

Master Drawings



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A New Drawing by Rembrandt: *Study of a Seated Dog*

THOMAS DÖRING

Rembrandt (1606–1669) was fascinated by animals. They played a prominent role in his art, as is clear from his sketches and studies of live animals. He kept such drawings together in an album, described in his 1656 bankruptcy inventory as: “*een dito [boek] vol teekeninge van Rembrandt bestaende in beesten nae 't leven*” (“a ditto [book] full of drawings by Rembrandt of animals made from life”).¹ Of the apparently large number of such autograph animal drawings by Rembrandt that once existed, a small, but important group has been preserved—at least twenty-six examples according to the *catalogue raisonné* of Otto Benesch.² Lions, elephants, and pigs, for instance, are represented in several drawings by the master.

Until now, however, the only known study of a single dog is a pen-and-wash drawing of a *Sleeping Watchdog* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (see Fig. 7 below).³ I am now convinced that there is a second example of a canine, one that has never previously been associated with the artist: the unpublished *Study of a Seated Dog* in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig (Fig. 1).⁴ In the museum’s collection, this small, but pristinely preserved black chalk drawing, reproduced here actual size, bears a traditional attribution to the early eighteenth-century German animal painter Johann Melchior Roos (1663–1731). In this article, however, I would like to set out my reasons for situating the drawing within Rembrandt’s *oeuvre*.



THE DRAWING

The drawing depicts a small to medium-sized male dog, seated on the ground and turned to the right in an alert position. Its head is tilted to the right, and the animal looks up attentively, as if it had heard a voice or sound from somewhere outside the right margin. It is not a beautiful or refined dog, neither lapdog nor greyhound, but a working dog, whose hard life is visible. Its sturdy physique, broad head with rose ears, thick snout, and shaggy fur suggests that it may be one of the early continental breeds of the English terrier group.⁵ Because

Figure 1

Here attributed to
REMBRANDT

Study of a Seated
Dog

Braunschweig,
Herzog Anton
Ulrich-Museum

of their courage and fighting skill, these dogs were used to drive foxes and rats out of their hiding places. This activity is specifically indicated in the drawing by the dog's spiked collar—whose spikes were meant to keep a rodent's sharp teeth away from the dog's throat when fighting with a rat. It is possible that the oval shape drawn in front of the animal's chest is a ring suspended from the collar on which to attach a chain or leash.

The striking impression of vitality, the potential movement, and the dog's expression of rapt attention are the result of the straightforward, but also varied and entirely masterful style of drawing. Despite the apparent (and, given the subject, necessary) speed of the drawing process, there are four distinguishable stages of work here. First, an outline was quickly laid in, with the first minimal contour for the dog's back immediately revised by a second line drawn farther to the right. On the left foreleg, the initial delicate outlines are visible, around which the artist then evoked the physicality and irregularity of the animal's fur with a bewitching play of spirited and simultaneously realistically controlled looped lines. These drawn strokes reveal an expert knowledge of anatomical and physiological relationships, as can be seen in the area surrounding the ankles and paws of the forelegs, the thighs of the bent hind legs, and the slightly bushy tail resting on the ground. No stroke is superfluous or merely ornamental.

At the same time, the animal's inner spirit is conveyed through the head, delicately represented in detail, but without superficiality. Using subtly blended chalk, combined with very finely drawn curved lines, the artist indicated a play of light and shadow over the rounded area of the snout and differentiated between darker and lighter sections of fur. Tiny white spaces function as highlights in the indented dark black pupil of the animal's right eye and at the tip of its nose. Great expertise and originality can be seen in the drawing of the dog's left eye, with a well-observed curved line to render the upper eyelid, below which is a white space that suggests light reflected on the eyeball.

Light and shadow even determine the dog's appearance. As such, the artist did not linger on

the form of the far hind leg, but instead was satisfied with quickly hatched strokes in the shadow under the dog's body. To the right of this are a few fragmentary horizontal lines, which serve as an indication of the floor's surface.

