

cat. no. 1

Jacob Adriaensz Backer

Harlingen 1608/09 – 1651 Amsterdam

Tronie of a Bearded Man with a Large Beret

Signed lower right: JAB (in ligature)

Oil on panel

66 x 51 cm.

Provenance:

Vienna, collection professor Eduard Mahler (1857-1945), by descent

Brazil, collection of Mahler's daughter, from 1930 onward, thence by decent, until 2020

Literature:

Unpublished

Jacob Backer

Jacob Backer was born in 1608 into a Mennonite family in Harlingen, a university town in Friesland.¹ Shortly after Jacob's birth his mother Hilcke Volckertsdr died, and when his father Adriaen Tjercksz, a baker (hence the name Backer, which the siblings later adopted), re-married Elsge Roelofs from Amsterdam in 1611, the family moved there. Elsge, a well-to-do widow, owned a thriving bakery at the Nieuwendijk (current house number 6) where many Mennonites lived. When she died in 1614, Adriaen inherited both the house and a considerable sum of money. Backer thus grew up in a comfortable middle-class environment. It is not known to whom he was first apprenticed, yet it has been suggested with good reason that it might have been the painter Jan Pynas (1581-1631), who co-owned a house down the street and taught Backer's documented friend and peer Steven van Goor (1608-c. 1660).² In the later half of the 1620s Backer moved back to Friesland, to Leeuwarden. There he joined the workshop of the Mennonite teacher, painter and art entrepreneur Lambert Jacobsz (c. 1593/94-1636), whose family held close relations with the Backer/Roelofs family and who, like Backer, grew up at the Amsterdam Nieuwendijk before set-

ting in the north in 1621. Around 1628 Jacobsz resolved upon an ambitious business expansion, probably the reason he needed capable assistance: Backer and the younger Govert Flinck (1615-1660). In addition to producing smaller paintings in the style of the so-called 'Pre-Rembrandtists' (Jacobsz might have studied with Jan Pynas as well), he then embarked on a second line of large-figure history works, inspired by the work of Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) from Antwerp, Jan Lievens (1607-1674) from Leiden, Pieter de Grebber (c. 1600-1652/53) from Haarlem, and the Utrecht Caravaggists.³ Whereas Flinck was an actual apprentice, Backer's role was that of chief assistant, who was allowed considerable freedom. Backer and Flinck stayed with Jacobsz until 1632/33. At that point, as Arnold Houbraken states, both 'were so advanced that they could spread their wings [...] and move to Amsterdam'.⁴ Whereas Flinck succeeded Rembrandt (1606-1669) in 1635 as *chef d'atelier* in the studio of the ambitious art entrepreneur Hendrick Uylenburgh (1587-1661) who held business ties with Lambert Jacobsz, Backer settled independently and achieved fame among the Amsterdam elite as a painter of fashionable large-scale histories, portraits, and bust size





Fig. 1 Jacob Backer, *The Drinker (Allegory of Taste)*, c. 1634/35, oil on panel, 71.5 x 60 cm., Berlin, Gemäldegalerie

tronies, painted with a swift hand and feeling for colour. Accordingly, he received important commissions for large group portraits.⁵ Backer remained a bachelor all his life. In August 1651, shortly after adopting the Remonstrant faith and at the age of only 42 years old, he died and was buried in the Noorderkerk.

Upon his return to Amsterdam in the early 1630s, Backer found the artistic landscape of his hometown to have drastically changed. When he left in the later 1620s, Pieter Lastman (1583-1633) and his circle had dominated the scene with their medium-figure history works. The portraiture market was in the hands of the capable if conservative Cornelis van der Voort (1576-) and his pupils Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy (1588-1650) and Thomas de Keyser (1596-1667), while genre painters such



