



Short notice

The Dog in *The Night Watch*: Rembrandt Inspired by Adriaen van de Venne

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In Rembrandt's most famous painting, *The Night Watch* from 1642, a small to medium-sized dog with hanging ears can be seen lower right (figs. 1, 2).¹ It stands with its tail between its legs and its upper body crouched low to the ground. The dog's head turns somewhat to the left and upwards at an angle. Over the years, the layers of paint Rembrandt used to render the animal have become significantly more abraded. The underlying chalk sketch shows through the thin layers of paint and is partly exposed, giving the dog a rather blanched appearance. The animal's contours, though less strong than Rembrandt originally intended due to the worn condition of the paint, are still clearly discernible, as is its pose. Depicted in a cowering stance with its front legs outstretched, the dog is reacting to the surrounding clamour in Rembrandt's dynamic composition.

On what did Rembrandt base this motif? Up to now, this matter has garnered only scant attention in the literature. Listed among Rembrandt's items in the 1656 inventory of his possessions is an album containing sketches of live animals made by the artist himself: 'a ditto ... full of drawings by Rembrandt made of animals after life'.² Various authors have assumed that Rembrandt based the dog in *The Night Watch* on these kinds of sketches drawn from life.

< Fig. 1
REMBRANDT,
The Night Watch,
1642.
Oil on canvas,
363 x 438 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-C-5,
on loan from the
City of Amsterdam.

< Fig. 2
The dog in *The Night
Watch* (fig. 1).

According to the *Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, this assumption is partly supported by the fact that the animal shows similarities with a dog in his painting *Diana Bathing with Her Nymphs with Actaeon and Callisto* from 1634 and the one in his etching *The Blindness of Tobit* from 1651.³ In a 2016 article, the German art historian Thomas Döring, after a brief discussion of the dog in *The Night Watch*, likewise concludes that, to a certain extent, Rembrandt must have relied on his previous sketches drawn from living models for all his etched and painted dogs.⁴ To date, however, Rembrandt is known to have made only two drawings of a solitary dog, neither of which correspond to the animal in *The Night Watch*.⁵ In the present short notice, it will be argued for the first time that Rembrandt's dog was not based on study sketches drawn from life, but that he turned to an older example: a design drawing for a book illustration by Adriaen van de Venne (1590-1662).⁶

In 1619, the multi-faceted Dutch artist, poet and publisher Adriaen van de Venne produced a design drawing for the title page of Jacob Cats's *Self-stryt, dat is, Krachtighe beweginghe van Vlees ende Gheest*, a popular emblem book first published in 1620 (fig. 3).⁷ Bottom left in the drawing, a dog can be seen. On the title page



of Cats's book, engraved by the print-maker François Schillemans (1575-1627), Van de Venne's design of the animal is printed in mirror image (fig. 4). In its overall form and pose, the dog greatly resembles Rembrandt's painted canine in *The Night Watch* (figs. 5a-c). How plausible is it that Rembrandt saw this image? And how does the use of such an example align with Rembrandt's known working practice? Before addressing these questions, the similarities between the two dogs will first be addressed.

Similarities

In Adriaen van de Venne's drawing, the dog is facing the same direction as Rembrandt's painted equivalent in *The Night Watch*. For this reason, the drawing (fig. 3) forms the starting point of this comparison, as opposed to the mirror-image version in the print (fig. 4). Most striking are the similarities with respect to the head



Fig. 3

ADRIAEN VAN DE VENNE, Design for the engraved Title Page of Jacob Cats, *Self-stryt*, 1619. Pen in brown, brush in grey, 178 x 147 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1919-62, acquired with a contribution from the P. Langerhuizen Bequest.

Fig. 4

FRANÇOIS SCHILLEMANS after ADRIAEN VAN DE VENNE, Title Page of Jacob Cats, *Self-stryt*, 1620. Engraving, 193 x 153 mm. The Hague, RKD, Originele Grafiek collection.



5a



5b



5c

Figs. 5a-c
Details of the dog in
The Night Watch by
Rembrandt (fig. 1) (a)
in comparison to those

of Adriaen van de Venne
in the drawing (fig. 3)
(b) and in the print,
mirrored (fig. 4) (c).