The process no doubt ended with the pronounced accents that are drawn in heavy, dark black strokes, clearly done with the same medium. They enhance the lively characterization of the animal, as well as the contrasts of light and shadow. Their angular, sometimes zigzagging shapes radiate energy. We find these accents on the ears, the pupils, the jowls, and particularly the dog's genitals. When seen in raking light, these accents, which were pressed very hard into the paper, have an unobtrusive sheen.⁶

THE PROVENANCE

The drawing is preserved among the Braunschweig museum's "*erste Garnitur*," or first-rate works.⁷ It is currently stored with other works by or attributed to Johann Melchior Roos, specifically his studies of dogs and bears (e.g., Fig. 2).⁸ According to a pencil note on the verso of the dog study, the drawing was previously pasted on folio 29 of *Sammelband 13*, a volume assembled in 1772.⁹ Volume 13, described in the 1785 inventory of drawings as containing "German drawings,"¹⁰ still exists (Fig. 3),¹¹ but only 43 of its original 375 drawings are still preserved in it. At some point after 1868, the *Study of a Seated Dog* was removed from the album along with its thick blue folio sheet.

The attribution to Johann Melchior Roos dates at least as far back as the completion of Volume 13, where "Roos" or "Johann Melchior Ross" was written in pen above the drawing. In the register of artists represented in the collection made a decade later, in 1795, additional drawings are listed by other members of the Roos family of animal painters from the Palatinate, including Johann Melchior's father and the founder of the dynasty, Johann Heinrich Roos (1631–1685), who spent a few years as an apprentice in Amsterdam, having fled from the Thirty Years' War (1618–48).¹² According to the 1795 register, Volumes 12 and 20 included work by Johann Heinrich, Johann Melchior, Philipp Peter Roose

Figure 2

JOHANN
MELCHIOR ROOS

Dogs in a Park

Braunschweig,
Herzog Anton
Ulrich-Museum



(1657–1706), as well as by “Johann Friedrich Roos” (an artist erroneously created by Jacob Campo Weyerman).¹³ That register lists an individual drawing by Johann Melchior Roos in Volume 13, though it states that it was found on folio 24 (not folio 29).¹⁴

We can but speculate about the precise route by which the drawing entered the Kupferstichkabinett before 1800. The Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum was founded in 1754 as an art and natural history collection, and between 1770 and 1773, its drawings collection underwent a rigorous period of expansion, exactly when the *Study of a Seated Dog* was pasted into the volume. This expansion was carried out on behalf of Karl I, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1713–1780)—who personally approved each acquisition—by the curator or “secretary” of the collection, Johann Gottfried Hoefler (1719–1796), who purchased large bundles of drawings, sometimes even whole collections, often with very inconsistent levels of quality.¹⁵ Given its early position in the extensive Roos holdings, the dog study may have been part of the collection of drawings of a certain “Lieutenant von Schauroth,” which the duke acquired in 1772 for 150 *Reichsthaler*. As Hoefler



wrote to the duke on 27 January 1772, he had found at least 200 “good ones” in the collection, said to be “probably worth 200 *Reichsthaler*,” with “a particularly large number of drawings by Roos, Bömmel [van Bemmell], and Ermels.”¹⁶ The surviving exchange of correspondence between the duke and Hoefler shows that the collection had been inherited and divided between Lt. Schauroth and his brothers. In fact, during those years there were three officers from this family in the ducal military service of Braunschweig: Ernst Heinrich von Schauroth, August von Schauroth, and Friedrich Philipp von Schauroth.¹⁷

Figure 3

Volume 13 of the
drawing collection

Braunschweig,
Herzog Anton
Ulrich-Museum

Although it is entirely speculative (though not impossible), it could be that the link with the name “Roos” is one of ownership rather than alleged authorship. Like his father, Johann Melchior Roos spent some time in the Netherlands, enrolling in 1684 in the drawing academy established by Pictura in The Hague,¹⁸ and he may have died in Braunschweig,¹⁹ where works by both him and his father were avidly collected by Anton Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1633–1714), and by his great-grandson Karl I.²⁰

THE ATTRIBUTION TO REMBRANDT

When compared with thematically related drawings securely assigned to Johann Melchior Roos (e.g., see Fig. 2 above),²¹ it is clear that the *Study of a Seated Dog* cannot be by him. The similarities go no further than parallels in subject matter; the drawing’s freedom, skill, and intensity of expression cannot be found in any of Johann Melchior Roos’ work. The same applies to other members of his family. It thus comes as no surprise that, unlike other drawings in the Braunschweig holdings, this sheet has been ignored by Roos scholars.

