Rembrandt (Harmensz.) van Rijn [Rhyn]

(*b* Leiden, July 15, 1606; *d* Amsterdam, Oct 4, 1669, *bur* Oct 8, 1669).

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Dutch painter, draughtsman and etcher. From 1632 onwards he signed his works with only the forename *Rembrandt*; in documents, however, he continued to sign *Rembrandt van Rijn* (occasionally *van Rhyn*), initially with the addition of the patronymic ‘Harmensz.’. This was no doubt in imitation of the great Italians such as Leonardo, Michelangelo, Raphael and Titian, on whom he modelled himself, sometimes literally. He certainly equalled them in fame, and not only in his own country. His name still symbolizes a whole period of art history rightfully known as ‘Holland’s Golden Age’. In 1970–71 a great exhibition in Paris was devoted to it under the eloquent title *Le Siècle de Rembrandt*. A century before, a popular work of cultural history by C. Busken Huet referred to the Netherlands as ‘the land of Rembrandt’. His fame is partly due to his multi-faceted talent. Frans Hals was perhaps at times a greater virtuoso with the brush but remained ‘only’ a portrait painter. Vermeer may have excelled Rembrandt in the art of illusion but was less prolific. Rembrandt was not only a gifted painter but also an inspired graphic artist: he has probably never been surpassed as an etcher, and he often seems inimitable as a draughtsman. His subjects reflect his manifold talent and interests. He painted, drew and etched portraits, landscapes, figures and animals, but, above all, scenes of biblical and secular history and mythology (see fig.). Contemporary critics ascribed the highest artistic value to his history paintings, as opposed to his portraits, which were regarded as a necessary evil. Rembrandt combined theory and practice, inventing, for instance, a new kind of painting, the ‘*tronie*’ or portrait head (*see* §I, 2, (i) below), a compromise between portraiture and history painting. His most famous portrait commission was that of the *Militia Company of Capt. Frans Banning Cocq and Lt Willem van Ruytenburch*, a picture known by its nickname, the ‘*Night Watch*’ (1642; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.); it was praised in 1678 by Samuel van Hoogstraten on the grounds that the artist had made it into a ‘history’ instead of a mere group portrait. In 1641, the year before it was completed, J. J. Orlers, the artist’s first biographer, described Rembrandt as ‘one of the most famous painters of our age’.

Rembrandt: *Return of the Prodigal Son*, oil on canvas, 2.64×0.6 m, *c.* 1665 (St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum); photo credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY

Rembrandt executed about 400 paintings and over 1000 drawings (many attributions are still disputed; *see* §III below). The number of his etchings can be somewhat more accurately estimated at 290. In the present article the abbreviations 'B.', 'Ben.' and 'Br.' are used to denote the catalogues in which particular works can be identified: B.= A. Bartsch: *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt* (Vienna, 1797); Ben.= O. Benesch: *The Drawings of Rembrandt* (London, 1973); Br.= A. Bredius: *Rembrandt: The Complete Edition of the Paintings* (London, 1969). For works for which these abbreviations do not occur, the numbers given are those of the collections in which they are located. The abbreviation RD refers to documentary references found in W. L. Strauss and M. van der Meulen: *The Rembrandt Documents* (New York, 1979).

I. Life and work.

B. P. J. Broos

1. Training and early work, to *c* 1626.

Rembrandt’s father, Harmen Gerritsz. van Rijn (*c*. 1568–1630), came from an old family of millers in Leiden, where he was half-owner of the mill ‘De Rijn’ from 1589 onwards. In that year he married Cornelia (Neeltgen) Willemsdr. (van) Zuytbrouck (1568–1640), the daughter of a prosperous baker. They had ten children, three of whom died in infancy; Rembrandt, the second youngest, knew the others as adults. The chief source for the painter’s life until 1625 is still Orlers’s biography of 1641, which states that Rembrandt attended the city’s Latin school, where he would have studied Greek, Latin, Classical literature and history. While his brothers learnt a trade, Rembrandt was enrolled at Leiden University at age 14. Two years later he was still living with his parents, but, according to Orlers, instead of serving his native town as a scholar, he longed to be a painter and draughtsman. Accordingly, he became a pupil of the local figure painter Jacob van Swanenburgh, who had lived and worked for many years in Italy. For three years Rembrandt studied painting with van Swanenburgh, at which point the younger painter took a remarkable decision. Although he could have set up in a studio on his own, he entered into a six-month apprenticeship in Amsterdam ‘with the celebrated painter P(ieter) Las(t)man’ (Orlers). Asked in later years why he did not go to Italy like so many other ambitious young artists, Rembrandt replied that Italian art could just as easily be studied in Holland. It was probably Jan Lievens, a painter of his own age who at that time was creating a furore in Leiden as an infant prodigy, who persuaded Rembrandt that Lastman’s Amsterdam studio was the most suitable place for further training. Lastman painted Raphaelesque history compositions in a small format similar to the cabinet pieces of Adam Elsheimer, and it seems clear that Rembrandt wished also to become a history painter and had no intention of specializing in still-lifes, landscapes or portraits. Orlers did not record exactly when Rembrandt went to Amsterdam to be taught by Lastman. Rembrandt’s earliest documented works, which are signed and dated 1625 and 1626, are strongly influenced by Lastman and are generally thought to have been painted after his return to Leiden. However, it is just as likely that they were executed while in Lastman’s studio, where Rembrandt enjoyed an independent position as an assistant. Based on the first hypothesis, his six months in Amsterdam would have occurred in or before 1625; on the second, 1625–6.

(i) Paintings.

No works by Rembrandt from his period of study with van Swanenburgh are known, except possibly two unsigned painted allegories of the senses, *The Singers (Hearing)* and the *Ear Operation (Feeling)* (both The Hague, Cramer Gal.; Br. 421–421A), which are somewhat doubtfully ascribed to him. The Italianate architecture in the background of the monogrammed *Stoning of St Stephen* (1625; Lyon, Mus. B.-A.; Br. 531A) is clearly borrowed from Lastman, as is the bright colouring. The same dependence can be seen in the early *History Scene* (1626; Leiden, Stedel. Mus. Lakenhal; Br. 460), the exact subject of which is not clear. It may have been a secular pendant to the *Stoning of St Stephen*, on the analogy of Lastman’s painted pendants of 1614, *Paul and Barnabas at Lystra* (Warsaw, N. Mus.) and *Orestes and Pylades Disputing at the Altar* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.). Rembrandt’s history painting was an ambitious attempt to meet the theoretical requirements for the design and execution of such works,

qualities that Rembrandt so admired in Lastman's *Coriolanus Receiving the Emissaries* (1622; Dublin, Trinity Coll.). This prototype of an 'Italianate' composition was etched on the painter's retina for the whole of his career. Also dated 1626 is *Balaam and the Ass* (Paris, Mus. Cognacq-Jay; Br. 487), in which the prophet and his beast are borrowed literally from a painting by Lastman (New York, Richard L. Feigen), but the composition of piled-up figures is Rembrandt's own. In his painting of the *Baptism of the Eunuch* (1626; Utrecht, Catharijneconvent, 380), which was identified as by Rembrandt only in 1976, he also took over figures and details from one or more versions by Lastman of the same subject.

Besides these multi-figured history pieces in Lastman's style, Rembrandt painted a scene of half-length figures in a piled-up composition: *Christ Driving the Money-changers from the Temple* (Moscow, Pushkin Mus. F.A.; Br. 532) and another biblical scene with only two figures that almost fill the picture plane: *Tobit and Anna with the Kid* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Br. 486). In the latter he used, for the first time, a model other than Lastman, a print by Jan van de Velde after Willem Buytewech. This type of borrowing became a normal feature of his working method. Thus, even at the outset of his career, Rembrandt displayed tremendous zest for work and a profusion of new ideas.

2. Leiden years, 1626–31.

The art dealer Hendrick van Uylenburgh, who later played such an important part in Rembrandt's life, came to live at the corner of Jodenbreestraat in Amsterdam in 1625 or a little later. He and Rembrandt may have been in touch from then onwards, if it was at that time (and not earlier) that Rembrandt worked in Lastman's studio in the nearby Anthoniesbreestraat. In any case, Rembrandt was back in Leiden in 1626, so as to 'practise the art of painting alone, on his own account' (Orlers). There, in the spring of 1628, he was noticed by the lawyer and connoisseur Arnout van Buchell, who was making notes for a book on painting: 'Also, the son of a miller in Leiden is esteemed highly, though prematurely' (RD 1628/1). Van Uylenburgh was also in Leiden in that year and may have bought *tronies* by Rembrandt for his Amsterdam customers. The Amsterdam hospital governor Joan Huydecoper possessed a small *tronie* in 1628 (Schwartz, 1984), and another, also by Rembrandt, was in the estate of the painter Barent Teunisz., who died at Amsterdam in 1629 (RD 1629/1).

In or about 1629 Constantijn Huygens the elder, secretary to the stadholder Frederick Henry, visited the studio Rembrandt was then sharing with Jan Lievens. The relationship between the two painters was apparently unusual: they did not work on pictures together but painted the same subjects and used the same models. In 1629 Lievens held a public sale of his own work and that of three other painters, of whom Rembrandt was probably one. This may be an indication of the rather poor state of the art market in Leiden; in any case, within two years its two most gifted artists had moved elsewhere for good. Rembrandt taught his first pupils in Leiden. Gerard Dou, aged 15, came to work with him on 14 February 1628, according to Orlers, who probably got the date from Dou himself. Isaac Jouderville, who joined the studio in 1629, paid Rembrandt 50 guilders per half year for tuition (RD 1630/2 and 1630/4). Fellow pupils were the Haarlem artists Willem de Poorter and Jacob de Wet, also perhaps Jacques des Rousseau (who worked more in the style of Lievens).

(i) Paintings.

Another painting dated 1626, the *Musical Company* (since 1976 in Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Br. 632), is a mysterious scene previously thought to represent a musical party in Rembrandt's house; it is more probably an allegory, though it has not been satisfactorily explained. The variegated colour scheme is still in Lastman's style, while the still-life of books in the foreground must have been inspired by the *vanitas* pieces that were so much in vogue in Leiden in the 1620s. A striking feature is the concentrated fall of light, which became characteristic of Rembrandt's work from then onwards. In his Leiden years he also painted a number of historical genre pieces or allegories. *The Money-changer* (Berlin, Gemäldegal.; Br. 420) represents the Parable of the Rich Man (Luke 12:21), while the *Sleeping Old Man* (1629; Turin, Gal. Sabauda; Br. 428) is probably an allegorical depiction of Sloth. The *Painter in his Studio* (Boston, Mus. F.A.; Br. 419; see fig. below) symbolizes the working of the mind (*ingenium*) before the artist executes his work: true art was considered to be the result of *ingenium*, *doctrina* (the rules of art) and *exercitatio* (correct execution). Striking chiaroscuro effects are used with excellent results in biblical scenes of 1627–9: *David with the Head of Goliath before Saul* (1627; Basle, Kstmus.; Br. 488), with a touch of Lastman's *Coriolanus*; the *Presentation in the Temple* (Hamburg, Ksthalle; Br. 535); and *Judas Returning the Pieces of Silver* (1629; Mulgrave Castle, N. Yorks; Br. 539A). Huygens saw this last painting when he visited Rembrandt's studio and praised it warmly, especially the pose of the repentant figure of Judas.

Huygens's autobiographical notes provide the first critical comment on the two Leiden artists. He praised Rembrandt's liveliness and taste and Lievens's bold approach, as reflected in the format of their works: Lievens painted on large canvases, while Rembrandt preferred small, concentrated scenes. This observation applies to their different personal interpretations of the same subject. Thus Rembrandt's *Samson and Delilah* (1628; Berlin, Gemäldegal.; Br. 489) looks insignificant beside Lievens's version with life-size figures (Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis). Similarly there are two versions of *St Paul at his Desk*, both from *c*. 1629–30, a small one by Rembrandt (Nuremberg, Ger. Nmus.; Br. 602) and a large one by Lievens (Bremen, Ksthalle). In the case of a third 'pair' of similar subjects, only Rembrandt's version has survived: the *Rape of Proserpine* (Berlin, Gemäldegal.; Br. 463), while that of Lievens is known only from a document of 1632 describing it as 'a large piece' in Frederick Henry's collection. This form of healthy competition between two artists was known as *aemulatio*.

Tronie was the name given to a new type of painting evolved by Rembrandt and Lievens in the Leiden studio. The models (who might be friends, relatives or the painters themselves) were dressed in exotic garments, with a turban or an ornamental cap and a golden necklace or the like. In inventories these paintings, a compromise between portraits and history pieces, were given such titles as 'A handsome young Turkish prince' or 'Head of a woman wearing an Oriental headdress' (RD 1637/4). The earliest example is the *Man Wearing a Plumed Beret and Armoured Neckpiece* (*c*. 1626–7; ex-Thyssen-Bornemisza Col., Lugano; Br. 132). Among the *tronies* in Amsterdam collections in 1628–9 may have been a *Self-portrait* (perhaps that now in Amsterdam, Rijksmus., A 4691). In such works Rembrandt experimented with different poses and expressions, as in the *Self-portrait with an Open Mouth* (1629; Munich, Alte Pin.; Br. 2), the *Self-portrait with a Feathered Cap* (Boston, MA, Isabella Stewart Gardner Mus.; Br. 8) or the *Self-portrait with Armoured Neckpiece* (The Hague, Mauritshuis; Br. 6). Rembrandt also apparently used his father and mother as models, for example in the *Old Man in a Fur Hat* (Innsbruck, Tirol. Landesmus.; Br. 76) and the *Old Woman Praying* (Salzburg, Residenzgal.; Br. 63). Many *tronies* attributed to Rembrandt over the years have proved after careful investigation not to be

by his own hand; documents show that they were often copied by pupils in his studio. It is now even thought that Rembrandt may possibly have signed the pupils' versions merely as a kind of guarantee that they had come from his studio.

In his last years in Leiden (1629–31) Rembrandt painted biblical scenes or representations of single figures in which dramatic lighting is the chief common element. *David Playing the Harp before Saul* (Frankfurt am Main, Städel. Kstinst.; Br. 490) is unfortunately heavily overpainted but may once have been as effective as the excellently preserved *Jeremiah Lamenting the Destruction of Jerusalem* (1630; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Br. 604). Another single figure is the *Prophetess Hannah Reading the Bible* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Br. 69), where the model is again thought to have been Rembrandt's mother. In 1630 and 1631 Rembrandt was evidently carrying on a kind of visual dialogue with Lievens as to the best way of depicting the *Raising of Lazarus* (e.g. Rembrandt's version, Los Angeles, CA, Co. Mus. A.; Br. 538). The high-point of Rembrandt's Leiden period is the *Presentation in the Temple* (1631; The Hague, Mauritshuis; Br. 543). This multi-figured history piece in the style of Lastman combines the latter's attention to detail and thorough composition with Rembrandt's own powerful means of expression, the concentrated fall of light that dramatically illuminates the main figures.

(ii) Drawings.

One function of the art of drawing that Rembrandt no doubt learnt from Lastman was that of making preliminary studies in red or black chalk for figures in paintings. These were drawn from the living model. The *Standing Archer* (Dresden, Kupferstichkab.; Ben. 3) is a fairly elaborate study for such a figure in the painting of *David with the Head of Goliath before Saul* (Br. 488) of 1627 and is thus Rembrandt's earliest datable drawing. A drawing in red and black chalk of a *Seated Old Man with a Book* (Berlin, Kupferstichkab.; Ben. 7) is a detailed study for *SS Peter and Paul (?) in Dispute* (*c*. 1628; Melbourne, N.G. Victoria; Br. 423), and another sheet (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Ben. 9) bears on one side a detailed study in red chalk of a woman's legs for the *Samson and Delilah* (Br. 489) and on the other a compositional sketch in pen and brush for *Judas Returning the Pieces of Silver* (Br. 539A). There is also a sketch for this work in black chalk (Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans–van Beuningen; Ben. 6) on the *verso* of a sheet with an elaborate study for a *Raising of the Cross* (which was never painted). These sketches for *Judas Returning the Pieces of Silver* may have given Rembrandt the idea of making an independent pen-and-brush drawing (not a preliminary study) of a *Seated Old Man* (Paris, Louvre; Ben. 49). It is often difficult to be sure of the precise function of drawings by Rembrandt, owing to their great variety and the lack of further documentation.

Rembrandt also drew self-portraits around 1629 (e.g. Amsterdam, Rijksmus., Ben. 54; London, BM, Ben. 53); these anticipate the etchings depicting facial expressions (e.g. B. 13) and may have been drawn in connection with the painted *Self-portrait at The Hague* (Br. 6). Drawings from life also took the form of various studies of popular types, beggars and artisans, generally in black (sometimes red) chalk (e.g. Ben. 12, 22, 30, 31, 32, 45, 46 and 196); these can be dated *c*. 1629 on the basis of watermarks. Rembrandt's interest in these humble folk (not to be confused with social compassion) was one that he shared with Jacques Callot, and the style of drawing with long strokes of hatching is borrowed from the latter's popular print series *Les Gueux* (1622). Rembrandt used these studies of peasants in paintings as well as etchings, the earliest of which (B. 162) is really a sketch drawn with an etching needle on the copperplate. A drawn study of Rembrandt's father as a blind old man (Oxford, Ashmolean; Ben. 56) was turned into a posthumous portrait when the father died in 1630.

(iii) Etchings.

Rembrandt made his first etching *c*. 1626, the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (B. 59). The composition of this early experiment was borrowed from an engraving of the subject by Lucas van Leyden (*c*. 1506; B. 38). It was, of course, no accident that Rembrandt sought inspiration from his 16th-century fellow townsman, who was renowned for his prints. Two small portraits of Rembrandt's mother, executed in 1628, show a development from a more linear style (B. 352) to one that is more tonal (B. 354), the latter being partly achieved by the careful use of drypoint. In 1630–31 Rembrandt made great progress with the etching needle and showed much enthusiasm for this medium; he never again produced so much in such a short period. He achieved powerful chiaroscuro effects in two small biblical scenes (both 1630), *Christ among the the Doctors* (B. 66) and the *Presentation in the Temple* (B. 51), which evidently prompted his painted version of the latter theme dating from the following year (Br. 543). An undated etching of this period, the *Raising of Lazarus* (*c*. 1632; B. 73), is the impressive result of a search for the right composition and dramatic effect. It embodies figures from Rembrandt's painting (Br. 538) and from a drawn copy (London, BM; Ben. 17) after an etching by Jan Lievens (1630; B. 3), in which he transformed a scene of the Raising of Lazarus into an *Entombment of Christ*.

Etchings for which Rembrandt himself posed were intended not so much as self-portraits but as studies of expression. In the only etching dated 1629, a *Self-portrait* (B. 338) of which two impressions exist (Amsterdam, Rijksmus., and London, BM), he used a coarse needle that produced a double line, as if in imitation of a drawing in chalk. The infinite range of tones that could be rendered using a fine etching needle was successfully demonstrated in four self-portraits of 1630: one shown frowning, with a wrinkled brow (B. 10), one with his mouth open, as if shouting (B. 13), one laughing (B. 316) and one surprised, with wide-open eyes and pursed lips (B. 320). Only in 1631 did he attempt a more formal etched *Self-portrait* (B. 7), clearly imitating Rubens's painted *Self-portrait* (Windsor Castle, Berks, Royal Col.), which was engraved by Paulus Pontius in 1630. After many designs and proofs, Rembrandt's etching achieved its final form only in 1633 (*see* §3(ii) below). The only genuine portrait etchings of 1631 are those of his mother (B. 348 and 349), although these too could still be regarded as *tronies*. From 1630 onwards 'picturesque' old men posed for Rembrandt: a bald one (B. 292 and 294), a man with a broad white beard (B. 260, 309, 315 and 325), and a man thought to be the artist's father (B. 304 and 263). The last of these is dated 1631, which would make it a posthumous portrait. Rembrandt's interest in popular types, aroused by Callot's prints, was also expressed in a series of etchings of beggars (B. 162–6, 168, 171–4, 179, 182–4) and small genre scenes such as the *Man Making Water* and *Woman Defecating* (B. 190–91), the *Blind Fiddler* (B. 138) and *Man with a Hurdy-gurdy* (B. 140), all bearing the date 1631 or executed in that year.

