

ELSE KAI SASS

COMMENTS ON REMBRANDT'S
PASSION PAINTINGS AND
CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS'S
ICONOGRAPHY

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-Filosofiske Skrifter 5, 3



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I.

Rembrandt's Passion Paintings

The excellent terms upon which Rembrandt stood with his compatriot, Constantijn Huygens, distinguished civil servant, poet, musician, composer and art-lover, have long been recognized and discussed. In 1891 J. A. Worp published extracts from Constantijn Huygens's autobiography, fragmentary, and written in Latin between 1629 and 1631. Amongst other things it contains Huygens's detailed account and sympathetic evaluation of the Leyden artist, who was at that time only about 23 or 24. The spotlight of art history has since been focussed on this interesting product of seventeenth-century Dutch culture.¹

It has long been known that Constantijn Huygens took more than a private interest in young Rembrandt; he appears to have negotiated a gratifying commission for Rembrandt to paint a series of pictures depicting the Passion and Death of Christ for the Stadtholder Prince Frederick Henry of Orange.² This appears from seven letters in Rembrandt's own hand, all addressed to Constantijn Huygens, who was the Prince's secretary from 1625 onwards. These letters, long known to exist, were published in 1961, complete and in their correct chronological order, together with an excellent introduction and commentary by H. Gerson.³ All seven letters, written between 1636 and 1639, are concerned with the delivery of the five Passion paintings, now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich.⁴

As early as 1636 Rembrandt hints in one of his letters that he intends to present Huygens with some of his latest work, "van mijn jonsten werck",⁵ and in a letter of 12th January 1639, in which he states that the last two pictures of the series are now finished, he writes that he will add a painting, 10 feet long and 8 feet high, as a gift for Huygens.⁶ Thanks to these measurements it is possible to identify the picture, tentatively, as *The Blinding of Samson* (1636), now in Städel'sches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt am Main.⁷

Gerson has rightly pointed out that there is no proof that it was Huygens who recommended Rembrandt to Frederick Henry for this commission, confirmed at the latest in 1633, in which year Rembrandt published an etching (probably under licence of the States General) of *The Descent from the Cross*.⁸

It is known that paintings by Rembrandt already featured in Prince Frederick Henry's collection, as shown by the inventory of 1632.⁹ It is in any case most likely that it was Huygens who, as general artistic adviser to the House of Orange, drew the

Prince's attention from the start to the talented young artist whom he had already praised and for whom he had prophesied a great future in his autobiographical writings of 1629–31.

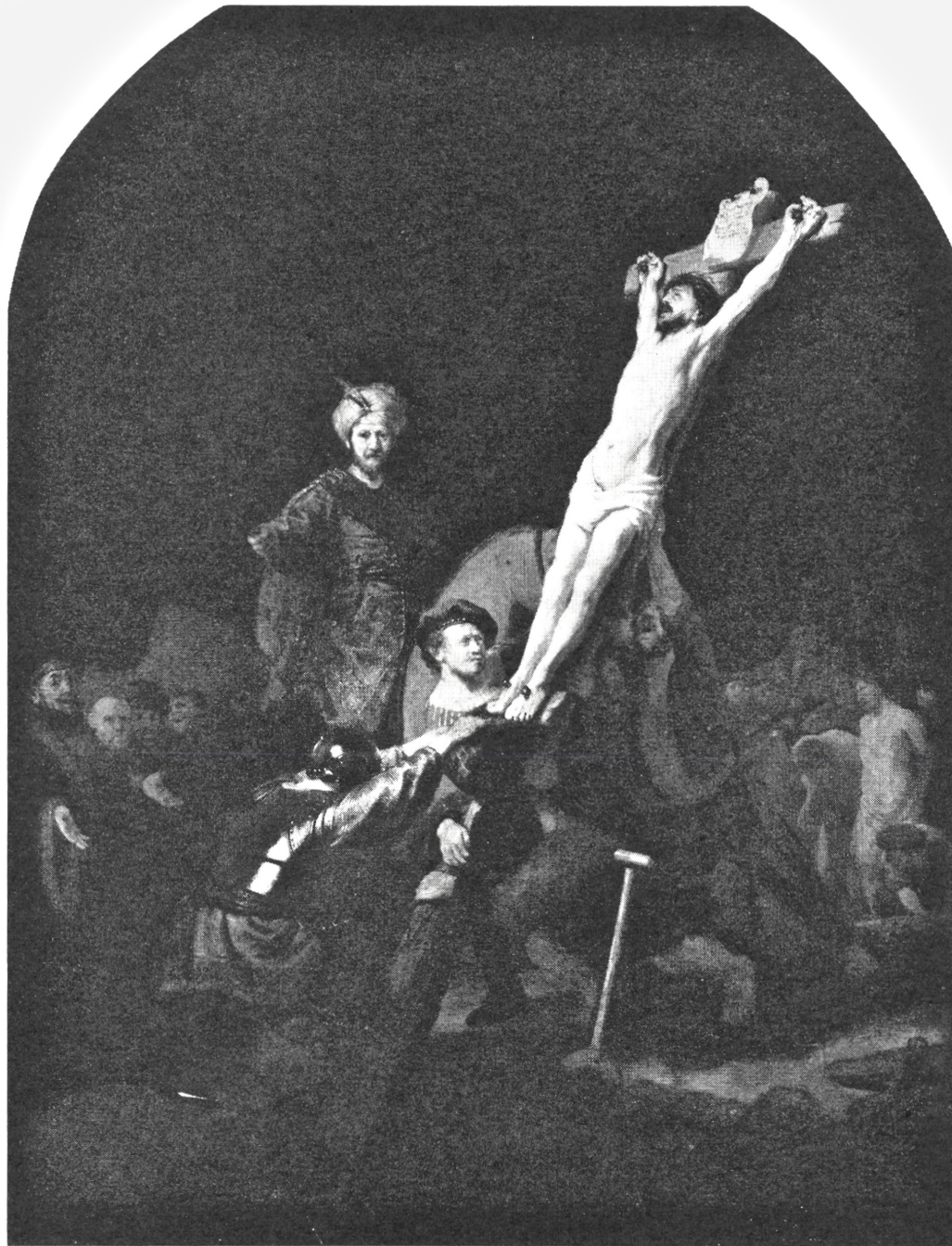
It seems to me that a closer study of the first two pictures in the Passion series may produce convincing evidence of a close connexion between Huygens's early interest in Rembrandt and the creation of *The Elevation of the Cross* and *The Descent from the Cross*, both usually dated 1633. It may also be possible to achieve a more probable dating.

This generally accepted dating of the two pictures, with which Gerson agrees,¹⁰ is based on the fact that Rembrandt's etching of *The Descent from the Cross* is dated 1633. Since the episode of the raising of the Cross precedes that of the descent from the Cross, it is tacitly assumed that the picture of the elevation was painted before or simultaneously with that of the descent.¹¹ Both paintings were painted at least before February 1636, for he refers to the five existing paintings in the series (three completed and two as yet incomplete) in the following words:¹²

“My Lord, my gracious Lord Huygens, I hope that your lordship will please inform His Excellency that I am very diligently engaged in completing as quickly as possible the three Passion pictures which His Excellency himself commissioned me to do: an Entombment, and a Resurrection and an Ascension of Christ. These are companion pictures to Christ's Elevation and Descent from the Cross. Of these three aforementioned pictures one has been completed, namely, Christ ascending to Heaven, and the other two are more than half done. And should it please His Excellency to receive this finished piece at once or the three of them together, I pray you my Lord to let me know concerning this matter so that I may serve the wishes of His Excellency, the Prince, to the best of my ability.”

We may therefore assume that the two pictures first completed, namely, *The Elevation of the Cross* and *The Descent from the Cross*, are the result of an earlier commission, since Rembrandt expressly states that the Prince himself has ordered three more. It is also interesting to note that Rembrandt completed *The Ascension of Christ* before *The Entombment* and *The Resurrection*, both of which historically precede *The Ascension*.

Rembrandt's etching of 1633 (p. 9) undoubtedly gives a *terminus ante quem* for *The Descent from the Cross*, which differs, moreover, in several important details from the engraving. Wolfgang Stechow has pointed out¹³ that the etching develops the theme which Rembrandt elaborated further in *The Descent from the Cross* in *The Hermitage*.¹⁴ This is signed and dated 1634. With regard to the dating of *The Elevation of the Cross* the only allowable conclusion is that it must at least have been completed when the first of the extant letters was written, probably in February 1636.¹⁵ The next letter, which another hand has dated February 1636, states that at Huygens's behest Rembrandt will come as soon as possible to The Hague in order to judge how the latest painting, *The Ascension*, harmonizes with the two others. From this it is obvious that the first two were already hung in position.



Rembrandt. The Elevation of the Cross. 95.2 × 72.2 cm. — Munich. Alte Pinakothek

From an addition to the letter it is obvious that at some earlier point Rembrandt himself had inspected the Prince's palace in The Hague. He writes:¹⁶

"It (the Ascension) will show to the best advantage in the gallery of His Excellency since there is a strong light there."

When the two pictures, *The Elevation of the Cross* (p. 5) and *The Descent from the Cross* (p. 7) are compared, it becomes clear that the latter was the first completed. There are even features in this picture which recall Rembrandt's work during his last years in Leyden.

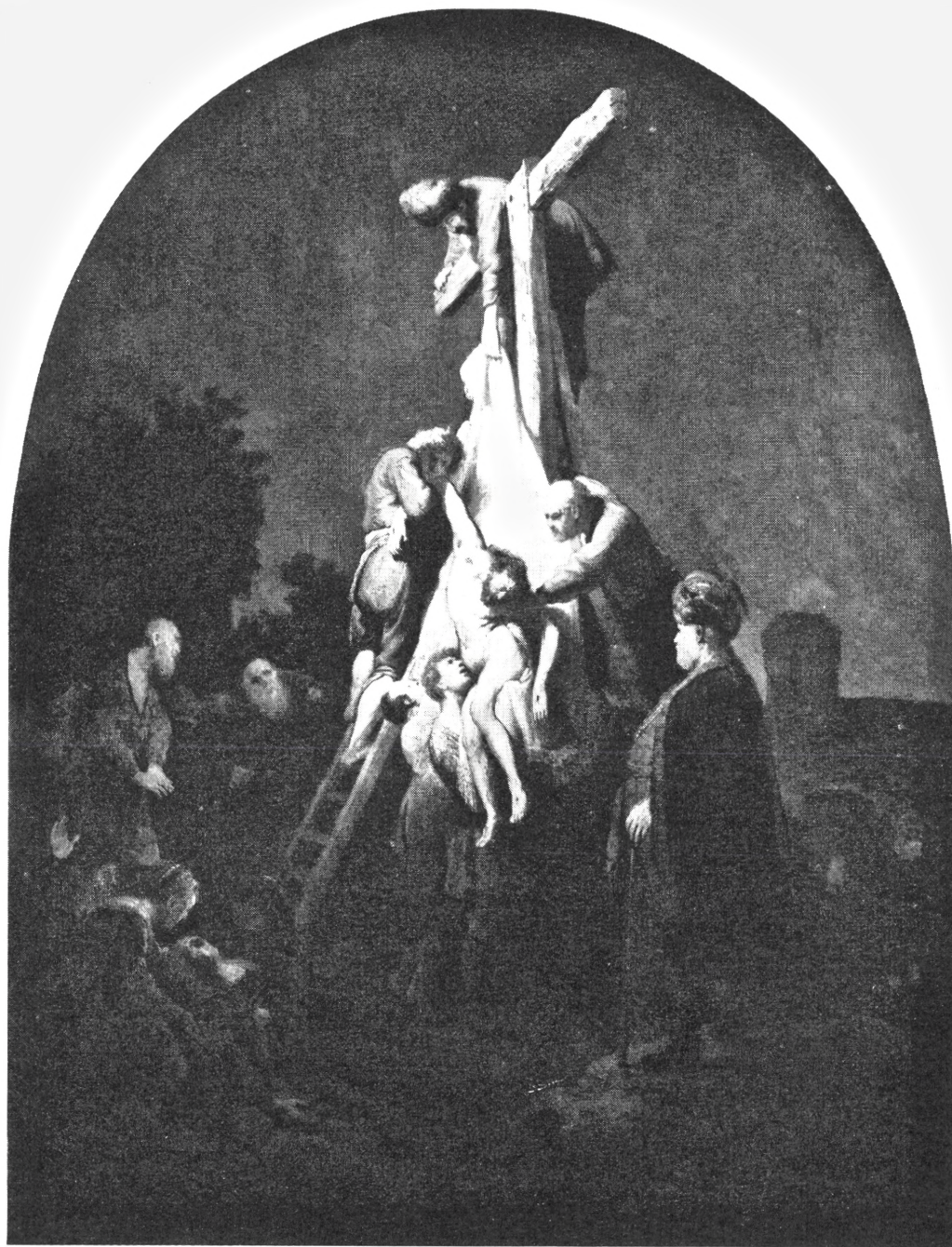
The group of mourners on the left of the picture, from the swooning figure of the Mother of God in the foreground to the bearded apostles, bowed and seeming to groan in anguish at the sight of the dead Christ, form an ascending curve which is balanced by the turbaned ancient, Joseph of Arimathea, who stands erect and firm, his sturdy legs set on a plateau to the right, from whence he surveys the scene. The central portion is brilliantly lit and shows the lifeless body of Christ being lowered from the Cross by four helpers and swathed in a voluminous wrapping; with the ladder to the left and the back of the heavily-built man to the right this forms a triangular composition.

Similar combinations of a central triangle and semi-circular groups of bowed figures are found in several of Rembrandt's pictures of the period 1629–31, that is, prior to his move from Leyden to Amsterdam. Characteristic examples are *Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver*, signed and dated 1629¹⁷ (p. 11), *The Raising of Lazarus*, about 1630¹⁸, and *The Presentation of Jesus in the Temple* in The Hague, signed and dated 1631.¹⁹

A special point of interest arises in comparing the Judas picture (p. 11). Here too is a heavily-built man seen in profile, repeating the curved line of the circle of bowed ancients who in turn echo the curve of the wall. Their horrorstruck gaze is directed against the penitent Judas who lies on the floor to the right, hands clasped and anguish mirrored in his face. Only the heavily-built man turns his head away from him with a dismissive gesture, illustrating the reply of the Chief Priests and elders to Judas in his self-accusation: "What is that to us? See thou to that." (Matthew XXVII.4).

In his autobiography Constantijn Huygens laid particular emphasis on *Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver* as an example of Rembrandt's genius for illustrating dramatic situations in small pictures and giving his figures maximum expressiveness of face and gesture.²⁰ He was particularly impressed by Rembrandt's rendering of the sorrowing Judas as an expression of deepest spiritual desolation. Describing this picture, Huygens goes on to declare that it bears comparison with anything similar produced in Italy or the Ancient World and that this young beardless Dutchman has with one figure, Judas, outdone Protogenes, Apelles and Parrhasius. He exclaims in delight: "Bravo, Rembrandt!"²¹

That this Judas portrait of Rembrandt's enjoyed great popularity is proved by the fact that in 1634 Jan Joris van Vliet produced an etching entitled *Afflicted Man*, based on Rembrandt's portrait but half-length and in reverse position.²² Wenzel



Rembrandt. The Descent from the Cross. Panel. 89.4 × 65.2 cm. – Munich. Alte Pinakothek

Hollar then used van Vliet's etching as a model for Heraclitus in a publication where he also used van Vliet's etching (after Rembrandt) of a laughing man here described as Democritus.²³ Character portraits of this type were very popular in the seventeenth century.²⁴

Rembrandt himself used the Judas type again, though reversed, as the sorrowing apostle on the left of *The Descent from the Cross*. The profile and the anguished expression are almost identical, although here it is not repentance but pure sorrow which is depicted; the white-haired, white-bearded ancient extends his arms and wrings his hands.

Another reminder of the Leyden period is found in the portrait of the young man (John) who stands on the ground receiving Christ's lifeless body. With parted lips and upturned gaze he is wholly concentrated on tenderly receiving the heavy body in his arms. This is Rembrandt himself, "the beardless son of a Dutch miller" as Huygens calls him in his autobiography,²⁵ and thus he depicted himself in several self-portraits, e.g. the small picture in Munich, initialled and dated 1629²⁶ (p. 13). It seems likely that Rembrandt used this little self-portrait with bulbous nose, open mouth and short, tousled hair as the model for the youth in *The Descent from the Cross*. The man on the ladder also resembles Rembrandt but in a coarsened and caricatured form.²⁷

It has often been suggested that Rembrandt must have been familiar with Rubens's *The Descent from the Cross* (Antwerp, about 1611–1614), if not in its original form then from a print.²⁸ The last is at least possible, for Lucas Vorsterman's print of Rubens's painting is dated 1620 (p. 15).²⁹ Although Rembrandt may have been influenced by Rubens's portrayal of Christ's body being lowered against a background of drapery, his limp arm still clasped by one of the helpers, he himself nevertheless used a very different approach from that of the great Flemish master. Rubens portrays a firmly composed group of figures, placed parallel and almost filling the canvas. The same applies to the group we see, reversed, in Vorsterman's print, though there is a little more foreground visible.

Rembrandt places the cross aslant on the picture plane, of which the upper portion is curved, and thus he increases the feeling of depth. The background has an almost rounded horizon, further emphasized by the semi-circular group of mourners. Rembrandt has presented the main scene as a grand triangular composition. In this gloomy setting, where the secondary figures are barely discernible, the central group stands out, brilliantly illuminated.

Ernst Brochhagen has lately propounded a theory that the etching represents an earlier version of *The Descent from the Cross*. He bases this theory on X-ray photographs which were recently taken of the painting and which reveal certain details apparent in the etching but not in the finished painting.³⁰ The man on the ladder who resembles Rembrandt is a little shorter in the final version³¹ and the small female figure seen in the etching under the ladder, to the left behind Joseph of Arimathea, is erased in the painting but can still be detected.³² The X-ray photographs also reveal that, prior



Rembrandt. The Descent from the Cross. Etching. 1633. – Copenhagen. The Royal Museum of Fine Arts.
The Department of Prints and Drawings

to this small female figure, another female had been depicted between Joseph and the Cross, half turned away, who seemed to be hastening forward with outstretched arms as if to participate in the reception of Christ's body.³³

When the final painting and its earlier intermediate versions are considered, the alterations in the etching are found to be many and radical. I am therefore of the opinion that the explanation is not as simple as Brochhagen declares.

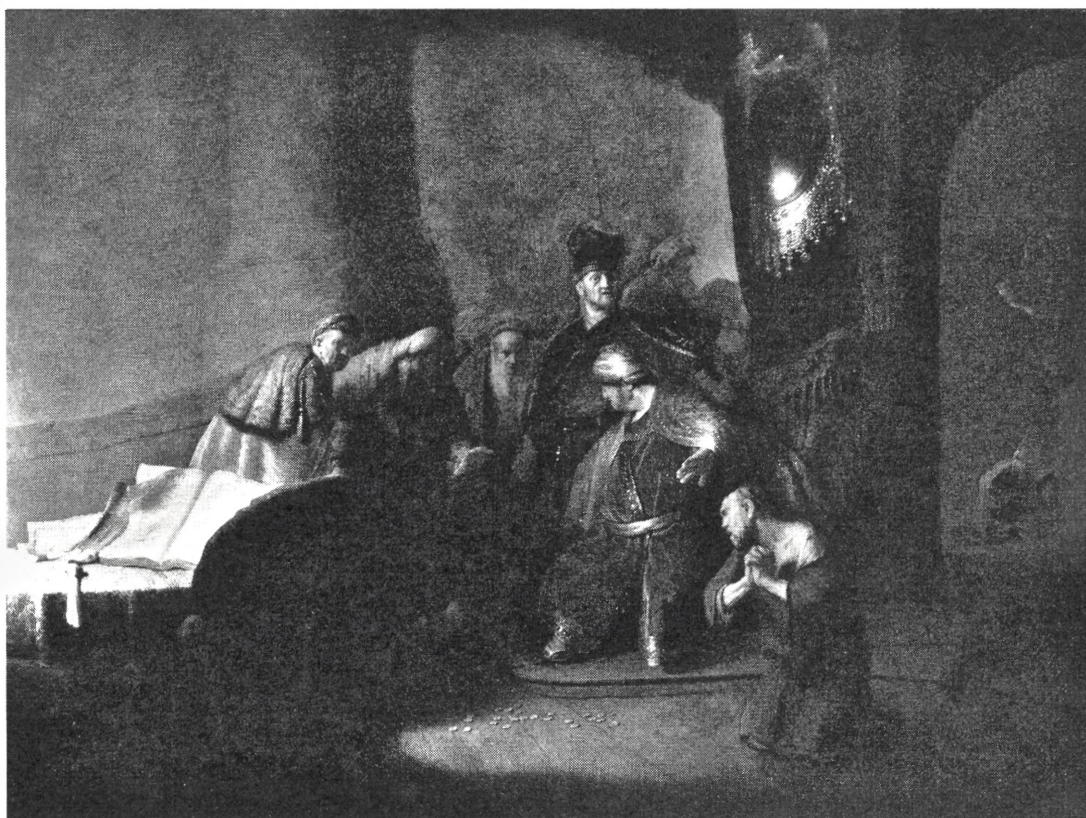
Firstly, the heavenly light which emphasizes the main group in the etching is indicated by a series of slanting lines, which are inconsequently placed behind the cross, forming a wall of light, a theatrical background for the figures. This wall of light and the more even illumination of the secondary figures (which in the painting are partly obscured in the gloom) make the whole composition of the etching more frontal; the arm of the Cross still stabs directly into the picture but now with diminished depth due to the inhibiting effect of the light area. Thus the rounded horizon effect, so striking in the painting, is lost. The curved line of the group of apostles in the painting is diminished in the etching partly because a large building dominates the background to the figures instead of the more shadowy tree-covered cliff in the painting.

In the painting the setting is hilly, broken country, providing the various groups and Joseph of Arimathea with their individual plateaux, but in the etching all the characters, or rather those of them whose feet are on the ground, stand on the same level. Joseph therefore is now placed on the same level as the apostles and the kneeling figures.

One of the major differences, iconographically, is that the swooning figure of the Mother of God, outstretched on the ground to the left in the painting, has been entirely deleted in the etching. In its place a magnificent vestment is displayed, held by the kneeling figures in readiness to swathe the dead Christ after His descent from the Cross.³⁴ Rembrandt repeats this iconographic theme in his second version of *The Descent from the Cross*, in Leningrad, of 1634.³⁵

Changes may also be detected in several of the characters. The young man (John) who receives the body of Christ in his arms and who in the painting resembled the youthful Rembrandt himself,³⁶ is totally different in the etching, and may almost be called more of a Rubens type, more powerful and formed on more plastic lines, with thick, fair hair which reaches almost to his shoulders. A striking change has also taken place in the two aged, bearded apostles. The reversed "Judas type" from the painting becomes in the etching a longer-haired man with a sharply-outlined beard, and the old man on his left here appears dressed as a Pope. On the right the man on the ladder, whose face in the painting is in shadow, is seen so clearly that there can be no doubt that he is indeed a portrait of Rembrandt, albeit somewhat caricatured.³⁷

Yet another new feature appears in the etching. Two minor figures, which in the painting are obscured in almost total darkness in the right middle distance, are clearly revealed on the left of the etching as half-length portraits of two elders, placed on a lower level than the main composition.



Rembrandt. Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver. 1629. Panel. 76 × 101 cm. – Mulgrave Castle, Yorkshire. Normanby Collection

In my opinion, the difference between the etching and the painting is so striking that the graphic representation cannot justifiably be considered a reproduction of the painting. Rather they must be considered as two versions of the same theme, the etched version being more of the Rubens school.

A very tentative explanation might be that Rembrandt began his work without knowledge of Rubens's *Descent from the Cross* in Antwerp. His own natural inclination produced the picture's structure with its combination of a central triangular composition and the curved line of the horizon and the minor figures; he had already used this in the Judas picture of 1629 and in *The Presentation in the Temple*, in The Hague, of 1631. At some point during the painting's execution, Vorsterman's print of Rubens's *Descent from the Cross* in Antwerp came to his attention, and he began to consider other possibilities. He experimented with a female figure, with back half-turned, hastening with outstretched arms towards the Cross: this may have been inspired by the figure of Mary in Vorsterman's print, making a similar gesture.³⁸ Perhaps he then found that this figure, which, according to the X-ray pictures, was exquisitely formed,³⁹

spoil the impression made by the magnificent figure of Joseph of Arimathea (an original Rembrandt creation); he therefore first replaced her by the small female figure under the ladder and finally erased her altogether.

In the course of his work Rembrandt may have experimented anew either in a sketch or grisaille where he retained the woman under the ladder and where, perhaps influenced by a copy or a print after a picture by Tintoretto,⁴⁰ he added the corpse wrappings spread out on the ground. Such a variation on the theme is possibly the basis for the etching dated 1633 which may, however, not be altogether his own work. Be that as it may, there are in the etching certain features not typical of Rembrandt. This applies particularly to the two ancients (previously mentioned) on the right who, although they have the same pose and gesture as the corresponding figures in the painting, are nevertheless far removed from them in execution and effect. Foreign elements are also to be found in the head of the man standing on the ladder to the left, in Joseph's face and in his hand, clasping his staff.⁴¹

The alterations in the painting do not therefore, as Ernst Brochhagen concludes, give grounds to believe that this was completed after the etching, or at the earliest in 1633.⁴² In my opinion the clearly archaic characteristics of the painting indicate rather that it was completed at a somewhat earlier date, possibly in 1632, at which time it is probable, as I shall later show, that Rembrandt was in touch with Constantijn Huygens. Another minor factor may support the theory that *The Descent from the Cross* was the first picture to be completed and was painted and delivered before Rembrandt was commissioned to paint *The Elevation of the Cross*. It is the smallest of the five Passion pictures, measuring only 89.4 × 65.2 cm, while *The Elevation of the Cross* measures 95.2 × 72.2. Lastly, the upper edge of the picture, which is moreover the only one of the series painted on wood, is slightly different from the others, all of which are painted on canvas.⁴³

The other picture, *The Elevation of the Cross* (p. 5), must now be considered.⁴⁴ In discussing this picture it is almost invariably stated that Rubens's famous painting in Antwerp of the same theme served as a model for Rembrandt's composition.⁴⁵ It is not, however, known whether Rembrandt visited Antwerp and there is in any case no print of Rubens's painting prior to Hans Witdoeck's reversed rendering of 1638.⁴⁶

Although the possibility cannot be discounted that minor copies or sketches of Rubens's painting may have been in circulation and that Rembrandt may have seen them, a knowledge of Rubens's composition was not absolutely essential to Rembrandt's handling of the theme. It was natural for a baroque painter to use a diagonal composition in the raising of the Cross, and indeed both Rubens and Rembrandt did so; similarly it was natural to indicate labourers heaving and hauling the Cross into position. But Rembrandt's version differs totally from that of Rubens, where the theme is developed in the foreground and dominates most of the picture plane.

Here again Rembrandt places the Cross at an angle across the plane of the picture and further emphasizes the diagonal effect by allowing the armour-clad soldier who, with back turned, hauls the Cross, to continue the diagonal line. The movement

is thereby rendered more credible and effective, and the contrast deepened between the simple figure group in the foreground, in which must be included the mounted centurion, and the encircling band to the left and right of the spectators. In front of the compact group of soldiers and sensation-seekers to the right, as a prelude to the elevation, Christ is seen with the executioners preparing the Cross.⁴⁷



Rembrandt. Self-Portrait. 1629. Panel. 18 × 14 cm. – Munich. Alte Pinakothek

Between Christ and the soldier, like an extension from the trunk of the Cross, Rembrandt himself is seen, cap askew, and clasping the Cross in his strong arms to raise it up (pp. 5, 17). It may seem strange that Rembrandt has here allocated himself the role of executioner, but as I. Bergström has shown, the explanation may be symbolic.⁴⁸ This self-portrait has a certain significance in the dating of *The Elevation of the Cross*. In contrast to the earlier self-portraits of about 1629–30 which he used in *The Descent from the Cross*, Rembrandt is here depicted with both a small moustache and sparse beard. This modest hair-growth is first seen in portraits dated 1632 or 1633.⁴⁹ The nearest parallel to the features themselves, the hair-growth and the puckered brow, are found in the self-portrait in Cassel, where he is seen illuminated full face and wearing helmet and breast-plate (p. 18).⁵⁰ In the painting of *The Elevation of the Cross*, Rembrandt has, by a turning of the head and a consequent exaggeration of the nose, given the portrait a greater suggestion of fullness; the effort of raising the Cross involves a greater tension of expression but the overall resemblance

to the warrior portrait is striking. In the Cross-raising scene Rembrandt has relegated the helmet to the soldier who, with back turned, strains at the Cross, and in its place he has given himself the soft, beret-like cap which he seems to have adopted about 1633/34, and which from then onwards he often wears in varying forms in his self-portraits.⁵¹ In *The Elevation of the Cross* the beret serves to frame and emphasize the fully illuminated face. As Bauch has pointed out, Rembrandt is the first painter to adopt the beret as the artist's insignia.⁵²

In *The Elevation of the Cross* we find again a figure of pathos, corresponding to the sorrowing apostle in *The Descent from the Cross*. Here it is the elegantly dressed man to the far left of the picture who, with his fur-trimmed cloak and wide sleeves, might be a Venetian senator were it not for the high velvet cap he wears on his head. Pathos lies in the moving expression, his parted lips which seem to be shaping a word, the eloquent gesture of his outstretched arms and his uplifted hands. The face is clearly a portrait but I shall return to this point later.

In dating *The Elevation of the Cross* it is perhaps pertinent to mention that Rembrandt used the same costume and the tall, velvet cap in a picture of an elderly man with a large book now in Prague and dated 1634.⁵³ It may be assumed that Rembrandt had recently acquired this magnificent cloak and wished to make immediate artistic use of it in a number of pictures.

The mounted centurion may also give an indication of date. He is a type earlier referred to as Rembrandt's father or brother, and he often appeared in pictures by the artist from the end of the 1620s and beginning of the thirties. The officer's closest parallel is a head and shoulders portrait in Cassel (p. 19), here called *Study of the Head of a Man* and dated 1630/31, but entitled by Bauch *Portrait Study* and dated 1629/30.⁵⁴ The same man was undoubtedly the model for the officer, but here older and with sunken mouth (p. 17).

