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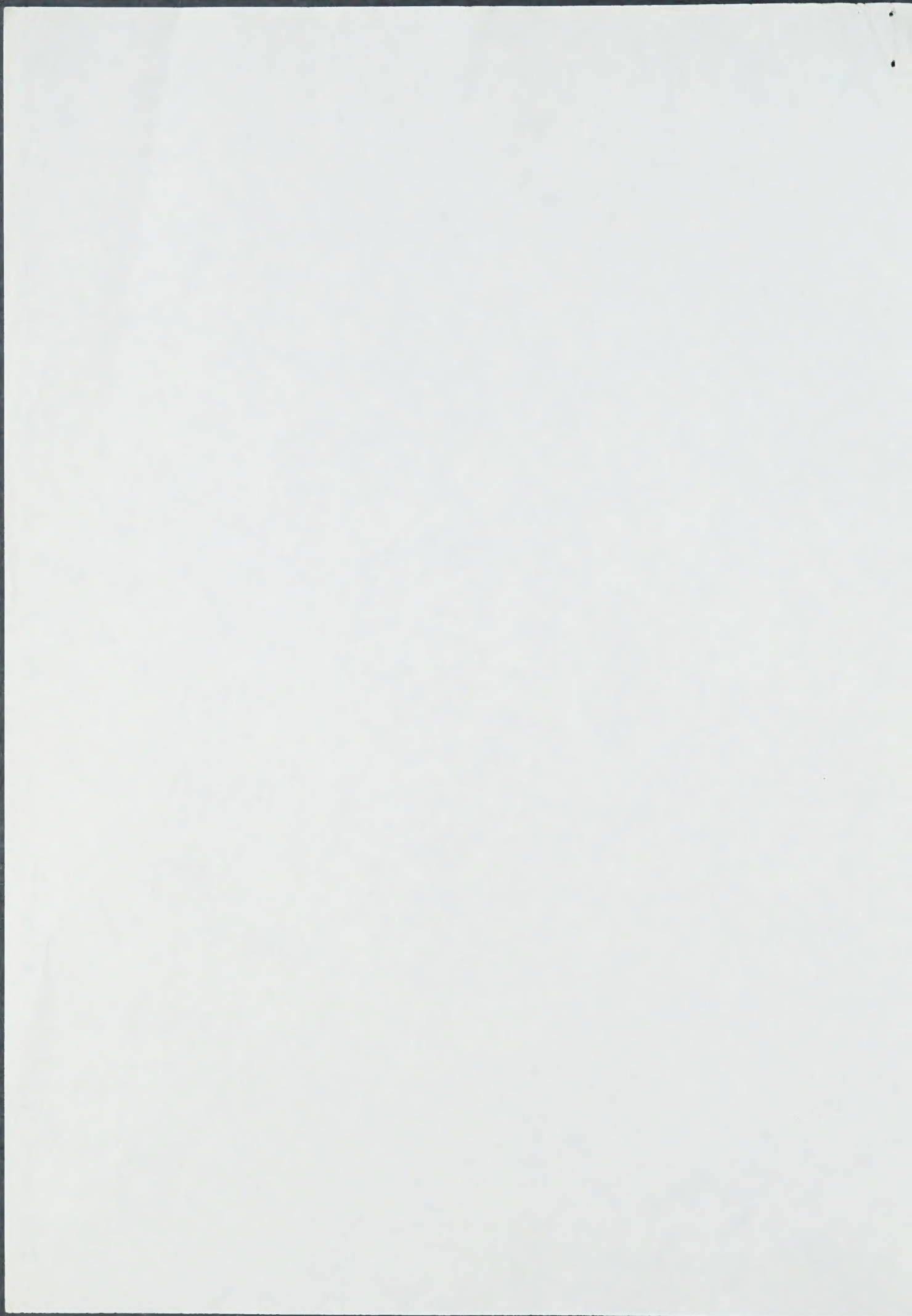
Rembrandt

Mantegna

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Rembrandt

And the Rembrandt style

WALTER LIEDTKE

Every generation has its own view of Rembrandt.¹ He is one of those artists who have been usurped by later critics and declared, in egocentric tribute, to have been somehow beyond their time and place, the cultural inheritance of all humanity, or at least of our white and western kind.

