

Some Observations on Rembrandt and Lastman*

ONE can occasionally read that in recent years the importance of Pieter Lastman for Rembrandt's artistic training has been overemphasized¹. With this claim I cannot agree. We are still a long way from realizing the full impact of Lastman's art on Rembrandt's; and this not so much with regard to the years during and immediately after Rembrandt's short apprenticeship with the Amsterdam master as with regard to Lastman's continued or rather renewed influence on Rembrandt after the latter's removal to Amsterdam. In this paper I shall place my main emphasis on the importance of Lastman for Rembrandt's art of the 1630's and even later, and for the art of some of Rembrandt's pupils.

Only a few words are needed here on the decisive share of Lastman in Rembrandt's training when he was his teacher for a mere half year in Amsterdam, most probably in 1624. It is well known that Rembrandt borrowed a considerable number of details from the most recent paintings of his teacher: the horseman in the Basel *Return of David* of 1627 from Lastman's *Coriolanus* of 1622 in Dublin², the ass in the Cognaq-Jay *Balaam* of 1626 from Lastman's picture of the same subject, also of 1622³. Furthermore, these early paintings by Rembrandt are profoundly indebted to Lastman in terms of color; they are indeed often as multicolored as are Lastman's models, even though leanings toward greater emphasis on values are already noticeable. And over and above these strong outward connections we must of course always be aware of the fact that it was Lastman who had persuaded Rembrandt to become an historical painter in the first place and to remain one permanently—a painter of stories from the Bible and from ancient history which were represented factually, pointedly, dramatically, in complete contrast to the sophisticated, circumlocutory interpretations of the mannerists⁴.

It is also well known that there exist four chalk drawings by Rembrandt⁵ (Fig. 1) in which he copied paintings by Lastman (Fig. 2) and that these four copies do not belong to the period immediately after Rembrandt's apprenticeship. They cannot be dated with absolute certainty. True, one of them bears in back an inscription by Rembrandt which refers to works by himself and by two of his pupils in the mid-thirties: Ferdinand Bol and Leendert van Beyeren⁶; but it can be argued that these notes, in black

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1. Most strongly expressed by Vitale Bloch in *Oud-Holland*, LIV, 1937, p. 52. See also H. Gerson in *Bulletin des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais*, III, 1962, no. 4 (unpag.), note 8; however, the same author takes a considerably different view of Lastman—to my great satisfaction one much nearer the one here presented—in *Rembrandt Paintings*, Amsterdam—New York, 1968, pp. 18ff. and 94.

2. K. Bauch, *Der frühe Rembrandt und seine Zeit*, Berlin, 1960, p. 119 and figs. 61 and 82 a.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 101f. and figs. 63-65.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 61ff. and 97 ff.

5. Most conveniently illustrated together with the Lastman paintings by W. R. Valentiner, *Die Handzeichnungen Rembrandts (Klassiker der Kunst series)*, II, 1934, nos. 632-635; O. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, London, 1954-57, nos. 446-449. Lastman's painting of *Paulus and Barnabas at Lystra* disappeared during World War II.

6. For the text of the inscription see Benesch no. 448.

chalk, were added later. The dates assigned to the drawings vary from the very beginning of the thirties to ca. 1637⁷, but on general stylistic grounds the latter date is definitely too late⁸. The early thirties are clearly acceptable; in any case the drawings must belong to Rembrandt's Amsterdam period, when his new interest in Lastman's art became apparent in many other ways. The date 1633 was formerly suggested because that was the year of Lastman's death, and it was assumed that Rembrandt made these copies on the occasion of the dispersal of Lastman's estate after his death in that year. However, as Kurt Freise pointed out many years ago in his still indispensable monograph⁹, there was—just to cite one example—no *Susanna* in Lastman's inventory of 1632 and thus presumably not in his estate of 1633 either. But it is certainly significant that all of the four Lastman pictures which Rembrandt copied date between 1612 and 1614 (*the Dismissal of Hagar* and *Joseph Distributing Corn* are of 1612, *Paulus and Barnabas at Lystra* and the *Susanna* of 1614) and can be expected to have been in the hands of Amsterdam patrons or collectors in the early thirties when Rembrandt studied them.