If the *Study of a Seated Dog* seems better situated in the Netherlands, we can also exclude on sty-

listic grounds several Dutch candidates renowned for their chalk animal studies, such as Cornelis Saffleven (1607–1681), Paulus Potter (1625–1654), and Simon de Vlieger (1601–1653), whose styles differ fundamentally from that of the *Study of a Seated Dog*. On the other hand, a general match can be found in the drawing technique, mode of expression, and intention in Rembrandt’s few remaining chalk studies of animals, especially one of the two studies of an Asian elephant in the Albertina, Vienna, which was signed and dated by Rembrandt in 1637 (Fig. 4).²² This is one of four surviving chalk studies of the famous Hansken, a female elephant from Ceylon that toured Europe from 1637 to 1655, when she died in Florence.²³

Rembrandt’s drawing of the huge animal, which uses light and shadow to evoke an almost palpable depiction of the wrinkly pachyderm, provides a good comparison for the *Study of a Seated Dog*. In both cases, the layers of lines can be differentiated, from delicate outlines to the heavy, dark black accents that emphasize both the physicality and the surface texture. On the elephant’s chest, these black accents employ the characteristic zigzagging that we also see on the dog’s jowls. Like the Braunschweig drawing, these heavy, indented accents have a metallic shimmer when

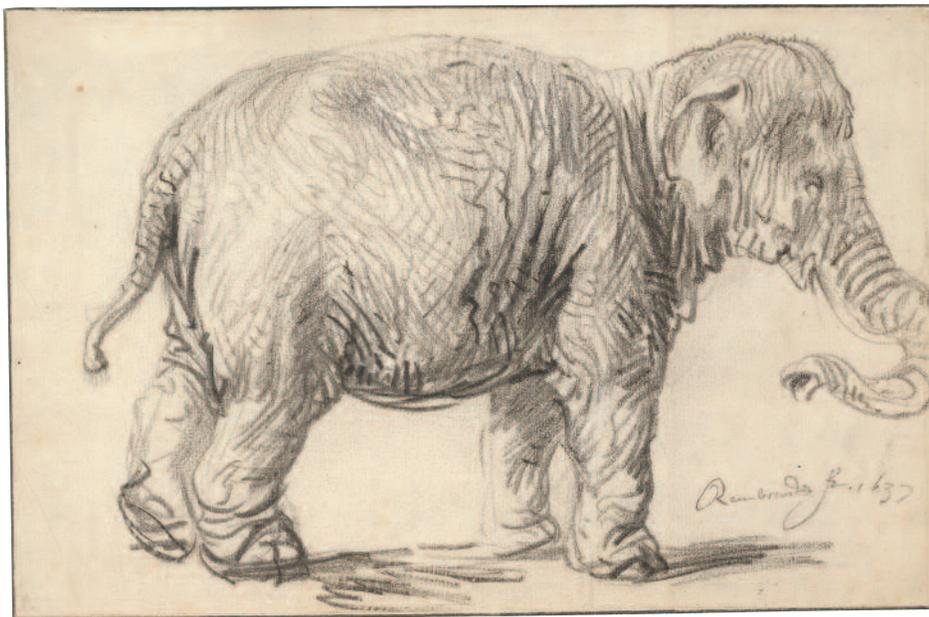


Figure 4
REMBRANDT
Elephant
Vienna, Albertina

seen in raking light.²⁴ The looped strokes around the legs and feet and the fine modeling of the head with a bright space to suggest a luminous eye are also similar. As a less finished, rough sketch, the *Study of a Seated Dog* also resembles the second elephant study in the Albertina (Fig. 5),²⁵ in which Rembrandt depicted the animal in three states of motion with a keeper alongside.

Also comparable in terms of its economy, freedom, and suggestiveness is Rembrandt's drawing of *Two Horses at a Halting-place* in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (Fig. 6).²⁶ Apart from the partial revision added in red chalk, that drawing, which was quickly jotted down from life, has parallels to all of the characteristics we have identified in the dog study in Braunschweig—for instance the looped strokes around the ankles and hooves, the hastily sketched base of the drinking trough, as well as the final, energetic, indented zigzag hatching (also shimmering in the light), and the finer surface modeling of the front horse's head. Even details such as the efficient suggestion of the animal's eyes by limiting the curved line of the upper



Figure 5

REMBRANDT
Three Studies of
an Elephant, with
a Keeper
Vienna, *Albertina*



Figure 6

REMBRANDT
Two Horses at a
Halting-place
Amsterdam,
Rijksprentenkabinet

eyelid (on the front horse) or through a slightly angular chalk dot pressed into the paper with a tiny reflected light in it (on the back horse) are directly comparable. The same applies to the artist's decision not to render the forelegs of the farthest horse in detail but simply to indicate them with quick hatching, like the few strategically placed lines used to evoke the ground. Opinions on the dating of *Two Horses at a Halting-place* vary. Otto Benesch and Peter Schatborn assigned it to the same period as the elephant study of 1637. Martin Royalton-Kisch, on the other hand, considered it to be a work from his Leiden period (c. 1628–29) on account of the combined use of black and red chalk.