Fig. 6

MA-XRF calcium map
of the dog in *The Night
Watch* (fig. 2). The
light areas show the
presence of calcium,
marking the chalk-
containing sketch.

and collar (figs. 5a, b). Noticeable is that the animal's head turns at the same angle, in both versions gazing upwards – and the snout visibly pointing – in the same direction, with the mouth slightly ajar.⁸ Identical is the dark stripe indicating the position of the right eye. On both dogs, a discernible groove divides the roof of the skull into two parts. Furthermore, the two collars are very similar, consisting of a band adorned with a sequential pattern of circles and a ring in front.⁹ At the detail level, only minimal differences in the head are discernible. The dog's nose in *The Night Watch* is slightly flatter and its ears hang more vertical. Also, Rembrandt painted the mouth slightly more open and added a tongue.

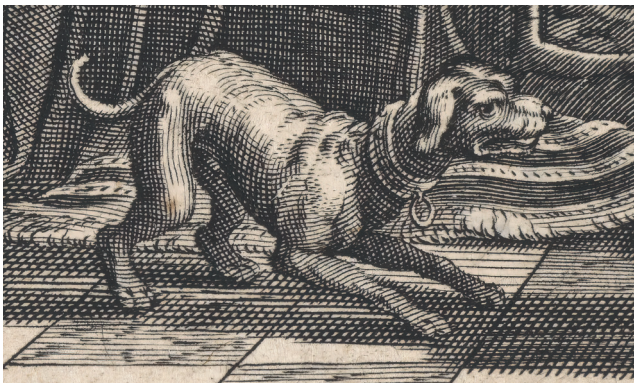
A similar agreement can be observed in the pose. In Van de Venne's drawing, for example, the dog is also placed diagonal in respect to the picture plane, keeping its upper body low to the ground. But where the dog in *The Night Watch* stands on all fours, the dog in the drawing lies on



Figs. 7a, b

PIETER SERWOUTERS
after ADRIAEN VAN
DE VENNE, *King Ninus
Sentenced to Death*,
1622. Illustration made
for p. 54 of Jacob Cats's
book, *Tooneel van
de Mannelicke
Achtbaerheyt*.

Engraving and
etching, 108 x 141 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-1895-A-18916 (a),
with detail of the
dog (mirrored, b).



its front legs, with the chest touching the ground. The rear half of its body arches back, with its left hind leg and tail out of view, unlike in the painting, where these details can be seen.¹⁰

In 2019, a macro X-ray fluorescence (MA-XRF) distribution map of the element calcium revealed that Rembrandt used a chalk-containing paint for the initial sketch of the composition of *The Night Watch* (fig. 6).¹¹ On the MA-XRF calcium map one can see that, even at this early stage, the artist had already articulated the cleft in the dog's skull. Rembrandt also used this chalk-containing paint to designate where the lighter areas would be. This can be observed, for example, in the way the light is captured along the top of the animal's back, just as in Van de Venne's drawing. The MA-XRF calcium map also shows that, initially, the dog's right foreleg bent down

more at an angle, bringing it closer to the ground and rendering the elbow more visible. At first, the pose of the dog in *The Night Watch* therefore more closely resembled that of the animal in Van de Venne's depiction. By all appearances, during the initial design phase of his composition, Rembrandt was seeking how to properly position the dog, whereby, in the end, he chose to deviate from Van de Venne's example by painting the front leg straighter.

Other Prints

Why did Rembrandt alter the dog's pose in *The Night Watch*? Given the crowded, boisterous surroundings in which the animal is placed, the reason for this modification is obvious. Caught in the commotion of a large group of militiamen, the dog ostensibly cowers from the loud clamour made by the figure playing the drum. Rembrandt therefore places the animal in an active, vigilant pose: with the upper body lowered to the ground and the forelegs spread slightly apart, the dog is poised to run away if necessary. Van de Venne's dog, by contrast, is more at ease, with its front legs lying entirely flat on the ground.¹² Accordingly, Rembrandt appears to have purposely adjusted the dog in response to the dynamic of the lively scene. The addition of the tongue sticking out of the dog's mouth is telling. The pose of the animal's entire body suggests it is barking; however, barking dogs never show their tongue in this way.¹³ This suggests that, in this case, Rembrandt's rendering could not have been based on study sketches from life. Because Rembrandt very regularly incorporated dogs in his scenes, such adjustments to Van de Venne's original could very well have come from his own imagination.¹⁴ With respect to alterations in the pose and the rear part of the dog's body, however, it seems Rembrandt would, again, more likely have turned to older examples.