This view is brought back to earth, and to seventeenth-century Amsterdam, by the revelation that many works long considered to be by Rembrandt, including some thought to be most typical of him (for example, *The man in the golden helmet*), have turned out to be by other Dutch painters of the period. In a broader view, also, Rembrandt was an artist of his time and place. Dutch culture of the 1600s was not so much a watershed (the 'Early Modern Period') as an alluvial plain in which systems of belief, inherited values, conventions of social behaviour and of art were eroded, or reinforced, or layered, in a complex way, with new ideas and discoveries. Received concepts were gradually modified, rather as some of Rembrandt's biblical and mythological subjects were reinterpreted in terms of contemporary attitudes and personal experience. Many subjective notions, reactionary as well as progressive, were possible in Rembrandt's Holland and to some extent expressible in public ways.

These questions go beyond the subject of the present essay but they linger, like a yearning, something to fill in the gap between the public's response to the present exhibition and the professional reasons advanced as its justification in the catalogue.² The essays and entries assembled there do not dwell on subjective issues nor do they offer a newly synthetic view, although Ernst van de Wetering's essay on Rembrandt's technique and Sebastian Dudok van Heel's biographical survey are strides in that direction. It may be that no individual, not just the senior scholar who failed to deliver an introduction, is prepared to write broadly about Rembrandt

in the current intellectual atmosphere. We have moved beyond the point of rejecting Romantic ideas of Rembrandt, although some writers have not finished beating the dead horse.³ Now that the Rembrandt of Bode and Bredius has been carted off,⁴ does anyone have the temperament, the character, or the humanity to interpret what remains? This is not a question for historians but for our time.

In the short run, however, we have an exhibition of fifty-one nearly unquestionable paintings by Rembrandt, and thirty-two pictures by artists who have been described, with the driest sort of poetic licence, as members of his 'workshop'. Viewing this many paintings by Rembrandt, which just barely represent over forty years of his activity, will be a welcome and occasionally moving experience for many visitors, perhaps too many for the subterranean vaults of the new Sainsbury Wing at the National Gallery. This venue is the last of a three-city tour to the homes of the principal lenders, the other two being the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, and the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

The selection of paintings is strong in its representation of the first half of Rembrandt's career, that is, through the mid-1640s. It will occur to specialists that this reflects the present point of progress of the team of the Rembrandt Research Project, which concluded with *The Night Watch* and other works of 1642 in the last volume published (Rembrandt Research Project, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, III, 1989). For most viewers, however, the extraordinary variety of Rembrandt's work from the Leiden period (c. 1625–31), from the 1630s (when Rembrandt painted some of his largest and most theatrical pictures), and from the seemingly contemplative years of the 1640s will be more noticeable than the fact that the last two decades of the artist's activity are superficially reviewed. The decade of the 1650s is covered by six essentially

single-figure compositions dating from 1654–6 (the wonderful *Bathsheba* (Fig. 2) includes a maid who is little more than an attribute); by the fragmentary *Anatomy lesson of Dr Joan Deyman*, dated 1656, from the Rijksmuseum; and by *Moses breaking the Tablets*, 1659, from Berlin. Only five paintings in the exhibition date from Rembrandt's last decade (he was buried in the Westerkerk, Amsterdam, in October 1669): the *St Matthew and the Angel*, 1661, from the Louvre, one of several late pictures of apostles; the *Syndics* (or 'Sampling Officials': the catalogue has a predilection for plodding titles) of the *Amsterdam Drapers' Guild*, 1662, from the Rijksmuseum, a loan that many curators would have denied; the majestic *Self-portrait* from Kenwood (c. 1665); the dispensable *Portrait of a man*, 1667, from Melbourne; and the poignantly smiling *Self-portrait*, 1669, from the Mauritshuis which, like a tardy lecturer skipping to the last slide, gets us to the Westerkerk on time.

None of the memorable religious pictures in the exhibition, none of the paintings in which Rembrandt placed an impressive figure in a moment of moral crisis, dates from after one of the greatest examples, the *Bathsheba* of 1654. This is not wrong but it is certainly a matter of taste, and one that is consistent with the 1980s trend of no-nonsense (or rather, no sentiment) literature on the artist.⁵ It must be said in defence of the organizers that Rembrandt loans are no longer easy to come by (as they were, by comparison, in the far larger exhibitions of 1956 and 1969). None the less, a show of this calibre with only fifty pictures could probably be presented in three almost entirely different versions; and, with a different, more focused emphasis, a better exhibition could have been mounted with even fewer works.

All the illustrations to this article are of works by Rembrandt van Rijn (1639–69) unless otherwise stated.

