

# After Rembrandt: reconsidering restrikes, reworkings and copies in New Zealand’s public collections

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**ABSTRACT:** Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–69) is one of the most renowned printmakers in history. Although New Zealand public collections have acquired an estimated 118 genuine Rembrandt prints since 1869, they have been subject to little academic investigation and are often viewed through the lens of the artist’s printmaking practices. While valid, such investigations have consequently overlooked the history and significance of restrikes and reworkings, produced from his copperplates by other intervening hands, as well as copies of his prints. This article considers this subgenre, focusing on New Zealand holdings. It also questions how to best understand these works, and their relationships with ‘original’ impressions wholly executed by Rembrandt.

**KEYWORDS:** Rembrandt van Rijn, reworkings, restrikes, copies, authorship, authenticity, printmaking, etchings, Bishop Ditlev Monrad, Sir John Illott.

## Introduction

The prints of Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–69) are among the most copied, pirated and restruck in art history. According to Erik Hinterding and Jaco Rutgers’ *New Hollstein Dutch*, copies of Rembrandt’s prints have been frequently produced since as early as 1635.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Rutgers notes that some of Rembrandt’s copperplates were reworked by others as early as 1631. A likely candidate was Johannes Van Vliet (c. 1600–68), who possibly taught Rembrandt printmaking elements, unknowingly setting a precedent for future generations of posthumous copperplate owners.<sup>2</sup> Yet surprisingly, these aspects of Rembrandt’s printed oeuvre are largely ignored in scholarship and typically reduced to brief mentions or footnotes.

As of 2021, New Zealand’s four most prominent public collections – the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, the

Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū, the Dunedin Public Art Gallery and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) – own 118 impressions currently identified as printed from Rembrandt’s copperplates, as well as a small but considerable number of copies of his prints. Of these, 43 have been identified as being in states reworked by others, and a further three as restruck by later copperplate owners. Impressions vary widely in quality; while some reworkings are barely distinguishable from their authentic counterparts, others, like Te Papa’s impression of *The hundred guilder print* (c. 1648), show drastic alterations to Rembrandt’s original work. Similarly, while many copies are obvious imitations, others, such as Roland Hipkins’ *Copy of self-portrait leaning on a stone sill* (1922), are deceptively close to the original.

Due to its academic neglect, the whole subgenre of Rembrandt restrikes, reworkings and copies raises important

questions around authorship and authenticity. How do we understand these variations on Rembrandt's compositions in relation to the original? Can restrikes and reworkings be considered genuine Rembrandt works? Furthermore, how do we understand copies in relation to authentic prints? This article tackles such questions and takes stock of the nation's collections of restrikes, reworkings and copies in public collections. Divided into four sections, it first discusses the wider history of restrikes, printed both by the artist himself and later copperplate owners, before discussing New Zealand's own examples of this. The next section considers the history of reworkings and discusses New Zealand's examples by Claude-Henri Watelet (1718–86), Pierre-François Basan (1723–97) and his son, Henri-Louis Basan (d. before 1819), and Captain William Bailie (1723–1810). Section three considers the multiplicity of Rembrandt copies held in the aforementioned New Zealand institutions and five further copies in the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, examining their closeness to Rembrandt's original compositions and their creators' intentions.<sup>3</sup> The final section then explicitly considers the above questions and our understanding of these print types.

## Rembrandt restruck

According to the *Collins dictionary of art terms and techniques*, a restruck is 'an impression made from a plate ... after the original edition has been exhausted' or 'out of circulation for an appreciable length of time'.<sup>4</sup> Throughout his career, Rembrandt frequently restruck and reworked his plates. While he potentially sold many, if not all, of his plates in 1654, most of his copperplates were posthumously disseminated across Europe, frequently changing hands, and were restruck or reworked by later owners.<sup>5</sup> While several later copperplate owners have been identified, such as Clement de Jonghe (c. 1624–77) and Pieter de Haan (1723–66), little is known of them or their restriking practices, and who among them restruck their plates.<sup>6</sup>

Within New Zealand, there are currently three identified restrikes in public collections: Auckland Art Gallery's impressions of *Naked woman on a mound* (Fig. 1) and *The agony in the garden* (Fig. 2), and Te Papa's impression of *The descent from the cross by torchlight* (Fig. 3). The latter two are near identical to Rembrandt's last states, but identifiable as restrikes by two dots in the upper right-hand corners.<sup>7</sup> These so-called Kruzel points were first identified by



Fig. 1 *Naked woman on a mound*, c. 1631, etching & engraving, 170 × 152 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (purchased, 1955. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 1955/42/10).



Fig. 2 *The agony in the garden*, c. 1652, etching & drypoint, 111 × 82 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of James Tannock Mackelvie, 1885. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, M1885/14/1/1).



Fig. 3 *The descent from the cross by torchlight*, 1654, etching & drypoint, 213 × 165 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-407).

Krzysztof Kruzel in 2006 as belonging to an unidentified restriker active around 1700, who would add two or three dots or crosses along plate edges or corners.<sup>8</sup> Currently, there is insufficient information to conclusively identify the restriker or where they acquired their plates, but Kruzel points also appear in the earlier states of 17 further reworked New Zealand impressions.<sup>9</sup>

The third such print, *Naked woman on a mound*, is in a state by Rembrandt but identifiable as a restrike based on its quality. Most of its lines are severely worn, appearing as a general grey haze with a near-incomprehensible lower half, signifying overprinting and copperplate wear, often found in later restrikes and reworkings. Moreover, several minor, distinctly dark passages on the figure evidence obvious retouching on the impression itself. This suggests the plate was severely degraded when printed, and that someone – possibly the printer or a later owner – added these darkened lines to give the illusion of better quality. Again, although very few plate owners are known, the plate for this work

did belong to Jean de Bary (active c. 1759), who possessed several Rembrandt plates and is known to have restruck and heavily retouched several impressions.<sup>10</sup> Yet while it is tempting to postulate that de Bary retouched this impression, he typically emphasised shadow, darkening the prints with strong plate tone throughout.<sup>11</sup> Retouching here is minor and sparse, suggesting it was possibly left incomplete or forgotten. While paper dating could enlighten de Bary's involvement, if any, further investigation is required.

## Rembrandt reworked

The term 'reworking' is not typically used within Rembrandt print scholarship and is of my own making. As I classify them, reworkings are impressions made from Rembrandt's copperplates that were compositionally altered or whose lines were reinforced by anyone other than Rembrandt. My research has revealed that scholars use a variety of phrases when referring to such impressions, noting them as being in 'reworked states', as broadly being 'retouched' or simply as 'posthumous impressions'. While the first is clunky phrasing, the latter two are particularly loose terms that do not delineate reworkings from restrikes or clarify whether the copperplate itself or the singular impression was altered. Hence, with no standardised terminology available, I use 'reworkings' as a shorthand for this specific impression type. While Rembrandt also reworked his plates, I differentiate these as authentic state alterations and not reworkings as I discuss them. I also differentiate them from retouched impressions, such as *Naked woman on a mound*, where lines are added or altered in the individual impression rather than the copperplate, which would affect all future impressions.

In terms of physical differences, there are several key indicators that scholars and curators use to identify reworkings. Notably, many reworkers employed the mezzotint rocker, a tool that emerged in the mid- to late seventeenth century and could make multiple simultaneous incisions. It is not currently believed that Rembrandt used this tool, hence its presence is understood to signal reworkings.<sup>12</sup> Additionally, many reworkings show worn lines beneath reworked ones, emphasising the difference between original and reworked states. This is not universal, however, and the extent of reworking generally corresponds to the distance in time from Rembrandt's initial execution. Earlier examples are often consequently more restorative in nature, reincising and strengthening worn lines. Te Papa's Monrad and Dunedin

Public Art Gallery's impressions of *Peasant family on the tramp*, for example, both show an early reworking.<sup>13</sup> Alterations are relatively minor, with only small perceived errors in Rembrandt's composition corrected, such as false biting in the man's backpack.<sup>14</sup> Later, more extreme reworkings, such as those by Henri-Louis Basan, typically heavily alter their plates, darkening lines drastically, removing tonal variation and, in several instances, changing a composition's style or rebiting a plate. Perhaps the most radical example is that by Baillie, who heavily reworked and cut up the copperplate for *The hundred guilder print*.

