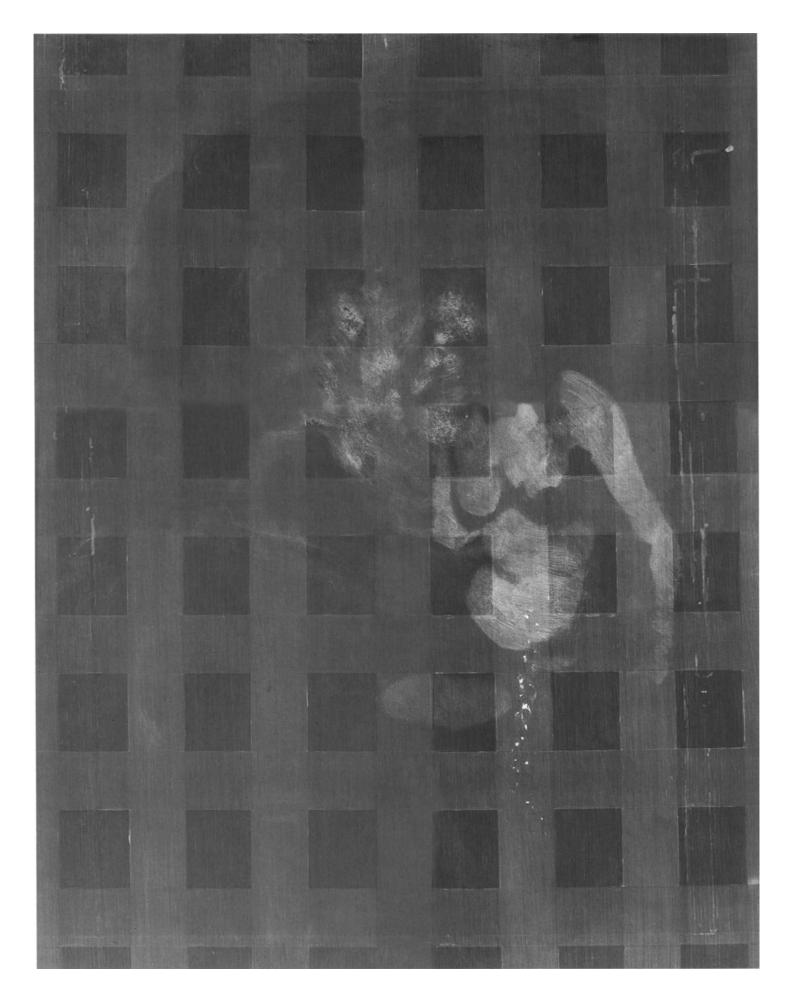
1655

HDG 528; BR. 44; BAUCH 325; GERSON 320; TÜMPEL A 71

Fig. 1. Panel 64.3 x 50.8 cm. For a colour reproduction of a detail (1:1) showing the face see Chapter III fig. 281



Fig. 2. X-Ray



1. Introduction and description

The authenticity of this painting was never doubted in the literature until 1986, when Tümpel attributed it to an anonymous follower of Rembrandt. Prior to that, discussions of the painting had focused exclusively on its supposedly poor condition. This entry takes a closer look at the painting's condition and examines the issue of attribution.

Rembrandt is shown *en trois quart*. He wears a dark brown gown with a turned up fur collar over a white shirt and a red brown *hemdrock* or waistcoat, and a black cap on his head. A gold earring adorns his visible ear and a gold chain with a medallion hangs from his neck. In the light of the question whether this could be an autograph self-portrait, it should be noted that the sitter's gaze does not appear to be directed at the beholder.

Working conditions

Examined on 29 May 1970 (B.H., E.v.d.W.), and again on 13 March 1989, September 1991 and June 1995 (E.v.d.W.): out of the frame, in good daylight with the aid of a complete set of X-ray films, a stereomicroscope, an ultraviolet lamp and infrared reflectography. A thick, yellowed, locally cracked varnish layer impedes observation.

