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Rembrandt's 'Workshop' revisited

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Rembrandt's 'Workshop' revisited

In memory of Hubertus von Sonnenburg

A painting said to be by Rembrandt's 'workshop' is a peculiar thing. Like a poor reproduction, whether a photograph or an old print, the label provides ambiguous information. For the 'figure' (e.g., fig. 1) or the figure of speech to have any value to a serious student of Rembrandt's style, he or she must know the actual work of art and also something about the variables involved in the reproductive process, or the conceptual process that leads to a caption or label like 'Rembrandt Workshop.'

But here the parallel between visual and mental images breaks down, unless one assumes that the photograph or print reproduces a painting lost long ago. We have no direct knowledge of Rembrandt's workshop, but only a few colorful (as if 'colored by hand') written reports, and the incomplete evidence of paintings, drawings and prints that appear to have been made under the master's supervision. The surviving evidence is not only fragmentary but also may be misleading, as in the case of works of art that have been falsely signed, overcleaned, overrestored, and so on. Copies after lost originals are especially problematic, beginning with the assumption that they are indeed copies not originals, variants, or something else. Thus, a painting said to be by the 'Rembrandt Workshop' is perplexing in several respects, above all to the layman but also to the specialist. For the object itself may draw a string of red herrings across the art historical trail, while the term 'Rembrandt Workshop' comes with a set of hypotheses that, like pickled herrings, might point in another direction.

A great museum man, John Pope-Hennessy, said in conversation that to understand the work of an art historian one must see him in the original. This witty twist on what might be called the first law of connoisseurship seems relevant to the subject of Rembrandt's 'workshop,' since the term's meaning depends upon the speaker or writer, and upon the specific context (or lack of context, as on a museum label with no clarifying text). One would not make the same claim with regard to most other European artists of the period. Our idea of a seventeenth-century workshop will vary but the artist himself (never 'herself' when it comes to workshops) will provide some context, because of historical evidence or a scholarly consensus about how the workshop functioned. The studios of Bernini and, more germanely, Rubens have always been described as big operations with fairly clear divisions of responsibility.¹ Critics will debate whether a picture was painted by Rubens, by his workshop, by 'Rubens and Workshop,' or by some contemporaneous artist not (or no longer at the time) associated with Rubens's studio, but they will rarely argue about the meaning of the categories themselves. Similarly, a label like 'Workshop of Honthorst' or 'Workshop of Zurbarán' will suggest to the well-informed reader a number of assistants working under close supervision, but one imagines a smaller

I

Rembrandt, *Portrait of a Man* (one of the 'Van Beresteyn' pendant portraits), 1632 (oil on canvas, 111.8 x 88.9 cm). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. The RRP attributes the painting to Isack Jouderville in Rembrandt's workshop.



and less specialized staff than Rubens employed.² However, the studios of Zurbarán, many Italian artists, Rubens, Jacob Jordaens, and Gerard van Honthorst – the last being one of the few Dutch examples that may be cited – are comparable with each other in that assistants collaborated on large projects, such as pictures produced in series or decorative ensembles. For instance, between June 1638 and May 1639 Honthorst and his workshop painted the coved ceiling of the Great Hall in the Huis ter Nieuburch at Rijswijk with a surrounding gallery of entertainers and a sky full of floating garlands, flying putti, and birds.³ It seems likely that the busy artist, who was court portraitist at the time, left much of the actual execution of the decorative project to assistants. The latter must also have played a part in Honthorst's large portraits of royal families, which cover canvases between about three and seven and a half meters wide.⁴ The only comparable painting by Rembrandt, *The Night Watch*, is usually considered to be entirely autograph.⁵

Yet another shade of meaning is understood by the term workshop when the artist is a Dutch portraitist who (unlike Honthorst and Rembrandt) rarely or never treated other subjects. The label 'Workshop of Michiel van Miereveld' may be said to suggest a few family members or pupils who would perform quite specific tasks, such as applying the initial layers of paint on a portrait that would be completed (at least in the head) by the master; executing costume details; or making copies ('workshop replicas') of 'originals' (sometimes called 'principaels' in contemporary inventories).⁶ However, when it comes to Dutch specialists in other subjects, such as landscape, still life, or genre scenes, the term 'workshop' would probably constitute an hypothesis, a misnomer (for example, 'Workshop of De Hooch'), or simply nonsense ('Workshop of Vermeer').

Hypothetical connoisseurship

It is worth noting that all the substantial discussions of Rembrandt's workshop are less than twenty years old, and that these essays represent not one or two but various approaches to the artist. The scholar's main concern might be Rembrandt's role

as a teacher,⁷ as a businessman,⁸ or as the painter of specific works (as in *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* by the members of the Rembrandt Research Project, or 'RRP').⁹ Within the practice of connoisseurship (meaning, in the narrow sense, the discrimination of authorship or origin) one also finds several approaches, ranging from speculation about historical circumstances to stylistic comparisons and technical analyses. Most discussions of Rembrandt's workshop are essentially exercises in connoisseurship which – despite claims of objectivity (the RRP describes its work as 'an effort to find rational, communicable arguments to support our opinions')¹⁰ – bear little resemblance to scientific investigation. To be sure, technical evidence (radiography, autoradiography, infrared reflectography, dendrochronology, chemical analysis and so on) have contributed greatly to our knowledge of Rembrandt's methods and materials.¹¹ But in the end the accumulated evidence must still be judged subjectively, and that task will inevitably reflect the scholar's experience, preferences, personality – and hypotheses.¹² Apart from straightforward transcriptions of documentary or scientific information, all art historical 'essays' are just that: 'efforts' or 'attempts' at interpretation. And in the case of connoisseurship, that act of interpretation, dealing as it does with questions of artistic intention and quality, may be regarded as a form of criticism (and even self-criticism), an ongoing process which has no foreseeable and no desirable end.

The RRP's workshop hypothesis¹³

The idea that Rembrandt ran a busy workshop more or less from the moment he moved (at about the age of twenty-six) from his native Leiden to the much larger city of Amsterdam was first advanced by Ernst van de Wetering in *Corpus*, volume II (1986).¹⁴ 'From the disproportion between the small number of pupils or collaborators known to us from the first few years in Amsterdam [1631-34] and the large number of rejected [by the RRP] paintings that bear the marks of Rembrandt's style from that period, one suspects that a relatively large number of workshop collaborators from those years are still unknown to us.'¹⁵ Previously, no collaborators were associated with Rembrandt in the period 1631-34. Van de Wetering mentions Govaert Flinck as 'the only young painter we do know with certainty to have worked with Rembrandt at this time,'¹⁶ but there is no hard evidence that Flinck was associated with Rembrandt before about 1635-36, and in any case he was (according to Arnold Houbraken, a friend of Flinck's son) the master's student for only one year.¹⁷

A great majority of the paintings in question are formal portraits (see figs. 1, 2, 4, 6), so that something like a larger version of Van Miereveld's workshop seems implied. However, the RRP's use of the category 'workshop' as a repository for rejected pictures is somewhat unorthodox, and occasionally inconsistent.¹⁸ They suggest that in certain instances scholars should 'allow for the possibility that items of clothing would be painted by workshop collaborators, together with other secondary items.'¹⁹ But the 'ultimate question... [of] whether the collars and cuffs [in Rembrandtesque portraits] have been done by hands different from those responsible for the other parts of the paintings – in particular the heads' is answered negatively: 'with only one or two exceptions [for example, figs. 2, 4] one has to conclude that as a rule one and the same hand did produce the whole of the painting.'²⁰

Thus, a painting from Rembrandt's workshop, to quote from the next sentence in *Corpus* II, is either 'wholly or very largely by Rembrandt,' or it was executed almost entirely by another artist. The 'large number of workshop collaborators' of the early 1630s do not collaborate in the usual sense with anyone: not with the master and not with other anonymous members of the workshop. According to this hypothesis, Rembrandt's workshop was a branded business, comparable to an architectural firm or fashion house in which a variety of designers and artisans employ a well established individual's style.

Rembrandt, *Portrait of Philips Lucasz.*, 1635 (oil on wood, 79.5 x 58.9 cm). London, The National Gallery. The RRP attributes the costume to an assistant.



From Sandrart to Gerson and beyond

As Arthur Wheelock has observed, the assumption about authorship made by the RRP in the first three volumes of the *Corpus* is 'consistent with the tradition of Smith and Bode,' who in their catalogues of 1836 and 1897-1905, respectively, never doubted 'that Rembrandt executed paintings without the assistance of members of his workshop.'²¹ The same view remained unchallenged in the Rembrandt literature until the 1960s, when Horst Gerson and other scholars took a much more critical look at Rembrandt's oeuvre than their predecessors (such as Abraham Bredius and Wilhelm Valentiner) had in earlier decades.²² Having recently rejected numerous attributions to Rembrandt in his monograph of 1968 and revised edition of Bredius's catalogue (1935; 2nd ed., 1969), Gerson placed the topic of 'Rembrandt's Workshop and Assistants' before a panel of his peers at the 1969 Chicago symposium, 'Rembrandt After Three Hundred Years.' In his introductory remarks to the session Gerson suggested that his colleagues consider 'the basis of our knowledge about the relationship of Rembrandt to his pupils,'²³ and he noted that the master's disciples apparently included not only more or less promising young men with a future in the profession but also laymen who were rounding out their patrician education with a comparatively short course of study in the famous painter's studio. Referring to the German artist Joachim von Sandrart's well-known remark (1675) that Rembrandt 'filled his house in Amsterdam with almost countless notable children [*mit fast unzahlbaren fürnehmen Kindern*] for instruction and learning,' Gerson explained to his audience that these 'children of educated, wealthy people' must be kept in mind when trying to distinguish or attribute works in Rembrandt's style.

'It seemed to be a fashion for good Amsterdam people to send their young children to Rembrandt to learn something of his art. We can expect all kinds of school-draw-

ings, those by real pupils of Rembrandt and those of *dilettanti*. It will be difficult to separate them clearly. It is obvious that our sources do not give enough information about the borderlines between the different kind[s] of drawings. The same is true for pictures.²⁴

Here we must digress on the question of what Sandrart meant by 'notable' or 'prominent' children, since the term and its significance for Rembrandt's workshop have lately been disputed. In his *Rembrandt Paintings* of 1968, Gerson, a native of Berlin who studied art history in Vienna, Berlin, and Göttingen, quotes Sandrart as referring to 'countless young people from leading families.' The main thrust of the passage is about Rembrandt making a lot of money: each of his pupils, according to Sandrart's generalization, paid Rembrandt a hundred guilders annually, and he also earned income by selling their works.²⁵ Gerson observes, 'that Sandrart should call Rembrandt's pupils 'aristocrats' is a reflection of his own preoccupation, as a court painter, with social class. Indeed, some of Rembrandt's former pupils, such as Govaert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol, were by the time Sandrart published his work (1675) as well placed in Dutch society as Sandrart was in Germany.'²⁶

The same reading of Sandrart dates back at least to Hofstede de Groot's 1915 essay on Rembrandt's role as a teacher and, as Josua Bruyn of the RRP expressed it in 1991, 'quite recently [in 1983] Werner Sumowski still adhered to this interpretation.'²⁷ But according to Bruyn, 'Sandrart clearly meant something different,' since Rembrandt sold paintings by these 'prominent children,' which would be 'perfectly logical in the case of advanced professional pupils but would be inconceivable had these works been amateurs' products.'²⁸ In making this categorical claim, Bruyn takes a dim view of Rembrandt pupils like Leendert van Beyeren and Constantijn van Renesse, who were among the amateurs of good family who studied with Rembrandt.²⁹ And Bruyn overlooks the fact that Flinck and Bol, as well as Gerbrand van den Eeckhout and other Rembrandt pupils, were themselves young men from respected families.³⁰ One doubts that Sandrart was drawing fine distinctions between young amateurs and young professionals when he recalled (three decades later) the large fees that Rembrandt raked in.