But these dates also prove another important point. While the apprentice Rembrandt of ca. 1624 utilized Lastman pictures of the early twenties, i.e., those most recently completed when Lastman was his teacher, the independent Amsterdam master Rembrandt harked back to Lastman pictures of the period 1612–1614; and what he found absorbing in them was not their color nor some special details but their total composition which he preferred to adapt for himself in drawings (in red or black chalk). Lastman was still a great and indispensable model for him, and although it has often been remarked that these drawings are to a degree free ('creative') copies, Lastman's pictures were still Rembrandt's direct and unmistakable sources. He considered each of these paintings with great care, but I should like to add that not all of Rembrandt's slight modifications are necessarily outright improvements, although they have been invariably been interpreted as such—partly because there is some reluctance to find any fault with Rembrandt, and partly because the strange underestimation of Lastman's art which one finds in the only monograph dedicated to him has had a long life. Are the new stance of the elder on the right in Rembrandt's *Susanna* (Fig. 1) and the diminished distance of the other elder from Susanna really so preferable to the eager approach of the one and the stealthy creeping up of the other in Lastman's painting (Fig. 2)?

These adaptations from Lastman by the Rembrandt of the early to mid thirties must be considered from the viewpoint of the artistic needs of Rembrandt in those years. Where else could he have turned for inspiration in the field of biblical and historical painting after he had moved to Amsterdam in 1631/32? He had not been in Italy; it was Lastman with his echoes of the Carracci, Domenichino and their circle, but also of Raphael and of the Bassani, who personified for him those Italian elements which he did not absorb through the study of the Utrecht Caravaggists or prints after Rubens. There was practically nobody else in Amsterdam at that time who could have offered such enlightenment; as Willem Martin said many years ago, 'if one can speak anywhere of a decay of historical painting in

7. Benesch nos. 446-449.

8. E. Haverkamp Begemann in *Kunstchronik*, xiv, 1961, p. 27.

9. Kurt Freise, *Pieter Lastman, sein Leben und seine Kunst*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 253.

favor of the portrait, it was in Amsterdam in the first quarter of the seventeenth century¹⁰—except, I would add, for Lastman. Rembrandt's second—or first—teacher in Amsterdam around 1623–24, now rather universally identified with Jan, rather than Jacob, Pynas¹¹, who had died in the year of Rembrandt's arrival in the city, was the only other truly remarkable historical painter in Amsterdam about that time; but for reasons to which I shall return, his impact on Rembrandt was stronger at a later phase than in the thirties, and on the whole, he himself was profoundly indebted to Lastman. It is significant that about 1633 or so, Rembrandt should have copied *Lastman's Hagar* of 1612 and not *Pynas' Hagar* of 1613, which is a close adaptation of Lastman's¹².

