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BEGGING FOR ATTENTION: THE ARTFUL CONTEXT OF REMBRANDT’S ETCHING “BEGGAR SEATED ON A BANK”

Stephanie S. Dickey

Rembrandt’s representation of his own features in *Beggar Seated on a Bank* (etching, 1630) gains resonance in the context of a visual and literary tradition depicting “art impoverished” and reflects the artist’s struggle for recognition from patrons such as Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik at a pivotal moment in his early career. [10.5092/jhna.2013.5.2.8](https://doi.org/10.5092/jhna.2013.5.2.8)

1 **T**wo figural motifs recur frequently in Rembrandt’s etchings of the 1630s: ragged peasants and the artist’s own startlingly expressive face. On a copperplate that he treated like a page from a sketchbook, these disparate subjects are juxtaposed.¹ And in an etching of 1630, they merge, as Rembrandt himself takes on the role of a hunched figure seated on a rocky hillock (fig. 1). Early cataloguers such as Edmé-François Gersaint (1751) and Adam Bartsch (1797) failed to notice the resemblance and classified the print with other studies of beggars rather than with self-portraits.² Ignace-Joseph de Claussin (1824) was apparently the first to observe that “the physiognomy has a great deal of resemblance to Rembrandt.”³ This discovery was overlooked by later cataloguers more concerned with distinguishing states of the print and separating it from



Fig. 1 Rembrandt, *Beggar Seated on a Bank*, monogrammed RHL and dated 1630, etching, first state, 116 x 70 mm. British Museum, London, inv. no. F,5.126 (artwork in the public domain) Photo: British Museum

deceptive copies.⁴ It was taken up again by Arthur Hind (1912), who drew a convincing connection to Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait Open-Mouthed as if Shouting*, also dated 1630 (fig. 2).⁵ Nevertheless, in most modern sources it has retained the title *Beggar Seated on a Bank*.⁶ Gersaint described the beggar's frizzled hair and ruined garments, but Daniel Daulby (1796) was the first to remark on the emotional intensity of this figure "asking alms with a countenance full of distress." Bartsch described him as groaning in misery.⁷



Fig. 2 Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait with Mouth Open as if Shouting*, monogrammed and dated 1630, etching, third state, 73 x 62 mm. British Museum, London, inv. no. F.4.16 (artwork in the public domain) Photo: British Museum

- 2 It has gone unremarked that of all the wretched characters in Rembrandt's prints of the 1630s, *Beggar Seated on a Bank* is the only one who is a beggar in the literal sense, extending his palm in a direct appeal to the viewer. The fact that Rembrandt chose to combine this singular gesture with a self-portrait hardly seems accidental. Modern scholars accept that the beggar's face is Rembrandt's but differ in their speculations about why he cast himself in such a role. Some assume that his physiognomic studies simply provided a convenient model.⁸ Others infer an expression of Christian empathy with human misfortune and poverty. The conflicted attitudes of Rembrandt's contemporaries toward indigence have been widely explored: while Protestant doctrine encouraged charity for the deserving poor, disreputable idlers were met with scorn. For the present study, this complex topic remains in the background.⁹ Instead, I take a cue from Clifford Ackley, who remarked in the exhibition catalogue *Rembrandt's Journey* that "this extraordinary bit of role-playing . . . should perhaps be viewed . . . as a good, if inside, joke. The twenty-four-year-old artist was not yet fully established and could use some financial assistance!"¹⁰ Ackley's observation is perceptive, but in my view, there is more at stake here than money. I propose to read this print as a wry response to Rembrandt's struggle for recognition at a pivotal moment in his early career. My contextual analysis places it within a tradition of self-referential imagery that comments on the status of the artist at the mercy of market forces.
- 3 In 1630, Rembrandt was becoming well-established in his home city of Leiden, but he was also angling for more prestigious patronage from the Court of Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik in The Hague. This ambition was matched by his colleague Jan Lievens (1607–1674), whose proximity

offered both a creative stimulus and a competitive challenge. The two worked closely together in Leiden; their drawing and painting styles were so similar that even contemporaries sometimes had trouble telling them apart.¹¹ Lievens had recently convinced the Stadhouder's secretary, Constantijn Huygens, to pose for a portrait, earning praise for both his initiative and the fidelity of the result.¹² Such assertive self-confidence later helped Lievens to secure prestigious commissions in England, Flanders, and Brandenburg as well as the Dutch Republic.¹³