The best-known reworkings of Rembrandt's plates were all executed by the posthumous copperplate owners Watelet, Pierre-François and Henri-Louis Basan, and Baillie. Operating between the mid-eighteenth and early

nineteenth centuries, they constitute the central narrative presented by scholars when discussing reworkings. While the former three worked with the same large collection of copperplates, Baillie operated individually. Of New Zealand's 43 reworkings, 35 are in states reworked by these men or somehow linked to them. The remaining eight were completed by unknown reworkers: Te Papa's impression of *Peasant with his hands behind his back* (Fig. 4), its Monrad impression of *The death of the Virgin* (Fig. 5), its *The blindness of Tobit: the larger plate* (Fig. 6) and its *The agony in the garden* (Fig. 7); Auckland Art Gallery's *Old man with beard, fur cap, and velvet cloak* (Fig. 8) and *Joseph's coat brought to Jacob* (Fig. 9); and both the Auckland Art Gallery's and Te Papa's impressions of *Christ crucified between the two thieves: an oval plate* (Figs 10 and 11).<sup>15</sup>



Fig. 4 *Peasant with his hands behind his back*, 1629, etching & drypoint, 63 × 54 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-419.



Fig. 5 *The death of the Virgin*, 1639, etching, drypoint & mezzotint, 408 × 314 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-411).



Fig. 6 *The blindness of Tobit: the larger plate*, 1651, etching, drypoint & engraving, 158 × 131 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa Tongarewa, 1869-0001-403).



Fig. 7 *The agony in the garden*, c. 1652, etching, drypoint and mezzotint, 124 × 94 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (purchased, 1910. Te Papa, 1910-0001-1/79-80).



Fig. 8 *Old man with beard, fur cap, and velvet cloak*, c. 1631, etching & engraving, 147 × 130 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of James Tannock Mackelvie, 1885. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, M1885/14/3).



Fig. 9 *Joseph's coat brought to Jacob*, c. 1633, etching, drypoint & mezzotint, 107 × 80 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of James Tannock Mackelvie, 1885. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, M1885/14/2).



Fig. 10 *Christ crucified between the two thieves: an oval plate, c. 1641, etching, drypoint & mezzotint, 136 × 97 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of James Tannock Mackelvie, 1885. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, M1885/14/1/2).*



Fig. 11 *Christ crucified between the two thieves: an oval plate, c. 1641, etching, drypoint & mezzotint, 148 × 108 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn, (gift of Sir John Illott, 1967. Te Papa, 1967-0002-23).*

## Watelet and the Basans

Watelet, an amateur French artist and art connoisseur, was the earliest of these reworkers. He began collecting prints around the 1760s, specialising in Rembrandt. Eventually acquiring a significant copperplate collection, Watelet published several impressions, as well as his own copies, in an album entitled *Rymbranesques ou essais de gravure*.<sup>16</sup> Compared with the reworkings of the others, Watelet's additions are minor, predominantly reworking weakened lines.<sup>17</sup>

Of the 35 reworkings linked to these men in New Zealand collections, four impressions are in states seemingly pre-dating Watelet. These include Te Papa's Monrad version of *Jan Uytenbogaert, preacher of the Remonstrants* (Fig. 12) and its *The angel departing from the family of Tobias* (Fig. 13), and both Te Papa impressions of *Self-portrait etching at a window* (Figs 14 and 15). Each of these are currently in states altered by unknown hands, but their copperplates were eventually owned by Watelet, and later states appeared in albums by Pierre-François and Henri-Louis Basan.<sup>18</sup> However, little or no evidence of Watelet's potential contributions has been identified. For example, the Monrad *Jan Uytenbogaert* impression is in the seventh of nine states. While the eighth state appears in albums by Pierre-François and Henri-Louis Basan, the seventh does not and Watelet is not named as reworking it or any prior state, suggesting he only restruck it, if that. The only exception is Te Papa's *The angel departing from the family of Tobias*, in the fifth of nine states. While this state is not explicitly linked to Watelet, Hinterding and Rutgers deem the later sixth state as 'possibly by Claude-Henri Watelet', indicating this impression was likely printed before Watelet owned the plate.<sup>19</sup>

While the above works are tenuously connected to Watelet, a further six impressions are in states that are more closely linked to him. Te Papa's *The strolling musicians* (Fig. 16), its *A hurdy-gurdy player followed by children at the door of a house* ('The schoolmaster') (Fig. 17), both of its *The card player* impressions (Figs 18 and 19) and its *Landscape with a cow drinking* (Fig. 20), and Auckland Art Gallery's *Male nude, seated and standing* ('Het rolvagentje') (Fig. 21) are all in states reworked by Watelet. While both The card player



Fig. 12 *Jan Uytenbogaert, preacher of the Remonstrants*, 1635, etching, drypoint & mezzotint, 226 × 187 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa Tongarewa, 1869-0001-436).

impressions and *Landscape with a cow drinking* are firmly attributed to him, being subtly distinguishable from earlier states by strengthened and expanded shading, his contributions to *The schoolmaster* and *Het rolvagentje* are less definite.<sup>20</sup> The former is in the second state, which Hinterding and Rutgers again deem 'probably' by Watelet, and the latter, in the fifth state, 'possibly' by him.<sup>21</sup> As the authors clarify, this means that sufficient evidence warrants these attributions, but some minor doubt or room for error exists.<sup>22</sup> *The strolling musicians* reworking, meanwhile, is associated with Watelet via an impression in Russia in the same state, which features a notation in Watelet's own hand identifying him as restorer.<sup>23</sup> Each state also appears in albums by Pierre-François and Henri-Louis Basan, excepting *The card player*, which appears only in Pierre-François's albums, as Henri-Louis supposedly removed the 'Watelet restaur' inscription, possibly wishing his impressions to appear more authentic.<sup>24</sup>



Fig. 13 *The angel departing from the family of Tobias*, 1641, etching, drypoint & mezzotint, 108 × 154 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Mrs Harold Wright, 1965. Te Papa, 1965-0012-26).



Fig. 14 *Self-portrait etching at a window*, 1648, etching, drypoint, mezzotint & engraving(?), retouched with brush, ink & wash, 158 × 129 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-397).



Fig. 15 *Self-portrait etching at a window*, 1648, etching, drypoint, mezzotint & engraving(?), 159 × 134 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Sir John Ilott, 1952. Te Papa, 1952-0003-43).



Fig. 16 *The strolling musicians*, c. 1635, etching, 148 × 120 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (purchased, 1910. Te Papa, 1910-0001-1/20-80).



Fig. 17 *A hurdy-gurdy player followed by children at the door of a house ('The schoolmaster')*, 1641, etching, 95 × 61 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa Tongarewa, 1869-0001-416).



Fig. 18 *The card player*, 1641, etching, signed in Drypoint, 101 × 91 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-420).



Fig. 19 *The card player*, 1641, etching, signed in drypoint, 92 × 84 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (purchased, 1910. Te Papa, 1910-0001-1/21-80).

Fig. 20 *Landscape with a cow drinking*, c. 1650, etching & drypoint, 102 × 128 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-427).



Fig. 21 *Male nude, seated and standing* ('Het rolwagentje'), c. 1646, etching, drypoint & mezzotint, 194 × 127 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (purchased, 1955. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 1955/18/8).

Upon Watelet's death in 1786, all his Rembrandt copperplates were purchased by French artist and occasional print-seller Pierre-François Basan. Between 1789 and his own death in 1797, Pierre-François published several *Recueil Rembrandt* albums of restrikes and reworkings, before his son, Henri-Louis, inherited the copperplates. While Pierre-François's reworkings were minimal, Henri-Louis's subsequent albums show far more drastic, often heavy-handed reworkings.<sup>25</sup> For example, Henri-Louis altered the old man's face in *A scholar in his study* ('Faust'), making him appear younger.<sup>26</sup> While more worn plates would logically necessitate more prominent attempts at restoration, such a compositional change highlights the liberties that reworkers could take with copperplates.