What do these comparisons mean in terms of the dating of the Braunschweig *Study of a Seated Dog*? Let us shift our focus from the realm of animal studies to Rembrandt's chalk drawings of human heads and figures. Regardless of differences of subject matter, we almost always find the various traits singled out here in drawings that are assigned on solid grounds to the period c. 1637. Particularly strong parallels are found in *Three Studies of Men in Fur Caps* in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam,²⁷ drawn on the verso of an impression of the etching *Bearded Man in a High Fur Cap, Eyes Closed*.²⁸ This etching, in turn, is closely related to four other etched oriental heads, the first and third of which are dated 1635.²⁹ Although Rembrandt used chalk more often in the 1640s than he did in the 1630s,³⁰ it seems impossible to date the *Study of a Seated Dog* in the late 1640s, when Rembrandt's chalk drawings feature a straighter and more sober line.

In light of the proposed authorship of the Braunschweig drawing to Rembrandt, one final possibility must be ruled out, namely that it is a work of his school. To my mind, the intuitive sureness of the lines, with no wavering and no hint of digression toward the decorative, speaks in favor of the master. The line is never an end in itself, but focuses gesture by gesture—even in terms of its restraint—only on what is necessary for the purposes of representation. Rembrandt's pupil Govert Flinck (1615–1660) used similar zigzag accents in his chalk drawings of the late 1630s,³¹

but they are never as powerfully spontaneous, nor as compelling in their rendition of bodies and surfaces in light and shadow. To a greater extent, this also applies to the work of Rembrandt imitators of the eighteenth century, such as Ludwig Wilhelm Busch (1703–1772), who also worked in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.³²

REPRESENTATIONS OF DOGS IN REMBRANDT'S WORK

Rembrandt's wash drawing of a *Sleeping Watchdog* in Boston (Fig. 7),³³ like the Braunschweig sheet, is not a depiction of a lapdog, but rather of a working dog, in this case chained up in his doghouse. This breed also hunts rats, which is why it has either rose or cropped ears. The Boston drawing was dated by Benesch to 1633, too early according to most modern scholars, and then more accurately by Clifford S. Ackley to 1637–40 (i.e., to the same period as here proposed for the Braunschweig study). The fact that Rembrandt in 1639–40 used the *Sleeping Watchdog* as a starting point for an etching,³⁴ which concentrates entirely on the animal without any embellishments, reflects the high importance he attached to the dog as a subject in his work.

Ackley concisely summarized this focus: "Rembrandt's narrative works, particularly his biblical etchings, are alive with dogs as spectators and participants, as a foil to the spiritual events, or as an aspect of his desire to more firmly ground the extraordinary in everyday reality."³⁵ The role of animals in his historical compositions should be the subject of its own study,³⁶ but cannot be pursued any further in the context of this article. In short, only this: in the 1630s in particular, Rembrandt loved to enrich the composition of a painting or an etching with a dog, sometimes depicted in a seated position like that of the drawing presented here. This also applies, for instance, to the poodle-like dog at the painter's feet in the *Self-portrait in Oriental Attire* (1631) in the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris;³⁷ the striking repoussoir figure of a defecating dog in the etching of the *Good Samaritan* (1633);³⁸ or the seated dog on a leash in the etched *Strolling Musicians* (c. 1635).³⁹ The striking emphasis on the genitals in the Braunschweig drawing can be found

Figure 7

REMBRANDT

Sleeping
Watchdog

Boston, Museum of
Fine Arts



Figure 8 (below)

REMBRANDT

Barking Dog;
detail from “The
Nightwatch”

Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum

especially in Rembrandt’s depiction of dogs from the late 1630s, as in the etchings of *Joseph Telling His Dreams* (1638)⁴⁰ and the *Presentation in the Temple* (c. 1640),⁴¹ as well as the painting of *The Visitation* (1640) in the Detroit Institute of Arts,⁴² in which the dog placed in front of the main figure group is inspired by Dürer’s woodcut of *The Visitation* in his *Life of the Virgin* series.⁴³