Fig. 2 Jacob Backer, *Old Man with a Mirror Fragment (Allegory of Sight)*, oil on panel, 71.5 x 60.5 cm., Berlin, Gemäldegalerie

as Pieter Codde (1599-1678), David Vinckboons (1576-1631) and Willem Duyster (1599-1635) produced small-figure genre works. Head studies, *tronies* and related fanciful busts such as those painted in Antwerp, Leiden, Haarlem and Utrecht were hardly produced in Amsterdam. This all changed in 1631/32, with the arrival of Rembrandt. Backer, who had acquainted himself with Rembrandt's work in Leeuwarden, became Rembrandt's main competitor in Amsterdam's single bust *tronie* market. In the following years Backer – in a manner that was completely his own – painted a motley crew of greybeards, saints, philosophers, shepherds, shepherdesses, and other men and women dressed in fanciful cloaks and velvet feathered hats. The present bust, a recent discovery and a marvelous addition to Backer's oeuvre, fits in with this group.

The Bearded Man

Against a dark green background, an imposing, ruddy-bearded and longhaired man, his head turned rightwards, peers out at us with curiosity, from underneath a rather large brown beret. Over his white undergarment this man wears a greenish-grey doublet, covered by a brown fur-lined cloak, which is fastened by gold brocade braids on the chest. Narrow-framed in the picture plane, his presence is direct and intense. While essentially good-natured, he exudes a robust stoutness. This is partly due to his commanding physique, but it goes hand in hand with the engaging painterly qualities of Backer's brushwork, specifically in the *peinture* of the face. Possibly more than anywhere else in his oeuvre, Backer displays his turbulent side here. The beard and the moustache are built up from an irregular variety of lighter and darker brown curls, the mouth is rendered with a bold dark smear above the pink of the lower lip, and the eyes and eyelids – trademark Backer – are executed with admirable swiftness. Still, Backer's brilliance shows most of all in the impasto of the incarnate. Rough, patchy and dynamic, with thick highlights alternating with open areas of ground layer to three-dimensional effect, it is the result of spirited intuition, as much as skillful execution.

Chronologically, the present painting seems to belong to the mid-1630s as it fits in with other such works by Backer from that period. Two busts in Berlin, datable to c. 1634/35 and representing the senses *Taste* (a man holding an empty glass) and *Sight* (an old man looking at a shard of glass) show, although not to the same extent, a similar bravura (figs. 1, 2).⁶ In the sitter of *Taste* (a.k.a. *The Drinker*), moreover, we might well recognize the same model, whose traits also occur – to various extents – elsewhere in Backer's work. We find similar traits, for instance, in the 1640 (or 1641?) dated *Portrait of a Man with a Velvet Beret* (fig. 3).⁷ Although the latter *tronie* belongs to a subsequent phase in Backer's development, it sets the timeframe for our picture, which should likely be dated c. 1634-1637.

Iconographically, the *Bearded Man* seems, at first, sparse for clues. At least it is clear that the sitter is not dressed in contemporary Dutch fashion. Rather, his archaic clothing, his characteristic beard with longer growth on the jawline and less on the cheeks and chin, and the green background are reminiscent of early sixteenth century German portraits, such as that of Frederick the Wise (1463-1525), Elector of Saxony by Lucas Cranach the Elder (c. 1472-1553) (fig. 4). What the possible implications of this association might be will be addressed below.



Fig. 3 Jacob Backer, *Tronie of a Man with a Velvet Beret*, 1641 (?), oil on panel, 67 x 55 cm., sale London, Christie's, 14 February 1975, lot 47



Fig. 4 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Portrait of Frederick the Wise (1463-1525), Elector of Saxony*, 1525, oil on panel, 39.8 x 26.8 cm., Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum



Fig. 5
Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait transformed into a Tronie*, c. 1633/36, oil on panel, 56 x 47 cm., Berlin, Gemäldegalerie



Fig. 6
Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait with a Cap and a Fur-Trimmed Cloak*, 1634, oil on panel, 58.3 x 47.4 cm., Berlin, Gemäldegalerie



Fig. 7
Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait with Cap Pulled Forward*, c. 1631, etching, 5 x 4.2 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 8
Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait in a Cap and Scarf*, 1633, etching, 13.3 x 10.4 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (in reverse)