For the reasons listed above, the most significant of which is the self-portrait of Rembrandt, I believe that *The Elevation of the Cross* should be dated later than *The Descent from the Cross*; it was probably painted in 1634. The fact that its subject matter places it first in the series does not necessarily indicate that it was painted before *The Descent from the Cross*. Rembrandt's letter of 1636 and his own dating, 1636, of *The Ascension of Christ* (p. 33), are positive proof that this picture was painted before *The Entombment* (p. 34) and *The Resurrection of Christ* (p. 35) both of which were first delivered in 1639.⁵⁵

Although, in my opinion, Rembrandt did not paint *The Elevation of the Cross* until 1634, it would seem that he had long been considering this theme. In a black crayon drawing in Rotterdam, which seems to have been executed about 1629, Rembrandt sketched out a rough model for a rendering of *The Elevation of the Cross*, the Cross being placed on the opposite side (p. 21).⁵⁶ By chance, two seated figures are sketched on the back, and these would appear to be preliminary studies for figures in the picture of *Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver*, of 1629, the work which Constantijn Huygens rated so highly.⁵⁷ As Otto Benesch has pointed out, the drawing of the Cross-



Lucas Vorsterman after Rubens. The Descent from the Cross. Engraving. 1620. – Copenhagen. The Royal Museum of Fine Arts. The Department of Prints and Drawings

raising resembles closely both in style and composition the works of the Lorraine draughtsman and engraver, Jacques Callot.⁵⁸ The actual raising of the Cross is being partly accomplished by means of a rope at which one of the executioners heaves, standing at the foot end of the Cross, and this at least is taken directly from a small print by Callot and is one of a Passion series, the so-called Little Passion of the 1620s.⁵⁹ Rembrandt almost certainly knew this little print. The towering figure of the centurion, not here mounted, but standing on a higher level in the centre of the picture behind the Cross-raising scene, can be paralleled in Callot's engraving, though here placed on a hillock some distance from the actual Cross-raising which is sited on a higher level. Callot's engraving also shows mounted figures but on a lower level and with their backs turned. Here another version of the elevation of the Cross comes to mind, painted in grey and brown in Bredius's house in The Hague and showing in the right foreground a mounted, rear-view figure. In this picture the orientation of the Cross is the same as in the Munich picture.⁶⁰ It has been questioned whether this picture, dated by Bauch about 1645, is original. I can say nothing positive about its originality, but whether the work is that of Rembrandt or a later copy by a pupil, the composition seems to be a combination of elements from both Callot's engraving and Rembrandt's painting. It may possibly be a copy of a preliminary work of Rembrandt's.⁶¹

Otto Benesch considers that a drawing in the Albertina in Vienna (p. 23)⁶² was a 1633 preliminary work for *The Elevation of the Cross* in Munich and by Rembrandt himself, but others have doubted its origin.⁶³ Ernst Brochhagen joins the doubters and believes that the drawing was executed by a pupil after Rembrandt's painting, which he maintains is the first completed of the series and painted between 1631 and 1633.⁶⁴ One of Brochhagen's arguments is based on an X-ray examination of the painting in Munich which reveals that the head of Christ was originally bowed down towards his left shoulder just as in the picture (published by Kurt Bauch in 1962) of *Christ Crucified* in the church at Mas d'Agenais; this is dated 1631.⁶⁵

In the Albertina drawing Christ's head is upright and Brochhagen considers this proof that the drawing was executed after the completed painting where Rembrandt has raised the position of the head.

I do not find this argument convincing. If the drawing is really a copy, then it may equally well be a copy of another preliminary work of Rembrandt's since it varies in other aspects from the painting. The figure of Christ, the head of which is moreover only roughly indicated, has the arms stretched straight out against the cross-piece, whereas in the painting the arms are nailed fast at an angle. In the painting the horse's head is hidden behind the crucified body while in the drawing the whole head with the exception of the muzzle-tip is clearly visible. Furthermore, in the drawing the imposing male figure (to the left in the painting, with outstretched arms) is here seen more from the front, in such a way that he nearly hides the figures which in the painting are placed to his right; nor does he bear so clearly the signs of portraiture that he does in the painting. Finally, the scene to the right with the pinioned Christ

is so lightly indicated in the drawing that it can only be interpreted by reference to the more defined rendering in the painting.⁶⁶

There can be no significance in the fact that Rembrandt, possibly influenced by his earlier executed painting of *Christ on the Cross* showed Christ in the Munich painting first with his head inclined and later raised its position, thereby retaining the diagonal line.



Rembrandt. Detail of the Elevation of the Cross with the Centurion and Rembrandt's Self-Portrait

The question of the iconography of the Munich *Elevation of the Cross* arises when we consider the differing formation of the group including the aristocratic-looking man in the painting and in the drawing.

The raising of the Cross is not specifically described in the Gospels. Matthew, Mark, Luke and John simply state in slightly varying forms that "they crucified Him".⁶⁷ At the Council of Trent in 1563 the following pronouncement was formulated concerning the raising of the Cross:⁶⁸ "After Jesus had been nailed to the Cross, lying upon the ground, the executioners raised the instrument of punishment by means of ropes, the foot being first planted in a hole which had previously been dug".

There is little ground for supposing that Rembrandt, who was a Protestant,⁶⁹ knew of the formula, but it is on this conception that Callot based his engraving and it is probably from this that Rembrandt derived the idea of the rope which he uses

in the drawing in Rotterdam. This theme was not much developed until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, since the depicting of the physical exertions of the executioners in the raising of the Cross required considerable anatomical skill. Such artists as Tintoretto, van Dyck and, as previously mentioned, Rubens, were the first to produce major works on this theme.⁷⁰ Rubens's grandiose altar painting in Antwerp,



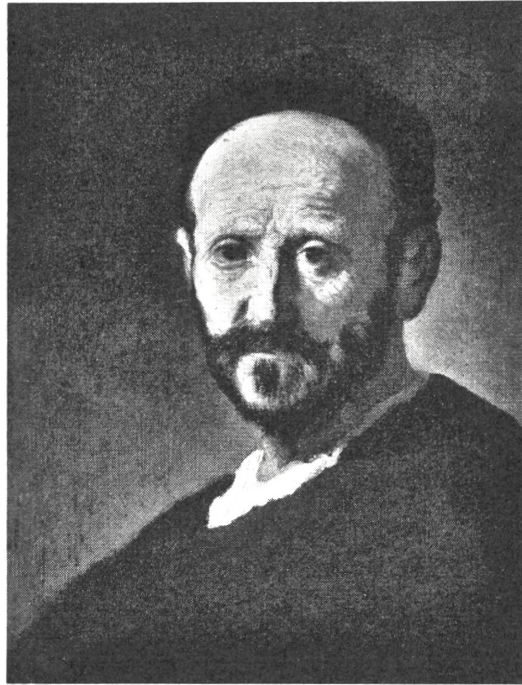
Rembrandt. Self-Portrait. 1634. Panel. 79 × 64 cm. – Cassel. Gemäldegalerie

Painted about 1610, shows the crucified victim surrounded only by those concerned in the raising of the Cross, and these figures dominate the picture.

In contrast, Callot's miniature rendering depicts a larger company and Rembrandt, as has been shown, included figures other than those concerned with the Cross-raising. Iconographically the little group to the left in the painting is of particular interest, the aristocratic-looking man with his outstretched arms and the strange grimacing people. The man in the cloak and the tall velvet cap has strongly individual features. He is younger than the corresponding figure in the Albertina drawing, who appears to be an old man with a long white beard. The aristocratic-looking man in the painting has a dark moustache and a short beard, his lips are parted as though in speech. The grotesque figures to his right seem to have some connexion with what he is saying. One has his mouth open as if he is shouting (p. 31).

The impression is that the reactions of these people must have a particular connexion with this stage of Christ's passion, but what? The key to Rembrandt's Passion

scenes is usually said to be found in the Gospels of Mark or Luke, but there is nothing in their accounts of the Crucifixion and death of Christ which explains the talking man and the gesture with which he is undoubtedly emphasizing his words, nor his connexion with the strange men with their contorted faces. On the other hand there is a passage in St. John's Gospel which may well have been the basis for Rembrandt's



Rembrandt. Study of the Head of a Man. Panel. 48×37 cm. Cassel. Gemäldegalerie

development of this part of the picture. In Chapter XIX John recounts a discussion between Pilate and the Jewish High Priests, and it is significant that this takes place after the crucifixion; the combination of the two scenes in Rembrandt's picture may thereby be explained. The text is quoted in its entirety from Ch. XIX. 16–22:

- 16) Then delivered he (Pilate) him therefore unto them to be crucified. And they took Jesus and led *him* away.
- 17) And He bearing his cross went forth into a place called *the place* of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha:
- 18) Where they crucified him, and two other with him, on either side one and Jesus in the midst.
- 19) And Pilate wrote a title, and put *it* on the cross. And the writing was, JESUS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE JEWS.
- 20) This title then read many of the Jews; for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city: and it was written in Hebrew, *and* Greek, *and* Latin.

- 21) Then said the chief priests of the Jews to Pilate, Write not, The King of the Jews; but that he said, I am the King of the Jews.
 22) Pilate answered, What I have written I have written.

Through the centuries artists have created thousands of imaginative representations from this simple account: Christ carrying his cross to Golgotha, the Crucifixion, Christ on the Cross, alone or flanked by the robbers, and from it Rembrandt selects two themes, the raising of the Cross and the exchange between Pilate and the High Priests and combines them in one single picture. The grim-looking figures in the group to the left may well represent the accusing High Priests, and the aristocratic-looking man Pilate as he pronounces with finality: "What I have written, I have written." Pilate emphasizes his words by stretching out his arms, palms uppermost, a gesture at once explanatory and final; he looks at the beholder as if calling him to witness his words. His pose, with arms outstretched, harmonizes in composition with the figure of Christ, whose upstretched arms with the nailed hands echoes his movement and thus an integral correlation is created between the legend on the cross written in Hebrew, Latin and Greek: Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews, and the words issuing from the mouth of the cloaked figure. This explains why Rembrandt found it necessary to raise Christ's head in his final version: it was essential both for the sake of the composition and for the spiritual coherence between Christ and Pilate.

If this interpretation is correct, then Rembrandt is responsible for an iconographic re-creation of an often depicted scene—the *Elevation of the Cross*. I discussed this iconographic problem with a theologian, who at first found it difficult to accept that Pilate might have stood at the foot of the Cross⁷¹ but admitted that the text, including the Greek version, permitted such an interpretation since it expressly states "but Pilate wrote . . ." ⁷² The Dutch biblical translation has the same wording and Rembrandt may have been familiar with several editions. One of these, published in Leyden in 1594, may well have been owned by his parents.⁷³ Another, published in Amsterdam in 1630, may have been the edition he himself owned.⁷⁴ The verses quoted from St. John's Gospel are all alike. It seems to me a reasonable assumption that Rembrandt used the text of the 1630 edition of the Bible as the basis for his concept of the raising of the Cross. He may have acquired it shortly after his move to Amsterdam about 1631. There are frequent marginal notes on the text, and in the nineteenth chapter of St. John these notes are especially concerned with the exact meaning of Pilate's superscription.⁷⁵ As will be seen from the reproduced facsimile of the relevant passage (p. 24) at verse 20 there is a note *i* by "en het was gheschreven in Hebreusche/Grieesche en Latijnsche tale". There is a note in the margin which translated reads: "In order that all nations and people should be able to read and understand it. God would seem to have moved Pilate to do this so that it might be known that Christ's crucifixion was to be proclaimed to all people and in all tongues."

In verse 22 after "Pilatus antwoorde" there is a note *k* which has the following explanation in the margin: "Pilate refuses to alter the superscription; for God guided him in such a way that without willing it he bore witness to the truth . . ."



Rembrandt. The Elevation of the Cross. Black chalk. 19.3×14.8 cm. Rotterdam. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

Although the implication here is that Pilate unconsciously is the implement of God's will, the Gospels' account of the Passion nevertheless paints a sympathetic picture of him, and this view of the Roman official is supported by ancient tradition.⁷⁶ Over a period of many years Rembrandt frequently portrayed Pilate in various situations, in sketches, etchings and paintings, and seems to have considered him a sympathetic character in contrast to the querulous High Priests and elders. Thus in a painting dated 1634, *Christ before Pilate and the People* (National Gallery, London)

(p. 25)⁷⁷ he depicted Pilate as a dignified, elderly man who, with earnest gaze and raised hand, tries to calm the bloodthirsty multitude who shout for Christ's crucifixion. In the well-known etching of 1655, *Christ Presented to the People*, Pilate is seen appealing to Christ's accusers, as described in St. John XIX. 4–5.⁷⁸

- 4) Pilate therefore went forth again, and said unto them, Behold, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him.
- 5) Then came Jesus forth, wearing the crown of thorns, and the purple robe. and Pilate saith unto them, Behold the man!

Pilate is seen standing, facing the crowd, his outstretched left hand pointing at Christ. This gesture reminds us of the *Ecce Homo* passage in St. John XIX. 5, though Christ is here shown without the purple robe and crown of thorns. In this 1655 engraving Rembrandt has suggested an incident not mentioned by St. John, namely, Pilate washing his hands. On the platform to the left stands a young boy with basin, towel and ewer. The hand-washing scene is only described in St. Matthew XXVII. 24.

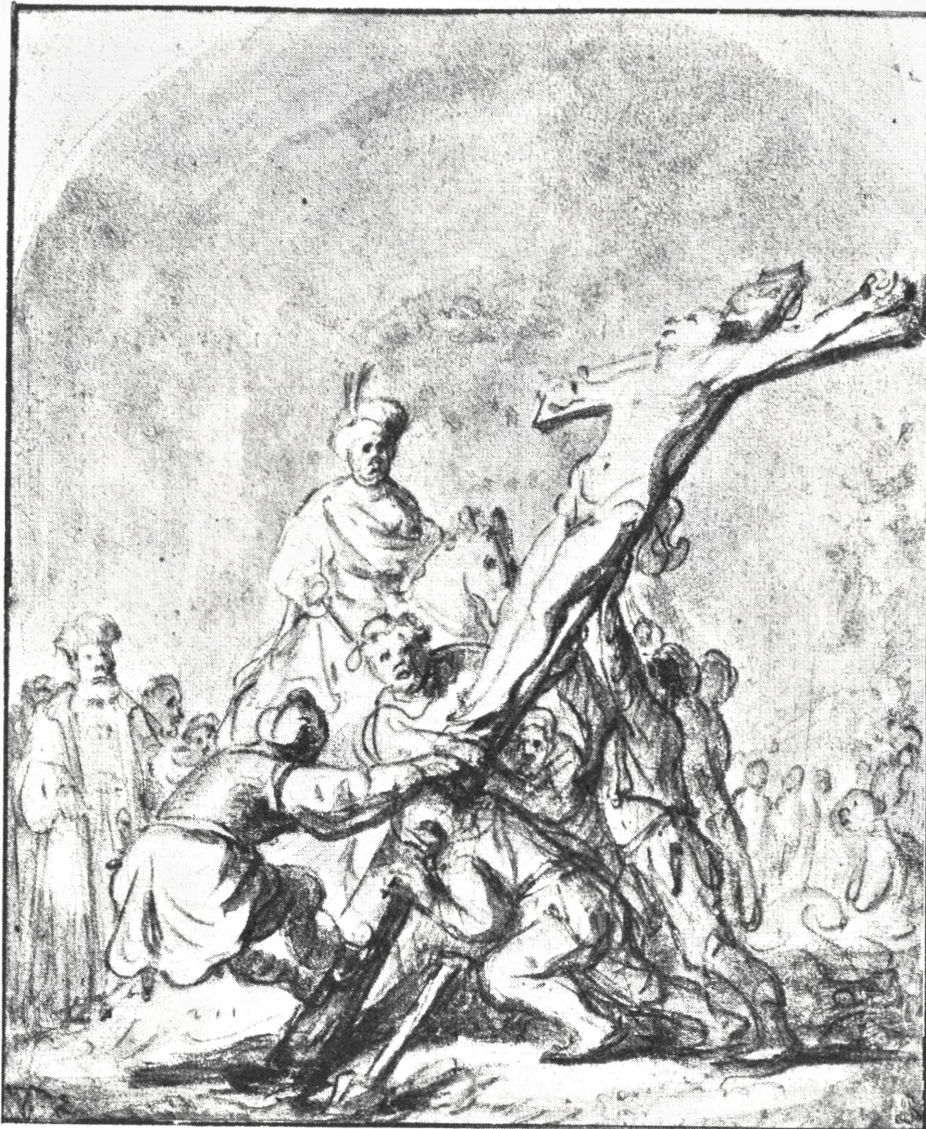
Pilate appears in several of Rembrandt's drawings. H-M. Rotermund has identified the subject of a very damaged drawing in F. Lugt's collection as being an illustration of Matthew XXVII. 19, where in the course of the trial Pilate is interrupted by a message from his wife, who warns him against becoming involved with "that just man".⁷⁹

"When he was set down on the judgment seat, his wife sent unto him, saying. Have thou nothing to do with that just man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him."

The drawing, which is only roughly sketched, is dated by Rotermund as about 1635–40,⁸⁰ and shows Pilate seated on his throne while a young woman kneels before him, delivering the message from his wife. The biblical text does not state that it was a woman who brought the message, but it is so that Rembrandt pictured it and there can be no doubt that it is this passage in St. Matthew which is illustrated since there is an almost erased note in Rembrandt's own hand of which the following words can be clearly distinguished:⁸¹ ". . . deesen rechtveerdigh . . ."

Rotermund has further striven to determine which edition of the Bible Rembrandt used on this and other occasions but he finds insufficient text to identify it.⁸² This particular passage is variously translated in different editions. It only remains to say that both the Leyden Bible of 1594 and the Amsterdam Bible of 1630 use the same phraseology in the relevant passage: "Hebt niet to doen met desen rechtveerdighen".⁸³ This example is interesting as illustrating how Rembrandt takes the text and forms a picture on his personal concept of the scene.

In the previously mentioned picture of *Christ before Pilate and the People*, in



Rembrandt. The Elevation of the Cross. Black chalk and wash, Indian ink. 28.2×18.7 cm. – By courtesy of the Albertina, Vienna

the National Gallery in London, painted in 1634, i.e. at about the same time as he was working on *The Elevation of the Cross*, we have another example of how the artist was inspired by the Gospel account but developed his picture independently of the actual text.

It seems likely that Rembrandt was inspired by St. John XIX. 12–15:

Cap. xix.

Joannis.

Fol. 53.

19 Ende Pilatus schreef ooc een opschrift /
ende settede dat op het cruyce : ende daer
was gheschreven: IESVS DE NAZARE-
NER DE CONINCK DER IODEN.

20 Dit opschrift lasen veel Ioden / want
de plaerse daer Iesus gecruysft werdt / was
na by de stadt : en het was gheschreven in
Hebreeusche / Griecsehe en Latijnsche tale.

21 Doe spraken de Ober-priesters der
Ioden tot Pilatum : Schrijft niet / de Co-
ninck der Ioden / maer dat hy geseft heeft /
ick ben de Coninck der Ioden.

22 Pilatus antwoorde / ^k dat ick gesehe-
ven hebbe / dat hebbe ick geseheven.

23 De kerijchsknechten dan als sy Iesum
gecruysft hadden / ^r namen sijne kleederen /
en maectten vier deelen / een yghelijcken
kerijchsknecht een deel / daer toe ooc den roc-
ken / maer de rock was sonder naecht van boden
aen te samen gewoicht ober al.

24 Doe spraken sy onder malcanderen :
Laet ons hem niet in stucken sijden : Maer
laet ons loten wiens hy sijn sal / * op dat de
Schrijft verbult werde die daer seght :

25 ^s Sp hebben mijne kleederen onder
hen gedeelt / ende ober mijn kleede hebben
sy het lot ghewoepen. Dit deden dan de

verbult worde : ^r Ghy ^r en sult sijner been-
deren geen verbreken.

38 Ende wederom segt een ander schrijft :
* ^s Sy sullen sien in welcken sy gesteken heb-
ben.

39 ^d Mer ^r na Ioseph van Arimathæa
(die een Discipel Iesu was / maer
bedeckt wjt breefe booz den Ioden) ^r badt
Pilatum dat hy het lichaem Iesu mochte
wech nemen : Ende Pilatus veroolofdet
hem : Soo quam hy dan ende nam het li-
chaem Iesu wech.

40 En daer quam oock Nicodemus (die
voorzmaels by nachte tot Iesu ghekomen
was) brenghende een vermenginghe van
Myrrhe en Aloë ontrent hondert pounden.

41 Sy namen dan het lichaem Iesu ende
bonden dat in linnen doecken met de spec-
rien / ghelijck der Ioden ghewoonte is te
begraven.

42 Ende ter plaetsen daer hy was ghe-
cruysft geweest / was eenen hof / ende inden
hof een ^r nieu graf / daer noch niemant in en
was gelept geweest.

43 Daer leyden sy dan Iesum om de
booz-bereydinghe der Ioden wille / want
dat graf was na by.

^r Dit werdt egypte-
lyck geseft van byt
Jherusalem Crub.
12. 46. maer de booz-
le dat saem een booz-
breit was op Chry-
stum / soo beduyt ds
Euangelist dat op
Christum die de be-
rechede sake was.
1 Num. 9. 12.
* Zach. 12. 10.
III.

^r Math. 27. 57.
Marc. 15. 43.
Luc. 23. 50.
* Iher getoobte ober-
wint epudelyck de
breefe booz den me-
schen / ende bekend
epudelyck by opent-
lyck den gekruysften
Christum / Joann. 12
42.
1 Ioan. 3. 2.

* Dit is alsoo booz
een sonderlinge be-
schickinghe Gods
geschiet / op dat ges-
quaetwillighe dare
na en souden oofsa-
ke hebben om te seg-
ghen dat een ander
dan Christus ware
wjt den grave ope-
ghetaen.

Facsimile of St. John's Gospel. XIX, 19–22, with notes in the margin. In the Dutch Bible, Amsterdam 1630. Fol. 53. – Copenhagen. The Royal Library

- 12) And from thenceforth Pilate sought to release him: but the Jews cried out, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend: whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Caesar.
- 13) When Pilate therefore heard that saying, he brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the judgment seat in a place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha.
- 14) And it was the preparation of the passover, and about the sixth hour; and he saith unto the Jews, Behold your King!
- 15) But they cried out, Away with him, away with him, crucify him. Pilate saith unto them, Shall I crucify your King? The chief priests answered, We have no King but Caesar.

The picture (p. 25) shows Pilate seated on his lofty judgement seat. He is plainly in the middle of an exchange with the High Priests as described in verse 15. Christ stands behind them wearing the cloak and a crown of thorns on his head as in John XIX. 5. As stated in verse 13 Pilate had a second time presented Christ to the people.

Thereupon follow the previously quoted verses 16–22, which tell how Christ was led away to be crucified, and then of the final dialogue between Pilate and the High Priests concerning the superscription for the cross, the scene which I believe Rembrandt was illustrating in *The Elevation of the Cross*.



Rembrandt. Christ before Pilate and the People. 1634. Paper laid down on canvas. 54.5 × 44.5 cm.
London, National Gallery. By courtesy of the National Gallery

It is not unusual to find Pilate depicted in late medieval representations of Golgotha, especially in Northern Europe.⁸⁴ One excellent example which may be mentioned is the wooden altar-piece carved about 1500 in Magleby church (Sorø County) in Denmark. (p. 27).⁸⁵

Pilate is seen standing at the foot of the Cross and behind the seated scribe who is in the act of writing the superscription on the tablet to be fastened upon the Cross.

He seems to be saying something which he emphasizes by raising his right hand. His words are addressed to a mounted man, no doubt the High Priest, who points, as if in protest, at the scribe. A man sitting by the latter's side speaking to him with raised hand would appear to be another Jew protesting against the wording.

Thanks to the seated scribe it is not difficult to recognise Pilate in a series of Golgotha pictures, in Denmark, Germany and Sweden.⁸⁶ It is more difficult to identify him among the people gathered at the foot of the Cross in early Netherlandish altar pictures. And yet the scene depicting the exchange between Pilate and the High Priest, though not formerly recognized, appears in a painting by Gerard David, probably dating from the 1480s, in Antwerp, but here without the scribe.⁸⁷ The High Priest is the splendidly clad man on the white horse. On his head he wears a hat of the same type as that in the Magleby altar-piece, and with his right hand is making a gesture of protest against the wording of the superscription at which Pilate, likewise on horseback, is pointing, at the same time regarding the High Priest disapprovingly. The group is surrounded by persons wearing stern expressions (p. 29).

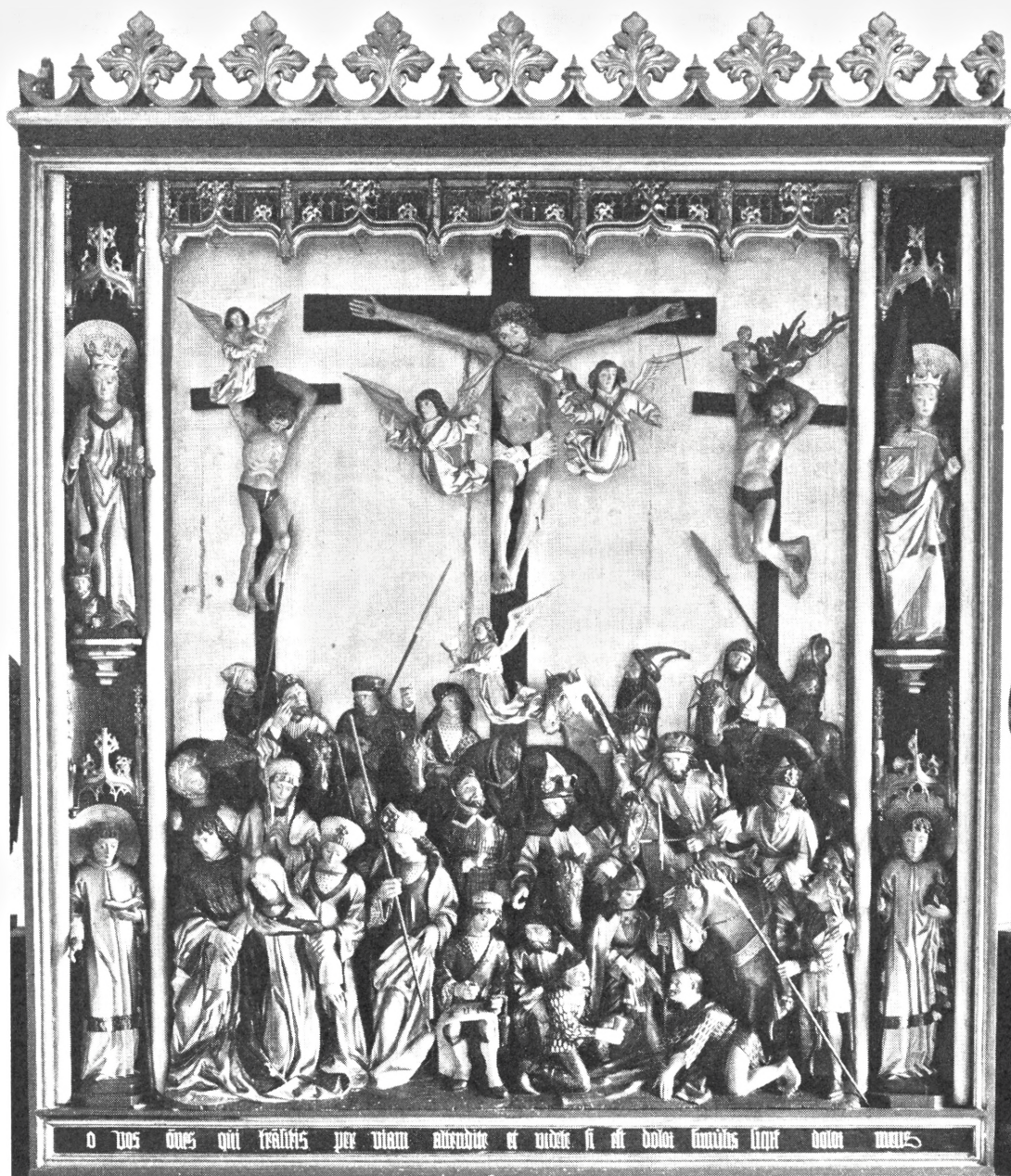
Rembrandt does not, however, need any artistic precursor to permit Pilate's presence at the crucifixion. He may simply have imagined the scene thus after reading the relevant passage in St. John.⁸⁸

But why did Rembrandt choose to incorporate this particular scene in his Elevation painting? It would almost appear as if the inclusion of the aristocratic-looking man in the picture was a matter of great moment for him. Remembering the strongly individualistic features of the man's face it seems likely that this is in fact a portrait. As has been shown, there can be no doubt that the man wearing a beret and supporting the Cross is a self-portrait. The mounted centurion may also be a portrait. He is at least drawn from a model who was available to Rembrandt at this period and whom he used in various forms a number of times.⁸⁹

In my opinion the aristocratic-looking man to the left in the picture who so strongly suggests a portrait from life resembles closely the man who was in some sort or another concerned in the creation of the Passion series, namely, Prince Frederick Henry's secretary, Constantijn Huygens. It would have been natural for Rembrandt to wish to honour his patron in this manner, since he was the first person of any consequence to understand and value his talent and who had moreover prophesied a great future for him.

It would also have been ingenious of Rembrandt to cast Constantijn Huygens in the role of Pilate at Golgotha, this noble Roman who, according to the Gospels, regarded Christ as guiltless, who sought in vain to persuade the elders to withdraw their accusation and who persisted in keeping the wording of the superscription: "What I have written, I have written."

The Prince's art-loving secretary was very fond of having his portrait painted and we are consequently well acquainted with his outward appearance from earliest youth to extreme old age; he died in 1687 at the age of ninety-one. A Constantijn Huygens's Iconography was published in 1957 by H. E. van Gelder.⁹⁰



Golgotha. Wooden altarpiece. About 1500. 219×198 cm. – In Magleby Church, Sorø County, Denmark

The attested portrait of Constantijn Huygens which is nearest in date to the relevant time is that which Van Dyck painted of him on 28th January 1632. Huygens himself noted in his diary under that date: *Pingor a Van Dyckio. . .*⁹¹ The painting, which was possibly a *grisaille*, is unfortunately no longer in existence, but it is known from an engraving by Paulus Pontius (p. 41) in “*Icones Principium Virorum Doctorum, Pictorum, Chalcographorum, Statuariorum, nec non Amatorum pictoriae artis. Numero Centum ab Antonio van Dyck, pictore ad vivum expressae ejusq(ue) sumptibus aeri incisae. Antwerpiae, Gillis Hendriex excudit 1645.*”⁹² Constantijn Huygens’s status is indicated by the fact that he was able to have himself painted by the renowned Flemish artist during the latter’s stay in The Hague in the early months of 1632, when he was presumably a guest of Prince Frederick Henry.⁹³

In the engraving Constantijn Huygens,⁹⁴ barely thirty-six years old, is shown in a half-length portrait, full face, but his body turning slightly to the left. A capacious cloak hides his body in part, and his right arm completely, but the lower part of his left arm and hand are visible. A large book lies before him and his fingers touch it as though about to open it. He has a moustache and a small pointed beard, and slightly prominent eyes, a noticeable feature. In his autobiography he says himself, “My eyes are by nature wide open, large and prominent.”⁹⁵ This feature is also emphasized in other attested Huygens portraits. The facial expression is serious and thoughtful. The mouth is firmly closed. Another characteristic feature may have been softened by the engraver, namely the rather protruding underlip which appears in most attested Huygens portraits.⁹⁶

A small *grisaille* copy of Van Dyck’s portrait of Huygens exists, made by a minor painter and engraver, Jan Maurits Quinkhard (1688–1772), Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (p. 45).⁹⁷ This little picture is believed to be a copy of Paulus Pontius’s engraving after Van Dyck, and it is orientated in the same direction (p. 41). Nevertheless, closer inspection reveals small differences from the engraving. Amongst other things, the underlip is more prominent and therefore more in accordance with the apparently most realistic portrait of Constantijn Huygens, painted in the winter of 1626–27 by Jan Lievens (p. 51); this portrait has been convincingly identified by Clothilde Misme-Brière;⁹⁸) Huygens himself discussed the picture exhaustively in his autobiography and wrote a verse upon it.⁹⁹ It is possible that Quinkhard painted his copy from the original Van Dyck, although this would mean that the latter showed Huygens turned in the same direction as in the engraving. An engraving is usually a mirror copy of its model but in certain cases the engraver himself has interposed a mirror version between the original and the engraving.¹⁰⁰ There is, however, one small feature which is identical in the engraving and in Quinkhard’s copy, and that is the shaping of the upper lip where the right-hand side of the bow is a shade higher than the left. It therefore seems likely that Quinkhard worked directly from Paulus Pontius’s engraving, though he may possibly have seen other portraits of Huygens and with these as his basis have made the underlip a little more prominent.



