

1. Introduction and description

The answer to the question of what the exact relationship might be between two or more obviously connected Rembrandtesque paintings can differ from case to case. While in many instances the nature of this relationship will never be known, in others it can be pinned down fairly precisely. Analysis of X-radiographs and related drawings can then provide insight into how the genesis and evolution of the paintings in question are interwoven. This is the case with the *Nativity* discussed here and the *Nativity* in Munich (V 11) that Rembrandt delivered to Frederik Hendrik in 1646.

Mary is seated in the left foreground of a predominantly dark stable with the cloth-swaddled Christ Child lying before her on a bundle of straw. Joseph stands behind her: his left hand and the lamp one assumes he is holding are obscured by the shepherd with folded hands seen from the back at an angle and kneeling before the infant. His staff lies near him on the ground. To his right is another kneeling shepherd lit from the front with both hands raised and resting his staff in the crook of his bent left arm. Behind him stand two women framing a child and leaning over what appears to be a low, partially lit wall. The righthand woman, whose skirt is visible behind the back of the illuminated shepherd, and the child both look down at the Christ Child. Lips parted as though speaking, the lefthand woman turns to her companion. In the dark wall above and to the right of their heads is a figure peering through an opening. Immediately to the right is an old man with a grey beard and wearing a flat hat. His right hand is raised and in his left he holds a lit lantern with an open door. The lantern casts a pattern of light on the ground and illuminates a boy entering the stable behind the old man and holding a dog by its collar. Behind the boy are a woman holding a sleeping child and a shepherd with a staff wearing a tall tapering hat. The woman turns to him, whereby her face is partially lit by yet another invisible source of light, which also illuminates the face of a woman just noticeable at the far right.

Parts of the shadow-filled stable interior are picked out by the glow from the three sources of light. Three cows stand at the left. The long back of the foremost cow extends behind the two conversing women and the child; the head of a second cow facing left can be distinguished behind the first one; and below both is yet a third head. A post supporting the open roof rises up behind Joseph. On the front of the post hangs what appears to be a *bakermat*, a reed nursing basket. Back and to the left is a loft, which can be reached by means of the ladders leaning against it. At the upper right is a pattern of intersecting rafters from which hangs a bundle of rope at the far right.

Dark spandrels are present in the upper corners of the image; the right one is provided with a light border and thus can be understood as part of a painted arch framing the scene.

Working conditions

Examined in May 1968 (B.H., E.v.d.W.) and again in October 1988 (E.v.d.W.): in good light with the painting out of the frame; an X-radiograph of part of the group around the Christ Child and the shepherd with the lantern was present. A complete set of X-ray prints and an infrared photograph of the entire composition were received later.

Support

Canvas, lined, 65.5 x 55 cm. Cusping at the top and bottom edges of the canvas varies between 8 and 10 cm, and extends inwards 23 cm. To the left the pitch of the cusping varies between 8 and 11 cm, with a depth of 26 cm. No cusping can be discerned at the right edge of the canvas. In view of the pronounced cusping at the left edge and the lack of cusping at the right edge, it may be assumed that the canvas came from the end of a longer strip of canvas primed as a single piece. In view of the cusping along top and bottom, this strip may have been one ell wide.

Thread count: vertical 12.35 threads/cm (11-13.5), horizontal 11.45 threads/cm (11-12). The coarse weave shows primarily in the short thicknesses of the vertical threads, so that one infers that the horizontal ones are the warp threads, which is in agreement with the observations on cusping mentioned above.

Ground

Visible as deep brown in the lower left corner. Little direct use is made of the brown colour of the ground. A brown colour, similar to that of the ground found in some places, is in fact part of a paint layer on top of the ground.

According to *Art in the making* 2006, p. 132: 'The ground has been identified as a rough-textured single layer of quartz (silica) combined with a quantity of brown ochre bound in linseed oil' (see note 1). For quartz grounds see *Corpus* IV, pp. 664-665 and 672-73.

Paint layer

Condition: Generally good, with some local damage: for example, in the head of the foremost cow; the skirt of the woman to the left of the old man with the lantern where, according to the X-radiograph, in an earlier version the lantern was located and held by the woman (see 2. *Comments*); and presumably also locally in the foreground.

Craquelure: A fairly coarse craquelure with a somewhat square pattern in the most thickly painted areas, for example in Mary's face.

