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Lieber Herr Doktor Bader,
vielen Dank für Ihren Anruf aus Amerika, Ich habe sogleich eine Schwarzweiss-Reproduktion der Landschaft von Philips Koninck an den Verlag geschickt und gebeten, wenn möglich, mit der "Verarbeitung" des Ektachroms vor der Reinigung noch zu warten.
Dass ich nicht postwendend auf Ihre Briefe antworten kann,bitte ich zu verstehen. Denn ich sitze gleichzeitig an zwei Projekten (Landau und Strauss) und habe dann noch die Universitätspflichten zu erledigen. Leider strengt mich das alles ziemlich an;es geht langsam,und mit der Korrespondenz muss ich immer warten, bis ein bestimmtes Pensum erledigt ist.Sie können aber versichert sein,dass ich,wenn der Post-Berg abgetragen wird, Ihnen zuerst schreibe.
Über das FotomMaterial zum 4.Band der Gemälde (Nachträge) freue ich mich sehr. Der Backer ist erstklassig. Leider weiss ich nicht, von wem das ansprechende Männerporträt stammt. Manches erinnert an Lesire,aber nach dem Foto kann ich hier nicht urteilen.
Für die Fotokopie des Artikels uiber Karel van der Pluym bin ich Ihnen insofern doppelt dankbar,als Sie mir die Möglichkeit geben, die Sache noch im P_Band von Herrn Strauss zu verarbeiten (das Heft des. Art Bulletin ist hier noch nicht ausgeliefert worden). Bis jetzt muss ich sagen, dass ich über Herrn Adams recht unglücklich bin, doch vielleicht liegt das an mir; denn ich fand kürzlich die Darbietungen auf dem Deutschen $K_{\text {unsthistariker_Kon- }}$ gress in Stuttgart sämtlich so unbefriedigend,dass ich mich wohl zum Nörgler und Meckerkopf entwickelt haben muss; wahrscheinlich ein Alterphänomen. Selbst Herr Bialostocki aus Warschau,wie der Messias angekïndigt,kochte nur mit Wasser, und seine Suppe schmeckte mir nicht. Allmählich wird mir der ganze $I_{k o n o g r a p h i e \_R u m m e l ~ z u ~ v i e l . ~}^{\text {kin }}$ Jetzt gehts mit der Genre_Malerei los.Man kann sich kaum ein harmloses $\mathrm{B}_{i} 1 \mathrm{~d}$ ansehen, ohne rot zu werden. Überall
"Erotica in vogelperspectief" oder irgendwelche verschlüsselte Banalitäten. Aber ich werde den Karel van der Pluym-Aufsatz selbstverständlich "objektiv" studieren und mich dazu äussern. Schade, dass Sie erst so spät im nächsten Jahr kommen. Die Einladung zum Zeichnungssymposion habe ich unter dem Druck von Kollegen und Freunden angenommen;ich weiss nicht, ob eine derartige Strapaze noch Sinn fir mich hat. Das Thema meines Vortrags steht noch nicht fest. Mit der Übersetzung kunsthistorischer Texte habe ich Schauergeschichten erlebt.Ob Sie wohl, des Deutschen und des Englischen mächtig und bedeutender Fachmann, meine Rede übersetzen wiirden?

Mit den besten Wünschen und herzlichen
Gruissen von Haus zu Haus
$I_{h r}$ momentan etwas verdiusterter


Derhini, den 14. 11. '84

Sehr gecherte turr 2r. Dader,
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Es grigt Sui mil den busitun Wuisisalum


München, Mottlstrasse 13, am 21. November 1984

Lieber Herr Doktor Bader!
Wie schön ist der Ph. de Koninck! Wahrscheinlich wissen Sie, dass das Gemälde sich unter Nr. 324 bei Muller-Amsterdam am 26. Mai 1914 befand und später bei Krupp.
Dass andere gemälde ist wert, dass man sich lange mit ihm beschäftigt und falls es Gott gefällt, den richtigen Namen findet, denn so sehr ich C. van der Pluym schätze, kann ich mich vorläufig noch nicht mit dieser Benennung: befreunden. Aber dafür ist ja Herr Prof. Sumowski zuständig und er wird es wissen. Ein wenig denke ich auch wegen des Ausdrucks und der Landschaft an A. van Dijck. Wenn ich zwischen den Jahren Zeit habe, werde ich, nur für mich, mit der Bild beschäftigen.
Bitte sagen Sie Threr liebe Frau, wie gerne ich sie habe, und dass ich ihr Bild sehr gut im Herzen trage und keinen Anruf brauche, um es lebendig zu erhalten.
Zu. Weihnachten wünsche ich mir bitte, bitte keinen Honig, sondern einen Brief, der auf den meinen, was den anderen van Dyck angeht, eingeht.

Mit herzlichen Wünschen, jetzt schon für die Zeit zwischen den Jahren für Sie Beide

Ihre

Dr. Alfred R. Bader
2961 North Shepard Averuce
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211 18. TX 84.

Delu geehrtee, liacu Ofeu Profewien Numowski:
Besten Tank fir Shren po inhoers reichen $\hat{b}$ 俭.

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Dr. Alfred R. Bader
2961 North Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211
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Lieber Herr Doktor Bader,
vielen Dank für die Briefe vom 31.Juli und vom 17. August. Ich äussere mich in der Reihenfolge Ihrer Anmerkungen und Fragen:
Beim "Opfer Gideons" von Nystad bin ich noch nicht dazu gekommen, Ihre Zuschreibung an Carel van der $\mathrm{P}_{\text {Iuym }} \mathrm{zu}$ prüfen. Ich würde mich freuen, wenn ich $I_{\text {hnen }}$ zustimmen könnte.
Der sog. Lievens aus der Sammlung Wertheimer - mir im Original bekannt - ist ein ganz schwaches Bildiich teile Ifre $Z_{\text {weifel }}$ hinsichtlich der Entstehungszeit.
Dass Herr Brown Ihre "Darbringurg im Tempel" von IL um 1630 datieren will,ist mir verständlich. Ich muss mir hier noch klar werden.
Beim Profilporträt des jungen Lievens bin ich mir sicher, dass es sich um eine Kopie nach dem Kopenhagener Exemplar handelt.
Zu dem hübschen "Orpheus" vom Klavierdeckel kann ich leider nichts Klärendes sagen. Ihre Datierung des Bildes in die Bloemaert_Nachfolge kommt mir zu spät vor. Ob Derartiges nach einem Stich gemalt worden sein könnte?Die Komposition und die Formen erinnern mich an Hans Bol.

Mit den besten Wünschen und mit herzlichen Gruissen von Haus zu Haus $I_{h r}$


## Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute

September 18, 1984
Dr. Alfred R. Bader
2961 North Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 53211
Dear Dr. Bader:
Thanks you for your kind note about my article on Van der Pluym. I hope that someday soon I will have an opportunity to see you collection.

With best wishes.
Sincerely,
Ans Ans
Henry Adams
Curator of Fine Arts

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# If. Not Rembrandt, Then His Cousin? 

ry Adams

j9, when the late Horst Gerson revised Abraham Ere; catalogue of Rembrandt's paintings, he caused conable controversy by cutting the number of paintings he accepted nearly in half, from about six hundred to it three hundred and fifty. The most bitterly disputed he works that he rejected was a large painting of Saul David, a prized possession of the Mauritshuis in The sue (Fig. 2). ${ }^{1}$
lice 1898, when Bredius himself had acquired the picre, it generally had been accepted as one of Rembrandt's eatest and most intensely personal late masterpieces. accordingly, it is hardly surprising that Gerson's repudiaion of it was criticized by such eminent figures as Sir Ernst ,ombrich, Jakob Rosenberg, Seymour Slive, and Wolf;any Stechow. ${ }^{2}$ Yet while it dismayed many, Gerson's judgnent was enthusiastically endorsed by several younger scholars, some of whom have gone considerably further than Gerson in reducing the size of Rembrandt's oeuvre. In addition, since Gerson published his remarks the paint-

[^0]ing has been dropped from at least one general survey of art. ${ }^{3}$
Sadly, at some point in the nineteenth century the painting was seriously mutilated: it was cut into three pieces, and a large section at the upper right, of whose original appearance there is no record, was destroyed and replaced with another piece of canvas. Fortunately, the two remaining portions of the painting were resewn together: examination of the weave of the cloth establishes both that the sections were originally a single piece, and that little space was lost in cutting apart and recombining them. At the time of these alterations, however, the curtain and large areas of the background were heavily retouched and repainted. Thus, not only has Saul and David been extensively reworked, but its present unbalanced composition may well be owed to the loss of some element or elements at the upper right. ${ }^{4}$
In addition to these areas of unquestionably modern repaint, two stylistically distinct modes of paint handling

In reading this account a distinction should be made between the excellent compilation of technical information by Dr. Froentjies (pp. 149-154), and of historical data by Mrs. Tóth-Ubbens (pp. 154-56), and the considerably less complete, more subjective, and more debatable iconographical and stylistic analysis by De Vries (pp. 155-163). (De Vries had already presented his defence of Rembrandt's authorship of the painting in "Nog eens Saul en David in het Mauritshuis," Album Amicorum J. G. Van Gelder, The Hague, 1973, 347-352). The late Keith Roberts took issue with De Vries's conclusions in the Burlington Magazine, cxxı, 1979, 124-25. On the technical side, it should be added that there are no stretcher marks on the rejoined sections of the picture. This establishes that the work was never divided into smaller, more salable paintings, as has sometimes been proposed, and suggests that the motivation for cutting up the painting was to remove some element in the upper right hand corner. The X-ray of the painting (reproduced by De Vries, 150) shows a concentration of white lead pigment in the upper portion of the curtain, which suggests that a figure may have once been present in that area, and another concentration of white lead pigment in the area just above the figure of David. As noted by Tóth-Ubbens (p. 155), the changes to the painting seem to have been made between 1830 and 1869 , a period in which the painting's attribution to Rembrandt was very much in question.
can be discerned in the remaining part of the picture. The head and turban of Saul and the figure of David clearly formed part of the original program of work. However, Saul's cloak and the portion of his garment under his right arm are executed in a different style from the rest of the painting, with rough, jagged brushwork which pays little heed to the modeling of forms. The evidence of radiographs, infra-red photography, and microscopic examination of the surface of the painting establishes that a nowhidden upper part of Saul's sleeve, and the arm of a chair on which his hand rested, exist underneath this layer and were covered over at some date after the paint had dried and the picture had been completed. ${ }^{5}$ To my mind, it seems likely that these additions were painted by a separate hand from the rest of the picture, perhaps even with the fraudulent intent of making the work seem consistent with some conception of Rembrandt's late style. Possibly this brushwork was added by the original author of the picture, but at a later date. In any case, in considering the authorship of the work I will disregard both this dubious area and the modern restorations. Only a small proportion of the picture surface, in fact, can be considered unquestionably original: the head and turban of Saul and the figure of David.