Backer looks at Rembrandt

The *Bearded Man* thus slips through Backer's more obvious *tronie* categories, the greybeards, shepherds and shepherdesses, children, scholars, orientals and other fanciful types. In fact, Backer seems to connect here – more than elsewhere⁸ – with the imagery of Rembrandt, specifically with his self-portraits. Striking parallels are found in two works of comparable size from the mid 1630s, Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait transformed into a Tronie*, which was initially conceived as a self-portrait around 1633, to be reworked into a *tronie* c. 1636/37, and the 1634-dated *Self-Portrait with a Cap and a Fur-Trimmed Cloak*, both in Berlin (figs. 6, 7). In these works we observe a similar conception of space, composition, clothing and a focus on personality. It is, moreover, interesting to note how in the former work, Rembrandt experimented heavily with the 'rough manner' so ostentatiously apparent in our *Bearded Man* as well.⁹ The mentioning of 'Rembrandt's conterfeytsel Antycks' ('Rembrandt's portrait in antique fashion', here referring to 'old' in general) in the 1657 inventory of the Amsterdam art dealer Johannes de Renialme informs us about how such works were perceived, namely as deliberately historicizing. Just as the slashed and feathered cap added later in the former work transformed the initial self-portrait into a *tronie* of a 'Landsknecht' (a sixteenth century mercenary), the beret worn by Rembrandt in the latter self-portrait was likewise characteristic of sixteenth century fashion.¹⁰ This clothing item could suggest a range of possible meanings – artistry, erudition, or reference to painters of the past. It is safe to say that Rembrandt, who is

forever associated with it, was largely responsible for its revival in seventeenth century Dutch art. From the later 1620s on, he depicted himself wearing numerous variations of this headgear, both in paintings and in prints (figs. 8, 9) that show a marked affinity with our *Bearded Man*, often in combination with a fur cloak. This, then, raises the question to which degree Backer's *Bearded Man* might likewise allude to himself. Are we looking at a self-portrait?

Backer's portrait

Although no autograph painted self-portrait remains, we are reasonably informed about Backer's appearance. A self-portrait drawing dated 1638 (fig. 10), a painted copy after a lost self-portrait (fig. 11), and two prints – one by Pieter de Balliu (1613-1660) after a drawn self-portrait, the other by Theodor Matham (1605/06-1676) after a portrait of Backer by Thomas de Keyser – have been preserved (figs. 12, 13).¹¹ In addition, an anonymous mezzotint depicting a man wearing a beret is proposed here to portray Backer as well, and was possibly done after a now-lost self-portrait, or a portrait of Backer by another painter, perhaps Govert Flinck (fig. 14).¹² From these portraits we get a fairly accurate idea of Backer's face, although it should be noted that – except for the 1638 drawing – they would date from the 1640s. A consistent feature in these portraits are the eyes, which are relatively wide apart, rather large and half-moon-shaped, with thick eyelids. The nostrils are flared, and the (double) chin slightly recedes. In addition to a moustache Backer sported a modest goatee.



Fig. 9
Jacob Backer, *Self-Portrait*, 1638, black chalk on paper, 14.3 x 14.7 cm., Vienna, Albertina



Fig. 10
After (?) Jacob Backer, *Self-Portrait*, oil on canvas, 55.6 x 48.4 cm., sale New York, Sotheby's, 21 May 1998, lot 322



Fig. 11
Pieter de Balliu after Jacob Backer, *Self-Portrait*, engraving, 16.2 x 11.5 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

