

# Drawings by Rembrandt and his School in the British Museum

Martin Royalton-Kisch

First published online on the British Museum website in 2010 as part of the Museum's series of Online Research Catalogues. This PDF version produced in 2014 for those who would like to print a copy of the catalogue.

## **Foreword to this PDF version**

The text that follows is a 'cut-and-paste' extraction of the text of the online catalogue, taken from the British Museum website at various times during 2013-14. A few additions to the original 2010 text (which started to go online in 2008) that have since been added to the website have been retained here – mostly records of more recent exhibitions.

Cutting and pasting from a computerised publication means that some aspects of the layout (including some variety) are unorthodox for a printed publication, but there is nothing that should unduly tax the reader. For example, the word 'Description' is used instead of 'Title' to describe each item, exhibitions are listed at the end of each catalogue entry, and the 'Acquisition Notes' contain lists of names and sales usually referred to as the 'Provenance'. This merely follows the online version, which is constructed according to the dictates of a sophisticated database. This is also brought to mind by some links to further information (eg., biographies of former owners and collectors ) that would not normally be part of a published catalogue and will not function from a printed page.

MRK

September 2014

[Online research catalogue](#)



**Catalogue of Drawings by Rembrandt and his School in the British  
Museum**

**Martin Royalton-Kisch**

**VOLUME I**

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# Preface

The arrival of the computer age has affected almost every human activity. It is perhaps a measure of the truth of this statement that word processing and databases have revolutionised even the work of the museum curator. In the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, almost all the drawings are now catalogued on a database, often in great detail, with scanned images, and viewable online. The ‘Advanced Search’ page on the Museum’s website enables researchers to view the drawings not only according to their current attributions but it can also isolate previous owners, dates, schools, subjects and also allows these to be combined with free text searches, for example searching for drawings in red chalk. Soon this will become a commonplace facility but at present it is as sophisticated as any database of its kind available online, as well as being one of the largest.

In combination, these searches have a previously unimaginable power – in theory the user can ask the computer to show only drawings that were once but no longer considered to be by Rembrandt, which were owned in the 18th century by Sir Joshua Reynolds and depict landscapes. The results can then be sorted according to the drawings’ dates of production or by the year of their acquisition by the British Museum. Such flexible indexing is far superior to that of a printed book.

It has therefore been decided that this catalogue will be published only online, the first in the series of volumes devoted to the British Museum’s collection of drawings not to emerge in book form. Traditionalists may regret losing the opportunity to spend several hundred pounds on a bound catalogue, but the author is convinced that in the case of permanent museum catalogues of this kind the advantages far outweigh any disadvantages (albeit noting that this would not be the case for many other kinds of art-historical publications, such as monographs, catalogues raisonnés and exhibition catalogues).

Work on compiling a new catalogue of the collection of Drawings by Rembrandt and his School in the British Museum began in earnest during the late 1980s, the intention being to replace the volume of this title published by Arthur M. Hind in 1915.<sup>1</sup> The word ‘school’ has sometimes been misinterpreted abroad as referring only to Rembrandt’s own studio assistants and pupils, but here it is used in its widest possible sense.<sup>2</sup> This allows, for example, for the inclusion of Anthonie van Borssom, Willem de Poorter and Pieter de With, artists who by convention have been associated with the Rembrandt school despite the fact that their links with Rembrandt are extremely tenuous. In style, however, their works at least sometimes reflect aspects of Rembrandt’s style or iconography, and that is sufficient qualification. Perhaps more problematic is the inclusion of Rembrandt’s contemporary, Jan Lievens, who probably influenced Rembrandt’s earliest style; but once again, a joint discussion of their work seems desirable in view of their shared artistic concerns at the outset of their careers. Contextual reasons also justify the inclusion of Lievens’s son, Jan Andrea Lievens, whose drawings can only be examined in terms of his father’s style.

In 1992 the compiler published an exhibition catalogue with detailed descriptions of 108 of the 384 drawings discussed here.<sup>3</sup> This volume was ‘work in progress’ on the present catalogue and accompanied an exhibition of some 220 of the drawings covered in this online publication. The exhibition was timed to coincide with the arrival in London of a travelling exhibition about Rembrandt that had previously been shown in Berlin and Amsterdam.<sup>4</sup>

I am grateful to those who assisted and commented on that exploratory exhibition and catalogue and reiterate the acknowledgments given in the Preface to the 1992 volume.<sup>5</sup> Many changes have been made in the intervening 17 years and in particular I also have to thank Kirsti Blom, who for the past two years has been a special assistant on the project, checking large quantities of the recent Rembrandt literature and transferring the final catalogue texts to the computer.<sup>6</sup>

The 1992 catalogue was introduced by a text that is repeated here with minor modifications. It is divided into three sections:

1. [Taste, connoisseurship and the history of the British Museum collection](#)
2. [The character and range of the British Museum collection](#)
3. [Problems of authenticity \(about 1850–2009\)](#)

Martin Royalton-Kisch  
September 2009

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[1] - A.M. Hind, Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists conserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. I: Drawings by Rembrandt and his School, London, 1915.

[2] - As the Oxford English Dictionary states, a ‘school’ can refer to ‘a body or succession of persons who in some department of speculation or practice are disciples of the same master, or who are united by a general similarity of principles and methods’ [italics author].

[3] - M. Royalton-Kisch, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle in the British Museum, exhibition catalogue, London, British Museum, 1992. The volume covered all the drawings that had been accepted as Rembrandt’s work in O. Benesch’s complete catalogue, The Drawings of Rembrandt, 6 vols, 2nd ed. enlarged and edited by E. Benesch, London and New York, 1973.

[4] - There were two volumes: C. Brown, J. Kelch and P. van Thiel, Rembrandt. The Master and his Workshop, Paintings, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie SMPK at the Altes Museum, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum and London, National Gallery, 1991–2; and P. Schatborn, H. Bevers and B. Welzel, Rembrandt. The Master and his Workshop, Drawings and Etchings, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett SMPK at the Altes Museum, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum and London, National Gallery. In London the prints shown were from the British Museum’s collection. The drawings shown in Berlin and Amsterdam, for reasons of conservation, were not exhibited in London. Some scholars have succeeded in confusing my 1992 catalogue with this second volume!

[5] - Thanks were extended to colleagues in the British Museum, at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and both the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague; also to Jeroen Giltaij, Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, Hans Mielke (d.1994), William W. Robinson, Seymour Slive, Emmanuel Starcky and above all to Peter Schatborn. Gratitude was also expressed to Werner Sumowski for his publications devoted to the paintings and drawings of the Rembrandt school. Acknowledgement was also made of the assistance of two pupils gaining voluntary experience in the British Museum, Sven Kuhrau and Antoinette Roesler.

[6] - I also have to thank some voluntary assistants who have helped in various ways, including Leon Lock, Lara Agius, Ben Martin (d.2008) and Jo Hannah Hoehn.

# Catalogue note

The word 'School' in the title is used in its loose sense (as it was by A.M. Hind in his 1915 catalogue of the same material) and does not suggest that all the artists included were pupils of Rembrandt himself. This is mentioned as it was taken wrongly by at least one Dutch reviewer of Sumowski's *Drawings of the Rembrandt School*, 1979 etc.

The drawings by Rembrandt are arranged chronologically with the exception of the landscapes (nos 62-70) and with a few minor deviations in order to group certain works together. Some attributions to him are accepted only with reservations, as is discussed in each entry. Drawings have been rejected from Rembrandt's oeuvre when insufficient evidence exists (among the material that is attributed to him with confidence) to retain them under his name. Such judgments are never definitive and frequently debated.

Measurements are in millimetres, height before width. They are followed by a number in brackets that records the pattern formed by the parallel chain lines in the laid paper. Thus '(25v)' means that the chain lines are 25mm apart and run vertically through the paper, as seen from the recto; similarly '(25h)' means that they run horizontally across the paper.

References to earlier literature are abbreviated from those given in the Bibliography. Exhibitions recorded as having taken place in London were held at the British Museum unless otherwise stated. Full references to exhibition catalogues will be found under 'E' for Exhibitions in the Bibliography.

Watermarks are described and reproduced wherever practicable, using equipment kindly donated to the British Museum by the Josefowitz family.

Dates are often approximate and a question mark could be taken as read in many cases. The dates suggested rely closely on the few drawings that it is possible to assign to a particular year.

In the literature sections, where two editions are quoted (Benesch, 1954 and 1973, for example) the references are given only under the first (in this case as Benesch, 1954/73). Where a later edition only has been consulted it is expressed as, for example, Haak, 1976/74.

The bibliographies are not exhaustive, and the recent explosion of publications in the field will mean there are some omissions, which I regret. But by including as much literature as possible it is hoped that it will be clear where the consensus of opinion lies regarding each drawing.

# Introduction I

## Taste, connoisseurship and the history of the British Museum collection

Rembrandt's drawings have been studied by modern scholars for more than a century, but in many cases their authenticity still arouses controversy. His paintings, though less numerous, have proved equally divisive. Only the corpus of his etchings has escaped a major attributional revision, not least because many are signed and dated, providing sufficient comparative material on which to base stylistic judgments.

The situation for the paintings and drawings remains unsatisfactory. To those involved in the debate, the reasons for the continuing controversy are all too obvious. The layman, however, views the situation with near incredulity. An explanation seems appropriate in the context of the present catalogue, which revises several long-held opinions – and some short-held ones – about the drawings attributed to Rembrandt in the British Museum.

Rembrandt's paintings and drawings are poorly documented. The paintings, under the rules of the guilds in the 17th century, could be signed by him as they emerged from his workshop regardless of whether he had been personally involved in their execution. As for the drawings, in Rembrandt's workshop they were rarely signed at all. Just three of the drawings in this catalogue, 108 of which were until the 1950s considered to be by Rembrandt, are clearly signed drawing(Cat. nos [7a](#), [31](#) and [38](#)).<sup>[1]</sup> The difficulties are exacerbated by the artist's working practices. In particular, he was not in the regular habit of preparing his paintings with drawings. In this he differs from the great Italian and Flemish draughtsmen of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, such as Raphael, Michelangelo and Rubens, whose drawings can often be authenticated on the basis of their connections with finished, well-documented paintings. A nearer analogy is with Titian, whose surviving corpus of drawings also provokes animated debate, although it is small in comparison.

Taking these factors into account throws the problems that face cataloguers of Rembrandt's work into relief. It might be – and indeed has been – argued that little consequence should be attached by serious researchers to questions of attribution and that an approximate location of an object within the correct school and period is sufficient to satisfy the demands of academic and even more general debate. But without an agreed canon of these works, there can be no reliable analysis of any aspect of Rembrandt's true significance, or of his working methods, his ambitions as an artist, his predilections in subject matter or his influence as a teacher. Unfortunately, the interminable preoccupation with problems of authenticity has slowed or distorted research in these other areas. The same difficulties apply, of course, to the work of Rembrandt's pupils, and it is to enable these fields of enquiry to expand that we believe the attempt to define the corpus of Rembrandt's drawings and of artists of his school, to be necessary.

The attributional controversy is anything but new. In the case of Rembrandt's paintings the problems can be traced to his own lifetime.<sup>[2]</sup> Doubts about his drawings are less well documented, but a remark reported to have been made in 1710 by the collector N.A. Flinck (1646–1723), the son of Rembrandt's pupil Govert Flinck and the owner of a sizeable group of Rembrandt's drawings, that 'drawings were difficult to know and that there was much

deception in them' suggests that he was aware of misattributions and perhaps of malpractices in the old master drawings market. <sup>[3]</sup> Indeed, the presence of drawings by Rembrandt in early and distinguished collections – including those of Valerius Röver and Pierre Crozat – is no sure guide to their authenticity, <sup>[4]</sup> and by 1796, when the British Museum had already acquired some drawings by Rembrandt, the artist's *oeuvre* was so blatantly corrupted that the Rembrandt connoisseur Daniel Daulby could write: 'if a picture possess any thing of the manner of Rembrandt, it is usually attributed to him, either to enhance [sic] the value, or to flatter the possessor'. <sup>[5]</sup> If the paintings were attributed in such a cavalier fashion, then there is every reason to suppose that the drawings were treated in the same spirit. In short, works in a Rembrandtesque style, whether by Rembrandt's pupils or later imitators, were fused with the master's own creations.

Before the arrival of specialists and so-called 'scientific' connoisseurship in the mid-19th century, the degree of independent expertise available was limited. Traditional – or supposedly traditional – attributions were widely accepted and it was undoubtedly a simple matter to pass off paintings and drawings by Rembrandt's pupils as by the master. Needless to say, such practices are difficult to document, but Daulby was sharp enough to notice that the pupils' names rarely appeared in sale catalogues or other publications. <sup>[6]</sup> Nor did the drawings' owners, whether collectors or museums, have any incentive for enquiring into whether their Rembrandts should be 'demoted' and reattributed to his followers. This was a system without checks and balances. It is therefore not surprising that, as a result of research in more recent times, sheaves of drawings formerly considered to be by Rembrandt now languish, little regarded, in most of the old-established European collections, including the British Museum. In Munich (at the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung), where the collections can be traced to the first half of the 18th century, a small group of authentic sheets is joined by numerous drawings by pupils and followers. These were frequently 'enhanced' by a crude, later hand, which also added false Rembrandt signatures. <sup>[7]</sup>

Many other, often autograph, Rembrandt drawings, including some in the British Museum, were retouched by later hands, no doubt with the intention of increasing their value by giving them a greater degree of finish. <sup>[8]</sup> Nor were the Museum and its benefactors protected from the other traps set in the art market. For example, not one of the four Rembrandt drawings thought to derive from the foundation collection formed by Sir Hans Sloane and acquired for the nation in 1753 is now considered to be by the master himself. Most had been consigned to the boxes and folios of Rembrandt's school before the end of the 19th century. Sloane's *Angel appearing to the Shepherds* ([Cat. no. 101](#)) is listed in the first complete inventory of Sloane's drawings, compiled in 1845, as a 'very effective' work by Rembrandt. No doubt its *richchiaroscuro* conformed to preconceived notions of Rembrandt's style and directed attention away from the pedestrian quality of its pen work. Thirteen years later the drawing was seen by E.J.T. Thoré-Bürger, the connoisseur now best remembered for re-establishing the artistic personality of Jan Vermeer of Delft. Bürger's study of the Museum's drawings, published in the *Revue germanique* of 1858, provides a fascinating insight into the standards applied to the appreciation of Rembrandt's drawings at that time. He echoed the opinion expressed in the Sloane inventory, describing the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* as a 'dessin capital' and adding that it must have been a study for Rembrandt's etching of 1634 of the same subject. In fact its composition has little in common with the print and the drawing is probably the work of a pupil, made around 10 years later. <sup>[9]</sup>

The drawing's reputation did not endure. In 1877, the Dutch art historian Carel Vosmaer published the final edition of his monograph on Rembrandt, which included lists of the artist's works in European collections. He described the *Angel appearing to the Shepherds* as 'douteuse'. <sup>[10]</sup> This adjective was repeated by Eugène Dutuit in 1885 <sup>[11]</sup> and, apart from its listing by A.M. Hind as an anonymous work in his 1915 catalogue of the British Museum's drawings by Rembrandt and his school, the sketch never again featured in the literature on the artist until the British Museum's exhibition catalogue of 1992. Crucially, it was omitted from the exhibition of the Museum's holdings of Rembrandt's work in 1899 on the authority of the then Keeper, Sidney Colvin; Colvin's exhibition catalogue formed the basis of Hind's publication, in which just once sentence is devoted to the drawing: 'Has something of the appearance of being a copy from an original drawing by the master'.

Hans Sloane was not primarily a connoisseur and his drawings formed only a small subsection of his collection of manuscripts. In accordance with his encyclopedic, antiquarian interests, most of his drawings were arranged by subject matter rather than by artist. Aesthetic qualities were not a priority and in this respect he differed from the two men who were to make the other major bequests of drawings to the Museum in the 18th century, William Fawkener (d. 1769) and the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode (1730–99). Both appear to have been true *amateurs* of art in the old-fashioned sense and their collections of Rembrandt drawings have fared considerably better than Sloane's. Two of the four bequeathed by Fawkener, and nine of Cracherode's sixteen drawings are still regarded as authentic in the present catalogue. <sup>[12]</sup> On the other hand, a study of the Cracherode inventory has revealed that two of his drawings, believed at least since 1747, when they appeared in the sale of Jonathan Richardson, Sr, to be copies by Rembrandt after Indian miniatures, and registered in 1845 as 'query if by Rembrandt', are in fact Indian work of the early 18th century. <sup>[13]</sup> Rarely can such an erroneous attribution have survived for so long. The drawings were eventually transferred to the Department of Asia in the 20th century (see under [Cat. No. 56](#), note 10.)

One collection of Rembrandt drawings that has been reduced by the reappraisal of subsequent scholarship to a surprising degree is that of Richard Payne Knight (1721–1824). Keenly involved in the aesthetic debates of his time and a promoter of the Picturesque in landscape as in art, he was undoubtedly a well-informed connoisseur. His taste was unusual in that he valued the Dutch school as highly as the Italian and he was also wealthy enough to buy at least some of his drawings at top prices. <sup>[14]</sup> His bequest to the Museum in 1824 was one of the largest and most generous it has ever received, and through it the Department of Prints and Drawings acquired no less than 1,169 drawings. Knight's collection contained several especially fine drawings by Rembrandt, who was probably the artist he most prized, including the *Lamentation at the Foot of the Cross* ([Cat. no. 9](#)), the *Black Drummer and Commander on Horseback* ([Cat. no. 17](#), described as 'very fine' in the Register), the *Lioness devouring a Bird* ([Cat. no. 29](#)) and the *Coach* ([Cat. no. 55](#)). Yet of the 63 Rembrandt drawings that he left the Museum, less than one third remain under Rembrandt's name today. Among those that have been reattributed, several were considered in the 18th and 19th centuries not only to be by the master himself, but also to be prime examples of his work. The *Young Man seated on a Window-Sill* (now tentatively attributed to Abraham van Dijck, cat. no. 1) was described in 1821 by C. Josi as, very naturally expressed: one perceives an idle young man in the whole attitude of the figure. The head and the arm which form the main part are distinguished by strong touches and a grand luminosity: all the rest is only cursorily indicated. The original is broadly washed and in the manner of a painting, in brown and

black. It is one of those good drawings which are only seen very rarely today. The price would be around 20 Louis. [\[15\]](#)

Josi's remarks are of interest in suggesting that collectors were in pursuit of particular types of drawings, especially those that were highly finished and pictorial. This accords with the taste for the most sought-after Rembrandt etching of the 18th century, the *100 Guilder Print*. The *Young Man seated on a Window-Sill* was also accepted as *capital* by Thoré-Bürger, by Vosmaer, who described it as *adélicieux dessin* and as a portrait of Rembrandt's son, Titus, and by Eugène Dutuit. [\[16\]](#) It was however omitted from the 1899 exhibition by Sidney Colvin and this again proved fatal. Other than in Hind's catalogue, it was mentioned in the literature just once, in a footnote, until 1992. [\[17\]](#)

Payne Knight presumably laid out a considerable sum to acquire such a sheet. In the case of another of his Rembrandts, the *Christ with Mary and Martha* ([Cat. no. 112](#)) it has emerged that he paid 350 *livres* at the de La Mure sale in Paris of 1791, a high price in the plentiful art market of the French Revolutionary period. [\[18\]](#) The drawing's qualities are self-evident, and it was again particularly mentioned by Josi, as another of the pictorial studies that he most admired. Thoré-Bürger described it as '*superbe*' [\[19\]](#) and on 28 August 1874, it impressed Vincent van Gogh, who described the drawing at length, if somewhat inaccurately, in a letter he wrote three years later to his brother Theo (letter 100, 18 September 1877):

from the rich treasure of his [i.e., Rembrandt's] heart he produced, among other things, that drawing in sepia, charcoal, ink, etc., which is in the British Museum, representing the house in Bethany. In that room twilight has fallen; the figure of our Lord, noble and impressive, stands out serious and dark against the window, which the evening light is filtering through. At Jesus' feet sits Mary who has chosen the good part, which shall not be taken away from her; Martha is in the room busy with something or other – if I remember correctly, she is stirring the fire, or something like that. [\[20\]](#)

The drawing was rejected by Sidney Colvin in 1899 (who advanced the name of Samuel van Hoogstraten) but more tentatively described as 'doubtful' by Hind in 1915. He felt 'on the whole inclined to accept it as the master's work', but since then it has also more or less vanished from the Rembrandt literature. [\[21\]](#) Yet it remains one of the most remarkable drawings to have emerged from the master's studio. Payne Knight probably acquired the *Abraham and the Angels*, now generally given to Rembrandt's pupil, Nicolaes Maes (see Maes, cat. no. 2), less expensively. He may have bought it as by Rembrandt at the Greffier Francois Fagel sale of 1799, when it fetched 13 shillings. [\[22\]](#) The price was not excessive for a drawing by Rembrandt, especially for one that was precisely of the finished variety that appealed most to 18th-century connoisseurs. Twenty-six years before, in 1773, it had been sold at the Lempereur sale in Paris to the Prince de Conti for the exceptional sum of 639.19 *livres*. It fetched half that price (320 *livres*) – still a substantial figure – at the Prince's own sale in 1777, in the catalogue of which it was described as a *dessin capital*. [\[23\]](#) If any doubts about its authenticity had been responsible for depressing its price, they were not taken seriously at the British Museum, where it was exhibited from 1858–60 as by Rembrandt. Thoré-Bürger thought it of *première qualité* and it was also accepted by Vosmaer and Dutuit, [\[24\]](#) but once again its omission by Colvin from the 1899 exhibition damped further interest. In 1905, W.R. Valentiner persisted with the Rembrandt attribution and identified the central figure in the right-hand group as Hendrickje Stoffels. But in 1924 he confirmed the attribution to Nicolaes Maes that had been tentatively proposed by Hind and it remains under Maes's name today. [\[25\]](#)

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- <sup>▲</sup> [1] - One hundred eight British Museum drawings were catalogued as by (or retouched by) Rembrandt in the last catalogue raisonné of his drawings compiled by Otto Benesch (Benesch, 1973). Cat. no. 11 has a fragment of a signature, while the signature on Cat. no. 10 has been doubted, although in my view it is probably authentic, but rubbed.
- <sup>▲</sup> [2] - The inability of early collectors to distinguish between the work of Rembrandt and Lievens is well documented – see Corpus, I, 1982, under nos A12 (Simeon in the Temple, Hamburg, probably the picture called ‘Rembrandt or Lievens’ in the Stadholder’s inventory of 1632; and nos A38–9, the Berlin Minerva and Rape of Proserpina, both attributed to Lievens in the same inventory. See E. van de Wetering in Corpus, II, 1986, 60ff., for other early problems of authenticity.
- <sup>▲</sup> [3] - See Munich, 1973, 151–2: Z.C. von Uffenbach wrote that N.A. Flinck gestünde zwar, dass die Handrisse schwer zu kennen, und viel betrug dabey sey.
- <sup>▲</sup> [4] - See Schatborn, 1981 and Broos, 1985. The former believed that the inscriptions on drawings from the Ten Cate collection might be reliable, but Schatborn and I together discovered a study by Philips Koninck in the Albertina with this provenance, but which had been inscribed with Rembrandt’s name (Sumowski 1373x).
- <sup>▲</sup> [5] - Daulby, 1796, xiv.
- <sup>▲</sup> [6] - Daulby, *ibid.*
- <sup>▲</sup> [7] - See Wegner’s catalogue (Munich, 1973) and the articles by Burmeester and Renger, 1986 and 1985–6 and in Vignau-Wilberg (ed.), 2003, 45–62 (‘Händescheidung im Nahen Infrarot: die Münchner Rembrandt-Apokryphen’), as well as Exh. Munich, 2001–2.
- <sup>▲</sup> [8] - For example, Cat. nos 6, 16, 65, 78 and 79.
- <sup>▲</sup> [9] - Bürger, 1858, 398. The etching is Bartsch 44, Hind 120.
- <sup>▲</sup> [10] - Vosmaer, 1877, 587.
- <sup>▲</sup> [11] - Dutuit, IV, 1885, 86.
- <sup>▲</sup> [12] - Fawkener owned Cat. nos 2 and 12 (although, as explained in n. 1 of the catalogue text, the latter may have been presented in 1761 by John Christmas) and the attributed drawing Cat. no. 73; Cracherode owned Cat. nos 1, 7, 19, 24, 33, 34, 57, 61, 70 and the attributed drawings Cat. nos 78 and 82. (Cracherode’s collection of Rembrandt’s etchings, also bequeathed to the British Museum, was one of the finest ever assembled.)
- <sup>▲</sup> [13] - Inv. nos Gg.2.260 and 261. A third Indian drawing, in Oxford, also has Richardson’s mark and must have been in his album of Rembrandt’s ‘Indian drawings’ – see further under Cat. no. 56.
- <sup>▲</sup> [14] - On Knight, see Exh. Manchester, 1982.
- <sup>▲</sup> [15] - Josi, 1821, 22: ‘très naturellement exprimé; on apperçoit dans toute l’attitude de la figure, un jeune paresseux. La tête et le bras qui forment la partie principale sont distingués par des touches fortes et une grande lumière; tout le reste n’est que négligemment indiqué. L’original est lavé largement et dans la manière d’un tableau, avec du brun et du noir. Il est du nombre de ces bons dessins qui au jourd’hui se rencontrent très rarement. Le prix en seroit d’environ 20 Louis’.
- <sup>▲</sup> [16] - Bürger, 1858, 398; Vosmaer, 1868, 484 (with erroneous provenance) and Dutuit, IV, 1885, 86.
- <sup>▲</sup> [17] - Exh. New York–Paris, 1977–8, 55, under no. 35, n. 20, where attributed to van den Eeckhout.
- <sup>▲</sup> [18] - The provenance was noted in the Register but previously ignored.
- <sup>▲</sup> [19] - Josi, 1821, 21; Bürger, 1858, 400.
- <sup>▲</sup> [20] - Pollock, 1974, 671–2. The beginning of the quotation resembles Rembrandt’s own words written on a drawing of the Virgin and the Magdalene in the Rijksmuseum (Benesch 152; Amsterdam, 1985, no. 7, repr.): ‘een dijvoort thr[?]jeesoor dat in een fijn harte bewaert wert tot troost harer beleevende siel’.
- <sup>▲</sup> [21] - References since Hind’s catalogue are in Valentiner, I, 1925, 489, under no. 397 as school of Rembrandt and in Exh. London, 1956, 31, no. 1, also as anonymous.
- <sup>▲</sup> [22] - Sale, London, T. Philipe, 4th day, 23 May 1799, lot 366: ‘One – a landschape, [sic] with a great tree in the middle – four figures in the foreground – one an angel – subject unknown – grand effect – red chalk, Indian ink, & bistre, bt Baro, 13s.’
- <sup>▲</sup> [23] - Lempereur sale, Paris, 24ff., May 1773, lot 326 bt Prince de Conti, 639.19 livres; Prince de Conti sale, Paris, 8 April 1777, lot 1013, sold for 320 livres.
- <sup>▲</sup> [24] - Vosmaer, 1877, 584; Dutuit, IV, 1885, 85 and 99.
- <sup>▲</sup> [25] - Valentiner, 1905, 41–2 and 46; *ibid.*, 1924, 28–9, repr., 2, fig. 2; London, 1915, no. 117. Becker, 1909, 102 and Wurzbach, 1910, 417, also believed that the drawing was by Rembrandt.

# Introduction II

## The character and range of the British Museum's collection

No single group of drawings could claim to represent a draughtsman as resourceful as Rembrandt comprehensively. His works on paper exhibit a wide range of styles and are marked by experiment, with the result that certain types of drawing are extremely rare. The British Museum, for instance, has none of his silverpoint drawings or of his late studies of the nude.<sup>11</sup> Yet such lacunae are uncommon and the collection is equipped to display a broad spectrum of Rembrandt's skills and interests, often with superlative examples.

His chief interest was in the human figure, which he often studied from the life. Time, opportunity and purpose must have conditioned the degree of his figures' detail, and they vary from the three almost fastidious *Studies of a bearded Man on Crutches* ([Cat. no. 7](#)), to the less self-conscious *Star of the Kings* ([Cat. no. 38](#)) and to shorthand notations such as those of children learning to walk of the mid-1630s from George Salting's bequest ([Cat. nos 13– 14](#)). The economy and verisimilitude with which they encapsulate essential gestures, movement and character, despite their superficially untidy style, have few precedents or heirs in the history of art until the 19th century.

Rembrandt continued to make such drawings later in his career, mainly in black chalk or pen and ink. The Museum has four of the most cursory examples in black chalk to have survived ([Cat. nos 40–43](#)). They contrast with such highly finished studies as that of an *Elephant* ([Cat. no. 19](#)) of around 1637–41 in the same medium, though it is combined, unusually, with charcoal. A group of sketches of character, pose and costume executed at the end of the 1630s in iron-gall ink, the acidity of which eats into the surface of the support with time, on sheets of paper that have been prepared with light brown wash, is represented by three examples, one of them double-sided ([Cat. nos 25–27](#)). To the same phase belong the two drawings of pigs ([Cat. nos 20– 21](#)) and the perhaps slightly later *Sketches of an old Man with a Child* ([Cat. no. 28](#)), which in the suggestive pathos with which it characterises its narrative – with the child finally removing the old man's hat – rivals almost any work by Rembrandt.

The date assigned to these drawings is fixed in part by two other sketches in the collection that relate to datable works of c. 1639, that for the portrait of *Maria Trip* currently on loan to the Rijksmuseum and that for the etching of the *Artist drawing from the Model* ([Cat. nos 23–24](#)).<sup>12</sup> They are executed in a similar style and in the same iron-gall ink medium. Like the variety observed with the black chalk drawings, their distinct purposes demonstrate that Rembrandt's choice of instrument was not restricted to isolated categories of drawing. This is further confirmed by the *Lamentation* ([Cat. no. 9](#)), an exceptional drawing in which the brush, loaded with oil-paint, is employed in an unresolved sketch on paper. The design was repeated on another sheet, later stuck onto canvas, which forms part of the related oil painting in the National Gallery, London (NG 43). The scars borne by these works from having been cut, rejoined and reworked bear witness to an almost obsessively perfectionist trait in Rembrandt's character. Solutions were sometimes reached only after extensive revisions, and in this particular case Rembrandt may have abandoned his quest, as no more finished version of the composition is known.

His preferred medium was pen and brown ink, often in combination with brown wash. Every kind of subject came under the scrutiny of his pen but the collection represents his main preoccupation with the human figure extraordinarily well. In his religious and historical subjects, of which the British Museum possesses many examples, <sup>[3]</sup> the figures are for the most part drawn less spontaneously. Works of this type were made for practice, according to Rembrandt's pupil Samuel van Hoogstraten, but they seem also to have been used to instruct apprentices, as is witnessed by the many pupils' copies that survive. The expressions and postures adopted, as Rembrandt's early biographer Arnold Houbraken noted, are clearly informed by the knowledge he had gained from the study of everyday life. As Rembrandt himself wrote in a letter of 12 January 1639, to the Prince of Orange's secretary, Constantijn Huygens, he sought to imbue his compositions with the 'most natural emotion and movement'. <sup>[4]</sup>

Less obviously, perhaps, they were also informed by a thoroughgoing analysis of the works of the great masters of the Renaissance. The inventory of Rembrandt's possessions drawn up in 1656, before their dispersal by sale, reveals that he owned large quantities of prints and drawings, and even some paintings, by and after Raphael, Michelangelo, Lucas van Leyden, Palma Vecchio, Giorgione, Rosso Fiorentino and Holbein, to name but a few. His so-called 'precious book by Andrea Mantegna' may have contained the drawing of the *Calumny of Apelles* now in the British Museum (see [1860,0616.85](#)), of which Rembrandt made a remarkable copy ( [Cat. no. 46](#)), translating the Italian master's severely linear style into his own more painterly manner.

Rembrandt had earlier devoted three sheets to a *critique* of the composition of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*, known to him through engravings and drawings. In the example in the Museum's collection ( [Cat. no. 11](#)) he erased one of Leonardo's figures, splitting what was a single block of Christ's disciples into two more compact groups. The Renaissance artist's language of idealised gesture was discarded in favour of a less formal arrangement, set down in red chalk with unrestrained vigour. In the third drawing of 1635 in Berlin (Benesch 445; Inv.3769), Rembrandt's intentions are expressed in their most definitive form: the disciples erupt in anger and disbelief at Christ's announcement of imminent treachery among them. The lessons of Leonardo's composition have been traced in Rembrandt's paintings from the 1630s until near the end of his career, not least in the *Syndics of the Draper's Guild* of 1662 in the Rijksmuseum (Bredius 415). <sup>[5]</sup>

Two contemporary artists also inspired Rembrandt to copy their work: his master, Pieter Lastman (1583–1633) and his fellow-pupil, Jan Lievens (1607–74), with whom he worked in Leiden at the start of his independent career. Both painters were of seminal importance to the young Rembrandt, who re-examined compositions by them in some depth in the mid-1630s. The Museum's drawing of the *Entombment over the Raising of Lazarus* ([Cat. no. 12](#)) is based on a design produced by Lievens at the beginning of the 1630s. The drawing is later than the date (1630) inscribed on the sheet, which may refer to the time of Lievens's invention of the composition. <sup>[6]</sup> At all events, Rembrandt used Lievens's composition, which represented the *Raising of Lazarus* (for Lievens's etched version of the composition, see inv. no. [D.8.69](#); for the print Rembrandt seems to have used, see [S.28](#)), as the springboard for an *Entombment of Christ* and he reworked the sheet with the new subject. Such a radical alteration is rare, but the echoes of the drawing's design in Rembrandt's own painting of the *Entombment*, now in Munich (Bredius 560, *Corpus* A126), suggest that he was engaged on this commission when the sketch was made and that it formed an element in the preparation of the painting. <sup>[7]</sup>

Rembrandt's interests extended far beyond his own tradition, as is witnessed by the six drawings in the Museum copied from Indian miniatures ([Cat. nos 56–61](#)). The drawings are late – perhaps as late as the 1660s – and the artist's reasons for making an extensive series of such copies, thought originally to have consisted of more than 25 drawings, remain a mystery. The exotic costumes appear to have been the focus of his attention, and he frequently dispensed with the backgrounds and other subsidiary details of the original compositions, many of which survive in Vienna. <sup>[8]</sup> The restrained touch in these works contrasts with the bold style of most of Rembrandt's late drawings, suggesting that he was influenced by the originals even though he made no effort to replicate their style, and despite having chosen an oriental paper on which to copy them. No other collection affords the opportunity to study so many of them together.

A further rarity in the collection is the early *Self-Portrait* of about 1628–29 ([Cat. no. 1](#)). The celebrated ipsographic branch of Rembrandt's art was usually undertaken on panel, canvas or etched on copper – as represented in this catalogue by the extensively touched proof of a *Self-Portrait* etching ([Cat. no. 7a](#)). The drawing ([Cat. no. 1](#)), which concentrates on the artist's stare and open-mouthed expression, already exhibits many of the stylistic hallmarks of Rembrandt's more mature draughtsmanship – the descriptive reticence, delicacy of line and sense of informality. The tip of the brush adds shadows that also add definition to the forms. When the brushwork merely adds tone, as in the *Christ with Mary and Martha* ([Cat. no. 105](#)), Rembrandt's authorship (of the brushwork, at least) becomes unlikely. The initial pen work in the *Self-Portrait* was light and tentative, but as the drawing progressed Rembrandt emphasised the strongest outlines with more powerful strokes. The final, broadest passages, executed with the brush, create a pronounced *chiaroscuro* that suggests that the drawing was made by candlelight, as Otto Benesch was the first to observe.

As with many of Rembrandt's drawings, it remains unclear whether the *Self-Portrait* was executed in the studio. The sense that Rembrandt's drawings so often give of having been created *extempore*, outside the immediate environment of his place of work, was almost unprecedented. <sup>[9]</sup> Yet the majority probably were made in the studio, even though, as is mentioned in the first section, few are directly related to his paintings and etchings. Rather, the drawings form a distinct branch of his art that runs in parallel with his work in the other two media. The occasional points of interconnection assume particular significance for establishing the drawings' chronology, and several examples are in the Museum's collection. They include the *Diana bathing* ([Cat. no. 5](#)) and the *Portrait of Cornelis Claesz. Anslo* ([Cat. no. 31](#)), the outlines of which were indented with a stylus to transfer their designs to copper plates for subsequent etching. Rembrandt more often worked on his plates without preparations of this kind, and similar practices were applied to his paintings, most of which were apparently begun directly on the canvas or panel. Where related drawings exist, they were often made only after the painting had been started. The *Lamentation* ([Cat. no. 9](#)) can be mentioned again in this context, as Rembrandt returned to it after continuing to wrestle with the composition in the National Gallery's related oil-sketch. This explains how a dense coat of oil paint came to cover much of the initial work in pen and brown ink.

Further examples of this sequence of work are provided by the *Maria Trip* and the *Artist drawing from the Model* (Cat. nos [23](#) and [24](#)). There are good reasons for believing that both were made in an attempt to resolve particular compositional difficulties that Rembrandt encountered after he had begun the works to which they relate. In the case of the *Maria Trip*, an X-radiograph of the painting reveals that Rembrandt originally depicted a balustrade that ran across the whole foreground. He clearly considered this motif unsatisfactory and probably

drew the study, in which the balustrade is curtailed, as a trial for the changes he was contemplating. The painting was then completed without further alterations but as it has since been cut down, the drawing uniquely preserves a sense of the proportions that he originally intended.

The problems Rembrandt faced in his etching of the *Artist drawing from the Model* were less easily corrected. The print exists in two states but was never finished (Bartsch 192, Hind 231; for the first state, see [1895,1214.111](#), and for the second, [1973,U.995](#)). It has been suggested that the image was always intended to be left unresolved, but we believe that most of the evidence, including that provided by the drawing ( [Cat. no. 24](#)), in which the composition is complete, argues otherwise.

These two drawings lack the *pentimenti*, or revisions, found, for example, in the pen-and-ink sections of the *Lamentation* ( [Cat. no. 9](#)), in which Rembrandt was still evolving the composition. Similar revisions are to be observed in a preparatory sketch for another print, the *Portrait of Jan Cornelisz. Sylvius* ( [Cat. no. 37](#)). Almost burying in a flurry of lines, Rembrandt begins to articulate the gesture employed in the etching (Bartsch 280, Hind 225; see [1973,U.984](#)), in which the sitter's right arm is thrust beyond the fictive oval frame that surrounds him. The stylistic similarity of the red chalk sketch of the *Sacrifice of Isaac* ( [Cat. no. 10](#)), in which the flurry of lines still wrestles to define the postures of the main protagonists, provides one reason for adhering to Otto Benesch's view that the drawing preceded both the painted versions of the composition of 1635 and 1636, now in St Petersburg and Munich (Bredius 498, *Corpus* A108 and the latter's Copy 2, fig. 6). We therefore believe that the drawing is indeed by Rembrandt himself, an opinion by no means universally held. [\[10\]](#)

Clearly, the purpose of a drawing can radically affect its appearance. The late study of a *Coach* ([Cat. no. 55](#)) is also related to a painting but contains only a few corrections, and for good reasons— it was probably made from life. A similar vehicle appears in the background of Rembrandt's *Portrait of Frederick Rihel on Horseback* in the National Gallery, which probably commemorates the sitter's presence in the procession at the entry of William III into Amsterdam in 1660. The patron could have requested the artist to include the coach in the painting.

Rembrandt's *pentimenti* are also clearly observed in the corrections he made to drawings by his pupils. His former student, Samuel van Hoogstraten, described and recommended this activity to all masters of a workshop. If his advice was widely heeded, it compounds the problems of identifying those drawings that Rembrandt himself retouched. In the present catalogue, two are so described (Cat. nos [71](#) and [72](#)), but with different degrees of confidence in this judgment. Rembrandt could have corrected his own drawings; his pupils may have corrected their own drawings; and if Rembrandt's pupils also corrected their own pupils' drawings, the modern cataloguer has to contend with an especially difficult array of possibilities. Any judgment often has to be made on the basis of only a few strokes of the pen.

The stylistic variations we have charted, at their most extreme between preparatory drawings and those made as works of art in their own right, exist at every period of Rembrandt's career. The contrast between the *Portrait of Jan Cornelisz. Sylvius* ( [Cat. no. 37](#)) and the *Esau selling his Birthright to Jacob* ( [Cat. no. 34](#)) clarifies these variations further: vigour is

replaced by delicacy of line, and generalised indications – for the head, or the hands – are supplanted by a greater attention to detail.

The *Esau and Jacob* is a distinguished example of Rembrandt's abilities as a narrator. The story is from *Genesis*: the hunter, Jacob, recognisable by his weapons, succeeds in persuading the exhausted and ravenous Esau to exchange his birthright for 'some bread and a pottage of lentils'. Their agreement is signalled by the handshake and their eyes meet in an expressive exchange as Esau falls on his food. If their features and characters seem sharply defined, they are delineated with minimal means, with a few, carefully judged strokes of the pen.

Rembrandt concentrates on the gestures and expressions. The table and background are barely indicated, yet the image is finished in all essentials. The same drawing style is found in the *Three Studies of an old Man in a high fur Cap* ([Cat. no. 33](#)), suggesting that the artist drew it as an independent work of art and not merely as a sketch for his own use in the studio.

The narrative economy of Rembrandt's style was further refined in the 1650s. In the *Absalom before David (?)* ([Cat. no. 47](#)), subsidiary details are almost entirely suppressed. The *Christ walking on the Waves* ([Cat. no. 48](#)) is more elaborate, but succeeds in focusing attention on the main encounter between Christ and St Peter. The omission of the central section of the boat's hull, leaving the paper untouched at this point, suggests Christ's radiance, while the apostles behind are grouped so as to remain secondary to the main action. Nothing is left to accident and the drawing, despite its reticence, is a complete statement of the subject.

The same applies to the majority of Rembrandt's landscape drawings, of which the Museum has an extensive series ([Cat. nos 62–70](#)). Yet a complete statement can still vary in character from the deliberate touch of the *Bend in the Amstel River at Kostverloren* ([Cat. no. 67](#)) to the wispy calligraphy of the *Farm seen through Trees on the Bank of a River* ([Cat. no. 68](#)), or from the understated *Landscape with Cottages, Meadows and distant Windmill* ([Cat. no. 64](#)) to the more elaborate and broadly penned *Road passing an Inn surrounded by Trees* ([Cat. no. 70](#)). Landscape became a chief concern in the drawings of Rembrandt's middle years, from around 1645–55, and in around 1648 he responded to the influence of Venetian landscape draughtsmen, above all Titian and Domenico Campagnola. Though often thought to have been made as a relaxation, many of Rembrandt's landscape drawings may equally have been inspired by economic necessity and immediately sold. The majority were drawn in the vicinity of Amsterdam and could have found a ready market among local collectors. In the present collection, however, Rembrandt's slighter, less obviously marketable landscape drawings are represented more strongly.

At first sight, this description also seems appropriate for the Museum's portrait drawings. Yet although portraiture forms a major constituent of Rembrandt's production as a painter and etcher, portrait drawings made by him were rare. Those already mentioned – the *Maria Trip* ([Cat. no. 23](#)), the *Portrait of Cornelis Claesz. Anslo* ([Cat. no. 31](#)), the *Portrait of Jan Cornelisz. Sylvius* ([Cat. no. 37](#)) and the *Self-Portrait* ([Cat. no. 1](#)) – are exceptions, and apart from the latter they are all preparatory for other works. The sketches that he made of members of his household, including Saskia (seen in bed in [Cat. no. 15](#)) or the study of a *Woman in Dutch National Costume* ([Cat. no. 16](#)) are only related to portraiture at a tangent. His subjects' physical or physiognomic appearance was not his chief concern. In the late drawing of a *Young Woman seated in an Armchair* ([Cat. no. 52](#)), the *pentimenti* and the Renaissance costume suggest that it was also made with a particular biblical or historical subject in mind and not as a portrait. Only in the *Young Woman sleeping (Hendrickje Stoffels)* ([Cat. no. 51](#)) does the collection possess a finished portrait, albeit of an unconventional kind.

But here again, the main interest is not in portraiture in the sense of a record of likeness. Taking the exceptional step of using the tip of the brush throughout, Rembrandt experimented in the realisation of an image with yet fewer strokes than usual. The white of the paper becomes as suggestive of form and atmosphere as the touch of the brush. This lends the drawing a luminous and experimental character that may partly explain why, as noted above, it subsequently sank into obscurity. It was a style that his pupils, whose works are represented in the collection in considerable strength, could not closely imitate. [\[11\]](#)

Returning from this late drawing to the *Self-Portrait* of 25 years before, some stylistic features seem to have remained constant: the understated description, the delicacy of touch and the slight sense of impatience with subsidiary details. Similarity is however not to be confused with uniformity, and as the British Museum's collection reveals, Rembrandt is the most unpredictable draughtsman, reminding us of the famous remark made by Gainsborough of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who owned eight of the drawings in this catalogue: 'Damn him! How various he is!'.

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- [\[1\]](#) - Three nudes that were formerly attributed to him have now been tentatively given to a little-known pupil, Johannes Raven. See further below (section 3 of the Introduction) and under Johannes Raven, Cat. nos 1–3.
- [\[2\]](#) - They were first grouped on the basis of their technical similarity by Schatborn in Amsterdam, 1985, under no. 10.
- [\[3\]](#) - See Cat. nos 4, 8, 9, 32, 34, 39, 45–50, and 54.
- [\[4\]](#) - Rembrandt's own words were die meeste ende die naetuereelste bewecklickheit. Their precise meaning has been extensively discussed. For a summary, see Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, 162.
- [\[5\]](#) - Campbell, 1971, 79 and 83, also saw the Leonardo as a major point of departure for Rembrandt. For a recent discussion of the Berlin drawing, see Berlin, 2006, cat. no. 7.
- [\[6\]](#) - The reasons for re-dating the drawing to the mid-1630s are fully set out in Royalton-Kisch, 1991I, and summarized in the catalogue entry [here](#).
- [\[7\]](#) - Though begun by 1636 the painting was only delivered to the Prince of Orange in 1639.
- [\[8\]](#) - See the comparative illustrations in Benesch and in Exh. London, 1992, cat. nos 62, 63 and 67. Exceptionally, Rembrandt included the landscape behind the Four Orientals seated under a Tree (Cat. no. 56), one of the most elaborate drawings in the series.
- [\[9\]](#) - Artists such as Parmigianino and the Carracci produced such drawings only as a much smaller proportion of their total oeuvres.
- [\[10\]](#) - Doubts are expressed in the Corpus of Rembrandt's Paintings – see [here](#) under Cat. no. 10.
- [\[11\]](#) - The nearest attempts were made by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (see Van den Eeckhout, cat. nos 9, 10 and 11 [and the attributed drawing, no. 18] and Sumowski, 3, 1980, under no. 782x<sup>ff</sup>).

# Introduction III

## Problems of authenticity (about 1850–2009)

Rembrandt's variety as a draughtsman, coupled with the dearth of well-documented sheets among the many attributed to him, poses considerable problems for modern cataloguers of his work. Judgments often have to be based on drawings ascribed to him only by tradition and confirmed by no more certain authority than modern opinion. Section 1 of this Introduction outlines the early creation of a false Rembrandt *oeuvre*, which sprang from the more-or-less unquenchable desire of collectors to own examples of his work. The false accretions exacerbate the problem of reconstructing not only Rembrandt's *oeuvre*, but also those of his followers. The early art market almost obliterated all trace of many of Rembrandt's pupils by ascribing their works wholesale to their master.

By the mid-19th century, some 200 years after the artist's death, when the first attempts to list Rembrandt's paintings and drawings systematically were made, the fog of misattributions had become extremely dense. No individual cataloguer's visual memory could conceivably have restored to Rembrandt, without error, what he alone had painted and drawn. Nor was sufficient evidence available to reconstitute the separate artistic personalities of those pupils whose works had been wrongly 'upgraded' into Rembrandt's *oeuvre*. Connoisseurs had to rely on their notes, their memories and on a modest number of engraved reproductions.

Since the 1850s gradual progress has been achieved towards identifying those works that have been wrongly attributed Rembrandt, but considerable difficulties remain. Clearly, the few documented works have to form the starting point for the reconstruction of the *oeuvre* as a whole. Scholars have too often put their trust in dubious paintings and drawings, but still more damagingly, they have resorted to them as points of departure for further attributions to the master. Examples will follow, but a brief history of the scholarly attempts that have been made to define the corpus of Rembrandt's works will set the current problems in context.

The most recent complete catalogue of Rembrandt's drawings was compiled by the late Otto Benesch and first published in the 1950s. It accepted 1,450 works as by Rembrandt, including a few by his pupils that he was believed to have retouched or corrected himself. A second edition, with some additions, was brought out by Benesch's widow, Eva Benesch, in 1973. The catalogue is fully illustrated and runs to six volumes, but soon after its publication, in reviews of the late 1950s and early 1960s, critics gave it a mixed reception. They agreed that Benesch had accepted too many drawings as autograph, and one commentator, Jacob Rosenberg, went so far as to register his 'shock' at the appearance in the catalogue of some of the most spurious sketches from the Munich print room (mentioned in Section 1 above). Since its publication, some 30% of the drawings that Benesch accepted have been described as workshop productions by other scholars, and many other drawings still await a more recent verdict, but Benesch's six volumes remain both the standard work of reference and the basis for further enquiry.

The yet stronger misgivings about Rembrandt attributions voiced by Daniel Daulby in 1796, quoted in the first section, were echoed by the earliest cataloguers of Rembrandt's paintings and drawings. As we have seen, they included E.J.T. Thoré-Bürger, who published lists of the Rembrandts conserved in several collections in the 1850s and 1860s, including some of the

drawings in the British Museum. Carel Vosmaer brought out monographs with lists in 1868 and 1877, Eugène Dutuit wrote another in the 1880s and Émile Michel published a lengthy book on the master in 1893.<sup>11</sup> These authorities all doubted the authenticity of many works they had studied but lacked the tools necessary to undertake a fundamental revision. Their difficulties were aggravated not only by vested interests but also by the sheer scale of the corpus that, though never small, had been artificially expanded to massive proportions. Nevertheless, their efforts laid the basis for the catalogues produced by all later scholars who, however, have had to contend with jealous guardians of the attributions that had been promulgated or supported by these eminent authorities before them.

Reservations continued to be expressed by subsequent writers, chiefly Wilhelm von Bode (catalogue of paintings, 1897–1905), Cornelis Hofstede de Groot (paintings with Bode, a second paintings' catalogue of 1915 and a drawings catalogue of 1906), W.R. Valentiner (paintings in 1908 with a controversial supplement in 1921, and a never-completed drawings catalogue, two volumes of which appeared in 1925 and 1934) and Abraham Bredius (paintings catalogue of 1935). They all re-examined Rembrandt's *oeuvre*, often with the sharp critical comments of Woldemar von Seidlitz snapping at their heels. Only Valentiner appears to have defended the scale of the corpus of paintings that he had inherited, although his comments on the drawings were somewhat more critical. For later scholars, the impact of Bredius's 1935 catalogue of the paintings was considerable, yet it was one of the last publications by a scholar whose views were formed in the late 19th century. In 1969 it was revised by Horst Gerson, who had provided the captions for the 1935 edition, but as all more recent researchers agree, Gerson remained faithful to too many of Bredius's views and his analysis of individual works was often superficial.

The American writer, John C. Van Dyke, forms something of a maverick figure in the story. In the 1920s he published two books on Rembrandt in which he cast doubt for the first time on many works that have since been ascribed to the school. But he doubted almost everything. The story is told that he was asked how Rembrandt ever became a proficient, let alone famous painter, if he had produced so little. Nevertheless Van Dyke should be given credit for having challenged scholars to explain the inconsistencies in their image of Rembrandt's output, but his pronouncements were often so wild that the challenge was ignored.

All these commentators benefited from or assisted in the publication, between 1895 and 1912, of photographic reproductions of most of the paintings and drawings then known, a fundamental prerequisite of progress. Rembrandt's etchings, which had been catalogued by Gersaint, Daulby and Bartsch in the 18th century, posed less of a problem at least partly because of their ready availability on the market. The cataloguers could themselves own or at least work among the original prints in large numbers, allowing for an intensive scrutiny of this section of Rembrandt's *oeuvre* that was unthinkable for the paintings and drawings. As noted in Section 1 above, many of the prints bear signatures and dates, an additional aid to their study.

At the opposite extreme stand the drawings. More poorly documented than the paintings or etchings, and rarely signed, they received almost no individual comment at all in Rembrandt's own lifetime. Before the advent of Benesch's catalogue, the standard work by Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, which had no illustrations (although many had been reproduced by Lippmann and Kleinmann), contained only cursory discussions of each drawing. Produced in 1906, it listed 1,600 sheets, some of which are doubted in the author's cryptic notes.

Benesch could also refer to several museum catalogues that had brought the discussion of individual drawings to a more sophisticated level. A landmark in this respect was the posthumously published catalogue of 1920 of the drawings by Rembrandt and his school in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, compiled by John Kruse. His entries were particularly thorough and included mention of all the opinions held by the chief investigators of the period, with whom Kruse corresponded. As is stated in the introduction by Carl Neumann, who edited the catalogue, Kruse was influenced above all by Fritz Saxl's methodology, never published in extended form (parts appeared in his dissertation on Rembrandt of 1912), which sought to apply rigid criteria to attributional questions. Benesch also frequently cites Hind's 1915 catalogue of the British Museum's drawings, Elfried Bock and Jakob Rosenberg's catalogue of the Dutch drawings in Berlin of 1930, Frits Lugt's of the Louvre's of 1933, W.R. Valentiner's two *Klassiker der Kunst* volumes and to a lesser extent M.D. Henkel's catalogue of the Rijksmuseum's drawings published in 1942.

One of the most positive aspects of Benesch's corpus was that it was so richly illustrated, reproducing almost all the drawings that he accepted as well as some that he rejected. But in other respects, as noted above, it was already somewhat outdated when it first appeared in the 1950s. Rejecting less than 10% of the drawings described by Cornelis Hofstede de Groot in 1906, Benesch relied heavily on the previous work he had done on his thesis on Rembrandt's early drawings, completed in 1921, as well as on his detailed entry on the artist for the Thieme-Becker dictionary of painters and on his 1935 guide to the corpus, *Rembrandt. Werk und Forschung*. <sup>[2]</sup> The six-volume catalogue of the drawings was written largely while Benesch was exiled from Vienna at Harvard University during the Second World War, cut off from almost all the original material. It was compiled at a time when perhaps only one other scholar, Frits Lugt, had a comparable – or even superior – knowledge of the corpus of drawings as a whole. <sup>[3]</sup> Benesch's methods were also insecure, for he attributed drawings serially; i.e., he would use any drawing that he accepted as a starting point for further attributions, regardless of the stylistic distance he had travelled from the best documented sheets.

The only way forward from Benesch involves reopening the discussion on the authenticity of each drawing. Every sheet's documented and critical history needs to be reassembled and a fresh eye cast on its technique and style. The core of the present catalogue therefore lies in the lengthy bibliographical and provenance sections of the individual entries, as well as in the close inspection of the materials the artist employed. The individual bibliographies record the opinions on which the status of each work has depended and against which new ideas must stand. Provenance details also include attributions, in catalogues and inventories. Usually, no more reliable documentation exists and there is no other guide to the degree of credence that should be given to the attribution of each drawing. Any consensus that now prevails is usually built on these earlier, published opinions. The bibliographies also provide a 'historiography' of each drawing's critical fortunes, documenting changes in taste and perceptions.

No sheet is so well documented that its attribution is entirely beyond question. For example, a signature could be misleading, as has been discovered with Rembrandt's paintings; pupils could have produced drawings that influenced Rembrandt, giving rise to the assumption that they were his own preparatory sketches. Yet few have questioned the attribution, for example, of the drawings that have been indented for transfer to Rembrandt's copper plates (Cat. nos 5 and 31). Nor have the drawings with reliable-looking signatures often been

doubted ( [Cat. nos 7a, 11, 31](#) and [38](#) ). <sup>[4]</sup> But little value should be attached to other inscriptions by the artist, such as that on the late drawing of a *Child being taught to Walk* ([Cat. no. 53](#)), as in theory he could have used pupils' sketches to draught the written notes on the *verso*.

The earlier literature quoted in the entries also serves to expose the flimsiness of the tradition on which attributions have often been based. A typical example is the Museum's study of a *Nude surrounded by Drapery* (Johannes Raven, cat. no. 1). Though doubted twice in the 19th century (by Middleton in 1878 and Seidlitz in 1894), it was until recently generally considered to be a drawing of fundamental importance –the preparatory sketch for Rembrandt's etching of 1661, *The Woman with the Arrow* (Bartsch 202, Hind 303; for an impression of the first state, see [1848.0911.102](#)). The model is there similarly posed but seen in reverse and therefore in the same direction as she would have appeared on Rembrandt's etching plate. Securely attributable drawings from Rembrandt's last decade are particularly scarce and the temptation to believe in the *Nude* overruled the evidence presented to the eye. Most authorities, on the basis of the comparison with the etching, deemed it to be so certainly authentic as to render further argument superfluous. Differences in quality, in pose, in the angle from which the model is seen and in the governing mentality of the draughtsman were ignored or brushed aside, and several other similar drawings by the same hand were therefore incorporated into the Rembrandt corpus. <sup>[5]</sup>

In 1985 a new, if tentative attribution for the drawing was advanced, to Johannes Raven, an obscure follower of Rembrandt. Raven could have made the drawing as Rembrandt worked on the plate for the etching, such sessions of group study from the model being a feature of Rembrandt's studio practice. <sup>[6]</sup> The drawing's style and technique differ substantially from other figure studies of the same period that can be given to Rembrandt with greater certainty (such as the three surviving preparatory sketches for his painting of the *Syndics of the Drapers' Guild* of 1662, Benesch, cat. nos 1178–80); therefore, the rejection of the sheet from Rembrandt's *oeuvre* seems unlikely to be reversed.

The reattribution of this one drawing cannot be made in isolation. The entire group of nude studies attributed to Rembrandt by virtue of their analogies with the Museum's sheet have followed suit, two of them in the British Museum's collection (here as by Johannes Raven, [Cat. nos 2](#) and [3](#)). The reaction among those involved in the study of Rembrandt's drawings varies from uncertainty in the new attribution to surprise that the nudes could have masqueraded as autograph Rembrandts for so long. The sense of loss is tempered by the resurrection, however tentative, of the artistic personality of Johannes Raven, whose entire corpus of drawings had been reduced to just two items, a signed sheet in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich and a *Study of a Youth* in Basel – which has Rembrandt's name written on it. <sup>[7]</sup>

Johannes Raven is by no means the only Rembrandt follower whose works have dwindled to insignificant numbers. The drawings of Willem Drost, who was Rembrandt's pupil in around 1650, are now resurfacing in considerable quantities (although the attributions remain somewhat tentative), largely from the mass of works wrongly attributed to his master. Drost's name still appears in the early 18th-century catalogue of Jan Pietersz. Zomer's collection in Amsterdam, but disappears almost entirely thereafter. He is now credited with some celebrated canvases that were given to Rembrandt until the 20th century. With misconceptions of this order it is hardly surprising that no reasonably dependable catalogue, uncluttered by

school works and imitations, has ever been published. The muddle, like an intractable ball of tangled yarn, remains to be fully disentangled and suffers from a further complication caused by the success of some of Rembrandt's pupils in imitating their master's style. The drawings here catalogued under the names of Govert Flinck, Samuel van Hoogstraten, Nicolaes Maes, Willem Drost and Johannes Raven bear witness to this fact, as many of them were accepted as Rembrandt's work by Otto Benesch.

The publication of the first volumes by the committee of the Rembrandt Research Project (RRP) of Amsterdam has drawn renewed attention to the attributional debate surrounding the paintings. Like the drawings, the paintings can in general only be judged by visual, stylistic criteria, backed up by the study of X-radiographs, pigment analysis and other scientific processes. To take an extreme example, the *Anatomy Lesson of Dr Tulp* is believed to be by Rembrandt both because it 'looks' right and because there is nothing dubious about its physical components. If it failed to match our expectations of Rembrandt's handling, quality and materials, notions of which are provided by other paintings attributed to Rembrandt and from the same period (for the most part without independent documentation), it would not be considered authentic. Signed and dated 1632 (although the inscription's trustworthiness has been questioned by the RRP), the painting is first mentioned in a description of the city of Amsterdam published in 1693, more than 60 years after it was painted and 24 years after the artist's death – hardly a confidence-inspiring source.

The RRP rightly accepts the painting among the genuine works it has catalogued so far, and although its findings and methods have come under attack, the central question as to whether it has dismissed too much from Rembrandt's *oeuvrerevolves* around only about 10% of the paintings the committee discussed (with a few more extreme dissenters). As compared to Horst Gerson's 1968 catalogue that has been reduced by 30% or more, the RRP's achievement looks positive. The Dutch scholars involved have also clarified the *oeuvres* of Rembrandt's pupils, many of whom, including Gerard Dou, Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol, built solid reputations of their own in the 17th century.

Parallel investigations into the master's drawings in recent years have yet to lead to a new *catalogue raisonné*. Perhaps for this reason they have attracted less publicity. Yet many specialists would agree that Benesch's catalogue should be reduced in size by more than 25%. While the Benesch corpus remains fundamental to current research, it has been supplemented and superseded by the early reviews mentioned above and, in more recent years, by the catalogues produced by the major permanent repositories of Rembrandt's drawings in Amsterdam (1985), Rotterdam (1988), Paris (exhibitions in 1988–9 and in 2006–7), London (Exh. 1992), New York (Exh. 1995–6), Paris (Institut Néerlandais, Exh. 1997–8), Hamburg and Bremen (Exh. Bremen, 2000–01), Munich (Exh. 2001–2), Vienna (Exh. 2004), Brussels (Exh. 2005), Braunschweig (Exh. 2006) and Berlin (2006). While these have relied heavily on Benesch's work they make substantial inroads into his conception of Rembrandt's draughtsmanship, rejecting between 20% and, in the case of Rotterdam, more than 50% of the works that Benesch had authenticated. In addition, the work of some of Rembrandt's pupils and other related figures has been the subject of monographs and exhibition catalogues.

As mentioned above, the basis for current research must involve testing the plausibility of each attribution against a core of unquestioned, 'documentary' drawings. This method has been adopted in the past but not adhered to with rigour: the reliability of the core group has often been dubious. It should consist only of those drawings that have enjoyed an almost

uninterrupted *consensus eruditorum* in their favour and which can be given to Rembrandt by virtue of connections that go beyond the confirmation provided by stylistic analysis; they must be related to other, if possible, documented works. Because scholars have improved opportunities for travel between the main repositories of Rembrandt's drawings and more complete photographic archives at their disposal, they now have a better chance of success in isolating those drawings that can be reliably considered authentic. These drawings include the indented studies for Rembrandt's etchings that have already been mentioned ([Cat. nos 5 and 31](#)), or those with some other close connection to well-documented or generally accepted works. For example, the *Study for the Portrait of Maria Trip* ([Cat. no. 23](#)), as discussed in section 2, can be related to changes made by Rembrandt as he worked on a signed and dated painting, as revealed by X-radiography. Thus its attribution to Rembrandt is reasonably secure, as well as being confirmed on stylistic grounds. Reliably signed drawings can also usually be trusted, as discussed above.

Around a core of works of this kind, a few hundred drawings can be attributed to Rembrandt with some confidence on grounds of style and technique. Although not exhaustive, this expanded group gives a broad overview of Rembrandt's draughtsmanship at most periods of his career. Sketches on the *versos* of several of these drawings expand the repertory of styles that can be accepted; but if a drawing fails to match any of those in this sizeable body of material, or if it appears to belong to a separate group, then questions have to be raised about its authorship. Such questions have often led to attributions to other artists from the master's immediate circle, such as Raven and Drost. Beyond the core 'documentary' group the materials (paper, ink, chalk, etc.) and style are the only guides to further attributions. Simplistic attempts to weed out drawings of indifferent quality or to create a false, wholly infallible Rembrandt should be deprecated, and many of the drawings accepted today are not especially alluring or impressive when isolated from the context of his work as a whole. A few that were rejected on these grounds by Benesch and other writers have recently been reinstated.

The present reassessment of the British Museum's Rembrandt drawings has led to a reduction from the 106 accepted by Benesch to 70 (excluding 4 that Benesch himself rejected, forgot or did not know), which is about 35% of the collection. Some are retained only with reservations. The collection, nevertheless, remains as large as or larger than any other in existence.

Over a longer historical perspective, the percentage of 'losses' is much greater. In 1858, Thoré-Bürger believed that Rembrandt drew some 150 sheets in the British Museum at that time, and because more than 40 that he would have probably accepted have since entered the collection, he would have accepted around 190. In 1899, four years after the arrival of the Malcolm collection, 98 of the Museum's drawings were exhibited and catalogued by Sidney Colvin as by Rembrandt. Hofstede de Groot's *catalogue raisonné* of 1906 accepted five more, excluding another 15 in George Salting's bequest of 1910. This figure was more or less accepted, with just a few depletions by A.M. Hind, whose catalogue of the collection appeared in 1915. Benesch's reduction to 106 drawings in the 1950s and today's to 70 therefore belong to a slow and laborious process.

History strongly suggests that further changes will take place in the future, probably reducing the number of accepted drawings still further. In these circumstances a dogmatic or authoritarian approach, stating opinions without supporting arguments, is unwise. As long as opinions have to be formed on the basis of just a few well-documented drawings, there will

always be areas of disagreement. Some progress should be within the reach of every generation of scholars, but there may yet be some truth in the opinion of the *abbé* Dubos who early in the 18th century, with a typically Gallic disrespect for the quacks of his time, wrote that '*L'expérience nous enseigne que l'art de deviner l'auteur d'un tableau en reconnaissant la main du maître, est le plus fautif de tous les arts, après la médecine*'.<sup>[8]</sup>

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- <sup>▲</sup> [1] - The monographs discussed here are those that contributed most to the definition of the corpus, especially of the drawings.
- <sup>▲</sup> [2] - The *Rembrandt. Werk und Forschung* was in fact worked up as a supplement to the dictionary entry.
- <sup>▲</sup> [3] - See Haverkamp-Begemann, 1989, especially p. 106, for the background to Benesch's corpus. Lüttich did not himself review the catalogue but his own opinions are known through his notes, now kept at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague.
- <sup>▲</sup> [4] - The signature on Cat. no. 10 has been dismissed by some scholars, but is in my view only somewhat rubbed.
- <sup>▲</sup> [5] - Until its reattribution (see below) it was doubted in recent years only by Gerson, 1957, and Sumowski, 1961, 21, the former on the unexpected grounds that it is too close to the etching.
- <sup>▲</sup> [6] - See Cat. no. 71 for this practice. The attribution to Raven was first proposed by Schatborn in Amsterdam, 1985, under no. 69.
- <sup>▲</sup> [7] - See Sumowski, IX, 1985, nos 2141 and 2142x.
- <sup>▲</sup> [8] - 'Experience tells us that the art of divining the author of a picture by recognising the hand of the master is the most fallible of all the arts, after medicine.' From the *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture*, first published in 1719 (and republished in 1733 by the great connoisseur Pierre-Jean Mariette). Apart from the catalogues mentioned above, for further literature on problems of authenticity in Rembrandt, the reader is referred to *Corpus*, I, 1982, ix–x; Amsterdam, 1985, xiv–xv

# Full catalogue list

Objects are divided into categories according to attribution.

- [Drawings by Rembrandt](#)
- [Drawings retouched by Rembrandt](#)
- [Drawings attributed to Rembrandt](#)
- [Anonymous drawings after Rembrandt](#)
  - [Anonymous Rembrandt school](#)
  - [Named artists of Rembrandt's school](#)

## Drawings by Rembrandt (nos 1-70)

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	<a href="#">Self-Portrait with Mouth open</a>	c.1628-29	Benesch 53	Gg,2.253
2	<a href="#">Sketch of a Man leaning over a Table</a>	c.1628-29	Benesch 35	T,14.8 (formerly FAWK 5213.8)
3	<a href="#">Sketch of a Man in a Turban, half-length, turned to left</a>	c.1628-9	Benesch 28	Oo,9.95
4	<a href="#">Christ washing the Feet of his Disciples</a>	c.1628-9	Benesch 182	1961,0708.2
5	<a href="#">Diana at the Bath</a>	c.1630-31	Benesch 21	1895,0915.1266
6	<a href="#">A Woman standing with a Candle</a>	c.1631	Benesch 263a	1895,0915.1268
6.1	<a href="#">The Raising of Lazarus</a>	c.1632	Benesch 83a	1848,0911.35
7	<a href="#">Three Studies of a bearded Man on Crutches and a Woman</a>	c.1632-4	Benesch 327	Gg,2.252
7.1	<a href="#">Self-Portrait in a soft Hat (touched etching)</a>	c.1633-4	Benesch 57	1842,0806.134 (1973,U.789)
8	<a href="#">Mattathias and the Officers of Antiochus at Modin</a>	c.1633-5	Benesch 148	Oo,10.205
9	<a href="#">The Lamentation at the Foot of the Cross</a>	c.1634-5	Benesch 154	Oo,9.103

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
10	<u>The Angel preventing Abraham from sacrificing his Son, Isaac</u>	c.1634-5	Benesch 90	1897,1117.5
11	<u>Sketch after Leonardo's 'Last Supper'</u>	c.1635	Benesch 444	1900,0611.7
12	<u>The Entombment of Christ (over the Raising of Lazarus)</u>	c.1635	Benesch 17	T,14.6 (formerly FAWK,5213.6)
13	<u>Two Women teaching a Child to walk</u>	c.1635-7	Benesch 421	1910,0212.187
14	<u>A Woman teaching a Child to stand</u>	c.1635-7	Benesch 422	1910,0212.186
15	<u>A Woman lying awake in Bed</u>	c.1635-40	Benesch 286	1895,0915.1264
16	<u>A Woman in Dutch National Costume</u>	c.1638	Benesch 314	1895,0915.1270
17	<u>A black Drummer and Commander mounted on Mules</u>	c.1638	Benesch 365	Oo,10.122
18	<u>A mounted Officer</u>	c.1638	Benesch 367	1859,0806.74
19	<u>An Elephant</u>	c.1637-41	Benesch 459	Gg,2.259
20	<u>A Pig, facing left</u>	c.1638-9	Benesch 778	Pp,2.117
21	<u>A tethered Pig, facing right</u>	c.1638-9	Benesch 779	Pp,2.116
22	<u>Two Studies of old Men's Heads</u>	c.1639	Benesch 687	1895,0915.1265
23	<u>A Study for the Portrait of Maria Trip</u>	c.1639	Benesch 442	1891,0713.9
24	<u>The Artist drawing from the Model</u>	c.1639	Benesch 423	Gg,2.248
25	<u>A Peasant walking to the right</u>	c.1639	Benesch 242	1910,0212.181
26	<u>A pregnant Woman standing</u>	c.1639	Benesch	1910,0212.184

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
27	<a href="#"><u>An Oriental standing, full-length</u></a>	c.1639	246 Benesch 207	1895,1214.100
28	<a href="#"><u>Sketches of an old Man with a Child</u></a>	c.1639-40	Benesch 659	1910,0212.185
29	<a href="#"><u>A Lioness devouring a Bird</u></a>	c.1638-42	Benesch 775	Oo,9.71
30	<a href="#"><u>A chained Lioness</u></a>	c.1638-42	Benesch 774	Oo,9.75
31	<a href="#"><u>Portrait of Cornelis Claesz. Anslo</u></a>	1640	Benesch 758	1848,0911.138
32	<a href="#"><u>Three Men being beheaded</u></a>	c.1640	Benesch 479	1860,0616.130
33	<a href="#"><u>Three Studies of an old Man in a high fur Cap</u></a>	c.1640	Benesch 688	Gg,2.251
34	<a href="#"><u>Esau selling his Birthright to Jacob</u></a>	c.1640-41	Benesch 606	Gg,2.250
35	<a href="#"><u>Two women's heads</u></a>	c.1641-3	Benesch 677	1910,0212.188
36	<a href="#"><u>Bearded old Man in a fur Hat, leaning on a Stick</u></a>	c.1645	Benesch 669	Oo,9.97
37	<a href="#"><u>Sketch for the posthumous Etching of Jan Cornelisz. Sylvius</u></a>	c.1646	Benesch 763	1874,0808.2272
38	<a href="#"><u>The Star of the Kings</u></a>	c.1645-7	Benesch 736	1910,0212.189
39	<a href="#"><u>The Holy Family in the Carpenter's Workshop</u></a>	c.1647	Benesch 516	1900,0824.144
40	<a href="#"><u>Sketch of a seated Man, Profile to right, half length</u></a>	c.1646	Benesch 718	1884,1108.6
41	<a href="#"><u>Sketch of a Head, turned to the right</u></a>	c.1646	Benesch 672	1884,1108.3
42	<a href="#"><u>A Woman's Head, drawn twice, Profile to left</u></a>	c.1646	Benesch 671	1884,1108.4
43	<a href="#"><u>A Group of People standing</u></a>	c.1646	Benesch	1884,1108.5

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
			717	
44	<a href="#"><u>Three Orientals in Discussion</u></a>	c.1648-52	not in Benesch	1986,1213.2
45	<a href="#"><u>The Prodigal Son among the Swine</u></a>	c.1650	Benesch 601	1986,1213.2
46	<a href="#"><u>The Calumny of Apelles (after Andrea Mantegna)</u></a>	c.1652-4	Benesch 1207	1860,0616.86
47	<a href="#"><u>Absalom bowing before David</u></a>	c.1652-5	Benesch 948a	1961,0412.1
48	<a href="#"><u>Christ walking on waves</u></a>	c.1652-6	Benesch 1043	1910,0212.180
49	<a href="#"><u>The Holy Family</u></a>	c.1652-6	Benesch 903	1895,0915.1261
50	<a href="#"><u>The Dismissal of Hagar</u></a>	c.1652-6	Benesch 962	1910,0212.175
51	<a href="#"><u>A young Woman sleeping (Hendrickje Stoffels)</u></a>	c.1654	Benesch 1103	1895,0915.1279
52	<a href="#"><u>A young Woman seated in an Armchair</u></a>	c.1654-60	Benesch 1174	1948,0710.7
53	<a href="#"><u>A Child being taught to walk</u></a>	c.1656	Benesch 1169	1912,0416.2
54	<a href="#"><u>Pyrrhus pardoning Captives and releasing them to Fabricius</u></a>	c.1655-60	Benesch 1045a	1943,1113.69
55	<a href="#"><u>A Coach</u></a>	c.1660-63	Benesch 756	Oo,9.112
56	<a href="#"><u>Four Orientals seated under a Tree</u></a>	c.1656-61	Benesch 1187	1895,0915.1275
57	<a href="#"><u>Emperor Jahāngīr receiving an Officer</u></a>	c.1656-61	Benesch 1190	Gg,2.263
58	<a href="#"><u>A Mughal Nobleman standing</u></a>	c.1656-61	Benesch 1199	1910,0212.182
59	<a href="#"><u>A Deccani Nobleman standing</u></a>	c.1656-61	Benesch 1200	1895,0915.1280
60	<a href="#"><u>Two Mughal Noblemen</u></a>	c.1656-	Benesch	1895,0915.1281

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
61	<u>A Mughal Nobleman on Horseback</u>	61 c.1656- 61	1204 Benesch 1205	Gg,2.262
62	<u>A Clump of Trees in a fenced Enclosure</u>	c.1645	Benesch 1255	1890,0512.160
63	<u>A Clump of Trees with a Drawbridge</u>	c.1645	Benesch 1256	1890,0512.161
64	<u>Landscape with Cottages, Meadows and a distant Windmill</u>	c.1650	not in Benesch	1895,0915.1257
65	<u>A Cottage with other buildings and an upturned Boat near a Canal</u>	c.1650	Benesch 1281A	Oo,9.104
66	<u>Landscape with a Farm, with two Hay-Barns</u>	c.1650	not in Benesch	1895,0915.1282
67	<u>Landscape, the Bend in the Amstel at Kostverloren House, with a Dugout in the Foreground</u>	c.1650	Benesch 1266	1984,1110.9
68	<u>A Farm seen through Trees on the Bank of a River</u>	c.1653	Benesch 1244	1895,0915.1259
69	<u>A Road by a Canal</u>	c.1650- 53	Benesch 1242	1895,0915.1283
70	<u>A Road passing an Inn surrounded by Trees</u>	c.1655	Benesch 1329	Gg,2.255

## Drawings retouched by Rembrandt (nos. 71-72)

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
71	<a href="#"><u>Life Study of a Man standing</u></a>	c.1646	Benesch 710	Oo,9.94
72	<a href="#"><u>A reclining Lion</u></a>	c.1646- 50	Benesch 1370	Oo,9.73

## Drawings attributed to Rembrandt (nos.73-86)

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
73	<a href="#"><u>A Horse lying down</u></a>	c.1626	not in Benesch	Ff,4.121 (formerly FAWK, Add.25)
74	<a href="#"><u>A seated old Man and a Woman (Jacob and Rachel)</u></a>	c.1640- 45	Benesch 528	1861,0608.149
75	<a href="#"><u>The Dismissal of Hagar and Ishmael</u></a>	c.1642- 6	Benesch 524	1860,0616.121
76	<a href="#"><u>The Man of Gibeah offers Hospitality to the Levite</u></a>	c.1642- 6	Benesch 554	Oo,9.67
77	<a href="#"><u>Three Studies of old Men standing and walking</u></a>	c.1645- 8	Benesch 679	Oo,9.76
78	<a href="#"><u>Buildings near a Ditch on the Spaarndammerdijk</u></a>	c.1648- 50	Benesch 832	Gg,2.258
79	<a href="#"><u>Landscape with a Cottage and Trees bordered by Water</u></a>	c.1650	Benesch 1240	1860,0616.127
80	<a href="#"><u>Farm Buildings near a Canal</u></a>	c.1650	Benesch 836	1895,0915.1258
81	<a href="#"><u>A Sketch of the Bend in the Amstel near Kostverloren</u></a>	c.1650	Benesch 1269	1932,1210.1

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
82	<a href="#">The Westpoort at Rhenen</a>	c.1652-4	Benesch 1304	Gg,2.254
83	<a href="#">A Sketch of Farm Buildings</a>	c.1655	Benesch 1316	Oo,9.80
84	<a href="#">An Encampment with Soldiers by the Roadside</a>	c.1655	Benesch 1345	Oo,9.86
85	<a href="#">Two Sailing Boats</a>	c.1655	not in Benesch	Oo,9.84
86	<a href="#">River Scene with Trees, a Boat, a Cottage and a Hay-Barn</a>	c.1655	Benesch 1337	Oo,9.111

### Anonymous Drawings after Rembrandt (nos. 87-97)

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
87	<a href="#">Lot and his Daughters</a>	c.1631		1836,0811.560
88	<a href="#">Esau selling his Birthright to Jacob</a>	c.1645		1873,0510.3544
89	<a href="#">A Studio with an Artist painting a Double-Portrait</a>	c.1645-50	not in Benesch	1860,0616.128
90	<a href="#">The Miraculous Draught of Fishes</a>	c.1650-55		1895,1214.99
91	<a href="#">The Flight into Egypt</a>	c.1650-60		1900,0411.5
92	<a href="#">The Sacrifice of Iphigenia</a>	c.1655	Benesch Add.979	Oo,9.114
93	<a href="#">The Good Samaritan</a>	c.1650		1993,0619.5
94	<a href="#">The Supper at Emmaus</a>	c.1718-20		Oo,10.226
95	<a href="#">A Lion asleep</a>	c.1646-50	Benesch C60	Oo,9.74

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
96	<u>A reclining lion</u>	c.1646-50		1895,0915.1274
97	<u>Cottage and Farm Buildings, with a Man sketching</u>	c.1640-50		Oo,9.82

### Anonymous Rembrandt School (nos.98-136)

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
98	<u>An aged Prisoner before a Judge</u>	c.1635-40		Oo,9.116
99	<u>The Judgment of Solomon</u>	c.1635-45		Oo,9.116
100	<u>The Prodigal Son with the Swine</u>	c.1640-45		T,14.24
101	<u>The Angel appearing to the Shepherds</u>	c.1640-45		SL,5237.61
102	<u>Joseph waiting on his fellow Prisoners</u>	c.1640-50		Oo,9.101
103	<u>The Good Samaritan arriving at the Inn</u>	c.1645-7	Benesch 518A	1860,0616.122
104	<u>The Holy Family seated near a Fire</u>	c.1645-55	Sumowski 850x	Oo,10.124
105	<u>Christ conversing with Mary and Martha</u>	c.1650	Benesch 632	1895,0915.1254
106	<u>The Angel leading Lot and his Family out of Sodom</u>	c.1650	Benesch A36	Oo,10.118
107	<u>The Infant Moses brought to Pharaoh's Daughter</u>	c.1650	Sumowski 849x	1933,1014.25
108	<u>The Angel appearing to Zacharias in the Temple</u>	c.1650-55	Sumowski 1875ax	SL,5226.25

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
109	<u>The Widow's Mite</u>	c.1650-55		Oo,10.127
110	<u>Christ and the Woman of Samaria</u>	c.1650-55		1895,0915.1374
111	<u>The Last Supper, after an Italian drawing</u>	c.1650-60		1895,0915.1284
112	<u>Christ conversing with Martha and Mary</u>	c.1652		Oo,10.123
113	<u>David refusing Saul's Armour</u>	c.1655	Benesch C87	1910,0212.177
114	<u>Joseph waiting on his fellow Prisoners</u>	c.1660-65	Sumowski 1082xx	Gg,2.249
115	<u>Pilate washing his Hands</u>	c.1665	Benesch A95	SL,5237.62
116	<u>A Man in a tall Hat resting his Head on his Hand</u>	c.1634-5		1952,0121.34
117	<u>A Woman ill in Bed</u>	c.1640-45	Benesch 380	1891,0713.8
118	<u>A seated Woman</u>	c.1645-55	Benesch Add.A105	1935,1012.4
119	<u>A Girl in Oriental Dress</u>	c.1645-54		1935,0608.8
120	<u>A Youth with a Lantern and Basket</u>	c.1645-55	Sumowski 838ax	Oo,9.77
121	<u>A Man seated at Work by a Window</u>	c.1650		Ff,4.106
122	<u>Two Men standing, in wide-brimmed Hats and long Cloaks</u>	c.1655	Sumowski 1984x	1895,0915.1269
123	<u>Interior of a House, with a Linen Press</u>	c.1710		1848,0911.5
124	<u>A Camel, resting, with two Figures</u>	c.1640-50.		Ff,4.122
125	<u>A standing Camel with Rider and Driver</u>	c.1640-50		SL,5261.59

126	<a href="#"><u>A Lion drinking from a Pail</u></a>	c.1645- 50		1895,0915.1272
127	<a href="#"><u>Four Studies of Lions</u></a>	c.1645- 50		Oo,9.70
128	<a href="#"><u>A tethered Lion, asleep</u></a>	c.1648- 50	Benesch 857	Oo,9.72
129	<a href="#"><u>A lion lying down, licking his paw; the head to right</u></a>	c.1650		1895,0915.1278
130	<a href="#"><u>Winter Landscape with a Cottage by a River</u></a>	c.1645- 50	Benesch A37	1895,0915.1260
131	<a href="#"><u>View from near the St Anthoniespoort, Amsterdam</u></a>	c.1650	Benesch A38	Oo,9.79
132	<a href="#"><u>Landscape with a Haybarn, Cottage, Canal and Trees</u></a>	c.1650	Benesch C55	Oo,9.110
133	<a href="#"><u>Cottages enclosed by a Fence</u></a>	c.1650		Oo,9.105
134	<a href="#"><u>View of Amsterdam near the Haarlem Gate</u></a>	c.1650- 60	Sumowski 1314x	1895,0915.1193
135	<a href="#"><u>View of a Canal with a Windmill near a Bridge</u></a>	c.1650- 60		Gg,2.256
136	<a href="#"><u>Landscape with a Town on a Promontory (after Dürer)</u></a>	c.1655- 1750		1860,0616.87

## Jacob Backer

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Backer	<a href="#"><u>Seated Lady with hands raised</u></a>	c.1640- 45	Sumowski 36x	Oo,9.60
2	Backer	<a href="#"><u>Woman standing with a Jug</u></a>		Sumowski 29x	1926,1009.5
3	Attributed to Backer	<a href="#"><u>Head of an old Woman</u></a>			1897,0813.9 (95)
4	After Backer	<a href="#"><u>Four Regents at a Table</u></a>			1946,0713.947

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
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## Ferdinand Bol

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Bol	<a href="#"><u>Saskia van Uylenburgh as Flora in Arcadian Costume, after Rembrandt</u></a>	c.1635-40	Sumowski 127x	Oo,10.133
2	Bol	<a href="#"><u>The Standard-Bearer, after Rembrandt</u></a>	c.1636	Sumowski 128x	Oo,10.132
3	Bol	<a href="#"><u>The Holy Family in an Interior</u></a>	c.1643	Sumowski 95	1836,0811.337
4	Bol	<a href="#"><u>The Agony in the Garden</u></a>	c.1645	Sumowski 200x	1918,0615.9
5	Bol	<a href="#"><u>The Death of Adonis</u></a>	c.1650-55	Sumowski 276x	1946,0713.168
6	Attributed to Bol	<a href="#"><u>The St Anthoniessluis, Amsterdam</u></a>	c.1642-44	Sumowski 279x	1860,0616.131

## Anthonie van Borssom

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Van Borssom	<a href="#"><u>Full-length Study of a Woman wearing a scarf</u></a>		Sumowski 329	1836,0811.64
2	Van Borssom	<a href="#"><u>The Banks of a Canal, with a Sledge</u></a>			1836,0811.53

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
3	Van Borssom	<u>The Draw-Bridge to Borsen Burgh, a House on the Amstel River</u>			1854,0628.14
4	Van Borssom	<u>The Church at Ransdorp in Waterland</u>		Sumowski 345x	1836,0811.55
5	Van Borssom	<u>The Ruins of Brederode Castle</u>	after c.1660	Sumowski 298	1836,0811.56
6	Van Borssom	<u>A Landing-Stage with a Boat and two Men</u>		Sumowski 297	1836,0811.59
7	Van Borssom	<u>A Road in Dunes</u>			Oo,10.189
8	Van Borssom	<u>Bridge across a Stream</u>		Sumowski 303	Oo,10.188
9	Van Borssom	<u>A Country Road flanked by Haybarns</u>			1836,0811.57
10	Van Borssom	<u>Haarlem seen from the Dunes</u>		Sumowski 339x	1836,0811.52
11	Van Borssom	<u>Two Artists on a Jetty, sketching</u>			1952,0121.19
12	Van Borssom	<u>Ducks on Banks of a Stream</u>			1836,0811.67
13	Van Borssom	<u>A Group of Birds with an Owl in the Centre</u>			1836,0811.65
14	Van Borssom	<u>A thatched Dovecote</u>			1836,0811.66

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
15	Van Borssom	<u>A Turkey and a Cock By a Tree</u>		Sumowski 363x	1836,0811.62
16	Van Borssom	<u>A Fox killing a Fowl</u>			1836,0811.63
17	Van Borssom	<u>Interior of a Church with an Artist sketching</u>			1912,1214.7
18	Van Borssom	<u>Interior of a Church with Figures</u>			1912,1214.8
19	Van Borssom	<u>Sketchbook</u>		(Sumowski 322-4 (ff.6, 22 and 30 recto), Sumowski 327-8 (f.23 recto and f.11 verso); Sumowski 334 (f.33 recto))	1854,0628.111
20	Attributed to van Borssom	<u>Windmill and cottage on the Banks of a Canal</u>			1895,0915.1285
21	Attributed to van Borssom	<u>Landscape with two Waggons passing below a hill</u>		Sumowski 367xx	1946,0713.143
22	Attributed to van Borssom	<u>Cart-horses feeding outside a Country Inn</u>			SL,5214.150
23	After van Borssom	<u>A Farmyard</u>			1836,0811.54

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
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### Abraham van Dijck

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Attributed to van Dijck	<a href="#">A Youth seated in a Window</a>	c.1650s		Oo,9.68
2	Attributed to van Dijck	<a href="#">Seated old Man</a>			Oo,10.158
3	Attributed to van Dijck	<a href="#">Landscape with a Windmill in a large plain</a>			Oo,9.78

### Lambert Doomer

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Doomer	<a href="#">Windmill on the Road to Veillevigne</a>	1645	Sumowski 383	Gg,2.264
2	Doomer	<a href="#">View near a Gateway at La Fosse, near Nantes</a>	1645-1646	Sumowski p.819, no.14	1846,0509.207
3	Doomer	<a href="#">The Château Richelieu</a>	1646 (later version)	Sumowski p.822, no.32	1860,0414.13
4	Doomer	<a href="#">Ox Driver on the Isle of Wight</a>	1646 (later version)	Sumowski p.823a, no.37	2005,0430.9
5	Doomer	<a href="#">View of Cleves</a>	1663	Sumowski 485x	Oo,10.173
6	Doomer	<a href="#">The Fountain at Cleves with an</a>	1663	Sumowski 401	1886,1012.539

<b>No</b>	<b>Producer</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>	<b>Registration number</b>
		<a href="#"><u>Artist sketching</u></a>			
7	Doomer	<a href="#"><u>Dymbkes Gate at Anrath</u></a>	1663	Sumowski 402	1895,0915.1147
8	Doomer	<a href="#"><u>View of the Drachenfels and Godesburg</u></a>	1663	Sumowski 404	Gg,2.265
9	Doomer	<a href="#"><u>View of Bacharach from the South</u></a>	1663	Sumowski 406	1854,0628.115
10	Doomer	<a href="#"><u>View of Boppard on the Rhine</u></a>	1663	Sumowski p.869, no.6	1946,0713.152
11	Doomer	<a href="#"><u>Bingen on the Rhine</u></a>	1663	Sumowski p.870, no.9	1946,0713.153
12	Doomer	<a href="#"><u>Figures under a Trellis by a Farm Building</u></a>	c.1663	Sumowski p.860, no.2	1885,0711.276
13	Doomer	<a href="#"><u>A Ferry Boat</u></a>	c.1663	Sumowski 489x	1895,0915.1146
14	Doomer	<a href="#"><u>Imaginary Mountain Landscape, after Rembrandt</u></a>	c.1663	Sumowski 481x	1946,0713.978
15	Doomer	<a href="#"><u>Family Group in a Landscape</u></a>	c.1663	Sumowski 453x	1910,0218.5

## Gerard Dou

<b>No</b>	<b>Producer</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>	<b>Registration number</b>
1	Dou	<a href="#"><u>Portrait Study of an old Woman</u></a>	c.1630-35	Sumowski 533x	1891,0511.30
2	Dou	<a href="#"><u>A seated Woman</u></a>	c.1648	Sumowski 542x	1912,1214.15

## Willem Drost

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Drost	<a href="#"><u>The Rest on the Flight into Egypt</u></a>	c.1650	Sumowski 557x	1895,0915.1255
2	Drost	<a href="#"><u>Judith returning in Triumph with the Head of Holofernes</u></a>	c.1650-52	Sumowski 548x	1900,1221.2
3	Drost	<a href="#"><u>Joseph waiting on his Fellow Prisoners</u></a>	c.1650-55		1855,1013.39
4	Drost	<a href="#"><u>Saul receiving the Head of Goliath</u></a>	c.1655	Sumowski 1055ax	1910,0212.178
5	Drost	<a href="#"><u>A Boy in wide-brimmed Hat</u></a>	c.1650-55		Oo,9.96
6	Drost	<a href="#"><u>Study of the Head and Arms of a Child</u></a>	c.1650-55		Oo,9.98
7	Drost	<a href="#"><u>A young Man in a high-crowned Hat</u></a>	c.1655	Sumowski 559x	1900,0411.4
8	Drost	<a href="#"><u>Tobias restoring his Father's Sight</u></a>	c.1650-55		1900,1221.1
9	Drost	<a href="#"><u>Jacob asking Isaac's Blessing</u></a>	c.1652-55		1895,0915.1256

## Gerbrand van den Eeckhout

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>St Paul preaching at Athens</u></a>	c.1635-40	Benesch 138	T,14.7 (Fawkener 5213.7)
2	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>Portrait of a Woman</u></a>	c.1644	Sumowski 721x	1920,1012.2
3	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>Vertumnus and Pomona</u></a>	c.1645	Sumowski 742x	1946,0713.155

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
4	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>The Angel appearing to Gideon</u></a>	c.1647	Sumowski 614	SL,5236.121
5	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>The Angel appearing to Manoah and his Wife</u></a>	c.1652	Sumowski 621	1946,0713.154
6	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>The Satyr at the Peasant's House</u></a>	c.1653	Sumowski 626	1920,1116.13
7	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>The Satyr at the Peasant's House</u></a>	c.1653	Sumowski 627	1920,1116.12
8	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>A Pope receiving Homage from an Emperor and his Family</u></a>	c.1654		SL,5226.75
9	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>A Boy seated on the Ground</u></a>	c.1655	Sumowski 791x	1861,0810.16
10	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>A Boy seated in a Chair, half-length</u></a>	c.1655	Sumowski 792x	1858,0724.11
11	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>A seated Man, looking up</u></a>	c.1655	Sumowski 790x	1895,0915.1228
12	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>Landscape with wooded Hills</u></a>	1661	Sumowski 684	1847,0723.108
13	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>The City Wall outside the Rotterdam Gate at Delft</u></a>	c.1661- 2	Sumowski 804x	1836,0811.58
14	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>View of the Rhine, west of Arnhem</u></a>	c.1661- 3	Sumowski 691	1848,1125.1
15	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>A View of a Canal in a Town</u></a>	1660- 69	Sumowski 682	1893,0612.7
16	Van den Eeckhout	<a href="#"><u>Allegory on the Triple Alliance</u></a>	1663	Sumowski 664	1836,0811.240

17	Van den Eeckhout	<u>Design for a title-page</u>	c.1670	Sumowski 668	1856,0712.18
18	Attributed to van den Eeckhout	<u>A bearded Man in a high Cap</u>	c.1638	Benesch 267	1895,0915.1263
19	Attributed to van den Eeckhout	<u>The Virgin and Child seated by a Window</u>	c.1638	Benesch 113	1859,0806.72
20	Attributed to van den Eeckhout	<u>A Woman standing by a Window</u>	c.1655		Oo,9.100
21	Attributed to van den Eeckhout	<u>A Woman sewing, and two Men</u>	c.1655- 60	Sumowski 60 p.1766, no.25	1937,0213.2