In two prints in particular, the depicted dogs are remarkably similar in pose to *The Night Watch* dog. The first print, by Pieter Serwouters (1586-1657), was likewise made after a design by Adriaen van de Venne and found in a book by Jacob Cats, *Tooneel van de Mannelicke Achtbaerheyt* from 1622 (figs. 7a, b). Here too, a dog is positioned diagonally in respect to the picture plane, standing on all fours with outstretched front legs. Comparable to the dog in *The Night Watch*, both its hind legs are bent, with the left one visible (fig. 7b). Even the collar is identical, sharing the same pattern of circles and the ring in front. Also, both dogs have a tongue in their mouth. Nevertheless, several important differences are also discernible. The dog's head does not turn at an angle but instead faces forward, with one eye clearly open. Though its upper body also crouches low, unlike with Rembrandt's dog (and as in the title page) the ring of its collar is not

Fig. 8
HENDRICK GOLTZIUS
after KAREL VAN
MANDER, *When the
Ham is Finished,
the Bare Legs Must
Be Thrown Away*,
1590-94.
Engraving,
240 x 173 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-BI-4304.



shown positioned in front of the legs. The neck seems to be extremely long; the tail stands upright. Notwithstanding, given the correspondence in the pose of the dogs' bodies it seems highly plausible that this depiction served as a source of inspiration for Rembrandt.

A second print relevant to the dog's pose, made by Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) after Karel van Mander (1548-1606) in 1590-94, also displays the same diagonal positioning of the body (fig. 8). The dog's head faces upwards as well, turned slightly to the left, though not at the exact same angle as Rembrandt's dog (or that of the dog on the title page in *Self-stryt*), as the roof of its skull and the left ear cannot be seen. Also noteworthy is the absence of the collar. But given the strong resemblance of the dog's overall form to that of *The Night Watch* dog, it is possible that Rembrandt, who possessed multiple prints by Goltzius, was familiar with this depiction as well.¹⁵ Accordingly, both of these images may have played a role in rendering the active pose of Rembrandt's dog.

There also exist other prints and drawings containing dogs where one can observe certain features comparable to those of the dog in *The Night Watch*. Apart from the prints described above, many are found in the oeuvres of Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630) and Jan van der Straet (1523-1605), also known as Stradanus.¹⁶ While all undoubtedly share commonalities with *The Night Watch* dog, the numerous, indisputable similarities between Rembrandt's dog and the dog in Van de Venne's illustration for the title page of Cats's book *Self-stryt* – specifically concerning the head, the precise angle at which it turns and the collar – are so pronounced that the latter most likely served as Rembrandt's primary source. Additional arguments to support this will be addressed below.

Knowledge of Adriaen van de Venne's Design

As noted in the introduction, Adriaen van Venne's dog appears as part of the title page he designed for Jacob Cats's emblem book, titled *Self-stryt, dat is, Krachtighe beweginghe van Vlees ende Gheest*. The book itself centres on the question of how to arm oneself against sexual temptation in the context of the theme of 'self-struggle' (*Self-stryt*), referring to the inner struggle between good and evil thoughts. As an elucidating example, the biblical story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Genesis 39) is presented.¹⁷ Potiphar's wife, Sephyra, falls in love with Joseph and tries to seduce him.¹⁸ One day when alone in the house, Sephyra tries to pull Joseph into her bed, but he manages to escape and flees away. In a cunning move, Sephyra keeps Joseph's mantle and later uses it as evidence when falsely accusing him of assaulting her before her husband. On the title page of Cats's book, the scene of Joseph and Sephyra fighting appears in the background (figs. 3, 4). In the centre foreground, Joseph is depicted again, this time with both hands raised, praying to God. At his feet kneels the dog, here to be interpreted as a symbol of steadfastness, closely echoing the Bible story.¹⁹ In militia pieces, dogs are a traditional element, typically signifying vigilance and loyalty. Even so, the dog in *The Night Watch* appears to have no direct symbolic meaning.²⁰ Instead, Rembrandt employs the animal as an expressive motif, aimed to enliven the event and heighten the drama of his painting.