The work is relatively thinly painted in shades of brown. In the lit group gathered around the Christ Child, the paint has been more thickly applied in broadly brushed areas without much internal detail. This even applies to the faces, where (as is apparent from the X-radiograph) the eyes were painted over the flesh tones. In this group, shadow accents generally appear as small dark lines, for instance along the lower edge of Mary's right arm and hand, along the contour of the foremost kneeling shepherd's back, and here and there in the raised hands of the shepherd lit from the front.

Fig. 1. Canvas 65.5 x 55 cm



Fig. 2. X-Ray

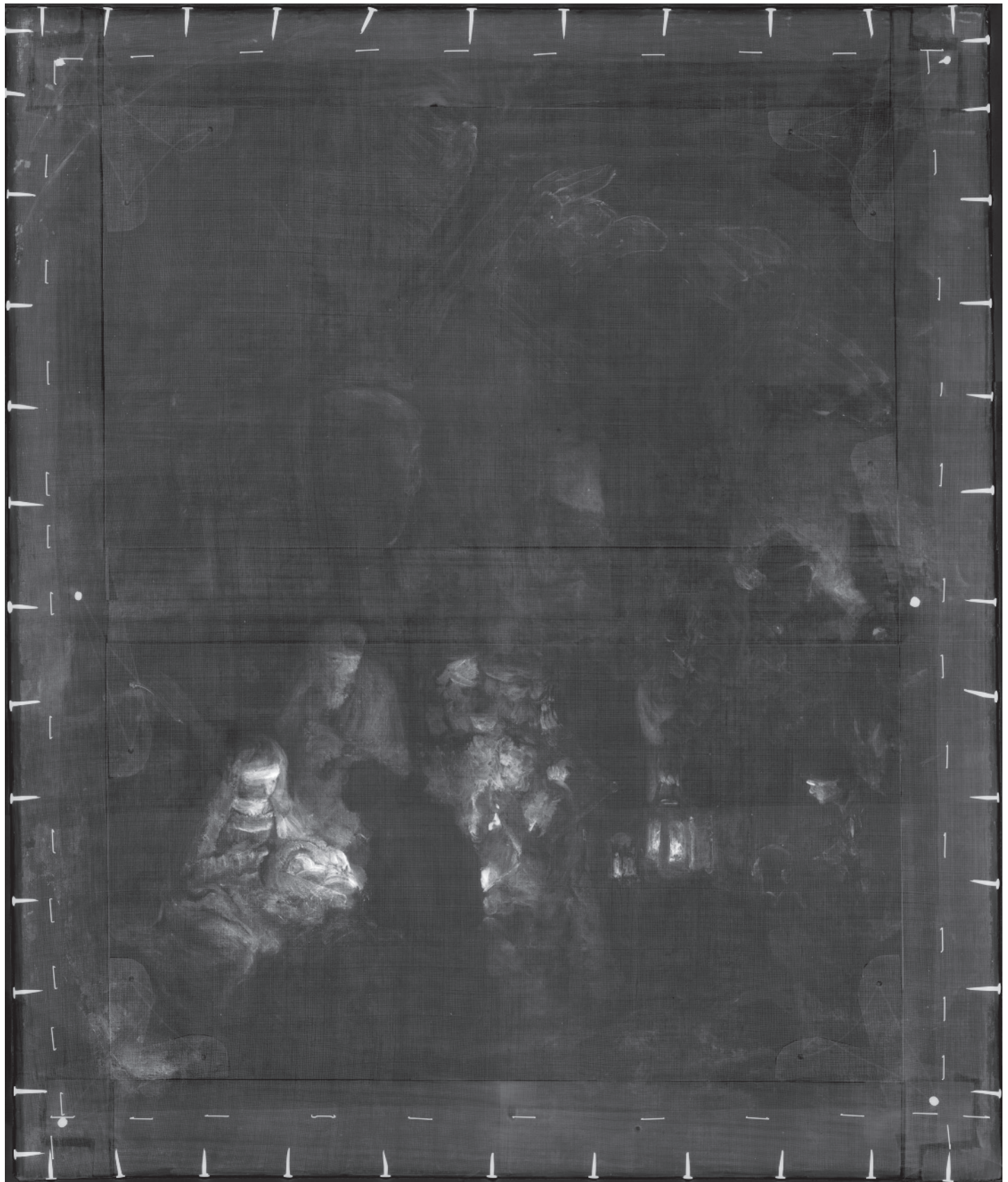


Fig. 3. Detail (1 : 1.5)