Bruyn's reading of Sandrart is important for the RRP's workshop hypothesis. His remarks of 1991 adumbrate those of Van de Wetering in 1986 to the effect that Rembrandt had a number of senior apprentices who 'usually had a first period of training elsewhere.'³¹ Such a career course was quite common among Dutch painters of the time,³² not least in Rembrandt's circle. Rembrandt himself spent about three years with Jacob Swanenburgh in Leiden before his half-year of study under Pieter Lastman in Amsterdam about 1624-25.³³ Flinck trained with Lambert Jacobsz in Leeuwarden from about 1629 onward, and Bol studied with Jacob Gerritsz Cuyp in Dordrecht before both of them, at about the age of twenty (Flinck was born in 1615, Bol in 1616), entered Rembrandt's workshop, where Bol may have remained until as late as 1641 or 1642.³⁴ However, the RRP needs more than a short-term Flinck and a long-term Bol to paint all the pictures they associate with Rembrandt's workshop during the 1630s, some of which, although ascribed to Flinck (a prime suspect of the RRP) or to 'Rembrandt's workshop (F. Bol?),'³⁵ really bear little resemblance to more securely attributed early works by those artists, or to works by other familiar Rembrandt pupils of the period (for example, Van den Eeckhout).³⁶ Accordingly, Sandrart's remark is taken to mean that Rembrandt's studio, from about 1635 onward, was staffed not only by the few senior students we already know about, and by beginning pupils and amateurs, but also by a large number of 'prominent' young men, meaning not 'patrician' but 'advanced' or 'important' personnel.

Like works of art, documents may be interpreted in ways that reflect the scholar's or translator's suppositions about historical circumstances. A possible example

is found in the RRP's reading of a document concerning the studio of Govaert Flinck, which in the absence of documents describing Rembrandt's workshop serves as circumstantial evidence.³⁷ A person living in Flinck's house in 1649 alluded to 'de knechts en de jongens de welke op zijn Sr Flinks winkel schilderden,' which Van de Wetering renders as 'the assistants and apprentices who painted in Mr. Flinck's shop.' In the same sentence and the next the *knechts* and *jongens* become 'workshop collaborators' and 'a sizeable band of pupils and assistants.'³⁸ Then in volume III of the *Corpus Bruyn* opens his essay on 'Studio practice and studio production' with a reference to 'documentary evidence' presented in volume II (no page is cited) making it 'already plain . . . that the number of pupils working in Rembrandt's studio must have been considerable.' Bruyn continues, 'attention was drawn to the status of these young artists as 'leerjongens' (apprentices) or 'knechten' (assistants), and their potential importance for the output of the workshop.'³⁹ However, the document in question appears to be none other than the one about Flinck's boys (*jongens*), who in retrospect have become Rembrandt's apprentices (*leerjongens*).

That one cannot always accept verbal or visual evidence at face value goes without saying. But in their reading of the Flinck document and Sandrart's remark about Rembrandt pupils the RRP would appear to go much further, dismissing the immediately apparent meaning or traditional interpretation as implausible. Similarly, the reader of the *Corpus* is often cautioned that evidence such as seemingly autograph signatures, or formal qualities 'commonly found in Rembrandt,' or a variety of 'very Rembrandt-like features' (to quote from the RRP's description of fig. 1), must not mislead one into accepting the long-standing attribution to Rembrandt, but on the contrary indicate – as if through alchemical transmutation – that here we have another example of how the master allowed 'a journeyman or studio assistant' to paint, completely or almost entirely on his own, 'works done in his [Rembrandt's] own 'manner' and signed with his own name.'⁴⁰ To further advance this hypothesis, attributions now considered by many scholars as highly speculative – for example, to Isack Jouderville (fig. 1 again), Flinck, Bol, Willem Drost, and Carel Fabritius (see fig. 7) – are supported not only by hairsplitting analyses (of documents, signatures, stylistic features, and so on) but also by extraordinary generalizations, as if Aristotle and Plato formed the ideal debating team, or as if a combination of 'the smooth and rough manners' was the best way to paint a picture of Rembrandt's career.⁴¹ Bruyn uses the broader brush when he suggests that 'in the second half of the century the awareness of the differences between a *principael* (original) and a painting '*naer Rembrandt*' (after Rembrandt) appears to have faded away.'⁴² The sole basis for this sweeping statement appears to be the reference to 'a head [*tronij*] said to be by Rembrandt' in a handwritten record of a sale dating from 1657, and the listing of 'two heads by or after Rembrandt' in the 1660 inventory of a bankrupt estate.⁴³ Perhaps, then, the decline in connoisseurship might be blamed mainly on notaries and others who could not (or preferred not) to say for certain whether a *tronie* was by Rembrandt or by someone in his circle. According to Bruyn, however, it was Rembrandt himself, in his 'two roles as *chef d'atelier* – those of a teacher on the one hand and of a merchant on the other,' who gradually blurred the lines between autograph works and apprentice products bearing his autograph (or a workshop facsimile of his signature). 'One may conclude that Rembrandt himself in all probability had a hand in the merging [so to speak] of works he had executed himself and those done by his assistants.'⁴⁴

A closer look at 'collaboration'

One of the more surprising conclusions in the *Corpus* is that the intensely busy artist, teacher, and merchant – 'Rembrandt had himself described as 'merchant' on

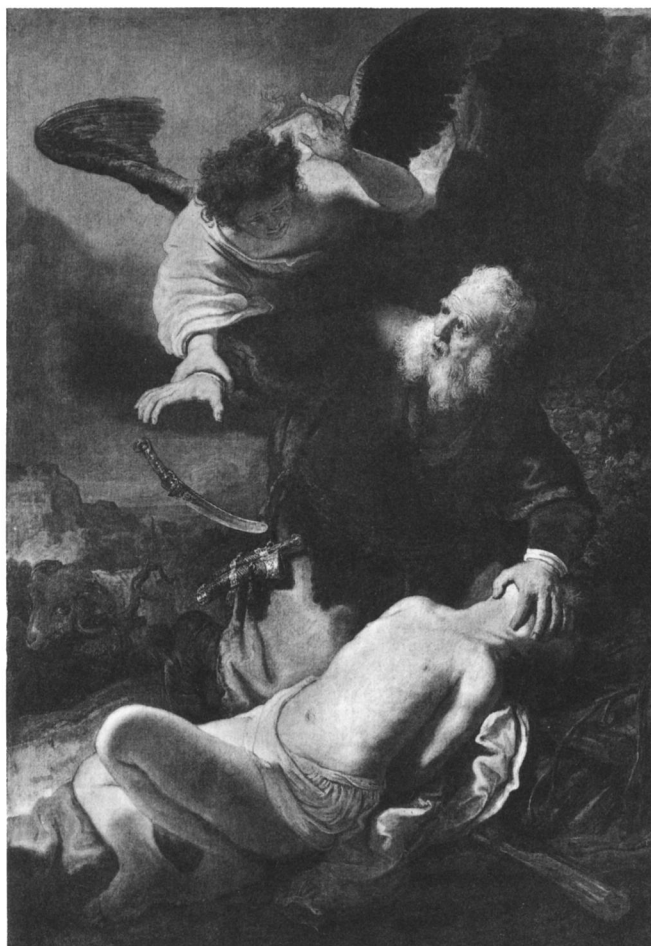
at least two occasions⁴⁵ – would sell autograph works as his own, and also paintings executed entirely by apprentices as his own, and yet for some reason would never, or only rarely,⁴⁶ subscribe to the routine practice among contemporary painters of collaborating with studio assistants on individual works, in particular commissioned portraits and large-scale canvases. What peculiar practical or psychological factors would have led Rembrandt to thus distinguish himself from successful artists like Rubens, Van Dyck, Jordaens, Honthorst, Miereveld, and other portrait and history painters? By formulating their restrictive categories (which the present writer has described as A for Accepted; B for Bothersome; and C for Copies and other things), the RRP effectively forestalled further consideration of a central question in Rembrandt connoisseurship.⁴⁷ ‘We still want to know, to what degree was there collaboration between Rembrandt and his pupils? It was done in other studios. Could it have been done in Rembrandt’s studio?’ This was Julius Held’s response to Gerson’s presentation at the Chicago symposium of 1969.⁴⁸ On that occasion the discussion immediately veered off onto the trail of who might have painted certain problem pictures. And to this day Held’s question has had no coherent or convincing answer.

Gerson himself stated that ‘Rembrandt sold the work of his pupils under his own name.’ He continues with something of a non sequitur: ‘Therefore even a signed Rembrandt might have been executed by a pupil and perhaps only reworked by the master.’⁴⁹ In the case of Rubens a painting ‘only reworked by the master’ would be described as by ‘Rubens and Workshop’ and might pass for a Rubens, period.⁵⁰ Stroke for stroke the Flemish master may have painted ten percent of a picture from his studio but that would have been the final work on the surface of a composition he invented.⁵¹

The only painting Gerson cited to substantiate his claim is the well-known *Sacrifice of Isaac* in Munich (fig. 3).⁵² Far from being a student’s work signed by Rembrandt, this second version of his celebrated canvas dated 1635 (Hermitage, St. Petersburg) is inscribed by him or more probably by an assistant: ‘Rembrandt.verandert.En over geschildert 1636.’⁵³ The word ‘verandert’ may or may not refer to the very different angels in the two compositions and other changes; ‘verandert’ (‘modified’) could simply be a redundancy (common in Dutch at the time) indicating that the Munich painting had been revised or ‘overpainted’ by Rembrandt. However, the authors of the *Corpus* see almost no trace of Rembrandt’s intrusion: ‘There is therefore every reason to assume that not Rembrandt’s but another hand was responsible for the whole, or near enough the whole painting. Rembrandt’s participation in the execution, though explicitly mentioned in the inscription, is not borne out to any significant extent.’⁵⁴

This is not what Hubert von Sonnenburg concluded after cleaning the Munich painting in 1986. In his written report he reveals that the design of the Hermitage picture was transferred to the Munich canvas ‘with the help of some sort of cartoon-like device which apparently shifted a bit during this operation.’ An infrared reflectogram indicates that ‘in the first lay-in’ the angel was probably ‘copied faithfully from the prototype.’ In the cleaned state, ‘final corrective brushstrokes, enhancing and more clearly defining the modelling of the nude body, are distinguishable.’ Isaac’s loincloth was lent more texture, with a ‘loaded brush in the characteristically broad Rembrandt manner.’ The master also ‘upgraded the pupil’s work’ in the angel’s hair and proper right wing. In summary, the execution of the painting is ‘quite consistent throughout,’ except for ‘the few and characteristic corrections by Rembrandt himself.’ Von Sonnenburg observes, ‘therefore, the inscription at the bottom of the canvas convincingly sums up what actually meets the eye.’⁵⁵ And it contradicts the assumption that Rembrandt allowed paintings executed mostly or entirely by an apprentice to bear his name (without further explanation).

3
Rembrandt Pupil, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, 1636 (oil on canvas, 195 x 132.3 cm). Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek.



Of course, one should not read too much into an unusual inscription, which may have been added to clarify not only the Munich picture's authorship but also its relationship to the autograph version in St. Petersburg.⁵⁶ The inscription is more interesting as a record of what Rembrandt would do to a pupil's or assistant's work, namely, improve certain passages. (The compositional changes are less similar to Rembrandt's revision of student drawings than they might at first appear since the original design is by Rembrandt himself).⁵⁷ But is the Munich painting a typical example of workshop collaboration, and is collaboration the right concept here?

Rembrandt, Rubens, and their unsung assistants

Recently some writers have made rather free use of the term 'collaboration,' and have also complicated the matter by comparing Rembrandt's workshop with Rubens's. As noted above, the authors of the *Corpus* refer to 'workshop collaborators' who almost never collaborate with Rembrandt or each other on individual paintings. Albert Blankert, by contrast, claims that although Rembrandt 'made many of his paintings without any assistance,' there are 'an even greater number of works [for which] he provided the design, *sketched* in the composition with oil paint, and/or *assisted* and advised in the execution.'⁵⁸ Thus, 'the situation was comparable to that in Rubens's studio, and perhaps was inspired by it.' Furthermore, 'Rembrandt had had personal experience of such a studio [that is, like Rubens's] in the 'Academy' of the art-dealer Hendrick Uylenburgh.' In Blankert's opinion, 'many fascinating paintings' that have been cut from Rembrandt catalogues 'are now [1982] due for reappraisal,' providing we 'forget the notion of Rembrandt's hyper-individual artistry.' As a consequence, 'compromises may be reached in the continuing struggle to ascertain the authenticity of many works,' meaning that

they can be seen as products of Rembrandt's workshop, in which 'a much more important role [than that of the 'privileged children' who were mentioned by Sandrart]... must have been played by full-fledged or nearly full-fledged artists who were able to execute paintings or parts of paintings in the manner of Rembrandt.' The only example cited, as might be expected, is the canvas in Munich (fig. 3), where 'the signature [?]... makes it an excellent example of a work painted by Rembrandt in collaboration with one or more assistants.'