What the Rembrandt of the early and mid thirties—a Rembrandt more mature than the Lastman apprentice of 1624 though still in a ferment—looked for was indeed more fully embodied in the Lastman of the second decade than in the Lastman of the third decade whose most recent works Rembrandt had followed in his earliest paintings. The more superficial excitement of those Lastman pictures of the 1620's had even been ossified and practically carried ad absurdum in his very last works; as an example I am illustrating the picture of 1631 (last digit uncertain) in the De Young Museum in San Francisco (Fig. 3), the subject of which, formerly believed to be related to the *Justice of Trajan*, has just been successfully identified as the *Triumph of Sesostris*, with his chariot drawn by four captive kings¹³. The wild stare in everyone's eyes, which is not even part of the story but a late Lastman stereotype, the exaggerated crowding, the pedantic dwelling on realistic detail mark a rather sad deterioration of Lastman's dramatic art of the years 1612–1614, upon which Rembrandt concentrated with incorruptible judgment in the early and mid thirties. In the second decade Lastman understood the law of economy in a dramatic scene, did not clutter up his stage, and—no less important—did not indulge in the multicolored motley which Rembrandt had imitated from Lastman's works of the twenties in his own youthful adaptations. The *Susanna* of 1614 (Fig. 2) and the *Dismissal of Hagar* of 1612 are restrained in design and color. And so is the *Sacrifice of Isaac* of 1616 in the Louvre¹⁴ (Fig. 4) which was so carefully consulted by Rembrandt when he turned to the same subject in 1635. The Leningrad picture of this year¹⁵ (Fig. 5) is not the kind of direct (if 'creative') copy after Lastman that we know from the chalk drawings; it utilizes other sources, including Titian's *Salute* ceiling¹⁶. But it still is profoundly indebted to Lastman, both to the Louvre picture of 1616 and to the lost Lastman painting known to us only through a mezzotint by Jan van Somer¹⁷ which even anticipated the most cogent dramatic improvement of Rembrandt's picture: the grabbing of Abraham's *wrist* by the angel. And the most important alteration that Rembrandt introduced into his own revision of the 1635 painting in the Munich version of 1636 (Fig. 6): the shooting forward of the angel from the depths of the picture rather than from the

10. W. Martin, *De Hollandsche Schilderkunst in de Zeventiende Eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1935, I, p. 142.

11. Bauch, *Der frühe Rembrandt*, pp. 119ff.

12. K. Bauch, in *Oud-Holland*, LI, 1935, p. 151.

13. A. M. Cetto, *Der Berner Traian- und Herkinbald-Teppich*, Bern, 1966, p. 187.

14. Freise no. 11.

15. Bredius no. 498.

16. Particularly for the angel.

17. C. Müller in *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, I, 1929, p. 65f. and fig. 15.

side, was also anticipated by Lastman. The Munich version¹⁸ may be based on a student's (hardly Flinck's) replica of the Leningrad picture; but when Rembrandt, as its inscription says, 'altered and overpainted' it, he still looked back to Lastman for a main clue. Lastman's *Susanna* of 1614 (Fig. 2) was still a main inspiration not only for Rembrandt's small picture of 1637 at The Hague but also for the larger, more complete scene in Berlin which he planned about the same time on a similar pattern and revised, as Hans Kauffmann has shown¹⁹, in 1647, still inspired by Lastman's main ideas although now transcending them more fully.

Another important aspect of this indebtedness of the foremost Amsterdam painter to Lastman during the 1630's is the considerable influence Lastman's style exerted on that of Rembrandt's pupils during the same time and even later. That the names of two of Rembrandt's students appear on the reverse of one of his own copies after Lastman is symbolic. Recent research on Gerbrand van Eeckhout²⁰ has shown beyond doubt that his early works, from the late thirties to the mid-forties, are unthinkable without Lastman. The Braunschweig sketch for the *Sacrifice of Gideon* of 1640 (Fig. 7) is, as Werner Sumowski noted, 'so strongly influenced by Lastman that one could mistake it for the works of a Pre-Rembrandtist'; a confrontation of that drawing with Lastman's *Hagar* formerly in Bremen (Fig. 8) will bear this out quickly. And this dependence applies not only to the quality of line in such a drawing but also to composition—and, of course, to the choice of, and approach to, the biblical subject matter. Mr. Emile Wolf in New York owns a picture (Fig. 9) with the story of the *Levite at Gibeah* (Judges 19) which at first he considered to be a work by Lastman²¹. Most of the Rembrandt connoisseurs he has consulted attribute it to the young Eeckhout, and this suggestion seems indeed quite acceptable²²; be that as it may, the picture depends very directly upon Lastman in composition and even in color. The picture may well be a variation on a lost painting by Lastman; a glimpse of his *Laban Searching for His Idols* of 1622 in Boulogne-sur-Mer (Fig. 10) will suffice to illustrate the relationship in design. This style has in fact very little to do with Rembrandt himself, with whom Eeckhout studied from 1635–36; his pupils must have been thoroughly imbued with Lastman's style in Rembrandt's workshop—it will be remembered that Lastman himself had died in 1633—, so thoroughly imbued that when they began their career as painters it was quite natural for them to paint in a manner which occasionally shows a larger dose of Lastman's than of Rembrandt's style. And this influence was not eradicated in their later production either; as late as 1656, in *Jeroboam's Sacrifice* at Leningrad, Eeckhout harked back to Lastman's style²³, and this was not a unique occurrence nor one

18. *Alte Pinakothek München, Katalog III: Holländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1967, pp. 72ff., with full bibliography.