Support

Oak panel, grain vertical, 64.3 x 50.8 cm (height and width measured without the added slats). Two planks, widths 24.3 cm (left) and 26.5 cm (right). The original two-part panel was affixed to an oak panel consisting of three pieces and subsequently cradled. Slats were added at the left and right sides; a strip of the new panel is visible at the top and bottom. This construction makes it impossible to discern potential traces of bevelling on the original panel. The measurements with the added pieces are 66 x 53 cm.

Dendrochronological analysis (by Dr P. Klein, Hamburg) of the two planks of the original panel showed (from left to right): 184 growth rings, dated 1430-1613 and 195 growth rings, dated 1422-1616. Both planks are from the same tree from the Baltic region. In the absence of sapwood, an earliest possible felling date of 1625 can be set, yielding 1631 as theoretically the earliest date that the panel could have been painted. Parts of the panel may, however, have been lost during its dramatic material history.

Ground

Nowhere observed with certainty.

Paint layer

Condition: Evaluation of the painting's condition is complicated by the rather obscure painting technique, further complicated by the presence of an underlying, probably unfinished painting (see *Radiography*). In the paint surface of the lit half of the face there are several apparently smoothly executed passages, which in the X-ray image seem to be painted with a restless pastose touch. While it

would be tempting to consider these passages as overpaintings, this is not the case. The impression of smoothness is probably in part the result of the extremely thick layer of varnish that evens out the surface. To the extent that they are visible, strokes in the X-ray image correspond with streaks noticeable on the surface, thus countering the impression that these passages were extensively overpainted. More likely, the impasto has suffered from wear. The size of the grains of pigment also argues against the likelihood that the flesh-coloured layer on the surface is a later overpainting. This is evident, for example, in the lit section of the cheek at the left where an underlying ivory-coloured layer can be detected that must have become exposed through wear. That the painting was harshly cleaned and scoured is evident in the dark red of the nostril, now found only in the hollows of the paint relief.

The ivory-coloured layer that has come to the surface could be understood as a form of underpainting. The X-ray image gives no reason for maintaining the idea that the underlying image has become visible here.

While the ruddy glazes in the area of the crease of the cheek at the left are later overpaintings, it is not clear whether the shadows around the corner of the mouth and the moustache, painted as a series of small dark, wispy lines that fan out, were added later. The paint of these shadows partly overlaps and underlies the flesh colour, making it unclear whether this flesh-coloured paint is original, or whether parts were touched up by a later hand. The wispy lines do seem to be old: they are also found in an early copy in Munich (see 5. Copies, 1, fig. 4). However, this does not exclude the possibility that old retouchings present in the Vienna painting were copied in the Munich version.

Furthermore, there are passages along the edges of the painting, in the hair above the ear at the left, and in the chest at the left, with a very distinct shrinkage pattern of craquelure that differs from that of the surroundings. These passages can be considered as overpaintings possibly done with a bituminous paint. It is not impossible that parts of the black and dark grey passages in the gown are also later overpaintings.

In various areas, such as in the turned up collar of the gown at the right, continuing to the jaw at the right below the mouth, in the red brown waistcoat to the left of the chain, and in the shoulder at the right, light (ivory white) dots and brushstrokes connected with the underlying image shine through the locally extremely worn paint surface (see *Radiography*). This ivory white paint seems to be covered with a locally applied black layer over which was painted the red of the waistcoat.

Furthermore, after being radically overcleaned, the cap was overpainted with an opaque brown layer, as were parts of the shadowed half of the face and the background. In the transition from the cap to the background this has been done with somewhat hatched streaks. This overpainting partly extends over the signature.

Craquelure: With the exception of the above-mentioned areas with shrinkage craquelure connected with later overpaintings, an extremely fine craquelure pattern

is found only in several places in the face (with the help of the microscope).

Despite the painting's worn condition, the local overpaintings in the background, cap and shaded parts of the face, the thick smooth varnish layer, and the fact that the ivory-coloured underpainting and the underlying image show through in places as a result of wear, enough of the original paint surface remains to assess aspects of the peinture. However, the degree to which the painting's condition determines its appearance can ultimately only be clearly ascertained by removing the varnish and later overpaintings.