Gerard David. Known by title of "Jewish Judges and Roman Soldiers", but presumably Pilate's Dialogue with the High Priest about the Superscription. Panel. 52 × 42.5 cm. – Antwerp. Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts

In my opinion there is a very striking resemblance between the aristocratic-looking man, presumably Pilate, in Rembrandt's painting, *The Elevation of the Cross*, and Van Dyck's portrait of Huygens, both in Pontius's engraved rendering and in Quinkhard's copy and also in Jan Lievens's portrait now in the Douai Museum. On Huygens's own evidence this must have been completed in the beginning of 1627.¹⁰¹ The prominent eyes, the protruding underlip and a similar beard are all featured in what is obviously an important figure in the picture of *The Elevation of the Cross*.

It is not known exactly when Rembrandt moved from Leyden to Amsterdam, but it is assumed to have been in the autumn of 1631. He was at all events living there in 1632 when he painted *Dr. Nicolaes Tulp's Anatomy Lesson*.¹⁰² As we know, Huygens lived in The Hague but travelled considerably, being often obliged to follow Prince Frederick Henry's campaigns. During 1633 he spent several periods away from his home.

Rembrandt must have painted *The Elevation of the Cross* in Amsterdam. If, as is suggested, the aristocratic-looking man to the left in the picture is really a portrait of Huygens, then Rembrandt must already have had a picture of him to use as a model. This may have been either a sketch or a painting. In 1632 Rembrandt painted a portrait of Constantijn Huygens's brother Maurits, who was a year older and a secretary in the Government from 1624 to his death in 1642. Like his brother, he lived in The Hague. The moderately-sized picture now in the Kunsthalle in Hamburg is signed and dated 1632 (p. 52).¹⁰³ There seems to have been a strong family likeness between the two brothers. Maurits too has the prominent eyes and protruding underlip, and he has a moustache and small beard similar to his brother's.

Constantijn Huygens may also have been in contact with Rembrandt in 1632. In that year Rembrandt painted a profile portrait of Prince Frederick Henry's wife, the Countess Amalia von Solms.¹⁰⁴ It seems likely that the Prince's secretary might have been responsible for that commission too. Rembrandt's portrait of Amalia von Solms was undoubtedly intended to complement the portrait of Prince Frederick Henry painted in 1631 by Gerard von Honthorst. It would certainly seem to have been painted with this end in view since the frame has a painted cartouche which corresponds exactly with the Prince's portrait; this too is painted in profile so that the two are orientated towards each other.¹⁰⁵

It must be supposed that Rembrandt painted Amalia von Solms's portrait in The Hague, probably in the Prince's palace in Noordeinde where he may already have seen the gallery which he mentions in his second letter to Huygens in 1636.¹⁰⁶ He may perhaps at the same time—in 1632—have delivered *The Descent from the Cross* and been commissioned to paint *The Elevation of the Cross*, though the latter may not have been commissioned until 1633.

It is natural to think that Rembrandt may also have painted a portrait of Constantijn Huygens, his patron, and several art historians have endeavoured to identify one or more of Rembrandt's portraits of unknown men as Constantijn Huygens.¹⁰⁷ None of these attempts has won general support, nor has there as yet been found amongst Constantijn Huygens's many literary remains (which include many thousands of let-



Rembrandt. Detail of the Elevation of the Cross. (cf. p. 5)

ters and poems) any indication that Rembrandt painted his portrait.¹⁰⁸ The striking likeness between the aristocratic-looking man in *The Elevation of the Cross* and other portraits of Huygens may perhaps justify the question here being raised again.

The three remaining pictures in the passion series must, however, first be briefly discussed. Rembrandt's letter to Huygens of February 1636, previously quoted, indicates that the artist had then completed *The Ascension of Christ*, and the two last, *The Entombment* and *Resurrection of Christ* were "more than half done".¹⁰⁹ *The Ascension* is in addition dated 1636.¹¹⁰

In the same letter Rembrandt asks Huygens to tell him whether the Prince wants *The Ascension* delivered at once or whether he would rather wait to have all three at the same time. Huygens must have replied that Prince Frederick Henry would like to have *The Ascension* at once, for in a subsequent letter from Rembrandt, which

must also have been written in February 1636, the following passage occurs:¹¹¹ “. . . I assure you that I agree that I shall follow anon to see how the picture accords with the rest.” And in a postscript to the letter: “It will show to the best advantage in the gallery of His Excellency since there is a strong light there.”

It is interesting that Rembrandt was tempted to paint *The Ascension of Christ* before *The Entombment* and *Resurrection*. I suspect that when Rembrandt was commissioned to paint another three pictures in the passion series he conceived the idea that *The Ascension* should hang in the middle, flanked by *The Elevation of the Cross* and *The Descent from the Cross* on the left, and *The Entombment* and *The Resurrection of Christ* on the right.¹¹²

This suspicion seems to be strengthened by the composition of the picture which is partly conditioned by the theme itself, Christ's ascension (p. 33).¹¹³ The figure of Christ is placed in the upper half of the picture, standing upon clouds and surrounded by angelic hosts. He moves upwards with raised arms, bathed in heavenly light, which also envelops the two small eager and helpful cherubs, one of whom is positively pushing the clouds beneath Christ's feet upwards. The lower part of the picture is in partial darkness. The wondering apostles form a circular group. The foremost figure, with back turned, is recoiling, with outflung arms, and thus forms a counterbalance to the ascending Christ, the whole emphasized by the youthful form of John. A shaft of heavenly light touches John and falls also on the disciple—apparently Peter—who, with clasped hands, seems to participate in the ascension. Behind him another apostle folds his arms on his breast; the others are more or less indistinguishable. A large tree placed in gloom on the left leads the eye up to the upper regions where cherubs can be glimpsed in the dusk which surrounds the central glory around the Saviour.

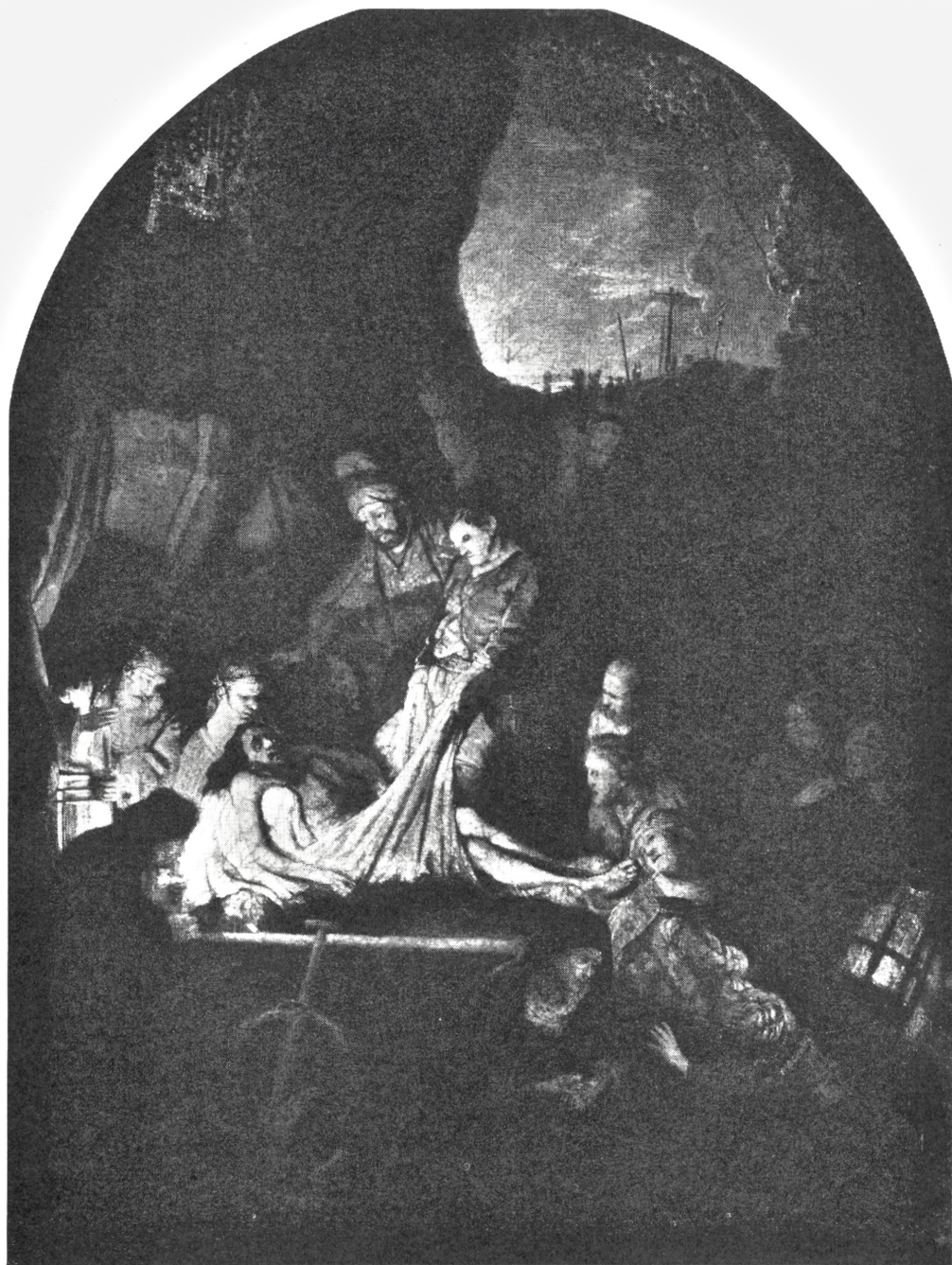
In the years 1636 to 1639 Rembrandt thus completed *The Entombment* and *The Resurrection of Christ* in the same size as the three other pictures and with the same rounded finish to the upper edge.¹¹⁴ On 12th January 1639 he was able to write to Constantijn Huygens¹¹⁵ that the pictures were finished, and shortly afterwards they were delivered to Huygens's house.¹¹⁶ Ernst Brochhagen has recently discussed these works very thoroughly in connexion with the other pictures in the passion series¹¹⁷ and there is therefore no need for further discussion here. I must, however, make a few aesthetic comments.

Contemplation of *The Entombment* reveals that Rembrandt had by now achieved an independent and moving style of his own (p. 34). In the main scene there are still touches reminiscent of Italian versions of the same theme¹¹⁸ but the composition of that group which is left of the centre and which depends for its effect on the light treatment, is wholly Rembrandt; so too is the entire grotto scene with its background affording a glimpse of Golgotha.

The fifth and presumably last completed picture in the series, *The Resurrection of Christ*, is the finest of them all (p. 35).¹¹⁹ It is throughout Rembrandt's own creation. There are no earlier versions of the angel, appearing in a radiance of light and with



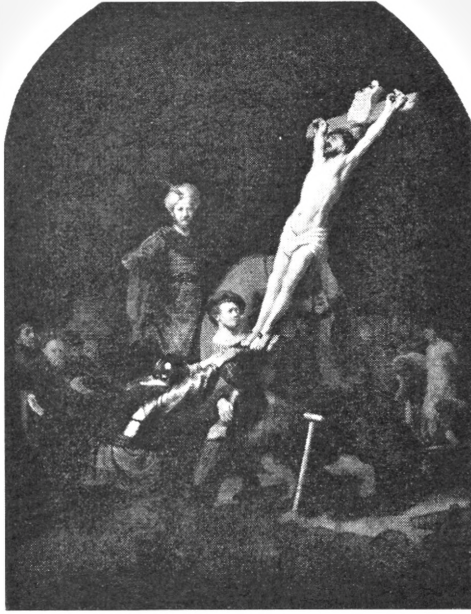
Rembrandt. The Ascension of Christ. 1636. 92.7 × 68.3 cm. – Munich. Alte Pinakothek



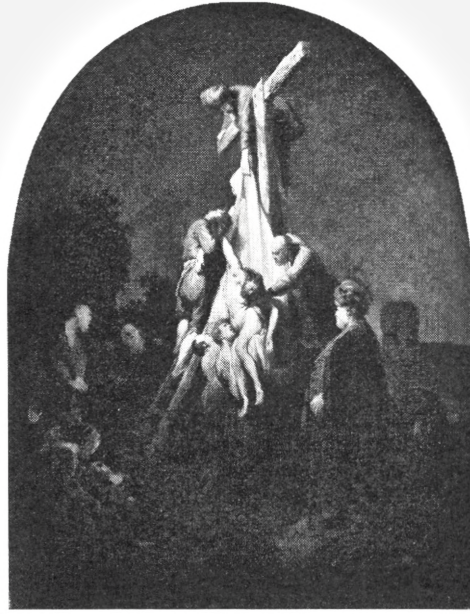
Rembrandt. The Entombment of Christ. 92.5 × 68.9 cm. – Munich. Alte Pinakothek



Rembrandt. The Resurrection of Christ. 1639. Canvas laid down on panel. 91.9×67.0 cm. –
Munich. Alte Pinakothek



The Elevation of the Cross.



The Descent from the Cross.



The Ascension.

majestic power removing the stone from the tomb,¹²⁰ while the Roman soldiers fall back in confusion on the left of the picture. Their shields and armour are glimpsed in the broken illumination. A sword, dropped by one of the soldiers, points right towards two women, who fling out their hands in terror at the sight. Within the tomb, to the far right, lit by the angel's heavenly light, Christ is seen, leaning back, one hand on the edge of the tomb, a scene reminiscent of Rembrandt's early picture of Lazarus, one of his original religious compositions of about 1630.¹²¹ All the illumination is concentrated on the angel, the stone and the figure of Christ, while round these are many shades of darkness.

Rembrandt obviously felt himself that these two pictures, *The Entombment* and *The Resurrection*, were successful for the previously quoted letter of 12th January 1639 from Rembrandt to Huygens contains the following interesting passage¹²²: "Because of the great zeal and devotion which I exercised in executing well the two pictures which His Highness commissioned me to make—the one being where Christ's dead body is being laid in the tomb and the other where Christ arises from the dead to the great consternation of the guards—these same two pictures have now been finished through studious application, so that I am now disposed to deliver the same and so to afford pleasure to His Highness, for in these two pictures *the greatest and most natural movement* (or—most innate emotion) *has been expressed*, which is also the main reason why they have taken so long to execute."

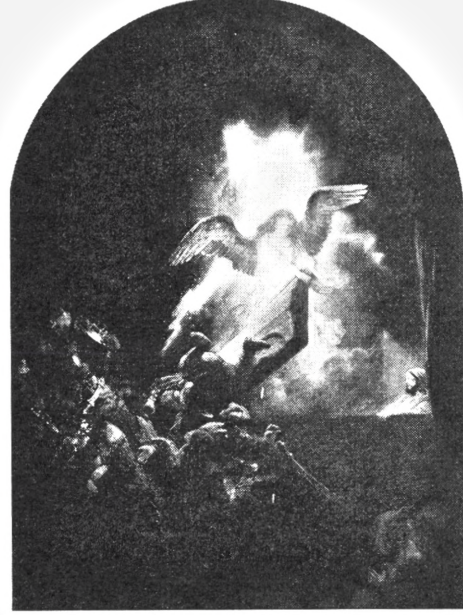
The expression Rembrandt uses—in Dutch: "die meeste ende die naetuerelste beweeghelickeijt"—has been much discussed. Several scholars have interpreted it



Christ.



The Entombment of Christ.



The Resurrection of Christ

as meaning inner, spiritual emotion¹²³ while others take it to mean an outward phenomenon in the baroque sense, which accords with contemporary aesthetic concepts.¹²⁴

I believe that these two pictures demonstrate a profound accord between an inner emotion (experience of feeling) and form. Inner emotions are interpreted through physical movements and the artistic form is the expression of a spiritual experience.

Ernst Brochhagen has commented that Rembrandt's Passion pictures were variously received and not always with sympathy. The series has been strongly criticized for having no unity save in the subject matter.¹²⁵ Kurt Bauch is particularly severe in his judgement and declares that all five pictures must be regarded as "Einzelbilder."¹²⁶ In my opinion this condemnation is largely due to the manner in which they have been hung in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich. The pictures were hung and are still hanging in the following order:¹²⁷ 1. *The Elevation of the Cross*. 2. *The Descent from the Cross*. 3. *The Entombment*. 4. *The Resurrection*. 5. *The Ascension of Christ*.

Hung in this manner, full justice is not done to the series. When the pictures' genesis is remembered, as recounted in the letters between Rembrandt and Huygens and when the series is considered as a unity, it seems likely that the order of hanging in Prince Frederick Henry's palace gallery in The Hague was different from that in Munich. Thus, *The Descent from the Cross* was painted first, possibly on Rembrandt's own initiative as a single picture like *The Christ on the Cross* in Mas d'Agenais. Huygens may have seen this picture in Rembrandt's studio and effected its purchase by the Prince, *The Elevation of the Cross* being subsequently commissioned as a companion

piece. Rembrandt would therefore have composed this picture with the intention that it should hang to the left of *The Descent from the Cross*, and this is no doubt why the diagonal line of the Cross runs from left to right and why the richly-dressed man who resembles his benefactor, Constantijn Huygens, counter-balances the angle of the Cross in this picture and the heavy form of Joseph of Arimathea in *The Descent from the Cross*.

Rembrandt started and subsequently completed *The Ascension of Christ* after he had been commissioned to paint the last three pictures. Two of these were half-painted before he delivered *The Ascension*, probably to allow him to judge proportions and continuity. As already indicated, *The Ascension* must have been the third to be hung, and in January 1639, as they were completed, *The Entombment* and *The Resurrection of Christ* followed as fourth and fifth.

The ascending lines and concentrated illumination in the upper area make *The Ascension* a natural centre point, forming a connecting link between the two earlier completed pictures and the two which were last delivered. The vertical and horizontal lines of *The Entombment* are perfectly balanced; *The Resurrection* has the exquisitely illuminated scene with the angel and Christ in the tomb placed to the right of the picture. The composition of the series is thus rounded off and a unity created, despite the fact that the pictures were painted separately (pp. 36–37).¹²⁸

It would indeed be an interesting experiment to attempt this order of hanging by which the series would, in my view, recapture the original effect they had “in the gallery of His Excellency.”

II.

Constantijn Huygens – The Musician

The Corcoran Gallery in Washington contains a very fine portrait of an unknown man, clearly signed by Rembrandt and dated 1633. The man holds a sheet of music in his hand and the picture is therefore known as *The Musician*. (p. 40).¹ The physiognomy bears such a strong resemblance both to the known Huygens portraits and to the aristocratic-looking man in *The Elevation of the Cross* that I immediately recognised Huygens when I saw the picture in Washington some years ago.

I soon discovered that several scholars had attempted to identify the very intriguing subject of the Rembrandt portrait. As long ago as 1936 André de Hevesy had suggested in an article in *The Burlington Magazine* that it was a portrait of the English musician and painter, Nicholas Lanier (1588–1666).² This article appeared in the October issue, and in the December issue of the same year Julius Held cast doubt on the identification, one of his reasons being that he thought that the hand holding the sheet of music was a later addition and it was not therefore certain that this was actually a portrait of a musician.³ The identification has in any case never been acceptable because, amongst other factors, there is a lack of positive resemblance between Rembrandt's model and other known portraits of Lanier.⁴

In 1938 Dr. Bruno Maerker published, in the periodical *Deutsche Musikkultur*, an article entitled "Rembrandts Bildnis eines Musikers – Ein Schütz-Porträt?"⁵ In this article Bruno Maerker argued that Rembrandt's picture in the Corcoran Gallery in Washington was a portrait of a well-known German baroque musician, Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672), and he compared it with the other known portraits of Heinrich Schütz, although these show him as an older man.⁶ He admits that the likeness between these and Rembrandt's portrait is not striking and there are also certain difficulties in finding any connexion between Schütz and the artist who, as far as is known, never left Holland. However, he overcomes these difficulties by pointing out that Heinrich Schütz, who was Chief Court Musician to the Elector of Saxony in Dresden, in 1633 applied for permission to absent himself from his duties for an extended period in order to answer a summons from the Danish King Christian IV's son and heir, Prince Christian, to come to Denmark in order that his music might add to the festivities at the Prince's wedding in 1634 with Princess Magdalene Sibylle, the Elector's daughter.⁷

Following the Prince's urgent representations to his father-in-law, Heinrich Schütz was granted a year's leave of absence and in September of 1633 he appears to have set out on his journey to Denmark. He is thought to have spent a couple of months in Hamburg since on 24th November 1633 he left this town to go to Haderslev where the Prince-Heir was staying. On 6th December Schütz journeyed on to



Rembrandt. Portrait of "A Musician". 1633. Panel. 65.8 × 47.8 cm. – Washington D.C. The Corcoran Gallery of Art. By courtesy of the Corcoran Gallery

Copenhagen and there, on 10th December, he was appointed Chief Musician to Christian IV. On this occasion he stayed in Denmark until 25th May 1635.

If Heinrich Schütz visited Amsterdam in 1633 then it must have been on his way to Hamburg or he may have made a short expedition there while staying in Hamburg. He is also believed to have spent some time at the court of Duke Johann Albrecht in Mecklenburg-Güstrow.⁸ Bruno Maerker is obliged to admit that there is



D. CONSTANTINVS HVGENS EQVES
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Ant. van dyck pinxit

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Paulus Pontius after Van Dyck. Constantijn Huygens. 1632. Engraving. – Amsterdam. Rijksprentenkabinet

no documentary evidence to show that Heinrich Schütz was ever in Amsterdam or in any other Dutch town. Nevertheless the article ends with the following conclusion: “Beim Überblicken der gesamten Für und Wider hinsichtlich Schützens ergibt sich, dass die entscheidenden Schwierigkeiten doch eben im Physiognomischen liegen, so sehr auch sonst die ausserordentliche Ähnlichkeit im Verein mit den zwanglos zusammenstimmenden Daten und Umständen bestehen mag.”⁹

Not many art historians have commented on Bruno Maerker's identification but it became relevant again when Otto Benesch, the Rembrandt expert, supported the hypo-

thesis in an article, "Schütz und Rembrandt" in the Festschrift for Otto Erich Deutsch in 1963.¹⁰

Bruno Maerker had already tried to establish a link between Schütz and Amsterdam by way of the German musicians who often had some connexion with this town.¹¹ Otto Benesch supported Maerker's identification of Rembrandt's model with Heinrich Schütz (who in 1633 was forty-eight years old) by drawing attention to a drawing of an old man executed by Rembrandt for Burckhardt Grossmann junior's album when the latter visited Amsterdam in the summer of 1634.¹² Burckhardt Grossmann's father (of the same name) was a tax-collector in Saxony and an enthusiastic music-lover. In 1623 he commissioned Heinrich Schütz, together with fifteen other composers, to set to music the 116th. Psalm of David. The sixteen musical compositions were to form an *ex voto*, a thanksgiving to God for Burckhardt Grossmann senior's escape in 1616 from a great peril. Benesch believes that after Rembrandt painted him in 1633, Heinrich Schütz may have given the younger Burckhardt Grossmann an introduction to Rembrandt and have asked him to convey greetings to him when he travelled to Holland the next year.

Granted the connexion between Burckhardt Grossmann junior and Rembrandt, this can hardly be taken as convincing proof that Heinrich Schütz was in Amsterdam in 1633 and there had his portrait painted by Rembrandt.

The Maerker-Benesch identification was accepted in some musical circles, for instance in Denmark, a country with which Heinrich Schütz had a particular bond,¹³ and before finally dismissing it, it may be expedient to consider the three known portraits of Heinrich Schütz and to compare them with Rembrandt's portrait of 1633.

The earliest Schütz portrait is in Leipzig (p. 43) and according to the signature was painted by a not particularly well-known portrait painter, Christoph Spetner (1617–1699).¹⁴ It is not dated, but, having regard to the model's apparent age, put by Benesch at around 65, it must be assumed to have been painted about 1650. It is a half-length portrait, full face, slightly turned to the right. In his right hand Schütz holds a rolled-up music score. He has short grey hair, swept back, a grey moustache and a small grey beard. His brow is wrinkled, his expression melancholy. On his breast he wears a miniature in a jewelled frame. His dress, buttoned down the front and with a square, close-fitting white collar is the ordinary apparel of the professional and middle classes from the end of the 1640s into the fifties and even sixties.¹⁵

Benesch thinks that Spetner's portrait was the model for Christian Romstet's engraving which illustrated Martin Geyer's funeral sermon (p. 44). Its oval frame bears the statement that it was executed in Heinrich Schütz's eighty-seventh year, that is, the year in which he died.¹⁶ Benesch thinks that the obvious signs of age have been added by the engraver. It seems more likely that the engraving was taken from a late portrait from life. It is not a mirror reversal of the painting, and shows a more particular rendering of such details as the hair, the mouth and the skin-folds on the throat than does the schematic, slightly stereotyped Spetner portrait.

Finally, in the State Library in Berlin there is a modest, three-quarter-length



Christoph Spetner. Heinrich Schütz. 68 × 46 cm. – Leipzig. Universitätsbibliothek.
By kind permission of Bärenreiter Verlag, Cassel

portrait on wood which shows Heinrich Schütz standing, full-face, by a pedestal, holding in both hands a paper, probably a musical score, and wearing a voluminous cloak (p. 47). The picture has a superscription: Henricus Sagittarius, the Latin form of Schütz's name, and the date MDCLXX.¹⁷

It would seem to be a fine portrait of the eighty-five-year-old composer with his grey, swept-back hair, the high, furrowed brow, heavy eyelids, slightly protruding underlip and the grey moustache and beard. Age has deeply scored his face and there are heavy pouches under his eyes.

Heinrich Schütz's biographer, Hans Joachim Moser, who, according to himself, long refused to accept Bruno Maerker's identification of Rembrandt's portrait in



Christian Romstet. Heinrich Schütz. Engraving. 1672.
By kind permission of Bärenreiter Verlag, Cassel

Washington as Schütz, comments that one should compare *The Musician* with this little picture in Berlin rather than with Spetner's more schematic portrait if one wishes to find substantiation for Maerker's theory.¹⁸ There are certain similarities in the facial characteristics, but the hair is not like that of Rembrandt's model. As in the other portraits, Schütz has short, swept-back hair. Otto Benesch disregards this, saying that the aged Schütz "mit seinem schütterem ergrauten Haar" no longer had enough hair for the flowing style of the 1630s.¹⁹

There can be no doubt that it was the discovery of the little Berlin portrait of Schütz, published in 1936 by Georg Schönemann in *Deutsche Musikkultur*,²⁰ that inspired Bruno Maerker to postulate that Rembrandt's *Portrait of a Musician* was a portrait of the famous German composer and prompted his article in the same periodical in 1938.

Curiously enough, neither Bruno Maerker nor Otto Benesch made any mention in their arguments of the question of eye-colour. Both Spetner's picture in Leipzig and the small portrait in Berlin, both unquestionably painted from life, depict Schütz with respectively grey-blue and grey-green eyes.²¹ The model for Rembrandt's musician had dark brown eyes.²² It seems to me that this fact weighs heavily against the hypothesis that the picture is a portrait of the 48-year-old Heinrich Schütz. On the other hand, Constantijn Huygens is depicted in all authentic portraits as having brown eyes.²³



Jan Maurits Quinkhard. Constantijn Huygens. Grisaille. 11 × 9.5 cm. – Amsterdam. Rijksmuseum

It is curious to note that Otto Benesch names Constantijn Huygens and his brother Maurits as being amongst the few intellectuals he believes Rembrandt painted in the beginning of the 1630s. This point arises from his opinion that a painting in the Dulwich Gallery, London, long known to be a portrait of the painter Jacques de Gheyn, is a portrait of Constantijn Huygens.²⁴ Otto Benesch knew of A. de Hevesy's suggestion in 1936 that Rembrandt's *Musician* was Nicholas Lanier, and rejected it.²⁵ Neither Bruno Maerker nor Benesch seem aware that as long ago as 1942 the Belgian art historian, Edith Greindl, identified Rembrandt's portrait in the Corcoran Gallery as Constantijn Huygens, basing this solely on the physiognomical resemblance to the other Huygens portraits.²⁶

Edith Greindl based her argument, which I find convincing, on a comparison between the Rembrandt picture and the authentic Huygens portraits by Jan Lievens, 1626–27, (p. 51), and Thomas de Keyser, 1627, (p. 55), also Paulus Pontius's engraving after Van Dyck's painting of 1632 (p. 41). Edith Greindl justifiably finds it natural enough that Constantijn Huygens, who was himself an accomplished musician and composer, should be shown here with a sheet of music in his hand. In a letter written in his old age, Huygens himself states that he composed more than 800 melodies²⁷ and in 1647 he published, in Paris, a collection of hymns set to his own music and entitled *Pathodia*.²⁸

Edith Greindl's short article has unfortunately been somewhat neglected, even by outstanding Rembrandt experts.²⁹ In *The Art Quarterly* of 1955 W. R. Valentiner

wrote an article on a totally different subject, *A Still Life* by Jacques de Gheyn, and in this he suggested, almost *en passant*, that Rembrandt's *Musician* might be a portrait of Constantijn Huygens, believing himself to be the originator of this theory.³⁰ He did not pursue the matter further but merely demonstrated the striking resemblance to Thomas de Keyser's portrait of Constantijn Huygens with his secretary (p. 55), painted six years earlier and now in the National Gallery, London.³¹

Before examining further evidence for the hypothesis already formulated by Edith Greindl and Valentinier that Rembrandt's *Portrait of a Musician* depicts the thirty-seven-year-old Constantijn Huygens, consideration must be given to the suggestion put forward in 1936 by Julius Held that the hand holding the sheet of music is a later addition. In the Letters section of the December issue (1936) of *The Burlington Magazine* Julius Held wrote as follows:

"From a close study of the original I am convinced that the hand with the music scroll was not painted by Rembrandt but must have been added later. Even from a reproduction one can see how awkwardly the structure of the hand and arm is rendered and how unconvincingly, for instance, the little finger is overlapped by the scroll. The colours and surface structure of the original make the point unquestionable. I could not say for certain if the painting was added to below when the hand was painted in, but it is certainly important that in J. Stolker's mezzotint of the painting (reproduced in *Rembrandt Klassiker der Kunst*, Vol. I, p. 525) the canvas is somewhat shorter, while no hand is visible."

