



THE LEIDEN  
COLLECTION





**Portrait of Petronella Buys (1605–1670)**

Rembrandt van Rijn  
(Leiden 1606 – 1669 Amsterdam)

1635  
oil on oval panel  
79.5 x 59.3 cm  
signed and dated at lower left: “Rembrandt.f.  
1635?”  
RR-115

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In this engaging half-length portrait, Rembrandt captured the gentle sensibility of the twenty-nine-year-old Petronella Buys.<sup>[1]</sup> Turned in a three-quarter view and seated before a gray curtain, Petronella gazes out warmly at the viewer, her subtle smile creating small dimples on her pink cheeks. Her wide, brown eyes glisten in the daylight streaming down from the upper left. She is dressed in all of her finery. A double strand of pearls sets off her face from the expansive white-wheel lace ruff that extends across the width of her shoulders.<sup>[2]</sup> Beneath the ruff she wears an elegant lace bib, decorated with a brooch, and gold chains that hang across her brocaded black costume. Petronella's hair, pulled high above her forehead, is silhouetted with a lace-and-pearl-trimmed bonnet. A jeweled pendant is nestled into her coiffure.

The sitter's identity is known from an inscription in Dutch that was formerly visible on the painting's verso: "Ms. Petronella Buijs, his wife / after this married to Burgomaster Cardon."<sup>[3]</sup> As Cornelis Hofstede de Groot demonstrated in 1913, "his" refers to Petronella's first husband, Philips Lucasz (ca. 1598–1641), an officer in the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.).<sup>[4]</sup> Rembrandt painted Petronella—and the pendant portrait of Philips, now in the National Gallery London (**fig 1**)—in 1635, some months after the couple's marriage in August 1634.<sup>[5]</sup> Philips and Petronella had first met in Batavia, where she had traveled in 1629 with her sisters Geertruyd (1613–77) and Maria Odilia (died 1636), as well as with Maria Odilia's husband, Jacques Specx (1588/89–1652).<sup>[6]</sup> Petronella and Philips returned to the Netherlands in late 1633, and announced their marriage in Amsterdam on 4 August 1634. The preacher Johannes Sylvius, a relative of Rembrandt, married the couple three weeks later in the Nieuwe Kerk.<sup>[7]</sup> Shortly after Rembrandt completed their portraits in 1635, Petronella and Philips left again for the Dutch East Indies on 2 May 1635; there, Philips resumed his role as councillor general extraordinary.<sup>[8]</sup> After Philips's death at sea in 1641, Petronella settled in the Netherlands.<sup>[9]</sup> She married Johan Cardon in January 1646 and lived the remainder of her life in Vlissingen, where Cardon served twice as Burgomaster.<sup>[10]</sup>

The portraits of Petronella and Philips are first documented in 1655 in the collection of Jacques Specx, Petronella's brother-in-law. In the division of his estate on 31 August, Specx's daughter, Maria, received "two ditto (portraits) of Mr. Placas [Philips Lucas] deceased, and of his wife [dated] 1635 by Rembrandt."<sup>[11]</sup> An inventory of Specx's collection taken two years earlier, on 13 January 1653, refers to "*Twee conterfeytsels* (two portraits)," which are

### Comparative Figures



**Fig 1.** Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Philip Lucasz*, 1635, oil on panel, 79.5 x 58.9 cm, The National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG850 © The National Gallery, London / Art Resource, NY



**Fig 2.** Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of a Woman*, 1633, oil on panel, 63 x 48 cm, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, Kunstmuseum des Landes Niedersachsen, inv. no. GG233, Fotonachweis: Museumsfotograf

likely the same paintings.<sup>[12]</sup> The fact that Specx had bequeathed the portraits to Petronella's niece when Petronella was still alive led I.H. van Eeghen to suggest that Specx either commissioned the portraits or received them as gifts from the couple prior to their departure for Batavia.<sup>[13]</sup> Specx's patronage of Rembrandt in the first half of the 1630s, following his return to the Netherlands in 1633, supports the former scenario.<sup>[14]</sup> He owned three other paintings by Rembrandt from that period of the artist's career; these have been plausibly identified as *Christ on the Sea of Galilee*, 1633 (formerly Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum); *The Apostle Paul in Prison*, 1631 (Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie); and the *Abduction of Europa*, 1632 (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum).<sup>[15]</sup>

The portraits of Petronella Buys and Philips Lucasz, which had been together ever since 1635, were separated sometime before the early nineteenth century.<sup>[16]</sup> Prior to 1989, when Josua Bruyn and Bob Haak of the Rembrandt Research Project raised attribution questions about them, they had always been accepted as fine portraits by the master.<sup>[17]</sup> Bruyn and Haak argued, however, that Rembrandt executed only the face of Philips Lucasz, while a workshop assistant painted his costume and collar, as well as the entirety of Petronella Buys's portrait.<sup>[18]</sup> Among their criticisms of Petronella's portrait were the modeling of the face and the treatment of light and shadow, as well as the handling of the lace in the diadem cap, ruff, and bib.<sup>[19]</sup> Ernst van de Wetering also believes that a workshop assistant executed Petronella's face and large portions of her costume, although he has recently concluded that Rembrandt executed her collar and ruff.<sup>[20]</sup>

The opinions expressed by Bruyn and Haak about the pendant portraits of Philips Lucasz and Petronella Buys have been critically received by a number of scholars, including Gary Schwartz, Christian Tümpel, and Walter Liedtke.<sup>[21]</sup> The most extensive arguments for attributing the portraits to Rembrandt were made by David Bomford, Christopher Brown, and Ashok Roy in several National Gallery publications.<sup>[22]</sup> These scholars argued that Philips's portrait did not involve the hand of a workshop assistant, and that the couple's portraits were entirely by Rembrandt.<sup>[23]</sup> One of their central arguments in favor of an attribution for Philips Lucasz is that Rembrandt used "a kind of brilliant shorthand" for the execution of his collar—a technique, they explain, that the artist would have adopted when working under pressure.<sup>[24]</sup> Whether or not the factor of "speed" can account for the bravura of this technique, which is also evident in Petronella's bib, this innovative "shorthand" approach is characteristic of Rembrandt's lace in the mid-1630s.<sup>[25]</sup> Here, as elsewhere, Rembrandt seems to have devised new



**Fig 3.** Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Oopjen Coppit (1611–1689)*, 1634, oil on canvas, 207.5 x 132 cm, joint acquisition by the Dutch State and the French Republic, collection Rijksmuseum / collection Musée du Louvre, inv. no. SK-C-1768



**Fig 4.** Rembrandt van Rijn, detail of face of *Portrait of Oopjen Coppit (1611–1689)*, 1634, oil on canvas, 207.5 x 132 cm, joint acquisition by the Dutch State and the French Republic, collection Rijksmuseum / collection Musée du Louvre, inv. no. SK-C-1768





technical approaches for depicting changes in fashion by applying black paint over white with free and confident brushstrokes.<sup>[26]</sup> Alive with energy, his paint creates a splendid three-dimensional effect throughout Petronella's ruff, as the individual segments of the lace respond to subtleties of light and shadow.

