette knife or other broad, knife-like tool. The scratchmarks mentioned above under *Condition* can be seen in the collar, and run vertically and in a zigzag fashion.

As stated above, the figure on the left is built up of indistinct combinations of brushstrokes. The chains with yellow highlights seem to be the only adornments. Underneath them there is no more than a suggestion of the shape of a body done in rough, transparent, horizontal strokes. Red and yellow paint shows through this transparent layer.

Visible at the lower edge by the figure on the left are three slanting brushstrokes which probably depict brushes, as there is red paint on the end of one of them. The idea that they are brushes is supported by the fact that they run in the same direction as the partly visible maulstick to their right. It is reasonable to assume that these painter's attributes are held in the artist's left hand outside the picture plane.

Red paint shines through the paint surface locally over the entire painting. For example, throughout the figure on the left and in the background around it, as well as in the shoulder of Rembrandt's gown. Traces of the first laying in of the painting may have come to the surface here (see also IV 19).

Radiography

There are several discrepancies between the radiographic image and the visible image. Most noticeably, Rembrandt's right arm and hand raised to shoulder level are visible, whereas on the surface they are seen only locally in relief. Near this hand is a long, narrow form running diagonally. Between the thumb and index finger a brush line showing up white slants downwards, which may indicate a brush. Incidentally, there appear to be two versions of the thumb. The one that shows up least clearly is at a slightly wider angle to the hand than the other, which is in a more convincing position as regards holding the brush. There can be no doubt that Rembrandt initially showed himself in the act of painting the figure along the left edge of the canvas.

In the right-hand part of the background there is brushwork showing up light which ends in an almost vertical line above the head. It may be that this line marks the edge of the painting on which Rembrandt is working. This radioabsorbent brushwork may indicate that originally the background was meant to be lighter. The area of radioabsorbent paint above Rembrandt's arm may also belong to the painting he is working on. The relief of brushstrokes and red paint shining through are visible on the surface. Whether the strokes showing up light under the arm also belong to that painting is not clear.

In the head, too, some differences with the paint surface are evident. In the X-radiograph the sitter's hair extends further to the right. A reserve to the left of the head suggests that originally a lock of hair was planned here. The mouth appears to be barely open in the radiograph and the cheek and chin contours below the cheekbone on the left run further inwards than on the paint surface. In the X-ray image the eyelid on the right droops a little more than in the final version.

Of the figure on the left only the nose and chin, and somewhat lower down a curved line (perhaps the sketch for the chain) are visible in the X-ray image.

Signature

None.

2. Comments

The earliest mention of the present painting dates from

Fig. 3. Infrared reflectopgraph



1758 (see *6. Provenance*). In that year it was described at the Sir Luke Schaub sale as 'Rembrandt depicting an old Woman'. Three years later, in an account of privately owned works of art in and near London, it was described in almost identical fashion as 'Rembrandt painting an old woman [...] by himself'.[3] In 1967 Vey and Kesting made the connection between this latter reference and the painting now in Cologne.[4] If these references (dating from less than a hundred years after the work was painted, when it was no doubt much easier to read) had been linked to the painting earlier, we would have been deprived of a lively historiography. These earliest references finally made it clear that the figure on the left was an old woman and not Heraclitus, Terminus or even Rembrandt's conscience, as had been proposed in the literature discussed below.

The 1761 description of the work cited above also gives the dimensions: 'H. 2 f. 10 in. – Br. 2 ft. 0 in.', i.e. 86.34 x 60.94 cm. The present dimensions (82.5 x 65 cm) are not very different. The fact that in 1761 the painting was found to be 4 cm narrower than now, while there are no visible signs that a strip has been added, suggests an approximate measurement rather than an altered format. The rough agreement between the dimensions in 1761 and today rules out the possibility that when it was described as 'Rembrandt painting an old woman', it contained more figures than it does now, even if – as we suspect – it was originally larger (see *Support*). This is important in connection with the more recent historiography of the painting.

According to the 1761 source, at that time the *Self-portrait* hung in 'the lobby' of Belvedere House (Kent), which belonged to the businessman Sampson Gideon (1699-1762).

The painting must have suffered rough treatment prior to that date, and afterwards too. As described under *Support*, the corners at the top left and right are missing, so that the head of the old woman referred to in 1758 has been partly lost. By the time that part of the painting was reconstructed it must have become unclear what the figure on the left represented, and this explains why speculation as to the meaning of the work could be so wide of the mark.

The interpretation of the disfigured work which received widest support in the past was first proposed by Bode and Hofstede de Groot. They suggested in 1902 that Rembrandt had depicted himself in the role of the laughing philosopher Democritus, together with his counterpart, the earnest Heraclitus.[5] This theory was further elaborated by Schmidt-Degener[6] in 1935 and by Stechow[7] in 1944. An important argument against it was the fact that in paintings of Democritus and Heraclitus (a very popular subject in the 17th century) neither was ever portrayed as an artist, as is clearly the case in the present painting and must have been even more evident in an earlier phase in its genesis (see *Radiography*).

A second interpretation was put forward by Białostocki, who in 1966 offered the view that the painting was a self-portrait in which Rembrandt depicts himself laughing before a bust of Terminus, the symbol of death: 'he [Rembrandt] confronts us in the midst of his misfortunes with a mild, serene smile, expressive of a mind prepared for its destiny'.[8] Białostocki saw the figure on the left, of which only the head and chest are worked up in any detail, as a representation of a classical herm, which he located in the iconographic tradition of the god Terminus. Białostocki's reading of the painting was based on the widespread assumption that it dated from Rembrandt's last years and that during that period, after the deaths of Hendrickje (in 1663) and Titus (in 1668), he had lived in the shadow of death.

The idea that the painting alluded to Rembrandt's approaching end has had an irresistible attraction for various authors over the years. Eisler, for example, said that 'hier Senilität in Erscheinung tritt [...] [Rembrandt] vom Tode wußte und seine Nähe nicht mehr fürchtete'.[9] Chapman expressed a similar view: 'Perhaps in his old age, possibly even the last year of his life, he recognized a more formidable opponent, death. [...] Now, at about age sixty, the prospect of his own mortality gave death new meaning.'[10] As will become apparent below, we do not believe that the painting is one of Rembrandt's last self-portraits. We date it to around 1662.

In his 1973 article Blankert rightly pointed out that previous interpretations focused on just a few elements, and did not provide an adequate explanation of the painting as a whole.[11] He then offered his own, extremely attractive interpretation. He put together Rembrandt's laughing expression and the fact that the artist depicted himself painting with the 1761 source referred to above in which the work is described as 'Rembrandt painting an old woman'.[12] Then he tracked down the only text in which a laughing painter and an old woman are mentioned together. By this route he arrived at the interpretation that Rembrandt had portrayed himself as the classical painter Zeuxis, who laughed himself to death while painting an old woman. This less well known anecdote about the famous Greek painter is preserved in the *De verborum significatione*, a dictionary by Marcus Verrius Flaccus, from the age of Augustus, where it is included in the entry for *Pictor*.[13] Rembrandt need not necessarily have known the original source. Van Mander paraphrased Flaccus' anecdote in 1604 as follows: 'Zeuxis is said to have died bursting into immoderate laughter, choking himself while painting a wrinkled, droll old woman after life.'[14]

The length of time it took for Blankert's solution to become widely known in the art history world was surprising. So other interpretations continued to be made and speculation ranged as freely as before 1973. Accordingly, in 1989 Pérussaux put forward the view that the profile of the figure on the left and Rembrandt's own facial expression bore a close resemblance to a number of caricatural studies of heads drawn by Leonardo da Vinci.[15] He concluded that Rembrandt had portrayed himself painting a copy after Da Vinci. In 1992 Vonessen published an article arguing that here a guilt-plagued Rembrandt had depicted himself together with his conscience.[16]

It was no wonder that it took so long for the key to the

Fig. 4. A. de Gelder, *Self-portrait as Zeuxis*, 1685, canvas 142 x 169 cm. Frankfurt-am-Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut



work to be found. The subject of an artist laughing as he paints an old woman is extremely rare in 17th-century painting. There are no precedents for the Cologne *Self-portrait*. In search of support for his interpretation, Blankert compared the work with one by Arent de Gelder to which it bears some striking resemblances (fig. 4).[17] This is the painting of 1685 in Frankfurt, then regarded as a self-portrait. As a result of Blankert's discovery, it too can be interpreted as a Zeuxis painting (whether or not a self-portrait).[18] It shows the painter working at an easel on which stands the apparently almost finished portrait of an old woman. Beside the easel the woman poses with an orange in her hand. Thanks to this parallel work, it became clear that the figure on the left in Rembrandt's picture is not the model but her image in a painting. This is confirmed by the earlier position of Rembrandt's right arm as he paints and the incomplete, in part sketchy execution of the figure of the woman.

De Gelder was a pupil in Rembrandt's workshop, probably from about 1661 to *c.* 1663, and was the most loyal of his followers.[19] There are other paintings by De Gelder that are obviously derived from a work by his master, without being exact repetitions (see also note 22).

On the grounds of the clear relationship between the present painting and De Gelder's *Self-portrait* in Frankfurt, Blankert concluded that the Cologne work must originally have been much larger, thus implying that the composition and format had been close to those of De Gelder's painting.[20] As discussed above and described under *Support*, the Cologne painting already had approximately the present format in 1761, and the canvas shows clear cusping on the left side. Consequently, no more than about 10 cm can be missing on either side. So the dimensions of Rembrandt's *Self-portrait* were not at all close to those of De Gelder's work, which measures 142 x 169 cm.[21] We can assume, however, that the painted image of the old woman was shown more completely. It should also be remembered that when De Gelder based himself on a work by his master he tended to use more pictorial or narrative elements than is found in the original.[22]

In the literature the present painting has generally been dated to the late 1660s.[23] This dating no doubt stemmed

Fig. 5. Rembrandt, *Homer*, 1663, canvas 108 x 82.3 cm. The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis



in part from the supposed associations with Rembrandt's death which feature regularly in the literature, as discussed above, and from the belief that the way in which he depicted himself in this painting could be connected in one way or another to his awareness of his approaching end.[24] It is much more likely, however, that the work dates from the early 1660s. There are two arguments for this. The first has to do with the existence of De Gelder's painting of the same subject; the other is based on stylistic considerations.

It is safe to assume that De Gelder knew Rembrandt's *Self-portrait as Zeuxis*. This can be deduced from the fact that, as far as is known, he was the only person ever to paint this subject after Rembrandt. That the two works are directly related is evident primarily from the close correspondence in the position of the body of the laughing painter and in the placing of this figure in relation to the canvas with the portrait of the old woman. There is an equally close relation between Rembrandt's *Homer* in The Hague (Br.483), painted between 1662 and 1663 (fig. 5)[25] and De Gelder's *Homer* of *c.* 1700 in Boston.[26] De Gelder's memories of Rembrandt's *Homer*, only part of which now survives, undoubtedly go back to his time as a pupil in Rembrandt's studio when the master was painting this work which, soon after its completion, was sent to Italy.

The beginning of De Gelder's pupillage is normally said to coincide with the departure in 1662 of his first master Samuel van Hoogstraten to London, but this is only a hypothesis. De Gelder may have left for Amsterdam earlier. On the basis of affinities between Rembrandt's drawing (Ben. 1057) done in 1661 for the album amicorum for Jacob Heyblocq and the group of drawings he attributes to De Gelder, Schatborn is convinced that there must already have been close contact between the two artists in that year.[27] In any event there is a relation between Rembrandt's *Claudius Civilis* (Br. 482), which he worked on in 1661, and De Gelder's *Abraham and the Angels* of *c.* 1700 in Rotterdam.[28] Partly in view of such cases, we may also assume that, given the close formal similarities between De Gelder's *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* in Frankfurt and Rembrandt's version in Cologne, De Gelder witnessed the creation of the latter work at close quarters. Of course the possibility that De Gelder saw work by Rembrandt after he ceased to be a pupil cannot be excluded. On the other hand, it is highly likely that he knew Rembrandt's *Esther and Ahasuerus* (Br. 530), dated 1660, now in Moscow, without necessarily having seen it being painted.

There are also stylistic and technical reasons for dating Rembrandt's *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* to around 1662. These have to do with the unusually close affinities in the manner of painting between this work and Rembrandt's *Homer*, on which he worked between 1661 and 1663. An identical technique has been employed to paint the yellow highlights of the gold fabric of the scarf in both cases, with a flat tool resembling a palette knife as well as a brush being used, the latter in a very similar fashion. The X-ray image reveals that in both works a radioabsorbent paint was used. In this passage in the *Homer* Froentjes found mixtures of lead tin yellow, lead white and yellow ochre.[29] Although no pigment analysis has been carried out in the case of the Cologne painting, in view of the close similarity of the X-ray images there can be no great difference in the pigments used. The resemblances between the heads of Homer and Rembrandt/Zeuxis are also striking. The heads are roughly 'modelled' with noticeably broad strokes. The relation between brushwork and the illusion created is remarkably similar in both heads.

Apart from the *Self-portrait as St Paul* of 1661 in Amsterdam (IV 24), the Cologne *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* is the only self-portrait *historié* that can definitely be characterised as such. As with the *Self-portrait as St Paul*, we are forced to ask why Rembrandt chose to depict himself as this particular historical figure. As explained above, he would have known the story of Zeuxis laughing from Van Mander. The next question, however, is how did he interpret it.

According to Blankert, who regarded this work as Rembrandt's last self-portrait, art-theoretical considerations were the main reason for the choice of this subject.[30] He saw the painting as Rembrandt's visualisation of his stance opposing the rise of classicism, and as a reaction to the criticism of his manner of painting that was probably already being voiced towards the end of his career. By this Blankert meant the frequent description of Rembrandt from 1670 onwards as someone with a predilection for 'picturesque' subjects – such as wrinkled old women – who insisted on painting reality as it appeared without any concessions, instead of idealising it.[31] This was the prevailing school of thought among a group of Dutch art theorists and painters; these classicists, following the French Academists, criticised their predecessors for work-

ing too closely from life.[32] Instead, an artist ought to select the finest elements in nature in order to depict ideal beauty (better than it can be seen in nature itself). To illustrate this principle, another anecdote involving Zeuxis was often cited.[33] This is the story of how he used five different models for a painting of the beautiful Helen. Zeuxis selected the finest elements from these five virgins from the city of Croton and put them together to portray the most beautiful woman in the world. This illustration of the principle of 'electio' was such a commonplace in the literature of the 16th and 17th centuries that Rembrandt must have been familiar with it as a metaphor for idealisation in art. In reaction, according to Blankert, Rembrandt wanted to remind people that there was another Zeuxis, namely the painter of ugly old women.

Blankert tentatively suggested that the reason for painting the work may have lain in a discussion between the old master and Gerard de Lairesse that could have taken place in 1665 when he painted the younger artist's portrait (Br. 321).[34] In this hypothetical discussion De Lairesse was supposed to have pointed out to Rembrandt the deficiencies of his way of working and tried to persuade him of the correctness of the new classicist ideas which he now supported. Leaving aside the question whether in 1665 De Lairesse was already such an ardent classicist that Rembrandt felt impelled to come up with a painted statement opposing him, we take the view, as set out above, that the Cologne painting dates from around 1662.[35] Given that De Lairesse did not leave Liège for the Northern Netherlands until 1664 and first worked for a little over a year in Utrecht, he cannot have been in Amsterdam before 1665 at the earliest.[36] In our opinion this means that Blankert's hypothesis as to the art theoretical meaning of the present work must be rejected.

Another complication in connection with Blankert's theory that the painting arose from a debate – no matter with whom – about Rembrandt's 'realism' is the fact that the first signs of such criticism of working from life only became evident after Rembrandt's death. Since it cannot be clearly demonstrated that such ideas were prevalent during the 1660s in the Netherlands, it must be questioned whether there was any reason for Rembrandt to take issue with them.

To understand Rembrandt's possible intentions in portraying himself as the laughing Zeuxis, it is instructive to look at the context in which this anecdote was placed in 17th-century sources. As stated, Van Mander mentions it as part of the description of Zeuxis' life (see note 14). Junius did not incorporate the tale of Zeuxis and the old woman in his *De pictura veterum* of 1638, but later in his *Catalogus*, which appeared after Rembrandt's death.[37] From this we may tentatively conclude that it was not customary in the 17th-century literature to juxtapose this anecdote and the story of Zeuxis and the virgins of Croton, as Blankert suggests in his article. This is confirmed by the way in which Rembrandt's pupil Samuel van Hoogstraten deals with the anecdotes in his book on painting. He describes the incident of Zeuxis laughing himself to death on two occasions.[38] The first time is in his chapter on the choice of subjects. There he cites Zeuxis as an example of a painter who avoided conventional subjects and always sought 'eenige geestige vercieringe' (some inspired embellishment), particularly in ''t uitbeelden van eenige driften en hartstochten' (the depiction of passions and emotions).[39] After listing some works by Zeuxis which are said to depict various emotions, Van Hoogstraten says that in painting an old woman the classical artist finally revealed his 'unusual' character by splitting with laughter.[40] In his list of the paintings by Zeuxis depicting 'eenige driften en hartstochten', his portrayal of the beautiful Helen and the fact that he laughed himself to death while painting an old woman are mentioned in the same breath. It may be concluded from this that for Van Hoogstraten – and thus probably for Rembrandt too – there was no question of the two anecdotes being juxtaposed as representing two conflicting theoretical principles. The second time that Van Hoogstraten cites the case of the laughing Zeuxis is also in the context of the portrayal of passions, in his discussion of the depiction of the various facial expressions.[41] As to Zeuxis's unusual choice of subjects, Van Hoogstraten probably based himself on a similar text in the 'life of Zeuxis' by Van Mander, who in turn gives the Greek Lucian (*c.* 120-180) as his source.[42] Elsewhere, in his *Grondt*, Van Mander says that it was the painter Zeuxis who had no rival among the famous painters of antiquity when it came to depicting emotions.[43] According to Van Mander, the expression of affects or emotions was one of the most important things an artist could achieve in his work and formed the soul of art.[44]

Rembrandt seems to have shared this view from the beginning of his career. As early as 1629 Huygens specially praised the young Rembrandt for his ability to depict 'liveliness of emotion'.[45] That Rembrandt himself attached great importance to this is evident from the letter to Huygens in which he commends his works because in them the 'meeste ende die naetuereelste beweechgelickheijt in geopserveert is' (most natural emotion and animation is observed).[46] Later too Rembrandt's ability to portray feelings tellingly continued to be seen as his great strength. When Van Hoogstraten lists the specialities of various painters each of whom 'iets byzonders als eygen gehad heeft' (has had something special of their own), he says that Rembrandt's strong point is depicting 'de lijdingen des gemoeds' (states of emotion).[47]

Given that, as explained in Chapter II, several of Rembrandt's self-portraits contain references to his great predecessors, it is very tempting to assume that in this painting he wanted to present himself as akin to the famous Greek painter Zeuxis. In particular, Zeuxis's acclaimed ability to depict emotional states would have prompted Rembrandt to make this identification, since he took great pride – witness his own statements and those of contemporaries cited above – on excelling on just this point. The episode in the life of Zeuxis which most strikingly illustrated this quality – according to Van Hoogstraten – was when he laughed himself to death while painting an old woman. As discussed in Chapter III, it is likely that the intended public for Rembrandt's self-portraits consisted of collectors and art lovers, and so we

may assume that viewers of the painting were able to spot the reference to Zeuxis in the artist laughing as he paints an old woman. With this in mind, it is worth considering the view that they would not have read the painting as a contribution to an art-theoretical debate, as Blankert thought, but instead would have recognised Rembrandt's identification with a classical painter he saw as a model.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

None.

5. Copies

None.

6. Provenance

*- Sale Sir Luke Schaub, London (Langford) 26-28 April 1758 (Lugt 1004), second day no. 40, 'Ditto [Rembrandt] Rembrandt painting an old Woman, its Comp[anion]'. [i.e. to no. 39 'Admiral Ruyter' = Br.-Gerson 323A ?] (£ 27:6:- to Gideon).[48]
– Coll. Sampson Gideon (1699-1762), Belvedere House (Kent).
– Coll. Lord Eardley, Belvedere House, by descent.
– Coll. Lord Saye and Sele, Belvedere House, by descent.
– Coll. Sir Culling Eardley, Belvedere House, by descent.[49]
– Not, as stated by Hofstede de Groot, in sale Sir Culling Eardley, London (Christie's) 30 June 1860 (Lugt 25682).[50]
– Sale Sir Digby Neave et al. ('Belvidere [sic] collection', Sir Culling Eardley), London (Christie's) 6-8 June 1868 (Lugt 30602), first day no. 81.
– Coll. Léopold Double, Rouen; sale Paris 30 May-4 June 1881 (Lugt 41161), no. 19 with ill. (for 23150 francs) (engraving by Jules Jacquemarts). There is a label on the back of the stretcher with Double's arms.
– Coll. Wilhelm Adolph von Carstanjen, who gave the painting on loan to the Alte Pinakothek in Munich. On the stretcher there is a label with the name Adolf Carstanjen and his seal twice.
– Acquired by the museum in 1936.

NOTES

1. H. Vey and A.M. Kesting, *Katalog der niederländischen Gemälde von 1550-1800 im Wallraf-Richartz-Museum*, Cologne 1967, pp. 89-92.
2. Kühn, esp. pp. 191 and 194. This analysis was reconfirmed by Karin Groen, see *Table of Grounds* III, pp. 668-669.
3. I.R. and J. Dodsley (eds.), *London and its environs described, containing an account of whatever is most remarkable for grandeur, elegance, curiosity or use in the city and in the country twenty miles around it*, London 1761, pp. 272-274.
4. See Vey and Kesting, op. cit.[1], esp. 91.
5. HdG 560. They remarked that Rembrandt had depicted himself as the laughing philosopher but did not mention Democritus by name.
6. F. Schmidt-Degener, exhib. cat. *Rembrandt*, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam 1935, p. 50, no. 38.
7. W. Stechow, 'Rembrandt - Democritus', *The Art Quarterly* 7 (1944), pp. 233-238; see also Tümpel 1986, p. 410, no. 177.
8. J. Białostocki, 'Rembrandt's "Terminus"', *Wallr.-Rich.-Jahrb.* 28 (1966), pp. 49-60.
9. M. Eisler, *Der alte Rembrandt*, Vienna 1927, p. 102.
10. Chapman 1990, p. 104.
11. A. Blankert, 'Rembrandt, Zeuxis and ideal beauty', *Album Amicorum J.G. van Gelder*, The Hague 1973, pp. 32-39. esp. 32. For a critical discussion of the interpretations of Stechow and Białostocki in particular, see also: H. von Einem, 'Das Kölner Selbstbildnis des lachenden Rembrandt', *Festschrift für Gert von der Osten*, Cologne 1979, pp. 177-188, esp. 181-184.
12. Blankert, op. cit.[11], p. 34, Vey and Kesting, op. cit.[1]. The painting had already been similarly described in 1758 (see *Provenance*). This reference was not known to Vey and Kesting or to Blankert.
13. Only parts of this have survived in a 2nd-century version by Sextus Pompeius Festum. In the 16th century it was published as: M. Verrii Flacci, *Quae extant. et Sex. Pompei Festi. De Verborum Significatione. Lib. XX*, Venice 1559, p. 271.
14. 'Zeuxis soude wesen gestorven uytvarende met onmaetlijck lacchen hem verstickende, nae 't leven schilderende een berimpelt oudt drolligh wijf'. The story is missing from Van Mander's account of the life of Zeuxis in: *Het leven der oude antijcke doorluchtighe schilders*, Alkmaar 1603, fol. 66v-68v, but was added later as a corrigendum in the appendix to his *Schilderboeck*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 301.
15. C. Pérussaux, 'L'énigme du "Portrait de Rembrandt vieillard"', *G.d.B.-A.* 114 (1989), pp. 123-126.
16. F. Vonessen, 'Selbstporträt und Selbsterkenntnis. Zu Rembrandts Selbstdarstellung als "Lachender Alter"', *Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 37 (1992), pp. 123-152.
17. Blankert, op. cit.[11], esp. p. 34. See also: A. Blankert, 'Heraclitus en Democritus', *N.K.J.* 18 (1967), pp. 107-108.
18. Sumowski *Gemälde* II, no. 749.
19. The exact dates are not known. De Gelder was born in 1645. A. Houbraken, *Groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilder en schilderessen* III, Amsterdam 1718-1721, pp. 206-207, mistakenly cites this as the year in which he became a pupil of Rembrandt. G.M.C. Pastoor, 'The life of Arent de Gelder', in: J.W. von Moltke, *Arent de Gelder 1645-1727*, Doornspijk 1994, p. 4, says that the departure of De Gelder's first master Samuel van Hoogstraten in 1662 for England would have been the reason for his parents' apprenticing him to Rembrandt. Pastoor suspects that towards 1664 he returned to his native town of Dordrecht.
20. Blankert, op. cit.[11], p. 34.
21. Blankert, op. cit.[11], p. 34, however, said: 'If we imagine Rembrandt's painting extended on all sides, it comes closer to the dimensions of Aert de Gelder [i.e. 142 x 169 cm]. Whether it was Rembrandt or another who cut it down to its present size, Aert de Gelder would have been in a position to see the whole original canvas when Rembrandt was working on it'.
22. *The Homer dictating* by Arent de Gelder in Boston (Sumowski *Gemälde* II, no. 760) greatly resembles a painting of the same subject by Rembrandt of 1663 in The Hague (Br. 483), without being a direct copy of it. From an old description of Rembrandt's painting we know that originally the - fire-damaged - work showed two scribes. De Gelder added another pair of writing figures who, since they do not look down like scribes, must probably be seen as listeners. Cf. De Gelder's *Ecce Homo* in Dresden and Rembrandt's etching of the same subject (B. 76).
23. Bauch 1966, dated it 1665; Gerson (Gerson 419) puts the painting among the works dated 1669; Eisler dates it around 1668 (Eisler, op. cit.[9]); Tümpel dates it *c.* 1668 (Tümpel 1986, cat. no. 177); Chapman *c.* 1666-1669 (Chapman 1990, p. 104); Slatkes dates it 1665-1669 (L.J. Slatkes, *Rembrandt. Catalogo completo*, Florence 1996, cat. no. 269); Schwartz dates it *c.* 1669 (Schwartz 1984, p. 356).
24. Schwartz 1984, p. 355 '... it is certain that in his final decline he painted himself as another Greek painter, Zeuxis, not in triumph but caught in the jaws of death'.
25. From an invoice dated 30 July 1661 it is clear that Rembrandt had decided to follow his *Aristotle contemplating the bust of Homer* (Br. 478) with an 'Alexander the Great' and a 'Homer' for the Sicilian patron Don Antonio Ruffo. The invoice contains a message from the artist which the shipper passed on. Rembrandt reminded Don Ruffo that the 'Homer' had still to be painted and that it would cost 500 guilders. Rembrandt probably sent the *Homer* to Messina more than a year later, in the late summer of 1662, in a half finished state. This can be inferred from a letter of 1 November 1662 in which Ruffo says he is sending the half finished *Homer* back to Amsterdam so that Rembrandt can complete it. According to the signature the work was finished in 1663. See: Strauss *Doc.*, 1661/5 and 1662/11.
26. Sumowski *Gemälde* II, no. 760.
27. See P. Schatborn, 'Tekeningen van Arent de Gelder', in: exhib. cat. *Arent de Gelder, Rembrandts laatste leerling*, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum/

Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 1998/99, pp. 111-121.

28. Sumowski *Gemälde* II, no. 759.
29. De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes, p. 169.
30. On this dating see the summary of his earlier article: A. Blankert, *Rembrandt, a genius and his impact*, in: exhib. cat. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria/Canberra, National Gallery of Australia, 1997/98, pp. 38-40.
31. In his *Gebruik en Misbruik des Toneels*, Amsterdam 1681, pp. 35-37, Andries Pels first directly applied to Rembrandt the criticism expressed as early as 1670 by Jan de Bisschop (in the foreword to his *Paradigmata*, Amsterdam 1670). According to Blankert, op. cit.[11], p. 37, such views were current earlier. Recently this view is also taken by E. Mai, 'Zeuxis, Rembrandt en De Gelder - Het zelfportret als statement in de beeldende kunst', in: exhib. cat. *Arent de Gelder, Rembrandts laatste leerling*, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum/Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 1998/99, pp. 99-109.
32. De Bisschop, op. cit.[31], says that ''t geen in 't leven is afsienlijck, inde konst en uytgebeeld sij goet en behaghelijck dat meer schilderachtich sij en voor de kunst verkieselijck een mismaect, out verrimpelt mensch, als een welgemaeckt, fris en jeugdigh' (which in life is disgraceful, in art can be nicely and pleasantly represented, which is more painterly, making it possible for art to prefer a misformed, old wrinkled human over a well-made, fresh and youthful one).
33. The sources for this anecdote are: Cicero, De Inventione II, 1-3; C. Plinii Secundi, *Naturalis Historiae,* Liber XXXVI, 4. Cicero says that it was made for the temple of Juno at Croton, while Pliny says it was for the temple at Agrigentum. Alberti is the first to praise this as an example to be followed by 'modern' artists. See also: H.U. Asemissen and G. Schweikhart, *Malerei als Thema der Malerei*, Berlin 1994, pp. 14-19.
34. Blankert, op. cit.[11], p. 38.
35. De Lairesse himself says that initially he was a great admirer of Rembrandt's manner of working: 'hoewel ik niet wil ontkennen, dat ik voor dezen een byzondere neiginge tot zyne [Rembrandts] manier gehad heb', G. de Lairesse, *Het groot schilderboek*, V, Chap. 22, p. 325.
36. L. de Vries, *Gerard de Lairesse, an artist between stage and studio*, Amsterdam 1998, p. 4.
37. See for both the works referred to Vols. I and II respectively of F. Junius, *The painting of the ancients, de pictura veterum, according to the English translation (1638)*, K. Aldrich, Ph. Fehl and R. Fehl (eds.), 2 vols., Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford 1991.
38. S. van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst*, Rotterdam 1678, pp. 78 and 110.
39. Van Hoogstraten, op. cit.[38], p. 78: 'Zeuxis schilderde ongaren gemeene Historien, 't zy van oorlogen, of de daden der helden of goden, maer zocht altijts eenige geestige vercieringe, 't zy in 't uitbeelden van eenige driften en hartstochten...'.
40. Van Hoogstraten, op. cit.[38], p. 78: 'en eyndelijk in zijn oude Bestemoer zijn wonderlijken aert, want hy lachte zich zelven te berste' (and at last in [painting] his old granny [evidenced] his unusual temperament, because he splitted with laughter).
41. Van Hoogstraten, op. cit.[38], p. 110, under 'Lacchen': 'Zoo had ook den Gietkonstenaer Myron vermaek in een oudt geestich dronken wijf met een byzondere aerdicheit uyt te beelden, waer door hy grooten roem behaelde. Maer zulk een vreugde bequam *Zeuxis* zoo wel niet: want terwijl hy met diergelijk een drollige bes na 't leven te schilderen bezich was, barste hy zelfs zoo geweldich in lacchen uit, dat hy daer van verstikte en storf' (The modeller Myron took great pleasure in portraying with particular charm a funny and drunken old woman, which won him great fame. But Zeuxis didn't have that pleasure: while he was painting, after life, another of those droll grannies he burst out into such violent laughter that he choked and died).
42. Van Mander 1603, op. cit.[14], p. 68. He bases himself on Lucian, *Zeuxis*, 3-7.
43. K. van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, Haarlem 1604, Chapter V, fol. 18: ''T was Zeuxis van Heraclea den Schilder/ Om maken d'affecten niet veel milder' (It was the painter Zeuxis of Heraclea; few were more elaborate than he in depicting the emotions). For commentary on this passage see: K. van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, H. Miedema (ed.), vol. II, Utrecht 1973, p. 509. Van Mander most probably based himself on a passage in Pliny, op. cit.[33], XXXV.36.63.
44. K. van Mander 1604, op. cit.[43], Chapter VI, fol. 27. 'Desen Affecten, als rechte Kernen, Oft Siele/ die Const in haer heeft besloten' (These affects, as the genuine core, or soul/ which art has enclosed within it).
45. Strauss *Doc.*, 1630/5.
46. Strauss *Doc.*, 1639/2.
47. Van Hoogstraten, op. cit.[38], p. 75. Houbraken also specially praises Rembrandt for this: A. Houbraken, *Groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, Amsterdam 1718-1721, vol. I, p. 264 and vol. II, p. 100 (in the life of Gerbrand van den Eeckhout).
48. *Sale catalogues of the principal collections of pictures [...] sold by auction in England within the years 1711-1759* (Ms. Victoria and Albert Museum London), vol. II, p. 98. Even though it was sold to a certain Lord Anson, this pendant may possibly be identical to a painting in the Gideon collection that was known as 'Admiral van Trump'. This is Rembrandt's *Portrait of an elderly man* of 1667 (Br.-Gerson 323A) that also hung in the lobby of Belvedere House in 1761 (Dodsley, op. cit.[3], p. 272). It is noteworthy that this painting (which has not been reduced) has almost the same dimensions (81 x 67 cm) as the present painting. Accordingly they may have once functioned as pendants. See: Blankert 1997-98, op. cit.[30], pp. 186-187.
49. G.F. Waagen, *Galleries and cabinets of art in Great Britain: being an account of more than forty collections of paintings, drawings, sculptures, mss. etc. etc., visited in 1854 and 1856 (...)* IV, London 1857, p. 281 as: 'Rembrandt. The picture of an old man with a strange smile; a cap of a light colour on his head; his dress dark, with a brown-yellow collar. This is so like himself that one is tempted to think that it is his own portrait.'
50. HdG 560.

IV 26 Self-portrait [1665-69]

LONDON, ENGLISH HERITAGE, KENWOOD HOUSE, THE IVEAGH BEQUEST, INV. NO. 57

HDG 556; BR. 52; BAUCH 331; GERSON 380; TÜMPEL 174

Fig. 1. Canvas 114.3 x 94 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 324



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

As one of the most enigmatic and simultaneously convincing works by Rembrandt, this self-portrait has given rise to a variety of speculations. Without exception, these pertain to the meaning of the two semi-circles on the light wall before which Rembrandt has portrayed himself. Equally intriguing, however, are the genesis and the unfinished state of this painting.

The nature of the execution and the pictorial quality of the Kenwood *Self-portrait* is such that – despite the absence of a signature and an unbroken provenance – its authenticity has never been doubted. In fact, its astounding pictorial quality has even resulted in its becoming a touchstone for our insight into Rembrandt's artistry.

The painter wears a white cap and an open black gown, which is trimmed or lined with brown fur. Under the gown he wears a rectangular red *borstlap* or bib over a white pleated shirt. In his left hand he holds a rectangular palette, a number of brushes and a maulstick. The red-brown dabs under this stick could indicate a piece of cloth. His right arm is shown bent, however the position of the hand is unclear. If the impression that this hand is intended to rest on the thigh is correct, this would mean that Rembrandt has depicted himself sitting.

Visible in the background are curved lines that are generally interpreted as (parts of) two circles. Some brushed lines at the top to the left of the right semi-circle have been interpreted, although not convincingly, as the folds of a piece of cloth or a wall hanging.[1] But if this were the case, the segment directly underneath would have to be deformed by the folds. One would also expect to find other indications of a supple backdrop, but none are evident. At the extreme right, the edge can be seen of the painting Rembrandt is working on.

Working conditions

Examined in May 1968 (B.H., E.v.d.W.) on the wall in good daylight; a mosaic of X-ray films was received later; re-examined during the 1991/92 Rembrandt exhibition in Amsterdam, in good artificial light.

Support

Canvas, lined, 114.3 x 94 cm. Single piece. The X-ray films available to us were placed between the canvas and the stretcher bars during radiation to avoid disturbances from the stretcher. Therefore, in the X-ray image app. 5 cm is missing from all four sides of the painting. Cusping was found only at the right and top edges, which in both edges extends app. 10 cm into the fabric.

Thread count: 15.9 vertical threads/cm (15.5-16.5); 12.42 horizontal threads/cm (11.5-13.5). Given the greater spread of the number of threads per centimetre, the weft may run horizontally. Given the poor legibility of the fabric, presumably due to a rather non-radio-absorbent ground, the thread count is based on a relatively small number of measurements.

As cusping generally extends approximately 10 to 30 cm into the fabric, its presence or absence in the available X-ray image is significant with respect to whether or not the painting was reduced. That no cusping was observed at the bottom, however, does not necessarily mean that canvas is missing there. Given the probably vertical direction of the warp threads, the absence of cusping could indicate that the canvas came from a longer prepared length of linen (Vol. II, Chapter II, p.33). What is open for discussion is whether the painting was originally wider. Its present width is just 13 cm short of the most standard size of 1.5 ell (app. 107 cm), which could mean that the width of the canvas was reduced by 13 cm. Given the absence of cusping along the left edge, at least 10 cm must have been cut off here. Despite the presence of cusping on the right edge, it is entirely plausible that a few centimetres of the image were also cut off along this edge. Should the painting have been slightly larger at the right, then the canvas at the right in the portrait – currently scarcely visible – would gain in recognisability (for example, compare the depiction of the support in the Paris *Self-portrait at the easel*, IV 19). The shallowness of the cusping along the top edge and the way in which the circles are cut off by this edge could indicate that the painting was also somewhat larger along the top edge.

Ground

Presumably grey, visible in the hair at the right, the tip of the nose, along the left side of the moustache and at the level of the cleft in the chin. This could also be a local imprimatura (see *Paint layer*). The poor legibility of the canvas weave in the X-radiograph could indicate that the ground contains predominantly quartz (for example, compare the quartz ground in the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* in Cologne, IV 25. In that case the ground must have been brown or greyish-brown.

Paint layer

Condition: The head and the background are in good condition. However, the paint at the bottom is damaged from 'pressing during an earlier relining of the canvas'.[2] This also flattened the impasto in other sections of the painting. In the X-radiograph can be seen that some paint in the impasto of the cap has been lost. Rather substantial overpaintings are found in the background and in the black of the gown.

Craquelure: A canvas craquelure with rather large pattern is visible over virtually the entire painting.

As will be described in *Radiography* and analysed in *2. Comments*, radical alterations in the attitude of the figure and the arms were introduced in the course of work on the painting. That process of change does not appear to have been completed, as can be ascertained from the extremely sketchy depiction of the hands and the artist's implements. Moreover, sections not related to these interventions also seem to have been left unfinished in an early stage.

The most developed areas are the background and Rembrandt's head. The shaded section of the face with the summarily indicated spot of light on the cheekbone and cheek creates the impression of still being at the stage

of the initial lay in. The same applies to the white cap. The yellowish base tone in which the cap was initially rendered wet-in-wet is left uncovered in the shadow, while in the lit part can be seen a number of broad strokes used as highlighting that do not fully correspond with the forms initially indicated. More or less even grey tints can be distinguished in the shaded parts of the face and the hair at the right which – in so far as they do not belong to the ground – appear to be part of a local imprimatura that may possibly have been a standard feature of Rembrandt's late working manner.[3]

Scratchmarks were applied in the wet paint in the left eye socket, in the moustache and along the contour of the left cheek which, because of their placement and the manner in which they are done, make the impression of being provisional interventions to suggest particular details. A similar scratchmark is also found under the edge of the shirt to indicate the decoration in the 'white work'.

The fur trim and the remaining parts of the gown are only fleetingly suggested with more or less opaque paint. The red bib, on the other hand, was subjected to a somewhat more complex treatment. Organic red glazes applied over a bright red underlayer determine the deep glow of this section. As already stated above, the left hand with the palette and the brushes (and what appears to stand for a painter's rag held in the same hand) is painted in cursory dabs of reddish and yellowish paint over the clothing. The right fist is equally sketchily done as a spot in grey-brown paint. As discussed below, visible in the paint relief and in the X-ray image are traces of an entirely different, earlier, design for this section of the painting. One has the sense that the pose of the figure was radically altered in the space of a few minutes.

The comparatively further worked up background is painted with slight dabs in subtle variations of greys and grey-brown. The areas tending to violet-grey to the right of the head and the shoulder and in a wide zone along the edges of the painting are later overpaintings. The edge of the painted frame of the stretcher appeared at the far right during a cleaning of the painting in 1949.

Radiography

With regard to the head, the X-ray image largely corresponds with what one would expect from the paint surface. This is hardly the case with the body and the arms. Both the position of the torso and the attitude of the arms were radically altered. The X-radiograph shows that Rembrandt initially depicted himself painting, as he apparently saw himself in a mirror: the body turned slightly to the right and holding a brush in the raised left hand, and a few other brushes and a maulstick in the right hand. One may assume that the zone of paint showing up light visible under the raised arm with the brush is related to the earlier pose of the arm. With the subsequently sketchily executed changes in the pose of the arms, the body then acquired its present virtually frontal bearing. With the application of the background, a part of the reserve for the painting arm was concealed by radioabsorbent paint, which explains its 'truncated' form. Bryant states that the painting now 'is more a posed portrait of Rembrandt with his professional attributes as an artist than an informal self-portrait in the studio'.[4]

The X-radiograph shows that the painter initially wore a shirt fastened with a V-neck, probably identical to the one in the *Self-portrait* in The Frick Collection (IV 14). The scratchmarks observed in the X-radiograph at the level of the edge of that shirt belong to the present shirt with the straight neckline.

Fine, dab-like scratches which most closely resemble scouring marks are seen over the entire surface in the X-radiograph. They could be related to the sizing or grounding of the canvas.

Signature

None.

2. Comments

As outlined in *Paint layer*, one could assume that the Kenwood *Self-portrait* remained unfinished. This is evidenced not only by the cursorily executed revisions to the painting, but also by the absence of a signature. However, one must consider that, as discussed in *Support*, there are reasons to assume that strips of canvas are missing. A potentially originally present signature could have been lost when the painting was reduced.

The most unusual feature of the painting, however, is that the figure of Rembrandt is depicted before a light background. The silhouetting of the figure against this background contributes significantly to the self-portrait's monumentality. That semi-circular shapes have been applied to this, in itself unusual, light background, appeals to the imagination even more. Especially given the fact that this is the only self-portrait in which a more detailed background can be observed. These circles have given rise to various interpretations, none of which have won general acceptance. We too, have come no closer to solving the riddle of the circles. In the following, the solutions proposed to date are reviewed partly in the light of our insights into Rembrandt's working method and the ideas on the genesis of the work presented here.

Circular forms in the background are encountered in a small number of other works by Rembrandt and in non-autograph variants of his work. It therefore stands to reason to first see whether these works can shed some light on the meaning of the circles in the *Self-portrait* at Kenwood House. Any attempt to interpret the circles must be preceded by determining whether or not the circles could, in fact, be schematic forms lacking inner drawing. This is important in connection with the notion first forwarded by Van de Waal that the two circles could have been meant as a world-map.[5] For this reason we will also consider circular forms in works by Rembrandt (or his studio) with no bearing on the interpretation of the circles in the Kenwood painting, but which do give a decisive answer to the way in which Rembrandt's studio dealt with the indication of inner drawing in circular forms.

Circles form the framing of more or less distinguishable scenes in two instances. In the *Portrait of a couple* of 1633 (II C 67) it appears as a landscape-like image, applied to a

scrolled canvas. In the *Portrait of a man as St Paul* of 1659 in London (Br. 297) two partially depicted moulded, circular stone frames are part of an architectural setting. Both of these paintings may illustrate how Rembrandt approached the problem of fleetingly rendering a scene in a circular form. The fact that all traces of such an indication are missing in the Kenwood *Self-portrait*, while the background is the most finished part of this painting, argues for an intended 'emptiness' of the circular forms. In our opinion, this disposes of Van de Waal's interpretation – recently defended by among others Chapman[6] and Brown[7] – of the circles as a world-map. The relatively great distance between the two circles speaks against the world-map hypothesis as well.

The only painting from Rembrandt's studio in which a large 'empty' circular form in the background of the space illustrated occurs is the *Christian scholar in a vaulted room* in Stockholm (I C 17), in our opinion a copy after a lost original by Rembrandt of 1631. This, likewise only partially visible circle is placed considerably further to the back than in the Kenwood painting and thereby plays a far less conspicuous role. From the nature of the contours of this circle it can be presumed to be a round niche in the wall. The fact that the *Christian scholar* contains but one, and not two circles – as in the *Self-portrait* – means that it cannot be used in an attempt to interpret the circles in the Kenwood painting, unless the circles there are analogous round niches. The manner in which the circles are depicted in the Kenwood painting, however, makes this most unlikely. The circle in a drawing in the Graphische Sammlung in Munich after the etching with the *Portrait of Abraham Francen* (B. 273), which Six connected to the painting under discussion, is clearly intended as part of a leaded-glass window.[8] This possibility can thus also be ruled out.

Weisbach noted the occurrence of a (in his opinion) comparable circle in a drawing of a *Studio of a painter* from the circle of Rembrandt.[9] On the wall at the left is depicted a round object with a knob seen as an oval in foreshortening that appears to represent a shield. Given its scale and the fact that it can be recognised as a three-dimensional object seen *en profile*, it is not suitable for comparison with the circles in the *Self-portrait*. Weisbach further pointed out the presence of a dark circular silhouette in the background of the second state of the etched *Portrait of the calligrapher Lieven van Coppenol* of 1658 (B. 282).[10]

Particularly interesting for our study is the fact that this so-called '*small Coppenol*' – the smallest of the two portrait etchings of the calligrapher by Rembrandt – contains two circles, at least in the second and third states; a triptych replaces the circle on the wall behind Van Coppenol and his grandson standing behind him from the fourth state on. The second circle in the etching is being drawn by the calligrapher's pen on the paper lying before him. On the basis of these two highly dissimilar circles, Broos used this etching as the point of departure for his extensively documented attempt to read the circles in the Kenwood painting.[11] He interpreted the circle on the paper in the '*small Coppenol*' as a reference to an anecdote related by Vasari and taken up by Van Mander that was widely known in the 17th century of the perfect circle Giotto drew freehand as proof of his skill.[12] Broos believed that the circles in the etching were on the one hand a token of the utmost proficiency of the sitter, and on the other hand contained a reference to the emblematic meaning of eternity that was attached to the circle in the 17th century, for it has neither beginning nor end.[13] Among the authors Broos cited was no one less than Joost van den Vondel, who composed an ode to the mathematics teacher and calligrapher Willem Bartjens. In that poem the drawing of the perfect circle is understood as proof of the skill of the calligrapher as well as an illusion to eternity: 'A circle drawn round, which shows us the eternal.'[14] According to Broos, analogous to this *Portrait of Lieven van Coppenol*, in the *Self-portrait* in Kenwood House Rembrandt was showing himself standing before the symbols of eternity and perfection.[15]

Broos then extended this thought into the realm of art theory, namely with the matter of 'perfection' in art. That paintings by Rembrandt executed in the rough manner elicited comments by his contemporaries to the effect that they were unfinished was recorded by Arnold Houbraken, who documented Rembrandt's words 'that a work is done when the master has fulfilled his intentions.'[16] The fact that Rembrandt precisely in the rough and in places extremely sketchily executed Kenwood *Self-portrait* referred to perfection by means of the circles in the background, was seen by Broos as the pictorial equivalent of the pronouncement passed on to us by Houbraken. For that matter, Chenault-Porter[17] rightly noted that Pliny had already described how Apelles, who thought himself the equal of Protogenes, believed that he even surpassed this painter in one point, namely in knowing when to take his hand from a picture.[18] If the Kenwood House painting, as Broos maintains, was intended as a theoretical statement, its theme would not be related to the idiosyncrasy in Rembrandt's approach to the art of painting as the passage in Houbraken suggests, but rather to a topos familiar to artists and art-lovers.

Broos' solution to the riddle of the circles built upon Emmens' premise that a painting such as the *Self-portrait* in Kenwood House could be a theoretical statement. Emmens, in turn, had based himself on the three factors that according to Aristotle underlie the arts: *ingenium* (inborn talent), *ars* (theory) and *excercitatio* (practice). Emmens believed that in the Kenwood *Self-portrait*, Rembrandt situated himself as the embodiment of *ingenium* between emblematic signs (as derived from Ripa) of theory (the circle) and practice (the lines at the far right seen by Emmens as a combination of a circle and a ruler). His theory relies on an erroneous reading of the ruled lines at the right, which are not a ruler, but actually indicate the edge of a canvas on an easel.

Although none of the hypotheses considered above are watertight, they are nevertheless more convincing than the suggestion that the circles be considered as purely decorative elements first made in 1950 in the 'Editorial' of *The Burlington Magazine*.[19] Finally, Van Gelder's reading of the circles in the *Self-portrait* as a reflection of Rembrandt's

Fig. 3. Etching by A. de Marcenay, 1755 (reproduced in reverse)



Fig. 4. Copy 1. J.-H. Fragonard, wash with brown ink, 25.5 x 20.5 cm. Paris, private collection



Aristotelian world view, whereby the circles were interpreted as the *rota aristotelis* without any further elucidation, was too vague to elicit any response.[20]

Of all of the attempts to read the circles reviewed above, those proposing that the painting is (partly) the bearer of a theoretical statement are in our view the most plausible. Rembrandt's explicit and implicit views on art and artistry, as analysed here and elsewhere, and the fact that the master did express an evident theoretical statement around 1662 with his *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* (IV 25), makes it likely that this is also the case with the painting under discussion. Interpretations such as those by Broos and (at least in part) Chenault-Porter – even if not entirely decisive – seem to us therefore the most satisfactory attempts to understand the meaning of the Kenwood *Self-portrait.* However, it is going too far to see the unfinished state of the painting (described in *Paint layer*), as Broos did, solely as part of the supposed theoretical statement. The genesis of the painting is too complex and the cohesion between the locally extreme sketchiness and the various phases of its execution too evident for this. The genesis may be reconstructed as follows.