The painting is unsigned and can be traced back only as far as 1830. Gerson, in fact, was not the first to question its attribution to Rembrandt. When the painting was first recorded, in an auction in Paris in May of 1830, it sold for only two hundred and fifty francs, an indication that its attribution to Rembrandt was not seriously credited. ${ }^{6}$ When it appeared again at auction in 1869, the collector and connoisseur Louis Lacaze (then the owner of Rembrandt's masterly Bathsheba, which is now in the Louvre) was stubbornly insistent that the painting was not by Rembrandt. ${ }^{7}$ In 1876 the Parisian art dealer Bourgeois sold the painting to a collector in Cologne, but took it back soon afterwards because of the questions that arose concerning its authenticity. ${ }^{8}$ In 1923 the much-ridiculed American scholar John C. Van Dyke-rejected the painting from Rembrandt's oeuvre ${ }^{\circ}$; in 1967 Gregory Martin observed that it "does not reveal Rembrandt at his best"10; and according to verbal reports Ludwig Munz considered it a pupil's work. ${ }^{11}$ In light of these doubts, it is suggestive that many early admirers of the painting felt that it was significantly different from the paintings by Rembrandt with which they were familiar. Thus, for example, Jan Veth, who was greatly impressed with Suul and David when it was exhibited in Holland in

1898, on loan from a French collection, noted that "this side of Rembrandt ... is not represented in this country." ${ }^{12}$
Uncertainties about the painting, however, generally were overlooked during the early years of the twentieth century. The misgivings of Gerson were the first to receive widespread attention, partly because they were published in a standard reference work on Rembrandt, and partly because they boldly took issue with the eulogistic remarks of other leading scholars. H.E. Van Gelder, in a small booklet of 1948 on Saul and David, had called the turban of Saul "in color one of the richest passages of Rembrandt's later years," ${ }^{13}$ and Jakob Rosenberg, in a widely admired monograph on Rembrandt of the same year, praised the "Tintoretto-like boldness and sketchiness". of Saul's garment. ${ }^{14}$ Gerson, however, termed the turban "pedantic in treatment," and noted that the garment was "painted loosely, in one monotonous tone of brownish red." ${ }^{15}$ With thinly veiled reference to the study by Van Gelder, which had discussed how deeply the nineteenth-century Dutch artist Josef Israels was affected by Saul and David, Gerson noted that the enthusiasm for the work "has a lot to do with a taste for Biblical painting of a type that appealed specifically to the Dutch public of the Josef Israels generation, rather than with the intrinsic quality of the picture itself. "16
Not only Gerson but those he attacked and those who criticized him all based their conclusions about the authenticity of the painting chiefly on their personal responses to its artistic quality. This is surely a relevant consideration, but unfortunately it tends to place the argument on a highly emotional plane - to imply that if the picture is not by Rembrandt it must be a bad one, and that those who have failed to attribute it correctly are somehow insensitive or obtuse. What is surprising, in reviewing the debate of Saul and David, is to see how seldom writers have attempted to compare the painting with other works, in order to establish, through comparison, whether its stylistic traits are closer to the work of Rembrandt or one of his followers. To carry out such stylistic comparison is the goal of this essay. I will propose a group of paintings, both by Rembrandt and his pupils, against which to gauge the authenticity of Saul and David, and, in addition, will refer to some of the specific stylistic and technical considerations that might be employed in making this judgment of authorship.

A comparison between Saul and David and Rembrandt's Jacob Blessing Joseph's Sons in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Cassel (Fig. 1) - the work by Rembrandt

[^1]

1 Rembrandt, Jacob Blessing Joseph's Sons, oil on canvas, $175.5 \times$ 210.5 cm . Cassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen '


2 Saul and David, oil on canvas $130 \times 164 \mathrm{~cm}$, showing the section removed at the upper right and the seam of the two original sections. The Hague, Mauritshuis
that is closest to it in format, subject matter, and style shows that its stylistic traits are significantly different. ${ }^{17}$

Two points are immediately apparent. First, the comparable details of the two paintings are by no means similar. Thus, for example, the turban of Saul is painted meticulously, and with almost oleographic smoothness, while that of Joseph is freely painted, and little effort has been made to describe the specific texture of its material as opposed to that of other elements in the painting (Figs. 4, 5). Similarly, the heads are very differently handled, for in that of Saul the features seem to have been executed painstakingly, individually, and additively, whereas in that of Jacob they are sweepingly indicated, and emphasis is placed on those areas, such as that around the exes, which contribute most to the psychological expression (Figs. 3, 5).

Second, the range in the variation of technique is not the same. In Jacob Blessing Joseph's Sons all portions of the painting are quite freely executed. In Saul and David, by contrast, there is a great variety in the quality of the brushwork and rendition of texture. The glossy turban of Saul recalls Rembrandt's work of the 1640 's, but is unlike his work at a later date. Other parts of the painting, however, exaggerate the free brushwork and bravura of Rembrandt's late style.

There is, however, another painting of the Rembrandt school that resembles Saul and David in size, subject matter, composition, color, and manner of execution, and that also repeats one of the models represented in it. This is The Centurion Cornelius in the Wallace Collection, London (Fig. 7), a work sometimes titled The Unmerciful Servant in older literature on Rembrandt. ${ }^{18}$ Although now generally ignored by scholars, The Centurion was more highly valued than Saul and David in the nineteenth century, and despite being unsigned it brought an unusually high price for Rembrandt's work when it was purchased in 1848 for Lord Hertford, in an auction marked by sharp competition. Its attribution to Rembrandt, however, which was still credited as late as the 1930's, has now generally been discarded, and its authorship is currently in dispute. The painting's innumerable affinities with Saul and David, affinities that have been largely overlooked in recent years, suggest that both works may be by the same artist. ${ }^{19}$

Both paintings are of unusually large size - Saul and David is $130 \times 164 \mathrm{~cm}$, The Centurion $182 \times 221$. Both are biblical paintings that depict three-quarter-length and nearly life-size figures set before a dark background. Both compositions maintain a spatial division between the groups at left and right. In each there is a hulking man in
${ }^{17}$ The paintings have often been associated. They are juxtaposed in Bredius, 1969, 435-36, and are discussed sequentially by Werner Weisbach, Berlin and Leipzig, 1926, 516-519
${ }^{18}$ Wallace Collection Catalogues: Pictures and Drawings, 1968, 259-262. The two drawings mentioned in this catalogue are copies after the composition and shed no light on the authorship of the painting.
${ }^{19}$ Keith Roberts pointed out the affinity between Saul and David and The Centurion in the Burlington Magazine, cxxı, 1979, 125. I owe thank to Mr. Cecil, Assistant Director of the Wallace Collection, who had the glass protecting the canvas temporarily removed so that I could examine the
a turban on the left, on whom the dramatic interest of the painting centers, contrasted with another figure or group of figures on the right, of reduced height and smaller physique. The contrast of scale in both paintings is surrealistic, a juxtaposition of eight-foot giants with four-foot midgets. Indeed, the Centurion not only towers above the puny servants but seems to be pushing his feet through the floor as well.

Both paintings have very dark and rather flat backgrounds. The chief note of color is reddish brown, which in each case appears on the left and in the central figure on the right-hand side of the composition. In both paintings the turban of the figure on the left is composed of similar shades of yellow $w_{r}$ reddish-brown, and green. It is even possible that the same piece of cloth is represented.

Not only are the two paintings similar in these general respects, but they are nearly identical with regard to their execution. Both paintings exhibit a great flexibility of technical treatment, which varies from the loose to the meticulous, and, what is most striking, there is an exact correspondence between the respective zones of the two paintings and their mode of execution. On the left the turban in each of the paintings is most conscientiously, or as Gerson would have it, "pedantically" executed, with great attention to its glossy sheen; and the carefully painted faces of Saul and of the Centurion closely resemble each other (Figs. 5, 6). On the right the subordinate figures in red (that is to say, David and the middle servant) are both painted with remarkable freedom, in broad, sweeping strokes (Figs. $8,9)$.