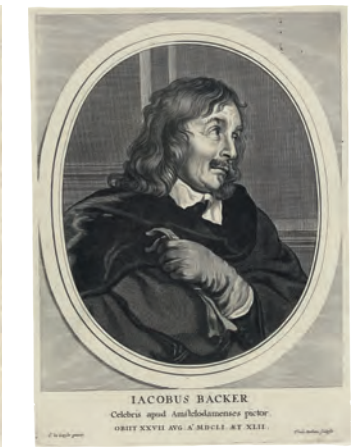


Fig. 12
Theodor Matham after Thomas de Keyser, *Portrait of Jacob Backer*, engraving, 33.9 x 24.3 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Besides those portraits in the stricter sense, several of Backer's *tronies* (and two figures in his history pieces) have been variously identified as depicting him (figs. 14-24).¹³ In 1926, the first compiler of Backer's oeuvre, Kurt Bauch, recognized Backer's features in the Budapest *Violin Player* (fig. 17), the *Young Man with a Breastplate* in Munich (fig. 22), nowadays thought to be a copy after a lost original, and the 1644 *Shepherd* in the Mauritshuis, The Hague (fig. 23).¹⁴ By 1983, Werner Sumowski, listing Backer's oeuvre in his *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, considered six *tronies* to be self-portraits: the Berlin *Drinker* (fig. 16), the Budapest *Violin Player*, the Hague *Shepherd*, two more *Shepherds* in Leeuwarden and the United States (figs. 15, 19), and a *Man with a Black Cap and a Velvet Blue Cloak* (fig. 20).¹⁵ Subsequent in-depth studies, such as those by Hans-Joachim Raupp on artists' portraits, and Dagmar Hirschfelder on *tronies*, and entries on individual works, likewise identified Backer in several of his *tronies*.¹⁶ Backer-expert Peter van den Brink further remarked on 'the same figure type' in the Berlin *Drinker*, the Leeuwarden *Shepherd* and the figure of Uriah in Backer's *David and Uriah* history piece in Dresden (fig. 14), while Jaap van der Veen recognized Backer's traits in one of the figures in his *Family Portrait with John the Baptist Preaching* from 1637 (fig. 18).¹⁷ Just recently, the Berlin *Drinker* was included in the exhibition *Rembrandt in Amsterdam: Creativity and Competition* in Ottawa and Frankfurt as a prime example of a self-portrait *tronie* by a colleague of Rembrandt, testifying to the success of the 'Rembrandt-brand'.¹⁸ Alternatively, other scholars have understandably

Fig. 13 Anonymous after Jacob Backer (?) or Govert Flinck (?), (*Self?*) *Portrait of Jacob Backer*, mezzotint, 12.5 x 9.6 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



formulated more reserved judgments, such as Michiel Franken, who saw 'not enough similarities' with the official portraits of Backer to accept the Mauritshuis *Shepherd* as a self-portrait.¹⁹ More generally, Thomas Döring has remarked how Backer in these *tronies* (e.g. The Berlin *Drinker* and the Hague *Shepherd*) infused individual facial features with strongly standardized elements.²⁰

Overviewing the 'tronie-group', it seems evident that the facial range among the individual works diverges considerably, in fact to such an extent that it seems impossible to distill an unambiguous self-portrait. However, several recurring features (the broad, melancholy eyes, the



Figs. 14-24
 14) *David and Uriah* (detail of Uriah), 1632/3, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie; 15) *Shepherd*, c. 1633, Leeuwarden, Fries Museum; 16) *Allegory of Taste* (a.k.a. *The Drinker*), 1634/35, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie; 17) *Allegory of Hearing* (a.k.a. *The Violin Player*), 1634/35, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum; 18) *Family Portrait with John the Baptist* (detail of the painter), 1637, The Netherlands, private collection; 19) *Young Man as a Shepherd*, United States, private collection; 20) *Head of a Man with a Black Cap and a Velvet Blue Cloak*, c. 1640/41, formerly London, collection Ronald Cook (1973); 21) *Tronie of a Man with a Velvet Beret*, 1640 (or 1641?), sale London, Christie's, 14 February 1975, lot 47; 22) after Backer, *Young Man with a Breastplate*, Munich, Alte Pinakothek; 23) *Shepherd*, 1644, The Hague, Mauritshuis; 24) *Shepherd*, c. 1644, Paris, private collection

somewhat receding double chin and the (facial) hair among the more consistent of these) also provide a common denominator, that can best, indeed exclusively be understood as going back on Backer's own face, without necessarily every time referring to Backer's own persona explicitly.