The stylistic and technical similarities in the portraits of Philips and Petronella were particularly evident in 2017 when the two paintings were reunited in a study session at the National Gallery in London.<sup>[27]</sup> The juxtaposition of these two portraits reinforced the opinion that they had been executed by the same hand.<sup>[28]</sup> Depicted before a grayish, draped background,<sup>[29]</sup> Philips Lucasz and Petronella Buys make compelling pendants as they turn toward each other with inner strength and personal conviction. Philips turns slightly away from the light, which allows light and shade to model his features in a forceful and expressive way. Petronella, who is set slightly further back from the picture plane, faces toward the light, which falls brightly and evenly across her face. Rembrandt used a cool palette with warm highlights in both paintings, and captured the effects of light rippling across the fabric in the background.<sup>[30]</sup>

Rembrandt portrayed the distinctive physical appearances and personalities of Philips and Petronella with great assurance, highlighting their respective individualities as husband and wife by varying his pictorial vocabulary in subtle ways.<sup>[31]</sup> As Van de Wetering has explained when discussing Rembrandt's varied painting techniques in portraiture—here in relation to the master's pendant portraits of 1633 in Braunschweig (**fig 2**)—"the execution of faces could vary from portrait to portrait" as a result of the "speed" required by the commission or other "demands" by the sitters.<sup>[32]</sup> These factors are likewise relevant when considering the distinctive aspects of the portraits of Petronella and Philips. Whereas Rembrandt depicted Philips's face with great freedom, layering short, quick brushstrokes of pinks and yellows to create rich facial textures and a ruddy complexion, he rendered Petronella's features more delicately and carefully. He painted her face with smooth, subtle brushstrokes of gray, brown, and ochre paints, while using a wet-into-wet technique to convey her porcelain-like complexion. Flesh-colored highlights define the inner corners of her eyes, and strokes of reddish-pink paint articulate the shadow on her nose.<sup>[33]</sup>

The painting techniques Rembrandt used to model Petronella's features are also found in other female portraits that he executed in the first half of the 1630s. The smooth brushwork is comparable, for example, to the stylistic

**Fig 5.** Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of a Young Woman*, 1633, oil on wood, 65.3 x 48.8 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Museum purchase funded by label B. and Wallace S. Wilson, the Alice Pratt Brown Museum Fund, Caroline Weiss Law, Fayez Sarofim, the Blanton and Wareing families in honor of Laura Lee Blanton, the Agnes Cullen Arnold Endowment Fund, the Fondren Foundation, Houston Endowment Inc., Mr. and Mrs. George P. Mitchell, Ethel G. Carruth, Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Tate, and Nina and Michael Zilkha, with additional funding from the Linda and Ronny Finger Goundation, Ann Trammell, and Mr. and Mrs. Temple Webber in memory of Caroline Weiss Law, 2004.3

character of at least three paintings from this period: *Portrait of a Woman* in Braunschweig (**fig 2**), which demonstrates an even greater degree of control and refinement in the paint handling; *Portrait of Oopjen Coppit* in Amsterdam (**fig 3**) and (**fig 4**), and *Portrait of a Young Woman* in Houston (**fig 5**).<sup>[34]</sup> Rembrandt modeled the faces in the latter two portraits somewhat more extensively than he did with Petronella, but he maintained a similar angle of light falling over the figures in order to achieve clarity of forms.<sup>[35]</sup> He also used reddish-brown tones and flesh-colored highlights to model the eye sockets, reddish-pink highlights on the lips, and soft pinks on the chins and upper cheeks. Underdrawing applied with a brush is faintly visible around both Petronella and Oopjen's nostrils and lips, indicating the degree of care Rembrandt took in rendering his sitters.<sup>[36]</sup> Areas of underpainting and underdrawing (in paint) are also present in Philips's portrait, including in the right eyebrow and around the eyes.<sup>[37]</sup> These commonalities in technique situate Petronella comfortably within the framework of Rembrandt's portraiture in this period.

The differing opinions that continue to exist about the attributions of *Portrait of Petronella Buys* and *Portrait of Philips Lucasz* reflect uncertainties about how the Rembrandt workshop functioned between 1631 and 1635 when he was working for the art dealer Hendrick van Uylenburgh (1584/89–ca. 1660). The workshop focused on the production of commissioned portraits, and it is likely that Rembrandt had pupils and assistants to help him meet the high level of demand.<sup>[38]</sup> In Dutch and Flemish portrait traditions it was not uncommon for a master to collaborate with an assistant in completing a portrait, with the master painting the face and hands and the assistant executing the costume.<sup>[39]</sup> Rembrandt himself is believed to have worked in this way on occasion.<sup>[40]</sup> Nevertheless, it is not certain who might have assisted Rembrandt in his portrait production in the first half of the 1630s. Dirk van Santvoort (1610/11–80), highly skilled in painting lace collars, may have had connections to the workshop, but his participation is not documented; nor is that of Isaac de Jouderville (ca. 1612–48), Rembrandt's Leiden pupil, who may have continued to serve as an assistant to his master in the early 1630s in Amsterdam.<sup>[41]</sup> Govaert Flinck (1615–60) and Jacob Backer (1608–51), on the other hand, were members of the workshop between 1633 and 1635.<sup>[42]</sup>

Discussion about the attribution of these pendant portraits also must consider the nature of the commission, as well as the relationships that existed between the artist and the sitters. As previously noted, Rembrandt likely painted these portraits for Jacques Specx, who had already bought



three of Rembrandt's history paintings in the early 1630s.<sup>[43]</sup> Specx was not only an important patron of Rembrandt, he was also Petronella's brother-in-law.<sup>[44]</sup> Furthermore, he had served as a witness at the announcement of her marriage to Philips Lucasz. All of these factors make it quite improbable that Rembrandt would have assigned a workshop assistant to execute Petronella's portrait. Relevant for this discussion is a question Albert Blankert posed about a patron's expectations for a commissioned portrait: "When people gave such a commission to a famous and expensive artist, would they not have cared whether the task was carried out by the master himself or an assistant?"<sup>[45]</sup> Aside from the unlikelihood that a workshop assistant painted the entirety of the painting, Van der Wetering's proposal that an assistant executed Petronella's face and Rembrandt the ruff and collar is contrary to the character of workshop collaboration.<sup>[46]</sup>

The portraits of Petronella Buys and Philips Lucasz are fascinating examples of Rembrandt's portrait production in the mid-1630s. The remarkable history of these portraits and the distinctive and compelling manner with which they were painted strongly support their attribution to Rembrandt. Commemorating Petronella and Philips's marriage and marking Philips's service to the V.O.C., the pendants would have constituted important additions to Jacques Specx's admirable collection of Rembrandt paintings. For Frederick Schmidt-Degener, who would later become director of both the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen and the Rijksmuseum, Petronella's portrait represented "one of those beautiful and strong paintings full of distinction that Rembrandt, [who] became the painter of Amsterdam's high society, executed around 1631 to 1636."<sup>[47]</sup>

- Lara Yeager-Crasselt, with contributions by Leonore van Sloten,  
2017

## Endnotes

1. The Leiden Collection would like to acknowledge the contributions made by Leonore van Sloten to this entry, including the biographical and archival material relating to Petronella's life and her family, technical considerations about the painting, and communication with Ernst van de Wetering.