## Govert Flinck

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Flinck	<u>A Woman in a plumed Cap</u>	c.1637- 40	(Sumowski 863)	Oo,9.102
2	Flinck	<u>Landscape with a large Tree</u>	1642	(Sumowski 904)	1912.1214.13
3	Flinck	<u>A Woman seated, full-length</u>	c.1645	(Benesch A12).	1910,0212.183
4	Flinck	<u>A nude Woman seated by a Tree</u>	possibly 1647	(Sumowski 897)	1885,1114.97
5	Flinck	<u>A seated Man playing the Lute</u>	c.1650	(Sumowski 886)	1895,0915.1161
6	Flinck	<u>A Young Man standing (perhaps St John the Evangelist)</u>	c.1650	(Sumowski 893)	1895,0408.1
7	Attributed to Flinck	<u>Christ walking on waves</u>	c.1638	(Benesch 70)	1895,0915.1262

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
8	Attributed to Flinck	<a href="#">The Liberation of St Peter</a>	c.1639	(Benesch 170)	2006,0930.1
9	Attributed to Flinck	<a href="#">A Woman standing in a Church</a>	c.1640-45	(Benesch 656)	1859,0806.73
10	After Flinck	<a href="#">A seated Man with a Beard, Arms raised</a>	perhaps c.1640	(Sumowski 948x)	1895,0915.1271

## Abraham Furnerius

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Furnerius	<a href="#">Landscape with a Wood</a>	c.1650	(Sumowski 1041xx)	Oo,10.125
2	Furnerius	<a href="#">A Country Road with Trees</a>	c.1650	(Sumowski 1044xx)	Oo,9.109
3	Furnerius	<a href="#">Landscape with a Pedestrian on a Road by a Wood</a>	c.1650	(Sumowski 1039xx)	Oo,9.113
4	Furnerius	<a href="#">A Country Road with a Donkey</a>	c.1650	(Sumowski 1024xx)	Oo,10.126
5	Furnerius	<a href="#">Landscape with Hills, and a River crossed by a Bridge</a>	c.1650-54	(Sumowski 1013xx)	Oo,9.117
6	Furnerius	<a href="#">House near the 'de Rose' Bastion, Amsterdam</a>	c.1650-54	(Sumowski 999xx)	Oo,9.87
7	Furnerius	<a href="#">A View of Rotterdam</a>	c.1650-54	(Sumowski 986xx)	1895,0915.1276
8	Attributed to Furnerius	<a href="#">Cottage with a Haybarn near a Canal</a>	c.1650-54		1946,0713.144

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
9	Attributed to Furnerius	<a href="#">A distant View of Amsterdam</a>	c.1650-54	(Sumowski 988xx)	1895,0915.1278

## Aert de Gelder

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Attributed to de Gelder	<a href="#">Hagar and Ishmael</a>	c.1660-65	(Sumowski 2344axx)	1910,0212.176
2	Attributed to de Gelder	<a href="#">The Rommelpot Players</a>	c.1665	(Benesch 733)	1900,0824.145
3	Attributed to de Gelder	<a href="#">Jacob's Dream</a>	c.1670-90		Oo,10.120
4	Attributed to de Gelder	<a href="#">The Adoration of the Shepherds</a>	c.1670-1700		1912.1214.14
5	Attributed to de Gelder	<a href="#">View of a Village on a Canal, with a Boat to the left</a>	after c.1670	(Sumowski 1090xx)	1860,0616.129
6	Attributed to de Gelder	<a href="#">View from a Canal, with a large Windmill in the Centre</a>	after c.1670	(Sumowski 1086xx)	Oo,9.93

## Samuel van Hoogstraten

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Van Hoogstraten	<a href="#">Balaam blessing the Israelites</a>	1646	(Sumowski 1101)	1895,0915.1175
2	Van Hoogstraten	<a href="#">Rachel asking Leah for Mandrakes</a>	c.1646	(Sumowski 1123x)	1895,0915.1150

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
3	Van Hoogstraten	<a href="#">The Adoration of the Shepherds, after Rembrandt</a>	c.1646	(Sumowski 1792x)	1895,0915.1203
4	Van Hoogstraten	<a href="#">The Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau</a>	c.1650	(Sumowski 1129x)	1861,0810.15
5	Van Hoogstraten	<a href="#">Landscape with a Village and anglers</a>	c.1649	(Sumowski 337x)	1895,0915.1277
6	Attributed to van Hoogstraten	<a href="#">A Milkmaid, a Woman and two Children in a Courtyard</a>	c.1660	(Sumowski 1215x)	1895,0915.1201
7	Attributed to van Hoogstraten	<a href="#">Life Study of a seated Man holding a Flute</a>	c.1646	(Benesch 710a)	1895,0915.1267
8	Attributed to van Hoogstraten	<a href="#">Life Study of a Man lying on his Back</a>	c.1646		1902,0617.5
9	Attributed to van Hoogstraten	<a href="#">The Shunamite thanking Elisha for reviving her Son</a>	c.1650s	(Sumowski 840x)	1910,0218

## Jacob Koninck

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Koninck J.	<a href="#">View of Ransdorp</a>	c.1650	(Sumowski 1289)	Oo,9.81
2	Koninck J.	<a href="#">Landscape with a River and Anglers in a Boat</a>	c.1650	(Sumowski 1299x)	1912,1214.17
3	Koninck J.	<a href="#">View of a Village with a Church Tower</a>	c.1652-55		1925,1117.5

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
4	Attributed to Koninck J.	<u>A Road through a Meadow leading to a Wood and Buildings</u>		(Sumowski 1303x)	1946,0713.161
5	Attributed to Koninck J.	<u>Landscape with a Haybarn and a Road</u>	c.1665	(Sumowski 1293x)	Oo,9.107

## Philips Koninck

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Koninck P	<u>Daniel proving Susannah's innocence</u>	1658	(Sumowski 1319)	1946,0713.158
2	Koninck P	<u>The Marriage of Virgin</u>	c.1662	(Sumowski 1437x)	SL,5226.48
3	Koninck P	<u>Two Studies of an oriental Figure</u>	c.1662	(Sumowski 1351)	1920,1116.14
4	Koninck P	<u>A cloaked Figure walking to the left</u>	c.1668		1997,0712.60
5	Koninck P	<u>Landscape with a Road by an Inn and a distant River</u>	c.1663	(Sumowski 1492)	Oo,10.172
6	Koninck P	<u>Landscape with a Windmill on the banks of a Canal</u>	1665	(Sumowski 1362)	1910,0212.190
7	Koninck P	<u>Landscape with a River in flat Country and Hills in the Distance</u>	c.1670s	(Sumowski 1516x)	Oo,9.106
8	Koninck P	<u>View of flat, wooded Terrain intersected by</u>	c.1671	(Sumowski 1509x)	1895,0915.1192

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
		<u>Waterways</u>			
9	Koninck P	<u>Landscape with a River and distant Hills</u>	c.1671	(Sumowski 1518x)	Oo,9.83
10	Koninck P	<u>Landscape with a Pond, Boat and Watermill</u>	1674	(Sumowski 1366)	Gg,2.257
11	Koninck P	<u>View of the 'Huis met het toorentje' ('House with the small Tower')</u>	c.1670s	(Sumowski 1514x)	Oo,9.85
12	Koninck P	<u>Landscape with Farmhouses and Trees</u>	c.1674	(Sumowski 1519x)	Oo,9.108
13	Attributed to Koninck P	<u>Landscape with a winding brook</u>	c.1645	(Sumowski 1476x)	Oo,10.182
14	Attributed to Koninck P	<u>Landscape with Churches either side of a River</u>	c.1650	(Sumowski 1477x)	Oo,9.115
15	Attributed to Koninck P	<u>Landscape with Trees and Figures near a Lake</u>		(Sumowski 1512x)	Oo,10.154
16	Attributed to Koninck P	<u>St Jerome in Penitence</u>	c.1661	(Sumowski 1426x)	SL,5226.47
17	Attributed to Koninck P	<u>A Peasant seated at a Table holding a drink and a pipe</u>		(Sumowski 1466x)	1936,1010.24
18	After Koninck P	<u>Village with two gabled Cottages by a Canal</u>	c.1700-50		1997,U.67
19	After Koninck P	<u>Landscape with a Coach</u>	perhaps c.1700-50		1997,U.68

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
20	After Koninck P	<a href="#"><u>Landscape with a Coach</u></a>	perhaps c.1700-50		1868,0822.7560

## Jan Lievens

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Lievens	<a href="#"><u>The Stoning of St Paul in Lystra</u></a>	c.1625	(Sumowski 1622x)	SL,5236.124
2	Lievens	<a href="#"><u>Study of a Man's Head</u></a>	c.1630	(Sumowski 1589)	1836,0811.341
3	Lievens	<a href="#"><u>A seated Hermit</u></a>	c.1631	(Sumowski 1590)	1836,0811.347
4	Lievens	<a href="#"><u>Portrait of Jan Davidsz. de Heem</u></a>	c.1636	(Sumowski 1652x)	1895,0915.1199
5	Lievens	<a href="#"><u>Portrait of Daniel Seghers</u></a>	c.1636	(Sumowski 1651x)	Gg,2.233
6	Lievens	<a href="#"><u>Portrait of Constantijn Huygens</u></a>	c.1639	(Sumowski 1598)	1836,0811.342
7	Lievens	<a href="#"><u>Portrait of a seated Man, his Hat on his Lap</u></a>	c.1640	(Sumowski 1655x)	1836,0811.345
8	Lievens	<a href="#"><u>Portrait of a seated Man, half-length</u></a>	c.1650	(Sumowski 1600)	1861,0810.17
9	Lievens	<a href="#"><u>Head and Shoulders of a Man</u></a>	c.1650	(Sumowski 1601)	1836,0811.346
10	Lievens	<a href="#"><u>Portrait of Admiral Maerten Tromp (head only)</u></a>	c.1650-53	(Sumowski 1609)	1836,0811.344

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
11	Lievens	<u>Head of Jan Vos</u> <u>Sheet of Studies,</u> <u>with a pointing</u>	c.1662		1895,0915.1196
12	Lievens	<u>Man, other</u> <u>Figures, and</u> <u>Foliage</u> <u>Landscape with</u> <u>Houses amidst</u>	possibly c.1660	(Sumowski 1634x)	1886,0706.5
13	Lievens	<u>Trees and a</u> <u>Vista towards</u> <u>Haarlem</u>			1876,1209.628
14	Lievens	<u>A Clearing in a</u> <u>Forest, with</u> <u>Deer by a Pond</u>	c.1660- 70	(Sumowski VII, 1983, p.3742, no.10)	1860,0616.58
15	Lievens	<u>A Homestead in</u> <u>a Forest, with a</u> <u>Flute-Player</u> <u>A Shepherd</u>	c.1660- 70	(Sumowski 1685x)	1847,0326.13
16	Lievens	<u>resting beneath</u> <u>Trees near Farm-</u> <u>Buildings</u> <u>Forest Scene</u>	c.1660- 70	(Sumowski 1682x)	1860,0616.59
17	Lievens	<u>with Buildings</u> <u>and a Fence</u> <u>beyond</u> <u>Two Pollard</u>	c.1660- 70		Oo,10.140
18	Lievens	<u>Willows in front</u> <u>of a wooded</u> <u>Glade</u> <u>Forest Scene</u>	c.1660- 70	(Sumowski 1696x)	1895,0915.1197
19	Lievens	<u>with a large Tree</u> <u>by a Pool in the</u> <u>Foreground</u>		(Sumowski 1680x)	1895,0915.1198
20	Lievens	<u>Cows being</u> <u>milked under</u>	c.1660- 70	(Sumowski 1675x)	1946,0713.163

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
21	Lievens	<u>Trees</u> <u>The Trunk of an old Tree</u>	c.1660-70	(Sumowski 1701)	1836,0811.340
22	Lievens	<u>Sandpit with Barns, Figures and Swine</u>	c.1660-70	(Sumowski 1728x)	1946,0713.160
23	Lievens	<u>Houses among Trees near a Canal</u>	c.1660-70	(Sumowski 1736x)	1946,0713.162
24	Attributed to Lievens	<u>Portrait of Andries de Graeff (1611-1678)</u>	c.1657		1854,0628.88
25	Attributed to Lievens	<u>View of the Rhine, west of Arnhem</u>		c.1663	1949,0411.96
26	Attributed to Lievens	<u>Boathouses and a Church on the Banks of a River (at Loenen?)</u>			1910,0212.155
27	After Lievens	<u>Portrait of a young Man (Johan Baptist van Kessel?)</u>			1862,1011.197
28	After Lievens	<u>Portrait of Petrus Scriverius</u>	perhaps c.1750 or later		1836,0811.339

## Jan Andrea Lievens

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Lievens J.A.	<u>The Holy Family with the Infant St John the Baptist in a</u>	perhaps c.1665		1836,0811.343

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
2	Lievens J.A.	<u>Landscape</u> <u>Landscape with Venus, Cupid and two Satyrs</u>	perhaps c.1665		1922,0410.3
3	Lievens J.A.	<u>Landscape with a seated Shepherd playing the Flageolet</u>	perhaps c.1665		1910,0212.156
4	Lievens J.A.	<u>A Windmill near a Canal outside Haarlem</u>	perhaps c.1665	(Sumowski 1720x)	Ff,4.127

## Nicolaes Maes

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Maes	<u>The Holy Family with the Cat, after Rembrandt</u> <u>Abraham prostrated before Jehovah and the two Angels</u>	c.1646-50	(Sumowski 1790x)	1895,0915.1200
2	Maes	<u>Christ blessing little Children</u>	c.1650	(Sumowski 1789x)	Oo,10.121
3	Maes	<u>Mother and Child</u> <u>Abraham prostrated before Jehovah</u>		(Sumowski 1759 (the verso) and 1762 (the recto))	1972,U.674
4	Maes	<u>Mother and Child</u>	c.1655	(Sumowski 1779)	1860,0616.88
5	Maes	<u>Abraham prostrated before Jehovah</u>	c.1655	(Sumowski 1797x)	1905,1110.68

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
		<u>and the two Angels (light sketch)</u>			
6	Attributed to Maes	<u>Five Studies of Women's Heads</u>	c.1653	(Sumowski 1781)	1895,0915.1202
7	Attributed to Maes	<u>A Man in a high-crowned Hat, drawing</u>	c.1655	(Benesch 1091)	Oo,9.99
8	Attributed to Maes	<u>A Man walking with a Stick</u>	c.1655- 57	(Sumowski 584xx)	Oo,9.69
9	Attributed to Maes (perhaps Justus de Gelder)	<u>A Performance of an outdoor Play with a Crowd of Spectators</u>	c.1665 (if by de Gelder)	(Sumowski 1956x)	1925,1114.1
10	Attributed to Maes (perhaps Justus de Gelder)	<u>A Hurdy-Gurdy Man</u>	c.1671- 74	(Sumowski 1768)	1895,0915.1342
11	Attributed to Maes (perhaps Justus de Gelder)	<u>A Bull led near the Gate of a Town</u>		(Sumowski p.4261)	1895,0915.1151

## Willem de Poorter

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	De Poorter	<u>Bust of an old Man in an elaborate Hat</u>	c.1630- 40		2005,0430.6
2	De Poorter	<u>Josiah burning the Bones at Bethel</u>	c.1635- 45		2005,0430.9

## Johannes Raven

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Attributed to Raven	<u>A seated nude Woman, surrounded by Drapery</u>	c.1661-62	(Benesch 1147)	1859,0806.85
2	Attributed to Raven	<u>A seated nude Woman, bending forward</u>	c.1661-2	(Benesch 1143)	1895,1214.102
3	Attributed to Raven	<u>A nude Woman standing by a Chair</u>	c.1661-2	(Benesch 1145)	1895,1214.101

## Constantijn Daniël van Renesse

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	Van Renesse	<u>Landscape with a Hunter</u>	c.1650	(Sumowski 2147)	1851,0208.321
2	Van Renesse	<u>The Temptation of Christ</u>	c.1650	(Sumowski 2171x)	Oo,9.66
3	Van Renesse	<u>Head of an old Man</u>	c.1650	(Sumowski 2168x)	1946,0713.170
4	Attributed to van Renesse	<u>Jacob's Dream</u>	c.1650	(Benesch 1381)	Oo,10.119
5	Attributed to van Renesse	<u>Laban searching for the Idols</u>	c.1650-52	(Sumowski 2177x (recto) and 2176x (verso))	1905,1110.69
6	Attributed to van Renesse	<u>Joseph sold by his Brethren</u>	c.1653	(Sumowski 2180x)	1884,1108.6x

## Johannes Ruijscher

1	Attributed to Ruijscher	<a href="#"><u>View of open Country with the Rhine near Cleves</u></a>	c.1648	(Sumowski 2309xx)	Oo,9.91
2	Attributed to Ruijscher	<a href="#"><u>Panoramic Landscape with two Figures in the Foreground</u></a>	c.1648- 52	(Sumowski 2310xx)	Oo,9.90
3	Attributed to Ruijscher	<a href="#"><u>Panoramic Landscape with a Town and Churches on the Horizon</u></a>	c.1648- 52	(Sumowski 2311xx)	Oo,9.89
4	Attributed to Ruijscher	<a href="#"><u>Landscape with Naarden Church in the Distance</u></a>	c.1648- 52	(Sumowski 2301xx)	Oo,9.92

## Pieter de With

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	De With	<a href="#"><u>Landscape with a Village on the Banks of a Canal</u></a>	c.1650- 60	(Sumowski 2394)	1888,0619.17
2	De With	<a href="#"><u>Landscape with a Canal by a Village</u></a>	c.1650- 60	(Sumowski 2402x)	1910,0212.191
3	De With	<a href="#"><u>An Outhouse on the Edge of a Town</u></a>	c.1650- 70	(Sumowski 2406x)	Oo,9.88
4	De With	<a href="#"><u>Landscape with a Castle by a Tower</u></a>	c.1650- 60	(Sumowski 2397)	1893,0731.1
5	Attributed to de With	<a href="#"><u>View of the Hoofdtoren at Hoorn</u></a>	c.1651- 60		2005,0430.8
6	Attributed to de With or to Gerrit van Battem	<a href="#"><u>Hilly Landscape with Herdsman by a River</u></a>	c.1650- 60	(Sumowski 2447x)	1895,0915.1032

No	Producer	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
7	Attributed to de With or to Gerrit van Battem	<u>Evening Landscape with Figures by a Fire</u>	c.1650- 60		Oo,10.134
8	Attributed to de With or to Gerrit van Battem	<u>Landscape with a Bridge over a River</u>	c.1650- 60	(Sumowski 2443x)	Oo,10.136
9	Attributed to de With or to Gerrit van Battem	<u>Landscape with a View across a Plain</u>	c.1650- 60	(Sumowski 2440x)	1910,0212.104
10	Attributed to de With or to Gerrit van Battem	<u>Landscape with a Man by a Gate</u>	c.1650- 60	(Sumowski 2437x)	1946,0713.141

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# Catalogue of Drawings by Rembrandt and his School in the British Museum

**Martin Royalton-Kisch**

Published online by the British Museum, 2010.

This copy, compiled from the British Museum website in 2013, includes a few references and some conservation reports that had been added to the website since 2010.

**Rembrandt** (printmaker; painter/draughtsman; Dutch; Male; 1606 - 1669)

Also known as Rembrandt; Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn; Rijn, Rembrandt van

## Biography:

Painter, draughtsman and etcher of portraits, landscapes and historical and biblical subjects. Born in Leiden the son of a mill-owner; in 1620 after completing his tuition at the Leiden Latin School enrolled at Leiden University; began a three-year apprenticeship in Leiden to a minor painter Jacob Isaacz. Swanenburgh (q.v.); from 1624-5 a pupil of Pieter Lastman (q.v.), a leading painter in Amsterdam, for about six months after which he set himself up as an independent painter in Leiden and worked closely with Jan Lievens. In or around 1631 he settles permanently in Amsterdam; marries Saskia van Uylenburgh (q.v.) in 1634; in 1649 Hendrickje Stoffels enters his household as a servant and they have a child, Cornelia, together; 1656-8 his assets, art collection, and home sold to pay off his creditors.

## OUTLINE BIOGRAPHY:

1606 Born in Leiden, son of a mill-owner

1620 After completing tuition at the Leiden Latin School, enrolled at Leiden University, but does not study there.

1621 Begins three-year apprenticeship in Leiden to Jacob van Swanenburgh.

1624-5 Studies with Pieter Lastman, the leading painter in Amsterdam, for about six months.

c.1625 Sets up as an independent painter in Leiden. Works closely with Jan Lievens until c.1631.

1631 Settles permanently in Amsterdam.

1632 Paints 'The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Tulp' (now in the Mauritshuis, The Hague).

1633-9 Series of six paintings depicting Christ's Passion executed for the head of state, Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange (now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich).

1634 Marries Saskia van Uylenburgh.

1639 Buys a large home with a studio in Amsterdam (now the Museum het Rembrandthuis). His financial obligations on making this purchase were a major source of his financial difficulties in the 1650s.

1641 Birth of his son Titus van Rijn, the first of his children to survive infancy.

1642 Death of Saskia. Completes the so-called 'Night Watch'.

By 1649 Hendrickje Stoffels a member of his household as a servant; she replaced another servant, Geertje Dircx, in his affections.

1654 Birth of Cornelia, his daughter by Hendrickje.

1656 Assigns his assets to his creditors via the courts. His assets (including his house and art collections ) are sold to pay his debts in 1656-8.

1661 His painting of 'The Conspiracy of Julius Civilis', commissioned for the Amsterdam Town Hall. Probably judged a failure, it is replaced by a pupil's work (a fragment of Rembrandt's painting survives in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm).

1663 Death of Hendrickje.

1668 Death of Titus van Rijn.

1669 Death of Rembrandt in Amsterdam.

**Drawings by Rembrandt (Cat.1-70) or retouched by him (Cat.71-72).**

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
1	<a href="#">Self-Portrait with Mouth open</a>	c.1628-29	Benesch 53	Gg,2.253
2	<a href="#">Sketch of a Man leaning over a Table</a>	c.1628-29	Benesch 35	T,14.8 (formerly FAWK 5213.8)
3	<a href="#">Sketch of a Man in a Turban, half-length, turned to left</a>	c.1628-9	Benesch 28	Oo,9.95
4	<a href="#">Christ washing the Feet of his Disciples</a>	c.1628-9	Benesch 182	1961,0708.2
5	<a href="#">Diana at the Bath</a>	c.1630-31	Benesch 21	1895,0915.1266
6	<a href="#">A Woman standing with a Candle</a>	c.1631	Benesch 263a	1895,0915.1268
6.1	<a href="#">The Raising of Lazarus</a>	c.1632	Benesch 83a	1848,0911.35
7	<a href="#">Three Studies of a bearded Man on Crutches and a Woman</a>	c.1632-4	Benesch 327	Gg,2.252
7.1	<a href="#">Self-Portrait in a soft Hat (touched etching)</a>	c.1633-4	Benesch 57	1842,0806.134 (1973,U.789)
8	<a href="#">Mattathias and the Officers of Antiochus at Modin</a>	c.1633-5	Benesch 148	Oo,10.205
9	<a href="#">The Lamentation at the Foot of the Cross</a>	c.1634-5	Benesch 154	Oo,9.103
10	<a href="#">The Angel preventing Abraham from sacrificing his Son, Isaac</a>	c.1634-5	Benesch 90	1897,1117.5
11	<a href="#">Sketch after Leonardo's 'Last Supper'</a>	c.1635	Benesch 444	1900,0611.7
12	<a href="#">The Entombment of Christ (over the Raising of Lazarus)</a>	c.1635	Benesch 17	T,14.6 (formerly FAWK,5213.6)
13	<a href="#">Two Women teaching a Child to walk</a>	c.1635-7	Benesch 421	1910,0212.187
14	<a href="#">A Woman teaching a Child to stand</a>	c.1635-7	Benesch 422	1910,0212.186

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
15	<a href="#">A Woman lying awake in Bed</a>	c.1635-40	Benesch 286	1895,0915.1264
16	<a href="#">A Woman in Dutch National Costume</a>	c.1638	Benesch 314	1895,0915.1270
17	<a href="#">A black Drummer and Commander mounted on Mules</a>	c.1638	Benesch 365	Oo,10.122
18	<a href="#">A mounted Officer</a>	c.1638	Benesch 367	1859,0806.74
19	<a href="#">An Elephant</a>	c.1637-41	Benesch 459	Gg,2.259
20	<a href="#">A Pig, facing left</a>	c.1638-9	Benesch 778	Pp,2.117
21	<a href="#">A tethered Pig, facing right</a>	c.1638-9	Benesch 779	Pp,2.116
22	<a href="#">Two Studies of old Men's Heads</a>	c.1639	Benesch 687	1895,0915.1265
23	<a href="#">A Study for the Portrait of Maria Trip</a>	c.1639	Benesch 442	1891,0713.9
24	<a href="#">The Artist drawing from the Model</a>	c.1639	Benesch 423	Gg,2.248
25	<a href="#">A Peasant walking to the right</a>	c.1639	Benesch 242	1910,0212.181
26	<a href="#">A pregnant Woman standing</a>	c.1639	Benesch 246	1910,0212.184
27	<a href="#">An Oriental standing, full-length</a>	c.1639	Benesch 207	1895,1214.100
28	<a href="#">Sketches of an old Man with a Child</a>	c.1639-40	Benesch 659	1910,0212.185
29	<a href="#">A Lioness devouring a Bird</a>	c.1638-42	Benesch 775	Oo,9.71
30	<a href="#">A chained Lioness</a>	c.1638-42	Benesch 774	Oo,9.75
31	<a href="#">Portrait of Cornelis Claesz. Anslo</a>	1640	Benesch 758	1848,0911.138
32	<a href="#">Three Men being beheaded</a>	c.1640	Benesch 479	1860,0616.130
33	<a href="#">Three Studies of an old Man in a high fur Cap</a>	c.1640	Benesch 688	Gg,2.251
34	<a href="#">Esau selling his Birthright to Jacob</a>	c.1640-41	Benesch 606	Gg,2.250
35	<a href="#">Two women's heads</a>	c.1641-3	Benesch 677	1910,0212.188

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
36	<a href="#"><u>Bearded old Man in a fur Hat, leaning on a Stick</u></a>	c.1645	Benesch 669	Oo,9.97
37	<a href="#"><u>Sketch for the posthumous Etching of Jan Cornelisz. Sylvius</u></a>	c.1646	Benesch 763	1874,0808.2272
38	<a href="#"><u>The Star of the Kings</u></a>	c.1645-7	Benesch 736	1910,0212.189
39	<a href="#"><u>The Holy Family in the Carpenter's Workshop</u></a>	c.1647	Benesch 516	1900,0824.144
40	<a href="#"><u>Sketch of a seated Man, Profile to right, half length</u></a>	c.1646	Benesch 718	1884,1108.6
41	<a href="#"><u>Sketch of a Head, turned to the right</u></a>	c.1646	Benesch 672	1884,1108.3
42	<a href="#"><u>A Woman's Head, drawn twice, Profile to left</u></a>	c.1646	Benesch 671	1884,1108.4
43	<a href="#"><u>A Group of People standing</u></a>	c.1646	Benesch 717	1884,1108.5
44	<a href="#"><u>Three Orientals in Discussion</u></a>	c.1648-52	not in Benesch	1986,1213.2
45	<a href="#"><u>The Prodigal Son among the Swine</u></a>	c.1650	Benesch 601	1986,1213.2
46	<a href="#"><u>The Calumny of Apelles (after Andrea Mantegna)</u></a>	c.1652-4	Benesch 1207	1860,0616.86
47	<a href="#"><u>Absalom bowing before David</u></a>	c.1652-5	Benesch 948a	1961,0412.1
48	<a href="#"><u>Christ walking on waves</u></a>	c.1652-6	Benesch 1043	1910,0212.180
49	<a href="#"><u>The Holy Family</u></a>	c.1652-6	Benesch 903	1895,0915.1261
50	<a href="#"><u>The Dismissal of Hagar</u></a>	c.1652-6	Benesch 962	1910,0212.175
51	<a href="#"><u>A young Woman sleeping (Hendrickje Stoffels)</u></a>	c.1654	Benesch 1103	1895,0915.1279
52	<a href="#"><u>A young Woman seated in an Armchair</u></a>	c.1654-60	Benesch 1174	1948,0710.7

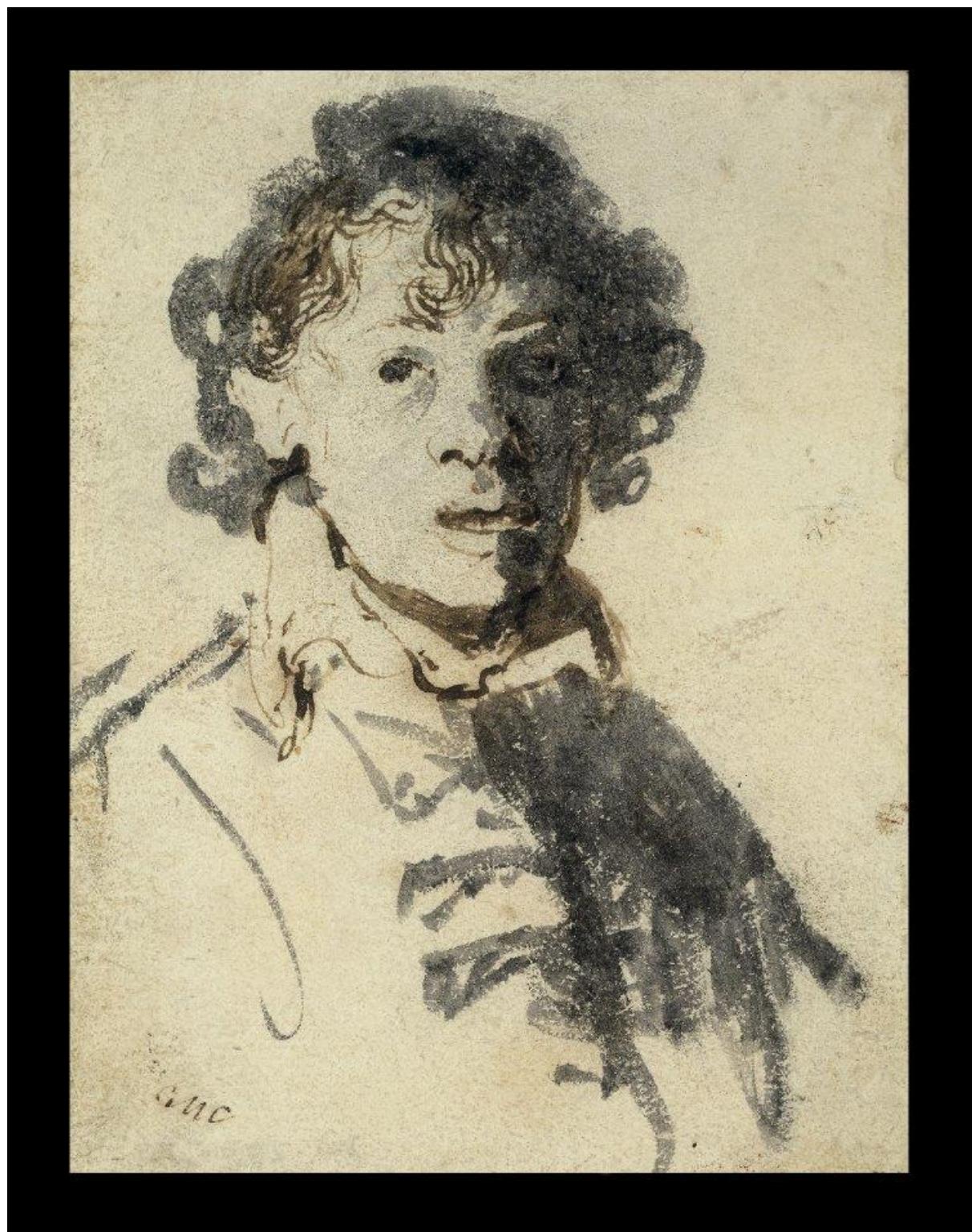
No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
53	<a href="#"><u>A Child being taught to walk</u></a>	c.1656	Benesch 1169	1912,0416.2
54	<a href="#"><u>Pyrrhus pardoning Captives and releasing them to Fabricius</u></a>	c.1655-60	Benesch 1045a	1943,1113.69
55	<a href="#"><u>A Coach</u></a>	c.1660-63	Benesch 756	Oo,9.112
56	<a href="#"><u>Four Orientals seated under a Tree</u></a>	c.1656-61	Benesch 1187	1895,0915.1275
57	<a href="#"><u>Emperor Jahāngīr receiving an Officer</u></a>	c.1656-61	Benesch 1190	Gg,2.263
58	<a href="#"><u>A Mughal Nobleman standing</u></a>	c.1656-61	Benesch 1199	1910,0212.182
59	<a href="#"><u>A Deccani Nobleman standing</u></a>	c.1656-61	Benesch 1200	1895,0915.1280
60	<a href="#"><u>Two Mughal Noblemen</u></a>	c.1656-61	Benesch 1204	1895,0915.1281
61	<a href="#"><u>A Mughal Nobleman on Horseback</u></a>	c.1656-61	Benesch 1205	Gg,2.262
62	<a href="#"><u>A Clump of Trees in a fenced Enclosure</u></a>	c.1645	Benesch 1255	1890,0512.160
63	<a href="#"><u>A Clump of Trees with a Drawbridge</u></a>	c.1645	Benesch 1256	1890,0512.161
64	<a href="#"><u>Landscape with Cottages, Meadows and a distant Windmill</u></a>	c.1650	not in Benesch	1895,0915.1257
65	<a href="#"><u>A Cottage with other buildings and an upturned Boat near a Canal</u></a>	c.1650	Benesch 1281A	Oo,9.104
66	<a href="#"><u>Landscape with a Farm, with two Hay-Barns</u></a>	c.1650	not in Benesch	1895,0915.1282
67	<a href="#"><u>Landscape, the Bend in the Amstel at Kostverloren House, with a Dugout in the Foreground</u></a>	c.1650	Benesch 1266	1984,1110.9
68	<a href="#"><u>A Farm seen through Trees on the Bank of a River</u></a>	c.1653	Benesch 1244	1895,0915.1259
69	<a href="#"><u>A Road by a Canal</u></a>	c.1650-53	Benesch 1242	1895,0915.1283

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
70	<a href="#"><u>A Road passing an Inn surrounded by Trees</u></a>	c.1655	Benesch 1329	Gg,2.255

**Drawings retouched by Rembrandt (Cat.71-72)**

No	Title	Date	Reference	Registration number
71	<a href="#"><u>Life Study of a Man standing</u></a>	c.1646	Benesch 710	Oo,9.94
72	<a href="#"><u>A reclining Lion</u></a>	c.1646-50	Benesch 1370	Oo,9.73

Cat. 1



Recto



Verso

Registration number: Gg,2.253

Bibliographic reference

Hind 1

Royalton-Kisch 2010 1 (Rembrandt)

Benesch 53

Dutch Roy XVIIc

Production person

Drawn by Rembrandt (biographical details | all objects)

Date

1628-1629 (?)

Description

Self-portrait of Rembrandt, with mouth open, as a young man; turned to right, looking to front, his mouth half open, with curly hair. c.1628-1629 (?)

Pen and brown ink with grey wash; ruled framing lines in the same brown ink

Verso: Tracing of profile of the head on the recto in black chalk (not by Rembrandt)

Watermark: fragment of a Basilisk or an armorial mark - not the same mark as on Benesch 54 (the drawing discussed under Curator's comments below)

Condition: generally good; slightly stained at edges; brown ink somewhat faded and the sheet a little discoloured.

Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Inscribed on verso, upper centre, in graphite: '45' [in a circle]; top left, in pen and brown ink: '0+ 3' [?]; lower centre, in graphite: 'F' [?].

Dimensions

Height: 127 millimetres (127 x 95 (25h))

Width: 95 millimetres ((chain lines horizontal, 25mm apart))

Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.1. :

The thin, curling lines in pen and brown ink are comparable to two other drawings in the British Museum (5213.8 and Oo,9.95), suggesting a date c.1628-9, when Rembrandt was 22-23 years old. Over the delicate work in ink the grey wash is applied more boldly, elaborating the delineation of the hair, shading the face and extending the figure below to include the bust.

The style and technique of the drawing resemble those of another 'Self-Portrait' in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Benesch 54; inv.1961:75), in which the torso is turned to the left. In composition these drawings are indirectly related to Rembrandt's self-portrait etchings of c.1628-30,[1] and to some painted self-portraits of the same period, in particular those in Amsterdam (Corpus A14, c.1628), Munich (Bredius 2, Corpus A19, c.1629) and Nuremberg (Corpus A21, copy 1, c.1629 [now regarded as the original version, rather than that in The Hague][2]). In the latter the figure's mouth is only slightly open, and he wears a metal gorget and appears less dishevelled. The only self-portraits in oils of the Leiden period in which the artist is portrayed, as here, with his mouth open, are those in Munich, already mentioned, and Indianapolis (Corpus A22, copy 1 [now regarded as the original version, rather than that in Japan][3] of c.1629), although this feature is met with in some of the etchings,[4] including the 'Self-Portrait as a Beggar seated on a Bank', which is dated 1630 (Bartsch 174, Hind 11; for an impression, see Cracherode 1973,U.742).

The number and informality of most of the early self-portraits also relate them to many of the other painted, drawn and etched busts or 'tronies' of the Leiden period which are not self-portraits. Some of these images, including the present drawing, may have been made as exercises in facial expression and as models for Rembrandt's pupils rather than as independent works for the art market.[5] The marked 'chiaroscuro' of the drawing has prompted the plausible suggestions that it was made by artificial light[6] and that Rembrandt was concerned with studying the way the light passes across and through the mouth, illuminating its interior and creating a highlight at the corner of the mouth on the shadowed side of the face. This latter effect is found in paintings of the same period by the Utrecht Caravaggists.[7] It is also noteworthy that Rembrandt here portrays himself in his everyday clothes rather than in a historicising costume, as is more usual in his self-portraits.[8]

Unlike Rembrandt's painted and etched self-portraits, his drawings are rare, and only six others are known and generally accepted as autograph, including the above-mentioned drawing in Amsterdam (Benesch 54).[9]

[1] Compare in particular Bartsch 1, 4, 10, 13 and 338 (Hind 33, 2\*, 30, 31 and 4 respectively).

[2] See Exh. London-The Hague, 1999-2000, no.14a, Exh. Nuremberg, 2001 and Corpus, IV, 2005, p.597-8.

[3] See Exh. London-The Hague, 1999-2000, no.8 and Corpus, IV, 2005, pp.598-601.

[4] Bartsch 13, 316 and 320 (Hind 31, 34 and 32 respectively).

[5] See Schatborn's entry on the Rijksmuseum's drawing (here fig.1a) in Amsterdam, 1985, no.1, in which he quotes Rembrandt's pupil, Samuel van Hoogstraten, 1678, p.110, recommending artists to use their own faces in the mirror to study facial expression.

[6] Benesch, 1947 (see Lit. below).

[7] As suggested in Corpus, IV, 2005, p.148. It is there surmised that this was the main purpose and focus of the drawing, but the consideration given to other details such as the eye in shadow should

not be overlooked. Portier-Theisz., 1999, p.86 already saw the drawing as focussing on "l'étude d'expression de la bouche ouverte (d'étonnement ou de surprise)".

[8] See Van de Wetering, 1997 (see Lit. below).

[9] See Exh. London-The Hague, 1999-2000, nos.45 (Benesch 437; Washington), 47 (Benesch 432, Berlin), 63 (Benesch 1171, Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis, now often doubted, although I am inclined to accept it as by Rembrandt), 77 (Benesch 1176, Rotterdam) and 78 (Benesch 1177, Vienna). One other that comes into contention is Benesch 432 (Marseille).

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt's self-portrait):

Bürger, 1858, pp.397-8 (perhaps a self-portrait); Bode, 1876, p.126 (relates to painting in Kassel, Bredius 1); Wurzbach, 1876, p.223; Middleton, 1878 under no.7 (relates to 1629 etching, Bartsch 338, Hind 4); Bode, 1881, p.60, repr. p.61 (the earliest drawing known to Bode; for the 1630 etching, 'Bl.219' [according to Seidlitz this refers to Bartsch 13, Hind 31]); Bode, 1883, p.379 (c.1629; Rembrandt's earliest surviving drawing); Dutuit, IV, 1885, p.85 (quotes Bode, 1883); Michel, I, 1893, pp.32-3 and 582 (related to Bartsch 338, Hind 4, of 1629); Seidlitz, 1895/1922, under nos.9, 13 and [1st ed. only] 338 (rejects Middleton, 1878, association of the drawing with Bartsch 338; related to Bartsch 9 and 13, Hind 35 and 31); Lippmann, II, no.45; Kleinmann, III, no.43; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.895 (c.1629; related to Bartsch 338, Hind 4, and the painting in The Hague, Bredius 6, Corpus A21); Saxl, 1908, p.338 (c.1645); Wurzbach, 1910, p.417; Hind, 1912/24, I, pp.54-5 [in 1st ed. only] and under no.4, pl.XIV (c.1629; not repr. in 2nd ed.); London, 1915, no.1, pl.1 (c.1629-30); Neumann, 1918I, no.33; Freise, Lilienfeld and Wichmann, III, 1925, under no.88 (compares Berlin 'Self-Portrait', Benesch 432, KdZ.1553); Weisbach, 1926, p.115 (compares The Hague painting and etchings in general); Berlin, 1930, p.230, under no.1553 (quotes Freise, Lilienfeld and Wichmann, 1925); Bauch, 1933, pp.152,156 and 199, repr. fig.168 (c.1629; related to painting in The Hague); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.657 (c.1629; related to etchings Bartsch 13 and 338, Hind 31 and 4, and paintings [now] in Indianapolis - Bredius 3, Corpus A22 copy I; Amsterdam - Bredius 5, Corpus C34; and The Hague); Benesch, 1935, p.9 (c.1629); Benesch, 1935I, p.262; Bredius 1937/35, under no.6 (related to Mauritshuis painting); Popham, 1939, p.67; Wichmann, 1939, p.19 and no.4, repr. (c.1628-9); Benesch, 1940, pp.6-9, repr. fig.6, reprinted 1970, pp.136-7, fig.103 (c.1627-8; earlier than Benesch 54); Pinder, 1943, pp.21-2, repr. p.14 (compares Bartsch 13, Hind 31); Schinnerer, 1944, no.1, repr. (c.1629); von Alten, 1947, no.1 repr. (c.1629); Benesch, 1947, p.10 and no.7 (as in 1940; drawn by artificial light); Rosenberg, 1948/64, I, p.5/8, II, pl.6; Münz, 1952, II, repr. pl.1, fig.1; Benesch, I, 1954/73, no.53, repr. fig.60/61 (c.1627-8; resembles etching, Bartsch 27, Hind 3, which he believes c.1628; earlier than Benesch 54 [here fig.1a]; also as Benesch, 1947); Exh. Amsterdam-Rotterdam, 1956, p.13, under no.6 (related to Mauritshuis painting and etching of 1629, Bartsch 338, Hind 4); Rosenberg, 1956, pp.124-5, repr. fig.8 (relates to Mauritshuis painting); Bauch, 1960, pp.163 and 262, n.137 (compares Bartsch 338, Hind 4); Roger Marx, 1960, p.10, repr. fig.1a; Scheidig, 1962, p.35, repr. fig.1 (c.1627-8); White 1962, pl.12 (c.1628); Slive, 1963, p.133, fig.12; Benesch, 1964, p.109, reprinted 1970, p.249, repr. fig.103 (c.1627-8); Slive, 1964I, p.486, fig.6 (compares Boston 'Self Portrait in the Studio', Bredius 419, Corpus A18); Slive, 1965, I, no.269, repr. (c.1629); van Regteren Altena and Frerichs, 1965, p.44 under no.55 (c.1629); Bauch, 1966, p.8, under no.112 (as Slive, 1964I); Clark, 1966, repr. p.6, fig.4 (earliest self-portrait); Exh. Cambridge, 1966, under no.1 (as Benesch); Erpel, 1967, p.15, repr. fig.4 and no.14 (c.1628-9); Gerson, 1968, p.30, repr.

p.195, fig.a; Haak 1969/68, p.38, repr. fig.51 (c.1627-78); Exh. Amsterdam, 1969, p.24, repr., and p.112, under no.24 (as Benesch); Exh. Chicago-Minneapolis-Detroit, 1969-70, under no.96 (c.1627-8; compares 'Beggar-Woman with Gourd', Washington, Benesch 24); Bonnier, 1970/69, p.6, repr. in colour, fig.2; Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.29 (related to Bartsch 13, Hind 31); Haak, 1976/74, no.1, repr. (c.1627-8); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.14; Defoer, 1977, p.18, n.38; Clark, 1978, p.12, repr. fig.3 ('true' likeness); Amsterdam, 1981, under no.1; Corpus, I, 1982, pp.211 and 216; Schatborn, 1982, p.253; Wright, 1982, pp.17 and 45, no.2, repr. pl.7 (c.1629; compares self-portrait in Lakenhal 'History Painting' and the Mauritshuis 'Self-Portrait', Bredius 460 and 6, Corpus A6 and A21); Haak, 1984, p.265, repr. fig.562; Amsterdam, 1985, under no.1, repr. fig.1a (c.1628-9); Chapman, 1990, pp.24 and 30, repr. fig.25 (c.1629; independent, not preparatory; introspective emphasis); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2I, pp.32-3 (with Amsterdam sheet, Benesch 54, a preliminary study for the etching of 1629, Bartsch 338, Hind 4); Exh. Leiden, 1991-2, pp.67 and 76, n.42, repr. p.98, fig. 46 (one of three grey wash drawings of Leiden period, with Benesch 54 and Benesch 8; related to print, Bartsch 338, Hind 4); Van de Wetering, 1997, p.4, repr. p.v (Rembrandt not usually seen in his everyday clothes); Hess, 1999, p.272, repr. fig.3 (Nuremberg painting based on the drawing; mouth slightly open in both); Portier-Theisz., 1999, p.86 (see n.7 above; also compares the etching, Bartsch 338, Hind 4); Exh. Nuremberg, 2001, p.11, repr. fig.5 (as Hess, 1999; holds that Amsterdam drawing, Benesch 54, made immediately before that in British Museum); Exh. Kassel-Amsterdam, 2001-2, p.25, repr. fig.5; Corpus, IV, 2005, pp.48, 145, 148-50, repr. p.148, fig.93 (c.1628-9; length of hair varies in early self-portraits which cannot all be accurate; see further n.7 above); Berlin, 2006, p.78, under cat. no.17 (as Freise, Lilienfeld and Wichmann, 1925).

#### Acquisition date

1799

#### Acquisition name

Bequeathed by Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode (biographical details | all objects)

#### Acquisition notes

Inscribed in lower right by W. Y. Ottley, in pen and brown ink: 'no.253 wyo' (Lugt 2662). This does not denote that he owned the drawing, it was written as part of the inventory of the collection during his time as Keeper, 1831-33.

#### Exhibition History

1899, BM, no.A1 (c.1628-30; compared to etchings Bartsch 338 and 13, Hind 4 and 31)

1938, BM, no.1

1956, BM, p.7, no.1 (c.1629; compared to Bartsch 338, Hind 4)

1974 BM, July-Dec, Portrait Drawings, no.143, repr.

1984 BM, Rembrandt and the Passion, no.1 (c.1629)

1992 BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.1, repr.

1999 June-Sep, London, National Gallery, Rembrandt by Himself, no. 13

1999/2000 Sep-Jan, The Hague, Mauritshuis, Rembrandt by Himself, no.13

2002 Feb-May, BM, Imaging 'Ulysses': Richard Hamilton's illustrations to James Joyce', ex.cat.

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**Registration number:** T,14.8

**Additional IDs**  
FAWK,5213.8

**Bibliographic reference**  
[Hind 14](#)  
[Royalton-Kisch 2010 2 \(Rembrandt\)](#)  
[Benesch 35](#)

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1628-1629 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Sketch of a man leaning over a table; half-length to front, with both arms on a table. c.1628-1629  
Pen and brown ink.

Verso: calligraphic trials - see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed with various calligraphic trials, perhaps by the artist, and in the same medium as the drawing (see illustration). The central part may read 'Harm [...]', as in the artist's

patronymic, 'Harmensz.'

### Dimensions

Height: 97 millimetres

Width: 100 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 25mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

### Condition

Good, but stained; a small nick at the top left corner, a repaired tear at bottom centre; the sheet is a fragment, as is clear from the verso.

### Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.2:

The drawing is entered as by Rembrandt in the earliest inventory of the Fawkener collection, drawn up in 1845, but has had a mixed reception in the literature.[1] The purpose of the sketch is unknown. For the dating see further under cat. no.3. The comparison there made with the Rijksmuseum's study for the painting of 'Judas returning the thirty Pieces of Silver' (Benesch 9) is also valid for the present sheet, with its similarly angular, looping and fine pen lines. A later date has at times also been proposed but comparisons with later drawings seem less persuasive (see under Literature below).

### NOTE:

[1] It had been placed with the school of Rembrandt by 1899, when it was omitted from the British Museum's exhibition of all its Rembrandt drawings. Hofstede de Groot catalogued it in 1906 as 'der Schule Rembrandts zugeschrieben' but Hind reclaimed it for the master in his catalogue of 1915. He compared it with drawings of the mid- to late 1630s, in particular with the Berlin copy after Leonardo's 'Last Supper' (Benesch 445), which is signed and dated 1635. Bauch (in 1933) was the first to revise the date to the Leiden period and Benesch, who at first (in 1935) assigned it to the early 1630s, later agreed, comparing it in his corpus to cat. no.3 (Oo,9.95), to the Berlin 'Oriental leaning on a Stick' (Benesch 10) and to the Rotterdam 'Seated Man' (Benesch 29).

### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Bürger, 1858, p.401 (wrongly as Cracherode coll.); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.906 (school of Rembrandt); London, 1915, no.14, repr. pl.III (c.1630-35); Bauch, 1933, p.46, repr. p.47, fig.33 and pp.186 and 188 (c.1628); Benesch, 1935, p.15 (c.1632-3); Oxford, 1938, p.78 (compares style and subject of sketch in Oxford, Benesch 56 verso); Benesch, I, 1954/73, no.35, repr. figs.32/42 (c.1628-9; see n.1 above); Sumowski, 1957-8, p.258 (compares Rijksmuseum's 'Bust of sleeping young Girl and Head of a Boy', Benesch A2, believing both to be authentic); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1992, p.463 (motif and chiaroscuro suggest relationship with 'Supper at Emmaus', Musée-Jacquemart-André, Paris, Corpus A16, Bredius 539); Schatborn, 1992, p.20 (figure may be holding something near his eye, while drawing or writing with his right hand); Giltaij, 1995, p.94 (agrees date c.1628-9 proposed in Exh. London, 1992 and compares 'Seated Man', Rotterdam, Benesch 29); Berlin, 2006, p.30, under no.3 and p.61, under no.12 (perhaps mid-1630s and made in the context of 'Baptist preaching' in Berlin, Bredius 555, Corpus A106, in which comparable figure appears in bushes above the Baptist).

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### Acquisition date

1769

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by William Fawkener ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Exhibition History**

London, 1938, no.14 (V.1630-35);  
London, 1992, no.2, repr.

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**Conservation****Treatment date**

9 November 1991

**Reason for treatment**

Temporary Exhibition

**Treatment proposal**

Lift, remove verso debris. Flatten turnover at TL corner. Repair locally. Support skinned areas. Inlay, mount with perspex verso.

**Condition**

Small loss at top left corner. Areas of skinning around edges.

**Treatment details**

Infilled missing area at top left corner with similar paper, toned using Winsor and Newton artist's watercolours (organic,inorganic pigments,gum arabic) and attached using Cellofas B3500 (sodium carboxymethyl cellulose) adhesive. Skinned areas supported with Japanese tissue attached using Cellofas B3500 (sodium carboxymethyl cellulose) adhesive. Inlaid using strip method. Mounted with Perspex verso.

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**Registration number:** Oo,9.95

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 21](#)

[Benesch 28](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 3 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1628-1629 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Sketch of a man, half-length, turned to left. c.1628-1629

Pen and dark brown ink; ruled framing lines in a warmer brown ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions below.

No watermark.

### **Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, in graphite, '53 [in a circle]' and an indecipherable inscription of one or two letters in pen and brown ink.

### **Dimensions**

Height: 78 millimetres

Width: 66 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 23mm apart)

### **Condition**

Somewhat soiled; frayed near top corners; slight loss at upper centre left edge, made up.

### **Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.3:

The drawing may be grouped with a small number of pen and ink figure studies of similar style, including the 'Sketch of a Man leaning over a Table' in the Museum's collection (cat.no.2; T.14.8, q.v.), and the 'Oriental leaning on a Stick' in Berlin (Benesch 10). Their attribution to Rembrandt depends on tradition and is difficult to sustain on the basis of comparisons with drawings of unquestioned authenticity; however, the handling of the pen has affinities with that in a study in the Rijksmuseum of c.1628-9 (Benesch 9 recto)[1] for the painting of 'Judas returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver', now in an English private collection (Bredius 539A, Corpus A15). Rembrandt's etchings of the later Leiden period, such as the 'Beggar Man and Woman behind a Bank' of c.1630 (Bartsch 165, Hind 13), are also analogous in style.

There is an etched copy, in reverse, by Cecilia Lucy Brightwell.

[1] See Amsterdam, 1985, no.5, where this dating is proposed.

### **LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):**

Bürger, 1858, p.401; Kleinmann, IV, no.21; London, 1915, no.21 (c.1630-35, or later?); Bauch, 1933, pp.76 and 194 and repr. p.79, fig.70 (c.1629; compares to studies for 'Judas' painting and to 'Two Studies' formerly in Oppenheimer coll., Benesch 48); Benesch, 1935, p.10 (c.1629); Benesch, 1954/73, I, no.28, repr. fig.29/33 (c.1629); Schmidt, 1959, p.338 (notes Rembrandt's early interest in oriental types, influenced by Lastman); Exh. Cambridge, 1966, under no.2 (groups with other drawings of late 1620s and early 1630s); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1992, p.463 (subject not necessarily a rabbi as previously described: call 'Man in a Turban'); Berlin, 2006, p.30, under no.3 (as Exh. London, 1992).

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### **Acquisition date**

1824

### **Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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### **Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.A59;

1938, no.21;  
1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.3, repr.

## **Conservation**

### **Treatment date**

31 October 1991

### **Reason for treatment**

Temporary Exhibition

### **Treatment proposal**

Lift, remove guards and adhesive, inlay, mount

### **Condition**

The removal of guards revealed extensive skinning around the edges and a previous repair on the left edge which was restored on the recto to incorporate the ink line around the drawing. It was decided this repair was not to be removed.

### **Treatment details**

The drawing was removed from mount by slitting guards and debris removed with Cellofas B3500 (SCMC) poultice. The skinning was repaired with matching paper and SCMC adhesive. The whole was inlaid using the strip method and mounted.

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**Registration number:** 1961,0708.2

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 182](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 4 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind Add.40a \(placed as Hind Add.191\)](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1628-1629 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Christ washing the feet of his disciples; kneeling before a group at right, a few figures seated at left

foreground, including a man bending forward to watch. c.1628-1629

Pen and brown ink, touched with brown wash; unruled framing lines to left and below only.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

### **Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, in graphite: '4\205 [?]' and '[...]E [erased]'.

### **Dimensions**

Height: 140 millimetres

Width: 186 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 27mm apart)

### **Condition**

Faded; dirt discolours the corners; a small loss made up at upper left edge and the sheet trimmed slightly irregularly; a spot (perhaps ink) disfigures the head of the disciple on the extreme left.

### **Curator's comments**

Placed as H ADD.191 (40a).

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.4:

The drawing has been dated variously, either to c.1635 or c.1639. The comparisons made hitherto have been on stylistic grounds alone and with drawings that are datable only approximately. These bear only a superficial resemblance to the present sheet.[1]

Of the datable drawings by Rembrandt, the closest analogies are with the Rijksmuseum's study (Benesch 9 recto) for the 'Judas returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver' (Corpus A15, Bredius 539A). Although lacking the wash used extensively in that drawing, the variety of movement in the lines and the formulation of the figures exhibit enough similarities to allow the attribution to stand and to place the study in Rembrandt's Leiden period. The composition also has elements in common with the 'Judas' painting, including the semi-circular group of men, the table to the left and a figure kneeling in profile to the right of centre. Stylistic comparisons with pupils' drawings are unproductive, yet there are further analogies with other sheets generally accepted as Rembrandt's own work from the Leiden period. These include the 'Sketch of a Man leaning over a Table' and the 'Sketch of a Rabbi' in the Museum's collection (cat. nos.2-3; T,14.8 and Oo,9.95). The physiognomy and expression of the latter mirror that of the (somewhat disconnected) head leaning over the table near the centre of the present drawing. The roughly contemporary 'Seated Man in a tall Hat' in Rotterdam (Benesch 29)[2] is also executed with similarly angular and harsh lines. A date c.1628-9, around the time of the 'Judas' painting, is here proposed on the basis of these comparisons.

The subject of 'Christ washing the Feet of his Disciples' was treated by Rembrandt on other occasions. No paintings are now known, but inventories of 1660 and 1680 list such pictures as by him, in the latter case as a grisaille.[3] A drawing, probably made c.1650 and now in the Rijksmuseum (Benesch 931), repeats some elements from the present design (the table to the left and the pose of the seated figure seen in profile, there used for St Peter).[4]

### **NOTES:**

[1] Valentiner compared the 'Susannah and the Elders' in Berlin (Benesch 159), while Benesch compared the 'Joseph lifted from the Pit' from the P. de Boer collection and the 'Pastoral' at Wroclaw (Benesch 181 and 424).

[2] See further Rotterdam, 1988, no.1, where dated to c.1627-8.

[3] Inventories of Abraham Jacobsz. Graeven of Amsterdam (Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979,

p.455: 'Een schilderijtje, daer Christus de Voeten wast, van Rembrandt'; 'a small painting of Christ washing the Feet, by Rembrandt') and Harmen Becker (Bredius 1910, p.198, see further Postma, 1988, p.16, under fol.285r: 'Een graeutie van Rembrant daer Cristus de voete wast'; 'A grisaille by Rembrandt of Christ washing the feet'). It is of course possible that both inventories describe the same painting. Valentiner's attempt (1936, pp.73-81) to identify the lost work with an oil sketch in Chicago (repr. Exh. Chicago-Minneapolis-Detroit, 1969-70, no.81) has not met with general acceptance.

[4] See Amsterdam, 1985, no.25 (where dated to the 1640s; earlier writers had placed it in the 1650s; W. W. Robinson, 1988, pp.584-5, suggests c.1650). An unrelated school drawing of the subject is in the Louvre (repr. Paris, 1933, no.1271, pl.LXXXIII, with mention of another in the Marsden J. Perry collection, Providence).

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Waagen, IV, 1857, p.215 (mentions Rembrandt drawing of this subject in Andrew James collection, not necessarily this sheet and could for example be Benesch 931); Brunet, 1866, p.260 (as Waagen, 1857); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.442 (c.1635); Benesch, 1935, p.29 (c.1639); Benesch, I, 1954/73, no.182, repr. fig.203/218 (c.1639); Sumowski, 1958, p.198 (c.1632); 'British Museum Report of the Trustees', 1966, p.73, repr. pl.LI; Exh. London, 1984, p.3 (too faded to exhibit); Amsterdam, 1985, pp.57-8, under no.25, repr. fig.25a (early 1630s; see n.4 above; influenced van Hoogstraten drawing in Berlin, KdZ 5670, Sumowski 1213x, and possible connection to lost paintings by Rembrandt); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2[I], p.118, repr. fig.34a (just prior to end of Leiden period; compares 'Judas' painting); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1992, p.464 (agrees with Sumowski's date proposed in 1958); Starcky, 1993, p.218, n.13 (groups with 'Calling of St Matthew', Benesch 144, Stockholm, and other drawings; not Rembrandt); Schatborn, 1994, p.20 (agrees with earlier date proposed in Exh. London, 1992); Giltaij, 1995, p.94 (1630s).

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#### Subject

new testament ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

#### Associated names

Representation of Jesus Christ ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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#### Acquisition date

1961

#### Acquisition name

Bequeathed by Henry Van den Bergh (With a life interest to his children. The drawing was received following the death of Robert van den) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Victor Koch (London) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Andrew James (possibly) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

#### Acquisition notes

Possibly Andrew James sale, London, Christie's, 28 April, 1873, lot 72, bt Palgrave, 9s-0d (see Waagen, 1857, in Lit. under Comment); Victor Koch, London; Henry van den Bergh, by whom bequeathed with a life interest to his son Robert (d.1959); acquired 1961.

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## **Exhibition History**

1964, BM, Recent Acquisitions, no.21

1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.4, repr.

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## **Conservation**

### **Treatment date**

14 August 1991

### **Reason for treatment**

Temporary Exhibition

### **Treatment proposal**

Lift, remove mounting debris, remove adhesive residue from verso, reduce water stain top right, support skinned areas, inlay and mount. RKM

### **Condition**

The drawing was traditionally inlaid and attached to the backboard with paper hinges. There was adhesive residue and skinned areas on the verso and a water stain on the recto.

### **Treatment details**

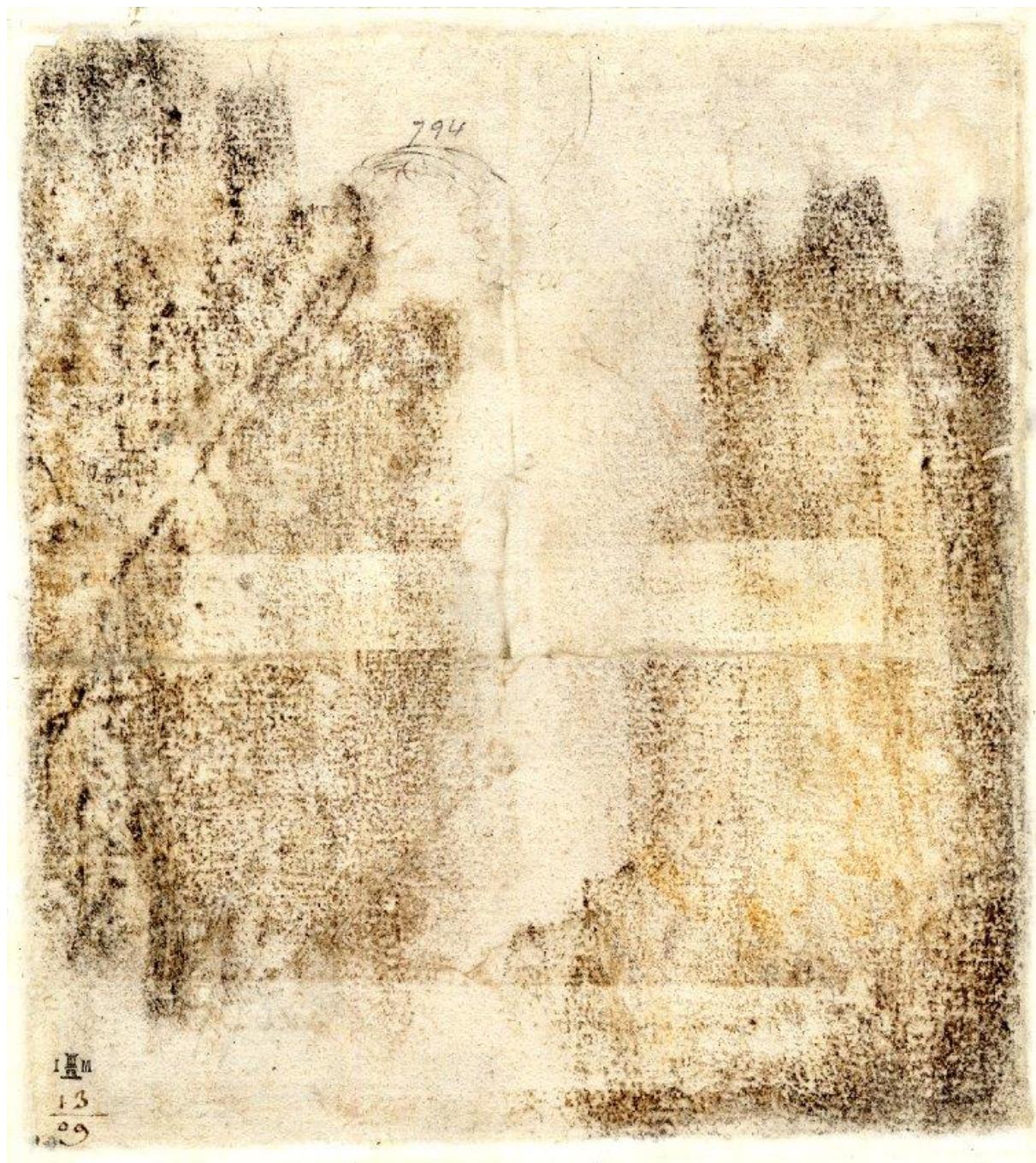
The drawing was lifted from the backboard by slitting the hinges with a scalpel. The paper and adhesive debris was removed with a poultice of Cellofas B3500 (sodium carboxymethyl cellulose) and scraping with a scalpel. The water staining was reduced locally with IMS over a suction point. The skinned areas were supported with toned Japanese paper attached with wheat starch paste. The drawing was inlaid by the strip method using Cellofas B3500 (sodium carboxymethyl cellulose) as an adhesive.

\*\*\*\*\*

Cat. 5



Recto



Verso

**Registration number:** 1895,0915.1266

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 21](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 5 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[JCR 794](#)

[Hind 9](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1630-1631

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Diana at the bath; nude, seated in profile to right, looking to front, her arms resting on drapery over a high surface before her. c.1630-1631

Black chalk with some light brown wash, the outlines indented for transfer; ruled framing lines in pen and black ink.

Verso: largely blackened with chalk (see the reproduction).

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, top left, in graphite: '794'; lower left, in pen and brown ink: '13/09' and in graphite (?): '28'.

**Dimensions**

Height: 181 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 27/30mm apart)

Width: 164 millimetres

**Condition**

Generally good; the brown wash much faded; a little rubbed in places, especially behind the nearer knee; a small repair at top left edge; a few traces of graphite, e.g. at top left side, perhaps added by a later hand.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.5:

A preparatory study for the etching, in reverse, of 'Diana at the Bath' (Bartsch 201, Hind 42; for an impression in the British Museum, see 1829,0415.17 and 1998,U.7). There are numerous small differences between them: the quiver of arrows is placed in front of, rather than behind, the figure, and the forms of the drapery and the tree trunk and shrubbery behind are elaborated. The second, raised version of the left arm in the drawing, originally shown in a lowered position, was retained in the print.

The etching is signed but not dated. Like the drawing it is generally placed at the end of the Leiden period. Among Rembrandt's dated drawings, the closest stylistic comparison is with the 'Seated old Man' in red chalk in Washington, of 1630 (Benesch 37). Thus the date of c.1630-31 that is usually proposed for the present sheet is acceptable. The repetition of the same profiles by the indented lines, here seen for example around the figure's knees, seems unusual, but is also found in the study of a 'Seated old Man' in Berlin (Benesch 41), used for the etched 'Bust of an old Man with a flowing Beard' (Bartsch 291, Hind 26) of the same period. The harshness of some of the outlines may be due to the drawing's having been partly indented for transfer to the copper plate with the sharp point of the black chalk.[1]

It has been noted that studies of the nude are not common in Dutch art of the time of Rembrandt's etching, least of all when the figure remains as unidealised as here.[2] The present drawing, presumably made from life,[3] is the earliest set-piece study of the nude by Rembrandt to have survived. A comparable figure appears in the master's contemporaneous etching of a 'Naked Woman

seated on a Mound' (Bartsch 198, Hind 43). Mythological subjects are also rare in Rembrandt's work of the Leiden period.

An etched copy after the head in the related print, but in reverse, was attributed by Rovinski to Lievens (Rov.83); a painted copy based on the print is in a private collection in Amsterdam (formerly Warneck collection).<sup>[4]</sup> Jan van Neck (1636-1716) produced a painting of 'Susannah', now in Copenhagen, in which he used the present figure, in the same direction as the drawing.<sup>[5]</sup>

NOTES:

[1] As first suggested by Benesch. Other indented drawings for prints by Rembrandt include the Berlin drawing mentioned above (Benesch 41), the Louvre 'St Paul' Benesch 15, the 'Portrait of Cornelis Claesz. Anslo' (here cat. no.31; 1848,0911.138) and the 'Jan Six' in Amsterdam (Benesch 768); mention should also be made of the 'Ecce Homo' oil sketch on paper in the National Gallery (Bredius 546, Corpus A89) which is also indented (see Royalton-Kisch, 1984 and in Exh. Amsterdam-London, 2000-01, pp.64-81). The black chalk on the verso has led to speculation concerning the colour of Rembrandt's etching ground which, of course, cannot be confirmed (see Lit. below).

[2] White, 1969, I, pp.172f. He suggests that Rembrandt may have been inspired by an etching by Willem Buytewech, Holl.2. A painting of a nude by Rembrandt is recorded in the 1656 inventory of his possessions, no.80 (see Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, p.357). Clark, 1966, argued that the increased flabbiness of the figure in the etching was intended to shock. Hollander, 1975, pp.108 and 160, argues (somewhat unconvincingly) that the nude conforms to contemporary ideals.

[3] Schatborn, 1993, p.164, notes that the revised arm is sketchier and probably not drawn from life.

[4] Bredius 461, private collection, Amsterdam, now universally rejected as a copy based on the etching.

[5] Repr. Sumowski, 'Gemälde', I, 1983, p.151.

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt and for the etching unless otherwise stated; refs to painting are to that mentioned in n.4 above):

Vosmaer, 1868, pp.21 and 423 (c.1631; notes brown wash); Robinson, 1869/76, no.773/794 (states that the sheet is heightened with white chalk); Vosmaer, 1877, pp.106 and 490 (as in 1868); Middleton, 1878, p.250, under no.256 (erroneously as for Bartsch 198, Hind 43); Seidlitz, 1895/1922, under no.201 (c.1631); Lippmann, IV, no.75; Kleinmann, II, no.49; Voss, 1905, p.157 (based on a nymph in 'Diana and Actaeon' by Titian); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.893 (c.1630-31; notes indentations); Baldwin Brown, 1907, pp.113 and 138 (accepts painting); Exh. Paris, 1908, under no.112; Six, 1908, p.58 (c.1631, quotes a letter from Hind: 'The traced lines are not nearly so evident here as in the Anslo [here cat. no.31]. It is possible that some attempt was made to slightly cover in chalk or press the paper.); Wurzbach, 1910, p.417; Hind, I, 1912/24, pp.52 and 61 and under no.42 [the page refs. for 1912 ed. only] (as HdG, but doubts painting); London, 1915, no.9 (as Hind, 1912); Eisler, 1918, pp.44-5 and p.124 (c.1630); Graul, 1920, pp.12-13; Kauffmann, 1920, p.65 (interest in mythology begins in early Amsterdam period); Weisbach, 1926, p.240-41 and fig.62 (c.1630-31; poor relationship of the head to the neck); Van Dyke, 1927, p.90 (by Horst, as also the etching); Byam Shaw, 1928, p.31, n.1; Hind, 1932, p.77-8 (as 'red' chalk [!]); Bauch, 1933, pp.213 and 216 (c.1651; agrees with rejection of Warneck painting); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.598 (c.1631); Benesch, 1935, p.10 (c.1630-31; more hesitant than nudes of early Amsterdam period); Bredius, 1937/35, p.19, under no.461 (the painting also for the etching); Kieser, 1941-2, p.151, n.2 and p.153, n.5 (characterisation of model divorced from subject; compares drawing of Diana formerly T. Christ coll., Benesch 116); Hamann, 1948, pp.30, 214, 218, and 386, repr. fig.150 (c.1631; unusual early interest in the antique); Rosenberg, 1948/64, I, p.153/259 and 11, repr. fig.221 (early preference for chalk in nude studies); Münz, 1952, I, p.79, under no.134 and II, p.13 (the etching c.1631; blackened on the verso; Rembrandt's etching ground likely to have been white); Boeck, 1953, pp.210-12, repr. fig.187 (the drawing more like a study from nature than the print); Benesch, I, 1954/73, no.21, repr. fig.34/25 (as HdG.; the drawing indented partly with the stylus, partly with the hard black chalk); Biörklund and Barnard, 1955, p.40 (c.1630-31); Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, p.72, under no.69a (c.1630-32; compares 'Female Nude reclining' in Stockholm, Benesch 193a); Exh. Warsaw, 1956, under no.70; White, 1956, p.124 and fig.33 (confirms blackening of verso; only lightly indented, thus the copper

plate perhaps prepared with a white ground as suggested for the etchings by Münz in 1952); Gerson, 1957[I], p.148; Sumowski, 1957-8, pp.237 and 243 (as Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956); White, 1962, pl.23 (c.1631); von Moltke, 1965, p.217, under no.D.210 (believes Flinck used same model in late 1630s for cat. no.D.210 in P. Brandt coll., Amsterdam; compares his no.D.213 of same period also in Brandt coll.); Slive, 1965, II, no.524, repr. (c.1630-31); Clark, 1966, repr. p.11, fig.10 (see n.2 above); Morse, 1966, p.100 (as Münz, 1952); Haak, 1969/68, p.58, fig.82 (c.1630-31; chalk verso); White, 1969, I, pp.13n, 130n, 162, 173-5, and 177, repr.11, fig.257 (c.1631; see n.2 above); White and Boon, 1969, I, p.98, under no.201; Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.36, under no.47 (the painting a copy); White, 1973, p.139 (one of three indented drawings by Rembrandt [but see n.1 above]; required in this case because of relative inexperience and desire for elaborate, pictorial print); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.30; Reznicek, 1977, p.94, n.45 (inspired Jordaens); Clark, 1978, p.44, repr. fig.41a (as in 1966); Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, p.478 (with discussion of Rembrandt's etching-ground); Bruyn, 1983, p.54, n.15; Amsterdam, 1985, under no.52, n.3 (direct transformation of a figure study into a mythological scene) and under no.77 (rare combination of chalk and wash); Corpus, II, 1986, pp.465 and 491 (c.1631); Schatborn, 1986, pp.6-7 (c.1631); Exh. Paris, 1986, p.52, under no.19 (fixes lighting and pose, the rest elaborated on plate); Exh. Exeter, 1988, p.7 and repr. fig.1; Royalton-Kisch, 1993[I], p.17; Schatborn, 1993, p.164 (from life, apart from the alternative arm); Schatborn, 1994, p.21 (perhaps Amsterdam period; only with Uylenburgh would he have drawn from the nude – also the pendant 'Nude on a Mound', Bartsch 198); Sluijter, 2000, p.194, n.11 (background chalk lines compared with underdrawing in Mauritshuis 'Self-Portrait', Bredius 6, Corpus A21, the authenticity of which he defends); Exh. Boston-Chicago, 2003-4, p.281; Exh. Tokyo, 2004, pp.115, 143 and 146 (Rembrandt's first nude; sense of reality); Berlin, 2006, pp.104 and 111, under nos 25 and 27; Hinterding, 2006, p.70; Sluijter, 2006, p.271, repr. p.269, fig.241 (notes antecedents in Buitewech, Carracci and Raphael); Exh. Paris, 2006-7[II], p.135, under no.51, repr. fig.90; Paris, 2008, under no.158.

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## Subject

nude ([all objects](#))

classical mythology ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

classical deity ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

## Associated names

Representation of Artemis/Diana ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Acquisition date

1895

## Acquisition name

Purchased from Col John Wingfield Malcolm ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Baron Jan Gijsbert Verstolk van Soelen ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Malcolm of Poltalloch ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Gérard Leembruggen ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

## Acquisition notes

Possibly C. Josi, sale, London, Christie's, 18 March and following days, 1824, lot 118, 'A female at the Bath', bt Shirley, with lot 117 ('An historical sketch of two figures') 9s-6d; Jan Gijsbert, Baron Verstolk van Soelen; his sale, J. de Vries, A. Brondgeest and C. F. Roos, Amsterdam, 22 March and following days, 1847, lot 39, 'Susanne, épée au bain', bt Roos, f.25; Gérard Leembruggen Jz.; his sale, Roos, Engelberts, Lamma and Roos, Amsterdam, 5 March and following days, 1866, lot 479,

‘Susanne au bain’, f.40, bt Robinson for Malcolm (the price according to Vosmaer, 1868/77); John Malcolm of Poltalloch (L.1489 verso); purchased with his collection, 1895.

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### **Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.A4 (1631, for the etching and the Warneck picture [see Comment]; retouched in places with hard graphite);  
1938, no.9;  
1956, p.10, no.11a (as Hind, 1912);  
1992, BM Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.5, repr. in colour;  
Amsterdam-London, 2000-2001, ‘Rembrandt The Printmaker’ pp.64 and 100, repr. p.66, fig.1;  
Edinburgh-London, 2001-2, ‘Rembrandt’s Women’, p.77, no.10

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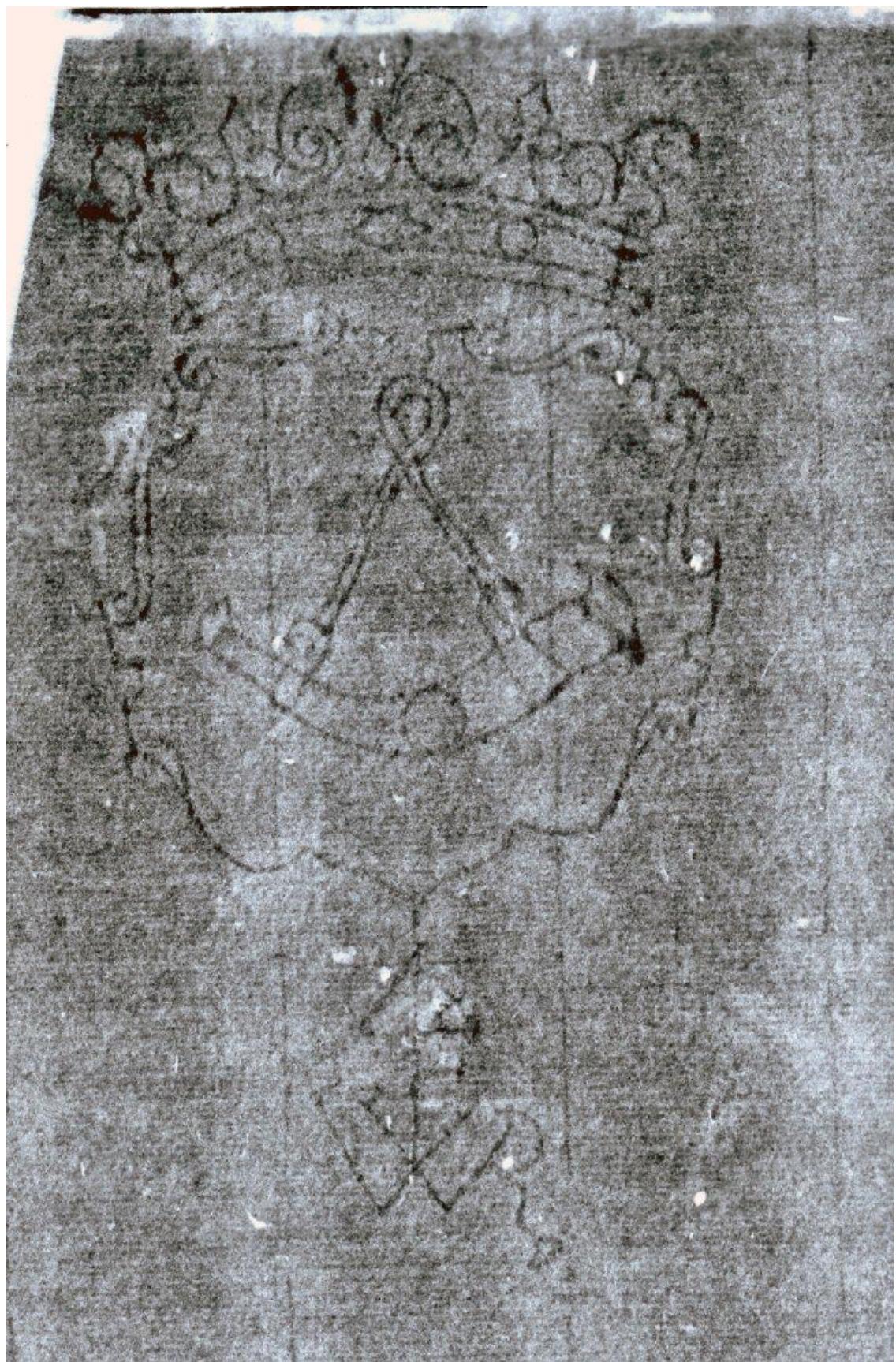
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Cat. 6



Recto





Watermark

**Registration number:** 1895,0915.1268

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 263a](#)

[Hind 51](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 6 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[JCR 796](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1631 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A woman standing with a candle; almost whole-length standing to front, looking right. c.1631

Pen and brown ink with brown and grey wash, heightened with white; ruled framing lines in pen and dark grey ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

Watermark: posthorn in a crowned shield, 'WR' below.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, in graphite: '2438. C.H.' and '796'; lower left, in pen and brown ink, much faded: 'Van heer Broedery [?]' and some numbers in graphite, now indecipherable.

**Dimensions**

Height: 181 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 25mm apart)

Width: 132 millimetres

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

**Condition**

Generally good; some tears repaired, left; top right corner made up; lower right, a patch finished in warmer brown wash, which reappears near the candle, on the woman's breast and in a slipped stroke by her left eye; these touches may be later; the rest of the wash, though unusual in Rembrandt's work, appears to be original.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.6.

Although usually dated to the mid- or late 1630s, the drawing exhibits stylistic features typical for Rembrandt's Leiden period. The looping and jagged character of the line resembles, for example, the

draughtsmanship in cat. nos.2-3 (T.14.8 and Oo.9.95). In the light of such analogies it seems reasonable to adhere to the traditional attribution.

The drawing appears to be an independent work rather than a study. It cannot be related to any of Rembrandt's paintings or etchings, nor can the model be identified.[1] From the dress it seems unlikely that the figure was intended to represent a personality from the bible or history and it is uncertain whether she stands near a well or some other architectural feature.[2]

**NOTES:**

[1] The idea that the model is the same as in cat. no.16 (1895,0915.1270), as proposed in Exh. London, 1895 (see above), is not convincing.

[2] A well was proposed in Exh. Kassel-Amsterdam, 2001-2, no.37.

**LITERATURE** (always as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Robinson, 1869/76, no.775/796; Lippmann, IV, no.77; Kleinmann, II, no.42; Graul, 1906/24, no.17/26, repr.; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.913; 'Drawings in the British Museum', 1912, III.4; London, 1915, no.51 (c.1630-40); Stockholm, 1920, p.82 (compares 'Indian Woman', Stockholm, Benesch 450); Paris, 1933, p.60, under no.1314 (compares drawing of similar subject in Louvre, no.1314, repr. pl.XCVI [also repr. Exh. Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, 1988-9, no.83, as Flinck]); Benesch, II, 1954/73, no.263a, repr. fig.289/310 (c.1635); Rosenberg, 1956[I], p.68 (c.1638-40); Slive, 1965, II, no.526 (c.1637-40); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.136; Schatborn, 1994, p.20 (strangely neglected sheet; shows Caravagist influence; perhaps a subject in view, such as the maid in a 'Denial of St. Peter'); Giltaij, 1995, p.96 (perhaps by a follower of 1640s).

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**Acquisition date**

1895

**Acquisition name**

Purchased from Col John Wingfield Malcolm ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Edward Vernon Utterson (L.909) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir John Charles Robinson (L.1433) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Malcolm of Poltalloch ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

E. V. Utterson (L.909; not identifiable in his sale, 1857); J.C. Robinson (L.1433); John Malcolm of Poltalloch; purchased with his collection, 1895.

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**Exhibition History**

London, 1895, no.378b (same model as cat. no.20, 'doubtless a servant in the artist's house'); 1899, no.A60;

1938, no.51 (c.1630-40);

1956, p.8, no.10;

London, 1992, no.6, repr. in colour (dates to c.1631, Leiden period);

1996-7, BM, Malcolm Collection, (ex. catalogue);

2001-2, Kassel-Amsterdam, no.37, repr. and under no.36 (exhibited only in Amsterdam; c.1630; as Exh. London, 1992; figure perhaps standing near a well);

2001-2, Edinburgh-London, no.8 (as Exh. London, 1992).

2004, Vienna, no.26, repr. (anticipates style of Rembrandt's drawings in later 1630s).

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## **Conservation**

### **Treatment date**

31 July 1991

### **Reason for treatment**

Temporary Exhibition

### **Treatment proposal**

Lift, remove mounting debris, remove old repairs, repair locally, inlay, mount with Perspex verso.

### **Condition**

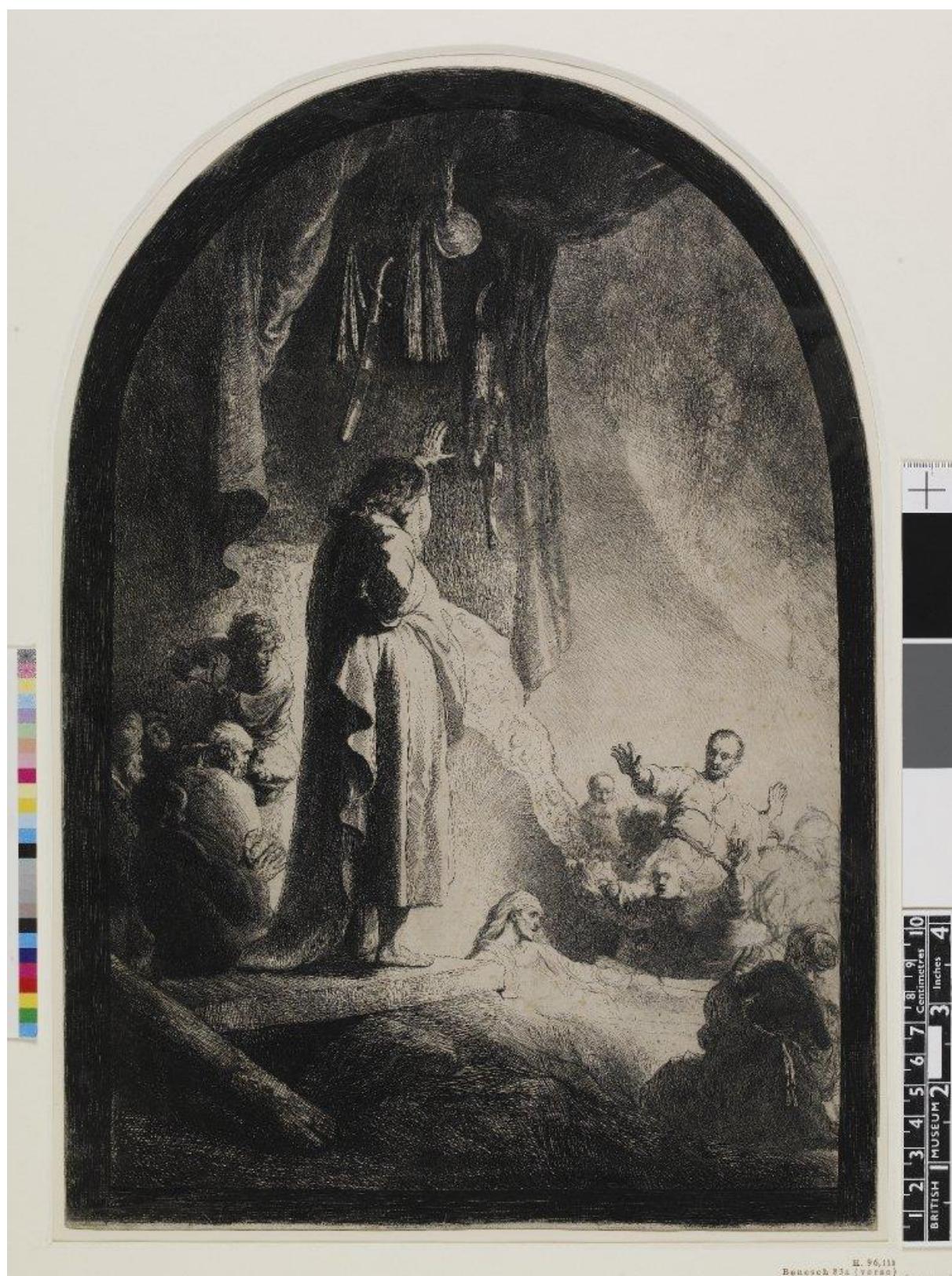
The drawing was guarded to the backboard. There was some tension created locally by the old repairs.

### **Treatment details**

The drawing was lifted from the backboard by undercutting the guards with a scalpel. The mounting debris was removed with a poultice. The old repairs were removed with a poultice. The old tears were repaired locally with a toned paper and paste. The drawing was inlaid by the strip method and mounted with a perspex verso.

\*\*\*\*\*

Cat. 6A (or 6.I)



Recto (with drawing lower right)

M. 188-III.

23 It leaves the field  
between 57-58

30  
Touched

No 33



Verso (with offset from recto, catalogued as a drawing by Benesch)



Detail of recto

**Registration number:** 1848,0911.35

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hinterding et al. 2000 17.III](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 6.1 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[White+Boon 73.III](#)

[Benesch 83a \(verso\)](#)

[Hind 96.III](#)

**Object types**

print ([all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

etching ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Print made by Rembrandt (etching touched by Rembrandt) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1631 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

## Description

The raising of Lazarus; Christ standing beside a tomb, surrounded by startled figures, with Lazarus seen below; arched plate; the larger plate; touched proof with a 'Sketch of a Woman shrinking back'. c.1632

Etching, with the figure added in graphite in the lower right corner (retouching has created an offset on the verso, which resembles a black chalk drawing, see further below).

Verso: only partly exposed through a window in the mount, showing the sketch of a woman.

Watermark: Strasburg bend and lily, 'WR' below (close to Piccard, XIII, nos.867, 872, 875, 876, 879, 881 and 885, from Strasburg, Oberkirch, Zweibrücken, Gengenbach and Bremen, with dates from 1588 to 1634).

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Lettered with Rembrandt's monogram, on rock at centre: "RHL. v. Rijn".

## Dimensions

Height: 370 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 28mm apart)

Width: 258 millimetres (arched top)

## Condition

Generally good, but the graphite lines at lower right on the recto have been erased in part, scraping the surface of the paper just above the foreground figure's left hand.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.6A:

The sheet is kept among Rembrandt's etchings in the British Museum's collection. It is an impression of the second state of five of the 'Raising of Lazarus' (Bartsch 73, Hind 96), touched by the artist in graphite in the lower right-hand corner.[1] Clearly wishing to alter the figure of Martha at this point, Rembrandt seems at first to have envisaged a somewhat more erect stance than he finally realised in the fifth and final state. An oval shape drawn near the shoulder in the sketch (see the detail) indicates the approximate position of the head as it appears in the fifth state, where the revised figure first appears (the intermediate fourth state merely reinforces the shading in the frame of the composition).

The sheet was included by Benesch in his 'Corpus' of Rembrandt's drawings in the mistaken belief that the figure on the verso is an original drawing by the master. As can be demonstrated by reversing a photograph of this sketch and comparing it with the recto,[2] the verso is merely an offset of Rembrandt's retouching. The apparently left-handed shading from top left to bottom right (a right-handed draughtsman normally shades from top right to bottom left) is further confirmation that Benesch 83a is an offset. Nevertheless the sketch documents Rembrandt's most cursory drawing style at the period of the etching's creation, c.1632,[3] and for this reason is included here.

## NOTES:

[1] For the states, which have been renumbered (there are now only five [of which this is the second] rather than Hollstein's eight [of which this was described as the third]), see Hinterding in Exh. Amsterdam-London, 2000-01, p.32, and Hinterding, 2006, p.81.

[2] See the illustrations in Exh. London, 1992, pp.38-9, figs a and c.

[3] The date proposed by White and Boon, 1969, p.38, and which has been adhered to, within

a year, by all writers. Benesch proposed 1633, believing that the present figure (as seen from the fifth state) is a portrait of Saskia. The woman behind the tomb he thought was the so-called sister of Rembrandt. However, this portion of the etching is based on his painting of the same subject in Los Angeles (Bredius 538, Corpus A30) and may have been completed as early as 1630-31 (see Corpus, I, 1982, p.304).

#### LITERATURE :

Duchesne, 1826, p.102, no.543 (described as a touched first state: 'Cette épreuve a de légères retouches au crayon, qui feraient croire que Rembrandt avait eu l'intention de placer une figure debout sur le devant à droite, au lieu de la femme vue par le dos.); Blanc, I, 1859, p.167, under no.48 (touched in black chalk; seen in British Museum; no reference to verso); Middleton, 1877, p.10 (the print by van Vliet and Rembrandt; the graphite touches made by Rembrandt for van Vliet to follow); Middleton, 1878, p.178, under no. 188 (recto and verso differ from each other and from the end result); Dutuit, 1882, p.369 (as Middleton, 1878); Rovinski, 1890, col.45, under no.73, repr. I, pl.230; Seidlitz 1895/1922, pp.62-63/124, under no.73 (recto touched in chalk in 3rd state; verso differs from recto); Hind, 1912/24, under no.96, repr. (c.1632; 3rd state); Saxl, 1923-4, p.153, n.1, repr. p.264 (verso a drawing; similarity of this figure to those in attitudes of surprise by Raphael in tapestries of 'St Paul preaching in Athens and Death of Ananias'); Hind, 1932, repr. pl.XXVIII; Münz, 1952, I, repr. pl.214, II, pp.92-3, under no.192 (without reference to the verso); Benesch, I, 1954/73, no.83a, verso repr. fig.90/98 (c.1633); White, 1969, I, p.32, II, repr. figs.17-18 (the verso a tracing); White and Boon, 1969, I, p.38 (the verso a drawing); Campbell, 1971, p.75 (quotes Saxl, 1923-4, but debt to Raphael not slavish); Schatborn, 1986, pp.36-38, repr. figs.1-3; Royalton-Kisch, 1990, p.135, repr. fig.75 in reverse (offset; compared to 'Study of a Woman', Rotterdam, Benesch 518 verso); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2[I], p.186, repr. fig.7c; Royalton-Kisch, 1993, p.121, n.31 (provenance); Hinterding, 2006, p.81 (various states of the print - fewer than previously thought - all from same period, as watermarks reveal).

#### Hinterding et al. 2000:

Given as the second state of five (by Rembrandt) in the catalogue for the exhibition 'Rembrandt the Printmaker' (25 Jan-8 Apr 2001): Erik Hinterding, Ger Luijten and Martin Royalton-Kisch, BMP in association with the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 2000, cat.17, pp.119-122:

Selected literature: Mariette 1857, p. 351; Seymour Haden 1877, pp.34-5; Benesch 1926, p. 8; Graffon 1950, pp. 43-5; Slatkes 1973, pp. 251-2; Guratzsch 1980, pp. 144-57; Held 1980, pp. 161-4; Schatborn 1986, pp. 36-7; Chapman 1990, p. 19; Rand 1991; Berlin-Amsterdam-London 1991-2, pp. 185-8, no.7; Royalton-Kisch 1992, no. 6a; Royalton-Kisch 1992b, pp. 336-7; Lambert & Seveno 1997, pp. 37-41; White 1999, pp. 27-31.

