CATHERINE B. SCALLEN

REMBRANDT, REPUTATION, AND THE PRACTICE OF CONNOISSEURSHIP

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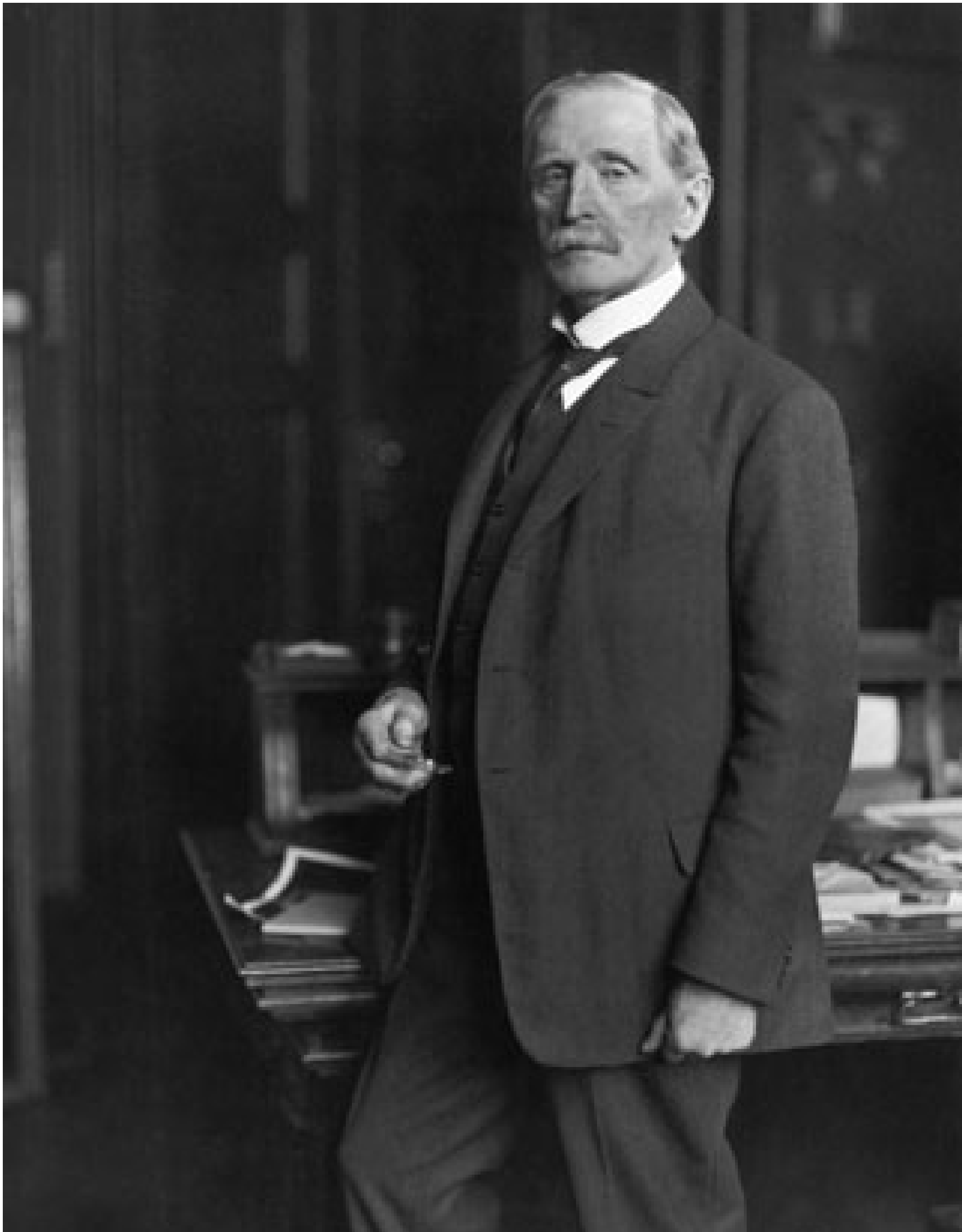

FIG. 1 – *Wilhelm von Bode Standing in his Office in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum*, 1915

INTRODUCTION

In 1883, some two hundred years after the death of Rembrandt van Rijn, his painted oeuvre was estimated to number about 350 pictures. Forty years later, the number of paintings authoritatively attributed to Rembrandt was more than twice that. The connoisseurship that led to this doubling of the putative production of a long-dead artist was principally the work of four men. Sometimes collaborators, sometimes competitors, the four exercised extraordinary influence on the contemporary understanding of what was, and was not, a Rembrandt painting.

This book traces the formation of modern Rembrandt connoisseurship in the period 1870 to 1935 by considering the writings of the scholars who made the most influential pronouncements about authorship, quality, and condition of paintings attributed to Rembrandt: Wilhelm von Bode, Abraham Bredius, Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, and Wilhelm Valentiner [FIGS. 1-4]. The establishment of the reputation of these four men as the dominant Rembrandt authorities reveals much about the practice of connoisseurship as an art-historical method and about its institutional importance for the various groups it served: museum professionals, art dealers and collectors, and scholars within and outside of the academy.

Connoisseurship has been one of the most essential methods of western art history since the Renaissance. Theories of connoisseurship – the practice of locating works of art in space and time and, more specifically, of attributing works of art to individual artists and assessing their quality on the basis of stylistic analysis and discernment of aesthetic value – have held a significant place in the historiography of art history.

Surprisingly, the roles of the specific figures who made these significant decisions, and their individual approaches to connoisseurship, have with only a

FIG. 2 – *Abraham Bredius*, about 1935

few exceptions been little analyzed.[1] Yet influential connoisseurs have had a profound impact on the history of art as a discipline and consequently on our understanding of individual artists and their art-historical evaluation. One of the best examples of this dichotomy in how we apprehend the consequences of connoisseurship can be found in the study of the seventeenth-century Dutch artist Rembrandt van Rijn. For more than one hundred years scholars have presented myriad versions of his painted oeuvre, some of which have occasioned heated debates. Since the early 1980s, debates about Rembrandt connoisseurship have centered on the sometimes controversial findings of the Rembrandt Research Project as published in the first three volumes of a multi-volume corpus of the artist's paintings.[2] This discourse has ranged from an almost exclusive focus on the attribution of individual paintings to one that encompasses the potential contributions and limits of connoisseurship itself as a means to understand the art of Rembrandt. Nonetheless, while the names and basic contribu-

tions of the pioneering Rembrandt connoisseurs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are familiar to Dutch art specialists, their practices as Rembrandt connoisseurs have never been thoroughly examined.

The contention engendered in Rembrandt studies by the published opinions of the Rembrandt Research Project during the 1980s first led me to this topic.[3] I began to wonder how and why certain scholars had become trusted authorities for Rembrandt attributions. How was this authority acquired and maintained? Why were other voices ignored or even mocked? To answer these questions I began to read in the history of Rembrandt painting connoisseurship back to the second half of the nineteenth century, when the first oeuvre catalogues on his paintings were published. What quickly became apparent was that my questions were not limited to Rembrandt scholarship but engaged the larger history of connoisseurship as one branch of the newly arisen institutional discipline of art history, based in the university and the art museum. The practices of the university-trained experts and museum professionals who made the judgments as to what was and was not a Rembrandt painting were central to the for-

FIG. 3 – *Cornelis Hofstede de Groot*, 1929

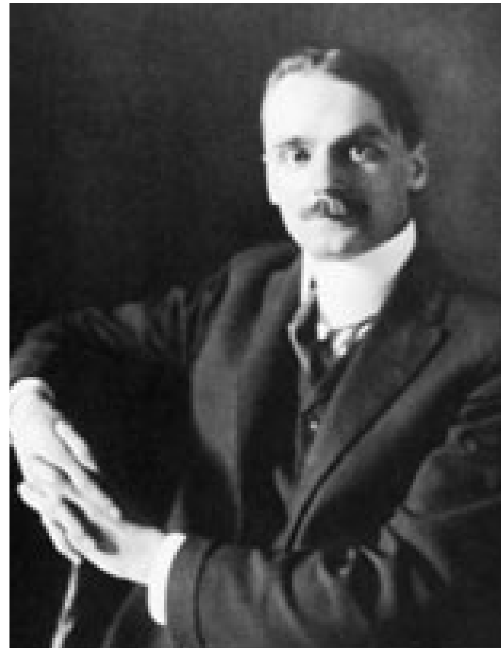

FIG. 4 – *Wilhelm R. Valentiner*, 1919

mation of this newly legitimized field of study. The dramatic rise in popularity of Rembrandt's art, first in Europe and then in North America during the later nineteenth century, meant that Rembrandt connoisseurship became one of the most influential and contested arenas for the development of modern practices of connoisseurship.

By the 1890s, three major Rembrandt scholar-connoisseurs were publishing from important posts in the museum world: Wilhelm von Bode, then director of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, Abraham Bredius, director of the Mauritshuis in The Hague, and Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, assistant director at the Mauritshuis under Bredius, and, for a short time, director of the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam. A decade later they were joined in authority by Wilhelm Valentiner, a German protégé of Hofstede de Groot's who also worked with Bode in Berlin and eventually became director of the Detroit Institute of Arts. These men – two Dutch, two German – were recognized by their contemporaries as the world's most important experts on Rembrandt, and each produced a catalogue of his paintings, as well as many other studies that centered in large part on issues of attribution.

A century later, the productivity of these nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars is still impressive to contemplate. For each of these men the entirety of his Rembrandt scholarship was only a fraction of his overall output.[4] Bode wrote on Italian Renaissance bronzes and paintings, medieval and Northern Renaissance pieces, and Oriental carpets– over 500 articles in all. These were produced along with the many exhibition and collection catalogues prepared during his fifty-year administrative and curatorial career, which culminated with his appointment as Director-General of the Berlin Museums in 1905. Bredius was the central figure for archival research on Dutch art at the end of the nineteenth century and published vast numbers of documents in his lifetime, in addition to conducting a twenty-five-year museum vocation. Hofstede de Groot was a prodigious cataloguer of every seventeenth-century Dutch artist of note, and his massive compendium of their work in an eight-volume edition is still a central tool for scholars in the field. Following a nine-year museum career, he became an independent scholar and provided thousands of written evaluations of art works for dealers and collectors. Valentiner, like Bode, published on a wide range of topics in Italian and Northern art and also promoted the work of his contemporaries, the German Expressionist artists. He helped bring the new museological practices of Bode to North America in his own career as a museum director in Detroit, Los Angeles, and Raleigh, North

Carolina. These scholars also served as advisors to private individuals forming collections, sometimes serving as middlemen between the collectors and art dealers by providing "expertises" (written statements about the authorship and quality of art works) and producing catalogues of such private collections, adding the stamp of authority to them.

Such productivity was possible because each man had great confidence in his abilities as a connoisseur and an art historian and a clear (though typically unstated) vision of what he wanted to achieve. It was also a consequence of the pragmatic approach to their work that all four scholars shared, an approach that enabled them to make the quick decisions necessary for acquiring paintings, running museums, and advancing the scholarship of all kinds of art works. None of these Rembrandt experts was theoretically inclined; they focused on practice rather than the articulation of their method. In other words, while their approach was grounded in some basic intellectual conceptions shared by many art historians of their time, these figures were emphatically not critical historians of art.[5] As a result, it is only through study of their catalogues, books, and articles that we can understand their practices and the unarticulated assumptions upon which they were based. The paintings they promoted as Rembrandts, including ones they bought for museums, the arguments they conducted with each other over specific attributions, and the range of Rembrandts oeuvre, even the form of their publications in *catalogues raisonnés* and individual articles devoted to discoveries of new works, all provide insight into their modes of understanding and evaluation. Hence my approach to this subject has been to characterize their methods of Rembrandt connoisseurship by analyzing their writings closely. Since many of their publications have fallen into obscurity in the English-speaking world, I have described their arguments at length in order to provide a deeper understanding of how they framed their arguments and what evidence they used in their debates on connoisseurship.

The relationships of the Rembrandt experts with the art world of dealers, collectors, government officials, journal editors, and university professors, and, above all, with each other were far from incidental in shaping the practice of modern connoisseurship. My focus on the scholarly writings of the Rembrandt connoisseurs, however, has led me to concentrate primarily on the interrelationships among this group of scholars, for the lines of patronage, alliance, or enmity that linked these figures in a complex web cannot be separated from their scholarly interests and positions. Where they worked and published, whose work they defended, with whom they collaborated on exhibitions, what books they reviewed:

all of these aspects of their professional careers as Rembrandt experts were affected by their affiliations with each other.

The personalized nature of their connoisseurship was also mirrored by the way in which Rembrandt's reputation and their own became linked in the period under study. Bode liked to remind his readers periodically that in 1851, when Delacroix wrote in his diary that someday, perhaps, Rembrandt would be seen as the equal of Raphael, such a notion was nearly heretical in view of the contemporary hierarchy of artists.[6] The ascendance of Rembrandt's reputation among artists and critics after 1850, in part a consequence of changing aesthetic norms, provoked interest in knowing about the life and work of this artist, leading archivists and critics to turn their attention to him.[7] Writers such as Carel Vosmaer and Eduard Kolloff would organize the new archival findings and critical responses to Rembrandt's art into a comprehensive whole.[8] The scholars who instead chose to determine the boundaries of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre had in some ways a more difficult task. Rather than painting monumental murals or altarpieces, securely documented and often still *in situ* at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as was true for many painters of the Italian Renaissance, Rembrandt made portable paintings, rarely commissioned except in the case of portraits. Complicating matters further was the existence of Rembrandt's workshop, where students and assistants learned his manner and helped, somehow, to execute the master's work, thus confounding easy solutions when later generations attempted to establish the boundaries of his oeuvre.[9] During the nineteenth century, the connoisseurship of Rembrandt paintings became the province of individuals who, by seeking out works already attributed to the artist and scrutinizing new candidates for admission, could develop a convincing concept of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre. They espoused a "scientific" approach to connoisseurship, by which they meant one based on their own visual comparison of paintings, supplemented by knowledge of the facts of Rembrandt's life to help identify models. This was a decades-long undertaking for anyone who elected to be a Rembrandt connoisseur. As a result, the reputations of Bode, Bredius, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner became thoroughly entwined over time with their perceived successes and failures as Rembrandt connoisseurs and thus with the reputation of Rembrandt himself as an artist.

The body of works now held to be authentic Rembrandt paintings differs greatly from that accepted by Bode, Bredius, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner, who together expanded the number of accepted works from 350 to 700 or more, at least twice that which is generally agreed upon by Rembrandt experts

today.[10] This expansion occurred at a breathtaking rate. In 1883, when Bode formulated his first catalogue of Rembrandt paintings, he listed 350 pictures.[11] By the turn of the century, Bode, working with the assistance of Hofstede de Groot, published Rembrandt's work in a series of folios and designated 595 paintings as genuine.[12] In 1908 Valentiner authored a new edition of the Klassiker der Kunst volume on Rembrandt paintings, accepting 643 paintings.[13] Hofstede de Groot issued a catalogue in 1915, based on what he considered to be reliable archival and auction records, admitting more than 650 Rembrandts to the canon, while in 1921 Valentiner generated a supplement to his earlier work and added 120 "newly rediscovered" Rembrandt paintings.[14] Abraham Bredius, at the age of eighty, produced his own Rembrandt catalogue in 1935; leaner than Valentiner's, it still reproduced 630 paintings that Bredius attributed to the master.[15] These Rembrandt experts were unanimous in ratifying a very large oeuvre for the Dutch artist, although they disagreed with each other, sometimes fiercely, on precisely which paintings made up that oeuvre. They set as their primary goal the establishment of authorship, with the determination of quality being a secondary aim. While they were willing to eliminate paintings from Rembrandt's oeuvre, even those they had not seen in person, they each added more works to the corpus through their own "discoveries." Why and how this expansion occurred is a central theme of this study.

Outline of topics

My discussion of the practice of Rembrandt connoisseurship begins in 1870, a date that marks the publication of Wilhelm Bode's first publication involving the attribution of paintings to Rembrandt.[16] Bode was not only the oldest of the four scholars but was also the seminal figure for the development of modern Rembrandt connoisseurship to a degree not hitherto acknowledged. His insistence on the necessity of seeing works before attributing them, his willingness to challenge directly the opinions of other connoisseurs, both his predecessors and contemporaries, and his combination of scholarship with an active acquisitions campaign for the Berlin Gemäldegalerie would influence Rembrandt connoisseurship, for better and worse, for decades to come (chapter one). Given Bode's importance, his general reluctance to discuss the how or why of his connoisseurship decisions creates a singular interpretive challenge. Sir John Pope-Hennessy, in analyzing Bode's scholarship of Italian Renaissance sculpture,

characterized him as having a "positive aversion to rational analysis."[17] Hence I examine his debates over the connoisseurship of Italian Renaissance painting with Giovanni Morelli during the 1880s and early 1890s in order to gain some understanding of Bode's general, though unarticulated, theory of connoisseurship, as well as his propensity to personalize arguments (chapter two). Bode's influence was directly manifested in his role as mentor to younger art historians: Bredius and Hofstede de Groot both became his protégés and in turn supported him when, as the premier Rembrandt connoisseur, he was challenged by an outsider to the art-historical establishment, Max Lautner, in a sensational incident in 1891. In the end, this challenge actually strengthened Bode's position, helped to establish connoisseurship as an institutionally based practice by professionals, and launched both Bredius and Hofstede de Groot as internationally known Rembrandt connoisseurs (see Chapter 3).

The authority of the Rembrandt connoisseurs reached a peak in the 1890s and 1900s, when they promoted new modes of communication in art history, including the photographically-illustrated *catalogue raisonné* and the specialized, temporary museum exhibition as witnessed by the first major exhibition of Rembrandt's work, held at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam in 1898. The expansion of the art market at this time, in part stimulated by the emergence of many wealthy American collectors in need of guidance, helped them to disseminate their dominance of Rembrandt connoisseurship by becoming indispensable advisors to both collectors and art dealers; Bode and Hofstede de Groot in particular issued numerous expertises, as witness to the "scientific" connoisseurship they espoused (see Chapters 4 and 5). Yet the new century also saw their professional reputations as well as their connoisseurship come under attack. Simultaneously, the alliance formed in the 1890s began to fall apart, as Bredius took a path as a Rembrandt connoisseur that was increasingly independent of Bode and Hofstede de Groot. He was replaced as their ally by Wilhelm Valentiner, who worked first with Hofstede de Groot in The Hague, next with Bode in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin, and then in New York at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Arguments conducted through articles in professional journals about the attribution of specific paintings to Rembrandt or to his followers revealed increasing differences of opinion and some differences in approach between Hofstede de Groot and Valentiner on the one hand and Bredius on the other (see Chapter 6).

Such disagreements became still more acute in the 1920s, when the estimated size of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre reached a peak in Valentiner's scholar-

ship. Bode and Hofstede de Groot supported Valentiner in his final expansion of the Rembrandt oeuvre, while Bredius, aided by another Dutch art historian, Willem Martin, critiqued Valentiner's attributions. For the first time, Martin proposed a set of guidelines for organizing and classifying paintings attributed to Rembrandt and the Rembrandt school, while other scholars and critics began to criticize the concept of Rembrandt's production promoted by one camp of Rembrandt experts or the other, clear signs that their total domination of the field was waning (see Chapter 7). Despite the estrangement of Bredius from Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner, they all united one last time to dismiss another challenge to their authority, this time from an American writer, John C. Van Dyke (see Chapter 8). Consistently, when the Rembrandt experts were challenged by outsiders to the art-historical establishment such as Lautner and Van Dyke they reacted as though both their reputations and that of Rembrandt were at stake and countered their opponents as forcefully as possible. The Rembrandt specialists insisted that art history itself was being undermined by the work of their critics and saw themselves as the protectors of both the discipline and Rembrandt's legacy.

With the 1935 publication of Abraham Bredius's *catalogue raisonné* of Rembrandt paintings, the catalogue that has served – down to Bredius's numbering system – as the basis for subsequent catalogues of the artist's work, the era of these four experts came to an end.[18] While the youngest among them, Valentiner, continued to publish on Rembrandt nearly until the time of his death in 1956, the years when he, Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Bredius determined the course of Rembrandt connoisseurship ended two decades before (see Chapter 9).

To be sure, these four Rembrandt experts were accomplished scholars. But their influence and reputations did not derive from that alone. They pursued their craft with a vigor and a personal force that set them apart from their predecessors and competitors. They promoted their roles as museum curators and advisors to other sectors of the art market. They traveled frequently and far to see paintings that had often been inaccessible to earlier scholars. They personally asserted authority as connoisseurs by challenging the published attributions, and even the scholarly credentials, of other writers. Just as important, they understood the subtler uses of power and influence in the overlapping worlds of scholarship, art dealing, and public and private collecting to support their hegemony in the realm of Rembrandt connoisseurship. Other scholars of their era, though sometimes resentful, were powerless to countermand their influence until well into the twentieth century.[19] In short Bode, Bredius, Hof-

stede de Groot, and Valentiner are figures of genuine importance in the history of Rembrandt connoisseurship, whether their attributions to the artist have stood the test of time or not.

Related Scholarship

The rise of these scholars to prominence can be correlated with important institutional and cultural phenomena of the art world in the final decades of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the twentieth century: the founding and expansion of art museums in Europe and in the United States and the explosive growth of the Old Master art market at this time, stimulated by both the rise of public collections and a boom in private collecting, especially in North America. I was fortunate to begin my research at a time when a number of scholars were investigating these phenomena in depth. Only a few of these can be mentioned here; additional references will be found throughout the notes to my text. The history of development of the public art museum, very much a product of the Enlightenment in its origins, later associated with the rise of the middle classes and the promotion of cultural literacy, has been a topic of signal importance within art history during the last two decades. The quintessential example of such work is Andrew McClellan's *Inventing the Louvre*, but many other studies have joined it in recent years.[20] Many of these scholars have analyzed the role of the museum as an instrument of cultural policy by the competitive nation-states of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. I am in debt to this body of research, although I have dealt with it only tangentially here, as my focus is the specific issue of museum acquisitions in relationship to Rembrandt connoisseurship. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent reunification of East and West Germany into one country sparked a tremendous amount of art-historical research into the history of the Berlin collections. With the reopening of the central archive of the museums, long largely inaccessible to scholars from outside the Communist bloc, and under the stimulus of contemporary considerations about the role of Berlin's museums in the new era, the great period of museum building and collection formation was again a timely topic.[21] Tilmann von Stockhausen's *Gemäldegalerie Berlin. Die Geschichte ihrer Erwerbungspolitik 1830-1904* proved indispensable for my comprehension of cultural and museum politics in Berlin during the nineteenth century.[22] Bode's critical role in this history as director of the Gemäldegalerie, then of the

Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, and finally as Director-General of all the Berlin's museums had long been recognized in East Germany, where the Kaiser Friedrich-Museum was renamed the Bodemuseum. Now, however, scholars from east and west sought to understand his preeminent role in museology and the cultural politics of the Second Reich. The occasion of the 150th anniversary of his birth led to a scholarly outpouring of special exhibitions, catalogues, and essays devoted to Bode's impact, as well as a full-length biography.[23] Thomas Gaehtgens and Barbara Paul edited the second edition of Bode's memoir, *Mein Leben*.[24] While the point of view evidenced in this memoir is self-serving in many regards, and Bode's version of events not always entirely accurate, it is nonetheless an invaluable document for understanding Bode's career and all the more useful in this fully annotated edition.[25] Despite the volume of work published on Bode lately, it should not be surprising that Bode's role within the historiography of Rembrandt scholarship has remained so little examined, notwithstanding his preeminence in this field during the nineteenth century. Most of his research on Rembrandt was devoted to connoisseurship of the artist's paintings, and since many of his attributions have been discredited, consigning his work into oblivion was understandable, if unfortunate.[26]

The history of Rembrandt's critical reception has been investigated by a number of scholars since the publication of two classic texts that treated seventeenth and early eighteenth-century accounts of Rembrandt's art: Seymour Slive's *Rembrandt and His Critics* and Jan Emmens's *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*.[27] Robert Scheller extended this study in time with his article on the literary reception of Rembrandt in the Netherlands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[28] These discussions have enlightened us as to how Rembrandt's style and content was understood from his lifetime down to the mid-nineteenth century; they did not treat the construction of his oeuvre during this time period. Recently scholars have begun to integrate the history of Rembrandt connoisseurship into broader historiographic investigations of Rembrandt. Jeroen Boomgaard's *De verloren zoon* analyzed the understanding of Rembrandt in Dutch art history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, while Kees Bruin's *De echte Rembrandt* traced Rembrandt's larger cultural significance during the twentieth century.[29] Johannes Stückelberger, in *Rembrandt und die Moderne*, examined Rembrandt's importance for German artists and culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[30] Above all, these three books have provided greater insight into the significance of nationalism for Rembrandt scholarship during a period when both Germany and the Netherlands sought to

lay claim to this artist. Although the direction of my own research has not allowed for a detailed examination of the role of nationalism in connoisseurship itself, this is a topic rich in possibilities, as Jaynie Anderson's "The Political Power of Connoisseurship in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Wilhelm von Bode versus Giovanni Morelli" suggests.[31]

An encouraging development has been the increasing attention to historiography in Rembrandt exhibition catalogues from the past fifteen years. Several have included historiographic surveys that feature the history of Rembrandt connoisseurship and provide a useful general understanding of the issues and personalities involved in this specific context.[32] One full-length study has also been devoted to Rembrandt connoisseurship: Frances Preston's dissertation on Rembrandt connoisseurship up to mid-nineteenth century, the point at which this book begins.[33] Gary Schwartz has carried out a historiographic analysis of Rembrandt connoisseurship since the mid-nineteenth century in a series of articles that form a systematic critique of how connoisseurship has been practiced.[34] These articles have served as both stimuli and models for my own work. Finally, both Arthur Wheelock's discussion of Rembrandt attribution problems and individual catalogue entries for Rembrandt school paintings in his catalogue of Dutch paintings in the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C. set an important precedent in their attention to the history of Rembrandt connoisseurship.[35] A number of specialized studies have also proved invaluable for my understanding of specific aspects of Rembrandt connoisseurship in this era, most notably P.J.J. van Thiel's reconstruction of the 1898 Rembrandt exhibition and its contemporary reception and two essays from the exhibition catalogue *Great Dutch Paintings from America*, one tracing the history of American collecting of Dutch art in America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by Walter Liedtke and Edwin Buijsen's study of reactions in the Netherlands to this phenomenon in the peak years of 1900 to 1914.[36]

The larger historiographical context of the development of art history as a discipline in the nineteenth-century has been investigated from a variety of perspectives in recent decades. For instance, my understanding of the institutional development of art history in Germany is indebted to Heinrich Dilly's *Kunstgeschichte als Institution*.[37] The essays found in *Kunstgeschiedenis in Nederland: negen opstellen*, edited by Peter Hecht, and in *The Golden Age of Dutch Painting in Historical Perspective*, edited by Frans Grijzenhout and Henk van Veen, provided the larger perspective on Dutch art for my focused study.[38] The literature on contributions made by individual art historians is by now vast itself

and is acknowledged throughout my text. Studies that I do not cite directly, such as Kathryn Brush's recent book *The Shaping of Art History. Wilhelm Vöge, Adolph Goldschmidt and the Study of Medieval Art* nonetheless were instructive for their interpretive approach to the development of art history.[39] Christiane Hertel's *Vermeer: Reception and Interpretation*, though quite different in approach than my own work, was another important stimulus in my consideration of the historiography of a specific Dutch artist.[40]

The formation of Rembrandt connoisseurship in this period stands at the intersection of many subjects and can reasonably be viewed as a microcosm of the historiography of art history in the modern period. With my emphasis on analyzing the writings of Bode, Bredius, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner, the importance of these themes is only sketched out here; there is still much work to be done.

Old Master painting connoisseurship: a brief survey

To appreciate fully the achievements of the Rembrandt connoisseurs and understand the historical and intellectual contexts for their practice of connoisseurship, some background information about the historical development of the connoisseurship of European paintings is necessary. Therefore, before turning to the careers of Bode, Bredius, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner, I will outline this development briefly, paying particular attention to trends developing in the nineteenth century, both before the Rembrandt connoisseurs were active and contemporary with their own work.

The history of western art connoisseurship had its roots in classical antiquity and Renaissance writers on art, most notably Giorgio Vasari, who practiced its core activities of attribution and authentication. Yet theories of connoisseurship arose only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries among art writers such as Filippo Baldinucci, André Félibien, and Roger de Piles.[41] The codification of these theories occurred at a time when the practice of art collecting became more widespread as a marker of social status and taste; thus the practice of attributing art works was closely linked to their role as commercial objects, not just to their status as the creations of great individuals. Félibien's treatise from 1666 systematically focused on the three primary aims of painting connoisseurship, namely, determining the author of a painting, appraising its relative aesthetic quality, and discerning its status as an original work or a copy.

Baldinucci, writing in 1687, emphasized specific challenges faced by connoisseurs, such as evaluating the work of artists who changed their style or assigning authorship to paintings worked on by more than one hand.

Two significant publications on connoisseurship appeared in 1719. Jean Baptiste Dubos, in his *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*, drew an analogy between the practice of connoisseurship and the practice of medicine, but to the credit of neither field, when he noted that "the ability to recognize the author of a painting by his hand is the most inaccurate of all the sciences except medicine."[42] The analogy between the practice of connoisseurship and that of medicine would become a trope in certain writings on connoisseurship during the nineteenth century, but its meaning would change categorically. Instead of emphasizing the inaccuracy of both fields, it came to represent the attempts of professional art historians to solidify connoisseurship as an objective, scientific practice like medicine, now itself viewed as an organized, empirically-based profession.

This analogy also framed the presentation of Jonathan Richardson's *An Argument on behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur*, which suggested that a connoisseur did not have to be an artist or even a collector himself, as long as he had assiduously developed the ability to make the fine distinctions necessary to tell an original from a copy and a good picture from a mediocre one.[43] A connoisseur, however, needed to be a trustworthy figure, since he was consulted by collectors to protect their commercial interests (and reputations) and could be paid for his services. In Richardson's piece we see the emergence of the concept of the profession of the connoisseur, though most connoisseurs continued to be drawn from the ranks of artists, art dealers, and collectors. Richardson further warned against the influence of external elements in making decisions of connoisseurship, such as the cost or provenance of a painting, or its prior reputation, or its attribution to a particular master. The question of what was and was not appropriate evidence to use in the practice of connoisseurship would remain a fiercely contested issue for the next two hundred years.

The desire to separate both received tradition and commercial valuation from the process of examining a painting (although such a separation was nearly impossible in practice) also reflected the understanding of connoisseurship as a "science." Both Dubos's and Richardson's promotion of the concept of the "science" of connoisseurship is telling, for in the context of eighteenth-century thought, it posits a rational pursuit requiring the training of natural abilities and the application of the intellect. Thus, while painters might have certain advan-

tages over others because of their personal experiences in making pictures, they were not thereby automatically gifted as connoisseurs: they still needed to develop traits of discrimination and judgment that had nothing to do with manual dexterity.[44]

The meaning of science itself would shift in the nineteenth century, however, and along with it, the understanding of scientific connoisseurship. Whereas science was an intellectual activity that any eighteenth-century gentleman with enough leisure time and interest could conduct, during the nineteenth century it became a professional pursuit, and its methods were increasingly limited to activities that illuminated the processes and products of nature or the events of human history, thus leading to the terms "natural sciences" and "historical sciences." In the 1820s and 1830s this intellectual trend influenced the transformation of writing on art into the new discipline of art history.

While the intellectual framework for the development of art history influenced the understanding of connoisseurship as a scholarly tool, political and social conditions simultaneously added to its practical utility.[45] The Napoleonic wars had caused a massive shift in the locations of works of art, which were considered prize booty and a source for imperial propaganda. The conversion from 1803 to 1815 of the art collection in the Louvre palace in Paris into the Musée Napoleon under the direction of Baron Vivant Denon directly manifested Napoleon's ambitions to make Paris the unquestioned cultural capital of Europe.[46] Denon's transformation of the typical museum display of individual masterpieces into a tangible, linear description of the chronological development of various national schools of art would prove to have greater longevity than the Musée Napoleon itself. [47] After Napoleon's defeat, it reverted to its former status as the Louvre and a number of the works brought there in the previous two decades were returned to their former owners.

Yet even the end of Napoleon's rule in 1815 did not see a complete return to the status quo, for many works of art did not return to their original locations. Personal fortunes had both risen and fallen through the turmoil of these years, forcing a number of private owners to sell their collections while concurrently creating a new clientele eager to buy them. While an international market in art works had existed in Europe for centuries, it grew at an extraordinary rate in the decades after 1820.[48] The intense market activity made this a time when buyers and sellers were keen to feel confident about the attribution and authenticity of their possessions. Yet the dislocation and relocation of art works meant that contextual evidence about them had often been lost.[49]

The example of the Musée Napoleon spurred rulers throughout Europe to develop art collections that would be accessible to the public in newly built "temples" or "palaces" of art as a reflection of strengthened nationalistic ambitions and of the growing emphasis on the individual destinies of various peoples and countries, understood through both political events and cultural artifacts. The founding of the National Gallery in London in 1824 and the opening of the Prussian state museum in Berlin in 1830 were two of the most important examples of the new public art museum. An increased emphasis on the utility of educating the taste of the public also helped to promote the foundation and growth of national art collections. Hence the proper classification of objects of art became a pressing concern for museums because of a desire to codify the historicized role of art works as products of particular cultures at specific moments in time. This need was met by a new kind of scholar, one who possessed both the critical faculties of the connoisseur and a scientific, historical understanding of art, attributes crucial for this new museological enterprise.

The two art historians most influential in the growth of what has been called the critical-historical study of art, Baron Karl Friedrich von Rumohr and Gustav Waagen, also played key roles in the development of the Prussian state art collection in Berlin and thus functioned both as connoisseurs and scientific art historians.[50] Rumohr was particularly noted for his critical reading of primary sources about Italian art and his simultaneous insistence that art history be grounded as well on the study of individual works of art. The results of his research were published in the *Italienische Forschungen*, which appeared from 1827 to 1831. Rumohr served as an important if unofficial advisor to the new Berlin museum during its years of planning in the 1820s and after its opening, providing guidance for the purchase of earlier Italian paintings.[51]

Gustav Waagen, Rumohr's protégé, first gained attention in 1822 for his ground-breaking monographic study of the art of Jan and Hubert van Eyck, a book in which he extended the source-critical and historical method Rumohr had employed for Italian art to the study of Northern European painting.[52] Appointed the first director of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin in 1831, Waagen initiated an art historical arrangement of the pictures according to their place of origin and date and also published a catalogue of the collection.[53] He received an appointment as professor of art history at the University of Berlin in 1844, but teaching never really engaged his interest the way that first-hand observation of art works did. Waagen was among the earliest German art historians to travel extensively outside the country, not only to Italy, as was customary,

but also to Paris, Vienna, and St. Petersburg. His seven trips to Great Britain between 1835 and 1862 resulted in the publication of important surveys of the art he saw in public and private collections; these surveys were issued in two different editions in the 1830s and 1850s.[54] While they first appeared in German, the English editions of this work became the standard guide to art collections in Great Britain for the rest of the century. Waagen's descriptions of the art works he had seen (often only in passing and under poor viewing conditions) were laconic and generally limited to aesthetic platitudes; he did, however, venture new attributions in many cases and commented on the condition of art works as a factor influencing judgment of quality. As an art historian, connoisseur, and museum professional, Waagen was influential not only in Germany, but in Great Britain as well: his testimony was solicited for two governmental commissions on the arts there, in 1835 and in 1850, and he served as an advisor to the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition of 1857.[55] In his emphasis on the practice of connoisseurship as the foundation of art history and on his cultivation of international contacts, Waagen would be the most important role model for Bode as director of the Prussian Gemäldegalerie, despite Bode's specific repudiation of Waagen's importance as a connoisseur.[56]

In the years after 1850 the practice of connoisseurship was aided enormously by technological innovations in European society.[57] The development of new modes of transportation, especially international train and steamship service, meant that connoisseurs could now travel great distances over a short period of time and reach areas that had once been considered nearly inaccessible.[58] The ability to travel widely meant that connoisseurs had a greatly increased opportunity for direct observation of art works; a focus on studying as many paintings as possible in person now informed the work of connoisseurs such as Joseph Crowe and Giovanni Cavalcaselle, who became famed for their extensive studies of Italian art that incorporated connoisseurship and a critical-historical approach, most notably in *A New History of Painting in Italy from the Second to the Sixteenth Century*.[59] As will be discussed, the nearly incessant travel schedules of the Rembrandt connoisseurs enabled their comparative practice and provided greater opportunities to make discoveries in out of the way places.

The invention of photography in 1839 provided the second essential technology for modern connoisseurship: a more reliable aid than engraving or lithography for the creation of a library of resources to support the connoisseur's memory of works seen first hand.[60] During the first decades after the birth of photography, many art historians resisted replacing traditional graphic

reproductions, preferring their interpretive quality to the uninflected nature of a photographic image.[61] Bode himself championed various reproductive printmakers from the 1870s into the beginning of the twentieth century.[62] Problems with the registration of certain painting tones made such hesitation to adopt the new medium understandable. With the development of more sensitive film emulsions in the 1880s, however, the use of photographs became more widespread and dominated art history from the 1890s onward. In comparative analysis, photography helped to legitimate implicit or explicit claims for the scientific basis of connoisseurship, supporting the aspirations of art history as an academic discipline. Not only did Bode come to accept the use of photography in connoisseurship, he pioneered the practice of writing expertises on the backs of photographs, thereby enhancing the status of the expertise as a seemingly factual document about authorship.[63] By the 1890s new methods of photomechanical reproduction also enabled photographic illustrations to be used in art-historical texts. Appealing to readers to judge an argument about attribution based on photographs reproduced in an article would become commonplace in the scholarship of the Rembrandt connoisseurs early in the twentieth century.

With these various developments in place, the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed an apparently more rigorous employment of connoisseurial skills, influenced by the values of positivism, which played a crucial role in the "historical sciences" in this era. The most famed of such nineteenth-century connoisseurs, Giovanni Morelli, asserted that he had developed an objective system of connoisseurship by concentrating on painted details, such as ears and fingernails, to ascertain authorship.[64] His method, disseminated in a series of articles published in the periodical *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* beginning in 1874 and in books that critiqued the attributions of Italian paintings in major German art museums, quickly became renowned, attracting both praise and censure; his method of connoisseurship will be examined at greater length in Chapter 2. His follower, Bernard Berenson, built upon Morelli's method, but reunited the study of Morelli's significant details with a consideration of the artist's style as a larger phenomenon, incorporating the more traditional (and aesthetically oriented) components of connoisseurship.[65] Berenson's process required the connoisseur to shift between the microcosms of the painted detail and the entire picture, to the macrocosms of a painter's known oeuvre and the school of art from which he rose. The end was not merely to assign names to individual paintings but to develop a sense of the individual artistic personalities for a time and place and the characteristic traits of the different schools.[66]

In his discussions of quality, Berenson departed from Morelli's practice of concentrating only on measurable elements in a painting.

Despite their presentation of a method that was seemingly at the forefront of a scientific attributional practice, Morelli's and Berenson's careers nonetheless represented the end of the independent (or amateur) connoisseur, since neither held a museum or academic position at a time when the practice of connoisseurship was being institutionalized.[67] Their significant links to the art trade affiliated them instead with the art-dealer connoisseur of the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries, although Berenson's role as an advisor to both collectors and dealers was far more lucrative than would have been possible for his predecessors.[68]

In two other significant respects Berenson also followed in Morelli's footsteps; both personalized their debates about connoisseurship with other connoisseurs, and both were rivals of Bode's in the field of Italian Renaissance art. Because of Bode's own highly contentious scholarly personality such rivalry extended far beyond written arguments over attribution to competition for influence with dealers and collectors at a time when the Old Master painting market was growing at a tremendous rate.[69] Connoisseurs such as Berenson – and Bode – gained influence unimaginable a century before and wished their authority to remain unquestioned and unchallenged. But their rivalry also reflected genuine disagreements over the practice of connoisseurship; both sides laid claim to "scientific connoisseurship" and believed that their method depended on empirical evidence. What this actually meant for each side in this debate was quite different. While Morelli and Berenson condemned the use of elements extrinsic to the work of art in connoisseurship, Bode and his fellow Rembrandt connoisseurs approached Rembrandt's art through the prism of the artist's life events, incorporating biographical and documentary evidence into their practice of connoisseurship. Whether Morelli and Berenson actually followed their own method each time they made an attribution is doubtful, but at least it provided a mechanism for checking their intuition as connoisseurs against specific elements that remained constant. The Rembrandt connoisseurs lacked a method in this sense; there were no "telling details," no single elements that they consistently valued more highly than others as evidence for making attributions. Documentary data might prevail in one case, a signature in another, characteristics of style in a third, and "quality" in a fourth. The consequences of this approach will be revealed in the story that follows.

CHAPTER 1

THE RISE OF A NEW ART HISTORIAN

Wilhelm Bode and the Beginnings of Modern Rembrandt Connoisseurship

FIG. 5 – Rembrandt, *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp*, 1632

IN 1870, A YOUNG GERMAN ART HISTORIAN NAMED Wilhelm Bode wrote a lengthy review of Carel Vosmaer's 1868 monograph *Rembrandt: sa vie et ses oeuvres* for a German art journal.[1] Bode analyzed what he saw as the successes and failures of Vosmaer's approach to the artist, which featured a study of the "life and times" of Rembrandt, and also discussed Vosmaer's chronological catalogue of Rembrandt's works, in many cases disputing the author's attribution or dating of individual pictures.

Today these practices are utterly standard, unremarkable conventions of art history. But this was not at all the case in 1870, for Vosmaer and Bode were creating new practices for an emerging discipline. *Rembrandt: sa vie et ses oeuvres* was the first monograph of an artist to incorporate explication of the artist's biography and environment with a chronologically-arranged catalogue of the artist's known works. The journal in which the review appeared, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, had only been founded in 1866. Bode's explicit rejections and corrections of Vosmaer's attributions and dating, soon to become a common feature of art-historical reviews, were also innovative; while earlier scholars had disagreed in print with information provided by museums, they seldom directly addressed opinions of other scholars about attribution, in part because such written judgments were still quite rare.

The most significant features of Bode's review were his self-consciousness about his task as reviewer, and his clear ideas of what an art-historical monograph should entail. Despite the fact that he was part of only the second generation of scholars to receive a degree in the new field of art history, the paucity of models for writing monographic studies of artists, and his lack of authority in the field at this early point (he would only receive his doctorate in art history from the University of Leipzig at the end of 1870), Bode evinced an

impressive degree of self-confidence in this review, revealing his vision of what art history should be. That vision would prove to be one of the most powerfully formative influences on the incipient profession of the museum curator and the practice of connoisseurship as one of the primary methods of art history. Bode's work as a Rembrandt specialist, while only one area among his scholarly interests, nonetheless lay at the heart of his vision and practice of art history; hence problems of Rembrandt scholarship had repercussions for the further development of connoisseurship, because Bode made his Rembrandt scholarship a test case for this scholarly approach.

The Bode/Vosmaer nexus of 1868/1870 can be seen as a key to the rise of these professionalizing protocols. Following a discussion of Bode's early career leading up to his review of *Rembrandt: sa vie et ses oeuvres*, an analysis of the review itself will lead to a consideration of specific contemporary debates about the attribution of Rembrandt paintings by Bode, Vosmaer, and other writers. In turn I will then trace the development of the first *catalogues raisonnés* of Rembrandt paintings, which played a crucial role in the creation of a new type of publication, one that would become the primary literary genre for the "scientific" connoisseur.

Wilhelm Bode

Wilhelm Bode inherited the critical-historical or scientific understanding of art history, practiced earlier by Baron Karl Friedrich von Rumohr and Gustav Waagen, as a member of the second generation of scholars with university training in this discipline. Born in 1845 into a prominent family of lawyers and legislators in Calvörde, in what was then the duchy of Braunschweig (Brunswick), Bode, by his own account, gravitated early to an interest in the collection and classification of objects from nature and of human fabrication.[2] Such an interest was common in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when an emphasis on the rational understanding and categorization of various kinds of objects and types of knowledge made the study of natural history, comparative anatomy, and human cultures popular. While still a student he explored on his own the ducal art collections in Braunschweig, and he tried to convince his father to let him study art history after his *Gymnasium* preparation, with an eye to a museum career. At this point, however, no less a figure than Gustav Waagen himself discouraged these ambitions when consulted by Bode, telling the young

man that there was as of yet no call for museum-based art historians in Germany.[3] Consequently, Bode followed family tradition and studied law in Göttingen and Berlin, receiving a degree in 1867. He practiced as an auditor in Braunschweig until 1869, but kept pressing his father for permission to pursue the study of art history instead. Throughout the 1860s he also traveled regularly to cities in Germany in order to examine museum collections. In April 1868 he made the acquaintance of two figures of singular importance for an aspiring art connoisseur, especially one interested in northern European art: the writer Théophile Thoré, who published under the pseudonym Wilhelm Bürger and was instrumental in the revival of interest in Johannes Vermeer and other Netherlandish artists, and Barthold Suermondt, a major collector of Netherlandish art. During their visit to Braunschweig, Bode led them through the ducal galleries; impressed by the young man's knowledge of the collection, Suermondt invited him to visit that August in Aachen. Provided with access to private collections through his new acquaintances, Bode traveled not only to Aachen, but also made his first trip to the Netherlands.[4] Bode's ability to form important connections to various circles of the European art world, including art critics and collectors, art historians, and dealers, was already well developed at this early stage.

In 1869 Bode's father finally relented and allowed him to pursue art history as a profession. While Bode proceeded to study both in Berlin and Vienna, he remained largely self-taught in his new field of art history; when he arrived in Berlin in 1869, Waagen had died the year before, and his post at the university was only filled several years later. Much of Bode's time in these two centers of art was spent in museum galleries, where he further developed his knowledge of works seen in person; he also took drawing lessons in Berlin as an aid to his connoisseurship. Heinrich Gustav Hotho, the director of the print room in Berlin and professor of German literature at the university there, became an important mentor to Bode in the museum world, while in Vienna Rudolf Eitelberger and Moriz Thausing, both university professors who espoused the necessity of working with original works of art, impressed the young scholar.[5] Bode's first art-historical publications, studies of several Netherlandish paintings in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig, where he had first honed his skills as a connoisseur, also appeared at this time.[6]

Bode later claimed that the most useful academic training he received was offered by historians and archaeologists. The leadership of the study of history in Berlin by Leopold von Ranke (the most famous of the positivist historians

of his generation) suggests the kind of training Bode received while a student there.[7] Ranke and his associates strove for a "scientific" study of history, basing their work on primary sources above all as the foundation for any historical account, and striving to write narratives that revealed, in Ranke's well-known dictum, "how it really was." (*Wie es eigentlich gewesen.*)[8] The academic method taught in the history seminars in Berlin (themselves a pedagogical innovation of Ranke's) emphasized the following methods: archival research, precise source citation, a positivist, as opposed to a didactic approach, and commitment to the "ethics" of research, that is, to presenting one's findings publicly and entering into a dialogue with other scholars in order to arrive at an understanding of past events.[9] All of these scholarly methods became integral to Bode's approach to art history, and when buttressed by the influence of the critical-historical school of art history, help to account for his lifelong belief that his discipline should be grounded in both archival research and on study of works in the original. However, as would become clearer over time, some of the challenges particular to art history – beginning with the problem of how to attribute and date works of art themselves, the most important "primary sources" of the art historian – would complicate the application of these methods to this new historical discipline.

In 1870, Bode obtained a doctorate from the University of Leipzig after successfully defending his dissertation, *Frans Hals und seine Schule*, a work that already evidenced his scholarly commitment to connoisseurship in his focus on problems of distinguishing the work of Hals from his followers and originals from copies.[10]

Bode and the Rembrandt Literature to 1870

Bode's 1870 review of Vosmaer's book and the earlier Rembrandt literature served as a forum for his first sustained public statements about the connoisseurship of Rembrandt's paintings. Bode began his review with a declaration that the history of painting was attempting to become an independent research-based science (*selbständige Wissenschaft*). Monographs, which described the paintings and life histories of the most important masters, provided the essential tool for further research. But individual monographs differed in the extent of their coverage, and Bode was most impressed with those that tried to accomplish several goals: namely, to detail the biography of a painter through use of archival material, to provide a critical overview of the painter's works, and to

place the artist within his “national [and] general cultural-historical significance.”[11] In this statement we discern the influence of Bode’s predecessors in the critical-historical school of art history writing, as well as of the Rankean historical method.

By 1870, few art-historical monographs had actually achieved this tripartite synthesis, but, according to Bode, these would be the ones to have a lasting importance. While he did not cite any works, two likely candidates would be Gustav Waagen’s monograph on the Van Eycks from 1822, and Johann David Passavant’s study of Raphael.[12]

Within one short paragraph, Bode summed up the contributions of Rembrandt scholars preceding Vosmaer. He cited the English picture dealer John Smith’s 1836 volume as the first attempt to catalogue Rembrandt’s paintings, which was then followed by the more critical commentary on individual paintings in the writings of Gustav Waagen and Thoré-Bürger.[13] The scanty critical attention to the paintings was contrasted with the scholarship on Rembrandt’s prints, such as the three successive catalogues of Rembrandt’s etchings that had already been published by Adam Bartsch, I.J. de Claussin, and Charles Blanc.[14] As a believer in empiricism, Bode found special merit in the pioneering archival research on Rembrandt that had been carried out by C.J. Nieuwenhuys, P. Scheltema, and R. Elsevier.[15] Finally, he commended Eduard Kolloff’s 1854 publication on Rembrandt as the first example in Rembrandt scholarship of the critical-historical approach to an interpretive art history.[16] What Bode did not state overtly, but which was undoubtedly obvious to his audience, was the fact that, except for Bartsch, all of these scholars were active during or after the second quarter of the nineteenth century; research on Rembrandt in 1870 was still in its nascent period.

With the conclusion of this historiographic discussion (itself to become standard in such reviews), Bode turned to Vosmaer’s 1868 Rembrandt monograph. He applauded Vosmaer’s ambition in this book and in a companion volume from 1863, titled *Rembrandt, ses précurseurs et ses années d’apprentissage*, where he covered topics as diverse as the background of sixteenth-century Netherlandish art to Rembrandt’s influence on his followers. While Bode maintained that Vosmaer’s central contribution was to synthesize the achievements of his scholarly predecessors, this did not imply that Vosmaer was a mere compiler; instead, Bode characterized him as an impressive researcher as well, who skillfully wove together these contributions into an encompassing whole, shaped by his own sensibility, while also incorporating the results of his own archival

research. Vosmaer's attempt to link Rembrandt's life with his works through his organization of material, by which he discussed both subjects in tandem within a chronological framework, was characterized as commendable. However, Bode believed that Vosmaer was less successful in establishing Rembrandt's cultural and social milieu and that he had only "sketched a picture" of the United Provinces in the seventeenth century. Bode also perceived an approach to the material that he interpreted as revealing intellectual divergences between scholars of different nationalities: "Did the [Dutch] author perhaps shrink from aesthetic deductions that are, and will remain, necessities for us Germans, even if other nations mock their fruits?"[17] The nineteenth-century propensity to look for character traits that distinguished one nation from another was here used to idealize German art-historical scholarship for being on a more rigorous philosophical plane, although delivered with a distinctively defensive tone.

Typically, however, Vosmaer's discussion of individual paintings by Rembrandt most engaged the attention of Bode, who acknowledged the pioneering attempt to organize a critical catalogue of Rembrandt's paintings. As Bode had indicated with his reference to John Smith's work at the beginning of his review, however, Vosmaer's was not the first catalogue of Rembrandt's paintings to be compiled. The seventh volume of John Smith's *Catalogue Raisonné of the works of the most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters*, published in 1836, holds the distinction of being the earliest attempt to list all known "Rembrandts."[18] Throughout his catalogue Smith had decided, as a general principle, not to contest the attributions of paintings that were in private hands (the majority of the works he gave to Rembrandt) or of paintings only known through printed reproductions after lost originals.[19] Thus Smith, an English art dealer, stated that he was more interested in establishing the level of quality of works by Rembrandt and other painters than their precise authorship in each case, not wanting to upset private collectors in possession of questionable works.[20] While he had seen an impressive number of the works he included, many others were known to him only through reproductive prints and entries in sale catalogues. Smith himself admitted this could lead to paintings being listed twice. Nonetheless, he dutifully entered all such references, warning that they might not be thoroughly reliable, but refusing to eliminate a painting from inclusion on these grounds. Therefore, his publication was purposely inclusive and relatively nonjudgmental because of the boundaries Smith set for it.

Though Vosmaer did not limit his critical faculties in these ways, Bode nonetheless found much to fault in the new catalogue. The Dutch scholar's

choice of a chronological organization was certainly innovative, but did not meet with Bode's favor. He thought it unwieldy, lacking in practical use, and unreliable by definition, given the scarcity of firmly dated works in Rembrandt's oeuvre then known to scholars. At the least, Bode stated, Vosmaer should also have included a geographical index, which would have enabled interested readers to see works attributed to Rembrandt in their travels across Europe, and to make up their own minds about the attributions.[21] At first glance this comment suggest that Bode's conception of a general audience for such a book in 1870 could be one that was engaged actively with the process of connoisseurship, far different from his later writings on Rembrandt in which he always emphasized the priority of the professional connoisseur's judgments. It is more likely, however, that his remark was intended to apply specifically to the readership of *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, primarily drawn from the institutional art world of academics, critics, dealers, collectors, and the few museum curators. The kind of amateur who would want to use the book as an aid to their own connoisseurship while traveling through Europe would still be rare in any case, given the time and expense such travel would require.

For twentieth-century readers of oeuvre catalogues, Bode's uneasiness with the format of a chronological catalogue seems puzzling, and a quarter of a century later Bode himself would write a *catalogue raisonné* organized by date. But at least one reason for his demurring at this approach was thoroughly reasonable in light of the knowledge of Rembrandt's art in 1870. Many significant works assigned to Rembrandt lacked dates completely, and with Rembrandt painting connoisseurship still in its infancy, these pictures posed a significant problem for a chronological classification. Vosmaer chose to exclude such paintings altogether, but as Bode pointed out, the resulting omission of many important undated paintings attributed to Rembrandt skewed any attempt to attain a comprehensive understanding of the artist's career.

However, Bode might have disapproved of Vosmaer's chronological arrangement of the catalogue for another, more politically motivated reason. A catalogue organized by location would make clear to all readers the prominent role played by German public collections as holders of Rembrandt paintings. Given the strongly nationalistic bent of Bode as an art historian, it is likely that he would want to foreground Germany's pride of place, as he would later do in his own Rembrandt catalogue of 1883.

The most egregious shortcoming of Vosmaer's catalogue, according to Bode, was found in how Vosmaer made decisions about authorship and quality.

The reviewer criticized the author for having seen in person only about half the paintings mentioned in his monograph. Vosmaer had in truth stated that his catalogue was not truly comprehensive, and that he had included many paintings that he had not seen himself, especially those in private English collections or in St. Petersburg. In these cases he relied on the writings and opinions of Smith, Waagen, and Thoré-Bürger. Bode, however, believed that "attainable completeness" should be a chief prerequisite of a catalogue, and that while scholars should turn to the opinions of other authors as adjuncts to their own study, their work should be treated both critically and consistently.[22] Why, he asked, had Vosmaer discussed only twenty-one paintings in the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg, when Waagen believed that twice that number were authentic Rembrandts? What criteria could be used to justify this selectivity, when the writer could not rely on personal authority attained through first-hand observation?

These faults hardly affected Vosmaer's interpretive characterization of Rembrandt's art, Bode admitted; but he was himself less interested in pursuing synthetic approaches to Rembrandt's art than in considering closely the individual paintings ascribed to the artist. As a result, he devoted the rest of the review to discussing paintings in Germany not mentioned by Vosmaer, as well as those for which his own information was more complete than the author's, or where he differed in the evaluation of attribution or date. In doing so, Bode asserted his authority as a Rembrandt connoisseur over contemporary and earlier rivals, including Vosmaer, Smith, and Waagen. Indeed, his extensive, firsthand knowledge of paintings attributed to Rembrandt that were located in even the most obscure places in Germany is still astonishing today, given his youth at the time.

In Bode's discussion of these paintings one sees at the very inception of his career as a Rembrandt authority the clear outlines of his practice as a connoisseur. He proceeded both chronologically and thematically, picture by picture, judging the reliability of signatures, comparing multiple versions of the same composition, considering issues of condition, and introducing little-known paintings. Both Bode and Vosmaer were writing for unillustrated publications, and Vosmaer took pains with his prose to evoke a mental image of individual paintings and hint at their aesthetic significance. However, Bode's descriptions were dry in language and tone and focused on issues that could help to arrive at a decision about authorship and dating, not literary recreations of pictorial effects. It is likely that what seems to have been Bode's native bent for this kind of analysis was honed through his legal training, for his discussions at this point read like miniature legal briefs, arguing the points of a case to lead, inexorably, to a certain conclusion.

FIG. 6 – Rembrandt, *The Night Watch*, 1642

Yet this method also reflected the influence of scientific history writing of the day, especially in regard to Bode's positivist approach to the relationship between Rembrandt's life and his art. Like Vosmaer, and Thoré-Bürger before him, Bode accepted the premise that Rembrandt's career could be divided into three major stages: the early years of success, dating from *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* of 1632 [FIG. 5], the years of maturity, from *The Night Watch* of 1642 [FIG. 6], and his later career, marked by *The Syndics* of 1661 [FIG. 7]. This division of an artist's career into distinct phases, treated in chronological order, had already become standard in art history by the mid-nineteenth century, and reflected the developmental and biographical approach to the writing of art history that had dominated western art literature since the time of Vasari. But Bode went much further in his desire to connect the defining stylistic changes in

FIG. 7 – Rembrandt, *The Syndics*, 1661-62

Rembrandt's art directly to significant events in Rembrandt's life: his move to Amsterdam, then believed to have happened in 1632, the death of Saskia in 1642, and his bankruptcy in 1656. This schema provided a model for explaining stylistic change, one of the central problems of art history in a period when it was most engaged with the history of style. While Vosmaer also made such associations between Rembrandt's life and his art, he did so much more tentatively than did Bode.

A representative example of Bode's approach to connoisseurship at the start of his career is his treatment of three painted versions of *The Entombment of Christ*, all found in German collections [FIGS. 8-10]. The example in Munich [FIG. 8] belonged to a series of paintings of Christ's Passion made by Rembrandt for Prince Frederik Hendrik in the 1630s and 1640s; the other versions were found in the Dresden and Braunschweig museums.[23] Vosmaer and earlier writers characterized the Braunschweig *Entombment* [FIG. 9] as an original replica by Rembrandt of the Munich picture, while the Dresden painting was described as a sketch for it [FIG. 10]. Bode, however, wished to approach this problem afresh, and recapitulated his thought process for the reader.[24] One by one he rejected

FIG. 8 – Rembrandt, *The Entombment*, ca. 1635-39

FIG. 9 – Copy after Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Entombment of Christ*, after 1639

FIG. 10 – Rembrandt (Workshop?), *The Entombment of Christ*, 1653

possible explanations which supported the attribution of all three paintings to Rembrandt himself, such as the suggestion that the notably different appearance of the Dresden painting merely reflected its creation at a later point in Rembrandt's career. Inevitably, discrepancies in technique, style, and quality of the Dresden and Braunschweig versions betrayed their status as school copies to Bode, although he did retain the possibility that Rembrandt may have retouched the Dresden *Entombment* himself in the 1650s.

Bode's mode of argumentation is particularly persuasive in this case. Although he had first accepted the possibility that all three were by Rembrandt, close comparative examination of the works themselves led him to a different and inescapable conclusion. He also gave the impression that consideration of stylistic and technical evidence alone guided his process of attribution, rather than the influence of preconceived ideas. In his confident yet carefully phrased distinctions between a fully autograph though damaged painting (Munich), a workshop version conceivably retouched by the master (Dresden), and a good school copy (Braunschweig) was implied the subtlety, hence greater reliability, of his connoisseurship, a practice that he presented as being based solely on discernment of empirical facts.[25]

In his zeal for arriving at such ostensibly objective conclusions, Bode disputed attributions made by Vosmaer, sometimes harshly. For example, Vosmaer had assigned the *Blinding of Samson* in Kassel to Jan Victors, one of Rembrandt's pupils, after comparing it to a painting of the same subject in Braunschweig that carried Victors's signature. Bode found the attribution of the Kassel painting to Victors completely incomprehensible; he stated that this comparison, one he had often made himself, was actually a "telling example of the extraordinary distance between the master and his pupils."[26] He did, however, mention the existence of another version of the Kassel composition, a painting then in the Schönborn Gallery in Vienna, and stated that was the only instance he knew of where Rembrandt had made two autograph versions of one picture.[27]

The twenty-five-year old Bode's conviction about the certitude of his decisions was notable, as was his insistence on personalizing the practice of connoisseurship by arguing directly with the opinions of earlier Rembrandt scholars by name. While Smith, Waagen, Thoré-Bürger, and Vosmaer may have disagreed with attributions made by their predecessors and contemporaries, they simply stated their own point of view and perhaps mentioned that other scholars had different opinions. Bode's method would have been considered as the most appropriate manner of conducting scholarship according to the standards

of the new, scientific approach to historical disciplines, wherein all sources were to be fully referenced and evaluated. But in this transfer of method from source criticism to painting connoisseurship, Bode turned the process into one that pitted individual connoisseurs against each other, and by doing so, asserted his own unequaled reliability as an authority. By his correction of a number of small errors, where Vosmaer had apparently misread a date by a year or two or misstated the dimensions of a painting, as well as through his discussion of pictures Vosmaer had not included in his book, Bode undermined the credibility of Vosmaer's connoisseurship of Rembrandt and built up his own.

The beginning of Bode's museum career

The next few years were crucial for Bode, as he developed further his skills and reputation as a connoisseur, and began his career as a museum professional. In 1871, in connection with a Holbein symposium in Dresden, a committee of art historians and connoisseurs formed to consider the question of which of the two versions of Holbein's *Meyer Madonna* of 1526, the version in Dresden or the one in Darmstadt, was the authentic work. The committee decided unanimously for the one in Darmstadt. Bode was among the fourteen committee members who signed the document stating their decision. Curiously, although Bode mentioned in his memoir that he had attended the symposium, he did not mention his role as a member of the special committee, even though this must have been a signal honor for the young connoisseur. He had, however, written a lengthy letter to Carl von Lützow, the editor of *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, discussing issues regarding the authenticity and physical state of both versions; Lützow printed much of this letter in the journal.[28]

Between the completion of his doctoral work in late 1870 and his entry into the Berlin museums in 1872, Bode traveled to Hungary, Italy, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and even Russia, in each place deepening his firsthand knowledge of objects and establishing relationships with collectors, dealers, and other art historians. Bode's almost incessant travel from the late 1860s to the late 1910s would be all the more remarkable since he suffered regularly from both migraine headaches and circulatory problems, sometimes leading to his confinement in bed for months at a time. His insistence on persevering with his travels indicates how central personal observation of art works was to his method.

In August 1872 Bode began his fifty-year career in the Berlin museums, serving first as the assistant for the sculpture collection, where he was charged with the responsibility of forming a collection of plaster casts after important works of the Italian Renaissance. Fortunately for Bode, who held a dim view of museums' collecting such reproductions, he was also allowed to serve unofficially as an assistant to the director of the Gemäldegalerie, Julius Meyer, a position to which he was formally named in 1874.[29] The timing of Bode's entry into the Royal Museums could not have been more propitious. The Prussian victory over France in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871 brought an infusion of money to the government in the form of war reparations at a time when the government of the new German Second Reich decided to develop the Berlin art collections to rival any in Europe.[30] At the same time, the European art market was on the brink of the largest boom it had yet experienced. Soon Bode would receive permission to travel with Meyer to Italy, and later by himself to England and France, in order to search out potential acquisitions for the Berlin museums.

Bode's "green Rembrandts" and the debate with Alfred von Wurzbach

Despite his many duties at the museum, Bode's interest in Netherlandish art, and specifically Rembrandt, by no means flagged in these years. In the mid-1870s Bode entered into an open debate about Rembrandt painting connoisseurship that allows us insight into the terms used to conduct an argument about attribution at this time, and to see how connoisseurs of Rembrandt asserted their authority.

The dispute opened with a brief article of 1875 written by R. Bergau about a Rembrandtesque painting he had recently acquired.[31] This work, a portrait of a young man, was signed by Govaert Flinck, a member of Rembrandt's studio in the mid-1630s, and was dated 1636. Bergau compared his picture to an unsigned painting in the Nuremberg museum of a young man labeled as a Rembrandt [FIG. 11], and stated that this work has "in the style of painting, such great similarities to my picture, that I must assume that both pictures are works of the same master."[32] Bergau believed that the Nuremberg painting had been made before the one he owned; its lack of signature indicated that it was likely painted while Flinck was still a member of the Rembrandt workshop and thus not allowed to sign works with his own name.[33]

Alfred von Wurzbach, a Vienna-based scholar of Dutch art, quickly responded to this short notice.[34] Wurzbach agreed that Bergau's painting was important for helping to establish the early period of Flinck's activity, and for clarifying one of the many "tangled secrets of the Rembrandt studio." But Wurzbach's real interest was in the Nuremberg painting [FIG. 11], previously unrecorded in the literature, he maintained, and which he described as a good reproduction of a painting attributed to Rembrandt in the museum in The Hague, corresponding to it in size and mode of execution [FIG. 12].[35] To Wurzbach, however, the painterly manner of execution and degree of finish of both pictures were of a greater delicacy than that found in Rembrandt's works from the early 1630s. Wurzbach mentioned that he had conducted a close comparison of the two paintings by viewing them both within a span of only a few days. He thereby attempted to give greater weight to the reliability of his comparison and hence to his attribution of the two to the same hand. The Hague catalogue suggested that its picture was a self-portrait of Rembrandt, and Wurzbach was willing to accept the identification of the sitter, given the "Proteus-like" depiction of Rembrandt's physiognomy around 1630. Wurzbach pointed out, though, that the portrait in The Hague had not always been attributed to Rembrandt himself.[36] Further investigation of both the provenance and graphic reproductions of this image led Wurzbach to conclude that there were in fact three versions of this composition, those in Nuremberg and The Hague, as well as one in Kassel, and that the one in Kassel might well be the original by Rembrandt [FIG. 13].[37] For Wurzbach, it was significant that this version was not executed in the same "greenish tone" as the other two paintings, which were also smaller than the Kassel version. Whether the two smaller paintings were both youthful works by Govaert Flinck, and not Rembrandt, was a judgment Wurzbach would have to pass on, since he had not seen the Bergau painting and thus could not make the comparison he deemed necessary to reach a conclusion one way or the other.

In early 1876 Bode challenged Wurzbach's tentative deattribution of the paintings in The Hague and Nuremberg, declaring that they were authentic self-portraits by Rembrandt.[38] Bode insisted that "the result of scholarship up to this point was: the curious green tone is characteristic of Rembrandt's early works; it is found, among others, in both of the small self-portraits of the master in Nuremberg and The Hague, as well as in two other completely similar portraits of the artist in the gallery in Kassel and in Gotha."[39] He also pointed out the presence of "identical" Rembrandt monograms found on the Nuremberg and Gotha versions [FIG. 14] (now in Munich). Bode emphasized that this group

FIG. 11 – Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait with a Gorget*, ca. 1629

FIG. 12 – (After) Rembrandt, *Portrait of Rembrandt as a Young Man*, 1629

FIG. 13 – Rembrandt Workshop, *Portrait of Rembrandt with Shaded Eyes*

FIG. 14 – Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait as a Youth*, 1629

of four self-portraits, which he dated to 1628-30, were not meant as essays in verisimilitude or the depiction of beauty, and thus should not be criticized for lacking such, but were exercises in problems of lighting, as were a number of etched self-portraits by Rembrandt contemporary with these paintings.[40] Not content simply to contest Wurzbach, he chided the author for his seeming ignorance of earlier conclusions of Rembrandt scholarship about these works, and proposed that if Wurzbach familiarized himself with such writings he would turn away from his "discoveries" and adopt the more venerable position. There is a certain irony to this position, given that Bode always felt free to reject traditional attributions, yet he also maintained the necessity of knowing the scholarly literature. In this case, where he agreed with certain earlier authors, he defended their position. It also signaled Bode's willingness to contest the right of others to venture opinions on attribution, a position he would take repeatedly in Rembrandt connoisseurship.

Bode's argument by authority, and its attendant condescension, seemed to arouse Wurzbach's wrath in his response.[41] Where, Wurzbach wished to know, were these results of scholarship cited by Bode? Vosmaer mentioned no such green tone, nor did Bode himself in his lengthy review of Vosmaer in 1870. Wurzbach pointed out that Bode did not seem to know about the Nuremberg painting at that time, given its absence from his review. In fact, the only "authority" Wurzbach could find that mentioned the Nuremberg painting was Baedeker (the travel guide). If one wished to cite Vosmaer, however, then he could be quoted as saying that the Gotha picture was brown in tone.[42] Otherwise, Wurzbach could find only one other writer who had discussed any aspect of this matter, namely Thoré-Bürger, who had considered the green tone of the Hague picture to be unusual for Rembrandt.[43] Contrary to Bode's assertion, the painting in Kassel was not "utterly similar" to the portraits in Nuremberg and The Hague, but rather differed in composition, handling, color and, above all, tone. He also stated that he could discern no monogram, "either authentic or inauthentic," on the Nuremberg painting. Did Bode really wish to conclude that Rembrandt copied himself, given the existence of the two small paintings? Anyone could see, in a comparison of these two paintings (made possible by an examination of the woodcut reproducing the Nuremberg painting and the brand new photograph by Braun of that in The Hague) that they were reproductions.

Wurzbach concluded that the understanding of Rembrandt's earliest phase was still rudimentary. He summarized Bode's main points and his refutation of them, based on his own visual perceptions and augmented, where possi-

ble, by the judgments of other authorities who supported his position, and stated his belief that Bode had misrepresented the results of Rembrandt research.

Both scholars had acknowledged the appropriateness of calling upon other authorities when possible to support their decisions, and thus followed the Rankean model of historical scholarship. Yet they also asserted the essential validity of their individual evaluations as connoisseurs when based upon first-hand examination of the paintings. Their judgments were then presented publicly in the briefest of forms, without the kind of detailed stylistic analysis that would become standard in later examples of written connoisseurship. These assessments were comparative in nature, and could be supported by reference to good graphic reproductions of the works in question; Wurzbach's mention of the new Braun photograph of the painting in The Hague is significant as an early reference to the use of this new reproductive medium for connoisseurship. However, it is noteworthy that he did not see any problem with comparing the paintings through two different kinds of reproductions, a photograph and a woodcut; indeed he advocated that his readers should do just that.

The personal nature of Bode's and Wurzbach's exchange, which ranged from incorporation of condescending statements to sarcastic rebuttals to accusations of neglecting the literature or misrepresenting it, is also noteworthy, for the subjectivity of Rembrandt connoisseurship would prove increasingly conducive to such personal attacks, with scholars all the while insisting on their own objectivity. Lacking hard evidence to support their conclusions in most instances, connoisseurs inevitably personalized these exchanges, where it was one scholar's word – and eye – against another's. While it might now seem minor in importance, Bode's debate with Wurzbach gained notoriety over time. The sting of Wurzbach's words and his mocking of "Bode's green Rembrandts" remained with Bode his whole life, and as late as the mid-1920s he would refer back to this exchange as representative of his devotion to the "truth" as a Rembrandt scholar, which he pursued even in the face of scorn.[44]

While Wurzbach had taunted Bode about his "green Rembrandts," Bode would have the last word. In 1881 he built upon his article on these early self-portraits in an extended and ground-breaking essay on Rembrandt's early works that gained him the reputation of the peerless connoisseur of Rembrandt's youthful paintings.[45] Bode began his essay with the earliest Rembrandt painting known at the time, the *Saint Paul in Prison* in Stuttgart of 1627, and concluded with those painted in 1631, the last year of Rembrandt's residence in Leiden. As Bode indicated, at that time the early careers of nearly all the important masters

of the Renaissance and Baroque were still largely unknown or misunderstood, in part because of a bias (on the part, he noted, of "artists and curious laymen," not, apparently, art historians) in favor of paintings created at the height of these artists' powers. As a result, many early works by major figures had come to be considered inauthentic. Since the goal of art history, he avowed, was to delineate the development of artists and their relationship to earlier masters, as well as to their followers, knowledge of their youthful efforts was imperative. Bode here differentiated between the study of art history and *belles lettres*, for he accepted the suitability of concentrating on great works for the latter, but believed the former should be practiced as a "scientific" historical pursuit. This important distinction would help shift Rembrandt connoisseurship from functioning as a form of art criticism, as it had been conducted even by such a figure as Thoré-Bürger, to a historically based discipline. Over the next forty years, however, it would also lead to an ever-expanding conception of the stylistic, technical, and iconographic limits of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre.

Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei

The publication of Bode's *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei* in 1883 was a landmark event for the scholarship of Dutch art; though few consult this book today, it was read and cited by other art historians for decades.[46] In it Bode collected the results of his research on Dutch artists as presented in earlier writings, including his doctoral dissertation on Frans Hals and his various museum publications for the Berlin Gemäldegalerie.[47] Bode stated at the outset that this book was not the comprehensive synthetic historical analysis of Dutch art he had hoped to produce, but for which he still lacked time. Rather, it would serve to present "sketches" of certain artists' careers, and in the case of Rembrandt, provide an updated catalogue of his paintings.

Bode's deliberations about how art history should be practiced were asserted in the introduction and fell squarely within the confines of the critical-historical approach: art history should be based on archival research and first-hand study of the works of individual masters. While he maintained that his museum duties prevented him from carrying out archival studies, he lauded the efforts of scholars such as the young Abraham Bredius for pursuing such work, and took full advantage of their findings. For his part, Bode had instead chosen the task of personal examination of paintings, a goal both in keeping with his

museum career and one best suited to his interests and his talents as a connoisseur. Indeed his travel schedule in the second half of the 1870s and the early 1880s remained formidable; Florence, London, Paris, and Vienna were regular stops for him. During a three-month stay in Great Britain in 1879 he also extended his knowledge of private collections scattered throughout the country, thinking of future acquisitions.[48]

While the *Studien* treated a number of Dutch artists, the chapters on Rembrandt were the most extensive and influential. Bode prefaced his catalogue of Rembrandt paintings with a nearly 200-page narrative account of Rembrandt's artistic career, drawing on his 1870 review of Vosmaer and his 1881 article on the young Rembrandt; much of the material from the latter was incorporated word for word. Bode's reuse of his own writings is significant, for it demonstrated that his understanding of Rembrandt as an artist coalesced early on, even in his student days, and would never change dramatically, even if his standards for his connoisseurship did. In part this was a manifestation of Bode's intellectual character, marked by his assertiveness and self-assurance about his abilities as an art historian and connoisseur. It was also, however, a logical consequence of his conception of art history as a scientific, positivist pursuit. If one could find an appropriately large number of documents for an artist's life and work that illuminated the various portions of his career, these documents could then be correlated with the evidence provided by authentic paintings seen in person (especially those carrying reliable signatures and dates). Following this method scrupulously should mean that an artist's career would neither be a mystery nor entail that one's understanding of his art change over time. Because the Rembrandt chapters in the *Studien* revealed what would be Bode's lifelong conception of the artist, and served as a pivotal text on Rembrandt and Rembrandt connoisseurship for several decades, it is worth considering his narrative in some detail.

Bode's programmatic style of art-historical writing is evident throughout his discussion of Rembrandt's career. His organization was chronological, in order to emphasize the development of the artist's style over time. As in his review of Vosmaer, Bode divided the career into phases: 1627-31, the early career; 1632-36, the "Sturm und Drang" period, and so on. Within each phase he further systematized his discussion according to subject matter and date, proceeding through history paintings, commissioned portraits, self-portraits, and study heads. Here he maintained the long-established academic hierarchy of subject matter in European art. Bode recounted the major events in Rembrandt's

life, and then linked these events to the artist's works. For instance, the period of 1632-36 was presented as an era shaped by Rembrandt's courtship of and marriage to Saskia van Uylenburgh. Rembrandt's happiness in this union was, for Bode, mirrored in an increased "extroversion" of style evidenced in the increased size of paintings and figures in them, and a new approach to composition that emphasized the depiction of physical activity rather than internal awareness.

Bode also identified some of the models found in early paintings by Rembrandt as the artist's relations and friends; a number of images of an elderly woman who modeled for Rembrandt during his Leiden career were described as depictions of the artist's mother. While Bode was by no means the first writer to make such connections between Rembrandt's life and his art, he carried this exercise further than anyone had before, and in doing so drew some shaky conclusions. In addition to his identification of Saskia in many pictures, Bode characterized paintings of a second young blonde woman made around 1632 to 1634 as revealing the countenance of Rembrandt's sister Liesbeth. His "identification" of Liesbeth in Rembrandt's art led Bode to surmise that this sister had moved to Amsterdam to keep house for Rembrandt while he was still a bachelor. Bode seemed untroubled by the total lack of archival evidence in support of this hypothesis, believing that the paintings themselves were evidence that should be considered just as trustworthy as written documents.[49] This premise oversimplified the positivist historical enterprise by the implicit assumption that paintings were created for the same reasons as documents, and could be treated as such.

Bode's account of Rembrandt's artistic trajectory posed a significant challenge for his description of the artist's career in its entirety, for his commitment to the idea that Rembrandt's art achieved a degree of perfection and completeness in the years 1642 to 1654 meant that paintings made before or after that date were of lesser interest or value. The cyclical model of rise, decline and fall in art history was a Vasarian paradigm, propounded to explain certain aspects of Italian Renaissance and Mannerist art. Rather than challenging this long-established paradigm, however, Bode construed his task in a way that enabled him to reconcile Rembrandt's work with it. While as an art historian he needed to possess knowledge of all of Rembrandt's art, he did not need to value all of it equally. For example, he viewed the 1630s as Rembrandt's period of gaining mastery, but not its full attainment, achieved only in the 1640s and early 1650s. Hence the 1630s were interesting as a period of artistic development, but

the work produced then did not have to be considered as compelling or profound.

Nor did Bode give much attention to questions of content and iconography. Although he noted when certain subjects appeared at various points in Rembrandt's career, for example, landscapes or nudes in the 1630s, his discussion of these pictures was limited to stylistic considerations. Bode's narrative was structured around the presentation of characteristic, significant, unusual, or previously unknown paintings by Rembrandt, in order to construct for the reader a formal conception of Rembrandt's art, decade by decade, based upon the tangible evidence of the works. As a result, despite Rembrandt's obvious fascination for Bode, his essay reads more like the catalogue appended to it than a synthetic, probing evaluation of the artist's work.

Bode's discussion of Rembrandt's late works from the 1660s is the most interesting part of the essay to read today. Here the author struggled to place in chronological order a number of paintings that seemed to resist such efforts, pictures that were unsigned, undated, and as he acknowledged, less attractive than Rembrandt's earlier works to many nineteenth-century viewers.[50] (Only a decade later Rembrandt's late paintings would most capture the fancy of *fin-de-siècle* collectors and art historians.) Recent discoveries in the archives about Rembrandt's relationship with his housekeeper, Hendrickje Stoffels, and the existence of their child Cornelia, born out of wedlock, had at least helped to flesh out a picture of the artist's later domestic life.[51] These archival findings then stimulated art historians to look for a group of paintings from the 1650s and 1660s featuring the same female model, which were then identified as depictions of Hendrickje, despite Bode's own admission that no certain portrait of her existed.[52] Bode acknowledged some hesitancy in his own search for images of Hendrickje, but stated that his qualms resulted from the lack of reproductions needed to make such a comparative study. For Bode, the problem of identifying Hendrickje was technical and not methodological. He offered a few suggestions about possible images of her in Rembrandt's art; he considered the foremost of these to be the *Bathing Woman* in London and the *Bathsheba* in Paris, works that he saw as having been painted with "great love" and joy.[53] Bode's imaginative projection of the artist's involvement with his "concubine" extended to his seeing in the Louvre's *Venus and Amor* a later rendering of Hendrickje, "five or six years older, fuller in form and more matronly," with Cornelia, the daughter Rembrandt had fathered.[54] Unlike some of his contemporaries, Bode resisted labeling the figures in two of Rembrandt's late paint-

FIG. 15 – Rembrandt, *Portrait of a Pair of Old Testament Figures, called "The Jewish Bride"*, 1650s

ings as portraits of the painter and his family, but this was not a result of any misgivings about a lack of documentary evidence to support such an identification. Rather, he stated firmly that neither "*The Jewish Bride*" [FIG. 15] nor the *Family Portrait* in Braunschweig could be depictions of Rembrandt because of discrepancies in the age of the male figure in each case; the *Family Portrait* also showed a man with three daughters, not one. He fully believed that the sitters in both cases would be found in Rembrandt's immediate circle, and hoped that further archival research would reveal their identities.[55]

Bode's discussions of "*The Jewish Bride*," the *Family Portrait* from Braunschweig, the *Bathing Woman*, *Bathsheba*, and *Venus and Amor* present examples of how he used paintings solipsistically to "read" Rembrandt's life, and conversely, how he employed documents to explain paintings. In doing so, however, he created false equivalencies between paintings and literary documents as historical evidence.

FIG. 16 – Rembrandt, *David Playing the Harp before Saul*, ca. 1629-30

Such a generalized definition of appropriate evidence was also apparent in Bode's decisions about the attribution and dating of individual paintings. Bode's approach to connoisseurship was not at all systematic or consistent, as becomes clear with two examples of how he treated inscriptions associated with works of art. The Gemäldegalerie (now called the Städelsches Kunstinstitut) in Frankfurt then attributed its painting of *David Playing the Harp Before Saul* [FIG. 16] to Salomon Koninck, a Dutch artist influenced by Rembrandt but who worked independently. Bode stood firm for Rembrandt's authorship. One reason for his positive evaluation? An inscription found on a seventeenth-century reproductive print by P. van Leeuw listed Rembrandt as the inventor.[56] However, Bode rejected the legitimacy of the date of 1643 seen on a painting of an old woman reading a Bible in the Hermitage. Bode insisted that the painting must have been made several years earlier, but his stylistic criticism of the painting as a work from 1643, as opposed to the late 1630s, is vague and unconvincing. It seems likely that his identification of the sitter as Rembrandt's mother (who had died in 1640) convinced him that the date on the work could not be accurate.[57] Bode did not address any issues about the appearance of the date or preservation of the painting's surface that might have made his rejection of the date seem less arbitrary.

In another case an inscription on a painting was the key to his understanding of its authorship. His examination of the *Sacrifice of Isaac* in the Hermitage [FIG. 17], which Smith and then Waagen had attributed to Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout, led to Bode's recognition of the characteristics of Rembrandt's style of the mid-1630s, and thus of his authorship alone.[58] "Just as the conception corresponds exactly with this period of Rembrandt's," Bode wrote, "so are the strong and impastoed but nonetheless careful handling of paint, the cool tones of the coloring, still too hard in the shadows, characteristic precisely for this time of the master's. The picture also carries the doubtlessly genuine signature of the master next to the date 1635, but it has as well another, highly remarkable witness for it — a copy by a student's hand, which according to its own inscription 'Rembrandt changed and overpainted in 1636.'"[59] Bode here referred to the second version of the Hermitage painting, located in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich [FIG. 18], a work unparalleled among Rembrandt paintings for this remarkable (and obscure) inscription, which had been revealed only a short time before in the course of a restoration treatment of the painting.[60]

Bode was certainly right to emphasize the significance of this inscription as an aid to understanding the relationship between the two versions. In each of

these examples it was not so much that Bode's decisions were inherently wrong; indeed, his instincts in the case of the Frankfurt and St. Petersburg Rembrandts were correct. What is problematic, however, is that Bode did not place his use of inscriptions within any kind of a hierarchy in his practice of connoisseurship, nor distinguish between different kinds of inscriptions and their relative importance and reliability, nor explain how he determined whether an inscription was legitimate or not. One suspects that they merely confirmed an intuition he had already formed, and thus provided convenient corroboration; if not, he dismissed them as illegitimate or incorrect.

The inscription on the Munich painting also raised the complex and troublesome issue of how Rembrandt's studio functioned, a critical question for its implications about the connoisseurship of Rembrandt's art and the issue of attribution specifically, but one for which documentary evidence was sorely limited. Bode maintained that there was a clear distinction between the execution of paintings in Rembrandt's studio and the practices of Rubens's workshop, that is, he insisted that while Rembrandt may have retouched students' work, he did not work together with his students on paintings of his own, nor did he make oil sketches for his paintings. Even the paintings identified as "retouched" or "overpainted" in the 1656 inventory of Rembrandt's possession were only still lifes or nature studies made by the students, thus works considered to be of lower status than history paintings or portraits. Bode also believed that collaborations of Rembrandt with his students to produce etchings after his design, or his reworking of student paintings occurred only in the early period of his career, when Rembrandt most closely emulated Rubens in style and practice.[61] For Bode, writing in 1883, Rembrandt paintings were those designed and painted by Rembrandt alone. This restrictive understanding of authenticity in questions of Rembrandt connoisseurship was one area where Bode would change his mind over time, with significant scholarly and commercial consequences.

Bode clearly believed that his task as a connoisseur was to discuss not only authenticity, but quality as well. He was critical of the Passion series painted for the Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik in the 1630s; he believed it too full of "pathos," and considered some of the figures in the individual paintings to be crude in execution. Inevitably, Bode's taste was shaped by his own era, as witnessed by his high valuation of Rembrandt's landscape art, "its mysterious contact with the spirit of nature" impelled Bode to name him as "the first and greatest modern landscape painter" who can thereby "make the greatest impression, even on those who do not otherwise find his style appealing."[62] The nineteenth-

FIG. 17 – Rembrandt, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, 1635

FIG. 18 – Rembrandt School, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, 1636

century preference for landscape paintings, strongly apparent in contemporary French art, had clearly worked its spell, but led to another danger: attributing to Rembrandt paintings made by his followers. Bode claimed that he had never seen an authentic Rembrandt landscape in the trade. While connoisseurs such as Vosmaer and Waagen had accepted many as genuine, Bode accepted very few; only about twelve in total met his standards for inclusion into Rembrandt's oeuvre.[63]

Throughout Bode's essay, his self-assurance as a connoisseur is predominant. When he differed with John Smith by some twenty years on the date of a portrait of a woman in London, he assumed simply that Smith must have misread the date.[64] Although he acknowledged the difficulty of dating pictures made in the early 1650s, given the fact that so few dated paintings from this period were known, he nonetheless stood behind the attribution of a number of works in the Hermitage as authentic, despite the contrary opinions of other scholars, including Waagen.[65] He was nonetheless capable of expressing reservations about making definitive attributions, not just when he had not seen a painting himself, but when issues such as the state of preservation of a painting or its location affected its appearance. Hence a depiction of a man in costume found in the National Gallery in London, which Bode considered to be a nearly faithful version of a painting in the Hermitage, was "so sunken [in color] and dark that a definitive judgment about its originality is currently impossible. But the fact that the picture in St. Petersburg is considerably better, and also bears the only inscription, speaks for the assumption that it is the original."[66] Another painting of a young woman [FIG. 44], auctioned with the rest of the Demidoff collection in 1880 in Florence, was "so overcleaned and overpainted that it can now be described only as a ruin."[67] Bode's opinion of the Demidoff painting seemed to shift considerably over time; by 1895 he would cite his approval of the American collector Charles L. Hutchinson's purchase of the "large charming picture of an Amsterdam orphan girl (1645) by Rembrandt."[68] Such a change in evaluation makes clear how much more complicated the ramifications of connoisseurship became for Bode over the following decades, as his roles as scholar, museum director, and advisor to collectors and dealers became increasingly intertwined.