These quotations from a single page published in 1982 are of interest here because they contain *in nuce* (as Blankert himself has noted) several of the notions that were subsequently advanced by the RRP and then adopted by other scholars (for example, Schwartz, Alpers, and Tümpel).⁵⁹ Blankert maintains that a large supply of workshop pictures, together with the promotion of a name brand (represented by the Rembrandt signature), 'ensured an ample demand as well as high prices.'⁶⁰ The logic of this economic model is beside the point, which was for Blankert and other scholars of twenty to thirty years ago the need to study Rembrandt's pupils more closely, and to properly credit them for their contributions to Rembrandt's overinflated oeuvre and his reputation. (At the time, some well-known pictures, such as *The Man with a Golden Helmet* in Berlin, were still considered to be by the master).⁶¹ These idealistic critics had little patience for Romantic views of Rembrandt and for old-fashioned connoisseurs.⁶² As Haverkamp-Begemann observed with regard to the second volume of the *Corpus* (1986): 'in the case of Rembrandt the urge to purify prevails, in that of a pupil or imitator the wish to reconstruct.'⁶³ 'We positively mistrust poetic evocations of rembrandtish qualities,' the RRP declared in the preface of *Corpus*, volume I,⁶⁴ where indeed the authors and their translator achieve the opposite effect.

These sentiments can be related to a rise in socio-economic studies about twenty-five years ago. For historians of Dutch art the best example is Michael Montias's *Artists and Artisans in Delft* (1982), while other scholars might refer to Emanuel LeRoy Lauderie's *Carnival in Romans* (1979).⁶⁵ In this and other essays of the *Annales* school, minor figures (comparable with Rembrandt's supposed apprentice in Amsterdam, Isack Jouderville) and teams of anonymous workers (or those known only from a list of names) are considered more revealing than famous persons for our understanding of everyday life. Such an approach has much to recommend it, but is not ideally suited to the appreciation of a great artist, or for that matter of his disciples. 'Should we not keep in mind,' Held asked in 1991, 'that even if [many paintings] are now recognized as the achievements of some gifted followers, they, too, contribute to and enrich our image of the master's range?'⁶⁶

The workshop hypothesis has had this positive, if at times peculiar effect. Paul Huys Janssen describes Rembrandt as 'the first "thoroughbred" in the "stable of artists" brought together by Uylenburgh,' and he simply repeats as a fact Van de Wetering's unconvincing claim that 'when Rembrandt moved to Amsterdam, he brought with him at least one pupil from Leiden, namely Isaac Jouderville.'⁶⁷ However, Huys Janssen's support for the *Corpus* concept of Rembrandt's workshop is undermined by his simultaneous description of the studio as a 'training institute' and as a business which – with its 'co-workers and assistants, who stayed on as fully-qualified masters' – ran in a manner 'very close to that of Rubens in Antwerp.'⁶⁸

Arthur Wheelock's idea of Rembrandt's workshop is less confused, and less consistent with the RRP's. He observes that the 'precise distinctions' embodied in the RRP's A-B-C classification system do not 'accord with workshop practice in the seventeenth century,' or, put another way, 'do not provide a framework for works produced collaboratively in the workshop.' He continues, 'despite the opinions of Bruyn, it seems more likely that Rembrandt, like Rubens in Antwerp, and Van Dyck in England, used his studio to help him produce paintings for the market [as

Rembrandt, *Portrait of Johannes Uytenbogaert*, 1633 (oil on canvas, 130 x 102 cm). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. The figure's hands were probably painted by an assistant.



opposed to commissioned works?], especially during the 1630s when his work was in great demand.⁶⁹

Wheelock supports these comparisons with the workshops of Rubens and Van Dyck (as if those studios were comparable with each other) by referring to a few Rembrandt etchings after oriental heads by Lievens that are inscribed 'Rembrandt geretuckert' (retouched by Rembrandt); by citing the Munich picture (fig. 3), with its analogous inscription; and by noting that 'a number of paintings in the 1656 inventory of Rembrandt's possessions... are described as having been 'geretukeert' [retouched] by Rembrandt.' However, five of the six items cited as works retouched by Rembrandt turn out to be still lifes, four of them 'vanitas.'⁷⁰ These can hardly be said (as Wheelock claims) to make it 'quite clear that Rembrandt worked together with members of his workshop on the same paintings,' since neither the master nor any member of his workshop is known for such things. The one plausible example in the inventory of 1656 is no. 33, 'A painting of a Samaritan retouched by Rembrandt,' which could be the Metropolitan Museum's *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (fig. 5) or a similar student work. If so, this is not an example of workshop collaboration but of Rembrandt correcting a pupil (possibly an amateur like Constantijn van Renesse).⁷¹

Wheelock helpfully reviews the kinds of collaboration that might have occurred in Rembrandt's workshop: (1) a drawing or oil sketch by the master may have been provided 'for an assistant to use as a basis for a painting executed in his style' (in suggesting this Rubensian model Wheelock follows Blankert and overrules Bruyn),⁷² (2) or Rembrandt 'could have blocked in the composition on the canvas or panel before it was completed by an assistant'; (3) or 'he could have had assistants paint costumes and even hands on commissioned portraits' (the *Portrait of Johannes Uytenbogaert* of 1633 [fig. 4] is again cited for its unattractive hands); (4) or, 'finally, he almost certainly retouched and improved upon works produced for him by students and assistants.' To the present writer, these four options appear to have been arranged in order of increasing plausibility. Wheelock's certainty that the *Belshazzar's Feast* of

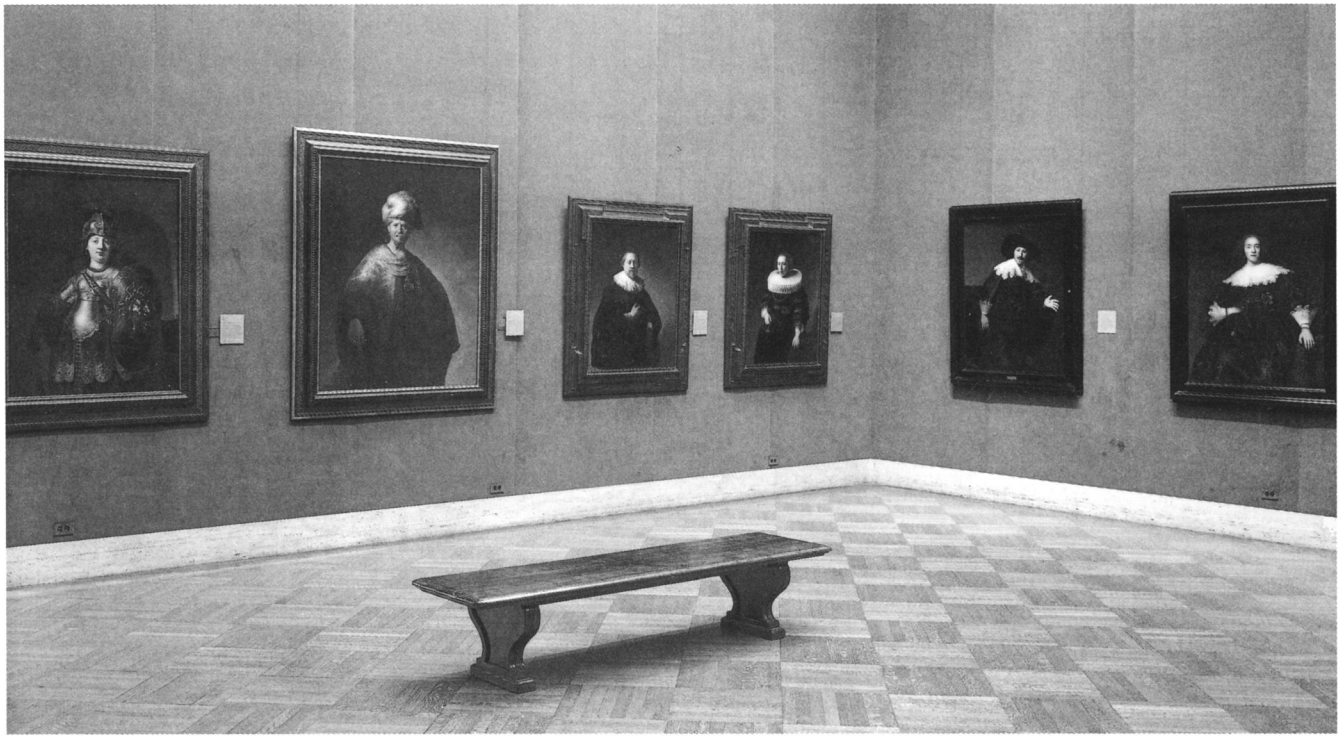


about 1635 in the National Gallery, London, 'was executed with the help of assistants' seems apposite to his comparison with Rubens, but the curators and conservators who care for the painting find no evidence of more than one hand.⁷³

Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, in his essay 'Rembrandt as Teacher' (1969), distinguishes amateur and professional students from artists who 'seem often to have associated freely with [Rembrandt], instead of engaging in a formal master-pupil relationship' (Philips Koninck and others are cited), and also from apprentices who, in a departure from the practices endorsed by the painters' guild, 'were studying the art of painting as a dignified and learned discipline.' According to this hypothesis, Rembrandt's students and apprentices were conscientiously set on their own feet by the master's methods of instruction, which opposed 'both the traditional apprentice system and the new academic insights.'⁷⁴ Some of Rembrandt's most gifted disciples 'came already formed to his studio, as we have seen, and continued working in another style while with Rembrandt, and also after they had left him. Others employed different styles simultaneously' (Flinck and Van den Eeckhout are named).⁷⁵ In all these respects, Rembrandt's followers 'contrast sharply with Rubens's pupils.' Rembrandt also 'differed greatly from Rubens' in that his apprentices 'apparently did not assist him to any substantial degree in his drawings, etchings and paintings.'⁷⁶

A slightly different opinion was expressed by Von Sonnenburg at the 1969 Chicago symposium. Given the RRP's painstaking connoisseurship of signatures, which parallels (and may often follow from) their strict distinction between works wholly by Rembrandt and those entirely by an assistant, it is helpful to consider a conservator's view.

'Interpretation of signatures without sound technical knowledge has led to the most absurd theories and wrong conclusions. In many cases it is even difficult to determine whether a signature is a homogeneous part of the paint layer. No documentary evidence indicates commissioned pictures which were partly or entirely



6

Six paintings by Rembrandt in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002. From left to right: *Bellona*, 1633; *Man in Oriental Costume* ('The Noble Slav'), 1632; the 'Van Beresteyn' *Portrait of a Man*, 1632; the 'Van Beresteyn' *Portrait of a Woman*, 1632; *Portrait of a Man Rising from His Chair*, 1633, on loan from The Taft Museum, Cincinnati; the latter picture's pendant, *Portrait of a Young Woman with a Fan*, 1633. The RRP attributes the two portraits in the middle (see also fig. 1) to Isack Jouderville in Rembrandt's workshop.

executed by pupils. The uneven quality of some signed portrait pairs (BR. 159, 338; BR. 169, 331, for example), however, strongly suggests such a possibility.⁷⁷

The paintings identified by Bredius numbers are the 'Van Beresteyn' portraits of 1632 in New York (see fig. 6) and the pair of oval portraits dated 1632 and 1633 in Braunschweig.⁷⁸ In the *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt* exhibition catalogue of 1995 Von Sonnenburg attributes the lion's share of the execution of the Van Beresteyn portraits to Rembrandt himself, especially in the *Portrait of a Man* (fig. 1). In the female pendant Rembrandt's 'contribution appears to be sufficient to at once discard the suggestion that an assistant [Jouderville, according to Bruyn] was entirely responsible and to justify an attribution of the pair to the master himself.'⁷⁹