A further indication of a close relationship between the two works is that the same model posed for the figure of David and the middle servant in The Centurion (Figs. 8, 9). Both figures have the same type of beard and wispy mustaches, and careful examination reveals that they are identical in age and size, have the same rather large nose and soft chin, identical unkempt but close-cropped hair, and a similar stance with a slight forward stoop. They are even dressed in a similar, if not identical, red costume, and are placed in the same portion of the composition. ${ }^{20}$
These shared traits of composition and execution not only suggest a common authorship for the two paintings, but also contrast with the features of the painting by Rembrandt that was considered earlier, Jacob Blessing Joseph's Sons. Rembrandt clearly developed his conceptions as he painted, for radiographs of Jacob show that he radically changed the positions of the figures, even though this resulted in unresolved inconsistencies (Fig. 1). The spatial
painting more closely. The Centurion seems to be in excellent condition. $I$ have seen $X$-rays of only the central portion of the picture.
20 The figure in The Centurion has been identified as a likeness of Carel Fabritius, but in fact is of an entirely different physical type than that portrayed in the existing likenesses of Carel, such as the one in the Boy-mans-Van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam. Moreover, The Centurion bears a faintly inscribed date of 1655, a year after Carel's death. This misidentification, the supposedly "Jewish" cast of David's features, and the difficulty of coordinating a three-quarters and a profile view, have delayed recognition that Saul and David and The Centurion Cornelius both show the same model.

: Jetail of Fig. 1, Rembrandt, Jacob Blessing


5 Detail of Fig. 2, Saul and David


4 Detail of Fig. 1, Rembrandt, Jacob Blessing


6 Detail of Fig. 7, The Centurion


7 The Centurion Cornelius, oil on canvas, $182 \times 221 \mathrm{~cm}$. London, Wallace Collection (by permission of the Trustees)
location of the bed and figures is confusing, for the bedpost is out of line and it is unclear what happens to Jacob's legs. The shoulder of the blond child is weakly drawn and three disembodied fingers touch the head of the brown-haired child, evidently left over from some previous arrangement of the figures. Breaking from the traditional manner of representing the scene, Rembrandt did not show Jacob's arms as crossed, and he included the figure of Joseph's wife, who is not mentioned in the biblical text. ${ }^{2}$
The painter of Saul and David and The Centurion was less eccentric in his approach. Radiographs reveal a few small pentimenti but no fundamental changes in conception: clearly the scheme was well established in the artist's mind before he began to paint. In both pictures there is a simple opposition of the groups at left and right, and a dramatic void across which the action takes place. The spa-

[^2]tial position of each object is made clear. In The Centurion the three servants overlap each other in echelon, and the leftmost servant is overlapped by the hand of the Centurion. A similar scheme of overlapping forms, somewhat differently disposed, is employed in Saul and David: David and his harp appear in front of the distant part of the curtain, while the curtain in turn overlaps the figure of Saul. In both paintings the artist made every effort to place the chief compositional elements at either a right or forty-fivedegree angle to the picture plane, a simplicity of geometrical arrangement seldom found in Rembrandt's work. In short, Saul and David and The Centurion appear simpler and more formulaic than Rembrandt's paintings, but possess positive features of compositional and dramatic clarity. They differ from Rembrandt's securely attributed works not only in execution but in general conception.

Blessing the Sons of Joseph from Rembrandt to Cornelius," Festschritt Ulrich Middeldorf, Berlin, 1968, 460-65; Bob Haak, Rembrandt, New York, 1969, 282-83.


8 Detail of Fig. 2, Saul and David

Several painters have been proposed in passing as possible authors of Saul and David and The Centurion, but Rembrandt's cousin Karel van der Pluym has never previously been mentioned. Ironically, it was Abraham Bredius, the very man who acquired Saul and David for the Mauritshuis, who assembled the evidence that lends support to this connection. Bredius, writing in Oud-Holland in 1931, first brought together a corpus of Van der Pluym's works: more than half a century later his article remains the central source of information on this artist. ${ }^{22}$

Karel, who was about twenty years younger than Rembrandt, was born in about 1625, married in 1652, and died in 1672. He was linked with Rembrandt through blood relationship, artistic study, and social and financial dealings. A distant cousin of Rembrandt, he is thought to have studied with him in the 1640's, at about the same time as Nicolaes Maes. A recent article by the Amsterdam archivist Dr. I. H. van Eeghen proposes that his grandparents, the wealthy Leiden plumber Jan Willemsz. van der Pluym and

22 Among the artists who have been proposed as authors of Saul and David or The Centurion are Ferdinand Bol, Nicolaes Maes, Carel Fabritius, Barent Fabritius, Willem Drost, and Aert de Gelder. These attributions generally have been based on intuition, however, rather than on any direct correspondence with firmly established works by these artists. On Van der Pluym, see Bredius, 1931. A brief earlier note on Van der Pluym was written by Bredius's protégé and companion, J. O. Kronig


9 Detail of Fig. 7, The Centurion
his wife Jaapgen Carels, were painted by Rembrandt, and that his father, Willem Jansz. van der Pluym, sat for Rembrandt's most finished portrait drawing. ${ }^{23}$ Karel and his father lent Rembrandt money, and in 1652 Karel included Titus, Rembrandt's only surviving heir, in his will.

The Van der Pluyms were a prominent family in Leiden, and through his mother, Cornelia van Suytbroeck, Karel was descended from the immensely wealthy Willem van Suytbroeck. Karel held several important posts, including member of the Leiden town council of forty, and Municipal Plumber, the latter a position that had been held during the previous century by members of his family. Although today he rates only a disparaging sentence or two in surveys of Dutch art, he was considered of sufficient importance in his lifetime to head the painter's guild in Leiden in 1652 and 1653, and to serve as Dean of the Guild in 1654. In 1661, however, when the guild pressed him for overdue payments, a matter in which it had been rather lax, Karel reported that he had abandoned painting. As his last dated
("Karel van der Pluijm, A Little Known Follower of Rembrandt," Burlington Magazine, xxvı, 1914-15, 172, 175).
${ }^{23}$ I. H. Van Eeghen, "Willem Jansz. van der Pluym en Rembrandt," Amstelodamum, lxiv, 1977, 6-13. The paintings in question are Bredius Nos. 212 and 348, the drawing Benesch No. 433. Gerson has questioned the attribution of the paintings to Rembrandt, but they do seem to be consistent with the work of his studio (Bredius, 1969, 565, 577).

arel van der Pluym, The Geographer, oil on canvas, 71.1 3 cm . Chicago, coll. Mrs. Chester D. Tripp, promised gift t Institute of Chicago

tail of Fig. 10. The Geographer, showing the signature
deeply indebted to W. Downer, Town Archivist of Leiden, for a f October 19, 1977, giving detailed information on Karel van der and correcting errors in previous accounts. Judson wrongly reports I that "his mother was Rembrandt's sister" ( p .85 ). This mistake ly came about because the Dutch word for cousin and nephew are ne. Karel was actually related to Rembrandt in the fifth degree. sno specific word to express this in Dutch: it is less than "neefricht" th degree, but more than "achterneef-achternicht" or sixth degree.


12 Karel van der Pluym, The Old Woman with a Book, oil on canvas, $98 \times 78 \mathrm{~cm}$. New York, Frick Collection
picture is from 1659, this is quite possible - unless he was merely too stingy to pày his dues. ${ }^{24}$

Several of Bredius's attributions to Van der Pluym seem doubtful, but for our present purposes we need accept the authenticity of only three paintings: The Geographer, The Old Woman with a Book, and Heraclitus and Democritus. The Geographer, in the collection of Mrs. Chester Tripp in Chicago, is signed (Figs. 10, 11). ${ }^{25}$ The other two paintings are attributions originated or accepted by Bredius. The Old Woman with a Book, in the Frick Collection, New York, resembles The Geographer closely: in particular, as Bredius noted, the treatment of the hands and book in the respective works is nearly identical (Fig. 12). Heraclitus and Democritus, unfortunately now lost, is a more ambitious painting than the other two, but remains obviously similar in style (Fig. 13). In fact, the model for The Geographer
${ }^{25}$ The Old Woman with a Book was first attributed to Van der Pluym by John C. Van Dyke (as in n. 9), 143; this attribution was firmly established by Bredius, 242. Most of Van der Pluym's paintings are on panel, and are smaller in size and less impressive in execution than the works on canvas. The painting owned by Dr. Willem M. J. Russell in Amsterdam (Judson, 85-86), which like most other works by Van der Pluym was once attributed to Rembrandt, is a good example of his work of this type. While undoubtedly awkward, these paintings on panel are more impressive in the original, where it is possible to appreciate their sensitive portrayal of gesture and expression, and their vivacity of color. Perhaps the most important factor in the quite different appearance of the works on canvas and panel is that the paintings on canvas tend to have black backgrounds, while the backgrounds of the works on panel are usually brightly lighted.


13 Karel van der Pluym, Heraclitus and Democritus, oil on canvas, $108.7 \times 136.5 \mathrm{~cm}$. Now lost, in 1928 with Jacques Goudstikker, Amsterdam
posed for the figure of Democritus, and his face in the two paintings was handled in a very similar fashion. ${ }^{26}$

All three canvases show old men or women, in threequarter view, against an almost black background. The mood is invariably thoughtful and solemn: the forms dimly emerge from their dark surroundings, caressed by light of an elusive vibrancy. The artist employed a wide range of technical effects. In The Old Woman with a Book, for example, the face is painted smoothly and with exactitude, but the skirt is brushed in with misty vagueness, and the highlights on the sleeve are laid on with a thick and richly textured impasto. All three of these works by Van der Pluym were once ascribed to Rembrandt, and correspond in general character with both Saul and David and The Centurion.

Saul and David and The Centurion are particularly close in appearance to Van der Pluym's Heraclitus and Democritus. Both models in Heraclitus and Democritus also posed for The Centurion: Heraclitus, the weeping man on the right, posed for the Centurion (Figs. 6, 14), and Democritus, the more cheerful man on the left, for the left-hand servant in the group on the right (Figs. 15, 16). Like The Centurion, Heraclitus and Democritus shows old men of three-quarter length against a dark background, and in both cases the composition is divided down the middle and the
interest is predominantly on the larger left-hand figure. The poses in the two paintings are similar: in particular, the gesture of the left hand of the tearful Democritus resembles that of the middle servant in The Centurion.