A dominant colour in the otherwise primarily brownish palette is the flatly applied brick-red in Mary's cloak, which contrasts with the grey blue of her robe draped over her knees and the pale yellow of the blanket enveloping the Child. A deeper red is also used in the bodice of the woman at the right leaning over the little wall. The broad execution focused on global contrasts of light and dark and of colour is somewhat differentiated by the addition of rims of light, for instance along fingers, in head coverings and in shirt folds, and on the staff of the shepherd kneeling at the right. Rather mechanically applied fine rims of light also play a role in the rendering of figures and objects set more in the dark, such as in the little boy and his dog, in the edge of the hat worn by the shepherd with the lantern, and in the *bakermat*. The light catching edges of the woodwork above the main scene are delineated with generally deft glancing touches of the brush.

What has been described by MacLaren² and Bomford et al. (see note 1) as *pentimenti* can largely be explained as minor deviations normally found between a preparatory and the final stage. Only two *pentimenti* can be discerned with the naked eye, namely in the head covering of the woman at the right behind the little wall in whose forehead a bit of red shines through; and a dark circular form at the lower right which can be identified as the remains of an overpainted wheelbarrow, an element also encountered in a related drawing formerly in the Henry Oppenheimer collection, London (fig. 6, see further 2. *Comments*). However, the X-radiograph reveals several additional *pentimenti*.

Radiography

The radiographic image broadly coincides with what one would expect from the paint surface. As stated under *Paint layer* minor differences are related to the rough reserves for

Fig. 4. X-Ray, detail



the forms, such as for the shepherd shown as a repousoir and the woman turning around in the right background. In both figures there is some discrepancy between the reserve in the X-ray image and the actual painted form, which is a result of the figures being worked out in shapes slightly larger than the reserve.

Some other differences, however, can be considered pentimenti. This is certainly true of the form showing up light to the left of the lantern, which can be construed as a smaller lantern. A moderately light form above this small lantern can be read as a hand. In the drawing formerly in the Oppenheimer collection mentioned above (see fig. 6), the lantern was held by the figure in the area of the rightmost woman bending over the wall. Both in the drawing and in the X-radiograph of the painting this figure wears a large flat hat. Approximately above the figure is a reserve in a small, somewhat light area, corresponding with what can be identified in the drawing and (with some

difficulty) in the painting as a figure looking through a window.

The background around the head of the woman turning in the group at the right shows up lighter than expected, both to the left where a reserve has been left for the shoulder and the back of the head of the man with the lantern, and to the right where the silhouette of the figure next to her with a tall conical hat shows up. This probably originally lighter background extends up to a vaguely delimited zone in which a number of more or less loop-shaped, light-edged forms can be distinguished. These match the thick brushstrokes observable in the paint surface. The function of these brushstrokes is not clear. Diagonal dark reserves appear to match the brown elements of the roofing.

The moderate light radioabsorbency in the region of Joseph's head and hands give the impression of being traces of very freely executed underpainting. This also

Fig. 5. Detail with signature, infrared photograph (1:1)



applies to the two women to the right of Joseph; in this stage the rightmost woman appears to have had a larger head covering.

Signature

At the lower left in dark somewhat worn paint: <Rembrandt. f.1646.> (fig. 5).

2. Comments

As long as the authenticity of the London painting was generally accepted in the literature, scholars disagreed on its relationship to the substantially larger version of the subject in Munich (V 11). Usually, it was considered a more successful free repetition in reverse by Rembrandt himself. On this point, for example, Weisbach was particularly emphatic. For him, the London version with its stronger illusion of space and the greater naturalness of the figures represented the more mature solution.³ Gerson, on the contrary, called the London painting 'a first version of this same commission' (that is, the documented commission for the Munich painting by Prince Frederik Hendrik), but also found it 'livelier in conception'.⁴ Meanwhile, several voices were raised rejecting the authenticity of the London version. Schwartz considered it a loose copy in reverse, clearer in spatial construction and design of the figures than the Munich painting;⁵ and Tümpel saw it as a free variant in reverse by a gifted pupil.⁶ The authors of the catalogue of *Art in the making*, however, still clung to the painting's authenticity on the basis of what they somewhat erroneously called 'numerous pentimenti' (see *Paint layer* and *Radiography*). Like Weisbach, they saw the painting as 'a variation on the composition used by Rembrandt in the Munich canvas, which is almost certainly the earlier of the two' (see note 1).