3. Early established career in Amsterdam, late 1631–*c* 1640.

At the end of 1631 Rembrandt left Leiden for Amsterdam, abandoning, once and for all, the staid university town for the bustling commercial centre. Earlier that year he had invested money in van Uylenburgh's art dealing business, and he now came to live in the latter's house, where in 1632 he was, in his own words, 'thank God, in good condition and in good health' (RD 1632/2). For at least two and a half years, and probably longer, Rembrandt, who was by then nearly 30, worked for the art dealer, who obtained portrait commissions for him and in whose 'academy' or studio he worked as a kind of tutor. There he must also have met van Uylenburgh's niece Saskia (1612–42), the daughter of Rombartus van Uylenburgh, a former mayor of Leeuwarden. An orphan from the age of 12, she lived

alternately with her relations in Friesland and Amsterdam. Rembrandt made an appealing silverpoint portrait of her (Berlin, Kupferstichkab.; Ben. 427), which is inscribed (in Dutch): *This was made when my wife was 21 years old, the third day after our betrothal—the 8th of June 1633*. The wedding took place on 22 June 1634 in the parish church of St Anna in Friesland. Thereafter the young couple lived with Saskia's uncle Hendrick, until they sought their own home when their first child, Rumbartus, was expected. The infant was baptized on 15 December 1635 but lived only two months. In February 1636 the couple was living in the Nieuwe Doelenstraat (now Nos 16/18); in 1637 they moved to a nearby house on the Binnen Amstel (until recently No. 41, Zwanenburgerstraat), where a daughter, Cornelia, was born in 1638 but lived only two weeks. On 3 January 1639 Rembrandt bought the house next door to Hendrick van Uylenburgh. Their third child, also named Cornelia, was born in August 1640; she too lived only two weeks. Baptismal records suggest that it was mainly Saskia's family and their relations by marriage who played an important part in the couple's social life. Rembrandt seems to have lost almost all contact with his family in Leiden. His mother did not attend his wedding, though he did make one more portrait of her (1639; Vienna, Ksthist. Mus.; Br. 71) before she was buried in Leiden on 14 September 1640. A year later, on 22 September 1641, Rembrandt's and Saskia's son Titus van Rijn was baptized in the Zuiderkerk, Amsterdam. By 1641 Rembrandt was one of the leading painters in Amsterdam, and his fame had spread abroad as well. The English traveller Peter Mundy described him as an outstanding painter (RD 1640/16), and in Garzoni's *Piazza universale* (Frankfurt am Main, 1641) he is mentioned as one of the principal etchers of the time (RD 1641/10).

(i) Paintings.

The association with Hendrick van Uylenburgh brought about a radical change in Rembrandt's activity. Van Uylenburgh's customers could order portraits and buy paintings at all prices, both 'principals' and 'copies'. The studio assistants would copy Italian paintings or *tronies* by Rembrandt. Besides supervising this work, Rembrandt himself painted pictures on commission, chiefly portraits. The painting of history subjects, his real ambition, was temporarily pushed into the background, and he had scarcely any time for etching. During his period with van Uylenburgh he painted some 50 portraits —on the average, about one a month.

(a) Portraits.

In 1631 Rembrandt painted a *Portrait of an Old Man with a Plumed Cap* (Chicago, IL, A. Inst.; Br. 81) in the style of the Leiden *tronies*; the sitter wears an ample cloak, a gold chain and an armoured neckpiece. It was only a short step in Rembrandt's development between this large half-length figure and his first real commissioned portrait, that of *Nicolaes Ruts* (New York, Frick; Br. 145). Ruts, a friend of van Uylenburgh, was a Baptist merchant, whom the artist decked out in a fur cloak and cap in allusion to his trade with Russia. It must also have been through van Uylenburgh that Rembrandt received the important commission for a group portrait of the Amsterdam surgeons' guild, known as the Anatomy Lesson of Dr Nicolaes Tulp (The Hague, Mauritshuis; Br. 403). It is remarkable that a newcomer was selected for the work instead of experienced painters such as Thomas de Keyser and Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy, who had already proved themselves in this genre. As a history painter, Rembrandt knew how to tell a story, and he justified the choice with a composition that broke with all

existing traditions. Bright light falls on the demonstrating hands of Dr Tulp, who commands the complete attention of his audience; the painting, in fact, commemorates the first lessons in dissection by the guild's new Praelector, which were given in January 1632.

Rembrandt: *Anatomy Lesson of Dr Nicolaes Tulp*, oil on canvas, 1.6×2.1 m, 1632 (The Hague, Mauritshuis); photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

Rembrandt did not always strive to make innovations in portraiture: presumably his customers' wishes did not always permit this. When required, he painted in a traditional style, as in the portrait of *Marten Looten* (Los Angeles, CA, Co. Mus. A.; Br. 166), which was executed in January 1632, before the *Anatomy Lesson*. Sometimes only the details vary from picture to picture: a different collar, a hat or no hat, an attribute held in the hand. The portrait of *Joris de Caullery* (San Francisco, CA, de Young Mem. Mus.; Br. 170) shows a three-quarter-length figure whose pose is copied in another painting, the *Standing Man in Oriental Costume* (1632; New York, Met.; Br. 169), where it is unclear whether the main subject is the individual or his exotic clothing.

In 1632–3 Rembrandt painted a succession of smaller, hence cheaper, bust portraits of anonymous sitters, such as the *Portrait of a Young Man with Flushed Cheeks* (Sweden, priv. col.; Br. 155) and the *Portrait of an 83-year-old Woman* (London, N.G.; Br. 343), as well as some of Amsterdam sitters whose names are known. Production continued similarly in 1634–5 with, among others, the portrait of *Dirck Jansz. Pesser* (Los Angeles, CA., Co. Mus. A.; Br. 194) and that of his wife *Haesje Jacobsdr. van*

Cleyburg (Br. 354), a run-of-the-mill portrait bought by the Rijksmuseum in 1985 for a sum that had previously been paid only for works of the first class. In 1632 Rembrandt also painted two companion portraits of his friends *Maurits Huygens* (Hamburg, Ksthalle; Br. 161) and the painter *Jacob de Gheyn III* (London, Dulwich Pict. Gal.; Br. 162), which moved Maurits's brother Constantijn to write a satirical poem concerning their similarity. Perhaps indeed Rembrandt was less than inspired by this commission, the successor of so many others.

Rembrandt (Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn): *Portrait of a Young Woman with a Fan*, oil on canvas, 49 1/2 x 39 3/4 in. (125.7 x 101 cm), 1633 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Helen Swift Neilson, 1943, Accession ID: 43.125); photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001841 *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001841>*

There were also, however, commissions that did give more scope to his talent. For instance, in 1633 an unidentified couple (probably newly married) was commemorated in two portraits: the *Portrait of a Man Rising from his Chair* (Cincinnati, OH, Taft Mus.; Br. 172) and the Portrait of a Woman with a Fan (New York, Met.; Br. 341); here the husband, as it were, presents his young wife to the spectator. Action in a portrait was unusual, but it is the most striking feature of the double portrait of *Jan Rijcksen and his Wife Griet Jans* (London, Buckingham Pal., Royal Col.; Br. 408), where the

shipbuilder’s wife seems to be rushing into the room to hand him a letter. Original as this may seem, there was a precedent in Thomas de Keyser’s painting of *Constantijn Huygens and his Clerk* (1627; London, N.G.). Rembrandt’s growing fame as a portraitist brought important commissions in 1634, the year he painted, among others, a full-length, life-size portrait of the preacher *Johannes Elison* and one of his wife *Maria Bockenolle* (both Boston, MA, Mus. F.A.; Br. 200 and 347), as well as pendants of the prosperous merchant *Maerten Soolmans* and his wife *Oopjen Coppit* (both Paris, heirs of Baron A. de Rothschild; Br. 199 and 342). These portraits, the largest he ever painted, must have brought him in a good deal of money.

In Rembrandt’s self-portraits dating from 1630–35 (e.g. Br. 17–19) the successful painter gazes out in a serious, self-confident way (see fig.). In the famous double portrait traditionally thought to represent *Rembrandt and Saskia* (Dresden, Gemäldegal. Alte Meister; Br. 30), he appears to be raising a glass to his own personal and material good fortune, but the scene is, of course, also an allusion to the story of the Prodigal Son; it is set in a tavern, and Saskia plays the role of a courtesan. In the early years of their marriage Rembrandt often painted his young wife in sumptuous garments hung with jewels (e.g. Kassel, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe; Br. 101) and as Flora, the goddess of spring and fertility (e.g., 1634, St Petersburg, Hermitage, Br. 102; and 1635, London, N.G., Br. 103). During those years he also painted *tronies*, children and bearded men, and a young woman who was formerly identified as his sister (Stockholm, Nmus.; Br. 85). She may have been the wife of Hendrick van Uylenburgh, who had once posed for the ‘head of a woman wearing an oriental headdress’ (RD 1637/4).

Rembrandt: *Portrait of the Artist Bare-headed*, oil on wood, 600×470 mm, 1633 (Paris, Musée du Louvre); Photo credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY

(b) History subjects.

Rembrandt was also able occasionally to pursue his favourite ‘historical’ subjects: episodes from Classical antiquity and the Bible. Moreover, during the 1630s he was occupied with an important commission from the Stadholder for a series of scenes of the *Life of Christ*. Evidently he secured this commission without difficulty. At the end of the 1620s the court had already acquired some of his pictures, and in 1632 he painted a portrait of Frederick Henry’s wife, *Amalia von Solms* (Paris, Mus. Jacquemart-André; Br. 99). Following Rubens’s *Crucifixion* (Antwerp, Kon. Mus. S. Kst.), of which Paulus Pontius made an engraving in 1631, Rembrandt painted in *aemulatio* a similar work in the same year (Le Mas d’Agenais, nr Bordeaux, parish church; Br. 543A), as did Jan Lievens (Nancy, Mus. B.-A.). In 1632 and 1633 Rembrandt executed two works in the same arched format, possibly intended as pendants, the *Raising of the Cross* and the *Descent from the Cross* (both Munich, Alte Pin.; Br. 548 and

550), both of which were purchased by Huygens for the Stadholder. To mark this honour, Rembrandt's assistant Jan Jorisz. van Vliet made an engraving (B. 81) after the *Descent from the Cross*. A privilege for the print, which measures over 500 mm, was obtained in 1633, and it was published by Hendrick van Uylenburgh. Rembrandt took a very personal view of the event in his painted composition: he gave his own features to one of the secondary figures and depicted Christ's body as a grey, limply falling mass. The Stadholder, in any case, was so pleased with his acquisitions that he commissioned three more scenes from the artist: an *Entombment*, a *Resurrection* and an *Ascension* (all Munich, Alte Pin.; Br. 560, 561 and 557). The negotiations led to a correspondence between Rembrandt and Huygens (Gerson, 1961), from which seven of the painter's letters have survived (Feb 1636–Feb 1639): they show, among other things, how conscientiously he approached his task. He began on the *Resurrection* in the course of 1634 and wrote two years later that it was 'more than half finished' (RD 1636/1); the *Ascension* was then ready for delivery. On 12 January 1639 he reported that the *Resurrection* was at last completed 'with industrious care' and that the delay was because he had endeavoured to express in it 'the deepest and most lifelike emotion' (RD 1639/2). Another reason was evidently that he had hesitated between the biblical text (Matthew 28: 3–4) and pictorial tradition, the result being a compromise. In 1639 Rembrandt was paid 600 guilders for each painting; this was by no means prompt, but he later received further commissions from the Stadholder (*see* §I, 4, (i) below).

The 1630s are regarded as Rembrandt's most 'Baroque' period, with particular reference to his history paintings. Exceptional in both format and subject is the *Christ in a Storm on the Sea of Galilee* (1633; ex-Isabella Stewart Gardner Mus., Boston, stolen 1990; Br. 547). Rembrandt never painted the marine views that were so popular in the northern Netherlands, and it was presumably the customer who requested this unusual subject and also dictated its enormous size. Houbraken praised the work for its convincing representation of the frightened apostles. The boat, out of control amid the swirling waves, was probably borrowed from a print by Adriaen Collaert after Marten de Vos. Still greater in size is the *Holy Family* (163[?4]; Munich, Alte Pin.; Br. 544), which once belonged to Oopjen Coppit (RD 1660/8), the subject of Rembrandt's portrait of 1634 (Br. 342). Her first son was born in that year, and she may have commissioned this 'Flemish'-style Virgin and Child with St Joseph on that occasion. Rembrandt also painted a few large uncommissioned works, for instance the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (1635; St Petersburg, Hermitage; Br. 498), with its life-size figures. He was certainly acquainted with and may have possessed a similar work by Lievens. He borrowed the figure of the naked Isaac from Rubens, himself adding the dramatic touch of the knife flying through the air. However, he was not satisfied with the composition (in particular the position of the angel), so he reworked it in a drawing (London, BM; Ben. 90). A pupil then executed this revised version of the composition in oils (Munich, Alte Pin., 438), and the master was so pleased with the result that he commended it with the inscription *Rembrandt. Altered and repainted. 1636*. Another dramatic moment is depicted in *Belshazzar's Feast* (London, N.G.; Br. 497), which shows Belshazzar turning around abruptly as the writing appears on the wall. Of the same period (*c*. 1635) is *Samson Threatening his Father-in-law* (Berlin, Gemäldegal.; Br. 499), where the action is concentrated in Samson's raised fist. In general, what Rembrandt owed to the Flemings and especially to Rubens was the animation and audacity of his compositions. The most striking example is probably the *Blinding of Samson* (Frankfurt am Main, Städel. Kstinst.; Br. 501), which has been compared with the tortures and other bloody scenes of saints' lives in works by Rubens. The struggling, half-naked figure of Samson is thought to derive from Rubens's *Prometheus Bound* (*c*. 1611/12–18; Philadelphia, PA, Mus. A.), which between 1618 and 1625 (or later) could be seen in the collection of Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador at The Hague. It was previously

thought that the *Blinding of Samson* was the picture Rembrandt presented to Huygens in recognition of his taste for Rubens and in gratitude for his influence with the Stadholder, but this is by no means certain.

Rembrandt abandoned this ‘dramatic’ style after the *Blinding of Samson*. Painted on a large scale but much more intimate in character is the Danaë (1636; St Petersburg, Hermitage; Br. 474; see fig.), arguably the most impressive nude to be found in 17th-century history painting. With this work he continued a series of mythological scenes that initially were small in size and as a rule had many figures: the *Rape of Europa* (1632; New York, priv. col.; Br. 464) and *Diana and Actaeon and the Discovery of Callisto’s Pregnancy* (1635; Anholt, Fürst Salm-Salm, Mus. Wasserburg Anholt; Br. 472). Although in preparation for this work Rembrandt studied Italian prints (by Antonio Tempesta and others), a Classical story has seldom been treated so unclassically as in the cluster of wrestling nymphs surrounding Callisto. The same can be said of the *Rape of Ganymede* (Dresden, Gemäldegal. Alte Meister; Br. 471), where Jupiter in the form of an eagle carries off the small boy, who weeps and screams and urinates out of fright. Rembrandt was no doubt inspired here by an actual occurrence; he had in the past seen and drawn a small boy struggling and screaming in this fashion (Berlin, Kupferstichkab.; Ben. 401).

Rembrandt: *Danaë*, oil on canvas, 1.85×2.03 m, 1636 (St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum); Photo credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY

Besides the enormous ‘Flemish’ canvases of biblical subjects from the 1630s, Rembrandt also painted smaller religious scenes of more conventional Dutch dimensions, for which Lastman’s work, in particular, offered a renewed source of inspiration. These cabinet pictures seem to have been especially appreciated in Rembrandt’s own day. Lastman died in 1633, and not long afterwards Rembrandt drew fluent copies of several of his paintings (Ben. 446–9). In his drawing of *Susanna and the Elders* (Berlin, Kupferstichkab.; Ben. 448) after Lastman’s original (Berlin, Gemäldegal.), Rembrandt altered the pose of the naked Susanna; he then made a painting of this revised version (1636; The Hague, Mauritshuis; Br. 505), in which Susanna’s chaste attitude is that of the Classical statue of *Venus pudica*. The formula of a multi-figured history in the style of Lastman is fully exploited in *John the Baptist Preaching* (*c*. 1634; Berlin, Gemäldegal.; Br. 555), a grisaille that was probably a design for a print that was never executed. Another such design is the grisaille, or rather brunaille, of *Joseph Recounting his Dreams* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Br. 504). It is executed in oil on paper—a fragile substance, indicating that the painting was not intended for sale. The figure of Jacob in the brunaille is based on an earlier study in black and red chalk of a *Bearded Man in an Armchair* (1631; Paris, A. Delon priv. col.; Ben. 20) from Rembrandt’s Leiden period. Another detail of the oil sketch appears in a preparatory drawing of a *Sleeping Dog* (Boston, MA, Mus. F.A.; Ben. 455), which was also used in an etching of *c*. 1640 (B. 158). However, the brunaille dates from towards the mid-1630s, as the composition and some of the figures were repeated in the etching of *Joseph Recounting his Dreams* of 1638 (B. 37). Another painting in oil on paper is the *Ecce homo* (London, N.G.; Br. 546), of which Rembrandt’s assistant Jan Jorisz. van Vliet made a large reproductive print (B. 77). The inscription *Rembrandt f. 1636 cum privile[gio]* means only that Rembrandt designed the composition. Of the monochrome paintings of this period, one occupies a special place, the *‘Concord of the State’* (Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans–van Beuningen; Br. 476). The title, which appears in the inventory of Rembrandt’s possessions made in 1656 (*see* §I, 5 below), has never been satisfactorily explained. Technical examination has shown that it is not a completed study for an etching, like the grisailles, but is a modello, a design for a presumably unexecuted painting. Moreover, it must date from before 1640 rather than after, as was always thought, since the panel is from the same tree as the so-called portrait of the *Polish Ambassador Andrzej Rej* (1637; Washington, DC, N.G.A.; Br. 211). The use of oil sketches as preparatory studies for paintings and etchings, the practice of employing numerous assistants (who, *inter alia*, made copies for sale) and the dissemination of the work by means of reproductive prints, which might be patented—all these conventions were introduced to the northern Netherlands by Rembrandt in conscious imitation of Flemish practice and that of Rubens in particular.

Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn: *The Visitation*, oil on cedar panel, 565×479 mm, 1640 (Detroit Institute of Arts, City of Detroit Purchase, Accession Number: 27.200); photo credit: Detroit Institute of Arts

After 1636, as Rembrandt paid increasingly less attention to Flemish models and reverted to biblical cabinet pieces in the style of Lastman, he frequently drew inspiration from the apocryphal book of Tobit, with its moralizing tone and many human incidents, such as the *Angel Leaving Tobit and his Family* (1637; Paris, Louvre; Br. 503). For this he borrowed the winged, departing angel from an engraving after Maarten van Heemskerck. This is one of the most often quoted indications of Rembrandt's thorough knowledge of early prints. Narrative material was supplied not only by the Bible but by pictorial tradition. Borrowings from old prints can also be seen in The Visitation (1640; Detroit, MI, Inst. A.; Br. 562). This is one of the high-points of the period, along with the *Noli me tangere* (1638; London, Buckingham Pal., Royal Col.; Br. 559), which prompted the poet Jeremias de Decker to exclaim: 'Your masterly strokes, friend Rembrandt, I first detected in this panel' (RD 1660/25). Also painted in the same year was the *Wedding of Samson* (1638; Dresden, Gemäldegal. Alte Meister; Br. 507). In 1641 Philips Angel, at a meeting of the Leiden painters' guild, praised this work as a model of history painting and the 'fruit of a most natural and well-trained understanding, thanks to careful study of the History and intelligent reflection on its meaning' (*Lof der schilder-konst*, 1642; RD 1641/5).

(c) Landscapes.

A separate chapter in Rembrandt's painting is formed by a small group of landscapes from the second half of the 1630s, for example the *Landscape with the Good Samaritan* (1638; Kraków, Czartoryski Found.; Br. 442). In this work especially, the biblical theme is quite secondary and the emphasis is on the freakish scene and eerie atmosphere: this is most reminiscent of the work of Hercules Segers, whose landscapes Rembrandt admired and collected. Through Segers, the Flemish fantasy landscape of the early 17th century inspired Rembrandt's *Landscape in a Thunderstorm* (Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Mus.; Br. 441), the romantic appearance of which recalls the history pieces of his 'Baroque' period. It is almost completely absent from his drawings and etchings, which after 1640 depict only realistic Dutch landscapes.

(ii) Etchings.

Owing to the many portrait commissions during this period, Rembrandt's production of etchings fell off abruptly. There are only three prints dated 1632: *St Jerome Praying* (B. 101), the *Rat-poison Peddler* (B. 121) and *The Persian* (B. 152). In 1633 the (unusual) extended signature *Rembrandt inventor et fecit* appeared on two etchings, the *Flight into Egypt* (B. 52) and the *Good Samaritan* (B. 90). At that time Rembrandt also completed, in a tenth state, the *Self-portrait* begun in 1631 (B. 7) and made a portrait of the preacher *Jan Cornelis Sylvius* (B. 266), Saskia's guardian and a family friend, of whom he also later etched a posthumous portrait in 1646 (B. 280). (A comparison of these two portrait etchings shows what enormous technical progress Rembrandt made within ten years or so.) In 1634, the year of his marriage, he etched a portrait of *Saskia with a Pearl Necklace in her Hair* (B. 347) and himself dressed up picturesquely with fantastic cloaks, a plumed cap and a sword (B. 18 and 23). The prints of that year were very elaborate, whether small, such as *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (B. 39; *see* ***Etching, fig.***), *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (B. 71) and *St Jerome and the Lion* (B. 100), or much bigger, as in the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (B. 44). In this latter masterpiece he achieved as early as 1634 the 'most lifelike emotion' which, as he said in 1639, he had striven after in the *Life of Christ* series. Other works full of movement are *Christ Driving the Money-changers from the Temple* (B. 69), in which the figure of Christ is taken from a woodcut by Dürer, and the *Stoning of St Stephen* (B. 97), both of 1635. In that year Rembrandt also etched the portrait of the Remonstrant preacher *Johannes Wttenbogaert* (B. 279) and the '*Great Jewish Bride*' (B. 340), a subject still unexplained (?portrait, allegory or biblical scene). The four 'oriental' heads (B. 286–9) are to be compared with the painted *tronies*: they were based on four etchings by Jan Lievens, which Rembrandt amended or 'retouched', as the inscription says, by way of *aemulatio*.