Twenty-three New Zealand reworkings are in states associated with the Basans. Of these, however, only one, Auckland Art Gallery's *The presentation in the temple: oblong print* (Fig. 22), was definitely reworked by either, namely the 'H.L. Basan Workshop'.<sup>27</sup> Typical of Henri-Louis, this impression shows heavy reworking, with stronger, thick lines, eliminating much tonal modulation evident in Rembrandt's states, although significant wear makes the composition difficult to distinguish.

Twenty of the 23, meanwhile, are in states reworked by unknown artists but that later appeared in the Basans' albums. These include Te Papa's *Self-portrait in a cap and scarf with the face dark: bust* (Fig. 23), *Self-portrait in a velvet cap with plume* (Fig. 24), *Self-portrait in a flat cap and embroidered dress*

(Fig. 25), *A blind hurdy-gurdy player and family receiving alms* (Fig. 26), *The adoration of the shepherds: with the lamp* (Fig. 27), *Christ at Emmaus: the larger plate* (Fig. 28), *Christ and the woman of Samaria: an arched print* (Fig. 29), potentially its impression of *The goldsmith* (Fig. 30), its Monrad version of *The stoning of St Stephen* (Fig. 31), and both its Monrad and Ilott versions of *Self-portrait with Saskia* (Figs 32 and 33);<sup>28</sup> Auckland Art Gallery's and Dunedin Public Art Gallery's *Peter and John healing the cripple at the gate of the temple*; Dunedin's and Te Papa's Monrad version of *Peasant family on the tramp* (Fig. 34); Auckland's, Dunedin's and Te Papa's *Clement de Jonghe, printseller* (Figs 35 and 36); and Auckland's and Te Papa's *Christ and the woman of Samaria among ruins* (Figs 37 and 38).<sup>29</sup> As Pierre-François and Henri-Louis are not linked to these amendments, they are presumably pre-Basan, and likely pre-Watelet, reworkings that both father and son restruck.

New Zealand's remaining Basan-related impressions are Te Papa's two Monrad and Ilott impressions of *Jan Lutma, goldsmith* (Figs 39 and 40), both in the third state, which was included in Henri-Louis Basan's albums, but not Pierre-

François's. This is because this print's already reworked plate was not inherited by Henri-Louis from his father, but sold to him by Polish etcher Michael Plonski (1778–1812).<sup>30</sup>

As a group, these Watelet and Basan impressions highlight a close connection between restriking and reworking. Although Watelet and the Basans executed reworkings, they also restruck Rembrandt prints. As their reworkings seemingly attempt to correct or give the illusion of better quality, it is logical to suggest that their restrikes came from plates considered acceptable in quality and reworkings were made only if deemed necessary. This would explain why several single-state Rembrandt prints, such as *Christ seated disputing with the doctors*, of which Auckland Art Gallery and Te Papa each own impressions, appear in Basan albums alongside reworked impressions of other prints.<sup>31</sup> As an aside, copies (discussed further below) would also appear in albums by restrickers and reworkers alongside their restrikes and reworkings. Te Papa, for example, owns an impression of Pierre-François Basan's same-direction copy of *Lieven Willemsz. van Coppenol, writing master: the smaller plate*, included in at least one Henri-Louis Basan album.<sup>32</sup>



Fig. 22 *The presentation in the temple: oblong print*, c. 1640, etching & drypoint, 213 × 290 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (purchased, 1981. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 1981/50/113).



Fig. 23 *Self-portrait in a cap and scarf with the face dark: bust*, 1633, etching, 130 × 102 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Sir John Ilott, 1952. Te Papa, 1952-0003-46).



Fig. 24 *Self-portrait in a velvet cap with plume*, 1638, etching, 128 × 105 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-395).



Fig. 25 *Self-portrait in a flat cap and embroidered dress*, c. 1642, etching, 96 × 65 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa Tongarewa, 1869-0001-399).



Fig. 26 *A blind hurdy-gurdy player and family receiving alms*, 1648, etching, drypoint & mezzotint, 172 × 137 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa Tongarewa, 1869-0001-424).



Fig. 27 *The adoration of the shepherds: with the lamp*, c. 1654, etching & engraving, 113 × 138 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (purchased, 1910. Te Papa, 1910-0001-1/19-80).



Fig. 28 *Christ at Emmaus: the larger plate*, 1654, etching, drypoint & mezzotint, 210 × 162 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Sir John Ilott, 1952. Te Papa, 1952-0003-44).



Fig. 29 *Christ and the woman of Samaria: an arched print*, 1657, etching & drypoint, 127 × 160 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Sir John Ilott, 1952. Te Papa, 1952-0003-47).



Fig. 30 *The goldsmith*, 1655, etching & drypoint, 86 × 65 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-414).



Fig. 31 *The stoning of St Stephen*, 1635, etching, engraving & mezzotint, 97 × 86 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa Tongarewa, 1869-0001-409).



Fig. 32 *Self-portrait with Saskia*, 1636, etching, 112 × 101 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-394).



Fig. 33 *Self-portrait with Saskia*, 1636, etching, 106 × 93 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Sir John Ilott, 1952. Te Papa, 1952-0003-45).



Fig. 34 *Peasant family on the tramp*, c. 1652, etching, 116 × 95 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-418).



Fig. 35 *Clement de Jonghe, printseller*, 1651, etching, drypoint & mezzotint, 207 × 162 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (purchased, 1981. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 1981/50/112).



Fig. 36 *Clement de Jonghe, printseller*, 1651, etching, drypoint & mezzotint, 211 × 165mm, Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Sir John Iott, 1966. Te Papa, 1966-0005-8).



Fig. 37 *Christ and the woman of Samaria among ruins*, 1634, etching, drypoint & mezzotint, 123 × 107 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (purchased, 1961. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 1961/4/2).



Fig. 38 *Christ and the woman of Samaria among ruins*, 1634, etching, drypoint & mezzotint, 130 × 116 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Mrs Harold Wright, 1965. Te Papa, 1965-0012-27).



Fig. 39 *Jan Lutma, goldsmith*, 1656, etching, drypoint & engraving, 197 × 151 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-430).



Fig. 40 *Jan Lutma, goldsmith*, 1656, etching, drypoint and engraving, 199 × 149 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Sir John Ilott, 1966. Te Papa, 1966-0005-9).

## Baillie

Captain William Baillie was an Irish art dealer and printmaker. In the army for almost 20 years, before retiring in 1761, he is known to have collected, sold and even created art.<sup>33</sup> Sometime in the late eighteenth century, Baillie acquired at least three Rembrandt plates, which he heavily reworked and restruck.<sup>34</sup> While he acquired *The hundred guilder print* plate from American artist and dealer John Greenwood (1727–92), who himself had purchased it ‘in Holland shortly before’, the origins of the other two plates are unknown.<sup>35</sup>

New Zealand currently holds two known Baillie reworkings, *Jan Uytenbogaert, ‘the goldweigher’* in Dunedin Public Art Gallery (Fig. 41) and *The hundred guilder print* in Te Papa (Fig. 42).<sup>36</sup> In the first, Baillie’s reworking is not dissimilar to those of Henri-Louis Basan, heavily strengthening lines and reincising over a worn plate.<sup>37</sup> Comparatively, the latter exhibits more extreme alterations, stylising the print and unbalancing Rembrandt’s increasingly complex style that develops throughout his original composition.

To elaborate, in Rembrandt’s original states of *The hundred guilder print* (Fig. 43), the scene progressively shifts left to right, from an articulate graphic style towards a more worked-up and naturalistic one. While the outlines of the left-hand figures and ephemera are accompanied by stark, often minimal hatching, the right of the print shows layers of cross-hatching that make passages of brickwork and silhouetted architecture appear softer and almost rounded at the edges. Rembrandt’s treatment of shadow is subtle, yet masterfully nuanced, interplaying light on the faces of the rightmost group and blurring the edges of background figures to promote a sense of depth.