- 4 It was probably Huygens who placed both artists in the running for an important commission from Frederik Hendrik: a series of paintings depicting the Passion of Christ. As trial pieces, both submitted stark, emotional images of Christ on the Cross. Rembrandt turned again to his etched self-portrait for the agonized expression of Jesus (figs. 2, 3).¹⁴ He won the commission, but he did not manage, as Lievens did, to build a sustained record of aristocratic patronage. Rembrandt's only court portrait depicts Frederik Hendrik's aristocratic wife, Amalia von Solms, as a sober Dutch matron; it was quickly replaced with a more glamorous portrait by Gerrit van Honthorst (1590–1656).¹⁵ While Lievens eventually modulated his style toward classical finesse, Rembrandt resolutely maintained his independence from this growing trend. Yet, the difference in their success with patrons must have been due as much to personality as to style or talent. Later documents reveal that Rembrandt was reluctant to ingratiate himself with clients and even willfully disregarded their wishes. This is evident, for instance, in his dispute in 1654 with Diego D'Andrada over changes to the portrait likeness of a young girl, and in the rejection of several of his etchings commissioned as book illustrations.¹⁶ I suggest that this reluctance already manifests itself in *Beggar Seated on a Bank*. For a personality to whom diplomacy did not come naturally, the need to curry favor at court must have been both difficult and distasteful.

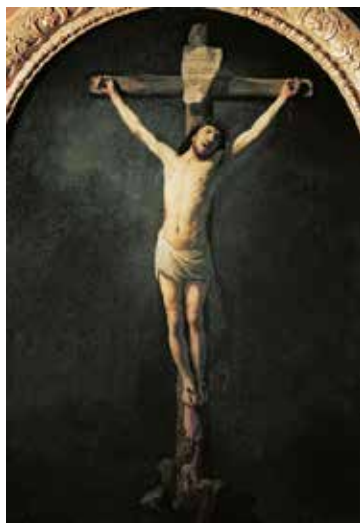


Fig. 3 Rembrandt, *Christ on the Cross*, signed and dated RHL 1631, oil on canvas mounted on panel, 92.9 x 72.6 cm. Collegiate Church of St. Vincent, Le Mas d'Agenais (artwork in the public domain) Photo: Eglise du Mas-d'Agenais, France / Bridgeman-Giraudon

- 5 This context may shed light on a cheeky response to Rembrandt's etching that has gained scant attention (fig. 4). This rare print, a "large, rough copy in reverse" (in Hind's words), is unsigned but was attributed to Lievens by Dmitri Rovinski. The sketchy style and definition of form with long, sinuous strokes are consistent with Lievens' early etchings.¹⁷ This is not a deceptive copy, but rather an interpretation or even a critique of Rembrandt's small, ragged figure. The modeling of the costume is simplified, and the gesture of the begging hand is enhanced by deeper shading in

the palm. Rembrandt's curly hair and broad nose remain unmistakable, but the size of the head is exaggerated, and the expression gains a touch of madness with a wild glint in the right eye and a roguish squint in the left. Significantly, this plate is much larger than Rembrandt's (320 x 200 mm vs. 115 x 69 mm), another factor that heightens its visual impact and its satirical potential. While Rembrandt's beggar is not overtly humorous, Lievens makes it more so. This suggests that at least one close contemporary understood Rembrandt's motive to be self-referential wit rather than Christian empathy.



Fig. 4 Jan Lievens, *Beggar Seated on a Bank (after Rembrandt)*, etching, 320 x 200 mm. British Museum, London, inv. no. 1969,0111.5 (artwork in the public domain) Photo: British Museum

- 6 The analysis of humor in Rembrandt's work remains to be written; commentators have focused instead on his ability to render complex, often tragic states of emotion. Constantijn Huygens was one of the first to recognize this talent with his vivid description of the central figure in Rembrandt's *Judas Repentant* (private collection, England), painted in 1629. (Perhaps not coincidentally, that figure is also a supplicant.) In the same text, Huygens comments that Rembrandt prefers to work on a small scale while Lievens "does not just accurately duplicate the size of figures, but makes them larger."¹⁸ Thus, when Lievens enlarges Rembrandt's beggar, he may also be asserting his own superiority--as if to show Rembrandt what this satirical figure could look like if treated with the ambition and audacity for which he, Lievens, was already becoming known.
- 7 At the same time, by retaining the likeness of his friend, Lievens joins in Rembrandt's acerbic commentary on the artist's need to beg not just for financial support but also for appreciation from connoisseurs. And in this competitive environment, sometimes a provocative statement was the best way to attract notice. For instance, according to Karel van Mander (1604), Hans von Aachen secured a position as court painter to the Hapsburg emperor Rudolf II by crafting a self-portrait that depicted the artist as a rogue. This maneuver became a hallmark of Von Aachen's genre imagery (one version may later have inspired Rembrandt's depiction of himself as the prodigal son), and other young artists across Europe developed unconventional self-portraits as a means of showcasing their ambition and creativity. Several of Rembrandt's early paintings and prints, including *Beggar Seated on a Bank*, may be seen as contributing to this trend.¹⁹
- 8 Rembrandt derived his images of beggars, including this one, not only from direct observation

