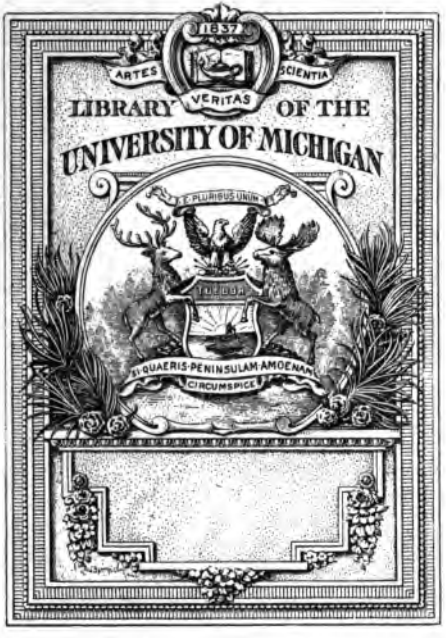
LITTLE BOOKS ON ART

REMBRANDT

ELIZABETH A. SHARP


1837
ARTES
VERITAS
SCIENTIA
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
E PLURIBUS UNUM
TUEBOR
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE

LITTLE BOOKS ON ART

GENERAL EDITOR: CYRIL DAVENPORT

REMBRANDT

LITTLE BOOKS ON ART

Demy 16*mo.* 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

SUBJECTS

MINIATURES. ALICE CORKRAN
BOOKPLATES. EDWARD ALMACK
GREEK ART. H. B. WALTERS
ROMAN ART. H. B. WALTERS
THE ARTS OF JAPAN. MRS. C. M. SALWEY
JEWELLERY. C. DAVENPORT
CHRIST IN ART. MRS. H. JENNER
OUR LADY IN ART. MRS. H. JENNER
CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM. H. JENNER
ILLUMINATED MSS. J. W. BRADLEY
ENAMELS. MRS. NELSON DAWSON
FURNITURE. EGAN MEW

ARTISTS

ROMNEY. GEORGE PASTON
DÜRER. L. JESSIE ALLEN
REYNOLDS. J. SIME
WATTS. MISS R. E. D. SKETCHLEY
HOPPNER. H. P. K. SKIPTON
TURNER. FRANCES TYRRELL-GILL
HOGARTH. EGAN MEW
BURNE-JONES. FORTUNÉE DE LISLE
LEIGHTON. ALICE CORKRAN
REMBRANDT. MRS. E. A. SHARP
VELASQUEZ. WILFRID WILBERFORCE and A. R. GILBERT
VANDYCK. MISS M. G. SMALLWOOD
DAVID COX. ARTHUR TOMSON
HOLBEIN. BEATRICE FORTESCUE
COROT. ETHEL BIRNSTINGL and MRS. A. POLLARD
MILLET. NETTA PEACOCK
CLAUDE. E. DILLON
GREUZE AND BOUCHER. ELIZA F. POLLARD
RAPHAEL. A. R. DRYHURST

Rembrandt

LANDT

REMBRANDT

BY

ELIZABETH A. SHARP

WITH FORTY ILLUSTRATIONS

METHUEN & CO.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON

First published, 1904

CONTENTS

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE—AMSTERDAM

CHAPTER V

SACRED SUBJECTS—ETCHINGS—PORTRAITS

CHAPTER VI

"THE MARCH OUT"—DEATH OF SASKIA

CHAPTER VII

LANDSCAPES—HENDRICKJE STOFFELS

CHAPTER VIII

BANKRUPTCY—LAST DAYS

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

REMBRANDT

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

ndependence of Holland—Protestantism—Separation from Flanders—Protection against the sea—Dutch commerce—Growth of Amsterdam — Spanish oppression — Union of Utrecht—Renewed hostilities with Spain—Thirty Years' War—Agriculture—Dutch East India Company—The spice trade—Drainage of the Lake of Beemster—Speculation in tulip bulbs—Leyden University—Growth of literature and art—Political reformation—Calvin—The Act of Abjuration.

TWENTY-FIVE years before the birth of Rembrandt the independence of Holland rom the tyrannous rule of the Spanish overlords vas declared, in 1581, under the leadership of William the Silent. Three years after the birth of the great Dutch painter, that typical repre-entative of Dutch independence, a truce of welve years was concluded with Spain. The essation of hostilities, of the long physical and nonetary strain, the consciousness of self-mastery,

resulted in an impetuous forward movement in every direction, material and mental. In literature and in art there arose a spirit and tendency racially idiosyncratic, foreign to the aims and temperament of the great schools of Italy, France, and Spain. For Holland was the first country unreservedly to accept the reformed teachings of Protestantism; and Rembrandt was the first great Protestant painter whose work was the outcome and expression of sturdy independence in religious and political thought, an independence that carried Holland of the seventeenth century to the high position of leadership in Europe, not only in finance, but also in matters of art and learning.

To indicate in a measure the national conditions of prosperity, their possibilities and moulding influences at the time of Rembrandt's birth; the social and religious environment in which he grew up; the materials upon which his genius developed —to this end a short historical survey may be acceptable, not only of political conditions, but also of Rembrandt's precursors in painting, of those pioneers who made ready the way for the remarkable outburst of talent and genius that appeared in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The Low Countries, Holland and Flanders, were in earlier mediæval days allied in interests of state and commerce, and united, notwithstanding racial diversities, in matters of defence against a common

foe. They were allied, too, in the art of painting, each modelled on the early German schools of Cologne, although, after the introduction of the use of oil as a medium, Flanders took the lead and held it until the final separation between the two countries — a separation not only in government, but also in religion. Various causes led to the desire for independence, to the casting off the restricting influences of feudal government. Not the least important was the spirit of manly strength, the need for united action in the ceaseless fight for existence that the Dutch people had waged with the elements themselves against the encroachments of the sea, below whose level much of their land lay, and against whose onslaughts they fortified their shores with huge dykes, and further protected their arable land by a system of canals and dams. Neither feudal nor papal authority could ensure them against such a foe; by the sweat of their brow alone could they hold their lands secure. Symbolic, indeed, is the Dutch insignia of the Lion struggling with the waves, and their national motto, "Luctor et Emergo" ("I struggle and I rise"); significant of the hardy people who could conquer the sea, could draw their wealth from the ocean, and wrest arable land from its grasp. They were able to become the great water carriers of Europe; also they did not scruple, when necessary, to

break down the dams, and thus make the sea their protector against invasion that threatened extinction. This unique geographical position, which developed the national ingenuity and mother-wit and prescribed methods of living differing from those of any other country—not excepting Venice—prepared the Dutch to make a sturdy stand against the extortion, injustice, and cruelty of their overlords, spiritual and temporal; made them ready to accept the simpler integrity of the reformed religion, and finally to free themselves from feudal thraldom.

For many years prior to the Spanish accession the commerce and industries of Holland had been steadily growing. After the tremendous impulse given to international trade by the Crusades, the chartered towns with their municipal authorities had been the means of fostering important industries, for which, in many cases, the raw material was imported from England, such as wool and flax, manipulated by Flemish and Dutch weavers to a finer texture than procurable in England. Silk, hides, furs, Oriental stuffs, etc., went to the Netherlands by the great waterway of the Rhine, and Holland was the chief timber mart of the world. The great importation of spices was centred in Holland, especially in Amsterdam—the headquarters also of the great fisheries. Thus the Dutch metropolis became, in the heyday of

its prosperity, not only the great storehouse, but also the Bank and Exchange of Europe.

This powerful city, wrested from the sea, built on piles like Venice, owed its security largely to the support of the seafaring band of "Sea-Beggars," out of which grew the fine commercial and naval fleet of Holland, which eventually demolished the Spanish treasure fleet, and shared the mastery of the seas with England.

After the Spanish accession the foreign rulers, aware of the wealth and growing power of this northern possession, and realising that the growing Protestantism was a serious menace to the spirit of feudal dependence in the Dutch, did everything in their power to stamp out the heresy and re-establish the rule of the Roman Church. They drained the country's resources with grievous impositions and established the Inquisition. Alva and his Bloody Council in the short space of six years put 18,600 people to death. His pitiless rule succumbed before the growing strength of the victorious northern counties, consolidated in 1574, after the celebrated and prolonged siege of Leyden. The counties of Holland and Zealand bound themselves together in a common cause, re-established Protestantism, and, under William the Silent, threw off the Spanish yoke. At the Union of Utrecht, in 1579, the constitution of the Dutch Republic was

virtually agreed upon, and two years later the independence of the northern provinces of Holland and Zealand was declared, and the government placed in the hands of the States-General. Thereupon began an era of prosperity for the Dutch people throughout the seventeenth century, strengthened by the truce of twelve years.

The Flemish Netherlands, however, were more vacillating in their policy, divided in their aims and religious opinions, and thus protracted the rule of the Spaniards and that of their heirs over them. In 1621 hostilities recommenced upon the refusal of the Dutch to renew the truce on terms of Spanish occupancy, Austrian rule, and re-establishment of Roman Catholicism. In the renewal of the war Dutch interests and prosperity suffered less than previously for several reasons. Holland was united and strengthened at home, richer and more powerful abroad; the Spanish power on land and sea was on the wane; its vast Empire was shrinking and passing, in part, into the hands of its enemy the Dutch; it could no longer lay exclusive claim to the Atlantic. Much of the struggle was fought away from the original seat of war—was waged in foreign waters by England and Holland. Thus the heart of the mother country lay yet awhile in peace. Moreover, the terrible Thirty Years' War had broken

out between Teuton and Czechs over questions of Austrian succession, embittered by an underlying strife between Catholicism and Protestantism, and was of major importance in European affairs. And though Holland, as every other European country, suffered the loss of men and the crushing burden of overtaxation, nevertheless the country was saved from the horrors of civil war and from the presence of a foreign enemy on its soil, its cities from devastation and famine.

In the days of peace the energy and enterprise of the Dutch showed in every direction of human affairs. To this period of their upwelling prosperity we owe many of the civilising elements that have entered into daily life—such as the wholesale cultivation of vegetables and the storage of edible roots for winter use—one great factor in the lessening of the scourge of leprosy prevalent in Europe. Given a vigorous race inured to work and endurance, trained to foresight through opposition, and cramped by the limits of a small sea-girt land, there results of necessity the overflow of population into other areas of activity beyond their borders: in other words, the growth of important colonies. Thus it was with the Dutch. Their commercial relations with Spain prior to and during the war pointed out a road for enterprise, the possibilities of securing lands for self-expansion beyond the seas. Eager

minds coveted the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the East and West Indies. Roving seamen went to spy out the lands, and their eagerness was whetted by Linschoten's account of Portuguese Bombay, by his maps and charts, his observations and notes upon routes. Eager to find a short route to China and India, the first exploration to the North Pole was fitted out in 1594, and others to the North and South Poles in 1595-6-8. In 1602 the Dutch East India Company was formed and founded the city of Java in Batavia, and in 1605 the Company's third fleet secured the Moluccas, and with it the monopoly of the spice trade; and in 1607 the Dutch trade flourished in the East and West Indies, from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan, in Africa from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope.

It is difficult now wholly to realise the importance of the spice trade, and what in point of wealth its monopoly implied. But it must be remembered that in those warlike days, when intercommunication was slow and very precarious, the food supply was also precarious and little varied. Till the seventeenth century luxuries were few, and every form of spice was welcomed wherewith to make new *plats*, to tickle the palate of the gourmet, or to disguise the high flavour of overlong-kept meats. To raise a sufficient supply of foodstuffs this ingenious people drained the

Lake of Beemster, and converted 18,000 acres into arable land, and they—the first in Europe—began to cultivate and store large quantities of roots, potatoes, or turnips, and winter grasses for animals. Thus they became by degrees the great market-gardeners of Europe. With prosperity, peace, and security, when the arts of peace turned to the expression of beauty in life, the Dutch gave their attention also to the growth of flowers; out of this there arose an enormous industry in roots and bulbs, and to this day the Dutch remain the great horticulturists of Europe. So great grew this mania for speculating in tulip bulbs, that in 1637 enormous fortunes were made and lost in this business, even at a time when war taxation was very heavy.

Not only did Holland become the chief commercial centre of Europe, but also the chief seat of learning. To commemorate the great siege of Leyden, a university, which for two centuries ranked first in Europe, was founded in that city. Leisure, the outcome of prosperity during the rapid growth of the virile Republic, stimulated thought to great issues in all departments of learning—in science, jurisprudence, in physics. Literature flourished; Holland was the great printing press of Europe; no ban was laid upon the publication of books, nor on the free expression of thought. A fine expressive literature arose in

prose and poetry, rivalled only by the extraordinary growth of the arts of painting and etching, as exemplified by Ostade, Jan Steen, Ruysdael, Hobbema, Van de Velde, and Rembrandt.

Before discussing the condition of art at the date of Rembrandt's birth, one other point must be considered, the vital cause which more than any other not only contributed to the strength of Holland, but sounded the first note of modernity in European government that has had such striking expansion in England, America, and elsewhere. The Hollanders, in adopting the reformed religion, therewith inaugurated a political reformation. The vital cause that went to the making of the dignity of the personal freedom of the subject was the adoption of Calvin's democratic views at the time of the Reformation instead of those of Luther. Roman Catholicism upheld the power of the ruler, the divine right of kings. As a corollary, the right of the people was non-existent save as expressed in the right of the king. Ruling nobles considered their will—as lieutenants of the king—equally binding on a people who existed to labour for the welfare of their overlords. Luther revolted from papacy, but upheld the power of the king and the teaching that the people must be of the same religion as their ruler. Calvin was democratic in his attitude, and upheld the rights of man as an integral part of his teaching.

To quote Mr. Thorold Rogers: "The Act of Abjuration was the first appeal which the world has read on the duties of rulers to their people. . . . The Dutch were the first to justify their action [of revolt] by an appeal to the first principles of justice. They were the first to assert and prove that men and women are not the private estate of princes to be disposed of in their industry, their property, their consciences, by the discretion of those who were fortunate enough to be able to live by the labour of others. They were the first to affirm that there must be a contract between the ruler and the people." In short, they were the first "to argue that governments exist for nations and not nations for governments; the first also to permit and to acknowledge religious toleration, and to concede it to others. The logical outcome of their religious attitude, their political faith, emphasised by the terrible experiences of the Inquisition, resulted, after the establishment of Calvinism in Holland, in the spread of a wise tolerance of other faiths to such an extent that the much-persecuted Jew settled in Amsterdam, took wealth with him, and did his share in the development of the internal and foreign commercial relationships and prosperity."

CHAPTER II

PRECURSORS

Northern art and the Reformation—Growth of the Dutch school—Portraiture—Landscape—Marine Painting—Rembrandt's precursors and instructors—Various art centres—Italian influence—Dutch technique—Demand for portraiture—Sixteenth-century painters—Rembrandt's masters—Ravesteijn—Hals—Rembrandt's biographers.

THE revival of painting in Northern Europe arose out of conditions differing materially from those affecting Italian art. Based equally on an awakening of national feeling, of racial unity (however defective and intermittent), the Italian renaissance was directly the outcome of classical research and dependent for patronage on the growing power of the papacy. Northern art, though it also received its original impulse from the Church, became secularised and developed contemporaneously with the art of printing and with the growth of the teachings of the Reformation. Originally an outgrowth from, and similar in aims and technique to, Flemish art, the Dutch school of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries wrought out a powerful and characteristic expression of its own—national,

personal to the race, and expressive of the life and ideas of the time. The feature in common between the Flemish and Dutch arts, whereby they differed from Italian art, was the art of portraiture in the widest sense. Idealism was not with them a characteristic quality or aim ; in the northern presentment of religious subjects the symbolic presentment of idealised thoughts and visions was not attempted. The absorbing interest was the realistic delineation of facts, the analytic portrayal of visible emotion, resulting often—especially in the earlier period—in the exaggeration of depicted grief or ecstasy, lacking in control or beauty of expression. The natural outcome of the political and religious division between the neighbouring countries of Holland and the Netherlands was the rise of a new and expressive direction in the national painting in Holland, which led to the great school of the seventeenth century, culminating in Rembrandt, in the growth of landscape art under Goyen, Hobbema, Ruysdael, and of marine painting under Willem van de Velde the younger, etc.

In order to understand Rembrandt's influence, his position amid his contemporaries, and his ascendency, it may be well to survey rapidly the aims and tendencies of his immediate predecessors, among whom were men whose paintings had influenced his boyhood and his ideals, and others

who were his actual instructors. Until the middle of the sixteenth century Flemish art led the northern schools; and the Antwerp school, which culminated in Rubens, born about thirty years before Rembrandt, had a wide influence. In Holland there were several active art centres in the most important and commercially active cities —Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leyden, the Hague, Dordrecht. In each city was a painters' guild, and a young artist had little or no chance of success or patronage until he had qualified himself to be elected to membership. The influence of the Italian Renaissance had made itself felt in the north. Painters journeyed to Italy to study there, and brought back new methods of composition, of approach to their subject, new ideas of costumes and drapery, of architectural setting and backgrounds; and, most important of all, of chiaroscuro, of the lighting of their pictures. The great period of Italian art was over. Michelangelo died in 1564, Titian in 1576, Paolo Veronese in 1588, Tintoretto in 1594. The great wave of the Italian Renaissance was spending itself in the imitative, uninspired work of the Eclectics under the Carracci, of the mannerists and the naturalists. Happily the native impulse in Holland was too strong to be seriously deflected by foreign influences, but men such as Pinas, Lastman, and Elsheimer had studied in Italy and influenced their

countrymen strongly; while Honthorst or Gerardo della Notte, as he was called in Italy, had an abiding influence on young Rembrandt with his striking, rather theatrical studies of figures silhouetted against vivid lamp or candle light in a wholly dark environment. The appeal of such scenes to the young chiaroscurist is very obvious.

Although religious painting had been practised in Holland prior to the Reformation, it was always in the form of a picture; frescoes and the covering of large wall surfaces were climatically impossible; and indeed the adoption of highly-glazed surfaces and fine finish generally was in part due to the need of protection against damp, a need which led the Dutch from the first to consider technical safeguards of the highest importance. These votive paintings were not solely religious subjects, for it was usual for the donor to have the portraits of himself, wife, and family introduced. With the development of the prosperity of the cities the art centres quickened also. At the Reformation religious subjects were little in demand, and when depicted by brush became the layman's interpretation and not that of ecclesiastical tradition. Holland under Calvinistic rule did not make the mistake fallen into by Scotland and England of confounding the expression of a definite range of subjects in art with the expression of art itself. Curiously enough, historical painting

proper in the political sense had no attraction for the Dutch—their minds were not of epical mould. With the rise of the burgher to predominance came the desire for commemorating notable men of the city, prominent guilds and corporations; and it was a natural step therefrom to study the life of the people in detail during the security of hard-won peace, in the occupations and amusements, serious or banal, of their home life. During those sinister last thirty years of Spanish supremacy a group of artists arose in Haarlem, Leyden, Delft, or Amsterdam — a strong advance-guard to the brilliant group who formed the glory of the Dutch school of the seventeenth century. The earlier men, little known outside their own country, and not sufficiently reckoned with by foreigners, nevertheless determined the character of Dutch art, gave it its "pattern," so to speak, and decided its scope and tendencies. They established certain artistic national traditions, and prepared the way for their more brilliant followers. The most important among these men were Vroom, Miereveld, Ravesteijn, Lastman, Pinas, Hals, van Schooten, van de Venne, de Keyser, Honthorst, Old Cuyp, Goyen, E. van de Velde, Roghman. Out of these one or two had direct influence upon Rembrandt. It will be well to consider for a moment the few who were his particular pre-

cursors. Jan Pinas has been quoted as a master of Rembrandt, but neither Orlers nor Sandrart consider him as such. Both he and Lastman, Rembrandt's master in Amsterdam, had studied in Italy. Pinas was noted in his day, but his painting is characterless save for careful finish and decided Italian influence in effects of light. He and Pieter de Grebber used styles of costume for women, rich draperies and turbans that were afterwards adopted by Rembrandt in historical and contemporary subjects. Joris van Schooten, of Leyden, is quoted by van Leeuwen as Rembrandt's master. He was a man of importance in his town, and in 1626 painted for the Doelen near the White Gate large "Regent pieces" of grouped officers in brilliant coloured dress, halberds and scarves, realistically treated with the figures juxtaposed, but in no sense composed. Rembrandt must certainly have been familiar with these paintings that hung so near to his own home. His most important precursors, however, were Ravesteijn and Frans Hals. Joannes van Ravesteijn was born in 1572 and lived in the Hague. He was chosen by the Municipality as painter of portraits and civic compositions for the Doelen and Town Hall. In 1618 he painted his celebrated group, "The Magistrates seated at a Banquet receiving the Officers of the Guard." Admirably characterised, rich in colour, warm in

tone, and painted with a generous impasto; the whites reflected with brown, the brown and golden tones, the amber-coloured flesh, and luminous passages have affinities with Rembrandt's work.

More remarkable still is the work of that brilliant genius, Frans Hals, of Haarlem. Born in Antwerp, though educated at, and thereafter a resident in, Haarlem, this virtuoso of the brush, whose technical prowess was of so high a quality, was the connecting link between Rubens and the Dutch school, the link through whom the open masterly brushwork of Rubens became known in the north. The extraordinary *élan* of Hals' brushwork, his swift stroke—so full of knowledge, so sure of effect—his brilliant handling of colour, the play of light in the modelling of flesh, the characterisation of his heads, the synthetic expression that disdained high finish to cover painstaking labour—these qualities cannot have failed to impress the young painter, who, though he did not desire to travel or to become Italianised, nevertheless cared to possess examples of the finest painting procurable by him, and was ready to acknowledge genius wherever he met it. When young Rembrandt first took brush in hand he would have known of the repute of the great master; and when in Amsterdam, or journeying by canal from Leyden to the capital, he must often have spent several hours at

Haarlem studying the new methods of the genial improvident painter. There is reason to suppose that Hals' influence began after Rembrandt's short studentships in Amsterdam, when he had weighed the close, firm, highly finished, unoriginal methods of his immediate predecessors and teachers and had found them wanting. On returning to his birth-town to work according to his own will, he would on the way refresh himself, and study—if not eagerly for the first time, at any rate with more seeing eyes, more affinity of mind—the spontaneous mastery of brushwork in Hals' work, the harmonies of colour, at times so subtle, the living characterisation of heads, the vivid presentment of the actual, the careful though intuitive choice of pose and expression, the obvious delight of the master in the painting of flesh and in his handling of light—though not primarily of shadow—and realise that therein lay the direction for his own development, based on a sound training in the fundamental laws of draughtsmanship and use of colour.

Before closing this chapter it may be well to indicate the reliable sources from which the various lives of Rembrandt have been drawn. Many were the fictitious stories circulated about him to his discredit, founded in most part on lack of understanding of the ways and habits of the seventeenth century, on hasty assumptions, on

false stories circulated and chronicled by his enemies. Now, through the careful researches and labours of such eminent writers as Scheltema, Thoré (whose pseudonym is W. Bürger), Vosmaer, Bode, and Bredius, who have made a thorough investigation of contemporary documents, public registers and archives, a more correct estimate is possible.

The first writer to mention Rembrandt is his contemporary, J. J. Orlers, who published a *Description of the Town of Leyden* in 1641, in which he alludes to several painters and artists of his day. His information concerning men prior to 1607 he derived from van Mander. In 1661 Cornelius Bie published his *Het Gulden Cabinet*, but he relates nothing fresh about Rembrandt. Simon van Leeuwen, in his *Description of the Town of Leyden*, 1672, has modelled himself on Orlers and is less reliable. Joachim de Sandrart's biography is of much greater value. Born in Frankfort of noble parentage in 1606, he worked as an artist in Amsterdam in 1638–41. His book appeared in German in 1675, and in Latin in 1683, compiled from notes, etc. His references concerning Rembrandt end with the year 1641, and his description of him as a man who produced simple work with nothing drawn from poetry or history, shows that whatever may have been his personal acquaintance with Rembrandt he himself

was so committed in taste to the German school of historical painters, and in probable sympathy with the Italian style then in vogue, that he was as unable as most other of his contemporaries to grasp Rembrandt's point of view, to gauge the importance of Rembrandt's "simple" expressive work, or to foresee his influence. Samuel van Hoogstraten, born in Dordrecht in 1627, was for three years a pupil of Rembrandt, whom he called his second master. In his *Inleyding tot de Hooge School der Schilderkonst* (Rotterdam, 1678), he gives and quotes current opinions and impressions, and a few personal details concerning the great painter. Later, Hoogstraten's pupil, Arnold Houbraken, a painter and engraver, relates many stories and details about Rembrandt, probably learnt from his master, which he colours and distorts to give them force and thereby unintentional inaccuracy. He was the first to promulgate the hearsay as authentic narrative, and in this was followed by other writers whose sources of information were even less accurate than his. It was left to the nineteenth century to disentangle fact from fiction, and present to us in clearer light the superb painter, the inimitable etcher, and to prove to us finally that the best biography of the man lies in the study of his work.

CHAPTER III

YOUTH—LEYDEN

Leyden — Its University and prominent men — Rembrandt's parents and home — Rembrandt's birth—Boyhood — Surroundings — Interests — Schooling — Apprenticeship — Swanenburgh—"Vanitas"—Lastman's studio in Amsterdam—Technique—Etching—Etchers of the sixteenth century—Rembrandt the etcher—His progress as painter—Contemporaries—Return to Leyden—Guilds of painters—Theatre of Anatomy—Self-portraiture—Early paintings—Early etchings—Early portraits—Biblical subjects—Portraits of his mother—His Leyden period—Method of development—His technique—Huygens' record of Rembrandt in Leyden.

IN the early days of the seventeenth century Leyden, a flourishing city, ranked second in importance to Amsterdam. Its industries flourished, its cloth factories were the first in Europe, its burgher merchants were its aristocrats. The memory of the terrible experiences of the famous war, become a thrilling tradition to the rising generation of Holland, was fading in the growing prosperity of this fair, cultured city. The celebrated University, founded in commemoration of the victorious siege, was Leyden's chief witness to her intellectual supremacy in the Republic, and

indeed in Europe. Students flocked to it from all parts of Holland, from all parts of Europe; it counted among its professors such distinguished men as Scaliger, Lipsius, Vossius, and Arminius, whose name is associated with the Calvinistic struggle.

Rembrandt's parents lived at the corner of the Weddesteg (the little street of the slaughter-house), near the Wittepoort (the White Gate), in a house on the angle of the ramparts at a point where the Rhine divides and forms a natural moat round the town and feeds its canals with moving water. Much of the old town still stands—houses with crows' nests and gables, busy tree-shaded canals, the stone-paved market-square dominated by a great windmill, the picturesque central Burg dating from Saxon days and dominated by the tower of the old cathedral. The ramparts have gone; the town has grown out beyond the Rhine limit on the western side; a school for young seamen stands on the place of the painter's early home.