A multi-layered self-tronie

The terminology seems part of the issue here. Whereas 'self-portrait' implies the artist's intention to explicitly portray him or herself, the actual situation in many cases is probably more accurately described by saying that the painter used himself as a model. Gary Schwartz recently commented on this issue in the context of the Rijksmuseum's purchase of Rembrandt's *Standard-Bearer* of 1636.²¹ In determining whether Rembrandt's work could qualify as a self-portrait, Schwartz pointed to a 1657 notarial deed that documents the sale of paintings by the merchant Dirck Cattenburch to his sisters, among them 'a painting being a tronie painted by Rembrandt after himself.'²² Following this spot-on contemporary phrasing that perfectly captures the genre's ambiguity, Schwartz proposed the term 'self-non-portrait' for Rembrandt's *Standard-Bearer* in particular, and many of his *tronies* in which we tend to recognize his traits. For this latter group, one could likewise speak of self-*tronies*.

Returning to the *Bearded Man*, it seems clear that it shares recurring elements with several of Backer's self-*tronies*, from which we conclude that Backer indeed used his own visage as a model. Moreover, in depicting himself with the beret and the fur cloak, he deliberately connected with Rembrandt's 'antyc' self-(non)-portraits, with which Rembrandt intended to create a visual link with portraits of famous (Northern) predecessors, that he knew well through prints.²³ Backer seems to have done the same here, and he even took it a step further by modelling his facial hair in sixteenth century fashion. In this respect the *Bearded Man* aligns neatly with (self-)portraits of/by famous Northern artists of the previous century, such as Albrecht Dürer (1471-1428), Lucas Gassel (c. 1488-1568/69), Georg Pencz (1500-1550) and Heinrich Aldegrever (c. 1502-1555/61) (figs. 25-28) and can thus be seen as more than a standard self-*tronie*, in that it truly alludes to Backer's own profession, and thus to himself as an artist. Lastly, we might speculate that Backer intended to connect to more than Rembrandt's imagery alone. Tellingly Kurt Bauch, in his 1926 monograph on Backer, describes the *Berlin Drinker* – whose countenance relates most strikingly to our *Bearded Man* of all of Backer's self-*tronies* – not as a self-portrait of Backer, but as 'Der Geschmack – Freies Bildnis Rembrandts', 'the Taste – Free portrait of Rembrandt'.²⁴ Indeed, it is not difficult to see where Bauch was coming from. As with our *Bearded*



Fig. 25
 Andries Jacob Storck after Tommaso da Bologna, *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer* (1471-1528), 1629, engraving, 22.3 x 16.5 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 26
 Jacob Binck, *Portrait of the Painter Lucas Gassel* (c. 1488-1568/69), engraving, 17.2 x 13 cm., London, British Museum



Fig. 27
 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Self-Portrait*, 1537, engraving, 19.7 x 12.6 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Fig. 28
 Anonymous, *Portrait of the Painter Georg Pencz* (1500-1550), engraving, 12.3 x 8.1 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Man, the nose and the fuller traits of *The Drinker* are indeed certainly reminiscent of Rembrandt's. Viewed as such – as a self-*tronie* by Backer as an 'antycck' artist, with a distinct nod to Rembrandt's imagery and Rembrandt's portrait – we are, with the discovery of this new work, treated to a thrilling, fresh and inter-referential slice of Amsterdam's artistic life of the 1630s at its best.