Between 1636 and 1640 the number of etchings gradually diminished, but not their quality. The series of self-portraits was continued with a print in 1636 that also included Saskia (B. 19) and one in 1638 in which Rembrandt wears a beard and a feathered cap; it culminated in 1639 with the famous *Self-portrait Leaning on a Stone Sill* (Haarlem, Teylers Mus.; B. 21; see fig.). The direct model for this was Titian's *Portrait of a Man* ('*Ariosto*', *c*. 1510–15; London, N.G.), which Rembrandt had seen in an Amsterdam collection. In this way he compared himself with a famous painter and a Renaissance poet as well (*ut pictura poesis*). Portraits of others were rare in this period, except for the Portuguese–Jewish theologian *Samuel Menasseh Ben Israel* (B. 269), depicted with great clarity and accuracy. In the same 'sketchy' style, using the etching needle as if it were a pencil, he produced the *Studies of the Head of Saskia and Others* (1636; B. 365) and *Studies of the Heads of Three Women, One Asleep* (1637;

B. 368). The clear linear approach also prevailed in biblical scenes, as in the *Return of the Prodigal Son* (1636; B. 91), the composition and details of which are borrowed from a print after Maarten van Heemskerck, and in *Jacob Caressing Benjamin* (*c*. 1637; B. 33). This is also the case with *Adam and Eve* (1638; B. 28), based on a model by Dürer, and *Joseph Recounting his Dreams* (B. 37). Also purely linear in conception is *Death Appearing to a Newly Wedded Couple* (B. 109), with reminiscences of the medieval Dance of Death. The high-point of this development was reached with the *Death of the Virgin* (1639; B. 99), a very large etching (409×315 mm) in which, along with bright areas, patches of contrasting shadow were introduced with drypoint in several later impressions.

In the 1640s Rembrandt concentrated increasingly on tonal effects, especially in landscapes. However, the earliest landscape etchings, of *c*. 1640, were still very pure of line and almost without shadows: for example the *View of a House and Trees beside a Pool* (‘*Small Grey Landscape*’; B. 207) and the *View of Amsterdam from the North-west* (B. 210).

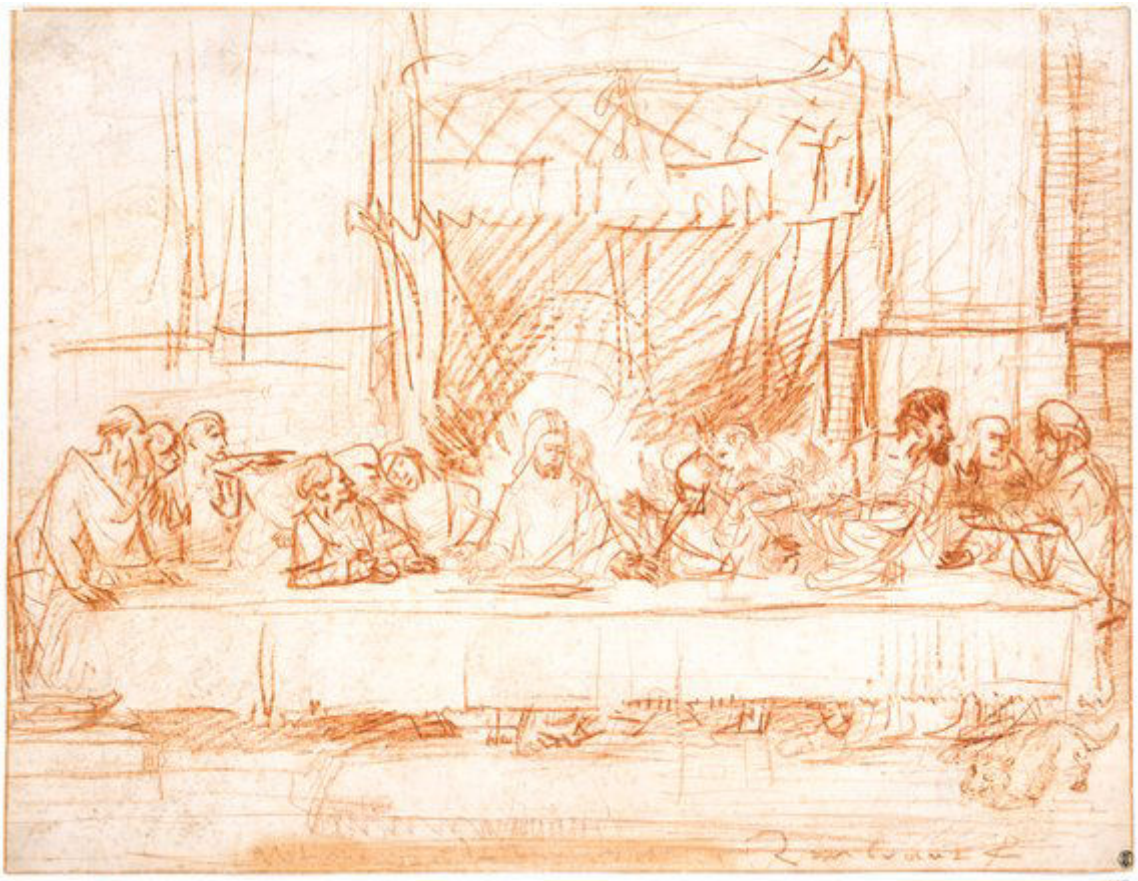
(iii) Drawings.

In both style and technique, Rembrandt’s drawings were always adapted to the function of the drawing. At the same time that he executed the refined silverpoint portrait of *Saskia* on the occasion of their engagement (see fig. above), he made a rapid sketch of *Saskia Looking out of a Window* (Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans–van Beuningen; Ben. 250) with the pen and brush. The first of these is a portrait, the other a fleeting impression or genre scene. Independent drawings are very rare: one exception is the portrait of *(?)Willem Jansz. van der Pluym* (1634; New York, Mrs C. Payson priv. col.; Ben. 433), drawn in red and black chalk on parchment, with accents in pen and brush throughout. It is signed and dated in full, *Rembrandt. f. 1634*, but such signatures are infrequent, since the drawings were often made for Rembrandt’s own use. In many cases it is difficult to attribute or date them. Comparison with dated works does not always provide the answer, as Rembrandt drew so much for his own pleasure, and using them as documents of his personal life is also often misleading. The many drawings of children that he made in the 1630s have frequently and incorrectly been identified as representing his own children. For example, a pen-and-brush drawing of a *Woman Carrying a Child Downstairs* (*c*. 1636; New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib.; Ben. 313) was previously entitled *Saskia with Rumbartus*, and the *Portait of a Boy* (Stockholm, Nmus.; Ben. 440) was also supposed to have represented the same first-born son (who lived only two months). In general, the children in Rembrandt’s drawings are too old to be identified with those that died in infancy, as is the case, for instance, of those depicted in the *Studies of a Woman and Children* (Paris, Fond. Custodia, Inst. Néer.; Ben. 343), the *Woman with a Child and a Dog* (Budapest, Mus. F.A.; Ben. 411) and all other sheets with toddlers crawling, walking or playing.

On the other hand, some pen-and-wash drawings of a woman in bed probably do represent Saskia when pregnant in 1638 (e.g. Amsterdam, Rijksmus., Ben. 404; Dresden, Kupferstichkab., Ben. 255) and in 1640 or 1641 (Paris, Fond. Custodia, Inst. Néer.; Ben. 426). It sometimes seems that Rembrandt reserved a vigorous, sketchy style for drawings from life, but this is not always true either. He used this style for the sheet with *Two Women Teaching a Child to Walk* (Paris, Fond. Custodia, Inst. Néer.; Ben. 391) as well as for the *Study for an Adoration of the Magi* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Ben. 115), both of *c*. 1635. The latter is partly borrowed from a print after Rubens, as was the *Standing Oriental* (London, BM; Ben. 207), though this also resembles a realistic portrait. Something similar is the case with his numerous drawings of actors in the 1630s: *Pantaloon* (Hamburg, Ksthalle; Ben. 296) seems to have

been drawn from the wings of a stage, but there is also a version of the same actor (Groningen, Groninger Mus.; Ben. 295) that is clearly derived from a print by Jacques Callot. A few drawings, for instance *Willem Bartolsz. Ruyters as Bishop Goswin* (Chatsworth, Derbys; Ben. 120), are of known actors in Joost van den Vondel's play *Gijsbrecht van Amstel*, which was first performed at Amsterdam on 3 January 1638. Rembrandt's drawings are generally variations on a theme rather than actual preliminary studies: thus the drawing of *Joseph's Coat Shown to Jacob* (Berlin, Kupferstichkab.; Ben. 95) is a more detailed study of a scene that he had already depicted in an etching (B. 38). Such a direct preliminary study as that (Stockholm, Nmus.; Ben. 292) for the '*Great Jewish Bride*' is the exception rather than the rule.

Very rare, too, are fully worked-up drawings; it is not clear whether a sheet such as *Christ among his Disciples* (1634; Haarlem, Teylers Mus.; Ben. 89) was intended as a modello or for sale. Unelaborated drawings, some without wash, such as *Venus and Mars in Vulcan's Net* (Amsterdam, Hist. Mus.; Ben. 540), the *Prodigal Son in a Brothel* (Orléans, Mus. B.-A.; Ben. 528a) and *Samson and Delilah* (Groningen, Groninger Mus.; Ben. 530), all of *c*. 1635, were also intended as independent works, the almost stenographic style appearing to be an end in itself. But the pen could also be used for more detailed drawings, such as the sheet inscribed *Drommedaris. Rembrandt fecit. 1633. Amsterdam* (ex-Ksthalle, Bremen; ?destr. World War II; Ben. 453). At other times he used the brush and lavish washes to convey strong contrasts of light and dark in simple pen drawings, as in the *Farm in Sunlight* (Budapest, Mus. F.A.; Ben. 463).



Rembrandt: *Last Supper, after Leonardo da Vinci*, red chalk, 14 1/4 x 18 11/16 in. (36.2 x 47.5 cm), 1634–1635 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, Accession ID:1975.1.794); photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/150000245 *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/150000245>*

Rembrandt continued to use red or black chalk for preparatory figure studies, as he had done in the 1620s, but he also adopted the medium for studies ‘from life’, for studies of animals and for copies. Examples in red chalk include *Saskia with a Child* (U. London, Courtauld Inst. Gals; Ben. 280a) and the studies of *Children Learning to Walk* (London, BM; Ben. 421 and 422); among the sheets in red and black chalk is *Two Horses at a Halting-place* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Ben. 461). The black-chalk drawing of an *Elephant* (1637; Vienna, Albertina; Ben. 457; see fig.) is exceptional in being signed and dated. Chalk was also used for the copies after paintings by Lastman (Ben. 446–9) and for two copies after Leonardo’s famous Last Supper in S Maria delle Grazie in Milan, of which Rembrandt must have owned an engraving. The first copy (New York, Met.; Ben. 443; see fig.) was set down carefully with a thin piece of red chalk, closely following the original composition; but Rembrandt was then dissatisfied with its stiff symmmetry. So with another, broader piece of chalk he worked away the constructed perspective and rearranged certain figures in order to produce an effect of emotional movement among the apostles, with Christ as the dramatic centre. In the second copy, also in red chalk (London, BM; Ben. 444, preserved as a fragment), he sought new poses for the apostles. He concluded his analysis of Leonardo’s composition in a drawing in pen and ink (1635; Berlin, Kupferstichkab.; Ben. 445), the most important effect of which is the deliberately asymmetrical arrangement of the figures. Rembrandt subsequently presented his own vision in the painting of the *Wedding of Samson* (1638; Br. 507), which was praised in his own time as a product of ‘careful study and intelligent reflection’.

4. Success and personal misfortunes, *c* 1641–*c* 1655.

At the height of his fame, in 1640 or 1641, Rembrandt was honoured with the commission to paint one of the great group portraits for the new hall of the Kloveniersdoelen (the arquebusiers’ headquarters). He delivered the work (commonly known as the ‘*Night Watch*’; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Br. 410; *see* ***Amsterdam*, fig.**) in 1642. On 14 June of that year Saskia died of tuberculosis, and Rembrandt was left alone with their small son Titus. His material prosperity at the time was reflected in extravagance at art sales: eye-witnesses in 1642 related how he paid hundreds of guilders for rare prints, including those of Lucas van Leyden (RD 1642/10), whose skills he greatly respected. About this time Geertge Dircx (1600/10–?1656), the widow of a ship’s bugler from Hoorn, entered his household as a nurse to Titus. The human drama that followed, and which lasted several years, is revealed in two important documents. On 24 January 1648 Geertge made a will leaving all her possessions to Titus, including Saskia’s jewels, which Rembrandt had given her; she was evidently convinced that her link with the painter would be a permanent one (RD 1648/2). However, on 15 June 1649 Rembrandt seems to have made a separation agreement with her, according to a declaration by ‘Hendrickje Stoffels, a spinster aged 23’ (RD 1649/4). The widow from Hoorn had had to make way for Hendrickje (1626–63), who was some ten or twenty years her junior. Geertge was not satisfied with the maintenance allowance offered (60 guilders), and legal proceedings ensued. According to his own claim, Rembrandt had slept with her but apparently had not promised marriage; she was subsequently awarded an annuity of 200 guilders (RD 1649/9). Perhaps out of revenge, Rembrandt, with the help of Geertge’s brother, then began a campaign of defamation that ultimately led to her being consigned to a reformatory in Gouda (RD 1650/3). She tried unsuccessfully to regain her liberty in 1652 (RD 1652/4) but was not finally released until 1655. Thereafter she sought rehabilitation (RD 1656/4, 5 and 17) but evidently died at the end of 1656. Meanwhile, on 30 October 1654, the young Hendrickje had borne Rembrandt’s daughter Cornelia. Summoned before the church council, she admitted to having ‘committed fornication with the painter Rembrandt’ (RD 1654/15). At about this time Rembrandt ceased to be able to meet the mortgage payments on his house, and by borrowing money he replaced one debt with another.

(i) Paintings.

In 1640 Rembrandt had used his etched *Self-portrait* of 1639 (B. 21) as the basis of a painted version (London, N.G.; Br. 34), in which he posed as ‘the Titian of Amsterdam’. His former pupils Ferdinand Bol and Govaert Flinck then began to imitate this Italian pose in their own self-portraits, and it became popular among Rembrandt’s clients; it was adopted, for instance, for the portrait of *Nicolaes van Bambeeck* (1641; Brussels, Mus. A. Anc.; Br. 218). It is interesting to compare this portrait and its companion, *Agatha Bas* (London, Buckingham Pal., Royal Col.; Br. 360), with those of Herman Doomer (1640; New York, Met.; Br. 217) and his wife *Baertje Martens* (1640; St Petersburg, Hermitage; Br. 357), painted the previous year. The first couple—a rich merchant and a mayor’s daughter—exude social prestige, while the others—a picture frame maker and his wife—chose to be depicted much more simply. In 1641, also on a special request, Rembrandt made a double portrait of the pastor of the Mennonite community in Amsterdam and his wife: *Cornelis Claesz. Anslo and Aeltje Gerritsdr. Schouten* (Berlin, Gemäldegal.; Br. 409). The pastor is seen as an expounder of God’s word, with his books to hand, emphasizing his argument with a gesture. Joost van den Vondel later wrote that Rembrandt had succeeded in ‘painting Anslo’s voice’ (RD 1644/6). There are also two drawn versions of the portrait (London, BM, Ben. 758; and Paris, Louvre, Ben. 759), as well as an etching (B. 271), in which the rhetorical gesture is the essential feature. There is one last portrait of Saskia, who is depicted very informally, with a flower in her hand (1641; Dresden, Gemäldegal. Alte Meister; Br. 108).

Rembrandt: *Herman Doomer (born about 1595, died 1650)*, oil on wood, 29 5/8 x 21 3/4 in. (75.2 x 55.2 cm), 1640 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, Accession ID:29.100.1); photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001842 *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001842>*

Rembrandt must then have been busy with his most important commission to date, the '*Night Watch*', for he painted very little else in 1642, apart from this. In that year, the great group portrait was hung in the Kloveniersdoelen at Amsterdam, representing the officers and men of the civic militia under the command of Capt. Frans Banning Cocq and Lt Willem van Ruytenburch. Although the militia never paraded at night, the piece was later nicknamed the '*Night Watch*'; however, restoration carried out in 1975–6 revealed that the scene actually takes place in broad daylight. The painting remained in its original setting until the militia companies were disbanded in 1715, when it was transferred to the Stadhuis on the Dam, at which time the canvas was somewhat cut down. The fame of both the picture and the artist is indicated by the fact that when the new Rijksmuseum was opened in 1885, the '*Night Watch*' room was regarded as the centrepiece of the building and its collection. In 1985 the original arrangement of this room was partly restored. In the 17th century the '*Night Watch*' was already famous abroad as well as at home: in 1685 the Italian biographer Baldinucci commented on its special light effects, and seven years earlier van Hoogstraeten had placed it on a par with all previous examples of militia pieces. Critics admired the treatment of form and the animated composition, which gives the effect of a narrative or subject picture as opposed to a static portrait. This was probably just what Rembrandt intended, while not departing from the terms of his commission (i.e. to produce a group portrait). At the same time as providing a number of excellent individual portraits, he cleverly used the group to demonstrate the operation of a militia company.

Rembrandt's zest for work was diminished by this *tour de force* and perhaps still more by Saskia's death. For the year 1643 there is only the unconvincingly attributed *Bathsheba at her Toilet* (New York, Met.; Br. 513) and for 1644 *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (London, N.G.; Br. 566). This latter work was much admired in its time: in 1657 it was sold for 1500 guilders, little less than the fee for the '*Night Watch*' (RD 1657/2). In the following years his output recovered slowly. It is perhaps not by chance that the widowed Rembrandt twice painted the *Holy Family* (1645, St Petersburg, Hermitage, Br. 570; and 1646, Kassel, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe, Br. 572); in the later version a fictitious painted frame and curtain are used as *trompe-l'oeil* devices. In 1645 he painted the *Young Girl Leaning on a Window Sill* (London, Dulwich Pict. Gal.; Br. 368) and the *Old Man with a Stick* (Lisbon, Mus. Gulbenkian; Br. 239). These are painted with a thickly loaded brush, in warm, often deep red tones, suggesting the increasing influence of 16th-century Italian masters. The same is true of *Young Woman in Bed* (Edinburgh, N.G.; Br. 110), thought by some to represent Geertge Dircx but perhaps intended as a biblical scene (e.g. Sarah waiting for Tobias). In 1646 the series of the *Life of Christ*, begun in the 1630s for the Stadholder, was completed by an *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Munich, Alte Pin.; Br. 574) and a *Circumcision* (known only from a copy). For these he received no less than 1200 guilders (RD 1646/6). He also painted a second version of the *Adoration* (1646; London, N.G.; Br. 575). Without considering himself a court painter in the style of Rubens, Rembrandt had reason to be content with his connections at The Hague. However, when the time came in 1648 to decorate the Oranjezaal at the Huis ten Bosch (*see* Hague, The, §IV, 3), the commission was not given to Rembrandt but to more

‘Flemish’ painters. The reason is not known; given his flirtation with a ‘Flemish’ style in the 1630s, it could not have been that he was judged to be unacquainted with the Flemish vocabulary of forms or with their format and sense of drama.

In terms of subject-matter, the *Winter Landscape* (1646; Kassel, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe; Br. 452) is highly exceptional for Rembrandt, but it fits into the Dutch tradition of depicting winter amusements (e.g. those by Hendrick Avercamp) or pure winter landscapes (e.g. those by Jacob van Ruisdael). It is painted rapidly, with a broad brush: ‘as if out of doors’ was a much-heard comment. It seems likely, however, that it was based on Esaias van de Velde’s *Winter Landscape* (1624; The Hague, Mauritshuis). Imaginary landscapes continued to be used as backgrounds to biblical scenes, such as the *Flight into Egypt* (Dublin, N.G.; Br. 576), a nocturn after a model by Adam Elsheimer. The most remarkable subject paintings of the late 1640s are *Susanna and the Elders* (1647 [or ?1644]; Berlin, Gemäldegal.; Br. 516) and two versions of the *Supper at Emmaus* (both 1648; Paris, Louvre, Br. 578; Copenhagen, Stat. Mus. Kst, Br. 579). Because of the repetition of certain motifs from other works (e.g. the attitude of Christ from the Paris version and the *trompe-l’oeil* curtain from the Kassel *Holy Family*), the authenticity of the Copenhagen version has been doubted, but it may be a question of a work produced in a hurry.