In the late 1620s Rembrandt made several rather experimental-looking, sizeable etchings on biblical subjects, like the 'Rest on the flight into Egypt' (1925,0615.24) and 'Peter and John at the gate of the temple' (1848,0911.50), only to continue to develop his skills in this genre solely in small prints. It was not until around 1632 that he again worked on a large scale with the 'Raising of Lazarus'. This highly detailed print is based on a painting of the same subject that he made in around 1630-31, probably in a spirit of creative competition with Jan Lievens. Lievens also painted a version of the raising of Lazarus in 1631, and made a large print of it. [See Braunschweig 1979, no. 26 and no. 102, with further literature references. See also Royalton-Kisch 1992, no. 15 for a drawing which until recently muddied the waters in the debate about the creation of the works by Rembrandt and Lievens].

Rembrandt's etching illustrates the moment described in the Bible when Jesus, standing by

the grave, 'cried with a loud voice: "Lazarus, come forth". The dead man came out, his hands and feet swathed in linen bands, his face wrapped in a cloth' (John 11: 43-4). The focus is mainly on the reactions of the bystanders. Although Jesus is rendered as a towering figure with his arm raised in summons, his face is all but invisible as he is standing with his back half turned to the viewer. The faces and the wild gestures of the other people present, among them Lazarus's sisters Mary and Martha, are plain to see, however, and clearly register their astonishment at the miracle that is taking place. The drama is heightened still further by the deployment of the chiaroscuro in the etching. With an elaborate web of lightly and more heavily bitten lines, Rembrandt succeeded in evoking a wide range of grey and black tones, placing Lazarus and the group around him in full light, with the surrounding passages gradually darkening into deep obscurity.

The etching is similar in many ways to Rembrandt's painting of the same subject, despite several differences. The depiction of Lazarus is the same in both works, for example, and the woman with her arms outspread at the graveside appears in an identical pose. The most obvious difference is in the position of Christ. In the painting he stands behind the grave and is shown from the front. The fact that the etching and the painting were created in close association with each other recently emerged from an X-radiograph of the panel, which revealed that Rembrandt had significantly reworked the composition and that it had originally resembled the etching more closely. Lazarus's head in the painting was nearer the centre, as in the etching, and the woman with outstretched arms was holding a cloth. Nevertheless, the suggestion that the etching is a representation of an earlier version of the painting [See Bruyn in 'Corpus', no. A30, and especially pp. 301-4] is debatable, since it also shows signs of reworking. The man with the turban and long beard at the far left of the painting was originally depicted in the etching, but on the extreme right. However, he had to make way for the man with the outstretched arms, visible in the third state shown here.

There are five states altogether, but the changes in the later states were minor [White and Boon describe eight states, but closer examination reveals that there are only five. See pp. 31-2]. The most significant change was to Martha, the woman in the lower right corner. Initially she was shown shrinking back, but in the third state Rembrandt made her lean forward so as to bring her into closer association with the other figures. He prepared for this ingeniously by drawing what he had in mind in graphite on the impression of the second state included here. He had probably placed a piece of paper, coated with black chalk, under the impression, so that the lines on the front were traced onto the verso of the impression. He then made the changes to the copper plate using this 'carbon' copy to guide him [See Schatborn 1986, pp. 36-8 and Royalton-Kisch 1992, no. 6a].

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**Subject**

raising of lazarus ([all objects](#))

**Associated names**

Representation of Jesus Christ ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1848

**Acquisition name**

Purchased from William Smith, the printseller ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jan Pietersz. Zomer ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Antonio Maria Zanetti I ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Baron Dominique Vivant Denon ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Heneage Finch, 5th Earl of Aylesford (L.58) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### **Acquisition notes**

Jan Pietersz. Zomer; A. M. Zanetti; purchased from him in 1791 by Vivant Denon (provenance given by Duchesne, 1826); his sale, 12 February, 1827, no.343; Earl of Aylesford (L.58; probably purchased by the Earl of Aylesford from Samuel Woodburn in 1829); W. Smith, from whom purchased 1848.

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### **Exhibition History**

London, 1899, p.29, no.98b;

1992, no.6a, repr.;

Amsterdam-London, 2000-2001, p.122, repr. figs a and b (respectively recto and verso).

2012 Sep-Nov, Glasgow, Hunterian, Rembrandt and the Passion

Cat. 7



**Registration number:** Gg.2.252

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 22](#)

[Benesch 327](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 7 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1632-1634 (circa)

## Schools /Styles

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Description

Three studies of a bearded man on crutches and a woman; the man wearing a high cap and long cloak, at left holding his hand out to a woman giving alms. c.1632-1634

Pen and brown ink; ruled framing lines in pen and brown ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: A mark or number (resembles 'ō') in pen and brown ink, lower left, probably cut from a longer number such as 200 or 210 - see cat. no.33 (Gg.2.251); Cracherode's initials (see provenance below) lower right;\* verso, in graphite: '43 [in a circle]'.

\*The 'ō' seems to be in the same ink as the framing lines. The ink of the drawing is a little warmer in tone, while the ink of Cracherode's mark is different again – rather thin and more liquid.

## Dimensions

Height: 152 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 28/29mm apart)

Width: 185 millimetres

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Good; a few very small nicks and tears in the borderline, two on the right side, two on the left, and a slim repair along the top edge; a few residual fox-marks; a small, accidental mark in black chalk below the second figure from the right; perhaps a little trimmed: a few lines at the extreme right edge do not belong to the figure on the right and the woman on the left may also have been cut, while at the top a trial of the pen is partly trimmed away. The drawing was presumably once laid down on a washed eighteenth-century mat of the type found on other drawings from Cracherode's collection, all now in the British Museum.

## Curator's comments

Literature: P. Schatborn, in H. Bevers et.al. 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Pupils: Telling the Difference', exh.cat. The J Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2009, cat.no.10.1 (as Rembrandt).

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.7:

This well-known drawing may belong to the beginning of Rembrandt's Amsterdam period, c.1632-4, a time when the chronology of his pen and ink sketches is difficult to reconstruct as no securely datable example is preserved. In favour of such a date is its stylistic proximity to

several etchings of this period, including the 'Blind Fiddler' of 1631 (Bartsch 138, Hind 38).<sup>[1]</sup> To a lesser extent the drawing is comparable to the silver-point 'Portrait of Saskia' in Berlin of 1633 (Benesch 427), which exhibits a similarly dense hatching for the shadows. This, and the exceptional degree of detail in the head and hat of the nearest figure, are not paralleled in Rembrandt's later work, although the style of his drawings in the period c.1635-8 remains superficially analogous. For example, the cursory sketch of a woman on the left of the present sheet resembles her counterpart on the left of the Berlin drawing, 'The Naughty Boy', usually dated c.1635 (Benesch 401),<sup>[2]</sup> and similarities exist with the Berlin studies (Benesch 140-41) for the 'St John the Baptist preaching' of c.1634-5 (Bredius 555, Corpus A106). In a study in New York (Benesch 336, Pierpont Morgan Library) for the same painting, it seems that the same model was employed. Yet all these drawings are more fluid in style and less concerned with detail than the present sheet, which should therefore probably be dated before them, c.1632-4. The possibility that it was made as early as the Leiden period, admitted by several writers (see Lit. below), should however be rejected on the basis of comparisons with drawings that were certainly made prior to the artist's move to Amsterdam.<sup>[3]</sup>

The purpose of the drawing is uncertain. The varied poses of the same model, the rapid notation of the alms-giving woman on the left and the incisive details suggest that it was made from life.<sup>[4]</sup> In a general way, the study can be related to Rembrandt's many etchings of beggars made at the beginning of the 1630s, which may have been inspired by Jacques Callot.<sup>[5]</sup> A pupil's drawing in the Rijksmuseum (Benesch 328) of a figure resembling that on the right of the present sheet is presumably based on it or on another similar study, now lost.<sup>[6]</sup> The two figures on the left (the beggar and woman) were etched by Cecilia Lucy Brightwell, in reverse.

#### NOTES:

[1] As first noted by Hofstede de Groot in 1906 (see Lit. below).

[2] Benesch justifiably compared the woman in the present drawing with the head of one of Lot's daughters in a drawing in Weimar (Benesch 128), which he dated c.1636 but which may be earlier.

[3] See the sheets referred to under cat. nos.1, 2 and 3 (Gg.2.253; T.14.8 and Oo.9.95).

[4] Perhaps surprisingly, Schatborn, 1994, p.22 suggests that the drawing was made from the imagination rather than from life.

[5] E.g. Hind nos.7-16, 37-9 and 41 (respectively Bartsch nos.164, 173, 163, 160, 174, 179, 165, 151, 162, 172, 327, 138, 302, 366). The pose of the central figure is comparable to that of Tobit in the etching of c.1629, Bartsch 153, Hind 74.

[6] Rejected by Henkel (Amsterdam, 1942, no.82) and Schatborn (Amsterdam, 1985, no.104). Described as a pupil's copy of c.1636 by Loevinson-Lessing, 1971, under no.28.

#### LITERATURE (as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Bürger, 1858, p.401 (early); Vosmaer, 1877, p.602 (possibly by Eeckhout); Michel, 1893, p.581, repr. p.533; Seidlitz, 1894, p.122 (early); Lippmann, I, no.111; Kleinmann, III, no.35; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.919 (c.1631; compares etching and painting of this year, 'The Blind Fiddler', Bartsch 138, Hind 38, and the onlookers in the 'Simeon in the Temple' in The Hague, Corpus, I, no.A34, Bredius 543); Baldwin Brown, 1907, pp.26 and 117, repr. pl.3; Exh. Paris, 1908, p.52, under no.122 (quotes Hofstede de Groot's 'rapprochement' with Bartsch 138, Hind 38); Saxl, 1908, pp.233-4 (woman possibly Saskia; compares 'Peasant in high Cap, Bartsch 133, Hind 164, of 1639); Wurzbach, 1910, p.418 (as Hofstede de Groot, 1906); Hind, 1912, I, p.55, repr. pl.XV; London, 1915, no.22 (c.1630-35); Stockholm, 1920, p.29, repr. fig.32 (compares HdG.1609 in Stockholm [not in Benesch]); Hell, 1930, p.21,

repr. fig.4 (early 1630s); Hind, 1932, p.49, repr. pl.XXV; Benesch, 1935, p.24 (c.1636; with reminiscences of earlier period); Amsterdam, 1942, p.42, under no.82 (see n.5 above); Poortenaar, 1943, no.82, repr. (c.1630); Poortenaar, 1943[I], repr. p.63; Rosenberg, 1948/64, I, p.149/250-51, repr. fig.212 (Leiden period; beggar subjects inspired by Callot); Benesch, II, 1954/73, no.327, repr. fig.367/ 401 (c.1636); Rosenberg, 1956, p.69 (early 1630s); White, 1962, pl.17 (c.1636); Slive, 1965, I, no.113, repr. (c.1633); Haak, 1976/74, no.19, repr. (c.1636); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.163; Amsterdam, 1985, p.106, under no.48, n.7 and pp.211-12, under no.104, repr. fig.104a (c.1636; notes other studies of old men and beggars from all stages of Rembrandt's career; see n.5 above); Schatborn, 1994, p.22 (a model sheet of varied poses, possibly drawn 'uit het hooft'); Schatborn, 1996, p.222 (second half of 1630s); New York, 1999, p.212, under no.67, repr. fig.67.1 (compares Lehmann collection drawing, Benesch 260); Rosand, 2002, p.230, repr. fig.215 (momentum of graphic creation visible in the relationship between the figures); Berlin, 2006, p.180, under no.53 (sees compositional analogies with later drawing in Berlin, Benesch 1141).

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**Subject**

disabled ([all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1799

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Probably Neyman sale, Paris, 8 July, 1776, lot 685 (with cat. no.36): 'Deux feuilles contenant chacune trois études de différents vieillards avec bâtons, exécutées de même' [i.e. in pen and bistre], sold for 18 francs; bequeathed by the Rev. C. M. Cracherode, 1799 (L.606).

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**Exhibition History**

1899, London, no.A7 (c.1631-6);  
1938, no.22 (c.1630-35);  
1956, p. 15, no.2;  
1984, BM, 'Rembrandt and the Passion', No 3;  
1992, BM, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.8, repr. in colour;  
2004, April-June, Vienna, Albertina, 'Rembrandt', no.36, repr.  
2006, BM, 'Rembrandt: a 400th anniversary display'  
2009/10 Dec-Feb, Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, Rembrandt and his pupils

Cat.7A (or 7.I)



**Registration number:** 1842,0806.134

**Additional IDs**

1973,U.789 (The original register number and provenance were first published in Exh. London, 1992 (see Curator's Comment). Records of them had gone astray because the sheet had never been marked with an inventory number. As a result it was stamped with the number 1973,U.789 in a campaign to furnish all items in)

**Bibliographic reference**[Hinterding et al. 2000 13.II](#)[Hind 54.II](#)[Benesch 57](#)[Royalton-Kisch 2010 7.1 \(Rembrandt\)](#)[White+Boon 7.II](#)**Location:**

D+F XVIIc Mounted Roy

**Object types**print ([all objects](#))**Materials**paper ([all objects](#))**Techniques**etching ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))drypoint ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))**Production person**Print made by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))**Date**

1633-1634

**Schools /Styles**Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Self-portrait of Rembrandt, in a soft hat; head only; touched depicting an embroidered cloak, completed to bust-length, within arch. 1633-1634

Etching, completed in black chalk and touched in pen and brown ink; at top only, the remnants of a framing line in graphite.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed recto, by the artist in black chalk, left: 'ÆT.24 [corrected from 27]. / Anno.1631.', and lower right, 'Rembrandt'; an indecipherable number in graphite, top right. Verso: graphite, top centre: 'M-52—II/ Touched/ 2' (nineteenth century); top right, in graphite: '128'.

**Dimensions**

Height: 133 millimetres

Width: 120 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 21/22mm apart)

**Condition**

Worn at top corners and slightly rubbed; the fragmentary framing line suggests that the sheet has been trimmed, as does the fact that the etching plate was larger than the present sheet (see

further under Curatorial Comment).

### **Curator's comments**

For comment see also 1848,0911.7.

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.7a:

The sheet is kept with Rembrandt's etchings in the Museum's collection. It is a touched impression of the 'Self-Portrait in a soft Hat and embroidered Cloak' (Bartsch 7, Hind 54), unique in this, the second state.[1] The sheet has been trimmed, as the plate usually measures 148 x 130 mm.

The British Museum's collection contains another touched impression, trimmed nearer the head, of the third state (1848,0911.9) in which the drawn work coincides, more or less, with the plate as completed in the fifth and later states. There is a third touched impression, of the fourth state, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. In this the style of dress remains as it is in the present sheet, without the generous folds of fur seen in the completed etching, but the body is turned more to the front as in the final result on the plate.[2]

The print's inclusion in a catalogue of drawings is justified by the extent of the work in black chalk. Most writers have accepted the inscribed date of 1631 as the time of its execution.

However, it has been shown that Rembrandt backdated the sheets in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale by about two years, from 1633-4, when he was 27 years old. This explains why the artist's age is corrected in both from '27' (1633-4) to '24' (1630-31).[3]

Presumably the etching in its first four states was made before the artist's 25th birthday on 15 July, 1631, and watermark evidence suggests that the first nine states were all completed at the same time.[4] He then later, probably in c.1633-4, took up the unfinished proofs and drew on them in black chalk. The smooth handling of the chalk speaks for a later date than 1631 (compare, for example, the more rugged handling of 'Diana at the Bath' of c.1630-31, here cat. no.5; inv. no.1895,0915.1266). The format adopted, with the fictive arch, resembles Rembrandt's drawn 'Portrait of a Man in an Armchair' in the Payson collection (Benesch 433), which is dated 1634. The full 'Rembrandt' signature is also characteristic of the later period and would be unique for c.1631, when Rembrandt signed his work in monogram as in the earlier states of the print.[5] It may not be coincidental that J. G. van Vliet made a copy of the etching which is dated 1634.[6]

The etching is not signed with the monogram and date, 1631, until the fifth state, but the plate may only have been inked in the head in the earlier states so that the monogram and date in the top left corner would not have printed, and all the impressions have been cut so that the signature would in any case probably have been removed.[7]

The composition, which somewhat unusually shows Rembrandt in his everyday clothes rather than in a fancy costume, was influenced by Paulus Pontius's engraving of 1630 after Rubens's 'Self-Portrait' painted for Charles I and still in the royal collection at Windsor.[8] From it Rembrandt adopted not only the hat but also the pose of the body turned to the left, an element that appears both in the present sheet and in the completed etching.[9] The Rubens is a bust-length portrait within a frame, as in the present sheet, but was modified by Rembrandt into an unframed half-length portrait in the finished etching. Rubens's image seems also to have informed the painted 'Self-Portrait' of 1632 in Glasgow (Bredius 17, Corpus A58).[10] Another painted 'Self-Portrait' of 1632 in a private collection (Corpus IV, Add.1) is almost identical to the present sheet in composition, though in reverse, and were it not for the 1632 date on the painting it would be assumed that the British Museum drawing preceded it but (to summarise the foregoing), because of the form of Rembrandt's signature and the style of his manipulation of the chalk as well as the correction to his age it must date from one or two

years later. The adjustment suggests that Rembrandt felt it was important to record his age correctly.[11]

An etched copy after this sheet was made in 1809 by I.J. de Claussin.[12]

NOTES:

[1] See White and Boon, 1969, I, pp.2-3, no.B7. The first four states represent the head and hat only.

[2] The authenticity of the retouching on the British Museum's second touched impression (1848,0911.9) is hard to judge because of its rubbed condition. It is usually rejected, e.g. by Hind, 1912/24, under no.54, and White and Boon, 1969, I, p.3. In the compiler's view the additions are likely to be by Rembrandt, a view supported by the previously unrecognised fact that it was kept together with the Bibliothèque Nationale's impression in the albums compiled by J.P. Zomer and subsequently owned by A. M. Zanetti and Baron Vivant-Denon (see Duchesne, 1826, p.94, nos.311-12). The existence in Venice in the eighteenth century of both the British Museum's and the Paris touched impressions raises the suspicion that Zanetti sold some 'duplicates' from the Zomer albums to Consul Smith. The British Museum's smaller touched impression (1848,0911.9) was subsequently purchased from Samuel Woodburn by Lord Aylesford in 1829. It came to the Museum with many items from the Aylesford collection in 1848 via the dealer W. Smith (see Lugt 58). The Bibliothèque Nationale's impression was owned after the sale of Denon's collection in 1827 by Thomas Wilson (see his catalogue of Rembrandt's etchings, 1836, p.28, note), who bought it from Woodburn (see L.2580). According to Lugt (loc. cit.) Wilson sold his collection to W. B. Tiffin in c.1830 but repurchased part of it. In 1877 his impression was owned by Lord Holford, who lent it to the exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club (Exh. London, 1877, p.55, no.7). Details of the provenance of the British Museum's impressions can be gleaned from a marked copy of Wilson's catalogue, kept in the Department. See further Royalton-Kisch, 1993.

[3] That the work in black chalk was executed later than 1631 was proposed by Seymour Haden (Exh. London, 1877, p.32, and Seymour Haden, 1879, p.23, basing himself only on the Bibliothèque Nationale's impression) and by Middleton, 1878, p.xli and p.53, repr. pl.1, fig.3, who also mentions the present sheet and the second touched impression in the British Museum (1848,0911.9). Both based their arguments on the style and on the form of the signature. Schatborn, in Exh. Amsterdam, 1981, no.4b (referring only to the Paris impression), and Broos, 1982, p.251 (in which he refers to his article in the 'NRC Handelsblad', in the 'Cultureel Supplement', no. 543, 1 May, 1981, p.1, an article I have not seen) and again in Exh., Amsterdam, 1985-6, no.19, saw that the correction from 'Aet.27' to 'Aet.24' by the artist gives the clue to the date of the additions and proposed a dating in 1633 (without reference to Middleton and Seymour Haden's views). The artist was born on 15 July, 1606 according to Orlers, 1641, p.375 (see Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, p.45), and this date is now generally accepted, although some caution has been voiced recently by Jacobs, 1988, p.99.

[4] See Exh. London, 2000-2001, under cat. no.13, and Hinterding, 2006, vol.II, p.244, where impressions of the first nine states are recorded as having watermarks of no later than 1631.

[5] The present signature resembles that on the drawing of 'Christ among his Disciples' of 1634 in the Teylers Museum in Haarlem (Benesch 89). The earliest dated drawing to be signed with the artist's first name in full is the 'Study for Lot drunk' of 1633 in Frankfurt (Benesch 82). The first paintings to be signed in this way also date from 1633 (see Corpus, II, 1986, pp.99-106) apart from the 'Anatomy Lesson of Dr Tulp' of 1632 in the Mauritshuis, The Hague (Bredius 403, Corpus A51). There it is spelt 'Rembrant' and its authenticity is

doubtful (see Corpus, II, 1986, p.182). One etching of 1632, the 'St Jerome praying, arched', is signed 'Rembrant [sic] ft. 1632'. As for the paintings and drawings, the name 'Rembrandt' is the norm for the etchings (though sometimes without the 'd') from 1633 (for an overview of the signatures on the etchings, see Münz, 1932, II, p.48). Autograph documents of 1631 are also signed without the 'd' (see Corpus I, 1982, vol. pp.53ff.). The first document to be signed by the artist with the 'd' dates from 10 June 1634, being the banns of his marriage to Saskia (Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, pp.106-7, no.1634/2, with reproduction). Benesch, 1964, p. 124, n.11, wrote that he knew of no instance in which the artist had spelt his name 'Rembrant'(!).

[6] Listed as van Vliet by White and Boon, loc. cit. (see n.1), p.3.

[7] See White, I, 1969, p.110, n.5. Of all the impressions hitherto described and reproduced, only one (the Amsterdam impression of the fourth state) might have shown the signature, but even this is uncertain (see the reproduction published by Rovinski, 1890, no.25). White, loc. cit., suggests that it has been trimmed more than the sheet under discussion.

[8] As first suggested by Slatkes, 1973, p.255. That Rembrandt only occasionally depicted himself in modern, everyday dress was noted by van de Wetering, 1997, p.4.

[9] The idea proposed by Chapman, 1990, that the touched impressions were completed only after the etching is now accepted. Münz, 1952 (see Lit. below) felt that the discrepancy of style in the etching warranted the attribution of the print's completion to J.G.van Vliet.

[10] The etching's analogies with this painting were first noted by Hind, 1912; the change from the bust length in Exh. Amsterdam-Rotterdam, 1956 (see Lit. below).

[11] As noted by van de Wetering, 2002, pp.39-40.

[12] As noticed by Jaco Rutgers, who found an impression in the Art Institute of Chicago (email correspondence, 21 March 2011). As he mentions, the date (1809) suggests that De Claussin saw it at the Hibbert sale.

#### LITERATURE (always as by Rembrandt in 1631 unless otherwise stated):

de Claussin, 1824, p. 5, under no.7, and 1828, p.2 (notes several touched impressions, usually signed and dated 1631; he may therefore have known the present sheet); Blanc, II, 1861, pp.144-6 (confuses provenances of present sheet and 1848,0911.9, but knew both); Vosmaer, 1868, p.21; Middleton, 1878, pp.xli and 53, under no.52, and repr. pl.1, fig.3 (see n.3 above); Willshire, 1874, p.115 (provenance; I am grateful to Felix Pollack for this reference); Dutuit, I, 1883, p.49, under no.7; Rovinski, 1890, under no.7, repr. pl.21; Michel, 1893, p.4; Seidlitz, 1895/1922, under no.7 (first half of 1631; notes other two touched impressions); Hofstede de Groot, 1906[I], p.II, no.16; Exh. Paris, 1908, p.23, under no.10; Hind, 1912/24, under no.54 (see notes 3 and 11 above); Neumann, 1918, pp.105-6; Graul, 1920, p.11; Bauch, 1933, p.217; Benesch, 1935, p.9; van Gelder, 1946, VI, p.11, repr. p.15; Münz, 1952, I, repr. pl.14, 11, pp.28 and 56, and under no.14 (Rembrandt not satisfied with drawn solution; etching completed later – by van Vliet?); Benesch, 1954/73, I, no.57, repr. fig.62/66; Biörklund and Barnard, 1955, p.35; Exh. Amsterdam-Rotterdam, 1956, under no.15 (see n.11); van Hall, 1963, p.274, no.129; Erpel, 1967, pp.156-7 and no.41, repr. fig.23; White, 1969, I, pp.109 and 120, II, repr. pl.135; White and Boon, 1969, I, p.2, under no.B7 ('4' corrected from '7'); Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.35, under no.46; Campbell, 1971, pp.61-3, repr. fig.4 (Rubens' influence; iconography resembles portraits of artists, not self-portraits); Rosenberg, 1973, p.108 (c.1630; compares Vienna 'Self-Portrait', Benesch 1177); Slatkes, 1973, p.255 (based on Rubens); Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, pp.76-7, repr.; Broos, 1982, pp.246 and 251 (1633; see n.3 above); Wright, 1982, p.45, no.4, pl.36; Exh. Paris, 1986, p.55, under no.21 (print before July 1631); Exh. Amsterdam, 1989, p.179, repr. (quotes Vosmaer, who in 1863 used the date as evidence that Rembrandt was born in 1607, and Broos, 1982); Chapman, 1989, pp.209-10, repr. fig.7 (suggests the redrawing postdates the sequence of states);

Chapman, 1990, p.61, repr. fig.91 (quotes Broos, 1982; not preparatory, as Chapman 1989 – see n.9 above; compares painting as Hind, 1912/24; Rubens's influence, as Slatkes, 1973); Exh. Glasgow, 1990-91, p.17; Royalton-Kisch, 1991[I], p.280, repr. fig.14; Royalton-Kisch, 1991[II], repr. p.305, fig.182; Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2[II], pp.167-8, repr. fig.12; Royalton-Kisch, 1993, pp.111-122, repr. fig.56 (dates and provenance); van de Wetering, 1997, p.4, repr. fig.3 (Rembrandt not often portrayed in everyday clothes); Starcky, 1999, p.11, repr.; Exh. Washington-London-The Hague, 2000-2001, p.90, under cat. no.14, repr. fig.1 (influenced Dou's painted Self-Portrait of c.1645 in a private collection, Spain); van der Wetering, 2002[I], pp.39-40, repr.p.35, fig.42 (see n.11 above); Exh. Amsterdam, 2003, p.39, repr. fig.42; Dickey, 2004, p.27, repr. fig.34 (not a study but an afterthought); Dickey, 1998, fig.32 (retouches date from 1639); Binstock, 2006, p.271, repr. fig.19b (chalk additions part of preparation for the print; the artist's age never read '27' but always '24', the sloping '4' then readjusted); Schwartz, 2006, p.151, repr. fig.258.

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**Subject**

self-portrait ([all objects](#))

**Associated names**

Portrait of Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1842

**Acquisition name**

Purchased from William Smith, the printseller ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Joseph Harding ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Samuel Woodburn ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection George Hibbert (L. 2849; his sale, Thomas Philipe, London, 1.v.1809/7 bt by Woodburn for £5) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Possibly J. P. Zomer and A. M. Zanetti (see n.2 under Comment); Consul Joseph Smith, Venice; his sale, Christie's, 6th day, 27 April, 1776, part of lot 57: 'REMBRANDT'S WORKS', bt Boydell, £288-15s; Marquess of Donegal (his collection said in the catalogue to have belonged to Smith), sale, London, Stewart, 2nd day, 31 January, 1800, lot 151: 'A Portrait of Rembrandt, an Original Drawing, by himself, in the 27th year of his Age, 1631, finely executed' (the Museum's copy inscribed by the dealer, Thane: 'This print is evidently the same as that now in the British Museum from Mr Harding's Colln who bot it at the Buckingham sale Head part a print same as lot 126 [an impression of one of the 'head only' states], the bottom drawn & the whole ornamented, it seems by one of his Scholars (Thane)'); George Hibbert (L.2849); his sale, London, Th. Philipe, 17 April, etc., 1809, 13th day, lot 7, bt Woodburn, £5-0-0; Duke of Buckingham; his sale, London, Phillips, 12th day, 12 June, 1834, lot 1573, bt Josi, £53 –11s (presumably for Harding); purchased by the British Museum with the collection of Joseph Harding of Finchley, 1842 (see L. under no. 1196). The inventory number and provenance have not previously been published. Records of them had gone astray because the sheet had never been marked with an inventory number. As a result it

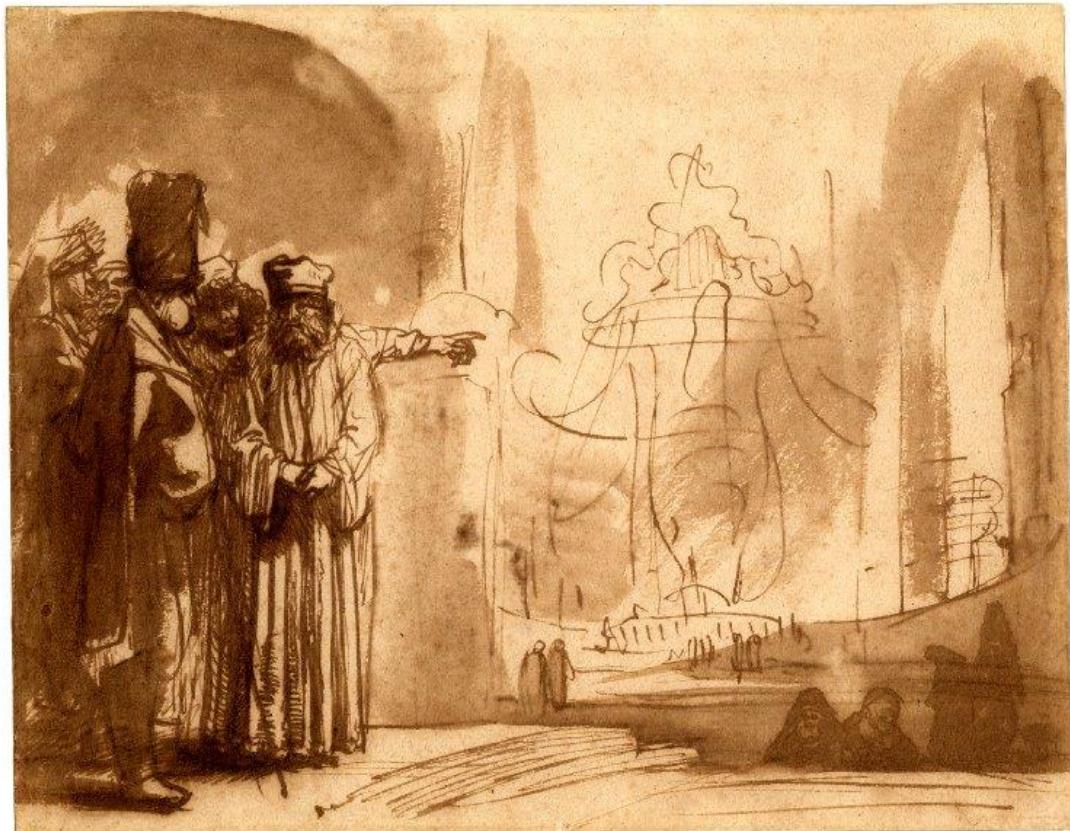
was stamped with the number 1973,U.789 in a recent campaign to furnish all items in the collection with an inventory number. See Griffiths and Williams, 1987, pp.9-10. The provenance was re-established while preparing this catalogue. Information about Harding can be gleaned from the Museum's archives.

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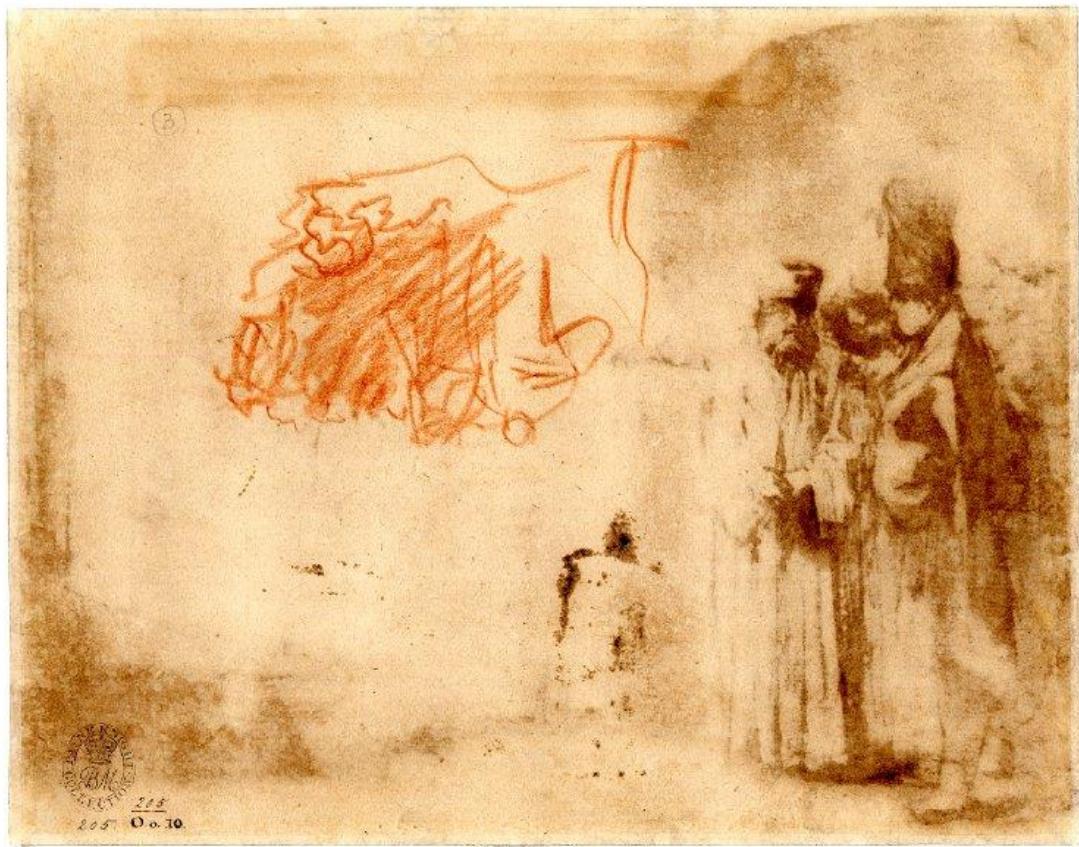
### **Exhibition History**

1899, London (BM), p.23, no.50b;  
1938, p.18, no.54;  
1985-6, Amsterdam, no.19 (1633);  
1992, no.8a, repr. in colour;  
1994-5, Liverpool, no.12, repr.;  
1999 June-Sep, London, National Gallery, Rembrandt by Himself, no.13,ii,  
1999/2000 Sep-Jan, The Hague, Mauritshuis, Rembrandt by Himself  
2000/1 Jul-Jan, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rembrandt the Printmaker  
2002-3, Rome, no.13,ii.

Cat.8



Recto



Verso

**Registration number:** Oo,10.205

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 148](#)

[Hind 16](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 8 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1633-1635 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Mattathias and the Officers of Antiochus at Modin; an officer in a high hat at left foreground talking to Mattathias, who is facing him with hands folded, another officer and two of the priest's sons behind, one pointing to the large altar behind at right. c.1633-1635

Pen and brown ink with brown wash; the verso in red chalk.

Verso: a slight sketch with figures in a landscape.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed, verso, in graphite: '3 [in a circle]'.

**Dimensions**

Height: 170 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 24-25mm apart)

Width: 217 millimetres

**Condition**

Generally good; a diagonal fold at lower right corner and a small repaired tear near the top left corner; the sheet perhaps slightly trimmed, the figures being cut at the left.

### Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.8:

The identification of the subject (from the Apocrypha, I Maccabees 2, 15-22) is not entirely certain although no plausible alternative has emerged.[1] The priestly figure of Mattathias is addressed by an officer in a tall hat and by one of his sons, who points towards the altar.

It has been pointed out that in style the drawing resembles the figure studies (in particular Benesch 141-2 in Berlin and at Chatsworth) for the painting of 'St John the Baptist preaching' in Berlin (Bredius 555, Corpus A106), executed c.1634-5.[2] The analogies extend from the rendering of details such as the hair, sleeves, folds of drapery and shadows on the ground to the gestures and grouping of the figures. The foreground shading and the drapery also recall a drawing now in the J. Paul Getty Museum of an 'Artist in his Studio' (Benesch 390), dated by Benesch to around 1632-3.

The chalk study on the verso, first published in 1992, was discovered when the sheet was lifted from its mount in 1958.[3] It seems to represent two figures, the one on the left carrying a basket, in a landscape setting. In style it resembles the 'Christ among the Disciples' of 1634 in Haarlem (Benesch 89, especially the passage towards the upper right), the 'Entombment', here cat.no.12 (T,14.6) and the sketch on the verso of the 'Sacrifice of Isaac', cat.no.10 (1897,1117.5), similarities that lend support to the dating c.1633-5 proposed here.[4]

The attribution of the recto has been questioned and Fedinand Bol's name proposed (see Lit. below). In fact the attribution to van den Eeckhout with which the drawing entered the British Museum in 1824 would be more worthy of consideration, but at present the attribution to Rembrandt remains the most persuasive, and is supported by the drawing on the verso.

### NOTES:

[1] First suggested by Hind in London, 1915. He surmised 'that the story, as told of John and Nikanor in the Jewish Synagogue version, called the 'Scroll of Antiochus', may also have been thought of. I know of no other representation of the subject.

[2] The first comparison by Hind, loc. cit., the second by Benesch, 1954.

[3] Note by C. White in Museum files.

[4] The figures might conceivably represent 'Ruth and Naomi' (Ruth I, 14-22).

### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Kleinmann, III, no.61; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.964; London, 1915, no.16 (see nn.1-2 above); Van Dyke, 1927, p.83 (de Gelder); Benesch, 1935, p.27 (c.1637); Benesch, 1947, under no.90 (mid-1630s); Benesch, I, 1954/73, no.148, repr. fig.161/178 (A1637); Bauch, 1960, p.262, n.143; Munich, 1973, p.162, under no.1125 (compares Munich 'Man in Cap', Benesch 355); Schatborn, 1994, p.21 (verso typical of Rembrandt but recto not – wash not integrated, motifs taken from Benesch 141 – the full-faced figure, but wearing a tall hat from another figure); Giltaij, 1995, p.96 (perhaps by Bol, c.1640).

Literature after Royalton-Kisch 2010: Holm Bevers, review of Martin Royalton-Kisch's catalogue, in The Burlington Magazine (2013), p.103 (as Gerbrand van den Eeckhout?).

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### Subject

old testament ([all objects](#))

**Associated names**

Representation of Mattathias ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1824

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight (as by Eeckhout) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.A61;  
1938, no.16 (c.1630-35);  
1992, no.10, repr. in colour.

Cat.9



**Registration number:** Oo,9.103

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 154](#)

[Hind 60](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 9 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1634-1635 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

The Lamentation at the Foot of the Cross; the body of Christ supported on the knees of the Virgin at right, surrounded by other figures behind, Mary Magdalene crouching at his feet, the lower part of the crosses and the ladder behind. c.1634-1635

Pen and brown ink and brown wash, with red and perhaps some black chalk, reworked in oils 'en grisaille'; framing lines in thin black oil paint; the sheet made up of cut sections of paper (see further under Comment).

Verso: laid down.

No watermark visible.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed on a remnant of the old mat, in pen and brown ink, by Jonathan Richardson, jun.: 'Rembrandt has labour'd this Study for the Lower part of his famous Des/:cent from the Cross, grav'd by Picart, & had so often chang'd his mind in / the Disposition of the Clair-Obscur, which was his Point Here, that/ my Father & I counted, I think, Seventeen different Peices [sic] of Paper.'

**Dimensions**

Height: 216 millimetres (chain lines not visible)

Width: 254 millimetres

**Condition**

The work in brown ink and wash is much faded, and the sheet is discoloured to a pale brown tone; the oil pigment threatens to flake at the extreme edges of the various sections of the paper.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.9.

The drawing is related to a more complete oil-sketch in the National Gallery in London (Bredius 565, Corpus A107), but opinions have differed as to whether it was drawn before, after, or during the execution of the more finished work.[1]

The British Museum's sheet began as a pen and ink sketch of the figures lamenting over the dead body of Christ. Rembrandt evidently decided to enlarge the composition. This was effected in various stages, as follows: (1) he stuck the original sheet onto a slightly larger piece of paper (most clearly visible in the narrow parallel strips at the top, that on the left now being slightly lower). (2) A bolder reorganisation led him to cut through the whole sheet, including the first addition, in a more-or-less diagonal line and to rearrange the two sections a little apart. (The top half of the cut is now occupied by the right-hand ladder and it seems that the artist's main concern was to provide room for this extra motif. Below this, the cut continues in a zig-zag, first to the left, then back to the right, before ending in a near vertical line to the edge of the sheet below.) (3) The two sections were fixed to a third and yet larger

sheet; the left section, with the standing mourners and the Magdalene at Christ's feet, was stuck down in a lower position than (and slightly to the left of) that on the right.

The composition was then reworked, firstly with indications in red chalk and subsequently in oils and the surface of the third sheet only contains work in these media. The main parts of the third sheet that are exposed are the following: the top left corner, the section occupied by the right-hand ladder and the small quadrangular patch at its base, and the strip running across the bottom from the lower right corner to the point below the sorrowing Magdalene at Christ's feet.[2] The tallest figures behind the body of Christ are also apparently executed entirely in oil paint. The bases of the crosses, the ladders, the temple of Jerusalem, the sky, the foreground section and, to the right, the mourners and the winding-sheet were all painted at this stage. Refinements were also made to some figures – for example, those on the left of the composition – that had been drawn with the pen before the sheet was cut.

It seems likely that Rembrandt executed the work in oils on the British Museum sketch after he had started on the sheet of paper that now forms the central part of the National Gallery's painting, but that the initial pen and ink part of the Museum's sketch would have been made first of all. The National Gallery's painting is executed entirely in oils and follows the foreground frieze of figures in the drawing. It also includes the ladders, but these could have been added at a subsequent stage (the X-radiograph is inconclusive on this point). Some of the figures, only cursorily indicated in the British Museum's sketch, are worked up in considerable detail, including the man climbing the ladder at the top left corner. But the artist seems to have omitted several motifs that appear only in the Museum's study, including the figure in a broad hat who bends forward over Christ. The National Gallery's painting shows no definite signs of this figure either on the surface or in X-radiographs. This suggests that Rembrandt revised the composition again in his mind, abandoning at an early stage certain solutions that he had considered in the British Museum's sketch. He also altered the background, in which he initially took over the large tower from the earlier trial, only to rework this area again later.[3] Indeed, the National Gallery's sketch was destined to undergo as many revisions as the drawing. Its central, paper section was also cut, in two places: in the area now occupied by the legs of the central thief (perhaps in order to excise the figure of the sorrowing woman who appears at this point in the British Museum's study) and in the lower right corner, where a minor adjustment was made to the pose of the Virgin Mary. Having been cut, the sheet was fixed to a larger support, this time of canvas.[4]

In spite of the changes he had wrought, Rembrandt seems to have remained dissatisfied with the result. The National Gallery's painting was only completed by the addition of further strips of canvas at the top and below at a later date, when the whole picture was mounted on a panel.[5]

Some of the motifs in the British Museum's drawing reappear in other works by Rembrandt of the mid-1630s. A rapid pen and ink sketch of the same subject in Berlin (Benesch 100), in which the style is analogous to those parts of the present sheet that are executed with the pen, was probably a first idea for the composition. In style both resemble the dated drawing in Berlin of 1635 after Leonardo da Vinci's 'Last Supper' (Benesch 445). The dense grouping of the heads and some of the poses of the figures in the two 'Lamentation' sketches suggest that Rembrandt already had a knowledge of Leonardo's composition.[6] The tall, sorrowing woman standing behind the main group near the centre of the British Museum's sketch resembles a figure in a drawing in Amsterdam (Benesch 152), that was used for the Munich 'Entombment', painted for the stadholder in the mid-to-later 1630s.[7] A drawing of the head of this or a similar figure is in the Amsterdam Historisch Museum (Benesch 153).[8] Finally, the etched 'Crucifixion: small plate' of c.1635 (Bartsch 80, Hind 123), resembles the present composition in the disposition of the cross and figures. The date of c.1634-5 here proposed for the British Museum's drawing is suggested on the basis of these several analogies. Other

works sketched by Rembrandt 'en grisaille' date from approximately the same period, including the 'Joseph telling his Dreams' in the Rijksmuseum of c.1633 (Bredius 504, Corpus A66), the 'Christ before Pilate' of 1634 in the National Gallery in London (Bredius 546, Corpus A89), the 'Entombment' at Glasgow (Bredius 554, Corpus A105) and the 'St John the Baptist preaching' in Berlin (Bredius 555, Corpus A106). At no other time did Rembrandt repeatedly employ the 'grisaille' medium. It has often been plausibly suggested that like the 1634 'Christ before Pilate' they were all made as preparatory studies for etchings, many of which were not executed.[9]

The iconography of the 'Lamentation at the Foot of the Cross' does not depend on a biblical text and was treated in different ways by artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[10] The subject combines motifs from the 'Deposition', 'Lamentation' and 'Entombment'. Rembrandt's version is more crowded than most as he includes several bystanders who had witnessed the crucifixion. Characteristically, he exploits the opportunity to illustrate through gesture and expression the emotional states of the figures depicted, in line with his desire, expressed in 1639 in a letter to Constantijn Huygens, to imbue his works with 'the greatest and most natural emotion'.[11]

A drawing attributed to Ferdinand Bol that is based on the National Gallery's sketch is in a private collection (Sumowski 146x). Another, in the Louvre and perhaps by another follower of Rembrandt, shows the 'Deposition' in a composition that is reminiscent of the present sheet and the National Gallery's sketch. A drawing in Dresden (Benesch 63) also reflects these compositions.[12]

The engraving to which Richardson jun. refers in the inscription on the back of the drawing was made by Bernard Picart in 1730 after the National Gallery's painting.[13]

#### NOTES:

[1] See Lit. below.

[2] The extreme edges of the sheet on the other sides, mostly covered by the framing line, are also made up of the third and largest sheet. The above reconstruction, with minor deviations, follows that proposed by Harris, 1969.

[3] The 'ghost' of this motif is visible on the surface of the National Gallery's sketch although it is not clear in the X-radiograph.

[4] Believed to have come from the same bolt as the following paintings: the 'Holy Family' in Munich of 1634 (Corpus A88, Bredius 544), the 'Cupid blowing Bubbles' of 1634 in a private collection (Corpus A91, Bredius 470), the 'Samson threatening his Father-in-Law' in Berlin of 1635 (Bredius 499, Corpus A109), the Vienna 'St Paul' (Bredius 603), and certainly from the same bolt as a patch used for the first enlargement of the Berlin 'St John the Baptist preaching' (Bredius 555, Corpus A106), as noted in Corpus, II, 1986, p.479, and III, 1989, p.107.

[5] Opinions differ as to whether the work was completed by Rembrandt himself: see Exh. London, 1988-9, p.68, and Corpus, III, 1989, no.A107.

[6] The group of the Virgin and those supporting her torso is like that of the figures to Christ's left (spectator's right) in Benesch 445, while those above Christ's body are like the two to his right, especially in the case of the National Gallery's sketch.

[7] For the drawing, see further Amsterdam, 1985, no.7. The resemblance to a figure in a woodcut by Lucas Cranach (Hollstein 25), first noticed by Colin Campbell, is there reported (p.19, n.4). The connection with the British Museum's sketch was first made by Benesch.

[8] See Amsterdam, 1981, no.2.

[9] Van de Wetering (as first reported in Exh. London, 1988-9, p.70 and stated in Corpus, III, 1989, pp.96-7) suggested that the National Gallery's 'Lamentation' may have been intended as a sketch in reverse for a print because the good thief is to the left of Christ's cross. This may

well be the case, but Rembrandt's disregard of such iconographic conventions in his etchings undermines such an argument (for example, in the etching of the 'Raising of Lazarus' of c.1632, Bartsch 73, Hind 96, Christ raises his left hand, and in the 'Crucifixion', Bartsch 79, Hind 173, of c.1641, the thieves are not clearly differentiated; see further Boeck, 1953). In Exh. Amsterdam-London, 2000-2001, pp.36-63, van de Wetering developed more arguments to support the idea that Rembrandt's 'grisaille' sketches relate to a largely unexecuted plan for a series of prints on subjects from Christ's Passion.

[10] See Réau, II, 1957, pp.519-21.

[11] As noted by Schatborn (loc. cit., n.8), Rembrandt used similar words in an inscription on the Rijksmuseum's sketches of the 'Magdalen and the Virgin in Sorrow' (Benesch 152).

[12] The Paris drawing is repr. Paris, 1933, no.1277, pl.LXXXVII. The Dresden sheet, regarded by Stechow, 1929, as a preliminary stage ('Vorstufe') of the composition, seems more likely to be a reflection of it by a contemporary pupil (and is catalogued as such in Exh. Dresden, 2004, no.85).

[13] Repr. Exh. London, 1988-9, p.68, fig.52; it shows the composition in reverse. Richardson's inscription was copied by Sir Joshua Reynolds onto the back of the National Gallery's painting, which he owned as well as the present sheet.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Northcote, 1819, I, pp.261 ff. (see note in Acquisitions); Bürger, 1858, p.398 (same composition as National Gallery 'grisaille'); Vosmaer, 1868, p.431, n.1 (for National Gallery painting); Vosmaer, 1877, p.545; Dutuit, IV, 1885, p.85; Michel, 1893, II, p.581 (as Vosmaer); Seidlitz, 1894, p.121; Seidlitz, 1895, p.76n., under no.81 (relates to National Gallery painting and to another in Christiania); Michel, 1898, p.303 (17 pieces of paper); Lippmann, I, no.103; Kleinmann, IV, no.1; Bode and Hofstede de Groot, IV, 1900, p.80, under no.245 (related to National Gallery painting and Frankfurt drawing, Benesch 586); Neumann, 1902, pp.330-31 (at least 16 pieces of paper; related to National Gallery painting); Bell, c.1905, p.15, repr. pl.XVIII (for National Gallery 'grisaille' of c.1642; 16 pieces); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.890 (study for National Gallery painting, 1642; made up of at least 16 pieces); Wickhoff (text by Kurt Rathe), 1906, p.28, no.30; Baldwin Brown, 1907, pp.118 and 218; Rosenberg, 1908 ed., under no.226 (relates to Bartsch 82, Hind 199); Saxl, 1908, p.233 (rejects relationship suggested by Rosenberg, 1908); Wurzbach, 1910, p.417; Hind, 1912, I, p.52 (16 or more pieces of paper); London, 1915, no.60 (c.1642); Hofstede de Groot, 1916/15, p.105, under no.136 (with National Gallery painting a study for etching Bartsch 82, Hind 199, of 1642; Frankfurt drawing, Benesch 586, related); Neumann, 1918, p.105 (quotes HdG); Bredt, 1921/28, II, repr. p.31/136 (17 pieces of paper); Byam Shaw, 1928, p.31, n.2 (c.1642); Stechow, 1929, p.226-9 (early 1640s; relationship with National Gallery's painting impossible fully to clarify; sees an iconographic progression towards stressing Virgin's mourning in Rembrandt's versions but some of the arguments rest on works now doubted; see n.12 above); Hell, 1930, p. 14, n.3 (16 pieces); Hind, 1932, p.68 (refers also to school 'Pietá' in Ringling Museum, Bredius 582); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.495, repr. (c.1640; possibly a workshop repetition based on the National Gallery's painting); Benesch, 1935, p.28 (c.1637); Bredius, 1937/35, under no.565; Benesch, 1947, p.12 and no.94, repr. (c.1637-8); Benesch, I, 1954/73, no.154, repr. fig.172/184 (as Benesch, 1947); van Gelder, 1955, p.396 (conceived as a gift); Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, p.49, under no.28; Sumowski, 1957-8, p.260 (school work based on National Gallery's painting and reworked by Rembrandt); London, 1960, pp.304-8 (for National Gallery painting; refutes connection with Benesch 586; much less than 17 pieces of paper); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1961, p.23 (c.1642; with National Gallery painting perhaps for an etching); Slive, 1965, I, no.104, repr. (c.1642); Bauch, 1966, p.5, under no.69; Haverkamp-Begemann, 1967 (1964), p.110 (related to

etchings); Gerson, 1968, p.492, under no.89; Bredius-Gerson, 1969, under no.565; Harris, 1969, pp.158-64, repr. pl.35 (reconstructs progress of work on the sheet); Waals, 1969, p.104 (demonstrates that Rembrandt fought to achieve compositions); Campbell, 1971, p.261 (associates Rijksmuseum sketches, Benesch 152, with 'Lamentation' composition); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1971, p.69 (probably for an etching); van Gelder, 1973, pp.193-4 (as Harris, 1969); Broos, 1975-6, p.223, n.38 (1640s; Mary in arms of consolers based on Altdorfer and Cranach); Sciolla, 1976, p.6, repr. pl.xxiii (c.1637-40; notes use of several pieces of paper in 'Montelbaanstoren', Rembrandthuis, Benesch 1309, and 'Deposition', Dresden, Benesch 63); Sumowski, I, 1979, under no.146x; Amsterdam, 1981, under no.2; Tümpel, 1986, under no.62 (the National Gallery sketch c.1635-42); Corpus, III, 1989, pp.94-6, repr. figs.4-7 (c.1634-5; the drawing based on the National Gallery painting as a trial for the division of the latter into two [but the latter is not so divided]); Royalton-Kisch, 1989 (1990), pp.135-7, repr. fig.1; (National Gallery painting essentially follows the drawing, which must have preceded it); Van de Wetering, 1997, p.17, n.20, p.110 and p.287, repr. p.112, fig.138 (c.1634; for an abandoned print; changes prompted by narrative construction and need for unity of time); Exh. Dresden, 2004, p.160, under no.85 (see n.12 above; as Exh. London, 1992); Berlin, 2006, p.46, under no.7 and p.53, under no.9, repr. (as Exh. London, 1992; sees analogies with Berlin 'Last Supper', Benesch 445; emphasizes that the Berlin sketch, Benesch 100, is a first idea for the composition of the London drawing; both works have touches of red chalk); Exh. Braunschweig, 2006, pp.85-6, under nos.30-32 (influenced P. Koninck's versions of subject in Braunschweig, inv.375-7, Sumowski 1353-5); Exh. London, 2006[1], pp.100-102, under no.7, repr. fig.80; Schwartz, 2006, p.79, repr. fig.131.

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## Subject

lamentation ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

## Associated names

Representation of St Mary Magdalene ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Representation of Virgin Mary ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Representation of Jesus Christ ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Acquisition date

1824

## Acquisition name

Bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Junior (L.2170) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection William Young Ottley (Mr Scott Jr under the direction of T. Philipe, 21.iv.1803/824 as Rembrandt 'One - Christ taken down') ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

## Acquisition notes

Jonathan Richardson, sen. (L.2184); Jonathan Richardson, jun. (L.2170); Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364);\* bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight, 1824. \* Reynolds' pupil, James Northcote, remembered bidding for the drawing at Richardson's sale ('The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds', 2nd edn. London, 1819, I, pp.261 f): 'I purchased for Sir Joshua those lots which he had marked ... One drawing in particular I remember, a descent from the cross by Rembrandt, in which were to be discovered sixteen alterations, or pentimenti, as the Italians term it, made by Rembrandt, on bits of paper stuck upon the different parts of the drawing, and finished according to his second thoughts'.

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### **Exhibition History**

1899 London BM, no.A33 (1642; at least 16 pieces of paper)  
1938 London BM, no.60 (c.1642)  
1956 London BM, p.22, no.1 bis  
1969 Amsterdam no.53 (c.1640, for National Gallery painting)  
1978 London BM, 'Gainsborough and Reynolds in the BM', no.282  
1982 Manchester, Whitworth Art Gallery, 'Payne Knight', no.157  
1984 London BM, 'Rembrandt and the Passion', no.9  
1988-9 London, National Gallery, 'Art in the Making: Rembrandt', pp.66 ff. and 160  
1992, BM, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.12  
2003-4 Boston-Chicago, Museum of Fine Arts, 'Rembrandt's Journey:...', pp.110-11, no.43  
2006 Amsterdam-Berlin, 'Rembrandt: The Quest for Genius', p.180 (Amsterdam only).  
2012 Sep-Nov, Glasgow, Hunterian, Rembrandt and the Passion  
NB Jenny Bescoby examined the work in December 2012 and noted that the state of the oil paint requires care to be exercised in lending to future venues.

Cat.10



Recto



**Verso**



Watermark

**Registration number:** 1897,1117.5

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 10 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 6](#)

[Benesch 90](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1634-1635 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

The Angel preventing Abraham from sacrificing his son, Isaac; Abraham kneeling over his bound and naked son Isaac whose head is thrust back, an angel behind Abraham clutches his hand which has loosened its hold of the knife. c.1634-1635

Red chalk over black chalk, with grey wash, on paper prepared with light brown wash.

Verso: a rough composition study in red chalk.

Watermark: Eagle with Basel Crosier, similar to Churchill 438 (Basle 1633) and Hinterding A.a.a., datable 1635).

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Signed (?), recto, lower left, in the same red chalk as that employed in the drawing: 'Rembrandt [the final 't' unclear] '.

**Dimensions**

Height: 195 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 22-23mm apart)

Width: 147 millimetres

**Condition**

Good, though rubbed in parts; small repairs at top right and lower left corners; creased horizontally at top; scraped around Abraham's head.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.10.

A preparatory study for the painting of this subject in St Petersburg (Bredius 498, Corpus A108), which is dated 1635. The compositions differ substantially in the positions of the angel, of Abraham's right hand, and Isaac's left leg. The drawing was also used for a painted variant in Munich completed in 1636, where the angel's pose follows the drawing more closely.

The design, including the figures, was initially sketched lightly in black chalk. Subsequently, the red chalk was applied with varying degrees of pressure, often exceptionally hard: the upper outline of Abraham's right sleeve looks almost as if it has been indented. The grey wash was used last, to add shadow and model the forms, the tip of the brush at times clarifying the outlines, as for example in the face of the angel, the bundle of sticks on the right and beneath the figure of Isaac. The profiles of the latter's legs are seen in several positions.

The variant initial outlines make it unlikely that the study was made after the St. Petersburg canvas in order to prepare the second version of the painting in Munich of 1636, as has sometimes been proposed.<sup>[1]</sup> The improbability is reinforced by the different positions of the knife and of Isaac's left leg, which were changed for both paintings. The pose of Abraham, not fully resolved in the drawing, is also unlikely to have been based on the earlier painting as it is more-or-less identical in both oils.<sup>[2]</sup> However, recourse must have been had to the sketch for the pose of the angel in the Munich painting. Also in support of a dating before both the painted versions, it should be noted that the combination of red and black chalk with grey wash is encountered, for example, in the signed and dated drawing in Haarlem of 'Christ among his Disciples' (Benesch 89) of 1634, but not in later works. The style of parts of the Haarlem drawing is also comparable.

The slight sketch on the verso is difficult to decipher, but seems to be a study for the lower half of the same design.<sup>[3]</sup> If this reading is correct, it makes it yet less likely that the drawing was made after the completion of the St. Petersburg painting.

Rembrandt later returned to the subject of the 'Sacrifice of Isaac' in an etching of 1655 (Bartsch 35, Hind 283) which is reminiscent of his earlier design.<sup>[4]</sup> All Rembrandt's versions depend on earlier treatments of the subject by Rubens and, in particular, Pieter Lastman.<sup>[5]</sup> It has also been noted that the compositions of the 1630s depart from the biblical text, which states that the angel interceded as Abraham reached for the knife. The later moment chosen by Rembrandt coincides with a mention of the story by Jacob Cats in 'Houwelyck', first published in 1625.<sup>[6]</sup>

#### NOTES:

[1] E.g. by Sumowski, 'Gemälde', II, 1983, under no.611, with earlier literature apart from van de Wetering, 1977, p.41, n.44 (a text that is reprinted, with variations, in Corpus, I, 1982, p.22 notes 42-3), who also suggests that the drawing was made between the St. Petersburg and Munich paintings. According to P. van Thiel (in Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2, p.182) the initial lay-in of the Munich picture followed that in St. Petersburg. This is corroborated by the findings of the restorer, the late Hubert von Sonnenberg, who found traces of the earlier position for the angel underlying the Munich version (visible in infra-red light). His findings were made public at the Symposium in London, National Gallery, 23 May, 1992.

[2] Now usually identified as Govert Flinck (see Sumowski, loc. cit.) or Ferdinand Bol (see Corpus, under no.A108). The work is signed by Rembrandt to the effect that he changed and overpainted it ('Rembrandt, verandert. En over geschildert. 1636').

[3] This reading requires turning the sheet 90° clockwise (as in the illustration here) and

interpreting the short, emphatic dash, upper centre, as Abraham's knife, with an arm reaching towards it from the right, and an apparently bearded figure (Abraham) to the left.

[4] As pointed out by White, 1969, II, p.93. A related drawing at Compiègne was published by Sumowski, 1971, p.136, repr. fig.15 (rejected by Bruyn, 1990).

[5] See Broos, 1977, pp.51-2 (with previous literature) and Exh. Amsterdam, 1985-6, under nos.1-2.

[6] Kauffmann, 1920, p.69. The same book by Cats contains an illustration that appears to have influenced another work of the same period, the 'Ecce Homo' grisaille in the National Gallery, of 1634 (Bredius 546, Corpus A89) - see Bauch, 1960, pp. 192-5.

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Kleinmann, IV, no.23; Bode and Hofstede de Groot, III, 1899, under no.208 (for Munich painting); Lippmann, IV, no.81; Bell, c.1905, p.16, repr. pl.I (for St. Petersburg painting); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.866 (c.1636, for Munich painting); Valentiner, 1906, p.174 (for Munich painting); Valentiner, 1908, p.565, under no.515 (for Munich painting); Becker, 1909, p.102; Wurzbach, 1910, p.417 (for Munich painting); Hind, 1912, I, p.51; London, 1915, no.6, repr. pl.II (for St. Petersburg or Munich painting); Hofstede de Groot, 1915[I], p.84, repr. fig.8 (a pupil followed the drawing for the angel in Munich painting); Hofstede de Groot, VI, 1916/15, p.28, under no.8 (for Munich painting); Kauffmann, 1920, p.69 (see n.6 above); Valentiner, I, 1925, no.48 (1635-6, for Munich painting); Weisbach, 1926, p.190 (compares with Munich painting); Kauffmann, 1926, p.175, n.2 (for St. Petersburg painting); Van Dyke, 1927, p.51 (by Bol, for his painting in Munich); Müller (Hofstede), 1929, pp.66-7, repr. p.65, fig.16 (after St. Petersburg painting, for Munich version; stresses Lastman influence); Schneider, 1932/73, p.49 (influenced Lievens painting of the subject in Rome [repr. Sumowski, 'Gemälde', III, 1983, no.1194]); Benesch, 1935, pp.21 and 25 (for St. Petersburg painting and used for Munich painting); Benesch, 1935[I], p.263 (for St. Petersburg painting); Popham, 1939, p.68 (echoes of earlier Mannerists); Benesch, 1947, p.22, no.49, repr. (for St. Petersburg painting); 'Rembrandt Bible', 1947, no.6, repr.; Rosenberg, 1948/64, I, p.225/354, n.8 (for Munich painting); Benesch, 1954/73, I, no.90, repr. fig.98/105 (for both paintings; Lastmanesque); Benesch, 1955, p.396, reprinted 1970, p.183 (Caravaggesque); Gerson (and J.G. van Gelder), 1957, p.124 (van Gelder: Flinck?; Gerson: Rembrandt); Valentiner, 1957, p.55 (probably used by Bol, who may have made Munich painting); Sumowski, 1957-8, p.237 (used by Flinck for Munich painting); Benesch, 1960, p.17 and no.13, repr. (as in 1935; chose moment of highest tension); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1961, p.22 (pupil's work based on St. Petersburg painting, perhaps for Munich painting); Sumowski, 1961, p.4 (for Munich painting); Gantner, 1964, p.51; von Moltke, 1965, p.13 (for Munich painting and after St. Petersburg version); Slive, 1965, II, no.530, repr. (for Munich painting); Bauch, 1966, p.29, under no.A10 (for Munich painting); Rosenberg, Slive and ter Kuile, 1966, p.83 (for Munich painting); Wegner, 1966, p.103 (notes literature ignored by von Moltke, 1965); Exh. Munich, 1966-7, p.36, under no.66 (for Munich painting); Munich, 1967, p.73 (for Munich painting; quotes Haverkamp-Begemann, 1961); Gerson, 1968, pp.64 and 226, repr. fig.a (for Munich painting); Haak, 1969/68, p.126, repr. fig.193 (c.1635, for Munich painting); Waals, 1969, p.99 (between the two paintings); Campbell, 1971, pp.29-30 (follows Benesch but contrasts Lastman's version of the theme); Broos, 1972, p.147, repr. fig.13 (for Munich painting); Loevinson-Lessing, 1974/71, under no.10, repr. (between the two paintings); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.155; Sciolla, 1976, p.6 (for St. Petersburg painting); van de Wetering, 1977, p.41, n.44 (for St. Petersburg or Munich painting); Clark, 1978, p.124, repr. fig.137 (for St. Petersburg painting; contrasts later etching); Vogel-Köhn, 1981, p.18 (as Benesch); Corpus, I, 1982, p.22, nn.42-3 (for Munich painting?); Bruyn, 1983, p.54, n.12 (as Haverkamp-Begemann, 1961); Sumowski, 'Gemälde',

II, 1983, p.1018, under no.611 (for Munich painting); Corpus, II, 1989, pp.106-7, repr. fig.5 (workshop; signature dubious; based on St. Petersburg painting, perhaps by the pupil – Bol? – who executed the Munich version, or else based on the latter [cf. Van Dyke, 1927, and Valentiner, 1957]); Royalton-Kisch, 1989 (1990), pp.139-40, verso and recto repr. figs.22-3 (publishing verso; both studies of c.1634 for St. Petersburg painting); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1992, p.464 (not Rembrandt; a studio variant; follows Müller Hofstede, 1929); Klessmann, 1992, p.449, repr. fig.3 (stresses influence of Rubens' painting in Kansas); Schatborn, 1994, p.21 (convincing as Rembrandt); Giltaij, 1995, p.98 (a pupil's imitation of Munich painting); Schwartz, 2006, p.346, repr. fig.615 (as Müller-Hofstede, 1929); Tümpel, 2006, p.491, repr. fig.6 (summarises opinions; iconographic discussion of the two paintings).

Literature after Royalton-Kisch 2010: Holm Bevers, review of Martin Royalton-Kisch catalogue, in *The Burlington Magazine* (2013), p.103 (as School of Rembrandt).

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**Subject**

old testament ([all objects](#))

**Associated names**

Representation of Isaac ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Representation of Abraham ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1897

**Acquisition name**

Purchased from Dr J Law Adam ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

The British Museum's manuscript Reports for 1897 give the name as 'Dr Law Adam / 16 Vicarage Gate, Kensington'; the Departmental Register gives the name as 'Dr Adams'. No other information about him is known, but the sheet came from him along with a miscellaneous group of prints and drawings. Many drawings of the subject by Rembrandt are mentioned in early sale catalogues. An 'Abraham offering up Isaac' appeared in the sale of Samuel Woodburn, Christie's, 9th day, 26 June, 1854, lot 2193, sold with one other to C. Hall for 4s, (first noted in British Museum files by C. White); another appeared in a later Woodburn sale, Christie's, 13 June, 1860, lot 1381, bt with one other by Robinson for 15s; perhaps more plausibly the present sheet was that in the Andrew James collection, listed there as a slight sketch by Waagen, 1857, p.214 and Brunet, 1866, p.260, and sold in James' sale, Christie's, 28 April, 1873, lot 62, bt Col, £9-15-0. The extraordinary sum of £189 was made by another drawing of the subject, said to have come from the Lawrence and Esdaile collections, sold at the Bale sale, Christie's, 15th day, 10 June, 1888, lot 2436, bt Thib[audeau?].

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**Exhibition History**

1899, London, BM, no.A4 (for Leningrad or Munich painting);

1938, London, BM, no.6;  
1956, London, BM, p.24, no.8 (for Leningrad painting);  
1985/6, Amsterdam, no.2 (1635-6; composition depends on Lastman and Rubens);  
1992, London, BM, no.13, repr. in colour (drawn c.1634-5 before both the painted versions);  
1996 Sep-Nov, Manchester, Manchester City AG, 'The Inner Eye', no.176  
1996/7 Nov-Jan, Brighton, Museum and AG, 'The Inner Eye', no.176  
1997 Jan-Mar, Swansea, Glynn Vivian AG, 'The Inner Eye', no.176  
1997 Apr-Jun, London, Dulwich Picture Gallery, 'The Inner Eye', no.176  
1997/8, Melbourne-Canberra, no.74, repr. in colour;  
2003/4 Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 'Rembrandt et son école';  
2004 Mar-Jun, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 'Rembrandt: Sacrifice of Isaac'

Cat.11



Recto



Watermark

**Registration number:** 1900,0611.7

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 11 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 3](#)

[Benesch 444](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

After Leonardo da Vinci ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1635 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Sketch after Leonardo da Vinci's 'Last Supper'; comprising the group of the disciples to the left of Christ only. c.1635

Red chalk, heightened with white, on paper probably washed pale greyish brown (The verso is pale cream, and the different tone of the recto does not seem to be the result of discolouration); ruled framing line in pen and brown ink (a remnant down left side only)

Verso: see Inscriptions

Watermark: cut, the top of a crown only, similar to many marks, e.g. the Arms of Württemberg, Heawood 485 (1625)

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Signed, lower centre: 'Rembrandt' (the upper half visible only, the remainder trimmed away)

**Dimensions**

Height: 125 millimetres (chain lines vertical but not straight, 22/24mm apart)

Width: 210 millimetres

**Condition**

A nearly vertical fold, left of centre; trimmed (see framing lines and signature); a hole top right made up; other minor losses near the edges.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.11.

One of three drawings (Benesch 443-5) by Rembrandt based on early reproductions of Leonardo da Vinci's fresco of the 'Last Supper' in S. Maria delle Grazie, Milan. The influence of the composition is felt repeatedly in Rembrandt's own work, including the painting in Dresden of 'Samson' posing the Riddle to the Wedding Guests', dated 1638 (Bredius 507, Corpus A123), the 'One Hundred Guilder Print' of the 1640s (Bartsch 74, Hind 236), the etching of the 'Supper at Emmaus', dated 1654 (Bartsch 87, Hind 282), the painting of the

'Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis' of c.1661 (Bredius 482, Stockholm) and perhaps even the 'Syndics of the Drapers' Guild' of 1662 in Amsterdam (Bredius 415).[1]

The first of the three drawings by Rembrandt is that in New York (Benesch 443), which like the present sheet is executed in red chalk and signed. It shows the whole composition and includes a dog at the lower right, a motif uniquely found in an anonymous early Milanese engraving, which must have been Rembrandt's model.[2] Over a light sketch, in which the background and minor details of the figures already deviate from the engraving, Rembrandt went over the New York drawing in a heavier style, changing and emphasising various parts, in particular making Christ's pose more erect and introducing a curtained 'baldacchino' above him.

The New York study was followed by the British Museum's, which also underwent considerable changes as work progressed. Although initially inspired in part by the New York version, it is clear that for the present sheet Rembrandt employed a different model, a drawing now at Chatsworth by Pieter Soutman (or a now unknown version of it).[3]

Soutman's drawing formed the basis of an engraving, in reverse, the inscription on which shows that it is based on a reinterpretation of Leonardo's composition by Peter Paul Rubens (Schnevoogt 231). The print was made in two plates, the right section of which corresponds with the detail shown in the Chatsworth drawing. This detail also corresponds with that treated by Rembrandt in the British Museum's sheet, in which Christ's shoulder is cut off at the same point. The Soutman and Rubens version of the composition also includes a diagonal stretch of drapery behind the group of apostles adjacent to Christ. These features leave no doubt that Rembrandt employed it as his starting-point.

As in the New York drawing, Rembrandt began work on the present sheet by lightly indicating the outlines of the figures. In general these outlines replicate those in Soutman's drawing, and traces of the features that were later modified, such as the apostle with raised hands (St Andrew) and the hand extended behind his left shoulder, remain visible. Yet this central area of the drawing, as well as the part occupied by the left-hand figure (St James), were erased with a thin layer of white heightening (which has become transparent with time). The application of the white appears to have been the preliminary stage in a more general reworking of the sheet that led to several important changes to the basic layout. While the group next to Christ was reinforced, with only one significant alteration – the sharper angle of Judas' elbow – the group on the left was changed radically. The central of the three heads now visible originally belonged to the apostle on the left of Soutman's drawing (St James). Over this figure, after covering a considerable part of it in white, Rembrandt drew the seated apostle nearest the spectator. After being similarly treated with white, the apostle with raised hands (St Andrew) was entirely recast, being turned away from Christ with his hands lowered, a change which erased almost all traces of the figure as seen in Soutman's drawing. In Rembrandt's third study, that at Berlin (Benesch 445), which like the New York drawing shows the whole composition, this replacement figure was repeated, albeit with only one apostle remaining to his right. The other was moved to close the gap that had emerged between the two groups in the British Museum's sketch. The group of three apostles next to Christ is repeated with little change, although Judas' head is raised slightly, so that it corresponds, more or less, to its position in Rembrandt's two models. While it has been suggested that further drawings after Leonardo's 'Last Supper' may have been made by Rembrandt,[4] the logical sequence of development in the three that survive argues that they were made at the same time, i.e. in 1635, when the Berlin drawing was signed and dated. A later, school drawing in Berlin, probably made in the 1660s, is also based on Leonardo's composition.[5]

Finally, it is worth remarking that, unusually for Rembrandt, all three drawings are signed, as also is his copy in black chalk of Pieter Lastman's painting in Dublin of 'Joseph distributing

Corn in Egypt' (Vienna, Benesch 446, dated by him c.1637). Rembrandt's reasons for signing a higher proportion of his drawn copies than drawings of his own invention are obscure. Perhaps he wished to prevent their attribution to the masters he was copying.

#### NOTES:

- [1] The influence on the 'Syndics' first suggested by Clark, 1966, pp.61-3.
- [2] Bartsch XIII, p.83, no.28; A.M. Hind, 'Early Italian Engraving', V, London, 1948, p.89, no.10. Identified by Kristeller as Rembrandt's source, according to Hofstede de Groot, 1894, p.178. See further under Valentiner, 1905, in Lit. below.
- [3] Chatsworth inventory 677. Red and black chalks, 202 x 515 (Jaffé, 2002, vol.II, p.242, no.1275). A related Rubens school drawing, showing the whole composition, is at Dijon (repr. in Gantner, 1964, fig.11).
- [4] By Benesch, 1954/73 (see Lit. below).
- [5] Berlin, 1930 (see Lit. below).

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated, c.1635 if a date ventured, unless otherwise stated):

Lippmann, IV, no.65; Valentiner, 1905, pp.75-6 (based on print after Leonardo attrib. to Fra Antonio Monza by Kristeller, 'Rassegna d'Arte', 1901); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.888 (notes cut-away signature); London, 1915, no.3 (c.1630-35; compares Benesch 17, here cat. no.12; T.14.6), then assumed to be from 1630; quotes Hofstede de Groot, 1894 [see n.2 above]; establishes the drawing's chronological position between Benesch 443 and 445); Neumann, 1918, p.109, repr. fig.35 (follows order established in London, 1915); Weisbach, 1926, p.197; Berlin, 1930, p.227, under no.3769 and p.238, under no.1369 (notes relationship to school version of c.1650 in Berlin, inv.1369, repr. pl.177); Hind, 1932, pp.61-2, repr. pl.XXXVIII (as London, 1915); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.624 (c.1633; follows London, 1915 and Neumann, 1918); Benesch, 1935, p.21 (c.1635; follows chronological order between Benesch 443 and 445 established in London, 1915); Benesch, 1935[I], p.263; Poortenaar, 1943, pp.19-20 (all versions based on the print noted by Valentiner, 1905; increase in movement over the model); Benesch, 1947, under no.45 (follows London, 1915); van Regteren Altena, 1948-9, p.14 (based on Soutman after Rubens print or preparatory drawing for it unknown to the author); Benesch, II, 1954/73, no.444, repr. fig.502/532 (follows van Regteren Altena, 1948-9; analyses changes made and postulates existence of further Rembrandt copies of the Leonardo, now lost); Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, p.24, under no.36 (follows Benesch, 1947; notes Leonardo influence on Dresden 'Samson', Bredius 507, Corpus A123, and on 'Claudius Civilis', Bredius 482); Exh. Stockholm, 1956, p.51, under no.60 (as Exh. Amsterdam-Rotterdam, 1956); Exh. Washington-New York etc. 1958-9, under no.60; Gantner, 1959, p.99; Exh. New York-Cambridge, 1960, p.15, under no.15; Gantner, 1962, p.181, repr. p.183, fig.5 (increased drama); Gantner, 1964, pp.40-43; Brion et. al., 1965, p.272; Slive, 1965, II, no.512, repr.; Clark, 1966, p.55, repr. fig.4; (closer to fresco than Benesch 443; heads of Judas and St Peter given their correct relationship; influence of Leonardo on 'One Hundred Guilder Print', Bartsch 74, Hind 236; see also n.1 above); Bloch, 1967, p.715; Exh. Chicago-Minneapolis-Detroit, 1969-70, under no.100 (later than Berlin version, Benesch 445; New York version, Benesch 443, reworked in 1650s); Exh. Berlin, 1970, under no.91 (quotes Rosenberg); Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.143, under no.251 (as Exh. London, 1956; also notes influence on etched 'Supper at Emmaus', Bartsch 87, Hind 282); Campbell, 1971, p.79 and n.36 (the Leonardo only a point of departure; early 1630s?); Steinberg, 1973, p.394, n.1, and p.407 (notes that Rembrandt's and most other copies after the Leonardo do not follow the perspective and background of the original); Broos, 1975-6, p.210 (copies, corrects and assimilates Leonardo and Lastman for later reuse); Forssman,

1976, p.307; Broos, 1977, p.106; Amsterdam, 1981, p.153, under no.42, n.3; Slatkes, 1983, p.117, n.64 (notes Leonardo influence on Dresden 'Wedding of Samson', Bredius 507, Corpus A123); Royalton-Kisch, 1984, p.23, n.37 (follows van Regteren-Altena, 1948-9, also noting Chatsworth drawing by Soutman and folios of prints after Rubens in 1656 inventory); Exh. Amsterdam, 1985-6, under nos.48-9 (Rembrandt concentrates on Judas' covetousness); Exh. New York, 1988, p.115, under no.31; Corpus III, 1989, p.254 (loosely related to genesis of 'Wedding of Samson' in Dresden, Bredius 507, Corpus A123); Royalton-Kisch, 1991[I], pp.275-8, repr. fig.10; Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2I, p.52 (signature refers to execution, not design); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1992, pp.464-5 (not based on Soutman's copy, but on the Lehman drawing); Exh. New York, 1995-6, p.158, under no.56, n.2; Exh. Melbourne-Canberra, 1997-8, p.226, repr. fig.37c; New York, 1999, p.208, repr. fig.66.2; Berlin, 2006, pp.42-4, under no.7, repr., and p.84, under no.18 (as Exh. London, 1992; compares Berlin Benesch 448 for style).

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**Subject**

last supper ([all objects](#))

**Associated names**

Representation of Jesus Christ ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1900

**Acquisition name**

Donated by Miss Kate Radford ([all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Samuel Woodburn (Christie's, 7.vi.1860/746 as 'Rembrandt,

Van Rhyn - A portion of the Last Supper, after L. da Vinci) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection William Esdaile (L.2617; Christie's, 17.vi.1840/45 bt by

Woodburn £0-10-6 (together with lot 44)) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Richard Cosway (L.629) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Richard Cosway (L.629); his sale, Stanley, 3rd day, 16 February, 1822, lot 505; Thomas Lawrence (L.2445; the present sheet features on p.43, no.61, of the typescript copy, kept in the British Museum, of a MS list in the Royal Academy of the drawings in Lawrence's collection before his death); William Esdaile (L.2617; see cat. no.15; inv. no.1895,0915.1264); his sale, Christie's, 17 June, 1840, lot 45, bt with lot 44 ('Pilate in the Hall of judgment') by Woodburn, 10s-6d; Samuel Woodburn's 'Lawrence' sale, Christie's, 4th day, 7 June, 1860, lot 746, bt Cockburn, 16s); presented by Miss Kate Radford, 1900.

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### **Exhibition History**

London, Lawrence Gallery, 1835 (see Acquisition Comment);  
British Museum, 1901, no.A114 (notes versions now in New York and Berlin, Benesch 443 and 445);  
1938, no.3 (c.1630-35);  
1956, p.16, no.2 (notes Leonardo's influence on painting of 'Samson's Wedding' in Dresden, Bredius 507, Corpus A123, and the etching of the 'Supper at Emmaus' of 1654, Bartsch 87, Hind 282);  
1984, BM Rembrandt and the Passion, no.7;  
1992, no.14, repr. in colour;  
1999/00 Sep-Jan, Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam, 'Rembrandt's Treasures';  
2001 Mar-Jun, Milan, Palazzo Reale, 'Il Cenacolo di Leonardo'.  
2012 Sep-Nov, Glasgow, Hunterian, Rembrandt and the Passion

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**Registration number:** T.14.6

**Additional IDs**

FAWK,5213.6

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 12 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 17](#)

[Hind 2](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

After Jan Lievens ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

After Jacob Louys ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1635 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

The Entombment of Christ (over the Raising of Lazarus);

(a) Lazarus is seen at right in several positions, raising his head, Christ standing above the tomb, to left a crowd of spectators

(b) Over the preceding sketch another group in which the body of Christ is lowered towards the tomb. c.1635

Red chalk, corrected with white.

Verso: laid down on paper; see Inscriptions.

Watermark: the backing has a watermark with the arms of Amsterdam; there may be a watermark on the original sheet, but it is indecipherable through the backing.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed by the artist, lower right centre, in the red chalk used for the drawing: '1630'. The verso inscribed in pen and dark (brown?) ink: 'Rembrand' (visible through backing paper only; eighteenth century?); in graphite: '9' [in a circle] on the backing paper (nineteenth century?).

**Dimensions**

Height: 282 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 22/24mm apart)

Width: 204 millimetres

## Condition

Generally good; perhaps a little trimmed; a stain (oil?) towards lower left; some foxing towards upper right.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.12.

The drawing, the authenticity of which has rarely been doubted, began as a rough sketch of the 'Raising of Lazarus'. It was subsequently reworked as an 'Entombment of Christ',[1] when some of the earlier figures were erased and covered with white bodycolour.

It has generally been thought that Rembrandt based the underlying composition of the 'Raising of Lazarus' on an etching by Jan Lievens (Hollstein 7).[2] There are numerous differences between them: Rembrandt did not silhouette the woman holding the winding-sheet in the print; the figures behind her are rearranged; between her and the central figures there is a head, partly obscured by the white bodycolour, that does not appear in the print; the interior rather than the roof of the arch is shaded; and there are many other alterations. The etching reproduces, in reverse, Lievens' painting of this subject now in Brighton, which is dated 1631 and which Rembrandt may have owned.[3] Some of these differences reveal that Rembrandt in fact based himself on another print after the painting made by Jacob Louijs, which was published by Pieter Soutman, probably in Haarlem, where both artists were active from 1628 (Hollstein 1; for an impression of the first state in the British Museum, see inv. no. S.28). This engraving, which is most unlikely to have been made before the completion in 1631 of the painting by Lievens it reproduces, exhibits the 'reversed' shading in the vault. It also includes a section of rock on the left that juts out into the space occupied by the arch, a motif seen in the drawing, but not in Lievens' etching; and the same applies to other features: the shading stops at the base of the tomb, the point at which it also finishes in Louijs' print, and the higher of the two horizontal lines below seems to describe the space occupied by the inscription in Louijs' engraving. Yet the placing of Rembrandt's date reflects that of Lievens' signature, suggesting that he probably had Lievens' print, as well as Louijs' engraving, before him as he worked.[4] The details of the 'Lazarus' composition in the drawing are difficult to decipher without knowledge of the prints; equally it is hard to see how Lievens could have created his figures, whether in paint or on copper, on the basis of Rembrandt's cursory indications in the drawing, including the wall of shaded rock that descends in a curve to Christ's feet.

Neither Lievens' etching nor Louijs' engraving are likely to have been made before the completion of the painting, yet the drawing is in the same direction as the prints and in reverse to the painting. This would probably not have been the case had the drawing predated the prints. So the drawing seems clearly to have been based on Louijs' print. This discovery wholly undermines the traditional view that Rembrandt's drawing, ostensibly dated 1630, inspired Lievens' painting of 1631.[5]

Rembrandt's subsequent reworking of the sheet into an 'Entombment of Christ', although in a more searching style, was probably not executed substantially later, as has sometimes been thought. The handling differs only marginally and the colour of the chalk remains the same. The discovery that Louijs' print was Rembrandt's starting-point also negates the traditional notion that the drawing served as a preparatory study for Rembrandt's painting of the 'Raising of Lazarus' of c.1630-31 (Los Angeles, County Museum of Art, Bredius 538, Corpus A30). The theory is further weakened by the major differences between the two works, which are based on different parts of the text of St John.[6] Rembrandt returned to the Lazarus subject in an etching of c.1632 (Bartsch 73, Hind 96; see cat. no.6a; 1848,0911.35) which again only

repeats a few isolated elements of the drawing's design, as does his much later etching of 1642 (Bartsch 72, Hind 198).[7]

With these traditional connections with works of around 1630-32 severed, it becomes possible to redate the drawing on purely stylistic grounds. Because of the connection with Louijs' print it cannot be from 1630, despite Rembrandt's annotation. The inscription seems to be autograph, but must refer not to the time of the drawing's execution but to the period of the composition's invention by Lievens for his painting completed in 1631.[8] Stylistically the drawing has much in common with Rembrandt's red chalk studies of around 1635, in particular with the British Museum's sketch based on Leonardo's 'Last Supper' (cat. no.11; 1900,0611.7). The latter, which is drawn in chalk of the same hue, includes a few heads that are described in a similar geometrical shorthand. In addition, the group of figures at the upper left of the 'Lazarus', with a man leaning on a parapet, seems to reflect Rembrandt's study of Leonardo's composition.[9] Stylistic analogies are also present in the chalk sections of a drawing in the Rijksmuseum of c.1635-6 (Benesch 152), which is related to Rembrandt's painting of the 'Entombment', now in Munich (Bredius 560, Corpus A126).[10] Such comparisons are closer than with Rembrandt's compositional drawings in chalk of the Leiden period, in which the figures and style are significantly different.[11]

In 2009 the compiler was able to study in a private collection another related painting of the 'Raising of Lazarus', largely in the style of Lievens. Perhaps based on Louijs's print, the picture however incorporates the group of figures on the right from Rembrandt's etching (Bartsch 73, Hind 96). Scientific investigation by X-radiography and infra-red reflectography reveals various pentimenti in the canvas, including changes that are similar to some of those in the present drawing: the variant positions for the head of Lazarus and the adjustment to the line of the balustrade from a straight horizontal line to a curve being the clearest. Most of the painting, which survives only in rubbed condition and in a mutilated form, having been severely cut down to a circle from a rectangle, appears Lievensque in style, although the passage incorporating the figures from Rembrandt's etching appears more Rembrandtesque. Perhaps the most convincing hypothesis is that both the drawing and this painting were made or completed in the context of revisiting the composition in c.1635, in the case of the former by Rembrandt, and of the latter by a pupil of Lievens or conceivably of Rembrandt.[12]

Redating the drawing to c.1635 not only brings it closer in time to the Munich painting, for which it could have been a preliminary idea, but also to the four etched 'Oriental Heads', again based on Lievens, that Rembrandt produced at this time (Bartsch 286-9).[13] Four other drawn copies based on Pieter Lastman were also made in the mid-1630s and are likewise in chalk (Benesch 446-9, the two former in black, the latter in red chalk).

Furthermore, although the subject of the 'Entombment' was not etched by Rembrandt until much later ('Christ carried to the Tomb', c.1645, Bartsch 84, Hind 215; the 'Entombment', c.1654, Bartsch 86, Hind 281), Rembrandt produced a second version in oil during the mid-1630s, the sketch at Glasgow (Bredius 554, Corpus A105 as datable 1633-5). The two paintings have few details that are directly related to the drawing (the Munich picture is the nearest), yet they could have been made at approximately the same date, when the artist was wrestling with this subject.

A similar retrospective dating appears to have taken place when Rembrandt completed in chalk two proofs of his etched 'Self-Portrait in a soft Hat', and has caused equal confusion (see cat. no.7a; 1842,0806.134).

#### NOTES:

[1] As first recognised by Hofstede de Groot, 1896, p. 380. The text of the present entry summarises Royalton-Kisch, 1991[I] and 1992[I].

[2] As first argued by Saxl, 1923-4, pp.146-7. Impressions are in the British Museum and

viewable online (inv. nos.D,8-69 [1st state], S.29 and D,8.70 [3rd state]).

[3] 1656 inventory of Rembrandt's possessions includes 'Een opweckinge Laseri van Jan Lievensz' (Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, p.353, no.42). The painting is repr. in Sumowski, 'Gemälde', III, 1983, no.1193, and Exh. Washington-Milwaukee-Amsterdam, 2008-9, no.31.

[4] As first noticed by Schatborn (see Exh. Amsterdam, 1988-9, pp.44-5, no.18); in Exh. Braunschweig, 1979, under no.102, the Lievens etching is said to have been done after the painting.

[5] A summary of views appears below. The print was illustrated in Exh. Los Angeles, 1991-2, p.19, fig.12, and the author, Richard Rand, was the first to note the connection with Louijs' print.

[6] Guratzsch, 1980 (see Lit. below) contrasts Lievens' invention, based on John, XI, 41, with Rembrandt's painting inspired by John, XI, 43. For the iconography, see also Harvey, 1980.

[7] The drawing of the 'Raising of Lazarus' in Rotterdam, Benesch 518 recto, has been rejected by Giltaij (see Rotterdam, 1988, no.155), rightly in my view. He quotes the earlier doubts expressed by Sumowski, 1958, p.179 and Guratzsch, 1975, p.253, n.15.

[8] Corpus, I, 1982, under no.A30, suggest that the date may have been added to the drawing later, in error. The ingenious sequence proposed by Schatborn (e.g. in 1988-9, see n.4 above) that Lievens' etching was proofed in 1630 before the painting was finished and dated in 1631 runs counter to the evidence adduced here.

[9] The figure mentioned resembles the third from the left in Rembrandt's study after Leonardo in Berlin (Benesch 445) more than his prototype in Louijs' engraving.

[10] Amsterdam, 1985, no.7.

[11] E.g. the double-sided drawing in Rotterdam for the 'Raising of the Cross' and the 'Judas returning the Silver' (Benesch 6) of c.1628-9; other chalk drawings of this period are the 'Study of Legs' in the Rijksmuseum (Benesch 9 verso); the 'Studies of seated old Men' in a private collection, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, and the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Benesch 20, 37, 40 and 41), and the 'St Paul' and the 'Kneeling Man' both in the Louvre (Benesch 15 and 18).

[12] The painting is privately owned. Originally rectangular, it has been cut down to a tondo with a diameter of 172 cm. A photograph is in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague. The painting's condition makes its status difficult to judge.

[13] See Broos, most recently in Exh. Amsterdam, 1985-6, pp.22-3, nos.6-7. Hind, 1924, Valentiner, 1934, II, and Münz, 1952 have previously suggested some relationship to the Munich 'Entombment' (see Lit. below).