Various documents, the X-radiographs of the Munich and the London paintings, and the related drawings yield valuable information regarding their individual genesis. The interpretation of these for solving the problem of the relationship of the London picture to the one in Munich, however, greatly depends on an opinion concerning the authorship of the London *Nativity*. Assuming that the London painting is authentic, the fact that, for example, the kneeling silhouette-figure's arms are not spread but instead raised before the body, as was also initially the case in the Munich painting, could be seen as support for Gerson's argument that it is a first version. A drawing related to the London painting discussed below (fig. 6), which is clearly not by Rembrandt, could easily be considered (by MacLaren, see note 2, for instance) a copy after either a lost design by Rembrandt or the London painting.

The execution of the London painting, however, dispels

any suggestion that it could be by Rembrandt (see also Chapter IV, pp. 283-295). The brushwork, primarily in the illuminated areas, has a quite specific individual character determined by an overall very sketchy, often rather flat application of paint. Nowhere in the individual shapes does the indication of form develop into plasticity, as one expects from Rembrandt. A striking example is Mary's flat arm and hand. The way the painter suggests form by means of thin, mostly very thin, dark (occasionally light) little lines, which provide articulation in the otherwise comparatively undifferentiated paint surface is foreign to Rembrandt. If the London painting is indeed a variant by another painter, then it would follow that it was made before the most significant changes, described primarily on the basis of the X-radiographs (see V 11), were introduced to the prototype. The most striking change in the Munich painting is naturally that of the kneeling repoussoir figure whose initially raised hands were changed into outspread arms. The inclusion of the shepherd with folded hands is an important argument in favour of the origin of the London painting in Rembrandt's workshop. It can then be classified in a group of works, which, in our opinion, were made by pupils or assistants as part of their training using a prototype by Rembrandt as their point of departure (see Chapter III). The treatment of the subject differs from that in the Munich painting in a way that is characteristic of the group of derivative works by pupils. While in the Munich painting the onlookers' attention is focused entirely on the Christ Child, the author of the London painting created small groups of figures conversing with one another. What the representation gains in liveliness – called naturalism by Weisbach (see note 3) – it loses in narrative focus and compositional coherence.

In addition to the aforementioned repoussoir figure with folded hands, other elements in the London painting are based on the Munich painting before Rembrandt introduced changes in it. In the latter painting, the shepherd in profile kneeling at the left initially held a shepherd's staff in his right hand. A recollection of this motif appears to be preserved in the staff resting in the crook of the left arm of the corresponding figure in the middle of the London painting. An equivalent of the light view through an opening which must have been located at the left in the Munich work, is afforded by the lit area at the right in the London painting. Above all, Joseph's oil lamp is missing from the London painting, as it is from the other derivatives from the Munich painting; an invisible light source behind the head of the foremost kneeling shepherd – as was initially the case in the Munich painting – largely determines the illumination.

The painter also took liberties with respect to his model. For example, Joseph is somewhat further removed from the centre of the composition and is shown standing. The long straight form of the back of the cow behind him creates closure to the space beyond. In the proportionally wider picture surface, the group of shepherds entering with a woman and a child occupy more space. In the London painting, this group is connected to the central group by means of the newly introduced women chatting behind

Fig. 6. Rembrandt workshop, *Nativity*, pen and washes in brown, 20.3 x 23.2 cm. Formerly Oppenheimer collection; present whereabouts unknown



the partition. In comparison with the lantern in the Munich painting, the one held by an old man with a flat hat in the London work has gained in importance and its light is cast on the ground at the right and on the boy and dog coming forward.

In addition to the X-radiographs, further information on the genesis of the London painting is provided by a drawing formerly in the Oppenheimer collection as a work by Rembrandt (fig. 6). Valentiner considered the attribution to Rembrandt as 'not certain'⁷ and Benesch did not include the drawing – whose present whereabouts are unknown – in his corpus which, given the curious, somewhat uncontrolled draughtsmanship is not surprising. Nevertheless, this drawing is useful in interpreting the X-radiographs, particularly where they show deviations from the painting in its final state. The drawing, therefore, must somehow be connected to the genesis of the London painting. This is most clear from the position

of the lantern. In the drawing it appears in the area where, according to the X-radiographs, it was also initially situated in the painting, that is under the tip of the staff of the kneeling shepherd in the centre. In the drawing it is held by a figure bending over, presumably a young woman with a flat hat, whose upper body coincides with the rightmost of the two women conversing behind the wall as seen in the painting. Evidently at some point in the painting process, the bent figure wearing a flat hat and holding a lantern was split as it were into an upright man with a lantern somewhat nudged to the right, and a woman bending over in whose forehead a bit of red can be detected belonging to her predecessor's head covering. Also visible in the drawing is an indication of the standing figure which was subsequently eliminated by means of hatching. From a reconstruction of the evolution of this figure, it would appear that it was initially present, then eliminated and finally reintroduced into the painting.