As described in *Radiography*, Rembrandt must have first portrayed himself in the act of painting as he saw himself in the mirror: palette, brushes and maulstick in the right hand, the left hand holding a brush and raised in a gesture as if the brush were touching the canvas.[21]

Should our reconstruction of the creative process be correct, rather unusual light is then shed on Rembrandt's astonishingly faithful approach to the depiction of reality – in this case a reality seen in the mirror. Basing himself on Van Mander, Houbraken had Caravaggio say: 'That all painting, no matter what or by whom, is only child's work and trivial if not everything is painted after nature, and that nothing can be better than to follow nature: thus, with every single brushstroke he depicted life, etc.,' and also ascribed this approach to painting to Rembrandt when he added: 'Our great master Rembrandt also shared this opinion, basing himself on the principle of solely [working after] nature, and he considered everything that deviated from this suspicious.'[22]

Rather than dismissing such a passage as a topos, the reconstruction of the genesis of the Kenwood *Self-portrait* proposed here seems to be a confirmation of Rembrandt's extreme fidelity to reality, although in this case he decided to correct the mirror image (see also IV *Corrigenda* I A 22).

The Kenwood *Self-portrait* fits into the group of late self-portraits, in which the painter depicted himself with palette, brushes and a maulstick. In two instances these attributes appear to have been painted over by the artist himself; in the London *Self-portrait* and in the *Self-portrait* in Florence (IV 27 and IV 28). In the Paris painting (IV 19), these implements are partially visible. Interestingly, in the two late self-portraits that can be considered as theoretical

statements, the work under discussion and the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* in Cologne (IV 25), Rembrandt initially showed himself painting. In both cases, however, he replaced the act of painting with a less complex pose by means of radical changes.

No consensus has been reached in the literature with respect to the dating of the painting. It is mainly dated to the early 1660s.[23] On the other hand, some have dated it as late as 1668.[24] Brown suggested a date of origin of around 1665 arguing that it had to be situated after the Paris *Self-portrait at the easel* (IV 19) of 1660 and the Amsterdam *Self-portrait as St Paul* (IV 24) of 1661, which were executed in a 'far tighter and more descriptive style', but before the 'more broadly' painted *Self-portraits* of 1669 in London (IV 27) and The Hague (IV 29).[25] Aside from the question of whether the implicit evolutionary model in this reasoning is applicable to the later Rembrandt, we too, believe that the painting originated after 1665. An argument in favour of such a late dating is the correspondence in certain aspects of its execution with the *Portrait of an elderly man* in The Hague (Br.-Gerson 323A) which is dated 1667. The way in which parts of the underpainting and the ground have been left exposed is very comparable. However, it is especially the nature of the numerous scratchmarks that displays remarkable similarities in the degree of casualness verging on a lack of control.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 303 ff.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

1. Etching by Antoine de Marcenay (Arnay-le-Duc 1724-Paris 1811), inscribed: *A. de marcenay. Scul. 6 oct 1755 – Rembrant.p.t / Portrait de Rembrandt / Peint par luy même, Gravé d'après le Tableau original / haut de 3. pieds 1/2. sur 3. de large* [= 113.6 x 97.4 cm], *tiré du Cabinet de Monsieur / Le Comte de Vence Maréchal de Camp des Armées du Roy.* (fig. 3), in: *Cabinet de Monsieur le Comte de Vence, Maréchal de Camp des Armées du Roy*, Paris 1755. Reproduces the painting faithfully in reverse.
2. Engraving (same direction) by Pieter Jan de Vlamynck (Bruges 1795-Bruges 1850).

5. Copies

1. Drawing by Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806), wash with brown ink, 25.5 x 20.5 cm (fig. 4), private collection Paris.[26] Reproduces the painting with a somewhat narrower picture surface namely at the left and right. Fragonard probably drew the painting when it was in the collection of the Comte de Vence (see Brown note 1).
2. Canvas 81 x 68 cm, Madrid, Museo del Prado, cat. no. 2808. Shows only the head and the chest.[27]
3. Canvas 112 x 96 cm, Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, inv. no. 338.[28]

6. Provenance

– Coll. Comte de Vence. Described in: *Description du Cabinet de M. le Comte de Vence,* Paris [1759] (Lugt 1073), p. 5: 'Cabinet. En entrant dans le Cabinet à droite, à côté de la porte, au rang le plus élevé, est un Portrait de Rambrandt peint par lui-même; il est gravé par Marcenay.'
– Coll. Comte de Vence, sale Paris 9-17 February 1761 (Lugt 1135), no. 42: 'Rembrandt-Van-Rhein. Le Portrait de Rembrandt dans sa vieillesse, vû de face à demi-corps & de grandeur naturelle, il est peint sur toile, de 3 pieds & demi de haut, sur 2 pieds 11 pouces de large [= 113.6 x 94.7 cm]. Ce Tableau est touché à plein pinceau & avec toute la chaleur qu'on connoît à ce Maître; il fait tant d'effet qu'on le croiroit pour ainsi dire de relief. La lumiere y est menagée avec tout l'art possible, ce qui répand dans ce Tableau une tranquilité admirable. M. de Marcenay l'a parfaitement bien gravé.' (481 francs bought by Remy for M. Le Barry Boonery).
– Coll. Hennessy, Brussels 1767.
– Coll. Danoot, 1781; sale Brussels 22-23 December 1828 (Lugt 11890), no. 53 (9450 florins to Héris). Reynolds saw this painting in 1781 during his trip through Flanders and the Netherlands when it was in the Danoot collection and he described it as follows: 'Rembrandt's portrait, by himself, half length, when he was old, in a very unfinished manner, but admirable for its colour and effect: his pallet and pencils and maulstick are in his hand, if it may be so called; for it is so slightly touched, that it can scarce be made out to be a hand.'[29]
– Art dealer Buchanan, London.
– Art dealer Nieuwenhuys, London.
– Coll. Marquess of Lansdowne, London 1836.
– Art dealer Agnew, London.
– Coll. 1st Earl of Iveagh, London from 1888 on; formed part of the Iveagh Bequest to the nation on his death in 1927.

NOTES

1. See Chapman 1990, p. 100 and C. Brown in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, p. 284.
2. Written communication from John Jacob, curator of the Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood House, London dd. 12 November 1971.
3. Compare for example the *Anatomy lesson of Dr Johan Deyman* (Br. 414) of 1656 in the Amsterdam Historisch Museum. See the unpublished restoration report by M. Bijl of the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum 1991 and Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 211-215.
4. J. Bryant, *London's Country House Collections*, London 1993.
5. H. van de Waal, 'Rembrandt 1956', *Museum* 61 (1956), p. 199.
6. Chapman 1990, pp. 99-100.
7. Brown, op. cit.[1], pp. 286-87.
8. J. Six, 'Rembrandts voorbereiding van de etsen van Jan Six en Abraham Francen', *Onze Kunst* 14 (1908), p. 65. See also B.P.J. Broos, 'The "O" of Rembrandt', *Simiolus* 4 (1970), pp. 150-182, esp. 181, note 48 and fig. 26.
9. W. Weisbach, *Rembrandt*, Berlin/Leipzig 1926, p. 535 and note 1. (HdG 807), not in Sumowski; for an illustration, see Broos, op. cit.[8], fig. 25.
10. Weisbach, op. cit.[9].
11. Broos, op. cit.[8], pp. 177-182.
12. Broos op. cit.[8], pp. 169-171. For less sound hypotheses of this theme, see Schwartz 1985 p. 351, and J.F. Moffit, '"Più tondo che l'O di Giotto": Giotto, Vasari, and Rembrandt's Kenwood House "Self-portrait"', *Paragone* 35 (1984), pp. 63-70.
13. Broos, op. cit.[8], p. 168.
14. 'Eenen krinck in 't rond getogen / Die ons 't eeuwigh stelt voor oogen', Broos, op. cit.[8], pp. 168-169.
15. See Broos, op. cit.[8], p. 182 and H. Miedema, 'De O's van Broos', *Simiolus* 5 (1971), pp. 185-186.
16. 'dat een stuk voldaan is als de meester zijn voornemen daar in bereikt heeft'. A. Houbraken, *Groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* I, Amsterdam 1718, p. 259.
17. J. Chenault Porter, 'Rembrandt and his circles: more about the late "Self-portrait" in Kenwood House', in: *The Age of Rembrandt. Studies in 17th century Dutch Painting*, R.E. Fleischer and S. Scott Munshower eds., University of Pennsylvania 1988, pp. 189-212 esp. 190.
18. C. Plinii Secundi, *Naturalis Historiae*, Liber XXXV, 80.
19. B. Nicholson, Editorial in *Burl. Mag.* 92 (1950), p. 183; C. Wright,

Rembrandt: Self-Portraits, London 1982, p. 32.

20. J.G. van Gelder, 'Rembrandt en de 17de eeuw', *De Gids* 140 (1956), pp. 408-409. The lecture by H. de Beaufort, *Rembrandt*, Haarlem 1957, pp. 112-113, who interpreted the circles as cabbalistic symbols, is unteneable for the same reason.
21. E. van de Wetering, 'The multiple functions of *Rembrandt's self portraits*', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, esp. pp. 11-13.
22. 'Dat alle schilderwerk, 't zy wat, of van wien gemaakt, maar kinder- en beuzelwerk is, zoo niet alles naar 't leven geschildert is, en datter niet goet of beter kan wezen, dan de natuur te volgen; over zulks hy niet eenen enkelen streek deed, of hy zette het leven voor zig Etc. [...] Van deze meening was ook onze groote meester Rembrant, stellende zig ten grondwet, enkele naarvolging van de natuur, en alles wat daar buiten gedaan werd was by hem verdagt'. A. Houbraken, *Groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* I, Amsterdam 1718, p. 262.
23. C. Vosmaer, *Rembrandt*, The Hague 1877, p. 561: just before 1660; HdG. 556: *c.* 1663; Van Gelder, op. cit.[20], p. 408-409: *c.* 1663; B. Nicholson, op. cit.[19], p. 183: 1660; Broos, op. cit.[8], p. 182: 1660; Moffit, op. cit.[12]: *c.* 1659.
24. C. Wright, op. cit.[19]: *c.* 1667-1668.
25. Brown, op. cit.[1], p. 286.
26. A. Ananoff, *L'Oeuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806). Catalogue Raisonné*, Tome II, Paris 1963, cat. no. 1092, fig. 315.
27. E. Valdivieso, *Pintura Holandesa del Siglo XVII en España*, Valladolid 1973, p. 346 and fig. 229.
28. H. Pontier, *Musée d'Aix, Bouches-du-Rhone, deuxième partie, Le Musée Granet*, Aix-en-Provence 1900, no. 338.
29. J. Reynolds, 'A journey to Flanders and Holland in the year MDCCLXXXI', *The works of Sir Joshua Reynolds...*, ed. E. Malone, London 1809[4], II, p. 266.

IV 27 Self-portrait

1669

LONDON, THE NATIONAL GALLERY, INV. NO. 221

HDG 551; BR. 55; BAUCH 339; GERSON 415; TÜMPEL 178

Fig. 1. Canvas 86 x 70.5 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 330



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

Thanks to the discovery of remains of the signature and the date 1669 during the restoration of this *Self-portrait* in 1967, this work, together with the *Self-portrait* in The Hague (IV 29), has determined the image of Rembrandt in his last year for the past decades. The nature of the London painting's technique and execution, and its genesis as read from the X-ray image confirms the *communis opinio* that it is authentic. However, the painting's present state does not accurately reflect Rembrandt's intentions in one respect, namely its format, which is not original. The painting's format, the meaning of the extensive changes introduced in the course of its production (according to the X-radiograph), and the possible nature and significance of Rembrandt's historicising costume are addressed in this entry.

Rembrandt is seen half-length with the body turned three-quarters to the right, his gaze directed at the viewer, and the right hand resting in the left hand. He wears a historicising 15th-century costume consisting of a red-brown doublet with a small brown fur collar. The doublet has two deep folds on the chest and a light-brown border with two buttonholes along the overlapping panel. The doublet is fastened with a button at the chest; under its sleeves red undersleeves are visible. A narrow strip of the white of the shirt peaks out near the wrists. On his head Rembrandt wears a brown cap over a white undercap. The curling hair somewhat covering the ears, the moustache, and the small tuft of hair on the chin are grey. The figure is set before a partially illuminated grey-brown back wall.

Working conditions

Examined on 27 August 1971 (J.B., S.H.L.): an X-ray mosaic of the entire image was available. The painting was taken out of the frame and examined in good daylight. It was also studied on numerous occasions in the frame. The results of the paint sample analysis as described in *Art in the making* were considered as well.[1]

Support

Canvas, lined, 86 x 70.5 cm. The fact that only the remains of the last letter of the signature – the *t* on the left edge of the original canvas – can be discerned, indicates that a strip of canvas the width of the remaining eight letters is missing. Gregory Martin, for instance, estimated that at least 7 cm of the original image has disappeared at the left.[2]

The canvas displays cusping all around. Along the top edge the cusping varies from 11 to 16 cm and extends app. 18 cm into the weave. Along the bottom edge, it varies in pitch from 10 to 15 cm and extends app. 19 cm into the weave. Along the left edge, it varies between 11 and 15 cm long and extends 18 cm into the weave, and at the right edge from 11.5 to 14 cm and extends app. 24 cm into the weave.

There is reason to believe that the painting has been reduced on all sides, and certainly more at the left than at the right. This is inferred from the fact that the cusping at the right extends further into the weave and has a more acute angle along the edges than is the case at the left edge. As mentioned above, at least 7 cm is missing along the left edge. Comparison of the cusping at the left and right makes it plausible that app. 4 cm is missing at the right. Accordingly, the painting was originally at least 81.5 cm wide. The present height is 86 cm, just 5 cm more than the hypothetical original width. It seems obvious then to assume the canvas must have also been reduced in height. The comparable depth of the relatively slight cusping above and below, and the fact that at the upper left and upper right as well as below the last cusps are incomplete (at the upper left edge 1.8 cm, and the lower left edge 9 cm wide; at the upper right edge 5 cm, and the lower right edge 4.5 cm wide), make it likely that app. 5 to 10 cm wide strips of the canvas are missing at both the top and bottom.

Thread count: 10.9 vertical threads/cm (10-12.8); 10.2 horizontal threads/cm (9.5-10.8). Given the smaller spread of the number of horizontal threads the warp runs horizontally. From the observations outlined above concerning the painting's original format, and the possibility that, as usual, the painting covered a full width of canvas, it could have originally measured 1.5 ell (= app. 1.05 m) high. This standard width occurred frequently in the 17th century (see Vol. II, p. 21ff).

Ground

A yellow brown ground shines through the paint layer locally in the background. According to *Art in the making*: 'The canvas is prepared with a single layer of coarse textured brown ground, the main component of which has been identified as quartz (silica) tinted with a little brown-coloured ochre.'[3] (see *Table of Grounds* III, pp. 670-671)

Paint layer

Condition: When the painting was restored in 1967, many places in the background displayed evidence of having been overcleaned and abraded in the past. The damages are found primarily in the top part of the background. The white paint of the underlying first version of the headdress came to the surface in a damaged area at the left above the head (see *Radiography*). The paint of the background is also worn to the left of the shoulder and at the right near the upper arm. The figure of Rembrandt is better preserved. While the head and the hair are still in good condition, traces of overcleaning can be detected on the upper arm and shoulder, where originally the paint was evidently thinly applied.

Craquelure: The pattern of the craquelure is characteristic for a painting on canvas.

As emerges in the discussion of the X-radiograph, the painting's first and final appearance deviate in a number of respects. Some of these earlier forms, such as the white lay-in of the headdress and the hands with the brush, extend beyond the figure's present contours. Given the unusually free nature of the brushwork visible in the X-

radiograph, these must be traces of underpainting. As usual, the background had to be completed after the figure was first underpainted.[4] Subsequently, in so far as they exceeded the definitive contours, parts of the underpainting must have been covered by a second locally applied background. That this indeed occurred is confirmed by the fact that the background in the zones in question consists of several layers.[5] The illuminated zone of the background applied over thinner darker paint precisely follows the contour of the headdress in its present form, indicating that the local repainting of the background took place in a relatively late stage in the painting's genesis. There, and near the parts also covered by a second background near and around the hands in their present position, the double layer of paint appears to have suffered less from overcleaning.

The structure of the paint surface in the face is partially determined by underlying, very freely placed strokes, as they partly show up light in the X-radiograph.[6] Further elaboration of the modelling and the structure of the face was then applied over these streaks in thinner paint. The colour scheme adopted in this process of further definition ranges from brown-red accents in and around the eyes, via a strong pink on the nose, to cool greys on the lit cheekbone and on the chin in the area of the cheek-pouch. A brownish flesh colour with pinkish and yellowish tinges dominates. The build-up described here entails that the shifts in the colour and tonal nuances hardly correlate with the relief of the pastose brushstrokes (situated in a deeper layer).

Strong dark brown accents in the eye sockets, below the nose and in the corners of the mouth, and along the bottom of the chin reinforce the impression of the effect of light. A subtle, seemingly casual interplay between focused and blurred sections contribute greatly to the atmospheric effect that so characterises this painting. This is further enhanced by the way in which the hair in the lit side is treated: a strongly lit lock emerges from the duskily indicated mass of hair. Individual hairs of this lock are sporadically suggested; a configuration of highlights applied with grazing touches of the brush adds to the impression of plasticity and to the fluffiness of the lit thatch of hair. Something similar can be observed in the brown fur collar worn by Rembrandt. The fur is suggested with what appear to be almost coincidental gradations in light red brown tones, surrounded by gradually darkening deeper red browns. The play of focused and blurred passages found here also contributes to the impression of space and to the atmospheric quality of the figure's setting.

That the attention of the viewer deliberately directed by the painter to the most strongly lit and most detailed section becomes still clearer when one sees how the originally conspicuous and rather complicated position of the hands (visible in the X-radiograph) has been altered to a simpler, more inconspicuous clasp (on this phenomenon, see *2. Comments*). Only the left thumb somewhat disentangles itself from the form of the clasped hands receding in the background. The curve of the arm is suggested with consummate simplicity through the elliptical course of both shirt sleeves and the contiguous red strokes marking the sleeve. In their analysis of the paint samples, the authors of *Art in the making* determined that (semi)-transparent paint was used in the costume.[7]

In this painting too, as so often in his late works, Rembrandt made scratches in the wet paint to clarify certain parts of the forms: for instance, in the earlobe, at the tip of the nose and in the hair. The forcefully curved scratches along the left temple make the impression that the painter wanted to introduce precision in the construction of the skull, which may well be related to the radical revision of the headdress.

Radiography

As mentioned above, there are shapes in radioabsorbent paint in the X-radiograph that clearly deviate from those visible on the paint surface. For instance, initially a large headdress was indicated in rapid, radioabsorbing, evidently light strokes. At first sight this headdress displays similarities with the white cap worn by Rembrandt in the Kenwood *Self-portrait* (IV 26). However, one may ask whether such a cap was intended here. A large light shape above and to the right of the forehead joins a series of less radioabsorbent strokes that extend right to the top edge connecting up with similar, rather loosely set wide strokes above Rembrandt's crown. The suggested form may also be read, with some reservation, as a turban-like headdress.

The collar of the doublet, or of a shirt or a shawl, was originally indicated with strongly radioabsorbent strokes of paint. Pastose white paint shines through the paint surface in this area. The spot showing up light to the right of the throat must probably be read as a part of the collar in its earlier, lighter form.

For Rembrandt's right hand (strictly speaking his left hand depicted in reverse) can be seen a relatively large reserve along the right edge (at the place of the stretcher and therefore showing virtually no contrast) (fig. 4). The paint of the background there (in an underlying layer) contains radioabsorbent paint. Traces of the bent fingers are clearly visible. The part of this hand and the wrist facing the light are heightened with loosely brushed strokes containing lead white. The other hand, largely concealed behind the hand just described is indicated with sketched lines also containing lead white. A curved shape can be distinguished, possibly the bent index finger, or the thumb sticking through the hole in a palette. A line showing up light running at an angle to the left seems more like an indication of a brush than of a maulstick, as has been proposed.[8] Originally, the cuff at the right wrist was somewhat more widely conceived.

More or less straight radioabsorbing bands with adjoining ridges, namely in the right part of the background, evidence Rembrandt's use of a palette knife early on in the painting process.

Signature

Lower left at the level of the sitter's back in black: <[*t*] *.f. 1669*>. The rest of the signature is cut off. The remains of the letter *t* is found at the left, somewhat lower than the upstroke of the *f* (see note 2).

Fig. 3. Detail with signature (1:1)



2. Comments

The image of Rembrandt in his last year was long determined by the *Self-portrait* in The Hague (IV 29). Numerous authors proposed psychologising and 'existential' interpretations of this painting as reflecting Rembrandt's state of mind on the eve of his death. Clear signs of mental and artistic decline were detected in the painting.[9] However, the London *Self-portrait* of 1669 under consideration and the closely related *Self-portrait* in Florence (IV 28), which in our opinion is from the same year, compel us to reassess the image of Rembrandt in his last year. The genesis of the London painting makes clear the extent to which Rembrandt was still preoccupied with purely pictorial problems in this phase of his life.

The very fact that, and the way in which, Rembrandt feverishly sought optimal painterly solutions in the course of the painting's genesis bespeak his enduring vitality and artistic drive. Comparison with the X-ray image shows that various areas of the figure were toned down during the work process, evidently with a view to a closer harmonisation in the illumination of the different passages and, in particular, the introduction of a hierarchy in the dosing of the light. The highest light falls on Rembrandt's forehead and temple and on the edge of the white undercap. The lower part of Rembrandt's face is toned down to such an extent that the light on the chin, compared with that on the forehead, is greatly muted. More muted still is the light on the hands. Comparison of the painting in its final form with the X-ray image gives the impression of witnessing a gradual process of mastering the tonal composition of the painting.

In another connection, we have suggested that the – in the case of this painting evidently conscious – reduction of the number of details and the toning down of some of the light elements in the composition as a whole, were part of Rembrandt's pictorial aims.[10] Houbraken's account that 'he [Rembrandt] is said to have painted over with a brown pigment a beautiful Cleopatra in order to give full effect to a single pearl'[11] yields an, albeit somewhat charged, image of Rembrandt's approach to painting in this respect.

The question must be posed whether Rembrandt's considerations in replacing the two hands with a paint brush engaged in some unclear activity (see: *Radiography*) with the clasped hands were of a solely formal nature. In analysing the genesis of some of Rembrandt's late self-portraits, there appears to be much in favour of this option. With respect to the pose of the hands, it seems that Rembrandt was first inclined to reproduce more or less faithfully the image observed in the mirror and then later introduce relatively radical alterations. In both the Kenwood *Self-portrait* (IV 26) and the *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* in Cologne (IV 25), this process can be traced through comparison with the X-ray image. We also suspect that the late *Self-portrait* in Florence (IV 28) originally included hands comparable to those visible in the X-ray image of the present painting – more in repose – and likewise holding painting implements. The fact that in all four paintings Rembrandt reduced to a minimum the initially depicted 'activity' of painting or the holding of painter's tools, or even eliminated the hands altogether, can therefore hardly be based on anything other than compositional or other formal considerations.

As discussed in Chapter III of this volume, we no longer share the long-held opinion that Rembrandt's self-portraits – and certainly his later ones – must be understood as the result of a sort of self-analysis and the ensuing notions of self-representation. We feel that the *raison d'être* of the *Self-portrait* in Florence, namely as a marketable artist's portrait (see entry of IV 28), could well be the same for the present *Self-portrait*. The fact that Rembrandt here, as in numerous of his self-portraits, portrayed himself in historicising garb affords some support for this idea as will be outlined below.

Chapman discerned such strong links between the present painting and the London *Self-portrait* of 1640 (III A 139) as to suggest that 'Rembrandt now draws on his own inner artistic repertory' and that 'now, as in summing up his career, he emulates himself'.[12] However, we find that these similarities can be better explained by Rembrandt's familiarity with engraved series of artists' portraits.[13] Particularly the costume must be seen as an important indication that he, also in the last year of his life, continued to make use of elements in printed 'portraits' of illustrious predecessors. As detailed in Chapter II, Rembrandt relied mainly on early 16th-century models for his self-portraits in historicising costume. The type of doublet with two deep folds on the front and the high-necked fur collar, however, are not in keeping with 16th-century fashions. The jacket in the present painting more closely resembles the type of doublet worn in the middle of the 15th century.[14] The costumes encountered in the artists' portraits of Dirck Bouts (fig. 5) and Rogier van der Weyden (fig. 6) made by Hieronymus Cock may have served Rembrandt as an example.[15] Of the two works, the costume in the portrait of Dirck Bouts has the most in common with that in the *Self-portrait* under consideration; particularly the shape of the fur collar and the single button at the centre front. The fact that Rembrandt originally appears to have been holding a brush accords well with the print of Bouts just mentioned in which he is shown holding some brushes.

Unlike the costume, the nature of the brown cap over a white undercap is difficult to determine. The painters

Fig. 4. X-Ray, detail

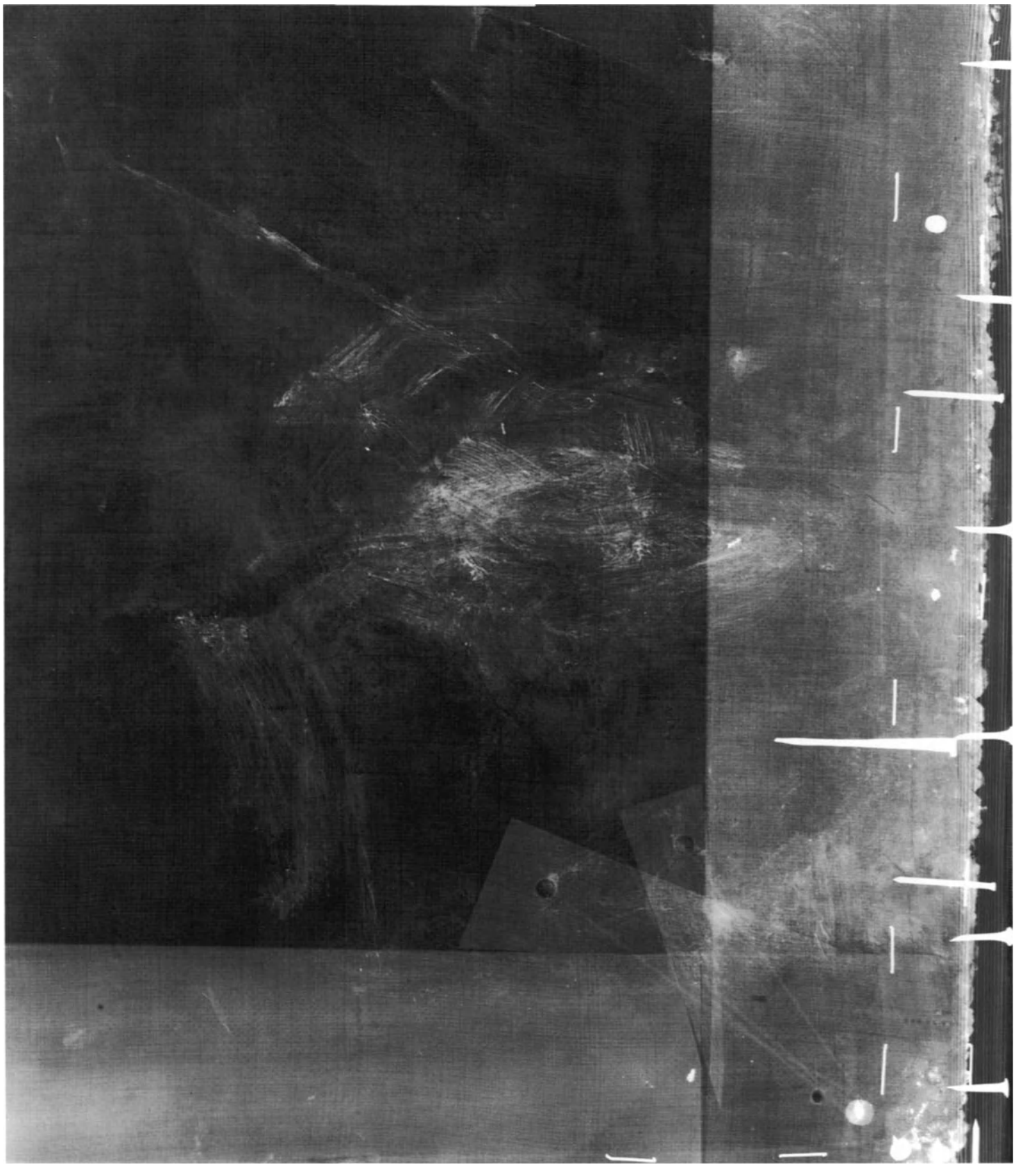


Fig. 5. H. Cock, *Dirk Bouts*, engraving in: D. Lampsonius, *Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium Germaniae Inferioris Effigies*, Antwerp 1572

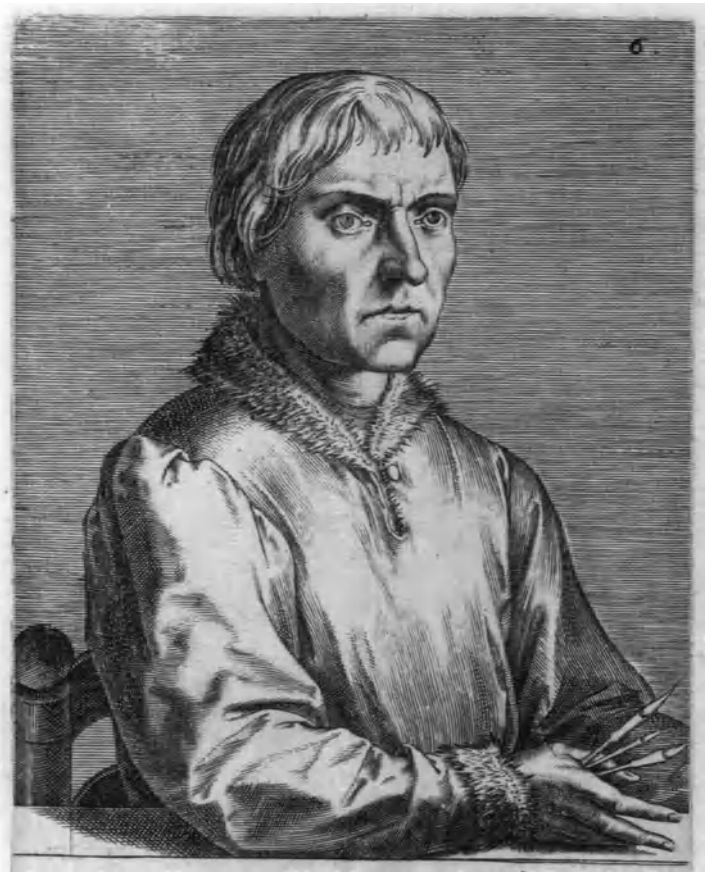


Fig. 6. H. Cock, *Rogier van der Weyden*, engraving in: D. Lampsonius, *Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium Germaniae Inferioris Effigies*, Antwerp 1572



in the two prints just discussed are bareheaded. From the X-radiograph, we see that Rembrandt first attempted to combine the historicising costume with a white cap, as found earlier in his *Self-portraits* in Kenwood House (IV 26), Paris (IV 19) and Cologne (IV 25). It is striking that in all of these late paintings Rembrandt shows himself near his easel and with his tools. Although Rembrandt's motives for linking these elements cannot be clarified for the time being (on this issue, see IV 19, *2. Comments*), it is tempting to see a connection between his decision to eliminate the brush and to replace the white cap with another headdress in the present painting (see also p. 151).

The varying nature and meaning of the costumes in Rembrandt's self-portraits is discussed in Chapter II. We believe that contemporary art lovers understood these costumes as a reference to Rembrandt's ideas on art and the way in which he perceived his place among his great predecessors. Interesting in this connection is the fact that the earliest known owner of the *Self-portrait* was Willem van Huls, who may well have been a typical art lover who would have been aware of such allusions. This Willem van Huls may be identical to the brother of the Hague art-lover Samuel van Huls (1655-1734), who owned a large collection of art (including many Rembrandt etchings).[16] Although Willem van Huls cannot have been the painting's first owner the fact that he was one of the earliest owners may imply that the painting from the outset was in the hands of typical art lovers.

That Rembrandt sought his artistic forefathers to a significant degree in the Northern 'history of art' – certainly with respect to his 16th-century models – should be clear by now. However the question of why Rembrandt in certain self-portraits, (the present painting and, for example, the Thyssen *Self-portrait* of *c.* 1640, IV 2) followed 15th-century Northern models for the costumes deserves further investigation.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 303 ff.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

None.

5. Copies

In the literature a number of 19th-century copies of the present painting are mentioned.[17]

6. Provenance

– Coll. William van Huls, London; sale London 6 August 1722 (Lugt 299), no. 22: '*Rembrandt* – His own Picture' (for £ 80).
– Coll. Thomas Brodrick; according to George Vertue, who saw it in 1722: 'at M[r] Brodericks Membr parliament a fine head of Rhinbrants own picture bought at Mr Van huls Sale'.[18]
– In 1730 by descent to his brother, Alan, 1st Viscount Middleton. By descent in the Middleton collection at Peper Harow.
– Coll. 5th Viscount Middleton, sale London (Christie's) 30-31 July 1851 (Lugt 20466), second day no. 78, acquired for the National Gallery (for 430 gns).

NOTES

1. Exhib. cat. *Art in the making*, 1988/89, pp. 140-143.
2. G. Martin, 'A Rembrandt Self Portrait from his last year', *Burl. Mag.* 109 (1967), p. 355. In this article it was estimated at 3 inches, while in exhib. cat. *Art in the making*, 1988/89, p. 140, this is incorrectly given as 3 cm.
3. Exhib. cat. *Art in the making*, 1988/89, p. 140.
4. See: Van de Wetering 1997, Chapter 8.
5. As confirmed by the cross-section of the paint sample in exhib. cat. *Art in the making*, 1988/89, p. 142, plate 88: two layers of khaki paint.
6. See: exhib. cat. *Art in the making*, 1988/89, plate 85, cross-section of lead white over brown undermodelling.
7. See: exhib. cat. *Art in the making*, 1988/89, p. 142, plate 86.
8. Martin, op. cit.[2], sees this as a brush or a maulstick; in exhib. cat. *Art in the making*, 1988/89, p. 142, both of these possibilities are kept open.
9. For these comments, please refer to the entry IV 29.
10. Van de Wetering 1997, p. 168.
11. '... om ene enkele parel kracht te doen hebben, een schone Cleopatra zou hebben overgetaant.' A. Houbraken, *Groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* I, Amsterdam 1718, p. 259.
12. Chapman 1990, pp. 130-131.
13. On the use of prints for the pose in the 1640 *Self-portrait*, see S.S. Dickey, *Prints, portraits and patronage in Rembrandt's work around 1640*, (Diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) 1994, pp. 105-200.
14. For example, see M. Scott, *A visual history of costume: the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, London 1986.
15. Chapman 1990, p. 131, links IV 27 with the portraits of the Van Eyck brothers in the same series. The similarities with these two prints, however, seem far less than those with the prints of Dirk Bouts and of Rogier van der Weyden.
16. H.P. Fölting, *De vroedschap van 's-Gravenhage, 1572-1795*, Pijnacker 1985.
17. See: N. MacLaren, *The Dutch school. 1600-1900*, (National Gallery Catalogues), London 1960, revised and enlarged by C. Brown, London 1991, p. 337. M. Meier-Siem, 'Rembrandt Selbstbildnisse im Röntgenbild', *Röntgenbrief* 11, Frankfurt am Main, [n.d.] no pagination, figs. 24 and 25, mentions a 19th-century copy in a private collection in the U.S.A. in which Rembrandt's left hand has been omitted and his right one is shown with index and middle finger extended.
18. 'The note-books of George Vertue relating to artists and collections in England', *The Walpole Society* 22 (1933-1934), p. 9.

IV 28 Self-portrait [1669]

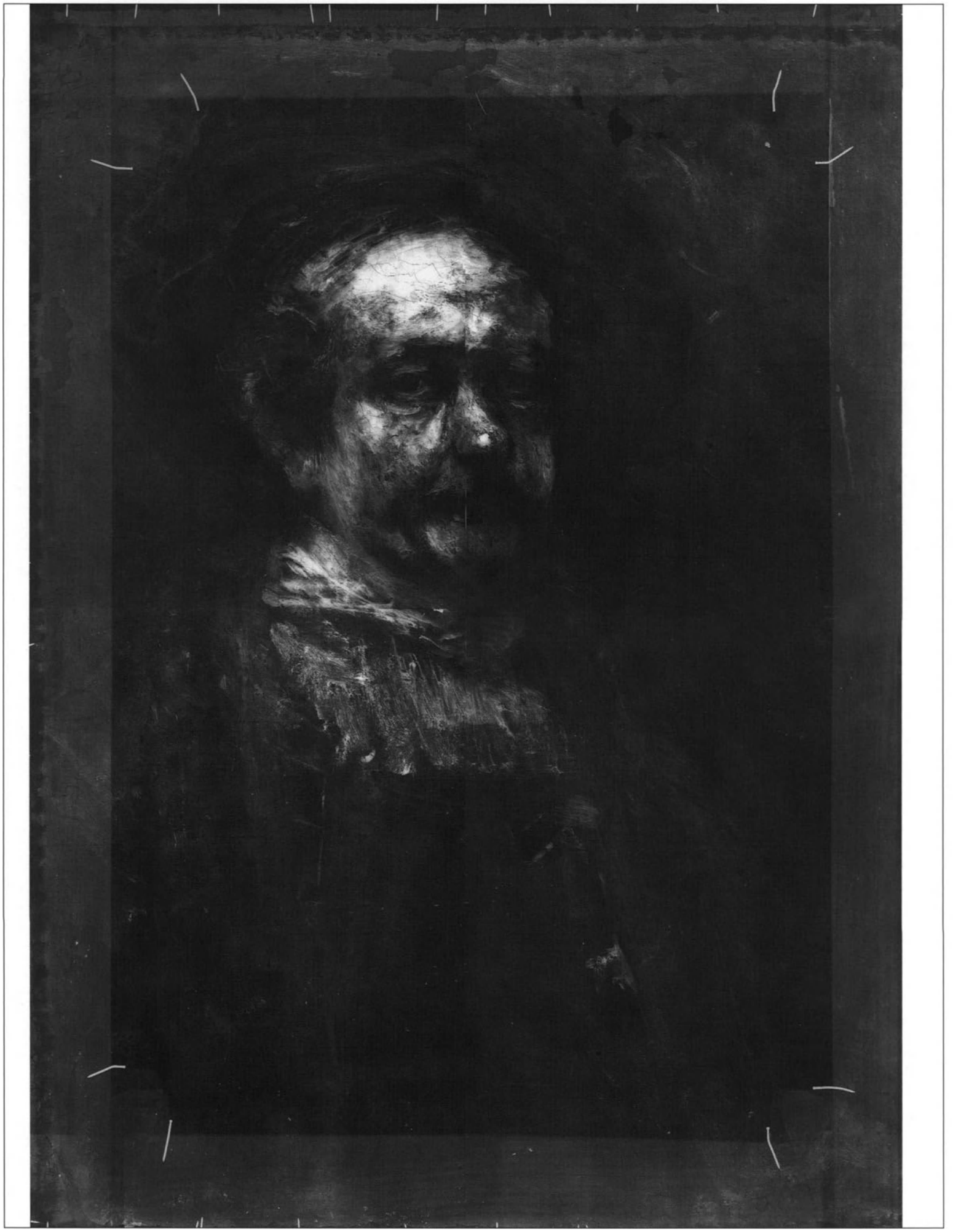
FLORENCE, GALLERIA DEGLI UFFIZI, INV. 1890 NO. 1871

HDG 540; BR. 60; BAUCH 340; GERSON 399; TÜMPEL 176

Fig. 1. Canvas 71.0 x 54.2 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 331



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

There are strong indications that Cosimo III de' Medici (1642-1723) ordered or even purchased this *Self-portrait* in Rembrandt's studio. The painting can thus be considered as one of Rembrandt's best-documented works. Hence it is all the more regrettable that the painting is only barely visible through a thick, degraded layer of varnish.

Turned slightly to the right, Rembrandt is shown half-length looking out at the viewer. The painting's complicated material history makes it particularly difficult to assess the various items of clothing covering his upper body. Rembrandt appears to be wearing a dark red jerkin with a straight neckline over a – now difficult to discern – white shirt. A black fur-trimmed gown is draped over the jerkin. At the neck may be some traces of a light neckerchief from an earlier stage of the painting's execution. A medallion or medal hangs from a ribbon around the sitter's neck. The head is covered with a 'caul', or hairnet, knotted on the forehead, on top of which is perched a black cap with a scalloped border. These items of clothing were current in the 16th century.

Working conditions

Examined on 10 September 1972 (J.B., P.v.Th.) and on 25 September 1995 (E.v.d.W.): in artificial light, in the frame and with the aid of four X-radiographs covering the entire surface. A thick yellowed and degraded layer of varnish seriously hampers observation.

Support

Canvas, lined; dimensions of the original canvas taken from the X-radiograph, app. 71.0 x 54.2 cm. Single piece. Langedijk believes that the painting was enlarged with strips on all four sides prior to 1676 to match certain standard dimensions of works in the Medici collection.[1] A primed strip of canvas app. 1 cm wide was, indeed, added at the top. This strip, however, appears to have been pasted onto the lining canvas, rather than sewn to the original canvas, as was usual in the 17th century. Thus, the strip along the upper edge can not be considered as a 17th-century addition. Similar, even narrower additions of app. 0.5 cm are also visible in the X-radiograph along the left and right edges. Presumably these latter strips continue in the folded edges of the lining canvas. All three strips were probably added during a restoration of the seriously damaged border of the original canvas in its present dimensions. At app. 1.5 cm intervals along the upper edge and both sides of the original canvas the X-radiograph shows a fairly regular pattern of damages to the canvas that partially merge with one another. These could be traces of an earlier attempt to restretch the canvas.

There are various indications that the canvas may originally have been substantially larger. First, none of the sides reveal cusping. While a painting of this size would not necessarily have cusping on all four sides, as a rule it would occur at least on one or two sides (see Vol. II, p. 33). Second, the *mise en toile* for a half-length figure is unusual; the head and torso are set so far to the left in the picture plane that part of the chest and shoulder are cut off. This may indicate that the canvas was cut down on the left side. There are clues that this also occurred on the right and lower sides. Clear traces of brushstrokes showing up in the X-radiograph in the lower right corner may well point to the initial presence of a hand or hands possibly holding a palette and other painter's implements (fig.3). These shapes are interrupted at both the right and lower edge such that it may be assumed that the painting was also larger on these sides. The absence of a signature may serve as a final indication that the canvas was cut down. The hypothesis that strips of app. 15 cm wide were removed from all four sides is considered in *2. Comments.*

Threadcount: The structure of the canvas is so vague in the X-radiograph that the threads cannot be counted. The poor visibility of the canvas structure is probably due to the fact that the ground contains little or no radio-absorbent material. It is therefore plausible that this painting, like other late works, was executed on a quartz ground.

Ground

Not observed. As noted in *Support*, there are indications that the painting was done on a quartz ground. Such grounds are brownish-grey or brown.

Paint layer

Because the assessment of the paint layer is seriously hindered by a thick layer of yellowed and degraded varnish, indications regarding retouchings or overpaintings are not, as usual, discussed here, but rather in the description of the paint layer below. It cannot be said with certainty whether or to what extent an irregularly distributed brownish-black paint layer may have been applied by a later hand as a kind of artificial patina. The X-ray image implies that paint losses along the edges of the original canvas must have been retouched, yet just how far these retouchings extend into the image is unclear.

Numerous places appear to have been overpainted by later hands. The intensity of colour of the shades of dark paint in those areas is unusual. The somewhat different reflection of the surface of these passages reinforces the impression that they are later additions. The most extensive overpaintings are in the face, where they seem to have been applied to strengthen the shadows of the pouch to the left and right below the mouth. Comparable overpaintings are found under the tip of the nose and on and around the upper lip. The contours of the nose and the chin have been reinforced with the same paint. Similar brown paint also occurs in the shadow along the right contour of the face. To what extent the shadows in the eye sockets have been overpainted is not entirely clear. However, given the fact that the dark paint overlaps the light paint in many of these places (in contrast with Rembrandt's usual working method) it would appear that these were also overpainted.

The chances are great that during such a radical restoration the generally vulnerable background was also overpainted. The same holds true for the cap. Given the thick

varnish, all that can be said about the background is that along the outermost contour of the fur collar at the right paint with an atypical gloss can be discerned which, in contrast to what one might expect, appears to overlap the fur collar in places. It is doubtful whether this rather uninspired contour reflects Rembrandt's intentions.

The *peinture* in the light areas of the face can be clearly read. In various spots probably authentic ruddy glazes can be distinguished which locally cover the coarse impasto. This also applies to the reddish-brown strokes at the left under the wing of the nose, on the crease of the cheek, to the right below the right pouch, near the jaw line and the temple where, as well as at the right on the forehead and on the right cheek, cooler tones have been applied in glaze. The hair has been defined with pastose paint in grazing strokes, in which near the temple weak, restless scratchmarks were applied in the wet paint. Unusual, though not unique, is some stubble indicated with fairly long lines to the left under the chin (see also the *Self-portrait* in Indianapolis, IV *Corrigenda* I A 22).

The original appearance of the passages at the neck and the chest is difficult to determine because of their enigmatic material history. The impasto of the coarse brushstrokes to the left of the cheek below the earlobe corresponds with what is visible in the X-radiograph in this area. The yellow paint glimmering through there appears to be lead tin yellow. Rather than being part of the lit skin of the neck, as suggested by the X-radiograph, this could indicate that in an earlier stage the sitter wore a yellow neckerchief tucked in close to the jaw – as depicted in copies and reproductive prints. This is not to say, however, that the neck was not shown uncovered at some stage, nor that the supposed yellow neckerchief was part of the final painting. The various stages in the area of the neck and the chest are discussed in *Radiography*.

The light brushstrokes glimmering through on the chest, which are visible in relief (and also show up in the X-ray image), are largely covered by thin dark paint. It is unclear whether this dark paint is applied later, or whether the light paint is part of a worn pentimento. According to the X-radiograph, radioabsorbent strokes that appear to have belonged to a pleated shirt extended up to a narrow neckerchief (or the collar of a white shirt). Schmidt's print (see *4. Graphic reproductions*, 2, fig. 6) suggests that the neckerchief in the painting was much wider and that it partially covered the chest. Aside from some dark traces, the present condition of the painting provides too few clues for determining the accuracy of Schmidt's print as a reproduction of the image in its original state. However, to our knowledge, the combination of a neckerchief and this type of costume is not found in any other known example. The original brushwork in the clothing is generally quite visible in the relief, in part thanks to what appears to be an artificial patina that has been rubbed into it. The nature and coherence of these underlying strokes make it plausible that Rembrandt's brushwork was preserved here. The same hand was responsible for the brushwork of the ribbon from which the medallion hangs. It overlaps the red paint of the jerkin which has been painted with comparable coarse brushstrokes.

The tonality of the shoulder at the left, where brushstrokes visible in the X-radiograph have been painted out, is fairly dark. This area may possibly represent a pentimento rather than a later overpainting. It could correspond with the pentimento at the place where an open collar at the right was eliminated (see *Radiography*).