1 *Isht and Anna with the kid*, 1626. Oil on canvas, 39.5 x 30 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

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This opinion is churlish from one point of view and fair from another. No museum in the world can offer anything close to the experience of this exhibition, which for several reasons enjoyed its finest moment in Berlin (see my 'Letter from Berlin', *APOLLO*, November 1991). The most jaded viewer must be grateful when wonderful works are brought from afar. Furthermore, great exhibitions are not primarily addressed to the art historical community (as was, for example, the highly unattended 'Bamboccianti' exhibition in Cologne),⁶ but to the public, although almost any ambitious event of this kind now comes with a scholarly manual. The present exhibition catalogue, with six essays preceding the entries and six pages of finely-printed bibliography, is merely average in itself, but the second volume cataloguing the drawings and prints exhibited in Berlin and Amsterdam, and that of the entirely different exhibition this year at the British Museum (26 March–4 August), bring the total weight of scholarship to nearly the kilos, and to far greater profundity, than the catalogues of extravaganzas such as 'The Treasure Houses of Britain' and '1492'.⁷

It is generally agreed, however, that the most successful exhibitions from both the specialized and public points of view are those in which the objects themselves carry much of the message, which is then clarified and elaborated in the catalogue. In this regard, 'Rembrandt: the Master and his Workshop' is a disappointment: apart from what one learns by looking at any single picture, there is surprisingly little to learn in the galleries themselves. Almost all the Rembrandts are presented in isolation, and accordingly their catalogue entries are dropped in like CARE packages from the sky. Revealing juxtapositions, such as the National Gallery of Art, Washington, has just managed with an exhibition of two Rembrandt paintings,⁸ are remarkably absent from the *echt*-Rembrandt section of the show. A different road to nowhere is taken in the Workshop section, where the paintings were chosen (the now classic academic error) to illustrate points made in the catalogue, or worse (as here), in earlier literature by the catalogue's contributors. Thus when a picture of an old lady by Ferdinand Bol (no. 63) was until recently (but only by the most befuddled scholars) thought to be by Rembrandt, it is exhibited between two incontrovertible crones by



1 *Young woman at an open half-door* attributed to Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–78). Oil on canvas, 102.5 × 85.1 cm. Art Institute, Chicago

Bol and *voilà!* the point made in the catalogue carries. But other, more pressing, points fail to register when viewing the geriatric ensemble, such as what a superb, varied, and (after some sophisticated tributes to Rembrandt) original painter was Bol, and secondly, why several of his masterworks were once attributed to Rembrandt.⁹ Suffice it to say that quality and variety were not top priorities in the Workshop section of the show.

One of the organizers, a member of the Rembrandt team, has conceded to colleagues that he always thought including works by pupils was unwise. Perhaps he felt, unlike the other curators, that their attempt to 'demystify the process by which attributions are made' for the benefit of the public was misleading, since the process by which attributions such as those to Barent Fabritius, Carel Fabritius, and Gerrit Dou were made remains a mystery to many scholars, including a few of the organizers themselves.¹⁰ There is also the question of whether the layman will see, even with the catalogue's help, why certain attributions to Rembrandt pupils are indeed supported by comparisons with the more or less secure works that have been placed on view. For example, the attribution of the *Young woman at an open half-door* from the Art Institute of Chicago (no. 72; Fig. 1) to Samuel van Hoogstraten is convincing in my view, but is defended by two works of which one is itself (no. 74) a very recent attribu-

tion to van Hoogstraten 'on the basis of stylistic comparison' with the other (no. 73).¹¹ It requires expertise in the field to see (and even here, some colleagues will disagree) that it is principally the rendering of physiognomy that relates the *Young woman* to van Hoogstraten's *Self-portrait in Vaduz* (no. 73), whereas it is the pattern of light and shade on the face, the textured, relief-like modelling throughout, and the consequently simplistic (by Rembrandt's own standards) relationship of the figure to the background that reveal the *Young woman's* similarity to the *Young man* (no. 74; the half-door and frontal pose are secondary considerations). The experience involved in making distinctions such as these comes in good part from a knowledge of many other paintings (for example, *Haman recognizing his fate* in the Hermitage, which this writer assigns to van Hoogstraten),¹² few of which will be familiar to most visitors.

Stylistic analyses of this kind are scarce in the catalogue entries; in both nos. 72 and 74, for example, 'It is hoped that the juxtaposition(s) will demonstrate/will confirm...'¹³ Demonstrate to whom, the organizers? And what then? Will they report back to the visitors and thus 'demystify the process' after the fact? And what about the mysteries of meaning, quality, and Rembrandt's influence in paintings like the *Young man* (no. 74), which in the terse entry is discussed solely as a problem of attribution, as if the work were a silver spoon?