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt, 1630 unless otherwise stated; Rembrandt's painting = Bredius 538, Corpus A30, 'Lazarus' or Bredius 560, Corpus A126, 'Entombment'; etching = Bartsch 73, Hind 96):

Bürger, 1858, p.399 ('Entombment' only); Vosmaer, 1877, pp.89 and 487; Bode, 1881, p.66 (with colour repr.; 'Entombment', but related to Rembrandt's 'Lazarus' etching); Bode, 1883, p.390 (as Bode, 1881); Dutuit, IV, 1885, p.85 ('Entombment of Lazarus'); Michel, 1893, II, p.581 (as Dutuit, 1885); Seidlitz, 1895/1992, p.63/125, under no.73; Hofstede de Groot, 1896, p.380 (a 'Raising of Lazarus', preceding Rembrandt's painting and related to Lievens, and an 'Entombment'); Lippmann, I, no.102; Neumann, 1902, p.195n. (agrees subject changed); Kleinmann, III, no.42; Bell, c.1905, p.15, repr. pl.VI; Wickhoff, [text by Kurt Rathe], 1906, p.28, no.31; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.891 (first a 'Raising of Lazarus', reworked as an 'Entombment'); Valentiner, 1907, p.162 (Elsheimer influence); Exh. Paris, 1908, p.36, under no.66 (closer to Rembrandt's painting of 'Lazarus' than to his etching); Saxl, 1908, p.233 (relates to 'Lazarus' painting and etching); Wurzbach, 1910, p.417; Holmes,

1911, pp.30f., repr. pl.III; Hind, I, 1912/24, under no.96 and repr. pl.IX/II, in 1912 ed. also p.51, in 1924 ed. also p.29 (the drawing and painting of 'Lazarus' later developed in Rembrandt's etching; 1924 ed.: also related to Munich 'Entombment'); London, 1915, no.2, repr. pl.II (probably for Rembrandt's etching, the drawing also inspiring Lievens' etching); Graul, 1920, p.14; Stockholm, 1920, p.28 (influenced 'Massacre of Innocents'?; Benesch 351 verso, Stockholm, viewed as a school drawing); Coppier, 1922, pp.25 and 102 (by Lievens, 1630); Saxl, 1923-4, pp.146-151 (places Lievens' etching first; the drawing used for Rembrandt's painting and then for his etching; the composition inspired by Guido Reni); Benesch, 1925, reprinted 1970, pp.83, 84; Kauffmann, 1926, p.174; Weisbach, 1926, p.138 (related to 'Lazarus' painting; quotes Saxl, 1923-4); Van Dyke, 1927, p.58, p.105 and p. 107, repr. pl.XXVIII, fig.110 (by Lievens, for his etching; compares 'Susannah' in Dresden, Benesch 536; also gives Rotterdam 'Lazarus', Benesch 518, to Lievens); Exh. London, 1929, p.86, under no.170, and p.224 [1929[I], p.196], under no.573 (related to Brighton painting and Lievens' etching); Hind, 1932, p.52 (study for Rembrandt's etching); Köhne, 1932, pp.52 and 66-7 (compares Lievens; quotes Saxl, 1923-4); van Rijckevorsel, 1932, p.87, repr. fig.84 (Lievens' etching first; influence of Reni and of Marcantonio's 'Lamentation' after Raphael); Schneider, 1932/73, p.39 (after Lievens' etching); Paris, 1933, p.5, under no.1117 (compares 'Solomon adoring the Idols', Louvre, Benesch 136); Bauch, 1933, pp.93-4, repr. fig.83, and pp.201-2 (similar to 'Lazarus' painting of same year); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.499 (first a 'Lazarus', 1630, reworked c.1633 as an 'Entombment' for Munich painting); Exh. Madrid, 1934, p.41, under no.23; Benesch, 1935, p.10 (drawing influenced Lievens); Benesch, 1935[I], p.262; Gerson, 1936, p.75; Bauch, 1939, pp.261-4 (influenced Lievens or conceivably by him but reworked by Rembrandt); Popham, 1939, pp.67-8 (echoes of earlier mannerists); Amsterdam, 1942, p.103, under no.1 (ultimately influenced Rijksmuseum's drawing of the subject by Jacob de Wet the Younger); von Alten, 1947, no.5, repr.; Benesch, 1947, no.15, repr. (based on Lievens' print; style fuses Callot and Pynas); Schuurman, 1947, p.20, repr. p.23 (follows Saxl, 1923-4); Beck, 1949, pp. 184-99 (based on Lievens with knowledge of Marcantonio 'Pietà', Bartsch 35); Münz, 1952, II, p.93, under no.192, p.110, under no.241, and p.113 under no.252 (drawing influenced Lievens, or both inspired by common prototype such as Rubens' 'Assumption of the Virgin'; perhaps related to Munich 'Entombment'; traces development of subject from Benesch 17 to etching, 'c.1658/59', Bartsch 86, Hind 281; notes consistency of style between early and late rough sketches); van Gelder, 1953, p.299 (a study for Rembrandt's etching of 'Lazarus'; influence of Pynas and Lastman); Benesch, I, 1954/73, no.17, repr. fig.15/22 (drawing influenced Lievens); Exh. Leiden, 1956, pp.40-41 (influenced Lievens; later reworked as an 'Entombment'); Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, p.42, under no.18 (as Paris, 1933); Exh. Amsterdam-Rotterdam, 1956[I], p.23, under no.11 (for Los Angeles painting); Knuttel, 1956, pp.69-70; Sumowski, 1956-7, p.263; Sumowski 1957-8, p.237 (drawing influenced Lievens); Benesch, 1960, p.14 and no.4, repr. (influence of Lastman and Pynas); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1961, p.20 (drawing based on Lievens' print, which preceded Lievens' painting); White, 1962, repr. pl.1; Brighton, 1964, p.33 (drawing based on Lievens); Gantner, 1964, pp.15 and 18, repr. fig.2; Exh. Amsterdam, 1964-5, p.124, under no.106, and p.129, under no.111 (quotes Saxl, 1923-4; Rotterdam version, Benesch 518, dated c.1635-40; compares 'Raising of Cross', also Rotterdam, Benesch 6); Slive, 1965, no.103 (based on Lievens' etching); Bauch, 1966, p.4, under no.51 (relates to Los Angeles painting); Bauch, 1967, pp. 166-7 (places Rembrandt's painting of 'Lazarus' first, then the drawing, then Lievens' painting and etching); Munich, 1967, p.66 (relates to Munich 'Entombment'); Gerson, 1968, p.26 and p.182, repr. fig.a and p.489, under no.16 (doubts Bauch's sequence but gives no alternative); Bredius-Gerson, 1969, under no.538 (as Gerson, 1968); Haak, 1969/68, pp.62-3, repr. fig.88 (drawing influenced Lievens); Exh. Chicago-Minneapolis-Detroit, 1969-70, under no.79 (influenced

Lievens); White, 1969, I, pp.29-30 and 50, repr. fig.15 (after Lievens' etching); Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.38, under no.51, p.89, under no.148 (compares 1642 etching of 'Lazarus', Bartsch 72, Hind 198); Sumowski, 1971, p.130 (drawing influenced Lievens); Fuchs, 1973, p.79, repr. fig.26 (contrasting Raphael); Slatkes, 1973, p.251 (drawing developed from Rembrandt's 'Lazarus' painting but before Lievens' etching); Stechow, 1973, pp.7-8 and 11, repr. fig.1 (drawing influenced Los Angeles painting; joint inspiration with Lievens); Haak, 1976/74, no.6; Guratzsch, 1975, pp.252-3, repr. fig.6, and n.14 (follows Haak, 1969/68); Exh. London, 1976, p.60 (some earlier opinions summarised); Sciolla, 1976, p.5, repr. no.111 (compares 'Baptism of Eunuch', Munich, Benesch 13, and 'Raising of Cross', Rotterdam, Benesch 6); Exh. Braunschweig, 1979, p.20, n.19 and under no.26 (Rembrandt inspired by Lievens; rework later); Campbell, 1980, p.27, repr. fig.27; Guratzsch, 1980, I, pp.144, 149-51, repr. figs.28-29 (underdrawing reflects Lievens' invention; iconography discussed – see n.6 above); Harvey, 1980, p.32, repr. fig.38 (based on Lievens; iconography); Sumowski, 1980, p.11 (as in 1957-8); Exh. Boston-St Louis, 1980-81, p.131, under no.82; Brown, 1981, pp.26-7, repr. fig.20 (some earlier opinions summarised); Corpus, I, 1982, p.5, n.1, p.24, and pp.300, 301, 305 and 308 under no.A30, repr. fig.6 (based on Lievens' etching; the date, if written by Rembrandt, unreliable and perhaps added to the drawing later, in error; not closely related to Rembrandt's painting of 'Lazarus'); Ozaki, 1982, pp.60-61, repr. figs.2, 6, 12 and 21 (based on Lievens, who was influenced by Rembrandt's painting); Exh. Amsterdam-Groningen, 1983, p.194, under no.51 (as Corpus, 1982); Sumowski, 'Gemälde', III, 1983, pp.1781f., under no.1193 (with summary of earlier opinions; drawing based on Lievens' etching); Schwartz, 1985/84, p.86, repr. fig.74 (Rembrandt predates his drawing based on Lievens' invention; the drawing reworked as an 'Entombment' only later); Amsterdam, 1985, under nos.77 and 95 (drawing based on Lievens' print; border lines drawn first); Starcky, 1985, p.257 (compares and contrasts Louvre 'Solomon's Idolatry', Benesch 136); Sumowski, IX, 1985, p.4928; Exh. Paris, 1986, p.67, under no.30 (before the painting and the etching); Tümpel, 1986, repr. p.40 in colour (date suspect); Rotterdam, 1988, p.284, under no.155; Exh. Amsterdam, 1988-9, pp.42-5, under nos.17 and 18 (based on Lievens' etching; the Lievens etching completed before his painting); Exh. Braunschweig-Utrecht-Cologne-Munich, 1988-90, p.36; Schatborn, 1990 (1989), p.124, repr. fig.17 (as Exh. Amsterdam, 1988-9); Royalton-Kisch, 1991[I], pp.263-83, repr. figs.1 and 3 (c.1635; arguments summarised above, but without knowledge of Louijs' engraving); Exh. Leiden, 1991-2, p.113, repr. fig.66; Exh. Los Angeles, 1991-2, pp.14-17, repr. fig.8 (quotes Royalton-Kisch, 1991[I]; copied after Lievens either immediately or several years later); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1992, pp.465-6 (not based on Louijs' print; follows Schatborn, 1990); Royalton-Kisch, 1992[I] (publishes in full the idea that Louijs' print was the model for the drawing); White, 1992, p.268 (as Exh. London, 1992, 'if you are prepared to argue that the date of 1630 [...] does not mean what it says'); Griffiths, 1994, pp.531-2, repr. fig.54 (see note under Acquisition Comment); Schatborn, 1994, p.21 (agrees with Exh. London, 1992); Giltaij, 1995, p.98 (as Schatborn, 1994); Slive, 1995, p.101 (as Exh. London, 1992); Exh. Melbourne-Canberra, 1997-8, p.226, repr. fig.37c; Exh. Dresden, 2004, p.65, under no.2 (influenced P. Koninck drawing in Dresden, Inv. C1370); Berlin, 2006, p.84, under no.18 (as Exh. London, 1992); Exh. Washington-Milwaukee-Amsterdam, 2008-9, p.142, under no.31, fig.2.

M. Royalton-Kisch, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', 1992, no.15.

Although dated 1630, because it depends on a design of that time by Lievens, the drawing was made in c.1635.

**Subject**

raising of lazarus ([all objects](#))  
entombment ([all objects](#))

**Associated names**

Representation of Jesus Christ ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1761

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by William Fawkener (?) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Donated by John Christmas (?) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2183) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Jonathan Richardson, sen. (L.2183; possibly his sale, Cock, 8th night, 30 January, 1747, lot 67: 'One, "Rembrandt", Christ carrying to the Sepulchre', £11-5-0); either given by John Christmas, 1761 or bequeathed by William Fawkener, 1769. In the British Museum Trustees' Committee papers of 9 Oct. 1761, it is recorded that Mr John Christmas presented 'a fine drawing of the 'Raising of Lazarus' after the manner of Rembrandt'. This was the first drawing ever presented to the British Museum after its foundation (i.e. since the original bequest of Hans Sloane in 1753), and could possibly be the present sheet – it may have been placed in Fawkener's albums after their arrival in 1769. (Since its first publication in Exh. London, 1992 this information has been discussed by Griffiths, 1994, pp.531-2.)

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**Exhibition History**

1899, BM, no. A3 (first a 'Lazarus' related to the etchings by Lievens and Rembrandt, then reworked as an 'Entombment');  
1938, BM, no.2;  
1956, BM, p.22, no.6;  
1984, BM, Rembrandt and the Passion, no.8;  
1985-6, Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis, no.8 (based on Lievens' etching, then reworked into an 'Entombment');  
1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.15, repr. in colour (based on Louijs print).  
2012 Sep-Nov, Glasgow, Hunterian, Rembrandt and the Passion

Cat.13



**Registration number:** 1910,0212.187

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 13 \(Rembrandt\)](#)  
[Benesch 421](#)  
[Hind 5](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1635-1637 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Two women teaching a child to walk; one bending over and pointing. c.1635-1637

Red chalk on rough grey paper.

Verso: blank; see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, in graphite: 'b' (perhaps for British Museum mounter who mounted the drawing on the same board just below cat. no.14 [1910,0212.186], which is inscribed 'a'. This was possibly done at the time of the 1912 exhibition]).

**Dimensions**

Height: 103 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 21mm apart)

Width: 128 millimetres

**Condition**

Good; small stains centre left edge and bottom centre; small loss made up lower right edge; presumably cut from a larger sheet (see further under Curatorial Comment).

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.13.

According to Michel, 1893 (see Lit. below), this and cat. no.14 (1910,0212.186) were on a single sheet measuring 265 x 262 mm. If both were now rejoined, the largest measurement would be 206 mm and it is impossible to reconstruct their original positions. If Michel's record is accurate, they must have been divided while in George Salting's collection but before the Royal Academy exhibition of 1899.

The sketches, presumably made from life, are not easily assigned a date. Of all Rembrandt's datable studies in red chalk, the closest stylistic comparisons are provided by the New York drawing after Leonardo's 'Last Supper' of c.1635 (Benesch 443), the 'Study for St John' of the same period in the Princes Gate collection (Benesch 142A)[1] and by the sketches – presumably not done from life – at the bottom of the sheet of studies for the 'Entombment' in Amsterdam (Benesch 152).[2] None of these is similar enough to the present sheet to allow a precise dating. That proposed here, c.1635-7, is therefore somewhat conjectural.[3] Other chalk drawings of women with children to which the present sheets have been compared (see Lit. below) differ in being on ordinary pale cream laid paper, and they do not provide a secure starting-point for a date. Nor are they especially similar in style.

The motif is a common one in the drawings of Rembrandt and his circle (see, for example, cat. no.53; 1912,0416.2). In Rembrandt's own etchings, a standing child held by its mother appears in 'The Hog' of 1643 (Bartsch 157, Hind 204) and one learning to walk is seen in the background of the 'Young Man seated and standing' (Bartsch 194, Hind 222) of c.1646. In these, as in the British Museum's drawings, the child wears a protective hat of a common type

to prevent injury from falls. Yet the drawings are not directly connected with any other work.[4] They may have belonged to the artist Jan van de Cappelle, whose inventory of 1680 includes a portfolio of 135 drawings by Rembrandt that depicted the life of women and children.[5]

#### NOTES:

[1] The sketch of a head on the verso of Benesch 142A – not reproduced by Benesch – also offers analogies with the head of the woman in cat. no.14 (1910,0212.186). In Corpus, III, 1989, p.83, a loose connection between the present drawing (and no.14) and the Berlin painting of 'St John the Baptist preaching' of c.1634-5 (Bredius 555, Corpus A106) is suggested.

[2] Placed at the end of 1635 or early 1636 by Schatborn in Amsterdam, 1985, no.7.

[3] As can be seen below (Lit.), the drawings have usually been dated in the 1630s but in 1935 Benesch placed them as late as c.1647-50.

[4] Related pedagogic imagery employed in emblematic literature and elsewhere seems too far removed from the drawings to warrant discussion in the present context. The reader is referred to Emmens, 1964, pp.154ff. and to Bedaux, 1982 (1983).

[5] Hofstede de Groot, 1906[I], p.412.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Michel, 1893, p.585 (ex Robinson coll.; describes with cat. no.14 [1910,0212.186] as a single sheet measuring 265 x 262 mm); Lippmann, III, no.74b; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.1127; Wurzbach, 1910, p.419; London, 1915, no.5 (c.1635-40; compares Benesch 308 in Vienna of similar subject); Exh. Madrid, 1934, p.77, under no.1 (compared with [school] drawing of similar subject in Madrid, Benesch 1162); Benesch, 1935, p.41 (c.1647-50; compared to Benesch 751 in Vienna); Hamann, 1948, pp.54-5, repr. fig.36 (c.1635; the woman on right Rembrandt's mother); Rosenberg, 1948/64, I, p.147/236, repr. fig.198; Benesch, II, 1954/73, no.421, repr. fig.479/507 (c.1637; compares 'Team of Horses', Benesch 461, Amsterdam, and chalk studies of elephants in Vienna of 1637, Benesch 457-8; also, under no.308, to other studies of similar motifs, Benesch 302, 308-9, 411-12 and 422, the latter here cat. no.14 [1910,0212.186]); Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, p.68, under no.61 (c.1635-7; compares chalk studies of same subject, Benesch 278, 309 and 422, the latter here 14 [1910,0212.186]); Rosenberg, 1956, pp. 127-8, repr. fig.23 (c.1640); White, 1962, repr. pl.18 (c.1637); Slive, 1965, II, no.409, repr. (c.1640); Rosenberg, Slive and ter Kuile, 1966, p.65, repr. Pl.46A (as if of 1640s); Sumowski, 1971, p.127 (compares study of similar motif formerly in Blumenreich coll., Berlin [not in Benesch], repr. fig.6, which he dates later, c.1645); Amsterdam, 1981, p.41, under no.6 (as Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, and Benesch, 1954/73); Schatborn, 1981[I], no.16, repr. (c.1637); Vogel-Köhn, 1981, p.55 and no.55, repr. (c.1639-40); Amsterdam, 1985, under no.65, (compares – as Benesch 1954 – subject to school drawing in Amsterdam, Benesch 412, which he attributes to C. Fabritius); Corpus, III, 1989, p.83 (see n.1 above); Schneider, 1990, p.229 (c.1634-40; example of portrayal of emotions); Slive, 1995, p.77, repr. fig.91 and p.113 (c.1635-40; mentions record of 'vrouwenleven' drawings); Rosand, 2002, pp.230-33 and pp.241-2, repr. fig.219 (on the 'gesture' of drawing and its temporal implications; on the viewer's active decoding of the lines; more exuberant in use of space than Rembrandt's later drawings); Schwartz, 2006, p.76, repr. figs 126-7.

**Subject**

child ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1910

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by George Salting ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir John Charles Robinson ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jan van de Capelle ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

J. C. Robinson; his sale, Paris, 7-8 May, 1868, lot 62 (with cat. no.14; 1910,0212.186); bequeathed by George Salting, 1910.

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**Exhibition History**

London, Royal Academy, 1899, no.154 (2);

British Museum, 1910, p.5, slope III; 1912, no.166b (compared with cat. no.53; 1912,0416.2);

1938, no.5;

1956, p.15, no.10;

1984, Rembrandt and the Passion, no.5 (1630s);

1987 Feb 5 - May 25, BM, 'An A-Z of P&D';

1992, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.16, repr. in colour;

2001-2, Edinburgh-London, 'Rembrandt's Women', p.138, no.56;

2006, BM, 'Rembrandt: a 400th anniversary display' (no cat.).

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Cat.14



**Registration number:** 1910,0212.186

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 14 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 4](#)

[Benesch 422](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1635-1637 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A woman teaching a child to stand. c.1635-1637

Red chalk on rough grey paper.

Verso: blank; see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed, verso: in graphite: 'a' (see cat. no.13; 1910,0212.187).

**Dimensions**

Height: 78 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 21mm apart)

Width: 75 millimetres

**Condition**

Good; cut on the right.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.14.

See the commentary to cat. no.13 (1910,0212.187).

**LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):**

Michel, 1893, p.585 (see cat. no.13; 1910,0212.187); Lippmann, III, no.74a; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.1125; Wurzbach, 1910, p.419; London, 1915, no.4 (c.1635-40); Benesch, 1935, p.41 (c.1647-50); Hamann, 1948, p.54, repr. fig.35 (c.1635); Rosenberg, 1948/64, p.147/236, repr. fig.197; Benesch, II, 1954/73, no.422, repr. fig.477/508 (c.1637; compares Benesch 308, Vienna, and 309, Fodor coll., Historisch Museum, Amsterdam); Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, p.68, under no.61 (c.1635-7; compares Benesch 278, 309 and 421, the latter here cat. no.13; 1910,0212.187); Sumowski, 1971, p.127 (as for cat. no.13; 1910,0212.187); Amsterdam, 1981, p.111, under no.6; Schatborn, 1981[I], no.15, repr.

(c.1637); Vogel-Köhn, 1981, pp.55-6 and no.54, repr. (c.1639-40); Corpus, III, 1989, p.83 (see cat. no.13 [1910,0212.187], n.3).

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**Subject**

child ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1910

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by George Salting ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir John Charles Robinson ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

See cat. no.13; 1910,0212.187 for further information on J.C.Robinson.

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**Exhibition History**

London, Royal Academy, 1899, no.154 (1);

British Museum, 1910, p.5, slope III;

1912, no.166a (compared with cat. no.53; 1912,0416.2);

1938, no.4; 1956, p.15, no. 10 (with cat. no. 13; 1910,0212.187);

1984, BM Rembrandt and the Passion, no.4, (1630s);

1987 Feb 5 - May 25, BM, 'An A-Z of P&D'

1992, BM Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.17, repr. (c.1635-7);

2001-2, Edinburgh and London, p.138, no.57;

2006, BM, 'Rembrandt: a 400th anniversary display' (no cat.).

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**Registration number:** 1895.0915.1264

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 15 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 286](#)

[Hind 53](#)

[JCR 792](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1635-1640

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A woman lying awake in bed; head and shoulders only, her right hand supporting her head, the other arm resting on bedcovers. c.1635-1640

Pen and brown ink

Verso: laid down

No watermark visible

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed lower right, in graphite: '10 [or 16?]' on backing, in graphite: '792' and other digits (775?) erased; lower right, in pen and brown ink, in Esdaile's hand: '1855.'

**Dimensions**

Height: 84 millimetres (chain lines uncertain, perhaps 26mm apart and vertical)

Width: 104 millimetres

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

**Condition**

Generally good, though with some surface dirt; the sheet has been trimmed irregularly (perhaps cutting away another figure – see text under Comment) and is stuck down on another, more rectangular one; this was done before the application of Esdaile's mark (applied in 1835; see Inscriptions and the drawing now attributed to Van den Eeckhout [cat. no.18; 1895,0915.1263]; both sheets are further stuck down on a card, perhaps the remnant of a larger mat.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.15:

The model was almost certainly the artist's wife Saskia, whom he married in 1634. She died in 1642. Rembrandt appears to have concentrated on the drapery rather than the likeness, which makes a secure identification difficult. Nevertheless, the figure resembles Saskia as seen in other drawings, some of which also show her in bed (e.g. Benesch nos.281A in Oxford, in which the clothes appear to be the same, and 280C in the Princes Gate collection now at the Courtauld Institute, in which the resemblance is clear and the pose and expression of the face similar). The semicircular shape at the lower centre edge may be the top of the head of a figure now cut away (cf. the Munich drawing of 'Saskia in Bed, with an attendant Nurse', Benesch no.405). A drawing in Rotterdam of a 'Recumbent Woman in a Landscape' (Benesch 285), now ascribed to Ferdinand Bol,[1] shows a figure in an analogous pose.

Reclining figures reminiscent of these drawings appear in two of Rembrandt's etchings of the

later 1630s, the 'Joseph telling his Dreams' of 1638 (Bartsch 37, Hind 160) and the 'Death of the Virgin' of 1639 (Bartsch 99, Hind 161). Two more studies of Saskia appear in the etched 'Sheet of Studies, with a Woman lying ill in Bed', dated by Hind (his no.163, Bartsch 369) c.1639 but now thought to be from c.1641-2.[2] The style of the British Museum's drawing is compatible with works of the period to which these works belong, c.1635-40, but it may date from nearer the middle of the decade than the end.

The pose of the head resting on the hand, repeated in many of Rembrandt's drawings of Saskia, is a feature of personifications of Melancholia, a theme that may have been in the artist's mind when he made them.[3]

#### NOTES:

[1] See Rotterdam, 1988, no.46. The landscape was added by another hand.

[2] The date suggested by Münz, 1952, no.96, and adhered to by White and Boon, 1969, no. B369. The earlier date remains plausible. The comparison suggested by Hind, 1912 and in Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956 (see Lit. below).

[3] As suggested by Ozaki, 1984.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Robinson, 1869/76, no.771/792; Kleinmann, IV, no.13; Valentiner, 1905, p.40 (1640s; of Geertje Dirckx); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.934; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; Hind, 1912/24, I, under no.163 (compares etching, see n.2 above); London, 1915, no.53, repr. pl.IX (c.1635-40); Benesch, 1925, reprinted 1970, p.88 (relates to group of similar studies); Van Dyke, 1927, p.77, repr. pl.XV, fig.59 (Flinck, for etching also by Flinck); Paris, 1933, p.24, under no.1171 (c.1638-42; compares Louvre drawing, Benesch 284); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.693, repr. (c.1640); Benesch, II, 1954/73, no.286, repr. fig.314/344 (c.1635); Parker, 1954, p.59 (compares drawings of same subject in Oxford, Benesch 281A, and Paris, Dutuit, Benesch 283); Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, p.62, under no.50 (see n.2 above); Sumowski, 1956-7, p.255 (c.1635); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1961, p.25 (c.1639-40); London, 1961, I, p.19, under no.184 (groups with Benesch 280C in Seilern coll.); White, 1962, repr. pl.16 (c.1635); White, 1969, I, p.159n (possibly related to etching of 'Death of the Virgin', Bartsch 99, Hind 161); Exh. New York-Paris, 1977-8, p.127, n.6 (relates to other drawings of same subject); Ozaki, 1984, repr. fig.10 (gesture of Melancholy – see commentary above); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2[I], p.78 and n.3; Haverkamp-Begemann, 1992, p.463; Giltaij, 1995, p.98 (by a pupil; possibly an early copy); Exh. Melbourne-Canberra, 1997-8, pp.115 and 130, repr. fig.14a (dates to late 1640s and to c.1635 [!]; compares pose in painting in Edinburgh, Bredius 110); Exh. Amsterdam-London, 2000-2001, p.183, repr. fig.c (dates c.1639).

Literature after Royalton-Kisch 2010: Holm Bevers, review of Martin Royalton-Kisch catalogue, in *The Burlington Magazine* (2013), p.103 (as workshop of Rembrandt).

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#### Associated names

Portrait of Saskia van Uylenburgh ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1895

**Acquisition name**

Purchased from Col John Wingfield Malcolm ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Samuel Woodburn (? 7.vi.1860/769 as 'Rembrandt, Van Rhyn -

A female model, on a couch - broad bistre pen' bt Roupell) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir John Charles Robinson ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Malcolm of Poltalloch ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection William Esdaile (L.2617) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Thomas Lawrence (L.2445; possibly case 1, drawer 2, no.44, in inventory of his collection prior to its dispersal: 'Female in bed, pen, delicately touched'); William Esdaile (L.2617; he purchased all Lawrence's 100 Rembrandts exhibited in the Lawrence Gallery exhibition in 1835 for £1,500; this sheet was presumably one of the 50 not individually described in the catalogue); Esdaile's sale, Christie's, 17 June, 1840, lot 16: 'A Woman in bed, musing', bt Tiffin 9s; with lot 17 (here attributed to Van den Eeckhout [cat. no.18; 1895,0915.1263]); J. C. Robinson (according to Robinson, 1869 ed.); John Malcolm of Poltalloch; purchased with his collection, 1895.

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**Exhibition History**

1835, London, Lawrence Gallery, 1835 (see under Provenance);

1878-9, London, Grosvenor Gallery, no.323;

1895, London, British Museum, no.377b (probably not Saskia).

1899, London, British Museum, no.A26;

1938, London, British Museum, no.53 (c.1635-40);

1956, London, British Museum, p.19, no.10;

1992, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.19, repr. in colour;

2001-2, Edinburgh-London, 'Rembrandt's Women', p.126, no.44.

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Cat.16



**Registration number:** 1895,0915.1270

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 16 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 314](#)

[Hind 52](#)

[JCR 798](#)

**Location:**  
Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**  
drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**  
paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**  
drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**  
Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**  
1638

**Schools /Styles**  
Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Description

A woman in Dutch national costume; half-length turned and looking to right, wearing a dress with fur trim and and linen cap. c.1638

Pen and brown ink with slightly greyish brown wash; framing lines in pen and black ink (in brown ink down the left side only)

Verso: see Inscriptions  
No watermark

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, centre, in graphite: '798' and lower left: '300'; in pen and black ink, lower left: '9/7'; in red ink: 'N2924'; in pen and brown ink below, in Esdaile's hand: 'Rembrandt 1835 WE'.

## Dimensions

Height: 130 millimetres

Width: 78 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 28mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Generally good; probably trimmed (see also the description in the Röver inventory); slightly faded; small repair upper left edge and repaired tear upper right edge; small restored patch under the figure's right breast; it is possible that a few touches of wash, e.g. in the figure's face, are later additions.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.16.

To judge from the description in the Röver inventory (given under Provenance above), this drawing is a fragment of a sheet that originally also showed a sleeping woman with a small child at her breast.

The figure has been variously described as seated or standing behind a table, and in north or south Dutch national costume. In fact the costume is from Waterland.<sup>[1]</sup> In a second study in Haarlem (Benesch 315), what appears to be the same figure is seen from behind wearing the same or a similar costume and adopting a comparable pose, standing near a table.<sup>[2]</sup> Although on other occasions (see, for example, Oo.9.94, Benesch 710) such a repetition has led to the retention of only one version as an authentic work by Rembrandt, in the present instance both drawings seem to be autograph.

The model is described on the verso of the Haarlem drawing as 'De minne moer van Titus, soon van Rembra [...] ('the wet-nurse of Titus, Rembrandt's son') in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century inscription. Titus van Rijn, the artist's son, was baptised on 22 September, 1641.<sup>[3]</sup> It has often been suggested that the model was therefore Geertje Dircx, but there are two objections to this idea: first, she is specifically recorded as Titus's 'dry' nurse in a document of October, 1649;<sup>[4]</sup> secondly, the style of both the Haarlem and the present drawing suggests an earlier date, c.1638, before Geertje Dircx is known to have had any contact with Rembrandt. Comparison may be made between them and two datable drawings of this period: the 'Studies of a Woman reading and an Oriental' in the Kramarsky collection, New York (Benesch 168; related to the 1638 etching of 'Joseph telling his Dreams', Bartsch 37, Hind 160), which although executed in iron-gall ink resembles them in the rendering of detail and in the application of the wash; and the study in Leiden (Benesch 164) for the 1638 etching of 'Adam and Eve' (Bartsch 28, Hind 159), in which the group on the right is realised in a similar shorthand to the seated figure in the Haarlem drawing. Whether or not the inscription on the latter is reliable, the name of the model remains uncertain.

#### NOTES:

[1] According to Simon Honig Jansz. of the Nederlands Openlucht Museum, Arnhem (see Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2, p.352) and confirmed by De Winkel, 2006 (see Lit. below).

[2] Without denying the similarity of the pose in the two drawings, the ingenious theory that a mirror was used and the figure drawn twice from a single vantage-point, proposed by Konstam, 1977/78, p.92/28, seems to go too far and is contradicted by the position of the table in the present sheet, of the right hand and left arm (indeed the arms, though not the cloth, should be reversed), by the position of the artist seen beyond the table in the Haarlem sheet and of the shadow behind the figure in the British Museum's drawing. Objections have already been raised by Borssum Buisman, 1984. The dress is not necessarily the same one (or if it is, then probably not worn at the same sitting) because in the British Museum drawing the collar seems to be wider and the fur travels over the outer edge of the shoulders rather than the inner part; the cap also seems to be lower.

[3] Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, p.209, no.1641/4. The inscription on the Haarlem sheet, usually described as seventeenth century, is assigned to the eighteenth in Exh. Amsterdam, 1969, p.146, under no.51.

[4] Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, pp.270-73, no.1649/6: '... zij t soontge van den voorn: Rembrandt genaemt van Rhijn jonger sijnde hadde droogh gemint...'.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Vosmaer, 1868/77, p.517/601 (see note under Acquisition); Robinson, 1869/76, no.779/798 (said to be nurse of Titus); Lippmann, IV, no.89a; Kleinmann, II, no.57; Valentiner, 1905, pp.37-8 and p.40, repr. pl.II, fig.2 (c.1643-4; of Geertje Dircx); Hofstede de Groot, 1906,

no.899 (relates to Haarlem drawing); Baldwin Brown, 1907, p.78 (Geertje Dircx); Wurzbach, 1910, p.418 ('Woman at a Table'); London, 1915, no.52; Exh. London, 1929, p.239, under no.636, and 1929[I], p.214; Hind, 1932, p.15 (traditionally identified as Geertje Dircx); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.705, repr. (c.1642, Geertje Dircx, but she was not Titus' wet-nurse); Benesch, 1935, p.24 (c.1636; Frisian costume); Hamann, 1948, pp.87-8, repr. fig.63 (c.1642; Geertje Dircx, of whom portraits are rare); Benesch, II, 1954/73, no.314, repr. fig.353/380 (c.1636; Zeeland costume); Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, p.94, under no.105 (early 1640s or c.1636; N. Holland costume though a Cats illustration shows it worn in Leiden – information from Prof. Dr Fr. W. S. van Thienen); Rosenberg, 1956, p.69 (early 1640s; probably Geertje Dircx); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1961, p.25 (beginning of 1640s; could be Geertje Dircx; costume N. Holland according to Prof. van Thienen); Muller, 1965, repr. p.39 (Geertje?); Slive, 1965, II, no.538 (c.1642; not Geertje Dircx, as she was not Titus' wet-nurse); Haak, 1969/68, p.141, repr. fig.216 (c.1636?; not Geertje Dircx as Benesch's date too early; perhaps Rumbartus' nursemaid); Exh. Amsterdam, 1969, p.146 under no.51 (perhaps c.1638 and therefore not Geertje Dircx; the inscription on the Haarlem drawing eighteenth century); Exh. London, 1970, p.25, under no.24; Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.171; Konstam, 1977, p.97, repr. p.103, repr. fig.49 (see n.2 above); Tümpel, 1977, p.98 (c.1643; Geertje Dircx?); Exh. Haarlem, 1978, p.13, under no.70 (1642-5; of Geertje Dircx; N. Holland costume); Konstam, 1978, p.28, repr. fig.10 (see n.2 above); Borssum Buisman, 1984, repr. p.6 (c.1642, of Geertje; refutes Konstam, 1978); Tümpel, 1986, repr. p.262 (as Tümpel, 1977); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2, p.350 (costume compared with 'Young Woman at an open Half-Door' in Chicago, Br.367, now attributed to van Hoogstraten, see further n.2 above); Schatborn, 1994, p.21 (ex-Röver – perhaps the Haarlem drawing originally the same sheet; when cut, framing-lines redrawn; remnants of Röver no. visible); Haarlem, 1997, pp.300-301, under no.327 (ex-Röver; early 1640s and of Geertje Dircx); Roscam Abbing, 2006, p.28 (as Exh. London, 1992); Schwartz, 2006, p.101, repr. fig.181 (supporting Konstam, 1977); De Winkel, 2006, p.81 (c.1640; Waterland dress; Geertje Dircx).

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## Subject

dutch costume 17thc ([all objects](#))

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## Acquisition date

1895

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## Acquisition name

Purchased from Col John Wingfield Malcolm ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Johann Goll van Franckenstein (L.2987) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Samuel Woodburn (his sale, Christie's, 7.vi.1860/764 (?) as 'Rembrandt, Van Rhyn - An old woman in a hood - bistre an') ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Baron Jan Gijsbert Verstolk van Soelen ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Malcolm of Poltalloch ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Mendes de Leon ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Gérard Leembruggen ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection William Esdaile (L.2617) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### Acquisition notes

Valerius Röver (L.2984; Portfolio 9, no.7: 'Een Boerin en een slapend vroúwtje met een kindtje aan de borst van Dezelve'. [i.e. Rembrandt; see cat. no.31; 1848,0911.138: the present drawing, now a fragment, is described on folio 26 of the manuscript there mentioned in the note pertaining to the Inscription]); Röver's widow, C. van Dussen, who sold his drawings to the dealer H. de Leth; J. Goll van Franckenstein (L.2987; not identifiable in his sale, 1833); Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); William Esdaile (L.2617; see cat. no.15; inv. no.1895,0915.1264); presumably his sale, Christie's, 17 June, 1840, perhaps lot 23: 'Bust of an old Woman, bistre', bt Woodburn with one other, £1-9-0); Mendes de Leon, sale, Amsterdam, 20 November, 1843, Kunstboek G, no.4, bt Brongeest, f.50; Verstolk van Soelen; his sale, Amsterdam, de Vries, Brongeest and Roos, 22 March, 1847, perhaps lot 28: 'Une femme à mi-corps assise. Beau dessin à la plume, et lavé en partie', bt A. Roos, f.285; G. Leembruggen; his sale, Amsterdam, 5 March, 1866, lot 469, 'La nourrice du fils de Rembrandt...', bt Robinson for Malcolm, f.200;\* John Malcolm of Poltalloch; purchased with his collection, 1895. \* The price was f.200 to Lord Hertford, according to Vosmaer, 1868/77, p.517/601. The annotated copy of Robinson, 1876, in the Department states that the drawing was acquired at the Leembruggen sale for Malcolm at a cost of £19-1-4.

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### Exhibition History

1878-9, London, Grosvenor Gallery, no.324;

1895, BM, no.378a (same model as cat. no.6; 1895,0915.1268, q.v.); 1899, no.A25 (related drawing in Haarlem);

1938, no.52 (c.1635-40);

1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.20, repr. (c.1638; costume from Waterland; not necessarily of Geertje Dircx);

2001-2, Edinburgh-London, 'Rembrandt's Women', p.162, no.80 (compares Louvre drawing of Anslo, Benesch 759, and suggests date c.1640).

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Cat.17



**Registration number:** Oo,10.122

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 17 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 365](#)

[Hind 8](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1638 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A black drummer and commander mounted on mules; riding in profile to right. c.1638  
Pen and brown ink and red chalk with brown wash, touched with white and yellow. The order of the application appears to be (1) pen and brown ink; (2) brown wash (in two tones); (3) yellow (probably oil rather than watercolour); (4) red chalk; (5) white heightening. Benesch, 1954/73 (see Lit. under Comment) noted that the red chalk was applied while the wash was still wet, and he also recorded the presence of oil paint.

Verso: laid down on a remnant of an eighteenth century 'Richardson'-style mat, with gilding around the edge of the drawing.

No watermark visible.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: None visible.

**Dimensions**

Height: 230 millimetres (chain lines not visible)

Width: 171 millimetres

**Condition**

Good; small repair lower left corner and small losses at top corners; probably trimmed – the mule's nose is 'cut off' at the right.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school',

2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.17.

With cat. no.18 (1859,0806.74), from a group of four drawings of related motifs from an exotic pageant with figures in historicising and foreign costumes. The others are a sketch of 'Two Mummers on Horseback' (Benesch 368, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York) and the 'Four black Musicians' (Benesch 366, private collection). All are executed in much the same style and technique and they were all formerly in the collection of Jonathan Richardson, senior.

It has been argued that the pageant represented was that held in The Hague in February, 1638 as part of the festivities surrounding the marriage of Wolfert van Brederode to Louise Christine van Solms, the sister of Amalia, the Princess of Orange.[1] The identification has much to commend it and coincides with the stylistic evidence of the drawings, which would also locate them in this period.[2] The published description of the event, a pamphlet of 1638,[3] refers to groups of black musicians, as shown in Benesch 366, and to 'un Tambour à cheval batant de deux Atabales' ('a drummer on horseback striking two kettledrums'). The description of the dress worn in the parade before the tournament also coincides with what is seen in the drawings. Yet some caution is necessary as similar figures may have appeared at other events that Rembrandt could have witnessed, and his rare documented excursions from Amsterdam do not include one at this time.

Although the drawing is often said to represent two black drummers, the further figure, with his elaborate, somewhat Hungarian-style fur cap, is more probably a commander, holding a mace rather than a drumstick.[4]

#### NOTES:

[1] Van Regteren Altena, 1952, pp.59-63.

[2] Of the securely datable pen and ink studies, the most comparable are the Rotterdam drawing of 'Ruth and Naomi' (Benesch 161), which on the verso has a sketch for the 1638 etching 'Joseph telling his Dreams' (Bartsch 37, Hind 160) and the study of 'Adam and Eve' in Leiden (Benesch 164) for the etching of this subject of the same year (Bartsch 28, Hind 159).

[3] 'Relation de ce qui s'est passé à La Haye au mois de Fevrier l'an 1638 [...] à La Haye, de l'imprimerie de Theodore Maire, 1638.'

[4] As noted by Christopher White in the Museum's files. The many differences between the figures undermine the theory proposed by Konstam, 1977 and 1978 (see Lit. below) that a single model was posed by a mirror, the further figure being his reflection. Nor is the model necessarily the same as in Benesch 366, as he proposes.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Bürger, 1858, p.393 (for a 'cortège' in an 'Adoration of the Magi'); Blanc, II, 1861, p.454; Vosmaer, 1877, p.602; Dutuit, IV, 1885, p.86; Michel, 1893, p.581; Hofstede de Groot, 1894, pp. 177-8 (probably influenced by some oriental model); Seidlitz, 1894, p.121 (attribution doubtful); Lippmann, I, no.117; Kleinmann, II, no.56; Sarre, 1904, pp.148-9, n.2 (rejects theory of an oriental model though the motif of a parasol seen in Louvre 'Timur', Benesch 1188); Bell, c.1905, repr. pl.II; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.924 (copied by Rembrandt, perhaps from an oriental prototype); Saxl, 1908, p.234 (c.1649); Wurzbach, 1910, p.418 (as H. de Groot, 1906); London, 1915, no.8 (c.1630-35; records that Seidlitz, 1894, doubted the attribution, though not of cat. no. 18 (1859,0806.74); Exh. London, 1929, p.227, and 1929[I], p.200, under no.584 (relates to Benesch 366, private collection); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.792 (c.1633-5); Benesch, 1935, p.27 (c.1637; drawing exceptionally pictorial; relates style and iconography to Benesch 360 verso, Louvre, Benesch 363, Rijksmuseum, Benesch 151 Rotterdam); Benesch, 1947, p.12 and no.87 (c.1637); Hamann, 1948, p.147, repr. fig.104 (c.1635); van Regteren Altena, 1952, p.63 (1638; based on marriage pageant at The Hague in

February, 1638 - see Comment above); Benesch, 1954/73, II, no.365, repr. fig.412/442 (c.1637-8); van Regteren Altena, 1955, p.410 (as in 1952); Benesch, 1960, p.19 and no.29, repr.; Exh. New York-Cambridge, 1960, p.26, under no.31; Goldscheider, 1960, repr. pl.20 (c.1637); Scheidig, 1962, p.44 and no.48, repr. (unusual degree of finish); White, 1962, repr. frontis. (c.1638); Brion et al., 1965, repr. in colour p.126; Slive, 1965, I, no.119, repr. (c.1638); Exh. Chicago-Minneapolis-Detroit, 1969-70, under no.112 (as van Regteren Altena, 1952; also relates to Rembrandt's interest in the theatre in second half of 1630s); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.232; Sciolla, 1976, p.9, repr. pl.XX; Broos, 1977, p.104 (misquotes Sarre, 1904, as originator of theory of Hofstede de Groot, 1894, which is ignored); Konstam, 1977, p.94 (see n.4 above); Konstam, 1978, pp.26-7, repr. fig.7 (see n.4 above); Exh. Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80, p.103, under no.71 (notes Richardson provenance of the four drawings in the group); Royalton-Kisch, 1991, p.18, n.1 (with examples of coloured drawings); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2[I], p.60, repr. fig.14a; Exh. New York, 1991-2, under no.18; Schwartz, 2006, p.297, repr. fig.528 (represents 1638 pageant).

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### Subject

procession ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))  
military ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))  
black ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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### Acquisition date

1824

### Acquisition name

Bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Previous owner/ex-collection Ralph Willett ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Previous owner/ex-collection Arthur Pond ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Previous owner/ex-collection Thomas Hudson (L.2432) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### Acquisition notes

Jonathan Richardson, sen. (L.2184); A. Pond, sale, Langford, 1 May, 1759, lot 72, 'Two negro kettledrummers on horseback (tinged and washed)', bt Hudson, £8; Thomas Hudson (L.2432); his sale, Langford, 2nd day, 16 March, 1779, lot 52 (contemporary MS identification in British Museum's copy), bt Willet with two others (unspecified in the MS) £6-15-0; R. Willet, his anon, sale, T. Philipe, 4th day, 13ff. June, 1808, lot 426, bt Allen, £26-5-0; bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight, 1824.

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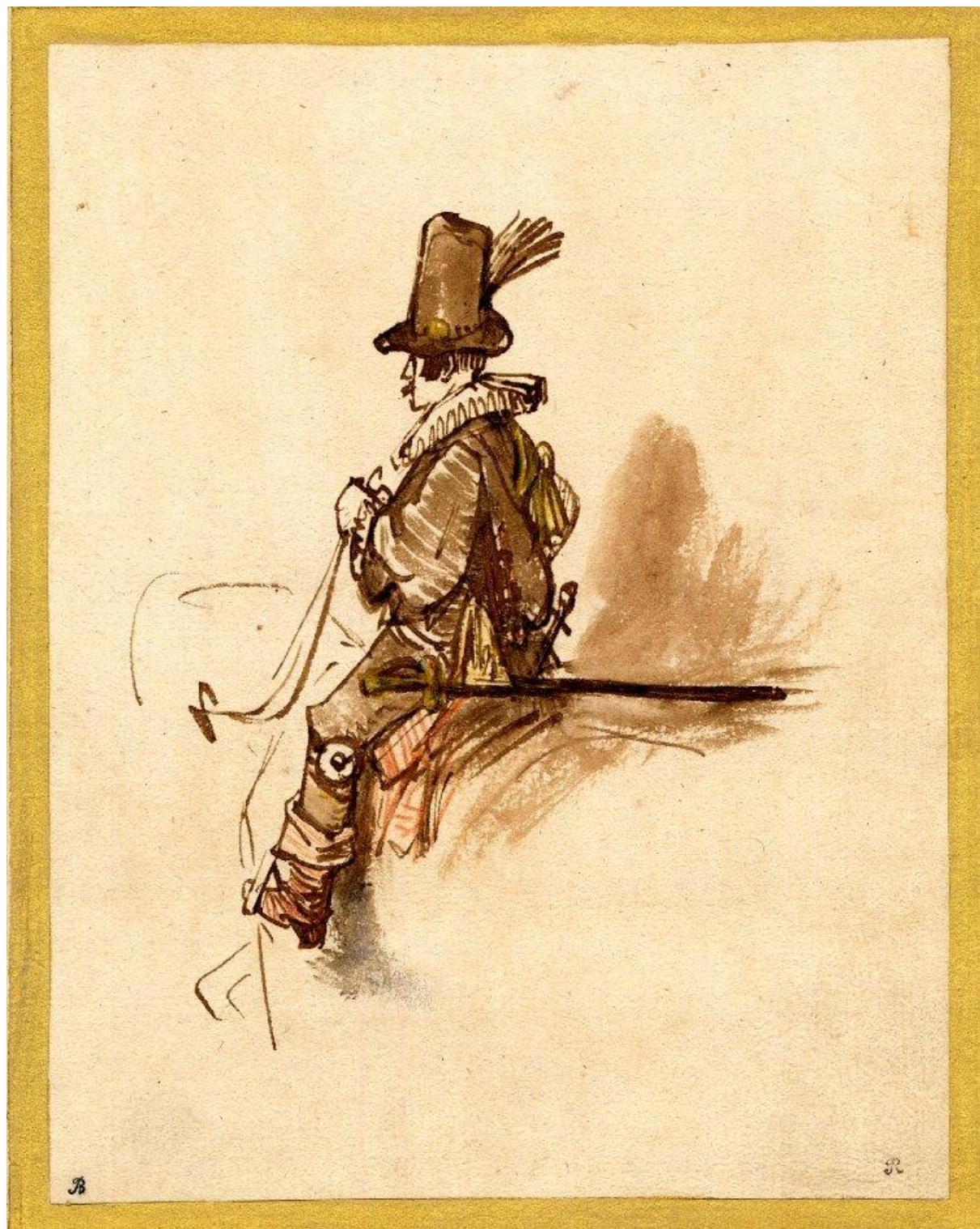
### Exhibition History

1899, London, no. A15 (probably early);  
1938, no.8; 1956, p.17, no.12;  
1969, Amsterdam, no.52 (c.1638; follows van Regteren Altena, 1952 – see Lit. under

Comment);  
1972-3, London, no.209 (c.1637);  
1992, London, no.21, repr. in colour;  
2000-1 Dec-Feb, BM Great Court, Human Image  
2008 July-Oct, Amsterdam, De Nieuwe Kerk, 'Black and Beautiful'  
2011 Feb-May, BM P&D, Exploration, Slavery and Abolition: Images of Africans in the 16th  
to 19th Centuries

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Cat.18



**Registration number:** 1859,0806.74

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 18 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 367](#)

[Hind 7](#)

**Location:**  
Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**  
drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**  
paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**  
drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**  
Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**  
1638

**Schools /Styles**  
Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**  
A mounted officer; almost in profile to left, wearing a high plumed hat and a ruff, his sword slung across his back. c.1638  
Pen and brown ink with brown wash, with red chalk, touched with white heightening and yellow (probably oil - see cat. no.17; Oo,10.122).  
Verso: laid down on a remnant of an old mat with gilding, as cat. no.17; Oo,10.122 (q.v.).  
No watermark visible.

**Inscriptions**  
Inscription Content: Inscribed on verso of backing card, in graphite: '34 [in a circle]' and '12'.

**Dimensions**  
Height: 210 millimetres (chain lines not visible)  
Width: 164 millimetres

**Condition**  
Good; trimmed a little irregularly on all sides; a minor, yellowish stain, upper right.

**Curator's comments**  
Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.18:  
See the commentary to cat. no.17 (Oo,10.122). The traditional title is used here, although the costume of the figure seems old-fashioned for the date and not necessarily representative of an 'officer'.

**LITERATURE** (always as Rembrandt):  
Blanc, II, 1861, p.454; Vosmaer, 1877, p.602; Dutuit, IV, 1885, p.86; Michel, 1893, p.582; Hofstede de Groot, 1894, p.178 (based on an earlier drawing in the manner of Adriaen van de Venne or Esaias van de Velde; costumes of c.1600); Lippmann, II, no.43; Kleinmann, IV, no.2; Bell, c.1905, repr. pl.XI; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.901 (follows Exh. London 1899 –

see Exhibitions under Location); Saxl, 1908, p.338 (possibly related to 'Eendracht van 't Lant', datable c.1648, Bredius 476, Corpus A135 as later 1630s); Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; London, 1915, no.7 (c.1630-35; more probably drawn from life than from an earlier model); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.791 (c.1633-5); Benesch, 1935, p.41; Hamann, 1948, p.147, repr. fig.10; (c.1635); Benesch, 1954/73, II, no.367, repr. fig.415/443 (c.1637-8); Drost, 1957, p.182, detail repr. fig.204 (compares Elsheimer drawing in Vienna in which pose and angle similar); Exh. New York-Cambridge, 1960, p.26, under no.31; Slive, 1965, I, no.267 (c.1638); Haak, 1969/68, p.150, fig.236 (c.1637-8); Exh. Chicago-Minneapolis-Detroit, 1969-70, under no.112 (as for cat. no.17, Oo,10.122); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.231; Broos, 1977, p.104 (misquoting London, 1915); Exh. Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80, p.103, under no.71 (notes Richardson, sen., provenance of the drawings in the group); Royalton-Kisch, 1991, p.18, n.1 (as for cat. no.17, Oo,10.122); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2[I], p.60; Turner, 1994, p.92, fig.23 (Bouverie provenance).

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### **Subject**

soldier ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

procession ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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### **Acquisition date**

1859

### **Acquisition name**

Purchased through Walter Benjamin Tiffin ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Purchased through Christie's (20.vii.1859/133) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Purchased from Charles Noel, 1st Earl of Gainsborough ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Bouverie (L.325) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### **Acquisition notes**

Jonathan Richardson, sen. (L.2184); John Bouverie (L.325);\* by descent to first Earl of Gainsborough; his sale, Christie's, 20 July, 1859, lot 133, bt Tiffin for British Museum. \*See under Van den Eeckhout cat. no.19; 1859,0806.72, Acquisitions Notes

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### **Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no. A16 (costume of c.1600; relates to Benesch 368, now New York, Pierpont Morgan Library);

1938, no.7;

1956, p.11, no.25;

1992, no.22, repr. in colour;

Melbourne-Canberra, 1997-8, 'Rembrandt', no.81, repr. in colour.

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Cat.19



**Registration number:** Gg,2.259

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 19 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 43](#)

[Benesch 459](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1637 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

## Description

An elephant; standing to right, a few spectators at right background. c.1637

Black chalk and charcoal

Verso: see Inscriptions.

Watermark: posthorn in shield, the letters 'P.B.' below (see Laurentius catalogue, p.252, no.611, dated 1642).

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Verso inscribed in graphite, lower left: 'Rembrand' and centre: 'Veritable Dessein de Rembrandt.'

## Dimensions

Height: 179 millimetres

Width: 256 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 22mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Good, though the sheet is spotted with stains; possibly trimmed below and to right.

## Curator's comments

This is probably a representation of the (Asian) elephant called 'Hansken' which arrived in Amsterdam in 1633 on a ship from Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) as a gift for the Prince of Orange. The animal was kept in Frederik Hendrik's palace in Rijswijk and in 1636 it was given to the stadholder's cousin Johan Maurits who sold it that same year to a private person who taught the animal thirty-six tricks. From 1637 'Hansken' left the Netherlands on a journey through Germany and Denmark and Rembrandt may have seen the animal in Amsterdam before the shipping. The elephant is shown in front of three figures, illustrating its size. Another drawing of the same elephant dated 1637 is in the Albertina, Vienna. The elephant returned to Amsterdam in 1641 and was drawn again by Rembrandt in different poses between 1644 and 1646; the animal now looking older. The animal toured in France (1642-1646), Germany and Switzerland (1646-1647, 1649-1652) and died in Florence in 1654 (possibly drawn by Stefano di Bella, drawing now in Biblioteca Reale, Turin).

For a pamphlet advertising Hansken's tricks see 1862,1011.549. For the etching by Herman Saftleven dated 1646, depicting 'Hansken' looking older, see S.980. For German broadsides see also 1880,0710.514-515. For the stipple engraving by William Baillie see 1870,0813.648.

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.19:

One of four known black chalk drawings of female, Indian elephants by Rembrandt. They were possibly all made in c.1637, when the sheet in Vienna (Benesch 457) was signed and dated. Another study in Vienna (Benesch 458) shows a group of three elephants. The fourth drawing (Benesch 460, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York) is an offset of a now lost sketch.[1]

In 1638, as has often been noted, Rembrandt included an elephant in the background of his etching of 'Adam and Eve' (Bartsch 28, Hind 159).[2] This may show the same animal in a different pose. Attempts have been made to identify the elephant as 'Hansken' (who despite

the name may have been female), known to have been in Holland by 1641.[3] The use of charcoal, employed to strengthen the darkest shadows, is unusual in Rembrandt's drawings. He employed it for two studies of lionesses in the Museum (see cat. nos.29-30) and for a landscape sketch now in Rotterdam (Benesch 813). These are all usually dated to the 1640s.[4] It may be that the present drawing also dates from the animal's presence in the Netherlands in 1641, as it differs in style from Rembrandt's other three drawings of elephants. The watermark also hints in this direction (see under Description above). A reproduction of the drawing, in reverse, was 'Engraved by Cap:t Baillie from a Drawing by Rembrandt: Aug. ye 1, 1778'. Baillie did not record the whereabouts of the drawing at the time but it may already have been in Barnard's collection.[5]

#### NOTES:

[1] As noted by Benesch, I, 1954, no.460. Michel, 1893, followed by Hofstede de Groot, 1906, under no.948, mentioned a further drawing of an elephant in the Salting collection, perhaps in error. Hofstede de Groot's catalogue of Salting's collection (his nos.1115 -1130) does not list it, nor was such a drawing included in Salting's bequest to the British Museum in 1910.

[2] The connection first made by Michel, 1893 (see Lit. below).

[3] See Vosmaer, 1868, p.460, Exh. Amsterdam, 1969, no.45 and Broos, 1982, p.247, n.13; the identification was already doubted by Schatborn, 1977 (see Lit. below), though supported by Slatkes, 1980, pp.7-13. The absence, or at least near invisibility of tusks in the British Museum's drawing rather counts against the identification, as they can be seen clearly in contemporary prints of the animal. Yet the prints may reflect earlier images rather than Hansken itself. One of the Albertina's drawings (Benesch 458), shows three elephants together, but may perhaps represent the same animal repeated three times (Hansken seems to have travelled alone). Schatborn, in Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2I, p.58, points out that the same elephant could have been the one depicted in Herman Saftleven's etching of 1646 (Hollstein 40). See also n.4 below.

[4] The Rotterdam drawing is placed c.1652 by Giltaij in Rotterdam, 1988, no.20, but an earlier date seems more likely (see Royalton-Kisch, 1990, p.135). On balance it seems preferable to adhere to the date c.1637 for the present sheet on the basis of the Vienna drawing. Yet the use of charcoal might point to the early 1640s. White, 1903, p.357 (quoting Michel), noted that a letter of 23 November, 1641, written by Caspar van Baerle, mentions an elephant and onlookers in Amsterdam. She also noted that Evelyn, who was in Holland from July to October, 1641, described a female elephant in Rotterdam, one without substantial tusks: 'its teeth were but short, being a female, and not old'. More recently the biography of Hansken (b. Ceylon 1630, d. Florence 1655) has been elaborated by Roscam Abbing and Tuynman, 2006, who date the drawing to 1637-8 but note that Hansken was in Amsterdam again in October 1641.

[5] There is an etching after the drawing by the Australian artist John Farmer.

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt, if a date suggested, c.1637 unless otherwise stated): Bürger, 1858, p.395; Blanc, II, 1861, p.454; Vosmaer, 1868, p.460, (c.1641; perhaps of Hansken); Vosmaer, 1877, pp.217, 525 and 606; Dutuit, IV, 1885, p.86 (as Vosmaer, 1868); Michel, 1893, p.276, n.1, and p.582, repr. opp. p.275 (refers only to Vienna and Salting collections - the latter perhaps in error, see n.1 above - and compares etching of 'Adam and Eve', Bartsch 28, Hind 159); Seidlitz, 1894, p.121; Seidlitz, 1895/1922, p.41/102, under no.28 (relates to Benesch 457 in Vienna [in 2nd ed. noting the other sheets also] and to 'Adam and Eve' etching); Lippmann, I, no.118; Kleinmann, III, no.46; White, 1903, p.357 (quotes Vosmaer and Michel; of Hansken; see n.4 above); Bell, c.1905, repr. pl.XL;

Valentiner, 1905, p.156 (notes both Vienna sheets, Benesch 457-8 and elephant in 'Adam and Eve' etching); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.948 (c.1637-8; notes two Vienna versions and that now in New York, Benesch 460; see also n.1 above); Michel, 1906, repr. opp. p.66; Baldwin Brown, 1907, pp.115-6 and 174, repr. pl.17; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; Hind, 1912/24, under no.159; London, 1915, no.43; Neumann, 1918[I], p.12 and no.19, repr.; Kauffmann, 1920, p.54 (see n.4 above); Weisbach, 1926, p.25-6 (dates all sheets 1639 on basis of erroneous reading of date on Benesch 457); Byam Shaw, 1928, p.31 (comparing Getty 'Cleopatra', Benesch 137); Benesch, 1935, p.28; Wichmann, 1939, no.31, repr. (c.1637-8); Schinnerer, 1944, no.32, repr.; Benesch, 1947, p.24, under no.83; Hamann, 1948, pp.147 and 151, repr. fig.108 (c.1638); Benesch, II, 1954/73, no.459, repr. fig.517/548; Benesch, 1960, p.148, under no.27; White, 1962, repr. pl.26; Slive, 1965, no.120, repr.; White, 1969, I, p.42 (relates to 'Adam and Eve' etching in a general way); Exh. Vienna, 1969-70, under nos.12-13; Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.71, under no.113; Rawson, 1977, p.132, repr. fig.179; Schatborn, 1977, no.22, repr.; Slatkes, 1980, p.8 (depicts 'Hansken'); Amsterdam, 1981, p.41, under no.6, n.5; Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2[I], p.58 (see n.3 above; discusses Rembrandt's drawings of elephants); Bakker, 1994, p.27, repr. fig.32; Giltaij, 1995, p.98 (not charcoal – misquoting Exh. London, 1992); M. Roscam Abbing and Tuynman 2006, p.174, repr. fig.12 (see n.4 above); M. Roscam Abbing, 'Rembrandt's Elephant: The Story of Hansken', Amsterdam, 2006; E. Héran (ed.), 'Beauté Animale', exh.cat. Grand Palais Paris, 2012, cat.no.82, fig.151.

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## Subject

mammal ([all objects](#))

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## Acquisition date

1799

## Acquisition name

Bequeathed by Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Barnard (L.1419) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

## Acquisition notes

John Barnard (verso); his sale, Greenwood, 3rd day, 19 February, 1787, lot 39 (stated to be the drawing engraved by Baillie), sold for £2-12-6 with one other (a 'Historical subject by S. de Koning'); bequeathed by the Rev. C. M. Cracherode (who, according to the register, acquired it in 1787) in 1799.

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## Exhibition History

1891, London, BM, 'Exhibition of Drawings and Sketches', no.114;

1899, London, BM, no.A17;

1938, London, BM, no.43;

1956, London, BM, p.9, no.3;

1969, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, no.45 and p.217, under no.107 (chalk used for elephant

skin texture, while Rembrandt usually drew lions with the pen; see also n.3 below);  
1972-3, London, BM, no.230;  
1977-8, London, BM (no catalogue but see Rawson, 1977, under Comment and Lit.);  
1984[I], Master Drawings & Watercolours, no.94, repr.;  
1987 Feb-May, BM, An A-Z of P&D (no cat);  
1987, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, no.127A, repr. (with Baillie print);  
1992, London, BM, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.18, repr. in colour;  
2004, Sheffield, The Millennium Galleries, ('The Biggest Draw');  
2006, London, BM, ('Rembrandt: a 400th anniversary display'; no. catalogue).  
2012 March-July, Paris, Grand Palais, *La Beauté animale*

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**Registration number:** Pp.2.117

**Additional IDs**

Pp.2.116 (The wrong register no. was stamped on the old mount and subsequently on the drawing when lifted from its old mat in c.1990. The wrong number was given by Hind but is correct in Exh.London 1992.)

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 20 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 42](#)

[Benesch 778](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1638-1639 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Study of a pig, facing left. c.1638-1639

Pen and brown iron-gall ink on paper prepared with brown wash

Verso: blank; laid down on an eighteenth century mat; studied in transmitted light.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: No inscriptions.

**Dimensions**

Height: 104 millimetres

Width: 146 millimetres (chain lines vertical, distance apart not clear)

**Condition**

Generally good; the iron-gall ink has run and eaten into the paper slightly; a small tear near right edge; some old spots and stains; scuffed at top left corner.

**Curator's comments**

The wrong register no. (Pp.2.116) was stamped on the old mount and subsequently on the drawing when lifted from its old mat in c.1990. The wrong number was given by Hind but is correct in MRK's 1992 exhibition catalogue. The drawing came to the Museum under the name of Titian. A sheet with studies of two pigs in the Louvre (Benesch 777) relates closely to the British Museum's two drawings in style.

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.20:

See the commentary to cat. no.21 (Pp.2.116).

**LITERATURE** (as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Hind, 1909-10, no.22 (compares Louvre sheet, Benesch 777); Hind, 1912/24, under no.204 (comparing the etching of 1643, Bartsch 157, Hind 204); London, 1915, no.42 (c.1635-40; with cat. no.21 [Pp.2.116] formerly attributed to Titian; both compared to Louvre sheet, Benesch 777, and to study of pigs at Bayonne, HdG.749 repr. Lippmann, III, no.25; Rembrandt referred to such studies for the 'Prodigal Son', here cat. no.45; 1910,0212.179); Seidlitz, 1922, p.165, under no.157 (as Hind, 1912/24); Weisbach, 1926, p.176 (compares etching, which has a more 'comic' aspect); Van Dyke, 1927, p.59 (by Doomer); Paris, 1933, p.32, under no.1194 (comparing Louvre drawing, Benesch 777, and 1656 inventory mention of a painting of a pig and of an album of drawings of animals); Benesch, 1935, p.34 (c.1640-

44; with cat. no.21 and Louvre drawing, Benesch 777, compared to 1643 etching, 'The Hog', Bartsch 157, Hind 204); Münz, 1952, II, p.115, under no.265 (c.1643, as the etching); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.778, repr. fig.925/980 (c.1642-3; as Benesch, 1935); Exh. Vienna, 1956, p.61, under no.208 (comparing the 1643 etching); Haak, 1969/68, p.187, repr. fig.304 (c.1642-3); Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.92 under no.153; Haak, 1976/74, no.36, repr. (c.1642-3); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.317; Vogel-Köhn, 1981, p.49, repr. p.52, fig.18 (as Benesch); Exh. Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, 1988-9, under no.25 (the Louvre sheet, Benesch 777, earlier than the 1643 etching, for which it was subsequently reused; otherwise as Paris, 1933, and Benesch, 1935); Exh. Paris, 1986, p.169, under no.83.

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**Subject**

mammal ([all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1824

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Exhibition History**

1938, BM, no.42 (c.1635-40);  
1956, BM, p.9, no.1 (with cat. no.21; Pp,2.116);  
1992, BM, no.23, repr.

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**Registration number:** Pp.2.116

**Additional IDs**

Pp.2.117 (The wrong register no. was stamped on the old mount and subsequently on the drawing when lifted from its old mat in c.1990. The wrong number was given by Hind but is correct in Exh. London, 1992.)

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 21](#)

[Hind 41 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 779](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1638-1639 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A tethered pig, facing right. c.1638-1639

Pen and brown iron-gall ink on paper prepared with brown wash.

Verso: blank; laid down on an eighteenth century mat; studied in transmitted light.

No watermark (chain lines vertical, 24mm apart)

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: No inscriptions.

**Dimensions**

Height: 105 millimetres

Width: 147 millimetres

**Condition**

Generally good, although the iron-gall ink has run a little and eaten into the paper; a tear near the upper right corner and scuffed near the left edge; the reproduction in Hind, 1909-10, suggests that some dirt has since been removed from this area.

**Curator's comments**

The drawing came to the Museum under the name of Titian. A sheet with studies of two pigs in the Louvre (Benesch 777) relates closely to the British Museum's two drawings in style.

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.21:

Cat. nos.20 (Pp.2.117) and 21 exhibit stylistic and technical features that are typical of Rembrandt's drawings of around 1638-9, when he often employed the medium of iron-gall ink on paper prepared with brown wash.[1]

A sheet with 'Studies of two Pigs' in the Louvre (Inv. 1194; Benesch 777) relates closely to the British Museum's two drawings in style and has also been dated to the end of the 1630s.[2] During these years, Rembrandt made many other studies of animals, including cat. nos.19, 29 and 30; Gg.2.259, Oo.9.71 and Oo.9.75. Some or all of them may have been gathered in the album of drawings of 'animals, from life' ('beesten nae 't leven') recorded in the 1656 inventory of his possessions.[3] The inventory also mentions a now lost painting of a pig by Rembrandt.[4]

The pose of the recumbent pig in the Louvre's drawing resembles that of the animal in Rembrandt's etching, 'The Hog', of 1643 (Bartsch 157, Hind 204). On grounds of style it seems more probable that he referred to the sketches that he had made a few years earlier than that the drawings were directly preparatory to the print. Indeed, the exploration of the form and texture of the pig in the etching is more thorough than in the drawings and this part of the print may itself have been executed from life. Seven years later, in about 1650,

Rembrandt may have consulted the drawings for his sketch of the 'Prodigal Son among the Swine' (cat. no.45; [Ben 601] 1910,0212.179),<sup>[5]</sup> in which pigs resembling both cat. nos.20-21 and that on the left of the Louvre's sheet appear. The animals depicted by Rembrandt were original 'Dutch country swine', a breed no longer found, which were short in stature and had long legs.<sup>[6]</sup>

NOTES:

- [1] See under cat. nos.23-5, and 27; inv. nos.1891,0713.9, Gg,2.248, 1910,0212.181 and 1895,1214.100. Before being attributed to Rembrandt by Hind in 1909-10, the drawings were given to Titian.
- [2] By Emmanuel Starcky in Exh. Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, 1988-9, no.25.
- [3] As suggested by Lugt in Paris, 1933, p.32. The album was no.249 of the inventory (Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, p.375).
- [4] Op. cit., p.351, inventory no.16. This could have been of a slaughtered animal.
- [5] First suggested by Hind in London, 1915, no.41.
- [6] According to Schatborn, 1977, p.10.

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Hind, 1909-10, no.23 (compares Louvre sheet, Benesch 777); Hind, 1912/24, under no.204 (comparing the etching of 1643, Bartsch 157, Hind 204); London, 1915, no.41 (c.1635-40; with cat. no.20 [Pp.2.117] formerly attributed to Titian; both compared to Louvre sheet, Benesch 777, and to study of pigs at Bayonne, HdG 749 repr. Lippmann, III, no.25; Rembrandt referred to such studies for the 'Prodigal Son', here cat. no.45 [1910,0212.179]); Seidlitz, 1922, p.165, under no.157 (as Hind, 1912/24); Weisbach, 1926, p.176 (compares etching, which has a more 'comic' aspect); Paris, 1933, p.32, under no.1194 (comparing Louvre drawing, Benesch 777, and 1656 inventory mention of a painting of a pig and of an album of drawings of animals - see Comment above); Benesch, 1935, p.34 (c.1640-44; with cat. no.20 [Pp.2.117] and Louvre drawing, Benesch 777, compared to 1643 etching, 'The Hog', Bartsch 157, Hind 204); Münz, 1952, II, p.115, under no.26; (c.1643, as the etching); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.779, repr. fig.926/981 (c.1642-3; as Benesch, 1935); Exh. Vienna, 1956, p.61, under no.208 (comparing the 1643 etching); Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.92 under no.153; Schatborn, 1977, no.8, repr.; Exh. Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, 1988-9, under no.25 (the Louvre sheet, Benesch 777, earlier than the 1643 etching, for which it was subsequently reused; otherwise as Paris, 1933, and Benesch, 1935); Exh. Paris, 1986, p.169, under no.89.

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**Acquisition date**

1824

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Exhibition History**

1938, BM, no.41 (c.1635-40);  
1956, BM, p.9, no.1 (with cat. no.20; no.Pp.2.117);  
1992, BM, no.24, repr. in colour (c.1638-9).

Cat.22



**Registration number:** 1895,0915.1265

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 19](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 22 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 687](#)

[JCR 793](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1639 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Description

Two studies of old men's heads; one at left, turned almost to right, with a broad beard and cap, the other with a double pointed beard and conical cap. c.1639

Pen and brown ink.

Verso: laid down on remnant of old mat.

No watermark.

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: None visible or recorded; on verso of old backing, in pen and brown ink: '950 [crossed out in graphite]'; in graphite: '793', and below: '772 [erased]'.

## Dimensions

Height: 81 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 22mm apart)

Width: 94 millimetres

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Worn, with stains, and a patch replaced lower right; presumably cut from a larger sheet.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.22:

The sketch has been dated either to the first half of the 1630s or the early 1640s. A compromise view can be argued through a drawing in Berlin (Benesch 223 verso), which shows a comparable model with his head in a similar pose.[1] The style is analogous and both drawings were together at an early date in the collection of Jonathan Richardson, sen. (d.1745). The recto of the Berlin sheet contains a sketch of an 'Old Woman with a Child', which on the basis of a comparison with the verso of cat. no.24 (Gg.2.248; note the same slashing strokes of shading across the figures as well as the iron-gall medium) can be dated c.1639, and the present study should be placed in the same period.[2]

The drawing was etched by J. J. de Claussin on a plate with motifs from several sheets, including cat. no.35 (1910,0212.188), q.v..

## NOTES:

[1] The model for the head on the right resembles the drawing attributed to van den Eeckhout (cat. no.18; 1895,0915.1263), q.v.

[2] Benesch's comparison with the 'Smoker' (Benesch 686, private collection) of 1643 is understandable, but the similarities with the Berlin drawing are more persuasive.

## LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt except where stated otherwise):

Robinson, 1869/76, no.772/793; Kleinmann, IV, no.22; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.918; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; Hind, 1913-14, no.19, repr. (c.1628-35); London, 1915, no.19 (c.1630-35); Benesch, 1935, p.36 (c.1642-3); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.687, repr. fig.823/873 (c.1643-4; see n.2 above); Giltaij, 1995, p.98 (not by Rembrandt); Berlin, 2006, p.97, under

no.23 (as Exh. London, 1992, noting fine quill here and in Berlin drawing, also seen in drawing in Rouen, Benesch 230).

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**Acquisition date**

1895

**Acquisition name**

Purchased from Col John Wingfield Malcolm ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Edward Vernon Utterson (L.909) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir John Charles Robinson (L.1433) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2183) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Malcolm of Poltalloch ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Anon Lugt 1729 ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Jonathan Richardson, sen. (L.2183); Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364); unidentified collector 'L.G.' (L.1729)\*; Edward Utterson (L.909; not identifiable in his sale, 1857); J. C. Robinson (L.1433); John Malcolm of Poltalloch (L.1489 verso); purchased with his collection, 1895. \* The Count Gelosi or 'Geloso' provenance was proposed by Robinson, 1869, no.772 and repeated by all later writers, but the 'L.G.' mark is not thought to be his.

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**Exhibition History**

London, 1895, no.377a;

1899, no.A23;

1938, no.19 (c.1630-35);

1956, p.15, no.3;

1992, no.25, repr. in colour (c.1639; compares Berlin drawing, Benesch 223 verso);

Braunschweig, 2006, under nos.13-14 (comparing drawings attr. to Govert Flinck in Braunschweig, inv. nos.86 and 87, Sumowski 951x-952x).

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Cat.23



**Registration number:** 1891,0713.9

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 23 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 442](#)

[Hind 56](#)

**Location:**  
Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**  
drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**  
paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**  
drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**  
Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**  
1639 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**  
Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Description

A study for the portrait of Maria Trip; holding a fan, seated in a chair (?) by a window (?), three-quarter length turned and looking slightly to left, wearing a dress with lace collar.  
c.1639

Pen and brown iron-gall ink, with brown wash, heightened with white (many writers include red chalk in the description of the media, but the reddish marks appear in fact to be the white heightening discoloured through oxidation), unruled framing lines in the same medium, both in pen and in wash.

Verso: blank  
No watermark

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Some graphite marks, lower right, perhaps for '110.'

## Dimensions

Height: 160 millimetres

Width: 129 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 24mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Good; the white heightening has oxidised a little.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.23.

The drawing is related to Rembrandt's 'Portrait of a Young Woman, probably Maria Trip', now on loan to the Rijksmuseum, which was painted in 1639 (Bredius 356, Corpus A131).

Executed in iron-gall ink, the drawing is one of two in this medium which can be assigned with confidence to that year, the other being the dated study in Vienna after Raphael's 'Portrait of Castiglione' (Benesch 451). The two drawings are inseparable in style and, together with two others of the previous year,[1] form the starting-point for dating other works in the same medium, including cat. nos.24-28 (Gg.2.248; 1910,0212.181; 1910,0212.184; 1895,1214.100; 1910,0212.185), q.v..

The differences between the drawing and the finished painting are few: the study omits the lace cuffs and the rosettes adorning the dress. The collar is more pointed, on the right approaching the sitter's wrist more closely. To the left, the shoulder appears a little wider. The angle of the head is also slightly altered. The painting's background is less distinct but includes a herm on the left (partly cut away) with a curtain beyond, not seen in the drawing. The study records the full extent of the composition before the painting was reduced on all but the left side, either by Rembrandt or at a later date.[2] In the main the painting in its final form follows the drawing, although uncertainty surrounds the significance of the shape, drawn in white with the tip of the brush, by the sitter's right arm. It could be that Rembrandt contemplated the inclusion of a book or some other attribute at this point.

The general proximity of the drawing to the painting prompted the suggestion that its function was that of a 'modello', approved by the patron, rather than a preliminary sketch.[3] This idea receives some support from two further features of the drawing: the unusual presence of an indication of the picture-frame, and the style, which is neater than in most of Rembrandt's preliminary sketches for his paintings and might indicate that it was for the patron's inspection as well as for the artist's own use. X-radiographs of the painting, however, show that the base of the composition was at first arranged differently, with a balustrade running right across the foreground. It therefore appears likely that the drawing was made only after the painting was at a fairly advanced stage in order to rehearse various changes, many of which were subsequently introduced.[4] In effect, the drawing must have been based on the already existing, though incomplete, portrait, and in the length of the collar, the width of the shoulder and the pose of the hand the drawing reflects an earlier state of the painting as revealed by X-radiography. The fact that much of the drawing is based on the oil might also explain the degree of its stylistic proximity to the other copy Rembrandt drew at this time, the sketch after Raphael's 'Portrait of Castiglione' mentioned above. The inclusion of the picture frame in the British Museum's sheet might indicate that Rembrandt was already concerned with a possible adjustment to the painting's dimensions.[5]

The sitter has been identified as Maria Trip (1619-83),[6] the daughter of Elias Trip (1570-1636) and Aletta Adriaens (Dordrecht 1589-1656). In 1641 she married Balthasar Coymans (1589-1657). After his death, she married Pieter Ruysch, Lord of Wayestein. At her death in 1683 she left six daughters. She was from a prominent Amsterdam family whose members included Jacob Trip and Margareta de Geer, her uncle and aunt, whose portraits by Rembrandt of c.1660 are in the National Gallery, London (Bredius 314 and 394). At the time of Maria de' Medici's state visit to Amsterdam in 1638, the Princess of Orange, Amalia van Solms, lodged at her family's apartments. This was soon before the portrait was completed and the events may be connected. Her mother was also painted by Rembrandt in 1639 (Bredius 355, Corpus A132; Rotterdam, Willem van der Vorm Foundation).

#### NOTES:

[1] The study in Rotterdam of 'Ruth and Naomi' (Benesch 161), also in iron-gall ink, has on the verso a sketch for Rembrandt's etching of 'Joseph telling his Dreams' of 1638 (Bartsch 37, Hind 160). See further Rotterdam, 1988, no.13. The second iron-gall ink study of 1638 is for the same print and now in the Kramarsky collection, New York (Benesch 168).

[2] The extent of the cut may have been exaggerated by earlier writers: the angle of the

sitter's nearer arm is more acute in the drawing, so that her hand is placed higher (as noted by Weisbach, 1926, p.272) and further away from the edge of the frame.

[3] The theory was first suggested by Haak, 1969/68, and followed by Bruyn, 1983 and by the compiler (Royalton-Kisch; 1989 (1990) – see Lit. below) in a text written prior to the appearance of Corpus, III, 1989.

[4] The X-radiographs, and the theory that the drawing was made as a study for the changes made, published in full in Corpus, III, 1989, under no.A131(see also Bruyn, 1983). Some of the above reasoning might suggest that the drawing was a 'ricordo', made after the painting, but the minor 'pentimenti', e.g. in the left hand and the bannister, suggest otherwise.

[5] An earlier instance of Rembrandt's making a careful study after a painted composition had reached an advanced stage is provided by the sketch (Benesch 8, formerly Goeritz coll.) for the 'Judas returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver' (see Corpus A15). Cf. also cat. no.24; Gg.2.248.

[6] By van Eeghen, 1956, pp.166-9. See further Dudok van Heel, 1979, p.25. The identification is accepted, with reservations, by Corpus, III, 1989, p.320.

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt, for 1639 painting, Bredius 356, Corpus A131):  
Lippmann, IV, no.88; Kleinmann, III, no.39; Bode, 1897-1906, II, 1900, p.140, under no.274; Bell, c.1905, p.7, repr. pl.X; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.900; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; London, 1915, no.56, repr. pl.I; Hofstede de Groot, 1916/15, p.386, under no.845; Kramar, 1926, p.37; Weisbach, 1926, pp.271-2, repr. fig.75; Van Dyke, 1927, p.30, repr. pl.II, fig.5 (the painting by Lievens, based on the drawing); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.722, repr.; Benesch, 1935, p.28; Bredius, 1937/35, p.15, under no.356; Benesch, 1947, no.102, repr.; Benesch, II, 1954/73, no.442, repr. fig.493/530; van Eeghen, 1956, pp.166-9 (identifies sitter as Maria Trip); Exh. Amsterdam-Rotterdam, 1956, p.81, under no.38; van Gelder, 1961, p.150; White, 1962, pl.15; Slive, 1965, II, no.537 (painting perhaps cut); Bauch, 1966, p.25, under no.498; Gerson, 1968, p.88 and 496 under no.194, repr. p.304, fig.a (shows that the painting has been cut); Bredius-Gerson, 1969, under no.356; Haak, 1969/68, p.155, repr. fig.243 (a 'modello'); White, 1969, I, p.162; Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.105, under no.177 (compares etched portrait of 'Ephraim Bonus', Bartsch 278, Hind 226); Exh. Amsterdam, 1973, p.26, under no.56 (compares Benesch 757, Rotterdam, and drawing attrib. to S. Koninck in Institut Néerlandais, Sumowski 1529); Haak, 1976/74, no.29, repr.; Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.258; van de Wetering, 1977, p.41, n.44; Dudok van Heel, 1979, p.25 (on sitter, see above); van de Wetering in Corpus, I, 1982, p.22, n.42; Bruyn, 1983, p.54, n.14 (made to prepare change while executing the painting); Schatborn, 1983, p.458 (frame included perhaps to see how painting would look in its final form); Amsterdam, 1985, p.24, under no.10, n.7; Starcky, 1985, p.262; Rotterdam, 1988, p.66, under no.15 (compared to Benesch 757); Corpus, III, 1989, pp.318-20, repr. fig.5 (made to clarify changes made when the portrait was at an advanced stage); Royalton-Kisch, 1989 (1990), p.138, repr. fig.20 (see n.3 above); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2[I], pp.17-18, repr. fig.17a, and p.92, n.11 (compares Rotterdam 'Seated Old Woman', Benesch 757; datable iron-gall ink sheet); Royalton-Kisch, 1993[I], pp.182-3 (as Exh. London, 1992); Schatborn, 1996, pp.221-2, repr. p.401, fig.4; van de Wetering, 1997, pp.75-6, repr. p.79, fig.110; Starcky, 1999, pp.70-71, repr.; Exh. Amsterdam-London, 2000-2001, pp.72 and 160, repr. p.72, fig.13; Berlin, 2006, p.88, under no.20.

**Associated names**

Portrait of Maria Trip ([all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1891

**Acquisition name**

Purchased from Colnaghi ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Samuel Woodburn (his sale, Christie's, 7.vi.1860/760 (?) as 'Rembrandt, Van Rhyn - A lady standing at a window, proba) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection William Esdaile (L.1617) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); William Esdaile (L.2617; see cat. no.15; 1895,0915.1264); his sale, 17 June, 1840, perhaps lot 26: 'A Lady standing at a Window, bistre washed, with brilliant effect', bt S. Woodburn, £1-3-0 (no other description in the catalogue matches the present sheet more closely); purchased from Colnaghi's, 1891.

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**Exhibition History**

London, Lawrence Gallery, 1835 (see Provenance under Acquisition and cat. no.15; 1895,0915.1264);  
1899, BM, no.A28 (for the 1639 painting);  
1938, no.56;  
1956, p.8, no.9;  
1969, Amsterdam, no.54;  
1974, BM, Portrait Drawings, no.107;  
1992, BM, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.26, repr.in colour (as Corpus, 1989);  
2001-2, Edinburgh-London, 'Rembrandt's Women', p.166, no.84.

**Conservation****Treatment date**

14 August 1991

**Reason for treatment**

Temporary Exhibition

**Treatment proposal**

Lift, remove mounting debris, buffer(non aqueous), inlay, mount with Perspex verso.

**Condition**

Drawing was guarded to the mount and was in a potentially fragile condition due to the

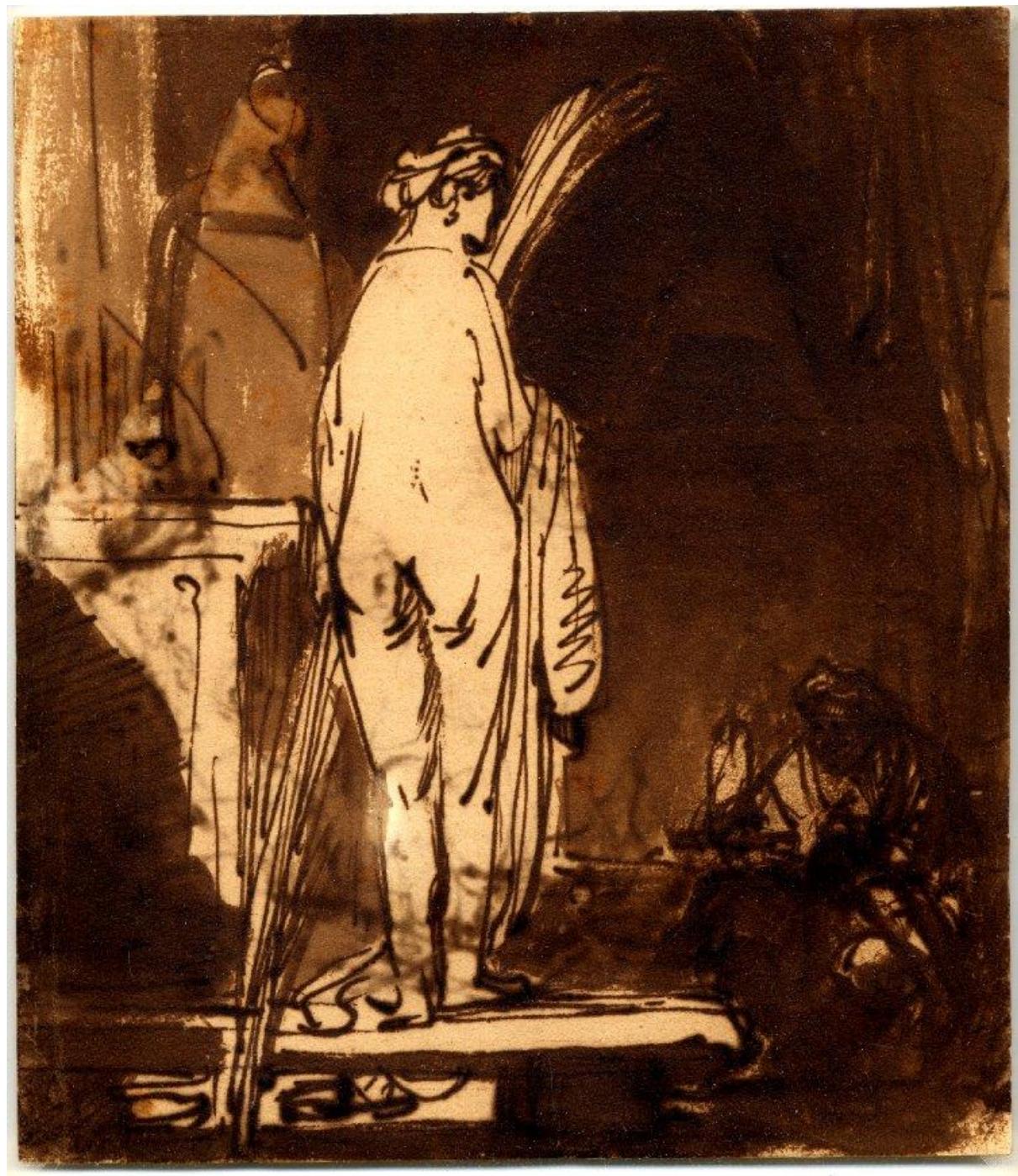
extensive use of iron gall ink over the whole sheet. This had caused darkening on the verso and some cracking of the paper/ink at the corners and edges. PRELIMINARY TESTS:Spot test of Archival Aids DAO 11 solution on ink did not show any colour change.

### **Treatment details**

Drawing was removed from mount by slitting guards. Debris was removed with Cellofas B3500 (SCMC) poultice and scalpel. Non aqueous alkalization was carried out by spraying verso with Archival Aids DAO 11 (methyl magnesium carbonate) solution. Fragile edges and corners were supported with lens tissue and SCMC adhesive. Whole was pressed, inlaid using strip method and mounted.

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Cat.24



Recto



Verso

**Registration number:** Gg,2.248

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 24 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 423](#)

[Hind 69](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1639

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

The artist drawing from the model; woman seen from behind, standing on a raised platform with drapery over her right arm, the artist in shadow beyond. c.1639

Pen and brown iron-gall ink with brown wash and touched with white, on paper washed brown

Verso: Joseph expounding the Prisoners' Dreams

Pen and brown iron-gall ink

No watermark

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Verso: inscribed in pen and black ink, '248.' (the inventory number).

**Dimensions**

Height: 188 millimetres

Width: 164 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 23mm apart)

**Condition**

Generally good; the paper cracked along an old vertical crease, lower left, across the ankles of the model and near the artist's left hand; perhaps trimmed on all but the left side, as suggested by a comparison with the related etching; the surface abraded to left on the recto and lower left and right of verso; the iron-gall ink has run, considerably obscuring the details in parts, particularly on the right-hand side of the recto; it may also have darkened, even recently, to judge from the reproduction in Lippmann I, 110 and Hamann, 1906 (see Lit. under Comment).

**Curator's comments**

Literature: P. Schatborn, in H. Bevers et.al. 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Pupils: Telling the Difference', exh.cat. The J Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2009, cat.no.7.1 (as Rembrandt; verso).

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.24:

The recto is related, in reverse, to Rembrandt's unfinished etching, the 'Artist drawing from the Model' (Bartsch 192, Hind 231; for a first state impression see 1895,1214.111). The drawing is usually dated c.1639 because of its stylistic and technical proximity to the 'Study for the Portrait of Maria Trip' (cat. no.23; 1891,0713.9): both are executed in iron-gall ink, a medium which Rembrandt seems to have favoured at this period.[1] By association the print is now usually dated to the same year, although its date and attribution have aroused controversy in the past.[2]

In the drawing, the artist appears to be left-handed, suggesting that the reversal in making the print was anticipated. The outlines are not indented for transfer to the copper plate and it is possible that the study, like cat. no.23 (1891,0713.9), which it resembles so closely in style, was made as a project for the etching's completion rather than before work had commenced on the copper plate. The contrast in handling with the preparatory pen-and-ink sketch of 'Jan Cornelisz. Sylvius' (cat. no.37; 1874,0808.2272) for the etched portrait of 1646, which is more freely drawn and must have preceded work on the plate, also supports the idea that the present sheet was not made until after the etching had been begun. The outline indications on the copper, made in drypoint rather than etching, are surprisingly tentative for Rembrandt, almost inexplicable had he been following a preparatory study. In the print several features remain unresolved, in particular the length of the nude's legs. Two sets of feet are drawn and in the second state (see F.5.140) the platform is consolidated beneath the lower pair. The drawing, probably executed after the second state, revises the elevation of the platform to coincide, more convincingly, with the upper feet. It also simplifies the foreground by the elimination of chairs and other studio props, shows a more clearly defined position for the artist himself and completes the shading of the lower half of the composition. Rembrandt was therefore probably working on the drawing while studying a counterproof of his etching (which would have been in the same direction as the image, both in the sketch and on the copper plate itself). Counterproofs of the second state survive in Cambridge and Vienna (according to Hollstein; none are recorded of the first state). The suggestion that the print was left unfinished intentionally in order to instruct Rembrandt's pupils in the elaboration of a composition, while possible, is highly speculative. The existence of two progressive states also argues against the supposition, as does the drawing, in which the design is complete. It may be that Rembrandt abandoned the composition for aesthetic or technical reasons.[3] Iconographically, the recto and the related print can be compared with a slightly later etching by Rembrandt, the 'Man drawing from a Cast' (Bartsch 130, Hind 191; see 1843,0607.86), of c.1641-2.[4] In the present case an allegorical intent seems probable, one that involved the visual arts: the contents of the studio represent painting, drawing and sculpture. The nude holds a palm and the room is decorated with weaponry. These and other details are often clearer in the etching, in which the composition encompasses a slightly broader view, than in the drawing, which has suffered from the acidic action on the paper of the iron-gall ink. The print includes a table behind[5] and a chair in front of the artist, a second chair behind the models and (in the first state only) a press in front of the canvas.[6] In the eighteenth century, as Yver, 1756, first recorded, the print was entitled 'Pygmalion'. This identification has been revived and a convincing connection made with a print of this subject by Pieter Feddes van Harlingen (Holl.21, repr.).[7] It has also been argued that the print is an allegorical glorification of the art of drawing: the studio, of a standard type, would represent Pictura, the model Venus with the palm of honour. Further analogies have been seen between the nude and the figure of Victory, also holding a palm, in Jacopo de' Barbari's engraving of 'Fame and Victory' (Bartsch 18).[8] The print's unfinished state would be an expression of the fundamental importance of drawing, a revelation of the working methods of Rembrandt's art.[9] Yet according to Ovid ('Metamorphoses', X, 243-97), the legendary King Pygmalion of Cyprus was making a statue of Venus, not Victory, when it was transformed into a living

creature; and the pose of Rembrandt's nude resembles well-known antique statues of Venus, including the Venus de' Medici (now in the Uffizi but from the Villa Medici in Rome) and the 'Venus felix' in the Vatican, both of which inspired admiration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The 'Venus felix' holds both her drapery and her head in much the same attitude as the figure in Rembrandt's print.[10] It seems reasonable to suppose that Rembrandt was aware of the relationship between his image and classical precedent, including the Pygmalion story, and that his allegory may have involved the well-worn theme of the transformation of 'Natura' (the nude) into 'Ars' (represented by the artist and his canvas, and perhaps also the sculpture). But his precise intentions, especially in including the palm of victory, remain unclear.[11]

The subject of the verso, from Genesis XL, 1-20, was treated by Rembrandt in a much later drawing in the Rijksmuseum of the early 1650s (Benesch 912).[12] The purpose of the present sketch is unknown. The composition shows the baker responding to Joseph's speech while the butler listens passively, roles that are reversed in the Amsterdam drawing. Their head-dresses – the butler's feathered cap and the baker's flat cap – and to some extent the design of the composition and the interior, suggest that Rembrandt knew Lucas van Leyden's print of the same subject (Bartsch 22), further details of which are used in the Amsterdam version. Joseph stands at the base of a spiral staircase, a motif often encountered in Rembrandt's work (see also the verso of the drawing now attributed to Van den Eeckhout, cat. no.19; 1859,0806.72). Another drawing of the subject, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 95.GA.18) and likewise executed in iron-gall ink, was presumably made immediately after the present sheet. It repeats the three main figures, with a second version of the baker sketched above. Joseph is shown with his left arm raised, following the correction in the British Museum's sketch. The baker and butler are more fully described and the pose of the latter, now bareheaded, is altered radically, being half turned to face the spectator.[13] Rembrandt's treatments of the subject inspired several images by his pupils (including Willem Drost cat. no.3; 1855,1013.39 and also the anonymous school drawing, Gg.2.249).[14]

The recto was etched by Jan Weissenbruch in Vosmaer, 1877, opposite p.282.

#### NOTES:

[1] See Schatborn in Amsterdam, 1985, p.24. The drawings tend to be prepared with brown wash and to be on paper of the same type, as is also the case in cat. nos.28-30.

[2] The etching is now generally accepted as Rembrandt's work. Together with the drawing, which has been known to fewer writers, it was generally placed after c.1645 until Benesch, 1923, p.1011, n.14, although Seymour Haden also dated the print c.1639 in Exh. London, 1877, no.62 (but believed the etched part to be by Ferdinand Bol, an attribution followed by several later scholars). A summary, with literature, is in Münz, 1952, under no.339. The chronology proved awkward for Hofstede de Groot, 1906, and Valentiner, 1925 and 1934, who attempted to differentiate the dates of the recto and the verso (see Lit. below).

[3] See Schatborn, 1986, for the idea that the etching was made as a model for the elaboration of a composition. He also notes the lack of indentations in the drawing. Hinterding (in Paris, 2008 - see Lit. below) notes that the etching plate was only printed a few times before languishing for ten years or more prior to being reprinted - a reason to suspect that Rembrandt was initially displeased with the result.

[4] As noted by Slatkes, 1973.

[5] Schatborn, 1986, saw that there is a peacock, symbol of Pride, on the table.

[6] White, 1969, thought the press a linen press. Slatkes, 1973, thought it of the screw-down type for pressing (not printing) paper.

[7] By Saxl, 1910. There is no impression in the British Museum.

[8] First noted by Saxl, loc. cit.

[9] Emmens, 1964, pp.159-63.