Rembrandt painting catalogues to 1890

Bode's own catalogue of Rembrandt paintings in the *Studien* began as a geographical index to Vosmaer's Rembrandt monograph (for both the original and

revised editions) that he had compiled to make Vosmaer "useful." As he continued to work on the catalogue, the limitations of Vosmaer's connoisseurship became all the more obvious, and Bode finally decided that John Smith's catalogue, though older, was more functional than Vosmaer's because of its comprehensiveness. Although the change alone in ownership of paintings by Rembrandt in the fifty years since Smith's study would make its revision necessary, Bode's view that Smith was not truly critical in his approach to attributions also compelled the German scholar to create his own catalogue. His results, as he announced in the foreword to the *Studien* (indicating the importance of his Rembrandt research within the context of the whole book), were such that while he concluded his survey with approximately the same number of paintings as found in Vosmaer's second edition, about 350, the composition of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre as conceived by Bode was distinctly different from Vosmaer's.[69] Bode eliminated many works included by the Dutch scholar, and added ones rejected or, even more often, unknown to him. Given Bode's extensive experience as a connoisseur by 1883, it is not surprising that he was once again so critical of Vosmaer's failure to see "half or more" of the pictures the Dutch author attributed to Rembrandt. Bode thus emphasized the point that he had examined personally all the paintings he discussed except for a small number that were not available because of "adverse circumstances."[70] He had declared in 1870 that comprehensiveness was not an unreasonable goal for an art-historical catalogue, and in the succeeding thirteen years, he had carried out the work to back up his claim.

Before examining Bode's catalogue in detail, the few other Rembrandt painting catalogues from the nineteenth century will be described in order to clarify the genuine accomplishments of both Vosmaer and Bode. The various nineteenth-century catalogues of Rembrandt's paintings were among the forerunners of a new academic and literary genre, the *catalogue raisonné*, which aspired to bring together in one place all the works in one medium by one artist. The first such catalogue in western art history was also devoted to Rembrandt: Edmé-François Gersaint, a Parisian art dealer, prepared a catalogue of Rembrandt's etchings that was published posthumously in 1751.[71] But a catalogue of prints was far easier to compile at this time than a catalogue of paintings, given both the existence of multiple impressions of individual prints, and of several large print collections, some of which contained examples of nearly all of Rembrandt's etchings. Vosmaer, Bode, and the other cataloguers of Rembrandt's paintings took on a much larger challenge. These paintings had traveled to all corners of Europe; the majority were still held in private collections,

and thus were often not easily accessible. An acute problem in Rembrandt connoisseurship made the task still more complex, namely, the confusion created by the existence of many paintings made by Rembrandt's pupils, followers, imitators, and forgers in Rembrandt's various styles. While such works complicated the connoisseurship of most important Old Master artists, the sheer number of the Rembrandtesque paintings was far greater than those associated with any other single painter. Indeed, how was one to determine which were "authentic" works by Rembrandt? The notion of workshop production was well accepted for the determination of attribution of paintings forming the oeuvres of Italian artists such as Raphael or Titian, or of Rembrandt's Flemish contemporary Rubens, but this idea ran contrary to the nineteenth-century understanding of Rembrandt as the quintessential solitary genius.[72] A tendency was therefore set at this early stage to accept as authentic only those paintings that could be seen as fully autographic, that is, both designed by Rembrandt and manually executed by him alone.

John Smith's decision to write a catalogue that was comprehensive but not critical meant that in this first catalogue of Rembrandt paintings little attempt was made to distinguish the artist's works from imitations and copies or paintings made in his style by his students.[73] He organized his catalogue of 620 paintings by subject, rather than chronologically or by location. For the paintings he had seen Smith provided descriptions of the subject and composition. He included information about size and provenance if known, but he treated style in only general terms. Smith's own entries were printed side by side with still terser ones taken from auction catalogues.

The noted art critic and print scholar Charles Blanc included a list of Rembrandt's paintings in the first edition of his Rembrandt etchings catalogue, *L'Œuvre de Rembrandt*, published in 1859-61.[74] Blanc's discussion of Rembrandt's paintings was oriented towards art criticism more than art history in his weighing of aesthetic merits and defects, and the catalogue, while geographically organized, was far from methodical in organization. For instance, he provided very brief descriptions of works, but these were occasionally followed by lengthier discussions of pictures he seemed to find more interesting. Blanc mentioned the recent provenance and sale prices for certain paintings, and sometimes referred to the work of other Rembrandt scholars, but in none of these cases did he state a rationale for why he included such information for some paintings only, rather than all of them. Most problematic of all was the fact that there was no way of determining precisely which paintings Blanc had or had not seen

himself. Finally, he admitted that his list was incomplete.[75] Consequently, this catalogue of Rembrandt's paintings stood in strict contrast to the main focus of his book, the catalogue of Rembrandt's etchings, where Blanc engaged with technique, distinctions of states, and issues of iconography at length and with great care.

Why did Blanc include what was a perfunctory and somewhat idiosyncratic catalogue of paintings? He had two reasons, both curious from a later vantage point. In the first edition, Blanc stated that though (print) amateurs understood the term "oeuvre" to refer to an artist's prints or prints made after an artist, he believed that the use of this word in the title of the book would not be entirely justified without making "mention of all the paintings of Rembrandt which are known."[76] In the second edition, Blanc added that he wished to fill a lacuna left in the Rembrandt literature created when Thoré-Bürger died in 1869 without having finished his own long-promised Rembrandt painting catalogue.[77]

Vosmaer's catalogue and Bode response in the Studien

Carel Vosmaer's 1868 catalogue of Rembrandt paintings was the most ambitious and innovative to date. His chronological (or historical, as he called it) arrangement was new, not just in the Rembrandt literature, but in art history itself. It was also a comparatively informative catalogue. For instance, Vosmaer cited the paintings' Smith numbers when he could determine them, identified their current locations, generally gave specifics of dimensions and supports, and enumerated existing reproductions of the paintings. He also listed works in three media (painting, etching, drawing) rather than just one.

Unfortunately, there was a high degree of inconsistency to Vosmaer's entries in their length and the amount of information given in a way that was reminiscent of Blanc's catalogue. Sometimes Vosmaer described a painting's composition in detail, but many times did not. On occasion, he commented on the quality of a picture, but without any justification for a judgment such as "tableau capital."[78] While in many cases some provenance was listed, no reason was stated for why it wasn't always included. Sometimes auction prices were listed, even from the eighteenth century, but without explanation of their significance. Vosmaer did not assign numbers to his entries, nor did he eliminate all the cases that he thought were duplicate listings from Smith. And, in truth,

Bode's complaint that the chronological organization made the catalogue difficult for readers to use was valid; since there was no index of works by location, there was no easy way to determine which pictures were in Paris, for instance, without scanning the catalogue page by page.

The crucial problem with this catalogue, as with Blanc's, was that there was no way to determine which paintings Vosmaer had actually seen, and where he depended on earlier authorities – and thus no way of evaluating his connoisseurship. Vosmaer stated that in addition to including dated works, he catalogued those he could date, at least approximately, by style or other internal evidence. Certain entries were preceded by question marks, indicating the writer's lack of conviction about their authorship. But in each of these cases, the reader did not know whether the decisions were really Vosmaer's own, or those of other connoisseurs. It appears that choosing a chronological format militated against comprehensiveness for Vosmaer. In the introduction to his catalogue he stated that he left out many of the paintings that could not be assigned to a precise period in Rembrandt's career. In the end, the reader does not know what and whose criteria were used to decide inclusion or exclusion, dating, or authenticity.

Bode had clearly thought about the drawbacks of earlier Rembrandt catalogues when he prepared his own. The organization of Bode's catalogue was more systematic than the lists made by Smith, Blanc, or Vosmaer: the paintings were numbered consecutively, and his descriptions were largely uniform in length, giving a brief description of the subject and often the coloring of each picture. He indicated in every case whether a painting was signed or dated, and if it was not dated, he suggested a possible one. Bode also disputed signatures or dates that he believed to be false. If a picture had been included in a museum catalogue, he included the catalogue number in his discussion. A limited provenance was given only in the cases of paintings that had very recently changed hands, as a way of allowing the reader to find them in the earlier nineteenth-century catalogues. In one regard his catalogue was less ambitious than Vosmaer's; Bode did not indicate supports or dimensions for the paintings, stating in the introduction his regret that he could not produce such an inclusive catalogue at this time, and that his list should be considered a provisional attempt to establish location and attribution of works.

Bode's decision to organize his catalogue by location, not date, reflected the origin of the catalogue in his geographical index to Vosmaer. His arrangement, however, wasn't neutral. Bode began with works in "Holland" (the northern Netherlands), then Belgium, and then Germany (including Austria and

Czechoslovakia). Next in the sequence were Great Britain, France, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Italy and Spain. Within each country, works were listed by city or town, with those in public collections cited before those in private hands. While Bode had bowed to the priority of the northern (and a bit oddly the southern) Netherlands as Rembrandt's homeland, the other countries followed in order of their importance, that is, by the number of Rembrandts found there. Germany's pride of place in this arrangement was no accident at a time when nationalism was spurring the growth of public art collections as a manifestation of cultural superiority.

Paintings which museums attributed to Rembrandt, but which Bode did not, were discussed briefly in footnotes, where he characterized them as copies, school pieces, or works by particular followers of Rembrandt. In at least one case he designated a copy as eighteenth-century French in origin.[79] On the other hand, paintings that Bode attributed to Rembrandt, which museums had given to other artists, were placed in the main list but with the additional notation of the alternate attribution. Paintings that he had not been able to see in person were listed, but in small type, and only the subject and format were mentioned. What was omitted from Bode's catalogue was also significant. School pieces were included in the main catalogue only if, in Bode's opinion, they had been retouched by Rembrandt.

Bode did not as a rule include references to Smith or Vosmaer in the catalogue itself. This seems curious in light of his insistence on the importance of knowing the art-historical literature. It may well have been a result of the "provisional" nature of the catalogue, for when he published a second and far more ambitious catalogue in the next decade, he then included references to the earlier literature.[80] The effect in the 1883 catalogue, however, was that nothing distracted from Bode's verdicts on authorship, quality, dating, and condition.

The systematic organization of Bode's catalogue undoubtedly made his text far more useful than its predecessors to other scholars and general readers alike, and answered the requirements of a "scientifically" conceived art history method. It also highlighted the importance of Germany in the world of Rembrandt collecting, especially the Berlin Gemäldegalerie. Bode's most distinctive contribution once again, however, was his emphasis on the individual voice of the connoisseur, and his suggestion of the greater reliability of his Rembrandt connoisseurship through the repeated testimony of personal experience and evaluation. The frank assertion of his authority would be as important for Bode's success as his expressed opinions on individual paintings.

Critical reception of Bode's Rembrandt essay and catalogue in the Studien

An understanding of the contemporary reception of Bode's Rembrandt scholarship may be gleaned through reviews of the *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, as well as through an examination of other catalogues of Rembrandt's paintings that appeared soon after the *Studien*. The scholarly reviews reveal that Bode's publication was viewed not just as an important contribution to the study of Dutch art, but also as a pioneering prototype for scientific art history writ large, far surpassing Bode's modest claims for his essays as mere "studies" for a larger history. Several brief reviews of the book appeared in such German periodicals as *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, *Die graphischen Künste*, and *Literarisches Zentralblatt*.[81] In each of these reviews, Bode's aim – to make art history a discipline founded on empirical evidence, reliant on archival findings and incorporating the systematic classification of art works – was recognized and commended as a worthy goal.[82] The reviewers praised Bode's knowledge of the latest research of other scholars, but above all acknowledged his "*Bilderkenntnis*," that is his knowledge of the works or connoisseurship, which they regarded as being of a refinement rare even among his German colleagues.[83] Hence the limitations of Smith's and Vosmaer's catalogues of Rembrandt's paintings, in comparison with Bode's, were readily admitted to, while Bode's analysis of Rembrandt's early work was described as being of "epochal" importance.[84]

A far more detailed and analytical review of the *Studien* appeared in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* in 1884.[85] Oskar Eisenmann, a close contemporary and friendly colleague of Bode's, was director of the Gemäldegalerie in Kassel from 1877 to 1908, and would write the entries on the paintings in Kassel attributed to Rembrandt for the museum's catalogue published in 1888.[86] Eisenmann had high praise for Bode's study of Rembrandt's earliest paintings, and commended the author for concentrating on the larger picture of Rembrandt's career while avoiding entanglement in pedantic details. Consequently, he had only a few general criticisms to offer. One concerned organization of the essay on Rembrandt's art. While Eisenmann understood the usefulness of dividing Rembrandt's career into different periods, he disagreed with Bode's division of it into many loosely organized subsections, which also ranged from a treatment of style, to the discussion of the identity of models, to the significance of the locale in which the works were painted. The lack of parallel structure in this organization did not meet Eisenmann's "German need for principles," and

caused him to worry about potential confusion of the "uninitiated;" he suggested instead a simpler division, purely chronological, into youthful, mature, and late periods.[87] One wonders how Bode would have responded to a complaint that his essay's organization wasn't Germanic enough!

Eisenmann also took issue with several of Bode's attributions. For instance, he emphasized their parting of ways on a point that "as one knows, lies close to his [Bode's] heart," that is, the authenticity of the early self-portrait in Nuremberg [FIG. 11]. Like Wurzbach, Eisenmann did not believe it to be a genuine Rembrandt, but he took care to differ with Bode gently on this subject.[88] Otherwise, he concentrated his remarks on Bode's discussion of paintings in the Kassel collection, that is, those works under his own care about which he felt confident enough contradict Bode's opinions where necessary. Eisenmann believed, for instance, that Bode had undervalued the quality of Rembrandt's portrait of the poet Jan Krul, noting that "[Bode] finds the arrangement a bit sober, the finish of the execution almost too extreme, and the light to be a cool, faint gray tone, while I can see none of this; to me the overall impression appears more important, the execution at least as broad and the tone just as warm as with the so-called Coppenol portrait [in the same collection]."[89] However, Eisenmann was happy to concur with Bode about the high quality of a Rembrandt self-portrait in Kassel, which he stated was often depreciated by amateurs [FIG. 13]. [90] He also agreed with Bode that of two versions of a portrait of Saskia, one in Kassel and one in Antwerp, only the Kassel picture should be deemed authentic; Eisenmann added that he couldn't understand how Vosmaer could have considered the Antwerp painting to be a true Rembrandt.[91] Yet the reviewer took Bode to task for having any doubts about the so-called *Architect* from Rembrandt's oeuvre, and firmly declared that it was not a painting by Aert de Gelder, or Nicolas Maes, or any other student of the master, but a Rembrandt that had been badly restored and clumsily retouched.[92]

In this review, Eisenmann sought to protect the reputation of the paintings under his care in the Kassel museum, as well as his own reputation as a connoisseur. Simultaneously, however, his critique of Bode's work reflected his training as part of the same generation of art historians as Bode, a generation which believed in the possibility of and need for a scientific approach to art history, where one evaluated the work of other scholars, even friendly colleagues, with a rigorous desire to establish truth.

Moreover, like Bode, Eisenmann valued above all decisions about connoisseurship made on the basis of personal observation as opposed to received

FIG. 19 – Rembrandt, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, 1654

FIG. 20 – Rembrandt, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1647

opinion – even the opinion of a great connoisseur such as Bode himself. A pertinent example of this is found in his discussion of *Tobias Curing His Father's Blindness*, then in a private collection in Brussels. Eisenmann was so puzzled by Bode's refusal to accept this painting into Rembrandt's oeuvre without reservations that he speculated Bode had not seen the painting for a long time. Eisenmann, therefore, visited Brussels once more to view the painting with Bode's book at his side, in order to check his own reaction; he found the work to be completely genuine and bearing an authentic signature and date.[93]

At the conclusion of his review, Eisenmann commented on Bode's special praise for two paintings in private collections, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* and *Susanna and the Elders* [FIG. 19, 20]. Then, the reviewer noted, "through a favorable chain of circumstances" these pictures entered into the Berlin collection

not long after the publication of Bode's book.[94] While Eisenmann reported that he had not yet seen the works, in light of the admiration they had gained from all sides, he believed that congratulations should be given to the Gemäldegalerie for these acquisitions, "and so we see Bode's theoretical and practical effectiveness go hand in hand in a most gratifying manner."[95] This last comment of Eisenmann's was both incisive and significant, because it suggests that for Bode's contemporaries, his scholarly writings, curatorial pursuits, and active role in the art market did not represent separate spheres of activity, but rather did "go hand in hand" through the employment of his connoisseurship.

Rembrandt painting catalogues by Dutuit 1885 and Wurzbach 1886

A second path to understanding the reception of Bode's Rembrandt catalogue is found through an analysis of near-contemporary catalogues of Rembrandt's paintings that manifested their author's responses to Bode's work. The first of these was written by Eugène Dutuit, a lawyer, politician, and prodigious collector and scholar of prints.[96] Dutuit followed Blanc's precedent by publishing as a companion volume to his own 1883 catalogue of Rembrandt's etchings one devoted to Rembrandt's paintings and drawings (1885).[97] In the introduction to his catalogue, Dutuit offered a brief overview of scholarship on Rembrandt paintings. He remarked that Rembrandt catalogues prior to Bode's lacked "une base critique," both in terms of their organization and their inclusion of many works that were not painted by Rembrandt.[98] Bode's scholarly rigor, and his commitment to see everything he possibly could earned Dutuit's admiration. The result, he stated, was that Bode had undeniably scrutinized more Rembrandt paintings than anyone else. Dutuit believed that the chronological orientation of Bode's presentation of Rembrandt's art, followed by the summary catalogue organized by location, had provided a way of coming to terms with paintings that had proven difficult to place in Rembrandt's career, and he extolled Bode for having discovered many additional paintings by Rembrandt, as well as for correcting the mistakes of earlier cataloguers.

Dutuit did, however, make certain choices different from Bode's in the presentation of his catalogue. He included information about public sales that had featured Rembrandt paintings as a kind of "topographical and financial history" of Rembrandt's art.[99] While adhering to a geographical organization like

Bode's, he used an alphabetical arrangement of locations, rather than imposing a hierarchical one. In actuality, this meant that Germany ("Allemagne") was listed first and thus highlighted as a locus of Rembrandt paintings, but the choice to proceed alphabetically still suggested a neutral stance on the part of the author. Unlike Bode, Dutuit separated the description of paintings found in public collections from those in private hands, which made his catalogue easier to follow and more useful for his audience. He also listed works in museums that he, or other reputable scholars, had demoted after the paintings he accepted as authentic; this innovative organizational feature made the distinction between "authentic" and "inauthentic" paintings stronger, while still preserving some of the history of earlier attributions.

Dutuit's individual entries were highly systematic, providing in large type a description of the subject, inclusion of signature and date where applicable, statement of the subject, the support and dimensions when known. In small type Dutuit then cited the Smith number, information about provenance and reproductions and, where applicable, a concise account of other scholars' views about authenticity and dating. In these instances he did not typically indicate whose opinion, if any, he held to be most accurate; however, Bode's name appeared more frequently than any other scholars, which automatically conferred greater weight to his opinions through sheer repetition. Dutuit also included several helpful appendices: a list of lost paintings (known through graphic reproductions, or whose current locations were not known); a subject index, which listed a total of 452 paintings, and, finally, a chronological inventory.[100]

These lists, with careful cross-references, made Dutuit's catalogue the most convenient and informative of all published to that date, yet his catalogue never gained the kind of currency it deserved in terms of citations by other scholars and references in later catalogues.[101] Several factors contributed to this neglect. First, Dutuit was generally thought of as a connoisseur of Rembrandt etchings, not paintings, and thus he was not invested with prior authority. Additionally, his neutral presentation of differing scholarly opinions on the authenticity or dating of individual works might seem admirably judicious, but his neutrality, combined with his refusal to state which works he had seen himself, undermined his authority as a connoisseur. In essence, he gave the appearance of deferring to Bode, given his frequent citation of the German scholar's judgments. Dutuit's approach was linked to the tradition of Smith and Vosmaer, the very one that Bode had opposed successfully in establishing his authority as a connoisseur, thus Dutuit's evenhandedness already seemed out of date.

Finally, Dutuit's death the year after his catalogue was published cut short any opportunity to augment his reputation as a Rembrandt painting connoisseur. As a result, his catalogue could be considered, and even dismissed, as the work of a devoted amateur scholar, rather than the relatively rigorous tome that it was.

In 1886, a year after Dutuit's catalogue was published, Alfred von Wurzbach's *Rembrandt-Galerie* appeared in print.[102] With this book, Wurzbach offered something none of the previous cataloguers had: graphic reproductions of one hundred Rembrandt paintings.[103] Consequently, in his introduction Wurzbach discussed the problem of the large number of graphic works that bore inscriptions proclaiming their status as reproductions of Rembrandt paintings, another tricky component of Rembrandt connoisseurship. He assured the reader that only those images that reproduced authentic paintings by the master were included in his book (even if such paintings were no longer known in the original).[104] Wurzbach also contributed a brief review of Rembrandt's life and work and proffered a comprehensive catalogue of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre with 501 entries, or about 150 more than Bode's catalogue.

Wurzbach claimed that Rembrandt "never produced anything that was mediocre," and that "dilettantish, unscholarly work had sinned against" Rembrandt "more than any other master" by ascribing many such works to him; thus he vowed to be rigorous in his catalogue.[105] Yet he also stated that while he had first thought to discuss only the absolutely authentic works of Rembrandt, he came to wonder: "What is authentic? What is false? Who has seen all of these Rembrandts, which are strewn about the whole world? The person who could boast of having done that can hardly exist, and, even if he had seen [them] all, would that entitle him to pass judgment?"[106]

This unusual statement, which seems to disavow the very task of making decisions about authenticity, speaks against Bode's implied claim to greater reliability through the active promotion of his reputation as the one Rembrandt connoisseur who had seen nearly all the paintings he described. Given the harsh words that the scholars had directed against each other during their earlier debate, Wurzbach's statement was likely meant to read as a chastisement of an arrogant colleague. At the same time, it reflected the reality of his own approach to Rembrandt connoisseurship, for Wurzbach's attitude about the difficulty of reaching definitive judgments likely accounts for his laxer standards for authenticity in his Rembrandt catalogue. Like Vosmaer and Dutuit, he did not specify which paintings he had seen in person, and thus once again it is impossible to ascertain the reasons for his attributions, pro and con.[107] His total of 501 paint-

ings represented the first (though far from the last) significant expansion of Rembrandt's oeuvre since Vosmaer's catalogue eighteen years earlier. Nonetheless, Wurzbach should be credited for having problematized the practice of Rembrandt connoisseurship, and admitting that issues of authenticity and comprehensiveness were not resolvable in black and white terms.

Although Wurzbach believed that a chronologically organized catalogue was the most advantageous in theory, he had concluded that the state of Rembrandt research was not yet far enough advanced to permit a truly accurate one to be written. Scholars differed by ten years or more, for instance, in their dating of paintings attributed to Rembrandt.[108] Therefore, like Bode, he chose a geographical classification for his catalogue. Wurzbach followed a middle path between Vosmaer and Bode in terms of how much information he included in his entries. In large type, he gave a brief description of each painting, and mentioned whether it was signed or dated. Other details, such as possible dates for undated works, auction prices, previous provenance, and graphic reproductions were included afterwards in small type, but he offered no rationale to explain why such information was included for some paintings but not for all. The dimensions of works were included occasionally but not consistently; for example, he cited the dimensions of only two of sixteen Rembrandts in the Berlin Gemäldegalerie, even while listing the museum's catalogue numbers.

Wurzbach's arguments in favor of a painting's authenticity (when doubted by other scholars) or his correction of mistakes by earlier writers also appeared in small type. In general, his critiques of other connoisseurs' opinions were straightforward; he merely stated when he believed that Vosmaer, for instance, was in error about a date, and offered what he believed to be the correct one. He agreed with Bode's new attributions at least as often as he disagreed. It was only in regard to the problem of the four early self-portraits, about which he and Bode had argued so strongly in the decade before [FIGS. 11-14], that Wurzbach displayed any obvious pique in the catalogue, referring at one point to the mistaken opinions of "hyper-learned connoisseurs."[109]

Like Dutuit's volume, Wurzbach's catalogue offered certain advantages over Bode's own compilation. Wurzbach provided more information in each entry and presented some divergent opinions from his own, allowing readers to decide for themselves on certain issues. He even appealed directly to his readers to do so in his introduction, where he stated that the reproduction of a hundred paintings he attributed to Rembrandt would enable anyone reading the text to make their own judgment. This entreaty, as well as his reference to the

"hyper-learned connoisseurs," suggests a desire to combat the establishment of recognized authorities.

Yet his catalogue was no more successful than Dutuit's.[110] As the third *catalogue raisonné* of Rembrandt's paintings to appear in four years, it did not offer any clear advantage over the earlier ones: it was less detailed than Dutuit's, and seemingly less decisive about attribution than Bode's. Even Wurzbach's inclusion of illustrations would not prove to have great impact in the long run, since his choice to use non-photographically-based reproductions was one that was rapidly beginning to seem old-fashioned. After 1890, the capacity of photography to reproduce paintings improved significantly, and other kinds of reproductions were increasingly viewed as not objective enough for the comparative work of art history.[111]

Wurzbach's apparent desire to work against the formation of a select community of Rembrandt connoisseurs was thwarted by the general lack of interest in his book. The swift disappearance of *Rembrandt-Galerie* from the scholarly scene may have perpetuated his bitterness towards Bode, who by 1886 had pulled far out in front of him in reputation. Wurzbach's animosity would only be fully expressed some twenty years later.[112]

Bode's purchases of Rembrandt paintings for the Berlin Gemäldegalerie, 1879-1883

Bode's scholarly writings on Rembrandt were never truly separated from the practical application of his connoisseurship, given his status as a museum curator responsible for developing Berlin's collection of Old Master paintings. Leaving aside several works attributed to Rembrandt (incorrectly, as Bode knew) that came to the Gemäldegalerie with the purchase of the Suermondt collection, Bode was able to acquire a number of important paintings by Rembrandt for the Gemäldegalerie beginning at the end of the 1870s. The first one, the so-called *Portrait of Hendrickje by an Open Door*, was obtained in 1879 at the Wardell auction in London with the help of the Parisian art dealer Edouard Warneck.[113] In 1881 Sir Charles Robinson, an English curator, collector, advisor and sometime dealer (as well as Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures) donated to Berlin the picture now called *The Parable of the Rich Man*, then thought to be a genre depiction of a tax collector or gold weigher.[114] Robinson, a member of the British aristocratic circle that often provided Bode with access to acquisi-

tions, was one of many Englishmen with whom Bode was on good terms after his extended visit to England in 1879 and his frequent trips thereafter.[115]

1883, however, was the most spectacular year of all for Bode's purchase of Rembrandt paintings. As Oskar Eisenmann had mentioned in his review of Bode's book, the *Susanna and the Elders* of 1647 [FIG. 20] and *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* of 1655 [FIG. 19] were acquired in that year, along with a third painting, the *Vision of Daniel*.[116] Both the *Vision of Daniel* and the *Susanna* had been on exhibit in the annual Winter Exhibition of the Royal Academy in London.[117] All three were purchased with the assistance of Charles Sedelmeyer, an Austrian who worked as an art dealer in Paris and who would play an important role in Bode's subsequent career as a Rembrandt specialist.[118] The fact that Bode was allowed to obtain all three pictures, certainly not inexpensive ones, indicates his increasing status in the Berlin museums – and the role that Rembrandt had come to play in German culture as an appropriated example of the genius of the Northern European (i.e. "Germanic") artist.[119] While no other Rembrandt purchases for Berlin would be made until the 1890s, the acquisition of five works attributed to the artist in only a period of five years was an extraordinary coup for Bode.[120]

In these same years Bode was also purchasing significant examples of Italian painting and sculpture, and publishing indefatigably on various subjects in European art. While he chafed under what he often considered to be the misguided administration of the Director-General of the Berlin museums, and he was occasionally thwarted from buying specific Renaissance and Baroque art works, his career was well launched. In 1890, upon the retirement of Julius Meyer, Bode became the director of the Gemäldegalerie, and gained still greater prestige and power as a museum man and connoisseur.

His connoisseurial authority did not go unchallenged, however. Not only was this a result of Bode's combative personality as a scholar, it was the logical consequence of his own work. Bode had helped to raise the standards for connoisseurship studies by insisting on firsthand observation of all objects under discussion and on a rationalized and systematic mode of presenting the results of such study. In this regard, his promotion of a "scientific" methodology for art history was highly successful. At the same time, by promoting a practice of connoisseurship that pitted one authority against another through their published pronouncements about authenticity and quality, Bode created a situation where his own dominance would inevitably be contested, as it was in his protracted, and very public arguments in the 1880s and 1890s with the connoisseur Giovanni Morelli and the amateur art historian Max Lautner.

CHAPTER 2

WILHELM BODE'S AND GIOVANNI MORELLI'S DEBATES ABOUT CONNOISSEURSHIP

WHILE WILHELM BODE HAD GIVEN AMPLE demonstrations of his practical gifts as a connoisseur, both in his acquisitions at Berlin and in his scholarship, he had never articulated any theory of connoisseurship, even while critiquing the work of other connoisseurs. Some understanding of how Bode rationalized his method can, however, be gained from an examination of his debates about connoisseurship with Giovanni Morelli. Morelli is today the most famous connoisseur of the nineteenth century because of his articulation of a method of connoisseurship, which he called "scientific" or "experimental" but which was later often referred to simply as the "Morellian" method.[1] Up to the time of Morelli's death in 1891 his most committed and, as Morelli himself admitted, his most distinguished rival as a connoisseur proved to be Wilhelm Bode.[2] Although their arguments centered on the attribution of Italian Renaissance paintings, their understanding of method held obvious implications for the study of authorship of all Old Master paintings. If we wish to understand Bode's ideas about Rembrandt connoisseurship, which he never fully theorized in any of his publications on Dutch art, we must therefore first turn to his debates with Morelli about Italian art.[3]

Giovanni Morelli

Giovanni Morelli was born in Verona in 1819 to a family of Swiss Protestant background; after the early death of his father, his mother moved backed to Bergamo, where she had been raised.[4] Their son was sent to the Kantonsschule in Aarau, Switzerland, a school renowned for its attention to teaching natural

sciences, and then to the University of Munich, where he studied medicine and comparative anatomy from the end of 1833 to 1836. While his family seems to have intended him for a career as a physician, it was the academic study of comparative anatomy, among other natural sciences, that gained his real interest. From late 1837 to the summer of 1838 Morelli continued his studies at the Protestant university at Erlangen. There he came under the influence of Ignatius Döllinger, professor of comparative and human anatomy and rector of the university. After first studying with Döllinger, Morelli became the anatomist's assistant. Like other students of Döllinger, such as the geologist Louis Agassiz, Morelli was inspired by his teacher's insistence on the necessity of close observation of the objects under study. At this time, the most influential theorist for comparative anatomy was Georges Cuvier, a Swiss scientist who published his theory of "correlation of parts" in 1812.[5] Cuvier hypothesized that the physical structure of any given creature was so rationalized and interdependent that with enough detailed study of the individual bones of a specimen, anatomists would reach the point where they could reproduce a whole specimen from study of but a single bone. This theory would be crucial to the development of Morelli's method of connoisseurship.

Morelli also spent time in Berlin and Paris in the late 1830s and in 1840 settled in Italy, where he became a devoted adherent to the political cause of an independent Italian nation and participated in the revolution of 1848, changing his surname from Morell to Morelli. Continuing his political work into the 1850s and 1860s, he became a member of the Italian Parliament in 1860 and a senator in 1873.

Morelli had evinced strong interests in art as far back as the 1830s, when he associated with a cultivated group of friends that included artists as well as natural scientists; he also tried his own hand at drawing caricatures, a practice which likely sharpened his attention to idiosyncratic details in visual analysis.[6] Starting in the 1850s, he began to develop a method of determining the attribution of paintings in the many public and private galleries he visited throughout Europe. His work on attribution was further stimulated by his governmental assignment in 1861 to survey cultural monuments owned by religious institutions in the region of Umbria for an inventory that it was hoped would help lead to their preservation and retention in the Italy. This survey was conducted in partnership with Giovanni Cavalcaselle, who had already published (with his collaborator Joseph Crowe) a study of early Netherlandish painting in 1857, and who would then co-produce extensive studies of Italian art, most notably

A New History of Painting in Italy from the Second to the Sixteenth Century.[7] Crowe and Cavalcaselle were viewed as the premier connoisseurs of Italian art because of the impact of their publications, which combined interest in cultural history and documentation with discussion of authorship of paintings. Morelli and Cavalcaselle fell out during the course of their own collaboration, however, and Morelli became opposed to his colleague's approach to connoisseurship. It has been suggested that when Morelli began to publish his own views on authorship in a series of articles in the mid-1870s, he rejected the notion that Cavalcaselle had influenced him at all because of their disagreement.[8] Certainly, he used the published opinions of Crowe and Cavalcaselle to contrast with his own, often quite different views. While the team's interest in empirical connoisseurship differed from Morelli's in method more than aim, this divergence was enough for him to be dismissive of much of their work.[9]

Morelli's method of connoisseurship

Precisely what was this "scientific" connoisseurship expounded by Morelli? While most fully outlined in an essay from 1890, "Principles and Methods," the skeleton of his practice was evident from the first article he wrote on connoisseurship, one that concentrated on paintings in the Borghese Gallery in Rome, published in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* in 1874, and followed by others in 1875 and 1876. Morelli, writing in German (his first language for academic work) under the pseudonym Ivan Lermolieff, described how a student of painting could now learn to attribute works from the Italian Renaissance with much greater precision than had ever before been possible.[10] By studying many paintings attributed to the same artist, beginning with those that could be securely authenticated and then proceeding to those originating from the same school of painting, the interested student should begin to create in his mind an image of the fundamental or characteristic forms, the *Grundformen*, of a master. Morelli believed that every artist developed particular forms for such anatomical parts as hands (especially fingernails) and ears, as well as for landscape details. Since, Morelli reasoned, these parts of the painting were usually considered less important for either expressive or descriptive purposes than other details, such as mouths or eyes, and less codified by tradition of schools than was drapery, they could serve as accurate gauges of the individuality of an artist's style. This would be most true when a connoisseur was confronted with the problem of

copies, for the copyist could hardly help slipping into his own habitual modes of representation for these less significant details.

Morelli's concentration on *Grundformen* as a means to make connoisseurship more of a science derived from his study of comparative anatomy, and his belief that artists could be recognized in all the variety of their works, throughout their careers, owed its basis to Cuvier's correlation of parts. Indeed, Morelli included "schedules" as aids for the members of his audience who wished to apply his method, incorporating woodcut diagrams, derived from photographs, showing the typical formations of hands and ears of a number of Renaissance artists.

Both Morelli's insistence on the objective nature of his method and his inclusion of the diagrams (which he actually never discussed) disquieted many scholars of Italian Renaissance art, who approached its study from a more literary viewpoint. What proved even more disturbing was his overarching aim, which was to demonstrate the true worth of his method through proposing new attributions for many Italian paintings, notably those in important Italian collections and German museums. In doing so, he openly disagreed with, and frequently disparaged the connoisseurship of other experts, beginning with Crowe and Cavalcaselle, as well as the Raphael scholar Johann David Passavant, the French art critic Charles Blanc, and a number of curators and directors of major museums.

Morelli's influential articles from the 1870s on the Borghese collection were followed in 1880 by his book *Die Werke italienischer Meister in den Galerien von München, Dresden und Berlin. Ein kritischer Versuch*.[11] Morelli's title indicated his intention for this work to serve as a manifesto for the possibility of a more scientific connoisseurship that his experimental method offered. With his concentration in this volume on German collections, he disputed many attributions in the very home of professional art history. In the case of the Berlin museum, Morelli's attacks caused considerable consternation, above all on the part of Bode. Bode was annoyed by the fact that Morelli held both Bode and the museum's director, Julius Meyer, accountable for the attributions of Italian works in the museum's paintings catalogue of 1878, even though Bode had let Morelli know through intermediaries that Meyer held primary responsibility for writing them.[12]

Jaynie Anderson's argument that Bode and Morelli's rivalry over attributing Italian paintings was deeply inflected by the political as well as the artistic nature of connoisseurship is compelling, for Morelli, as an Italian legislator and patriot, was openly trying to keep the most important works in Italy, while Bode

wished to acquire as many Renaissance masterpieces as possible for the Prussian state.[13] At a time when nationalism became associated with the promotion of a kind of cultural competition, with the new national museums vying for the most prestigious masterpieces, the opposed aims of Morelli and Bode would inevitably lead to conflict. Giorgione's *Tempest* was the most famous of the paintings Bode tried unsuccessfully to purchase in Italy because of the intervention (Bode would likely say "interference") of Morelli.[14] As Anderson suggested, Bode was also likely displeased by Morelli's role as an art advisor to the Prussian royal family in the 1880s.[15]

In their published writings, however, no matter what political and social factors actually first motivated their rivalry, they conducted their debate as a fundamental disagreement about art-historical methodology and the determination of artistic quality, wherein the two authors' viewpoints could not be reconciled.

One point that Morelli repeatedly stressed was the necessity for complete independence in conducting attribution studies. Neither received tradition, nor literary documentation, nor the opinions of other connoisseurs should be allowed to affect the judgment of one who wished to proceed "scientifically."[16] Morelli scoffed at the idea that working from a "general impression" or "intuition" was ever a sound enough practice to be reliable; indeed he stated that he, too, had begun his connoisseurship depending on intuition, but quickly learned that this sense did not prove reliable because it was too subjective and nonsystematic.[17] While Morelli rightly complained that his critics twisted his arguments to make it seem as if he only cared about *Grundformen* rather than the aesthetic experience of viewing paintings, he also believed that only a programmatic connoisseurship with an objective component (the comparison of individual forms) could produce an art history of worth. With his general distrust for tradition, such as the writings of Vasari, and even for documentation found in archives, and his distaste for an art history that was not concerned with the actual objects produced by artists so much as with their cultural ambient, Morelli insisted over and over that the art historian must begin as a connoisseur in order to attain credibility and produce anything of lasting value. Only by following this path would the study of art become a science of art (*Kunstwissenschaft*) in the future. Thus Morelli was essentially opposed to the critical-historical school of art history, despite its devotion to the examination of specific works of art, because of its simultaneous emphasis on the value of archival findings for art history and its emphasis on cultural emplacement.

Notwithstanding his own devotion to the study of individual paintings, Bode affiliated himself in his writings on Rembrandt to the critical-historical approach, championing the importance of archival research in art history, including the practice of connoisseurship. While he had not written a synthetic cultural interpretation of Rembrandt's art, he maintained that only the lack of time needed to carry out such a study kept him from such work. In short, Bode was averse in principle to Morelli's approach not only to connoisseurship but also to the larger historical study of art. Their disagreements over connoisseurship were really about the ultimate aims, and methods, of art history.[18]

Morelli advanced his position in the foreword, dated 1877, to the first edition of *Die Werke italienischer Meister in den Galerien von München, Dresden, und Berlin*.[19] Here he actually praised the work of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, but explicitly reserved the right to disagree with their decisions, despite the fact that these were "universally considered decisive and final."[20] The main reason for their differences in opinion? "My views and judgment are based solely on the study of their [the artists'] works" while Crowe and Cavalcaselle represented the "bookish study of art" and also exhibited "a total lack of method."[21] But, he asserted, he did not see his own judgments as infallible either, and would welcome the chance to submit his opinions to "professionals and connoisseurs" for close examination. He also claimed that he was adamantly opposed to "weary polemics daily waged by art critics" and did not wish to engage in them. Yet he offered his method as a way to avoid "dreary dilettantism and attain to a real Science of Art," and, in an undeniably polemical manner, said that those in agreement could "take up the cross and follow me... for those who find it too materialistic can soar to higher spheres... of fancy."[22]

Morelli's discussion of the Berlin collection of Italian Renaissance art was prefaced by his consideration of its recent origin in 1830 and its limitations as compared to the older collections in Munich and Dresden. Nonetheless, he commended the intelligent purchases of whole collections, such as Eduard Solly's in 1821 and Suermondt's in 1874.[23] He also praised it as the only truly historically arranged collection in Germany at that time, where one could follow the development of a school in a logical, chronological sequence.

There are not many references to Bode in this edition; a few mockingly polite references to "the two eminent art critics at Berlin" (i.e. Meyer and Bode) presage some of his disagreements with them, but his major criticisms at this point were aimed at Crowe and Cavalcaselle. [24] On the other hand, his frequent praise of Rumohr's attributions could easily be seen as a critique of the Berlin

museum men of 1880, for it implied that the scholarship on the collection by a German art historian of the previous generation was more reliable than their own.

Bode's critique of Morellian connoisseurship

While Morelli's direct criticism of the curatorial staff at Berlin was relatively mild at this point, his presentation of his method as new and unprecedented, and his desire to demonstrate his prowess in its application by contesting the attributions accepted by the museum staff was nonetheless galling. Bode, never one to shrink from scholarly disputes, rose to the challenge in several venues, such as the 1883 edition of the catalogue of the museum's paintings and the 1884 edition of Jakob Burckhardt's *Der Cicerone*, which Bode edited.[25]

His two most sustained responses, however, came in 1886 and 1891. In the first of these, a review of the 1886 Italian revised edition of *Die Werke italienischer Meister in den Galerien von München, Dresden, und Berlin*, Bode addressed why Morelli's book had achieved such notoriety and success when others, such as Otto Mündler's discussion of Italian works in the Louvre, had not.[26] Bode concluded that it was the way in which Morelli presented his method of connoisseurship, not his conclusions, that held such appeal. Morelli's insistence on the novelty and experimental nature of his approach stimulated interest in connoisseurship and created a loyal group of devotees, mainly, according to Bode, young German art historians.[27] Using Morelli's own metaphor of asking others to "take up the cross" against art-historical dilettantism, Bode suggested that this "prophet crying in the wilderness" had created a highly polarized art-historical community in Germany, where Morelli's followers made a caricature of his method while they scorned their own past training. Bode attributed the fact that no extensive reviews of the book had been published to the perils of the polemicized environment; he was disingenuous, however, in writing as if he were not part of this milieu.

Bode stated several major objections to Morelli's book. He expressed strong disapproval of Morelli's attitude towards, and discussion of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, both as art historians, and as individuals. Bode considered their work to be one of the most important contributions to the study of Italian art, and believed that Morelli treated them with "scorn under the mask of respect," while nonetheless still remaining in their debt.[28] (There is a certain irony in Bode's argument here, given his own willingness to criticize other art historians

in the strongest of terms; yet throughout his career he would defend just as adamantly the work of those he believed in.) He did admit, however, that Morelli's disregard for Crowe and Cavalcaselle's publications may have also made it easier for the author to identify "the small and larger faults and mistakes that this work, in common with all similar groundbreaking studies, must have."[29]

Bode decided against challenging specific attributions or reattributions of Morelli's, perhaps not wishing to give them any further publicity. Instead, he critiqued Morelli's method of determining attributions, at least as spelled out by the author. Thus Bode discussed Morelli's reliance on "close observation of the forms of the human body characteristic of various masters" and described it as potentially rigorous, but also too single-minded as a focus.[30] He maintained that such an approach revealed Morelli's expertise as a physician, thereby acknowledging the analogy to science, but also distancing this method from the ability to evaluate aesthetic merit. He warned that Morelli's method was too prone to error. Ears, or fingers, could take many different forms even in the same painting by one master. Furthermore, color, tonality, depiction of drapery, technique of paint application, and even the materials used had meaning when determining attribution, as did inscriptions on paintings, such as signatures. "Only in the observation of all these various particularities of each artist does the correct 'experimental method' lie."[31] This phrase of Bode's is crucial for revealing his attitude about what artistic and extra-artistic factors needed to be considered by an attributional method that could be deemed "scientific" in basis. Both authors were fully committed to the necessity of establishing and using such a method; it was in the definition of a scientific method of connoisseurship where they parted ways.

Bode granted that Morelli's "close observation" of certain anatomical details in paintings had brought attention to elements previously overlooked by other art historians. Morelli's true contribution, however, lay more in his "detailed excurses" about schools of Italian painting and individual masters, and Bode allowed that Morelli's economical mode of discussion enabled him to promote scholarship more than "many multi-volume histories of Italian painting."[32] In a wonderfully backhanded compliment, Bode remarked that even when Morelli was wrong, his presentation of new material and his clear mode of argumentation aided the eventual resolution of scholarly issues.

But Bode fervently believed that clear danger could be discerned in Morelli's method. For him, Morelli's "misunderstanding" of Raphael's early career revealed a flaw in Morelli's method, one that "leads to results that com-

pletely contradict the inner content, the aesthetic appearance of the relevant artworks," that is, quality itself. [33] Morelli's method was for Bode soulless and only concerned with superficialities of form. As such it was singularly unsuited for the very people Morelli wished most to reach, young students of art history, and it was Morelli's method, not the established modes of connoisseurship, that would likely lead to "the most dangerous dilettantism."[34] More advanced viewers of Italian art could find much that was instructive in Morelli's book, however; and its "principal merit" lay in its value as a guide for self-study, by which educated viewers could test their ideas against Morelli's.[35]

In this article Bode's tone was generally restrained; he refrained from answering some of Morelli's harsher criticisms of his own work as a connoisseur, and his clear efforts to acknowledge what contributions Morelli had made to art history give greater weight to his criticisms.[36] Yet their differences in approach to connoisseurship as part of art history were all too evident to Bode, even if he did not believe it necessary to explicate his own method. By critiquing Morelli's concentration on form details above all else, however, and the consequent dismissal of the consideration of inscriptions, color, and media, as well as documentation and the earlier literature, Bode promoted an attributional practice that depended on both external and internal characteristics of art works, whereas Morelli insisted on treating the evidence of the pictorial forms alone. Both men believed that only one method of scientific connoisseurship, and one kind of art history, could or should survive. The nature of what was at stake helps to explain why Bode worked so hard to undermine Morelli's status as a connoisseur, describing his rival as a physician, rather than an art historian, and to link Morelli's method with "dilettantism."

Unsurprisingly, Morelli, all the while protesting about his peaceful nature, chose to respond sharply to Bode's critiques. A comparison of the 1893 presentation of Morelli's discussion of the Berlin gallery with that of 1880 is telling. Although it was published posthumously as the third volume of Morelli's collected and revised writings, the *Kunstkritische Studien*, Morelli had reworked material for the second edition of *Die Galerie von Berlin* before his death in early 1891.[37] Many of the revised areas presented Morelli's changed opinions on attribution, or his discussion of recent findings about artists. However, he also decided to include many more direct and highly critical references to Bode's published attributions and evaluations in this edition. Such a decision made practical sense, considering Bode's promotion to the directorship of the Gemäldegalerie in 1890, and thus his greater responsibility for the col-

lection of Italian paintings than he had held in 1880. Nonetheless, it also heightened the personal nature of their disagreements over attribution.

Morelli came closest to the truth of their relationship, its inherent antagonisms and frustrations, in the foreword to the first volume of the *Kunstkritische Studies*, published in German in 1890 (here cited from the English edition of 1892-93):

> Among those critics who have openly combated my theories and my judgments on pictures, the one most deserving of notice, both on account of his official position and of his energy and activity, is Dr. William Bode, director of the Berlin gallery, who enjoys a considerable reputation in his own country and in Paris.
>
> I may have secret foes, more relentless perhaps, as Dr. Bode has observed, than himself; let me hope so at least, for I hold that, under existing circumstances, writings on art which do not raise a storm of opposition can have little real merit. Dr. Bode attacks me, among other reasons, because I venture to differ from Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, his teachers and guides, and to characterise their writings as misleading. He accuses me, as a former student of medicine, of being a mere empiric... In short, he would give his readers to understand that I am a mere interloper, wholly unqualified to speak on the subject of Italian painting, and that my superficial teaching "must necessarily lead to the most fatal dilettantism". From his point of view Dr. Bode is no doubt in the right; for, if my theories and opinions are correct, then his must of necessity be radically wrong, and *vice versa*, as in everything we are unfortunately diametrically opposed. What appears black to me is white to him, and pictures which in his eyes are masterpieces of art, in mine are, as a rule, simply feeble works of the school. Yet neither of us is guided by party feeling, but solely by a love of truth, and we each estimate and describe things exactly as we see them. This curious psychological problem may perhaps be explained, partly by the diversity of our individual training – Dr. Bode having originally been destined for the law and I for a medical career...[38]
>
> "Everyone has his fancy," and everyone, I may add, thinks he knows best. This being the case, it does not require much foresight to predict, that the confusion resulting from such conflicting opinions about the same pictures must be disastrous to the study of Italian art.

> I would advise Dr. Bode therefore to follow my example, and to refer the decision of all such points on which we cannot agree to intelligent and unprejudiced arbiters, qualified for the task. What ever may be their verdict, we may console ourselves with the thought that the scientific study of art, which we both have so much at heart, will eventually be furthered by these means...[39]

This is an extraordinary passage; its very length indicates how important a role Bode played for Morelli (and vice versa). In it Morelli clearly identified the issues that separated, as well as those that linked the two connoisseurs. Each believed that his own "scientific study of art" was not only correct, but the only way to carry out this work; two competing methods could not both serve "truth." Morelli understood that Bode's references to dilettantism and to Morelli's background in medicine were part of a larger campaign to police the field through a call for professionalism, and that it was above all Bode's official position that made him such a powerful adversary. Morelli's reference to the influence of his training in medicine and Bode's in law was a clever one in this regard. Not only did it indicate that their methods as art historians were inevitably shaped by their prior intellectual education, it simultaneously diminished the impact of Bode's insistence on the necessity of professional training in art history *per se*, by implying that Bode's legal education was perhaps the most influential part of his intellectual formation.[40] It also set up a shrewd comparison, for a physician had to observe patients visually to make diagnoses, but lawyers were trained to rely on written documents to gain understanding.

Morelli's implication of Bode's eye as an inferior one to his own for seeing "masterpieces" where Morelli recognized "mere school pieces" also hints at what was at stake. Both men were convinced that only judgments obtained through use of the best method could be believed. These judgments, they knew, were not merely of academic importance, or "disastrous for the study of Italian art," but had significant ramifications for museum collection building and the art market. Hence Morelli's suggestion that "intelligent and disinterested arbiters" should determine the outcome of cases upon which Morelli and Bode could not agree. But who were these arbiters? Where were they to be found? Morelli doesn't tell us, of course, for such didn't exist. Yet his call for such figures suggests the depth of the impasse between the two connoisseurs and their methods.

Despite Bode's condemnation of Morelli for his "caricature" of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Bode produced no less slanted a critique of Morelli in his sec-

ond, and far more polemical extended discussion of Morelli's connoisseurship. This outburst appeared in a discussion of his plans for a "Renaissance Museum" in Berlin (which opened in 1904 as the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum) and was published in the English periodical *The Fortnightly Review* 1 October 1891:

> An altogether strange epidemic is raging among us now, such as could only find a home in Germany – the Lermolieff mania I will call it...As a surgeon [sic] he had his attention directed to the form of the human body, and especially of its extremities, and when thus engaged he thought he discovered that every great artist, even in painting portraits, made use of his own extremities as models for the subject in hand. Later, he issued a catalogue of the ears, noses, and fingers, the former property of Sandro, Mantegna, Raphael, Titian & Co., and with this schedule in hand every lover of art is to patrol the picture galleries, when he will be able to single out unerringly the different masters, in spite of all the wretched mistakes of the directors... the success of this quack doctor was all the more complete, in that he extolled his method with an air of infallibility, and held up all previous authorities, especially Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, to the contempt of his credulous following. Now, although this Romanised Swiss promulgates his theories on Italian art in the crudest manner, and makes fun of us Germans on nearly every page of his books, he has formed a sect of German and half-German believers who endeavor to propagate his teaching by embittering the lives of us, directors of picture-galleries, with the usual amenity of sectarians.[41]

The timing and choice of venue for this jeremiad are puzzling even today; important collectors and art historians in England who knew both Bode and Morelli were shocked by the vehemence of this attack, which appeared less than a year after Morelli's death.[42] It seems as if the demise of his adversary unleashed any reserve Bode had previously maintained about the tenor of art-historical disagreements, and even about the need for utter veracity; Bode surely knew that Morelli did not claim that artists merely used their own hands as their typical model. Morelli's criticisms, not just of Crowe and Cavalcaselle but of museum directors as well, had touched an extremely sensitive chord with Bode. The stridently nationalistic tone of this piece was especially inappropriate and puzzling considering its publication in an English journal. Bode's sneering at

Morelli as a "Romanised Swiss" (thereby mocking Morelli's standing as an Italian patriot) and his ire that Morelli had attracted "German and half-German followers," despite making fun of Germans (i.e. art history written by Germans) had a belligerent tone that in 1891 many would associate with German imperialism, and not just in the cultural realm. Even his attempt at humor in this passage, by referring to the "epidemic" raging in Germany, thus playing off of Morelli's background in medicine, seems heavy-handed, implying contagion by a foreign element, and attributing a diseased quality to the Morellian method. The extremity of this attack was an indication of how deeply concerned Bode was about the possible success of Morelli's method of connoisseurship, especially in Germany.

In retrospect the hostile stalemate between Bode and Morelli was an inevitable consequence, not only of the two connoisseurs' strongly nationalistic interests and personal competition, but of the increasing importance of connoisseurship in the art world, and the personalization of this method as the product of specific individuals. In analogy with the natural sciences, both believed that two opposed hypotheses about the same phenomenon could not be maintained indefinitely, and that the researcher with the better method, as well as the better hypothesis, would prevail. As a result, the methods and results of two connoisseurs, each of whom wished to be seen as promoting a "scientific" study of art, would have to be compared directly. But since connoisseurship did not function in the same way as experimental science, its practice would always entail one person's word – or reputation – against another. Just as connoisseurship was itself a comparative practice, so was the evaluation of connoisseurs, and one could only rise at the expense of another.

Despite his concern, in one important sense Bode had already won the battle by 1891. Ironically, while it was Morelli's method that would enter into the historiography of art history's methodologies, and not Bode's ill-defined and non-theory-based practice, the professionalization of connoisseurship itself that came to be seen as concomitant with its "scientific" practice would increasingly work against the rise of other figures like Morelli, one of the last significant amateur connoisseurs to work primarily outside of the institutional framework of the university or museum.[43] The career of Bernard Berenson, just beginning in the 1890s, was perhaps the greatest exception to this trend; in part his success hinged on his self-presentation as the leading heir to the Morellian method, and his ability to work inside the art market as an advisor to both private clients and the dealers from whom they purchased works.[44]

The pertinence of the Morelli-Bode debate, conducted on the ground of Italian Renaissance art scholarship, to the world of Rembrandt connoisseurship was considerable. Bode's refusal to single out any particular aspect of an artist's work as an index of authenticity, and his insistence on the necessity for the "whole" aesthetic experience allowed him to maintain a practice of connoisseurship that was undefined in its attributes. It also permitted him to have a sliding scale of valuation, where the factors he weighed in making his decisions about authorship changed from painting to painting, with the judgment of "quality" standing as the final and unassailable, although undefined standard. Such an approach would prove increasingly problematic in Rembrandt connoisseurship, given the vast number of copies and school works, imitations, and forgeries, and the scarcity of firmly documented authentic paintings. The Morellian method, with its creator's insistence that every individual artist would betray his own hand by the depiction of certain details of form, even when trying to make a convincing copy, provided (at least in theory) a consistent system for the distinction of copies and originals, yet because of the hostility of Bode and his followers, this method never played a major role in Rembrandt connoisseurship. The sometimes stridently personal nature of the debate between Bode and Morelli would, however, be replicated in Rembrandt scholarship in future years.

CHAPTER 3

WHO IS REMBRANDT?

Bode and His Protégés in Rembrandt Studies

FIG. 21 – Ferdinand Bol, *Jacob's Dream*, 1642

BODE HAD EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN ABOUT German students of art history following Morelli's path to the detriment of the practice of the new discipline. However, Bode was hardly without his own younger followers, and the 1880s and 1890s he became an influential mentor to two young Dutch scholars, Abraham Bredius and Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, who quickly became known as notable connoisseurs of Rembrandt as well as other Dutch painters.[1] The story of the rise of these Rembrandt specialists in the 1890s also reveals how the personalization of connoisseurship as a scholarly practice affected the course of Rembrandt scholarship and its presentation to the public.

Abraham Bredius

Abraham Bredius, ten years Bode's junior, first encountered the German museum man in Florence in 1878. The son of a wealthy Dutch industrialist, Bredius had grown up in Amsterdam in a cultured atmosphere, and early in his life had hoped to become a pianist.[2] It was after he realized his limitations as a musician that he turned to art and traveled to Italy to explore its artistic riches. However, Bode convinced Bredius of the need for art historians specializing in Dutch art. Unlike Bode, Bredius never obtained a university degree, although he ultimately received several honorary doctorates; not a single university in the Netherlands held a professorship in art history until 1907.[3] Bredius's family money freed him from any economic concern about needing professional credentials. Instead, he quickly became involved in the Dutch art world and began his own museum career in 1880, when he was named deputy director of the Nederlands Museum

voor Geschiedenis en Kunst (Netherlands Museum of History and Art) in The Hague. This institution merged with the newly founded Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam in 1885, and Bredius was responsible for the Rijksmuseum's first paintings catalogue, published in the same year.[4] In 1889 he became director of the Mauritshuis in The Hague, where he would remain for twenty years; his tenure was most marked by the expansion of the collections.

By 1880 Bredius had begun a lengthy correspondence with Bode. Over a nearly fifty-year period, he would write over 800 letters to Bode about their mutual interests: newly discovered Dutch paintings, especially Rembrandts, archival finds, temporary exhibitions, scholarly disputes, museum and art trade politics.[5] From the start he addressed his letters to "Lieber Bode," soon shortened to the unusually informal "LB," and he imparted his news in his idiosyncratic writing style, with many words underlined for emphasis, and his favorite literary device, the use of three (or more) exclamation marks at the end of a sentence. His letters make lively reading, for he treated Bode like a colleague (albeit a somewhat senior one) and offered his very strong opinions on every topic and person of interest. In these letters, Rembrandt paintings were a frequent topic. For instance, Bredius congratulated Bode on the purchase of *Susanna and the Elders* [FIG. 20] after the Royal Academy's Winter Exhibition in London in 1883. In a letter from 1888 he reported his discovery of an inventory of a seventeenth-century Dutch art dealer, whom he described as "the Amsterdam Sedelmeyer of 1657," thus comparing him to the important Parisian art dealer of the late nineteenth century, Charles Sedelmeyer, who specialized in the sale of Rembrandts, and who had worked with Bode on the Berlin Gemäldegalerie's Rembrandt purchases five years earlier.[6]

Bredius's early writings also featured Rembrandt frequently. His first art-historical contributions were published in the cultural periodical *De Nederlandsche Spectator* in 1879, in which he discussed art works he saw during his travels. In one article that dealt with paintings in Ludwigslust and Schwerin, he was already cognizant of the problem of attributing the study heads that had originated in Rembrandt's studio and distinguishing those of the master from his pupils' work, a problem that would continue to plague Rembrandt connoisseurs for decades to come.[7] Bredius also wrote about the work of Bode as a Rembrandt specialist and museum professional. In a review from 1881 he had high praise for Bode's study of Rembrandt's early works; earlier that year Bredius had related proudly how he had seen one of the recently discovered youthful works of the master, a painting of an old man working with books by candle-

light, in the director's office at the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin.[8] Why was Bode so impressive to Bredius? "[P]erhaps no one has seen as much as Bode, and seen with the eye of a true art historian. When he returned from England, B. told me that he studied there more than seventy private collections. That is, and remains, the only true method, to look, and look again, and still again. Books and archives may reveal much of importance about an artist; *himself*, *his genius*, we come to know only through his creations."[9]

Like Bode, Bredius lived by this dictum, and he too traveled frequently; Berlin, London, and Paris were on his regular circuit. For years he reported about the paintings in the annual Winter Exhibition of the Royal Academy in London. In these exhibitions he was able to hone his connoisseurship of the many important paintings from private English collections that were on view each year. Here, in 1890, he first characterized pendant portraits owned by Lord Ashburton as the work of Rembrandt's pupil Ferdinand Bol in the style of his master; two decades later these portraits also would form the cornerstone of Bredius's reattribution of the so-called Elisabeth Bas portrait in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam to Bol.[10] He also first noted in 1890 the increasing number of Old Master paintings that were purchased by Americans and then left Europe, a development that would soon engage the attention of Bode and another of his protégés, Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, as well.[11]

Cornelis Hofstede de Groot

Cornelis Hofstede de Groot was born in the town of Dwingeloo in the Netherlands in 1863, to a family with far more limited means than Bode's or Bredius's.[12] However, Hofstede de Groot's family had strong roots in the Dutch theological and academic communities, and in 1878 they moved to Groningen, where his father had received a professorship at the university. Cornelis, often in frail health in his youth, had already traveled in France in 1874 with his grandmother in order to enjoy a milder climate. During the years of his study in *Gymnasia*, he attended schools in Kampen and Groningen in the Netherlands, St. Elme in France, and Coburg in Germany. He began at the same time to develop serious interests in works of art, and traveled in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands whenever possible to see works and make notes on them. His first writings, much like Bredius's, were for a Dutch serial, the newspaper *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, for which he would write frequently through-

out his life. The death of Hofstede de Groot's father in 1884 interrupted his son's studies in art history in Leipzig; with the family's financial constraints in mind, Cornelis returned to Groningen to study classics, then transferred to the university in Leiden, where he received the equivalent of a bachelor's degree.

Like Bode, Hofstede de Groot had to struggle with his family to convince them that art history was a worthy, pragmatic subject to study as preparation for a professional career; unlike Bode, however, he had also to overcome financial difficulties to do so. Finally, in 1889, he was able to study once more in Leipzig, for a year, and obtain his doctorate. Bredius and Bode entered his life at this point, and insured his commitment to the study of seventeenth-century Dutch art, which had replaced his earlier interest in the history of architecture. He corresponded with both scholars in 1890; his first letters to Bode, written in the winter of that year, reveal how art historical mentoring worked at the end of the century. Hofstede de Groot wrote to Bode first, asking about a painting by P. Janssens Elinga that Bode owned, and included an article he had prepared on this artist; he also mentioned his just-finished dissertation on Arnold Houbraken's eighteenth-century book on Dutch art and artists, *Groote Schouburgh*.[13] Bode, an indefatigable letter writer, answered promptly in praise of the article and offered to have it published in the Berlin museum's yearbook; Hofstede de Groot replied with thanks for his interest and support, but stated that Bredius had already helped to place the article in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*.[14] By April Hofstede de Groot felt secure enough to ask Bode for help in obtaining work, even in the art trade, and mentioned that he had also asked Bredius for help. His comments indicate his willingness at this point to work in Germany, and by October 1890 he had secured a position in the Dresden print cabinet, where he remained until he was hired by Bredius to serve as the assistant director of the Mauritshuis in 1891. Hofstede de Groot also began to publish frequently on various subjects in Dutch art and produced his first Rembrandt article in 1891, devoted to an attribution problem, thus signaling his desire to join the ranks of Bode and Bredius as a Rembrandt connoisseur.[15]

In the interactions of these three scholars of Netherlandish art both the professionalization of art history and a kind of patronage system are readily apparent. In 1886 Bode reviewed Bredius's Rijksmuseum catalogue favorably, albeit briefly.[16] Bode and Bredius jointly wrote a number of articles on Dutch art in the 1880s and early 1890s for the house organ of the Berlin museums, the *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*.[17] Hofstede de Groot published a review of Bredius's catalogue of the paintings collection in The Hague

in 1891, the same year he took a job working under Bredius.[18] This mentoring system worked to ensure the creation of an alliance of scholars who believed in the same kind of art history. The importance of presenting closed ranks to the outside world in matters of Rembrandt connoisseurship would become abundantly clear in 1891, when an unexpected challenge to the authority of these scholars was mounted from outside the new preserve of art history, the art museum.

No sooner was this new scholarly alliance of Rembrandt experts created than its foundation was attacked through a public repudiation of modern Rembrandt connoisseurship, especially that conducted by Bode. This polemic was launched by an outsider to professional art history, a young German who, ironically, like himself, had received a legal education and had also taken courses in art history, but who worked as an independent scholar, outside of the institutional structure of the new discipline. This man, Max Lautner, posed a question that engaged both the scholarly world and the popular press for months in 1891, through the title and the premise of his book, *Wer ist Rembrandt?*[19]

Who is Rembrandt? The author, well aware of the radical nature of his proposition, subtitled it "Fundamental principles for a new foundation for Dutch art history." Lautner's extended polemic of over 450 pages presented evidence for his claim that the vast majority of the paintings attributed to Rembrandt, including his most famous works, such as *The Night Watch* [FIG. 6] and *The Syndics* [FIG. 7], had actually been painted by one of his students, Ferdinand Bol. The book earned a sensational reception, with reviews and debates over the validity of Lautner's claim appearing not only in art-historical journals, but in newspapers and general interest periodicals as well. Despite the incredible nature of Lautner's *idée fixe*, he nonetheless made a number of justified criticisms of Rembrandt connoisseurship at the end of the nineteenth century. Both his critique, aimed primarily at Wilhelm Bode, and the way in which it was effectively neutralized by the Rembrandt specialists and other art historians are worth examining for what they reveal about the increasing professionalization of connoisseurship at the end of the nineteenth century.[20]

Lautner's enlightenment about Rembrandt occurred in a distinctly modern fashion: he "discovered" the "latent signatures" of Ferdinand Bol in a photograph of one of "Bol's" paintings. This occurred after Lautner had visited the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, where he had been impressed by Bol's painting *Jacob's Dream* [FIG. 21]. He believed that Bol must have been an important painter and a morally virtuous man to have painted a picture he found so deeply

moving, and thus he decided to find out more about the artist, still relatively unstudied in the late nineteenth century. As part of his investigation into Bol's work, Lautner also looked at other Rembrandt school pictures, until he made a strange "discovery." In a Breslau collection he examined a painting of *The Sacrifice of Solomon*, which had an only partially visible signature that at first appeared to read "F.R.," but which Lautner decided actually represented a previously unknown monogram. Lautner's efforts to track the artist were stymied until he studied a brand-new photograph of the painting. "In the photograph which was sent to me I discovered, to my astonishment, other inscriptions of the relevant master and the date 1658, in addition to the one already mentioned in the lower left corner of the painting."[21] This led him to pay a return visit to see the painting where now, under better lighting conditions, he maintained that he found the name "F. Bol" written not once but twice next to the date. He also claimed that he was able to discern that the monogram "F.R." had once read "F.Bl." but had been tampered with in order to make the "B" appear to be an "R," so that the painting could pass as a Rembrandt. As a result of his "discovery," Lautner began to form a general concept of Bol's style. He continued to look at many other pictures, seeking to find what he called Bol's *latenten Bezeichnungen* (latent signatures), that is, inscriptions placed underneath the layer of varnish and sometimes even under the very topmost layer of paint.[22] According to Lautner, these were somehow revealed by the photographic process itself. Lautner therefore scrutinized picture after picture, first those of the Rembrandt school and ones already attributed to Bol, and found the evidence of such latent signatures time and again.

Emboldened, he then turned to paintings attributed to Rembrandt, such as the *Abduction of Proserpina* [FIG. 22] in the Berlin collection, which had been assigned to Rembrandt by Bode himself.[23] There, too, he believed that he found Bol's name, visible to him on the original as well as in a photograph.[24] To support his case, Lautner included photogravures of several of the latent signatures, produced from photographs that he claimed were made by a new process that heightened tonal contrasts and penetrated beneath the surface of paintings, but which he insisted did not entail retouching, already a highly suspect technique.[25]

And thus Lautner's search for the "truth" about Rembrandt began. Over a period of five years he pursued the problem of Bol or Rembrandt through several paths. He continued to examine both paintings and photographs of paintings attributed to Rembrandt, Bol, and various other Rembrandt school artists, to see how many of them carried latent signatures. Lautner also turned to pub-

FIG. 22 – Rembrandt, *Abduction of Proserpina*, ca. 1631

lished archival findings and seventeenth-century reports about the lives and characters of Rembrandt and Bol, as he was convinced that only a great man could paint great pictures.

Wer ist Rembrandt? hence became a long legal brief, arguing the case against Rembrandt van Rijn being "Rembrandt," that is, the concept held by nineteenth-century scholars of this genius of Netherlandish painting.[26] Lautner pursued several different lines of argument in his book. He described Rembrandt's life, as revealed through documents and contemporary accounts, as that

of a man who was both greedy and profligate with his money, imperious with patrons and a poor spouse and father. He then presented a statistical analysis of Rembrandt's finances (based on his own extrapolations about Rembrandt's earnings), for Lautner was highly dubious that an artist who had in one instance received 500 guilders for a single painting could qualify for bankruptcy. Lautner's conclusion was that Rembrandt could not have painted all the works attributed to him and end up nearly destitute; consequently, his painted oeuvre must have been considerably smaller than the 350 paintings attributed to him by Vosmaer or Bode.

His next line of inquiry was to examine the supposed chronological development of Rembrandt, according to the oeuvre attributed to him by modern scholars. Here Lautner specifically indicted Bode, through quoting descriptions of dated and undated works that Bode maintained had originated in the same period of Rembrandt's career. Lautner attempted to show how stylistically incompatible these descriptions (and the paintings they represented) were. He also cited Bode's and Bredius's own uneasiness about the varying quality of paintings attributed to Rembrandt that ostensibly dated from the same year.

In the second half of the book Lautner turned back to Bol to present him as "the true author of some of the works attributed to Rembrandt."[27] Curiously, Lautner hardly discussed works that had long been considered to be Bol's; rather, he concentrated on finding latent Bol signatures on works such as the Berlin *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* [FIG. 19], and on speculating that so-called "lost" early paintings by Rembrandt, such as a *Saint Jerome* and the *Baptism of the Eunuch*, known through etchings signed by Joris van Vliet, were not by Rembrandt at all.[28] But how had this deception been carried off, fooling Rembrandt's contemporaries and succeeding generations?

Lautner had an extraordinary conspiracy theory to offer, which required him to create an elaborate background narrative.[29] It had been Rembrandt's good fortune, Lautner related, to have made an initially positive impression in Amsterdam when he arrived there in the 1630s, during a period when the citizens of Holland were flourishing economically and looking for ways to spend their money. Rembrandt's canny marriage to the well-to-do Saskia gave him the financial resources to amass an important art collection and reduce his own artistic production. Some of Rembrandt's more naive contemporaries, Lautner stated, thought that the great paintings in Rembrandt's collection were painted by him. But even among those who knew better, the reputation of the collection began to adhere to the collector as well.

At this point, according to Lautner, the deception was first launched by art dealers forging Rembrandt's signature on etchings. "His" fame as an etcher was disseminated internationally through the circulation of these prints, and since he did not work quickly enough to produce much for the market, Rembrandt must have been quite happy with the situation. Lautner hinted that these prints would have originated in Rembrandt's workshop, filled with talented young artists as a result of "Rembrandt's" renown. The more they produced, the more famous he became. Lautner even believed that he had found a latent Bol signature on the so-called *Hundred Guilder Print*.[30] Rembrandt himself, however, made fewer and fewer works; for instance, Lautner claimed that only fifty-four paintings could be attributed firmly to Rembrandt (as opposed to "Rembrandt") and seventeen of these had been lost.

Overwhelmed by the "Rembrandt" juggernaut, the work of Rembrandt's students and followers was often submerged into "his" oeuvre. Only Bol, it appears, had the good sense to mark his own paintings for all time by hiding signatures under the varnish or top layers of paint, thus preserving his authorship for posterity. Then what Bol had apparently feared came to pass. After the deaths of Bol, Rembrandt and his followers, unscrupulous art dealers began to forge Rembrandt's signature on paintings made by anyone working in his style. By the middle of the eighteenth century, few people knew anything about Ferdinand Bol, but they had heard of Rembrandt. Any work with even vaguely Rembrandtesque qualities, such as broad brushwork, marked chiaroscuro, or the use of a gold and red palette, came to be attributed to Rembrandt. One witness seemed to support Lautner's theory, at least in part. Jean-Baptiste Descamps, writing in the mid-eighteenth century, made complimentary remarks about Bol's art, and maintained (to the great delight of Lautner) that many of Bol's works went under the name of Rembrandt in his day.[31] Thus, a massive deception was perpetrated, beginning in Rembrandt's own lifetime and continuing down to the nineteenth century. With the rise of modern, empirical art history, specialists began to wrestle with the oeuvre attributed to Rembrandt, but, as Lautner had already demonstrated, could not make an "organic whole" out of a falsely composed corpus of works.

Of course, this scenario required some convoluted argumentation. In order to reconcile differences in dating between many of Rembrandt's works and the dates of Bol's career, Lautner had to claim that works such as "*The Jewish Bride*" [FIG. 15] or *The Syndics* [FIG. 7] were actually later works by Bol, painted after 1670 (and thus also after the death of the historical Rembrandt).

Lautner's redating created a new complication, for it conflicted with the generally accepted view that a shift in taste in the Netherlands towards a more classical style, oriented towards French painting, affected the course of Dutch art after 1650. This view held that the later works by Rembrandt became unpopular, because his style was generally considered to be too old-fashioned in manner and overly naturalistic. Lautner, however, argued that such a shift in taste only occurred after 1685. Thus, Bol could easily have painted works such as "*The Jewish Bride*" in the mid-1670s. This solution, labyrinthine though it was, solved another problem for Lautner, one that had made a number of other art historians uneasy as well. If conventional dates for works of the Rembrandt school were to be believed, his followers had all produced their best work (that is, their most "Rembrandt"-like) early in their career, and then departed from this style to develop their own, "mediocre" modes. However, if one understood the popularity of this Rembrandtesque style to have survived past mid-century, it made much more sense (to Lautner's mind) to view the pupils as first working in their individual yet pedestrian manners, and then gradually assimilating to "Rembrandt's" style.

But if Bol was really "Rembrandt," or vice versa, why didn't his contemporaries give him more recognition? How did his style become so influential? Lautner attempted to counter these questions as well. He insisted that Bol's ability had been recognized by some contemporaries, citing the opinions of Arnold Houbraken, Andries Pels, and Campo Weyermann to this effect.[32] However, just as Rembrandt (the historical person) benefited from arriving on the artistic scene at just the right time, Bol suffered from being a generation younger and thus not able to receive the attention that Rembrandt had already garnered for himself. Nevertheless, his style could have gained influence through the traditional network of artists, who could easily visit each other's studios in a compact city such as Amsterdam, and who knew each other through corporate organizations, such as the painters' guild. Thus the "Rembrandt" style, largely created by Ferdinand Bol, affected the course of Dutch painting, while Bol's authorship of this style was lost. The fact that there was no data of any kind to support this assertion, and that no one in the seventeenth century ever suggested such a sequence of events, did not seem to stop Lautner from pressing this claim, despite his proclaimed passion for empirical and archival evidence.

Lautner had an answer for nearly every objection, although that doesn't mean his answers were convincing. The degree to which Lautner was enmeshed

in his elaborate and fantastic theory is perhaps best seen in the chapter devoted to *The Night Watch* [FIG. 6], where he tried to prove that this painting could not be traced back to the historical Rembrandt, an argument which necessitated ignoring a number of documents that had been recently published in Holland about the history of *The Night Watch*.[33]

It is easy to scoff at such arguments, or to simply state one's amazement at their fantastic quality and dismiss them outright. The Rembrandt connoisseurs who reviewed Lautner's book at first tended to do both, and for good reason. The likelihood that the set of circumstances posited by Lautner had actually occurred, which necessitated nearly complete obliviousness on the part of Rembrandt's contemporaries and a widespread conspiracy of art dealers, and so successfully that nearly the entire oeuvre of one artist was attributed to another one, was essentially nonexistent.

But it is at the same time true that Lautner (like many other figures who have developed an obsessional attachment to a theory) had delved deeply enough into the problems of reconstructing Rembrandt's oeuvre to recognize some very real problems with its constitution. As he indicated, while the inventions of the railway and the steam ship helped to facilitate a comparative research into Rembrandt's oeuvre, they likewise allowed problems with the 350 paintings connoisseurs attributed to the artist to become more obvious.

Some scholars, Lautner mentioned, dealt with this predicament by holding too narrow a conception of what "Rembrandt" had been capable of, and thus took works of lower quality out of the corpus. To Lautner, this was a great irony, as he believed that these weak paintings were precisely the ones Rembrandt actually painted. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of dated and undated works assigned to the same time period could lead to puzzling, and perhaps even embarrassing conclusions. As Lautner phrased it, what Rembrandt knew one day, he seemed to have forgotten the next.[34] Since Bode's catalogue had not been arranged chronologically, the apparent inconsistencies of style in works he attributed to the same period in Rembrandt's career were not immediately apparent, yet became manifest when reorganized by Lautner to heighten the differences. Lautner also argued against the identification of Rembrandt himself, or of his family members, in the many "Rembrandt" portraits and head studies, pointing out how the paintings identified as portraits of Rembrandt or of his wife Saskia differed widely in the physiognomies of the sitters.

Yet Lautner did not contest certain important suppositions of the art-historical establishment. For one, he accepted the appeal to quality in deter-

mining issues of connoisseurship. He believed that great artists of necessity had to be great men, and that there was a causal reciprocal relationship between artists and their cultures.[35] What Lautner disputed was the equation of Rembrandt van Rijn with the *Rembrandtbegriff* (Rembrandt concept), seeing this image as in part a construction by writers on art. However, if the "Rembrandt concept" became the "Bol concept," Lautner would have been satisfied. Likewise, the replacement of Rembrandt's name with Bol's as the subject of many of the self-portraits, and other members of Bol's family for Rembrandt's relations, would have appeased Lautner in regard to the problem of identifying sitters in "Rembrandt's" paintings. He did not intend to call the practice of relating portraits to figures in an artist's own life into question, just the specific identifications.

Leaving aside Lautner's quixotic goal of overthrowing Rembrandt scholarship as it had been understood to create it anew, it is worth understanding his work in the context of other art-historical studies produced through modern "scientific" connoisseurship at the end of the nineteenth century. Like Bode and Morelli, Lautner was convinced that art history could become, indeed was becoming a true "Wissenschaft," based on empirical research using objective facts that could allow for a comparative analysis. For Lautner, the tool of photography was akin to the use of the microscope in chemistry, or the telescope in astronomy.[36] Photography not only enabled comparative analysis, it could reveal even more than the human eye could see (or so Lautner believed of his new photographic process). Lautner's argumentation revealed his absolute faith in the validity of his claims about Rembrandt, based on what he contended was completely credible and inescapable physical evidence, the latent signatures that he "found" on so many works of art from the Rembrandt circle. His arguments were phrased with all the tenacity that only a true believer could muster, and when cast in the mode of a tightly argued legal case, it perhaps isn't surprising that his work gained so much attention and even, in some circles, approbation.

Bode's vehemence several decades later in a discussion of Lautner's book and its impact indicates how much friction the incident caused. In *Mein Leben* he recalled the "interference" of Hermann Grimm, professor of art history at the University of Berlin, with Bode's museum responsibilities as a result of Lautner's publication.[37] Grimm and Bode were already established antagonists in the Berlin art world. After Lautner's book was published, Grimm, though a specialist in Italian art, not Dutch painting, not only gave his public support to Lautner's theory, he also convinced another professor Karl Frey (whom Bode called Grimm's "Faktotum"), to present Bode with the demand that the Rem-

brandts in the Berlin collection be examined closely to see if they carried Bol inscriptions. Bode was forced to justify his assertion that the "Rembrandt" paintings under his care, some of which he had proudly acquired for the Berlin collection, had in fact been painted by Rembrandt van Rijn, and not Ferdinand Bol. Bode's fury over this incident even served as a stimulus for his written attack on then current practices of university-based art history, and his suggestion that any program not directly affiliated with a major art collection should be dissolved.[38]

Among the "Herren Specialisten," Bode was Lautner's primary adversary, an implicit acknowledgment of the Gemäldegalerie director's status among Rembrandt connoisseurs.[39] It is equally clear that Bode understood that the battle over Lautner's book was also directed against him and his Rembrandt scholarship, claiming in his memoir that many had wished for him to fail in this case. He credited his success to the support of younger Dutch art historians (including Bredius and Hofstede de Groot) who wrote in his defense and, in his opinion, championed the truth. Bode's account in *Mein Leben* also bore witness to his sense of betrayal by the German academic establishment. In light of Bode's propensity to personalize scholarly debates, it is not surprising that arguments over Lautner's ideas became heated and individualized, even if Bode did not fire the first shot. But while Lautner had provided a tool for Bode's opponents to try to use against him, the tool proved unsound, and within a year Bode's reputation was consolidated rather than weakened, while the younger Rembrandt experts also gained further prominence.

Critical reception of Wer ist Rembrandt?

Wer ist Rembrandt? was widely discussed in the popular press, to the dismay and even disgust of Rembrandt scholars.[40] Bode, Bredius, and Hofstede de Groot all weighed in against the book, yet maintained that they would not have even deigned to acknowledge it had it not achieved such a widespread and even positive reception. For them, the professionalism of Rembrandt studies and the field of art history itself were at stake, and had to be defended from the misunderstandings and whims of the public, as well as from the amateur's shoddy work itself. Bredius published several brief discussions of *Wer ist Rembrandt?* in *De Nederlandsche Spectator* during the spring of 1891. While his tone from the first was contemptuous and dismissive, after a time a hint of alarm began to

enter as well. In his first notice on the book, entitled "Who is Max Lautner?" (playing on both the book's title and the author's lack of status in the world of Rembrandt scholarship), Bredius felt free to call the book "horrible" and almost the work of an insane person: this despite admitting that he had yet to finish reading the text.[41] He criticized the obvious weaknesses in Lautner's book: his claims about the authorship of *The Night Watch*, his contention about the latent signatures of Bol's, his misguided attempts to ascertain Rembrandt's income. Most interesting, though, was Bredius's inclusion of a letter he had sent to "Dr. von Seydewitz" (actually Robert Graf von Zedlitz und Trüschler), the government official in Germany who had supported Lautner's efforts to publish the book.[42] This letter takes up the larger part of the review, and reveals Bredius's anxiety about what the book might accomplish. Warning Zedlitz that such a book, even while it would be proven invalid by other scholars, could still release a kind of "poison," he stated that Lautner had no sense of pictorial knowledge, that is, no ability to carry out the kind of connoisseurship required to distinguish one master's work from another.

As other reviewers would also do, Bredius admitted that among the many paintings attributed to Rembrandt some by Bol were likely to be found, but called this "an old story" by 1891, and not one requiring a 500-page book. Bredius protested, with reason, that Lautner proclaimed any picture that did not fit his theory a forgery, which, as Bredius stated, was clearly not a "scientific" way of working. Bredius was outraged by Lautner's representation of an immoral, venal Rembrandt, and protested that the simple-minded estimation of Rembrandt's wealth did not consider the works Rembrandt painted "only for himself, only for art, for which he alone lived, which to him was the most important thing, even above [his love for] Saskia and Hendrickje."[43] In one sense Bredius argued using Lautner's own tactics: to combat the relevance of Lautner's charge about Rembrandt's lack of morals, Bredius insisted that Bol was apparently also no paragon of virtue, using a document about an illegitimate child born in Bol's household as evidence that the then unmarried artist had engaged in extramarital sex.[44]

Bredius closed his review with the end of his letter to Zedlitz, warning of how much damage such books could bring to serious art-historical study by leading the public to believe that arguments like Lautner's were representative of art history as a whole. He ominously added that Lautner should think of the case of a Dr. Levin, "who also began with delusions of forgery and now sits in a madhouse."[45]

While Bredius's intemperate tone in phrasing his arguments was to be a lifelong trait, it is also true that Lautner's book awakened distinct ire among the Rembrandt specialists. Two weeks after Bredius's review was published the first of Hofstede de Groot's reviews came out.[46] This was one of the earliest of his art-historical writings on Rembrandt, and it strongly recalled Bode's essay of 1870 on the Rembrandt literature in manifesting the youthful author's self-confidence in his judgment and control over the scholarly literature. Like Bredius, Hofstede de Groot also employed what would be his characteristic tone for denunciation, but his was nearly the opposite of his older Dutch colleague's: cool and reserved, scholarly to the utmost, but which still succeeded in making clear his contempt for the book.

Hofstede de Groot began with mild praise of Lautner's clarity and eloquence of prose, which presented a "gripping" narrative to laymen. However, Hofstede de Groot commented, a comparison of the retouched and the untouched photographic reproductions included by Lautner actually contradicted the author's argument, for in the unretouched examples "neither eye nor loupe can discern anything other than craquelure."[47] The photographic evidence, then, spoke to Lautner's "fundamental mistake," his inability to create a plausible image of Bol's development and gifts as a painter when trying to incorporate Rembrandt's masterworks into the framework of paintings already known to be by Bol. For Hofstede de Groot, Lautner's limitations as a scholar were made all too apparent in his misuse of source material. When Lautner did turn to seventeenth-century documents pertaining to Rembrandt and to discussions of Rembrandt by his contemporaries, he took individual details out of context to create a picture that was not consonant with Rembrandt's life and work as a whole or with his circumstances. In other cases, such as in Lautner's discussion of *The Night Watch*, Hofstede de Groot pointed out that the author was ignorant of the most recent results of archival investigation and close physical examination of the painting itself, both of which had provided incontrovertible evidence that *The Night Watch* could only have been the work of Rembrandt.[48] Thus Lautner failed at the most basic tasks of the art historian: proper use of primary sources, first-hand examination of the painting, and command of the scholarly literature.

Like Bredius, Hofstede de Groot was willing to admit that further research into Rembrandt's oeuvre would likely reveal the presence of paintings by Bol as well as other Rembrandt followers, but stated with assurance that none of these discoveries would concern the great works by Rembrandt that

Lautner wished to reattribute. Lautner's qualifications for conducting art-historical work were further whittled away by Hofstede de Groot. While Lautner believed that only between sixty-four and seventy paintings by Bol were known, Hofstede de Groot maintained that this number could be found in Germany and the Netherlands alone. Lautner had also insisted that Bol, not Gerrit Lundens, painted the copy of *The Night Watch* found in the National Gallery in London, as well as the original itself, alleging that apart from the London copy, Lundens was a "completely unknown artist." In just the previous year, however, Bode and Bredius had made an inventory of nearly forty works that were characteristic of Lundens's work.[49] With these and other examples Hofstede de Groot sought to establish Lautner's scholarly unreliability. He assured his readers that Lautner's book would quickly die a "natural death" despite the "benevolence" of some critics; his parting advice to Lautner was to apply his literary skills to some other arena than art history.

But the book did not fade from view so quickly, and both Bredius and Hofstede de Groot found it necessary to respond to *Wer ist Rembrandt?* again, and at greater length. Bredius had contributed to a more heated tone for the debate through his provocation of the editor and the publisher of the German art periodical *Kunstchronik*. In "Lautner und kein Ende!" Bredius described how the furor over the book had not died down (after a mere month) and expressed his dismay over the piles of Lautner-related letters and newspaper articles "to Saint Petersburg and back" that crowded his desk space.[50] While he stated that most art historians were set against Lautner's theories about Rembrandt, some were not; he named with disfavor Hermann Grimm as one who had given his "great approval" to the book and inspired the favorable reception of at least one newspaper article about Lautner.[51] Another scholar was the object of even more disapproval on Bredius's part. Carl von Lützow, editor of *Kunstchronik*, had declared that archival research by Dutch scholars had unmistakably revealed that the negative statements made about Rembrandt in older biographies were true, not slanderous.[52] Naturally Bredius, as one of the principal Dutch scholars working in the archives, was infuriated by what he considered to be the further misuse of documents, adding insult to Lautner's original injury. But Lützow gained the full force of Bredius's wrath through his refusal to publish critiques of Lautner by Bredius and by E.W. Moes in *Kunstchronik* because of the supposedly "offensive language and sharp criticism" the two scholars had used.[53]

Bredius was not only offended by what he saw as the partiality of scholars such as Lützow; the positive reception of Lautner's book in German (and

some Dutch) newspapers was an irritant and a disappointment. However, Bredius could also cite articulate critics of *Wer ist Rembrandt?* such as Hofstede de Groot in his review in *Der Kunstwart*. He particularly commended Bode's essay of May 28 in the Berlin newspaper *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, from which, as was his wont, Bredius quoted at length. In this review Bode had harshly condemned Lautner's publication, describing his treatment of documents as "audaciously twisted" and expressing disgust both that "a great artist and noble spirit had been dragged down" through the abuse of archival evidence, and that scholarly contributions made over many years could be "so impudently overturned." These were opinions with which Bredius completely concurred.[54] In concluding his article, Bredius expressed the hope that the entire Lautner debacle would produce something positive through the redoubling of efforts by "scholars and lovers of art" to learn about the life and works of the master, leading to an even greater appreciation of his gifts.