It is painful to disagree with so eminent a Rembrandt expert as Julius Held but as Otto Benesch has already pointed out, the rather inferior mezzotint by Jan Stolker (1724–85) shows only a section of the painting.³² Jan Stolker (who himself owned *The Musician*) also made an etching of the same picture in which the hand with the sheet of music is included (p. 49).³³

In his article in *The Burlington Magazine* of 1936, where he suggested that Rembrandt's *Musician* was a portrait of Nicholas Lanier, André Hevesy reproduced a sketch of the man with the sheet of music in Städel'sches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt am Main (p. 48).³⁴

For many years the Frankfurt museum has assumed this sketch to be the work of Jacob Adriaensz Backer (1608–1651) who has often been called Rembrandt's pupil.³⁵ The looser style and the mixed use of red chalk, lead, black chalk, ink and wash would seem to suggest that it was executed much later, possibly in the eighteenth century. This artistically-treated drawing is perhaps Jan Stolker's own copy of Rembrandt's painting. Comparison with Stolker's etching, which closely resembles the drawing, makes it appear possible that this drawing was itself the model for the etching, which is executed with a lighter touch than the mezzotint.³⁶

It is not possible to trace the painting's history further back than to Jan Stolker, after whose death it was auctioned in Rotterdam on 27th March 1786.³⁷ There is no doubt that the hand holding the music score was included in the picture when it was in Jan Stolker's possession. Jan Stolker was a pupil of Jan Maurits Quinkhard who,



Unknown Artist. Heinrich Schütz. 1670. 17.2×12 cm. – Berlin. Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. Musikabteilung.
By kind permission of Bärenreiter Verlag. Cassel

as previously stated, painted the small *grisaille* copy of Pontius's engraving of Van Dyck's Huygens portrait.³⁸ It is interesting to note that in this the mouth, with its prominent underlip, resembles the mouth in Rembrandt's painting rather than that in Pontius's engraving (pp. 41, 45).³⁹

When Rembrandt's portrait in The Corcoran Gallery was cleaned some time prior to 1955, it was revealed that the hand and the scroll of music (p. 50) are in fact painted on top of the black cloak which the model is wearing.⁴⁰ The report on the examination states: ". . . they are chemically identical with the paint of the face and so must be of virtually the same age; if not added by Rembrandt himself, therefore, they must be closely contemporary with the date of execution of the portrait." It is



Jan Stolker(?) after Rembrandt. A Musician. Red chalk, lead, black chalk and wash. 24.3 × 18 cm. – Frankfurt am Main. Städel'sches Kunstinstitut

further revealed that such eminent Rembrandt experts as A. F. E. van Schendel and A. B. de Vries are of the opinion that the hand and music score are both Rembrandt's work;⁴¹ Otto Benesch, who had also made a detailed examination of the picture, was in agreement with this.⁴²

I personally find no reason to doubt Rembrandt's authorship of the very beautifully painted hand and music-sheet in spite of the fact that scientific examination admits the possibility that this part was added rather later. Rembrandt made alterations in many of his pictures and it may well be that the model himself may have wished to have his musical interests commemorated in the portrait.

In his *Constantijn Huygens Iconography* (1957) H. E. van Gelder also discusses the suggestion that Rembrandt's *Musician* may be a portrait of Huygens.⁴³ One of his arguments against this identification is that it would not be in the seventeenth-century tradition for an aristocrat to allow himself to be portrayed as a musician. It is true that Thomas de Keyser's picture of Constantijn Huygens and his secretary includes, amongst other things, musical instruments but van Gelder explains that de Keyser's picture is a *genre*-painting, in which books, musical instruments and paintings are included merely to bear witness to Huygens's general cultural background. As a musician and poet Huygens was merely an amateur and it would not be fitting for so distinguished a civil servant to allow himself to be portrayed as a musician. Van Gelder therefore believes that Rembrandt's portrait must represent a professional.



Jan Stolker after Rembrandt. A Musician. Etching. – Amsterdam. Rijksprentenkabinet

It is perhaps not a particularly strong counter-argument to point out that a portrait once existed of Constantijn Huygens as a young man, playing on a lute.⁴⁴ Considering Huygens's musical gifts (natural talent, by his own account) and his life-long interest in music, (as well as composing, he played the lute, theorbe, cembalo and guitar) an interest which he said himself was even at the age of ninety-one as lively as ever,⁴⁵ the folded sheet of music seems a very discreet and modest indication of his favourite pastime.

Van Gelder further believes that if Huygens had really allowed himself to have been painted as a musician, his family would not have parted with the picture and he thinks that this must have been the case since such a portrait is not listed in the 1785 inventory of the property of his last descendant.⁴⁶ It is however possible that the portrait may at an earlier date have passed to another branch of the family.⁴⁷ In addition, not all the known portraits of Huygens are included in the list of family portraits of 1785. It can be seen from his correspondence that Huygens was generous to his friends and it is therefore also possible that he may have given the picture to one of his many musical acquaintances. I shall later have more to say on this point.

H. E. van Gelder has two more arguments for rejecting Rembrandt's *Musician* as a portrait of Constantijn Huygens.⁴⁸ 1) According to signature and dating Rembrandt painted the picture in 1633; in that year Huygens was fairly constantly campaigning with Prince Frederick Henry: in October his wife, Suzanna van Baerle,



Detail of Rembrandt's portrait of "A Musician"

gave birth to a fourth son: Huygens was not in Amsterdam that year and van Gelder considers it unlikely that he summoned Rembrandt to The Hague. 2) van Gelder doubts that Huygens appreciated Rembrandt as a portrait painter. He bases this doubt on certain epigrams which Huygens wrote on Rembrandt's portrait of Jacques de Gheyn.⁴⁹

In reply to the first objection, Huygens himself relates in his autobiography that in the winter of 1626–27 Jan van Lievens came to The Hague to paint his portrait. This was the well-known painting of Huygens meditating, which Clothilde Misme-Brière has identified as the seated, three-quarter-length portrait in the museum at Douai (p. 51).⁵⁰ It may equally well be that Rembrandt came to The Hague if not actually with the intention of painting Huygens's portrait, then possibly in connexion with the Passion pictures. However this may be, in 1633 *The Descent from the Cross* was finished and ready for delivery or inspection and an agreement may have been made about *The Elevation of the Cross*, if it had not already been made. Rembrandt may now already have formed the intention of portraying his patron as one of the characters in *The Elevation of the Cross*. It would have been natural for him to take the opportunity of executing either a sketch or a painting of Huygens's features.

It is therefore a question of determining at what period in 1633 Huygens was at home in The Hague. The answer may be found partly in Huygens's diary (though not always conscientiously kept)⁵¹ and partly in his voluminous correspondence.



Jan Lievens. Constantijn Huygens. 1626–27. Panel. 99×84 cm. – Musée de Douai
Deposited in Rijksmuseum. Amsterdam

According to his diary Huygens was in The Hague at least in January and February of 1633 for he notes various important family occasions at which he was certainly present, e.g. the wedding of his sister, Constantia, to David de Wilhelm on 16th January. On 25th January his wife's sister, Sara, married to Admiral Philips van Dorp, gave birth to a daughter. Huygens attended the christening on 9th February. On 27th February the French King awarded Huygens the illustrious French Order of



Rembrandt. Maurits Huygens. 1632. Panel. 31 × 24.5 cm. – Hamburg. Kunsthalle

St. Michel. He was notified to this effect on the day but did not receive the Order itself until 21st March.⁵² Apart from a short expedition with his wife from 5th to 7th April he appears to have stayed in The Hague until 27th April, when he went to Utrecht with the Prince. Thence they went on campaign.⁵³

On 16th May Constantijn Huygens's mother, Susanna Hoefnagel, died; on 21st May she was buried but it was not until 24th May that he returned to The Hague. On 1st June he set out again. On 13th July he returned, ill, to The Hague, having spent some days on his estate, Zuylichem.⁵⁴

The diary contains no further entries until 8th August. Two days later, on 10th August, Huygens took his wife on a short trip to various places, including Leyden, Haarlem and Alkmaar.⁵⁵ Two of Constantijn Huygens's much admired musical friends lived in Alkmaar, the beautiful Maria Tesselschade Visscher Roemers⁵⁶ and the no less charming Francisca Duarte.⁵⁷ Huygens had often been enraptured by the fine voices of these ladies, especially when he was himself able to accompany them on the lute or cembalo.⁵⁸ On 19th August the couple returned to The Hague but on the 26th Huygens left again to join the Prince in the field. On 25th September he notes that the Prince has presented him with a horse and on 19th October, still campaigning, he receives news that his wife, on 12th October, has born him his fourth son. The Prince and he do not return to The Hague until 8th November and the christening takes



Rembrandt. Jacques de Gheyn III. 1632. Panel. 29.5×24.5 cm. – London. Dulwich College Gallery
By kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich Picture Gallery

place two days later. The boy received the name of Philipp. Huygens appears to have remained in The Hague for the rest of that year.

The diary thus shows that Huygens spent considerable periods in The Hague during 1633. Apart from the expedition with his wife from 5th to 7th April, he does not seem to have left The Hague before 27th April. From 13th July, when he came home ill, he remained there until 10th August. After his return on 8th November he stayed in The Hague for the rest of the year.

There would therefore have been ample time for Rembrandt to have painted Huygens's portrait if the former was in The Hague during 1633 and, as has been shown, this is not unlikely.⁵⁹ It might well be that the portrait was painted during the period of Huygens's ill-health. The model for *The Musician* looks tired and strained. There is a pucker of the brow, often seen in those who suffer from headaches. The weary eyes may also be noted in Van Dyck's portrait of him, reproduced by Paulus Pontius. The tired expression, emphasized by the noticeable lines under the eyes, may also be due to eye-strain.⁶⁰ Huygens himself relates that he was always forced to use spectacles⁶¹ but these are never shown in any of his known portraits. Obviously, like so many others with poor sight, he was too vain to allow himself to be painted with spectacles. The tired eyes with surrounding furrows and puckered brow may also be seen in the face of the aristocratic-looking man in *The Elevation of the Cross* (p. 31).

In his letters of 1633 Huygens several times refers to the illness he suffered in the summer of that year. Thus he writes from The Hague on 4th August to the Dutch author, P. C. Hooft, that his illness was not serious enough to prevent him from catching up with his correspondence but his sufferings had been such as to turn him against this form of pastime.⁶² He had however composed some verses, one of which he sent with this letter.

As late as 15th December 1633 Huygens mentions his illness in a letter to the French author, J. L. Guez de Balzac.⁶³ He writes that he was ill for nearly two months and had then to return immediately to the field, this being the reason that he is not up to date with his correspondence.

Theoretically, Rembrandt would also have had time to have painted Huygens's portrait between 8th November and the end of the year 1633. There would in addition have been time to have utilised it as a model for the aristocratic-looking man in *The Elevation of the Cross* which I believe was not completed before 1634.

H. E. van Gelder's second objection to the theory that Rembrandt painted Constantijn Huygens's portrait is founded on the belief that Huygens did not appreciate Rembrandt's talents as a portrait painter. H. E. van Gelder refers to some epigrams written by Huygens on Rembrandt's portrait of Jacques de Gheyn of 1632 (p. 53).⁶⁴

In February 1633 Huygens wrote no less than eight epigrams on this portrait of his lifelong friend and with his customary play on words he jibes at both model and artist.⁶⁵

Only one of the epigrams mentions Rembrandt's name. It is consequently this one which is always quoted as evidence of Huygens's negative attitude towards Rembrandt as a portrait painter:⁶⁶

Rembrandtis est manus ista, Gheinij vultus
Mirare, lector, et iste Gheinius non est.

Translated:

The hand is Rembrandt's, the face is de Gheyn's,
Look well, reader, it is not de Gheyn.

H. E. van Gelder is one of many who have interpreted this to mean that although it purports to be de Gheyn, the picture does not resemble him, i.e. Rembrandt was not able to produce a recognizable portrait of his model.

It is probably correct, as Seymour Slive has pointed out,⁶⁷ that Huygens's epigram is not to be taken literally but to be considered a rhetorical compliment to the model rather than a veiled criticism of the artist. Huygens himself was obviously not very pleased with this verse for he crossed it out and it is not included in his *Momenta Desultoria* (1644) where the other epigrams on de Gheyn's portrait are published under the heading of *Jesting Verses*.⁶⁸

In a later article in which H. E. van Gelder discusses various criticisms of Constantijn Huygens as an art expert, he has modified his opinion of Huygens's epigrams on de Gheyn's portrait somewhat though he considers it possible that the portrait



Thomas de Keyser. Constantijn Huygens with His Secretary. 1627. Panel. 92×68 cm. – London. National Gallery. By courtesy of the National Gallery

was not a good likeness in the style preferred by Huygens and his contemporaries.⁶⁹ Van Gelder now seeks to explain the non-existence of a Rembrandt portrait of Huygens by pointing out that Huygens had already been painted many times by various other artists, including Jan van Lievens, Thomas de Keyser and Jacob van Campen;⁷⁰ the portrait by the last-named was actually painted about 1633. He had therefore at that

time no need of further portraits. This explanation is not very convincing since during the rest of his life Huygens had himself painted many times, not only by professional portrait painters but also by his own children, a fact which is elucidated in H. E. van Gelder's excellent *Iconography*.⁷¹

Van Gelder also considers another factor, namely that he believes Huygens in 1633 to be already planning to be painted by Van Dyck's pupil, Adriaen Hanneman (1601–71) and he thinks that this indicates that Huygens had developed a more modern taste.⁷⁴ Hanneman's portrait of Huygens, surrounded by medallion-portraits of his five children (p. 57), was not painted until 1639,⁷³ two years after the death of his wife.

Huygens may have chosen Hanneman to paint his family portraits because he seems to have excelled particularly in this type of painting.⁷⁴ It must be admitted that the portraits of the children are outstanding and have an elegance which is reminiscent of Van Dyck's child-portraits. Huygens composed some lines on this portrait on 3rd January 1641 but did not mention the artist's name.⁷⁵

There can be no doubt that Huygens greatly admired Van Dyck and he was probably flattered at being painted by the famous Flemish artist and at being included in the proposed *Iconography* of eminent men. It is true that it was many years before this was published⁷⁶ but Huygens must have been aware of the intention for on 11th March 1632, i.e. only six weeks after Huygens had sat for Van Dyck—he composed an epigram entitled: "In Libros Iconum virorum Anton: Dyckij."⁷⁷ On the same day he wrote the following epigram on his own portrait in the *Iconography*:⁷⁸

In Meam Ibidem Effigiem.

Hugenium illustres inter mirare? necesse
His umbris lucem quae daret umbra fuit.

The great Flemming's art was also highly esteemed by Prince Frederick Henry and his consort, Amalia von Solms, who were both painted by Van Dyck during an earlier stay he had made in Holland, probably in the winter of 1628–29.⁷⁹ In the following years the Prince was eager to acquire more paintings by Van Dyck for his collection, both portraits and pictures of mythological and religious subjects.⁸⁰ On the occasion of receiving Van Dyck's portraits of the English King Charles I and his consort, Henrietta Maria, Huygens, in his capacity as the Prince's secretary, wrote on 26th June 1638 to Amalia von Solms a letter expressing his admiration for the pictures in the following terms:⁸¹ "... très beaux, et un aussi noble travail de la main de van Dyck, que, peut estre on ayt encor vue. Les Robbes Royales y sont de grand volume; . . ."

The fact that Huygens appreciated Van Dyck's work does not necessarily mean that he did not continue to have a high regard for Rembrandt whose genius he had been the first to recognize and who, after *Dr. Tulp's Anatomy Lesson* in 1632, was regarded as one of Amsterdam's leading portrait painters. It must not be forgotten that



Adriaen Hanneman. Constantijn Huygens Surrounded by Portraits of His Children. (1639). 206 × 174.5 cm.
The Hague. Mauritshuis

Rembrandt painted both his brother Maurits and his brother-in-law Admiral Philips van Dorp.⁸²

Compared with the splendid but moderately-sized portraits of Maurits Huygens (p. 52) and Jacques de Gheyn (p. 53) painted in 1632, both of which are in a simpler, more bourgeois style, the Corcoran Gallery's painting of *The Musician* has a glamour



A. Blooteling after Caspar Netscher. Constantijn Huygens. Engraving. – Amsterdam. Rijksprentenkabinet

and a greater refinement of touch in its aristocratic features. Whoever the model may have been, there can be no doubt that he was a notable personality, a man who, despite the simple black costume and large white pleated collar, (the attire, as contemporary Rembrandt portraits show, of solid, middle-class citizens⁸³ bears the unmistakable mark of a man of the world.

Perhaps it is the air with which he wears his big hat, the wide brim framing his face in a most flattering manner, or perhaps that elegant variation of the classic gesture of hand on breast⁸⁴ that sets this picture in a different class from most of the male portraits Rembrandt painted in the 1630s. Above all it is the treatment of the almost frontally viewed face with its noble features, the tired eyes with heavy lids and the finely trimmed beard which awakens thoughts of Van Dyck and especially of his portrait of Huygens as we see it in Paulus Pontius's engraving.

It is not surprising that Van Dyck's work in Holland in 1632 should have made a deep impression on the youthful Rembrandt, newly arrived in Amsterdam, no doubt partly with the object of seeking fresh commissions. Although Van Dyck's *Icones* was not published until 1645, prints of the first completed portraits had no doubt been circulating in Holland long before that time.⁸⁵ Paulus Pontius's engraving of Huygens may thus already have been known to him when, on 11th March 1632, he wrote his epigram on Van Dyck's portrait of him for the Iconography. A number of subjects painted by Van Dyck in Holland in 1632, such as the artists G. Honthorst and C. Poelenburg,



Caspar Netscher. Constantijn Huygens. 1672. Panel. 27×23 cm. – Amsterdam. Rijksmuseum

are portrayed making a similar gesture, hand on breast,⁸⁶ as in Rembrandt's *Musician*, and the same applies to Van Dyck's portrait of the artist Martin Pepijn in Antwerp,⁸⁷ whose engraving is also included in *Icones*.⁸⁸

Rembrandt probably knew Paulus Pontius's engraving after Van Dyck's portrait of Constantijn Huygens and may also have known the original portrait.⁸⁹ He may have seen some of the others, perhaps at the house of Hendrick van Uyenburgh who, as an art dealer, might have been interested in acquiring such novelties as the early prints for the *Iconography*. J. G. van Gelder confirms that portraits by Van Dyck were already to be found in Holland before 1632.⁹⁰

On close examination Van Dyck's influence may be detected in one or two of Rembrandt's self-portraits dating from the period 1632–34 which are particularly distinguished (as compared with others) for their elegant pose.⁹¹

The more the two portraits are compared, i.e. Pontius's engraving after Van Dyck's painting of Constantijn Huygens (p. 41) and The Corcoran Gallery's *Musician* (p. 40), the more convincing does the theory become that they represent the same man. The likeness can be traced, feature for feature, in the shape of the eyes, the forehead, wrinkles immediately above the bridge of the nose, shape of the nose itself, the style of beard, shape of the mouth and here especially is a characteristic touch: in the painting the upper lip has a very special contour, slanting a little downwards from left to right (as seen by the viewer). The same characteristic is found in the engraving

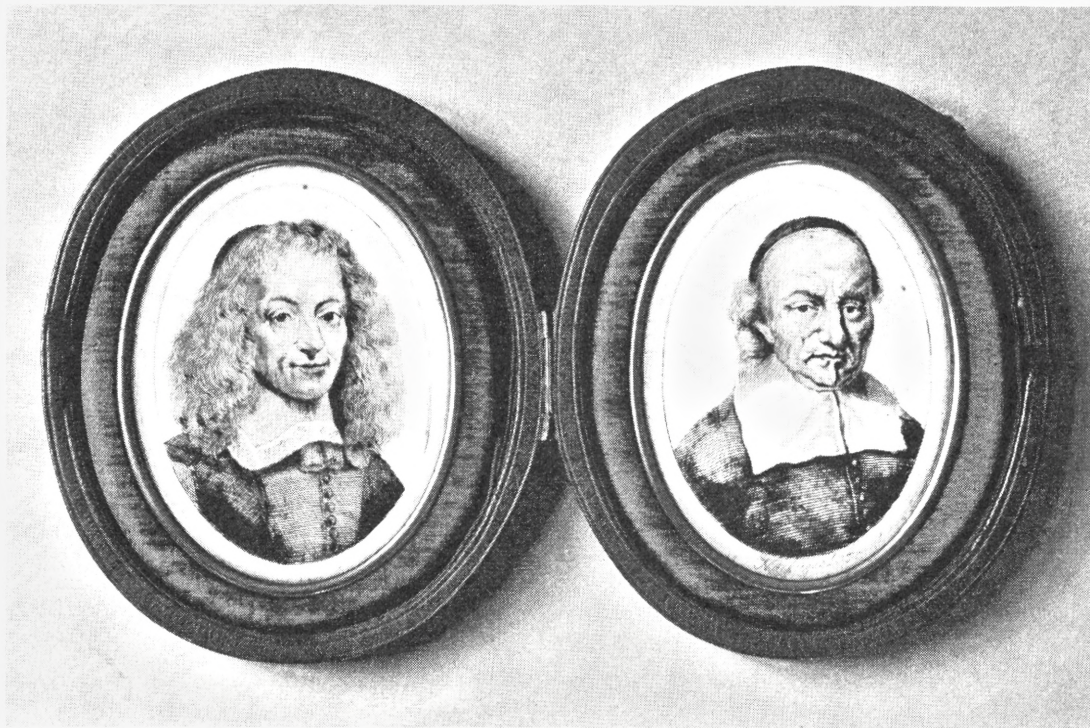
but reversed, running down from right to left, so the original, made face to face with the model, must have corresponded exactly to the shape of the upper lip in *The Musician*.

Nor, in my opinion, is there any difficulty in recognizing the same model, some six or seven years younger, in Jan Lievens's well-known picture of the meditative Huygens in the museum in Douai or in Thomas de Keyser's more *genre*-style representation of Constantijn Huygens with his secretary in 1627 (p. 55), although the picture is smaller and Huygens, who is here painted full-length, is not pictured in such detail as in Lievens's and Van Dyck's portraits.⁹² The resemblance is nevertheless striking especially the large, brown, heavy-lidded eyes, a common feature in all Huygens portraits. They are also noticeable in the oval portrait of Huygens in the family picture by Adriaen Hanneman in The Hague, painted, as previously stated, at latest in 1639. Here the face is thinner but the characteristic features are easily detected, although Hanneman, in his eagerness to outdo Van Dyck, approaches the mannered in his rendering. An artistically undistinguished portrait of Constantijn Huygens painted by M. Mierevelt and dated 1641, the year of the artist's death, serves as a counterbalance.⁹³ Again, the prominent eyes and the slightly protruding underlip can be seen but this portrait also bears evidence that at that time Huygens was not quite as thin as Hanneman had painted him a couple of years earlier.

There is no need of further discussion of the later portraits of Constantijn Huygens into his old age. Only one need be mentioned, partly because it is one of the most distinguished of his later years, partly because it shows so clearly Huygens's characteristic facial features, now rather older. The portrait, by Caspar Netscher (1639–84), was painted in 1672 and is now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (p. 59).⁹⁴ Here we can see Huygens's characteristic eyes and the area surrounding them, also the prominent underlip with the little cleft in the middle, a family trait inherited from both his father and his mother⁹⁵ and also found in Rembrandt's portrait of Huygens's brother Maurits; it is even seen again in Huygens's children.⁹⁶

Netscher's portrait of Huygens was printed by A. Blooteling (p. 58).⁹⁷ Comparison of painting and print may give rise to criticism of the fidelity of printed reproductions. There can be no doubt that A. Blooteling's engraving is a reproduction of Netscher's portrait of Huygens but there are certain small differences that awaken doubts as to the engraver's accuracy. This applies particularly to the opening of the eyes and the shape of the mouth which in the engraver's version has a more sweeping contour whereby the very characteristic Huygens trait, so finely rendered by Netscher, is lost.

A miniature by Clemens Nachtegaal (about 1675), obviously taken from the engraving and not from Netscher's original (p. 61), shows an even more mannered rendering of the mouth than in Blooteling's engraving. This miniature forms a medallion pendant to a portrait of the Dutch poet, Joost van den Vondel.⁹⁸ The reproductions thus depart more and more from the original and lose their value as a means of identification.



Clemens Nachtegaal. To the left Constantijn Huygens after A. Blooteling's engraving. To the right Joost van Vondel. About 1675. Engraved on ivory. – Amsterdam. Rijksmuseum

On the other hand, Caspar Netscher's painting of Huygens which is both signed and dated agrees perfectly with the other attested portraits of Huygens in his earlier years by Jan Lievens, Thomas de Keyser, Van Dyck (though only from Pontius's reproduction). Rembrandt's so-called *Musician* of 1633 seems to fall naturally into place in this series.

If the above argument is accepted as evidence to identify Rembrandt's painting of 1633 as being of Constantijn Huygens, then this is a portrait of the 37-year-old statesman, poet, musician and composer. It may be thought by some that he appears older than his years but, as has been pointed out, the answer to this may be found in the strenuous life he led and the illness he suffered in 1633.

III.

Constantijn Huygens Exchanges Portraits with Musical Friends – Some Examples

Edith Greindl has already observed that Rembrandt's *Portrait of a Musician* cannot be identified with any of the Constantijn Huygens portraits listed in 1785.¹ If Huygens himself owned this picture it must therefore at some earlier date have passed out of his or his family's possession. It would be natural to suppose that Huygens may have presented it to one of his many musical friends. There is no evidence to show that this was the case with the Rembrandt portrait but on several occasions Huygens most certainly did exchange portraits with his friends.

Constantijn Huygens had a friend of many years standing, the learned, musical and artistic Anna Maria van Schurman, and on 8th September 1669 he wrote to her in Latin that he was sending her a poem and a number of portraits, amongst them one by Caspar Netscher and a copy of this by his eldest son, Constantijn junior.² Anna Maria van Schurman answered from Utrecht on 13th September, also in Latin (in which she was proficient) that she was only keeping the poem and that she was returning the rest, i.e. all the portraits.³

It is therefore incorrect to assume, as does H. E. van Gelder, that Anna Maria van Schurman kept Huygens's portrait. There can be no doubt that it was the poem which she kept and the portraits which she returned.⁴ The decisive point, however, is Huygens's own intentions. Since the painting (already discussed) by Caspar Netscher in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, is signed and dated 1672 it cannot be this which Huygens sent to Anna Maria van Schurman in 1669. It may possibly have been, as H. E. van Gelder suggests, the preliminary sketch for this portrait; such a sketch still exists and for various reasons it is considered to have been painted at the latest in 1669.⁵

When Anna Maria van Schurman wrote to Huygens she had, as she herself said, abandoned all artistic pursuits in order to devote herself to religion. Speculation had been widespread when this lady, famed alike for her learning and her artistic talents, had allied herself with the French-born religious sectarian Jean de Labadie. It was at this point that she and a number of sympathizers had decided to follow de Labadie into exile and this may have been why Huygens wished to give her his portrait as a memento.⁶

In her youth, when she had belonged to "de Muiderkring", the artistic-musical circle around P. C. Hooft, Anna Maria van Schurman had painted a self-portrait now known only from a print published in 1633. She was then 25 years of age (p. 63).⁷ She portrayed herself full-face, slightly turned to the left, hair fringed and curling to



Anna Maria van Schurman. Self-Portrait. Engraving. 1633. – Amsterdam. Rijksprentenkabinet

her shoulders, wearing a lace collar becomingly close to her throat. The picture appears originally to have been a half-length portrait but in the print a cartouche hides the lower part of the body and the arms so that only the head and shoulders are visible, not the hands.

This print is apparently of the portrait “with no hands” which Anna Maria van Schurman seems to have given Huygens in 1634 and which was the subject of several satirical verses by both Huygens and their mutual friend, the poet Caspar Baerle (Barlaeus) during 1634 and 1635.⁸ One of Baerle’s verses, dated 25th December 1634, is headed: “In Virginem Ultrajectinam, Sine Manibus Pictam, Ad Constantinum Hugenium.”⁹ In December of the same year Huygens wrote no less than eight poems in Latin, Dutch, French and Italian to Anna Maria on the “handless portrait”, full of word-play and skilful rhymes.¹⁰

The extant letters and poems which they exchanged give no indication as to whether Huygens had already given her a portrait of himself. The exchange of poems,

letters and other gifts continued through the years, broken only on her side in the period immediately following his wife's death, a tactful touch which Huygens did not appreciate. Through the good offices of a mutual friend, the learned G. Voetius in Utrecht, relations were resumed and on 8th March 1641 Voetius sent Huygens a new portrait of Anna Maria van Schurman:¹¹ "Schurmannae nostrae eicon, quem ipsa pinxit et sculpsit, si forte nondum videris, hic exhibeo . . ."

This portrait is apparently identical with an engraving which bears on its oval frame an inscription stating that it is of Anna Maria van Schurman in 1640 at the age of thirty-three.¹²

Amongst Constantijn Huygens's poems to Anna Maria van Schurman is one addressed to her portrait, dated 8th January 1649.¹³ It is not clear whether the subject is the self-portrait he received in 1641 or another portrait, e.g. Jan Lievens's painting of her, now in the National Gallery, London.¹⁴

There can however be no doubt which of Anna Maria van Schurman's portraits is the subject of the following Latin verse by Huygens, dated 12th April 1661:¹⁵

In Effigiem Annae Mariae a Schurman.

Tanta fides coelo, tanta est fiducia? Diuae
 Hoccine Schurmannae vultus in aere micet?
 Disce grauis, Sculptor, quae sit vesania coepti:
 Haec, ais, haec saeculi Sideris, umbra tui est?
 Tun' similem praestes, aetas cui nulla secundam
 Edidit, et non est ulla datura parem?