Rembrandt Harmenszoon, or Harmensz, van Rijn was the son of Harmen Gerritsz van Rijn, a miller, and of his wife Neeltje (Cornelia), the daughter of Willems, a Leyden baker. Rembrandt's father belonged to the lesser burgher class, and lived in comfortable prosperity. An old print published in Vosmaer's biography shows the

position of his mill and house with its enclosed garden, and finally destroys the legend that the painter was born and lived in a mill near the village of Leydersdorp. It has been proved, moreover, by M. Rammelman Elsevier, a distinguished palæographer and descendant of the famous printers of Leyden, in the *Konst en Letterbode*, that Harmen lived in the Weddesteg from 1599–1646. That he was a man of some education and worth is witnessed by the fact that he held more than once the post of "Chief of the Parish of the Pelican District." Recent researches show that he owned a grave in the church of St. Peter's; and that, according to his will, he died possessed of a windmill, several houses, plate, jewels, linen, and other household items, also of some gardens outside the town. Rembrandt was the fifth of six children born to the miller and his wife. The exact date of birth is uncertain; authorities are divided whether to accept July 15th, 1606, 1607, or 1609 — 1606 is the most probable, being that given by the early biographers, Orlers (whose *Description of Leyden* was published in Rembrandt's lifetime), Leeuwen, and Houbraken. Vosmaer (Rembrandt's chief Dutch biographer) rejected this date for 1608, upon Dr. Scheltema's discovery of the entry dated July 10th, 1634, in the marriage registers of Amsterdam: "Rembrandt Harmensz, of Leyden,

aged 26." In the British Museum there is an etched portrait of Rembrandt by himself, inscribed: *Æt. 24, anno 1631.* Charles Blanc points out that the figure 24 may be read as 25, and thus bring the date into accord with the preferred date of birth 1606. But I should like to point out that the inscription "anno 1631" does not necessitate the birth date 1607, unless the etching were executed *after* July 15th. Therefore it is possible still to accept the inscription as a proof of the birth date 1606. One of two documents found by Dr. Bredius (the Curator of the Mauritshuis at The Hague) tends to further confusion. It is the *procès-verbal* of a committee of experts convened in September 16th, 1653, to decide upon the attribution of a picture to Paul Bril, and speaks of Rembrandt as "about forty-six." If accepted literally it places the birth date in 1607; but if we accept it as meaning "in his forty-sixth year" the birth date remains 1606. The second document is a Register of students of the Faculty of Letters at Leyden in 1620, in which Rembrandt's age is stated as fourteen, and thus again confirms the birth date as 1606; and this date we propose to accept, and the more readily as it is upheld by such competent critics as Messrs. Bredius, Bode, Karl Woermann, and E. Michel.

Little is known of Rembrandt's boyhood. Though details of his early life are lacking, we

are very familiar with the appearance and character of his parents, from the many drawings and paintings the youth made of them. Very familiar is the thin, resolute face of the miller with his beak nose, small keen eyes, and compressed determined lips—a man of will, persistence, and activity, who, judging from the lines of his face, had overcome manifold difficulties on his road to success. The mother we know still better. From the loving, respectful care the son bestowed on her portraits, from his studies of her habitual positions of repose or during her daily occupations, it is easy to infer how strong and wise was the influence she exerted on the mind and character of her impressionable, warm-hearted son. The lines of a strong character and a generous, kindly disposition are written in the loved face, already aged and marked by time and suffering when the boy was old enough to draw her at home and watch while she sat in her armchair with folded hands, or read, horn spectacles on nose, from the pages of the great Bible spread open before her. Of his brothers and sisters we know little; of their childhood, nothing. In after days Rembrandt drew one or two portraits of his elder brother, the miller, and in his early days in Amsterdam he used his sister Lysbeth's quiet fair face as the model for many of his women characters. But it

is a significant fact that even from his earliest days he seems to have been little attracted by childhood, by immaturity, as such. His passion was to depict life in full abounding expression. In his veins, along his nerves, ran the strong, passionate energy of life in expansion, not life in the bud, actual not potential, of his powerful nation; and nothing immature or weak stayed his pencil, unless deliberately selected for a definite purpose. Hence we may infer that in his childhood he stood somewhat apart from his brothers and their playmates, sought his own interests and amusements, and almost unconsciously began the quest that should absorb his whole lifetime, with, perhaps, only Lysbeth for confidant and admirer. Else there would surely remain some sketches or drawings of these playmates, some Ostade-like scenes of youth that had impressed him strongly. Yet, as a boy, his artistic imagination was stimulated in a hundred ways. There was much at his very door to see and watch. The coming in and out of market folk, incidents of the slaughter-house, the picturesque meetings at the Doelen in the Weddesteg, of the archers, or halberdiers, with their brilliant scarves and feathered hats; the marketing of the housewives, the transport of merchandise in the slow barges on the canals; the arrival of travellers in lumbering coaches, on

horseback or by canal, and the endless horde of beggars, crippled and in rags, that the protracted wars had thrown upon the country. Endless things there were to watch while daylight lasted, and at night, in winter, expressive faces to draw in the glow of the firelight, or by the light of lamp or candle that threw fantastic shapes and shadows on ceilings and walls, and left the remote corners in gloom, effects never forgotten, which haunted the painter throughout life. As a child he found untiring interest in turning over the pages of the great Bible with its fine engravings, and in listening at his mother's knee while she told him Bible stories in reverent homely speech, and thus stored his mind with sacred lore from which, later, he drew so constantly, and depicted in accordance with his personal interpretation.

At other times he loved to wander out by the White Gate with its Gothic towers, across the river into the low-lying meadow-land, past the richly cultivated gardens to the wide stretches of pasturage beyond with their canals and low line of willows and sedges, past the isolated cottages with their high, pitched roofs surrounded by trees to protect them from the bitter winds, and near to the windmills that here and there dominated the level land stretching away to the dyke-guarded sea.

In such surroundings a different phase of life

would attract the boy and enthrall his spirit. There, he would find himself face to face with nature, with the play of elements, with the expression of life in an impersonal aspect, immense, mysterious, now kindly, now terrifying. There, the straight lines of cattle-dotted fields and water-channels carry the eye over the great spaces to the low, distant horizon, where it touches the vast covering dome of sky, that by comparison reduces the habitable land to a few acres always at the mercy of powerful elements. There, all the petty details of life are forgotten—the evidences of human toil are reduced to the simplest expression. In their place, a marvellous procession of clouds, densely gathered, or wind-scattered athwart a sky of rain-swept blue—an ever-changing succession of cloud-forms, delicate as a shadow or compact and purple-grey, revealing in their passage the glitter of tremulous leaves, a red splatch of roof, the sharp white line of water, or the sudden swaying of trees as their tops are caught by the passing blast. Exquisite days of golden stillness would be alternated with the deep fascination of invading mists, of silvery veils softening and beautifying, or of sullen grey encroaching and concealing, with now and again a sharp shaft of light piercing a rent of cloud, isolating and irradiating one spot of earth, and deepening the mystery of gloom around. Such

visions would sink into the boy's mind, and deepen his impressions, quicken his perception of the relative value of life, strengthen the growing need and desire to give outward expression to the ceaselessly growing, imperative emotions stirring within him. Pencil and paper would be his invariable companions; and doubtless his instruction in the then important art of calligraphy gave firmness and strength to his hand, and trained his eye in the appreciation of the beauty of the black line incisively drawn on white, a natural preparation for the handling of the etching-needle.

His parents evidently recognised that there was promise of no ordinary sort in their son, and gave him as good an education as lay in their power. They arranged for him to attend Latin classes for the ultimate study of law at the University, in the proud hope that he might afterwards be of service to his country and town. But he preferred the school of Nature to the teaching to be procured from the professor's desk, and record is not necessary to assure us that the boy frequently played truant. Wherefore, when he was about fifteen, his parents consented that he should follow his own bent and be apprenticed to a painter. Leyden was a flourishing art centre in those days, and boasted of local talent. The Town Hall treasured the celebrated "Last Judgment" by Lucas

van Leyden, also a large altar-piece by his master, Cornelius Engelbrechtsz, concerning which van Mander wrote that "mighty monarchs had made proposals for its acquisition, but their offers were politely declined by the magistrate, who did not wish to part with so glorious a production by his fellow-countryman." Leyden never tired of the rumour of how the Emperor Rudolph, wishful to buy the great picture, had offered to cover it with gold coin. Few names have come down to us of the members of the Painters' Guild from among whom a teacher was selected. We know that Joris van Schooten (1587–1651) had adorned the walls of the neighbouring Doelen with a large portrait group of officers; that Isaac Claesz van Swanenburgh had been commissioned in 1578 to paint a series of panels for the Cloth Hall representing the various processes of sheep-shearing, spinning, weaving, dyeing, and packing, interesting little historical notes, now hidden away in a remote corner of the old hall. Jacob van Swanenburgh, the son of Isaac, a mediocre painter but a man of good repute and social standing, was eventually chosen; to him Rembrandt was apprenticed for three years and lived in his family, as was the habit of the day. Swanenburgh had followed the example of Jan Schorel, who was appointed in 1527 superintendent of the works of the Vatican by his

countryman, Pope Adrian VI., and other contemporary artists, and had studied in Italy, where he had taken to himself a wife. Rembrandt worked hard, and was kindly treated by his master, who mixed in the best society of the town and did not exploit his pupils as was the frequent habit of the day. The exact year of Rembrandt's apprenticeship is not known, possibly 1620—the year the Pilgrim Fathers left Holland to found New Amsterdam in America—or 1622, when he would be sixteen years old. Among other forms of work he had set him to do were the still-life compositions called "Vanitas," arrangements of various objects symbolising mortality, peculiar to Leyden, and much appreciated by the stern orthodox burghers. These "Vanitas" were introduced by the local artist David Bailly, to whose work Rembrandt's "Money-Changer" shows some affinity.

Rembrandt made such rapid and remarkable progress that Swanenburgh soon realised he could teach him nothing, and prophesied a brilliant future for his pupil. Rembrandt determined to seek a wider field and better teaching, and arrangements were made for him in 1624 to study under Pieter Lastman in Amsterdam. This choice was not a good one, though Lastman was held in high repute in those days. He, too, was under Italian influence, a careful draughtsman who finished highly, but was spiritless in his composi-

tion. A few examples of his work are to be found in public galleries—such as "Ulysses and Nausicaa" and "David Singing in the Temple" in the Brunswick Museum, "The Raising of Lazarus" in the Mauritshuis, all very flat and uninteresting; and the Russian Count Stelsky possesses a "Peter and Paul before the Altar to the Unknown God," which, however, has been so much repainted as to look wholly modern. Although Rembrandt remained with this master only a few months, six probably, he was, nevertheless, influenced by him in his love of Oriental detail, in certain forms of drapery, costume, and architecture. He possessed one of Lastman's sketch-books, and from him borrowed details of background for his "Rape of Proserpine" and "The Baptism of the Eunuch." Lastman is credited also with having influenced his pupil in the treatment of chiaroscuro. It may be so; he may have done this as instructor, but nothing in the treatment of his pictures would lead one to such a conclusion. The study of chiaroscuro was one of the great problems that Dutch art set itself to solve. Unattracted by the problem of expressing ideal emotions or abstract thoughts on canvas, these energetic practical Hollanders devoted themselves to the perfecting of the technique of the art of painting, and mastery of handling was necessary for any painter who sought the patronage of his fellow-townsmen.

In one branch of his art Rembrandt learned much from Lastman—that of etching—a form of art in which he was to attain such perfection, such originality, that in his own century and ever since he has ranked as the supreme master. Etching, whether practised first by Italians or Germans, owed its development for purposes of illustration to the rise of the art of printing. Early in the days of the Reformation the different forms of engraving were encouraged in Holland for the illustration of the Bible, books of science, etc., and it became one of the reliable methods of livelihood for artists in the same way as drawing in black and white for periodicals is in our own day.

Between the days of Dürer and Rembrandt there are few names of noted etchers. De Goudt and Jan van de Velde copied the pictures of Elsheimer and De Molyn. Goltzius was noted for the regular precision of his strokes; Magdalene van de Passe, de Soutman, de Wierix, van de Velde, and de Goudt developed a more picturesque, more personal style with delicate tones produced by fine irregular lines, that made a tissue of shadow thick or slighter at will. By the painter-etchers, etching was much used when the art of landscape drawing became national, to catch fleeting aspects, or to suggest qualities of colour, movement, or the noting of fugitive impressions. Etching, the most personal of the arts, was

assiduously cultivated by young Rembrandt, to whose impetuous temperament the laborious, lengthy process of line engraving was uncongenial. Throughout his career, during formative and mature periods alike, he made it the expression of his peculiar temperament; used it, with hand wholly obedient to brain and eye, to express the most subtle, as well as the most fleeting, of his emotional moods.

Rembrandt may or may not have been in Amsterdam for only six months, but if so, they were months of extraordinary moment. From Lastman himself he learned much of value besides technical instruction; moreover, he was face to face with the best contemporary work being done in Holland—the work of Honthorst, de Keyser, and, above all, of Frans Hals, of Haarlem. In this great art centre he heard and weighed the theories advanced by the advocates of the two opposite styles of painting then in vogue. The "Italian school" with its clear methods was condemned as foreign and out of date by the growing group of national naturalists, whose brown method and treatment of chiaroscuro were in turn denounced by their travelled opponents as untrue and ignorant. Among the "browns" ranked the famous painters, Ravesteijn, Honthorst, Bramer, van Goyen, and Roghman, Rembrandt's precursor in the poetically realistic conception of

landscape with its aerial perspective, warm tones, and science of chiaroscuro.

Acquainted with the leading people of Leyden, thanks to Swanenburgh, the young painter determined to make his independent essay in his native town, and there he settled in 1624 and worked for seven years, befriended by Esaias van de Velde and other artists. These early years were among the most important in his life. He observed, pondered, and experimented. Potentially he was a great man then; for already he saw, as only the greatest artist sees—saw, as it were, a new revelation of familiar things, and saw with so acute a creative insight that he realised he could himself gain knowledge and experience no one else could teach him—knowledge that he could not learn in the studios of Amsterdam; that neither Florence, Rome, nor even Venice could teach him; that only Rembrandt van Rijn, in his own familiar environment, amid familiar circumstances, could learn to know. He sought neither masters nor schools for instruction. He simply worked, steadily, patiently, passionately; worked at his art as at a trade—for it was regarded primarily as a trade in Holland—and through this very conscientiousness, thoroughness, and mastery of his trade, he made it the means wherewith he expressed the great aims and ideals of his life. So advanced was he in technical proficiency that

by his twenty-first year he had a pupil of promise, a fellow-townsman, born in the same year as himself, who in due time became famous as Gerard Dou.

It is not known where his studio was in Leyden, but Houbraken relates "that he never left off working in the house of his parents while daylight lasted"; and doubtless there is some truth in the stories that he developed his love of chiaroscuro by watching the play of light and shade in the dusky corners and among the dark beams of his father's mill, lighted by its one window. His years of apprenticeship entitled him to become a member of the Artists' Guild (though of the fact there is no record), without which it was difficult—in fact, impossible—for a young painter to gain customers. M. van der Willigen, in his *Artists of Haarlem*, has given an interesting account of the valuable records left by the powerful Guild of St. Luke, which at the end of the seventeenth century boasted of 174 painters of repute. The laws of the guild were severe. "No one without the pale of the society could sell or introduce his pictures." Many painters, therefore, found themselves forced to join the guild in order to obtain the ordinary advantages of their own work. "Every year two sales were announced by the officers of the guild; each member could bring to the sale whatever he wished to sell." Even

with the advantages of the guild, painters, unless very prolific and very popular, were not necessarily prosperous—as shown by the endless impecuniosity of Frans Hals, one of the most famous members of the Guild of St. Luke. Private patronage, also, did much to encourage young painters of mark. There were portraits needed of noted burghers, statesmen, soldiers, or sailors; there were the "Regent-pictures" to celebrate the various companies of archers, arquebusiers, etc., and adorn the walls of their Doelen; there were also the anatomy pictures, with which the walls of the medical and surgical lecture-halls were adorned. It will easily be understood that in a country of realistic tendencies the new scientific study of anatomy would be eagerly entered into. These lecture-halls, with their busts and pictures of professors, with their collection of minerals, stuffed animals, human skeletons, and curiosities, were practically museums of natural history that were visited with interest by the inhabitants of the town. This is shown in an engraving by W. Swanenburgh, dated 1610, representing the Theatre of Anatomy, Leyden. The professor, in a central space, stands at the dissecting-table, on which are the opened bodies. Along the line of seats are arranged the curiosities of all kinds; for instance, a human skeleton riding a skeleton horse, and two other

skeletons arranged to represent Eve giving Adam the apple beneath a tree. Other skeletons hold banners with Latin mottoes, such as "Nascentes morimur," "Mors ultima linea rerum." Surgical instruments are carefully elaborated lying under a glass case. And in the body of the hall visitors—men and women—are moving and looking about; to one lady a professor is showing a flayed human skin, at which she looks with a polite interest that denotes a total lack of imagination. We are told that even the country-folk made these halls one of the "sights" to see on market-days. A French traveller, Mons. le Monconys, visited Leyden in 1663, and in his *Journal* (published at Lyons in 1677) describes the Theatre of Anatomy as "very pretty, shaped like an amphitheatre of wood, very clean," and as containing "an infinity of skeletons of men and animals and several rarities."

For seven years Rembrandt remained in Leyden, and "practised painting alone and according to his own mind." We know that he worked steadily in his father's house. A temperament mentally solitary, experimental, questing, he did not care to live alone. The tenor of his life has shown this: throughout he needed the sympathetic companionship and protective care of woman; his mother, his sister Lysbeth, Saskia, Hendrickje tended him one after the other. This is probably

a reason why he worked in his father's house and, as far as we know, did not set up a separate studio of his own. Nor, indeed, was it yet necessary, for he had his models at hand beside him daily: his mother, his father, his sister, and still more important to him at that period, himself. With an endless curiosity he watched the well-known faces, and studied in his own the varied emotions he saw; he painted the grave placidity of expression and control of the women, and of the older man; then turned to his own mirror and analysed one expression after another on his own face—laughter, anger, inquiry, repose, even vacancy of expression — admirable exercises that bore such remarkable after-fruit. His own portraits—drawn, etched, and painted—give a deeper insight into the spiritual biography of the man than any series of facts can do. He began this practice in Leyden, when his face was yet unlined, when outlook and expectancy showed through the bright, clear eyes, before emotion and suffering had traced their lines on his rugged, plebeian face, with its thick nose and sensitive mouth. From the first he was a pioneer who ceaselessly strove to solve the great problems of human life, and of beneficent light, to him the symbol of all life. Naturally his earliest work is experimental, akin in manner and manipulation to that of his contemporaries. He was pre-

cocious and open-minded, original and confident, he nevertheless turned to the great ones in art to learn from them all he could. His mania for collecting seems to have been coincident with his first earnings, for he early possessed a set of engravings by the Lorraine artist, Callot—etchings and engravings would obviously be the first form of art to come within his reach, and as soon as his own etchings became of any value, he used to exchange them for those of other artists.

Rembrandt's two earliest-known paintings date from 1627: "The Money-Changer," in the Berlin Gallery, and "St. Paul in Prison," in the Stuttgart Museum. The latter picture, for which he proudly received a few guilder, was sold in 1867 for 4,000 francs. Both are carefully studied and finished, painted under contemporary influences, and in no wise remarkable. An indication of his maturer insight into character is suggested by the serious intentness of St. Paul's face; the candlelight arrangement in the "Money-Changer" he borrowed from Honthorst and others, whom he later wholly eclipsed by his treatment of chiaroscuro. In his early work he strives after forcible dramatic effects to express strong emotion, not having yet learned to express it through the suggestion of deep inner feeling in his subjects. The psychological aspect of life and its expression appealed to him later.

There is a touch of originality in the conception of the small "Christ at Emmaus" (1629), now in the possession of Mme. E. André at Paris. The light is focussed in such wise on one startled disciple and on the wall behind that the long magician-like figure of the revealed Christ is silhouetted as a grey shadow against the wall, a slanting line from head to floor, where crouches the second disciple. An answering note of grey is the grey coat hung on the wall; and there is an exquisite bit of genre painting in the background, where the housewife is busy at the fire, unconscious of the pregnant moment. A similar use of a slanting line of strong colour, to express dignity, is shown in the "Rape of Proserpine," painted about 1631.

"The Supper at Emmaus" was a favourite subject that Rembrandt both etched and painted. The change from the tentative effort of youth with its forced dramatic sentiment to the full maturity of technique and power of expression is markedly realised by the comparison of the little picture of 1629 with the beautiful "Christ at Emmaus" (in the Louvre) of 1648, so simple and admirable in composition, with the light radiating to the white cloth from the head of the Breaker of Bread, with his wonderful eyes and rapt expression, from whom there breathes the revealed essence of Divinity.

The earliest examples of group composition date from 1628: "St. Paul seated at a Writing-table," now at Nuremberg, "St. Peter among the Servants of the High Priest," in a private collection at Berlin, and "Samson's Capture by the Philistines," at Berlin, signed with the letters "R. H. L." (Rembrandt Harmenszoon, Leyden). To this year, also, belongs probably the earliest known painting of himself, entitled "Rembrandt with the Disordered Hair," and one of his mother, in the collection of Dr. Bredius in the Hague Museum, executed with timidity and elaborate care. The earliest known etchings date also to 1628: a head of his mother, a portrait of himself bareheaded, and "A man on Horseback," signed "R. H." A comparison of the work of 1628 shows that his power as an etcher was in advance of his possibilities as a painter. He is more certain with the needle, and at greater ease with his medium; consequently there is finer characterisation in the etched portrait of his mother than in the painted one.

In the following year, 1629, Rembrandt made his first essay with the pyramidal form of composition. If, in "Judas bringing back the Thirty Pieces of Silver," in the collection of Baron Schickler, there is exaggerated emphasis in the pose of the traitor writhing in remorse before the High Priest, there is, nevertheless, spiritual conviction and

dramatic power. "The Old Man Asleep by a Fireside," in the Turin Gallery, attributed to Rembrandt's fellow-student Lievens, is considered by Dr. Bredius and Herr Hofstede de Groot to be probably by Rembrandt, since it compares well in technique and portraiture with a small portrait by him of the miller in cap and red feather, belonging to Mr. W. B. Chamberlain, Brighton. It is important to note that at the outset of the painter's development he began the long series of fine characteristic portraits that occupied him throughout his life; and that to 1630 belongs the remarkable signed "Head of an Old Man," in the Cassel Gallery, showing psychological insight. Of greater importance, if less fine as a painting, is one of the early painted portraits of himself, "Rembrandt with the Steel Gorget," 1629–30, now at the Hague, with large clear eyes and serene, inexperienced face—the first of the extraordinary series of intimate painted portraits which forms a better biography of the painter than any published writing. He used the steel gorget, and in "St. Peter among the Servants of the High Priest" a suit of armour—his earliest studio properties—as a method of focussing the light. This biblical subject is a forerunner of many executed with brush or with etching-needle, treated from a personal point of view. A close student of the Bible, Rembrandt sought for a convincing and

independent interpretation through the actualities of his day and hour. The framework of the well-known, well-loved biblical stories remains the same; but the conventions of the Roman Catholic tradition are discarded by him for the simple presentment of themes that Protestantism required, expressed through the medium of the familiar heartfelt events of daily life. In this early picture Dutch boors are introduced, and a man in contemporary armour, for the painter was studying all types and conditions of men who came in his way, all manners of dress, tricks of pose and movement. With his etchings he was daily learning to abbreviate details and to make complete studies aside from the study of colours. He made several etchings of beggars that swarmed in the cities; beggars by trade and beggars through fortune of war, crippled, tattered, blind, admirable studies of humanity in the rough. The earliest examples, "A Beggar Warming his Hands over a Chafing-dish," and "A Beggar, a Sketch," date about 1629. To this year, also, belongs also one of his earliest drawings of himself—a bust portrait—in the British Museum, of special interest when compared with his "Rembrandt Bareheaded," for it will be seen how superior the rapid drawing is to the etched portrait. 1630 was a year of great importance in the artist's career; in it he began

to emerge from the immaturities of studentship to greater security of hand and purpose, towards mastership. To it belong some admirable portraits of his mother—lovingly treated, faithful, pathetic; for instance, "His Mother in a Black Hood," in Mr. A. Sanderson's collection at Edinburgh, "Mother Reading," belonging to the Earl of Pembroke, and another portrait of her in the Windsor Collection, wearing a large velvet hood richly embroidered inside. He also etched his own head five times, and that of his father four times.

Several important group compositions date to 1630; notably the beautiful etchings "Christ Disputing with the Doctors," and "Simeon in the Temple," similar to the ink and bistre drawing of the same subject in the British Museum. Both the etching and the drawing were obviously preliminary studies for the painting "The Presentation in the Temple," Rembrandt's finest achievement in 1631. To the previous year belong also the interesting plate known as "The Little Circumcision" and the sketch in red chalk, in the British Museum, entitled "The Entombment of Christ," and considered to have originally been a composition for "The Raising of Lazarus." Three important paintings of Rembrandt's Leyden period have completely disappeared—"Lot and his Daughters," "The

Baptism of the Eunuch," and "St. Jerome at Prayer." Some idea of their style and composition is given in Van Vliets' engravings after the originals, dated 1631; and though it is impossible to judge the excellence of Rembrandt's execution, the engravings attest to extraordinary care in the finish of details. Judged by the greater freedom of execution the "St. Jerome at Prayer" is evidently the later of the three pictures, and for it the painter made a careful drawing in red chalk, now in the Louvre.

The exact date of Rembrandt's removal to Amsterdam is not known, but it is generally supposed that his Leyden period terminated in 1631. We learn, however, from recently discovered documents in the Archives of Holland, that in the summer of 1631 he was still living in his father's house, but that he was domiciled in Amsterdam in 1632. So that if he moved to the capital it must have been in the latter end of 1631. Owing to this uncertainty, it is difficult to decide which of his works of that year were executed in Leyden, which in Amsterdam. It is, therefore, simpler to classify all the work of 1631 as belonging to the Leyden period, and thus separate his life into three distinct periods divided by the years 1632, the year of his marriage to Saskia and of the "Anatomy Lesson," and 1642, the year of "The Night Watch" and of the

death of Saskia. "The Rape of Proserpine" and "Lot and his Daughters" date prior to his marriage, and both belong in treatment to his early period. For at this point of his development his work shows curious inequalities. Side by side with admirable studies of beggars, tramps, still-life, etched or drawn, are group-subjects, which reveal the still youthful student in the manner of the composition, in the relative treatment of foreground and background and in the suggestion of emotion. In the "Rape of Proserpine," for example, where details of foreground are carefully painted with realistic skill, the expression of emotion is forced and theatrical rather than dramatic. The young man had as yet insufficient personal acquaintance with the joys and sorrows of life to enable him to conceive his subject from within; moreover, mythological subjects had no real attraction for him, and belonged to a form of culture that did not appeal to him. In these compositions he is still under the influence of Lastman, corrected, however, by a reminiscence of Poussin, whose work he knew through engravings. His development proceeded along two main channels: portraiture or study of the individual, commissioned or otherwise; and biblical subjects, used less for their stories as such than as studies of groups of people swayed by a single or dominant emotion, as a

means of expressing the ideas and needs of his own class and their less lettered brethren, as the interpretation of the elemental passions of simple hearts. The latter tendency is first shown in "The Holy Family in the Carpenter's Shop," in the Pinacothek at Munich—a forerunner in sentiment of Holman Hunt's "Shadow of the Cross." This beautiful "Holy Family" represents a young Dutch Mary sitting with her babe on her lap. The little Dutch Christ, wrapped in a fur cloak, has fallen away from her breast in contented sleep, his feet warmed in her hand, and behind the cradle is seen the strong fine figure of Joseph, reminiscent, perhaps, of the conventional Italian type. There are no outward signs of divinity; it is a simple trinity of human life made one by the sanctity of love; the divinity lies in the innocence of the child, in the protective love of motherhood.