Fig. 7. N. Maes, *The Adoration of the shepherds*, 1658, panel 59.4 x 87 cm. Montreal, The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Purchase Horsley and Annie Townsend Bequest



The drawing also clarifies other changes to the London painting. The dark form visible in the paint surface at the lower right evidently belonged to a wheelbarrow which is present in the drawing and traces of which are also found in two small sketches in Munich (Ben. 578 and 579, see V 11, figs. 8 and 9). Although this motif may have been part of the Munich painting, no vestiges of this can be found. It was initially included in the London painting, but then painted out to make way for a dog, still visible in the final phase of the Munich painting. The drawing may thus occupy, as it were, an intermediary position between the two paintings. The same can be said regarding another point: in both the drawing and the Munich painting, the kneeling shepherd seen at an angle is shown in strict profile, while the corresponding figure in the London work is turned slightly, allowing a glimpse of his other eye. One other point should be mentioned where the London painting differs from the drawing and more closely resembles the Munich painting, namely the placement and pose of Joseph. The draughtsman took the greatest liberties with his model here by having him stand behind Mary and rise far above her (a cow head occupies this area in the Munich painting) and lean his shoulder against the back of a post of the stable – apparently not realising that Joseph was now too far removed from the Christ Child to illuminate him, leading one to assume that the left half of the representation is lit by supernatural radiation emanating from the Child itself. Knowing that Rembrandt reserved this effect for the risen Christ,⁸ one could speculate that the master suggested a different solution. In the painting Joseph again appears near Mary, still standing, yet close enough to the kneeling repoussoir figure to be able to hold a burning lamp or candle behind his head.

All in all, the London *Nativity* must be considered a variant of Rembrandt's original in Munich. The accompanying changes of mind can be followed with the aid of the X-radiographs and the drawing formerly in the Oppenheimer collection. The latter is certainly an important document, and for the time being there is no reason to doubt that it served as a design for the London painting. That the London painting and drawing are by the same hand is at the very least probable. That the drawing is a free copy after the painting as MacLaren con-

Fig. 8. Demonstration by Nigel Konstam of his hypothesis of Rembrandt's use of models and mirrors



sidered likely (see note 2), however, is out of the question. This, naturally, opens up new prospects for identifying the artist who was most likely responsible for both. Unfortunately, comparison – either with other paintings or with other drawings – has yet to yield an identification of this hand.

As a mirror image variant of Rembrandt's original, designed and perhaps also executed before the latter reached its final form, the London painting occupies a place in Rembrandt's studio production which, given the quantity of workshop variants related to Rembrandt's own work, should not be considered as exceptional (see Chapter III). Moreover, this painting appears to have served in turn as a model for a number of derivatives. This can be established not so much on the basis of the direction in which the composition is depicted (though this generally follows the London painting), as from the invisibility of Joseph's lamp and the arms raised before the body of the kneeling repoussoir figure. On the basis of the derivations from the London *Nativity*, one surmises that the London painting remained available to pupils after Rembrandt's prototype, the Munich *Nativity*, has been delivered to Frederik Hendrik. A possible indication of this is the relationship of the London painting with works by Nicolaes Maes (fig. 7),⁹ whose apprenticeship with Rembrandt is usually situated around 1650.¹⁰

In connection with the mirror relationship between the Munich and the London *Nativities*, it is of interest to consider the theory of the English sculptor Nigel Konstam, who suggested that Rembrandt actually made use of mirrors or other reflective surfaces in order to be able to develop variety within an already developed composition.¹¹ He assumed that the figures in such a composition would have been modelled and grouped like small-scale puppets. Konstam believes he can demonstrate Rembrandt's use of this procedure in numerous drawings and also in the present painting in relation to the Munich *Nativity* (fig. 8). From this he infers that the painting dealt with in this entry must be an authentic work by Rembrandt.