Hofstede de Groot also penned a second review of Lautner's book, which was published in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*. Once more, the acceptance or even promotion of Lautner's ideas by the press necessitated an "energetic rejection" of the same. His task in his second review was to set forth at greater length the archival evidence that spoke against Lautner's theory in his most spectacular claim, that Rembrandt had not painted *The Night Watch*, for to do so was to see Lautner's "entire new foundation collapse."[55] Hofstede de Groot presented a series of documents, ranging from a 1659 affidavit by two of the sitters that they and fifteen others had been portrayed by Rembrandt in the painting found in the Kloveniersdoelen, to a 1653 description of the sole Rembrandt painting hanging in this location, which identified the subject as the guard company led by Frans Banning Cocq and Willem van Ruytenburgh, to the watercolor copy of the painting found in the Banning Cocq family album, to the 1715 order by officials to have the Rembrandt painting in the Kloveniersdoelen cleaned and moved to the Town Hall.[56] He demonstrated that the painting was seen in this new location and described by one visitor in 1758, and only moved from the War Council Chamber in the Town Hall in the nineteenth century to its final residence in the Rijksmuseum. Hofstede de Groot's aim in citing this trail of documentary evidence was to destroy any lingering support for Lautner's claim that the painting in the Rijksmuseum could not be traced back in an unbroken narrative to the Kloveniersdoelen.[57]

As Hofstede de Groot stated, the creation and subsequent history of few paintings could be traced as well as *The Night Watch*'s, but Lautner's ignorance

of the most recent archival scholarship and his misuse of other documents led him into grave error. In this manner Hofstede de Groot achieved his true goal, which was not merely to prove Lautner's specific claims about *The Night Watch* wrong, but to demonstrate the poor quality of Lautner's scholarship, and the impossibility of his contributing any kind of "new foundation" for art history.

After again attacking Lautner's aesthetic insensitivity to differences in hands between authenticated paintings by Bol and those by Rembrandt, or between the Lundens copy of *The Night Watch* and the original itself, Hofstede de Groot concluded with his arguments against the validity of Lautner's photographic "evidence" purporting to reveal the supposed latent signatures of Bol.[58] The plates included in Lautner's book must have convinced enough readers to worry Hofstede de Groot, who insisted on their lack of authenticity. However, he also qualified his rejection by stating that even if there were some similarities between the signatures "revealed" in Lautner's plates and those on authentic paintings or documents signed by Bol, the argument of quality, of the wholesale difference in artistic value between Bol's known paintings and any of the Rembrandt works claimed for Bol by Lautner, proved this author wrong. Even science itself, in the end, could produce equivocal or misleading results, and thus, leaving aside the evidence provided by photographic reproductions and seventeenth-century documents, the best argument was that which resulted from the employment of the eye of the true connoisseur. Lautner's "scientific" claims for art history were insufficient for Hofstede de Groot.

Bode's most extensive review of *Wer ist Rembrandt?* was published in October 1891, in the journal *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*.[59] Once more Lautner's arguments about Rembrandt's moral failings were rehearsed, but with an sarcastic tone, as Bode described Lautner's claims about documents, the activities of art dealers, latent signatures, and Bol's selfless acceptance of his exploitation by Rembrandt. Bode added only one new point to the debate by pointing out that Lautner himself had admitted, in one comment well buried in his text, that "some" of the photographs (in fact, all of those that "reproduced" the latent signatures) had indeed been retouched for reproduction. It is nonetheless significant that Bode still felt the need, six months after the furor over the book had first broken out, to combat the author and his theories. Bode expressed some understanding of why laypeople or art lovers (that is, nonprofessionals) might be influenced by the apparent weight of Lautner's various claims, but was aghast that "the editor of the premier German art journal [Lützow] and various teachers of the science of art in Germany [Grimm et al.]" had, in his opinion, taken

up Lautner's cause, which Bode considered to be a "truly dangerous sign for the young art scholarship."[60] His accusations about the dangers of Morelli's work, written in 1886 and in 1891, were echoed here strongly. Bode, like Bredius and Hofstede de Groot, was most troubled and angered by the support given to Lautner by respected scholars in the field, and believed that this support posed a threat to the credibility of art history as a serious field of study, based on scientific research.

A review of Lautner finally appeared in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* later in 1891.[61] This review, however, was not written by a member of the inner circle of Rembrandt specialists, bur rather by an art historian and collector named Werner Dahl, in an essay appropriately entitled "Zum Rembrandtstreit" ("About the Rembrandt dispute").[62] In his review, Dahl responded decisively and negatively to Lautner's theories. He declared that Lautner's method, based on "an ethical-psychological principle," had been utterly foreign to art history and connoisseurship up to now. Interestingly, Dahl was even firmer in dispatching the relevance of this method than Bode, Bredius, or Hofstede de Groot had been. Rather than trying to create a positive posthumous account of the artist's life, or at to counter Lautner's claims, Dahl wished to know what possible relevance the details of Rembrandt's life had to the paintings, especially more than two hundred years after their creation.[63] "Had he [Rembrandt] been the most morally perfect person of his time in Amsterdam, but not the great genius we admire in his work, thus would the name of Rembrandt probably have remained unknown to us."[64] Dahl believed that Rembrandt's art was not really intended to create an "edifying, moralizing effect" in any case, and in turn, that Lautner's "causal nexus" between creator and creation was not at all necessary, or even appropriate, as a theory of authenticity.

Likewise, Dahl used Lautner's latent signatures against him. If such signatures really existed, Dahl argued, they would be all the more evidence that at best Bol had worked on the underpainting of various pictures as a student or assistant of Rembrandt's. No master would, or ever had, signed his works in such a way that the signatures were invisible to his contemporaries. At most, then, if such signatures existed, they were nothing more than game-playing by a member of Rembrandt's studio. Furthermore, Dahl reasoned that the Dutch people of the seventeenth century must have been nearly crazy if, aware of Bol's talents, they were willing to rename the work of their most celebrated artist with the name of an inferior one – Rembrandt.

In these arguments Dahl attacked the logical inconsistencies of Lautner's arguments. But he also had more to say about the claims Lautner based on examination of the paintings themselves. Like other reviewers before him, Dahl maintained that the pictorial characteristics of Bol's and Rembrandt's styles, as well as the quality of their work, differed greatly. A comparison of "genuinely signed, historically authenticated paintings" by both artists would alone reveal the weakness of Lautner's thesis. In fact a true connoisseur would be able to distinguish a Rembrandt from a Bol at first glance:

> But this certainty of gaze, this understanding of the particularity, of the fine differentiation of the painting techniques of the most diverse artists, which constitute the connoisseurship of our foremost authorities, and especially for Rembrandt and Bol, of Messrs. Bode in Berlin, Bredius in The Hague, and Émile Michel in Paris, are not the consequence of natural talent alone but rather the most careful formation of the same through autopsy [of paintings], through repeated comparisons in all public and private collections in Europe and art-historical study.[65]

It was his connoisseurship that most revealed Lautner's lack of standing. "The number of important Rembrandts and Bols that he has not seen, of which he has not spoken, is greater than that of which he has."[66] Dahl described how the Rembrandt experts had cultivated their abilities as connoisseurs, and how Lautner manifestly had not, making a clear distinction between the text-based learning of art history and the visual analysis of connoisseurship. His test case was that of Gerrit Lundens, since Lautner had claimed no authentic paintings survived. Dahl listed the accepted and recently discovered paintings by Lundens in Germany and the Netherlands (one of which he himself owned), the characteristics of which fit those of *The Night Watch* copy in London, attributed to Lundens on documentary and stylistic grounds. He mentioned with scorn Lautner's belief that the same artist painted this copy and the original, when the styles seen in them evidenced the difference between the fine manner of painting and "la grande peinture" of Rembrandt. Dahl clearly believed that Lautner had no "eye" for distinctions in style and quality, and thus no claim as a connoisseur.[67]

So much, stated Dahl, for the usefulness of Lautner's "ethical-psychological principal" and his "new foundation for Dutch art history." He ended the review by musing that Lautner could only have written the book imagining that he was actually going to change the minds of these "foremost authorities and

Rembrandt connoisseurs" so that "they would no longer trust their own eyes, no longer allow the power of the great masterpieces to affect them." Why else try to destroy the reputation of Rembrandt as a person? "Where," he concluded, "was the ethics [of that behavior]?"[68]

Dahl's review provides a valuable comparison to those by already acknowledged and, in the case of Hofstede de Groot, rising Rembrandt experts. Despite Dahl's assertions about the novelty of Lautner's "ethical-psychological" approach, Lautner's approach to the concept of "Rembrandt" was in keeping with the well-established nineteenth-century cult of the genius; Dahl's coolly argued separation of life and work represented a newer trend in the history of art, one that at its most extreme became the "art history without names" of Heinrich Wölfflin, and seemed to anticipate the stance of modernist art history of a few decades later.[69] Until the very end of his review, Dahl was less concerned than Bode, Bredius or Hofstede de Groot had been with defending the person of Rembrandt, and more interested in examining the credibility of Lautner's methodology and training. He delineated precisely the distinction between the amateur, who sees a limited number of paintings and then makes a judgment, and the true connoisseur, who conducts scientifically-oriented examination ("autopsies") of paintings and regards it as his duty to travel throughout Europe to see works held privately as well as publicly. Connoisseurship was a profession as much as a calling, one that demanded full-time devotion, and should not be trusted to the mere devotee. In the end Dahl seemed genuinely insulted for figures such as Bode and Bredius in the face of Lautner's effrontery.

Like so many other sensational publications, without any confirmation of Lautner's claims about latent signatures or long-running art world conspiracies, interest in the book faded away by the next year.[70] The major outcome of the debate was to solidify the reputation and authority of Bode, Bredius, and the young Hofstede de Groot and, at least for a time, to affirm the successes of their joint connoisseurship. The triumph of the professional connoisseur, now definable as an art historian who was, typically, museum-based and who often held a doctoral degree in art history, was ensured by the debunking of Lautner. When Hofstede de Groot published an article in 1893, "Hoe men Rembrandts ontdekt" ("How one discovers Rembrandts"), he felt free to comment sarcastically and with complete assurance that although every single year many people thought they had found authentic Rembrandt paintings, this was rarely the case, and such determinations could only be made by professionally-trained specialists, not by amateurs or even art dealers.[71]

Years later, in 1910, when Lautner published a follow-up study, “Rembrandt. A Historical Problem,” few art historians or critics noted its appearance and even fewer bothered to review it.[72] Nonetheless, the debates following the publication of *Wer ist Rembrandt?* had affected Bode, Bredius, and Hofstede de Groot greatly; precisely how much would become clear only in the 1920s, when these scholars would deal with the radical reduction of Rembrandt’s oeuvre proposed by the American scholar, John C. Van Dyke, as a resurgence of “Lautnerism.”[73]

CHAPTER 4

THE REMBRANDT DECADE

FIG. 23 – Rembrandt, *The Polish Rider*, 1650s

IN THE 1890S, REMBRANDT'S ART BECAME EVEN MORE accessible and popular to the wider world of museum visitors and readers about art through museum acquisitions, exhibitions, and scholarly publications. In fact, this decade could be designated "the Rembrandt decade" in light of the notice and approbation paid to his work.[1] The attention culminated in the first internationally organized, large-scale temporary exhibitions of Rembrandt's art in Amsterdam and London in 1898 and 1899 and the publication, beginning in 1897, of the volumes of Bode's and Hofstede de Groot's eight-part *catalogue raisonné* of Rembrandt's paintings, the first fully illustrated catalogue of this oeuvre.

It was not happenstance that the rise in fascination with Rembrandt's art coincided with an enormous expansion in the art market in Europe. Though prices were shaky at the start of the decade, they steadily rose to new heights at decade's end. The cost for works by the most popular Old Master painters rose precipitously, while more and more pictures entered the market. American buyers became a force in this market expansion for the first time and were a significant factor in the price increases.

These changes in the commercial side of the art world would also prove crucial in the further development of Rembrandt connoisseurship. Bode, Bredius, and Hofstede de Groot traveled widely in this decade to pursue research on the artist with great success, including their discovery of paintings previously unknown to scholars, while their opinions were sought after by dealers and individual buyers desiring assurance that they were purchasing authentic Rembrandts.[2] Bode has been credited with having been the first art historian to make a practice of writing such opinions, generally called "expertises," on the backs of photographs. Hubert Wilm emphasized the manner in which

Bode's personal authority became linked with these written opinions, and the power that thus inhered to them. This practice would become standard in a short time; Hofstede de Groot had a prepared form, with blanks for filling in each painting's size, support, medium, date, subject, and his opinion on its authorship.

While advising others, these scholars were also busy acquiring paintings attributed to Rembrandt for their museums and, in some cases, for their own collections. These events will be the touchstones for a discussion of the expansion of the world of Rembrandt connoisseurship in this decade and of the zenith of the positivist study of Rembrandt and of the reputations of Rembrandt specialists.

Travel

The extensive travel these scholars undertook in the 1890s provided the basis for their practice of connoisseurship as scholars, collectors, and cataloguers. For instance, Bode later referred to 1893 as his "Reisejahr par excellence," in which he traveled to Paris twice, to London, Vienna, in Italy, to St. Petersburg for the first time since 1872, and then in the autumn, for two months to the United States and Canada (see Chapter 5). Hofstede de Groot journeyed throughout continental Europe and in Great Britain throughout this decade, producing a book and several articles from his studies of Dutch art in these locales.[3]

Bredius continued his regular visits to the major art centers in western Europe, but also took an extended trip to Poland and Russia in 1897, about which he wrote a colorful account of his trip for *De Nederlandsche Spectator* in 1897. His narrative can exemplify the types of experiences the Rembrandt specialists had in these years in their international practice of connoisseurship.

This article has become famous to Dutch art specialists as the one in which Bredius revealed his fabulous "discovery" of the so-called *Polish Rider* then in Count Tarnowski's collection in Poland [FIG. 23].[4] His dramatic narrative relayed how he traveled by a slow train to Tarnowski's old castle, and with low expectations entered a room with a few Dutch paintings of medium quality – until he laid eyes on the Rembrandt. "One glance at the whole, an examination of several seconds of the technique was all that was necessary for me to be instantly convinced that here in this remote place one of Rembrandt's greatest masterpieces had hung for almost one hundred years!"[5] While stymied in his efforts to purchase the painting, Bredius at least succeeded in convincing Count

Tarnowski to send the painting to the Amsterdam exhibition the next year, where it became one of the most discussed pictures on view.[6]

However, the rest of Bredius's account is often omitted, skewing the nature of this "discovery." For as Bredius himself admitted, the painting was not totally unknown to the other Rembrandt scholars. Bode had listed it in a supplement to the *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, while Émile Michel had included it in his list of paintings by Rembrandt just a few years earlier in his popular monograph.[7] According to Bredius, Bode had in fact specifically sent him to see about the painting's authenticity and to obtain a photograph for the new Rembrandt catalogue.[8] Yet Bredius's story, with its exotic setting and dramatic moment of discovery, encapsulated so well the thrill of bringing to light a major painting by Rembrandt, the dream of every professional (and many an amateur) connoisseur, that his account became the true discovery of the painting. The nearly transcendental moment of revelation, when Bredius could see, at a glance, that this was not just a Rembrandt but an extraordinary one, spoke to the specialist's highly trained eye, which in mere seconds could take in more than any ordinary person's. This was no practiced Morellian technique, accessible to the many through diligence, but something more mystical and intuitive.

Bredius began his essay with a comment that he had never thought he would see on this trip so much art that was both beautiful and unrecorded. Everywhere he went he found Rembrandts, previously unknown: a signed and dated (1633) portrait of a woman in a private collection in Warsaw; a self-portrait from about 1629/30, signed with Rembrandt's monogram, in Prince Lubomirski's collection; a depiction of Christ and Mary Magdalene from about 1650 in the Galician castle of Prince Sanguskow; two Rembrandts in the Chanenko collection in Kiev, one a portrait of Rembrandt's father, that Bredius thought likely to be a "good copy," the other a small study of a woman's head. [9] (Bredius had a mixed opinion of the latter's authenticity too, but stated that both paintings needed cleaning before a final decision could be made.) Count Roman Potocki had a painting that looked like a genuine self-portrait of Rembrandt, although it hung too high for a viable examination. The Roumiantsov Museum in Moscow had two Rembrandts, "authentic and beautiful," one a depiction of Abraham, Hagar, and Ishmael, from 1637, the other, a late picture, showing Haman, Esther, and Ahasuerus.[10] But the first was in bad shape, with paint peeling off, and the second even worse: Bredius recommended they go to Alois Hauser in Berlin for restoration.[11]

Throughout the essay Bredius conveyed a vivid sense of what it meant to be a Rembrandt specialist in the 1890s: the surprise of finding paintings of quality in unlikely places, the frustration of not being able to see works well in crowded, dark rooms; the concern about paintings that were in decayed condition; and the pleasure of reporting all of these experiences to an eager audience. The range of Bredius's reactions to these paintings is also striking. Despite his enthusiastic commendation of the paintings as a group, only *The Polish Rider* received warm and even extravagant praise; Bredius took pains with the other paintings to indicate conditions that limited his ability to make a decision about their authenticity as Rembrandts, and he deferred final judgment to a future time, after the works had been cleaned or restored.

The Amsterdam Rembrandt Exhibition of 1898

The Rembrandt exhibition held in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam during September and October 1898 was both the most celebrated public event staged in conjunction with the coronation of the young queen, Wilhelmina, and the culmination of the nineteenth-century use of Rembrandt as a cultural symbol of Dutch pride and achievement. Working from various archival material, photographs, and the non-illustrated exhibition catalogue, in a seminal article P.J.J. van Thiel was able to reconstruct the exhibition and follow its critical fortunes in the press. My account of the exhibit's planning and reception is greatly indebted to him.[12]

The exhibit was a cooperative effort of the coronation committee and Arti et Amicitiae, a society of Dutch artists and amateurs.[13] Bredius, as the director of the Mauritshuis and a member of Arti et Amicitiae, played a crucial role in bringing the two groups into cooperation, and served as one of the six members of the exhibitions board of directors. However, the real organizational and administrative work for the exhibition fell to Hofstede de Groot, who had left the Mauritshuis in 1896 to become director of the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam. His indefatigable efforts, attested to in the numerous surviving telegrams and planning letters, played a major factor in the success of the committee's ability to stage an international exhibition of 124 paintings and 350 drawings by Rembrandt in less than a year.[14] Queen Victoria and the German Kaiser, museums in Berlin, Darmstadt, and Leipzig, English nobles and art

dealers in Paris, and private collectors from Utrecht to Saint Petersburg agreed to lend their precious works by the most famous of Dutch artists.

Such a large-scale retrospective exhibition of the work of one artist from the past was new not only to the Netherlands, but throughout Europe as well.[15] While the international nature of the loans was in part a product of sheer necessity, given the limited number of paintings by Rembrandt in the Netherlands at the time, the daunting challenges of organization, insurance, and transportation had not previously been attempted on this scale. The exhibition would thus serve as a model for other temporary exhibitions of Old Masters, and its importance cannot be overstated.

The Rembrandt retrospective was a resounding success, and was seen by over 43,000 visitors in two months, including attendees of the International Congress of Art History that met in Amsterdam at the end of September.[16] At the behest of the government, three days were added at the end to allow the general public to attend at a reduced rate of twenty-five cents, which increased attendance by 8000, while important guests were also given a last look at a private showing on November 4, 1898. Publications for the exhibition ranged from a ten-cent catalogue to luxury folios, sold with stands, that reproduced the most important works in photogravures accompanied by texts by Hofstede de Groot; the most impressive of these volumes appeared well after the exhibition was itself only a memory.

That Rembrandt was considered an artist worthy of such an endeavor might seem self-evident in the Netherlands, but the international scope and drawing power of the exhibition were indicators of Rembrandt's rise in status in the art-historical hierarchy of Old Master painters during the course of the nineteenth century. One critic, Marcel Nicolle, characterized the exhibition as "the last step in a progressive rehabilitation of the artist."[17]

The show was also a triumph for the positivist school of Rembrandt scholarship and was based on fifty years' worth of accomplishments in the realms of documentary research and connoisseurship.[18] The driving force behind the exhibition was Bode, who first conceived of the idea for a major exhibition.[19] While only the first two volumes of the Rembrandt *catalogue raisonné*, produced by Bode and Hofstede de Groot from 1897 to 1905, had been published by the time of the exhibition itself, the comprehensive view of the artist and his oeuvre found in it nonetheless provided the conceptual basis for the exhibition.[20] The close link between the exhibition and the Bode-Hofstede de Groot magnum opus was underscored by the inclusion in the exhibition of pho-

tographs for the approximately 400 paintings attributed to Rembrandt in the catalogue that were not included in the display of original works.[21] These photographs represented Bode's and Hofstede de Groot's conviction (and to a large extent Bredius's as well) about the veracity of their vision of the artist's career, which they now believed could be traced year by year. The photographs and paintings together provided a kind of forensic evidence for demarcating Rembrandt's oeuvre, and the exhibition could be understood as the physical embodiment of the accomplishments of modern, scientific art history. While reflecting the organizers' pride in the advances in Rembrandt research, the loan of these photographs by their publisher, Charles Sedelmeyer, also served as an advertisement for this expensive publishing project and, by association, for Sedelmeyer's status as the premier dealer in Rembrandt's work during the 1890s.

Critical reception of the Amsterdam Rembrandt exhibition

The Rembrandt exhibition was extolled widely in newspapers throughout Europe, and lengthy reviews appeared in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, and *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*. [22] Critics agreed upon the significance of the unprecedented opportunity to study Rembrandt's career as a whole that the exhibition afforded through the comparative examination of originals and photographic reproductions. For connoisseurs used to making mental comparisons of pictures seen days, months, or even years apart, the Amsterdam exhibition became a kind of new laboratory. Émile Michel, France's most important Rembrandt scholar, optimistically believed that the exhibition would enable his fellow Rembrandt specialists to establish the dating and aesthetic valuation of many works that had previously proven problematic.[23]

Just as important, however, the general public could see, literally for the first time, the chronological evolution of Rembrandt's style.[24] For instance, before the advent of this large-scale temporary retrospective exhibition and of Bode and Hofstede de Groot's fully-illustrated *catalogue raisonné*, it would have been nearly impossible for anyone other than the Rembrandt specialists to develop a clear and nuanced conception of Rembrandt's early career.[25] The exhibition also offered the pleasure of viewing paintings only "rediscovered" in recent years, as well as other works, already renowned, which showed to better

FIG. 24 – Rembrandt, *Portrait of Agatha Bas*, 1641

FIG. 25 – Rembrandt van Rijn and Studio, *David Playing the Harp before Saul*, ca. 1655

advantage in the Amsterdam display. Nearly all who reviewed the show agreed that the preeminent paintings were those already in Amsterdam, *The Night Watch* (no. 52, FIG. 6), *The Syndics* (no. 116, FIG. 7), and *"The Jewish Bride"* (no. 119, FIG. 15).[26] Jan Veth, a prominent Dutch artist and art critic, also praised the *Portrait of Agatha Bas* (no. 51, FIG. 24), *David Playing the Harp before Saul* (no. 118, FIG. 25), *Still Life with Peacocks* (no. 49), the *Self-Portrait with Palette and Mahlstick* (no. 99), *The Visitation* (no. 45, FIG. 26), and the *Flagellation of Christ* (no. 122).[27] The late pendant portraits, (nos. 110 and 111, FIGS. 27 and 28) then in the collection of Prince Yousopoff in Saint Petersburg, seemed to him true touchstones for questions of authenticity, with their beautiful execution and powerful chiaroscuro. [28]

The general approbation that greeted the exhibition did not mean that every painting was accepted as labeled with equal confidence. Michel questioned Hofstede de Groot's dating of the *Flagellation of Christ* as 1668, deci-

FIG. 26 – Rembrandt, *The Visitation*, 1640

FIG. 27 – Rembrandt, *Portrait of a Gentleman with a Tall Hat and Gloves*, ca. 1658-60

FIG. 28 – Rembrandt, *Portrait of a Lady with an Ostrich-Feather*, ca. 1658-60

FIG. 29 – *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*

phering it himself as 1658. He disputed the thesis that three paintings in the exhibition (nos. 13, 22, and 25) depicted Rembrandt's sister Liesbeth, suggesting instead that no. 22 was actually a portrait of Saskia.[29]

The attribution of other paintings, such as the *Slaughtered Ox* from Budapest (no. 43), came under intense scrutiny.[30] The most controversial painting in this regard was *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (no. 62, FIG. 29), from the Weber collection in Hamburg.[31] In Michel's opinion, the figure types, costumes, and the execution of the painting were all wrong, especially for a work said to date from 1644.[32] Perhaps the most vehement response to this painting was contributed by Veth, who wrote that "[I]t is incomprehensible to me that anyone could hold this for a Rembrandt," not just because of what Veth considered to be a false signature, but because of the coarseness of the figures, the depiction of "the pouting chimpanzee who must play the part of Christ," and the "Van Dyckian" young man to the left.[33]

FIG. 30 – Ferdinand Bol, *Rembrandt and his Wife Saskia*, ca. 1635

While Veth found much to praise, he was one of the most critical reviewers of the exhibition. *Rembrandt and Saskia at Her Toilette* (no. 36, now called *Rembrandt and his Wife Saskia*, FIG. 30) seemed so weak to him that he speculated whether it was badly hung at Buckingham Palace to keep people guessing about it.[34] The *Study of Rembrandt's Brother ("Man with the Golden Helmet")* from Berlin (no. 75, FIG. 31) made him uneasy; he thought it too unbalanced in treatment of the head and helmet for a Rembrandt.[35] *Old Woman Cutting Her Nails* (no. 101, FIG. 32) also seemed doubtful to him; the head appeared more the product of an Italian or Spanish artist than of the great Dutch master.[36] The version of *Judas Returning the Pieces of Silver* on display (no. 5) had the character of an "old copy or an old overpainting."[37] As for the *Study of an Old Man* from Schwerin (no. 120), "[I]nconceivable that Bode has seen something real in it."[38] Veth was far less enchanted than most visitors with such "typical" Rembrandts as the *Old Woman Lost in Thought over Her Reading* (no. 71, now called *Old*

FIG. 31 – Rembrandt Circle, *Man with the Golden Helmet*

FIG. 32 – Style of Rembrandt, *Old Woman Cutting her Nails*, ca. 1660?

Woman with a Book, FIG. 33) or the *Portrait of a Woman* from Budapest (no. 104).[39] He was also willing to ascribe some paintings, such as the so-called *Portraits of Rembrandt's Brother Adriaen and His Wife* (nos. 73 & 74) to the Rembrandt studio, rather than to the master.[40]

There is certainly some irony to the fact that while an example of the traditional artist-connoisseur, becoming less common at this very time, Veth nonetheless evinced a keen understanding of Rembrandt's art and a willingness to take firm positions on issues of authenticity.[41] He may well have had the highest percentage of accuracy in evaluating quality and authorship, at least by today's standards, of the various reviewers; not one of the paintings he criticized so strongly is included in standard Rembrandt oeuvre catalogues of recent years. Veth understood clearly the difference between Rembrandt and the Rembrandtesque, both in subject matter, style, and execution, and did not allow a painting's reputation, good or bad, color his own judgments. That is, Veth carried out the tasks of the connoisseur, as defined by Richardson in the eighteenth century or Morelli in the nineteenth, at least as well as any of the professional Rembrandt connoisseurs of the day.

While the critic Marcel Nicolle primarily understood his task as a reviewer to be the explanation of the development of Rembrandt's art, he also commented freely on the high quality of some of the paintings on display as well as on those works about which he had reservations. He too seemed suspicious of the Budapest *Portrait of a Woman*, suggesting that its technique recalled Rembrandt's follower Aert de Gelder more than the master himself, and that it was often difficult to attribute works to one or the other.[42] Nicolle was disturbed by changes in the *Man with the Golden Helmet* since he had last seen it before its restoration; to his mind the treatment had created "discord" between the head and the helmet, leading him to state with surprising firmness, "there is no longer anything of the Rembrandtesque [in it]."[43] He was impressed, however, with the late painting *Flagellation of Christ*, preferring its "delicacy" of technique to the "excessive impasto" of "*The Jewish Bride.*"[44] Nicolle concluded that Rembrandt had only grown in one's admiration through this exhibition, and averred that the painter deserved to be placed next to the "grands maîtres de l'Italie."[45] Like other reviewers of the exhibition, Nicolle expressed the belief that this "unique, and unhappily ephemeral" exhibition, would probably not be repeated, and as such, it marked "a date in the history of art." Little did the reviewers and other visitors to this exhibition, or probably even the organizers realize that this would only be the first of many major Rembrandt exhibitions over the next hundred years.[46]

FIG. 33 – Karel van der Pluym, *Old Woman with a Book*

Bredius and Hofstede de Groot on the Amsterdam exhibition

While Bredius, Hofstede de Groot, and Bode were all associated with the organization of the exhibition, the degree of their involvement varied, and so did their commitment to individual decisions about authenticity and quality. Despite their general agreement on Rembrandt scholarship, they each had their own approach to connoisseurship. Fault lines in their alliance, particularly between Bredius and Hofstede de Groot, that would develop into a scholarly schism in the 1910s can first be faintly discerned in 1898.

"The longer one studies Rembrandt, the more one finds, that one is never finished studying him."[47] Thus did Bredius commence his discussion of the manifold challenges provided by the pictures seen in the Amsterdam exhibition. And, he added, some who wrote about the exhibition really were not qualified to do so, not having made the proper study of his art over a long period of time, which provided the only basis for sound judgment of works attributed to him. "In fact, no one can and may judge this giant of painting who has not seen all his works frequently."[48] While Bredius's stance is best understood as representing not only that of a Rembrandt specialist, but of an organizer of the exhibition and a lender of six works to it, his claim also points to the increasing emphasis on the professionalization of connoisseurship; for how many amateurs could claim to have seen all of Rembrandt's paintings, and repeatedly as well?

Bredius took pains to express his understanding of Hofstede de Groot's position as the "head organizer" of the exhibition. He emphasized for his scholarly audience "his friend" Hofstede de Groot's awareness that the authenticity of nearly all paintings on view had been doubted at one point or another and that scholarly work could always be improved.[49] This disclaimer and declaration of affiliation of the two scholars was probably intended to soften the impact of Bredius's critique of the exhibition, as well as to suggest general solidarity among the Rembrandt experts.

His reservations focused on two primary areas of concern for the connoisseur: dating and authorship. Bredius's primary concern about dating was that a number of the paintings were placed too late in the artist's career. Few late paintings bore dates, which made determining their chronological relationship difficult. The solution Bredius offered, was to place greater weight on the few works that did bear a date. While a seemingly sensible suggestion in

theory, its difficulty in practice was unwittingly demonstrated by Bredius himself when discussing one painting in the exhibition that he believed could serve as a standard for evaluating the later (though not the very latest) work of Rembrandt. The *Flagellation of Christ* was his candidate for this role, but controversy existed over how the date on this picture should be read, as 1668 (following Hofstede de Groot) or 1658 (as Michel preferred). Bredius sided with Michel in this case, while stating that it was important that the date on the painting be carefully examined again in order to settle the question. Why, then, use this painting as a standard if its date had not been firmly established? To Bredius, other pieces of evidence relating to this picture, such as drawings and studies he considered to be preparatory for it, made it an ideal candidate to represent Rembrandt's art from the late 1650s.[50] Working from this presumption, Bredius compared it to other works in the exhibition that carried dates or were placed by Hofstede de Groot in the 1650s, in order to point out similarities between them and the *Flagellation of Christ*. The process was not unreasonable, but the standard chosen would prove to be a faulty one, as it was eventually considered to be a work of the Rembrandt school.

Bredius did at least attempt to establish and articulate some of his stylistic criteria for Rembrandt connoisseurship, such as the relative breadth of execution and the range of colors employed. He also made the hitherto unusual effort to clarify the reasons for his differences of opinion with Hofstede de Groot, or Bode, or other scholars. Nonetheless, Bredius appears to have felt the need to defend the critical judgment of his mentor Bode in regard to dating pictures; when he disagreed with the dates of some works assigned by Bode in 1883 in *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, he stated that many of the works in English private collections were visible only in poor light, and the dates on them were only able to be read correctly when they were photographed for the Bode-Hofstede de Groot multi-volume corpus.[51]

An example of Bredius's approach is provided in his discussion of the problem of dating *"The Jewish Bride"* and the Braunschweig *Family Portrait*. Bredius maintained that "until now Bode, and all of us along with him, considered these two paintings to be nearly the last works of Rembrandt."[52] But reconsideration of the stylistic qualities of *The Syndics*, generally thought to date from about 1661, led Bredius to recognize a number of stylistic qualities shared among the three pictures – refined color effects and a rich palette, an "exaggerated" impasto in some areas, but with the heads executed more finely – and hence to suggest earlier dating for the other two paintings, of about 1662 or

FIG. 34 – Rembrandt, *Homer*, 1663

even a bit earlier. Then, when Bredius compared these three paintings to the *Homer* (from his own collection, on loan to the Mauritshuis, FIG. 34) or with the *Return of the Prodigal Son* from the Hermitage, both of which he considered to be works made in or after 1663, he believed they logically formed two groups, the earlier one more colorful and illuminated, the later other darker and more restrained in the use of color.[53] Bredius thus arrived at four new conclusions about the dating of these pictures: that Rembrandt painted very little in the last six years of life, that the *Homer* and the *Return of the Prodigal Son* should stand as "prototypes" for his final manner; that it was important to test the paintings dated after 1663 because of the unproven authenticity of these dates, and that many notable paintings without dates had been placed incorrectly in the last years of Rembrandt's career.[54]

Bredius also discussed works in the exhibition that had especially captured his attention, as well as those whose authenticity seemed questionable. He took great pride in his "rediscovery" of *The Polish Rider* (no. 94, FIG. 23), and mentioned the acclaim it received from visitors to the exhibition. He also pointed out with approval the *Study of Rembrandt's Sister* (no. 13) only recently acquired by Hofstede de Groot at an auction where it had been attributed to Govaert Flinck.

Certain challenging paintings led Bredius to devise elaborate narratives to account for inconsistencies or other troubling stylistic traits. For example, Bredius tried to clarify the connection between the Buckingham Palace painting *Rembrandt and His Wife Saskia* [FIG. 30] and a painting in St. Petersburg that displayed "Saskia" in the same pose [FIG. 35].[55] Despite their compositional relationship, the paintings' displayed vastly different techniques. Bredius ventured that Ferdinand Bol had painted the Buckingham Palace version, using the preexisting depiction of Saskia and adding to it a portrait of Rembrandt, who posed for Bol. In an area of the painting where Bol was having trouble with the depiction of form, Rembrandt helped his pupil out by retouching the area himself. "The picture remained in Rembrandt's studio, perhaps until the death of the master. An art dealer of the 18th century added the signature. Could this not be the truth?"[56]

Bredius wished that the possibility of collaboration between Rembrandt and his assistants and pupils be considered as a viable explanation for some cases of doubtful authorship. A paintings such as *Old Woman Lost in Thought over Her Reading* (no. 71; *Old Woman with a Book*, FIG. 33) troubled him, just as it had Veth; the head resembled the work of Nicolaes Maes, the robe was the most

beautifully painted part of the picture, and the colors were "mixed as only Rembrandt could do," but the hand was unfinished and not well done. Bredius was willing to date it (about 1650) but not prepared to give it a definite attribution. He also suggested that the *Study of an Angel* (no. 96) was by Rembrandt, but was also itself a fragment of a much larger painting by Barent Fabritius, leading him to ask "Did Rembrandt paint only the angel in the Fabritius picture, or is Fabritius here more than ever Rembrandt-like?"[57]

Bredius's harshest words, like Veth's, were reserved for *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* [FIG. 29].[58] Everything in its execution appeared false to him, as false as the date of 1644 which it carried. He conjectured that since the painting of the same subject in the National Gallery in London bore this date as well, and was valued highly in seventeenth-century Holland, it would not have been surprising for someone to later "borrow" this date for a forgery, trying to pass it off as the more renowned work. The fact that the depiction of the woman was closely related to the much smaller figure in the London picture, and that the gesture of the hand reaching out was taken from *The Night Watch* [FIG. 6] helped to settle the question, for such simple-minded recycling of pictorial elements was completely uncharacteristic of Rembrandt. He was not even willing to attribute it to any of Rembrandt's known pupils. As we shall see in later chapters, this painting would continue to vex Bredius and other Rembrandt authorities for decades to come. At the same time, it is sobering to realize that of the six paintings that Bredius himself lent to the exhibition, only one, the *Homer*, is still accepted as genuine.[59]

Hofstede de Groot's position was even more equivocal than Bredius's: despite his status as the primary organizer for the exhibition and author of the brief catalogue, Hofstede de Groot actually reviewed the Amsterdam Rembrandt show as well. It fell to Hofstede de Groot to both accept accolades for his work and defend his choice of paintings – and defend he did, with evident feeling, responding to critics in a letter published in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* that with the exception of *The Wine Tasters* (no. 78), there were no doubtful paintings on display. As Van Thiel pointed out, however, Hofstede de Groot went still further, maintaining that the choice of works for the exhibition provided a standard for authenticity that carried nearly religious conviction.[60] It is telling that he also called upon "Doctor Bode's" authority to support his cause by mentioning that all of the works other than *The Wine Tasters* were included in Bode's Rembrandt catalogue. Only someone with a better eye than Bode, with more experience in Rembrandt connoisseurship gained through

FIG. 35 – Rembrandt, *Young Woman at her Toilette*, ca. 1637-38

years of travel "from Chicago to Moscow" could provide any better understanding of Rembrandt's art – and Hofstede de Groot made clear such a person did not exist, especially among the exhibition's critics. Once more, Rembrandt connoisseurship was reserved for the few: the professionally trained (Bode, and Hofstede de Groot by implication) and fully committed connoisseurs.

In his review for *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, which also covered the London Rembrandt exhibition, Hofstede de Groot stated that his goal was not to make "aesthetic observations" but to offer "critical and chronological remarks," that is, to function as a scholar, not an art critic.[61] This provided him with the opportunity to vindicate his work as a Rembrandt connoisseur with a scholarly audience. He therefore concentrated on the paintings in Amsterdam that had been most criticized publicly: *Rembrandt and His Wife Saskia*, the *Slaughtered Ox*; *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*; the *Study of an Angel*; and the Schwerin *Study of an Old Man*. Today none of these works are accepted as authentic Rembrandt paintings; most disappeared from the literature by the time of Bredius's Rembrandt catalogue of 1935.

How did Hofstede de Groot justify his advocacy of these paintings as works by Rembrandt? He was forced to admit "even leading connoisseurs like Bredius" believed that *Rembrandt and His Wife Saskia* [FIG. 30] was painted by Ferdinand Bol; these scholars pointed to the signature of Rembrandt without a "d" as one not used by him about 1635-36, when the painting had supposedly been executed by Rembrandt. Hofstede de Groot disputed the validity of this claim by referring to insisted was a similar signature on the Dresden double portrait of Rembrandt and Saskia.[62] He compared the Buckingham Palace *Rembrandt and His Wife Saskia* to a painting on display in the London Rembrandt exhibition, the so-called *Orator* (no. 22) there attributed to Rembrandt, but which he maintained was by Bol – not to support the attribution of the Buckingham Palace picture to Bol, as Bredius and others preferred, but to indicate instead its superiority to Bol's art.[63] "One need only compare the flatter modeling of the head and the greenish tone on the inside of the hand to see the distance which separated student from master."[64] Hofstede de Groot admitted to the weaknesses of *Rembrandt and His Wife Saskia*, such as the inexpressive head of Rembrandt and the "tediously" painted red tablecloth, but insisted that the fact that the figure of "Saskia" reappeared in the smaller painting attributed to Rembrandt in Saint Petersburg was not, as some maintained, evidence against the Buckingham Palace work. Its existence only indicated that Rembrandt had been forced after his bankruptcy to sell the larger, earlier work, but that he had

copied the figure of Saskia from it as a remembrance of happier days. This curiously argued justification for an attribution to Rembrandt ultimately rested more on Hofstede de Groot's sentimental associations of the painting with the circumstances of Rembrandt's life than on any reliably employed method of connoisseurship. Nor could his comparison to the *Orator* in the London exhibition help in his attribution at all; only comparison to a documented work by Ferdinand Bol would be of any use for this exercise, certainly not a painting of which the attribution was itself in question.

His defense of the other paintings was typically succinct, but unconvincing in offering any secure basis for his argumentation, and evincing a strange prioritization of stylistic elements. The *Slaughtered Ox* had been rejected by Bredius and Michel as inauthentic when compared to the version of this subject in Glasgow, but for Hofstede de Groot, differences between their execution were simply the result of a decade or more separation in time, and moreover, the "still life of pots and vessels was thoroughly Rembrandtesque."[65] The odd blue tone in the beard of the *Study of an Old Man* was explained away as an artifact of the mixture of the surface paint with the underpainting. He agreed with Bredius that the *Study of an Angel* seemed to be a fragment of a larger composition, possibly a *Sacrifice of Manoah* (and he added that he and Bredius had seen it together at a London art dealer a number of years previously). Even if the attribution of the *Sacrifice of Manoah* to Barent Fabritius should prove correct, and the angel fragment shown to have been part of it originally, Hofstede de Groot maintained that the angel itself was compatible with Rembrandt's painting style of the 1650s, and could represent a collaboration of student and master. This was a less tentative stance than Bredius had taken on this picture.[66]

Hofstede de Groot's longest rebuttal was to the criticism of *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, which, as we have seen, was the most controversial painting in the Amsterdam exhibition [FIG. 29]. Hofstede de Groot's argument can be summarized as follows: the composition was Rembrandtesque; the date of 1644 appeared to be authentic (even if the signature was not); the disturbing effect of the painting's composition as a whole was a product of the fact that Rembrandt had used a foreign prototype, probably a Venetian painting, and other foreign influences were present too: "the head of John, behind Christ at the right, was apparently inspired by Van Dyck."[67]

What Hofstede de Groot offered was a series of rationalizations to support the painting's attribution to Rembrandt, not detailed comparative stylistic analysis or statements backed up by physical evidence. No matter how many

such points were offered, his argument would never become stronger. The similarity of the Weber painting's composition to other works by Rembrandt was not proof of Rembrandt's execution of the work, nor was the date on the painting (especially when the signature was admitted to appear false) solid testimony upon which one could base an attribution. These are basic problems of purely visual connoisseurship; yet it is striking how unconvincing, even shallow, Hofstede de Groot's stylistic comparisons of pictures were in his review. He preferred to present only his conclusions, rather than his process of thought or a complete analysis. Yet, he impugned the connoisseurship of other viewers, especially artists, as uninformed and often completely off base, in an attempt to reserve this sphere of activity for professional art historians. It is likely that Jan Veth's criticisms among others were on his mind when he stated his objections to connoisseurship by artists; however, this was a view he certainly shared with Bode, who had gone on record in 1886 stating his lack of conviction in the ability of artists as connoisseurs because of their subjectivity.[68] When it came to the question of who should be trusted as a connoisseur, the museum-based professional or any "amateur," no matter how talented, Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Bredius were in complete agreement.

The London Rembrandt Exhibition of 1899

Two months after the close of the Amsterdam exhibition, another temporary exhibit of the master's paintings and drawings opened in London as the Royal Academy's Winter Exhibition from January to March of 1899.[69] While not the first exhibition of Rembrandt's art in London – it was preceded by smaller displays of Rembrandt's paintings in 1872 and 1889, as well as periodic exhibitions of his etchings, as in 1877 – it was by far the largest, comprising 102 paintings and 106 drawings.[70] This was not a second venue for the Amsterdam exhibition; rather, it was planned independently and emphasized different aspects of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre. While the Amsterdam show aimed for a full retrospective of all the periods of Rembrandt's art, the London exhibition focused on paintings from Rembrandt's most successful years in Amsterdam, emphasizing the period from about 1633 to the mid-1650s. Rembrandt's work as a landscape painter was much better represented in London, while his work as a history painter was somewhat underrepresented.

Holding the London Rembrandt exhibit immediately after the one in Amsterdam was a brave move.[71] Reviewers such as Hofstede de Groot commented that lacking paintings of importance – *The Night Watch*, *The Syndics*, and "*The Jewish Bride*," the London show could not make the same impact as Amsterdam's. But a different point was made by it instead: the depth of Great Britain's holdings of Rembrandt's art as a source of national pride.[72] The forty paintings shown in both cities were almost all from British collections, and the Royal Academy show subtly implied that the Amsterdam exhibition would not have been such a success without extensive loans from British owners, for only sixteen paintings in Amsterdam came from Dutch collections. Conversely, only six of the paintings on view in London were from non-British collections. Given the nationalistic context of the coronation of Queen Wilhelmina for the Amsterdam show, therefore, it is reasonable to view the London show as a response that championed British taste, wealth, and cultural imperialism, and emphasized the importance of the arts as an instrument of national identity in the nineteenth century. Queen Victoria's loan of nine paintings from Buckingham Palace, Hampton Court, and Windsor Castle further underscored this meaning. A contemporary quote from *The Times* of London is evidence that this is not just the retrospective understanding of history: "It is as though we had regarded the Amsterdam exhibition of Rembrandt as a challenge, and had replied to it, 'This is all very well, but we can do it better in England.'"[73]

The Royal Academy exhibition was favorably received by its reviewers who were conscious, yet again, of the historical significance of such a monographic display for art history in general and Rembrandt scholarship in particular. As had occurred with the Amsterdam exhibition, most reviewers, such as Herbert Cook, writing for *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* and Marcel Nicolle, in another essay for *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, tended to concentrate on the same few paintings, either those which were little known previously, but served as fine examples of Rembrandt's art, such as *The Visitation* then in the Duke of Westminster's collection (no. 52, FIG. 26), or those which were suspect in their attribution, such as *The Entombment*, then the property of the Duke of Abercorne (no. 94, now titled *Lamentation*, FIG. 37).[74]

Considered together, the two exhibitions allowed for the public comparison of paintings by Rembrandt that, as the property of private individuals, were usually inaccessible to all but the most important Rembrandt specialists. For the scholars themselves, the exhibits offered, by and large, the vindication of their previously expressed opinions about authorship and quality. Bode's illness

caused him to miss the London exhibition as well as Amsterdam's, but he was still present in spirit; reviewers routinely referred to his published comments about the works on display.

Bredius and Hofstede de Groot on the London exhibition

Bredius's review for *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* was more laudatory than Hofstede de Groot's in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*; perhaps being less closely identified with the Amsterdam exhibition than Hofstede de Groot was, he could afford to be more generous. The director of the Mauritshuis took the opportunity to discuss puzzling pictures such as the *Lamentation*, which for him, had wonderful passages, but was also problematic as a composition.[75] Continuing to pursue problems of dating in the later part of Rembrandt's career, Bredius was gratified to see again two "old acquaintances" among Rembrandt paintings, *The Tribute Money* of Mr. Beaumont (no. 21), and *The Adoration of the Magi* from Buckingham Palace (no. 66), dated 1655 and 1657 respectively. He was struck by how well they fit in with a sequence including the Darmstadt *Flagellation* that had so occupied him in Amsterdam.[76] Bredius's instinct about this grouping wasn't wrong: it appears now that all three paintings emulate or mimic Rembrandt's style from the mid-1650s, but none of them are viewed any longer as the work of the master.

Bredius also indicated which paintings on view in London he considered to be inauthentic or copies. He discussed the inclusion of an "excellent Ferdinand Bol," masquerading as a Rembrandt (no. 22: the same painting Hofstede de Groot compared to the Buckingham Palace *Rembrandt and His Wife Saskia)* and indicated two instances where originals and copies of the same composition had been included, thus affording every viewer a lesson in connoisseurship.[77]

While Hofstede de Groot found works to admire in the London show, he was also more openly critical of it, although he had served as a consultant for its organization.[78] He disputed the authenticity of eight paintings, including no. 22, which he described as "a notorious Bol."[79] Five of the eight disputed works were copies according to Hofstede de Groot, including the two whose originals were also in the exhibition. What Hofstede de Groot added, however, was that one of these originals was owned by Bredius himself (cat. no. 1, FIG. 36) and was also known to Hofstede de Groot in four copies.[80] Such a remark would assure

FIG. 36 – Copy after Rembrandt, *Study of an Old Woman*

FIG. 37 – Studio of Rembrandt van Rijn, *Lamentation*, late 1640s

his readers of his credibility as a seasoned, well-traveled connoisseur, one who was capable of carrying out the kind of internal visual comparisons required of the contemporary expert in authentication. Comments about the condition of paintings, such as the poor cleaning of a painting from Glasgow that he attributed to Rembrandt's studio, also helped to legitimate his expertise, by subtly pointing out his attention to the factors that could complicate attribution, such as overpainting, inadequate or incorrect restorations, or discolored varnish.

Hofstede de Groot called the *Lamentation*, with its life-size figures, a "surprise" for Rembrandt scholars, and like Bredius, noted that it stood alone

in Rembrandt's oeuvre [FIG. 37].[81] He carefully weighed his evaluation of the painting, commenting on areas that were well painted and those less so, noting the alterations in shape that caused the loss of some figures at the top, and expressing his reservations about the work as a whole. The plight of Rembrandt connoisseurs such as Bredius and Hofstede de Groot in such a case, while of their own making, was nonetheless genuine. The Rembrandt oeuvre as a scholarly construct was in ever greater flux, given the frequent discoveries of paintings that seemed to reveal new sides of the master. As a result, any Rembrandtesque work of some quality had to be considered carefully before its claim to authenticity was accepted or rejected. Yet the limits of Rembrandt's capacities as a painter seemed to change the more he was studied, and a painting with a number of life-size figures could not be rejected simply because it was unprecedented in his oeuvre. Bredius's and Hofstede de Groot's caution about making a final judgment was appropriate in this instance, but nonetheless reveals the problems engendered by a practice of connoisseurship arrived at almost exclusively through visual analysis of style, but that did not limit itself to basing new attributions on documented works, or at least those with an impeccable provenance.

It is likely that in today's art world, Bredius and Hofstede de Groot would not be considered appropriate figures to review the Rembrandt exhibitions, given their personal involvement as organizers of one of the shows and lenders to both of them. But with Bode sick in bed, no one else was better qualified to discuss issues of authorship and quality in Rembrandt connoisseurship, to point out the relationship of copies to originals, and to calculate the effects of dirty varnish or poor restorations.[82] Undoubtedly Bredius and Hofstede de Groot would have railed at any implication that they were less than fully objective in their judgments: this would be an attack on their scholarly integrity and their commitment to "scientific," unprejudiced research. Yet one can only be skeptical about the flexibility of standards, especially in Hofstede de Groot's case, who was so very much more critical in his connoisseurship when writing about the paintings in London than the ones he had chosen to display in Amsterdam. What is certain, however, is that by the end of the two exhibitions, the status of Bredius and Hofstede de Groot as Rembrandt connoisseurs worthy of comparison to Bode was established beyond doubt.

FIG. 38 – Attributed to Rembrandt, *Portrait of an Old Man ("Rembrandt's Brother")*, 1650

Acquisition of Rembrandt paintings by Bode, Bredius, and Hofstede de Groot

In addition to their written scholarship, the three experts were also busy in the 1890s with the practical application of their Rembrandt connoisseurship to the realm of the art market. Hofstede de Groot set himself up as an independent scholar and connoisseur in 1898 after leaving the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam. Over the following decades, his position as an expert for hire would enable him to participate in the art trade as both a consultant to private individuals and dealers, and as a buyer himself. Indeed, as Bredius had mentioned in his review of the Amsterdam exhibit, Hofstede de Groot purchased a painting of a young woman at an auction in Cologne where it had been attributed to Govaert Flinck; after its purchase, he promptly rechristened it a study by Rembrandt of his sister Liesbeth and lent it to both Rembrandt exhibitions.[83]

However, Bredius was far more active as a buyer. He received sufficient funds from the Dutch government to finance the purchase of three paintings for the Mauritshuis: *Portrait of an Old Man*, 1650 (*"Rembrandt's Brother, Adriaen van Rijn"*, FIG. 38) in 1891, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (now called *Travelers Resting* FIG. 39) in 1894; and *Bust of a Laughing Man in a Gorget* in 1895.[84] Bode wrote an article for *Oud Holland* about *"Rembrandt's Brother, Adriaen van Rijn,"* after its purchase by the Mauritshuis, thus giving his imprimatur to this acquisition; it was also on view at the Rembrandt exhibition in Amsterdam.[85] Of these three paintings, only *Bust of a Laughing Man in a Gorget* is accepted by some scholars as a Rembrandt today; the Rembrandt Research Project catalogued it in its "B" group, for paintings whose attribution to Rembrandt could neither be conclusively proven or disproved on a stylistic basis.[86]

Yet this was only one side of Bredius's acquisitions in the heated market for Rembrandts in the 1890s. Bredius privately acquired seven more paintings attributed to Rembrandt during this decade, and promptly lent each of them to the Mauritshuis: *Study of an Old Woman* (*"Rembrandt's Mother,"* FIG. 36), 1890; *Bust of an Old Man in a Cap ("Study of Rembrandt's Father")*, 1892; *Portrait of a Young Woman*, 1893; *Homer* [FIG. 34], 1894; *Praying Woman*, 1897; *David Playing the Harp before Saul* [FIG. 25], 1898; and *Minerva*, 1899.[87] All of these works except for the *Minerva* were included in the Amsterdam Rembrandt exhibition; today only the *Homer* has fully retained its status as a Rembrandt.[88] While Bredius's success rate in acquiring Rembrandts appears very low based on this

FIG. 39 – Imitator of Rembrandt, *Travelers Resting*

group, it actually was a bit high for paintings attributed to Rembrandt that came on the market in the 1890s.[89]

Bode's own spectacular run of success with his acquisitions of five Rembrandt paintings for the Gemäldegalerie from 1879 to 1883 was followed by a period of quiescence, in part necessitated by the high cost of these paintings, which were paid for over a period of years.[90] Further Rembrandt purchases only recommenced in 1890, when Bode became director of the Gemäldegalerie. Of the five paintings Berlin acquired as Rembrandts in the 1890s, three are still catalogued as such today: *Preaching of Saint John the Baptist* [FIG. 40] from about 1634-35, acquired in London in 1892 from the auction of the collection of Lord Ward, future Earl of Dudley; *The Mennonite Preacher Cornelis Claesz Anslo and His Wife, Aeltje Gerritsdr. Schouten* [FIG. 41], 1641, purchased from the Earl of Ashburnham in 1894; and *Portrait Study of a Young Jew* [FIG. 42], of about 1648, from a private collection in Belgium.[91] The first two were paintings of the highest caliber in sound states of preservation, and epitomized aspects of Rembrandt's art not before represented in the Berlin collection. They also reflected the success of Bode's policy since the 1870s of familiarizing himself with Rembrandt in private collections, above all those in Great Britain, and of staying on good terms with their owners and English art dealers through his frequent trips to England. Bode's pride in such acquisitions was manifested in his memoir when he recounted the story of how he obtained the Anslo double portrait. He had long hoped to acquire this portrait for the Gemäldegalerie, and given his understanding of the high price it would fetch, began the necessary bureaucratic discussion of its possible purchase as far back as 1884.[92] Knowing that the young Earl of Ashburnham was "urgently" in need of money, in May of 1894 he traveled to London, where he entered into negotiations for the Rembrandt painting, obtaining it for 20,000 pounds. However, it appears that the transaction was not quite so simple, or so one-sided: the London firm of P. and D. Colnaghi was involved in the deal as well.[93] How important this purchase was to Bode is indicated by what he had to sacrifice for it: during the three-year period when the loan for the *Anslo* portrait was repaid, the museum was unable to purchase other paintings.[94]

After their acquisition, Bode dedicated an article to each work in the museum's journal, the *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*. Such articles formed the majority of Bode's art-historical publications, and helped to establish a precedent for a new genre in the literature of art history that would

FIG. 40 – Rembrandt, *Preaching of Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1634-35

be taken up by curators at many other museums once their own house periodicals were established.[95]

One example of this literary genre will exemplify how Bode wished to present new acquisitions to the journal's readership. In his article on *Preaching of Saint John the Baptist* [FIG. 40], Bode emphasized this painting's status as among the few whose provenance could be traced back to Rembrandt's time; it also had the rare distinction of having been discussed in a contemporary source, the *Inleiding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst* of 1678 by Rembrandt's pupil, Samuel van Hoogstraten.[96] It was an exceptional work in the painter's oeuvre as a monochromatic oil study, since only a handful of such studies by Rembrandt had survived. Bode's decision to mention the price the painting fetched, the considerable sum of about 2500 English guineas or 65,000 francs, should be understood as a sign of the work's status and rarity, and of the gallery director's pride in obtaining it.

FIG. 41 – Rembrandt, *The Mennonite Preacher Cornelis Claesz Anslo and his Wife*, 1641

While earlier cataloguers had claimed that the painting held both signature and date of 1656, Bode stated that cleaning had revealed neither. Instead, he dated the work through comparison of style and technique with other works by Rembrandt, finding that paintings of the mid- to late-1630s were the most similar to it. Since Bode also considered two of the many small figures in the painting to be portraits of Rembrandt and his mother he compared them to "their" images in other paintings, and arrived at a date of about 1637-38.[97] His approach to assigning the work a date derived from his longstanding belief in the "scientific" nature of dating by "objective" means, such as directly linking Rembrandt's works with his life, about which archivists had provided so much data.[98]

The third authentic painting bought by Berlin in the 1890s, *Portrait Study of a Young Jew* [FIG. 42], was among the first purchases made for the Gemäldegalerie by the newly founded Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein (KFMV). First planned by Bode in 1894 and officially recognized by the Prussian government in 1897, this organization united wealthy Berliners and other German art lovers in a group that would donate funds and art works, particularly to the planned Renaissance museum.[99] As recognition of the role the late Kaiser Friedrich had played as the patron of the museum during his years as crown prince, the organization was named in his honor, and was patronized in turn by Kaiser Wilhelm II. As the first organization of its type, one that became ubiquitous and highly successful in the twentieth century, Bode's KFMV "friends" group was a groundbreaking innovation in the museum world, and one that would help lead to the greater power of museum directors.[100] For Bode, it was a calculated and inventive response to the frustrations he often felt, from an early point in his career, as a museum professional whose greatest gift was his brilliance in acquisitions. While he actively encouraged the formation of art collections by Berliners, at least in part out of a desire to obtain significant legacies in the future, the creation of the KFMV was Bode's practical response to more immediate demands, and an indicator of the growing pace of the art market near the turn of the century, when a director who moved slowly might well lose out on significant acquisitions. The choice of *Portrait Study of a Young Jew* to help inaugurate the new museum organization was tangible evidence of Bode's commitment to expanding the collection of Rembrandts in Berlin.

What proved over time to be both a more spectacular and controversial Rembrandt purchase by the KFMV for the museum was that of the *Man with the Golden Helmet*, in 1897 [FIG. 31].[101] Bode had already received a photograph of the painting in 1890, when it was still in private hands, but did not pursue its acquisition then. He mentioned it, however, in an article of 1891 on a painting recently acquired by the Mauritshuis, which he thought depicted the same sitter as *Man with the Golden Helmet*, whom he identified as Rembrandt's brother Adriaen.[102] When the painting was offered to him again seven years later, this time through the agency of the art dealers P. and D. Colnaghi of London, Bode's attitude changed. According to his account in *Mein Leben*, he proposed to purchase the painting for a limited sum, taking the risk that the painting would prove to be less damaged after it had been thoroughly cleaned, despite the doubts of Berlin's conservator, Alois Hauser.[103] Bode happily recalled in his memoir that his gamble proved wise and the painting more dirty than damaged,

FIG. 42 – Rembrandt, *Portrait Study of a Young Jew*, 1648

thereby demonstrating once more his superior abilities as a connoisseur who could look past the ill-use of time and accumulation of dirt to see the gem sparkling underneath. Bearing a new, tinted layer of varnish, the "gallery tone" or "Bode-firnis," the painting went on display.[104] In time Bode's faith in the painting seemed justified by public response, which over the decades came to cherish *Man with the Golden Helmet* as one of the most important treasures in the Gemäldegalerie, one that captured all the qualities of Rembrandt's later style.[105]

The situation was in truth somewhat more complicated. Despite Bode's claim, Hauser's reservations about the condition were sounder than Bode's optimism. Even after its ostensibly miraculous cleaning, the painting's reception at the Amsterdam exhibition was, as we have seen, less than fully enthusiastic. Repeatedly, the disparity of execution between the head and helmet was commented upon. Ironically, in later years this very quality was used to support the painting's authenticity, and a number of other paintings in which Rembrandt seemed to highlight a still-life element were called upon as evidence.[106]

Why, then, did this painting come to be seen by many as a paradigmatic Rembrandt, at least until the late 1960s, when it was again seriously questioned?[107] It was the very Rembrandtesque nature of the painting that both led to its rise in popularity and its eventual downfall as a Rembrandt. The showpiece helmet was a romantically appealing object, redolent of the many anecdotes about Rembrandt's love for costumes and the exotic. The brooding inwardness, the isolation of a figure in space echoing its psychologically withdrawn condition all seemed characteristic of the artist, and were sensitively evoked by the more delicate painting of the head itself. Yet the helmet, and to some extent the cuirass, were painted with all the bravura of the later Rembrandt, with heavy impastoed passages and large, confident brushstrokes.[108] Here was everything one could want in a Rembrandt—but that itself was the problem, for the picture reflected a kind of quintessential Rembrandt, one that mixed techniques used in different periods of Rembrandt's life in order to create a work balanced between sensitivity, even tenderness, and drama.

Man with the Golden Helmet became emblematic of Rembrandt connoisseurship and Bode's vision of the artist. In an article devoted to the painting, Ferdinand Laban also described what he saw as the ideal state of Rembrandt connoisseurship that arose in the nineteenth century. We are already familiar with its outlines: the impact of the invention of photography, the development of modern modes of transportation, and the expansion of the art market, all of

which allowed scholars to become far more knowledgeable about the painter's oeuvre than ever before. But Laban also insisted that what had been most needed was a "predestined personality, who was ready to stake their entire energy, and make the most of all available means of help, in order to delineate the sum of Rembrandt's artistic effects… Wilhelm Bode enjoys not only the fame of standing at the summit of Rembrandt research, he also enjoys in the truest sense of the word the sovereign fortune to be familiar, through his own contemplation, with all the known paintings of the great master disseminated throughout Europe and America."[109] In this account Bode's skills as a connoisseur are seen as innate, even divinely granted (his "predestined personality"); once more, this is a vision of connoisseurship utterly opposed to the Morellian paradigm. The appreciative description of *Man with the Golden Helmet* which then followed associated Bode's gifts with the acquisition of this painting.

The Bode-Hofstede de Groot Catalogue Raisonné of Rembrandt Paintings

While the Rembrandt specialists prided themselves on their high standards and objectivity, their coexisting pleasure (and competitive spirit) in discovering "new" Rembrandts led during the course of the 1890s to laxer standards for authenticity. Archival knowledge of the artist's life had grown greatly, along with the possibilities for individual connoisseurs to see paintings in person, but no one had even attempted to articulate a set of stylistic characteristics to help determine whether a painting was by Rembrandt or not. Thus, as more and more paintings were added the oeuvre, the image of Rembrandt's art grew blurrier, rather than clearer.

This problem was made manifest in the major Rembrandt publication of the 1890s, Bode's long-planned, fully illustrated *catalogue raisonné* of Rembrandt's paintings, a lavish publication in many respects. Encompassing eight folio volumes that appeared between 1897 and 1906, it was published in German, English, and French editions, each of which was available in both a small luxury edition of seventy copies printed on Japanese paper as well as a regular limited edition of 500.[110] The catalogue was a pioneering work, as one of the first examples of a full survey of an individual artist's paintings with a complete set of photographic reproductions. Indeed, Bode affirmed that such a project could not have been executed any earlier than the 1890s, given the difficulties

of reproducing paintings, especially works so dark in tone as Rembrandt's, through photographic means.[111]

This luxurious publication was expensive to produce and unlikely to generate any profit from its subscription sales. For the author, this was apparently not an issue, for Bode's primary goal was to expand knowledge of Rembrandt and solidify his own reputation as the world's premier Rembrandt specialist. But for a publisher this was a different matter, and Bode related in his memoir that when he first approached German publishers about the project around 1886, they all refused the work unless they received a large annual subsidy to cover the extra costs.[112] At last, the Parisian art dealer and publisher, Charles Sedelmeyer, whom Bode described as "a courageous and disinterested coadjutor," agreed to take on the work. While Sedelmeyer might well have been sincere in his desire to further scholarship on this painter, his interest had a practical subtext as well, for, as Bode added, "more than a tithe" of Rembrandt paintings "has passed through his collection," euphemistically referring to Sedelmeyer's active art dealing.[113] The fact that dealers and art historians (including museum curators) were working in tandem ("*Zusammenwirken der Forschung und des Kunsthandels*") to satisfy the "thirst" for Rembrandt's art did not seem problematic to Bode at least at this point.[114] But the more Rembrandt paintings were discovered and published, the more interest grew in the artist, which helped to raise prices for his other works. As Bode's partner in this enterprise, Sedelmeyer could add to his own reputation as a dealer in Rembrandts, and bring in more business, from buyers and sellers alike.[115] Hence Sedelmeyer's loan of photographs of Rembrandt paintings at the Amsterdam exhibition also helped to advertise his role as the most active dealer in Rembrandts at the time. A few years after the catalogue was complete, Bode's old nemesis Alfred von Wurzbach even accused him of being involved in a financial conspiracy with Sedelmeyer to identify "Rembrandts," publish them, and see their sale to eager collectors (see Chapter 6). While such an accusation was unfounded in a literal sense, since Bode did not take advantage of his knowledge for personal gain, surely both Bode and Sedelmeyer realized that such a publication would have an effect on an already heated art market.

While Bode had been keeping extensive notes for such a catalogue for decades, building upon the research he had carried out for the *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei* of 1883, the work required for the full-scale catalogue, with its expanded categories of information for the paintings, was far more burdensome. These demands upon Bode's time and energy were then

exacerbated by his illness of the mid 1890s, forcing him to take on an assistant: Hofstede de Groot. While the two authors differed in later years how much responsibility each carried in this project, it appears that Hofstede de Groot's portion was largely organizational and editorial, concentrated on research into the history and literature of each painting, while Bode retained the role of the decisive voice when judging the individual works. Indeed, he disagreed with Hofstede de Groot's previously published opinions more than once in the catalogue.

For each painting, the authors provided a title and location, a brief description of the subject and coloration, and information on the support and size. Signatures, if present, were reproduced, and dates either listed or assigned. Finally, brief references to the exhibition history, literature, and provenance were furnished. Each painting was reproduced in photogravure on the page facing the description; the photographs had been obtained from specialists in art photography. While Bode would refer in certain cases to the opinions of other Rembrandt specialists, especially Bredius, Hofstede de Groot, and Michel, he would rarely refer back to Vosmaer. He only included citations for Wurzbach's and Dutuit's discussions of the individual paintings in their catalogues, rather than addressing their opinions, which had often been expressed equivocally.

Despite Bode's criticism in 1870 of Vosmaer's chronological catalogue, he had become convinced of the soundness of this arrangement by the 1890s; "In cataloguing the works, I have chosen the chronological order as that which gives the scientific student the pleasure of following the master step by step in his development, and also as that best calculated to preserve the critic from over-subjective pronouncements."[116] This last comment indicated that Bode had come to believe that a chronological arrangement would impose an empirical structure that would keep the cataloguer from straying too far from the evidence in his assessments. Here, perhaps, Lautner's criticism of Bode's relative dating of paintings in the 1883 catalogue had taken effect, even if unconsciously.

The catalogue was also arranged by subject; for instance, volume two was devoted to portraits made in Amsterdam 1632-34, to historical subjects, and "Studies of heads," i.e. *tronies* (although a few three-quarter or half-length figures were included in this category as well). Indices of locations and by subject were included in volume seven.

The first seven folios included a total of 539 paintings; the last volume, devoted to a general overview of Rembrandt's life and art and to Hofstede de Groot's collection of relevant Rembrandt documents, contained a supplement

with fifty-six additional paintings, bringing the final total to 595 paintings attributed to Rembrandt. As Bode noted with more pride than caution in his memoir, this total nearly doubled the one he had published in 1883, and represented the discovery of some two hundred paintings in a little more than twenty years. The growing presence of North American collections, both public and private, among Rembrandt owners was also noteworthy. Forty-eight paintings were listed as being in the United States or Canada in the locality index in volume seven. In the supplement included in the eighth volume, seven of the additional fifty-six paintings had made their way to the New World. In the list of fifty-four paintings that had changed ownership in the years since the first volume had been published, twelve were in the United States. All told, almost ten percent of the works Bode attributed to Rembrandt had crossed the Atlantic Ocean by 1906.

An essay by Bode on the paintings reproduced in each volume preceded the catalogue entries themselves. These essays treated Rembrandt's life, as it related to his art, and the development of his style, briefly mentioning each painting in the volume. Bode's discussions reveal something troubling about his development as an art historian and connoisseur. While he rarely changed his mind when it came to his conception of Rembrandt's style, thematic interests, and expressive capacities, enabling him to quoting liberally from his text of 1883 (as he then had from his 1870 review) he had considerably loosened his standards for what was acceptable as Rembrandt's work since that time. Even after a full generation of work on the artist, Bode's conceptualization of Rembrandt's art had not significantly changed or deepened, despite all of his own new "discoveries" of Rembrandt paintings and the research of other scholars. Yet the parameters of Rembrandt's production and style had grown extremely porous for him. By the time this catalogue was finished, the view it presented of Rembrandt's capacities, range, and quality as an artist was much more amorphous, and much less accurate, than it had been two decades earlier. This was by no means all Bode's responsibility: he shared this eagerness to discover "new" Rembrandts with Bredius and Hofstede de Groot. But he was clearly the leader in this activity, and it was his pronouncements that had held the most weight.

It is impossible at this point to make a precise count of the number of works accepted by Bode that are rejected from Rembrandt's oeuvre today for several reasons: the disappearance of paintings since the beginning of the twentieth century, and disagreement about the attribution of some pictures by current Rembrandt specialists. However, if one considers just the first volume of

the catalogue, the paintings attributed to Rembrandt in his early career up to 1632, of seventy-one works, half or more have been rejected or are still under dispute today. At least thirty-two of the seventy-one had come on the market since 1869; the majority of these were sold in the 1880s and 1890s. And, of these thirty-two, fifteen had gone through Sedelmeyer's hands. Bode was responsible for the first scholarly citation for twenty-seven paintings; thirty of the seventy-one had not been mentioned in his 1883 list of Rembrandts. The numbers change somewhat from volume to volume: sometimes as many as two-thirds of the works in a given volume might now be regarded as authentic, but the overall proportion averages to be only about fifty percent.

By far the majority of the works in this catalogue now regarded as inauthentic were those discovered in the second half of the nineteenth century.[117] The worst record was that of the fifty-six paintings published in the supplement in volume seven: of these only six are widely accepted as Rembrandts today.[118] This is not entirely surprising, since a good number of paintings considered to be Rembrandts before this time could be traced back to the eighteenth or even the seventeenth century, and stood a much better chance of originating in Rembrandt's studio, whether by his hand alone or executed by assistants and pupils. The further one moved from this core group of works, the better the chance that one encounter paintings that were merely Rembrandtesque, rather than by Rembrandt or, at least, a close associate. After a point, then, the understanding of what constituted Rembrandt's style became less clear, and ultimately, less reliable, for now paintings whose authenticity was not and could not be established were included in the group of works that were used to define standards for other attributions to Rembrandt.

In the catalogue entries Bode related his evaluations of paintings at greater length than in any of his previous publications. What is soon apparent is that both his standards for quality and his ranking of stylistic elements as factors in deciding attributions were far from fixed.

Lacking a consistent set of criteria to which a painting had to answer, Bode's reasoning for his attributions changed case by case, as the following examples demonstrate.

In volume three he commented on the painting *Young Woman at her Toilette* [FIG. 35] in the Hermitage Museum in this manner:

> After repeated examinations I have come to the conclusion that the doubts as to the authenticity of this picture in the Hermitage, to which

> I assented in my 'Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei', are unfounded. The scale, unusually small for this period, and the retouches here and there, give a somewhat sharp and timid character to the drawing in parts; but the treatment of the light, the luminous vigour of the carnations, the costume, ornaments, and arrangement, no less than the refined pictorial treatment, all point to Rembrandt, and to Rembrandt at this particular stage of his activity. To judge by the golden tone, the warm colour, and the enamel like surface, the date of the picture is probably about a year later than that of the various *Floras* and the *Sophonisba*, perhaps 1636 or 1637.[119]

Here Bode weighed tone and color above draftsmanship and "customary scale" as factors that indicate the painting's attribution, and overruled his own earlier doubts, as well as those of others. But why these two elements were privileged instead of others in this evaluation was not specified. A second example [FIG. 43] is even more troubling.

> A well-known picture in the Dresden Gallery, *The Old Woman Weighing Gold* has a *genre*-like motive almost identical with that of the earliest dated picture by Rembrandt known to us, *The Money Changer* of 1627, though the old woman of the Dresden picture is life-size, and essentially different in conception. The *genre*-like treatment must not therefore be allowed to tell against the authenticity of the picture, though the signature and date (*Rembrandt f. 1643*) are certainly not by the master's own hand. What really seems startling in a work of Rembrandt's is the soft fused handling, combined with the commonplace colour, and the poverty of the arrangement and treatment of such accessories as the curtain, the cupboard, etc. Nowhere do we recognize the touch of the master-hand. And yet the chiaroscuro is so delicate, the drawing so excellent, that I cannot venture to pronounce against Rembrandt's authorship of the work, especially as it does not remind me of any of his pupils or disciples.[120]

Even if Bode was "startled" here by certain elements, especially ones often considered highly significant in connoisseurship, such as technique (handling), the color scheme, composition, and even the subject, the treatment of chiaroscuro and drawing win out in this case. But how heavily was each factor weighed?

FIG. 43 – Rembrandt School, *Old Woman Weighing Gold*

How many pictorial and thematic elements needed to comply with Bode's conception of Rembrandt's art to justify an attribution to the master? What exactly characterizes the distinctions made here between "soft fused handling," the "touch of the master-hand" and "drawing so excellent?" We are not told why the final decision was made for inclusion rather than exclusion of this work. Despite the complete lack of recognition of "the touch of the master-hand," the painting is deemed a Rembrandt – but how can it be a Rembrandt, without his hand?

Whereas in his 1883 survey of Rembrandt paintings Bode made a point of the fact that he did not pass judgment on paintings he had not seen, in this later catalogue he commented several times on pictures he knew only from photographs, though it appears he always stated when this was the case.[121]

> The large *Descent from the Cross* [*Lamentation*, FIG. 37] in the Duke of Abercorne's collection at Baron's Court (Ireland) dates from the year 1650. It was first made known to the general public by the Rembrandt Exhibition in London in 1899. Unhappily circumstances prevented me from seeing this work, and I can only judge of it from a photograph. This, I am bound to say, does not make a very convincing impression on me: with the possible exception of the Virgin, none of the figures show the characteristically Rembrandtesque type. The standing figures behind the group in the foreground are so commonplace, that, as indeed I have been told is the case, they must have been entirely repainted. But even the Joseph of Arimathaea, with his waving white hair and beard, a type that at once recalls S. de Koninck's old men, the beautiful Magdalen at the cross, and above all the Christ himself, a finely formed and carefully painted nude figure with a noble head, are more or less alien to Rembrandt's well-known personages. On the other hand, the dead body on the light winding-sheet is so remarkable in its pictorial effect, and so masterly in drawing and modelling, the two women at the head and feet of Jesus are so superb in colour and chiaroscuro, that they can scarcely have been painted by anyone but the great master himself. Besides this, the dead body is arranged in a very similar fashion in several of Rembrandt's drawings, and is closely akin to the corpse in the *Dr. Deyman Anatomy Lesson* of 1656 in colour and handling.[122]

In his earliest writing on Rembrandt attribution issues, Bode suggested that he went through a step-by-step deductive process to arrive at his conclusion; here, he merely listed characteristics for and against the painting's authenticity. At least with the *Lamentation* he described the painting without conclusively deciding for its authenticity. Nonetheless, the very inclusion of such paintings in this catalogue gave them a kind of imprimatur, and aided in the invention of an ill-defined oeuvre for Rembrandt.

In the volumes that appeared after 1899, Bode was especially cautious in his entries for the most problematic pictures displayed in the Amsterdam and London exhibitions.[123] His tendency, as seen with the *Lamentation*, was to be inclusive rather than exclusive. As a result, Bode also left the question of authorship unsettled in the case of the troublesome painting in the Weber collection, *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery* [FIG. 29]:

> The authenticity of the work was never questioned while it remained in the Duke of Marlborough's possession; it is mentioned by Smith as a "capital work" of Rembrandt's and described as genuine by Waagen and Vosmaer, and also by me in my *Studien*. But at the sale it fetched such a small price that it was obviously looked upon with suspicion by the numerous amateurs and dealers present; and when in 1898 the Rembrandt exhibition at Amsterdam brought it to the notice of a larger circle of connoisseurs, very conflicting opinions were pronounced. While some connoisseurs accepted it not only as genuine, but as a very admirable example of the master, others doubted its authenticity, or denied it emphatically. Among the specialist-students of Rembrandt, my colleague, Dr. Hofstede de Groot, upholds the authenticity of the picture, as he has always done, whereas Dr. A. Bredius declares that he fails to recognise the hand of Rembrandt in "this inanimate work". I am bound to confess that I have myself had my doubts of the picture, in view of the unusual character of several of the figures, of their arrangement as half-lengths, and, to some extent, of the handling itself. But on the other hand I must admit that the composition is in all essentials identical with an original design by Rembrandt, preserved in an etching executed by B. Picart early in the eighteenth century from a pen-drawing; the master is clearly recognisable in the reproduction, in spite of the hasty and imperfect rendering.[124]

Bode's discussion here was well crafted: he indicated that the painting had long enjoyed a good reputation while it was in a prestigious collection, and doubted only later. He cited the opposing views of Bredius and Hofstede de Groot, as representing the opposed camps on the painting's authenticity, and then staked out a position of scrupulous ambivalence, avoiding responsibility for the painting's attribution at this point, despite the fact that he had accepted it as a Rembrandt in 1883. It is likely that Bode wished to avoid offending either of his fellow Rembrandt specialists, or the owner, or, finally, and not inconsequentially, Sedelmeyer, who handled the sale to Weber. Yet even his argument for accepting the composition as genuine because it reflected an invention said to go back to Rembrandt, but known only through an eighteenth-century etching by the French printmaker B. Picart, offered a precarious kind of methodology.

Though in later years Bode would try to share more of the responsibility for certain controversial attributions with Hofstede de Groot, the truth was that, at the time when the catalogue was produced, Bode was understood to be the primary author of the Rembrandt "Bible," Laban's "predestined" prophet who would solve the mysteries of the Rembrandt canon.[125] Very few reviews of Bode's Rembrandt catalogue ever appeared in print; those that did tended to be, like Bredius's, in *Kunstchronik*, brief, laudatory, and lacking any discussion of the methodology of Bode's connoisseurship or of his attributions.[126] At first, this lack of attention seems puzzling: this was a monumental publication, representing the work of two of the most prominent art historians of the day, and devoted to the study of an artist who was ever more popular among scholars and the public at large. Two explanations, though not fully satisfying, may at least partially account for this critical silence. The publication of the volumes over a span of nine years made it difficult to obtain a synoptic view of the project until a full decade had passed; by that point, discussions of individual paintings made years before might be out of date. However, a general reluctance to undertake a straightforward appraisal of this *catalogue raisonné* may have played a more important role in its muted critical reception. As would become apparent over time, especially in the 1910s and 1920s, many of the attributions presented in the catalogue were viewed as suspect. Jan Veth's incredulity about certain paintings that Bode accepted as Rembrandts, as presented in his review of the 1898 Amsterdam exhibition, indicates that doubts about certain of Bode's decisions on authenticity were certainly contemporary with the appearance of the catalogue volumes.

But in 1898 or 1906, how many people would wish to confront the dean of Rembrandt studies directly? For Veth's citation of Bode's opinions made clear that Bode had no peers among his own generation, and what younger scholar after Lautner would be brave enough to take on the problems of Rembrandt connoisseurship at the end of the nineteenth century and comment critically on Bode's work? Bredius, while already beginning to practice a somewhat more restrictive style of Rembrandt connoisseurship, was extremely loyal to his original mentor in art history, and proved unwilling until the 1910s to challenge Bode's attributions. Hofstede de Groot invoked Bode's name in defense of his own connoisseurship whenever possible. Michel, too, largely deferred to Bode's decisions about connoisseurship. The insistence of so many writers on Bode's special status as a Rembrandt connoisseur, because of the depth of his experience over decades of study, made such opposition nearly impossible to conceive.

The only scholar who could claim anywhere near comparable expertise to these four Rembrandt specialists was Alfred von Wurzbach. And in 1910 he did respond, though he chose an unusual place to do so: the Rembrandt entry in his lexicon of Netherlandish artists. While his criticism of Bode's ethics as a scholar and museum director, as well as his disdain for Bode's attributions, were marked, the choice of venue and the somewhat delayed response may have lessened the impact of his words. Nonetheless, as we shall see in Chapter 6, his assessment presented a view of Bode, Bredius, and Hofstede de Groot as Rembrandt experts that was almost the mirror image of the one that they had all hitherto enjoyed. While far more extreme in his conception than others, his critique can be seen as establishing a turning point in the wielding of power in the world of Rembrandt connoisseurship. After 1910, Bode and his two protégés, Bredius and Hofstede de Groot, though still holding great authority, would never again enjoy nearly unqualified reputations as connoisseurs of the Dutch artist's paintings. Before that shift occurred, the 1890s marked the pinnacle of their successes and reputations as the preeminent Rembrandt connoisseurs, a status was soon carried to the New World.

CHAPTER 5

REMBRANDT IN AMERICA

FIG. 44 – Rembrandt, *Young Woman at an Open Half-Door*, 1645

REMBRANDT LEFT BEHIND HIM 600 PAINTINGS, 2000 of which are in America. (Remark attributed to Bode in *The New Republic*, 1923)[1]

The confluence of events that placed Rembrandt and the Rembrandt specialists at the center of art-historical developments in the 1890s – the popularity of the innovative special exhibitions devoted to his work and the publication of Bode's lavish *catalogue raisonné* – both reflected and further shaped the rise in Rembrandt's reputation as an artist worthy of comparison to the great painters of the Italian Renaissance. Another factor entered into this equation, however, that may have proven the most important element of all – the boom in the Old Master art market with the entry of North American buyers onto the scene. Rembrandt quickly became the favorite Old Master for some of the most important American collectors from the 1890s through the 1910s, including figures such as Benjamin Altman, Henry Clay Frick, Henry Havemeyer, Henry B. Marquand, and Peter A.B. Widener.

Dutch art was already popular with nineteenth-century collectors in the United States; for Americans, it seemed to focus on the ordinary subjects of daily life and experience as its main subject, an orientation favorable to the pragmatic new nation, while the political and social parallels between the two nations led to a conscious sense of kinship reflected in the acquisition of art works made in the Dutch republic of the seventeenth century.[2] American buyers of this era preferred to buy portraits as well, and given Rembrandt's status as the premier portrait painter of his time, rivaled only by Frans Hals, the appeal of his art was widespread.

There was also a kind of reciprocity involved in the intensifying fascination with the art of Rembrandt. The more art historians published about him, the greater the public attention grew. Art dealers, seeking to satisfy an increasing demand for his works, scoured all of Europe for Rembrandts, competing (and collaborating) with art historians to make such finds. Contrary to the workings of the market in most commodities, the increasing number of Rembrandt paintings in the art market served to raise, rather than to depress prices, for there seemed to be always new buyers clamoring to purchase his works.

The rapidity of the expansion of American collecting, its evolving sophistication, and above all, the apparently limitless funds available to pursue acquisitions astonished dealers and art historians based in Europe. Bode, Bredius, and Hofstede de Groot were aware of these changes from the start and played important roles in the expansion of American collecting, despite their own ambivalence towards the growing dominance of the New World market.

In 1883, Bode had not listed a single work by Rembrandt in North America in his catalogue, and reports from visitors in this decade indicated that there were as yet few Old Master paintings to be found in this continent.[3] However, in the winter of 1886-87, Charles Sedelmeyer lent forty-one Old Master paintings to the Metropolitan Museum in New York for a temporary exhibition "by invitation of the trustees."[4] Included in this number were three paintings attributed to Rembrandt, *The Artist's Wife at Her Toilet*, *Rembrandt's Cook*, and *Christ on the Cross.*[5] Whether he hoped to sell the works to the museum (which, in any case, did not happen) or simply attract private clients in the United States, the canny dealer Sedelmeyer clearly understood where future growth in collecting would take place.[6] Less than a decade later, the state of collecting in North America had changed enough that Bode felt compelled to visit the United States and Canada himself.

Bode and the New World

Bode's later account in his memoir of his first visit to the United States, made in conjunction with the Great Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago, can be supplemented by his more immediate reactions to this new environment as related in contemporary articles written for *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*.[7] His impression of the exposition itself was highly favorable; he found it far superior to the previous World's Fair held in Paris.[8] Bode's primary goal for his trip,

however, was to inspect paintings attributed to Rembrandt that had made their way to North America, as part of the organizational work for his Rembrandt *catalogue raisonné* then in progress.[9] In his two-month sojourn he visited public and private collections in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Montreal in addition to Chicago, staying with relatives in New York and new and old friends in the other cities.

Bode's evaluations of the collections that contained Old Master paintings were typically shrewd. He noted that the nature of art collecting in North America was far different than it had been ten years before and would likely be so again in ten more years.[10] He was gratified to see that American collectors seemed more interested in obtaining good works rather than simply the "right" names; this was an opinion he would come to modify over time. He also noticed an interesting correlation between the age and the quality of American collections: the younger the collection, the better it tended to be, so that the Art Institute of Chicago's holdings were in general finer than those in the Boston museum.

Bode was not shy about challenging attributions he found in New World collections, many of which seemed inflated to him. Of the four paintings Henry G. Marquand had donated as Rembrandts to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, only the two male portraits passed muster as "authentic and important."[11] He commended the wisdom of Charles L. Hutchinson's purchases of Old Master paintings from the Demidoff collection in 1880, which were given to the Art Institute of Chicago, including the "large charming picture of an Amsterdam orphan girl (1645) by Rembrandt" [FIG. 44]; interestingly, he had thought much less of this painting a decade earlier.[12] Bode deemed no other paintings in public collections authentic Rembrandts.

Private American collections, however, contained numerous and often impressive Rembrandt paintings. Five had come from the same collection in Europe, that of the Princesse [*sic.* Duchesse] de Sagan. From it, Frederick Ames of Boston had purchased pendant portraits of a man and wife that Bode described as "faultlessly preserved," while Henry Havemeyer bought three other portraits, again a pair of pendants and a single portrait of a man, the "so-called Tulp" from 1641.[13] These constituted just a part of Havemeyer's collection of eight paintings attributed to Rembrandt that had been acquired in only a three-year period. Even Bode seems to have been a bit overwhelmed by the display of wealth and collecting prowess on view in one large room of Havemeyer's house, which was not equaled, he stated, by "any palace on the old continent."

FIG. 45 – Copy after Rembrandt van Rijn, *Raising of Lazarus*

The other paintings in this group were the famous "Gilder," a work of the first rank acquired for a fabulous sum; the so-called "Berestyn" portraits, early pendant portraits by Rembrandt from 1632; another male portrait from this same year; and a portrait of an old woman from 1640, a picture Bode greatly admired. All but two of the eight paintings were eventually donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[14]

There were still more paintings attributed to Rembrandt in New York. "Mr. Jessup" (*sic.* Morris K. Jesup) owned pendant portraits from 1633 or 1634, about which Bode commented cryptically that he had never seen them in Europe or at least did not remember them, and Robert Hoe had an "interesting" Rembrandt painting of an adolescent holding a medallion, from about 1637.[15] Mr. Ingles owned a self-portrait from the mid-1630s, "painterly in handling," while Stewart Smith had a bust-length painting of John the Baptist from 1632, which Bode had known when it was in the possession of Lord Palmerston.[16] All told, Bode discussed sixteen Rembrandt paintings in New York private collections.[17]

In Chicago, he examined the four Rembrandt paintings owned by Charles T. Yerkes: *Raising of Lazarus* [FIG. 45], a "*Rabbi*," *Philemon and Baucis*, and an "*Officer*." Yerkes was the only collector in the city who predominantly purchased Old Master paintings. Bode was surprised by the number of poor or even forged paintings that hung in Yerkes's gallery, but to his eye the Rembrandts proved authentic.[18] Another supposed portrait of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp from the Sagan collection, this time from 1632, was the property of another Chicagoan, W. Ellsworth.[19] Finally, in Montreal, Bode saw a late Rembrandt portrait of a young woman that Bode considered to be a study for a finished portrait owned by the Parisian collector Rodolphe Kann.[20] Except for the Ingles painting, all of these pictures were included in Bode's *catalogue raisonné* of 1897-1906.