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Notes

- For an extensive biography on Backer, see J. van der Veen, 'Jacob Backer, een schets van zijn leven', in: P. van den Brink, J. van der Veen, *Jacob Backer (1608/9-1651)*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis, Aachen, Suermond-Ludwig-Museum 2008-2009, pp. 10-25. For an analysis of Backer's artistic production, see P. van den Brink, 'Uitmunten schilder in het groot : De schilder en tekenaar Jacob Adriaensz Backer', in: Amsterdam/Aachen 2008-2009, pp. 26-84. See also E.J. Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals : History Painting in Amsterdam 1630-1650*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2015, pp. 110-127; P. van den Brink, 'Tussen Rubens en Rembrandt : Jacob Adriaensz. Backer als portret- en historieschilder in Amsterdam', in: *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 2016, pp. 4-39.
- Van der Veen, op. cit., pp. 14-15.
- On Lambert Jacobsz' studio and the different kinds of production practiced there, see J. Hillegers, 'Lambert Jacobsz (c. 1598-1636) en zijn werkplaats. Atelierpraktijk in Leeuwarden omstreeks 1630', in: *Jaarboek De Vrije Fries* 89 (2009), pp. 67-92 (available online: <http://www.friesgenootschap.nl/index.php/nl/online-artikelen>); J. Hillegers, 'The Lambert years: Govert Flinck in Leeuwarden, ca. 1629 – ca. 1633', in: S. Dickey (ed.), *Ferdinand Bol and Govert Flinck : New Research*, Amsterdam 2017, pp. 45-65.
- A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1718-1721, 2 (1719), p. 20: 'Te Lewaarden gekomen vond hy Jakob Backer een geschikt en yverig Jongman tot zyn byslaap en gezelschap in de Konst, die met hem (na dat zy nu zoo veer gevordert waren dat zy op eigen wicken konden vliegen) naar Amsterdam vertrok [...]'.
P. van den Brink, *Oeuvrecatalogus van de schilderijen van Jacob Backer*, in: Amsterdam/Aachen 2008-2009, pp. 204-249, also consultable on dvd including B-E categories: *Jacob Adriaensz Backer – Complete overview of his paintings*, further referred to as DOC (Digital Oeuvre Catalogue), nos. A21, 92, 132.
- See D. Hirschfelder, in: Amsterdam/Aachen 2008-2009, cat. nos. A9a-b; DOC, nos. A29, A30. The works were part of a series of the five senses. A *Violin Player* in Budapest, depicting the sense of Hearing, also belongs to this series. See DOC, no. A31.
- DOC, no. 82. See also DOC, no. 83, which employs the same model.
- Whereas Backer was an independent artist who sailed with his own compass rather than relying on Rembrandt (as opposed to his younger friend Flinck, who deliberately immersed himself in Rembrandt's manner) they did operate in the same art market and produced comparable products. That Backer took an interest in certain works by Rembrandt, seems just as logical as *vice versa*, Rembrandt looking at Backer and others when he suddenly started painting large-scale history works around 1634/35.
- As observed by E. Van de Wetering, in: J. Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, 6 vols., The Hague etc. 1982-2015, 4 (*The Self-Portraits*, 2005), pp. 216, 219, 220 (figs. 202-203, 603.)
- For a discussion of the implications of the beret in Rembrandt's paintings, and of 'antycck' clothing, see M. de Winkel, 'Rembrandt's clothes – Dress and meaning in his self-portraits', in: Bruyn et al. 1982-2015, 4 (2005), pp. 45-87, pp. 60-63.
- For the drawing, see W. Sumowski, *Drawings of the Rembrandt School*, 10 vols., New York 1979-1992, 1 (1979), pp. 22-23, cat. no. 4; T. Döring, in: Amsterdam/Aachen 2008-2009, cat. no. 41; for the copy after Backers supposed *Self-Portrait*, see DOC, no. C55. For the prints, see Amsterdam/Aachen 2008-2009, p. 10, fig. 1 (Matham); p. 28, fig. 1 (De Balliu). De Keyser's painting, of which a black/white photo exists, was last recorded in a sale, Amsterdam, Mensing & Zoon, 27 April 1939, lot 494.
- The mezzotint also exists in another version (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1910-1605). The sitter not only shows a remarkable resemblance to the copy after Backer's presumed *Self-Portrait* (here fig. 10) and the print by Matham after De Keyser (here fig. 12), a striking compositional parallel is found in Govert Flinck's *Self-Portrait* of around 1640 in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne, in