19. H. Kauffmann, 'Rembrandts Berliner Susanna', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLV, 1924, pp. 72ff. The soundness of Kauffmann's observations was supported by X-ray pictures (see A. Borroughs in *Burlington Magazine*, LIX, 1931, p. 9), which are not mentioned in Benesch's summary rejection of Kauffmann's views (*The Drawings of Rembrandt*, under no. 536).

20. See particularly W. Sumowski, 'Gerbrand van den Eeckhout als Zeichner', *Oud Holland*, LXXVII, 1962, pp. 11ff.

21. I am indebted to Mr. Wolf for the photograph of this picture.

It was put on exhibition at Montreal and Toronto as by Eeckhout (*Rembrandt and His Pupils*, 1968, no. 48).

22. Jan Victors' picture of 1644 with the same subject (*Rembrandt's Influence in the 17th Century*, Exhibition in the Matthiesen Gallery, London, 1953, no. 64; in 1968 with Cramer, The Hague, Cat. xv, no. 61) may be another, more modernized reflection of Lastman's original. Eeckhout's versions of 1645 in Berlin (no. 1771) and in Budapest (no. 9822; attribution; reproduced in A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, Budapest-Berlin, 1956, I, p. 128) are distinctly farther removed from Lastman.

23. J. Rosenberg, S. Slive, E. H. ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture, 1600 to 1800*, (Pelican History of Art), 1966, p. 95 (as *Jacob's*

restricted to Eeckhout. A striking example is the *Dismissal of Hagar* in the De Young Museum in San Francisco (Fig. 11) which used to be called Rembrandt and is now universally given to Barent Fabritius²⁴. The older attribution is in fact understandable only on the basis of its brushstroke and its colors which are indeed thoroughly Rembrandtesque; but its main group is a direct copy of Lastman's painting of 1612 in Hamburg (Fig. 12), the same which Rembrandt had only partially copied in a drawing of the early thirties—and here we are in the 1650's²⁵! Distinct traces of Lastman's *Sacrifice of Isaac* of 1616 (Fig. 4) are also found in a signed Barent Fabritius of the same subject, painted as late as 1658²⁶. One might sum up this paragraph on Rembrandt's pupils by mentioning the fact that most Dutch representations of the rare story of *Hippocrates' Visit to Democritus* are probably based on a lost picture by Lastman; they include works by Moeyaert (whose close dependence on Lastman is well known), Lievens (a student of Lastman's), Backer, Barent Fabritius and even Nicolas Berchem²⁷. An archaeologist would feel tempted to reconstruct Lastman's original from all these derivations.

All this happened in Rembrandt's close circle in the 1640's and 1650's—and what of himself? While he set his pupils on this path and watched them proceeding on it, did Lastman's art cease to mean anything to him? We last observed his thorough indebtedness to Lastman in 1636, with the second version of the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (Fig. 6). In 1656 he still owned not only two pictures by Lastman, a *Tobias* and a *Little Ox*, but—more important—two books with sketches by him, one with pen drawings, the other with red chalk drawings²⁸, possibly acquired after Lastman's death in 1633. Lastman drawings are now extremely rare²⁹; what would we not give for a clear concept of those two books! It is now impossible to gauge their full impact on Rembrandt's art, but I think it is evident that Lastman's influence on Rembrandt did not end in the late thirties. And it does seem that the later Rembrandt took one more step in what one might call the chronological reversal in his appreciation of Lastman's art. We have seen that in the years after he had been Lastman's pupil he most closely imitated his teacher's style of the early 1620's, while in the 1630's he harked back to Lastman's pictures of the phase 1612 to 1616. Now even earlier works by Lastman caught his eye. When in 1651 he conceived the wonderful etching of the *Flight into Egypt*³⁰ (Fig. 13) he made it into a nocturne in the image of Goudt's engraving after Elsheimer's nightpiece; however, the group of Joseph, Mary and the Child is not based on Elsheimer directly but on Lastman's picture of 1608, now in the Rotterdam Museum³¹ (Fig. 14); and it is interesting to see how much closer Rembrandt here came to the spirit of Lastman's painting than he did in