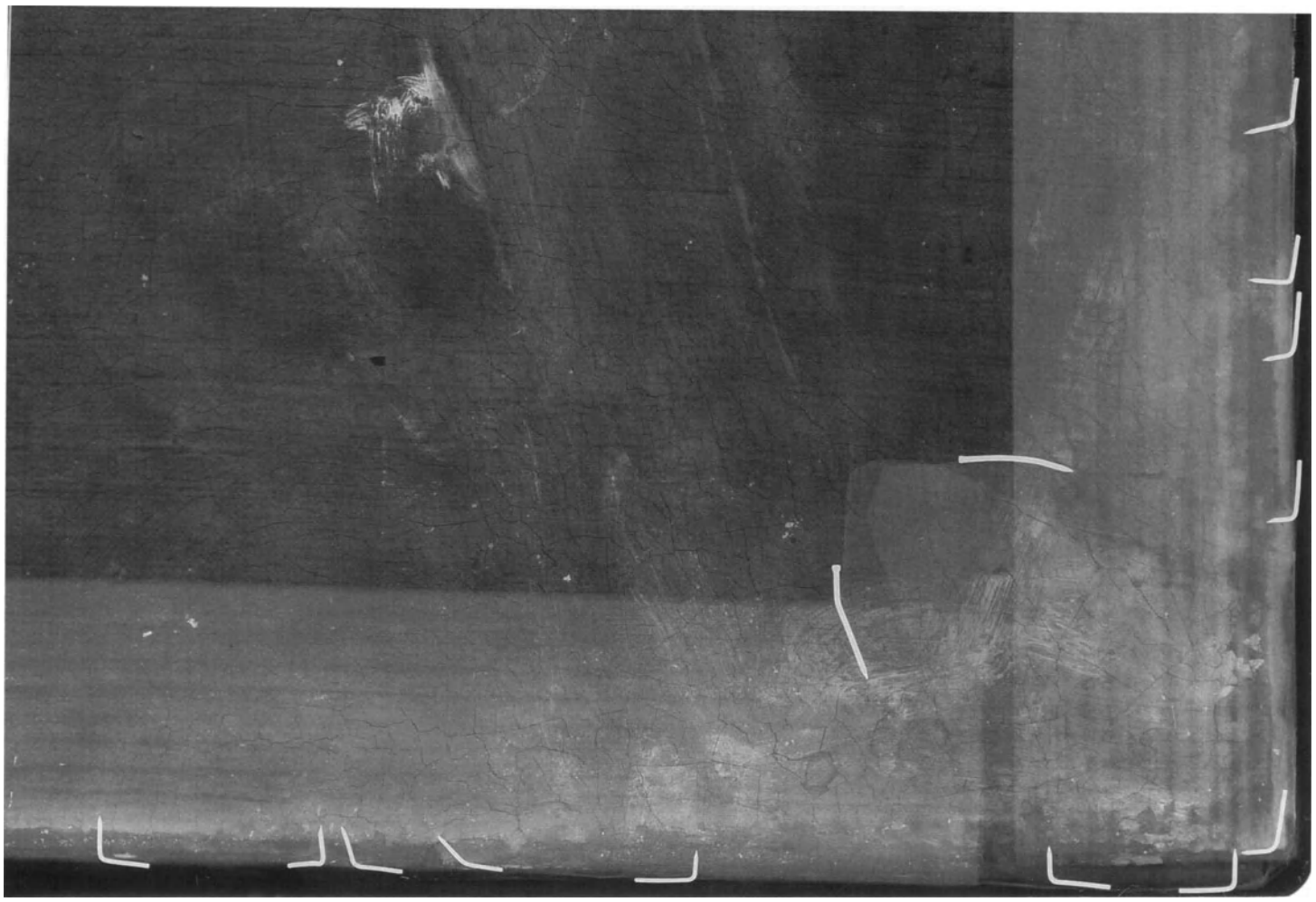
Craquelure: The X-ray image reveals an irregular craquelure pattern that is characteristic of a 17th-century painting on canvas.

Radiography

The X-radiograph discloses a fairly complicated genesis. It should be reiterated here that the present appearance of the painting's surface should not be considered a reliable image of Rembrandt's final objective. Particularly in the clothing, the X-radiograph reveals a different aspect than the visible image would lead one to expect: the costume appears to have undergone several revisions. The cap was initially larger both at the top and to the right than the one now visible. Moreover, a much flatter headdress shows up, that may have been intended as a cap (cf. for example IV 20), but which can also be interpreted as a larger version of the present hairnet. In the latter case, the cap would have been placed further back on the head. With respect to the clothing, the zone near Rembrandt's neck showing up very light is most prominent in the X-radiograph. The upper, somewhat smoothly brushed part of this zone could represent the lit neck, as is frequently the case in Rembrandt's self-portraits. However, the yellow paint in the paint surface there does not seem to belong to the neck, but rather to a neckerchief. Whether the light triangular shape just below it visible in the X-ray image also belongs to the neckerchief is not clear. This form more readily resembles the collar of a white shirt with a counterpart at the right in the form of a stroke of radioabsorbent paint. Additional clues in the painting indicate that Rembrandt depicted himself in a white shirt at an earlier stage. The X-ray image displays broad vertical strokes of radioabsorbent paint in the area of the chest. Noteworthy here is a horizontal interruption in the intensity of the radioabsorbency of the vertical strokes: the paint above the interruption shows up stronger in the X-radiograph than the one below and will have been more thickly applied. This suggests that a change was also introduced in this area of the clothing. The costume in the *Self-portrait* in Florence as it is seen in the X-radiograph is strongly reminiscent of that worn by the foremost elder in the Berlin *Susanna and the Elders* (Br. 516), whose white shirt is tucked into a jerkin with a horizontal neck opening.

It is noteworthy that the straight lower border of the white shirt does not extend all the way to the left in the X-radiograph as suggested in the paint surface; in the X-radiograph no radioabsorbent paint is visible in the lower left corner of the white shirt. The semi-circular shape – where traces of paint scraped away with a palette knife are also visible – exactly matches the direction of the ribbon hanging on the chest whose course is abruptly terminated in the paint surface. It appears as though the ribbon initially continued over the white shirt (again, compare the foremost elder in *Susanna and the Elders*) and disap-

Fig. 3. X-Ray, detail of the lower right corner showing hands



peared under the fur-trimmed gown. Apparently, the ribbon here was covered with the brownish-black paint layer that was presumably applied by a later hand (see *Paint layer*). That this passage was already difficult to read at an early stage is confirmed by the various interpretations of it found in prints and copies after it (see *2. Comments*).

Other aspects of the costume are exhibited in the X-ray image. With respect to the outer garments, an angular brushstroke to the right of the neck seems to indicate that at some point Rembrandt depicted the turned up collar of a different garment (cf. IV 20). Not a trace exists of the left side of this collar, unless the straight border applied with a palette knife to the left below the square neck opening is related to changes in this item of clothing. Traces left by a palette knife also show up in other places, particularly in the hair at the left, in the white shirt at the chest and in the fur collar at the left. The fastening of another item of clothing can be discerned a little to the right of centre. Three configurations of brushstrokes in radioabsorbent paint, the top one of which is difficult to read because the strokes interfere with the radioabsorbent paint of the white shirt, could be related to the fastening (cf. IV 27). Radioabsorbent paint shows up in strokes running at an angle to the shoulder to the left which were presumably applied as part of the modelling of the shoulder.

As described earlier in *Support*, broad lively brushstrokes show up at the lower right. Their location makes it very feasible that one or both hands were once depicted here (fig. 3). A longer stroke running to the upper right could indicate the initial inclusion of artist's implements similar to those found in the *Self-portrait* in Paris (IV 19), and in the original appearance of the 1669 London *Self-portrait* (IV 27).

Signature

Not observed. Possibly the signature was situated on a trimmed piece of canvas (see *Support*).

2. Comments

A connection between the early presence of the *Self-portrait* in Florence and a visit Cosimo III de' Medici made to Rembrandt's studio has long been suspected.[2] The notion that a self-portrait was purchased during this visit is entirely plausible, given that the De' Medici family began collecting self-portraits of contemporary and earlier artists in this period.

Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici (1617-1675) can be considered as the founder of the *Galleria degli Autoritratti*.[3] However, we do know that Cosimo III purchased self-portraits during the trip he made to the Netherlands from December 1667 to May 1668 when he visited Rembrandt. Proof of this is provided by an inscription on a

Fig. 4. V. de Greys and assistants, drawing of the De' Medici's Self-portrait gallery between 1753 and 1765. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 51, fol. 6. The present self-portrait is in the 4th vertical row from the left.



sketch by Caspar Netscher after a self-portrait of the artist with his family bought by Cosimo III: 'Painted by Caspar Netscher [...] sold in the year 1668 to the son of the duke of Florence, prince of Tuscany, who was then in The Hague.'[4]

In the Rembrandt literature it has up till now been suggested that Cosimo III bought the painting under discussion during a visit on 29 December 1667 to several Amsterdam studios, including that of 'Reinbrent, pittore famoso' (Rembrandt, famous painter) (see *3. Documents and Sources*, 1).[5] However, a later dating of this painting would make this suggestion implausible. In our opinion, it probably originated in 1669 rather than in 1667. It may seem extreme to so closely pinpoint the date of the painting within a two-year framework. However, our certainty on this point is based on the extraordinarily close correspondence between the painting in Florence and the *Self-portrait* in London (IV 27), which is dated 1669. Their similarities cannot be seen in the paint surface – given the poor legibility and problematic condition of the painting in Florence – but rather in the X-radiographs of both works. In the X-radiographs the brushwork, the use of the palette knife and other aspects of the painting technique are so close (in this respect the paintings are relatively far removed from the other late self-portraits), that they must have been made simultaneously or shortly after each other.

The physiognomy of the sitter in the Florence *Self-portrait* also supports a dating of the painting to 1669. Features of Rembrandt's ageing, such as the increasingly fatter chin with the drooping jowl and the more bloated head, are also found in the two *Self-portraits* bearing the date 1669 (IV 27 and IV 29).

There is yet another reason for assuming that Cosimo III did not purchase a painting during his visit to Rembrandt's studio in 1667. In the journal of this trip it is explicitly stated that none of the painters whom he visited on 29 December 1667 in Amsterdam – including Rembrandt – had finished works in their studios. Consequently, the company visited several Amsterdam collectors in order to view works by the artists in question (see *3. Documents and Sources*, 1). Cosimo III could not, therefore, have purchased work by Rembrandt on that occasion.

The discussion on the relationship between Rembrandt and Cosimo III in the literature overlooks the fact that Cosimo III had a second opportunity to visit the artist. Shortly after his return to Florence on 12 May 1668, he set off again making a stop in the Netherlands. The journal that was kept of this second trip, which lasted from 18 September 1668 to 29 October 1669, has also been preserved, but it is less detailed than the one of

his first trip. According to Hoogewerff, this can be explained by the fact that the second journal lacked the contribution of the treasurer of the company, Cosimo Prie.[6] The names of the artists Cosimo III visited on 29 June 1669 are not mentioned, only that he visited the 'botteghe de' più eccellenti maestri' (the studios of the best masters) in Amsterdam (see *3. Documents and sources*, 2). The possibility that Rembrandt's workshop may have been included was overlooked by Hoogewerff.[7] After all, Rembrandt was still alive in June 1969, he died three months later. And we know that Cosimo III visited other artists, such as Frans van Mieris the Elder, on both trips.[8]

The journal also records the fact that Cosimo III purchased paintings from some of the 'più eccellenti maestri' he had visited. There is thus a reasonable chance that he also acquired the *Self-portrait* under discussion on that occasion. The sources contain no information as to whether Cosimo III took the painting with him back to Florence, which would confirm the aforementioned hypothesis. The painting is cited in a list of acquisitions covering the years from 1663 to 1671 (see *6. Provenance*). Hence, it was certainly in the collection of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici shortly after the year in which we presume it was made.

As explained in *Support*, in our opinion the present dimensions of the painting are not the original ones. Langedijk asserted that the canvas was enlarged before 1676 in order to satisfy the 'für die Sammlung vorgeschriebenen Massen' (prescribed dimensions for [works in] the collection).[9] The painting's present, relatively narrow format, coincides with what one sees in two very detailed drawings made between 1753 and 1765 of the collection of self-portraits in the De' Medici's gallery, which were compactly displayed and 'squeezed' into vertical borders (fig. 4). These drawings make clear that various standard sizes – at least widths – were required for this particular setting.[10] Contrary to Langedijk's assumption, there are several clues to the effect that rather than being enlarged, the painting was radically reduced (see *Support* and *Radiography*).

The X-ray images of the 1669 *Self-portrait* in London (IV 27) and of the painting discussed here, reveal that in both works initially the hands in the lower right were differently placed and that Rembrandt held a brush and possibly a palette in a related fashion in one of his hands. Further similarities between the two paintings have been brought to light above. Judging from the X-radiograph, in the *Self-portrait* in Florence it seems as though the vertical fastening of a garment different from the present one ran across the chest and stomach. Three associated configurations of brushstrokes, visible in the X-ray image, recur in a similar fashion in the fastening of the coat in the *Self-portrait* in London. The white shirt collar visible in the X-radiograph also seems to correspond with an earlier phase of the 1669 London *Self-portrait*. Given these similarities, it is tempting to speculate whether the dimensions of the Florence *Self-portrait* originally correlated with those of the late London *Self-portrait*. The present dimensions of the London picture are app. 15 cm higher and app. 16.5 cm wider than those of the Florence painting. But also the dimensions of the London painting are not original: the signature has been cut off at the left edge. One gets the impression that the spacious placement of the figure in the picture plane as found in the *Self-portraits* in Washington (IV 18), in Kenwood (IV 26) and in Paris (IV 19) could also originally have applied to these two self-portraits. In that case, the *Self-portrait* in Florence would have been at least 15 cm larger on all sides.

What is certain is that if it was altered, the Florence *Self-portrait* was cut down very early on. The painting was already mentioned as having its present dimensions in the 1676 inventory drawn up upon the death of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici. Moreover, the figure's placement in the picture plane is very similar to that in a 17th-century copy made in Italy, now in Naples (see *5. Copies*, 1, fig. 5). In other copies and reproductive prints, the picture plane is generally somewhat larger. The fact that the picture plane constantly varies in the latter works may be construed as liberties taken by those reproducing the original. The copyists and engravers may also have found the *mise en toile* of the figure unusual and consequently corrected it in their reproductions.

The ribbon and the medallion have elicited a variety of opinions in the literature and were also variously interpreted by the copyists. In the Naples copy (fig. 5) the medallion hangs on a gold chain. Langedijk (see note 1) also perceives a gold chain in the Florence prototype, which is now difficult to discern due to old restorations. She bases her opinion in part on the copy in Naples. The details in this copy are, however, quite freely interpreted

Fig. 5. Copy 1. Attributed to L. Giordano, canvas 80 x 61 cm. Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte



and it is therefore unsuitable as documentary evidence of the painting's original appearance. Others see it as a ribbon rather than a chain: a ribbon is depicted in Schmidt's etching (*4. Graphic reproductions*, 2, fig. 6) and in the drawn copy by Campiglia (*5. Copies*, 3, fig. 7). We, too, see a ribbon executed in a few vigorous strokes of ochre paint which are so well preserved that there can be virtually no doubt that a ribbon rather than a chain has been depicted here. The total absence in the X-radiograph of radio-absorbent paint in this area supports this assumption. As explained in *Radiography*, we believe that the ribbon ran across the initial white shirt and disappeared under the fur-trimmed gown. The ribbon in the painting and in a few of the copies appears to protrude from under the garment – partially covered with dark paint – above the jerkin, making the impression that this area is meant to represent an item of clothing loosely draped over the jerkin. In the etching by Schmidt and the drawing by Campiglia, however, the ribbon extends over this item of clothing and disappears underneath the fur-trimmed gown in the way we believe the ribbon originally ran.

The object hanging from the ribbon has also given rise to various interpretations. Copyists saw different shapes in the summarily rendered constellation of strokes. In his book devoted to Rembrandt's self-portraits, Erpel even thought that he could distinguish – without giving a clear reason – the Order of St. Michel.[11] This seems unlikely to us since the Order of St. Michel is represented by the figure of an angel, a shape impossible to recognise in the strokes.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 303.

Fig. 6. Etching by G.F. Schmidt, 1771 (reproduced in reverse)



3. Documents and sources

1. Ms. F. Corsini, *Viaggi d'Alemagna, Paesi Bassi del 1667 e di Spagna, Francia, Inghilterra e Olanda del 1668 e 1669, fatte dal Serenissimo Principe Cosimo di Toscana, di poi Gran Duca Terzo di quel nome. Scritti dal Marchese Filippo Corsini, coppiero di Sua Altezza Serenissima e figliolo del marchese Bartolommeo Corsini* (published in: G.J. Hoogewerff (ed.), *De twee reizen van Cosimo de' Medici Prins van Toscane door de Nederlanden (1667-1669). Journalen en Documenten*, Amsterdam 1919, pp. 66-67): 'Giovedì 29 [Dicembre 1667] (...) S.A. udita la messa andò col Blaeu e col Ferroni a vedere pitture di diversi maestri, come del disegnatore Wan Welde, del Reinbrent, pittore famoso, del Scamus, che fa le marine, e d'altri, i quali non avendo appresso di loro opere perfette et additando alcune case ove poterle vedere, ivi pure si trasferì l'A.S. (...)' (Thursday 29 [December 1667] (...) His Highness having heard the mass went with Blaeu and Ferroni to see pictures by various masters, such as the draughtsman Van de Velde, Rembrandt, a famous painter, Scamus, who does marines, and others who, having no finished works in their studios, pointed out some houses where they could be seen, and there His Highness went.)[12]

2. See *3. Documents and sources*, 1, (F. Corsini in: Hoogewerff, pp. 271-274): 'Il giorno de' 29 venne (...), il qual tempo consumò in vedere diverse curiosità dell'Indie, (...) in case particolari e ne'magazzini, ma ancora in botteghe, dove ordinariamente somiglianti curiosità si vedono. Di esse S.A. si fornì in buon numero, come ancora di alcuni pezzi di quadri veduti nelle botteghe de' più eccellenti maestri.' (The 29th [of June 1669] arrived (...), which time he spent viewing various curiosities from the Indies, (...) in private houses and in warehouses, but also in shops, where such curiosities are ordinarily seen. His Highness acquired a good number of these, as well as some pictures he had seen in the studios of the best masters.) (See also *6 Provenance*)

3. Filippo Baldinucci mentions in his *Cominciamento, e progresso dell'arte dell'intagliare in rame, colle vite di molti de' più eccellenti Maestri della stessa Professione*, Florence 1686, p. 78, that he only knew of two paintings by Rembrandt in Italy including a self-portrait in the Royal Gallery in Florence: '(...) in Firenze nella Real Galleria nella stanza de'ritratti de'pittori, il proprio ritratto suo' (... in the Royal Gallery in Florence, in the room with the portraits of painters, his own self-portrait).[13]

4. The *Self-portrait* is also mentioned in A. Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, Volume I, 1718 (reprint 1753, The Hague), pp. 269-270: 'Niet min word ook, 't geen in de Galery van den Groothertog van Florencen (...) hangt, om de kragt van 't schilderen gepreezen' (Just as good is that [the painting] which hangs in the gallery of the Grand Duke of Florence ..., praised for the powerful handling of the brush).

4. Graphic reproductions

1. Engraving by Giovanni Domenico Campiglia (Lucca 1692-after 1762), inscribed: *Rembrant du-Reyn / Pittore e intagliatore in rame / Gio. Dom. Campiglia del e Sc*, in: F. Moücke, *Museo Fiorentino (...) Serie di ritratti degli eccellenti pittori dipinti di propria mano che esistono nell'Imperial Galleria di Firenze (...)*, Tome VI, Vol. III, Florence 1756, pp. 78-79. Reproduces the painting in the same direction. The print shows more of the background at the top and left whereby the figure is positioned more in the middle of the picture plane. The cap does not have a scalloped rim. The medallion is octagonal. There is a drawn preliminary study of this print attributed to Campiglia himself (see *5. Copies*, 3).

2. Etching by Georg Friedrich Schmidt (Schönerlinde near Berlin 1712-Berlin 1775), inscribed in the left background: *Rembrandt, se Jpsum pinx. / G.f. Schmidt fec aqua for. / 1771.* and below *Dèdié à Monsieur, B:N: Le Sueur, par son ami Schmidt* (fig. 6). Reproduces the painting in reverse. The clothing covering the upper section of the chest appears to have been interpreted differently. For instance, the figure in the print has a wide neckerchief wound around his neck and the ribbon extends across the garment above the jerkin. More of the background is shown above the cap and to the right.
3. Mezzotint by Charles Townley (London 1746-after 1800), inscribed: *Born in the Year 1606. – Died in the Year 1674. / Rembrandt / Painted by Himself / Drawn and Engraved by Charles Townley Member of the Royal Academy of Painting in Florence. / From the Original Portrait in the Medici Collection. / Published as the Act directs, June 30, 1777, and to be had of C. Townley, No. 7, New Bond Street.* (Charrington 170 I). Reproduces the painting in the same direction. The print includes a more spacious background to the left and top, while at the lower edge a part of the original composition has been omitted and the figure shown to just below the medallion, i.e. to mid-chest.
4. Engraving by Heinrich Guttenberg (Nuremburg 1749-1818), inscribed: *Rembrant. / Peint par lui même – Dessiné par J.B. Wicar. – Gravé par H. Gutemberg.*, in: A. Mongez, *Tableaux, (...) de la Galerie de Florence et du Palais Pitti, dessinés par Wicar, Peintre, et Gravés sous la Direction de C.L. Masquelier*, Tome III, Paris (Lacombe) 1819. Reproduces the painting in the same direction in an oval frame. The sitter is positioned in the middle of the picture plane, and more of the background is shown at the top and at the left.
5. Line engraving by Giovanni Paolo Lasinio (Florence 1789-1855), inscribed: *Rembrandt dip. – V. Gozzini dis: – Lasinio Figlio inc:*, in: *Reale Galleria di Firenze Illustrata*, serie III Ritratti di Pittori, Vol. III, Florence, 1821, no. 159. Reproduces the painting in the same direction. As in the other reproductive prints, more of the background can be seen at the top and at the left, whereby the figure has been moved to the centre of the picture plane. On the basis of all sorts of similar details it can be concluded that this print was based on the engraving by Guttenberg mentioned above.

5. Copies

1. Canvas 80 x 61 cm, attributed to Luca Giordano (1632-1705); Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, cat. 1928, no. 127 (fig. 5). Examined by E.v.d.W.. A freely painted copy, first mentioned in 1802 in the inventory of the Galleria di Francavilla in Naples: 'una mezza figura di Rembrandt in tela, con cornice' (a half-length figure by Rembrandt on canvas, with frame). There are indications that the copy was earlier in the possession of the Italian printmaker Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778).[14] The copy follows the composition of the original and was probably painted when the original had already been cut down. The copyist interpreted the ribbon around the neck as a gold chain.
2. Canvas 72.5 x 58 cm, attributed to Fra Vittore Ghislandi (1655-1743); Dresden, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, cat. 1930, no. 547, destroyed in the Second World War. The copy, which showed more of the background at the left and above, was acquired by the museum in Dresden in 1742.[15]
3. Drawing, by Giovanni Domenico Campiglia (1692-after 1762); Florence, Uffizi (fig. 7).[16] Inscribed: *Rembrant du – Reyn / Pittore, e Intagliatore in Rame.* Preliminary study for the engraving by Campiglia, in which the drawing shows the same differences with respect to the painting as described in *4. Graphic reproductions*, 1.

Fig. 7. Copy 3. Drawing by G.D. Campiglia. Florence, Uffizi



4. Drawing, black chalk, brown wash, 16.6 x 14.1 cm, by Jacob van Strij (1756-1815); Coll. W.B. Wouters, Delft.[17]
5. Canvas 49 x 49 cm; Florence, Uffizi, inv. 1890, no. 5351. Copy of only the head to mid-chest.
6. Oak panel 68 x 51.5 cm; present whereabouts unknown. This copy was probably made after the 1777 mezzotint by Townley (*4. Graphic reproductions*, 3), with which it displays strong similarities in all manner of detail.
7. Miniature by J. Macpherson (b. 1726); Windsor Castle.
According to Chiarini (see note 17) and Langedijk (see note 1), there are 18th-century copies in the Coll. Clerk, Penicuick House (Scotland), in the Coll. John Howell, San Francisco, and in the National Museum, Warsaw. That copies of this *Self-portrait* circulated early on is evidenced by the fact that some were on view at an exhibition in 1737.[18]

6. Provenance

As previously mentioned in *2. Comments* and *3. Documents and sources*, it is plausible that the *Self-portrait* was purchased by Cosimo III de' Medici on his second trip to the Netherlands in 1669. For mentions of the *Self-portrait* in Baldinucci and Houbraken, see *3. Documents and sources*, 3 and 4.
– Coll. Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici; described in the *Inventario Generale de Quadri del Ser.mo Principe Leopoldo di Toscana* (Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, ms. Riccardi 2443), with a list of the paintings purchased by Leopoldo between 1663 to

the end of 1671: '*c.* 142. Ritratti di Pittori fatti di lor proprio mano. Ritratto di Rembrans Fiammingo' (Portraits of painters by their own hand. Portrait of Rembrandt the Fleming).[19]
– Mentioned in the inventory drawn up upon the death of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici in 1676: 'c. 70r, Nr. 250. Un quadro simile (1 1/4 x 1 braccio) in tela, dipintovi di sua mano il ritratto del' Rembrans di mezz'età con barba rasa, con Berretta in capo a tagliere, e ferraiolo nero, foderato di colore cannellato' (A similar painting, 1 1/4 x 1 braccio, on canvas, a self-portrait of Rembrandt in middle age, cleanshaven, wearing a notched cap and a black cloak lined with a cinnamon-colour), see note 18.
– According to Chiarini, Napoleon took the painting to Paris in 1799 (see note 17). Presumably it was returned to Florence in 1815.

NOTES

1. K. Langedijk, *Die Selbstbildnisse der holländischen und flämischen Künstler in der Galleria degli Autoritratti der Uffizien in Florenz*, Florence 1992, pp. 148-152.
2. C. Ricci, *Rembrandt in Italia*, Milan 1918, p. 54.
3. W. Prinz, *Die Sammlung der Selbstbildnisse in den Uffizien, I: Geschichte der Sammlung mit Regesten zur Tätigkeit der Agenten und Dokumentenanhang*, Berlin 1971, pp. 33-34.
4. Langedijk, op. cit.[1], pp. XIX and 131: 'Caspar Netscher geschildert [...] int jaar 1668 verkoght an den hartogh van Florensen zijn Zoon, pryns van Toscanna, daarmaals in den Haag was'. Cosimo III visited The Hague from 11 to 14 January 1668 and from 4 to 8 February 1668.
5. S. Slive, *Rembrandt and his critics 1630-1730*, The Hague 1953, pp. 64-65 and Chapman 1990, p. 130 (and note 10 and 11 of the *Epilogue*) are of the opinion that the other late *Self-portrait* in the Uffizi (IV 28) was purchased by Cosimo III de' Medici in Rembrandt's studio. According to them, the *Self-portrait* discussed here (IV 28) was acquired by Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici himself. As appears from the present text and that of IV 12, this assumption is incorrect.
6. G.J. Hoogewerff (ed.), *De twee reizen van Cosimo de' Medici Prins van Toscane door de Nederlanden (1667-1669). Journalen en Documenten*, Amsterdam 1919, p. 226.
7. Hoogewerff, op. cit.[6], p. 274.
8. Hoogewerff, op. cit.[6], pp. 237, 250-251.
9. Langedijk, op. cit.[1], p. 149.
10. Both drawings are in Vienna in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 51, fol. 6 and fol. 8. As evidenced by a letter of 7 July 1676 by A. Bassetti to G. Guasconi, sometimes the required dimensions were cited in an artist's commission for a self-portrait (see Langedijk, op. cit.[1], p. 88).
11. F. Erpel, *Die Selbstbildnisse Rembrandts*, Berlin 1967, p. 190.
12. The Italian quotes in this entry were translated by A. McCormick.
13. See Slive, op. cit.[5], p. 106.
14. F.W. Robinson, 'Rembrandt's influence in eighteenth century Venice', *N.K.J.* 18 (1967), p. 193 (note 67) and B. Meijer, *Rembrandt nel Seicento toscano*, Florence 1983, pp. 54-55.
15. H. Ebert, *Kriegsverluste der Dresdener Gemäldegalerie. Vernichtete und vermisste Werke*, Dresden 1963, p. 31.
16. *Disegni originali del Museo Fiorentino*, Vol. VI (Pittori), F5584-F6103, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, no. 15.
17. M. Chiarini, *I dipinti olandesi del Seicento e del Settecento (Gallerie e Musei Statali di Firenze). Cataloghi dei Musei e Gallerie d'Italia*, Rome 1989, no. 69.232, pp. 474-477.
18. Prinz, op. cit.[3], p. 49 note 201.
19. Langedijk, op. cit.[1], p. 151.

IV 29 Self-portrait

1669

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJK KABINET VAN SCHILDERIJEN, MAURITSHUIS, INV. NO. 840

HDG 527; BR. 62; BAUCH 342; GERSON 420; TÜMPEL 179

Fig. 1. Canvas 63.5 x 57.8 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 332



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

As will be shown in this entry, the genesis of the present work as read in the X-radiograph and in the paint surface displays the familiar characteristics of Rembrandt's exploratory way of realizing his conception. This approach is coupled with a decisive and impulsive handling of the brush. Production of this painting, like so many of Rembrandt's late works, stopped at a stage that many of his contemporaries would have considered unfinished, but which must have been understood as typical of the master by the art lovers of his time.

Rembrandt is depicted chest-length, his body turned three-quarters to the right. His head is turned toward the viewer at whom he looks. He wears a black coat over a white shirt and a red undergarment. A dark, unidentifiable shape bulges out along the right contour of the coat. On his head is a multi-coloured, turban-like headdress.

Working conditions

Examined on a number of occasions: first on 29 October 1973 (B.H., P.v.Th.), subsequently during restoration in 1981 (K.G., E.v.d.W.), again in February 1996 (E.v.d.W) and March 1998 (M.F., E.v.d.W). Seen out of the frame, in good natural and artificial light and with the aid of four X-radiographs covering the entire surface and with a binocular microscope. In 1981 and 1998 paint samples were taken along the edges. In writing this entry, we were fortunate enough to have at our disposal a preliminary report of the technical analysis of the painting conducted in the restoration studio of the Mauritshuis in 1998. Facts, impressions and ideas derived from this report are indicated as such. This report supersedes the account of the Mauritshuis' examination published in 1978 by De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens and Froentjes.

Support

Canvas, lined, 63.5 x 57.8 cm. Single piece. The painting was unlined in 1981, but in view of a forthcoming travelling exhibition in that year it was lined following a method whereby the original canvas and the ground and paint layers are not impregnated with lining adhesive.[1] At this time the imprint of a previous lining canvas was discovered locally in traces of an adhesive on the back of the canvas. Accordingly, it could be concluded that the painting had earlier been provided, perhaps provisionally, with some sort of supportive lining. As usual, the canvas' original tacking edges were cut off during past treatments. However, there is reason to assume that the painting's intended size, except at the lower edge, has essentially been preserved. This assumption is supported by the following arguments: fairly distinct cusping, which extends app. 12 cm into the canvas, is visible in the X-radiograph along the upper edge. Faint, possibly secondary, cusping shows up along both sides. No deformations can be detected along the lower edge. Along the upper edge and both sides dark borders have been applied with dark paint, which also covers the present tacking edges of the canvas. The border is 5 cm wide at the top, and 4 cm at the left; at the right, it is only found on the tacking edge. The fact that these borders have been directly painted onto the ground – as determined by cross-sections of paint – makes it plausible that the picture plane was bordered before or during work on the painting by the painter himself. The absence of such a border along the lower edge in addition to the unusual almost square format of the painting can be construed as evidence that the painting has been substantially reduced at the bottom.

Thread count: 11 vertical threads/cm (9.5 – 13); 13.9 horizontal threads/cm (13.5 – 14.7). The greater regularity of the horizontal threads indicates that the warp runs horizontally. The frequency of short slubs in the vertical threads also supports the suggestion that the warp runs horizontally. If the supposition, proposed above, is indeed correct, that the cusping along the sides is secondary, this piece was probably taken from a longer prepared length of canvas (see Vol. II, Chapter II, p. 33).

Ground

An even grey-brown layer is exposed around the eyes, around the mouth, and in the neck bordering the white collar; it shines through in the shaded areas of the forehead and the cheek at the right. Before the painting was lined in 1981, traces of a dark grey ground that had been pressed through the fabric of the canvas during application of the ground could be observed in many places on the back (see Vol. II, pp. 19-20, fig. 5).[2] The fact that these local thickenings in the ground layer are strongly radioabsorbent explains the spotty aspect of the X-ray image, which is described in *Radiography*. The reason the ground could penetrate through the canvas could have been that the general first preparation with size was not as thorough as usual.

The ground consists of one layer, in which lead white, red earth, umber and bone black were found (*Table of Grounds* III, pp. 670-671). The ground is so thin that the structure of the canvas is visible in many places. That this is not a consequence of pressure or ageing, but must have already been the case when the painting was being made, is supported by the observation (recorded in the Mauritshuis' report) that the paint of the grazing brushstrokes is found locally only on the peaks of the canvas structure.

Even though fibres of the linen are visible locally on the surface at the highest points where the threads intersect, we should not automatically assume that this is due to serious abrasion. During examination of the painting by the restorers of the Mauritshuis it appeared that these exposed fibres are locally covered with paint that seems to belong to the original composition and which is unlikely to be part of later retouchings. The tops of the canvas weave may have partially been exposed through abrasion during the application of the ground. A comparable phenomenon occurs in the exposed ground in the foreground of the *Night Watch* (III A 146).[3]

Paint layer

Condition: The paint layer is somewhat worn, otherwise the condition of the painting is generally good. Neither in the X-radiograph nor in the paint surface are there any traces of flaking. The background between Rembrandt's head covering and the dark border along the upper edge of the picture plane has been relatively recently overpainted with grey paint. Microscopic analysis of the signature revealed that the background was overpainted there too (see *Signature*). Additional confirmation of this is provided by the fact that in places grey paint overlaps the dark borders along the edges. Therefore, the possibility that there may also be other far older overpainting in the background cannot be ruled out. In the Mauritshuis' report the possibility that Rembrandt could have applied this paint is implicitly left open.

Craquelure: A fine craquelure pattern is distributed over a large part of the paint surface and runs primarily horizontally and vertically. In places where the ground is exposed and the canvas structure shows through the craquelure can be observed to run between the threads. This craquelure pattern could be related to the great differences in the thickness of the ground noted above. Where the paint has been applied more thickly, such as in the lit areas in the face and in the head covering, a coarser and more irregular pattern of cracks is discernible.

From the examination conducted by the restorers of the Mauritshuis emerged a fairly clear image of the painter's working method. The initial lay-in appears to have been applied in more or less transparent dark brown paint, traces of which are still visible near the eyes in the shadow of the lower double chin and in the hair. In this initial 'undermodelling', particularly in the shaded areas of the chin and the cheek, an organic red also seems to have been used and left partially exposed in the further elaboration of the head. Subsequently, greys and – in the face – subdued flesh tints were used to indicate the intermediate tones and transitions (see also IV 16, 17, 19). The provisional highlights on the forehead, the nose, the lit cheekbone and the chin were applied with thick, lead white containing paint in this phase of execution. A part of the white collar also belongs to this stage of the painting.

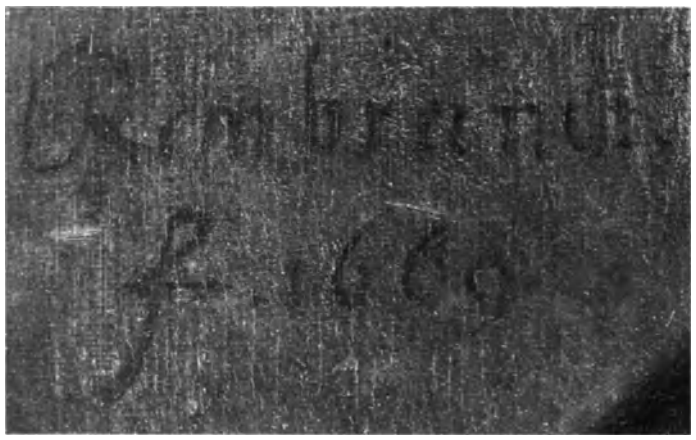
This 'undermodelling' was very freely executed, the ground remaining exposed in many areas. It also remained exposed locally in the following phase of the work, as noted in *Ground*. This indicates that the head was elaborated only to a limited extent, which explains certain weaknesses or omissions in the definition of form. For instance, the shape and structure of the mouth and the cheek to the left of it, as well as the eye in shadow, are unclear. The hair at the left also appears to be in a preliminary stage; defining brush lines have been applied only sporadically. The hair in the shadow has been specified wet-in-wet, with muddy blackish greys and some light paint. In the hair at the right and at the left are some very free scratchmarks. Furthermore, neither the tuft of hair on the chin, nor the moustache are explicitly indicated. All one finds here is an angular complex of cast shadows familiar from other self-portraits by Rembrandt. Small scratchmarks have been applied to the chin.

Short brushstrokes with opaque paint were used for the final phase of the execution of the incarnate in the face. Short, varied strokes were applied especially around the nose, the mouth and the eyes. A limited range of flesh tints mixed together wet-in-wet were used. Red brown dabs can be detected in various places in the face, near the upper eye lid, the wing of the nose and corner of the mouth at the left, below the earlobe and at the bridge of the nose. The casualness of the placement of these dabs – and this applies even more to the contour line along the cheek at the right done with the same paint – suggests that they are provisional interventions to clarify the shapes and enliven the colour scheme. The impression that the painting is 'unfinished' – particularly in the head – is further heightened by these loose accents.

The genesis of the head covering is complicated. White paint showing through locally correlates with the initial appearance of the headgear: a smaller white 'mansmuts', or cap, as worn by Rembrandt in various late self-portraits (or in an earlier phase of the genesis of various paintings, see IV 18, 20, 27). It is unclear whether this initial head covering was completed or only indicated in the underpainting, simultaneously with or without the provisional white highlights mentioned above. The X-radiograph shows that the border between the edge of this cap and the forehead was higher than in the present cap, which explains why the paint relief of the highlight on the forehead applied in the 'undermodelling' partly runs under the present headgear. The restorers at the Mauritshuis suspect that the paint relief of the first cap was scraped or rubbed off before work on the painting was resumed. Thus treated, the white cap was covered with a layer of orange red lead which is exposed along the upper edge of the headdress and visible in many worn areas, such as in the background above the cap. This 'higher' orange shape, in turn covered with a transparent red lake, could have been a preliminary lay-in for the present cap. The headgear now visible was done over these layers with long strokes wet-in-wet. On the headband of this cap are a few scratchmarks running lengthwise and intersected diagonally by a couple of broad scratches. Scratchmarks are also found in the upper part of the headgear where they reinforce the suggestion of folds in the fabric.

The coat has been underpainted locally with an opaque, here and there pastose grey, which both further defines the form and added to the relief locally in the subsequent execution of the coat in an even black. A few ridges in the paint surface at the lower left give the impression of being either thick black paint or an underlying layer spread about with the fingers. To the right of the chest some pastose red paint shines through in places. It extends to the lower edge of the painting and belongs to an earlier version of the red undergarment; Rembrandt evidently initially depicted himself wearing an open coat.

Fig. 3. Detail with signature (reduced)



Throughout the paint surface, small red particles of paint are visible locally, of a kind also encountered in other late works (for instance, the *Self-portrait at the easel* in Paris, IV 19, and *Self-portrait as St Paul* in Amsterdam, IV 24).

Radiography

The ground impressed into the canvas structure shows up clearly in the X-radiograph. A zone of radioabsorbent paint shows in the headgear, whose form does not correspond with that of the present cap. As described in *Paint layer*, a lower headgear must have been originally intended, possibly a cloth or a white cap such as in the *Self-portrait at the easel* in Paris (IV 19). A patch of radioabsorbent paint shows up strongly in the forehead at the left and is one of the highlights applied to the undermodelling (see *Paint layer*). For the rest, the X-ray image corresponds with what one would expect from the paint surface.

Signature

In the background at the left, above the shoulder, <*Rembrandt / f.1669*>. With respect to the date, the shape of the second *6* and the *9* is somewhat rounder and larger. These numbers may have been reinforced later to increase legibility. The craquelure extends into the letters of the signature. During examination by the restorers of the Mauritshuis it was ascertained that the signature was applied to the lowest layer of the background, which is built up of several layers. The vague contours of the letters and numbers – which are partially overlapped by grey paint – are due to the fact that the grey paint was applied around (and partially over) the signature. It may reasonably be concluded that the background (aside from the overly distinct overpainting above the headgear) was also overpainted elsewhere – presumably at an earlier stage than the intervention in the background above the figure (see *Paint layer*, Condition). As discussed in *2. Comments*, there was some confusion in the past as to how the date should be read.

2. Comments

Ever since this *Self-portrait* surfaced in the collection of Joseph Neeld in 1850 its authenticity has been accepted without question in the Rembrandt literature.[4] One of the few points of discussion concerned the date. When the painting was exhibited in the Royal Academy of Arts in London in 1899, its date was transcribed in the catalogue as '1660(?)'. In the second, revised edition of the catalogue the date was given as '1669'. Confusion over the date was probably caused by the strongly yellowed varnish layer that covered the painting at the time.[5] Since then the date has generally been read as 1669.[6]

Given its date, the painting was long assumed to have been the only self-portrait painted in Rembrandt's year of death. In some of the literature this led to the Hague *Self-portrait* being interpreted in the light of Rembrandt's impending death. However, when the late *Self-portrait* in London (IV 27) was cleaned in 1967, the date 1669 came to light. As Rembrandt died in October, thus late in the year, one might ask which of these two paintings should be considered his last self-portrait. Comparing the Hague and the London *Self-portraits* with regard to the ageing physiognomy (a more sunken face and a slacker double chin than in any other Rembrandt self-portrait) and the hair length, Brown asserted that the Hague painting is Rembrandt's last self-portrait.[7] To complicate the matter further, in our view the Hague and the London paintings are not the only self-portraits produced in the last year of Rembrandt's life. As demonstrated in our entry on the late *Self-portrait* in Florence (IV 28), stylistic and documentary arguments support the thesis that this portrait, too, was painted in 1669. If our assumption that the work was purchased by Cosimo III during his second trip to Amsterdam is correct, it would have been painted prior to June of 1669, when Cosimo visited Amsterdam for the second time since the winter of 1667/68. Given the striking similarities between the London and the Florence self-portraits, particularly the manner of painting in so far as this can be followed in the X-radiographs of both works, one could propose that they were produced at the same time or in rapid succession – thus in the first half of 1669. This reinforces the probability that the painting under discussion was thus made later in the year.

As noted above, various authors have interpreted the Hague *Self-portrait* in the light of Rembrandt's impending death and his accompanying state of mind. For example, Rosenberg made in 1964 the following remark: 'it is only in the self-portrait of 1669, the year of Rembrandt's death, that we can detect some decline in the aged artist's expressive power. His painterly skill has not failed him, but the psychological content shows a diminished intensity. The facial expression here is mild and slightly empty, when compared to all the others in the imposing group of late self-portraits.'[8] For Chapman, on the other hand, despite Rembrandt's age, the London and the Hague *Self-portraits* '...still powerfully project inner confidence and self-assurance.'[9] She ascertained that 'a drive to self-exploration continued to motivate Rembrandt until the very end of his life.' Our position on this view of Rembrandt's activity as a painter of self-portraits is expanded upon in Chapter III, pp. 132-144.

Comparing the Hague *Self-portrait* with the *Self-portrait* in London (IV 27), as well as with the *Self-portrait* in

Florence (IV 28), and focussing on more than the physiognomical ageing of the head, weaknesses in the construction of the Hague *Self-portrait* become evident. The mouth here, unlike those in the two other self-portraits of 1669, is built up of a system of strokes that does not support its structure. The same applies to the transition from light to shadow on the tip of the nose. Furthermore, the eye set in shadow lacks an indication of shape as we know it from other self-portraits. The structure above the eyelid can scarcely be followed. These and other aspects of the execution contribute to the impression that the Hague *Self-portrait* belongs to the category of paintings that, as outlined in the description of the paint layer, was 'released' at an early stage. The ground has remained exposed in many places in the face. The flesh colour displays a limited range of gradations, which could indicate that the head was only provisionally elaborated with a number of pre-mixed tints. The swift red brown lines applied in the eye and the ear at the left and along the contour of the right cheek heighten the impression of provisionality. Moreover, the way in which the shirt has been constructed with a number of streaks applied directly onto the ground (which has remained exposed in this and other areas) indicates that the painting was considered finished at an early stage. This is supported by the fact that Rembrandt signed the painting. We have no reason to doubt the authenticity of the signature at this point in our investigation.

The radical pentimenti in the clothing and the headgear indicate that this painting, too, underwent a complex, and for Rembrandt characteristic, process of reconsideration. Thanks to the research conducted by the restorers of the Mauritshuis a good idea has been gained of the initial lay-in and the undermodelling of this painting (see *Paint layer*). Their description of these initial stages in the execution corresponds closely to the working method we distinguished in the unfinished *Self-portrait* in Aix en Provence (IV 16).

The remains of a dark framing, the borders described in *Paint layer*, suggest that, with the exception of the lower edge, the painting was not intended to be much larger than it now is. This kind of framing is not exceptional in Rembrandt's oeuvre (see, for example, *The Holy Family* in St Petersburg, Br. 570, and *Christ and the woman taken in adultery* in London, Br. 566). In virtually all these cases it is difficult to determine with certainty whether the dark paint with which they were applied is original. In the *Self-portrait as St Paul* in Amsterdam (IV 24), the framing scratched in the paint was certainly done by the master himself. The framing has been applied directly onto the ground, thus at an early stage, possibly to avoid using all of the stretched canvas.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 303 ff.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

None.

5. Copies

None.

6. Provenance

*– Possibly sale London, 10 May 1811 (Lugt 7990), no. 68: 'Rembrandt. A portrait of Himself in a Turkish Habit, painted in a rich mellow tone of colour, with great effect'. (19.-.-)
– Coll. Joseph Neeld (1789-1856), London, before 1850.
– Remained in the family until the painting was sold to the art dealer R.L. Douglas, London.
– Dealer M. Knoedler & Co., Ltd, London.
– Coll. M. Kappel, Berlin, *c.* 1912 – *c.* 1930; by inheritance.
– Coll. E.G. Rathenau, Berlin, and acquired by the museum in 1947.

NOTES

1. V.R. Mehra, 'Nap-bond cold-lining on a low-pressure table', *Maltechnik/Restauro* 81 (1975), pp. 87-95.
2. C. Brown, in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, p. 292 note 5, misunderstood our explanation of this phenomenon in Volume II, pp. 19-20. First, he confused the remains of the remnants of adhesive belonging to an earlier lining with the bulging drops of ground pressed through the canvas, and subsequently interpreted this ground as paint.
3. 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, esp. 88 and fig. 8.
4. According to Broos, only M.J. Friedländer noted in his copy of the catalogue of the 1899 London exhibition mentioned below: 'z(um) T(eil) Unecht'. See B. Broos, *Meesterwerken in het Mauritshuis*, The Hague 1986, cat. no. 42, pp. 311-315.
5. A. Bredius, 'De Rembrandt-tentoonstelling te Londen', in: *De Amsterdammer, Weekblad voor Nederland*, 22 and 29 January and 5 and 12 February 1899.
6. For a discussion on this, see De Vries, Tóth-Ubbens, Froentjes, pp. 183-186.
7. Exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, p. 290.
8. J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt. Life and work*, London 1964, p. 55. See also, for example, O. Benesch, *Rembrandt. Werk und Forschung*, Vienna 1935, p. 69: 'Aus Rembrandts Zügen im Sterbejahr spricht das tiefe Wissen um die Grenzen seiner Kunst' and F. Schmidt-Degener, exhib. cat. *Rembrandt*, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam 1935, no. 32: '...hij [maakt] op 63-jarigen leeftijd den indruk van een vroeg-ouden en uitgeputten grijsaard. De wangen zijn ongezond opgezet, het haar is wit onder de kleurige schildersmuts' (...he [makes] the impression at the age of 63 of a prematurely old and exhausted man. The cheeks are unhealthily bloated, and his hair, protruding from under the colourful painter's cap, is white). As Broos already remarked, op. cit.[4], it is telling that in the London *Self-portrait* no traces of deterioration due to ageing were detected until the date 1669 emerged when the painting was cleaned in 1967.
9. Chapman 1990, p. 130.

Corrigenda et Addenda

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Corrigenda et Addenda

A word in advance

The majority of the following corrigenda concern paintings that are usually referred to as self-portraits. Their inclusion here is a consequence of the fact that all self-portraits dealt with in Volumes I – III have been re-assessed in this volume. This has led to adjustments or revisions of our opinions on the authenticity of a number of these paintings. There are relatively fewer corrigenda regarding authenticity in the other categories of paintings catalogued in Vols. I – III, mainly because we were not in a position to reassess all these paintings.

The degree of thoroughness of the argumentation in the following corrigenda varies highly from one case to another. Often a reference to a publication in which a revision has been defended on an earlier occasion seemed to be sufficient. In the case of the self-portraits, the arguments for our change of opinion are to be found in this very volume. In some cases, depending on the particular work, our arguments are more or less comprehensively detailed; while in yet other cases, where a painting is newly attributed, a complete catalogue text is provided.