but also from close study of other printmakers. One mendicant figure from Jacques Callot's series of twenty-five *gueux* (1622–23) is frequently cited as a precedent (fig. 5). Significantly, the title page to Callot's series casts a roving troupe of vagabonds as *baroni*, or scoundrels: untrustworthy deceivers who live by their wits.²⁰ This suggests an association between these colorful characters (and the printmaker's clever rendering of them) and the perception of artists as tricksters who deceive their viewers through the lifelikeness of their imagery. Robert Baldwin and other scholars



Fig. 5 Jacques Callot, *Man in Rags* from *Le Baroni* (1622–23), engraving, 135 (trimmed) x 84 mm. British Museum, London, inv. no. 1861,0713.933 (artwork in the public domain) Photo: British Museum

have associated Rembrandt's apparent empathy for the poor with the Christian view that all of us are dependent upon the benevolence of God.²¹ Baldwin interprets Rembrandt's beggars as a secular version of the Man of Sorrows, but he stops short of applying this connotation to the artist's depiction of himself as a beggar. Yet, this suggests another visual tradition that might have prompted Rembrandt's role play. As he pondered his own Passion series, he may well have consulted Albrecht Dürer's treatments of the theme. In the frontispiece to the *Large Passion*, Christ as the Man of Sorrows sits hunched on a rough stone block (fig. 6). His features bear a striking resemblance to those of Dürer himself.²²



Fig. 6 Albrecht Dürer, *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, title page from *Large Passion* (1511), woodcut, image 197 x 195 mm. British Museum, London, inv. no. E,3,74 (artwork in the public domain) Photo: British Museum

- 9 While Christ as the Man of Sorrows bears the burden of sinful humankind, the sorrowing artist may have more practical concerns. In referencing such prototypes, Rembrandt did more than build on iconographic tradition: he approached his etchings of beggars, and of himself, as performances crafted in a medium designed for circulation and for comparison with the works of other artists (one of the perennial delights of print collecting). Self-identification in this case might suggest devotion or empathy, but, like the dozens of other self-portraits Rembrandt produced, it also constitutes an assertive foregrounding of artistic agency. This context facilitates the shift in perspective from begging for alms to begging for attention.
- 10 Together with representations of the studio and allegories of Art, early modern self-portraiture has been widely understood to comment metonymically on the status and practice of the artist's profession. Within this imbricated tradition, a principal goal was to promote painting as a noble liberal art by depicting the artist as a person of genteel bearing and/or intellectual accomplishment.²³ The young Rembrandt both contributed to this initiative, beginning with his etched *Self-Portrait in Soft Cap and Embroidered Cloak* (1631, fig. 7),²⁴ and stood apart from it--nowhere more so, it would seem, than in *Beggar Seated on a Bank*. I suggest that the connotations of the etching are enriched if we imagine the figure *in toto*--not just Rembrandt's face added to it--as a representation of the artist. In this context, the long, loose coat could be the tattered remnants of a painter's smock.²⁵ In happier circumstances, the seated, outdoor pose might reflect depictions of artists sketching *en plein air* (for example, fig. 8).²⁶ The tragedy of Rembrandt's poor artist is that he is alone and powerless, bereft of the tools of his trade. Perry Chapman notes that artistic melancholy was associated with creativity but also with idleness, poverty, and ostracism from society.²⁷ The key point here, however, is that Rembrandt's depiction of himself as indigent and unkempt directly contravenes the ideal of the gentleman-painter. Crafted in full awareness of this ideal--which the artist himself took up only a year later (fig. 7)--it becomes a parodic inversion of the suave social-climbing in which contemporaries such as Honthorst and Lievens actively engaged. As such, it contributes to an alternative literary and visual tradition: the depiction of Art impoverished.