My argument is least of all with the author of these particular entries, which deal directly with the matter at hand. My argument (and that of the dissenting organizer, presumably) is with the selection of problems, of questions about Rembrandt and his workshop, that was made at the outset as the alleged rationale of the exhibition.¹⁴ The main objection to the Workshop section is not that it turned out to be a boring academic exercise but that the focus on questions of de-attribution distracts one from an appreciation of Rembrandt and his pupils and from all that has been learned about them since the exhibitions of 1969. In other words, this exhibition's weakness is precisely that of the Rembrandt team, whose hundreds of pages of illuminating comments on Rembrandt have been overshadowed by their categorical pronouncements on what is by Rembrandt or someone else. Most Rembrandt scholars and perhaps one or two



members of the team feel that they are their own worst enemy, which is saying something given rival connoisseurs such as Claus Grimm (who rejects no. 33, *The preacher Anso and his wife*, 1041, perhaps the finest Rembrandt in Berlin)!¹

Despite de-attributions and academic critics from Sandrart to Alpers we are left with the impression that Rembrandt was one of the most gifted, original, and profound artists of the seventeenth century. This emerges immediately in the exhibition with the Leiden works (nos. 1–8 of 1626 to 1630), in which Rembrandt treats religious subjects, a biblical Parable, and living models with a high regard for artistic traditions (especially as found in prints), but with even greater faith in his own perceptions of human behaviour and character. *Tobit and Anna with the kid* (Plate I), for example, is based on the composition and motifs found in an etching after Buytewech, but abandons the didactic spirit of that image and its Latin inscription. Rembrandt's Tobit reacts with blind despair to what he wrongly suspects is his wife's transgression, the theft of a young goat. The poverty of their home and clothing compounds the sense of shame, for Tobit thinks that mere necessity drove his wife to abandon her trust in God. Of course, Tobit's physical blindness is metaphorical, but Rembrandt compares it poignantly with the astonished, angry and hurt stare of the old woman. The sad dog is likewise a symbol, but touchingly like Anna who, although less intelligent than her husband (Rembrandt conveys this through her expression alone), knows him and loves him more than he knows anyone, including himself. As the dog suggests Anna's fidelity, so the kid indicates her innocence as never before in art. There are useful footnotes in the scene, such as the keys and yarn winder to either side of Anna, reminders of her household duties and the spinning (an important cottage industry in Leiden) with which she earned the kid. But nothing interrupts the flow of feelings, the sense, suggested by pose and expression, that the old people depend on each other's every move. The viewer is also reminded, by the many textures, the colours, and the light, of Tobit's pitiful blindness, and more so of the contemporary conviction that moral and spiritual matters take place in the present, in the mundane and familiar world.



2 *Bathsheba with the letter of King David*, 1654. Oil on canvas, 142 × 142 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre

This painting is an extraordinary achievement for an artist who was twenty years old at the time. One wants to know more about his family whether his father was really blind,¹⁶ what Rembrandt read, and why he turned to the Book of Tobit more than fifty times.¹⁷ One would also like to see some tribute to Julius Held in the catalogue entries: his essays on Rembrandt's *Tobit*, on *Aristotle with the bust of Homer* (see no. 43), on *The Polish rider* (see Fig. 148), and on many other subjects of interest for paintings in the exhibition are treated with studied neglect.¹⁸ But above all, one would like to have more of Held's Rembrandt, who is not Romantic,¹⁹ but a great artist for reasons scholars can now less than ever articulate.

The appreciation of meaning in Rembrandt is not at all inconsistent with connoisseurship: the two interests are complementary. Great works of art consist essentially of exceptional form and content with their relationship being critical. Thus van Thiel can reasonably claim that the *Tobit and Anna* may be

Rembrandt's sixth painting in chronological order but it is 'the artist's first masterpiece'.²⁰ This is also why the Rembrandt team's rejection of *The Polish rider* strikes a sour note, for there is no accounting in their stylistic analysis for the picture's powerful conception.²¹ This is why the closing line in one of the catalogue essays, 'In this exhibition every painting presents us with a different Rembrandt,' is a misleading platitude.²² The Rembrandt who depicted Anna in 1626 (Plate I) appears to be the very same artist who a decade later described Belshazzar's astonishment (Fig. 4), quite as the righteous figure of Tobit anticipates *Moses breaking the Tablets* of 1659 (no. 46). Similarly, the artist in front of an easel with wide, reflecting eyes (*The artist in his studio*, c. 1629; no. 3) is clearly the one who has St Paul pondering in prison (1627; Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie) and Mary struck with wonder at her own child (*Simeon in the temple*, c. 1628, in the Hamburger Kunsthalle). At least two of these figures—Anna and Paul—are among the many in sympathy with Rembrandt's *Bathsheba* (Fig. 2), which is the work of an artist who had studied humanity, and in that light the Bible, for thirty years.