That Rembrandt would have been familiar with Adriaen van de Venne's depiction – whether via the drawing or the print – is affirmed by more than just observable commonalities shared by the two dogs. Rembrandt himself chose the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife as his subject, not



Fig. 9
REMBRANDT,
*The Wife of Potiphar
Accuses Joseph*, 1655.
Oil on canvas,
113.5 x 90 cm.
Berlin, Stiftung
Preussischer
Kulturbesitz,
Staatliche Museen
zu Berlin,
Gemäldegalerie,
inv. no. 828H.
Photo: Staatliche
Museen zu Berlin,
Gemäldegalerie /
Christoph Schmidt

once but twice. In 1655, he painted the moment when Sephira informs Potiphar of Joseph's desire to sleep with her (fig. 9).²¹ Rembrandt depicts her seated on a chair next to a bed, with her foot resting on Joseph's mantle; with her outstretched hand, she points to Joseph, who appears on the left in the painting. Joseph raises his left arm, while looking upwards. Both the hand gesture and the upturned gaze are strongly reminiscent of the central figure in Adriaen van de Venne's depiction, even with Joseph's right arm lowered in the painting.²² The Bible makes no specific mention of Joseph's pose, it does not even state that he was present at the time of the accusation. It is therefore highly plausible that Rembrandt also based this motif on Adriaen van de Venne's example.

More than twenty years before, in 1634, the young Rembrandt made an etching of the moment Sephira seduces Joseph, showing the half-naked woman tugging at Joseph's mantle as he pulls away in evident disgust (fig. 10). As stated in earlier literature, the depiction is derived from an etching by Antonio Tempesta of circa 1590 (fig. 11).²³ Also cited are other prints with which Rembrandt was possibly familiar, including those by Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533), Hans Beham (1500-1550) and Georg Pencz (1500/1502-1550), as well as Giovanni Lanfranco (1582-1647) and Orazio Borgianni (1574-1616) after Raphael (1483-1520).²⁴ Overall, Rembrandt appears to have followed Tempesta's version: the layout of the space with the four-poster bed placed at an angle, the bed



Fig. 10
REMBRANDT,
*Joseph and the Wife
of Potiphar*, 1634.
Etching, 92 x 114 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-OB-78.



Fig. 11
ANTONIO TEMPESTA,
*Joseph and the Wife
of Potiphar*, c. 1590.
Etching, 58 x 67 mm.
Budapest, Museum
of Fine Arts,
inv. no. 7897.
Photo: Szépművészeti
Múzeum/ Museum of
Fine Arts, Budapest,
2025

curtain drawn back and the pillar at the foot of the bed all correspond.²⁵ Quite conceivable, however, is that Rembrandt also drew inspiration from the background scene in Adriaen van de Venne's depiction. Here too, the bed stands in the room at an angle, with the curtain draped back in the same manner as in Rembrandt's image, albeit minus the pillar – the one element not found in Van de Venne's design. Yet the bent-over pose of Joseph's upper body and the force with which he tears himself free are more akin to Van de Venne's Joseph than the same figure in Tempesta's etching. For this reason, it is possible that Rembrandt also had Adriaen van de Venne's design in mind when making his etching.

It is not known whether Rembrandt had Van de Venne's design drawing and/or a copy of Cats's *Self-stryt* in his possession. Virtually certain is that he was familiar with at least one of the two images, though determining which one proves an elusive task. The most obvious source is the print, given that such books were often reprinted and widely disseminated.²⁶ In the seventeenth century, no fewer than twenty-four editions of *Self-stryt* were published, excluding several pirated editions.²⁷ Jacob Cats was one of the best-selling authors of his day. Nevertheless, a number of factors point decidedly to Van de Venne's drawing as the primary source for the dog in *The Night Watch*. First, Rembrandt possessed a large and varied collection of drawings by a whole array of masters.²⁸ Moreover, the dog in the drawing faces the same direction as the dog in the painting. It would also be in line with Rembrandt's two aforementioned works concerning the history of Joseph. Just as in Van de Venne's drawing, the 1655 painting of Sephyra accusing Joseph shows the latter gazing upwards past his raised left hand. In fact, Rembrandt's 1634