Fig. 7 Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait in Soft Cap and Embroidered Cloak*, signed Rembrandt f. and dated RHL 1631, etching, 148 x 130 mm. British Museum, London, inv. no. F,4.9 (artwork in the public domain) Photo: British Museum



Fig. 8 Stefano Della Bella, frontispiece to *Diverses Tetes et Figures* (1650), etching, 87 x 68 mm. British Museum, London, inv. no. 1862,1011.293 (artwork in the public domain) Photo: British Museum

- 11 Constantijn Huygens, in a poem published in his anthology, *Koren-Bloemen* (1658), satirizes a painter he calls “Jan Klad,” who has been forced to sell all his possessions and drowns his sorrows in drink. In the literary tradition to which this poem belongs, the connoisseur blames the artist for his own troubles. Financial poverty results from indolence and lack of skill--the painter is “poor” in more ways than one.²⁸ In contrast, allegories composed from an artist’s perspective express the challenges of earning a living from one’s art. In a drawing by Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610) (fig. 9), the destitute artist is distracted by the demands of a hungry family. A statuette on his drawing table depicts genius tied down by earthly care.²⁹ A similar scenario is repeated in several prints after a composition by Andries Both (1611/12–1641).³⁰ In *Beggar Seated on a Bank*, the young Rembrandt takes this lament out of the home and into the street. With the figure’s direct appeal to the viewer, he addresses the root cause of the painter’s travails: the necessity of soliciting attention from patrons and the marketplace.



Fig. 9 Adam Elsheimer, *The Artist Despairing of His Poverty*, ca. 1603–05, drawing, pen and ink. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (artwork in the public domain) Photo: Author



Fig. 10 Salvator Rosa, *Allegory of Painting*, ca. 1648–50, drawing, pen and brown ink with brown wash, 302 x 219 mm. Windsor Castle, Royal Collection, inv. no. 6124 (artwork in the public domain) Photo: Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2013.

- 12 The theme of Art impoverished was familiar in Italy as well. In his poem *Lamento della pittura sul l'onde venete* (Mantua, 1605), Federico Zuccaro (ca. 1541–1609) dressed the character of Painting in rags to signify a state of degradation brought on by the replacement of the refined style of Titian (ca. 1488–1576) and Veronese (1528–1588) with the sketchy (and more efficient) technique of Tintoretto (1519–1594).³¹ In Florence in the late 1640s, Salvator Rosa (1615–1673) drew an allegory of “Painting as a Beggar” (fig. 10).³² Like Rembrandt’s *Beggar Seated on a Bank*, Rosa’s *Pittura* is an isolated figure, seated outdoors on a rock and appealing for aid to the spectator. Her maulstick, palette, and brushes lie discarded on the ground. In her outstretched hand, she carries a begging bowl, but rather than confront the viewer, she bows her head despondently, while a winged cherub solicits sympathy with a banner that reads “Gentlemen, give alms to poor Painting.” Related themes feature in several works by Rosa and in his poetic satire, *La Pittura* (ca. 1651).³³ Interestingly, Rosa was an admirer of both Rembrandt and Lievens and a fractious personality who shared Rembrandt’s ambivalence toward dealing with patrons. Wendy Wassing Roworth associates his satires on art with “Rosa’s frustrations during the period when he left behind the ‘golden chains’ of [the Medici] court for riskier, more rewarding opportunities in

Rome.”³⁴ It is easy to see a parallel with Rembrandt’s circumstances in 1630, as he debated between the struggle for court patronage from the House of Orange and the lure of Amsterdam.

- 13 As the open market for art developed in the Dutch Republic, Rembrandt and his contemporaries were less dependent on commissions than their predecessors had been, but they still had to find buyers for their work. Indeed, the decline of sinecures such as court appointments created a greater requirement that the artist operate as both craftsman and salesman, producing art as a commodity in search of a market. Among theorists, this condition occasioned a running debate over artistic motivations and their merits: as described by Rembrandt’s former pupil Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678), love, honor, and profit were the key factors driving artistic creativity.³⁵ One Dutch author, Philips Angel, argued in 1642 that the marketability of works of art as tangible commodities was a factor that did not dishonor painting but, rather, rendered it superior to literature.³⁶ In 1634, Rembrandt inscribed Burchard Grossmann’s *album amicorum* with the motto “A pious soul values honor above profit,”³⁷ but this sentiment would have been impractical for many--including himself. The Passion series dragged on for over a decade, occasioning a set of documents that constitute the most significant literary artifact remaining to us from Rembrandt’s career: the seven letters he wrote to Constantijn Huygens concerning two paintings in the series. In two letters of 1639, he is truly compelled to assume the role of beggar, soliciting Huygens’s assistance in obtaining long overdue payment for his work.³⁸
- 14 In this context, *Beggar Seated on a Bank* is revealed as a deceptively simple image with profound implications--a statement on the plight of the artist reliant upon the buyer’s goodwill. In offering this reading of Rembrandt’s print, I suggest that the principal issue at stake is not poverty, but dependency. Like all who make their living providing a commodity or service, an artist perpetually stands beholden to his clientele. For a fiercely independent creative spirit, the irritations of this condition are clear. Just as “people skills” are valued in business today, artists in Rembrandt’s milieu who gracefully negotiated their relationships with patrons and the marketplace found a smoother path to success than those (like Rembrandt) who did not. In Rembrandt’s self-portrait as a beggar, we glimpse a witty and artful response to these challenges.