The loose, rather pasty paint handling of Heraclitus and Democritus is very much the same as that on the right-hand side of The Centurion. The similarities of execution are particularly evident in the faces of Democritus and the servant to the left in The Centurion, which were both rendered from the same model (Figs. 15, 16). While the face in The Centurion is more freely and faintly painted, the various gradations of shading, and the conventions of brushwork used to indicate texture, are virtually identical in both works. Although the two heads face in opposite directions, both are placed at a similar angle to the picture plane.

Saul and David also shares many affinities of composition and execution with Heraclitus and Democritus, along with a certain solemnity of mood. In addition, Democritus's action is worthy of mention - he is weeping and holding a dark curtain to his eye. This motif of a bearded man using a background curtain to dry his tears is extremely unusual. Indeed, to my knowledge, this painting and Saul and David are the only examples of its appearance in sev-enteenth-century Dutch art. ${ }^{27}$
In fact, the close connection between Saul and David,

[^3][^4]

1 Detail of Fig. 13, Heraclitus and Democritus
he Centurion Cornelius, and Heraclitus and Democritus as previously been noted. In 1921 Wilhelm Valentiner sote of Heraclitus and Democritus, which he believed to e by Rembrandt: "Both in color and technique it resembles re painting ... of the Unmerciful Servant in the Wallace ollection. ... The motif of the weeping old man, which embrandt later employed in the Saul and David in The lague, appears here for the first time." ${ }^{28}$ These connecons, however, surely have a different significance today om what they had over sixty years ago, now that it is pparent that two of these paintings are definitely not by embrandt, and that one of them can be attributed fairly curely to his cousin. It seems worth proposing, on the asis of the noteworthy visual similarities, that all three orks were executed by the same hand, that of Karel van er Pluym.
Perhaps, Van der Pluym was responsible for further :hievements, for these paintings here linked together have ose affinities with other problematic works of the Remrandt school. Even if incorrect, an attribution to Van der luym should encourage us to look at these questionable unattributed works from a new perspective.
Two such uncertain works are The Old Woman Cutting er Nails in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1d The Apostle Thomas in the Staatliche Kunstsammlunn, Cassel (Figs. 17, 18), canvases that were long consided major paintings by Rembrandt, but which are no nger viewed as his work by most scholars, nor labeled such in their respective museums. Several scholars have ted, however, that while not by Rembrandt these works
N. R. Valentiner, Rembrandt. Wiedergefundene Gemalde, Stuttgart and -lin, 1921, xxi, No. 68 (my translation).


15 Detail of Fig. 7. The Centurion


16 Detail of Fig. 13, Van der Pluym, Heraclitus and Democritus

man Cutting Her Nails, oil on canvas, $126 \times 102 \mathrm{~cm}$. Netropolitan Museum of Art


18 The Apostle Thomas, oil on canvas, $120 \times 90.5 \mathrm{~cm}$. Cassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

critus and the right half of The Centurion. An attribution to Van der Pluym, in fact, is not new for The Old Woman Cutting Her Nails, for it was proposed in 1949 by Frits Lugt. ${ }^{30}$

In addition, The Old Woman Cutting Her Nails provides a new form of evidence linking the name of Van der Pluym with paintings of this type. The National Museum in Stockholm preserves a drawing of this composition which, although not by itself a particularly distinguished work, has all the characteristics of a genuine preparatory sketch

[^5];. 19). The breezy, swirling lines of this drawing, the ching which runs across contours, the hairpin-shaped 's, and the bulbous fingers are all features with close interparts in Van der Pluym's only securely attributed rk on paper, a preliminary study for his signed painting The Goldweigher, a sketch whose authorship was establed in 1968 by Werner Sumowski (Fig. 20). ${ }^{31}$
I second group of paintings that might be associated h Van der Pluym is a series of portraits once thought represent Rembrandt's brother Adriaen - an unlikely ntification as one of them is dated to 1654, two years er Adriaen's death. One of these is in the Mauritshuis, e Hague, and another in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow z5. 21, 22); the most famous is The Man with a Golden Imet in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin (Fig. 23). ${ }^{32}$ The del, in fact, is the same who appears as Heraclitus and the left-most servant in The Centurion, as well as in ther painting attributed by Bredius to Van der Pluym, ich was formerly with Jules Porgès in Paris. ${ }^{33}$
The paintings of this model attributed to Rembrandt are listically similar to those attributed to Van der Pluym, d are substantially different from accepted works by mbrandt from the same period. A comparison, for exam, of the face of Democritus with that of the man with - golden helmet (Figs. 16, 25) reveals that both are repented with strong contrasts of light and dark, and are iceived as strongly sculptural surfaces of faceted planes. e features, such as the darkly shaded nose and the iken, heavily-lidded eye sockets, are handled in the same nner; the tonal gradations of shadow are closely comrable; and similar idiosyncrasies of brushwork are ployed for textures - witness, for example, the hanig of the mustaches. The same artist seems to have made th works.
.et us compare, however, the visage of The Man with a Iden Helmet with the most closely comparable face in unquestioned work by Rembrandt, the face of the Figure 4rmor in the City Art Gallery, Glasgow (Figs. 24, 16, . Although it looks equally as weather-beaten as the er, the face by Rembrandt is rendered in a very different $y$, as are all Rembrandt's faces of this period. Luminous 1 translucent, its modeling is accomplished with the most the of coloristic gradations and with little emphasis on
the sculptural projection of the features. Nose, eyes, and mouth are shaped differently from those in The Man with a Golden Helmet. The contrast is quite distinct. Moreover, the face of The Man with a Golden Helmet exhibits even more striking differences from Rembrandt's other version of the Figure in Armor, in the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Oeiras (Figs. 26, 27).

Finally, consider a small detail of The Man with a Golden Helmet, the plume - an accessory that Van der Pluym seems to have been fond of, perhaps because of a pun on his own name. Rembrandt's rendering of the crest in the Gulbenkian Foundation's version of the Figure in Armor is distinctly different from that of The Man with a Golden .Helmet (Figs...28, 29) In Rembrandt's painting the character of the plume is entirely expressed through the beautiful fluctuations of its outline, and there is no attempt to simulate the substance of its internal area. However, the plumage of the servant to the right in The Centurion Cornelius is painted in the same manner as that in The Man with a Golden Helmet, although it is considerably fainter (Fig. 30), and the same technique is used for the feathers on the cap in Van der Pluym's signed painting of The Geographer in the Tripp Collection (Fig. 31). In all these pictures the texture of the feathers is evoked by modulating the central mass of the form with gently flurried brushwork. It seems not unlikely, in short, that they were all executed by the same painter.
Naturally any attempt to ascribe to Van der Pluym the Saul and David, The Man with a Golden Helmet, and the other paintings discussed here, should remain somewhat tentative. These paintings are of varied types and their stylistic range might seem inconsistent with the work of one artist; the oeuvre Bredius proposed for Van der Pluym is open to question, and it contains several works of quite mediocre quality; a key piece of evidence, Heraclitus and Democritus, survives only through a photograph; and it may even be questioned whether works such as Saul and David are the product of one master rather than of several hands.

It might well be profitable, however, as a provisional hypothesis, to group these paintings apart from Rembrandt's securely documented works and to consider them as a stylistically interconnected group. Even if all these
.rner Sumowski, "Hitherto Unknown Draughtsmen of the RemIt School," Master Drawings. vi, 1968, 271-76, pl. 35b. The drawing uckholm is discussed by John Kruse, Die Zeichnungen Rembrandt5 einer Schule im National-museum zu Stockholm, The Hague, 1920,
e Man with a Golden Helmet was purchased by the Berlin Museum a private collection in 1890, just a year after the Mauritshuis purd Saul and David, and like Saul and David it lacks an old prove-

[^6]

21 Old Man, oil on canvas, $74 \times 63 \mathrm{~cm}$. Moscow, Pushkin Museum


23 The Man with a Golden Helmet, oil on canvas, $67 \times 50 \mathrm{~cm}$ Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie


22 Old Man, oil on canvas, $80 \times 67 \mathrm{~cm}$. The Hague, Mauritshuis


24 Rembrandt, Figure in Armor, oil on canvas, $115.5 \times$ 87.7 cm . Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum


5 Detail of Fig. 23, The Man with a Golden Helmet
paintings were not actually executed by Van der Pluym, they seem closer to his work than that of Rembrandt. The many affinities between them and several of Van der Pluym's securely attributed paintings deserve to be explained.

Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute Pittsburgh, PA 15213

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26 Detail of Fig. 24, Rembrandt, Figure in Armor, Glasgow


27 Rembrandt, Figure in Armor, oil on canvas, $118 \times 91 \mathrm{~cm}$ Portugal, Oeiras, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation


28 Detail of Fig. 27. Rembrandt Figure in Armor, Oeiras

29 Detail of Fig. 23, The Man with a Golden Helmet


30 Detail of Fig. 7, The Centurion

31 Detail of Fig. 10, Karel van der Pluym, The Geographer

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 hat sio nach neinem Besuch in Bitinchen von den geforderten reis aur dor lictura gुozirt unc scmeli aurceschlagen. Bei der Berglandschaft scl-oint mir die JVd Heor-Signatur sp:tiv aungosctat worden art sein. Das Gemälde selost scheint rixn woll dea Eleichun fiand mu stamon wio dic "Bercien schaft Mit Vasscraijhle" in dor Droskoner Galorio (ITr.1575).Jenes Bild heisst jetzt "ilembrandt-Sciule";es war aucly auf Fiemionendt urid A.de Gel er cotauft. Ob hion der friunsto Aomhan in Betracht







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7．Giuseppe Nogari；＇The Pipe－Smoker＇and 8．＇Head of a Girl＇．painted in
1739；Galleria Sabauda，Turin．
9．＇Head of a Boy＇， $51 \times 40.5 \mathrm{~cm}$ ．formerly ascribed to the School of
Piazzetta and here attributed to Giuseppe Nogari．Temple Newsam House，
Leeds．
Io．Giuseppe Nogari：＇Head of an Old Woman＇，iI．＇Head of an Old Man＇，
Ince Blundell Hall．
I2．＇Head of An Old Woman＇， $56 \times 46 \mathrm{~cm}$ ．formerly ascribed to B．Denner
and here attributed to Giuseppe Nogari；Museo Stibbert，Florence．
 works could never be confused with those of Piazzetta，antings in of them are closer to other artists．His decorative paintings in


 of Rembrandt．Indeed，his similarities with Piazzetta are probably


 more inspiration from his own father－and his younger contem－
porary who painted＇character heads＇，Pietro Rotari，owes noth－ ing to him．

 should appear also in the more dramater of the mid－eighteenth century had a unique opportunity of studying Rembrandt in Consul Smith＇s collection ${ }^{47}$ which contained ten pictures ascribed to him，six of which seem to have been genuine．One may suggest， Nazzari，directed their attention to these works．Yet he苞 and high accomplishment within his narrow range．His place in

17 For the list of Smith＇s Dutch and Flemish pictures see A．Blunt and E．Croft－
Murray，Venetian Dravings at Windsor Castle，1957，p． 20 ．
 he unmistakable influence of Rembrandt，whose portraits of old men and women were as popular in Italy as elsewhere．It was should have turned to him for inspiration when they wished to satisfy a vogue for this specialised genre－a vogue which was


 also by G．B．Tiepolo and G．D．Tiepolo．Indeed，G．B．Tiepolu from Rembrandt＇s etchings for inclusion in his religious paintings where they are transfigured by his wit and wholly Venetian elegance．But Rembrandt＇s infuence on Venetian painters of this period was not confined to iconographical motifs．As Zanotti
pointed out in $1739,{ }^{48} \mathrm{G}$ ．M．Crespi had profited from a study of

 ${ }^{41}$ Arte Veneta，1955，p． 270 ．It is reproduced in the catalogue of the Mostra di Fra
Catlario，Bergamo，I995．pl． 58 ．

${ }^{3}$ The head of an old man at Los Angeles was formerly attributed to Aert de

 4s Rembrandr＇s portrait of a young man in a turban，which was in Smith＇s
collection and in now Windsor Castle（Bredius 142），can hardly be called an
Winal
 be classified as oriental．It has similarities with a painting in the Ca＇Rezzonico
Venice（see G．Lorenze Hi：Ca Rezzonico，， 1936 ，pl． 29.$)$ which it is temping to
 Saloon of Fine Arts in London in 1818 ．Engravings of them are in the catalogue
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of St．Peter and a
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reverse by Felice Polanzani, ${ }^{28}$ all these fall into the category of 'character heads' and may most conveniently be considered by subject.

Another engraving after Nogari by Polanzani, ${ }^{30}$ showing a chubby-checked boy holding a small trumpet in his left hand, provides evidence for the attribution of three similar pictures which are painted in a manner wholly characteristic of him. Onc, in the Sarti Collection at Bologna, has been published by Professor Pallucchini ${ }^{31}$ who has also attributed another, in the Palazzo Bianco at Gcnoa ${ }^{32}$, to Nogari. But the most attractive is the charming portrait in the Lceds City Art Gallery ${ }^{33}$ (No. 9), which was sold to its former owner as a work by Francesco Guardi. As these heads have few similarities with Nogari's portrait of a boy in the Galleria Sabauda, and are painted in a far creamier manner reminiscent of the works he sent to Dresden, they may safely be assigned to his second Venctian period. Another painting of a boy, which is connected with them, is in the Museum at Copenhagen ${ }^{34}$ where it forms a pendant to the head of a girl holding a hen. A similar picture of a girl clasping a dove to her breasi- to represent Innocence-is in the Accademia dei Concordi at Rovigo whence it passed from the Silvestri Collection where it was ascribed to Nogari in the late cighteenth century. ${ }^{36}$

The most familiar of Nogari's works are his heads of old men and women similar to those he painted for the Elector of Saxony. They were often executed in pairs, like those which were included in the sale of 'pictures collected by Robert and James Adam' at Mr. Prestage's rooms in London on 16th Fcbruary, 1765: 'Nogari: An Old Woman's Head, $\mathbf{r}$ '10 $\times 1 \cdot 5 ; 26$ Ditto. An old Man's head its companion I•Io $\times$ I $\cdot 5$ '. Were it not that many such works were probably imported into England, it would be tempting to associate these with a very fine 'pair of heads at Ince Blundell Hall ${ }^{38}$ (No. io \& ir). A pair that was originally in Consul Smith's collection in Venice is now at Hampton Court. ${ }^{37}$ Another, formerly in the Silvestri Collection, is in the Accademia dei Concordi at Rovigo. ${ }^{38}$ Nogari also executed similar works in pastel such as those in the Querini Stampalia gallery at Vcnice ${ }^{39}$ which show him to have been a master of this medium.
${ }^{29}$ See G. Fasolo, Guida del Mused Civico di Vicenza, 1940, p. I16 and Alinari photograph No. 44476. The engraving is inscribed Joseph Nogari pinx. Felix Polanzani del it sculp. There is a copy of it in the British Museum.
an Signed as that mentioned above. A copy is in the British Museum. The inscripis Rivista di Veneza, original painting belonged to Antonius Civran.
${ }^{32}$ Oral attribution kindly communicated to me by Dr. Podesta.
${ }^{3}$ Leeds City Art Gallery, Catalogue of Paintings Pt. I, 1954, p. 53.
'Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen: Catalogue of Old Foreign Paintings, 951, p. $235-6$. Attributed tentatively to Piazzetta with Maggiotto's name as an
Iternative. It is pointed out that they are similar to a pair of works ascribed to Nogari in the Prima Mostra d'Arte antica delle raccolte private vencziane, 1947,
No. 102.
${ }^{5}$ Bartoli, op. cit. p. 243-4.
${ }^{8}$ Noted by Waagen (Art Treasure in Great Britain, 1854, vol. III, p. 248) who calls hemale portrait in the collection of Richard Ford (Vol. If, p. 224). Mr. Brinsley ord has kindly informed me that this work was sold at Sotheby's on I sth October, 947, Lot 79. It cannot now be traced.
${ }^{7}$ Burlington Magazine, 1913, p. 161. The man, who is bearded, is dressed in six${ }^{\text {a }}$ Bartoli, op. cit p.2s5. He also records (p. 2so) ans
-ollection, now in the Accademia dei Concordi, a half length of St Peter and a 1. Joh in the Muttoni Collection, Rovigo (p. 217). I have not been able to trace
G. Lorenzetti: Venezia e il swo estrario, 1956, p. 68r. A pencil drawing of the me old woman is in the Witt Collection at the Courtauld Institutc of Art, London. re be used as a basis for the study of his draughtsmanship. R. Pallucchini (op. cit.)

To the many paintings of old men and women ascribed to Nogari in the biographical dictionaries ${ }^{40}$ we may add two further examples. As Professor Fiocco recently pointed out, "1 the head of an old woman with a walking stick in the Accadcmia Carrara in Bergamo is not by Benedetto Nazzari, but by 'the much better Nogari'. We may also attribute to him a portrait of the same old crone, in a slightly different attitude (No. 12) labelled Balthasar Denner, ${ }^{12}$ in the Musco Stibbert at Florence. This little picture which has none of Denner's frosty precision and parchmenty texture, is characteristic of Nogari for its free handling and rich brown and green colour scheme. The fact that these pictures werc formerly ascribed to the Bergamasque Benedetto Nazzari and the German Denncr is not surprising, since both of these artists executed imaginary portraits of old people. Denner, indeed, secms to have specialised in this type of work as much as Nogari, presumably to satisfy a vogue which was as popular in Germany enice
No doubt Algarotti had such paintings by Nogari in mind when he stated that he sought to imitate the Flemish school (by which he probably meant both the Flemish and Dutch schools). Some of them have actually passed under the names of Dutch artists. ${ }^{43}$ Picturcs like those at Ince Blundell (Nos. Io \& i1) reveal the unmistakable influence of Rembrandt, whose portraits of old men and women were as popular in Italy as elsewhere. It was therefore natural that artists like Nogari and Benedetto Nazzari4 should have turned to him for inspiration when they wished to satisfy a vogue for this specialised genre-a vogue which was catered for in France by such eminent painters as Fragonard.