Under Baillie (Fig. 42), the far left of the image largely maintains Rembrandt’s graphic style. The right, however, shows reincised lines alongside altered facial expressions on the camel, and apparent attempts to use shading to hide outlines, giving a strangely impressionistic quality.<sup>38</sup> Because of his heavy-handed lines, Baillie’s additions make the once subtle transition between Rembrandt’s styles appear stark. While likely facilitated by copperplate wear, Rembrandt’s tonal complexity has been reduced by Baillie, who has



Fig. 41 *Jan Uytenbogaert, 'the goldweigher', 1639, etching & drypoint, 238 × 215 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Mrs Herbert Edwards of Oamaru, 1925. Dunedin Public Art Gallery, 6-1925).*



Fig. 42 *The hundred guilder print, c. 1648, etching, drypoint & engraving, 286 × 402 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Sir John Illott, 1963. Te Papa, 1963-0005-10).*

also hardened the edges of the architecture and shadows, more conspicuously framing the scene and exposing his amateurism. But at least *Te Papa's* impression contains the complete composition. As mentioned, after printing an edition of 100 reworked impressions, Baillie cut and restruck *The hundred guilder print* plate in several smaller compositions, again demonstrating the liberties that reworkers could take with impunity.<sup>39</sup>

After Baillie's death, his Rembrandt plates likely ended up with John Boydell (1720–1804) and his nephew Josiah Boydell (1752–1817), who had published a two-volume collection of Baillie's works and Rembrandt reworkings in 1792.<sup>40</sup> Of them, only the *Jan Uytenbogaert, 'the goldweigher'* plate is extant, now in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.<sup>41</sup>

The Watelet–Basan collection, meanwhile, was acquired en bloc by Parisian publisher Auguste Jean (d. 1820) in c. 1810, who also 'reworked them where necessary', before they passed to his widow, *Veuve Jean*.<sup>42</sup> The collection was later purchased from Jean's estate by Parisian publisher and engraver Auguste Bernard, before being passed to his son,

Michel Bernard, who sold them to Parisian art dealer Alvin Beaumont. He, in turn, sold them in 1938 to his friend American collector Robert Lee Humber (1898–1970).<sup>43</sup>

While these subsequent nineteenth- and twentieth-century owners occasionally continued to restrike the plates, this appears to have ended with Humber's ownership.<sup>44</sup> Regardless, by the twentieth century, consistent reworking and restriking left Rembrandt's copperplates and their impressions as largely undesirable artefacts. In 1906, Victor Thomas, director of the French journal *L'Artiste*, attempted to restrike new albums from the worn plates, then owned by Michel Bernard, and sell them for 1000 francs. Both Thomas and the plates were widely criticised by numerous scholars, including Abraham Bredius (1855–1946), director of the Mauritshuis, who deemed the plates 'relics'.<sup>45</sup> Yet in 1993, 78 of the world's roughly 80 extant Rembrandt plates were auctioned by Humber's estate.<sup>46</sup> Many were purchased by European galleries and, as Hinterding comments, they were finally 'valued as works of art in their own right'.<sup>47</sup>



Fig. 43 *The hundred guilder print*, c. 1648, etching, drypoint & engraving, 282 × 395 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (transfer, 1816. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-601).

## Rembrandt copied

A ‘copy’, as defined by the *Collins dictionary of art terms and techniques*, is ‘any reproduction or facsimile of an original work’.<sup>48</sup> Due to the breadth of this definition, I focus my discussion of copies on works that directly and/or closely imitate specific print compositions by Rembrandt, or that amalgamate such compositions to appear as alternate or new versions of them. I also exclude photomechanical reproductions.<sup>49</sup> In addition to copies housed in the above-named institutions, I also consider five Rembrandt copies in the Alexander Turnbull Library.

Unlike the history of reworkings, often centralised around Baillie and the Watelet–Basan grouping, Rembrandt copies have no equivalent narrative due to the high number of examples and copyists throughout history. As noted above, copies of Rembrandt’s prints first appeared as early as 1635. They have since emerged worldwide, executed by innumerable artists, including the New Zealanders Mina Arndt (1885–1926) and Roland Hipkins (1894–1951). While still manufactured, most Rembrandt copies were produced before the late nineteenth century, when photomechanical and other reproductive processes emerged.<sup>50</sup>

In their earliest iterations, copies seem to have been made without malicious intent and were mostly intended to be illustrative and not forgeries. This was because most seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century collectors had albums dedicated to the history of prints and, where no originals or restrikes were available, they commonly used copies in lieu of authentic impressions of landmark works.<sup>51</sup> Making such copies appears to have been a commercially viable trade. This is exemplified by the Smith brothers of Chichester, professional eighteenth-century artists well known for reproducing copies of master print-works.<sup>52</sup> As Anna Rigg notes, while such copies exhibited great skill, they were generally distinguishable from forgeries, being typically made in reverse to original compositions, eschewing the original artist’s signature or featuring notations that acknowledged their status as copies. This occurs with the copy by John Smith (c. 1717–64) of *The windmill*, of which Te Papa owns a counterproof (discussed below). However, forgeries were nonetheless present. The British printmaker Benjamin Wilson (1721–88), for example, is recorded as feeling ‘proud’ after selling a reproduction of a Rembrandt landscape print as an authentic impression to the English painter Thomas Hudson (1701–79), a renowned connoisseur and print collector.<sup>53</sup> Many copies

are also notable for imitating Rembrandt’s compositions to seemingly test the copyist’s ability and exhibit their talent. This is particularly evident with Hipkins, who, in his version of *Self-portrait leaning on a stone sill*, not only replicates the composition but also closely imitates Rembrandt’s style to assert his skill.<sup>54</sup>

Naturally, not all Rembrandt copies are created equal. Having examined these works, I contend that a general relationship is evident between a copy’s quality and whether the work is in the same direction as the original composition. Accordingly, I divide the copies into three categories: same-direction copies, reverse-direction copies and miscellaneous copies.

## Same-direction copies

The first grouping consists of copies that not only replicate Rembrandt’s compositions but also their directions. Due to the mechanics of intaglio printmaking, this signifies that the copyist consciously crafted their composition in reverse to the original printed impression. My research has located 16 such copies in New Zealand’s collections – three in the Alexander Turnbull Library (Figs 44–46), five in Auckland Art Gallery, two in Dunedin Public Art Gallery (Figs 47 and 48) and six in Te Papa (Figs 49–54).<sup>58</sup>

By and large, these works closely stylistically imitate Rembrandt’s originals. A prime example is Hipkins’ *Copy of self-portrait leaning on a stone sill* (Fig. 50), of which Te Papa owns a single impression as well as an authentic Rembrandt iteration of the composition (Fig. 55). As mentioned, Hipkins closely imitates Rembrandt’s style in a convincing copy that could fool the untrained eye. However, his style can be distinguished by line thickness. Whereas Rembrandt’s lines appear free-flowing, tapering off as if quickly executed, Hipkins’ linework is consistently thick, evidencing a slower, more methodical handling. This facilitates a more accurate, albeit stilted, line placement. It differs greatly from Hipkins’ more modest and stylised linocut prints, such as *Polperro, Cornwall* (Fig. 56), instead appearing closer to his naturalistic watercolour works and his graphite and lithographic portraits in Te Papa’s collection, including *Untitled (portrait of a man)* (Fig. 57). As the Rembrandt copy was executed in 1922, the year Hipkins graduated from London’s Royal College of Art and came to New Zealand, its origin may have been as a project or for his own amusement.<sup>59</sup> Regardless, that Hipkins signs his work acknowledges his imitation, thus drawing attention to his display of skill.



Fig. 44 *Copy of the raising of Lazarus: the larger plate*, unknown date, etching, 415 × 295 mm. Artist Dominique Vivant, Baron Denon (unknown provenance. Alexander Turnbull Library, A-308-032).<sup>55</sup>



Fig. 45 *Copy of landscape with cottages and a hay barn: oblong*, 1760–1781, etching, 129 × 312 mm. Artist James Bretherton (unknown provenance. Alexander Turnbull Library, A-308-031).<sup>56</sup>



Fig. 46 *Copy of the three trees*, 1777, etching, 204 × 280 mm. Artist Richard Byron (unknown provenance. Alexander Turnbull Library, A-308-029).<sup>57</sup>



Fig. 47 *Copy of the rat catcher*, unknown date, engraving (?), 130 × 123 mm. Artist C. Bateman (purchased, 1967. Dunedin Public Art Gallery, 43-1967).



Fig. 48 *Copy of peasant family on the tramp*, unknown date, etching, 240 × 205 mm. Artist Charles Amand-Durand (gift of Audrey and Lawrence Bascand, 2011. Dunedin Public Art Gallery, 7-2013).