It is in fact known that some 17th-century painters made use of models with miniature figures. We have no knowledge from written sources of this practise being

employed by Rembrandt or by members of his workshop, although this is of course no argument that it could not have occurred. But even if it did occur, there is no conclusion to be drawn from that regarding the attribution of a painting to Rembrandt. As explained in Chapter IV, we believe we can observe in the London *Nativity* enough characteristics relating to style, quality and other more specific pictorial aspects to be able to conclude that this painting is from a different hand from the Munich *Nativity*, which, if only on documentary grounds, has to be attributed to Rembrandt.

3. Documents and sources

None.

4. Graphic reproductions

1. Mezzotint (Charrington 29) signed at the lower right on the ground under Mary's back rest (that is to say, in the area where a Rembrandt signature appears in the painting): <Bernard> (fig. 9). Inscribed in the second state: *Rembrant pinxit – Bernard Page du Roi, Sculp.* In the third state: *l'Ange ayant annoncé aux bergers la nativité du Sauveur il se hâterent dy aller, / & trouverent Marie & Joseph, & l'enfant couché dans une crèche. Luc Ch.2.v.16. / a Paris chez la Veuve Chereau rue St. Jacques aux deux pilliers d'Or avec privilege du Roy.* It very faithfully reproduces the picture in reverse. It is not clear who made this highly sophisticated mezzotint, which may be dated around or after 1750. A certain Samuel Bernard (Paris 1615-1687) is certainly not the author; Louis Bernard (born in Paris; mentioned in The Hague in 1717), is known to have made mezzotints. The catalogue of the Bandeville sale in 1787 (see 6. *Provenance*) mentioned a mezzotint by Picart, which may be the one under discussion, however Bernard Picart (Paris 1673-Amsterdam 1733) is an unlikely candidate as his mezzotints demonstrate a less advanced technique and the print under discussion must be dated well after his death.

5. Copies

1. Panel 63 x 53.5 cm, formerly New York, Metropolitan Museum; sale New York, 7 June 1956, no. 30 (see note 2).
2. Three more copies are mentioned in the catalogue of the National Gallery in London (see note 2).

6. Provenance

– Coll. Maréchal de Noailles, sale Paris December 1767 (Lugt 1654), no. 53: 'Rembrandt van Ryn. Les Bergers à la Crèche: quatorze figures d'environ huit pouces de proportion composent ce Tableau, qui est peint sur une toile de vingt-quatre pouces de haut, sur vingt de large [= 64.8 x 54 cm]. A gauche, sur le second plan, Saint Joseph est debout; à côté de lui, mais plus bas, la Vierge est assise, la main gauche appuyée sur sa poitrine & la droite sur l'Enfant Jesus qui est couché la tête de son côté, & duquel sort une éclatante lumière qui éclaire la plus grande partie du Tableau & des figures qui l'entourent. Sur le devant, un Berger à genoux les mains jointes, est dans l'action de la plus ardente dévotion; à sa droite est un autre Berger à genoux, qui paroît ne pouvoir supporter cette lumière dont il est ébloui, il se panche contre un petit pan de mur à hauteur d'appui, au-dessus duquel sont plusieurs femmes & enfans, qui regardent & témoignent beaucoup de surprise; l'une d'elles semble parler à plusieurs autres Bergers & Bergeres qui arrivent. Plus bas, sur le

Fig. 9. Mezzotint by Bernard



second plan, un homme vêtu & coëffé richement, tient une lanterne allumée qui éclaire tout ce côté, au-dessous est un jeune garçon qui s'appuie sur un gros chien; dans le fond, à gauche, on voit l'étable où sont renfermés différens bestiaux. Ce Tableau est des plus considérables de Rembrandt; il est rempli d'intelligence, & d'un effet clair-obscur qui séduit.' (2751 francs to Mme la Présidente de Bandeville)