Personal problems were accumulating. After 1647 Rembrandt painted very little, except the two Emmaus pieces. In 1649 he produced no paintings at all, only etchings. Evidently he was fully occupied with his love for Hendrickje and his plans to get rid of Geertge. Once she was despatched to a reformatory, he returned to painting and produced a few simple pieces, such as the *Portrait of an Old Man* (1650; The Hague, Mauritshuis; Br. 130), formerly thought to represent his eldest brother, Adriaen. Similar half-length figures followed in 1651: the *Old Man in Fanciful Costume* (Chatsworth, Derbys; Br. 266) and the *Bearded Man with a Hat and Head-band* (Vånas, Wachmeister Col.; Br. 263). In this period he also painted a series of the *Head of Christ* (Br. 620–24), all of which are undated and seem to have been produced routinely. His palette exhibits much brown and dark red, and the painting is broad and pastose, as it is in two other works of 1651: the *Girl with a Broom* (Washington, DC, N.G.A.; Br. 378) and the *Girl at a Window* (Stockholm, Nmus.; Br. 377).

Rembrandt: *Aristotle with a Bust of Homer*, oil on canvas, 56 1/2 x 53 3/4 in. (143.5 x 136.5 cm), 1653 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, special contributions and funds given or bequeathed by friends of the Museum, 1961, Accession ID:61.198); photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001844 *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001844>*

By 1652 Rembrandt seems to have overcome his difficulties. A *Self-portrait* of that year (Vienna, Ksthist. Mus.; Br. 42) shows him with arms akimbo and a very self-assured look. Moreover, he was again receiving portrait commissions: for example the presumed portrait of the painter *Jan van de Cappelle* (Buscot Park, Oxon, NT; Br. 265) and the wealthy *Nicolaes Bruyningh* (Kassel, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe; Br. 268). At this important point in his life he suddenly received a flattering commission from abroad, to paint a historical half-length figure for the Sicilian nobleman Don Antonio Ruffo, with the possibility of more commissions to follow. Thus he painted Aristotle Contemplating a Bust of Homer (1653; New York, Met.; Br. 478), for which he no doubt consulted a Classical scholar, such as his friend Jan Six. Their close friendship can be seen from Rembrandt's drawing of *Homer Reciting Verses* in Six's *album amicorum* (Amsterdam, Col. Six; Ben. 913); he also painted Six's portrait (1654; Amsterdam, Col. Six; Br. 276; see fig.). This is one of the most brilliant portraits ever made: the contrast between the subtle rendering of the facial expression and the very broadly painted hands displays a virtuosity

with the brush that is equalled in the 17th century only by Frans Hals, if at all. Notable too is the suggestive treatment of the material of the cloak—no more than a red surface with dark furrows for the shadows, with the braid indicated by a single short brushstroke.

Rembrandt: *Flora*, oil on canvas, 39 3/8 x 36 1/8 in. (100 x 91.8 cm), probably early 1650s (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Archer M. Huntington, in memory of his father, Collis Potter Huntington, 1926, Accession ID:26.101.10); photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001848 *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001848>*

Also masterly in its brushwork is the *Woman Bathing in a Stream* (1654; London, N.G.; Br. 437; see fig.), for which Hendrikje naturally posed. He also used her as a model for the *Bathsheba with King David's Letter* (1654; Paris, Louvre; Br. 521), his greatest history painting since his 'Flemish' period, and for Flora (1654; New York, Met.; Br. 114), the allegorical role for which his beloved Saskia had formerly posed; Hendrikje, in the year in which all three works were painted, gave birth to their daughter Cornelia. From 1655 onwards Rembrandt's 14-year-old son regularly served as his model (Br. 120–26). Although in the 1650s Dutch painting had evolved in favour of a refined, highly finished style and lighter tints, especially for portraits, Rembrandt emphasized his broad, loose touch and used increasingly sharp contrasts of light and dark. Despite his old-fashioned style, he received plenty of portrait commissions: for instance, that of a *Man in a Fur-lined Coat* (1654; Boston, MA, Mus. F.A.; Br.

278) and that of *Floris Soop as a Standard-bearer* (*c*. 1655; New York, Met.; Br. 275). The *Slaughtered Ox* (1655; Paris, Louvre; Br. 457), unique in terms of its subject, is a creation of pure colour and light, which has fascinated generations of artists; it inspired, for instance, Chaim Soutine to paint a series of Expressionist works (e.g. Grenoble, Mus. Grenoble).

(ii) Etchings.

In 1641, the year before completing the '*Night Watch*', Rembrandt found time to work on a long series of etchings: 13 dated prints emerged in a sudden rush of productivity that was never again equalled (B. 43, 61, 98, 114, 118, 128, 136, 225–6, 233, 261, 271 and 310). Typical of these is the sketchiness seen, for example, in the *Baptism of the Eunuch* (B. 98) and the '*Large Lion-hunt*' (B. 114). Also purely linear are three Dutch landscapes, in which there is an element of topographical accuracy: *The Mill* (B. 233) shows part of the Amsterdam ramparts by the Lauriergracht. Rembrandt's landscape etchings were nearly all made in the 1640s. The latest are dated 1652, which appears on the *Landscape with a Haybarn* (B. 224), a site that was often represented by Rembrandt in his etchings and drawings (B. 213, Ben. 1226 and 1227) and by his pupils, who seem to have worked with him *sur place*. Over the years, the tonality of the landscapes became increasingly important. This was achieved by the use of drypoint, as is evident, for instance, in the different states of the *Landscape with a Square Tower* (1650; B. 218) and the *Clump of Trees* (1652; B. 222), which was evidently drawn out of doors directly on to the plate. A more elaborate procedure was followed in the dramatic landscape known as the *Three Trees* (1643; B. 212), which combined the etching technique with drypoint and the use of an engraver's burin.

The same development can be followed in the biblical scenes of the period. The *Raising of Lazarus* (1642; B. 72) was drawn entirely with the etching needle, while *Abraham and Isaac* (1645; B. 34) and *St Jerome by a Pollard Willow* (1648; B. 103) were executed in drypoint alone, and the *Flight into Egypt* (B. 53), a successful experiment with nocturnal effects, was achieved by the extensive use of both drypoint and engraving. The 'Three Crosses' (B. 78), dated 1653 in the third state, was also set down entirely with the drypoint and burin; in the fourth state the image was completely transformed, and, by inking the plate heavily, some prints were made to give the impression of a nightmare. (This presumably occurred much later, *c*. 1660.) Rembrandt also achieved fine nocturnal effects in the *Descent from the Cross* (1654; B. 83) and the *Entombment* (*c*. 1654; B. 86), which seem to form a series with the *Supper at Emmaus* (1654; B. 87). Another series consists of small scenes from the *Life of Christ* (B. 47, 55, 60, 63 and 64). Rembrandt's most powerful creation in the drypoint technique was the large (400×450 mm) Ecce homo (B. 76), drawn after a design by Lucas van Leyden. This print was dated 1655 from the fifth state onwards, but three more states followed in which the arrangement was drastically altered. The crowd before the podium was eliminated, so that the spectator himself became, as it were, part of the scene. In this period Rembrandt also produced some undated prints that have come to be known by their nicknames, such as the 'Hundred Guilder Print' (*c*. 1643–9; B. 74) and '*La Petite Tombe*' (*c*. 1652; B. 67). Rembrandt himself is said to have paid 100 guilders for a copy of the former; its fame is further demonstrated by the fact that his last pupil, Aert de Gelder, depicted himself with an impression of it in his *Self-portrait* (St Petersburg, Hermitage). Both prints represent *Christ Preaching*, as described in Matthew 19. The composition of '*La Petite Tombe*' is reminiscent of Rembrandt's drawing (1652; Ben. 913) in Jan Six's *album amicorum*.

Rembrandt: ‘*Hundred Guilder Print*’, etching, drypoint and engraving, 278×388 mm, *c*. 1643–9 (Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina); photo credit: Art Resource, NY

Almost a decade after his *Self-portrait* in the style of Titian (1639; B. 21), Rembrandt made an etched *Self-portrait* (1648; B. 22) showing himself at a window, at work with a pencil. In the case of the etched portrait of *Jan Six* (1647; B. 285), not only the copperplate but several preparatory drawings have survived (Ben. 749, 767, 768); together with the four states of the print, these provide a unique insight into the artist’s creative process and the role played by the client’s wishes. This was the case, too, with the etched portrait of the painter *Jan Asselijn* (*c*. 1647; B. 277), who, in the final version, had an easel with a painting removed from the background, preferring apparently not to be shown as a craftsman. Rembrandt made an especially lively portrait of the print-seller *Clement de Jonghe* (1651; B. 272), who on his death in 1677 possessed many of Rembrandt’s original etching plates. The so-called *Faust* (first half of the 1650s; B. 270), with its fascinating vision in front of a window, has not yet been satisfactorily interpreted—which indeed is its charm. Among Rembrandt’s other unexpected (though not unprecedented) subjects are the mischievous *Flute-player* (‘*L’espiègle*’, 1642; B. 188), *The Sow* (1653; B. 157), erotic scenes such as the ‘*Ledikant*’ (‘*Le Lit à la française*’; B. 186; *see* ***Erotic art*, fig.**) and the ‘*Monk in a Cornfield*’ (B. 187), both of 1646, and the studies of nude studio models from the same year (B. 193, 194 and 196). One version (B. 194) was elaborated in the background to represent a mother teaching her child to walk; it is seen as illustrating the proverb ‘Practice makes perfect’, appropriate to both the artist and the child.

(iii) Drawings.

After 1642 Rembrandt did not paint much but was very productive as a draughtsman, especially of biblical subjects. In the 1640s he used mostly a quill pen, applying wash sparingly with the brush; by the first half of the 1650s the much stiffer reed pen had become his favourite instrument. Hence the flowing forms of the 1640s gave way to a more angular play of lines, with an occasional brilliant example of drawing in brush alone, for example the *Woman Asleep* (London, BM; Ben. 1103), for which Hendrickje was perhaps the model (on the analogy of similar drawings of the pregnant Saskia in the 1630s). This sheet would therefore date from *c*. 1654; but this is purely guesswork, for the dating of Rembrandt's drawings is one of the greatest challenges they present. Thus the very typical sheet of *Two Women and a Child in front of a House* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Ben. 407) is dated by some *c*. 1635, by others *c*. 1645. Two drawings of a *Woman on the Gallows* (both New York, Met.; Ben. 1105 and 1106) seem to represent Elsje Christiaens, who was condemned to death on 1 May 1664, so that they cannot date from the mid-1650s as was originally supposed. A date of *c*. 1645 has recently been suggested for the drawing of the *Noli me tangere* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Ben. 538), whereas the painting of the same subject (Br. 559) is dated 1638. Exceptionally, the curious *Satire on Art Criticism* (New York, Met.; Ben. A35a) bears the date 1644, but even the presence of signatures and dates is not wholly reliable evidence: the inscription *Rembrandt f 1640* found on both the *View of St Albans Cathedral* (Haarlem, Teylers Mus.; Ben. 785) and the *View of Windsor Castle* (Vienna, Albertina; Ben. 786) is regarded by some as forged. In some cases there is a connection with a documented work that enables a drawing to be dated: the *Holy Family in the Carpenter's Shop* (Bayonne, Mus. Bonnat; Ben. 657) is a preparatory drawing for the picture of 1645 (St Petersburg, Hermitage; Br. 570), and the print of *Twelfth Night* (B. 113) of *c*. 1650 shows the same grouping of figures as the drawing of the same subject (London, BM; Ben. 736). Drawings of nude studio youths (Vienna, Albertina, Ben. 709; London, BM, Ben. 710 and 710a) were presumably made at the same time as three etchings of 1646 (B. 193, 194 and 196); some may be by Rembrandt, some by his pupils at the time.

Attributions between Rembrandt and his known and anonymous pupils pose many further problems. Another version of the *Noli me tangere* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Ben. 537) was previously thought to be by Rembrandt but is now ascribed to Ferdinand Bol. Questions also surround the drawing of *Eliezer and Rebecca at the Well* (Edinburgh, N.G.; Ben. 491), a variant of which was acquired in 1970 by the Fondation Custodia (Paris, Inst. Néer., 9629). Rembrandt did indeed sometimes make two almost identical versions of a particular subject, either in a search for the correct form or because one was meant for sale. (That drawings were made expressly for the latter purpose is known from a document from the mid-1640s, the first to mention a trade in the artist's drawings; RD 1645/1.) Examples of such repetitions include *Jacob and his Sons* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus., Ben. 541; Paris, Louvre, Ben. 542) and *Jacob's Dream* (Paris, Louvre, Ben. 557; Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans–van Beuningen, Ben. 558), all from the first half of the 1640s. But a duplicate version may also be the work of a contemporary or later imitator, as in the case of *Esau and Jacob* (Amsterdam, Hist. Mus.; Ben. 564), of which there is a copy (London, BM; Hofstede de Groot, no. 868). Rembrandt depicted the same biblical episode in another drawing (London, BM; Ben. 606) but in a drastically altered composition that was probably derived from a print (1609) by Willem Swanenburg (after Paulus Moreelse).

A remarkably forceful handling of line is evident in several drawings in reed pen made in preparation for portrait etchings, even though they are the earliest examples of Rembrandt's use of this stiff medium: these include the design (London, BM; Ben. 763) for the posthumous portrait of *J. C. Sylvius* (1646; B. 280) and a study (Amsterdam, Col. Six; Ben. 767) for the portrait of *Jan Six* (1647; B. 285).

The original idea for the portrait of *Jan Six* can be found on the *verso* of a black chalk sketch of a *Beggar's Family* (Amsterdam, Hist. Mus.; Ben. 749), which itself seems to be a study for the etching of *Beggars at the Door* (1648; B. 176). A comparable drawing of *Doctors in Discussion* (Amsterdam, Hist. Mus.; Ben. 714) was used for the etching of *Christ among the Doctors* (1652; B. 65), and thus a whole group of similar studies in black chalk on thin paper can be dated to the years 1647–52 (including three not mentioned by Benesch: Amsterdam, Rijksmus., A 1930:55; and Berlin, Kupferstichkab., 1148 and 5790). These drawings may have belonged to a sketchbook that was later broken up. This was what happened to a collection described in the inventory of 1656 as 'A small book containing views drawn by Rembrandt' (RD 1656/12–259). A reconstruction of this book, or a similar one, consists of an ensemble of 23 sketches in black chalk, all drawn from nature in and around Amsterdam. The style is summary, with the design confined to the main lines of the land- or townscape. Several sheets can be dated from topographical motifs (e.g. Ben. 810, before 1650; Ben. 1275, 1652; Ben. 804 and 806, before 1656; Ben. 819 and 820, after 1657). The rest of the 23 sketches are to be dated between 1640 and 1652, which is roughly when most of his other landscape drawings originated (as did the landscape etchings).

Rembrandt produced some masterly landscape drawings with the pen, which reflect the essence of the Dutch countryside: the *View of the Amstel* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Ben. 844), the *View of Diemen* (Haarlem, Teylers Mus.; Ben. 1229) and the *View of the IJ* (Chatsworth, Derbys; Ben. 1239). Also once together at Chatsworth (all having come from the collection of Nicolaes Flinck, the son of Rembrandt's pupil Govaert Flinck) are sheets with a similar economy of line but somewhat more detail in the foliage and a greater use of wash: the *Landscape near Trompenburg* (Ben. 1218), the *Landscape near Kostverloren* (Ben. 1265) and *Farm Buildings among Trees* (Ben. 1232 and 1233; the latter sold, London, Christie's, 6 July 1987, lot 14). In the same style is the *Farm by a Dike* (Dresden, Kupferstichkab.; Ben. 1234): this scene was also depicted in an unwashed drawing (Oxford, Ashmolean; Ben. 1227) and in two etchings (both 1652; B. 213 and 223), so the whole group can be dated *c*. 1650–52. Probably somewhat later are landscapes drawn with short pen strokes, without any wash, the best example of which was also formerly at Chatsworth (Ben. 1314; sold London, Christie's, 6 July 1987, lot 15). This typical style is also found, for instance, in a sheet with a *View of the Kloveniersdoelen* (*c*. 1652; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Ben. 1334), where the '*Night Watch*' had been hanging since a decade earlier. Rembrandt drew purely topographical views not only in sketchbooks but also on larger sheets, often animated with wash. An unwashed drawing of the *Velperpoort at Arnhem* (after 1649; Dresden, Kupferstichkab.; Ben. 1305) was probably made on the occasion of a visit to Hendrickje's family at Breevoort near Arnhem. Perhaps on a similar journey to Rhenen in the province of Utrecht he drew the *Oostpoort* (Bayonne, Mus. Bonnat; Ben. 827), the *Westpoort* (Haarlem, Teylers Mus.; Ben. 826) and the *Rijnpoort* (Paris, Louvre; Ben. 1304). The last two are copiously washed. One topographical drawing is given a historical reference by Rembrandt's inscription stating that it represented the old Stadhuis of Amsterdam 'after the fire of 9 July 1652' (Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis; Ben. 1278). For this rapid sketch, he used a soft quill pen and a stiff reed pen, a little red chalk and the brush. He was evidently standing on the steps of the Waag (Weigh-house), where he and several others, including Jan Abrahamsz. Beerstraten and Abraham Furnerius, were recording the dramatic sight. At the same period he used a reed pen to draw picturesque views in Amsterdam, such as the *Ruins of the Huis Kostverloren* (Chicago, IL, A. Inst.; Ben. 1270) and the *Montelbaan Tower* (Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis; Ben. 1309)—the latter intentionally depicted as a medieval structure, without the 17th-century spire.

Unique among Rembrandt's drawings are the copies after Indian miniatures of the Mughal school (Ben. 1187–1204; see fig.), the originals of which were later incorporated in the decoration of the Millionenzimmer of the Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna. The drawings must have been made before Rembrandt's collection was sold in 1655 and subsequent years. They are chiefly figure and costume studies; their most striking feature is the way in which Rembrandt livened up the stylized poses with his deft modifications.

As in his paintings and etchings, Rembrandt achieved outstanding results in the drawings of the 1650s, among them his masterly studies of recumbent lions (Paris, Louvre, Ben. 1214; Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans–van Beuningen, Ben. 1211). He captured lions in just a few strokes, as in *St Jerome in an Italian Landscape* (Hamburg, Ksthalle; Ben. 104), a sketch for the etching of *c*. 1654 (B. 104). Another fascinating drawing of the period is that of *Homer Reciting Verses* (1652; Amsterdam, Col. Six; Ben. 913), a skilful analysis of a composition by Raphael. In the same pose as the painted *Self-portrait* of the same year (1652; Br. 42), Rembrandt drew himself in working clothes, in a challenging attitude with arms akimbo (Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis; Ben. 1171), as if facing his bankruptcy head-on.

5. Bankruptcy and final years, 1656–69.

In 1656 Rembrandt was obliged to declare himself insolvent and to apply for a *cessio bonorum* (RD 1656/10). Besides his debts, his art dealings had apparently been unsuccessful, and he had speculated unwisely. On 25 and 26 July 1656 the secretary of the Chamber of Insolvent Estates went from room to room of the house in the Jodenbreestraat, while Rembrandt made an inventory (RD 1656/12) of the items to be sold at auction. In December 1655 he had already disposed of much of his collection, but what remained was of the greatest value. The collection has been described as an 'encyclopedic *Kunstkammer*', which conferred on him the status of a 'gentleman virtuoso' (Scheller, 1969). Its nucleus consisted of material accumulated for study purposes: Italian, Flemish, German and Dutch prints and drawings, and works by Rembrandt himself. The collection was sold off bit by bit over the next two years, ending with a sale of the graphic art on 20 December 1658 (RD 1658/29, 30). The proceeds for the latter amounted to only 470 guilders and 9 stivers, whereas Rembrandt had once paid hundreds of guilders for a single print by Lucas van Leyden. This was attributed to the recession from which the art of engraving was then suffering: a year later, the value of the collection was estimated at ten times as much (RD 1659/14). The house in the Jodenbreestraat was also sold, after which it was eventually possible to satisfy nearly all the creditors. In 1658 Rembrandt, Hendrickje, Titus and little Cornelia rented a more modest home in the Jordaan district (on the Rozengracht, now No. 184). In 1660 the art business was transferred into the name of Hendrickje and Titus, Rembrandt becoming their employee. He was allowed to go on painting, to act as their adviser and to 'live with them, receive free board, and be exempt from housekeeping expenses and rent' (RD 1660/20). His relief at this arrangement was expressed in a rapid succession of works of art. A series of portrait commissions bore witness to the fact that his social position was unimpaired. Hendrickje Stoffels, who in 1661 was described as 'wife of Sr. Rembrandt van Reyn' (RD 1661/12), was buried on 24 July 1663, after which Titus continued to manage his father's affairs. On 28 February 1668 Titus married Magdalena van Loo, the daughter of an old family friend, but six months later, on 7 September, he died of the plague, leaving a pregnant wife, whose daughter Titia was baptized on 22 March 1669. Rembrandt himself died that same year and was buried in the Westerkerk beside Titus and Hendrickje. An inventory of his possessions was drawn up for his heirs, but unfortunately the works of art were not described

separately. Three rooms, behind locked doors, were filled with ‘property, including paintings, drawings, curios, antiques and other objects’ (RD 1669/5): Rembrandt had evidently again been collecting in his old style.