Chief in importance in 1631, however, ranks the exquisite small "Presentation in the Temple," now at the Hague, not only for the great beauty of its gem-like painting, but because it is the first of the wonderful series of pictures in which chiaroscuro is used as the vehicle of highest and most poetical emotion, for the expression of the painter's individuality, personal interpretation and impressions of the problems of life.

There are points of similarity between this picture and an etching of the subject made in 1630, probably a preliminary study. In both is the elaborate architecture touched with points of light as with jewels glittering in swimming shadow; in both is the great flight of steps in the background thronged with people. There are differences in the grouping of the principal figures, and the painting is the finer realisation. In it the light pours down from an unseen window upon the head, shoulders, and outstretched right hand of the High Priest, and falls on the kneeling figures of the white-bearded Simeon, the Babe, and on the placid white figure of Mary with Lysbeth's face. The radiance from the Child's head illumines the boor-like figures of two spectators. The manipulation is fine and finished in the manner of the Dutch school of the day. The originality is in the treatment of chiaroscuro.

Rembrandt's personal handling developed out of his conscientious self-training, his mastery of the known laws of painting, his interest in the tendencies of his notable contemporaries, his realistic study of nature, and especially out of his ceaseless observation of the play of light and shade. His excellent workmanship, a marked characteristic of the Dutch race, admitted of no slovenliness. Painting was a trade, a handicraft, and the painters prided themselves on the perfec-

tion of their technique as the necessary means for personal expression.

From the first Rembrandt was an expert craftsman; his patient training resulted in a reliable subjection of hand to mind, a reliance of mind on hand which alone could produce masterly work of a high quality combined with individual expression. Throughout his life he continued the realistic study of objects for the training of eye and hand, even as late as 1650, to which year belongs the etching of the Damier, or Shell. Definite character in brushwork showed itself first in the study of single heads, when the mind was concentrated on one object, one impression, when the hand was free to follow the lead of the mind unimpeded by exigences of grouping and composition. The first evidence of personal handling is seen strongly in the Cassel head of an old man in a black cap, where the impasto is thick and the definite strokes of the brush visible. Nevertheless the head is still mask-like against the rim of the cap and the background, which is behind the head and in no sense environs it. The question of a head in relation to the planes of the picture, of the head well within the luminous atmosphere of the environment and not looking out of the frame, is successfully treated in the more mature "Portrait of a Polish Nobleman," in the Hermitage, in which dryness of skin surface gives place to

roundness of muscle and texture of the skin with its wonderful light-reflecting property. The character of fierceness suggested by eyebrows and moustaches is further emphasised by the high jewelled bearskin hat, by the fur round the collarless neck, and by the particular sweeps of the brush in working in the light of the luminous background against which the dark edge of the left cheek and chin is shown. The whole scale of tones is very rich and warm.

Another portrait belonging to 1631, and probably also painted in Amsterdam, is that of Maurits Huygens, secretary of the Hague State Council, and brother to the distinguished statesman and poet, Constantine Huygens. To the latter we owe our scant knowledge regarding Rembrandt's position as an artist in Leyden from the point of view of his contemporaries, and from an undoubtedly credible source. In this lately discovered autobiography Constantine Huijgens records his impressions of Rembrandt's Leyden work; and he refers to "Judas Bringing Back the Thirty Pieces of Silver" as not a recent work. He throws new light on Rembrandt's position among his fellow-countrymen at this stage, when he records his own impression of Rembrandt "as the greatest painter of the coming age," and adds that Rembrandt's work was even then engraved by van Vliet (who was a pupil of Rembrandt), Savery, and others.

He also tells us that "the manner in which Rembrandt harmonised the theatrical and often coarse characteristics, the exaggerated lights, the fantastic costumes then in vogue, and gave dramatic force to his compositions by dazzling effects of light, aroused the respect and admiration of his countrymen."

A Dutch poet, in a book published in 1630, also speaks of the young painter as an instance of precocity, and in disproof of the doctrine of heredity, describes him "beardless yet already famous . . . made of other flour than his father."

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE—AMSTERDAM

Rembrandt's home in Amsterdam—Lysbeth—His temperament—Condition of Amsterdam in the seventeenth century—Cosmopolitanism—Comparison of Rubens and Rembrandt—Rembrandt's interests and study—Nude studies—His position in Amsterdam and prospects—The "Anatomy Lesson"—Success—His contemporaries—Commissions—Chiaroscuro—Paintings of 1632—Portraits of young women—"The Shipbuilder and his Wife"—Rembrandt's models—Coarseness of manners—Acquaintance with Saskia—Portraits of Saskia—Her parentage—Betrothal—Portraits of himself—Marriage—Saskia's influence—Portraits of Saskia and himself.

LEYDEN presently became too restricted an area for the activities of the young artist: his fame had spread beyond his native town. He needed further outlets and greater freedom than was possible to him while living under his paternal roof. Commissions came to him from Amsterdam, so that he felt it imperative for him to have his own studio in the metropolis. During his student days there he had instituted relationship with the dealer Hendrick van Uylenborch, who was also doubtless the means of selling many of the young

man's etchings and, possibly, his paintings. A legal document, discovered by Messrs. Bredius and de Roever, dated Amsterdam the 20th June, 1631, by which Rembrandt lent the dealer 1,000 florins, is a proof of the promising condition of the young man's finances. From Uylenborch's house Rembrandt sought and prepared a home for himself in a warehouse on the Bloemgracht; and for a short time, until his father's death, his sister Lysbeth was his companion, his housekeeper, and frequently his model. Hitherto his mother had been his favourite study in the evening hours. Now the fair young face of his sister, with placid eyes, slightly compressed mouth, and fair curling hair, was beside him; and several paintings of her exist, as for instance the oval bust-portrait at Milan, in which she wears a richly embroidered fur coat, disclosing a finely gathered chemisette; but he did not seem to care to etch her features.

To Rembrandt with his independent and experimental temperament, the rigid orthodoxy of Leyden and the cramping influences of the academical society rendered imperative the need of a wider environment. Of peasant build, born and bred in the ordinary burgher class, he was too natural and simple to desire the companionship of polite society, or to submit to its etiquette. To him the externals of life were of value for what they gave him, not for what they were in

themselves. What he demanded was physical well-being, opportunities for the study of life, and for the exercise of his great powers.

During the seventeenth century Amsterdam was the most flourishing and the most cosmopolitan city in the world. Built on piles driven into the muddy ooze, it was intersected, like its southern rival Venice, by numerous canals and refreshed by the purer waters of the encircling Amstel and of the wide estuary of the Ij. Merchandise from all parts of the world came to its great storehouses. From the Orient came fine silks and furs by the great waterway of the Rhine; over sea came wool and flax from Britain; and the strong fleets of the East India Company brought treasured spices from Java and the Moluccas, and gems in the rough for the experts of Amsterdam to cut into sparkling jewels. To this great centre of barter came all nationalities, and the cosmopolitan mind of the painter found there congenial nourishment whereon to thrive. Peaceful men of commerce came from all parts of Europe, even from India and Ethiopia, and to this centre of religious tolerance came all the oppressed and exiled.

Bourgeois and parochial in habit, Rembrandt's eager questing brain found full satisfaction in the great northern city. He had no desire to travel in Italy to study other cities, or to learn to see through the eyes of another race. He grasped

eagerly the opportunity to study humanity in its most varied aspects through the manifold types that passed along the busy quays of the floating city, thronged by men of diverse races and colour, types of Orient and Occident, in their various bizarre costumes. All passed alike before the vision of the painter—a great observer rather than an active participator in life.

Herein lay the great difference between himself and Rubens. The Fleming was a man of action, who lived the life he depicted, whose work is the chronicle of what he saw and did, the comprehensive chronicle in paint of his era. The Hollander was the observer, the seer, who penetrated below the accidents of body and environment to the living soul and its drama. Of great fascination for pen or etching-needle was the Jewish type with its endless variations, come from different countries, Spain, Portugal, or Poland; men who sought freedom for the observance and exercise of their religion, and to live unfettered by cruel restrictive laws. Rembrandt haunted the Jewry of Amsterdam, talked to them and studied their physiognomy, painted them and their costumes with a sympathy unsurpassed by any artist except by his modern countryman Israels. He would not travel, but he lost no opportunity of knowing what manner of men lived outside his own world, and he realised that

beneath the external difference of race and creed throbbed similar needs, similar desires, and similar capacities for joy and suffering.

He was not ignorant of foreign art, contemporary or older. His collection of paintings, drawings, and engravings, known to us through the auction catalogue of Gerard Moet, prove how catholic was his taste, how constant his interest to know how other men worked, how keen his desire to investigate the methods of other painters. To this end he made several drawings after Italian masters, such as Raphael's "Baldassare Castiglione"; but he was too much himself, too strong a personality to copy stroke for stroke, and the result is a paraphrase in which Rembrandt's signature is always discernible. Even in his most faithful known effort, the copy of a pen drawing of Mantegna's "Calumny of Apelles," a careful comparison shows that the Dutchman's drawing is more dramatic than that of the Paduan master, and less classical in feeling. The draperies lose the statuesque folds, the severe simplicity of line; the limbs lose their sculptural roundness and classical dignity, while Rembrandt has intensified the dramatic feeling by giving a look of apprehension to the victim. The most marked divergence is in the treatment of shadow. In Mantegna's drawing the shadow is so disposed as to allow the figures to stand out in a carefully

calculated high relief against an even background. Rembrandt lacks the sense of architectural decorativeness; his shadows produce an atmospheric effect, so that the approaching figures to the right merge slightly into the background; the king's throne and figure is brought forward with greater emphasis, and the sculptural balance of an even background is destroyed by the dramatic disposition of the shading. These two drawings, both now in the British Museum, disclosing as they do the temperaments and aims of the two artists, serve as an admirable example of the respective qualities and tendencies of southern and northern art. The date of the copy is uncertain, but it probably belongs to Rembrandt's later period. Drawings, too, he made from Persian miniatures that had been executed by Persian artists for the Mogul Emperors in India; five are in the British Museum, and Vosmaer describes two in the van der Willigen Collection as bearing the inscription in Rembrandt's handwriting, "Na een ostindies poppetje geschets" and "Na Oostind poppetje," probably copied for their bizarre and jewelled dresses; since "turqueries" of all sorts attracted him, and were used by him for their richness of hue—such as the Chinese parasol in a picture of Mary Magdalen—for their value in focussing and reflecting light.[1]

Then, too, in this city to which all the great

ships of the earth came with goods and curios, he studied rare animals, as well as rare types of men, and we have in the British Museum a valuable study of an elephant with its loose, tough skin, and still finer studies of lions and of lionesses lying down, sleeping, or eating. It was about this time, or just before he settled in Amsterdam, that he began his series of nude studies—at first in etching and in chalk. The earliest known is the study of a woman bathing, in black chalk slightly washed with bistre, a sketch for the etching "Diana at the Bath," both in the British Museum, and for the picture in the collection of M. E. Warneck, Paris.

To Amsterdam the artist came full of hope, with a bright future opening before him and a reputation so well established that his portraits rapidly became the fashion and his sitters numerous. His future lay secure in his hands, and it depended on himself, on his selection of and adherence to a definite aim in life, what manner of success he should command—whether of riches and worldly honours as court painter and courtier, or of success awarded by posterity rather than by contemporaries, dependent on heart-whole devotion to his art. At first no such choice was necessary; his early development carried him toward accomplishment intelligible to, and appreciated by, his clients, who recognised his precocity

and cleverness, and sought him in preference to his compeers. In portraiture lay his great opportunity; in portraits of statesmen, burghers, or merchants and their wives, whose lives were devoted to the furthering of the political and commercial prosperity of the country.

Descartes visited Amsterdam in 1631, and obviously found the material atmosphere antipathetic to him, for he writes thence to a friend: "There being in this great town where I am no man except myself who does not pursue commerce, each one is so attentive to his profit that I might live here all my life without being seen of anyone."

Rembrandt's first great opportunity to distinguish himself civically came to him when he was commissioned by Dr. Nicholas Tulp, one of the leading surgeons of Amsterdam, to paint an "Anatomy Lesson," in commemoration of his term of professorship to the Corporation of Surgeons. Similar anatomy pictures and other so-called "Regent-pieces" had been painted in Amsterdam, the Hague, Haarlem, and Leyden by Hals, Ravesteijn, Schooten, van Loo, van Bray, etc., composed more or less after a conventional pattern—a group of figures clearly defined and so juxtaposed as to give respectful prominence to each figure. Hals, only, had made a deviation in the composition of his magnificent "Banquet

of the Officers of the Arquebusiers of St. Adrian," painted in 1627. By his grouping of the officers round the table, by the decorative arrangement of lines in the ruffs, scarves, and flag, by the harmonious colouring, and still more by the pervasive sense of lusty life and vigour, he had raised this form of portraiture from the mere chronicle in paint to a work of art. What Hals did for the Regent-picture Rembrandt now did for the realistic and, heretofore, repulsive Anatomy-picture. His originality shows itself in the disposition of his composition and the arrangement of light. He succeeded in producing the greatest picture of its kind, the first of the three great civic pictures which sharply divide his career into three periods, corresponding with three phases of his development as a painter.

In this picture Rembrandt has omitted the usual typical accessories of the dissecting-room; the ghastliness of the body under dissection is minimised by the play of light and the still cleverer suggestion of the superior attraction of a dominant mind. Dr. Tulp, in professional black robes, sits behind the dissecting-table, and explains the action of tendons and muscles of the forearm, which he has picked up with his forceps, and further illustrates his point by closing the finger and thumb of his left hand. His strong face is framed by his broad-brimmed black hat

and his flat, white, lace-edged collar. To his left are ranged seven bareheaded fellow-members of the guild against a background of grey walls softened by grey-green shadows. These heads are treated with great care, and, with the exception of two, are lifelike and full of character; keen faces, eager and attentive. Six of the audience are in black robes, with full white ruffs; the fine central figure, craning forward intently, with bright complexion and curling grey hair that show prominently against the circling rows of white ruffs, wears a silk coat of soft puce-rose, a note of colour that balances with the hues of the dissected arm. The light is focussed on the corpse, whose face is partly and feet wholly in shadow, and falls full upon the faces and ruffs of the group in such a manner that though the eye rests first upon the pallid flesh, white loin-cloth, and deal table, it travels immediately from the dead to the living, and is arrested by the spell of keen minds revealed in the illumined faces. The modelling of the faces is admirable—save in two heads near the background, that are puppet-like and forced in composition—the contours are soft and melting, the handling is in the fine finished style of the painter's first period, which lacked individuality in the brushwork. The painting of the professor's hands is very clever. The "Anatomy Lesson" remained in the "Sny-

kamer" of the Surgeons' Guild in the St. Anthony Gate till 1828, when William I. bought it for 32,000 guilders and placed it in the Mauritshuis. In later life Rembrandt painted another "Anatomy Lecture," partially destroyed by fire in 1723. The fragment in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, shows that the painter this time did not deviate from the accepted realistic convention, and that his superiority lies in the strength and mastery of his brushwork and chiaroscuro; the repulsiveness of the finished picture was, to all accounts, in equal proportion with the powerfully detailed realism.

The success of the earlier commission confirmed Rembrandt's reputation as one of the leading portrait-painters in Amsterdam. Success was his, endless possibilities lay open to him. He felt the impetus of growing mastery, felt himself the equal of the best of his contemporaries, and knew that he had springs of strength yet untried to draw upon. As yet he had not run counter to prevailing taste and tradition. These he had used to the uttermost and improved upon them. His eager eyes were straining onward, his desires outdistancing his accomplishments and impelling him to soar on equal wings of imagination and will towards the future. His contemporaries were worthy rivals, painters practically unknown in England, such

as Cornelius van der Voort, highly thought of in his day, and Werner van Valckert. Among the living men of the generation immediately preceding him were the prolific portrait-painter, Michel van Miereveld, of Delft; Jan van Ravesteijn, the fashionable portrait-painter of the Hague; Nicholas Elias, the master of van der Helst and painter of several fine corporation pictures; Frans Hals, the great Haarlem painter; and most important of all, Thomas de Keyser, of Amsterdam, whose early "Anatomy Lesson" in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam was painted in 1619. De Keyser was an accomplished craftsman, faultless in drawing, fine in colour, broad and flexible in handling, accurate in modelling, simple and dignified in composition; a man of taste and discretion in dealing with the severe dress of the day, as shown in his fine "Portrait of a Scholar," and the small "Four Burghermasters of Amsterdam receiving the News of the Arrival of Maria de Medici at Wesel," possibly the sketch only for a larger canvas, but full of life, dignity, and reserve. Michel ranks this painter side by side with Hals, and only just below Rembrandt. The special point Rembrandt had now to consider, concerning which he could learn from de Keyser, was the treatment of the commissioned portrait. With this he could exercise little or no choice in the question of

costume, especially with that of Dutch sitters as distinct from those of Flemish birth. He had to represent and harmonise severe Puritan blacks and whites, the disproportionate ruffs, the tall black hats of the men, the white or black caps of the women. When he had painted members of his own family, or models, he decked and draped them as he pleased. Now such choice was denied him; the consequent restrictions, however, proved incentives to master a difficulty and to make necessity bend to his will. He made sober, charming harmonies with these portraits; he eliminated the crudeness from the black, and harmonised it with a soft, environing, grey-green background; he warmed the whites of ruff and cap to tone with rich quality of the flesh hues; he so concentrated the interest on the face and proportioned the interest of the accessories in due degree that the result looks natural and simple. Dr. Bode counts two or three portraits painted in 1631, and states that the artist had ten in hand in 1632, and at least forty between 1632–4. His manner of painting had lost all trace of timidity and evidence of search, which at times had produced a tightness in handling. His brushwork became broader, freer, yet lost none of its conscientiousness; the touch fluent and certain in intention, the impasto richer, the colours warmer in harmony. He had reached

greater issues in his knowledge and use of chiaroscuro; he no longer forced the light and dark of his picture into a theatrical symbolism of dramatic emotion. Through his own joys and sorrows he was probing deeper into the mysteries of human emotion, and learning to express them by suggestion rather than by insistence on outward gesture.

Foremost among the productions of 1632 is the remarkable portrait of Coppenol in the Cassel Museum, whose identity with the sitter is called in question by Dr. Bode. It represents an honest self-satisfied man holding in his left hand a pen, which he cuts carefully with a penknife. Coppenol was a famous teacher of calligraphy—an accomplishment which in those days ranked as a fine art—a man of proverbial vanity, whose friendship with the painter is further demonstrated by the two admirable etchings of 1651 and 1658. The peculiar mark of the painting is the signature, which, in this instance, is the monogram RL, followed by the designation van Rijn, a form of signature used by Rembrandt in 1632 and on one work of 1633, "The Philosophers," in the Louvre. To the same year belong the fine portraits of the merchant, Martin Looten, belonging to Captain Holford; that of an old man, belonging to the Duke of Bedford, and the remarkably fine painting of the Poet Krul in rich cloak and wide felt hat, white ruff,

and spotted satin coat. Mr. Pierpont Morgan has recently acquired an interesting example of this period, the portrait of Nicholas Ruts, dated 1631,[1] in brown robe and wide green fur-bordered cap. The grey-bearded face is full of character, and the hands beautifully painted. According to a water-colour copy in a private collection at the Hague, made by Delfos in 1799, this picture was painted in 1632; a second copy, of the bust only, is in Amsterdam. The number of extant portraits of young women by Rembrandt is not large; they belong for the most part to this period of his career, when he was the fashionable portrait-painter, and had not developed idiosyncrasies that differentiated his work from the prevailing style of the day. That he was sought as a portrait-painter by the fair ladies of the day is undeniable; but it is equally evident that while he painted their portraits with scrupulous care and mastery over material, the subtle secret of his finest art lies dormant, untouched by these calm, controlled beauties, whose first duty towards society is always to suppress evidences of emotion. Among the finest of these is the "Lady of Distinguished Appearance seated in an Armchair"; the lovely "Portrait of a Young Lady" wearing a large lace collar, pearls and jewels,

[1] Exhibited at the Winter Exhibition at Burlington House in 1903.

which, together with the dainty low cap and jewels in her soft wavy hair, emphasise the delicate flesh tones; and the "Portrait of a Young Lady with a Fan," whose curly hair is confined by no cap, and whose delicate head is well poised above the fair neck framed by the wide lace collar. About this time, too, Rembrandt painted several double portraits, such as that of a "Young Couple," dated 1633; and the more important portraits of "Jan Pellicorne and his Son," and of "Susanna Pellicorne (wife of Pellicorne) and her Daughter," in the Wallace Collection. In both pictures the dark backgrounds and brownish floors are an advance on the light grey-brown environment in his earlier portraits.

Occasionally, Rembrandt shows an affinity to Velasquez. For instance, in the fine later portrait of his son Titus, the handling of the dress recalls that of the Spaniard; as in the above picture do also the lighting of the room, austerity of outline, and silhouetting of the figures. To this time also belong a few small portraits of children—not favourite subjects with Rembrandt. One is now in the Wallace Collection, and others belong to the Rothschild family and to Prince Youssoupoff. The most celebrated of all the double portraits, however, is the magnificent "Shipbuilder and his Wife" at Buckingham Palace, more mature than any previous work. The grey-bearded man is

seated, compass in hand, at his table strewn with charts and papers. His wife with one hand on the door gives him a written paper over the back of his chair. The composition is simple, the colour scheme very quiet, the dresses dark, the accessories homely. The light falls on faces, ruffs, and papers. The large, generous execution, the soft warm light and rich transparent penumbra, the reserve in means by which the genial characters and simple environment are portrayed, make this rank as one of Rembrandt's early masterpieces. He here shows himself to be, as Michel writes, the "consummate master of every secret of his art—truth of perspective, correctness of drawing, vigour and delicacy of modelling, expression of surfaces and textures—by variations of touch, harmony of colour, and the intricacies of chiaroscuro." To 1634 belongs the fine oval portrait of the "Old Lady" in the National Gallery, treated with breadth and sympathy. The wrinkled, plump old face is encased in a white winged cap and goffered ruff, lines of fur are on her black dress, and her hands are concealed in her sleeves. With pardonable pride she has had recorded on the background her age of eighty-three.

It had been Rembrandt's habit to use the various members of his family as his models. One among other reasons was the great difficulty of finding female models in Leyden. That in Amsterdam it

was easier is obvious from the number of nude studies he executed, about that time, with pencil and with the etching-needle; but the type of model was of the coarsest and ugliest. Rembrandt, who cared for truth of effect more than beauty of form, took what came to hand, and studied his available models relentlessly, curiously, persistently, in attitudes dignified and undignified alike; so that, having studied anatomy with avidity at the Surgeons' Guild, he now studied the anatomy of the living body, the movements of sinew and muscle, the play and strain of the delicate texture of skin, and the extraordinary changing, complex shifting, and weaving of light upon its surfaces. Owing to the subject of several of his drawings and etchings, Rembrandt has frequently been accused of coarseness carried to an unjustifiable degree. While fully admitting this, it is well also to remember that the manners of his day, judged by our standard, were coarse. The genre pictures of Holland and Flanders by Teniers, Ostade, Jan Steen, prove this. Rembrandt came of peasant stock and lacked the restraint, the cultivated exterior, the outward or, at least, obvious appearance of educated decorum; qualities, however, which tend sometimes to kill spontaneity of impulse and individuality in the social unit. This education he lacked, and evidently, in the heyday of his youth, he felt the full impulse of a vigorous

and healthy nature. Moreover, he was ever consumed with the eager curiosity of genius ceaselessly questing and seeking to wrest from Nature her closely guarded secrets; so that he made use of any and every means that came to him to attain his end. Important facts in Rembrandt's life prove more conclusively than any biographical assurances that he was not essentially an immoral man: such as his unwavering devotion to his housemate, whether his mother, his wife, or Hendrijcke Stoffels.

The fine emotional and spiritual quality of his work, his penetrating broad intuition, his sympathy with the human heart, and poetical rendering of subjects by means of chiaroscuro—understood by him as no other painter has understood it—could only have been attained after the most persistent and unwearied study. These masterly gifts and acquirements are not the possession of the coarse in mind, of the gross in habit; but of one healthy in body and mind, whose eager curiosity would lead him to test all sides of life, and who in the vigour of early manhood would doubtlessly now and again be led into excesses of a regrettable kind. No less than 550 paintings are attributed to him, 329 etchings (according to Middleton-Wake), and many drawings.

Dr. Bode has concluded from the number of paintings of Lysbeth van Rijn that his sister

probably accompanied him to Amsterdam and kept house for him, and that she sat to him as his model for various pictures. Sir Frederick Cook owns a portrait of her; and another belonging to Dr. Hofstede de Groot in the Rijksmuseum, was painted about 1629; and she is considered to have been the model for "The Rape of Proserpine." About this time, 1632–4, a number of portraits of two young fair-haired women were painted, and opinion is divided as to whether they represent Rembrandt's sister or his wife Saskia. The two girls were of similar types, and the painter's method of varying the expression in each picture, of emphasising a special characteristic, or of adapting the sitter's face to the subject chosen, renders identification difficult. The first definitely known portrait of Saskia was painted in 1633, but there are four portraits painted in 1632-3, about which opinions differ. One is a "Portrait of an Unknown" in the Brera, similar in face and dress to the painting of Lysbeth in 1629; the other two, while similar in dress, differ slightly in face; though they have the same thin fair curly hair, high forehead, small dark eyes, and small mouth. A portrait of Saskia, 1632, belonging to M. Haro, is quite different in dress and type from the above; the mouth is larger, the hair fair and curly, but tends to curl a little over the forehead and not off it. This picture resembles the

beautiful portrait of Saskia in Cassel, painted in 1634, also the later portrait of her in Mr. Samuel Joseph's collection, painted 1636–7. The point of interest in the matter lies in deciding thereby which girl was the model for the beautiful painting of the "Jewish Bride," dated about 1632. This model resembles the Stockholm and Liechtenstein portraits, and in my opinion was painted from Lysbeth. In accordance with this decision depends the probable degree of acquaintance that existed between Rembrandt and Saskia in 1632. For her to have posed as a model before her betrothal, which I consider is proved to have happened in 1633, argues considerable intimacy, such as the manners of the young women of that day and Saskia's parentless condition could hardly have permitted. This painting is one of the most important of the period. It represents the young bride seated, while an old woman stands behind combing her long shining hair. She is dressed in white satin, open at the neck, with full lawn sleeves, and over it a rich mantle of red velvet embroidered with gold—one of his studio properties. The spacious room background is in warm greys, with delicate transparent shadows, against which the cool carnations of the radiant girl tone well; the hands and face are finely modelled.