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¹ *Sheet of Studies: Head of the Artist, A Beggar Couple, Heads of an Old Man and an Old Woman, etc.*, etching, ca. 1632. Christopher White and Karel G. Boon, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts*, vol. 18, *Rembrandt van Rijn* (Amsterdam: Van Gent & Co., 1969), B. 363 (prints in this volume cited hereafter as "B."). See, inter alia, Holm Bevers et al., *Rembrandt: The Master and His Workshop, Drawings and Etchings*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Berlin: Gemäldegalerie; and London: National Gallery / New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1991), 180–81, cat. 5. See also the etching of ca. 1651, B. 370.

² Edmé-Francois Gersaint, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les pièces qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt* (Paris, 1751; English ed., London, 1752), cat. 168; Adam Bartsch, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt, et ceux de ses principaux imitateurs* (Vienna, 1797), cat. 174.

³ [Ignace-Joseph] de Claussin, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt et des principales pièces de ses élèves* (Paris, 1824), cat. 171 (“la physiognomie a beaucoup de ressemblance à Rembrandt”). Unless otherwise noted, translations are my own.

⁴ The resemblance is not mentioned by Daniel Daulby, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Works of Rembrandt and of His Scholars Bol, Livens and Van Vliet* (Liverpool, 1796), cat. 168; [Thomas Wilson], *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Prints of Rembrandt by an Amateur* (London, 1836), cat. 171; Charles Blanc, *L'Oeuvre complet de Rembrandt décrit et commenté* (Paris, 1859–61), cat. 136; Charles H. Middleton, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Rembrandt van Rhyn* (London, 1878), cat. 34; or, in modern times, by White and Boon, *Rembrandt* (B. 174, with a list of copies).

⁵ Arthur M. Hind, *A Catalogue of Rembrandt's Etchings* (London, 1912; 2nd ed., 1923), cat. 11, states that “the head resembles the artist's study from himself (No. 31),” referring to *Self-Portrait with Open Mouth as if Shouting* (B. 13).

⁶ Early writers in English describe the figure's rustic seat as a hillock, but White and Boon's more alliterative “bank” (B. 174) has become standard.

⁷ Daulby, *Descriptive Catalogue*, cat. 168; Bartsch, *Catalogue raisonné*, cat. 174. Cataloguers have used the term “beggar” (in French *gueux* or *mendiant*) generically. *Beggars Receiving Alms at the Door of a House* (1648, B. 176) depicts an act of charity, but the performers in *Blind Fiddler* (1631, B. 138), *Strolling Musicians* (ca. 1635, B. 119), and *The Rat-Poison Peddler* (1632, B. 121) have meager services to sell. See, inter alia, Clifford S. Ackley et al., *Rembrandt's Journey: Painter, Draftsman, Etcher*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, and Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2003), 90–92, 169–74.

⁸ This reading belongs to a larger argument about the purposes of Rembrandt's self-portraits. See, for example, Peter Schatborn in Erik Hinterding et al., *Rembrandt the Printmaker*, exh. cat. (London: British Museum, and Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2000), 94; Christopher White et al., *Rembrandt by Himself*, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery, and The Hague: Mauritshuis / New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 129–30, cat. 24.

⁹ On the visual and social construction of indigence in Rembrandt's milieu, see, for example, Marijke Kok and Simon Levie, *Arm in de gouden eeuw*, exh. cat.

(Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1965); on Rembrandt's beggars, see Elisabeth Sudek, *Bettlerdarstellungen vom Ende des XV. Jahrhunderts bis zu Rembrandt* (Strassburg: Heitz, 1931); Robert Baldwin, “‘On earth we are beggars, as Christ himself was’: The Protestant Background of Rembrandt's Imagery of Poverty, Disability, and Begging,” *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 54, no. 3 (1985): 122–35; Suzanne Stratton, “Rembrandt's Beggars: Satire and Sympathy,” *Print Collector's Newsletter* 17, no. 3 (1986): 77–81; William H. Halewood, “Rembrandt's Low Diction,” *Oud Holland* 107 (1993): 287–95; Gary Schwartz, “Sordid and sacred: the Beggars in Rembrandt's Etchings,” in *Sordid and Sacred. The Beggars in Rembrandt's Etchings. Selections from the John Villarino Collection*, exh. cat., Los Angeles: Landau Traveling Exhibitions, 2006.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00233608508604082>, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/187501793X00027>

¹⁰ Ackley, *Rembrandt's Journey*, 91. Jasper Kettner in *Rembrandt: Ein Virtuose der Druckgraphik*, exh. cat., ed. Holm Bevers, Jasper Kettner, and Gudula Metze (Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett / Staatliche Museen, 2006), 52, cat. 9, states that it is unclear whether Rembrandt here used his own

face merely as a type or intended to depict his status as an artist in society. H. Perry Chapman, *Rembrandt's Self-Portraits: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Identity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), 32–33, associates the print with the tradition of the artist as melancholic (see further below).