The painting lacks robust brushwork in the impasto and in the lit sections where the paint has been applied with a somewhat cramped brush action. The face is built up over a transparent brown underlayer visible in the forehead, near the nose and the eye socket of the eye at the left over which shapes appear to be delineated in darker brown, namely in the upper left half of the face, where the eye and the eyebrow are summarily drawn in dark lines. As stated in Paint layer Condition, account must be taken of the fact that more or less radical overpaintings in predominantly transparent paint were applied in all the shaded areas. The light sections of the head that are painted over the ivory-coloured underpainting described above have been executed in fairly long streaky strokes and local short, clotted strokes in flesh tones varying from grey to ochre yellow and pink. The nose is thinly painted in muddled, haphazardly applied dashes and strokes, and the pinkish strokes on the nasal bone do not contribute to a convincing plasticity. The pink of the nose wing is somewhat more intense than the greyish and yellowish flesh colour of the rest of the nose. The nostril is indicated by a dry, black, horizontal dab with an indistinct ruddy rim at the left. Here, too, the role of the painting's poor condition is difficult to estimate. The lightest point of the cheekbone displays a pastose islet pink and yellow. The collar is executed in fine strokes of ochre yellow, red and brown creating the impression of fluffy fur. The chain is indicated with thick, pastose highlights.

A pentimento can be noted at the right edge of the turned up collar to the left of the chin. Light paint of the neck shines through in that area, as do several short white strokes of the shirt collar partially extending under the collar as now visible (see also *Radiography*). In the left part of the collar and along the lower edge, where a spot of ochre yellow paint is visible with the same coarse texture as on the cheekbone, something of an earlier version of the collar can still be discerned. It seems to follow a broad diagonal path extending to the highlights of the chain. Accordingly, the red waistcoat, now covered by a dark brown, locally transparent layer, must have originally been wider.

Radiography

The X-radiograph is largely determined by an image of a nude female figure turned to the left underneath the present painting. The two arms and a part of the upper

Fig. 3. Detail with signature (reduced)



left leg of this somewhat slumped seated figure, whose torso bends slightly forward, show up clearly. Because the broad brushstrokes in this figure are equally wide and the illuminated sections visible in the X-ray image do not appear to have been further elaborated, the figure gives the impression of being an initial lay-in in radioabsorbent paint. This would also explain why the X-ray image presents no trace of the head, the hands, and the right leg. Although these passages could have been indicated in dark paint that does not absorb X-rays, local radioabsorbency would be expected had these passages been worked up.

In the X-radiograph only the head and a few highlights in the chain of the 'Self-portrait' can be traced, along with the turned up collar mentioned in Paint layer. Originally, the brushstrokes delineating the lower part of the cheek extended all the way into the neck, and a radioabsorbent stroke of paint showing up light in the X-radiograph was placed in the now visible tip of the collar. In addition, the contour of the cap at the left appears to have been shifted.

Signature

In timid, dark brown grey letters near the cap at the upper left in the background: <*Rembrandt f/ 1655>*. As noted in *Paint layer* Condition, the signature seems to have been partly overpainted with the same layer as the cap and the background.

2. Comments

On the occasion of the Rembrandt exhibitions of 1956, Winkler wrote an article addressing issues of authenticity in which he also discussed the condition of a number of Rembrandt's works. About the present painting, he wrote: 'Not showing the crispness of brushstroke that one would expect from a late work, heavily flattened with a dull varnish and dead eyes, uninteresting in the shaded parts, one is tempted to call this painting a beautiful ruin.'. Gerson, on the other hand, believed the painting's condition was better than Winkler suggested. These differences of opinion show how difficult it is to gauge the condition of the painting and thus evaluate it.

Only removal of the very thick varnish layer could reveal the painting's actual condition and provide a more complete insight into its genesis, style and quality. Consequently, at this time we can do little more than simply consider the various possibilities with respect to the painting's authorship, which was rejected by Tümpel in his Rembrandt monograph of 1986.

First, the arguments will be explored that do not stand in the way of an attribution to Rembrandt, or at least situate the origin of the painting in Rembrandt's workshop. Subsequently, the arguments against an attribution to Rembrandt will be examined.