Rembrandt was also admired for his heads of Orientals, of which etchings were casily available even if none of the paintings was in Italy: and these were imitated not only by Nogarits but also by G. B. Tiepolo and G. D. Tiepolo. Indeed, G. B. Ticpolo was not above borrowing whole figures of Jews and Orientals from Rembrandt's etchings for inclusion in his religious paintings where they are transfigured by his wit and wholly Venctian clegance. But Rembrandt's influence on Venetian painters of this pcriod was not confined to iconographical motifs. As Zanotti pointed out in 1739, ${ }^{48}$ G. M. Crespi had profited from a study of
des Peintres efc. Paris, 1953, Vol. VI, p. 375 . In addition, there are Benezit: Dictionnaire des Peintres efc. Paris, 1953, Vol. VI, p. 375 . In addition, there are heads of old men at
Los Angcles, Padua, and Modena (this weak work may be a copy) A fine head of an old woman has recentiy been acquired by the Accademia at Venice, See Belletino d'Arie, 1954, p. 364.
${ }^{41}$ Arte Veneta, 1955, p. 270. It is reproduced in the catalogue of the Mostra di Fra
Galgario, Bergamo, ${ }^{42}$ Museo Stibbert, No. 4080.
43 The head of $m$ old man at Los Angeles was formerly attributed to Aert de Gelder. See P. Wescher, A Catalogue of the Italian, French and Spanish Paintings... Los Angeles County Muscum, p. 56, No. 54. A version of Nogari's Scholar at Dresden
was included in the Wanamaker Sale, New York (28th March, 1935, Lot 51), with certificated attribution to Gerard Dou.
${ }^{44}$ Rembrandt's influence on Venctian painters of the eighteenth century was Vite di Pittori scultorie architctit bergamaschit, Bergamio, 1918, p. 101 ff. F. M. Tassi in Nazzari attempted to imitate Rembrandt. ${ }^{45} \mathrm{R}$ cmbrandt's portrait of a young man
collection and is now at Windsor Castle (Bre a turban, which was in Smith's oriental head. An oriental head which appearstobe 142), can hardly be called an at Milan (sce: Arte Veneta, 195I p. 195). The beturbaned man with a terrestrial globe, which was in the von Hagendorn Collection (see note s above), may loosely Venice (see $G$ oricntal. It has similaritics with a painting in the Ca Rezzonico at attribute to Nogari tentatively. A head of a Turk by Nogari was included in the sate of works collected by Robert and James Adam in 1765 (cited above) and several 'Heads of Oricntals' by him were included in an exhibition held at the Such works may now perhaps be found masquerading under the names of G. D. if not G. B. Tiepolo.
46 Zanotti, Storia dell' Accademia Clementina, Bologna, 1739, vol. II, p. 70. Crespi and later, Piazzetta werc, of course, also influenced by Guercino whom Algarotti called
the Rembrandt of Italy.

## ,

## KUNSTHISTORISCHES INSTITUT

## FLORENZ

- Der Direktor -

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I-50121 Firenze / Italy
    Via.G. Giusti 44
    31. Juli }196
    UM:cb
    Luftpost
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## Herm

Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 N. Shepard Avenue
Mi l w a ke e, wisconsin 53211
U. S. A.

Lieber Alfred,
vielen Dank für Thren Brief. Die Sache mit den Aktien werde ich mir also noch überlegen. Dank für den Rat.

Die Adresse des Händlers in Carate ist:
Cav. Uff. Luigi Galli
Viale Garibaldi, 12
I-20048 C arate Brianza
Die Geschichte mit dem Pluym wird ja immer seltsamer. Was uns daran interessiert, ist natürlich die Verbindung mit Nogari. Der hat ja bestimmt solch ein Bild gesehen; und das ist sehr interessant. Aber von wem war dies Bild? Die Signatur auf dem Ihren scheint ja doch echt, d. h. aus der Zeit des Bildes. Haben Sie ein Foto des Exemplares in Ince Blundell Hall, von dem Nieuwstraten schreibt? Sollte Ihr Bild nach diesem mit der Signatur kopiert sein? Dann, von wem? Es ist anders gemalt als die Nogaris und sieht nicht italienisch aus. Die Geschichte ist höchst kompliziert und nicht klarzustellen ohne grïndliches Studium sämtlicher Exemplare. Dazu wäre es gut, wenn Sie Thr Bild wirklich einmal mitbräohten. Man müsste es auch neben das Ince Blundell Hall Bild stellen. Aber wer kann das tun? Hier kenne ich niemand, der so etwas bewältigen könnte.

Was hat denn Maxon zu dem Bild gesagt? Es wïde mich interessieren, obwohl ich Maxon auch kein definitives Urteil zutraue.

Einen guten Restaurator fände man hier schon, aber im Moment sind sie alle überbeschäftigt.

Herzliche Grüsse von Haus zu Haus
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Ginttre Noxari

## Horn

Dr. Alfred Bader,
2961 North Shepard Ave.,
Milwaukee,
Wisconsin 33211

Dear Dr. Bader,
Many thanks for your kind letter of August 16 th. I am glad that you like the van Goyenbook and I send you my felicitations as the owner of a van Goyen drawing.

As to the two pictures, you sent me; I think we nad ta anemonili cocresurrderef aires: earlier about these things. Th: portrait ai a young Jew (is it really a Jew? ir cortainl: a picture from the school ot iemiriantt fut i am afraid it looks rather poor. I can not believe that it is by or near Carl Fabritius and I think it is rather difficult to be certain about the age of the canvas. Anyhow, I have no doubts that the picture is seventeenth century.

As to the other one; I would not have any doubts that it is by Nogari or anyhow, of the period of Nogari. Also I can not see anything, which relates the picture to van der Pluym. I see the signature on the canvas, but I can not read it from the photograph, and I wonder whether it is really seventeenth century writing. I am afraid it is something in the style of Nogari and som?body put the name van der Pluym on it in order to deceive us. Otherwise it is quite a good paint--r.

I know from my work on the "Ausbreitung" that Nogari was a painter, who was interested in the art of the Dutch, and I know of more paintings by Nogari in the Dutch manner.

Kind regards,
Yours ever,

H. Gerson.

+ D. Verist?


## AEROGRAMME

LUCHTPOSTBLAD

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Herrn
Dr. Alfred Bader,
2961 North Shepard Ave.,
Hilwaukne,
Wisconsin 33211.
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I.... is.

PAR AVION / PER LUCHTPOST

EXPÉDITEUR/AFZENDER
Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis, Oude Boteringestraat 34 , Groningen, Holland.

NIETS INSLUITEN!
GEEN ADRESSTROKEN. SLUITZEGELS. PLAKBAND. ENZ. GEBRUIKEN INDIEN ZULKS TOCH GESCHIEDT, DAN WORDT DEZE BRIEF

> PER BOOT/TREIN VERZONDEN

Fek verrehter Hew Back,
enolich dank foi Inif ane photas um 15. Kovembe /airir fing es hicht ther fot wack wein Rinteteres con Bugn haur an hi zeit). Sie frogen savk einem niogtides arise ves Loneen gegragenm Brif - hes mass wokl her uom 20. Angust gerosen rim. th finthe, In Leberich tatsichlid bitht treantwortct, aw ich ursste tatsictelie nidhts dariber gn sum. Thch id the Kenim Begielmy zu ved Pluym, abo anch higeni shaint hill gn paston. Kack o P Sto singe id - wal mum loch Ki wist!' af Buethaser bewner feraton taben.

Is Kind MCiven juteff ane il.
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i) ate Paisio-diec ? , ant ane mans ith or selem mith lian anstillengokatioy Anchaten Cot Kate id $k$ b hac ecen sebon.") - we sinthates otc. Zn sen ri-
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FLORENZ

## Herrn

Dr.Alfred BADER
2961 North Shepard Ave. MILWAUKBA, Wisconsin 53211

Lieber Alfred,
vielen Dank für Ihre beiden letzten Briefe.
Die Mädchenbuiste in Marmor ist zwar sehr hübsch, aber nicht alt. Sie muss um 1900 sein. Wenn Sie sie sehr billig kaufen können haben Sie ein hübsches Stück moderner Skulptur, das auch noch dadurch interessant ist, danes unvollendet zu sein scheint. Ich sende die Fotos hiermit zurűck.

Den Nogar im Inco Blundoll Hall habe ich bei H. Honour abgebildet gefunden. Er hat nichts mit Ihrem Bild zu tun, wie auch die anderen Nogaris nicht. Was Ihr Bild ist, weiss ich immer noch nicht. Jedenfalls nicht italienisch. Die Ansicht, dass es deutsch ist, scheint mir sehr interessant. Könnte es nicht eine deutsche Kopie nach Pluym sein ? Dann wåre es interessant ausfindig zu machen, wo das Original wäre und wie die Venezianer es gekannt haben. Gibt es etwa einen Stich oder eine Radierung ? Man müsste also auch die Farben vergleichen. So interessant das alles für uns ist, so kann solche Arbeit doch wohl nur im Haag gemacht werden. Wenn da jemand imstande wåre, eine Arbeit über den niederländischen Einfluss auf Nogard und die Venetianer seiner Zeit zu machen, drucke ich sie gern in unseren Mitteilungen. Aber es wird schwer halten, jemand zu finden etwa Gerson?

Der J.F.Millet scheint mir sehr schön, und er hat sicher einen gewissen Wert. Mir machen solche Bilder grosse Freude.

Der " Fabritius $m$ scheint ja sehr schön geworden zu sein. Aber ist das wirklich ein Karol Fabritius, der im Grunde viel seltener ist als Vermeer ? Was ich von ihm kenne sieht anders aus : aber das will nicht viel heissen.

Hat sich eigentlich Ihr Koffer wieder gefunden ?
Die herzlicheten Grűsse von Haus zu Haus


Anlage

The Netherlands Institute for Art History, Korte Vijverberg 7, Den Haagr Holland.

April 19th, 1966

Dr.Alfred Bader,
2961 North Shepard Ave.,
MILWAUKEE, Wisconsin 53211.

Dear Dr.Bader,

Of course it is all right for you to send photographs to this institute to my attention.

As for the old woman holding glasses, it is out of the question that the picture could be by Van der Pluym since it is painted in a style and technique which offer not the slightest similarity with those in works accepted as by Van der Pluym.

Moreover, the Ince Blundell Hall picture is evidently much superior to yours. It seems to me therefore that it is unthinkable that it could have been copied after yours.

As for the portrait of a sculptor or a collector, I need longer time to look into this problem. In due time I will inform you of my findings.

For the time being I can only say that it is not reproduced in De Gelder's monograph, nor is it found among our repro* ductions of Van der Heist. I doubt that tie attribution is likely.