CORRIGENDA TO VOLUMES I - III – *SELFPORTRAITS*

I A 21 / Br. 6

Fig. 1. Rembrandt, *'Tronie' with Rembrandt's features*, *c.* 1629, panel 38 x 30.9 cm (formerly I A 21 *Copy* 1). Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (see for a colour reproduction Chapter III fig. 135)

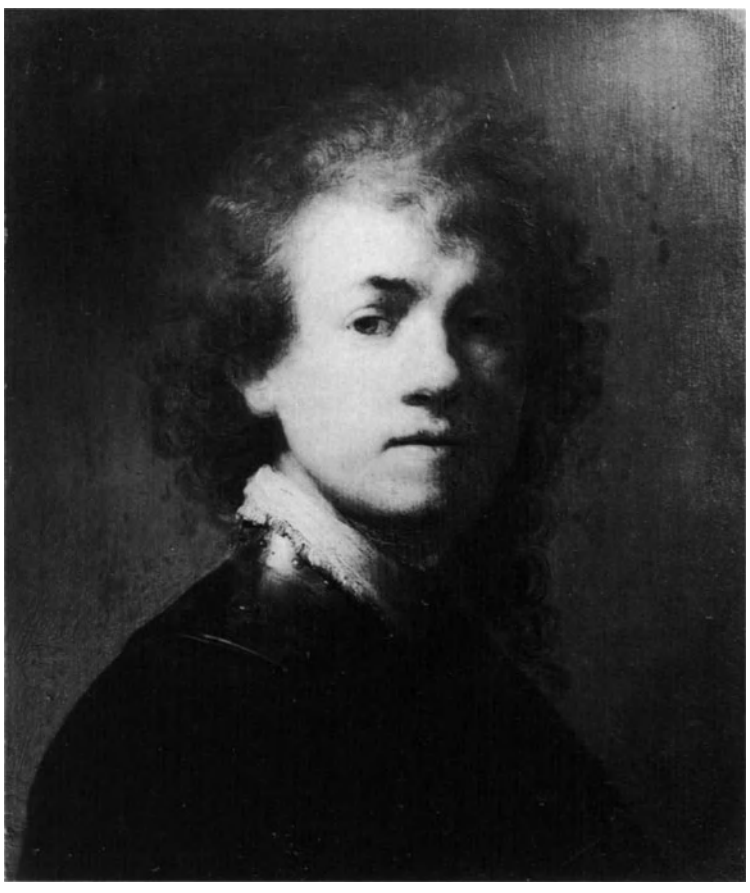
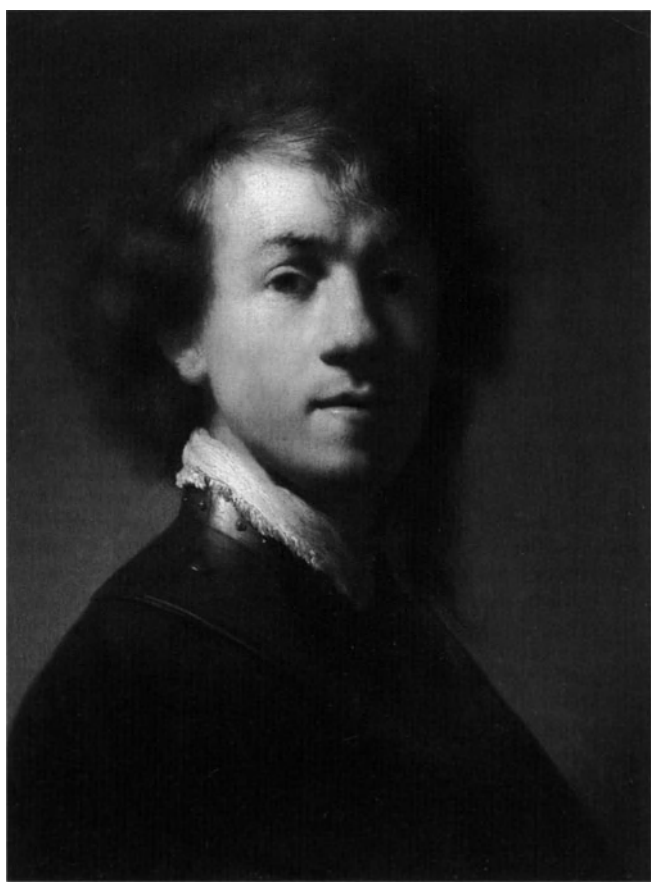


Fig. 2. Rembrandt workshop, Copy after *'Tronie' with Rembrandt's features*, *c.* 1629, panel 37.9 x 28.9 cm (formerly I A 21). The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis (see for a colour reproduction Chapter III fig. 136)



Despite the surprise expressed in our commentary on I A 21 (fig. 2) over the unusual execution of this version, the Hague painting was nevertheless accepted as an autograph work by Rembrandt in Vol. I. The affinity with I A 22 (MOA Museum, Japan), also accepted as authentic in Vol. I, contributed to this opinion. Since then we have become convinced that both paintings are copies, and that I A 21 *Copies* 1 (Nuremberg) (fig. 1) and I A 22 *Copies* 1 (Indianapolis) (see the following corrigendum) must be considered the prototypes for these works. In the case of the painting in The Hague, in addition to Claus Grimm's stylistic arguments,[1] the results of an investigation of that painting by the staff of the Mauritshuis[2] and a comparison of its X-radiograph with that of the version in Nuremberg convinced us that we had to correct our initial opinion.

As discussed in detail by Edwin Buysen, the issue of which of the two paintings was the original and which the copy is not a new one.[3] What is remarkable, however, is that the discussion of this question was for so long dormant, and that the long held assumption of the authenticity of the painting in The Hague was only seen to be in error following the X-ray and infrared investigations.

In the meantime, there are still art historians who, without questioning the attribution of the Nuremberg version to Rembrandt, nevertheless entertain the possibility that the painting in The Hague could also be from Rembrandt's hand (see Chapter III, p. 91).[4] Against those who defend this standpoint, one might point out that the version in The Hague displays the typical faults of a copyist – for example the enlargement of the figure or the elongation of forms that took place in the process of copying. This is also evident in a comparison of e.g. I A 14 (*Self-portrait* Amsterdam, Chapter III fig. 119) and its copy in Kassel; and of I A 40 (*Self-portrait as an oriental*, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, Chapter III fig. 145) and the copy in a private collection (I A 40 *Copies* 1); and the head of Abraham in *Abraham's Sacrifice* (III A 108) (St. Petersburg and Munich) or the figure of Potiphar's wife in *Joseph accused by Potiphar's wife*, in the Washington free copy (Br. 523) compared to the same figure in the Berlin prototype (Br. 524). Against the authenticity of the version in The Hague it may also be pointed out that its author has set the various elements of physiognomy – eyes, nose, mouth and chin – as it were on the same basic cylindrical form, whereas in the Nuremberg prototype the anatomically more correct disalignment of the lower jaw and mouthparts with respect to the upper facial parts is observed and executed with exceptional acuity and intelligence. In addition, the way in which the border between light and shadow in the painting in The Hague passes over the eyelid also argues against its authenticity (compare figs. 135-136 in Chapter III).

NOTES

1 C. Grimm, *Rembrandt selbst. Eine Neubewertung seiner Porträtkunst*, Stuttgart/Zürich 1991, pp. 24-28, figs. 32-33, 35-36 and ill. 6-9 and 11.

2 See exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999/2000, cat. nos. 14a, 14b); J. Wadum, 'Rembrandt under the skin. The Mauritshuis *Portrait of Rembrandt with gorget* in retrospect', *O.H.* 114 (2000), pp. 164-187. See also I A 22 copy 1, IV *Corrigenda*, below, probably by the same hand as The Hague. There is also evidence that the San Francisco version of *Self-portrait with sketchbook* (IV 10, no. 2) was painted in the studio.

3 E. Buysen, 'Rembrandt's *Selfportrait with gorget*: an ongoing debate', *O.H.* 114 no. 2/4 (2000), pp. 155-163.

4 E.J. Sluijter, 'The *Tronie of a young officer with a gorget* in the Mauritshuis: a second version by Rembrandt himself?', *O.H.* 114 no. 2/4 (2000), pp. 188-194.

I A 22 / Br. 3

In our entry on the early *Self-portrait in a cap, with the mouth open* in Vol. I (A 22) the version in the MOA Museum, Japan (fig. 3), was considered to be the autograph version, the prototype of a group of similar paintings. This was not an unanimous opinion. One of the authors (E.v.d.W.) gave as his personal view, that he: 'though not having seen this painting itself, cannot help maintaining reservations as to it being an autograph work by Rembrandt'.[1]

In our catalogue text, the version in Indianapolis (fig. 1) was taken to be one of the six known copies. On the basis of the X-radiographic image (fig. 2), the text concerning the Indianapolis version indicated that this painting had had a rather more complex genesis than the version in MOA. In the latter, the distribution of radioabsorbent material in the X-ray image (fig. 4) corresponds with what the surface leads one to expect. In the X-radiograph of the Indianapolis version, on the other hand, two pentimenti had been distinguished: an alteration in the left part of the beret, and the trunk outline extending further to the right. Referring to these two pentimenti, it was suggested in Vol. I that: 'One would normally take this to indicate that the Indianapolis picture should be considered an original. This idea, however, is hard to reconcile with a qualitative appreciation of the paint surface looked at on its own as well as in comparison to that in I A 21 (the early *Self-portrait* in The Hague, which has since been disattributed, see *Corrigenda* I A 21 above). If the Indianapolis painting is correctly thought of as a derivative of I A 22, it must have begun as a somewhat free variation of it and have become a faithful copy only in a later stage.'

According to David A. Miller in a 'Conservator's Report' published in 1981, the painting in Indianapolis was last cleaned in 1951 and subsequently coated with 'a moderately thick layer of natural resin varnish …'. Miller continued, 'In the 20 years since the last cleaning, the varnish has badly yellowed, bloomed, and blanched.'[2] The painting was seen in this condition by two members of the RRP (J.B., S.H.L.) in 1972.

In Vol. I, in rejecting the possibility of the Indianapolis version being the prototype, more weight was given to considerations of quality and style than to the evidence of the painting's exploratory genesis which, as was rightly observed, would in other cases be taken as an indication of authenticity. The predominance of arguments of style and quality in this reasoning was based on the remarked 'series of similarities in the interpretation of forms and in its manner of painting with one other work – the *Self-portrait* in The Hague (I A 21).' As confirmed in our *Corrigendum* concerning the Hague painting (see IV *Corrigenda* I A 21), on the basis of the evidence produced first by Claus Grimm[3] and later by the Mauritshuis staff,[4] we are now fully convinced that this painting is a copy after the Nuremberg version of the same composition. Consequently, the main argument put forward in the text of I A 21 for attributing the MOA version to Rembrandt collapses. In our investigation of the painting in Indianapolis in February 2001 (E.v.d.W.), during which the painting (which had been revarnished after 1972) was removed from its frame and studied under strong artificial light with the help of a richly contrasted X-radiograph, infrared reflectography, and under the microscope, indications consistently pointed to the same, virtually inescapable conclusion: that the Indianapolis painting has to be the prototype and that it is an autograph work by the young Rembrandt.

The most important arguments for this attribution to Rembrandt derive from the painting's complex genesis, which can be followed from the X-radiograph and to some extent with the help of infrared reflectography, and also by studying the paint surface. In addition, we give weight to the monogram, which was apparently set into the wet paint of the background. The handling of paint

Fig. 1. Rembrandt, *Study in the mirror*, *c.* 1629, panel 42.8 x 33 cm (formerly I A 22 *Copy* 1). Indianapolis, The Indianapolis Museum of Art, lent by the Clowes Fund (see for colour reproductions Chapter III figs. 123, 328)



Fig. 2. X-Ray



Fig. 3. Rembrandt studio, Copy after *Study in the mirror*, *c.* 1629, panel 49.7 x 37.3 cm (formerly I A 22). Japan, MOA Museum (see for a colour reproduction Chapter III fig. 124)



Fig. 4. X-Ray



and approach to detail are also considered to be typical of Rembrandt.

As set out in Chapter III, pp. 162-165, it appears that we may here be dealing with Rembrandt's earliest attempt to represent the continuity of the complex modelling of the human face in a life-size figure, and to investigate the tonal and coloristic implications of this challenge (for colour reproductions see Chapter III figs. 123, 328 (1:1).

The genesis

There is a series of discrepancies between the X-ray image (fig. 2) and the visible image (fig. 1) at the surface, regarding the contours – particularly the beret, the hair on the left and the figure's right shoulder. These discrepancies are characteristic of the way in which Rembrandt worked out his early paintings from back to front. The earlier contours visible in the X-radiograph belong to an earlier sketched version of the self-portrait, left in reserve in an initial background done with paint containing lead white applied around this figure. The most important changes – as already mentioned in our text in Vol. I – concern the beret. Above the left part of the beret in its present form one can discern a dark reserve. At the same height, to the right of the head, a semi-circular reserve is also seen in the lead white-containing background. These reserves, visible both in the X-radiograph and in the paint relief and marked by tonal differences in the paint of the background, were covered with a second background at a subsequent stage of the work. One can safely conclude that the beret was originally depicted as set horizontally on the head and only placed askew at a subsequent stage. This decision by the painter contributed strongly to the impression of the tilting of the head that is so remarkable a feature of the painting's conception. Another decision that was equally considered was to move the chest/shoulder contour so far to the left as to exaggerate the turn of the head relative to the trunk, considerably enhancing the dynamic effect of the figure's movement. It is already clear that these traces of the genesis of the painting do not betray the fumbling of a copyist, but rather reveal an artist seeking better solutions.

The same holds for two other, until now unremarked pentimenti. The transition from cheek to neck was originally accentuated with radioabsorbent paint. Apparently the painter initially wanted to make the jaw line starker, whereas now the transition is more gradual. The suggestion that the head is now tilted backward seems to be enhanced as a result. The other pentimento concerns the inner corner of the eye of the proper right eye. This corner of the eye had originally been worked up to a considerable degree with red and other paint before – with a covering of grey paint – being assimilated into the shadow cast by the beret on the face (see Chapter III fig. 328).

All the repentirs mentioned above betray a creative process such as, *mutatis mutandis*, one is familiar with in many works of Rembrandt. That the delimiting outlines of the sections containing lead white in the MOA painting (fig. 3) so remarkably accurately match the corresponding outlines in the X-radiograph (fig. 4) – and also the corresponding boundaries between light and shade in the Indianapolis painting (fig. 1) – forces one to conclude that the MOA painting is a copy, whose author was able to base himself on the Indianapolis prototype which had such a complicated genesis.

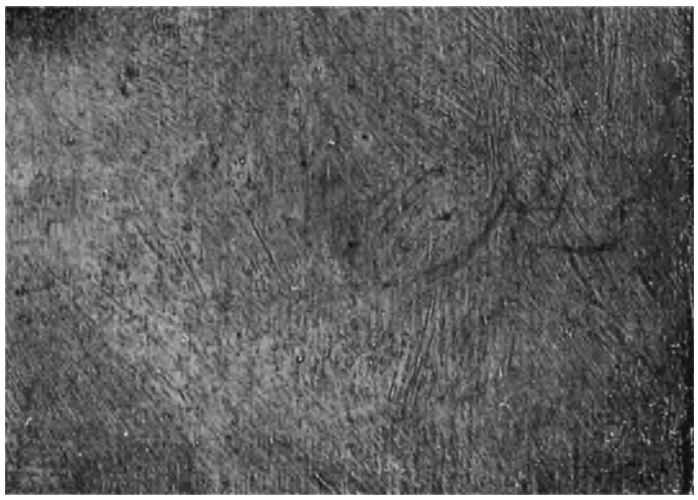
The signature

The signature (fig. 5) also argues for an attribution to Rembrandt. Under the binocular microscope it can be clearly seen that the brush with which the monogram was drawn has locally affected the paint relief of the background. David Miller has pointed out that, under close analysis, this can also be seen in the X-radiograph.[5] The monogram must therefore have been introduced more or less immediately after completion of the painting. This type of graceful, relatively large monogram occurs in the period between 1627 (see *The rich man from the parable*, Berlin, I A 10) and 1629 (see *Self-portrait*, Munich, I A 19). Paintings with only a monogram and no date, occur several times in the period 1627 – '31 (cf. *The supper at Emmaus*, Paris, I A 16, *Old man with a turban*, private collection (IV *Addendum* 3), *An old man in a gorget and black cap*, Chicago, I A 42 and *Study for the lost Baptism of the Eunuch*, Milwaukee, Coll. Bader (IV *Corrigenda* I C 22).

Other features

A comparison of the Indianapolis and the MOA versions reveals a number of differences that can be considered as significant in the discussion of attribution. If one takes into account the genesis of the Indianapolis painting, outlined above, one can conclude that the motif of the backward tilting of the head developed gradually. The author of the MOA painting subsequently adopted this motif as a point of departure, with the head – in accordance with the foreshortening – further compressed, and the axis of the face tilted such that the chin seems to project further forward. Here, one could say, a process of gradual change undertaken in the genesis of the Indianapolis prototype has been carried through to its completion. In this regard, the MOA version can be seen as more successful, which may also have contributed to the majority judgement of the authors of the *Corpus* that the version in the MOA museum should be considered the prototype. In the way materials – skin, metal, textiles – are suggested, the MOA version certainly is atypical. As a rule, Rembrandt integrates points of reflection and other highlights with their surroundings. This is achieved in part by giving these details a kind of coarseness. This choice of paint consistency means firstly that the paint remains always paint – however cryptic that may sound – while the contours of such touches are usually given a certain irregularity, which optically has the effect of integrating them more into their surroundings. This can be seen in the Indianapolis version, for example, in the reflection on the gorget or the highlight along the top contour of the upper lip. In the MOA painting these reflections and highlights

Fig. 5. Signature of fig. 1



are isolated smooth licks which give the polished surface a quite different character. With the large rivet on the gorget, for instance, the effect is as of a large drop of water instead of a metal surface. Whereas in the Indianapolis version the paint tones never appear to be blended, this is certainly the case in various places in the MOA version, specifically in the metal and the skin, the lower lip etc. In this, the painting reminds one of the work of Gerard Dou or one of the anonymous painters of his circle.

Finally there is a pair of minor but telling details in which the two versions differ: in the Indianapolis painting Rembrandt has indicated two red pimples. At first sight these appear to be two random imperfections, such as often occur with old paintings. Under the microscope, however, they are evidently spots of reddish paint that have apparently been deliberately applied, one on the left of the chin (as seen by the viewer), the other midway above the jaw line (see Chapter III fig. 328).

These details do not appear on the MOA painting. The Amsterdam *Self-portrait* from *c.* 1628 (I A 14) also shows two facial blemishes, close together on the jaw, which in the Kassel copy (I A 14 copy 1), originally thought to be Rembrandt's prototype, are missing. It is unlikely that the article on Rembrandt's facial pimples will ever be written – on the Washington painting from *c.* 1659 (IV 18 and Chapter III fig. 54), for instance, he has a large one on the cheek – but Rembrandt's recording of these small blemishes says a great deal about the fidelity of the representation of his own appearance. The fact that these spots are missing from the MOA painting is certainly not insignificant in the present discussion.

When dealing with the Indianapolis painting in Vol. I, dendrochronological data were not yet available. Peter Klein found that the wood, as in almost all Rembrandt's early panels, was of Baltic origin. The last dated annual ring of heartwood is from 1581; there are no sapwood rings; the earliest possible felling date is 1590 (see also *Table of dendrochronological data*, p. 649).

This corrigendum should acknowledge the fact that previous authors already considered the Indianapolis painting to be the original by Rembrandt.[6] We hope this discussion has provided a firmer basis for this attribution.

For a further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, pp. 162-165.

NOTES

1. *A Corpus* I, p. 235.
2. David A. Miller, 'Conservator's Report', in: *Perceptions, An annual publication of the Indianapolis Museum of Art* 1981, Vol. I, p. 27.
3. Claus Grimm, *Rembrandt selbst. Eine Neubewertung seiner Porträtkunst*, Stuttgart/Zürich 1991, pp. 24-28.
4. See Exhib. cat. *Rembrandt by himself*, 1999, pp. 112-117. Edwin Buijsen, 'Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait with Gorget*: an ongoing debate'; Jørgen Wadum, 'Rembrandt under the skin. The Mauritshuis *Portrait of Rembrandt with gorget* in retrospect' and Eric Jan Sluijter, 'The *Tronie of a young officer with a gorget* in the Mauritshuis: a second version by Rembrandt himself?', in: *O.H.* 114 (2000), pp. 155-194.
5. Verbal communication during the inspection of the painting.
6. For instance, Br. 3; David A. Miller, op.cit.[2], p. 28; W. Martin, 'Rembrandt en de critiek; 1630-1850', in: *Elsevier's geïllustreerd maandschrift* 94 (1937), pp. 225-39, esp. 237; Bauch 289; Anthony F. Janson, *100 Masterpieces of painting*, Indianapolis 1980, pp. 92-96.

I A 33 / Br. 12

Rembrandt workshop (Isack Jouderville?), *'Tronie' with Rembrandt's features*, 1630/31, panel 69.7 x 57 cm (formerly *Self-portrait*). Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery (see for colour reproductions Chapter III figs. 143, 144)



During the course of the work on this volume, and particularly after studying the work during the exhibition *Rembrandt by himself* in 1999/2000 in London and The Hague, we have become convinced on stylistic grounds that this work cannot be from Rembrandt's hand. For the relevant arguments see Chapter III, pp. 179-182. An attribution of the painting to Rembrandt's pupil Isack Jouderville deserves serious consideration (cf. Sumowski *Gemälde* II, nos. 942-945).

I B 5 / Br. 11

Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 1630, copper 15 x 12.2 cm (formerly *The artist in a cap and pleated shirt*). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, since 2001 whereabouts unknown (see for a colour reproduction Chapter III fig. 129)



The uncertainty expressed in Vol. I over this small painting's attribution to Rembrandt was largely due to an assumption shared by most of the participants of the Rembrandt Research Project, the *a priori* idea of a specific and fairly constant style on the part of the young Rembrandt. In retrospect, this assumption could not be upheld. The painting has been executed on an unusual support (gilded copper) and belongs to a group of three works with the same kind of support and the same format (see Chapter III figs. 128-130). The striking differences of style between the three paintings led to doubts as to the authenticity of two of them, including I B 5. Arguments are presented on pp. 166-177 of this volume supporting the suggestion that these three small paintings represent the three *genera dicendi*, the *stilus humilis*, *mediocris* and *gravis*, also known as the *modi*, much discussed among the humanists in Rembrandt's circle (see Chapter III notes 207-209). On a reproduction print of one of the three paintings (I B 6) Rembrandt is in fact named as the inventor of that painting (see Chapter III fig. 52); and since Rembrandt and Van Vliet must have been in regular contact with each other in the period during which the print originated (*c.* 1634), considerable documentary significance must be attributed to this inscription. (See E. Hinterding, 'Rembrandt and Van Vliet: the watermarks' (with further references), in Chr. Schuckman, M. Royalton-Kisch, E. Hinterding, *Rembrandt & Van Vliet. A collaboration on copper*, exhib. cat. Museum Het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam 1996, p. 52)

II A 97 / Br. 22

Rembrandt workshop, *'Tronie' with Rembrandt's features*, 1634, panel 80.5 x 66 cm (formerly *Self-portrait with helmet)*. Kassel, Staatliche Museen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (see for colour reproductions Chapter III figs. 204, 206)



Having studied the style and quality of this painting in the comparative context of the group of self-portraits from the same period we came to seriously doubt the autograph nature of the work. For our arguments against an attribution to Rembrandt, see Chapter III, pp. 216-217.

II C 56 / Br. 23

Rembrandt and studio, *Self-portrait transformed in a 'tronie'*, *c.* 1633, partly overpainted *c.* 1637, panel 56 x 47 cm (formerly *Bust of Rembrandt*). Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie (see for colour reproductions Chapter III figs. 203, 202)



Rembrandt (and workshop), *Self-portrait*, *c.* 1635, partly overpainted *c.* 1640, panel 80.5 x 62.8 cm (formerly *Bust of Rembrandt with an architectural background*). Paris, Musée du Louvre (see for colour reproductions Chapter III figs. 245, 252)



We suspect that the stock of self-portraits that Rembrandt built up in his first Amsterdam years was surplus to requirement (see Chapter III, pp. 139-140). Two of these remainders were transformed into self-portraits of Rembrandt at a later age, two others into *tronies*. The present painting belongs to this latter category, that of a self-portrait, which can be clearly discerned in the X-radiograph (Chapter III fig. 77), later altered into the *tronie* of a *landsknecht*. Whether the transformation was effected by Rembrandt himself or by a member of the workshop is not entirely clear in this case. For a further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 216.

The brilliant, broadly painted self-portrait in its first state should perhaps be seen as a demonstration of Rembrandt's mastery of the 'rough manner'.

III B 10 / Br. 29

In the text in Vol. III B 10, the question of whether this portrait could be from Rembrandt's hand was left undecided. Only the face and collar have not been overpainted by another hand. On the basis of the style and the quality of execution of these passages, we are now convinced that these parts were painted by Rembrandt himself. We suspect, however, that the painting has had a more complex genesis than was assumed in Vol. III. Apart from the underlying history piece, whether or not this was completed, possibly depicting *Christ and the woman of Samaria*, we are inclined to believe that several stages can be distinguished in the genesis of the self-portrait itself (see Chapter III fig. 196). This conjecture can only be tested by means of an in-depth investigation, preferably during a future restoration. The *Self-portrait* bearing the spurious 1637 date, inscribed together with an imitated signature by a later hand, is usually dated to around 1640. However, the X-radiograph suggests the possibility that Rembrandt painted an earlier version of the self-portrait over the history piece not long after the latter had been rejected in *c.* 1634. The reserve for the head with the shorter hair and the trunk, which appears to be less massive than in the painting's present-day form, suggests an origin around 1634. We believe that the original self-portrait was altered (in part by another hand) to reflect Rembrandt's appearance between 1640 and '42; and if our suggested reconstruction of the painting's genesis is correct, the modification of the head would have been executed by Rembrandt himself (see also Chapter III, pp. 139-141 and 150–168 and figs. 79-81).

III C 92 / Br. 25

Rembrandt workshop (or Rembrandt?), *Half-length figure of Rembrandt*, 1635, panel 90.5 x 71.8 cm. England, private collection



In our treatment of this painting in Volume III it was still not possible to publish the X-radiograph (Chapter III fig. 215) and other relevant visual material. As much of this material as possible is now issued in this volume (see Chapter III, pp. 230 – 238). In addition, the arguments presented in Vol. III that led to the disattribution of the painting are again weighed and set against several new insights. On the basis of these new insights we find that the alternative possible view – that the work was, in fact, painted by Rembrandt – cannot be entirely excluded. Further investigation of this painting, for so long inaccessible, will be needed before a more definite judgement can be reached.

III C 96 / Br. 27

Rembrandt, *Self-portrait*, 2nd half 1630's, panel 64 x 49 cm (formerly *Bust of Rembrandt in a black cap*). London, The Wallace Collection (see for colour reproductions Chapter III figs. 231, 232)



In Vol. III this painting was removed from our catalogue of Rembrandt's oeuvre on stylistic grounds. Tümpel (1986, p. 428 A 68) also rejected the painting, referring to it as a work by 'a pupil of Rembrandt'; while Slatkes omitted it altogether from his 1992 oeuvre catalogue.

In the process of writing the present volume, we came to the conclusion that we needed to re-evaluate the arguments leading to our rejection of the traditional attribution of this painting to Rembrandt. It should be borne in mind that in its present condition the evidently cropped work differs substantially from its original appearance. It now measures 64 x 49 cm, including the semi-circular top. Given the fact that the two largest of the paintings on panels that came from the same tree as this one measure 71.9 x 54.6 cm (III C 101) and 51.3 x 71.5 cm (III A 137) respectively, the Wallace *Self-portrait* could have been 10 cm higher and 6 cm wider (and was most likely rectangular).

As a result of the drastic cropping of the panel, the setting of the figure in the pictorial space has been seriously disturbed, particularly since Rembrandt was meant to be seen slightly from below. In our text in Vol. III the style of this painting which should be dated *c.* 1637 was primarily judged against the Berlin *Self-portrait in motion* of 1634 (II A 96). However, a more obvious relation is suggested by the striking stylistic and technical resemblance to a number of paintings from the 1636-38 period (see further Chapter III, pp. 238-242, especially figs. 231-234).

III C 97 / Br. 32

In November 1971, we studied the *Self-portrait* in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena for the first time (for colour reproductions see Chapter III figs. 235 and 236). The circumstances were less than favourable. The painting was in its frame and mounted in a rather deep transparent, climate-controlled vitrine from which it could not be removed. As a result, it was not possible to examine the paint surface close up or under magnification.

The painting appeared to be in good condition; at the time we could not suspect that its condition was in fact much worse than it seemed. We saw many, apparently well preserved, thinly painted transparent-brown parts of the costume. The visible part of the hand and the sleeve – passages where the free, thinly applied brush strokes can be separately followed – also appeared to be well preserved. By extrapolation this led to the impression that the painting as a whole had remained in perfect condition. The rich variation of cool and warm tints in the face and the powerful plasticity of this part of the painting also contributed to this impression. The unusual colourfulness of the head – on the assumption that the painting was well preserved – played an important part in forming the opinion that, however highly the quality of this work was judged, we could not be dealing here with an autograph painting by Rembrandt. We had no further subsequent opportunity to examine it under better conditions and were therefore forced to base the analysis published in 1989, on notes we had made in 1971.[1]

Now that the painting could be studied (by E.v.d.W. on 17 and 18 May 2001, and on 30 April 2003 together with Joe Fronek, Conservator of the Los Angeles County Museum) under favourable conditions and with the help of a microscope, it became evident that the head and the immediately adjacent area have had a dramatic material history. It appears that this part of the painting was selectively 'cleaned' and in places radically restored. In fact – certainly in the face – there is scarcely a single brush stroke or a single contour that has remained completely intact. Under the microscope, the traces of abrasive scouring of the surface are clearly visible. To the right of the point of the nose, for example, a disfiguring bulge of the nose contour has resulted which, in later restorations, seems to have been seen and preserved as a (displaced) wing of the nose. It is known that in the 17th and early 18th centuries, discoloured varnish was in many instances scoured off (parts of) paintings. In the words of Jan van Dijk, one of the 18th-centuries more conscientious restorers, 'a great many Jewels of Art' were 'ruined by bunglers hands, not to say incapable claws, which have been over-cleaned in such a way that the panels show through the lit part as well as through the dark parts.'[2] There is mention in the written sources of the use of such scouring agents as pumice powder, smalt (a ground glass) and Brussels sand.[3] The present painting is apparently one of those works that were treated in this manner, and although in this case only locally, nevertheless in its most vital parts.

This would also explain why paint in the middle of the chin has been scoured away down to the light yellowish ground. In all Rembrandt self-portraits around 1640 – whether autograph or not – this passage is executed in rather dark grey-brown paint, which is a more vulnerable paint than the lead white-containing, flesh-coloured parts of the chin on either side of its cleft. The bare zone that appeared after the abrasion of either the shaded parts of the chin or – as will be discussed below – of a small beard was filled in with a rather orange, red-brown paint that is recognizable as a later overpainting by the fineness of the pigment particles. Similar new paint, of an even stronger red, was applied to the lower lip with hatched brushstrokes. The cheek was for a considerable part also overpainted, this time with opaque pink, again applied with hatching strokes locally covered with a strong red glaze. These interventions had far-reaching consequences for the colour scheme of the painting as a whole. One such consequence was that the grey of the stubble has been optically activated almost to a green. When seen under the microscope, the condition of the eyes is also dramatic. Not a single element of it has remained fully intact, although there must have remained sufficient for later restorers to be able to reconstruct much of the lost detail.

The X-radiograph (fig. 2) shows a reserve to the right of the present beret and a painted out suggestion of folds, indicating that the beret's contour here originally followed a convex rather the present concave course. (This change in the beret was effected while the original black paint was still wet, and must therefore be considered a *pentimento*.) The beret in its present form is otherwise largely overpainted with black paint. There is still one other radical pentimento: The X-radiograph shows that, along the left contour, part of the collar and the shoulder have been changed with opaque paint. The contour from the neck to the shoulder has been simplified by this intervention and, as a result, has acquired a role in the constellation of simple, often triangular forms of which the trunk, with the hand stuck inside the clothing, is constructed.

As with the nose, the contour of the averted side of the face is as a whole deformed by serious abrasion. Similarly, the tonal transitions in the neck and between the hair and temple must also have been scoured away.

The possibility should not be excluded that Rembrandt was wearing a goatee in this painting whose only remaining evidence, after the drastic abrasion of the chin, is a reserve in the lead white-containing background beside the neck. In the etched self-portrait of 1639 (B. 21; Chapter III fig. 151) Rembrandt portrayed himself with a goatee. By analogy with this etching, the bulge under the chin in the Pasadena painting could indeed be the trace of a small beard. This analogy with the etched self-portrait may, incidentally, provide an indication in favour of the dating of the painting to 1639, as maintained by many authors.[4]

Could these new insights into the painting's present condition and original appearance bear on the question of authenticity or attribution? In any case, they provide reason enough to reassess our view, published in Vol. III, that the painting is not by Rembrandt.

Fig. 1. Rembrandt, *Selfportrait*, 1639, panel 63 x 50.1 cm (formerly *Bust of Rembrandt*). Pasadena, Cal., Norton Simon Museum of Art. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 236



Fig. 2. X-Ray



In the context of the question of the authenticity, it is important to point out that the Pasadena painting belongs to the less frequently occurring type of self-portrait where Rembrandt is represented with forehead exposed, whereas in the majority of Rembrandt's self-portraits the forehead is largely hidden beneath a hat of some kind or concealed by the shadow cast by such headgear. It is characteristic of the self-portraits of this type that the highest light is shifted from the cheekbone and nose to the skull. As a result, the proportions of the face as a whole – like also for instance in the Florence *Self-portrait* from 1669 (IV 28; Chapter III fig. 331) – seem rather different from those in the other, more common type of self-portrait. The overall high quality of the present painting on the one hand, and on the other the more 'compressed' proportions of the features, together with the (seemingly) strong colorism, led to our suggestion in Vol. III that an attribution to Carel Fabritius deserved serious consideration.

If one ignores the disfigurations resulting from the painting's turbulent history, there remains an image which, in style and quality shows significant links with paintings that we are convinced come from Rembrandt's own hand. The subtle differentiation in the course of the contours of the torso, for instance, with an angular element indicating a collar or some other detail of the apparel, exhibits a refinement characteristic of Rembrandt around 1640 (cf. III A 139; Chapter III fig. 242).

As a result of the painter's tendency to leave the ground exposed or visible through the transparently applied brownish paint of the first tonal sketch, the painting seems to have been released in a somewhat 'unfinished' state which is typical of Rembrandt. But more importantly, the differentiation in the brushwork in these 'open' areas reminds one strongly of Rembrandt. One thinks, for example, of self-portraits such as those in Paris from 1633 (II A 71/72; see Chapter III figs. 193, 194), in Karlsruhe from *c.* 1645 (IV 5) or of the *Landscape with a stone bridge* in Amsterdam from *c.* 1638 (III A 136).

Equally characteristic of Rembrandt is the apparently casual yet effective execution of the lit jaw with the transitions to the double chin and folds of the neck. It should be noted, however, that the locally exposed ground, which has become lighter over time, plays a rather interfering role here. The use of *sfumato* in the contours of such parts, particularly in the ear argues for the painting's attribution to Rembrandt.

The same holds for a local linearity in the painting, partly correlated with the sketchy nature of particularly the attire and the hand. One often encounters this rather graphic approach by Rembrandt in the late 1630's – related to a striking preference for simple triangular forms on which the composition rests, as it were (cf. for example, III A 129, 133, 140, 145 or C 103, accepted as autograph by the present author in an addendum on p. 655 of Vol. III).

In no other Rembrandt self-portrait does one encounter such decoration on the black overgarment. The indication of this decoration with restless brush strokes in yellow-ochre would seem to represent strips of gold brocade in the form of a braiding such as was found in Polish attire. As far as concerns the question of authenticity, it is perhaps not insignificant that an almost identical costume is found in a piece from Rembrandt's studio that is now in Glasgow (Br. 28). Bredius included this among the self-portraits by Rembrandt. However, it should rather be seen as a free variant after the Pasadena painting. The Glasgow painting may belong to the category of *tronies* whereby apprentices used themselves or each other as models.[5] The possibility that the Pasadena painting could have served here as a point of departure speaks for its authenticity.

However, it is above all the stylistic and technical characteristics of the Pasadena *Self-portrait* which converge on a judgement in favour of the (re)attribution of this painting to Rembrandt.[6]

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, pp. 242-243.

Fig. 3. Detail with signature (enlarged) (see note 6)



NOTES

1 *A Corpus* III C 97.

2 Jan van Dyk, *Kunst en historiekundige beschrijving en aanmerkingen over alle de schilderijen op het stadhuis van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1758, p. 39.

3 R.-H. Marijnissen, *Dégradation, conservation et restauration de l'oeuvre d'art*, Brussels 1967, Vol. I, pp. 65-72.

4 For a review of the literature concerning this painting, see Amy Walsh in the forthcoming catalogue of the Dutch paintings in the Norton Simon Museum.

5 Natasja van Eck, *Jongemannen Tronies*, MA thesis, University of Amsterdam 2000.

6 In the literature there has been uncertainty over the dating of the Pasadena *Self-portrait* is partly due to the poor condition of the inscription on the painting, located to the right in the background at the level of Rembrandt's shoulder (fig. 3). This inscription consists chiefly of small dots of paint applied later, by means of which the remains of the possibly original signature and date were retouched. Of the original signature there remain only parts of the <*Remb*>, and the (un-retouched) <*t*>. The year, <*163.*> seems to be solely constituted by retouches which may cover remnants of an earlier inscription. The condition of that part of the inscription seems to be so bad, however, that it leaves room for speculation about the possibility that the third digit could have been a 4. A number of authors have therefore proposed dating the painting to the early '40s. We prefer a dating to the end of the 1630s. In Vol. III (p. 621 *Signature*) we suggested that the last digit might have been an 8, but it could equally well have been a 9. We prefer a dating in or near 1639.

ADDENDA SELFPORTRAITS

IV Addendum 1

REMBRANDT, SELF-PORTRAIT 1632
PRIVATE COLLECTION

HDG 773 (copy); BR. 157 (copy); BAUCH –; GERSON –; TÜMPEL –

1. Introduction and description

Different previous owners of this small panel (fig. 1), including the art dealer J.O. Leegenhoek, believed they were in possession of a work by Rembrandt, although the painting had never featured in the Rembrandt literature. Its authenticity had always been doubted by art historians, including the members of the RRP. We were first confronted with the painting's existence in 1977. Only in 1995, when new results of dendrochronological and other forms of research became available, were we convinced that it must be a work by Rembrandt; and in 1997 we published our arguments for this attribution.[1] These arguments are recapitulated in the following catalogue text and weighed once again.

N.B. During the restoration of the painting by Martin Bijl in 2005 it became clear that the original hat and hand had been overpainted (compare Chapter III fig. 185 and p. 610). Because the removal of these overpaintings was completed just before the present Volume went to press it was no longer possible to modify the following text. See however fig. 1.

Rembrandt has represented himself down to the hips. He is wearing a wide brimmed, black hat with an ornamented glistening hat-band, a black cloak with velvet facings over a plain black doublet, and a type of neckwear known as a falling ruff. His gloved hand, depicted as remarkably small, partly rests in the cloak thrown over the forearm (for several additional plates of details and other illustrations, see Chapter III, pp. 202-206, figs. 185-188 and 190-192).

Support

Oak panel, grain vertical, 21.8 x 16.3 cm. Single piece, thickness *c.* 0,8 cm.

The panel has been subjected to dendrochronological investigation in 1980 by Prof. Dr. J. Bauch of the University of Hamburg; it contains 135 growth rings (including 7 sapwood). The wood concerned is originating from the Baltic/Polish region. Using this masterchronology the rings could be dated between the years 1625 and 1491. Last dated annual ring of heartwood 1618; earliest possible felling date 1627; probable felling date, based on statistical average 1633. In 1995 we were informed that the panel comes from the same tree as the panel for the Hamburg *Portrait of Maurits Huygens* (II A 57).

Viewed from the back (fig. 3), on the right there is a relatively (*c.* 4 cm) broad vertical bevelling that extends the entire height of the panel. Along the other three sides, to a breadth of several millimeters, the edge of the panel has been thinned, apparently to enable the panel to be fitted into the rabbet of a frame. From the unusual combination of the bevelling it may be concluded that this is a fragment of an originally larger panel; yet there are no indications that there was a painting on this original panel before it was cut down in size.

Ground

A yellow-brown ground lies exposed by the contour of the shoulder on the right, between the collar and the cloak and between the chin and collar. It is visible through the transparent brown preparatory sketch where this remains here and there uncovered or in parts that have been worn, for example in the hair and in the shadowed parts of and around the mouth.

Investigation of paint cross-sections revealed a double ground such as is normally encountered on Rembrandt's panels: first a layer of chalk and glue and above this a yellow layer in which white lead and a little umber were found (see Chapter IV fig. 2 and *Table of Grounds* II, pp. 660-661).

Paint layer

Condition:
The painting is locally seriously abraded as a result of over-cleaning (fig. 4). As a result, damage has mainly occurred in a relatively large area around and including the hand. Elsewhere in the costume and in and around the hat there has also been local wear. This is similarly the case for the face, particularly in the eyes, round the mouth and in the damaged part of the cheek. During further investigations of the painting it was discovered that the hat and the gloved hand were overpaintings, carried out at a significantly later stage of the painting's history (compare Chapter III fig. 185 and p. 610).

The painting has been done in great haste, as is indicated by the fact that the background, which was completed first, was still wet when the signature was placed after completing the painting (see figs. 6, 7). The swiftness of the brushwork in both the shadow and the light parts of the head and collar and the way in which the transparent brown preparatory sketch has been left visible suggest that this small painting was economically executed. This does not mean, however, that it was painted *alla prima.* As usual with Rembrandt's paintings on panel, the lay-out was done in brown, transparent paint. Traces of this underpainting are visible in the hair, the shadowed parts of the face, the neck and collar.[2]

In the course of the work, several corrections have been introduced. The left part of the collar was altered, partly by revising the background, partly by refining the bottom contour of the collar in the clothing with black paint. The eye in the shadowed half of the face has been substituted – probably by Rembrandt – after first covering this zone (as the X-radiograph and the infrared reflectogram demonstrate, see figs. 2 and 5) with rather radio-absorbent and black containing paint on which a new eye was then painted. In its first form, apparently, the eye had been either incorrectly drawn or wrongly painted.

For the alterations in the hat and the substitution of a

Fig. 1. Panel 21.8 x 16.3 cm; photograph taken after restoration 2005. For a photograph taken before restoration, see Chapter III fig. 185.



Fig. 2. X-Ray



Fig. 3. Back of panel

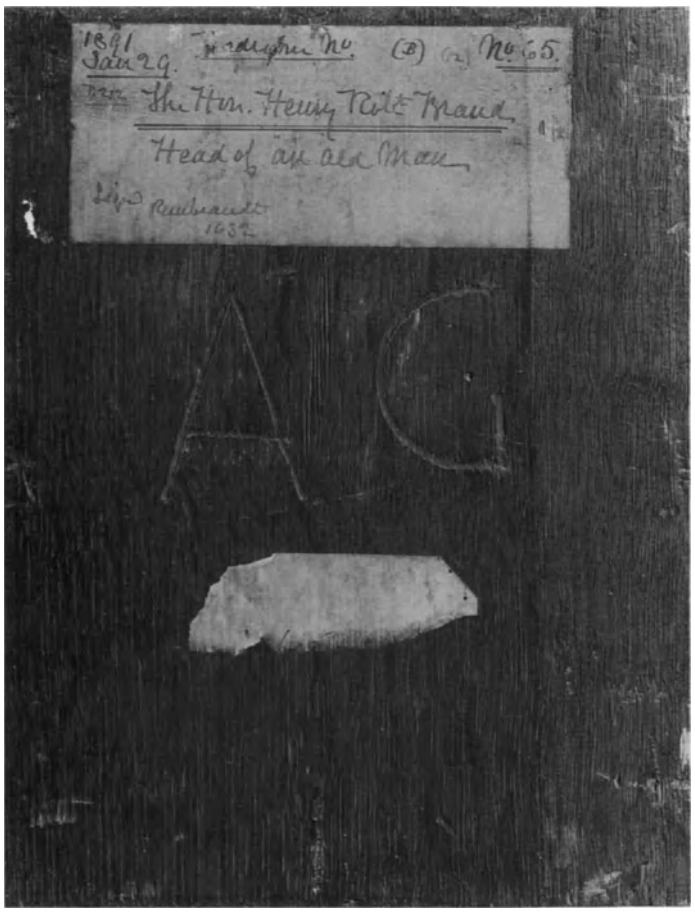


Fig. 4. The painting stripped of overpaintings and retouches



broadly sketched cuff and hand, see below and Chapter III, pp. 204-206.

Radiographical investigation

There are a number of striking differences between the X-ray image and the final painting. The most radical difference concerns the hat, whose edge has acquired a different course while the crown has probably been broadened. In the region of the present hand can be seen a light, slightly bent shape which, as will be shown, was intended to be the original cuff of Rembrandt's left sleeve. The repentirs by the left contour of the collar and the sitter's left eye, already referred to under *Paint layer*, clearly show up in the X-ray image. Further, the contours of the reserve of the torso in the radioabsorbent background do not correspond with the final contours.

The infrared reflectographic mosaic (fig. 5) shows the curved shape of the cuff that was also visible in the X-radiograph, but now as a black form, which indicates that in addition to the white lead that shows up in the X-radiograph a black pigment is also present. This shape forms part of a constellation of dark lines and dots that can be read as folds of the cloak and a brief indication of a hand. The thumb of this hand can be seen on its upper side, while two bold lines outline the rest of the hand. The interpretation of these shapes as a hand and a cuff is supported by the fact that a bulge in the contour of the cloak corresponds with the appropriate position of the implied forearm and may be read as indicating the elbow. The fact that the lines and dots mentioned above in the reflectogram are so clearly visible as separate brushstrokes means that they contain black pigment and thus are not part of the transparent brown lay-out of the painting.

Signature

Signed in the background near the shoulder < *Rembrant . f* [followed by three dots linked in triangular pattern] / *1632* > (fig. 6). In raking light it can be seen that the inscription is placed in the wet paint. The X-ray shows indentations in the paint of the background indicating that the brush that was used to write the signature pushed the wet paint of the background aside (fig. 7).

2. Comments

A copy of the present painting was known and had already been published and reproduced before.[3] The present painting was first seen by members of the RRP (B.H. and E.v.d.W.) in 1977 when it was with the Paris art dealer J.O. Leegenhoek, who had purchased it in 1970. The remarkably small hand with its implied forearm, which makes of the arm as a whole an anatomical monstrosity, and the 'incorrect' spelling of the signature, together with the unusually small format (compared with Rembrandt's painted self-portraits) contributed to the conviction during our first investigation that this could not be an autograph work by Rembrandt. The fact that Rembrandt's head, with its rather heavy jaw and second

Fig. 5. Infrared reflectogram



chin, does not seem to correspond with the dating on the painting raised the suspicion that the painting might be an imitation, assembled from a trunk that seemed to fit with works from *c.* 1632 and a head taken from a considerably later painting (cf. for example, IV 2 or 3).

When reassessing the dendrochronological data concerning the oak panels of paintings by Rembrandt and his school, the Hamburg wood-biologist Peter Klein discovered that the panel of the present painting came from the same tree as the panel used as a support for one of Rembrandt's best-documented works, the (also small) *Portrait of Maurits Huygens* in the Hamburg Kunsthalle (II A 57). That painting also bears the date 1632. Although panels made of the same sawn-up tree trunk theoretically may have been distributed to several different studios, the fact that both these panels carry paintings in the same style, achieved using a similar technique, made it virtually impossible to believe that they originated from two different studios. It is hardly conceivable that Rembrandt's style was imitated in another Dutch studio as early as 1632. Consequently, there could be little doubt that the *Maurits Huygens* and the present painting come from the same – Rembrandt's – studio.

This did not, of course, necessarily prove that the painting had to be an autograph work by Rembrandt. It could also be a copy, made by somebody from Rembrandt's studio. The painting, however, could not possibly be a copy, for it displays a genesis that is typical for an original invention. When studying the X-radiographic image, we noticed significant discrepancies between the this image and the visible painting, the most striking of which concern the hat and the hand. At first sight these would appear to be repentirs by the painter himself; we shall however defend the hypothesis elsewhere that it is highly probable that we are dealing here with the interventions of another painter, either within or, more likely, outside Rembrandt's studio (see Chapter III, pp. 204-206). If the changes to the hat and the zone with the hand are for the time being left out of consideration, the rest of the changes mainly concern the – originally larger – collar and discrepancies between the reserve for the figure left in the radioabsorbent background (which, as was usual in the seventeenth century, was finished first) and the final contours of the cloak (compare figs. 1 and 2). These features demonstrate liberties in the execution of the painting that exclude the possibility that it is a copy. They point rather in the direction of Rembrandt, see for instance the genesis of the figure of Nicolaes Tulp in *The anatomy lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* in The Hague (II A 51).[4]

Thanks to dendrochronology and X-radiography, we could now assume that: 1. the painting must have originated in Rembrandt's studio; 2. that it is not a copy, and 3. that the characteristics of its genesis are similar to those of authentic works by Rembrandt.

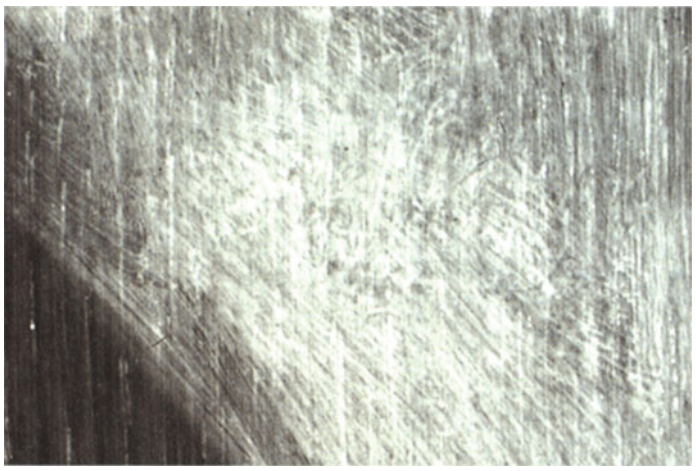
At first sight, the signature would seem especially to invite suspicion (fig. 6). Signatures from 1632 usually read *RHL* [in monogram] *van Rijn*, while this one gives Rembrandt's full (first) name. A second anomaly is that Rembrandt's name in this signature ends with a *t* instead of the usual *dt.* However, both anomalies will turn out to become strong arguments in favour of the authenticity of the painting. This is more especially the case since this signature is found to be applied on (and in) the wet paint of the background. This can be seen as a strong indication that the painter of the work himself applied this signature.