With prosperity and secured reputation, it was

natural that the young painter should desire the companionship of a wife; the whole tenor of his life testifies to his dependence on the housemate for his happiness and comfort. An indefatigable worker, frugal in his habits—for Houbraken relates that "when he was at work he contented himself with a piece of cheese or a herring with bread"—genial, and sympathetic, it is not strange that the popular painter, despite his bourgeois birth, attracted the affections of the bright, pretty Frieslander. Saskia van Uylenborch was the daughter of a jurisconsult of Leeuwarden, the capital of Friesland, Rombertus Uylenborch, councillor and burghermaster in 1596, and member of the court of Friesland. Saskia was born in 1612, and lost both parents early. Her girlhood was spent with one or other of her five married sisters, or with her cousin Aaltje, the wife of Jan Cornelius Sylvius, a renowned preacher in Amsterdam. Rembrandt doubtless made Saskia's acquaintance through another cousin, Hendrick van Uylenborch, the art-dealer in Amsterdam, with whom he had friendly dealings during his first stay in the capital. One of Rembrandt's etchings, the large "Descent from the Cross," had attracted Hendrick's attention, and he published it with his address on it. Their relationship had another aspect, for Messrs. Bredius and de Roever have discovered a legal document executed

at Amsterdam on the 20th June, 1631, according to which Rembrandt lent the dealer 1,000 florins.[1] Whether through the instrumentality of Hendrick, or of his cousin the Amsterdam painter, Rombertus Uylenborch, or of Saskia's brother-in-law, the painter Wybrand de Geest, it is certain that Rembrandt was soon on terms of intimacy with the pastor Sylvius, and in 1634 executed the fine etching of him, of which he gave the pastor four proofs, with written on one of them "To Jan Cornelius Sylvius, these four prints." A strong attachment sprang up between Saskia and the painter, which lasted till her death, as her will amply testifies. The betrothal probably was in June of 1633, as notified on the silver-point drawing in Berlin (Vosmaer and Michel give 1632 as the probable year), but the marriage was delayed till after Saskia should come of age. Rembrandt painted several portraits of himself and of his bride in the interval. The portraits of himself at Dulwich and at Petworth, and the two in the Louvre, one with a velvet cap, the other with full carefully dressed hair, giving him in massiveness of effect a kindred expression to that of Beethoven; the portraits at Cassel and Berlin of 1634; and that of himself as an officer in the Mauritshuis at the Hague show him to have been a man of taste, well appointed, well conditioned,

[1] *Oud-Holland.*

who from the miller's son had developed into a competent member of society, at ease with others and confident of himself. To this date also belong two etched self-portraits—"Rembrandt in Velvet Cap and Scarf," and "Rembrandt with the Falcon."

The demure demeanour of Saskia in M. Haro's charming portrait suggests due reserve of acquaintanceship. But the first signed and dated portrait of Saskia is the smiling portrait at Dresden painted in 1633, and shows the girl in the new joy and excitement of betrothal; and on her the lover has lavished the utmost brilliancy of his palette, to do justice to her and to his happiness. She is gaily dressed in a blue and white brocade, with gold shoulder-knots, and folds of soft white around the neck; jewels sparkle on the white skin, the whiter for the warm transparent shadow thrown on the upper part of her face from her broad-brimmed soft hat of red velvet, with a grey plume. Radiant as the aspect of the picture is, the arrested smile disclosing her glittering teeth is not wholly pleasant—indeed, Rembrandt was rarely happy in depicting laughter. He was not swift enough to catch it in its flight, or to suggest the haunting expressive quality of the smile of a Mona Liza. Rembrandt's study of laughter was as serious as his study of sorrow; he had not the subtlety, the rapid adaptability, the vivid

flare of Leonardo da Vinci. Humorous, but not witty; intuitively sympathetic, but not intellectually intuitive, Rembrandt understood frank laughter, boisterous fun, the happy smile of gaiety, or the quieter smile of protective love. But he cared nothing for the subtle play of mouth and eyes, that silent language of the lips whose art is to conceal while it reveals, typified so inimitably by the great Italian. And in Rembrandt's serious study of laughing, as shown in the etching of himself laughing, there is no real humour depicted, but the grimace made by the muscular contortion of laughter after the joke has passed. There is another, pleasanter, picture of Saskia smiling belonging to Lord Elgin's collection at Broom Hall. An infinitely more charming portrait of Saskia the betrothed is the half-length at Cassel, which bears neither signature nor date, but probably belongs to 1633–4, as she holds in her hand against her breast the sprig of rosemary, the emblem of betrothal in Holland. This portrait touches a deeper note; and the artist has devoted to it all the fulness of his knowledge and finish in the fine modelling of the flesh, in the richness of adornment and depth of harmonies, in the masterly handling of chiaroscuro. Here, again, Saskia wears the red velvet hat, decked this time with a long white feather; her face, as in the Haro portrait, is in profile—she was

the only sitter whom he ever painted in this pose. The exceeding richness of her dress, the profusion of jewels on hair, neck, and dress testify to the pleasure he took in this work. In the Berlin Museum there is a delicate silver-point sketch of a young woman leaning on a sill, with a broad-brimmed hat, and the betrothal flower in her hand, undated and unsigned. Critics agree in Vosmaer's attribution of this drawing to Rembrandt. Below it is written in the artist's handwriting, but evidently added at a later date: "This is a portrait of my wife at the age of twenty-one, drawn the third day after we were betrothed, June 8, 1633."

Early in the year of 1634 he painted her once more, again in a fancy guise in vogue at the time. One version of this composition, misnamed the "Jewish Bride," is in the Hermitage. Arrayed as a shepherdess, with oriental scarf and pale green mantle, she stands at the mouth of a cavern, and, crowned with flowers, she holds a flower-bound crook in her hand—a radiant Flora, or vision of Spring. In later versions belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch and to Mr. Schloss, of Paris, she also holds in her left arm a nosegay; in each canvas the flowers and accessories are painted with great minuteness and skill, and shine like jewels in the full falling light.

In the marriage register for June 10th, 1634,

is the following entry: "Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn, of Leiden, aged 26 years, living in the Breedstraat, whose mother will give her consent, appeared before the commissioners, together with Saskia van Vuijlenburgh, of Leeuwarden, living in the St. Annenkerch parish of Bildt, for whom appeared Jan Cornelis (Sylvius), preacher, being cousin of the said Saskia, engaging to furnish the legal inscription for the said Saskia before the third publication." This document is signed by Rembrandt, and on the margin is a note that the consent of the mother has been brought by act of notary.

In June Rembrandt repaired to Friesland, and the marriage was legalised in the town hall of Bildt, and solemnised in the parish church, in the presence of the Van Loos, by the minister Rodolf Hermansz Luinga, on June 22nd, 1634. The young couple travelled to Amsterdam and settled in the house in the Breedstraat, then a new part of the town, where also Lastman had bought a house in 1631.

In the full tide of happiness, reputation, and prosperity, the young couple began their married life with the best of auguries. Saskia, moreover, had a goodly dower of her own, and Rembrandt could command the best prices for his pictures. Well born, she must also have brought him good and influential friends. Gentle, gay, devoted, she

made an atmosphere of sunshine for him, made his will her law, and joyed also in having at length a home of her own after nine years of dependence on the hospitality of relations. She moulded her tastes to his. He cared little for society; he loved his intimate friends, chosen for what they were to him and not for what they could do for him. His one hobby, in the end his ruin, was the mania of collecting, the love of acquiring rich and costly stuffs, jewels, furs, armour, bric-à-brac, paintings, native and foreign, drawings, and fine prints. On these things and on the adornment of his wife he lavished money freely, and many are the pictures he painted of her decked in rare stuffs and jewels. Drawings and etchings, too, he made indicative of the quiet content of their daily life and of her domestic avocations. The most jubilant of these is the Dresden portrait of himself with Saskia on his knee before a daintily covered table, and holding a glass of wine in his hand as though toasting their happiness; the most domestic, the etching of 1636 of himself drawing at a table, his eyes shaded by a mezzetin cap, and Saskia sitting quietly beside him; there is also the beautiful portrait, about 1636, of her in profile, richly dressed, in Mr. Samuel Joseph's collection. Her loving acquiescence to sit as model is evident in the picture (1634) of "Artemisia receiving the Ashes of Mausolus,"

painted in a scheme of pale greens and silvery greys; and, again, as the small "Jewish Bride," the large "Jewish Bride," as "Danaë," "Susannah at the Bath," and in numerous drawings and etchings. Equally evident is it that the so-called "Burghermaster Pancras and his Wife" in Buckingham Palace was painted from Saskia and himself; and, indeed, represents what was obviously a favourite pastime, the decking of his wife with costly stuffs and jewels; both are arrayed in velvets, furs, satins, and jewels, and while she puts finishing touches to her toilette before a mirror, he holds ready in his hands a string of large pearls. Well-being and contentment are expressed in his self-portraits of this period, whether in those of 1634 in the Louvre, Cassel, or Berlin; in those of 1635 in the National Gallery; in the Pitti; or in those belonging to the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Heywood Lonsdale. The most fanciful is that of himself as an officer, 1634, in the Hague; the most self-complacent is the charming etching of himself of the same year as a Polish cavalier with sword, aigretted cap, rich cloak, and favourite gorget.

REMBRANDT AS AN OFFICER

(Hague Museum)

subjects. Rembrandt's most recently finished biblical subjects had been the "Good Samaritan," now in the Wallace Collection, a subject which he treated repeatedly in his various mediums, and the exquisite little "Christ Appearing to Mary Magdalene as a Gardener." About 1632 he received commissions from the Prince for several scriptural paintings, and by the year 1639 he had executed six, now to be seen in the Munich Pinacothek. Concerning some of these pictures, Rembrandt wrote several letters to Huijgens; they are of special interest, as they are the only documentary remains from Rembrandt's hand. Though an educated man, of wide receptive mind, impressionable and thoughtful, he was no scholar, and lacked culture. What we know of his teaching, and we know little, is reported by his pupils. These letters, therefore, are of extreme value and interest. The following, now in the British Museum, refers probably to one of two panels finished in 1633, representing "The Erection of the Cross," and "The Descent from the Cross."

"SIR,—After my friendly greetings, I would take it as kind if you will come soon to see if the piece accords well with the other; and as concerns the price of the piece, I have well earned 200 pounds (pondt), but I will content myself with what your Excellence sends me. You will, Sir,

THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS

"And as you, Sir, have twice occupied yourself in this matter, I add as an acknowledgment a piece of ten feet long and eight feet high to do honour, Sir, in your house, whereupon I wish you all happiness and welfare to all eternity. Amen.

"Sir, your devoted and affectionate servant,

"REMBRANDT."

At one side is written: "Sir, I live on the inner Binnen Amstel, the house is named the Suijkerbackerij."

Upon the 14th January, 1639, he wrote acknowledging a friendly and favourable letter, wherein evidently Huijgens had hesitated to accept the gift of the picture. The painter now presses acceptance, and states that the Receiver Uijtenboogaerd asked to see the pictures before they were packed, and offered, with the Prince's consent, to pay Rembrandt from his office in Amsterdam. The painter begs that he may be paid as soon as possible, "which will be extremely useful to me in this moment." He adds, as postscript, concerning his gift to Constantine Huijgens: "Hang the piece, Sir, in a bright light, so that it can be looked at from a distance, thus will it show best." It was possibly in return for the good offices of Uijtenboogaerd that Rembrandt executed the etching of "The Goldweigher," signed and dated 1639. In despatching the pictures, Rembrandt wrote that he hoped the

Prince would not give him less than 1,000 florins each, but that if his Highness thinks they deserve less, to give less as it seems good to him; and adds as postscript that he had paid upon the frames and the case forty-four florins.

The Prince found the price too high, and offered the lesser price paid for the first pictures; and the painter had to consent to a similar remuneration of 600 florins for each picture, though in answering he points out that the later pictures obviously are worth more. A fact of interest as to Rembrandt's acquaintances at the Hague is revealed in the final sentence, "my hearty greetings to you, Sir, and to your nearest (most intimate) friends." The last letter is a respectful but urgent request for no further delay in the payment of the 1,244 florins, which were finally paid to him on February 17th, 1639. The chief interest of the letters, beyond their testimony to the friendly relationship with Huijgens, is the information as to the monetary value Rembrandt put upon his work, and as to his aim to represent the scenes realistically, with the utmost truth to natural movement. For this he needed time, study, observation; and it was his practice to make many sketches of his subject before beginning a picture; several of these preparatory essays in pencil-work or with the needle still exist in private and public collections. More-

over, his instructions concerning the hanging of the pictures confirms what is obvious from a careful study of his work—that he gave his small pictures an elaborate finish, though the labour is concealed by the fine handling; that he wished them placed in the strong daylight, so that the delicate transparencies of his shadow and harmonious play of tones should not be lost. It was then customary to hang pictures very high on the walls, hence the necessity for the advice. His larger canvases were treated with greater breadth, with fuller brush; these he wished well lighted, so as to be looked at from a distance. Houbraken relates that Rembrandt made people draw back who wanted to stand close to the pictures, telling them that they would find the smell of the paint unpleasant.

During the years 1632–42 Rembrandt devoted much time and loving thought to the depicting of biblical themes. In addition to the six commissioned compositions on "The Passion of Our Lord," he executed nineteen pictures, about thirty-five etchings, and sundry drawings. He did not always seek new subjects, but returned with fresh zest to experimentation with such stories as those of Tobias, Samson, Abraham, and others from the life and parables of Christ, especially of Christ as Healer and Consoler.

With the advantage of a willing and excellent

model in his wife, he painted several studies of Susannah in order to work from the nude. He delighted in the play of light on the satin surfaces of the skin, in the contrasts of soft flesh tones with the warm purples and gold of rich robes, and the cool of white draperies with the strong deep tones of background foliage and sky. The finest of these studies is in the Hague Museum; another belongs to Prince Youssoupoff; and a third, of later date, to Baron Steengracht, showing stronger treatment of chiaroscuro. The painter made use, in his composition, of marble steps, colonnaded temples, gorgeous draperies, and vegetation of rich greens and yellows, in order to suggest the natural opulence of the East; and this intention is still more obvious in the beautiful "Susannah and the Elders" of 1647, in the Berlin Gallery, with its gorgeous colour, harmonious finished detail, and masterly chiaroscuro; for which, however, Hendrijcke Stoffels is the obvious model. Another nude study of Saskia called "Danaë," in the Hermitage, or, according to Dr. Bode, "The Wife of Tobias," was evidently painted for the artist's own gratification, for it was hanging in his own room when the inventory of his possessions was made in 1656.

About 1634–5 he painted "Belshazzar's Feast," with its glittering array of plates—suggested, perhaps, by his own marriage festivities—and the

deftly handled luminous writing on the wall. In this painting, as also in the coarsely handled "Samson Overcome by the Philistines," in the Schönborn Collection at Vienna, Rembrandt's limitation in his power to express horror, terror, and fury is shown in the exaggerated grotesque contortions of the faces. "Samson's Marriage Feast," 1638, at Dresden, is important because of the technical development it displays. It is broader, freer in handling; the play of light is more defined and focussed sharply on the central figure; passages of dark shadow are richer. His palette has become more varied, more rhythmic in gradations, warmer and bolder in harmonies. His russets and cool grey-greens are more positive; blues and silver, reds and gold, and various greens are happily balanced; there is a finer play of broken tones. Thenceforth Rembrandt devoted himself untiringly to experimentation with chiaroscuro to discover to what degree and in what manner he might therewith symbolise subtle phases of human emotion; might produce a fascinating yet baffling penumbra that should transmute crude colour to chromatic harmonies, wherewith to suggest the underlying mysteries of human life. He strove to create for himself a potent language wherewith to describe pictorially the stress of life, with its conflicting currents of joy and sorrow. His acceptance of

life's lessons, his steadfast adherence to a high ideal of work, were to be the keys that should unlock to him the secrets of many hearts, learned and simple alike.

To the stories of Abraham and of Tobias he returned again and again, as well as to those of the Prodigal Son and the Good Samaritan. To 1635 belongs the very fine painting, "The Sacrifice of Abraham," in the Hermitage. The moment chosen is that in which the angel stays the patriarch's upraised hand; the other hand pathetically covers the boy's beseeching eyes. Very beautiful are the delicate half-tones of the painting of the flesh, on whose surfaces the play of light follows the movement of the muscles. In colour-scheme this picture belongs to the mature second period with its greys and cool greens, its pearly tones, soft blues and quiet yellows, which graduate to the deeper harmonies of the low-toned horizon and the dark brown of the rocks. The details are attentively studied, especially the peacock feathers of the angel's wings. In the following year a replica, touched by the master, was made by a pupil—it is now at Munich; and in the British Museum is a drawing for this picture showing slight difference of arrangement.

For rapid personal expression Rembrandt preferred the etching-needle to the brush. Etching

was to him a rest and change from the painting of his numerous portrait commissions, and an occupation for the evening hours beside his wife. He etched direct from life whatever came under his notice expressive of natural movement or emotion. With a few powerful suggestive strokes on the copperplate—his shorthand notes—he jotted down for future use impressions of travelling peasants, skaters, itinerant musicians, a mountebank, a rat-killer, the Pancake woman familiar to frequenters of every kermesse, and beggars in many guises, limping and tattered. He copied oriental heads from miniatures, studied wild animals in menageries and in the zoological gardens; and sketched his wife again and again at her domestic duties, asleep, suckling her child, and ill in bed with the doctor feeling her pulse. These rapid incisive sketches gave him extraordinary facility when composing and executing his larger plates. A close observer, he knew by heart the movements and poses of the human figure, especially of the poor and untutored, and he could rely on his strong unerring hand to reproduce his mental picture.

Rembrandt, the supreme master etcher, had few illustrious precursors. Etching proper was practised in northern and southern Europe during two-thirds of the sixteenth century. Drypoint, however, had been practised by two artists

only—the so-called master of the Amsterdam Cabinet about 1470–80 and Albrecht Dürer. The possibilities of dry-point were unrealised by intervening artists such as De Goudt, Jan van de Velde, etc., and was ignored till Rembrandt, towards the middle of his career, revived the method in order to emphasise and make richer the lines of his bitten plate. Finally, he used dry-point alone for several plates, in preference to the acid bath. From the beginning of the seventeenth century etching became one of the most popular methods of artistic expression throughout Europe. In Holland during Rembrandt's youth a large amount of etching had been produced by his elder contemporaries, such as Elsheimer and Uijtenbrouck, who had introduced Biblical subjects into landscapes, Esaias van de Velde, Adrian van der Venne, and Roghman, who devoted himself to landscape. These painter-etchers advanced their art to a considerable degree. They were personal and inventive in their effort to translate colour, in their handling of chiaroscuro, and in general richness of tone. Rembrandt, even in his own day, was readily acknowledged as the master etcher for originality, inventiveness, for his marvellous technical perfection; and to-day his position remains the same, his influence on the modern school of etchers is potent and continuous. Much has been written upon Rembrandt's

special methods of etching, but Hamerton's comment is probably nearest the mark, that Rembrandt's success was "due to no peculiarity of method, but to a surpassing excellence of skill." Elsewhere the same writer says that the artist's "supremacy in etching is not founded on unapproachable supremacy. It is mental, and manual so far as it proves the possession of great technical power—but for many technical qualities certain of to-day's professors are superior. His greatness is incomparable, his originality markedly sterling, and his modernity conspicuous." The development of Rembrandt the etcher is as well defined as that of Rembrandt the painter. The earliest plates are either elaborately finished, delicately and carefully handled, or else are hasty sketches slightly worked. Then the technique broadens, grows bolder, more decided, contemporaneously with the use of the fuller brush in painting. Later, dry-point is introduced into the work to enrich and finish. Finally, in the third period, there is the fulness of invention, personal freedom of expression, dependent on astonishing mastery of materials: the more frequent employment of dry-point, with full knowledge of the effect of burr. These periods are marked by the three great etchings, "The Angel Appearing to the Shepherds," the "Hundred Guilder" plate, and the fine "St. Francis."

Much has been written and discussed concerning the authenticity of certain of the etchings attributed to Rembrandt, even of a few of those which bear his signature. This question has been seriously studied by Seymour Haden and by Middleton-Wake in England, by Charles Blanc and M. Dutuit in France, by Dr. Bode and W. Seidlitz in Germany. In the present pages reference will be made only to those of unquestioned authority, which may or may not have been worked in parts by his pupils. For it is known that not only did his pupils re-work, with his knowledge, some of the earlier plates, but it is generally held that he entrusted portions of certain plates to his pupils or assistants. For instance, the famous "Ecce Homo" of 1636, so admirable in composition and yet so unequal in execution, affords opportunities for an examination of his methods. The master was so fully occupied, so overpowered with commissions, that he, after the manner of all contemporary great painters, made use of assistant pupils in preparing and even executing work; and the various states in the British Museum of this particular etching give insight into his methods, especially when compared with a beautiful design for the subject in grisaille in the National Gallery. The composition in the grisaille is in reverse, and differs in minor details from the etching; but

the building of the design, the grouping, the distribution and focussing of lights, the suggested movement of the surging crowd, are similar in both. Great interest attaches to these prints in the British Museum because they show various corrections and alterations, probably by Rembrandt, for the assistants' guidance. In an impression of the first state part of the canopy over Pilate's head is blotted out, shadows are defined and lights lowered, corrections made in bistre with a brush, which are washed out in the second state. Again, by a comparison of the second and third states another marked error is corrected. But it is generally assumed that the central pyramidal group formed by Christ, Pilate, and his nearest surroundings, are from Rembrandt's hand, that the coarse handling of the outer figures is by another hand. Seymour Haden has suggested Lievens, Middleton suggests Bol or van Vliet. With regard to the question of pupils there is the testimony of his contemporary, Joachim Sandrart, who thus wrote of Rembrandt's entourage: "His house at Amsterdam was frequented by numerous pupils of good family, each of whom paid him as much as a hundred florins yearly, exclusive of his profits from their pictures and engravings, which, in addition to his personal gains, brought him in some 2,000 to 2,500 florins." Unfortunately,

Sandrart supplies neither names nor dates, though we know his own residence in Amsterdam was from 1631–41. One of Rembrandt's earliest pupils in Amsterdam was Govert Flinck, but he was not an engraver. Ferdinand Bol was pupil and assistant, entered the studio about 1632, but was then too young to do much good work. Lievens, who had been Rembrandt's fellow-student and, possibly, at times his collaborator, but never his pupil, left for England in 1631; so there remains for this period only Joris van Vliet, and we know from the inventory of 1656 that Rembrandt possessed a portfolio of engravings from his own pictures, drawings and etchings, by this artist. Previous to the "Ecce Homo" Rembrandt had produced several fine etchings from religious subjects, and two of outstanding excellence. Among the former were the little "Flight into Egypt"; the first version of "The Good Samaritan"; the simply composed, sympathetically handled "Jacob Lamenting the Death of Joseph" (1633); the little "Disciples at Emmaus"; "The Woman of Samaria"; and "Christ Driving Out the Money-Changers"; a subject much affected in Holland for the opportunity it gave of representing the various vegetables, fruit, and fowls for sale in the Temple, but in this instance remarkable for the energy of the reforming Christ and the tumult and

scattering of the offenders. The large "Resurrection of Lazarus" is assumed to have been completed in 1632, owing to the affix of van Rijn to the monogram. Vosmaer and Michel believe the print to be wholly from the hand of Rembrandt; Middleton-Wake attributes to him the design and the execution only of the central figure and that of Lazarus. Whether or not minor details were worked by a lesser hand, the whole composition is informed by the master's spirit in his use of the highly-focussed light bathing the dead man and drawing him back to life through the power of the guiding hand. The figure of Christ is dignified and imposing. The dominance of His powerfully magnetic personality is keenly felt, as also the psychic force flowing from Him to Lazarus. At this stage of Rembrandt's career he was profoundly attracted by the aspect of Christ's divinity as displayed by his supernatural and miraculous power; he sought to indicate the quality of seer and wonder-worker by the suggestion of an impelling, outgoing magnetism which impressed itself strongly on those around. Later, Rembrandt, through study and experience, grew into sympathy with another side of Christ's nature, less immediately obvious, more subtle; as shown in the small plate of the "Raising of Lazarus," where the miracle is

wrought by the deeper, penetrating, all-environing power of divine love.

In 1634 Rembrandt produced an etching, carefully elaborated, which shows new aims destined later to bear rich fruit. "The Angel Appearing to the Shepherds" is one of his night pieces. In it the Dove, surrounded by rejoicing cherubs, broods in a glory of light in whose rays appears the announcing angel, a brilliance that makes the dark night darker. The rich velvety darkness contrasts vividly with the high white light; in the half-light are seen water and trees and a distant city. The awakened shepherds are camping in a rocky landscape. The suddenness of the apparition is admirably suggested by the hurried, pell-mell rush of startled animals that scurry away towards protecting shadow. In spite of certain ungainliness in the proportion of the figures the effect is very fine; the great interest lies in the care bestowed on the landscape, no longer conventional and Italianised, but treated with considerable realism.

The third important etching of this period dates to 1639, the large, very fine "Death of the Virgin," one of Rembrandt's most masterly etchings both in technique and in originality of treatment, in the remarkable pictorial quality of the light, in the beauty of arrangement. Hamerton wrote concerning it, "Every lover of

Art comes in time to have private predilections which he cannot always readily account for and explain. Thus, of all the plates of Rembrandt, the 'Death of the Virgin' is the one that fascinates and moves me most." Despite the great richness of detail, of vivid contrasts, the plate is enthralling from the unity of informing idea, from the downpouring of heavenly light that encompasses the death-bed, from the interest of the various degrees of emotion felt by the surrounding mourners, who are rapidly drawn with powerful characterisation. In its grandeur, in its suggestion of the power of an unseen presence, it is unrivalled.

Between 1634 and 1642 Rembrandt's career as fashionable portrait-painter was at its acme, his output great. Houbraken testifies to his popularity, relates how his work was sought after, so that sitters were compelled to await their turn, that indeed "he had not only to be paid but to be prayed." His preoccupation with his work was such that, as another pupil writes, "When he was painting he would have refused to receive the greatest sovereign on earth, and would have compelled him to wait or call again when he was willing to see him." Such conduct did not tend to increase Rembrandt's popularity socially; therefore, he was not courted for himself. When the popularity of his work waned he—the man—was

soon overlooked. His work engrossed him rather than his sitter; he is known to have made experimental sketches of his subject in his effort to find the one suitable expression in pose and in technique. Hence the seemingly puzzling differences in handling of pictures belonging to the same period. In one canvas the brushwork is full and free, the impasto thick, each stroke spontaneous, though definite; there is no elaboration, and the details are occasionally worked with the butt-end of the brush. In another the handling is more sought, more elaborated, perhaps more nervous, and shows greater finish. In no case is the end confused with the means; the idea dominates. Occasionally there is evidence of patient reworking. Millais wrote of Rembrandt (*Magazine of Art*, 1888): "It will be remembered that Rembrandt, in his first period, was very careful and minute in detail, and there is evidence of stippling in his flesh painting; but when he grew older, and in the fulness of his power, all appearance of such manipulation and minuteness vanished in the breadth and facility of his brush, though the advantage of his early manner remained. The latter manner is, of course, much the finer and really more finished of the two. I have closely examined his pictures at the National Gallery, and have actually *seen*, beneath that grand veil of

breadth, the early work that his art conceals from untrained eyes—the whole science of painting. And herein lies his superiority to Velasquez, who with all his mighty power and magnificent execution, never rose to the perfection which above all with painters consists in *ars celare artem.*"

That the great strength of Rembrandt the painter lay in his single-hearted devotion to his art is proved by the fact that popularity could not divert him from his passionate quest after perfection, after a keener insight into, and deeper knowledge of, human nature. Although his constant effort was to suggest personality, he succeeded in his earlier portraits, of young women especially, in producing a fair semblance only of his sitter, always in an admirable setting painted with the realistic explicitness of the day. He does not exaggerate nor permit emphasis of eccentricity. Indeed, these portraits of young women of fashion, such as that belonging to the van Weede family at Utrecht, suffice to show that the painter was not what is termed a man of the world who could ingratiate himself with his lady sitters and compel them to reveal their personalities to him. Comparison of such portraits with those of Saskia shows that the former are approached timidly. Beautiful as the picture may be the subject has remained remote from his ken; the face remains a gentle decorous mask.