(i) Paintings.

In 1656—the year when his financial distress was at its height—Rembrandt received his most important official commission since the *‘Night Watch’*: the *Anatomy Lesson of Dr Deyman* (1656; Amsterdam, Rijksmus., Br. 414, two thirds destr. by fire; the full composition is known from a preparatory drawing in reed pen, Amsterdam, Rijksmus., Ben. 1175). He also achieved an artistic zenith with the *Blessing of Jacob* (1656; Kassel, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe; Br. 525). The following year he painted another *Self-portrait* (1657; Edinburgh, N.G.; Br. 48). To this time also belong *Titus with a Gold Chain* (London, Wallace; Br. 123) and *Hendrickje at a Window* (Berlin, Gemäldegal.; Br. 116), the latter modelled on a Venetian painting, then in Amsterdam, in the style of Palma Vecchio. The brown and red tints and the broad style of these two works were certainly inspired by that and similar models. From them Rembrandt developed a new kind of history piece: biblical, mythological or historical scenes with one or two figures. His second commission for Don Antonio Ruffo, *Alexander the Great* (*c*. 1657; Lisbon, Mus. Gulbenkian; Br. 479), features a half-length figure of this type. A series of life-size half-length figures of *Apostles* was painted between 1657 and 1661 (Br. 612–19), and in 1661 Rembrandt completed his series of the *Head of Christ* with the *Risen Christ* (Munich, Alte Pin.; Br. 630). *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* (Br. 528) and *Moses with the Tablets* (Br. 527; both 1659; Berlin, Gemäldegal.) represent half-length figures in action rather than simply posed. The broad style of these works also characterizes his most important biblical history piece of this period, the *Denial of St Peter* (1660; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Br. 594). The third commission for Ruffo was *Homer Dictating to Two Scribes* (1663; The Hague, Mauritshuis; Br. 483; preserved as a fragment). The series of historical half-length figures was completed with ‘portraits’ of famous women: two of *Lucretia* (1664; Washington, DC, N.G.A., Br. 484; and 1666, Minneapolis, MN, Inst. A., Br. 485) and one of *Juno* (1665; Los Angeles, CA, Armand Hammer Mus. A.; Br. 539).

A second type of history-piece dating from after 1656 was carried out in a small format, with many figures, yet was painted in the same very broad style: for example three versions of *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (Br. 588, 589 and 592A); *Jupiter and Mercury Visiting Philemon and Baucis* (1658; Washington, DC, N.G.A.; Br. 481); *Tobit and Anna* (1659; Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans–van Beuningen; Br. 520); *Haman and Ahasuerus at the Banquet of Esther* (1660; Moscow, Pushkin Mus. F.A.; Br. 530); and the *Circumcision* (1661; Washington, DC, N.G.A.; Br. 596). The apotheosis of Rembrandt’s career as a history painter was his contribution to the decoration of the new Stadhuis of Amsterdam, for which he painted the *Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis* (Stockholm, Nmus.; Br. 482); this was installed in 1662 but returned shortly afterwards. Perhaps his clients thought it insufficiently dignified: he had made it a night scene and shown Civilis as having only one eye. Rembrandt himself evidently cut it down to a marketable size: the original composition is preserved in a sketch (Munich, Staatl. Graph. Samml.; Ben. 1274). A more heroic scene by Juriaen Ovens took its place in the town hall.

Portrait commissions were not affected by Rembrandt’s bankruptcy. He painted *Catrina Hoogsaet* (1657; Penrhyn Castle, Gwynedd, NT; Br. 391) and the arms manufacturer *Jacob Trip* and his wife *Marguerite de Geer* (both 1661; London, N.G.; Br. 314 and 394). A year after the latter pendants he received the important commission for a group portrait of the *Syndics of the Amsterdam Drapers’*

Guild (‘*The Staalmeesters*’; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Br. 415; see fig.). The unusual commission for a life-size equestrian portrait of *Frederick Rihel* (1663; London, N.G.; Br. 255) was a task rather more suited to a specialist such as Paulus Potter, who had painted *Dirck Tulp on Horseback* (Amsterdam, Col. Six). Of the anonymous persons who sat for Rembrandt in the 1660s, the most striking are the *Portrait of a Man with a Magnifying Glass* and the pendant *Portrait of a Woman with a Carnation* (both New York, Met.; Br. 326 and 401). Also noteworthy are the portrait of fellow artist *Gérard de Lairesse* (1665; New York, Met.; Br. 321), whose features, disfigured by syphilis, are rendered without disguise, and the portrait of Rembrandt’s old friend the poet *Jeremias de Decker* (1666; St Petersburg, Hermitage; Br. 320). The identity of the figures in the ‘*Jewish Bride*’ (*c*. 1665; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Br. 416) has never been ascertained, nor is it known whether the painting is a history (Isaac and Rebecca or Jacob and Rachel?) or perhaps both a history and a portrait. In any case, the work has become world-famous thanks to the magical fall of light, the wonderful impasto and the tender gestures of the man and his bride. Also anonymous is the *Portrait of a Family* (Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Mus.; Br. 417), which Rembrandt painted at the end of his life—or rather modelled on the canvas with a palette-knife.

In and after 1657 Rembrandt painted several more *Self-portraits* (Br. 48–62), some in an unusual setting. He depicted himself in an impressive pose in an armchair (1658; New York, Frick; Br. 50) and later as a painter with a palette and mahlstick (1660; Paris, Louvre; Br. 53; see fig.). These attributes also figure in his *Self-portrait* (*c*. 1665; London, Kenwood House; Br. 52) with a background of two circles symbolizing eternity and perfection. Rembrandt concluded his career with three self-portraits (all 1669): one (London, N.G.; Br. 55) in which the pose is borrowed from Raphael’s famous portrait of Baldassare Castiglione (*c*. 1516; Paris, Louvre); one (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Mus.; Br. 61) in which he depicted himself as the Greek artist Zeuxis, who died of laughter painting a wrinkled old woman; and one (The Hague, Mauritshuis; Br. 62) in which there no longer seems to be a message—everything had been said. This grandiose finale is more suggestive of cynical vitality than weariness of life.

Rembrandt: *Self-portrait with Easel*, 1660 (Paris, Musée du Louvre); Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

(ii) Etchings and drawings.

After his bankruptcy, Rembrandt continued to receive commissions for etched portraits, just as he did for painted portraits. Some are informal, such as the etching of the apothecary *Abraham Francen* (*c*. 1657; B. 273), while others are more official in character, for instance that of the goldsmith *Jan Lutma* (1656; B. 276), who is shown formally seated in a chair, like the earlier etched portraits of *Pieter Haaringh* (1655; B. 275) and his distant relative *Thomas Haaringh* (*c*. 1655; B. 274), both of whom were involved in the sale of Rembrandt's goods after he was declared insolvent. The contrast of styles is best exemplified by the two different portraits of the writing master *Lieven Willemsz. van Coppenol* (both *c*. 1658; B. 282 and 283).

It has been speculatively suggested that Rembrandt's financial situation at the time may be reflected in his etching of *St Francis Praying beneath a Tree* (1657; B. 107), an unusual depiction (without the traditional stigmata) of the saint who preached voluntary poverty. It is, in fact, Rembrandt's last etched

landscape, executed with a powerful use of the drypoint. The landscape contains Italian motifs that also occur in *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (1658; B. 70). In this period Rembrandt showed great interest in the romantic landscape drawings of Venetian masters such as Titian. He himself 'improved' a drawing attributed to Domenico Campagnola (Budapest, Mus. F.A.; Ben. 1369) and also made a copy (Paris, Fond. Custodia, Inst. Néer., 375) of a *Landscape with a Campanile* by Titian (untraced). The bright, pastoral visions of Titian and his followers provided the inspiration for the backgrounds to biblical scenes in both etchings (B. 70, 104, 107) and drawings: *Elijah at the Brook Cherith* (Berlin, Kupferstichkab.; Ben. 944) and *Elisha and the Widow with her Sons* (ex-F. Somary priv. col., Washington, DC; Ben. 1027). *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (1658; B. 70), together with *SS Peter and John Healing a Cripple* (1659; B. 94), were Rembrandt's last etchings of a biblical scene. Apart from the print of *Phoenix or the Overthrown Statue* (1658; B. 110), the subject of which is still unexplained, he subsequently etched only female nudes (B. 197, 199, 200).

In these same years (1658–61) Rembrandt and his pupils drew from the nude according to the best academic traditions, as can be seen from a model observed from different viewpoints by the master himself (Chicago, IL, A. Inst.; Ben. 1122) and by a pupil (Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans–van Beuningen; Ben. 1121). The differences between the two versions are typical of a whole group of such sheets, several of which are still wrongly attributed to Rembrandt. The version (London, BM; Ben. 1143) of a *Seated Nude* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Ben. 1142) seems to be the work of a pupil (?Johannes Raven). The somewhat indecorous etching of *Jupiter and Antiope* (1659; B. 203) is partly based on such a nude study (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Ben. 1137), but it also derives from a print by Annibale Carracci (B. 17). The drawing is executed in reed pen, Rembrandt's favourite drawing implement in the period 1650–60. He used it for landscapes (e.g. Berlin, Kupferstichkab., Ben. 1367; perhaps his last landscape drawing), for the study of a *Lion Resting* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Ben. 1216) and for compositional studies, such as *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (Munich, Staatl. Graph. Samml.; Ben. 1047), *St Peter at the Death-bed of Tabitha* (Ben. 1068), *Diana and Actaeon* (Ben. 1210; both Dresden, Kupferstichkab.) and the *Continence of Scipio* (Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans–van Beuningen; Ben. 1034). All these sheets date from around the beginning of the 1660s. In 1662 Rembrandt made at least three studies for '*The Staalmeesters*' (Br. 415): the *Study of Jacob van Loon* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.; Ben. 1179), the *Study of Volkert Jansz*. (Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans–van Beuningen; Ben. 1180) and the *Study of Three Syndics* (Berlin, Kupferstichkab.; Ben. 1178). These are unique illustrations of the way in which Rembrandt prepared a group portrait.

Although Rembrandt continued to pull impressions from old plates until his death, his last new etchings were made in the early to mid-1660s. Among these is the image of a naked woman sitting on a bed, with a youth looking at her, which from an early date became known as the '*Woman with the Arrow*' (1661; B. 202). Titus van Rijn was speaking of this when he declared in 1664: 'Yes, my father engraves as curiously as anyone' (RD 1665/6).

II. Working methods and technique.

Much information about Rembrandt's studio and working methods may be found in the writings of a number of authors who were trained by him or knew him—Samuel van Hoogstaten and Joachim von Sandrart in particular. In addition, many of Rembrandt's paintings have been the subject of detailed

technical examinations, for instance all those in the National Gallery, London (see 1989 exh. cat.). The results of some of these investigations have been incorporated in the publications of the Rembrandt Research Project (*see* §III below).

1. Studio organization.

Christopher Brown

In a well-known passage of the *Teutsche Academie* (written a decade after Rembrandt's death), Sandrart recorded how Rembrandt had 'countless distinguished children for instruction and learning, of whom every single one paid him 100 guilders annually'. The number of pupils allowed to be trained in a painter's studio was usually very strictly controlled by the Guild of St Luke, and while it is true that the Amsterdam guild was less effective in enforcing its regulations than those in other cities, it does seem that Rembrandt had many more pupils than the normal four to six. (Yet he clearly was not operating outside the guild since it was essential for him to have been a member.) The situation in his studio was far from the conventional arrangement of the master instructing a limited number of pupils. Some members of the studio were long-term apprentices of the traditional kind: Samuel van Hoogstraten, for example, was with him for about seven years from the age of thirteen. Others, however, had probably already spent some years with another master, while still others may have been amateurs receiving instruction in what was essentially an 'academy' based on Italian prototypes; this system of training was fairly novel in Amsterdam in the 1630s and offered a freer, less rigidly administered regime of tuition than guild-regulated apprenticeships. The method of instruction in Rembrandt's studio may, at times, have resembled the informal cluster of chairs and young pupils sketching from a male model shown in Michiel Sweert's painting of *The Academy* (*c*. 1656; Haarlem, Frans Halsmus.). Surviving drawings of studio models by Rembrandt and his pupils would seem to confirm this. But according to Houbraken, Rembrandt's students worked in a warehouse that Rembrandt rented on the Bloemgracht in Amsterdam, where 'in order to be able to paint from life without disturbing each other, [they] made small cubicles, each one for himself, by setting up partitions of paper or oilcloth'.

Rembrandt's studio was an unashamedly commercial operation. As well as apprentices and paying pupils, a steady stream of young qualified painters passed through and painted under his guidance, sometimes in a style closely resembling the master's and sometimes with more individuality. It is clear that Rembrandt signed other painters' works as his own, and it is this fact, together with the inevitable similarity in materials and technique, that makes attribution of some works associated with him problematic. The names of perhaps 20 of his pupils and associate painters are recorded in Sandrart, van Hoogstraten, Houbraken and other sources, but the full list can never be known with certainty because the records of the Amsterdam Guild of St Luke have been almost wholly lost.

2. Paintings.

Christopher Brown

Traditionally, painters seem to have preferred to live on east-west streets, so that rooms at either the front or back faced north, the direction from which the most even source of light derived. The St Anthonisbreestraat in Amsterdam, on which Rembrandt's house stands, runs at an angle to the east-

west direction; partial north light would therefore have been available, but it can only be speculated how concerned Rembrandt was with the constancy of a cool light source. Painters who were right-handed, as seems to have been the case with Rembrandt, would normally work with the window at their left, so that their arm did not cast a shadow as they worked, and it is noticeable in Rembrandt's paintings how often the light in portraits and other pictures falls from the left in accordance with this natural arrangement. In his small picture of the *Painter in his Studio* (*c*. 1629; Boston, MA, Mus. F.A.; Br. 419; see fig.) a young painter (perhaps even himself at work in Leiden) steps back to consider his work. Unusually, the light source is somewhere high up and to the left (behind the painter and slightly to his right), although he is clearly right-handed. He is shown pausing in the act of painting standing up: this may well have been Rembrandt's normal practice, but many other painters of the period showed themselves seated at the easel. The easel shown is of a standard type, a simple hinged trestle with movable pegs to support the work at the right height. The panel on the easel is a large one and is strengthened at the top and bottom edges by grooved wooden battens.

Rembrandt appears to have been content to restrict himself to standard oak panel and canvas sizes—probably of necessity, since frames were produced to the same dimensions. Close similarities between some of Rembrandt's panels, as revealed by dendrochronological examination, suggest that he purchased them in batches from particular panelmakers. Larger panels were made by butt-jointing two or three planks together. The back edges were often bevelled in order to fit the finished painting into its frame, and this can be a useful indication of the original size and shape of a panel if it has later been cut down. The ground or preparation layers might be applied by the panelmaker or in the painter's studio. It is possible, for instance, that the panelmaker was responsible for the first layer of preparation and subsequent layers were the painter's responsibility. However, sometimes Rembrandt was dissatisfied with the way a panel was prepared: for *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (1644; London, N.G.; Br. 566) he clearly scraped down the ground in the centre of the panel before beginning to paint, presumably because it was too rough. Canvases too could be bought ready prepared but were also routinely stretched and prepared in the artist's studio. On occasion he cut up stretched and primed canvases and reused them, as, for example, he did for the *Lamentation* (*c*. 1635; London, N.G.).

The range of pigments that Rembrandt employed involves no arcane knowledge, no secret formulae, but falls firmly within the mainstream of Dutch painting practice in the 17th century. The palette is entirely made up of pigments that were commercially widely available and by that time well understood in their qualities and drawbacks. Some writers have been inclined to stress the restricted nature of Rembrandt's palette, implying in it a theoretical basis. It is true that Rembrandt's paintings are dominated by a limited selection of pigments—the artificial colours lead white (used especially for areas of high impasto, such as white ruffs) and bone black (used especially for the black clothes worn by his sitters), as well as a generous selection of natural earth pigments, such as the ochres, siennas and umbers. As a group, the earth pigments provide the greatest range of the more muted, warm colours of red, orange, yellow and brown. All the earth colours used by Rembrandt would have come from naturally occurring sources, abundant in many parts of Europe (particularly in Italy, France and England), and would have been an established part of the pigment trade. Sources farther afield in Cyprus and Turkey supplied specialized grades and colours, particularly of the umbers. The great advantages of earth colours are that they are entirely stable in all painting media and do not interact with more chemically sensitive pigments, making them suitable for any kind of pigment mixture, and

that they dry perfectly well in oil. Some, like the umbers, are particularly effective driers. Their disadvantage, perhaps, is lack of intensity of colour, but what they offer in range of colour and choice of translucency must have suited Rembrandt well.

Other pigments were regularly used by Rembrandt, but these were the staples. Yet this description of Rembrandt's palette, however accurate, obscures the point of his highly sophisticated painting method, in which colour and transparency are adjusted as continuously varied combinations of relatively few pigments and further modified and adjusted as one layer of paint is laid over another until the desired effect has been reached. In terms of painting technique, opacity and built-up texture are usually interrelated, with much of the thickest impasto formed from the most solid and opaque of pigments, frequently lead white and sometimes lead-tin yellow. But there are also passages to be found of very thickly laid, translucent, dark-coloured paint, and for these Rembrandt used novel methods involving unusual combinations of pigments chosen for their bulk and transparency as well as for their colour. It was these complex pigment mixtures and the elaborate paint layer structures that gave Rembrandt access to such an impressive range of effects in colour, translucency and texture. Moreover, his choice of mainly stable materials used in compatible combinations and his sound understanding of the ways in which those chosen materials behave singly and in combination account in large part for the good condition of many of his pictures.

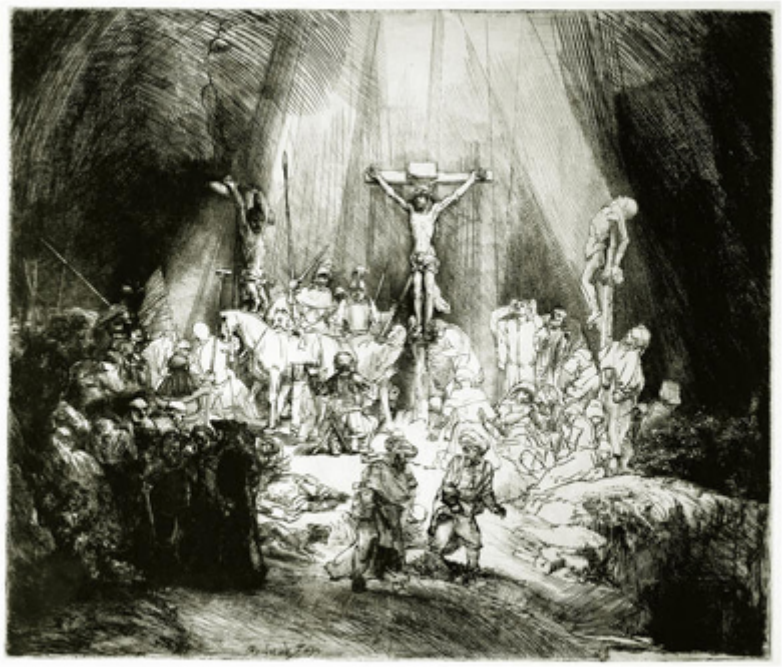
In many cases, however, particularly with Rembrandt's late works, it remains a mystery how the elaborate surface structure was achieved; it is difficult to imagine what implement was used, for it is impossible to distinguish any clear brushstrokes, nor are there any obvious traces of the use of a palette knife. For example in the '*Jewish Bride*' (*c*. 1665; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.), the woman's shoulder, which is covered with transparent fabrics and on which the man's hand emerges from the shadows, is amazing in its execution: lying on what appears to be a chaotically brushed-on and smudged underlayer are drippings of paint that, despite the seemingly haphazard way they were applied, enhance the effect of costly fabrics interwoven with metal thread. In the woman's red skirt a relief of light-coloured lumps of paint lying beneath the surface rises up out of a sea of pink and translucent veils of red paint. Rembrandt ended up painting in this 'rough manner' (as it was called in the 17th century), although he had begun his career with a 'fine' technique similar to that developed shortly thereafter by the Leiden 'Fine' painters. Until well into the 20th century this evolution was regarded as a spontaneous and highly personal development, culminating in an *ultima maniera*—that magical apotheosis that typifies some artists' biographies. However, as van de Wetering has shown (see 1991–2 exh. cat., *Paintings*, p. 16), there are also grounds for seeing this process as guided by conscious decisions based on current ideas on 'the smooth and rough manners', which were part of the 17th-century workshop culture.