etching was drawn in mirror image: again, the direction of his original design corresponds to Van de Venne's drawing. Furthermore, in both the drawing and *The Night Watch*, no teeth are visible in the dog's mouth, though they are clearly exposed in the emblem book illustration.²⁹ Finally, the collar in the drawing – having a relatively flatter shape and a clearly visible pattern of circles – also more closely resembles the collar in *The Night Watch*.

Rembrandt's Working Practice

For his own designs, Rembrandt often borrowed elements from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century prints and drawings.³⁰ During his painting process, he actually used the prints and drawings found in the many books in his personal possession as well as others he could have consulted elsewhere.³¹ For the poses of the three musketeers in *The Night Watch*, for example, Rembrandt drew upon prints from Jacques de Gheyn's (1565-1629) military exercise book *Wapenhandelinge* from 1607.³² By no means does he produce exact copies, instead dressing his figures in other raiment and turning them in such a way that all three are naturally assimilated in the whole. Taking older examples and modifying them in a free and creative way was something that Rembrandt did frequently

throughout his career. That he based the dog in *The Night Watch* on an older example reflects this working practice. It is beyond dispute that, for his depiction of the dog, Rembrandt was highly indebted to Van de Venne's illustration in Cats's book *Self-stryt*, even in the event he had also relied on other prints. Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether he had this image in front of him during the actual painting of his dog. Certain is that Rembrandt possessed a strong visual memory: one cannot rule out the possibility that Van de Venne's example was firmly lodged in his mind. Whatever the case may be, in his depiction of the dog in *The Night Watch*, Rembrandt, unlike in other instances, remained relatively faithful to the source. Apparently for him, the dog borrowed from Adriaen van de Venne was a successful motif worthy of a prominent role in the narrative of his ambitious militia painting.

NOTES

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1 According to Rony Doedijns, cynologist, International FCI Allround Judge and former director of the Raad van Beheer op Kynologisch Gebied in the Netherlands (Dutch Kennel Club), the dog appearing in *The Night Watch* is probably a distant precursor of the present-day French breed Griffon Fauve de Bretagne. In the seventeenth-century, this breed may well have been smaller in size and type. These days, there is also the Basset Fauve de Bretagne. This short-legged variant was probably not yet in existence in the seventeenth century. The Griffon Fauve de Bretagne and the Basset Fauve de Bretagne are hunting dogs.