In an outstanding essay Ernst van de Wetering describes Rembrandt's continuous evolution from the style he introduced in Leiden to some of the principal aspects of his mature form.²³ Perhaps a pendant essay on content is too much to ask.

Is the Rembrandt who painted *St Paul at his writing desk* around 1630 (no. 5), *St John the Baptist preaching* around 1635 (no. 20), and *Bathsheba* (Fig. 2) the same man who was hard on women, a poor credit risk, and keen to make a career? In the course of forty-five years Rembrandt proved himself a complex character. *Belshazzar's Feast* (Fig. 4) treats the subject with unprecedented flair (history painting was hit by a bombshell when Rembrandt moved to Amsterdam) and, to some extent, style—Rembrandt's answer to Rubens—is the subject here, an announcement that the age of Rembrandt's former teacher, Pieter Lastman (1583–1633), had passed. Many paintings of the 1630s are not by the soul-searching Rembrandt, but by a highly successful artist whose *Self-portrait* of 1640 (no. 32; Fig. 3) is one of the most sophisticated public statements ever made by a painter about himself (his debts may be to Raphael and Titian in this picture but here again Rembrandt is Rubens's contemporary). No wonder that Flinck, Bol, and other Rembrandt pupils of the 1640s painted themselves in versions of this composition which make them all look somewhat insecure.

In the Rembrandt section of the catalogue Christopher Brown, Jan Kelch, and Pieter van Thiel have acquitted themselves, and Rembrandt, extremely well. As for the entries on his pupils, one can only state the obvious: for example, that Carel Fabritius is not responsible for the *Woman with a handkerchief* (no. 75) or for the pendant portraits owned by the Duke of Westminster (illustrated p. 361); that Barent Fabritius did not paint the *Woman with a child* from Rotterdam (no. 80); and that these two questions are not of sufficient interest to be addressed in a major exhibition. That another *Anna and the blind Tobit* (no. 55) is not by Dou was acknowledged by a dozen scholars at the opening in Berlin, all on stylistic grounds. My attribution to Lievens (in *APOLLO*, November 1991), with a date of about 1630, is supported by comparisons with the *Job in distress*, 1631, in Ottawa,²⁴ and other works by the young Lievens at his



3 *Self-portrait*, 1640. Oil on canvas, 93 × 80 cm. National Gallery.

most Rembrandtesque (which may include no. 6 in the exhibition, the little copper from Salzburg, and another 'Rembrandt's Mother', the panel at Windsor Castle: *Corpus* A27 and A32 as by Rembrandt).²⁵ It is worth mentioning after the remarks above that Roni Baer, who rejects *Anna and the blind Tobit* in her dissertation on Dou, said simply that the painting is inconsistent with the way in which the artist thinks.²⁶