[10] See Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, 'Taste and the Antique', New Haven and London, 1981, pp.323-8, nos.87-8, repr. figs.172-3. Probably coincidentally, frontal views of both statues were published by Francois Perrier in 1638, just one year before Rembrandt's print and drawing. The pose of the nude also resembles, in reverse, Rembrandt's study in the J. Paul Getty Museum of a 'Woman with a Snake (Cleopatra?)' of c.1637 (Benesch 137), in which the figure is again seen from the front (see Malibu, 1988, no.114). Still closer is the 'Female Nude' in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (Benesch 713), described as a school drawing corrected by Rembrandt by Schatborn in Amsterdam, 1985, p.114, n.9 and in Budapest, 2005, p.216, no.208.

[11] For a further discussion of the iconography see Bevers in Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam, 1991-2, pp.206-8, no.15.

[12] See Amsterdam, 1985, no.42.

[13] The sheet, which has been prepared with brown wash, measures 200 x 187. The left section, containing the figure of Joseph, is on a separate piece of paper, pasted onto the original sheet after the other figures had been sketched (see Malibu, 2001, no.48).

[14] Loc. cit. Several sheets are reproduced by Valentiner, I, 1925, nos.107-12.

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt, recto related to etching Bartsch 192, Hind 231, unless otherwise stated):

Bürger, 1858, p.396; Middleton, 1877, p.18; Vosmaer, 1877, pp.VI, 283 and 545, with etched repr. of recto by Weissenbruch opposite p.282 (c.1646-8); Middleton, 1878, p.269, under no.284 (c.1647); Dutuit, I, 1883, p.213, under no. 189 and iv, 1885, p.86; Michel, 1893, pp.324-5 and 581 (c.1647); Seidlitz, 1894, p.121 (1640s); Seidlitz, 1895, p.117, under no.192 (c.1647); Lippmann, I, no.110; Kleinmann, IV, nos.15-16; Valentiner, 1905 p.46 (c.1647; recto shows Hendrickje); Bode and Valentiner, 1906, p.73, repr.; Hamann, 1906, p.300, repr. (c.1647? [the reproduction valuable for studying details of the drawing now obscure]); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.939 (recto c.1647 and for the etching; the verso c.1635); Schmidt-Degener, 1906, p.112 (nude based on Jordaens' 'Allegory of Plenty', Brussels); Singer, 1906, p.276, under no.219 (the print by a pupil); Baldwin Brown, 1907, p.146; Exh. Paris, 1908, p.60, under no.164 (c.1648, for etching); Saxl, 1908, p.233 (not necessarily Hendrickje, refuting Valentiner, 1905); Becker, 1909, pp.38-9, repr. Pl.1 (verso discussed; focus on drama of a single moment); Saxl, 1910, pp.42-3, the recto repr. fig.3 (subject 'Pygmalion'; influence of etching of this subject by Pieter Feddes and of Jacopo de' Barbari's 'Fame and Victory'); Veth, 1910, pp.142-3, repr.; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; Hofstede de Groot, 1912, p.71, repr. (c.1635-40; compares Rijksmuseum's 'Saskia's Lying-in Room', Benesch 404); Hind, 1912/24, I, p.62/31, and under no.231, repr. pl.XXVIII/IX (date, 1648 or later; in reverse to etching which he believes by Rembrandt unlike many earlier writers); Hofstede de Groot, 1915[I], p.91; London, 1915, no.69, the verso repr. pl.VII (as in Hind, 1912); Neumann, 1918, p.107 (agrees with HdG); Graul, 1920, p.38, under no.205; Seidlitz, 1922, p.176, under no.192 (the print c.1648; follows Saxl, 1910, and Valentiner, 1905); Graul, 1924, no.42, recto repr. (c.1650); Valentiner, I, 1925, no.108, repr. (the verso only; c.1645 or earlier, c.1640/41; the recto also probably before 1642); Benesch, 1925[I], p.124, reprinted 1970, p.50, the verso repr. fig.86 (end of 1630s, when an abrupt change in style); Bauch, 1926, pp.62-3, n.44 (based on some graphic reproduction of Capitoline Venus); Weisbach, 1926, p.65 and p.616, n.1 (not drawn from nature; not based on Feddes as Saxl, 1910, suggested, nor on Capitoline Venus, as Bauch, 1926, thought, as only discovered later [N.B. the Capitoline Venus differs little from the Venus de' Medici discussed above]); Van Dyke, 1927, pp.51 and 58, recto repr. pl.VII (by Bol, as also the etching; the verso for Bol's painting

in Schwerin – since rejected by Blankert, 1982, no.D1 – and related to his drawing in Hamburg of same subject, Sumowski 101); Hind, 1932, p.40 (relates to Budapest nude study, Benesch 713); Paris, 1933, p.27, under no.1181 (lists other drawings of the studio); Benesch, 1933-4, p.299, the verso repr. fig.248, reprinted 1970, p.118, fig.86 (Rembrandt eliminates subsidiary detail by this period); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.800, repr. (the recto only; c.1640; the figure of the artist added c.1665, when the etching made [a now rejected theory based on the identification of the print with one mentioned by Titus in the document Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, no.1665/6, q.v.]); Benesch, 1935, p.28 (1639; compares verso with 'Liberation of St Peter', Benesch 170, priv. coll.); Benesch, 1935[I], p.264; Benesch, 1947, no.101, repr. (1639; compares Benesch 442, here cat. no.23; 1891,0713.9; female fig. inspired by Lastman and Pynas); van Guldener, 1947, p.43 (as Rembrandt?) and p.45 (as not Rembrandt); Hamann, 1948, p.333, repr. fig.229 (c.1647?; nude resembles Capitoline Venus); Münz, 1952, II, under no.339, repr. pl.24b (both drawing and print by Eeckhout, early 1640s; artist shown using a perspective apparatus); Boeck, 1953, p.203 (in reverse, like most drawings for etchings); Benesch, 1954/73, II, no.423, figs.481-2/509-10 (as in 1935 and 1947; further compares 'Darab sheltered by the ruined Vault', Berlin, Benesch 171; verso also compared to 'Unidentified Scene', Benesch 351 verso, and to 'Calling of St Matthew', Benesch 144, both Stockholm, the hands to 'Sheet of Studies', Benesch 381, priv. coll., and 'Nurse with a Baby', Benesch 382, Paris, Fondation Custodia); Biörklund and Barnard, 1955, p.74, under no.BB39-2; Exh. Amsterdam-Rotterdam, 1956, p.20, under no.40 (c.1639 for etching); Exh. Vienna, 1956, p.58, under no.192; Exh. Warsaw, 1956, p.109, under no.177 (Eeckhout); White, 1956, p.124, repr. fig.34 (rejects Münz's 1952 attribution); Sumowski, 1956-7, p.258 (verso not Rembrandt and compared [not convincingly] to Widener collection school drawing, V.17, now National Gallery, Washington); Drost, 1957, p.179 (compares Elsheimer); Gerson, 1957[I], p.148 (c.1639-40; rejects Münz, 1952; as Hind, 1932, relates to 'Female Nude', Budapest, Benesch 713, which Gerson dates c.1636; the artist represented not necessarily a self-portrait); Sumowski, 1962, p.30, n.26 (refutes Münz, 1952); White, 1962, repr. pl.24 (c.1639); Emmens, 1964, pp.159-63; Erpel, 1967, no.136, repr. (c.1639-40); Slive, 1965, I, no.112, the recto repr. (c.1640); White, 1969, I, p.160 n., p.162 and p.178, repr. II, fig.239 (recto only; a study of layout and lighting for the etching); White and Boon, 1969, I, p.92, under no.B192; Exh. Chicago-Minneapolis-Detroit, 1969-70, under no.104 (tentatively supports Münz, 1952); Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.73, under no.116; Slatkes, 1973, p.259 (c.1641; perhaps significant that etched 'Man drawing from a Cast', Bartsch 130, Hind 191, was also made at this time; follows Emmens, 1964, but sees Pygmalion imagery as related; the model resembles statuette in engraving of 1578 by Cornelis Cort after Stradanus, 'Art Academy', Holl.218, repr.); White, 1973, p.138 (patterns of light differ in etching); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. pp.254-5; Ember, 1979, p.115 and p.124, repr. fig.27 (perhaps by B.G. Cuyp and influenced his painting of the 'Liberation of St Peter' in Kassel); Amsterdam, 1985, p.24, under no.10, n.7 and p.92, under no.42 [verso only] (c.1639; groups with other sheets in same ink – see above; verso: compares Amsterdam sheet Benesch 912 of same subject and notes inspiration of Lucas van Leyden and influence on Rembrandt's pupils); Exh. Amsterdam, 1985-6, no.55, repr. (reproduction exhibited; follows Emmens, 1964); Exh. Paris, 1986, p.123, under no.62; Schatborn, 1986, pp.18-19, repr. fig.1 (not from life; based on Jacopo de' Barbari; follows Emmens, 1964; see also nn.3 and 5 above); Sumowski, 'Gemälde', IV, 1989, p.2600, under no.1738 ('attrib. to' Rembrandt; verso inspired painting of the subject by Victors in Rijksmuseum); Exh. Amsterdam, 1991, p.128 (made in same direction as Jacopo de' Barbari's print); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2[I], pp.206-8, repr. fig.15d (follows Exh. London 1992); Royalton-Kisch, 1993[I], pp.181-2 (as Exh. London, 1992); Exh. Edinburgh-London, 2001, p.157, under no.75, repr. fig.118; Malibu, 2001, p.139, under no.48, verso repr. fig.48a; Exh. Boston-Chicago, 2003-4, pp.154-5; Budapest, 2005, p.216,

under no.208 (compares Budapest drawing of 'Standing female Nude', Benesch 713); Berlin, 2006, p.73, under no.15, p.76, under no.16, p.88, under no.20 and p.197 (compares Berlin drawings, Benesch 171, 180, 178 and 203); Sluijter, 2006, p.285, repr. p.283, fig.259 (as Exh. London, 1992, agrees that Rembrandt's first intention was to complete the etching); Exh. Paris, 2006-7[II], p.159, under no.60, repr. fig.105; Paris, 2008, p.342, under no.149 (see n.3 above).

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**Subject**

self-portrait ([all objects](#))  
old testament ([all objects](#))  
artist studio ([all objects](#))

**Associated names**

Portrait of Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Representation of Joseph ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1799

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Exhibition History**

1899, London, no.A51 (placed with drawings c.1646);  
1938, no.69;  
1956, p.9, no.7;  
1992, no.27  
2000/1, Amsterdam-London, pp.71, repr. fig.12, 160, n.5, and 174, repr. p.178, fig.c.  
2009/10 Dec-Feb, Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, Rembrandt and pupils, VERSO

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Cat.25



**Registration number:** 1910,0212.181

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 242](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 25 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 26](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1639 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A peasant walking to the right; whole-length, looking to front, a bag (?) slung over his right shoulder. c.1639

Pen and brown iron-gall ink, on paper prepared with brown wash; ruled framing lines in pen and brown ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

**Dimensions**

Height: 165 millimetres

Width: 114 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 23/24mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

**Condition**

Generally good; a few nicks at edges (left centre; lower right); some stains apparently treated with white to disguise them; the iron-gall ink has run slightly and bitten into the paper.

**Curator's comments**

Further literature: P. Schatborn, 'The early, Rembrandtesque Drawings of Govert Flinck', in Master Drawings 48 (2010), pp.5-38, fig.13.

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.25:

The drawing belongs to a substantial group of figure studies in the same style and made with the same kind of ink and paper, prepared with brown wash (see also cat. nos.26 and 27; 1910,0212.184 and 1895,1214.207). One of these, now in Munich (Benesch 243), shows the same model in a similar pose, although carrying his bundle over the other shoulder and with his right leg raised on a step.[1]

The group of iron-gall ink studies, although often dated to the first half of the 1630s (see Lit. below), should probably be assigned to the end of the decade. As also noted under cat. no.23 (1891,0713.9), several comparable drawings can be dated securely to c.1638-9. They include the study in the Kramarsky collection, New York (Benesch 168), related to the etching of 'Joseph telling his Dreams' of 1638 (Bartsch 37, Hind 160), a drawing of 'Ruth and Naomi' in Rotterdam on the verso of which is another sketch for the same print (Benesch 161),[2] the copy after Raphael's 'Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione' in Vienna, which is dated 1639 (Benesch 451) and cat. nos.23 and 24 (1891,0713.9 and Gg.2.248).

#### NOTES:

[1] As pointed out by Benesch, II, 1954, under no.242, where many of the studies referred to are brought together. He also particularly compared the present sheet to his nos.231 and 238, respectively the 'Study of an Oriental' in Brussels and the 'Bearded old Man in a Cloak with Fringes' in Rotterdam (for which see Rotterdam, 1988, no.7, where dated c.1632-6).

[2] The verso was first published by Giltaij, 1977 (see further Rotterdam, 1988, no.13). An iron-gall ink drawing of a 'Boy walking with a Stick', now in the Rijksmuseum, has a watermark which has been independently dated c.1640-41 (see Amsterdam, 1985, no.13).

The same mark appears on cat. no.26 (1910,0212,184), q.v..

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Michel, 1893, p.585 (when in Salting collection); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.1121; London, 1915, no.26, repr. pl.V (c.1630-35); Benesch, 1935, p.16 (c.1632-3); Benesch, II, 1954/73, no.242, repr. fig.263/286 (c.1633-4; see n.1 above); Drost, 1957, p.165, repr. fig.162 (compares Elsheimer); Benesch, 1964, p.112, reprinted 1970, p.251; Munich, 1973, p.162, under no.1122 (compares Munich drawing mentioned above); Exh. New York-Paris, 1977-8, p.126, under no.86, n.1 (compared to 'Three Studies for a Disciple at Emmaus', Benesch 87, Lugt coll.); Sumowski, I, 1979, under no.167x; Amsterdam, 1985, under no.13, n.2 (second half of the 1630s); Starcky, 1985, p.261, repr. fig.15 (c.1638-40); Giltaij, 1995, p.98, (c.1633-4).

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#### Subject

peasant/villager ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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#### Acquisition date

1910

#### Acquisition name

Bequeathed by George Salting ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Samuel Woodburn (L.2584) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Thomas Dimsdale (L.2426) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

#### **Acquisition notes**

T. Dimsdale (L.2426 verso); Samuel Woodburn (Inscribed on verso, in graphite: 'Woodburn', cf. L.2584 similar to inscription on verso of cat. no.26, 1910,0212.184 and 1895,0915.1254 Anon); bequeathed by George Salting, 1910 (See Acquisition Comment for 1910,0212,184). .

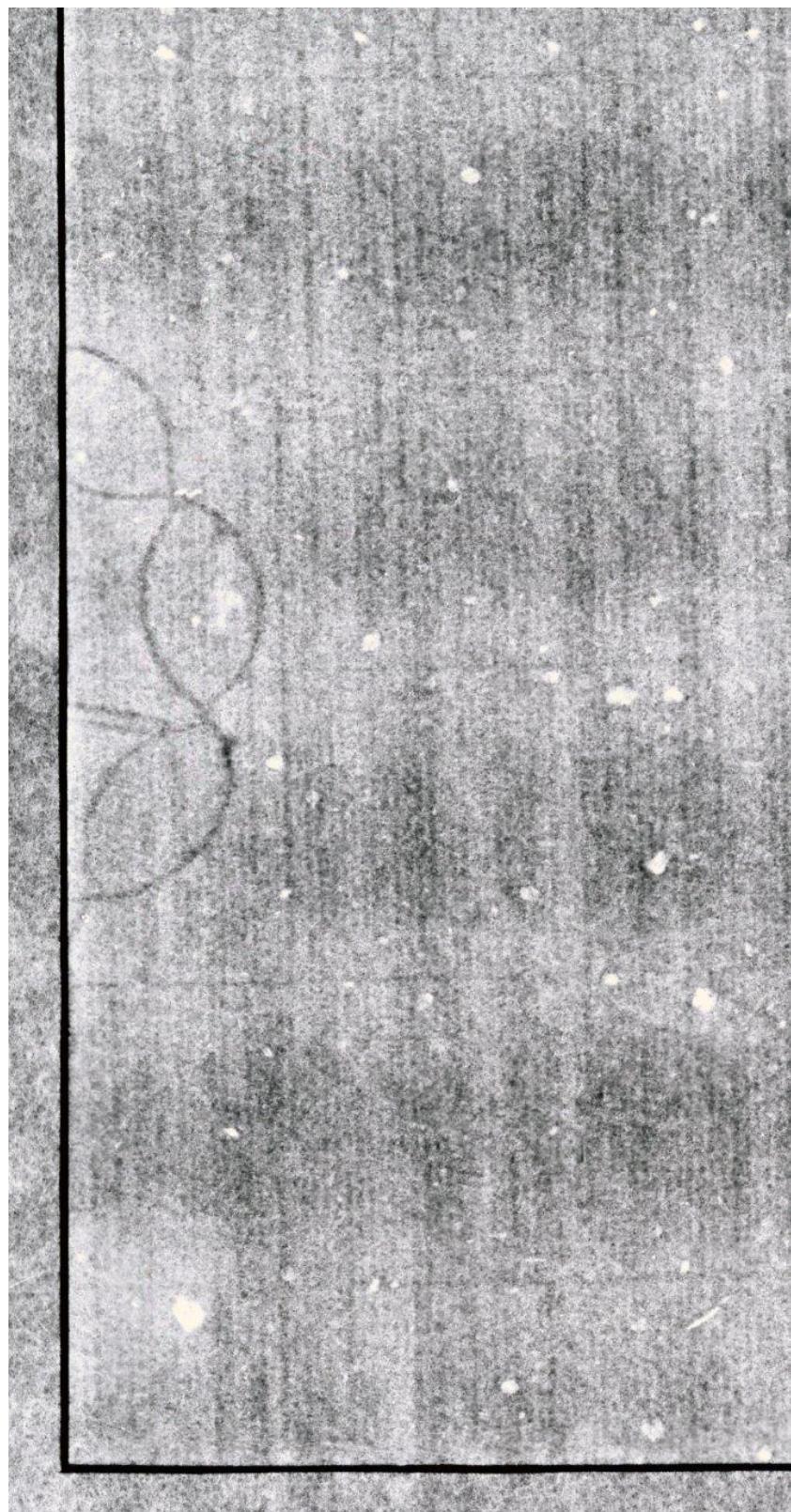
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#### **Exhibition History**

1992, BM Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, No 28.

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Watermark

**Registration number:** 1910,0212.184

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 246](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 26 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 27](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1639 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A pregnant woman standing; whole-length to right, looking round to front, wearing a turban, her arms folded in front. c.1639

Pen and brown iron-gall ink on paper prepared with brown wash; ruled framing lines in pen and brown ink.

Verso: sketch of a young woman, standing.

Watermark: fragment only visible: a circular motif with part of a rectilinear form in the centre, similar to Churchill 544 (1640) and Voorn 26 (1641).

**Dimensions**

Height: 165 millimetres

Width: 111 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 23/24mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

**Condition**

Generally good, though with some old fox-marks; an old water stain down the left side; small loss at lower right corner; the iron-gall ink has run slightly and bitten into the paper.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.26:

From the same series of figure studies as cat. no.25 (inv. no.1910,0212.181), q.v., where the dating c.1639 is explained.

The same watermark appears on at least three other drawings of the same period and executed in the same style: the 'Boy walking with a Stick' and the 'Cow in a Shed', both in the Rijksmuseum (the former not in Benesch, inv.1984:119; the latter Benesch 393, inv.1930:59),[1] and the 'Three Studies of a Woman with a Child' in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Benesch 226). The model in the centre of the New York drawing resembles the young woman on the verso of the present sheet[2] and these sketches must all have been made at about the same time.[3]

#### NOTES:

[1] See Amsterdam, 1985, nos.13 and 15 respectively.

[2] The connection first made in Exh. New York-Cambridge, 1960 (see Lit. below).

[3] A drawing of a similar figure to that on the recto, but with the head in profile, was on the London and then Amsterdam art market, but does not seem to be by Rembrandt (136 x 59 mm [27h], in greenish dark brown ink; ex J. Reynolds collection, L.2364), differing in technique/material and style.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Michel, 1893, p.58; (in Salting coll.); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.1124; London, 1915, no.27, repr. pl.V (c.1635); Valentiner, 1923, repr. pl.116, fig.8; Benesch, 1935, p.16 (c.1632-3); Benesch, II, 1954/73, no.246, repr. figs.265-6/288 and 291 (c.1633-4); Drost, 1957, p.177, repr. fig.193 (compares Elsheimer); Exh. New York-Cambridge, 1960, p.19, under no.20 (see n.2 above); Benesch, 1964, p.112 (reprinted 1970, p.251); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. pp.82-3; Exh. New York-Paris, 1977-8, p.126, under no.86 (relates to 'Studies for Disciple at Emmaus', Lutg coll., Benesch 87); Exh. Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80, p.98, under no.67 (follows Benesch).

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#### Acquisition date

1910

#### Acquisition name

Bequeathed by George Salting ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Samuel Woodburn ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jan Danser Nijman (?) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Thomas Dimsdale (L.2426) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

#### Acquisition notes

Perhaps Neyman sale, Paris, 8 July, 1776, part of lot 686: 'Quatre autres études très-spirituellement touchées, de figures debout, dont une femme enceinte, &c.', sold for 11.16 livres; T. Dimsdale (L.2426 on verso); Samuel Woodburn (see verso inscription); bequeathed by George Salting, 1910. Woodburn supplied Dimsdale with most of his drawings but also bought back his collection after Dimsdale's death in 1823. The order of ownership is therefore uncertain and the drawing may have passed through Woodburn's hands twice. No description in any of the Woodburn sales precisely matches the present drawing, although many figure studies by Rembrandt are listed without detailed descriptions. Inscribed on verso in lower left, in graphite: 'Woodburn S.'; above this and written at right angle to it, also in graphite: '1861 / £100'.

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**Exhibition History**

London, Royal Academy, 1899, no.157;  
British Museum, 1910, p.5;  
1912, no.155;  
1938, no.27 (c.1635);  
1956, p.15, no.19;  
1992, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.29, repr. in colour (c.1639);  
2001-2, Edinburgh-London, 'Rembrandt's Women', p.160, no.78.

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Cat.27



**Registration number:** 1895,1214.100

**Bibliographic reference**  
[Benesch 207 \(\(recto only\)\)](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 27](#)  
[Hind 64 \(\(recto only\)\)](#)

**Location:**  
Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**  
drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**  
paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**  
drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**  
Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**  
1639 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**  
Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

An Oriental standing, full-length; to front, wearing a long cloak and a large turban with a plume, his right hand on his belt. c.1639  
Pen and brown iron-gall ink heightened with white on paper prepared with brown wash; the verso in pen and brown ink only; ruled framing lines in pen and brown ink.  
Verso: a cancelled sketch of the head of a man wearing a turban.  
No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, in graphite (nineteenth to twentieth century), top left: 'Rembrandt (?)' lower left: '100' and '2933 [in a circle]'.

**Dimensions**

Height: 222 millimetres  
Width: 173 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 24/25mm apart)

**Condition**

Generally good; a horizontal scar across the figure's knees was caused by the penetration of adhesive from old backing tape (the tape removed and damage treated, 1987).

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.27.

The drawing has been generally accepted as Rembrandt's work and dated c.1633, along with other studies of orientals executed in the same medium and style. The date has been proposed

on the basis of the figure's resemblance to others painted by Rembrandt c.1632-3, such as King Cyrus in the small picture in a private collection of 'Daniel and King Cyrus' of 1633 (Bredius 491, Corpus A67).<sup>[1]</sup> Yet the breadth and vigour of the execution and the use of iron-gall ink both point to the end of the 1630s. Comparison can be made with several drawings of around 1639, including the recto and verso of the study of the 'Artist drawing from the Model' in the Museum's collection (see cat. no.24; Gg.2.248). The unquestioned study in Melbourne (Benesch 157) for Rembrandt's painting of 'Susannah and the Elders' in Berlin (Bredius 516, completed only in 1647) was also executed at about this time and is close to the present sheet from both a technical and stylistic point of view. The verso, first published in 1963, is inseparable from a sketch of another turbaned head on the back of an iron-gall ink study in Berlin, which should also be assigned to this period (Benesch 203 verso).<sup>[2]</sup> The underlying work in the head on the recto was executed in similarly fine lines to the verso before it was reworked in a broader manner.

The figure on the recto is reminiscent of one in a composition by Rubens of the 'Adoration of the Magi', which Rembrandt could have known through an engraving by Lucas Vorsterman and another print, based on Vorsterman's, that was published by Claes Jansz. Visscher in 1621.<sup>[3]</sup> The latter formed the basis of Rembrandt's iron-gall ink study of the 'Madonna and Child with a kneeling King' in the Rijksmuseum (Benesch 115), which resembles the present sheet in style and has also been dated to the second half of the 1630s.<sup>[4]</sup>

In a later 'Sheet of Figure Studies' in the Warsaw University Library (Benesch 667, dated by him c.1641-2), Rembrandt created a figure whose pose and garb recall the present model.<sup>[5]</sup> The type also appears in the right background of his etching of the 'Beheading of St John the Baptist' of 1640 (Bartsch 92, Hind 171).

#### NOTES:

[1] The connection first made by J. G. van Gelder, 1960, p.77 since when the idea that it was a preliminary study has been rejected – see Corpus, II, 1986, p.301. The group of studies of orientals was constructed by Benesch (1935, 1947 and 1954). Two of them (Benesch 209-10 in Berlin and Budapest) have been described as 'questionable' (Sumowski, III, 1980, under no.763x) although in the compiler's view they are probably genuine. Benesch, 1935, pp.15-6, further bases his date of c.1633 on the inscription, which he describes as 'false', on the Bremen 'Study of a Dromedary' (Benesch 453). He nevertheless thought that the inscription preserved a sound tradition. Stylistically, however, the drawing has only superficial connections with the present sheet.

[2] The paper of the Berlin sheet is very similar and also has horizontal chain lines 25 mm apart.

[3] Schneivoogt, 1873, p.22, nos.82 and 80 respectively. The composition was a source of inspiration to Rembrandt on other occasions: see Corpus, I, 1982, under nos.A9 and A40, Amsterdam, 1985, under no.9, and Exh. Amsterdam, 1985-6, pp.36-7. Rubens' painting, which Rembrandt would not have known, is now in Lyon (Oldenbourg, 1921, no.164).

[4] Amsterdam, 1985, no.9, repr.

[5] Warsaw, 2004, p.85, no.5, which also compares the British Museum drawing to the later representation of an 'Oriental' now in Groningen (Benesch 1130).

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Lippmann, IV, no.84; Kleinmann, III, no.36; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.912; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; London, 1915, no.64 (c.1640-50?); Neumann, 1918[I], no.10, repr.; Stockholm, 1920, p.50 (compares school drawing in Stockholm, HdG.1580 [Sumowski 226x as Bol]); Van Dyke, 1927, p.96, repr. pl.XXIV, fig.95 (by S. Koninck; compares 'Adoration of Magi', Berlin, Benesch 160); Köhne, 1932, p.48, n.98 (compares Lievens etching of 'Standing

Oriental', Hollstein 80); Benesch, 1935, p.16 (c.1633); Benesch, 1935[I], p.263 (early 1630s); Amsterdam, 1942, p.25, under no.53 (as London, 1915); Benesch, 1947, p.21, no.27, repr. (c.1633); Benesch, II, 1954/73, no.207, repr. fig.226/242 (c.1633); Sumowski, 1956-7, p.260, repr. fig.31 (Bol?); Drost, 1957, p.163 (Elsheimer influence; the most important of Rembrandt's group of oriental studies); van Gelder, 1960, p.77, repr. fig.5 (relates to painting of 'Daniel before King Cyrus' of 1633 in a private coll., Corpus A67, Bredius 491); White, 1963, p.38, repr. pl.32a (publishes verso); Benesch, 1964, p.122 (reprinted 1970, p.256); Slive, 1965, II, no. 533, repr. (c.1633); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.64; Sumowski, I, 1979, under nos.165x and 183x; Corpus, II, 1986, p.301 (see n.1 above); Exh. Amsterdam, 1985-6, no.23, repr. (reproduction only exhibited; c.1635-40; relationship to Rubens); Exh. Washington, 1990, p.30, n.2 ('picturesque' subject-matter); Exh. Stockholm, 1992, repr. p.366, fig.165a (inspired Stockholm study by Bol, Sumowski 226x); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1992, p.463 (sheet has darkened – not prepared with wash); Giltaij, 1995, p.98 (early 1630s); Warsaw, 2004, p.85, under no.5 (see n.5 above); Berlin, 2006, p.88, under no.20 and p.201 (follows Exh. London, 1992 in comparing verso to the verso of Benesch 203 in Berlin); Schwartz, 2006, pp.74 and 296, repr. figs 120 and 526.

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**Subject**

asian ([all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1895

**Acquisition name**

Purchased from Colnaghi (Purchased in exchange for duplicate prints.) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Mendes de Leon (possibly) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Possibly Mendes de Leon, sale, Amsterdam, 20 November, 1843, Kunstboek G, no.7 ('Een staande Man in Oostersche kleeding; breed met de pen'); purchased from Colnaghi's 1895.

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**Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.A47 (mid-1640s);  
1938, no.64 (c.1640-50?);  
1956, p.11, no.21;  
1992, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.30, repr. in colour. (c.1639);  
1995 Jan-Mar, Southampton Gallery, 'Drawing the Line', no. 173;  
2006, BM, Rembrandt: a 400th anniversary display (no cat.)

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Cat.28



**Registration number:** 1910,0212.185

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 28](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 28 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 659](#)

**Location:**  
Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**  
drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**  
paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**  
drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**  
Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**  
1639-1640 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**  
Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Description

Sketches of an old man with a child; the man seated with the child standing on his knees and trying to remove his cap, another sketch, bust, of the same man holding the child in his arms, slight head sketches below. c.1639-1640

Pen and brown ink, touched with brown wash (only below the man's elbow in the upper study and between his calves in the lower), on paper washed pale brown; remnants of ruled framing lines in pen and greyish-brown ink

Verso: see Inscriptions below  
No watermark

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Inscribed lower right, in pen and brown ink: 'do'; on verso, in pen and brown ink: '1835 WE.', and 'Rembrandt'; above this, in a different hand: 'a-42'; faint graphite inscription, lower left: '39', above this, also in graphite: 'HG [mon.]'.

## Dimensions

Height: 189 millimetres  
Width: 157 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 23mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Good; the lower sketch accidentally smudged before the ink was dry.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.28.

The drawing was presumably made from life, the various poses reflecting the movements of

Rembrandt's models. In the upper study the child succeeds in removing the man's cap. The attribution to Rembrandt has never been doubted but suggestions for the date have varied from between around 1635 and 1647 (see Lit. below). Most of Rembrandt's studies of this kind are from the 1630s but the breadth of style in the present example and the abbreviations employed for the facial features also resemble sketches of the 1640s (e.g. cat. no.38; 1910,0212.189). Yet comparisons with his drawings of c.1639 are more compelling, for example with the verso of cat. no.24 (Gg.2.248) or the study in Melbourne for an 'Elder' (Benesch 157) in the Berlin painting of 'Susannah and the Elders' (Bredius 516), which although dated 1647 is thought to have been begun in the late 1630s.[1] The date proposed here, c.1639-40, makes some allowance for the drawing's analogies with works of the 1640s. A drawing similar in technique, style and subject is in a private collection, showing a mother and child in two positions (Benesch 658). Two further studies in Stockholm of women and children are also comparable (Benesch 707-8).

NOTE:

[1] See Bredius-Gerson, 1969, p.600. The paper of the present sheet resembles that in other drawings of the late 1630s in the collection, such as the other genre studies here cat. nos.25-6 (1910,0212.181 and 184).

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Michel, 1893, p.585 (in Salting coll.); Lippmann, III, no.72; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.1126 (c.1635); Wurzbach, 1910, p.419; London, 1915, no.28 (c.1635-40); Weisbach, 1926, p.158 (this type of genre study occurs from 1630s to 1650s); Benesch, 1935, p.41 (c.1647); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.659, repr. fig.797/841 (c.1640-42; compared to 'Sheet of Studies' in private collection, Benesch 658); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1961, pp.54 and 90 (c.1635-40; groups with Benesch 707-8 [mentioned above] and the 'Nurse holding a Child', Benesch A63, Rijksmuseum [since rejected by Schatborn in Amsterdam, 1985, no.90]); Slive, 1965, II, no.406, repr. (c.1635-40); Gerson, 1968, p.477, repr. fig.d; Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.40; Schatborn, 1981[I], no.18, repr. (c.1640-42); Vogel-Köhn, 1981, pp.34 and 58, and no.66, repr. (c.1639-43; one of a group of drawings with children that exhibit humour); Courtright, 1994, p.604, repr. p.620, fig.11 (drawing roughed out, then elaborated, according to notions of Leonardo); Schwartz, 2006, p.60, repr. fig.95.

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**Acquisition date**

1910

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by George Salting ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Andrew James ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection William Esdaile (L.2617) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Thomas Lawrence (L.2445, lower left; in MS inventory of his collection as Rembrandt no.57); purchased from his collection by William Esdaile (L.2617 verso; see cat. no.15; inv. no.1895,0915.1264); his sale, Christie's, 17 June, 1840, lot 50 bt Hodgson with lot 49, 'Death

of Saul', £2-5-0; Andrew James; his sale, Christie's, 28 April, 1873, lot 112, bt Salting, £12-0-0; George Salting, by whom bequeathed, 1910.

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### **Exhibition History**

London, Lawrence Gallery, 1835 (as cat. no.15; 1895,0915.1264);  
Royal Academy, 1899, no.64;  
British Museum, 1910, p.5;  
1912, no.164;  
1938, no.28 (c.1635-40);  
1956, p.15, no.12;  
1992, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.31, repr. in colour (c.1639-40);  
1995 Jul-Sept, London, Whitechapel Art Gallery, 'Drawing the Line', no. 174;  
Exh. Boston-Chicago, 2003-4, 'Rembrandt's Journey:...', p.172, repr. p.170, no.101.

\*\*\*\*\*

Cat.29



**Registration number:** Oo,9.71

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 29 \(Rembrandt\)](#)  
[Hind 50](#)  
[Benesch 775](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1638-1642 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A lioness devouring a bird; lying down with her head to left. c.1638-1642

Charcoal, with grey wash, heightened with white, on paper prepared with brown wash; ruled

framing lines in pen and grey ink.

Verso: a few trials of chalk, top left; see also Inscriptions.

No watermark

### **Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso: top left, in pen and brown ink: 'gW'; upper left, in graphite: '59 [in a circle]'.

### **Dimensions**

Height: 126 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 30mm apart)

Width: 239 millimetres

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

### **Condition**

Good; some old fingermarks, lower right.

### **Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.29.

As has been pointed out by many writers since Hind,[1] cat. nos.29-30 (Oo,9.71 and Oo,9.75) resemble the animal in Rembrandt's allegorical painting entitled the 'Concord of State' now in Rotterdam (Bredius 476, Corpus A135), probably painted between c.1638 and 1642.[2] Yet the resemblance is no more than general and the precise relationship of these works has to remain an open question: in the drawings, the animal is a lioness, while in the painting it can only be a lion that symbolises the Dutch United Provinces, albeit with a shorn mane.

The drawings are difficult to date from the point of view of style[3] but could be contemporary with the painting. While they appear to have been made after Rembrandt's studies of elephants, one of which is dated 1637 (see under cat. no.19; inv. no.Gg,2.259), there are few later drawings in a comparable medium which can be securely attributed and dated. The two lionesses could be from c.1640, the date on the red chalk 'Portrait of Cornelis Claesz. Anslo' in this collection, which is handled with equal vigour and heightened with white in a comparable manner (see cat. no.31; 1848,0911.138); and they seem to be earlier than the study in black chalk of a 'Young Girl' in the Princes Gate Collection (Courtauld Institute of Art, Benesch 700), which is related to the painting in Dulwich of 1645 (Bredius 368). In the light of these comparisons it seems reasonable to place the two drawings alongside the Rotterdam painting, i.e. c.1638-42. A third drawing of a lioness, clearly made by Rembrandt at the same time as it is identical in technique and style, is in a private collection.[4]

The use of charcoal, not previously recognised, is unusual in Rembrandt's work, and separates the British Museum's drawings from the black chalk 'Study of a Lion' in the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris (Benesch 776) to which it has often been compared. It is possible that the four drawings now known to contain charcoal (the lionesses, the British Museum's 'Elephant', here cat. no.19 (Gg,2.259), and a landscape drawing in Rotterdam, Benesch 813, which is also on brown tinted paper) should all be assigned to the same period.[5]

The British Museum's 'Lionesses' were both engraved, in reverse, by Bernard Picart in the 'Recueil de lions', Amsterdam, 1729 (nos. F5 and F6 respectively). In it Picart included

etched reproductions of eighteen drawings of lions that he considered to be by Rembrandt.[6] A copy of the present drawing (Oo,9.71), drawn by John Joseph Cotman, is in a private collection.[7] A more exact, but anonymous copy is in a second private collection.[8] A nineteenth-century etched copy of the drawing, in the same direction, is also known.[8]

NOTES:

[1] In London, 1915, under no.49.

[2] It bears the truncated date '164[...]' . Corpus, III, 1989, no.A135 places the painting in the late 1630s, believing that it may have been completed (there are some added strips) a few years later. The drawings are not mentioned. The date is also adhered to by Kempers, 1999, who argues that the iconography of the picture reflects the political situation in 1637-8, following the recapture of Breda in 1637.

[3] The two drawings are clearly contemporaneous, and both are in the same medium, yet it should be noted that the paper employed does not appear to be identical, even though both sheets are prepared with brown wash.

[4] Private collection (formerly in French private collection, subsequently on the London and New York art market). Charcoal, heightened with white, on brown paper. Top corners repaired. 115 x 150 mm. From the De Boissieu collection.

[5] A similar and satisfactory conclusion has now been reached for Rembrandt's few silverpoint drawings of 1633 (see Amsterdam, 1985, p.72, n.3, Royalton-Kisch, 1992 and Exh. Washington, 1990, no.1). The attribution to Rembrandt of the Paris drawing is in my view erroneous.

[6] See the school drawings, Oo,9.73, Oo,9.74 and Oo,9.70. A thorough description of Picart's plates is provided by Schatborn, 1981, pp.25ff. Picart clarified details in the sketches which were only roughly indicated by Rembrandt.

[7] Courtauld neg. no.999/48/(1) PS.

[8] Photocopy sent to the Museum in January 1993 (in the file on the drawing).

[9] Photocopy in museum file on the drawing. The Australian artist F. Harley Griffiths also made an etched copy, in reverse, with a landscape indicated in the background.

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt; refs. to the painting are to the 'Concord of State', Rotterdam, Bredius 476, Corpus A135):

Bürger, 1858, p.394 (c.1641; compares to etchings of 'Large Lion Hunt', Bartsch 114, Hind 181, and 'St Jerome', Bartsch 104, Hind 267); Vosmaer, 1877, p.529 (c.1641; engraved by Picart); Dutuit, IV, 1885, p.86; Michel, 1893, pp.374 and 582; Lippmann, IV, no.61; Kleinmann, III, no.47; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.946; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; London, 1915, no.50 (c.1635-40; compares cat. no.30, Oo,9.75); Neumann, 1918[I], no.20 (black chalk gone over with the pen); Benesch, 1935, p.35 (1640-41; follows suggestion in London, 1915, under no.49, that Rembrandt referred to such studies for the painting; the same animal as in cat. no.30); Poortenaar, 1943, no.72, repr. (c.1640); Schinnerer, 1944, no.31, repr. (c.1635-40); Benesch, 1947, no.117, repr. (c.1641; as in 1935); Rosenberg, 1948/64, I, p.154/261, repr. fig.227/228; Paris, 1950, p.61, under no.491 (compares drawing in École des Beaux-Arts, Benesch 776, also a lion in black chalk); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.775, repr. fig.922/978 (as in 1935); Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, p.136, under no.183 (with cat. no.30 and the École des Beaux-Arts drawing, Benesch 776, the only black chalk lions by Rembrandt); Rosenberg, 1956, p.129, repr. fig.27; Scheidig, 1962, p.63 and no.153, repr.; Slive, 1965, II, no.508, repr. (c.1640; otherwise as Benesch, 1935); Bauch, 1966, p.7, under no.105 (c.1641; same animal as in the painting); Bonnier, 1970/69, repr. p.57, fig.34; van Gelder, 1973, p.200, n.51 (Picart facsimile); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.299; Schatborn, 1977, no.27, repr.; Exh. Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80, p.105, under no.73 (animal

resembles that in background of 'Mocking of Christ', Pierpont Morgan Library, Benesch 920); Amsterdam, 1981, p.149 (Picart facsimiles); Schatborn, 1981, p.26 (Picart facsimiles); Slive, 1995, p.77, repr. fig.92; Exh. Braunschweig, 2006, p.110, under no.41 (such drawings inspired lions in works like the Amsterdam 'Daniel in Lion's Den', inv.1930:17, Benesch 887, and the copy in Braunschweig, inv.Z.997); Schwartz, 2006, p.76, repr. fig.125; Exh. Paris, 2006-7[II], p.209, under no.81, repr. fig.129 (relates to context of the etching, the 'Large Lion Hunt', B.114, H.181).

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**Subject**

mammal ([all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1824

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**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

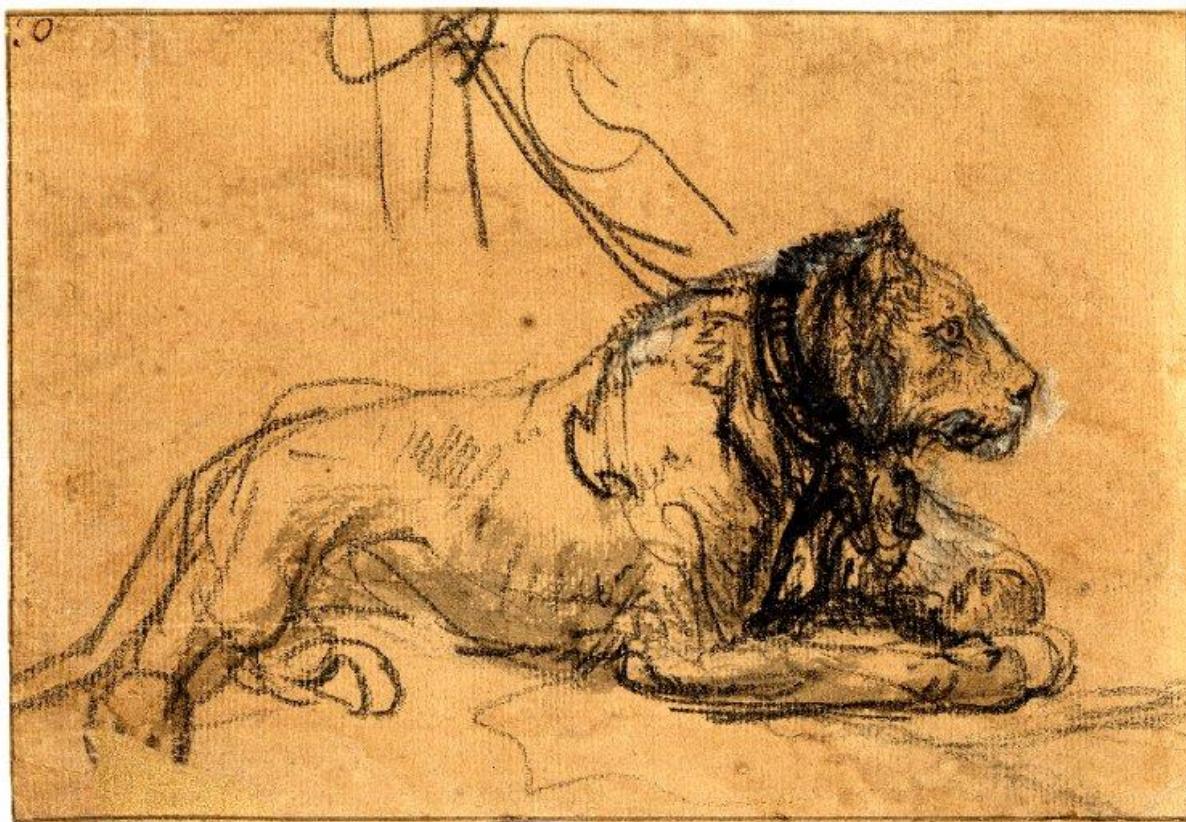
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**Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.A22b;  
1938, no.50 (c.1635-40);  
'Animals in Art', 1977-8 (no catalogue);  
Manchester, 1982, no.159, repr.;  
'Treasures of the B.M. Print Room', 1990 (no catalogue);  
1992, no.33, repr. in colour (c.1638-42).

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Cat.30



**Registration number:** Oo,9.75

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 30 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 49](#)

[Benesch 774](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1638-1642 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Description

A chained lioness; lying on the ground in profile to right. c.1638-1642

Charcoal and grey wash, touched with white oil paint, on paper prepared with brown wash; ruled framing lines in pen and grey ink.

Verso: laid down; examined in transmitted light.

No watermark.

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Inscribed top left corner, in pen and brown ink: 'O'.\*

\* Possibly the mark of an early collector, although none appears on the companion sheet, cat. no.29 (Oo,9.71). It resembles the seventeenth-century dealer or collector's code found on several Rembrandt and Rembrandt-school drawings in Dresden and elsewhere (see Schatborn, 1981[I], pp.17ff.).

## Dimensions

Height: 125 millimetres

Width: 180 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 20mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Generally good, but restored in the lower corners and possibly trimmed at the edges.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.30.

Engraved, in reverse, by Bernard Picart in the 'Recueil de Lions', Amsterdam, 1729, no.F.5. See the commentary to cat. no.29 (Oo,9.71).

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt; refs. to the painting are to the 'Concord of State', Rotterdam, Bredius 476, Corpus A135):

Bürger, 1858, p.394 (c.1641; compares to etchings of 'Large Lion Hunt', Bartsch 114, Hind 181, and 'St Jerome', Bartsch 104, Hind 267); Michel, 1893, pp.374 and 582; Lippmann, IV, no.62; Kleinmann, III, no.48; Bell, c.1905, repr. pl.XXXIX, Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.940; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; London, 1915, no.49 (c.1635-40; Rembrandt probably referred to such studies for the painting); Benesch, 1935, p.35 (1640-41; the same animal as in cat. no.29 [Oo,9.71]; otherwise as London, 1915); Paris, 1950, p.61, under no.491 (compares drawing in École des Beaux-Arts, Benesch 776); Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, p.136, under no.183 (with cat. no.29 [Oo,9.71] and the École des Beaux-Arts drawing, Benesch 776, the only black chalk lions by Rembrandt); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.774, repr. fig.921/974 (c.1641; otherwise as London, 1915); White, 1962, repr. pl.28 (c.1641); Slive, 1965, II, no.509, repr. (c.1640; otherwise as London, 1915); Bauch, 1966, p.7, under no.105

(c.1641; same animal as in the painting); van Gelder, 1973, p.200, n.51 (Picart facsimile); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.299; Schatborn, 1977, no.29, repr.; Amsterdam, 1981, p.149 (Picart facsimiles); Schatborn, 1981, p.26 (Picart facsimiles); Giltaij, 1995, p.98 (not charcoal, but greasy black chalk); Exh. Braunschweig, 2006 (as cat.29 [Oo,9.71]).

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**Subject**

mammal ([all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1824

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.A22a;  
1938, no.49 (c.1635-40);  
'Animals in Art', 1977-78 (no catalogue);  
1981 May-Aug, Castle Museum, Notts, 'English Watercolours';  
Manchester, 1982, no.158;  
'Treasures of the British Museum Print Room', 1990 (no catalogue);  
1992, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.34, repr. (c.1638-42);  
1990 April-Aug, BM, Treasures of P&D (no cat.)

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Cat.31



**Registration number:** 1848,0911.138

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 31 \(Rembrandt\)](#)  
[Hind 59](#)  
[Benesch 758](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

print study ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))  
drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1640

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Portrait of Cornelis Claesz Anslo; study for an etching, half-length, seated at a table, wearing a wide-brimmed hat, his left hand resting on a book which stands upright on the table and with his right pointing to another. 1640

Red chalk, heightened and corrected with white oil colour, with some red wash on pale yellowish-brown paper; the outlines indented with the stylus for transfer to the copper plate; the verso is coated in an ochre medium, possibly containing wax, and this probably gave rise to the yellowish paper tone on the recto; ruled framing lines in pen and black ink (as well as the horizontal line in red chalk above the signature).

Verso: See the notes on the medium, above.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Signed below in red chalk: 'Rembrandt f. 1640'; inscribed verso, top left, in pen and brown (?) ink (much rubbed): '8/36 [see under Provenance]'; inscribed on a remnant of the old mount in pen and brown ink: 'C:C:Anslo / Aÿ, Rembrandt, mael Cornelis Stem. / Het Zichtbre deel is 't minst van hem: / 't onsichbre kent men slechts door dooren./ wien Anslo zien wil, moet hem hooren'. ('O, Rembrandt, paint Cornelis' voice. The visible part is the least of him; the invisible is known only through the ears; he who would see Anslo must hear him'). The lines are by the poet Joost van den Vondel and were first published in his 'Verscheide Gedichten...', Amsterdam, 1644, p.136. According to J. G. van Gelder (oral communication to A. M. Hind) the handwriting is Röver's. Blanc, II, 1861, p.454, thought it Coppenol's.

**Dimensions**

Height: 157 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 26mm apart)

Width: 144 millimetres

## Condition

Good; some residual foxing; the indentations have pierced the paper in a few places (in the beard, chair and tablecloth); the sheet may have been trimmed (see further under Curatorial Comment).

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.31.

Dated 1640, the drawing is Rembrandt's preparatory study, in reverse, for his portrait etching of 1641 depicting the cloth-merchant, theologian, Mennonite minister and preacher, Cornelis Claesz. Anslo (1592-1646; the print is Bartsch 271, Hind 187; for impressions of the first two states in the British Museum, see for example 1842,0806.147 and 1868,0822.694).[1] The sheet has been rather freely indented for transfer to the copper plate, in which several additions and modifications were introduced: the full height of the hat, lowered in a correction in white in the drawing, is retained; more space is left above and to either side of the sitter,[2] and a nail appears in the wall, with a picture or other framed object below shown with its back to the spectator that is perhaps adumbrated in the drawing. The additions are thought possibly to refer obliquely to the primacy of the spoken word over art in the Protestant dissemination of the Christian faith.[3]

Rembrandt depicted Anslo again in a drawing now in the Louvre (Benesch 759) which is also signed and dated 1640. This likewise shows him seated by a table with a book but he is seen full-length and beside the table, and his posture suggests more forcefully that he is in the act of speaking. The changes in the Paris drawing were developed further in Rembrandt's large painted double portrait of 'Anslo in Conversation with his Wife' in Berlin (Bredius 409, Corpus A143), dated in the following year, 1641, like the etching.

It has been suggested that the alterations were made as a response to Vondel's quatrain, the text of which is transcribed above: the poet gives precedence to the voice and the word over the image of the sitter, following a literary tradition that praises deeds (intangible and therefore immortal like the soul) over the portrait of the visible, mortal frame.[4] It is also thought, again in the light of precedent, that the quatrain was intended for publication with or even on the copper plate, and that Vondel might have based his verses on the present drawing.[5]

The signature and date, unusual in Rembrandt's drawn work, make the sheet of considerable importance in establishing the chronology of his drawings and further suggest that he may have considered this working study to be an independent and finished work of art. It may also have served as a 'modello', to be shown to the patron or sitter before the print's execution. The questions as to whether it was executed before or after the Paris sheet and whether they were both drawn from life, which have given rise to some debate, are not possible to resolve definitively, but the greater detail of the Paris drawing suggests that it was more likely to have formed the basis for the present sheet rather than the other way around.[6]

## NOTES:

[1] For further details of the sitter, see Corpus, III, 1989, p.410 and n.4 below.

[2] The print is larger (188 x 158 mm) and the drawing may have been cut, as proposed by White, 1969 (see Lit. below). A touched impression of the print, not recorded by White and Boon, 1969, was in the S. Woodburn sale, Christie's, 9th day, 26 June, 1854, no.2253: 'Reinier Anslo - the etching, touched upon with bistre and red, by the master', bt Cheney, £7-7-0. For other indented drawings by Rembrandt, see cat. no.5 (1895,0915.1266) and n.1 of that entry.

[3] As suggested by Busch, 1971, pp.1969. Ripa, 1611, p.139 (1644 ed. p.595) described Eloquence as having a book in her right hand, the left hand being raised with the first finger extended, much as in the etching. The nail might refer punningly to Anslo's teaching venue, the 'Groote Spijker' (as first suggested by Haverkamp-Begemann - see Dickey, 1994, p.399, n.96). Dickey, 1998, noted that the 'picture' may already be present in the drawing, and noticed the suggestion of architecture at the top right (see Literature below).

[4] Scholte, 1946 and Emmens, 1956, reprinted 1981, III, pp.89ff. His arguments are partly countered by Busch, 1971. See also Schwartz, 1985/84, pp.217-19, and Frerichs, 1969, pp.206-11, for further details of the sitter and the related works.

[5] Scholte, 1946 and Emmens, op. cit. Refuted by Corpus, III, 1989, p.413.

[6] See, for example, Sumowski, 1957-8, p.236 and Schatborn, 1986, pp.8-9. The fact that the sitter's right arm in the British Museum's drawing initially followed the same line as the Paris version could offer some further support for the precedence of the latter.

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt, 1640, for the etching Bartsch 271, Hind 187): 'British Museum Guide', 1858, p.14, no.116, Bürger, 1858, p.397; Blanc, II, 1861, p.454; Vosmaer, 1868, pp.135 and 457 (as ex-coll. Verstolk van Soelen); Vosmaer, 1877, pp.207-8 and 524 (as ex-Aylesford coll.); Middleton, 1878, p.126, under no.146 (as from Galichon and Howard collections); Dutuit, IV, 1885, p.8; (indented; compares Louvre version, Benesch 759); Michel, 1893, pp.272 and 582, repr. opp. p.273, in colour (indented and for the print); Seidlitz, 1894, p.120; Seidlitz, 1895/1922, under no.271 (for etching, while Paris drawing, Benesch 759, for both etching and painting); Lippmann, I, no.120; Kleinmann, ill, no.32; Graul, 1906, no.34, repr.; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.896 (wrongly states that the sheet blackened on the verso); Hofstede de Groot, 1906[I], p.130 (Vondel's poem probably refers to the print or Berlin painting, Bredius 409, as suggested by Unger in his edition of Vondel; the poem first published in the 'Verscheiden Gedichte', 1644, p.135; he wrote on two other works by Rembrandt); Michel, 1906, repr. opp. p.82 in colour; Baldwin Brown, 1907, pp.126 and 186; Schmidt-Degener, 1908, p.105 (livelier than the etching); Six, 1908, p.58 (blackened on verso [untrue] and therefore Rembrandt used a white etching ground); Wurzbach, 1910, p.417; Hind, 1912/24, I, p.61/28 and under no.187; London, 1915, no.59, repr. pl.I; Veth, 1915, p.276, repr. pl.101, fig.1 (drawn from life); Graul, 1920, p.28, under no.149; Kauffmann, 1920, p.49 (Rembrandt's contact with learned men); Kramar, 1926, p.37 (contrasts with more detailed style of other sheets of this period); Weisbach, 1926, p.300 (perhaps an independent work of art, subsequently used for the print); Van Dyke, 1927, pp.30-31 (the etching by Bol); Byam Shaw, 1928, p.31, n.2 (last known pure red chalk drawing by Rembrandt); Berlin, 1930, p.183, under no.4246 and p.231, under no.3768 (compares Maes' red chalk technique and Rembrandt's 'Old Man near a Door' in Berlin, Benesch 760); Hind, 1932, pp.77 and 144 (pivotal for Rembrandt attributions); Exh. Madrid, 1934, p.57, under no.69; Valentiner, II, 1934, no.724, repr.; Benesch, 1935, p.31; Bredius, 1937/35, p.17, under no.409; Poortenaar, 1943, no.8, repr.; Poortenaar, 1943[I], repr. p.88; Scholte, 1946, pp.9-12, repr. 1946[I], p.154; von Alten, 1947, no.32, repr.; Benesch, 1947, p.16 and no.111, repr. (the most detailed preparatory drawing by Rembrandt; notes Paris drawing, Benesch 759, and Berlin painting); Hamann, 1948, p.167 (on Rembrandt's development as portraitist); Rosenberg, 1948/64, p.225/354, n.15; van Gelder, 1949, p.207 (Röver provenance, omitted by Benesch, 1947); Münz, 1952, I, p.38, repr. pl.II and vol.II, pp.13, 26, 28 and 65, under no.60, repr. pl.II, fig.5 (blackened verso [untrue], perhaps used as a 'modello'); Boeck, 1953, pp.193-4, repr. p.192, fig.10 (the pen in Anslo's left hand in anticipation of reversal in the etching; notes other differences in book pages, 'stove' and shadow); Slive, 1953, p.175, fig.40; Benesch, IV, 1955, no.758, repr. fig.902/955; Biörklund and Barnard, 1955, p.79, under no.41-1; Emmens, 1956, reprinted 1981, III, p.89, repr. fig.5

(precedes the other portraits; discussion of Rembrandt and Vondel, and Anslo's gesture); Exh. Amsterdam-Rotterdam etchings, 1956, p.23, under no.45 (verso not blackened); Lugt, 'Supplément', 1956, under nos.2984a-c (in Röver collection); Exh. Vienna, 1956, p.58, under no.194; Exh. Warsaw, 1956, under no.32; White, 1956, p.124 (indentations unusually deep); Visser 't Hooft, 1957/56, p.6; (Rembrandt's interest in Mennonites dates from same period); Sumowski, 1957-8, p.236 (formed the basis of the Rothschild drawing; pose similar to Buckingham Palace 'Shipbuilder', Bredius 408); Exh. New York-Cambridge, 1960, p.24, under no.28 (notes that Washington 'Self-Portrait', Benesch 437, followed the sheet in Röver's album); White, 1962, repr. pl.13; Slive, 1965, I, no.122, repr.; Bauch, 1966, p.27, under no.536; Morse, 1966, p.100 (informed by J. K. Rowlands that the verso covered with 'ochre tempera'); Gerson, 1968, p.497, under no.234; Haak, 1969/68, p.170, fig.268 (on Vondel: his lines not a criticism but follows 'topos' that a man is remembered for his deeds; the word 'mael' also used for etchings and the lines could therefore refer to the print); Frerichs, 1969, p.209; White, 1969, I, pp.13n, 124, 125n, 130n. and 162, repr.II, fig.165 (possibly cut down); White and Boon, 1969, I, p.124, under no.B271 (no chalk on verso); Exh. Chicago-Minneapolis-Detroit, 1969-70, under no.111 (Röver provenance – see note under Acquisition); Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.83, under no.136; Busch, 1971, pp.196-9 (notes meaning of nail and painting face-to-wall in the etching); van Gelder, 1973, p.196 (on Röver provenance); White, 1973, p.139 (one of only three indented drawings for etchings); Klamt, 1975, p.155 (on iconography of Berlin painting); Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, pp.243 and 478 (with details of the poem and Vondel's relationship with painters; quotes Morse, 1966); Sumowski, II, 1979, under no.522xx (differs from Berlin 'Man by a House', Benesch 760, which is ascribed to Doomer); Schatborn, 1981, pp.38-9, 41 and 53, n.143 (was no.8/36 in posthumous Röver inventory, preceded by National Gallery 'Ecce Homo', Bredius 546; Röver's identification as the poet Reyer Anslo incorrect - he was the preacher's nephew); Broos, 1982, p.246; Haverkamp-Begemann, 1982, p.34; Bruyn, 1983, p.54, n.15; Royalton-Kisch, 1984, p.22, n.12 (clear example of indented drawing); Corpus, II, 1986, p.465; Exh. Paris, 1986, p.137, under no.67; Schatborn, 1986, pp.8-9, repr. fig.1 (perhaps based on Paris drawing, Benesch 759, rather than directly on the model); Tümpel, 1986, repr. p.122 in colour (robe suggests Anslo's wealth); Exh. Amsterdam, 1986-7, p.6 and no.25 (reproduction exhibited; follows Emmens, 1956, and Busch, 1971); Exh. Paris, 1988-9, under no.28; Corpus, III, 1989, pp.54-5, signature repr. fig.19, and pp.410-13, repr. fig.10 (perhaps a 'modello'; see n.5 above); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2, pp.224-5, repr. in colour, fig.33c ('modello' for print; as a half-length image, more probably derived from Paris version than vice-versa); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam, 1991-2[I], pp.167 and 209-10, repr. fig.16a; Royalton-Kisch, 1993[I], p.175; Dickey, 1994, pp.329-32, repr. fig.38; Schatborn, in Exh. Paris-Haarlem, 1997, pp.XXIV-XXV (probably based on Paris version); Dickey, 1998, pp.313, 329-31 and 398, n.90, repr. fig.38 (see n.3 above; stylus only loosely follows drawn outlines); Dickey, 2004, p.47, repr. p.246, fig.58 and n.105 (information on the sitter; signature not transferred to the plate); Schatborn, 2006, p.74, under cat. no.21; Schwartz, 2006, pp.79 and 190, repr. figs 132 and 324; Exh. Paris, 2006-7[III], p.173, under no.65, repr. fig.113; Paris, 2008, under no.199.

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#### Associated names

Portrait of Cornelis Claesz Anslo ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1848

**Acquisition name**

Purchased from William Smith, the printseller ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Johann Goll van Franckenstein (1833, *kunstboek* I, no.4)

([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Samuel Woodburn (?) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Valerius Röver (L.2984) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Heneage Finch, 5th Earl of Aylesford ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Heneage Finch, 4th Earl of Aylesford ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Valerius Röver (L.2984; Portfolio 8, no.36: "t portret van de poëet Anslo met root krijt, en gehoogt/ op geel pap:r [r' is superscript] Ao. 1640 van dezelve [i.e. Rembrandt]/3:- [i.e. three guilders]");\* Röver's widow, C. van Dussen, who sold his drawings to the dealer H. de Leth; J. Goll van Franckenstein and descendants; his sale, Amsterdam, 1 July etc. 1833, *kunstboek* I, no.4, sold for fl.250; Heneage Finch, 4th Earl of Aylesford (possibly thence to S. Woodburn, see L.58); purchased from Messrs Smith, 1848. \*The transcription is from the original manuscript in the Amsterdam University Library (ref.II, A, 174, f.25). The 1751 manuscript inventory, which contains a similar entry for the drawing, is also in the Amsterdam University Library, HS 1466 II A18. The Röver provenance was first rediscovered by van Gelder, 1949, p.207. The poet Reinier Anslo was in fact a nephew of the sitter. See also Slive, 1953, pp.175ff and Schatborn, 1981 (see Lit. under Comment). The next drawing in Röver's album was the red chalk 'Self-Portrait' in Washington (Benesch 437), as noted in Exh. New York-Cambridge, 1960, under no.28. I can find nothing to support the provenance in the Galichon and Hugh Howard (Earl of Wicklow) collections provided by Middleton, 1878, p.126.

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**Exhibition History**

London, 1858, 1859 and 1860, no.116;

London, 1899, no.A29;

London, 1938, no.59;

London, 1956, p.7, no.6a;

1974 July-Dec, BM, 'Portrait Drawings', no.106;

1984 BM, 'Rembrandt and the Passion', no.6a;

London, BM, 1992, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.32, repr. in colour;

Amsterdam-London, 2000-2001, pp.64, 196 and 199, repr. p.66, fig.4 and p.198, fig.a;

Rome, 2002-3, Oct-Jan, Scuderie del Quirinale, 'Rembrandt Pittore Incisore', p.164, repr. fig.a.

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Watermark

**Registration number:** 1860,0616.130

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 32 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 479](#)

[Hind 55](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1640 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Three men being beheaded; the executioner with raised sword is about to behead a man kneeling at left, at centre the body of a man lies with head severed, to right two officers lead another man to execution. c.1640

Pen and brown ink, corrected with white; framing lines in pen and brown ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

Watermark: Basel crozier in crowned shield, resembling Voorn 1 (1640) and Tschudin 226 (1637), but with letters 'HD'.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Lower right, in pen and brown ink (possibly by Antonie Rutgers Az., 1695-1778)\*: 'Rembrandt fecit: ['t' is in superscript]'; verso, in graphite: '5 [in a circle]'; '16 [underlined]' and lower left 'No.219 [?] /Pf20'.

\* See Haarlem, 1997, p.308 (and Lit. under Curatorial Comment).

**Dimensions**

Height: 153 millimetres

Width: 226 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 26mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Probably trimmed along right edge; greyish stains where attached to mount; slight foxing.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.32.

The subject of the drawing is uncertain. The executioner and his victim on the left resemble, in reverse, their counterparts in Rembrandt's etching of 1640, 'The Beheading of St John the Baptist' (Bartsch 92, Hind 171). Yet the Baptist is bearded and the figures' poses are far from identical. The relationship is further weakened by the presence in the drawing of the second figure being led to execution and the decapitated corpse in the centre.

This last feature is repeated in a sketch now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Lehman Collection, Benesch 478), where it is joined by two further severed heads. Some scene of multiple execution could have been the intended subject but a definitive identification remains elusive. The drawings might represent the 'Beheading of the Tarquinian Conspirators' as related by Livy, II, 4.[1] Yet it has been pointed out that in the Museum's drawing, the same models were employed for the executioner and prisoner in both the main groups.[2] Thus a single execution such as the Baptist's, represented in three stages, could equally have been in Rembrandt's mind.

The New York drawing repeats the left-hand figure group but seen from the side. It appears to have been made by another artist, perhaps Ferdinand Bol, at the same sitting as the present sheet. This suggests that they were made from the life, perhaps in some studio re-enactment, rather than the imagination.[3] Two other related sketches appear on both sides of a sheet in the Rijksmuseum (Benesch 482);[4] on the verso is a rapid outline of the two main figures on the left of the British Museum's sheet, in which the condemned man's knees point to the right rather than the left; on the recto is a slight sketch of the executioner, largely obscured by a later drawing of the 'Entombment'. These studies may have immediately preceded the British Museum's drawing, in which the details are more precise. A further sketch of a 'Kneeling Man' (Bayonne, Musee Bonnat; Benesch 477) is a study for the 1640 etching of the 'Beheading of St John the Baptist'.[5] In style it resembles the present drawing which should be dated to the same period.

The subject of the etching was treated by a pupil, probably Ferdinand Bol, in a drawing formerly in the von Hirsch collection (Benesch 480). This may be by the same hand as the Lehman study in New York referred to above.[6]

Finally, it has been noted that the right hand group resembles the three central figures in Rembrandt's earlier red chalk drawing of 'Christ shown to the People' in Dresden (Benesch 135).[7]

## NOTES:

[1] Benesch, 1947 and 1959 (see Lit. below). Dickey, 1995 and 1996, has suggested that the drawing may represent sixteenth-century scenes of Mennonite executions, noting Rembrandt's closeness to Anslo at this period (for Anslo see cat. no.31, 1848,0911.138). This identification is supported by Haverkamp-Begemann (New York, 1999, no.77).

[2] Amsterdam, 1985, p.43 and Konstam, 1978, p.24.

[3] The New York drawing's attribution has been questioned by Schatborn (in Amsterdam, 1985, p.43, n.6). The draughtsmanship is noticeably slacker and less incisive, rather in the

manner of Bol, although allowance must be made for the later additions in grey wash. Samuel van Hoogstraten, 1678, p.192, mentions that biblical and other stories might be acted out in the studio, and the two drawings could have been made by Rembrandt and Bol(?) respectively, while watching such a scene. Another version of the subject by a pupil is in Turin (Valentiner 280; a copy is in the Louvre, inv. no.1265); a further school drawing is in Munich (see Munich, 1973, no.1168, and New York, 1999, p.243, repr. fig.77.2).

[4] Amsterdam, 1985, no.19.

[5] A variant of the Bayonne drawing is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Benesch 859), but as Benesch pointed out, this seems to date from a decade later. Both drawings, like the etching, show St John bearded.

[6] Sold in the John R. Gaines sale, Sotheby's, New York, 17 November, 1986, lot 18, repr. in colour, as Rembrandt. The drawing differs markedly in style from Rembrandt's own works of this period, such as the 'Jacob and his Sons' (Rijksmuseum, Benesch 541, dated c.1641 by Schatborn in Amsterdam, 1985, no.17), the 'Entombment' in the same institution, mentioned above, and the present sheet. For other school drawings of the subject, see Valentiner, I, 1923, nos.279-83 (no.278 is an early version by Rembrandt himself, Benesch 101 in the Louvre; it relates to the contested etching of the subject, Bartsch 93, Hind 308, that White and Boon, 1969, I, p.171, describe as by Rembrandt but reworked by a pupil; see Exh. Paris, 1988-9, no.7, repr., where it is dated c.1635; several writers have preferred an earlier date).

[7] Scheidig, 1962 (see Lit. below).

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt; 'etching' refers to 'Beheading of the Baptist', Bartsch 92, Hind 171, of 1640):

Vosmaer, 1877, p.602; Middleton, 1878, p.203, under no.209 (left group resembles the etching; notes the study for the latter, Benesch 477); Dutuit, IV, 1885, p.86 (an 'Execution'); Seidlitz, 1895/1922, p.82/141, under no.92 (not especially close to the etching); Lippmann, IV, no.83; Kleinmann, IV, no.11; Bell, c.1905, repr.pl.XX; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.892; Wurzbach, 1910, p.417; Hind, 1912/24, under no.171 (follows Seidlitz, 1895, but sees Benesch 482 as a study for the etching); London, 1915, no.55 (c.1635-40; compares etching); Paris, 1933, p.50, under no.1265 (groups with Benesch 482 and 477; notes Turin version V.280 of which a copy in Louvre); Valentiner, 11, 1934, no.543, repr. (c.1640; perhaps depicts the 'Death of St James the Great'); Benesch, 1935, p.30 (1640; compares sketch on verso of Benesch 482, now Rijksmuseum); Benesch, 1935I, p.264 (resembles etching); Amsterdam, 1942, p.11, under no.25 (relates to Benesch 482 verso); Benesch, 1947, p.28, under no.109 (relates to Benesch 478 and 482 verso; suggests subject is 'Beheading of Tarquinian Conspirators'); Münz, 1952, II, p.98, under no.209 (attribution doubtful; Benesch 482 perhaps a study for the British Museum drawing); Benesch, III, 1955/73. no.479, repr. fig.600/635 (c.1640; compares to Benesch 477, 478 and 482 verso; represents 'Beheading of Tarquinian Conspirators'); Benesch, 1959, p.311, repr. fig.5, reprinted 1970, p.214, repr. fig.176 (elaborates on identification as the 'Beheading of Tarquinian Conspirators'); London, 1961, p.22, under no.187 (groups with Benesch 485a, 'Saul and his Sons', Seilern coll., following Isarlo in 'Arts', 125, 1947); Scheidig, 1962, p.44 and no.43, repr. (successive incidents represented; for the etching; see also text for n.8 above); Krönig, 1965, pp.102 and 108 (before the etching); Slive, 1965, II, no.532, repr. (c.1640, probably for the etching); Clark, 1966, pp.67-8, repr. fig.59 (for the etching; executioner based on Leonardo's 'Trattato' as illustrated under Poussin's direction, published only in 1651, but Sandrart had a MS copy in Amsterdam in 1637; similar figure in Benesch A18, 'Two Men slaughtering an Ox', Munich); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1966-7, pp.306-7 (perhaps based on Lucas rather than Leonardo and Poussin); Gerson, 1968, repr. p.465, fig.f (of 'Beheading of Baptist'); Neufeld, 1970, p.177, n.4 (successive incidents represented; for the etching); Exh. Vienna, 1970-71,

p.78, under no.126 (relates with other sheets to the etching); Campbell, 1971, p.258 (perhaps inspired by Roman reliefs); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.270; Broos, 1977, p.109 (quoting Clark, 1966); Konstam, 1977, p.94, repr. p.96, fig.34 (the two groups drawn from the same models; group in Benesch 478 in same pose but seen from the side); Konstam, 1978, p.24, repr. fig.1 (as in 1977); Amsterdam, 1985, pp.42-3, under no.19, repr. p.45, fig.19b (perhaps drawn from models posed in the studio; compares Benesch 482 and 478); Alpers, 1988, repr. fig.2, 17; Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2, pp.74-77, repr. fig.19e; Dickey, 1995, pp.59-60, repr. fig.8 (Mennonite martyrdom represented); Exh. New York, 1995-6, p.180 under no.73, repr. fig.96; Dickey, 1996, pp.96-8, repr. fig.6 (as Dickey, 1995); Haarlem, 1997, p.308 (inscription possibly by 'Abraham' Rutgers Az. [i.e. Antonie Rutgers Az.]); New York, 1999, pp.243-6, repr. Fig.77.1.

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**Subject**  
[execution \(all objects\)](#)

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**Acquisition date**  
1860

**Acquisition name**  
Purchased through Walter Benjamin Tiffin ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Purchased through Christie's (Woodburn's sale, 14.vi.1860/1529 as 'Rembrandt, Van Rhyn - The beheading of prisoners - bistre wash') ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Purchased from Samuel Woodburn ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Previous owner/ex-collection Antonie Rutgers (probably) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Previous owner/ex-collection Fouquet (?) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**  
Probably Antonie Rutgers Az. sale, Amsterdam, 1 December, 1778, lot 688; 'Een Onthoofding, met zeven Beelden, met de pen getekend', sold to Fouquet; Samuel Woodburn sale, Christie's, 10th day, 14 June, 1860, lot 1529.

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**Exhibition History**  
London, 1899, no.A34;  
1938, no.55 (c.1635-40);  
1956, p.26, no.2 (follows Benesch, 1947);  
Amsterdam, 1969, no.60 (1640; represents 'Beheading of the Baptist');  
London, 1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.35, repr. (as text under Curatorial Comment)

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Cat. 33



**Registration number:** Gg.2.251

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 24](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 33 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 688](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

[drawing](#) ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Attributed to Ferdinand Bol (?) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1640 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Three studies of an old man in a high fur cap; whole-length turned almost to left, wearing a long cloak and leaning heavily on a stick. c.1640

Pen and brown ink with brown and grey wash; ruled framing lines in pen and brown ink (The grey wash in combination with brown in the central figure is uncharacteristic for Rembrandt and may be a later addition.)

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed in pen and brown ink, lower left: 'n° 201' (the numeration in the same style as cat. no.7 (Gg.2.252, Benesch 327); verso, in graphite: '42 [in a circle]' and, lower left in pen and brown ink: '321 [?]'.

**Dimensions**

Height: 151 millimetres (top corners made up)

Width: 185 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 26mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

**Condition**

Top corners made up; a few spots of foxing; later grey wash (see note under Description); the sheet may have been cleaned, flattening the general effect, and many ink lines have run.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.33:

Drawings of this type were made by Rembrandt at various times in the 1630s and 1640s (see for example cat. nos.7 and 77, Gg.2.252 and Oo.9.76). Stylistically the present sheet should be placed c.1640 on the basis of a comparison with the 'Kneeling Man' at Bayonne (Benesch 477), which is a study for the etching of the 'Beheading of the Baptist' of that year (Bartsch 92, Hind 171). Both exhibit the same curling outlines with patches of fine shading and the treatment of the hands and faces is also similar. The attribution has been doubted, but the analogies with pupils' works are less convincing than with drawings by Rembrandt.[1]

**NOTE:**

[1] See Lit. below. Schatborn, 1994, suggests that the drawing is by Ferdinand Bol, but the

compiler believes that the condition, and the effect it has had on the outlines, needs to be taken into greater account; and I know of no other Bol drawings which sustain such a correct understanding of form on an extensively worked sheet.

**LITERATURE** (always as Rembrandt):

Bürger, 1858, p.401; Blanc, II, 1861, p.454; Dutuit, IV, 1885, p.86; Kleinmann, IV, no.64; Bell, c.1905, repr. pl.XXV; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.917 (c.1631; compares cat. no.7, Gg.2.252); Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; London, 1915, no.24 (c.1630-35); Valentiner, 1925-6, p.277, repr. p.276 (early); Benesch, 1935, p.36 (c.1642-3); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.688, repr. fig.826/874 (c.1643-4; compares cat. no.2, T.14.8, Benesch 35); and figure on left of the 'Brethren of Joseph requesting Benjamin', Benesch 541, Rijksmuseum); Fuchs, 1968, p.13, repr. fig.11 (c.1633); Amsterdam, 1985, pp.106-7, n.7 (c.1642-3); Schatborn, 1994, p.22 (Bol; unlike Rembrandt to repeat himself as in two left figures, irregular dark accents in line, as in Rembrandt drawing of 'Holy Family in an Interior'; lack of clarity in form under clothes typical of Bol); Budapest, 2005, p.219, under no.211 (uncertain attribution; compares Budapest drawing the Museum of Fine Arts by a pupil, Benesch 1078); Berlin, 2006, p.180, under no.53, n.2 (Rembrandt; an exercise rather than a genre scene; compares later Berlin drawing, Benesch 1141).

Literature after Royalton-Kisch 2010: P. Schatborn, in H. Bevers et.al. 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Pupils: Telling the Difference', exh.cat. The J Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2009, cat.no.10.2 (as Ferdinand Bol); Holm Bevers, review of Martin Royalton-Kisch's catalogue, in The Burlington Magazine (2013), p.103 (as Ferdinand Bol).

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**Subject**

disabled ([all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1799

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition notes**

Probably Neyman sale, Paris, 8 July, 1776, lot 685, with cat. no.7 (Gg.2.252, q.v.); bequeathed by the Rev. C. M. Cracherode, 1799.

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**Exhibition History**

1899, London, no.A10 (c.1631-6);

1938, no.24 (c.1630-35);

1956, p.15, no.4;

1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.36, repr. in colour (c.1640)

2009/10 Dec-Feb, Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, Rembrandt and his pupils

2014 Jan-Apr, Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis, 'Old Drawings New Names' PROMISED

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Cat.34



**Registration number:** Gg.2.250

**Bibliographic reference**

Hind 33

Royalton-Kisch 2010 34 (Rembrandt)

Benesch 606

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1640-1641 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Esau selling his birthright to Jacob; Esau standing at left carrying his bow and quiver and wearing a turban, shaking the hand of Jacob who sits at a table to right. c.1640-1641

Pen and brown ink, with greyish brown wash mixed with some white heightening; the graphite traces recorded by Benesch cannot be distinguished

Verso: laid down on old mat, but studied with light from the back; see Inscriptions.

Watermark: fool's cap (Those parts that can be made out resemble the mark on Rembrandt's drawing of 'Boaz and Ruth' in the Rijksmuseum, Benesch 643; the mark is repr. Amsterdam, 1985, p.239, no.23, in which the drawing is dated by Schatborn to the mid-1640s).

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Verso, in pen and ink, top left: '38'; on a fragment of an old mat or backing paper, inscribed by John Barnard in pen and brown ink (though the letters before his monogram are perhaps by a different hand, which does not seem to be Richardson's): 'F.59 [?58] /P./ JB [in monogram] - N°: 1067./7 3/4 by 6 3/4 / Engraved by S: Watts for Mr: Rogers'; in graphite (modern): '48 [in a circle]'.

**Dimensions**

Height: 200 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 22/24mm apart)

Width: 174 millimetres

**Condition**

Generally good, but some foxing (especially near the edges) and surface dirt; trimmed slightly irregularly; rubbed (an erasure) in lower left corner; what appears to be a brushmark across the lower edge is probably glue showing through from the verso.

**Curator's comments**

Literature: P. Schatborn, in H. Bevers et.al. 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Pupils: Telling the Difference', exh.cat. The J Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2009, cat.no.11.1 (as Rembrandt).

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school',

2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.34:

The subject is from Genesis, XXV, 29-34: Esau, returning exhausted and hungry from hunting in the fields, agrees to sell his birthright to Jacob, 'a plain man, dwelling in tents', in return for some 'bread and a pottage of lentils'. The subject was treated again in a drawing now in the Amsterdam Historisch Museum (Benesch 564), the attribution of which has been contested but which was probably made at about the same time.[1] A distant relationship between the Rembrandt drawings and a print after Paulus Moreelse has been observed. It shows the two brothers seated to left and right, facing each other and shaking hands.[2] The present drawing has been dated variously from the mid-1630s to the late 1640s (see Lit. below). The datable works to which the drawing is stylistically most comparable are the 'Study of a kneeling Man' in Bayonne (Benesch 477), related to the etching of 1640 of 'The Beheading of St John the Baptist' (Bartsch 92, Hind 171) and the 'Two Men in Conversation', dated 1641, in the Courtauld Institute (Princes Gate Collection, Courtauld Institute, London, Benesch 500a). The Bayonne figure, though more liquidly handled, is shaded with small pockets of hatching that closely resemble those seen here, both in the figures and in the shadow behind Jacob. This kind of work reappears in the much larger (and therefore more broadly handled) study in the Courtauld Institute, in which the lines on the ground by the standing figure's feet are remarkably close to those depicting the shadow cast by Esau's legs in the present drawing. Although a slightly later dating cannot be entirely ruled out,[3] these analogies suggest that the British Museum's drawing was made in about 1640-41.[4]

The drawing was engraved by Simon Watts in 1765, when in the collection of Thomas Hudson, and the plate was published in Charles Rogers, 'Collection of Prints in Imitation of Drawings', London, 1778. A copy of it was drawn in the British Museum by E. V. Utterson (1775/6-1856), the collector (see L.909) and is now also in the Museum's collection (1996,0928.11).

#### NOTES:

[1] Benesch, 1955, dated it to around 1645; Broos, in Amsterdam, 1981, no.12, to c.1640-45; White, 1969, I, p.54, thought the Amsterdam version the earlier of the two, with which Broos agrees. Schatborn, 1982, p.254, rejects it, in my view probably correctly. A copy of the Amsterdam drawing is in the British Museum (H.129, inv.1873,0510.3544). Two later versions, in the Rembrandthuis and in Berlin, were accepted by Benesch (his nos.607 and 647). The former was described as a school work by Filedt-Kok in Amsterdam, 1972, no.VII; the latter also seems to be a pupil's work (as mentioned in Exh. London, 1992 and is published as such in Berlin, 2006, pp.212-3). Another school version was catalogued (as 'nicht ganz sicher') by Valentiner, I, 1925, no.57, repr. (formerly with F. Muller of Amsterdam).

[2] The engraver was Willem Swanenburgh (Holl.2, repr.), also repr. in Amsterdam, 1981, p.54, fig.c.

[3] White, loc. cit., rightly saw parallels with the etching of 'Abraham and Isaac' of 1645 (Bartsch 34, Hind 214); see also n.2 under Description on the watermark.

[4] A sketch in Amsterdam of a figure in a pose that resembles Esau's (Benesch 205) has recently been assigned to the same period by Schatborn in Amsterdam, 1985, no.18.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Bürger, 1858, p.400 (subject not identified); Blanc, II, 1861, p.453; Michel, 1893, p.581 (subject unknown; erroneously as in J. Anderson collection); Kleinmann, IV, no.14; Bell, c.1905, repr. pl.IX; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.867; Becker, 1909, p.40; Wurzbach, 1910, p.417; London, 1915, no.33 (c.1635-40); Valentiner, I, 1925, no.56, repr. (c.1637); Kauffmann, 1926, p.176, n.1 (c.1637-8); Hind, 1932, p.49 (compares Fodor version, Benesch

564, and 'Three Beggars', here cat. no.7; Gg.2.252, Benesch 327); Benesch, 1935, p.42 (c.1648-50); Popham, 1939, p.68; Benesch, 1947, p.25 and no.159, repr. (c.1648-9); Benesch, III, 1955/73, no.606, repr. fig.737/779 (c.1648-9; anticipates style of 1650s; compares several sheets, none of which can be dated securely, some having since been rejected); Drost, 1957, p.185 (compares Elsheimer); Sumowski, 1961, p.12 (c.1640); White, 1962, repr. pl.5 (as Benesch); Rotermund, 1963, p.17, repr. pl.35 (Esau clearly characterised as a hunter); Benesch, 1964, p.149, reprinted 1970, p.269; White, I, 1969, p.54, II, repr. fig.59 (c.1648; later than Fodor version, Benesch 564; style resembles etched 'Abraham and Isaac' of 1645, Bartsch 34, Hind 214, with cross-hatching still supporting outline); Exh. Berlin, 1970, under no.11; Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.389; Amsterdam, 1981, p.53, repr. p.54, fig.b (improves on Fodor version of this subject, Benesch 564); Schatborn, 1982, p.254, repr. p.255, fig.4 (see n.1 above); Hoekstra, II (deel II), 1983, repr. p.37 (c.1648-50); Exh. Bremen, 2000-2001, p.49, under no.13, repr. fig.6.

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### Subject

old testament ([all objects](#))

### Associated names

Representation of Jacob ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Representation of Esau ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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### Acquisition date

1799

### Acquisition name

Bequeathed by Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2183) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Thomas Hudson ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Barnard (L.1419-1420) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### Acquisition notes

Jonathan Richardson, sen. (L.2183); his sale, Cock's, 11th day, 3 February, 1747 (1746 old style), lot 22? ('Two 'Rembrandt', 'Jacob' and 'Esau', and the portrait of 'And.Dolia', the latter presumably Benesch 1186 in Berlin), sold for £1-3-0; Thomas Hudson (no mark, but engraved when in his collection by Simon Watts in 1765 – see further under Comment); John Barnard (L.1419 and 1420 verso; his sale, Greenwood's, from 16 February, 1787, includes many pen drawings by Rembrandt of unspecified historical subjects); Rev. C. M. Cracherode (L.606), by whom bequeathed to the British Museum, 1799.

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### Exhibition History

1899, London, no.A30 (placed between drawings of 1640 and 1642);

1938, no.33 (c.1635-40);

1956, p.24, no.13;  
1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.37  
2004, April-June, Vienna, Albertina, 'Rembrandt', no.104  
2006 BM, 'Rembrandt: a 400th anniversary display' (no cat.)  
2009/10 Dec-Feb, Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, Rembrandt and pupils

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## Cat.35



Registration number: 1910,0212.188

### Bibliographic reference

[Hind 20](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 35 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 677](#)

### Location:

Dutch Roy XVIIc

### Object types

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

### Materials

paper ([all objects](#))

### Techniques

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

### Production person

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### Date

1641-1643 (circa)

### Schools /Styles

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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### Description

Two women's heads, turned to left; one at left wearing a hat, the other a mantle over her head and shoulders. c.1641-1643

Pen and brown ink.

Verso: blank.

No watermark.

### Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Under ultra-violet light, an erased pen and ink inscription visible top left: '300/70 [?]'.

### Dimensions

Height: 70 millimetres

Width: 125 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 27mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

#### Condition

Presumably trimmed from a larger sheet; signs of old foxing throughout.

#### Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.35:

The head on the left resembles, in reverse, that in Rembrandt's etched 'Sheet of Studies, with a Woman' of c.1641-2 (Bartsch 369, Hind 163).<sup>[1]</sup> The sketch on the right is closely comparable to the 'Study of an old Woman' in the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris (Benesch 678). Together, they are reminiscent of the elderly woman on the right of the 'Hundred Guilder Print' (Bartsch 74, Hind 236). In the Paris drawing, the line of the woman's headscarf is especially close to the print. These studies are also stylistically similar to the sketch of an 'Old Man led by a Woman' in the Louvre (Benesch 185) which is related to the same etching. The print is datable c. 1648,<sup>[2]</sup> but among Rembrandt's datable pen and ink sketches, the London and École des Beaux-Arts drawings are most nearly comparable to the 1641 'Two Men in Conversation' in the Courtauld Institute (Benesch 500a, Princes Gate Collection). Hence the date of c.1641-3 suggested here.

The British Museum's sketches were etched by J. J. de Claussin on the same plate as motifs from several other drawings, including the 'Woman with a Child frightened by a Dog' (Benesch 403, Paris, Institut Néerlandais) and cat. no.22, 1859,0915.1265, Benesch 687).

#### NOTES:

[1] See White and Boon, 1969, I, under no.B369. Middleton, 1878, and Hind, 1912/24, dated it 1639.

[2] See Exh. Amsterdam-London, 2000-2001, no.61.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Michel, 1893, p.585; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.1128 (c.1635); London, 1915, no.20, repr. pl.IV (placed with drawings of c.1630-35); Benesch, 1935, p.35 (c.1640-41; compares École des Beaux-Arts drawing – see above – and old woman in painted 'Bathsheba' of 1643 in New York, Bredius 513); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.677, repr. fig.807/862 (c.1642-3; as in 1935, but also compares 'Mourners beneath the Cross', Benesch 520, priv. coll., which he connects with etched 'Descent from Cross' of 1642, Bartsch 82, Hind 199, and cat. no.30; Oo,9.75, Benesch 679); Sumowski, 1961, p.13 (notes etching by de Claussin); Amsterdam, 1981, p.48, repr. fig.c (relates to 'Sketch of a Woman' in Historisch Museum, Benesch 233, which dated to c.1635-42).

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#### Acquisition date

1910

#### Acquisition name

Bequeathed by George Salting ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Charles Sackville Bale ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

#### Acquisition notes

Chevalier de Claussin, his sale, Paris, 2 December, 1844, lot 68, 25 francs; Charles Sackville Bale; his sale, Christie's, 15th day, 10 June, 1881, lot 2439, bt Salting, 6gns; George Salting, by whom bequeathed, 1910.

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#### Exhibition History

London, 1910, p.4;

1912, no.156;

1938, no.20;

1992, BM Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.40, repr. (c.1641-3).

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Cat.36



**Registration number:** Oo,9.97

**Bibliographic reference**

Hind 25

Royalton-Kisch 2010 36 (Rembrandt)

Benesch 669

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1645-1645 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A bearded old man in a fur hat, leaning on a stick; whole-length, almost to left, wearing a cloak and breeches. c.1641-1645

Pen and brown ink, touched with brown wash; framing lines in pale brown ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Verso, inscribed top, in graphite: 'B97 [?]' and '40 [in a circle]'.

**Dimensions**

Height: 111 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 25mm apart)

Width: 56 millimetres

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

**Condition**

The ink has run in parts, suggesting that an attempt was once made to clean the drawing; the top of the hat has suffered abrasion and perhaps also from a cleaning agent; a stain, upper right, of brown wash and a dark grey substance, perhaps oxidised white; a small loss made up, lower left.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.36:

Although the breadth and density of the hatching is unusual for Rembrandt, the attribution to him is admissible on the basis of comparisons with other works of the 1640s. The large drawing dated 1641 of 'Two Men in Discussion' now in the Courtauld Institute (Prince's Gate

Collection, Benesch 500a) is modelled in a similar style, as also the 'Studies for the sick Woman in the Hundred Guilder Print' of c.1647 in the Rijksmuseum (Benesch 183).<sup>[1]</sup> A date in the mid-1640s is further supported by the man's proximity to the one led towards Christ in the 'Hundred Guilder Print' of c.1648 (Bartsch 74, Hind 236).<sup>[2]</sup> Rembrandt made numerous such studies of everyday characters in the 1640s, and it may be that some were made with this etching in mind although not used. Superficial similarities exist with earlier drawings of the same type and this has led many writers to date the present drawing too early, in the 1630s (see Lit. below).

**NOTES:**

[1] Dated c.1647 by Schatborn in Amsterdam, 1985, no.21.

[2] For the date of the print, see Exh. Amsterdam-London, 2000-2001, no.61.

**LITERATURE** (always as Rembrandt):

Bürger, 1858, p.401 (early); Kleinmann, III, no.34; Bell, c.1905, repr. pl.XXXII; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.910 (c.1632-4); Wurzbach, 1910, p.419; London, 1915, no.25 (placed with drawings of c.1630-35); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.669, repr. fig.809/852 (c.1641-2; compares cat. no.77 and Flinck cat. no.9, Oo,9.76 and 1859,0806.73, Benesch 679 and 656, and the two 'Studies of Orientals' Benesch 667 Warsaw and Benesch 668 formerly in Paris).

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**Acquisition date**

1824

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Verso inscribed by collectors with numerals.

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**Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.A8 (c.1631-6);

1938, no.25;

1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.39, repr. (1641-5).

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Cat.37



**Registration number:** 1874,0808.2272

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 37 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 65](#)

[Benesch 763](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

print study ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1646 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Sketch for the posthumous etching of Jan Cornelisz Sylvius; study for a print, half-length, wearing a skull cap and ruff, his left hand extended, by his right a book, oval. c.1646

Pen and brown ink, with white heightening;\* a few traces of black chalk, lower right, do not belong to the original drawing.

\* The wash recorded by previous writers is more probably the result of using a pen well-loaded with ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Verso: in graphite, centre: '77 [in a circle].

**Dimensions**

Height: 285 millimetres

Width: 195 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 36mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Good; some repairs to top right; a diagonal crease runs from the top right corner to the centre left edge.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.37.

A study, in reverse, for Rembrandt's posthumous portrait etching of Jan Cornelisz. Sylvius (1563/64-1638), which is dated 1646 (Bartsch 280, Hind 225; for an impression of the first state in the British Museum, see 1973,U.984). Another sketch for the etching, apparently made before the British Museum's drawing, is in Stockholm (Benesch 762a). It shows the sitter turned to the right, but the fictive oval frame and the lines of poetry that appear in the print below the sitter are already anticipated. In the present sheet Rembrandt introduced the motif of the hand thrust forward, casting a shadow on the frame, an illusionistic device that is given yet greater prominence in the etching. The gesture was probably inspired by the text of the poem, in Latin, that was written by Petrus Sylvius to appear on the etching and which refers to the sitter's prowess as an orator.[1] The space below the image of the sitter in the present sheet, as well as in the Stockholm study, reveals that the poem's appearance on the print was foreseen from the start.[2] Rembrandt here also introduced the curtain, and the vertical line above the sitter's right shoulder marks the point occupied by the wall of the arch in the final print.

Some precursors of Rembrandt's design have been enumerated, including works by Gerrit Pietersz. Sweelinck and Frans Hals, and latterly Hendrick Pot's 'Portrait of Bernardus Paludanus' now in the Frans Halsmuseum in Haarlem, which shows the sitter in an oval and in similar dress, with a cartouche below containing a sonnet by Samuel Ampzing.[3] The drawings also suggest that Rembrandt remembered his etching of Claes Cornelis Anslo (see catalogue no.31; 1848,0911.138).[4]

Rembrandt had etched a portrait of Sylvius in 1633 (Bartsch 266, Hind 111) in which only the pose of the head and the interior arch bear a substantial resemblance to the later print. The Stockholm sketch gives the design at an intermediate stage and seems to depend on another drawing, now in Washington, that may represent the same sitter (Benesch 762).[5] The British Museum's drawing, because of its clear relationship with the etching and its autograph status, assumes a special significance in the reconstruction of the chronology of Rembrandt's pen drawings of the 1640s.