Petronella Buys's birth date has been consistently published throughout the literature as 1610, but the author and Leonore van Sloten have determined that the correct date is 1605. In the marriage announcement of Petronella and her husband, Philips Lucasz, dated 4 August 1634, Petronella's age is given as 29 years old. Stadsarchief Amsterdam: *doop-, trouw- en begravenisregister* nr. 442, p. 334. Harmen Snel (Amsterdam City Archives) confirmed the interpretation of the second number as a "9" after having checked the original document. The birth date of 1605 is also given in Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 3, 1635–1642, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (The Hague, 1989), A115, 181. No source is indicated; Petronella's baptism in The Hague could not be traced by the authors. Her tombstone in Vlissingen mentions 1610 as her year of birth. See P.J. Rethaan Macaré, *Wapenborden en Wapens op Tombes, Monumenten en Grafgesteenten in de kerken van de voormalige Provincie Zeeland tot in 1798*, Koninklijk Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Geslacht- en Wapenkunde, Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, The Hague. The *Familieboekje van Barent Somer (1588–1633)* (Zeeuws Archief, toegangsnummer 157/80) mentions that Petronella, the wife of Johan Cardon (her second husband), died on 26 September 1670, and was buried on 3 October of that year: "26 Septemb. 1670 / 'S morgens omtrent 4 uren is overleden Petronella Buijs huisvrouw van Hr. Johan Cardon, mijn behoud moeij. 3 octb. Begraven."

2. For similar clothing and hair fashion, see, for example, *Portrait of Oopjen Coppit* (fig 3) and *Portrait of a Woman Wearing a Gold Chain*, 1634 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Petronella's double collar is notable but not uncommon. In the 1630s, the mill ruff was slowly being replaced by the flat collar. The combination of the two worn by Petronella reflects this transitional period in women's fashion. Rudi Ekkart kindly provided further information about these collars in personal correspondence with Leonore van Sloten (dated December 10, 2018).
3. "Jonckvr. Petronella Buijs: sijne Huijsvr. Naer dato getrouwt aen de Hr. Borgerm. Cardon." The seventeenth-century inscription was likely covered in the early twentieth century when the panel was cradled. As noted by Martin Wyld, a signature on one of the horizontal crossbars of the cradle is dated 1914. Cornelis Hofstede de Groot transcribed the inscription in 1913; see Hofstede de Groot, "Rembrandts portretten van Philips Lucasse en Petronella Buys," *Oud Holland* 31, no. 5 (1913): 236–40. Wilhelm von Bode published the portrait as depicting



Petronella Buys in his monograph on Rembrandt in 1897 (based on the inscription on its verso), but Hofstede de Groot was the first to mention the inscription and determine the portrait's pendant. See Wilhelm von Bode and 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*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1897), 11, 115–16, no. 118.

4. Petronella married her second husband, Johan Cardon (1603–1671) in January 1646. See note 10.
5. There are remnants of an inscription on the verso of Philips's portrait, but it is no longer discernable. Without direct comparison to the inscription on Petronella's portrait, it is not possible to ascertain whether the inscriptions are by the same hand. For the National Gallery painting, see Neil MacLaren, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Dutch School 1600–1900*, vol. 1 (London, 1960), no. 850; Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 3, 1635–1642, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (The Hague, 1989), A115; Neil MacLaren and Christopher Brown, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Dutch School 1600–1900*, vol. 1 (London, 1991), no. 850; David Bomford, ed., *Rembrandt: Art in the Making* (Exh. cat. London, National Gallery) (London, 1988), 52–57; David Bomford et al., *Rembrandt: Art in the Making* (London, 2006), 82–88.
6. Petronella and Geertruyd travelled to Batavia (Jakarta) with Maria Odilia and Specx in search of a marriage candidate for Petronella. Specx held prominent roles in the V.O.C., having established trade with Japan in 1609 and later serving as governor of Batavia. Philips formerly served as the East India Company's chief trader or *Opperkoopman* (1625) and as the *Secunde* and governor on the island of Amboina (the Moluccas) from 1628 to 1631. In 1631 he was appointed as commissioner extraordinary of the Indies, which resulted in his move to Batavia. See Willem Philippus Coolhaas, *Het Huis 'De Dubbele Arend': Het huis Keizersgracht 141, thans 'Van Riebeeckhuis' genaamd, nu daar een halve eeuw gearbeid is voor de culturele en economische betrekkingen met Zuid-Afrika* (Amsterdam, 1973), 29–63.
7. The return convoy under the command of Philips Lucasz arrived in Amsterdam on 20 December 1633. Early sources incorrectly state that Philips and Petronella married in Batavia. M.E. van Opstall (Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague) discovered and correctly identified the date of the notice, or announcement, of their marriage in Amsterdam on 4 August 1634 and the subsequent baptism of their daughter, Françoise, in Batavia on 30 September 1635. The original marriage banns are located in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam: *doop-, trouw- en begravenisregister* nr. 442, p. 334, 4 August 1634: "Compareerden als voren. Philips Luijcazn van Middelburg. out 36 jaren woont op de Herengraff-geassis en Pietronelle Buijs. Van sgravenhage. out 29 Jaren. geassisteert met haer suster ende swager de Generael Spexs wonende op de Keyzersgraft." Maria Odilia Buys and Jacques Specx served as witnesses to this announcement. See also Neil MacLaren and Christopher Brown, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Dutch School 1600–1900*, vol. 1 (London, 1991), 344–45n5.

The actual marriage took place on 27 August of that year, in the Nieuwe Kerk: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, *inventarissen, toegangsnummer 5001, trouwregisters van de kerken*, inv. no. 989, p. 492. Jaap van der Veen provided indispensable help in tracing the date of marriage, which has not been previously published.