Bode concluded his articles on his visit to the New World by pointing out that most of the paintings in these collections had been purchased in the late 1880s; with the contemporary gold crisis that afflicted the American economy in the mid-1890s, few additional works had joined them. However, he predicted that American collectors would soon be "making their weight felt" at auctions and with art dealers in Europe (adding "and they are much 'heavier' than Continental collectors") and expressed concern that they would cut off new acquisitions by public galleries in Europe through the rise in prices.[21] This sense of increasing competition with Americans would escalate for Bode over the next two decades.

The "growing danger" of American collectors for European museums

After the turn of the twentieth century the phenomenal growth in private and public collecting in America was a well-recognized phenomenon, and Bode could no longer view this growth with the kind of patronizing equanimity he had displayed in 1894. In a series of articles written during the first decade of the new century, Bode derided the new American "millionaire collectors," the "trust men" who acquired whole collections the way they did businesses, rather than building a collection through love and long-term devotion, piece by piece, as earlier collectors had done.[22] In the first of these articles, Bode exhibited a condescending attitude towards these new collectors as well as to the dealers who worked for them.[23] He singled out J. Pierpont Morgan as the "most feared and most sought after" of the new American collectors and described his purchases as authentic but prosaic; other Americans were said to have purchased third-rate works. The article concluded with Bode's assurance to his audience that European museums and private collectors still had a large advantage: their greater knowledge of the art of the Old Masters and the tradition of research and scholarship in Europe.[24]

In a 1907 essay, Bode actually admitted that he and other museum professionals had contributed to changes in the art market, though he contended this had been done unwittingly.[25] That is, curators had led dealers to important sources of art works by writing catalogues of individual collections and preparing other "luxury publications." What Bode did not mention is that no other museum professional was as active or influential in writing these publications as he was. Rodolphe Kann's and Oskar Hainauer's collections had been sold just a short time before, and in each case he had earlier written catalogues for these men in the hope that the Berlin museums would receive some, if not all of the works in their collections.[26]

In one sense, Bode deeply admired one important aspect of the formation of public museums in the United States. The American custom of bequeathing whole collections to city museums was almost unheard of in Europe but one that Bode pointed out repeatedly in his articles on collecting. As a result, Bode argued for a kind of nationalism in Germany that would consider keeping art in the country a national duty.

Nevertheless, Bode's anger and fear seemed to grow year by year as more European collections were dismantled – including ones which he hoped to win

for the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum – and went overseas. In 1909, at the end of the important sales of the year, he described this season as the most alarming of all in terms of the prices paid by Americans.[27] Whereas in 1902 he had maintained that little of real importance had gone to the United States and Canada, this was no longer true just seven years later. He also blamed a lack of respect for museums as real "players" in this overheated market. Surely for Bode, who as a museum curator and director who had aggressively pursued acquisitions for over thirty years, the idea that Berlin (i.e. Bode) might no longer command as much respect and attention from dealers would be galling.[28]

Some scholars and critics were beginning to question Bode's competency in making purchases, compelling him in 1910 to defend his record in the first decade of the new century and giving him one more opportunity to point out the Berlin picture gallery's limited purchasing power even when compared to the National Gallery in London.[29] There was a certain irony to his stance, for others interested in the European art market by no means saw Berlin as a former power. An editorial from 1909 in *The Burlington Magazine* cited an instance of a small painting, attributed to Rembrandt, that had been purchased in a London sale and whose buyer had immediately started off for Berlin to sell it. While the preeminence of American buyers was admitted to, it was also maintained that Berlin's power could not be gainsaid. "That the director of the Berlin Museum has unique authority among living critics counts of course for much, but the organization he has introduced into German art affairs counts for still more."[30] Such "organization" included both official and unofficial activities by Bode: his mentoring of various German museum professionals, well-placed throughout Germany by the early twentieth century, his official fostering of public museum support through the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein, and his cultivation of collectors and supportive government officials. The impressive new museum building in Berlin, the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, which opened in 1904, was the culmination of Bode's long-pursued dream for a "Renaissance museum" and stood as tangible proof of the Prussian state's importance in the world of art collecting.

However, the changes in the art market were real and had significant consequences for museum professionals such as Bode. The acquisitions of Rembrandt paintings for the Berlin collection in the early twentieth century provides a telling example of the real differences in the art market after 1900, since Rembrandt was one of the artists most sought after by American collectors, with a concomitant and precipitous rise in cost of his paintings. While Bode was able

FIG. 46 – Rembrandt, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*, 1655

to obtain an additional five paintings attributed to Rembrandt for Berlin during the first two decades of the twentieth century, the significance of these acquisitions was far different from those he had added from 1879 to 1897. All were relatively small paintings that Bode himself considered to be of no more than secondary importance, and only one of these works was purchased by the museum; the rest were all gifts and legacies. None of the paintings are today accepted as authentic Rembrandts by the museum. *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* [FIG. 46] was purchased in 1907 from the remains of Rodolphe Kann's collection; *Head of Christ*, also from the Kann collection, was a gift to the museum in 1907 from Kann's brother-in-law and heir Martin Bromberg; *The Good Samaritan*, 1906, and *Tobias and the Angel*, 1910 [FIG. 47], were both gifts from Bode to the museum; and the *Study Head of a Youth* was willed to the museum by a Berlin collector in 1916.[31] For the acquisition of Rembrandt paintings the heyday of Bode and Berlin was over.

Bode's second and final trip to the United States, a one-month sojourn at the end of 1911, indicated a kind of rapprochement with the realities of the American market. In an article published in German in *Die Woche* and in an English translation in the *New York Times*, Bode expressed his admiration for what American collectors had achieved as buyers of Old Master paintings.[32] Indeed, he went so far as to claim that there were now more "spurious and bad pictures" in Europe than in the New World, in part because of American business skills: delegating the task of finding masterpieces to trustworthy dealers and then paying high prices for them. As he pointed out, "There are some eighty pictures by Rembrandt in American possession. Among them may be found a whole line of noble works of his middle and later time, such as the private collections of Europe no longer can display in such numbers." He most admired collectors such as John G. Johnson and "Mrs. Gardner" who collected with true passion, not from "snobbish motives." Nonetheless, Bode could not quite relinquish all of his sense of European superiority, stating that even American buyers who had started purchasing works of art from "vanity" had "become by degrees enthusiasts for art and have attained to an almost childlike joy in their treasures such as we blasé Europeans can hardly know."

Bode's ambivalence about the changed art market and his role in it was encapsulated in one striking comment in his memoir. "In the course of the years, without my assistance and to my personal dismay, I became a force in the art trade, namely through the publication of the large Rembrandt catalogue. Hardly a single collector, above all no American, buys a painting of Rembrandt's

that is not contained in 'the Bible' or that I am not prepared to take up in a supplement volume to my book."[33] Here Bode's chagrin about the boom in the market was mitigated by his obvious pride (despite his disingenuous protests) in the position he had obtained as the Rembrandt expert par excellence. The importance of an established reputation as an eminent connoisseur was even more crucial to American collectors, many of them neophytes, than it had been for Europeans. Given the market boom, such a reputation translated into real market power as well.

Despite his objections to the American "trust men," Bode as a pragmatist recognized that it was best to be an advisor to such collectors rather than stand on the sidelines, as the case of J. Pierpont Morgan demonstrates. Bode first met Morgan in 1902 and mentioned him in this year with some degree of condescension but by 1907 discussed him with growing esteem, and by 1908 they had established a working relationship with Bode writing a catalogue of Morgan's collection of Renaissance bronzes.[34] He also recommended that Morgan arrange the hiring of a young German scholar for the Metropolitan Museum in New York who would disseminate Bode's influence in the New World. This scholar was Wilhelm R. Valentiner, who had been Bode's personal assistant at the Berlin museums and then trained in various curatorial departments. Morgan followed Bode's advice, and helped to launch the museum career of a man who would become one of the most important of American museum directors and the youngest of the European authorities on Rembrandt active in the early twentieth century. Valentiner's career, begun a generation after Bode or Bredius, serves as a quintessential example of how art history, now firmly ensconced as an academic subject, and museum work, recognized by this time as a legitimate, established profession, were nonetheless still embedded in a system of personal patronage.

Wilhelm R. Valentiner: a new Rembrandt scholar for the New World

Valentiner was born in 1880 in Karlsruhe, Germany, the son of an astronomer.[35] He attended the University of Leipzig where he studied history and then enrolled at the University of Heidelberg.[36] There the influence of Henry Thode led him instead to the study of art history. In 1902, inspired by a trip to Holland and Belgium, he decided to focus on Rembrandt's art for the doctorate.

FIG. 47 – Attributed to Abraham van Dijck, *Tobias and the Angel*

Valentiner later claimed that he chose the subject of his dissertation, *Rembrandt und seine Umgebung* (Rembrandt and his environment), because it could be written working from reproductions alone.[37] He followed Bode's positivist approach to Rembrandt's art, using biographical data to identify figures in the artist's paintings, prints, and drawings as those in his daily life, but he applied this methodology far more extensively than even Bode had. Valentiner insisted that such research was "scientific" in basis and would continue to stress the associations of Rembrandt's personal world with his painted one throughout the rest of his career, using his method of identifying figures as an aid to attribution itself. In his published dissertation we thus not only read about depictions of Titus and Saskia but are presented with lists of works that, to Valentiner's mind, depicted Rombertus, the first-born child of Rembrandt and Saskia, and Geertje, Titus's nurse and Rembrandt's companion in the 1640s after his wife's death.[38] Valentiner's method was to start by grouping several pictures which he believed represented the same model; he would then produce a general physical description of the sitter, and return to Rembrandt's art to find further examples of this figure. This kind of circular argumentation did not meet with wholehearted success; reviewers of his book cautioned about the difficulty of making such identifications, inherently subjective in nature and especially challenging with Rembrandt, who seemed to take liberties with the concept of the "likeness."[39]

His reviewers found the second section to be the most valuable part of Valentiner's book, where he discussed the importance of Rembrandt's art collection for his own art and demonstrated links between entries found in the inventory of Rembrandt's possessions made in 1656 and specific paintings or prints made by the artist. In this scholarly endeavor, Valentiner followed in the footsteps of Hofstede de Groot, who, beginning in the 1890s, had written a series of articles about Rembrandt's use of other artists' in his creative process. In a generally favorable review, Bode noted with approval Valentiner's choice of scholarly models in Hofstede de Groot and himself.[40] These two mentors would prove invaluable to their new young colleague.

After finishing his doctoral thesis, Valentiner's training as a connoisseur began in earnest in 1905 when he moved to The Hague and became an assistant to Hofstede de Groot, then preparing his *catalogue raisonné* of Rembrandt drawings. Through the publication of his dissertation and the patronage of Hofstede de Groot and Thode, Valentiner came to the attention of Bode, who, after reviewing Valentiner's book, hired him in 1906 as his private assistant at the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum. Together they prepared *Rembrandt in Bild und Wort*,

published in conjunction with celebrations for the three-hundredth anniversary of Rembrandt's birth.[41] This book, which was a vehicle for the photographic reproduction of sixty of Rembrandt's paintings, contained a two-page foreword by Bode and a general essay on Rembrandt's art by Valentiner, including a section on Rembrandt's meaning for modern art.

In his two years at the Berlin museums, Valentiner would work in a number of different departments, just as Bode had thirty years earlier, including the Islamic and decorative arts departments as well as with paintings and prints.[42] Valentiner's broadly based experience would prove to be crucial in his next appointment as the curator of decorative arts at the Metropolitan Museum of Art; which encompassed sculpture as well as Asian and Islamic art. But it was his association with Bode specifically that won him this position. Upon Morgan's request for someone to fill the position, Bode recommended Valentiner, "the most gifted and best equipped young student of art that I have ever had in the Museum."[43] This was enough for Morgan, who as board president and major donor wielded considerable power at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[44] In this way Bode managed to propagate his influence in the New World at a time when he had further consolidated his power in Berlin with his accession to the post of General Director of the Berlin museums in 1905.[45] Valentiner would continue to be regarded as Bode's protégé for decades to come, sometimes in ways that were not flattering. Berenson more than once disparagingly referred to Valentiner as a "Bode-satva."[46]

Valentiner certainly proved an apt pupil during his six years at the Metropolitan Museum. He followed Bode's lead in installing art works of various media from a period in specific rooms and in banishing most plaster casts to storage. He also cultivated a number of American patrons, and he recounted in his memoir the many weekend excursions to various American country houses of note. At the same time Valentiner began to publish prodigiously in American, German, and Netherlandish journals, at a rate nearly equal to Bode's own as a young curator.[47]

In 1908 his status as the leading young Rembrandt connoisseur was acknowledged when he revised the Rembrandt paintings volume of the *Klassiker der Kunst* series, first published in 1904 by Adolf Rosenberg. The series was founded on the principle of providing full photographic reproduction of an artist's paintings in one volume, accompanied by a succinct essay and a brief entry for most of the works, reflecting the idea that "in art the description is nothing, the perception everything."[48] Rosenberg's volume appeared simulta-

neously with the first volume in the series, on Raphael; the choice of these two artists to inaugurate the series mirrored the now well-established hierarchy of value in art history at the turn of the twentieth century, a hierarchy considered radical only fifty years before. Although Rosenberg's essay was retained for this third edition, Valentiner's independence from his model was manifested by the number of works he included: whereas Rosenberg accepted 398 paintings, just four years later Valentiner listed 643 Rembrandt paintings.[49] Valentiner would prove from that point onward to be the most expansionist of the Rembrandt connoisseurs. He allied himself firmly, however, with Bode and Hofstede de Groot in the brief notes for individual entries: only their names and Bredius's appear multiple times as authorities on the authenticity of the paintings, and he disagreed with Bredius's decisions with greater frequency. Valentiner even invoked Bode in the one-paragraph foreword, thanking him for information on various paintings.[50]

The Hudson-Fulton Exhibition of 1909

One of Valentiner's first major tasks at the Metropolitan Museum of Art was to help organize the Hudson-Fulton exhibition held at the museum in 1909.[51] For the section honoring the seventeenth-century explorer Henry Hudson, Valentiner assembled 150 Dutch seventeenth-century paintings from what he considered to be a total of approximately 350 "good" Dutch pictures in America in 1909.[52] In an article written for his scholarly peers in Europe, Valentiner explained that his first thought was to devote the entire exhibition to the art of Rembrandt and Frans Hals but decided that this arrangement would be too slanted towards portraiture (given the Rembrandts available in North America) and would be less useful to the American audience, who could not yet see the variety of Dutch artists and subjects in any one public museum.[53] Valentiner claimed, with justification, that this exhibition rivaled any devoted to Dutch art that had been mounted in Europe by 1909. Despite the expansion of the show's parameters, Rembrandt was still given the largest representation, with thirty-eight paintings (one *hors* catalogue) followed by Frans Hals with twenty. As Max J. Friedländer, the painting curator in Berlin, pointed out in his review of the exhibition, even the famed 1857 Manchester Exhibition included only twenty-eight Rembrandts among 250 Dutch paintings.[54]

The dominance of Rembrandt and Hals in the New York exhibition evidenced both the continuing influence of the nineteenth-century focus on the individual man of genius and the collecting patterns in North America after 1880. American taste in Rembrandt's art was further revealed in the preference for his portraits, study heads, and single-figured history scenes, as opposed to multi-figured history paintings. Valentiner pointed out that of the seventy paintings in America that were attributed to Rembrandt, sixty-five were portraits.[55] The influence of taste here was balanced by the practical restraints of the art market, for multi-figured Rembrandt paintings rarely appeared in the art market during this period of American collection building. In the same vein, Valentiner's decision to concentrate on works attributed to Rembrandt's later period of work, from the 1650s and 1660s, was market related; while this emphasis represented a shift in taste from the earliest Rembrandt purchases brought to America and the heightened interest of scholars such as Valentiner in this phase of Rembrandt's art, it also reflected the greater number of late "Rembrandts" available in the trade, especially after the turn of the twentieth century.

Given the dominating role of Americans in the art market in the twenty-year period leading up to the exhibition, reviewers for European publications were keen to see what the collectors had accomplished as a group; references to the provenance of many paintings hinted at the dissolution of such former collections as the Demidoff or Rodolphe and Maurice Kann's collections. E. Waldmann went so far as to claim that "the best works of the best masters have found their way across the ocean, especially in recent years, for example, the generally most-admired works of Rembrandt's late period have been acquired for America," a far cry from Bode's assertion of but a few years earlier that hardly any important Rembrandts had crossed the Atlantic.[56] Friedländer also noted that Valentiner's choices for the exhibition revealed the dominance of Bode and Hofstede de Groot's connoisseurship in America, as well as Valentiner's role as student of these two established scholars.[57]

The Rembrandts in the exhibition were highly regarded by reviewers, with *The Savant* (No. 97, now called *Aristotle with a Bust of Homer*; fig. 48) in Mrs. Collis Huntington's collection and Henry Clay Frick's Rembrandt self-portrait from 1658 (no. 102; fig. 49) receiving particular praise.[58] The subject of the *Portrait of a Girl* (*Hendrickje Stoffels*) from Chicago (no. 91; now generally called *Young Woman at an Open Half-Door*; fig. 44) divided reviewers: some, such as Joseph Breck (and Valentiner) saw it as a depiction of Hendrickje, while others, such as Waldmann, rejected this identification.[59] While Kenyon Cox did

FIG. 48 – Rembrandt, *Aristotle with a Bust of Homer*, 1653

not take a stand on the subject's identity, he found the painting to be a "marvel of art" and compared it to Leonardo and Titian.[60] This reception was quite different from Bode's first published opinion of the painting in 1883, even though he had come to view it more favorably over time.[61] John G. Johnson's painting, *The Finding of Moses* (no. 86), was compared more than once to Fragonard in terms that should probably have raised concerns about its attribution; its distin-

guished provenance, however, from Crozat's and Robert Peel's collections, and the general respect in which Johnson was held as a collector may have quashed any voicing of doubts about its authorship.[62] While at most only twelve of the thirty-seven paintings listed in the catalogue as Rembrandts would be accepted today by scholars, no such criticisms were made in 1909-10; only three paintings in the entire group of "Rembrandts" had not been listed in Bode and Hofstede de Groot's *catalogue raisonné*, and these were more recent discoveries.[63]

The organization of this section of the Hudson-Fulton exhibition formed only part of Valentiner's scholarly activity in the pre-World War I era. In addition to his various museum tasks, he helped to catalogue several important American collections, including those of John G. Johnson and Peter A. B. Widener.[64] He also advised North American buyers on their purchases.[65] Valentiner's attention to the needs of these patrons and to the possibilities offered by the contemporary art market led him to the "discovery" of more and more paintings by Rembrandt. According to his count, the group of seventy paintings attributed to Rembrandt that were in North American collections in 1909 had grown to between ninety-five and one hundred paintings by 1914; left unsaid was the fact that much of this growth was due to his own work as a connoisseur. Valentiner's statistical analysis of the disposition of Rembrandts "within the last few years" is curious in its wording: "America has added to its possessions thirty-four paintings – thirty-two by acquisition, two by discovery – and has lost two; Germany has added eleven – ten by acquisition, one by discovery – and has lost four; England has added eight-two by acquisition, six by discovery – and has lost twenty; France has added three-two by acquisition, one by discovery – and has lost eighteen."[66] Here the collecting of Rembrandts becomes a kind of nationalistic competition, with clear winners and losers, an eerie concept on the eve of the World War I.

Hofstede de Groot and Bredius in North America

The growth of the American collecting market had certainly not escaped the attention of the other Rembrandt specialists. Just as worried about American dominance over Berlin, Bredius and Hofstede de Groot, with their fellow Dutch art historians (and many countrymen) were alarmed about Americans buying up the national patrimony.[67] Nonetheless, curiosity about the collections in the New World was a lure to both Bredius and Hofstede de Groot, who each visited the United States in the early years of the new century.[68] Hofstede

FIG. 49 – Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait*, 1658

de Groot's first trip in 1909 allowed him to see the Hudson-Fulton exhibition curated by his protégé, Valentiner, but was occasioned by consulting work for the important collector Peter A.B. Widener.[69] As an advisor, he culled inferior or false works from the collection Widener had already amassed, recommended new purchases, and prepared, with Valentiner's help, a catalogue of the reconstituted and far more impressive collection.[70] Hofstede de Groot's desire to see the ever-controversial *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* [FIG. 29] after its most recent cleaning led to his next trip across the Atlantic; the painting had been sold at the auction of the Weber collection in 1911, was repurchased by Sedelmeyer, and then passed into the collection of T.B. Walker, a Minneapolis lumber baron. On seeing it again in November 1912, Hofstede de Groot declared it to be "one of the most important works of Rembrandt's middle period;" that his was a minority opinion would soon become clear.[71]

Bredius was not far behind Hofstede de Groot; he arrived in North America in November 1913 for a sojourn of three months. During his extended stay he sent back lively reports on the art scene in the United States and Canada, which were printed in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*. He, too, traveled as far west as Minneapolis, to see Walker's collection and his disputed "Rembrandt." While Walker himself seemed "an amiable man," and one generous to churches and charitable concerns, he was no collector in Bredius's eyes.[72] The Dutch scholar called the collection itself a "bitter disappointment," full of copies, fakes, and simply bad pictures. There were twelve paintings attributed to Rembrandt in Walker's collection, not one of which Bredius could accept as authentic. As it had in 1898, *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* earned only his scorn, despite its place of honor in Walker's residence, and he found it a mystery "how people who had made great service as Rembrandt connoisseurs could ever think of Rembrandt in this bungling work."[73]

Elsewhere Bredius enjoyed better experiences; he saw a number of Rembrandt paintings, some of which he had first seen years before in England and on the Continent, such as *The Polish Rider* [FIG. 23] and Lord Ilchester's Rembrandt self-portrait from 1658 [FIG. 49], showing the artist "every inch a king," both now owned by Henry Clay Frick.[74] New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Montreal, Providence, Detroit, Chicago, Toledo, Cincinnati, Minneapolis – Bredius traveled almost constantly and with great enthusiasm, enjoying the diversity of cities, hosts, and collections. Only Isabella Stewart Gardner's refusal to allow Bredius a special viewing earned his ire; he was forced to go to Boston a second time just to see her collection and was only permitted access along

FIG. 50 – Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait*, *Aged 23*, 1629

FIG. 51 – Jan Victors, *The Death of Lucretia*, 17th Century

with the general public for the usual admission fee. Perhaps this helps to explain his surprising – and tart – dismissal of her three Rembrandt paintings, a 1629 self-portrait [FIG. 50], *Christ on the Sea of Galilee*, and a double portrait of a married couple, as "none of the first rank."[75]

Like Bode before him, Bredius was impressed by the fact that Rembrandt paintings could now be found in so many American cities, especially in private collections. That did not mean he always accepted the attributions of these paintings, even when "authenticated" by his fellow experts. A "Rembrandt" *Death of Lucretia* in the Detroit museum [FIG. 51] made "Kronig" (Bredius's companion and fellow art historian Joseph Kronig) "think of G. Horst," one of Rembrandt's followers. Bode agreed.[76] Another "art-historically interesting little painting," which, according to Bredius, was sold by Sedelmeyer with a slippery attestation by Julius Meyer and Bode "that it is possible that Dou has painted this picture," did not pass muster as a Dou either: Bredius attributed it

to Govaert Flinck instead.[77] While he admired much in Peter A. B. Widener's collection in Philadelphia, including such Rembrandts as *The Mill*, the "sublime Paul," and a late male portrait, he disputed the authenticity of other works, including a "*Rabbi*" attributed to Rembrandt.[78] He stated that Widener's "*Rabbi*" was "certainly not by his [Rembrandt's] hand, despite all the certificates [expertises] given out for it."[79] In general, he believed that Widener's son Joseph was the better connoisseur, one who could look at a painting attributed to Rembrandt but confidently state his belief that it must be a Bol instead.[80]

Bredius came to the conclusion that collections with numerous falsely attributed works and copies, like T.B. Walker's, were rare in North America, at least by this date.[81] In his three months on this continent, he had seen seventy-five Rembrandt paintings: Mrs. Huntington's *Philosopher with a Bust of Homer* (*Aristotle*; FIG. 48), the "marvels" in the Havemeyer collection, Sir William van Horne's four Rembrandts in Montreal, Mr. Taft of Cincinnati's portrait of a "youthful Amsterdammer... well known from the Amsterdam Rembrandt exhibition [of 1898]," and so on.[82] While Bredius had earlier helped to lead the campaign to keep seventeenth-century Dutch paintings in the Netherlands (and personally turned down an offer from Charles Schwab for *Saul and David* [FIG. 25], one of Bredius's most prized "Rembrandts"), after his visit he seemed to be less upset than Bode or Hofstede de Groot about the migration of such works to the New World.[83]

The Rodolphe Kann collection

The dismantling of one collection in particular was regretted by nearly every European devotee of Old Master paintings, that of Rodolphe Kann. Its fate can be seen as the quintessential example of the transfer of paintings from the Old World to the New, especially for its holdings of Rembrandt paintings.

In 1905 Rodolphe Kann died in Paris, his adoptive city.[84] Born in Frankfurt, Kann moved to France after the Franco-Prussian War, working first as a banker and then investing in South African diamond and gold mining interests. He began to acquire works of art in the 1880s and, over a twenty-five year period, formed one of the most important Old Master collections in Europe. Kann and his brother Maurice, also a collector of note, built a lavish double house in Paris, which they filled with artistic treasures.[85]

Rodolphe Kann started his collection with the purchase of seventeenth-century Dutch pictures and later developed an interest in fifteenth-century

Netherlandish and Italian paintings; he also collected eighteenth-century English and French paintings and decorative arts. While he formed his own opinions about potential purchases, he also sought the advice of a few professional connoisseurs, including Friedrich Lippmann, curator of the Berlin drawing cabinet, and Charles Sedelmeyer. At the heart of his collection were the Rembrandt paintings, eleven in all, most of which had been purchased from Sedelmeyer.

Bode, in his memorial to Kann in *Kunstchronik*, discussed the late collector's passion for art and his concern for what would happen to his collection after he died.[86] One plan Kann had considered was to bequeath the entire collection to a city, such as Paris or Frankfurt, or to a museum. Another plan, which, according to Bode, Kann had finally settled upon, was to divide his collection among a few select museums, including the Louvre and the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum. Unfortunately for Bode, Kann died before his will was amended and his family inherited his collection instead. Maurice received one of the Rembrandts, but Rodolphe's heir Edouard decided that the family would most benefit if the rest of the collection were sold off.

Shortly after Kann's death it was announced that the art firm of Duveen had bought the collection *en bloc*.[87] It would be sold from the new office in Paris, opened by Joseph Duveen, whose father Joel and uncle Henry had until this point concentrated on the sale of decorative arts. Joseph Duveen's purchase of the Rodolphe Kann collection, which he undertook independently of his father's approval, was one of the first purchases of paintings by the Duveen firm and created shock waves through the art world because of the enormous purchase price of almost £900,000.[88] This gamble by the young Joseph Duveen would prove a very lucrative one in succeeding decades when the Kann pictures were sold off, one or a few to a time, to a largely American clientele willing to pay considerable sums. Bode had anticipated this result with some fear, for he believed that the entire collection would make its way to North America.[89] Duveen's purchase of Rodolphe Kann's and Oskar Hainauer's collections around the same time, both formed with Bode's advice, and somewhat later of Maurice Kann's collection, provided the nucleus of the Duveen painting stock well into the 1930s.[90] Bode, already in contact with the Duveen firm beginning in 1900, would increasingly work with it in ways that could be seen as compromising his independence as a scholar and museum professional.[91]

Given the fame of the Rodolphe Kann collection, it had received considerable attention during the collector's lifetime.[92] As part of his pursuit of Kann's

FIG. 52 – Rembrandt, *Woman with a Pink*, ca. 1662

FIG. 53 – Style of Rembrandt, *Pilate Washing his Hands*, 1660s

collection, Bode had written a lavish volume (published by Sedelmeyer) in 1900 that included 100 photographic reproductions of the most important works in it.[93] In the wake of the sale to Duveen, journalists, art critics, and art historians devoted many articles to Rodolphe Kann's collection; understandably, Duveen provided ready access to such visitors.[94] Then, as purchases of individual works out of the collection began to be made public, still more publicity was gained.[95] These publications allow us to understand the reception of the twelve paintings attributed to Rembrandt that had been purchased by Kann, all but one representing Rembrandt's later style of the 1650s and 1660s. The picture that met with the most universal approval was *Philosopher with a Bust of Homer* [FIG. 48]. This painting epitomized for contemporary critics Rembrandt's love of fantastic costume, rich, though limited color scheme, and above all, his evocation of interior mood and thought. *Rabbi* or *Head of a Young Jew* was also seen as a premier example of the humanity of Rembrandt's art, while *Woman with a Pink* [FIG. 52] was viewed as a richly painted and moving late portrait.[96]

Yet the sobriety and scale of Kann's *Pilate Washing his Hands* [FIG. 53] were also found impressive, and several writers, while mentioning how unusual the subject of the *Old Woman Cutting Her Nails* [FIG. 32] was for Rembrandt, nevertheless maintained that his authorship was evident from the subject's monumental presentation.[97] As had been true for the Rembrandt exhibitions of 1898-99, the expansion of Rembrandt's oeuvre at this time allowed for the acceptance of paintings that were seen, even then, to be unusual for the artist. Rather than calling into question the aptness of the new attributions, however, the understanding of Rembrandt's style, subject range, and technique was instead broadened to include such anomalous elements.

Kann had acquired his Rembrandts during the period of rapid growth in the art market. The results were revealing. He obtained a few paintings of the highest caliber, like the *Aristotle* and *Woman with a Pink*. However, he also purchased one painting with significant condition problems (*Hendrickje Stoffels*; FIG. 54) and works that are today universally rejected from the artist's oeuvre, most notably *Pilate Washing his Hands* and the *Old Woman Cutting Her Nails*.[98] Rodolphe Kann's source for at least five of his twelve Rembrandts was Charles Sedelmeyer; five of the six Rembrandts Kann's brother Maurice purchased had also passed through Sedelmeyer's hands. Unsurprisingly, all were listed as Rembrandts in Bode's catalogue raisonné. The preponderance represented Rembrandt's late style, which was so popular at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century and which had so much appeal in the United States as well.

The final disposition of the paintings reveals how well Bode's fears were justified, for of the eighteen paintings attributed to Rembrandt that had been in the two Kann collections, all but three ended up in the United States where they became the centerpieces first of private, then of public collections.[99] Their provenance was not immediately forgotten; a quarter of a century later, Valentiner remarked upon the importance of the Kann paintings for the collecting of Rembrandts in America.[100] Despite the ambivalence expressed by Bode or Hofstede de Groot about the role of Americans as buyers of Old Masters, their actions, as well as those of their protégé, Valentiner, as advisors to dealers selling to Americans, such as Duveen and Sedelmeyer, and to American collectors themselves, such as Morgan or the Wideners, inevitably promoted this end result. Their collective authority assured Americans about the legitimacy of their purchases of Rembrandts at a time when large numbers of newly discovered Rembrandts, often accompanied with certificates of authenticity, appeared in the stock of dealers eager to satisfy this new and lucrative market.

FIG. 54 – Rembrandt, *Hendrickje Stoffels*, ca. 1654-60

CHAPTER 6

THE CONTEST FOR AUTHORITY

“Rembrandt owes me a lot
He was nearly unknown
Now if someone mentions my name
Rembrandt is mentioned too.”[1]

THE MULTIPLE SUCCESSES OF THE REMBRANDT experts in the 1890s formed a capstone to their reputations. This was reified by the granting of honorary doctorates to Bode, Bredius, and Hofstede de Groot, along with Émile Michel and Jan Veth, by the University of Amsterdam during the 1906 celebration of the three hundredth-anniversary of Rembrandt’s birth. These scholars remained busy presenting new publications in this festal year: having finished the last volume of the Rembrandt *catalogue raisonné* in 1905, Bode published a book of essays about Dutch art entitled *Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen* (Rembrandt and his Contemporaries) and co-produced with Valentiner *Rembrandt in Bild und Wort* (Rembrandt in Image and Word), while Bredius penned a small book on Rembrandt in commemoration of the anniversary. Hofstede de Groot reached a peak of scholarly production in 1906 with four Rembrandt books appearing in this one year: a catalogue for the modest Rembrandt exhibition in Leiden (written with Willem Martin), a compendium of all the documents related to Rembrandt, one volume of his study of Rembrandt drawings, and, finally, the *Rembrandt-Bijbel*, a publication of the Christian scriptures illustrated with relevant paintings, prints, and drawings by Rembrandt.[2] Valentiner even wrote a “Rembrandt calendar” for 1906.[3]

Yet at this very time, some dissenting or overtly critical voices began to be raised in reaction to their work.[4] Most notably, the pace of new discoveries was now looked on by some people with dismay. This unease was also captured in Albert Hahn's cartoon from 1906, entitled (in Dutch), "To Two Rembrandt Connoisseurs," showing four connoisseurs inspecting a large painting with the two most prominent figures using their magnifying glasses to inspect the back of the picture. In the poem accompanying the cartoon Hahn pleaded: "Discover no more Rembrandts for us!"[5] Nevertheless, the Rembrandt experts were undeterred in their zeal to discover more paintings by the artist and began the new century with a series of publications devoted to their finds.[6] Bode continued to focus on the discovery of early Rembrandts, a specialization to which he had claimed nearly exclusive rights from the beginning of his own career. Yet he evinced a curious ambivalence towards many of these same discoveries. He maintained that about six "new" Rembrandts had shown up nearly every year since the completion of his *catalogue raisonné* in 1905, but most of them were the kind of head studies that he dismissed as of limited interest. This, he suggested, was a normal consequence of the workings of the art market: because of the high valuation placed on Rembrandt paintings for several decades before the turn of the century, the most important paintings had already come to attention, leaving the study heads and early works, such as *The Prophet Balaam and His Ass*, previously not recognized as the painter's work, to be discovered.[7] Again, Bode here absolved himself of responsibility for this flood of "Rembrandts," seeing it instead as the inevitable result of a market economy.

His fellow Rembrandt specialists made clear their sensitivity to any criticism of their Rembrandt connoisseurship, especially about their discoveries of unknown Rembrandts. In another article from 1906, Hofstede de Groot used his skills as an archivist to fashion a list of sixty-three lost Rembrandt paintings referred to in older documents. This led him to suggest that if all these pictures were still unrecognized, it was logical that other equally authentic, though undocumented, works could reappear.[8] Bode (and later Valentiner) took the position that such rediscoveries were only natural since art "followed" the market; discoveries would be made for the artists who were in vogue, while other artists' work nearly disappeared from the trade.[9]

Bode's own association with Sedelmeyer would seem to support such a claim about the workings of the market. Annually from 1894 to 1914 Sedelmeyer issued a selection of paintings from his stock of Old Masters, providing reproductions and brief catalogue entries for prospective clients, public and private,

and art historians.[10] In 1898 he also published another book, with entries and reproductions of an additional three hundred paintings that had passed through his hands prior to 1894.[11] In these volumes appeared the assortment of Rembrandts Sedelmeyer offered for sale year after year, including the *Susanna and the Elders* that entered the Berlin collection [FIG. 20], the many paintings bought by the Kann brothers, and a good number of the paintings that made their way to the New World. The whole range of Rembrandt attributions and discoveries of this period, from great masterpieces to the fourth-rate work of imitators, was represented in this group of paintings. That Sedelmeyer specifically associated his work as the publisher of Bode's Rembrandt *catalogue raisonné* with the volumes of paintings from his dealer's stock was made clear from the very first volume of 1894, in which he announced the catalogue's imminent appearance and the opportunity to subscribe to it through the 1913 volume, where he stated (prematurely, as it turned out) that a supplementary volume to Bode's catalogue would be published "in the course of this year."[12]

The relationship between Bode and Sedelmeyer hardly went unnoticed, as Bode's defense of Sedelmeyer as a "disinterested co-adjutor" in their *catalogue raisonné* indicated. The most explicit and harshest critique of Bode and Sedelmeyer's collaboration came in a somewhat unexpected place but from an unsurprising source: Alfred von Wurzbach, in the entries on Rembrandt in his *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon.*[13] Bredius and Hofstede de Groot were also implicated by Wurzbach in what he saw as a conspiracy to pass off false Rembrandts as real ones, especially for sale in North America.

Alfred von Wurzbach on Rembrandt connoisseurship in the early twentieth century

In his discussion of Rembrandt's posthumous reputation, Wurzbach stated that the "physiognomy" of the market for Rembrandt's paintings changed after 1870, a shift which he attributed specifically to the entry of the Berlin museum (meaning Bode) as a buyer in this market. The other important factor in rising prices, according to Wurzbach, was the rise of "so-called scientifically trained authorities" who could work hand in hand with dealers to substantiate attributions and justify prices, partly through their own museum purchases.[14] Wurzbach added that the arrival in the European art market of American buyers who looked to these experts and to dealers for advice greatly affected the upward

pressure on prices. Like others before him, he cited the extraordinary fact that in a thirty-year period following 1880, fifty works attributed to the master had arrived on American soil. Many of them, however, he scorned as pictures "without forebears or provenance." Wurzbach also accused the press and professional art writers of maintaining silence about these attributions and alleged that a "ring" of mutual admirers had arisen to promote each other's scholarly discoveries. Sarcastically stating that they protected "the young Rembrandts and similar birds, who could not yet go out alone in the larger world," Wurzbach openly attributed dishonest motives to Bode as a scholar, in his claim that Bode and Sedelmeyer "corrupted" Rembrandt connoisseurship.[15]

Wurzbach characterized the genesis of the Bode-Hofstede de Groot *catalogue raisonné* as an attempt to preserve the authority of the "ring" of Rembrandt experts "once and for all" by compiling the "authentic" Rembrandts in one publication. It should therefore be considered, he maintained, the "company work" of the art dealer and the museum director. As a consequence of its "colossal success," "boatloads" of paintings, "old and new," sailed for American ports, although "several preferred to stay in their fatherland, that is, in Paris, and a smaller part of them went to the Berlin Museums, where the purchase of several Rembrandts and works of other masters at 'human' prices was made possible through Herr Sedelmeyer's generosity."[16] Wurzbach's message was plain: the Rembrandt scholars, especially Bode, were complicit conspirators in the sale of inauthentic, even forged Rembrandts.

Wurzbach railed against the awarding of honorary degrees from Leiden University to the Rembrandt connoisseurs, insisting that these men became "Rembrandt Doctors" to the laughter of all of Europe.[17] The only "deserving" Rembrandt expert not to be so honored, he said, was Sedelmeyer, who instead stayed in the background and decided to sell his dealer's stock at this propitious moment.[18] Wurzbach cited one dissenting voice in this celebration: a reader of the newspaper *Het Nieuws van den Dag* had written a letter to the editor, inquiring where the factory of Bredius's was in which the Rembrandts and the Old Masters were produced.[19]

In the supplement to the *Niederländisches Künstler Lexikon* published in 1911, Wurzbach brought his distinctive account of the Rembrandt experts' activities up to date. He stated that "the possessors of Sedelmeyer-ware await the future calmly" but that Sedelmeyer himself was now content to let the business of second-rate Rembrandt works pass to other dealers, most notably Kleinberger in Paris and the Duveen firm in London and Paris.[20] In the meantime,

the "Rembrandt-Doctors" themselves had lost some of their vaunted authority and significance. "No one is astonished any more over the extraordinary connoisseurship of the united Bode, Bredius, and Hofstede, no one eavesdrops any more, when they hand over their infallible judgment, for since Sedelmeyer liquidated, their authority has also faded. They take refuge with their absurdity in their writing where they, unnoticed by the public, lead a quite joyless existence."[21] At this point only Hofstede de Groot specifically came under attack for his Rembrandt-related activities, which to Wurzbach were composed solely of insignificant document forgings and of "proselytizing" for the dealer Kleinberger in America.[22] Bode was said to have understood with his "clear connoisseur's gaze, that the Rembrandt swindle has come to an end" and instead boasted in art journals about his past accomplishments as a Rembrandt buyer.[23]

The characterization of the Rembrandt scholars as inactive and ignored was certainly exaggerated. Bredius was now enjoying the life of an independent scholar of means, having resigned from the Mauritshuis in 1909, but never slowed his pace of scholarly activity. Bode was still firmly in charge of the Berlin museums as the general director and continued his course of active publication in many areas, including Rembrandt studies. Hofstede de Groot was engaged both with his work as an advisor to collectors and dealers alike in Europe and in North America and with the production of his vast compendium of Dutch artists, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in production from 1907 to 1928 (published by none other than the art dealer Kleinberger of Paris).[24]

But what about more serious accusations? Wurzbach's diatribes were obviously extreme and bordered on defamation. But that does not mean his critique was entirely groundless. Did Bode profit personally from his relationship with Sedelmeyer or with other dealers? Not in the most obvious sense, for rather than accepting money for his work advising collectors what to buy (and from whom), Bode typically requested (some might say demanded) payment in the form of art works, which he then donated to the Berlin museum.[25] He provided expertises to dealers in a similar manner, expecting dealers to offer works they had just acquired to the Berlin museums first of all or to contribute "presents" to the permanent collections on a regular basis. But his willingness over time to expand the boundaries of the Rembrandt oeuvre, which served to preserve his working relationship with Sedelmeyer and to satisfy the desires of the many collectors whom he advised, stands as an example of how his scholarship was unquestionably affected by his deep involvement with the art trade. Among

modern writers, Von Stockhausen in particular has been critical of how Bode used the resources of the museum in his work as an "art agent" for private collectors, purchasing works from dealers on speculation and having them shipped to the museum storerooms, for instance, all the while using museum employees to administer these transfers from dealers to collectors.[26] Bode participated in various spheres of the art market as a way of enhancing his power and influence; in the long run, however, it compromised his ability to act with full independence.

Wurzbach's critique of a system whereby certain art historians, known for their work as connoisseurs (his "so-called scientifically trained specialists"), provided potential buyers with the "assurance" of authenticity through their written certificates and thereby contributed directly to the astonishing growth in the art market was valid. Professional credentials lent greater authority to the opinions of such scholars; calling these opinions "expertises" suggested a high degree of legitimacy. Yet anyone who has read a number of these certificates in museum object files is aware of how often these opinions strain credulity. As we have seen, however, even experts such as Bode could fall victim to this very system: the Berlin museums were priced out of the market he had himself helped to create through providing these expertises, grooming collectors, and acquiring works aggressively in the early stages of the market expansion.

While Wurzbach's specific claims remained unanswered by the Rembrandt specialists themselves and unsupported by other scholars, other criticisms were raised at this time. Just three years after the Rembrandt celebrations of 1906 and the apotheosis of Bode, Hofstede de Groot and Bredius as connoisseurs, Bode's general reputation as a connoisseur of Old Master art was tarnished by the so-called "scandal" of the Flora bust, an episode Wurzbach had alluded to with some delight. In 1909 Bode purchased a wax bust in London in the belief that it was the work of Leonardo da Vinci. However, this attribution was contested, first in England, where it was maintained that the bust was in fact a nineteenth-century forgery by Richard Cockle Lucas.[27] The art world quickly took pro- and anti-"Flora" sides, which were all but explicitly pro- and anti-Bode camps reminiscent of the dispute over Lautner's book in 1891. Bode himself wrote several defenses of the bust and had it examined by conservators at the Berlin museum; nonetheless, many were not convinced about his judgment this time.[28] As a result of his often heavy-handed use of his authority in the art world, more than a few people were delighted by Bode's embarrassment. Fairly or not, it made a once seemingly invincible connoisseur vulnerable to criticism and even skepticism about his discernment. Bredius and Hofstede de Groot were also to run into criticism of

their connoisseurship and, in some cases, their ethics in the 1910s and 20s.[29] After 1905 Valentiner had joined his older colleagues in the pursuit of lost Rembrandts and quickly became the most avid in the hunt. But he was to discover just as they had that such practices made him fair game for criticism.[30] In an article published after the end of World War I, he felt the need to defend himself from assertions that he had profited financially from attributing a so-called "*Portrait of Titus*" to Rembrandt.[31] Cracks in the previously solid alliance of Bode, Bredius, and Hofstede de Groot also became evident. This dissension among the Rembrandt experts, accompanied by criticism from without, would lead to strong opposition to their authority in the connoisseurship of Rembrandt's art.

The Contest for Authority in the 1910s

If Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner stood for an expansionist understanding of Rembrandt's oeuvre in the early twentieth century, Bredius slowly came to espouse a comparatively more restrictive view of the artist's work. While this change in approach would become most apparent in the 1920s when Bredius, with his younger colleague Willem Martin, argued with Hofstede de Groot and Valentiner in print about the practice of Rembrandt connoisseurship, this shift was already beginning to play a role in debates from 1911 to 1913. Two debates, one over the attribution of the *Portrait of Elisabeth Jacobsdr Bas* [FIG. 55] in the Rijksmuseum and the other over the controversial painting from the 1898 Amsterdam exhibition, *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* [FIG. 29], in Minneapolis from 1912 onward, revealed the widening split between Bredius and the other Rembrandt experts. These debates spilled into the popular press as well as appearing in scholarly journals, and the tenor and kind of argumentation used in them is revealing for the state of Rembrandt connoisseurship in the midst of the expansion of his canon. The arguments about these paintings included some of the few instances where these scholars presented their connoisseurial arguments in depth and demonstrated what kinds of evidence each of them did or did not find convincing. Thus it is worth considering closely the debates about these two paintings.

In 1880, the *Portrait of Elisabeth Jacobsdr Bas* [FIG. 55] was among the first works attributed to Rembrandt to enter the collection of the Rijksmuseum.[32] However, when Bredius decided to deattribute the painting from Rembrandt and assign it to Ferdinand Bol in 1911, he was not the first to question its

authorship. Indeed, Bredius himself gave priority in this matter to Oskar Eisenmann, the director of the Kassel gallery (and reviewer of Bode's *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei* back in 1883), stating that in 1898 Eisenmann suggested to him that someday no one would attribute the painting to Rembrandt.[33] While Bredius admitted that he first laughed at this suggestion, it clearly set him to thinking about the possibility. While in the period of about 1906 to 1909 he had argued for an attribution to Jacob Backer, by 1911 he had settled on Bol, a position which he would maintain for the rest of his life.

In two journal articles (first in *Oud Holland* and then in *The Burlington Magazine*), Bredius presented his various arguments for why the Bas should be attributed to Bol.[34] Bredius named a series of paintings by Rembrandt pupils that had earlier been thought to be by the master himself.[35] He then set out to demonstrate that Bol, around 1640-42, was the Rembrandt follower whose work was most often taken to be Rembrandt's own. He focused on female portraits by Bol in Munich and Berlin and pendant portraits owned by Lord Ashburton. These last two paintings had been exhibited as Rembrandts at the Royal Academy's Winter Exhibition in 1890, when Bredius himself had reattributed them to Bol.[36] Bredius insisted upon the similarity in painting technique between the woman's portrait in this pair and the Elisabeth Bas, noticeable in the hands, collar, cuffs, and background. He then compared these same parts of the Bas picture to those of Rembrandt's portrait of an eighty-three-year-old woman in London's National Gallery and stated that there was a clear distinction in approach.[37] For Bredius, the technique visible in the Bas portrait suggested a weaker and less certain hand, one that was too "finicky" in execution. As further proof of the Bas portrait's stylistic difference from Rembrandt, he provided photographic details of the hands and handkerchief of the wife of Cornelis Claesz Anslo in Berlin, as well as from female portraits by Bol in Berlin and Munich to suggest how well they compared to the Bas.[38] His final argument against the attribution of the painting to Rembrandt was that Rembrandt portraits of this period almost never lacked signatures as this one did.[39]

At first glance, Bredius's argument seemed to rest on distinctions of technique, not quality. Despite his continued insistence that he believed the painting to be of high quality, however, there were indications to the contrary, at least when it was compared to "genuine" Rembrandts. For instance, Bredius described the "really bad painting of the buttons; the minute, even awkward painting of the ruff with short, childish strokes which miss all the character or *Genialität* of Rembrandt's brush."[40]

FIG. 55 – Attributed to Ferdinand Bol, *Elisabeth Jacobsdr Bas*

Bredius's mode of argumentation in these two articles represented a new development in Rembrandt connoisseurship, one more than slightly reminiscent of Morelli's emphasis on examining details of paintings, in this case hands, handkerchiefs, and lace collars and cuffs, but now supported by the publication of detail photographs. In this manner the author attempted to bring his readers through the development of his own ideas and enable them to view the evidence for themselves, even when not in the presence of the actual paintings. Bredius therefore explained how he had looked at many paintings by various followers of Rembrandt until he began seeing in one artist's works repeated similarities with the Bas painting. At first he was led to Backer, but still not entirely satisfied he kept on looking until paintings by Bol seemed the more appropriate set of comparison.

Newer methods of photographic reproduction that allowed such detailed images to be included in serials, not just individual books, helped to change how Rembrandt attribution issues were now discussed. Even in the 1890s, discussions of specific works were somewhat curtailed, for without ample photographic reproduction of both full paintings and details of them, readers could not envision for themselves the merits of particular points. Through the increased use of photography, however, by 1911 even paintings separated widely in location could be compared directly, closely, and immediately by scholars and their audiences alike. To be more accurate, however, only photographs of these paintings were compared; the loss of certain elements discernable only in person could never be overcome. Hence the belief that Bredius's several-years-long investigation of the Bas picture and the results of his journeys to Berlin and St. Petersburg, London, and Munich could be summarized and encapsulated within the space of an article and its accompanying photographic evidence was only partially correct. Nonetheless, the use of such reproductions became ever more important in attribution discussions and authorities who had always cautioned against relying on photographs were themselves doing so more and more frequently (though not without still warning their readers about depending on such reproductions alone). Bredius's call to his readers to decide about the validity of his argument based on their looking at the photographic illustrations he provided, not the paintings themselves, suggests how the role of photographs came to dominate connoisseurship.

Even the incorporation of photographic evidence was not enough to convince Bredius's critics. Jan Veth was the first to respond to Bredius, disparaging the length of time it had taken Bredius to arrive at his conclusion and

stating that this alone suggested that Bredius's result was not at all obvious.[41] He also derided Bredius's dependency on photographs as evidence for his theory, declaring both that "style criticism" was too subtle a task to rely on second-hand evidence, especially "poor photographs," and that even good photographs could never convince anyone in connoisseurship.[42]

Veth criticized the attribution of the Bas portrait to Bol on the basis of quality, asserting that no authentic Bol painting had a head as expressive as Elisabeth Bas's. He argued that while the quality of "touch" in any painting is difficult to gauge, the Bas portrait displayed a more "energetic touch" than that seen in Bol's authenticated works. While Veth admitted that there were "bad parts" in the painting, he suggested that they could have been the result of studio collaboration and that the hands, if so like Bol's, were perhaps actually painted by him in this case. Veth called upon the high opinion of the Bas portrait held by his fellow Dutch painter Josef Israels and earlier by the critic Thoré-Bürger as an indicator of its quality and thus of the validity of the Rembrandt attribution. The argument about the absence of a signature was simply tendentious to Veth, and he believed Bredius knew better as well, as he did not accept arguments against Rembrandt's *Mill* based on the absence of a signature.[43] But if one did accept such an argument, shouldn't the lack of a Bol signature weigh rather heavily against attribution to this artist?

Veth's essay commenced a series of further exchanges between Veth and Bredius in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*.[44] Subjects such as the problem of whether "expression" belonged to the sitter or was imposed by the painter, the possibility of collaboration in Rembrandt's workshop, the status of technical issues in the hierarchy of factors to be considered in making attributions, the role of signatures and their absence in this process, and the meaning and evaluation of an artist's "writing" were argued back and forth. The use of the term "writing" in reference to brushwork was significant, for it may indicate Bredius's desire to associate discussions of paint application with those of handwriting, which had been studied first out of antiquarian interests and, from the later nineteenth century, as the "science" of paleography or of forensic graphology. Veth, in disagreement with Bredius, retorted that he wished to know what Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner thought about the "writing" of the head of Bas.[45] While this may have been intended primarily as a comment acknowledging the authority of other Rembrandt experts, it also could be read as a reference to Bredius's growing alienation from his former mentor and ally.

Bredius and Veth also debated the question of whether a correct attribution had to be determined quickly and without hesitation or changes of mind or whether an attribution arrived at over a period of time and with much consideration was equally viable. Veth maintained that Bredius's wavering on the Bas made his opinion less sound, while Bredius insisted that he had become a more experienced, hence more reliable, connoisseur over the years and that his opinion in 1911 was more trustworthy than that of 1898. While this was a reasonable argument to make on its own, its implications could cause havoc in the field of connoisseurship. If Bredius's earlier attributions could be considered less sound than his later ones, why shouldn't this be true of the other Rembrandt experts as well? And if it were, wouldn't their earlier publications about Rembrandt attributions also be suspect? Yet how could an attribution be arrived at unhesitatingly and definitively and still be "scientific"? Such an approach did not seem to allow for testing a hypothesis, i.e. a proposed attribution, through comparative study. Left unacknowledged was one of the most crucial questions about connoisseurship: was it an intuitive or a rational process – or both simultaneously?

When Hofstede de Groot weighed in on the debate for the first time in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, he took a typically magisterial tone towards the entire proceedings.[46] He stated that various sides had asked him to comment on the attribution of the Bas, but since he believed that allegations forwarded in a "scientific journal" were better responded to in a like publication, he would only comment briefly at this point. (Once again it was Hofstede de Groot who insisted on the removal of connoisseurship debates from the arena of the general public.) Nonetheless, he was eager to establish that his own interest in the portrait's authorship was even more long-standing than Bredius's. Hofstede de Groot claimed that Eisenmann had questioned Rembrandt's authorship of the Bas as early as 1894, not 1898. As Eisenmann was such a respected and experienced older colleague, Hofstede de Groot had felt compelled to keep this challenge in mind whenever he looked at Rembrandt or Rembrandt school portraits over the ensuing years in Europe and America. But everything he had seen led him back to the same conclusion: that only Rembrandt could have painted the portrait of Elisabeth Bas.

He then emphasized that he had carefully examined the Bol portrait in Berlin for several days and had twice viewed the Rothschild marriage paintings for a day when they were still in Lord Ashburton's collection, where he was allowed full access to examine them as long as necessary and in good light. All these investigations resulted in his agreement with Veth: the painter of the

Berlin or the Ashburton-Rothschild women's portraits did not have the ability to paint the Bas portrait. Bredius would have to bring forth other evidence, based on other paintings, in order to convince his fellow Rembrandt connoisseurs.

Hofstede de Groot also wished to correct Bredius in regard to several mistakes. He listed a number of Rembrandt paintings approximately the same size as the Bas portrait, all unsigned, to counter Bredius's citation of the lack of a signature as a factor in attribution and then proposed that this topic should be put to rest once and for all. He also sought to refute Bredius's contention about the flatly painted background of the Bas, stating that this was an unfortunate byproduct of a "merciless relining" in the nineteenth century, rather than a valid marker of authorship one way or another. He concluded by saying that photographs might indeed make the painting look monotonous in color or draughtsmanship, but that seen in person, the portrait was painted with careful, though subtle distinctions of light and shade.

Valentiner's opinions on the Bas controversy were noted in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* two weeks later, after an interview with him from New York.[47] While he was busy with his work at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the editors noted, he had still kept up with the debate through the various newspaper articles. In fact, Valentiner recounted that he had talked to Bredius about his reattribution in the summer of 1911 and had afterward visited the Rijksmuseum specifically to examine the Bas once again. Throughout the interview Valentiner took pains not to offend Bredius, referring to the older scholar's great talents in art history, but nonetheless stating that Bredius had yet to convince him in this instance. His arguments were essentially those of Veth's and Hofstede de Groot's: the photographic comparisons of the Bas portrait to acknowledged Bol paintings were not convincing; Bol was not a good enough painter to have been the author of the Bas. He regretted, but felt it necessary to say that Bredius's argument was really dependent on personal impressions, not inarguable visual facts, and as such his evidence could not really convince anyone with the opposite opinion. Valentiner also brought up the issue of Bredius's change of attribution from Backer to Bol as an indication of the unreliability of this final suggestion. Valentiner added one more point that emphasized his affiliation with Bode and Hofstede de Groot: he lamented that even in the "circles of the greatest connoisseurs" there was a tendency to be "over-skeptical," that is, to attribute to lesser lights unsigned paintings all to quickly, such as the *Mill* or now the Bas portrait.

From this point on the primary debate shifted to the pages of *Oud Holland* and became a two-man debate. Hofstede de Groot devoted to the Bas controversy one section of an article on scholarly differences of opinion about various works given to Rembrandt.[48] After quickly listing the articles that had appeared up through the end of November in 1911 (for the use, he stated, of future scholars) he repeated the main outlines and history of the controversy. While preparing to attack Bredius's attribution of the Bas portrait to Bol, he offered a similar instance where he himself had been mistaken about a Bol painting: he considered the so-called *Orator* to be a Rembrandt when he first saw it and did not carefully examine it but later corrected himself at the London Rembrandt exhibition where he saw it once more and was able to give it his full attention. This example, at first seemingly a magnanimous gesture towards Bredius about the difficulty of Bol-Rembrandt attribution issues, really served to undermine Bredius's attribution: careful study, after all, had revealed the "truth" to Hofstede de Groot. He further attempted to suggest the unreliability of Bredius's connoisseurship in this area by recounting how Bredius (and Michel) had mistakenly attributed pair portraits of 1643 to Bol, only later to admit they were by Rembrandt.

Again, Hofstede de Groot attacked Bredius's statement that the background of the Bas was weak and flat, and insisted that such a comment could only be made from viewing a reproduction, not the painting itself; here, too, a lack of careful examination on Bredius's part is implied. Hofstede de Groot claimed instead that the background merely displayed intentionally subtle differences of light and shade in order to keep the viewer's eyes focused on the sitter. He even scolded Bredius for misleading the public about how many large Rembrandt portraits were or were not signed by the artist, claiming that such a contention "renders science no service."[49]

For Hofstede de Groot, however, the heart of the matter lay in the painting of the hands and the scholars' interpretation of them; for Bredius, the hands of the Bas were the principal evidence of Bol's authorship, while for Hofstede de Groot they could have been painted by Rembrandt alone, and only they were necessary to prove the case. Hofstede de Groot was convinced that Bol had never painted good hands, not even in his regents' portrait at the Amsterdam Town Hall, and worked in a formulaic manner that made them characterless. He also countered Bredius's arguments about the painting technique shown in the handkerchiefs in the Berlin Bol, the Bas, and the Anslo double portrait [FIG. 41]. Other details of stuffs in the Bas – the collar and cuffs, the

row of buttons on the bodice – were to Hofstede de Groot beautifully painted with a degree of delicacy and yet solidity that spoke of Rembrandt alone.

For each of these points, the evaluation of quality framed Hofstede de Groot's essential argument. While an examination of technique was raised from time to time in this piece, Hofstede de Groot did not offer precise visual distinctions. To say, "I see in this reproduction (of the Bas collar) a world of difference from the awkward way in which Bol painted his lace collars and a striking resemblance with other such collars by Rembrandt," was simply to assert his judgment about the relative success of one detail from a painting rather than to develop a full argument about paint application and the creation of visual forms.[50] He contended that he recognized Rembrandt's "handwriting" in the reflection of light off the cuffs and then asserted that Bol couldn't paint such effects, rather than demonstrating this specifically through any kind of sustained comparative analysis. To this degree Hofstede de Groot's responses to Bredius are less than fully convincing because of his unwillingness to enter into a truly comparative debate.

Hofstede de Groot concluded with a discussion of two last points: the painting's condition as it affected appearance and the date of the work itself.[51] As in his newspaper account, he argued here that the painting's relining had flattened much of the surface, making it seem smoother than it would have been originally. He also questioned the assumption that the painting was executed in 1641, based on the perceived age of the sitter, for he believed that she looked younger than seventy (the age Bas would be if this were indeed her portrait – one of the unsettled problems of the entire situation) and that the painting could well have been made around 1636 to 1638. He "confirmed" this possibility by asking "unbiased persons" to say how old the woman looked, and they were "generally inclined" to read her age as the mid 60s. Hofstede de Groot, following Bode, wanted to establish that stylistically and technically the Bas portrait more closely resembled works from this slightly earlier phase of Rembrandt's career than those of the early 1640s. While he ended with a comment that any final judgment would have to be postponed until there had been further study of the matter, his citation of Bode's published opinion was clearly meant to add greater weight to his arguments about both authorship and dating.

Bredius responded immediately in *Oud Holland* with his "marginal notes" about Hofstede de Groot's article and defended his course of thought about the painting once more, stating that while he had never been firmly convinced about the Backer attribution, he now had "total certainty" in Bol's authorship.[52]

Stung by Hofstede de Groot's pointing out the error in attribution that Bredius and Michel made about the 1643 Rembrandt portraits, he recounted, in retaliation, Hofstede de Groot's own embarrassment about a certificate he had written about the authorship of a male portrait "clearly" by Bol, which Hofstede de Groot had called a Rembrandt.[53] Indeed, Bredius stated that he believed Hofstede de Groot had felt compelled to write a second certificate repudiating his earlier attribution. But, added Bredius, it seemed that Hofstede de Groot had still not learned to tell Bol paintings from Rembrandts.

Bredius finally retracted his comment, "written down too quickly," about the lack of a signature on the painting and its significance.[54] But he refused to modify his evaluation of the background in the Bas portrait; it simply deviated too much from Rembrandt's style to be accepted as his work. He took Hofstede de Groot to task for writing about "what we expect" from Rembrandt in any given period, suggesting that a connoisseur should be concerned instead with what was known instead; one should use solid visual evidence, not an internal gauge of quality to judge the work.[55]

Bredius's frustrations with Hofstede de Groot were as apparent now as his opponent's for him, but despite the fruitlessness of their trying to convince each other, they felt compelled to address a larger audience. Bredius could not accept the fact that Hofstede de Groot really believed that the hands in the Bas portrait were by Rembrandt; he seemed to think that study of the hands he reproduced in *The Burlington Magazine*, as well as study of the originals, would convince anyone. Yet Bredius's own argument tended to become confused at times. He wanted to claim that Bol could and did paint good hands in his regents' portrait and in the Rothschild woman's portrait, yet also stated that even "believers" in the Rembrandt-Bas attribution admitted her hands were weakly done. Once more the central criterion for making attributions was left vague; was it technique, style, or quality? Or was it some combination of these elements, too elusive to articulate? Did quality mean the same thing when applied to Bol's work as it did with Rembrandt's?

Bredius accused Hofstede de Groot of wanting to date the portrait to the years 1636-38 simply so that Bol could not be the author.[56] He referred yet again to Rembrandt's 1634 female portrait in the National Gallery, London, ostensibly the most appropriate work for comparison to the Bas, and stated that the manner of painting seen in the head differed significantly from that in the Bas portrait. Like Hofstede de Groot, Bredius called upon the authority of Bode and claimed that the last time they stood together looking at the Bas,

Bode also sought to puzzle out the identity of the real painter. Bredius concluded his article with an imprecation: "Whoever wants to form his judgment about this question seriously, go to the Elisabeth Bas with the largest and best reproductions after Rembrandt's portraits from the years 1634-1640, and he shall in each case come to the conclusion, that this is another hand, another brush than that of the master."[57] By making such a statement, Bredius implicitly admitted that he would have to go outside of the circle of Rembrandt experts if he wished for validation. Once more each scholar retreated in the end to the contention that visual facts were obvious, undeniable, and, if approached in the proper, scientific spirit, could be used to reach only one viable conclusion.

Hofstede de Groot took great umbrage at a number of Bredius's statements and the second part of his *Oud Holland* article began with a protest against Bredius's tendency to insist that anyone who disagreed with him had not looked closely at the works in question. "Was he there when I conducted my studies? Does he know whether or not I have seen something in a good light? Am I known for cursory viewing, for poor study of the art works about which I write?"[58] There is a certain irony to Hofstede de Groot's ire here, given his own insinuations about who among them had actually looked carefully at the paintings under discussion. He also resented Bredius's charge that he wished to change the date of the Bas portrait to the later 1630s in order to eliminate the possibility of Bol's authorship. "He understands very well that such a motive is and always has been totally alien to me... Bredius has known me long enough to be able to recognize that my only striving is towards the truth, and if this lies on the side of Bredius, I shall promptly acknowledge this as I expect it of him when the cases are reversed."[59] Nonetheless, the striving for truth did not eliminate the possibility of arguing on rather personal grounds.

Characteristically, despite the fact that Jan Veth had been an important ally in arguing for the Bas portrait's attribution to Rembrandt, Hofstede de Groot disputed the relevance of the opinions of artists and other non-art historians about the authorship of this painting. For him their judgments about artistic characteristics were of interest but inherently subjective; thus he did not believe them qualified to discuss the objective point about a painting's authorship or authenticity.[60] He mockingly described how by the end of the Amsterdam Rembrandt exhibition, through which, he stated, he had taken many artists, hardly a painting in the show was left outside of dispute among them. For Hofstede de Groot, only those who have devoted themselves to such study full time (i.e. art historians who were connoisseurs) had the requisite knowledge on

which to base such judgments. He clearly indicated here his believe that such experts could in fact be objective in their connoisseurship and once more preserved this realm for those sanctioned by their professional academic training or museum experience.

Hofstede de Groot, like Bredius, was clearly frustrated with the debate by this time. "About the Rembrandt-like or Bol-like quality of the hands and other subsidiary part of the E. Bas I fear that Bredius and I shall never agree: it is perhaps inexplicable but true: where he sees Bol's brushwork in the Bas, I recognize that of Rembrandt; what he finds finicky in execution, I see as thoroughly worked-out, and in contrast to what he considers to have been painted well by Bol, is for me without life and made according to a formula."[61] The implication of this statement is that the subjective judgment of quality was inseparable from the evaluation of style and technique. But he did not accept what others might already have begun to think: that no final decision could be made in such a case.

Perhaps to retaliate for Bredius's criticism of him for writing about "what we expect" from Rembrandt, Hofstede de Groot reproved Bredius for making "a principal mistake" by saying that Rembrandt could not have painted the collar in the Bas when one can never prove what an artist can or cannot do.[62] As evidence, Hofstede de Groot used the example of two early Rembrandt self-portraits in the Mauritshuis, executed in very different manners but made at about the same time. This choice of example was aimed squarely at Bredius, who, as former director of the Mauritshuis, would know better than anyone else about the possibilities for differences in execution in such works.

Bredius's final response to Hofstede de Groot did not, and could not, break any new territory. Once more he insisted on his right to admonish others for not studying works closely if this method leads even "such a practiced connoisseur as Dr. Hofstede de Groot" to declare that one can tell Rembrandt's authorship of the Bas from the hands alone.[63] But after all that Hofstede de Groot had written, Bredius could only believe that his "honorable opponent is stricken with blindness on this point."

Bredius did make a significant (albeit self-aggrandizing) remark about the importance of tradition in shaping connoisseurship. As he stated, they had all grown up as scholars believing that the Bas was a wonderful work by Rembrandt, and they had all started from this point when writing about the work and perhaps praising it a bit too much. And, Bredius added, the longer one persisted in a false belief, the harder it was to give it up. "It thus took a bit of

courage to say 'I was wrong.' I thought it was a beautiful Rembrandt, but, on closer looking, it is not one at all."[64]

In response to Hofstede de Groot's chastising him about the variability of an artist's technical execution of paintings, Bredius insisted that he had said he did not recognize Rembrandt's "writing" in the Bas portrait, not that differing "facteur" in paintings made it impossible for them to be by the same artist. This elusive distinction of "writing" and "facteur" was left undefined but was nonetheless clearly essential in Bredius's mind, and he maintained that he could recognize Rembrandt's "writing throughout his career, in paintings made in all the various stylistic phases of the artist." Unfortunately, Bredius did not inform the reader about how this "writing" could be recognized by others, except to say it was characterized by his "powerful, certain hand, his firm brush."[65] For one last time he challenged Hofstede de Groot to find the "real comparison" of collars with the Bas, and stated that if he could hang the Rothschild woman's portrait by Bol next to the Bas, "all my opponents would be quickly struck dumb."[66] This, in addition to his belief that Hofstede de Groot was already stricken with blindness!

The metaphoric desire for Hofstede de Groot's perceptual disability, wherein his organs of speech and sight would be taken away and with them his ability to practice as a connoisseur, reveals the bitterness underlying their debate. For Bredius and Hofstede de Groot, the disagreement over the authorship of the Bas portrait had become symptomatic of a greater disruption in their working relationship. While once co-workers and allies, they became further and further estranged during the first two decades of the twentieth century, both personally and professionally.[67] Valentiner suggested that when he first came to know Bredius around 1905-06, he realized that the antipathy between the two Dutch scholars complicated his own dealings with Bredius.[68] Although the debate over the Bas portrait cooled down after 1913, it never truly concluded. As late as 1927 Bredius wrote an article attacking Kurt Bauch's attribution of the portrait to Jacob Backer but could not refrain from claiming that "all Rembrandt connoisseurs, with the exception of Dr. Hofstede de Groot, have rejected it as a Rembrandt."[69]

The tenor of this debate simultaneously reveals the larger frustrations of Rembrandt connoisseurship at this time. Both scholars claimed a degree of open-mindedness and a desire to discover "the truth," yet neither budged an inch during this debate; they could not even agree on what evidence was relevant or not, much less what was convincing. Like Bode and Morelli twenty

years earlier, they both held the conviction that they were working along objective, even "scientific," grounds but could not acknowledge the same for their opponent, for how could science lead to opposite and equally valid conclusions? Despite their accusations and counter claims, they both failed to clarify their positions and ground them in fully developed visual comparisons that might have at least aided other readers.

Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery Revisited

A second debate begun in 1911 about the already long-controversial painting, *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* [FIG. 29], revealed the importance of another factor in Rembrandt connoisseurship: the role of art dealers as connoisseurs and colleagues of art historians in shaping the art market. While dealers were usually content to practice their connoisseurship silently without publishing their attributions anywhere outside their own sale catalogues, in this instance a dealer with a great deal at stake in the attribution of Rembrandt paintings took the unusual step of criticizing in print the connoisseurship of one of the recognized experts.

The affair began when Bredius contributed a short article to *The Burlington Magazine*, contesting the authorship of *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, which had recently come up for auction at the sale of the Weber collection in Berlin in February 1912. He stated that he had advised against including it in the Amsterdam exhibition in 1898 and was just as opposed at the present moment to the Rembrandt attribution, characterizing the work as "one of those very clever forgeries from the first half of the eighteenth century."[70] As Bredius made clear, however, Hofstede de Groot and Valentiner were of quite another opinion. According to Bredius, Valentiner had claimed in a letter that the painting, after arriving in America, was cleaned before going on to its new home in Minneapolis and that its authenticity was now indisputable.[71]

Even though Bredius published these remarks after the Weber sale, they still served to outrage at least one person deeply concerned with the ramifications of this painting's attribution, namely Charles Sedelmeyer. The Parisian dealer had twice been the owner of the painting: in 1891, when he bought it from Charles Robinson, the keeper of the British royal picture collection and dealer, and then again in 1912 after the Weber sale, where he bought it a second

time, for the relatively small sum of 40,000 marks. In May 1912 the painting was sold to the American industrialist T.B. Walker.[72] While the sale to Walker had already transpired by the time Bredius's article appeared, Sedelmeyer clearly believed that Bredius's claims about the painting were injurious to his reputation. Thus, the art dealer published a thirty-eight page "open letter" to Abraham Bredius disputing not only Bredius's opinion in this case but also his abilities as a Rembrandt connoisseur writ large. Further, Sedelmeyer even challenged Bredius's right to question paintings in "public galleries" at least not "in such an apodictic tone, and with so much stubbornness," and warned him to "[R]efrain from aspersions about pictures in private collections and in the possession of dealers" because of the financial repercussions of such disputes over attribution.[73] This reproach hearkens back to an earlier era of connoisseurship when John Smith decided not to comment on the authenticity of paintings held in private hands and when most connoisseurs were artists and art dealers.[74]

Sedelmeyer had commenced his essay with discussion of other recent and supposedly controversial opinions of Bredius's on Rembrandt attributions, including the Bas portrait [FIG. 55], and *Old Woman Plucking a Fowl* [FIG. 56] , also sold at auction in 1912 and purchased by another dealer, F. Kleinberger. Bredius had disputed Rembrandt's authorship of these paintings, which Sedelmeyer claimed were accepted by other Rembrandt connoisseurs.[75] Sedelmeyer next discussed instances where Bredius had taken positions about the attribution of paintings but later conceded he had been wrong. Here the art dealer attempted to use Bredius's willingness to admit to his mistakes as evidence that Bredius actually erred more often than other connoisseurs and was thus not a reliable authority on Rembrandt or other Dutch artists.

Of course Sedelmeyer was not speaking solely from commitment to pursuing art-historical truth. Wurzbach had not been wrong to indicate that Sedelmeyer's commercial interests were closely linked to the personal authority of connoisseurs. When even one person who had an established reputation as a Rembrandt connoisseur, such as Bredius, questioned the attribution of a painting, such a judgment affected Sedelmeyer's own reputation and, potentially, his income. Sedelmeyer quoted Bredius, from a letter written to another dealer after having changed his mind about a Rembrandt attribution, as saying: "You knew beforehand that I am not infallible... I am not ashamed of this. Our *metier* is so difficult, that the best connoisseur may blunder."[76] To Sedelmeyer's way of thinking, this was not an admirable openness about the difficulties of practicing connoisseurship; rather, he saw this admission as an example of the

FIG. 56 – Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn, *Old Woman Plucking a Fowl*

Rembrandt expert's highhandedness and lack of concern over the financial consequences of his statements. In other words, Bredius could literally as well as figuratively afford the luxury of a kind of attribution practice that allowed for changes of mind, but dealers, increasingly reliant on the judgments of recognized authorities, could not.

Sedelmeyer's extended argument against Bredius's deattribution of *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* was based upon several elements: citation of tradition (the painting's distinguished provenance and reception); visual comparison of the painting to other "authentic" Rembrandts; and characterization of the painting's current state as mutilated and thus misleading about its original composition and quality. Before launching into his defense, though, Sedelmeyer once more took Bredius to task for "lacking faith" in the opinions of his colleagues and for wanting physical evidence to support attributions. "[Y]ou, a student of art, make the astounding proposition that the colours of pictures should be subjected to chemical analysis! Allow me to tell you, Doctor, that such a proposition proclaims the bankruptcy of *expertise*! In the future those in doubt about a picture must not invoke the aid of art-writers, students and connoisseurs! They must send it to a chemical factory!"[77] Such comments remind us that when the term "science" was used in this era for the practice of connoisseurship, it referred to a method of investigation through "objective" visual examination, understood as a process parallel to experimental science and not to any kind of collaborative work with actual scientists themselves. Physical evidence was not to be trusted but rather the judgments made with the connoisseur's trained eye. Sedelmeyer's critique of Bredius's practice of reexamining his attributions also highlights such differences, given the demands that in the experimental sciences, hypotheses and conclusions were to be tested again and again for validity and were subject to revision or even rejection as a result of such testing.

Two other points about Sedelmeyer's words are important. It is significant that Sedelmeyer admonished Bredius for contradicting the opinions of his colleagues: the decisions of connoisseurship that were backed by a consensus of experts were far more reassuring to art dealers and their clients, for once one opinion was criticized, where would the process end? The perhaps unconscious association Sedelmeyer made when he worried about the "bankruptcy of expertise" should not go unnoticed either, for the implied connection between the practice of connoisseurship as a paid enterprise and the potential for commercial ruin if such a system were abandoned in favor of chemical analysis or other approaches.

Sedelmeyer's discussion of the history of the painting had two major points: prior to the Amsterdam exhibition, the painting had been part of distinguished art collections, and it had been seen and accepted as a Rembrandt by the most important Rembrandt connoisseurs of the nineteenth century, i.e. Smith, Waagen, and Bode. While he admitted that Bode's opinion of the painting had wavered from time to time, as had Émile Michel's, Sedelmeyer believed that Bode's inclusion of it in his eight-volume catalogue was evidence enough for his generally favorable stance. In essence, Sedelmeyer's argument from history was in actuality an argument for attributions based on tradition.

Next Sedelmeyer directly attacked the issue of the painting's composition, which had drawn criticism not just from Bredius but from Bode as well. Relying on the evidence of an eighteenth-century etching by Bernard Picart that Sedelmeyer, Bode, and Hofstede de Groot believed reproduced a lost Rembrandt drawing of the subject, Sedelmeyer argued that *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* had to be understood as a fragment of a much larger work, which had been cut down considerably along the bottom and at both lateral sides.[78] Thus objections like Bode's to the crowding of the figures and to the unusual choice for Rembrandt of half-length figures could be explained away, according to Sedelmeyer. He also discussed other elements in the painting that had been criticized as either atypical for Rembrandt or poor in quality – the costumes, the figural types, the color and technique, and tried to demonstrate that each problematic element could be matched with at least one other Rembrandt painting.

Like Bredius in his Bas articles, Sedelmeyer relied on a number of detail photographs taken from other paintings and primarily from the London National Gallery's 1644 *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* to prove his contention that the Walker picture was not only by Rembrandt but among his finer works and one that had personal meaning for the artist. He also called upon "expert witnesses," people like Bode and the art critic Marcel Nicolle, and quoted their favorable comments about the painting where applicable.

It is an ironic fact that Sedelmeyer presented his practice of connoisseurship in this case at greater length and in greater detail than any of the Rembrandt authorities had in similar circumstances. Yet the mode of argumentation was the same; verbal arguments were framed about whether a figure, the composition, or the technique could be matched with a similar one in Rembrandt's oeuvre and about the quality of said feature. Assertions were made, photographic details were provided to give visual witness to the correctness of

these verbal assertions, and expert opinions were cited in support of the viewpoint propounded. Sedelmeyer could well maintain that: "I cannot but reiterate that all the arguments you have advanced against the authenticity of the picture fall to pieces like a house of cards as soon as they are examined. Most of them are vague and arbitrary statements unsupported by a shadow of real evidence. Hence they are without worth or weight from the scientific standpoint."[79] However, Sedelmeyer's arguments were equally tenuous and unsupported by compelling evidence.

Bredius responded with his own "open letter," albeit one far more brief than Sedelmeyer's. To counter Sedelmeyer's criticism of his connoisseurship, Bredius pointed out an instance where the dealer had also been mistaken about a painting's attribution. He rejected Sedelmeyer's argument that, for instance, the "bearded Pharisee" in Walker's picture was painted by Rembrandt, stating that the "manner of painting is Rembrandtesque, but it is not Rembrandt's. There is no light in the eyes; they are black, lightless holes."[80] He raised similar objections to other details in the painting. Bredius further asked why Sedelmeyer had used a photograph of the painting taken before cleaning if it had changed so markedly in appearance through this process. Above all else, Bredius wished to combat any idea that Bode was in favor of attributing the *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* to Rembrandt or that he had been since the 1898 exhibition. He quoted a letter Bode had written to him in 1898 as saying, "I am glad to hear that no one believed in the authenticity of the 'The Woman taken in Adultery.' I myself never really believed in it, though I have at times been lead to think differently. So I refrained from dissuading Mr. Weber from making this foolish purchase. Sedelmeyer ought now to take back the picture."[81] While Bode included the painting in volume five of his *catalogue raisonné* published in 1901, he had also mentioned the controversy over the attribution of the painting in the catalogue entry, thus hedging his commitment to its authenticity.[82]

But Bode was not the only "expert witness" Bredius wished to call for his side. He pointed out that at a time when the painting had been in Berlin, the restorer Hauser believed that he had found pigments in it that postdated the seventeenth century. In addition to Bode and Hauser, Bredius cited the recently published opinion of Woldemar von Seidlitz, a specialist in Rembrandt's etchings, to support his view that the *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* was not by Rembrandt. [83] As for Hofstede de Groot's opinion that "there is not a second picture by Rembrandt in which we find so many reminiscences of his other works," Bredius maintained that these similarities served rather as evidence

that the painting was a pastiche, not a work of the master himself. [84] All in all, however, it was the execution, the complete absence of *Genialität* (genius) that convinced Bredius this work could not have been painted by Rembrandt. Once again the final test was that of the ineffable standard of quality – of technique, of style, of expression, any or all of these elements.

Unlike the Bas debate, Sedelmeyer and Bredius's argument did not become a cause célèbre. *The Burlington Magazine* published an update on the debate six months after printing Bredius's original article, in which a passage was quoted from Bredius's letter before its official publication.[85] Georg Biermann, editor of *Der Cicerone*, harshly critiqued Bredius's position in his journal.[86] Hofstede de Groot made a point of going to Minneapolis to see the painting in November 1912 and reaffirmed his confidence in the attribution to Rembrandt, calling it "one of the most important works of Rembrandt's middle period." [87] Afterward, however, the debate died down, in part because most scholars agreed with Bredius this time. Even Valentiner, who had expressed ambivalent, and, at times, contradictory opinions about the painting, ended up rejecting it from Rembrandt's oeuvre when he prepared his 1931 volume *Rembrandt Paintings in America*. The fate of the painting since that time, when it was consigned to the store rooms of the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis and then failed to sell at auction in the early 1970s, is indicative of how far *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* had fallen from favor. In less than one hundred years it had moved from a prominent position in Blenheim Palace, through various European collections, and thence to America where, after several decades, it fell into disrepute and oblivion.[88]

The debates over the Elisabeth Bas portrait and *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* revealed the state of impasse reached in Rembrandt connoisseurship by 1912. Former allies were now intense rivals set on convincing the public about their own greater reliability as Rembrandt experts, having failed to convince each other about the viability of their opinions. Arguments began to verge on being argued *ad hominem*, in part because the kind of visual "evidence" each side cited could only be evaluated subjectively.

Hofstede de Groot's catalogue raisonné

During the first and second decades of the twentieth century, Hofstede de Groot's major scholarly project was his complete revision and expansion of John

Smith's nineteenth-century catalogue of Dutch artists published in German from 1907 to 1928.[89] Although he had decided to eliminate discussion of French and Flemish artists, the completed project was far larger than Smith's original edition. Hofstede de Groot's archival research and the employment of many young art historians as assistants made such an expansion feasible, while many more Dutch paintings had come to light in the succeeding eighty years. Today Hofstede de Groot's catalogue is still an invaluable starting point for anyone working to track the peregrinations of many a Dutch artist's paintings.[90]

The sixth volume, containing Hofstede de Groot's catalogue of Rembrandt's paintings, appeared in 1915, delayed by the start of World War I and other "adverse circumstances."[91] A twenty-page-long introduction to the artist's life, work, and students preceded the catalogue proper. Only five and a half pages were devoted to the first two subjects, however, while the next fourteen treated the Rembrandt "school." Hofstede de Groot opened this discussion with a description of two groups of Rembrandt scholars, one that advocated a "hypercriticism practised at the expense of Rembrandt's work," and the other, to which he belonged, being "somewhat large-hearted" in its attributive practices but "which in no way renounces the right of sane criticism."[92] In the use of the term "hypercriticism," echoes can be heard of Wurzbach's assailing "hyperlearned scholars" of Rembrandt back in the 1880s. It was quite clear by now that Bredius fell into the first camp, while Bode and Valentiner were Hofstede de Groot's allies in their "large-hearted" connoisseurship. Hofstede de Groot proudly accepted his role as the discoverer of unknown Rembrandts and reattributor of paintings given to other artists. A natural occupation, he indicated, for a scholar who traveled ceaselessly in his work, as compared to colleagues who were "more rigorously chained to their desks."[93] But he also insisted that very few of the paintings proffered for his inspection met his standards for authentic Rembrandt paintings. Indeed, he indicated that the stringent critics "who take part in research principally from their [academic] studies," rather than from first-hand examination of the paintings, misunderstood the very nature of artistic talent, which led inexorably to the production of works that were uneven in quality. Characteristically, Hofstede de Groot believed that it was his right to assert not only what kind of person should be trusted as a connoisseur but also what kind of art historian.

The organization of the catalogue was thematic, following both the traditional hierarchy of genres and Smith's original classification. Smith's catalogue entries were completely rewritten and were now vastly outnumbered by

the many additional entries added by Hofstede de Groot. Further information about exhibition history, provenance, literature, reproductions, and copies was incorporated into each entry. In total, there were 988 entries for Rembrandt, including a number of entries that Hofstede de Groot, like Smith before him, acknowledged were likely duplicates. Additional scholarly apparatus included a chronological index to Rembrandt paintings that bore dates or could be dated on the basis of other evidence and a concordance of his catalogue numbers with those of Smith, the Smith supplement, Bode 1883, Dutuit, Wurzbach, and the Bode-Hofstede de Groot catalogue. Hofstede de Groot's catalogue provided a considerable contrast to the lavish *catalogue raisonné* he had prepared with Bode. Lacking a chronological arrangement or even a topographic index, with page after page of small text, dryly listing picture after picture, all unillustrated, it would have been a forbidding work of research to all but other scholars of Dutch art and, perhaps, industrious art dealers.

Because of its impressive amassing of information, Hofstede de Groot's catalogue of Rembrandt paintings was nonetheless a singular contribution, one that quickly replaced the eight-volume catalogue that he had worked on earlier with Bode as the standard reference on the artist.[94] However, his work uncovering additional archival references to Rembrandt paintings also performed a dubious service for Rembrandt connoisseurship in encouraging the "rediscovery" of many more paintings to the artist. Any painting, even vaguely Rembrandtesque that came to light in the succeeding fifteen years and could be matched with a documentary description found in Hofstede de Groot's catalogue had a reasonable chance of being promoted as a legitimate Rembrandt work, at least by the author and his immediate allies. When this transpired, it finally forced a discussion of the methodology and accomplishments of Rembrandt connoisseurship by two increasingly polarized camps of scholars.

CHAPTER 7

REMBRANDT: REDISCOVERED PAINTINGS AND THE DEBATE OVER METHOD

FIG. 57 – Rembrandt, *The Raising of Lazarus*, ca. 1630

THE DISRUPTIONS TO LIFE IN EUROPE DURING World War I caused a hiatus in active Rembrandt scholarship on the continent; most German art journals published only irregularly or not at all. Valentiner, who was in Germany at the start of the war, served in the German army, first at the front and later in the War Information Center in Berlin.[1] Soon after hostilities ceased, however, the pace of publishing on Rembrandt attributions picked up anew.[2] The first extended publication to reflect these changes was Wilhelm Valentiner's new Klassiker der Kunst volume, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde* (*Rembrandt. Rediscovered Paintings*) of 1921, a supplement to his 1908 volume in the series. As the title indicates, the purpose of the book was to present the new Rembrandt attributions made during the decade 1910-1920; Valentiner conveniently numbered them at 100.[3] In an appendix he also included additional remarks on paintings published in the 1909 Rembrandt volume, bringing their current locations and ownership up to date and commenting on any changes in their status among scholars.

The book followed the standard Klassiker der Kunst format, yet it was undeniably unusual within the series, which normally published the complete painted oeuvre of an artist in one volume. In his introduction, Valentiner rationalized the necessity for its appearance, commenting that publishing costs had grown so tremendously since 1908 as to make an inclusive new edition of all of Rembrandt's paintings prohibitively expensive; at the same time, he saw some advantage to publishing all the new attributions in one place where they would gain greater attention.[4]

Part confident in tone, part defensive, Valentiner directly confronted the issue of the large number of such new finds and their collective (as well as individual) plausibility. He declared that the addition of 100 paintings to Rem-

brandt's oeuvre in ten years was no small achievement, for this sum represented fully a sixth of the total number of Rembrandts that had been known in 1909. Yet he also maintained that these discoveries were the natural consequence of the conjoining of commercial and scholarly forces: reviving Bode's argument, he explained that when demand was great for a certain artist's work, art dealers would apply themselves assiduously to finding more examples of it and, with their ability to offer financial incentives, could often "smooth the way" to gain access to paintings in private collections closed to "disinterested" art historians.[5] As scholars also profited in terms of knowledge from these finds, they should not look down on the gains for "science" made by such "practical" connoisseurship. He did not address, however, the question of what it meant for scholars to "authenticate" these finds through providing certificates, often for money.