With best regards,
Sincerely,

$\sqrt{1.0}$
Please would you ask your rind Mr. Flags, whether he did send the photographs of his triptych which lection?


Dr.Alfred Bader,
2961 North Shepard Ave., MILWAUKEE, Wisconsin, 53211, U.S.A.

PAR AVION / PER LUCHTPOST

EXPÉDITEUR/AFZENDER
The Netherlands Institute for Art History, Korte Vijverberg 7, Den Haag, Holland.

NIETS INSLUITEN!
GEEN ADRESSTROKEN. SLUITZEGELS, PLAKBAND, ENZ. GEBRUIKEN. INDIEN ZULKS TOCH GESCHIEDT, DAN WORDT DEZE BRIEF

PER BOOT/TREIN VERZONDEN

## KUNSTHISTORISCHES INSTITUT

FLORENZ

- Der Direktor -

Via G. Giusti 44
50121 Firenze / Italy
3. Juli 1967

UM: cb
Luftpost

## Herrn

Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 N. Shepard Avenue
M i 1 wa $u k e$ e, Wisconsin 53211
U. S. A.

Lieber Alfred,
diesmal war Thr Besuch aber wirklich viel zu kurz. Zumindestens schien es uns so, denn wir hätten uns gern noch länger mit Ihnen unterhalten. Hoffentlich ist Thre Rückreise gut gewesen. Vor allem hat sich Ihr Ohr hoffentlich beruhigt, mit den Medizinen, die Dr. Zilli Ihnen gegeben hat. Wir haben uns ein bisschen Sorge gemacht, dass Sie mit so etwas reisen mussten.

Mir ist mit Schrecken eingefallen, dass ich das Kleingeld vom Taxi eingesteckt habe, anstatt es Ihnen zu geben. Es waren 480 Lire. Ich bin sicher, dass die unsere Freundschaft nicht stören werden, und wir sie irgendwie verrechnen können.

Ich habe noch einmal über Ihre Aktien nachgedacht. Zufällig habe ich $\$ 10.000$ unbeschäftigt in Chicago liegen. Könnte ich die bei Thnen anlegen? agen Sie mir bitte ganz offen, ob Ihnen das recht ist. Auf eine Dividende rechne ich nicht; ich habe gut verstanden, wie Sie Thr Geschëft betreiben, und die Methode gefällt mir.

Ich habe noch einmal die Foto von dem Pluym angesehen. Sie haben natürlich völlig recht: dies ist nie ein venezianisches Bild, sondern es ist in Venedig von Nogari kopiert worden. Das ist eine überraschende Entdeckung, die man eigentlich publizieren sollte. Dazu müsste man aber die Farben kennen, denn eventuell hat es einen Stich gegeben, der die Vermittlung gewesen ist. Gibt es bei Ihnen nicht einen jungen Mann, der sich damit beschäftigen könnte? Ich würde ihn gern anleiten.

Ich weiss nicht, ob ich Ihnen gesagt habe, dass ich ein paar schöne RenaissanceSkulpturen in Privatbesitz kenne, von denen ich aber nicht weiss; ob sie zu haben sind. Sie würden wahrscheinlich teuer sein. Ich schreibe Ihnen, sobald ich Bescheid weiss.

Hoffentlich bald auf iedersehen. Inzwischen die herzlichsten Grüsse an Sie und die Ihren von uns allen

## Stets Ihr


(Prof. Dr. Ulrich Middeldorf)

## 





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## P.S.

Eben kommt Ihr Brief vom 24.VI. Vielen Dank. Wir sind froh, dass es Ihrem Ohr besser geht und hoffen, die Besserung hat angedauert.

Schön, dass Sie in Carate doch etwas gefunden haben, vor allem in dem Wust von schlechten Bildern. Den Mailänder Kopf finde ich billig. Ich habe ihn hier gesehen, und er hat mir gut gefallen. Auch die Kanone ist nicht teuer. Ich habe sie auch hier gesehen; das Gegenstïck ist im Art Institute in Chicago.

Mit den Pferden habe ich also doch recht gehabt - das ist Glück. Dass der Christus ein Fabritius ist, freut mich, denn auch Carl Fabritius war ein guter Maler.

Nochmals alles Gute!

## CHRISTIE, MANSON \& WOODS LTD.

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TELEPHONE: TRAFALGAR 9060 PRIVATE EXCHANGE

TELEGRAMS \& CABLES: CHRISTIART, LONDON S.W.I London, S.W. 1 $\mathrm{GH} / \mathrm{VH}$

March 31 st 1966

Dear Sir,

We have had a letter from Mr. Emanuel written on March 28th in which he wished to know the name of the previous owner, and the price paid for a picture, Lot 108 in our sale of April 9th 1965 The price paid for this picture was 25 guineas but we regret that we are unable to supply you with the name of our client as that is confidential.

Yours faithfully,
M. Fleri Esq.,

3 Leather Market, Weston Street, St. 1 .










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Benut's
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reverse by Felice Polanzani, ${ }^{20}$ all these fall into the catcgory of 'character heads' and may most convenicntly be considered by subject.
Another engraving after Nogari by Polanzani, ${ }^{30}$ showing a chubby-checked boy holding a small trumpet in his left hand, provides evidence for the attribution of three similar pictures which are painted in a manner wholly characteristic of him. Onc, in the Sarti Collection at Bologna, has becn published by Professor Pallucchini ${ }^{31}$ who has also attributed another, in the Palazzo Bianco at Gcnoa ${ }^{33}$, to Nogari. But the most attractive is the charming portrait in the Leeds City Art Gallery ${ }^{33}$ (No. 9), which was sold to its former owner as a work by Francesco Guardi. As these heads have few similarities with Nogari's portrait of a boy in the Galleria Sabauda, and are painted in a far creamier manner reminiscent of the works he sent to Dresden, they may safely be assigned to his second Vertetian period. Another painting of a boy, which is connceted with them, is in the Muscum at Copenhagen ${ }^{34}$ where it forms a pendant to the head of a girl holding a hen. A similar picture of a girl clasping a dove to her breast-to represent Innocence-is in the Accademia dei Concordi at Rovigo whence it passed from the Silvestri Collection where it was ascribed to Nogari in the late eighteenth century. ${ }^{36}$
The most familiar of Nogari's works arc his heads of old men and women similar to those he painted for the Elector of Saxony. They were often exccuted in pairs, like those which were included in the sale of 'pictures collected by Robert and James Adam' at Mr. Prestage's rooms in London on 16th February, 1765 : 'Nogari: An Old Woman's Head, I•10 $\times 1 \cdot 5 ; 26$ Ditto. An old Man's head its companion I- Io $\times \mathrm{I} \cdot \mathrm{s}$ '. Were it not that many such works were probably imported into England, it would be tempting to associate these with a very fine pair of heads at Ince Blundell Hallss (No. io \& ir). A pair that was originally in Consul Smith's collection in Venice is now at Hampton Court. ${ }^{37}$ Another, formerly in the Silvestri Collection, is in the Accademia dci Concordi at Rovigo. ${ }^{38}$ Nogari also exccuted similar works in pastel such as those in the Qucrini Stampalia gallery at Venice ${ }^{\text {a0 }}$ which show him to have been a master of this medium.
${ }^{29}$ Sec G. Fasolo, Grida del Museo Civico di Vicenza, 1940, p. 116 and Alinari photograph No. 44476. The engraving is inscribed Joseph Nogari pinx. Felix Polanzani del et sculp. There is a copy of it in the British Museum
Signed as that mentioned above. A copy is in the British Museum. The inseripion records that the original painting belonged to Antonius Civran
${ }^{31}$ Rivista di Venezia, loc, cit.
${ }^{2}$ Oral attribution kindly communicated to me by Dr. Podesta.
${ }^{33}$ Leeds City Art Gallery, Catalogue of Paintitgs Pt. I, 1954, p. 53.
${ }^{34}$ Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen: Catalogue of Old Foreign Paintings, 1951, p. 235-6. Attributed tentatively to Piazzetta with Maggiotto's name as an Iternative. It is pointed out that they are similar to a pair of works ascribed to Nogari in the Prima Mostra d'Arte antica delle raccolte private veneziane, 1947, No. 102.
${ }^{35}$ Bartoli, op. cif. p. 243-4
Noted by Waagen (Art Treasure in Great Britain, 1854, vol. III, p. 248) who calls them two very good pictures of this late Venctian master. He also mentions a female portratt in the collection of Richard Ford (Vol. II, p. 224). Mr. Brinsley Ford has kindly informed me that this work was sold at Sotheby's on 15 th October, 1947, Lot 79. It cannot now be traced.
${ }^{37}$ Burlington Magazine, 1913, p. 161. The man, who is bearded, is dressed in six-tecnth-century costume and is rather younger than usual
38 Bartoli, op. cit. p. 255 . He also records (p. 250 ) a Megdalen by Nogari in the Silvestri Collection, now in the Accademia dci Concordi, a half lencth of Se. Peter and a St. John in the Muttoni Collection, Rovigo (p. 217). I have not been able to trace these
${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{G}$. Lorenzetti: Venezia e il sho estuario, 1956, p. 681. A pencil drawing of the ame old woman is in the Witt Collection at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London. But this may well have been copied after Nogari by an engraver and cannot thereore be used as a basis for the study of his draughtsmanship. R. Pallucchini (op. cit.) has, with great probability, attributed several drawings at Modena to Nogari