8. Philips was rewarded for his service to the Dutch East India Company on 31 January 1635 with 1,000 *rixdaelders* from the V.O.C. The Directors of the East India Company awarded gold chains to those commanders who had successfully returned home with their merchant fleets. The gold chains worn by Philips in the portrait—which would otherwise be an unusual part of his dress—indicate his receipt of this award and constitute further evidence for the 1635 dating of the painting. After he and Petronella left the Netherlands on 2 May 1635, they arrived in Batavia over four months later, on 20 September 1635.
9. On 5 March 1640 Philips died at sea on the ship *de Santvoort* during his return to Batavia from an expedition to Ceylon, where he had taken the Fort of Negombo in February of that year. Lucasz was buried in Batavia, see P.A. Leupe, *Philip Lucasz., raad en directeur-generaal van Nederl.-Indië* (Almanak Zeeland, 1855). Upon her return to the Netherlands, Petronella moved into the home of Specx, known as the “Dubbele Arend,” on the Keizersgracht in Amsterdam. For the biographical details on Philips and Petronella, see Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, “Rembrandts portretten van Philips Lucasse en Petronella Buys,” *Oud Holland* 31, no. 5 (1913): 236–40; I.H. van Eeghen, “De Portretten van Philips Lucas en Petronella Buys,” *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 43 (1956): 116; Willem Philippus Coolhaas, *Het Huis ‘De Dubbele Arend’: Het huis Keizersgracht 141, thans ‘Van Riebeeckhuis’ genaamd, nu daar een halve eeuw gearbeid is voor de culturele en economische betrekkingen met Zuid-Afrika* (Amsterdam, 1973), 63–64; Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 3: 1635–1642, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (The Hague, 1989), 3: A115, C111.
10. Petronella Buys and Johan Cardon announced their marriage in Amsterdam on 21 December 1645 and in Vlissingen on 23 December 1645. The actual date of their marriage in Vlissingen cannot be traced, but it occurred sometime in January 1646. See Stadsarchief Amsterdam: *doop-, trouw- en begravenisregister* nr. 462, p. 458, 21 December 1645: “Compareerden voor Jan Michielz Blaew en mr Gerrit van Helmont Joan Cardon van Vlissingen, burgemeester tot Vlissingen, out 42 Jaren, noch een moeder hebbende en Pietronelle Buijs uyt sgravenhage, weduwe van Philip Lucas, woonende opde Keisergracht verclarende 5 Jaer weduwe te zijn geweest.” Ron Roose (Gemeentearchief Middelburg) and Aliceanneke Jacobsen (Infocentrum Zeeuws Archief, Middelburg) kindly provided assistance with the archival research related to the announcements and marriage of Petronella and Cardon.

Johan Cardon was an official of the East Indian Company for the kamer Middelburg and served as burgomaster of Vlissingen from 1641 to 1647 and again from 1669 to 1670. See Willem Philippus Coolhaas, *Het Huis ‘De Dubbele Arend’: Het huis Keizersgracht 141, thans*

'*Van Riebeeckhuis*' genaamd, nu daer een halve eeuw gearbeid is voor de culturele en economische betrekkingen met Zuid-Afrika (Amsterdam, 1973), 63–64. See also François Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, ed. S. Keijser, vol. 1 (1855), 127–28, 131, 425; vol. 2 (1856), 446, 450, 467, 470.

11. "Schilderijen toegevallen de dochter 2 d.<sup>o</sup> [contrefeijtsels] van den Hr. Placas salr en sijn huysvrouw a<sup>o</sup> 1635 door Rembrandt." Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam, *Scheiding van de boedel van Jacques Specx*, Records of the Notary Justus van de Ven, NA 114, fol. 269. Excerpts from the inventory are published in Walter L. Strauss and Marjon van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents* (New York, 1979), 327–28.
12. The "two portraits" are mentioned in the middle of the list of Rembrandt paintings owned by Specx, under nos. 17 and 18 ("Twee conterfeijtsels"). Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam, *Inventaris van Jacques Specx*, Records of the Notary Pieter de Bary, NA 1698, fol. 869. See also Willem Philippus Coolhaas, *Het Huis 'De Dubbele Arend': Het huis Keizersgracht 141, thans 'Van Riebeeckhuis' genaamd, nu daar een halve eeuw gearbeid is voor de culturele en economische betrekkingen met Zuid-Afrika* (Amsterdam, 1973), 57; Walter L. Strauss and Marjon van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents* (New York, 1979), 296–97; and online in RemDoc, document/remdoc/e4626.
13. See online in RemDoc: document/remdoc/e4681. See also I.H. van Eeghen, "De Portretten van Philips Lucas en Petronella Buys," *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 43 (1956): 116.
14. Specx left Batavia at the beginning of December 1632, together with his wife, Maria Odilia. They arrived in Amsterdam in July 1633. Willem Philippus Coolhaas, *Het Huis 'De Dubbele Arend': Het huis Keizersgracht 141, thans 'Van Riebeeckhuis' genaamd, nu daar een halve eeuw gearbeid is voor de culturele en economische betrekkingen met Zuid-Afrika* (Amsterdam, 1973), 48–49.
15. "Een scheepgen petri van Rembrant; Een St. Paulus van Rembrand; Een Europa van Rembrant [sic]." Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam, *Inventaris van Jacques Specx*, Records of the Notary Pieter de Bary, NA 1698, fol. 869. See Willem Philippus Coolhaas, *Het Huis 'De Dubbele Arend': Het huis Keizersgracht 141, thans 'Van Riebeeckhuis' genaamd, nu daar een halve eeuw gearbeid is voor de culturele en economische betrekkingen met Zuid-Afrika* (Amsterdam, 1973), 56–58; Walter L. Strauss and Marjon van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents* (New York, 1979), 296–97.
16. The *Portrait of Philips Lucasz* was in the collection of Sir Robert Peel by 1836 and purchased by the National Gallery with the Peel collection in 1871. For the portrait of Petronella, see Provenance. In Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 3, 1635–1642, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (The Hague, 1989), A115; and in *Rembrandt: Art in the Making* (Exh. cat. London, National Gallery) (London, 2006), 84–86, it has been stated that Philips's portrait was cut down and altered from a rectangle into its present oval shape, possibly as early as the seventeenth century. The oak panel has straight



beveling on the back, along the bottom and sides, indicating that it was cut down from a rectangular shape. This evidence is supported by the abrupt end of the brushstrokes on the edge of the panel and indications of the “crumbling termination of the paint layer.” The National Gallery authors argue that the alteration of the panel may have impacted the placement of the sitter’s left hand, which is no longer visible in the painting (it is visible in the X-ray). The hand was discovered during cleanings in 1941 and 1977; during the latter cleaning, restorers determined that the paint covering the hand was not original and decided to remove it. They considered the hand to be “clumsy and shapeless” and “so unsatisfactory in appearance” that they decided to paint it out again. Considering that some of the pigments used in the hand date from the seventeenth century, and that the colors in the flesh tone are found in other works by Rembrandt from the 1630s, it is possible that the artist may have painted out the hand himself. The National Gallery authors maintain that the painting and subsequent painting out of the hand “coincided with the reduction of the panel to an oval.”

An aspect related to the shape of the paintings is the frame in which Philips’s portrait is currently on view in the National Gallery. Peter Schade, head of the Framing Department of the National Gallery, shared his ideas on this frame with The Leiden Collection via email (dated 5 December 2018). Schade confirmed that the present oval frame is of Dutch origin and, based on style and material, likely dates from the middle of the seventeenth century. Schade suggested that it may have been produced specifically for Philips’s portrait.