If we look for a dog in Rembrandt’s work that comes close to the breed depicted in the *Study of a Seated Dog*, we must turn to the wildly barking and jumping dog at lower right of *The Nightwatch* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam,⁴⁴ which was completed in 1642. Even if the dog in this group portrait is only vaguely visible because of the thin paint (Fig. 8), it is still clear that it is a terrier-like animal that is particularly comparable to the Braunschweig drawing in terms of body type, fur, and blunt snout, though it appears to have drop ears instead of rose ears.⁴⁵ For all of these etched and painted dogs, Rembrandt must have relied at



least to some extent on his previously drawn stock of sketches and studies. The *Study of a Seated Dog* presented here as an autograph work of the master might well once have belonged to his album of “beesten nae ’t leven.”

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

This study was undertaken in connection with the project to digitize the Braunschweig drawings collection for the *Virtual Cabinet of Drawings*, funded by the Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, which will be accessible in the online database *Virtual Print Room* (see <http://www.virtuelles-kupferstichkabinett.de>). I owe my deepest debt of gratitude to Peter Schatborn and Holm Bevers, who discussed my discovery in detail with me and encouraged me to publish it in these pages. I presented an initial short summary of my findings at the annual meeting of the heads of the graphic collections in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland held on 5 June 2015 at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne. In the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Kristina Liedtke, assisted by Britta Goldbach and Daniela Herwig, bolstered my research from the technical, paper conservation side. Claus Cordes and Ursula Mangholz insured excellent photographic images. I would like to thank Karen Buttler for our numerous methodological conversations and, with Antje Döring, for critically reading over my text. For information on the history of the collection at Braunschweig, I am grateful to Christian von Heusinger. For advice on dogs, my thanks go to Marina Miermeister and to Claudia Kamcke and Ulrich Joger from the Staatliche Naturhistorische Museum, Braunschweig. Additional help and support were received from, among others, Clifford S. Ackley, Irene Brückle, Albert J. Elen, David Klemm, Thomas Klinke, Ger Luijten, Christof Metzger, Eva Michel, Olivia Savatier-Sjöholm, Marijn Schapelhouman, Elisabeth Thobois, and Gregor J. M. Weber.

EDITORS' NOTE

Translated from the German by Sharmila Cohen.

NOTES

1. See Walter L. Strauss and Marjon van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents*, New York, 1979, no. 1656/12; and Bob van den Boogert, ed., *Rembrandt's Schatkamer*, exh. cat., Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis, 1999, p. 150, no. 249.
2. See Otto Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt: A Critical and Chronological Catalogue*, London, 1954–57, 6 vols., nos. 453–61, 774–84, and 1211–1216, all repr.
3. Inv. no. 56.519 (Purchase: John H. and Ernestine A. Payne Fund). Pen and brown ink, with brown wash and touches of opaque white; 143 x 168 mm; see Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 455, fig. 510; Clifford S. Ackley et al., *Rembrandt's Journey: Painter, Draftsman, Etcher*, exh. cat. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, and Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, 2003–4, no. 54 (text by Clifford S. Ackley), repr. (in color); and www.mfa.org/collections. IMAGE: © 2016 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
4. Inv. no. Z 719. Black chalk; framing line in black ink; 82 x 99 mm. WATERMARK: None. My recognition of the drawing's connection to Rembrandt, alas, came too late for it to be included in the critical catalogue of the museum's holdings of drawings by Rembrandt and his school; see Thomas Döring et al., *Aus Rembrandts Kreis: Die Zeichnungen des Braunschweiger Kupferstichkabinetts*, exh. cat., Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 2006. IMAGE: © Photo Department of the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig.
5. See Tom Horner, *Terriers of the World: Their History and Characteristics*, London, 1984; Ger. trans. as *Terrier der Welt: Ihre Geschichte und Merkmale*, Mürlenbach, 1984, pp. 11–14; see also Hans Räber, *Enzyklopädie der Rassehunde*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1995, vol. 2, pp. 14–15.
6. At this stage, the cause of this sheen, normally associated with charcoal or graphite rather than pure chalk, but discernible under raking light in other Rembrandt chalk drawings from the 1630s, cannot be determined, though the top layer of accents was the subject of a morphological examination and digital photo documentation under a microscope at 32x magnification by Kristina Liedtke and Verena Herwig at the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum. They followed the methodological protocol recommended in Georg Josef Dietz and Irene Brückle, "Distinguishing between Charcoal and Natural Chalk in Old Master Drawings," in Gerhard Banik, ed., *Wege zur Konservierungswissenschaft: Projekte am Studiengang Restaurierung und Konservierung von Graphik, Archiv- und Bibliotheksgut, Staatliche Akademie der Bildenden Künste, 2000–2008*, Munich, 2010, pp. 54–56. See also Sabine Zorn, "Zeichenmittel und Papiere Stefano della Bellas: Eine materialtechnische Untersuchung," in David Klemm, ed., *Von der Schönheit der Linie: Stefano della Bella als Zeichner*, exh. cat., Hamburg, Kunsthalle, 2013–14, pp. 21–29.
7. In 1977 the drawing was assigned its inventory number and mounted. No other attributions are documented on the mount, on the filing card, in the inventory book, or in the print room's documentation.
8. Inv. no. Z 449. Red chalk; 431 x 568 mm; see Christian