¹¹ Rembrandt would have been chagrined to know that his *Abduction of Proserpina* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), painted in 1631–32 for Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik, was listed in the Orange inventory until 1707 as by Lievens. Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982–2010), 1:365–72, cat. A39.

¹² Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai, on loan to Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. See Ad M. Th. Leerintveld, “‘T’quam soo wel te pass’: Huygens’ portretbijschriften en de datering van zijn portret geschilderd door Jan Lievens,” *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 8 (1989): 159–84; and Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. et al., *Jan Lievens: A Dutch Master Rediscovered*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum; and Amsterdam: Rembrandthuis, 2008), 112–13, cat. 16 (dating the painting to 1628–29).

¹³ Further evidence is a comment by Sir Robert Kerr, First Earl of Ancram, whom Lievens portrayed in 1654 (private collection): “Mr. Lievens, the Duke of Brandenburg’s painter . . . is the better because he has so high a conceit of himself that he thinks there is none to be compared with him in all Germany, Holland, nor the rest of the seventeen provinces.” Wheelock, *Lievens*, 178–79, cat. 51. See also the article by Jacquelyn Coutré in this volume.

¹⁴ Rembrandt, *Christ on the Cross*, 1631, Collegiate Church of St. Vincent, Le Mas d’Agenais. Bruyn et al., *Corpus*, 1:338–45, cat. A35; for Lievens, *Christ on the Cross*, 1631, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy, see Wheelock, *Lievens*, 144–45, cat. 32. Although completed in 1631, these works may well have been commissioned in 1630. Bruyn et al., *Corpus*, considered these paintings unconnected with the Passion series, but there is now consensus that they must have been related. See, e.g., Schwartz, “Sordid and Sacred,” and recently, Lloyd DeWitt et al., *Rembrandt and the Face of Jesus*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art; Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts; and Paris: Musée du Louvre / New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2011), 179–85, cat. 10.

¹⁵ Honthorst garnered success as a court portraitist by transforming his style from Caravaggist to classicist. See Peter van der Ploeg, Carola Vermeeren, and B. P. J. Broos, *Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia of Solms in the Hague*, exh. cat. (The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis / Zwolle: Waanders, 1997); Marika Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans, *Princely Display*, exh. cat. (The Hague: Historical Museum / Zwolle: Waanders, 1997). For Rembrandt’s portrait of Amalia von Solms (Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris), see Van der Ploeg, Vermeeren, and Broos, *Princely Patrons*, 134–35; and Bruyn et al., *Corpus*, 2:249–55, cat. A61. For Amalia’s art patronage, see, recently, Saskia Beranek, “Power of the Portrait: Production, Consumption and Display of Portraits of Amalia van Solms in the Dutch Republic” (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2013).

¹⁶ For Rembrandt’s dealings with patrons, see especially Paul Crenshaw, *Rembrandt’s Bankruptcy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 119–25 (the D’Andrada dispute, 1654). For the rejection of the portrait of Jan Antonides van der Linden (B. 264), Rembrandt’s last etching, see Stephanie S. Dickey, *Rembrandt: Portraits in Print* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2006), 159–62.

¹⁷ Hind, *Catalogue*, under cat. 11; Dmitri Rovinski, *L’Oeuvre gravé des élèves de Rembrandt et des maîtres qui ont gravé dans son goût* (St. Petersburg, 1894), col. 39, cat. 77, does not mention Rembrandt’s etching as a source. Compare, for example, *Jacob Anointing the Stone* and *Saint John*

the Evangelist on Patmos; see Wheelock, *Lievens*, 188–89, cats. 56, 57; and Stephanie S. Dickey, “Jan Lievens and Printmaking,” in Wheelock, *Lievens*, 55–67.

¹⁸ *Judas Repentant*, 1629, private collection, England. Bruyn et al., *Corpus*, 1:177–95, cat. A15. For the Latin text and translation of Huygens’s comments, see Walter L. Strauss et al., *The Rembrandt Documents* (New York: Abaris Books, 1979), 68–72; and Alan Chong et al., ed., *Rembrandt Creates Rembrandt*, exh. cat. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum / Zwolle; Waanders, 2000), 134–36 (translation cited here). The caption to the printed portrait of Lievens by Lucas Vorsterman (1595–1675) after Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) also describes Lievens as a painter of large-scale figures (“pictor humanarum figurarum maiorum”). Huygens was writing about paintings (Lievens’s *Christ on the Cross* is larger than Rembrandt’s, as noted by Virginia Treanor in Wheelock, *Lievens*, 144), but in their prints, too, Lievens tended to work on a larger scale; several of Rembrandt’s first attempts to emulate this were failures, for example, *Peter Healing the Lame Man*, B. 95, and *Saint Paul at His Desk*, B. 149; see Dickey in Wheelock, *Lievens*, 57.