Rembrandt did not always write his name with *dt.* In signatures on documents from the 1620s he writes his first name with a *t.* The last known signature on a document written in this way is from 1631.[5] In the next document with his signature, from 1634, Rembrandt has written his name with *dt.*[6] Apparently somewhere between 1631 and 1634, Rembrandt must have changed the orthography of his first name. In Rembrandt's etchings and paintings we can follow this change with more precision. As said before, nearly all signatures on paintings and etchings of 1632 are *RHL*-monograms with the addition *van Rijn.* Then there is a single etching (B. 38) (without a date, but stylistically compatible with the relevant period) bearing the inscription *Rembrant van Rijn,* which must be seen as a transitional stage to the use of simply *Rembrant.* The latter type of signature is to be found on some works bearing the date 1632, among which the *Anatomy lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* (II A 51) and one etching (B. 101), and with some other paintings and etchings with the date 1633, among which the *Christ in the Storm*, the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston (II A 68) and the first plate of the *Descent from the cross* (B.

Fig. 6. Detail with signature



Fig. 7. Detail of fig. 2 showing in dark the tracks of the brush in the wet paint while applying the signature



81). Given the fact that the greater part of the paintings and etchings bearing the date 1633 are signed Rembrandt with *dt*, together with the evidence concerning the Rembrandt signatures from 1632, one has to conclude that the painter early in 1633 decided to change his first name from Rembran*t* to Rembran*dt*. Apart from obviously false Rembran*t* inscriptions found on rembrandtesque works from all periods, the Rembran*t* signature was used by Rembrandt himself only for a very short time, it seems, in the winter of 1632/33. The rarity of a reliably looking Rembran*t* signature, and the fact that it is inscribed in the wet paint, therefore adds to the likelihood of its authenticity and consequently also the authenticity of the present painting itself.[7] Our conviction that the signature is autograph was shared by the handwriting experts in the Netherlands Forensic Institute of the Ministry of Justice. They recognized so many familiar features in this tiny signature that they considered it to be autograph.[8]

Another argument that points toward Rembrandt's authorship is the costume. Before the present hat covered the original headpiece, Rembrandt was wearing a black hat with the rim elegantly turned upwards, the same type of hat as worn in the 1631 etched *Self-portrait* (Chapter III fig. 149) and the 1632 Glasgow *Self-portrait* (Chapter III fig. 183) Over a black cloak with velvet facings, which in turn covers a plain black doublet, he wears a type of neckwear known as a 'falling ruff'. From *c.* 1625 onwards, the falling ruff was the most fashionable item of neckwear. Consisting of many layers of fine lawn it could be plain or, as it seems to be the case here, decorated with cutwork or edged with lace. During the first three decades of the seventeenth century there was a wide variety of neckwear and because of its function as a frame for the face the choice for a particular type of neckwear must be regarded as a highly personal statement of the wearer's status or fashion-awareness. Because it thus serves as a kind of personal 'trademark', the wearer tended to stick to one particular type of neckwear for a long period of time. This is evident in the portraits of Nicolaes Tulp, for instance, who shows a preference for a small falling band both in his portrait by Rembrandt of 1632 in the *Anatomy Lesson* and in his portrait of *c.* 1634 by Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy (Amsterdam, Six Collection); or in the case of Johannes Wtenbogaert who wears a loosely pleated type of ruff, known as a 'fraise a la confusion', not only in his 1633 portrait by Rembrandt (II A 80) but also in the portraits by Michiel van Mierevelt of 1637, and by Jacob Backer of 1638 (all in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam) (see also Chapter II, pp. 46-47 and note 11).

The fact that, like Rembrandt, the fashion-conscious Constantijn Huygens also wore a falling ruff, as can be seen, for example, in his portrait by Lievens from 1627 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), may be indicative of Rembrandt's fashion-sense or of his sense of status. Although in England the falling ruff was already out of fashion by 1632, it was evidently still widely worn in the Netherlands, as can be deduced from the majority of Rembrandt's sitters of his early Amsterdam period. The small cluster of Rembrandt's self-portraits in formal contemporary clothes consists solely of works from between 1631 and 1633 (see Chapter III, pp. 199-206, figs. 85, 86, 149, 171/170, 183, 185). Taking together the fact that the fashionable attire with a falling ruff in the present painting is only to be found in the self-portraits from that specific, short period, and the painting's date of 1632, adds to the likelihood of the painting being an autograph work.

Each of the arguments presented above can be disputed with more or less cogency. Taken together, however, they reinforce each other in such a way that the evidence amounts to what in the field of art history comes closest to actual proof. The stylistic features that contribute to our conviction that this is indeed an authentic Rembrandt is dealt with in Chapter III, p. 202. There, the case is also argued that the peculiar weaknesses of the painting (insofar as these are not merely the consequence of the painting's condition) are the result of a later intervention by another hand. In this intervention the hat was modified and the present gloved hand added.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

None.

Fig. 8. Copy. Whereabouts unknown



5. Copies

1. Panel; different measurements of the painting have been published, 21,5 x 16 or 26,5 x 22 cm. Reasonably faithful copy. Present whereabouts unknown (Br. 157; fig. 8). The figure is closely framed all round; the bottom edge cuts through the hand. Provenance based on the literature listed (see note 2): coll. Paul Delaroff, St. Petersburg; coll. Max Flersheim, Paris, until 1935; coll. Johan Lønberg, Denmark, until 1945; by inheritance Mrs. Alice Lønberg, Denmark, until 1963.

6. Provenance

– Sale Vinot, Paris 29 January 1891, bought by Henry Robert Brand, 2nd Viscount Hampden (according to label on back of panel).
– Sale London (Sotheby's) 8 April 1970, bought by art dealer J.O. Leegenhoek, Paris (£ 650).
– Private collection Netherlands from 1996.
– Private collection USA from 1999.

NOTES

1. See Van de Wetering 1997 (hard cover edition) inside dust-jacket; the painting was presented in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 4-10 November 1997.
2. *Corpus* Vol. I, Chapter II, pp. 20-24; Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 23-32.
3. As painted by Rembrandt in: W. Bode and C. Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt* VIII, Paris 1901, no. 554; HdG 773; *Rembrandt. Des Meisters Gemälde*, introduction by A. Rosenberg, (Kl.d.K.), Stuttgart-Leipzig 1906, p. 45; idem 1909, p. 67; Bredius 157; exhib. cat. The Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen, Oct. 1946, cat. no. 77; as from Rembrandt's school: Br.-Gerson 157; Bauch 1966, p. 47 [Br. no. 157].
4. For information on the working methods of the early Rembrandt, see Vol. I Chapter II, which was republished in Van de Wetering 1997, Chapter II.
5. Strauss *Doc.*, 1631/10.
6. Strauss *Doc.*, 1634/6.
7. Works with a reliable *Rembrant* signature: *The anatomy lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* (II A 51); *The artist in oriental costume, with a poodle at his feet* (antedated to 1631) (I A 40); *The Pellicorne family* (dates trimmed of) (II C 65 – the signature on C 66 probably being copied from that on C 65 by a later hand); *Christ in the Storm* (II A 68) (<*Rembrant . f* [followed by three dots linked in triangular pattern]/*1633*>); *Woman at the toilet* (II A 64) <*Rembrant . f/ 163(3?)*>; *Daniel and Cyrus* (II A 67) (<*Rembrant f 1633*>) and the etchings B. 38 (<*Rembrant van Rijn fe* [no date]>), B. 101 (<*Rembrant f. 1632*>), B. 81 (first plate) (<*Rembrant . f/ 1633*>). The fact that Rembrandt omitted the *d* in his signature on the *Sophonisba* (II A 94) can perhaps be explained by assuming that, during the writing, the arm of the chair on which the signature has been placed proved too narrow to accommodate the full *dt* and that Rembrandt therefore reverted to the older spelling of his name.
8. For their working method see W. Froentjes, H.J.J. Hardy, R. ter Kuile-Haller, 'Een schriftkundig onderzoek van Rembrandt signaturen', *O.H.* 105 (1991), pp. 185-204; and W. Froentjes, H.J.J. Hardy and R. ter Kuile-Haller, 'A comparative handwriting examination of Rembrandt signatures', *Proceedings of the XXVIIIth International Congress of the History of Art, Berlin 15-20 July 1992*, Berlin 1993, pp. 595-606.

IV Addendum 2

REMBRANDT, SELF-PORTRAIT WITH SHADED EYES* 1634
LAS VEGAS, U.S.A., THE WYNN COLLECTION

HDG – ; BR. – ; BAUCH – ; GERSON – ; TÜMPEL –

1. Introduction and description

The present painting has not previously featured in the Rembrandt literature. A copy (see fig. 16) was reproduced by Von Moltke in his Flinck monograph as a work he considered to be wrongly attributed to Flinck.[1] This copy shows the painting in a form only known from a photograph taken in or before 1935 (fig. 3).

Around the middle of the twentieth century, one of the present painting's previous owners must have seen that large parts of the painting had been overpainted. Some of these overpaintings, as demonstrated by several undated photographs in the possession of the last owner, were removed in different stages (see figs. 4 and 5).

In 1995 we were asked to investigate the painting in the stage as shown in fig. 5, using scientific methods. In the course of these investigations, the indications accumulated that we were dealing with a seventeenth-century painting that in its hypothetical first stage could well have originated in 1634, the date applied to the wet paint (together with a seemingly reliable Rembrandt signature). Apart from the signature, there were other indications (to be discussed below) suggesting that the work may well have originated in Rembrandt's studio. The possibility was even raised that one might, after all, be dealing with an originally authentic but for some reason obscured Rembrandt self-portrait. Examination of the paint surface combined with the stylistic analysis of passages painted in markedly different styles, led to the hypothesis that the painting in its first appearance had at some time been overpainted in places. Investigation of paint samples showed that we were dealing here with very old overpaintings.

Following this, we asked the owner to consider allowing us to continue our investigations during a tentative

Fig. 1. Panel 70.8 x 55.2 cm; photograph taken after restoration 2002 (For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 199)



Fig. 2. X-Ray; taken after restoration 2002



Fig. 3. Photograph taken *c.* 1935



Fig. 4. Photograph taken in or after 1966



and gradual removal of these overpaintings. It was thought that we might perhaps in the process gain a clearer insight into the painting's material history and original appearance.

We were aware that, from the viewpoint of the ethics of restoration, this proposition was open to question, since it seemed clear that the overpaintings were so old one had to entertain the possibility that they had been done in Rembrandt's own workshop. To be sure, the break in style and quality, between those parts that had *not* been overpainted – the chin, nose and parts of the cheek and the background – and those that had been overpainted, was so great that one could exclude the possibility of the original painting and the subsequent overpaintings being from the same hand. The indications that the first version and the subsequent overpainting had been executed in the same workshop were to become steadily stronger as the removal of the overpainting proceeded. This meant that the changes of form that the painting had undergone during the course of its existence were not the result of a capricious restoration by a much later hand (as, for example, in the largely overpainted – 'freshed up'– *Self-portrait* in Windsor Castle, IV 1) but should rather be regarded as part of the historical identity of the work. One could then no longer speak of 'overpaintings' but of an intervention that one would rather classify as a very extensive 'pentimento', carried out either with Rembrandt's approval, possibly even at his request. We know by now of more such cases.[2] Under normal circumstances, no-one would consider undoing such a part of a painting's history. The one valid argument in favour of further removing the remaining overpaintings was that this serious intervention had already, in the past, been undertaken in the head gear, the hair and the moustache, whilst leaving untouched the other overpaintings, the lit eye and several other parts of the face and the costume. Given the style in which these parts were painted, this hybrid painting would remain a caricature of a Rembrandt self-portrait if the remaining overpaintings were not also removed (see fig. 5). This was undertaken in stages over the period 1999-2002, with each step preceded by a probe of the succession of paint layers to be certain of the nature of the original passage to be revealed.

During the work the conviction grew that this time-consuming intervention had been well worth the effort. The restoration was carried out by Martin Bijl, formerly head restorer at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Karin Groen and Ernst van de Wetering were responsible for the scientific supervision and support, while Marieke de Winkel contributed insights on the basis of her analysis of the costume introduced with the overpaintings. The technical data and insights into the work's genesis and subsequent transformation are dealt with below. The stylistic features and the issue of our attribution to Rembrandt of the painting in its revealed original form will be dealt with in the treatment of the early Amsterdam self-portraits in Chapter III, pp. 207-211. The possible motives behind this remarkable transformation of what appears to have been a completed self-

portrait into the *tronie* of a man in quasi-Russian attire are discussed in the section on the possible functions of Rembrandt's self-portraits (see Chapter III, pp. 139-140 and figs. 73-86).

Support

Oak panel, grain vertical, 70,8 x 55,2 cm (fig. 1); consisting of three planks, from left to right 13,2 cm, 28,4 – 8 cm and 13,0 – 4 cm wide. The panel is 0.7 – 1.1 cm thick and slightly bevelled on the back on all sides. Two of the planks could be dated: one contains annual growth rings from 1586 to 1439, the widest plank contains rings from 1624 to 1424. Professor P. Klein from the Institut für Holzbiologie of Hamburg University, who carried out the dendrochronological analysis, estimated that the earliest date the panel could have been painted was 1635, but given the irregularities in the growth of wood he did not exclude the possibility that the panel might already have been used a year earlier, in 1634, the date on the painting. The wood originates from the Baltic area as did most oak used in Holland at that time. The wood of the middle and right plank (seen from the front) was shown by the X-radiograph to have been already invaded by woodworm before the ground and paint layers were applied.

Ground

The yellowish brown ground consists of two layers, a white chalk and glue priming and a top layer of oil paint containing white lead with some brown pigment. This type of ground was common in Holland in the seventeenth century and is nearly always found with paintings on panel by or attributed to Rembrandt (see *Table of Grounds* II, pp. 660-661).

Paint layer

Condition: The nose, parts of the moustache, the mouth, parts of the lit cheek and of the neck and neckerchief have not been overpainted during the transformation of the painting (fig. 8). Large parts of the background and the shadow cast by the subject, including the signature and date, also belong to the first stage, as does the brushwork on the angles beyond the painted oval framing. These parts of the painting all remained in good condition. In removing those parts of the overpaintings whose removal is documented in figs. 4 and 5, the revealed parts of the background and the beret suffered more or less serious damage. These damages had subsequently been retouched (figs. 10 and 11). During the recent restoration these retouches were removed (fig. 9) and replaced by new retouches (fig. 1). The gradual removal by scalpel of the overpaintings during our continued investigation was carried out by Martin Bijl.

Radiographical investigation

In the X-radiograph taken at the beginning of our investigation of the painting in 1995 (fig. 6) several of the elements that we identified as overpaintings, and which were removed during the restoration, are still visible: in particular, the eye on the lit side and the highlights of the chains. The now removed thick blue-green paint with which the velvet of the gown in the overpainted stage was indicated also shows up light in this X-radiograph. Another – as it were – negative trace of the second stage of the painting is perhaps the rather dark passage in the background to the right of the head, between the reserve of the short hair and the shoulder. Here, perhaps, the paint in the background may have been somewhat abraded during the removal of the hair extensions. The X-radiograph image taken after the restoration (fig. 2) largely corresponds with what the revealed first stage of the painting would lead one to expect, and in a manner that is *mutatis mutandis* characteristic of Rembrandt (compare the X-radiographs of II A 58, 71, 72, 86, 96). There would appear to be a repentir in the shirt collar, unless the radioabsorbent paint under the front of the neck is a fleeting indication of the shirt introduced in the underpainting, but which had no sequel in the further development of the painting. Two imprints on the upper and the underside of the panel of the same wax seal show clearly (see fig. 15). Vertical series of woodworm exit holes that were plugged during application of the first layer of the ground show up as light spots.

The ultraviolet radiograph (see fig. 11), taken before we began our investigations, presents an image, not everywhere easily interpreted, that reflects the painting's turbulent history in the period before 1995. The black parts of the image indicate where the last retouches and other interventions to the surface previous to 1995 occurred. In the background, above the beret, it is clear that there are two generations of retouches that were introduced following the removal of the high hat. The infrared photograph (fig. 10) also shows some of the retouches.

Signature

< *Rembrandt . f* [followed by three dots placed in a triangle] / *1634* > (fig. 12) in brownish black placed in the wet paint of the shadowed part of the background to the right of Rembrandt's shoulder.

2. Comments

The first trace of this painting known to us is a black and white photograph that must have been taken in or before 1935 (fig. 3). As will become clear later we are convinced that the painting on that photograph had basically the same appearance as when it left the workshop (which, as already indicated above and argued below, was in our view Rembrandt's workshop) after its radical overpainting. From here on we will call this form (and in particular the additions to the first stage of the painting) 'the second stage'. To begin with, the painting in that stage is described and analysed on the basis of this photograph and those parts of the second stage that were still present at the beginning of our investigations (for a colour reproduction showing the painting in that condition, see fig. 5). The subject wears a high, possibly velvet hat. Traces of the paint of that hat show that this head-piece was red. The hat is held on the skull by a

Fig. 5. Photograph taken *c.* 1980 showing the painting before investigation and restoration 1999-2002



Fig. 6. X-Ray taken before investigation and restoration 1999-2002



Fig. 7. Back of panel



shiny chain. Although difficult to see in the photograph, a large tassel is fixed on top, held in a metal holder, and hangs down in front of the hat. In this form of the painting, the subject has long curly hair hanging down to the shoulders. His locks hang over his forehead to the level of the eye socket on the right and to the root of the nose. The figure depicted wears pendant earrings with large pearls, a curled moustache and a tuft of hair on the under lip. Like the lit eye, the upwardly curled extension of the moustache and the dark reinforcing of the under lip belong to the second stage. Around his neck he wears a scarf indicated by several streaks, the chest and shoulders are covered by a wide fur collar with two chains on it, broadly indicated. The fur collar belongs to some garment hanging open at the chest. The fur is suggested with a very free brush movement in reddish, brown and black strokes. Apart from strokes that indicate the hairy structure of the fur and its contours, one is struck by the quite large and seemingly impatiently applied smudges of paint. The chains hung over the fur collar have been indicated by boldly applied streaks and daubs in a none too subtle or suggestive manner. A large, dark blue-green spot to the left of the shoulder is particularly striking. Like the fur and the chain, this passage undoubtedly belongs to the second stage. It suggests that the garment is of a dark green velvet. Elsewhere the garment has been indicated with broad dark strokes. On

Fig. 8. The painting as in fig. 3 with changes and additions from *c.* 1635 shown by horizontal hatching



Fig. 9. Photograph taken during restoration before retouching



Fig. 10. Infrared photograph before restoration (see fig. 5)



Fig. 11. Ultraviolet radiograph before restoration (see fig. 5)



either side of the open fastening, braid-like shapes are indicated by a few strokes.

The figure casts a shadow on to the light wall behind, where damage to the plasterwork is indicated. The image is set in an oval, in transparent brown paint, executed with long, rapid brushstrokes. The angles are filled in an equally vigorous fashion.

The subject's costume and the coiffure as added in the second stage – specifically, the tall hat, the large tassel and the long, upturned moustache – were considered in the seventeenth century to be typically Russian features. There is here a clear affinity with the dress of the Russian boyar in Rembrandt's so-called *Half-length figure of a man in 'Russian' costume* in Washington from 1637 (fig. 13) except that in the latter painting the large tassel hangs from the shoulder. The painter of the second stage also introduced some definitely un-Russian features like the long hair and the velvet hat instead of a fur hat.

Fig. 12. Signature (1:1)



An old photograph of the 'second stage' as described above (fig. 3) is located at the RKD (Netherlands Institute for Art History in The Hague). According to an inscription on the back of the photograph, the painting was in 1935 in a private collection in Paris. From Von Moltke's comment concerning the copy after the painting in its second stage, published in 1965 (see *5. Copies* 1 and fig. 16), it appears that J.Q. van Regteren Altena must have known the photograph (the date 1935 is referred to by Von Moltke in that context) and had ascribed the painting to Rembrandt. A handwritten annotation states that the photograph, taken by M. Poplin, was sent to the Netherlandish Institute for Art History by A. de Hevesy, who may have been the owner at the time. It appears from correspondence with Frits Lugt that the painting was subsequently owned by Mr. Lemmonier in St. Cloud, after which in *c.* 1966 it came into the possession of Paul Page, a French artist living in Moulins who also restored and dealt in works of art. He or one of the earlier owners must have seen the form of the underlying beret and decided to uncover it, which meant removing the tall hat with the tassel and also the gleaming chain round the head (see fig. 4). According to an inscription on the photograph of the painting in the state after this intervention, Frits Lugt must have been confronted with the painting, and according to the most recent owner, a descendent of Paul Page, he must have approved of the

Fig. 13. Rembrandt, *Man in 'Russian' costume*, 1637. Washington, D.C. The National Gallery of Art (III A 122)



Fig. 14. Rembrandt, *Self-portrait in motion*, 1634. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie (II A 96)



painting, although it is unclear how specific he was in his judgement. The presence of the signature and dating may already have led Lugt to suspect that he was dealing with a work by Rembrandt. The suspicion must have arisen at that time that the long hair and the elongation of the moustache and dark hair below, the mouth and the pendant earrings were also later additions. The underlying light background was probably visible beneath the long locks and, within it, the reserve for the form of the original, shorter hair. The long locks, together with the other additions just mentioned, were subsequently removed by Paul Page. Because of the length of time the light background on the exposed passage had been hidden under the extended locks of hair, the background in these places had become darker and acquired a yellowish tint. It is well known that oil paint darkens when it is not exposed to the light. This process is in theory reversible. Up to now, the difference in colour has remained visible.

Investigation of the structuring of the paint layers at different places in the painting showed no trace of dust or varnish between the paint of the first and second stages. This was our first indication that the second stage must have been executed relatively soon after the first. The stylistic characteristics of the remaining overpaintings – specifically the consistency of the paint and the way it was handled – had already led to the suspicion that the overpainting had been carried out in Rembrandt's own workshop. Another indication pointing in the same direction was given by certain scratchmarks in the hair. Page's removal of the hair extensions had revealed these scratchings, originally done in the wet paint of the second stage while executing the extended locks. They had penetrated through to and remained visible in the underlying dark paint of the original hair beneath; whereas in the lighter paint of the background these scratchings have left no trace. Since dark paint hardens more slowly than paint containing lead white, the second stage must have been introduced within a limited period, after the hardening process in the lead white-containing paint, yet before the dark paint had fully hardened. This time period can only roughly be estimated. The second stage was most probably carried out, at the most, within a few years after the first stage. The brushwork of those parts added in the second stage reflects the dashing style Rembrandt had adopted in 1636/7 (see for instance the *Standard bearer* of 1636 (III A 120; see Chapter III fig. 224) or the *Man in 'Russian' costume* of 1637 (III A 122; fig. 13).

In the recent restoration the lit eye has been removed after small probes had indicated that a shadowed eye lay beneath it, which corresponded strikingly in its execution with the other eye. The latter had turned out to belong to the first stage. The discovery of a much larger shadow cast by the cap on the face was the first striking discovery. While investigating and probing the torso a quite different costume was discovered. Instead of the green gown with a wide fur collar adorned with chains, a grey gown surfaced with a narrower fur collar and without chains. The contour of the lit shoulder now ran

Fig. 15. Wax seal on back of panel



Fig. 16. Copy 1



further to the right – as the X-radiograph had already led us to suspect – with the result that the torso became slimmer. In several respects, the affinities with the other self-portrait from 1634, the one in Berlin (II A 96; fig. 14), were now evident, both in aspects of the costume and in the lighting. The fact that the composition of the Berlin painting is more adventurous could be interpreted as an indication that certain ideas in the present painting had been further developed in that painting. The difference could also be taken as the point upon which to open the discussion that necessarily arises, over the question of the authenticity of this 'new' Rembrandt self-portrait.

The stylistic arguments leading to our conclusion, that the first stage of the painting is highly probably an autograph self-portrait of Rembrandt, are summarized in the discussion of the self-portraits from Rembrandt's early Amsterdam period (see Chapter III, pp. 207-211). In the following the data relating to material and painting technique will be systematically discussed. They will converge on the conclusion that we are dealing with a seventeenth-century painting that must have originated in 1634 in Rembrandt's workshop. Some of the data point directly to Rembrandt himself. According to the dendrochronological research, statistically the most acceptable earliest date the panel could have been painted is 1635. Given the irregularities in the growth of the wood, however, a slightly earlier date cannot be excluded. The fact that the number of the sapwood rings removed at the outer side of the trunk must be estimated (the last firmly dated ring, a heartwood ring, is from 1624) it remains possible that the number of these sapwood rings could be slightly less than the average for Baltic oak wood. The make of the panel, its thickness or rather thinness and the type of bevelling along the edges (see fig. 7) is quite familiar from many other seventeenth-century panels we have seen.

The type of panel with a broad piece in the middle and two smaller flanking pieces is often found with works by Rembrandt and his workshop during the period 1632-1634.[3] It is not unlikely that it was panels like these (including also panels consisting of one broad plank and only one smaller plank)[4] that were known in the seventeenth century as 'conterfeyt panelen' [portrait panels].[5] In such panels, the face of the subject would fit on to the broader or middle plank and would not be damaged should the join(s) become loosened. The fact that the X-radiograph shows woodworm holes that are partly filled with ground does not necessarily contradict the assumption that the panel was used shortly after the tree concerned had been felled. This phenomenon has been encountered already in a panel of Rembrandt. In the beech panel of the *Slaughtered ox* in the Louvre (Br. 457), the woodworm must have still been alive while Rembrandt was painting on it. A panel of Jan van Goyen in Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (cat. no. 1252) also shows the exit holes of the woodworm beetle, filled with ground. Even the panels of the Ghent *Altarpiece* by Van Eyck had been eroded by woodworm before the ground was applied.[6]

At first sight, it might seem unusual that the oval within which the figure is depicted is painted on a rectangular panel. Oval paintings by Rembrandt were fre-

quently painted on originally oval panels, but there appears to be a category of oval paintings executed on rectangular panels, the angles possibly being left bare or (as in this case) toned down (see Chapter III fig. 143). Another example of this category from the same period is Rembrandt's *Portrait of a man in red doublet* of 1633 (Br. 176; IV *Addendum* 4). In that case, the panel may well have been sawn to an oval shape later, but the traces still remain visible of an oval within which the figure was placed as in the present painting, drawn with forceful brushstrokes, fragments of which are still visible along the present oval edge of that painting.

As for the pigments used, no pigments were found in the painting that exclude a dating of the painting in the seventeenth century. Karin Groen found only pigments that are commonly found both in Rembrandt's work and in that of his contemporaries.

So far, in any case, there can be no doubt that we are dealing with a seventeenth-century painting. In addition to some of the aspects dealt with above, the fact that a likeness of Rembrandt has been executed in a style and displays physiognomic and other characteristics that correlate with the date inscribed, draws one ineluctably to the conclusion that this painting originated in Rembrandt's workshop. The evidence is further corroborated by the technique, which is typical for the manner of working by Rembrandt and his workshop during that period: a more or less transparent brown first sketch, applied with the brush, with indications of light and shade is introduced on to a yellowish ground. The background is then finished such that the figure and its shadow, already indicated with the brownish paint, are left as a reserve. The following step is the application of the light flesh colours and the deep shadows. In the last stage the costume and the hair are finished, as these locally overlap the background and the figure. This working procedure can also be observed in the present painting, which again argues in favour of the origin of the work in Rembrandt's workshop. The subtlety, sureness and economy with which this procedure was followed argue in favour of Rembrandt himself as the most likely author. So does the signature. The rhythm and 'tempo' of the inscription as a whole, the type and relative placing of the letters and figures, details like the break in the loop of the *R* and the rhythm in the placing of the three dots after the *f* so closely correspond with the characteristics of the genuine signatures analysed by Froentjes et al.[7] that there is scarcely room for doubt that this signature – which is, moreover, placed in the wet paint of the background – was placed by Rembrandt himself.

There remain only two possibilities: either the first stage is an autograph work by Rembrandt or, the second possibility, it is a work by another painter from the workshop, signed by Rembrandt, that had to pass as a self-portrait of Rembrandt. These two possibilities are considered in Chapter III, where the self-portraits from the early Amsterdam period are dealt with. The conclusion reached there is that we are dealing with an autograph work of Rembrandt.

The question that inevitably arises once the painting in its first stage is considered to be an authentic self-portrait of Rembrandt is why another hand in the workshop should have transformed it into the *tronie* of a man in quasi-Russian attire. The hypothesis that will be proposed in Chapter III, pp. 139-140, in the context of the discussion of the functional significance of Rembrandt's self-portraits, is that this self-portrait, like several others from the 1630's, had been too long in stock and were therefore either updated to later self-portraits or, as in this case, converted into *tronies* (i.e. character heads with various connotations, in this case to Russia).

3. Documents and Sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

None.

5. Copies

1. A copy of the painting in its second stage (cf. figs. 3 and 16) was published by Von Moltke (see note 1) and shows the figure on approximately the same scale but on a smaller – possibly reduced – panel measuring 65 x 46.2 cm (Von Moltke 69 x 55 cm). Provenance: art dealer J. Boehler, Munich 1929 (as F. Bol?); art dealer A.G. Luzern, 1934 (as F. Bol?); art dealer Berlin, 1962. Present whereabouts unknown.

6. Provenance

– According to two wax seals on the reverse side of the panel (fig. 15) the painting was around 1750 in the possession of Christian Gottlob Frege (1715-1781), director of the Bank Frege & Co. in Leipzig, Herr auf Trossin und Wetzelstein, Stadthauptmann, kurfürstlicher Sächsischer Kammerrat and/or his son of the same name (1747-1816) and/or grandson of the same name (1778-1855), both of whom also lived in Leipzig.
– Around 1935, possibly in the possession of Mr. Hevesy.
– In 1966 in the possession of L. Lemonnier St. Cloud (S & O), France.
– From 1966 in the possession of Paul Page, Moulins, France and his descendants.

NOTES

* This text has in large part already been published in *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 2002/1-2, pp. 2-25. That issue of the *Kroniek* was also distributed under the title *'Rembrandt's Hidden Self-portraits'* as a separate publication and catalogue at the 2003 exhibition relating to the discovery of the present painting.
1. Von Moltke *Flinck*, p. 247 no. 101+ and fig. on p. 246.
2. Similar cases will be discussed in Vol. V, Chapter III.
3. [1632] II A 62, A 63; [1633] II A 71, A 73, A 75, A 82, A 83, A 84, A 86; [1634] no A nos, but C nos.
4. II A 58, A 59, A 87, C 59, C 62, Br. 176 (IV *Addendum* 4).
5. See Vol. I, p. 17 and J. Bruyn, 'Een onderzoek naar 17de-eeuwse schilderijformaten, voornamelijk in Noord-Nederland', *O.H.* 93 (1979), pp. 96-115.
6. P. Coremans, *L'Agneau mystique au laboratoire: examen et traitement*, Antwerp 1953, Plate XXIV.
7. W. Froentjes, H.J.J. Hardy, R. ter Kuile-Haller, 'Een schriftkundig onderzoek van Rembrandt signaturen', *O.H.* 105 (1991), pp. 185-204.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA TO VOLUMES I - III – *PAINTINGS OTHER THAN SELF-PORTRAITS*

I B 1 – 3 / Br. 421, Br. 421A, Br. –

Rembrandt, *The three singers (Hearing)*, *c.* 1624/25, panel 21.6 x 17.8 cm. Private collection (Br. 421)



Rembrandt, *The operation (Touch)*, *c.* 1624/25, panel 21.5 x 17.7 cm. Private collection (Br. 421A)



Rembrandt, *The spectacles-pedlar (Sight)*, *c.* 1624/25, panel 21 x 17.8 cm. Private collection (Br. –)



The hypothetical possibility that these paintings might not be by Rembrandt became so remote after the restoration of all three that any doubt as to the authenticity of this series can no longer be justified (see also Chapter III, p. 165 and exhib. cat. *The mystery of the young Rembrandt*, 2001/02, pp. 150-159).

I B 6 / Br. 134

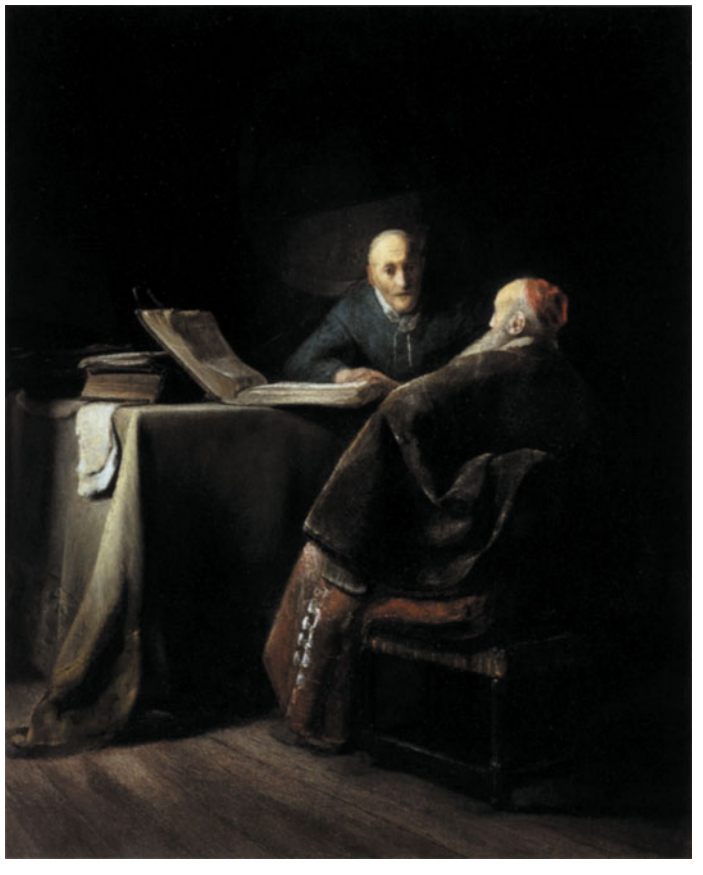
Rembrandt, *Laughing soldier*, 1629/30, copper 15.4 x 12.2 cm. The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis (see for a colour reproduction Chapter III fig. 128)



We no longer doubt the work's authenticity (see *Corrigendum* I B 5 above and Chapter III, pp. 166 ff and 176).

I C 13 / Br. 424

School of Rembrandt, *Two old men disputing*, late 1620's, panel 40.3 x 31.7 cm. Art market

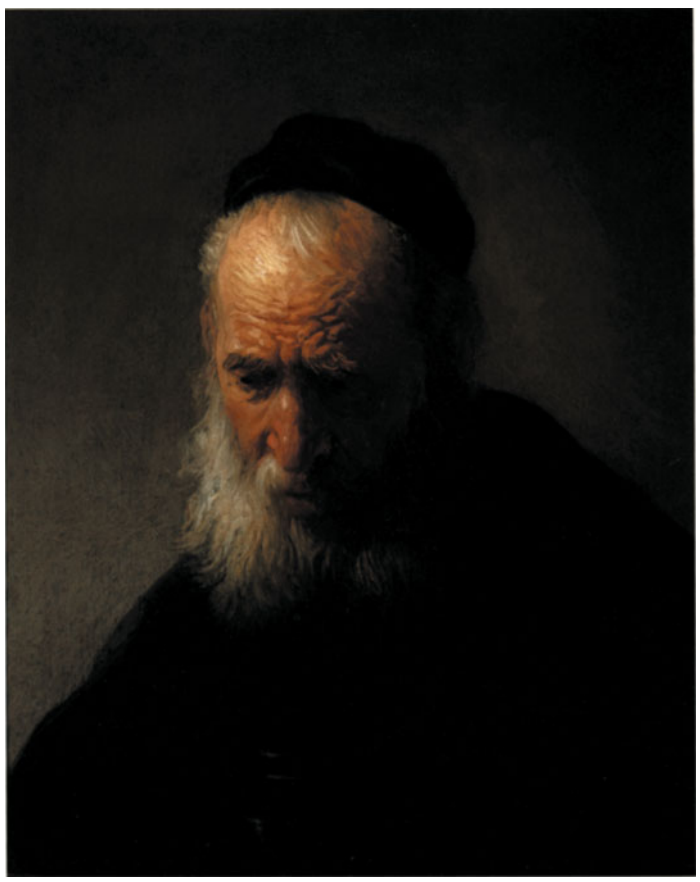


In the discussion of this painting in Vol. I it was suggested that it might be an 18th-century work. After

renewed assessment of the painting we are convinced that we are dealing here with a 17th-century work, probably a free variant after I A 13 (Rembrandt, *Two old men disputing*, Melbourne). The painting may well have originated in the immediate circle around Rembrandt, or even more likely, that of Jan Lievens.

I C 22 / Br. 633

Rembrandt, *Study for the lost Baptism of the Eunuch, c.* 1630, panel 24 x 20.3 cm (formerly *Head of an old man*). Milwaukee Wisc., Coll. Alfred and Isabel Bader



According to an inscription on the plate, a reproduction print after this painting was made by J.G. van Vliet in 1634. In another inscription on the same plate, Rembrandt is named as the 'inventor' of the painting reproduced in this print (cf. Chapter III figs. 47 and 48). On the assumption that Rembrandt and Van Vliet had no further contact after 1631, J. Bruyn considered that the documentary value of the inscription on the print could be overruled by the stylistic arguments when judging the present painting (Josua Bruyn, Vol. I, Chapter III, *The documentary value of early graphic reproductions*, pp. 35-51, esp. 46.) However, it has since become clear, on the basis of both stylistic arguments concerning reproduction prints after works by Rembrandt of 1632/33 and 1634 (see II A 65 and II A 89) and the evidence produced by the investigation of watermarks, that there must have been quite active contact between Rembrandt and Van Vliet between 1631 and 1635/36 (M. Royalton-Kisch, 'Over Rembrandt en van Vliet' *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 36 (1984), pp. 3-23, E. Hinterding, 'Rembrandt and Van Vliet: the watermarks', in Chr. Schuckman, M. Royalton-Kisch, E. Hinterding, *Rembrandt & Van Vliet. A collaboration on copper*, exhib. cat. Museum Het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam 1996, pp. 24-26; see also Chapter III of this volume, pp. 111 ff.). Moreover, it is clear that the variety of styles used by Rembrandt during his Leiden period was much greater than assumed when Vol. I was published (see Chapter III, pp. 109-117, 166-171). It is most likely that the present painting served as an oil sketch with an eye to the (now lost) *Baptism of the Eunuch*, a print of which was made in 1631, also by Van Vliet (see the *Rembrandt and Van Vliet* catalogue mentioned above, cat. no. 2).

II C 53 / Br. 152

Rembrandt, *Bust of an old man with golden chain*, 1632, panel 58 x 46.5 cm. Kassel, Staatliche Museen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister



After the restoration of this painting and a renewed analysis of its technique, style and quality, and also acknowledging the arguments put forward by Bernhard Schnackenburg, we are of the opinion that a re-attribution of this painting to Rembrandt deserves serious consideration (see B. Schnackenburg, 'Young Rembrandt's "Rough Manner". A painting style and its sources', in exhib. cat. *The mystery of the young Rembrandt*, 2001/02, pp. 92-121, esp. 97-98).

II C 61 / Br. 84

REMBRANDT, BUST OF A YOUNG WOMAN IN A CAP 1632
SWITZERLAND, PRIVATE COLLECTION

In Vol. II of *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, this painting was rejected from Rembrandt's oeuvre. The painting belongs to a group of approximately ten paintings of a woman who, in the older Rembrandt literature, was thought to be the artist's sister. The RRP considers this type of painting not as a portrait but rather as a *tronie*. However, this does not preclude the possibility that such *tronies* may well have been painted after a model. In the inventory of Lambert Jacobsz., a Frisian painter and art dealer, a painting is cited and described as 'een cleine oostersche vrouwen troni, het counterfeitsel van Ulenburgh's huijsvrouwe, nae Rembrandt' (a small *tronie* of an Oriental woman, the likeness of Uylenburgh's wife, after Rembrandt). Hendrick Uylenburgh, a business relation of Lambert Jacobsz. [?], was the art dealer with whom Rembrandt resided at the time and in whose service, we assume, he headed the workshop.

The differences in style and quality of this entire group of *tronies* of Oriental women are too great for it to have been the work of a single artist. One need only compare II A 50 (private collection, Buenos Aires) with the version in Chapel Hill, N.C. in which the same woman is seen from a different angle (II C 58; see figs. 3 and 4); the idea that the model could have been painted by two painters during a single session is entirely plausible. There was evidently a market for 'Oriental women', a type of painting that workshop assistants produced – whether or not in the context of their training. In theory, however, the possibility that such popular paintings originated outside Rembrandt's workshop or even in a later period cannot be excluded.

In Vol. II of *A Corpus* the painting under discussion was disattributed from Rembrandt on stylistic grounds and on the basis of arguments relating to the use of materials. The 'flat and sketchy treatment of the head', the 'weak construction of the slightly squinting eyes', 'the emptiness of the forms', the 'curious combination of pink and orange in the flesh tints' and the 'strongly dominating grey tone in the shaded areas' led us to suggest there that it had been made outside Rembrandt's workshop. The slanted beret was also a puzzle, since such head-dress is not found in female *tronies* either by Rembrandt or his workshop assistants. Yet a further problem was the fact that the figure was painted on canvas. If it were a work by Rembrandt, this would have been unusual for the year in which it was produced, given on the painting as 1632, since he did not paint *tronies* of this size on canvas in his early years but exclusively on panel. Finally, the writing of the signature was thought to be hesitant and thus suspect (fig. 5).

In 1994/95, the RRP was consulted about two other versions of this painting. This prompted us to re-examine the Zurich painting, this time trying to determine whether it could be the prototype of the two other versions. Another important reason for looking once again at the painting was the fact that conditions during the RRP's first investigation in 1972 had been far from ideal. The lighting in the private residence where the painting hung was poor and, naturally, there was neither equipment such as a microscope nor possibilities for conducting a more thorough investigation. Furthermore, no X-radiographs were available at the time. Incidentally, such circumstances were common when visiting private owners at the time. Fortunately, the conditions under which we re-examined the work in 1995 (P.B., M.F., E.v.d.W.) at the *Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft* in Zurich were excellent. Equally important was the fact that our understanding of Rembrandt's use of materials and his working methods had developed since 1972.

First of all, it became evident that the condition of the painting was much poorer than it had appeared in 1972. Overpaintings, particularly in the shaded areas of the face, had affected the image to such an extent that the woman's features were distorted, above all near the nose and mouth. Contours were strengthened in some areas and the background was partially overpainted. The extremely thick layer of varnish which moreover had acquired a strong orangey tint (partly caused by the addition of a dye stuff to the varnish) seriously hampered observation (fig. 6). The painting's appearance was especially distorted by the pronounced canvas structure – a feature common to canvases stuck on to panels (see fig. 5). On the basis of the type of *craquelure* in parts of the face and in the background, it could be deduced that the painting had been attached to the panel long after its completion.

Analysis of the canvas visible in the X-radiograph yielded indications as to why the artist had used this type of support – namely, its original size. Initially, the painting was considerably larger. The fact that it was cut down in size was already evident from the incomplete signature in the lower right (fig. 5). This cropping, however, could be explained as the result of the transformation of the painting from a rectangular to an oval format. Because of the presence of only vaguely discernible cusping along the side and upper edges, it had to be concluded that the canvas at least was 10 to 20 centimetres larger on those sides. The absence of cusping along the lower edge does not necessarily mean that the painting was cut down along this edge as well – in the 17th-century prepared canvas was mass produced on a modest scale. Pieces of canvas were sometimes cut from longer lengths of prepared canvas such that cusping does not occur on the cut edge. In this case, however, the painting itself provides a clue that it must also have originally extended further below as well: a part of the decoration of the costume is very close to the lower edge of the composition. Moreover, the course of the contour of the figure's reserve in the radio-absorbent background at the bottom right suggests that the figure's left arm was originally shown in a stretched position. Originally she may have held a walking stick (compare for instance Chapter III figs. 145 and 146, and II A 48).

In the production of Rembrandt's workshop of 1632, several *tronie*-like figures were so large that canvas would have been the natural choice of support. Among the

Fig. 1. Canvas stuck to panel, oval 68.7 x 53,5 cm
After restoration, disfiguring overpaintings in the shadow parts of the face have not been removed (see figs. 7 and 8)



Fig. 2. X-Ray



Fig. 3. Rembrandt workshop (Isack Jouderville?), *Bust of a young woman*, panel 53.3 x 39.3 cm. Chapel Hill, N.C., Morehead Planetarium, University of North Carolina (II C 58)



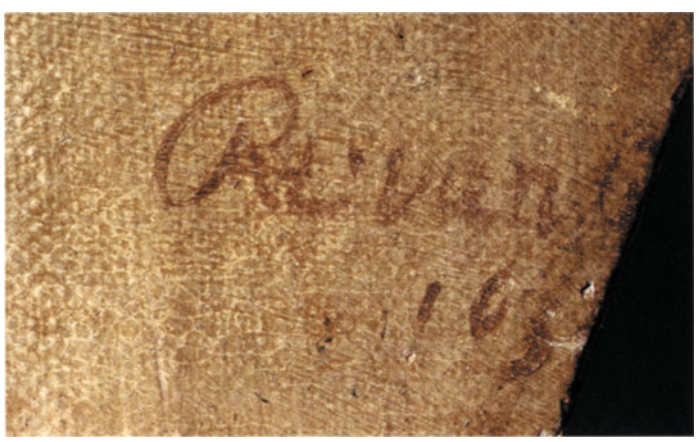
Fig. 4. Rembrandt, *Bust of a young woman*, 1632, panel 60.6 x 45 cm. Buenos Aires, private collection (II A 50)



group of 'Oriental women', this is the case with the Y*oung woman in profile with a fan* in Stockholm (II A 49), a 17th-century reproduction print of which suggests that originally it measured *c.* 115 x 80 cm (see II A 49 fig. 6).

The present painting's format may well have been altered to allow it to serve as a pendant. This reduction in size would have been carried out before 1793, the year of the Choiseul-Praslin sale. There can be little doubt that the present painting is the painting mentioned there as a pendant to an unknown self-portrait. Both paintings were at the sale of the Collection Choiseul-Praslin on 18-25 February 1793 (Lugt 5005), no. 38 and were listed: 'Par le même [Rembrantz]. Deux Tableaux de forme ovale; l'un représente le Portrait de Rembrantz, vu presque de face & coëffé d'une toque rougeâtre; l'autre est le Portrait d'une de ses filles, tournée de face & coëffée d'une toque de velours noir, mêlée de quelques broderies; un collier de perles ajuste son col, & ses épaules sont couvertes d'une draperie noire. Ces deux morceaux, d'un bon empâtement de couleur, produisent un grand effet, & doivent offrir un rapprochement précieux pour les Amateurs. (By the same [Rembrandt]. Two paintings of oval format; one represents a portrait of Rembrandt, viewed almost frontally and wearing a reddish toque; the other is a portrait of one of his daughters, her face turned and wearing an embroidered toque of black velour, a pearl necklace sets off her neck, and her shoulders are covered by drapery, they produce a splendid effect and should provide a valuable, harmonious pairing for connoisseurs.) Haut. 24 p. Larg. 18 p. [= 64.8 x 48.6 cm] B.' (1101 livres to Haudry and 700 livres to Sarazin respectively). One could speculate about the possibility that the self-portrait mentioned in this sales catalogue as a companion piece may be the *Self-portrait with shaded eyes* in the Wynn Collection in its overpainted state (see IV *Addendum* 2 fig. 3) which is the only self-portrait known with a reddish toque. It has about the same measurements 68 x 52 cm.

Fig. 5. Signature



One of the objections to an attribution to Rembrandt, viz. that the *tronie* of this format is painted on canvas, is thus eliminated; whilst other arguments actually support the idea that it did indeed come from Rembrandt's workshop. For example, the weave density and charac-

Fig. 6. Detail, during cleaning



teristics of the canvas are very like those in the canvas of the Boston *Portrait of a couple in an interior* (II C 67) (a painting whose – partial – reattribution needs to be considered). In all probability both canvases came from the same bolt of linen. The canvas is covered with a double ground, first a red-brown layer which was then covered by a grey layer, a type of ground that was common in the 17th century and is found almost exclusively in Rembrandt's early paintings on canvas. The specific, slightly ideosyncratic mixture of pigments in this ground is found in seven other paintings from 1632/33, among which the New York *Noble Slav* (II A 48) and the *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp* (II A 51) (see Chapter IV, p. 324 Table I).

From the evidence above one can safely assume, beyond reasonable doubt, that the painting was produced in Rembrandt's time and in his studio. Further, evidence was beginning to accumulate in favour of an attribution to Rembrandt himself. X-radiography revealed that the present painting contains several pentimenti and therefore must have been the prototype for a number of other versions (compare figs. 1 and 2). The contours of the reserve for the figure on the radioabsorbent background differ from those of the definitive form, indicative of an artist seeking to define form rather than merely to copy it. The contours of the shoulder and arm in particular initially followed a different course at the right. The outline of the beret where the feather and the beret meet were also rather generally delineated. The beret's protruding rim overlaps the blue-green paint of the feather.

Fig. 7. Detail of fig. 1



Fig. 8. Detail of fig. 11 (in reverse)



Fig. 9. Lithograph with handwritten inscription: *B …, La fille du Rembrandt.* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale



Fig. 10. Copy 1. Attr. to Alexis Grimou, canvas, oval, 56 x 46 cm. Le Mans, Musée des Arts



An obvious pentimento can be discerned in the woman's forehead where, initially, the beret was placed somewhat lower on her head, curving across the forehead.