It was originally for works of this kind – formal portraits of the early 1630s – that the RRP's workshop hypothesis was advanced. No mention of a workshop is found in volume I of the *Corpus*, covering the master's Leiden years. The elevation of Isack Jouderville in volume II so that he becomes (as stated more strongly in volume III) almost entirely responsible for the Van Beresteyn portraits and other pictures of the early 1630s must reflect some discomfort with the fact that, in the Leiden's pupil's absence, we are left exclusively with anonymous assistants (borrowed from Uylenburgh) as the authors of some exceptional pictures in Rembrandt's style. Not only specialists but also non-specialists like Kirby Talley and Caroline Elam have rejected the RRP's attributions to Jouderville and the workshop hypothesis in no uncertain terms. In an editorial of 1992 Elam concludes that Jouderville's exposure in the 1990-91 exhibition in Berlin, Amsterdam and London 'confirms doubts about the whole 'cluster' of works grouped around this distinctively incompetent figure in Volume II of the *Corpus*.' She goes on to question how 'the hypothesis itself' could possibly apply not to 'uncommissioned paintings of lesser importance' but to 'portraits of prominent Amsterdam sitters in the 1630s.' Given that Rembrandt was so busy at the time, 'it would be standard seventeenth-century practice for the master to paint the faces and leave costume and backgrounds to the studio. But this is precisely the model of collaboration that the project is unwilling to entertain.'⁸⁰ Talley is even tougher on Jouderville and the RRP, describing the latter's

'perception of quality [as] both rigid and academic,' and as 'brought into serious question by their suggestion that an artist of such overpowering mediocrity as Isaac de Jouderville could possibly be the author of these paintings' (the Van Berestejn portraits).⁸¹

In a review of *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, two of the newer members of the RRP complain that the present writer (like Von Sonnenburg in the same catalogue) 'gives the heading "Rembrandt" to the *Berestejn portraits* despite the fact that there is no consensus on the autograph nature of these paintings.'⁸² In fact, an overwhelming majority of scholars have defended the portraits as by Rembrandt, while a few of them – Leonard Slatkes, Von Sonnenburg, and the present writer – have suggested that an assistant may have played a subordinate part, especially in the *Portrait of a Woman*.⁸³ Standard museum practice today, like standard studio practice in the seventeenth century, allows such a painting to be credited to the master's account. This seems especially permissible when the label 'Rembrandt and Workshop' would attribute the pictures partly to (in Talley's words) 'either a large, murky group of anonymous artists or a few painters [like Jouderville] about whom some documentary evidence exists, no matter how slight.'⁸⁴

The actual consensus among scholars today is that Rembrandt did not have assistants sufficiently numerous or talented to justify the term 'workshop' with respect to his early years in Amsterdam.⁸⁵ As Christopher Brown expressed it, 'this is a hypothesis unsubstantiated by contemporary documents and based on a circular argument... Traditionally – and far more consistent with the evidence of the early lives of Rembrandt – it has been thought that Rembrandt simply worked very hard in the early years in Amsterdam when he was the most sought after portrait painter in the city, and that it is this fierce pace of work that explains the variations in quality among portraits of the 1630s.'⁸⁶

In this remark to a general audience Brown did not mean to imply that all Rembrandts of the 1630s are entirely autograph, any more than his support of the 'traditional' view represents a return to the Romantic notion of a genius working in isolation. But if Rembrandt did not set up his own workshop staffed with a number of 'collaborators' shortly after he moved to Amsterdam, where did he come by the assistants who, as most critics will now concede, must have helped him with the sheer quantity of pictures he produced about 1632-35, in particular the many formal portraits? The RRP's answer is that as early as 1631 Rembrandt moved into Uylenburgh's house and workspace on the corner of the Sint Anthonisbreestraat (next to the future Rembrandt House) and found there 'a pool of labour,' namely the anonymous but 'obviously experienced painters' who according to Van de Wetering 'immediately adapted themselves to his style.'⁸⁷

The scenario of seasoned artists suddenly adopting an out-of-towner's style leaves us with an unexpected or (as Van de Wetering expressed it) 'hazy picture' of Uylenburgh's studio.⁸⁸ And the image is not sharpened by Huys Janssen's advice that we consider the art dealer's premises an 'academy' where the 'leading master was the still very young painter Rembrandt.'⁸⁹ But clarification does come from Dudok van Heel's recent review of Uylenburgh's enterprise. The previous owner of his building, with its 'north-facing workshop,' was the prominent portraitist Cornelis van der Voort (1576-1624). After the latter's death Uylenburgh rented the house (ca. 1625-1636?) and maintained the studio's specialization in formal portraiture, including large three-quarter-length and full-length pictures.⁹⁰ According to Dudok van Heel, between 1631 and 1633 'Rembrandt travelled to Amsterdam regularly, taking his former pupil Jouderville along to help with details.'⁹¹ In sending Jouderville on the road with Rembrandt Dudok van Heel defers to Van de Wetering, but the archivist concludes that neither Leiden artist left their hometown permanently until 1633 when Rembrandt finally settled in Amsterdam (and joined the

painters' guild in 1634).⁹² Flinck probably moved from Leeuwarden to Amsterdam not in order to study with Rembrandt but likewise to work for Uylenburgh, and 'when Rembrandt left the shop in 1635, Flinck remained behind as the master-painter.'⁹³

Thus Dudok van Heel associates Rembrandt's occasional use of assistants specifically with his part-time and then full-time tenure in Uylenburgh's studio during the period 1631-1635, to the point that paintings like the portrait of Wtenbogaert dated 1633 (Fig. 4) are given the provocative attribution: 'Workshop of Hendrick Uylenburgh, by Rembrandt.'⁹⁴ From May 1, 1635, to probably the same 'customary moving day' in 1637, Rembrandt and his wife Saskia van Uylenburgh rented a newly built house at number 20, Nieuwe Doelenstraat.⁹⁵ With Rembrandt's departure, Uylenburgh's business evidently declined, and he moved to another location on the Sint Anthonisbreestraat. The studio formerly occupied by Van der Voort and then Uylenburgh was purchased by Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy (1588-1650/56), another painter of formal portraits.⁹⁶ With a few impressive exceptions, Rembrandt turned away from formal portraiture between 1635 and the early 1640s, concentrating instead on history pictures. This is clear from a glance at *Corpus* volume III (covering the years 1635-1642), where not only the 'A' paintings but also the 'C' pictures include comparatively few commissioned portraits, and those that are rejected (C104 through C114) are for the most part either by Rembrandt himself (see below, Appendix A, C104-C108, C110, C111) or by an artist working outside of Rembrandt's studio (C109, C112-C114). Studio assistance seems possible in a few of the wrongly rejected Rembrandt portraits dating from about 1635 to the early 1640s, but to a lesser extent than in those of about 1632-34.

We are left, then, with the impression – based on the paintings, the documents, and common sense – that the 'Rembrandt workshop' of the early 1630s was in fact Uylenburgh's portrait-and-*tronie* business where Rembrandt had studio space and found a few helping hands, and that after leaving Uylenburgh in 1635 Rembrandt had his own studio and took on some pupils: possibly Flinck and more certainly Bol, Van den Eeckhout, and others (see Appendix B). There is really no reliable evidence that Rembrandt had any pupils or apprentices of his own during the years 1632-1634, which is consistent with the fact that he joined the painters' guild in Amsterdam near the end of that period.

It is now clear to most scholars that the *a priori* assumptions made by the members of the RRP in *Corpus* volumes II and III (covering the years 1631-1642) led them to an entirely too liberal use of the term 'workshop,' which is not to say that Rembrandt never made use of assistants. There is also general agreement, as Grasman observes, that the RRP has been 'highly selective regarding Rembrandt's oeuvre but willing to make all kinds of concessions and speculations about the work of his pupils, such as Drost, Jouderville and especially [Carel] Fabritius.'⁹⁷ 'Like some small but critical error in navigation made at the beginning of a long voyage,'⁹⁸ the RRP's particular concept of Rembrandt's workshop compelled them to dump autograph pictures into the new category and also to maintain that a considerable number of paintings in Rembrandt's style were painted in his studio rather than by former pupils and other artists working on their own. The RRP does not appear to appreciate the methodological nicety that an attribution to a Rembrandt 'apprentice' like Carel Fabritius requires a closely reasoned argument as to why the painting was made precisely when the artist was in the master's workshop. But never mind, since the present writer agrees entirely with Leonard Slatkes that 'the plethora of new attributions to Carel Fabritius – previously a very rare artist – seems not only extreme, but in the case of the Simon picture [fig. 7] almost beyond belief.'⁹⁹

Here is a real dilemma for the RRP: in assigning 'workshop' pictures to artists like Flinck, Bol, Fabritius, Van Hoogstraten, and (we can now add) Willem Drost,

Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait*, about 1639-40 (oil on wood, 63.5 x 50.8 cm). Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Museum of Art, The Norton Simon Foundation. The RRP attributes the painting to Carel Fabritius in Rembrandt's workshop.



the authors of the *Corpus* have hitched their cart to horses we know something about.¹⁰⁰ Their hypothesis was actually on safer ground, if only theoretically, when a cornucopia of unidentified collaborators was held responsible for paintings of the 1630s. The concept will serve even less well for Rembrandtesque pictures made after the early 1650s, since from then on Rembrandt is known to have had almost no help on hand. The potential of his son Titus (1641-1668) and of his last pupil Arnt de Gelder (1645-1727) to serve as senior apprentices – latter-day Joudervilles, Flincks, or Fabritii – is limited by the total lack of visual evidence in one instance and (in a sense) too much of it in the other.¹⁰¹

Finally, what does one do with a 'prominent' pupil like Bernhard Keil (1624-1687), who might be called (following Sherlock Holmes) the dog that did not bark in Rembrandt's studio?¹⁰² Keil, who was Baldinucci's source of information about Uylenburgh's 'academy,' went to study with Rembrandt for about two years in 1642, after some eight years of training with a court painter in Copenhagen. Sumowski compares Keil with Bol as a senior member of Rembrandt's studio and adds, 'it seems astonishing that Rembrandtesque early works by Keil have still not become known. They are probably hidden among the anonymous workshop products of the 1640s.'¹⁰³ This is extremely doubtful, however, since Keil's accepted works are so distinctive that (with the possible exception of Sandrart in the 1640s) one cannot imagine him being confused with any other artist in Rembrandt's circle. Keil gives us something else to think about: the advanced pupil who never left a trace. He might be considered, in accordance with Haverkamp-Begemann's view of Rembrandt as a teacher, as another pupil who was set onto his own path by the master's example.¹⁰⁴ But this is only an hypothesis.

Rembrandt's workshop according to the evidence

In this concluding section we will briefly consider three bodies of evidence.

(1) Appendix A lists paintings that are described as workshop products in *Corpus* volumes II and III (covering the years 1631-42). The first section (w) includes

paintings that the RRP calls 'workshop' in their sense (an assistant is entirely responsible), but which might be seen as collaborative efforts. Simply put, section W represents general agreement that Rembrandt occasionally worked with assistants. The other two sections of Appendix A ('w' and 'w?') list paintings that the RRP has implausibly assigned to Rembrandt's workshop, in the opinion of most scholars.

(2) Appendix B lists the names of documented and probable Rembrandt pupils and their likely dates of service in his studio.

(3) Lastly, a few points are adopted from Ronald de Jager's study of contracts between seventeenth-century Dutch painters and their pupils.¹⁰⁵

Taken all together, this evidence allows us to compare how much help Rembrandt appears to have had in his studio with how much he seems to have needed, and to judge our conclusions against standard workshop practice at the time.

From the 'critical catalogue' in Appendix A it would appear that only eight portraits and *tronies* qualify as workshop products (w) in some sense, although seven other pictures (listed at the end of section w) deserve further consideration. The other paintings called 'workshop' ('w') or possibly workshop ('w?') by the RRP are considered by most scholars – not just those named here – to be by Rembrandt himself, or by someone active outside his studio when the work was made.

It seems unreasonable to assign 'a relatively large number of workshop collaborators' to Rembrandt in the 1630s,¹⁰⁶ considering that the amount of assistance required evidently did not exceed the partial execution of perhaps a dozen pictures dating from a period of six to eight years. As discussed above, it appears possible that Rembrandt, when especially hard-pressed with portrait commissions, may have engaged an assistant on an occasional basis, perhaps through Hendrick Uylenburgh. Supporting this hypothesis is the conclusion, reached independently by Hinterding and Dudok van Heel, that Rembrandt probably did not settle in Amsterdam until some time in 1633.¹⁰⁷

As is well known, a number of paintings not considered in the *Corpus* have been described elsewhere as from Rembrandt's studio, for example in the *salon des refusés* section of the 1991-92 exhibition, 'Rembrandt: The Master and his Workshop.' But there, even more than in Appendix A, the paintings in question, when not by Rembrandt himself (nos. 55 and 60 in the exhibition?) are mostly by artists who were never in the master's workshop or who were independent when the picture was painted.