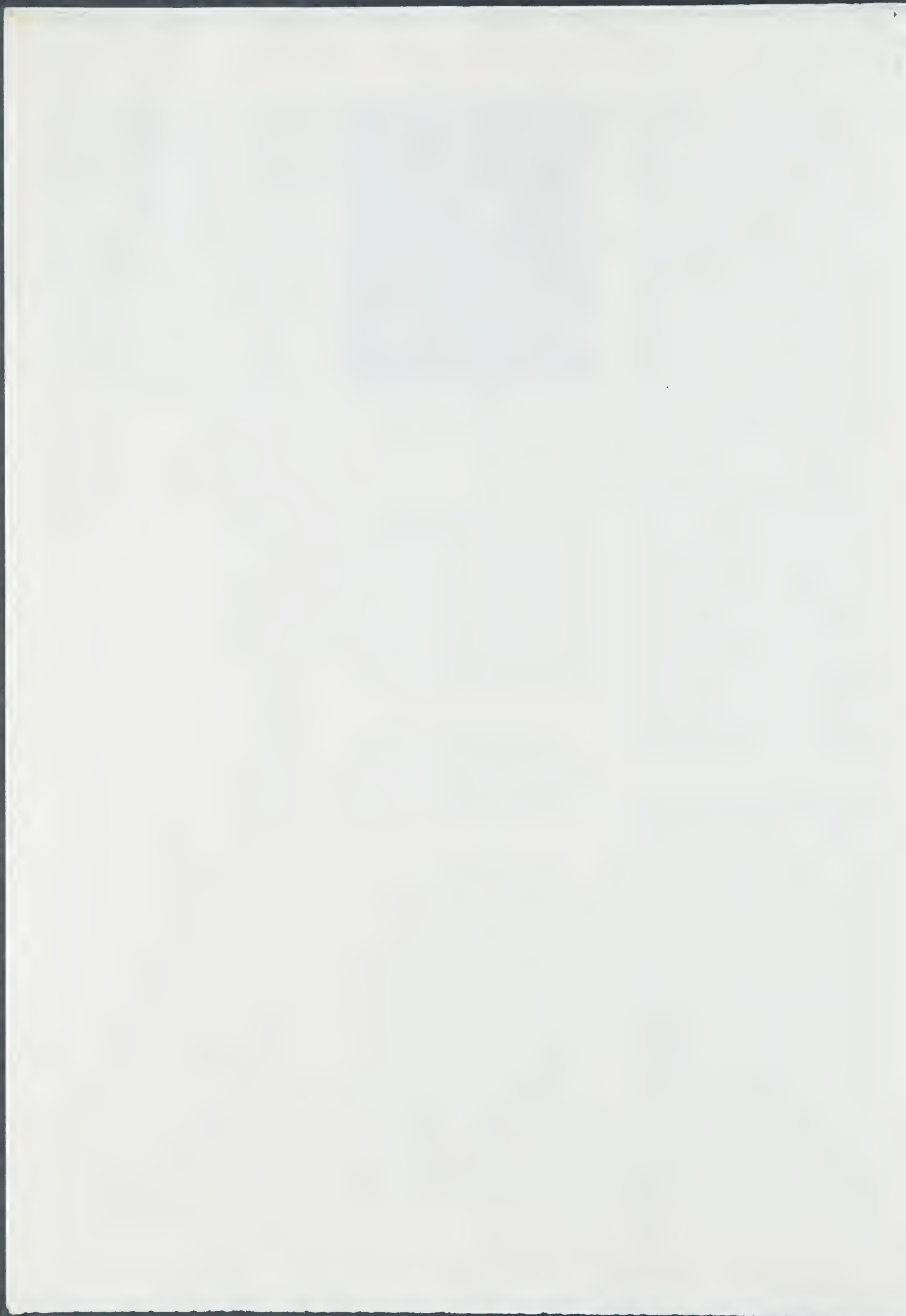
One of the organizers, a member of the Rembrandt team, has conceded to colleagues that he always thought including works by pupils was unwise

The main problems with the Workshop section are crystalized in the essay by Josua Bruyn, 'Rembrandt's workshop: its function and production'.²⁷ The very title of the exhibition would seem to support the 'workshop hypothesis' put forward by the Rembrandt team, particularly in regard to Rembrandt's production of portraits in the 1630s (see my article in *APOLLO*, May 1989). It becomes clear [to Bruyn] that being an assistant in Rembrandt's workshop meant taking one's own share in the studio output rather than—as was the case with, for instance, Rubens—assisting the master in the execution of large paintings.²⁸ The implication is that all the school pictures in the exhibition were painted in Rembrandt's studio, although none of the entries' authors

believes that. Indeed, the inclusion of Lievens (who may never have shared space with Rembrandt),²⁹ and the dating of pictures by Dou, Flinck, Bol, Victors, Eeckhout, Maes and Barent Fabritius all imply independent activity, in some cases at considerable distances in time and space. Only Jouderville, van Hoogstraten, Carel Fabritius and Drost are represented (Fabritius wrongly) as still in or near Rembrandt's studio. Why not, then, show Rembrandt's former students at their best? After all, the greatest product of Rembrandt's studio (as opposed to Rembrandt himself) was not 'workshop' pictures but a dozen pupils who became important painters in their own right.