Later, as his powers matured, his knowledge of human nature deepened, his own experiences of life multiplied, his power to suggest the inner life of man or woman developed proportionately, to depict the psychological moment of an incident, to indicate the story of this or that character (especially of old men and women), written from within upon the fair parchment of flesh, hieroglyphs of time unmistakable to the seer's eye.

There is extraordinary power in the etched portrait of Jacob Cats, with his wrinkled face and large expressive eyes—the poet and statesman known in Holland as Father Cats; of Jan Uijtenboogaerd, the Remonstrant preacher; of Johan Antonides van der Linden, renowned doctor and professor at Leyden. To the same period belong the etching and the painting of Manasseh Ben-Israel, the many-sided Portuguese Rabbi of Amsterdam, physician, teacher of languages, author of certain theological works, and of a drama for which Rembrandt etched four illustrations.

Fine, too, are the painted portraits of the "Young Man" in the National Gallery, and of himself with velvet cap and earring in the Louvre; and the fine picture of the "Standard-bearer" (belonging to Baron Rothschild, at Paris), dressed in brown, with mezzetin cap and plumes, a proud figure outlined against the brilliant light

tones of the standard pointed above his head and draped over his left arm—probably a portrait of himself in the guise of a standard-bearer to one of the gaily dressed companies of archers. Critics are equally sceptical concerning the nationality of the so-called portrait of Sobiesky in the Hermitage, in which is represented a solid-looking man with the coarse fleshy features, clear, piercing eyes of the painter, with fierce moustache, and wearing a high fur jewelled hat, a velvet cloak trimmed with fur, and a jewelled chain round his neck. Very different to either, both so rich in harmonious colour and glow of light, is the masterly portrait of Rembrandt's frame-maker, belonging to Mr. Schaus, of New York, formerly in the Duc de Morny's collection. It is painted with extraordinary reserve and dignity, in tones of grey, black, and white, against a black background, relieved only by the warm flesh tones of health. To this period also belong a series of beautiful portraits of old women, such as those belonging to Baron A. Rothschild, and one of the painter's mother in the Hermitage; appealing figures, old heads shaded in soft velvet hoods, wrinkled faces and pathetic eyes painted lovingly and reverently by this singular man, of coarse exterior, with the vision of the seer, and the heart of a child.

CHAPTER VI

"THE MARCH OUT"—DEATH OF SASKIA

1642

Rembrandt's children—His wife's delicacy—Her portraits—Action for defamation—Their monetary condition—Purchase of a house—Second civic commission—The civic guards and their Doelens—"The Night Watch"—Its importance in Dutch art—Its history and title—Its colour scheme—Method of the painter's middle period—A luminarist rather than a colourist—Problems of light—Opinions of contemporaries—Acme of prosperity—His pupils—His house and its contents—Mania as collector—Nude studies—His rivals—Saskia's death—Effect on his work—Etchings.

OUTWARDLY Rembrandt prospered. Into his home, despite his great happiness, sorrow had entered. The first-born child, Rumbartus, died in infancy; the second, Cornelya, died twenty-two days after her baptism; and the same name was given two years later to another little daughter, but she also died very young. Finally, in 1641, Saskia gave birth to their son Titus, so often painted by his father; the boy seems in a measure to have inherited his father's talent, but at the age of twenty-eight predeceased his parent. On this child much love

was lavished. Rembrandt has left many sketches and drawings of the mother cradling and nursing her baby. But Saskia's health was now failing, and she had not long to live. There is a beautiful portrait of her in Antwerp, painted shortly before her death, that contrasts markedly with the radiant portrait of her, flower in hand, in Dresden, dating probably prior to the birth of Titus. In pose and costume they are similar, except that the red velvet hat of the later portrait has orange feathers, and the finely pleated chemisette above the dark-red, gold-embroidered robe is slightly open, showing the neck against a background of brown-grey. As usual, she wears earrings, necklace, and bracelets of pearls, whose beautiful colour harmonises with and balances the flesh tones. The face, however, is no longer in first youth; the features are more delicate, the expression more thoughtful, the eyes a little wistful. There is an extraordinary charm in this portrait, painted in all likelihood when the second important civic commission was in progress; the painter-husband has put into it the finest expression of his ideal. A French writer, M. Breal, has recently suggested that the gentle resigned look that lurks beneath Saskia's smile may be because with the great painter Art ranked first in his life, that she may have sorrowed to hold a second place only in her husband's heart, that those eight

years of her life "were spent silently and discreetly in the luminous shadow which the master peopled with his visions." But I think another and more probable reason may be found for this sadness in the young face—the death of her three children; the consequent disappointment, regret, and heartache that had so short appeasement. What she may have lost on the one side through her husband's dislike to society, she gained on the other through his stay-at-home propensities, his disinclination for the taverns and boisterous dissipations of the day.

If his painting and his pupils absorbed much of his time, Saskia was his most frequent and ever willing model. When not in his studio he etched and drew beside her in the evenings. No one knew better than she how loving and compassionate was the heart of that coarsely-fashioned, God-fearing man. She devoted her life to him. He made it his pride to deck his darling in costly stuffs, furs, and jewels; so much so that at last her relations complained she had "squandered her patrimony in ornaments and ostentation," whereupon the irate husband brought an action—in which he was, however, non-suited—for defamation, in protestation against the "slander entirely contrary to truth." He sued for damages, and stated that his wife and he were "richly and even abundantly provided with

wealth." Rembrandt was undoubtedly extravagant, for he had the collector's mania. He haunted the sale-rooms and filled his home with strange and rare objects, stuffed animals, arms and armour, with "paintings, prints, shells, horns of animals," according to the Register of Sales of 1637. Among these possessions was Rubens' "Hero and Leander," for which Rembrandt paid 424 florins. His pupil Baldinucci states that "when Rembrandt was present at a sale, especially one of paintings or drawings by masters, he would start with so high a bid that no other purchasers would offer, and to persons who expressed surprise at this conduct he would answer that in this way he intended to exalt his profession." Baldinucci's statements as to the painter's "kindness pushed to the verge of folly," to his readiness to lend or give "everything he had to fellow-artists who borrowed from him," are emphatic denials of the charges of avarice made against him by other writers. He had wealth, his own earnings, a legacy from an aunt of Saskia's in addition to her patrimony, and his own share in his father's inheritance after his mother's death in 1640. However, he seems frequently to have been in immediate need of money, as for instance in 1639, when he purchased the house in the Joden-Breedstraat, in the Jewish quarter, and was able to pay down the half only

of the necessary 13,000 florins, leaving himself burdened with a debt which he was never able to discharge, and became the main cause of his ultimate undoing. It was of this house, doubtless, that Houbraken gave a graphic description as to the way the master isolated his pupils so that their individual qualities should be the better developed, "each isolated in his cell, divided off by partitions of mere canvas, or even paper, so that he could work from nature in his own way, without troubling himself about the others." In the Louvre there is a drawing which shows one of the cells with a student working from a seated female model, and in the background a series of similar stall-like cells stand open. From various sketches and etchings one knows that Rembrandt worked in the evening in the ordinary living-room beside his wife, but there is scant record how his own studio was appointed. In the M'Lellan Collection in the Glasgow Corporation Gallery there is a painting attributed to Rembrandt called "The Painter's Study," showing a painter before an easel working from a nude figure with a gold necklace in full light seated on green drapery against a mauve-brown curtain, and a soft grey background. To a later date, 1647, belongs the etching "Artist and Model," a nude figure of a woman standing on a low pediment, a long palm in her right hand, and drapery over her left, while an artist is crouched

in front of her, pencil and paper in hand. These may or may not have represented his own studio, but he seems rarely to have cared to depict the surroundings of himself or of his sitters, so intent was he upon the problem presented by the living face and personality.

Through whom, or by what means, Rembrandt received his second great civic commission is unknown, but it seems natural enough that the rich captain of the Civil Guards of the First Ward of the city,—a ward, moreover, in which Rembrandt had resided—should commission the most popular artist of the moment to celebrate his captaincy, an artist who had proved his powers on a large important municipal canvas ten years previously. During the War of Independence these bodies of arquebusiers, or citizen volunteers, did much to ensure the final results, especially at the sieges of Leyden and Haarlem. Thereafter they became a popular institution; the posts of captain, lieutenant, and standard-bearer were eagerly sought for—the picturesquely costumed post of standard-bearer being necessarily held by a man of wealth. These corps became the recognised guardians of peace and order in the city; they had their respective drill-halls or Doelens, where they housed the various prizes won through competition with other companies of their own city or of neighbouring towns. These Doelens were decorated

with paintings of the corps; at first of the officers only and later of many of the members. Each sitter paid a share of the painting according to his rank; each was desirous of a recognisable portrait. Consequently the earlier of these Doelen pictures were careful chronicles of fact; accurate, arranged in rigid, obvious line. Later, Ravesteijn had endeavoured to introduce a little interest and unity in the picture, but Frans Hals only had succeeded in giving at once a living and an artistic presentment in his magnificent Doelens and Regent-pictures at Haarlem. He adopted the favourite device — grouping his subjects, glass in hand, toasting one another round the banquet-table; and gave to his compositions a sense of exuberant life, jollity, and well-being. The dominant feeling is one of vitality and of breezy good-fellowship between men as strong in their cups as with their arms; there is always a vivid play of colour, a fine arrangement of line that harmonise in a brilliant whole, painted with unrivalled bravura. He, too, strictly observed his compact to give due prominence to all his sitters, and to make excellent likenesses of them.

Rembrandt knew the traditional requirements of such compositions, but he had reached a point in his career when he no longer brooked dictation, but strove to work out his own ideas. It is not

known how long the so-called "Night Watch" was in hand; but whether or not sketches had been submitted to the captain, he and his lieutenant, at least, had no cause for complaint. The artist does not seem to have made numerous preparatory sketches; two are known to exist—a hasty sketch in pen and ink, and another in black chalk belonging to M. Léon Bonnat. It is certain, however, from documents in the Archives, that the picture was placed in the hall of the Doelen in Amsterdam in 1642, and that Rembrandt received 1,600 gulders for it, a sum in excess of the then usual rate of payment. While he was painting it his wife was failing slowly in health after the birth of Titus; the year of his triumph was darkened by her death. It is not known to what extent his anxiety and apprehension affected his mind and vision; whether or not to these causes may be attributed inequalities, certain hasty passages, and barely concealed corrections visible in this extraordinary masterpiece, or how much the turmoil of this clouded period of his own life may have affected his conception of a work that has been well named the turning-point in the history of Dutch painting; and may, moreover, be considered as the inauguration of the modern impressionism in painting. In the matter of technique Hals, and especially Velasquez, are, equally with Rembrandt, forerunners of modernity in Art.

In the so-called "Night Watch" the artist has lost sight of portraiture as aim in his enthusiastic effort to suggest the movement and stir of departure of a body of men called suddenly to arms; the orderly confusion of the different preparations of officers and men united by one idea. It is obvious that to many of his clients dissatisfaction must have been given, but one recognises various of the artist's studio properties among the accoutrements and familiar types of faces among the men instead of a smart and more or less uniformly dressed set of civic guards. The emphasised position of the chief officers and the studied elaboration of their dress show that Rembrandt adhered to some form of contract, and, indeed, has thereby somewhat strained the composition of his subject. In the eighteenth century the original title of the painting was forgotten, and owing to its dirt-begrimed and smoky condition, it was supposed to be a "night piece," and was therefore called the "Night Watch." In 1758 the painter Jan van Dyck drew up an inventory of the pictures in the Rathhaus, and mentions the accumulation of oil and varnish he had removed from this painting. Tobacco and fire smoke and revarnishing had so affected it that in 1781 Reynolds had difficulty in recognising Rembrandt's handiwork, and concurred in supposing it to be a night piece; it was not till 1889, after a thorough

and judicious cleaning, that various delicate passages of colour and effects of light reappeared. Even Fromentin, in his otherwise masterly appreciation of the picture, was misled in his estimate of the values; for many transparent shadows were then obscured, the rich velvety shadows dulled, and colours falsified.

The picture—according to a contemporary water-colour sketch reproduction in an album belonging to Herr de Graff van Polsbroeck—represents Francis Banning Cocq, "the young Lord of Purmerland, giving his lieutenant, Herr van Vlaerdingen, the order to march out." The time of day can be judged by the shadow of the captain's hand that falls athwart his lieutenant's embroidered coat. Possibly the young Lord of Purmerland, to whom James II. had granted a patent of nobility in 1620, gave the artist a free hand on condition that he and his lieutenant held conspicuous positions, and may have been mainly responsible for the payment of the whole composition, and have thereby given the artist scope for a personal rendering of the scenic and fantastic arrangement of detail. In *De Gids* for 1870 Dr. J. Dyserinck describes certain documents in the Archives of Amsterdam relating to "The March Out." In 1715 it was transferred from the Doelen to the town hall. In order to fit it into its new position, strips were cut off

the canvas on either side and off the top, whereby the balance of the picture was destroyed. It might be well if, when a final resting-place for the picture is arranged—for its present position is unfortunate as to light and space—canvas were added to the picture to restore it to its original proportions, so as to give an approximate idea of Rembrandt's original design. At present it is mutilated, and therefore false in quantity. An idea of the original balance of composition can be gained by a comparison of the original with the small copy in the National Gallery by G. Lundens, a young contemporary of Rembrandt. It will be seen that a portion of the drummer to the right and two figures to the left have disappeared, also the important left railing at the edge of a parapet which gave depth to the composition. As the canvas now is, the two foremost figures loom too large, and stand out of the canvas in a way that would be unforgivable in the artist's own eyes. The colour-scheme of the picture, though rich, is subordinate to the chiaroscuro. It is colour sharply contrasted, echoing the sharp contrasts of light and shadow. The captain is prominent in a black coat embroidered with gold and red sash. His lieutenant at his side is in pale buff, embroidered with gold or pale blue, a white sash, and white feathers in his light felt hat. The familiar steel

gorget round his neck reflects both light and shadow. These two figures start the scale of contrasts in the picture, light and shade interweaving throughout like the interplay of conflicting motives—dark reds, dark greens, white ruffs, and flesh tones, transparent darkness between the lieutenant and drummer contrasted with the dazzling light on the enigmatic little maiden in pale blue and white, with pale hair and gleaming pearls. The quiet, dignified figure of the standard-bearer holding aloft his orange and blue flag—from whose point light ripples to his face and breast—contrasts with the stir of movement of the gathering guards, heightened by the transverse lines of unquiet spears. Light falls on the foremost movers of the little drama, the troop is lost in vaporous darkness of the enveloping background. Much has been written and surmised about the little girl with her badly proportioned figure and face of Lysbeth. It is difficult to suggest the import of this symbol of the "eternal feminine." Probably in the purse with gold tassels and the cock tied by the feet to her girdle she carries the prizes for the day's shooting. Whether or not she be a symbolic figure, she is certainly an important feature in the marvellous play of light and shade which contribute mainly to the great beauty of the whole work.

In one or two pictures prior to "The March Out" Rembrandt had anticipated his chosen colour-scheme and method of treatment; such as in the "Samson" of 1635, "The Angel Leaving Tobias," "The Man with the Bittern," and "The Lady with the Turban." Cool backgrounds and soft grey-greens were succeeded by warmer harmonies, richer colours in finer chromatic arrangement, greater luminosity, and deeper penumbra. He no longer expressed design by means of "arrested contours"; he painted in the round, modelled his contours, softened or lost them in their environment of light or shadow; he worked with broad touches, circling, sweeping strokes, and full impasto. In "The March Out" the artist is as little emphatic with the persistent quality of his colour as he is with the outline of contours. He uses colour, not primarily to insist on the quality and texture of surfaces, but for its beauty under the play of light and shadow. For, as Fromentin was the first to point out, Rembrandt's great primary characteristic is not as a colourist, but as a *luminarist*. A colourist sees colour more delicately than form, and usually paints by contours rather than by line; a colourist in the full sense of the term "is a painter who knows how to preserve the colours of his scale—be they rich or not, be they broken or not, complicated or simple — their principle, their special property,

their timbre, their accuracy, everywhere and always, in shadow, half-lights, and right into the highest lights." In this sense Velasquez stands pre-eminent; also Giorgione, Titian, Rubens, and Frans Hals. With these artists colour is one of the means of safely expressing the temperament of their subject. The great Dutch painter recognised this value of colour, and at times so used it, especially in his earlier work; but another and more absorbing problem took precedence of colour —the question of light as expressed by colour, rather than the effect of light upon colour. For his chief strength lay in his creative and poetic quality, which seized its subject and transmuted it through the crucible of his imagination, and dowered it with a new and forceful life. The seer's vision penetrated through the semblance of life to its inner realities. And for expression he needed something more than colour only, for colour distinguishes the tangible and harmonises the obvious, but does not suggest the underlying mystery of things. Colour, as the expression of light and of light's negation; and light and darkness as symbols of the great interplay of human emotions, of vibrant life and its larger mysteries; these were the problems that increasingly engrossed the painter. The realisation of this fact helps to a truer understanding of this celebrated picture.

In any such standpoint there is sacrifice; in the synthetic treatment of his subject Rembrandt sacrifices much actual fact to his individual conception, many lesser details to his major impression.

Rembrandt's effort in the representation of his highly subjective conception was to combine vigorous tonality with powerful chiaroscuro. He painted with light—"shadow became his poetic vehicle"; local colour was lost in one dominant scale; methods and means are forgotten in the imposing impression produced on the spectator by the whole.

M. Charles Blanc wrote of the picture before its recent restoration: "To tell the truth, it is only a dream, and no one can decide what is the light that falls on the group of figures. It is neither the light of the sun or the moon, nor does it come from torches; it is rather the light of the genius of Rembrandt." And M. de Montégut considers that it "expresses effervescence of patriotism, happiness of independence that had long been fought for. It is Liberty in her golden age. It will preserve the remembrance of Dutch liberty perhaps even beyond the existence of Holland."

This picture, so full and deep in tone, so totally unlike any traditional Regent-picture, so lacking in clear statement of fact, provoked much criticism and censure. The poet Vondel, who unfavour-

ably contrasts it with the "brightness" of Flinck's composition, alludes to Rembrandt as "The Prince of Darkness," and expresses dislike of the "artificial gloom, the shadows and half-lights." Hoogstraten, writing in 1678, praises the "symmetry, analogy, and harmony of the composition," and finds fault with the prosaic arrangement of figures in the traditional Doelen pictures. "True artists," he continues, "are able to give unity to their works. Rembrandt has been careful of this, too careful in the opinion of many persons, for he was far more concerned with the general effect of his picture than with the fidelity of the individual portraits he was commissioned to paint therein. And yet, whatever may be urged against it, this work in my opinion is likely to outlive all its rivals by virtue of its highly pictorial conception, its admirable composition, and the vigour which, in the opinion of many, makes all other pictures look like coloured cards beside it." To this testimony to the vitality of this picture he adds: "Yet I wish he had put more light into it." For a time the painting found appreciators —it was a nine days' wonder; but in reality the master stood alone, misunderstood, and, according to Houbraken, "when the passing infatuation of the public had subsided, true connoisseurs turned away from him, and light painting came into favour once more."

Rembrandt had sinned against his generation —in their opinion—by contempt for traditional limitation, by his sacrifice of a lesser realistic study of nature for the realisation of essential characteristics.

When this masterpiece was in process Rembrandt touched the acme of prosperity and of happiness. He had received the most important civic commissions; his little son was born, and lived; and his Saskia, though still delicate, perhaps a little unaccountably so, still looked forward to a return of health. His pupils were numerous. Flinck and Backer had left the atelier, when from about 1635 to 1640 it was frequented by Jan Victors, Eeckhout, and Philip Koninck; and these in turn were succeeded in 1640–2 by La Vecq, Ovens, Paudiss, Verdoel, Heerschop, Drost, Fabritius, and Hoogstraten. Moreover, the master had realised his desire to own a house in his favourite part of the town, where he could meet and study the largest number of most varied types, where he could house his extensive collection of paintings, armour, and curios. From the inventory of the sale of 1656 it is possible to form a vivid idea of the interior of his home. This house, now divided into two residences, stands the second from the corner, built in 1606 of brick and stone, with a few steps leading to the entrance. The vestibule, furnished with six

Spanish chairs, was hung with twenty-four pictures, by Brower, Lievens, Seghers, and fourteen of his own canvases. The ante-chamber with its green velvet-covered Spanish chairs, its cabinet and mirror of ebony, its walnut table covered with a handsome Tournay cloth, was also hung with pictures. Of these six were by himself; others were by Pinas, Lastman, Lievens, Bramer, Seghers, de Vlieger, and still more precious, a Lucas van Leyden, a Palma Vecchio, a portrait by Bassano Vecchio, and a head by Raphael. The adjoining room was a veritable museum filled with pictures, several by himself, including a "Virgin and Child," and the nude study of a woman, examples of the rare Aartgen van Leiden, a van Eyck, and copies after Annibale Carracci. This was his etching and printing room; for his use were a few household utensils, blinds or window-screens made of cardboard, to effect changes of light in the room, and his oaken printing-press. The large central room was the living-room of the family. It contained a large mirror, in which he may frequently have studied his own features, a table with an embroidered cover, chairs covered with blue, and a bed with blue hangings, a linen-press, and a linen-cupboard. The walls were adorned with pictures; among them a Madonna by Raphael, a large canvas by Giorgione, and many by himself.

On the first floor were the students' cells and the museum proper filled with all manner of things—plaster casts, statuettes in marble, porcelain, etc.; busts of Homer, Aristotle, Socrates; globes, minerals, shells, plants, stuffed birds; fine china from China and Japan, a Chinese parasol; arms and armour, and a shield attributed to Quentin Matsys; casts taken from the life; Venetian glass; a few books, and sixty portfolios filled with drawings, studies, engravings, and etchings after, and by, the chief Italian, German, and Dutch masters, including himself. An adjoining cabinet was filled with more paintings and casts, and then came the atelier, divided into five compartments, and filled with Indian and Turkish armour, Oriental musical instruments, stuffs of all kinds, and among the plaster casts one of the Laocoon, then little known. The painter's own studio was also full of curios, among them the statue of a child copied from Michelangelo; lions' skins decorated the vestibule; and a small room, or office, was hung with ten pictures by himself.

Such was the home of this strange man, who studied all the art movements of Europe, never travelled, but, as described by Pels, "ransacked the town, seeking on bridges, at street corners, in the markets for cuirasses, Japanese poignards, furs he thought picturesque. . . ." He had the

veritable collector's mania. Hoogstraten relates that he had seen Rembrandt bid up to eighty rijksdaalers for a print by Lucas van Leyden (Uilenspiegel). And Sandrart, in his life of that master, repeats the statement of Johan Ulrich Mayn, who had seen Rembrandt at a public sale give 1,400 florins for fourteen fine proofs by Lucas, among them the "Ecce Homo," the "Voyage of St. Paul to Damascus," the great "Entombment," and the "Dance of the Magdalen." The inventory of the bankruptcy sale is an invaluable document in the study of Rembrandt, both as a man and as a painter. From it we see what were the chief sources of his extraordinary development; who were his real masters, in what way his dominating genius selected and absorbed what it required for its nurture and growth; and how throughout his career he followed two self-appointed rules—to know all that was possible of the material side of his art, to try and probe the secret of the greatness of others, to learn from their experiences as well as his own; and, secondly, to base his own work, informed by his own powerful imagination, on a close and rigorous study of nature. And we know that he studied the technical manipulation of his work as a positive exercise apart from the fulfilment of his conceptions; certain "Vanitas" from his hand prove

his belief in the value of still-life study; and in the fine "Peacock and Pea-hen," belonging to Mr. Cartwright, he has made an admirable study of the feathers, of their exquisite gradations and harmonies of colour; in his etching of the shell he follows scrupulously the lovely convolutions and traceries of nature. Then, again, we know how faithfully he studied from the living model, as shown in the series of wash drawings (in the forties and fifties) of women in various postures—rarely beautiful or admirable figures, a secondary consideration with the master, but revealing a close observation of the movement of muscles and of the play and intricacies of light and shadow on the delicate texture of the skin. The same careful research shows the series of studies of nude young men, made about 1646, and the admirable etching of "The Negress," lying on a couch, of 1658. He seems, also, to have frequented the newly-formed Zoological Gardens. In the British Museum, for example, there are valuable sketches in chalk, in pen and ink, and in bistre, of lions and lionesses, drawn with a knowledge and suggestion of power in the supine hinder-quarters that would do credit to a Barye. Elephants, a bull, hogs, and studies of horses are there also, which, together with the admirable landscapes of his later life, show how wide were his interests, and how unresting

and comprehensive were his studies and observation of Life in every form.

It is not difficult to understand why Rembrandt was held in disfavour by his fellow-artists and their admirers. They, too, studied the Italian schools, not intelligently but as imitators; they created a fashion and kept within the safe limits of its prescription. Rembrandt took from any school what his genius needed, left and ignored all else, threw aside the timidities and limitations of convention, that haven of lesser minds. He absorbed himself more and more in the investigation and working-out of his own ideas and impulses, and became the great exponent of Dutch types and character, but the interpreter, not merely of Dutch nationality, but of humanity. In overstepping recognised boundaries, he lost touch with the preservers of conventional taste, and lost his vogue and popularity in his moment of great sorrow. For in 1642 Saskia's delicacy culminated in her death, and on June 19th she was buried in the Old Church, leaving Rembrandt with a little son of nine months old. In the Heseltine Collection there is a pathetic pen-drawing of an anxious-looking widower feeding a child on his knee with a spoon from a bowl. A few days before her death Saskia signed her will, and made Titus her heir with the provision that Rembrandt should have full control of the money till his death,

or until he should marry a second time, on condition that he should educate the child and give him a reasonable dowry at marriage. Should Titus die then Rembrandt should be sole heir. She excluded the "Orphan Board" from intervention, and gave full authority and freedom to her husband, "because she was confident he would act in the matter in perfect accord with his conscience."

Saskia's death had an immediate effect on the output of work, which was relatively small during the next two years. The painter's popularity, moreover, was waning. Flinck, van der Helst, and other adherents of the clear, traditional methods of painting, and those who followed the "Italian" style, were preferred before the mysterious, dark, disquieting manner of Rembrandt. The master withdrew more into himself. In his grief and disappointment, he accepted solitude and misunderstanding, and grew more and more a power unto himself, regardless of the adverse thoughts of non-sympathisers and rivals. He turned for comfort to the Bible, as had been his wont in all the main events of his life. "The Marriage Feast of Samson" and "Belshazzar's Feast" memorialised his own nuptial festivities. Various Holy Families, "The Carpenter's Household," "The Meeting of Elizabeth and Mary," "Manoah's Prayer," expressed his own hope of

offspring. Two Holy Families belong to about this time, one engraved as "The Cradle" was famous in his own day and copied by his pupils; another, in the Hermitage, reminiscent of happier days, was painted in 1645, and is a realistic presentment of a Dutch home. Of it M. P. Mantz writes: "Here Rembrandt cast off the trammels of the text, enlarging and modernising the theme. Even in painting a humble scene of everyday life like this he keeps the eternal truths of the spiritual life in view. In this masterpiece of tender expression every detail charms and touches—the sleeping child, the attitude of the mother, the sweet emotion of her gaze, the peaceful atmosphere of the scene in which the little drama—Dutch, yet universal—is enacted." To the year 1642 belongs the pathetic etching of his dying wife; and later he produced the second plate of the "Resurrection of Lazarus," of Lazarus raised this time, not by the power of a magician, but by the power of divine love and compassion; the etched sketch of "The Descent from the Cross" and the fine grisaille of the same subject, expressive of bitter grief, in the National Gallery. Until 1654, subjects such as "The Crucifixion," "Entombment," and other etchings representing Christ as the teacher and healer attracted him. The most celebrated among these are the powerful dry-point of the Crucifixion, known as "The

Three Crosses," and the two beautiful plates, so full of human sympathy and divine love—"Christ Preaching," known as "La Tombe," and the famous "Christ Healing the Sick," commonly called "The Hundred Guilder Plate." According to Bartsch the reason of this title was an exchange of one of these proofs with a dealer for some engravings by Marc Antonio valued at 100 guilders. On a fourth state impression at Amsterdam is an inscription in old ink, "Gift of my respected friend Rembrandt for 'The Pest' of Marc Antonio," and a still later note affirms the inscription to be in the hand of the well-known collector, Pietersen Somer, or Zoomer. If Zoomer be the Italian dealer, this inscription suggests that Zoomer did not consider Rembrandt's plate the full value of more than one of the Italian proofs. Bartsch further points out that this etching was in that day not reckoned as one of Rembrandt's finest.