Although there is no evidence to indicate that Petronella’s panel was cut down or reduced in size, the authors of Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 3, 1635–1642, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (The Hague, 1989), C111, suggest that her portrait may have also been originally rectangular and cut down into an oval like its pendant. Cradling on the back of the panel and a wax coating prevent a full investigation into these questions (see condition report by Simon Howell kept on file at The Leiden Collection). However, given the strong pictorial relationship between the portraits, which is discussed at greater length below, and the fact that Philips was clearly posed to be paired with a pendant, it seems highly unlikely that the paintings would not have been conceived and executed in the same format at the time of the commission. Another possibility, suggested by Leonore van Sloten, is that the portraits may have been originally painted on rectangular panels, but were surrounded by an oval “window,” a compositional format that Rembrandt often followed (see *Self-Portrait with Shaded Eyes*, RR-110). The panels may have been cut into an oval shape at a later time. Further technical research will have to be conducted to resolve some of these outstanding questions regarding Petronella’s panel; for discussion of the latter possibility of a painted oval format, which has also been suggested for Rembrandt’s *Portrait of a Man in a Red Coat*, see Volker Manuth, “Portrait of a Man in a Red Coat,” in *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. (New York, 2017), <https://leidenstage.wpengine.com/archive/>.

17. See References.
18. In *Corpus III*, Josua Bruyn and Bob Haak expressed doubts over the execution of the lace of Philips's collar, highlighting the “partly bold flicks and strokes in white and small lines and dots in grey and black,” that do not show “the proper balance between an interesting brushwork and a convincing suggestion of a regular lace pattern, such as we are used to seeing in Rembrandt's autograph lace collars from the years 1633 and 1634.” They similarly doubted the execution of the gold chains and “the superficial execution of the shiny sleeve.” Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 3: 1635–1642, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (The Hague, 1989), A115; for the discussion of Petronella's attribution, see C111.
19. Josua Bruyn and Bob Haak described what they considered the “uniformly opaque” quality in the lit and shadowed parts of Petronella's face and the “linear” and “insensitive” treatment of her eyes. They were also critical of the costume, and described a “confused” rendering of the lace in the diadem cap, the rim of the wheel ruff, and bib. Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 3, 1635–1642, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (The Hague, 1989), 3: C111. Bruyn and Haak state that the working conditions in which the painting was studied were not particularly good: “Examined [. . .] under moderate lighting, in the frame and on the wall.” It is also mentioned that Bob Haak and Ernst van de Wetering viewed this painting in October 1971, but, according to Van de Wetering, he had not seen the painting in person until 2018.

Bruyn and Haak also expressed doubt about the authenticity of the signature in Petronella's portrait. Although they note that the diagonal line placed below the date occurs in signatures from 1632, 1633, and 1634, they argue that the way in which the inscription “rises steeply to the right and is placed hesitantly, does not make an authentic impression.” Van de Wetering has remarked that Rembrandt typically placed his signatures on one work within a pair or group of paintings, making it uncommon—though not exceptional—to find signatures on both pendants. Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 3: 1635–1642, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (The Hague, 1989), 3: 695.

Simon Howell has noted from a visual inspection of the painting that the signature appears to be “consistent with it being painted at or around the time of the portrait.” The signature and date are slightly worn and the paint has not been applied over paint losses or cracks (personal correspondence with The Leiden Collection, 5 February 2019). In Neil MacLaren and Christopher Brown, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Dutch School 1600–1900*, vol. 1 (London, 1991), no. 850, 345n1, the authors indicate that the signature on *Portrait of Philips Lucasz* (“clearly genuine and not retouched”) may have been followed by an “f” as in the portrait of Petronella.

20. In Ernst van de Wetering et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 6: *Rembrandt's Paintings Revisited: A Complete Survey*, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project

(Dordrecht, 2014), 6: 544, no. 132b, Van de Wetering attributes Petronella's portrait to "Rembrandt and Workshop" but states in the accompanying text that she "seems to be entirely painted by an assistant." However, after viewing the painting at the Rembrandthuis in 2018, the first time he had seen it in person, he revised his opinion. He has now concluded (in verbal communication with Leonore van Sloten) that the rapid and virtuoso brushwork in the outer part of the ruff is characteristic of Rembrandt's hand.

21. Gary Schwartz, *Rembrandt, His Life, His Paintings: A New Biography with All Accessible Paintings Illustrated in Colour* (New York, 1985), 164; Christian Tümpel, *Rembrandt: All Paintings in Colour* (Antwerp, 1993), 67; Walter Liedtke, "Rembrandt's Workshop Revisited," *Oud Holland* 117 (2004): 67.
22. These views were expressed in publications including David Bomford, ed., *Rembrandt: Art in the Making* (Exh. cat. London, National Gallery) (London, 1988), 52–57; Neil MacLaren and Christopher Brown, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Dutch School 1600–1900*, 2 vols. (London, 1991), 1: no. 850; and David Bomford et al., *Rembrandt: Art in the Making* (London, 2006), 82–88.
23. The National Gallery authors focused their argument on the portrait of Philips and discussed Petronella only briefly in relation to her pendant. They did not directly refute the criticisms of the Rembrandt Research Project. Christopher Brown, former chief curator at the National Gallery, London, noted in personal correspondence with The Leiden Collection that he had seen the painting in the mid-1980s (with Wildenstein).
24. In David Bomford et al., *Rembrandt: Art in the Making* (London, 2006), 87, the point is made that "the assistant theory [for the collar of the *Portrait of Philips Lucasz*] is an attractive one, because it explains away the weaker passages that we are reluctant to attribute to Rembrandt. It also explains the discontinuity where the flesh of Philips' neck meets the collar: the two were clearly painted in separate operations and superficially joined by a highlight and shadow afterwards. But this in itself does not exclude Rembrandt's authorship of both parts, especially if he painted under great pressure. It is our view that the whole collar is by his hand and that it should be viewed as if painted in a kind of brilliant shorthand. It is difficult to imagine a worthy but pedestrian assistant supplying these flourishes to the lace: it is more plausible to say that here is a great painter working at speed, perhaps not trying very hard."
25. In a recently published article on *Portrait of Oopjen Coppit* and *Portrait of Marten Soolmans*, the authors argue that Rembrandt's technique of painting bobbin lace by using black on top of white is evidence of his extraordinary skill and inventiveness in the 1630s. Rembrandt moved away from the more traditional method of painting lace with white on top of black at the same time as Frans Hals in the early 1630s. The two artists may have encountered one another in Van Uylenburgh's workshop. See Petria Noble et al., "An Exceptional Commission: Conservation History, Treatment and Painting Technique of Rembrandt's Marten and Oopjen, 1634," *Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 66, no. 4 (2018): 334–37; Bas Dudok van



Heel, “Rembrandt and Frans Hals Painting in the Workshop of Hendrick Uylenburgh,” in Stephanie Dickey, ed., *Rembrandt and His Circle: Insights and Discoveries* (Amsterdam, 2017), 17–43. For earlier discussions of Rembrandt’s painting of lace, see Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 2: 1631–1634, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (The Hague, 1986), 2: 62–76.