The impression gained from a fresh look at the pictorial evidence is that Rembrandt could have maintained his known output with just a few assistants at any given time. In particular, the notion of prominent apprentices single-handedly turning out 'Rembrandts' has been overstated by the RRP. The hypothesis does not square with what we know of the pictures and painters in question or of seventeenth-century workshops.

De Jager's survey reveals that pupils of Dutch painters signed on in their early to mid-teens for a period of one to seven years, but that actual training usually lasted three to four years. It was not at all uncommon for students to continue their training under another master for one or two years.¹⁰⁸ The program varied considerably with respect to what was learned, paid, produced and sold. It was standard practice for a student to sell his own pictures if he paid for the materials (canvas, paint, and so on), but if the master provided supplies then the profit was his.¹⁰⁹ As noted above, Bruyn maintains that Sandrart's report of Rembrandt selling student work would be 'perfectly logical in the case of advanced professional pupils but would be inconceivable' in the case of less sophisticated talent.¹¹⁰ This supposition is strongly contradicted by De Jager's analysis, and also by the modest prices Rembrandt received (on his own or his students' behalf) in about 1636:

'His [an unidentified pupil's] standard bearer [for] 15 [guilders]
 a [and?] flora sold [for] 4 [guilders and] 6 [stuivers]
 sold a work of Ferdinandus [Bol]
 and another of his
 the Abraham and Flora
 Leenderts flora is sold for 5 [guilders]'¹¹¹

At the time, Bol had just begun his apprenticeship with Rembrandt, and Leendert van Beyeren, a wealthy amateur, was about seventeen years old.

In his essay on 'apprenticeship and studio collaboration,' Van de Wetering refers to Amsterdam 'apprentices' who, in one case, 'would have produced enough work [meaning paintings] to allow the master, by selling it, to recoup the investment [?] he was making in his pupil'; and who, in another case ('a contract with an apprentice who was evidently already quite well advanced'), would have permitted 'the master... to be making most of the profit' during the young man's second and third years.¹¹² In these comparisons with Rembrandt's workshop Van de Wetering fails to mention that the masters and pupils in question are people of whom we have never heard: twelve-year-old Dirck Hendricksz joining up with Hans Couplet in 1622, and another *jongen*, Gossen Hogehuijs, who after two years' training would have been boosting the income of one Bastiaen Musch. De Jager describes these documents in detail and comes to different conclusions.¹¹³

A number of De Jager's conclusions do accord with those of Bruyn and Van de Wetering. While some pupils paid high fees – for example, one hundred guilders annually to study with Honthorst, Dou, Lievens, and others as well as with Rembrandt – others paid less or received a salary or payment in kind (room and board, free tuition, materials, etc) as they became useful assistants. Among the possible perks of apprenticeship was selling one's own work independently.

The documents published by De Jager and others do not resolve all our questions about Rembrandt's workshop, but they do suggest that his practice was not exceptional. As with other Dutch artists the number of Rembrandt's pupils and apprentices varied with his reputation. One of the difficult questions that remain is whether Rembrandt sold student pictures bearing his autograph or copied signature. There is evidence pro and con; a number of paintings suggest that it happened occasionally. Whether this would have been considered dishonest or acceptable, or was perhaps even requested by some clients, is unknown.

On the whole, we are left with the impression of an artist who had a strong sense of himself as an individual, and who expected his best pupils to also go their own way.¹¹⁴ And they did indeed: what we most admire in the oeuvres of Dou, Flinck, Bol, Fabritius, Van Hoogstraten, Maes, Drost, De Gelder, and a few other Rembrandt disciples has little to do with their precocious ability to paint pictures that later passed as Rembrandts. Those imitative or emulative works, which were conventionally praised in the seventeenth century for deceiving collectors and connoisseurs,¹¹⁵ have been confusing experts for 350 years. As Gerson insisted, 'the basis of our knowledge about Rembrandt's work is small, and the tradition of his works is corrupt.'¹¹⁶ The workshop hypothesis shifts some of the blame for this onto Rembrandt, not as a great teacher and source of inspiration but as a 'chef d'atelier' and 'merchant.' In this way the artist is made accessible to modern modes of criticism ('rational, communicable arguments') and another tradition is continued, namely, that 'every generation gets the Rembrandt it deserves.'¹¹⁷

Appendix A:

Paintings considered 'workshop' products in the *Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, volumes II and III. The list is divided into three sections: w, 'w', and 'w?'

(NB: Slatkes 1992 = Leonard J. Slatkes, Rembrandt: *Catalogo completo dei dipinti*, Florence, 1992)

w: *Paintings that might be considered workshop products to some extent. (Rembrandt's own collaboration in these pictures is ruled out in the Corpus but is considered possible here).*

C54. *Young Man in a Turban* dated 1631 (Windsor Castle). The RRP's attribution to Jouderville in Rembrandt's workshop is generally rejected.¹¹⁸ Surface wear complicates the question.

C65 and C66. The Pellicorne full-length pendant portraits (with children) of 1632-33 (Wallace Collection, London). Probably by Rembrandt and assistant(s). Scholars differ greatly on the extent of his participation.

C67. *A Couple in an Interior* of about 1633 (Gardner Museum, Boston). The RRP attributes the painting entirely to an assistant, while Slatkes (1992, no. 194) more plausibly considers it to be by Rembrandt and an assistant (the latter especially in the woman's costume).

C69. The 'Van Beresteyn' *Portrait of a Woman* dated 1632 (Metropolitan Museum, New York). While most scholars defend an attribution to Rembrandt himself, a number of them allow for the possibility of studio assistance. The male pendant (C68) is listed below.

C70 and C71. The half-length oval pendant portraits of 1632 and 1633 in Braunschweig. Scholars either accept the attribution to Rembrandt's workshop or consider Rembrandt to have worked with an assistant.

C78. Half-length oval *Portrait of a Man* dated 1634 (Hermitage, St. Petersburg). Accepted as a Rembrandt by Slatkes (1992, no. 126) and others. Some workshop assistance appears possible.

SEE ALSO BELOW: C59, C75, C80, C106-7, C108, and C115.

'w': *Paintings for which an attribution to Rembrandt's workshop appears implausible.*

C48. *The Good Samaritan* (Wallace Collection, London). Attributed by the RRP to Flinck in Rembrandt's workshop about 1633-34. A copy possibly made outside the studio.

C49. *Descent from the Cross* dated 1634 (Hermitage, St. Petersburg). Derived from works by Rembrandt, possibly in the 1640s, not necessarily in his studio.

C55. *Bust of a Young Man in Gorget and Plumed Cap* (San Diego Museum of Art). 'Attributable to Isack Jouderville,' according to *Corpus*, III, p. 26. A mediocre work, possibly based upon a lost Rembrandt. 'Circle of' would suffice.¹¹⁹

C56. *Self-Portrait* in Berlin. The RRP and Jan Kelch attribute the painting to Flinck in about 1633, supposing him to have been working with Rembrandt that early.¹²⁰ Slatkes (1992, no. 248 and cover) and the present writer consider the work to be by Rembrandt.

C57. *Bust of a Young Woman* (commonly called the artist's sister) in the Brera, Milan. Signed and dated 1632. Never doubted until *Corpus* II, pp. 59 (n. 118), 170, 678-79, where the painting is unconvincingly compared with C58 and C59 (see below under 'w' and 'w?'), which are far inferior in quality. Uneven cleaning and misleading reproductions (except for the detail in *ibid.*, p. 677) make

Rembrandt's authorship less evident than it is when the panel is examined firsthand (RRP 1972; WL 1999, 2004).

C58. The now oval *Bust of a Young Woman* (Chapel Hill). According to the RRP, the painting 'was done in Rembrandt's workshop, probably by Isack Jouderville.' The resemblance to works by Jouderville and by Rembrandt is slight and (as with C55) apparent only in photographs.

C68. The 'Van Beresteyn' *Portrait of a Man* dated 1632 (Metropolitan Museum, New York). The RRP attribution to Rembrandt's workshop, and especially to Jouderville, has been almost universally rejected. The painting is by Rembrandt, as Van de Wetering now concedes.¹²¹

C72 and C73. Half-length oval pendant portraits dated 1634 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). By Rembrandt, as maintained by Slatkes (1992, nos. 128, 129). He rightly notes the 'less than perfect condition' of the male portrait.

C77. Half-length oval *Portrait of a Man* dated 1633 in Dresden. As often, the RRP is reminded of Flinck, but the work is by Rembrandt (Slatkes 1992, no. 121). The pendant (A82 in Frankfurt) is considered autograph in *Corpus*, II.

C80. *Portrait of a Woman Seated* of about 1632 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). The pendant (A45) in the same collection is considered autograph in *Corpus*, II. The present writer agrees with Slatkes's (1992, no. 113) strongly worded rejection of the RRP attribution, and with his suggestion of some assistance in the woman's costume.

C81. Oval *Portrait of a Young Woman* dated 1633 (Private Collection, USA). 'Probably' a workshop picture, according to the RRP. Slatkes 1992, no. 184, as by Rembrandt.¹²²

C82. Half-length oval *Portrait of a Woman* dated 1632 (Edinburgh). Slatkes 1992, no. 127. Correctly considered by the RRP to have been painted by the same hand as that responsible for C72 and C73. That is, by Rembrandt.

C85. *The Departure of the Shunammite Woman* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London). According to the RRP the work was 'probably executed in Rembrandt's workshop in 1640' and is 'perhaps attributable to Ferdinand Bol.' Blankert disagrees and tentatively defends Rembrandt's authorship.¹²³

C88. *The Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard* (Hermitage, St. Petersburg). Evidently one of at least two old copies after a lost original of 1637. Why the panel should have been 'most probably painted in Rembrandt's workshop in 1637' (*Corpus*, III, p. 568) is unclear, to say nothing of the attribution to Bol (ibid., pp. 573, 575).

C92. Half-length *Figure of Rembrandt* (Private Collection, England). The RRP stresses that the work is remote from Rembrandt's manner and yet assigns it to a pupil 'probably' in his workshop about 1638.

C96. Half-length *Bust of Rembrandt* (Wallace Collection, London). Close to Flinck, as Gerson (Bredius 1969, no. 27) and the RRP suggest, but it does not follow that there is 'every reason to suppose that no. C96 belongs among a group of portrayals of Rembrandt done by his workshop assistants' (C56, C92 and C97 are cited).

C97. *Bust of Rembrandt* (Norton Simon Museum of Art, Pasadena). By Rembrandt.¹²⁴ The RRP attribution to Carel Fabritius (while in Rembrandt's studio) is generally considered incredible.

C101. *Bust of a Man in Oriental Dress* dated 1635 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). 'Now this painting is again considered to be autograph.'¹²⁵

C102. *Bust of a Rabbi* (Hampton Court). 'Done in his circle or workshop' (*Corpus*, III, p. 650). Most likely the former.

C103. *Bust of a Young Woman* (National Gallery of Art, Washington). By Rembrandt, as Slatkes, Wheelock and Van de Wetering himself (*Corpus*, III, p. 656) maintain.¹²⁶

C104 and C105. The half-length oval pendant portraits in Chiba, Japan, and in the Cleveland Museum of Art. Condition problems complicate the question considerably, but it appears likely that the paintings are entirely or mostly by Rembrandt.¹²⁷

C106 and C107. Half-length pendant portraits of about 1641-42 (Collection of the Duke of Westminster). Slatkes (1992, nos. 140, 141) is probably right to accept Rembrandt's authorship with studio assistance. The RRP's attribution to Carel Fabritius (while in Rembrandt's studio) has been widely rejected.

C110. *Portrait of a Man in a Doorway* dated 1641 (formerly in the Thyssen collection). Probably by or mostly by Rembrandt.

C111. *Oval Portrait of Petronella Buys* dated 1635 (formerly in the André Meyer collection). Pendant to the *Portrait of Philips Lucasz* (fig. 2), which the RRP considers to be by Rembrandt (A115) except in the lace collar. Both portraits are entirely autograph.¹²⁸

C113. *Portrait of Anna Wijmer* dated 1641 (Six Collection, Amsterdam). Placed within Rembrandt's workshop mainly because 'Bol would seem a possibility' (*Corpus*, III, p. 715). Not considered in the Bol literature.