3. Etchings.

Felice Stampfle and Eleanor A. Sayre

Although Rembrandt's early prints are executed in etching alone, in his later prints he usually combined etching with other techniques, especially drypoint. For example, in the second state of the etching of the *Supper at Emmaus* (1654; B. 87), rather than rebiting the plate, Rembrandt made additions with a drypoint needle, scratching directly into the copper. In this state of the print, the pungent drypoint lines overlie the airier etched lines of the basic design; they complete Jesus's face,

increase the light emanating from him and add substance to the huge canopy that Rembrandt placed over the supper table to emphasize the importance of the event. Rembrandt was, in fact, the first printmaker to understand the full potentialities of drypoint. He sometimes used its fleeting, but powerful burr to give velvety shadows to an etching. In early impressions of the *Agony in the Garden* (*c*. 1657; B. 75) these strong black accents intimate the cloudy darkness surrounding the moonlit confrontation of Christ and the angel. Rembrandt also combined drypoint with the more incisive lines characteristic of engraving. These techniques were used together in the 'Three Crosses' (1653; B. 78) to suggest the stark immediacy of the event and the terrible darkness. In many prints all three techniques—etching, engraving and drypoint—were combined. In the '*Woman with the Arrow*' (1661; B. 202), for example, Rembrandt blended them with an extraordinary painterly intelligence to convey the soft roundness of the woman's flesh, the heavy material of the curtain behind her and the fine quality of the bed linen and clothing.



Rembrandt van Rijn: '*Three Crosses*', drypoint, 287×452 mm, 1653 (London, British Museum); photo © The British Museum For more information: www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1028 *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1028>*

The successive states of Rembrandt's prints record very closely the ways in which he changed his mind about the composition or meaning of each print. This can be seen in the subtle though important changes he made in the composition of the portrait of the print-seller *Clement de Jonge* (1651; B. 272), which resulted in marked psychological alterations in the characterization of the sitter. The first state is for the most part lightly etched, so that the lines print on white paper as almost translucent greys: the expression of the print-seller, with his unevenly set eyes, seems reserved, indeed withdrawn. Rembrandt appears to have been satisfied with the etching at this stage, at least initially; it is the state most commonly found in public collections. The second state preserves much of the earlier luminosity, but the firmer outlining of de Jonge's cloak and chair, the darkening of his hat and the shadowing of his

face all give the composition a strength it had previously lacked. In addition, there is now a powerful sense of the sitter's individuality, concentrated in rigid hands and shoulders and an intense burning face. In the third state Rembrandt added an arch, increasing the stability of the composition. He further shaded the right side of de Jonge's face, which softens the crooked effect of his right eye but also diminishes the individuality so evident in the preceding state. In the fourth state Rembrandt strengthened and darkened the arch and gave the print a new, quite different compositional balance by adding dark shadows to de Jonge's clothes and deepening the shadow cast on the wall to the left of his chair.

Both of the great drypoints, the '*Three Crosses*' and the *Ecce homo* (1655; B. 76), were radically altered, in the fourth and fifth states respectively. It has been suggested that Rembrandt made these changes because the fugitive drypoint lines had weakened, but although it is true that in some impressions the loss is appreciable, to attribute such a major reworking of the two plates to this single cause is to be unaware of the directions in which Rembrandt had been altering these masterpieces in their earlier states. In the first state of the *Ecce homo*, the artist was interested mainly in the response of individuals to the biblical event. Men, women and children stare at Jesus with curiosity, hatred or mockery; they stand beside him on the tribunal, peer down at him from the windows, crowd the stairway and spread out across the courtyard. In the following state Rembrandt changed the right side of the building, turning it into a complex barrier of light and shadow that directs the viewer's attention back to the figure of Christ. It is in the fifth and sixth states that Rembrandt made his major alterations to the plate. He strengthened the pattern of sunlight and shadow throughout the building, and he increased the size of the group at the left and eliminated all the figures standing in front of the tribunal, letting its blank front wall act as a pedestal for Christ. Finally, in the seventh state, he achieved what he seems to have been looking for earlier—a just and complex balance between the figure of Christ whom Pilate has placed on trial and the ordinary individuals condemning him to death.

In the '*Three Crosses*', Rembrandt seems to have been attempting to resolve the same dichotomy: his perceptive interest in how the Crucifixion would affect human beings and his realization that this concern must not be allowed to diffuse the majesty of the event. In the first state, as Christ surrenders his spirit and the three-hour darkness begins to be lifted from the earth, a part of the mocking crowd turns to flee; mounted soldiers watch stolidly; the centurion, suddenly believing, kneels; the Marys and the Apostles grieve, each in his own fashion. In the first and second states, Rembrandt diminished the force of the crowd—not by adding further work to the plate, but by darkening these half-formed groups of people in various ways, and to varying degrees, with surface tone from ink left on the plate. In some impressions, in order to emphasize the figure of Christ, he carefully wiped clean the strong verticals of the wooden cross and the body of Christ. In the signed and dated third state, Rembrandt modified the print, unifying the composition and changing its balance by adding considerable shading to the foreground and to figures throughout the crowd. The volume of light falling on the scene was reduced, and the group at the left now moves in a flickering light. In the radically altered fourth state (which may have been executed after an interval of several years), Rembrandt moved the event back in time so that Jesus is still alive and the profound darkness over the world, shot with light from heaven, falls principally on Christ. The attendant persons are now only half seen. What they feel must be grasped in part by an act of imagination. This fourth state is a profound and powerful work. But Rembrandt, still bent on exploring the possibilities of the plate, made even more beautiful and impressive prints by here too leaving carefully wiped surface tone on the plate. In a number of impressions, this produces a dramatic darkness that intensifies the harshness of the tragedy.

It is this masterly and imaginative use of tone that makes many of Rembrandt's prints unique and precious. In impressions of the '*Negress*' *Lying down* (1658; B. 205), for example, he carefully applied additional surface ink to the plate so that the subtleties of the contours of her body are delicately marked, and even the quality of her flesh is suggested. Probably no two early impressions of the ambitious 'Hundred Guilder Print' (*c*. 1643–9; B. 74) were printed alike. Tone was used to give the rocky background different painterly aspects and to vary the relationship of Jesus to the crowd or to single out one or other of the groups who importune him. The portrait of the crippled artist *Jan Asselijn* (*c*. 1647; B. 277) was also inked in various ways, doubtless to lend grace to an ungainly body; in an impression of the second state (Boston, Mus. F.A.), surface tone has been left in the background and on the painter's clothing so that his stocky body acquires an unexpected monumentality and his spirit a sense of dignity.

The accidents that can occur in the process of etching a copperplate, customarily corrected by other printmakers, were often brilliantly exploited by Rembrandt. In both the portrait of *Clement de Jonge* and *St Jerome in an Italian Landscape* (*c*. 1654; B. 104), he preserved the abraded surface left by the polishing of the plate, which then printed as translucent areas of tone. Random lines caused by defects in the etching ground laid on the plate, which are visible through the open window in the second and third states of the *Self-portrait Drawing at a Window* (1648; B. 22), were incorporated into a landscape in the fourth state. Rembrandt was certainly capable of burnishing or scraping out rejected areas in a copperplate and hammering it back to its original level, thereby removing all traces of the former lines. But he did not always choose to do so. In the drastically reworked state of the '*Three Crosses*', partly obliterated figures from the earlier states are retained, increasing the feeling of frightened confusion among the spectators. In the fifth state of the *Ecce homo*, when the crowd standing in front of the tribunal was scraped from the plate, a roughened area was left. This prints as an uneven tone by which Rembrandt suggested the mysterious character of the tribunal wall.

Rembrandt also experimented with his choice of papers. For example, he let handmade European paper, with its slight irregularities and faint hue, suggest the breadth of sky in the *Landscape with Three Gabled Cottages beside a Road* (1650; B. 217) or the quality of sunlight on stone in '*La Petite Tombe*' (*c*. 1652; B. 67). He printed some of the most beautiful impressions of *St Jerome in an Italian Landscape* on common, unbleached 'oatmeal' paper, the sober colour of which serves to bind together the light and dark components of the composition, including the lion with its rough, black mane and the figure of the saint reading in the sun. Occasionally Rembrandt used parchment, a material rarely employed by other contemporary Dutch printmakers. In impressions on parchment, the lines took on something of the breadth and strength of those made by the artist when he drew with a reed pen.

By 1647 Rembrandt had begun to use imported Japanese paper for his prints. He was not the only Dutch artist to do so, but he alone instinctively understood how to exploit it. Japanese paper was available in several weights, textures and colours (from very nearly white to golden or almost tan). In an impression of the second state of the full-length portrait of *Jan Six* (1647; B. 285; New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib.), the warm colour of the Japanese paper on which it is printed gives the illusion of bright sunlight filtering through the open window against which the artist's friend is shown leaning and reading. Rembrandt sometimes used Japanese paper, as he did 'oatmeal' paper, to provide an intermediate tonality in a composition. In a very early impression of the *Goldweigher's Field* printed on white European paper (1651; B. 234; New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib.), the black touches of drypoint burr on the etched grove of trees are too pronounced, making the recession of the grove into the middle ground less convincing. By contrast, in an equally early impression printed on Japanese paper

(Chicago, IL, A. Inst.), the light golden hue modifies the over-sharp contrasts. These are further diminished by the fact that Japanese paper catches and prints any residual tone of ink left on the plate, so that the colour of the paper appears darker than it is, and by the fact that its high degree of absorbency broadens and softens both etched and drypoint lines, bringing them into greater harmony with each other and with the paper.

4. Drawings.

Peter Schatborn

Rembrandt was probably not as prolific a draughtsman as has traditionally been assumed. For instance, he seldom made preparatory studies for paintings and etchings. In the case of his prints, there are only four preliminary drawings that he indented for transfer on to the copperplate, including one study (Amsterdam, Col. Six) of the two made for the etched portrait of *Jan Six* (1647; B. 285). In addition, there are a few unindented preliminary drawings related to etchings, as well as some other preparatory studies, mainly of figures, made for details of prints. These were done by Rembrandt either before he began the etching or while work was in progress. In the latter case he was searching for the appropriate form of a particular detail that had been giving him some difficulty. For the same reason he also drew on early states of unfinished etchings in preparation for the completion of the print.

Preliminary compositional studies for paintings are even rarer than those made in connection with etchings. A few such drawings are based on compositions by other artists, such as the preliminary study for the *Rape of Ganymede* (*c*. 1635; Dresden, Kupferstichkab.) from a print by Nicolas Beatrizet after Michelangelo. A number of Rembrandt's individual figure studies, mainly from the Leiden period, were also used in paintings. Occasionally he made drawings after he had begun a painting, although the precise point in the process cannot always by determined with any certainty. These consist of both compositional drawings and figure studies. Presumably there were periods when Rembrandt drew either nothing at all or very little. That may have been the case at the beginning of the 1630s, when he worked in the Amsterdam studio of Hendrick van Uylenburgh and painted a large number of portraits. Only occasionally did he produce a portrait drawing.

Besides the drawings made in connection with works in other media, Rembrandt repeatedly produced groups of drawings on the same or related subjects. These are historical, especially biblical scenes, genre scenes, figure and animal studies and also model drawings, made especially for teaching purposes. Then there are landscapes and nude studies, both subjects that were drawn by Rembrandt as well as his pupils. Copies of other masters, including after Indian miniatures, form a separate category. Of course Rembrandt also drew for his own practice. His drawings, however, were mainly intended as a study collection, to serve as a source of inspiration for both himself and his pupils. They were kept in albums, along with works by other artists.

In a number of cases there is a clear connection between the choice of material used and the function or subject depicted in Rembrandt's drawings. For example, all indented designs for etchings were executed in red or black chalk; on the other hand, preliminary drawings for etchings that were not transferred on to the copperplate were carried out in pen and ink. Nor does his choice of medium in the depiction of animals seem coincidental. Rembrandt naturally captured the elephant best in black chalk (see fig. above), while pen strokes were best suited to the representation of birds of paradise

(e.g. Paris, Louvre). The supple coat of the lion was best conveyed by brush and wash (e.g. in *St Jerome in an Italian Landscape*; Hamburg, Ksthalle), and the flabby skins of pigs were rendered in pen and ink, the artist's preferred technique for most drawings.

Rembrandt's earliest drawings are figure studies in chalk, which are in some respects close to those of his second teacher, Pieter Lastman. In the late 1620s, however, Rembrandt developed a particularly evocative pen-and-ink technique, in which the effects of light and dark predominate. From the outset he used differences in the strength of his pen lines to convey such effects accurately. The shadow to the left of the head and in the eye socket in the study of a *Seated Man with a Tall Hat* (Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans–van Beuningen), for instance, as well as the powerful outline and shadow of the shoulder and arm, make it clear from which direction the light is coming. Forms are seldom defined by a single line, but each figure is made up largely of a combination of parallel and intersecting lines. Some of these lines are very characteristic of the artist, such as the lively and twisting contour near the bottom of the seated man's leg. It is not only the effects of light and dark over which Rembrandt took great care; he was also careful in the accurate rendering of details. The seated figure's eye in shadow is subtly but clearly delineated, and the row of shirt buttons riding up a little over his stomach conveys the shape of the figure underneath. Besides a powerful feeling for the effects of light, it is precisely this combination of carefully evoked details with boldly and schematically drawn shapes that is typical of almost all of Rembrandt's drawings. Generally it is the faces that are carefully drawn, while the rest of the figures are more schematic, depending on how far Rembrandt had worked out the composition.

As with many artists, it was Rembrandt's normal practice to draw in fine lines first and then to elaborate this light sketch with heavier lines. The thicker strokes were therefore usually applied last to the composition and also serve to correct the preceding fine lines. Rembrandt even followed this method when he drew landscapes, proceeding from the fine lines of the background to the darker lines of the foreground. The countryside and the buildings in the *View of the IJ* (before 1651; Chatsworth, Derbys) show how subtly and delicately he used his pen to create the background, while the proximity of the foreground motifs is emphasized by the addition of dark washes. The artist's method of beginning a drawing can be seen from the sketch on the *verso* of the *Entombment* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.), a sketch made in connection with the etching of the *Beheading of John the Baptist* (1640; B. 92). The figure of John the Baptist is depicted kneeling with his hands folded: he is drawn with faint but precise lines, though not fully worked up. The executioner is sketched with equally fine lines, but the figure was subsequently redrawn with slightly darker lines, which improve on the first version in several places. The shift in the position of the head, from upright to inclining forward, is the most obvious change. This study also shows that Rembrandt's line was more assured when drawn over a preliminary sketch, which served as a starting-point and guide for the second version. In numerous other drawings the first, lightly sketched version can be detected beneath and alongside the subsequent development. Rembrandt seems to have deviated from this practice only when following the model of another artist. His red chalk copy (Berlin, Kupferstichkab.) of a painting of *Susanna and the Elders* by Lastman (Berlin, Gemäldegal.), for example, was largely set down directly in fairly bold strokes. The position of Christ's knee in Rembrandt's drawing of *Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.) is another example of a correction made in darker lines over a preliminary sketch. These extra lines would not have had the required effect alone, but added to the existing lines they convincingly suggest the position of the leg, without outlining it precisely. This convention of using lines that, when combined, accurately convey a sense of form (although they are not precisely defining in themselves) is particularly characteristic of Rembrandt's drawings.

Various examples show that Rembrandt rarely abandoned a drawing once he had started it, not even when he had made an ink blot or become dissatisfied with one part that had not worked. If he used too much ink or made a mistake with the pen or brush, he tended to use white paint to cover the offending lines or spots. This masking layer is found in countless drawings, although with the passage of time it is often not immediately detectable, since the lead in the white paint often causes it to oxidize to a darker colour, the opposite of what Rembrandt intended. Sometimes Rembrandt simply whited out a number of misplaced lines, such as on the back of the black chalk drawing of a *Man Standing with a Stick* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.); sometimes a whole area is covered in white to soften the tone. White could also be used to throw certain sections into relief, or highlight them, as can be seen in the study of a *Seated Female Nude as Susanna* (Berlin, Kupferstichkab.), also in black chalk.

When Rembrandt made alterations to his drawings, he often did not bother to hide or remove the earlier version, although at times his corrections almost completely obscure the earlier version, which is visible only on closer inspection. This applies, for example, to the *Three Studies of an Elephant with an Attendant* (Vienna, Albertina), in which an elephant is seen walking forward with a raised trunk, while the earlier, lower position of the trunk is integrated into the advancing leg of the animal's attendant. Another self-corrected drawing, in which the changes are more immediately obvious, is that of *Saskia in Bed* (Groningen, Groninger Mus.): her right arm was drawn first resting on the bed covers and subsequently supporting her chin. In this case Rembrandt did not bother to paint out the first lines, though he did use a heavier line for the final position of the arm.

When a section of a drawing was clearly beyond redemption, Rembrandt took a knife and cut the passage out from the sheet of paper. Sometimes he stuck a new piece of paper over the hole from behind and completed the drawing on it; sometimes he covered it with a patch and redrew the figure. Such procedures show that the artist was determined to preserve the successful parts of the drawing. At other times he realized after starting a drawing that the piece of paper chosen was not large enough, as in the *Landscape near Kostverloren* (Chatsworth, Derbys), where the right-hand edge of the sheet is an addition.

In the mid-1630s Rembrandt produced a group of figure drawings characterized by a very free handling of line. It is again the faces, in particular, that are more carefully executed and elaborated. The remaining lines indicate the form in a seemingly disconnected rhythm. However, the direction of the pen hatching used to represent shadows, like the cursory outlining of the shapes, is in no way arbitrary but contributes greatly to the plasticity of the figures and the effect of depth in the compositions. If it were possible to examine the pattern and direction of the hatching separately from the rest of the drawing, it would be clear that the hatching forms a balanced pattern that focuses attention on the most important part of the drawing, for example the actor's head in the *Seated Actor in the Role of Capitano* (mid-1630s; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.). Another characteristic example of Rembrandt's pen-and-ink drawing style of the 1630s is *Christ Carrying the Cross*, one of a small group of biblical scenes. The longer the viewer looks at this image, the more sharply it comes into focus, the more clearly the figures stand out and the more emphatic a part the individual lines and shading play in the whole composition. In this case Rembrandt also used a brush and brown wash, not only to add a figure in the left foreground but also to create a darker area above the fallen figure of Mary. This patch suggests shadow and depth but optically has another effect: placed centrally between the figures, this area emphasizes the oval shape of the composition. Rembrandt often used such optical effects, which especially enhance the composition as a whole without necessarily representing anything definite. As

the drawing progressed, the composition that emerged under Rembrandt's hand naturally began to assume a proportionally greater significance for what he had yet to draw. The elaboration consisted of corrections and changes of emphasis, including such optical effects.

Rembrandt employed similar optical devices when he considered there to be too much empty white surface left on the sheet of paper. In such cases he simply drew a short line or a series of scribbles, which in themselves do not stand out in the overall composition but which counteract the flat impression made by the blank paper. This can be seen in a black chalk landscape (Wrocław, Ossolineum), where he placed some zigzag shading at the top of the sheet, which, rather than representing a canopy of leaves, helps to fill the empty space. In the *Seated Female Nude* (*c*. 1660; Chicago, IL, A. Inst.) such 'auxiliary lines' are again found; they do not appear to represent any actual form in themselves (e.g. the short line on the woman's breast) but certainly have a definite effect (e.g. the line through her calf).

What is perhaps most remarkable was Rembrandt's ability to impart expression to the faces of his figures with just a few lines, a skill that was probably unprecedented in the history of drawing. This is particularly well demonstrated in a sheet with three studies of the *Prodigal Son and a Harlot* (1630s; Berlin, Kupferstichkab.). In the first scene at top centre the young man's hands begin to wander; in the scene on the left his behaviour is punished with a furious reproach from the woman; and on the right the woman is seen finally to have relented and the young man to have got his way. His triumphant pleasure and the acquiescent pleasure of the woman he is petting are perfect examples of Rembrandt's capacity to represent human feelings in the most succinct form.

In a group of drawings from the late 1630s, carried out in iron-gall ink, often on light ochre prepared paper, there is the same astonishing sense of characterization, whether of figures and their facial expressions or even of animals. It is as though Rembrandt's plastic language had become more resonant than ever, he himself more confident. The way in which he depicted his wife *Saskia Looking out of a Window* (Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans–van Beuningen) is extraordinarily direct. Producing a likeness with so few lines—compared with the silverpoint portrait of 1633 (see fig. above)—requires extreme sureness of touch. An important aspect of the pen-and-ink portrait is the use of carefully applied washes, which give relief to the subject: the fine, almost transparent brushstroke on Saskia's collar, for example, follows the line of her right arm to bring her shoulder a little forward, and the slightly curved brushstrokes above her right hand exactly indicate the curve of her breast beneath the collar. The brushstrokes in the background are also translucent and use different tones to suggest the darkness of the room. This transparency of the wash is characteristic of Rembrandt's use of the brush. Much later, when he drew a portrait of *Hendrickje at a Window* (Stockholm, Nmus.), he added an equally transparent wash in the background of a much bolder drawing in reed pen.