No doubt can exist since the verse is printed on an engraving by C. van Dalen after a portrait of Anna Maria van Schurman painted by Cornelis Jonson van Ceulen (1593–1661) (p. 65). In the print the verse is signed "Constanter", the faithful or constant, a play upon the name Constantijn which Huygens often used as a signature on letters and poems to friends. A copy of the print may be seen in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Anna Maria's birthplace.¹⁶

The letters too give many instances of their common interest in both art and music. On 8th July 1647 Huygens sent her his *Pathodia*, which had just been published in Paris and in the same letter he says that he would have sent her a painting by Hendrik Goudt in which she had expressed an interest but as he understands that she will soon be coming to The Hague, she can see it at his house, together with other things.¹⁷

Another musical friend with whom Constantijn Huygens is known to have exchanged portraits was the beautiful Béatrix de Cusance, one of the ladies-in-waiting who accompanied Marie de Medici to Brussels where she held court after quarrelling with her son, King Louis XIII of France.¹⁸ Béatrix de Cusance's enchanting face and elegant figure are known to us from van Dyck's fine full-length portrait of her at Windsor, presumably painted during the artist's stay in the Netherlands from August



C. van Dahlen after Cornelis Jonson van Ceulen. Anna Maria van Schurman. Engraving – Amsterdam. Rijksprentenkabinet

1631 to March 1632.¹⁹ She must at that time have been very young. In 1635 she married Eugène Leopold d’Oiselet, Count and Prince of Cantecroix, whereafter she was often called the Princess of Cantecroix. After her husband’s death in 1637 she married Charles IV (1604–75), Duke of Lorraine but as he already had a wife the marriage was annulled in 1654. When his wife died in 1657 he hesitated to contract a legal marriage with Béatrix de Cusance and they were not in fact married until she lay on her deathbed in 1663.

This charming *femme fatale* who during the 1650s was living in Brussels, first met Constantijn Huygens in July 1648 at the house of mutual friends in Antwerp, the equally musical family Duarte.²⁰ From that time until her death they maintained a lively correspondence. Huygens always addressed her as Duchess of Lorraine. She signed herself Béatrix de Cusance.

In his first letter to the Duchess dated 5th August 1652 after he had returned home from a journey, Huygens describes himself, rather coyly, as “un peu poète, un peu parfumeur, et un peu musicien.”²¹

In the ensuing letters there is much talk of the exchange of gifts, from music to paintings. When it appears that the Duchess has in her boudoir portraits of two of Huygens’s ancestors, believed to be by Quentin Massys, she arranges to have copies made by N. de Vos and presents these to Huygens.²²

Huygens reciprocates by sending the Duchess a cameo carving of Adam and Eve, with a poem, dated 11th January 1653, in which he points out that as the first human beings were their common ancestors, then they must be related.²³ In a number of letters the abilities of various well-known singers and musicians are debated. There is often mention of “la famille musicale”, i.e. the Duarte family in Antwerp whom they both visit from time to time.

At some point the Duchess has obviously asked for a portrait of Huygens, for on 21st August 1655 he writes to her that until now he has not complied with her request as he has been travelling and later was unable to obtain the services of his usual copyist. He hopes that the composition meets with her approval and adds that he would like to have a portrait of her.²⁴

Although he usually wrote to the Duchess in French, this letter is in Dutch and the relevant passage is here quoted in the original: “Ik heb niet eerder aan uw bevel kunnen voldoen, omdat ik op reis was en later mijn gewonen kopiist miste. Ik hoop, dat gij de composities goed zult vinden. Gaarne zou ik een portret van u. willen hebben.”

So Huygens sent a portrait of himself. But which? Reference to H. E. van Gelder’s *Iconography* shows nothing that can be positively identified as a portrait of the then fifty-nine-year-old Constantijn Huygens. It may have been a copy of an older picture but how can there be any “composition” in the usual head-and-shoulders portraits? It might possibly apply to Rembrandt’s *The Musician*, who holds a sheet of music in his hand, but even if this, as suggested, really does depict Huygens it is hardly likely that he would have sent the Duchess a portrait more than twenty years old. It must be admitted, however, that it would have been a very appropriate gift for a music-loving lady who in her letters had often expressed her longing to hear him play and who frequently asked him to send her his compositions.²⁵

There is another and likelier possibility. The list of Constantijn Huygens portraits in the 1785 inventory mentioned above includes a picture described as follows: “borstbeeld in’t graauw in een krans van bloemen op koper.” As early a scholar as E. W. Moes believed that this picture, with its combination of portrait and floral wreath must have been painted by Daniel Seghers (1590–1661) who specialized in floral frames and by Joannes Cossiers (1600–1671) who painted the actual portrait.²⁶ The picture has never been traced but it may have been this Huygens portrait, painted by Cossiers, that is referred to in a poem by Simon Ingen, published in his *Eenighe Gedichten*, Amsterdam 1658.²⁷ H. E. van Gelder believes that the picture was painted by J. Cossiers and Daniel Seghers about 1645–46, in which year Constantijn Huygens addressed several poems to Daniel Seghers.²⁸

In 1652 Huygens also wrote some verses on occasion when Amalia van Solms presented Daniel Seghers with a gold cane with a death’s head at one end.²⁹ Prince Frederick Henry is also known to have owned two Daniel Seghers paintings which he valued highly.³⁰ One, signed and dated 1645, is of a floral wreath which frames a statue of the Virgin Mary, painted by Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert. This is now in the Mauritshuis in The Hague.³¹ Here too is a painting by Seghers of a floral wreath

which frames a painted bust of Wilhelm III of Orange, once belonging to Huygens.³² This painting, which is signed by Daniel Seghers but not dated, had at one time a label on the back which read: *donum auctoris*. An interesting feature is that the Prince's portrait must have been added at a later date since he was only 11 years old at the time of Seghers's death in 1661.³³ It is natural to suppose that the floral wreath must earlier have framed another portrait, perhaps of Huygens himself.

Both Joannes Cossiers and Daniel Seghers lived in Antwerp. If the previously mentioned *grisaille* portrait of Huygens with the floral frame by Daniel Seghers was painted in 1652, when Huygens was in Antwerp, then it is quite possible that the Duchess may have seen it and wished to own it. However that may be, Huygens's portrait in a frame of flowers would seem an eminently suitable gift for a lady. Huygens's remarks make it clear that the present was to be a copy and it is therefore natural to suppose that the original should remain in the family's possession. A work of this nature makes the expression "de composities" understandable. It should be noted that both Joannes Cossiers and Seghers belonged to the circle of Matthijs Musson, the Antwerp art dealer whose clients included the Prince of Orange, the Duchess of Lorraine and Huygens himself. Musson's papers have been published and they include a pass for Daniel Seghers, dated 7th May 1648 and signed by Huygens, acting for Prince William II of Orange. The pass is valid for a journey from Antwerp to Hertogenbosch and return and a six months' stay in Holland.³⁴

On 22nd January 1656 the Duchess writes from Antwerp where she is staying at "the finest house in the town . . . that is Duarte's" that she would long ago have sent Huygens her portrait but that the artist had fallen ill.³⁵

Huygens had not had the Duchess's letter when he wrote to his friend Diego Duarte on 24th January complaining that he had not yet received the promised portrait of the Duchess:³⁶ "Waarom laat zij mig zes maanden op haar portret wachten? Het is om woedend te worden, zelfs voor eene 'ame musicale.'"

Even in the course of a protracted visit to Brussels in the same year, from 8th April to 22nd June, during which Huygens had ample opportunity to play on the lute, the cembalo and the viol de gamba with the Duchess and her daughter, he did not succeed in obtaining from her the portrait he longed for.³⁷ In a long poem dated 19th May 1656, "Songe. A Mad. La Duchesse de Lorraine Tardant De Me Donner Son Portrait", he describes how he sees the portrait in his dreams.³⁸

Next year, 1657, Huygens spent the period from 25th January to 26th February in Brussels.³⁹ During this time he obviously made some arrangement about a copy of an existing portrait of the Duchess, for he refers to it in a letter which he wrote to her on 12th March 1657 after his homecoming:⁴⁰

"Je rens tres-humbles graces a V. A., de l'adresse qu'il luy a plû me donner au Juste. Il a promis d'executer ses ordres dans trois sepmaines, qui me dureront comme autant de moiz. Ma patience toutefois s'y disposera, si V. A. permet que la copie que je doibs avoir soit retorquée sur le naturel, pour une seule demie heure, qui est la grace que le Juste m'a faict esperer, et que je demande aveq submission . . ."

J. A. Worp has not been able to identify “Juste” but believes, no doubt correctly, that he must have been a painter. As the artist had agreed to retouch his copy “sur le naturel”, i.e. from life (the Duchess), it may be assumed that the picture was to be a repetition of a portrait by the same painter. The best known contemporary portrait painter with the first name of Juste is Justus van Egmont who was born in Leyden in 1601 and died in Antwerp in 1674.⁴¹ Justus van Egmont was a portrait painter of international repute, who studied in Antwerp and Italy and settled in Paris after some years spent in Rubens’s studio in Antwerp. In Paris he was much employed in influential circles and participated in the foundation of the French art academy in 1648.

In 1649 he returned to the Netherlands and settled in Brussels. In 1653 he moved to Antwerp and there lived on a grand scale until his death. His house contained a considerable collection of paintings including works by Rubens, Van Dyck and Holbein. It is interesting to note that on his return home from Brussels in 1657, Huygens was in Antwerp from 27th February to 3rd March.⁴² He might at that time have come to some arrangement with van Egmont about the Duchess’s portrait.

Correspondence between the Duchess and Huygens reveals that she and Amalia von Solms had agreed to exchange portraits in 1652, the Duchess having recently visited Holland.⁴³ On 9th December Huygens writes to the Duchess that Gerard Honthorst (1590–1656) in Utrecht is executing for her a copy of Amalia von Solms’s portrait. Before she receives it however, it will be retouched from life in The Hague.⁴⁴ “Honthorst travaille à Utrecht au pourtraict que V. A. doibt av(oir) qui sera semblable à celui qu’on dit que V. A. a veu dans la mesme ville, mais premier que passer à Anvers il sera retouché icy sur le naturel, et je ne reposeray point, que je ne rends V. A. satisfaicte de ce costé là . . .”

For her part, the Duchess had already informed Huygens that she was arranging for Gerard Honthorst to paint her portrait as a present for Amalia von Solms.⁴⁵ On 10th November 1652 she writes to Huygens: “Zeg aan de Prinses, dat ik mijn portret zal laten maken door Honthorst; de schilders hier hebben weinig naam. Slaat zij er echter op, het portret spoedig te hebben, dan zal ik het hier laten maken.”

Honthorst was obviously unable to paint her portrait at that time. It seems at all events clear that the portrait she sent to Huygens to be handed over to Amalia von Solms and to which he refers in a letter to the Duchess on 2nd December 1652, was not by Honthorst:⁴⁶ “Uw geschenk heb ik aan de Prinses van Oranje overhandigd, die mij heeft opgedragen z zeer te bedanken. Maar de Prinses vindt, dat de schilder u onrecht heeft gedaan; zij zal u een portret van haar, door Honthorst gemaakt, zenden.”

The Duchess may still have wished to be painted by Honthorst and she may have been referring to him in a letter of 22nd January 1656 in which she says that she would have sent Huygens her portrait “had not the painter fallen ill.”⁴⁷ In the event, Gerard Honthorst died on 5th May 1656 and there was an end to any hope of a portrait from his hand.



Jan Lievens. Descartes. Black chalk. 24.2×20.5 cm. – Groningen. Museum voor Stad en Lande

In the summer of 1657 the Duchess's portrait must eventually have reached The Hague for on 30th August 1657 Huygens writes to her primly from his estate, Zuylichem, that he is returning to The Hague in a few days and that he hopes there to have the opportunity of comparing the painting with the original before she, as rumour has it, leaves for Spain:⁴⁸

“J’attendray là dessus, Madame, les ordres que vous daignerez m’envoyer à la Haye, vers où je m’en retourne dans peu de jours, et où je souhaitteray bien encore d’avoir l’honneur de comferer ceste bonne copie d’Anvers avecce ce bel original de Bourgogne, premier qu’on nous l’ameine en Espagne, selon le bruict qui en court.”

Finally, on 15th September 1657 Huygens wrote some lines on the Duchess's portrait without, unfortunately, naming the artist:⁴⁹

Sur le Portraict de la Duchesse de Lorraine.
 Ce Soleil que l'on voit briller de toutes parts,
 De toutes parts se trouue en brouillarts et nuages:
 Quel sera son esclat, quand sorti des orages
 Il aura dissipé nuages et brouillarts!

Hofwyck, 15. Sept.

It is not certain whether the portrait which the Duchess gave to the Princess of Orange in 1652 was painted by Justus van Egmont nor whether it was a copy of this which Huygens finally received in 1657. This, however, might well have been the case as the Duchess spent some time in Brussels as well as staying with the Duarte family in Antwerp, and Justus van Egmont lived in Brussels from 1649 to 1653, and thereafter in Antwerp.

It is plain from Constantijn Huygens's letters and poems that he owned many portraits both of himself and of his contemporaries, but it has not always been possible to relate them to the works of known artists, nor can it always be ascertained how they came to be in his possession. A further complication arises from the fact that Huygens wrote verses and epigrams to portraits which he did not own but had merely seen.

This is the case with the previously mentioned Rembrandt portrait of the artist Jacques de Gheyn and David Beck's portrait of Queen Christina of Sweden. Huygens dedicated some verses to the latter picture in 1653 when he saw it in the studio of its painter who was in Holland at the Queen's bidding.⁵⁰ At a later date he attempted, through the services of a middleman, to obtain a portrait of the Queen when she stayed in Brussels in 1655;⁵¹ it is uncertain whether he succeeded although he met and talked with her on 20th July 1655.⁵² In a subsequent letter to Christina on 19th August 1655 Huygens thanks her for her graciousness and sends her the second edition of his *Momenta Desultoria* which had just been published in 1655 and which contained his own portrait engraved by J. Suyderhoff.⁵³

Amongst the many correspondents with whom throughout his long life Constantijn Huygens exchanged compositions and commentaries on both the theory and practice of music are several with whom he may have exchanged portraits also.⁵⁴ Amongst these are Nicholas Lanier, the English Court musician and painter thought by André de Hevesy to be the original of Rembrandt's *The Musician*,⁵⁵ and Henri de Beringhen,⁵⁶ himself first and foremost a music-lover but whose son became a notable collector of, amongst other things, Rembrandt's etchings.⁵⁷ In a letter from The Hague dated 6th February 1670, Huygens writes to Henri de Beringhen:⁵⁸ "Pourez vous bien vous imaginer, Monsieur, qu'a l'aage ou vous me sçavez, je me trouve encore dans la musique pardessus les oreilles?" He then asks de Beringhen to obtain for him various musical scores, amongst others some for the theorbe, one of Huygens's favourite instruments.

In the years 1635–47 Constantijn Huygens carried on a voluminous correspondence covering both musical theory and natural science with the French philosopher



Jan Lievens. Constantijn Huygens. 1639. Black chalk. 23.8×17.4 cm. – London. British Museum.
Department of Prints and Drawings

René Descartes (1596–1650)⁵⁹ who lived for many years in Holland and whose musical interests are well known.⁶⁰

A letter from Descartes to Huygens from Leyden on 11th June 1636 contains an interesting passage which may indicate that Descartes himself was a dilettante in portraiture. Descartes writes that he is sending Huygens a model of a hyperbola which he himself made although Huygens had begged him to delegate the work to another for, as he says, “je ne me sois jamais exercé à tels ouvrages, que comme à la portraiture, où vous scaués comme j’excelle . . .”⁶¹

It is by no means certain whether Descartes is referring to portraits of others, perhaps of Huygens, or to a self-portrait but it would appear from the wording that Huygens was familiar with Descartes’s talents in this sphere.⁶²

On 7th January 1649 Huygens composed a Latin verse on Descartes’s portrait, unfortunately without naming the artist.⁶³ It was in that year that Descartes accepted Queen Christina’s invitation to come to Stockholm, dying there in the following year on 11th February. When the news of his death reached The Hague, Huygens composed a commemorative poem and on the same date, 15th March 1650, a short epitaph.⁶⁴

Descartes was painted many times, amongst others by Frans Hals⁶⁵ but it is not easy to decide which portrait Huygens had before him when he wrote his verse nor if it formed part of his own collection.⁶⁶

Huygens's characterization of Descartes in the first lines of the poem seems best to accord with a drawing by Jan Lievens dated 1643 in the museum in Groningen (p. 69),⁶⁷ one of the attested Descartes portraits. In translation the lines run thus:⁶⁸

See'st thou Cartesius' soul, see'st thou his face?
 In virtue and modesty none is his equal,
 The world has not his peer. What seekest thou more?

The drawing shows Descartes full face, his right hand outstretched as though expounding something, his expression gentle and unassuming in contrast to that in the portrait by Frans Hals, where it is extremely sceptical and penetrating.

Jan Lievens, who in 1639 sketched a portrait of Constantijn Huygens (p. 71) (engraved on copper in the same year by Lucas Vorsterman)⁶⁹ may, as H. E. van Gelder postulates, have contemplated issuing an *Icones* series in imitation of Van Dyck.⁷⁰ He may have had this in mind when he portrayed Descartes. If so, he may well have planned to utilize some lines of verse, possibly by Huygens, just as Nicolaas Heinsius's lines to Huygens are placed under Vorsterman's engraving after Lievens's sketch.⁷¹

The Duchess of Lorraine often mentions in her letters the Duarte family in Antwerp, "la famille musicale", and with them Constantijn Huygens had a special relationship. The head of the family was Gaspar Duarte (1584–1653). His father, Diego Duarte, came of a distinguished family of Portuguese Jews and settled in Antwerp as a banker and dealer in precious stones. He died in 1626. His son Gaspar Duarte, who carried on the business, was a very gifted man of many interests, particularly art, music and science. He was extremely musical and in his magnificent house on the Place Meir he arranged concerts which were attended by countless members of the aristocracy, the merchant classes and the cultural *élite* of Antwerp and Brussels.⁷² The performers were partly well-known visiting musicians, partly his four vocally talented daughters, amongst whom the beautiful Francisca was outstanding.

Huygens had known Francisca since the early 1630s when she belonged to the Muiden circle. He corresponded with her father, Gaspar Duarte, from 1640 until his death and often exchanged musical scores with him.⁷³ When in 1648 Huygens commissioned the famous Antwerp instrument builder, Jean Couchet, to make him a cembalo with double keyboard, Gaspar Duarte acted as negotiator and expert adviser.⁷⁴ On Gaspar Duarte's death in 1653, Huygens composed an epitaph for his friend.⁷⁵ In 1657 Diego Duarte, Gaspar's son, commissioned Lucas Vorsterman to make an engraving from a painted portrait of his father and Huygens composed some lines which were included with the engraving.⁷⁶

Huygens early made a friend also of Diego Duarte (died 1691) who often came to Holland, as amongst other interests he had business dealings with Prince Frederick Henry. Huygens never failed to visit the Duarte family when he was in Antwerp. Diego himself was a gifted organist and composer but he is better known as an art-

collector on a grand scale. His house in the Place Meir contained his constantly growing collection of paintings, including masterpieces by Raphael, Titian, Tintoretto, Bruegel, Rubens and Van Dyck;⁷⁷ it consequently occupied a prominent place among contemporary private collections and was visited and extolled by princes and artists alike. The Swedish architect, Nicodemus Tessin, was one who in 1687 visited and described the collection.⁷⁸

Huygens's eldest son, Constantijn Huygens junior, who became secretary to the Stadholder, Prince Willem III of Orange, in 1672 and who was himself an enthusiastic art-collector, relates in his diary that the Prince always stayed with the Duartes when he was in Antwerp; young Huygens seized the opportunity to study works of art as eagerly as he took advantage of Diego's expertise when he himself visited art-dealers in Antwerp.⁷⁹

It would have not been surprising if the Duarte house had contained a portrait of the family friend, Constantijn Huygens, but such a portrait is not specifically mentioned in contemporary references to the collection.⁸⁰ There is however a passage in Constantijn junior's diary which might indicate that a conversation to which he refers could have originated through seeing his father's portrait. On 5th June 1677 young Huygens notes that he and the Prince are visiting Duarte. He himself went into town to buy some drawings:⁸¹ "Revenant a midy l'on me dit que Mr. le Pr(ince) avoit demandé deux fois apres moy. Il me parla de quelques tableaux de Duarte et me dit en riant familièrement: 'Het zijn evenwel leelijke duyvels die susters van Duarte,' et comme je l'avouois, il me dit quelque galanterie de mon Pere, que je n'entendis pas bien."

Since at this time Huygens senior was 81 years old, it must either have been a portrait of him as a younger man or some pictures of the Duarte sisters at an earlier age which called forth such a remark from the Prince.

The friendship with Diego Duarte lasted until Huygens's death in 1687. On 20th January 1687 Huygens wrote his last moving letter to his friend⁸² and in it recalled the latter's father, Gaspar, and the kindness that he had always been shown by both Gaspar and Diego. He lamented the fact that, at the age of ninety and plagued with rheumatism, he could no longer play as he used to the more than 800 compositions he had produced during his lifetime. Nevertheless, he added, he still from time to time played a little on his theorbe.

Diego Duarte, the Duchess of Lorraine and Constantijn Huygens senior all on many occasions dealt in Antwerp with the well-known art dealer, Matthijs Musson.⁸³ On 23rd December 1652 Huygens wrote to Musson from The Hague asking who had painted the two portraits of his ancestors which the Duchess of Lorraine had bought from Musson and of which she had recently sent Huygens copies.⁸⁴ A postscript reads: "Ich wenschte oock wel te weten wie die secretaris Huygens is geweest daarvan U. L. het contrefeitsel heeft, ende waarvoor het allernaest te krygen souden zyn, als mede de twee Apostel-tronien van Van Dyck."

What portrait of "Secretary Huygens" can this be of which he asks the price?

Is it a portrait of himself? If so, it is strange that he refers to himself in the third person. It might be a portrait of his father, Christiaan Huygens (1551–1624), who was a Secretary of State.⁸⁵ Strictly speaking, it might also be a portrait of his brother, Maurits, who succeeded his father as Secretary of State and who died in 1642.⁸⁶

Musson's reply to this letter has not been preserved but in his diary entry for 10th January 1653 he writes as follows:⁸⁷

Ick hebe de twee tronien van Dyck ghelaten aen Myn Heer Hueghens voor	
hondert ende sestigh guldens	160 gl.
de ander in het stoefken	36 gl.

Huygens had thus bought two heads of apostles by Van Dyck. It is uncertain whether the portrait of "Secretary Huygens" is actually the obscure item entered at 36 gl. Perhaps it was a miniature portrait, in a case or an etui, representing his father.⁸⁸ However this may be, a miniature of Christiaan Huygens de Oude is listed in the catalogue of family portraits in Suzanna Louisa Huygens's effects in 1785.⁸⁹

The examples here described must suffice to illustrate Constantijn Huygens's interest in portraits of himself, his family and contemporaries and his enthusiasm for acquiring such portraits both through purchase and exchange. As has been shown, he received many portraits as gifts from his friends. The following lines, which he composed on 12th May 1682, in his eighty-sixth year, provides a strong indication that far more portraits were exchanged than we can ever now discover:⁹⁰

Contrefeitsels Gewisselt.

Ghij schenckt m'uw schoone Self, ick u mijn leelijk mij:
 'T is evenwel kamp op, en elck al even blij:
 De reden is mijn Oordeels,
 Ghij houdt dat ghij mij geeft; ick krijgh; wie heeft meer voordeels?

Notes

Chapter I

1) The manuscript, now in the Royal Library in The Hague, was written between 11th May 1629 and April 1631. J. A. Worp first published part of the autobiography, concerning the artists mentioned by Huygens, in an article entitled "Constantijn Huygens over de schilders van zijn tijd" in *Oud-Holland*, IX, 1891, pp. 106–136, with a Dutch translation. The complete Latin text is given by J. A. Worp in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, XVIII, 1897, pp. 1–122. An annotated Dutch translation of the autobiography has been published by A. H. Kan, *De Jeugd van Constantijn Huygens door hemzelf beschreven*, Rotterdam (Donker), 1646. The chapter on Rembrandt and Jan Lievens has been published in a German translation in C. Hofstede de Groot, *Die Urkunden über Rembrandt (1575–1721)*, The Hague (Martinus Nijhoff), 1906, No. 18, pp. 13–18; likewise in Susanne Heiland & Heinz Lüdecke, *Rembrandt und die Nachwelt*, Leipzig, 1960, pp. 17 ff. Concerning Rembrandt's relations with Constantijn Huygens see also Seymour Slive, *Rembrandt and His Critics, 1630–1730*, The Hague (Martinus Nijhoff), 1953, *passim*, and K. Bauch, *Der frühe Rembrandt und seine Zeit, Studien zur geschichtlichen Bedeutung seines Frühstils*, Berlin, 1960, *passim* (including Huygens's comments on Rembrandt and Lievens in Latin).

2) Hofstede de Groot, *Urkunden*, *passim*. Cf. K. Bauch, *op. cit.*, 1960, p. 190.

3) H. Gerson, *Seven Letters by Rembrandt*, The Hague (L. J. C. Boucher), 1961.

4) Kurt Bauch, *Rembrandts Gemälde*, Berlin 1966, Nos. 56, 57, 64, 67, 68.

5) H. Gerson, *op. cit.*, 1st Letter, pp. 18 and 22. Undated, but dated February 1636 by Gerson.

6) H. Gerson, *op. cit.*, 3rd Letter, pp. 34 and 38.

7) Kurt Bauch, *Rembrandts Gemälde*, No. 15. Also reproduced in H. Gerson, *op. cit.*, fig. 6, but here, owing to a misprint, the year has been given as 1639. Gerson believes (*op. cit.*, p. 23) that the gift mentioned by Rembrandt in the 1st Letter "probably refers to several etchings which had been completed shortly before", whilst Christopher White, in *Rembrandt and His World*, London, 1964, p. 50, suggests the possibility that Rembrandt meant *The Blinding of Samson*, which was painted precisely in 1636, and that Rembrandt had thus already contemplated giving this picture to Huygens. At all events Rembrandt writes, in the 5th Letter, dated 27th January 1639, "it is the first token which I offer my lord". Cf. H. Gerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 and 54.

8) Hofstede de Groot, *Urkunden*, No. 27, p. 26. H. Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 9. The etching, which moreover differs from the painting in certain respects, exists in two versions, see Ludwig Münz, *Rembrandt's Etchings*, I–II, London, 1952, Cat. Nos. 197 and 198.

9) S. W. A. Drossaers, "Inventaris van de meublen van het Stadhouderslijk kwartier met het Speelhuis en van het Huis in het Noordeinde te 's-Gravenhage," (with a commentary by C. Hofstede de Groot and C. H. de Jonge) in *Oud-Holland*, XLVII, 1930: pp. 203–205.

Several pictures by Rembrandt are mentioned here, some of which it has been possible to identify with reasonable certainty. See Seymour Slive, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–21, and H. Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

10) H. Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 9: "We can take it for granted that both these pictures had been completed by 1633." And p. 23, note 2: "The *Elevation* and the *Descent from the Cross* are not dated, but they must have been completed in 1633."

11) Thus already in A. Bredius, *The Paintings of Rembrandt*, Vienna, London, 1937, p. 24, Nos. 548 and 550, and still in K. Bauch, *Rembrandts Gemälde*, 1966, p. 4, Nos. 56 and 57: "Daher wohl etwa gleichzeitig 1632/33 entstanden."

12) H. Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 22. The picture of *The Ascension of Christ* mentioned in the letter is marked 1636 by Rembrandt himself, so there can be no doubt that the letter was written in the same year; the next

letter, which must have been written shortly after, has been dated February 1636 in another hand (possibly that of Huygens himself), see H. Gerson p. 31. The reproduction of *The Ascension*, *ibid.* Fig. 5, bears a caption in which the date is erroneously given as 1639: it should read 1636, as correctly stated in the text, p. 9. I am grateful to Professor H. Gerson for his kind permission to quote from the English translations of the letters in *Seven Letters*.

13) Wolfgang Stechow, "Rembrandts Darstellungen der Kreuzabnahme," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 50, Berlin, 1929, p. 221 ff.

14) K. Bauch, *op. cit.*, 1966, No. 59; cf. W. Stechow, *loc. cit.*, p. 223.

15) H. Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

16) *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 31. From this it is also apparent that the pictures were destined for the Prince's gallery in the Noordeinde Palace—The Old Court—and not for a chapel, a possibility suggested by Joseph Gantner in his book, *Rembrandt und die Verwandlung klassischer Formen*, Bern & Munich, 1964, p. 54.

17) K. Bauch, *op. cit.*, 1966, No. 47. The property of the Marchioness of Normanby, Mulgrave Castle, Whitby. The picture was exhibited at the Rembrandt Exhibition in Amsterdam-Rotterdam 1956, Cat. No. 7.

18) K. Bauch, *op. cit.*, 1966, No. 51.

19) *Ibid.*, No. 52.

20) A. H. Kan, *op. cit.*, p. 79 f.

21) *Ibid.*, p. 79. (Cf. the Latin text, Worp, *op. cit.*, p. 77 f.).

22) Seymour Slive, *Rembrandt and His Critics, 1630-1730*, The Hague, 1953, p. 30, note 2, and Pl. 13 (Bartsch No. 22).

23) *Ibid.*, p. 31 and Pl. 15.

24) *Ibid.*, p. 31.

25) Thus Seymour Slive's translation, *op. cit.*, p. 15, of this passage, which in Latin reads: ". . . adolescens, Batavus, molitor, imberbis . . ." Worp, *op. cit.*, p. 77. A. H. Kan, *op. cit.*, p. 79, translates: ". . . een jongensch, een Nederlander, een molenaar, een baardelooze . . ."

26) K. Bauch, *op. cit.*, 1966, No. 290.

27) See especially the little self-portrait he painted in 1630, K. Bauch, *op. cit.*, 1966, No. 300 (I. H. Loudon's Collection, Aerdenhout, Holland). F. Grossmann, who was the first to draw attention to the fact that the man on the ladder has Rembrandt's features, merely refers to earlier self-portraits in general "painted four or five years earlier and preserved in his studio"; in his review, "The Rembrandt Exhibition at Schaffhausen", *The Burlington Magazine*, 1950, Vol. XCII, p. 8, note 1.

28) By practically all scholars who have done research on the Passion paintings and most recently by Ernst Brochhagen in "Betrachtungen an den Passionsbildern Rembrandts in München," in *Munuscula Discipulorum, Kunsthistorische Studien Hans Kauffmann zum 70. Geburtstag 1966*, Berlin, 1968, p. 37.

29) Vorsterman's engraving was made in 1620. Frank van den Wijngaert, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche Prentkunst*, Antwerp, 1960, p. 100, No. 718, Pl. 8.

30) Ernst Brochhagen, *loc. cit.*, in note 28, p. 40.

31) Already noted by Hans Kauffmann in *Oud-Holland*, XLVIII, 1931, p. 234. See reproductions in Brochhagen, Figs. 22 and 23.

32) See reproduction in Brochhagen, Fig. 21.

33) See reproduction in *ibid.*, Fig. 20.

34) W. Stechow, *loc. cit.*, in note 13, p. 222.

35) See note 14.

36) See p. 8 and note 26.