Fig. 49 *Copy of Joseph's coat brought to Jacob*, unknown date, etching, 106 × 83 mm. Artist unknown (gift of Dr and Mrs John Hardwick-Smith, 1967. Te Papa, 1967-0027-7).



Fig. 50 *Copy of self-portrait leaning on a stone sill*, 1922, etching, 260 × 190 mm. Artist Roland Hipkins (gift of Mr and Mrs R.J. Waghorn, 1983. Te Papa, 1983-0007-18).



Fig. 51 *Copy of the windmill*, unknown date, etching, 157 × 219 mm. Artist John Smith of Chichester (purchased, 1910. Te Papa, 1910-0001-1/66-80).



Fig. 52 *Copy of view of Amsterdam from the Kadijk*, c. 1828, etching, 114 × 159 mm. Artist William Young Ottley (purchased, 1910. Te Papa, 1910-0001-1/17-80).



Fig. 53 *Copy of a scholar in his study ('Faust')*, unknown date, etching, 212 × 162 mm. Artist George Bickham the Younger (purchased, 1910. Te Papa, 1910-0001-1/22-80).



Fig. 54 *Copy of Lieven Willemsz. van Coppenol, writing master: the smaller plate*, unknown date, etching, 239 × 185 mm. Artist Pierre-François Basan (purchased, 1910. Te Papa, 1910-0001-1/23-80).



Fig. 55 *Self-portrait leaning on a stone sill*, 1639, etching, drypoint & engraving, 226 × 180 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-396).



Fig. 56 *Polperro, Cornwall*, c. 1910 1922, linoleum block print on paper, 128 × 160 mm. Artist Roland Hipkins (gift of Mr and Mrs R.J. Waghorn, 1983. Te Papa, 1983-0007-15).



Fig. 57 *Untitled (portrait of a man)*, date unknown, lithograph, 194 × 134 mm. Artist Roland Hipkins (gift of Mr and Mrs R.J. Waghorn, 1983. Te Papa, 1983-0007-16).

Also exemplifying how close same-direction copies are to original source material is John Smith's *Copy of the windmill* (Fig. 51). Te Papa's impression is near identical to Rembrandt's original work, with Rigg claiming that its identification as a copy relied on one stray line in the windmill arm. Smith's original copy was initially featured in *A collection of fifty-three prints, consisting of etchings and engravings, by those ingenious artists Messrs. George and John Smith, of Chichester, after their own paintings and other masters*, published by John Boydell in 1770, six years after Smith's death. Although the text's title also acknowledges the print as a copy, all the published copies within were initially in reverse, including Smith's, leading to Te Papa's impression being identified as a counterproof. Furthermore, false platemarks are also apparent, seemingly added by an unknown party. Thus, while the original book was intended as a commercial object, these false marks imply Te Papa's impression was possibly used as a forgery by a later party, highlighting how such copies could be abused despite their creators' intentions.<sup>60</sup>

## Reverse-direction copies

The next group, reverse-direction copies, comprises copies made in the opposite direction to Rembrandt's original compositions. Here, copyists commit the original composition directly onto their plate, which is reversed when printed. My research encountered 14 reverse copies: one in the Alexander Turnbull Library (Fig. 58), one in Christchurch Art Gallery, one in Dunedin Public Art Gallery (Fig. 59), three in Te Papa (Figs 60–62) and eight in Auckland Art Gallery.<sup>62</sup>

Unlike the previous group, these prints vary in their stylistic closeness to Rembrandt's original prints. One such example is Te Papa's *Copy of the artist's mother seated at a table, looking right: three quarter length* (Fig. 60). Historically attributed to Rembrandt, the print was later identified by Austrian art historian Ludwig Münz as a copy of an original Rembrandt print based on its stylistic differences from him.<sup>63</sup> While to modern scholars the linework is overtly thick and the face uncharacteristic of a work by Rembrandt, most prints were historically known through reproductions or literary descriptions, meaning lesser copies were more likely to be confused with authentic impressions.<sup>64</sup> Currently regarded by Hinterding and Rutgers as 'possibly by an artist from Rembrandt's workshop', the print is probably New Zealand's earliest Rembrandt copy.<sup>65</sup>

In comparison, five reverse copies after various early works of beggars by French artist François Vivares (1709–

80) in Auckland Art Gallery are much closer to Rembrandt's style. Yet while maintaining Rembrandt's graphic approach, Vivares also amends the artist's stylistic and plate flaws. For example, in his *Copy of beggar man and beggar woman conversing*, Vivares firmly defines the line of the woman's skirt where Rembrandt left it unfinished (Fig. 63). Such imitation and subtle alterations also occur in Mina Arndt's c. 1912–13 *Copy of old beggar woman with a gourd*, where she copies Rembrandt's composition (Fig. 64) but reduces his contrast of shadows to make her iteration more naturalistic. Like the copies by Hipkins, however, those by Vivares and Arndt feature signatures, suggesting artistic ventures rather than forgery. Moreover, that Vivares produced so many copies suggests he had commercial intentions, signing his works to distinguish his copies from Rembrandt originals.

As alluded to above, many copyists did not include their signatures in their copies; this includes Dominique Vivant, Baron Denon (1747–1825), former aide to Napoleon and director of the Musée Napoléon, now the Louvre. In the reverse-direction copy of *Christ disputing with the doctors: a sketch* in Auckland Art Gallery, attributed to Vivant Denon, he copies both Rembrandt's composition and his signature.<sup>66</sup> This also occurs with his same-direction copy of Rembrandt's *The raising of Lazarus: the larger plate* in the Alexander Turnbull Library (Fig. 44).<sup>67</sup> As Vivant Denon once deceived connoisseur Seroux d'Agincourt with a convincing newly-made copy, it is tempting to suggest similar motives here, yet this would require further research.<sup>68</sup>

## Miscellaneous copies

The final miscellaneous group encompasses copies inspired by Rembrandt that amalgamate or strikingly alter one or more of his compositions and works with a clear stylistic or compositional Rembrandt connection. Consequently, they are least like Rembrandt's original works. New Zealand possesses only two examples, one in the Alexander Turnbull Library (Fig. 65) and one in Christchurch Art Gallery (Fig. 66). The latter is an undated drawing, amalgamating multiple Rembrandt printed portraits and *tronies*. Little is known about this work, yet it recalls several prints discussed by Hinterding and Rutgers that amalgamate Rembrandt plates in an attempt to form new compositions.<sup>69</sup> While this implies commercial interests, this copy's quality suggests an artistic experiment.

The other copy is by Baillie. Seemingly depicting Leiden (inscribed 'Leyden') in the evening, this is New Zealand's fourth Baillie print and one of two copies by him. The



Fig. 58 *Copy of the three trees*, 1750-1810, etching, 210 × 280 mm. Artist Captain William Baillie (unknown provenance. Alexander Turnbull Library, A-308-030).<sup>61</sup>



Fig. 59 *Copy of Jan Cornelis Sylvius*, date unknown, etching, 207 × 138 mm. Attributed to Salomon Savry, published by Cornelis Danckerts (purchased, 1967. Dunedin Public Art Gallery, 47-1967).



Fig. 60 *Copy of the artist's mother seated at a table, looking right: three quarter length*, unknown date, etching, 146 × 118 mm. Artist unknown, possibly a pupil of Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-433).



Fig. 61 *Copy of Christ driving the money changers from the temple*, unknown date, etching, 172 × 143 mm. Artist unknown (purchased, 1910. Te Papa, 1910-0001-1/59-80).



Fig. 62 *Copy of a blind hurdy-gurdy player and family receiving alms*, unknown date, etching & drypoint, 170 × 126 mm. Artist unknown, (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-425).



Fig. 63 *Beggar man and beggar woman conversing*, 1630, etching, 79 × 66 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-422).