Jan Cornelisz. Sylvius was a cousin of Rembrandt's first wife, Saskia van Uylenburgh. In 1635 and 1638 (the year of his death) he officiated at the baptisms of their children, Rumbartus and Cornelia, both of whom died in infancy. He was a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church and served in several Frisian communities before being called to Amsterdam in 1610. It has recently been suggested that the print was commissioned by the sitter's sons, Cornelis and possibly Petrus, following the death of the sitter's widow, Aeltje van Uylenburgh (1570-1644),[6] whose portrait Rembrandt had painted in 1632.[7]

## NOTES:

[1] As suggested in Exh. Amsterdam, 1969, no.75. The poem, by Casper Barlaeus, is followed by a distych by Petrus Sylvius, who may have commissioned the print (kind communication of B.P.J. Broos, 2008). It is transcribed and translated by Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, pp.251-2. The *trompe l'oeil* gesture has been likened to works by Gerrit Pietersz. and Frans Hals (see Münz, 1952, White, 1969 and Exh. Boston-St Louis, 1981-2, in Lit. below; the works concerned are repr. Slive, 1970-74, I, fig.9 and 11, pls.14, 81 and 82),

but see further below.

[2] As noted by Haak, 1969/68, p.193. The attribution of the Stockholm drawing, first proposed by Welcker, 1954 (see Lit. below) is in my view acceptable, although it betrays little of the power and vigour of the British Museum's sketch. Yet in style it seems compatible with such drawings as the Louvre's study for the 'Hundred Guilder Print', (Benesch 185), and the sketch of a head on the verso of the 'Star of the Kings', here cat. no.38 (1910,0212.189, Benesch 736).

[3] See Exh. Amsterdam-Berlin, 2000-2001, p.227, fig.d.

[4] See Dickey, 1998 (see Lit. below).

[5] The Washington drawing is related to a painting in Cologne, Bredius 237, but the attribution of the picture has been doubted, as also the identification of the sitter (see Lit. below: Seidlitz, 1895, p.153; also Bredius-Gerson, 1969, no.237). Vosmaer, 1868, p.434, records the study for the Portrait of Sylvius (he does not say which) as sold from the Julianne collection, with six other pen drawings, stating that it went for 2 livres to the abbé Gruel, but see under Provenance above; but as he dates it c.1633 it may have been an unknown drawing related to the earlier etching of Sylvius, Bartsch 266, Hind 111.

[6] Broos, 2006, p.58 (although Cornelis was the sitter's son by his first marriage to Lucia Sixti, the daughter of Sixtus Ripperti).

[7] Corpus, II, no.A63, now in a private collection. She was a cousin of Saskia's. The painting was identified as her portrait by J. van der Veen for the sale catalogue by Christie's, London, 13 December, 2000, pp.132-6.

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt, for the etching Bartsch 280, Hind 225, of 1646): Vosmaer, 1877, p.501; Dutuit, IV, 1885, p.85; Michel, 1893, pp.354 and 582, repr. p.356 (drawing not from life); Seidlitz, 1894, p.121 (c.1645); Seidlitz, 1895/1922, p.153/214, under no.280 (related painting in Cologne of 1645, Bredius 237, not of Sylvius); Lippmann, I, no.121; Kleinmann, III, no.33; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.898; Singer, 1906, p.275, under no.170 (the etching not by Rembrandt); Baldwin Brown, 1907, p.127; Exh. Paris, 1908, p.74, under no.224; Wurzbach, 1910, p.417; Hind, 1912/24, I, p.6/28 and under no.225, repr. pl.XXVII/III; London, 1915, no.65; Graul, 1920, p.35, under no.192; Coppier, 1922, repr. p.54 (wrongly as in Berlin); Kramar, 1926, p.39; Weisbach, 1926, p.389; Van Dyke, 1927, pp.30 and 39 (the etching by assistants); Hind, 1932, pp.77 and 86 (not from life); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.730, repr. (relates to Washington study, Benesch 762, which he dates earlier, c.1634); Benesch, 1935, p.38 (powerful use of reed pen; compares 'Man looking out of a Window' in Petit Palais, Benesch 764); Amsterdam, 1942, p.12, under no.28, and p.26, under no.53 (compares Amsterdam drawing, 'Study of a Woman, half-length', Benesch 436; also the Six coll. 'Study of Jan Six', Benesch 767, and school drawing in Rijksmuseum, 'God appearing to Abraham', V.8 [Sumowski 219x as Bol]); Poortenaar, 1943[I], repr. p.89; Benesch, 1947, p.16 and no.146, repr. (perhaps a modello); Wallrath, 1949, p.102 (compares 'Bust of Woman', Amsterdam, Benesch 436 [rejected in Amsterdam, 1985, no.102]); Münz, 1952, I, p.38, and 11, p.66, under no.68 (pose possibly suggested by Hals); Boeck, 1953, p.196 (same direction as the print); Welcker, 1954, pp.229-33, repr. fig.2 (publishes Stockholm drawing, Benesch 762a, which he believes of c.1639; gesture influenced by Barlaeus' poem); Benesch, IV, 1955, no.763, repr. fig.907/962 (compares other drawings of the subject in Washington and Stockholm, Benesch 762 and 762a); Biörklund and Barnard, 1955, p.92, under no.BB46-E; Exh. Amsterdam-Rotterdam (etchings), 1956, p.30, under no.57; Exh. Stockholm, 1956, p.65, under no.96; Exh. Vienna, Albertina, 1956, p.63, under no.217; Exh. Warsaw, 1956, under no.36; Roger Marx, 1960, repr. p.205, fig.66a; White, 1962, repr. pl.14; Slive, 1965, I, no.123, repr.; Haak, 1969/68, p.193, repr. fig.313 (details of the sitter; design takes account of Barlaeus' lines even in preparatory stages); White, 1969, I,

p.127, repr. II, pl.170 (follows Münz in seeing possible influence of Hals; sitter appears younger than in the first sketch; the force of the drawing is diluted in the etching); Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.103, under no.174; Regteren Altena, 1973, p.178, repr. fig.143; Haak, 1976/74, no.45, repr.; Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.343; Sciolla, 1976, p.11 and pl.XXXI; Exh. Boston-St Louis, 1981-2, p.150, under no.97 (notes differences between drawing and print in the books and degree to which sitter leans out - an illusionistic emergence comparable to works by Gerrit Pietersz. of 1606 and Hals in three paintings - see n.1 above); Amsterdam, 1985, p.60, n.14 (compares Rijksmuseum 'Three Orientals', Benesch 682); Exh. Paris, 1986, p.139, under no.68; Schatborn, 1986, pp.16-17, repr. fig.1; Exh. Amsterdam, 1986-7, no.2, repr. (reproduction exhibited; see n.4 above); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-92[I], pp.228-30, repr. fig.22c; Exh. Stockholm, 1992-93, repr. p.349, fig.148b; Royalton-Kisch, 1993[I], pp.178-80, repr. fig.2 (notes the line above sitter's right shoulder that marks the placement of the arch in the etching); Starcky, 1993, p.208 (on Julienne provenance); Schatborn, 1994, p.22; Exh. Paris-Haarlem, 1997, p.XXV.; Dickey, 1998, pp.313 and 333, repr. fig.46 (composition derives from Anslo print, as seen especially in Stockholm sketch [Benesch 762a] but also with Anslo's rhetorical gesture); Starcky, 1999, pp.80-81, repr.; Dickey, 2004, p.63, repr. p.252, fig.67 (relates to composition of 'The Goldweigher', Bartsch 28, Hind 167); Berlin, 2006, p.105, under no.26, (compares Berlin 'Bust of Galba', Benesch 770); Broos, 2006, p.58, repr. p.63, fig.13 (c.1645; see further main text above).

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#### Associated names

Portrait of Jan Cornelisz. Sylvius ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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#### Acquisition date

1874

#### Acquisition name

Purchased from Charles Francis Arnold Howard, 5th Earl of Wicklow ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jean de Julienne (possibly Paris sale, 30 March, etc., 1767, lot 562) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Hugh Howard ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

#### Acquisition notes

Possibly Julienne sale, Paris, 30 March, etc., 1767, lot 562 (Rembrandt): 'L'Etude du Portrait de Jo. Co. Sylvius, et six autres dessins a la plume', bt De Baudeville, 9.1 livres (but see n.4 under Comment); purchased from Hugh Howard, Earl of Wicklow, 1874.

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#### Exhibition History

London, 1899, no.A48;  
London, 1938, no.65;  
London, 1956, p.7, no.7a;

Amsterdam, 1969, no.75 (trompe l'oeil hand refers to sitter's prowess as an orator as expressed in Barlaeus' poem on the print);  
London, 1974, BM, *Portrait Drawings*, no.105;  
London, 1992, BM, *Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle*, no.46, repr. in colour;  
Amsterdam-London, 2000-2001, pp.70-71 and 223, repr. p.70, fig.110 and p.226, fig.c;  
London, 2005, 7 July-25 Sept, BM, 'Masterpieces of Portrait Drawing' (no cat.)

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Cat.38



**Registration number:** 1910,0212.189

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 31](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 38 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 736](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1645-1647 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

## Description

The Star of the Kings; two women and two children at a door hatch at left, a group of boys in front of the house, one carrying the 'Star of the Kings', a woman carrying a baby and a basket at right, at her feet a dog, various other figures including a girl pointing out the star to a baby. c.1645-1647

Pen and brown ink with (on the recto only) brown wash mixed with some white bodycolour; framing line in pen and brown ink (right side only).

Verso: Sketch of the head of a man (visible only through the backing; see illustration).

Watermark: a crowned shield with Basel staff, not clearly visible because of backing paper (it has not proven possible to produce an X-radiograph).

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Signed in lower right in the same ink as the drawing: 'Rembrandt f'; on verso numbered top left '4468 [?]', perhaps also with a paraphe.

## Dimensions

Height: 204 millimetres

Width: 323 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, distance apart uncertain)

## Condition

Generally good, though the absence of framing lines on three sides suggests some trimming.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.38:

The drawing illustrates a Netherlandish custom in celebration of the Epiphany in which children went from door to door carrying a lantern in the form of the star (the 'Star of the Kings') singing and begging for alms. One boy here is pulling the rope that turns the star. The subject was again represented by Rembrandt in an etching of c.1651 (Bartsch 113, Hind 254) and may also be compared with the related scene of the 'Rommelpot Players', a version of which is here De Gelder cat. no.2 (1900,0824.145, Benesch 733). An earlier prototype that Rembrandt could have known is an engraving by Jan van de Velde the Younger (1593-1641) after Pieter de Molijn (1595-1661).[1]

Although the authenticity of the sheet has been questioned,[2] doubtless because of the rather liquid handling, the underlying strength of the draughtsmanship, both in its figure-grouping and characterisation, has generally been understood as typical of Rembrandt's work in the 1640s. The liquidity has parallels in many studies of this period, including those related to the 'Hundred Guilder Print'.[3] Indeed, as an authentically signed drawing - a rarity in Rembrandt's drawn oeuvre - the present sheet is an important document for the charting of his style.

Assigning the drawing a precise date presents some difficulties. A comparison between the head of the bearded man towards the right with the similar figure leaning on a door-hatch in the 'Cottage near the Entrance to a Wood' in New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lehman Collection; Benesch 815), which is dated 1644, suggests that the 'Star of the Kings' could be as early as from that year.[4] Yet the looser handling of the present sheet, which is on a smaller scale, argues for a date a few years later, although probably not after Rembrandt's sketch of 'Jan Six' (Benesch 767; Six Collection) for his portrait etching of 1647 (Bartsch 285, Hind 228).

A school version, perhaps a copy of a lost original, is in Warsaw (Benesch, 1973 ed. only, no.C39A, repr. fig.1067). Another is at Groningen[5] and a third was formerly in the van der Willigen and Dr M. Strauss collections.[6]

#### NOTES:

[1] As pointed out by Hind in London, 1915, no.31. The print is repr. Holl.149, and its influence on Rembrandt's etching was noted by Middleton, 1878, p.277, under no.293. For a discussion of customs connected with the Feast of Epiphany, see Heurck and Boekenogen, 1910, pp.142ff. and 193ff., and van Wagenberg-Ter Hoeven, 1997 (both with further literature).

[2] By Hofstede de Groot, Hind and Van Dyke (see Lit. below).

[3] In particular Benesch 183 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) and 185 (Louvre, Paris).

[4] See also the 'Allegory of Art Criticism' in the same collection and dated in the same year (Benesch A35a, now generally accepted as authentic), and under cat. no.39 (1900,0824.144, Benesch 516).

[5] See Groningen, 1967, no.74.

[6] Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.1514. He noted that the drawing's authenticity had been doubted because it was believed to have earlier borne Renesse's signature. It was mentioned by Vosmaer as by Rembrandt (1868/77, p.517/601).

#### LITERATURE (as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Waagen, IV, 1857, p.215 (in James collection); Brunet, 1866, p.260 (as Waagen, 1857); Michel, 1893, pp.523 and 585 (ex-collection de Fries and James); Seidlitz, 1894, p.126 (genuine signature); Nicolle, 1899, p.226; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.1129 (attribution not entirely certain; c.1635 if genuine - cf. children in etching of 'Pancake Woman' of 1635, Bartsch 124, Hind 141); Hind, 1912, I, p.56, repr. pl.XIX and (also in 1924 ed.) under no.254 (possibly a copy of an original of c.1635; compares the later etching of the subject); London, 1915, no.31, repr. pl.IV (c.1635; compares for subject the etching and the print of 'Strolling Musicians', Bartsch 119, Hind 142, as also the ex-Strauss drawing); Lugt, 1915[I], p.158, repr. p.155; Graul, 1920, p.40, under no.222 (follows London, 1915); Weisbach, 1926, pp.177-8 and 450 (earlier than the etching of the subject; discussed in terms of Rembrandt's depictions of children and of night scenes); Van Dyke, 1927, p.119 (by van der Pluym, as also the etching of the subject); Graul, 1934, no.15 (second half of 1630s); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.783, repr. (c.1636); Benesch, 1935, p.35 (c.1640-41; relates to etching of 1641 of 'Woman at a Door-Hatch', Bartsch 128, Hind 192); Benesch, 1935[I], p.264 (as Benesch, 1935, also comparing Weimar drawing of 'Children playing Rommelpot', Benesch 734); Amsterdam, 1942, p.11, under no.26 (compares Rijksmuseum drawing of 'Woman and Child', Benesch A63); Münz, 1952, II, p.118, under no.278 (after 1641 but before c.1654, the date assigned to the etching of the subject); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.736, repr. fig.882/932 (c.1641-2; groups with drawings of 'Rommelpot Players', Benesch 733-5 in British Museum - here de Gelder cat. no.2, 1900,0824.145 - Weimar and Fogg Art Museum; notes later etching of the subject and compares 'Entombment' in Berlin, Benesch 485, and figure studies in British Museum [here cat. nos.35 and 77; inv. nos.1910,0212.188 and Oo,9.76, Benesch 677 and 679], and in École des Beaux-Arts, Benesch 678); Exh. Amsterdam-Rotterdam, 1956, p.46 under no.83 (c.1640; notes related motif of the etching of this subject); Drost, 1957, p.186 (compares to Elsheimer); Benesch, 1960, no.41, repr. (c.1641-2; compares later etching of the subject and the contemporary 'Night Watch'); Scheidig, 1962, p.48, no.63, repr. (compares figure seen from behind with that in 'Good Samaritan', here cat. no.103; inv. no.1860,0616.122, Benesch 518a); Benesch, 1964, p.122, reprinted 1970, p.256 (notes unusual use of reed pen in early 1640s); Groningen, 1967, p.104, under no.74 (compares

drawings in Groningen and Warsaw, for which see above); Haak, 1969/68, p. 187, repr. fig.303 (c.1641-2); Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.123, under no.209 (c.1641-2, noted with the etching); Haak, 1976/74, no.35, repr. (c.1641-2); Turin, 1974, p.63, under no.104 (c.1643-6; compares Turin 'Adoration', Benesch 522); Vogel-Köhn, 1974, p.213, no.59 (compares Fodor coll. 'Mother and Child', Benesch 309); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.305; Sciolla, 1976, p.10, repr. pl.XXV (as Benesch); Amsterdam, 1981, p.41 (quotes Vogel-Köhn, 1974); Schatborn, 1981[I], no.27, repr. (c.1641-2); Vogel-Köhn, 1981, pp.11, 61-3 and no.72, repr. (c.1640-41; made for sale; compares 'Baptism of Eunuch', Louvre, Benesch 488, 'Two Men conversing', Courtauld Institute, Princes Gate Coll., Benesch 500a, and 'Saskia in Bed attended by a Nurse', Weimar, Benesch 425); Amsterdam, 1985, p.134, under no.62 (compares drawings by Rembrandt and school showing similar figures from behind); Bettagno, 1990, pp.105-8, repr. figs.9-10, recto and verso inscriptions (Zanetti provenance and handwriting); Royalton-Kisch, 1990, p.134, repr. fig.73 (compared to study for 'Hundred Guilder Print', Louvre, Benesch 543); Schatborn, 1994, p.22 (as Exh. London, 1992); Schatborn in Exh. Paris-Haarlem, 1997, p.XXV (notes typical correction in the covering of the figure towards the right); Exh. Amsterdam-London, 2000-2001, pp.77 and 257, n.5, repr. p.76, fig.19; Berlin, 2006, p.143, under no.40 (as Exh. London, 1992; compares Benesch 188); Exh. Paris, 2006-7[II], p.339, under no.134, repr. fig.182; Exh. Turin, 2006-7, p.28, fig.6.

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**Subject**

religious festival ([all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1910

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by George Salting ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Antonio Maria Zanetti I (L.2992f) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Andrew James (his sale, Christie's, 28 April, 1873, lot 73, bt Salting, £31-10-0) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Count Moritz von Fries (L.2903) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Inscribed on the backing paper in pen and brown ink by Zanetti: 'disegno Capitale / del / Rembrant'; to right and below this, in graphite: 'The Star of the Kings / Zanetti's hand-writing / Zanetti of Bologna.'

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**Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.167;

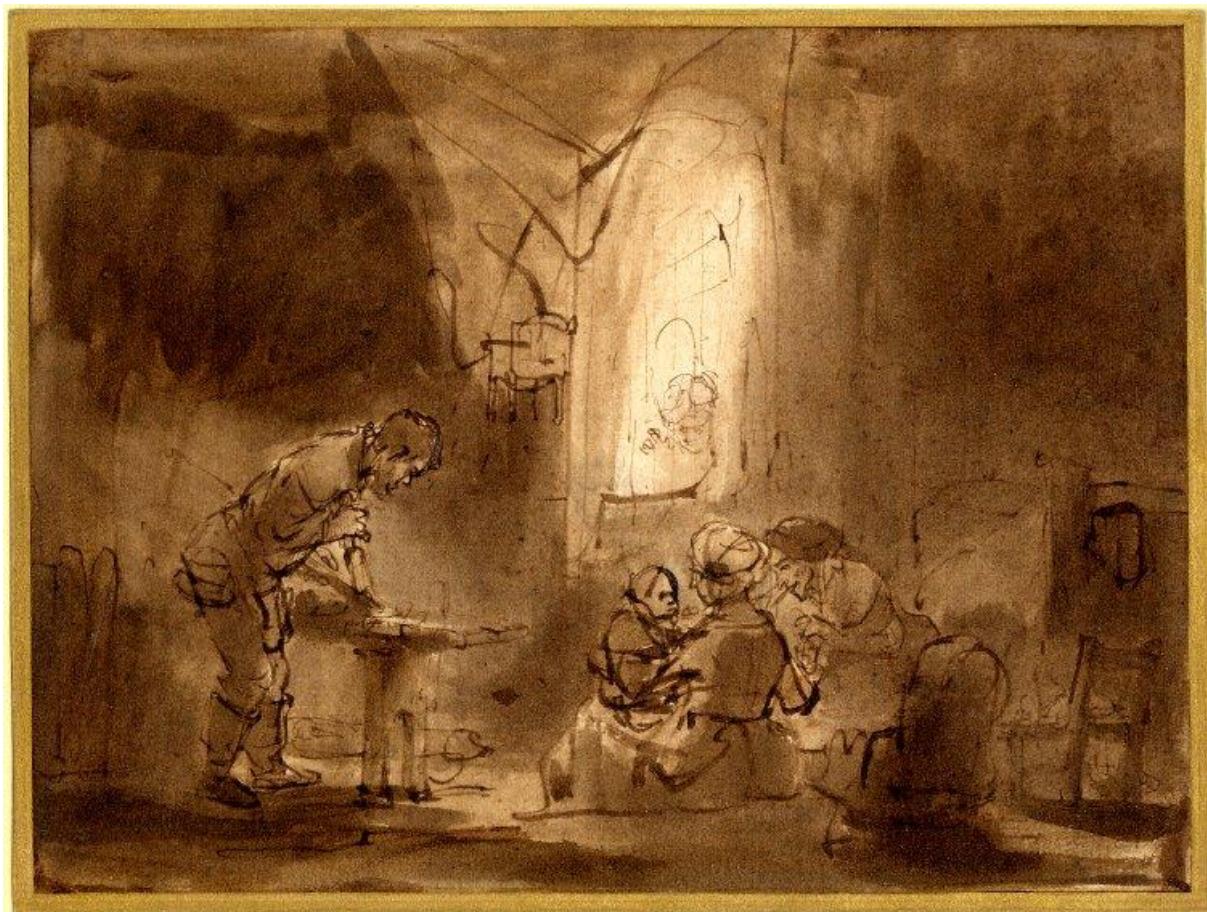
London, 1910, p.5;

London, 1912, no.168;

London, 1938, no.31 (c.1635-40);  
London, 1956, p.21, no.4 (earlier than the etching of the subject, Bartsch 113, Hind 254, of  
c.1652);  
Amsterdam, 1969, no.61 (c.1640-42);  
London, 1972-3, no.208;  
London, 1984[I], BM, 'Master Drawings & Watercolours', no.96, repr.;  
London, 1992, BM, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.44, repr. in colour  
(illustrating verso for first time);  
Boston-Chicago, 2003-4, 'Rembrandt's Journey:...', pp.146-7, no.77, repr. (c.1645-7).

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Cat.39



**Registration number:** 1900,0824.144

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 39 \(Rembrandt\)](#)  
[Benesch 516](#)  
[Hind 61](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1647 (circa)

## Schools /Styles

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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### Description

The Holy Family in the Carpenter's workshop; the Virgin seated on the ground nursing the Christ Child, with Anna at her side, St Joseph engaged in carpentry at a table, a woman seen knocking at the window behind. c.1645

Pen and brown ink with brown wash, touched with white; some grey may have been mixed with parts of the brown wash.

Verso: laid down on a card with gold edges, perhaps a remnant of a larger, eighteenth-century mat.

No watermark visible.

### Dimensions

Height: 184 millimetres

Width: 246 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 23mm apart)

### Condition

Good; perhaps a little trimmed.

### Curator's comments

Literature: W.W. Robinson, in H. Bevers et.al. 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Pupils: Telling the Difference', exh.cat. The J Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2009, cat.no.22.1 (as Rembrandt, c.1645).

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.39.

The drawing is unusual in depicting the Holy Family including Anna and another figure (St Elizabeth?) knocking at the window.[1] Rembrandt seems to have been concerned to represent the figures informally in a domestic setting so that the scene might almost pass as taken from everyday life, unconnected with biblical story. Some of the same elements reappear in other works associated with his name, as for example in the school paintings of the 'Holy Family' in the Rijksmuseum and the Louvre (Bredius 568 and 563 respectively).[2] The sheet is also unusual among Rembrandt's biblical drawings for its pictorial completeness and it was clearly intended to be an independent work in its own right.

The date of the drawing is difficult to establish. Stylistic comparisons with undisputed drawings by the artist include analogies with the 'Star of the Kings' (here cat. no.38; 1910,0212.089, Benesch 736) of c.1645-7. Though lacking the hatching seen in that sheet, the 'Holy Family in the Carpenter's Workshop' nevertheless reveals clear similarities in the central group of figures, drawn boldly in pen lines that meander around the forms with few interruptions. The figure of Joseph, in a slightly more rectilinear style, resembles (though more distantly) the pen-and-ink sketch of 'Jan Six' in the Six collection of c.1647 (Benesch 767). Yet the atmospheric handling of the light seems also to anticipate Rembrandt's style in the 1650s as seen in the 'Painter's Studio with a Model' of c.1655 in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Benesch 1161). There are few fixed points in establishing the chronology of Rembrandt's pen drawings in this period and the date c.1647 proposed here is therefore approximate. It nevertheless places the drawing later than most previous writers have done

and a few years after the painted and etched works to which it has generally been compared (see Lit. below). The Leningrad painting of the 'Holy Family with Angels' of 1645 (Bredius 570), though different in format and iconography, also shows St Joseph at work in an interior but could have been made earlier. The composition of the slightly later painting of the 'Holy Family' in Kassel (Bredius 572), which is dated 1646, also includes some of the motifs in the present drawing.

A copy is in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.[3] A version in the Princes Gate Collection (now Courtauld Institute of Art, Benesch 620A), executed in a style analogous to the present sheet (and which Benesch dated c.1648-9) is less certainly by Rembrandt and could be a pupil's work. The same applies to another variant in the Louvre (Benesch 517)[4] and to the drawings in Bayonne and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (Benesch 567 and 569) that have been related in the past to the Leningrad painting. It has also been pointed out that a pupil borrowed the figure of the Virgin for a figure in a sketch in Chicago of the 'Satyr and the Peasant' (Benesch A31).[5] Another pupil or follower, possibly Ferdinand Bol, drew a 'Holy Family in an Interior' (now in Darmstadt) in a similar technique and style, perhaps at the same period.[6]

#### NOTES:

[1] See Réau, II, 1957, pp.149-50, who traces the origins of representations of the wider Holy Family, nowhere united in the Gospels, to the *Meditations of the pseudo-Bonaventura*, Ch.XII.

[2] The Rijksmuseum painting was rejected by Gerson (Bredius-Gerson, 1969, no.568). The Louvre's has now been tentatively assigned to Ferdinand Bol (Corpus, III, 1989, no.C87). The Amsterdam painting could be by the same hand.

[3] Inv. no.1910.7 (see Cambridge, Mass., 1940, no.531); pen and brown ink with brown and blue wash, 198 x 229. Repr. Valentiner, I, 1925, no.325b.

[4] The latter was not included, and therefore rejected, by Starcky in Exh. Paris, Louvre, 1988-9. Another version, in Rotterdam, accepted by Benesch (his no.620) was rightly rejected by J. Giltaij in Rotterdam, 1988, no.146, with the plausible suggestion that it could be by Willem Drost.

[5] By Sumowski, 1981, tentatively identifying the pupil as B. Fabritius (see Lit. below).

[6] Repr. Valentiner, I, 1925, p.XII; Sumowski 195x.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Lippmann, IV, no.64; Kleinmann, IV, no.7; London, 1915, no.61 (c.1640-50; copy now in Fogg Art Museum noted [see Comment above]; compares 'Adoration of Shepherds', HdG.988, V.294, not in Benesch); Bredt, 1921/28, II, repr. p.13/15; Valentiner, I, 1925, no.325a, repr. (c.1640); Weisbach, 1926, p.161, repr. fig.30 (finished work in its own right; complete interiors rare in Rembrandt's oeuvre); Van Dyke, 1927, p. 119 (by van der Pluym); Benesch, 1935, p.33 (c.1642; compares etching 'St Jerome in a dark Chamber', 1642, Bartsch 105, Hind 201); Benesch, III, 1955/73, no.516, repr. fig.643/677 (c.1640-42; compares Louvre version, Benesch 517 and Louvre painting of 1640, Bredius 563, as well as the etching 'St Jerome in a dark Chamber' as in 1935; notes Seilern version, reproduced only in 1973 ed., Benesch 620A); Drost, 1957, p.174 (compares Elsheimer); Benesch, 1960, p.24 and no.40 (compares 'Faust' and 'Virgin and Child with the Cat and Snake' etchings, Bartsch 270 and 63, Hind 260 and 275); London, 1961, p.29, under no.193 (follows Benesch, noting also Louvre and Kassel paintings, Bredius 570 and 572); Sumowski, 1961, p.10 (influenced the St Joseph in 'Holy Family' painting by B. Fabritius); Scheidig, 1962, p.49, no.68, repr. (compares Louvre version, Benesch 517); Benesch, 1964, pp.129-30, reprinted 1970, p.259 (dates Seilern sheet later, to c.1648-9, anticipating etching of 1654, 'Virgin and Child with the

'Cat and Snake', Bartsch 63, Hind 275); Slive, 1965, II, no. 511, repr. (c.1640-43); Bonnier, 1970/69, repr. in colour, fig.24; Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.290; Sumowski, I, 1979, p.404, under no.190x (influence on Bol); Amsterdam, 1981, p.51, n.3 (Joseph often represented by Rembrandt specifically as a carpenter); Sumowski, IV, 1981, p.1858, under no.854xx (see n.5 above); Hoekstra, III (deel 1), 1983, p.68, repr. (includes Anna; figure looks through window as in etched 'Virgin and Child with the Cat and Snake', Bartsch 63, Hind 275); Sumowski, 'Gem.', II, 1983, p.918, under no.561 (as in 1961); Corpus, III, 1989, p.565 (by Rembrandt or his workshop); Giltaij, 1995, p.100 (definitely not by Rembrandt; perhaps by Flinck, compares 'Good Samaritan', Rotterdam, Benesch 684); Exh. Bremen, 2000-2001, p.82, under no.36, repr. fig.a (compares motif of Van Hoogstraten drawing of same subject in Bremen, inv.1882, Sumowski 1189x); Dibbits, 2006, p.115, repr. fig.12 (Rembrandt interested in Holy Family themes; relates to school of Rembrandt painting in Rijksmuseum); Schwartz, 2006, p.316, fig.566.

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## Subject

holy family ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

## Associated names

Representation of St Anne ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Representation of Virgin Mary ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Representation of St Joseph ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Representation of Jesus Christ ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Acquisition date

1900

## Acquisition name

Bequeathed by Henry Vaughan ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Samuel Woodburn (his sale, Christie's, 13.vi.1860/1405 as 'Rembrandt, Van Rhyn - The Holy Family in a room, Joseph wo) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection François Fagel (possibly) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

## Acquisition notes

Possibly Greffier François Fagel sale, London, T. Philipe, 23 May 1799, lot 363, £2-15-0; and possibly sale, T. Philipe, London, 24 April 1801, lot 31 (although either or both references may be to the copy at the Fogg Art Museum, first recorded in the Lawrence collection); bequeathed by Henry Vaughan, 1900.

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## Exhibition History

1901, London, no.A115;

1938, London, no.61;

1956, London, p.22, no.3;

1992, London, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.43

2009/10 Dec-Feb, Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, Rembrandt and his pupils.

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Cat.40



**Registration number:** 1884,1108.6

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 10](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 40 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 718](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1646 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Sketch of a seated man, profile to right, half length; leaning on his right hand, wearing a turban with ear lappets (?) and with beard (?). c.1646

Black chalk; remnants of framing lines in pen and greenish brown ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

### **Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, in graphite: '72 [in a circle].

### **Dimensions**

Height: 76 millimetres

Width: 58 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 25mm apart)

### **Condition**

Small loss from right edge; dirty, with a brown smudge running diagonally across the top.

### **Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.40:

See the commentary to cat. no.43 (1884,1108.5, Benesch 717).

### **LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):**

Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.907; London, 1915, no.10, repr. pl.III (c.1630-40?); Benesch, 1935, p.40 (c.1647-50); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.718, repr. fig.861/910 (c.1646-7; compares etching 'Old Man in Meditation, leaning on a Book', Bartsch 147, Hind 218).

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### **Acquisition date**

1884

### **Acquisition name**

Purchased from Miss Milner ([all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Joseph van Haecken (L.2516) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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### **Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.A58a;

London, 1938, no.10 (c.1630-40?);

London, 1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.47, repr. (c.1646).

\*\*\*\*\*

Cat.41



**Registration number:** 1884,1108.3

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 11](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 41 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 672](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1646 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

---

**Description**

Sketch of a head, turned to the right; wearing a hat. c.1646

Black chalk; remnants of framing lines in pen and greenish brown ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

### **Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, in graphite, lower left: '69 [?].

### **Dimensions**

Height: 38 millimetres

Width: 44 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 27mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

### **Condition**

Irregularly trimmed and soiled.

### **Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.41:

See the commentary to cat. no.43 (1884,1108.5, Benesch 717). The central figure in the National Gallery's 'Adoration of the Shepherds' of 1646 is comparable (Bredius 575).

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.908; London, 1915, no.11 (c.1630-40? Compares Lazarus in etchings of 'Raising of Lazarus', Bartsch 72-3, Hind 198 and 96); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.672, repr. fig.813/855 (c.1642); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1961, p.54 (groups with figure sketches in Vienna and Orleans, Benesch 693 and 698a); Benesch, 1964, p.125, reprinted 1970, p.257 (relates to two sketches in Bucharest, Benesch 672a-b).

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### **Acquisition date**

1884

### **Acquisition name**

Purchased from Miss Milner ([all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Joseph van Haecken (L.2516) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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### **Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.A58b;

London, 1938, no.11 (c.1630-40?);

London, 1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.48, repr. (c.1646).

\*\*\*\*\*

Cat.42



**Registration number:** 1884,1108.4

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 12](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 42 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 671](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1646 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A woman's head, drawn twice, profile to left; wearing a headdress, looking down. c.1646

Black chalk; traces of framing lines in green and brown ink.

Verso: blank (see Inscriptions).

No watermark.

## **Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed, verso, in graphite: '70 [in a circle].

## **Dimensions**

Height: 39 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 25mm apart)

Width: 59 millimetres

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## **Condition**

Irregularly trimmed and slightly soiled, otherwise good.

## **Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.42:

See the commentary to cat. no.43 (1884,1108.5, Benesch 717).

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.920; London, 1915, no.12 (c.1630-40?); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.671, repr. fig.812/854 (c.1642; compares cat. no.41; 1884,1108.3, Benesch 672);

Haverkamp-Begemann, 1961, p.54 (as cat. no.40; 1884,1108.6); Benesch, 1964, p.125, reprinted 1970, p.257 (as cat. no.41; 1884,1108.3).

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## **Acquisition date**

1884

## **Acquisition name**

Purchased from Miss Milner ([all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Joseph van Haecken (L.2516) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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## **Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.A58c (placed with drawings between 1646 and 1648);  
1938, no.12 (c.1630-40?);

1992, BM Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.49, repr.

\*\*\*\*\*

Cat.43



**Registration number:** 1884,1108.5

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 13](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 43 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 717](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1646 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

## Description

A group of people standing; to left four old men, one in a high hat, in the foreground two women, one carrying a baby on her back, the other kneeling. c.1647

Black chalk; ruled framing lines in greenish brown ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Rijmsdijk's mark, lower left (see Provenance below); verso, in graphite: '71 [in a circle]; and below: '70 [?].

## Dimensions

Height: 86 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 26mm apart)

Width: 81 millimetres

## Condition

Two stains - perhaps oil - lower right; soiled; old vertical creases.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.43:

Catalogue nos.40-43 (1884,1108.6, 1884,1108.3, 1884,1108.4 and 1884,1108.5, Benesch 718, 672, 671 and 717) belong with a sketch of a 'Mother and Child' at Orléans (Benesch 698a), which shares the same provenance, to a uniform group of small figure studies. With the exception of cat. no.42 (1884,1108.4) they were probably cut from a single sketchbook (some may even have come from the same leaf).<sup>[1]</sup> As well as sharing the same collectors' marks, they have framing lines in greenish-brown ink in common. Only cat. no.43 (1884,1108.5) also has the mark of Rijmsdijk.<sup>[2]</sup>

Although Benesch split the group in his chronological arrangement, there seems little justification for doing so. The only comparable studies in black chalk that can be securely dated are of 1645 and 1647. The first, a 'Young Girl leaning out of a Window' in the Courtauld Institute (Benesch 700, Princes Gate Collection), is a study for the dated painting in Dulwich (Bredius 368); the second, the 'Blind Beggar and his Family' in Amsterdam (here Benesch 749, Historisch Museum), has on the verso a sketch for Rembrandt's dated etching of 'Jan Six' made in 1647 (Bartsch 285, Hind 228). Of these, it is the recto of the latter which provides the closest parallels, both in subject and style, with the present group of drawings.<sup>[3]</sup> There is also a connection between cat. no.41 (1884,1108.3) and the central figure in the National Gallery's 'Adoration of the Shepherds' of 1646 (Bredius 575).

## NOTES:

[1] Cat. no.42 appears to be drawn on the thinner paper found with many studies of this type and period (see under cat. no.65; inv. no.Oo,9.104, Benesch 1281A and Amsterdam, 1985, under no.28, also dated c.1647).

[2] For this collector, see Tonkovich 2005.

[3] Of the many other comparable drawings of this type in Benesch's catalogue, but without

the same provenance, particular mention might be made of his no.358, 'Two Women walking in a Street', now in Berlin, and no.720, 'Four Beggars', formerly in the Heseltine collection. Again, Benesch dated these separately, the former to c.1637, the latter c.1647.

#### LITERATURE :

Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.921; London, 1915, no.13, repr. pl.III (c.1630-40?); Benesch, 1935, p.40 (c.1647-50); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.717, repr. fig.860/909 (c. 1646-7; compares 'Group of Men in Discussion', Benesch 714, Amsterdam Historisch Museum, 'St Peter Preaching', Benesch 595, priv. coll., and 'Blind Beggar and his Family', Benesch 749, Amsterdam, Historisch Museum); Munich, 1973, I, p.183, under no.1243, and p.186, under no.1282 (compared to Munich drawings with these numbers, respectively a 'Standing Man, to right' and a 'Standing Woman, to left', repr. op. cit., II, pls.343 and 348); Vogel-Köhn, 1981, no.85, repr. (as Benesch); Berlin, 2006, p.124, n.6 (compares figure on the verso of Benesch 803).

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#### Acquisition date

1884

#### Acquisition name

Purchased from Miss Milner ([all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jan van Rynsdyk (L.2167) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Joseph van Haecken (L.2516) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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#### Exhibition History

London, 1899, no A58d;

1938, no.13 (c.1630-40?);

1992, BM Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.50, repr. (c.1646).

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Cat. 44



**Department:** Prints & Drawings

**Registration number:** 1986,1213.2

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 44 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind Add.13b \(placed as Add.193\)](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc  
**Object types**  
drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1648-1652 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Three Orientals in discussion; one at left seated to right looking up at the other two, one with his hand held to his ear. c.1648-1652

Black chalk, touched with white; ruled framing lines in pen and black ink.

Verso: blank.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Lower left, in black chalk: 'Rembrant' and 'RvRf'; upper left, in graphite: 'Rembrandt'; on the mat in black chalk, in a nineteenth-century hand: 'Rembrandt Van Ryn' and in pen and brown ink: 'Rembrant van Ryn.'

**Dimensions**

Height: 182 millimetres

Width: 150 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 24/25mm apart)

**Condition**

Generally good, though rubbed in places, e.g. down left side, and discoloured to brown near edges; some residual foxing; lifted in 1987 from a mat perhaps of the late nineteenth century.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.44:

The drawing's attribution to Rembrandt depends on its similarity to several sketches in black chalk by the master dating from between around 1647 and 1652. Particularly compelling are the comparisons with a drawing of 'Two Men in Conversation' in Rotterdam (Benesch 676) and that of 'Four Doctors in Discussion' in the Historisch Museum in Amsterdam (Benesch 714). These display many parallels, including the detailed treatment of facial features, the suggestive scumbling of the chalk to describe the skin of the faces, the interest in gesture, the details of the hands and feet (including the oddly elongated left thumb of the central figure), the looping, more cursory treatment of the drapery, the manner of the shading in the shoulders (here seen in the central figure) and the concentration on both the individual

characterisation of the figures and their psychological interrelationship.[1] The chronology of Rembrandt's later black chalk sketches is ill-defined. A slight study of 'Jan Six' in the Historisch Museum in Amsterdam (Benesch 749 verso) is preparatory to the master's etching of 1647 (Bartsch 285, Hind 228) and has on the recto a drawing of a 'Beggar Family' that marries well with the group of works under review. Yet the above-mentioned drawing of 'Doctors in Discussion' in the same collection (Benesch 714) is related to Rembrandt's rather later etching of 'Christ among the Doctors' of 1652 (Bartsch 65, Hind 257).[2] Furthermore, one of the heads in the Rotterdam drawing (Benesch 676; the head on the right) resembles the figure on the extreme left of Rembrandt's last etching of the same subject, which is dated 1654 (Bartsch 64, Hind 277). The British Museum's drawing could therefore have been made at any time from about 1647 to 1654, and the date suggested here, c.1648-52, is something of a compromise.

Not previously noticed is the fact that the two figures on the right were used some twenty years later, with substantial alterations – especially to their dress – by Aert de Gelder in his painting of 'Christ presented to the People' of 1671 in Dresden.[3] No less than five other sources in Rembrandt's work have been enumerated for this composition[4] and the fanciful elaboration of the clothing is typical of de Gelder, who is known to have used Rembrandt's drawings on other occasions.[5]

#### NOTES:

[1] The arguments for the attribution were set out more fully by the compiler in 1987 (see Lit. below).

[2] As first recognised by Broos in Amsterdam, 1981, no.15.

[3] Repr. Sumowski, 'Gem.', II, 1983, no.723, p.1183.

[4] By Sumowski, loc. cit.

[5] See, for example, under cat. no.56; inv. no.1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187, and Amsterdam, 1985, under no.48.

#### LITERATURE (as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

'British Museum Report of the Trustees', 1984-7, p.57; Royalton-Kisch, 1987, pp.591-3, repr. fig.29 (attributes to Rembrandt; arguments summarised above); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1992, p.466 (not inconceivable that de Gelder made similar drawings); Schatborn, 1994, pp.22-3 (convincingly Rembrandt, as Exh. London 1992); Giltaij, 1995, p.100 (not Rembrandt; by De Gelder?); Schatborn and de Winkel, 1996, p.383; Robinson, 1998, p.36.

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#### Subject

asian ([all objects](#))

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#### Acquisition date

1986

#### Acquisition name

Purchased through Thomas Agnew & Sons ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Purchased through Christie's (Amsterdam, 1.xii.1986/61) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

#### Acquisition notes

Christie's, Amsterdam, 1 December, 1986, lot 61, repr. (as attributed to Nicolaes Maes;

Messrs Christie's informed that the drawing was consigned by a member of the trade), bt Agnew's for British Museum.

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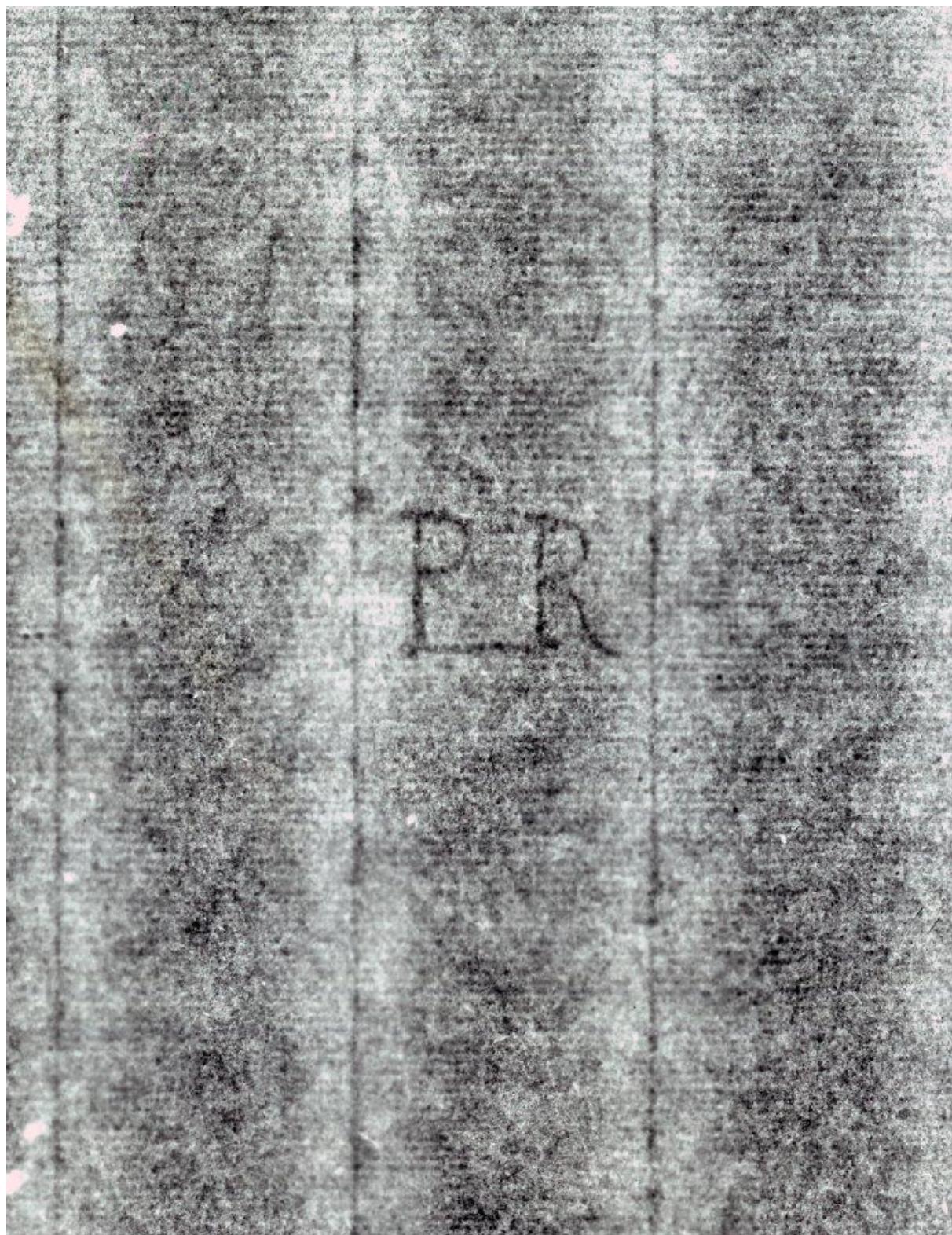
**Exhibition History**

British Museum, 'Five Years of recent Acquisitions', 1991 (no catalogue);  
1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.51, repr. in colour (c.1648-52;  
influenced De Gelder);  
2006, BM, 'Rembrandt: a 400th anniversary display' (no catalogue).

\*\*\*\*\*

Cat.45





Watermark

**Registration number:** 1910,0212.179

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 40](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 45 \(Rembrandt\)](#)  
[Benesch 601](#)

**Location:**  
Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**  
drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**  
paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**  
drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**  
Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**  
1650 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**  
Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

The Prodigal Son among the Swine; kneeling, leaning on a stick, in profile to left by a trough from which four swine are eating, a suckling pig beneath the sow at right. c.1650

Pen and brown ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions; inspected but has been laid down again.

Watermark: countermark: 'PR' (probably countermark to a foolscap, cf. Laurentius, pp.233-36).

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Verso, in graphite, centre: '334.'

**Dimensions**

Height: 159 millimetres

Width: 235 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 25mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

**Condition**

Generally good, though perhaps slightly trimmed; some discolouration, especially down the right-hand side.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.45:

The subject is from the New Testament (Luke, XV, 17-19) and was often represented as an exemplar of the virtue of repentance: Christ's parable of the Prodigal Son relates how, having squandered his inheritance, the son is reduced to the lot of a swineherd. Penitent (as shown here), he decides to return to his father and beg his forgiveness: 'I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, And am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants' (VV.18-19). The subject was treated by several artists before Rembrandt, who may have been inspired by Albrecht Dürer's engraving of c.1496 (Bartsch 28), which shows the same moment in the story.[1]

The drawing has been dated variously, from the mid-1630s to c.1650 (see Lit. below). The earlier date was probably suggested by Rembrandt's etching of the 'Return of the Prodigal Son' of 1636 (Bartsch 91, Hind 147), in which the son's pose is superficially related.[2] In the light of the drawing's stylistic proximity to a number of generally accepted sheets of c.1645-55, however, the later date of c.1650 is the most plausible.[3] Among the most comparable are two in Berlin, the 'Study for the Hundred Guilder Print' (Benesch 188), probably of the mid-to-later 1640s, and the 'Raising of Jairus' Daughter' (Benesch 1064), which is probably of the 1650s although it has been dated still later.[4] The latter can be stylistically related to the drawing in the Six Album of 'Homer reciting Verses' (Benesch 913), which is dated 1652, but the analogies with drawings of the 1640s suggest that the present sheet was executed a little earlier, in about 1650. It also has features in common with drawings by Rembrandt's pupil, Willem Drost, who was in the master's studio at this time, similarities that lend support to the proposed dating without seriously challenging the attribution.

For the larger animals, seen in profile to left and right, Rembrandt seems to have made use of his earlier drawings, cat. nos.20-21 (Pp.2.116 and Pp.2.117, Benesch 778 and 779).[5]

#### NOTES:

[1] As noted by Rotermund, 1963, p.185. See also Haeger, 1986, for other treatments of the subject.

[2] The drawing in Haarlem of the 'Return of the Prodigal Son' was also dated to c.1636 (e.g. by Valentiner, I, 1925, no.388) but is now generally placed c.1642 (e.g. by Benesch, no.519).

[3] Although there are analogies with Rembrandt's works of the first half of the 1640s, for example, with cat. no.34 (Gg.2.250, Benesch 606), as pointed out by Benesch.

[4] By Benesch, for example, who placed it in the early 1660s.

[5] The comparison first made by Hind in London, 1915, no.40.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Waagen, IV, 1857, p.215 (in James Collection); Brunet, 1866, p. 260 (as Waagen, 1857); Michel, 1893, p.585 (Salting, ex-James coll.); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.1119; 'Rembrandt Bijbel', II, 1910, repr. opp. p.65; London, 1915, no.40, repr. pl.VI (c.1635-40; compares the studies of pigs, here cat. nos.20-1 [Pp.2.116 and Pp.2.117, Benesch 778 and 779]); Valentiner, I, 1925, no.387, repr. (c.1636); Kauffmann, 1926, p.175, n.3 (c.1635-6); Paris, 1933, p.32, under no.1193 (follows London, 1915); Benesch, 1935, p.42 (c.1648-50); Benesch, III, 1955/73, no.601 repr. fig.732/774 (c.1647-8; notes London, 1915 comparisons are with much earlier drawings; compares several sheets including Weimar 'Good Samaritan', Benesch 615, and 'Esau selling his Birthright', here cat. no.34; Gg.2.250); Sumowski, 1958, repr. fig.42 (c.1643); Roger Marx, 1960, repr. p.334, fig.154c; London, 1961, p.22, under no.187 (c.1640; grouped with tragic or morbid themes in Rembrandt while discussing Benesch 485a in Seilern coll.); Rotermund, 1963, p.185, repr. fig.200 (perhaps a

reminiscence of Dürer; subject from Luke, XV, 17-19); Sumowski, 1963, no.41, repr. (c.1643); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.375; Clark, 1978, pp.136-7 (one of several treatments of the subject by Rembrandt); Hoekstra, IV (deel 2), 1981, repr. p.46 (c.1645-8); Giltaij, 1995, p.100 (not Rembrandt).

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**Subject**

parable of prodigal son ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Associated names**

Representation of Prodigal Son ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1910

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by George Salting ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Andrew James ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Andrew James; his sale, Christie's, 28 April, 1873, lot 71, bt Parsons, £1-15-0;\* bequeathed by George Salting, 1910. \*As 'James' in both Michel, 1893, and London, 1915.

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**Exhibition History**

London, 1910, p.5;

London, 1912, no.162;

London, 1938, no.40 (c.1635-40);

London, 1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.52, repr. (c.1650).

\*\*\*\*\*

Cat.46



Recto



Verso

**Registration number:** 1860,0616.86

## Bibliographic reference

[Benesch 1207](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 46 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 80](#)

## Location:

Dutch Roy XVIIc

## Object types

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

## Materials

paper ([all objects](#))

## Techniques

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

## Production person

Drawn by Anonymous (verso) ([all objects](#))

After Andrea Mantegna ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

## Date

1652-1654 (circa)

## Schools / Styles

Italian ([all objects](#))

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Description

The Calumny of Apelles; a king seated on a throne at left, flanked by two female figures, a man with long ears facing him and urging on a woman holding a torch and dragging a child by the hair, two figures at far right holding council; after Andrea Mantegna. 1652-1654

Pen and brown ink with brown wash on paper prepared with brown wash

Verso: Plan of a Fort, c.1620 (not by Rembrandt); the verso contains no brown, only grey wash but is touched with pinkish wash for the brickwork

No watermark

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Recto, by the artist in pen and brown ink above the figures: 'susp[ic]ione [?]; 'inoracia'; 'ividia [this below the figure]'; 'CaLomnia/d'apella [below the figure]'; 'acnoni [?]; 'inocencia [below the child]'; 'insidia [?]; 'penitencia' and 'Veritas'; inscribed verso, top centre to right in pen and brown ink in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand: 'V.G./ 7'; lower left in black chalk: 'P'.

Inscribed on a sheet, perhaps the old backing, accompanying the drawing in four hands as follows:

(1) By Jonathan Richardson, sen. (see L.2994, which reproduces the first few words), in pen and brown ink: 'N.45. Mr Gautier has seen the Original of this with Mr. Vanderschelling at Amsterdam. 'Tis since brought into England by Gautier. Apelles was accused to King Ptolomey of having conspired with Theodata a Tyrian woman against him, and that the Revolt of Tyre, and losse of Pelusium happened by his means; the Accuser was Antiphilus,

also a Painter. The King naturally Impetuous and always from his Youth accustomed to Flattery was exceeding enraged, and without enquiring into the thing, or considering the Probability of it, made his Palace ring with Exclamations, and Reproaches against Apelles, and had probably taken his head but that one who was really in the Conspiracy enraged at the Malice and Impudence of Antiphilus, and compassionating Apelles undeceav'd the King, who repenting of his Credulity gave 100 Talents to Apelles, and his accuser to be his Slave. The Story is in Lucian.'

'Apelles on this occasion made a Picture from the Description of wch [*'ch'* is in superscript] in Lucian Andrea Mantegna (after whom this Dr: is copy'd by Rembr:) made a Drawing which I have lately seen, and of wch [*'ch'* is in superscript] this is a fine Copy. The Figures by the King are Mistrust and Ignorance, that conducting Calumny is Envy, that wch Calumny has in her Right hand is a burning Torch, that tis the Innocent Accused shee draggs by the hair is evident enough; the Figures that follow, one exhorting, or pushing on Calumny, the other Dressing her up are Treachery & Deceit: lastly comes Truth accompany'd by Repentance.

(2) By Arthur Pond, in graphite: 'true.'

(3) By John Barnard, in pen and brown ink: 'the above by Mr. Richardson. I met with the original of this by Andrea Mantegna, by great Accident, Mr. Gautiers Name was wrote by Himself on the back of the Paper to which it was fastened; it is still in very good

Preservation. J:B. Janry[*'ry'* is in superscript]: 20th: 1771./ J:B. N°:506 15 1/2 x 10 1/4.'

(4) In pen and brown ink by Barnard: 'the 11th night Lot 37' (referring to Richardson's sale).

(5) In pen and brown ink: 'Price' (see Provenance).

## Dimensions

Height: 263 millimetres

Width: 432 millimetres (with two strips conjoined)

## Condition

Reasonably good, although somewhat rubbed, creased and faded; a few thin spots and pin-sized holes, two of which (in the hips of 'Calomnia') were made by the draughtsman of the plan on the verso and mark an angle in the fortified walls.

## Curator's comments

The original sheet was extended prior to the execution of the drawing by just under 20 mm each side with strips of a different paper washed tobacco brown to make a total width of 432 (26h). The strips were added before the verso drawing was made, which continues onto it without interruption

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.46:

A copy of a drawing made in around 1504-6 by Andrea Mantegna which is also in the British Museum's collection (1860-0616.85).[1] Although impossible to prove, it seems likely that Rembrandt once owned the Mantegna and that it formed part of 'the precious book of Andrea Mantegna' ('t kostelijcke boeck van Andre de Mantaingie') that is listed in the 1656 inventory of his possessions.[2] The Mantegna was engraved, with substantial differences including an architectural background, by Girolamo Mocetto (Bartsch xiii, p. 113, no.10), a print to which Rembrandt does not appear to have referred.

The copy is a more precise transcription than Rembrandt usually made from other original material (e.g. cat. no.11; 1900,0611.7). Even the style of the inscriptions is imitated, albeit

inaccurately (e.g. 'inoracia' for Mantegna's 'ignoratia', 'acnoni [?]' for the almost illegible 'deceptione'; but Rembrandt translates 'Veritas' into Latin from the Italian 'Verita').[3] Yet despite the effort of replication the present drawing has many characteristics that are Rembrandt's own. The freedom with which it is executed, without a preparatory underdrawing, has led to several minor differences and omissions of detail, but more than in these the contrast lies in the two artists' fundamentally different approaches to form, Rembrandt's the more ethereal and diaphanous, Mantegna's the more definite and immutable. Rembrandt's admiration for the quattrocento master is witnessed by other works of the 1650s, in particular in his etching of the 'Madonna with the Cat' of 1654 (Bartsch 63, Hind 275), partly based on Mantegna's engraving of the 'Madonna and Child' (Bartsch 8). A large copy in New York after Mantegna's engraved 'Entombment' is likewise attributed to Rembrandt, but because of its uncharacteristic technique the attribution has been called into question.[4] The subject is from Lucian, although Mantegna's immediate source, in spite of a few deviations, was probably the Latin translation by Bordo, published in Venice in 1494.[5] The story is related in Richardson's inscription on the sheet that accompanies the drawing, transcribed as no.1 under *Inscription*. There is no reason to suppose that Rembrandt turned to the text or any other source while making his copy. Had he done so, the transcriptions he made from Mantegna's handwriting might have been more accurate. Nonetheless, he was probably familiar with the story which had been illustrated by several Renaissance (or later) artists besides Mantegna, including Botticelli, Franciabigio, Luca Penni, Pieter Bruegel the Elder (in a drawing in the Museum's collection, 1959,0214.1), Lambert Lombard (in drawings in the Fondazione Horne, Florence, no.5932, Gernsheim photo no.114778, and Liège - see Denhaene, 2006, pp.404-6) and Maerten De Vos (in a painting sold at Christie's, London, 9 July, 1993, lot 29). That Lucian's story was known to seventeenth-century Dutch artists therefore seems likely. Karel van Mander appears obliquely to have referred to the 'Calumny' in his treatise, 'Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const' of 1604, when he wrote that 'Ignorance is the mother of Dissatisfaction' ('Onverstand is moeder van onvreden').[6]

Rembrandt's own interest in its imagery probably predates the present drawing by more than a decade, as in 1644 he drew an 'Allegory of Art Criticism' (New York, Lehmann Collection, Benesch A35a) which incorporates elements common to Mantegna's and others' designs, including an enthroned figure with asses' ears on the left.[7]

The drawing has generally been dated to the mid-1650s, largely on the grounds that Rembrandt may have copied the Mantegna soon before it was sold with his collection in 1658.[8] The style argues in support of a dating slightly before this period, the abbreviated facial features being particularly characteristic of the first half of the 1650s. The two drawings of 1652 in the Six album, of 'Homer reciting' and 'Minerva in her Study' (Benesch nos.913-14) perhaps mark the earliest possible date for the 'Calumny'. By around 1656, when Rembrandt sketched the 'Anatomy Lesson of Dr Deyman' (Benesch 1175, Amsterdam), the more liquid style of his later drawings appears to have entered his work. The somewhat even hatching seen throughout the drawing and the handwriting are not entirely characteristic of Rembrandt, but on balance it seems more reasonable to attribute this to the fact that he was here reflecting the Mantegna rather than by assigning the work to another hand, although as so often, the possibility remains that a pupil, such as Willem Drost, could have been responsible for the drawing.

On the verso is a sketch of an unidentified fortress made by an earlier and undistinguished hand. A plausible date for this c.1620 has been suggested.[9]

#### NOTES:

[1] See Popham and Pouncey, loc. cit., n.1 under *Provenance*. The authenticity of the Mantegna was questioned by Berenson and Kristeller. The Rembrandt had two early-

detractors in Hofstede de Groot and Seidlitz (see Lit. below) but has not otherwise been doubted.

[2] See Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, p.369, no.200. The inventory does not specify the contents, nor whether they were prints and/or drawings. The word 'kostelijck' is rarely used in the inventory, the use of the definite article also being unusual and suggesting an exceptionally important item.

[3] No other Latin or non-Dutch inscriptions by Rembrandt are known (as pointed out by Broos, 1982, p.248).

[4] By Benesch, 1973, no.A105a. For a defence of the drawing, and a general discussion of Rembrandt and Mantegna, see Rosenberg, 1956[II] and Royalton-Kisch and Ekserdjian, 2000.

[5] See Förster, 1887; a summary in Popham and Pouncey, loc. cit.

[6] See the edition of the 'Grondt' by Hessel Miedema, Utrecht, 1973, II, p.377. A supposed portrait of Lucian by Rembrandt that belonged to Picart is discussed by Slive, 1953, pp.135f., with fig.32. For the history of representations of the subject, see Massing, 1990.

[7] As suggested by Emmens, 1964 (see Lit. below); see further New York, 1999, no.70 and Westermann, 2000, p.205.

[8] For the sales, see cat. no.56 (1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187), n.7.

[9] By Hind in London, 1915 (see Lit. below). Benesch follows this (in 1957/73).

#### LITERATURE (as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Blanc, II, 1861, p.456 (after Mantegna); Nichols, 1863, p.36 (copied from Mantegna when in Six coll.); Carr, 1877, p.5 (provenance; contrasts draughtsmanship of Rembrandt and Mantegna); Förster, 1887, p.48 (compares Mantegna's original, with joint Barnard provenance; notes inaccuracy of Rembrandt's transcriptions); Müntz, 1892, pp.198 and 204; Hofstede de Groot, 1893, p.421 (not Rembrandt; apart from tradition little speaks for him); Michel, 1893, p.582; Hofstede de Groot, 1894, p.179, no.8 (attribution uncertain; verso resembles Turin and Antwerp); Seidlitz, 1894, p.123 (attribution doubtful; handwriting not like Rembrandt's; ex-coll, van der Schelling); Lippmann, I, no.119; Kleinmann, II, no.52; Valentiner, 1905, p.68 (perhaps c.1655, just prior to sale; the Mantegna a school work); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.894; Wurzbach, 1910, p.417; Hind, 1912, I, p.40 (no proof that original belonged to Rembrandt); London, 1915, no.80 (c.1650 or earlier; with some details of provenance and of Mantegna's original; rejects doubts of Seidlitz, 1894, believing handwriting to imitate Mantegna's; verso perhaps as early as c.1620); Giglioli, 1920, p.176 (notes discrepancies in transcriptions); Weisbach, 1926, pp.57 and 446 (original by school of Mantegna); Hell, 1930, p.105, n.1 and p.106 (compares figure of Mary in an unspecified painting, said to be dated 1656 and repr. 'Klassiker der Kunst' supplement 'W.G.84' [a ref. not found]; typical approach to form of this period); Hind, 1931, repr. pl.2; Hind, 1932, p.61; Valentiner, II, 1934, no.621B, repr. (c.1650-55; otherwise as London, 1915); Benesch, 1935, p.54 (mid-1650s; original of Mantegna's school); Benesch, 1935[I], p.266 (c.1653-5); Benesch, 1947, p.27 and no.241, repr. (c.1656; after school of Mantegna drawing; notes influence of Mantegna on 'Madonna with the Cat' etching, Bartsch 63, Hind 275); Rosenberg, 1956[II], p.155 (c.1656; made as a close record, as with Mughal miniatures [see cat. nos.56-62, respectively 1895,0915.1275, Gg.2.263, 1910,0212.182, 1895,0915.1280, 1895,0915.1281 and Gg.2.262, Benesch 1187, 1190, 1199, 1200, 1204 and 1205]; discusses copy of Mantegna's 'Entombment', Benesch A105a); Benesch, V, 1957/73, no.1207, repr. fig. 1431/1507 (c.1656; compares paintings of the 1650s; praises rhythm and luminosity of style); Benesch, 1960, p.29 and no.89, repr. (c.1656; expands Mantegna's composition; greater vibrancy of surface); Exh. New York-Cambridge, 1960, p.50, under no.69 (with other examples of Mantegna's influence); White, 1962, repr. pl.9 (c.1655); Emmens, 1964, p.153,

repr. fig.30, reprinted 1979, II, p.208, fig.29 (see n.7 above); Gantner, 1964, p.78; Slive, 1964, p.278, repr. fig.13 (mid-1650s); Slive, 1965, I, no.121, repr. (c.1655; quotes Rosenberg, 1956[II]); Clark, 1966, pp.150-51, repr. p.149, fig.140 (total subordination of Rembrandt to Mantegna's style); Bloch, 1967, p.716 (as Clark, 1966); White, 1969, I, p.80 (figures merge with background more than in Mantegna's original); Campbell, 1971, p.140 (shares Mantegna's interest in relief compositions); Held, 1972, p.17 (nowhere else did Rembrandt treat so many allegorical figures together); Held, 1973, p.58 (as in 1972); Kauffmann, 1973, p.53, repr. fig.19 (c.1655; unusually careful copy); White, 1975, p.376 (notes freedom of copy; compares landscape copy after Titian in Lugt coll.); Broos, 1977, p.121 (with some lit.); Reznicek, 1977, p.80, n.10; Clark, 1978, p.97, repr. p.96, fig.102; Broos, 1982, p.248, repr. fig.2 (probably made before the sale of 1658; the only non-Dutch inscription known by Rembrandt; otherwise as London, 1915); Broos, 1983[I], pp.4-5, repr. fig.3; Exh. Washington, 1990, p.135, n.1 and p.158 (style compared to copies after Titian, especially that in Berlin, KdZ 17598, Washington cat. no.38); Massing, 1990, p.268, no.6AC (greater interest in Mantegna's style than in allegorical content); Schatborn, 1994, p.23; Royalton-Kisch and Ekserdijan, 2000, p.54, fig.3; Westermann, 2000, p.205, repr. fig.133 (as Emmens, 1964).

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### Subject

allegory/personification ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

castle/fort (verso) ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

### Associated names

Associated with Apelles ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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### Acquisition date

1860

### Acquisition name

Purchased through Christie's (7.vi.1860/762 as Rembrandt 'THE CALUMNY OF APELLES.

A curious and highly interesting drawing from the) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Purchased through A E Evans & Sons ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Purchased from Samuel Woodburn ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Benjamin West (L.419) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection S van der Schelling ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Arthur Pond (L.2038) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Salomon Gautier ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection William Esdaile ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Barnard (L.1419) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### Acquisition notes

Provenance:[1] S. Gautier; Jonathan Richardson, sen. (L.2184); his sale, London, Cock, 11th

day, 3 February, 1747 (1746 old style), lot 37, bt Price, £1-10-0 with three others but not Mantegna's original; A. Pond (L.2038 in graphite on accompanying sheet); J. Barnard (L.1419 on accompanying sheet); his sale, Greenwood, 1st night, 16 February, 1787, lot 88 with the Mantegna, bt West, £15-15-0; Benjamin West (L.419); his sale, Christie's, 4th day, 13 June, 1820, lot 53, bt Woodburn, £10-0-0; [2] Thomas Lawrence (L.2445; in his MS inventory, case 5, drawer 2, kept with the Mantegna); William Esdaile (no mark but in his sale; he purchased Lawrence's Rembrandts in 1835 - see cat. no.15 (1895,0915.1264, Benesch 286); Esdaile's sale, Christie's, 17 June, 1840, lot 120 bt Woodburn £27-6-0 with the Mantegna; Samuel Woodburn sale, Christie's, 4th day, 7 June, 1860, lot 762. NOTES ON PROVENANCE: [1] In the past literature the drawing is often stated to have been in the 'Vanderschelling' collection, doubtless on the basis of a misreading of Richardson's annotation, which refers to this collector as having possessed Mantegna's original. The mistake seems first to have been made in the Woodburn sale catalogue. For the provenance of the original (van der Schelling; Gautier; Barnard; bt West at his sale but apparently divided by him from the Rembrandt; then Lawrence, etc. as for the present sheet) see A. E. Popham and Philip Pouncey, 'Italian Drawings in the [...] British Museum. The fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries', London, 1950, no.158; the Rembrandt's provenance was discussed in Exh. London, 1981, no.59. The drawing features on Gautier's list of drawings, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Rawlinson MS D.903; kindly communicated to me by Carol Gibson-Wood, letter of 18 Feb. 1999, writing that Gautier must have sold the Rembrandt copy to Richardson before acquiring the Mantegna). [2] Described in West's sale catalogue as a copy by Mantegna after [!] Rembrandt's 'Apelles accused before King Ptolemy'.

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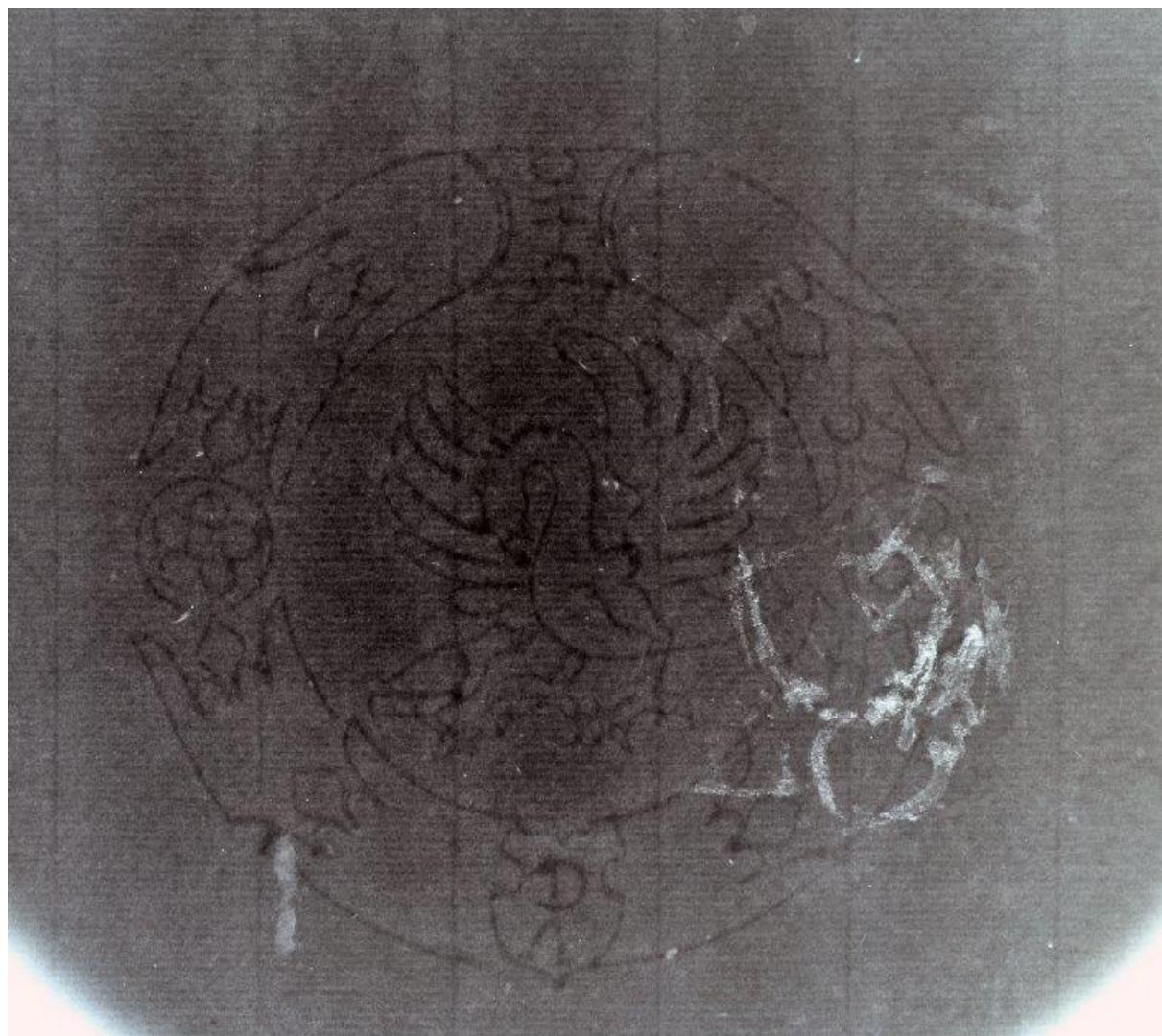
### **Exhibition History**

London, Lawrence Gallery, 1835, no.100;  
British Museum, 1899, no.A75 (possibly c.1650-60);  
1938, no.80;  
1956, p.16, no.1a;  
1972-3, no.125;  
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1981, 'Drawing: Technique & Purpose', no.59 (see n.1 under Provenance);  
1992, BM, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.53, repr. in colour (c.1652-4).

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Cat.47





Watermark

**Registration number:** 1961,0412.1

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 47 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 90a \(placed as\)](#)

[Benesch 948\(a\)](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1652-1655 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Absalom bowing before David (?); Absalom seated at right, wearing turban. c.1652-1655

Reed pen and brown ink, touched with white, with (later) brown wash;[1] ruled framing lines in pen and brown ink.

NOTE:

[1] That the wash is later, an idea first suggested by Peter Schatborn in conversation (12 July, 1989), is confirmed by the copy in Dresden, in which it is omitted (Benesch C75; HdG.231, repr. Freise, Lilienfeld and Wichmann, III, 1925, no.37; Exh. Dresden, 2004, no.58). The copy has a light underdrawing in graphite.

Verso: blank.

Watermark: pelican in a wreath, comparable to Churchill 500, Hewood 199 (Holland, 1644) and Rotterdam, 1988, p.350, cat. 35 (where dated to late 1650s, but may be earlier).

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: No inscription.

**Dimensions**

Height: 164 millimetres

Width: 216 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 25?mm apart)

**Condition**

Touched with later brown wash;[1] slightly faded and with surface dirt, especially near the corners; an indentation to the right, as if an engraver's roulette wheel had accidentally struck this part of the sheet. NOTE (also under Comment): [1] That the wash is later, an idea first suggested by Peter Schatborn in conversation (12 July, 1989), is confirmed by the copy in Dresden, in which it is omitted (Benesch C75; HdG.231, repr. Freise, Lilienfeld and Wichmann, III, 1925, no.37; Exh. Dresden, 2004, no.58). The copy has a light underdrawing in graphite.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.47:

Until its reappearance in 1960, the drawing was known only from a copy in Dresden (Benesch C75, see n.1 below). The subject is somewhat uncertain: the figure on the left conforms to the type used by Rembrandt for King David, and a scene of 'David and Absalom' (2 Samuel, XIV, 33) has been suggested,[2] in which Absalom 'bowed himself on his face to the ground before the king'. No other representation of this moment has been recorded.

In style the drawing appears to belong to the 1650s and may be compared with the dated 'Homer reciting' of 1652 in the Six album (Benesch 913). The kneeling figure is also similar to the study for the frame of the 'Anatomy Lesson of Dr Deyman' of 1656 on loan to the Rijksmuseum (Benesch 1175) as also to the sketch of a 'Child learning to Walk', here cat. no.53 (1912,0416.2, Benesch 1169). The story of David occupied Rembrandt considerably during the span of years between the two sheets in Amsterdam.[3]

#### NOTES:

[1] That the wash is later, an idea first suggested by Peter Schatborn in conversation (12 July, 1989), is confirmed by the copy in Dresden, in which it is omitted (Benesch C75; HdG.231, repr. Freise, Lilienfeld and Wichmann, III, 1925, no.37; Exh. Dresden, 2004, no.58). The copy has a light underdrawing in graphite.

[2] By Rotermund, 1959, p.188, discussing the copy in Dresden, repr. fig.106 and White, 1961, who compared many other works by Rembrandt for the identification of David (see also n.3); in the 1973 ed. of Benesch's catalogue of the artist's drawings he proposed 'Jonathan begging David's Forgiveness (?)', but without a reference.

[3] A list of drawings and etchings of David subjects is given by White, 1961, including the two drawings of 'Nathan admonishing David' formerly in the Rudolf collection (Benesch 918) and in the Metropolitan Museum (Benesch 948), the 'David receiving the News of Uriah's Death' in the Rijksmuseum (Benesch 890) and the etching of 'David in Prayer' (Bartsch 41, Hind 258) of 1652.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

White, 1961, pp.278-9 repr. p.205, fig.2 (c.1655 or later; subject 'David and Absalom?'); 'National Art-Collections Fund Report, 1961', 1962, p.27, no.2072 (came to light in 1960); White, 1962, repr. pl.6 (c.1655); Benesch, 1964, pp.137-8, repr. fig.35, reprinted 1970, p.262, fig.241 (late 1650s; important; reminiscences of Indian miniatures; subject perhaps as proposed by White, 1961); 'British Museum Report of the Trustees', 1966, p.73 ('David and Absalom'); Tümpel, 1967, p.28; Neufeld, 1970, p.178, n.6 (movement suggested by pentimento compared with Rotterdam 'Beheading of Baptist', Benesch 1035); Benesch, V, 1973, no.948A, repr. fig.1230 (1654-5; compares two drawings of 'Nathan admonishing David' in Berlin, Benesch 947, and Metropolitan Museum, Benesch 948; see also n.2 above); Sumowski, I, 1979, under no.230x ('David and Absalom'); Exh. Dresden, 2004, p.128, under no.58 (as Exh. London, 1992).

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#### Subject

old testament ([all objects](#))

#### Associated names

Representation of King David ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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#### Acquisition date

1961

#### Acquisition name

With contribution from The Art Fund (as NACF) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Purchased from Angus Macdonald ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Anon Lugt 1842 ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

#### **Acquisition notes**

Anonymous collector 'M' (L.1842); purchased from Angus Macdonald, 1961, with assistance from the National Art-Collections Fund. Previous note: When a student Mr Macdonald acquired the drawing from a junk shop and sold it to the British Museum in 1961. (Information 24 Jan 2007 from Sir Christopher White, then BM curator.)

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#### **Exhibition History**

London, 1965 (NACF), no.24 (as White, 1961 – see Lit. under Comment);  
1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.55, repr. in colour;  
2003-4 Dec-April, BM, NACF exhibition;  
2006, BM, 'Rembrandt: a 400th anniversary display' (no cat.)

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Cat.48



**Registration number:** 1910,0212.180

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 1043](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 48 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 73](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1652-1656 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

## Description

Christ walking on the waves; Christ grasps the hand of St Peter, who is sinking into the sea, five disciples in the boat, one climbing over the side. c.1652-1656

Reed pen and brown ink, touched with white; ruled framing lines in pen and brown ink

Verso: laid down on card

Watermark: lily in a crowned shield (in backing paper)

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Inscribed on verso of backing in graphite: '081/75'.

## Dimensions

Height: 191 millimetres

Width: 291 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 25mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Good; some foxing, mostly down the right side.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.48.

The composition echoes, in reverse, the earlier drawing in the Museum's collection of the same subject, perhaps by Govert Flinck (cat.no.7; 1895,0915.1262, Benesch 70). This in turn might have been based on a lost work by Rembrandt.

The date of c.1652-6 proposed here depends mainly on the drawing's stylistic proximity to the 'Homer reciting' in the Six Album (Benesch 913), which is dated 1652. The form of the heads is particularly close, each drawn in a simplified circle that tends to break at the top left. The abbreviation of the facial features is also similar, the expressions being conveyed by a single line for the brow, with two points or circles for the eyes and short strokes for the mouths. The three forms of shading in the drawing, encountered in the ship's prow (slanted parallel lines), around the apostle leaving the ship (vertical lines) and immediately behind the hem of Christ's robe (crossed lines) are all encountered in the foreground or the trees of the 'Homer'. That Rembrandt could produce a work in which the light is dissolved to such an extent at this period is also demonstrated by his dated etching of 'Christ among the Doctors' of 1652 (Bartsch 65, Hind 257). Nevertheless, the drawing could be a few years later, as is argued by its analogies with etchings of c.1654-6, such as the 'Supper at Emmaus' of 1654 (Bartsch 87, Hind 282), the 'Christ presented to the People' of 1655 (Bartsch 76, Hind 271) and the 'Christ appearing to the Apostles' of 1656 (Bartsch 89, Hind 237). The chronology of Rembrandt's late pen and ink composition drawings is poorly documented and a more precise dating is impossible.

A sketch representing the somewhat related subject of 'Christ asleep on the Sea of Galilee', with some affinities in style and composition to the present drawing, is in Dresden (Benesch 954). Executed on a sheet of similar dimensions (197 x 300) it probably dates from about the same time.[1]

NOTE:

[1] Dated to 1654-5 in Exh. Dresden, 2004, no.113.

**LITERATURE** (always as Rembrandt):

Michel, 1893, p.585; Bredius, 1899, p.304; Lippmann, III, no.71; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.1120 (c.1655); Saxl, 1908, p.347 (c.1650; compares 'Sick Woman reclining' in Paris, Petit Palais, Benesch 283; St Peter resembles figure in painting of 'Denial of Peter', now in Amsterdam, Bredius 594); 'Rembrandt Bijbel', II, 1910, repr. opp. p.51; Wurzbach, 1910, p.417; London, 1915, no.73 (c.1650-55; compares drawing in BM [now as Flinck, cat. no.7, 1895,0915.1262]); Neumann, 1919/18, p.882, under no.87 (as London, 1915); Hoykaas, 1925, pp.47-9, repr. pl.8 (not all apostles shown); Valentiner, I, 1925, no.426, repr. (c.1655; as London, 1915); Hell, 1930, p.24 (as London, 1915); Henkel, 1931, pl.LXI (c.1655); Benesch, 1935, p.63 (late 1650s); Popham, 1939, p.68; Amsterdam, 1943, p.36, under no.71 (as Benesch 1935); Schinnerer, 1944, no.54, repr. (c.1655); Benesch, 1947, p.28 and no.272, repr. (c.1659-60); Benesch, V, 1957/73, no.1043, repr. fig.1259/1327 (c.1659-60; with 'Taking of Christ', Stockholm, Benesch 1044, typically sculptural drawing of the period; notes triangular compositional construction around Christ, and rising and falling diagonals); Visser 't Hooft, 1957/56, repr. pl.XV (c.1655); Sumowski, 1958, repr. fig.68 (c.1659); London, 1961, p.39, under no.198 (compares Christ in 'Taking of Christ', Seilern Collection, Benesch 1022); White, 1962, pl.7; Rotermund, 1963, p.180, repr. fig.177 (notes extent of Christ's radiance); Sumowski, 1963, p.97, repr. fig.56, (c.1659); Slive, 1965, II, no.405, repr. (c.1658-60; as London, 1915); Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.155, under no.277 (expression foreshadows later etching of 'Christ's Agony', Bartsch 75, Hind 293); Rosand, 2002, p.246, repr. fig.235 (compression of emotion); Exh. Dresden, 2004, p.199, under no.113 (as Exh. London, 1992 [though not credited] compares Dresden drawing, Benesch 954, especially in depiction of water).

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**Subject**

miracles of christ ([all objects](#))

**Associated names**

Representation of Jesus Christ ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Representation of St Peter ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1910

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by George Salting ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection William Esdaile (L.2617) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Edward Cheney ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Thomas Lawrence (L.2445, but not in the inventory of his collection); William Esdaile (L.2617; see no.19); his sale, Christie's, 17 June, 1840, lot 75, bt Tiffin with lot 74 (now also

BM, 1935,0608.8) for 3s; E. Cheney; his sale, Christie's, 29ff. April, 1885, lot 861, bt Salting, £11; George Salting, by whom bequeathed, 1910.

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### **Exhibition History**

London, Grosvenor Gallery, 1878-79, no.292 (lent by E. Cheney);  
London, Royal Academy, 1899, no.171;  
London, British Museum, 1910, p.5;  
London, British Museum, 1912, no.166; 1938, no.73 (c.1650-55);  
London, British Museum, 1956, p.22, no.3, bis.;  
London, British Museum, 1992, no.56, repr. in colour (c.1652-6; compares Benesch 70 for composition and 954 for style [see Curator's Comment]).  
Vienna, Albertina, 2004, April-June, 'Rembrandt', no.113, repr.  
London, BM, 2006, 'Rembrandt: a 400th anniversary display'(no cat.)

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Cat.49



**Registration number:** 1895,0915.1261

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 49 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 63](#)

[Benesch 903](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1652-1656 (circa)

## Schools /Styles

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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### Description

The Holy Family; the Virgin seated at left, turned to right, a book in her lap, Joseph resting his head in his hand behind, the Christ Child in a cradle at right. c.1652-1656

Reed pen and brown ink, with some corrections in white (oxidised to black); ruled framing lines in the same brown ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

### Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, in pen and brown ink, lower left: '658'; in graphite: 'X Par [?] and 'S. upright.'

### Dimensions

Height: 117 millimetres

Width: 151 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 24/26mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

### Condition

Generally good; the black streaks to the right and under the Virgin's chin appear to be corrections in white that have oxidised (see also under Object Description); upper right corner creased and damp-stained; a brown stain beneath the cradle.

### Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.49.

As has generally been recognised, the style of the drawing suggests that it was made in the early-to-mid-1650s.[1] Of Rembrandt's securely dated drawings, the most comparable is the 'Homer dictating' of 1652 in the Six Album (Benesch 913), which although less broadly handled displays similarly delicate and suggestive outlines. The composition of a version of the subject of about the same period in Berlin (Benesch 873) is comparable,[2] and the British Museum's drawing has been rightly compared with the 'Angel appearing to Hagar' now in Hamburg, which is generally accepted as by Rembrandt (Benesch 904).[3]

### NOTES:

[1] See Lit. below; Valentiner was the first to date the drawing after 1650.

[2] The Berlin drawing has been attributed to a pupil in Berlin, 2006, p.211 but in the writer's view is stylistically inseparable from cat. no.48 (1910,0212.180) and therefore by Rembrandt. For the subject, compare also cat. no.39 (1900,0824.144, Benesch 516).

[3] By Benesch and again in Exh. Bremen, 2000-2001.

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Robinson, 1869/76, no.765/789 (ex. Robinson collection); Lippmann, IV, no.74; Kleinmann, III, no.62; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.878 (c.1645); London, 1915, no.63 (c.1640-50; otherwise as Exh. London, 1899); Valentiner, I, 1925, no.331, repr. (c.1654; follows London, 1915, but dates later, along with the Berlin and Budapest works compared); Van Dyke, 1927, p.119 (by van der Pluym, as also Berlin 'Joseph's Dream', Benesch 879); Hell, 1930, p.38 (quotes London, 1915 and Valentiner, 1925); Benesch, 1935, p.51 (c.1652); Benesch, 1935[I], p.265 (c.1652); Benesch, V, 1957/73, no.903, repr. fig.1110/1186 (c.1652; groups with other drawings around Berlin 'Christ healing a Leper', Benesch 900, and Hamburg 'Hagar and Ishmael with the Angel', Benesch 904); Rosenberg, 1959, p.114 (mid-1650s, not early 1650s); Slive, 1965, II, no.523 repr. (c.1655); Exh. Bremen, 2000-2001, p.128, n.1 (as Benesch, 1957/73).

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### Subject

holy family ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

### Associated names

Representation of Virgin Mary ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Representation of St Joseph ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Representation of Jesus Christ ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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### Acquisition date

1895

### Acquisition name

Purchased from Col John Wingfield Malcolm ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir John Charles Robinson ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Malcolm of Poltalloch ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### Acquisition notes

J.C. Robinson; John Malcolm of Poltalloch; purchased with his collection, 1895.

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### Exhibition History

London, 1899, no.A46 (probably c.1645; compared with Berlin 'Joseph's Dream', Benesch 879, related to 1645 Budapest painting, Hofstede de Groot, 1915, no.86, Bode 336 [not in Bredius]);

1938, no.63 (c.1640-50?);

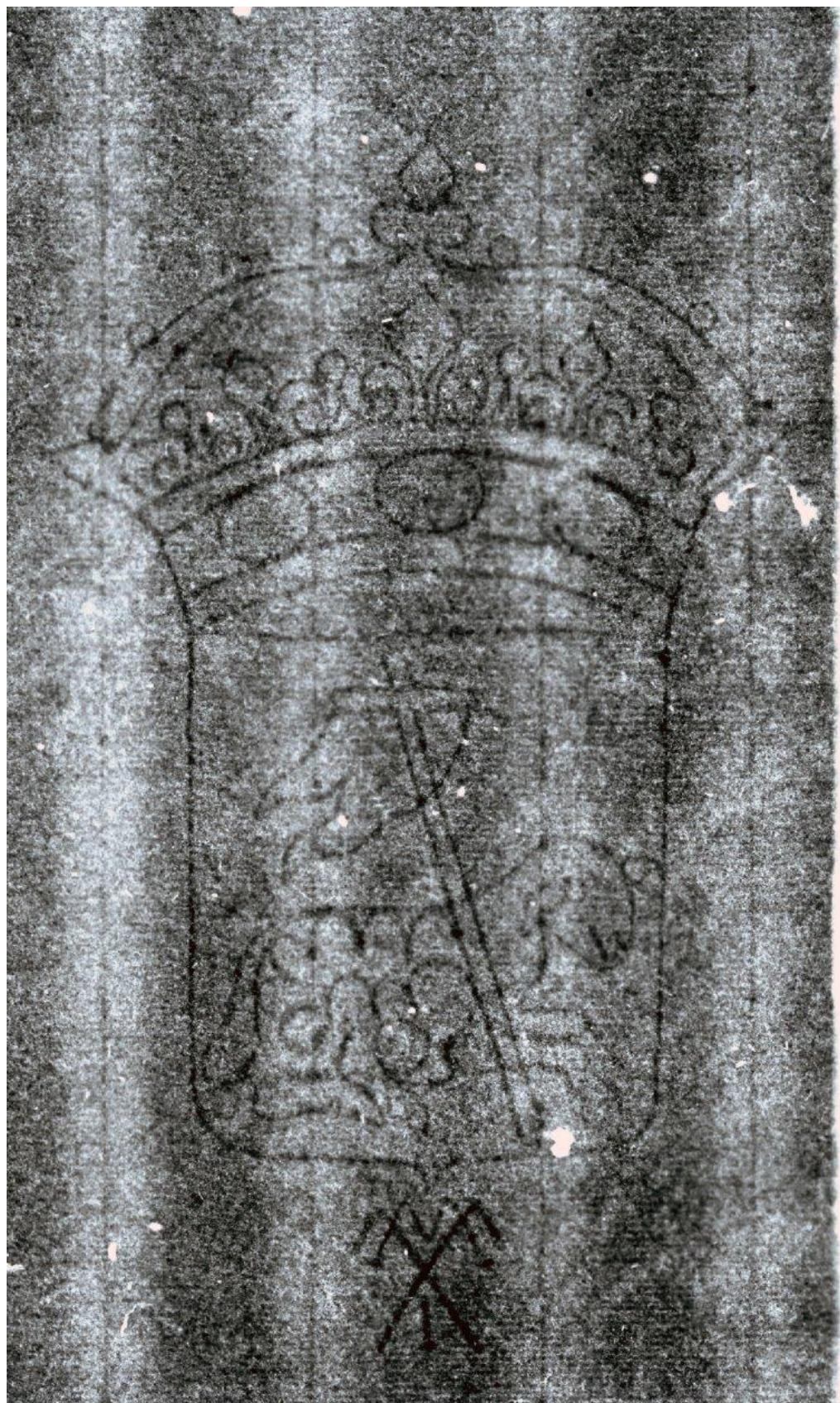
1956, p.21, no.1 bis.;

1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.57, repr. (c.1652-6).

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Cat.50





Watermark

**Registration number:** 1910,0212.175

## Bibliographic reference

[Hind 35](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 50 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Benesch 962](#)

## Location:

Dutch Roy XVIIc

## Object types

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

## Materials

paper ([all objects](#))

## Techniques

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

## Production person

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

## Date

1652-1656 (circa)

## Schools /Styles

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Description

The dismissal of Hagar and Ishmael; with Abraham wearing a turban standing outside a doorway. c.1652-1655

Reed pen and brown ink on pale brown paper; unruled framing lines in the same ink as the drawing.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

Watermark: Paschal lamb, similar to Rotterdam, 1988, no.154, repr. p.361; resembles Churchill 456 (Germany, 1657), and Hinterding catalogue D.a.a. (c.1655).

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, in graphite, in an eighteenth century hand, lower left: 'Rembrandt f/h7½/b9½/f [with an erased price]'.

## Dimensions

Height: 200 millimetres

Width: 245 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 23/25mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Good; trimmed somewhat irregularly; soiled at corners; three black spots at left margin.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.50:

The subject is from Genesis, XXI, 9-24: Abraham's wife, Sarah, gave birth late in life to Isaac. She had previously been barren and permitted Abraham to take Hagar as his second wife, by whom his son Ishmael was conceived. After Isaac's birth, Sarah forced Abraham to expel Hagar and Ishmael from their home: 'And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave it unto Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away' (verse 14). For related compositions by Rembrandt and his pupils, see cat. no.75 (1860,0616.121, Benesch 524). The present drawing was probably made not long after the version of c.1650 now in Amsterdam there mentioned (Benesch 916), in which the group of figures is more closely knit.[1]

In style the drawing appears to belong to the 1650s, the figures being executed in the rectilinear shorthand characteristic of the period and seen, for example, in the 'Homer reciting' in the Six Album, dated 1652 (Benesch 913). The head of Sarah to the right may also be compared with that of Minerva in the 'Minerva in her Study' also of 1652 and in the same location (Benesch 914). Other biblical drawings in a similar but broader style, such as the 'Christ and the Woman with the Issue of Blood' in Vienna (Benesch 1052), the 'Christ on the Road to Emmaus' in the Louvre (Benesch 987) and the 'Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob' in Berlin (Benesch 966, with similar background foliage) suggest that the present sheet may be from a few years later than the dated drawings in Amsterdam.[2]

It must be admitted that the present sheet's stylistic proximity to drawings now given to Aert de Gelder (including De Gelder cat. no.1; 1910,0212.176, Benesch 648, and the drawings with which it is there compared) and its distance from drawings of the same period such as cat. nos.47-9 (1961,0412.1, 1910,0212.180 and 1895,0915.1261) somewhat undermines confidence in the attribution to Rembrandt. Yet on the basis of the comparisons enumerated above it seems preferable to retain the traditional attribution. The watermark supports a date around 1655-7, which would be too early for De Gelder, who was born in 1645.

#### NOTES:

[1] Rijksmuseum (Benesch 916, see Amsterdam, 1985, no.40, where dated c.1650).

[2] The Louvre drawing, placed c.1655-6 by Benesch, was dated c.1654 by Starcky in Exh. Louvre, (Cabinet des dessins), 1988-9, no.58.