37) Cf. self-portraits—drawings and etchings—made in his youth. L. Münz, *op. cit.*, in note 8, I, Self Portraits, Figs. 1-6, 8, 9, 17-19.

38) See note 29. Also reproduced in Jacob Rosenberg, *Rembrandt, Life and Work*, London, 1964, p. 188.

39) Reproduced in Ernst Brochhagen, *loc. cit.*, fig. 20.

40) As W. Stechow has shown in *loc. cit.* in note 13, p. 222 f., the group containing the swooning Mary was probably inspired by a painting by Jacopo Bassano, an Entombment, done in 1574, in Santa Maria

del Vanzo in Padua, of which a replica was found in Amsterdam in the 17th century. On the other hand the motif of the corpse wrappings is found in a *Descent from the Cross* by Tintoretto in Caen and in a variant of the same in Strasbourg. Cf. W. Stechow, "Rembrandt and Titian" in *The Art Quarterly*, V, 1942, p. 146, note 18.

41) Regarding the question of pupils' participation in the two existing versions of the etching after *The Descent from the Cross* (Bartsch 81 and 81 I) see Ludvig Münz, *Rembrandt's Etchings I-II*, London 1952, Nos. 197 and 198, Pl. 220 (the first, rounded at the top) and Pl. 221 (the second, rectangular).

42) Ernst Brochhagen, *loc. cit.*, p. 40.

43) According to Alte Pinakothek, Munich, *Kat. II Holländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1967, pp. 58-72 (about the Passion series). By way of comparison note, for example: *The Entombment*, canvas, dim: 92.5 × 68.9 cm; *The Resurrection*, transferred from canvas to wood, dim: 91.9 × 67.0 cm; *The Ascension*, canvas, dim: 92.7 × 68.3 cm. The divergent form is seen most clearly in the reproduction after *The Descent from the Cross* in H. Gerson, *Seven Letters by Rembrandt*, Pl. 2.

44) K. Bauch, *op. cit.*, No. 57. Munich 1967, No. 394, pp. 60-64.

45) See, amongst other places, the references given in note 44 and Ernst Brochhagen, *loc. cit.*, p. 37.

46) Frank van den Wijngaert, *op. cit.*, in note 29, p. 106, No. 760. The only place I know of where attention is drawn in this connexion to the fact that an engraving of Rubens's *Elevation of the Cross* was not made until 1638 is in the catalogue of the exhibition entitled "Bijbelse Inspiratie" in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Tekeningen en prenten van Lucas van Leyden en Rembrandt), Amsterdam, 1964, No. 111, p. 129.

47) After examining the picture again in Munich in September 1969 I am no longer sure that the figure in the background is that of Christ. It might be one of the two robbers.

48) Ingvar Bergström in an article, "Rembrandt's Double Portrait of Himself and Saskia", in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 17, 1966, pp. 164-166. I. B. believes that Rembrandt's appearance here is the expression of a way of thinking that is also expressed in late medieval symbolic representations of the Crucifixion, namely that man, as a result of his sinfulness, shares the guilt for Christ's sufferings. Cf. a similar conception, though without reference to medieval representations, in Otto Benesch, *Rembrandt*, Lausanne, 1957, pp. 49 and 51 f.

49) See, for instance, K. Bauch, *op. cit.*, No. 303. Self-portrait in the Louvre, signed "Rembrandt f. 1633".

50) K. Bauch, *op. cit.*, No. 307.

51) K. Bauch, *op. cit.*, No. 305 (Louvre, undated, but on account of similarity to No. 303 (see note 49) about 1633); No. 306 (about 1634); No. 308, Berlin, signed "Rembrandt f. 1634".

52) Kurt Bauch, *Der frühe Rembrandt und seine Zeit*, Berlin, 1960, p. 191.

53) K. Bauch, *op. cit.*, 1966, No. 162. Here described as "Ein Schriftgelehrter". Cf. the magnificent picture of an old man at Chatsworth, wearing the same cloak, painted in 1635, K. Bauch, No. 164, and Bredius-Gerson, 1969, No. 179, p. 512.

54) K. Bauch, No. 347. Cf. Bredius-Gerson, 1969, No. 78, p. 70 ("Rembrandt's Father").

55) H. Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 22 f. and p. 9.

56) Otto Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, I-VI. London, 1954-57, I, p. 4, No. 6 (fig. 6). Benesch dates it "about 1627-28", but see note 57.

57) *Ibid.*, fig. 7. The drawing, which is now in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam, was exhibited at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, in 1964-65, "Bibelse Inspiratie" (see note 46), Cat. No. 111, where the two seated figures on the reverse are placed in connexion with the Judas picture of 1629. The most probable date seems to be about 1629.

58) See Otto Benesch, *op. cit.*, I, p. 4, No. 6; and the same in *Rembrandt as a Draughtsman*, London, 1960, p. 8 f.

59) Edouard Meaulme, *Recherches sur Jacques Callot*, I, Paris, 1860, No. 29 (11); J. Lieure, *Jacques Callot. Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé*, I-III, Paris, 1927, No. 548. Daniel Ternois, *L'Art de Jacques Callot*, Paris, 1962, p. 225.

60) K. Bauch, *op. cit.*, 1966, No. 75. The very small picture (39 × 30 cm) has been painted on a wooden

board, rounded at the top. Cf. A. Bredius, *Rembrandt*, revised by H. Gerson, London, 1969, No. 564. Gerson judges it to be "a crude imitation, vaguely based on Rembrandt" (p. 608).

61) Cf. a copy after a Rembrandt drawing, now lost, with the same motif, about 1629, in Boston. See Werner Sumowski, "Bemerkungen zu Otto Benesch, Corpus der Rembrandt Zeichnungen, I." *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, VI, 1956-57, p. 200, and the same in *Pantheon* XXII, 1964, p. 234, fig. 2, likewise E. Haverkamp Begemann's review of Otto Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, I-VI, London, 1954-57, in *Kunstchronik*, XIV. Jahrgang, 1961, 1st issue, p. 19, Pl. 4b.

62) Otto Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, I, p. 26, Cat. No. 83, Fig. 89. Sepia, lead, pen and wash.

63) Werner Sumowski, who attributes this drawing to Gerbrand van den Eeckhout in his article "Gerbrand van den Eeckhout als Zeichner" in *Oud-Holland*, LXXVII, 1962, p. 12, gives, in note 10 to this, a list of the many suggestions regarding the authorship of this drawing. None of them seems to me to be convincing, nor does the hypothesis put forward "(Salomon Koninck?)" by K. Bauch in *Rembrandts Gemälde*, 1966, p. 4, note to No. 57.

64) Ernst Brochhagen, *loc. cit.*, 1968, p. 39 f.

65) *Ibid.* and Figs. 22 and 23. Kurt Bauch, "Rembrandts Christus am Kreuz," *Pantheon* XX, 1962, pp. 137-144. Bauch suggests the possibility that this picture, which has been painted on canvas and mounted on wood, measures 100 × 79 cm and is furthermore rounded at the top like the other Passion paintings, may have belonged to the series, though he has to admit that there is no archival support for this hypothesis. A picture of this kind is not mentioned in the inventories for 1662 and 1667 either, though both these listed all the other Passion paintings. See also K. Bauch, *Rembrandts Gemälde*, 1966, No. 54 and the note to this on p. 4. Ernst Brochhagen, *loc. cit.*, p. 38 f., acknowledges a close connexion between the Passion paintings and *Christ on the Cross*, but does not think the Stadholder can have owned it. He assumes that the Prince or his secretary, Huygens, may have seen the *Elevation of the Cross* and the *Descent from the Cross* in Rembrandt's studio and have bought them, after which the last three were ordered.

66) After having examined the drawing again in the Albertina in Vienna recently I am quite convinced that it is an original Rembrandt.

67) Matthew, XXVII. 35; Mark, XV. 24; Luke, XXIII. 33; John, XIX. 18.

68) L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, II, Paris, 1957, p. 474. See also Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, pp. 267-71.

69) For reflections on Rembrandt's religious convictions, see W. A. Visser 'Hooft, *Rembrandt and the Gospel*, London, 1957, and Christopher White, *Rembrandt and his World*, London, 1964, pp. 38-41.

70) See note 68. Tintoretto's *Crucifixion* in Scuola di San Rocco and Van Dyck's altar-piece on the same theme in Notre Dame de Courtrai (payments from 1630 to 1635), mentioned by Leo van Puyvelde in his *Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1950, p. 150. Reproduced in Gustav Glück, *Van Dyck, Klassiker der Kunst*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1931, p. 249. Cf. also Wolf Huber's *Elevation of the Cross* (c. 1525) in Vienna. Reproduced in Erwin Heinze's *Wolf Huber*, Innsbruck, 1953, p. 3.

71) I am grateful to Professor Børge Diderichsen, D.D., for a fruitful discussion about this problem. Professor Diderichsen has suggested that the aristocratic-looking man might be Nicodemus, drawing my attention to a scene in the apocryphal writings of the New Testament in which Nicodemus, during the trial of Jesus, stands forth and defends Jesus, upon which the Jews gnash their teeth at Nicodemus. See Edgar Henneke (†), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. 3rd completely rev. ed. published by Wilhelm Schneemelcher, I. Evangelien*, Tübingen, 1959, pp. 332-339. After Nicodemus's earnest entreaties to the Jews to withdraw their accusations against Jesus, they say to him (p. 338): "Du bist ein Jünger von ihm geworden und tritt deshalb für ihn ein." To which Nicodemus replies: "Ist etwa auch der Statthalter sein Jünger geworden, so deshalb für ihn eintritt? Hat ihn nicht der Kaiser auf diesem hohen Platz gestellt?" And thereafter comes the passage which Professor Diderichsen thinks might be expressed through the little group of grimacing persons and the aristocratic-looking man: "Da ergrimten die Juden und knirschten mit den Zähnen gegen Nicodemus. Pilatus aber sprach zu ihnen: Warum knirscht ihr mit den Zähnen gegen ihn, wenn ihr die Wahrheit hört? Darauf die Juden zu Nicodemus: Nimm dir seine Wahrheit, ergreif seine Partei! Und Nicodemus: Wahrlich, es geschehe wie ihr gesagt habt!" However, this scene takes place quite

clearly in front of the procurator's palace before judgement was passed, and it does not seem likely that this can be combined with the elevation of the cross.

72) The Greek text states quite plainly: "But Pilate wrote a title, and put it on the cross." In the Danish translation of the Bible the passage runs, incorrectly translated, Ch. XIX. 19: "Men Pilatus havde også skrevet en overskrift .. ." ("had written"). On the other hand the English Bible (King James's Version) has: "And Pilate wrote a title, and put in on the cross." (Quoted p. 19).

73) *Biblia. Tot Leyden by Jan Paedts Jacobszoon ende Jan Bouwenszoon Anno MDXCIII*. There is a copy in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. The passage in question in St. John's Gospel is on p. 462: "En Pilatus schreef ooc een opschrift en settede dat op het cruyce." Cf. H. M. Rotermund, "Rembrandts Bibel", in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 8, Amsterdam 1957, pp. 123-150. On the basis of a supposition already put forward by W. R. Valentiner (*Rembrandt, Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1921. Kl. d. K. XXVII, p. XI), Rotermund has discussed the possibility that Rembrandt may have used the Leyden edition of 1589 of the reformed Bible, the Deux-aes Bible, first published in 1561/62 (see *loc. cit.*, pp. 126-130). The 1594 edition is merely a later edition of the same.

74) *Biblia: Dat is, De gantsche heylighe Schrifluere grondigh ende trouwelijck verduytschet. Meet seer schoone Annotatien in het Oude Testament eerstmaal na het Geneefsche Exemplaar uyt het Francoys overgheset door P. H.*

Naderhandt Anno 1625 oversien ende van ontalijcke oude grave druckfouten ghesupvert ende op de swaerste passagien met veele goede Annotatien vermeerderd door Siclinum Amama, Professor der Hebreescher tale tot Franeker.

Ende nu in desen tweeden druck met gantsch-nieuwe Argumenten of Sommarien ende afdeelingen der Capittelen voorsien ende met drie onderscheyde Onderrichtingen naerder verrijckt en vermeerderd door Jacobum Laurentium, Bedinaer des Woords Gods binnen Amstelredam.

T' Amstelredam By Henrick Laurentsz Anno 1630.

This edition of the Bible also contains the apocryphal books upon which Rembrandt drew to a large extent for his biblical pictures and several etchings. A copy exists in the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

75) By way of comparison it may be mentioned that a Biblia, published "Tot Amstelredam, By Cornelis Claesz, 1609", of which a copy exists in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, has no such commentary in the margin.

76) See Edgar Henneke (†), *op. cit.*, in note 71, 3rd rev. ed. published by Wilhelm Schneemelcher, I, Tübingen, 1959, pp. 333-340, 358. According to ancient Christian legends Pilate even became a Christian and died a martyr. See *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd ed. published by Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner, VIII, Freiburg 1963, Pilatus, cols. 504-506.

77) K. Bauch, 1966, No. 62. (Bredius 546). The painting, which has been executed in brownish colours and only sketchily completed in certain parts, is signed and dated 1634. It has been the model for an etching made in 1635 but only partially completed; a finished copy is signed and dated 1636. See L. Münz, *Rembrandt's Etchings*, I-II, London, 1952, Cat. No. 204, I and II, reproduced in Vol. I, Plates 229 and 230.

78) L. Münz, *op. cit.*, in note 77, Cat. No. 235, versions I, VI and VII reproduced in Vol. I, Pls. 266, 267 and 268. Cf. Hans-Martin Rotermund, *Rembrandts Handzeichnungen und Radierungen zur Bibel*, Stuttgart, 1963, p. 262 and reproductions 225 and 226. Here reference is made to John XIX.5 as well as to Matthew XXVII.21.

79) H.-M. Rotermund: "Habe du nichts zu schaffen mit diesem Gerechten!" Zur Deutung eines sonst bei Rembrandt nicht begegnenden Bildvorwurfs aus dem Themenkreis der Leidensgeschichte," *Oud-Holland*, LXVI, 1951, pp. 54-56. Rotermund reproduces only a detail of the drawing. The complete picture is reproduced and commented on by Otto Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, Vol. I, London 1954, p. 38, No. 139, Fig. 154.

80) *Loc. cit.*, p. 56. Otto Benesch, *op. cit.*, in note 79, I, p. 38, dates it "about 1637".

81) The note has been studied in the Staatsarchiv in The Hague, Rotermund, *loc. cit.*, p. 56.

82) H.-M. Rotermund, "Rembrandts Bibel", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 8, Amsterdam 1957, pp. 123-150. See also note 73.

83) In an article written in 1951 (note 79) H.-M. Rotermund quotes the decisive passage from the "Staatenvertalung" of 1637: "Hebt doch niet te doen met desen Rechtvaerdighen" and from the Biestken Bible of 1560: "Hebt niet te doen met desen Rechtvaerdighen", likewise the first reformed Bible, printed in Emden in 1556: "Hebt niet te doen met desen gherechtigen". In the Bible printed in Leyden in 1594 (note 73) the phrase runs: "Hebt niet te doen met desen rechtveerdighen", and in that published in Amsterdam in 1609 (note 75): "En hebt doch ghy niet te doen metten rechtveerdighen". The inscription on the drawing thus comes closest to the wording in the Bibles of 1594 and 1630.

84) See *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, quoted in note 76, col. 506 under "Pilatus's Iconography": "Nur selten wird wiedergegeben, wie P. . . . den Kreuztitulus schreibt od. der Kreuzigung Christi beiwohnt (got. Kunst) . . ."

85) Gérard Franceschi, *Træskulpturer fra danske landsbykirker, Billeder fra Kristi liv* (text by Niels Højlund, Inger-Lise Kolstrup and Mogens Bencard), Copenhagen, 1968, Nos. 70 and 152; *Danmarks Kirker, Sorø Amt*, 2, Copenhagen, 1938, pp. 942, 1242, Fig. 6; *Danish Churches by the Danish National Museum, The Churches of Sorø County* by Poul Nørlund, Copenhagen, 1940, p. 66. Cf. also G. Franceschi, *op. cit.*, No. 150, Hejls Kirke, Vejle County, where the man dictating is clearly characterized as a Jew.

86) A particularly magnificent triptych depicting Pilate, the scribe and the protesting Jews in the Golgotha scene is in Møgeltonder Church (Tønder County), see: *Danmarks Kirker, Sønderjylland, Tønder Amt*, Copenhagen, 1957, pp. 1304–08, Fig. 9. The central panel, representing the scene at Golgotha, dates from about 1500.

Other Danish representations of the Golgotha scene in which Pilate and the scribe appear are reproduced in *Danmarks Billedhuggerkunst*, edited by V. Thorlacius-Ussing, Copenhagen, 1950, pp. 99, 105, 110, 111. In the former Danish duchies of Slesvig and Holsten there are several examples, see: *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Landes Schleswig-Holstein*, I, *Kreis Husum*, 1939, Fig. 82 (Nordstrand-Odinbüll), III, *Kreis Südtondern*, 1939, Fig. 99 (Enge), IV, *Kreis Eiderstedt*, 1939, Figs. 28 and 33 (Peter, Witzwort), VI, *Landkreis Flensburg*, 1952, Figs. 217 and 232 (Steinberg, Sterup), VIII, *Kreis Schleswig*, 1957, Fig. 286 (Toestrup).

The combination of Pilate and the scribe is also to be found on a number of altar-pieces in the Westphalian area. See Carl Georg Heise, *Norddeutsche Malerei. Studien zu ihrer Entwicklungsgeschichte im 15. Jahrhundert von Köln bis Hamburg*, Leipzig, 1918, Pl. XIV, No. 17 and Pl. XXIV, No. 27, and Alfred Stange, *Die deutschen Tafelbilder vor Dürer*, I, *Kritisches Verzeichnis*, Munich, 1967, nos. 446, 476, 488.

V. Thorlacius-Ussing has pointed out striking similarities in costume and posture between certain figures in a carved wooden Danish altar-piece in Havrebjerg Church north of Slagelse (Holbæk County) dating from 1440–50 and the so-called "Rittergruppe" in the Golgotha scene in Conrad von Soest's Wildungen altar-piece of 1403. In both scenes a dialogue is taking place, but the scribe appears only in the Danish carving. A representation similar to the Havrebjerg altar-piece is to be found in the church of St. Olof in Scania, Sweden. See V. Thorlacius-Ussing, "Altertavlen i Havrebjerg Kirke," *Tilskueren*, 1932, pp. 461–473, and cf. reproductions of Conrad von Soest's altar in Rolf Fritz, *Der Wildunger Altar*, Munich, 1954, Figs. 27, 36. In Sweden there is yet another 15th-century triptych depicting the scribe and possibly Pilate, namely the Österåker altarpiece (1468) (formerly in Stockholm Cathedral). See *Medieval Wooden Sculpture in Sweden*, V, The Museum Collection (The National Museum of Sweden), Uppsala, 1964, p. 203.

87) The dialogue between Pilate and the High Priests is represented on one of the two side panels of the triptych in the Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts in Antwerp, ascribed to Gerard David, which, together with a representation of Christ Nailed to the Cross in the National Gallery, London, is believed to have formed a triptych (see Martin Davies, *The National Gallery of London*, I, Antwerp, 1953 (*Les Primitifs Flamands*), pp. 112–116, Pl. CCLXXX). In the catalogue of the museum in Antwerp (*Catalogue descriptif, Maitres anciens*, 1958, p. 65, No. 180), this panel is described as "Juges juifs et soldats romains". It is possible to decipher the inscription as reading: I.N.R.I., which confirms that it is the title for the cross. That there really has existed an old tradition for representing the dialogue between Pilate and the High Priest can be seen from the Bury St. Edmunds Cross (c. 1180–90) in The Cloisters, New York, on which Pilate and the High Priest are represented, each holding in his hand a scroll bearing the words he utters. On Pilate's scroll are the words: "Quod scripsi, scripsi." At the same time he is pointing with his right hand down at the title in three languages that has been placed below him. See Sabrina Longland, "Pilate answered: What I

have written, I have written." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, June 1968, pp. 410–429 and Figs. 1 and 3. I am grateful to a student, Jens Bing, for kindly drawing my attention to this article.

Sabrina Longland, who has found only one other example of the dialogue between the High Priest and Pilate in a 13th-century Bible illustration, wonders why this scene does not appear more frequently in the art of the Middle Ages (*ibid.*, p. 415). However, I believe I have found several other examples (that have merely been overlooked) in Netherlandish painting; I intend to publish these findings elsewhere. The dialogue is also represented in the Scandinavian and Northern German examples where the scribe appears. The role of the scribe is presumably to illustrate the motif even more clearly. He has possibly come from the Easter plays. Cf. Renata von Stoephasius, *Die Gestalt des Pilatus in den mittelalterlichen Passionsspielen*, Berlin, 1938 (Diss.), p. 83. At all events the scene in which the protesting Jews and Pilate appear is included in the Crucifixion in a number of medieval Passion plays in Germany and Austria that used to be enacted in the marketplaces in front of the churches. In several instances the words of the songs have been preserved, e.g. those of the Alsfelder Passion (1501): Posuerunt super caput. Noli scribere: Rex J. (Ernst August Schuler, *Die Musik der Osterfeiern, Osterspiele und Passionen des Mittelalters*, Kassel & Basel, 1951, p. 54. Nos. 151–52)—and of the Benediktbeurer grosse Passion (c. 1300), (*ibid.*, p. 57, Nos. 77–79): I.N.R.I.; Regem non habemus; Quod scripsi, scripsi; the Eger Fronleichnamspiel (15th cent.) (*ibid.* p. 65, Nos. 88–89): Quia eduxi te: quod scripsi, scripsi; the Heidelberger Passion (1513) (*ibid.*, p. 74, Nos. 101–102): Jesus Nazarenus Rex Jud.; Noli scribere rex J. (For the words see also p. 252, No. 384a and p. 274, No. 483).

88) In this connexion it should be mentioned that Dagobert Frey has already discussed the possibility of Pilate's presence in the Golgotha scenes in his article "Die Pieta-Rondanini und Rembrandts *Drei Kreuze*", in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Kauffmann*, Berlin, 1956, in which (pp. 220–281) he puts forward the suggestion that the horseman seen in profile in the fourth version of Rembrandt's etching entitled *The Three Crosses* (L. Münz, *op. cit.*, No. 223, Fig. 281) may be meant to represent Pilate. Dagobert Frey refers also to John XIX.19–22 in support of Pilate's appearance in representations of the scene at Golgotha. I do not feel entirely convinced that Frey's suggestion that the horseman seen in profile in the etching of *The Three Crosses* (fourth version, c. 1660–61) is Pilate, is correct. It seems to me that the evidence which can enable us to identify Pilate in connexion with representations of the scene at Golgotha must be that he forms part of a group of figures engaged in conversation. There must be a dialogue if we are to see an illustration of the episode in the Gospel according to St. John involving a discussion between Pilate and the High Priests. And this is precisely the case in Rembrandt's picture *The Elevation of the Cross*. Among the earlier instances mentioned by Frey is Conrad Laib's Golgotha picture of 1449 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (now exhibited in Nedere Belvedere), in which a heavily-built man riding a white mule to the left of Christ's Cross may no doubt quite justifiably be assumed to be Pilate (see Ludwig von Baldass, *Conrad Laib und die beiden Rueland Frueauf*, Vienna, 1946, p. 12 f. and figs. 35 and 40) but here too there would appear to be persons who are protesting against the superscription on the Cross. However, the possibility cannot be excluded that Rembrandt may have made free use of a mounted Pilate in his composition.

89) See note 54. This is the centurion who later, after Christ was dead, pronounces the words: "Truly this was the Son of God." See Matthew XXVII. 54 and Mark XV. 39—or, as in Luke XXIII. 47: "Certainly this was a righteous man." This passage does not appear in the Gospel according to St. John. The mounted centurion is often seen in Netherlandish representations of the Golgotha scene, but occasionally also on foot. See, for example, Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Vol. III, Dieric Bouts and Joos van Gent, Leyden, Brussels, 1968, *passim*. Cf. also Henrik Cornell, *Biblia pauperum*, Stockholm, 1925, *passim*.

90) H. E. van Gelder, *Ikongrafie van Constantijn Huygens en de zijnen*, 's-Gravenhage, 1957.

91) "Dagboek van Constantijn Huygens, voor de eerste maal naar het afschrift van diens kleinzoon uitgegeven door J. H. W. Unger," Amsterdam, 1885, supplement to *Oud-Holland*, III, Amsterdam, 1885, p. 20. The entry in the diary reads: "Pingor a Van Dyckio, cum arbor in aedes lapsus esset."—i. e. that a tree toppled over towards the house while Van Dyck was painting H.'s portrait. This took place in the house in which Huygens was living at the time, in de Lange Houtstraat in The Hague. See A. D. Schinkel, *Nadere Bijzonderheden betrekkelijk Constantijn Huygens en zijne familie*, II, (privately printed) 1856, p. 14 f.

92) Concerning Van Dyck's iconography see Leo van Puyvelde, *Van Dyck*, Brussels, Amsterdam, Paris, 1950, Ch. XI, pp. 189–208, L'iconographie.

93) H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonographie van Constantijn Huygens*, 1957, p. 21 f., Nos. 7a and 7b; J. G. van Gelder, "Anthonie van Dyck in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw," *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Bulletin*, Vol. VIII, 1–4, Bruxelles 1959, pp. 43–86.

94) Constantijn Huygens was born on 4th September, 1596.

95) A. Kan, *op. cit.* in note 1, p. 100.

96) See, in particular: W. Delft's engraving after M. J. Mierevelt, 1625; Jan Lievens 1627, M. J. Mierevelt 1641, Caspar Netscher 1669 and 1672, B. Vaillant 1686, all mentioned and reproduced in H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonographie van Constantijn Huygens*, 1957.

97) *Catalogue der Schilderijen in het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam*, 1934, p. 233, No. 1950.

From a series of 21 portraits of well-known Dutchmen, executed for Arnold van Halen's *Panpoëticon Batavum*, Leyden 1773. See E. W. Moes, *Iconographia Batava* I, Amsterdam, 1897, p. 466, No. 18. Not listed in H. E. van Gelder's *Ikonographie van Constantijn Huygens*, 1957.

98) Clothilde Misme-Brière, "Un portrait retrouvé de Constantijn Huygens," *Oud-Holland*, LIII, 1936, pp. 193–201. See also H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonographie van Constantijn Huygens*, p. 20 f.

99) A. Kan, *op. cit.*, p. 81 f. For the poem in *Momenta Desultoria*, see J. A. Worp, *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens*, II, 1623–1636, Groningen, 1893, p. 235 f. "In Effigiem Meam, Manu I Livij", dated 5th April 1632.

100) See Leo van Puyvelde, *op. cit.* in note 92, p. 199 f.

101) As for note 98 and A. Kan, *op. cit.*, p. 81 f.

102) K. Bauch, *Rembrandts Gemälde*, 1966, No. 530 and note p. 27. See also Jacob Rosenberg, *Rembrandt's Life and Work*, London, 1964, pp. 132–136 and notes 42 and 42a with bibliographical references.

103) K. Bauch, *Rembrandts Gemälde*, 1966, No. 352; H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonographie van Constantijn Huygens*, 1957, p. 8 f., No. 1.

104) K. Bauch, *Rembrandts Gemälde*, 1966, No. 456 and note p. 24; Ernst Brochhagen, *loc. cit.*, 1968, p. 37, note 7. H. Gerson, "Rembrandts portret van Amalia van Solms", *Oud-Holland* LXXXIV, 1969, No. 2/3, pp. 244–249.

105) Both paintings are mentioned in the 1632 inventory of the Stadholder's palace in Noordeinde, but it is apparent from this that they were hung in separate rooms in the Princess Wing. See A. Staring, *Vraagstukken der Oranje-Iconographie*, III, *Oud-Holland*, LXVIII, 1953, p. 13 ff. and p. 21. It is possible that the Princess discovered that the two pictures did not go so well together after all. G. Honthorst's profile portrait of Prince Frederick Henry is now in the Huis ten Bosch, The Hague. The profile portrait of a woman, in the same place, painted by Honthorst, has hitherto been considered to be a portrait of Amalia van Solms, but H. Gerson has recently put forward the suggestion that it may represent Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia, "The Winter Queen" (see *loc. cit.* in note 104, p. 247 and Fig. 4). Cf. also a portrait, called "Amalia van Solms", signed and dated Honthorst 1632, in the Coombe Abbey Collection, exhibited in London, Leonhard Koetser Gallery, 1969, mentioned and reproduced in *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. CXI, 1969, pp. 312 f., Fig. 69.

106) H. Gerson, *Seven Letters*, 1961, p. 30 f. (written, according to Gerson, in February or March 1636). It is apparent from the postscript: "It will show to the best advantage in the gallery of his Excellency since there is a strong light there", that Rembrandt must have paid a visit to the Prince's palace on some previous occasion.

107) H. E. van Gelder, in his *Ikonographie van Constantijn Huygens*, 1957, pp. 35–37, has also reached conclusions concerning the Rembrandt portraits formerly suggested as representing Huygens. The list, however, is incomplete and contains various inaccuracies to which I shall return later.

108) The major part of Constantijn Huygens's literary remains belong to De Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, but have been deposited in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague. Not everything has been published. See Rosalie L. Colie, 'Some Thankfulness to Constantine', *A Study of English Influence upon the Early Works of Constantijn Huygens*, The Hague (Martinus Nijhoff) 1956, Introduction, likewise Bibliography pp. 157–164 (including MSS. pp. 157–158). However, a number of his papers can be found in

other libraries and collections in Europe and the USA. A great deal must moreover have disappeared, including Huygens's letters to Rembrandt. See H. Gerson, *Seven Letters*, 1961.

J. A. Worp has published *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens*, I–VIII, Groningen, 1892–98, and correspondence under the title *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, I–VI, The Hague 1911–17 (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatien).

109) H. Gerson, *Seven Letters*, p. 22.

110) K. Bauch, 1966, No. 64. Cf. Bredius-Gerson, No. 557.

111) H. Gerson, *Seven Letters*, p. 30 f., suggests "February or March 1636", even though the letter is dated "February 1636" in another hand (Huygens's?).

112) K. Bauch, in *Pantheon*, XX, 1962, p. 140 ff., has suggested that *Christ on the Cross*, 1631, now in Mas d'Agenais, may originally have been the central picture in a group comprising this, the *Elevation of the Cross* and the *Descent from the Cross*, and that the three others have formed a second group with the *Resurrection* in the middle, the *Entombment* on the left and the *Ascension* on the right. As there is nothing to indicate that *Christ on the Cross* has ever been in the Stadholder's possession, this suggestion must be rejected.