- von Heusinger, ed., *Deutsche Kunst des Barock*, exh. cat., Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1975, no. 100, repr.; and Hermann Jedding, *Johann Heinrich Roos: Werke einer Pfälzer Tiermalerfamilie in den Galerien Europas*, Mainz, 1998, p. 241, fig. 349. Signed and dated at lower left, in red chalk, *JMRoos F. 1692*. IMAGE: © Photo Department of the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig.
9. Also inscribed on the verso, in a modern hand, *Inventar der Handzeichnungen*. The volume used to assemble the contents of *Sammelband 13*, of royal folio format, could have been among the empty volumes that were delivered to the ducal Kupferstichkabinett by the bookbinder Wiedemann between January and July 1772; see Christian von Heusinger, *Die Handzeichnungssammlung, II: Geschichte und Bestand (Katalog zu Tafelband I), mit einem Beitrag von Reinhold Wex*, Braunschweig, 1997, p. 41, doc. nos. 161 and 168, p. 44 (under “Ergänzungen”).
 10. For the inventory, see sign. H 27 in the archives of the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum.
 11. Inv. no. H 27, Bd. 13; see Von Heusinger 1997, pp. 74–75. IMAGE: © Photo Department of the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig.
 12. Johann Heinrich Roos was in Amsterdam from 1640 until 1651–52; see Jedding 1998, pp. 9–12.
 13. See Georg Kaspar Nagler, *Neues Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, vol. 13, Munich, 1843, p. 353.
 14. This inconsistency could be explained by the fact that Anton Konrad Friedrich Ahrens, who wrote the register, made a mistake or omission, for it can be demonstrated that the written register does not include all the drawings in the collection, which was then organized into volumes; see Von Heusinger 1997, pp. 32 and 57.
 15. See Von Heusinger 1997, pp. 26–30 and 38–43; and Thomas Döring, “Das Kupferstichkabinett unter Carl I,” in Jochen Luckhardt, ed., *Das Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum und seine Sammlungen 1578, 1754, 2004*, Munich, 2004, pp. 185–89.
 16. Cited from Von Heusinger 1997, p. 44.
 17. Ducal administrative documents on the military careers of these officers can be found in the Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Wolfenbüttel, for instance, under inv. nos. NLA WO 4 Alt 19 no. 1638, NLA WO 3 Alt no. 626, NLA WO 2 Alt no. 3237, NLA WO 3 Alt no. 692, NLA WO 3 Alt no. 723, and NLA WO 3 Alt no. 564. I would like to thank the archive’s director, Dr. Brage Bei der Wieden, for his helpful advice.
 18. See Jedding 1998, pp. 229–35.
 19. See Joachim Jacoby, *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum: Die deutschen Gemälde des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Braunschweig, 1989, p. 199; see also Jedding 1998, p. 255 (place of death probably Kassel).
 20. See Jacoby 1989, pp. 195–205; and Jedding 1998, pp. 230–31.
 21. For other black or red chalk animal drawings by Johann Melchior Roos, see *ibid.*, pp. 240–41, 246, 249, and 251, figs. 346–48, 359, 362, and 369; see also Margarete Jarchow, *Roos: Eine deutsche Künstlerfamilie des 17. Jahrhunderts*, exh. cat., Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 1986–87.
 22. Inv. no. 17558. Black chalk; 233 x 354 mm; see Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 457, fig. 515; Klaus Albrecht Schröder and Marian Bisanz-Prakken, eds., *Rembrandt*, exh. cat., Vienna, Albertina, 2004, no. 7, repr. (in color); and <http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at>. Signed and dated at lower right, in black chalk, *Rembrandt fi. 1637*. IMAGE: © Albertina, Vienna.
 23. On the subject of Hansken, see Michiel Roscam Abbing, *Rembrandt’s Elephant: The Story of Hansken*, Amsterdam, 2006. For the other three studies of her by Rembrandt, see Note 25 (the second study in the Albertina); *An Elephant with a Group of Spectators in the Background* in the British Museum, London (inv. no. Gg.2.259; black chalk, with accents in charcoal; 179 x 256 mm; see Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 459, fig. 517; Martin Royalton-Kisch, *Catalogue of Drawings by Rembrandt and His School in the British Museum*, London, 2010, no. 19 [likely 1641, on the occasion of Hansken’s return to Holland], at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/rembrandt_drawings/drawings_by_rembrandt.aspx); and the black chalk counterproof of a lost drawing in the Morgan Library & Museum, New York (inv. no. I, 205; 194 x 188 mm; see Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 460, fig. 514; Jane Shoaf Turner, with Felice Stampfle, *Dutch Drawings in the Pierpont Morgan Library: Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, New York, 2006, no. 213, repr.; and www.themorgan.org/search/drawings).
 24. The accents on the top layer of the two Viennese elephant studies were also examined and documented photographically under a microscope at 32x magnification. The similarity is remarkable but, in the absence of a broader reference pool of corresponding microscopic images of chalk drawings by Rembrandt and his students and imitators, the images recorded in Vienna and Braunschweig have been deliberately left out of the scope of this article. It is worth noting, however, that Martin Royalton-Kisch described the presence of charcoal to strengthen the darkest shadows in the British Museum black chalk drawing of an elephant (see Note 23), an unusual combination seen in drawings usually dated to the early 1640s.
 25. Inv. no. 8900. Black chalk; 239 x 354 mm; see Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 458, fig. 516; Vienna 2004, no. 70, repr. (in color); and <http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at>. IMAGE: © Albertina, Vienna.
 26. Inv. no. RP-T-1961-77. Black and red chalks; 173 x 273 mm; see Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 461 (c. 1637), fig. 518; Peter Schatborn, *Catalogus van de Nederlandse tekeningen in het Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, IV: Tekeningen van Rembrandt, zijn onbekende*