– Coll. Mme Bandeville, sale Paris 3-10 December 1787 (Lugt 4227), no. 15: 'Rembrandt Van-Ryn. Les Bergers à la Crèche, quatorze figures d'environ huit pouces de proportion composent ce Tableau, qui est peint sur une toile de 24. pouces de haut, sur 20 de large. A gauche sur le second plan, Saint Joseph est debout. A côté de lui, mais plus bas, la Vierge est assise, la main gauche appuyée sur sa poitrine, & la droite sur l'Enfant-Jésus qui est couché & duquel sort une éclatante lumière qui éclaire la plus grande partie des figures qui l'entourent. Sur le devant, un Berger à genoux les mains jointes, est rempli d'expression; à sa droite est un autre Berger à genoux, qui paroît ne pouvoir supporter cette lumière dont il est ébloui; il se panche contre un petit pan de mur à hauteur d'appui, au-dessus duquel sont plusieurs femmes & enfans qui regardent & témoignent beaucoup de surprise; l'une d'elle semble parler à plusieurs autres bergers & bergeres qui arrivent. Plus bas, sur le second plan, est un homme vêtu & coëffé richement; il tient une lanterne allumée qui éclaire tout ce côté; au-dessous est un jeune garçon qui s'appuie sur un gros chien: dans le fond, à gauche, on voit l'étable où sont renfermés des bestiaux. Ce Tableau est des plus conséquens de Rembrandt; il vient de la Collection de feu Monseigneur le Maréchal de Noailles, dont nous avons fait le Catalogue en 1767. On en trouve l'Estampe gravée en maniere noire, par Picart.' (3000 francs to Remy)

– Coll. Claude Tolozan, sale Paris 23 February 1801 (Lugt 6204), no. 95: 'Ryn (Rembrandt van). Peint sur toile, haut de 24, large de 20 pouces. L'Adoration des bergers, composition capitale de plus de douze figures. La scène se passe dans une étable. A droite, et sur le premier plan, est la Vierge en contem-

plation devant Jésus nouveau né. Derrière elle, et debout, est St. Joseph voyant avec attendrissement l'extase et le respect des deux bergers, dont un, sur le premier plan et vu par le dos, est dans le plus profond recueillement. Derrière un pan de mur l'on voit encore deux femmes et un enfant qui font partie de ce groupe principal. Plus loin, sur la gauche, est un vieillard tenant une lanterne à sa main, dont la lumière frappe sur le visage d'un enfant qui retient un gros chien, et sert de repoussoir à d'autres personnages que l'on distingue à l'entrée. Ce serait entreprendre une tâche trop difficile, et les expressions nous manqueraient, si nous voulions rendre compte de la magie de couleur, aussi merveilleuse que savante, qui existe dans ce chef-d'oeuvre. Il n'y a que l'oeil et le sentiment du connaisseur qui puissent l'apprécier.' (10,000 livres to England)

– Coll. John Julius Angerstein by June 1807 (see note 2).

– Purchased with the Angerstein collection for the proposed National Gallery in 1824.

NOTES

1. Exhib. cat. *Art in the making* 1988/89, pp. 92-95; 2006, cat. 11 and p. 224.
2. N. MacLaren, *The Dutch School* (National Gallery catalogues), London 1960,

pp. 311-312; revised and enlarged by Christopher Brown, London 1991, pp. 330-332.

3. W. Weisbach, *Rembrandt*, Berlin/Leipzig 1926, pp. 384-385.
4. Gerson p. 92.
5. Schwartz 1984, p. 239.
6. Tümpel 1986, cat. no. A7.
7. W.R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Des Meisters Handzeichnungen I*, Stuttgart/Berlin/Leipzig n.d. [1925], (Kl.d.K.XXXI), no. 294.
8. H.-M. Rotermund, 'The motif of radiance in Rembrandt's Biblical Drawings', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 15 (1952), pp. 101-121, esp. 101-102.
9. There are a painting by Maes with *The adoration of the shepherds* in Montreal, signed and dated 1658 (Sumowski *Gemälde* III, no. 1318; fig. 7); a drawing by Maes in Rotterdam, related to the picture in Montreal (Sumowski *Drawings* VIII, no. 1765); a drawing attributed to Maes in Bayonne (Sumowski *Drawings* VIII, no. 1861*) shows the scene in reverse - thus in the direction of the Munich prototype - yet nevertheless contains motifs that appear to be derived, if not from the London painting, then from the related drawing formerly in the Oppenheimer collection (fig. 6).
10. See Sumowski *Gemälde* III, p. 1951. However, for a possible earlier beginnings of Maes' pupillage, see J. Bruyn, [review of] Sumowski *Gemälde* III, *O.H.* 102 (1988), pp. 322-333, esp. 328.
11. N. Konstam, 'Rembrandt's use of models and mirrors', *Burl. Mag.* 119 (1977), pp. 94-98.