Valentiner, maintaining his strong alliance with his mentors, credited Bode and Hofstede de Groot as having made the greatest scholarly contribution to "rediscovery" of these paintings and thanked them for their "customary selfless generosity" in lending him notes and photographic material for the preparation of his book. He praised Bode's pioneering work on the early career of Rembrandt, stating its lasting value in illuminating the previously least-understood phase of the artist's career and recalling once more the scorn Bode had nonetheless received three decades earlier from some scholars for his "green Rembrandts."[6] He also treated the recent history of Rembrandt connoisseurship, albeit selectively, by discussing the completion of the Bode-Hofstede de Groot *catalogue raisonné* in 1905, his own 1908 Klassiker der Kunst volume, Hofstede de Groot's 1915 catalogue in the new edition of John Smith's opus (strongly praised for its archival foundation), and complementary articles by these authors adding further additions to the Rembrandt corpus. This historiographic review asserted the preeminence of the Bode-Hofstede de Groot-Valentiner axis of Rembrandt connoisseurship; the scholarship of Bredius, however, went completely unmentioned.

Valentiner addressed one particularly vexing problem of Rembrandt connoisseurship: the existence of multiple versions of certain paintings and the difficulty in determining which, if any, was the original by Rembrandt.[7] Many of the versions appeared to be of high quality, but since there were no documented cases of Rembrandt making multiple copies of his own works, even the judgment of comparative quality could not on its own determine authorship. As others had before him, Valentiner postulated that many of these nearly identical renderings must have been painted as student exercises in Rembrandt's work-

FIG. 58 – *Democritus and Heraclitus*

shop, following the standard artistic training of the day. Since the point of making such copies was to imitate the master's style and technique as closely as possible and not to assert artistic individuality, it would not be surprising if many of the replicas closely approached the level of Rembrandt's own work.

How, then, to determine their authenticity? Although he had raised the issue, Valentiner provided disappointingly little evidence of any clear method of connoisseurship for this kind of attributional dilemma. He stated that for six of the newly rediscovered works of Rembrandt, other versions were already known to exist, some of which had previously held the status of the autographic version until the newest painting appeared on the scene. Why, then, did the newly found works displace the other versions? Valentiner mentioned only that "authentic signatures" on them could make the difference without explaining why this factor alone was enough to promote or demote a picture or how one

even determined the authenticity of a signature.[8] Yet he remained true to this principle, for in his discussion of a rediscovered version of a painting in Mainz, *"Rembrandt's Father,"* (no. 9), he stated that, given its "authentic" signature, this version was the original one despite the fact that it seemed less expressive or forceful than the previously recognized version in Copenhagen.[9] However, in cases where no such signature existed, Valentiner did in fact depend on the evaluation of quality to determine authenticity; for *The Raising of Lazarus* (no. 17; FIG. 57), owned by Charles Sedelmeyer, he declared that " a comparison, especially of the heads of the main figures, shows the superiority of the picture reproduced here" over the version then in the Gates collection in New York.[10]

As was true for his mentors in Rembrandt connoisseurship, Valentiner's standards for authenticity were highly variable, shifting in emphasis from painting to painting. Within the text of the introduction, Valentiner defended at length his inclusion of *Democritus and Heraclitus* (no. 68; FIG. 58), while nonetheless admitting that substantial objections had been raised to this attribution, so atypical for Rembrandt in its subject, composition, and coloring.[11] His highly subjective evaluation rested primarily on an intangible quality, what he saw as the high level of sophistication in the conception of both philosophers, a quality he believed none of Rembrandt's followers could match. The "laughing" Democritus, in Valentiner's reading, actually smiles ironically, rather than laughing outright. His identification of the model for this philosopher as the same one used for *Man with the Golden Helmet* [FIG. 31] and other paintings of the early 1650s attributed to Rembrandt also helped, according to Valentiner, to support his case for the painting's authenticity.[12] He evidently did not choose to consider that this model could have also worked for one or more of Rembrandt's followers or that all of the attributed paintings displaying this model might not be by the master.

Valentiner optimistically concluded that many more Rembrandt paintings remained to be rediscovered and that conditions were ripe for their reappearance. Since Hofstede de Groot's catalogue listed a considerable number of paintings attributed to Rembrandt in the past that had not yet been identified and while some were likely lost over time, recent discoveries could only hint at the likelihood of further ones. In this Panglossian world of Rembrandt connoisseurship, Valentiner offered no cautionary words about the pace of such rediscoveries and did not even suggest an upper limit to how many paintings could reasonably be attributed to the master.

What of the catalogue itself? The list of paintings, following the typically spare Klassiker der Kunst format, included the painting's name, an approximate date, the location and owner; when applicable, its number in Hofstede de Groot's catalogue was also included, ostensibly providing greater authority for the attribution. Valentiner also stated who had first published the painting; unsurprisingly, the majority of such references were to Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner himself. While he disagreed from time to time with both of his mentors on certain attributions or on the status of some pictures as pendants to other Rembrandts, the cumulative effect was to strengthen the expansionist model of Bode and Hofstede de Groot.[13] He thus argued vociferously against Bredius's attribution of the painting *The Young Samson* (no. 42; FIG. 59, now called *Young Man in Oriental Costume*) to Bol instead of Rembrandt.[14] Bredius's reattribution of the Elisabeth Bas portrait [FIG. 55] to Bol was also firmly rejected, along with a number of his other opinions.[15]

Reviews of Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde

A number of positive reviews of the book came out in newspapers and art journals, accepting Valentiner's premise about the likelihood of one hundred Rembrandt paintings appearing on the market in ten years and praising him for his perspicacity in gathering them together for publication.[16] Bode's two reviews were among this group. In the *Literarisches Zentralblatt*, Bode described Valentiner's introduction as being "scientifically sound," addressed the effort necessary to bring all these new discoveries to light, and praised the inclusion of supplementary remarks commenting on the change in ownership of works discussed in the 1909 catalogue.[17] Much of Bode's longer review in *Kunst und Künstler* was taken up, however, with discussing the larger problems raised by Rembrandt connoisseurship: the difficulty in establishing first versions with the existence of so many workshop copies, for instance, or the issue of authenticating paintings that lacked signatures.[18] But instead of engaging with these problems directly by discussing his reactions to Valentiner's handling of these issues, he raised them only to provide a way to explain away potentially embarrassing cases, such as when one painting had been declared an original by him or other Rembrandt connoisseurs until another, "better," version appeared on the market.

FIG. 59 – Imitator of Ferdinand Bol, *Young Man in Oriental Costume*

Primarily Bode mused upon changes in both art history and art commerce over a generation. Twenty or thirty years earlier, he insisted, the art trade did not really care whether a painting was an "insignificant original" by Rembrandt or a workshop copy, and such works, as well as early paintings by the master, could be had for relatively trivial sums. He deplored the subsequent stratospheric rise in prices for all Rembrandts, seemingly without any connection to their actual artistic value, so that even "art-historical curiosities" could no longer be purchased by the European museums where they belonged. (His resentment about Berlin's inability to compete in this market was now of long duration.) Ironically, he also now worried about the state of art research that dealt in connoisseurship:

> "Our critical compilations of the works of the master are surely only written for science; that is why we are obliged to include works (if also with reservations) about which certain doubts have occasionally been uttered, until evidence supporting the doubts is furnished. But the trade for a long time has taken possession of such publications and exploited them thoroughly to its advantage... should science stand idle to please the trade? Should it enter into the service of commerce? Unfortunately, today this is to a certain degree already the case; art science (*Kunstwissenschaft*), or what calls itself such, not seldom cooperates secretly with the art trade. Through this science suffers, it is diluted and contaminated..."[19]

Bode continued to insist on the scholarly ("scientific") objectivity of his own work, that he and other connoisseurs included doubtful paintings only because there was not enough evidence to support doubts. But why not instead exclude such works until evidence arose to support their inclusion? Bode described *Kunstwissenschaft* as "contaminated" by its cooperation with the art trade, yet no one had been more important than Bode himself in promoting such links. As the twentieth century had progressed, Bode excoriated more and more often a system he had himself helped to create – the heated market for Rembrandt paintings that rose in the late nineteenth century and the use of scholarship by art dealers to meet the demands of such a market – yet he never took any responsibility for this state of affairs.

While Roger Fry's review of Valentiner's book in *The Burlington Magazine* was generally favorable, he added several important notes of caution about

Rembrandt connoisseurship.[20] He criticized the acceptance of the many small head studies and especially Valentiner's willingness to do so on the basis of photographs rather than first-hand observation. Tellingly, Fry was quite clear about Valentiner's affiliation as a Rembrandt connoisseur and the limitations of his approach:

> "... Dr. Valentiner follows his master and precursor, Dr. Bode, in adopting an indulgent attitude towards pictures which aspire to admission to Rembrandt's *oeuvre*. He inclines to accept rather than reject, and is not concerned to establish a rigorously high standard of criticism. This is perhaps an advantage, on the whole. It enables the whole body of possible paintings to be brought to the student's notice. On the other hand this work, as well as Dr. Bode's monumental volumes, leaves a very arduous task of revision which critics of Rembrandt will one day have to undertake in the interests of the master's own reputation."[21]

This almost offhand acknowledgment of the implausibility of Rembrandt's oeuvre as assembled by Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner indicated a shift in approach to connoisseurship, one that Fry believed would eventually have its effect on Rembrandt scholarship. Some critics, however, were no longer willing to wait for such a day. Both Abraham Bredius and Willem Martin published substantial critiques of Valentiner's book that sparked a debate in print on the methods and results of Rembrandt connoisseurship, one in which the participants finally had to clarify their theoretical positions on the practice of attribution.

Bredius's review and his exchange with Valentiner

Bredius launched his review with a sarcastic comment about Valentiner's optimism concerning the number of Rembrandts now known and still to be discovered, claiming that if this number now stood at 700, 1000 would soon be reached.[22] For Bredius, the problem was obvious: the work of students and imitators was being attributed to the master. All the paintings about which any doubts had been expressed should therefore be set aside, and research on Rembrandt should begin its study with authentically signed paintings and works that could be accepted as autograph by "other means." Here he specifically

excluded written expertises, but did not yet specify what "other means" would suffice.

For Bredius, a singularly troubling attribution was the painting *Democritus and Heraclitus* [FIG. 58]. Despite all of the certificates of authenticity it now carried and despite Bode and Hofstede de Groot's "inexplicable" acceptance of this picture, Bredius could not fathom how this "trivial picture" could pass muster with Rembrandt connoisseurs.[23] In this instance Bredius was more precise in his criticism than had generally been his custom and focused his discussion on discrepancies in execution between it and autographed Rembrandt paintings. Bredius argued that the "dabbed, crusty impasto" of the yellow robe (the color alone being uncharacteristic of Rembrandt), the overly intricate delineation of its folds, and the "childish" handling of their shadows were elements never found in genuine Rembrandts. Throughout the picture the division of light was not at all consonant with Rembrandt's approach, and the head of the philosopher was "empty and expressionless." Melodramatically, Bredius indicated that he could suggest another artist as the author of this painting but also knew he would be mocked for his attribution since the best works of this master were still often given to Rembrandt, leaving only his mediocre works for evaluation. He was an artist related to Rembrandt himself and one who was close to Adriaen van Rijn, whom Bredius thought had been the model for the figure of Democritus.[24] This artist was Karel van der Pluym. As evidence, he called upon a painting in the Cook collection in England, *The Unmerciful Servant*, one that had carried a Rembrandt signature which disappeared after cleaning; then, in its place, Van der Pluym's signature became visible. Bredius related how this reattribution had already been suggested before the cleaning by his protégé Joseph Kronig, who published this finding in 1915.[25] Subsequently, Bredius had formed a group of paintings, attributed to Rembrandt by other connoisseurs, which he now gave to Van der Pluym. But, Bredius concluded, even if the *Democritus and Heraclitus* should prove not to be by Van der Pluym, it could still not be a Rembrandt.

In his review, Bredius commented on each of the hundred works contained in the catalogue of *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*. For some paintings, he stated his agreement with Valentiner, other times he argued against the attributions; in certain cases he wished to assert his (or Kronig's) priority in establishing a new Rembrandt attribution. A number of the entries allowed him the opportunity to argue not just with Valentiner's attributions but with Hofstede de Groot's as well. What were now coming to the fore as central problems

in Rembrandt connoisseurship – how one determined the authenticity of signatures or the quality of paintings and the difficulties of making judgments based on photographs – were raised here again. Bredius also returned to the discussion of specific works that had long been in dispute. In his discussion of the *Young Samson* (no. 42; *Young Man in Oriental Costume* FIG. 59), he stated that the painting had been sold in London as a Bol, but when it entered into Sedelmeyer's possession, it "received many certificates [of authenticity] with which it went to America as a Rembrandt."[26] For *Old Woman Plucking a Fowl* (no. 49; FIG. 56), Bredius referred to his statements in 1912 about its lack of authenticity but here also stated that the Berlin conservator Hauser had told him that there was not a single brush stroke in the painting by Rembrandt.[27] While he accepted the attribution of *A Woman Weeping* (no. 73; FIG. 60) to Rembrandt, he disagreed with Valentiner's contention that it was a study for the Minneapolis *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (no. 101; FIG. 29) and used the opportunity to attack this painting once more as a "notorious forgery."[28] Bredius made clear which paintings he had not seen in person (very few of the 100 in fact) but also went out of his way to indicate which he had seen under auspicious circumstances: with Bode in Berlin, for instance, or when shown them by the owners themselves, thus signaling his status as a trusted Rembrandt connoisseur. Finally, he was upset that Valentiner had characterized one of Bredius's own Rembrandt paintings, the so-called "*Portrait of Rembrandt's Mother*" (no. 10 in the category "Attributed to Rembrandt"; now called *Study of an Old Woman*, FIG. 36) as the closest version to the original that was known but not as the original itself.[29] Bredius disagreed and said that as the owner, he knew this work better than anyone and was convinced that it was the original. He offered an illustration of his painting to the readers of the journal so that they could compare it themselves with the Vienna version reproduced by Valentiner.[30] This was not the first time Bredius had believed it necessary to turn to lay people for support in his arguments with other Rembrandt specialists, but was this a sign of his desire to "open up" connoisseurship decisions or of his alienation from the other Rembrandt experts? After all, like Bode and Hofstede de Groot, he had once zealously guarded the right to make such decisions for professional connoisseurs.

Bredius concluded his reviews by stating that it was not pleasurable to write such a critical piece, but that he could spare no one and that anyone who wished to serve truth would make enemies. He did not hold himself to be infallible but had studied Rembrandt for forty years and sought to bring clarity to

FIG. 60 – Copy after Rembrandt, *A Woman Weeping*, 1654-1655

such study, with some success. By now, Bredius evidently accepted his role as the iconoclastic Rembrandt connoisseur, standing apart from the main line of Rembrandt scholars now represented by Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner.

Valentiner quickly responded to this review with a reply published in the same journal. He pointed out that despite Bredius's objection to the large number of paintings included in *Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, his reviewer had actually accepted eighty-eight of the 100 new attributions and added seven more that Valentiner had rejected.[31] If one then added to this number Kronig's attributions, Bredius clearly accepted more than 100 new Rembrandts. Valentiner stated his belief that several of Kronig's attributions were "too fantastic" to be accepted by himself or other scholars and that it would merely be a waste of time to discuss such unconvincing pictures. However, he did feel it necessary to defend himself against Bredius's accusations that in two cases he had belittled Kronig and Bredius's discoveries, at the same time arguing that "such arguments over priority are basically laughable and not very useful for science."[32] This was a curious and ultimately disingenuous stance, for all of the Rembrandt specialists, including Valentiner, were quick to point out their priority in discovering pictures, and such arguments over precedence were just as easily found in the natural sciences as in art history. It does help to indicate, however, that Valentiner was not immune to the personal nature of Bredius's criticisms, which brought out a kind of wounded defensiveness in him similar to Hofstede de Groot's earlier reactions. Valentiner thus insisted that he formed his opinions about authorship through first-hand examination of the paintings "as much as and perhaps in still more cases" than Bredius.[33] Perhaps in retaliation, Valentiner slyly commended Bredius's important archival work on Rembrandt's pupils and followers, such as Bol or Van der Pluym, while suggesting that this work perhaps led the Dutch scholar to an exaggerated sense of their importance and, therefore, to attribute paintings to them that should be left in Rembrandt's oeuvre.

Bredius characteristically wanted to have the "last word" in this debate, which the editors of *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt* gave him, while wearily decreeing that the discussion would now be closed.[34] He raised the case of the Elisabeth Bas portrait [FIG. 55] once more; upset by Valentiner's implication that Bredius often stood alone in his reattributions, he maintained that "many of the best connoisseurs" including the new director of the Rijksmuseum (Schmidt-Degener) had come to agree with Bredius's attribution of the portrait to Bol.[35] Bredius's comments in this rebuttal were often petty; for instance, he

chastised Valentiner for calling Van der Pluym "de Pluym," and said this indicated Valentiner's refusal to "concern himself seriously with this interesting master."[36] He also accused Valentiner of seemingly being unaware of the fact that "dozens" of forged Hals and Rembrandts were made in Belgium in the nineteenth century. Bredius even returned to the problematic *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* [FIG. 29], stating that Hauser maintained this painting had been made with pigments not used in Rembrandt's time, but commented that even this fact would not convince Valentiner that this painting was merely a "pastiche made in the eighteenth century."[37] He therefore recommended that, if he had not already done so, Valentiner should now read the articles by Justus van Effen, written in 1734 about contemporary forgeries of seventeenth-century pictures, which Bredius had edited for *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* a few years before.[38]

Willem Martin's critique of Rembrandt scholarship and the search for a definable method of attribution

While the trading of snide barbs by Bredius and Valentiner, as earlier by Hofstede de Groot and Bredius, was understandable as the result of the aggravation that arose from each camp's inability to convince the other of its greater truth claims, it had clearly achieved nothing in 1899, 1911-12, or 1921. Consequently, Willem Martin's consideration of the methodological problems raised by Rembrandt connoisseurship, occasioned by Valentiner's book, proved to be the catalyst in a debate that finally forced several of the Rembrandt scholars to describe their conceptual approach to the issue of determining attributions to the master and his followers. It was symptomatic of the state of Rembrandt connoisseurship that it necessitated a scholar, who while a specialist in Dutch art was not primarily considered a "Rembrandt connoisseur", to enter into this debate and make an attempt to cut through personal issues in order to arrive at the true locus of the disagreements. The rest of this chapter will treat in some detail both Martin's evaluation of the state of Rembrandt connoisseurship in 1921 and the pointed responses to his critique by some of the established Rembrandt connoisseurs.

Willem Martin had been under-director of the Mauritshuis during the latter part of Bredius's regime, succeeding Hofstede de Groot, and replaced Bredius as director in 1909.[39] As Martin indicated in his review of Valentiner in

Der Kunstwanderer, he had pointed out as early as 1911 "the necessity of an exhibition of Rembrandt followers and imitators, along with the need for the publication of as many representations of works by these imitators as possible."[40] By 1921 he believed that the problem had grown even more acute and used his review of *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde* as an opportunity to address the state of Rembrandt connoisseurship writ large.

He described Valentiner's two Klassiker der Kunst volumes as important contributions in synthesizing "the results of modern scientific Rembrandt research," complementing the work of Bode and Hofstede de Groot and bringing their publications up to date with the thirty-five "rediscovered Rembrandts" that had appeared since the publication of Hofstede de Groot's catalogue of 1915.[41] However, he also judged Valentiner's results to be wanting. Martin found a third of the paintings in *Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, if not more, to be problematic attributions, notably the poorly executed head studies and the copies and multiple versions of previously known pictures. Other works simply looked to him to be Rembrandt imitations, citing *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* [FIG. 29] as the premier example.

Martin believed that Valentiner had not been truly consistent in his estimation of Rembrandt's paintings. Comments in the book's introduction indicated that the author understood many of the copies to be the work of Rembrandt's students and only accepted the very best (and preferably signed ones) as Rembrandt's own contributions.[42] Yet why include them at all, asked Martin, or at least, why not be more explicit about their status in the notes to the paintings? Shouldn't they be considered paintings that had been rejected from Rembrandt's oeuvre, rather than be described as studio variations or reproductions without further comment?

For Martin, this confusion resulted in the formation of an indistinct and contradictory picture of Rembrandt's activity, and all of this was the product of a faulty method. Paintings which had received Rembrandt's name only in the eighteenth century, many of them imitations or forgeries, had been attributed to the master on the basis of style alone, while other, fully authentic paintings (often the artist's early works) had once been rejected because they were considered unattractive or too different from the established image of Rembrandt's art. Martin believed that the reattribution of paintings from the first group to their true creators and of the second group to the master himself represented some of the great successes of Rembrandt connoisseurship.[43] Yet the danger of much of this work, even that which produced such successes, was that it was

based almost exclusively on "style criticism," that is, on the attribution of works by connoisseurs through visual examination considering style alone.

While Martin agreed that the practice of style criticism had become increasingly sophisticated and subtle, he insisted that it was still an inexact process. He offered the example of the painting *Woman with a Bible* in the Frick collection (now called *Old Woman with a Book*, FIG. 33). It was included in Michel's 1893 Rembrandt monograph and in the 1898 exhibition in Amsterdam (then called *Old Woman Lost in Thought over Her Reading*), when in the Porgès collection. But, he stated, the same authorities who accepted it then, now rejected the painting; Martin, like Bredius, believed Karel van der Pluym to be the most likely author.[44] The issue of multiple versions of one picture continued to haunt connoisseurs. This had just occurred with the painting *Man Reading in a Slouch Hat*, of which a new version was discovered by Bredius only in 1920 and was now considered to be the best of those known.[45] Thus, there was progress of a sort, but too many problem pictures remained in Rembrandt's oeuvre, and more were being attributed to him all the time.

Martin therefore attempted to establish specific categories of paintings by Rembrandt based on the kinds of evidence used for the attribution in each case.[46] The first category, the most reliable in Martin's system, included paintings that could be verified as "historically authentic," those whose authorship by Rembrandt could be established through documentary evidence from the seventeenth century. These pictures were understood as autograph in the strictest sense of the word; except for "purely mechanical things," such as clothing and accessories, Rembrandt had executed these works without assistance.

The second category encompassed pictures bearing authentic Rembrandt signatures. Martin almost immediately complicated this category by stating that many pictures bearing old but false signatures had entered this category, since it was not easy to remove a signature of some age and prove it to be false. Martin also warned that not every painting signed by Rembrandt was actually painted by him; he could and did, it seemed, sign the work of students that originated in his studio. The most famous example of a student work retouched by Rembrandt and signed by him, the *Sacrifice of Isaac* in Munich [FIG. 18], was surely not alone; the inventory of Rembrandt's own possessions listed other paintings retouched by the master.[47] (Here Martin actually elided two categories: works painted entirely by students but bearing authentic Rembrandt signatures and works retouched by the master and sold as his work.)

The third category included paintings attributed to Rembrandt on the basis of extant drawings that had been accepted as authentic, and which were, apparently, preparatory works for such paintings. Martin admitted that the situation was complicated by the fact that Rembrandt's drawings also seemed to have served his pupils, and likely his imitators as well, as the basis for paintings.

"Tradition" framed the fourth category; paintings which over time had gained an attribution to Rembrandt though they lacked an authentic signature or any documentary evidence for their authenticity. Martin pointed out that when one investigated these cases individually, it often turned out that "tradition" did not really go very far back in time; Bredius had established just this with the Elisabeth Bas portrait [FIG. 55]. Other works in this category included the presumed double portrait of Rembrandt and his wife in Buckingham Palace [FIG. 30], shown in Amsterdam in 1898, and *The Good Samaritan* in the Wallace collection.[48] None of these paintings, according to Martin, was likely to have been painted by Rembrandt. Given the problematic nature of such pictures, they should not be used as the basis for making further attributions to the artist.

Finally, the fifth category comprised paintings attributed to the master through the style criticism (connoisseurship) of Rembrandt specialists, those attributions to Rembrandt that had been made since the second half of the nineteenth century. Martin insisted that these paintings should never be used to make additional attributions. This did not mean that all attributions already made in this manner had been wrong, for Martin realized that many of them were likely absolutely correct. But given the fact that attitudes towards some attributed paintings had changed over time and that many of them were not accepted by all the Rembrandt specialists, the works in this category were simply not reliable as evidence for or against future attributions.

Throughout his review of Valentiner's book, Martin made a point of mentioning Hofstede de Groot's substantial contributions to knowledge about Rembrandt's workshop practices through his publication of the Rembrandt documents, his discussion of the subject in the Bredius *festschrift* of 1915, and his comments about Rembrandt's pupils in his *catalogue raisonné* of Rembrandt from the same year.[49] He made clear, however, where he parted ways with his older colleague. Martin referred to the section in the *catalogue raisonné* where Hofstede de Groot had described the two groups of Rembrandt scholars, those who were "large-hearted" and those who were "hypercritical," and stated that he preferred to be counted as one of the latter type. Taking the stricter path might deny a few genuine works to the master at the beginning, he argued, but

it would at least provide a much more consistent and focused idea of Rembrandt's work.[50]

Martin proposed several goals for future studies of Rembrandt connoisseurship.[51] Forgeries had to be removed from the oeuvre and all rejected paintings organized wherever possible into stylistically coherent groups. Monographs on Rembrandt students were needed as well. He suggested that a new Rembrandt catalogue should be produced, one containing only the works from his first two categories (historically verified and authentically signed paintings) along with an appendix of paintings attributed to Rembrandt whose authenticity upon which all Rembrandt specialists agreed. Finally, volumes of photographic illustrations of works from the Rembrandt school should be compiled and published in order to make this highly specialized scholarly material more widely available.[52] Given the difficulties of traveling widely to see so many works, Martin believed such compendia of reproductions would help scholars prepare efficient itineraries and provide aids to memory afterward.

Martin recognized that the problem of characterizing the production of Rembrandt's workshop, the multiple versions and retouched works, was of central importance. For example, if Rembrandt's workshop was to be understood as a kind of business concern, how did one evaluate the work coming out of it? Could works that were not fully painted by Rembrandt be considered authentic or not? Martin recognized that a scholar's own attitude towards what was the primary component of art, "intellectual content" or "execution," would influence how the boundaries of authenticity would be delineated.[53] Thus the horizons of connoisseurship also needed to include consideration of expression and thematic content as well as technique and artistic style in determining attributions.

In addition to setting out this theoretical framework for Rembrandt attributions, Martin discussed some of the individual entries in *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*. He stated that the so-called self-portrait then in the Severance collection in Cleveland (no. 25; now called *Portrait of a Young Man*, FIG. 61) seemed to be neither a self-portrait nor by Rembrandt; he suggested that Isaac Jouderville might be the author.[54] Martin agreed with Bredius's attribution of the *Young Man in Oriental Costume [Young Samson]* in Boston [FIG. 59] to Bol rather than Rembrandt, despite its high quality. He chastised Valentiner for generally being too dismissive of Bredius's views, as, for example, with the *Portrait of Rembrandt's "Mother"* in Bredius's own collection [FIG. 36], and the *Old Woman Praying*, lent by Bredius to the Mauritshuis.[55] Martin believed that Bredius was right in considering the first painting to be the original version of

FIG. 61 – Possibly by Rembrandt, *Portrait of a Young Man*, 1632

an image that had been copied several times, while Valentiner maintained that the original had yet to be found. In a far more personal tone than he had used to this point, Martin stated that he had known this picture for all his twenty years' activity at the Mauritshuis and had therefore been deeply interested in the various other versions but that none of them displayed the high quality of Bredius's version, characterized above all by the "purity and love of [direct] observation."[56] However, both he and Bredius had long held the *Old Woman Praying* to be by Carel Fabritius, while Valentiner had retained it within Rembrandt's oeuvre instead. He ended by declaring that he could only accept about 500 of the 700 paintings Valentiner ascribed to Rembrandt, and that there were still many Rembrandt problems to be solved before the oeuvre could be understood as comprehensively and yet critically composed.

Martin's contribution to the discussion of Rembrandt connoisseurship was considerable. He brought to light what many had hinted at for twenty years: the Rembrandt canon had become too all-encompassing (and unconvincing) because of ill-defined standards of authenticity, thus the refusal of the Rembrandt connoisseurs to clearly distinguish between workshop production and the work of the master himself. For the first time the expansionist model of attributions was opposed in a rigorous manner that also offered alternative approaches to the practice of connoisseurship. While the categories he offered were not quite as distinct as he believed (a point his critics would make repeatedly), at least they presented a starting point for sifting through the now cumbersome collection of paintings given to Rembrandt and indicated that there were levels of evidence within connoisseurship that were more or less trustworthy. Therefore, vaguely defined "style criticism" should not rest unopposed as the basis for assigning attributions.

Hofstede de Groot enters the debate

Despite Martin's praise of some aspects of Valentiner's work in the Klassiker der Kunst volumes and of Hofstede de Groot's many contributions to Rembrandt connoisseurship, his review was understood as an attack from the enemy camp. Decades later, Jakob Rosenberg described how two "parties" in Rembrandt scholarship became delineated in the 1920s, differing primarily in their views about the size and definition of the painter's oeuvre.[57] One was composed of Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner, the other of Bredius, Martin, and

Frederik Schmidt-Degener (the director of the Rijksmuseum). Hence, after the publication of Bredius and Martin's reviews of Valentiner, Hofstede de Groot entered the debate with an extraordinary booklet, *Die holländische Kritik der jetzigen Rembrandt-Forschung und neuest wiedergefundene Rembrandtbilder* (The Dutch critique of current Rembrandt research and the newest rediscovered paintings by Rembrandt) published in 1922 by the Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, which also published the Klassiker der Kunst series. As his first extensive discussion of the theory and practice of Rembrandt connoisseurship, it is worth studying this text at some length.

Hofstede de Groot's stated rationale for writing this response to Bredius and Martin's reviews of Valentiner was to counter any idea in German-speaking countries, where scholars had done so much for Rembrandt studies, that all Dutch writers were unappreciative of these contributions.[58] Objections needed to be raised, he averred, against Bredius's "well-known egocentric manner" in discussing Rembrandt attributions and Martin's "withering judgment" of Valentiner's book.[59] Yet Hofstede de Groot's response was clearly also motivated by his sorely evident sense of having himself been attacked by his fellow Dutch scholars when they criticized Valentiner's work. For instance, rather than beginning with an evaluation of Valentiner's contribution, Hofstede de Groot first discussed the new Rembrandts that he had included in his 1915 catalogue, and which Valentiner had included in *Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, stating that Valentiner had reservations about only six of them.[60] Only then did he turn to the pictures that had been rediscovered since 1915 and said that he agreed with most of Valentiner's judgments on them, challenging only about six attributions; he reserved final judgment about the ten he had not seen in person but suggested that all but three were most likely authentic Rembrandts. He only took Valentiner to task, and mildly at that, for identifying so many figures painted by Rembrandt as persons from the artist's daily life.[61] Otherwise, Hofstede de Groot was willing to associate himself firmly with Valentiner's connoisseurship.

When Hofstede de Groot turned to Bredius's evaluations of the attributions espoused in Valentiner's book, he finally acknowledged their own longstanding debate regarding Rembrandt connoisseurship and the apparent hopelessness of convincing each other. In his discussion of *Democritus and Heraclitus* [FIG. 58], he characterized this stalemate:

> "Where Bredius sees little pig eyes, I see a downturned gaze, whereby one naturally doesn't see much of the eye itself. Where he sees only skin, with no flesh behind it, I see a wonderfully plastic, modeled head. Where he reproaches the painter for a crusty impasto, I notice with regret the consequences of an English relining, whereby the original impasto was destroyed through ironing. The ear, which appears awful to Bredius, is for me an ear only cursorily indicated by Rembrandt in the shadows of the chiaroscuro, and the 'mouth, that goes far too much to the left' appears to me rather a shadow of the folds of skin arising through the action of laughing or of the moustache. In short, I see Rembrandt's hand in each brush stroke of this outstanding composition – certainly also still in the Elisabeth Bas portrait – and cannot accept the argument that Bredius introduces for Karel van der Pluym."[62]

In other words, their very modes of seeing and comprehending what they saw differed so thoroughly that no compromise, no reconciliation of viewpoints was possible. Nonetheless, Hofstede de Groot expounded arguments about various paintings in regard to signatures, quality judgments, Bredius's habit of accusing other scholars of not having seen pictures, and so forth. There was a more personal tone to his discussion than ever before. He reminded Bredius somewhat snidely that regarding a picture he now seemed not to think very highly of, *Christ on the Cross* in the Johnson collection in Philadelphia, he had once urged the previous owner to buy – as a Rembrandt – thirty years earlier.[63] He stated that it was sad that "a man like Bredius could not recognize as a masterpiece at first glance such a picture" as the *Portrait of an Old Man* dated 1667, then in an English collection.[64]

However, the *ad hominem* nature of his argumentation reached a new level with Hofstede de Groot's discussion of the influence of Joseph Kronig on Bredius as a connoisseur. He stated his disbelief that Bredius, with his years of experience and real contributions to the study of Rembrandt, could come so very much under the influence of another person. He maintained that "whoever experienced all that in the last 10-15 years was blamed on Rembrandt and other great masters of all schools under Bredius's roof would be delighted if Bredius would free himself from the influence of his dilettantish student and again look at art works with his own eyes."[65] This barely veiled reference to the fact that the much younger Kronig was Bredius's companion and was largely supported by him lent a personal and uncharitable tone to his remarks.

Hofstede de Groot's outburst here may, however, help to explain how he understood the estrangement between the two Rembrandt scholars, for this had indeed happened in the previous ten to fifteen years, the very period in which Hofstede de Groot saw Bredius as falling under the sway of Kronig.[66] Perhaps Hofstede de Groot needed to see the parting of the ways of the Rembrandt scholars as the product of some unhealthy outside influence, rather than as the outcome of two very different sensibilities approaching the complex questions raised by Rembrandt connoisseurship, as well as other scholarly issues.[67] Not only would this protect the validity of the work they had agreed upon in years past, but Hofstede de Groot could also continue to believe in the correctness of one approach to connoisseurship (that he, Bode, and Valentiner advocated) and see Bredius as an apostate, not as a scholar with a valid rival approach.

Hofstede de Groot closed his chapter on Bredius's review of *Wiedergefundene Gemälde* with a simultaneously bold and self-pitying defense of a painting in his own collection, a supposed self-portrait of Rembrandt.[68] The decision to conclude with this discussion was a curious one, in light of the fact that Bredius was far from alone in challenging this attribution. It reveals, however, the degree to which Hofstede de Groot felt personally implicated by criticisms of his scholarly method and its results. Bode and Valentiner rejected the painting, Bredius called it an English forgery, but Hofstede de Groot stood his ground, just as Bredius had with his portrait of Rembrandt's mother. He stated that the monogram and date of 1628 made the painting valuable as the earliest dated self-portrait of the master and insisted that "a future generation will be amazed that men like Bode, Bredius, Martin, Schmidt Degener, Valentiner, and many others doubted Rembrandt's authorship of such a characteristic, impressive, shining picture."[69] Unlike Bredius, Hofstede de Groot did not call on the public audience of his own time for validation; rather he would wait for the professionals of the future to support his judgment.[70] This approach recalls how he wished to preserve all of the published argumentation about the Elisabeth Bas portrait [FIG. 55] for "future scholars;" he clearly believed in each case that he would be vindicated, later if not sooner.

Hofstede de Groot devoted two chapters to Willem Martin's review of *Wiedergefundene Gemälde*. The first treated Martin's discussion of specific attributions and the second, Martin's analysis of the state of Rembrandt research and his suggestions for its future development. Hofstede de Groot quickly rehearsed arguments against Martin's objections to various pictures, though without the vehemence shown in the Bredius chapter. He focused on Martin's

attributions of paintings to Ferdinand Bol (in cases where Bredius and Martin disagreed with Valentiner and Hofstede de Groot), such as the double portrait of Rembrandt and Saskia in Buckingham Palace [FIG. 30], already in contention a quarter of a century earlier. Here the author mocked Martin's suggestion that this painting was a copy: "it must have been an old and excellent copy that so many generations held the picture to be authentic and various specialists still hold it to be so."[71] Hofstede de Groot also maintained that Bol had used the Buckingham Palace painting as a model for a painting of his own from 1649, which to his mind strengthened the attribution to Rembrandt, having apparently dismissed the possibility that both could have been made by Bol.[72] It was typical of Hofstede de Groot that he felt compelled to argue so strongly for this painting, since he also admitted that the double portrait was by no means a masterpiece. Yet he had defended the attribution to Rembrandt as far back as the 1890s and was determined to do so still.[73] Unlike Bredius (or even, in his own way, Bode) Hofstede de Groot hardly ever admitted to changing his mind or above all, making a mistake in his connoisseurship of Rembrandt.

Hofstede de Groot directed his greatest attention, and even his ire, to Martin's evaluation of the current state of Rembrandt connoisseurship and his suggestions for its future development. He clearly believed his own work to be under attack, so much so that he rejected the sincerity of Martin's praise of his older colleague's contributions to Rembrandt scholarship.

Hofstede de Groot's response was a wholesale rejection of Martin's proffered system for classifying Rembrandts. He disputed the validity of Martin's five categories of Rembrandt attributions, as well as their usefulness for "style critical research."[74] Only *The Night Watch* [FIG. 6], he insisted could really be said to meet the criteria for category one, historically verifiable pictures.[75] As for category two, pictures with authentic signatures, Hofstede de Groot rightfully maintained that the inclusion of such a class merely shifted the area of judgment from the authenticity of the paintings themselves to that of their signatures, reversing the order of their importance. Nevertheless, he disputed Martin's claim that false signatures could easily fool authorities and, if old enough, were hard to remove from paintings; even if this were true, he insisted, something of their external creation would betray itself visually. Category three, paintings attributed to Rembrandt on the basis of drawn sketches, was actually nonexistent according to Hofstede de Groot, since one cannot tell if any given drawing is a preparatory sketch, a record made from a finished work, or a copy.[76] Finally, he believed that categories four and five, pictures traditionally

given to Rembrandt and those attributed to the master by Rembrandt specialists, were actually the same. To Hofstede de Groot, while it was "pleasant" if tradition corresponded with a connoisseur's attribution of a painting to Rembrandt, tradition itself was not a solid basis on which to form such a judgment, and thus the two categories ultimately were one and dependent only on style criticism of the specialist.[77] Here Hofstede de Groot clearly believed that he was asserting a more "scientific" definition of the various categories of Rembrandt's art than Martin. Yet what Hofstede de Groot's argument came down to was an assertion of the individual connoisseur's style criticism as the only true basis for connoisseurship.

Accordingly, Hofstede de Groot described Martin's assertion that one should not use paintings attributed to Rembrandt on the basis of such stylistic criticism to make other attributions as astonishing, sarcastically saying that "[T]hese Rembrandt specialists are such common criminals and understand so little about the subject in which they are authorities, that one very nearly must not trust them."[78] Yet, he claimed, Martin himself had made new attributions to the artists Willem Buytewech and Michiel Sweerts on the basis of older ones. Why then shouldn't Rembrandt connoisseurship work the same way, unless "presumably, the Rembrandt experts are not always united with each other and are even merely specialists and not connoisseurs," that is, learned academically but without an eye.[79] He rejected Martin's praise of his 1915 Rembrandt catalogue as having an "ironic aftertaste" because Martin had also proceeded to reject Valentiner and Hofstede de Groot's count of 700 Rembrandts. He interpreted this to mean that Martin believed Hofstede de Groot was methodologically correct in theory, but in practice "erred in about thirty of one hundred cases."[80]

Given his evident resentment of Martin's evaluation of Rembrandt research to this date, it is not surprising that Hofstede de Groot also rejected Martin's suggestions for future work.[81] He asserted that Rembrandt specialists had already been working for half a century to eliminate forgeries from the oeuvre and to group rejected paintings wherever possible. Martin simply wanted this done his way, said Hofstede de Groot, because of his obvious lack of confidence in the specialists themselves. A book containing only the verified paintings and those agreed upon by the Rembrandt experts would have no usefulness, because it would leave out the kind of valuable material Valentiner had just published. Hofstede de Groot readily agreed on the importance of studying Rembrandt's pupils but maintained that here, too, research was already under-

way. Again, he rejected Martin's praise of his own efforts in this area, saying that he himself had clearly been wrong in his work on Rembrandt students if he attributed two hundred of their works to the master. He denied that he shared with Martin "the conviction that in Rembrandt's workshop a true atelier concern prevailed" (*richtiger Atelierbetrieb*), stating that the few collaborative works he knew of that had originated in Rembrandt's studio "in no way justify our speaking of an atelier concern in the usual sense of the word."[82]

Hofstede de Groot summed up his criticism of Martin's viewpoint by saying that it originated in an "ideal concept" of Rembrandt, with which few newly found pictures could ever be reconciled. He called Martin's method a false one for being based on fixed "subjective-aesthetic requirements" that prevented the critic from saying "I regret that the master painted this picture, but I must consider it to be his work for it reveals his technique, his brushwork."[83] For Hofstede de Groot, "Rembrandt is an artist, who more than any other of his rank shows the greatest fluctuations in his achievements," fluctuations attributable to the influence of life events on the artist as much as to his artistic conception.[84] The many depictions of figures from his personal life that did not really resemble the models were thus attributable to the artist's interests in issues other than precise representation, such as the play of light and shade or the suggestion of emotion. Rembrandt did not care in these cases whether his draughtsmanship was anatomically correct or whether the perspective was accurate. As a result, it was inadvisable to ever say that Rembrandt was not capable of having done something, suggesting that Martin had done exactly that (a mistake he had also accused Bredius of having made nearly ten years earlier with the Bas portrait [FIG. 55]).

In his response to Martin, Hofstede de Groot ended with a statement that one should not use oeuvre catalogues as a substitute for seeing the paintings themselves and implied that Martin had done so in coming to some judgments "that the critics, who have seen the paintings themselves, gave up long ago. I would therefore like to know how many of the two hundred pictures that Prof. Martin doubts are known to him in the original and are familiar to him, how many he not only has seen and viewed but also has studied time and again in regard to their authenticity."[85] What right, in other words, did Martin have to pass judgment on real Rembrandt connoisseurs? Despite his vociferous objections to Bredius's habit of accusing other scholars of not having looked at the paintings in question, Hofstede de Groot now adopted this strategy to criticize Martin and diminish his reputation. It was consonant, however, with his

longstanding practice of reserving for himself judgment about who should be considered a true Rembrandt connoisseur. In the past, he had rejected the claims of artists to such a position, and then academically-oriented art historians; now he was even refusing to accept a museum professional and Dutch art specialist when it came to Rembrandt studies *per se*. This seems to have been his last resort when all other arguments were exhausted: unlike Hofstede de Groot, his opponent was not truly qualified to discuss Rembrandt connoisseurship. What else, though, could he appeal to in order to limit the boundaries of who should be trusted as a connoisseur, given his rejection of every kind of evidence other than the individual assessments made through style criticism?

In an almost willful act of defiance towards the other camp, Hofstede de Groot closed his book with a chapter dedicated to the presentation of twelve more new attributions to Rembrandt, including a self-portrait and a still life of birds with a young girl.[86] Most of them were small head studies of old men, often already known in other versions, of the kind that Bredius and Martin had objected to assigning wholesale to the master; two more versions of heads of Christ were also offered as Rembrandts. Even Hofstede de Groot was not terribly keen on most of these pictures in terms of their artistic quality, with the exception of the "Rembrandt" self-portrait once owned by John Smith, which the author freely called a masterpiece – although he had not yet seen the painting in the original himself.[87] But his insistence on the viability of these attributions was an important demonstration of his conviction in the rightness of his own method as a connoisseur.

Martin's rejoinder to Hofstede de Groot

Willem Martin answered Hofstede de Groot in *Der Kunstwanderer* in 1923. Among his first comments was one nearly calculated to raise further anger: he claimed that a number of other art historians, especially younger ones, had agreed with his assessment of Rembrandt studies and the need for revision of the artist's oeuvre.[88] This clearly suggested that the next generation was eager for a "changing of the guard" in Rembrandt connoisseurship. However, he also remarked upon Bredius's review of Valentiner as evidence that his support also extended to certain members of the older generation as well. Martin reiterated his view that style criticism could not be based on impulsive emotional reactions or on the merely "graphological" traits of brushwork and signatures. Instead,

the "purely artistic content" and the art historian's "feeling for style" should "lead and govern" the historical and graphological information.[89] This last trait, feeling for style, Martin claimed had previously been the preserve of artists themselves but was found more and more often among younger art historians as well. This remark clearly stood in direct contrast to Hofstede de Groot's repeated aspersions on the abilities of artists to be capable connoisseurs of Old Master paintings. It also began shifting the emphasis from a "scientific" to an aestheticizing, formalist conception of connoisseurship. Unfortunately, Martin did not characterize such a "feeling for style," nor did he define what this feeling encompassed visually.

Of course, not all were receptive to this development within style criticism, and Martin stated that Hofstede de Groot had proven himself part of this other camp. He accused Hofstede de Groot of misrepresenting Martin's work to make it seem that he had rejected all style-critical research up to that time and of wishing to replace it with a theoretically-based approach that was divorced from actual study of paintings. This last insinuation appears to have galled Martin, who stated that he had studied Rembrandt paintings throughout his twenty-three years at the Mauritshuis and during study trips to America. Because Hofstede de Groot persisted in an essential misunderstanding of Martin's position, it would do no good to answer him. Better to turn instead to the task of developing a truly sound method. Martin thought that important contributions to this effort had already been made in the year since Hofstede de Groot's booklet had been published. He pointed to Bredius's article on self-portraits by Ferdinand Bol and the reexamination of some of the paintings attributed to Rembrandt in the Wallace Collection in London.[90]

Martin brought up an example of one painting that was being questioned anew by some scholars concerned with Rembrandt connoisseurship, without any indication of this discussion appearing in Valentiner's book. The so-called *Architect* in Kassel was a painting whose attribution to Rembrandt had been contested in print as early as the 1888 catalogue of the collection and again in the 1913 edition, when a statement was added that "the authorship of Rembrandt was disputed by authoritative connoisseurs."[91] Yet such doubts had not been mentioned in the Bode-Hofstede de Groot catalogue, nor in Valentiner's Klassiker der Kunst volumes, giving the impression, Martin said, that this picture was "as authentic and unchallenged as the Hague self-portrait, *The Staalmeesters* or the Berlin Anslo portrait" [FIG. 7, 41].[92] That is why, he avowed, Rembrandt research was in need of the new publications he had proposed

(despite Hofstede de Groot's rejection of their utility), one containing the historically verifiable and universally agreed to attributions and another volume for the problematic attributions.

Martin thus devoted an extended section of his article to a closely argued stylistic analysis of the Kassel *Architect* as an example of how he believed style criticism should be practiced and what results it could offer. Depiction of space, application of paint, delineation of contours, suggestion of lighting, anatomical construction – various facets of formal visual analysis (not just the "graphological") were discussed to suggest how Martin arrived at the conclusion that the painting was likely a copy after Rembrandt. Why he came to that conclusion, though, rather than considering it to be a "Rembrandtesque" original by another artist was not, unfortunately, elaborated on.

Martin stated that he chose to discuss this painting in an exhaustive manner because it was found in a public museum in Germany, where the readers of *Der Kunstwanderer* could see the painting for themselves and decide upon the validity of Martin's analysis. Like Bredius, then, Martin included the opinions of laypeople as valid within connoisseurship. By implication, however, Martin did not want his readers to rely simply on photographic reproductions to come to their own conclusions. His presentation of the Kassel painting also stood as a test case in support of Martin's contention that all such unverified attributions to Rembrandt needed renewed and rigorous examination to clarify the artist's oeuvre, whether Hofstede de Groot could be brought to this conviction or not.[93]

For Martin, the end goal of all those who worked on Rembrandt should be the clarification of the oeuvre, not the amassing of paintings under his name. He ended with the hope that renewed argumentation over Rembrandt's work could be carried out in a congenial manner by Rembrandt scholars, rather than continuing in the personal vein that had often characterized it, which in Martin's opinion brought ridicule to the practitioners of connoisseurship.[94]

Bode's essay

That this hope was not to be fulfilled became apparent with a response to Martin by Bode, also published in *Der Kunstwanderer*. He had followed the twists and turns of this dispute and now believed it was time for him to address Martin's suggestions for the direction of Rembrandt research. As one might expect, his reaction was as negative as Hofstede de Groot's had been. Bode forcefully

stated his conviction that the achievements of art history itself were threatened by the hypercriticism of the younger critics, and the public misled by them, just as he had claimed about Morelli and Lautner's work thirty years before.[95] As a result he provided an extensive overview of Rembrandt research since the mid-nineteenth century, which ended up as a justification of his own scholarship.

While many contributions had been made by archival researchers by the 1850s and 1860s, the definition of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre had lagged behind. Vosmaer had seen not many more than 100 paintings by Rembrandt, while at present Valentiner accepted 700, and even the "rigorous" Willem Martin accepted about 500. Bode discussed his own role as a cataloguer of Rembrandt paintings, culminating in the *catalogue raisonné* published with the financial assistance of Charles Sedelmeyer. Yet this time, instead of just praising Sedelmeyer, Bode finally admitted that such assistance did not come without a price. For one, he claimed that while he had wished to publish an inexpensive one-volume compendium of Rembrandt's paintings in addition to the large multi-volume work, Sedelmeyer vetoed that proposal, maintaining that it would only harm the sales of the larger undertaking.[96] However, Bode's other fear, that as a dealer in Rembrandts, Sedelmeyer would interfere with the scholarly work of the catalogue, he insisted did not happen. Sedelmeyer was too good a connoisseur and admirer of Rembrandt's paintings to cause trouble, at least in the early years. Bode acknowledged, however, that he was ultimately forced to abandon the publication of a supplementary volume to the catalogue, largely completed before World War I, because at this later point, the dealer was pressuring him to include as Rembrandt a number of paintings in Sedelmeyer's stock and personal collection – works that Bode did not believe in.[97] This admission was the first time that Bode publicly admitted that any compromises were entailed by having Sedelmeyer serve as his publisher.

Bode also addressed the issue of his collaboration with Hofstede de Groot for his *catalogue raisonné*, replying to some of Martin's suggestions about how connoisseurship should be carried out. He explained that the original impetus for this collaboration was the onset of a serious illness that left him bedridden for months at a time and thus unable to travel to see many works after the publication of the first volume.[98] Given the number of new attributions to Rembrandt that were being offered in the 1890s and the quick transfer of many of these paintings to America, Bode believed that it was a matter of some urgency to find another scholar to see these works and arrive at a reasonable determination of their authenticity; fortunately, he had been able to obtain

Hofstede de Groot's assistance. He stated, nonetheless, that any such collaboration brought with it the possibilities for disagreement, given the importance of subjective judgment in many cases of connoisseurship. As a result, he explained, with those few cases when only one of the two had seen a picture, the opinion of the connoisseur with first-hand knowledge prevailed. They avoided publishing differing opinions on individual paintings to avoid confusing the larger public or producing unnecessary complications for the preparation of the publication itself. Bode now conceded to having doubts about several paintings included in the catalogue, works he had since seen himself and which he could no longer advocate as Rembrandts. Among these were the *Old Woman with a Book* in the Frick collection [FIG. 33], and, almost inevitably, the *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* in Minneapolis [FIG. 29]. In the case of this last painting, Bode maintained a position of some ambivalence; he stated that the post-restoration photograph did not convince him about the painting's authenticity but added that Hofstede de Groot and Valentiner had both seen it in person since the cleaning and held to Rembrandt's authorship of the picture.

Another general principle that Bode and Hofstede de Groot followed was to be inclusive in their judgments about whether paintings merited admission to the catalogue and thus to publish paintings about which "it was unclear to us whether they were truly originals or not."[99] They believed it was better for Rembrandt scholarship to gather together in one place all the reasonable attributions to the master, rather than, as Martin suggested, labeling them as "doubtful." According to Bode, this was a particularly important working principle to follow when discussing paintings whose invention went back to Rembrandt, even if the actual works had been executed by someone else.[100] Better for Rembrandt scholarship to know of such compositions in any form than not at all. This was a clear repudiation of Martin's call for removing paintings not actually executed by Rembrandt from his oeuvre.

The call for more research into Rembrandt's students and followers was not original in Bode's opinion, while Martin's proposal to compose "groups" of rejected paintings seemed to the older scholar likely to produce only confusion. Simply replacing the name of well-known Rembrandt followers, such as Flinck, with those unearthed by recent scholarship, such as Jouderville or Van der Pluym, should not be encouraged.[101] (It could hardly be coincidental that Bode chose for his examples two Rembrandt followers whose lives and oeuvres Bredius had helped to resuscitate; this comment, then, should be taken as an implicit criticism of his former protégé and ally).

Bode insisted that Martin's categories of authorship were not really new at all, and that the "older generation" certainly understood the meaning of historically verifiable paintings. While he believed that Hofstede de Groot had answered Martin's objections in a comprehensive enough manner to allow him to pass over individual points, he still wished it to be understood that Rembrandt scholars had already rejected hundreds of paintings traditionally given to the master and had discovered just as many new works. That, Bode affirmed, was real Rembrandt research. He maintained that Martin's attack on attributions made on the basis of style criticism was really just an attack on the Rembrandt scholars themselves, for even the adjudication of a signature as authentic was a matter of style criticism. If someone wished to be "called" to Rembrandt research, he concluded, they should add to the knowledge of the artist, rather than criticize the contributions of other scholars – the latter practice formed the real danger to Rembrandt research, not the attribution of new works.[102] This was an unwittingly ironic statement for Bode to make as the scholar who had most contributed to the practice of attacking the work of other scholars and personalizing connoisseurship and its judgments since 1870. Like Hofstede de Groot, though, he considered Martin's general critique of the methodology of Rembrandt connoisseurship to be an attack on his own work, and, as he had done in the case of Morelli and Lautner, he contended that his opponent actually threatened art-historical scholarship. His description of a scholar being "called" to Rembrandt research echoed the religious language used in the 1890s by Bredius and Hofstede de Groot about the practice of Rembrandt connoisseurship and again indicated the depth of feeling aroused by any challenge to his or his allies' authority.

There is a sad irony in Bode's argument: the scholar who had insisted on making Rembrandt connoisseurship a more rigorous practice in his youth had succumbed, decade by decade, to the temptation to make his standards more lax, his definition of what characterized a painting by Rembrandt more ambiguous. Although Valentiner and Hofstede de Groot succumbed to this tendency even more than Bode had himself, nonetheless, he had taken the lead in such a practice of connoisseurship through his preeminent status in Rembrandt scholarship several decades earlier. Without the controls of a Morellian method and influenced by his complex relationships with buyers and sellers in the art market, there was nothing to stop Bode from making the boundaries between an original and a copy, a work by Rembrandt and by one of his followers, extremely porous. He clearly understood these distinctions but did the buyers of these paintings,

who purchased them after seeing them included in "the Bible" of Rembrandt connoisseurship understand? Bode, however, never ceased from professing that his approach was consistently "scientific," although not hypercritical.

Once more, Hofstede de Groot

Hofstede de Groot presented his own reply to Martin in the pages of *Der Kunstwanderer*, in an essay where he also rebutted Bode's remembrances of their collaboration. He seemed to take offense at Martin's refusal to engage with *Die Holländische Kritik der jetzigen Rembrandtforschung* point by point, which to him undermined the rules of scholarly debate. He again disputed Martin's authority as a Rembrandt scholar, suggesting that since Martin's "positive contributions" represented an "unwritten page," his critique of Rembrandt scholarship had limited value, if any.[103] Hofstede de Groot also declared that if after fifty years of research into Rembrandt's painted oeuvre, as many as 200 paintings accepted by Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner were in fact not authentic, then such research had actually gone backwards, not forwards, to a "pre-Bode point of view," a possibility Hofstede de Groot clearly believed was thoroughly untenable.

If Martin thought Rembrandt's oeuvre seemed confused, this was not the fault of scholarship but reflected instead the truth of Rembrandt's career. That the artist was guilty of having produced inferior work was also not the scholars' doing: "I remember that Bredius and I once stood before a Rembrandt painting from the period of the *Staalmeesters* and we said: the picture is doubtless genuine (also authentically signed and dated 166.) but we regret that Rembrandt painted it."[104] This was a wily move on Hofstede de Groot's part, through which he co-opted Bredius as contributor to the "older" Rembrandt scholarship, now that Martin had tried to associate himself with the Bredius of the 1920s. He also cited a passage from Bode's *Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen* from 1906, in which the author discussed the many weaknesses, faults, and inconsistencies in Rembrandt's work as an inescapable aspect of the whole. If Martin could not see and accept the weaknesses in Rembrandt's work, then he could not possibly know the true Rembrandt in the way that the previous generation of scholars did.[105] In Hofstede de Groot's topsy-turvy world of connoisseurship, judgments about quality could disqualify other connoisseurs' evaluations if they were overly strict, although he himself nearly always relied on quality as the final element in making his attributions.

Hofstede de Groot continued to argue individual points made by Martin. Why, he asked, should an editor of a *catalogue raisonné* print the differing opinions of various scholars, since these may well change over time? He cited two cases where Bredius had reversed his opinion about the authenticity of paintings attributed to Rembrandt, deciding that two paintings he had originally doubted were genuine; what good, he asked, would it have served to have known his earlier (incorrect) opinion? It is telling in this case that he referred to Bredius changing his mind (to the right opinion, according to Hofstede de Groot's way of thinking) rather than admitting to any such change himself. While Bredius understood his evaluations as evolving over time, Hofstede de Groot persisted in seeing his own practice of connoisseurship as static. As for Martin's dismissal of the attribution to Rembrandt of the Kassel *Architect*, Hofstede de Groot quoted at length the favorable discussion of this painting by Émile Michel from thirty years earlier.[106] Since Michel was also a painter, Martin should apparently have valued his opinion more highly than that of other connoisseurs, according to his own statements; but since this opinion differed from Martin's, what was one to make of this idealization of the connoisseurship of practicing artists? Hofstede de Groot's argument here becomes almost comical in its pettiness, an effect enhanced by his claim that, while unconvinced that Martin's tone was necessarily appropriate itself, he, Hofstede de Groot, had willingly submitted this text to a third party to make sure its tone was that which he had always sought to attain: one that was "objective, not personal."[107]

In an afterward to the article, written after he had read Bode's September contribution, he refuted Bode's recollection of their collaboration in strong terms. Hofstede de Groot was quick to point out that he was active in the project from the first volume onward, not after this point, and that he had contributed much more to each volume's catalogue entries than Bode had implied. The responsibility for the choice of pictures, however, lay squarely with Bode, the "older, more experienced, and at that time better-travelled colleague."[108] In no way, he emphasized, did he recall any case in which Bode had deferred to his judgment alone about a painting's attribution; this arrangement would have run counter to Hofstede de Groot's own belief in the principle of "only the truth." That is, a judgment of yes or no had to be made; indecision was contradictory to the scientific study of art, where the "truth" could reside only in one position. Further, the arrangement called for an author and a collaborator, not two authors, which meant that Bode had sole responsibility for the inclusion of works in the catalogue, just as Hofstede de Groot had in regard to his publica-

tion of the *Beschreibendes und Kritisches Verzeichnis*, despite his own use of assistants for that project. As a result, if Bode acceded to Hofstede de Groot's opinions in a few cases when deciding whether or not to include a painting, his reliance on his younger colleague did not relieve him of ultimate responsibility but merely indicated his trust in Hofstede de Groot's judgment.

He did not accept Bode's current disavowal of *Old Woman with a Book* [FIG. 33] and *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* [FIG. 29] as accurately representing his past evaluations. Hofstede de Groot thus "corrected" Bode's memory, stating, for instance, that he and Bode had together seen *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* on 5 December 1892, at Sedelmeyer's house, long before the restoration of 1912, "and he was at that time as strongly convinced of its authenticity as I am still."[109]

The differences between Hofstede de Groot and Bode's recollections of their collaboration were significant ones, for they indicate Hofstede de Groot's far more rigid approach to connoisseurship. Subjectivity was not the touchstone, but truth. A painting was or was not by Rembrandt, and scientific connoisseurship should, and could, make these distinctions with assurance.

Hofstede de Groot apparently believed that not only was the older Rembrandt scholarship under attack by younger scholars, but that his own contributions were being especially devalued, even by those who were his old allies. This interpretation could only have been strengthened by the exchange of letters at this same time in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* between Hofstede de Groot and Bredius concerning Bode's opinions about the authenticity of various pictures, especially *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*.[110]

Whereas Hofstede de Groot had ascribed Bode's "faulty" memory to old age, Bredius insisted that Bode had never believed in the authenticity of *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* and included it in his oeuvre catalogue only when Sedelmeyer threatened to cancel publication of further volumes if it were omitted. The compromise that author and publisher reached, according to Bredius, was that Bode could express some hesitation about the painting's authorship in the catalogue entry. However, Bredius still had in his possession a postcard from Bode on which had been written about the painting "Never, never Rembrandt" and declared that the two of them had looked at a post-restoration photograph around 1912, at which time Bode had said that the picture looked as false as it had earlier.[111]

This entire exchange reads almost like a comedy of manners or an exercise in the unreliability of memory. Yet it also indicates the degree to which

each of these figures looked to the other two as the arbiters of Rembrandt connoisseurship, for better or worse. The personal animosity between Hofstede de Groot and Bredius, which had centered on Rembrandt scholarship now also encompassed their respective working relationships with Bode, as they argued who the German scholar seemed to trust more as a Rembrandt connoisseur. Bode's consistent avowal of his independence from Sedelmeyer's influence during the production of the *catalogue raisonné* was also damaged by this account, which suggested far greater interference on the part of the art dealer than Bode ever admitted to, at least in print.

Bode's last publication on Rembrandt connoisseurship

Bode's disgust with recent developments in Rembrandt scholarship had been expressed in his reviews of Valentiner's book and in his commentary on Martin's characterization of Rembrandt connoisseurship. He reiterated his stance in what he stated would be his last contribution to Rembrandt studies, an article printed in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* in 1924, in which he discussed one more recently discovered painting.[112] Bode dated the work, which depicted two old men in conversation, to about 1629. The article serves as a quintessential example of how Bode had always worked as a Rembrandt scholar; he discussed the painting's formal characteristics and its relationship to other early works, "identified" the sitters in Rembrandt's personal environment, and compared it to other pictures with similar subject matter. His presentation of this painting as a Rembrandt, though lacking a signature, provenance, or literary references, was in itself an assertion of Bode's connoisseurship method, based on working from stylistic and technical correspondences with other paintings and on evaluation of its quality. He also offered it to counter the trend of "hypercriticism," which wished to diminish the size of Rembrandt's oeuvre; Bode optimistically stated that he felt the size of the corpus would not fall below 700, since such new discoveries could replace a few less convincing pictures.

Bode reiterated that he fully supported the new attributions to Rembrandt, at least those that had been suggested by himself or by Hofstede de Groot and Valentiner. He stated that it was unfortunate that Bredius had allied himself with the critical young art historians in opposing "the results of our decades-long work." Bode's choice of the German verb "verstümmeln" (to

mutilate or maim) to describe the efforts of the new Rembrandt criticism revealed his deep resentment about this challenge to his work and explains why he chose to present one more Rembrandt "discovery" as his final statement about a field in which he had worked for fifty years. Coming full circle, he championed a painting that he attributed to Rembrandt's youthful period, the kind of "green Rembrandt" for which he had been mocked by Wurzbach but which also helped to launch his fame as a Rembrandt connoisseur. Despite the overt anger and contempt he expressed in the article, there is nonetheless poignancy to Bode's comment that, as he enters his eightieth year, he can no longer travel to see works long known to him or to investigate new paintings, and thus he knows it is time to step aside, for such first-hand visual examination "is the necessary condition for all serious art research."[113]

Was the new Rembrandt research really that different from that of Bode and his peers? Despite his criticism of it, the answer to his own mind was no, for they, too, had always been concerned with eliminating the paintings of Rembrandt's students from his oeuvre and with weeding out traditional attributions to the master through their critical expertise. For Bode, the primary criticism of younger scholars concerned how works originating in Rembrandt's workshop should be designated as either authentic Rembrandts or as workshop variations. But the question of authenticity on this level was actually "fairly unimportant" he maintained, and should only interest the dealer and the owner of a work; it was unfortunate that the public followed such questions avidly, being more interested in names than in actual works of art.[114] That such distinctions of workshop piece versus original seemed "unimportant" now also reveals how far Bode's practice had diverged from his first efforts as a connoisseur and scholar; the heated debate with Wurzbach in the 1870s about the "green Rembrandts" was devoted to exactly such questions, ones Bode had then pursued enthusiastically and insistently.

Bode once more regretted the enormous increase in prices paid for even little study heads but suggested that in light of this fact, it would be imprudent to immediately publish the "mild doubts" of this scholar or that one about a work, since these utterances could lead to a drop in its commercial value.[115] (Unlike Bredius, Bode believed it important to remain sensitive to the financial repercussions of attribution decisions.) Rembrandt's own complexity, the many-sided nature of his art, also resulted in unevenness of quality, and thus there would always be disagreements, even among very experienced connoisseurs, about these works. The truly positive contribution to scholarship, according to

Bode, was found in work such as Valentiner's recent book on Nicolaes Maes, which helped to sort out various problems related to Rembrandt by approaching them from a different perspective.

The disagreements among the Rembrandt specialists about the practice of connoisseurship, above all about specific attributions, that had first surfaced with regularity in the 1910s had caused a nearly complete rift between former allies by the early 1920s. As Bode, Bredius, and Hofstede de Groot came closer to the end of their scholarly careers, each wished to see his reputation burnished through recognition of his role in advancing the understanding of Rembrandt's art. Younger colleagues affiliated themselves with what became two opposed camps, the expansionist group of Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner, and the more restrictive Bredius, Martin, and Schmidt-Degener.[116] Battles about the authorship of paintings like *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* [FIG. 29], which had already been fought decades earlier, were returned to with renewed vigor, yet each scholar's remembrance of how each battle had been waged differed considerably, and even those who were still allies now disagreed sharply over what had transpired in the past. Whereas in the 1890s the solidarity of the Rembrandt experts contributed to their authority, by the 1920s each scholar's vision of his own contributions to Rembrandt scholarship entailed some degree of separation from the others. For all of them, however, their own sense of scholarly worth was firmly linked to the reputation of Rembrandt as a painter and the definition of his body of work because of the definitive role their individual attributions played in the modern formation of the artist's image. The configuration of Rembrandt's oeuvre was not merely an intellectual issue but carried the seeds of these scholars' sense of identity.

Despite the now insuperable disagreements among them and, in some cases, the personal animosity they shared, there was one last situation in which they found themselves again in perfect agreement. Only a perceived threat to the established image of Rembrandt could bring about such unanimity by the 1920s. This renewed consensus was occasioned by the publication of a sensational book by an American amateur, John C. Van Dyke.

CHAPTER 8

VAN DYKE AND REMBRANDT

IN 1923, THE DEBATES AMONG THE REMBRANDT scholars were abruptly interrupted by the work of an American amateur, John C. Van Dyke. Born in New Jersey in 1856, the son of a state Supreme Court justice, reared in the pioneer state of Minnesota and educated at home until he attended Columbia Law School in the 1870s, Van Dyke was a member of the cultured American elite whose Dutch ancestors first arrived in America during the seventeenth century.[1] As a man who traveled widely and with great curiosity, Van Dyke began to take notes on paintings in European museums and by the 1880s entered into a dual career as a writer on art and travel and as the librarian at the Gardner A. Sage Library at the New Brunswick Theological Seminary. He held that position for some fifty years, while writing thirty-five books; his first, published in 1888, was significantly entitled *How to Judge of a Picture*. He also published a 1914 series of guides to the major European galleries with critical notes on quality and attribution.[2] Despite his nonprofessional background, Van Dyke taught art history and art appreciation at Rutgers from 1889 to 1924 (having been designated a professor of art history in 1890) and also lectured at Princeton, Harvard, and Columbia.[3]

Van Dyke regarded his 1923 book, *Rembrandt and His School*, as the consequence of his reaction to a seemingly incomprehensible range of attributions to the artist in museums at home and abroad. He wondered "if 'Rembrandt' were not a cloak covering the work of many pupils."[4] As a result Van Dyke had undertaken a solitary, decades-long investigation of the works of Rembrandt's various pupils, assistants, and associates, comparing their identified paintings with those attributed to Rembrandt. He established a core of works that he believed could be firmly given to Rembrandt and was thus able to whittle away at the accretions of time, the "snowball" as he called it, of pictures that in his

view had been falsely assigned to the artist. He insisted that "names have not prejudiced me and in the distribution Rembrandt has been allowed to fare the same as Bol or Horst or Eeckhout."[5] When done, he was left with eighty-one works painted in whole or in part by Rembrandt, only forty-eight of which he attributed solely to the master (and even among the forty-eight he was not fully convinced about eight of them). Van Dyke intentionally overstated his case, for his own count of forty-eight authentic paintings by Rembrandt was based only on a survey of major museums and some private collections, and included solely those paintings he had seen in person, not all the works then attributed to the master. Yet he himself repeatedly invoked the number in part, it seems, for its shock value, its very difference from the number asserted by the Rembrandt experts, which at a minimum added up to nearly six hundred paintings.

Van Dyke knew his work would be controversial and stated, then and later, that he had delayed bringing his opinions forward because of a desire to avoid a storm of arguments. "One hesitates about flying in the face of preconceived opinion and inviting denunciation."[6] Yet given many of his other pronouncements, this statement appears largely rhetorical. The introduction to the book had something to offend nearly everyone in the art world. For instance, he offered the following words about museum directors and the attribution of paintings in their institutions:

> Of course, the directors of museums have a good excuse for retaining the present attributions. The pictures in many instances were given to the museums by people who bought, and believed they were buying, Rembrandts. To look gift pictures too closely in the mouth by writing them down as pupils' work would be to lose possible future donations. And the pictures are excellent pictures – excellent enough to be in any gallery – though they are not by Rembrandt. But the art public should not be misled by considerations that close the mouth of gallery directors. They should know the truth of art history.[7]

While there was undoubtedly a good deal of reality to this statement, it was hardly a diplomatic posture for an outsider to take. In the context of a book on Rembrandt paintings, his comment could be understood as a criticism of Bode in particular, the museum director most closely associated with the artist. As if to emphasize this point, Van Dyke chose Berlin's collection as an example in the preface. "The Rembrandt attributions are a mad confusion. Those in the

Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin will answer for illustration – the better, perhaps, because Doctor Bode, widely known as an authority on Rembrandt, is responsible for them."[8] Van Dyke accepted only three of the twenty-six paintings, then in the Berlin Gemäldegalerie, designated as Rembrandts in the 1921 catalogue and even those three with "a shade of doubt."[9] In this case and elsewhere in his radical revision of the Rembrandt corpus, Van Dyke was swimming against the tide of an expanding art market where museum professionals, and the established connoisseurs who were sometimes paid for their expertise, had much at stake in the size of Rembrandt's oeuvre.

Van Dyke presented his conclusions in as "scientific" a manner as possible. His introductory text was extremely brief with five chapters comprising a total of twenty-nine pages. These chapters covered the essential issues of Rembrandt connoisseurship: the problematic relevance of signatures in authenticating pictures, the existence and functioning of Rembrandt's workshop, "internal evidence," i.e. the formal characteristics that lend themselves to a stylistic analysis, and finally, specific characteristics of authentic Rembrandt paintings that could be used in determining attributions. After these five chapters, Van Dyke introduced his lists. One chapter was devoted to the paintings he accepted as genuine Rembrandts, while seven more listed paintings he had reattributed to the artist's pupils and assistants. In the last of these chapters, "Unknown pupils," he organized paintings that he could not place with specific Rembrandt followers into seven groups that seemed to share stylistic characteristics. While this corresponded to Willem Martin's plea for such categorization of Rembrandtesque pictures, Van Dyke had apparently been working in this manner for years. The last chapter of the book was devoted to paintings by other known artists, not part of Rembrandt's circle, which had occasionally been attributed to him instead.

The book was profusely illustrated with small black and white reproductions, grouped according to Van Dyke's reattributions and meant to be seen as the best proof of his claims, short of the paintings themselves. This reflected the ever-increasing importance of photography as seemingly irrefutable factual evidence; from Lautner's book in 1891 to the Amsterdam Rembrandt exhibition, from the Bode-Hofstede de Groot *catalogue raisonné* and the Klassiker der Kunst volumes to the various articles by the Rembrandt experts arguing specific attributions, photographic argumentation took on an ever larger role in connoisseurship.

When introducing each of the Rembrandt followers Van Dyke provided a brief description of the artist's style and pointed to a few paintings that bore signatures or could be assigned to the painter on a documentary basis. (Van Dyke was not the first to point out that signatures by these artists were more trustworthy than Rembrandt signatures; since they had less inherent commercial value, they were less likely to have been added afterward in an attempt to deceive possible buyers.) Organized alphabetically by city, the list of paintings previously assigned to Rembrandt that Van Dyke now reassigned to other artists then followed. The discussions of the individual paintings were brief and served to demonstrate in each case what stylistic elements made the painting attributable to a specific artist other than Rembrandt.

Despite the sober organization and dependence on list making, suggestive of the influence of the Italian painting connoisseur Bernard Berenson's famous lists, Van Dyke's book makes for lively reading.[10] He was skeptical, ironic, and often hyperbolic in wording his arguments; no painting, and no connoisseur's opinion, was sacred. His authorial voice was closest perhaps to Morelli's, whose work he mentioned and openly admired. Indeed, he stated that the kind of "critical study, practically begun by Cavalcaselle, developed by Morelli, and in present times carried on by Berenson, Venturi, and others" was almost completely lacking in regard to the art of northern Europe.[11] He cited "Latins" as attributing this situation to inherent traits whereby "Anglo-Saxon and Teutons" excelled at documentary work and the organization of facts, even the assigning of monetary value, but "they do not see the picture as the aesthetic expression of a human being," an argument with which Van Dyke seemed to concur. Nonetheless, Van Dyke had evidently followed the argumentation about Rembrandt attributions over several decades.[12] Indeed, he maintained that his initial doubts about Rembrandt attributions began to form in 1883, the year of the publication of Bode's first catalogue on Rembrandt paintings.[13] Van Dyke first published comments critical of certain Rembrandt attributions in 1895, hence even before the Rembrandt exhibitions and the publication of the Bode-Hofstede de Groot opus.[14] He insisted that these misgivings had arisen from looking at pictures "from the artist's point of view," that is, through concentrating his attention on an analysis of technical execution and style. Notwithstanding his attention to the modern literature on connoisseurship, Van Dyke defined his practice in a way that hearkened back to the pre-nineteenth century model, where connoisseurs were artists, gentlemen amateurs, or art dealers.

Van Dyke did not mince his words about the business aspect of connoisseurship, either. While he avowed that his only goal was to reveal the truth and that he had "no wish to discredit any one's authority or to depreciate the commercial value of any one's holdings," thus accounting for his focus on works in public collections, his words about the world of Rembrandt connoisseurship ring harshly:

> Every discoverer of an old Dutch picture in a garret hopes that it will prove a Rembrandt, and his wish, being father to the thought, eventually results in the picture being "expertized," and, at the least, "attributed" to Rembrandt. Every gallery director would like to add another Rembrandt to his catalogue, because the name lends prestige to his gallery. Every collector of pictures must have a Rembrandt as the *clou* of his collection. With such a positive demand, commerce, naturally enough, seeks to supply the necessary Rembrandts. That they do not exist or are not in the market is not too discouraging. The man of commerce starts in and sells the works of the pupils as that of the master… If it has a Rembrandtesque look, no matter how superficial that look, it may pass with the uninitiated. For a picture is largely sold on expert testimony, a signature, whether true or false, is generally considered proof positive, and a tale of a picture having lived many years in an English baronial hall is more than satisfying.[15]

This criticism is not far from Wurzbach's diatribe of 1910, though less personally directed to specific authorities. Ironically, it also echoes statements by Bode and Valentiner that if clients wished to buy Rembrandts, dealers would find them. That such a critique was now offered by an amateur (of sorts) in America carried a great deal of meaning in it. For one, Van Dyke's book was written to appeal not just to scholars of Dutch art but also to those members of the public with an interest in the subject, including art collectors. Since the United States had been the dominant market for the sale of Rembrandts for a full generation, the implications about their authorship would be clear from Van Dyke's statement, even though he did not discuss all the paintings in American private collections in 1923. To cite just one example, a painting such as *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* [FIG. 29] had famously "lived" in such a baronial hall as Blenheim Palace, and had certainly been the focus of expert testimony about its authenticity.

That this attack on Rembrandt connoisseurship, as it stood after fifty years of scholarship by professional art historians, came not only from an amateur but an American seemed to be nearly insupportable to many European scholars, even those who were not themselves Rembrandt scholars. They expressed powerfully negative reactions to Van Dyke's book, and the tone of their reviews ranged from condescendingly dismissive to outrage at Van Dyke's effrontery. Nonetheless, there was one significant difference between those reviews written by the Rembrandt experts and those by other scholars and art critics: whether Rembrandt's painted oeuvre, as then defined, needed to be reassessed or not. Meanwhile, reviewers from the American press and a few American scholars presented still a third kind of response. Their evaluations of *Rembrandt and His School* were mixed but did suggest that Van Dyke's argument had some merit. Often, these writers discussed the monetary implications of Van Dyke's reattributions and expressed a strong sense of skepticism about the relationship of connoisseurship to the art market.

European Reviews

In England, the art historian Tancred Borenius, the art critic Roger Fry, and the director of the Wallace Collection, D.S. MacColl, quickly penned reviews of Van Dyke's book. Borenius began his review with the comment that Rembrandt's work seemed to elicit extreme responses and referred obliquely to Lautner's book of a generation earlier. But he believed that Van Dyke had made an interesting case at least in terms of the numerical data, and thus Borenius addressed the issue of survival rates for Old Master paintings. Contrary to Van Dyke's contention that Rembrandt had only painted fifty of the 700 "generally given" to him, Borenius insisted that Rembrandt, over a forty-year career in which he "cared for nothing but his art," must have painted close to fifty paintings a year, suggesting a lifetime total of about two thousand paintings.[16] These 700 "surviving" works were therefore "but a fraction of what Rembrandt probably did paint."[17] As further support for this thesis, he compared this number with the still more numerous paintings of modern artists, citing Pierre Renoir as his primary example.

Borenius's other complaint concerned Van Dyke's method of reattributing works from Rembrandt to his pupils based on shared stylistic characteristics with authenticated works by these painters. This seemed to Borenius to be a

misunderstanding of Rembrandt's artistic authority and of the fact that, in the formation of their own styles, the pupils assimilated aspects of their teacher's art. Nonetheless, he was willing to admit that some "Rembrandts" would at a later date no longer be considered as such, but not at the rate and to the extend propounded by Van Dyke, whose major contribution was thus the publication of the illustrations, "disregarding about fifty per cent of the letterpress," i.e. the attributions that accompanied them.[18]

Roger Fry, writing for *The Burlington Magazine*, agreed with Borenius about Van Dyke's problem of confusing source and imitation but explicitly disagreed with Borenius's argument about rates of production, maintaining that in the past and at present these varied considerably from artist to artist. Nonetheless, he agreed that all evidence indicated that Rembrandt did little else but paint and that he must have produced more than 700 works. That was not to say, however, that the particular 700 attributed to him in 1923 were themselves correct attributions; and so Fry credited Van Dyke with having "broken the spell" that had previously existed in regard to the Rembrandt oeuvre as devised by Bode and Valentiner, thus recalling his own skepticism about Valentiner's "rediscovered Rembrandts." Fry stated tellingly that for years after the publication of the Bode *catalogue raisonné*, "criticism was almost mute before so grand a display of authority, and the mere fact that a picture figured in this list was regarded by most people as a certificate of authenticity."[19] But, he added, some dissension gradually came to be voiced and became stronger in response to the publication of Valentiner's volume on the rediscovered Rembrandts. Van Dyke had allowed the problem to be broached openly and the need for general agreement about Rembrandt's paintings was now evident.[20] But Fry also described Van Dyke's method to be the kind that could be practiced from photographs alone and based more on evaluation of content and form rather than on style itself, "of what the picture is."[21] Consequently, Van Dyke's book was courageous, but it brought scholarship no closer to a "definitive catalogue of Rembrandt's work."[22]

The director of the Wallace Collection, D.S. MacColl, discussed Van Dyke's opinions on the authorship of paintings under his care. Miffed that Van Dyke had not given him credit for already reconsidering the attributions of paintings in the collection that had been attributed to Rembrandt, MacColl criticized Van Dyke's reattributions severely and indicated that the author's basic competence as a connoisseur was highly doubtful.[23] Nevertheless, MacColl did not disagree with the premise that the oeuvre given to Rembrandt

included too many works and described his own working categories as: "(1) Rembrandts that are certain and magnificent; (2) Rembrandts that are pretty certain, but that one wishes were not, and (3) 'Rembrandts' that are not Rembrandts."[24]

This open admission that the Rembrandt oeuvre had grown too large and encompassed too many "'Rembrandts' that are not Rembrandts" was new in the level of its casual acceptance by these various critics. However, those responsible for the expansion of the oeuvre were not prepared to admit to laxity in judgment and, accordingly, their reviews of Van Dyke had a different emphasis.

Reviews of Van Dyke by the Rembrandt experts

Bode's review reveals a sharp sense of resentment about the publicity Van Dyke's book had received, as compared to that given to truly "earnest" work; he also rehearsed old arguments used against Lautner, Morelli, and Martin.[25] While he noted that Van Dyke had some reputation in the United States as an art critic, and thus had not written his book to create a reputation, he worried that Van Dyke's countrymen (though, implicitly, not European readers) would thus be lulled into acceptance of his radical and completely incorrect understanding of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre. Like other reviewers, Bode compared Van Dyke's assertions with those of Lautner, while admitting that Van Dyke's were at first glance less dangerous, for he at least did not wish to attack Rembrandt himself. To the contrary; for Bode, Van Dyke's conception of Rembrandt was too admiring, too idealized, and would not allow for a range of quality in production. Bode believed that Van Dyke only used an evaluation of quality to determine authorship and did not take into account documentary evidence, inscriptions, provenance, or "tradition." Here he reiterated his criticism of Morelli from thirty years earlier. He also criticized Van Dyke for not stating the grounds for his decisions, a somewhat disingenuous complaint coming from an author who rarely provided such himself. Bode indicated that Van Dyke also erred in being far too generous in his estimation of the talents of Rembrandt's pupils at the same time that he was so "hypercritical" of the master himself. (With the use of the word "hypercriticism," the echoes now referred to his debate with Martin.) Hence the oeuvre constructed by Van Dyke for the artist Karel van der Pluym (at the expense of Rembrandt), was "probably the most nonsensical compendium that has ever been printed under the title of art-his-

torical research."[26] Sarcastically commenting on Van Dyke's lack of patriotism in taking away the Rembrandt attributions of ninety-three of the hundred pictures previously attributed to the master that could be found in the United States, Bode also manifested his indignation over the simultaneous demoting of masterpieces in major European collections. He concluded that one could only be grateful that Van Dyke had restrained himself from trying to "discover" more paintings by Rembrandt, given his poor judgment. Here was an art critic who, Bode believed, was only wiling to attribute works of the highest caliber to Rembrandt but was simultaneously unable to recognize which were the true masterpieces.

Although Bode's review was thoroughly dismissive in its condescension and sarcasm, he apparently took Van Dyke's criticism to heart more than one would have expected. In his final publication on Rembrandt, in which he presented one last new attribution to the artist, he stated that the "highpoint" of the criticism of research into the composition of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre was reached in Van Dyke's book.[27] While he characterized it as being as unscientific as Lautner's book, he also directly associated Van Dyke's publication with the critiques of Bredius and "younger art historians" (i.e., such as Willem Martin) thus indicating the depth of his resentment towards all his critics – even Bredius, once his ally. Such an association surely horrified Bredius himself, who was cited in a Dutch newspaper as stating that, though he had not yet read the book, he knew from others that Van Dyke's claims were insupportable and best left unread; soon his book, like Lautner's, would disappear and become forgotten.[28]

Several themes from Hofstede de Groot's review of Van Dyke in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* sounded similar to his previous articles that had disputed not only the authority but also the basic scholarship of any who dared venture into the field of Rembrandt connoisseurship.[29] Thus, his objections to the book included the following: Van Dyke was not a professional student of Rembrandt; in thirty-five years of working on Rembrandt, Hofstede de Groot had never heard of him. Rather, Van Dyke had only looked at Rembrandt's art during "vacations in Europe," instead of making it his daily occupation. He did not know how to work as a real art historian, as his seeming ignorance of documents concerning extant Rembrandt paintings indicated (the same documents collected together and edited by Hofstede de Groot in 1906). For example, documents gave witness to the fact that paintings by Rembrandt dated back to 1628 at the least, but Van Dyke did not accept any before 1637. Hofstede de Groot also criticized Van Dyke for eliminating paintings with proven documentary

connections to the artist from Rembrandt's oeuvre. Here, too, reminders of the Lautner episode abound, since Hofstede de Groot based so much of his own refutation of Lautner's claims on issues relating to Rembrandt documents.

Yet Hofstede de Groot equally castigated Van Dyke for lacking an "eye" for quality, expressiveness, style, or chronological development. The Dutch scholar claimed that this American amateur misunderstood the relationship of Rembrandt with his pupils and was unaware of the recent scholarship on many of these figures. His estimates of how many paintings they made, and how many were painted by Rembrandt himself, were just plain wrong. And it appeared that he worked primarily from photographs, not the originals. In short, Van Dyke's work and the book that resulted from it were worthless. Although Hofstede de Groot realized he would not be able to convince such a person just how wrong he was, perhaps a few readers, particularly the Americans most vulnerable to Van Dyke's arguments, could be kept from believing such nonsense.

Professionalism versus amateur scholarship, documentary evidence versus opinion, command of the literature versus ignorance of important scholarship, connoisseurial skills versus the untrained and untalented eye – such dualisms had first been raised by Hofstede de Groot in his reviews of Lautner. Later, he applied them at least in part to the work of other figures, such as Kronig or Martin, in his efforts to control the wielding of authority in the realm of Rembrandt connoisseurship. Ultimately, despite his ire over Van Dyke's book, he sought to repudiate it as just another (albeit rather sensational) example of the misguided attempts of nonspecialists to make a mark where they did not belong.

A particularly devastating review by Valentiner was published in *Art in America*.[30] Valentiner had helped to found *Art in America* ten years earlier, and seemed especially aware of his role as a mediating voice between European scholars and the interested American public. Despite the fact that Hofstede de Groot and Bode had advised American collectors since the 1890s, their reviews did not seem to indicate a great deal of respect for the American public. Valentiner wanted to take a different approach to this audience. He noted that while Italian art had attracted the attention of American art historians, this had not yet proven true of Dutch art. In fact, he hoped that "the general adverse criticism" of Van Dyke's book arising from Europe would actually prove a spur to American scholarship and to American universities to encourage the study of the Dutch school of art.[31] He claimed that any student of art history "at Harvard or Yale or Princeton" (all places where Van Dyke had actually lectured) would understand the development of style better than Van Dyke seemed to in

his willful assignment of Rembrandt paintings to various artists, regardless of whether or not their period of activity coincided with the dates of paintings.[32] Once again, Valentiner's persistent and even naive faith in inscriptions was used to help rebut the arguments of another writer.

In paragraph after paragraph, Valentiner set out to discredit all of Van Dyke's assertions by attacking his abilities as a scholar. Van Dyke's seeming ignorance of the Rembrandt literature in languages other than English, *catalogues raisonnés* for Rembrandt followers, the drawings of Rembrandt and his school that related to paintings, relevant paintings in private collections, and techniques to evaluate the reliability of signatures, all indicated to Valentiner the author's complete lack of credibility. The detailed recitation of the scholarship that Van Dyke did not appear to know, or at least use, was meant to create an image of imbalance for Valentiner's audience, just as Hofstede de Groot's critique of Lautner's scholarship had done thirty years before. On the one side was the volume by the American amateur Van Dyke, willful and unlearned, on the other side, the substantial weight of publications, painstakingly researched over nearly 100 years, by European experts. In no sense could Van Dyke measure up.

As the mediator between the new and the old worlds in Rembrandt scholarship, Valentiner asserted his own claim to authority at several points but always in conjunction with Bode and Hofstede de Groot. Hence he rejected Van Dyke's claim that 1000 paintings had been given to Rembrandt, stating that "Bode, Hofstede de Groot and I have fixed the number of works by his hand at nearly 700..."[33]

The Rembrandt authorities thus rejected any claim to validity on Van Dyke's part. By repeatedly comparing his book to that of Lautner's, which had actually been a far more extreme revision of Rembrandt scholarship, they helped to undermine the impact of any individual arguments made by Van Dyke through wholesale rejection of his thesis. The fact that they felt it necessary to attack Van Dyke's book so strenuously, however, evidences their continuing desire to protect not just Rembrandt's reputation, but their own as well.