C114. *Portrait of a Seated Woman with a Handkerchief* (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto). No clear connection with Rembrandt's studio, much less with Carel Fabritius.¹²⁹

C115. *Bust of a Woman with a Book, in Fanciful Dress* (UCLA). 'The x-rays reveal drastic alterations.' This originally oval picture could be from Rembrandt's workshop or, more likely, from his circle in the 1630s.

C116. *Landscape with the Baptism of the Eunuch* (Hanover). No reason to place this picture in the workshop (compare C117-C121).

C122. *A Slaughtered Ox* (Glasgow). The conclusions that this work was 'probably done in Rembrandt's workshop shortly after 1640' and that the work is 'possibly by Carel Fabritius' are unconvincing.

'W?': *Paintings for which an origin in Rembrandt's workshop is considered a mere possibility by the RRP.*

C47. *The Flight into Egypt* (formerly in Lord Wharton's Collection). Close to Bol, as the RRP suggests.

C59. *Oval Bust of a Young Woman* of about 1632 (Allentown Art Museum). The RRP rightly favor 'an origin in Rembrandt's circle in or shortly after 1632.'

C62. *Oval Bust of a Boy* (Private Collection, Paris). 'Seems to have been done in Rembrandt's circle or even his workshop.'

C64. *Bust of a Boy* (Private Collection, England). 'Circle of' will do.

C75. *Portrait of a 47-year-old Man* (Louvre, Paris). 'Probably done during the earlier 1630s, conceivably in Rembrandt's workshop.' More likely mid-1630s, possibly in Uylenburgh's or Rembrandt's studio.

C108. *Portrait of Antonie Coopal* dated 1635 (on loan to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Slatkes (1992, no. 158) convincingly defends Rembrandt's authorship while allowing studio assistance in the costume.

C112. *Portrait of a 70-year-old Woman* (Metropolitan Museum, New York). The RRP sees some connection with C108. Not from Rembrandt's workshop or even close to him in style.¹³⁰

Appendix B:

Documented and probable Rembrandt pupils listed in the order of their likely dates in the master's studio (in Amsterdam, except for the first two artists).¹³¹ The abbreviation 'w R' stands for 'with Rembrandt.'

Gerard Dou (1613-1675), w R in Leiden 1628-31, after studying drawing with Bartholomeus Dolendo 1622-23 and stained glass with Pieter Couwenhorn ca. 1623-25.

Isack Jouderville (1612/13-1645/48), w R in Leiden 1629/30 to late 1631.

Govaert Flinck (1615-1660), possibly w R (or associated with Rembrandt through Uylenburgh) ca. 1635-36, after training with Lambert Jacobsz in Leeuwarden ca. 1629 to ca. 1635.

Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621-1674), w R ca. 1635-1638/39.

Ferdinand Bol (1616-1680), w R ca. 1636-42, probably after studying with J. G. Cuyp.

Leendert van Beyeren (ca. 1620-1649), a wealthy amateur, w R ca. 1636-38.

Jan Victors? (1620-1676), possibly w R ca. 1637-39.

Reynier van Gherwen (ca. 1625?-1661/62), probably w R ca. 1640-42.

Abraham Furnerius (ca. 1628-1654), a short-lived landscapist, w R ca. 1641-42.

Carel Fabritius (1622-1654), probably w R from late 1641 to about April 1643, after basic training with his father in Midden-Beemster.

Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678), w R 1642/43-1646/47, after studying with his father in Dordrecht.

Bernhard Keil (1624-1687), w R ca. 1642-44, after eight years of training in Copenhagen.

Willem Drost (1633-1659), w R ca. 1648-50/52, possibly after training with Van Hoogstraten.

Constantijn van Renesse (1626-1680), a patrician amateur, w R 1649-1651/52.

Nicolaes Maes (1634-1693), w R 1649/50-1652/53.

Abraham van Dijck? (1635-1672), perhaps w R ca. 1649-50.

Heyman Dullaert (1636-1684), w R ca. 1651-53?

Jacobus Leveck (1634-1675), w R ca. 1652-54.

Titus van Rijn (1641-1668), Rembrandt's son, and probably his pupil ca. 1655-60. No works are known but a few are recorded.

Gottfried Kneller (1646-1723), probably w R in the early to mid-1660s and then with Bol.

Arent de Gelder (1645-1727), w R in the mid-1660s for two years, after training with Van Hoogstraten in Dordrecht.

NOTES

¹ On Rubens's workshop see H. Vlieghe, 'Rubens's Atelier and History Painting in Flanders: a Review of the Evidence,' in exhib. cat., *The Age of Rubens*, Boston (Museum of Fine Arts), 1993-94, pp. 158-70. The best introduction to the workshops of Bernini and other Baroque sculptors in Rome is found in J. Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art*, New Haven and London, 1989, chs. V and VI (see especially pp. 90-92 on invention, and pp. 104-7 on Bernini and his assistants). See also A. Jarrard, 'Inventing in Bernini's shop in the late 1660s: projects for Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este,' *Burlington Magazine*, 144 (2002), pp. 409-19.

² See J. R. Judson and R. E. O. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, 1592-1656, Doornspijk, 1999, pp. 41-45, on Honthorst's workshop, and for Zurbarán's, exhib. cat., *Zurbarán y su Obrador: Pinturas para el Nuevo Mundo*, Valencia (Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia), 1998.

³ See exhib. cat., *Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia van Solms in The Hague*, The Hague (Mauritshuis), 1997-98, pp. 45-46, fig. 16 (an engraved view of 1697), and p. 253 n. 66. See also exhib. cat., *Vermeer and the Delft School*, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art), 2001, p. 232.

⁴ See Judson and Ekkart 1999 (note 2), figs. 45, 82, 85, 90, 92, 102, 180, etc.

⁵ See Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (hereinafter: RRP), *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, The Hague, Boston, and London, 1982-89, vol. 3, no. A146, and E. Haverkamp-Begemann, *Rembrandt: The Night-watch*, Princeton, 1982, pp. 15-17.

⁶ See RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, p. 49. On Miereveld and his pupils and assistants, see R. E. O. Ekkart in J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art* (34 vols.), London, 1996, vol. 21, pp. 485-86, and Liedtke in New York 2001 (note 3), pp. 44-50, 311-18.

⁷ On Rembrandt as a teacher, see exhib. cat., *Rembrandt After Three Hundred Years*, Chicago (Art Institute of Chicago), 1969-70, and Haverkamp-Begemann's essay in that catalogue; exhib. cat., *The Impact of a Genius: Rembrandt, his*

Pupils and Followers in the Seventeenth Century, Amsterdam (Waterman Gallery), 1983; exhib. cat., *Bij Rembrandt in de Leer / Rembrandt as Teacher*, Amsterdam (Museum het Rembrandthuis), 1984-85; exhib. cat., *Rembrandt: the Master & his Workshop* (Paintings), Berlin (Gemäldegalerie SMPK at the Altes Museum), 1991-92; exhib. cat., *The Hoogsteder Exhibition of Rembrandt's Academy*, The Hague (Hoogsteder and Hoogsteder), 1992; exhib. cat., *Rembrandt och hans tid / Rembrandt and his Age*, Stockholm (Nationalmuseum), 1992-93, and A. Blankert's essay in that catalogue; exhib. cat., *Rembrandt! Not Rembrandt in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Aspects of Connoisseurship*, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art), 1995-96, and the present writer's essay in that catalogue; and exhib. cat., *Rembrandt: A Genius and His Impact*, Melbourne (National Gallery of Victoria), 1997-98. This note corrects several erroneous citations in S. Schama, *Rembrandt's Eyes*, New York, 1999, pp. 727-28.

⁸ See G. Schwartz, *Rembrandt, his life, his paintings*, Harmondsworth, 1985, pp. 141-42, and S. Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market*, Chicago, 1988, ch. 4. For useful reviews of the latter, see D. Freedberg in *New York Review of Books*, January 19, 1989, pp. 29-31, and P. Sutton in *Burlington Magazine*, 131 (1989), pp. 428-30.

⁹ RRP 1982-89 (note 5). Four of the authors of *Corpus* volumes 1-3 retired about ten years ago, as announced in *Burlington Magazine*, 135 (1993), p. 279. Van de Wetering described the past and future of the RRP in idem, pp. 764-65, and in E. van de Wetering and P. Broekhoff, 'New directions in the Rembrandt Research Project, Part I: the 1642 self-portrait in the Royal Collection,' *Burlington Magazine*, 138 (1996), pp. 174-75.

¹⁰ RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 1, p. xiv.

¹¹ See M. W. Ainsworth, J. Brealey, E. Haverkamp-Begemann and P. Meyers, with the assistance of K. Groen, M. J. Cotter, L. van Zelst, and E. V. Sayre, *Art and Autoradiography: Insights into the Genesis of Paintings by Rembrandt, Van Dyck, and Vermeer*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1982; exhib. cat., *Art in the Mak-*

ing: Rembrandt, London (National Gallery), 1988-89; E. van de Wetering, *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work*, Amsterdam, 1997, especially chs. 2, 5, and 10; and J. Wadum, 'Rembrandt under the Skin. The Mauritshuis *Portrait of Rembrandt with Gorget* in retrospect,' *Oud Holland*, 114 (2000), pp. 164-87, especially pp. 170-72.

¹² For two of many instances in which technical evidence was read or misread subjectively, see S. Pollens, 'Le Messie,' *Journal of the Vio-lin Society of America*, 16 (1999), pp. 97-98 (the RRP's usual consultant on dendrochronology reverses himself), and W. Liedtke, *A View of Delft: Vermeer and his Contemporaries*, Zwolle, 2000, pp. 52-53.

¹³ The writer has addressed this subject in two earlier essays: W. Liedtke, 'Reconstructing Rembrandt: Portraits from the Early Years in Amsterdam (1631-34),' *Apollo*, vol. 129, no. 327 (May 1989), pp. 323-31, 371-72, and idem, 'Reconstructing Rembrandt and his Circle: More on the Workshop Hypothesis,' in R. E. Fleischer and S. C. Scott, *Rembrandt, Rubens, and the Art of their Time: Recent Perspectives* (Papers in Art History from The Pennsylvania State University, XI), 1997, pp. 37-59. See also W. Liedtke, 'Rembrandt and the Rembrandt style,' *Apollo*, vol. 135, no. 361 (March 1992), pp. 140-45; idem, 'Rembrandt and the Rembrandt Style in the Seventeenth Century,' in New York 1995-96 (note 7), pp. 3-39 (cited below as Liedtke 1995-96); and idem, 'Rembrandt True and False,' in J. Allen and G. Leebrick (ed.), *Robert Lee Humber: A Collector Creates*, Greenville, North Carolina (East Carolina University), 1996, pp. 7-13. The present article synthesizes my earlier essays to some extent, but also takes into account recent literature and surveys a broader range of opinions.

¹⁴ E. van de Wetering, 'Problems of Apprenticeship and Studio Collaboration,' in RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, ch. 3 (pp. 45-90).

¹⁵ RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, p. 47.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁷ On this point, see Liedtke 1995-96 (note 13), p. 17, quoting A. Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh*

der *Nederlantsche Konstschielders en Schilderessen* (3 vols.), Amsterdam, 1718-21, vol. 2, pp. 20-21. As noted below, Dudok van Heel doubts the usual reading of Houbraken's report, and suggests that 'the more likely explanation for [Flinck's] move to Amsterdam is that Hendrick Uylenburgh wanted him in his workshop.' See S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, 'De schilder, zijn leven, zijn vrouw, de min en het dienstmeisje,' *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis*, 2000, nos. 1-2, p. 15, and, for the quote, idem, 'Rembrandt: his life, his wife, the nursemaid and the servant,' in exhib. cat., *Rembrandt's Women*, Edinburgh (National Gallery of Scotland), 2001, p. 22.

¹⁸ See Liedtke 1989 (note 13), pp. 326-28, and Liedtke 1997 (note 13), pp. 38-39, 45 n. 20.

¹⁹ RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, p. 63, citing the sitter's hands in the Portrait of Johannes Wtenbogaert (fig. 4 here).

²⁰ Ibid., p. 75. The stiff and repetitive prose is primarily the work of the RRP's translator, D. Cook-Radmore.