In the course of explaining the negative opinion on this painting in Vol. II, the woman's 'crossed eyes' were mentioned in passing. An explanation for this effect can be found by comparing Rembrandt's paintings of the 1630s. In several of these works, the shadow cast by the nose and the arch of the eyebrow of figures shown *en face* partially covers the white of the eye to the beholder's right (see for instance II A 50, 52, 53, 54, 72, 75, 94). In the present painting, this effect has been impaired by dark brown overpaintings, using opaque paint, in the shaded areas of the face (compare figs. 7 and 8).

The initial signature, *RHL van Rijn / 1632* (see fig. 5), lacks the last three letters of the word 'Rijn' and a part of the 'R' as well as a part of the '2' in the date. Such 'RHL van Rijn' signatures are found only in paintings dated 1632. This alone reduces the chance that it was added by a later hand; since a knowledge of the transformations that Rembrandt's signature underwent and the correlation between the various types and the relevant styles can scarcely be expected of later imitators or forgers of signatures. Nevertheless, the objection entered by the RRP in 1972 would still appear to be valid: that the signature seems to be applied so hesitantly that it raises doubt as to the painting's authenticity. On close inspection, however, it was evident that the signature has suffered from overcleaning. As a result, particularly the word *van* has been weakened, creating the false impression that it was hesitantly written. The *RHL* monogram, on the other hand, however thin it has become due to overcleaning, and the *R* of Rijn are confidently written and are, with due regard to the differences in size and the traces of the brush, strongly reminiscent of securely authentic signatures of this type. This also applies to the first three numerals of the date. Comparison with autograph signatures of this type (see for instance Vol. II, pp. 100-01 figs. 3-7) thus supports the impression that the signature on the present painting is authentic.

At this stage of our reassessment of the painting's status it was clear that the painting under discussion is a cut-down prototype showing such close affinity to accepted works by Rembrandt in its use of material, painting technique and the signature that it is entirely plausible that it could be an authentic work by the master.

At this point, one could study the way in which the plasticity in the face has been rendered in a potentially Rembrandtesque fashion (in conjunction with the illumination) as an interplay between cool and warm shades in the colour of the skin, and how these tones merge with each other (fig. 7). One could refer to the typical avoidance of linear elements in favour of continuity in the plastic forms, noticeable in many of Rembrandt's works. One could point to the way the light reflections in the pearls are applied and how in such passages a specific, potentially Rembrandtesque balance exists between paint as matter and the material textures it suggests. In short, an extensive list of potentially significant characteristics for an attribution to Rembrandt could be drawn up, all arguing in favour of attributing this painting to Rembrandt. Indeed, on the basis of these qualitative, less ponderable and communicable criteria,

Fig. 11. Copy 2. Canvas 64.5 x 56 cm. Brussels, private collection



Rembrandt, *Bust of a man in oriental dress*, 1635, panel 71.9 x 54.6 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



we are convinced that the present painting is an autograph work by Rembrandt. It should be noted that during the restoration in 1995 there was a strong reluctance to remove the dark disfiguring overpaintings in the face especially to the right and under the mouth as well as the nose. A copy after the present painting in reverse (fig. 11), probably done in the 18th century, gives a good impression of the original appearances of those passages (compare figs. 7 and 8).

(D. Gros Becker, 'Untersuchung und Restaurierung eines Damenporträts von Rembrandt', *Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, Jahresbericht 1996*, pp. 28-32; see also 'Tronie einer jungen Frau mit Barett' in exhib. cat. Rembrandt *Rembrandt*, Frankfurt 2003, p. 80, cat. no. 13.)

III C 101 / Br. 206

Two new facts have prompted us to reconsider the rejection of this painting as a work by Rembrandt.

Firstly, the script experts from the Forensic Laboratory of The Dutch Ministry of Justice have arrived with reasonable certainty at the conclusion that the signature on the painting was placed by Rembrandt himself (see for their methodology W. Froentjes, H. Hardy and R. ter Kuile-Haller, 'Een schriftkundig onderzoek van Rembrandt signaturen', *O.H.* 105 (1991), pp. 185-204). Secondly, dendrochronological analysis shows that the set of panels coming from the same tree to which this panel belongs has to be expanded to include two more panels. In addition to the panel of the Braunschweig *Landscape* (III A 137), which is certainly an autograph work, the panel of the equally authentic Berlin *Selfportrait* of 1634 (II A 96; see Chapter III figs. 198, 200), and the *Self-portrait* in the Wallace Collection (III C 96; see Chapter III figs. 231, 232 and IV *Corrigenda*, p. 604) are also from the same tree.

Of course, neither of these new pieces of evidence prove that the *Bust of a man in oriental dress* is necessarily by Rembrandt himself, since he could here have signed the work of a pupil or an assistant. Like every painter of his time, we know that Rembrandt supplemented his income by selling the works of his pupils (J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, Nuremberg 1675, ed. by Peltzer, Munich 1925, Part II, Book III, Chapter XXII, p. 203). Until now, however, there has been no proof that he *signed* those works. In fact, the evidence argues against this supposition. Those paintings which we know with certainty were done by others in Rembrandt's studio either bear a false signature, evidently added by a later hand, or no signature at all. Nevertheless, the theoretical possibility cannot be excluded that, in this particular case, Rembrandt could have signed a work painted by somebody else.

As to the panels: Rembrandt bought batches of identical panels (which sometimes turn out to have come from the same tree). And why should not somebody else from the studio have taken one of such a batch to work on? We know that the masters provided the materials for their pupils (see *Corpus* II, pp. 52-56). In the case of canvases, we also know for certain that one of Rembrandt's pupils or assistants used a piece of canvas derived from the same bolt as the canvas of several autograph Rembrandts to make a copy after one of the master's works (see *Corpus* II, p. 24).

In short, although the new facts cannot *prove* Rembrandt's authorship, they do enhance the likelihood and therefore prompted a new assessment of the painting.

This reconsideration of the authorship of the *Bust of a man in oriental dress* is primarily based on a renewed

analysis of the genesis and execution of the work.

The painting's genesis – as deduced from a comparison of the X-radiograph and the final image – argues strongly in favour of it being an original conception by Rembrandt, executed by himself. In this context, the changes in the costume are significant. We often find Rembrandt changing the costumes and head-gear of his figures. The present painting in its original conception showed stronger lights and more detail on the torso: A large string of pearls originally hung over the shoulder and breast. This string of pearls lay over a garment that originally must have looked like a light coloured fur cape. Subsequently, these pearls and the fur cape were covered by a brownish, more simple, rather neutral garment. Such toning down interventions in unquestionably autograph works appear to have been carried out in order to enhance the strength of the effect of other lit parts in the painting, in this case of the turban. Arnold Houbraken (1660 – 1719), who knew several of Rembrandt's pupils, described this peculiarity in Rembrandt's way of working by recounting a (no doubt somewhat exaggerated) anecdote in which Rembrandt 'is said to have tanned over [overpainted with brownish, probably transparent paint] a beautiful Cleopatra in order to give full effect to a single pearl.' (A. Houbraken, *Groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* I, Amsterdam 1718, p. 259).

As to the execution of the painting: the text in Vol. III of *A Corpus* emphasizes the differences in the rendering of the turbans in several of Rembrandt's works of the same decade and uses this as an argument against the painting's authenticity. These turbans, however, all differ in their make-up and in the rendering of material. Again, Houbraken gives a glimpse of Rembrandt's studio when he relates that Rembrandt 'could spend a day or two by arranging a turban to his taste'. Apparently these turbans were each time painted meticulously from life. The turban in the present painting was apparently of a silk fabric with its own specific gloss and fine pattern of folds.

The most important argument against the rejection of the painting is to be found in the 'hand', the brushwork in relation to the forms that are being rendered. The specific nature of such properties can only be analysed by confronting the work with paintings by Rembrandt of roughly the same period and by matching it with works by pupils who worked with Rembrandt at that time. This could be done in the exhibition rooms of the Rijksmuseum. The confrontation with works by Govaert Flinck, who's name is mentioned in *A Corpus* as a possible author of this work, definitely excludes Flinck as its author, while the rhythm and the specific degree of autonomy of the brushwork in the *Man in oriental dress* matched perfectly well with that in other works from Rembrandt's own hand.

There is thus no significant reason to doubt Rembrandt's authorship of this painting.

(See also exhib. cat. *The Golden Age of Dutch art. Seventeenth century paintings from the Rijksmuseum and Australian Collections*, Art Gallery of Western Australia in association with Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Perth/Adelaide/Brisbane 1997-1998)

IV Addendum 3

REMBRANDT, BUST OF AN OLD MAN WITH TURBAN
PRIVATE COLLECTION

c. 1627-28

HDG –; BR. 72; BAUCH –; GERSON –; TÜMPEL –

This painting reappeared in 1995 having been untraceable since 1956. In 1998 we published our conviction that it is an autograph work in: E. van de Wetering, 'Old man with turban, an early Rembrandt rediscovered', *PAN Amsterdam catalogue 1998*, pp. 10-20; see also exhib. cat. *The mystery of the young Rembrandt*, 2001/02, cat. no. 75, pp. 356-359.

Fig. 1. Panel 26.5 x 20 cm



Fig. 2. X-Ray



Fig. 3. Detail



Fig. 4. Detail with signature



IV Addendum 4

REMBRANDT, PORTRAIT OF A MAN IN A RED DOUBLET

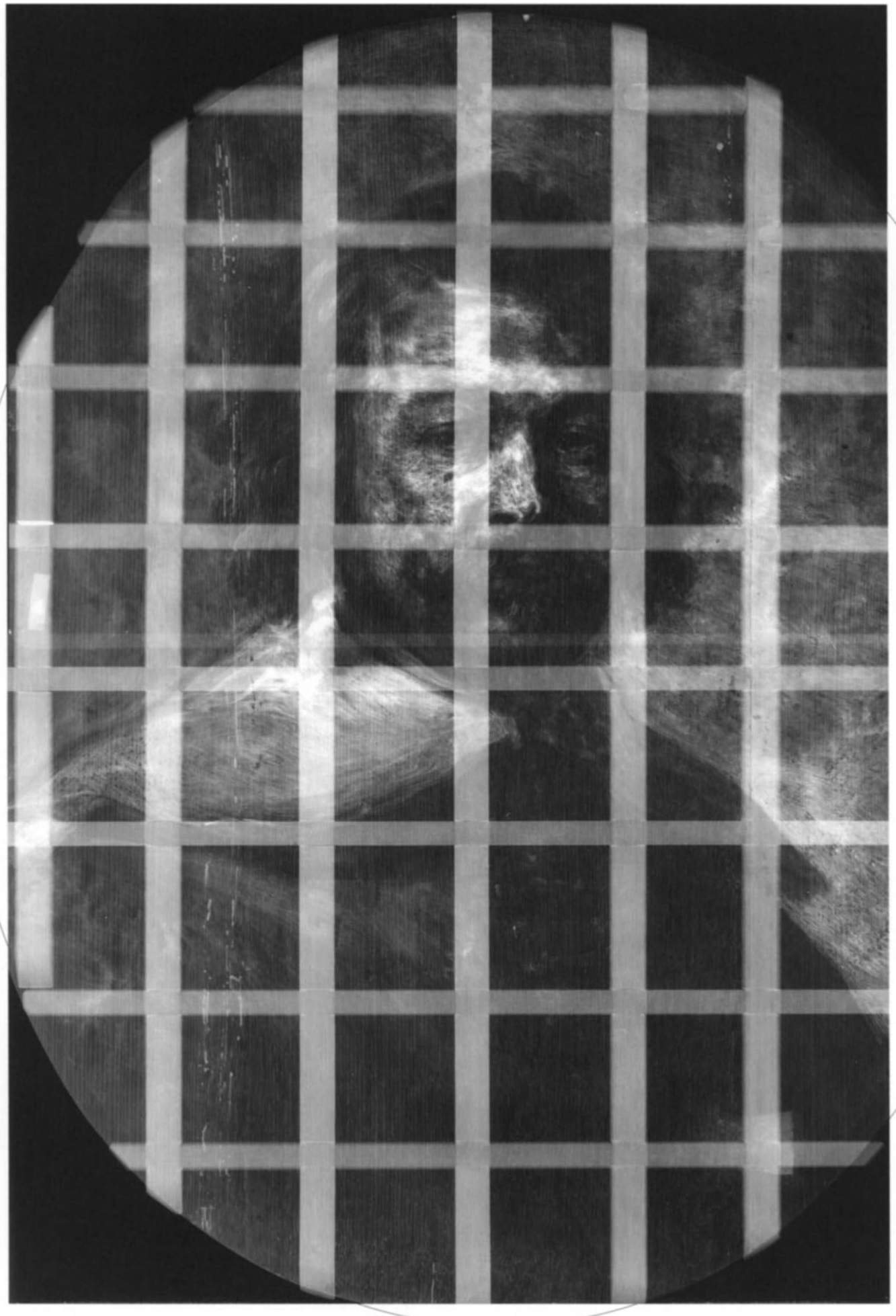
MAASTRICHT, NOORTMAN MASTER PAINTINGS

1633

HDG –; BR. 176; BAUCH 364; GERSON 151; TÜMPEL A 83



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

This entry is included in the present volume because the painting only came to our attention in 1992; its whereabouts had been unknown since 1954. The portrait, dated 1633 and thus painted in the period when Rembrandt was most productive as a portrait painter, is highly unusual in one respect: the sitter wears a bright red doublet instead of the dark attire common in the master's male portraits of the early 1630s. This may be the reason why, some time between 1954 and 1992, a representative of a leading auction house failed to discern Rembrandt's hand in it, consequently prolonging the painting's obscurity. As explained below, we are convinced that it is, indeed, an autograph work.

The sitter is seen almost to the waist, his body turned slightly to the right and his gaze fixed on the beholder. The red doublet is decorated with dark red braiding down the front and on the right sleeve. He wears a starched, plain white collar. That the collar is more transparent at the edge is probably due to the fact that a supporting structure or under-collar is worn underneath it. His brown hair is cut short, except for a curly forelock on top of his head and two curly side locks covering his ears. He has a moustache with upturned ends and a small pointed beard. The light falls from the upper left, illuminating the lower right of a wall parallel to the picture plane which provides the background for the figure.

Working conditions

Examined in November 1994 (E.v.d.W., E.H.B.): out of the frame in good artificial and natural light, with the aid of a microscope and two X-ray films which cover virtually the entire surface. Examined again in November 1997 (E.v.d.W.) in the frame. At the time of investigation the painting was covered with a thick yellowed varnish which somewhat hampered observation. The varnish has since been removed (see fig. 1).

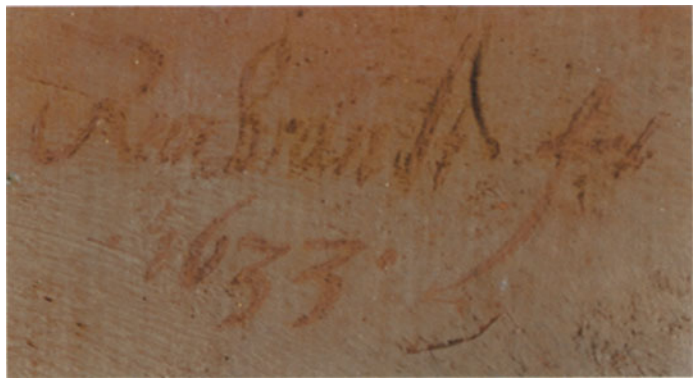
Support

Oak panel, grain vertical, oval 63.5 x 50.5 cm. Comprised of two planks of unequal width: the left one (at the widest point) measures 37.6 cm; the right one 12.9 cm. The widest board was subjected to dendrochronological analysis. The wood is of Baltic/Polish origin and by using the relevant master chronology the rings could be dated as follows: 226 growth rings 1620-1395. Relying on the sapwood statistic for Eastern Europe, an earliest felling date of 1629 can be derived. However, on the basis of the statistical variation of oak sapwood rings a more plausible felling date lies between 1633..1635.... 1639 +x. Still, given the earliest possible felling date of 1629 plus a minimum seasoning time of two years, 1631 could be the earliest year of the painting's production.

The back is planed to a thickness of app. 0.35 cm, and cradled. There are no traces of bevelling along any of the edges.

Originally the panel appears to have been rectangular, later sawn into an oval, possibly to fit another frame.

Fig. 3. Detail with signature (1:1)



However, the figure was originally framed by a painted oval. Traces of the painted outline of this oval show that it roughly corresponded with the oval contour of the panel in its present form (see *2. Comments*).

Ground

A yellow ground is exposed at the edges. A double ground layer was found in a cross-section of a paint sample taken from the lower edge of the panel. The lower layer contains chalk (yellowed by the binder). The upper layer contains lumps of lead white and a little ochre in an oleaginous binder (see Vol. I, pp. 17-19).

Paint layer

Condition: Generally good. Areas of wearing are visible, for example, in the hair where it overlaps the background, although the damage is slight. The pentimento on the shoulder has been retouched (see *2. Comments*). There are retouchings on the join, which may be an indication that the two planks had become separated in the past. The shadow of the tip of the nose also displays a retouching. In the X-radiograph the left part of the collar shows a band of paint loss that corresponds with the normal movements of the wood due to climatic conditions. Worm holes filled with radioabsorbent material, which are evidently on the back of the panel, can also be seen in this same zone. Whether, and to what extent, certain parts of the interior drawing, such as the upper eye lids or the right contour of the cheek, were strengthened by a later hand was difficult to determine because of the (now removed) varnish layer.

A description of the genesis and pictorial means employed in the painting are given in *2. Comments* in the context of a discussion of the portrait's authenticity.

Craquelure: a craquelure pattern characteristic for a painting on panel.

Radiography

The radiographic image largely corresponds with what one would expect from the paint surface. See further *2. Comments*.

Signature

On the light background to the right of the collar and in light brown <*Rembrandt . ft / 1633.*> (fig. 3). Forensic handwriting analysis of the signature by H. Hardy yielded two possible options: either it is autograph, or it has been

Fig. 4. Infrared photograph



painstakingly copied from an existing signature. The latter option, however, is unlikely. The evidence of wear in the signature gives the impression that it shares the same material history as the entire painting and was thus added upon completion of the portrait. There is an additional indication supporting the signature's authenticity, namely the occurrence of a radioabsorbent element. This is undoubtedly lead white, as it refracts the infrared rays in the infrared photograph and shows up light locally in the X-radiograph, thus absorbing X-rays. It is striking that white paint (no doubt lead white) is found in signatures on paintings originating from Rembrandt's studio with greater frequency in the period 1632-34 than in the years before and after. Signatures containing lead white are on II A 47, A 55, A 91, A 94, C 48 and C 81. In this case, the addition of lead white to the paint for the signature was not intended to make it appear lighter than the layer over which it was applied. It would seem rather that white was added so that the signature would not contrast too strongly with the background.

2. Comments

The painting's provenance can only be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century. It was first published by Valentiner in 1930.[1] Subsequently, it circulated in the art trade and was purchased by an American private collector in 1954, after which its whereabouts became unknown.

In the following, we consider all of the characteristics we have noted in the painting as relevant to the matter of its authenticity. We address the question of whether the painting originated in the 17th century, whether or not it originated in Rembrandt's studio, and whether it could have been made by the master himself.

The work is painted on an oak panel of a type commonly used in 17th-century studios and consequently also by Rembrandt and his workshop. That it is comprised of a narrow plank (12.9 cm) and a wider one (36.7 cm) is not unusual. While panels of this size could consist of a single plank,[2] they could also be made up of more than one, as is the case here. It is noteworthy that as a rule panels used for (self-)portraits and *tronies* were constructed so that the join did not run down the middle. Evidently, artists took into account that a join could eventually become visible and disturb the image of the sitter's face. The majority of such panels (approximately 15 are treated in Vol. II) consist of a relatively wide, app. 30 cm plank in the middle and two narrow planks on either side.[3] Of these 15 panels, five consist of a wide and a narrow plank like the present panel.[4]

The panel's present shape is oval. As mentioned above it is thought to have originally been rectangular. The actual image, however, must have been oval from the outset and painted on a rectangular panel which was probably later sawn into an oval. This conjecture is based primarily on our observation that the oval of the painting itself and the oval shape of the panel do not completely match. The longitudinal axis of the panel itself is somewhat longer than that of the painted oval (fig. 4). Consequently the ground and traces of brown underpainting along the upper and lower edges (gradually narrowing at the sides) were never covered with the paint with which the background and the red costume were painted, the brushstrokes following the oval form of the composition. Prior to the mounting of the cradling, the panel was planed down at the back to a thickness of 0.35 cm. The fact that the edge nowhere shows traces of bevelling supports the idea that the wood panel itself may have originally been somewhat larger. Oval images, or compositions which are rounded at the top were not necessarily painted on supports of the same shape (see for instance in this volume Chapter III figs. 143 and 197). The statistically earliest possible felling date of the tree from which the widest plank – the only one subjected to dendrochronological analysis – derives is 1629, four years before the date of 1633 on the painting. The wood is of Baltic origin. Both these facts accord with the pattern of dendrochronological data concerning the panels painted by Rembrandt and members of his workshop. Although the same applies to the many panels painted outside Rembrandt's workshop,[5] these particulars would seem to rule out the possibility of the painting being a later imitation.

The panel is covered with a yellow ground, quite common to panels used by Rembrandt and by many of his contemporaries in the period concerned (see: *Ground*). As mentioned above, the ground is exposed here and there along the edges. It also shows through in places where the underpainting has remained exposed, particularly in the areas of shadow in the face, the eyes, the hair, the shadow of the costume and the transition of light to dark in the background. The many traces of this underpainting in more or less translucent brownish paint betray a method of underpainting common for Rembrandt's workshop. In addition, the fact that the doublet seems to be underpainted in red corresponds with what we know of Rembrandt and his contemporaries' painting technique.[6]

Comparison of the paint surface with the X-ray image reveals that the background must have been applied before the figure was further worked out. This is evident from the discrepancies in the contours in areas where the background (as a consequence of the addition of lead white) shows up light in the X-radiograph. The contour of the reserve for the head and the torso stays within the definitive contour of the figure (compare the point of the collar at the right and the hair). Accordingly, it may be concluded that the background was completed first, as was common for Rembrandt and his contemporaries.

Insight into this procedure helps to answer the question of whether the work might be a copy after a lost original, or a prototype. The present painting can indeed be considered a prototype. The fact that the reserves for the hair and the collar deviate significantly from their final forms supports the likelihood that the painter worked on the basis of a freely executed sketch rather than a finished prototype. The freedom with which the sketched figure is outlined, as far as is visible in the reserve, is very close to what is seen in X-ray images of Rembrandt's paintings from the same period (for example, compare the *Portrait of*

Fig. 5. Detail (1:1)



Fig. 6. S. Saverij, *Portrait of Philips van Dorp*, etching (Hollst. XXIV, no. 120)



Johannes Wtenbogaert, II A 80, from the same year).

The presence of pentimenti provides yet another clue when considering the issue of copy versus prototype. The painting in question contains a distinct pentimento on the sitter's shoulder to the left, continuing up to where the shoulder line disappears under the collar. Originally the shoulder ran higher.

This confirms the painting's status as a prototype. In theory, a studio assistant could also produce a prototype. Nor can one simply exclude the possibility of more than one hand having worked on it. (In Volume II Chapter III, the presence of a single hand was established in the greater majority of the smaller portraits.) But, as will be argued below, neither of these possibilities are the case here.

According to the forensic handwriting analyst H. Hardy, the signature is most likely autograph. Theoretically, this does not guarantee that the painting is by Rembrandt, as he could have signed the work of his collaborators – although this has never been conclusively proven. The fact that the signature is considered to be autograph takes us as far as we can go in objectively evaluating the painting's origin. And on this basis it is highly likely that the painting is, in fact, by Rembrandt.

Final arguments favouring authenticity have to be based on more subjective criteria, including an evaluation of the painter's pictorial aims, the painting's stylistic features and its quality. The painting displays all the pictorial and stylistic characteristics that we extrapolated from those portraits of the 1630s that can be securely attributed to Rembrandt, discussed in the chapter in Volume II entitled 'Stylistic features in the 1630s: the portraits'. Typical of these works is Rembrandt's conscious creation of contrasts of light and dark in the placement of the figure against the background. The contrast of the dark section of the background against the lit side of the collar and the reverse contrast of the side of the figure in shadow against the lit part of the background is a painterly effect that Rembrandt[7] as well as the members of his workshop[8] frequently used around 1633. This also applies to the way in which the figure is lit. In the work under consideration, the artist opted for a solution whereby the part of the body closest to the viewer is cloaked in shadow. This occurs in Rembrandt's *Noble Slav* (II A 48) and the *Portrait of Joris de Caullery* (II A 53), both of 1632, as well as in the grisaille *Bust of an old man* (II A 74) of 1633. This zone of shadow functions, as it were, as a repoussoir which reinforces the sense of depth while simultaneously augmenting the spotlight effect. The remarkable diminuendo of the lightintensity from the forehead to the chin is characteristic of Rembrandt's handling of light in portraits from this time and later. The distribution of lead white visible in the X-radiograph (as usual, largely missing in the lower half of the face) corresponds to this. It is commonly encountered in X-ray images of Rembrandt's portraits of this period.

The treatment of the rather undulating – somewhat concave – contours in the collar and the torso is also typical of Rembrandt's manner of suggesting plasticity. The reduction of detail in the vicinity of the contours is another common typical device in his portraits. What this painting has in common with other portraits by Rembrandt of the early 1630s is the plastic coherence – also in the structure of the face – which receives greater priority than the internal detail. Even the rows of braiding on the chest and sleeve are so integrated into the plastic form as a whole that they make no undue claim to the viewer's attentions. It is this approach to the modelling which largely determines the stability and presence that characterise the figure. Perhaps the most Rembrandtesque feature of the painting is that these clearly well thought-through solutions were arrived at with brushwork that could be described as almost casual. This also applies to the intricate plastic and colouristic challenges presented by the face. The transitions from cool to warm tints and from areas of light to areas of shadow, from the skin to the hair, from thin to pastose paint have all been realised with a remarkable naturalness. The subtle demarcation of the shadow cast by the eyebrow and the nose on that half of the face which is in shadow contributes to the description of the plastic form of the face with exceptional economy of means. As in many of Rembrandt's heads from this period, the cast shadow in this work runs across the eyeball (see also IV *Corrigendum* II C 61).

Details hardly noticeable to the viewer, such as the differentiation in the execution of the catchlights of the eyes and the tip of the nose, attest to a great degree of forethought and astonishing manual control. The catchlight in the eye at the right is slightly weaker in tone than that in the eye on the lit side; a feature Rembrandt

included in seven other portraits from the same period.[9] While the paint of these catchlights is evenly applied, the highlight on the tip of the nose is slightly impastoed, thereby contributing to the protruding effect of the nose. In other areas as well, the brushwork has been subtly adapted to its function. Hence, the somewhat grazingly applied light stroke on the curled-up edge of the collar plays a distinct role in the spacial effect in that part of the collar. A similar handling of the brush can be discerned in the highlights of the lit lock of hair. It is a device that Rembrandt employed with increasing frequency in later years to achieve an atmospheric spacial effect.

All of these aspects as well as such criteria as the confident execution, the astonishing command of form, the subtlety with which certain elements have been executed in contrast to the freedom and energy of the painting process, the specific 'handwriting' in the application of details such as the braiding on the costume, the way in which a detail such as the turned up tip of the collar is suggested, and the intimation of light shining through in the cast shadow of the collar, proved cumulatively decisive in our attribution of the work to Rembrandt when we studied it under ideal conditions in November 1994.

Although the portrait's painterly qualities are closely related to those of other paintings in Rembrandt's considerable output of 1633, it is unusual in one respect, namely the sitter. First, one notices his striking red clothing: the bright red doublet differs significantly from the black attire usually encountered in Dutch 17th-century portraiture. The colour and the red braiding down the front and on the sleeve of the doublet are features associated with military garb, which was in vogue among young men in France, England, Germany and the Netherlands from *c.* 1627 to 1635.[10] A similar doublet is worn by Philips van Dorp (1587-1652), lieutenant-admiral in the service of the States, in a now lost portrait by Rembrandt of 1634 known from a print after it by Salomon Saverij (fig. 6).[11] The broad, starched linen collar was also very fashionable during the early 1630s, although the customary lace trimming is absent here. The sitter's hairstyle with curly locks covering the ears and the curly forelock on the top of the head is unusual and rather eccentric. It brings to mind Spanish hairstyles of the period as seen in many male portraits by Velasquez, for instance. This hairstyle was not only adopted by Spaniards but also by Englishmen. In a satirical pamphlet about the aristocracy at the beginning of the century which appeared in English in 1592, and later in a Dutch translation, a barber asks a well-born client how he wishes to have his hair cut: 'would my Lord prefer his hair to be cut [...] like that of a Spaniard, long at the ears, and curled at the end like a pig's tail?'.[12]

To summarise, the costume makes the impression of being that of a military man, possibly a foreigner or a Dutchman who moved in international military circles in The Hague.

From various sources it is clear that a great many foreigners who resided for shorter or longer periods of time in the Dutch Republic had themselves portrayed there. For example, a notarial record mentions that in 1641 the Polish student Nicolaj Rej still owed Hendrick van Uylenburgh 50 guilders for a portrait of his father.[13] The latter, Andrzej Rej was in Amsterdam in November and December of 1637, at which time he must have sat for his portrait at Van Uylenburgh's shop.[14] In the case of Rembrandt, it is worth mentioning a portrait he is thought to have made of the Marquis d'Andelot (1620-1649). The Marquis, son of Gaspar de Coligny, spent 21 months in Holland during the period 1633-1634, and may have commissioned Rembrandt to paint his portrait. In a French book of 1646, reference is made to 'Le Portraiet de Monsieur Le Marquis d'Andelot De la main de Rheimbrand'.[15]

As the figure in the painting under discussion is turned to the right, it may once have had a female companion piece. Individual male portraits could just as well have been shown turned to the left (II A 60), or shown frontally (II C 78). Valentiner proposed the *Portrait of a young woman* (II C 81), also dated 1633, as the possible pendant to the present painting. The dimensions of both works are nearly identical, though the structure of the panels differ – the woman is painted on a tripartite panel. Recent analysis of the latter panel established that the wood is also of Baltic/Polish origin but not from the same tree.[16] Whether this painting, which we do not consider to have been painted by Rembrandt but by a studio assistant, really is the companion to the *Man in a red doublet* is a question that needs further investigation.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

None.

5. Copies

None.

6. Provenance

- Coll. Sir Philip John William Miles (1825-1888), Leigh Court, Somerset, England.
- By descent through his eldest daughter, Alice Katherine, wife of Lt. Col. Gerard Vivian Ames, of the Hyde, Hertfordshire, to their son, Captain Lional Gerard Ames (b. 1889).
- Seen by Hofstede de Groot at Vicars Brothers, London 1929.
- Howard Young Galleries, New York by 1930.
- Coll. David Loew, Beverly Hills, Ca.
- Findlay Gallery, New York 1954.
- Coll. Amon Carter, Fort Worth, Texas since 1954 and by descent.
- Sale Sotheby's, New York, 30 January 1998, no. 18.
- Purchased by Alfred Bader for Otto Naumann Ltd., New York.
- The Bellagio Gallery of Fine Art, Las Vegas, 1999.
- Sale Christie's, New York, 26 January 2001, no. 81.

NOTES

1. W.R. Valentiner, 'Rediscovered Rembrandt paintings', *Burl. Mag.* 57 (1930), pp. 259-271, esp. 260.
2. Compare, for example, the (self-)portraits and the *tronies* nos. II A 50, A 72, A 96, A 101, A 102, A 103, A 104, C 50, C 52, C 54, C 57, C 58, C 77, C 78, C 82.
3. See nos. II A 75, A 82, A 83, A 84, A 86, A 87, C 53, C 56, C 59, C 70, C 71, C 72, C 73, C 75, C 79.
4. II A 58 (34; 13 cm), A 59 (37.3; 17 cm), A 60 (34.5; 13.5 cm), C 59 (39.8; 11 cm) and C 76 (34; 11.5 cm).
5. See H. Miedema and B. Meijer, 'The introduction of coloured ground ...', *Storia dell'arte* 35 (1979), pp. 79-98; J. Bruyn, 'Een onderzoek naar 17de-eeuwse schilderijformaten, voornamelijk in Noord-Nederland', *O.H.* 93 (1979), pp. 96-115.
6. Van de Wetering 1997, p. 31.
7. Compare II A 45, A 48, A 58, A 59, A 78.
8. II C 61, C 68, C 70, C 71, C 73, C 75, C 77.
9. II A 54, A 56, A 72, A 75, A 79, A 80 and A 86.
10. Depicted in, for example, Abraham Bosse's etching *Le Bal* of *c.* 1635; A. Blum, *L'Oeuvre gravé d'Abraham Bosse*, Paris 1924, no. 1050. An extant example made of red velvet dating from *c.* 1632 worn by Count Tilly (1559-1632) in the Thirty Years War is in the Bayrisches National Museum in Munich. For the influence of military dress on fashion, see: R. Bleckwenn, 'Beziehungen zwischen Soldatentracht und ziviler modischer Kleidung zwischen 1500 und 1650', *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 16 (1974), pp. 107-118.
11. Hollst. XXIV, no. 120. This painting seems also to have been copied by Quinckhard.
12. R. Greene, *Een vermaeckelijck proces tusschen fluweele-broeck ende laken-broeck*, The Hague 1637[2], [Leiden 1601] p. 15. 'Belieft mijn Heer sijn hayr afgesneden te hebben [...] ghelijck een Spangiaerdt, langhe by de ooren, aen't eynde gekrult ghelijck eenen Verckens-staert?' Originally published in English as *A quip for an Upstart courtier: A quaint dispute between Velvet breeches and Cloth-breeches*, London 1592, fol. 10v: 'Sir, wil you have your haire cut [...] like a Spaniard long at the eare, and curled like to the two endes of an olde perriwinge?'.
13. A. Bredius and N. de Roever, 'Rembrandt: nieuwe bijdragen tot zijne levensgeschiedenis', *O.H.* 8 (1890), pp. 180-181.
14. See B.P.J. Broos, 'Rembrandt's portrait of a Pole and his horse', *Simiolus* 7 (1974), pp. 192-218, esp. 210-213.
15. Strauss *Doc.*, 1646/3.
16. Information from P. Klein. Relying on the sapwood statistic for Eastern Europe an earliest felling date of 1628 can be derived for this panel. Plus the minimum seasoning time of two years, 1630 could be the earliest date of this portrait's production.

Tables and Indexes

Table of dendrochronological data

Peter Klein

Dendrochronology is a discipline of the biological sciences that serves to determine the age of wooden objects. The method, while employed primarily for dating archaeological and architectural artefacts, is also used to solve art-historical problems. As such, it is the discipline's principal goal to give at least a terminus post quem for the creation of a painting by determining the date of felling of the tree that provided the wood for the panel.

The final – and essential – result the art historian seeks is the identification of the year of tree felling. If it has been preserved, the last ring under the bark gives the exact date and even the season of the tree cut. In preparing oak panels for paintings, panel makers usually cut the planks in the length of the trunk, radially with regard to the cross-section of the tree. The bark and the light, perishable sapwood were removed, thereby eliminating the evidence of the most recent growth rings and making it impossible to determine exactly the year of felling, as only the latest measured growth ring of the panel can be determined to the exact year.

Furthermore, the statements below regarding the number of sapwood rings to be added are derived from statistical evaluations; each case must be considered individually. In addition to the dependence of the number of sapwood rings on the tree's age, the provenance of oak wood is also significant. In Europe, the number of sapwood rings varies from western regions to eastern regions. Following the discovery of the eastern origin of the oak used for panels, new evidence for the sapwood allowance has to be taken into account. The number of sapwood rings found in trees from the Baltic region was analysed; all trees in the central 50% had 13-19 sapwood rings; the median value was 15, the minimum 9, and the maximum 36. For wood originating from Germany or the Netherlands, the median value was 17 with 50% of all values lying between 13 and 23.

To determine the earliest possible felling date, at least 7 or 9 sapwood rings (depending on whether the wood is of eastern or western origin) must be added to the latest growth ring found on the panel. Using the median, the felling date of the oak tree can be estimated to within a range of -2 to +4 or -4 to +6. If a panel is made exclusively of heartwood, the felling date of the tree cannot be determined as precisely because there is always the possibility that an unknown number of heartwood rings were removed.

The determination of the felling date also provides information on how long the wood was seasoned before use in paintings. For oak panels of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in most cases the interval between the felling of the tree and the creation of the painting has been determined as approximately two to eight years.

Notes on the tables

In a view of the foregoing, we display below the results not only of dendrochronological investigation of the panels discussed in this volume, but also in revised form of the panels in Volumes I, II and III.

The first three columns give the numbers for the *Corpus* volume, the Bredius number and the title and location. The fourth column gives the date of the latest annual ring of heartwood, the fifth column the number of sapwood rings, where sapwood is found.

The sixth column gives always the earliest possible felling date with 9 sapwood rings for an origin in the Baltic region and 7 sapwood rings for an origin in Western-Germany or the Netherlands (comp. Column 8: *B* – Baltic or *W* – Germany/Netherlands or *N* – Northern Germany).

Only if the boundary between heart- and sapwood is known it is possible to provide, in column seven, an estimate of the statistically average felling date with respectively 15 years (+4 or -2) and 17 (+6 or -2) after the latest heartwood ring. If it is not known, one can only give the earliest possible date of felling, i.e. the date that can be assumed with an extremely small number of 7 or 9 rings of sapwood. It should be pointed out that where the tree is very old – over 200 years – such a small number of rings (and hence such an early felling date) is unlikely. In a number of cases where it is in fact possible to give the statistically average felling date this is found to lie after the moment at which we believe the panel – after drying for a couple of years or more – was painted on (see nos. I A 19, II A 57 and III A 136). In such cases, one can only conclude that the number of sapwood rings must have been lower than the statistical average. Felling dates shown in square brackets are based not on a study of the panel in question but on that of another panel coming from the same tree. In column 9 (other information) can be found information relating to the same tree. In these cases, a comparison of the single curves shows such similarities that one may infer that these were boards from contiguous planks cut successively from the same tree. In other cases an origin from the same tree is possible but cannot be proven.

Acknowledgments

I am indebted to my colleagues Prof. Dr. J. Bauch and Prof. Dr. D. Eckstein of the Department of Wood Biology, University of Hamburg, who have generously put their material at my disposal.

Corpus	Bredius	Title + location	last dated annual ring of heart-wood	number of sap-wood rings	earliest possible felling date	probable felling date due to statistical average	chro-no-logy	other information	date panel was painted as inscribed on picture	date panel was painted as accepted
I A 3	486	*Tobit and Anna*, Amsterdam	1608	5	1617	1623	B		1626	1626
I A 5	–	*The Baptism of the eunuch*, Utrecht	1604	8	1613	1619	B		1626	1626
I A 6	460	*History painting*, Leiden	1602	–	1611		B		1626	1626
I A 7	632	*Musical allegory*, Amsterdam	1599	–	1608		B		1626	1626
I A 10	420	*The rich man from the parable*, Berlin	1600	–	1609		B		1627	1627
I A 12	535	*Simeon in the temple*, Hamburg	1599	4	1608	1614	B	from same tree as I A 38/ Br. 466, and I B 7/Br. 77	–	1627/28
I A 13	423	*Two old men disputing*, Melbourne	1603	–	1612		B		1628 (formerly)	1628
I A 14	[1]	*Self-portrait*, Amsterdam	1599	–	1606		W		–	1628
I A 14, copy 1	1	*Self-portrait*, Kassel	1546	–	1555		B		–	?
I A 16, copy	539	*The supper at Emmaus*, Germany, priv. coll.	1613	–	1622		B	from same tree as I B 4/ Br. 79, and Br. 375	–	
I A 17	428	*An old man asleep*, Turin	1618	–	1627		B		1629	1629
I A 18	419	*The artist in his studio*, Boston	1600	–	1609		B		–	1629
I A 19	2	*Self-portrait*, Munich	1616	5	1625	1631	B		1629	1629
IV Corr. I A 21	[6]	*Self-portrait*, The Hague	1602	–	1611		B		–	*c.* 1630
IV Corr. I A 21	6	*Self-portrait*, Nuremberg	1606	–	1615	[1621]	B	from same tree as I C 34/ Br. 5, from which date is derived	–	*c.* 1629
IV Corr. I A 22	[3]	*Self-portrait*, Japan Moa Mus.	1605	–	1614		B		–	*c.* 1630
IV Corr. I A 22	3	*Self-portrait*, Indianapolis	1581	–	1590		B	from same tree as I C 42/ Br. 64	–	*c.* 1629
II Corr. I A 23	156	*Bust of a young man*, Cleveland	1614	–	1623		B		1632	1632
I A 24	489	*Samson betrayed by Delilah*, Berlin	1609	6	1618	1624	B	from same tree as Lievens, *Self-portrait*, priv. coll. USA (Braunschweig, exhib. *Lievens*, 1979, no. 32)	1628	1629/30
I A 25	490	*David playing the harp to Saul*, Frankfurt	1615	6	1624	1630	B		–	1629/30
I A 25, copy 2	[490]	*David playing the harp to Saul*, priv. coll.	1622	–	1631		B		–	–
I A 26	602	*S. Paul at his writing-desk*, Nuremberg	1611	–	1620		B		–	1629/30
I A 28	604	*Jeremiah lamenting*, Amsterdam	1615	–	1624		B	from same tree as I C 24/ Br. 148	1630	1630
I A 30	538	*The raising of Lazarus*, Los Angeles	1611	–	1620		B		–	1630/31

TABLE OF DENDROCHRONOLOGICAL DATA

Corpus	Bredius	Title + location	last dated annual ring of heart-wood	number of sap-wood rings	earliest possible felling date	probable felling date due to statistical average	chro-no-logy	other information	date panel was painted as inscribed on picture	date panel was painted as accepted
I A 30, copy 1	537	*The raising of Lazarus*, Chicago	–					not measurable	–	–
I A 31	462	*Andromeda*, The Hague	1609	–	1618		B	from same tree as Lievens, *Rembrandt's mother*, Dresden (inv. 1580, Sumowski *Gem.* III, no. 1272)	–	1630/31
I A 34	543	*Simeon in the temple*, The Hague	1595	–	[1624]		B	from same tree as I A 37/ Br. 69, from which date is derived	1631	1631
I A 37	69	*An old woman reading*, Amsterdam	1615	–	1624		B	from same tree as I A 34/ Br. 543	1631	1631
I A 38	466	*Minerva in her study*, Berlin	1599	8	1608	1614	B	from same tree as I A 12/ Br. 535, and I B 7/Br. 77	–	1631
I A 39	463	*The abduction of Proserpina*, Berlin	1594	–	1601		W		–	1631
I A 40	16	*The artist in oriental costume*, Paris, Petit Palais	1615	–	1624		B		1631	1631
I A 40, copy 1	[16]	*The artist in oriental costume*, Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis (on loan)	–					made of oak, not datable	–	1631/33
I A 42	81	*An old man in a gorget and black cap*, Chicago	1605	–	1614		B	from same tree as II C 71/ Br. 338	–	1631
II A 45	163	*Portrait of a man seated*, Vienna	–					made of walnut (*Juglans regia*)	–	1631/32
II A 57	161	*Portrait of Maurits Huygens*, Hamburg	1618	1	1627	1633	B	from same tree as IV Add. 1/[Br. 157]	1632	1632
II A 59	160	*Portrait of a 40-year-old man*, New York	1612	–	1621		B		1632	1632
II A 65	550	*The Descent from the Cross*, München	–					made of 'cedar' (*Cedrela odorata*)	–	1632/33
II A 67	491	*Daniel and Cyrus*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum	1597	11	1608	1612	B		1633	1633
II A 71	18	*Self-portrait*, Paris	1606	–	1615		B		1633	1633
II A 72	19	*Self-portrait in a cap*, Paris	1615	–	1624		B	from same tree as II C 77/ Br. 175, and III C 119/ Br. 451	1633	1633
II A 73	178	*Bust of a man in oriental dress*, München	1617	–	1626		B	from same tree as II A 90, copy 1	1633	1633
II A 76	97	Bust of a young woman smiling, *Dresden*	1614	–	1623		B		1633	1633
II A 82	339	*Portrait of Maertgen van Bilderbeecq*, Frankfurt	1613	–	1622		B		1633	1633
II A 83	335	*Portrait of a woman*, New York	–					not datable	1633	1633
II A 85	101	*Half-length figure of Saskia van Uylenburgh*, Kassel	–					made of oak, not measurable	–	*c.* 1633/ 34-1642

Corpus	Bredius	Title + location	last dated annual ring of heart-wood	number of sap-wood rings	earliest possible felling date	probable felling date due to statistical average	chro-no-logy	other information	date panel was painted as inscribed on picture	date panel was painted as accepted
II A 90, copy 1	[552]	*The incredulity of Thomas*, priv. coll.	1617	–	1626		B	from same tree as II A 73/ Br. 178	–	*c.* 1633
II A 96	21	*Self-portrait in cap and fur-trimmed cloak*, Berlin	1601	–	[1623]	[1627]	B	from same tree as III C 101/Br. 206, from which date is derived, and III A 137/Br. 441, and III C 96/Br. 27	1634	1634
IV Corr. II A 97	22	*Self-portrait with helmet*, Kassel	–					made of mahogany (*Swietenia sp.*)	1634	1634
III A 106	555	*John the Baptist preaching*, Berlin	1612	–	[1623]	[1629]	B	from same tree as III A 132/Br. 355, from which date is derived, and III A 140/Br. 217, IV 2/ Br. 36, and Br. 566	–	*c.* 1634/ 35
III A 115	202	*Portrait of Philips Lucasz.*, London	1627	–	1627		B	last rings on the sapwood side only counted, possibly sapwood	1635	1635
III A 117	505	*Susanna at the bath*, The Hague	1545	–	1552		W		163(.)	1636
III A 119, copy 1	[474]	*Isaac and Esau*, priv. coll.	1622	–	1631		B	F. Bol	–	*c.* 1642
III A 121	503	*The angel Raphael leaving Tobit*, Paris	–					made of oak, not measurable	1637	1637
III A 122	211	*Man in 'Polish' costume*, Washington	1620	5	1629	1635	B	from same tree as III A 135/Br. 476, and III B 12/Br. 454	1637	1637
III A 131	356	*Portrait of a young woman (Maria Trip?)*, Amsterdam	–					made of poplar (*Populus sp.*)	1639	1639
III A 132	355	*Portrait of Aletta Adriaensdr.*, Rotterdam	1614	7	1623	1629	B	from same tree as III A 106/Br. 555, III A 140/ Br. 217, IV 2/Br. 36, and Br. 566	1639	1639
III A 133	31	*A dead bittern held high by a hunter*, Dresden	1622	–	1631		B		1639	1639
III A 135	476	*The Concord of the State*, Rotterdam	1618	–	[1629]	[1635]	B	from same tree as III A 122/Br. 211, and III B 12/ Br. 454, from which date is derived	164(.)	late 1630s
III A 136	440	*Landscape with a stone bridge*, Amsterdam	1627	7	1636	1642	B		–	late 1630s
III A 137	441	*Mountain landscape with a thunderstorm*, Braunschweig	1549	–	[1623]	[1627]	B	from same tree as III C 101/Br. 206, from which date is derived, and II A 96/Br. 21, and III C 96/ Br. 27	–	*c.* 1640
III A 138	562	*The Visitation*, Detroit	–					made of 'cedar' (*Cedrela odorata*)	1640	1640

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III A 140	217	*Portrait of Herman Doomer*, New York	1580	–	[1623]	[1629]	B	from same tree as III A 132/Br. 355, from which date is derived, and III A 106/Br. 555, IV 2/Br. 36, and Br. 566	1640	1640
III A 142	108	*Saskia as Flora*, Dresden	1618	–	1625		W		1641	1641
IV Corr. I B 1	421	*Three singers* (panel), priv. coll	1582	–	[1606]		B	from same tree as I B 2/ Br. 421A, from which date is derived	–	*c.* 1624
I B 1	421	*Three singers* (frame), priv. coll.	1697	–	[1712]		W	from same tree as frames of I B 3, from which date is derived, and I B 2/Br. 421A		
IV Corr. I B 2	421A	*The operation* (panel), priv. coll.	1597	–	1606		B	from same tree as I B 1/ Br. 421	–	*c.* 1624
I B 2	421A	*The operation* (frame), priv. coll.	1696	–	[1712]		W	from same tree as frames of I B 3, from which date is derived, and I B 1/Br. 421		
IV Corr. I B 3	–	*The spectacles-pedlar* (panel), priv. coll.	1559	–	1568		B		–	*c.* 1624
I B 3	–	*The spectacles-pedlar* (enlargement), priv. coll.	1705	–	1712		W	from same tree as frames of I B 1/Br. 421, and I B 2/ Br. 421A	–	
I B 4	79	*Man in gorget and plumed cap*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum	1607	–	[1622]		B	from same tree as I A 16 copy [Br. 539] and Br. 375	–	
I B 7	77	*Bust of an old man in a cap*, The Hague	1575	–	[1608]	[1614]	B	from same tree as I A 38/ Br. 466, and I A 12/Br. 535, from which date is derived	–	soon after 1630?
IV Corr. III B 10	29	*Bust of Rembrandt*, Paris	1622	–	1631		B		1637	*c.* 1639
III B 12	454	*River landscape with a windmill*, Kassel	1620	7	1629	1635	B	from same tree as III A 122/ Br. 211, and III A 135/ Br. 476	164(.)	*c.* 1640
I C 1	–	*Samson betrayed by Delilah*, Amsterdam	1613	–	1622		B	now attributed to Jan Lievens	–	1627
I C 7	536	*The tribute money*, Ottawa	1616	–	1625		B		1629	not before 1631
I C 11	422	*The foot operation*, priv. coll.	1589	–	1598		B		1628	
I C 12	556	*Travellers resting*, The Hague	1635	1	1644	1650	B		–	*c.* 1700?
I C 14	427	*A man reading in a lofty room*, London	1600	–	1609		B		–	*c.* 1700?
I C 15	429	*A scholar reading*, Braunschweig	1612	–	1621		B		–	*c.* 1630?
I C 16	605	*A hermit reading*, Paris	1613	–	1622		B		163(0?)	early '30s
I C 16, copy	[605]	*A hermit reading*, priv. coll. Holland	1588	–	1597		B		–	–