#### LITERATURE (as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Michel, 1893, p.585 (listed with 'Hagar and Ishmael', De Gelder cat. no.1 [1910,0212.176, Benesch 648], q.v.; unclear whether both or only the latter ex-'Carrew' coll.); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.1115; London, 1915, no.35, repr. pl.VII (c.1635-40 or later; less close to the etching of the subject, Bartsch 30, Hind 149, than cat. no.75 [1860,0616.121, Benesch 524]); Valentiner, 1925, no.26, repr. (c.1648-50); Hell, 1930, pp.22-3 (on development of motif of steps and architecture in Rembrandt's work); Benesch, 1935, p.55 (c.1653-5; compares 'Stoning of Stephen', Berlin, Benesch 959, 'Christ on Sea of Galilee', Dresden, Benesch 954, 'Christ and Samaritan Woman', Oxford, Benesch 978, 'Jacob shown Joseph's blood-stained Coat', Amsterdam, Benesch 971, 'Cot and his Family leaving Sodom', Washington, Benesch 963, 'Adoration of Shepherds', Washington, Benesch A117, 'Presentation in Temple', Turin, Benesch 970, 'Christ and the Adulteress', Rotterdam, Benesch 964); Hamann, 1936, pp.521-2, repr. fig.75, and pp.537-9 (school, perhaps Maes, based on Amsterdam version, Benesch 1126; notes weaker ex-Mallmann version, with variations, sold Lepke, Berlin, 13-14 June, 1918, no.192, 19 x 28); Hamann, 1948, p.83, repr. fig.61 (c.1650; compares other versions, including Rembrandt's copy after Lastman in Vienna, Benesch 447); Benesch, V, 1957/73, no.962, repr. fig.1176/1244 (c.1655; as Benesch, 1935, also comparing 'Reconciliation of

Jacob and Esau', Berlin, Benesch 966); Sumowski, 1961, p.17 (as Hamann, 1936); Fuchs, 1968, p.47, repr. fig.83 (c.1650; relates to versions repr. Valentiner, I, 1924, nos.20ff., noting increased role of Sarah); Amsterdam, 1985, under no.40, repr. fig.40b, and under nos.57-60 (mid-1650s; compared to Amsterdam version, Benesch 916; Rembrandt's copies of Indian miniatures may inform the style of the British Museum's drawing, as also of the 'Christ and the Woman with the Issue of Blood' in Vienna, Benesch 1052); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2, pp.382-3 and n.8 (as for cat. no.75 [1860,0616.121, Benesch 524]).

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**Subject**

old testament ([all objects](#))

**Associated names**

Representation of Ishmael ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Representation of Hagar ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Representation of Abraham ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1910

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by George Salting ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Van Dyssel ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection A G de Visser ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Eduard Ter Bruggen ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Brandt & Kerkhoff ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Van Dyssel sale, Amsterdam, van der Schley, J. de Bosch, Ploos van Amstel, de Winter and B. de Bosch, 11 )ct., 1784, kunstboek FF, no.1925; Brandt and Kerkhoff, 1821, no.2; Eduard Ter Bruggen; his sale, Amsterdam, 14-15 May, 1877, lot 209, bt de Visser, f.250; A.-G.de Visser; his sale, Amsterdam, 16-18 May, 1881, lot 331, bt Muller, 315 francs; bequeathed by George Salting, 1910.\* \* Formerly in the Ploos van Amstel collection, according to Exh. London, 1912, but without his mark. A version was in his sale, van der Schley et. al., Amsterdam, 3 March etc., 1800, Kunstboek x, no.31 (sold with lot 32 for f.3.10). The provenance as reconstructed here is based on Dutuit, II, 1885, p.110; cf. also Michel, 1893 (see Lit. under Comment).

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**Exhibition History**

London, Royal Academy, 1899, no.168;

London, 1910, p.4; 1912, no.157 (as formerly in Ploos van Amstel collection);

1938, no.35 (c.1635-40 or later);

1956, p.24, no.2;

1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.54.  
2012 Apr-Aug, UAE, Abu Dhabi. Treasures

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Cat.51





Watermark

**Registration number:** 1895,0915.1279

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 1103](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 51 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[JCR 807](#)

[Hind 97](#)

**Location:**  
Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**  
drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**  
paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**  
drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**  
Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**  
1654 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**  
Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Description

A young woman sleeping (Hendrickje Stoffels); her head resting on her right arm. c.1654  
Brush and brown wash, with some white bodycolour mixed in with parts of the wash touched with the pen in the hair; ruled framing lines in pen and brown ink (The sheet may have been prepared with an aqueous solution or drawn on when damp, as is suggested by the minor water stains at the edges).

Verso: see Inscriptions.

Watermark: countermark: 'PB' (perhaps a countermark to Arms of Amsterdam - cf. Churchill 2 [where dated 1651, although Arms of Amsterdam watermarks are unlikely before 1653]).

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Inscribed lower right, in graphite (nineteenth century?): '12'; verso, in graphite, right: '807 [the number in Robinson, 1876]' and lower left: '[...]44'.

## Dimensions

Height: 246 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 24/25mm apart)

Width: 203 millimetres

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Generally good; some damp and other stains, especially below; slightly ragged at extreme edges; a drying crease in the paper down left side.

## Curator's comments

Literature: H. Bevers, in H. Bevers et.al. 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Pupils: Telling the Difference', exh.cat. The J Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2009, cat.no.17.1 (as Rembrandt).

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.51.

This well-known drawing is unusual for Rembrandt in having been executed almost entirely with the brush. As a result, and in spite of its celebrity, it poses considerable problems with regard to its iconography, date and even the authentication of its attribution.

A few other drawings, generally thought like the present one to represent the artist's common-law wife, Hendrickje Stoffels, were made with extensive use of brown wash and it is to these that the British Museum's study may be most readily compared. Two of them, in Stockholm, representing a 'Woman by a Window' (Benesch 1101-2), are slightly more detailed and less suggestive in their draughtsmanship, yet are close in scale and mood. A larger drawing of a 'Woman standing by a Window' in the Louvre (Rothschild collection, Benesch 1099) is analogous in its handling of the wash although the figure is there largely defined with the pen. None of these drawings can be attributed or dated with any persuasive supporting evidence; like the present sheet, they stand as Rembrandt's work entirely on the basis of their apparent quality. The only independent support for the attribution is provided by a landscape drawing, also in the Louvre (Benesch 1351), which like the British Museum's study is executed entirely with the brush and in ink of the same hue; its attribution to Rembrandt is to some degree confirmed by the presence of his handwriting on the verso. Yet although they seem stylistically compatible the evidence the comparison offers for the attribution of the present work is limited, being unrelated in its subject-matter.

The date of the drawings of Hendrickje is usually fixed c.1655 or slightly later, largely on the basis of their analogies with paintings of the same model. Her identification in the present drawing, though not beyond dispute (the details are insufficiently clear), is plausible: the round face, the hair swept back from a regular hair-line, and the unforced, natural grace of her posture are characteristics shared with the paintings of her, like that in Berlin of the late 1650s (Bredius 116). Closer still is the image of Hendrickje in the National Gallery's painting of a 'Woman Bathing' (Bredius 437). Dated 1654,[1] Hendrickje there wears a similar, loose-fitting, white gown and the arrangement of her hair is the same. The compatibility of her looks and dress are matched by a resemblance in the handling of the brush in these two works, both in the outlining of the shadowed profiles of the figure and in the treatment of the drapery. A date of approximately the same period - a little earlier than usually thought in the past - is perhaps the most soundly-based suggestion for the drawing, although comparisons between works of different media provide far from ideal criteria for the establishing of its date and attribution.[2] Yet no close analogies exist with the artist's few dated or datable drawings of the 1650s so that it is necessary to resort to those with the National Gallery's painting. The attribution is sustained above all by the authority that seems inherent in the drawing's characterisation, execution and mood.

Hendrickje Stoffels was born in c.1626, the daughter of a soldier from Bredevoort, near Arnhem. By October 1649 she had entered Rembrandt's life and was probably already living with him. They never married, probably because under the terms of the will of his first wife, Saskia van Uylenburgh, who died in 1642, to have done so would have deprived Rembrandt and his heirs of the benefits of her estate. In 1654 the Council of the Reformed Church in Amsterdam reprimanded Hendrickje for her association out of wedlock with the artist, whose daughter, Cornelia, she bore later in the same year. Then aged about 28, this is the period to which the National Gallery's painting and the present drawing belong. In 1660, she and Titus van Rijn, the painter's son by Saskia, created a business partnership that may have shielded Rembrandt from his creditors. Her will of 1661 assigns her goods to Rembrandt's children with the artist as guardian and in the same year she was accepted as Rembrandt's wife in another document, although they had not formally united. She died in 1663 and was buried in

the Westerkerk, where Rembrandt was laid to rest six years later.[3] The depiction of a sleeping figure belongs to an iconographic tradition in Netherlandish art and it is possible that the drawing, like similar works by Willem Buytewech (1591/2-1624) and by Rembrandt's pupil, Nicolaes Maes (1634-93),[4] could have been intended as an exemplar of sloth or idleness. Yet such associations may only be speculatively attached to the drawing.

#### NOTES:

- [1] The date on the painting has often been read as 1655, but according to Exh. London, 1988-9, p.96 (ad later sources), the last digit is 'undoubtedly' 4.
- [2] The comparisons are yet closer with the X-radiograph of the painting, repr. loc. cit., p.99. Drawings in a similar brush technique by Rembrandt's pupil and friend, Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, are also usually dated to the mid-1650s (see Sumowski, III, 1980, p.1688).
- [3] This account of Hendrickje is based on a reading of the documents in Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979 (with further literature).
- [4] For a recent discussion of analogous drawings see G. Luijten, 1997, pp.370-71. For the Buytewech drawing, a 'Woman asleep' in the Institut Néerlandais, Paris, see Exh. New York-Paris, 1977-78, no.22, repr. pl.21 and Exh. Amsterdam-Washington, 1981-82, no.30, repr. p.41, fig.4; for Maes, see the discussion in Exh. Philadelphia-Berlin-London, 1984, p.LIII and p.241. Benesch, V, nos.1100 and 1104 (in Dresden and in the Rembrandthuis) catalogues two further studies of sleeping figures in comparable postures. Neither drawing may be convincingly attributed to Rembrandt himself and the Rembrandthuis drawing has been given to Drost in Amsterdam, 1991, no.6.

#### LITERATURE (as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Waagen, IV, 1857, p.215 (James collection); Brunet, 1866, p.260 (as Waagen, 1857); Robinson, 1876, no.807 (from James collection); Lippmann, IV, no.76; Kleinmann, III, no.50; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.914 (c.1655); Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; Hind, 1912, I, p.53, repr. pl.XI; London, 1915, no.97, repr. pl. X (c.1660-69); Neumann, 1918[I], p.22 and no.15, repr; Stockholm, 1920, p.70, repr. fig.84 (compares 'Youth standing with a Stick, seen from behind', Stockholm [Sumowski 781x as Eeckhout]); Van Dyke, 1927, p.65 (by Eeckhout); Hell, 1930, p.106 (expressive brushwork compared to Rembrandt's use of pen in late period); Hind, 1932, pp.41 and 111, repr. pl.XXIV (like Hokusai); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.713, repr. (c.1657-60; Hendrickje; compares 'Woman at a Window', Stockholm, Benesch 1102); Benesch, 1935, p.61 (c.1655-6; groups with other wash drawings, the 'Boy at a Desk', Dresden, Benesch 1095, and the two Stockholm studies of a 'Woman at a Window', Benesch 1101-2); Benesch, 1935[I], p.267 (c.1655-6); Popham, 1939, p.68, repr. pl.IV; Poortenaar, 1943, p.26 and no.93, repr. (c.1655; Hendrickje?); Schinnerer, 1944, no.21, repr. (c.1657-60); Benesch, 1947, pp.13, 14 and 27, and no.249, repr. (c.1655-6; Hendrickje); Hanfstaengl, 1947, repr. p.141 (c.1657; Hendrickje); Rosenberg, 1948/64, I, p.148/243, repr. II, fig.203 (likeness unimportant; Hendrickje?); Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, p.167, under no.231 (compares Stockholm drawing, Benesch 1102); Boon, 1955, p.144, repr. p.142, fig.7; Knuttel, 1956, pl.55; Rosenberg, 1956, p.128, repr. fig.20 (Hendrickje); Benesch, V, 1957/73, no.1103, repr. fig.1323/1394 (c.1655-6; Hendrickje; compares two drawings of 'Woman at a Window', both Stockholm, Benesch 1101-2); Benesch, 1960, p.29 and no.86, repr. (c.1655-6; 'radiant with colour'); Boeck, 1962, repr. fig.40; White, 1962, pl.20 (c.1655); Flekel, 1963, p.41, repr.; Stech, 1963/68, pl.52 (Hendrickje); Slive, 1965, II, no.525, repr. (c.1655; Hendrickje?; celebrity of the drawing); Gerson, 1968, repr. p.481, fig.c (Hendrickje?); Haak, 1969/68, p.264, repr. fig.441 (c.1655-6; 'Woman asleep'); Bonnier, 1970/69, repr. in colour, p.69, fig.46 (c.1655-6); Exh. Amsterdam, 1973, p.20, under no.33 (relates to technique used

by Eeckhout); Haak, 1976/74, no.85, repr. (c.1655-6); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.534; Sumowski, III, 1980, p.1688, under no.782x (quoting earlier writers and relating to Eeckhout); Amsterdam, 1981, p.28, under no.1, n.5 (drawing's celebrity); Exh. Amsterdam-Washington, 1981-2, p.24, repr. fig.14 (technique also used by Eeckhout); Tümpel, 1986, repr. p.265 in colour (c.1655-6); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2[I], pp.10 (repr.), 17 and 120 (mid-1650s); Schatborn, 1993, p.23; Exh. Paris-Haarlem, 1997, p.xxvi, repr. fig.6 and van Berge-Gerbaud, p.132, under no.57 (first of a group of sketches of Hendrickje; original study of a figure in light; broader brush used than by Eeckhout in his wash/brush drawings); Exh. Melbourne-Canberra, 1997-8, p.327, repr. p.328, fig.11 (c.1655); Starcky, 1999, pp. 94-5, repr.; Exh. Bremen, 2000-2001, p.12, repr. fig.8 and p.54; Exh. London-Paris-Cambridge, 2002-3, p.126, n.7; Roscam Abbing, 2006, p.29, repr.; Exh. London, 2006[I], p.148, under no.13, repr. fig.149; Schwartz, 2006, p.295, repr. fig.524; Sluijter, 2006, p.330, repr. p.328, fig.315 (not useful in identifying other images of Hendrickje - an ideal type).

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#### **Associated names**

Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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#### **Acquisition date**

1895

#### **Acquisition name**

Purchased from Col John Wingfield Malcolm ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Malcolm of Poltalloch ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Andrew James ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

#### **Acquisition notes**

Andrew James; his sale, Christie's, 28 April, 1873, lot 108, bt Col, £9-5-0, for Malcolm; John Malcolm of Poltalloch; purchased with his collection, 1895.

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#### **Exhibition History**

1878-9 London, Grosvenor Gallery, no.201;

1895, London, no.375;

1899, no.A83 (c.1664-5);

1938, no.97 (c.1660-69);

1956, p.10, no.12; 1965-7, p.3;

1965, BM, Masterpieces of the Print Room, (no cat.);

1969 Amsterdam, , no.122 (c.1655)

1972-3, London, no.211 (c.1660-69)

1984, BM, Master Drawings & Watercolours, no.95;

1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.58, repr. in colour (c.1654; compares X-radiograph of London painting –see Curator's Comment);

1996/7, Sep-Jan, BM, Malcolm Collection, no.85, repr. in colour;  
2000, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Glory of the Golden Age, no.51;  
2001/2, Edinburgh-London, Rembrandt's Women, no.118 Edinburgh only);  
2006, BM, Rembrandt: a 400th anniversary display (no cat.)  
2009/10 Dec-Feb, Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, Rembrandt and his pupils

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Cat.52



**Registration number:** 1948,0710.7

**Bibliographic reference**

Benesch 1174

Royalton-Kisch 2010 52 (Rembrandt)

Hind 98(a)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1654-1660 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A young woman seated in an armchair; turned slightly to left, looking down and towards the front, wearing a low-cut dress. c.1654-60

Reed pen and brown ink with brown wash; some scraping-out for highlights near the chin; double framing-lines in pen and brown ink.

Verso: tracing of recto.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: No inscriptions.

**Dimensions**

Height: 163 millimetres

Width: 143 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 22/24mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

**Condition**

Good.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.52:

The broad, painterly manner of drawing resembles Rembrandt's studies for the 'Syndics of the Drapers' Guild' of 1662, in particular the single figures in Amsterdam and Rotterdam (Benesch 1179-80). Yet the sheet may predate them as is argued by Rembrandt's use of a liquid style in earlier studies for portraits (including that for Jan Cornelisz. Sylvius, here cat. no.37, 1874.0808.2272, Benesch 763), as also by its analogies with the 'Young Woman

sleeping' (here cat. no.51; 1895,0915.1279, Benesch 1103), and with the drawings in Stockholm of a 'Woman at a Window' to which it has previously been compared (Benesch 1101-2).<sup>[1]</sup> The pose resembles Rembrandt's etched portraits of the mid-1650s, including those of 'Thomas Haaring' (Bartsch 274, Hind 287) and 'Arnold Tholinx' (Bartsch 284, Hind 289), and the drawing should be situated between these and the studies for the 'Syndics' of c.1662. A more precise dating is impossible given the rarity of datable drawings from Rembrandt's late years.

The model has often been identified as Hendrickje, which seems possible though by no means certain, and the identification would favour a date c.1654-55 (compare cat. no.51; 1895,0915.1279, Benesch 1103).<sup>[2]</sup> The costume, in a Renaissance style, suggests that Rembrandt had a particular historical or biblical subject in mind.<sup>[3]</sup> The figure appears to hold a scroll in her left hand, rather as in the 1635 etching, the 'Great Jewish Bride' (Bartsch 340, Hind 127) for which the subject of 'Esther meditating on the Decree to slay the Jews' has been suggested.<sup>[4]</sup> Given the woman's regal robes the drawing may have been intended to represent the moment from this episode when Esther decided to risk her life by approaching Ahasuerus to oppose Haman's treacherous intentions towards her people (Esther, IV, 8).<sup>[5]</sup>

#### NOTES:

[1] By Benesch, 1957/73, no.1174.

[2] Analogies were seen with Potiphar's wife in the paintings in Washington and Berlin by Clark, 1966 (see Lit. below; his other comparisons seem wide of the mark). The connection with the 'Portrait of Hendrickje' in the National Gallery (Bredius 113), emphasized in Exh. London 1988-9 (see under Exhibitions above) is rendered remote by the differences in pose and the Renaissance costume in the drawing, as well as by the probability that she here holds a scroll in her left hand (see further below).

[3] As suggested by White, 1969 (see Lit. below).

[4] See Kahr, 1966. White, loc. cit., suggested that the model holds a scroll, which improves on the idea that the object is a wine-glass (Popham, 1952I). Other writers, wrongly in the present writer's view, have seen the object as an ill-drawn right arm.

[5] As pointed out by Kahr, loc.cit., subjects from the story of Esther were common in Dutch seventeenth-century art, not least in Rembrandt's own work. A painting of c.1632-3 by Rembrandt, perhaps of the same subject, is in Ottawa (Bredius 494, Corpus A64 with discussion of iconography). Artists and writers in the Dutch Republic saw parallels between the Jewish escape from tyranny and their own successful liberation from the Spanish yoke.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

'National Art-Collections Fund Annual Report', 1948, p.19, no.1503 (perhaps Hendrickje; c.1662-3; both ends of quill pen used?); Popham, 1952, p.43; Popham, 1952[I], pp.6-7, repr. fig.III (c.1662-3; from a posed model, not a study for a particular painting; compares Titian and Sebastiano del Piombo; possibly Hendrickje; perhaps a wine-glass in her left hand); Benesch, V, 1957/73, no.1174, repr. fig.1396/1471 (c.1655-56; possibly Hendrickje; Renaissance costume; compares two drawings of 'Woman at a Window', Stockholm, Benesch 1101-2, and cat. no.51; 1895,0915.1279, Benesch 1103); Benesch, 1960, p.26 and no.82, repr. (c.1655-6; costume recalls Titian); White, 1962, pl.22 (c.1655); 'British Museum Report of the Trustees', 1966, p.73 (c.1660-69; possibly Hendrickje); Clark, 1966, p.212, n.23 and p.213, n.6 (c.1656; Rembrandt often created curious foreshortening of arms; same model used for 'Joseph and Potiphar's Wife' paintings in Washington and Berlin, Bredius 523 and 524, in Dresden 'Studies of Two Women', Benesch 1185, and in 'Polish Rider', New York, Bredius 279); Haak, 1969/68, p.272, fig.457 (c.1655-6; perhaps for a painting, but identification as Hendrickje unconvincing); Bonnier, 1970/69, repr. in colour, p.107, fig.73

(c.1655-6); Exh. London, 1969, p.26 (compares etching of 'Arnold Tholinx', Bartsch 284, Hind 289); White, 1969, I, pp.141 and 143 (as Exh. London 1969; probably Hendrickje, Venice inspired; pose resembles painting of an 'Old Man in an Armchair' in London, Bredius 267; model may hold a scroll); Wegner, 1970, p.32 (compares 'Portrait of a Young man', Six coll., and 'Portrait of a Man', Louvre, Benesch 1181-2); Held, 1972, p.13, repr. pl.3 (Venetian style costume, perhaps drawn with some play in mind); Held, 1973, p.55 (as in 1972); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.535; Sciolla, 1976, p.15 and pl.LII (perhaps Hendrickje); Sumowski, V, 1981, under no.1083xx (refutes comparison by Clark, 1966, with Dresden sheet); Royalton-Kisch, 1989 (1990), pp.137-8, repr. fig.17 (not directly related to London painting, Bredius 113); Schatborn, 1994, p.23 (agrees with Exh. London, 1992).

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### Associated names

Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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### Acquisition date

1948

### Acquisition name

Purchased through Sotheby's (30.vi.1948/145) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Purchased through Colnaghi ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

With contribution from Anonymous ([all objects](#))

With contribution from The Art Fund (as NACF) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Purchased from Anonymous ([all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Samuel Woodburn (? his sale, London, Christie's, 7.vi.1860/774 as 'Rembrandt, Van Rhyn - A female seated, in an attit') ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### Acquisition notes

Anonymous sale, Sotheby's, 30 June, 1948, lot 145, bought P. & D. Colnaghi for BM, with contributions from the National Art-Collections Fund and an anonymous donor.

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### Exhibition History

London, 1956, p.8 and no.8;

London, 1965, no.23 (reed pen; quotes Benesch);

Amsterdam, 1969, no.131 (c.1655-60; probably Hendrickje, comparing London painting, Bredius 437; unusual as a preparatory drawing, the Renaissance costume suggesting a biblical subject or portrait historié; quotes Popham, 1952[I]);

London, 1974, no.108;

London, National Gallery, 1988-9, 'Art in the Making: Rembrandt', under no.13, p.108, repr. fig.84 (possibly an early study for 'Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels in a Chair', Bredius 113, London; the X-radiograph of the painting supports this view);

1992, BM, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.59, repr. in colour (c.1654-60);

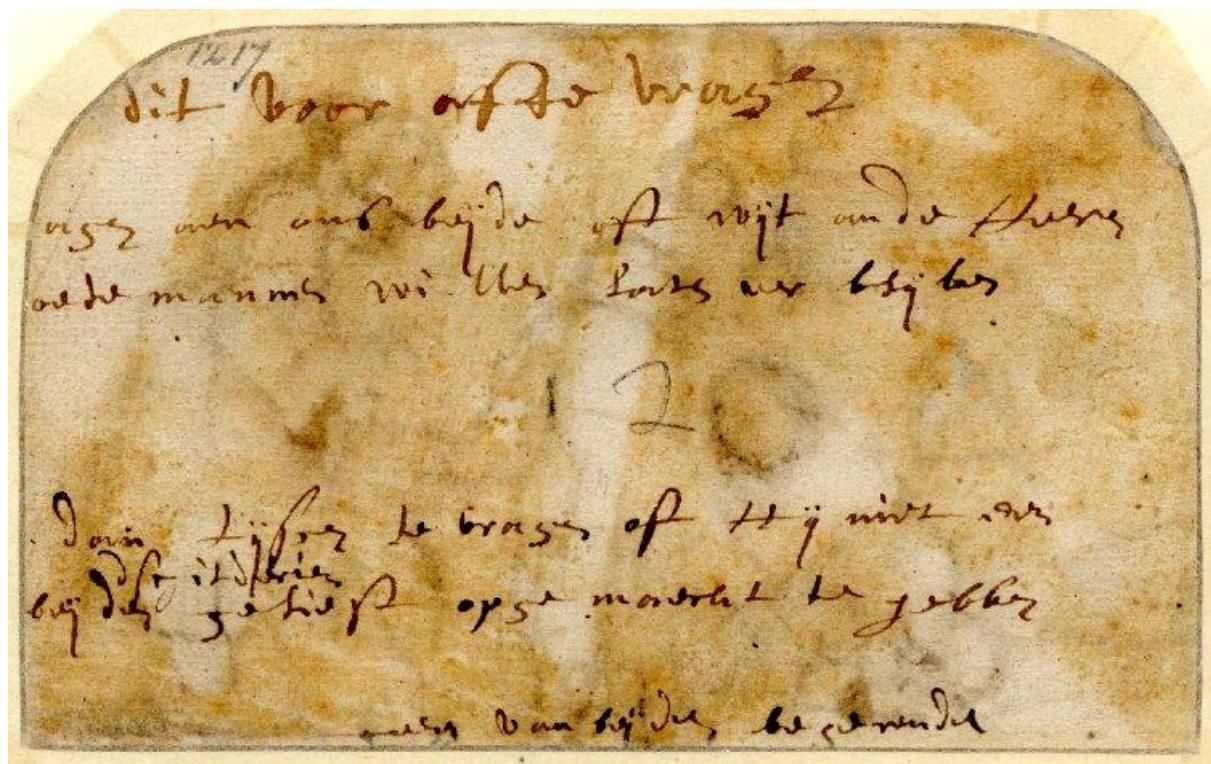
perhaps represents Esther);  
Edinburgh-London, NG Scotland/Royal Academy 2001-2, 'Rembrandt's Women', no.124,  
repr. in colour (as Exh. London, 1992);  
London, Hayward Gallery, ('Saved! 100 Years of the National Art-Collections Fund'), no.65.

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Cat 53



Recto



Verso

Registration number: 1912,0416.2

**Bibliographic reference**[Benesch 1169](#)[Royalton-Kisch 2010 53 \(Rembrandt\)](#)[Hind 81](#)**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))**Materials**paper ([all objects](#))**Techniques**drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))**Production person**Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))**Date**

1656 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A child being taught to walk; two girls, seen from behind, supporting the child on either side, a figure seated on the ground at left encouraging the child, a woman standing behind with a pail. c.1656

Pen and brown ink on brownish-cream paper.

Verso: see Inscriptions (and illustration). Exceptionally, there is no British Museum stamp.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed in pen and brown ink, verso, in Rembrandt's hand: 'dit voor af te vragen / [vr]agen aan ons bijde oft wijt an de Heeren / [g?]oede mannen willen laten ver blijben / dan tijssen te vragen of Hij niet een / bijden d schilderien gelieft opgemaectt te hebben / geen van beiiden begerende.' Top left, in graphite: '1217' and centre: '2'. The main inscription is written around the '2' and was therefore probably made later, and the '2' could therefore also be autograph.

The main inscription may be translated as follows: 'to ask this first / to [ask] ourselves both whether we will leave it to the gentlemen / good men to ask Thysz. whether he would not like to have one [or?] both the paintings finished/ if he wants neither of the two.'

**Dimensions**

Height: 93 millimetres (top corners rounded)

Width: 154 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 24mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Generally good, though trimmed; a little spotted and stained, with some foxing.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.53:

The last of Rembrandt's studies of a child learning to walk, the subject also of cat. no.13 (1910,0212.187, Benesch 421, q.v.; compare also the related drawing, cat. no.14, 1910,0212.186, Benesch 422) and of a sketch in the Institut Néerlandais in Paris made in around 1639 (Benesch 391).<sup>[1]</sup>

Various dates have been proposed for the present sheet. A possible clue is provided by the inscription on the verso, which appears to have been made in preparation for an interview or a letter between Rembrandt and his creditors. The artist still owed much of the money used to buy his house in the St. Anthoniebreestraat, Amsterdam, in 1639. Christoffel Thysz., whose name is mentioned, died in 1658, but it has been argued that the drawing is later, executed on an old scrap of paper.<sup>[2]</sup> Rembrandt's debt to Thysz. was not fully repaid in Thysz.'s lifetime and the inscription could have been made at any moment from c.1650-58, when the artist's financial crisis worsened and the house was sold.<sup>[3]</sup>

The style of the drawing is compatible with Rembrandt's in about 1656 or later, as is demonstrated by a comparison with his study for the frame of the 'Anatomy Lesson of Dr Deyman' (Benesch 1175, Amsterdam) of 1656. Although smaller in scale, the abbreviated heads and facial expressions are similarly conveyed; the raised arm of the standing woman on the left in the British Museum's drawing is rendered as a circle in the same way as Dr Deyman's and both studies employ passages of hatching made up of slanted and separated parallel lines. The 'Child being taught to walk' is somewhat more broadly handled and therefore possibly later. But a date c.1656 seems acceptable and is also within the period suggested by the inscription on the verso. Rembrandt's later drawings, such as the 'Simeon in the Temple' dated 1661 in the Heijblock album in the Royal Library, The Hague (Benesch 1057), are less closely related in the appearance of their penwork.

## NOTES:

[1] Dated earlier by Benesch, but may be grouped with other sketches executed c.1639 in iron-gall ink (see under cat. no.25; 1910,0212.181, Benesch 242). Another drawing of the same subject in Amsterdam (Benesch 412) has been assigned to Rembrandt's pupil Carel Fabritius by Schatborn (see Amsterdam, 1985, no.65). In Rembrandt's etching of c.1646, the 'Walking Trainer' (Bartsch 194, Hind 222), which includes academic studies of the nude, a woman encourages a child learning to walk, prompting the suggestion that the print's iconography is concerned with education in general. See Emmens, 1964, p.154. There is no suggestion (or evidence) that Rembrandt envisaged such meanings for the drawings.

[2] In particular by Benesch, 1935, 1947 and 1957 (see Literature below).

[3] See Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, p.610, who prefer a date c.1650-51 for the inscription. It has been argued that Rembrandt made the etching, the 'Goldweigher's Field' (Bartsch 234, Hind 249), which shows Thysz.'s Saxenburg estate near Haarlem, in 1651 in order to alleviate his burden of debt (Valentiner, 1951, pp.346-7; Regeren Altena, 1954, p.9; the latter thought the print concerned might rather be Bartsch 223, Hind 244).

**LITERATURE** (always as Rembrandt):

Hind, 1914-15, no.16, repr. recto and verso (before c.1658, when Thysz. died, if the inscription refers to Christoffel Thyssen to whom Rembrandt owed money on the purchase of his house in 1639; Rembrandt possibly arranging to pay off debts in pictures); London, 1915, no.81 (c.1650-58; otherwise as Hind, 1914-15); Benesch, 1925I, reprinted 1970, p.99 (compares 'Christ and Adulteress' and 'Lamentation', both Munich, Benesch 1047 and 1049, 'Taking of Christ', Stockholm, Benesch 1044, 'Christ and Woman with Issue of Blood', Vienna, Benesch 1052 and 'Studies for Liberation of St Peter', Dresden, Benesch 1062); Van Dyke, 1927, p.30 (by Rembrandt, but with reservations); Exh. Madrid, 1934, p.77, under no.1 (compares drawing in Madrid, Benesch 1162); Benesch, 1935, p.67 (c.1661; verso inscription earlier); Amsterdam, 1942, p.14, under no.32 and p.16, under no.36 (groups with late drawings, including 'Sheet of Studies' in Amsterdam, Benesch 1148); Benesch, 1947, p.29 and no.284, repr. (c.1660-62; argues for later dating than London, 1915 and that the drawing could postdate the inscription by several years); Valentiner, 1951, pp.346-7 (c.1650-52; inscription refers to Rembrandt's debt problems of this period; style and subject resemble Maes' drawings at this time); Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, p.177, under no.248 (compares figures in background of 'Ark of Noah', Chicago, Benesch 1045); Benesch, 1957/73, no.1169, repr. fig.1390/1466 (c.1660-62; as Benesch, 1935; compares also 'Sheet of Studies with three Beggars', Berlin, Benesch 1141, 'Studies for Liberation of St Peter', Dresden, Benesch 1062, and 'St Peter at Tabitha's Death-Bed', Dresden, Benesch 1068); London, 1961, p.36, under no.197 (quoting Benesch); White, 1962, repr. pl.19; Munich, 1973, p.108, under no.768 (compares drawing in Munich by a follower of Maes, inv.1624, repr. pl.402, no.768); Sciolla, 1976, p.16 (very late); Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, pp.610-11, repr. recto and verso (notes for a discussion with Thysz. to repay debts on house that probably occurred c.1650-51; refers to Valentiner, 1951); Vogel-Köhn, 1981, pp.13, 95 and 97, and no.99, repr. (c.1659-62; the last of Rembrandt's drawings of children; compares 'Woman taken in Adultery', Benesch 1047, and 'Study for Claudius Civilis', Benesch 1061, both Munich); Ornstein-van Slooten, 1982, p.14, repr. p.16, figs.6 and 6a (as London 1915); Amsterdam, 1985, p.142, under no.65 (compares drawings of same subject, one here cat. no.13 [1910,0212.187], another in the Institut Néerlandais, Benesch 391 and a school drawing in Amsterdam, Benesch 412, ascribed to Carel Fabritius); Alpers, 1988, p.112 and repr. fig.4.15 (explaining 'modern look' of Rembrandt's drawings); Schatborn, 1994, p.23; Crenshaw, 2002, pp.163 and 238; Rosand, 2002, pp.241-2, repr. fig.231; Hockney, 2004, p.54, repr. ('the best drawing ever made'); Weschler, 2005, p.52, repr. (reiterating Hockney, 2004); Berlin, 2006, p.165, under no.48, n.6, p.176, under no.51, n.9 and p.178, under no.52, n.10 (compares style of Berlin 'Slaughtered Ox', Benesch 1160; compares handwriting to that seen on Benesch 1186 and 1053); Schwartz, 2006, pp.115 and 132, repr. figs.229-30.

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**Subject**

child ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1912

**Acquisition name**

Purchased from Colnaghi ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Hugh Miller ([all objects](#))

#### **Acquisition notes**

Hugh Miller; purchased from Colnaghi, 1912. RK Notes: I am grateful to Colnaghi's for the information that they acquired the drawing from a certain Hugh Miller. Their records for the drawing begin in 1911.

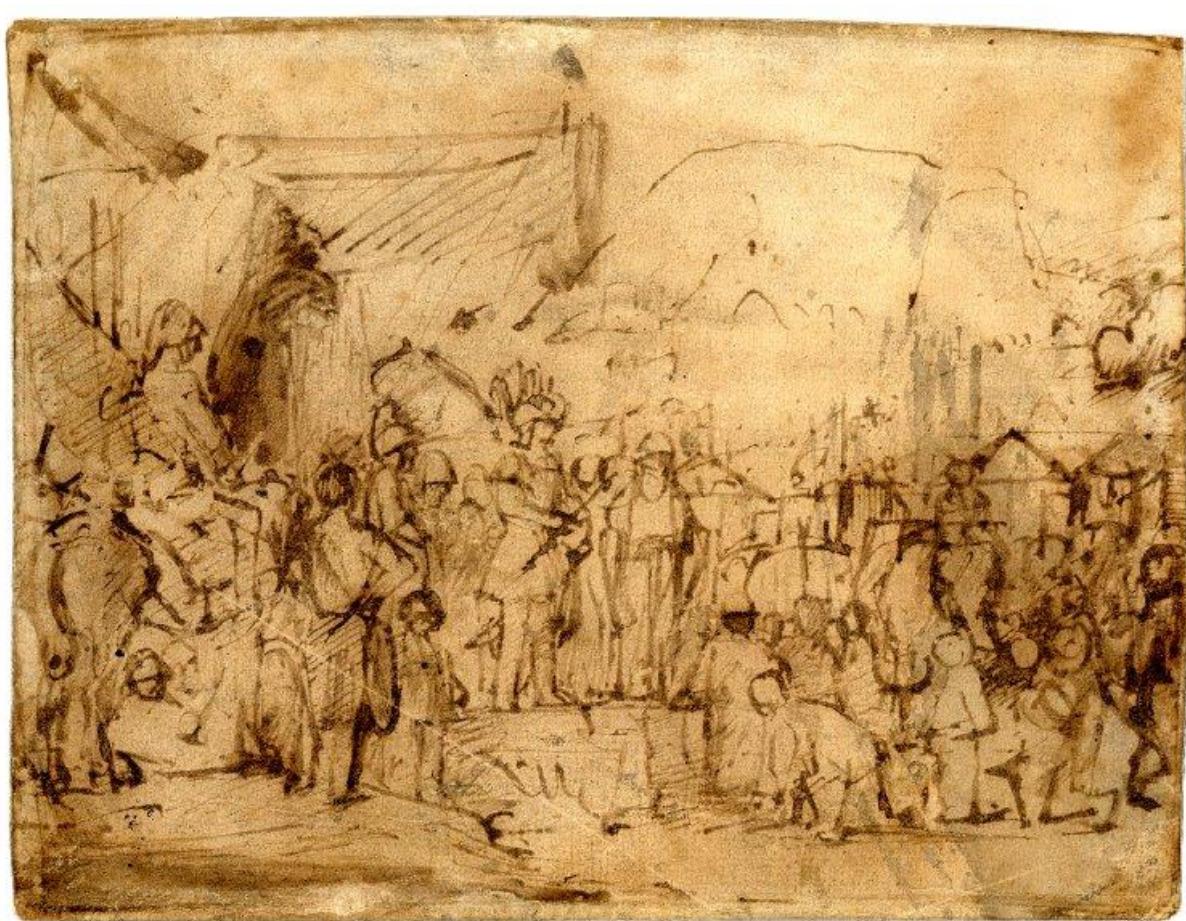
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#### **Exhibition History**

London, 1912, no.165 (mentioning Rembrandt's creditors and 'Tijssen');  
1938, no.81 (c.1650-58);  
1956, p.15, no.11;  
1992, BM, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.60, repr. in colour;  
1999/00 Sep-Jan, Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam, 'Rembrandt's Treasures'.

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Cat.54



**Registration number:** 1943.1113.69

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 1045\(a\)](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 54 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 97a \(placed as; see n.1 under Comments\)](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1655-1660 (circa)

## Schools /Styles

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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### Description

Pyrrhus pardoning captives and releasing them to Fabricius; a throng of soldiers on horseback and on elephants, a group of bound (?) figures kneeling on the ground to right. c.1655-60

Reed pen and brown ink with brown wash; unruled framing lines in the same medium; some accidental blotches of grey, mostly in the right half of the sheet.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

### Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, in graphite, top left: '5353'; and lower right: 'Rembrandt' and a price, erased.

### Dimensions

Height: 193 millimetres

Width: 251 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 23mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

### Condition

Much creased and faded; some repairs near the edges; accidental grey blotches, mostly in right half of the sheet; has suffered from damp and may have been immersed in water.

### Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.54:

The subject is from Plutarch's 'Lives': Pyrrhus, King of Epirus (modern Albania) arrived in Southern Italy in 280 BC to assist the Tarentines in their defence against the Romans. Despite some successes, he was eventually forced to retire from Italy. But he was involved several times in negotiations which led to the release of prisoners. In the second such parley, the Roman officer Fabricius led the delegation, Pyrrhus unsuccessfully attempted to buy him with gold, and to frighten him with an elephant (he had never seen one). But the third episode is represented here, in which Pyrrhus, having been warned by Fabricius of a plot to assassinate him, released prisoners in gratitude, and sent his advisor, Cineas, to Rome as a negotiator.[2]

In the drawing, Pyrrhus is recognizable from his helmet, with a plume and goat-horns. Fabricius is seen in profile to the left of him, and Cineas, the bearded advisor, to the right. The group of soldiers to the left, one on horseback, are probably the guard sent by Pyrrhus to escort Fabricius to and from his camp. Two episodes from the 'Life of Pyrrhus' (although not this one) were chosen for the decoration of the new Town Hall (now Royal Palace) in

Amsterdam, and it is possible that the present design, although unused, was made in association with that project. In this case the drawing would date from c.1655-56, when the dedication and construction of the Town Hall were undertaken.

The heads, particularly of the kneeling figures to the right, are abbreviated to circles in the same way as those in the study in the Amsterdam Historisch Museum related to the painting, in the same Museum (both have frequently been housed in the Rijksmuseum), of the 'Anatomy Lesson of Dr Deyman' of 1656 (Benesch 1175). This is also suggestive for dating the drawing and means that, like other drawings of historical or biblical subject matter of similar style, including the 'Return of the Prodigal Son' in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Benesch 1011), and the 'Ark of Noah' in Chicago (Benesch 1045), it appears to date from before c.1660, when Rembrandt's penwork became yet more summary.[3] The drawing also exhibits similarities, especially in the continuous shading seen here on the banner to the left and on the rostrum in the centre, with the 'Susannah and the Elders' in Berlin (Benesch 977).[4] A drawing in Rotterdam, which probably represents 'Coriolanus receiving the Deputation from the Roman Senate' (Benesch 1034), is inseparable from the present drawing in style and may conceivably have been made in series with it.[5]

#### NOTES:

[1] The drawing was given the Hind 'Additional' no.188 and placed as no.97a. A note, probably by A.E. Popham, inscribed in MS in the Department's copy of Hind's catalogue, suggests a date in the 1660s and related the composition to the drawing in Munich, Benesch Ad 1045A, mentioned above. The subject was given as 'Titus Manlius condemning his Son to Death'.

[2] The subject was precisely identified by Golahny, 2002, following the suggestion of Benesch, 1959 (see Literature below). She further argues (in Golahny, 2003) that Plutarch's account would have been known to the artist through the translation of his 'Life of Pyrrhus' published by A. van Nyvelt in 1603, reprinted in 1644; an abridged translation by M. Everart was published in 1601; and that Rembrandt was influenced by Gottfried's 'Chronicle' published in 1630, a copy of which he may well have owned (as suggested by his inventory of 1656); Tümpel, 1968 (see Lit. below) had identified the scene as 'Coriolanus and the Roman Matrons', the story related by Livy, II, 40 and Plutarch, XII, 34-36; the idea was in part prompted by the resemblance to a painting of the subject by Pieter Lastman, Rembrandt's teacher, now in Dublin (repr. Bauch, 1960, p.98, fig.61).

[3] Compare, for example, the 'Simeon' of 1661 in the Heyblock album, The Hague, Benesch 1057, the Berlin composition sketch for the 'Syndics of the Drapers' Guild', Benesch 1178, of 1662, and the Stockholm 'Homer dictating' of 1663, Benesch 1066. A painting by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout of 1658, now in Toledo, which represents the 'Continenace of Scipio', may also provide a pointer to the date of the British Museum's drawing, as its composition is comparable in general terms (repr. Manuth, 1998, p.145, fig.6).

[4] The Berlin drawing was attributed by Sumowski to Nicolaes Maes (Sumowski, VIII, 1984, no.1966bx), in my view unconvincingly. It was also accepted as Rembrandt's work by Schatborn (e.g. in Amsterdam, 1985, under nos.36 and 48) but omitted in Berlin, 2006.

[5] The drawing was rejected from Rembrandt's oeuvre by Giltaij in Rotterdam, 1988, no.164, but retained by the present writer (in 1990, p.133). Giltaij misrepresented Benesch's suggestion for the drawing's subject: he did not believe that it showed the later delegation of Roman matrons.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt except Giltaij, 1995):

Popham, 1952, p.43 ('Scene from Roman History'); Benesch, V, 1957/73, no.1045A, repr. fig.1262/1330 (c.1659-60; perhaps a painting envisaged; subject from life of Pyrrhus);

Benesch, 1959, pp.321-2, repr. fig.1, reprinted 1970, pp.221-2 (c.1659-60; subject is from 'Life of Pyrrhus'; compares Ark in Chicago drawing, Benesch 1045; basis in a lost composition of 1640s reflected in pupil's drawings in Munich, Benesch Ad1045A, on which see above, and the 'Thetis and Achilles', Pierpont Morgan Library, Benesch A45; monumentality foreshadows the 'Claudius Civilis' painting in Stockholm, Bredius 482; subject from Plutarch, ch.LIX); Sumowski, 1961, p.20 (could be as early as 1655 - cf. 'Quintus Fabius Maximus', Berlin, Benesch 956, 'Presentation' and 'Coriolanus' both in Rotterdam, Benesch 1032 and 1034; perhaps a study for a painting in Amsterdam Town Hall, the commission later being given to Bol); White, 1962, pl.8 (c.1660); Tümpel, 1968, pp.48-50 (subject 'Coriolanus receiving the Roman Matrons', based on Lastman painting in Dublin, from Livy, II, 40); Fuchs, 1973, p.82, repr. fig.36 (c.1660; summary execution); Broos, 1975-6, pp.224-5, repr. fig.26 (as Tümpel, 1968); Broos, 1977, p.118 (erroneously quoting Kieser, 1941); Sumowski, III, 1980, under nos.814-15xx (as Benesch, 1959); Tümpel, 1986, repr. p.49 (c.1659-60; as Tümpel, 1968); Exh. Amsterdam, 1991-2, pp.82 and 127, under no.20, p.83, fig.31 and p.124, fig.20.1 (as Tümpel, 1967); Schatborn, 1994, p.23; Giltaij, 1995, pp.100-1 (inconceivable for Rembrandt; conceivably by Maes); Broos, 2000, p.4, repr. fig.3 (Lastman's 'Coriolanus' painting now known to date from 1625-6, when Rembrandt was studying with him; the drawing shows its continuing influence [but is still identified as representing 'Coriolanus']); Exh. Kassel-Amsterdam, 2001-2, p.141, repr. fig.6d (not a copy from Lastman; perhaps a sketch for a painting); Golahny, 2002, pp.243-8 (1655-60; represents Pyrrhus pardoning Captives and releasing them to Fabricius; possibly connected to Town Hall decorations); Golahny, 2003, pp.191-5, repr. fig.56 (as Golahny, 2002; see further n.2 above); Golahny, 2003[I], pp.83-91, repr. fig.3 (as Golahny 2003; perhaps a critique of Bol's designs for Town Hall); Berlin, 2006, pp.170 and 180, under no.49 and 53 (compares Berlin drawings, Benesch 1175 and 1141).

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#### Acquisition date

1943

#### Acquisition name

Donated by Eric Rose (See n.1 under Comment) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Fred W Rose ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

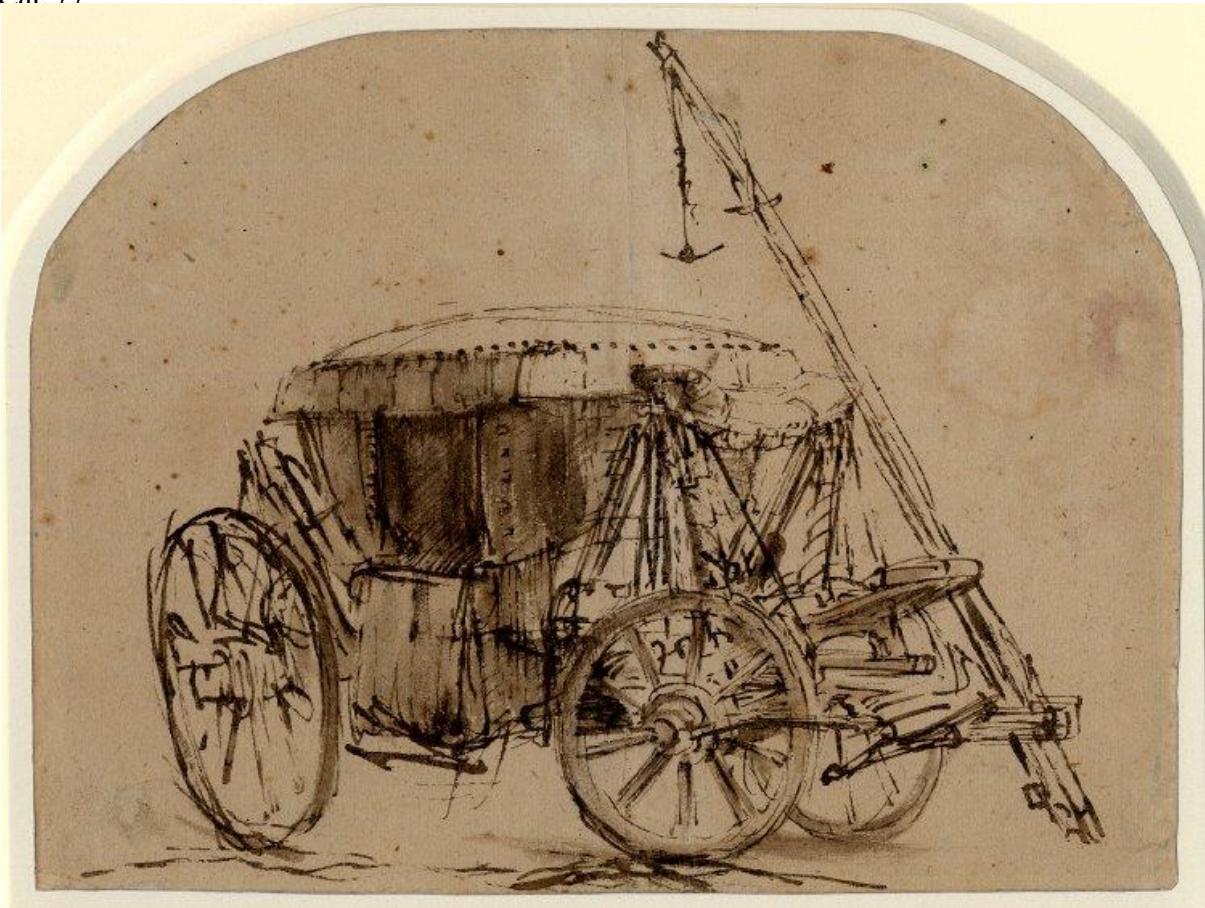
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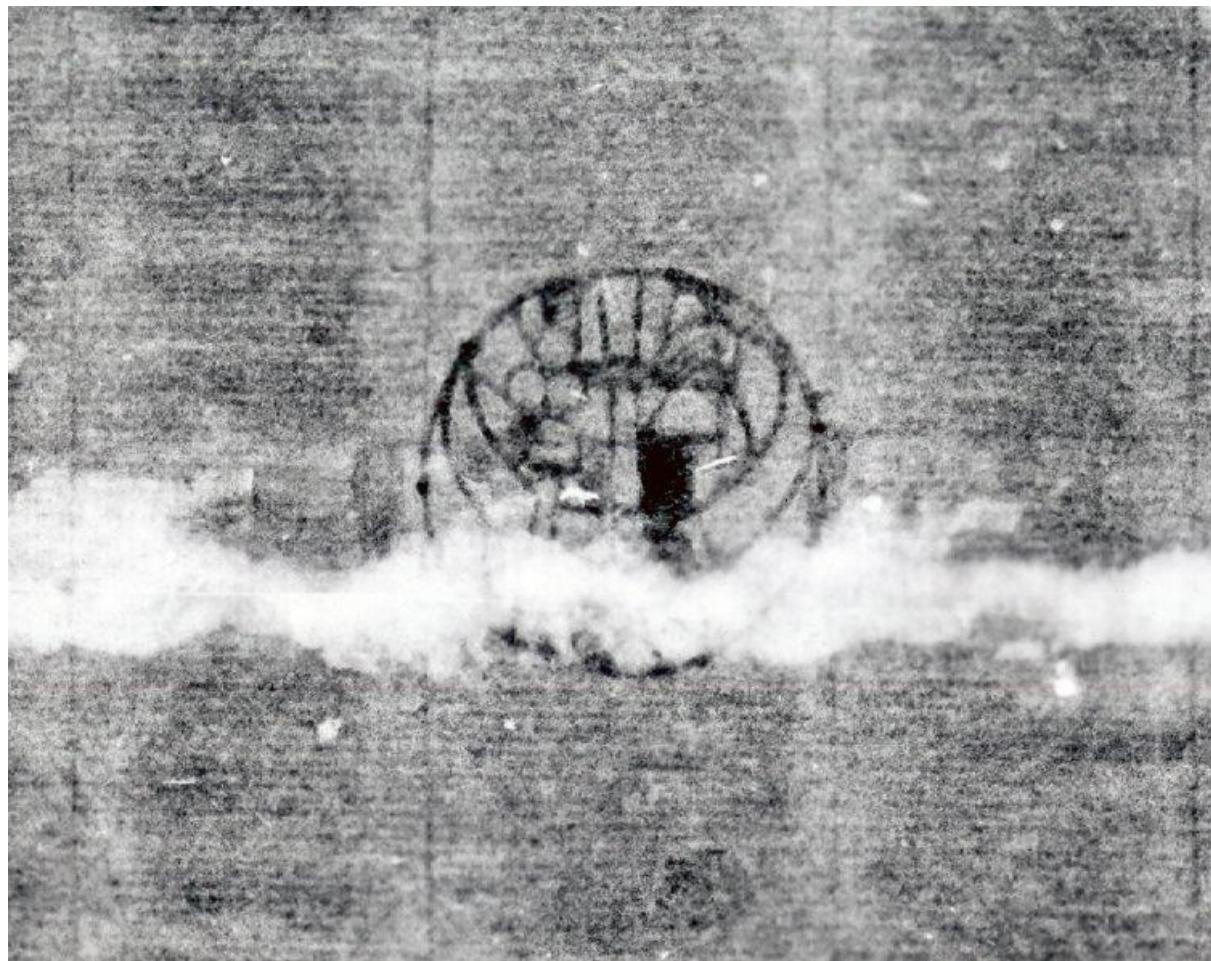
#### Exhibition History

1992, London, no.61, repr. in colour (c.1655-60; probably represents Coriolanus);  
2004 April-June, Vienna, Albertina, 'Rembrandt', no.131, repr.

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Cat 55





Watermark

**Registration number:** Oo,9.112

**Bibliographic reference**

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 55 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 71](#)

[Benesch 756](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1660-1663 (circa)

## Schools /Styles

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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### Description

A coach; its shaft resting upwards against the box. c.1660-1663

Pen and brown ink with greyish brown wash.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

Watermark: small circle with an unidentifiable design.

### Inscriptions

Inscription Content: (Recorded when lifted in c.1960): inscribed verso, in an 18th or possibly 17th century hand, 'De Ryskoets v. Rembrant' [i.e. the coach by Rembrandt].

### Dimensions

Height: 193 millimetres (top corners rounded)

Width: 254 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 29/30mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

### Condition

Some water-stains, spots and foxing; cut vertically and rejoined; a small repair below nearer wheel.

### Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.55.

An unusual subject for a Rembrandt sketch, executed in the liquid and summary style of his late period.[1] It has rightly been associated with the 'Portrait of Frederik Rihel on Horseback' in the National Gallery, London (Bredius 255), in which a similar vehicle appears. The resemblance is no more than general and in the painting the carriage moves forward with passengers, a driver and with its curtains drawn back. The canvas shows the sitter taking part in a procession, probably that of the entry of William III into Amsterdam in 1660. Rembrandt could have been asked by the sitter to include the coach in the painting, hence the artist's need to make the drawing in preparation for this detail.[2]

Stylistically, the sheet is analogous to Rembrandt's studies for the 'Syndics of the Drapers' Guild' of 1662 in the Rijksmuseum (Bredius 415), in particular to that of the 'Syndic Volkert Jansz.' in Rotterdam (Benesch 1180). A date for the present sketch between 1660, when the procession took place, and 1663, when the National Gallery's portrait is thought to have been completed,[3] seems acceptable.

### NOTES:

[1] Drawings of coaches were also made by Willem Buytewech, Adriaen van de Venne and

others (see Haverkamp Begemann, 1959, p.145 and fig.138, dating Buytewech's study to c.1622-3).

[2] For the painting, see London, 1991, pp.358-362. It was recorded by Bode as 'said to be dated 1649', and the painting and drawing were assigned to that year until recently. The carriage used in the procession is shown in a contemporary print of the event, repr. Luttervelt, 1957, p.199, fig.8 and van Eeghen, 1958, p.79, with the curtains more open as in the painting. The basic structure of the vehicles seems similar, though with differences that might be explained by temporary fittings (such as the cover for the driver and the upper fringe). Luttervelt, op. cit., p.197, suggests that some uncertainty surrounds the accuracy of the depiction of the carriages in the print but notes, p.213, that the drawing may be of one used in the 1660 entry.

[3] See Exh. London, 1988-9, in which it is stated that the date on the painting 'appears to read 1663, and this would be acceptable on stylistic grounds'.

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt; refs to 'painting' are to National Gallery, ex-Panshanger, 'Frederick Rihel on Horseback', Bredius 255, on which see above): Bürger, 1858, p.403; Blanc, II, 1861, p.453 (perhaps a study for the painting); Vosmaer, 1877, p.546 (c.1649, perhaps for the painting); Dutuit, IV, 1885, p.86 (perhaps for the painting); Michel, 1893, p.582 (perhaps for the painting); Seidlitz, 1894, p.123 (late); Lippmann, I, no.122; Kleinmann, III, no.30; Bell, c.1905, repr. pl.L; Bode and Valentiner, 1906, p.55, repr.; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.966; London, 1915, no.71 (perhaps c.1649; compares to painting); Eisler, 1918, pp.91-2 and 238, repr. fig.50 (c.1652); Benesch, 1935, p.43 (late 1640s); Poortenaar, 1943, no.63 repr; Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.756, repr. fig.901/954 (c.1649, comparing painting; compares 'Skeleton Rider', Darmstadt, Benesch 728); Luttervelt, 1957, p.213 (c.1660, as also the painting, and related to Amsterdam entry of that year); Rosenberg, 1959, p.113 (1650s, as also the painting); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1961, p.55 (related to the painting, which is later than Benesch thought); Sumowski, 1961, p.14 (probably c.1655, like the painting); Scheidig, 1962, p.55, no.97, repr; Slive, 1965, I, no.124, repr. (c.1655; 'apparently' related to the painting); Bauch, 1966, p.23, under no.440 (cf. the painting, of 1663); Haak, 1969/68, p.212, fig.353 (c.1649); Campbell, 1971, p.114 (notes Buytewech's drawing); Haak, 1976/74, no.83, repr. (c.1655?); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.407; Sciolla, 1976, repr. pl.XXXIX; Exh. London, National Gallery, 1988-9, p.134, under no.134 (not really connected with the painting).

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**Subject**

carriage/coach ([all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1824

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Probably J. Hoofman sale, Amsterdam, Roos, De Vries and Brondgeest, 19th Oct. 1818 and

following days, portfolio N, no.12: 'Een uitgespannen Koets [an unteamed coach]; met de pen en gewassen, door Rembrandt', bt Glossen, f.150.

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### **Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.A62 (perhaps c.1648; relates to Bredius 255);  
1938, no.71 (c.1649);  
1956, p.14, no.6;  
Amsterdam, 1969, no.139 (often related to Bredius 255, perhaps of c.1663);  
1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.68, repr. in colour (c.1660-63);  
2004, Vienna, Albertina, 2004 April-June, 'Rembrandt', no.167, repr.

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Cat.56



**Registration number:** 1895,0915.1275

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 1187](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 56 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 74](#)

[JCR 803](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1656-1661 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Four Orientals seated under a tree; bearded old men wearing turbans, seated in a half-circle on a terrace, one holding a cup, the other a book, a steep rocky outcrop behind. c.1656-1661  
Pen and brown ink with brown and grey wash, touched with white and with some scraping-out, on oriental paper prepared with pale brown wash.

Verso: laid down on remnant of old mat.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Lower right, in graphite: '13'; on back of mat, signed below in black ink by J.C.Robinson: 'J.C.Robinson 7 June 1860'; in graphite, above: '783 [crossed out]' and centre: '...5... [erased]'.

**Dimensions**

Height: 194 millimetres

Width: 124 millimetres

**Condition**

Generally good, though the surface scratched in places, mainly in the centre.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.56.

A free copy of a Mughal school miniature, one of a series of such drawings by Rembrandt, including cat. nos.57-61 (Gg.2.263, 1910,0212.182, 1895,0915.1280, 1895,0915.1281 and Gg.2.262, Benesch 1190, 1199, 1200, 1204 and 1205). Executed on Japanese paper, the drawings are far from precise copies, being transformed into Rembrandt's style, yet in their delicacy of handling they appear to have been influenced by the originals.[3]

In the case of the present sheet and many other drawings in the series, the prototypes have been identified in a series of Mughal miniatures that were incorporated in the eighteenth century into the rococo decoration of the Millionenzimmer (or Feketinzimmer) in Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna.[4] In the course of their transfer the miniatures were cut and retouched extensively, and for example, the tree included in the present sheet was overpainted.[5] Nevertheless, it is clear that the artist made alterations to his model from the start, adding characteristic touches of realism to the expressions and modelling of the figures as well as to subsidiary details such as the tray and the plates. The position of the coffee pot in the lower left foreground was also changed. The present sheet is unusual among those in the series in its inclusion of a background landscape: the others concentrate almost exclusively on the figures.

Inscriptions on the books held by the figures in the original miniature identify them as (from left to right) Shaykh Husayn Jâm, Shaykh Husayn Adjmîrî, Darvîsh Muhammad Mâzanderânî and Shaykh Miyân Mîr. The books held by the two figures on the left also bear the date 1037, corresponding to 1627-8 of the Christian calendar. The miniature itself could be somewhat later than this and may be a version of an earlier drawing, but at all events Rembrandt was copying works that were made in his lifetime.[6]

The copies are difficult to date, but two external factors have to be taken into account: first, that the design (but not the costumes) of the present drawing resembles Rembrandt's etching of 'Abraham and the Angels' of 1656 (Bartsch 29, Hind 286).[7] God the Father is shown seated on the ground with the three angels before a dish, and Abraham on the right holds a pot not unlike the one copied from the miniature, which is partly obscured by later additions. (The biblical text says that the meal took place under a tree, a feature omitted from the print although found in the miniature and the drawing.[8]) Secondly, that the series of Mughal miniatures may have been in the album 'full of curious miniature drawings besides various woodblock and copper prints of all kinds of costumes' that is listed in Rembrandt's inventory of 1656 and was sold in 1658, although this is far from certain.[9] While these factors suggest a date of about 1656 or 1658, the style of the copies is more compatible with drawings of the early 1660s, including the 'Presentation' of 1661 in the Heijblock album, The Hague (Benesch 1057) and the 'Study for the Jewish Bride' of about the same date in a private collection, New York (Benesch 988). Given the general lack of securely datable Rembrandt drawings between 1656 and 1661, the copies of Mughal miniatures are best placed c.1656-61. There is no conclusive reason for insisting, as many writers have done, that the present copy preceded the 1656 etching.

The exact number of copies in the series is uncertain. An album of 25 'Indian drawings by Rembrandt' (including the present sheet; see under Acquisition Notes) was sold from Jonathan Richardson, senior's, collection in 1747. Yet only 24 of the 26 drawings from Rembrandt's series that survive bear his collector's mark. Four that do have his stamp also carry the mark of an earlier collector, Richard Houlditch, making it probable that Richardson's album was compiled from more than one source (or that there were further drawings of the same type in his collection that were not part of the album). This supposition receives further support from the recent rediscovery of three oriental drawings, two of them in the British Museum and formerly attributed to Rembrandt, that bear his mark.[10] A

drawing in Stockholm, clearly based on a similar prototype (Benesch 450), seems to have been made in the late 1630s and although it was not in Richardson's collection his album might have contained one or more Rembrandt drawings that do not, strictly speaking, belong to the series. The problem of reconstructing Richardson's album and the original extent of Rembrandt's series is further exacerbated by the possibility that drawings owned by Richardson may have been subsequently divided or trimmed, eliminating his mark.

Furthermore, two drawings formerly in Weimar but of which all trace has been lost, neither of which bore Richardson's mark, could also have belonged to Rembrandt's set.[11]

Rembrandt's reasons for making such an extensive series of copies are unclear. The set is unique in his oeuvre and could have been made either for personal study or for a specific purpose or commission. The concentration on the details of the clothing worn by the figures depicted in the series suggests that the costumes were of particular interest. (In one drawing, Benesch 1193 now in Cleveland, Shāh Jahān's shoes are studied twice.[12]) Yet in Rembrandt's own work, apart from the etching of 'Abraham and the Angels', there are few direct echoes of the knowledge he had gained by studying the miniatures.

Often referred to in this context is the figure of Haman in the painting of 'Esther's Feast' in Moscow of 1660 (Bredius 530) but the clothes of Jacob in cat. no.34 (Gg.2.250, Benesch 606), a much earlier drawing, suggest that Rembrandt had already studied oriental modes of attire long before the copies were made, an example that is by no means unique.[13] Indeed, one of his earliest paintings, the 'David with the Head of Goliath before Saul' of 1627 in Basel (Bredius 488; Corpus A9), includes on the left a horseman whose costume shows a familiarity with oriental models. From the later period some reflection of the miniatures may lie behind drawings such as the 'Dismissal of Hagar and Ishmael' (cat. no.50; 1910,0212.175, Benesch 962), the 'Four Orientals' last recorded in New York (Benesch 1139) and the 'Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau' in Berlin (Benesch 966).[14] A more direct response seems to occur in the work of Rembrandt's pupil, Aert de Gelder, whose drawing of a 'Group of Orientals' in the Abrams collection, Boston (Sumowski 1052) has connections with the series both in the costumes and the penwork. De Gelder's paintings also frequently exhibit an interest in oriental dress. Other instances of the influence of Rembrandt's drawings on his work are known.[15] In the compiler's opinion, the attribution of the drawings is not entirely secure, and the possibility that De Gelder or another pupil was responsible for them cannot be wholly excluded.

The present drawing was engraved by S. Watts in 1767. His print, which names Ralph Willet as the owner of the drawing, was later published in Charles Rogers' 'A Collection of Prints in Imitation of Drawings', London, 1778 (not paginated).

#### NOTES:

[1] The extreme edge of the sheet bears traces of the gold leaf decorative border typically used by Richardson for mounting his drawings and which survive on many others from the same group.

[2] The fuller provenance than that provided in earlier publications is largely the result of research by Christopher White (notes in Museum files). A drawing of the same description as the present sheet was sold in the Pole Carew sale, Wheatley's, 2nd day, 14 May, 1835, lot 255, bt Thane, 5s, but the British Museum's two copies of the catalogue are annotated to the effect that this was a print - presumably that by S. Watts mentioned above.

[3] The same may be said of Rembrandt's other late copies, including cat no.46 (1860,0616.86) and the attributed drawing in the Metropolitan Museum after Mantegna's 'Entombment' (Benesch A105a), which like the Mughal series is on oriental paper (see Rosenberg, 1956[II], p.153, repr. p.158, fig.2, and Royalton-Kisch and Ekserdjian, 2000).

[4] The original of the present drawing was first recognised by Glück, in Strzygowski and

Glück, 1933, p.22. He also recognised the originals for cat. no.57 (Gg.2.263, Benesch 1190) and the Louvre 'Timur' sheet (Benesch 1188). Benesch subsequently matched further drawings with the Schönbrunn miniatures, which were in the room by 1762. Illustrations of the miniatures were published by Strzygowski, 1923, that of the present drawing being on his pl.6. Given that so many of Rembrandt's drawings can be traced to the Millionenzimmer it seems likely that they were indeed his actual models, rather than versions of them. Their provenance is thought possibly to be Dutch (see Strzygowski and Glück, 1933, p.22) and further arguments in favour of this hypothesis are provided in n.5 and under cat. no.61 (Gg.2.262, Benesch 1205), which combines elements from two miniatures at Schönbrunn.

[5] This point was rightly stressed by Strzygowski and Glück, 1933, and is clear from the reconstruction of the original of the Louvre's 'Timur' copy, Benesch 1188, published by Broos, 1980, fig.17. It seems to confirm that the Schönbrunn miniatures, rather than other versions, were indeed Rembrandt's originals. The ghost of the tree is clearly visible in the photograph. In Rotterdam, 1988, under no.30, Giltaij publishes a miniature in Oxford as a possible prototype for the Rotterdam drawing, Benesch 1189, but it could be a version of a lost work known to Rembrandt and differs in some substantial details from his copy.

[6] Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1980, p.16, dates the originals between c.1610-15 (for cat. no.58; 1910,0212.182, Benesch 1199) and c.1655 (Benesch 1197, Louvre). Sarre, 1904, p.157, already noted that the originals must have been contemporary with the artist. I am grateful to Professor Michael Rogers for checking my entries on the drawings from the series from an orientalist's viewpoint.

[7] The design of the etching is partly anticipated in a painting of the subject attributed to Rembrandt, dated 1646, in New York (Bredius 515). That the costumes are not taken over from the drawing to the etching is noted by de Winkel, 2006, p.260.

[8] As pointed out by White, 1969 (see Lit. below). See also Stechow, 1998, on the iconography (see Lit below).

[9] For the inventory, see Strauss and van der Meulen, 1979, p.369, document 1656/12, no.203: 'Een dito [kunst boeck] vol curieuse minijateur teeckeninge nevens verscheijde hout en kopere printen van alderhande dragt'. Numerous sales were held of Rembrandt's possessions in 1658 (op. cit., nos.1658/5, 10, 12, 15 (of paintings), 19 (of works on paper), 21 and 29-30. Sarre, 1904, p.157, already connected the description in the 1656 inventory with the miniatures, although it does not state that they are oriental. It is worth noting that a year earlier, in 1655, the heirs of the Earl of Arundel pawned 'een boexken met eenige Oostindise tekeningen' with Johannes Wtenbogaert (see Dudok van Heel, 1992).

[10] See Exh. London, 1992, pp.10-11 and fig.ii. Benesch, V, 1973, nos.1187-1206, lists 21 drawings, including his no.1194a. Of these, nos.1198 (Fogg Art Museum) and 1202 (Amsterdam) do not bear Richardson's mark. Another drawing, which resurfaced in 1984 (Drouot, Paris, 24 April, 1984, lot 6. repr.) and is now in a New York private collection, is repr. Robinson, 1988, fig.4a (with details on p.585) and Exh. London, 1992, under cat. no.65, fig.65a. This does have Richardson's mark as does another sketch (first recorded by Carlos van Hasselt as in a French collection in the 1960s), which shows the heads of two women. Van Hasselt noted that it may once have been mounted with the 'Indian Lady in a Veil' now in Rotterdam, Benesch 1206 (see Exh. Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80, under no.75). The drawing was seen by the present writer in 2002 (it measures 70 x 94mm and is from the Richardson senior, Cosway, Utterson, Mme F., and Lepage collections). The consequences of the presence of Houlditch's mark on some of the drawings (Benesch 1188, Paris, 1195-6, Amsterdam and 1206, Rotterdam) was recognised by Lugt in Paris, 1933, p.29, under no.1183. Two oriental drawings in the British Museum were acquired as supposed copies by Rembrandt in the Cracherode bequest of 1799. They both have the marks of the Richardsons, senior and junior (inv. nos. Gg.2-260, 261). At an unknown date after 1912 they

were transferred to the Department of Oriental Antiquities. Another Indian drawing with the marks of the Richardsons is now in the Ashmolean Museum (repr. Skelton, 1985, fig.107; I am grateful to Antony Griffiths for this reference). The rediscovery of these three oriental drawings suggests that 24 of the 25 drawings in Richardson's album have now been identified.

[11] Hofstede de Groot, 1906, nos.541-542, considered that they were based on oriental wooden sculptures, and noted inscriptions by Rembrandt on the versos that would seem to confirm his view: 'na een oostindies poppetje geschets' and 'na Oostind. poppetje' (i.e. '[sketched] from an Indian doll').

[12] Sarre, 1904, p.157, already noted that the artist's primary interest was in the costumes.

[13] On the Moscow painting, see, for example, Sarre, 1904, p.154, and Loewinson Lessing, 1975/71, under no.26. It includes a coffee-pot rather like that in the present drawing.

Benesch, 1933-4 (see Lit. below) believed the influence of the miniatures could be traced in Rembrandt's work from c.1653-5.

[14] The Berlin drawing has been attributed to Karel van Savoy (see Berlin, 2006, p.207).

[15] See cat. no.44 (1986,1213.2) and the Amsterdam drawing noted there.

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt, c.1656, unless otherwise stated; 'etching' refers to 'Abraham and the Angels', Bartsch 29, Hind 286):

Robinson, 1869/76, no.785/803 (pastiche of Persian prototype; one of a series; engraved Watts, 1767 [wrongly as Ryland in 1st ed.]; provenance); Hofstede de Groot, 1894, pp.177-8 (mentions others of the series in British Museum and Louvre); Lippmann, IV, no.71; Kleinmann, II, no.46, repr; Sarre, 1904, pp.149-52, repr. p.146, fig.3 (quotes Hofstede de Groot, 1894 and Exh. London, 1895 and 1899; compares oriental miniature in Berlin; freedom of the copy noted; compared to painting of 'Abraham and the Angels' in Saint Petersburg [now attrib. to Victors, Sumowski, 'Gem.', no.1722]); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.926 (c.1656? after an Indian miniature; quotes Sarre, 1904); Exh. Paris, 1908, p.27, under no.27 (quotes Exh. London, 1899); Sarre, 1909, pp.283-4 (on provenance; otherwise as Sarre, 1904); Wurzbach, 1910, p.418 (Rembrandt?); Bredius, 1911, p.139 (influenced etching; no need to think 1656 inventory referred to originals); Hind, 1912/24, p.41/31, under no.286, repr. 1912 only, pl.vii (inspired the etching); London, 1915, no.74 (before the 1656 etching; quotes Sarre, 1904); Graul, 1920, p.47, under no.266 (influenced the etching); Stockholm, 1920, p.33 (compares 'Noli me tangere', Stockholm, inv. 2016/1559, not in Benesch); Seidlitz, 1922, p.103, under no.29 (quotes Hofstede de Groot, 1894 and Sarre, 1904); Weisbach, 1926, p.448 (follows Sarre, 1904; influenced etching); Hell, 1930, p.43, n.2 (first half of 1650s); Hind, 1932, p.59, repr. pl.xxxvi (inspired the etching); Strzygowski and Glück, 1933, pp.22-3 (quotes Sarre, 1904; identifies Schönbrunn original of 1627/28; identifies sitters; original repainted); Benesch, 1933-4, reprinted 1970, pp.122-3 (influence of Indian drawings already felt in Rembrandt's work c.1653-5); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.654, repr. (c.1656; Rembrandt's oriental interests perhaps fostered by Philips Angel); Benesch, 1935, p.56 (c.1653-6; based on Schönbrunn miniatures; the copies influenced other drawings by Rembrandt); Benesch, 1947, pp.16 and 27 and no.231, repr. (c.1654-6; used for the etching); Münz, 1952, repr. I, fig.59, II, p.25, n.9 and p.90, under no.184 (inspired the etching, as also Lucas van Leyden, Bartsch 15); Exh. Amsterdam-Rotterdam, 1956, p.63, under no.108 (inspired the etching); Exh. Vienna, 1956, p.74, under no.267 (miniature influenced etching); Exh. Warsaw, 1956, p.92, under no.100 (as Münz, 1952); Hofman, 1956, repr. p.41; Benesch, V, 1957/73, no.1187, repr. fig.1411/1486 (c.1654-6, with summary of earlier arguments; rejects over-precise datings based on inventory, noting influence in Rembrandt's works from 1654); Exh. New York-Cambridge, 1960, p.45, under no.61; Roger Marx, 1960, repr. p.275, fig.110a; Ettinghausen, 1961, pp.102-3, n.12 and repr. fig.9 (likely

to have been copied from a version of the Schönbrunn miniature); Boeck, 1962, repr. fig.52; White, 1962, repr. pl.11; Exh. Amsterdam, 1964-5, p.36, under no.22 (influenced etching); Slive, 1965, II, no.520 (c.1655; influenced etching); Clark, 1966, p.154 (quotes Sarre, 1904, and Ettinghausen, 1961); Fuchs, 1968, p.55, repr. fig.94 (c.1655; influenced etching); Gerson, 1968, p.108, repr. p.365, fig.b (follows Sarre, 1904); Haak, 1969/68, p.263, repr. fig.436 (after Schönbrunn miniature; influenced etching); White, 1969, I, p.94, detail repr. II, fig.120 (inspired the etching; see n.8 above and related text); Exh. Chicago-Minneapolis-Detroit, 1969-70, under no.127 (accepts dating prior to etching); Exh. Berlin, 1970, under no.5 (drawn just before the print); Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.141, under no.269 (influenced etching); Haak, 1976/74, no.79, repr. (c.1654-6); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.504; Sciolla, 1976, pl.LIII (c.1655-6; relates to etching); Broos, 1977, p.120 (with some earlier lit.); Tümpel, 1977, p.113, repr; Exh. Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80, p.108, under no.75 (as Benesch); Broos, 1980, repr. p.215, fig.14 (quotes HdG, 1894; Rembrandt added realistic genre details not seen in the original; otherwise as Benesch, 1957); Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1980, pp.16-19, repr. fig.2 and p.39, n.28 (closest of all the copies to its Schönbrunn original; the four men represented are often portrayed together; quotes Stygowski and Glück, 1933, and Benesch); Slatkes, 1983, p.25, repr. p.27, fig.12, and pp.110-11, n.24 (influenced the etching, which is often printed on oriental paper); Skelton, 1985, p.279 (see n.10 above); Exh. Amsterdam, 1985-86, no.67 (reproduction exhibited; c.1655; oriental original dated 1037=1627-28); Exh. Paris, 1986, p.259, under no.127, detail repr. fig.141 (c.1654-6, related to etching); Tümpel, 1986, repr. p.308 in colour; Werbke, 1989, p.249, repr. fig.7 (relates three trees in far background to Rembrandt's 'Three Trees' etching, Bartsch 212, Hind 205); Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1991, p.99, repr. fig.1; Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2[I], p.124 (1656 or later?); Slive, 1995, p.84 (only the etching reveals influence of Mughal copies); Courtright, 1996, p.503, repr. fig.15 (suggests the costumes may have been taken as evidence of clothing during the biblical era); Stechow, 1998, p.23, repr. fig.9 (on the etching, in which God the Father based on a Persian sheik! Rembrandt possibly had connections with the Socinians, who rejected the dogma of the Trinity); Exh. Bremen, 2000-1, p.11, fig.4 (c.1655-60); Roscam Abbing, 2006, p.48, repr. p.49; Schwartz, 2006, p.39, repr. fig.56; Exh. Paris, 2006-7[II], p.323, under no.127, repr. fig.176.

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## Subject

asian ([all objects](#))

eating/drinking ([all objects](#))

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## Acquisition date

1895

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## Acquisition name

Purchased from Col John Wingfield Malcolm ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Samuel Woodburn (his sale, Christie's, 7.vi.1860/770 as 'Rembrandt, Van Rhyn - Four oriental figures, seated under a') ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Ralph Willett ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Thomas Miller Whitehead ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir John Charles Robinson ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Previous owner/ex-collection Arthur Pond ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Previous owner/ex-collection John Malcolm of Poltalloch ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Previous owner/ex-collection Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Previous owner/ex-collection William Esdaile (L.2617) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Previous owner/ex-collection Thomas Dimsdale (according to Lawrence Gallery catalogue) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### Acquisition notes

Jonathan Richardson, sen. (L.2184);[1] his sale, London, Cock's, 18th night, 11 February 1747 (1746 old style), part of lot 70, 'a book of Indian drawings by Rembrandt 25 in number', at first withdrawn and then sold for 16s-6d with two other portfolios); Arthur Pond, sale, London, Langford, 8th day, 3 May, 1759, lot 65: 'four Chinese men seated under a tree, drinking tea', sold for 16s; Ralph Willet (engraved when in his collection by S. Watts, 1767); Willet's (anon) sale, London, Philipe, 13 June etc., 1808, lot 463, bt Allen £32-11-0; T. Dimsdale (according to Lawrence Gallery catalogue); Thomas Lawrence (L.2445; described in his MS inventory, case 1, drawer 2, 54, 85 : 'Four Turks sitting under a Tree drinking Coffee, pen and bistre on India paper'); William Esdaile (L.2617; see cat. no.15; inv. no.1895,0915.1264, Benesch 286); his sale, Christie's, 17 June 1840, lot 115, bt Woodburn; Samuel Woodburn, sale, Christie's, 4th day, 7 June 1860, lot 770, bt Whitehead, £6-5-0; John Malcolm of Poltalloch, purchased with his collection by the British Museum, 1895.[2] (For notes see Comment)

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### Exhibition History

London, Lawrence Gallery, 1835, no.54 ('Four Turks seated under a Tree, taking Coffee'; probably copied from an eastern drawing; ex. collection T. Dimsdale);  
London, Grosvenor Gallery, 1878-9, no.312;  
London, 1895, no.380 (notes similarity to etching of 'Abraham and the Angels', Bartsch 29, Hind 286);  
London, 1899, no. A53 and under no.281 (before 1656, the date of etching of 'Abraham and the Angels'; notes other drawings from series in the Museum and elsewhere);  
1938, no.74 (c.1656; basis of the etching);  
1956, p.16, no.9 (the eastern 'original' from which copied is dated 1627-8);  
1972-3, no.220;  
1992, BM, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.62, repr. in colour;  
1996-7, BM, 'Malcolm Collection', no.86, repr. in colour ;  
2003-4, Boston-Chicago, Museum of Fine Arts/Art Institute, 'Rembrandt's Journey:...', pp.215-7, no.143, repr. in colour.

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Cat.57



**Registration number:** Gg.2.263

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 1190](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 57 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 75](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1656-1661 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Emperor Jahāngīr receiving an Officer; copy after a Mughal miniature, the Emperor, with halo, seated on a divan with a sabre in his left hand, a man holding a document standing before him at left. c.1656-1661

Pen and brown ink, with brown and grey wash, touched with white, on oriental paper.

Verso: laid down on old mat.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: None visible or recorded.

**Dimensions**

Height: 210 millimetres

Width: 184 millimetres

**Condition**

Generally good; the paper has a pitted surface; some foxing, mostly around the Emperor's head.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.57.

A copy after a Mughal miniature. For a discussion of the group of drawings to which the present sheet belongs, see under cat. no.56 (1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187).

The drawing represents the Emperor Jahāngīr ('world-seizer', r.1605-27), the son of Akbar and father of Shāh Jahān, and is based on an identifiable miniature until recently in Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna, and now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.<sup>[1]</sup> As in other drawings of the series, the artist modified minor details and the perspective of the original, which was itself altered when incorporated into the building's decorative scheme.

NOTE:

[1] The original is repr. Strzygowski, 1923, pl.5.

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Bürger, 1858, p.400 (c.1632, for the 'etchings of Persians'); Blanc, II, 1861, p.454; Michel, 1893, p.581; Lippmann, II, no.44; Kleinmann, II, no.58; Sarre, 1904, pp.152-4, repr. p.150, fig.6 (as of Emperor Akbar; care in copying costume noted, and compared to 'Jacob and Esau', Berlin, Benesch 647, and 'Esther's Feast', Moscow, Bredius 530); Bell, c.1905, repr. pl.XIII; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.930; Rouffaer, 1906, pp.370-72, repr. pl.IV (before 1656; of Jahāngīr, not Akbar as stated by Sarre, 1904); Saxl, 1908, p.338 (quotes Sarre, 1904); Sarre, 1909, p.290 (agrees with Rouffaer, 1906, identification); Wurzbach, 1910, p.418 (Rembrandt?); London, 1915, no.75 (of Akbar); Brown, 1924, p.25, n.1 (of Jahāngīr, not Akbar); London, 1931, p.193, (of Jahāngīr, not Akbar); Hind, 1932, p.59 (as London, 1931); Strzygowski and Glück, 1933, p.22 (identifying original in Schönbrunn); Benesch, 1933-4, p.306, reprinted 1970, p.123 (compares head of 'Akbar' to Vienna drawing, Benesch 1192); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.638, repr; Benesch, 1935, p.56 (c.1653-6, as cat. no.56 [1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187]); Poortenaar, 1943, p.19 and no.97, repr. (c.1650-55); Benesch, V, 1957/73, no.1190, repr. fig.1414/1489 (c.1654-6, as cat. no.56 [1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187]); Slive, 1965, I, no.268, repr. (c.1655); Haak, 1969/68, p.263, repr. fig.438 (c.1654-6; the messenger on the left of the etching of 'Abraham and the Angels', Bartsch 29, Hind 286, perhaps taken from the messenger here on the left); Loevinson-Lessing, 1975/71, under no.26, repr; Haak, 1976/74, no.80, repr. (c.1654-6); Broos, 1977, p.120; Broos, 1980, repr. p.214, fig.11 (notes differences to original miniature); Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1980, pp.16-17 and p.22, repr. fig.7 (quite close to the Schönbrunn original); Skelton, 1985, p.279 (the Emperor receives an officer); Berlin, 2006, p.212 (as Sarre, 1904).

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**Associated names**

Portrait of Jahangir ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1799

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Arthur Pond ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Barnard (L.1419) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Jonathan Richardson, sen. (L.2184 - see cat. no.56 [1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187]); Arthur Pond, sale, London, Langford, 5th day, 30 April, 1759, lot 66; J. Barnard (L.1419 on mat; probably his sale, Greenwood, 6th night, 22 February, 1787, lot 50: 'imitation of a Chinese by

ditto [i.e. Rembrandt]; see also cat. no.61 [Gg.2.262, Benesch 1205]); Rev. C.M.Cracherode (acquired in 1787, according to register), by whom bequeathed, 1799.

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### **Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.A57;  
1938, no.75;  
1956, p.17, no.10;  
1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.63, repr. in colour (c.1656-61);  
2005 April-July, Seoul Arts Centre, 'BM Treasures...';  
2005 July-Oct, Korea, Busan Museum, 'BM Treasures...';  
2005/6 Daegu, Keimyung Univ. Museum, 'BM Treasures...';  
2006, BM, 'Rembrandt: a 400th anniversary display' (no cat.)

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Cat.58



**Registration number:** 1910,0212.182

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 1199](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 58 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 78](#)

**Location:**  
Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**  
drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**  
paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**  
drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**  
Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**  
1656-1661 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**  
Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**  
A Mughal Nobleman standing; after a Mughal miniature, whole-length, almost in profile to right, his right hand on the handle of a dagger in his belt. c.1656-1661

Pen and brown ink with grey and brown wash, touched with red chalk (in the turban) and white heightening, on oriental paper.

Verso: laid down on remnant of old mat.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**  
Inscription Content: Inscribed on verso of mat, in pen and brown ink, by Lord Selsey: 'N:30/ Bought at Hudson's Sale/ A-D:1779'; in graphite, by Roupell: 'Autograph of John 2nd Lord Selsey/- from the Sale by the representations of his/ sons widow at Sotheby's in 1872 and/ purchased by me from that sale/ RPR'; and in pen and black ink: 'The above is in the handwriting of the 2d[‘d’ in superscript]/ Lord Selsey. His Library and drawings were sold by the representations of the widow of the/ 3d [‘d’ in superscript] Lord in 1872 at Sotheby's - from which sale I bought this with others/ R'.

**Dimensions**  
Height: 184 millimetres  
Width: 112 millimetres

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

**Condition**  
Generally good; parts of the surface pitted (as cat. no.57; Gg.2.263, Benesch 1190) and some

abrasions around the head.

### Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.58:

One of a series of copies after Mughal miniatures (see under cat. no.56; 1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187). The nobleman holds a weapon called a katar, a kind of dagger seen in many of Rembrandt's copies, including cat. nos.57, 60 and 61 (Gg.2.263, 1895,0915.1281 and Gg.2.262, Benesch 1190, 1204 and 1205). The figure has not been identified and the miniature copied by Rembrandt does not appear to have survived.[1] It was probably made in c.1610-15 or based on an original of that date, the earliest of Rembrandt's models, and depicted a courtier from Jahāngīr's entourage.[2]

### NOTES:

[1] Of the miniatures at Schönbrunn, the nearest is that illustrated by Strzygowski, 1923, pl.1. The tailed skirt is unusual among the Schönbrunn miniatures (as noted by Broos, 1980 - see Lit. below) and features only in *ibid.*, pls.7, 36 and 48.

[2] According to Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1980 (see Lit. below).

### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Michel, 1893, p.585; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.1122; Sarre, 1909, p.284 (on provenance - based on false assumption that the 'R' mark is Richardson junior's); London, 1915, no.78, repr. pl.X (c.1656); Benesch, 1933-4, p.306, reprinted 1970, p.123 (notes unusually complete curtain of wash behind the figure); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.647, repr; Benesch, 1935, p.56; Amsterdam, 1942, p.13, under no.30 (compares Amsterdam sheet, Benesch 1202, and Pierpont Morgan drawing, Benesch 1201); Benesch, V, 1957/73, no.1199, repr. fig.1424/1496 (c.1654-6); Broos, 1980, repr. p.212, fig.6 (see n.1 above); Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1980, pp.16 and 27, repr. fig.14, and p.39, n.22 and n.28 (see n.2 above; a similar portrait, of Karān, Crown Prince of Udaipur in Rajasthan, is in Berlin, repr. fig.15; refutes comment by Broos, 1980, that the dress is unusual).

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### Subject

indian ([all objects](#))

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### Acquisition date

1910

### Acquisition name

Bequeathed by George Salting ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Lord Selsey (according to Roupell cat. and inscriptions) ([all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Robert Prioleau Roupell ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Thomas Hudson (L.2432) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### **Acquisition notes**

Jonathan Richardson, sen. (L.2184 - see cat. no.56; 1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187]); Thomas Hudson (L.2432); Lord Selsey (according to Roupell catalogue and above inscriptions; presumably his sale, Sotheby's, 20-28 June, 1872, lot 2635, bt Noseda, £1-2-0, with Benesch 1196, now Rijksmuseum); R.P. Roupell, sale, Christie's, 6th day, 13 July, 1887, lot 1088, bt Thib[audeau?], £3-3-0; George Salting, by whom bequeathed, 1910.

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### **Exhibition History**

London, Grosvenor Gallery, 1878-9, no.213;  
Royal Academy, 1899, no.165;  
London, 1910, p.5; 1912, no.161;  
1938, no.78 (c.1656);  
1956, p.16, no.7;  
1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.64, repr.

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Cat.59



Registration number: 1895,0915.1280

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 1200](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 59 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 77](#)

[JCR 808](#)

**Location:**  
Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**  
drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**  
paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**  
drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**  
Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**  
1656-1661 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**  
Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**  
A Deccani Nobleman standing; after a Mughal miniature, whole-length, almost in profile to left, with moustache and slight beard, his left hand leaning on a sword, his right extended.  
c.1656-1661  
Pen and brown ink with grey and brown wash and scraping-out on oriental paper prepared with pale brown wash.  
Verso: laid down.  
No watermark.

**Inscriptions**  
Inscription Content: Inscribed on verso of mat, in graphite: '35//808/35/6/...ehl'.

**Dimensions**  
Height: 196 millimetres  
Width: 158 millimetres

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

**Condition**  
Generally good; a few abrasions to the surface.

**Curator's comments**  
Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.59:  
A copy after a Mughal miniature (see under cat. no.56; 1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187). Like cat. no.58 (1910,0212.182, Benesch 1199), the figure has not been recognised and the miniature copied by Rembrandt has not been identified.[1] A slighter sketch after the head of the same figure is in a private collection in New York.[2]

## NOTES:

[1] Of the miniatures at Schönbrunn, the nearest is the figure at the top right of the illustration in Strzygowski, 1923, pl.39, who has a similar shawl. That the Museum's drawing represents a Deccani was suggested by Ralph Pinder-Wilsen, c.1960 (notes in Museum files).

[2] Repr. Robinson, 1988, p.585, fig.4a, and Exh. London, 1992, p.147, fig.65a. For further details see under cat. no.56 (1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187), n.10.

## LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Robinson, 1869/76, no.786/808 (ex-Robinson coll.); Kleinmann, IV, no.24; Sarre, 1904, p.154, repr. p.155, fig.10 (as cat. no.56 [1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187]); costume study; the shawl over the shoulder seen in the 'Good Samaritan', Berlin, Benesch 556); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.928; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418 (Rembrandt?); London, 1915, no.77; Valentiner, II, 1934, no.648, repr.; Benesch, 1935, p.56; Benesch, V, 1957/73, no.1200, repr. fig.1426/1500 (c.1654-6). Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.507; Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1991, p.103, repr. fig.7 (notes similarity of the drawing in a private collection; Deccani courtier); Courtright, 1996, p.502, repr. fig.14.

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## Associated places

Associated with Deccan ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

(Asia, India, Deccan)

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## Acquisition date

1895

## Acquisition name

Purchased from Col John Wingfield Malcolm ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Sir John Charles Robinson (L.1433, erased) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Malcolm of Poltalloch (L.1489) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

## Acquisition notes

Jonathan Richardson, sen. (L.2184; see cat. no.56; 1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187); J.C.Robinson (L.1433, erased, lower right corner, visible under ultra-violet light); John Malcolm of Poltalloch (L.1489), purchased with his collection, 1895.

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## Exhibition History

London, 1895, no.379a (from an Indian illuminated MS);

1899, no.A55;

1938, no.77 (c.1656);

1956, p.16, no.8;

1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.65, repr. in colour (c.1656-61);

2003-4, 'Treasures of the British Museum', Tokyo (Metropolitan Art Museum), Kobe (City Museum), Fukuoka (City Museum) and Niigata (Prefectural Mus of Fine Arts).

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Cat.60



**Registration number:** 1895,0915.1281

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 1204](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 60 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 76](#)

[JCR 809](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1656-1661 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Two Mughal noblemen; after a Mughal miniature, the man at right with a beard facing a younger, clean-shaven man, both wearing turbans and holding long swords. c.1656-1661  
Pen and brown ink with brown and grey wash, touched with white and with scraping-out, on oriental paper prepared with pale brown wash; traces of framing lines in pen and pale brown ink visible towards the right of the lower edge; an accidental graphite mark below right figure.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed top left, a graphite mark, perhaps a 'W' on its side (see further under provenance); verso, in graphite: '809'.

**Dimensions**

Height: 172 millimetres

Width: 214 millimetres

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

**Condition**

Good; slightly rubbed in places; a crease runs almost vertically through the left-hand figure; thin spots between the two heads.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.60:

A copy after a Mughal miniature (see under cat. no.56; 1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187[]). The figure on the right has been identified as Shāh Jahān (r.1628-58), while that on the left could be his son, Dārā Shikōh (born c.1614).[1]

Rembrandt's prototype for the drawing survives among the miniatures at Schönbrunn but appears to have been divided when it was incorporated into the wall-decorations there. The model for the figure on the left has long been recognised,[2] but not for that on the right. Yet it was probably the image of Shāh Jahān seen in another panel of the room who, apart from his feet, is shown in almost the same posture.[3] The slightly more forward alternative position of the nearer arm shown in Rembrandt's drawing reflects the pose of the original more accurately.[4] Shāh Jahān is also depicted in cat. no.61 (Gg.2.262, Benesch 1205).