²¹ A. K. Wheelock, Jr., *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century (The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue)*, Washington, 1995, p. 207. Volume 7 (1836) of J. Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters* (9 vols.), London, 1829-42, is devoted to Rembrandt, and includes characterizations of twenty principal 'scholars and imitators.' W. von Bode's *The Complete Work of Rembrandt* (8 vols.), Paris, 1897-1906 (French ed., Paris, 1897-1906; German ed., Paris, 1897-1905), is complemented by his numerous articles on individual paintings by Rembrandt and by his pupils.

²² On the tradition of Rembrandt connoisseurship, see RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 1, p. x; E. Haverkamp-Begemann, 'The Present State of Rembrandt Studies,' *Art Bulletin*, 53 (1971), pp. 88-104; idem, 'The State of Research in Northern Baroque Art,' *Art Bulletin*, 69 (1987), pp. 514-16; and Boomgaard and Scheller's essay in Berlin 1991-92 (note 7), pp. 106-23. On Bredius, see the foreword of A. Bredius (revised by H. Gerson), *Rembrandt, The Complete Edition of the Paintings*, London, 1969, and exhib. cat., *Bredius, Rembrandt en*

het Mauritshuis!!!, The Hague (Mauritshuis), 1991.

²³ Gerson in Art Institute of Chicago (D. C. Stam, ed.), *Rembrandt After Three Hundred Years: A Symposium – Rembrandt and His Followers (October 22-24, 1969)*, Chicago, 1973, p. 20.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 21.

²⁵ That Sandrart's remark was a generalization (written about thirty years after the fact) seems certain when one considers the variety of arrangements that were made between masters and pupils, as reviewed in R. de Jager, 'Meester, leerjongen, leertijd: Een analyse van zeventiende-eeuwse Noord-Nederlandse leerlingcontracten van kunstschilders, goud- en zilversmeden,' *Oud Holland*, 104 (1990), pp. 69-111. De Jager's findings are discussed in the concluding section of this article.

²⁶ H. Gerson, *Rembrandt Paintings*, Amsterdam, 1968, p. 62. For the original text, see A. R. Peltzer, *Joachim von Sandrarts Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675*, Munich, 1925, p. 203. Sandrart worked mostly in Amsterdam between 1637 and 1645.

²⁷ J. Bruyn, 'Rembrandt's workshop: its function and production,' in Berlin 1991-92 (note 7), p. 87 n. 13, citing C. Hofstede de Groot, 'Rembrandts onderwijs aan zijne leerlingen,' *Feest-bundel Dr. Abraham Bredius aangeboden den achttiensten April 1915*, Amsterdam, 1915, vol. 1, p. 80, and W. Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler* (6 vols.), Landau (Pfalz), 1983-[94], vol. 1, p. 14. Another scholar who adheres to the traditional interpretation is Simon Schama, who translates the line in Sandrart as 'countless young men of the foremost families' and cites Constantijn van Renesse as an example (Schama 1999 [note 7], p. 517).

²⁸ Bruyn 1991-92 (note 27), p. 70.

²⁹ See Liedtke 1995-96 (note 13), pp. 23, 28, and M. Royalton-Kisch, 'From Rembrandt to Van Renesse: some re-attributed drawings,' *Burlington Magazine*, 142 (2000), pp. 157-64.

³⁰ See Liedtke 1995-96 (note 13), pp. 16, 22. This point is also made by Van de Wetering in RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, p. 56 n. 89.

³¹ RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, pp. 55-56. See also Blankert in Melbourne 1997-98 (note 7), p. 203.

³² See De Jager 1990 (note 25), pp. 71, 86, 110.

³³ On the question of when Rembrandt was with Lastman, see Van de Wetering in exhib. cat., *The Mystery of the Young Rembrandt*, Kassel (Staatliche Museen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister), 2001-02, pp. 44-45.

³⁴ See Liedtke 1995-96 (note 13), pp. 17, 23. A main goal of that essay in New York 1995-96 (note 7) was to review who worked with Rembrandt and when, according to the best evidence available. Standard collection catalogues and reference works are frequently wrong on these details. For example, Von Moltke in Turner 1996 (note 6), vol. 11, p. 169, has Flinck in Rembrandt's studio from 1633 until 1636, despite Houbraken's remark that Flinck was with Rembrandt for one year (Houbraken 1718-21 [note 17], vol. 2, pp. 20-21). Compare S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, 'Doopsgezinden en schilderkunst in de 17e eeuw – Leerlingen, opdrachtgevers en verzamelaars van Rembrandt,' *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, 6 (1980), p. 109.

³⁵ For the latter, see RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 3, pp. 36, 46, figs. 27, 28, 47.

³⁶ On Van den Eeckhout, see Sumowski 1983-[94] (note 27), vol. 2, pp. 719-23; B. Broos, 'Gerbrand van den Eeckhout: *Isaak en Rebekka*, 1665,' *Mauritshuis Cabier*, 1 (September 1989); Liedtke 1995-96 (note 13), pp. 20, 22; and B. Broos in Turner 1996 (note 6), vol. 9, pp. 741-44.

³⁷ On Flinck's workshop, see S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, 'Het 'Schilderhuis' van Govert Flinck en de kunsthandel van Uylenburgh aan de Lauriergracht te Amsterdam,' *Amstelodamum Jaarboek*, 74 (1982), pp. 70-90. Van de Wetering, in RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, p. 59, underscores how little evidence survives concerning Rembrandt's 'workshop' in Uylenburgh's residence by seizing upon an ambiguous document. On July 26, 1632, a notary (acting on behalf of Leideners who had arranged a tontine) called at Uylenburgh's house to confirm that Rembrandt was still alive. 'The latter [in Van de Wetering's words] had to be called from

the back part of the house.' In W. S. Strauss and M. van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents*, New York, 1979, p. 87, the notary's line ('voogeroupen ende denselven int voorhuijs') is translated as: 'was called [by 'a certain young girl'] and had come to the entrance hall.' Van de Wetering concludes that work rooms were in the 'back part' of this 'large building' and that 'there was, at any event, room enough for a considerable number of painters.' There is no evidence that the previous and subsequent owners of the same north-facing workshop on the corner of the Sint Anthonisbreestraat, Cornelis van der Voort and Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy (see text below and nn. 90, 96), employed numerous assistants.

³⁸ RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, p. 47.

³⁹ Bruyn in RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 3, p. 12. He refers in the text to idem, vol. 2, ch. 2, but this must be an error (ch. 2 is on 'The canvas support') for ch. 3, Van de Wetering's essay on 'Problems of apprenticeship and studio collaboration.'

⁴⁰ The quotes are from RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, pp. 45, 57. See ibid., p. 61, on a Utrecht guild regulation of 1664 which is said to support this view.

⁴¹ On the smooth and rough manners in Rembrandt, see Van de Wetering 1997 (note 11), p. 160, and Schnackenberg in Kassel 2001-02 (note 33), pp. 92-99.

⁴² Bruyn 1991-92 (note 27), p. 70, referring to Van de Wetering's essay in RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, p. 49, and the documents cited only there.

⁴³ See RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, p. 49, and Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979 (note 37), pp. 399, 456 (doc. nos. 1657/4 and 1660/5). Compare Bruyn's statement to that in E. van de Wetering, 'The Question of Authenticity: An Anachronism? (A Summary),' in G. Cavalli-Björkman (ed.), *Rembrandt and His Pupils: Papers Given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum, Stockholm*, 2-3 October 1992, Stockholm, 1993, p. 10. Referring to documents of 1644 and 1664, he concludes, 'There are strong indications that in the Dutch art world there was a tendency to become more and more specific on who had done what in the studio.'

⁴⁴ Bruyn 1991-92 (note 27), p. 71.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 71 (adding in n. 31 that this was in Rotterdam in 1634 and in Edam in 1642). Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979 (note 37), p. 112, doc. no. 1634/7, add 'sic' after 'merchant.' It should at least be noted that the description of Rembrandt as 'coopman tot Amsterdam' is the notary's not Rembrandt's choice of words, in a document that has nothing to do with art. The same is true of the Edam document (Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 230, doc. no. 1642/8).

⁴⁶ Bruyn 1991-92 (note 27), p. 85, attributes the horse in the *Equestrian Portrait* of Frederick Rihel (National Gallery, London) to a workshop assistant – perhaps the painter's son Titus (ibid., p. 89 n. 91) – as 'a most unusual, and perhaps unique' instance of collaboration on a large canvas. To the present writer's knowledge this opinion is rejected not only in N. MacLaren (revised and expanded by C. Brown), *The Dutch School 1600-1900* (National Gallery Catalogues), London, 1991, p. 360, but also universally.

⁴⁷ As is well known, the RRP has abandoned their classification system, and along with it their chronological approach: see Van de Wetering's letter in *Burlington Magazine*, 135 (1993), p. 765. This is unfortunate from an editorial and publishing point of view. A better solution would have been to make the 'B' category as large as necessary. The 'A-B-C' remark comes from Liedtke 1989 (note 13), p. 325.

⁴⁸ Art Institute of Chicago 1973 (note 23), p. 29. Without mentioning Held, Van de Wetering (in RRP 1982-89 [note 5], vol. 2, p. 61) wrote of workshop collaboration, 'this possibility is disregarded or emphatically denied in the Rembrandt literature.'

⁴⁹ Art Institute of Chicago 1973 (note 23), p. 22.

⁵⁰ See A. Balis, 'Fatto da un mio discepolo': Rubens's Studio Practices Reviewed,' in T. Nakamura (ed.), *Rubens and his Workshop: The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom*, Tokyo (National Museum of Western Art), 1994, pp. 97-127.

⁵¹ An example is discussed in W. Liedtke, Review of 'Study Exhibition: *The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom*. Rubens and his

Workshop,' at the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 1993, *Burlington Magazine*, 135 (1993), pp. 718-19.

⁵² Gerson in Art Institute of Chicago 1973 (note 23), p. 22. On the Munich painting, see RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, no. A108, copy 2.

⁵³ The inscription is reproduced in RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 3, p. 112, fig. 10.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 111.

⁵⁵ Von Sonnenburg kindly made his report available to me in 1995; it was also summarized in Liedtke 1995-96 (note 13), pp. 19-20. On the St. Petersburg and Munich paintings, see also W. Liedtke, 'Dutch and Flemish Paintings from the Hermitage: Some notes to an exhibition catalogue, with special attention to Rembrandt, van Dyck and Jordaens,' *Oud Holland*, 103 (1989), pp. 156-57.

⁵⁶ B. Haak, *Rembrandt. His Life, His Work, His Time*, New York, 1969, pp. 126-27, suggests that the inscription means that Rembrandt 'painted anew' rather than 'painted over' the composition. In other words, both versions are entirely autograph. No one supports this interpretation.

⁵⁷ Compare the drawing of the Annunciation attributed to Constantijn van Renesse with corrections by Rembrandt (Kupferstichkabinett, SMPK, Berlin), which is discussed in Liedtke 1995-96 (note 13), pp. 28-29, fig. 38, and in Schama 1999 (note 7), pp. 518-19.

⁵⁸ A. Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol, Doornspijk*, 1982, p. 19, for this quote and the others in this paragraph. The italics are mine.

⁵⁹ A. Blankert, 'Rembrandt, his Pupils and his Studio,' in Stockholm 1992-93 (note 7), pp. 51, 69 nn. 24-26, repeats the comparison with Rubens and reminds readers that the idea of (in his words) 'post-doctoral' apprentices in Rembrandt's workshop dates back to his dissertation of 1976 and Bol monograph of 1982. On Schwartz 1985 (note 8), Alpers 1988 (note 8), and C. Tümpel, *Rembrandt, Mythos und Methode*, Antwerp, 1986, see the pithy opinions expressed in J. S. Held, *Rembrandt Studies*, Princeton, 1991, pp. 5-13.

⁶⁰ Blankert 1982 (note 58), p. 19. Compare Bruyn 1991-92 (note 27), pp. 70-71.