American reviews

Van Dyke's book had a sensational reception in the United States, and in that sense it was indeed comparable to the notoriety of Lautner's publication in Germany a generation before. Newspaper notices appeared almost immediately

around the country, detailing Van Dyke's most startling claims and concentrating principally on Van Dyke's reduction of the oeuvre to forty-eight paintings.[34] The rejection from the artist's oeuvre of the Rembrandts in American collections, especially those in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and in the hands of famous private owners, drew the most attention. In news articles about the dispute and in book reviews the radical nature of Van Dyke's scholarship was uniformly emphasized, as the title of a feature article in the general interest periodical, *Current Opinion*, indicates: "Dr. Van Dyke's Attack on the Rembrandt Tradition."[35] In the United States the range of opinions on the merits of Van Dyke's book varied tremendously; while the author of the *Current Opinion* piece summed up arguments for and against Van Dyke's argument, he also described the book as "a monument of erudition" and the European criticism of it as "positively lurid."[36] Nearly all of these articles quoted European scholars, museum directors, and art dealers who rejected Van Dyke's claims wholesale.[37] In response, Van Dyke pointed out that none of these figures had actually read his book, which had only been issued in the United States at the very beginning of October and had not yet made its way to Europe.[38]

One note was sounded over and over in the American press: that Van Dyke threatened the financial interests of owners with his attacks on the authenticity of their Rembrandts.[39] As one article stated, "Considered from the economic point of view, Dr. Van Dyke's book attacks values which compare in dollars and cents with the properties of the steel trust or the Ford plant. Bidding would go into the millions if paintings like *The Five Syndics* or *The Night Watch* could be put on the market and the total valuation of the 800 Rembrandts would be put in the hundreds of millions" [FIGS. 7, 6].[40] This implication of Van Dyke's argument had not been treated by European scholars and confirms the degree to which art and money were inextricably and publicly linked in America. A telling example of this American equation can be found in an article published in the *New Republic*. Entitled "Bolshevism in Art Criticism," and written with tongue in cheek, this editorial bemoaned the loss of Rembrandts in the United States because of Van Dyke's book. Here the tables are turned, and the Americans prove to be the losers in the contention for Old Master paintings:

> We had been vaguely aware that European art critics, Morelli, Bode and Berenson, were engaged in revising the attribution of Italian painting but their activities concerned us little. Mr. Berenson's severe reduc-

> tion of the paintings of Leonardo left us indifferent. We had no Leonardos. But we had invested money and reputation in Rembrandt... The remark attributed to Bode that Rembrandt left six hundred pictures of which two thousand were in the United States, was a bitter comment on our connoisseurship and a drastic diminution of property values; but after all, it was a statement without specification, and it gave us room in which to turn around. Among six hundred examples, every American who thought he owned a Rembrandt had a sporting chance. Anyway, Bode was a German, doubtless in conspiracy with the War Lords and dye magnates to sabotage the rest of the world... But if Professor Van Dyke is going to run amuck, and join the European Bolsheviks in attacking the established order and vested interests in the world of art, then we must make haste to withdraw his credentials and repudiate his reputation. How to judge of a picture forsooth![41]

The allure of the Old Masters, whose reflected glory bathes the connoisseur, the collector, and the museum curator, was described as all part "of the ritual of art worship," and the "market value" of such pictures was "fixed with an upward tendency not subject to the fluctuations which may attend the unplotted career of a newcomer."[42]

While *The New Republic* article viewed the entire Old Master art scene with a jaundiced and amused eye directed towards scholar and collector alike, less sophisticated publications evidenced resentment of this world dominated by Europeans and followed, they believed, by effete Americans. The association in America of art collecting and snobbery, asserted in the past by Bode, was reiterated but from a far different point of view by some American writers in their consideration of Van Dyke's book. An article in the *Asheville N.C. Citizen*, entitled "Art Snobbery Again," mocked Van Dyke's writing, but less for its relationship to the "truth" of attributions than because "it is exactly the sort of stuff that comes from a slavish devotion to the theory that all the good painting was done hundreds of years ago... We have already expressed the wish that the importation of 'old masterpieces' into America could be stopped... Art is no more a mystery than baseball is. And the effort to make it appear as something for only the favored few is rank snobbery."[43]

The American figures most directly concerned about Van Dyke's sensational claims were art museum officials, who responded in a variety of ways. Frank Logan, the vice-president of the Chicago Art Institute, defended the

museum's *Young Woman at an Open Half-Door* [FIG. 44], stating that it had come from a renowned collection in Europe and that it had "been passed upon here by such experts as Bode of Berlin, Bradius [sic] of Holland and Valentiner of Italy [sic]."[44] On the other hand Edward Robinson, the director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, released a brief statement by October 6 that lightly dismissed the book and Van Dyke's qualifications as a connoisseur.[45]

Thus an article by Bryson Burroughs, the curator in charge of the Metropolitan's Rembrandts, in the November 1923 issue of *The Arts*, comes as a bit of a surprise. In this essay Burroughs discussed Van Dyke's judgments of the paintings in the Metropolitan that had been attributed to Rembrandt, all of which Van Dyke had rejected. His defense of certain works was spirited and displayed conviction, while also dismissive of the "coldness of a certain type of critic" who seemed unable to appreciate paintings.[46] In contrast to the European Rembrandt specialists, however, Burroughs asserted that "individual taste" formed the judgments of "critic and sightseer" alike, and therefore, in his own discussion of the paintings, "emotion is his chief guide," not some notion of science.[47] Burroughs was also willing to admit that "the dusty traditions [of Rembrandt attributions] needed an airing" and that Van Dyke seemed "to be preparing the way for the next rebuilding" of the oeuvre.[48] In the end, Burroughs himself cast doubt upon five paintings that had entered the museum as Rembrandts, and rejected three outright without hesitation. "The so-called *Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels*, a weak study identical with one by B. Fabritius in the Dresden Gallery, and probably painted by a fellow pupil, *Pilate Washing His Hands*, a fumbled weightless enormity, and the sentimental, empty *Head of Christ*...all three are unimportant, no matter who painted them" [FIGS. 54, 53].[49]

Burroughs's review suggests a growing independence among scholars who dealt with issues of Rembrandt attributions. No longer were the opinions of such figures as Bode and Hofstede de Groot sacrosanct. One newspaper even reported that "a proposition to arrange a conversazione of the prominent Rembrandt experts from all over the world in Rome has been made in Berlin. It is suggested that the congress decide through vote which pictures are genuine and which merely copies. Among those proposed as delegates to the congress are Dr. William von Bode, Dr. John C. Van Dyke and Dr. William R. Valentiner."[50] For better or worse, this curiously democratic approach to resolving disputes about Rembrandt attributions was never put into action. Yet the fact that it could be discussed, even by specialists, as a reasonable possibility and that someone like Van Dyke would be considered as a delegate, indicates how much

the world of Rembrandt connoisseurship was changing. The conviction that the Rembrandt oeuvre had become untenable in its current form now gained greater currency. Van Dyke's critics agreed that Rembrandt very likely did not paint only fifty or so pictures, but was the oeuvre of 700 assembled by the Rembrandt specialists defensible either? The mere asking of this question indicated that the earlier era of unquestioned authority of the Rembrandt experts was over.

Was Van Dyke's book in fact so farfetched and wrongheaded? Certainly he was extreme in limiting the number of works by Rembrandt to forty-eight, even when just surveying public collections. It is unlikely that anyone today would accept such reattributions as Berlin's *Preaching of Saint John the Baptist* [FIG. 40] to Salomon Koninck or The Hague, Mauritshuis's *Susanna and the Elders* from 1637 to Govaert Flinck.[51] Yet he was also the first to ascribe the so-called *Sibyl* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art to Willem Drost, a reattribution the museum now agrees to.[52] Apart from the merit of his individual attributions, Van Dyke made many canny statements about the state of Rembrandt connoisseurship in his day. Given Van Dyke's lack of status in the professional world of connoisseurship, however, it was easier for many reviewers to disparage his arguments entirely rather than consider individual reattributions to see if any might be worth considering. For the Rembrandt authorities, comparing Van Dyke to Lautner was the most efficient way to thoroughly discredit the author's work and avoid having to face the criticism of their own work as connoisseurs.

There was still the occasional reference to Van Dyke's work later in the 1920s, such as in a news story about an American collector's acquisition of a portrait of a young woman, then called *Rembrandt's Portrait of His Sister, Liesbeth*. The painting had still been in the collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein when Van Dyke wrote about it approvingly in 1923. As the article states:

> It is easy enough for an American millionaire to acquire just an ordinary Rembrandt, one that bears the authentication of Dr. von Bode, Dr. Hofstede De Groot [sic], Dr. Valentiner, and the other recognized experts, who have written the big heavy volumes that rest sedately on the shelves of every dealer in old masters. But Robert Treat Paine, 2nd, Boston collector, has obtained from Robert C. Vose, Boston dealer, a panel that is approved by Dr. John C. Van Dyke as 'one of the forty or more pictures that can be assigned authentically to Rembrandt.'[53]

While this manner suggests another tongue-in-cheek evaluation of Van Dyke's book, the article nonetheless quotes his "panegyric" on the painting at length, and it is allowed to stand alone as an appreciation of the portrait.

By the 1930s, however, Van Dyke was essentially written out of the literature on Rembrandt. Only with the rise of interest in the historiography of Rembrandt connoisseurship during the 1980s and 1990s did Van Dyke's name surface again. But even then Van Dyke's work was discussed with ambivalence at best. In 1982, the Rembrandt Research Project referred to Van Dyke as having "overshot the mark through his obsessional need to enhance the pupils at the expense of their master."[54] Because he doubted so many paintings, even in cases where his doubts were justified, his opinions have not typically been given proper credit. For instance, Van Dyke attributed the *Vision of Daniel* to Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout; when it was attributed to Willem Drost in the 1991 exhibition catalogue, *Rembrandt. The Master and His Workshop*, the claim was made that "[O]nly with the emergence of a more sophisticated stylistic criticism, based on the extensive study of works by both Rembrandt and his school, as well as increasing recognition of the characteristic methods and techniques of both master and pupils, did doubts arise" about the authorship of this painting.[55] Werner Sumowski was then mistakenly credited with having been the first to question the attribution to Rembrandt in the 1950s, rather than Van Dyke over thirty years earlier. This is an almost textbook example of how amateurs and iconoclasts are written out of the historiography of connoisseurship. While Van Dyke's opinions were actually cited in the catalogue entries for *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt* in 1995, certain of his reattributions were characterized as "peculiar" or "wild."[56] Even the contemporary writer most sympathetic to Van Dyke, Anthony Bailey, while pointing out that Van Dyke in fact helped to pioneer research into Rembrandt's workshop, also characterized him as "something of a wild card in this business" of attribution.[57] Being an outsider in the world of Rembrandt connoisseurship has clearly carried with it danger for one's reputation.

Though Van Dyke's book was dismissed as another terribly deluded attempt by an amateur to expound on the subtle difficulties of Rembrandt connoisseurship, he nonetheless achieved a kind of success unthinkable a generation earlier when Lautner challenged Bode and his colleagues. While *Rembrandt and His School* was rejected outright, and with it any contemporary consideration of Van Dyke's reattributions, the publication of his text gave reviewers the opportunity to indicate that things were not right in the established world of

Rembrandt painting connoisseurship. The professional connoisseur's triumph over the amateur was not disputed, but the attributions of the acknowledged Rembrandt experts no longer carried the same kind of intimidating authority they had thirty years before. Their fame continued on however, as acknowledged in a limerick from the 1920s:

> When [the] Rembrandt came to the cleaner
> It began to look meaner and meaner.
> Said Rembrandt van Rijn:
> I doubt it is mine
> Ask Bode, or else Valentiner. [58]

CHAPTER 9

THE END OF AN ERA

IN 1925 HOFSTEDE DE GROOT HAD ATTEMPTED TO defend the results of his work as a connoisseur in *Echt of inecht? Oog of chemie?* (*Genuine or False? Eye or Chemistry?*) written after a public repudiation of his skills in this very field. In 1923 the Amsterdam art dealership Fred Muller & Co had purchased a painting, *A Man Laughing*, from its Dutch owner, H.A. de Haas, on the basis of Hofstede de Groot's evaluation of it as a genuine work by Frans Hals. When significant doubts about its authenticity arose, however, they brought the case to court. Hofstede de Groot's opinion in favor of the painting was overruled by the expert witnesses, Willem Martin, Sir Charles Holmes, Director of the National Gallery in London, and a professor of chemistry in Delft, Professor Scheffer, who jointly found it to be a forgery from the nineteenth or twentieth century.[1] Openly embarrassed and angered by the result of the trial, Hofstede de Groot wrote *Echt of inecht* in an attempt to convince other scholars, and even members of the public, that his opinion had not been wrong and should have outweighed that of chemists and art historians who were not specialized connoisseurs of Hals's art. The most telling comment came in a letter Hofstede de Groot sent to the editors of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* in response to previous commentaries by various writers. Hofstede de Groot wrote: "With the answer of this [lawsuit] a reputation stands or falls: whether mine as the judge of Old Master paintings and as reliable advisor concerning this matter, or that of the opponent, as the expert auctioneer with a staff of experts."[2] The linkage of his reputation with his connoisseurship was absolute to Hofstede de Groot; unfortunately, as with Bode and the *Flora* bust fiasco, the forged Hals case would follow the Dutch scholar to the end of his life.

Perhaps in part as a means of regaining his former authority and reputation, in 1927 Hofstede de Groot published *Kunstkennis. Herinneringen van een kunstcriticus (Knowledge of Art [Connoisseurship]. Reminiscences of an Art Critic)*, his account of the practice of connoisseurship and of his experiences as a connoisseur.[3] The reminiscences promised in the title often had a poignant tone, as several of them referred to the time when he and Bredius worked together at the Mauritshuis and would reach the same conclusion about the authorship of pictures independently, suggesting a kind of lost "golden age" of connoisseurship.

What Hofstede de Groot provided in this book was a microscopic view of connoisseurship, one based on his own individual experiences with very little theoretical or even methodological discussion. Instead, he described in general terms the abilities a connoisseur needed to possess, namely a gifted eye, indefatigability in the face of unceasing travel to practice his craft, and caution. Hofstede de Groot mentioned several cases about which he had not been cautious enough, taking, for instance, the word of a collector above his own personal examination of a painting (thereby undermining his own contention that connoisseurship was not overall a subjective process). Knowledge about painting techniques and materials used by the artists under study should be balanced with understanding of aesthetic issues of style and quality. With "great" masters one also had to understand the range of their style and level of quality and that of their important students as well. Unsurprisingly, Hofstede de Groot used the Elisabeth Bas portrait [FIG. 55] as an example of the necessity of evaluating quality and stated that none of the proponents of the Bol theory of authorship could point to a single work by this artist that matched the caliber of the Bas.[4] His advice to beginning connoisseurs was tendentious but reflected his own training as a young scholar and connoisseur: commencing with the study of archaeology, which, as a better established academic practice than art history proper, would teach the student not to neglect small details while weighing what was important and unimportant in a picture. Above all, though, he advised the young scholar who wished to focus on attributions to avoid hypercriticism and refrain from merely attacking the decisions about authorship made by his elders. Unless a person had made positive attributions about previously unidentified paintings, he had not made a real contribution to such scholarship. Negative connoisseurship, the criticism of the work of one's predecessors, was rarely successful; Hofstede de Groot mentioned Lautner, Van Dyke, and "his countryman" (i.e., Willem Martin, as a footnote made clear) as figures whose sensational claims had all come to naught. These statements reveal how much

his experiences in Rembrandt scholarship had colored his understanding of connoisseurship writ large. For one last time, Hofstede de Groot took it as his task to decide who was and was not acceptable as a connoisseur.

At several points he argued with statements made by the Max J. Friedländer, Bode's successor as director of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, who had recently published his own ideas about the practice of connoisseurship.[5] Friedländer had asserted that intuition was the most basic component of connoisseurship and that, given the subjective nature of the process, the connoisseur should not be required to put into words the reasoning for his decisions. Hofstede de Groot rejected this explicitly, stating that connoisseurship should not be considered a mystery or a hidden language, yet he seemed to contradict himself when he admitted that "inner conviction" was the basis for judgments; how one distinguished conviction from intuition was not discussed.

The book was not widely reviewed, perhaps because of its unmethodological orientation when compared even to Friedländer's text or perhaps because of Hofstede de Groot's now tarnished reputation as a connoisseur. Tancred Borenius wrote an ambivalent review of the posthumous German edition for *The Burlington Magazine*, in which he remarked that the book brought up important questions about connoisseurship without answering them satisfactorily. Borenius referred to Hofstede de Groot's "ant-like industry" as a scholar, which in and of itself indicated his limitations as a critic.[6] He found most "provocative" Hofstede de Groot's simplification of the processes of connoisseurship, aiming "at divesting art of anything that is mysterious, unanalyzable and a matter of intuition."[7] This attitude he deemed one of "devastating naiveté." While Borenius acknowledged Hofstede de Groot's contributions to the study of Rembrandt and Hals, he also maintained that the indiscriminate pursuit of research on minor Dutch artists had led Hofstede de Groot into making significant mistakes in attributing paintings to the major ones. Indeed, his insistence on paying close attention to details was now turned against him, as he was characterized by Borenius as a classic example of the scholar who could not see the forest for the trees or the connoisseur without a true "eye."

Ultimately, Borenius rejected the approach espoused not only by Hofstede de Groot but also by the other members of his generation – the "scientific" method of connoisseurship, which in theory had been employed to limit the subjective nature of attribution decisions and put them on a more solid basis. Half a century later, however, the understanding of connoisseurship had changed, and, rather than pursuing visual "facts" through conviction in positivism as the

most rigorous means of approach, it was now the ineffable qualities of a work of art that a truly gifted (not just trained) connoisseur evaluated in a process that was itself mysterious and a matter of intuition. No longer need art history and its attendant methodologies ape the approach of the natural sciences; the particular values and challenges offered by the objects under study themselves should determine how they were to be studied. Art history's established success in the university and the museum insured that the field would no longer be harmed by any one person's threatening of the status quo, but it also meant that the old ways were no longer always seen as the best ways, as the increasing criticism of Rembrandt connoisseurship made plain.

The deaths of Bode and Hofstede de Groot

The conclusion of the reign of the first publicly recognized Rembrandt authorities was in many ways demarcated by the deaths of Bode in 1929 and Hofstede de Groot in 1930. Bode retired from the position of General Director of the Berlin Museums in 1920 but continued in other official posts until the time of his full retirement in 1925. He lived in reduced financial circumstances during the rampant inflation of the Weimar Republic but chose to sell his personal library to raise building funds for the museums formerly under his care.[8] When he died in March 1929 at the age of eighty-four, his casket lay on a bier in the reception hall of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, the Renaissance museum he had dreamt of back in the 1870s and whose planning and execution he pursued relentlessly until its opening in 1904. Obituaries throughout Europe and America in art periodicals and newspapers lauded his achievements as a museum director, connoisseur, and art historian.[9] He was credited above all else with having transformed the art museum into a new cultural entity, one that served as a center of scholarship, place of education, and locus for national and civic pride. Of course, Bode had his own plans for how he was to be remembered and furthered them by the posthumous publication of *Mein Leben*.[10]

In 1930, the year after his death, a Rembrandt exhibition was held in Berlin in honor of the centennial of the Berlin Museums. The choice of Rembrandt as the subject for the exhibition served to commemorate Bode and his devotion to the study of this artist and manifested the centrality of Rembrandt's art as a symbol for the Berlin collections, largely through Bode's effort.[11] However, the exhibition was not staged in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum but in

the Akademie der Künste, and was relatively modest, including only twenty-five paintings by Rembrandt, thirty-five drawings, and twenty-eight etchings.[12] The critical reception of the exhibition was mixed; one review even called the exhibition a "disenchantment" for showing so few paintings by the artist, the majority of which were already well-known to the public, such as the sixteen paintings by Rembrandt that normally hung in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, while "only" four paintings were new to viewers.[13] Another review suggested, however, that the paintings looked better in the Akademie's spaces than they had for many years in the "sad, dark, and all too small rooms" of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum itself.[14] Clearly, the times had changed: the very exhibition that evidenced Bode's success in associating the Berlin collections with the work of Rembrandt also made his cherished museum display appear old fashioned.

Hofstede de Groot's death in April 1930, just a year after Bode's, was also marked by numerous obituaries in the Netherlands, Europe, and North America. But these presented a far more mixed assessment of Hofstede de Groot's role in art history and connoisseurship than had those for Bode. Invariably they referenced what was deemed his philological approach to the study of works of art, while his revision of John Smith's catalogue of Dutch paintings was seen as his greatest achievement, not his connoisseurship of Rembrandt or Hals.[15] His contentious nature and his frequent battles with Bredius were recalled.[16] Others mentioned Hofstede de Groot's role as a provider of written expertises and their importance in the commercial art world: an equivocal monument to leave behind. As the note in *Connoisseur* stated, "[O]n how many occasions his freely granted certificates of authenticity have aided the sale of pictures can only be guessed, the frequency of their appearance testifying at least to the esteem in which his opinion was held."[17]

Despite his generally sympathetic presentation of Hofstede de Groot's character and scholarship, H.E. van Gelder's lengthy obituary of 1931 was most critical about this very issue. According to Van Gelder, throughout his career Hofstede de Groot had persisted in a belief that his writing of expertises was no different from lawyers preparing written opinions or doctors providing diagnoses.[18] This was an unsurprising stance from a scholar whose major source of income came from providing certificates. Of course, Van Gelder pointed out, these other kinds of written statements by professionals did not usually enhance the commercial value of an object as the expertise did. "The position is changed as soon as the work of art with the opinion is worth more than without, in other words, as soon as the certificate of opinion acquires in itself a trading value."[19]

This singular difference was never openly acknowledged by Hofstede de Groot, much less the irony that the rise of his kind of "scientific criticism" in itself caused the kind of anxiety about authenticity that could only be allayed through "the declaration of one of the critics that a certain work of art was indeed what it was reputed to be. Such a declaration became worth a lot of money to the trade."[20] That his role providing expertises for pay had tarnished his reputation by the end of his career was a sad situation and unjustified in Van Gelder's opinion in terms of Hofstede de Groot's personal integrity. It had also contributed to the breakdown of his professional relationship with Bredius.[21] Yet it was nonetheless the consequence of his own actions.

It was best to remember him, *The Burlington Magazine* suggested, in the heyday of his powers, rather than in his last years when his visual acumen deserted him.[22] Max Friedländer noted with both compassion and some identification that it was easy to remember any connoisseur's errors, while taking for granted his successes, and maintained that Hofstede de Groot had many of these as well.[23]

Rembrandt exhibitions in the Netherlands in the 1930s

The tepid response to the 1930 Rembrandt exhibition in Berlin did not reflect a complete lack of interest in Rembrandt's art itself as several other Rembrandt shows held in the early and mid 1930s makes clear. The Rijksmuseum mounted two Rembrandt exhibitions in Amsterdam; the first, in 1932, was held to celebrate the tercentennial of the founding of the University of Amsterdam, while the second in 1935 commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the Rijksmuseum's establishment itself.[24] These exhibitions recall the choice of the first Rembrandt exhibition in 1898 as one of the primary national observances of Queen Wilhelmina's coronation and indicate how Rembrandt had emerged since the middle of the nineteenth century as the primary artistic symbol for the culture of the northern Netherlands.[25] Both shows were larger than Berlin's, comprising forty-two and thirty-two paintings respectively, as well as a large number of drawings and etchings. The director of the Rijksmuseum, Frederik Schmidt-Degener, served as the lead curator for the two exhibitions, which featured loans from private collectors and public institutions in Europe and, as a first, from North America as well. That the axis of power in collecting Rembrandts had

shifted was indicated by the fact that only one painting in the 1932 show was borrowed from a German public collection. Even the image of Rembrandt's art had taken on a different coloring; not only were the works of his later period most prominently featured, what was called his "feeling for the tragic" in life was the primary leitmotif of the exhibition rather than the artist's biography.[26] Reviewers also praised Schmidt-Degener's installation of the 1932 exhibition, where Rembrandt's paintings, drawings, and etchings of the same time were hung together in the same room whenever possible, in order to afford visitors the chance to understand the artist's career in a more integrated fashion.[27]

Despite the expressed admiration for the exhibition on the part of some reviewers, there was simultaneously some expression of a more guarded attitude towards Rembrandt and his work. Herbert Furst, reviewing the exhibit for *Apollo*, maintained that "[T]wenty or thirty years ago Rembrandt's name shone more brightly...Today, he is, in the eyes of some, a 'mere' Romantic, a scatterer of 'emotive fragments...'"[28] He was now presented as an artist whose work offered more in expression of its "humanity" than in aesthetic interest; the pendulum was swinging back again to a pre-Romantic view of Rembrandt's art as "mere" realism and even a hint of disapproval of the artist's life. "Rembrandt's life-history proves once again that an artist defies the conventions of his times, moral or aesthetical, always at his peril."[29] In an admission of the periodicity of taste, Furst also commented that it was "Rembrandt's preoccupation with colour and light, rather than with form, which makes him 'unfashionable' at the moment, and his interest in subject matter which causes him to be looked upon as romantic."[30]

The 1935 exhibition, though smaller in scale, presented a "Rembrandt intime" according to Ernst Scheyer, reviewer for *Pantheon*.[31] He regretted that difficulties (left undetailed, but surely both political and economic) led to the circumstance that no loans were sent from the Hermitage, only one from Vienna, and few from Germany.[32] Instead, paintings from America had to take their part and were viewed as essential to the exhibition's success. Meanwhile, the tenor of the American museum director Daniel Catton Rich's review for *Parnassus* indicated changing attitudes towards the work of Rembrandt. He protested the fact that few people visiting the exhibition actually seemed to look at the paintings. For Rich, responsibility for this lay with the scholars: "all the biographical studies which pretended to set forth his development in scientific terms...I thought of all the quarrels over authenticity and attributions and about the story biography... And I thought that to most of these people Rembrandt

was primarily a hero, not an artists, perfectly filling the nineteenth century conception of what a painter should be: a man who suffers during his lifetime and produces immortal works for us to enjoy."[33] Rich rejected this conception, descended from Romanticism, as well as "psychological" readings of Rembrandt, for a consideration of the paintings as art. His task was made easier, he stated, by Schmidt-Degener's approach to the installation, which eschewed chronology (and thus Rembrandt's biography) in order to emphasize thematic and aesthetic considerations. Both museum director and reviewer thus concentrated on presenting a modern Rembrandt, one concerned with formalist issues at least as much as with narrative itself. Nonetheless, despite the presentation of new readings of Rembrandt's art, a certain exhaustion with the entire subject can be detected; one reviewer suggested that quite enough had been "done" to Rembrandt since 1898, and it might be best to give him and his reputation some time to recover.[34]

Rembrandt exhibitions in the United States in the 1930s

The situation seemed quite different in the New World. In May 1930 the Detroit Institute of Arts, under the curatorial leadership of the director, Valentiner, held its thirteenth loan exhibition of Old Master artists, "Paintings by Rembrandt."[35] Presenting a total of seventy-eight paintings, this exhibition marked the public apogee in the United States of Valentiner's expansionist view of Rembrandt's oeuvre and of the cultivation by Valentiner, and by Bode and Hofstede de Groot before him, of American private collectors. With the exception of three paintings from Europe and five paintings from American museums, the paintings on display represented the outcome of approximately fifty years of purchases by such American private collectors.[36] The significance of the fact that the exhibition presented work owned by individuals was highlighted in various news articles, including one in *Art News* that listed each painting and its owner.[37] Valentiner took great pride in both the size and comprehensive nature of his Rembrandt exhibition and maintained that such a complete view of the painter's art had never before been seen in America, and only thrice before in Europe.[38] He dedicated the catalogue to the memory of Bode and Hofstede de Groot, who had died only the month before the Detroit exhibition opened.

In the introductory essay to the exhibition catalogue, Valentiner offered a general overview of Rembrandt's art and life. He opened the essay, however, with a kind of manifesto about Rembrandt's significance for the modern world and, especially, his significance for Americans.

> The works by Rembrandt owned in America can be counted among her greatest spiritual treasures...
>
> Rembrandt was the first to observe the social class distinctions of modern life, and he has solved the problem in his own way, a problem which still occupies the center of the stage, and which before him no one in art and after him none other has portrayed with so true a skill.
>
> Rembrandt is anything but a preacher of class hatred; what he demanded was the bridging of antagonisms through the humane understanding of the individual... He painted the poor rich and the rich poor."[39]

During the years immediately following World War I (1919 to 1923), Valentiner had associated with advanced artists and some politicians in Berlin and for a time had adopted certain mildly socialist ideas. Though this period was a brief one in his life, he maintained a somewhat politically naive optimism about the future possibility of a class-free society, even after his move to Detroit in 1924 to take up the directorship of the Institute of Arts.[40] The lines quoted above, written at the beginning of the Great Depression in the United States, reveal Valentiner's undoubtedly sincere belief in Rembrandt as a kind of proto-democratic utopian and his desire to make the art of the painter he most esteemed seem relevant to a community otherwise occupied with marked economic and social upheaval. His approach to Rembrandt here would also appeal to wealthy American collectors and donors, who might fear that the support of exhibitions of Old Master paintings would seem insensitive or even suspect under contemporary circumstances.

Valentiner's exhibition was reviewed favorably, although it did not attract the wide attention in Europe that earlier Rembrandt displays had garnered, including Valentiner's own presentation at the Hudson-Fulton exhibition of 1909.[41] Walter Heil, writing for *Pantheon*, emphasized for his German-reading audience how recent the collecting of Rembrandts was in America, with a considerable number of paintings having arrived there only since World War I. Even at this point, some forty years after American collectors had begun to

purchase Rembrandt paintings, Heil expressed some surprise at the high level of quality he found among these works. *Der Cicerone* and *International Studio* both ran reviews by Frank Washburn Freund, who commented on the fact that the exhibition did not merely show aspects of Rembrandt's art but also instructed its audience on the history of collecting Rembrandts in America. Freund's attitude was essentially laudatory and uncritical; questions of attribution were not raised, since "the choice of the works was "beyond all praise."[42] In light of Freund's evaluation, it is instructive to consider that today less than a quarter of the paintings shown in Detroit would be considered authentic Rembrandts.

What was perhaps most notable about the Detroit exhibition is that at a time when Rembrandt exhibitions in Europe were no longer automatically regarded as groundbreaking and when experiments with how works were installed seemed necessary in order to prove the artist's aesthetic relevance in the second quarter of the twentieth century, Valentiner was able to mount in the United States a display that presented a Romantic, nineteenth-century concept of Rembrandt without apologies. Ever the heir to Bode and Hofstede de Groot, he faithfully continued to propagate their vision of the artist through the succeeding decades in the New World, where he now stood alone as the Rembrandt expert.

At the end of 1935, the Art Institute of Chicago staged another Rembrandt exhibition, but one with an entirely different emphasis than those that had come before it.[43] Entitled *Paintings, Drawings and Etchings by Rembrandt and His Circle*, it presented to the public for the first time Rembrandt's role as a teacher and artistic inspiration in the Netherlands during the seventeenth-century. Of the twenty-five paintings included in the show, only eight were attributed to Rembrandt; sixteen were given to specific Rembrandt pupils and assistants, and *Raising of Lazarus* (no 9; FIG. 45), was designated "Rembrandt school." Thirty drawings and fifty-six etchings completed the checklist. Despite its modest scale, it was an ambitious exhibition in its didactic aims, and loans were obtained from the Rijksmuseum and the Louvre as well as from American public and private collections. The introductory essay by Daniel Catton Rich, "Rembrandt as a Teacher," sought to shift the emphasis from the single-minded task of distinguishing Rembrandt's "hand" from his students to understanding his role as the formative influence on his followers. While admitting that "the question of Rembrandt's relation to his school is one of the most confused and perplexing in the whole history of art," Rich also commented that "if the main tendency of nineteenth-century criticism was to enlarge the output of

Rembrandt at the expense of his followers, an opposite tendency is alive today."[44] He credited the scientifically based research of both Alan Burroughs and A.P. Laurie (see below) for this reorientation but also Bredius and, a bit surprisingly, Valentiner for "not only a refreshing skepticism towards traditional attribution but a new enthusiasm for rescuing the lost artistic personalities of Rembrandt's circle."[45] Rich went on to discuss the fact that many of the works of Rembrandt's followers included in the exhibition had once been sold as Rembrandts and the ramifications that such attributions had for commercial valuation. As was evident with Van Dyke's book of a decade earlier, the financial aspect of the Old Master art market was one Americans were particularly interested in and about which American writers were perhaps more candid than their European counterparts. Indeed, one notice about the Detroit exhibition contained the speculation that even eleven million dollars would not be enough money to purchase all the paintings on display there.[46]

Rembrandt Paintings in America

The Detroit show also served as a preview for Valentiner's deluxe catalogue, *Rembrandt Paintings in America*, published in 1931.[47] Valentiner's decision to write such a book indicated the signal importance North America had taken for Rembrandt collecting and also symbolized the transfer of Valentiner's career to the New World.[48] At over 12 by 16 inches in scale it rivaled the Bode-Hofstede de Groot volumes and, like them, was available in both regular and deluxe editions. Valentiner also adopted the format found in this earlier catalogue of a short introductory entry, followed by full-page reproductions of each work, preceded by a sheet of tissue printed with the plate number, title, and location of the painting. A "Chronological List" appeared at the back of the book, which presented brief catalogue entries for each of the 175 paintings. In addition to the title, collection and location, the size and support of the paintings was included. Here Valentiner mentioned whether the works had signatures or dates, and for those lacking a date, assigned a tentative one. Beyond this, however, the entries were by no means systematic. Copies and variations or the similarity of a painting to one in a European collection were occasionally mentioned. Occasionally, Valentiner referred to drawings or etchings that seemed relevant to the genesis or subject of individual paintings. There was no standard format for citing provenance or exhibition history, and the bibliographic refer-

ences were limited to the Bode-Hofstede de Groot catalogue, Hofstede de Groot's 1915 Rembrandt catalogue, Valentiner's Klassiker der Kunst Rembrandt catalogues, his Hudson-Fulton exhibition catalogue of 1909, and the Detroit catalogue of 1930. Articles by these three scholars were included when they contained the first mention of the painting in modern times.[49] Only two other scholars were credited with discoveries: Bredius, for no. 84 *Old Man Facing Right*, published in 1926, and no. 93 *A Man Reading*, published in 1921, while Tancred Borenius received joint credit with Valentiner for no. 138 *Portrait of a Gentleman*, which they had both published in *The Burlington Magazine* in 1930.[50] Even at this late date Valentiner included at least one "hitherto unpublished work," no. 46 *Portrait of a Lady (Saskia?)*, which had been sold in Amsterdam in June 1929 and was afterward in a New York private collection.[51] However, *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* [FIG. 29] now disappeared from the Rembrandt canon for good.

While Valentiner surely chose his bibliographic citations to indicate his commitment to the Bode-Hofstede de Groot-Valentiner conception of Rembrandt's oeuvre, the result was that it was impossible to tell from this book alone which paintings were "discovered" from the 1890s onward and which were known long before. The Rembrandt of *Rembrandt in America* was in this sense a modern Rembrandt, one created by these scholars and promoted to American clients above all, for in truth the majority of these paintings were ones that had been "rediscovered" during the previous forty years. Valentiner had prefaced the chronological list with the statement,

> I have purposely refrained from taking sides in the attacks which have recently been made against the *oeuvre* of Rembrandt which the research of many years in his native land and in the neighboring countries has established, or even from mentioning the names of these critics, who as little deserve being noticed as Herostratus, who set fire to the Temple of Ephesus in order to become famous. For it is a question of an unimportant periodic phenomenon which, after the love for sensation has quieted down, soon dissolves into nothingness because it is lacking on the positive side.[52]

Thus he dispensed with the claims of John C. Van Dyke and any other challengers to Rembrandt connoisseurship and made clear where true scholarship on the artist originated: the Netherlands and Germany.

In a brief article of 1932 on Rembrandt research, Jakob Rosenberg refuted the idea that there was a crisis in Rembrandt studies, particularly in the study of the composition of his painted oeuvre. He pointed to *Rembrandt Paintings in America* as the most recent manifestation of this critical success, praising it as a continuation of the progress made in Rembrandt connoisseurship over the years by Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Bredius.[53] A review in *Pantheon* described the book as of "great importance" for tracing the history of collecting Rembrandt paintings in the New World; several of the attributions were disputed, and the poor quality of the reproductions decried, but otherwise it was regarded favorably.[54] Outside these reviews, however, Valentiner's book received little attention in Europe. In the United States *Rembrandt Paintings in America* received extravagant praise for the display of Valentiner's erudition. Alfred M. Frankfurter wrote a review for *Fine Arts* that was reprinted in *Art News*; the latter periodical served as the publisher for Valentiner's book.[55] Frankfurter immediately abdicated the role of critic, stating that the scholarship evidenced in the book was "of a source and a degree which precludes criticism as such, for Doctor Valentiner stands as the world's premier and unquestioned expert on the work of Rembrandt – practically alone, as a matter of fact, as one qualified by intimate experience and scientific research to discuss the master. Thus any mention of this...must be in the nature of an appreciation rather than a critical review."[56] Such deference to European scholarship was by no means unusual in the United States at this time; Frankfurter even took it as his task to dismiss any negative comments made about Valentiner's text. Comments by the art critic Royal Cortissoz were equally favorable.[57] Henry McBride raised the issue of the number of attributions given to Rembrandt, pointing out that at the time of the Detroit exhibition in 1930, Valentiner believed that there were 120 paintings by Rembrandt in America, while he had increased this number to 170 in his book. While remarking that Valentiner had "not attained his present eminence uncontested and the Rembrandts he writes of have not escaped the acid test of criticism," McBride chose not to take a stance on this issue himself.[58]

Rembrandt scholarship by other authors in the 1930s

With the dwindling among the ranks of the previously established Rembrandt specialists, a number of other authors came forward in the 1930s with their own studies of Rembrandt paintings. The young Kurt Bauch published a book on

the early Rembrandt in 1933 and thus laid claim to the territory that had been Bode's for so long. His approach differed greatly from Bode's, however, for Bauch was much more interested than his predecessor had been in the relationship of Rembrandt's art to other artists and in his iconography, rather than in discovering more paintings. In addition to his Rembrandt exhibition catalogues, Frederick Schmidt-Degener published several articles on Rembrandt in various journals, but which were also concerned with Rembrandt's themes and iconography, not connoisseurship.

Two new publications did treat questions of connoisseurship and the attribution of paintings to Rembrandt but from a different viewpoint. The English writers A.P. Laurie and Alan Burroughs independently studied Rembrandt's paintings by means of microphotographs and X-radiographs, respectively, in a renewed attempt to provide a truly scientific foundation for the practice of attribution.[59] The work of Burroughs and Laurie posed a marked contrast to the approach of the previous generation of Rembrandt connoisseurs. These authors insisted that technological examination of the physical constitution of Rembrandt's paintings and those of his followers could provide new evidence to aid in the process of attribution. Laurie, a professor of chemistry, used a camera equipped with a magnifying lens to take detailed photographic enlargements of the surfaces of Rembrandt paintings (calling them magnified photographs or "photomicrographs"), which to his mind presented clear differences in brushwork from those by his followers. Burroughs maintained that X-rays ("shadowgraphs" as he called them) revealed Rembrandt's consistent interest in establishing the solidity of forms from the beginning to the end of his career. Thus, "one must hesitate hereafter to include among Rembrandt's own work paintings which are modelled in uncertain strokes and which contain unemphatic or unprojected shapes."[60] For both authors these innovative photographic techniques helped to establish standards for Rembrandt's brushwork and definition of form against which microphotographs or shadowgraphs of other paintings could be judged. They also tried to establish norms for some of Rembrandt's followers as well, especially Flinck and Bol.[61] Yet what both authors achieved was in fact simply an extension of traditional connoisseurship to either small sections of individual paintings or to the layers of paint under the top surface. In place of conventional photographs as visual "proof" they merely substituted photographic enlargements and X-rays. Burroughs criticized Laurie's choices for his test cases, stating that he was "convinced that they are not all by Rembrandt – especially the most 'reticulated' of the lot, the *Centurion*

Cornelius, in the Wallace Collection."[62] Style, in the limited sense of brushwork and manipulation of paint, was precisely what talented followers could imitate, hence study of the surface was not a sufficient tool to aid in connoisseurship. Though Burroughs regarded X-rays as more reliable in revealing true "structure" than Laurie's microphotographs of surface brushwork, even he had to admit that "[T]here is naturally some confusion in deciding where the master left off and the pupils began," and that they could not solve the problem of whether Rembrandt "corrected" workshop pieces.[63] And how did one choose which paintings should serve as the standard by which others should be judged? Just as easily as the old one, the new "scientific" connoisseur could fall into the traps Martin had outlined a decade before.

At this point, reviewers also had more skepticism about photography itself and what it could and could not show. Ellis Waterhouse not only believed Laurie's photographic enlargements to be "useless" without evidence that they were produced under identical conditions but also that magnified photographs (as opposed to regular photographic details) were so misleading and difficult for the eye to evaluate as to be of no benefit in making attribution decisions.[64]

Bredius's catalogue raisonné

While these new avenues of approach were being explored, one last major contribution to Rembrandt connoisseurship was made by a member of the old guard. Although long retired from the Mauritshuis and residing in Monaco, in 1935 the eighty-year-old Bredius managed to produce, with the considerable help of young Dutch art historians in The Hague, his own *catalogue raisonné* of Rembrandt's paintings.[65]

Characteristic of Bredius's independence, it was organized thematically but turned the traditional hierarchy of genres upside down by beginning with portraiture and ending with religious history painting.[66] The text was extremely abbreviated (along the lines of the Klassiker der Kunst series) consisting of a brief introduction on Rembrandt's life and then tiny notes at the end of the book; both of these were largely "ghost-written" by Horst Gerson for Bredius.[67] Provenance, exhibition history, literature, and date of appearance were all ignored by Bredius – "the illustrations should speak for themselves."[68] Perhaps the existence of all the older catalogues on Rembrandt, with their elaborate entries and appendices, freed him from the need for the kind of detailed expo-

sition that had characterized this art-historical genre. Or, perhaps, it was simply Bredius's final assertion of his autonomy as a connoisseur. One other quality would set his catalogue apart in his opinion:

> It is the intention of this book to publish anew, subject to the most conscientious restriction, the complete oeuvre of Rembrandt's brush, which has lately been very considerably extended by additional attributions. For that reason I have included only those pictures, whose authenticity seems to me beyond all doubt. That does not necessarily mean that all pictures which have been attributed to Rembrandt by others, and which do not appear here, are not genuine. I believe that some among them are very probably by Rembrandt's hand. But wherever some doubt existed among scholars, I have left them out, since I wish to include in this publication only what is unimpeachable.[69]

He claimed to have "as far as possible examined afresh" the paintings in the major Rembrandt catalogues by Bode and Valentiner; this contention was refuted by Gerson and likely reflected more the wishful thinking of an elderly man than any contemporary reality. Despite the promise of a more tightly defined oeuvre implied by his insistence that only fully genuine paintings would appear in his book, his final count was 630 paintings, still large enough to incorporate many of the paintings he and his fellow Rembrandt experts had "rediscovered" over the previous five decades. Nonetheless, Bredius had begun the trend away from the expansionist model of Rembrandt connoisseurship proposed by Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner with its 700 or more paintings. While reviews of it were scarce, it was welcomed as the first fully illustrated *catalogue raisonné* of Rembrandt's paintings since Valentiner's Klassiker der Kunst volume of 1908.[70] Nonetheless, Bredius's claim to have included only "unimpeachable" works was looked on with some skepticism; as Neil MacLaren stated, "such rigour has to be exercised with discipline and impartiality" and indicated that "it would have been best to treat all borderline cases alike, either including or excluding all."[71] In *Oud Holland*, M.D. Henkel called this catalogue the "pinnacle" of Bredius's career as an art historian and commended him for bringing the most recent understanding of Rembrandt's paintings into print.[72] Despite a few differences of opinion on the attribution of specific paintings, Henkel viewed this catalogue as presenting a purified and yet more complete image of Rembrandt as a painter, with forty-nine paintings added to those listed

by Hofstede de Groot in 1915. This was a compliment to Bredius but also, according to Henkel, a result of ever-increasing specialization, so that art criticism was "stronger and more trenchant" than it had been in 1908, or even in 1921, when Valentiner published his supplementary volume to the Klassiker der Kunst catalogue. This optimistic note of progress in Rembrandt connoisseurship was one that had been sounded for more than fifty years by various scholars.

Accidents of history ensured that Bredius's catalogue experienced a different fate from its predecessors. The outbreak of war four years after its publication brought Rembrandt scholarship largely to a halt, especially in Germany and the Netherlands, while scholars working in the first two post-war decades were more interested in the iconographic problems Rembrandt paintings posed than in their attributions. Thus Bredius's catalogue, as the most recent of those written by the first two generations of Rembrandt specialists and comparatively a bit more critical in approach than the others, came to be the standard oeuvre catalogue until to the 1960s. Even today "Bredius numbers" are the ones most frequently cited for paintings that have been given to Rembrandt even when the specific attributions are themselves no longer accepted.

Bredius's 1935 catalogue was his last major scholarly work; unfortunately, he too experienced a late-life embarrassment as a connoisseur when he trumpeted the discovery of an important Vermeer history painting, *The Supper at Emmaus*, in 1937; this painting was eventually revealed to be a forgery by Han van Meegeren.[73] In 1946, Bredius died in Monaco at the age of 91, having enriched the Dutch state with the gift of many paintings previously on loan to the Mauritshuis. In the two most extensive obituaries of Bredius, Wilhelm Martin, his colleague years before at the Mauritshuis, and H.E. van Gelder, who had worked with Bredius on the editorial staff of *Oud Holland*, tried to come to terms with his legacy.[74] Both men emphasized Bredius's energy, his support of younger colleagues, his extensive archival research, his financial generosity, and his refinement of culture. That he could be difficult and argumentative (in the latter case, Martin emphasized Bredius's reproaching of Hofstede de Groot and Bode) was equally characteristic of his personality.[75] Bredius's connoisseurship was dealt with gently; Martin commented that Bredius's intuitive approach often triumphed over the more "systematic argumentation" of his opponents, naming the debate over the attribution of the portrait of Elisabeth Bas as an example.[76] One other aspect of his connoisseurship was also well worth remembering and was certainly mentioned to contrast with some of his peers. "From about 1890 to 1914 Bredius, with von Bode and Hofstede de Groot,

ruled the world of connoisseurs of our seventeenth-century painting. Dealers, collectors and colleagues came from all over the world to consult with him. His opinions were free, as long as he was still in public service. Afterwards, he would allow himself to be paid for this, generally on behalf of a charitable cause."[77]

Valentiner maintained an active professional pace well into the 1950s. After retiring from the Detroit Institute of Art in 1945, he served first as director, then as consultant, to the Los Angeles County Museum (1946-54), and in 1954, as the first director of the J. Paul Getty Museum. His last post was the directorship of one more new museum, the North Carolina Museum of Art in Raleigh, North Carolina (1955-58). In 1956 Valentiner marked the occasion of this appointment and the 350th anniversary of Rembrandt's birth with another Rembrandt exhibition and catalogue entitled *Rembrandt and His Pupils.* A year later he published *Rembrandt and Spinoza: A Study of the Spiritual Conflicts in Seventeenth-Century Holland* as his final major scholarly work, it was a fitting coda to a publishing career that had begun more than fifty years earlier with his study *Rembrandt und seine Umgebung*. Until the end, Valentiner was searching to explain Rembrandt's art through causal links to his environment, whether in his family or in the larger arena of Dutch culture of the seventeenth century.[78] Shortly after retiring from his position in North Carolina, he died in 1958 at the age of seventy-eight in New York City after returning from his last trip to Europe "where he had been revising his writings on Rembrandt."[79] His obituaries emphasized his wide-ranging interests in art and his role in developing new American museums into important institutions and promoting art-historical scholarship in the United States. As his own mentors had been before him, he was commended for being "generous and helpful toward younger men in the museum field."[80]

AFTERWORD

The period of the most intensive competition for Old Master paintings by both private and public collections ended long ago; today, few Rembrandts even remain in private hands. "Rediscovered" Rembrandts no longer appear by the dozens, but at a rate of one every decade or two. Meanwhile, modern scholarship – by the Rembrandt Research Project from the 1960s through the 1990s, and individual scholars such as Kurt Bauch and Horst Gerson in the 1960s, and Christian Tümpel and Gary Schwartz in the 1980s and 1990s – has reduced the size of Rembrandt's surviving oeuvre to only 250 to 350 paintings. This was also the estimated number of Rembrandts before Bode commenced his public career as a Rembrandt connoisseur in 1870.

The Bode-Hofstede de Groot catalogue, once accepted as the acme of Rembrandt connoisseurship, is now simply a historical artifact, its folio volumes collecting dust as it lies, unopened, in most art libraries. Valentiner's *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde* remains a curiosity from a time of all too uncritical enthusiasm for the art of Rembrandt. Bredius's Rembrandt catalogue numbers are still used, and Hofstede de Groot's Rembrandt catalogue entries are mined for information, but otherwise their work as Rembrandt connoisseurs has been cast aside as based on faulty premises and hopelessly out of date. Paintings such as *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, once the subject of intense argumentation over attribution, have disappeared from sight and no longer attract the attention of Rembrandt specialists. As Gary Schwartz has demonstrated, the vast expansion of the Rembrandt oeuvre barely affected the core of works chosen to exemplify Rembrandt's art in interpretive studies published from 1854 to 1969.[1] In one sense, then, the articles, catalogues, and exhibitions on Rembrandt by Bode and Bredius, Hofstede de Groot and Valentiner, had little effect in shaping how Rembrandt's art was understood conceptually.

The historical significance of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Rembrandt scholars clearly lies not in the results of their connoisseurship; that work, we now believe, provides a cautionary tale. Rather, the significance of these four men lies in three contributions: their recasting of connoisseurship as a professional activity, their shaping of connoisseurship as an activity promoted through public debate, and their development of modern modes of art historical communication. While they were far from being the only art historians who contributed to these developments, their unquestionable prominence in museum work and as publishing scholars in an area of great prestige – Rembrandt scholarship – gave them considerable influence. Through their activities as university-trained scholars and museum curators they helped to institutionalize connoisseurship as a profession, and they zealously guarded its new status by rejecting any claims to authority by artists, amateurs, and art dealers, from whose ranks connoisseurs had traditionally sprung. They then disseminated their new model of professional connoisseurship throughout Europe through their constant travel, and then to the New World through advising collectors and dealers, and through Valentiner's distinguished American museum career. Likewise, some of the most common and successful forms of communication in today's art world – ones we take for granted, such as the photographically illustrated *catalogue raisonné*; the object-based article in a museum-sponsored journal publicizing a new museum acquisition; the technical article outlining a discovery in a professional periodical; reviews of scholarly books and exhibitions, even the "blockbuster" Old Master exhibition – were promoted and developed by the Rembrandt connoisseurs of one hundred years ago.

The formation of modern Rembrandt connoisseurship simultaneously with the establishment of the modern public museum and of art history as an academic discipline was not coincidental. Connoisseurship became integral to the kind of nineteenth-century art history that was oriented towards a positivist method, as scholars sought to establish the biographical facts and oeuvres for various artists and classify works in public collections. The rise in popularity of Rembrandt's art after 1850, and contributions by archivists to the understanding of his life events, helped to stimulate interest in defining the limits of his painted oeuvre. Wilhelm von Bode, a member of the first generation of European art historians to commonly obtain doctoral degrees in art history, contributed to the emergence of the *catalogue raisonné* as not just a compilation of works previously ascribed to an artist, but a primary vehicle for the expression of the newly authoritative voice of the connoisseur. From his first book review

of a Rembrandt publication, the 1870 review of Carel Vosmaer's *Rembrandt sa vie et ses oeuvres*, proclaimed such an authoritative stance in Rembrandt connoisseurship through challenging the opinions of earlier connoisseurs, and he established a primary goal for scientific Rembrandt connoisseurship: to examine, in person, as many of the works attributed to the artist as possible. He then augmented his domination of this field through his lavishly scaled and photographically illustrated eight-volume catalogue of Rembrandt paintings, published serially at the very end of the nineteenth century.

His protégés in the field of Rembrandt connoisseurship, Abraham Bredius, Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, and Wilhelm R. Valentiner, shared his basic understanding about how Rembrandt connoisseurship should be practiced, at least at the beginning of their careers. The professional relationships these men had with each other reveal the social formation of connoisseurial authority at this time: Bode encouraged Bredius to concentrate on Dutch art, Bredius hired Hofstede de Groot at the Mauritshuis, Bode chose Hofstede de Groot to be his collaborator on his Rembrandt catalogue projects, Bredius sat on the organizing committee for the Amsterdam 1898 committee, for which Hofstede de Groot served as the leading organizer, Hofstede de Groot hired Valentiner to work on his updated version of John Smith's catalogue, and Bode hired Valentiner to work in Berlin and recommended him to J.P. Morgan for a job at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Add to this their practice of reviewing each other's books, on Rembrandt and other subjects, and a clear picture emerges of how their mutual authority was maintained. It was only when Bredius began to question some of his earlier assumptions, as well as the attributions of his fellow Rembrandt experts, that he fell from grace and became estranged from his former allies. By the 1910s, a kind of connoisseurship by consensus arose, whereby Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner typically ratified each other's decisions about Rembrandt attributions. Nonetheless, even this camp had its differences, as when Hofstede de Groot and Bode disagreed publicly about their partnership for the Rembrandt catalogue, and how it affected their decision-making. There were instances, too, where they rejected a few of each other's attributions.[2] Such debate, with each other or with people outside this circle, was central to their practice of connoisseurship, with its emphasis on the individual authority of the connoisseur. There was inherent tension in the situation, for while the group of connoisseurs tended to back each other's decisions, each man also insisted on his independence, his personal authority as a connoisseur, and his impartiality. The kind of sustained argumentation Hof-

stede de Groot and Bredius maintained for years, however, reflected unacknowledged yet central realities about their practice of connoisseurship: its inherent subjectivity, the shifting standards of evaluation they employed, and its personalized nature. While these scholars sincerely believed that differences in their practice of connoisseurship, and its results, helped to cause their estrangement, the beginnings of their estrangement also seem to have contributed to a tendency to differ in the results of their connoisseurship.

Despite their descent into factionalism, however, these four men still acknowledged one another – in keeping with their collective insistence on their right to determine who should be entrusted with the task of connoisseurship – as the dominant Rembrandt connoisseurs of their era. Each of these four scholars insisted repeatedly that connoisseurship should be the province of the professional, trained through museum experience. Since all but Bredius had earned doctoral degrees in art history, their academic training buttressed their professional status. Even when Hofstede de Groot became an independent scholar and connoisseur, he did so on the basis of the curatorial experience he had gained in Dresden, The Hague, and Amsterdam, as well as on his academic credentials. The eighteenth- and earlier nineteenth-century understanding of the connoisseur as a learned amateur, artist-advisor, or art dealer waned under the influence of the Rembrandt connoisseurs and their counterparts in Old Master connoisseurship working in museums throughout Europe and later in the New World. While there were some notable exceptions to this rule, most famously Giovanni Morelli and Bernard Berenson for the connoisseurship of Italian Renaissance art, the trend became well established during the period 1870 to 1935. The opinions of true outsiders, most publicly Max Lautner and John C. Van Dyke, and even of other art historians not deemed "experts" in Rembrandt connoisseurship, were dismissed outright in many cases.

In the end, all four shared several convictions: that connoisseurship, when practiced by authorities in the field, was a progressive practice; that their method was considerably sounder than that of their predecessors; and that understanding of Rembrandt's art had grown as a result of their work to "recover" the paintings of this master. While all wrote about the astonishing growth in the art market in this era, none was willing to concede that this phenomenon bore any relation to his own scholarship. They provided expertises for dealers and collectors (generally for some kind of compensation, direct or indirect), acquired paintings for their museums, and advised collectors on what to buy, yet insisted that these activities had no bearing on their connoisseurship. Bode's

late-in-life admission that Charles Sedelmeyer's pressure on him to accept certain paintings as Rembrandts had led him to abandon plans to publish a supplement to the Rembrandt catalogue was a rare acknowledgment of the complexities of their art world and the compromises necessary to function in it.

The belief in inexorable progress in connoisseurship, of the superiority of their method over that of their predecessors, has not fully waned in today's world of Rembrandt connoisseurship. Just as the generation active in the 1880s and 1890s thought their work more rigorous than that of their predecessors, so did the generation of the 1910s and 1920s, and then again that of the 1960s. That decade, which saw Gerson publishing the revised edition of Bredius's Rembrandt catalogue, in which he rejected fully a third of the paintings once accepted by Bredius, as well as the formation of the Rembrandt Research Project, inaugurated a new era in Rembrandt connoisseurship. With the decreasing importance of the art market for Rembrandt connoisseurship, the scholars engaged in these projects, whether employed by museums or universities, had fewer potential conflicts of interest than their predecessors. Advances in scientific investigation of paintings, through the use of infrared reflectography, autoradiography, dendrochronology, and more sophisticated pigment analysis, could now join with traditional visual analysis of style and technique as tools for connoisseurship. In these regards, a belief in progress is both understandable and justified – to a degree.

For instance, despite the best efforts of the members of the Rembrandt Research Project to escape from the dominant subjectivity of earlier connoisseurs by working as a group, considering a range of scientific evidence, and insisting on articulating the reasons for their decisions, both their methodology and their findings have been subject to intense debate and criticism.[3] Ironically, the buoyant confidence expressed over twenty years ago in the preface to the first volume of *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* in the greater objectivity of their approach, as well as in their dismissal of the work of previous connoisseurs, was not dissimilar in tone and ambition from that found in the writings of the pioneering generation of Rembrandt connoisseurs.[4] Although they believed that their "attempt to define and purify Rembrandt's oeuvre" was justified by their "effort to find rational, communicable arguments to support" their opinions, the sometimes prolix verbiage of the Rembrandt Research Project's argumentation has proven no more inherently convincing than Gerson's laconic entries, or those of Bode, Bredius, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner.[5] Differences within the group itself about whether any changes in method

should be incorporated in the preparation of the final volumes helped lead to the restructuring of its membership after the retirement of Josua Bruyn, Simon Levie, Bob Haak, and P.J.J. van Thiel in 1993.[6] Ernst van de Wetering has reconstituted the group in a more flexible manner, with the promise to incorporate the opinions of a wider range of art historians, including museum curators. The organization of their entries will be radically different from the earlier ones; Van de Wetering has explained that in the final volumes a thematic structure will take precedence over a strictly chronological one. This extraordinary reconceptualization of the task of defining Rembrandt's oeuvre in mid-project, in view of the long period of time that has already been devoted to the project, indicates just how difficult this task has been, and is still.

One recent episode in Rembrandt connoisseurship is especially revealing. In March 2003 various scholars waged an extensive debate in cyberspace through a listserve to which many art historians subscribe, "form follows dysfunction," moderated by Gary Schwartz. Such debates are a common feature of listserves, but this one became more than usually heated on the part of some participants. Its subject? Whether two versions of the same composition, both identified in the literature as early self-portraits by Rembrandt, were autographic paintings, or whether one was a copy.[7] Some of these same scholars had already argued in print the case for or against the autographic quality of both or one of the paintings in question, found in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg and the Mauritshuis in The Hague [FIGS. 11, 12].[8] Nonetheless, they still attempted to convince each other, or at least the wider audience of the listserve, about the correctness of their point of view. Although the evidence of infrared reflectography revealed changes beneath the surface paint for only one of the paintings – the Nuremberg version – the import of this scientific evidence for determining authorship was still a question of interpretation. Did this mean that only the Nuremberg version could be by Rembrandt, since it alone revealed the young artist's struggle translating his vision into paint? Or was it simply the first of two prime versions? Did the considerable difference in painting technique (the Nuremberg painting is "loose," that is, relatively free in paint application, the version in The Hague is smooth and "finished") reflect Rembrandt's experimentation with two recognized categories of painting, the rough and the smooth, or did it provide evidence of two entirely different hands, in one case, that of a copyist?[9]

What is also striking about this debate, other than its intensity and the new forum in which it took place, is that it mirrored the debate between

Bode and Alfred von Wurzbach 130 years earlier over these same two paintings (see Chapter 1). While the two nineteenth-century scholars did not have the benefit of technical examination to support their positions, they raised some of the very same issues then. Did Rembrandt ever copy himself? How consistent an artist was he, particularly at the start of his career? How widely did Rembrandt's work range in quality?

Other paintings present additional problems. Did Rembrandt collaborate on paintings with assistants and pupils? Did he turn the execution of certain paintings of his invention entirely over to his workshop? Are Rembrandt signatures on paintings, even those that appear to be genuine, that is, contemporaneous with the execution of the painting itself, signs of autograph execution or simply "trademarks?"[10] Bode and Bredius, Hofstede de Groot and Valentiner, as well as Willem Martin, John C. Van Dyke, and other scholars, struggled to answer these questions, ones that today remain unanswered and perhaps unanswerable.

Recent challenges to common premises of Rembrandt connoisseurship have further complicated its meaning and practice today. Svetlana Alpers has suggested that part of Rembrandt's brilliance lay in his ability to market an "*effect* of individuality," a style of painting that though imitable by his workshop, gave the impression of authenticity characteristic of Rembrandt alone. If so, the very attempt to separate "genuine" Rembrandt paintings from workshop pieces is not only doomed to fail, but is mistaken in its very premise.[11] Gary Schwartz has called for a reconsideration of the role of documentation, provenance, and past reception (what was called "tradition" in earlier times) in Rembrandt connoisseurship, as part of an attempt to come to terms with limits of what connoisseurship can and cannot do.[12] In different ways both scholars ask if purification of the painted oeuvre is really the right goal for Rembrandt connoisseurship, or whether this might not distort the reality of Rembrandt's practice and ambitions as an artist, as well as the reality of what is ascertainable now. It is an extraordinary moment in Rembrandt connoisseurship when the director of the Rembrandt Research Project, Ernst van de Wetering, presents a paper entitled "The Search for the Master's Hand: An Anachronism?" without coming to a final conclusion.[13] Perhaps, then, we should keep in mind what our contemporary struggles with these questions, and the results of our connoisseurship, might look like to Rembrandt scholars a hundred years from now, when we consider the work of the Rembrandt connoisseurs one hundred years ago.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 Two notable exceptions for the field of Old Master painting are Giovanni Morelli and Bernard Berenson, who will be discussed at the end of the introduction.
2 J. Bruyn, B. Haak, S.H. Levie, P.J.J. van Thiel, and E. van de Wetering, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, 3 vols., The Hague, Boston, and London, 1982-1989 (hereafter cited as *Corpus*).
3 The literature is extensive; I shall only list two articles here, each with full references to the rest of the literature. See Michael Keevak, "The Identifiable Rembrandt," *Bulletin of the College of Liberal Arts, National Taiwan University* no. 46 (June 1997): 3-23, which ranges widely over the Rembrandt literature, and Rembrandt oeuvre, to consider the problems of connoisseurship, and Mansfield Kirby Talley, Jr., "Connoisseurship and the Methodology of the Rembrandt Research Project," *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship* 8 (1989): 175-214, a seminal article for placing the methodology of late twentieth-century Rembrandt connoisseurship in a historical context. See also the articles by Gary Schwartz listed in note 36.
4 Neither their research on Rembrandt drawings and etchings nor their discussions of the subject matter of Rembrandt's paintings and their relationship to works by other artists are treated here.
5 In the sense of Michael Podro's *The Critical Historians of Art*, New Haven and London, 1982.
6 Bode repeated this maxim from the early 1870s down to the twentieth century; see, for instance, his *Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen*, 2nd rev. ed., Leipzig, 1907, 1.
7 A succinct summary of this change is found in Jan Bialostocki, "Rembrandt and Posterity," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 23 (1972): 131, 143-150.
8 Carel Vosmaer, *Rembrandt: sa vie et ses oeuvres*, The Hague, 1868, and Eduard Kolloff, "Rembrandts Leben und Werke, nach neuen Acktenstucken und Gesischtspunkten geschildert," *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 3rd ser. 5 (1854): 401-587.
9 The role of Rembrandt's workshop in the production of his painted oeuvre is one of the most contested issues in Rembrandt connoisseurship. See J. Bruyn, "Rembrandt's Workshop: Function and Production," in Christopher Brown, et al., eds., *Rembrandt: The Master and His Workshop*, exh. cat., New Haven, 1991, 68-89; Albert Blankert, "Rembrandt, His Pupils and His Studio," in Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, *Rembrandt och hans tid: Rembrandt and His Age*, exh. cat., Stockholm, 1992, 41-70; Walter Liedtke, "Rembrandt and the Rembrandt Style in the Seventeenth Century," in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Aspects of Connoisseurship*, vol. 2, exh. cat., New York, 1995, 3-39, and discussions in Talley and Keevak, passim.
10 For current limits of the oeuvre, see catalogues such as and Christian Tümpel, *Rembrandt*,

rev. ed., Antwerp, 1993, with 265 paintings in the main list, and Gary Schwartz, *Rembrandt: His Life, His Paintings*, Harmondsworth and New York, 1985, with 348. Since the *Corpus* has not been fully published yet, there is no final number for the Rembrandt Research Project's Rembrandt oeuvre, but based on various public lectures and extrapolating from the earlier volumes, it is generally thought that their number would be in the range of 250-300.

11 Wilhelm Bode, *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, Braunschweig, 1883.

12 Wilhelm Bode, with Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis seiner Gemälde mit dem heliographischen Nachbildung. Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst*, 8 vols., Paris, 1897-1905.

13 W.R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt, des Meisters Gemälde*, 3rd ed. (Klassiker der Kunst in Gesamtausgaben 2), Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1908.

14 C. Hofstede de Groot, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 6, *Rembrandt Maes*, Esselingen, Stuttgart and Paris, 1915, and W.R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde (1910-1920)* (Klassiker der Kunst in Gesamtausgaben 27), Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921; 2nd ed., 1923.

15 A. Bredius, *Rembrandt Schilderijen. 630 afbeeldingen*, Utrecht, 1935.

16 Wilhelm Bode, "Zur Rembrandt-Literatur," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 5 (1870): 169-176; 237-248.

17 John Pope-Hennessy, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Sculpture*, New York and Princeton, 1980, 28.

18 The first volume of the *Corpus* used Bredius's original catalogue to determine which paintings were to be included; from the second volume onward they used instead the 1969 edition of Bredius, revised by Horst Gerson: Abraham Bredius, *Rembrandt: The Complete Edition of the Paintings*, 3rd ed., revised by Horst Gerson, London, 1969; see *Corpus*, vol. 2, x.

19 For the case of one such scholar, Alfred von Wurzbach, who wrote a catalogue raisonné of Rembrandt's paintings (1886) but who never entered the "inner circle" of Rembrandt connoisseurs, whom he called, sarcastically, the "Rembrandt Doktoren," see Chapters 1 and 6, and Gary Schwartz, "Rembrandt Research after the Age of Connoisseurship," *Annals of Scholarship* (1993): 318-319. Herman Grimm, a professor of art history at the university in Berlin, would also challenge Bode unsuccessfully; see Chapter 3.

20 Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, Cambridge and New York, 1994, and also for the eighteenth-century context, Musée du Louvre, *Les musées en Europe à la veille de l'ouverture du Louvre* (Louvre conférences et colloques), Paris, 1995. A few important publications that incorporate discussion of nationalism, cultural politics, and public instruction are: Marcia Pointon, "La Fondation de la National Gallery, intention et adaptation," in Paris, Musée du Louvre, *Histoire de l'histoire de l'art*, vol. 2, *XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, (Louvre conférences et colloques), Paris, 1997, 195-219; Gwendolyn Wright, ed., *Studies in the History of Art.* 47 *Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts Symposium 27. The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology*, Washington, 1996; and Jaynie Anderson, "National Museums, The Art Market and Old Master Paintings," in Peter Ganz, et al., eds., *Kunst und Kunsttheoorie 1400-1900. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen*, 48, Wolfenbüttel, 1991, 375-393.

21 See Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte München, ed., *Berlins Museen. Geschichte und Zukunft*, Munich, 1995; Ekkehard Mai and Peter Paret, eds., *Sammler, Stifter und Museen: Kunstförderung in Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Cologne and Vienna, 1993; Alexis Joachimides, "Das Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum und die Reform des Kunstmuseums," *Kunstchronik* 46 (1993): 71-77; Thomas W. Gaehtgens, *Die Berliner Museuminsel im Deutschen Kaiserreich. Zur Kulturpolitik der Museen in der wilhelminischen Epoche*, Munich, 1992.

22 Tilmann von Stockhausen, *Gemäldegalerie Berlin. Die Geschichte ihrer Erwerbungspolitik 1830-1904*, Berlin, 2000.

23 The following constitute only a sampling of the important publications; individual articles are cited in my notes throughout the text: Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Peter-Klaus Schuster, eds.,

"'Kennerschaft.' Kolloquium zum 150sten Geburtstag von Wilhelm von Bode," *Beiheft* of the *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996); Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, *Wilhelm von Bode. Museumsdirektor und Mäzen*, exh. cat., Berlin, 1995; Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, *Wilhelm von Bode als Zeitgenosse der Kunst*, exh. cat., Berlin, 1995; and the biography by Manfred Ohlsen, *Wilhelm von Bode. Zwischen Kaisermacht und Kunsttempel*, Berlin, 1995.

24 Wilhelm von Bode, *Mein Leben*, 2 vols., Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Barbara Paul, eds., 2nd ed., Berlin, 1997. It includes the hitherto unpublished section of the memoir covering Bode's later years.

25 For reviews of this new edition see Stephanie Dieckvoss in *The Burlington Magazine* 140 (1998): 399-400; Pierre Vaisse in *Revue de l'art* 119 (1998): 82; and Christian Herchenroder, "Ein Kenner mit zwei Gesichtern: zur ersten kompletten Publikation der Memoiren Wilhelm von Bodes," *Weltkunst* 67 (1997): 2596-2597.

26 Ger Luijten has helped to resurrect Bode's role in the study of Dutch art in the nineteenth century and above all his importance for Dutch museology; see his "Wilhelm von Bode und Holland," *Beiheft Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996): 73-85. Thomas W. Gaehtgens's recent article, "Wilhelm Bode and Dutch Painting," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 49 (2001): 61-71, came out too late for me to consider his findings for my own work.

27 Seymour Slive, *Rembrandt and His Critics, 1630-1730*, The Hague, 1953, and J.A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*, Utrecht, 1968.

28 For a discussion of the changing literary reception of Rembrandt in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see R.W. Scheller, "Rembrandt's reputatie van Houbraken tot Scheltema," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 12 (1968): 81-118. A recent discussion of Rembrandt literary reception, with citation of the older literature, is E.H. Kossmann, "De waardering van Rembrandt in de Nederlandse traditie," *Oud Holland* 106 (1993): 81-93.

29 Jeroen Boomgaard, *De verloren zoon. Rembrandt en de Nederlandse kunstgeschiedschrijving*, The Hague, 1995; Kees Bruin, *De echte Rembrandt: verering van een genie in de twintigste eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1995.

30 Johannes Stückelberger, *Rembrandt und die Moderne. Der Dialog mit Rembrandt in der deutschen Kunst um 1900*, Munich, 1996.

31 Jaynie Anderson, "The Political Power of Connoisseurship in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Wilhelm von Bode versus Giovanni Morelli," *Beiheft Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996): 107-119.

32 Albert Blankert, "Looking at Rembrandt, Past and Present," in Albert Blankert, et al., *Rembrandt: A Genius and His Impact*, exh. cat., Melbourne, Sydney, and Zwolle, 1997, 32-57; Liedtke, "Rembrandt and the Rembrandt Style in the Seventeenth Century," (and see the catalogue entries as well); Jeroen Boomgaard and Robert Scheller, "A Delicate Balance – A Brief Survey of Rembrandt Criticism," in *Rembrandt: The Master and His Workshop* 1:106-123. There have been two brief discussions of Bredius's connoisseurship, it should be noted, Ben Broos, "Bredius, Rembrandt en het Mauritshuis!!!," in The Hague, Mauritshuis, *Bredius, Rembrandt en het Mauritshuis!!!*, exh. cat., Zwolle and The Hague, 1991, 16-20, and Albert Blankert and Th. van Velzen, "Some Observations on Bredius the Connoisseur," in *Dutch Masterworks from the Bredius Museum: A Connoisseur's Collection*, The Hague, 1985, 9-11.

33 Frances Lawrence Preston, "Rembrandt's Paintings: The Development of an Oeuvre," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1991.

34 Gary Schwartz, "Rembrandt: 'Connoisseurship' et érudition," *Revue de l'art* 42 (1978): 100-106; "Connoisseurship: the Penalty of Ahistoricism," *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship* 7 (1988): 261-268; "Rembrandt Research after the Age of Connoisseurship," 313-335; and "Truth in Labeling," *Art in America* 83 (December 1995): 50-57, 111.

35 Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., "Issues of Attribution in the Rembrandt Workshop," *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century. The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue*, Washington, D.C, 1995, 205-210 and in relevant catalogue entries.

36 P.J.J. van Thiel, "De Rembrandt-tentoonstelling van 1898," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 40 (1992/93): 11-93; Walter Liedtke, "Dutch Paintings in America: The Collectors and their Ideals," 14-59; and Edwin Buijsen, "The Battle against the Dollar: The Dutch Reaction to American Collecting in the Period from 1900 to 1914," 60-78, in Ben Broos, et al., *Great Dutch Paintings from America*, exh. cat., The Hague and Zwolle, ca. 1990.

37 Heinrich Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution. Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin*, Frankfurt am Main, 1979.

38 Frans Grijzenhout and Henk van Veen, eds., *The Golden Age of Dutch Painting in Historical Perspective*, Cambridge and New York, 1999 (first published in the Netherlands as *De Gouden Eeuw in perspectief: Het beeld van de Nederlandse zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst in later tijd*, Amsterdam, 1992); Peter Hecht, ed., *Kunstgeschiedenis in Nederland: negen opstellen*, Amsterdam, 1998.

39 Kathryn Brush, *The Shaping of Art History. Wilhelm Vöge, Adolph Goldschmidt, and the Study of Medieval Art*, Cambridge and New York, 1996.

40 Christiane Hertel, *Vermeer: Reception and Interpretation*, Cambridge and New York, 1996.

41 The bibliography on the history of the connoisseurship of western art since the Renaissance is extensive; for the most comprehensive discussion of its theories see Carol Gibson-Wood, *Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli*, New York and London, 1988. The discussion of connoisseurship in the west in the *Dictionary of Art* is extremely useful and cites the relevant bibliography, see the introduction to the subject by Enrico Castelnuovo, and on its development, Jaynie Anderson, in Jane Turner, ed., *Dictionary of Art*, London, 1996, s.v. "Connoisseurship." David Alan Brown's essay, "The Tradition of the Connoisseur" in his indispensable study *Berenson and the Connoisseurship of Italian Painting*, exh. cat., Washington, D.C., 1979, 30-40, is articulate and straightforward. Two other succinct discussions of the history of connoisseurship that are particularly relevant to the subject of Rembrandt connoisseurship are Talley and Nigel Llewellyn, "Les connaisseurs," in *Histoire de l'histoire de l'art*, 2: 295-325, both with further bibliography.

42 Jean Baptiste Dubos from his *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*. Paris, 1719, quoted by Anderson, "Connoisseurship: development," *Dictionary of Art*, 714.

43 Talley, 180-182. Two recent books discuss Richardson's theories of connoisseurship at length; Irene Haberland, *Jonathan Richardson (1666-1745). Die Begründung der Kunstkennerschaft* (Bonner Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, 2), Münster, 1991; Carol Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson. Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment*, New Haven, 2000. The use of the pronoun "he" here is deliberate, for the gendering of connoisseurship, particularly of European Old Master paintings, has been notable; before the second half of the twentieth century, only in a few exceptional cases, such as with Lady Eastlake or Mary Berenson, did women achieve any kind of position as connoisseurs, and even they achieved their status in part because of the reputations of their husbands; on Mary Berenson and connoisseurship, see David Alan Brown, "Berenson's Method," in *Berenson and the Connoisseurship of Italian Painting*, 42-43. The practice of Rembrandt painting connoisseurship has been, and continues to be such a gendered activity, with women scholars largely remaining outside the realm of authority as connoisseurs.

44 Talley, 180-181.

45 On this issue see Llewellyn, 297-299.

46 See Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "Le Musée Napoleon" in *L'Histoire de l'histoire de l'art* 2: 89-112.

47 As Gaehtgens noted, this art-historical arrangement had one precedent: the Belvedere collection in Vienna, as installed by its director, Christian von Mechel; Gaehtgens, "Le Musée Napoleon," 108. The Belvedere installation of 1783 was a model for that in the Berlin museum some fifty years later; Von Stockhausen, 19.

48 Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art. Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion, and Collecting in England and France*, rev. ed., Ithaca, 1980, remains a classic text for discussion of this period.

49 See Castelnuovo, s.v. "Connoisseurship," in *Dictionary of Art*.

50 For the importance of Rumohr and Waagen see Gabriele Bickendorf, "Die Anfänge der

historisch-kritischen Kunstgeschichtsschreibung," 359-374, and Wolfgang Beyrodt, "Kunstgeschichte als Universitätsfach," 364-372 in Ganz. The *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 37 (1995) devoted part of one issue to publication of the papers from a symposium on Waagen in 1994. A good summary of Waagen's work in Berlin and its importance in museology is Carmen Stonge, "Making Private Collections Public. Gustav Friedrich Waagen and the Royal Museum in Berlin," Journal *of the History of Collections* 10 (1998): 61-74.

51 See Udo Kultermann, *The History of Art History*, New York, 1993, 92; Von Stockhausen, 49, 77.

52 Gustav Waagen, *Über Hubert und Johan van Eyck*, Breslau, 1822.

53 On Waagen's installation of the paintings in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin see Dilly, 145-149; Von Stockhausen, 17-19.

54 Gustav Waagen, *Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris*, Berlin, 1837-39; *The Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 4 vols., London, 1854-57.

55 See Giles Waterfield with Florian Illies, "Waagen in England," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 37 (1995): 47-59.

56 Bode, *Mein Leben*, 1: 46.

57 While this has since become a commonplace, the discussion of the changes in connoisseurship brought about by modern transportation and the employment of photography was raised by Brown, "Berenson's Method," 44-45.

58 Bode's contemporaries were certainly aware of the impact the technology of travel had made upon art-historical scholarship. See Ferdinand Laban, "Rembrandt's Bildnis seines Bruders Adriaen Harmensz van Rijn in der Berliner Galerie," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 19 (1897-98): 74. David Alan Brown added the invention of the automobile to this list for connoisseurship in the twentieth century, "Berenson's Method," 44.

59 Joseph Crowe and Giovanni Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in Italy from the Second to the Sixteenth Century*, 3 vols., London, 1864-68.

60 A significant body of literature about the use of photography by art historians in the nineteenth century has been written in recent years: see Frederick N. Bohrer, "Photographic perspectives: photography and the institutional formation of art history," in Elizabeth Mansfield, ed., *Art History and Its Institutions. Foundations of a Discipline*, London and New York, 2002, 246-259; Ivan Gaskell, *Vermeer's Wager: Speculations on Art History, Theory, and Museums*, London, 2000, especially 110-133, 140-142; Anthony Hamber, *"A Higher Branch of Art." Photographing the Fine Arts in England, 1839-1880*, Amsterdam, 1996; Helene E. Roberts, ed., *Art History through the Camera's Lens*, n.p., 1995; Anthony Hamber, "The Use of Photography by Nineteenth Century Art Historians," (1990), in Roberts, 89-121; Trevor Fawcett, "Graphic versus Photographic in the Nineteenth-Century Reproduction," *Art History* 9 (1982): 185-211; Wolfgang Freitag, "Early Uses of Photography in the History of Art," *Art Journal* 39 (1979/80): 117-123; Dilly, 151-160. For a discussion of photography by a nineteenth-century connoisseur see Bernard Berenson, "Isochromatic Photography and Venetian Pictures," (1893), rpt. in Roberts, 127-131.
I would like to single out David Alan Brown's discussion of Berenson's use of photography and the role of photography in connoisseurship of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries; Brown, "Berenson's Method," 44-49. See also David Alan Brown, "Berenson and Mrs. Gardner: The Connoisseur, the Collector and the Photograph," *Fenway Court* (1978): 24-29.

61 See Fawcett, passim, and Gaskell, *Vermeer's Wager*, 110-112, 125.

62 Anita Kühnel, "Wider die Photographie: Maler-Radierung und künstlerische Reproduktion," in *Wilhelm von Bode als Zeitgenosse der Kunst*, 115-128.

63 Hubert Wilm, *Kunstsammler und Kunstmarkt*, Munich, 1930, 16.

64 Morelli has been one of the few connoisseurs whose work has been discussed in detail, in part because of his promotion of his method as scientific, and his claims of transparency about how he conducted his practice of connoisseurship. See citation of the literature on Morelli in chapter two. A posthumous summary of Morelli's approach to connoisseurship appeared as the discussion "Principles and Methods," in

Italian Painters: Critical Studies of Their Works, vol. 1, London, 1900.

65 For the best discussion to date of Berenson's approach to connoisseurship, see Brown, "Berenson's Method," 41-49. See also Llewellyn, 310-318, and S.J. Freedberg, "Berenson, Connoisseurship, and the History of Art," *New Criterion* 7 (1989): 7-16. For a full and balanced account of Berenson's life, see Ernest Samuels, *Bernard Berenson: the Making of a Connoisseur*, Boston, 1979 and *Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Legend*, Boston, 1987.

66 Bernard Berenson: *The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance, with an Index to their Works*, New York, 1894; *The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance*, New York, 1896; *Lorenzo Lotto: An Essay in Constructive Art Criticism*, New York and London, 1895; *Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, New York, 1897. His essay, "Rudiments of Connoisseurship," (1894), was published in his *Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, 2nd ser., New York, 1902. A demonstration of his practice was presented in *Three Essays in Method*, Oxford, 1927.

67 On Berenson as the end of the tradition of the amateur-connoisseur see David Alan Brown, "Berenson's Contribution to Scholarship, Taste, and Collecting," in *Berenson and the Connoisseurship of Italian Painting*, 25-26. While Hofstede de Groot worked for many years as an independent scholar whose primary income, like Berenson's, came from his work providing attributions to dealers and advice to collectors, he did so after having obtained a doctorate in art history and working in museums for nearly ten years. He separated himself utterly in all discussions of attributions from amateur-connoisseurs.

68 While Morelli was independently wealthy and himself a collector, he also served as a kind of middleman for certain purchases and at other times sold pictures outright. See Anderson, "National Museums, the Art Market and Old Master Paintings." Berenson created a patrician life for himself not from inherited wealth but in large part financed by his arrangements with collectors and art dealers, particularly the Duveen firm; see Brown, "Berenson's Contribution to Scholarship, Taste, and Collecting," 25-28, for a balanced assessment of Berenson's art dealings. A much harsher evaluation of this side of Berenson's art-world activities can be found in Colin Simpson, *Artful Partner: Bernard Berenson and Joseph Duveen*, New York, 1986, which proved controversial upon its publication.

69 Just as the rivalry between Bode and Morelli passed down to the next generation with Berenson (see chapter two) so did the rivalry between Berenson and Bode extend to Valentiner. For a discussion of the relations among these figure see David Alan Brown, "Bode and Berenson: Berlin and Boston," *Beiheft Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996): 101-106.

CHAPTER 1

1 Wilhelm Bode, "Zur Rembrandt-Literatur," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 5 (1870): 169-176; 237-248; Carel Vosmaer, *Rembrandt: sa vie et ses oeuvres*, The Hague, 1868. Bode was ennobled in 1914; for consistency, however, I will refer to him as Bode throughout the text.

2 As noted in the introduction, following the reunification of Germany, and in associated with the commemoration in 1995 of the 150th anniversary of Bode's birth, scholarship on Bode, especially his role in the development of the Berlin museums *per se* and museology more generally, has flourished. Biographical data on Bode can be found in the biography by Ohlsen, and can also be gleaned from Bode's memoir, *Mein Leben*, for which the annotated edition of 1997, which included a previously unpublished section written by Bode after 1910, is indispensable. A succinct and highly useful summary of his life and career is provided by Sigrid Otto, "Wilhelm von Bode– Journal eines tätigen Lebens, "in Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz and Kaiser-Friederich-Museums-Verein, *Wilhelm von Bode. Museumsdirektor und Mäzen. Wilhelm von Bode zum 150. Geburtstag*, exh. cat., Berlin, 1995, 23-50. A good English summary of his museum career can be found in Edward P. Alexander, *Museum Masters: Their Museums and their Influence*, Nashville, TN, 1983, 206-238.

3 Bode, *Mein Leben*, 1:20.

4 Ibid., 21-22.

5 For Bode's connection to Rudolf Eitelberger and Moriz Thausing see Wolfgang Beyrodt, "Wilhelm von Bode," in Heinrich Dilly, ed., *Altmeister moderner Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin, 1990, 20, citing Bode's memoir, *Mein Leben*. On Eitelberger and Thausing see Kultermann, *The History of Art History*, 158-160.

6 Wilhelm Bode, "Männliches Bildnis. Ölgemälde von Antonis Moro. Der Falkenjäger. Ölgemälde von Frans Floris," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 4 (1869): 209-213; "Eine Dünenlandschaft. Ölgemälde von Jan van Meer, d. Ält., von Haarlem," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 4 (1869): 346-353, "Die Baderstube von David Teniers," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 5 (1870): 258-259; "Die Verkündigung der Geburt Christi. Ölgemälde von Adriaen van Ostade," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 5(1870): 20-21.

7 Bode, *Mein Leben* 1:23.

8 One of the best sources in English for an understanding of Ranke's influence is Georg G. Iggers and James M. Powell, eds. *Leopold von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline*, Syracuse, 1990. The essays in this volume treat the approach to historical thought in Ranke's era, his roles as a practicing historian and teacher, and the "burden" of the Rankean paradigm.

9 My understanding of Ranke's contributions is indebted to my colleague in history at Case Western Reserve University, Alan J. Rocke, and to Iggers and Powell. While many historians now prefer the term "objectivist" to "positivist" when referring to Ranke and his school of historical thought, the latter term is more familiar to art historians and was used in the English-speaking world at the time.

10 Bode's supreme self-confidence as an art historian was already well in evidence: according to the later account in his memoir, he believed that his examiners weren't learned enough about his subject to be questioning him; *Mein Leben* 1: 29-30.

11 Bode, "Zur Rembrandt-Literatur," 169.

12 Gustav Waagen, *Über Hubert und Johan van Eyck*, Breslau, 1882, and Johann David Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1839. Passavant was renowned for having traveled throughout Europe to look at paintings attributed to Raphael and to consult documents in archives. This was still an extremely difficult task in the 1830s, before the advent of international train travel, but set the kind of example Bode would have admired, and emulated in his own career as a connoisseur.

13 Ibid.; Bode did not cite any specific titles by Waagen or Thoré-Bürger, however, one can imagine that he would have included Waagen's *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 4 vols., London, 1854-7, with its trove of information on Rembrandts in private collections, and *Die Gemäldesammlung in der kaiserlichen Eremitage zu St Petersburg*, Munich, 1864, which included discussion of the rich collection of paintings attributed to Rembrandt in the Hermitage. Thoré-Bürger's *Trésors d'art en Angleterre*, Paris, 1857 (on the Art Treasures exhibition in Manchester) and his *Musées de la Hollande*, 2 vols., Paris, 1858-60 would have been particularly relevant. On the importance of Thoré-Bürger as an interpreter of Rembrandt and promoter of his reputation see Peter Hecht, "Rembrandt and Raphael Back to Back: The Contribution of Thoré," *Simiolus* 26 (1998): 166-169.

14 Adam Bartsch, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt et ceux de ses principaux imitateurs*, Vienna, 1797; I.J. de Claussin, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt et des principales pièces de ses élèves*, Paris, 1824; Charles Blanc, *L'Œuvre complet de Rembrandt, décrit et commenté*, 2 vols., Paris, 1859-61. (Bode did not mention here the earliest catalogue of Rembrandt's prints, Edmé-François Gersaint, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les pièces qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt*, Paris, 1751.)

15 C. J. Nieuwenhuys, *A Review of the Lives and the works of Some of the Most Eminent Painters…*, London, 1834; Pieter Scheltema, R*embrand: Redevoering over het leven en de verdiensten van Rembrant van Rijn*, Amsterdam, 1853; W.I.C.R. Elsevier, *Inventaris van het archief der gemeente Leyden*, Leiden, 1863-64.