¹⁹ Karel van Mander: *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, ed. Hessel Miedema (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994–99), 1:416–17. See Stephanie S. Dickey, *Rembrandt Face to Face* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 2006) and Dickey, “Strategies of Self-Portraiture from Hans von Aachen to Rembrandt,” in *Hans von Aachen in Context: Proceedings of the International Conference Prague 22–25 September 2010*, ed. Lubomír Konecny and Stepán Vácha (Prague: Artefactum, 2012), 72–81. Rembrandt’s painting of ca. 1635 depicting the artist with his wife Saskia in a tavern, usually interpreted as a reference to the prodigal son, is in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.

²⁰ See Daniel Ternois and Paulette Choné, *Jacques Callot, 1592–1653*, exh. cat. (Nancy: Musée historique Lorrain / Paris: Editions de la réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), 276–81; Sue Welsh Reed et al., *French Prints from the Age of the Musketeers*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1998), 66–67, cats. 18–20. In discussing this title page, Gary Schwartz makes the intriguing observation that “beggar” also had political connotations in the Dutch Republic, where William of Orange and his “sea beggars” had been responsible for initiating the revolt from Spain. <http://www.garyschwartzarthistorian.nl/schwartzlist/?id=58> (accessed May 22, 2013)

²¹ Baldwin, “On earth,” 122–24, 132; see also Stratton, “Rembrandt’s Beggars.” <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00233608508604082>

²² Dürer’s self-identification with Christ is explored by Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 17–21, 63–79, and passim. The frontispiece to the Small Passion also depicts a seated, suffering Christ, and the etching *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, 1515, might have caught Rembrandt’s interest for its sketchy technique. By 1656, Rembrandt owned a variety of prints by Dürer; see Bob van den Boogert et al., *Rembrandt’s Treasures* (Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis / Zwolle: Waanders, 1999).

²³ See, inter alia, Eddy de Jongh, “Over ambachtman en kunstenaar: De status van de schilder in de 16de en 17de eeuw,” in *Het beeld van de kunstenaar in de Renaissance*, ed. Bernhard F. Scholz and Arie-Jan Gelderblom (Utrecht: Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1983), 29–58; and Michael Cole and Mary Pardo, eds., *Inventions of the Studio, Renaissance to Romanticism* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2005). Rembrandt’s *Artist in the Studio* of ca. 1629 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Bruyn et al., *Corpus*, 1:208–13, cat. A18) reflects his early interest in allegories of artistic practice.

²⁴ See Martin Royalt-Kisch, *Drawings by Rembrandt and His Circle in the British Museum* (Lon-

don: British Museum, 1992), 45–46, cat. 8a; Stephanie S. Dickey, “Van Dyck in Holland: The Iconography and Its Impact on Rembrandt and Lievens,” in *Van Dyck 1599–1999: Conjectures and Refutations*, ed. Hans Vlieghe (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 289–304.

²⁵ Marieke de Winkel in Bruyn et al., *Corpus*, 4:55–57, describes the loose smocks worn by many seventeenth-century painters as resembling (or possibly identical with) the *tabbaard*, a long robe typically worn by men at home.

²⁶ A curiously relevant contribution is a painting by Michael Sweerts (1618–1664) depicting a draftsman seated outdoors and sketching the likeness of an elderly beggar while a crowd looks on, auctioned Sotheby’s, London, March 27, 1963, and July 8, 2009 (bought in); Jan Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst* (Amsterdam: G. A. van Oorschot, 1979), 153, fig. 8.

²⁷ Chapman, *Rembrandt’s Self-Portraits*, 32–33.

²⁸ Constantijn Huygens, *Koren-Bloemen* (The Hague, 1658), 644.

²⁹ Adam Elsheimer, *The Artist Despairing of His Poverty*, ca. 1603–05, pen and brown ink, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich. Michael Semff, ed., *Dürer to de Kooning: 100 Master Drawings from Munich*, exh. cat. (New York: The Morgan Library and Museum, 2012), 98–99, cat. 38 (with references to other treatments of the theme). While it cannot be proven that Rembrandt knew this drawing, his teacher Pieter Lastman (1583–1633) must have introduced him to Elsheimer’s work, as reflected in early paintings such as *The Stoning of Saint Stephen* (Bruyn et al., *Corpus*, 1:208–13, cat. A1).