In the Tonneman sale of 1754 at Amsterdam "The Portrait of Burgomeister Six" realised 316 florins, "The Portrait of Tholinx" 251, "The Goldweigher" 137; the "Christ Healing the Sick" brought only 151 florins; whereas at the Holford sale a fine proof of this etching realised £1,750.

CHAPTER VII

LANDSCAPES—HENDRICKJE STOFFELS

Landscapes—Etched and painted—Method of expression—Hercules Seghers—Landscapes at Budapest and Crakow—Glasgow—Problems of artistic expression—Important portraits — Religious compositions — Mature work — "The Supper at Emmaus"—Head of Christ—Peace rejoicings in 1648—"The Pacification of Holland"—Prices of pictures—Titus—His nurse—Her portrait—Transactions between master and servant — Hendrickje—Her portraits — Rembrandt's friends—His home — Portraits — "Burgomeister Six."

LANDSCAPE was regarded by Rembrandt at the beginning of his career as valuable material for backgrounds in his pictures; for style in its use he modelled himself on the Italian conventions in accordance with the taste of the day; though the details in several of his compositions show careful observation of the growth of plants. He used pencil or wash to note down impressions and details, and after 1633 in etchings such as "The Angels Appearing to the Shepherds" landscape becomes of more importance in the composition. His first-known etched landscape is "A Large Tree and House," a "View of Amsterdam," both made in 1640, and in 1641 he produced

etchings of a "A Dutch Barn" and "A Mill with Sails." During the ensuing sixteen years he etched several superb landscapes, broadly and boldly handled, yet full of fine perception and delicate observation, with effects heightened or wholly produced by dry-point with extraordinary mastery of material. The most widely popular are the sombre storm-study, "The Three Trees," "The Canal," and "The Vista," a beautiful dry-point of fine woodland.

After Saskia's death the widower seems to have made more frequent excursions into the country. He etched views of Amsterdam, Omval, of "Six's Bridge" near Hillegom, of Randorp, "The Village with the Square Tower," and "The Goldweigher's Field" between Muiden and Amsterdam. Many drawings made about this time prove that he visited friends in their country houses, and also sketched views of Dordrecht and the Rotterdam Market. He sketched in chalk, pen and ink, with pen, bistre, and wash, and selected such subjects as a "Clump of Swaying Trees," or the fine "Farm Buildings near a Brook" that anticipates Constable in breadth of handling.

The earliest known of Rembrandt's painted landscapes bears the date 1646, "The Frozen Canal," now at Cassel, painted in grey-greens and browns. Richer harmonies and broader handling are seen in the landscapes in the Wallace

Collection and the National Gallery, in that entitled "The Holy Family Resting in Egypt" and the magnificent "Landscape with Ruins on a Hill" at Cassel. The artist's development in landscape painting was as sequent as in his portraits and subject compositions. Fine exquisite statement of facts gives place to generalisation, crude realism to intelligent synthesis; colour changes from clarity and a monotony of greys and greens to richer tones and deeper harmonies; leafage and contours are expressed in masses in place of elaborate detail. Prosaic faithfulness develops into a courageous symbolic treatment of collective facts, and expresses a higher form of truth. In proportion as his feeling became more impassioned and his mastery of materials perfect, so did his touch broaden, the impasto became thicker, the handling more impetuous and generous. By a hitherto unattempted use of chiaroscuro, of transfiguring veils of light and mysterious shadow, he attempted to interpret Nature's deepest moods.

Thus it is his landscapes differ wholly in method and approach from those of his predecessors—van Goyen, Cuyp, Salomon van Ruysdael, and Roghman. Roghman certainly is his most direct precursor, as Philip Koninck is his immediate follower. The man whose influence was greatest on Rembrandt was the little-known Hercules Seghers, of whose work he possessed eight

examples. Seghers lived misunderstood, and died in poverty. His engravings are remarkable, printed in monochrome on coloured paper; and he is said even to have printed with oil colours in two or three tints.[1] Not only was Rembrandt attracted by his work, but he adapted a plate of Seghers for his "Flight into Egypt" in the manner of Elsheimer, by substituting the Holy Family for "Tobit and the Angel," by retouching the trees, etc.; and this plate obviously inspired the composition of the National Gallery Landscape.

There is a lovely landscape at Budapest of a stretch of a river and field seen behind a group of trees beneath slowly clearing storm-clouds. The trees are rather hard in treatment; the beauty lies in the fine play of sunlight which irradiates the intervening plains and atmosphere and lights up the flowing river with luminous touches. Even in Rembrandt's most sombre backgrounds there is a sense of atmosphere, in the deepest shadow a sense of motion and air. Still more beautiful is the landscape with "The Good Samaritan," in Crakow. The figures are a mere detail, such detail as Giorgione used to mark successive planes of atmosphere and indicate receding distances. The design is of twisted tree trunks upon a tapestry of rich foliage and intervening shadows. In the background lowers a dark

[1] Vosmaer.

storm-cloud; in the middle distance there is a stretch of landscape, with river, cascades, bridges, windmills, and a country wain drawn by white horses—all radiant in the brilliant white gleams of sunlight that turn the verdure to exquisite emerald, and glitter on the water and fans of the mills, on the harness and polish of the cart. The landscape with "Tobias and the Angel," in Glasgow, painted in his later period, seems inspired by a loftier mood; serene if less joyous, it is more synthetic in treatment.

The magnificent portrait of "The Polish Rider," in the collection of Count Tarnowski at Dzikow, has a fine open landscape background. It is not known how or where this picturesque rider of the white horse, armed with bow and quiver full of arrows, was painted. Dr. Hofstede de Groot thinks it is done "too much in the stroke" to be other than a *bona fide* portrait. "The animal is alive and in vigorous action while carrying its heavily armed rider through the evening landscape, the greater part of which is wrapped in twilight while the setting sun casts its last rays on the youthful figure. Students of Polish history will recognise in his peculiar costume the accoutrements of the Lysowski Regiment. It is half European, as it were, and half Oriental: the skin under the saddle, the horse tail at the charger's neck, the two swords, one on either side

of the body (that on the right passing under the saddle), and, lastly, the battle-axe, they are all elements which at this time had already disappeared from the equipment of European armies." Rembrandt's one other equestrian portrait is the "Portrait of Turenne," in the Panshanger Collection.

After Saskia's death the solving of various problems of artistic expression absorbed Rembrandt wholly. He lived for his work, and it in return deepened and broadened; every painting, indeed every stroke, bore the direct impress of this vibrant intense soul, who had passed beyond the stage of painting as the craftsman primarily, to that of the accomplished master who used his mastery of means (which to the last he continued to develop) to express his impressions of life, to depict the visions of the seer in touch with the straining heart-throbs of humanity. An endless curiosity into the mysterious workings of Life spurred him to ceaseless quest and experiment; and to this we owe that marvellous sequence of self-portraits which forms an invaluable autobiography of the great painter, both as man and seer. Among the most important portraits of this period are the beautifully luminous and refined "Gentleman with a Hawk" in the Grosvenor House Collection, and its pendant, the equally reserved and delicate "Lady with a Fan"; the fine double portrait of Nicholas

Berchem and his wife, and the superb, dignified presentment of Elizabeth Bas.

The year 1648 is important on account of two fine religious compositions—"The Good Samaritan" and the "Supper at Emmaus" of the Louvre. Both subjects had often fascinated Rembrandt and occupied his thoughts from the beginning of his career. The Good Samaritan he repeated many times, with brush and needle. The painting of 1648 is his mature expression of sympathy with this most beautiful of the Parables. The scene is laid at the wayside inn, to which the wounded victim of life's mischance is carried at wane of day. Fromentin points out the evidence of "the great importance attached by the thinker to the direct expression of life; a building up of things that seem to exist in his inner vision, and to suggest by indefinable methods alike the precision and the hesitation of nature. . . . Nowhere a contortion, an exaggerated feature, nor a touch in the expression of the unutterable which is not at once pathetic and subdued; the whole instinct with deep feeling, rendered with a technical skill little short of miraculous."

"The Supper at Emmaus" of the same year is perhaps the deepest spiritual insight of any of Rembrandt's conceptions. All needless accessories are avoided; it is treated with the utmost simplicity, yet breathes a profound sense of the

reality of the Divine presence, of the marvellous spiritual Selflessness of the Risen Saviour. As Michel says of the scene: "It was reserved for Rembrandt to comprehend and translate its intimate poetry. Henceforth it seems hardly possible to conceive the scene but as he painted it." The recognition and adoration of the one disciple, the dawning wonder of the other, the curiosity of the servant, the extraordinary suggestion of the mental absorption of Christ, the sense of divinity and non-earthliness that emanates from him, are marvellously rendered; and suggest, moreover, how fine, how reverent must have been the spirit of the painter, how profound the vision of the seer. Several of Rembrandt's studies of the head of Christ exist. One, the most beautiful, is a masterly painting possibly for this picture, probably the idealised version of a young Amsterdam Jew: it belongs to M. Kann. Another, less beautiful, but more finely idealised, was lent to the Amsterdam Exhibition of 1898 by Count Raczynski of Posen. Rembrandt was a supreme master of psychological portrait-painting. He even sought to suggest the character and tendencies of his sitter as intimately expressed behind, as well as through, the shape of the eyes, the lines of the mouth and forehead, the attitude of the lips, the position and type of the hands, the strength and quality of the hair. In no work

that I have seen is that knowledge better demonstrated than in this "Study for a Christ," painted in the artist's fifty-second year. No young man could have done this; one who had himself lived and suffered could alone thus interpret a life such as this, suffering such as this. At first sight the features, expression, the head itself, are a little effeminate, but the face grows on one on closer study, and there awakes suddenly the realisation of all that it is meant to convey—through eyes, forehead, and mouth. Divide the face, and the right side is that of the dreamer, the spiritual poet, with large clear eye and serene forehead; and on this side of the face Rembrandt has focussed the light. The only hint of disquietude is the touch of red under the right eyebrow. Cover the right side of the face, and what a change. Here, on the left side, in slight shadow, all the vital stress, the suffering, the physical, and, what is more terrible, the nervous exhaustion of the man is shown by those three slightly-arched lines on that side of the brow, by the slightly contracted, restless eye, by the tell-tale redness of eyelid, of eyebrow, by the furrows of the forehead, absent on the right side, even to the edge of the hair. The mouth, too, confirms the eyes with its compression of lips on the right side, and the slight lift to the left upper lip, making the lips on that side almost parted.

What a story of dual nature in one individual this face tells—of the active, directing, high-wrought emotionalist, subject to terrible exhaustion; and of the calm, well-controlled, impersonal dreamer and poet, whose thought outruns the possibilities of time. Many artists, either by instinct or by reflection, have depicted the strange problem of double nature as expressed by most eyes, but I know of none who have so deliberately endeavoured to depict the life history of a strongly defined dual nature as Rembrandt has in this study for a Christ, painted in his days of deepest adversity.

1648 was a year of great rejoicing in Holland. The long war with Spain was over; the Dutch *Beggars* had swept the Spanish galleons out of supremacy; the peace was signed. Poets and painters alike vied with one another to commemorate the event; van der Helst and Flinck were called upon to execute important civic pieces. Rembrandt, once so popular, seems to have been forgotten. Yet he, too, evidently hoped for a commission, or it may be he competed for some stipulated design. At any rate, there is one interesting composition in grisaille intended to be worked on a large scale, now at Rotterdam, called "The Pacification of Holland," "a confused, overloaded composition, full of subtle allusions, suggested, perhaps, by some

pedant of the master's acquaintance. . . . With its two compact masses of combatants separated by a lioness chained beneath a shield emblazoned with the arms of Amsterdam and the legend *Soli Deo Gloria;* its figure of Justice clumsily grasping a scale loaded with papers; its infinite variety of grotesque detail, is a mere jumble of enigmatical episodes. The general effect is remarkable. The neutral blue tint of the sky is happily contrasted with the predominant brown and russet tones which are heightened here and there by fat touches of pale yellow applied with superb *brio* for the high lights."[1] The picture was never accomplished, and the grisaille remained in Rembrandt's house until the auction sale. Perhaps he was prompted to this essay by the commission he had received a year or two previously from Prince Frederick Henry; for we know that on November 29th, 1646, he received from him 2,400 florins for a "Circumcision" and a "Nativity." This was a high price in those days, for the year before the Prince had paid only 2,100 to Rubens for two large pictures. Another proof of the lost popularity of Rembrandt is to be found in the accounts by the poet Asselijn of the two great feasts of the Guild of St. Luke, in 1653 and 1654, wherein no mention is made of his friend's name. Rembrandt's rival, van der Helst, figures

[1] Michel.

prominently in the courtesies exchanged between poets and painters on the drastic reorganisation of the Guild; and though the full list of members is not given, one is surprised that Rembrandt's name should not be at least side by side with that of the younger rival. Michel concludes that Rembrandt was absent from the festival. Vosmaer, however, thinks he may have been present, for, in a poem written shortly after the fêtes by Jan Vos, "Combat between Death and Nature, or the Triumph of Painting," a prophetic vision of the glories of Amsterdam, he enumerates some of the "painters and poets who swarm" in that city, among others, Rembrandt, Flinck, van der Helst, Philip Koninck, Bol; so that here, in any case, he is quoted at the head of the list.

Meanwhile, Rembrandt's little son Titus was growing to boyhood under the care of a faithful, devoted nurse, who apparently ruled the household. The widow of a trumpeter, Abraham Claesz, she had been carefully selected by Saskia, and proved herself worthy of the trust, for the child was delicate, and difficult to rear. His father drew and etched him, as he was wont to draw those near him; there is a charming and light etching of him dated about 1652, and two very fine portraits. The one, in the possession of M. Kann, dated 1655, is dressed in fancy costume. His doublet is of Rembrandt's favourite

reddish brown, with a gathered white chemisette showing at the neck, a green fur-trimmed cloak, a black velvet mezzetin cap and white feather; he has pearls round his neck and in the large pendent earrings. The face, with its dark eyes and curling hair, is lovingly handled, and shows a delicate, sensitive face, a dreamy temperament, and the gravity of a child brought up among older people. Another portrait of Titus at about the same age, less fanciful, less beautiful, is in the Wallace Collection, dressed in brown, and a red cap on his soft curls. Half the face is in light and half in shadow, and the fine brown eyes are beautifully expressed. To this boy his nurse, Geertje Dircx, was so devoted, that in her will, dated 1648, she bequeathed to him all her property, excepting a small portion which should revert to her mother, and one hundred florins to be given to the daughter of a certain Pieter Beetz de Hoorn, together with her portrait. From the wording of the will, Titus obviously knew of the portrait among her possessions, and therefore it was probably in Rembrandt's house. The question arises—Was the portrait painted by Rembrandt, who, whether from gratitude or other reasons, would probably have painted the portrait of an inmate so long in his house? In the Teyler Museum there is a charming little pen and wash drawing, with an inscription identifying the model

with Titus's nurse; but hitherto the portrait has not been identified. There is one portrait, however, attributed to Rembrandt, about 1648, which in my opinion is in all likelihood the one in question. It is now in M. J. Porgès' collection in Paris, and was bought in Scotland not long ago by M. Sedelmeyer. It represents an old woman seated with a Bible in her lap, and her left hand resting upon it, holding her spectacles. The old face is careworn and wrinkled, the eyes red with weeping. The colour-scheme is a harmony of brilliant reds and yellows cooling into greys. The expression is admirably rendered—a pathetic, sorrow-worn, harassed old face. My belief that this portrait represents Geertje Dircx rests on a comparison of the figure and costume with that of the inscribed drawing in the Teyler Museum, in which, unfortunately, only the back of the model is seen. But there is the same high-waisted skirt and voluminous band under the arms, the same fur trimming at neck and over shoulders pointing to a V-shape, the same kind of sleeves, and the same kind of close cap lying in folds or plaits round the head, concealing almost all the hair. The figure of the drawn model, moreover, is that of an old woman. When the picture was exhibited at the commemorative Rembrandt Exhibition in Amsterdam in 1898 there was a divergence of opinion regarding its attribution, and it was

suggested that the style of handling was hardly that of Rembrandt's work at that period, neither large nor free enough, and that the colour-scheme suggested rather the work of his pupil Maes. This may be so, only it should be remembered that Maes learnt these particular tones and harmony from his master; also, the expression is so admirable, so indicative of the perturbed mental condition of the sitter, and treated with such sympathy, that I am inclined to consider it from the hand of the master. If so, it is painted somewhat after his earlier manner, but that also seems to me indicative of Rembrandt's sensitiveness, because in painting this patient old woman and her Bible his mind must have naturally reverted to his mother in her familiar attitude with her Bible, and the work would thus sympathetically fall into the earlier manner. If this surmise be correct, the strained, wearied face and tear-dimmed eyes lead one to learn without surprise that in 1650 Geertje's health and reason gave way, and she was put into an asylum at Gouda. In *Oud-Holland* an account is given of transactions between master and servant in 1649, to the effect that Geertje made a claim against him, stating that the annuity settled upon her was insufficient, and took out a summons against him; whereupon Rembrandt, supported by two witnesses, certified before a notary to the terms of his agreement

with her. A few days later, when the nurse should have signed a deed in connection with her will, she "passionately refused, and poured out a torrent of abuse." Nevertheless, when her mind gave way, Rembrandt, at the request of her family, advanced money for her journey to, and the necessary fees for, the asylum. In 1656, when Rembrandt's bankruptcy was declared, he brought an action for the recovery of this money against Geertje's relatives, and had one, Pieter Dircx, arrested.

One of the witnesses called by Rembrandt was a young servant girl who worked in the house under Geertje's teaching, and was destined to play an important part in the master's life. Recently found documents show that Hendrickje Stoffels, who was the peasant girl quoted as Rembrandt's "wife" or "housemate" by Houbraken, was born at Ransdorf on the borders of Westphalia. She was uneducated, and used the sign of a cross as her signature. It is evident from the beautiful portrait in the Louvre of her that by 1652 she was no longer in the position of house-servant, but in that of housekeeper, or, in fact, of "housemate," for in that year she bore him a child, born dead. Whether or not a legal marriage ever took place is unknown; but in 1654 the elders of her church interfered and censured her method of life and refused her the Sacrament. In October of the

same year she gave birth to a daughter, acknowledged by Rembrandt and christened by him Cornelia, a name already given to two of Saskia's children. She, like Saskia, sat as model to the painter, and is the subject of the finest of his nude paintings; for, owing to the severity of the religious training of the day, it was impossible to procure refined models, and Rembrandt too often contented himself with coarse, vulgar, and even hideous figures. Hendrickje's figure is not beautiful in proportion, but it has a sense of youthful strength and vigour that is beautiful in degree. The finest of these studies are the "Bathsheba" in the Louvre, 1654, the admirable "Woman Bathing" in the National Gallery, 1654, and the fine, boldly handled study of her in bed, in the Scottish National Gallery. Hendrickje, unlike Saskia, was a gentle brunette with large, faithful-looking brown eyes. In the "Bathsheba" the face is finely imagined, and if true to her suggests a certain degree of native refinement. The painting of the luminous delicate flesh-tints are, as Dr. Bode justly writes, worthy of comparison with the best work of Giorgione, Titian, and Correggio. Hendrickje employed a young girl to help her in the house, and two portraits exist also of this sturdy little peasant, "A Girl with a Broom" in the Hermitage, and another version of her in the Stockholm Museum. In spite of her lack of

education Hendrickje proved herself a true helpmate to the master; she learned to help him in his direst straits, was a kind and thoughtful stepmother to Titus, and a more healthful companion for him than the nerve-distraught older nurse. The society of the rich and powerful did not attract Rembrandt; he attached himself in preference to a few men of artistic taste, theologians, and thinkers. The manners and conventions of polite society in themselves were neither natural nor congenial to him. External restraints and conventions were irksome to him. A man of the people himself, he came into intimate touch with the underlying springs of human life more easily among the uncultured. Thus it was that the loving gentle nature of the devoted Hendrickje, with her obvious refinement of heart, appealed to the lonely painter, helpless in his home without a woman's aid, and made him content with her as Saskia's substitute. Once more Rembrandt grew happy; once more his home is kept in order; and again he is able to devote himself untiringly to the production of his maturest and some of his finest work. The series of portraits of himself, etched and painted at this date, show him to be an older and graver man. The painting of 1646 in Buckingham Palace, or that of 1655 in the Wallace Collection, and the etching of himself, a drawing of 1648, show him aged and dignified,

with deeply lined face, and dressed in simple, severe garb. All the fantasy and display of the earlier portraits are gone; and the sorely tried man, the worker, the thinker, only, is revealed. In these years of comparative peace—for difficulties were gathering around him in hopeless tangle—he produced magnificent work, such as the dignified "Portrait of an Old Man," in a crimson dress and heavy mantle, at Dresden; a broad, powerful study, the "Man in Armour," at Cassel, and another in Glasgow; "Joseph and Potiphar's Wife," in Berlin (another version is at the Hermitage), a superb harmony of rich colour. "To avoid the gaudiness and incoherence of multiple tints he has with exquisite art confined the general tonality to the play of two complementary colours, opposing the various reds of the picture to skilfully distributed greens."[1] To the same year, according to a journal in the Six family, belongs the admirable portrait of "Burgomeister Six," Rembrandt's constant friend, from whom the year before the painter had borrowed money. Rapidly executed in a few hours with bold vigorous touch, every stroke tells, and the study is characterised by freshness and spontaneity, by broad simplicity and careful emphasis. The dominant colours are greys, soft reds and gold, in marvellous harmony. The treat-

[1] Michel.

ment of the face is admirable and sympathetic—the fine temperament of his friend is lovingly suggested; the character and quality of the work, especially of the broadly brushed hands and gloves, is masterly in the highest degree. The portrait is still in the family of the Burghermaster, and hangs opposite to that of his mother, Anna Wymer, the daughter of Dr. Tulp, painted in 1641, in a smoother and more elaborate manner.

The friendship between Rembrandt and Six arose, doubtless, through the mediumship of Dr. Tulp, whose daughter Jan Six married, a friendship that stood the master in good stead in the days of his adversity. Jan Six was a cultivated man of fine tastes; he became Burghermaster in later life, and owned a charming house in the country whose doors were ever open to the painter. Moreover, Jan Six was an author. In 1648 he published a tragedy, entitled *Medea*, for which Rembrandt etched the illustration of the "Marriage of Jason and Creusa." It was for him probably that Rembrandt painted the small head of Dr. Ephraim Bonus, a Portuguese Jew, now in the Six Collection. In the same year he etched the interesting portrait of Jan Six standing at the window of his study, book in hand, with a pile of books lying on a chair, his sword and cloak thrown on a couch beside him.

CHAPTER VIII

BANKRUPTCY—LAST DAYS

Bankruptcy—Causes — Commercial depression — Rembrandt's monetary difficulties—Claim on behalf of Titus—Partnership between Titus and Hendrickje—Finest etched portraits —Solace in work—Portraiture—Second anatomy-picture—Biblical subjects—Prolific years—De Piles' records as to the painter's latest method of portraiture—Studies of old women and of himself—House in the Rozengracht—Commissioned picture for the town hall—"The Syndics of the Cloth Hall"—Highest achievement—Death of Hendrickje —Latest paintings—Rembrandt's last pupil—The "Family Group" at Brunswick—Last portraits of himself—Death.

AND Rembrandt fell upon evil days. Popularity, ease and comfort, finally his home went from him, and he was declared bankrupt in 1656. Latter-day biographers and specialists—Scheltema and Vosmaer, Messrs. Bredius, Bode, de Roever, and Hofstede de Groot—have made patient inquiry into available documents and have made plain the reason of his failure. It was brought about, in minor part, by his decreased popularity owing to his independence of thought and method, by his refusal to paint in the popular, "clear" method exemplified pre-eminently by Van

Dyck ; and by the general commercial depression of Holland at that time, owing to the renewal of hostilities with Spain and war with England. Moreover, the Hollanders had been speculating heavily in bulbs, etc., and had suffered heavy losses, so that many of the important houses in Amsterdam stood empty. The major cause of the painter's misfortunes lay in his temperamental difficulty in handling money, in his lack of foresight, his generosity and extravagance. Although frugal in his habits, he was lavish in expenditure. The high prices commanded by his pictures gave him ample means for a time. The facility of making money obliterated any tendency to economy he may have had in youth, and encouraged him in his very natural mania for collecting pictures, engravings, and bric-à-bac.

The attempted purchase of his house in the Breedstraat was his final undoing. In 1639 he paid down the half only of the stipulated price of 13,000 florins. He failed to pay further instalments, and after 1649 to pay the interest, or even the rates which then devolved on the owner of the house. He never possessed ready money ; blind to his own interests, he gave no thought to the future. Liberal to friends and artists in trouble, he gave out large sums for which he was rarely repaid. We know of his having twice lent money to Uylenborch in 1631 and 1640. He helped his own

family; lent money to his brother Adrian, the miller, whose portrait is in the Hague Museum, and to Lysbeth, who is inscribed on the Leyden register of rates as "almost bankrupt and in very reduced circumstances." When he had no ready money he borrowed from the innumerable money-lenders at high rates. Finally, after many years of futile waiting, the owner of the house claimed immediate payment. Rembrandt endeavoured to collect moneys due to him from various sources, but failed. Among other projects, a collector named Dirck von Cattenbruch proposed various business arrangements and a loan of 1,000 florins in exchange for various pictures and engravings, and the transaction was fulfilled in part. Rembrandt also borrowed 8,400 florins, a loan declared before the Court of Sheriffs. With this he paid part of his debt, and further gave a mortgage on his house to the value of 1,170 florins. Fresh difficulties arose when Saskia's relatives stepped in to claim and protect her son's portion. A statement was made showing that Rembrandt's property, in accordance with Saskia's will, had been estimated at 40,750 florins; 20,375 florins were claimed for Titus. Thereupon Rembrandt appeared before the Chamber of Orphans and made over to Titus his interest in his house. His creditors were incensed, and a series of complicated lawsuits ensued which ended in the

declaration of his bankruptcy in 1656, when an inventory was made by order of the Court of "all the pictures, furniture and household goods of the debtor Rembrandt von Rijn inhabiting the Breedstraat, near St. Anthony's loch." Towards the close of 1657 the Commissioners of the Bankruptcy Court ordered the sale of Rembrandt's goods "collected with great discrimination"; a sale that extended over six days, but realised the very inadequate sum of 5,000 florins; and the painter, at the age of fifty-one, was turned out of his home, and sought refuge in an inn, the "Imperial Crown," in the Kalverstraat, and had to begin life again.