Occasionally Rembrandt drew with the brush alone, as he did for one of his most famous drawings, the *Woman Asleep* (London, BM), thought to depict his second wife, Hendrickje. The secret of this drawing's unequalled expressiveness lies in the well-considered pattern of lines produced with transparent brushstrokes. By imposing this limitation of means on himself and particularly by carefully separating light and dark, Rembrandt produced an evocative portrait. The artist's brush was just as effective in depicting light and dark in an interior, whether he was drawing from life, as in the case of the study of the *Artist's Studio with a Model* (*c*. 1652; Oxford, Ashmolean), or from his imagination, as in *Minerva in her Study* from the *album amicorum* of Jan Six (Amsterdam, Col. Six). Every stroke counts, though in a completely different way from those in the study of the sleeping Hendrickje. Not only does the brush convey a sense of space, but the atmosphere is made tangible. Finally, Rembrandt

occasionally used the brush to create a background in which shapes are scarcely distinguishable but where an abstract pattern of lines evokes the space surrounding the figure, a device he employed in the late *Seated Female Nude* (*c*. 1660; Chicago, IL, A. Inst.).

III. Critical reception and posthumous reputation.

B. P. J. Broos

In his own lifetime Rembrandt strove not only for success in his artistic career but also for social status and recognition. This, to a large extent, he achieved: he received commissions from the court, painted prominent citizens of Amsterdam and also depicted antique heroes for the Sicilian nobleman Antonio Ruffo, to whom, in the last year of his life, he also supplied 189 etchings. In his sumptuous house on the Jodenbreestraat in Amsterdam (now the Rembrandthuis Museum) he accumulated a large collection that both provided artistic inspiration and reflected his social prestige; it was evidently intended as an investment and for the purposes of trading. In these circumstances, many pupils came his way, and he consorted with Amsterdam patricians and scholars, writers and preachers, merchants and artists. In particular, he moved in Baptist (Mennonite) circles and profited by their wealth and influence. His bankruptcy in 1656 did not, as is often thought, reduce him to penury, nor did it deprive him of his customers.

The supposed decline of Rembrandt's posthumous reputation was subsequently ascribed to his stubborn character and deliberate violation of the 'rules of art' (Emmens, 1968). Some late 17th-century writers (e.g. Joachim van Sandrart, 1675; Andries Pels, *Gebruik en misbruik des tooneels* ['Use and abuse of the stage'], 1681; Roger de Piles, 1699) criticized him severely on the grounds that he had ignored Italian theories of art and academic traditions, preferring the pure imitation of nature. Indeed, Rembrandt did not conform to Italian models after the style of these classicists, but their views were not formulated until after his death. There was probably no other artist in the Netherlands in the 17th century who had such a large collection of Italian art in the form of prints, which he studied with profit, though also with a critical eye. In accordance with the ideal of the '*génie méconnu*', Pels's picture of Rembrandt, in the Romantic period, as the 'first heretic of art' was seen to his credit rather than the reverse. Théophile Thoré in 1860 regarded Rembrandt as the complete antithesis of, for example, Raphael. Only later did Rembrandt's links with tradition gradually become visible. His interpretation of earlier art came to be appreciated as highly personal, arbitrary as well as orthodox. Karel van Mander, whose *Schilder-boeck* ([1603]–1604) was a 'bible' for 17th-century artists, referred more than once in his theoretical and practical treatise to the concept of 'individual insight'. Despite all criticism, Rembrandt achieved what van Mander regarded as an artist's chief aim, namely 'honour and profit'. Some days before his marriage in 1634 Rembrandt wrote a variant of this as his personal motto: 'Een vroom gemoet—Acht eer voor goet' ('A pious mind places honour above wealth'; RD 1634/6). This pious aspiration was, in any case, fulfilled.

Contrary to what is sometimes asserted by modern scholars, by no means everything has been said or written about Rembrandt. This will continue to be the case until the scope and character of his work is firmly established. For the time being, many attributions are still fiercely debated, especially among the paintings and drawings. The problems are less severe for the etchings, which were well catalogued in the 18th century by, among others, Adam von Bartsch (1797), whose numbering is rightly still used. Detailed descriptions of the different states were compiled by White and Boon (Hollstein: *Dut. & Flem*.,

1969), and actual-size reproductions of the originals (not from photographs) were published by Schwartz (1977). The actual differences between states can be studied only first hand, in large printroom collections (e.g. Amsterdam, Rijksmus. and Rembrandthuis; Haarlem, Teylers Mus.; London, BM; New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib.; Paris, Petit Pal.).

Rembrandt's drawings were first thoroughly described and reproduced in the six-volume catalogue by O. Benesch (1954–7); a new edition, by his widow, appeared in 1973 but took little account of criticism, new discoveries and divergent opinions published in the meantime. Following the 'Rembrandt year' of 1956, Sumowski, in particular, considered the question of the attribution of drawings; this resulted in the publication of his multi-volume *Drawings of the Rembrandt School* (New York, 1979), in which many sheets regarded by Benesch as originals by Rembrandt are ascribed to his pupils. The limitations of the connoisseurship methods used by Benesch and Sumowski have been pointed out in subsequent publications, in which much attention is devoted to inscriptions, signatures, collectors' marks, kinds of paper, watermarks, old descriptions and provenances (see especially publications by Schatborn). The largest collections of Rembrandt drawings are in Berlin (Kupferstichkab.) and London (BM), and there are interesting groups in Amsterdam (Rijksmus.), Dresden (Kupferstichkab.) and Paris (Louvre); the finest private collection is at Chatsworth (Derbys), though several sheets were sold in 1984 and 1987.

Beginning in 1968 a group of five Dutch scholars—J. Bruyn, B. Haak, S. H. Levie, P. J. J. van Thiel and E. van de Wetering—formed the Rembrandt Research Project (RRP) with the aim of studying, above all from a technical point of view, and recataloguing all paintings by the artist. (Until then, Bredius's 1935 catalogue raisonné (revised by Gerson in 1969) was the standard source.) In 1993, after three catalogues of the *Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* had been published, the group disbanded, with the promise that the work would be carried on by van de Wetering and a younger team of scholars. In the first three volumes of the RRP *Corpus*, all paintings that had ever been attributed to Rembrandt were arranged in three categories: authentic works (A), those whose genuineness could neither be accepted nor rejected (B) and those certainly not by Rembrandt (C). This classification is useful, but it provides insufficient insight into the nature of the rejected works and does not answer, among other questions, whether studio paintings were also signed by Rembrandt. It was decided to abolish these much-debated categories for the two final volumes.

The subject of Rembrandt's iconography has been dealt with in numerous scattered studies and some general surveys (Clark, 1966). These initially concentrated on pure comparisons of form but later considered Rembrandt's position with reference to literary as well as pictorial tradition. A survey of the motifs he borrowed in his works is provided by the *Index to the Formal Sources of Rembrandt's Art* (Broos, 1977). There is still no analysis of the content of Rembrandt's work, which could usefully replace the older stylistic studies. A valuable insight into the sometimes fatal influence of ill-informed biographers and critics limited by the taste of their time is provided by S. Slive: *Rembrandt and his Critics* (1953). J. A. Emmens's *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst* ('Rembrandt and the rules of art'; 1968) set the tone for a critically minded generation of art historians who sought to strip the Rembrandt phenomenon of romantic and 'aesthetic' accretions: among the typical works that resulted was B. Haak: *Rembrandt: Zijn leven, zijn werk, zijn tijd* (1969). The out-of-date archival study *Die Urkunden über Rembrandt* (1906) by C. Hofstede de Groot was replaced in 1979 by *The Rembrandt Documents* (ed. W. Strauss and M. van der Meulen); although the recent edition of the documents is marred by negligence and inaccuracies, it formed the basis of G. Schwartz's biography (1984), in

which he succeeded in disentangling the web of social relations between Rembrandt and his clients. Schwartz did not discuss the etchings or drawings, and his choice of paintings was based on Gerson's revised, but still unreliable edition of Bredius. Hence a definitive biography remains to be written.

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Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Marten Looten, 1632, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://collections.lacma.org/node/230362>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Visitation, 1640, Detroit Institute of Arts (Detroit, MI) *<http://dia.org/collections/euroart/dutch/27.200.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Risen Christ Appearing to Mary Magdalen, 1638, Buckingham Palace (London) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Blinding of Samson, 1636, Stdelsches Kunstinstitut (Frankfurt am Main) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/samson.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Incredulity of St Thomas, 1634, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts (Moscow) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/s_thomas.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Archangel Leaving the Family of Tobias, 1637, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Descent from the Cross, 1634, Alte Pinakothek (Munich) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/deposit.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Descent from the Cross, 1634, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/descent.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Holy Family, 1640, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Apostle Paul, 1635, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Sacrifice of Isaac, 1635, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic3/abraham.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Dana, 1636, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/z_other/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Philosopher in Meditation, 1632, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/z_other/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Belshazzar's Feast, c. 1635, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG6350>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Ecce Homo, 1634, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG1400>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Lamentation over the Dead Christ, c. 1635, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG47>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Stone Bridge, c. 1638, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-1935?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Return of the Prodigal Son, 1636, Sweet Briar College Art Galleries (Sweet Briar, VA) *<http://www.artgallery.sbc.edu/rembrandt.htm>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, 1634, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/etching/joseph.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Old Man Shading his Eyes with his Hand, c. 1639, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Pancake Woman, 1635, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/etching/pancake.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Tribute Money, c. 1635, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Angel Appearing to the Shepherds, 1634, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung (Munich) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Adam and Eve, 1638, Art Institute of Chicago (Chicago, IL) *<http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/70019>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Young Man in a Velvet Cap, 1637, Bayly Art Museum, University of Virginia (Charlottesville, VA) *<http://etext.virginia.edu/etcbin/bayly/fullpage.sgml.pl?access=1982.113>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Death of the Virgin, 1639, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/7728>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Rat-poison Peddler, 1632, Muse des Beaux-Arts (Caen) *<http://www.ville-caen.fr/mba/CollectGravure/Vendeur.htm>*

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Rembrandt van Rijn: The Artist Drawing from the Model, 1639, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1036>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Rembrandt and his Wife Saskia, 1636, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/8229>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self-Portrait, c. 1637, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=9851+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: An Artist in a Studio, 1632-3, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o190.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Satan Tempting Christ to Turn Stones into Bread, c. 1632-3, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1859+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Saskia with a Child, c. 1636, Pierpont Morgan Library (New York) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/index.html>*

Leonardo da Vinci: The Last Supper, 1498, Convent of S Maria delle Grazie (Refectory) (Milan) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/l/leonardo/03/4lastsu2.html>*

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Rembrandt van Rijn: An Elephant, c. 1637, British Museum (London) *<http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pd/r/rembrandt,_elephant.aspx>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Nude Woman with a Snake, c. 1637, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o2.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Study of a Man Talking to a Woman Seated on the Left, 1635-6, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o210.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Joseph in Prison Interpreting the Dreams of Pharaoh's Baker and Butler, c. 1639, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o424.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Two Thatched Cottages with Figures at a Window, c. 1640, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o115.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Studies of the Head of Saskia and Others, 1636, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/8230>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Willem Bartholsz. Ruyter, c. 1638, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-T-1996-6?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Mill, 1645-8, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1204+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Adoration of the Shepherds, 1646, Alte Pinakothek (Munich) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Polish Rider, c. 1655, Frick Collection (New York) *<http://collections.frick.org/view/objects/asitem/items$0040:239>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: A Woman Bathing in a Stream, 1654, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/z_other/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Bathsheba at Her Bath, 1654, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.louvre.fr/llv/oeuvres/detail_notice.jsp?CONTENT%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673225939&CURRENT_LLV_NOTICE%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673225939&CURRENT_LLV_DEP%3C%3Efolder_id=1408474395181115&CURRENT_LLV_DIV%3C%3Efolder_id=2534374302024404&FOLDER%3C%3Efolder_id=9852723696500813&fromDept=false&baseIndex=18&bmUID=1124280501899&bmLocale=en>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife, 1655, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=89+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Mennonite Minister Cornelis Claesz. Anslo in Conversation with his Wife, Aaltje, 1641, Gemldegalerie (Berlin) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/group/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Night Watch (The Company of Frans Banning Cocq and Willem van Ruytenburch), 1642, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-C-5?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Jan Six, 1654, Six Collection (Amsterdam) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Old Rabbi, 1642, Museum of Fine Arts (Budapest) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of an Old Woman, 1654, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai2/index.html>*

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Rembrandt van Rijn: Aristotle Contemplating a Bust of Homer, 1653, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001844>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Susanna and the Elders, 1647, Gemldegalerie (Berlin) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/suzanna.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Christ and the Adultress, 1644, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/adultere.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Dream of St Joseph, 1650-55, Museum of Fine Arts (Budapest) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/dream.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Supper at Emmaus, 1648, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/w/weyden/rogier/10braque/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Slaughtered Ox, 1655, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/z_other/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Boy, c. 1655-60, Norton Simon Museum (Pasadena, CA) *<http://www.nortonsimon.org/collections/browse_title.php?id=F.1965.2.P>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Large Self-portrait, 1652, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna) *<http://www.khm.at/system2E.html?/staticE/page254.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Man, c. 1650s, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001850>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Girl at the Window, 1645, Dulwich Picture Gallery (London) *<http://www.dulwichpicturegallery.org.uk/collection/search/display.aspx?irn=79&QueryPage=%2Fdtlquery.aspx>*