³⁰ For the prints after Both and the theme of the poor artist, see Eddy de Jongh and Ger Luijten, *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genre Prints in the Netherlands, 1550–1700*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Rijksprentenkabinet / Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Son, 1997), 247–53, cat. 49. They also mention (252n6) the related contrast between the ideals of *pictor doctus*, or learned painter, and *pictor vulgaris*, the latter term associated with Rembrandt by Jan Emmens, *Regels*, 57–66, 200–209.

³¹ Inemie Gerards-Nelissen, “Federico Zuccaro and the *Lament of Painting*,” *Simiolus* 13, no. 1 (1983): 44–53; Philip Sohm in *Painting for Money: The Economic Lives of Seventeenth-century Italian Painters*, ed. Richard E. Spear and Philip Sohm (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010), 206–07. *Painting for Money* presents an insightful study of the market pressures faced by artists in Italy.

³² This painting was connected with the loss of Medici patronage that precipitated Rosa’s departure from Florence in 1649 by Jonathan Scott, *Salvator Rosa: His Life and Times* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995), 43–44; and with his distaste for the Bamboccianti and the rapid growth of the market for cheap paintings in Rome by Richard Spear in *Painting for Money*, 42. See also Michael Mahoney, *The Drawings of Salvator Rosa* (New York: Garland, 1977), 1:291, cat. 24.5; Herwig Guratzsch, ed., *Salvator Rosa, Genie der Zeichnung: Studien und Skizzen aus Leipzig und Haarlem*, exh. cat. (Leipzig: Museum der Bildenden Künste / Cologne: Wienand, 1999), 106, under cat. 26.

³³ See Wendy Wassying Roworth, “A Date for Salvator Rosa’s Satire on Painting and the Bamboccianti in Rome,” *Art Bulletin* 63, no. 4 (1981): 611–17. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3050166>

³⁴ Wendy Wassying Roworth, “Poor Painting and the Fortunes of Salvator Rosa,” in *Salvator Rosa (1615–1673) e il suo tempo*, ed. Sybille Ebert-Schifferer, Helen Langdon, and Caterina Volpi (Rome: Biblioteca Heriziana, 2009), 125–39. Roworth relates the Windsor drawing to a sketch (Bonna collection, Geneva) in which Poor Painting swats away flies from unsold paintings that lie like decaying fruit in the artist’s studio. Rosa based an undated painting, *The Raising of Lazarus* (Matthiesen Gallery, London), on the prints of this subject etched by Rembrandt and

Lievens in 1631 (Wheelock, *Lievens*, 142-43, 204-5, cats. 31 and 73). See Silvia Cassani, ed., *Salvator Rosa tra mito e magia*, exh. cat. (Naples: Museo Capodimonte, 2008), 218-9, cat. 71; and www.matthiesengallery.com/info.asp?Id_painting=354 (accessed May 13, 2013).

³⁵ Van Hoogstraten listed love (of art) above honor and profit as artistic motivations. See Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 91-95.

³⁶ See Eric Jan Sluijter, *De lof der schilderkunst: Over schilderijen van Gerrit Dou (1613-1671) en een traktaat van Philips Angels uit 1642* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1992). Comparable issues in the Italian art market are explored in Spear and Sohm, *Painting for Money*.

³⁷ "Een vroom gemoet acht eer voor goet." Burchard Grossmann visited Amsterdam in June 1634. His album was inscribed by Hendrick Uylenburgh (1584 or 1589-ca. 1660) as well as Rembrandt. Strauss et al., *Rembrandt Documents*, doc. 1634/6.

³⁸ The tone of the letters escalates from polite in 1636 to pleading in 1639, when, having just purchased his house on the Breestraat, Rembrandt is compelled to write to Huygens, "May I ask you, dear Sir, that the money which His Highness allows me . . . be paid here as soon as possible, because I could really use it right now." See Strauss et al., *Rembrandt Documents*, 129-34, 160-75, esp. 167, doc. 1639/4; and Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy*. Crenshaw's essay in this volume on Rembrandt's *Satire on Art Criticism*, a drawing of 1644 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), suggests that its origins may lie in the same context as *Beggar Seated on a Bank*. Further attention should also be paid to the continuing presence of Lievens as friend and competitor in Rembrandt's life: in 1644, he returned from Antwerp to settle in Amsterdam; see Dickey, *Rembrandt: Portraits in Print*, 132-5, and Dickey, "Jan Lievens in Rembrandt's House," *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* (2008 [2009]): 36-53.

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