16 Eduard Kolloff, "Rembrandts Leben und Werke, nach neuen Acktenstucken und Gesichtspunkten geschildert," *Historisches Taschenbuch*, ser. 3, 5 (1854): 401-587.

17 Bode, "Zur Rembrandt-Literatur," 173.

18 John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters*, vol. 7, London, 1836. For an account of the history of Rembrandt connoisseurship through the mid-nineteenth century, see Preston, "Rembrandt's Paintings: The Development of an Oeuvre," for Smith, 158-176. Ivan Gaskell has recently considered the often overlooked issue of the role of art dealers in art history, and used Smith as one of his four case studies of dealers who made significant contributions to scholarship, "Tradesmen as Scholars. Interdependencies in the Study and Exchange of Art," in *Art History and Its Institutions. Foundations of a Discipline*, ed. Elizabeth Mansfield, London and New York, 2002, 146-162.
19 See discussion in Preston, 161-162.
20 Smith, vol. 1, 1829, xxix. As Gaskell pointed out, Gustav Waagen criticized Smith for his deference to the opinion of owners in citing attributions, causing Smith to take umbrage, "Tradesmen as Scholars," 153-154.
21 Bode, "Zur Rembrandt-Literatur," 174.
22 Ibid.
23 Throughout this book, I provide information, when known, about the current location and attribution of paintings discussed by various authors. The attributions are taken from recent Rembrandt painting catalogues, and are meant to be representative of reasonable modern opinions, rather than definitive. Specific dates are only given for Rembrandt paintings when known, otherwise, estimated dates are given for paintings attributed to Rembrandt. For most of the reattributed paintings or school works no date is given here as a rule, since these works are notoriously difficult to date.
If a painting was the subject of a catalogue entry in the *Corpus* I provide that information; otherwise, I refer to Bredius numbers (Br.) when applicable as an aid to the reader's further research. The copies in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig and the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden are discussed in *Corpus*, vol. 3, 1989, under A126 *The Entombment* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 277-279. They are numbers three and four, respectively, among the copies listed. The Dresden version is accepted as closest of the five copies to the original in Munich. Bode's evaluation of the Dresden version was largely accepted by the authors of the *Corpus* entry; "As Bode too had already remarked (W. Bode, 'Ein Einblick in Rembrandts Schüler-Atelier', in *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 2 (1881): 191-192) the passages concerned seem, in their manner of painting, to resemble Rembrandt's way of working in the mid-1650s; the date 1653, though hardly convincing in its shaping, may therefore indicate the year when the copy was executed, probably in the workshop," 278-279.
24 Bode, "Zur Rembrandt-Literatur," 240-241.
25 In his later *catalogue raisonné*, Bode characterized the Dresden version as a studio replica, retouched by Rembrandt himself in 1653, and the Braunschweig version as an old copy; see Wilhelm Bode with Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, *The Complete Work of Rembrandt, History, Description and Heliographic Reproduction of all the Master's Pictures, with a Study of his Life and his Art*, trans. Florence Simmons, Paris, 1897, 2: 135-38, for nos. 128 (on Munich first version) and 129 (Dresden version).
26 Bode, "Zur Rembrandt-Literatur," p. 241.
27 The version in Kassel's Gemäldegalerie was destroyed in World War II. In the catalogue entry on the original, now in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, the Kassel painting is described as a copy that was likely executed in Rembrandt's studio, since it reflected an earlier form of the Frankfurt painting's composition; see *Corpus*, vol. 3, 1989, A116, p. 194 and fig. 7. The original in Frankfurt was the version Bode had seen in the Schönborn Gallery in Vienna, where it remained until 1905, when it was bought by the Städelsches Kunstinstitut; 195.
28 See C. von Lützow, "Nachlese von der Holbein-Ausstellung," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 7 (1873): 55-59, where Bode's letter is quoted. This was certainly a signal achievement for the young connoisseur, who was not yet employed by the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin. For a full treatment of the symposium and Bode's role in the controversy, see Oskar Bätschmann, "Der Holbein-Streit: eine Krise der Kunstgeschichte," *Beiheft Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996): 87-100; for further discussion of the symposium and its importance in establishing a kind of pro-

fessional connoisseurship Dilly, 165-168, and Kultermann, *The History of Art History*, 141-148.

29 Otto, 29.

30 Werner Knopp, "Blick auf Bode," in *Wilhelm von Bode. Museumsdirektor und Mäzen*, 7. On the larger topic of Bode's career in light of the expansion of "art politics" under the Second Reich see, " Colin Eisler, "Bode's Burden – Berlin's Museum as an Imperial Institution," *Beiheft Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996): 23-32; Barbara Paul, "Wilhelm von Bodes Konzeption des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums. Vorbild für heute?" in *Berlins Museen. Geschichte und Zukunft*, 207. See Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin," in *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology*, 64-65 on war reparations.

31 R. Bergau, "Zur Kenntnis des G. Flinck," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 10 (1875): 224.

32 Ibid.

33 If, that is, the practice codified in the Utrecht guild regulations of 1651 was standard elsewhere in the Netherlands as well, as many have assumed it was; see E. van de Wetering, "Problems of Apprenticeship and Studio Collaboration," in *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, 57.

34 Alfred von Wurzbach, "Zur Kenntnis G. Flinck's, resp. Rembrandt's," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 10 (1875): 381-383.

35 Ibid., p. 381. *Corpus*, vol.1, 1982, A21 and copy 1. The Nuremberg and Hague versions have been compared for over one hundred years without a final consensus on their attribution. From the late nineteenth century through most of the twentieth century the version in the Mauritshuis in The Hague was considered to be the original, and that in the Nuremberg Germanisches Nationalmuseum a copy. In 1991 Claus Grimm, however, defied this consensus, and called the Nuremberg version the original, see. C. Grimm, *Rembrandt selbst: Eine Neubewertung seiner Porträtkunst*, Stuttgart and Zurich, 1991, 20-21, 24-28. In a 1999 exhibition catalogue on Rembrandt's self- portraits, the Nuremberg painting was held to be the first version, and that in The Hague, a copy, possibly by Gerard Dou; see London, National Gallery, and The Hague, Royal Cabinet of Paintings, Mauritshuis, *Rembrandt by Himself*, ed. Christopher White and Quentin Buvelot, exh. cat., London and The Hague, 1999, nos. 14a and b. For a full discussion of the attribution history of this painting see the catalogue entry by Alan Chong in Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, *Rembrandt Creates Rembrandt*, exh. cat., 2000, no. 6, where The Hague version is attributed to "Circle of Rembrandt." In December 1999 a conference was sponsored by the Mauritshuis and the RKD, and the paintings were hung together to facilitate discussion. Edwin Buijsen subsequently published his historiographic review presented at the conference; see "Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait with Gorget*: An Ongoing Debate," *Oud Holland* 114 (2000): 155-161. Bode and Wurzbach's debate was characterized on 156-158. Although I did not read Buijsen's article until after I had written my own discussion of this dispute, I wish to acknowledge the priority of his publication. He also described Hofstede de Groot's reaction to the Nuremberg version in 1893; ibid., 158-159. Andreas Tacke offered a brief description of the debate as well; *Die Gemälde des 17. Jahrhunderts im Germanischen Nationalmuseum*, Mainz, 1995, 187-188. Two additional papers that had been presented at the symposium were also published in this issue of *Oud Holland*: Jorgen Wadum, "Rembrandt under the Skin. The Mauritshuis *Portrait of Rembrandt with Gorget* in Retrospect," *Oud Holland* 115 (2000): 164-187, supporting the deattribution of the Mauritshuis version, and Eric Jan Sluijter, "The *Tronie of a Young Office with a Gorget* in the Mauritshuis: A Second Version by Rembrandt Himself?" *Oud Holland* 114 (2000): 188-194, defending the possibility that both versions were by Rembrandt.

36 Wurzbach, "Zur Kenntnis G. Flinck's, resp. Rembrandt's," 382. According to Wurzbach, one reproductive engraving carried an attribution of the painting to "Henri" van Vliet; this is likely the engraving cited by Chong as "engraving by Alexis Chataigner, as H. van Vliet," *Rembrandt Creates Rembrandt*, 129, n. 6.

37 The painting formerly in the ducal museum in Gotha is now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich; see *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, A19. The painting in Kassel, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie Alter Meister, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe (Br. 1)

was once generally accepted as an authentic Rembrandt; the version now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, which was only discovered in 1959, is now considered the original; see *Rembrandt by Himself*, no. 5 and fig. 5b, where the Kassel work is cited as "Anonymous after Rembrandt," also *Corpus*, vo1. 1982, A14, 172-173. The Kassel collection catalogue has described it as being from Rembrandt's workshop, after 1631; see Kassel, Staatliche Museen, *Gemäldegalerie Alter Meister Gesamtkatalog*, Mainz, 1996, p. 245, inv. no. GK 229.

38 Wilhelm Bode, "Die ersten Selbstporträts des Rembrandt van Rijn," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 11 (1876): 125-126.

39 Ibid., 125.

40 Today some of the arguments surrounding the authenticity of the Nuremberg and Hague versions are also dependent on the authors' interpretations of Rembrandt's intentions for the paintings and the relationship of style and execution to function, see *Rembrandt Creates Rembrandt*, 95-96.

41 Alfred von Wurzbach, "Die 'grünen' Rembrandt's des Herrn. W. Bode," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 11 (1876): 222-224.

42 Wurzbach admitted that he had not seen the Gotha painting in person.

43 Bürger, *Musées de la Hollande*, vol. 1, *Amsterdam et La Haye*, Paris, 1858, 210. Bürger was struck by the green tone, and said he only knew of one other painting by Rembrandt that was similar, however, yet decided in favor of the attribution to Rembrandt in the end.

44 See Bode, "Die Rembrandt-Forschung in Gefahr?" *Der Kunstwanderer* 5 (1923/24): 3-5.

45 Wilhelm Bode, "Rembrandts früheste Thätigkeit. Der Künstler in seiner Vaterstadt Leiden," *Die graphischen Künste* 3 (1881): 49-72.

46 Wilhelm Bode, *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, Braunschweig, 1883.

47 The latter group featured the 1874 catalogue of Barthold Suermondt's collection, which had been acquired for the museum with Bode's assistance. Bode, *Mein Leben* 1: 76-79.

48 Ibid., 144-148. Jeremy Warren, "Bode and the British," *Beiheft Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996), 121. On the larger subject of Bode's relationships with British museum professionals, collectors, and dealers see Stephanie M. Dieckvoss, "Wilhelm von Bode and the English Art World," M.A. thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1995.

49 Later in his text, Bode would postulate a visit of Rembrandt's mother to Amsterdam, shortly before her death in 1640, to explain the appearance of an older woman in Rembrandt's art about 1639, *Studien*, 459.

50 Ibid., 521.

51 Ibid., 547-549.

52 Ibid., 548. Her age was not even known at this time.

53 Ibid., 549. Art history has come full circle in this case, for while such identifications of Rembrandt's models with figures in his life was frowned upon for at least a generation, from the 1950s through the 1970s, scholars have recently turned to consideration of this issue, specifically in regard to the case of Hendrickje. Svetlana Alpers and Margaret Carroll have made persuasive arguments in favor of reuniting biography and creation in the case of at least one painting, the *Bathsheba* (Br. 521); see their joint essay, "Not Bathsheba," in *Bathsheba Reading Kind David's Letter*, ed. Ann Jensen Adams, Cambridge and New York, 1998, 147-175.

54 Bode, *Studien*, 549-550 on the painting; he referred to her as a concubine on 547. This painting (Br. 117) is catalogued as "Hendrickje Stoffels en Vénus" and described as a copy after a lost original in Paris, Musée du Louvre, *Catalogue sommaire illustré des peintures du Musée du Louvre*, vol. 1, *Ecoles flamande et hollandaise*, Paris, 1979, 112, inv. no. 1743.

55 Bode, *Studien*, 552; *Family Portrait* (Br. 417). The question of whether "*The Jewish Bride*" (Br. 416) could also have been a portrait is one scholars still debate. The discussion by Mariët Westermann, *Rembrandt*, London, 2000, 302-303, is based on the assumption that it is a *portrait historié*.

56 Bode, *Studien*, 431. The painting was accepted as "a poorly preserved painting ...but which is undoubtedly authentic" by the Rembrandt Research Project; see *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, A 25, p. 260.

57 Bode, *Studien*, 460.

58 *Corpus*, vol. 3, 1989, A 108.

59 Bode, *Studien*, 431.

60 See discussion of the Munich version in *Corpus*, vol. 3, 1989, A 108, 107-112. The specific meaning of the inscription *Rembrandt. Verandert. En overgeschildert 1636* (Rembrandt changed and retouched (it) or painted it over again?) is still one debated by contemporary Rembrandt specialists as to whether Rembrandt simply changed the composition and had it painted by one of his assistants, or whether he actually touched up the second version itself. See the catalogue entry on the Hermitage's version by Pieter van Thiel in Christopher Brown, et al., *Rembrandt: The Master and his Workshop*, exh. cat., New Haven and London, 1991, 1:181-83; given Bode's statement quoted here, Van Thiel was incorrect in asserting without reservation that "in the past it was believed that this copy was by Rembrandt himself," 182.

61 Following the lead of Seymour Haden, etcher and scholar of Rembrandt's prints, Bode believed that Rembrandt had made a number of drawings and oil sketches for the purpose of providing models for his students to etch. See Sir Francis Seymour Haden, *The Etched Work of Rembrandt: A Monograph*, London, 1879. Beginning in the 1870s, scholars of Rembrandt's prints were reducing the size of his etched oeuvre as accepted since Gersaint's catalogue of 1751, arguing for greater studio participation in the printmaking process, at the same time that connoisseurs of Rembrandt's paintings were expanding his painted oeuvre and arguing against studio collaboration. While at first this seems paradoxical, it was likely a situation created by the different markets for prints and paintings. Also, as I have argued in an unpublished lecture given at the Midwest Art History Society annual meeting in Dallas in 1997, figures such as Haden who were part of the so-called "etching revival" of the nineteenth century had a personal stake in restricting Rembrandt's etched oeuvre to the works they thought were the best examples of the etching technique itself. That is, their desire to "purify" Rembrandt's etched oeuvre reflected the taste and needs of contemporary printmakers, and the print market, in Europe.

62 Bode, *Studien*, 489-490.

63 Ibid., 491. Bode was closer to modern students of the subject than to his predecessors; Cynthia Schneider, *Rembrandt's Landscapes*, New Haven and London, 1990, accepted only seven landscapes as Rembrandt's autograph work.

64 Bode, *Studien*, 462.

65 Ibid., 479.

66 Ibid., 497. The painting (Br. 239) in the Hermitage was later sold to the Gulbenkian Foundation, in Lisbon. It is listed in Christian Tümpel, *Rembrandt*, rev. English ed., 1993, as no. 139 *An Old Man in Fanciful Costume Holding a Stick*. For the National Gallery painting (Br. 257) see Neil MacLaren and Christopher Brown, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Dutch School 1600-1900*, rev. 2nd ed., London, 1991, vol. 1, no. 51, Follower of Rembrandt, *A Seated Man with a Stick*.

67 Bode, *Studien*, 497. Bode here referred to *Young Woman at an Open Half-Door* (Br. 367), now in the Art Institute of Chicago (fig. 44). See Chapter 5 for his account of seeing Rembrandt paintings, including the *Young Woman at an Open Half-Door*, during his visit to the United States in 1893.
In recent years this painting has seen its attribution change from Rembrandt himself to the Rembrandt workshop; various Rembrandt pupils and assistants have been suggested as its author, including Samuel van Hoogstraten. See the entry by Christopher Brown in *Rembrandt: The Master and his Workshop*, vol. 1, no. 72.

68 Bode, "Alte Kunstwerke in den Sammlungen der Vereinigten Staaten," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 6 (1895): 19.

69 Vosmaer, *Rembrandt, sa vie et ses oeuvres*, 2nd. ed., The Hague, 1877. Bode's catalogue, like most of the other early Rembrandt catalogues, did not have numbered entries. Since quite a few of his decisions about attribution were equivocal in nature, it is hard to state accurately what the total number of Rembrandt paintings was in this catalogue. Certainly more than 350 works were discussed; the final number is closer to 380. However, since Bode used the number 350 when comparing his catalogue to Vosmaer's, it seems reasonable to follow him in this.

70 Ibid., x.

71 Edmé-Francois Gersaint, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les pièces qui forment l'œuvre de Rembrandt*, Paris, 1751.

72 The dialectical relationship of Rubens and Rembrandt as understood in the nineteenth century also had religious overtones (hence political); Rubens epitomized the Counter-Reformation corporate identity of the Roman Catholic church, allied with monarchical rule , while Rembrandt stood for the Protestant individualist republican; see R.W. Scheller, "Rembrandt's Reputatie van Houbraken tot Scheltema," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 12 (1961): 109 and Peter Hecht, "Rembrandt and Raphael Back to Back: the Contribution of Thoré," *Simiolus* 26 (1998): 166. I thank my former colleague at Case Western Reserve University, Dario Gamboni, for further discussion of this issue.

73 Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, London, vol. 7, 1836 (supplement, 1842). The most detailed discussion of Smith's catalogue of Rembrandt paintings is by Preston, 158-176.

74 Blanc, *L'Œuvre complet de Rembrandt*.

75 Ibid., 237-238. The discursive organization makes it very difficult to state exactly how many paintings Blanc included in this catalogue; despite the fact that most paintings were introduced in smaller type, Blanc would occasionally refer to another version, or a copy, in the main text. Thus it is perhaps best to state that Blanc included approximately 230 paintings in this catalogue.

76 Charles Blanc, *L'Œuvre complet de Rembrandt*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1873, 2: 237. "Il nous a semblé que le présent livre ne justifierait pas entièrement son titre, s'il ne renfermait une mention de tous les tableaux de Rembrandt qui nous sont connus," 237, repeating the statement made in volume two of the first edition, 1861.

77 Ibid., 238.

78 Vosmaer, *Rembrandt*, 1868, 458, for *The Sacrifice of Manoah*, 1641, in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden (Br. 509). Since the 1950s this painting has been considered to be a product of Rembrandt's workshop; see Abraham Bredius, *Rembrandt. The Complete Edition of the Paintings*, rev. Horst Gerson, 4th ed., New York, 1971 (hereafter cited as Bredius-Gerson), Br. 509. See also Vosmaer's description of a female portrait then in the Seillières collection in Paris as "[S]ans être jolie la tête a du charme et une expression de fermeté." *Rembrandt*, 1868, 466.

79 Bode, *Studien*, 568 n.1 for a painting in Darmstadt.

80 Bode made a few exceptions to his omission of earlier literature in the 1883 catalogue, when, for example an inscription was disputed; see 578, no. 137, where he stated that Smith said the painting was inscribed "Rembrandt f. 1661." Bode seems not to have seen this inscription in his own examination of the painting, but it appears he wanted to leave the question open for further study. In a few cases he corrected other authors in notes, as for no. 212, where he read the date as 1648, but said that Vosmaer erroneously construed it as 1650; 587 n. 1. For his later Rembrandt catalogue see Chapter 4.

81 Review by Julius Janitsch in 4 (1883): 1546-1548; by H. J. [Janitschek], *Literarisches Zentralblatt* (1884): 565-566; and an anonymous review in the *Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, 26, the supplement to *Die graphischen Künste* 7 (1885).

82 See for instance Janitschek, 565. He also stated that pride of place for archival research on Dutch art was given to Dutch scholars, but in regard to "*kritischen Bilderexegese*," the attribution and interpretation of art works, German and French scholars were said to lead the way.

83 Ibid., 565-566; see also the review in *Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, 26, and Janitsch, 1545. Janitsch noted that Bode's conception of Frans Hals had not changed since the publication of his 1870 dissertation; rather, only new material had to be incorporated into his discussion; Janitsch did not comment further on this unchanging conception of an artist on Bode's part.

84 Janitsch, 1546; Janitschek, 566.

85 O.[skar] Eisenmann, review of Bode, *Studien*, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 7 (1884): 207-226.

86 On Eisenmann see Bode, *Mein Leben* 2:56. Bode mentioned Eisenmann in friendly terms at several different points in his memoir. For the catalogue, see O. Eisenmann, *Katalog der Königliche Gemälde-Galerie zu Kassel*, Kassel, 1888.

Earlier, he had written the *Führer durch die Kg. Gemäldegalerie zu Kassel*, 6th ed., Kassel, 1880.

87 Eisenmann, review of Bode, *Studien*, 223-224. Eisenmann's expression about the "Germanic need for principles" echoes Bode's own statement of 1870 about "aesthetic deductions that to Germans are and will remain necessary," "Zur Rembrandt Literatur," 173. In both cases the authors espoused a kind of greater intellectual rigor, or at least larger need for clear categorization, on the part of German art historians than by others, hence a claim for art history as a specifically German creation. On the "Germanic" nature of art history as a scholarly subject see Dilly, *passim*; and Willibald Sauerländer, "L'Allemagne et la 'Kunstgeschichte'. Genèse d'une discipline universitaire," *Revue de l'art* 45 (1979): 4-8.

88 Eisenmann, review of Bode, *Studien*, 222.

89 Ibid., 224. See *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, A81.

90 Eisenmann, review of Bode, *Studien*, 224. See n. 37 for its current attribution as a copy after the early self-portrait in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.

91 Ibid., 225. For the Kassel painting see *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, A 81. The version in Antwerp, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, repr. 433, fig. 10, is described as a "free copy" after the Kassel version, one possibly "produced in Rembrandt's workshop around 1650," 438, copy 4.

92 Eisenmann, review of Bode, *Studien*, 225. Bode had included this painting in his catalogue as an authentic Rembrandt, but his discussion of it in the text was lukewarm, and he associated it with two other paintings that also reminded him of Aert de Gelder; Bode, *Studien*, 515.
Although it is now generally accepted that *The Architect*, now correctly labeled *The Apostle Thomas*, is not by Rembrandt, its authorship is still very much in contention. The latest catalogue from Kassel assigns it to Nicolaes Maes; *Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister Gesamtkatalog* 1:176, GK 246.

93 Eisenmann, review of Bode, *Studien*, 225. Bode had called it doubtful ("zweifelhaft"), questioning its handling and expressiveness; *Studien*, 445. He did, however, include it in his later catalogue; Bode, *The Complete Work of Rembrandt* vol. 3, Paris, 1899, no. 216. The Rembrandt Research Project catalogued *Tobias Healing His Blind Father*, now in the Staatsgalerie in Stuttgart, in their category C, calling it "a moderately well preserved though incomplete painting from Rembrandt's circle, probably connected with a lost work from his hand," *Corpus*, vol. 3, C86, 550.

94 Eisenmann, review of Bode, *Studien*, 226. On the acquisition of these paintings see discussion at the end of this chapter.

95 Ibid.

96 For a recent biography of Eugène Dutuit see the entry on the Dutuit family in the *Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Dutuit"

97 Eugène Dutuit, *L'Œuvre complet de Rembrandt*, Paris, 1883; vol. 3, *Tableaux et dessins de Rembrandt. Catalogue historique et descriptif*, Paris, 1885.

98 Dutuit, *Tableaux et dessins*, ii.

99 Ibid., iv.

100 About 500 paintings are listed in the main catalogue; some of these were ones about which Dutuit or other authors had expressed doubts, however.

101 No reviews of Dutuit's book are listed in H. van Hall, *Repertorium voor de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche schilder- en graveerkunst...*, vol. 1, The Hague, 1936.

102 Alfred von Wurzbach, *Rembrandt-Galerie*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1886.

103 The collotypes reproduced both contemporary and older engravings, etchings, and mezzotints made after paintings attributed to Rembrandt.

104 Wurzbach, *Rembrandt-Galerie*, 2.

105 Ibid., 15.

106 Ibid., 37.

107 Though clues exist to this; for instance, he cited, without commentary, Waagen's and Vosmaer's (but not Bode's) opinions about Rembrandt paintings in Russian collections more frequently than he did for other pictures.

108 Wurzbach, Rembrandt-*Galerie*, 36.

109 Ibid., no. 340.

110 As with Dutuit, Van Hall, *Repertorium*, does not list a single review for Wurzbach's Rembrandt catalogue.

111 Fawcett, "Graphic versus Photographic in the Nineteenth-Century Reproduction," 185-211. In the 1870s and 1880s Bode was one of the

last prominent proponents of graphic reproduction as interpretations that were "truer" to the original impression of the work of art. By the 1890s, however, like most art historians, he was using photographs for their documentary value; see Kühnel, 115-128.

112 See Chapter 6.

113 *Portrait of Hendrickje by an Open Door*, Br. 116. Bode, *Mein Leben* 1:148 and 2:148.

114 *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, A10 *Parable of the Rich Man*. For the specific circumstances of this gift, see Warren, 131-132. Robinson had to purchase the painting back from Sir Francis Cook, to whom he had sold it earlier, in order to obtain it for Berlin.

115 Warren, 130-133 on their relationship. See also Bode, *Mein Leben* 2:114.

116 *Susanna and the Elders*, Br. 516; *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, Br. 524; *Vision of Daniel*, Br. 519. On their acquisition see Von Stockhausen, 156, and nos. 179, 539 and 540. As Von Stockhausen indicated, the purchases of *Susanna and the Elders* and *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* were not completed until 1886/87 and 1887/88 respectively, but they were on loan to the Berlin museum from 1883 onward while the financing of the acquisitions was being worked out.

117 Bode, *Mein Leben*, 1:177.

118 Sedelmeyer had earlier concentrated on selling Barbizon School and contemporary Central European paintings; beginning in the 1880s he started to turn his attention to the increasingly lucrative specialty of Old Master paintings; see Christian Huemer, "Charles Sedelmeyer (1837-1925). Kunst und Spekulation am Kunstmarkt in Paris," *Belvedere* (1991/2): 16-17.

119 See Stückelberger, especially "Wilhelm von Bode und Rembrandt," 40-47.

120 All but one of the five paintings are still listed as Rembrandts in the most recent catalogue of the Berlin paintings collection; the fifth, *The Vision of Daniel*, is now attributed by the Gemäldegalerie to Rembrandt's follower, Willem Drost; see Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, *Gemäldegalerie Berlin Gesamtverzeichnis*, Berlin, 1996, 42, no. 828F; 101, nos. 828B, 828D, 828E, and 828H.

CHAPTER 2

1 The bibliography on Morelli and his method is extensive; see Jaynie Anderson's entry in the *Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Morelli, Giovanni," for a full recitation. Here I cite only those references concerned primarily with the "scientific" basis to Morelli's method; Richard Wollheim, "Giovanni Morelli and the Origins of Scientific Connoisseurship," in *On Art and the Mind*, Cambridge, MA, 1974, 177-201; Henri Zerner, "Giovanni Morelli et la science de l'art," *Revue de l'art* 40 (1978): 209-215; Carlo Ginzburg, "Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm," in his *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, trans. John and Anne C. Tedeschi, Baltimore, ca. 1989, 96-125 (first published in Italian in 1979); Jaynie Anderson, "Giovanni Morelli et sa définition de la 'scienza dell'arte'," *Revue de l'art* 75 (1987): 49-55; Udo Kultermann, "Auf dem Wege zur exakten Wissenschaft," in *Kunst und Wirklichkeit von Fiedler bis Derrida*, Munich 1991, 37-54; Richard Pau, "Le origini scientifiche del metodo morelliano," Giacomo Agosti et al. eds., *Giovanni Morelli e la cultura dei conoscitori, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Bergamo, 4-7 guigno 1987*, vol. 2, Bergamo, 1993, 301-313; Jaynie Anderson, "Giovanni Morelli's Scientific Method of Attribution – Origins and Interpretation," in *L'Art et les révolutions. Section 5. Révolution et evolution de l'Histoire de l'Art de Warburg à nos jours*, ed. Harald Olbrich, Strasburg, 1992, 135-141.

2 Various of the authors cited above have mentioned Bode and Morelli's rivalry, but to date only Jaynie Anderson has treated it at length; see in particular her article, "The Political Power of Connoisseurship in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Wilhelm von Bode versus Giovanni Morelli," 107-119.

3 For his part, Morelli had an interest in the problems of connoisseurship associated with Rembrandt and his followers, and part of his own collection reflected this interest; see ibid., 117.

4 See Anderson's entry on Morelli in the *Dictionary of Art*, s.v., and her article, "Giovanni Morelli et sa définition de la 'scienza dell'arte," for Morelli's scientific education. Her argument that Morelli's training in comparative anatomy,

not a generalized medical education, was crucial for the formation of his theory of connoisseurship is convincing, and I have followed it here.

5 Georges Cuvier, *Recherches sur les ossements fossiles des quadrupèdes*, 1812, cited by Anderson, "Giovanni Morelli et sa definition de la 'scienza dell'arte'," 52.

6 His caricatures and their significance were discussed by Anderson, ibid., 54.

7 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in Italy from the Second to the Sixteenth Century*.

8 Giovanni Previtali, À propos de Morelli,' *Revue de l'art* 42 (1978): 27-31, rightly emphasized the importance of this connection, and of the necessity of a "foil" for Morelli; later, Bode would play this role for him. On Cavalcaselle and Morelli see also Anderson, "National Museums, the Art Market and Old Master Paintings," 386.

9 Morelli did offer praise of their work, however, even calling their writings "the most important work on Italian painting" and commending their collaboration, since the work of one person alone "was sure to make a book on art one-sided" while a collaboration, especially of "two men of equal capacity, one Teutonic the other Latin" would allow for a more judicious discussion, see Giovanni Morelli, *Italian Masters in German Galleries. A Critical Essay on the Italian Pictures in the Galleries of Munich – Dresden – Berlin*, trans. Louise M. Richter, London, 1883, v.

10 Wollheim pointed out the play on words Morelli made with his pseudonym: Morelli "went on to account for the fact that the books were written in German by saying that they had been translated by a certain Johannes Schwarze, where *schwarz* involves a pun on Morelli ('*schwarz*'= '*moro*'= 'black')," 185.

11 Leipzig, 1880; revised English translation 1883; revised Italian translation 1886. The revised second German edition of his writings on paintings in Italian and German galleries was published from 1890 to 1893.

12 Bode, *Mein Leben* 1:221. Morelli had sent Meyer a list of his attributions of Italian paintings in the Berlin collection in 1879; see Anderson, "The Political Power of Connoisseurship," 108.

13 Bode, *Mein Leben* 1:221; Anderson, "The Political Power of Connoisseurship."

14 Anderson, "The Political Power of Connoisseurship," 113-114.

15 Ibid., 116.

16 For the clearest statement of these beliefs, see Morelli's essay, "Princip und Methode," first published in the revised edition of Giovanni Morelli, *Kunstkritische Studien über italienische Malerei. Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfili in Rom*, Leipzig, 1890; published in English as "Principles and Methods," in Giovanni Morelli, *Italian Painters: Critical Studies of their Works: The Borghese and Doria Panfili Galleries in Rome*, trans. Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes, London, 1892-93, 1-63; see especially 9-25.

17 Ibid., 21-22.

18 Anderson suggested that Bode "completely failed to realize that Morelli was not interested in writing history," in "The Political Power of Connoisseurship," 117. However, since Morelli discussed the larger context of connoisseurship when he insisted that it was the "foundation" of art history, Bode's critique of Morelli as an art historian was justifiable.

19 Ivan Lermolieff [Giovanni Morelli], *Die Werke italienischer Meister in den Galerien von München, Dresden, und Berlin. Ein kritischer Versuch*, Leipzig, 1880.

20 Here I cite the English translation of 1883, vi.

21 Ibid., and 239.

22 Ibid., vii.

23 Ibid., 229-230.

24 Ibid., 353.

25 Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemälde-Galerie, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Gemälde*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1883; Jakob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, 5th ed., ed. Wilhelm Bode, Leipzig, 1884.

26 Wilhelm Bode, review of *Le opere dei maestri italiani nelle Gallerie di Monaco, Dresda e Berlino*, by J. Lermolieff, *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* 7 (1886): 1497-1501. Bode maintained the use of Morelli's pseudonym throughout this review, though he was surely aware of Morelli's authorship; the English edition of 1883 had already been published under Morelli's own name. Otto Mündler was a German dealer and art historian who had been an advisor to Sir Charles Eastlake in the late 1850s for the National Gallery's acquisition of Italian Renaissance art.

He was also an influential figure in Bode's development as a connoisseur and art historian; see Rolf Kultzen, "Otto Mündler als Freund und Förderer des jungen Bode," *Beiheft Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996): 49-55. Mündler's book, *Essai d'une analyse critique de la notice des tableaux italiens du Musée du Louvre: accompagné d'observations et de documents relatifs à ces mêmes tableaux*, had been published in Paris in 1850.

27 Bode, review of *Le opere dei maestri italiani nelle Gallerie di Monaco, Dresda e Berlino*, 1498. Several decades later Bode was still obsessed with Morelli's influence in Germany; see Bode, *Mein Leben* 1: 221-227, where he discussed his battles with Morelli and reprinted the *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* review in its entirety.

28 Bode, review of *Le opere dei maestri italiani nelle Gallerie di Monaco, Dresda e Berlino*, 1498.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., 1499.

31 Ibid., 1499-1500.

32 Ibid., 1500.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., 1500-1501.

36 On Morelli's criticisms and Bode's forbearance in this instance see also Anderson, "The Political Power of Connoisseurship," 116. She pointed out that the "polemic" against Bode was removed from the posthumous English edition of Morelli's study "as uncongenial to English taste," 117.

37 Ivan Lermolieff [Giovanni Morelli], *Kunstkritische Studien über italienische Malerei. Die Galerie zu Berlin*, ed. Gustav Frizzoni, Leipzig, 1893. Morelli died on February 28, 1891.

38 Morelli here implied that Bode's approach was a "bookish" one, derived from the legal study of texts, compared to his own "empirical" one, based on study of the objects, in this case paintings, in question. As noted before, he had also described Crowe and Cavalcaselle's method as "bookish."

39 Morelli, *Italian Painters, The Borghese and Doria-Pamfili Galleries in Rome*, pp. 45-48.

40 Wollheim saw Morelli's reference to the different training he and Bode received as being "ironical;" it could also be understood as a way of disarming Bode's prior criticism of Morelli's educational background, and turning it to his own advantage, by emphasizing his scientific outlook; see Wollheim, 186. Bode and Morelli did share at least one belief about art history; that university training in this subject was too often removed from the study of actual objects, and too concerned with the abstractions of aesthetics.

41 Wilhelm Bode, "The Berlin Renaissance Museum," *The Fortnightly Review* 56 (1 October 1891): 509.

42 Sir Austen Henry Layard, one of the most influential trustees of the National Gallery in London, even felt it necessary to end all relations with Bode after the publication of this piece. See Anderson, "The Political Power of Connoisseurship," 118. See also in this regard Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake's article (published anonymously), "Giovanni Morelli: The Patriot and Critic," *Quarterly Review* 173 (1891): 243. She cited "anonymous attacks" on Morelli in German periodicals, but certainly knew of Bode's intense criticism of Morelli.

43 Morelli's principal vocation was governmental service in Italy, as a legislator (in the 1860s) and advisor to the government about preserving Italy's artistic treasures. See Anderson, "National Museums, the Art Market, and Old Master Paintings," 382-392. David Alan Brown has previously commented on the "disappearance of the type of independent expert represented by Berenson" in favor of the "museum-oriented system that Bode envisaged," see Brown, "Bode and Berenson: Berlin and Boston," 101.

44 The fact that both Morelli and Berenson profited from art dealing was by no means unusual, but it did link them with the older tradition of the connoisseur as art dealer or amateur. Morelli served as an art advisor and dealer over the decades: see Jaynie Anderson's introduction to her edited book, *Collecting, Connoisseurship, and the Art Market in Risorgimento Italy: Giovanni Morelli's Letters to Giovanni Melli and Pietro Zavaritt*, Venice, 1999, 35-45. His relationships with other dealers were at least out in the open, in contrast with Berenson.

CHAPTER 3

1 He would also become the patron, though often a difficult one, of many young art historians who came to work at the Berlin museums, such as Max J. Friedländer, who would become the premier connoisseur of his generation of early Netherlandish painting. See Stephan Waetzoldt, "Kunstgeschichtsforschung und Kennerschaft an der Berliner Museen unter Richard Schöne und Wilhelm Bode," in *Festschrift für Hermann Fillitz zum 70. Geburtstag. Aachener Kunstblätter* (1994): 445-447. Valentiner provided a personal account of his training under Bode's stewardship; see W.R. Valentiner, "Scholarship in Museums: Personal Reminiscences," *College Art Journal* 19 (1959): 65-68.

2 For basic biographies on Bredius in English, see J.E.P. Leistra's entry in the *Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Bredius, Abraham," and Louise Barnouw-de Ranitz, "Abraham Bredius: A Biography," in The Hague, Museum Bredius, *Dutch Masterworks from the Bredius Museum: A Connoisseur's Collection*, ed. A. Blankert, Th. van Velzen, trans. Ruth Koenig, The Hague, 1985, 13-30.

3 Marten Jan Bok, "The Painter and His World: The Socioeconomic Approach to Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art," in Grijzenhout and van Veen, *The Golden Age of Dutch Painting in Historical Perspective*, on the first appointments, that of Willem Vogelsang at Utrecht and Willem Martin at Leyden, 224-225.

4 A. Bredius, *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Schilderijen te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1885.

5 Bredius's unpublished letters to Bode are preserved in the Nachlaß Bode in the Zentralarchiv of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz; some of Bode's letters to Bredius are in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague.

6 Bredius to Bode, 31 May, 1883; 18 June 1888; Nachlaß Bode.

7 A. Bredius, "Over schilderijen te Ludwigslust en Schwerin," *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1879): 360.

8 A. Bredius, "'Rembrandt's früheste Thätigkeit, der Künstler in seiner Vaterstad Leijden,' von Dr. W. Bode," *De Nederlandsche Kunstbode* 3 (1881): 245-246; A. Bredius, "Drie vroege werken van Rembrandt," *De Nederlandsche Kunstbode* 3 (1881): 182. Bredius also bragged a bit of "discovering" another early Rembrandt, a depiction of the *Denial of Saint Peter*, in the Berlin private collection of Otto Pein, and stated that two weeks after he mentioned the work to Bode, a reproduction of it had already been made for Bode's article on the early works of the master; ibid., 182-183.

9 Bredius, review of "Rembrandt's früheste Thätigkeit," 245.

10 See Chapter 6.

11 A. Bredius, "De 'Old Masters' in de Royal Academy te London, 1890," *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1890): 107. Bredius began his review with the discussion of this issue, which had clearly made a large impression on him.

12 For basic biographies in English of Hofstede de Groot, see the entry by R.E.O. Ekkart in the *Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Hofstede de Groot, Cornelis," and H.E. van Gelder, "Levensbericht van Dr. C. Hofstede de Groot," *Handelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden en Levensberichten harer gestorven medeleden* (1930-31): 99-125; published separately as H.E. van Gelder and H. Gerson, *Levensbericht van Dr. C. Hofstede de Groot met bibliographie*, Leiden, 1931; republished in J. Bolten, ed. *Dutch Drawings from the Collection of Dr. C. Hofstede de Groot*, Utrecht, 1967, trans. F.M. Daendels-Wilson, 17-36.

13 Hofstede de Groot's dissertation was published in 1891: *Arnold Houbraken in seiner Bedeutung für die holländische Kunstgeschichte, zugleich eine Quellenkritik der Houbrakenschen 'Groote Schouburgh,'* The Hague, 1891.

14 Hofstede de Groot to Bode, 29 January 1890; 3 February 1890; Nachlaß Bode. For the article, see Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, "Joannes Janssens," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* N.F. 1 (1890):132.

15 C. Hofstede de Groot, "Ein unerkannter Rembrandt in der Dresdner Galerie," *Kunstchronik* 2 (1890/91): 562-565.

16 He specifically commended Bredius for his archival finds that were incorporated in it; see Bode, review of *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van schilderijen te Amsterdam* by Abraham Bredius, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 9 (1886): 103.

17 A. Bredius and W. Bode, “Der Haarlemer Maler Johannes Molenaer in Amsterdam,” *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 10 (1889): 65-78; “Der Amsterdamer Genremaler Symon Kick,” *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 11 (1890): 102-109; “Pieter van den Bosch,” *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 14 (1893): 41-48. The last of these articles appeared as late as 1905: “Esaias Boursse, ein Schüler Rembrandts,” *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 26 (1905): 205-214.

18 C. Hofstede de Groot, review of *Die Meisterwerke der Kön. Gemäldegalerie im Haag*, by A. Bredius, *Der Kunstwart* 4 (1891): 253.

19 Max Lautner, *Wer ist Rembrandt? Grundlagen zu einem Neubau der holländischen Kunstgeschichte*, Breslau, 1891.

20 While the debates over Lautner’s book were nearly forgotten for 100 years, recently both Irene Geismeier and Johannes Stückelberger have revisited this incident; Irene Geismeier, “Rufmord an Rembrandt. Zu einem vergessenen Stück Rembrandts-Diskussion,” *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Forschungen und Berichte* 29/30 (1990): 217-220; and Stückelberger, 46-47.
The scant biographical information we have on Lautner today is cited by Geismeier, 217. Geismeier demonstrated Lautner’s linkage of two different strains of nineteenth-century art historical scholarship: an earlier one, a philosophical, interpretive mode that discussed the artist as a representative of cultural genius, and a positivist approach that developed later in the century and focused on the delineation of an artist’s career and determination of the artist’s life circumstances through close study of individual works and archival research. For Geismeier, Lautner evinced the influence of both of these scholarly modes, which he then in a sense turned on their head by using them to describe a Rembrandt who was not a hero-genius, but a human failure, whose work was painted by another artist, Ferdinand Bol. Thus, while Lautner critiqued the methodological results of Rembrandt scholars (most notably Bode) he tried to use the same evidence they did: signatures on paintings, close observation of style revealed through study of originals and photographs, and reference to relevant documents and literary remains, all in the service of proving who was the true genius, Rembrandt or Bol. Stückelberger focused his discussion of Lautner on the challenge the author raised to Bode, suggesting that many would have liked to see him humbled, as Bode himself maintained in his memoir, *Mein Leben* 1: 215-252.

21 Lautner, 30. I have not been able to trace this painting.

22 I translate Lautner’s *latenten Bezeichnungen* as “latent signatures” to indicate that whether these “markings” were (according to Lautner) monograms, individual letters, or full signatures, they were all intended to indicate authorship in Lautner’s system. Given that no one other than Lautner truly claimed to see these “latenten Bezeichnungen,” it is sometimes hard to know precisely how envisioned them.

23 *Abduction of Proserpina*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, ca. 1631, *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1983, A39.

24 Lautner, 35.

25 Lautner also maintained that he would “shortly” publish the details of his new process, 32.
To the best of my knowledge he never did so. However, he did admit in the text to the plates that certain among them had been retouched, though, he maintained, only for comparative purposes.

26 It can perhaps be seen as a foreshadowing of postmodernist scholarship, nearly one hundred years *avant la lettre*, that Lautner used the term “Rembrandt” to refer to a historicized concept just as Mieke Bal did in her semiotic approach to Rembrandt; Mieke Bal, *Reading Rembrandt*, Cambridge, 1991.

27 Lautner, 224 ff.

28 Ibid., 233-234 and 360-362. In fact, Lautner believed that just as Rembrandt was not the inventor of these designs, van Vliet was not the printmaker responsible for them, if one signature could be put on falsely, why not the other inscription as well?
An old copy of the *Saint Jerome*, possibly made from the etching, came into the Berlin painting gallery with the Suermondt collection in 1874, see *Gemäldegalerie Berlin Gesamtverzeichnis*, 102, no. 806C under “Rembrandt Nachfolge.”

For Bode's acquisition of *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, 1655, Br. 524 see Chapter 1.

29 See Lautner, pt. 2, ch. 6, "Wie der Irrthum über Rembrandt entstanden ist. Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Autorbegriffes 'Rembrandt,'" 383-449.

30 Ibid., 397.

31 Ibid., 419-420, citing Jean-Baptiste Descamps, *La vie des peintres flamands, allemands, et hollandois*, Paris, 1753-64.

32 Ibid., 404-405. These writers were not all true contemporaries of Bol, it should be noted.

33 Ibid., pt. 2, ch. 2, 258-305.

34 Lautner, 137.

35 The issue of the relevance of biography to artistic creation is one that would become current again in Rembrandt studies ninety years later. In the 1980s, a number of reviewers of both Schwartz, *Rembrandt: His Life, His Paintings*, and Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market*, Chicago, 1985, objected strenuously to what they saw as overly negative presentations of the historical Rembrandt as a person, as, for instance, venal, self-involved, and careless with other people's money and emotions; someone whose life was quite separate from the world created through his art. It became clear that the problem of how, or whether, biography is relevant to the study of an artist's work had not been solved in the century that separated Lautner's work from Schwartz's and Alpers's.

36 Lautner, 38.

37 Bode, *Mein Leben* 1: 251.

38 See Dilly, 33, 37, and 151-153. Hermann Grimm was one of the most outspoken proponents for the use of photography in art history to help ground it as a discipline and make it comparable to the natural sciences in rigor. Despite Bode's extensive use of photographs, he believed that they should have a far more limited role in art-historical training than the actual objects under study.

39 Bode even claimed to have been threatened with a lawsuit at one point for referring to Lautner as a "charlatan." See Bode, *Mein Leben* 1: 251.

40 Letters were sent back and forth among these scholars about Lautner as well; see the letters from Hofstede de Groot to Bode, 31 May 1891, and from Bredius to Bode, 6 and 18 May and 17 July 1891 and 5 April 1892; Nachlaß Bode, Zentralarchiv.

41 Abraham Bredius, "Wer is Max Lautner?" *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1891): 152.

42 On Zedlitz, see Bode, *Mein Leben* 1: 251-252; 2: 231-232.

43 Bredius, "Wer ist Max Lautner?" 153.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

46 Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, review of *Wer ist Rembrandt? Grundlagen zu einem Neubau der holländischen Kunstgeschichte*, by Max Lautner, *Der Kunstwart* (1891): 268.

47 Ibid. As Hofstede de Groot also pointed out, Bol surprisingly appeared to have spelled his name with a German rather than a Dutch "B" in his "latent signatures."

48 Ibid. The evidence Hofstede de Groot raised included a civic government document from 1715 concerning the cleaning of the painting by Rembrandt in the Kloveniersdoelen and its removal to the Town Hall, where it remained until the early nineteenth century, and the discovery of two names previously unnoticed on the shield in the painting, which matched the names of sitters listed in a 1659 document about a Rembrandt guard painting.

49 Ibid. This claim was made in Bredius and Bode, "Der Haarlemer Maler Johannes Molenaer in Amsterdam," 6; however, they did not provide a list.

50 Bredius, "Lautner und kein Ende!" *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1891): 191.

51 Ibid. Bredius cited a piece in the *Vossische Zeitung* (no date given) as manifesting Grimm's influence.

52 [C[arl] von Lützow] "Wer ist Rembrandt?" *Kunstchronik* N.F. 2 (1891): 432.

53 The publisher of *Kunstchronik*, E.A. Seeman, ended up publishing the gist of Moes's review, and the brief letter that Bredius had prepared, but also explained that he had been compelled to edit Moes's letter in order to eliminate personal attacks on Lautner. This unusual document was published in *Kunstchronik*, with Seeman's full explanation of the reasons for the delay in its printing, because Moes had privately published the unedited version of his review,

along with a number of reviews of Lautner from newspapers, and then had dedicated his publication to Bode, "den grossen Rembrandtkenner." E.A. Seeman, "Rembrandt. Lautner, und Moes," *Kunstchronik* N.F. 2 (1891): 527-536. Seeman asked his readers to compare the version he had edited, with Moes's original version, to see whether he had made a "caricature" of Moes's text or not.

54 Wilhelm Bode, in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (28 May 1891), cited by Bredius, "Lautner und kein Ende!" 191.

55 Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, review of *Wer ist Rembrandt?* by Max Lautner, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 14 (1891): 429.

56 Ibid., 429-430.

57 This would in turn negate Lautner's theory that two militia paintings may have originally existed, one by Rembrandt and another by "Rembrandt," that is Ferdinand Bol, and that only the latter still existed, with its latent signatures revealing the truth of its authorship.

58 Hofstede de Groot, "Max Lautner: Wer ist Rembrandt?" 432.

59 Wilhelm Bode, "Max Lautner, 'Wer ist Rembrandt?'" *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* 11 (1891): 1504-1505. He opened with a statement of some exasperation and a topical reference to a recently published book by Julius Langbehn, *Rembrandt als Erzieher. Von einem Deutschen*, Leipzig, 1890. Bode commented that, after having just learned that Rembrandt was the embodiment of the true German spirit, his countrymen now had been told they were praying to a false god, the lazy, perfidious, and untalented painter Rembrandt.
In fact, the pairing of Lautner's book with Langbehn's had already become a trope of reviewers of *Wer ist Rembrandt?* Lützow had already used this comparison in May in the *Kunstchronik*, as did Seeman. *Rembrandt als Erzieher* was not about Rembrandt or his art in any real sense; rather, Rembrandt represented for Langbehn the greatness of the German people in past centuries. First published anonymously, this book was intended to serve as a summons to the German people (*Volk)* to cast off what Langbehn saw as their mediocre conformity, and to emulate great individualists, such as Rembrandt. Some art historians, including Bode and Woldemar von Seidlitz, at first championed Langbehn's racialist screed; for Bode, who reviewed the book favorably, the choice of Rembrandt to symbolize German greatness must have been especially gratifying, given his work to promote knowledge of this artist for twenty years; see Bode, review of *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, by Julius Langbehn, *Preussische Jahrbücher* 65 (1890): 301-14. Over time, in part because of the poor reception of the book by Dutch scholars, who rejected the appropriation of their national hero by a German, Bode's approval of it cooled. *Rembrandt als Erzieher* was highly successful and went through many printings; in the 1920s and '30s it became a favorite text among some of the National Socialists, as a model for the presentation of the Aryan ideal and because of its considerable anti-Semitism (at least in regard to modern assimilated Jews in Germany). For a recent, nuanced discussion of Langbehn's book and in particular Bode's initial support of (and likely continuing agreement with) it see Shelley Perlove, "Perceptions of Jewish Otherness: The Critical Response to the Jews of Rembrandt's Art and Milieu (1800-1945)," in *Dutch Crossing* 25 (2001): 256-258, and earlier, Hilmar Frank, "Übereilte Annäherung. Bode und der Rembrandtdeutsche," *Wilhelm von Bode als Zeitgenosse der Kunst*, 1995, 77-82; Stückelberger, 47-53. See also Boomgaard, 174-176 and *passim*. Wilhelm Valentiner, who was still an adolescent when *Rembrandt als Erzieher* was published, nonetheless championed its main idea that Rembrandt could serve as a moral exemplar for the modern world well into the 1950s; see his discussion in Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, *Rembrandt and His Pupils,* exh. cat., Raleigh, 1956, 13 and Perlove, 258.

60 Bode, "Wer ist Rembrandt?" 1504.

61 *Kunstchronik* was a supplement to the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*.

62 Werner Dahl, "Zum Rembrandtstreit," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* N.F. 2 (1891): 246-248.

63 Ibid., 246.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid, 247. Émile Michel was a French painter and writer, and the most prominent scholar of Rembrandt's work in France in the late nine-

teenth century; his Rembrandt monograph from 1893 was accepted as the standard monograph for several decades; Michel, *Rembrandt. Sa vie, ses oeuvres et son temps*, Paris, 1893. See Chapter 4 for his review of the 1898 exhibition of Rembrandt paintings in Amsterdam.

66 Dahl, 247.

67 Dahl, 248.

68 Ibid.

69 Geismeier argued that Lautner himself seemed to apply two contradictory scholarly methods simultaneously; an idealizing philosophical approach, in which one recounts great men perform great deeds, and a empiricist approach, in which one used hard data (objective facts) to build up an unassailable argument; "Rufmord an Rembrandt. Zu einem vergessenen Stück Rembrandts-Diskussion," 219.

70 While the scholarly strife occasioned by Lautner's book was considerable, it also remained by and large a German matter. That is, no matter what the nationality of the scholars who participated in this debate, it was waged almost exclusively in the German press and in German academic journals. Although Bredius addressed the Dutch readership of *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, he was really bringing it up to date about the latest reports in Germany; he also contributed newspaper articles to German papers during this period. Hofstede de Groot's major statements were in German journals; as a product of the German system of graduate training, he was naturally prepared to turn to such publications, but it also indicates the high degree of status German scholarly journals held in the field of art history. Bode, as the dean not only of Rembrandt studies but of museum professionals, was obliged to defend his favorite artist, and his own research, in Germany, since Lautner launched his claim based on works in German museums. Then, too, without a translation of Lautner's book into English or French, the furor did not spread to countries where those languages were used, although Michel did review it in France; Émile Michel, "Les biographes et les critiques de Rembrandt," *Revue des deux mondes* 3rd per., 108 (1891): 666-671.

71 C. Hofstede de Groot, "Hoe men Rembrandts ontdekt," *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1893): 293.

72 Max Lautner, *Rembrandt. Ein historisches Problem*, Berlin, 1910. Bredius was among the few to note its appearance, in *Kunstchronik* 46 (1911): 481. Lautner had become increasingly bitter over the years, and discussed how the power of figures such as Bode had affected the negative reception or rejection of his work. In the meantime however, Lautner had also gone on to make claims for latent signatures by other artists, such as Michelangelo, on various art works, which helped to diminish any remaining credibility for his ideas. At the end of his life, a man obsessed, he tried to settle old scores by writing to Nazi officials about the now deceased Bode's supposed abuse of his office for personal gain, and his hiring only of Jews (such as Max J. Friedländer) as assistants in order to facilitate running the director's office as an art dealership. See for Lautner's later career Geismeier, "Rufmord an Rembrandt," 218-219.

73 See Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 4

1 Barbara Paul briefly discussed what she called the "Rembrandt enthusiasm" of the 1890s in her article, "'Das Kollektionieren ist die edelste aller Leidenschaften!' Wilhelm von Bode und das Verhältnis zwischen Museum, Kunsthandel und Privatsammlertum," *Kritische Berichte* 21 (1993): 51.

2 Wilm, 14-15. In the 1920s, a heated discussion about the practice of writing expertises for money would be launched, with Bredius and Hofstede de Groot on opposite sides of the issue.

3 Hofstede de Groot, "De Hollandsche school in Het Rudolphinum te Praag," *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1890): 213-214; "Hollandsche Kunst in Schotland," *Oud Holland* 11 (1893):129-148; *Hollandsche Kunst in Engelsche verzamelingen, etsen door P.J. Arendzen*. Amsterdam, 1893.

4 Bredius, "Onbekende Rembrandts in Polen, Galicie en Rusland," *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1897): 197-199.

5 Ibid., 197.

6 The "*Polish Rider*," Br. 279, was bought by Henry Clay Frick in 1910. See New York,

The Frick Collection, *The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue*, vol. 1, *Paintings: American, British, Dutch, Flemish and German*, New York, 1968, 258-265. The vagaries of this painting's attribution were traced by Anthony Bailey as a way of discussing the problems of Rembrandt connoisseurship; see. Anthony Bailey, *Responses to Rembrandt*, New York, 1994.

7 Bredius, "Onbekende Rembrandts," 197. The supplement to Bode's studies was printed in the *Münchener neueste Nachrichten* (July 19, 1890).

8 Bredius, "Onbekende Rembrandts," 197. Bredius also mentioned that Hofstede de Groot had traveled in Eastern Europe in 1895, but did not have enough time to make the trip to Tarnowski's residence.

9 The *Portrait of a Woman* is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; see *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, A83. The *Self-Portrait* in Prince Lubomirski's collection, now in the Indianapolis Museum of Art, was listed as a copy of the *Self-Portrait in a Cap, with the Mouth Open*, in Japan, the MOA Museum; see *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, A22, 235, under copy one. I have not been able to trace the other paintings from these private collections Bredius mentioned.

10 A *Dismissal of Hagar* by the eighteenth-century German artist (and Rembrandt emulator) Ch. W.E. Dietrich was in the Roumiantsov Museum, catalogued as an Eeckhout in 1912, and is now in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow; see Werner Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, vol. 5, Landau, 1983, 3058, no. 2030.

11 *Haman, Esther and Ahasuerus* (Br. 530) was later transferred to the Pushkin Museum in Moscow; see V. Loewinson-Lessing, ed., *Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn: Paintings from Soviet Museums*, Leningrad, 1975, no. 26, where it is stated that the painting was in fact sent to Hauser for work in the 1890s.

12 P.J.J. van Thiel, "De Rembrandt-tentoonstelling van 1898," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 40 (1992/93): 11-93.

13 Arti et Amicitiae, of which Bredius was an important member, had first discussed, in 1895, the possibility of holding a Rembrandt exhibition the following year. This would have been the first large-scale exhibition of an old master artist to be held in the Netherlands, but the difficulties of mounting such a show led early on to a revised schedule for 1898. Then, when the coronation commission began to organize its festivities in 1896, a decision was made to include an exhibition of old master paintings, though not originally of just one artist; a subcommittee for this purpose was appointed in 1897. With Bredius's urging, the decision was made to combine the financial and organizational strengths of the two committees; see van Thiel, "De Rembrandt tentoonstelling van 1898," 13-14.

14 Those documents concerning Hofstede de Groot's work on the Rembrandt exhibition have been preserved among his papers in the archival department of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie at The Hague. Hofstede de Groot believed that his efforts for the exhibition were not truly appreciated, however. On a copy of the exhibition catalogue (also in the RKD) he wrote "[O]ut of the 124 paintings exhibited, over 90 were obtained as a result of my investigation, through my intervention or on my advice. I spent ca. 120 guldens for postage fees, compiled the catalogue, edited the commemorative volume, travelled to England (three times) and South Germany. I proposed the nomination of the foreign members of honour, was instrumental in obtaining the paintings of the Queen of England and the city of Amsterdam; I asked the Queen to visit the exhibition a second time, got the art history congress to Amsterdam, and worked for half a year almost exclusively for the exhibition, but *nobody*, neither the government nor the committee of principal inhabitants, nor the society 'Arti', nor the Chairman of the Rembrandt committee gave me even the *slightest word of thanks*. If it comes to that, the gentlemen of the Royal Academy, for which I did far less, were quite different! C.H. de G," as quoted in the introduction by Jaap Bolten to *Dutch Drawings from the Collection of Dr. C. Hofstede de Groot*, 15-16.

15 Exhibitions in 1875 and 1877 honored Michelangelo and Rubens, respectively, but in each case their work was represented largely through reproductions, see Francis Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition*, New Haven and London,

2000, 99-102 (who also emphasized the groundbreaking nature of the Amsterdam Rembrandt exhibition, 102-04). During the nineteenth century a number of exhibitions were held in Great Britain that included numerous paintings attributed to Rembrandt; nineteen 'Rembrandts' were included in an exhibit of the British Institution in 1815, thirty in the Art Treasures in Manchester, 1857, eighteen in the Royal Academy Winter Exhibition in 1889, but no large monographic exhibition of Rembrandt took place until that held in 1899 at the Royal Academy. See ibid., 64-65, and Algernon Graves, *A Century of Loan Exhibitions 1813-1912*, London 1914, 1003-1018.

16 These statistics are from Van Thiel, "De Rembrandt tentoonstelling van 1898," 27-28.

17 Marcel Nicolle, "L'Exposition Rembrandt à Amsterdam," *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 4 (July-December 1898): 412.

18 Nicolle mentioned the important role archival research had played in that period; 414; see also Van Thiel, "De Rembrandt tentoonstelling van 1898," 16.

19 While Bode is credited with the idea for the Rembrandt exhibition, Bredius was the one who suggested it should be held in Amsterdam. See Ger Luijten, "Wilhelm von Bode und Holland," *Beiheft Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996): 73.

20 Wilhelm Bode with C. Hofstede de Groot, *Rembrandt. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis seiner Gemälde*. Unfortunately, Bode, although an honorary member of the exhibition committee, was not able to see the fruits of his work embodied in the exhibit itself, for he was bedridden with an extended illness during the fall of 1898.

21 See Van Thiel, "De Rembrandt tentoonstelling van 1898," 24.

22 For a list of reviews see ibid., 56-58, and 70-71, n.105-112; also Van Hall 1: 581-582.

23 Émile Michel, "L'Exposition Rembrandt à Amsterdam," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* ser. 3, 20 (1898): 360.

24 Nicolle, 418. Although, as Nicolle mentioned, this progression was somewhat more difficult to follow in the exhibition space itself because of the nonchronological installation of the pictures. Hofstede de Groot was responsible for the short catalogue, which listed the works chronologically, rather than in the order in which they were displayed, see Van Thiel, "De Rembrandt tentoonstelling van 1898," 63, n. 25.

25 Émile Michel's popular monograph *Rembrandt, sa vie son œuvre et son temps* helped to lead the way through its photographic illustrations, but it did not provide enough of them to allow readers to envision Rembrandt's early work.

26 Br. 410, 415, and 416.

27 See *Corpus* vol. 3, 1989, for A145 London, Buckingham Palace, *Portrait of Agatha Bas*, 1641; A134 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, *Still Life with Peacocks*, ca. 1639; A138 Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts, *The Visitation*, 1640; The Hague, Mauritshuis, *David Playing the Harp before Saul*, ca. 1655-65 (Br. 526); London, Kenwood House, *Self-Portrait with Palette and Mahlstick*, ca. 1665 (Br. 52); Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, *Flagellation of Christ*, 1668? (Br. 593). Van Thiel, "De Rembrandt tentoonstelling van 1898," listed both current locations and those of 1898 for all the paintings in the exhibition, 72ff. Of this group of paintings praised by Veth, the only ones whose attributions have been challenged are the *David Playing the Harp before Saul* and the *Flagellation*. For a full discussion of the problems of attribution (and dating) for the *David and Saul* picture (originally doubted by Bode) see Ben Broos, *Intimacies & Intrigues. History Painting in the Mauritshuis*, The Hague, 1993, no. 34, 279-84, where the painting is given to "Rembrandt (studio?)" with a possible attribution to Willem Drost. The *Flagellation of Christ* (or *Christ at the Column*, no. 593*)* was doubted by Gerson in Bredius/Gerson, p. 611, and excluded from Horst Gerson, *Rembrandt Paintings*, Amsterdam, 1969, as well as from subsequent catalogues. Sumowski catalogued it as a product of Rembrandt's workshop, 4:2945, no. 1922, and Sybille Ebert-Schifferer, *Le musée de Darmstadt*, Paris, 1996, listed the *Flagellation* as "atelier de Rembrandt," 77.

28 Van Thiel, 41-42, citing Veth. The paintings (Br. 327, 402), are now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, ca. 1660, see Wheelock, 1942.9.67 *Portrait of a Gentleman with a Tall Hat and Gloves* and 1942.9.68 *Portrait of a Lady with an Ostrich-Feather Fan*. Veth's opinions were

cited at length by Van Thiel, 33-49, who used Veth's detailed, room by room discussion of the exhibition in *De Kroniek* as a starting point for his own discussion of the individual works.

29 No. 13, which was not included in Bredius's catalogue, is now in Groningen, the Groninger Museum; no. 22, now entitled *Portrait of Princess Amalia van Solms, Wife of Frederik Hendrik*, 1632, is in Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, see *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, A61; no. 25, now titled *Portrait of a Young Woman* was in a private collection in Santa Barbara, California prior to 1986, see *Corpus*, vol. 2, A84.

30 Van Thiel listed the *Slaughtered Ox*, no. 43, as location unknown. It was not included in Bredius's catalogue.

31 Current location unknown; formerly Minneapolis, Walker Art Gallery (later Foundation). It was not included in Bredius's catalogue.

32 Michel, "L'Exposition Rembrandt," 472. Nicolle also noted the dispute over the authenticity of this painting, although he himself did not take a firm stand for or against this work, 548.

33 Veth, cited by Van Thiel, 33.

34 Ibid., 34. Not included in Bredius. This picture is still in the collection of the royal family in England, but is no longer considered to be the work of Rembrandt. Christopher White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, Cambridge, 1982, 25, no. 27, suggested that "Bredius's attribution to Bol merits serious consideration." Sumowski 5:3081, no. 2005a, attributed it to Bol. However, Albert Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol (1616-1680) Rembrandt's Pupil*, Doornspijk, 1982, listed it as "after Rembrandt," 151, fig. 89.

35 Br. 128. See discussion later in this chapter.

36 Van Thiel, 44. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; not included in Bredius. See discussion in Chapter 5.

37 Ibid., 48. Veth's judgment is accepted today, and this version, now in the Národni Galerie in Prague, is regarded as a copy of the original, now in a private collection in Great Britain; see *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, A15, pp. 194-5 under copy one.

38 Van Thiel, 47. In the Staatliches Museum, Schwerin. Not included in Bredius.

39 The *Old Woman with a Book*, not included in Bredius, is now in the Frick Collection, New York, attributed to Karel van der Pluym, *The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue*, vol. 1, 249-250. The *Portrait of a Woman*, now entitled *Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels* (Br. 115), is in Frankfurt, the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, attributed to Rembrandt's workshop, see Jochen Sander and Bodo Brinkmann, *Niederländische Gemälde vor 1800 im Städel*, Frankfurt am Main, 1995, 47.

40 The current location of these paintings is unknown; neither was included in Bredius's catalogue.

41 On Veth's qualities as a Rembrandt connoisseur see Van Thiel, 32.

42 Nicolle, "L'Exposition Rembrandt à Amsterdam," *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 5 (1899): 44.

43 Nicolle, "L'Exposition Rembrandt à Amsterdam," (1898), 554.

44 Nicolle, "L'Exposition Rembrandt à Amsterdam," (1899), 48.

45 Ibid., 54.

46 In the twentieth century major exhibitions of Rembrandt's paintings were held in 1930, 1931, 1932, 1935, 1956, 1969, 1991-92, 1997, and 1999.

47 Abraham Bredius, "Kritische Bemerkungen zur Amsterdamer-Rembrandt-Ausstellung," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* N.F. 10 (1898-99): 161.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid., 162.

51 Ibid., 163.

52 Ibid., 164. Both the *"Jewish Bride"* and the *Family Portrait*, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum (Br. 417) are now typically dated in the late 1660s.

53 *Homer*, The Hague, Mauritshuis (Br. 483) is dated 1663; *Return of the Prodigal Son*, St. Petersburg, Hermitage (Br. 598) is generally accepted as a work of the late 1660s.

54 Ibid., 165.

55 The painting has gone by various titles: *Young Woman at Her Toilette*, *A Young Woman at Her Mirror*, 165[4], St. Petersburg, Hermitage (Br. 387), accepted by Schwartz no. 272, and Tümpel, no. 151; Loewing-Lessing, *Young*

Woman with Earrings, no. 24, where it is stated that the painting is signed and dated 1657. Sumowski considered this painting to be the product of the Rembrandt school, dependent upon the London painting, 5: 3081.

56 Bredius, "Kritische Bemerkungen zur Amsterdamer-Rembrandt-Ausstellung," 168.

57 Ibid., 195. The current location of the *Study of an Angel* is unknown; Bredius did not include it in his catalogue. Reproduced in Valentiner, *Rembrandt, des Meisters Gemälde*, 543; Valentiner said it was "perhaps" the work of Rembrandt, but connected it to Aert de Gelder as well, 566. Sumowski, like Bredius, associated this fragment with a *Sacrifice of Manoah* he attributed to Barent Fabritius, 5: 3095 (within entry no. 2066).

58 "Kritische Bemerkungen zur Amsterdamer-Rembrandt-Ausstellung," 198.

59 Br. 483. See discussion later in this chapter on Bredius's purchases of Rembrandt paintings, including those lent to the Rembrandt exhibition, and Van Thiel, "De Rembrandt tentoonstelling van 1898," 72ff. Bredius purchased another painting at the close of the exhibition, *David Playing the Harp before Saul* (no. 118), to present to the Mauritshuis.

60 In the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (15 November 1898); see Van Thiel, 57. The *Winetasters* is in the Musée Bonnat, in Bayonne; it did not appear in Bredius's catalogue. While the 1970 Musée Bonnat catalogue listed it as "Rembrandt school," it was not included in Sumowski's catalogue; Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, *Catalogue Sommaire*, Paris, 1970, 94, no. 973. Van Thiel drew attention to Hofstede de Groot's choice of the word "geloofsbekentenis" or confession of faith to describe the paintings' significance for the evaluation of authenticity was fraught with meaning.

61 C. Hofstede de Groot, "Die Rembrandt-Ausstellungen zu Amsterdam (September-October 1898) und zu London (Januar-März 1899)," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 22 (1899): 159.

62 Ibid. The *Corpus*, vol. 3, 1989, A111, *The Prodigal Son in a Tavern*, stated that as Hofstede de Groot maintained, the signature is written as "Rembrant" without a "d," but it is said to "make a rather unconvincing impression," 142.

63 This painting, now generally accepted as the work of Bol, is in the Springfield Art Institute and Gallery in Springfield, Massachusetts. Albert Blankert catalogued it as a possible self portrait of Bol, see Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol*, no. 64, and pl. 65.

64 Hofstede de Groot, "Die Rembrandt-Ausstellungen," 159-160.

65 Hofstede de Groot, "Die Rembrandt-Ausstellungen," 160.

66 Unlike Bredius, Hofstede de Groot maintained the attribution of this fragment to Rembrandt into the twentieth century; see *Beschreibendes und kritisiches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 6 *Rembrandt-Maes*, no. 28.

67 Hofstede de Groot, "Die Rembrandt Ausstellungen," 160-161.

68 Dr. Sträter and W. Bode, "Rembrandt's Radirungen," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 9 (1886): 260-261.

69 London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Exhibition of Works by Rembrandt*, exh. cat., London, 1899.

70 The eleven paintings then attributed to Rembrandt owned by Sir Richard Wallace were put on display at Bethnal Green in 1872, while The Royal Academy showed eighteen paintings by Rembrandt in 1889; see Graves, 1012, and 1016-1017.

71 The decision to hold this exhibition was only made on November 2, 1898, by the Winter Exhibition Committee for 1899, and seems to have been done so when certain members realized the opportunity they had to obtain on loan paintings that would be returning from Amsterdam. See London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Royal Academy. Annual Report 1899*, London, 1899, 26, in appendix no. 2.

72 A point previously made by Van Thiel, "De Rembrandt tentoonstelling van 1898," 55.

73 *The Times of London* (31 December 1898), quoted by Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum*, 143. See also in the *Royal Academy. Annual Report 1899*, "although not many foreign owners could be induced to part with their treasures, the Collection eventually got together, in the opinion of competent critics, if it did not exceed, certainly equaled that in the capital of the painter's native country," p. 26.

74 The *Entombment* (Br. 582) now entitled *Lamentation*, is in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, where it is labeled "School of Rembrandt." See Franklin W. Robinson et al., *Catalogue of the Flemish and Dutch Paintings, 1400-1900, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art*, Sarasota, Florida, 1980, no. 116. Sumowski catalogued this painting as a product of the Rembrandt school from about 1650; 4:2960, no. 1968.

75 Abraham Bredius, "Die Rembrandtausstellung in London, "*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* N.F. 10 (1899): 298.

76 The *Tribute Money* (Br. 586) still in Bywell, Northumberland, collection of the Viscount Allendale's Trustees, has been attributed to Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout; see entry by Volker Manuth in *Rembrandt: The Master and His Workshop*, no. 70; The *Adoration of the Magi* (Br. 592) is now characterized as "Style of Rembrandt;" see White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, no. 164, or as anonymous Rembrandt school, Sumowski 4:2954, no. 1946. On the *Flagellation of Christ* see note 27.

77 Nos. 1 and 3, nos. 83 and 57.

78 Van Thiel, "De Rembrandt tentoonstelling van 1898," 55. No other scholars are mentioned in the Royal Academy's annual report as having been consulted.

79 Hofstede de Groot, "Die Rembrandt Ausstellungen," 164.

80 No. 1, "*Rembrandt's Mother*" was in Bredius's collection; see ibid., 165.

81 Ibid., 166.

82 In 1899 Émile Michel was the only other scholarly specialist on Rembrandt to enjoy an international reputation, but he was regarded more as the biographer of Rembrandt than a preeminent connoisseur; Michel's deference to Bode's judgment on authenticity in his 1893 monograph indicated his own acceptance of this general evaluation of their respective talents.

83 See Bredius, "Kritische Bemerkungen zur Amsterdamer-Rembrandt-Ausstellung," 167. Hofstede de Groot had bought it an auction in 1897; see Bode, *The Complete Work of Rembrandt*, vol. 3, Paris, 1899, no. 160.

84 On these paintings see H.R. Hoetink, ed., *The Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis*, Amsterdam and New York, 1985, *Portrait of an Old Man ("Rembrandt's Brother, Adriaen van Rijn")* no. 556 (Br. 130); the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, no. 579 (Br. 556); and *Bust of a Laughing Man in a Gorget*, no. 598 (Br. 134) The *Portrait of an Old Man* was purchased from Sedelmeyer in 1891. When the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* was cleaned, the false Rembrandt signature came off; today this work is simply called *Travelers Resting* and is given to an anonymous follower of Rembrandt; see Marjolein de Boer and Josefine Leistra, *Bredius, Rembrandt en het Mauritshuis!!!*, Zwolle and The Hague ca. 1991, 34 and *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, C12.

85 Bode, "Das Bildnis von Rembrandts Bruder Adriaen Harmensz van Rijn im Mauritshuis," *Oud Holland* 9 (1891): 1-6.

86 *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, B6. In later years Hofstede de Groot claimed that he had insisted on the painting's authenticity when it first surface at the dealer Kleinberger's Paris shop in 1894, while Bode and Bredius had their doubts about it; see A.B. de Vries, *Rembrandt in the Mauritshuis* The Hague, 1978, 55, quoting Hofstede de Groot's *Echt of inecht* of 1925.

87 For a summary of these paintings see Hoetink, 430-431.

88 For *Rembrandt's Mother* see *Corpus*, vol. 1, C12 ; *Bust of an Old Man*, *Corpus*, vol. 1, B7. The *Praying Woman* was not included in Bredius; it is catalogued simply as "Dutch School" in De Boer and Leistra, no. 26; Sumowski catalogued it as "anonymous Rembrandt school," 4:2884, note 35. Bredius had doubts about the attribution of the *Minerva* even in 1899, when he suggested only that it "could possibly be a very early work of Rembrandt's," see De Vries et al., under "Circle of Rembrandt,' no. 2. It was not included in Bredius's catalogue.
Bode's catalogue entry for *The Portrait of a Young Woman* stated only slightly obliquely that it was "[P]urchased in 1893 from Mr. Martin Colnaghi, in London where the pictures was known among dealers as the work of Aelbert Cuyp," see Bode, *The Complete Work of Rembrandt*, vol. 1, 1897, no. 52. The *Portrait of a Young Woman* was on loan to the Mauritshuis from October 1893 to August 1921; it was not included in Bredius's catalogue. As of 1968, the

Portrait of a Young Woman was in a private collection in the United States. See De Boer and Leistra, 88-89, 110, and Van Thiel, 74 and 79.

89 Bredius acquired these paintings from a variety of sources, including art dealers (Sedelmeyer, Kleinberger, Humphrey Ward) auctions, and private owners; see entries in Hoetink.

90 The Gemäldegalerie was still paying off the purchase price of some of the Rembrandts acquired in the mid 1880s until nearly the end of that decade; see notes by Von Stockhausen on these purchases, 308.

91 *Gemäldegalerie Berlin Gesamtverzeichnis*, 101-102, no. 828K, 102, nos. 828L and 828M. *Corpus*, vol. 3, 1989, A106 *Preaching of Saint John the Baptist*, and A143 *The Mennonite preacher Cornelis Claesz Anslo and His Wife, Aeltje Gerritsdr Schouten*. On the provenance of the *Portrait Study of a Young Jew* (Br. 250) see Bode, *The Complete Paintings of Rembrandt*, vol. 4, 1900, no. 544. The two paintings no longer accepted as Rembrandts are *The Old Man with a Red Cap* (Br. 269) acquired in 1890 from the T. Humphrey Ward collection, and *Man with the Golden Helmet*, acquired from Colnaghi in 1897. Both are now cataloged as "Circle of Rembrandt," *Gemäldegalerie Berlin Gesamtverzeichnis*, 102, nos. 828I and 811A.

92 Von Stockhausen, 157. Purchases had to go through an elaborate administrative procedure, and any work over 5000 marks had to be approved by the Kaiser, 140.

93 Bode, *Mein Leben* I: 260. He added that the earl insisted that he buy another painting as well, and acquired what he recognized to be a Domenico Veneziano work for 2000 pounds, which the earl considered handsome repayment for an ugly work. As is always the case with Bode's memoir however, this story needs to be read with a grain of salt. On the role of Colnaghi, see Warren, 123, with further literature.

94 Von Stockhausen, 140.

95 Waetzoldt, "Kunstgeschichtsforschung und Kennerschaft an den Berliner Museen unter Richard Schöne und Wilhelm Bode," *passim*.

96 Bode, "Rembrandts Predigt Johannes des Täufers in der Königlichen Gemälde-Galerie zu Berlin," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 13 (1892): 213.

97 Ibid., 214.

98 The painting is dated ca 1634-35 in the most recent catalogue of the Berlin painting collection, *Gemäldegalerie Berlin, Gesamtverzeichnis*, 101. Bode's theory that Rembrandt included a self-portrait and one of his mother never gained acceptance in the Rembrandt literature.

99 Peter Bloch and Henning Bock, "Der Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein," in *Wilhelm von Bode. Museumsdirektor und Mäzen*, p. 91. See also Von Stockhausen, 140-42, with citation of further literature.

100 The Vereniging Rembrandt, or Rembrandt Society, founded in 1883, predated the KFMV, but it bought works for museums throughout the Netherlands, not just for one museum. The choice of Rembrandt's name to stand for this group is one more indication of his cultural importance as a symbol of "Dutchness" as well as of great art.

101 For the full history of the painting, including the questions of authorship and physical condition, see Jan Kelch et. al, *Bilder im Blickpunkt. Der Mann mit dem Goldhelm*, Berlin, 1986.

102 Wilhelm Bode, "Das Bildnis von Rembrandts Bruder Adriaen Harmensz van Rijn," 4.

103 Bode, *Mein Leben* 1: 279-280. As Kelch recounted, the price was actually higher: 20,000 marks; 11.

104 Paul, "'Das Kollektionieren ist die edelste aller Leidenschaften!' Wilhelm von Bode und das Verhältnis zwischen Museum, Kunsthandel und Privatsammlertum," 50.

105 Martin Warnke has also pointed out a further reason for the appeal of this painting to the German public at this time: the resemblance of Franz van Lenbach's portraits of Bismarck to *The Man with the Golden Helmet*; Warnke, "Ein Bild findet seinen Schöpfer, Wilhelm von Bode und 'Der Mann mit dem Goldhelm'," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (9 October 1985), 33, cited by Paul, "'Das Kollektionieren ist die edelste aller Leidenschaften!' Wilhelm von Bode und das Verhältnis zwischen Museum, Kunsthandel und Privatsammlertum," 50 and n. 33.

106 Unfortunately, a number of these works were also of dubious authenticity, which meant that Bode's argument was built on an unstable foundation.

107 For discussion of the expressions of doubt about Rembrandt's authorship in the twentieth century, see Kelch, 23-24.
108 See the appreciative article on the painting written shortly after its purchase by Berlin, by Ferdinand Laban, 72-78.
109 Laban, p. 74.
110 As Gary Schwartz has pointed out, the editions are not identical in each language, Schwartz, "Rembrandt: 'Connoisseurship' et érudition," 106, n. 21, citing Gerson on this issue as well.
111 Wilhelm Bode, "Author's Preface," *The Complete Work of Rembrandt*, vol. 1, 1897, n.p. (All quotations from the catalogue are taken from the English edition.)
As noted in my introduction, photographic emulsions were not fully sensitive to a range in color before this time, thus making the tonal relationships of any reproduction of a painting incorrect. Artists such as Rembrandt, with their choice of tones shifted to the darker end of the spectrum, were the most difficult to reproduce.
112 Bode, *Mein Leben* 1: 220.
113 Bode, "Author's Preface," *The Complete Paintings of Rembrandt*, vol. 1. On Sedelmeyer, see Huemer.
114 See Von Stockhausen, 135, citing Bode in his introduction to the catalogue of Alfred Thieme's collection; Ulrich Thieme, ed., *Galerie Alfred Thieme in Leipzig*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 22.
115 As Bode recognized, see *Mein Leben* 1: 220-221.
116 Bode, "Author's Preface," *The Complete Paintings of Rembrandt*, vol. 1.
117 A point made by Gary Schwartz repeatedly in his publications on Rembrandt connoisseurship; see for instance his discussion of this issue in regard to paintings that have been attributed to Rembrandt that are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Schwartz, "Truth in Labeling," 54-6.
118 Current locations of the following paintings from Bode and Hofstede de Groot, *The Complete Paintings of Rembrandt*, vol. 8, 1906: nos. 550 Paris, Petit Palais, *Rembrandt with a Poodle*, 1631, *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, A40; 561 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Portrait of a Woman*, 1633, *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, A83; 562 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, *Portrait of Johannes Uyttenbogaert*, 1633, *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, A80; 569 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Bellona*, 1633, *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, A70; 571 Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, *Aletta Adriaensdr.*, 1639, *Corpus*, vol. 3, 1989 A132; 595 Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, *Lucretia*, 1664 (Br. 484).
119 Bode and Hofstede de Groot, *The Complete Work of Rembrandt*, vol. 3, 1899, 19. Bode's claim about "repeated examinations" seems a bit overdone, considering the fact that he went to Russia only twice, in the early 1870s and in 1893, and the painting was not exhibited elsewhere. See note 53 for comments on its current attribution status.
120 Ibid., vol. 4, 1900, p. 41. Not included in Bredius's catalogue. It is listed in Sumowski as an anonymous product of the Rembrandt school, from the 1650s, 4:2946, no. 1926.
121 See for instance Bode and Hofstede de Groot, *The Complete Work of Rembrandt*, vol. 4, 1900, 30, and vol. 5, 1901, 10.
122 Ibid., vol. 5, 1901, 10-11. For its current attribution to the Rembrandt school see note 74.
123 Bode noted in regard to the debates among connoisseurs about the chronology of Rembrandt's later history painting, that the "Rembrandt Exhibitions in Amsterdam and London tended rather to emphasise than to reconcile these differences of opinions, " ibid., vol. 7, 1902, 7, 13.
124 Ibid., vol. 5, 1901, pp. 11-12.
125 See Bode's discussion of the authority he had achieved with and through this catalogue, which he himself referred to as the "Bible" for Rembrandt connoisseurship, particularly in the eyes of Americans; *Mein Leben* 1: 371.
126 A. Bredius, review of *Rembrandt. Beschriebendes Verzeichnis seiner Gemälde. Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst*, by Wilhelm Bode with C. Hofstede de Groot, *Kunstchronik* N.F. 9 (1897/98): 200-201. For a listing of the few other reviews of this publication see Van Hall 1: 545.

CHAPTER 5

1 "Bolshevism in Art Criticism," *The New Republic* (1923): 218. While a variant of this comment was attributed to Bode by various sources in the 1920s, to date I have only been able to find a similar comment made by him about Corot, to whit; "It is a common jeer with us [Germans] that the collectors in the United States flatter themselves on possessing some thirty thousand pictures by Corot, while Corot painted only about a thousand pictures; also that the hundred or more Rembrandts which are said to be in American private collections, with close examination, would shrink to a very limited number," see "More Spurious Pictures Abroad than in America," *The New York Times Sunday Magazine* (December 31, 1911), translation of an article originally appearing in *Die Woche* in Berlin.

2 The best account of American collecting of Dutch art in the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries is Walter Liedtke, "Dutch Paintings in America: The Collectors and their Ideals," in *Great Dutch Paintings from America*, 14-58.

3 In 1888, Fritz von Harck, an important German art collector and friend of Bode's, traveled to the United States of America to see collections in Boston, New York and Washington. He could still state with certitude that "works by Old Masters are few to be found in the New World" but did mentioned one painting by Rembrandt, a portrait belonging to Marquand; see F. Harck, "Aus amerikanischen Galerien," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 11 (1888): 72-73.

4 See the checklist to the exhibition; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Collection of Dutch and Flemish Paintings by Old Masters, Owned by Mr. Charles Sedelmeyer of Paris*, New York, 1886.

5 *The Artist's Wife at Her Toilet* was purchased by Bredius in 1889, exhibited at the 1898 Rembrandt exhibition in Amsterdam, and lent to the Mauritshuis until 1901; its current whereabouts are unknown; see De Boer and Leistra, 110, and P.J.J. van Thiel, "De Rembrandt tentoonstelling van 1898," 79, no. 40. *Rembrandt's Cook* was also included in the 1898 Amsterdam exhibition, at which time it was owned by Leopold Goldschmidt of Paris; its current location is unknown; see ibid., 87, no. 92. *Christ on the Cross* later entered John G. Johnson's collection; now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, where it is labeled "imitator of Rembrandt." For its earlier provenance see Bode and Hofstede de Groot, *The Complete Paintings of Rembrandt*, vol. 5, 1901, no. 315.

6 As Liedtke pointed out, no Dutch paintings entered the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art between 1872 and 1889; "Dutch Paintings in America: The Collectors and their Ideals," 36.

7 Bode had been upset not to be chosen as a state representative of the Prussian empire to the Chicago Exposition of 1893, but decided to go on his own anyway. Bode, *Mein Leben* 1: 256-258; "Die Kunst in den Vereinigten Staaten," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* N.F. 5 (1894): 137-145; 162-68; "Alte Kunstwerke in den Sammlungen der Vereinigten Staaten," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 6 (1895): 13-19, 70-76.

8 Bode was also intensely curious about the contemporary art scene in America during his first visit to this continent and was particularly impressed with the decorative and applied arts on view in Chicago, products of Tiffany's workshop receiving his highest praise.

9 Bode, *Mein Leben* 1: 256.

10 Bode, "Alte Kunstwerke," 13.

11 Ibid, 17. For the two paintings Bode accepted see *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, no. 20, *Portrait of a Man*, ca. 1655-60 (Br. 277), and no. 42, *Man with a Beard* (Br. 317), the latter catalogued as "Imitator of Rembrandt." Marquand also donated what Bode recognized to be a copy of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in London's National Gallery; it was deaccessioned by the Metropolitan Museum in 1956; see Neil MacLaren and Christopher Brown, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Dutch School 1600-1900*, rev. 2nd ed., London, 1991, 331 and n. 10. It is not clear what Marquand donation Bode meant when he referred to a fourth painting attributed to Rembrandt.

12 Bode, "Alte Kunstwerke," 19.

13 Ibid., 71. For the portraits Ames purchased, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, see *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, C72 *Portrait of a Man in a Broad Brimmed Hat* and C73 *Portrait of a*

Woman, there attributed to Rembrandt's workshop, 1634. For the Havemeyer pendants now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, see *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, nos. 27 and 28, *Portrait of a Man with a Breastplate and Plumed Hat* (Br. 223) and *Portrait of a Woman* (Br. 364), catalogued as "Follower of Rembrandt." Bode slipped with his memory of the third portrait, the "so-called Tulp" of 1641, which was actually the "so-called Six," now catalogued as "Style of Rembrandt, *Portrait of a Young Man in a Broad-Brimmed Hat*;" it was donated by the Havemeyer's daughter Electra to the Shelburne Museum in 1960. See New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection*, exh. cat., New York, 1993, no. 459.

14 For current attributions see *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, as Rembrandt, nos. 3 *Portrait of a Man* and 4 *Portrait of a Woman*, 1632 (*Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, C68 and C69: the "Berestyn" portraits), no. 8 *Herman Doomer* 1640 (*Corpus*, vol. 3, 1989, A140: "The Gilder"); no. 23 *Portrait of an Old Woman* ("copy after Jacob Backer"), not in Bredius. Along with the male portrait from 1641 (see preceding note), the male portrait from 1632, *Portrait of a Man with Gloves* (Br. 168), was donated by Electra Havemeyer Webb to the Shelburne Museum in Shelburne, Vermont in 1960; see *Splendid Legacy*, no. 456, where it is catalogued as "Style of Rembrandt."

15 The Jesup pendants, included in the Hudson Fulton exhibition of 1909, were donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1915; see Katharine Baetjer, *European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art by Artists born before 1865: A Summary Catalogue*, New York, 1980, 151.Catalogued by Baetjer as copies after Rembrandt, they were deaccessioned in 1982. The Hoe painting of a young woman holding out a medal did not appear in Bredius or later catalogues; it is now in the Cincinnati Art Museum. Sumowski stated that the museum assigned it to the Rembrandt school after 1650; he attributed it to Johannes Spilberg; see Sumowski 5: 3115, no. 2155.