The arguments in favour of an attribution, or a place within Rembrandt's workshop, are important but not decisive. There are sufficient indications that the painting dates from the 17th century. Dendrochronological investigation shows that the two planks of the panel came from a tree from the Baltic area which was felled at the earliest in 1625 (see Support). Moreover, the fact that a work relying on the Vienna painting was already called a self-portrait in 1719 (see 5. Copies, 1, fig. 4) argues for an early origin and makes it likely that the present painting came from Rembrandt's workshop. One other aspect speaks for an origin in Rembrandt's workshop. The Xradiograph of the painting shows a figure under the visible image. The fact that a significant number of Rembrandt's self-portraits, even if not executed by him (see IV 10 version 2 and IV 12), are painted over another, abandoned composition (see Chapter III, pp. 96-98) is not, of course, a cogent criterium for authenticity. However, it does carry some weight in judging this painting, especially in view of the subject of the underlying composition. The pose of the underlying figure is very close to that of Rembrandt's 1654 Bathsheba in the Louvre (Br. 521). The Vienna 'Self-portrait' bears the date 1655 (see Signature), and should it indeed stand for the year of origin, the underlying painting could have been derived from the Bathsheba. As already noted (see Radiography), no elaboration of the visible areas of the underlying figure can be discerned. It appears to be merely a first lay-in. The somewhat uniform brushwork of this underlying painting is not reminiscent of Rembrandt's manner. The head, the lower right arm and the greater part of both legs are not visible in the X-ray image. Evidently these are shaded areas done in nonradioabsorbent paint. It is highly probable that the underlying painting is an initial lay-in for a copy, or a variant of the Bathsheba. It would then have been the first stage of a type of painting akin to the partial copy with the figure of Susanna after the Berlin Susanna and the Elders (Br. 518 after Br. 516) that certainly originated in Rembrandt's studio (see our discussion in Vol. V).

Arguments against an attribution to Rembrandt are principally related to qualitative, stylistic and physiognomic aspects. As mentioned above, Tümpel was the first to reject the painting. He considered the manner of painting different from that of secure works by Rembrandt (see note 1). He then attributed it to an anonymous Rembrandt imitator. To judge the painting on its present appearance, Tümpel's rejection is entirely understandable. The head, built up in thin streaky brushstrokes and short daubs, and the gown painted in brown sweeps with crude strokes to indicate the folds, indeed, exhibit no distinct relationship with similar passages in authentic works by Rembrandt. As Winkler

Fig. 4. Copy 1, panel 82 x 67 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek



noted earlier, one of the most divergent passages in the painting concerns the eyes, which lack a clearly defined structure. Moreover, the eye at the right is lacking the sagging fold of the eyelid that is characteristic of Rembrandt's self-portraits (see pp. 94-96). The painting diverges even further from the group of autograph self-portraits by Rembrandt in that the eyes do not seem to be fixed on the viewer. In addition, the vertical furrow above the nose that curves to the left eye, recurrently evident in Rembrandt's autograph self-portraits, is not found in its usual form in the painting under discussion. All of these features speak against the present painting's authenticity. Only the worrying uncertainty about its condition prevents outright rejection.

Given the above, it is worth looking more closely at another version of the painting now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (see 5. Copies, 1, fig. 4). Although this painting served as the prototype for a series of copies varying greatly in quality, including one by Courbet, it is clear at first sight that it could not have been produced in the master's workshop, let alone be by his own hand.

As long as the painting under discussion was judged an autograph work by Rembrandt, the picture in Munich was generally considered to be based on it, although it is clear that the Munich version is not a copy in the strict sense. Besides the fact that it differs in format and that it is rounded at the top, the sitter is wearing a different gown and undergarment, another type of cap with an ornament, and no necklace or earring. Also, he holds his

left hand to his chest. There are also compositional differences. The sitter is positioned further to the left and in a more spacious setting with more background visible at the left and right, and he is shown to the waist. In addition, the modelling of the head in the Munich painting makes a more convincing impression than that of the Vienna version; the construction of the eyes, for instance, is clearer. The same applies to the lit parts of the head, which make a more structured impression than in the Vienna painting. On the basis of such differences, it would at first sight seem rather unlikely that the Munich painting is a copy of the Vienna work. However, here too, the condition of the Vienna painting seriously hinders both proper judgement and comparison. Details in both are so close that there must be a direct connection between the two paintings. The pose and illumination of the head and the related shaded areas near the nose and the corner of the mouth at the left (if this passage in the Vienna painting is, indeed, overpainted, then the copy was made after it was overpainted), and the signature Rembrandt f / 1655(?) in the same place with the date under the name, are identical in both paintings. It is striking that the collar of the white shirt is indicated with identical undulating brushstrokes. Could it be proven that the Munich painting surely relied on the Vienna one, Winkler's characterisation of the Vienna painting as 'eine schöne Ruine' (a beautiful ruin) one we are inclined to agree with - would gain greater validity.