To the many paintings of Nogati in the biographical dicti examples. As Professor Fiocco an old woman with a walking Bergamo is not by Benedetto Nogari'. We may also attribute crone, in a slightly differcht att Denner, ${ }^{* 2}$ in the Musco Stibbe which has none of Denner's texture, is characteristic of No brown and green colour schem formerly ascribed to the Bergan Gcrman Denner is not surpri executed imaginary portraits seems to have specialised in this presumably to satisfy a vogue as in Venice.
No doubt Algarotti had suc when he stated that he sought which he probably meant both Some of them have actually artists. ${ }^{33}$ Pictures like those at In the unmistakable influence of old men and women were as po thcrefore natural that artists like should have turned to him for satisfy a vogue for this specia catered for in France by such e
Rembrandt was also admir which etchings were casily avai was in Italy: and these were i also by G. B. Tiepolo and G. D was not above borrowing who from Rembrandt's etchings for where they are transfigured clegance. But Rembrandt's inf period was not confined to ic pointed out in 1739, " G. M. C
${ }^{40}$ The list in Thieme-Becker may be sup des Peintres etc. Paris, 1953, Vol. VI, p. 37 Los Angeles, Padua, and Modena (this an old woman has recently been acquire d'Arte, 1954, p. 364
${ }^{41}$ Arte Vencta, 195s, p. 270. It is reprod Galgario, Bergamo, 1955, pl. 58.
${ }^{12}$ Museo Stibbert, No. 4089.
${ }^{43}$ The head of an old man at Los An Grelder. See P. Wescher, A Catalogue of Los Angeles County Museum, p. s6, No. was included in the Wanamaker Sale. I certificated attribution to Gerard Dou. ${ }^{14}$ Rembrandt's influence on Venctian briefly discussed by C. Ricci in Rembra Vite di Pittori scultori e archicetti bergamasch Nazzari attempted to imitate Rembra ${ }^{4}$ Rembrandt's portrait of a young collection and is now at Windsor Cas oriental head. An oriental head which ap at Milan (sce: Arte Veneta, 1951 p. 195) globe, which was in the von Hagendorn be classified as oriental. It has similatities Venice (sce G. Lorenze Hi: Ca Rezzon attribute to Nogari tentatively. A head sale of works collected by Robert an several "Heads of Orientals' by him w Saloon of Fine Arts in London in 1818. Such works may now perhaps be found not G. B. Ticpolo.
${ }^{4 \text { A }}$ Zanotti, Staria dell' Accademia Clementin later, Piazzetta were, of course; also influ the Rembrandt of Italy.

July 14, 1967
Mr. Harry Greaver, Director
Art Center: Kalamazoo Institute of Arts 314 South Park Street
Kalamazoo, Máchigan
Dear Mir. Greaver:
Thank you so much for your letter of July 11.
As I believe I mentioned during your visit, I could not be in Kalamazoo for an opening on October 15, because October 14 is the Lay of Atonement. I would much prefer October 1 or October 8.

If some unknown collector told me that he owned a Carl Fabritius, I would also very much dount it, as Fauritius was not only the ablest, but is the rarest of Rembrandt's stucents. The attribution to rabritius was made Dy the stafl of the Finanothek in Munich and Dy Dr. Vialther Bernt.

I have seen a good many Hannemas, but none as good as my portrat of Inlgo Jones.

Very litule is known apout the life of Van der fluym, though you will have noted from the signature registered in Bernt that it is in a most Germanic script, quite unlike most Dutch signatures which are generally in Roman than in that very angular Germanic script. If man's handwriting is so influenced, his painting might well also be.

I will have some photographs for you next week and the balance by the middle of August.

Best personal regards.
Very sincerely,

Alfred Bader
AB: In

July 11, 1967

Dr. Alfred Bader
Aldrich Chemical Company
2371 North 30th Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53210

Dear Alfred:

I arrived home late yesterday afternoon after a very fine trip. I would like to thank you and your fine family for the hospitality you gave to me while I was in Milwaukee.

I have just sent a letter off to Tony Clark asking him to speak for the opening on either the 8 th or the 15 th of October. The date can be set the minute we hear from him. John Maxon suggested a few words to say, so it may be Tony will agree.

John Maxon came to the hotel to see the painting and the other photographs He, of course, knew about your collection through Tony. He said the painting was definitely not Italian. He also doubted that it was Dutch, and he thought it was probably German. He requested a photograph (I suggest you send two) so that he might investigate further. I suggest you tell him all the scholars who have already looked at either the work or photographs of it. He commented on your famous, early Rembrandt and the two "Fine Flinck portraits". He also thought the Schellinks, de Vilieger and Van Geel quite good. He questioned several of the other works including the Fabritus. He said Fabritus was as rare as Vermeer. He thought the Van Dyck was by an Englishman named Hannema who worked with Van Dyck in London. I laughed when he said the Van Noordt was "lovely, but he had no idea in the world what it was".

He would like to see the rest of your collection, so I would suggest you offer an invitation when you send the photographs. If he is back in time from Europe, he will come over to see the exhibit.

Dr. Alfred Bader
July 11, 1967
Page 2

Again, thank you very much for the aid you have given me. I will be sending along some early work for you to check, and in the meantime, I will be looking for more photographs.

Sincerely,

Harry Greaver, Director
Art Center
HG/cak

The Netherlands Institute for Art History, Korte Vijverberg 7, Den Haas, Holland.

April 19th, 1966

Dr. Alfred Bader,
2961 North Shepard Ave.,
MILWAUKEE, Wisconsin 53211.

Dear Dr.Bader,

Of course it is all right for you to send photographs to this institute to my attention.

As for the old woman holding glasses, it is out of the question that the picture could be by Van der Pluym since it is painted in a style and technique which offer not the slightest similarity with those in works accepted as by Van der Pluym.

Moreover, the Ince Blundell Hall picture is evidently much superior to yours. It seems to me therefore that it is unthinkable that it could have been copied after yours.

As for the portrait of a sculptor or a collector, I need longer time to look into this problem. In due time I will inform you of my findings.

For the time being $I$ can only say that it is not reproduced in De Gelder's monograph, nor is it found among our repro. ductions of Van der Helst. I doubt that tie attribution is likely.

With best regards,

Sincerely,


Please would you ask Your 'rind Mr. Flags, Whether he did sene the photographs of his triptych which I requested for mung iconography collection?


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Bredius, 1969, 602. For a popular account of the present state of Rembrandt attributions, see Alan Levy, "The Rembrandt Research Project: Old Myths, New Methods," Art News, xxxv, September, 1976, 34-42.
    ${ }^{2}$ E. H. Gombrich, "Rembrandt Now," New York Review of Books, March 12, 1970; S. Slive, New York Times Book Review, August 17, 1969, 6-7, 34-35; Wolfgang Stechow, "The Crisis in Rembrandt Research," in Art Studies for an Editor: 25 Essays in Memory of Milton S. Fox, New York, 1969, 235-243. For Jacob Rosenberg's views, see Rembrandt After Three Hundred Years: A Symposium [1969], Art Institute of Chicago, 1973, 109.
    ${ }^{3}$ Featured prominently in J. Rosenberg, S. Slive, and E. H. ter Kuile, Dutch Art and Architecture 1600-1800. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1966, Saul and David is omitted from M. Kahr, Dutch Painting of the Seventeenth Century, New York, 1978. Saul and David was the sole late religious painting by Rembrandt in H. W. and Dora Jane Janson, The Story of Painting for Young People, New York, 1952, but it was cut from the book in 1976. For an excellent summary and bibliography of publications on Rembrandt in 1969, see E. Haverkamp-Begemann, "The Present State of Rembrandt Studies," Art Bulletin, LiII, 1971, 88-104
    ${ }_{4}^{4}$ Extensive material on the history and condition of the painting is provided by De Vries, 149-165. For the division of the painting, see 149-150.

[^1]:    ${ }^{10}$ G. Martin, "The 'Pelican' Dutch Art," Burlington Magazine, cIx, 1967, 543.
    ${ }^{11}$ Munz's opinion is noted by Haverkamp-Begemann (as in n. 3), 94 .
    ${ }^{12}$ H. E. Van Gelder, Saul en David: Petrus Verloochent Christus, Leiden, 1948, 15 (my translation).
    ${ }^{13}$ Ibid., 21 (my translation).
    ${ }^{14}$ Jakob Rosenberg, Rembrandt (1948), London, 1968, 230.
    ${ }^{15}$ Bredius, 1969, 602.
    ${ }^{16}$ Ibid.

[^2]:    ${ }^{21}$ H. von Einem, Der Segen Jakobs, Bonn, 1950; W. Stechow, "Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph from Early Christian Times to Rembrandt," Gazette des beaux-arts. Ser. 6, xxil1, 1943, 193-208; W. Stechow, "Jacob

[^3]:    ${ }^{26}$ Heraclitus and Democritus was owned in 1928 by Jacques Goudstikker, a Jewish art dealer of Amsterdam whose possessions were confiscated by the Nazis during the Second World War. The painting has not been seen since the War. For information concerning it I am indebted to B. Brenninkmeyer de Rooij of the Dienst Verspreide Rijskollekties in The Hague,

[^4]:    who wrote to me on October 4, 1977
    27 Albert Blankert, "Heraclitus and Democritus," Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, Xvint, 1967, 31-125 (Van der Pluym's painting is mentioned on p. 107).

[^5]:    ${ }^{30}$ The verbal opinion of Frits Lugt is recorded in the file on the painting in the Metropolitan Museum.

[^6]:    nance. The painting was questioned by Van Dyke (as in n. 9), 92-93, and has been doubted more recently by Keith Roberts in "'Art in Seventeenth Century Holland' at the National Gallery," Burlington Magazine, cxvin, 1976, 783-784. Otto Naumann has brought it to my attention that Benjamin Rifkin associated the painting with Van der Pluym in "Rembrandt and His Circle, Part I (review of H. Gerson, Rembrandt Paintings)," Art News, Lxviil, May, 1969, 27.
    ${ }^{33}$ Bredius, 1931, 256, ill. on p. 251.