However, he was not wholly desolate. Titus and the faithful Hendrickje exerted themselves on his behalf. In 1657 Titus made his will in such a way that he became protector of Hendrickje and Cornelia, to whom he bequeathed his property on condition that Rembrandt should during his lifetime enjoy the income therefrom. No mention is made in the inventory of sale of Rembrandt's working materials, nor of his copper plates, which, doubtless, he took with him. That these latter were not all taken from him, or else were bought in by Titus for his father, is shown by the arrangement Titus and Hendrickje entered into on the painter's behalf in 1660, for all his own earnings went to his creditors. The two in ques-

tion entered into joint partnership as dealers in pictures, engravings, curios, and into this they each embarked their whole fortunes, thus showing that Hendrickje either held or had earned money previously. Rembrandt was to be their adviser, and as such was to board and lodge with them. Titus allowed him 950 florins, and Hendrickje 800, to be repaid as soon as Rembrandt could earn it. According to Houbraken, Titus travelled about selling his father's etchings, which were much sought for by collectors, and commanded good prices.

During these years of stress, from 1655–61, Rembrandt produced some of his finest etchings, several of them worked wholly in dry-point. Among these are the portraits of the two Haarings —members of the Insolvency Board—of Dr. Arnoldus Tholinx, that was followed in 1656 by the magnificently painted portrait of this eminent man, a masterpiece of broad, synthetic handling, vigorous modelling, and brilliant chiaroscuro. He also executed the superb etched portraits of Johannes Lutma, Abraham Fransz, the large plate of Coppenol, the "Goldsmith," five admirable nude studies of a woman, and among other religious subjects, "Abraham's Sacrifice," "Abraham Entertaining the Angels," "Jesus and the Samaritan Woman," and the unrivalled dry-point, "St. Francis Praying." After "The Woman

and the Arrow" he produced no more etchings, possibly owing to the weakening of his eyesight.

Notwithstanding the great stress and tension of these harassed years, filled with anxieties and endless annoyances, Rembrandt continued his painting with unabated powers, with unflagging zeal. In work only did he find rest—there only could he forget the difficulties that beset him. Strength and satisfaction came to him from the expression of the vivid, upwelling inner life that grew deeper as the good things of this life forsook him. The spiritual quest never slackened: the problem of its outward expression continuously absorbed him. Facility born of his extraordinary mastery of materials never brought a lessening of effort, a slackening of strenuousness. To the year of his bankruptcy belong some of his finest portraits, wrought with extraordinary brilliancy, power, and simplicity of synthesis. Two stand out pre-eminently: "The Portrait of a Mathematician," at Cassel, a profoundly psychological study and fine expression of intellectual life, painted in tawny browns and reds, with delicate chiaroscuro and golden luminosity, a marvellous suggestion of deep thought lit by sudden illumination; and the "Portrait of Dr. Arnoldus Tholinx," a contrast as to colour-scheme, but equally fine in intuitive conception. It is painted with great reserve of colour, black costume and hat, but the

same healthful life is suggested by the vivid carnations, the force of character by the broad modelling, the powerful brain by the penetrative gaze of the keen eyes.

Possibly it was through Dr. Tholinx that the painter received the commission from the Surgeons' Hall to paint a second anatomy-picture, to commemorate the professorship of Dr. Johannes Deyman. The picture unfortunately was burnt in 1723, the mutilated fragment that remains in the Rijksmuseum testifies to the breadth and power of the handling. A sketch by Dilhoff, made in 1660, shows that the painter did not attempt to swerve from the conventional method of composition. The operator stands near a corpse with open abdomen, and lectures to nine students, while his assistant stands beside him holding the brain pan in his hand. Reynolds saw it in 1781 and praised the foreshortening of the corpse (obviously suggested by a drawing by Mantegna) and the sublimity of the head. At this time Rembrandt concerned himself more seriously than ever with biblical subjects, and four magnificent examples date to this time, in which the golden light and dramatic chiaroscuro of "The March Out" merge into a pervasive harmony of gold and tawny brown, quiet russets, pure reds, pearl greys, and neutral colours. In such wise is painted the fine "Denial of Peter"

and "Pilate Washing his Hands." Finer still is the superb "Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph," a profound expression of human sentiment dominated by the calm of serene age and the solemnity of approaching death. Very subtly are the variations of age and gradations of vitality suggested; so fine is the impression that the mastery of means is almost unnoticed, the complete subservience of the handling to the poetical conception wrought with broad, dignified reticence. Very remarkable, also, is the grisaille of "St. John the Baptist Preaching," a complete study in browns, probably for an etching. There is a multiplicity of detail; in an impressive landscape the preacher addresses an audience of rich and poor, young and old, near whom are sundry camels, dogs, etc. Nevertheless, owing to the rhythmical lines of the composition, the fine distribution of masses, the balance of the grouping, the great simplicity of effect is preserved, and a sense of unity produced by the magnetic spell of the inspired prophet. Zoomer saw this grisaille in 1702 and described it as a "picture as original and the art as extraordinary as it is possible to imagine." Another painting of great repute in its day, "The Adoration of the Magi," a "celebrated picture with the roof of Woerden tiles, superb and vigorous, in his best manner." It is now in the collection at Buckingham Palace.

From 1658–60 were prolific years. In 1658 he painted the last portrait of himself in fantastic array, probably before the break up of his home. He represents himself seated, staff in hand, and wearing a wide cloak, soft mezzetin velvet hat low on his head, concealing his hair, a loose robe drawn in gathers over the chest. Round and below his neck hangs a sword girdle. The face is very remarkable, quiet in expression and finely modelled; a man of strength of purpose and nobility of outlook, with clear bright eyes, and dignified mien as yet unbroken by the loss of all his household gods. To the same years belongs probably the little portrait of Coppenol in the Ashburton Collection, highly elaborate, of which the etching is an exact reproduction. De Piles wrote of his later portrait: "It was his custom to place his models directly beneath a strongly concentrated light. By this means the shadows were made intense, while the surfaces which caught the light were brought more closely together, the general effect gaining in solidity and tangibility; the forms modelled with great breadth, and a delicate transparency in the half shadows." In this method he painted the fascinating personality of the "Nicolaus Bruyningh" portrait, the "Capuchin" of the National Gallery, Lord Wemyss's "Monk," with his head in shadow and the light on his book, Lord Feversham's "Portrait

of a Merchant," Lord Spencer's "Study of a Youth," and two studies of old men in the National Gallery and the Pitti. To this period also belong many of his fine and pathetic studies of old women, rendered with an intuitive sympathy that has never been surpassed, such as the "Burghermaster's Wife" in the National Gallery, with thin sad old face lined with illness and suffering, the "Old Woman Reading," with brown hood and white fichu, belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch, or the powerfully modelled imposing "Old Woman Cutting her Nails," belonging to M. Kann. This old woman is clad in a yellow gown and brown bodice with head draperies of pale yellow and grey; the light falls full on her head, admirable in modelling and quality. Titus was frequently his father's model in these days. There is a portrait of him as a young man in the Louvre, and Dr. Bode considers him to have been the model for two other portraits in that gallery. Of himself, Rembrandt painted the portraits that are in the Uffizi and in the Belvedere, clad in his working dress; also one belonging to Lord Ellesmere, and the other two in the Wallace Collection and the Louvre. In these self-presentments there are no longer evidences of prosperity, no fantasy of adornment; they show an aging harassed man with face deeply lined and furrowed, with eyes sad and troubled, in plain working

dress. In one case his hands are in his belt, in another he holds his palette and brushes; his hair is thin and grizzled, his head bound in a white cap. Nothing is left to him but his painting materials and clothes of homely cloth; and so careless has he become of his appearance that we are told when at his easel he "wiped his brushes on the hinder portions of his dress."

In 1661 he settled once more in a home of his own on the Rozengracht, where, with the exception of one year—1664-5—he lived till his death. Doubtless in this new home was painted the portrait of Hendrickje in white dress and red mantle, gold striped cap and black ribbon and ring round her neck, standing at an open window; also the "Venus and Cupid" of the Louvre, probably a portrait of her and Cornelia.

That Rembrandt was not wholly forgotten by his townsmen is proved by the two important commissions he received in 1661-2. The first was a picture for the Town Hall of Amsterdam, the second was his celebrated "Syndics." Owing to the researches of M. de Roever, it is now known that in 1659 Flinck was appointed to decorate the town hall with a series of twelve pictures at 1,000 florins each, and on his death the commission for one of these passed on to his old master, probably through the intervention of Dr. Tulp. A fragment of the original is now in

the Stockholm Museum, and in the Munich Print Room there is a drawing that gives an idea of the whole composition, now known to represent "The Midnight Banquet of Claudius Civilis, at which he persuaded the Batavians to throw off the Roman Yoke," a subject favoured by Vondel and other poets of the day on account of the similarity between the early struggles of the Batavians against the Romans, and of the Dutch against the Spaniards. Apparently Rembrandt's free and decorative handling of his subject did not please the authorities. What actually occurred is unknown, except that a mediocre painting was put up in its place; and that eventually the central group of his composition, broadly and romantically treated, and of an extraordinary brilliance of chiaroscuro, was cut out of the larger canvas, and is all that now remains of the original.

The second commission met with better fate, and "The Syndics of the Cloth Hall" ranks as the culminating masterpiece of the painter's life-work. Rembrandt delivered this magnificent painting to the Guild of Drapers, or Clothworkers, in 1661, to be hung in the Chamber of the Controllers and Gaugers of Cloth in the Staalhof, where the following injunction to the Guild is painted on a panel in a Guild-picture by Aert Pietersen in 1599: "Conform to your vows in all matters clearly within their jurisdiction;

live honestly; be not influenced in your judgment by favour, hatred, or personal interest." In this painting Rembrandt has produced his highest achievement with the simplest means, and within the strict limits of conventional requirements. The five Syndics, black hats on head, are ranged round a sloping table, with their ledger and their money-bag beside them. The bareheaded servant stands behind; one member rises to his feet, and all the others raise their eyes apparently at the approach of an unseen intruder. The accessories are of the simplest—a brown-panelled room, a table covered with a rich red-patterned Turkey cloth, and dull red leather-covered chairs. The costumes are black, with white Puritan collars, and bring out in strong relief the brilliant carnations; a rich golden light floods fully and softly into the room. The faces are modelled with extraordinary breadth and strength, and painted with thick impasto; the structure is solid, the values admirable, the unity and quality of imposing mastery. The greatest reserve of means, careful emphasis of essentials, and wonderful harmony and luminosity are used to express in unmistakable terms the probity and uprightness of these burghers of Amsterdam, with their strong, quiet faces, and bright, intelligent, purposeful eyes. Fromentin justly wrote of this wonderful painting, "So perfect is the balance of parts, that

the general impression would be that of sobriety and reticence, were it not for the undercurrent of nerves, of flame, of impatience, we divine beneath the outwardly calm maturity of the master."

About 1662 Rembrandt lost his faithful housemate. By Hendrickje's will, discovered by Dr. Bredius, she made Cornelia her heiress; and gave Rembrandt, as guardian, the life interest of her money which, failing Cornelia, she willed to Titus. To this date belong several fine compositions, notably "The Praying Pilgrim," painted in yellow-grey tones, of high quality and unity of intention; two portraits of men in the possession of Lord Wimborne and Lord Iveagh, and that belonging to Mr. Boughton Knight called "Rembrandt's Cook." During the last years of his life Rembrandt's health failed, and his productions, according to Dr. Bode, are rather studies of himself and his intimates than commissioned portraits. His last paintings are marked by inequalities of handling and changes of method. Breadth and elaboration, thick impasto and merely sketched surfaces are used side by side on the same canvas; delicate handling, and modelling by means of the butt end of brush or the palette knife used more or less experimentally, according to the master's whim, but usually with extraordinary effect when regarded from a distance. Such treatment, for instance, is seen in the power-

ful portrait of a man and woman misnamed "The Jewish Bride," or "Ruth and Boaz," in the Rijksmuseum, a marvellous study of reds and golds, recalling in colour scheme and handling the brilliant "David Playing before Saul" of 1660, so masterly in its handling of textures and surfaces, but in the opinion of some, spoilt by the insignificance of the uninspired figure of the harper in the right-hand corner of the composition. The "Death of Lucretia" is apparently an experiment of the master's after the manner of Titian, and of it Bürger wrote: "It is painted with gold"; and to a similar date belongs the fine so-called "Workers in the Vineyard," in the Wallace Collection.

In 1665 the long dispute with the creditors ended, and the majority of Titus, upon the application of himself and his father, was officially permitted a year before the legal date, and he received his portion of his mother's inheritance and balance of sale, namely, 6,952 florins. At this period there came to Rembrandt his last and devoted pupil, Aert de Gelder, to work in his reconstructed home in the Rozengracht.

Among the master's last works, always of great breadth and simplicity of means, are the portrait of a young girl in a white fur-trimmed mantle called "Rembrandt's Daughter"; the portrait of a woman, in the National Gallery; the portrait

of an old man, belonging to the Duke of Devonshire; and the superb "Family Group," in the Brunswick Gallery. This represents a father, mother, and three children wrought in a scheme of reds, pink and yellow, with brilliant high tones and intense blacks, a jewel-like radiance and soft, velvety colours, painted with extraordinary variations and contrasts of methods, yet withal, from a distance, "logical and vigorous. The values balance themselves, colours sing in radiant melody . . . a stupendous creation which combines the vague poetry of dreams with the manifestation of intense reality."[1]

In 1668 Rembrandt produced the remarkable "Flagellation," now at Darmstadt, and the fine "Return of the Prodigal," at the Hermitage, described by M. Paul Mantz as an heroic painting "in which art finds most eloquent and moving expression. . . . Never did Rembrandt show greater power, never was his speech more persuasive. . . . Here he shows all the formidable strength of the unchained lion" in the "fine frenzy" of the brushwork.

To the last he painted portraits of himself. Foremost among these is a superb half-length figure facing the spectator, and holding a palette, maulstick, and brushes; he wears a brown fur-lined mantle against a luminous brown back-

[1] Michel.

ground, and the aged, rugged face and grizzled hair is surmounted by a white cap. To the right on the background a semicircle is traced; for what purpose is not obvious unless to balance the palette. A noticeable point is that the hands do not show, and all the high lights are focussed on the cap. This masterpiece belongs to Lord Iveagh. There is another portrait of himself as an old man in the Uffizi, and one in Vienna; in both he is wearing his working dress. In another, belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch, suffering and adversity are revealed in the lined, rugged features, in the hair, now white, in the tired mouth and furrowed brow, in strong hands patiently folded; nevertheless the great, clear bright eyes look out before him. Stranger still, in the last of this inimitable series of self-portraits, belonging to Herr v. Carstanjen, from the Double collection, he represents himself not beaten or wholly overcome by life's buffets, but laughing with toothless gums and kindly smile, indicative of the enduring youthfulness of the great soul pulsating behind the trammels of age.

Misfortune pursued him to the last. In 1668 his son Titus, who had married a cousin in 1667, died, leaving a little daughter, Titia, a grief the old father did not long survive. Rembrandt died in deep poverty and oblivion, leaving nothing but "his clothes of wool and linen and his working

instruments." In the register of the Wester Kirk is the following entry: "Tuesday, Oct. 8th, 1669, Rembrandt van Rijn, painter on the Roozegraft, opposite the Doolhof. Leaves two children."

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

Neglect and misrepresentation—Solitary genius—His mental ancestry—Before his time, he outstripped the comprehension of his contemporaries—Authentic records—Huijgens' autobiography—Sandrart's opinion—Rembrandt's self-portraits are his autobiography—Not embittered by life—The typical Hollander—His character and mental equipment—Uncompromising as a painter—Technical perfection—Chiaroscurist—Colourist—Etcher—Appreciation by John La Farge—Rembrandt the supreme painter of woman and of old age—The master painter.

MORE than a century elapsed after the death of Rembrandt before posterity awoke to the fact that his genius, both as etcher and as painter, was a potent factor in the development of northern art, and that it would be well to rescue his memory from the many legends and hearsay tales that had gathered round his name, misrepresented his personality, and abused his character. Recent critics and historians have with patience and care succeeded in freeing the memory of this great man from the tarnishing effects of ignorance and neglect, in presenting a juster estimate of him,

based on a reasonable and sympathetic study of trustworthy records of his environment, work, and influence. For, in order to apprehend his greatness it is necessary to study the man who patiently worked out his ideal through shortcoming and failure, through high success and potent achievement, to study the conditions and environment of which he was the outcome. We have to realise his rare creative imagination, controlled by innate more than by extraneous forces, that so wrought upon him that he became an active power in the development of art in Europe, an influence upon modern painting and etching that is greater to-day than it was in his own century.

Regarded from one aspect of his genius Rembrandt, in common with all great creators, stands strangely solitary; he appears to us without a father, or kith, or son. He is Rembrandt simply. Nevertheless Rembrandt, as with Shakespeare, is not a brilliant accident, but a logical development. If Holland speaks its highest through his genius, his was no solitary utterance. He had his Marlowe in Frans Hals, his predecessors in Lastman, Elsheimer, Honthorst, Ravesteijn, van Goyen; his sources in every well of genius, Venetian, Florentine, Milanese, Spanish, Flemish; his remoter spiritual ancestry in Lucas van Leyden, Jan Gossaert, the van Eycks, Albrecht Dürer. The sword of Spain shaped him as well as the Dutch

Republic; in his veins ran the blood of the ancient indomitable Hollanders, who had wrenched their country from the ocean, had conquered the hostility of nature and of foreign invaders, and had shaken off the tyrannous fetters of Latins and Spaniards. He descended from that noble congregation of nobles and peasants who had gained independence of rule and of religious thought after a protracted, bitter struggle. Out of this resolute and noble ancestry came Rembrandt, most typical and most independent, who in himself sums up the potent characteristics of his race. So typical was he that he outstripped the understanding and sympathy of his contemporaries, yet strong enough to be a universal and supreme genius, one of the great sowers of the world, whose harvests are reaped by a later generation. As a painter he lived before his time; popularity was his for a season, during the period when he was in line with his contemporaries, before he had developed the idiosyncrasies of his unique individuality. He tasted popularity and success, and knew their worth; he put worldly ambition into the balance with his ambitions as an artist, and found it wanting. When the supreme trial of his spirit came; when, like Job, he suffered the loss of wife, children, home, and worldly possessions; when his allegiance to his ideal was put to a final test, he was not found wanting. He

testified to his belief in it until his last breath, for in his spiritual need lay his greatest strength.

The authentic records of his life are few. Recent researches in the Archives of Holland have produced a small amount of documentary facts relating chiefly to his relationship with an old servant, and to various transactions connected with his bankruptcy. The inventory of the sale by auction gives a glimpse into his home and his interests. The first written references to Rembrandt are in the autobiography of Constantine Huijgens, written about 1630, which contains a reference to the master's Leyden period. Certain of his pupils and friends also wrote about him: Hoogstraten, Sandrart, and Baldinucci, at dates varying from ten to twenty years after his death, collections of fact liberally interspersed with hearsay fables. The following extract from Sandrart —whose acquaintance with Rembrandt ceased in 1640, when this German painter left Amsterdam—gives an idea of the way the great Dutchman was regarded by his contemporaries at the moment of his greatest popularity, just prior to "The March Out": "It is astonishing that the eminent Rembrandt, though born in the country, the son of a miller, was nevertheless raised by Nature to such an excellence in art that by zealous assiduity and innate inclination he reached so great a height . . . he had no scruples in com-

bating our rules of art, such as the anatomy, the proportions of human members, perspective and utility of antique statues, the design of Raphael and his ingenious works, and also of the Academies so necessary to our profession. He never feared to oppose himself to these, pretending that one should submit to nature only and to no other rules; and thus, according to the exigence of a work, he approved the light or the shadow of the contour of things, even if that were in contradiction with the horizon, as soon as his idea was satisfied thereby and it was favourable to his subject. Thus, as precise contours should be found correctly in their places, in order to avoid this difficulty he filled them with black shadows and contented himself only with the general accord and harmony, in which he excelled. He knew not only how to render in a marvellous manner the simplicity of nature, but also to ornament it with natural effects, by colouration and vigorous relief. . . . Let it be said in his praise that he knew how to break colours in a very ingenious and artistic manner, to repaint his panel with these colours, represent the true and living simplicity of nature, all the harmony of life, opening thus the eyes of those who are more users of colour than painters, in that they place one colour beside another, crudely in a glaring manner, so that they have no likeness to nature,

but resemble patches of colours in a shop drawer. In his works our painter showed little light, except in the principal selected place, where he ingeniously focussed the light and the shadows with care as to the reflections, so that the shadow was penetrated by the light with great judgment; his colouration was truly glowing, and in everything he showed fine spirit."

The most valuable index to a right understanding of Rembrandt the man and Rembrandt the painter is a careful study of his work, and in particular of his long series of remarkable portraits of himself beginning about his twenty-third year and ending shortly before his death, and by a supplementary study of the portraits of his mother, of Saskia, Hendrickje, and Titus. In these, and in the varying points of view and moods from which he painted and etched his numerous biblical pictures and drawings, may be traced his development in his life, in his art, in his home, in his methods of approach to and handling of his subjects, and his ever-deepening penetration into the psychology of human nature. Life was his absorbing study, and light, as the symbol of life. His approach to life was twofold. Primarily as the workman, skilled and untiring—as were all the painters of Holland—he studied life from the point of view of his profession, as a scientific craftsman, absorbed in the problem how best to

produce what his brain impelled. Preoccupied with chiaroscuro, he studied his characteristic medium of individual expression till he reached a degree of perfection and variety in technique, unapproached by his contemporaries and beyond their comprehension. Primarily as the workman; but behind the craft and dexterity of the painter, impelling and inspiring him, was the vision of the seer, whose keen intuition was closely attuned to the hidden mysteries of the human heart, and penetrated the veils of flesh to the spirit within. His curious mind watched the complex weaving of the web of human emotions; his sympathies were responsive to the suffering and sorrows of men and women. Rembrandt's soul was big and elemental, in intimate touch with nature, with all that was sincere and real in life, with the potent inner forces that underlie the outward appearances of things.

In his ceaseless quest to know the mysteries of life, to find therefor the most forcible methods of expression, one special study was of pre-eminent value—the study of himself. "Know thyself" was his guiding rule of life, though not in the analytic method of self-introspection. His was a sane though complex nature. Rembrandt the seer, thinker, philosopher, watched with curious interest the growth, the actions, and experiences of Rembrandt the worker. He was

not embittered by his harassing after-life; suffering and hardship deepened and broadened his sympathies so that he, more than any artist, interpreted and gave vibrant expression to the deep pathos of the life of Christ, and the all-embracing pitying love of the Saviour. This interpretation from within of external life was at once his strength and his limitation. What was foreign to his nature remained closed to him—for instance, certain phases of life, social and courtly, were unattractive and unexpressed by him. The habits, tastes, and associations of his youth swayed him throughout life. Born of upright, hard-working, self-respecting parents, he always preferred the companionship of workers to that of men of leisure. His early reputation, his marriage with Saskia, the influences at his command would have opened the doors of society to him had he craved it; and while, owing to lack of culture and general knowledge, he could not have commanded such preferments as those held by Rubens or Velasquez, he could have had at will the post of chief court painter to the Duchy of Holland, and with it commensurate wealth and prosperity. The necessary qualification of submission to imposed conditions and conventional taste was impossible to him. A typical Hollander, his independence of mind, of outlook, of technique, his sturdy, uncompromising personality, made the

ways and atmosphere of court and high society impossible to him; the very qualities that made him the culmination of Dutch art and a great pioneer of modern art tended to bring about his material downfall.

As a man he was warm-hearted, generous to a fault, careless in expenditure, lavish on anything connected with his work, simple in tastes and habits of life, affectionate and home loving. Educated as an ordinary burgher, he was no scholar. He studied life at first hand; the only books he is known to have studied were the Bible, Josephus, and Albrecht Dürer's book on Proportions. In 1656 he possessed eight other books of subjects unknown. His friends were drawn from among professional men, doctors, and theologians of different sects and religions. Among painters, portrait-painters and landscapists attracted him most; he does not seem personally to have known the court painters Rubens or Van Dyck. Neither was he attracted by the *salons* of the foremost men of letters; either of the great poet Vondel, who equally ignored the painter, or of Hooft or van Baerl. Academic subtleties and artificial conventions were foreign to his direct ingenious nature. In his old age a few friends remained to him, but he died in neglect and extreme poverty.

As a painter he was no less uncompromising. When a youth, in Leyden, he worked with eager

assiduity, and soon outstripped his masters. At the age of twenty-six he was the equal of men of longer repute, such as Ravesteijn and Thomas de Keyser. Keenly observant, he noted all he saw —movement, expression, grouping, and above all, the play of light and shade in that northern land where days of sunshine and great clarity alternate with days of mist, lowering rain-clouds, and grey obscurity. Equally did he love the long low lines of land and water beneath that great curving expanse of sky: and the most personal appeal was the sudden burst of sunshine through a shroud of clouds; the shaft of piercing light that scattered the flying shadows revealed with vivid emphasis objects focussed by the light, and intensified the concealing obscurity. He was the great poet-painter of light and its attendant shadows; through these he ever sought to catch Nature's momentary revelations, whether in landscape or in human beings, and thereby to penetrate to the haunting environing mysteries of which throughout life all men are more or less conscious.

In matters of technique he learnt all that the strong Dutch school had to teach. He painted in the "brown" manner of his master Lastman; he studied the "night effects" of Honthorst, he tested the approved methods of the "Italianisers," and for a time used conventionally composed landscapes, architecture, and drapery. Through en-

gravings, paintings, and drawings he acquainted himself with the methods of the old masters, particularly of Mantegna, Michelangelo, and the great Venetians; he copied oriental miniatures, and figures by Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci. From each and all he took what most he needed to build up his powerful idiosyncratic style. Before all things he was the painter; he trained himself to a free, full use of brush and pigment, and revelled in their handling. And in proportion as he gained in mastery, and his hand became subservient to his brain, he was ceaselessly preoccupied in forcing his materials adequately to express the grandeur of his ideas, the penetrating quality of his perceptions, so that he ceased to express himself in one style only, but elaborated, or generalised, as his subject demanded. Nevertheless, in the logical growth of his genius, in the deepening and enriching of his nature, he realised more and more the great power gained by the application of the law of sacrifice to his art. In proportion as his style broadened, and became freer, and simpler in composition, the more did he eliminate detail, and concentrate his emphasis on a few striking points. In portraiture he emphasised the salient characteristics of his sitter, and presented the character as he, the psychologist, conceived it. He worked by contours, not by line; he bathed his figures in a

soft penumbra of light that merged into luminous shadow and deep obscurity in which all petty detail was lost.

Second only to his marvellous use of chiaroscuro ranks his power as colourist. At first his handling of colour was clear and limpid, then richer, more bizarre and capricious, yet always dominated by certain carefully chosen hues; he finally adopted a deep rich harmony of browns, soft reds, and cool neutral greys that play in a marvellous unity through light and shadow, in pure colour, in broken tones, used broadly, or in jewel-like juxtaposition, in a manner akin to later modern methods.