- 2 'een dito ... vol teekeninge van Rembrandt bestaende in beesten nae 't leven'. Amsterdam City Archives, Archief van de Commissarissen van de Desolate Boedelkamer (acc. no. 5072), inv. no. 364, 25-26 July 1656, inventory, fol. 35v.
- 3 Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, part 2, Dordrecht/Boston/Lancaster 1986, p. 492, no. A 92. The argumentation in the *Corpus* also relies on the fact that the motif of the two fighting dogs, left in the Diana painting (Anholt, Museum Wasserburg, inv. no. 391), is repeated by Rembrandt in *John the Baptist Preaching* (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, inv. no. 828k) and also appears in mirror image in a drawing attributed to Titus van Rijn (see A. Welcker, 'Titus van Rhijn als Teekenaar', *Oud Holland* 55 (1938), pp. 268-73, fig. 4). However, these fighting dogs are not based on a study drawing but most likely adopted from a print by Antonio Tempesta (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-37.942); see Amy Golahny, *Rembrandt's Reading: The Artist's Bookshelf of Ancient Poetry and History*, Amsterdam 2003, p. 250, note 21.
- 4 Thomas Döring, 'A New Drawing by Rembrandt: Study of a Seated Dog', *Master Drawings* 54 (2016), no. 3, pp. 369-78, esp. p. 375.
- 5 See Peter Schatborn and Erik Hinterding, *Rembrandt: Alle tekeningen en etsen*, Cologne 2019, pp. 294, 297. In all probability, Rembrandt used this drawing of the sleeping dog for his painting *Joseph Tells his Dreams*; see Bruyn et al. 1986 (note 3), pp. 293-94, no. A 66.
- 6 In her article 'Over Rembrandt en olifantsbillen "nae 't leven"', Leonore van Sloten discusses a practice 'waarin kunstenaars zich evengoed bleven baseren op gedrukte voorbeelden al hadden zij een dier in het echt kunnen zien en bestuderen' (in which artists continued to base themselves just as much on printed examples, even when they were able to see and study the animal for real); *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* (2021), pp. 30-41, esp. p. 38.
- 7 See Jan Kosten, 'Jacob Cats' *Self-stryt* van 1620 en de titelpagina van Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne', in Charles Dumas (ed.), *Liber Amicorum Dorine van Sasse van Yssel: Collegiale bijdragen over tekenen prentkunst*, The Hague 2011, pp. 43-50; Riet Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, 'Cats' *Self-stryt* een Arminiaanse tekst?', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 136 (2020), no. 2, pp. 105-26.
- For the oeuvre of Adriaen van de Venne, see Edwin Buijsen, *Ick soeck en vind: De schilderijen van Adriaen van de Venne*, Zwolle 2023.
- 8 Within the oeuvre of Adriaen van de Venne, there are more examples of a dog in a somewhat comparable pose; see for example an illustration after Van de Venne in Jacob Cats, *Houwelick, Dat is de gansche gelegentheydt des Echten staets*, Middelburg 1625, part 4, fol. 57r, and Buijsen 2023 (note 7), pp. 163-65, figs. 3.59, 3.60 and 3.61.
- 9 A dog in Rembrandt's *Diana Bathing with her Nymphs with Actaeon and Callisto* from 1634 (see note 3) has a similar kind of collar with a ring as the dog in *The Night Watch* and the dog in Van de Venne's illustration.
- 10 For comparison: the dog in *The Night Watch* is approximately 50 cm across; the dog in the drawing and print, approximately 3.5 cm.
- 11 Chalk contains the chemical element calcium. The MA-XRF calcium map indicates where the element occurs in the painting. My thanks to Anna Krekeler for the interpretation of this map. The MA-XRF imaging of *The Night Watch* was conducted in 2019 by the research team as part of the ongoing, extensive research and conservation project Operation Night Watch.
- 12 This pose is called a play bow. Rembrandt's dog is poised in a semi-play bow, which in combination with the tail between its legs points to conflict-avoidance behaviour. My thanks to Nicky Gootjes, canine behavioural therapist. The dogs in Rembrandt's etching *Christ Driving the Moneychangers from the Temple* from 1635 and his *The Triumph of Mordecai* from c. 1641 also pose in a semi-play bow. In these two cases, however, the tail is semi-upright, the ears are back and the animal looks aggressive; see Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. nos. RP-P-OB-313 and RP-P-1962-16 respectively.
- 13 Oral communication with Nicky Gootjes, canine behavioural therapist.
- 14 For dogs in Rembrandt's oeuvre, see Rob Möhlmann, *De hond in het werk van Rembrandt*, Amsterdam 1987.
- 15 See Rembrandt's 1656 inventory (note 2), fols. 34v, 35v.
- 16 For Tempesta, see for example *A Dog Fighting a Cat* from 1600, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-37.954. Rembrandt possessed numerous prints by Tempesta, on which he, in all likelihood, had previously based dogs; see note 3. For Stradanus, see an engraving of a hunting party by Adriaen Collaert after Stradanus,