- ⁶¹ On the Berlin painting, see J. Kelch, et al., *Bilder im Blickpunkt. Der Mann mit dem Goldhelm*, Berlin, 1986.
- ⁶² For the RRP's opinion of earlier scholarship, see RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 1, p. x.
- ⁶³ Haverkamp-Begemann 1987 (note 22), p. 516.
- ⁶⁴ RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 1, p. xvi.
- ⁶⁵ E. LeRoy Lauderie, *Carnaval de Romans*, Paris, 1979.
- ⁶⁶ Held 1991 (note 59), p. 13.
- ⁶⁷ Both quotes are from Huys Janssen's essay in The Hague 1992 (note 7), p. 25.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27. Van de Wetering, in RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, p. 51, specifically condemns the description of Rembrandt's workshop as a 'training institute' (for example, by W. Martin in 1935).
- ⁶⁹ Wheelock 1995 (note 21), p. 207.
- ⁷⁰ Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979 (note 37), p. 351, nos. 25, 27, 28, and p. 361, nos. 120, 123.
- ⁷¹ See my discussion in New York 1995-96 (note 7), vol. 2, p. 74 (no. 14). A drawing of the same subject is said to be signed and dated 'C. A. Renesse, 1649, 12 sept.' (Amsterdam 1984-85 [note 7], no. 63, as signed and dated 'under the mount'). However, the inscription was actually added by a previous owner, A. Welcker, who had a habit of discovering obscure signatures on his drawings or, failing that, inventing them. J. M. P. Schaeps of the Prentenkabinet at the University of Leiden kindly offered this explanation to the present writer in April 2002.
- ⁷² Wheelock 1995 (note 21), p. 207, for this and the following quotes. Compare Bruyn 1991-92 (note 27), pp. 83-85, arguing against such a separation of invention and execution.
- ⁷³ Wheelock 1995 (note 21), p. 24. Axel Rüger (personal communication in February 2002) kindly informed me of the London staff's opinions, which are consistent with those stated in London 1988-89 (note 11), pp. 75-79.
- ⁷⁴ E. Haverkamp-Begemann, 'Rembrandt as Teacher,' in Chicago 1969-70 (note 7), p. 26.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 28.
- ⁷⁷ H. Von Sonnenburg in Art Institute of Chicago 1973 (note 23), p. 91.
- ⁷⁸ RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, nos. C68-C71.
- ⁷⁹ New York 1995-96 (note 7), vol. 1, p. 83. Von Sonnenburg (*ibid.*, p. 19) also suggests that 'minutiae' like the tiny bodice buttons in the *Portrait of a Woman* were left to a workshop assistant. For Bruyn's attribution of both Van Beresteyn portraits to Jouderville, see RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 3, pp. 32-34.
- ⁸⁰ [C. Elam], 'Editorial: The Rembrandt re-trial,' *Burlington Magazine*, 134 (1992), p. 285.
- ⁸¹ M. K. Talley, Jr., 'Connoisseurship and the Methodology of the Rembrandt Research Project,' *International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, no. 8 (1989), pp. 201, 207-8.
- ⁸² P. Broekhoff and M. Franken, Review of New York 1995-96 (note 7), in *Simiolus*, 25 (1997), p. 78. During the Rembrandt symposium held in Amsterdam on May 26-27, 2002 (in conjunction with the exhibition, 'The Mystery of the Young Rembrandt' at the Museum het Rembrandthuis), the senior member of the RRP, Van der Wetering, conceded to the audience that the Van Beresteyn *Portrait of a Man* (fig. 1) is 'about 98% by Rembrandt.'
- ⁸³ See New York 1995-96 (note 7), vol. 2, nos. 3, 4 (some opinions are cited under Literature, p. 50), and L. J. Slatkes, *Rembrandt: Catalogo completo dei dipinti*, Florence, 1992, nos. 116-17 (with severe criticism of the RRP's own lack of consensus about the Van Beresteyn portraits).
- ⁸⁴ Talley 1989 (note 81), p. 202.
- ⁸⁵ This point is also made in E. Grasman, 'The Rembrandt Research Project: reculer pour mieux sauter,' *Oud Holland*, 113 (1999), p. 156.
- ⁸⁶ C. Brown, 'Rembrandt at work: Methodological issues raised by recent research' (unpublished lecture of 1988), quoted in Talley 1989 (note 81), p. 203.
- ⁸⁷ RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, p. 48, on the 'pool of labour available to [Rembrandt] in Uylenburgh's workshop,' and p. 59 on how Rembrandt 'moved into an existing workshop' and immediately 'set the norm in deciding the style in which work was to be done.' According to the RRP, this happened in '1631, the year Rembrandt moved to Amsterdam to establish himself as a portrait painter' (*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 3).
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 48.
- ⁸⁹ The Hague 1992 (note 7), p. 23; p. 21 for the conclusion that 'the concept "academy"' is preferable to 'the school of Rembrandt' or 'the workshop of Rembrandt,' and p. 24 on Rembrandt as 'a master in the academy founded by the art dealer Hendrick Uylenburgh' (that 'intriguing figure [who] was the man in the background, the mastermind').
- ⁹⁰ Dudok van Heel 2000 (note 17), p. 14, and Dudok van Heel 2001 (note 17), p. 21. Speaking of Van der Voort's studio, Dudok van Heel suggests that 'Uylenburgh seems to have taken over and continued this workshop, possibly complete with the inventory.'
- ⁹¹ Dudok van Heel 2001 (note 17), p. 21.
- ⁹² See S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, 'Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669): A Changing Portrait of the Artist,' in Berlin 1991-92 (note 7), p. 54, and Dudok van Heel 2001 (note 17), p. 22. On Rembrandt joining the guild, see Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979 (note 37), pp. 113-14, doc. no. 1634/10, where it is noted that 'before becoming a member of the guild, an artist had to have been a citizen of Amsterdam for a year or more,' and that documents of painters becoming citizens during this period do not survive. On citizenship and membership of the craft guilds, see H. van Nierop, 'Private Interests, Public Policies: Petitions in the Dutch Republic,' in A. K. Wheelock, Jr., and A. Seeff (ed.), *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*, Newark (Delaware) and London, 2000, p. 35.
- ⁹³ Dudok van Heel 2001 (note 17), p. 22.

- ⁹⁴ Dudok van Heel 2000 (note 17), figs. 9, 24-26, 28, 30, and Dudok van Heel 2001 (note 17), p. 20, fig. 11 (the portrait of Wtenbogaert). According to Wtenbogaert's diary, Rembrandt recorded his features in Amsterdam on April 13, 1633 (Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979 [note 37], p. 99, doc. no. 1633/2). That Rembrandt could still be found in Uylenburgh's workshop in June 1634 is indicated by the *Album Burchard Grossman* in which the painter and the dealer penned tributes on consecutive pages (ibid., p. 111, doc. no. 1634/6).
- ⁹⁵ The quote is from Dudok van Heel 1991-92 (note 92), p. 55, where it refers to Rembrandt's next residence, the *Suyckerbackerij* on the Binnen-Amstel (see map, p. 58). On Rembrandt's move in 1635 see Dudok van Heel 2000 (note 17), p. 21, and the slightly less informative passage in Dudok van Heel 2001 (note 17), p. 23.
- ⁹⁶ On the Sint Anthonisbreestraat studio see also Dudok van Heel's essay in exhib. cat., *Kopstukken. Amsterdammers geportretteerd 1600-1800*, Amsterdam (Amsterdams Historisch Museum), 2002-03, pp. 50-53. The corner site is now occupied by a building dating from 1889.
- ⁹⁷ Grasman 1999 (note 85), p. 157.
- ⁹⁸ L. J. Slatkes, Review of Corpus, vol. 1, *Art Bulletin*, 71 (1989), p. 141, where this description is actually applied to the RRP's 'group approach to connoisseurship.'
- ⁹⁹ L. J. Slatkes, Review of Corpus, vol. 2, *Journal of Art*, May 1991, p. 73. See Liedtke 1995-96 (note 13), pp. 26-27, and Liedtke 1997 (note 13), p. 43, on recent attributions to Carel Fabritius.
- ¹⁰⁰ On Drost, see J. Bikker, 'Drost's end and Loth's beginnings in Venice,' *Burlington Magazine*, 144 (2002), pp. 147-56, and the literature cited there.
- ¹⁰¹ See Liedtke 1995-96 (note 13), pp. 31-32, and, for lively accounts of these late pupils, Schama 1999 (note 7), pp. 628, 642.
- ¹⁰² The dog (which did not bark because the murderer was his master) figures as evidence in Arthur Conan Doyle's story of 1894, 'The Silver Blaze.'
- ¹⁰³ Sumowski 1983-[94] (note 27), vol. 3, p. 1459.
- ¹⁰⁴ See text above at note 74.
- ¹⁰⁵ De Jager 1990 (note 25).
- ¹⁰⁶ See text above at note 15.
- ¹⁰⁷ Dudok van Heel 1991-92 (note 92), p. 54, and E. Hinterding in exhib. cat., *Rembrandt & Van Vliet: A Collaboration on Copper*, Amsterdam (Museum het Rembrandthuis), 1996, p. 25. The argument is summarized by G. Korevaar in Kassel 2001-02 (note 33), pp. 20-21.
- ¹⁰⁸ De Jager 1990 (note 25), pp. 69-71.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 75-78.
- ¹¹⁰ Bruyn 1991-92 (note 27), p. 70.
- ¹¹¹ Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979 (note 37), p. 594. See also exhib. cat., *Rembrandt: the Master & his Workshop (Drawings & Etchings)*, Berlin (Gemäldegalerie SMPK at the Altes Museum), 1991-92, no. 11.
- ¹¹² RRP 1982-89 (note 5), vol. 2, p. 54.
- ¹¹³ De Jager 1990 (note 25), pp. 70-71, 89 n. 25, and p. 97, doc. nos. 4 and 6.
- ¹¹⁴ As maintained in Haverkamp-Begemann 1969-70 (note 74), pp. 25, 29.
- ¹¹⁵ See Liedtke 1995-96 (note 13), p. 12, for stories of Goltzius imitating Dürer, the very young Lievens aping Ketel, and a painting by Heyman Dullaert passing as a Rembrandt in an Amsterdam sale.
- ¹¹⁶ Gerson in Art Institute of Chicago 1973 (note 23), p. 21 (repeated on p. 23).
- ¹¹⁷ S. Schama, 'Art for Money's Sake' (review of Charles L. Mee, Jr., *Rembrandt's Portrait*, New York, 1988), *New York Times Book Review*, May 15, 1988, p. 34. Previously quoted and compared with a remark made by Michael Kitson, in Liedtke 1989 (note 13), pp. 323, 371 n. 1.
- ¹¹⁸ The picture is considered either autograph or a studio replica in C. White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, Cambridge, 1982, no. 159.
- ¹¹⁹ See Liedtke 1997 (note 13), pp. 41-42.
- ¹²⁰ See Kelch in Berlin 1991-92 (note 7), no. 60.
- ¹²¹ See note 82 above; also Slatkes 1992 (note 83), no. 116, and New York 1995-96 (note 7), no. 3.
- ¹²² Sold at Sotheby's, New York, January 30, 1998, no. 31. See also exhib. cat., *Rembrandt Rembrandt*, Frankfurt am Main (Städelsches Kunstinstitut), 2003, p. 102 under no. 19.
- ¹²³ Melbourne 1997-98 (note 7), no. 30.
- ¹²⁴ See Slatkes 1992 (note 83), no. 255, and Liedtke 1997 (note 13), p. 43, citing other scholars.
- ¹²⁵ B. Schnackenburg in Kassel 2001-02 (note 33), p. 120 n. 105, citing other literature.
- ¹²⁶ See Slatkes 1992 (note 83), no. 287, and Wheelock 1995 (note 21), pp. 210-15.
- ¹²⁷ See Liedtke 1996 (note 13), pp. 9-10.
- ¹²⁸ See London 1988-89 (note 11), no. 4, and Slatkes 1992 (note 83), nos. 134, 135.
- ¹²⁹ See also Berlin 1991-92 (note 7), no. 75.
- ¹³⁰ See New York 1995-96 (note 7), vol. 1, pp. 43, 112-14, and vol. 2, no. 24.
- ¹³¹ Appendix B is based upon B. Broos, 'Fame shared is fame doubled,' in Amsterdam 1983 (note 7), pp. 44-50; Liedtke 1995-96 (note 13); Sumowski 1983-[94] (note 27); and other literature, checked against the best sources to date (for example, Bikker 2002 [note 100]). Rembrandt associates who were not pupils (for example, Jacob Backer, Philips Koninck and Karel van der Pluym) are excluded here, as are some possible but quite marginal pupils (Van Dorsten, Van Glabbeek, Heerschop, Horst, Mayr, Ovens, Paudiss, De Poorter and Raven).