26. See Petria Noble et al., “An Exceptional Commission: Conservation History, Treatment and Painting Technique of Rembrandt’s Marten and Oopjen, 1634,” *Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 66, no. 4 (2018): 334–37.
27. Petronella’s portrait had been sequestered in a private collection for nearly thirty years and seen by few scholars in that time, but, according to Christopher Brown, former chief curator at the National Gallery, London, it had been previously brought together with the portrait of Philips at the National Gallery (in the mid-1980s). In personal correspondence with The Leiden Collection, Brown expressed his opinion that both paintings are entirely by Rembrandt.
28. Bart Cornelis, curator of Dutch and Flemish paintings at the National Gallery, kindly shared photos of this meeting with The Leiden Collection.
29. Differences exist in the relative opaqueness of the backgrounds of the two paintings. Martin Wyld, who cleaned Petronella’s portrait before it was auctioned in 2017, stated in his condition report for Christie’s that the background was—in his opinion—“thinly painted.” In an email dated 5 December 2018, he explained that there might “be some very slight abrasion, plus some increase in transparency” in Petronella’s background. Wyld noted that the background of *Portrait of Philips Lucasz*, which also contains a curtain or some sort of fabric, is more thickly painted in contrast to Petronella’s. In Simon Howell’s condition report from May 2018, he notes that the background “has become worn and thin over time, possibly as a result of injudicious cleaning.” See condition report kept on file at The Leiden Collection.
30. *Portrait of Oopjen Coppit* (fig 3) and its pendant, *Portrait of Marten Soolmans*, 1634 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam / Musée du Louvre, Paris), contain a curtained background similar to that in *Portrait of Petronella Buys* and *Portrait of Philips Lucasz*.
31. Comparable differences between pendant portraits are noted by Volker Manuth, “Portrait of a Man in a Red Coat,” in *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. (New York, 2017), <https://leidenstage.wpengine.com/archive/>. Manuth notes that Rembrandt often painted male portraits in a broader style, while taking a more delicate approach in the depiction of women. He cites the example of *Portrait of Dirck Jansz Pesser*, 1634 (Los Angeles County Museum of Art) and *Portrait of Haesje van Cleyburg*, 1634 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).
32. In Ernst van de Wetering et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 6, *Rembrandt’s Paintings Revisited: A Complete Survey*, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (Dordrecht, 2014), 524, Van de Wetering reattributed *Portrait of a Young Woman* to

Rembrandt, explaining that the “highly detailed and smooth execution” of the woman’s portrait, as well as her pendant, had been seen as “incompatible with the idea of Rembrandt’s manner of painting to which the RRP was committed at the time.” Van de Wetering’s remarks allow for a broader and more varied understanding of Rembrandt’s approach to portraiture, as well as between pendant portraits. When discussing the differences in Rembrandt’s painting of the skin in the pendants *Portrait of a Bearded Man in a Wide-Brimmed Hat*, 1633 (Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena) and *Portrait of a Forty-Year-Old Woman, possibly Marretje Cornelisdr. Van Grotewal*, 1634 (Speed Art Museum, Louisville), Van de Wetering writes: “differences in the way of painting in a woman’s portrait compared with the man’s is not itself a decisive proof that the two paintings are not pendants.” See Ernst van de Wetering et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 6, *Rembrandt’s Paintings Revisited: A Complete Survey*, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (Dordrecht, 2014), 537, under nos. 73 and 74.

This broader framework should also be applied to the portraits of Petronella and Philips. The early twentieth-century Rembrandt scholar Jan Veth particularly admired the “graceful clarity” of Petronella’s portrait, which he found to be “remarkable.” But he also commented that the portrait’s “dry” manner probably reflected the character of the sitter. “Dans le *Portrait de Pétronelle Buys*,—un Rembrandt qui cette fois au moins est encore revenu d’Amérique,—on trouve un spécimen du talent de portraitiste qu’avait acquis le maître pendant sa première période d’Amsterdam (daté 1635). L’œuvre paraît un peu sèche ce qui s’explique en partie par le caractère du modèle, mais la gracieuse netteté de caractérisations est remarquable, et, s’il fallait retrouver ce portrait parmi d’autres du même ordre exécutés par ses contemporains, on en admirerait mieux encore la fine tenue. Combien ne serait-il pas souhaitable que l’œuvre pût rester dans le pays!” Jan Veth, “Rembrantiana,” *L’Art flamand et hollandais* (October 1906): 89.

33. As with Philips, Rembrandt smoothly blended the paint along the sitter’s hairline, and similarly rendered certain details of the faces, such as the strong brown line that defines the mouth and the highlight on the upper eyelid.
34. Ernst van de Wetering et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 6: *Rembrandt’s Paintings Revisited: A Complete Survey*, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (Dordrecht, 2014), 6: 87a and 87b. Oopjen is a full-length portrait on canvas, which Rembrandt would have approached differently than a bust-length portrait on panel. Other portraits that share these stylistic qualities are *Portrait of a Woman*, 1633 (private collection), and *Portrait of Maertgen van Bilderbeecq*, 1633 (Städel Museum, Frankfurt). Neither portrait was accepted as by Rembrandt in the *Corpus*.
35. See also note 47, where the Dutch art historian Frederick Schmidt-Degener described the painting as having “une tonalité assez claire.” Frederick Schmidt-Degener, “Le troisième centenaire de Rembrandt en Hollande,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 36 (1906): 276.



36. In Petronella's portrait, faint lines applied with a brush have been detected around the lids of the eyes, the nostrils, and the outline of the lips. A thin black line is visible around Oopjen's earring, as well as the contours of her lips and nose. In Oopjen's portrait, the medium has been identified as a "dilute, ivory black paint." See Petria Noble et al., "An Exceptional Commission: Conservation History, Treatment and Painting Technique of Rembrandt's Marten and Oopjen, 1634," *Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 66, no. 4 (2018): 330–31. The authors describe this technique of a painted sketch in Oopjen's portrait as "undermodelling," but also refer to it as "a thin black underdrawing."
37. See Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 3: 1635–1642, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (The Hague, 1989), 3: A115, 175.
38. See Jaap van der Veen, "Hendrick Uylenburgh's Art Business. Production and Trade between 1625 and 1655," in Friso Lammertse and Jaap van der Veen, *Uylenburgh & Son: Art and Commerce from Rembrandt to De Lairese, 1625–1675* (Exh. cat. London, Dulwich Picture Gallery; Amsterdam, Rembrandt House Museum) (Zwolle, 2006), 117–205. For further discussion on this period of the workshop, see Ernst van de Wetering, "Problems of Apprenticeship and Studio Collaboration," in Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 2: 1631–1634, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (The Hague, 1986), 2: 45–90; Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., "Issues of Attribution in the Rembrandt Workshop," in *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, NGA Online Editions (Washington, D.C., 2014), <https://purl.org/nga/collection/catalogue/17th-century-dutch-paintings>; and David DeWitt and Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., "Portrait of Antonie Coopal," in *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. (New York, 2017), <https://leidenstage.wpengine.com/archive/>.
39. See Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., "Issues of Attribution in the Rembrandt Workshop," in *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, NGA Online Editions (Washington D.C., 2014), <https://purl.org/nga/collection/catalogue/17th-century-dutch-paintings>, and further discussion in note 45.
40. See the discussion in David DeWitt and Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., "Portrait of Antonie Coopal," in *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. (New York, 2017), <https://leidenstage.wpengine.com/archive/>; and Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 2: 1631–1634, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (The Hague, 1986), 2: 62–63. The latter indicates that the costume was typically done last in the painting of a portrait, and thus could have been done by an assistant after the sitter had left.
41. For Santvoort, see the discussion in Jaap van der Veen, "Hendrick Uylenburgh's Art Business. Production and Trade between 1625 and 1655," in Friso Lammertse and Jaap van der Veen, *Uylenburgh & Son: Art and Commerce from Rembrandt to De Lairese 1625–1675* (Exh. cat. London, Dulwich Picture Gallery; Amsterdam, Rembrandt House Museum) (Zwolle, 2006), 136–37. Isaac de Jouderville's presence in Amsterdam in