- which Flinck wears a near-identical beret (topped by a feather) and the same scarf. See N. Middelkoop, L. van Sloten P. Larsen (eds.), *Ferdinand Bol en Govert Flinck : Rembrandts meesterleerlingen*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis / Amsterdam Museum 2017-2018, pp. 36-37, cat. no. 13, fig. 33. If this startling resemblance is due to the fact that both painters – who remained friends in Amsterdam – decided to paint their self-portraits in a similar fashion, or that Flinck might have painted a portrait of Backer (as a pendant to his own portrait?), after which these mezzotints were done, remains an open question.
- Figs 14-24, with DOC nos. and Amsterdam/Aachen 2008-2009 cat. nos. and authors: 14) A15, cat. no. 5 (V. Manuth); 15) A25; 16) A30, cat. no. 9b (D. Hirschfelder); 17: A31; 18) A47, cat. no. 14 (J. van der Veen); 19) A56; 20) A83; 21) A82; 22) C36; 23) A101, cat. no. 24 (M. Franken); 24) A102.
 - K. Bauch, *Jacob Adriaensz Backer : Ein Rembrandtschüler aus Friesland*, Berlin 1926, cat. nos. 73, 81, 86.
 - W. Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schuler*, Landau/Pfalz 1983-1994, 1 (1983), cat. nos. 23, 24, 33, 35, 36, 40, with reference to previous authors and titles. See further Sumowski 1983-1994, 5, cat. no. 1993 (*Shepherd*, Paris, private collection, our fig. 24).
 - H.-J. Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim 1984, pp. 189, 223, figs. 89, 127 (*Shepherd*, The Hague, Mauritshuis; *Shepherd*, Leeuwarden, Fries Museum); D. Hirschfelder, *Tronie und Porträt in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2008, cat. nos. 15-17 (*Shepherd*, The Hague, Mauritshuis; *Man with a Breastplate*, Munich, Alte Pinakothek; *Man with a Black Cap and a Velvet Blue Cloak*, formerly London, collection Ronald Cook); B. Broos, in: B. Broos, A. Van Suchtelen, *Portraits in the Mauritshuis 1430-1790*, The Hague/Zwolle 2004, pp. 29-31, cat. no. 2.
 - P. van den Brink, '*David geeft Uria de brief voor Joab*: Niet Govert Flinck, maar Jacob Backer', in: *Oud Holland* 111 (1997), pp. 177-186, pp. 182-183. I wish to thank Peter van den Brink for sharing his thoughts on the subject of Backer's self-portraits. Like me, he is of the opinion that these works contain, to various degrees, elements of Backer's portrait. This idea extends to the present work (which Van den Brink has given the catalogue number A148), in which he recognizes elements of Backer's countenance. For Van der Veen, see note 14.
 - See J. Sander, 'Rembrandt as a Brand', in: J. Sander, S. Dickey, *Rembrandt in Amsterdam : creativity and competition*, exh. cat. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, Frankfurt-am-Main, Städel Museum 2021-2022, pp. 82-95, pp. 86, 90, pl. 37.
 - See note 14. In addition, Van den Brink, DOC, no. A25 (Leeuwarden *Shepherd*) has expressed reservations concerning the extent to which one can speak of a true self-portrait in the cases of the *Shepherds* in Leeuwarden and The Hague.
 - T. Döring, in: Amsterdam/Aachen 2008-2009, cat. no. 41.
 - See <http://www.garyschwartzarthistorian.nl/402-of-arms-and-rembrandts-self-non-portraits/> (website consulted April 2022).
 - Remdoc 1658/22: 'een schilderij sijnde een tronye door Rembrant nae hem selven geschildert'. See: <http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e12793> (website consulted April 2022).
 - See De Winkel 2005, pp. 70-74; V. Manuth, 'Rembrandt and the artist's self portrait: tradition and reception', in: C. White, Q. Buvelot, *Rembrandt by himself*, exh. cat. London, National Gallery, The Hague, Mauritshuis 1999-2000, pp. 38-57, esp. pp. 42-46.
 - Bauch 1926, pp. 30, 82, cat. no. 72: 'Backer [hat] den nur zwei Jahre älteren Meister [= Rembrandt] im "Geschmack" frei porträtiert'.