Sacrifice, dated 1655); illustrated in Th. Ehrenstein, *Das Alte Testament im Bilde*, Vienna, 1923, p. 650 (as *Solomon's Sacrifice*). The rare subject had been represented by Lastman (Freise, p. 43, no. 34).

24. D. Pont, *Barent Fabritius, 1624–1673*, Utrecht, 1958, p. 19f. and cat. no. 3.

25. All illustrative material is conveniently found together in J. L. A. A. M. van Rijckevorsel, *Rembrandt en de traditie*, Rotterdam, 1932, p. 188, and, in better reproductions, in G. Pauli, *Die Kunsthalle zu Hamburg 1930*, Hamburg, 1931, pp. 27ff. However, the drawing illustrated on p. 30 (formerly in Bremen but now also in Hamburg) is not an original by Lastman but a copy after his painting, see R. Hamann in *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* VIII/IX, 1936,

p. 483, and K. Bauch in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, n. s., III/IV, 1952/53, p. 229.

26. D. Pont, p. 47 and fig. 17.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 158f. with the older lit.

28. W. von Bode and C. Hofstede de Groot, *The Complete Work of Rembrandt*, VIII, Paris, 1906, p. 236, no. 41; p. 238, no. 119; p. 240, nos. 263 and 264.

29. K. Bauch, 'Handzeichnungen Pieter Lastmans', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, n. s., III/IV, 1952/53, pp. 220ff.

30. Bartsch 53, Münz 221.

31. Van Rijckevorsel, p. 107.



(1)



(2)

(1). Rembrandt, Susanna after Lastman. drawing. *Berlin-Dahlem*.—(2). Lastman, Susanna. 1614. *Berlin-Dahlem*.



(3)



(7)



(8)

(3). Lastman, *Triumph of Sesostris*. 1631(?). *San Francisco, H. M. De Young Memorial Museum*.

(7). G. van Eeckhout, *Sacrifice of Gideon*, drawing. *Braun-*

schweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum.—(8). Lastman, *Hagar and Ishmael in the Desert*, drawing. *Formerly: Bremen, Kunsthalle*.



(4)



(5)

(4). Lastman, *Sacrifice of Isaac*. 1616. *Paris, Louvre*.—(5). Rembrandt, *Sacrifice of Isaac*. 1635. *Leningrad, Hermitage*.



(6)

—(6). Rembrandt (and pupil?), *Sacrifice of Isaac*. 1636. *Munich, Alte Pinakothek*.



(9)