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I C 17	430	*A Christian scholar in a vaulted room*, Stockholm	1613	–	1622		B		1631	1632/33
I C 20	73	*An old man with his arms crossed*, Boston	1614	–	1621		N		–	soon after 1631
IV Corr. I C 22	633	*Head of an old man*, Milwaukee, coll. Alfred and Isabel Bader	1613	4	1622	1628	B		–	*c.* 1630
I C 23	636	*Bust of a man in a plumed cap*, priv. coll. U.S.A.	1607	–	1616		B		1629	1629?
I C 24	148	*Bust of an old man with a bald head*, Kassel	1603	–	[1624]		B	from same tree as I A 28/ Br. 604, from which date is derived	1632	early 1630s
I C 25	140	*Bust of an old man*, Leipzig	1558	–	1567		B		–	between 1629 and '33?
I C 26	141	*Bust of an old man wearing a cross*, Kassel	1605	–	1612		W		1630	1630
I C 29	74	*Bust of a man in a cap*, Cambridge (Mass.)	–					made of oak, not datable	1629	1629
I C 30	78	*Bust of a man in a cap*, Kassel	1579	–	1588		B		–	*c.* 1631
I C 32	135	*Bust of a man wearing a gold chain*, Leiden	1619	–	1628		B		–	?
IV Corr. I C 34	5	*Bust of a young man laughing*, Amsterdam	1606	8	1615	1621	B	from same tree as IV Corr. I A 21	–	early 1630s
I C 35	4	*Bust of a young man*, Cambridge (Mass.)	1620	–	1629		B		1629	?
I C 36	7	*Bust of Rembrandt*, priv. coll.	1615	2	1624	1630	B		–	early 1630
I C 37	9	*Bust of Rembrandt*, priv. coll.	1572	–	1581		B		–	?
I C 38	10	*Bust of a young man*, New York	1599	13	1612	1614	B		–	well after 1630
I C 41	67	*Bust of an old woman*, The Hague	1602	4	1611	1617	B		–	after 1631
I C 41 copy	[67]	*Bust of an old woman*, coll. J. William Middendorf II	1575	–	1584		B		–	after 1631
I C 41, copy 12	[67]	*Bust of an old woman*, Braunschweig	1591	–	1600		B		–	after 1631
I C 42	64	*Bust of an old woman*, priv. coll.	1581		1590		B	from same tree as IV Corr. I A 22/Br. 3	–	*c.* 1630
I C 43	65	*Bust of an old woman*, Germany, private coll.	1615	–	1622		W		1627	late 1620s
II C 48	545	*The good Samaritan*, London, Wallace Coll.	1615	–	1624		B		1630	after 1632
II C 48, copy	[545]	*Good Samaritan*, priv. coll.	1606	–	1615		B		–	1630s

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II C 51	431	*An old man in an interior*, Paris	1614	5	1623	1629	B		1632	1632 or later
II C 51, p. 643	Sumowski *Gem.* III, no. 1133	Philosopher, *Paris*	1624	–	1633		B	inv. no. 1741; attr. to S. Koninck	–	*c.* 1640
IV Corr. II C 53	152	*Bust of an old man*, Kassel	1600	4	1609	1615	B		1632	1632
II C 53, fig. 5	N.Y. 60.71.16	*Bearded old man*, New York	1613	–	1622		B		–	1630s
IV Corr. II C 56	23	*Bust of Rembrandt*, Berlin	1616	2	1625	1631	B		–	in or soon after 1633
II C 58	88	*Maria van Uylenburg*, Chapel Hill	1634	–	1643		B		–	
II C 70	159	*Portrait of a man*, Braunschweig	1619	4	1628	1634	B		1632	1632
II C 71	338	*Portrait of a woman*, Braunschweig	1603	–	[1614]		B	from same tree as I A 42/ Br. 81, from which date is derived	1633	1633
II C 72	197	*Portrait of a man in a broad-brimmed hat*, Boston	1619	–	1628		B	from same tree as II C 73/ Br. 346	1634	1634
II C 73	346	*Portrait of a woman*, Boston	1610	–	[1628]		B	from same tree as II C 72/ Br. 197, from which date is derived	1634	1634
II C 75	165	*Portrait of a 47-year-old man*, Paris	1616	9	1625	1631	B		1632	early 1630s
II C 77	175	*Portrait of a man*, Dresden	1608	–	[1624]		B	from same tree as II A 72/ Br. 19, from which date is derived, and III C 119/ Br. 451	1633	1633
II C 79	336	*Portrait of Cornelia Pronck*, Paris	1618	3	1627	1633	B		1633	1630/31
II C 80	332	*Portrait of a woman seated*, Vienna	–					made of walnut (*Juglans regia*)	–	1631/32
II C 81	337	*Portrait of a young woman*, coll. J. William Middendorf II	1619	–	1628		B		1633	1633
III C 88	558	*The labourers in the vineyard*, S. Petersburg	1616	–	1625		B		1637	1637
III C 88, copy	[558]	*The labourers in the vineyard*, priv. coll. [München]	1621	–	1630		B		–	*c.* 1650
III C 89	71	*Half-length figure of an old woman*, Vienna	1622	–	1631		B		1639	1639
III C 91	435	Scholar at a table, *Budapest*	1615	–	1624		B		1642	1640s
IV Corr. III C 96	27	*Bust of Rembrandt in a black cap*, London, Wallace Coll.	1606	–	[1623]	[1627]	B	from same tree as III C 101/Br. 206, from which date is derived, and II A 96/ Br. 21, and III A 137/ Br. 441	–	*c.* 1637

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III C 98	24	*Bust of a man with a plumed cap*, The Hague	1616	5	1625	1631	B		–	mid-1630s
IV Corr. III C 101	206	*Bust of a man in oriental dress*, Amsterdam	1612	11	1623	1627	B	from same tree as II A 96/ Br. 21, III A 137/Br. 441, and III C 96/Br. 27	1635	*c.* 1635
III C 103	96	*Bust of a young woman*, Washington	–					made of poplar (*Populus sp.*)	–	1639
III C 105	350	*Portrait of a woman*, Cleveland	1617	–	1626		B		1635	1635
III C 110	222	*Portrait of a man in a doorway*, priv. coll.	–					made of poplar (*Populus sp.*)	164.	1640
III C 113	358	*Portrait of Anna Wijmer*, Amsterdam, Six Coll.	–					made of tropical wood (*Brosimum sp.*)	1641	1641
III C 118	445	*Landscape with a seven-arched bridge*, Berlin	1605	–	1614		B		–	*c.* 1640
III C 119	451	*Landscape with a moated castle*, London, Wallace Coll.	1584	–	[1624]		B	from same tree as II A 72/ Br. 19, from which date is derived, and II C 77/ Br. 175	–	*c.* 1640
III C 121	444	*Wooded landscape with a castle*, priv. coll.	1618	–	1627		B		–	*c.* 1640
IV 1	37	*Self-portrait in a flat cap*, Windsor Castle	1612	–	1619		W		1642	*c.* 1633-1642
IV 2	36	*Self-portrait*, Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza	1584	–	[1623]	[1629]	B	from same tree as III A 132/ Br. 355, from which date is derived, and III A 106/ Br. 555, III A 140/Br. 217, and Br. 566	–	*c.* 1640
IV 4	40	*'Self-portrait'*, Leipzig	1626	17	1643	1643	B	from same tree as Br. 622	–	1645/47
IV 5	38	*Self-portrait*, Karlsruhe	–					made of oak, not measurable	–	1645/48
IV 11	44	*'Self-portrait'*, Vienna	1616	–	1625		B		1655	1655
IV 13	49	*Small self-portrait*, Vienna	–					made of walnut (*Juglans regia*)	–	*c.* 1655
IV 16	58	*Unfinished self-portrait*, Aix-en-Provence	1511	–	1520	1526	B		–	*c.* 1659
IV 21, copy 1	[56]	*'Self-portrait'*, Lisbon, Fundação Medeiros e Almeida	1635	–	1642		W		–	after 1660
IV Add. 1	[157]	*Self-portrait*, priv. coll.	1618	7	1627	1633	B	from same tree as II A 57/ Br. 161	1632	1632
IV Add. 2	–	*Self-portrait*, Las Vegas, U.S.A., The Wynn Coll.	1624	–	1633		B		1634	1634
IV Add. 3	72	*Old man with turban*, priv. coll.	1615	–	1622		W		–	1628
–	91	*Portrait of a young woman*, Stockholm	1614	–	1623		B		–	1632
–	100	*Saskia*, Indianapolis	1613	–	1620	1630	B		1634	1634

TABLE OF DENDROCHRONOLOGICAL DATA

Corpus	Bredius	Title + location	last dated annual ring of heart-wood	number of sap-wood rings	earliest possible felling date	probable felling date due to statistical average	chro-no-logy	other information	date panel was painted as inscribed on picture	date panel was painted as accepted
–	109	*Saskia*, Berlin	–					made of mahogany (*Swietenia sp.*)	1643	1643
–	115	*Hendrickje Stoffels*, Frankfurt	–	17				made of oak, not datable	–	?
–	125	*Titus*, Detroit	–					made of oak, not datable	–	?
–	147	*Portrait of an old man*, Cambridge (Mass.)	1615	–	1624		B		1632	1632
IV Add. 4	176	*Portrait of a man*, priv. coll.	1620	–	1629		B		1633	1633
–	182	*Old man with a beard*, Paris	1615	–	1622		W		163.	1630s
–	188	*Child in a fanciful costume*, London, Wallace Coll.	1618	–	1627		B		1633	1633
–	192	*Portrait of an officer*, Detroit	1622	–	1631		B		–	*c.* 1635
–	193	*Portrait of an officer*, London Wallace Coll.	1613	19	1632	1632	B		–	*c.* 1635
–	221	*Man holding a glove*, New York	–					made of 'cedar' (*Cedrela odorata*)	–	*c.* 1640
–	229	*Old man*, S. Petersburg	–					made of oak, not measurable	–	*c.* 1645
–	230	*Bearded man*, Kassel	1548	–	1557		B		–	*c.* 1645
–	231	*Old man*, Dublin	1633	–	1642		B		–	*c.* 1650
–	243	*Study of an old man*, Washington	1646	10	1656	1663	W			*c.* 1665
–	250	*Portrait of a young jew*, Berlin	1640	–	[1650]		B	from same tree as Br. 624A, from which date is derived	–	*c.* 1650
–	252	*Dr. Ephaïm Bueno*, Amsterdam	1557	–	1566		B		–	1647
–	256	*Man in a fanciful costume holding a large sword*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum	–					made of tropical woods (*Brosimum* and *Ruprechtia*)	1650	1650
–	260A	*Portrait of Jewish philosopher*, Washington	–					old walnut panel encased in oak, not datable	–	*c.* 1650
–	261	*Head of an old man*, Milwaukee, coll. Alfred and Isabel Bader	1652	–	1659		W		–	*c.* 1662
–	272	*Old man in a fanciful costume*, Dresden	–					made of mahogany (*Swietenia sp.*)	1654	*c.* 1655
–	291	*Lieven Willemsz van Coppenol*, New York	1634	–	1643		B		–	1658
–	296	*Young man with a red cloak*, New York	1631	–	1640		B		1659	1659
–	298	*Jan Boursse in front of a stove*, Winterthur, Coll. Reinhart	1654	–	1661		W	measured by Dendrolabor, Office of Archaeology of the City of Zurich	–	*c.* 1666 – 67
–	302	*Old man*, Washington	1612	–	1619		W		–	after 1661

Corpus	Bredius	Title + location	last dated annual ring of heart-wood	number of sap-wood rings	earliest possible felling date	probable felling date due to statistical average	chro-no-logy	other information	date panel was painted as inscribed on picture	date panel was painted as accepted
–	316	*Young man with a turban*, Chicago	1576	–	1585		B		–	?
–	320	*Jeremias de Decker*, S. Petersburg	1643	–	1650		W		1666	1666
–	353	*Young woman holding a carnation*, Kassel (F. Bol?)	1612	–	1621		B		–	after 1640
–	361	*Old woman*, S. Petersburg	–					made of oak, not measurable	1643	1643
–	366	*A woman weeping*, Detroit	1585	–	1594		B		–	after 1644
–	375	*Head of a girl*, Amsterdam, art dealer	1567	–	[1622]		B	from same tree as I A 16 copy/[Br. 539] and I B 4/ Br. 79	–	after 1645
–	380	*Portrait of a woman*, Sarasota	–					made of oak, not measurable	–	1650
–	387	*Young woman at her mirror*, S. Petersburg	–					made of mahogany (*Swietenia sp.*)	165.	*c.* 1655
–	392	*Old woman*, Washington	1624	–	1633		B		1657	1655-60
–	437	*A woman bathing*, London	1590	–	1599		B		1654	1654
–	450	*Landscape with castle*, Paris	1621	–	1630		B		–	*c.* 1640-42
–	457	*The slaughtered ox*, Paris	–					made of beech (*Fagus sylvatica*)	1655	1655
–	473	*Diana bathing*, London	1632	–	1641		B		–	after *c.* 1643
–	481	*Jupiter and Mercury visiting Philemon and Baucis*, Washington	–					not measurable	1658	1658
–	506	*Batheseba*, S. Petersburg	–					made of oak, not measurable	–	*c.* 1640
–	513	*Bathseba*, New York	–					made of oak, not measurable	1643	1643
–	514	*Anna accused by Tobit*, Berlin	–					made of 'Jequitiba' (*Cariniana sp.*)	1645	1645
–	516	*Susanna bathing*, Berlin	–					made of mahogany (*Swietenia sp.*)	1647	1647
–	518	*Susanna bathing*, Paris	1633	–	1642		B		–	*c.* 1647
–	542	*Priest*, priv. coll. Germany	1620	–	1629		B		–	*c.* 1630
–	564	*The Raising of the Cross*, The Hague, Bredius Mus.	1491		–		B	on the original panel (sapwood side) 9 cm could not be measured	–	*c.* 1640
–	566	*Christ and the woman taken in adultery*, London	1606	–	[1623]	[1629]	B	from same tree as III A 132/Br. 355, from which date is derived, and III A 106/Br. 555, III A 140/ Br. 217, and IV 2/Br. 36	1644	1644
–	568	*The Holy Family*, Amsterdam	–					made of 'cedar' (*Cedrela odorata*)	–	*c.* 1645

TABLE OF DENDROCHRONOLOGICAL DATA

Corpus	Bredius	Title + location	last dated annual ring of heart-wood	number of sap-wood rings	earliest possible felling date	probable felling date due to statistical average	chro-no-logy	other information	date panel was painted as inscribed on picture	date panel was painted as accepted
–	569	*Joseph's dream*, Berlin	–					made of 'Jequitiba' (*Cariniana sp.*)	1645	1645
–	572	*The Holy Family*, Kassel	1616	–	1625		B		1646	1646
–	576	*Nocturnal landscape with the Holy Family*, Dublin	–					made of mahogany (*Swietenia sp.*)	1647	1647
–	578	*Christ at Emmaus*, Paris	–					made of mahogany (*Swietenia sp.*)	1648	1648
–	588	*Christ and the woman of Samaria*, Berlin	1632	–	1641		B		1655	*c.* 1655
–	589	*Christ and the woman of Samaria*, New York	–					made of oak, not measurable	1655	1655
–	590	*Christ on the Cross*, Williamstown	1642	–	1651		B		1657	1657
–	591	*Christ at the column*, Cologne	1623	–	1632		B		–	*c.* 1645
–	606A	*S. Bartholomew*, Worcester	1617	8	1626	1632	B		–	*c.* 1633
–	620	*Christ*, The Hague, Bredius Mus.	1630	–	1639		B		–	*c.* 1650-55
–	621	*Christ*, Detroit	1642	–	1649		W		–	*c.* 1650-55
–	622	*Christ*, Berlin	1626	9	[1643]	[1643]	B	from same tree as IV 4/ Br. 40, from which date is derived	–	*c.* 1650-55
–	624A	*Christ*, Cambridge (Mass.)	1641	–	1650		B	from same tree as Br. 250	–	*c.* 1650-55

List of paintings without Corpus or Bredius number in alphabetical order, first in museums, followed by private collections.

Location	Title	last dated annual ring of heart-wood	number of sap-wood rings	earliest possible felling date	probable felling date due to statistical average	chro-no-logy	other information	date panel was painted as inscribed on picture	date panel was painted as accepted
Aix en Provence	*St. Jerome*, inv. no. 860.1.164	1623	–	1632	1638		attr. to Jan Lievens		
Amsterdam	*Head of a boy*, inv. no. A 2391	1626	–	1635		B	Bauch A 2		
Amsterdam	*Vanitas*, inv. no. A 4090	1607	–	1616		B	attr. to Jan Lievens; Sumowski *Gem.* III, no. 1300		
Detroit	*Annunciation*, inv. no. 09.13	1615	–	1624		B			
Detroit	*Head of an old man*, inv. no. 27.313	1594	–	1603		B			
Detroit	*Bearded old man*, inv. no. 42.151	1619	9	1628	1634	B			
Dublin	*La main chaude*, inv. no. 439	1607	–	1616	1622	B	attr. to Rembrandt; exhib. cat. *The mystery of the young Rembrandt*, 2001/02, p. 70 ff, cat. no. 62	–	*c.* 1628
The Hague	Minerva, *inv. no. 626*	1606	–	1615		B		–	*c.* 1630
Helsinki	*Portrait of a man*, inv. no. 389	1625	6	1634	1640	B	Sumowski *Gem.* IV, p. 2919		
Kassel	*Jew with fur cap*, inv. no. 248	1589	–	1598		B	Bauch 188		
New York	*Standing woman*, inv. no. 1971.186	1626	–	1635		B			
Oldenburg	*The Angel and Tobit*, inv. no. 48	1631	–	1640		B	Sumowski *Gem.* V, no. 2058		
Paris	*Jew with fur cap*, inv. no. 1750	1721	–	1728		W	see Bauch 188		
Paris, priv. coll.	*Jew with fur cap*, formerly Prague, inv. no. DO 4614	1642	–	1651		B	see Bauch 188		
Philadelphia	*Head of an old man*, inv. no. IC 476	1644	–	1651		W			
Raleigh	*Fantastic landscape*, inv. no. 59.3.1	1626	1	1635	1641	B			
Fond. Aetis Aurea	*The Baptism of the eunuch*,	1619	–	1628		B	Sumowski *Gem.* IV, no.1913	–	*c.* 1631
Coll. Alfred and Isabel Bader, Milwaukee	*Young scholar*	1643	–	1650		W			
Fundação Medeiros e Almeida, Lisbon	*The raising of Lazarus*	?		1634		B	J.W. de Wet; Sumowski *Gem.* IV, no. 1826		
Priv. coll. Germany	*The Baptism of the eunuch*	1621	–	1630		B	see Bauch A 16		
Priv. coll. Germany	*Man with feathered cap*	1554	–	1563		B	Copy after Bauch A 24		
Priv. coll. Melbourne	*Johannes Elison*	1620	10	1630	1636	B			
Amsterdam, sale Christie's 3 Nov. 2004, lot 62	*Sheperdess* (I. Jouderville)	1601		1610		B	from same tree as III C 101/Br. 206, from which date is derived, and II A 96/Br. 21, III A 137/Br. 441 and III C 96/Br. 27	–	1634?

Tables of grounds in Rembrandt's workshop and in paintings by his contemporaries

Karin Groen

Table II. Grounds on panel

Corpus	*Bredius*	*Title*	*Location*	*Date*	*1st ground*
I B 1	421	Three singers	Private Coll.	1624 ?	chalk
I B 2	421A	The operation	Private Coll.	1624 ?	chalk
I A 1	531A	The stoning of S. Stephen	Lyon	1625	chalk
I A 6	460	History painting	Leiden	1626	chalk
1A 7	632	Musical allegory	Amsterdam	1626	chalk
I A 5		The baptism of the eunuch	Utrecht	1626	chalk
I A 11	601	S. Paul in prison	Stuttgart	1627	chalk
IV Addenda 3	72	Old man with turban	Private Coll.	*c.* 1628	chalk
I C 11	422	Foot operation	Private Coll.	1628	chalk
I C 34	5	Bust of a young man laughing	Amsterdam	*c.* 1629	chalk
I A 21	6	Self-portrait (copy)	The Hague	*c.* 1629	chalk
I A 15	539A	Judas repentant	Private Coll.	1629	chalk
I C 23	636	Man in a plumed cap	Private Coll. USA	1629	chalk
I C 36	7	Bust of Rembrandt (copy)	Private Coll.	1629/30	chalk, a little lead white
III C 98	24	Man with a plumed cap	The Hague	mid 1630s	chalk
I B 7	77	Old man in a cap	The Hague	*c.* 1630	chalk
I C14	427	Man reading in a lofty room	London	*c.* 1630	chalk
	604	Jeremiah lamenting	Amsterdam	1630	chalk
I A 31	462	Andromeda	The Hague	1630/31	chalk
I A 30	538	The raising of Lazarus	Los Angeles	1630/31	chalk
I A 40 copy 1	16	Artist in oriental costume	Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis	*c.* 1631	chalk
I C 41	67	Bust of an old woman	The Hague	1631	lead white, umber, very little brown and red ochre and chalk
I A 37	69	Old woman reading	Amsterdam	1631	chalk
II A 43	145	Portrait of Nicolaes Ruts	Frick Coll. N.Y.	1631	chalk
I A 38	466	Minerva	Berlin	*c.* 1631	chalk
I A 36	607	The apostle Peter in prison	Jerusalem	1631	1st ground missing?
I C 3	Bauch A 6	Tobit and Anna	London	*c.* 1631	chalk
IV Addenda 1	157	Self-portrait	Private Coll.	1632	chalk
II A 72	19	Self-portrait in a cap	Paris	1633	chalk
II A 75	94	Bust of a young woman	Amsterdam	1633	chalk
II A 76	97	Young woman smiling	Dresden	1633	chalk
II C 77	175	Portrait of a man	Dresden	1633	chalk
	185	Old man	Coll. Duke of Bedford	*c.* 1633	chalk, lead white, yellow and brown ochre, lamp black
IV Addenda 4	176	Portrait of a man in a red doublet	Private Coll.	1634	chalk
II A 104	343	Woman 83 years old	London	1634	chalk
IV Addenda 2		Self-portrait	Las Vegas, USA, The Wynn Coll.	1634	chalk
III A 115	202	Philips Lucasz	London	1635	chalk
Ill C 100	205	Man with dishevelled hair	Private Coll.	1635	1st ground missing?
III A 117	505	Susanna at the bath	The Hague	1636	chalk
III C 96	27	Rembrandt in black cap	London, Wallace Coll.	*c.* 1637	chalk
III A 135	476	Concord of the State	Rotterdam	*c.* 1638	chalk
II C 103	96	Saskia van Uylenburg	Washington	*c.* 1639	chalk
IV 2	36	Self-portrait	Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza	*c.* 1640	chalk
III C 113	358	Anna Wijmer	Amsterdam, Coll. Six	1641	chalk
IV 1	37	Self-portrait in a flat cap	London, Windsor Castle	1642	chalk
III C 106	251	Portrait of a man	Coll. Duke of Westminster	1642?	chalk
III C 107	370	Portrait of a woman	Coll. Duke of Westminster	1642?	chalk
	109	Saskia	Berlin	1643	chalk
	221	Man holding a glove	New York	*c.* 1643	chalk
	566	Christ and woman taken in adultery	London	1644	chalk

	2nd ground	*Colour 2nd ground*	*Analyses*	*Source*	*Figs.*
	lead white, yellow ochre		CS	Groen	
	lead white		CS	Groen	
	lead white, a little ochre or umber	light yellow brown	CS	Groen	
	lead white, a little umber	light yellowish brown	CS	Groen	
	lead white, a little brown	yellowish	CS	Groen	1
	lead white, a little umber, very little black	light yellow	CS XRD	Groen	
	lead white, a little ochre and charcoal black	yellowish brown	CS ESA	Denniger, Kühn	
	lead white, umber, a little yellow-brown and red ochre	light yellow brown	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, umber	yellowish	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, coarse charcoal	light ochre	CS	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, a little brown ochre, very little bone black	light yellowish	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
	lead white, yellow-brown earth		CS EDX	Bomford 1988	
	chalk, a little brown ochre	yellowish brown	CS	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, ochre, bone black	light yellow brown	CS	Fogg Art Museum	
	lead white, chalk, a little fine black and ochre	light yellowish brown	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, umber	brown	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
	2nd ground missing in sample?	reddish brown	CS?	Plesters (*Corpus* Vol. I, p. 529)	
	lead white, a little brown	light ochre	CS	Groen	
	lead white, umber(?)	yellowish	CS ESA XRD	De Vries 1978	
	lead white, a little ochre or umber	light ochreous	CS	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, charcoal black, a little ochre	grey	CS EDX	Groen	
		light yellowish brown	CS EDX ESA	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, a little brown	yellowish brown	CS	Groen	
	ochre	light yellow brown	CS ESA XRD	Kühn 1965, Frick cat.1968	
	lead white	yellowish white	CS	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, a little ochre or umber	light yellowish brown	CS	Groen	
	lead white	yellowish white	CS	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, a little ochre or umber	light yellowish brown	CS	Groen	
	lead white, a little brown	brownish	CS	NG London (*Corpus* Vol. I, p. 461)	
	lead white, a little umber	yellowish-white	CS	Groen	2
	2nd ground missing?	light yellow brown	CS	Lab. Musees de France 1965	
	lead white, very little brown ochre or umber	light yellow brown	CS	Groen	
	chalk, lead white	yellowish brown	CS ESA XRD	Kühn 1977	
	lead white	yellowish brown	CS ESA XRD	Kühn 1977	
	same as 1st ground	greyish brown	CS microprobe	Groen	
	lead white, ochre	pale yellowish brown	CS	Groen	
	lead white, umber	warm beige	CS EDX	Bomford 1988	
	lead white, a little ochre and umber	yellowish brown	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, umber	warm brown	CS EDX	Bomford 1988	
	lead white, bone black, a little vermilion, umber, yellow ochre, blue	grey	CS	Groen	
	lead white, ochre	pale brown	CS ESA XRD	Kühn 1965, De Vries 1978	
	lead white, a little yellow ochre, umber and black	yellowish brown	CS elec.microprobe	Groen	
	lead white, a little brown, yellow and red ochre and black	brownish	CS	Groen	
	lead white	white	?	Wheelock 1995	
	lead white, chalk, a little ochre and umber	light yellowish	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, umber	light yellowish brown	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, brown ochre	light yellowish brown	CS elec. microprobe	Groen	
		yellowish	CS microprobe	Groen	
	lead white, chalk(?), a little lead white, umber and black	yellowish	CS microprobe	Groen	
	lead white, a little brown ochre and charcoal black	yellowish brown	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, ochre or umber	light yellowish brown	CS ESA XRD	Groen	
	lead white, yellow brown earth	warm light brown	CS EDX	Bomford 1988	

Table II. Grounds on panel *(continued)*

Corpus	*Bredius*	*Title*	*Location*	*Date*	*1st ground*
	375	Head of a young girl	Private Coll.	*c.* 1645	1st ground missing?
	252	Ephraim Bueno	Amsterdam	1647	1st ground missing?
	256	Portrait of a warrior	Cambridge	1650	chalk
	272	Rabbi	Dresden	1654	chalk
	437	Woman bathing (Calisto)	London	1654	chalk
	457	The slaughtered ox	Paris	1655	chalk
	291	Coppenol	New York	*c.* 1658	chalk
	302	Old man	Washington	1660 s?	lead white, iron oxide
	261	Bust of an old man in a cap	Milwaukee, Coll. Bader	*c.* 1661	lead white, bone(?) black, a little red and brown ochre
IV 21 copy 1	56	'Self-portrait'	Lisbon Fund. Medeiros e Almeida	?	lead white, charcoal

Table III. Grounds on canvas *(including the grounds in Tables IV, V and VI)*

Corpus	*Bredius*	*Title*	*Location*	*Date*	*1st ground*
II C 61	84	Young woman in a cap	Private coll. Zurich	1632	red earth, a little umber (2 layers?)
II A 54	164	Man trimming his quill	Kassel	1632	red earth
II C 69	331	Portrait of a woman	New York	1632	red earth (2 layers)
II C 68	167	Portrait of a man	New York	1632	red earth (2 layers)
II A 48	169	Man in oriental dress	New York	1632	red earth, umber
II A 51	403	Anatomy lesson of Dr Tulp	The Hague	1632	red ochre, umber, Al-silicates
II C 65	406	Jean Pellicorn and his son	London, Wallace Coll.	1632 /33	red earth, a little umber (2 layers)
II C 66	407	Susanna van Collen with her daughter	London, Wallace Coll.	1632 /33	red earth (brownish), vey little black and umber
II A 64	494	Young woman at her toilet	Ottawa	1632 /33	red ochre, quartz, lead white
II A 81	171	Portrait of a man (Krul)	Kassel	1633	red earth, chalk, a little lead white
II A 78	172	Man rising from his chair	Cincinnati	1633	red earth
II A 80	173	Wtenbogaert	Amsterdam	1633	red earth, a little umber (high Si)
II B 8	180	Man in oriental dress	Washington	*c.* 1633	red earth
II A 79	341	Woman in an armchair	New York	1633	red earth, umber, quartz
II A 70	467	Bellona	New York	1633	red earth, chalk, quartz
III B 9	522	Esther before Haman	Bucharest	*c.* 1633 1650s	red earth, umber, quartz
II A 98	200	Johannes Elison	Boston	1634	red earth/umber (high Si and Al)
II A 99	347	Maria Bockenolle	Boston	1634	red earth/umber (high Si and Al)
II A 95	432	Scholar	Prague	1634	red ochre
II A 91	470	Cupid blowing a bubble	Liechtenstein Coll.	1634	red earth, a little umber (high Si)
III A 107	565	The Lamentation	London	*c.* 1634 /35	orange-red earth
III A 111	30	The prodigal son	Dresden	*c.* 1635	red and yellow ochre, a little quartz and calcite
III A 112	103	Flora	London	1635	orange-red earth
III C 112	348	Portrait of a 70-year old woman	New York	1635	red earth, umber
III A 113	471	Rape of Ganymede	Dresden	1635	red earth, a little quartz and calcite
III A 110	497	Belshazzar's feast	London	*c.* 1635	orange-red earth
III A 109	499	Samson threatening his father-in-law	Berlin	1635	red earth, quartz (2 layers, top one thin and translucent)
III A 109 copy 1	499	Samson threatening his father-in-law	Private coll. Miami	1635 /36	red earth, a little umber
III A 119	474	Danae	St Petersburg	1636 /42	red earth, a little quartz and feldspar

	2nd ground	*Colour 2nd ground*	*Analyses*	*Source*	*Figs.*
	lead white, (chalk as well?), a little brown and red ochre and black		CS	Groen	
	lead white, a little red and brown ochre, bone black	yellowish	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, ochre	yellowish	CS Microprobe	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, a little ochre	yellowish	CS ESA XRD	Kühn 1977	
	lead white, yellow brown earth, umber	warm brown	CS EDX	Bomford 1988	
	brownish	light brown	CS	Lab. Musées de France	
	lead white, a little ochre and/or umber	yellowish	CS EDX	Groen	
		grey (granular)	XRF	Report NGA, Wheelock 1995	
		grey	CS	Groen	
		brown	CS	Groen	

	2nd ground	*Colour 2nd ground*	*Analyses*	*Source*	*Figs.*
	lead white, a little yellow and red ochre, chalk, fine (lamp)black	light yellowish	CS EDX	Groen	11
	lead white, a little yellow ochre, bone black, very little chalk	light yellowish	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	7
	lead white, charcoal black, yellow and a little red ochre	grey	CS XRF	Groen	4
	lead white, charcoal black, yellow and a little red ochre	grey	CS XRF ESA XRD	Groen	3
	lead white, a little red ochre, lamp black	light yellowish	CS EDX XRF	Groen	5
	lead white, a little yellow ochre, lamp black	light yellowish	CS EDX XRD	Groen	6
	lead white, very little red ochre and fine black	grey	CS EDX	Groen	12
	lead white, fine black, very little brown, red and yellow ochre	grey	CS	Groen	
	lead white (mainly)	light yellow brown	CS X-ray macroprobe	Stolov 1969, rapport Wainwright	
	lead white, a little bone black	grey	CS ESA	Kühn 1965, 1976	
	lead white, black(?)	light neutral grey		Intermuseum Labs 1962	
	lead white, a little umber and yellow ochre, very little black	yellowish	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, lamp black, a little red lead and yellow ochre	light yellowish	CS	Groen	9
	lead white, yellow ochre, little red ochre, lamp black	light yellowish grey	CS EDX XRF	Groen	8
	lead white, little ochre/umber, lamp black	fawnish grey	CS EDX XRF	Groen	
	lead white, lumps of brightyellow ochre, little red ochre, lamp black	light yellowishfawnish grey	CS SEM-EDX	Groen	10
	lead white, a little bone black, very little ochre	light yellowish grey	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, a little bone black, very little ochre	light yellowish grey	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white	white	CS? XRD	Kühn 1965	
	lead white, a little umber and black	grey	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, a little umber and fine-grained black	light grey	CS EDX	Bomford 1988	
	lead white, charcoal black	grey	CS ESA	Kühn 1977	
	lead white, charcoal black, a little ochre	light grey	CS EDX/LMA	Bomford 1988	
	lead white, umber, a little bone, a little red and brown ochre	light grey	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, a little black	grey	CS ESA XRD	Kühn 1977	
	lead white, umber, carbon black	light fawnish grey	CS EDX/LMA	Bomford 1988	
	lead white, very little red and brown ochre and black	yellowish grey	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, bone black, a little brown and yellow ochre	grey	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, a little bone black	light grey	CS EDX XRF	Kosolapov, A.	

Table III. Grounds on canvas *(including the grounds in Tables IV, V and VI) (continued)*

Corpus	*Bredius*	*Title*	*Location*	*Date*	*1st ground*
III A 118	557	The Ascension	Munich	1636	red-brown ochre
	213	Swalmius	Antwerp	1637	red earth
	215	Man in armchair	New York	1638	red earth (high Si and Al)
III A 123	507	The wedding of Samson	Dresden	1638	red and brown ochre, lead white, chalk
III A 129	216	Man standing	Kassel	1639	red earth, quartz, a little umber (high Si, 2 layers)
III A 134	456	Dead peacocks	Amsterdam	*c.* 1639	red earth, quartz, a little black (high Si, 2 layers)
III A 139	34	Self-portrait	London	1640	red earth
	449	Landscape	Private Coll.	*c.* 1640	red earth
III A 145	360	Agatha Bas	London, Royal Coll.	1641	red earth, contains umber
III A 146	410	The Night watch	Amsterdam	1642	quartz, feldspar, clay minerals (illite), muscovite, yellow and brown ochre, a little chalk
	224	Man with falcon	Coll. Duke of Westminster	1643	red earth
	363	Woman with fan	Coll. Duke of Westminster	1643	red earth
	362	Old lady with a book	Washington	1643	red earth
	234	Man in a steel gorget	New York	1644	quartz, clay minerals, ilmenite, brown ochre, a little red ochre and chalk
	237	Scholar at writing desk	Cologne	1644	quartz, a little ochre
III C 114	369	Seated woman with a handkerchief	Toronto	1644	quartz, clay minerals, ilmenite, very little ochre, black and chalk
	223	Portrait of an admiral	New York	1645 ?	quartz, clay minerals, ilmenite, a little red and brown ochre, very little black and chalk
	236	Rabbi	Berlin	1645	quartz, clay minerals (illite, a little kaolinite), mica, ilmenite ($FeTiO_3$), a little brown ochre, chalk
	240	Rabbi	Dresden	*c.* 1645	red ochre, chalk
	364	Portrait of a woman	New York	1645 ?	quartz, calcite (XRD: 30%), clay minerals, a little brown and red ochre and bone black
	Val. 313	The Mill	Washington	1645 /48	reddish brown earth
	575	Adoration of the shepherds	London	1646	quartz, brown ochre
	257	A seated man	London	*c.* 1648 /50	fine yellow and brown iron oxide, a little red earth, quartz, umber(?)
IV 6	39	'Self portrait'	Washington	1650	red ochre (2 layers), a little quartz and chalk
	130	Man with curly grey hair	The Hague	1650	red ochre, umber, chalk, a little lead white
	253	Oriental figure	Private coll. Japan	*c.* 1650	red ochre, chalk, little umber, very little black
	258	Old man with a red cap	Baltimore	1650	quartz, kaolinite, mica, red ochre, a little chalk
III C 83	509	Manoah's sacrifice	Dresden	*c.* 1650	red (heamatite), a little Fe-silicates, smalt, calcite
	584	Descent from the Cross	Washington	1650 /52	lead white, umber, a little yellow ochre
		The Centurion Cornelius	London, Wallace Coll.	*c.* 1650	quartz, clay minerals, ilmenite, a little umber, red ochre, a little chalk
		Man in armour	New York 71.84	1650 s	quartz, clay minerals, ilmenite, brown ochre, a little red ochre, chalk
	377	Kitchenmaid	Stockholm	1651	red earth, umber
	378	A girl with a broom	Washington	1651 ?	brown ochre, umber, quartz, bone black, lead white, chalk
	583	Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene	Braunschweig	1651	quartz

	2nd ground	*Colour 2nd ground*	*Analyses*	*Source*	*Figs.*
	lead white, ochre, charcoal black black	brown red	CS? ESA XRD	Kühn 1962/65	
	lead white, a little red and yellow-brown ochre, charcoal black (finely ground)	light grey	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, charcoal black (fine), a little red and yellow ochre	grey	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, brown ochre	grey brown	CS ESA XRD	Kühn 1977	
	lead white, a little umber and charcoal black	light brownish yellow	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
	lead white, a little bone black and umber	light yellowish brown	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
	lead white, brown ochre, a little charcoal	fawnish grey	CS, EDX/LMA	Bomford 1988	
	lead white, fine yellow ochre, finely ground charcoal black	grey	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, a little bone black and umber	brownish grey	CS EDX	Groen	
		dark greyish brown	CS EDX XRD	Groen	18, 20, 23
	lead white, umber	brown?	CS microprobe	Groen	
	lead white, umber	brown?	CS microprobe	Groen	
	lead white, a little charcoal black, chalk, yellow and brown ochre	grey	CS XRF	Groen	
		light yellowish brown	CS EDX	Groen	
		yellowish	CS? ESA XRD	Kühn 1965	
		golden brown	CS EDX XRF XRD	Groen	30
		yellowish brown	CS EDX XRD	Groen	
		brown	CS EDX	Groen	27
	lead white, chalk, charcoal black	grey	CS ESA	Kühn 1977	
		light yellowsish brown	CS EDX XRD	Groen	
	lead white, charcoal black, orange-yellow ochre (lumps)	yellowish grey	CS	Groen	
		brown	CS EDX/LMA	Bomford 1988	
		sand colour	CS	Groen	
	lead white, bone (or charcoal?) black, little umber, very little red and brown ochre	dark grey	CS XRF	Groen	
	lead white, brown ochre, umber, a little red ochre and charcoal black	dark greyish brown white	CS EDX XRD	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, coarse charcoal black, little ochre and umber	greyish brown	CS EDX	Groen	
		yellowish-brown	CS EDX XRD	Groen	31
	lead white, chalk, charcoal black	grey	CS ESA XRD	Kühn 1977	
		brown grey	CS	Groen	
		brown	CS EDX XRD	Groen	
		brown	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, charcoal black, brown ochre	brown	CS EDX	Groen	
		translucent brown	CS EDX	Groen	
		yellowish	ESA XRD	Kühn 1965	

Table III. Grounds on canvas *(including the grounds in Tables IV, V and VI) (continued)*

Corpus	*Bredius*	*Title*	*Location*	*Date*	*1st ground*
IV 8	42	'Self-portrait'	Vienna	1652	red ochre, a little umber (high Si)
	267	An old man in an armchair	London	1652	orange-red earth
	268	Nicolas Bruyningh	Kassel	1652	red earth (high Si = quartz, little yellow-brown ochre)
	478	Aristotle	New York	1653	red earth
	275	Standard Bearer	New York	1654	red ochre
	438	Young woman in fanciful dress (Sibyl)	New York	*c.* 1654	quartz, clay minerals, a little brown earth, chalk
	480	Man in armour	Glasgow	1654 /55	quartz (alpha-silica), a little brown ochre, lead white and calcite
		Young woman with pearls	New York 14.40.629	*c.* 1654	red earth
IV 10 version 4	46	Self-portrait with sketchbook	Dresden	*c.* 1655	chalk
	120	Titus	Rotterdam	1655	lead white, umber, a little yellow and red ochre, quartz
	121	Titus	New York	1655	red earth, chalk
	128	Man with the golden helmet	Berlin	*c.* 1655	red bole, a little quarts and lead white
	269	Old man with a red cap	Berlin	*c.* 1655	quartz, a little ochre
	277	Portrait of a man	New York	*c.* 1655	red earth
	280	Portrait old man	Stockholm	1655	red ochre, umber
	284	Man with beard	Berlin	*c.* 1655	red earth, umber, K-Al-silicates, chalk
	308	A Franciscan Friar	London	*c.* 1655	orange-red earth
	388	Portrait of a woman	Stockholm	1655	red ochre, umber
	523	Joseph accused by Potiphar's wife	Washington	1655	quartz (alpha quartz), clay minerals, ilmenite, iron oxides, a little chalk
	524	Joseph accused by Potiphar's wife	Berlin	1655	quartz, a little ochre
	526	David playing harp for Saul	The Hague	1655 1660-65	lead white, umber, a little smalt
	113	Hendrickje Stoffels	London	*c.* 1656	quartz, brown ochre, a little lead white
	390	Woman holding a pink	Washington	1656	quartz, clay minerals (Mg-silicate), a little brown ochre and chalk
	414	Deyman	Amsterdam, Hist. Mus.	1656	quartz, clay minerals, brown ochre, a little yellow and red ochre and black, ilmenite, a little chalk
	525	Blessing of Jacob	Kassel	1656	red ochre, a litte chalk
	123	Titus	London, Wallace Coll.	*c.* 1657	chalk, a little lead white and umber
	283	Bearded man with cap	London	1657	orange-red earth
	612	The Apostle Paul	Washington	*c.* 1657	quartz (alpha quartz), clay minerals, a little yellow ochre, chalk and ilmenite
IV 14	50	Self-portrait	Frick Coll. N.Y.	1658	quartz, a little ochre
	292	Portrait of a young man	Paris	1658	red earth
	293	Young man with baret	New York	*c.* 1658	red earth, chalk, a little umber (2 layers, top thin, translucent)
	294	The Auctioneer	New York	1658	quartz, little red ochre, black, a little chalk
	327	Gentleman with tall hat and gloves	Washington	*c.* 1658 /60	quartz, clay minerals, a little brown ochre, very little black, chalk and ilmenite
IV 18	51	Self-portrait	Washington	1659	red earth, a little black (two layers, rich in Si)
	297	Elderly man as S. Paul	London	1659	lead white, umber, black
	527	Moses with the Tables	Berlin	1659	chalk, very little umber

	2nd ground	*Colour 2nd ground*	*Analyses*	*Source*	*Figs.*
	lead white, umber, a little black	brownish-grey	CS EDX	Groen	
	brown ochre or umber, chacoal black, chalk, a little lead white	brown	CS	Groen	
	lead white, umber, charcoal black	greyish brown	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	13
	lead white, a little chalk, bone black, brown and yellow ochre, umber	light ochreous	CS EDX XRF	Groen	14
	lead white, charcoal black, a little brown ochre	grey	CS EDX XRF	Groen	
		light yellowish brown	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
		greyish brown	CS EDX XRD	Brown 1992	
	lead white, a little brown ochre	yellowish	CS EDX	Groen	
		yellowish white	CS ESA XRD	Kühn 1977	
		brown	CS EDX	Groen	17
	lead white, brown ochre, bone black	grey	CS ESA EDX XRD	Groen	
	lead white, charcoal black	grey	CS ESA	Burmester 1977	
		brownish yellow	ESA XRD	Kühn 1962/65	
	lead white, chalk(?), a little charcoal black and yellow ochre	grey	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
	lead white, brown ochre, charcoal black	brown	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, umber, bone black	grey	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, brown ochre, charcoal black	brown	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, umber, bone black	grey	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, a little colourless smalt/glass		CS EDX/LMA	Bomford 1988	
	lead white, brown ochre, carbon black	light brown	CS EDX	Groen	
		yellowish brown	CS EDX XRD	Groen	
		brownish yellow	CS? ESA XRD	Kühn 1965	
	lead white, umber	greyish brown	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
		dark brown	CS EDX/LMA	Bomford 1988	
		yellowish	CS EDX	Groen	32
		yellowish brown	CS EDX XRD	Groen	
	lead white, charcoal black	grey	CS ESA XRD	Kühn 1965, 1976, Von Sonnenburg 1978	
		brown (discoloured medium)	CS EDX XRD	Groen	
	lead white, brown ochre, umber	brownish yellow	CS EDX/LMA	Bomford 1988	
		brown (translucent)	CS EDX XRD	Groen	33
		yellowish white	CS? ESA XRD	Kühn 1965	
	lead white, charcoal black, a little earth pigment	grey	CS electron microprobe	Hours	
	lead white, fine bone black, a little umber and yellow ochre	grey	CS EDX	Groen	
		light yellowish brown	CS EDX XRF XRD	Groen	34
		yellowish-brown	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, a little umber and bone black	light grey	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
	lead white, charcoal, a little umber	greyish brown	CS EDX/LMA	Bomford 1988	
		yellowish	CS EDX	Groen	16

Table III. Grounds on canvas *(including the grounds in Tables IV, V and VI) (continued)*

Corpus	*Bredius*	*Title*	*Location*	*Date*	*1st ground*
IV 17	Bauch 337	'Self-portrait'	Stuttgart	*c.* 1659	quartz (XRD: 70-80%), phyllite, chlorite, sericite, kaolinite, limonite (iron oxide), a little calcite
IV 20	54	Self-portrait	New York	1660	chalk, a little brown ochre
IV 21	56	'Self-portrait'	Melbourne	1660	quartz, earth pigments
IV 22	57	'Self-portrait'	Cambridge, Mass.	*c.* 1660	quartz, clay minerals, a little iron oxide, chalk and ilmenite
	114	Flora	New York	*c.* 1660	quartz, clay minerals, a little brown ochre and black, a little chalk
	118	Hendrickje Stoffels	New York	1660	quartz, clay minerals, a little brown ochre, very little bone black and chalk
	124	Portrait of a young man	Baltimore	1660	chalk, a little brown ochre or Cologne earth, very little quartz
	306	A young monk (Titus)	Amsterdam	1660	chalk, umber
	528	Jacob wrestling with the angel	Berlin	*c.* 1660	quartz, a little ochre
	594	Apostle Peter denying Christ	Amsterdam	1660	quartz, red and brown ochre, a little black and chalk
		Man in a cap	London NG 2539	*c.* 1660	quartz
		Old woman cutting her nails	New York 14.40.609	1660 ?	chalk, a little red ochre, umber and quartz
	307	Capuchin monk reading	Helsinki	1661	red earth, umber, a little quartz
	310	Two negroes	The Hague	1661	red earth, chalk
IV 24	59	Self-portrait as St Paul	Amsterdam	1661	red ochre, chalk (2 layers, top medium rich)
	314	Jacob Trip	London	1661	orange-red earth
	394	Margaretha de Geer	London	1661	orange red earth
	395	Margaretha de Geer, bust length	London	1661	chalk
	482	Claudius Civilis	Stockholm	*c.* 1661 /62	red and brown ochre, umber, chalk, lead white
	596	The Circumcision	Washington	1661	quartz, red and brown ochre, a little black and chalk
	615	The Apostle Bartholomeus	Los Angeles	1661	red earth
	616	Old man praying	Cleveland	1661	red earth, chalk, very little black
	629	Christ with pelgrimstaff	New York	1661	chalk, a little red ochre
	616A	The Apostle Simon	Zurich	*c.* 1661	chalk, umber (3 layers, top most medium)
IV 25	61	Self-portrait as Zeuxis	Cologne	*c.* 1662	quartz, yellow ochre
	311	Portrait of a young man	St Louis	1662	lead white, umber, charcoal black, yellow ochre, chalk
	312	Portrait of a young man at a table	Washington	1662 /63	chalk, umber, red ochre
	326	Man with magnifying glass	New York	*c.* 1662	quartz, little red and yellow ochre and black
	401	Lady with a pink	New York	*c.* 1662	quartz, chalk, umber, little red ochre and black
	415	Syndics	Amsterdam	1662	chalk, lead white, umber
	255	Frederik Rihel	London	1663	quartz, brown ochre
	483	Homer dictating	The Hague	1663	chalk, a little ochre and umber
	595	Pilate washing his hands	New York	*c.* 1663	quartz, clay minerals, a little brown ochre, a little chalk and ilmenite
	Val. 481	Johannes Evangelist	Munich	*c.* 1663	quartz, ochre
	317	Man	New York	1665 ?	chalk, brown ochre
	398	Portrait of a lady with a dog	Toronto	*c.* 1665	quartz, clay minerals, ilmenite, brown ochre, umber, a little red ochre, chalk

	2nd ground	*Colour 2nd ground*	*Analyses*	*Source*	*Figs.*
		yellowish brown	CS? ESA XRD	Kühn 1963, 1965	
	chalk, a little ochre and umber, very little lamp black	light greyish	CS EDX XRF	Groen	
		mid- to dark brown	CS	Report John Payne	
		brownish yellow	CS EDX	Groen	28
		light brown	CS EDX XRF	Groen	29
		yellowish brown	CS EDX XRF ESA XRD	Groen	
		yellowish	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, umber	light greyish brown	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
		brownish yellow	CS? ESA XRD	Kühn 1965	
		brown	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
		dark brown	CS EDX	Roy, report NG London	
		yellowish-brown	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
	lead white, umber, charcoal black, a little quartz	greyish brown	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, brown ochre, a little yellow ochre and bone black	dark greyish brown	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
	lead white, brown ochre, bone black, a little chalk	grey	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
	lead white, chalk, yellow ochre, umber, charcoal black	khaki	CS EDX/LMA	Bomford 1988	
	lead white, chalk, yellow ochre, umber, charcoal	khaki	CS EDX/LMA	Bomford 1988	
	lead white, chalk, yellow and red earth, charcoal black	light yellowish brown	CS EDX/LMA	Bomford 1988	
	lead white, umber	reddish brown	CS EDX	Groen	
	quartz, red and brown ochre (lighter than 1st ground)	yellow brown	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, umber, yellow ochre, bone black		CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, umber, a little chalk and red ochre	greyish brown	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, a little umber, red ochre and charcoal(?) black	yellowish	CS EDX XRF ESA XRD	Groen	
	lead white, umber, bone black	grey	CS EDX XRD	Groen	
		yellowish brown	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	35
	same as 1st ground, slightly lighter hue	greyish brown	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, bone black, a little brown ochre or umber	light brown	CS EDX	Groen	
		yellowish	CS EDX XRF	Groen	
		light brown	CS XRF	Groen	
	lead white, umber (2 layers)	light brown	CS EDX	Groen	
		brown	CS EDX	Bomford 1988	
	chalk, a little ochre and umber, a little lead white	yellowish	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
		yellowish	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
		yellowish white	CS? ESA XRD	Kühn 1965	
		brownish	CS EDX ESA XRD	Groen	
		dark brown	CS XRD EDX	Groen	

Table III. Grounds on canvas *(including the grounds in Tables IV, V and VI) (continued)*

Corpus	*Bredius*	*Title*	*Location*	*Date*	*1st ground*
	416	Jewish Bride	Amsterdam	*c.* 1665	quartz, clay minerals, brown ochre, a little chalk and ilmenite
	417	Family portrait	Braunschweig	*c.* 1665	quartz, clay minerals(?), a little ochre
	618	Evangelist writing	Rotterdam	*c.* 1665	quartz (alpha silica), clay minerals, a little brown ochre, chalk and ilmenite
	322	Portrait of a young man	Kansas City	1666	red-brown earth, chalk, lead white
	323	Portrait of a white-haired man	Melbourne	1667	lead white, chalk, umber, charcoal black, a little quartz
	324	Man in hat with pearls	Dresden	*c.* 1667	quartz, clay minerals, chalk
	323A	Portrait of an old man	The Hague	1667	red and brown ochre, chalk, little lead white
IV 27	55	Self-portrait	London	1669	quartz, brown ochre
IV 29	62	Self-portrait	The Hague	1669	lead white, umber, red ochre, bone black
IV 7	41	Rembrandt leaning on a windowsill	Cincinnati	before 1693	lead white, a little charcoal black, umber and chalk
II A 96 copy 3	21	Self-portrait	Private coll. Maastricht	1770 1800	lead white, a little chalk, red ochre, carbon black
II C 61	84	Young woman in a cap, copy	Private coll. Brussel	prob. 18th c.	lead white, a little chalk, red ochre, organic red, carbon black
II C 61	84	Young woman in a cap, copy	Private coll. Paris	18th c.	red iron oxide, a little lead white and black
	239	Old man with a stick, copy	Amsterdam, Rembrandt-huis	17th/ 18th c.	red earth, a little bone black, umber, quartz (high Si)
	239	Old man with a stick, copy	Liechtenstein Coll.	17th/ 18th c.	red earth (high Si = quartz), umber
	239	Old man with a stick, copy	Private coll. Italy	18th c.	red and brown ochre
IV 10 version 3	46/47	Self-portrait with sketchbook	Private coll. England	17th/ 18th c.	brownish-red iron oxide, umber, a little quarts
IV 10 version 5	46/47	Self-portrait with sketchbook	Coll. Bader, Milwaukee	17th/ 18th c.	lead white, charcoal black, a little yellow-brown ochre and massicot(?)