**NOTES:**

[1] The identifications made by Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1980 (see Lit.), who points out that the model for the figure on the right among the Schönbrunn miniatures suggested by Benesch,

1957, in fact shows the later Great Mughal Farrukhsiyār (r.1713-19). She does not propose an alternative prototype. The figure on the right was tentatively identified (probably by R. Pinder-Wilson, formerly of the British Museum's Department of Oriental Antiquities) as Jahāngīr or Shāh Jahān in Exh. London, 1972-3, no.221.

[2] By Benesch, 1957.

[3] The figure is illustrated by Strzygowski, 1923, pl.35 (on the right) and Exh. London, 1992, p.150, fig.66b. He there has a halo, suggesting that the miniature dates from c.1630 and at all events after Shāh Jahān's accession in 1628. The prototype for the figure on the left is repr. Strzygowski, op. cit., pl.24 (top left) and Exh. London, 1992, p.150, fig.66a.

[4] Another, similar figure is repr. op. cit., fig.23 (below); but this is less close in a few significant details, such as the pearl hanging from the front of the turban and the position of the nearer arm. It also appears stylistically further removed from the prototype for the other figure in the drawing, with which it must originally have been joined.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Robinson, 1869/76, no.787/809; Kleinmann, IV, no.60; Sarre, 1904, p.154, repr. p.153, fig.9 (as cat. no.56, 1895.0915.1275, Benesch 1187; costume study); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.927; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418 (Rembrandt?); London, 1915, no.76 (c.1656); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.652, repr; Benesch, 1935, p.56; Benesch, V, 1957/73, no.1204, repr. fig.1430/1505 (c.1654-6; suggests particular miniatures at Schönbrunn were Rembrandt's prototypes - see above, n.1); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.539; Broos, 1980, p.212, repr. fig.3 (as Benesch, 1957; poses more natural than in the original miniatures; shows two Indian warriors); Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1980, pp.17 and 36, repr. fig.24 (see n.1 above).

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#### Subject

asian ([all objects](#))

#### Associated names

Representation of Shah Jahan ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Representation of Dárá Shikúh ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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#### Acquisition date

1895

#### Acquisition name

Purchased from Col John Wingfield Malcolm ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Rev Dr Henry Wellesley (L.1384) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Malcolm of Poltalloch ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Charles Noel, 1st Earl of Gainsborough ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Bouverie (L.325) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

#### Acquisition notes

Jonathan Richardson, sen. (L.2184 - see cat. no.56 [1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187]); John Bouverie (L.325);\* by descent to 1st Earl of Gainsborough; his sale, Christie's, 20 July, 1859, lot 132, bt Graves, £2-4-0; Dr H. Wellesley (L.1384, but with only one 'W'); his sale, Sotheby's, 6th day, 30 June, 1866, lot 1060, bt Addington, £1-18-0, from whom bt Malcolm, February, 1867 (according to annotated copy of Malcolm catalogue); John Malcolm of Poltalloch (L.1489), purchased with his collection, 1895. \*See the drawing attributed to Van den Eeckhout, cat.no.19 (1895,0806.72, Benesch 113) for the note under Acquisition.

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### **Exhibition History**

London, 1895, no.379b (from an Indian illuminated MS);  
1899, no.A54;  
1938, no.76 (c.1656);  
1956, p.16, no.6;  
1972-3, no.221 (c.1654-6; of Jahāngīr or Shāh Jahān);  
1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.66, repr. (c.1656-61).  
2013/14 Oct-Jan Brussels, Bozar, 'Indomania' PROMISED

\*\*\*\*\*

Cat.61



**Registration number:** Gg.2.262

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 1205](#)

[Curtis & Tallis 2012 144](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 61 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[Hind 79](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1656-1661 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A Mughal nobleman on horseback; after a Mughal miniature, a man, with slight beard, holding a two-headed lance seated on a horse which is rearing to right. c.1656-1661

Pen and brown ink with brown and grey wash, touched with red and yellow chalk and white heightening and with some scraping-out, on oriental paper; the lance drawn with a ruler.

Verso: laid down on old mat.

No watermark.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: No inscriptions visible.

**Dimensions**

Height: 205 millimetres

Width: 177 millimetres

**Condition**

Generally good; parts of the surface are pitted (as in cat. nos.57 and 58; Gg.2.263 and 1910,0212.182; Benesch 1190 and 1199); some abrasions and scratches, a horizontal centre crease and spots of foxing (mostly upper right; similar foxing has affected the other drawing from the series formerly in Cracherode's collection, cat. no.57; Gg.2.263, Benesch 1190).

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.61.

Based on a Mughal miniature (see under cat. no.56; 1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187). Rembrandt's prototype survives together with others that he copied in Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna, although his imitation is far from exact.[1] The lance seems to have been taken from another drawing in the same series.[2] The figure has been identified as Shāh Jahān,[3] also seen in cat. no.60 (1895,0915.1281, Benesch 1204) and in the only other equestrian subject in Rembrandt's series, now in the Louvre (Benesch 1197).

NOTES:

[1] Repr. Strzygowski, 1923, fig.3 (centre), Broos, 1980, fig.8 and Exh. London, 1992, p.151, fig.67a.

[2] Repr. Strzygowski, 1923, fig.22 (below) and Exh. London, 1992, p.151, fig.67b.

[3] By Rouffaer, 1906 (see Lit. below).

**LITERATURE** (always as Rembrandt):

Bürger, 1858, p.400 (c.1632, as for cat. no.57; inv. no.Gg.2.263, Benesch 1190); Blanc, II, 1861, p.454; Michel, 1893, p.581; Seidlitz, 1894, p.121 (1660s); Lippmann, I, no.116; Kleinmann, IV, no.8; Sarre, 1904, pp.154-5, repr. opp. p.156 (as cat. no.56; 1895,0915.1275, Benesch 1187; notes colour; compares Mughal miniature in Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde; authentic detail of the weapon; the woodenness of the horse seen also in the painted 'Equestrian Portrait', Bredius 255, [now] National Gallery, London); Bode and Valentiner, 1906, p.15, repr.; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.929; Rouffaer, 1906, p.371, n.1 (identifies horseman as probably Shāh Jahān); Saxl, 1908, p.234 (c.1649, as the 'Equestrian Portrait' - see under Sarre, 1904; also compares etching of the 'Triumph of Mordechai', Bartsch 40, Hind 172, which he dates to this period); Wurzbach, 1910, p.418 (Rembrandt?); London, 1915, no.79 (c.1656); Valentiner, II, 1934, no.653, repr; Benesch, 1935, p.56; Benesch, 1947, p.27 and no.230, repr. (c.1654-6); Hofman, 1956, repr. p.38; Benesch, V, 1957/73, no.1205, repr. fig.1428/1504 (c.1654-6; original miniature unidentified); Slive, 1965, I, no.118, repr. (c.1655); Gerson, 1968, p.108, repr. p.371, fig.b (possibly an ingredient in the inspiration for the 'Polish Rider', Bredius 279); Muller, 1968, pp.34-5, repr. fig.9 (c.1655; horseman's legs too far forward for a pesade); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.538; Broos, 1977, p.121 (refers to Rouffaer, 1906); Schatborn, 1977, no.13, repr. (compares Louvre drawing, Benesch 1197); Broos, 1980, repr. p.213, fig.7 (as Rouffaer, 1906; identifies possible model at Schönbrunn); Exh. Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, 1988-9, under no.67 (c.1656; compares Louvre drawing, also of a horseman, Benesch 1197); Royalton-Kisch, 1991, p.18, n.1 (with other examples of coloured drawings); Montias, 2002, p.125, n.37 (relates speculatively to 'Chinees schilderijtje' mentioned in documents as transferred from Rembrandt's business associate, van den Broeck, to Ackersloot); Schatborn, 2006, p.80, under no.50 (compares Louvre drawing, Benesch 1197).

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**Subject**

indian ([all objects](#))

**Associated names**

Representation of Shah Jahan ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1799

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Barnard (L.1419) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Jonathan Richardson, sen. (L.2184); J. Barnard (L.1419; his sale, Greenwood, 7th day, 23 February, 1787, lot 51: 'A Chinese Officer on Horseback, an Imitation of a Chinese drawing by Rembrandt', bt. Thane, £4-8-0); Rev. C.M. Cracherode (L.606; acquired in 1787, according to Register), by whom bequeathed, 1799.

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**Exhibition History**

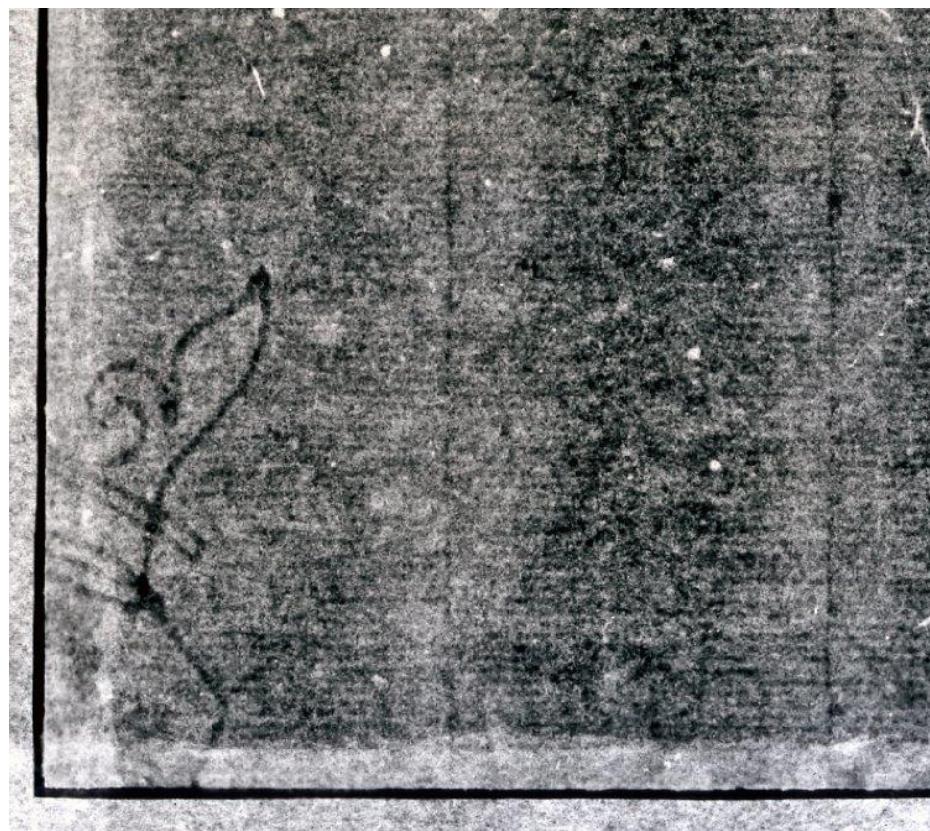
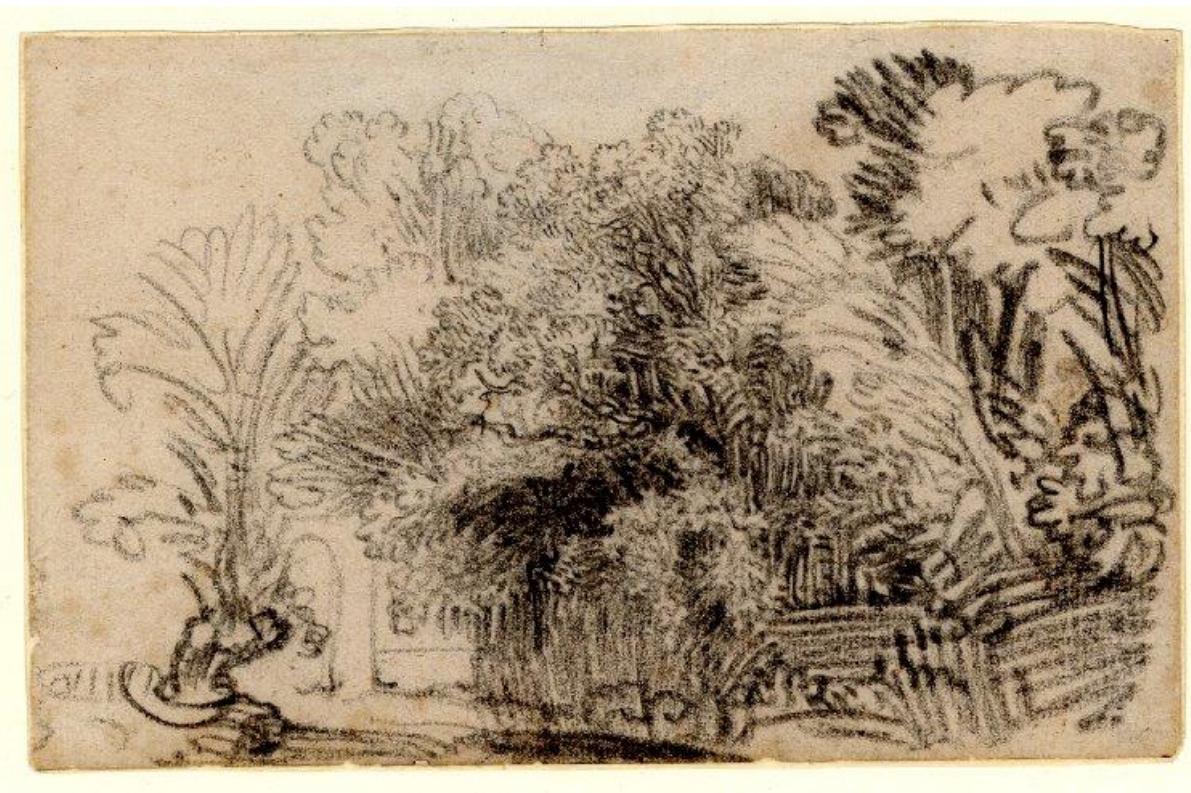
London, 1899, no.A56 (use of colour resembles cat. nos.17 and 18 [Oo,10.122 and 1895,0806.74, Benesch 365 and 367]);  
1938, no.79 (c.1656);  
1956, p.16, no.5;  
1992, BM, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.67, repr. in colour (c.1656-61);  
1997-8, Melbourne-Canberra, NG Victoria/Australia, Rembrandt, pp.324, 326 and no.93, repr. in colour;

2000Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, , 'Glory of the Golden Age', no.53.

2012 24 May - 30 Sep, London, BM, 'The horse: from Arabia to Royal Ascot'

\*\*\*\*\*

Cat.62



Watermark

**Registration number:** 1890,0512.160

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 108](#)

[Benesch 1255](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 62 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1645 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A clump of trees in a fenced enclosure; c.1645

Black chalk.

Verso: see Inscriptions (now laid down again).

Watermark: part of a crowned shield, possibly from a mark with the Arms of Burgundy and Austria.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, in blue chalk, centre: 'b'; in graphite: '1487 [in a circle] '.

**Dimensions**

Height: 95 millimetres

Width: 150 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 27mm apart)

**Condition**

Generally good but slightly soiled; a slight loss at lower left corner, top right corner shaved; a few nicks from the lower edge, 22, 41 and 50mm from left.

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.62:

The drawing originally seems to have come from the same or a similar sketchbook as cat. no.63 (1890,0512.161, Benesch 1256), which shares the same provenance, together with the views of the 'St Anthoniessluis' in Berlin (Benesch 1257) and the 'Amstel River' in the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris (Benesch 1258).<sup>[1]</sup> However, the two drawings in the British Museum have two different watermarks.

The style suggests a date towards 1645 on the basis of two main comparisons: with the study in Wroclaw of a 'Canal between Bushes' (Benesch 817), which seems to have formed the basis of Rembrandt's etching, the 'Boathouse', of 1645 (Bartsch 231, Hind 211);<sup>[2]</sup> and with the 'Bust of a Girl' (Benesch 700) in the Princes Gate Collection, Courtauld Institute, a study for the painting in Dulwich of a 'Girl at a Window' (Bredius 368), also dated 1645. The hair of the girl in the latter drawing, like the foliage in the Wroclaw and British Museum sheets, is expressed with unbroken loops and curls drawn with a sharply pointed black chalk that precisely resembles the style of the landscapes. The exacting detail, especially in the centre of the present drawing, together with the unbroken lines, also betray close analogies with Rembrandt's landscape etchings from the first half of the 1640s. After around 1645-8 his style attains a greater economy as he employs suggestive, more broken lines, replacing the more literal delineation of the earlier period exemplified by the present examples.<sup>[3]</sup> The site of the two British Museum drawings, which were presumably made from life, has not been identified,<sup>[4]</sup> but the motif of a dense screen of trees, often with gatehouses or farm buildings nearby, was later developed by Rembrandt in numerous drawings and etchings (see for example, cat. no.67; 1984,1110.9, Benesch 1266).

#### NOTES:

[1] As suggested by Benesch, 1957 (see Lit. below).

[2] A comparison proposed in Exh. Washington, 1990 (see Lit. below). Dates for Benesch nos.1257-8 (mentioned above) in the early to mid-1640s were proposed by Rosenberg (c.1640, in Berlin, 1930, p.236) and Lugt (c.1645, in Paris, 1950, no.488) respectively.

[3] These differences are less clear in town views such as that of the 'Amsterdam Town Hall' in Vienna (Benesch 1275, see further under cat. no.65 (Oo,9.104, Benesch 1281A), on the basis of which Benesch (loc. cit.) proposed a date of c.1651. In 1935 (see Lit. below) he had opted for the early 1640s for cat. no.63 (1890,0512.161, Benesch 1256) and for the two other drawings he later believed had come from the same sketchbook, Benesch 1257-8 (on which see above).

[4] Exh. Washington, 1990, pp.211-12, compares the screen of trees that begins on the left of the 'Road along the Amstel' in Vienna (Benesch 1277), suggesting that the same site may be depicted and that the drawing, although slightly larger, may have come from the same sketchbook.

[5] Royalton-Kisch, 1992, p.121.

#### LITERATURE (as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Michel, 1893, p.584; Kleinmann, III, no.45 (wrongly in sepia); Bell, c.1905, repr. pl.XLIX; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.952; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; London, 1915, no.108; Benesch, 1935, p.32 (c.1640-42); Wimmer, 1935, p.59 (cut; early 1640s? authenticity questionable); Wimmer, 1942, pp.59 and 68 (style of Rembrandt, not by him); Benesch, 1947, p.37, under no.178 (compares the sketch of the 'Amstel River', École des Beaux-Arts, Benesch 1258); Benesch, VI, 1957/73, no.1255, repr. fig.1481/1559 (c.1651, based on analogies with Berlin sketch of 'Amsterdam Town Hall' of c.1652, Benesch 1275; belongs to same sketchbook as the 'St Anthoniessluis', Berlin, Benesch 1257, the 'Amstel River', École des Beaux-Arts,

Benesch 1258 and cat. no.63 [1890,0512.161, Benesch 1256]); Exh. Washington, 1990, p.207, under no.58 and pp.211-12, under no.60 (c.1645; see nn.2 and 4 above); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1992, p.466 (top of sheet was in gutter of sketchbook); Royalton-Kisch, 1992, p.121, repr. p.123 (discussed with other black chalk drawings; drawn from life); Berlin, 2006, p.132, under no.36.

Literature after Royalton-Kisch 2010: Holm Bevers, review of Martin Royalton-Kisch catalogue, in *The Burlington Magazine* (2013), p.103 (dated around 1647/8 ).

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#### **Acquisition date**

1890

#### **Acquisition name**

Purchased through Desprez & Gutekunst ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Purchased from William Mitchell (Frankfurt, 7.v.1890/90) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Ambroise Firmin-Didot ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Comte Antoine Francois Andréossy ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

#### **Acquisition notes**

A.-F. Andréossy; his sale, Paris, 13ff. April, 1864, lot 394, bt Firmin-Didot, 110 francs, with cat. no.63 (1890,0512.161, Benesch 1256); A. Firmin-Didot; his sale, Paris, Drouot, 16 April-12 May, 1877, lot 79, sold for 105 francs, with cat. no.63 (1890,0512.161, Benesch 1256); W. Mitchell; his sale, Frankfurt, Prestel, 7 May, 1890, lot 90, with cat. no.63 (1890,0512.161, Benesch 1256), bt Deprez and Gutekunst for British Museum.

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#### **Exhibition History**

London, 1891, no.113b;

1899, no.A68b;

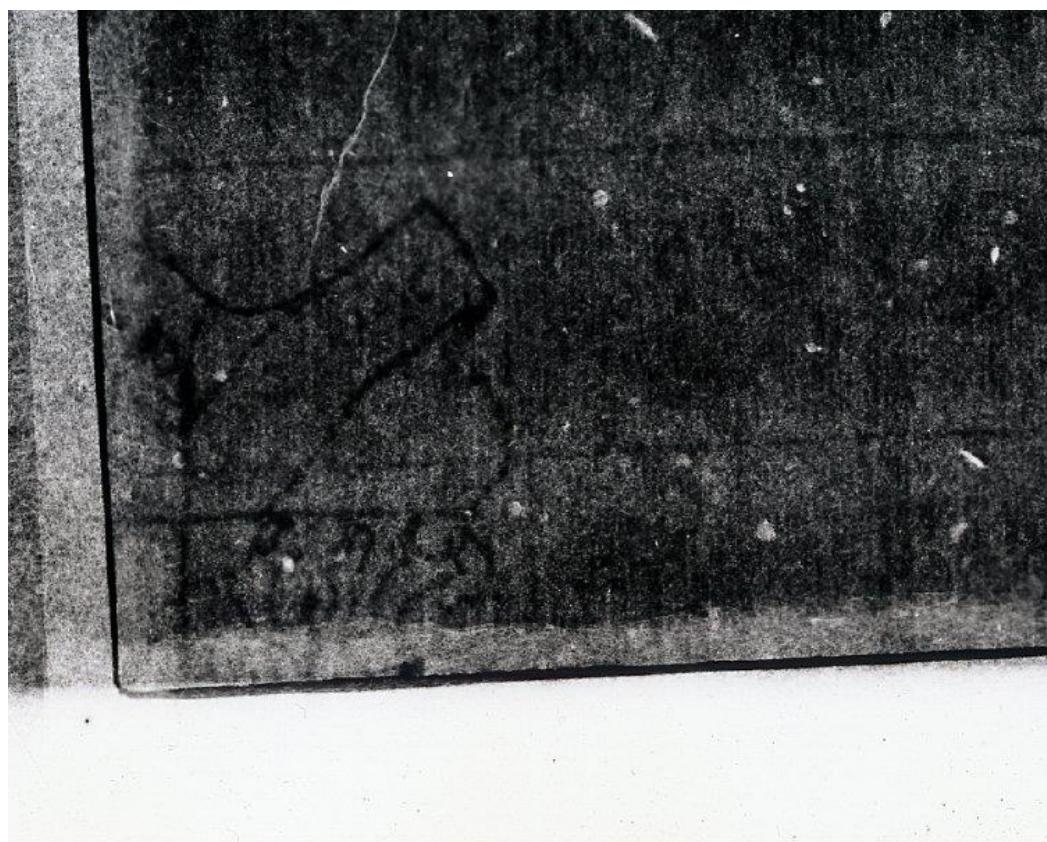
1938, no.108;

London, BM, 1992, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.69, repr. (c.1645);

Boston-Chicago, Museum of Fine Arts/Chicago Art Institute, 2003-4, 'Rembrandt's Journey...'.

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Cat.63



Watermark

**Registration number:** 1890,0512.161

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 107](#)

[Benesch 1256](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 63 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1645 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A clump of trees with a drawbridge; c.1645

Black chalk.

Verso: see Inscriptions (now laid down again).

Watermark: fragment of Arms of Baden Hochberg without a crown (cf. for type, Laurentius catalogue, p.77, fig.123).

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed in blue chalk, centre: 'n' [or 'w'?] and in graphite: '1488 [in a circle]'.

**Dimensions**

Height: 94 millimetres

Width: 151 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 26mm apart)

**Condition**

Good; slightly soiled; small loss at lower right corner and a nick from lower margin 22mm from left; some old, probably original paper creases.

### **Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.63:

See the commentary to cat. no.62 (1890,0512.160; Benesch 1255).

### LITERATURE (as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Michel, 1893, p.584; Kleinmann, III, no.56 (wrongly in sepia); Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.953; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; Hind, 1912/24, I, p.60/32 (reflected in etching of c.1650 'Landscape with Trees, Farm-Buildings, and a Tower', Bartsch 223, Hind 244); London, 1915, no.107, repr. pl.xii (c.1650; as Hind, 1912); Eisler, 1918, pp.74-5 (c.1648-52); Van Dyke, 1927, p.139 (Jacob Koninck); Benesch, 1935, p.49 (c.1650-52; compares drawings grouped around etching, 'Clump of Trees with a Vista', Bartsch 222, Hind 263); Wimmer, 1935, p.59 (cut; early 1640s? authenticity questionable); Wimmer, 1942, pp.59 and 68 (school drawing, not Rembrandt); Benesch, 1947, p.37, under no.178 (as for cat. no.62 [1890,0512.160; Benesch 1255]); Benesch, VI, 1957, no.1256, repr. fig.1482/1560 (c.1651; as cat. no.62 [1890,0512.160; Benesch 1255], also comparing pen drawings such as 'Farm-Houses amid Trees', Chatsworth, Benesch 1248); Exh. Washington, 1990, p.207 under no.58, repr. fig.1, and pp.211-12, under no.60 (as for cat. no.62 [1890,0512.160; Benesch 1255]); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1992, p.466 (top of sheet was in gutter of the sketchbook; lower border suggests that this sheet overlapped the next in the sketchbook); Berlin, 2006, p.132, under no.36.

Literature after Royalton-Kisch 2010: Holm Bevers, review of Martin Royalton-Kisch catalogue, in *The Burlington Magazine* (2013), p.103 (dated around 1647/8 ).

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### **Acquisition date**

1890

### **Acquisition name**

Purchased through Desprez & Gutekunst ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Purchased from William Mitchell (Frankfurt, 7.v.1890/90) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Ambroise Firmin-Didot ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Comte Antoine Francois Andreossy ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### **Acquisition notes**

As cat. no.62 (1890,0512.160; Benesch 1255).

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### **Exhibition History**

London, 1891, no.113a;

1899, no.A68A;

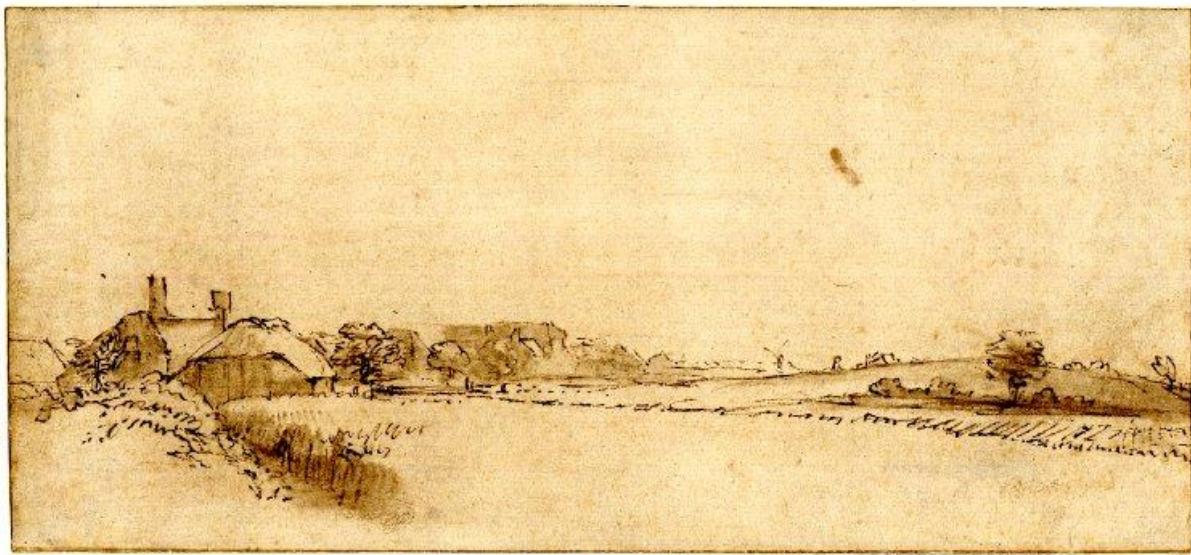
1938, no.107;

London, BM, 1992, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', cat. no.70, repr. (c.1645);

Boston-Chicago, Museum of Fine Arts/Chicago Art Institute, 2003-4, 'Rembrandt's Journey...

\*\*\*\*\*

Cat.64



**Registration number:** 1895,0915.1257

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 100](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 64 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[JCR 785](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Registration number:** 1895,0915.1257

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 100](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 64 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[JCR 785](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1650 (circa)

## Schools /Styles

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Description

Landscape with cottages, meadows and a distant windmill; with cottages amid trees at left.  
c.1650

Pen and brown ink with brown wash on paper prepared with pale greyish-brown wash;  
framing lines in pen and brown ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

Watermark: none.

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, in graphite: '2 [in a circle]'.  
[1]

## Dimensions

Height: 98 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 26mm apart)

Width: 212 millimetres

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Generally good; some surface dirt and slight foxing, upper right.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.64.

Although neglected in the Rembrandt literature, the style of the drawing is characteristic of the master in around 1650.[1] Comparison may be made with the sketch in Oxford (Benesch 1227) that is related to the etched 'Landscape with a Milkman' (Bartsch 213, Hind 242), with the 'View of Houtewaal' in the Woodner collection in the National Gallery of Art in Washington (Benesch 1261), the 'Landscape with a Farmstead' at Chatsworth (Benesch 846) and the 'Sailing Boat' in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Benesch 847). There is no nearer comparison among the works attributed to any of Rembrandt's followers. The treatment of the details, atmosphere and distant horizon is perhaps especially close in the Washington drawing.

The location has not been identified. The low hill to the right suggests that it was not in the immediate vicinity of Amsterdam.[2]

## NOTES:

[1] The drawing was not included in Benesch, 1935, or in his catalogue, even as an attributed work, possibly an oversight; Wimmer, 1935, declared it to be somewhat doubtful but without giving reasons, and more recently Schatborn, 1994, has voiced concerns, but without

producing alternative analogies (see Lit. below).

[2] As noted by Boudewijn Bakker (conversation of 2 August, 1989).

LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Robinson, 1876, no.785 (acquired after 1869); Lippmann, IV, no.72; Kleinmann, IV, no.61; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.959; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; London, 1915, no.100; Wimmer, 1935, p. 59 (c.1648-50; somewhat doubtful); Wimmer, 1942, pp.59 and 68 (not Rembrandt); Slive, 1965, II, no.521, repr. (c.1647- 50); White, 1992, p.268, repr. fig.38; Schatborn, 1994, p.23 (attribution doubtful - forms not strong; lacks suggestive power); Royalton-Kisch, 2000[I], pp.158-9, repr. fig.32 (as Exh. London, 1992).

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#### **Acquisition date**

1895

#### **Acquisition name**

Purchased from Col John Wingfield Malcolm ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Malcolm of Poltalloch ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

#### **Acquisition notes**

John Malcolm of Poltalloch (acquired after 1869 edition of the Malcolm catalogue); purchased with his collection, 1895.

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#### **Exhibition History**

London, 1895, no.384a;

1899, no.A41;

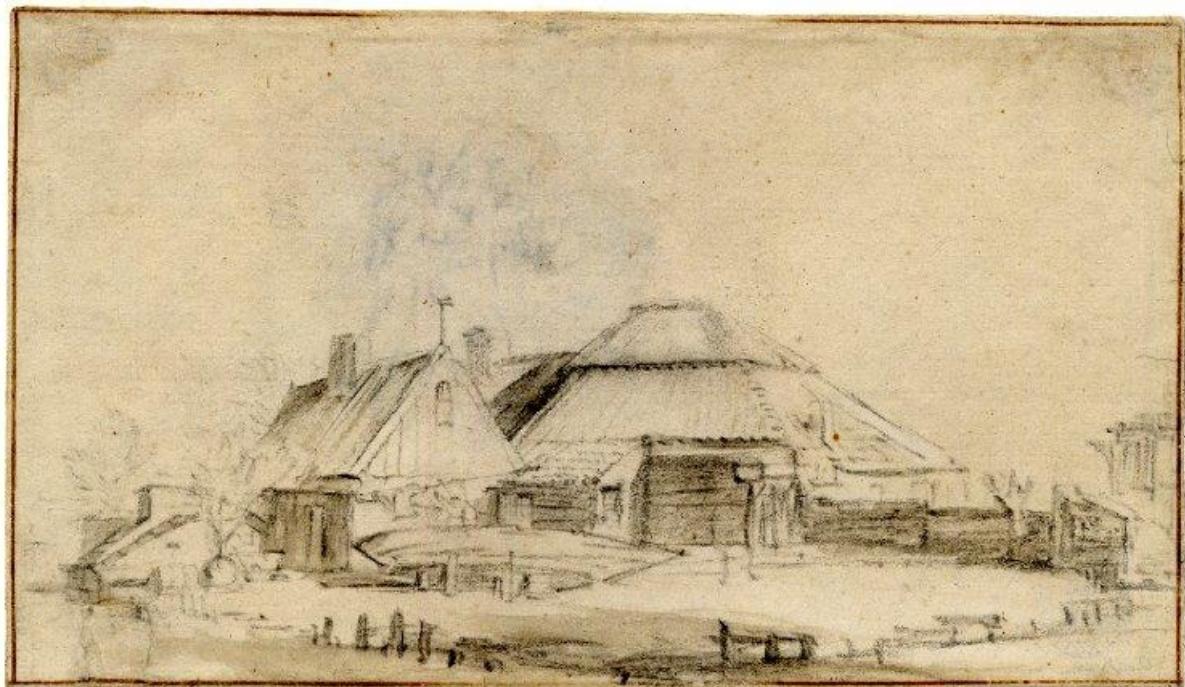
1938, no.100;

1972-3, no.251;

1992, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.73, repr. in colour (c.1650).

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Cat.65



**Registration number:** Oo,9.104

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 126](#)

[Benesch 1281a](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 65 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1650 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A cottage with other buildings and an upturned boat near a canal; a landing stage with a boat turned up on dry land for repair, a small gabled cottage with low sheds near the water

to left. c.1650

Black chalk, heightened with white, with later grey wash; framing lines in pen and brown ink.

Verso: laid down on backing paper.\*

\* The observation was recorded c.1960 that there was no sign on the verso of the ghosted 'tree' shape seen on the recto (perhaps smoke emanating from the chimney on the left?).

No watermark.

### **Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: No inscriptions.

### **Dimensions**

Height: 105 millimetres (chain lines vertical, distance apart unclear)

Width: 183 millimetres

### **Condition**

Generally good; some dirt near the corners; minor tears and damage to the lower left corner; the grey wash is a later addition.

### **Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.65:

The sketch lay among the Museum's Rembrandt school drawings until the early 1960s, when it was first convincingly attributed to the master himself.[1]

Rembrandt's landscape drawings in black chalk are difficult to date, there being no precisely datable example in this category. A sketch in Vienna of the 'Town Hall of Amsterdam' (Benesch 1275) was drawn after a start had been made on its demolition in December 1646, but the works were still in progress when the building burnt down in 1652 (an event recorded in Rembrandt's pen and ink sketch in the Rembrandthuis, Benesch 1278). The style of the Vienna drawing is comparable to the present sheet and both have been associated with a supposed sketchbook of these years that contained the 'Bulwark of the Fortifications of Amsterdam' in Vienna (Benesch 1281), the 'View over the Amstel' in Berlin (Benesch 1279) and 'View over the IJ' also in Vienna (Benesch 1280).[2]

These four drawings, however, were all made on a different kind of paper, albeit of comparable dimensions.[3] The thin sheet employed here conforms to the type used for another group of studies made from around 1647 onwards, including the 'Four standing Men in tall Hats' in the Rijksmuseum (HdG.1301 and Amsterdam, 1985, no.28, not in Benesch), the 'Bearded Man in a long Coat' in Berlin (Benesch 666) and the 'Beggar Family' in the Amsterdam Historisch Museum (Benesch 705).[4] The 'Beggar Family' is inseparable in style from a second drawing in the Amsterdam Historisch Museum of the same subject but on a more conventional kind of paper (Benesch 749), which has on the verso a preparatory sketch for the etched 'Portrait of Jan Six' of 1647 (Bartsch 285, Hind 228).

Comparisons between these drawings and the present work are possible in spite of the different subject matter: the chalk is handled lightly in a geometrical, abbreviated shorthand, with precise outlines and small pockets of parallel hatching. Nevertheless an exact date is impossible to propose on account of the stylistic proximity of a third drawing in the

Amsterdam Historisch Museum, the 'Four Doctors in Discussion' (Benesch 714) which is related to the etching of 1652 of 'Christ among the Doctors: a Sketch' (Bartsch 65, Hind 257).<sup>[5]</sup> The date of around 1650 suggested here is therefore a compromise between the possibilities argued by the datable drawings. The use of a particular type of paper need not necessarily have been confined to a single year and, as Rembrandt's etchings reveal, his interest in landscape as well as in 'beggar' subjects lasted throughout the period around 1648-52.

That the grey wash is by a later hand has been agreed by all recent writers. Another black chalk drawing of this period, the 'Street Musician' in a private collection (Benesch 745), has also been retouched in grey wash by a later hand in a similar fashion.<sup>[6]</sup> The delicate washes of white, on the other hand, seem characteristic of Rembrandt himself.

The site depicted in the British Museum's drawing has not been identified.

#### NOTES:

[1] By Christopher White (see Lit. below). Bürger, 1858, p.403, had also believed the drawing to be by Rembrandt but it was omitted from the British Museum's exhibition of 1899, which included all the drawings then accepted by Colvin.

[2] See the opinions recorded in Lit. below.

[3] The weight and texture is heavier in all of them and the chain lines run horizontally, except in Benesch 1280 (Vienna).

[4] For an extended version of the group, see Amsterdam, 1985, p.64.

[5] The connection with the etching was made by Broos in Amsterdam, 1981, no.15.

[6] The analogy first made by White, 1963 (see Lit. below).

#### LITERATURE :

Bürger, 1858, p.403 (Rembrandt); London, 1915, no.126, repr. pl.XVII (doubtful as Rembrandt, comparing Roghman and Cornelis Saftleven); White, 1963, pp.38-9, repr. pl.33 (compares 'Bulwark of the Fortifications of Amsterdam', Vienna, Benesch 1281; part of sketchbook to which 'View over Amstel', Benesch 1279, Berlin, and 'View over het IJ', Benesch 1280, Vienna, also belonged; wash and heightening possibly by a later hand, as in 'Street Musicians', priv. coll., The Hague, Benesch 745; same size as the two Vienna drawings); Benesch, 1964, p.134, repr. fig.32, reprinted 1970, p.261, repr. fig.237 (c.1652; wash added later; same sketchbook as Benesch 1279-81, as White, 1963); Benesch, 1973, no.1281A, repr. fig.1586 (c.1652; as Benesch 1964); Exh. Washington, 1990, p.90, n.1, and p.214, under no.61 (c.1645-9; quotes Benesch, 1973, for original sketchbook; compares other chalk studies of farmhouses: 'Cottage', Benesch 811, and 'Farm Buildings with Hay-Barn', Benesch 1276, both Berlin); Giltaij, 1995, p.101 (not Rembrandt).

#### Acquisition date

1824

#### Acquisition name

Bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight (as 'Rembrandt?') ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

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#### Exhibition History

London, 1992, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.74, repr. (c.1650).

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Cat.66



**Registration number:** 1895.0915.1282

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 123](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 66 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[JCR ADD.17](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1650 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

## Description

Landscape with a farm, with two hay-barns; and a house with two chimneys amid trees beyond at right. c.1650

Pen and brown ink with grey and coloured washes in green, blue and brown, touched with white (partly discoloured to pink).

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Goll's number on verso: 'N 734' and in graphite, top, 'Add 17'; top right 'X/X'.

## Dimensions

Height: 125 millimetres

Width: 210 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 28/30mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Good; minor discolouration to whites and at sides; slightly rubbed in lower corners.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.66:

The drawing was first doubted as a Rembrandt on its acquisition in 1895, and it is true that no other pictorially complete watercolour by him is known. Yet the few other writers to have passed judgement have believed the work in pen and ink, at least, to be characteristic of him.[1]

The early arguments for restoring the work to Rembrandt have been set out in detail elsewhere.[2] The main points are that:

- (1) the composition and pen style are typical of Rembrandt himself in around 1650;
- (2) the watercolour washes do not merely follow the pen and ink outlines but also add elements to the composition such as, for example, the screen of trees in the left distance; they also enhance the comprehension of the lie of the land elsewhere in the drawing;
- (3) that such effects could only be achieved by the artist responsible for the work in pen and ink; later additions to drawings by other hands invariably betray marked inconsistencies that are not present here;
- (4) the palette is typical for the period and the same as that used by Rembrandt's pupils and followers, several of whom practised watercolour (for example, Flinck, Eeckhout, Doomer and Koninck); additions in watercolour made to seventeenth-century drawings generally date from the eighteenth century, and have a distinctly rococo palette.

The watercolour - but not the pen work - is comparable to a school drawing of a farmstead in a Dutch private collection, formerly in the E. Wauters and de Robiano collections (sold Amsterdam, Muller, 15-16 June, 1926, no.390, repr.).[3]

The only possible counter-arguments to an attribution to Rembrandt depend either on the uniqueness of such a drawing in his oeuvre or on subjective, negative judgments of its quality, which we believe to be unwarranted: the image successfully evokes the atmosphere

of a day when the sun reappears through a still grey sky to heat the damp earth. Nonetheless the drawing's uniqueness will continue to stir doubts in the minds of some scholars.

The location has not been identified but the view of a low-lying farm on a small plot of elevated land (a 'terp')[4] is consistent with the Amsterdam area where most of Rembrandt's landscapes were made.

NOTES:

- [1] The first doubts were expressed by Sidney Colvin in the 1895 British Museum exhibition catalogue. He omitted the drawing from the 1899 exhibition of Rembrandt's drawings in the collection. Hind (London, 1915, no.123) attempted to reinstate the sheet, but it had already been passed over by Hofstede de Groot (1906) and was never mentioned by Benesch.
- [2] By the present writer in 1991 (see Lit. below).
- [3] The analogies first noted by Schatborn, 1994 (see Lit. below).
- [4] My thanks to Boudewijn Bakker.

LITERATURE :

Vosmaer, 1877, p.610 (Rembrandt); London, 1915, no.123, repr. pl.XVI (Rembrandt? colour unusual but penwork characteristic); Sumowski, 1964[I], p.244 (by Rembrandt, c.1650, but colour by a later hand; compares 'Farmhouse with Man in a Rowing Boat' at Chatsworth, Benesch 1232); Royalton-Kisch, 1991, pp.10-19, repr. in colour, pl.IV (argues for the retention of the drawing as entirely by Rembrandt, as summarised above); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1992, p.466 (inclined to accept as Rembrandt; the pen and ink acceptable without much difficulty); Sumowski, 1979 etc., X, 1992, no.2316xx (by Ruijscher, an early work; compares 'View of Naarden' in Rotterdam, Sumowski 2299xx); White, 1992, p.268 (attribution uncertain); Schatborn, 1994, p.23 (not Rembrandt - may belong to sub-group that includes ex-Wauters/de Robiano sheet); Giltaij, 1995, p.151 (not Rembrandt); Exh. Kassel-Leiden, 2006-7, p.199, n.17 and p.202, n.100 (first as "not Rembrandt"; then as "Ruijscher"; then as "Rembrandt?" [misquoting Royalton-Kisch, 1991 repeatedly]).

In Hind as a doubtful attribution to Rembrandt. Placed as School of Rembrandt.

Literature after Royalton-Kisch 2010: Holm Bevers, review of Martin Royalton-Kisch catalogue, in The Burlington Magazine (2013), p.103 (as School of Rembrandt).

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**Acquisition date**

1895

**Acquisition name**

Purchased from Col John Wingfield Malcolm ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Hendrik Six van Hillegom ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Johann Goll van Franckenstein (L.2987) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jacob de Vos Jacobsz. (L.1450; Amsterdam, Roos et al., 22.v.1883/388 as 'Rembrandt - Paysage aux deux granges à foin - Coll') ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Alphonse Wyatt Thibaudeau ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Malcolm of Poltalloch ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### **Acquisition notes**

J. Goll van Franckenstein (L.2987, with no. 'N 734 [in brown ink]'); his sale, Amsterdam, de Vries, Brondgeest, Engelberts and Roos, 1 July etc., 1833, p.25, *kunstboek F*, no.5, bt Six van Hillegom, f.750; Jhr H. Six van Hillegom; his sale, Amsterdam, de Vries, Roos and Brondgeest, 15 December, 1851, lot 2, bt de Vos, f.390; Jacob de Vos Jbzn (L.1450); his sale, Amsterdam, van Dijck, Roos, Muller, Pappelendam, Schouten and van Gogh, 22-4 May, 1883, lot 388, bt Thibaudeau for f.710 ; A.W. Thibaudeau, from whom bt 16 June, 1883 for £71 by John Malcolm of Poltalloch; purchased with the Malcolm collection, 1895 (According to annotated copy of Robinson, 1876, in the Department, in which the drawing was given the number 'Malcolm add.17').

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### **Exhibition History**

London, BM, 1895, no.386 (probably by Philips Koninck or possibly by Eeckhout);  
BM, 1992, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.75, repr. in colour;  
Kassel-Leiden, Gemäldegalerie/Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, 2006-7, 'Rembrandt's Landscapes'.

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Cat.67



**Registration number:** 1984,1110.9

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 1266](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 67 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1650 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Description

Landscape: the bend in the Amstel at Kostverloren House, with a dug-out in the foreground; the tower of the house seen above trees. c.1650

Reed pen and brown ink with brown wash, touched with white, on paper prepared with brown wash (on the recto only); ruled framing lines on three sides (not at top) in pen and brown ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

No watermark.

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Verso, in pencil, centre: '45', and lower left 'HdG 838' (both modern).

## Dimensions

Height: 145 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 35mm apart)

Width: 213 millimetres

## Condition

Good; lightly foxed.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.67.

The Amstel River at Kostverloren (literally 'money wasted', so-named because of the expenditure squandered on the house's construction and upkeep), situated a few miles south of Amsterdam, was a favourite haunt of seventeenth-century Dutch artists. As well as Rembrandt, who drew the scene six times, there are views of the house by Simon Frisius, Claes Jansz. Visscher, Jacob van Ruisdael and Meindert Hobbema.[1] First built in around 1420 and enlarged at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the house is believed to have been damaged by fire in around 1650, leaving its tower standing until it, too, was demolished in 1658.[2] Most of Rembrandt's drawn views appear to have been executed in about 1650; whether they were prompted by the conflagration, as was the case with his sketch of 'Amsterdam Town Hall after the Fire of 1652' (Rembrandthuis, Benesch 1278), it is impossible to know.[3]

Three of them, including the present sheet, depict much the same view. Perhaps the earliest is the other version in the Museum's collection, here cat. no.81 (1932,1210.1), which however may be a pupil's work. It has the cursory appearance of an on-the-spot sketch. Although seen from a similar angle, the artist's position was nearer the buildings and it omits the tower of the house, either because of an oversight or because it was obscured behind the trees. The second version may have been the drawing still at Chatsworth (Benesch 1265). Perhaps drawn with a quill rather than a reed pen and on a different, 'oatmeal' paper, its style is somewhat freer, capturing a sense of the atmosphere which suggests that it may have been made from nature. The vantage-point is some yards further to the left and at a greater distance from the house.[4] The present drawing was made from behind the dug-out in the ground

which is visible in the lower right corner of the Chatsworth sheet.

Beside the Chatsworth drawing it is clear that the present drawing is a more studied production. The prepared paper, the deliberate balance of the composition and the more uniform handling of the reed pen suggest both that it is a finished work of art in its own right and that it may have been drawn with the knowledge already gained through the other two versions. Yet in spite of its apparent 'finish' it may also have been drawn out of doors rather than in the studio, the details of the foliage and buildings and the recession into depth being understood as if from first-hand observation, which is not universally the case in Rembrandt's landscape drawings.[5]

Another view of the same bend in the Amstel river, but drawn from a more distant viewpoint and in a sparser manner, is at Chatsworth (Benesch 1268). Two more drawings from Chatsworth, the completed 'View on the Amsteldijk near the Trompenburg Estate' (Benesch 1218) and the 'Rampart near the Bulwark at the St Anthoniesdijk' (Benesch 1217, the latter now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York) seem particularly close to the present sheet in style and are also on paper prepared with horizontal strokes of brown wash, though of a slightly more sombre tone. A date towards 1650 seems acceptable on the basis of a comparison with the Oxford drawing of 'Farm Buildings beside a Road' (Benesch 1227), loosely related to the etched 'Landscape with a Milkman' of about that year (Bartsch 213, Hind 242).

Rembrandt's two other views of Kostverloren, in Dresden and Chicago (HdG.321 [not in Benesch] and Benesch 1270 respectively), are taken from different angles and concentrate on the building itself.[6]

#### NOTES:

[1] The Frisius is Holl.35, Visscher produced an etching (Simon 143; Holl.141) repr. Irene de Groot, 'Landscape Etchings by the Dutch Masters [...]', London, 1979, fig.22 and drawings (see Peeters and Schmitz, 1997); for the Ruisdael and Hobbema, see Exh. Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris-Bern, 1968-9, p.128. A drawing in Amsterdam by Anthonie Beerstraten is repr. de la Fontaine Verwey and van Eeghen, 1969, pl.II.

[2] For the building, see de La Fontaine Verwey and van Eeghen, 1969, and Slive, 1988. After the fire the house was sold by its owner, Gerrit van Nath, to his brother, Dirck.

[3] The 'Amsterdam Town Hall' seems to have been drawn almost immediately after the fire. Kostverloren also appears in the distance in Rembrandt's etching of 1641, 'Landscape with a Cottage and Haybarn' (Bartsch 225, Hind 177).

[4] The Chatsworth drawing measures 136 x 249 (horizontal chain lines, 23/24mm apart). This includes the section to the right that Benesch and others have described as an added strip, but which is in fact only an old crease from a fold. (The left-hand section of the Museum's sheet, cat. no.81; 1932,1210.1, seems to have been trimmed away.)

[5] Compare, for example, the 'Amsteldijk near the Trompenburg Estate' in the Louvre, Benesch 1220 recto, which was probably drawn in the studio. The drawing has been rejected, wrongly in my view, by Schneider in Exh. Washington, 1990, p.229 and questioned by Schatborn, 1990[I], p.34, but reinstated with hesitation by Carel van Tuyll van Serooskerken in Exh. Paris, 2006-7[I], cat. no.46. The characteristic sketch on the verso, identified by Benesch as of Kostverloren, could also be of Trompenburg.

[6] The Dresden drawing, now generally accepted, is repr. Lipp.IV, 18 (Slive, 1965, II, no.461), in Exh. Washington, 1990, p.225, fig.1 and Exh. Dresden, 2004, no.110. The Washington catalogue, p.226 n.3, rejected the Chicago drawing. See also the comments on Benesch 1220 verso in note 5.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Michel, 1893, p.493, repr., and p.581 (relates to two other versions at Chatsworth); Seidlitz, 1894, p.124; Lippmann, I, no.67; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.838; Hind, 1908, no.25, repr. (as of a 'Bend in the Amstel', comparing Chatsworth drawings, subjects then unidentified, Benesch 1218, 1265 and 1347); Lugt, 1915, p.109, repr. fig.68 (identifies as of Kostverloren, comparing Chatsworth Benesch 1265 in particular, and the Dresden drawing, HdG.321, on which see above); Lugt, 1920, p.112, repr. fig.68 (as Lugt, 1915); Benesch, 1935, p.42 (c.1648-9); Benesch, 1935[I], p.265; Wimmer, 1935, pp.18-20 and p.36 (c.1645-50; compares other Chatsworth drawings and HdG.1072, Lugt coll.); Poortenaar, 1943, p.15, and no.62, repr; Benesch, 1947, p.35, under no.154 (listing other drawings of the same scene); Winzinger, 1953, no.20, repr. (c.1648-50); Benesch, VI, 1957/73, no.1266, repr. fig.1493/1574 (c.1651-2; follows Lugt, 1920); Williamstown, 1964, p.21, under no.17 (on Rembrandt's use of toned paper, also used by Segers for etchings); Slive, 1965, I, no.67, repr.(c.1650); Rosenberg, 1967, pp.189-90, repr. fig.141 (a sensitive description); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.442; 'British Museum Report of the Trustees, 1984-7', 1987, p.57, repr; Slive, 1988, p.135, repr. p.155, figs.6-8 (early 1650s; other views by various artists discussed); Exh. Washington, 1990, pp.26, 31 n.31, 135 n.2, 153, 221 and 225-6, repr. fig.3 (probably drawn from life; lists other drawings of the same view and drawings and a print on toned paper); Schatborn, 1990[I], p.36, repr. p.38, fig.10 (not directly related to cat. no.81; 1932,1210.1); Royalton-Kisch, 1991, p.16, repr. fig.11 (work of art in its own right, possibly worked up from notations made on the spot); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2[I], pp.106-8, repr. fig.30b; Schatborn, 1994, p.23; Exh. Amsterdam-Paris, 1998-9, p.286, repr. fig.7.

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### Associated places

Topographic representation of Amsterdam (near) ([all objects](#))  
(Europe,Netherlands,Holland,Noord-Holland,Amsterdam)

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### Acquisition date

1984

### Acquisition name

Purchased through Christie's (3.vii.1984/64) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Purchased through Artemis Fine Arts ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

With contribution from National Heritage Memorial Fund ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

With contribution from George Bernard Shaw Fund ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Nicolaes Anthoni Flinck (L.959) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection William Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Devonshire ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### Acquisition notes

N.A. Flinck (L.959); his collection bt in 1723 by William Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Devonshire (Chatsworth no.1024); sold by the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, Christie's, 3 July, 1984, lot 64, bt Artemis, £648,000; purchased (after an export licence had been temporarily withheld) by the British Museum with £568,160 contributed by the National Heritage Memorial Fund and £101,944 contributed by the George Bernard Shaw Fund, 1984.

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**Exhibition History**

London, Royal Academy, 1929, no.601 (1929[I], p.206, no.201);  
London, Royal Academy, 1938, no.558 (repr. in the 'Illustrated Souvenir');  
Arts Council, 1949, no.33;  
London, Royal Academy, 1953, no.312;  
Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, no.151 (c.1648-9; otherwise as Benesch, 1947);  
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1973, no.92, repr;  
Tokyo, 1975, no.83;  
London, BM, 1992, 'Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle', no.78, repr. in colour;  
BM, 2006, 'Rembrandt: a 400th anniversary display' (no cat.)

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Cat.68





Watermark

**Registration number:** 1895,0915.1259

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 103](#)

[Benesch 1244](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 68 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[JCR 787](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1653 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A farm seen through trees on the bank of a river. c.1653

Pen and black ink with grey wash on paper washed brown; ruled framing lines in pen and brown ink.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

Watermark: posthorn in a crowned shield (not unlike Hewood 2715, Amsterdam, 1668; Laurentius catalogue p.255, nos.620-21, datable 1636 and 1637).

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Verso, in red chalk: 'f6 gulden van Rembrand'.

**Dimensions**

Height: 162 millimetres

Width: 234 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 25mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

**Condition**

Generally good; a diagonal crease near lower right corner; other slightly creased or abraded areas near corners and at middle of left edge.

### Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.68.

The drawing belongs to the group of landscapes discussed under cat. no.69 (1895,0915.1283, q.v.), which has a similar watermark. The details of the building in the present view include an outdoor lavatory and a haystack towards the left and a high barn ('stolp') attached to the nearer end of the main building ('langhuis') of the farm. Smoke shutters are just visible on the ridge of the roof of the 'langhuis'.

The site has not been identified but was almost certainly in the vicinity of Amsterdam.[1]

### NOTE:

[1] My thanks to Boudewijn Bakker for discussing the architectural and topographical details of the drawing (2 August 1989).

### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Robinson, 1876, no.787; Lippmann, IV, no.67; Kleinmann, IV, no.62; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.960; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; London, 1915, no.103 (compared with cat. no.69; 1895,0915.1283); Van Dyke, 1927, p.134 (not Rembrandt; belongs to Van Dyke's group I); Benesch, 1935, p.47 (c.1650; compares 'View of Sloten', Chatsworth, Benesch 1237, "t Molentje", also Chatsworth, Benesch 1308, and the 'Farm Houses and Hay-Barn' in the Petit Palais, Benesch 1241); Wimmer, 1935, p.42 (c.1650); Wimmer, 1942, pp.42 and 48 (c.1652-5); Rosenberg, 1948/64, I, p.89/152, repr. II, fig.128 (early 1640s/late 1640s); Rosenberg, 1956, p.130, repr. fig.31 (c.1640); Benesch, VI, 1957/73, no.1244, repr. fig.1472/1547 (c.1650; quotes London, 1915); Drost, 1957, p.216 (compares Elsheimer); White, 1962, repr. pl.29 (c.1650); Slive, 1965, II, no.514, repr; Haak, 1969/68, p.227, repr. fig.380 (c.1650); Baer, 1970, no.91, repr.; Schneider, 1990, pp.58 and p.97, repr. p.57, fig.44, (c.1650-53); Schatborn, 1994, p.23; Giltaij, 1995, p.101 (grey wash almost certainly later); Berlin, 2006, p.147, n.2, under no.42 (compares Berlin drawing, Benesch 1251).

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### Acquisition date

1895

### Acquisition name

Purchased from Col John Wingfield Malcolm ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Malcolm of Poltalloch ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Andrew James ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection Jeremiah Harman (according to Robinson) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

### Acquisition notes

Harman (according to Robinson, 1876 - see Lit. under Comment); Andrew James;\* his sale, Christie's, 28 April 1873, (unidentified lot), bt for Malcolm, £55-10-0 (according to annotated copy of Malcolm catalogue); John Malcolm of Poltalloch; purchased with his collection, 1895. \* Waagen, IV, 1857, p.215 and Brunet, 1866, p.260, mention 'several landscapes' in James' collection.

### **Exhibition History**

London, Grosvenor Gallery, 1878-9, no.314;  
London, British Museum, 1895, no.384b;  
1899, no.A42;  
1938, no.103;  
1956, p.12, no.8;  
1992, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.79, repr. in colour (c.1650-53);  
1996-7, no.87, repr. in colour;  
Kassel-Leiden, Gemäldegalerie/Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, 2006, 'Rembrandt's  
Landscapes', p.151, fig.126, and no.45.

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Cat.69



**Registration number:** 1895.0915.1283

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 102](#)

[Benesch 1242](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 69 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

[JCR ADD.29](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1650-1653 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

## Description

A road by a canal; cottages amid trees on either side and a drop bridge at left foreground.

c.1650-53

Pen and black ink on paper washed brown; ruled framing lines in pencil.

Verso: see Inscriptions.

Watermark: posthorn in a crowned shield (not unlike Heawood 2715, Amsterdam, 1668).

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Inscribed lower right, in graphite: '14.'; verso, in graphite: 'Add 29'.

## Dimensions

Height: 134 millimetres

Width: 231 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 25/26mm apart)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Generally good, but damaged near left edge and repaired along the top; some dirt (resembling rubbed black chalk) lower right.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.69.

The drawing is one of five landscapes executed on toned paper - with which Rembrandt often experimented - in a delicate, sparing style and with a fine nib (the others are the 'Inn and Sailing-Boat' in the Rijksmuseum, Benesch 1221, the Chatsworth drawing, Benesch 1243, mentioned below, the 'Canal with a Bridge' in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Benesch 1343 and cat. no.68; 1895,0915.1259).[1] The same view is repeated in the drawing at Chatsworth (Benesch 1243) but seen from a little further to the left with a few extra trees before the inn while those on the right appear nearer - an instructive example of the licence the artist might take while composing on the page.

The road depicted is a main one, with a track for carriages on the left and another for pedestrians in the centre of the drawing, while the building behind is an inn, its sign visible. The location is probably on the Amstelveense weg to the south of Amsterdam, an area often represented by Rembrandt.[2] Comparisons with Rembrandt's dated drawings and landscape etchings suggest that the group to which the present work belongs should be dated around 1650-53. This coincides with the two sheets of 1652 in the Six album (Benesch 913-14) which betray something of the same spare and delicate calligraphy, and the two etchings, 'Landscape with a Road beside a Canal' of c.1652 (Bartsch 221, Hind 264) and the 'Landscape with a Sportsman and Dogs' of c.1653 (Bartsch 211, Hind 265), which both include attenuated lines in trees that frame the compositions, an effect similar to that found here and in the Chatsworth drawing.[3]

A copy is in the Brandt collection, Amsterdam.[4]

## NOTES:

[1] Some landscape drawings with toned paper are listed in Exh. Washington, 1990, p.31, n.31. Other drawings in a comparable style to the present sheet are the three sketches of

'Wooded Roads' from Chatsworth (Benesch 1251-3, the last now in the Getty Museum), the 'Inn beside a Road' (Benesch 1314, formerly also at Chatsworth and now in the Abrams coll.) and the 'Swigh Utrecht Tower' (Benesch 1334, Rijksmuseum).

[2] First identified by J.F. Backer, as reported by Lugt, 1920, p.150, who had previously (1915, p.147) considered an area east of Amsterdam. Lugt was uncertain of the identification with the Amstelveense weg because the level of the road and the landscape to the left should, he thought, differ. Boudewijn Bakker (in conversation, 2 August 1989) believed the Amstelveensche weg to be the most probable location but considers the road to Sloten another possibility. The former identification is supported in Exh. Amsterdam-Paris, 1998-9, p.53.

[3] The attempt to redate Bartsch 211 to c.1645-8 in Exh. Washington, 1990, no.33 is in my view unconvincing.

[4] Published by Sumowski, 1961, p.22, and repr. *ibid.*, 1964[I], p.245, fig.14; pen and wash on brown paper, 110 x 192. Listed as a copy by Benesch, 1973 ed., and to judge from the photograph this assessment is correct. It was formerly in the Argoutinsky-Dolgorukoff collection, then with Mellaart, Wiegersma and K. Hehewerth.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt):

Lippmann, IV, no.68; Kleinmann, III, no.59; London, 1915, no.102 (compares for style and the scene the Chatsworth drawing, Benesch 1243); Lugt, 1915, p.147, n.1 (notes omission by Hofstede de Groot, 1906; as London, 1915, identifying the scene as perhaps the 'Meer' or 'Diemermeer' area east of Amsterdam); Lugt, 1920, p.150, n.1 (as in 1915, but see n.2); Van Dyke, 1927, p.134 (not Rembrandt; belongs to his group I); Wimmer, 1935, p.42 (as London, 1915); Wimmer, 1942, p.42 (as London, 1915); Benesch, VI, 1957/73, no.1242, repr. fig.1471/1543 (c.1650; groups stylistically with other sheets showing winter or early spring: in Petit Palais, Benesch 1241, the Chatsworth sheet, the 'Inn with Sailing Boat', Amsterdam, Benesch 1221 and cat. no.79); Slive, 1965, II, no.515, repr. (c.1650); Sumowski, 1961, p.22 (see n.4 above); Sumowski, 1964[I], p.244 (c.1650; see n.4 above); Muller, 1968[I], p.47, repr. (c.1648-50; near Amstelveen; compares cat. no.86; Oo,9.111); Sumowski, 1971, p.131 (compares a drawing attrib. to Furnerius, but given by Sumowski to Rembrandt, in a German priv. coll.); Amsterdam, 1985, under no.33, repr. fig.33a (early 1650s; compares Rijksmuseum drawing, Benesch 1221, and the 'Inn beside a Road' now Abrams collection, Benesch 1314); Exh. Washington, 1990, p.31, n.31 (see n.1 above); Schatborn, 1994, p. 23; Berlin, 2006, p.147, n.2, under no.42 (compares Berlin drawing, Benesch 1251).

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#### Acquisition date

1895

#### Acquisition name

Purchased from Col John Wingfield Malcolm ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection William Mitchell ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection John Malcolm of Poltalloch ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

#### Acquisition notes

W. Mitchell; his sale, Frankfurt, Prestel, 5-6 May, 1890, lot 88; John Malcolm of Poltalloch; purchased with his collection (designated as Malcolm Add.29), 1895.

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**Exhibition History**

London, 1895, no.385;  
1899, no.A40;  
1938, no.102;  
1956, p.14, no.7 (late);  
1992, *Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle*, no.80, repr.;  
1998/9, Amsterdam-Paris, *Gemeentearchief/Institut Neerlandais, 'Rembrandt's Amsterdam'*,  
p.53, repr. fig.10, pp.321-4, repr. fig.2, and p.338;  
Kassel-Leiden, *Gemäldegalerie/Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal*, 2006-7, *'Rembrandt's Landscapes'*, p.189, repr. fig.168, and no.46.

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Cat.70



**Registration number:** Gg.2.255

**Bibliographic reference**

[Hind 106](#)

[Benesch 1329](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 70 \(Rembrandt\)](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Drawn by Rembrandt ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1655 (circa)

**Schools / Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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## Description

A road passing an inn surrounded by trees; the inn sign projecting beyond the trees, over the road, two men walking along, other figures in the background. c.1655

Reed pen and brown ink with brown wash on paper prepared with brown wash; ruled framing lines in pen and brown ink, largely trimmed away.

Verso: laid down on eighteenth-century mat.

No watermark visible.

## Inscriptions

Inscription Content: Inscribed on verso of mat, in pen and brown ink: 'CMC. 1798';[1] in graphite: '30 [in a circle]'.  
[1] See n.1 under Comment.

## Dimensions

Height: 111 millimetres

Width: 172 millimetres (chain lines horizontal, 25mm apart)

## Condition

Trimmed a little irregularly; creases near lower left corner; a little faded and some old stains disguised.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, Rembrandt, cat. no.70.

As explained under cat. no.83 (Oo,9.80), the attribution and date of Rembrandt's later landscape drawings such as this one present particular difficulties. The breadth of the style in the trees in this example suggests the period of the mid-1650s, a little later than the 'Homer' drawing of 1652 in the Six Album (Benesch 913). The handling of the reed pen is reminiscent of a drawing in Cambridge of a 'Farmhouse beneath Trees' (Benesch 1274). Yet the foreground detail is highly unusual for Rembrandt, and it has been plausibly suggested that the drawing has been retouched and amplified by a later hand.[2] There are also some analogies with the work of Pieter de With, although they are not as yet close enough to transfer the drawing to his name (cf. De With cat. no.1; 1888,0619.17).

The Cambridge study has often been associated with the print of 1652, the 'Clump of Trees with a Vista' (Bartsch 222, Hind 263), yet although they represent the same spot the viewpoints and compositions are different, so that the drawing could also be later than the print (the same motif was sketched several times by Rembrandt and his emulators).

The location has not been identified.[3]

## NOTES:

[1] Cracherode purchased 'Two spirited landscapes [sic] – pen, slightly washed with bistre', for £4-7-0 at the Duke of Argyll's sale, 2nd Day, Philipe, 22 May, 1798, lot 203\*, bt by Thane as his agent; possibly this drawing and cat. no.81 (inv.Gg,02.254). Cracherode's

purchases at the sale are listed in his copy of the catalogue, now in the British Library 679 c.28(2).

[2] Haverkamp-Begemann, 1992 (see Lit. below). There is a pentimento on the left where the horizon has been raised above its original level. Such revisions are not common in Rembrandt's landscape drawings and this may also be part of the later reworking.

[3] Benesch believed that the same inn appeared in a drawing in Groningen (Benesch 1330) but this seems uncertain, although the two drawings are stylistically similar.

#### LITERATURE (always as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated):

Bürger, 1858, p.402 ('très-beau paysage'); Seidlitz, 1894, p.124; Lippmann, I, no.124a; Kleinmann, III, no.58; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.957; Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; London, 1915, no.106; Benesch, 1935, p.57 (c.1652-5; Venetian influence); Wimmer, 1935, p.59 (probably not Rembrandt); Wimmer, 1942, pp.59 and 68 (not Rembrandt; later imitation); Benesch, VI, 1957/73,no.1329, repr. fig.1563/1641 (c.1653-4; see n.1 above; groups with other drawings [in compiler's opinion not especially similar]; otherwise as Benesch, 1935); Slive, 1965, I, no.126, repr. (c.1653); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1992, p.83 (reworked by a later hand in lower left, the posts in right foreground and some shadows in the trees); Giltaij, 1995, p.101 (not Rembrandt; 'the same hand is known from [...] the circles of Philips Koninck and Johannes Leupenius' [but no examples given]).

Literature after Royalton-Kisch 2010: Holm Bevers, review of Martin Royalton-Kisch catalogue, in The Burlington Magazine (2013), p.103 (tentatively attributed to Pieter de With).

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#### Acquisition date

1799

#### Acquisition name

Bequeathed by Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode (L.606) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))  
Previous owner/ex-collection Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2183) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

#### Acquisition notes

Jonathan Richardson, sen. (L.2183); Rev. C. M. Cracherode (L.606; CMC. 1798)[1], by whom bequeathed, 1799. [1] See n.1 under Comment.

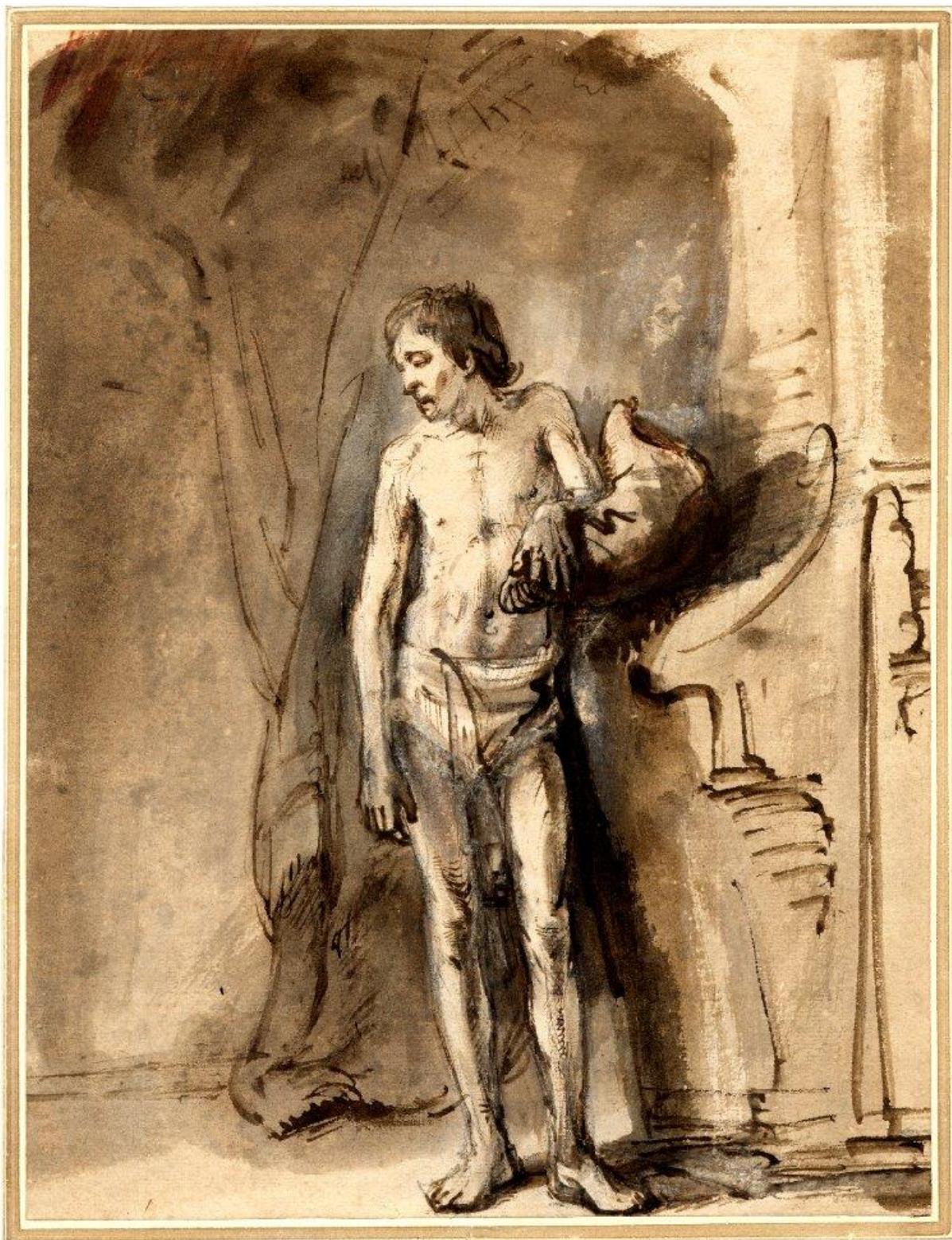
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#### Exhibition History

London, 1899, no.A38;  
1938, no.106;  
1972-3, no.245;  
1992, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.83, repr. in colour.

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Cat. 71 RETOUCHE BY REMBRANDT



**Registration number:** Oo,9.94

**Bibliographic reference**  
[Hind 66 \(placed as\)](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 71 \(School of Rembrandt & retouched by Rembrandt\)](#)  
[Benesch 710](#)

**Location:**  
Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**  
drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**  
paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**  
drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**  
Circle/School of Rembrandt (Retouched by Rembrandt) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**  
1646 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**  
Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

Life study of a man standing; nude except for a loin-cloth, his left arm resting on a cushion which rests on a projection of the wall. c.1646

Pen and brown ink, with brown and grey wash, touched with red chalk and heightened with white, over black chalk.

Verso: laid down.

No watermark visible or recorded.

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: No inscriptions visible or recorded.

**Dimensions**

Height: 252 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 25mm apart)

Width: 193 millimetres

**Condition**

Good, though perhaps a little trimmed all round; a rubbed patch above the cushion; two small touches in a purplish brown wash probably added later (in the cheek and nearer eye).

**Curator's comments**

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, anonymous School of Rembrandt (retouched), cat. no.71.

The drawing is one of a series of studies that appear to have been taken from the same model

at a single sitting, but by different artists.[1] Rembrandt etched the figure, seen from a little further to the left, on the plate entitled 'A young Man seated and standing: the Walking Trainer' (Bartsch 194, Hind 222 [see 1973, U.983]) which is datable c.1646.[2] The etching reverses the figure. Samuel van Hoogstraten studied the model from a similar angle in a drawing now in the Louvre (Benesch A55, Sumowski 1253x).[3] Taken from still further to the left is a study in Vienna (Benesch 709), which seems to be the work of yet another artist.[4]

Of the drawings, only the British Museum's retains any claims to be by Rembrandt. Against the attribution speak the elaborate technique of two chalks as well as brown ink with wash in brown and grey, heightened with white, unparalleled in Rembrandt's certainly authentic drawings of the 1640s. The somewhat laboured, fastidious hatching that appears at various points in the figure is also uncharacteristic. More difficult to assess is the possibility that Rembrandt himself may have improved those sections of the sheet drawn with bolder strokes of a reed pen, a procedure encountered in a few drawings by his pupils.[5] In the present example the issue is confused by the presence of corrections that appear to have been made by the pupil to his own work, as in the back of the head and in the legs and feet. The areas which Rembrandt probably retouched are in the background to either side of the figure and in the addition of a loose fold in the loincloth. The suggestion seems plausible in the light of comparisons with drawings of the period 1646-52 that are unquestionably by Rembrandt. For example, the study of 'Jan Cornelisz. Sylvius' of 1646 (cat. no.37; 1874,0808.2272) includes similarly bold work both in the drapery to the right of the figure and in the figure itself. The 'Minerva in her Study' of 1652 in the Six album (Benesch 914, Six Collection) includes a comparable curtain with, to the upper left, an indication of a fringe that matches the calligraphy seen at the base of the curtain in the British Museum's drawing. Taken together, the analogies support the idea of an intervention by Rembrandt. The vigour of his draughtsmanship seems distinct from the rest of the drawing, although its effect is somewhat diluted by the more flaccid underlying work, mostly in brown wash.[6]

In summary, the drawing appears to be the work of a Rembrandt follower, drawn at the same time as the master's etching of about 1646 and two other pupils' drawings, but to have been corrected by Rembrandt as well as by the pupil himself. The latter's identity cannot be ascertained, although his style resembles that of his contemporary in Rembrandt's workshop, Samuel van Hoogstraten,[7] who drew the same model at the same time.

Rembrandt's habit of correcting his pupils' drawings is recorded in several examples (see also cat. no.72; Oo,09.73) but it is not always certain whether the corrections were made by the master, by the pupil, or by former pupils of Rembrandt who may have followed the same practice in their own independent workshops and corrected their own pupils' drawings.[8]

#### NOTES:

[1] Hofstede de Groot, 1915[I], p.93, unconvincingly saw the almost imperceptible differences in the pose of the model in these works as evidence of different postures adopted at a single session, in order to defend the theory that the Vienna sheet, the etching and the present drawing are all by Rembrandt. While there can be no objection to the idea that Rembrandt made more than one study at the same sitting (as noted by Hind, 1912), the style argues against the assumption.

[2] The date is based on its stylistic proximity to the dated etchings of a 'Nude Man seated before a Curtain' (Bartsch 193, Hind 220) and the 'Man seated with one Leg extended' (Bartsch 196, Hind 221).

[3] The attribution to van Hoogstraten, though recent (it was first mooted by Hind, 1932, p.34) is convincing - see Sumowski 1253x (the Paris drawing), Sumowski 1250x (the 'Seated Nude' formerly de Bruijn coll, which closely resembles the seated figure in the etching,) and

Sumowski's comparison of the face in the latter with the 'Self-Portrait' in Munich, Sumowski 1110.

[4] The Vienna drawing was accepted by Benesch but seems a typical pupil's drawing of the 1640s and has been rejected by Lugt, Schatborn and others (see Lit. below).

[5] For a discussion of several examples, see Exh. Amsterdam, 1984-5, nos.26-30.

[6] The exact limits of Rembrandt's intervention are impossible to establish - he could perhaps also have made some of the corrections in white.

[7] As noted by Hind, 1932, Sumowski, 1961, and others. The resemblance is clear from the comparison with the Louvre drawing mentioned above, Benesch A55. The Vienna drawing, Benesch 709, may also have been corrected by Rembrandt at the top and in the cushion, where it resembles the style of the Hamburg drawing of 'St Jerome in a Landscape', Benesch 886.

[8] Many of the examples described by Benesch have since been reassessed (mainly by Sumowski) as done entirely by Rembrandt's pupils. For a recent discussion see Exh. Amsterdam, 1984-5, pp.38-43 and Royalton-Kisch, 1998.

LITERATURE (as Rembrandt unless otherwise stated unless otherwise stated; refs. to etching are to Bartsch 194, Hind 222 and to Vienna drawing are to Benesch 709):

Bürger, 1858, p.397 (for the etching); Blanc, II, 1861, p.455 (for the etching); Vosmaer, 1868, p.473 (c.1646; study for the etching); Vosmaer, 1877, p.541 (as in 1868); Middleton, 1878, p.267, under no. 280 (for the etching; Le Blanc owned another [see Le Blanc, II, 1861, pp.16-17; this was probably the Paris drawing, Benesch A55]); Dutuit, IV, 1885, p.86; Michel, 1893, p.582; Seidlitz, 1895, p.117, under no.194 (for the etching, as also Vienna drawing; noted Le Blanc as Middleton, 1878); Lippmann, II, no.46; Seidlitz, 1900, p.489; Kleinmann, II, no.59; Valentiner, 1905, p.53 (model resembles, though probably not, Titus); Bell, c.1905, repr. pl.VII; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.933 (c.1646, for the etching); Baldwin Brown, 1907, p.144 (for the etching); Exh. Paris, 1908, p.61 under no.166 (follows HdG); Conway, 1908-9, p.37 (pupil, possibly corrected by Rembrandt; other studies of the period show the same model); Wurzbach, 1910, p.418; Hind, 1912, I, p.58, n.1 and 1912/24, under no.223 (refutes Conway, 1908-9; Rembrandt could have taken more than one sketch at one sitting); Hofstede de Groot, 1915[I], p.93, repr. pl.34, fig.29 (drawn by Rembrandt at same session as he made Vienna drawing and the etching; notes minor differences of poses between them); London, 1915, no.66 (c.1646; a study for the etching, with the Vienna sheet, which is closer); Demonts, 1920, p.14, n.5 (groups with Louvre drawing, Benesch A55); Weisbach, 1926, p.616, n.2 (for etching, but less close than Vienna drawing); Van Dyke, 1927, p.114, repr. pl.xxix, fig.115 (by Maes, as also Vienna study; the etching also probably workshop); Graul, 1920, p.34, under no.190; Hind, 1932, p.34, repr. pl.xvii (pupil corrected by Rembrandt; same hand as London, 1915, no.67 [HdG.932] and Victoria and Albert Museum drawings HdG.968 and 973, repr. Valentiner, 1924, figs.24-5); Paris, 1933, p.63, under no.1327 (rejects, along with all other drawings generally related to the print); Exh. Madrid, 1934, p.60, under no.80 (for the etching); Benesch, 1935, p.38 (c.1646, for etching, with Vienna drawing, which is closer); Benesch, 1935[I], p.265, lists with sheet in Vienna); Benesch, 1947, pp.11 and 12 and no.148 (c.1646; 'life-class' study; relates to etchings Bartsch 193-4 and 196 [Hind 220, 222 and 221] and to Vienna drawing; provenance wrongly as Cracherode); Münz, 1952, II, p.80, under no.136 (pupil corrected by Rembrandt); Boeck, 1953, p.191 (different viewpoint to etching and Vienna drawing); Benesch, IV, 1955/73, no.710, repr. fig.853/901 (c.1646, for the etching, with Vienna drawing; rejects arguments that cast doubt on either sheet); Biörklund and Barnard, 1955, p.93, under no.BB 46-1 (related in reverse to etching); Exh. Amsterdam-Rotterdam, 1956, pp.30-31, under no. 58 (for the etching); Exh. Amsterdam-Rotterdam, 1956[I], p.115, under no.55 (compares the etching

and Cologne painting, 'Christ at Column', Bredius 591); Exh. Rotterdam-Amsterdam, 1956, p.107, under no.126 (for the etching, as also the Vienna drawing); Exh. Stockholm, 1956, p.73, under no.115 (for the etching, as also the Vienna drawing); Exh. Vienna, 1956, under nos.73 and 218 (as Benesch, 1955); Gerson, 1957[I], pp.148-9 (rejects, along with Benesch A55 Louvre, Vienna drawing - this perhaps retouched by Rembrandt - and a sheet in Dresden not in HdG [this last reference perhaps in error]); Haverkamp-Begemann, 1961, pp.54-5 (school, drawn at same sitting as Vienna drawing and Benesch A55, Paris); Sumowski, 1961, p.14 (not a study for the etching; corrected by Rembrandt; perhaps by Hoogstraten; compares 'Diana' now in Meissner coll., Zurich, Sumowski 1252x, and 'Seated Woman', Benesch A54, Sumowski 1251x, Louvre); Sumowski, 1964[I], p.239 (not Rembrandt); Slive, 1965, I, no.270, repr. (rejects all studies related to the etching, but believes the present sheet possibly retouched by Rembrandt); Haak, 1969/68, pp.196-7, repr. fig.321 (perhaps corrected by Rembrandt; relates with other sheets to etching of c.1646); White, 1969, 1, p.179 n. (corrected by Rembrandt?); White and Boon, 1969, I, p.94, under no. B194 (for the etching, as also Vienna sheet; Paris drawing, Benesch A55, school); Exh. Vienna, 1969-70, under no.33 (by Rembrandt, because the print composed, showing the legs covered by another figure); Bonnier, 1970/69, repr. in colour, p.61, fig.38; Exh. Vienna, 1970-71, p.102 under no.173 (as Exh. Vienna, 1969-70); Bernhard, 1976, II, repr. p.345; Exh. Amsterdam-Washington, 1981-2, p.22 and n.71 (notes relationship to print; model could be Maes or Hoogstraten); Exh. Amsterdam, 1984-5, p.6 and repr. no.23 (reproduction exhibited; pupil's work, related to the etching, to Vienna drawing and Benesch A55, Louvre); Amsterdam, 1985, under no.29, n.8, and under no.52 (pupil; uncertain whether retouched by Rembrandt); Exh. Paris, 1986, p.171, under no.84 (by a pupil?); Schatborn, 1987, p.316 and n.17 (drawn by a pupil at same sitting as etching and pupils' drawings in Vienna and Paris, Benesch A55); Schatborn, 1987[I], p.37 and n.17 (as Schatborn, 1987); Exh. Berlin-Amsterdam-London, 1991-2, p.80 and n.78, repr. fig.97 (compares Maes drawing in Victoria and Albert Museum, S.1765b, though an attribution to him unlikely as only 12 years old in 1646; Vienna drawing a schoolwork, Paris drawing, Benesch A55 by Hoogstraten); Schatborn, 1993, p.164; Schatborn, 1994, p.24 (corrections perhaps the pupil's own, but in Rembrandt's style); Giltaij, 1995, p.102 (corrections not Rembrandt, probably all by Hoogstraten); Schatborn, in Exh. Paris-Haarlem, 1997, p.XXIV (probably retouched by Rembrandt); Hinterding, 2006, p.110, repr. fig.70; Blanc, 2008, p.93, repr. fig.46 (mixed media conveys pose, chiaroscuro and anatomy more fully than Van Hoogstraten's drawing in the Louvre).

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**Subject**

academic nude ([all objects](#))

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**Acquisition date**

1824

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**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

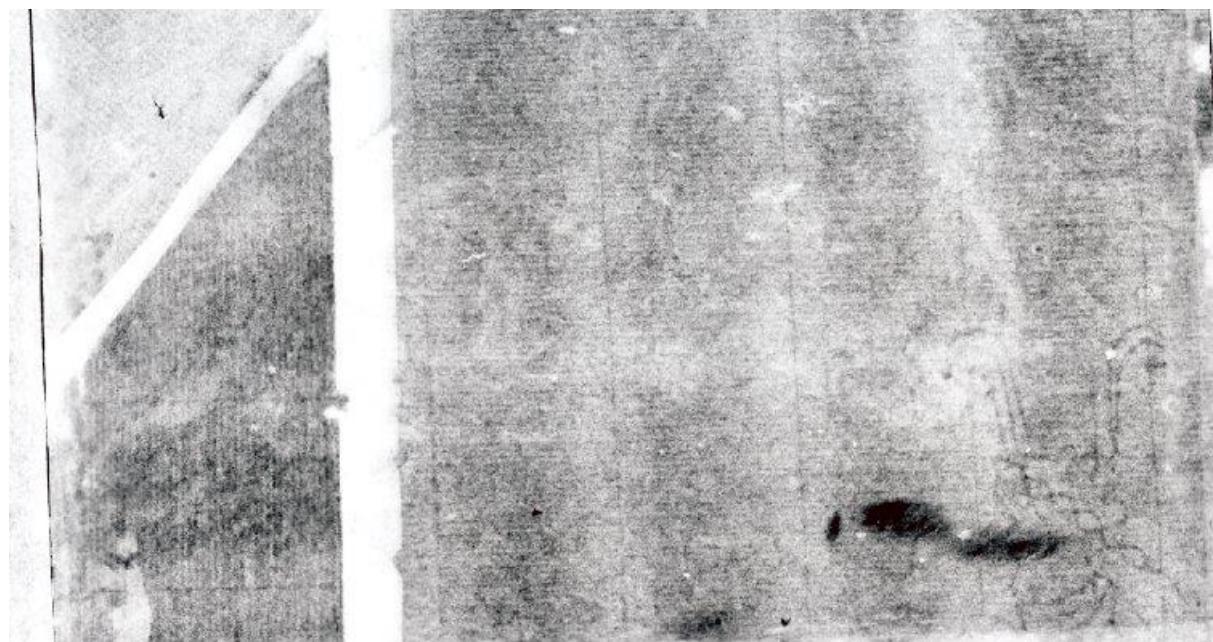
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### **Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.A49 (c.1646; study in reverse for the etching - see Comment);  
1938, no.66; 1956, p.10, no.19 (accepted as c.1646 but notes attributional controversy);  
Amsterdam, 1969, no.76 (accepted as c.1646, but quotes dissent of Haverkamp-Begemann,  
1961 and Slive, 1965);  
London, 1972-3, no.210;  
Manchester, Whitworth Art Gallery, 1982, 'Payne Knight', no.160;  
London, 1992, no.87, repr. in colour;  
Amsterdam-London, 2000-2001, p.213, repr. p.217, fig.d;  
Rome, Scuderie del Quirinale, 2002-3, 'Rembrandt Pittore Incisore', p.171, under no.51, repr.  
fig.c.

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Cat.72



**Watermark**

**Registration number:** Oo,9.73

**Bibliographic reference**

[Benesch 1370](#)

[Hind 44](#)

[Royalton-Kisch 2010 72 \(School of Rembrandt & retouched by Rembrandt\)](#)

**Location:**

Dutch Roy XVIIc

**Object types**

drawing ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Materials**

paper ([all objects](#))

**Techniques**

drawn ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

**Production person**

Circle/School of Rembrandt (Retouched by Rembrandt) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Date**

1646-1650 (circa)

**Schools /Styles**

Dutch ([scope note](#) | [all objects](#))

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**Description**

A reclining lion; with head at r, looking to front. c.1646-5

Pen and brown ink with brown wash, heightened with white on paper prepared with brown wash; ruled framing lines in pen and brown ink (that along the lower edge in grey ink). Made up of two sheets of paper, divided vertically 39 mm from left edge; the top left corner made up with a triangular patch.

Verso: blank (inspected but now laid down); see Inscriptions; the verso of the triangular patch has a few lines in black chalk.

Watermark: foolscap (cf. Exh. Paris, 1997, p.242, no.23, another pupil's drawing of a lion).

**Inscriptions**

Inscription Content: Inscribed verso, in graphite: '60 [in a circle]' and 'a [in a circle]'; an erased graphite inscription, lower left: '6[...]'.

**Dimensions**

Height: 122 millimetres (chain lines vertical, 24mm apart)

Width: 158 millimetres (1 upper corner cut)

- [More about object](#)
- [Conservation](#)

## Condition

Generally good, apart from aspects mentioned with the measurements above; whites partly oxidised to black.

## Curator's comments

Entry from Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school', 2010, anonymous School of Rembrandt (retouched), cat. no.72.

The style of the drawing, which does not appear to be a copy,[1] approximates to Rembrandt's own work of around 1650, although exact parallels are impossible to find among Rembrandt's securely datable drawings. The generally cautious draughtsmanship that constitutes the greater part of the work on the sheet betrays the hand of a pupil rather than Rembrandt himself, as has previously been recognised.[2] Yet the broader lines executed with the reed pen, particularly in the shadows to the left and in the outline of the rear part of the animal including the corrected, lower profile of the haunch, as well as the two diagonal lines to the left of the head and the accents to the right of the front paws, are more vigorously executed and with a superior comprehension of the forms depicted. These retouches have been interpreted as corrections to a pupil's work by Rembrandt himself, a theory that seems plausible if unprovable. Comparable passages of hatching appear in the 'Portrait of Jan Cornelisz. Sylvius' of 1646 in the Museum's collection (see cat. no.37; 1874,0808.2272), somewhat earlier than might otherwise be entertained for the drawing, while the retouched outlines resemble those in a study of a lion by Rembrandt himself in Rotterdam (Benesch 1211).

The animals were Berber lions from North Africa, and Rembrandt's interest in them may possibly have been connected with his design for a 'Daniel in the Lions' Den', a subject treated in a drawing in the Rijksmuseum of c.1649-50.[3]

The drawing was etched by Bernard Picart in his 'Recueil de lions' published in Amsterdam in 1729 (as no.D5).[4] An early, drawn copy is also in the British Museum's collection (cat. no.96; 1895,0915.1274). A school drawing which may represent the same animal was in the J.P. Heseltine collection (sold Sotheby's, 27-9 May, 1935, lot 185, repr.).

## NOTES:

[1] There is no sign of any preparatory indications in graphite or chalk of the kind found in many copies made in Rembrandt's circle. The extension onto a second piece of paper on the left is also unlikely for a copyist.

[2] By Benesch; it also resembles cat. no.95 (Oo,09.74) in the Museum's collection.

[3] Schatborn, 1977, p.24, discusses the type of lion. For the date of the 'Daniel' drawing see Amsterdam, 1985, no.24.

[4] On Picart's 'Recueil' see most recently Schatborn, 1981, pp.25-8.

## LITERATURE (+ = as Rembrandt):

Bürger, 1858, p.394 (+); Vosmaer, 1877, p.529 (+, c.1641); Michel, 1893, p.582 (+ ? uncertain if this drawing is referred to; he states that it is inscribed below with Latin verses); Kleinmann, IV, no.27; Bell, c.1905, repr. pl.XXXVIII; Hofstede de Groot, 1906, no.941 (notes Picart print); Wurzbach, 1910, p.418 (+); London, 1915, no.44, repr. pl.VIII (+, c.1635-40; notes British Museum copy; later than 'St Jerome' etching of 1634, Bartsch 100, Hind 119); Paris, 1933, p.32, under no.1193 (+, compares drawing in Louvre of a similar beast [later rejected by Benesch under no.1370]; notes variant in Haarlem as a copy, inv. 0\*62); Benesch, VI, 1957/73, no.1370, repr. fig.1604/1683 (c.1650-52; a pupil's drawing retouched by Rembrandt; compares lost drawing of a similar lion known in three versions,

two discussed in Paris, 1933, no.1193, the third in the Percy Moore Turner collection [now Norwich; HdG.1034]); van Gelder, 1973, p.200, n.51 (on Picart); Amsterdam, 1981, p.149, n.8 (quotes Benesch); Schatborn, 1981, p.26 (on Picart); Sumowski, IX, 1985, p.4820, under no.2146 (compares lion drawn by Renesse in 1652 study of 'St Jerome' in Haarlem); Giltaij, 1995, p.102 (corrections not by a different hand); Schwartz, 2006, p.126, repr. fig.214.

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**Acquisition date**

1824

**Acquisition name**

Bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

Previous owner/ex-collection François Fagel (possibly) ([biographical details](#) | [all objects](#))

**Acquisition notes**

Possibly Greffier François Fagel sale, 1799 (see under cat. no.128, n.2; Oo,9.72, yet according to a note in the Register it was bought from Neyman in The Hague on 29 May, 1789, for f.10); Richard Payne Knight, by whom bequeathed, 1824.

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**Exhibition History**

London, 1899, no.A18a (notes copy or 'less successful first sketch' in British Museum, here cat. no.96 [1895,0915.1274]);  
1938, no.44 (c.1635-40);  
1992, Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle, no.88, repr.

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