Bruyn's essay, however, is another subject: it is not about paintings but hypotheses. This is why, presumably, no one thought to borrow Bruyn's most conspicuous attribution to Jouderville, the van Beresteyn *Portrait of a woman* (signed RHL van Ryn/1632) in the Metropolitan Museum.³⁰ It would have been the perfect wall-mate (with whatever label) for Rembrandt's *Portrait of a young woman* (signed RHL van Ryn / 1632) from Vienna (no. 10), since the execution is almost identical, although Bruyn, in a tortuous exposition in *Corpus* III, uses detail photographs of the hands and faces in the two pictures to clarify the distinction between Rembrandt and Jouderville.³¹ The point is not that the New York portraits are both by Rembrandt, as the majority of Rembrandt scholars believe,³² or that in 1632 Jouderville was out of Rembrandt's nest and out of town (he was recorded in Leiden and apparently responding to Lievens in 1632),³³ but that this kind of juxtaposition in the exhibition would have been by far the most desirable: Rembrandt right next to not-Rembrandt (?), if one wants to drag in pupils at all. With the best of intentions the organizers have simply taken the Rembrandt team's lead, which was to set up a ghetto of rejected paintings at the back of the book.

For all these flaws the catalogue is an important work of scholarship (the essays by van der Wetering and Dudok van Heel especially) and the exhibition is a great event. The next exhibition will probably coincide with Rembrandt's 100th birthday in 2006. In the meantime our appreciation of the artist will be profoundly indebted to everyone responsible for this exhibition and to each member of the Rembrandt team.



The exhibition 'Rembrandt: the Master and his Workshop' is at the National Gallery, 26 March–24 May. Paintings are shown in the Sainsbury Wing and an exhibition of etchings is in the Smelev Room in the main building. Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle' is at the British Museum 26 March–4 August. Both exhibitions are sponsored by American Express

¹ See the opening paragraph of my 'Reconstructing Rembrandt: Portraits from the Early Years in Amsterdam (1631–34)', *APOLLO* (May 1989), pp. 323–31, 371–72, where Simon Schama and Michael Kitson are credited with similar statements (n. 1).

² Christopher Brown, Jan Kelch and Pieter van Thiel, *Rembrandt: the Master and his Workshop*, New Haven and London, 1991 (catalogue of the exhibition at the Altes Museum, Berlin, 12 September–10 November 1991; the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 4 December 1991–1 March 1992; and The National Gallery, London 26 March–24 May 1992), pp. 7, 9. The catalogue is cited below as *Rembrandt*.

³ For example, S. Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise*, Chicago, 1988. What could have been a tight article on the Amsterdam art market and Rembrandt's responses to it was instead packaged as an important critical statement on a big subject of interest to everyone.

⁴ The Hague, Mauritshuis, *Bredius, Rembrandt en het Mauritshuis*, 1991 (the book accompanied the exhibition of the same title held from 30 November 1991, to 1 March 1992).

⁵ Alpers, op. cit.; G. Schwartz, *Rembrandt, his life, his paintings*, Harmondsworth, 1985; and the volumes of the Rembrandt Research Project.

⁶ Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, *Die Bamboccianti. Niederländische Maler-Rebellen im Rom des Barock*, 1991 (see Christopher Brown's review in *Burlington Magazine*, CXXIV (January 1992), pp. 54–56).

⁷ Both at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, in 1985–86 and 1991–92, respectively.

⁸ 'Rembrandt's Lucretias', 22 September 1991–5 January 1992.

⁹ See A. Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680), Rembrandt's Pupil*, Doornspijk, 1982.

¹⁰ The quote is from one of them, in conversation. My discussions with Christopher Brown, Jan Kelch, Pieter van Thiel, Volker Manuth and Bernhard Schnackenburg in Berlin (see p. 9 of the catalogue) revealed that they frequently disagreed with each other about attributions in the Workshop section of the exhibition, and visiting scholars also offered dissenting views.

¹¹ C. Brown in *Rembrandt*, p. 352.

¹² W. Liedtke, 'Dutch and Flemish Paintings from the Hermitage', *Oud Holland*, CIII (1989), pp. 157–60.

¹³ *Rembrandt*, quoting from pages 353 and 356 at once.

¹⁴ See the Directors' Foreword in *Rembrandt*, p. 7. An earlier motive, to celebrate Berlin's 750th anniversary (1987) with a great Rembrandt exhibition, is not mentioned. In 1985 the Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen invited the Metropolitan Museum and the National Gallery of Art, Washington, to share a Rembrandt exhibition consisting mostly of loans from those three institutions.