Fig. 64 *Old beggar woman with a gourd*, c. 1629, etching, 103 × 47 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (gift of Bishop Ditlev Monrad, 1869. Te Papa, 1869-0001-423).

other copy is a reverse-direction copy of Rembrandt's *The three trees*, also in the Alexander Turnbull Library (Fig. 58). The 'Leyden' work is more notable, however, as it does not identifiably re-create or amalgamate specific Rembrandt compositions, instead drawing general inspiration from his landscape prints. Unlike Baillie's reworkings or his other copy, which attempts to closely imitate Rembrandt, this work fully shows the limitations of Baillie's technical ability and personal style. His lines are overtly thick and recall Rembrandt's loose preparatory sketches rather than his prints. Moreover, finer incisions in the sky seemingly attempt to evoke Rembrandt's surface tone. While Baillie's other Rembrandt-related works were almost certainly created with commercial intent, his emulation here suggests his own artistic intentions.

## Rembrandt and authorship

Finally, we return to answer our initial questions. How do we understand these variations on Rembrandt's compositions in relation to the originals? Can restrikes and reworkings be considered genuine Rembrandt works? Furthermore, how do we understand copies in relation to authentic prints in the context of Rembrandt? While the answers may appear somewhat obvious or simple, the above information has facilitated a new depth and nuance to our understanding.

Tackling these questions in reverse, the issue of copies appears more complex than it seems. To reiterate, copies are reproductions or facsimiles of an original work where one artist bases their compositions on the work of another. In



Fig. 65 *Evening*, 1765, etching, 182 × 312 mm. Artist Captain William Baillie (unknown provenance. Alexander Turnbull Library, A-308-033).

terms of usage, copies of Rembrandt prints may be distilled as largely fulfilling three prominent purposes. First, many early copies were used by print collectors as placeholders, supplementary illustrative options used in albums in lieu of originals and placed alongside authentic impressions. Second, copies may be artistic imitations, opportunities for artists to develop or exhibit their skills by comparing their ability to that of Rembrandt. Third, copies may be forgeries, sold as authentic prints.

While these purposes and consequent relations to Rembrandt prints may seem distinct, they are by no means mutually exclusive. Te Papa's copy by John Smith, for example (Fig. 51), was initially an artistic imitation in intention, flaunting Smith's high degree of skill, yet was seemingly used as a forgery. This emphasises how the relationship between Rembrandt's prints and their copies is by no means general, but individual and defined by an impression's varying contexts. This also means the answer to our question differs depending on the depth of the answer, both of which are equally true. A copy in its most general sense is a reiteration of another artwork. Individually, however, a copy's relationship with its original is also defined and even redefined by the intentions of the copyist and its subsequent owners.



Fig. 66 *Study of five faces*, unknown date, ink on paper, 158 × 120 mm. Artist unknown (bequest of Sir Joseph Kinsey, c. 1936. Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna of Waiwhetū, 74/105.

The second question over restrikes and reworkings is equally indefinite. As outlined above, restrikes and reworkings are both completed using Rembrandt's original plates. While Rembrandt also restruck and reworked his plates, in the context of this discussion restrikes are impressions printed from his plates by other printers, and reworkings are alterations to these plates by other artists. This means that, from the standpoint of them being initially crafted by Rembrandt, these restrikes and reworkings are, to all intents and purposes, genuine works by him. However, the question of whether restriking and reworking the plates affects this is where the matter becomes complex. It raises issues over who should be eligible to be included in attribution lines. Should restrikers and reworkers be named alongside Rembrandt? If we differentiate the former two and attribute only those who have altered copperplates, how do we understand the Kruzel point restriker whose additions are functionally printer's marks? Furthermore, do wear or the attributions of others negate the status of a restrike or reworking as a genuine Rembrandt? Since these works are not wholly by Rembrandt (i.e. printed and completely etched by him), it may be tempting for some to consider them lesser, diluted Rembrandt impressions and

subsequently disregard the originating artist's contributions.

To challenge this perspective, I turn to a rare instance in which Rembrandt himself reworked a print, namely *Tobias and the angel* by Hercules Seghers (c. 1589–c. 1638) (Fig. 67), after a painting by Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610). Eventually, the plate was acquired by Rembrandt and reworked. While largely keeping the left and centre as Seghers composed it, Rembrandt heavily altered the right to depict the narrative of the biblical flight into Egypt (Fig. 68). While scholars such as Clifford S. Ackley have sometimes attributed the work simply to Rembrandt, they have also commonly entitled his reworking *The flight into Egypt: altered from Seghers*.<sup>71</sup> As of 2021, many major international galleries – including Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum and New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art – credit the reworking to both Rembrandt and Seghers.<sup>72</sup> While the former heavily favours Rembrandt, I emphasise the latter dual attribution, in which both he and Seghers are given full credit without issue or despite the level of Rembrandt's reworking. While Rembrandt's contributions are acknowledged, Seghers' are not negated or diminished because of them, and vice versa.

While there is an international trend among galleries to



Fig. 67 *Tobias and the angel*, c. 1630–1633, etching, 202 × 276 mm. Artist Hercules Seghers (transferred from the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1816. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-796).

gloss over or omit mention of the contributions of Watelet, Baillie and the Basans, I contend that the Seghers example provides an approach that is more historically aware of these works, i.e. it considers their authorship without bias or ideas of defilement, but as co-creation.<sup>73</sup> While these reworkers sometimes made serious re-incisions and amendments, they hardly ever completely redesigned the compositions as severely as Rembrandt did to Seghers' plate. The sole exception was when Baillie cut up *The hundred guilder print* plate. If this stance is taken, it nullifies and shifts focus from what is 'genuine' to who contributed to the given impression. While this by no means eliminates the validity of the question, it counteracts its ambiguous nature.

This line of thinking also informs how we approach the final question of understanding these variations on Rembrandt's compositions in relation to the originals. Within current Rembrandt print scholarship, the answer is largely unaddressed. As mentioned, Hinterding and Rutgers explicitly state that even when copies were

included in albums, serving supplementary purposes and placed side by side with authentic masterworks, they were never considered authentic prints. This indicates that they were only proxies at most, a stance I do not challenge. In scholarly works discussing Rembrandt's restrikes and reworkings, meanwhile, little is devoted to academic perspectives beyond their technical differences.

I contend that it is best to view restrikes and reworkings not in a binary sense, as a Rembrandt or not a Rembrandt, but in degrees of separation from the artist. Again, original lifetime prints are etched and printed by Rembrandt; restrikes are Rembrandt's original compositions printed by later copperplate owners; and reworkings are impressions of Rembrandt's plates printed and altered by others.<sup>74</sup> In establishing these definitions, a hierarchy is suggested from least to most distanced from the artist. However, this is not intended to enforce a concept of value, but to articulate their physical differences and give a sense of the number of extra parties involved and the degree of their contributions.



Fig. 68 *The flight into Egypt: altered from Segers, c. 1652, etching, drypoint & engraving, 214 × 284 mm. Artist Rembrandt van Rijn (transfer, 1816. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-116).*

An original lifetime impression etched and printed by Rembrandt is exactly that. Meanwhile, restrikes and reworkings are respectively distanced further and further again by the increasing interference of other printers and artists. Copies, while imbued with an innate relationship to Rembrandt's prints, are separate from this.

While this conclusion may appear somewhat underwhelming, I believe this explication and reconsideration of these works recalibrates our understanding of all Rembrandt restrikes, reworkings and copies, and their close, albeit varying, relationships. Moreover, since knowledge of New Zealand holdings is still relatively new and developing, this article has consolidated current awareness of these different types of prints and their presence within the country, establishing a framework from which future investigations may approach the subject and more easily comprehend their historical worth. Subsequently, whereas many scholars and viewers may have simply approached our current copies, restrikes and reworkings via the context of Rembrandt's printmaking practice for lack of information, we are now better positioned to understand their complexities and their various origins and histories since Rembrandt first composed them centuries ago.<sup>75</sup>