16 The *John the Baptist*, once in the collection of William Randolph Hearst, later entered the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; see *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, C50 *Bust of a Bearded Man (John the Baptist?)*, where it is described as "probably painted in the mid 1630s in Rembrandt's immediate circle," 631. It is now catalogued by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art as Govaert Flinck, *Portrait of a Bearded Man*, ca. 1645-50. I have not been able to track the Ingles "self-portrait."

17 At least one other painting in a New York private collection mentioned by Bode entered the Metropolitan Museum of Art: McKay Twombley's *Oriental* of 1632, the so-called *Noble Slav*, see *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, no. 2; *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, A48.

18 For Yerkes's checkered career as both businessman and art collector see Liedtke, "Dutch Paintings in America: The Collectors and their Ideals," 37-8. The paintings were auctioned in 1910 after Yerkes's death. *Raising of Lazarus* (Br. 537; a copy of the original now in the Los Angeles County Museum) is in the Art Institute of Chicago, see *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, under A30 *The Raising of Lazarus*, ca. 1630-31, copies, pp. 306-7); *Philemon and Baucis*, 1658 (Br. 481) is in the National Gallery in Washington, see Wheelock, no. 1942.9.65, and the "Officer," now identified as *Portrait of Joris de Caulerij*, 1632, is in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, A53. According to Liedtke, "Dutch Paintings in America: The Collectors and their Ideals," the fourth painting, the "*Rabbi*," is now given to Flinck and is in a private collection, 38.

19 No longer identified as Tulp, this *Portrait of a Man* from 1632 has also entered the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, A59.

20 *Portrait of a Young Woman*, ca. 1665 (Br. 400), then in the R.B. Angus Collection is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal. Bode's reference to a picture in the Kann collection probably meant *Woman Holding a Pink*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

21 Bode, "Alte Kunstwerke," 76.

22 Wilhelm Bode, "Die amerikanische Konkurrenz im Kunsthandel und ihre Gefahr für Europa," *Kunst und Künstler* 1 (1902-03): 5-12; "Die amerikanischen Gemäldesammlungen in ihrer neueren Entwicklungen," *Kunst und Künstler* 2

(1904): 387-389; "Die amerikanische Gefahr im Kunsthandel," *Kunst und Künstler* 5 (1907): 3-6; "Paris und London unter dem Gestirn der amerikanischen Kaufwut," *Der Cicerone* 1 (1909): 441-443; 525; "Die Berliner Museen und die amerikanische Konkurrenz," *Der Cicerone* 2 (1910): 81-84. Bode's views in these articles have been discussed previously at some length by Edwin Buijsen, "The Battle against the Dollar: The Dutch Reaction to American Collecting in the Period from 1900 to 1914," in *Great Dutch Paintings from America*, 63-65, and more briefly by David Alan Brown, "Bode and Berenson: Berlin and Boston," 103-104.

23 Bode, "Die amerikanische Konkurrenz im Kunsthandel und ihre Gefahr für Europa." Such an attitude was by no means limited to Bode, see X, "The Consequences of the American Invasion," *The Burlington Magazine* 5 (1904): 353-355.

24 Bode, "Die amerikanische Konkurrenz im Kunsthandel und ihre Gefahr für Europa," p. 12.

25 Bode, "Die amerikanische Gefahr im Kunsthandel," 5-6.

26 The literature on Bode and his relationships with collectors grows ever larger. The recent sources most relevant to Bode's relations with collectors of Old Master paintings are: Von Stockhausen, 136-142; *Wilhelm von Bode. Museumsdirektor und Mäzen*; Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "Wilhelm von Bode und seine Sammler," in Mai and Paret, eds., 153-172; Hannelore Nützmann, "Die Sammlung Thiem im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum – Zur Geschichte der Berliner Gemäldegalerie," *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 30 (1993): 119-32; Paul, " 'Das Kollektionieren ist die edelste aller Leidenschaften!' Wilhelm von Bode und das Verhältnis zwischen Museum, Kunsthandel und Privatsammlertum," 41-64; Verena Tafel, "Von Sammler und Sammlungen: ein historischer Streifzug," *Museums-journal* 6 (1992): 24-27.

27 Wilhelm Bode, "Paris und London unter dem Gestirn der amerikanischen Kaufwut," 441.

28 For Bode's (and Julius Meyer's) forceful approach to acquisitions see in particular Von Stockhausen, 130-135.

29 Wilhelm Bode, "Die Berliner Museen und die amerikanische Konkurrenz," 81-82.

30 "À Berlin!" *The Burlington Magazine* 15 (1909): 3. Similar sentiments had been expressed in *The Burlington Magazine* several years earlier in "The Consequences of the American Invasion."

31 *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* (Br. 588) and the *Head of Christ* (Br. 622) are catalogued as Rembrandt school, see the *Gemäldegalerie Berlin Gesamtverzeichnis*, 102, nos. 811B and 811C. *The Good Samaritan* (Br. 580) and the *Study Head of a Youth* are designated as the work of Rembrandt followers or imitators, 102, nos. 812B and 1750. *Tobias and the Angel* is now attributed to Abraham van Dijck; 43, no. 828N. Bode's relations with Martin Bromberg, donor of the *Head of Christ*, were typically complex; see Von Stockhausen, 138.

32 Bode, "More Spurious Pictures Abroad than in America."

33 Bode, *Mein Leben* 1: 371. As Bode explained in the later section of his memoir that remained unpublished until 1997, he later dropped plans to publish the supplement after World War I because of disagreements with Sedelmeyer about pictures owned by the dealer that Bode was not willing to accept as Rembrandts. This was the first time that Bode admitted to any real difficulty practicing as an independent scholar while being published by Sedelmeyer, *Mein Leben* 1: 446. See further discussion of this in Chapter 7.

34 Wilhelm Bode, *Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan. Bronzes of the Renaissance and Subsequent Periods*, 2 vols., Paris, 1910. Despite his admiration for Morgan as a collector, Bode never lost his view of him as a ruthless individual. In his recounting of his second trip to the United States in 1911, he commented that Morgan formed an exception to the usual friendliness of Americans. However, he also stated that he experienced a "decided dislike" of Germans on the part of upper-class Americans. This ambivalence also applied to his evaluation of Americans as collectors. While he recognized that Americans like Morgan, Henry Clay Frick, Benjamin Altman, and Peter A.B. Widener wished to buy "only the best" of works on the market, he credited the growth of these private collections not to the taste of their owners, but to the art dealers

that were their advisors, a role Bode still felt belonged to art historians. He believed that John G. Johnson was the only self-guided, independent collector in the United States. *Mein Leben* 1: 385-386.

35 For a brief biography of Valentiner, see the entry on him by James David Draper in the *Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Valentiner, W.R." A full-length biography of Valentiner was written by Margaret Sterne, *The Passionate Eye: The Life of William R. Valentiner*, Detroit, 1980; in it, Sterne quoted extensively from Valentiner's unpublished memoir, which she translated from the German original.

36 Henry Thode, like Bode, had trained for a legal career before becoming an art historian. He served as the director of the Städelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt before becoming a professor of art history at Heidelberg. See Bode, *Mein Leben* 2: 197.

37 W.R. Valentiner, "Scholarship in Museums. Personal Reminiscences," 66.

38 Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt und seine Umgebung*, Strasbourg, 1905, 29-31 on Rumbartus (or Rombertus), 37-40 on Geertje. Valentiner postulated that images of a young boy made by Rembrandt between 1635 and 1641 were based on Rombertus's features; however, Rombertus actually died on 15 February 1636, at the age of two months. This fact was not known to Valentiner in 1905, who speculated that the child's death probably didn't occur until 1641, 31. See Walter Strauss and Marjon van der Meulen, eds., *The Rembrandt Documents*, New York, 1979, 124, Doc. 1635/6.

39 See for instance Jan Veth, "Rembrandt studies," *De Kroniek* 11 (1905): 115-116, and the anonymous reviewer in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 February 1905). Hofstede de Groot's review was somewhat milder in tone than these two but followed along similar lines: "Rembrandt en zijne Omgeving," *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1905): 53-54.

40 Wilhelm Bode, "W.R. Valentiner, 'Rembrandt und seine Umgebung'," *Kunstchronik* N.F. 16 (1905): 339. While Bode also reviewed the book favorably, even he believed that Valentiner went too far in his zeal to identify the people in Rembrandt's art.

41 Wilhelm Bode and Wilhelm Valentiner, *Rembrandt in Bild und Wort*, Berlin, 1906; Bode is listed as editor.

42 For a description of Valentiner's work at the Berlin museums see Sterne, 70-78.

43 Bode to Morgan as cited by Calvin Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces. The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1973, 166-167. Sterne stated that Bode even lent Valentiner the money for his boat fare to New York, 87.

44 In a letter dated 6 February 1908, Morgan outlined to the director of the Metropolitan Museum, Purdon Clarke, what Valentiner's duties should be; see Sterne, 90.

45 Bode, *Mein Leben* 1: 321-322.

46 Berenson, in letters of 1909 and 1926, as cited by Brown, "Bode and Berenson: Berlin and Boston," 104. Brown also emphasized how Bode wielded influence in the United States through his promotion of Valentiner. Valentiner did not always believe that Bode promoted his career adequately, however, and even that Bode kept him from returning to Germany (especially Berlin) out of competition, see Sterne, 176, citing Valentiner's diary entry after a visit with Bode in Berlin in the late 1920s.

47 See "A Bibliography of the Writings of William R. Valentiner, Director of the Detroit Institute of Arts," *Supplement to the Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit* 19 (1940): 91-111.

48 Adolf Rosenberg, *Rembrandt, des Meisters Gemälde* (Klassiker der Kunst im Gesamtausgaben 2) Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1904, vii.

49 Valentiner, *Rembrandt, des Meisters Gemälde*.

50 Ibid., ix.

51 W.R. Valentiner, *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings by Dutch Masters of the Seventeenth Century*, exh. cat., New York, 1909.

52 Wilhelm R. Valentiner, "Die Ausstellung holländischer Gemälde in New York," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 3 (1910): 5.

53 Ibid., 5-9.

54 Max J. Friedländer, "Die Ausstellung holländischer Bilder im Metropolitan Museum zu New York 1909," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 33 (1910): 96.

55 Valentiner, "Die Ausstellung holländischer Gemälde in New York," 6.
56 E. Waldmann, "Die Ausstellung holländischer Gemälde des 17. Jahrhunderts in New York," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* N.F. 21 (1910): 74.
57 Friedländer, "Die Ausstellung holländischer Bilder im Metropolitan Museum zu New York 1909," 96.
58 *Aristotle with a Bust of Homer*, 1653 (Br. 478), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; *Self-Portrait*, 1658 (Br. 50), New York, The Frick Collection.
59 J. Breck, "Hollandsche kunst op de Hudson-Fulton tentoonstelling te New-York," *Onze Kunst* 9 (1910): 10; Waldmann, 76.
60 Kenyon Cox, "Art in America. Dutch Paintings in the Hudson-Fulton Exhibition: I," *The Burlington Magazine* 16 (1910): 184.
61 See Chapter 1. For literature on the current attribution, see Chapter 1, n. 67.
62 Friedländer, "Die Ausstellung holländischer Bilder im Metropolitan Museum zu New York 1909," 97; Cox, 178-179. *The Finding of Moses* is now catalogued by the museum as Workshop of Rembrandt.
63 Valentiner, *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings by Dutch Masters of the Seventeenth Century*, cat. no. 74 *Portrait of Himself*, ca. 1628, then owned by J.P. Morgan, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; see *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, C38 *Bust of a Young Man* (described as "[A]n imitation, probably datable well after 1630," 652). No. 75 *Portrait of Himself*, 1631, E.D. Libbey of Toledo, Ohio, now in the Toledo Museum of Art. See *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, A41 *Bust of a Young Man in a Plumed Cap*. No. 84 *Portrait of a Man*, ca. 1632, New York Historical Society (Br. 158): Gerson removed it from his list of authentic Rembrandts in Bredius-Gerson; not in *Corpus*.
64 C. Hofstede de Groot and Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *Pictures in the Collection of P.A.B. Widener at Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania. Early German, Dutch and Flemish Schools. With an Introduction by Wilhelm R. Valentiner and biographical and descriptive notes by C. Hofstede de Groot*, Philadelphia, 1913; W.R. Valentiner, *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and Some Art Objects*, vols. 2 and 3, Philadelphia, 1913-14.
65 Valentiner wrote extensively on his relationships with various American collectors in his unpublished memoir, now on deposit in the North Carolina State Archives with the rest of Valentiner's papers. For published sources on this subject see W.R. Valentiner, "Diary from my first American years," *Art News* 58 (1959): 34-36, 51-53, and Sterne, *passim*. As David Alan Brown indicated, it was primarily this kind of activity of Valentiner's in the New World that so bothered Berenson, who wished to maintain his position as the primary advisor to American collectors; see Brown, "Berenson and Bode, Berlin and Boston," 104.
66 See the appendix, "Works by Rembrandt in American Collections," in Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *The Art of the Low Countries*, trans. Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer, Garden City and New York, 1914, 242-251, quotation on 251. Presumably the period under question began after the publication of the Klassiker der Kunst *Rembrandt* in 1908. *The Art of the Low Countries* was a compilation of articles published earlier by Valentiner on a number of subjects concerning Dutch and Flemish art.
67 For a full discussion of this subject see Buijsen "The Battle Against the Dollar."
68 Their trips have previously been discussed by Buijsen, ibid., 75-76.
69 On Hofstede de Groot and Widener, see Valentiner, "Diary from my first American years," 52, and Buijsen, "The Battle Against the Dollar," 75.
70 Buijsen pointed out that "[O]f the eighty-three Dutch and Flemish works in the collection catalogue of 1900, only twenty-three remained in the new catalogue of 1913," ibid., 75. See also Hofstede de Groot and Valentiner, *Pictures in the Collection of P.A.B. Widener at Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania.*
71 *New York Times* (November 12, 1912).
72 Bredius related how he tried to enlighten Walker about the problems in his collection, but Walker only responded by pointing out that 100,000 people a year visited his private gallery and expressed his faith in the authenticity of the works in it; "Dr Bredius in Amerika," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (21 January 1914). The obduracy of American collectors *vis à vis* European experts was a source of frequent agitation to the latter.

73 Ibid.

74 "Holland te Amerika," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (12 November 1913). Now in The Frick Collection, New York.

75 "Dr. Bredius in Amerika," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (20 December 1913). The 1629 *Self Portrait* and *Christ on the Sea of Galilee*, 1633 are generally accepted as autograph: see *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, A20 and vol. 2, 1986, A68. The attribution of the double portrait is in question; see *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, C67 *Portrait of a Couple in an Interior*, ca. 1632-1633, C67.

76 The Detroit Institute of Arts now attributes this painting to another of Rembrandt's followers, Jan Victors; see also Sumowski 4: 2945, no. 1923, who called it "School work from the beginning of the 40s," and mentioned both Victors and Pieter Verelst in connection with its authorship.

77 Bredius also compared this work, the *Annunciation*, to a painting in the Berlin museum that Bode had just a few years earlier attributed to Rembrandt, *Tobias and the Angel*, but which Bredius believed was by Flinck as well; "Dr Bredius in Amerika," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (18 February 1914). The Berlin painting is currently attributed to Abraham van Dijck, see note 31. Sumowski described the Detroit painting as "anonymous student work from the 1640s," 6: 3751, no. 2502.

78 "Dr. Bredius in Amerika, " *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (21 January 1914). These paintings all entered the National Gallery of Art in Washington as part of the Widener bequest; see Wheelock, 1942.9.62 *The Mill*, ca. 1645-1648 (not in Bredius); 1942.9.59 *The Apostle Paul*, ca. 1657 (Br. 612, catalogued as "Rembrandt van Rijn (and Workshop?)"; and 1942.9.69 *Portrait of a Man in a Tall Hat*, ca. 1633 (Br. 313). The so-called *"Rabbi"* is now catalogued as "Rembrandt Workshop (possibly Willem Drost)," and is dated about 1653; see ibid. 1942.9.66 *The Philosopher* (Br. 260A in Bredius-Gerson).

79 "Dr. Bredius in Amerika," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (21 January 1914). Bredius remarked that there was also a second (and even less impressive) version of this *"Rabbi"* in a Berlin collection with a false (Rembrandt) signature. According to Wheelock, this painting was in the Marcus Kappel collection for which Bode wrote a catalogue in 1914. "Bode, who had published *The Philosopher* in his corpus on Rembrandt paintings in 1906, reversed himself in his catalogue of the Kappel Collection and argued that the Kappel painting was the original," see Wheelock, 312.

80 "Dr. Bredius in Amerika," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (21 January 1914).

81 Ibid.

82 "Dr. Bredius in Amerika," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*: on the 75 paintings; also on the Huntington and Havemeyer collections (20 February 1914); Van Horne collection (12 November 1913); Taft Collection (5 January 1914). The paintings in the Van Horne collection attributed to Rembrandt were: *Portrait of a "Rabbi"* (*Portrait of a Young Jew with a Black Cap*, Br. 300), 1663, now in the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas; *Evening Landscape with Cottages* (Br. 453), formerly Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, about which Gerson stated that both he and Bredius had doubts about its authorship; see Bredius-Gerson, 590, no. 453; *Old Man with Black Cap* and *Bearded Old Man* (neither work in Bredius; for these paintings see Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, 2nd ed., Berlin and Leipzig, 1923, nos. 83 and 98). For the Taft painting, now in the Taft Museum in Cincinnati, see *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, A78 *Portrait of a Man Rising from His Chair*, 1633.

83 See Buijsen's discussion of Schwab's offer in "The Battle Against the Dollar," 65.

84 For a brief biography of Kann, see Wilhelm Bode, "Rudolf Kann und seine Sammlungen," *Kunstchronik* N.F. 16 (1905): 291-294. His first name is variously given by writers as Rudolf, Rodolphe, or Rudolphe.

85 Maurice or Moritz Kann.

86 Ibid., 293. He also recalled these events in *Mein Leben* 1: 333-334.

87 On the purchase of the Rodolphe Kann collection by Joseph Duveen, see S.N. Behrman, *Duveen*, Boston, 1973, 59-60, 64. For an engaging, if anecdotal discussion of this purchase, and that of the Maurice Kann collection, see Edward Fowles, *Memories of Duveen Brothers*, London, 1976, 36-52.

88 Fowles, 39.
89 See also Bode, "Der Verkauf der Sammlung Rudolf Kann in Paris nach Amerika," *Die Kunst für Alle* 23 (1907-08): 16-22.
90 However, the Duveen firm did donate a painting by Gonzales Cocques from the Kann collection to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (destroyed in World War II), a small consolation for the loss of the whole collection; see Von Stockhausen, 138.
91 See Von Stockhausen, 135.
92 Émile Michel, "La Galerie de M. Rodolphe Kann," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* ser 3, 25 (1901): 385-400; 493-506; A. Bredius, "De verzameling Rudolph Kann te Parijs," *Woord en Beeld* 7 (1902): 26-35.
93 Wilhelm Bode, *Die Gemälde-Galerie des Herrn R. Kann in Paris*, Vienna, 1900.
94 See for instance, Marcel Nicolle, "La Collection Rodolphe Kann," *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 23 (1908): 187-204.
95 C.J. Holmes, "Recent Acquisitions by Mrs. C.P. Huntington from the Kann Collection. I. Pictures of the Dutch and Flemish Schools," *The Burlington Magazine* 12 (1907-08): 197-205.
96 For the *Portrait of a Young Jew in a Black Cap* (Br. 300) see note 82; the *Portrait of a Woman Holding a Carnation*, now called *Woman with a Pink* (Br. 401) ca. 1662, is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
97 For full discussions of these two paintings, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art where they are catalogued as "Follower of Rembrandt," see *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, no. 38 *Pilate Washing His Hands* (Br. 595) and no. 36 *Old Woman Cutting Her Nails* (not included in Bredius's catalogue). On the subject of *Old Woman Cutting Her Nails*, see Michel, "La Galerie de M. Rodolphe Kann," 387; Nicolle, "La Collection Rodolphe Kann," 194-195.
98 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Hendrickje Stoffels*, ca. 1654-60 (Br. 118). For a discussion of its condition see Hubert von Sonnenburg in *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt* 1: 65-66 and discussion of Figs. 66 and 67.
99 Collection of Rodolphe Kann: the following paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art were part of the Benjamin Altman Bequest of 1913: *Woman with a Pink*, *Old Woman Cutting Her Nails*, *Pilate Washing His Hands*, *Portrait of Titus* (Br 121), now catalogued as "Style of Rembrandt;" see *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, no. 41. *Hendrickje Stoffels* was donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art by Archer M. Huntington in 1926, and the *Philosopher with a Bust of Homer (Aristotle)* was purchased in 1961. Two paintings entered the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.: the *Head of an Old Woman* (Br. 392) and *Study for the Head of St. Matthew* (Br. 302) were both purchased by P.A.B. Widener by 1911 and donated with the bequest of Joseph Widener to the new National Gallery of Art in 1942; see Wheelock, 1942.9.64 *Head of an Aged Woman* and 1942.9.58 *Head of Saint Matthew*, both catalogued as "Follower of Rembrandt." The *Portrait of a Young Rabbi* was in the Van Horne collection in Montreal before being acquired by the Kimbell Art Museum; see note 82. *Old Man with a short white Beard, looking down* (Br. 232) was acquired shortly before Kann died; it is now in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. For this painting see *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, 652, fig. 4 (in entry for C53 *Bust of an Old Man*, Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen) where it is described as one of several similar "apparently also 17th century, superficial pastiches," 653). Bode was able to obtain two paintings for Berlin: *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* and the *Head of Christ* (see note 31 for their current attributions).
Collection of Maurice Kann: five of the six paintings in Maurice Kann's collection (not including the *Woman with a Pink*, mentioned above, that he inherited from Rodolphe) eventually entered the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Man with a Magnifying Glass* ca. 1662 (Br. 326) and the *Portrait of a Young Man ("The Auctioneer,"* now catalogued as "Follower of Rembrandt") were part of the Altman Bequest; see *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, nos. 17 and 32; the *Head of Christ* is also labeled "Follower of Rembrandt;" donated by Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Fletcher in 1917, ibid., no. 35; *Young Man in a Red Cloak*, also "Follower of Rembrandt," was donated with the Jules Bache collection in 1949, ibid., no. 33. *The Apostle James* 1661 (Br. 617) is on loan to the Israel

Museum in Jerusalem. *The Philosopher* (Br. 260A) was only briefly in Maurice Kann's collection and is now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington as part of the Widener Bequest; see note 78.

100 Wilhelm R. Valentiner, "Introduction," *Rembrandt Paintings in America*, New York, 1931, n.p.

CHAPTER 6

1 Der Rembrandt dankt mir vieles—
Er war fast unbekannt—
Nennt man jetzt meinen Namen
Wird Rembrandt auch genannt.
Satirical poem in the periodical *De Ware Jacob* from 1906, on the occasion of the honorary doctorate received by Bode in 1906, in connection with the 300th anniversary of Rembrandt's birth; cited by Luijten, "Wilhelm von Bode und Holland," 73.

2 Wilhelm Bode, *Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen*, Leipzig, 1906 (appearing in English as *Great Masters of Dutch and Flemish Painting*, trans. Margaret L. Clarke, London and New York, 1909); W.R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt in Bild und Wort*, ed. Wilhelm Bode, Berlin, 1906; A. Bredius, *Ter Herdenking van zijn 300 geboortedag Rembrandts*, Amsterdam, 1906; C. Hofstede de Groot, *Die Handzeichnungen Rembrandts*, Haarlem, 1906; *Rembrandt-Bijbel*, Amsterdam, 1906; *Die Urkunden über Rembrandt*, The Hague, 1906; C. Hofstede de Groot and Willem Martin, *Catalogus der Rembrandthulde-Tentoonstelling te Leiden*, Leiden, 1906. Hofstede de Groot also anonymously published his bizarre practical joke of a supplement to *Die Urkunden*, containing both two authentic and several imaginary Rembrandt documents; see *Erstes Supplement von M.C. Visser*, The Hague, 1906; Hofstede de Groot's role was revealed quickly.

3 W.R. Valentiner and J.G. Veldheer, *Rembrandt Kalenderboek voor 1906*, with preface by C. Hofstede de Groot, Amsterdam, 1906. Veldheer provided the visual imagery and decoration.

4 For a discussion of the 1906 celebrations and the various issues surrounding them see Bruin, 25-44.

5 Albert Hahn, first published in *Het Land van Rembrandt*, Amsterdam, 1906, reproduced and discussed in Louise Barnouw-de Ranitz, "Abraham Bredius, een biografie," in Albert Blankert, *Museum Bredius. Catalogus van de schilderijen en tekeningen*, 3rd rev. ed., Zwolle and The Hague, 1991, 22. The poem was dedicated to Bredius and Hofstede de Groot; hence the connoisseur in the foreground with the elegant Van Dyck beard should likely be identified as Hofstede de Groot and the partly-bald man at the top of the painting as Bredius.

6 Bode's articles are the following: "Neuentdeckte Rembrandtbilder," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* N.F. 17 (1906): 9-12; "Einige neuaufgefundene Gemälde Rembrandts in Berliner Privatbesitz," *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 21 (1908): 178-182; "Neuentdeckte Bilder von Rembrandt," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* N.F. 21 (1910): 1-9; "Neu entdeckte und wiedererstandene Gemälde von Rembrandt," *Der Cicerone* 4 (1912): 505-508; "The Earliest Dated Painting by Rembrandt," *Art in America* 1 (1913): 3-7; "Additional Notes on Early Paintings by Rembrandt," *Art in America* 1 (1913): 109-112. Abraham Bredius's articles are: "Rembrandt's Balaam," *The Burlington Magazine* 23 (1913): 59; "A Newly Discovered Early Rembrandt, " *The Burlington Magazine* 25 (1914): 325. By C. Hofstede de Groot: "Nieuw-ontdekte Rembrandts," *Onze Kunst* 8 (1909): 173-183; "Nieuw-ontdekte Rembrandts II," *Onze Kunst* 11 (1912): 173-188.

7 Bode, "Neuentdeckte Rembrandtbilder," 9. *Balaam's Ass* had actually been brought to Bredius's attention first; he had it sent on to Berlin for cleaning by Hauser. Bode thus saw it in Hauser's studio in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum. Bode also called attention to the existence of numerous copies of paintings, even of early Rembrandts, which complicated the quest to identify prime versions.

8 C. Hofstede de Groot, "Zoekgeraakte Rembrandts," *Leidsch Jaarboekje* (1906): 116-131.

9 Bode, "Einige neuaufgefundene Gemälde Rembrandts in Berliner Privatbesitz," 179; and W.R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921, "Einleitung," v.

10 Paris, Sedelmeyer Gallery, *Illustrated Catalogue of 100 Paintings of Old Masters*, Paris, 1894; the same format was retained throughout the series up through the thirteenth of 1914. In 1907 it was augmented by volumes for a series of auctions Sedelmeyer held in this year; for Rembrandt see Paris, Galerie Sedelmeyer, *Catalogue des tableaux composant la collection Ch. Sedelmeyer*. Vol. 2, *Deuxième vente comprenant les tableaux de l'école hollandaise du XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1907.
11 Paris, Sedelmeyer Gallery, *Illustrated Catalogue of 300 Paintings of Old Masters*, Paris, 1898.
12 Paris, Sedelmeyer Gallery, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Twelfth Series of 100 Paintings by Old Masters*, Paris, 1913.
13 Alfred von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, 3 vols., Vienna and Leipzig, 1906-11. On Wurzbach's critique of the "Rembrandt-Doktoren," see Schwartz, "Rembrandt Research after the Age of Connoisseurship," 318-319, and earlier, his "Rembrandt: 'Connoisseurship' et érudition," 104; see also Von Stockhausen, 135, and Blankert, "Looking at Rembrandt, Past and Present," 52.
14 Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, 2: 390.
15 Ibid., 390 and 394. The reference to "young Rembrandts" referred simultaneously to the early pictures of Rembrandt that Bode had made a special study of and to the manufacture of false paintings without provenance.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid., 2: 391, in regard to the March 1907 auction of Sedelmeyer's property. See Paris, Galerie Sedelmeyer, *Catalogue des tableaux composant la collection Ch. Sedelmeyer. Deuxième vente comprenant les tableaux de l'école hollandaise du XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 25, 27, and 28 March, 1907. Only one painting in it was attributed to Rembrandt: no. 159, *Portrait de la Mère de l'Artiste*, and one to the Rembrandt school: no. 160, *Portrait d'un Gentilhomme*. This auction did not, however, spell the end of Sedelmeyer's career as an art dealer.
19 Wurzbach, 2: 391, citing a story in *Kunstchronik* N.F. 17 (1906): 239. However, Bredius's response to this "doubting Thomas," as he called him, was also published there. Bredius blithely replied that as a Rembrandt expert, he received letters about "new" Rembrandt discoveries on a nearly daily basis, and of course they hardly even came to anything. However, he had recently received one such letter that led to the discovery of a genuine Rembrandt, the *Andromeda*, ca. 1631, which he himself purchased (and which was later bequeathed to the Mauritshuis): see *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, A31.
20 Wurzbach, 3: 134. Kleinberger purchased some of the Kann collection Rembrandts and sold them on his own.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid. Hofstede de Groot, working with Willem Martin, had in fact published several made-up Rembrandt documents as an odd practical joke in 1906; see note 1. Hofstede de Groot also likely evoked Wurzbach's ire because of his highly negative reviews of the *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*; see, for instance, his review of the first volume of Wurzbach in *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen* (1905): 65-69.
23 Wurzbach, 3: 134.
24 Schwartz pointed out Kleinberger's publication of Hofstede de Groot's magnum opus and how this relationship mirrored that between Sedelmeyer and Bode with the Rembrandt catalogue; see "Rembrandt: 'Connoisseurship' et érudition," 103.
25 See Von Stockhausen on these arrangements, 134.
26 Ibid. He contrasted Bode's methods with the usual probity of Prussian bureaucracy, stating that the willingness of high government officials to "look the other way" indicated how important Bode's ultimate goal of obtaining major works of art for the Berlin collections through cultivation of collectors was to the government.
27 See discussion in Ohlsen, 238-250; Otto, 39-40; and Warren, 124 with citation of other literature on the subject.
28 Wilhelm Bode, "Leonardos Wachsbüste der Flora im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum," *Kunst und Künstler* 8 (1910): 164-169; see also "Zur Frage der Florabüste im KFM. Ergebnisse der fortgesetzen technischen Untersuchungen," *Amtliche Berichte* 31 (1910): 114. See Otto, 49, n. 90 on the status of the bust's attribution today, which remains somewhat of a mystery.

29 See Sedelmeyer's accusations in 1912 about Bredius's lack of professional ethics in his practice of Rembrandt connoisseurship, discussed later in this chapter and the criticism of Hofstede de Groot's abilities and integrity as a connoisseur in the 1920s, Chapter 9.
30 See, for instance, Valentiner's articles "The New Rembrandt at Frankfurt," *The Burlington Magazine* 9 (1906):168-175; and "Opmerkingen over Enkele Schilderijen van Rembrandt," *Onze Kunst* 6:11 (1907): 221-246.
31 Valentiner, "Schicksale eines Bildes," *Kunst und Künstler* 18 (1919): 132-135. In 1913 Valentiner had purchased a painting at an auction in New York, attributed to Karel Fabritius, which he sold as a Rembrandt at considerable profit to a German art dealer a year later. The painting, a so-called *Portrait of Titus* then entered a German private collection for a still higher sum. He claimed that German art historians then criticized him, maintaining that he had made money from a "false Rembrandt" and that such a purchase was a conflict of interest, given his position at the time at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Valentiner defended both the authenticity of the painting and his purchase of it, claiming that since his position at the New York museum was as a curator of sculpture and decorative arts, not European paintings, there was no conflict of interest; see 132 and 135. He also defended the practice of writing certificates for pay, 135. The painting in 1919 was in the collection of Dr. K. Lanz of Mannheim, Germany. Valentiner included it in his *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde* of 1921, 81, but did not discuss it in the notes. It was not included in Bredius's catalogue, or in more recent Rembrandt painting catalogues.
32 For the history of the Bas portrait and its reception see the entry by P.J.J. van Thiel in *Rembrandt: The Master and His Workshop*, vol. 1, no. 63. The painting was there attributed to Ferdinand Bol, though Van Thiel discussed the fact that this attribution was still doubted by a number of art historians, 326.
33 Abraham Bredius, "Heeft Rembrandt Elisabeth Bas Wed. van Jochen Hendricksz Swartenhout geschilderd?" *Oud Holland* 29 (1911): 197.
34 Ibid., 193-197 and "Did Rembrandt Paint the Portrait of Elizabeth Bas?," *The Burlington Magazine* 20 (1911-12): 330-341.
35 Bredius, "Heeft Rembrandt Elisabeth Bas Wed. van Jochen Hendricksz Swartenhout geschilderd?" 193-194.
36 Ibid., 195.
37 *Portrait of an 83-Year-Old-Woman*, in *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, A104.
38 See the illustrations in both articles by Bredius. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, *Portrait of an Old Lady*, 1642. See Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol*, no. 117; Munich, Alte Pinakothek, *Woman with Plumed Hat*, ibid., no. 144.
39 Bredius, "Heeft Rembrandt Elisabeth Bas Wed. van Jochen Hendricksz Swartenhout geschilderd?" 196.
40 A. Bredius, "Did Rembrandt Paint the Portrait of Elizabeth Bas?" 339.
41 Jan Veth "Rembrandt's Oud Vrouwtje," *Algemeen Handelsblad* (6 November 1911): 2-3.
42 Veth's comment about "poor photographs" is an important one, for the quality of many of the photographs used for attribution purposes was highly variable, while the quality of photomechanical reproductions in books and journals was still fairly poor. The question of what it meant to use photographs of varying or even poor quality in art-historical discussions has yet to be considered fully, as Anthony Hamber pointed out, "The Use of Photography by 19th-Century Art Historians," in Helene R. Roberts, ed., *Art History through the Camera's Lens*, n.p., 1995, 120, n. 40.
43 For a succinct discussion of the lively contemporary arguments for and against the attribution of *The Mill* to Rembrandt, see Wheelock, 231-235.
44 See *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (8, 9, 10, 13, and 14 November 1911). A cartoon appeared in *De Amsterdammer*, p. 11 of the 19 November 1911, issue showing Bredius and Veth dueling with fencing swords, while "Elisabeth Bas" suggests they should fight over a younger woman; reproduced in Blankert, "Looking at Rembrandt, Past and Present," 49.
45 *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (8 November 1911).
46 "Rembrandts portret van Elisabeth Bas," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 November 1911).
47 "De Elisabeth Bas," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (29 November 1911).

48 C. Hofstede de Groot, "Meeningsverschillen omtrent Werken van Rembrandt," *Oud Holland* 30 (1912): 74-81.
49 Ibid., 77.
50 Ibid., 80.
51 Ibid., 81.
52 A. Bredius, "Kantteekeningen op Dr. Hofstede de Groot's 'Meeningsverschil (I)," *Oud Holland* 30 (1912): 82-86; see 83 for quote.
53 Ibid., 83.
54 Ibid., 84.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid., 85.
57 Ibid., 86.
58 C. Hofstede de Groot, "Meeningsverschillen omtrent Werken van Rembrandt (II)," *Oud Holland* 30 (1912): 175.
59 Ibid., 177.
60 Ibid., 176.
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid., 177.
63 A. Bredius, "Kantteekeningen op Dr. Hofstede de Groots 'Meeningsverschil' (II)," *Oud Holland* 30 (1912): 183.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid., 184.
66 Ibid.
67 Hofstede de Groot did, however, organize the festschrift in honor of Bredius's sixtieth birthday in 1915 and contributed an article on Rembrandt's pupils to it; see Hofstede de Groot, et al., eds., *Feest Bundel. Dr. Abraham Bredius aangeboden den achttienden April 1915*. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1915.
68 Sterne, 62-63, in her translation of a section of Valentiner's unpublished memoir, written in German. Valentiner blamed Bredius for the antagonism, stating that Bredius could not tolerate Hofstede de Groot's having obtained "a reputation as great as his own;" Valentiner believed that Bredius "transferred his enmity to me" after Hofstede de Groot's death, ibid, 66.
69 A. Bredius, "Rembrandt, Bol, oder Backer?" in *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstage*, Leipzig, 1927, 156.
70 A. Bredius, "*Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*' from the Weber Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* 21 (1912): 284, mistakenly cites the year of the exhibition as 1899.
71 Ibid., 289.
72 This information is derived from the 1927 catalogue of Walker's collection; *The Walker Art Galleries, Minneapolis, Minn.*, Minneapolis, 1927, 122-123, and from curatorial notes from the Walker Art Center's files. *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* is said to have been part of a group of Old Master paintings given to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts after they failed to sell at auction in 1970; however, neither the Walker Art Center nor the Minneapolis Institute of Arts has any knowledge of the present whereabouts of this painting.
73 Charles Sedelmeyer, *The Adulteress before Christ. A Picture by Rembrandt. An Open Letter to Dr. Abraham Bredius Concerning the Authenticity of this Picture*, Paris, 1912, 7. This "letter" was published in both English and German.
74 The debate between Sedelmeyer and Bredius in some ways recalls that between John Smith and Gustav Waagen almost seventy-five years earlier; see Gaskell, "Tradesmen as Scholars. Interdependencies in the Study and Exchange of Art," 153-155.
75 Sedelmeyer, 5-7. On Bredius's dispute with Kleinberger about the *Old Woman Plucking a Fowl*, see their exchange in *The Burlington Magazine*: A. Bredius, "The 'Old Woman Plucking a Fowl' from the Levaigneur Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* 21 (1912): 164, 169; "Letter: The "Old Woman Plucking a Fowl' from the Levaigneur Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* 21 (1912): 359-360; 22 (1912): 121-122; and F. Kleinberger, "Letter: The 'Old Woman Plucking a Fowl' from the Levaigneur Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* 21 (1912): 296-297, 22 (1912): 49-50, 122. In this case, the painting was cleaned mid-argument, and Bredius stated he could now see Rembrandt's hand in the work but only as the author of the bird! The painting entered the collection of the National Gallery of Art in 1956 and is now labeled "Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn;" see Wheelock, 1956.1.1 *Old Woman Plucking a Fowl*.
76 Sedelmeyer, 6.
77 Ibid., 8.
78 Ibid., 12-13.
79 Ibid., 36.

80 A. Bredius, *'The Adulteress before Christ.' A Picture by Rembrandt. A Reply to an Open Letter to Dr. Abraham Bredius Concerning the Authenticity of this Picture*, The Hague, 1912, 2.
81 Ibid.
82 Bode and Hofstede de Groot, *The Complete Paintings of Rembrandt*, vol. 5, 1901, 10-11, and see discussion in Chapter 4.
83 Bredius, '*The Adulteress before Christ*,' 3, translating a section of an article by Seidlitz in *Kunstchronik*.
84 Bredius, '*The Adulteress before Christ*,' 3-4.
85 "On 'The Woman Taken in Adultery' of the Weber Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* 22 (1913): 287.
86 G.B. (Georg Biermann), "Rembrandts 'Ehebrecherin vor Christus'," *Der Cicerone* 5 (1913): 28-29.
87 Hofstede de Groot, quoted in the 1927 Walker catalogue, 123; said to be from an interview with him by the *New York Times* (12 November 1912?); to date I have not been able to find this interview.
88 According to the Walker Art Center's curatorial files, by 1941 the painting was attributed to Barent Fabritius, following Valentiner's suggestion. W.R. Valentiner, "Carel and Barent Fabritius," *Art Bulletin* 14 (1932): 228, 229, 231, though he stated that the bearded Pharisee's head might have been painted by Rembrandt, 231. However, in a report written for the Walker Art Center around 1944, Julius Held cautioned about using this attribution as well, while not suggesting an alternative name; see the curatorial files on the painting at the Walker Art Center.
89 C. Hofstede de Groot, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 10 vols., Esslingen, Stuttgart and Paris, 1907-1928; published in English as *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century, based on the Works of John Smith*, trans. and ed. Edward G. Hawke, London, 1907-1928.
90 The catalogue was reissued in the 1970s not just as a historiographic curiosity but as an essential working tool.
91 See Hofstede de Groot's preface in *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century*, vol. 6, 1916, v.
92 Ibid., 6.
93 Ibid.
94 This volume received few reviews, likely because of the unfortunate timing of its publication during World War I. Eduard Plietzsch (one of Hofstede de Groot's protégés) reviewed it favorably in 1917, commending Hofstede de Groot's contributions not just to the understanding of Rembrandt but to that of his followers and pupils as well. He also defended Hofstede de Groot's more expansive view of Rembrandt's painted oeuvre and mentioned the author's citation of seventy paintings known from literary evidence but not (yet) identified as support for Hofstede de Groot's approach. It is telling, however, that Plietzsch sidestepped any argument from the author; rather than discussing controversial attributions, he simply provided his readers with two summary lists: one of paintings Hofstede de Groot accepted as Rembrandts which others disputed and the other of paintings Hofstede de Groot discussed without a final decision on their authenticity. See E. Plietzsch, "Neue Bücher über Rembrandt und seine Schüler," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 40 (1917):187-188.

CHAPTER 7

1 On Valentiner's war service see Sterne, 111-124. Valentiner received an Iron Cross for his work at the front in 1915, ibid., 113. Bode (who helped Valentiner obtain his office position at the War Information Center, see ibid., 116) remained at the helm of the Berlin museums throughout the war; he was ennobled in 1914, see Bode, *Mein Leben* 1: 388.
2 Bode was among the first to comment on the many shifts in location and ownership of Rembrandt paintings during the war years and immediately afterward. Bode, "Neue Funde an späten Bildnisse Rembrandts," *Kunst und Künstler* 20 (1921): 199.
3 Valentiner reproduced photographs of 120 paintings, but this larger number also encompassed twenty pictures mentioned in either his

1909 volume or in Hofstede de Groot's catalogue of 1915 that had not been reproduced in those books.

4 Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, "Einleitung," vi.
5 Ibid., v.
6 Ibid., vii.
7 Ibid., vi-vii.
8 In the case of a painting of a bearded man in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden that had been catalogued as school of Rembrandt, Valentiner did mention that the signature had suffered in the same manner as the paint that made up the shadowing on the head, and that the restorer used by the gallery had determined that this signature was contemporaneous with the painting itself. This is the only case in which Valentiner attempted to indicate what factors helped to determine authenticity of a signature; Valentiner, *Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, "Verzeichnis," xviii, no. 40. Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, 4: 2946, in the discussion for no. 1928, described the Dresden painting (Dresden no. 1576) as an "anonymous oil study."
9 Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, xv-xvi. Bredius accepted this version (Br. 74) though Gerson rejected its authenticity; Bredius-Gerson, 553. Now in the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts, it was described in *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, as "an imitation of uncertain date," C29 *Bust of a Man in a Cap* (commonly called Rembrandt's Father), 611.
10 Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, xvi. The painting once owned by Sedelmeyer is now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; see *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, A30, ca. 1630/31. The Gates version, previously in the Yerkes collection (Br. 537) is now in the Art Institute of Chicago, there designated as "after Rembrandt;" see ibid., copy one, 306-307. Both versions were shown in an exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 1991-92, "Masterpiece in Focus: *The Raising of Lazarus* by Rembrandt."
11 Attributed to Karel van der Pluym by Bredius (see below), an attribution accepted by Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, 4: 2363, no. 1588. Current location unknown.
12 Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, xii. Somewhat atypically, Valentiner indicated his skepticism about the identification of this model as Adriaen van Rijn, since he had died in 1652, but the group of pictures using this model varied in date from 1650 to 1654; see the "Verzeichnis," xxi, no. 69. Here Valentiner's faith in the authenticity of inscriptions, in this case dates, as a "scientific" source of information on paintings superceded his desire to identify figures in Rembrandt's paintings as members of his immediate family or household. However, in his discussion of how the rediscovered paintings fit into Rembrandt's career, Valentiner typically emphasized the issue of Rembrandt's use of models from his personal life for his art. He also asserted that the presumed commercial success of such portraits outside Rembrandt's immediate circle indicated the existence of a kind of "art for art's sake" attitude in the seventeenth-century Dutch art market, ix.
13 With but a few exceptions, Valentiner's disagreements with Bode or Hofstede de Groot were limited to comments made in the appendix "Rembrandt zugeschrieben," rather than being found in the list of the primary hundred attributions.
14 Ibid., xix. See discussion later in this chapter.
15 Ibid., "Nachträge zu den Erläuterungen," 125 on Bas; see also 123, 127 for other disputes with Bredius. Likewise, in his discussion of a painting that he had doubted in the 1908 volume, *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (no. 101), Valentiner now accepted its attribution to Rembrandt, xxiv.
16 See reviews in *Preussischer Jahrbuch* 189 (1921): 234-235; *Der Cicerone* 13 (1921): 319-320.
17 Bode, review of *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, by W.R. Valentiner, *Literarisches Zentralblatt* (21 May 1921): 398-399.
18 Bode, review of *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, by W.R. Valentiner, *Kunst und Künstler* 19 (1920/21): 446-447.
19 Ibid., 447.
20 Roger Fry, review of *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, by W.R. Valentiner, *The Burlington Magazine* 39 (1921): 90. Fry, painter and scholar, was better known as a student of Italian and modern art who emphasized a formalist approach to art.

21 Ibid., 91.
22 Abraham Bredius, "Wiedergefundene 'Rembrandts'," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* N.F. 32 (1921): 146.
23 Ibid., 146.
24 Bredius had conducted archival research on Karel van der Pluym, and with the work of other archival scholars had discovered that Van der Pluym had left a bequest to Adriaen van Rijn's children; ibid., 146-147.
25 J.O. Kronig, "Carel van der Pluym," *The Burlington Magazine* 26 (1915): 172 and 177. For this painting, now in a private collection in Amsterdam, see Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, 4: 2363, no. 1590
26 Bredius, "Wiedergefundene 'Rembrandts'," 148. Then in a private collection in Boston, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, where, entitled *Young Man in Oriental Costume*, it is listed as "Imitator of Bol;" Alexandra Murphy, *European Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. An Illustrated Summary Catalogue*, Boston, 1986, 22.
27 Bredius, "Wiedergefundene 'Rembrandts'," 150. For this painting, now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., see Chapter 5.
28 Ibid. Bredius further commented that he had traveled to Minneapolis to see the *Adulteress* after its cleaning, and maintained that it had seemed "rather less good than better." The Detroit *Woman Weeping* is now considered to be a copy after Rembrandt.
29 See Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, xxvi, no. 10. For its current attribution see Chapter 4.
30 Bredius, "Wiedergefundene 'Rembrandts'," 152.
31 Wilhelm R. Valentiner, "Erwiderung," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* N.F. 32 (1921): 172.
32 Ibid., 173. However, in the revised edition of 1923, Valentiner did modify his discussions of the two paintings in order to give more, or at least clearer, credit to Kronig (and Bredius). See Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, 2nd ed, Berlin and Leipzig, 1923, xxi, no. 27, "*The 'So-called' Sister of Rembrandt*," (Br. 91) Stockholm Nationalmuseum, and xxvii, no. 85, *Bearded Old Man*, Zurich, Kunsthaus. Bredius included only the Stockholm painting in his 1935 catalogue; neither appears in recent Rembrandt catalogues. For the various articles on "Rembrandts" by Kronig, see Benesch, *Rembrandt. Werk und Forschung*, 105 (significantly, Benesch classified Kronig's articles under discussion of "Rembrandt-Apokryphen").
33 Valentiner, "Erwiderung," 173.
34 A. Bredius, "Ein letztes Wort an Dr. Valentiner," *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt* (1922): 391, note 1.
35 Ibid., 391.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid., 394.
38 See A. Bredius, "Justus van Effen über den holländischen Kunsthandel um 1700-1734," *Kunstchronik* N.F. 24 (1913): 185-191.
39 For a brief biography of Martin see R.E.O. Ekkart's entry in J. Charité, ed. *Biografisch woordenboek van Nederland*, 3 vols., The Hague and Amsterdam, 1979-1989, s.v.
40 Willem Martin, "Rembrandt Rätsel," *Der Kunstwanderer* 3 (1921): 6. His 1911 plea was published on the occasion of a Dutch art exhibition in Paris that year; Willem Martin, "Ausstellung altholländischer Bilder in Pariser Privatbesitz," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 4 (1911): 503-504.
41 Martin, "Rembrandt Rätsel," 7.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid., 8.
44 Willem Martin, "Rembrandt-Rätsel (II)" *Der Kunstwanderer* 3 (1921): 30. The Frick Collection has also catalogued it as a van der Pluym; see discussion in Chapter 4.
45 *Man Reading* (Br. 238) now in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts, catalogued by Sumowski under "anonymous Rembrandt school;" *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, 4: 3041, no. 1974. Over ten versions are known.
46 For these categories, see Martin, "Rembrandt-Rätsel (II)," 30-33.
47 The meaning of the inscription on the painting, "Rembrandt changed it and overpainted it," was then, as now, under debate; see Chapter 1. However; some scholars believed that it meant Rembrandt had himself executed this second version of the painting now in the Hermitage, while others agreed with Martin that it meant a student had executed the composition after its design was modified by Rembrandt and that he had then reworked the surface.

48 For the supposed double portrait of Rembrandt and Saskia see Chapter 4. *The Good Samaritan* (Br. 545) is now attributed by the Wallace Collection to Govaert Flinck, see John Ingamells, *Rembrandt 1892. Twelve Paintings: A Century of Changing Perceptions*, exh. cat., London, 1992, 16-19 and *Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, C48, where this attribution was proposed earlier.
49 C. Hofstede de Groot, "Rembrandts onderwijs aan zijne leerlingen," in *Feest-Bundel Dr. Abraham Bredius aangeboden den Achttienden April 1915*, 1:79-94.
50 Martin, "Rembrandt-Rätsel (II)," 33.
51 Ibid., 33-34.
52 Ibid., 33-34. This last goal would be achieved, but only after sixty years had passed, with the publication of Werner Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, 6 vols., Landau, ca. 1983.
53 Martin, "Rembrandt-Rätsel (II)," 34.
54 Ibid. Now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, where it is labeled "Possibly by Rembrandt." This painting occasioned one of the rare cases in which the Rembrandt Research Project members changed their mind in print. In the first volume of the corpus, they included it among the authentic paintings by Rembrandt, though disturbed by what they saw as the disjunction between the date on the painting (1632) and its style, which seemed to represent Rembrandt's approach of two to three years earlier; *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, A23. In the second volume, however, they effectively moved the painting to the C category and, like Martin, attributed it to Rembrandt's student, Isaac Jouderville; ibid., vol. 2, 1986, 838. This reattribution has itself been controversial.
55 Martin, "Rembrandt Rätsel (II)," 34. For the current attribution of the *Portrait of Rembrandt's "Mother"* (Br. 67) and the *Old Woman Praying*, see Chapter 4.
56 Ibid.
57 Jakob Rosenberg, "Berlin und die Rembrandt-Forschung," in Otto von Simson and Jan Kelch, eds., *Neue Beiträge zur Rembrandt Forschung*, Berlin, 1973, 10. (Rosenberg was himself affiliated with the Bode-Hofstede de Groot-Valentiner axis.)
58 Hofstede de Groot's orientation towards German scholarship, in large part a product of his academic training in Leipzig, was a well-recognized component of his professional identity; see H.E. van Gelder, "Dr. C. Hofstede de Groot (1863 – 1930)," in *Dutch Drawings from the Collection of Dr. C. Hofstede de Groot*, 28.
59 C. Hofstede de Groot, *Die holländische Kritik der jetzigen Rembrandt-Forschung und die neuest wiedergefundene Rembrandtbilder*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1922, 5.
60 Ibid., 5-6.
61 Ibid., 6
62 Ibid., 9-10.
63 Ibid., 12.
64 Ibid., 13. *Portrait of an Elderly Man*, 1667 (Br. 323A); added in Bredius-Gerson, 575. The portrait is still in a private collection in Great Britain, and it appears in recent catalogues of Rembrandt paintings.
65 Ibid., 11. On the antagonism between the two scholars, including reference to Kronig's influence on Bredius, see Boomgaard, 124-128.
66 Kronig began to live with Bredius in 1907; see Barnouw-de Ranitz, "Abraham Bredius, een biografie," *Museum Bredius*, 24-26.
67 H.E. van Gelder discussed with much subtlety and compassion the long and complex relationship between Bredius and Hofstede de Groot in his obituary of the latter; van Gelder, "Dr. C. Hofstede de Groot (1863 – 1930)," in *Dutch Drawings from the Collection of Dr. C. Hofstede de Groot*, 22-24.
68 Hofstede de Groot, *Die holländische Kritik*, 14.
69 Ibid.
70 The painting, given by Hofstede de Groot to his native city of Groningen, does not appear in any catalogues of Rembrandt paintings from Bredius's onward. For an illustration see Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, 2nd ed., 1923, 113 (under paintings attributed to Rembrandt).
71 Hofstede de Groot, *Die holländische Kritik*, 18.
72 See the earlier discussion of this painting in Chapter 4.
73 Hofstede de Groot, *Die holländische Kritik*, 20.
74 Ibid., 22.
75 Ibid.
76 Ibid., 23.
77 Ibid., 24.
78 Ibid.

79 Ibid. This seems an especially curious comment since the Rembrandt experts were in fact "not always united with each other."
80 Ibid., 25.
81 Ibid., 25ff.
82 Ibid., 26.
83 Ibid., 27.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid., 28.
86 I have been able to identify the following pictures among the twelve he published in this book: no. 1 *Study after Rembrandt's Father* in Kurt Bauch, *Rembrandt Gemälde*, Berlin, 1966, no. 122 as in Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe; no. 3 *Portrait of a Young Woman* (Br. 93) listed in Br.-Gerson as in a private collection, USA; no. 4 *Portrait of a Seventy-Year-Old Woman*, formerly Detroit Institute of Arts (deaccessioned as a modern pastiche); no. 5 *Hunting Still Life with a Dead Bittern* (Br. 455), now Zurich, Bührle Foundation; no. 7 *Head of Christ* (Br. 627), private collection, USA; no. 9 *Study of an Old Man* (Br. 262), current location unknown; no. 11 *Self Portrait in Window Niche* (Br. 41) Cincinnati, Taft Museum, catalogued there as "Imitator of Rembrandt," see Cincinnati, The Taft Museum, *The Taft Museum. Its History and Collections*, vol. 1, New York, 1995, 157-159 (entry by Walter Liedtke). While Valentiner included ten of the twelve paintings in the second edition of *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, none of them is accepted in recent Rembrandt catalogues. The only one of the twelve to be mentioned in Tümpel or Schwartz's catalogue is the *Head of Christ* (Br. 627), listed as "Rembrandt Circle" by Tümpel, 425, no. A21, and doubted by Schwartz, 380.
87 Hofstede de Groot, *Die holländische Kritik*, 47-48.
88 Willem Martin, "Zur Rembrandtforschung," *Der Kunstwanderer* 5 (1923): 407.
89 Ibid.
90 Ibid., 408. A. Bredius, "Self-Portraits by Ferdinand Bol," *The Burlington Magazine* 42 (1923): 22-28.
91 Martin, "Zur Rembrandtforschung," 408. For an earlier debate on the authenticity of this painting between Bode and Oskar Eisenmann, see Chapter 1. Now entitled *The Apostle Thomas*, it is attributed by the museum to Nicholas Maes.
92 Martin, "Zur Rembrandtforschung," 408.
93 Ibid.
94 Ibid., 410-411.
95 Bode, "Die 'Rembrandt-Forschung' in Gefahr?" *Der Kunstwanderer* 5 (1923): 3.
96 Bode somewhat bitterly commented on the production of the first Klassiker der Kunst Rembrandt volume of 1904, suggesting that this book had cannibalized the sales of his own multi-volume work; he did, however, praise Valentiner's 1908 edition; 4.
97 In her biography of Valentiner, Sterne mentioned a 1928 meeting in Paris between him and a publisher, the Vicomte de Canson, "who wanted to publish two supplementary volumes to Wilhelm von Bode's work on Rembrandt, to be written by Hofstede de Groot and Valentiner," 175. This project was never carried out.
98 Bode, "Die 'Rembrandt-Forschung' in Gefahr?" 4.
99 Ibid., 4-5
100 Ibid., 5.
101 Ibid.
102 Ibid.
103 Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, "Zur Rembrandtforschung," *Der Kunstwanderer* 5 (1923): 31.
104 Ibid., 32. It is not clear what painting specifically Hofstede de Groot referred to here.
105 Ibid.
106 Ibid., 32-33.
107 Ibid., 34.
108 Ibid., 34-35.
109 Ibid., 35.
110 See the summary of Bode's piece in *Der Kunstwanderer* published in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 September 1923), followed by letters of Hofstede de Groot (28 September 1923) and Bredius (30 September 1923).
111 Bredius, "Bode en de Rembrandt 'Forschung," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (30 September 1923).
112 Bode, "Ein neu aufgefundenes Jugendwerk Rembrandts," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* N. F. 34 (1924/25): 1-4. The Rembrandt Research Project described the painting, in the Cramer Gallery in The Hague during the early 1980s, as "an imitation of Rembrandt's early style, which was not produced in his own circle," see *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, C13 *Two Old Men Disputing*, 526.

113 Bode, "Ein neu aufgefundenes Jugendwerk Rembrandts," 1.
114 Ibid., 3.
115 Ibid., 4.
116 Schmidt-Degener, however, did not generally become involved in print with the debates over the size of Rembrandt's oeuvre, preferring instead to publish on iconographic issues raised by Rembrandt's art.
It is important to realize that Bredius continued to attribute paintings to Rembrandt, just as Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner did: he primarily disagreed about which paintings to include and which to leave out, despite his published objections to Valentiner's positing of an oeuvre of 700 or more works. For some additional attributions to the Rembrandt corpus during the 1920s see his articles: "An Unknown Masterpiece by Rembrandt," *The Burlington Magazine* 36 (1920): 208-209; "Some Early Rembrandts," *The Burlington Magazine* 45 (1924): 159; "Eine Rembrandtlandschaft im Museum zu Aix-en-Provence," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* N.F. 35 (1925/26): 309.

CHAPTER 8

1 For biographical information on Van Dyke see the editor's introduction in Peter Wild, ed. *The Autobiography of John C. Van Dyke*, Salt Lake City, 1993, xviii-xx.
2 John C. Van Dyke, *How to Judge of a Picture: Familiar Talks in the Gallery with Uncritical Lovers of Art*, New York, 1888; one of his guides, *Amsterdam, The Hague, Haarlem: Critical Notes on the Rijks Museum, The Hague Museum, The Hals Museum*, New York, 1914.
3 Wild, xx, 67-69.
4 John C. Van Dyke, *Rembrandt and His School: A Critical Study of the Master and His Pupils with a New Assignment of Their Pictures*, New York, 1923, vii.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., ix.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid., viii.
9 Ibid. The paintings Van Dyke accepted were *The Mennonite Preacher Cornelis Claesz Anslo and his Wife* (Fig. 41), the portrait of Hendrickje (Br. 116) and *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (Fig. 19), all still accepted today; see *Gemäldegalerie Berlin Gesamtverzeichnis*, 101-102, 828L, 828B, 828H. Even in the case of the first two works, he called the attribution to Rembrandt a "tentative" one, p. 34. For the catalogue consulted by Van Dyke see Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, ed. Walter Mannowsky, 8th ed., Berlin, 1921.
10 Van Dyke in fact referred to Berenson's practice of grouping pictures under an assigned rubric, but said that he would simply call them "unknown pupil group 1, 2," etc.; *Rembrandt and His School*, 158.
11 Ibid., p. 3.
12 However, it is not clear from his references to the Rembrandt authorities whether Van Dyke had read most of their publications or not; he certainly did not refer to specific books or articles by them in German (or Dutch) with the exception of oeuvre catalogues such as the Klassiker der Kunst volumes by Valentiner.
13 Van Dyke, *Rembrandt and His School*, vii.
14 Ibid., vii. The book was John C. Van Dyke, *Old Dutch and Flemish Masters, Engraved by Timothy Cole*, New York, 1895.
15 Van Dyke, *Rembrandt and His School*, 3-4.
16 Tancred Borenius, "The Survival of Old Masters," *The Saturday Review* 136 (1923): 538.
17 Ibid., 539.
18 Van Dyke answered Borenius's critique of his numerical approach to Rembrandt's paintings in a letter to the editor of *The Burlington Magazine*, in which he suggested that the large numbers of paintings attributed to many Dutch painters were so out of line with the limited oeuvres attributed to Italian artists as to suggest problems with the connoisseurship of Dutch art in general and mentioned in this regard Bode, Hofstede de Groot, and Valentiner as the figures most responsible for these generous estimations of Dutch artists' oeuvres; see Van Dyke, "Letter – Some Rembrandt Problems," *The Burlington Magazine* 44 (1924): 311-312.
19 Roger Fry, "Rembrandt Problems," *The Burlington Magazine* 44 (1924): 189.

20 It is not clear from his discussion if Fry was simply unaware of the debates that had been waged just two years before by Martin, Hofstede de Groot, and Bode, or whether this debate, argued in German in academic circles, seemed too removed from the larger art world, encompassing dealers and the public in many countries to be noteworthy.
21 Fry, "Rembrandt Problems," 190. This was misleading as a criticism, for Van Dyke had addressed directly what could and could not be determined about style from photographs alone, Van Dyke, *Rembrandt and His School*, 26.
22 Fry, "Rembrandt Problems," 192.
23 D.S. MacColl, "Rembrandt at the Wallace Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* 45 (1924): 16.
24 Ibid.
25 Bode, "Vandyke über Rembrandt," *Der Kunstwanderer* 5 (1923/24): 87-89.
26 Ibid., 88.
27 Bode, "Ein neu aufgefundenes Jugendwerk Rembrandts," 1.
28 A. Bredius, "Van Dijke over de valsche Rembranden [sic]," *Het Vaderland* (7 November 1923). Among others, Bredius protested Van Dyke's reattribution of *Pilate Washing His Hands* to Salomon Koninck and the *Titus* from 1655 to Barent Fabritius; these were perhaps unfortunate examples to cite when attempting to prove that Van Dyke had no true abilities as a connoisseur, since both paintings, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, have long since been dropped from Rembrandt's oeuvre. See *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, nos. 38 and 41, both catalogued as "Follower of Rembrandt." Van Dyke's attribution of *Pilate Washing His Hands* to Salomon Koninck is referred to in *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt* as "wild," 2:130.
29 C. Hofstede de Groot, "John C. van Dijke's boek over Rembrandt," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (8 December 1923).
30 W. R. Valentiner, "Prof. Van Dyke's Study of Rembrandt," *Art in America* 12 (1924): 141-146.
31 Ibid., 141.
32 Ibid., 145.
33 Ibid., 143.
34 Among Van Dyke's papers on deposit in the Alexander Library at Rutgers University are five file folders of newspaper and journal articles about the Rembrandt controversy sent to Van Dyke by a clipping service. In addition to articles and editorials from Boston, New York, and Washington-based publications can be found those from the *Little Rock Arkansas Gazette*, the *Asheville N.C. Citizen*, the *Houston Texas Chronicle*, the *Minneapolis Tribune*, and the *Denver Post*. The earliest of these appeared on 5 October 1923, and they continued to appear well into January 1924.
35 "Dr. Van Dyke's Attack on the Rembrandt Tradition," *Current Opinion* 75 (1923): 689-691. The titles of these articles were often sensational, such as "Rembrandts in Museum Fakes, Expert Claims," or, purposefully preposterous, "Bolshevism in Art Criticism."
36 Ibid., 689-690. See also "S.K.N.'s" thoughtful review in the *Christian Science Monitor* (20 February 1924).
37 See for instance "Paris Art Colony Stirred by Exposé of 'Rembrandts'," *Denver Post* (8 October 1923).
38 "Van Dyke Defends Rembrandt Book," *Paterson Call* (10 October 1923).
39 See, for instance, "Artless Art Collectors," *Literary Digest* (3 November 1923).
40 "Rembrandts in Museum Fakes, Expert Claims," *Buffalo News* (5 October 1923).
41 "Bolshevism in Art Criticism," *The New Republic* (1923): 218.
42 Ibid., 219.
43 Art Snobbery Again," *Asheville N.C. Citizen* (9 November 1923).
44 "Denies that Picture in Chicago Institute is Fake Rembrandt," *Columbia S.C. Record* (6 October 1923). The painting he referred to here is the *Young Woman at Open Half-Door*, earlier in the Demidoff collection; see discussion in Chapter 5.
45 "Scouts Van Dyke's Art Fake Figures," *Washington D.C. Star* (6 October 1923).
46 Bryson Burroughs, "Rembrandts in the Metropolitan Museum," *The Arts* 4 (1923): 263-272. His reference to "the coldness of a certain type of critic" is found on 272.
47 Ibid., 268.
48 Ibid., 265.
49 Ibid., 272. Of these three only the portrait of Hendrickje (Br. 118) is accepted today as a

Rembrandt; see *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, no. 16 *Hendrickje Stoffels* (wherein it is incorrectly stated that only Van Dyke had questioned the authorship of this painting, p. 78). See also nos. 38 *Pilate Washing His Hands* and 35 *Head of Christ*, both catalogued as "Follower of Rembrandt." The paintings Burroughs doubted were those he called the *Portrait of an Old Lady*, 1635 (Br. 348; *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, no. 24, as "attributed to Jacob Backer"), *Head of a Young Dutch Woman*, 1633 (*Corpus*, vol. 2, 1986, A83 *Portrait of a Woman*, though listed in *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, no. 5 as "attributed to Rembrandt"), *The Portrait of a Man, called Jansenius* (Br. 221, now entitled *Portrait of a Man Holding Gloves*, in *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, no. 9 as by Rembrandt), the *Portrait of a Man with the Steel Gorget*, 1644 (Br. 234, *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, no. 26 as "Follower of Rembrandt"), and the *Portrait of Titus* (Br. 121, *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, no. 41, as "style of Rembrandt").

50 *Boston Transcript* (13 December 1924). Hofstede de Groot wrote to the editors of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* about another author's report that such a Rembrandt congress was being discussed, stating that he had already written about this in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* on 1 August, "Zur Rembrandtforschung," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (6 August 1924).

51 Van Dyke, *Rembrandt and His School*, 111 for Koninck, 86 for Flinck.

52 Ibid., 64. For the attribution of the *Sibyl* to Drost see *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, no. 29.

53 See "A Rembrandt That Dr. Van Dyke Approves," *Art Digest* 4 (November 1929): 9.

54 *Corpus*, vol. 1, 1982, x.

55 *Rembrandt: The Master and His Workshop Rembrandt*, 1:387, no. 82. For Van Dyke's attribution to Eeckhout see *Rembrandt and His School*, 69.

56 *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt*, 2: 78, 130.

57 Bailey, *Responses to Rembrandt*, 10.

58 Cited by Biaostocki, who stated it was "ascribed to Reifstahl," 152.

CHAPTER 9

1 C. Hofstede de Groot, *Echt of inecht? Oog of chemie*?, The Hague, 1925. In this booklet, Hofstede de Groot presented his argument, followed by court documents or summaries and newspaper articles about the controversy. See the succinct summary "Der gefälschte Frans Hals," in *Der Kunstwanderer* 7 (1925): 326.

2 Letter by C. Hofstede de Groot, "Over oude pijpekoppen en een Frans Hals," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (1 November 1924), reproduced in *Echt of inecht?*, 66-68, quotation on 68.

3 *Kunstkennis. Herinneringen van een kunstcriticus*, The Hague, 1927. (I have used the German edition: C. Hofstede de Groot, *Kennerschaft. Erinnerungen eines Kunstkritikers*, trans. Cornelis Müller, Berlin, 1931.)

4 Hofstede de Groot, *Kennerschaft*, 18-19. He maintained that this case had been settled in favor of Rembrandt's authorship and cited an article by Hans Kauffmann from 1926 that in the wake of the Dutch art exhibition in Amsterdam of 1925, the theory of Bol's authorship had been rejected for good; see Hans Kauffmann, "Overzicht der Litteratuur betreffende Nederlandsche Kunst: Duitschland," *Oud Holland* 43 (1926): 246. As has been discussed already, however, arguments over the authorship of this painting continued to appear in Rembrandt literature up into the 1990s; see Chapter 6.

5 Max J. Friedländer, *Der Kunstkenner*, Berlin, 1919; see also *Echt und unecht: aus den Erfahrungen des Kunstkenners*, Berlin, 1929.

6 Tancred Borenius, "Hofstede de Groot on Connoisseurship," *The Burlington Magazine* 59 (1931): 176.

7 Ibid., 177.

8 See Otto, 42-43, discussing the sale of a large part of Bode's library through the auction house Lepke in Berlin in November 1921. Uunfortunately, because of disagreements about the location of the Asian art museum, among other issues, the proceeds of Bode's library sale were not used for their intended purpose. In an article on Valentiner's purchases of European paintings for the Detroit Institute of Arts, J. Patrice Marandel stated that Joseph Duveen purchased

Bode's library and donated it to the Detroit museum in 1922, J. Patrice Marandel, "A Valentiner Legacy: The Broad Stream of European Painting," *Apollo* 124 (1986): 489.

9 Among the most important obituaries are the following: Max. J. Friedländer in *Kunst und Künstler* 27 (1928/29): 355-356; Adolph Donath in *Der Kunstwanderer* 11 (1929): 293-294; Frits Lugt in *Apollo* 9 (1929): 263-264; *Museums Journal* 28 (April 1929): 332; "Bode," *The Burlington Magazine* 54 (1929): 165-166; *International Studio* 92 (April 1929): 59-60. *Der Kunstwanderer*, which had devoted a special issue to Bode on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, honored him with a memorial issue as well. See also *Wilhelm von Bode: Ansprachen bei der Trauerfeier in der Basilika des Kaiser-Friedrich Museums, am 5 Marz 1929* (privately printed, Berlin, 1929).

10 Wilhelm von Bode, *Mein Leben*, Berlin, 1930. He had already covered some of the same ground, albeit in a less polemical way, in *Fünfzig Jahre Museumsarbeit*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1922.

11 In one brief notice, the Berlin Rembrandt exhibition was described as "a fitting memorial to the Gallery's former great director, Wilhelm von Bode, who died only last year and who was internationally know as the greatest of Rembrandt scholars," "Notes of the Month," *International Studio* 96 (June 1930): 52.

12 *Rembrandt-Ausstellung der Akademie der Bildenden Künste*, Berlin, 1930. The exhibition was curated by Max J. Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg.

13 Comte Valentin Zouboff, "Exposition Rembrandt," *Beaux Arts* 8:3 (1930): 10.

14 S., "Die Berliner-Rembrandt-Ausstellung," *Der Cicerone* 22 (1930): 138.

15 "Shorter Notices: Cornelis Hofstede de Groot," *The Burlington Magazine* 56 (1930): 274.

16 "Dr. C. Hofstede de Groot," *Oude Kunst* 7 (1929/30): 227.

17 "The Late Professor Cornelis Hofstede de Groot," *Connoisseur* 85 (1930): 383.

18 Van Gelder, 26-27.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., 26.

21 Ibid., 26. Bredius stated his objections to paid expertises in an essay "Echtheitsatteste für Falschungen," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* N.F. 58 (1924/25): 132. While only referring to "Dr. X" and to a "very famous art scholar" when discussing certain cases of what he considered to be abuses in providing certificates (such as charging different amounts for a certificate for a painting that was deemed an authentic Rembrandt from one that was by a follower), his examples appear to refer to both Hofstede de Groot and Bode. Of course, as an independently wealthy art historian, Bredius had the luxury of being able to afford to provide his opinions without being paid for them.

22 "Shorter Notices: Cornelis Hofstede de Groot," 274.

23 Max J. Friedländer, "C. Hofstede de Groot," *Kunst und Künstler* 28 (1929/30): 343-344.

24 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, *Rembrandt tentoonstelling ter plechtige herdenking van het 300-jarig bestaan der Universiteit van Amsterdam*, exh. cat., 1932; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, *Rembrandt tentoonstelling ter herdenking van de plechtige opening van het Rijksmuseum op 13 juli 1885*, exh. cat., 1935.

25 Langton Douglas, reviewing the 1932 exhibition, commented on the appropriateness of choosing Rembrandt to celebrate the founding of the University of Amsterdam, since Rembrandt was "a university man" himself, a rather tall claim given the sparse evidence on Rembrandt's education but one that indicates a certain updating of Rembrandt's image for the twentieth-century museum visitor; L.D. (Langton Douglas), "The Rembrandt Exhibition at Amsterdam," *The Burlington Magazine* 61 (1932): 44.
On Rembrandt as a national symbol, see R.W. Scheller, "Rembrandt als Kultursymbol," in von Simson and Kelch, 221-234; on Rembrandt and the twentieth century, see Bruin, passim.

26 Douglas, 44. The two themes could be seen as overlapping; the artist's "feeling for the tragic" was on occasion related to his life circumstances. However, his biography was not the dominating theme this time.

27 M.D. Henkel, "Amsterdam: Rembrandt-Ausstellung," *Pantheon* 10 (1932): 268.

28 Herbert Furst, "The Rembrandt Exhibition at Amsterdam," *Apollo* 16 (1932): 116.

29 Ibid., 121.
30 Ibid.
31 Ernest Scheyer, "Die Rembrandt-Ausstellung in Amsterdam," *Pantheon* 16 (1935): 290.
32 Ibid., 292-294.
33 Daniel Catton Rich, "Rembrandt Remains," *Parnassus* 7:5 (October 1935): 3.
34 H. "Amsterdam. Rembrandt tentoonstelling van 1935," *Maandblad voor beeldende Kunsten* 12 (1935): 283.
35 Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Paintings by Rembrandt*, exh. cat., Detroit, 1930.
36 The three paintings from Europe were: no. 27 *Landscape with the Baptism of the Eunuch*, from the Mathiesen Gallery in Berlin, now on loan to the Niedersächsische Landesgalerie Hanover; see *Corpus*, vol. 3, 1989, under C116 "differs from Rembrandt's style in approach and execution and cannot be seen as authentic. Probably painted around 1640 in Rembrandt's workshop; an attribution to Ferdinand Bol is justified by certain similarities with his later work," 729; no. 55 *Suessa Commanding his Father Q. Fabius Maximus to Descend from the Horse* (Br. 477), from a private collection in Munich, later in Belgrade, collection of the king of Yugoslavia, possibly destroyed in the conflict of the 1990s; and no. 60 *Head of Christ* (Br. 621) from Goudstikker, Amsterdam, now in the Detroit Institute of Arts. The attribution to Rembrandt of the Detroit head of Christ has been doubted by Schwartz, *Rembrandt. His Life, His Paintings*, 380, and Tümpel, 424, A17.
37 "Detroit Museum Opens Rembrandt Loan Exhibition," *Art News* 28 (26 April 1930): 3 and 13.
38 *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Paintings by Rembrandt* , "Introduction," 15. Valentiner's reference to three exhibitions is a bit confusing; he obviously meant the Rembrandt exhibitions of 1898 in Amsterdam and 1899 in London, but the reference to a third exhibition is less clear. He may have meant the exhibit in Berlin which was mounted earlier in 1930 than the Detroit exhibition.
39 Ibid., 5. Valentiner here cited Langbehn's *Rembrandt als Erzieher* because of Langbehn's choice of Rembrandt as a model for German society. See also Perlove, 258.
40 For Valentiner's political affiliations in Berlin, and then his first six years director at Detroit, see Sterne, 125-130, and 150-204.
41 See, for instance, the list of reviews cited by Otto Benesch, *Rembrandt. Werk und Forschung*, ed. Eva Benesch, 2nd ed., Lucerne, 1970 (originally published Vienna, 1935), where only one European review, by W. Heil in *Pantheon* 6 (1930): 380, is mentioned as compared to eight reviews for the 1932 Rembrandt exhibition in Amsterdam. Van Hall, 1: 584, listed only the Heil and the Freund reviews. American reviewers tended to list the paintings and describe their place within Rembrandt's oeuvre rather than offer any kind of critical analysis of the exhibition; its ambition was the most notable point for these writers, as with Josephine Walther, "The First Great Rembrandt Exhibition in America," *Antiquarian* 14 (May 1930): 57ff.
42 Frank E.W. Freund, in *International Studio* 96 (1930): 50. See also his review, "Die Detroiter Rembrandt-Ausstellung," *Der Cicerone* 22 (1930): 332.
43 The exhibition also appeared in a slightly different form at the Worcester (Massachusetts) Art Museum. I have not been able to find any significant reviews of the exhibition at either venue, only brief notices such as one by Helen Comstock in *Connoisseur* 97 (1936): 160-161.
44 Daniel Catton Rich, "Rembrandt as a Teacher," in Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, *Loan Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings, and Etchings by Rembrandt and His Circle*, exh. cat., 1935, 7.
45 Ibid.
46 "75 Rembrandts," in *Art Digest* 4 (1 May 1930): 6, citing a comment of Florence Davies in the *Detroit News*.
47 Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt Paintings in America*, New York, 1931. It was unusual for Valentiner to call himself "Wilhelm" in his English language publications; instead, he usually styled himself "W.R. Valentiner." Choosing the more Germanic form of his name, however, indicated the continuity between this book and his earlier Rembrandt catalogues written in German. The introductory text for this book varied only slightly from the essay published in the exhibition catalogue.

48 Ironically, however, Valentiner never really accepted the idea that his career in the museum world was to unfold exclusively in the United States; for instance, in the late 1920s he wrote in his diary how he believed that Bode had purposely kept him away from Berlin "in spite of his friendship and affection for me – subconsciously feeling that I might be troublesome to him if I were too near;" see Sterne, 176.
49 Valentiner cited the second edition of *Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemälde* from 1923.
50 *Old Man Facing Right*, formerly collection of Alfred J. Fisher, Detroit; not in Bredius or modern Rembrandt catalogues; *Man Reading* (Br. 238), now in Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, attributed in Bredius-Gerson to Barent Fabritius; *Portrait of a Gentleman* (Br. 176) now with Robert Noortman, Maastricht, the Netherlands; see Tümpel, A83 *Portrait of a Bearded Man with a Wide Collar*, as "Pupil of Rembrandt," not in Schwartz, *Rembrandt. His Life, His Paintings*.
51 (Br. 100) now as *Portrait of a Woman (Saskia?)* in the Indianapolis, Indiana Museum of Art, tentatively attributed by the museum to Govaert Flinck; see Anthony F. Janson and A. Ian Fraser, *100 Masterpieces of Painting. Indianapolis Museum of Art*, Indianapolis, 1980, 92.
52 Valentiner, *Rembrandt Paintings in America*, chronological list, n.p.
53 Jakob Rosenberg, "Notizen und Nachrichten: Rembrandt," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1932): 83-84.
54 A.L.M. (August L. Mayer), "Rembrandt in Amerika," *Pantheon* 10 (1932): 392-394.
55 A.M.F. (Alfred M. Frankfurter), "A Review of New Books: 'Rembrandt Paintings in America' by Wilhelm R. Valentiner," *Fine Arts* 18 (1932): 47-48, reprinted along with several other brief reviews by Royal Cortissoz from the *Herald Tribune* and Henry McBride from the *Baltimore Sun*, in *Art News* 30 (31 December 1931): 13-14.
56 Frankfurter, "A Review of New Books," 47.
57 Royal Cortissoz, in the *Herald Tribune*, cited in *Art News* (as in note 55), 13-14.
58 Henry McBride in the *Baltimore Sun*, cited in *Art News* (as in note 55), 14.
59 A.P. Laurie, *A Study of Rembrandt and the Paintings of His School by Means of Magnified Photographs*, London, 1930; "Rembrandt Authenticity and His School," *The Studio* 101 (1931): 43-45; and *The Brush-Work of Rembrandt and His School*, London, 1932. Alan Burroughs, "New Illustrations of Rembrandt's Style," *The Burlington Magazine* (1931): 3-10, and *Art Criticism from a Laboratory*, Boston, 1938.
60 Alan Burroughs, "New Illustrations of Rembrandt's Style," 10.
61 Best represented by Burroughs's two articles in *Creative Art* in 1932: "A Rembrandtesque Portrait by Govaert Flinck," *Creative Art* 10 (1932): 385-391, and "Some Shadowgraphs of Bol and Rembrandt," *Creative Art* 10 (1932): 453-460. In the second article he attributed two portraits in the Metropolitan Museum of Art to Bol using X-rays of Rembrandt and Bol paintings to support his case, including X-rays of the Elisabeth Bas portrait, which he accepted as representative of Bol's painting technique. For these portraits, now considered to be by a follower of Rembrandt, see *Rembrandt/not Rembrandt*, vol. 2, nos. 27 and 28.
62 Alan Burroughs, "The Microscope and Art," *Creative Art* 8 (1931): 300. Recent scholarship agrees with Burroughs on this point at least, since the *Centurion Cornelius* no longer appears in modern Rembrandt catalogues.
63 Burroughs, "New Illustrations of Rembrandt's Style," 10, no. 4.
64 Ellis K. Waterhouse, "The Literature of Art: Rembrandt through the Looking Glass," *The Burlington Magazine* 62 (1933): 43-44.
65 Abraham Bredius, *Rembrandt schilderijen. 630 afbeeldingen*, Utrecht, 1935. A German edition was also published in 1935, while the English edition appeared in two editions in 1936 and 1937. The second edition, Abraham Bredius, *The Paintings of Rembrandt*, Vienna and New York, 1937, contained a supplement as well. Horst Gerson was one of the young art historians who assisted in the production of Bredius's catalogue, and his account (a generation later) of the difficulties encountered in carrying out this work point to Bredius's often prickly personality as a scholar; see Bredius-Gerson, viii-ix.

66 On Bredius's reversal of the usual hierarchy of genres, see Blankert and van Velzen, "Some Observations on Bredius the Connoisseur," 9-10. As they commented, "[I]ndependence was perhaps the most salient characteristic of Dr. Abraham Bredius," 9.
67 Bredius-Gerson, ix.
68 Bredius, *The Paintings of Rembrandt*, Vienna, 1936, "Introduction," (unpaginated).
69 Ibid.
70 Gerson commented on the fact that the book received few reviews by suggesting that the outbreak of war caused too much disruption; ibid., ix. He was surprised, however, that the "Valentiner-Rosenberg" expansionist party had not reviewed it. Other than the reviews discussed here by Neil MacLaren and M.D. Henkel, it did not receive substantial reviews. There were brief notices of the two volume English edition in such publications as the *Magazine of Art* 35 (1942): 307, and *Connoisseur* 111 (1943): 75.
71 Neil MacLaren, "The Literature of Art: 'The Paintings of Rembrandt'," *The Burlington Magazine* 71 (1937): 100.
72 M.D. Henkel, "Overzicht der Litteratuur betreffende Nederlandsche Kunst," *Oud Holland* 54 (1937): 140.
73 For a recent discussion of this forgery see H. van Wijnen, "Het Meesterwerk van Johannes Vermeer," in D. Kraaijpoel and H. van Wijnen, *Han van Meegeren, 1889-1947, en zijn meesterwerk van Vermeer*, exh. cat., Zwolle, 1996, especially 77-83.
74 W. Martin, "Abraham Bredius 1855 – 1946 In Memoriam," *Maandblad voor beeldende Kunsten* 22 (1946): 71-74; H.E. van Gelder, "Dr. Abraham Bredius 1855-1946," *Oud Holland* 61 (1946): 1-4. A condensed version of Van Gelder's obituary of Bredius was published in the *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*, 5th ser., 1 (1947): 5.
75 Martin, 72.
76 Ibid., 73.
77 Ibid.
78 W.R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt and His Pupils*, exh. cat., Raleigh, 1956; W.R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt and Spinoza: A Study of Spiritual Conflicts in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, London, 1957.
79 "W.R. Valentiner, Art Expert, Dies," *New York Times* (8 September 1958).
80 E.P. Richardson, "William R. Valentiner," *Art Quarterly* 21 (1958): 350. A shorter version of Richardson's obituary of Valentiner was published in the *College Art Journal* 18 (1959): 247. Edgar P. Richardson was Valentiner's successor as director of the Detroit Institute of Arts. See also Colin Agnew, "Obituary: W.R. Valentiner," *The Burlington Magazine* 100 (1958): 442.

AFTERWORD

1 Gary Schwartz has identified a core group of approximately 100 paintings that were accepted as Rembrandts both in 1836 by John Smith and in 1969 by Horst Gerson; see "Rembrandt: 'Connoisseurship' et erudition," 105. As Schwartz pointed out, the one exception to this rule was in the discussion of Rembrandt's early career, which was hardly known before Bode's research on this subject, and the subsequent discovery of early Rembrandt, 102.
2 See, for instance, comments by Hofstede de Groot in *Die holländische Kritik*, both rejecting some attributions accepted by Valentiner, and promoting others rejected by both Valentiner and Bode.
3 See summaries of these critiques in Bailey, Keevak, and Talley.
4 The Rembrandt Research Project commended the work of Horst Gerson for his willingness to reconsider traditional attributions, but the fact that "his statements, both positive and negative, were indeed just as unspecific as those of his predecessors," compared unfavorably in their eyes to their own providing of "more thorough supporting evidence for each and every interpretation," *Corpus*, vol. 1, p. x.
5 Ibid.
6 See J. Bruyn et al, "Letter: The Rembrandt Research Project," *The Burlington Magazine* 135 (1993): 279 and E. van de Wetering, "Letter: Rembrandt Research Project," *The Burlington Magazine* 135 (1993): 764-765. See also Ernst van de Wetering and Paul Broekhoff, "New Directions in the Rembrandt Research Project,

Part I: the 1642 Self-Portrait in the Royal Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* (1996): 174-180.

7 Listserve: "Form follows dysfunction, no. 179. Did Rembrandt paint the Mona Lisa?" 13 March 2003. The initial topic raised by Gary Schwartz concerned the formation of the Universal Leonardo Project, intended to determine attribution issues for Leonardo, along the lines of the Rembrandt Research Project. Schwartz expressed his concern about the Leonardo scholars' belief that scientific evidence could solve attribution problems; he raised the example of the two self-portraits attributed to Rembrandt as a test case of why science could not in fact provide such final answers when confronted with two contemporary paintings, both with claims to authenticity. Among the respondents between 13 and 21 March were (in alphabetical order): Benjamin Binstock, Albert Blankert, Paul Crenshaw, Stephanie Dickey, Martin Royalton-Kisch, Simon Schama, Eric Jan Sluijter, and Jørgen Wadum, all published scholars, conservators, museum curators, and university professors specializing in Dutch art and culture.

8 See articles by Wadum and Sluijter in *Oud Holland* 114 (2000); Simon Schama, "Author's Note: But are They Rembrandts?" in *Rembrandt's Eyes*, New York, 1999, 703; Benjamin Binstock, review of *Rembrandt's Eyes* by Simon Schama, *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000): 361-362. For other literature on this subject see Chapter 1, note 35.

9 See Sluijter, especially 190-192, for discussion of the two styles and the possibility that Rembrandt may have been experimenting with these modes in the two portraits.

10 See two recent methodological discussions of Rembrandt signatures, approaching their meaning and significance from quite different viewpoints: H.J.J.Hardy, W. Froentjes, and R. ter Kuile-Haller provided results of a technical investigation in "A Comparative Analysis of Rembrandt Signatures," 595-606, while the discussion of the "trademark" concept is found in Ann Jensen Adams, "Rembrandt f[ecit]. The Italic Signature and the Commodification of Artistic Identity," 581-594, in *Künstlerischer Austausch Artistic Exchange*. Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte Berlin, 15.-20. Juli 1992, edited by Thomas W. Gaehtgens, vol. 2, Berlin, 1993.

11 Alpers; her phrasing of "the *effect* of individuality" is found on p. 8. She discussed the implication of attribution problems in her "Introduction," 1-13.

12 This is a theme sounded in several of Schwartz's articles on Rembrandt connoisseurship; see 'Truth in Labeling" or "Rembrandt Research after the Age of Connoisseurship."

13 Ernst van de Wetering, "The Search for the Master's Hand: An Anachronism? (A Summary)," in *Kunstlerischer Austausch*, 627-230. The articles by Adams; Hardy, Froentjes and ter Kuile-Haller; and Van de Wetering were first delivered in a session on Rembrandt methodology held at the 1992 Berlin congress chaired by Christopher Brown, then a curator at the National Gallery in London, and Ernst van de Wetering. Claus Grimm, who has often played the role of the iconoclast in Rembrandt scholarship in recent years, contributed the fourth paper, "Die Frage nach der Eigenhändigkeit und die Praxis der Zuschreibung," *Kunstlerischer Austausch*, 631-648.

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