By common consent, Rembrandt, a superb master in the art of painting, is supreme as a painter-etcher. It is in his etchings, therefore, that we must seek the ultimate proof; in that marvellous series of plates in the shorthand, trenchant notes of this remarkable genius, Hamerton rightly says, "he owed success to no peculiarity of method, but to a surpassing excellence of skill." He enriched and enlarged the possibilities of the needle, refound and perfected the use of dry-point, and such has been his influence that he is virtually the founder of the present vigorous English School of Painter-Etching.

Mr. John La Farge, the well-known American painter, has admirably summarised the master's power: "Rembrandt had little of what is called

exquisite taste, nor did he differ in that from those around him. What is bad taste in him belongs to others. He seems to have admired it in men of the past, but to have had a perfect wisdom which prevented his gathering what he could not fully use, which he could not test by the life of every day. What is distinct and beautiful is apparently his alone. For the building of the great structure of painting, of the planes and direction of planes, the intersection of lines, what is called the interior structure, his abundant etchings and drawings must have made him master. Even in the paintings, occasionally in the obscurity of corners, he resorts to those abbreviations which his etchings and drawings show, a manner of starting only a few points which the mind fills in.

"Perhaps, after all, the etchings and drawings tell us more about himself, about his completeness of study, his intensity of perception, and the extraordinary feeling and sympathy which separates him from all other artists. There he could —for he was Rembrandt—throw away the greater part of his armour of art. Perhaps in the drawings in which he worked entirely for himself, we see still more intimately the mind of the master. But they are so subtle, they appeal to such a perception of nature, such a sympathy with the expression of the soul, that they require in the

mind that looks at them a sympathy that all cannot give. At my age and after long experience I can say so. As a younger man I only guessed it."

Neither is everyone competent to understand fully all his superb portraits; for they can be appreciated only in accordance with the acuteness of our own perceptions. The most modern quality in his portraiture is the beauty and reverential tenderness with which he paints old age; and his understanding of and sympathy with woman. For, woman in herself, the distinct personality, considered neither as a type, a symbol, nor in relationship to man or child; woman, whose inner life is a distinct growth with its own experiences—in short, woman as an independent factor in life—had not been painted till Rembrandt held the brush. Rarely, in the present day even, has she been painted with equal comprehension and sympathy. Girlhood attracted him in his later life for its vigour of young life. Early womanhood is typified in his many portraits of Saskia. The final revelation lies in his portrayal of mature and aged women, touched and marked by the tragedy or pathos of life: quiet faces, lined and wrinkled by Time's fingermarks, with sorrow and suffering on brow and eyes revealing strength and weakness of character—though weakness of character had no appeal for this Titan—wise eyes and

thoughtful brows of those who had suffered in silence when their men folk were active in warfare; active brains of women who had handled the reins of a wise domestic authority and guided the lives under their roof to active, important issues.

Rembrandt, in his handling of old age, is as truly the spiritual ancestor of his compatriot Josef Israels, the modern artist, who of all living painters has conveyed the deepest vibration of the pathos of old age, as with his biblical compositions he is of Von Uhde, the modern artist, who of all others has the most simply and naturally interpreted anew, as a peasant interpreting his own folk, scriptural events, and biblical allegories.

From the first Rembrandt was a profound student of humanity, and in whatever he did he was quick to see and express what of spiritual suggestion obtained in the subject. Throughout his life his most frequent study was himself; of his rugged face, with its massive contours, its dauntless expression, and keenly observant dark eyes. With brush and needle he has kept a record of himself from his early portrait at the Hague, through triumphant manhood, through years of harassed trouble, to his sorrowful, lonely old age, portrayed probably because of a natural and passionate curiosity that was more of an impersonal than a personal kind. This marvellous

series of portraits—to be found scattered through all the important European galleries and in several private collections—is of the utmost importance, for not only do they demonstrate the growth and development of the artist as observer, craftsman, colourist—in a word, of the master painter—but they are convincing life-chapters which contemporary and later records can serve only to illustrate.

The man and his work and his genius are closely wrought. In Rembrandt there was till the day of his death an eager, dauntless, and insatiable spirit of life. In the last painting that left his easel there is the power and promise of assured and inexhaustible mastery. And to-day, to this hour, his influence is that of the only "younger generation" which long prevails—the eternal "younger generation," the enduring youth of genius.

CATALOGUE OF PICTURES

THE following is an approximate catalogue of pictures in England, based mainly on the catalogues of Dr. Bode and of Michel.

H.M. THE KING (BUCKINGHAM PALACE).

The Shipbuilder and his Wife. Life-size. Signed and dated 1633.

The Adoration of the Magi. Signed and dated 1657.

Rembrandt and Saskia, commonly called *The Burghermaster Pancras and his Wife.* Signed. Painted about 1635–1636.

Christ and Mary Magdalene at the Tomb. Signed and dated 1638.

The Lady with the Fan. Life-size. Signed and dated 1641.

Portrait of Rembrandt. Bust; life-size. Signed and dated 164– (about 1645).

H.M. THE KING (HAMPTON COURT PALACE).

A Jewish Rabbi. Bust; life-size. Signed and dated 1635.

H.M. THE KING (WINDSOR CASTLE).

Portrait of a Young Man. Bust. Signed with a monogram, and dated 1631.

Portrait of Rembrandt's Mother. Bust. Painted about 1630–1632.

CAMBRIDGE: FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM.

Portrait of Rembrandt in Military Costume. Life-size. Signed and dated 1650.

Portrait of Rembrandt. Signed 1650.

DUBLIN: NATIONAL GALLERY (Catalogue of 1890).

The Rest in Egypt. Signed and dated 1647.

Portrait of a Young Man. (Louis van der Linden.) Painted about 1630–31.

Portrait of an Old Man. Signed.

DULWICH GALLERY (Catalogue of 1880).

Bust Portrait of a Young Man. Less than life-size. Signed with the monogram "R.H.L. van Ryn, f. 1632."

Girl at a Window. Life-size. Signed and dated 1645.

EDINBURGH: SCOTTISH NATIONAL GALLERY.

A Young Woman in Bed. (Hendrickje Stoffels.) Signed and dated 1650.

GLASGOW: CORPORATION GALLERY.

Small Female Portrait. A youthful work.

A Man in Armour. Life-size. Signed and dated 1655.

Tobias and the Angel. Landscape with figures. Painted about 1654.

The Slaughter-house. Painted about 1650.

LONDON: SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

The Dismissal of Hagar. Small figures. Signed and dated 1640.

LONDON: THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

Portrait of an Old Lady of Eighty-three. (Françoise van Wasserhoven, according to an Indian ink copy of the portrait in the British Museum.) Life-size. Signed and dated 1634.

Portrait of a Man. Dated 1635. Life-size.

Christ before Pilate. Original sketch for the etching of the same subject done in 1636.

The Descent from the Cross. A sketch in grisaille for the etching of 1642, for which there is also a study in red and black chalk, bistre wash and oil colour in the British Museum.

Portrait of Rembrandt. Signed and dated 1640. Life-size.

The Woman taken in Adultery. Signed and dated 1644.

The Adoration of the Shepherds. Signed and dated 1646.

Landscape, with Tobias and the Angel. After 1646.

A Woman Bathing. Signed and dated 1654.

Portrait of a Jew Merchant. Life-size.

A Jewish Rabbi. Life-size. Signed and dated 1657.

A Burghermaster. Life-size. Signed and dated 1658.

Portrait of an Old Man. Life-size. Signed and dated 1659.

Portrait of an Old Lady, known as *The Burghermaster's Wife.* Life-size. About 1660.

A Capuchin Friar. Life-size. About 1660.

A Woman's Portrait. Life-size. Signed and dated 1666.

HERTFORD HOUSE: WALLACE COLLECTION.

Portrait of Jan Pellicorne and his Son. Life-size. Signed. Painted about 1632–1633.

Portrait of Susanna van Collen and her Daughter (pendant to preceding). Signed and dated 16— (about 1633).

The Good Samaritan. Small reversed reproduction of etching of 1633.

Rembrandt in Flat Cap and Double Chain. Life-size.

Mountainous Landscape with Figures. Painted about 1640.

Negro Archer. Life-size. Painted about 1640.

The Unmerciful Servant. Life-size. Painted about 1664.

Portrait of Titus. Life-size.

HUNTERIAN MUSEUM.

Entombment. 1634.

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS.

DUKE OF ABERCORN.

A Deposition. Signed and dated 1650.

W. C. ALEXANDER, ESQ.

Portrait of Rembrandt's Sister.
Portrait of Rembrandt's Mother. Painted about 1628.

LORD ASHBURTON.

Bust Portrait of a Man. Life-size. Painted about 1635.
Portrait of a Man. Life-size. Painted about 1637.
Portrait of the Writing Master Coppenol. Small figure. Signed. Painted about 1658.
Bust Portrait of Rembrandt. Painted about 1658.
So-called Portrait of Jansenius. Life-size. Signed and dated 1661.

W. B. BEAUMONT, ESQ.

The Tribute Money. Small figures. Signed and dated 1655.

ALFRED BEIT, ESQ.

Portrait of a Young Man. Painted about 1660.

R. B. BERENS, ESQ.

Portrait of Rembrandt. With chain and medal.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD (WOBURN ABBEY).

Portrait of an Old Man. Life-size. Painted about 1632.
Portrait of Rembrandt. Life-size. Painted about 1635.

THE EARL OF BROWNLOW (ASHRIDGE PARK).

Isaac and Esau.
Landscape.

Portrait of a Jew. Signed and dated 1632.

So-called Portrait of Hooft. Life-size. Signed and dated 1653.

Portrait of a Man in Fancy Dress. Signed and dated 1653.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH, K.G.

Portrait of an Old Woman. Life-size. Signed and painted about 1655–1657.

Portrait of Rembrandt. Life-size. Signed and dated 1659.

Portrait of Saskia. 1633.

A. BUCKLEY, ESQ.

Portrait of a Man. Small size. Painted about 1655–1657.

THE EARL OF CARLISLE (HOWARD CASTLE).

Portrait of a Young Artist, seated and drawing. Life-size. Signed and painted about 1648.

W. C. CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

Dead Peacock and Peahen. Signed and painted about 1640.

W. CHAMBERLAIN, ESQ. (BRIGHTON).

Rembrandt's Father in a Military Costume (a replica in the Hague Museum). Signed. About 1630–1631.

SIR FREDERICK COOK (DOUGHTY HOUSE, RICHMOND).

Portrait of Rembrandt's Sister. Signed R. H. L. van Ryn. 1632.

The Prodigal Son. Signed and painted 1634.

Portrait of Alotte Adriaans, wife of Elias Trip. Signed and dated 1639.

Tobit and his Wife. Small figures. Signed and dated 1650.

Study of an Old Man, seated. Half life-size. Painted about 1654.

THE EARL COWPER (PANSHANGER).

Portrait of a Young Man. Life-size. Signed and dated 1644.

Head of a Man. Small size.

So-called Equestrian Portrait of Turenne. Life-size. Painted in 1649.

THE EARL OF CRAWFORD.

Portrait of Titus. Signed and dated 1655.

MR. DAVIS.

Portrait of an Old Lady, seated. Life-size. Signed and dated 1635.

THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G. (KNOWSLEY HOUSE).

Portrait of a Rabbi. Signed and dated 163– (about 1635).

Belshazzar's Feast. Life-size. Painted about 1636.

Joseph's Brethren showing his Coat to Jacob. Three-quarters life-size. Painted about 1657–1659.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE (CHATSWORTH).

Portrait of a Rabbi. Life-size. Signed and dated 1635.

LADY EASTLAKE.

Ecce Homo. Grisaille. Study for the Etching of 1636. Small figures.

THE EARL OF ELGIN (BROOM HALL).

Portrait of Saskia smiling. 1639.

LORD ELLESMERE (BRIDGEWATER HOUSE).

Portrait of a Young Girl of Eighteen. Life-size. Signed and dated 1634 AE. SVAE. W.

Portrait of a Young Lady. Life-size. Painted about 1635.

Portrait of an Old Man. Life-size. Signed and dated 1637.

Hannah and the Child Samuel. Small figures. Signed and dated 1648 W.

Small Study of an Old Man. Painted about 1655.
Portrait of Rembrandt. Life-size. Signed and dated 165- (about 1659).

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM (DUNCOMBE PARK).

Portrait of a Merchant. Life-size. Signed and dated 1659.

G. C. W. FITZWILLIAM, ESQ.

Bust of an Old Man. (From the same model as Studies in Metz and Cassel Museums.) Signature illegible. Painted about 1632.

F. FLEISCHMANN, ESQ.

Portrait of the Painter's Father. Signed and dated 1631.

ALEXANDER HENDERSON, ESQ., M.P.

Portrait of Wife of Burghermaster Six. Signed 1655.
Portrait of his Wife Margaretha. Signed 1655.

CAPTAIN HEYWOOD-LONSDALE.

Portrait of the Painter. Signed and dated 1637.

CAPTAIN G. L. HOLFORD, C.I.E. (DORCHESTER HOUSE).

Portrait of Marten Looten. Life-size. Signed and dated 1632.
Portrait of an Old Lady. Painted about 1644.
Portrait of Rembrandt. Painted in 1644.
Portrait of Titus van Rijn. Painted about 1660.
Portrait of a Man with a Sword. Signed and dated 1644.

ADRIAN HOPE, ESQ.

Portrait of a Young Woman. Life-size. Signed and dated 1635.

THE EARL OF ILCHESTER.

Portrait of Rembrandt. Life-size. Signed and dated 1658.

LORD IVEAGH.

Portrait of a Young Lady. Life-size. Signed and dated 1642.

Portrait of Rembrandt. Life-size. Painted about 1662–1664.

MRS. JOSEPH.

Portrait of Saskia. Bust. Signed. Painted about 1636–1637.

LORD KINNAIRD (ROSSIE PRIORY).

Portrait of a Young Woman. Signed and dated 1636.

Portrait of Rembrandt. Signed and dated 1661.

A. R. BOUGHTON KNIGHT, ESQ. (DOWNTON CASTLE).

So-called Portrait of Rembrandt's Cook. Life-size. Signed and dated 1661.

The Cradle. Small figures. Painted about 1643–1645.

THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE, K.G.

The Mill. Painted about 1654.

SIR E. LECHMERE.

The Jewish Bride. Portrait of Saskia. Replica with slight modification of the Hermitage picture. Life-size. Painted about 1634.

LORD LECONFIELD (PETWORTH).

Portrait of Rembrandt's Sister. Signed and dated "R.H.L." (connected) 16— (about 1632).

Portrait of Rembrandt. Signed and dated "R.H.L." (connected) 1632.

Portrait of a Lady. Signed and dated 1635.

A Girl with a Rosebud leaning on a Window-sill. Signed.

Portrait of a Youth. Signed and dated 1666.

MRS. ALFRED MORRISON.

Portrait of Dr. Ephraim Bonus. Signed and dated 164–. Painted about 1642.

CHARLES MORRISON, ESQ.

Portrait of a Young Woman. Signed and dated about 1665.

SIR A. D. NEELD, BART.

Bust of Rembrandt with Turban. Signed and dated 1660 (?).
Portrait of a Burghermaster. Signed.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Portrait of an Orator. Attributed to Rembrandt.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK.

Portrait of an Old Man. Signed and dated 1667. Life-size.
Small Landscape with Streams. Painted about 1640–45.

EARL POULETT (HINTON HOUSE).

Bust Portrait of a Young Man. Signed with monogram "R.H.L." Painted about 1628–1629.

SIR ROBERT PEEL (DRAYTON MANOR).

Moses found by Pharaoh's Daughter. Small figures. Painted about 1640.

THE EARL OF PEMBROKE (WILTON HOUSE).

Rembrandt's Mother reading the Bible. Signed. Painted about 1630.

LORD PENRHYN.

Portrait of Catherine Hoogh. Signed and dated 1657.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

Head of a Boy. Signed and dated 1634.

VISCOUNT POWERSCOURT.

Portrait of a Rabbi.

JAMES REISS, ESQ.

Landscape with Canal. Painted after 1640.

LADY ANTHONY DE ROTHSCHILD.

Portrait of Rembrandt. Painted about 1656.

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND, K.G. (BELVOIR CASTLE).

Portrait of a Young Man. Signed and dated 1660.

ARTHUR SANDERSON (EDINBURGH).

Portrait of Rembrandt's Mother in Black Hood. 1630.
Portrait of Old Woman. Signed 1635.

THE REV. LORD SCARSDALE (KEDLESTON HALL).

Portrait of an Old Man. Signed. Painted about 1645.

THE EARL SPENCER, K.G. (ALTHORP).

Woman with Flowers. Painted about 1660.
The Circumcision. Small figures. Painted about 1661.
Portrait of a Boy. Formerly called William Prince of Orange. Painted about 1655–1660.

LORD WANTAGE.

Portrait of an Old Lady. Signed and dated 1661.

THE EARL OF WARWICK (WARWICK CASTLE).

The Standard Bearer. Painted about 1660–1662.

THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER (GROSVENOR HOUSE).

The Salutation of Elizabeth and Mary. Signed and dated 1640.
Portrait of Nicolaes Berchem. Life-size. Signed and dated 1647.
Portrait of Wife of Nicolaes Berchem. Signed and dated 1647.
A Monk seated Reading. Signed and dated 1660.
Portrait of a Gentleman with a Hawk. Signed and dated 1643.
Portrait of a Lady with a Fan. Signed and dated 1643.

EARL OF WEMYSS AND MARCH.

A Monk Reading. Signed 1660.

LORD WIMBORNE (CANFORD MANOR).

St. Paul seated. Painted about 1658.

Portrait of a Man. Life-size. Painted about 1660.

EARL OF YARBOROUGH.

Portrait of an Old Woman. Rather less than life-size. Painted about 1636–1637.

The following is an approximate enumeration of paintings in other countries.

FRANCE.

Épinal Museum, 1; Nantes Museum, 1. Paris: The Louvre, 17; Lucaze Collection, 3; Dutuit Collection, 1.

Private Collections: M. Édouard André, 3; M. Leon Bonnat, 3; M. Steph. Bourgeois, 1; Prince de Chalais, 1; M. Leon Ganchez, 1; M. Leopold Goldschmidt, 2; M. Haro, 2; M. Harjes, 1; Baron Hirsch de Gereuth, 1; M. Maurice Kann, 3; M. Rodolphe Kann, 5; Mme. Lacroix, 1; M. P. Mathey, 1; M. Henry Pereire, 2; M. Jules Porgès, 2; Count E. de Pourtalès, 1; Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, 1; Baron Gustave de Rothschild, 3; Baroness de Rothschild, 1; M. Henry Schneider, 2; M. Charles Sedelmeyer, 5; M. A. Waltner, 1; M. E. Warneck, 4.

GERMANY.

Aschaffenburg Museum, 1; Berlin Museum, 18; Royal Palace, 1; Brunswick Grand Ducal Museum, 7; Carlsruhe, Grand Ducal Museum, 1; Cassel Museum, 20; Darmstadt, Grand Ducal Gallery, 1; Dresden, Royal Picture Gallery, 16; Frankfort-on-Main, Städel Institute, 2; Gotha, Grand Ducal Museum, 1; Hamburg, Kunsthalle, 3; Leipzig, Municipal Museum, 1; Metz, Municipal Museum, 1; Munich, Royal Pinacothek, 10; Nuremberg, Germanic Museum, 2; Oldenberg, Grand Ducal Museum, 3; Schwerin, Grand Ducal Museum, 2; Stuttgart, Royal Museum, 1.

Private Collections: Herr v. Carstanjen, 3; Count Esterhazy, 1; Herr K. v. d. Heydt, 2; Herr Carl Hollitscher, 2; Count Luckner, 1; Count Salm-Salm, 1; Herr J. Simon, 1; Herr A. Thieme, 2.

HOLLAND.

Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, 7; The Hague, Mauritshuis, 9; Rotterdam, Boymans Museum, 2.

Private Collections: Baron Harinxma, 1; Prince Henry of the Netherlands, 1; Prof. J. P. Six, 4; Baron Steengracht v. Duivenwoorde, 1; Freiherr Victor de Stuers, 2; Freiherr v. Weede v. Dyckveld, 1.

ITALY.

Florence: Uffizi, 4; Signor Fabri, 1. Milan, Brera, 1.

RUSSIA.

St. Petersburg, Hermitage, 36.

Private Collections: Prince Leuchtemberg, 1; Count A. W. Orloff Davidoff, 1; Count S. Stroganoff, 2; Prince Youssoupoff, 4.

SPAIN.

Madrid, Prado Museum, 1. Duke of Alva's Collection, 1.

SWEDEN.

Stockholm Royal Museum, 9. Count Axel von Wachtmeister, 2.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

New York: Metropolitan Museum, 5; Museum of Fine Arts, 1.

Private Collections: Mr. Armour (Chicago), 1; Mr. W. H. Beers, 1; Mr. W. H. Crocker (San Francisco), 1; Mr. P. C. Hanford, 1; Mr. H. O. Havemeyer, 4; Mr. Robert Hoe, 1; Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, 2; Mr. W. Schaus, 1; Mr. Charles Stewart Smith, 1; Mr. Sutton, 1; Mr. C. T. Yerkes (New York), 4; and seven other portraits in the hands of other American purchasers.

DRAWINGS

The largest collections of drawings are to be found in:

AMERICA.

The Metropolitan Museum, New York, 9.[1]

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Buda-Pest, Esterhazy Gallery, 15; Vienna, Albertina, 33.

Private Collections: Herr Artaria, Vienna, 2; Herr J. V. Novak, Prague, 2.

ENGLAND.

British Museum, 91; The University Galleries, Oxford, 17.

Private Collections: The Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth, 35; Mr. J. P. Heseltine, 75; Mr. W. Michell, 7 (this collection was sold at Frankfort in 1890); Sir Edward Poynter, P.R.A., 2; Mr. George Salting, 17; Sir Francis Seymour-Haden, 21 (this collection was dispersed in London, 1891; M. Léon Bonnat bought seven, the greater number of the remaining went to America); Lord Warwick, 13.

FRANCE.

The Louvre, 26; Bibliothèque Nationale, 3; Paris, Dutuit Collection, 1.

Private Collections: M. Léon Bonnat, 101; Duc d'Aumale, 4; M. Louis Galichon, 8; M. Paul Mathey, 5; M. Henri Pereire, 2; Baron Edmond de Rothschild, 1.

GERMANY.

Berlin Royal Museum, 61; Bremen Museum, 1; Dresden Royal Museum, 67; Frankfort-on-the-Main, Städel Institute, 9; Hamburg, Kunsthalle, 7; Munich, Royal Collection

[1] These numbers are approximate only, owing to the constant changes by acquisition and sales in the various collections.

of Drawings and Engravings, 40; Weimar, Goethe's House, 3; Darmstadt, Kupferstich Cabinet, 2.

Private Collections: Herr A. v. Beckerath, 62; Herr E. Habich (Cassel), 4; Prince George of Saxony, 27; Dr. Sträter (Aix-le-Chapelle), 8.

HOLLAND.

Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, 9; Fodor Museum, 14; Haarlem, Teyler Museum, 29; Rotterdam, Boymans Museum, 11.

Private Collections: Madame Kneppelhout, 1; Prof. J. P. Six, 2.

RUSSIA.

St. Petersburg, The Hermitage, 9.

SWEDEN.

Stockholm Royal Museum, 90.

Private Collection: Herr Josephson, 2.

ETCHINGS

Opinions differ as to the number of authentic etchings by Rembrandt. The finest public collections will be found in Amsterdam, Paris, the British Museum, Vienna, Frankfort. The most important private collections are those of Captain Holford, in London; Herr Artaria, in Vienna; of Dr. Straeter, at Aix-la-Chapelle; M. D. Rovinsky, in St. Petersburg; M. Edmond de Rothschild; and that of M. Dutuit, bequeathed in 1902 to France.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. J. Orlers. *Beschryving der Stad Leiden.* Leyden, 1641.

Samuel van Hoogstraten. *Inleyding tot de hooge School der Schilderkonst.* Rotterdam, 1678.

Joachim de Sandrart. *Academia nobilissimæ artis pictoriæ, fol.* Nuremberg, 1675–1683.

Arnold Houbraken. *De groote Shoubourgh der nederlandsche Konstschilders.* 3 vols. Amsterdam, 1718–1719.

Adam Bartsch. *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les Estampes qui forment l'œuvre de Rembrandt et ceux de ses principaux imitateurs.* 2 vols. 8vo. Vienna, 1797.

Thomas Wilson. *A descriptive Catalogue of the Works of Rembrandt.* By an amateur. 8vo. London, 1836.

John Smith. *Catalogue raisonné of the Works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters.* 9 vols. 8vo. London, 1829–1842. Vol. vii. (1836) is specially devoted to Rembrandt's Works.

W. Bürger (T. E. J. Thoré). *Trésors d'art exposés à Manchester in 1857.* 12mo. Paris, 1857.

— — *Les Musées de Belgique et de Hollande.* 3 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1858, 1860, 1862.

Dr. Scheltema. *Rembrandt: Discours sur sa Vie et Son Génie.* Published and annotated by W. Bürger, Paris. 8vo. 1866.

P. G. Hamerton. *Etching and Etchers.* 8vo. London, 1868.

F. Seymour-Haden. *Introductory Remarks to the Catalogue of the Etched Work of Rembrandt* (Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition). 4to. London, 1877.

— — *L'œuvres gravé de Rembrandt.* 8vo. Paris, 1880.

C. Vosmaer. *Rembrandt, sa Vie et ses Œuvres.* 1 vol. 8vo. The Hague and Paris, 1877.

Eugène Fromentin. *Les Maîtres d'Autrefois.* 12mo. Paris, 1877.

C. H. Middleton-Wake. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Rembrandt van Rhyn.* London, 1878.

Charles Blanc. *L'œuvre complet de Rembrandt décrit et commenté.* 2 vols. fol. Paris, 1880.

A. Bredius and N. de Roever. *Oud-Holland.* A periodical published in Amsterdam in 1882, etc. etc. 4to.

W. Bode. *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei.* 8vo. Brunswick, 1883.

A. Bredius. *Les chefs d'Œuvres du Musée Royal d'Amsterdam.* French translation. Fol. Paris, 1890.

— — *Die Meisterwerke der königlichen Gemälde Galerie im Haag.* Fol. Munich, 1890.

Dr. F. Lippmann. *Original Drawings by Rembrandt, reproduced in Phototype.* London, Berlin, and Paris. 200 drawings in four issues. 1889–1892.

Malcolm Bell. *Rembrandt.* London, 1899.

Emile Michel. *Rembrandt: his Life, Work, and Times.* English translation. 2 vols. 1894.

W. Bode and C. Hofstede de Groot. *Complete Work of Rembrandt.* Translated by Florence Symonds. 2 vols. Paris, 1899–1902.

Sidney Colvin. *Guide to an Exhibition of Drawings and Etchings by Rembrandt in the British Museum.* Printed by order of the Trustees. 1899.

Dmitri Rovinski. *L'œuvre gravé de Rembrandt.* Reproduction of original plates in all their successive states. 1,000 phototypes. Fol. St. Petersburg, 1890.

W. von Seidlitz. *Rembrandt's Radirungen.* Published in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst.* 1892.

INDEX

PLYMOUTH
WILLIAM BRENDON AND SON
PRINTERS