- leerlingen en navolgers / *Catalogue of the Dutch and Flemish Drawings in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, IV: Drawings by Rembrandt, His Anonymous Pupils and Followers*, The Hague, 1985, no. 16 (c. 1637), repr.; Martin Royaltan-Kisch, "An Early Drawing by Jan Lievens," *Master Drawings*, 29, no. 3, 1991, pp. 410–15 (c. 1628–29); Vienna 2004, no. 69 (c. 1628–29), repr. (in color); and www.rijksmuseum.nl.
27. Inv. no. R 84 recto (PK). Black chalk; 121 x 105 mm; see Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 370 (c. 1637), fig. 417; Albert J. Elen, *Rembrandt in Rotterdam: Drawings of Rembrandt and His Circle in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen*, 2005, no. 9, repr. (in color); and [http://collectie.boijmans.nl/en/collection/r-84-recto-\(pk\)](http://collectie.boijmans.nl/en/collection/r-84-recto-(pk)).
28. B. 290; see Erik Hinterding and Jaco Rutgers, *The New Hollstein Dutch Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, c. 1470–1700: Rembrandt*, 7 vols., Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2013, no. 148, repr.
29. B. 286 and B. 288; see Hinterding and Rutgers 2013, nos. 149 and 151, both repr.
30. See William W. Robinson, "Five Black Chalk Figure Studies by Rembrandt," *Master Drawings*, 36, no. 1, 1998, pp. 36–44; and idem, "A Black Chalk Drawing by Rembrandt," in Achim Gnann und Heinz Widauer, eds., *Festschrift für Konrad Oberhuber*, Milan, 2000, pp. 303–6.
31. Cf. Flinck's signed and dated drawing of a *Man in Middle Eastern Costume Standing in a Landscape*, of 1638, in the Abrams Album in the Maida and George Abrams Collection, Fogg Museum, Cambridge, MA (inv. no. 1999.123.46; black chalk on vellum; 152 x 110 mm); see Holm Bevers *et al.*, *Drawings by Rembrandt and His Pupils: Telling the Difference*, exh. cat., Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009–10, pp. 62–63, fig. 3a (in color); Peter Schatborn, "The Early, Rembrandtesque Drawings of Govert Flinck," *Master Drawings*, 48, no. 1, 2010, pp. 7 and 13, fig. 1 (in color); and William W. Robinson, "The Abrams Album: An Album Amicorum of Dutch Drawings from the Seventeenth Century," *Master Drawings*, 53, no. 1, 2015, p. 48, fig. 43 (in color).
32. Besides his work as an artist (see his imitations of Rembrandt etchings in Hinterding and Rutgers 2013, no. 148d, repr.; and his drawings in Döring 2006, p. 13, fig. 4), Busch was also the administrator of the ducal picture gallery at Schloss Salzdahlum; see Alfred Walz, "Das Zeitalter des aufgeklärten Absolutismus (1735–1806)," in Luckhardt (ed.) 2004, p. 133. Busch also collected Old Master drawings, of which 265 sheets were purchased for the ducal print room; see Von Heusinger 1997, pp. 28 and 43, doc. no. 182.