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## Notes

- 1 Erik Hinterding and Jaco Rutgers, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts 1450–1700: Rembrandt*, vol. 6, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2013, p. viii; hereafter NHD.
- 2 Erik Hinterding, 'The history of Rembrandt's copperplates, with a catalogue of those that survive', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 22(4), 1993, p. 254; Jaco Rutgers, 'Jan van Vliet and Rembrandt van Rijn: their collaboration reassessed', in: Stephanie S. Dickey (ed.), *Rembrandt and his circle: insights and discoveries*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017, p. 293.
- 3 The Alexander Turnbull Library also possesses an additional copy, accession number A-012-045, that names Rembrandt in its title. In my research I have identified it as an impression or close copy of Claude Mellan's *Lot and His Daughters* (1629). As I could find no stylistic or compositional relation to Rembrandt's prints, I have excluded it from this discussion.
- 4 Ralph Mayer, *Collins dictionary of art terms and techniques*, ed. Steve Sheehan, Glasgow: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993, p. 352.
- 5 Hinterding, 'The history of Rembrandt's copperplates', pp. 254–55; Erik Hinterding, *Rembrandt as an etcher*, vol. 1, trans. Michael Hoyle, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2006, p. 141.
- 6 For more on these owners, see Hinterding, 'The history of Rembrandt's copperplates'.
- 7 NHD, vol. 1, p. lviii. While the NHD identifies such impressions as new states, I differentiate between reworkings and these restrikes, as these marks act like printer's marks, an idea the NHD also proffers.
- 8 Robert Fucci, *Rembrandt's changing impressions*, Cologne: Walther König, 2015, pp. 26 and 38.
- 9 These include Te Papa's Monrad impression of *Jan Uytenbogaert, preacher of the Remonstrants*, its impressions of *The angel departing from the family of Tobias* and *Self-portrait in a flat cap and embroidered dress*, both its impressions of *Self-portrait etching at a window*, *The agony in the garden*, *The adoration of the shepherds: with the lamp*, and *Christ at Emmaus: the larger plate*; Auckland Art Gallery's *The presentation in the temple: oblong print* and *Male nude*,

- seated and standing ('Het rolwagentje'); both Te Papa's and Auckland's impressions of *Christ and the woman of Samaria among ruins*, and *Christ crucified between the two thieves: an oval plate*; and Te Papa's, Auckland's and Dunedin Public Art Gallery's impressions of *Clement de Jonghe, printseller*, all discussed in the 'Rembrandt reworked' section of this paper. See *NHD*, vol. 1, cat. nos 127 and 153, pp. 204–06 and 246–48; *NHD*, vol. 2, cat. nos 184, 189, 196, 210, 233, 240, 264, 269, 279 and 283, pp. 57–58, 65–67, 79–80, 102–03, 137–39, 155–57, 201–04, 213–14, 231–32 and 238–40.
- 10 *NHD*, vol. 1, p. lix and cat. no. 88, p. 136.
  - 11 *Ibid.*, p. lix.
  - 12 *Ibid.*, p. lvi.
  - 13 Bishop Ditlev Monrad (1811–87) was a Danish statesman who departed Denmark in 1865 with his family to seek a peaceful life in New Zealand. He brought with him his collection of art treasures, which he later donated to the nation.
  - 14 *NHD*, vol. 2, cat. no. 266, pp. 207–08.
  - 15 *NHD*, vol. 1, cat. nos 23, 92 and 122, pp. 28–29, 145–46 and 195–96; *NHD*, vol. 2, cat. nos 173, 196, 265 and 269, pp. 39–41, 79–80, 205–06 and 213–14.
  - 16 Alison McQueen, *The rise of the cult of Rembrandt: reinventing an old master in nineteenth-century France*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003, p. 212.
  - 17 For example, see *NHD*, vol. 2, cat. no. 193, pp. 74–75.
  - 18 *NHD*, vol. 1, cat. no. 153, pp. 246–48; *NHD*, vol. 2, cat. nos 189, 240 and 286, pp. 65–67, 155–57 and 245–
  - 19 *NHD*, vol. 2, cat. no. 189, pp. 65–67.
  - 20 *Ibid.*, cat. nos 193 and 251, pp. 74–75 and 179–80.
  - 21 *Ibid.*, cat. nos 191 and 233, pp. 70–71 and 137–39.
  - 22 *NHD*, vol. 1, p. xlix.
  - 23 *Ibid.*, cat. no. 141, p. 227.
  - 24 *NHD*, vol. 2, cat. no. 193, pp. 74–75.
  - 25 McQueen, *The rise of the cult of Rembrandt*, p. 212.
  - 26 *Ibid.* While McQueen refers to the work as *Doctor Faust*, this title is taken from the *NHD*.
  - 27 *NHD*, vol. 2, cat. no. 184, pp. 57–58.
  - 28 Sir John Illott (1884–1973) was a New Zealand company director and philanthropist who donated his collection of etchings and engravings to the National Art Gallery (now Te Papa) in 1952.
  - 29 According to gallery records, Te Papa's impression of *The goldsmith* is either in the first state, by Rembrandt, or the second, not by Rembrandt. Due to the quality of the impression, neither I nor any Te Papa employee have been able to distinguish between the two. I include it in my count of reworkings, although acknowledge that it may eventually be concluded to be in a state wholly by Rembrandt. For more on the works not pictured in this article – namely Auckland Art Gallery's and Christchurch Art Gallery's *Peter and John healing the cripple at the gate of the temple*, and Dunedin Public Art Gallery's *Peasant family on the tramp* and its *Clement de Jonghe, printseller* – see respectively <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/14042/peter-and-john-healing-the-cripple-at-the-gates-of-the-temple>, <https://christchurchartgallery.org.nz/collection/69-265/rembrandt-harmenszoon-van-rijn/peter-and-john-healing-a-beggar-at-the-temple-gate>, <http://collection.dunedin.art.museum/search.do?view=detail&page=1&id=32879&db=object>, <http://collection.dunedin.art.museum/search.do?view=detail&page=1&id=39343&db=object>.
  - 30 *NHD*, vol. 2, cat. no. 293, pp. 261–63.
  - 31 *Ibid.*, cat. no. 281, pp. 235–37. While it is possible that this and other such impressions in New Zealand may be restrikes, further investigation of them and their paper is required to prove this.
  - 32 *Ibid.*, cat. no. 305, pp. 285–87.
  - 33 Timothy Clayton and Anita McConnell, 'Baillie, William (1723–1810)', *Oxford dictionary of national biography* [website], 2008, retrieved on 18 August 2020 from <https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1073?rskkey=gVmypq&result=5>.
  - 34 Hinterding, 'The history of Rembrandt's copperplates', pp. 271–72.
  - 35 *Ibid.*, p. 272.
  - 36 Baillie's third plate was for Rembrandt's printed portrait of *Cornelis Claesz. Anslo, preacher*. See *NHD*, vol. 2, cat. no. 197, pp. 81–83.
  - 37 *NHD*, vol. 2, cat. no. 172, pp. 36–38.
  - 38 *Ibid.*, Cat. no. 239, pp. 151–54.
  - 39 Hinterding, 'The history of Rembrandt's copperplates', p. 272.
  - 40 *Ibid.*
  - 41 *Ibid.*, pp. 301 and 305–06.
  - 42 *Ibid.*, p. 279.