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Rembrandt van Rijn: Adoration of the Shepherds, 1646, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG47>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Dr Ephraim Bueno, Jewish Physician and Writer, 1647, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-3982?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Nicolaas van Bambeeck, 1641, Muses Royaux des Beaux-Arts (Brussels) *<http://www.fine-arts-museum.be/site/asp/Oeuvre_details.asp?ID=100>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels with a Velvet Beret, c. 1654, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.louvre.fr/llv/oeuvres/detail_notice.jsp?CONTENT%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673225633&CURRENT_LLV_NOTICE%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673225633&CURRENT_LLV_DEP%3C%3Efolder_id=1408474395181115&CURRENT_LLV_DIV%3C%3Efolder_id=2534374302024404&FOLDER%3C%3Efolder_id=9852723696500813&fromDept=false&baseIndex=10&bmUID=1124281156813&bmLocale=en>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Christ Presented to the People, 1655, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1031>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Ledikant, 1646, Bibliothque Nationale (Paris) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Adoration of the Shepherds with the Lamp, 1654, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/etching/shepherd.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Nude Man Seated on the Ground with One Leg Extended, 1646, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/etching/nude_man.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Beggar Receiving Alms at the Door of a House, 1648, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/etching/beggars.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Circumcision in the Stable, 1654, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/etching/circumci.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Jews in a Synagogue, 1648, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/etching/jews.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Windmill, 1641, Dartmouth College, Hood Museum of Art (Hanover, NH) *<http://hoodmuseum.dartmouth.edu/collections/european/Rembrandt.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Clement de Jonghe, Printseller, 1651, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/8835>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Three Trees, 1643, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1044>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Entombment, c. 1654, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1039>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Shell, 1650, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1042>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Three Crosses, 1653, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1028>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Goldweigher's Field, 1651, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/41906>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Rembrandt Drawing at a Window, 1648, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/8231>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Golf Player, 1654, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/8750>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Beggars at the Door, 1648, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-P-1962-65?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Six's Bridge, 1645, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-P-OB-268?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: St Jerome Reading in an Italian Landscape, c. 1653-4, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-P-OB-184?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Faust, c. 1652, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-P-1939-119?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Arnold Tholinx, c. 1650-55, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-P-OB-577?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Descent from the Cross by Torchlight, 1654, Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, MA) *<http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/the-descent-from-the-cross-by-torchlight-106874>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Figures on the Anthoniesdijk Entering Houtewael, c. 1650, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=74579+1+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: View over the Amstel from the Rampart, c. 1646-50, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=42776+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Eliezer and Rebecca at the Well, 1640s, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1849+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Joseph Recounting his Dreams, early 1640s, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=72640+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Cottage among Trees, 1648-50, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/90004530>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Star of the Kings, c. 1645-7, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1043>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Landscape with the House with the Little Tower, early 1650s, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o49.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Mocking of Christ, 1650-55, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o45.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Shah Jahan and Dara Shikoh, 1654-6, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o114.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Christ with the Canaanite Woman, c. 1650, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o23.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: A Wooded Road, c. 1650, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o117.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: A Sailing Boat on a Wide Expanse of Water, 1650, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o116.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Three Women and a Child at the Door, c. 1645, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-T-1889-A-2056?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Hendrickje slapend, c. 1655, British Museum (London) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/asp/aria/grid.asp?GID=-1&SID=2492&TNS=20&SEL=24&Title=Rijn,%20Rembrandt%20Harmensz.%20van&From=kunstenaars&Object=Hendrickje%20slapend>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Christ Presented to the People, 1655, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-P-1962-121?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Raphael: Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione, 1514-15, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.louvre.fr/llv/oeuvres/detail_notice.jsp?CONTENT%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673225136&CURRENT_LLV_NOTICE%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673225136&CURRENT_LLV_DEP%3C%3Efolder_id=1408474395181115&CURRENT_LLV_DIV%3C%3Efolder_id=2534374302024407&FOLDER%3C%3Efolder_id=9852723696500816&fromDept=false&baseIndex=18&bmUID=1124310433376&bmLocale=en>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Four Orientals Seated under a Tree, after 1656, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1033>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Return of the Prodigal Son, c. 1666-9, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+Paintings/43413/?lng=en>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Gentleman with a Tall Hat and Gloves, c. 1658-60, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1209+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self-Portrait, 1658, Frick Collection (New York) *<http://collections.frick.org/view/objects/asitem/items$0040:238>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Lady with an Ostrich Feather Fan, c. 1658-60, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/art-object-page.1207.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Man in a Tall Hat, c. 1663, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/art-object-page.1208.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self-Portrait, 1659, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=82+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Young Man Seated at a Table (possibly Govaert Flinck), c. 1660, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=87+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Lucretia, 1664, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=86+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Philemon and Baucis, 1658, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1207+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Young Jew, 1663, Kimbell Art Museum (Fort Worth, TX) *<https://www.kimbellart.org/collection-object/bust-young-jew>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Circumsion, 1661, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1202+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Apostle Paul, c. 1657, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1201+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Saul and David, 1655-60, Mauritshuis (The Hague) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/saul.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Jeremiah Becker, 1666, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai1/becker.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Frederick Rihel on Horseback, c. 1663, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai1/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Lucretia, 1666, Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai1/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Juno, 1664-5, Armand Hammer Foundation (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Man with a Magnifying Glass, c. 1660-64, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001849>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of an Old Man, 1665, Galleria degli Uffizi (Florence) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph, 1651, Gemldegalerie (Kassel) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Evangelist Matthew, 1661, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Peter Denouncing Christ, 1660, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: David and Uriah, 1665, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic3/david.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Hendrickje Stoffels in the Window, 1656-7, Gemldegalerie (Berlin) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai1/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Titus Reading, c. 1656-7, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna) *<http://www.khm.at/system2E.html?/staticE/page254.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Young Jew as Christ, 1656, Staatliche Museen (Berlin) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai1/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Hendrickje at an Open Door, 1656, Gemldegalerie (Berlin) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Conspiracy of the Batavians under Claudius Civilis, 1661-2, Nationalmuseum (Stockholm (owned by the Royal Academy of Fine Arts) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/z_other/bataves.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Two Figures from the Old Testament (The Jewish Bride), 1667, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-C-216?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self Portrait at the Age of 63, 1669, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG221>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Saint Bartholomew, c. 1657, Timken Museum of Art (San Diego, CA) *<http://www.timkenmuseum.org/collection/dutchflemish/saint-bartholomew>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a White-haired Man, 1667, National Gallery of Victoria (Melbourne) *<http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/col/work/4290>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self-portrait, 1669, Mauritshuis (The Hague) *<http://www.mauritshuis.nl/index.aspx?chapterid=2343&contentID=18308&SchilderijSsOtName=Achternaam&SchilderijSsOv=Rijn&ViewPage=2>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Hendrickje Stoffels, 1660, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001846>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Woman with a Pink, early 1660s, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001852>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Gerard de Lairesse, c. 1665, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/150000130>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: St Bartholomew, 1661, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o632.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Margaretha de Geer (NG5282), 1661, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG5282>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Jacob Trip, c. 1661, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG1674>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Lucretia, 1666, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/529>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self Portrait as the Apostle St Paul, 1661, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-4050?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Sampling Officials, 1662, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-C-6?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Titus van Rijn in a Monk's Habit, 1660, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-3138?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Landscape with a Horseman, c. 1656, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/html_En/03/hm3_3_4_1c.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Abraham Entertaining the Angels, 1656, Saint Louis Art Museum (St Louis, MO) *<http://slam.org:8080/emuseum/view/objects/asitem/items$0040:27753>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Woman Sitting Half-Dressed beside a Stove, 1658, None (None) *<http://www.museum.cornell.edu/HFJ/handbook/hb119.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Negress Lying Down, 1658, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/90004088>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Great Coppenol (Portrait of Lieven van Coppenol), 1658, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1040>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Haman Begging the Pardon of Esther, National Museum of Art (Bucharest) *<http://www.itcnet.ro/museum/collect/collect.htm>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Woman, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001840>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Standing Man Wearing an Ample Coat and Broad Hat, Muses Royaux des Beaux-Arts (Brussels) *<http://www.fine-arts-museum.be/site/asp/Oeuvre_details.asp?ID=78>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Balaam's Ass, 1626, Muse Cognacq-Jay (Paris) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Tobit and Anna with a Kid, 1626, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-4717?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Artist in his Studio, c. 1628, Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, MA) *<http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/artist-in-his-studio-32665>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Raising of Lazarus, 1630, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://collections.lacma.org/node/238402>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Bust of an Old Man in a Fur Cap, 1630, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum (Innsbruck) *<http://www.wga.hu/art/r/rembran/painting/portrai3/old_man.jpg>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: A Scholar, 1631, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai1/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Musical Allegory, 1626, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-4674?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Two Old Men Disputing (St Peter and St Paul), 1628, National Gallery of Victoria (Melbourne) *<http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/col/work/4291>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Simeon Praising Christ, 1631, Mauritshuis (The Hague) *<http://www.mauritshuis.nl/index.aspx?chapterid=2343&contentID=18308&SchilderijSsOtName=Achternaam&SchilderijSsOv=Rijn&ViewPage=4>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Paul in Prison, 1627, Staatsgalerie (Stuttgart) *<http://digikat.staatsgalerie.de/detail.jsp?id=1665E0C64186299EAF44B4BAEB02039C&img=1>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self Portrait at an Early Age, 1628, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-4691?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Prophetess Anna (Rembrandt's Mother), 1631, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-3066?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: St Peter in Prison, 1631, Israel Museum (Jerusalem) *<http://www.imj.org.il/eng/art/european/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self-portrait as a Young Man, c. 1630, Walker Art Gallery (Liverpool) *<http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/walker/collections/17c/rembrandt.asp>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Seated Old Man, 1630, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=9850+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Head of an Old Man, c. 1631, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=68754+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self-portrait with Mouth Open, c. 1628-9, British Museum (London) *<http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pd/r/rembrandt,_self-portrait-2.aspx>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Two Studies of the Head of an Old Man, 1626, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o33.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self Portrait, c. 1628-9, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-T-1961-75?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Old Beggar Woman with a Gourd, c. 1630, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Rembrandt Wearing a Soft Hat Cocked, 1631, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/55097>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self Portrait, Frowning, 1630, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-P-OB-20?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self Portrait with a Cap, Openmouthed, 1630, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-P-OB-697?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Still Life with Bittern and a Girl, c. 1639, Stiftung Sammlung E. G. Bhrle (Zurich) *<http://www.buehrle.ch/works_detail.php?lang=en&id_pic=164>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Daniel and Cyrus before the Idol Bel, 1633, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o1070.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Abduction of Europa, 1632, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o1069.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: An Old Man in Military Costume, c. 1630-31, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o787.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Dead Peacocks, c. 1639, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-3981?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Flora, 1634, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+Paintings/43371/?lng=en>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: A Polish Nobleman, 1637, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=88+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Saskia van Uylenburgh, the Wife of the Artist, c. 1634-5, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1213+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Man in Oriental Costume, c. 1635, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=575+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: An Old Lady with a Book, 1637, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=83+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Artemisia, 1634, Museo del Prado (Madrid) *<http://www.wga.hu/html/r/rembrand/17histor/02histor.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Nicolaes Ruts, 1631, Frick Collection (New York) *<http://collections.frick.org/view/objects/asitem/items$0040:237>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self-Portrait at the Age of 34, 1640, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG672>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Rembrandt and Saskia in the Scene of the Prodigal Son in the Tavern, c. 1635, Gemldegalerie Alte Meister (Dresden) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai1/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Saskia as Flora, 1641, Gemldegalerie Alte Meister (Dresden) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai1/saskia.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Anatomy Lesson of Dr Nicolaes Tulp, 1632, Mauritshuis (The Hague) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/group/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Baartgen Martens Doomer, 1640, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Young Man (Self-portrait?), c. 1635, Museu de Arte de So Paulo (So Paulo) *<http://masp.uol.com.br/colecao/detalhesObra.php?cob=42>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Saskia van Uylenburgh, 1636, Stiftung Sammlung E. G. Bhrle (Zurich) *<http://www.buehrle.ch/works_detail.php?lang=en&id_pic=163>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Man in Oriental Costume (The Noble Slav), 1632, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001835>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Man, 1632, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001836>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Woman, 1632, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001838>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Bellona, 1633, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001839>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Herman Doomer, 1640, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001842>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Aechje Claesdr. Pesser, 1634, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG775>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Saskia van Uylenburgh in Arcardian Costume, 1635, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG4930>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Philips Lucasz., 1635, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG850>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Haesje van Cleyburgh, 1634, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-4833?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Saskia van Uylenbergh, 1633, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-4057?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Johannes Wtenbogaert , Remonstrant Minister, 1633, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-4885?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Maria Trip, 1639, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-C-597?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Woman, 1635 or earlier, Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland, OH) *<http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1944.90>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Bearded Man in a Wide-brimmed Hat, 1633, Norton Simon Museum (Pasadena, CA) *<http://www.nortonsimon.org/collections/browse_title.php?id=M.1977.31.P>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self-Portrait, c. 1636-8, Norton Simon Museum (Pasadena, CA) *<http://www.nortonsimon.org/collections/browse_title.php?id=F.1969.18.P>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Jacob de Gheyn III, 1632, Dulwich Picture Gallery (London) *<http://www.dulwichpicturegallery.org.uk/collection/search/display.aspx?irn=668&QueryPage=%2Fdtlquery.aspx>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self-portrait in a Black Cap, c. 1637, Wallace Collection (London) *<http://www.wallacecollection.org/newsite/public/templates/tmpl_artwork.php?artworkid=973&openmenu=1_27_0>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Dirck Jansz. Pesser, c. 1634, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://collections.lacma.org/node/236686>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Marten Looten, 1632, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://collections.lacma.org/node/230362>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Visitation, 1640, Detroit Institute of Arts (Detroit, MI) *<http://dia.org/collections/euroart/dutch/27.200.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Risen Christ Appearing to Mary Magdalen, 1638, Buckingham Palace (London) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Blinding of Samson, 1636, Stdelsches Kunstinstitut (Frankfurt am Main) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/samson.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Incredulity of St Thomas, 1634, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts (Moscow) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/s_thomas.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Archangel Leaving the Family of Tobias, 1637, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Descent from the Cross, 1634, Alte Pinakothek (Munich) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/deposit.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Descent from the Cross, 1634, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/descent.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Holy Family, 1640, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Apostle Paul, 1635, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Sacrifice of Isaac, 1635, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic3/abraham.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Dana, 1636, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/z_other/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Philosopher in Meditation, 1632, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/z_other/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Belshazzar's Feast, c. 1635, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG6350>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Ecce Homo, 1634, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG1400>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Lamentation over the Dead Christ, c. 1635, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG47>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Stone Bridge, c. 1638, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-1935?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Return of the Prodigal Son, 1636, Sweet Briar College Art Galleries (Sweet Briar, VA) *<http://www.artgallery.sbc.edu/rembrandt.htm>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, 1634, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/etching/joseph.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Old Man Shading his Eyes with his Hand, c. 1639, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Pancake Woman, 1635, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/etching/pancake.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Tribute Money, c. 1635, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Angel Appearing to the Shepherds, 1634, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung (Munich) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Adam and Eve, 1638, Art Institute of Chicago (Chicago, IL) *<http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/70019>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Young Man in a Velvet Cap, 1637, Bayly Art Museum, University of Virginia (Charlottesville, VA) *<http://etext.virginia.edu/etcbin/bayly/fullpage.sgml.pl?access=1982.113>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Death of the Virgin, 1639, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/7728>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Rat-poison Peddler, 1632, Muse des Beaux-Arts (Caen) *<http://www.ville-caen.fr/mba/CollectGravure/Vendeur.htm>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Annunciation to the Shepherds, 1634, Muse des Beaux-Arts (Caen) *<http://www.ville-caen.fr/mba/CollectGravure/Annonce.htm>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Artist Drawing from the Model, 1639, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1036>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Rembrandt and his Wife Saskia, 1636, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/8229>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self-Portrait, c. 1637, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=9851+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: An Artist in a Studio, 1632-3, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o190.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Satan Tempting Christ to Turn Stones into Bread, c. 1632-3, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1859+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Saskia with a Child, c. 1636, Pierpont Morgan Library (New York) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/index.html>*

Leonardo da Vinci: The Last Supper, 1498, Convent of S Maria delle Grazie (Refectory) (Milan) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/l/leonardo/03/4lastsu2.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Last Supper (after Leonardo da Vinci), 1634-5, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/150000245>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: An Elephant, c. 1637, British Museum (London) <http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pd/r/rembrandt,_elephant.aspx>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Nude Woman with a Snake, c. 1637, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) <http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o2.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Study of a Man Talking to a Woman Seated on the Left, 1635-6, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) <http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o210.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Joseph in Prison Interpreting the Dreams of Pharaoh's Baker and Butler, c. 1639, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) <http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o424.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Two Thatched Cottages with Figures at a Window, c. 1640, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) <http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o115.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Studies of the Head of Saskia and Others, 1636, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) <http://collections.artsmia.org/art/8230>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Willem Bartholsz. Ruyter, c. 1638, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) <http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-T-1996-6?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Mill, 1645-8, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) <http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1204+0+none>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Adoration of the Shepherds, 1646, Alte Pinakothek (Munich) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/index.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Polish Rider, c. 1655, Frick Collection (New York) <http://collections.frick.org/view/objects/asitem/items$0040:239>

Rembrandt van Rijn: A Woman Bathing in a Stream, 1654, National Gallery (London) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/z_other/index.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Bathsheba at Her Bath, 1654, Muse du Louvre (Paris) <http://www.louvre.fr/llv/oeuvres/detail_notice.jsp?CONTENT%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673225939&CURRENT_LLV_NOTICE%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673225939&CURRENT_LLV_DEP%3C%3Efolder_id=1408474395181115&CURRENT_LLV_DIV%3C%3Efolder_id=2534374302024404&FOLDER%3C%3Efolder_id=9852723696500813&fromDept=false&baseIndex=18&bmUID=1124280501899&bmLocale=en>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife, 1655, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) <http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=89+0+none>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Mennonite Minister Cornelis Claesz. Anslo in Conversation with his Wife, Aaltje, 1641, Gemldegalerie (Berlin) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/group/index.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Night Watch (The Company of Frans Banning Cocq and Willem van Ruytenburch), 1642, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) <http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-C-5?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Jan Six, 1654, Six Collection (Amsterdam) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Old Rabbi, 1642, Museum of Fine Arts (Budapest) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of an Old Woman, 1654, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of an Old Man in Red, 1652-4, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai2/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Aristotle Contemplating a Bust of Homer, 1653, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001844>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Susanna and the Elders, 1647, Gemldegalerie (Berlin) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/suzanna.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Christ and the Adultress, 1644, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/adultere.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Dream of St Joseph, 1650-55, Museum of Fine Arts (Budapest) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/dream.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Supper at Emmaus, 1648, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/w/weyden/rogier/10braque/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Slaughtered Ox, 1655, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/z_other/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Boy, c. 1655-60, Norton Simon Museum (Pasadena, CA) *<http://www.nortonsimon.org/collections/browse_title.php?id=F.1965.2.P>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Large Self-portrait, 1652, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna) *<http://www.khm.at/system2E.html?/staticE/page254.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Man, c. 1650s, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001850>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Girl at the Window, 1645, Dulwich Picture Gallery (London) *<http://www.dulwichpicturegallery.org.uk/collection/search/display.aspx?irn=79&QueryPage=%2Fdtlquery.aspx>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels, c. 1654-6, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG6432>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Adoration of the Shepherds, 1646, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG47>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Dr Ephraim Bueno, Jewish Physician and Writer, 1647, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-3982?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Nicolaas van Bambeeck, 1641, Muses Royaux des Beaux-Arts (Brussels) *<http://www.fine-arts-museum.be/site/asp/Oeuvre_details.asp?ID=100>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels with a Velvet Beret, c. 1654, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.louvre.fr/llv/oeuvres/detail_notice.jsp?CONTENT%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673225633&CURRENT_LLV_NOTICE%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673225633&CURRENT_LLV_DEP%3C%3Efolder_id=1408474395181115&CURRENT_LLV_DIV%3C%3Efolder_id=2534374302024404&FOLDER%3C%3Efolder_id=9852723696500813&fromDept=false&baseIndex=10&bmUID=1124281156813&bmLocale=en>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Christ Presented to the People, 1655, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1031>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Ledikant, 1646, Bibliothque Nationale (Paris) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/index.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Adoration of the Shepherds with the Lamp, 1654, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/etching/shepherd.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Nude Man Seated on the Ground with One Leg Extended, 1646, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/etching/nude_man.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Beggar Receiving Alms at the Door of a House, 1648, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/etching/beggars.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Circumcision in the Stable, 1654, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/etching/circumci.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Jews in a Synagogue, 1648, None (None) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/graphics/etching/jews.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Windmill, 1641, Dartmouth College, Hood Museum of Art (Hanover, NH) *<http://hoodmuseum.dartmouth.edu/collections/european/Rembrandt.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Clement de Jonghe, Printseller, 1651, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/8835>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Three Trees, 1643, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1044>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Entombment, c. 1654, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1039>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Shell, 1650, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1042>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Three Crosses, 1653, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1028>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Goldweigher's Field, 1651, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/41906>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Rembrandt Drawing at a Window, 1648, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/8231>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Golf Player, 1654, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/8750>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Beggars at the Door, 1648, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-P-1962-65?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Six's Bridge, 1645, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-P-OB-268?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: St Jerome Reading in an Italian Landscape, c. 1653-4, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-P-OB-184?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Faust, c. 1652, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-P-1939-119?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Arnold Tholinx, c. 1650-55, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-P-OB-577?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Descent from the Cross by Torchlight, 1654, Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, MA) *<http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/the-descent-from-the-cross-by-torchlight-106874>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Figures on the Anthoniesdijk Entering Houtewael, c. 1650, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=74579+1+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: View over the Amstel from the Rampart, c. 1646-50, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=42776+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Eliezer and Rebecca at the Well, 1640s, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1849+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Joseph Recounting his Dreams, early 1640s, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=72640+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Cottage among Trees, 1648-50, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/90004530>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Star of the Kings, c. 1645-7, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1043>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Landscape with the House with the Little Tower, early 1650s, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o49.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Mocking of Christ, 1650-55, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o45.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Shah Jahan and Dara Shikoh, 1654-6, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o114.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Christ with the Canaanite Woman, c. 1650, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o23.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: A Wooded Road, c. 1650, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o117.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: A Sailing Boat on a Wide Expanse of Water, 1650, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o116.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Three Women and a Child at the Door, c. 1645, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-T-1889-A-2056?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Hendrickje slapend, c. 1655, British Museum (London) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/asp/aria/grid.asp?GID=-1&SID=2492&TNS=20&SEL=24&Title=Rijn,%20Rembrandt%20Harmensz.%20van&From=kunstenaars&Object=Hendrickje%20slapend>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Christ Presented to the People, 1655, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/RP-P-1962-121?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Raphael: Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione, 1514-15, Muse du Louvre (Paris) *<http://www.louvre.fr/llv/oeuvres/detail_notice.jsp?CONTENT%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673225136&CURRENT_LLV_NOTICE%3C%3Ecnt_id=10134198673225136&CURRENT_LLV_DEP%3C%3Efolder_id=1408474395181115&CURRENT_LLV_DIV%3C%3Efolder_id=2534374302024407&FOLDER%3C%3Efolder_id=9852723696500816&fromDept=false&baseIndex=18&bmUID=1124310433376&bmLocale=en>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Four Orientals Seated under a Tree, after 1656, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1033>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Return of the Prodigal Son, c. 1666-9, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+Paintings/43413/?lng=en>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Gentleman with a Tall Hat and Gloves, c. 1658-60, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1209+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self-Portrait, 1658, Frick Collection (New York) *<http://collections.frick.org/view/objects/asitem/items$0040:238>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Lady with an Ostrich Feather Fan, c. 1658-60, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/art-object-page.1207.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Man in a Tall Hat, c. 1663, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/art-object-page.1208.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self-Portrait, 1659, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=82+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Young Man Seated at a Table (possibly Govaert Flinck), c. 1660, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=87+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Lucretia, 1664, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=86+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Philemon and Baucis, 1658, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) *<http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1207+0+none>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a Young Jew, 1663, Kimbell Art Museum (Fort Worth, TX) <https://www.kimbellart.org/collection-object/bust-young-jew>

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Circumsion, 1661, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) <http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1202+0+none>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Apostle Paul, c. 1657, National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) <http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=1201+0+none>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Saul and David, 1655-60, Mauritshuis (The Hague) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic1/saul.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Jeremiah Becker, 1666, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai1/becker.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Frederick Rihel on Horseback, c. 1663, National Gallery (London) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai1/index.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Lucretia, 1666, Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai1/index.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Juno, 1664-5, Armand Hammer Foundation (Los Angeles, CA) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai2/index.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Man with a Magnifying Glass, c. 1660-64, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001849>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of an Old Man, 1665, Galleria degli Uffizi (Florence) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai2/index.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph, 1651, Gemldegalerie (Kassel) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/index.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Evangelist Matthew, 1661, Muse du Louvre (Paris) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/index.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Peter Denouncing Christ, 1660, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic2/index.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: David and Uriah, 1665, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/biblic3/david.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Hendrickje Stoffels in the Window, 1656-7, Gemldegalerie (Berlin) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai1/index.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Titus Reading, c. 1656-7, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna) <http://www.khm.at/system2E.html?/staticE/page254.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Young Jew as Christ, 1656, Staatliche Museen (Berlin) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai1/index.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: Hendrickje at an Open Door, 1656, Gemldegalerie (Berlin) <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/portrai2/index.html>

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Conspiracy of the Batavians under Claudius Civilis, 1661-2, Nationalmuseum (Stockholm (owned by the Royal Academy of Fine Arts) *<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/r/rembran/painting/z_other/bataves.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Two Figures from the Old Testament (The Jewish Bride), 1667, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-C-216?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self Portrait at the Age of 63, 1669, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG221>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Saint Bartholomew, c. 1657, Timken Museum of Art (San Diego, CA) *<http://www.timkenmuseum.org/collection/dutchflemish/saint-bartholomew>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of a White-haired Man, 1667, National Gallery of Victoria (Melbourne) *<http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/col/work/4290>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self-portrait, 1669, Mauritshuis (The Hague) *<http://www.mauritshuis.nl/index.aspx?chapterid=2343&contentID=18308&SchilderijSsOtName=Achternaam&SchilderijSsOv=Rijn&ViewPage=2>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Hendrickje Stoffels, 1660, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001846>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Woman with a Pink, early 1660s, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001852>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Portrait of Gerard de Lairesse, c. 1665, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/150000130>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: St Bartholomew, 1661, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, CA) *<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o632.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Margaretha de Geer (NG5282), 1661, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG5282>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Jacob Trip, c. 1661, National Gallery (London) *<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=NG1674>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Lucretia, 1666, Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Minneapolis, MN) *<http://collections.artsmia.org/art/529>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Self Portrait as the Apostle St Paul, 1661, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-4050?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Sampling Officials, 1662, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-C-6?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Titus van Rijn in a Monk's Habit, 1660, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) *<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/aria/aria_assets/SK-A-3138?lang=en&context_space=&context_id=>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Landscape with a Horseman, c. 1656, Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg) *<http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/html_En/03/hm3_3_4_1c.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Abraham Entertaining the Angels, 1656, Saint Louis Art Museum (St Louis, MO) *<http://slam.org:8080/emuseum/view/objects/asitem/items$0040:27753>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Woman Sitting Half-Dressed beside a Stove, 1658, None (None) *<http://www.museum.cornell.edu/HFJ/handbook/hb119.html>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: Negress Lying Down, 1658, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) *<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/90004088>*

Rembrandt van Rijn: The Great Coppenol (Portrait of Lieven van Coppenol), 1658, British Museum (London) *<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/goto?id=OBJ1040>*