113) Concerning Titian's picture of the *Assumption of the Virgin* in Santa Maria dei Frari in Venice as a possible model for Rembrandt's *Ascension*, which has been pointed out by several historians, including J. L. A. M. van Rijckevorsel, who also mentions Rubens's *Assumption of the Virgin* in Brussels (*Rembrandt en de Traditie*, 1932, p. 133 f. and Figs. 156, 157 and 158) and W. Stechow (in "Rembrandt and Titian", *The Art Quarterly*, V, 1942, p. 141), an idea which would appear to have been confirmed by the recent X-ray examinations conducted on Rembrandt's picture in Munich, see Ernst Brochhagen in *Kat. Munich*, 1967, No. 398 (p. 64 f.) and the same author's article in *Munuscula Discipolorum Hans Kauffmann* 1966, Berlin, 1968, p. 40 f.

114) K. Bauch, 1966, No. 68 (*The Entombment*) and No. 67 (*The Resurrection*). Cf. Bredius-Gerson, 1969, Nos. 560 and 561. For measurements see note 43.

115) H. Gerson, *Seven Letters*, p. 38.

116) *Ibid.* p. 46.

117) Ernst Brochhagen, see references given in note 113.

118) W. Stechow, *loc. cit.* in note 13, p. 222 f. Further references in Ernst Brochhagen, *Kat. Munich*, 1967, p. 67 (Cat. No. 396).

119) It is signed "Rembr . . . t 163 ". The last figure is illegible. Generally regarded as having been painted in 1639, e.g. by H. Gerson, *Seven Letters*, caption to Fig. 4, and by K. Bauch, 1966, No. 67; Bredius-Gerson 1969, No. 561, p. 607 gives the correct form. Likewise Ernst Brochhagen, *Kat. Munich*, 1967, p. 67, No. 397, who has also given an account of the picture's provenance and, on the basis of the latest X-ray examinations, refuted former hypotheses concerning alterations in the composition in the 18th century. See also his *Munuscula Discipolorum*, Berlin, 1968, p. 41 ff.

120) Hans Kauffmann was one of the first to remark upon the unusual features of the composition, which is not in accordance with the accounts of the Resurrection given in the Scriptures, and to draw attention to Jacob Cats's description of the Resurrection of Christ in "Geestelick Houwelick" in a work entitled *Trou-Ringh*, published in Dordrecht in 1637 (p. 102) as a possible source of Rembrandt's interpretation of the motif. See Hans Kauffmann, "Rembrandt und die Humanisten von Muiderkring", *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 41, Berlin, 1920, p. 74 f. Kauffmann's hypothesis, which was strongly contested at the time by C. Hofstede de Groot and K. Graf von Baudissin, has been taken up anew by Ernst Brochhagen in *Munuscula Discipolorum Hans Kauffmann*, 1968, p. 44, after X-ray examinations had shown that the figure of Christ in the grave was possibly added during a later stage in the execution of the *Resurrection*, c. 1637–38. See also K. Bauch, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin, 1967, pp. 129–131.

121) K. Bauch, 1966, No. 51 and Bredius-Gerson, 1969, No. 538; cf. also a drawing by Rembrandt in the British Museum, dated 1630, for the Lazarus picture, which was later re-worked into an *Entombment*. Otto Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, No. 17.

122) See note 115.

123) H. E. van Gelder, "Marginalia bij Rembrandt: De natureelste beweegelijkheid" in *Oud-*

Holland, LX, 1943, pp. 148–151 and in the same author's review of Jacob Rosenberg's book on Rembrandt (1948) in *De Nieuwe Stem*, 4, 1949, p. 294. This view is also shared by J. G. van Gelder in *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen* (Department of Letterkunde) N. R. Part 16, No. 5, 1953, p. 297, and in *Essays in Honour of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss, I–II, New York, 1961, I, p. 451. The interpretation is moreover supported by philological studies published by Lydia de Pauw-de Veen, "Over de betekenis van het woord 'beweeglijkheid' in de zeventiende eeuw" in *Oud-Holland*, LXXIV, 1959, pp. 202–211. H. Gerson inclines towards the same opinion in *Seven Letters*, 1961, p. 39 f., and Seymour Slive supports it in *Rembrandt and His Critics*, 1953, p. 23 ff. as far as works dating from the 1630s are concerned; see also p. 36 in the same book.

124) This view is represented in particular by J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt*, Cambridge, 1948, I, pp. 116, 226, note 29. W. Stechow agrees with Rosenberg in his review of the latter's book about Rembrandt in *The Art Bulletin*, 32, 1950, p. 253. In his new, revised edition of his book about Rembrandt (London, 1964) Rosenberg has maintained his original view (p. 188) but in note 29 to this (p. 355) loyally drawn attention to H. E. van Gelder's and Lydia de Pauw-de Veen's interpretation of the expression (see note 123). For a critical assessment of the two interpretations, see J. A. Emmens's review of H. Gerson: *Seven Letters*, 1961, in *Oud-Holland*, LXXVIII, 1963, p. 80 ff. and Christian Tümpel, "Studien zur Ikonographie der Historien Rembrandts", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XX, Amsterdam, 1969, p. 116 f. (note 29). Recently, John Gage has pointed out that Rembrandt's description of his own work has a parallel in the aesthetic view expressed in Franciscus Junius's book *The Painting of the Ancients*, published in 1638. As Constantijn Huygens had a copy of this work in his library, John Gage believes that Huygens discussed the aesthetic view contained therein with Rembrandt. See John Gage, "A Note on Rembrandt's 'Meeste Ende die Naetureelste Beweeghelicheit'" in *The Burlington Magazine*, 1969, Vol. CXI, No. 795, p. 381.

125) Ernst Brochhagen in *Kat.* Munich, 1967, p. 58 and bibliographical references. Otto Benesch displays greater understand of the originality in Rembrandt's Passion paintings; see his *Rembrandt*, Lausanne 1957, pp. 48–53.

126) K. Bauch, *Pantheon*, XX, 1962, No. 3, p. 143.

127) I am grateful to Dr. Sigrid Müller, Munich, for kindly confirming that in the Spring of 1969 the five Passion paintings were hung in the order named and in such a fashion that the first three are on a longitudinal wall and Nos. 4 and 5 on a side wall. In September 1969, in the course of a visit to Munich, I myself noted that the five pictures had been re-hung in the same order in the collection, which has now been re-opened.

128) After I had finished writing the above dissertation I saw that Bob Haak, in his book on Rembrandt (London, 1969) reproduces (pp. 96–97) the five paintings in the order I have suggested, though with the addition of *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (1646) as a sixth and without comment in the text.

Chapter II

1) K. Bauch, 1966, No. 362. The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. *Catalogue, Dutch and Flemish Paintings* (W. A. Clark Collection) by James D. Breckenridge, Washington D.C. 1955, p. 35, Inv. No. 26. 158: "Man with Hat Holding a Scroll". I am grateful to Miss Ellen D. Catledge, Curatorial Assistant of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, for photographs and valuable information about this picture.

After the present dissertation had been written, H. Gerson's revised edition of A. Bredius, *Rembrandt* was published (London, 1969). Gerson questions the authenticity of the signature and makes the following comment (p. 362 re No. 174, Fig. 150): "The attribution to Rembrandt is not correct. The handling seems to me closer to the work of Jacob Backer. Some details—the hands [*sic!*] for instance—are rather poor." To the best of my knowledge this is the first time any doubt has been cast on Rembrandt's authorship of this picture, and in my opinion without justification. As to the question whether the hand holding the scroll of music was added later, see pp. 39, 46–48.

2) André de Hevesy, "Rembrandt and Nicholas Lanier", *The Burlington Magazine*, LXIX, 1936, pp. 153–154. In an article immediately preceding this, pp. 147–153, "Some Portraits of Musicians by Van Dyck", Gustav Glück had attempted to substantiate a suggestion put forward earlier by A. de Hevesy that

a portrait of a man in Vienna by Van Dyck might represent Nicholas Lanier (A. de Hevesy, *Rembrandt*, Paris 1935, p. 224, note 27). I cannot say I find this identification convincing.

3) Julius Held (under Letters), "Rembrandt and Nicholas Lanier", *The Burlington Magazine*, LXIX, 1936, p. 286.

4) See Jan Lievens's portrait of Lanier, known only from Lucas Vorsterman's engraving (Fig. C, *loc. cit.* in note 2) and Nicholas Lanier's self-portrait in the Examination Schools at Oxford (Fig. A on plate facing p. 153, *loc. cit.* in note 2). K. Bauch, 1966, No. 362, calls Rembrandt's picture *Bildnis eines Musikers*, but in his comment on this on p. 19 he mentions both A. de Hevesy's identification and that made by Bruno Maerker (referred to below), though without mention of the publications and without stating an opinion on the suggestions put forward.

5) Bruno Maerker, "Rembrandts Bildnis eines Musikers—Ein Schütz-Porträt?", *Deutsche Musik-kultur*, II, 6, Feb./Mar. 1938, pp. 329–345.

6) See mention of these below in connexion with Otto Benesch's treatment of the identification with Heinrich Schütz.

7) B. Maerker bases his account of Heinrich Schütz's life and travels on Hans Joachim Moser, *Heinrich Schütz*, Kassel, 1936. This was later re-issued in a new edition in which the author discusses Bruno Maerker's suggestion for identification of *The Musician* (p. 625). *Heinrich Schütz: Sein Leben und Werk*, 2nd. rev. ed. Kassel und Basel, 1954. See in particular chapter entitled "Kopenhagener Jahre".

8) Bruno Maerker quotes (p. 338 f.) a letter from Schütz to the Elector's agent, Friedrich Lebzelter, dated 6th February 1633, in which he says that during his 12 months' leave of absence he would like to stay "in Niedersachsen (welche Örter ich niemals gesehen) oder wo es mir gefallen würde, . . ." and believes that "Niedersachsen" might well also include "die Niederländischen Provinzen".

9) *Ibid.*, p. 345.

10) Otto Benesch, "Schütz und Rembrandt", *Festschrift Otto Erich Deutsch zum 80. Geburtstag am 5. September 1963*. Published by Walter Gerstenberg, Jan La Rue and Wolfgang Rehm, Kassel, etc. 1963, pp. 12–19. The same in English translation in Otto Benesch, *Collected Writings*, Vol. I, Rembrandt, London, 1970, pp. 228–234.

11) B. Maerker, *loc. cit.*, p. 343 f. and note 27 to p. 344.

12) Otto Benesch, *loc. cit.*, p. 17 ff. with Fig. 6. Cf. Benesch, *Rembrandt's Drawings*, No. 257. Concerning the album see also Hofstede de Groot, *Urkunden über Rembrandt*, The Hague, 1906, p. 32.

13) Besides during the period 1633–35, Schütz was also in Copenhagen in 1637 and 1642–44. See Hans J. Moser, *op. cit.*, *passim*. A few years ago a number of hitherto unknown manuscript scores by Heinrich Schütz were found at Clausholm Manor in Jutland, Denmark. In May 1968 the 20th Heinrich Schütz celebrations arranged by the international Heinrich Schütz Society were held in Copenhagen. See Niels Schiørring's article, "Festival for Chr. IV's gæstekapelmester" in the Copenhagen daily *Berlingske Tidende* of 26th May 1968, in which Rembrandt's portrait was reproduced with the caption: "Rembrandts portræt af Heinrich Schütz".

14) Oils on canvas. Leipzig, Universitätssammlung. Reproduced in Otto Benesch, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 1, and in Hans J. Moser, *op. cit.* (1954) Pl. XXXI, with comment on p. 624.

15) See, for example, J. H. Der Kinderen-Besier, *Spelevaart der Mode*, Amsterdam, 1950, p. 134, Fig. 111 B, in which a man wears this costume in a portrait dated 1649.

16) Otto Benesch, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 2, with comment on p. 13.

17) *Ibid.*, Fig. 3, with comment on p. 13 f.

18) Hans Joachim Moser, *op. cit.* (1954), p. 625. Reproduced in colour as a frontispiece. Rembrandt's *The Musician* is reproduced in the same work, Pl. XXXVI.

19) Otto Benesch, *loc. cit.*, p. 16, note 7.

20) Georg Schünemann, "Ein neues Bildnis von Heinrich Schütz", *Deutsche Musik-kultur*, 1936, I, 1, p. 47f. with reproduction in colour, Cassel, 1936.

21) Professor Johannes Müller, director of the University Library at Karl Marx University, Leipzig, was kind enough to inform me in a letter dated 12th November 1968, that Spetner's portrait of Schütz shows him with greyish-blue eyes. Furthermore, Dr. Karl-Heinz Köhler, head of the Music Department of the

Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, in a letter dated 23rd December 1968, has informed me, with equal kindness, that examination of the miniature of Schütz under a magnifying glass reveals that the eyes are a greyish-green. I should like to express my thanks here for these two items of valuable information.

It must be mentioned that the colour reproduction after the miniature portrait of Heinrich Schütz in Berlin executed by Bärenreiter Verlag, Kassel and used as a frontispiece in Hans Joachim Moser's biography of Schütz, 2nd ed. 1954 and in *Deutsche Musikkultur*, 1936, No. 1, facing p. 1, shows the model as having brown eyes. Inaccuracies of this kind in colour reproductions are not uncommon. We must adhere to the originals for the colour of the eyes.

22) Miss Ellen D. Catledge of the Corcoran Gallery of Art has kindly answered my question about the colour of the eyes in a letter dated 15th May 1968: "I have examined the eyes of the portrait—they are an indistinct, dark color, brown or dark hazel."

23) It is sufficient to mention here Jan Lievens's portrait (1626/27) in the museum in Douai, Thomas de Keyser's picture of Huygens with his secretary (1627) in the National Gallery in London, and Adriaen Hanneman's portrait of him in the family painting (1639) in the Mauritshuis in The Hague.

24) Otto Benesch, *loc. cit.*, p. 15. See K. Bauch, 1966, No. 353, signed and dated 1632 just as the pendant, the portrait of Maurits Huygens in Hamburg (Kunsthalle), K. Bauch, No. 352. Jacques de Gheyn's portrait was identified by H. E. van Gelder in "Marginalia bij Rembrandt: I. De Pendant van Maurits Huygens", *Oud-Holland*, LX, 1943, pp. 33–34. Both portraits had belonged to Jacques de Gheyn, who in 1641 bequeathed them to Maurits Huygens. Cf. Seymour Slive, *Rembrandt and His Critics*, The Hague, 1953, p. 19, note 3, and H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonografie*, 1959, p. 8 f. and p. 35.

25) Otto Benesch, *loc. cit.*, p. 15.

26) Edith Greindl, "Un portrait de Constantin Huygens par Rembrandt", *Apollo. Chronique des Beaux-Arts*, Brussels, March 1942, pp. 10–11.

27) W. J. A. Jonckbloet & J. P. N. Land, *Correspondance et oeuvres musicales de Constantin Huygens*, Leyden, 1882, p. 84 (in a letter to Jacques de Duarte, The Hague, 20th January 1687). Cf. J. A. Worp, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, I–VI, The Hague, 1911–17, VI, p. 463, No. 7251.

28) Concerning Huygens as a composer see W. J. A. Jonckbloet & J. P. N. Land, *op. cit.*, pp. xviii–xxvi; *Pathodia, Sacra et Profana*, 1647, which is extremely rare, has been reprinted in Jonckbloet's and Land's publication.

29) H. E. van Gelder mentions in his *Ikonografie van Constantijn Huygens*, 1957, p. 37, that Rembrandt's portrait of "A Musician", which he erroneously believes is in the museum in Toledo (USA), is held "by various persons, including A. Bredius and, in *Apollo* (1942), by E. Greude (*sic*)" to represent Huygens. To the best of my knowledge A. Bredius has never expressed himself on this matter. By "E. Greude" he presumably means E. Greindl, see note 26. The only person to mention Edith Greindl's article correctly is Seymour Slive in *Rembrandt and His Critics, 1630–1730*, The Hague, 1953, p. 18, note 2. At this point he mentions this suggestion amongst a number of others which he describes as not "completely convincing". Miss Ellen Catledge was kind enough to inform me in May 1968 that in The Corcoran Gallery, after having received an offprint copy of Otto Benesch's article, and after Dr. Wolfgang Rehm, chairman of Die internationale Heinrich Schütz-Gesellschaft in Kassel, had expressed his agreement with Maerker's and Benesch's views, had accepted the identification Heinrich Schütz. Neither Edith Greindl's (see note 26) nor Valentin's (see note 30) identification, Constantijn Huygens, were known to The Corcoran Gallery.

After the above was written, Emanuel Winternitz, in his dissertation "Rembrandt's *Christ Presented to the People* (1655)" in *Oud Holland*, LXXXIV, 1969, Nos. 2/3, Rembrandt, referred to and reproduced Rembrandt's picture as a portrait of Heinrich Schütz (p. 184 f. and p. 197, Fig. 22), and he even draws conclusions from Schütz's supposed sojourn in Amsterdam. Without giving any bibliographical references he writes as follows (p. 185): "It is interesting that, according to recent research, Schütz in 1633 spent some time in Amsterdam, where he must have familiarized himself with the style of the great Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, who had died a decade before." After having made mention of Rembrandt's portrait, which he accepts as representing Schütz, he adds: "It is, of course, tempting to ponder what the two great original interpreters of the Bible—one for the eye, the other for the ear—would have communicated to each other."

If Schütz had really stayed in Amsterdam in 1633, one would imagine some trace of the event would

have been left in Huygens's vast correspondence, especially as Huygens knew Jan Sweelinck, junior, well. See Index to J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*. Heinrich Schütz's name does not appear in Worp's index.

30) W. R. Valentiner, "A Still-Life by Jacques de Gheyn", *The Art Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, Summer 1955, pp. 159–162; concerning Rembrandt's portrait p. 161.

31) H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonografie*, 1957, p. 21 re No. 6. Signed and dated 1627. Identified by F. Schmidt Degener, see *Onze Kunst*, 1915, pp. 113–129. Huygens wrote a poem to this picture, though without naming the artist, in Latin and Dutch (31st July and 2nd August 1627 respectively) and yet another in Dutch on 7th August. See J. A. Worp, *Gedichten* II, pp. 179–181. The title is: "In Effigiem meam Paulo Ante Nuptias Depictam". C. H. had married Suzanna van Baerle on 6th April 1627.

See also National Gallery Catalogues, *The Dutch School* by Neil Maclaren, London, 1960, pp. 207–10, No. 212. The coat of arms on the picture has been identified as that of Huygens.

32) Otto Benesch in *Festschrift Otto Erich Deutsch*, 1963, p. 15, note 6.

33) Both the mezzotint (Wurzbach No. 10) and Stolker's etching (Wurzbach No. 4) are reproduced in B. Maerker, *loc. cit.* p. 332.

34) A. de Hevesy, *loc. cit.*, Fig. C facing p. 153; here described as "School of Rembrandt".

35) Städel'sches Kunstinstitut, No. 3855, Dimensions: 24.3 × 18 cm. Black and red chalk, lead, sepia and wash. Once belonged to Ploos van Amstel. There is no doubt that it is a copy after Rembrandt's *The Musician*. Both the hair and the eyes are brown.

36) The etching, which is a reverse image of the drawing in Frankfurt, is closer to the latter than the mezzotint, which has been executed more crudely. Details such as the way the hair falls and the hand are identical in the drawing and the etching; only the mouth differs a little.

37) Jan Stolker's Auction, Rotterdam, 27th March 1786; Cat. p. 6, No. 8. Thereafter it is supposed to have been in "A Collection in Russia", and thence acquired by M. Knoedler & Co., New York; William A. Clark, New York. Bequest, W. A. Clark, 1926. The Corcoran Gallery, Washington D.C., Cat. 1955, p. 35. It is interesting to note that the drawn copy in Frankfurt once belonged to the well-known collector and engraver Cornelis Ploos van Amstel (1726–1798) who is known to have owned works by Jan Stolker, and who himself possessed a large Rembrandt collection. See Fritz Lugt, *Les Marques de Collections de Dessins & d'Estampes*, Amsterdam, 1921, pp. 371–75, (especially, p. 372). He experimented with English methods of reproduction for reproducing drawings by other artists. See also the same author's *Supplément* to this work, The Hague, 1956, p. 419 f. and the article on Ploos van Amstel in Thieme & Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, XXVII, Leipzig, 1933, likewise his biography in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, VI, Leyden, 1924, cols. 1138–40. The property he left on his death was sold by auction in Amsterdam on 3rd March 1800, with the exception of his collection of works by Rembrandt, which was sold on 31st July 1810.

38) See article on Jan Stolker in Thieme & Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, XXXII, Leipzig, 1938.

39) J. M. Quinkhard also left quite a large collection which was sold by auction in Amsterdam on 15th March 1773 and the following days. See Frits Lugt, *Repertoire des Catalogues de Ventes Publiques*, I, 1600–1825, The Hague, 1938, No. 2138. There would appear to have been some connexion between Ploos van Amstel and J. H. Quinkhard, whose collection of paintings, drawings and etchings was sold by auction in Amsterdam on 19th December 1798 (see Frits Lugt, *op. cit.*, I, 1938, No. 5837). In the catalogue for this auction Ploos van Amstel is named as an expert, see Frits Lugt, *op. cit.* in note 37, p. 371.

40) The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Cat. 1955, p. 35.

41) *Ibid.*

42) Otto Benesch, *Festschrift Otto Erich Deutsch*, 1963, p. 15, note 6.

43) H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonografie*, 1957, p. 37, see note 29.

44) *Ibid.*, p. 18, No. 2. The picture, which was painted when the 16-year-old Constantijn Huygens paid a visit to Brussels with his father in January 1612, is by a pupil of the painter Rafael Coxcie. It is mentioned by Huygens in his autobiography (see A. H. Kan's translation, p. 92 f.) and it is listed in the 1785 inventory (see note 46 and H. E. van Gelder, *op. cit.*, p. 17, b: "zeer jong op een luit spelende". C. H. writes in his autobiography that he composed a four-line verse in Latin about this portrait. This poem is no longer known.

45) See note ²⁷.

46) The family portraits in the inventory of Suzanna Louisa Huygens's property drawn up in 1785 were first published by E. W. Moes, "Een verzameling familieportretten der Huygensen in 1785", in *Oud-Holland*, XIV, 1896, pp. 176–184. H. E. van Gelder, *op. cit.*, p. 17, reprints the list of portraits of Constantijn Huygens, *a.-m.* It has been possible to identify several of these with existing portraits, but there are more portraits of C. H. extant than those included on the list. The one marked *m.* "borstbeeld" cannot be identified with certainty and strictly speaking might well be identical with Rembrandt's portrait, but in this case Jan Stolker cannot have had it for very long. The family portraits and other personal effects were divided amongst 14 members of the family by the drawing of lots (the inventory is in the municipal archives in The Hague, Not. Arch. No. 3250, dated 31st March 1785), and Jan Stolker died in June 1785 in Rotterdam.

47) Concerning Constantijn Huygens's family see H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonografie van Constantijn Huygens en de zijnen*, 's-Gravenhage, 1957.

48) *Ibid.*, p. 36 f.

49) van Gelder says (p. 36 f.) that these poems about Rembrandt's portrait of Jacques de Gheyn were composed in 1634. This is not correct. They were all written in February 1633. See J. A. Worp, *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens*, I–VIII, Groningen, 1892–98, II, 1623–36, 1893, p. 245 f.

50) See Ch. I, notes 98 and 99.

51) J. H. W. Unger, *Dagboek van Constantijn Huygens*, Amsterdam, 1885; supplement to *Oud-Holland*, III, 1885, with independent page-numbering, 1–87. Written in Latin.

52) *Ibid.*, p. 23.

53) *Ibid.*, p. 24.

54) *Ibid.*

55) *Ibid.*, p. 25.

56) Maria Tesselschade Visscher (1594–1649), who was one of the poet Roemer Visscher's gifted daughters, belonged to the literary and music-loving circle round the poet P. C. Hooft at the latter's country-seat at Muiden, "de Muiderkring". She was a poet, an artist and very musical. Huygens corresponded with her, wrote poems to her and dedicated to her his translation of John Donne's poems, which she had encouraged him to translate.

After her marriage (to a man named Crombalch) in 1623, she lived in Alkmaar. See W. J. A. Jonckbloet & J. P. N. Land, *op. cit.*, p. clxxvi ff.; also Rosalie L. Colie, 'Some Thankfulness to Constantine', The Hague, 1956, pp. 55–62. It was precisely in 1633 that Huygens translated Donne's poems. See also J. A. Worp, Huygens's *Briefwisseling* and *Gedichten*, *passim*.

Francisca Duarte (†1678) was a daughter of Gaspar Duarte (1584–1653), a Portuguese-Jewish stockbroker and jeweller who lived in Antwerp and who was also a friend of Constantijn Huygens. Duarte himself, his son Diego (†1691) and his four daughters were all very musical. From about 1630 Francisca lived in Alkmaar, married to a relative. Through her close friendship with Marie Tesselschade she joined "de Muiderkring", where she was called "the French nightingale". A few years after she became a widow (in 1634) she returned to Antwerp, where she married again. From Huygens's correspondence one can follow how Francisca continued to take part in the private concerts held in her father's house and, later, in that of her brother, Diego Duarte. See J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, *passim* and *Nieuw Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, VII, Leyden, 1927, cols. 389–92. Concerning the Duarte family and Francisca in particular, see also W. J. A. Jonckbloet & J. P. N. Land, *op. cit.*, pp. clxxv–clxxviii.

58) Maria Tesselschade's sister, the poetess Anna Roemers Visscher (1583–1653), who also lived in Alkmaar for a time, wrote a poem to Constantijn Huygens after she had heard him sing and play on his lute. See Nicholas Beets, *Gedichten van Anna Roemers Visscher*, I–II, Utrecht, 1881, I, p. xi, No. 8.

Even after Francisca Duarte had left Holland, Huygens occasionally had an opportunity of making music with her, either when he visited the Duartes at their home in Antwerp, or when she came on a visit to The Hague. In a letter to another of his musical lady-friends, Utricia Swann, née Ogle, written at his country house, Hofwijck, on 5th/15th September 1653, (J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, V, p. 187, No. 5310) he writes: "Many a new almande, courante, sarabande and such like are to wayte upon your ladyship's coming, after I shall have mustered them before little ma soeur Francisque [Duarte], who I hope, will see us before winter, mon frère Diego [Duarte] having some occasion of his trade to deal with her High.e, when she will be here from Turnhout again." Huygens is speaking of his own compositions here.

Huygens often refers to his musical accomplishments himself, both in his autobiography and in his letters. Already at the age of ten he had learnt from an English servant in The Hague how to play the viola, and ten years later, in 1616, from Englishmen in the service of the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, he learnt to play the English viola (see Rosalie L. Colie, *op. cit.* pp. 12 and 16). In the course of a visit to England in 1618 he had an opportunity to play the lute for King James I (*ibid.*, p. 20).

59) As B. Haak has rightly pointed out in his book on Rembrandt (1969, p. 89), Rembrandt's *The Shipbuilder and His Wife* (1633), now in Buckingham Palace (Bredius-Gerson 408), would appear to have been inspired, as far as idea and composition go, by Thomas de Keyser's portrait of Constantijn Huygens and his secretary (1627). As Rembrandt can only have seen this in Huygens's home in The Hague, this would seem to provide an additional argument in favour of the likelihood of Rembrandt's having visited Huygens in 1633.

60) The tiredness of the eyes may also be due to the fact that C. H. did not permit himself much sleep. He himself stated on several occasions that he used the hours of the night for his poetic pursuits, his music practice and his compositions. Thus in *Mémoire à la Madame la Princesse Douairière* (3rd February 1647), in which he relates how his many years of service as secretary to Prince Frederick Henry have taken all his daytime hours; see Theod. Jorissen, *Mémoires de Constantin Huygens*, The Hague, 1873, p. 52. Likewise in "A mes Fils" (in July 1654), *ibid.* p. 131, in which he writes, amongst other things: "... mais mes divertissemens de Musique, qui volontiers me lavoyent la bouche des amertumes de la journée jusque vers le minuit: d'où proprement sont sorties ces compositions que vous scavez que depuis l'on a estimé dignes de la presse dans Paris. Comme en mesme temps ces gros livres de Poésies Latines ont paru par deçà." His dislike of sleep on account of the time it steals from work also found expression in a few lines in his poem "Hofwyck", printed in *De Koren-Bloemen*, 1658, p. 599.

61) H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonografie*, p. 16 (quoted from A. Kan's translation).

62) J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, I, p. 419, letter No. 810.

63) J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, I, pp. 434-36, No. 853.

64) See Ch. II note 49.

65) J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, II, p. 245 f.

66) *Ibid.*, p. 246.

67) Seymour Slive, *Rembrandt and His Critics*, The Hague, 1953, p. 19 f.

68) In *Momenta Desultoria*, 2nd ed., 1655, p. 81, as a heading over these epigrams, are the words: In Jacobi Gheinij, Effigiem Plane Dissimilem. *Joci*. In the MS. published by J. A. Worp, the word *Scommata* appears instead of *Joci*. Both terms can denote satirical poems. See J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, II, p. 245, note 3 and p. 246, note 2. In one of the other epigrams (Worp, p. 245), the phrase "probus pictor" is used, which can mean both the diligent and the upright, or the modest painter, which is probably meant as a compliment. I am grateful to Professor Franz Blatt for his kind assistance in interpreting these poems.

69) H. E. van Gelder, "Constantin Huygens en Rembrandt", *Oud-Holland*, LXXIV, 1959, pp. 174-178.

70) The picture is not known. See H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonografie*, p. 22, No. 8.

71) H. E. van Gelder presents 35 portraits of Constantijn Huygens in his *Ikonografie*; even more can be traced through Huygens's correspondence and poems, though without its being possible to state with certainty who actually painted them.

72) H. E. van Gelder's *Ikonografie*, p. 24 f., No. 12. On the basis of a letter dated 25th March (but no year) from Lucas Vorsterman to Constantijn Huygens, which van Gelder believes was written in 1638, and in which mention is made of the fact that Hanneman is expected to deliver a portrait of Huygens.

73) The painting in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, is marked 1640, but as it is already mentioned in a letter and a poem, both dated 1639, it must have been painted in the latter year. See H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonografie*, p. 25.

74) Hanneman made a drawing for a similar family portrait, now in the Städel'sches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt, which was formerly regarded (by A. Bredius and E. W. Moes) as being a sketch for Huygens's family picture, executed prior to 10th May 1637, when Huygens's wife, Suzanna van Baerle, died. In the medallion in the middle can be seen a man and a woman, and in three of the four surrounding medallions are portraits of boys. As van Gelder rightly points out, Hanneman cannot have painted portraits of the Huygens family in 1637, when (in all probability) he was still in England, where he is said to have lived for

some 15 years, from about 1625 onwards. Also for other reasons, such as the number and ages of the children, and because the portrait of the man bears no particular resemblance to Huygens, it must be regarded as improbable that this drawing has anything to do with Huygens and his family. Ploos van Amstel, who has owned the drawing, has noted on the back that it is by Van Dyck. This may be regarded as out of the question but the portrait of the man has been composed in a style similar to that observable in several portraits painted by Van Dyck. See A. Bredius and E. W. Moes, "Adriaen Hanneman", *Oud-Holland*, XIV, 1896, pp. 203–18, particularly pp. 206–08. The painting, incidentally, was at one time also regarded as being by Van Dyck, see A. D. Schinkel, *op. cit.* in Ch. I, note 91, p. 15. Concerning the drawing see H. E. van Gelder, *Iconografie*, p. 22 f., No. 10, and Fig. 17. Cf. Margaret R. Toynbee, "Adriaen Hanneman and the English Court in Exile", *The Burlington Magazine*, XCII, 1950, pp. 73–80; this contains (p. 73 f.) new documents concerning Hanneman's stay in England.