To better locate the Munich version (in its decidedly un-Rembrandtesque technique) it is important to reconstruct its history and long provenance. It was in the collection of Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine (d. 1716, see II A 65) and first mentioned in the Gründliche Specification derer vortrefflichen und unschätzbaren Gemählden..., In der Galerie der Churfürstl. Residentz zu Düsseldorff ..., drawn up in 1719 under: 'N.93. Das Portrait von Rembrand, gemahlet von Rembrand.' According to this entry, the portrait hung in the same room ('Das zweyte Zimmer') as, and together with, the paintings of the Passion series (nos. II A 65, II A 69, III A 118, III A 126, III A 127, Br. 574 and the lost Circumcision). Remarkably, the dimensions of the portrait of Rembrandt given in the 'Specification' happen to be identical to those of the paintings of the Passion series, namely: 'hoch 2 Fuss 9 Zoll Breit 2 Fuss 4 Zoll' (Rhineland feet) [= 86.3 x 73.2 cm]. Moreover, like the paintings in the Passion series, it has a rounded top.

This means that a series of paintings by Rembrandt was already accompanied by a portrait of its maker early in the 18th century: a portrait, moreover, deemed autograph in the catalogue of 1719. It is not known when the Munich *Portrait of Rembrandt* was added to the Passion series. There is no mention of a (self-)portrait of Rembrandt (see II A 65, 8. *Provenance*) in the inventory of Amalia van Solms of 20 March 1668 in which the seven paintings are first described as a series. It was first listed together with the series in 1719.⁴

Two possibilities can be inferred from the above: the Munich version is either an older painting adapted to match the format of the Passion series, or it was painted in its present form in the beginning of the 18th century to serve the same goal as Van der Werff's addition of a self-portrait to a comparable series.⁵ Hofstede de Groot proposed that the Munich version was a copy of a lost original.⁶ If so, the obvious question is whether the Vienna painting is also a copy based on the same prototype. Arguing against this construction, however, is the large pentimento in the collar in the Vienna painting, indicating that the collar of the Vienna version was originally lower. Because the collar in the Munich painting follows the one now visible in the Vienna painting, the Munich example should rather be seen as an embellished and elaborated copy of the Vienna picture.

In the light of the comparison between the Munich and the Vienna paintings and the dendrochronological data of the latter painting it is highly plausible that the Vienna 'Self-portrait' is the prototype. Does this mean that it is an – indeed unusual – autograph self-portrait by Rembrandt? Another option would be that it is the work of one of Rembrandt's studio assistants.

As pointed out in Chapter III, there is strong evidence that collaborators in Rembrandt's studio were involved in the production of non-autograph 'self-portraits' of Rembrandt. The deviant features in the execution and physiognomic characteristics of the present painting, together with the somewhat unusual type and attitude of the sitter, make it likely that it too belongs to this category. Since we believe that these works – as in the case of the non-autograph history paintings from the studio (see the forthcoming Vol. V) – are free variants on a prototype by Rembrandt, it may in this case be worth considering that the Kassel *Self-portrait* (IV 9) served as a starting point.

Another painting by a studio collaborator based on the same prototype would be the 'Self-portrait' in Florence (IV 12). In all three paintings the head is depicted in the same position, the faces display numerous physiognomic correspondences, and the clothing also largely corresponds (the same type of cap and gown). The three paintings are also similar to each other with respect to the illumination of the head, with the eyes remaining in shadow.

For further discussion of this painting see Chapter III, p. 270 ff.