- 43 Ibid., pp. 279–82. Hinterding asserts that while the Watelet–Basan collection largely remained intact, the plates for *The death of the Virgin and Christ disputing with the doctors: small plate* disappeared in the nineteenth century and 1961, respectively; see Hinterding, ‘The history of Rembrandt’s copperplates’, p. 305.
- 44 Hinterding, ‘The history of Rembrandt’s copperplates’, p. 279.
- 45 Ibid., pp. 280–81.
- 46 Ibid., p. 253.
- 47 Ibid., p. 284.
- 48 Mayer, *Collins dictionary of art terms and techniques*, p. 99.
- 49 This specifically excludes printed copies of paintings and drawings attributed to, and formerly attributed to, Rembrandt in New Zealand’s galleries, including Auckland Art Gallery’s *Tobias* by John Greenwood, *Moonlight and firelight* by Albin Martin, *Saint Anastasius* by Pieter de Bailliu, *Le pere de Rembrandt* by Pierre-Louis Surugue, and *The prophet Jeremiah mourning over the destruction of Jerusalem, Untitled (old woman)* and *Alterer mann mit halskette* (‘Old man with neckchain’) by Georg Friedrich Schmidt. It also excludes Te Papa’s photomechanical facsimiles of *Jan Six* and *Arnold Tholinx, inspector* by P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. Ltd.
- 50 *NHD*, vol. 6, p. viii.
- 51 Ibid., p. xii.
- 52 Anna Rigg, ‘Faking Rembrandt: copies in the collection’, Te Papa blog post, 16 February 2016, retrieved on 19 October 2020 from <https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2016/02/16/faking-rembrandt>.
- 53 *NHD*, vol. 6, p. x.
- 54 Anna Rigg, cited in Mark Stocker, ‘Self portrait by Rembrandt’, in: Collections online [website], September 2017, retrieved on 20 October 2020 from <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/37522>.
- 55 As part of their terms of use, the Alexander Turnbull Library request that I note the above image used to represent this work, accession number A-308-032, was taken by me.
- 56 As part of their terms of use, the Alexander Turnbull Library request that I note the above image used to represent this work, accession number A-308-031, was taken by me.
- 57 As part of their terms of use, the Alexander Turnbull Library request that I note the above image used to represent this work, accession number A-308-029, was taken by me.
- 58 I have attributed these works using *NHD* to identify and confirm their attributions. Where I have been unable to identify an impression’s creator via *NHD*, I give the attribution information recorded by their respective institution in online collections websites or records provided to me via the institutions themselves. Near the end of my initial research for my MA thesis, in which this article originated as a chapter, evidence emerged suggesting Auckland Art Gallery’s *Copy of Jan Antonides van der Linden* may be a late reworking from Rembrandt’s original plate. However, as no evidence has emerged proving this conclusively, the work is listed here as a copy. Furthermore, Dunedin Public Art Gallery’s *Copy of peasant family on the tramp* (Fig. 48) is currently attributed by the gallery to Charles Amand-Durand and listed as an etching. While Amand-Durand is known for his photogravure reproductions, there is insufficient information about the impression to confirm whether this work is a regular etching or photogravure. Therefore, although I am inclined to believe that the Dunedin impression may be a photogravure work, I include it here as a copy. Additionally, for more on the five works not pictured in this article, namely Auckland Art Gallery’s aforementioned *Copy of Jan Antonides van der Linden* by an unknown artist, and their *Copy of three studies of old men’s heads*, *Copy of self-portrait (?) with plumed cap and lowered sabre*, *Copy of self-portrait with Saskia* and *Copy of St Catherine* (‘The little Jewish bride’), all by Ignace Joseph De Claussin, see <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/9418/jan-antonides-van-der-linden-professor-of-medicine>, <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/9416/three-studies-of-old-mens-heads>, <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/9417/rembrandt-or-philips-van-dorp-with-plumed-cap-bust-in-oval>, <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/9415/rembrandt-and-his-wife-saskia-busts>, <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/9419/study-of-saskia-as-saint-catherine>.
- 59 Michael Dunn, *Roland Hipkins: artist/educator*, Napier: Hawke’s Bay Museum and Art Gallery, 2017, pp. 12–16.

- 60 Rigg, 'Faking Rembrandt'.
- 61 As part of their terms of use, the Alexander Turnbull Library request that I note the above image used to represent this work, accession number A-308-030, was taken by me.
- 62 For more on the nine works not pictured in this article, namely Christchurch Art Gallery's *Copy of the flute player* ('*Het uilespiegeltje*') by an unknown artist and Auckland Art Gallery's *Copy of old beggar woman with a gourd* by Mina Arndt, its *Copy of three oriental figures* ('*Jacob and Laban*') by an unknown artist, its *Copy of Christ disputing with the doctors: a sketch* possibly by Dominique Vivant, Baron Denon, and its *Copy of beggar seated warming his hands at a chafing dish*, *Copy of beggar man and beggar woman conversing*, *Copy of beggar leaning on a stick, facing left*, *Copy of the quacksalver* and *Copy of a peasant in a high cap, standing leaning on a stick*, all by François Vivares, see <https://christchurchartgallery.org.nz/collection/69-264/rembrandt-harmenszoon-van-rijn/the-flute-player-and-shepherdess>, <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/3718/study-after-rembrandt>, <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/9421/three-oriental-figures-reversed>, <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/9414/christ-disputing-with-the-doctors>, <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/9439/beggar-seated-warming-his-hands-at-a-chafing-dish-reversed>, <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/9437/beggar-man-and-beggar-woman-conversing>, <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/9440/beggar-leaning-on-a-stick-facing-left>, <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/9436/the-quacksalver>, <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/9438/a-peasant-in-a-high-cap-standing-leaning-on-a-stick>.
- 63 Mark Stocker, 'The artist's mother in widow's dress and black gloves', in: Collections online [website], September 2018, retrieved on 19 October 2020 from <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/768094>.
- 64 *NHD*, vol. 6, pp. xix–xx.
- 65 *NHD*, vol. 1, cat. no. 91, pp. 143–44; Despite the *NHD*'s attribution, Te Papa's Collections online lists Münz's attribution to Ferdinand Bol, and White and K.G. Boon's attribution to Karel van der Pluym. See Stocker, 'The artist's mother in widow's dress and black gloves'.
- 66 This attribution is made by Auckland Art Gallery. The *NHD* does not list such a copy.
- 67 Notably, Alexander Turnbull Library's copy corresponds with copy 'g' listed in the *NHD*, attributed to Vivant Denon. One of the impressions listed as an example held in the Rijksmuseum, however, is attributed to Pierre-François Basan. See *NHD*, vol. 1, cat. no. 113, pp. 177–80; *NHD*, vol. 6, cat. no. 113, pp. 152–63; Rijksmuseum, 'De Opwekking van Lazarus: Grote Plaat, Pierre-François Basan, after Rembrandt van Rijn, 1760–1781', [n.d.], retrieved on 25 August 2019 from <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-P-OB-12.280>.
- 68 Judith Nowinski, *Baron Dominique Vivant Denon (1747–1825): hedonist and scholar in a period of transition*, Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970, pp. 58–59.
- 69 *NHD*, vol. 1, pp. lxii–lxiii.
- 70 As part of their terms of use, the Alexander Turnbull Library request that I note the above image used to represent this work, accession number A-308-033, was taken by me.
- 71 Clifford S. Ackley, *Printmaking in the age of Rembrandt*, Meriden: Meriden Gravure Company, 1981, Cat. no. 164, p. 237.
- 72 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 'The flight into Egypt: altered from Segers', 2021, retrieved on 21 June 2019 from <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/109637/the-flight-into-egypt-altered-from-segers?sessionid=5C3D3679595312C4B48319289AE1C031>; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 'Rembrandt (Rembrandt van Rijn) Flight into Egypt: altered from Tobias and the angel by Hercules Segers', 2000–01, retrieved on 21 June 2019 from <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/370683>; Rijksmuseum, 'De vlucht naar Egypte: op een plaat van Seghers, Rembrandt van Rijn, 1651–1655', [n.d.], retrieved on 21 June 2019 from <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-P-1962-31>.
- 73 For a further exploration of this trend, see Chance Wilson, 'Rembrandt in Aotearoa: reconstructing the history of New Zealand's collections of prints by Rembrandt van Rijn', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 2019, pp. 93–99.
- 74 Hinterding suggests that Rembrandt may have sold many of his copperplates or delegated printing them to another figure to print in 1654. There is also academic debate over whether Rembrandt printed his own plates initially or had another figure do this, a question often linked to whether and when Rembrandt ever owned a printing press. While it is known that several of Rembrandt's plates were kept

or acquired by others during his own lifetime, the prospect of third-party printers hired by Rembrandt would muddy the argument over what constitutes authentic impressions and blur the delineation here between one impression Rembrandt had ordered to be printed and restrikes by other hands. That said, there is still the fine point of who ordered impressions to be printed, as well as who dictated how such impressions would be printed. This is pertinent, as Rembrandt was known to experiment with elements in the printing of his works, such as plate tone. Albeit a small delineation, such elements were key to the visual effects Rembrandt produced in his prints. As such, if these theories are proved correct, our criteria would shift to distinguish an impression where Rembrandt had creative control in its printing, versus those executed completely by another. Currently, however, most scholars generally believe Rembrandt printed most, if not all, of his own impressions. See Hinterding, *Rembrandt as an etcher*, vol. 1, pp. 35–42 and 141.

- 75 According to Hinterding, paper dating and identifying watermarks can differentiate Rembrandt's personal restrikes into various editions and distinguish his impressions from later restrikes by others. However, such studies have not been completed on prints attributed to Rembrandt in New Zealand; see Hinterding, *Rembrandt as an etcher*, vol. 1, pp. 16–18.

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