75) J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, III, p. 142. The poem is entitled: "In Effigiem Meam quinque Liberorum Vultibus Cinctam".

76) "Icones Principium, Virorum Doctorum, Pictorum, Chalcographorum, Statuariorum, Necnon Amatorum Pictoriae Artis Numero Centum Ab Antonio van Dyck, pictore ad vivum expressae ejusque sumptibus aeri incisae Antwerpiae, Gillis Hendricx excudit an. 1645." Paul. Pontius's engraving after the portrait of Huygens is Pl. 14 in this work. See Leo van Puyvelde, *Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1950, chapter on "L'Iconographie", pp. 189–208.

77) J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, II, p. 234.

78) *Ibid.*, p. 235. The same day Huygens also wrote an epigram to Van Dyck's self-portrait. (*Ibid.*) Both printed in *Momenta Desulloria*, p. 77. Huygens had first written the following verse to his own portrait:

Parcius Hugenij faciem hinc averte, necesse,
Talis ut has umbras umbra leuaret, erat.

But then crossed it out and replaced it by the other.

79) J. G. van Gelder, "Anthonie van Dyck in Holland in de zeventiende Eeuw", *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Bulletin*, Vol. 8, 1–4, Brussels, 1959, pp. 43–86. Concerning the portraits mentioned see p. 46 f. and reproductions on pp. 46 and 47.

80) *Ibid.* Constantijn Huygens bought two apostles' heads by Van Dyck for himself in the winter of 1652–53. See *ibid.* p. 84 and Jan Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, Antwerp and The Hague, 1949, pp. 128 and 129. (Cf. III, p. 74).

81) J. G. van Gelder, *loc. cit.* in note 79, p. 65 f. The complete letter in J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, II, p. 371, No. 1861.

82) Maurits Huygens (1595–1642) also lived in The Hague. He was Secretary to the Council of the States General from 1624 until his death. Concerning his portrait by Rembrandt see H. E. van Gelder, *Iconografie*, p. 8 f., No. 1. The completed drawing by Rembrandt (signed and dated 1634) mentioned in the same work (p. 9) and representing a gentleman seated in an armchair, No. 2, Fig. 5 a, has been tentatively identified by A. Bredius as a portrait of Maurits Huygens. This identification has been accepted in the catalogue of the exhibition of Rembrandt drawings held in the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam (1956), No. 28 a. H. E. van Gelder rejects the idea that it could be a portrait of Maurits Huygens mainly because he finds the type of collar unmodern in 1634 and does not believe that "een jonge, deftige Hagenaar" like Maurits Huygens would wear a collar of this type at this time. It should be noted, however, that the same round, white, softly pleated type of collar is worn by several of the models for portraits painted by Rembrandt about 1632–34, including precisely *The Musician* and the poet Jan Krul (1633) (K. Bauch, 1966, No. 363. See also, in the same work, Nos. 350, 351, 353 and 355). As regards the drawing, see Otto Benesch, *Rembrandt's Drawings*, No. 433, and the same author's *Rembrandt as a Draughtsman*, London, 1960, p. 16 f. and Cat. No. 9 and reproduction. A more decisive factor to my mind is that the seated man does not bear much resemblance to Maurits Huygens. On the other hand it seems to me that the person represented has more in common with Rembrandt's portrait of Constantijn Huygens's brother-in-law, Admiral Philips van Dorp (1587–1652), who was married to Suzanna van Baerle's sister Sara. Unfortunately Rembrandt's portrait is only known from a mediocre engraving, probably by S. Savery, which is dated 1634, H. de G. 644 (K. Bauch 1966, A 26). The shape of the

face, nose, mouth, beard, brow and the direction of the gaze all coincide. In the drawing he is holding his broad-brimmed hat in his hand, whereas in the engraving he is wearing it on his head; the costume and the collar are also different. Philips van Dorp had married Sara van Baerle in Amsterdam on 18th May 1631. See Supplement I to *Oud-Holland*, III, 1885.

83) See note 82.

84) Cf. Julius Lange's well-known dissertation, "Haanden paa Brystet", first printed in *Tilskueren*, 1887, reprinted in *Udvalgte Skrifter*, edited by Georg Brandes and P. Købke, II, Copenhagen, 1901, pp. 10–48.

85) Concerning previously issued, undated prints see L. Puyvelde, *op. cit.* in note 76 and M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *L'Iconographie d'Antoine Van Dyck*, Bruxelles 1956, p. 44 f.

86) J. G. van Gelder, *loc. cit.* in note 79, pp. 50–53 and reproductions p. 51, Figs. 6 and 8.

87) In the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Antwerp, reproduced in Leo van Puyvelde, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI.

88) *Icones*, Pl. 82. It is moreover worth noting that Rembrandt, precisely in a number of representative portraits of men (three-quarter length) painted in 1632 and 1633, uses the motif of the hand on the breast, e. g. *Maerten Looten* (1632, Bauch No. 358), *Portrait of a Man* (1632, Bauch No. 360), the preacher *Johannes Uijltenbogaert* (1633, Bauch No. 361).

89) H. E. van Gelder is of the opinion, however, that Van Dyck took the original to England with him; see this author's *Ikongrafie*, p. 21 f., 7a and b. According to J. G. van Gelder, *loc. cit.*, p. 50 f., Van Dyck did not leave Holland until March 1632. Paulus Pontius may already have executed the engraving by then.

90) J. G. van Gelder, *loc. cit.*, p. 85.

91) See K. Bauch, Nos. 305 and 308.

92) The picture, which is signed and dated 1627, measures 92 × 68 cm. It was identified with certainty by F. Schmidt Degener in *Onze Konst*, 1915, pp. 113–129, as Huygens. See H. E. van Gelder, *Ikongrafie*, p. 21, No. 6.

93) H. E. van Gelder, *Ikongrafie*, p. 25 f., No. 13. This portrait is not amongst the portraits of Huygens listed in the 1785 inventory. On 8th July 1641, Constantijn Huygens wrote a poem to Mierevelt's portrait of him (J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, III, p. 161).

94) H. E. van Gelder, *Ikongrafie*, p. 33 f. No. 30.

95) *Ibid.*, Figs. 1–4.

96) *Ibid.*, Figs. 36, 40, 41, 46, 48, 54.

97) *Ibid.*, p. 33, No. 29.

98) Not in H. E. van Gelder's *Ikongrafie*. See Torben Holck Colding, *Aspects of Miniature Painting*, Copenhagen, 1953, p. 123, Cat. Nos. 118–19, with reproductions; here, however, erroneously stated to be Constantijn Huygens jun. (1628–1697).

Chapter III

1) Edith Greindl, *loc. cit.* in note 26 to Ch. II. See also note 46 to Ch. II and H. E. van Gelder, *Ikongrafie*, p. 17.

2) J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, VI, p. 253, No. 6722. Amongst the remaining portraits he sent was one of his daughter Suzanna, likewise executed by his son, Constantijn junior, one representing the singer Anna Bergerotta, executed by his son Christiaan, the famous naturalist, one of the former Queen of England, Henrietta Maria, by the well-known painter of miniatures John Hoskins (cf. two portraits in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Cat. 1934, p. 337, Nos. 2842–2843).

3) J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, VI, p. 253 f., No. 6723.

4) H. E. van Gelder, *Ikongrafie*, p. 32 f., re No. 28. It is apparent from Huygens's letter that the poem he sent was "Aen Sommighe Predikers", written on 27th/28th October 1666, see J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, VII, pp. 102–05; van Gelder's misunderstanding is possibly due to the fact that A. M. van Schurman, in her letter thanking him for what he had sent her, calls the poem a picture (see *loc. cit.* in note 3). The letter thus begins (in translation): "You most charming of all men! You have done me the honour of delighting my eyes and my mind in contemplation of more than one picture, and one of these, which in my opinion is the most precious, I am keeping, namely the one which, as if in a mirror, shows the priests the wretched

vice which often, under the mask of virtue, occupies the holy pulpit; the remainder I am returning to you with many grateful thanks." I should like to thank Mr. H. D. Schepelern, M. A., Keeper of the National History Museum in Frederiksborg Palace, Denmark, for his kindness in translating this and other Latin letters for me.

5) H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonografie*, p. 32 f., No. 28 and p. 33 f., No. 30. Van Gelder has had various ideas as to how Netscher's picture may have come back to Huygens from A. M. van Schurman. These speculations may be disregarded when one realizes that it was the poem and not the picture that she retained.

6) Concerning Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678), see, for instance, Emil Quandt, *Anna Maria van Schurman, Die Jungfrau von Utrecht*, Berlin, 1871; Una Birch, *Anna van Schurman, Artist, Scholar, Saint*, London, 1909. Concerning her relations with Jean de Labadie, see Una Birch, *op. cit.*, Ch. VIII–XI.

7) Reproduction in Una Birch, *op. cit.*, facing p. 24. Concerning Huygens's and Anna Maria van Schurman's association with "de Muiderkring", see, for example, Rosalie L. Colie, 'Some Thankfulness to Constantine' The Hague, 1956, p. 55 f. and Hans Kauffmann in *loc. cit.* in note 120 to Ch. I, pp. 50–63. Kauffmann even believes that Rembrandt painted A. M. van Schurman's portrait, see p. 61 f.

8) J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, II, pp. 299–306 (1634) and pp. 306–10 (1635). Cf. J. A. Worp, "Caspar Baerle", *Oud-Holland*, V, 1887, pp. 93–123.

9) J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, II, p. 304 f.

10) *Ibid.*, II, pp. 299–302.

11) J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, III, p. 157, No. 2670. Huygens's wife had died on 10th May 1637. As A. M. van Schurman makes no response to his letters and does not even thank him for having sent her his poem "Het Dagwerk" in memory of his deceased wife with his letter of 10th April 1639, he complains to several mutual friends about her silence and himself puts forward the suggestion that it may be because he is now a widower. See, for example, letter to A. Rivet of 20th September 1639 (J. A. Worp, II, p. 498 f., No. 2239) and to J. van Beverwijk of 5th October 1639 (J. A. Worp, II, p. 507, No. 2257). Huygens was particularly annoyed about not being in direct contact with A. M. van Schurman during these years as a musical conflict was in progress between two well-known theoreticians in the field of music, both of them clergymen, Joannes Albertus Bannius in Haarlem and P. N. Mersenne in Paris, in which Huygens, Descartes and Anna Maria van Schurman were all involved as friends of both combatants. See W. J. A. Jonckbloet & J. P. N. Land, *Correspondance et oeuvres musicales de Constantin Huygens*, Leyden, 1882, *passim*, and Leon Roth, *Correspondence of Descartes and Constantijn Huygens 1635–47*, Oxford, 1926, *passim*.

12) Reproduced in Una Birch, *op. cit.*, facing page 53. Presumably this engraving was the model for the engraved portrait of the artist Anna Maria van Schurman that appears on the same print as the portraits of Rembrandt and Jacob Backer in Arnold Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, Amsterdam, Vol. I, 1718. (In the 1753 ed. it is the reproduction in Vol. I facing p. 272. Her biography is in Vol. I, pp. 313–16). The engraving, which is believed to have been made by Jacobus Houbraken, is a reverse image of the self-portrait of 1640. A little owl has been placed at her side as an indication of her great learning. See also Seymour Slive, *Rembrandt and His Critics*, The Hague, 1953, p. 194 and Fig. 44.

13) J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, IV, p. 144: "In Effigiem Schurmannae".

14) Reproduced in Una Birch, *op. cit.*, facing title page. See also H. Schneider, *Jan Lievens*, Haarlem, 1932, p. 150 f. Cat. No. 258. It is not dated, but was possibly painted, as Jan Lievens was in Holland in 1639 or after 1643–44, when he settled in Amsterdam. J. Suyderhoff has engraved this portrait in copper. On the engraving is a Latin poem by Daniel Heinsius.

15) J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, VI, p. 310 f.

16) *Catalogus der Schilderijen*, Utrecht, 1952, No. 873 and reproduction Fig. 142. It is marked at the bottom: "Cornelius Jonson van Ceulen Pinxit, Clemendt de Jonghe excudebat, C v Dalen junior sculps." In the same museum is a miniature on copper that is a copy, either after van Ceulen's painting or after the engraving, see *Catalogus* No. 163. As Huygens's poem was written in 1661, it is open to question whether the engraving should be dated as early as about 1650, as stated in the catalogue. A. M. van Schurman certainly looks older here than in a self-portrait painted in 1652 (miniature), reproduced in Una Birch, *op. cit.*, facing p. 81. The hair-style and costume would also appear to indicate the fashions of about 1660. The print reproduced on p. 65 is in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

- 17) J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, IV, p. 411, No. 4617.
- 18) W. J. A. Jonckbloet & J. P. Land, *op. cit.*, p. ccxxx; J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, III, p. 229, note 5; Leo van Puyvelde, *Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1950, p. 72 f.
- 19) Leo van Puyvelde, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 and 148 f. Reproduction in Gustav Glück, *Van Dyck, Klassiker der Kunst*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1931, Pl. 427 and comment on p. 567.
- 20) Huygens has even noted the meeting in his diary on 15th July 1652. See J. H. W. Unger, *Dagboek*, p. 54.
- 21) J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, V, p. 150, No. 5238 (and note 4 to this). The expression "parfumeur" refers to C. Huygens's skill in making perfume. See Rosalie Colie, *op. cit.*, pp. 140–42.
- 22) See, in particular, letter to the Duchess from The Hague on 9th December 1652, J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, V, p. 161 f., No. 5262, and letter from H. to J. Buycx from Breda on 8th January, 1653, *ibid.*, p. 162 f., No. 5265. The portraits, which were of Huygens's mother's grandparents, Joris Vezeler and Maria Booghe, are included on the list of portraits in the 1785 inventory. See E. W. Moes in *Oud-Holland*, XIV, 1896, p. 177, Nos. 8 and 9, and p. 183.
- 23) J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, V, p. 33 f. (and note 4 to p. 33).
- 24) J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, V, p. 243, No. 5425. On 19th July 1655 C. Huygens had visited the Duchess in Brussels, see J. H. W. Unger, *Dagboek*, p. 57.
- 25) Thus in a letter from the Duchess of 27th June 1657, J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, V, p. 291, No. 5546, and in one of 20th April 1659, *ibid.*, V, p. 318, No. 5607, and in another of 24th September (1662), *ibid.*, V, p. 479, No. 5921.
- 26) E. W. Moes, *Oud-Holland*, XIV, 1896, p. 178, No. 20 and p. 183.
- 27) S. Ingen, p. 45. See also E. W. Moes, *loc. cit.*, p. 183 and the same author in *Iconographia Batava*, I, Amsterdam 1897, p. 465, where he writes: "Door J. Cossiers 1625 (?)", without indicating what this date is based on.
- 28) H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonografie*, p. 27, No. 16.
- 29) J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, V, p. 25. (15th and 24th February 1652).
- 30) Musée Royal de Tableaux, Mauritshuis à la Haye. *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux et sculptures*, The Hague, 1935, p. 317 f. (Daniel Seghers).
- 31) *Ibid.*, p. 318, No. 256.
- 32) *Ibid.*, p. 319, No. 257.
- 33) William III of Orange (1650–1702), Stadholder in Holland from 1672, King of England from 1689. The portrait shows an elderly man in armour.
- 34) Jan Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens. Documenten uit den Kunsthandel te Antwerpen in de XVII/ eeuw van Matthijs Musson*, Antwerp and The Hague, 1949, p. 69.
- 35) J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, V, p. 250, No. 5451.
- 36) *Ibid.*, p. 250 f., No. 5452.
- 37) Concerning his stay in Brussels in 1656, see J. H. W. Unger, *Dagboek*, p. 59 f. The Duchess, it must be admitted, is not mentioned here, but in a letter from The Hague dated 25th January 1656, Huygens had informed her of his impending visit to Brussels and mentioned that he would probably be bringing various pieces of music for the Duchess's cembalo and her daughter's lute. See also poems to the Duchess written during his stay in Brussels, J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, VI, p. 55 f.
- 38) J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, VI, pp. 56–58.
- 39) J. H. W. Unger, *Dagboek*, p. 60.
- 40) J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, V, p. 283, No. 5533.
- 41) Thieme & Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, X, 1914; Jan Denucé, *op. cit.*, pp. lvi f., 145 and 398.
- 42) J. H. W. Unger, *Dagboek*, p. 60.
- 43) The Duchess refers to this visit in a letter to Huygens from Antwerp dated 2nd October 1652 (J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, V, p. 154, No. 5246) and to the portraits in a letter of 21st October 1652 (*ibid.*, p. 155, No. 5249).
- 44) J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, V, p. 161 f., No. 5262. Honthorst has painted several pictures of Amalia von Solms. Here it is probably a question of a replica of a portrait of her as a widow, signed and dated 1650 by Gerard Honthorst, now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. See *Catalogus der Schilderijen, Rijks-*

museum te Amsterdam, Amsterdam, 1934, p. 135, No. 1239. On this occasion, along with the portrait of Amalia von Solms, Huygens sent the Duchess a poem dated 5th July 1653 (J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, V, p. 44). Huygens moreover possessed a double portrait of Prince Frederick Henry and Amalia von Solms, painted by G. Honthorst in 1637–38, hanging over a fireplace in his house in Het Plein in The Hague. It was a replica after a portrait owned by the Prince, and is now in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, Cat. 1935, p. 155 f., No. 104. Reproduced in G. J. Hoogewerff, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, The Hague, 1924, Pl. XXV (text p. 12). See also Richard Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, The Hague, 1959, p. 111, and Hermann Braun, *Gerard und Willem van Honthorst*, Diss. Göttingen, 1966, p. 251 f., No. 103. Cf. Ch. I, note 105.

45) J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, V, p. 156, No. 5252. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 155, No. 5249, from the Duchess to Huygens, Antwerp, 21st October 1652, from which it appears that she herself had commissioned Honthorst to paint a portrait of her for Amalia von Solms.

46) J. A. Worp, V, p. 158, No. 5259.

47) *Ibid.*, V, p. 250, No. 5451.

48) *Ibid.*, V, p. 294 f., No. 5554.

49) J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, VI, p. 225. The clouds and stormy weather referred to in the poem must be a reference to the concern and worries about the future which shadowed these years of the Duchess's life, and to which she herself referred now and again in her letters.

50) J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, V, p. 34 f. and note 2 to p. 34. Huygens sent the poems to the Queen through P. Chanut (see J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, V, p. 166, No. 5273; cf. letter to Cl. Saumaise, *ibid.*, V, p. 167 f., No. 5775). Concerning David Beck's portraits of Queen Christina, see Karl Erik Steneberg, *Kristinatidens Måleri*, Malmö, 1955, Ch. VII, pp. 129–156; and regarding, in particular, David Beck's stay in the Netherlands in 1653, see p. 131. Steneberg makes no mention of Constantijn Huygens's poems to the portrait of the Queen, but refers to Vondel's better known poem of 1653, in which the poet mentions that David Beck had been given the task of painting the crowned heads of Europe and of presenting his portrait of the Queen to them. (See *De Werken van Joost Vondel*, ed. by H. W. E. Moller, *et al.*, V, 1931, p. 594). The portrait to which Huygens wrote his poems was presumably of the same type (if not the very same portrait) as that painted of Queen Christina in 1651, now in the National History Museum in Frederiksborg Palace, Denmark (Cat. 1943, No. 2389), but known to have been in the collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels. See Steneberg, *op. cit.*, p. 145 f. and Pl. 58.

51) Letter from C. Huygens to J. D'Aulnay, Brussels, 24th July 1655 (J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, V, p. 240, No. 5417).

52) J. H. W. Unger, *Dagboek*, p. 57.

53) J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, V, p. 242, No. 5423. Included in this edition of *Momenta Desultoria* were the poems written to Christina's portrait, pp. 390 and 391. H. E. van Gelder, *Ikongrafie*, p. 29 f., No. 22. Already in 1648 Huygens had sent the music-loving queen, through Count Hendrik of Nassau, his *Pathodia* (see Jonckbloet & Land, *op. cit.*, p. 16, letter No. XX).

54) A general reference may be made to Jonckbloet & Land, *op. cit.*, for a survey of Constantijn Huygens's numerous musical friends and correspondents on the subject of music, comprising persons of many nationalities and ranging from royalty to professional musicians. Supplementary information can be obtained from J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, which contains the same letters and several more besides, likewise detailed notes on the individuals concerned.

55) See Ch. II, note 2. Huygens was in contact with Nicholas Lanier by correspondence during the 1640s, see J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, IV, p. 289, No. 4295 (Antwerp, 18th March 1646) and p. 292, No. 4304 (Antwerp, 3rd April 1646). See also Rosalie L. Colie, 'Some Thankfulness to Constantine', The Hague, 1956, pp. 28 f. and 32.

56) Henri de Beringhen (1603–92) was a French officer and nobleman who fell from grace and was exiled by Richelieu. He then entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus, and after the latter's death passed into the service of the States General and took part in Prince Frederick Henry's campaigns. Later he returned to France, where he became the King's equerry. During the 1630s he was one of Huygens's best musical friends, and he maintained contact with him even after his return to France. Apart from their own correspondence, there are numerous references to Beringhen's interest in music in Huygens's correspondence with

other mutual friends. See J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, II, p. 390, No. 770, note 2, also in the index to Vols. II–VI. More detailed biographical information in Jonckbloet & Land, pp. cli–clv.

57) The son, Jacques-Louis, Marquis de Beringhen (1651–1723), was also *Premier écuyer du roi*. He bequeathed his large collection of prints and drawings to the Bibliothèque Royale (now National). See Seymour Slive, *Rembrandt and His Critics*, The Hague, 1953, p. 142 (and note 5).

58) Printed in Jonckbloet & Land, *op. cit.*, p. 52, letter No. LXI, and in J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, VI, p. 260 No. 6745.

59) *Correspondence of Descartes and Constantijn Huygens 1635–1647*. Edited by Leon Roth, Oxford, 1926.

60) See, for example, René Descartes, *Compendium of Music (Compendium Musicae)*. Translation by Walter Robert, Introduction and Notes by Charles Kent, American Institute of Musicology, 1961. The work was first published in 1656, but was known in transcripts long before, by, *inter alia*, P. Marin Mersenne, scientist and musicologist, with whom both Descartes and Huygens conducted extensive correspondence.

61) *Op. cit.* in note 59, p. 20. The editor has no comment to make on this passage.

62) Descartes visited Huygens in his home in The Hague on 1st April 1636, see Leon Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–19. After this visit came the letter from Descartes (11th June 1636) quoted here. The passage cited presumably refers to a conversation or incident that took place during their meeting on 1st April.

63) J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, IV, p. 143. “In Effigiem Renati Cartesij”. On that same day he wrote yet another poem containing a number of puns on Descartes’s first and second names: “In Renati Nomen”, *ibid.*, p. 143 f.

64) “In Mortem Renati Cartesij”, J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, IV, p. 232, and “Epithaphium”, *ibid.* Descartes died in Stockholm on 11th September 1650.

65) Sketch in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen, Cat. No. 290, for a portrait, which now seems to have disappeared but which is known from copies in the Louvre and in Helsingborg Museum, Sweden, and from an engraving by Jonas Suyderhoff (c. 1613–1686). See Johan Nordström, “Till Cartesius’ Ikonografi”, in *Lärdomshistoriska Samfundets Årsbok*, 1957–58, Uppsala and Stockholm, 1958, Figs. 10–13 (pp. 214–17).

66) J. Nordström, *loc. cit.*, p. 200 f., believes that Huygens’s poem was written to Frans van Schooten’s engraved portrait of Descartes, which had been executed already in 1644, but was first printed in 1650 because the engraver had to wait until Constantijn Huygens junior had supplied a verse which he had promised to write to it. *Ibid.*, pp. 196–200. In view of the difficulties that were involved in getting the younger Huygens’s poem amended to correct Latin, it does not appear likely that Huygens senior’s poem should have been written to the same portrait.

67) H. Schneider, *Jan Lievens, Sein Leben und seine Werke*, Haarlem, 1932, p. 195, Z. No. 56. The drawing has an old inscription on the reverse: Renatus Descartes. It is not dated, but is considered to have been drawn about 1643, when Lievens had left Antwerp. At all events he is known to have settled in Amsterdam by 1st March 1644 (*ibid.* p. 7). Reproduced, for example, in Germaine Lot, *Descartes*, Paris, 1966, facing p. 128.

68) The Latin text is as follows: Cartesij pectus vides, vides frontem?/ Candore vel modestiâ nihil supra est,/ Scientiâ nil par quidem. Exigis plura?/ Stagira, si tamen Stagira, Naturam/ Adspexit, aut inspexit; iste perspexit, /Perspexit ac detexit: Exigis plura?/ Qui plura dicere me vetat, stupor dicat.

69) H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonografie*, p. 23, No. 11 a, Fig. 18.

70) *Ibid.*, p. 24, No. 11 b, Fig. 19.

71) Cf. also Huygens’s poem to Anna Maria van Schurman’s portrait (12th April 1661), printed on C. van Dalen’s engraving after Cornelis Jonson van Ceulen’s painting, see p. 64. The day after he wrote the poem to Descartes’s portrait (8th January 1649), Huygens wrote another (mentioned earlier), namely to the portrait of Anna Maria van Schurman (see note 13); it may, as already mentioned, be Jan Lievens’s portrait of the learned lady. At all events Huygens was in contact with Lievens around this time, as the artist was amongst those who were commissioned to carry out decorative work on the “Oranjezaal” in the Huis ten Bosch. Lievens’s painting for this, *The Five Muses*, is dated 1650. See H. Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 and 113, No. 89.

72) Concerning the Duarte family, see Albert de Burbure de Wesembeek, *La Casa de Portugal d’An-*

vers, Edition de la Revue Portugal-Belgique, Brussels, 1953, p. 14 f. and *Nieuw Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, VII, Leyden 1927, cols. 389–92. Also F. Szper, “Een kunstlievende familie uit de 17de eeuw”, *De Vrijdagavond*, *Joodsch Weekblad*, Amsterdam, 9th May 1924, pp. 99–103, in which Huygens’s relationships with the family are also described in detail.

73) Jonckbloet & Land, *op. cit.*, pp. clxxiv–cxvii, and J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, index to Vols. III, IV and V.

74) See letters from G. Duarte concerning the order for the cembalo, J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, IV, p. 465, No. 4772 (Antwerp, 5th March 1648), *ibid.*, p. 477, No. 4812 (Antwerp, 3rd May 1648), p. 486, No. 4843 (Antwerp, 19th July 1648) and p. 488, No. 4849 (Antwerp, 30th July 1648). Cf. a single letter from Jean Couchet p. 489, No. 4851 (undated). On hearing the news of Couchet’s death in 1655, Huygens expressed regret at the loss and his admiration for Couchet’s skill as an instrument maker in a letter to the organist Henri du Mont in Paris dated 6th April 1655, *ibid.*, V, p. 232 f., No. 5399.

75) Gaspar Duarte died on 12th November 1653. The poem “Epitaphium Gasparis Duarti” was written on 21st November. (J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, V, p. 108 f.).

76) The poem “In Effigiem C. Duarti”, which is dated “Hofw. (Huygens’s country seat, Hofwijck, outside The Hague) 5. Apr.” is printed in J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, VI, p. 113. Concerning the portrait of G. Duarte see *Nieuw Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, VII, col. 390 f. Lucas Vorsterman’s engraving is reproduced in *De Vrijdagavond* (*cit.* in note 72), p. 100, and mentioned in the text on p. 102.

77) See literature in notes 72 and 73. Concerning the collection see S. Speth-Holterhoff, *Les peintres flamands de Cabinets d’amateurs au XVII^e siècle*, Brussels, 1957, p. 23 f. and Jan Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, 1949, *passim*.

78) Gustav Upmark, “Ein Besuch in Holland 1687. Aus den Reiseschilderungen des schwedischen Architecten Nicodemus Tessin”, *Oud-Holland*, XVIII, 1900, p. 201 f.

79) *Journal van Constantijn Huygens, den zoon, gedurende de Veldtochten der Jahren 1673, 1675, 1676, 1677 en 1678*, Utrecht, 1881, *passim*. See also *Register op de Journalen van Constantijn Huygens jr.*, Amsterdam, 1906, and Jean Gessler, “Le ‘Journal’ de C. Huygens le Jeune”, *Revue Belge d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art*, III, Bruxelles and Paris, 1933, pp. 97–135.

80) No work by Rembrandt is mentioned in a list of paintings in Diego Duarte’s collection drawn up in 1682, but this does not appear to include portraits of friends and relations either. See “Catalogus der Schilderijen van Diego Duarte, te Amsterdam in 1682, met de prijzen van Aankoop en taxatie”, *De oude Tijd*, II, 1870, pp. 397–402. There is a much more comprehensive list of the works in Duarte’s collection in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels (MS. II, 91). See Frits Lugt, “Italiaansche Kunstwerken in Nederlandsche verzamelingen van vroeger tijden”, *Oud-Holland*, LIII, 1936, pp. 97–135, and about Duarte’s collection in particular, p. 131. In note 63 to this Lugt mentions the likelihood of the Brussels list’s being published by Jean Gessler in the near future (1936), but this, as far as I have been able to ascertain, has not taken place. A few extracts from the list had already been published by Jean Gessler, *loc. cit.* in note 79, p. 104 f. Dr. Georges Dogaer, Conservateur-adjoint du Cabinet des manuscrits, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, who intends to publish the list of works in Duarte’s collection, has been kind enough to inform me that he has not found Rembrandt’s name in the manuscript.

81) See *Journal van Constantijn Huygens, den zoon*, *cit.* in note 79, (IV), p. 174.

82) J. A. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, VI, p. 463, No. 7251. Also in Jonckbloet & Land, p. 83, but only extracts from it.

83) See Jan Denucé, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Rembrandt, too, was in contact with Matthijs Musson (*ibid.*).

84) *Ibid.*, p. 127 f. (No. 154).

85) See H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonografie*, pp. 1–6.

86) *Ibid.*, p. 8 f.

87) Jan Denucé, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

88) “stofken”, presumably the same as “stofken”, diminutive of the word “stof”, meaning stuff, material, or cloth. Can also mean bath, but this hardly seems to be the meaning here. I should like to thank Professor L. L. Hammerich for kindly helping me to interpret this passage.

89) H. E. van Gelder, *Ikonografie*, p. 4, and E. W. Moes, *loc. cit.* in *Oud-Holland*, XIV, 1896, p. 177, No. 11.

90) J. A. Worp, *Gedichten*, VIII, p. 294.

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