3. Documents and sources

None

4. Graphic reproductions

1. Etching in reverse after copy 1 (5. Copies, 1) by Carl Ernst Christoph Hess (Darmstadt 1755-Munich 1828) for La Galerie électorale de Düsseldorf..., Basle 1778. Inscribed: Rembrandt pinx: – Hess fecit aqua forti. and on a shield at the centre bottom the monogram CT of the Elector Palatine Carl Theodor (d. 1799). With the exception of the rounded top, there are no significant changes in the print seen in its entirety, although a piece is cut off in the painting. From this can be inferred that copy 1 was reduced after the genesis of the print in 1778 (see also note 8).

5. Copies

Several copies can be connected to the Vienna painting. However, these deviate in so many aspects from the Vienna 'Self-portrait' that one wonders whether they were not made after another lost version. Far more likely, however, is that copy I formerly in the Düsseldorf Gallery served as the model for most of the other copies. In his account of his journey to Flanders and the Netherlands in 1781, also including Düsseldorf, Sir Joshua Reynolds notes that many students in the Gallery of Düsseldorf made copies of paintings in the collection. They even had at their disposal a large room especially for copying paintings, which explains the large number of (18th-century) copies after copy 1.7

- 1. Panel 82 x 67 cm, grain vertical, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv.no. 429 (fig. 4). A copy showing the figure in the same direction which, however, deviates in several aspects from the Vienna painting. Thus, the top edge of the support is semicircular, apparently to match the Passion series (at the top of the support a piece of app. 5 cm has now been cut off), the figure is seen to the waist, wears a different cap with an ornament, a different undergarment, no necklace and rests his left hand on his chest. Still, tiny details from the Vienna painting have been adopted, including the white shirt collar with an identical brushstroke. Hence, a direct relationship between the two paintings is most likely. This painting was first mentioned in 1719 in Düsseldorf in the collection of Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine (reigned 1690-1716). [G.J. Karsch] Gründliche Specification derer vortrefflichen und unschätzbaren Gemählden..., In der Galerie der Churfürstl. Residentz zu Düsseldorff..., [1719]: 'N.93. Das Portrait von Rembrand, gemahlet von Rembrand. Hoch 2 Fuss - 9 Zoll Breit 2 Fuss - 4 Zoll [= app. 86.3 x 73.2 cm (Rhineland feet)]'. The measurements of the painting in Munich (82 x 67 cm) differ somewhat from the measurements as converted from the specification. This is relatively easy to explain. The height of the paintings in the Passion series also differs from the measurements given in the specification, while their width agrees quite well with that of the Munich 'Selfportrait'. More significant is the fact that a piece of a few centimetres has vanished from the rounded top of this painting.8 For a more detailed evaluation of the similarities and differences between the Munich and Vienna paintings and a proposal to date it in the beginning of the 18th century, see 2.
- 2. Panel with a triangular top, app. 83.3 x 67.9 cm (according to the owner), private collection. This copy is related to copy 1, yet also deviates from it in the clothing and the hands. The figure has an earring in the ear just as in the Vienna painting. This may be the copy of the Munich painting (copy 1) noted by Hofstede de Groot (see note 6).
- 3. Canvas app. 66 x 55.8 cm. Coll. Catherina Lambert, sale New York 21 febr. 1916, no. 211, with ill. The copy reproduces copy 1 to just below the chest, without the hand.
- 4. Canvas 81 x 68 cm; Madrid, Palacio Real. This copy goes back to the Vienna 'Self-portrait'.9
- 5. Canvas 87 x 73 cm by Gustave Courbet; Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Made after copy 1.

6. Provenance

- Coll. Earl of Carysfort, sale London (Christie's) 14 June 1828 (Lugt 11781), no. 53: 'Rembrandt. Portrait of himself with a gold Chain about his neck.' (£ 69 − s 6 to Rogers).
- Coll. Samuel Rogers, sale London (Christie's) 28 April 10
 May 1856 (Lugt 22964), 6th day, no. 719: 'Rembrandt.
 Portrait of the artist, in a crimson dress, and brown cloak edged with fur; he wears a jewel suspended from a gold chain,

and a black cap. This noble work, of the very highest quality, is from the collection of the Earl of Carrysfort.' (£ 325 s. 10 to Christie & Manson).