the early 1630s is uncertain. Although his last documented training with Rembrandt was November 1631, he may have continued to work with Rembrandt after he moved to Amsterdam, possibly serving as his assistant in the workshop and traveling back and forth to Leiden. For the various opinions about Jouderville's role in Rembrandt's workshop in Amsterdam, see Walter Liedtke, "Rembrandt's 'Workshop' Revisited," *Oud Holland* 117, nos. 1–2 (2004): 56; Jaap van der Veen, "Hendrick Uylenburgh's Art Business. Production and Trade between 1625 and 1655," in Friso Lammertse and Jaap van der Veen, *Uylenburgh & Son: Art and Commerce from Rembrandt to De Lairese 1625–1675* (Exh. cat. London, Dulwich Picture Gallery; Amsterdam, Rembrandt House Museum) (Zwolle, 2006), 136; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, *De Jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten: Godsdienst en schilderkunst in Leiden en Amsterdam* (Nijmegen, 2006), 199. See also, in this catalogue, the biography of Jouderville: Piet Bakker, "Isaac de Jouderville"; as well as the entry David DeWitt and Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., "Portrait of Antonie Coopal," both in *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. (New York, 2017), <https://leidenstage.wpengine.com/archive/>.

42. Neither Flinck, Backer, Santvoort, nor Jouderville has been put forth as the artist responsible for the portraits of Petronella and Philips, and the RRP, as with many of its attributions, cites only "workshop assistant." The dates of Flinck and Backer's arrival in Amsterdam are also not certain. Arnold Houbraken wrote that Govert Flinck first went "met [with] Backer" to Amsterdam. Backer's first commission, the group portrait of the governesses of the Amsterdam Civic Orphanage, was delivered to the Orphanage in December 1633, suggesting that the artists could have traveled together from Leeuwarden to Amsterdam that year. However, Houbraken's remark, "met Backer," may also mean "like Backer," indicating that Flinck went to Amsterdam later, on his own. Houbraken also mentioned that in his first period in Amsterdam, Flinck produced "some examples of his ability" before he went to study with Rembrandt for one year. As Margriet van Eikema Hommes has recently demonstrated, *The Blessing of Jacob* (Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht) seems to be one of these paintings. Flinck took over the leading role at Uylenburgh's workshop when Rembrandt left in 1635, so Flinck must have started to study and work with Rembrandt in 1634. See Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1718–21; revised edition published in The Hague, 1753; reprinted in Amsterdam, 1980), 19–20; Tom van der Molen, "Van Leeuwarden naar Amsterdam. Govert Flinck, Jacob Backer en Saskia Uylenburgh," in *Rembrandt & Saskia. Liefde in de Gouden Eeuw*, ed. Marlies Stoter and Justus Lange (Exh. cat. Leeuwarden, Fries Museum) (Leeuwarden, 2018), 44.
43. One can well imagine, moreover, that Rembrandt, who was interested in exotic cultures, would have taken a personal interest in Jacques Specx, Petronella Buys, and Philips Lucasz because of the experiences that they had at sea and in Japan and Batavia. Specx was a well-known general, and his return to Amsterdam from Batavia in July 1633 was announced in the newspaper. On this same fleet also came Hansken, the only living elephant at that time in

Europe—which Rembrandt saw and drew several times during the following years. See Jan van Hilten, *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytschlandt, &c., Amsterdam, Lading van de retourvloer*, nr. 29 (16 July 1633). Koninklijke Bibliotheek / National Library of the Netherlands, The Hague. “Ladinghe van seven Oost-Indische Schepen, ses comende van *Batavia*, ende een van *Suratta*, te weten: dese navolghende, *Prins Willem, Hollandia, Zutphen, AEmelia, Rotterdam, Hoorn, ende Ambonia*, onder ‘t commandement van den Heer Generael Specx. [...] Noch een levendighe wette Olyphant.” See also: Michiel Roscam Abbing, *Rembrandts olifant. In het spoor van Hansken* (Leporello, 2016), 13–14.

44. It should be noted that the portrait was expressly identified as a work by Rembrandt when Specx bequeathed it to Petronella’s niece in 1655. See discussion of Specx’s commission and inventories above.
45. See Albert Blankert, “Rembrandt, his Pupils and his Studio,” in *Rembrandt and His Age* (Exh. cat. National Museum, Stockholm, 1992–93) (Stockholm, 1992), 62.
46. The standard division of labor within workshop practice is commonly understood as the sitter’s face being done (or blocked in) by the master and the costume or collar being done by an assistant or pupil. Van de Wetering has also proposed a different workshop scenario, in which the master and an assistant might work simultaneously on a pendant portrait commission. This scenario suggests that Rembrandt would paint one part of a couple and an assistant the other. In the case of Petronella and Philips, Van de Wetering has suggested that the pendants were executed in this manner, and that since Petronella’s ruff is such a specific aspect of the portrait, Rembrandt may have touched up parts of it. Van de Wetering mentions comparable practices in *Portrait of a Man in a Broad-Brimmed Hat* and *Portrait of a Woman*, both 1634 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; for the woman’s portrait, see fig 5), and *Portrait of a Man in a Slouch Hat and Bandoleer*, 1635 (Kawamura Memorial Museum of Art, Sakura), and its pendant, *Portrait of a Woman*, ca. 1635 (Cleveland Museum of Art). See Ernst van de Wetering et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 6: *Rembrandt’s Paintings Revisited: A Complete Survey*, Stichting Foundation Rembrandt Research Project (Dordrecht, 2014) 6: 118a–b; 133a–b.
47. “C’est une de ces belles et solides peintures pleines de distinction que Rembrandt, devenu le peintre de la haute société d’Amsterdam, exécuta de 1631 à 1636 environ. Le tableau est d’une tonalité assez claire, qualité soulignée encore par la draperie gris perle qui sert de fond.” Frederick Schmidt-Degener, “Le troisième centenaire de Rembrandt en Hollande,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 36 (1906): 276.