33. See Note 3.
34. B. 158; see Erik Hinterding *et al.*, *Rembrandt, the Printmaker*, exh. cat., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, and London, British Museum 2000–2001, no. 37 (c. 1640), repr.; and Hinterding and Rutgers 2013, no. 180 (c. 1640), repr.
35. See Boston and Chicago 2003–4, p. 122.
36. See, for instance, the exemplary chapter on dogs in the work of Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) in Colin Eisler, *Dürer's Animals*, Washington, DC, and London, 1991 (Ger. trans. as *Dürers Arche Noah*, Munich, 1996, pp. 179–99).
37. Inv. no. PDUT00925 (oil on panel; 63 x 56 cm); see Josua Bruyn *et al.*, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, 6 vols., The Hague and elsewhere, 1982–2011, vol. 1, no. A 40, repr. (in color); and www.petitpalais.paris.fr/en/collections. On the role of the dog in this self-portrait, see Christopher White and Quentin Buvelot, eds., *Rembrandt by Himself*, exh. cat., London, National Gallery, and The Hague, Mauritshuis, 1999–2000, no. 29a, repr. (in color).
38. B. 90; see Hinterding and Rutgers 2013, no. 116, repr.
39. B. 119; see *ibid.*, no. 141, repr.
40. B. 37; see *ibid.*, no. 167, repr.
41. B. 49; see *ibid.*, no. 184, repr.
42. Inv. no. 27.200 (oil on panel; 56.5 x 47.9 cm); see Bruyn *et al.* 1982–2011, vol. 3, no. A 138, repr. (in color); and www.dia.org.
43. B. 84; see Rainer Schoch *et al.*, *Albrecht Dürer: Das druckgraphische Werk*, 3 vols., Munich, 2001–4, vol. 2, no. 174, repr.
44. Inv. no. SK-C-5 (oil on canvas; 379.5 x 453.5 cm); see Bruyn *et al.* 1982–2011, vol. 3, no. A 146, repr. (in color); and www.rijksmuseum.nl. As Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann explained (*Rembrandt: The Nightwatch*, Princeton, 1982, p. 106, n. 112), a dog is among the traditional subjects of militia pieces, symbolizing vigilance and loyalty: "Despite Rembrandt's probable awareness of its symbolic function, this mongrel, loudly barking at the militiamen, is a humoristic and light-hearted interpretation of the tradition." The dog in *The Nightwatch* was also understood as a playful motif by Jürgen Müller (*Der sokratische Künstler: Studien zu Rembrandts "Nachtwache"*, Leiden and Boston 2014, pp. 87–88), albeit for different reasons, for he saw it as an intentional artistic transformation of a motif in Raphael's *School of Athens*, its position corresponding with that of the figure of Diogenes in the *School of Athens*, providing a literal allusion to the meaning of the school of the Cynics.
45. Related in terms of motif and compositional pose is the lively dog in the etched *Triumph of Mordecai* (c. 1641; B. 40); see Hinterding and Rutgers 2013, no. 185, repr.