- Coll. Evans-Lombe, sale Paris 27 April 2 May 1863 (Lugt 27301), no. 22: 'Rembrandt (Paul). Portrait de Rembrandt. Il est en habit de couleur cramoisie et enveloppé d'un manteau garni de fourrure, sa tête est couverte d'un bonnet noir. Ce magnifique tableau provient des collections du comte de Carrisfort et Samuel Rogers' (6800 francs).
- Dealer Ch. Sedelmeyer, Paris, *Catalogue of 100 paintings*, II, Paris 1895, no. 30. (to Colnaghi 53,000 francs).
- Coll. Robert von Mendelssohn, Berlin (1895 for 58,000 francs)
- Kunsthistorisches Museum after 1938; purchased in 1942 from Mrs G. von Mendelssohn. 10

NOTES

- 1. Tümpel 1986, cat. no. A 71.
- 2. F. Winkler, 'Echt, falsch, verfälscht', Kunstchronik 10 (1957), pp. 141-147, esp. 143: 'Ohne die Frische des Striches, die man bei der bedeutenden Anlage in einem Spätwerk erwarten muss, zu stark gebügelt, mit stumpfem Firnis und toten Augen, uninteressant in den beschatteten Teilen, fühlt man sich versucht, es als eine schöne Ruine zu bezeichnen'.
- 3. Gerson 320.
- 4. As appears from several prints made in 1776 under the direction of Christian von Mechel, in which the arrangement of the paintings on the wall of the various rooms is depicted, the *Portrait of Rembrandt* no longer hung with the paintings of the Passion series. On this, see: N. de Pigage, La Galerie électorale de Dusseldorff ou catalogue raisonné et figuré de ses tableaux (...), Basle 1778. The *Portrait of Rembrandt* is found under 'les Tableaux mobiles' (no. 295, Pl. XXIII).
- 5. A series of 15 'misterien' paintings by Adriaen van der Werff, also made for Johann Wilhelm, is interesting in this connection. This series was preceded by a painting in which the noble couple is surrounded by the seven Liberal Arts, and in which is included a self-portrait of the artist in the foreground. The Elector did not commission this painting. Van der Werff made it after the death of Johann Wilhelm - and after the entire series had been completed. In 1718, Van der Werff tried to sell it to Wilhelm's successor Carl Philipp, and in a letter he noted that: 'het werk van de 15 misterien al bereyts aan U UKD hoff berustende is, maar dat ook daar nog aan mankeerd, om voltoyt te zyn, en om in volkome perfectie te hebben, het 16de stuk, bestaande in de tytelplaat ... ook het pourtret van mijnzelve welk nog aen Ceuv. hof niet gevonden worden' (the work of the 15 'misterien' already at your Royal Serene Highness' court, in order to be complete and fully perfect is missing the 16th piece, existing in the title plate ... and includes my portrait which is not yet to be found at the Electoral court). From this information, one has the impression that the completion of a series of related paintings with a selfportrait of the maker of the series was not unusual in the beginning of the 18th century. On this, see: B. Gaehtgens, Adriaen van der Werff 1659-1722, Munich 1987, cat. no. 41, pp. 261-263.
- 6. HdG 595.
- J. Reynolds, 'A journey to Flanders and Holland in the year MDCCLXXXI', The works of Sir Joshua Reynolds...; ed. E. Malone, London 1809⁴, II, pp. 375-376.
- 8. Should Hess's print of 1778 (see 4. Graphic reproductions, 1), in which the top of the painting is reproduced as semi-circular, correctly reproduce the painting, then the format was reduced after 1778. However, it is also possible that the painting was already reduced in 1778 and that the engraver did not faithfully follow the model. The painting was in fact described with its present dimensions in 1778 by N. de Pigage, op. cit.⁴, no. 295: 'Peint sur bois. Haut de 2 pieds, 6 pouces; large de 2 pieds, 1 pouce' [= app. 81.2 x 67.7 cm]. This means that after the mention in 1719, the painting was reduced in height by app. 5 cm and in width by app. 6 cm.
- Enrique Valdivieso, Pintura Holandesa del siglo XVII en España, Valladolid 1973, p. 347.
- Cat. Die Gemäldegalerie des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien. Verzeichnis der Gemälde, Vienna 1991, p. 99.