- The Deer Hunt of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa and Ubaldino Ubaldini*, 1589, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 64.563.60, and a drawing by Stradanus, *Alexander the Great Watching a Fight between his Dog, an Elephant, and a Lion*, dated 1596 or before, New York, Cooper Hewitt Smithsonian Design Museum, inv. no. 1901-39-2482.
- 17 See Kosten 2011 (note 7) and Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 2020 (note 7).
 - 18 The Bible does not state the name of Potiphar's wife. Cats adopted the name of 'Sephira' from Cornelius Crocus (1500-1552), who bestowed that name on Potiphar's wife in his theatrical play titled *Comoedia*, see Kosten 2011 (note 7), p. 44.
 - 19 See Kosten 2011 (note 7), p. 47. Cf. Jan Kosten, *Jozefs kuisheid belaagd: Men sal meer sulcke me-vrouwen vinden, als sulcke knechten*, The Hague 1988, p. 25.
 - 20 See Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, *Rembrandt: The Nightwatch*, Princeton 1982, p. 106, note 112: '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.'
 - 21 See Josua Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, part 5, The Hague/Boston/London 2011, pp. 563-76, no. v 22; Jonathan Bikker et al., *Rembrandt: The Late Works*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum)/London (The National Gallery) 2014, pp. 240-42. A variant on this composition, attributed to Rembrandt's workshop, was painted in the same year, 1655, see Washington, National Gallery of Art, inv. no. 1937.1.79.
 - 22 See Gregor J.M. Weber in Bikker et al. 2014 (note 21), p. 241, esp. note 20: 'The Rembrandt Research Project has cast doubt on whether the figure of Joseph was painted by Rembrandt himself. Even if painted by another artist, it was certainly produced in Rembrandt's studio and under his supervision.' See also Bruyn et al. 2011 (note 21), p. 583, no. v 23.
 - 23 See for example Ben Broos, *Rembrandt en zijn voorbeelden*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Museum het Rembrandthuis) 1985, pp. 58-59, nos. 46, 47; Holm Bevers et al., *Rembrandt: De meester en zijn werkplaats: tekeningen en etsen*, exh. cat. Berlin (Kupferstichkabinett)/Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum)/London (The National Gallery) 1991, pp. 188-89, cat. no. 8; Erik Hinterding et al., *Rembrandt, the Printmaker*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum)/London (British Museum) 2000-01, p. 128, no. 20.
 - 24 See Eric Jan Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*, Amsterdam 2006, p. 407, note 54; Jan Kosten writes that Rembrandt's etching likely has 'vele ouder zusters en broers' (many older sisters and brothers); see Kosten 1988 (note 19), pp. 26-27.
 - 25 Broos 1985 (note 23), pp. 58-59, nos. 46-47.
 - 26 A vanitas still-life by Maria van Oosterwijck (1630-1693) from 1668 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisch Museum, inv. no. 5714) includes a book from which a piece of paper emerges with the title *Self-stryt* written on it, confirming seventeenth-century artists' familiarity with Cats's book.
 - 27 Domien ten Berge, *De hooggeleerde en zoet-vloeiende dichter Jacob Cats*, The Hague 1979, p. 61; Kosten 2011 (note 7), p. 43.
 - 28 See Rembrandt's 1656 inventory (note 2), fols. 29r-38v; Gary Schwartz, *Rembrandt, zijn leven, zijn schilderijen*, Maarssen 1984, pp. 289-90.
 - 29 Oral communication with canine behavioural therapist Nicky Gootjes and conservator Anna Krekeler. The whiskers in the drawing were likely erroneously interpreted by the engraver as teeth.
 - 30 See Ben Broos, *Index to the Formal Sources of Rembrandt's Art*, Maarssen 1977; Broos 1985 (note 23); Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, *Creative Copies: Interpretative Drawings from Michelangelo to Picasso*, New York 1988; Eric Jan Sluijter, 'Over "rapen" en wedijver in de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 21 (2005), pp. 267-91.
 - 31 See note 28; Ben Broos, 'Rembrandt en zijn schilderachtig universum', in Ben Broos et al., *Rembrandts schatkamer*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (The Rembrandt House Museum) 1999-2000, pp. 127-30.
 - 32 Christian Tümpel, *Rembrandt*, Amsterdam 1975, pp. 22-23; Gary Schwartz 1984 (note 28), p. 210. Another example is the drummer in *The Night Watch* that Rembrandt probably borrowed from a print from 1587 by Jacques de Gheyn II (1565-1629) after Hendrick Goltzius; see Tümpel (1975), p. 24. For *The Night Watch*, Rembrandt also looked to his own work as a source of inspiration, which would undoubtedly have been ingrained in his visual memory. The bent-over pose of the musketeer with helmet behind the lieutenant on the right is highly reminiscent of the helmeted figure behind Pilate in the print *Christ before Pilate* from 1635; see Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-614A.