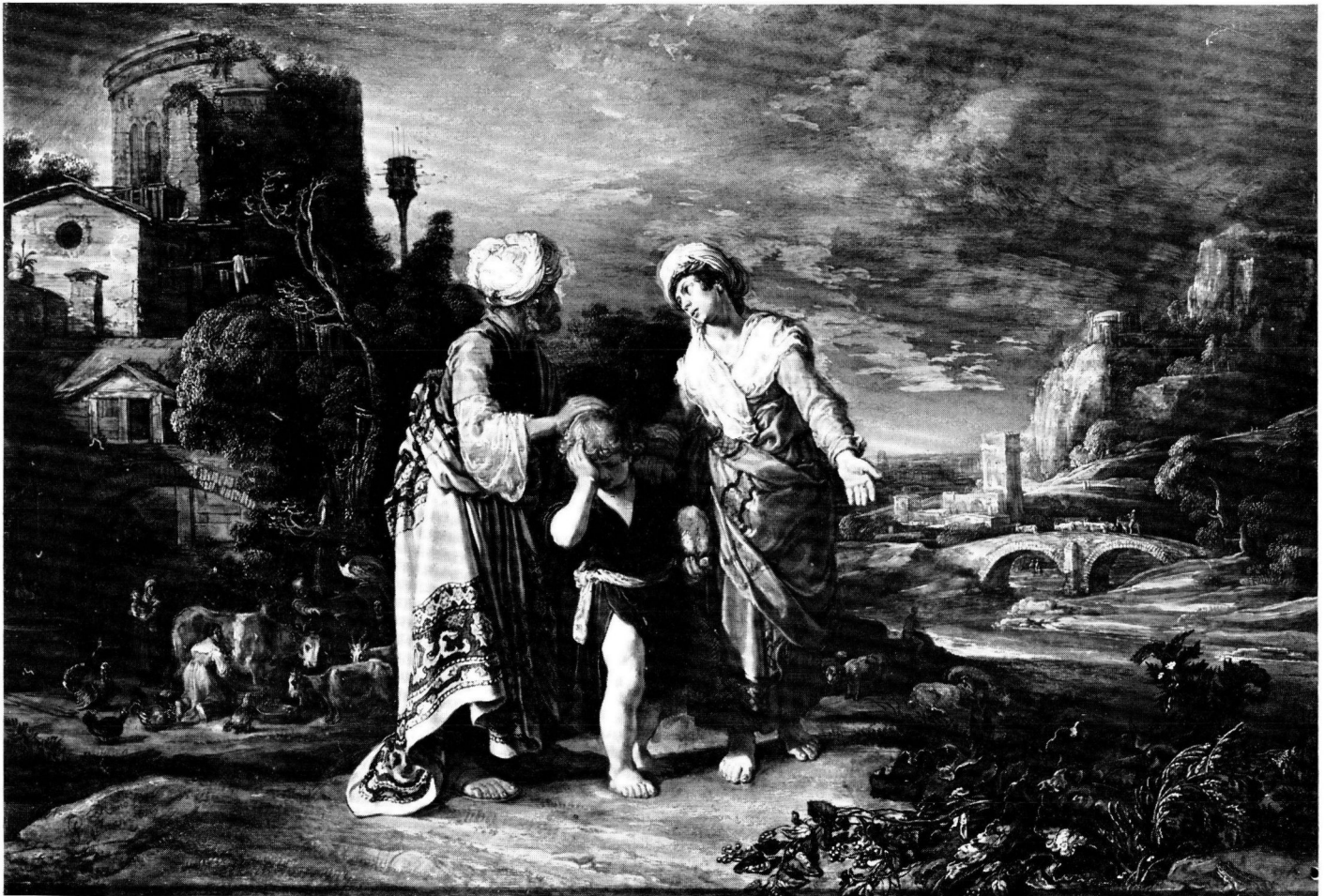
(10)

(9). G. van Eeckhout, *The Levite at Gibeah*. *New York, Coll. E. Wolf*.—(10). Lastman, *Laban Searching for His Idols*. 1622. *Boulogne-sur-Mer, Museum*.

(11). B. Fabritius. Dismissal of Hagar. *San Francisco, H. M. De Young Memorial Museum.*—(12). Lastman, Dismissal of Hagar. 1612. *Hamburg, Kunsthalle.*



(11)



(12)



(13)



(14)

(13). Rembrandt. Flight into Egypt. etching. 1651.—(14). Lastman. Flight into Egypt. 1608. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen.*

(17). Lastman, Christ and the Woman of Canaan. 1617. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.*

(17)





(15)

(15). Rembrandt. Rest on the Flight into Egypt. 1646. *Kassel, Landesmuseum.*(—16). Lastman, Rest on the Flight into Egypt. *Göttingen, Universitäts-Gemäldegalerie.*

(18). Rembrandt. The Hundred-Guilders-Print, etching.