CS = cross-section
EDX = energy dispersive X-ray analysis
XRD = X-ray diffraction analysis
XRF = X-ray fluorescence
ESA = emission spectral analysis

	2nd ground	*Colour 2nd ground*	*Analyses*	*Source*	*Figs.*
		brown	CS EDX XRD	Groen	19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26
		grey brown	CS ESA XRD	Groen	
		light yellowish brown	CS EDX XRD	Groen	36
	lead white, bone black, brown ochre, little red, little chalk	brown	CS EDX	Groen	
	nearly identical to 1st ground, slightly darker	grey	CS EDX	Groen	15
		yellowish brown	CS ESA XRD	Kühn 1977	
	brown ochre, a little red, lead white, chalk, a little charcoal black	yellowish brown	CS EDX	Groen	
		brown	CS EDX/LMA	Bomford 1988	
		greyish brown	CS EDX XRD	Groen	
		light grey	CS EDX	Groen	
		light red	CS EDX	Groen	
		light red	CS EDX	Groen	
	brown iron oxide, carbon black, a little lead white	red-brown	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, charcoal and bone black, a little umber	grey	CS EDX	Groen	
	lead white, charcoal and bone black, a little yellow-brown ochre	grey (naked eye: bluish grey)	CS EDX	Groen	
		reddish	CS EDX	Groen	
	medium rich layer of iron oxide, bone black, a little lead white and chalk	brownish-red	CS EDX	Groen	
		grey	CS EDX	Groen	

Table IV. Quartz grounds

Corpus	*Bredius*	*Title*	*Location*	*Date*
III A146	410	The Night watch	Amsterdam	1642
	234	Man in a steel gorget	New York	1644
	237	Scholar at writing desk	Cologne	1644
III C114	369	Seated woman with a handkerchief	Toronto	1644
	223	Portrait of an admiral	New York	1645 ?
	236	Rabbi	Berlin	1645
	364	Portrait of a woman	New York	1645 ?
	575	Adoration of Shepherds	London	1646
	583	Christ appearing to Maria Magdalene	Braunschweig	1651
	258	Old man with a red cap	Baltimore	1650
		The Centurion Cornelius	London, Wallace Coll.	*c.* 1650
		Man in armour	New York 71.84	1650 s
	438	Young woman in fanciful dress (Sibyl)	New York	*c.* 1654
	480	Man in armour	Glasgow	1654 /55
	524	Joseph accused by Potiphar's wife	Berlin	1655
	269	Old man with a red cap	Berlin	*c.* 1655
	523	Joseph accused by Potiphar's wife	Washington	1655
	113	Hendrickje Stoffels	London	*c.* 1656
	390	Woman holding a pink	Washington	1656
	414	Deyman	Amsterdam, Hist.Mus.	1656
	612	The Apostle Paul	Washington	*c.* 1657
	294	The Auctioneer	New York	1658
IV 14	50	Self-portrait	Frick Coll. N.Y.	1658
	327	Gentleman with tall hat and gloves	Washington	*c.* 1658 /60
IV 17	Bauch 337	'Self-portrait'	Stuttgart	*c.* 1659
	114	Flora	New York	*c.* 1660
IV 22	57	'Self-portrait'	Cambridge, Mass.	*c.* 1660
IV 21	56	'Self-portrait'	Melbourne	1660
	118	Hendrickje Stoffels	New York	1660
	528	Jacob wrestling with the angel	Berlin	*c.* 1660
	594	Apostle Peter denying Christ	Amsterdam	1660
		Man in a cap	London NG 2539	*c.* 1660
	596	The Circumcision	Washington	1661
IV 25	61	Self-portrait as Zeuxis	Cologne	*c.* 1662
	326	Man with magnifying glass	New York	*c.* 1662
	401	Lady with a pink	New York	*c.* 1662
	255	Frederik Rihel	London	1663
	595	Pilate washing his hands	New York	*c.* 1663
	Val. 481	Johannes Evangelist	Munich 2174	*c.* 1663
	398	Portrait of a lady with a dog	Toronto	*c.* 1665
	416	Jewish Bride	Amsterdam	*c.* 1665
	417	Family portrait	Braunschweig	*c.* 1665
	618	Evangelist writing	Rotterdam	*c.* 1665
	324	Man in hat with pearls	Dresden	*c.* 1667
IV 27	55	Self-portrait	London	1669

bold = major component
( ) = minor component
(( )) = trace

	Ground	*EDX result*
	quartz, feldspar, clay minerals (illite), muscovite, yellow and brown ochre, a little chalk	((Na)), (Mg), **Al**, **Si**, (Pb), K, (Ca), (Fe)
	quartz, clay minerals, ilmenite, brown ochre, a little red ochre and chalk	(Na), (Mg), Al, **Si**, (Pb), K, (Ca), (Ti), Fe
	quartz, a little ochre	
	quartz, clay minerals, ilmenite, very little ochre, black and chalk	(Na), (Mg), Al, **Si**, K, (Ca), (Ti), Fe
	quartz, clay minerals, ilmenite, a little red and brown ochre, very little black and chalk	(Na), (Mg), Al, **Si**, (Pb), (K), (Ca), (Ti), (Fe)
	quartz, clay minerals (illite, a little kaolinite), mica, ilmenite ($FeTiO_3$), a little brown ochre, chalk	(Na), (Mg), **Al**, **Si**, K, Ca, (Ti), Fe
	quartz, calcite (XRD: 30%), clay minerals, a little brown and red ochre and bone black	(Na), (Mg), Al, **Si**, P, (Pb), (Cl), (K), Ca, (Fe)
	quartz, brown ochre	Al, **Si**, Fe
	quartz	
	quartz, kaolinite, mica, red ochre, a little chalk	(Al), **Si**, (K), (Ca), (Fe)
	quartz, clay minerals, ilmenite, a little umber, red ochre, a little chalk	(Al), **Si**, (Pb), K, (Ca), (Ti), (Mn), Fe
	quartz, clay minerals, ilmenite, brown ochre, a little red ochre, chalk	(Na), (Mg), (Al), **Si**, (Pb), K, Ca, (Ti), Fe
	quartz, clay minerals, a little brown earth, chalk	(Na), (Mg), Al, **Si**, (Pb), K, Ca, Fe
	quartz (alpha-silica), a little brown ochre, lead white and calcite	
	quartz, a little ochre	
	quartz, a little ochre	
	quartz (alpha quartz), clay minerals, ilmenite, iron oxides, a little chalk	(Mg), Al, **Si**, (Pb), K, (Ca), (Ti), Fe
	quartz, brown ochre, a little lead white	Al, **Si**, (Pb), Fe
	quartz, clay minerals (Mg-silicate), a little brown ochre and chalk	(Na), (Mg), Al, **Si**, ((Pb)), (K), (Ca), (Fe)
	quartz, clay minerals, brown ochre, a little yellow and red ochre and black, ilmenite, a little chalk	(Al), **Si**, (Pb), K, (Ca), (Ti), Fe
	quartz (alpha quartz), clay minerals, a little yellow ochre, chalk and ilmenite	(Na), (Mg), Al, **Si**, (S/Pb), (K), (Ca), ((Ti)), (Fe)
	quartz, little red ochre, black, a little chalk	Al, **Si**, (Pb), K, (Ca), Fe
	quartz, a little ochre	
	quartz, little red ochre, black, a little chalk	Al, **Si**, (Pb), K, (Ca), Fe
	quartz, a little ochre	
	quartz, clay minerals, a little brown ochre, very little black, chalk and ilmenite	(Mg), Al, **Si**, ((Pb)), (K), ((Ca)), ((Ti)), (Fe)
	quartz (XRD: 70-80%), phyllite, chlorite, sericite, kaolinite, limonite (iron oxide), a little calcite	
	quartz, clay minerals, a little brown ochre and black, a little chalk	Al, **Si**, (Pb), (K), (Ca), Fe
	quartz, clay minerals, a little iron oxide, chalk and ilmenite	Al, **Si**, K, (Ca), (Ti), Fe
	quartz, earth pigments	
	quartz, clay minerals, a little brown ochre, very little bone black and chalk	Al, **Si**, (P), (Pb), K, (Ca), (Fe)
	quartz, a little ochre	
	quartz, red and brown ochre, a little black and chalk	**Si**, Pb, (K), Ca, Fe
	quartz	
	quartz, red and brown ochre, a little black and chalk (2 layers, top lighter)	
	quartz, clay minerals, yellow ochre, chalk, a little ilmenite	Al, **Si**, K, Ca, (Ti), Fe
	quartz, chalk, a little red and yellow ochre and black	Al, **Si**, (K), Ca, Fe
	quartz, chalk, umber, little red ochre and black	**Si**, (Pb), K, Ca, Fe
	quartz, brown ochre	(Al), **Si**, (Ca), Fe
	quartz, clay minerals, a little brown ochre, a little chalk and ilmenite	(Na), (Mg), Al, **Si**, (P), (Pb), (K), (Ca), (Ti), Fe
	quartz, ochre	
	quartz, clay minerals, ilmenite, brown ochre, umber, a little red ochre, chalk	(Mg), Al, **Si**, (Pb), K, Ca, ((Ti)), (Mn), Fe
	quartz, clay minerals, brown ochre, a little chalk and ilmenite	Al, **Si**, K, (Ca), (Ti), Fe
	quartz, a little ochre	
	quartz (alpha silica), clay minerals, a little brown ochre, chalk and ilmenite	(Na), (Mg), Al, **Si**, (K), (Ca), (Ti), Fe
	quartz, clay minerals, chalk	
	quartz, brown ochre, a little chalk and ilmenite	(Al), **Si**, (Ca), (Ti), Fe

Table V. Grounds composed mainly of lead white and umber

Corpus	*Bredius*	*Title*	*Location*	*Date*	*2nd date*
	584	Descent from the Cross	Washington	1650	/52
	120	Titus	Rotterdam	1655	
	526	David playing harp for Saul	The Hague	1655	1660-65
	297	Elderly man as S. Paul	London	1659	
	311	Portrait of a young man	St Louis	1662	
	323	Portrait of a white-haired man	Melbourne	1667	
IV 29	62	Self-portrait	The Hague	1669	

Table VI. Grounds composed mainly of chalk

Corpus	*Bredius*	*Title*	*Location*	*Date*
IV 10 version 4	46	Self-portrait with sketchbook	Dresden	after *c.* 1655
	123	Titus	London, Wallace Coll.	*c.* 1657
	527	Moses with the Tables	Berlin	1659
IV 20	54	Self-portrait	New York	1660
	124	Portrait of a young man resting chin on his hand	Baltimore	1660
	306	A young monk (Titus)	Amsterdam	1660
		Old woman cutting her nails	New York 14.40.609	1660 ?
	395	Margaretha de Geer, bust length	London	1661
	629	Christ with the pilgrim staff	New York	1661
	616A	The Apostle Simon	Zurich	*c.* 1661
	312	Portrait of a young man at a table	Washington	1662 /63
	415	Syndics	Amsterdam	1662
	483	Homer dictating	The Hague	1663
	317	Man	New York	1665 ?

Table VII. Grounds of paintings on canvas other than by Rembrandt and members of his workshop produced in

Painter	*Title*	*Location*	*Date*
Backer, Jacob	The arquebusiers' civic guard	Amsterdam C 1174	1642
Backer, Jacob	Self-portrait(?)	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 23536	1644
Bakhuysen, Ludolf	Rough water	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 7447	
Beerstraaten, Jan	The Paalhuis and the New Bridge	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 7291	1663
Beerstraaten, Jan	Town canal with Heiligewegspoort	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 643	
Beerstraaten, Jan	The IJ near the New Bridge in winter, east	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 74	
Beerstraaten, Jan	Sea-scape	Private Coll.	1650-1675
Beerstraaten, Jan	The IJ near the New Bridge in winter, west	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 73	
Bol, Ferdinand	Self-portrait	Dordrecht DM 887/372	1646
Bol, Ferdinand	Erasmus Scharlaken and Anna van Erckel	Dordrecht (ICN NK 2435)	1648
Bol, Ferdinand	Four regents of the leper-house	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 7295	1649
Bol, Ferdinand	Portrait of Louis Trip	The Hague 0795	1652
Bol, Ferdinand	Venus, Paris, Amor	Dordrecht (ICN NK 1701)	1656
Bol, Ferdinand	Naaman refuses Elisa's presents	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 7294	1661
Bol, Ferdinand	Portrait of a man	Amsterdam A 43	1663
Bol, Ferdinand	Portrait of Admiral Michiel de Ruyter	The Hague 0585	1667
Bol, Ferdinand	The undauntedness of Fabritius	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 35807	1655/56
Bol, Ferdinand	Self Portrait	Munich inv 609	*c.* 1645
Bol, Ferdinand	The wife of the artist	Munich inv 610	*c.* 1645

	1st ground	*2nd ground*	*Fig.*
	lead white, umber, a little yellow ochre		
	lead white, umber, a little yellow and red ochre, quartz		
	lead white, umber, a little smalt	lead white, umber	
	lead white, umber, black	lead white, charcoal, a little umber	
	lead white, umber, charcoal black, yellow ochre, chalk	same as 1st ground, slightly lighter hue	
	lead white, chalk, umber, charcoal black, a little quartz	nearly identical to 1st ground, slightly darker	15
	lead white, umber, red ochre, bone black		

	1st ground	*2nd ground*	*Fig.*
	chalk		
	chalk, a little lead white and umber		
	chalk, very little umber		16
	chalk, a little brown ochre	chalk, a little ochre and umber, very little lamp black	
	chalk, a little brown ochre or Cologne earth, very little quartz		
	chalk, umber	lead white, chalk, umber	
	chalk, a little red ochre, umber and quartz		
	chalk	lead white, chalk, yellow and red ochre, charcoal black	
	chalk, a little red ochre	lead white, a little umber, red ochre and charcoal(?) black	
	chalk, a little red ochre	lead white, a little umber, red ochre and charcoal(?) black	
	chalk, umber (3 layers, top most medium)	lead white, umber, bone black	
	chalk, umber, red ochre	lead white, bone black, a little brown ochre or umber	
	chalk, lead white, umber	lead white, umber (2 layers)	
	chalk, a little ochre and umber	chalk, a little ochre and umber, a little lead white	
	chalk, brown ochre		

Amsterdam between 1640 and 1669

	1st ground	*2nd ground*	*Colour 2nd ground*	*Analyses*	*Source*
	red earth	lead white, a little umber (chalk as well?)	beige	CS	Groen
	red earth	lead white, chalk?, charcoal black, a little yellow ochre	warm grey	CS	Groen
	yellow ochre, chalk	lead white, bone black, umber	grey	CS	Groen
	umber, chalk, a little lead white	brown ochre, umber, barytes, quartz	dark brown	CS EDX	Groen
	chalk, red ochre (2 layers, top more translucent)	lead white, chalk(?), charcoal black, umber	grey brown	CS	Groen
	chalk, umber, a little red ochre	chalk, umber, a little red ochre	light brown	CS	Groen
	chalk, ochre, smalt, manganese black, lead white			XRD	Burmester 1987
	umber, a little lead white, very little chalk	umber, chalk, a little lead white and quartz	dark brown	CS EDX	Groen
	red earth	lead white, charcoal black, a little red ochre	greyish brown	CS EDX	Groen
	red earth (high Al and Si), a little bone black, charcoal black and umber	lead white, very little chalk, charcoal black, little yellow and brown ochre/umber	grey	CS EDX	Groen
	red and yellow ochre, lead white	lead white, a little brown and yellow ochre, charcoal(?) black	brownish grey	CS	Groen
	1st ground missing in this sample?	lead white, charcoal black, a little brown ochre	grey	CS	Groen
	chalk, red iron oxide, a little umber and lead white	lead white, a little red and yellow, umber, a little bone black	grey	CS EDX	Groen
	red earth, a little charcoal black	lead white, charcoal black, yellow ochre	grey	CS	Groen
	lead white, chalk, a little ochre			XRD	Kühn 1965
	lead white, coarse charcoal black, brown ochre		light brown	CS	Noble
	chalk, a little umber	lead white, umber, chalk, very little quartz	brown	CS EDX	Groen
	lead white, a little ochre			XRD	Kühn 1965
	lead white, a little ochre			XRD	Kühn 1965

Table VII. Grounds of paintings on canvas other than by Rembrandt and members of his workshop produced i

Painter	*Title*	*Location*	*Date*
Bol, Ferdinand	Abraham receives the three angels	Den Bosch (ICN B736)	1655
Bol, Ferdinand(?)	Portrait of Elisabeth Bas	Amsterdam A 714	*c.* 1640
Bol, Ferdinand(?)	The departure	Liechtenstein Coll. G 592	
Borch, Gerard ter	Cornelis de Graeff	The Hague 0883	1674??
Dujardin, Karel	The sick goat	Munich inv 291	*c.* 1660
Eeckhout, Gerbrand van den	Royal meal in a cave	Liechtenstein Coll. G 645	1660
Eeckhout, Gerbrand van den	The last supper	Amsterdam A 2507	1664
Eeckhout, Gerbrand van den	Chirst and the woman in adultery	Amsterdam A 106	*c.* 1640
Eliasz, Nicolaes (Pickenoy)	The company of captain Vlooswijck	Amsterdam C 1177	1642
Everdingen, Allaert van	Swedish landscape	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 7497	
Fabritius, Barent	Willem van der Helm and his family	Amsterdam A 1304	1656
Flinck, Govaert	A young woman	London, WC P78	
Flinck, Govert	Citizen soldier's feast peace of Munster (sketch)	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 7318	1648
Flinck, Govert	Pieter Reaal	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SB 6325 (ICN NK 3587)	1643
Helst, Bartholomeus van der	The celebration of the peace of Munster	Amsterdam C 2	1648
Helst, Bartholomeus van der	Man in black 'atlasrock'	Munich inv 7256	1649
Helst, Bartholomeus van der	Regents and Regentesses of the spinning-house	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 4367	1650
Helst, Bartholomeus van der	Portrait of the painter Paulus Potter	The Hague 054	1654
Janssens Elinga, Pieter	Woman reading	Munchen inv 284	*c.* 1660-/70
Kalf, Willem	Still life with silver jug	Amsterdam A 1995	
Keyser, Thomas de	Group portrait of an unidentified body	Amsterdam A 4236	
Koninck, Philips	Distant view, with cottages lining a road	Amsterdam A 4133	1655
Koninck, Philips	River landscape	Amsterdam A 206	1676
Koninck, Philips	Landscape	Munich inv 9407	*c.* 1655
Koninck, Salomon	The idolatry of King Solomon	Amsterdam A 2220	1644
Lievens, Jan	Allegory of peace	Amsterdam A 612	1652
Lievens, Jan	Portrait of a man	SKRA no 1681	*c.* 1650
Lingelbach, Johannes	Dam square with new town hall	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 3044	1656
Loo, Jacob van	The Meebeeck Cruywagenfamily	Amsterdam A 81	1653
Moeyaert, Claes	The choice between old and young	Amsterdam A 270	*c.* 1650
Musscher, Michiel van	Michiel Comans	Amsterdam A 4135	1669
Nieulandt, Adriaen van	Allegory of the peace of Munster	Amsterdam A 1995	1650
Nooms, Reinier	View of Prinsengracht at Reesluis, Amsterdam	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 591	*c.* 1650
Roghman, Roelant	Mountainous landscape with waterfall	Amsterdam A 760	*c.* 1650
Santvoort, Dirck	Martinus Alewijn	Amsterdam A 1310	1644
Tempel, Abraham van den	Machteld Bas	Amsterdam A 397	*c.* 1667?
Velde, Adriaen van de	The Annunciation	Amsterdam A 2688	1667
Velde, Jan van de	Still life with wine glass, flute glass	Amsterdam A 3988	1651
Victors, Jan	Hannah praying	Dordrecht DM 861/327	1643
Vlieger, Simon de	Ships in distress	Amsterdam Hist. Mus. SA 7432	1640
Weenix, Jan Baptist	A dog and a cat near a partially disembowelled deer	Amsterdam A 591	

NB In none of these cases a quartz ground is found. This is also the case with Dutch paintings on canvas from the same period produced outside of Amsterdam by painters like: (in Alkmaar) Cesar van Everdingen; (in Haarlem) Frans Hals, Judith Leyster, Johannes Verspronck, Vincent van der Vinne, (the in Haarlem prepared canvases for the Oranjezaal in Huis Ten Bosch do not have a quartz ground either); (in

Amsterdam between 1640 and 1669 *(continued)*

	1st ground	*2nd ground*	*Colour 2nd ground*	*Analyses*	*Source*
	brown ochre, umber, chalk, a little red ochre	lead white, chalk, a little red and brown ochre	light brown	CS EDX	Groen
	ochre, lead white			XRD	Kühn 1962
	chalk, iron oxide (high Si)	lead white, chalk, a little iron oxide, bone black	grey	CS EDX	Groen
	lead white, umber		light brown	CS	Groen
	ochre, lead white			XRD	Kühn 1965
	red earth, chalk, umber	lead white, chalk, umber, charcoal black	dark brownish grey	CS EDX	Groen
	ochre, chalk		yellowish	XRD	Kühn 1965
	ochre, lead white		yellowish brown	XRD	Kühn 1965
	red earth	lead white, umber, chalk?	beige-brown	CS	Groen
	chalk, a little brown, red, yellow ochre, black, blue pigment		brown	CS	Groen
	lead white, chalk, a little ochre		yellowish grey	XRD	Kühn 1965
	lead white, umber, a little yellow ochre		grey-brown	CS	Groen
	umber, chalk, a little lead white			CS EDX	Groen
	red earth	lead white, charcoal black, yellow ochre, a little brown ochre	grey	CS EDX	Groen
	red earth	lead white, charcoal?black, brown ochre	greyish-brown	CS	Groen
	ochre, chalk	lead white	grey	CS? XRD	Kühn 1965
	red earth?	lead white, a little ochre and black	yellowish white	CS	Groen
	red earth, a little black and umber	lead white, black, ochre or umber	grey	CS	Pottash
	ochre, lead white		red	XRD	Kühn 1965
	red earth, chalk, a little lead white	lead white, brown ochre	yellowish brown	CS EDX	Wallert 1999
	red earth	lead white, a little black	whitish grey	CS	Groen
	red earth	lead white, umber	light brown	CS	Groen
	ochre, chalk		yellowish	XRD	Kühn 1965
	lead white, a little ochre		light grey	XRD	Kühn 1965
	lead white, chalk, umber/brown ochre		grey-brown	CS	Groen
	calcite, ochre, a little charcoal black	lead white, yellow ochre, a little brown ochre and black	light brown	CS EDX	Groen
	orange-red earth (high Si)	lead white, calcite, charcoal black, umber, a little quartz	brownish grey	CS EDX	Groen
	red earth	lead white, bone black, ochre	grey	CS	Groen
	red earth	lead white, chalk(?), charcoal black, yellow iron oxide	grey	CS	Groen
	chalk		yellowish-white	CS	Groen
	calcite, a little lead white and lamp black	chalk, very little lead white, lamp black and ochre	brown	CS EDX	Groen
	red earth, lead white, little black	lead white, charcoal black, a little umber	grey	CS	Groen
	red ochre, chalk?	lead white, fine black, a little ochre?	light grey	CS	Groen
	chalk, little lead white	chalk, lead white, brown ochre/umber, a little yellow and red iron oxide	brown	CS	Groen
	lead white, chalk(?), charcoal black, a little yellow and brown ochre		light yellowish grey	CS	Groen
	lead white, coarse charcoal black, brown and yellow ochre, umber		warm dark grey	CS	Groen
	chalk, a little umber	lead white, coarse black pigment, (chalk?)	grey	CS	Groen
	red earth	lead white, charcoal black	light greyish brown	CS	Wallert 1999
	red earth, umber	lead white, a little umber	light brown	CS EDX	Groen
	red earth	lead white, yellow brown ochre	beige	CS	Groen
	lead white, chalk, earth pigments, carbon black	carbon black, a little lead white and earth pigments	very dark grey	CS	Wallert 1999

Delft) Willem van Aelst, Carel Fabritius, Johannes Vermeer; (in Dordrecht) Albert Cuyp; Aert de Gelder, Samuel van Hoogstraaten, Jacob Levecq, Nicolaes Maes; (in Leiden) Pieter de Ring, Godfried Schalcken, Jan Steen; (in The Hague) Abraham van Beyeren, Adriaen Hanneman, Gerard van Honthorst, Jan Mijtens; (in Utrecht) Abraham Mignon.

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Concordance

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1		I A 14 copy 1	I A 2	I A 6
A 1			I C 2	
2		I A 19	I A 3	I A 1
3		IV Corr. I A 22	I A 9	I A 9
A 3			I C 43	
4		I C 35	I A 24	I A 3
5	III C 85	I C 34	I A 13	I A 4
6		IV Corr. I A 21	IV Corr. I C 13	I A 2
A 6			I C 3	
7		I C 36	I A 25	I C 10
8	III A 108 copy 2	I A 20	II C 45	I C 5
9	III A 108	I C 37	II A 64	I A 24
10		I C 38		I A 12
A 10			III 108 copy 2	
11		IV Corr. I B 5	II A 67	I A 13
12		IV Corr. I A 33		I A 15
13		I C 39	III A 108	I A 25
14	II A 66	I C 40	III A 109	I A 16
15		I C 33	III A 116	I C 7
16		II Corr. I A 40	III C 86	I A 30
17		II A 58	III A 121	I A 34
18		II A 71	III A 117	I A 7
19		II A 72	II A 66	I A 10
20		III B 11	III A 123	I A 18
21		II A 96	III A 110	I C 14
22		IV Corr. II A 97	III C 85	I A 11
23		IV Corr. II C 56	III C 83	I A 26
24		III C 98	III C 84	I A 28
25		IV Corr. III C 92		I A 36
26	I A 2	III C 99		I C 17
27	III C 83	IV Corr. III C 96		I A 37
A 27			I C 33	
28				I A 8
29		IV Corr. III B 10		IV Corr. I C 22
30	III A 123	III A 111		I A 14 copy 1
31	III A 109	III A 133		I C 30
32	I A 24	IV Corr. III C 97		I A 19
33	III A 116	III C 93		I C 34
34	I A 9	III A 139		I C 19
35	I A 25	IV 3		I C 42
36		IV 2		I B 7
37		IV 1		II Corr. I A 32
38	III C 84	IV 5		I A 20
39		IV 6		IV Corr. I A 21
40		IV 4	III B 9	I C 36
41		IV 7	I A 1	IV Corr. I A 33
42	II C 45	IV 8	I A 4	I A 29
43		IV 9	I C 5	I C 20
44		IV 11	I C 10	IV Corr. I B 5
45	I C 8	IV 12		I C 37

	HdG	*Bredius Br.-Gerson*	*Bauch*	*Gerson*
46		IV 10/4	I A 12	I A 42
47	III B 9	IV 10/2	I A 15	I B 4
47A		IV 10/3		
48		IV 15	I C 7	II A 40a
49	I A 28	IV 13	I A 16	I C 28
50	II A 67	IV 14	I C 12	I C 26
51		IV 18	I A 30	II C 55
52	III A 110	IV 26	I A 34	II Corr. I A 41
53		IV 19	II A 88	II A 43
54		IV 20	I A 35	II A 44
55		IV 27	II C 48	I A 31
56		IV 21	II A 65	I A 35
57	III A 117	IV 22	II A 69	I A 39
58		IV 16	II A 68	II A 64
59		IV 24	II C 49	II A 67
60		IV 28	II A 90	II A 68
61		IV 25	II C 47	II A 92
62		IV 29	II A 89	II A 47
63		I A 27	III A 106	II A 88
64		I C 42	III A 118	II A 69
64a	I A 3			
65		I C 43	III C 88	II A 65
66	I C 3		III A 124	II C 49
67		I C 41	III A 127	II A 90
68		I C 19	III A 126	II C 47
69	III C 86	I A 37	III A 107	III Corr. II A 94
70	III A 121	II Corr. I A 32	III A 138	III A 128
71		III C 89	III C 87	III A 106
72		IV Add. 3		II A 89
73		I C 20		III A 113
74	III A 138	I C 29	III A 105	III A 108
75				III C 86
76		I A 29		III A 116
77		I B 7		III A 110
78		I C 30		III A 109
79		I B 4		III A 111
80	I A 34	I C 28		III A 118
81	I A 12	I A 42		III A 121
82		II A 40a		III A 124
83				I C 88
84		IV Corr. II C 61	II C 49 copy 2	III A 117
85		II A 49		III A 123
86		II C 59		II A 66
87	II Corr. I C 6	II C 57		III A 126
88		II C 58		III A 127
89	I C 12	II A 50		III A 107
90				I A 38
91				II C 51
92	II A 88			II A 93
93	III C 87			II A 95
94		II A 75		III A 114
95		II C 60		III A 120
96		III C 103	I A 6	III A 112
97	III A 106	II A 76	I A 7	III C 90
98			I C 11	III A 134
99		II A 61	I A 39	II A 58
100			II A 47	II A 51
101		II A 85	III Corr. II A 94	II Corr. I A 23
102		II A 93	III A 113	II C 50
103	II A 68	III A 112	II A 92	II A 48

	HdG	*Bredius Br.-Gerson*	*Bauch*	*Gerson*
104		III C 95	III A 119	II A 57
105			III A 135	II A 56
106				II C 54
107	I A 30 copy 1			I C 24
107a	I A 30			
108		III A 142		II A 60
109	III A 125		I A 8	IV Corr. II C 53
110			I A 10	II A 52
111	II C 48		I A 11	II A 54
112			I A 18	II A 61
113			IV Corr. I B 6	II C 74
114			I C 29	IV Corr. II C 61
115			I C 31	II A 50
116	II C 88		I B 7	II C 59
117	I C 7		I C 28	II C 57
118			I C 18	II A 49
119			I C 14	II C 70
120			I A 26	II C 68
121			I A 17	II C 69
122	I A 36			II A 59
123	I A 15 copy 1		I C 20	II A 83
124			I A 29	II A 53
125			I C 16	II C 75
126	I C 8			II C 79
127			I A 28	II A 63
128	II A 89		I C 26	II A 55
129			I A 42	II A 71
130	II A 69		I B 4	II C 67
131			II A 40a	II C 63
132		I A 8	I C 32	II A 75
133	II C 49 copy 2	I C 21	I C 21	IV Corr. II C 56
134	II A 65	IV Corr. I B 6	I A 36	II A 76
135	II C 49	I C 32	I C 17	II C 52
136	III A 107	I C 27	II C 54	II A 74
137		I C 31 copy 2	II C 55	II A 80
138		I C 31 copy 1	II Corr. I A 41	II A 81
138A		I C 31		
139	III A 105		II A 46	II A 77
140	III A 126	I C 25	II C 50	II A 78
141	III A 127	I C 26	II A 48	II A 79
142	III A 124	II C 54	II Corr. I A 23	II A 72
143		II Corr. I A 41	I C 24	II C 60
144		II C 55		III B 11
145		II A 43		II C 62
146		II A 44	IV Corr. II C 53	II A 84
147	I A 16		II C 52	II C 77
148	II A 90	I C 24		II A 82
149	III A 118			II A 86
150			II C 62	II A 87
151			II C 63	IV Add. 4
152		IV Corr. II C 53		II A 73
153			II A 74	II A 45
154		II C 74		II C 80
155		II A 60	II A 73	II C 81

	HdG	*Bredius Br.-Gerson*	*Bauch*	*Gerson*
156		II Corr. I A 23	II C 51	II A 104
157		IV Add. 1 copy	II A 91	IV Corr. II A 97
158				II A 96
159		II C 70	II C 64	II C 72
160		II A 59		II C 73
161		II A 57		II C 64
162		II A 56	II A 95	II A 98
163		II A 45	IV Corr. III C 101	II A 99
164		II A 54	III A 128	II A 100
165		II C 75		II A 101
166		II A 52	III C 102	II C 78
167		II C 68	III C 100	II C 82
168				II A 102
169		II A 48		II A 103
170		II A 53	II B 8	IV Corr. III C 101
171	II C 50	II A 81	III A 120	IV Corr. III C 92
172		II A 78	III C 99	III C 102
173		II A 80		III C 100
174		II C 76	III A 122	III C 103
175		II C 77	III C 90	II A 85
176		IV Add. 4		II C 65
177	I A 26	II A 86	III C 91	II C 66
178		II A 73		III A 115
179	I A 11	III A 128		III C 111
180		II B 8		III C 104
181	II A 46	II C 52		III C 105
182				II B 8
183		II A 74		III C 108
184				III C 95
185				III C 112
186	I C 17	II C 63		III A 122
187	III C 90			III C 109
188				III C 99
189				III C 98
190		II C 62		III C 89
191		II C 64		III A 133
192	I C 16			III A 129
193				III A 132
194		II A 102		III A 131
195	I A 31			III C 116
196	II A 70	II C 78		III A 136
197	III A 119	II C 72		III C 118
198				III C 117
199		II A 100		III A 125
200	II A 92	II A 98		III A 137
201	II A 47	III C 104		III C 121
202		III A 115		III C 85
203		III C 108		III A 138
204				III C 83
205	III A 112	III C 100		III C 87
206	II A 93	IV Corr. III C 101		III A 135
207	III A 113	III C 102		III C 84
209	I A 38			
211	I C 9	III A 122		
213	I A 39			
214		III C 109		
216		III A 129		
217		III A 140		III A 105
218		III A 144		
222		III C 110		III C 91
223	III Corr. II A 94			
226				III A 142
227	III A 135			
228	I C 15			
229				IV Corr. III C 97

	HdG	*Bredius Br.-Gerson*	*Bauch*	*Gerson*
230	III C 91			III A 140
231				III A 141
232				III A 144
233	II C 51			III A 145
234				III A 143
235				III C 113
236	II A 95			III C 94
237				IV Corr. III C 96
238				III A 139
239				III A 146
240	I C 18			IV 2
246				III C 110
249			I C 42	III C 114
250			I A 27	
251		III C 106	II Corr. I A 32	III C 106
252			I A 37	III C 107
253			I A 38	IV 1
254			I A 31	
257			II A 70	
258			II A 93	
259			III A 114	
260			III C 115	
261			III A 112	
262			III C 89	IV 5
264			III A 142	
265				III C 120
266	I C 32			III C 119
270	III A 120			III A 119
271	III A 122			
282	I A 10			
283	III A 133			
287			I A 14	
288			I A 14 copy 1	
289			IV Corr. I A 22	
290			I A 19	III C 122
291			I C 35	
292			I A 20	
293			I C 38	
294			I C 36	
295			IV Corr. I A 21	
296			I C 39	
297			IV Corr. I A 33	
298			I C 34	
299			IV Corr. I B 5	
300			I C 37	
301			II Corr. I A 40	IV 7
302			II A 58	
303			II A 71	
304			IV Corr. II C 56	
305			II A 72	
306			III B 11	
307			IV Corr. II A 97	
308			II A 96	IV 8
309			IV Corr. III C 92	
310			IV Corr. III B 10	IV 9
311	II A 64		III C 98	
312			III A 133	
313			IV Corr. III C 97	
314			III C 94	
315			IV Corr. III C 96	

	HdG	*Bredius Br.-Gerson*	*Bauch*	*Gerson*
316	I A 37		III A 139	
317			IV 2	
317A	III C 115			
318			IV 3	
319			IV 1	
320	I C 19		IV 5	IV 11
321			IV 6	
322			IV 8	
323			IV 10/3	
324			IV 9	IV 13
325			IV 11	
326			IV 13	
327			IV 15	
328		I C 44	IV 12	
329			IV 14	IV 15
330		II A 55	IV 18	
331		II C 69	IV 26	
332		II C 80	IV 20	
333	I C 10	II A 63	IV 19	
334	III A 111	II A 62	IV 22	
335		II A 83	IV 21	
336		II C 79	IV 16	
337		II C 81	IV 17	
338		II C 71	IV 24	
339		II A 82	IV 27	
340		II A 84	IV 28	
341		II A 79	IV 25	
342		II A 101	IV 29	
343	IV Corr. I C 13	II A 104	IV Corr. I C 22	IV 14
344		II A 87	I C 25 copy 1	III B 12
345	I C 21	II C 82	I C 27	
346	III A 128	II C 73		
347		II A 99	I C 30	
348	II A 73	III C 112	II A 43	
349	II A 48	III C 111	II A 44	
350	II Corr. I A 40	III C 105	II C 74	
351	II B 8	III C 115	II A 54	
352			II A 57	
353	IV Corr. III C 101		II A 56	
354	II C 54	III A 103	II C 70	
355		III A 132	II A 60	
356		III A 131	II C 75	
357		III A 141	II A 59	
358		III C 113	II A 52	
359			II A 53	
360		III A 145	II C 68	
361			II A 80	
362			II C 76	
363			II A 81	
364			IV Add. 4	
365			II A 86	
366			II A 78	
367			II A 45	
368			II C 77	
369	II A 74	III C 114	II C 72	
370		III C 107		
371	I C 26		II C 78	
372	I C 24		II A 98	
373	IV Corr. II C 53		II A 100	
374			II A 102	
375			III C 104	
375A	II C 55			
376			III A 115	IV 18
377			III C 108	
379			III A 130	
380				IV 26
381			III C 109	IV 20

	HdG	*Bredius Br.-Gerson*	*Bauch*	*Gerson*
384			III A 129	
385			III A 140	
386			III A 144	
387	III C 102			
388	I C 27			
389				IV 19
390	I C 25		III C 110	
393	I A 17			
394			III C 106	
399			IV 7	IV 28
403		II A 51		IV 24
405	II C 52	II C 67		
406		II C 65		
407		II C 66		
408		II A 77		
409		III A 143		
410		III A 146		
415	III C 100			IV 27
419		I A 18		IV 25
420		I A 10		IV 29
421		IV Corr. I B 1		
421A		IV Corr. I B 2		
422		I C 11		
423		I A 13		
424		IV Corr. I C 13		
425		I C 18		
426		I C 18 copy 1		
427		I C 14		
428		I A 17		
429		I C 15		
430		I C 17		
431		II C 51		
432		II A 95		
433		III A 120		
435		III C 91		
439		III C 116		
440	I C 6	III A 136		
441		III A 137		
442		III A 125		
443		III C 117		
444		III C 121		
445		III C 118		
446		III C 120		
451		III C 119	IV Corr. II C 61	
452			II A 50	
453			II C 59	
454		III B 12	II C 57	
455			II A 49	
456	I C 31 copy 2	III A 134	II A 61	
458		III C 122	II A 62	
459			II C 69	
460		I A 6	II A 55	
461			II A 63	
462		I A 31	II A 83	
463		I A 39	II C 58	
464		II A 47		
465		I C 9		
466		I A 38	II A 82	
467		II A 70		
468		III Corr. II A 94	II C 60	
469		III A 114	II A 79	
470		II A 91	II C 80	
471		III A 113	II C 79	
472		II A 92	II C 81	
473			II A 75	

	HdG	*Bredius Br.-Gerson*	*Bauch*	*Gerson*
474		III A 119	II A 76	
475			II A 84	
476		III A 135	II A 104	
477			II A 99	
478			II A 101	
479			II C 82	
480			II A 87	
482			II C 73	
485			III C 105	
486		I A 3	III C 111	
487		I A 2		
488		I A 9	III C 103	
489		I A 24	II A 85	
490	II C 62	I A 25	III C 95	
491		II A 67	III C 112	
492	II C 63	II C 45	II A 103	
494	II C 64	II A 64		
497		III A 110	III A 132	
498		III A 108	III A 131	
499	I C 44	III A 109	III A 141	
500			III C 113	
501		III A 116	III A 145	
502		III C 86		
503		III A 121		
504		II A 66		
505		III A 117		
506			III C 114	
507		III A 123		
508		III C 85		
509		III C 83	III C 107	
511	III C 89	III C 84		
522		III B 9		
524	IV 16			
525	IV Corr. II C 56			
526	II A 96			
527	IV 29			
528	IV 11			
529	I A 20			
530	I C 37		II A 51	
531	I C 34		II C 67	
531A		I A 1		
532		I A 4	II A 77	
532A		I C 5		
533	I A 14 copy 1	I C 10	II C 65	
534	IV Corr. II A 97	I C 8	II C 66	
535	III A 129	I A 12	III A 111	
536	IV 9	I C 7	III A 143	
537	IV 10/4	I A 30 copy 1	III A 146	
538	III B 11	I A 30		
539	IV 12	I A 16		
539A		I A 15		
540	IV 28	II Corr. I C 6		
541		II C 46 copy 1		
542	I A 19		III C 116	
543	IV Corr. I B 6	I A 34		
543A		I A 35	III A 136	
544	IV Corr. I A 21	II A 88	III C 118	
545	III C 98	II C 48	III A 125	
546		II A 89	III C 117	
547	IV 5	II A 68	III A 137	
548	IV 4	II A 69	III C 121	
549	IV Corr. I A 22	III C 120		
550	III A 139	II A 65	III C 119	

	HdG	*Bredius Br.-Gerson*	*Bauch*	*Gerson*
551	IV 27	II C 49		
552	I C 36	II A 90		
552A	IV Corr. I A 33	II C 47		
553	IV 15			
554	IV 18	III A 105	III B 12	
555	IV 1	III A 106		
556	IV 26	I C 12		
557	II Corr. I A 23	III A 118		
558		III C 88	III A 134	
559	IV Corr. III C 96	III A 124		
560	IV 25	III A 126		
561		III A 127	III C 122	
562	IV 20	III A 138		
563	IV 14	III C 87		
564	I C 38			
565	IV 2	III A 107	II C 71	
566	II A 71			
567	II A 72			
568	IV Corr. III B 10			
569	IV 19			
570	IV Corr. I B 5			
572	I C 33			
573	II A 58			
574	IV 6			
575	IV 24			
576	IV Corr. III C 97			
577	II Corr. I A 41			
578	IV 3			
579	IV 21			
580	IV 8			
581	IV 13			
582	III C 99			
584	IV Corr. III C 92	II C 49 copy 2		
585	III C 93			
591	I C 39			
593B	IV 7			
601		I A 11		
602		I A 26		
604		I A 28		
605		I C 16		
606	II A 75			
607	II A 85	I A 36		
608	II A 76	II C 50		
609	III A 142	II A 46		
610		III C 90		
612	II A 61			
613	III C 95			
615	III C 103			
619	III A 132			
620	III A 143			
624	II C 68			
625	II C 69			
629	II C 77			
630	II A 82			
631		I C 2		
632		I A 7		
633	II A 53	IV Corr. I C 22		
634	III C 108			
635	II A 54			
636		I C 23		
637	II A 100			
638	II A 101			
642	III A 140			

HdG	*Bredius Br.-Gerson*	*Bauch*	*Gerson*
643	III A 141		
645	II A 98		
646	II A 99		
654	II A 57		
657	II A 81		
659	II A 52		
660	III A 115		
661	III C 111		
666	II C 65		
667	II C 66		
668	II C 75		
669	II C 79		
670	II A 43		
672	I C 20		
673	I B 4		
674	I C 30		
675	I A 42		
676	I B 7		
677	I A 29		
678	I C 29 copy 1		
679	II A 40a		
681	I C 28		
682	I C 29		
685	I C 42		
686	I C 41		
687	I A 27		
688	II Corr. I A 32		
691	II C 60		
694	II C 57		
695	II C 58		

HdG	*Bredius Br.-Gerson*	*Bauch*	*Gerson*
696	II C 59		
697	IV Corr. II C 61		
698	II A 49		
699	II A 50		
726	II A 80		
728	III C 113		
730	III C 104		
732	II C 72		
733	II C 70		
734	III A 144		
736	II A 78		
739	II A 102		
744	III C 109		
745	II A 56		
747	III C 110		
749	III C 106		
751	III A 130		
760	II C 76		
761	II A 59		
762	II C 74		
769	II A 86		
773	IV Add. 1 copy		
775	II A 44		
777	II C 78		
783	II A 60		
785	II A 45		
845	III A 131		
846	III C 105		
848	II C 73		

HdG	*Bredius Br.-Gerson*	*Bauch*	*Gerson*
849	II C 71		
856	III A 104		
859	II C 82		
860	III A 145		
861	III C 114		
865	III C 107		
867	II A 83		
868	III C 112		
873	II A 84		
874	II A 87		
875	II A 62		
877	II A 63		
881	II A 79		
882	III A 103		
883	II C 80		
884	II A 55		
920	II C 81		
926	III A 146		
930	II C 67		
932	II A 51		
933	II A 77		
939	III A 136		
941	III C 117		
942	III A 137		
944	III B 12		
946	III C 121		
948	III C 119		
949	III C 120		
951	III C 118		
968	III A 134		
971	III C 122		