## Provenance



- Possibly commissioned by the sitter's brother-in-law, Jacques Specx (1588/89–1652), around 1635; by descent to his daughter Maria de Gruijter, née Specx (1636–1704), Amsterdam.
- Cornelis Sebillé Roos (1754–1820), Amsterdam (his sale, 28 August 1820, no. 85 [180 florins to Engelberts]).
- Christiaan Everhard Vaillant (1746–1829) or Jacobus Sargenton (sale, J. de Vries, Amsterdam, 19 April 1830, no. 74 [540 florins to Roos]).
- [Cornelis Francois Roos (1802–74), Amsterdam, 1836.]
- Adrian Hope, London (his sale, Christie's, London, 30 June 1894, no. 56 [1,300 gns. to Weilheim]).
- [C. Sedelmeyer, Paris, 1894 (to M. Knoedler and Co.).]
- [M. Knoedler and Co., New York, November 1894 (to Jefferson).]
- Joseph Jefferson (1829–1905), New York, January 1895 (his sale, The American Art Galleries, New York, 27 April 1906, no. 50 [to A. Preyer for \$20,600]).
- [A. Preyer, The Hague.]
- [F. Kleinberger, Paris, 1906.]
- August Cornelius de Ridder (1837–1911), Schönberg, near Cronberg, Frankfurt-am-Main.
- Michel van Gelder, Château Zeecrabbe, Uccle, Brussels, by 1911.
- [D. Katz, Dieren, 1938.]
- [Schaeffer Galleries, New York, by 1939 until at least 1947.]
- André Meyer, New York, by 1962 (Sotheby's, New York, 22 October 1980, no. 12).
- [Wildenstein, New York, 1985 (sold to Weiller).]
- Commandant Paul Louis Weiller (1893–1993), Geneva (his sale and others, Christie's, London, 7 December 2017, no. 10).
- From whom acquired by the present owner.

## Exhibition History

- Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, "Rembrandt-hulde te Leiden: catalogus der tentoonstelling van schilderijen en teekeningen van Rembrandt en van schilderijen van andere Leidsche Meesters der Zeventiende Eeuw," 15 July–15 September 1906, no. 49 [lent by A. Preyer].
- Amsterdam, Arti et Amicitiae, "Tentoonstelling van de 16de en 17de eeuwsche Hollandsche en Vlaamsche schilderijen: Waaronder van Rembrandt, Van Dijk, Jan Steen," 7 May–4 June



1938, no. 67.

- Providence, Rhode Island Museum, “Dutch Painting in the Seventeenth Century,” December 1938–25 January 1939, no. 37.
- New York, Schaeffer Galleries, “Dutch Painting: 17 Masterpieces in the 17th Century,” 3 February–15 March 1939, no. 11.
- New York, World’s Fair, “Masterpieces of Art,” May–October 1939, 16.
- [Possibly] Amherst, Massachusetts, Morgan Gallery, Amherst College, “Exhibition of Netherlandish Art,” 1941 [lent by Schaeffer Galleries].
- New York, Portrait Painters’ Clearing House, “Woman’s Crowning Glory,” 10–22 November 1941, no. 8 [lent by Schaeffer Galleries].
- Kalamazoo, Kalamazoo Institute of Arts, “17th Century Dutch Masterpieces,” 1942, no. 2 [lent by Schaeffer Galleries].
- [Possibly] New York, The Holland House, “Old Holland,” 1944.
- New York, Schaeffer Galleries, “Old Master Paintings,” 1945, no. 16.
- Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, “Frans Hals [and] Rembrandt,” 18 November–31 December 1947, no. 13 [lent by Schaeffer Galleries].
- Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, “Exhibition of the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. André Meyer,” 9 June–8 July 1962 [lent by Meyer].
- Amsterdam, Museum Het Rembrandthuis, “A Special Visit,” 11 May–2 September 2018 [lent by the present owner].
- Amsterdam, Museum Het Rembrandthuis, on loan with the permanent collection, September 2018–January 2019 [lent by the present owner].
- Abu Dhabi, Louvre Abu Dhabi, “Rembrandt, Vermeer and the Dutch Golden Age. Masterpieces from The Leiden Collection and the Musée du Louvre,” 14 February–18 May 2019 [lent by the present owner].

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## Technical Summary

The support for the painting is an oval, wooden panel. It consists of a single board, presumed to be oak, with a vertical grain. The bottom of the oval is slightly flat, but there is no evidence that the shape of the panel was ever altered.<sup>[1]</sup> A cradle was applied to the verso of the panel over 100 years ago.<sup>[2]</sup> The fixed, vertical cradle members and the panel’s verso are coated in wax.

The panel’s white ground is covered with a thin, transparent brown layer. Infrared photographs (captured at 700 to 900 nanometers) reveal a faint underdrawing around the lids of the eyes, nostrils, and lips.<sup>[3]</sup> The underdrawing was likely made with a brush. X-radiographs show that the sitter’s ruff was originally smaller, and that it was extended with broad and energetic brushstrokes.

The painting was executed with a mixture of glazes and opaque paint. The artist applied the paint mostly wet-into-wet in the face, smoothly blending the colors together. Highlights and accents were then added wet-over-dry. The background was painted thinly, and reserves were left for the sitter’s hair and ruff. Rembrandt used thin, dark brushstrokes to create the hair, allowing the

warm, brown underlayer to show through. He left an area in reserve for the white lace and pearls that surround the sitter's hair. Similarly, the artist left a reserve in the white ruff for the shadow of the sitter's head.

The painting is signed and dated in dark paint in the lower left.<sup>[4]</sup>

The painting was cleaned in 2017 and is in good condition. Small flake losses along the grain of the wood panel have been inpainted. The varnish is clear and even.<sup>[5]</sup>

Further technical information about this artwork is available in The Rembrandt Database.

### Technical Summary Endnotes

1. Josua Bruyn and Bob Haak, members of the Rembrandt Research Project, suggested that the panel may have been cut down from a rectangular shape into an oval in the latter part of the seventeenth century, based on the portrait's relationship to its pendant, *Portrait of Philips Lucasz*, 1635 (National Gallery, London). The National Gallery's panel has straight beveling on the back and along the bottom and sides, indicating that it was cut down at one point. A thorough technical examination of the Leiden Collection panel has not been possible due to cradling on the back and a wax coating. See further discussion in the accompanying entry, note 16.
2. It is not clear when the cradle was affixed to the panel. The earliest inscription on one of the horizontal cradle bars notes a date of 1914.
3. Infrared photographs were taken by Simon Howell.
4. The signature and date have not been analyzed, but, according to Simon Howell, they are slightly worn and have not been applied over paint losses or cracks. They appear to have been painted "at or around the time of the portrait" (personal correspondence, February 2019).
5. This summary is based on examination reports by Simon Howell, R. M. S. Shepherd Associates, dated 14 May 2018, and Martin Wyld for Christie, Manson, and Wood, dated 24 August 2017.