(16)



(18)



(19)



(20)

(19). Lastman, Abraham on the Road to Canaan. 1614.

Leningrad, Hermitage.—(20). Copy after Rembrandt, St. Jerome at Prayer, drawing. *Hamburg, Kunsthalle.*

his fussy etching of the same subject in 1633³². In 1608, Lastman had not been back from Italy for more than one to three years; he was still deeply imbued with Elsheimer's lyric and idyllic mood, and it seems that in the late 1640's and the 1650's Rembrandt found his own way to Elsheimer not just through Goudt's prints but also by way of the early Lastman. The group of Mary and Child in the Kassel *Carpenter's Family* of 1646 (Fig. 15)³³ still seems to echo the similar group in Lastman's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in Göttingen of ca. 1608 (Fig. 16)³⁴; no other Christ Child by Rembrandt is so wide awake on his mother's lap as is this one.

However, Lastman's paintings of the second decade of the century were not altogether displaced by the earlier ones in Rembrandt's memory after the 1630's. It seems to me that Fritz Saxl was quite correct in emphasizing that Lastman's superb painting of *Christ and the Woman of Canaan* of 1617, now in Amsterdam (Fig. 17), was one of the most important sources of the Hundred-Guilders-Print (Fig. 18)³⁵. The powerful position of Christ at the apex of a figure pyramid, the benign gesture of his right arm, directed toward children in both cases, the beseeching woman kneeling before him, the interfering apostle—all these elements distributed similarly in a nearly identical format bind the two compositions closely together; and when the print was started in the early 1640's there was quite probably an architectural support behind Christ which resembled Lastman's somewhat too obvious prop. At the same time, in 1643, Rembrandt's *Bathsheba* in New York leaned heavily on Lastman's picture of the same subject in Leningrad painted in 1619³⁶. In such works, Lastman had chosen a more contemplative mood over the more pointedly dramatic one, and this recommended them to the Rembrandt of the less turbulent years. It is characteristic that Jan Pynas' less dramatic art should now also have appealed to Rembrandt³⁷. The mood of Pynas' pictures had always been less tense, and their construction less closely knit³⁸, and this quality now became dear to Rembrandt. Pynas' beautiful *Raising of Lazarus* of 1615 in the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia³⁹ leads, not to Rembrandt's magician scene of 1632 but to the quieter etching of 1642; even more strikingly, Pynas' *Jacob Receiving the Bloody Coat* of 1618 in Leningrad⁴⁰ clearly foreshadows Rembrandt's drawing of the same subject of about 1655⁴¹.

But although a few works by Jan Pynas may thus have appealed more strongly to Rembrandt during his last phase, Lastman's oeuvre was infinitely more important to the formation of Rembrandt's style and his entire attitude toward biblical and ancient subjects all the way from 1626 to the early 1650's. Lastman paintings of the early twenties mark the beginning; they were the foundation on which the young Leiden master erected the edifice of his first style. Lastman paintings from 1612 to 1616, works

32. B. 52.

33. Bredius no. 572/573.

34. Cat. 1926, no. 101 and pl. 17; Freise no. 59 and fig. 5.

35. F. Saxl, *Pieter Lastman, Christus und das kananäische Weib* (*Meisterwerke der Kunst in Holland*, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam), Vienna, n. d.; Freise no. 64 and fig. 17.

36. Now in the Hermitage in Leningrad, Cat. 1958, no. 5590.

E. Kunoth-Leifels, *Über die Darstellungen der 'Bathscha im Bade'*, Essen, 1962, p. 70; figs. 56 and 60.

37. See also W. Sumowski in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*,

CCXIV, 1962, p. 204.

38. K. Bauch, 'Beiträge zum Werk der Vorläufer Rembrandts, 1: Die Gemälde des Jan Pynas', *Oud Holland*, LII, 1935, pp. 145ff.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 153 and fig. 9. However, the picture has been enlarged at the top and on the right side; the original dimensions are only 47.6 x 41.3 cm instead of 57.8 x 50.2 cm (kind communication from Miss Barbara Sweeny).

40. *Ibid.*, p. 154 and fig. 10.

41. Valentiner no. 101 and Benesch no. 1184; the connection was noted by K. Bauch, *Der frühe Rembrandt*, p. 126 and fig. 89.

we may surely consider his finest, contributed decisive features to the formation of Rembrandt's High Baroque of the 1630's and to that of some of his most gifted pupils. Lastman paintings of the same phase as well as of the end of the first decade inspired Rembrandt throughout the 1640's and early 1650's^{41a}. And it can be confidently assumed that if we knew what the two books with pen and chalk sketches by Lastman in Rembrandt's possession looked like the stature of Lastman as an artist and the extent of his influence on Rembrandt would turn out to be even more imposing.

One final point: In recent years, the phenomenon of radiance in Rembrandt's biblical representations has received a great deal of well deserved and very enlightening attention⁴². But here, too, the work of Lastman has not been given its full due. Among Lastman's paintings from the very same year 1614 which provided Rembrandt with so much food for thought in the early and mid-thirties, one of the finest (though least well-known) is *Abraham on the Road to Canaan*, now in the Hermitage at Leningrad (Fig. 19)⁴³. Here God's promise of the Blessed Land to Abraham and his family (Gen. 12) is beautifully expressed by a brilliant radiance emerging from behind a tree coulisse on the left. This radiance illuminates Abraham's face and permeates his entire body as it does in some of Rembrandt's most precious drawings in which the divine action is expressed by similar means: Hagar at the well hearkening to the voice of God represented through rays only⁴⁴, Elijah miraculously sustained in the desert near Beersheba⁴⁵ come readily to mind. But Lastman's great find is perhaps most tellingly reflected in the *St. Jerome at Prayer* in Hamburg (Fig. 20)⁴⁶, which almost certainly is a copy after a lost great Rembrandt drawing of the late 1640's. In works like this, Rembrandt's debt to Lastman is once more, and perhaps most strikingly apparent.

41a. As this goes to press, Mr. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., of Cambridge, Mass., kindly calls my attention to the fact that Lastman's *Joseph in Egypt* of the critical year 1612 (now in the Dublin Museum), which Rembrandt had copied in one of his drawings of ca. 1635 (Benesch 446), still played a surprisingly active role in Rembrandt's imagination about 1652-55, when he composed the magnificent drawing of *Pilate Washing his Hands*, now in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University (Benesch 937). The connection is very evident, not only in the main figures of Joseph and Pilate but also in the way they communicate with the two men below, as well as in the architecture and some other details. H. Gerson, *Rembrandt Paintings*, Amsterdam-New York, 1968, p. 330 and p. 497, under no. 227, has pointed out that the *Hendrickje in Bed* in Edinburgh is derived from Lastman's *Tobias and Sarah* in Boston and may be a fragment of a painting of the same subject. (I consider the

Boston picture a copy after Lastman.)

42. H.-A. Rotermund, 'The Motif of Radiance in Rembrandt's Biblical Drawings', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xv, 1952, pp. 101ff.

43. Freise no. 3, with a fanciful traditional identification of the subject, which actually is the same as in Freise no. 2 of 1624; here a similar effect of radiance. The decline of Lastman's art between 1614 and 1624 can be clearly gauged in a comparison of these two paintings.

44. Rotermund, p. 105 and fig. 20c.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 104 and fig. 20b; here and elsewhere as *Elijah by the Brook Kerith*, but H. van de Waal has correctly pointed out that the scene represents 1 Kings 19 : 6 (Elijah with bread and pitcher), not 1 Kings 17 : 3 (*Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, i, 1947, p. 153).

46. Rotermund, p. 114 and fig. 22e; S. Slive, *Drawings of Rembrandt*, New York, 1965, I, no. 136.