¹⁵ C. Grimm, *Rembrandt selbst*, Stuttgart and Zurich, 1991, pp. 53, 119–20, pl. 42, Figs. 89, 215–16, as Rembrandt's in conception but largely executed by other hands.

¹⁶ See Julius S. Held, *Rembrandt's 'Aristotle' and other Rembrandt Studies*, Princeton, 1969, p. 125.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹⁸ *Rembrandt*, p. 392 of the bibliography cites two short articles by Held, one on Rubens and one on the goddess Flora.

¹⁹ See 'Rembrandt: Truth and Legend', in Held, op. cit., Ch. V, which remarkably is not cited by J. Boomgaard and R. W. Scheller in their survey of Rembrandt criticism, pp. 106–21 in the catalogue. On p. 121 they offer an obsequious tribute to the Rembrandt Research Project which 'most incisively and at the same time most cautiously' avoids the 'subjective traps' of connoisseurship. Good luck.

²⁰ *Rembrandt*, p. 125, an opinion that van Thiel states is universally held.

²¹ This was the first point made in the painting's favour by Hubert von Sonnenburg, the Metropolitan Museum's Chief Conservator, when we recently discussed its attribution. He finds nothing on this level of



4 *Belshazzar's Feast*, c. 1635. Oil on canvas, 167 × 209 cm. National Gallery

meaning as well as execution in works by or plausibly attributed to Willem Drost. Drost was first associated with *The Polish Rider* by J. Bruyn in his review of W. Sumowski, *Geniälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, I, 1983, in *Oud Holland*, 98 (1984), p. 158. The likely rejection of the painting in a future volume of the *Corpus* has since been explained in lectures by E. van de Wetering.

²² Boomgaard and Scheller in *Rembrandt*, p. 121.

²³ 'Rembrandt's Manner: Technique in the Service of Illusion', in *Rembrandt*, pp. 12–39.

²⁴ Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, *Jan Lievens, ein Maler im Schatten Rembrandts*, 1979, no. 25.

²⁵ The latter was exhibited in London, National Gallery, *The Queen's Pictures*, 1991, no. 12.

²⁶ In conversation, August 1991.

²⁷ *Rembrandt*, pp. 68–89, which draws upon Rembrandt Research Project, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, III (1989), Ch. II by Bruyn.

²⁸ *Rembrandt*, p. 83; see also *Corpus*, II, p. x. In fact Rubens's workshop offers many examples of 'studio output' in Bruyn's sense.

²⁹ On the legend that they shared a studio see *Rembrandt*, p. 60, n. 15.

³⁰ *Corpus*, II, C 69; Liedtke, op. cit. in, I, pp. 323–31. The pendant *Portrait of a man* in the Metropolitan Museum is also attributed by Bruyn to Jouderville (*Corpus*, II, C 68; III, p. 34, Fig. 26) but this is so widely disbelieved that it would have little value (other than as another Rembrandt) in the exhibition.

³¹ *Corpus*, III, pp. 32–34, Figs. 21–24.

³² For example, E. Haverkamp-Begemann, C. Brown, J. Held, G. Schwartz, S. Slive, and others (E. van de Wetering?) whose opinions are either published or accessible in the Metropolitan Museum's files.

³³ See my entry for Jouderville in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Masterworks from Lille*, 1992 (October), and C. Brown's biography of Jouderville in *Rembrandt*, p. 308. Brown's doubts are understandable when one considers how speculations about Jouderville's activity have multiplied. For example, Bruyn in *Corpus*, III, p. 31, simply states (without footnotes) that Jouderville did, during his later career in Leiden after 1636, paint portraits and thus may have been involved in earlier years in Rembrandt's studio production in this field. The unique evidence for Jouderville's 'career' after 1636 is that in 1641 a shoemaker asked Jouderville to return a lace collar which the artist had reportedly borrowed as a model for the man's portrait and which then got mixed up in the inventory of Jouderville's lace-making wife (they married in 1636): see E. van de Wetering

in Amsterdam, Waterman Gallery, *Rembrandt: The Impact of a Genius*, 1983, p. 60. Obviously the portrait could date from 1636 or even earlier, but for Bruyn this can be rendered (my italics) as 'Jouderville did, during his later career [nothing survives]... paint portraits' (plural), and can be used to prop up the workshop hypothesis (to the effect that Jouderville, against the Leiden evidence, was painting large portraits for Rembrandt in Amsterdam). This kind of argument occurs frequently in Bruyn's essay in the 1991 exhibition catalogue. A regulation of the painters' guild in Utrecht (an artistic centre very different from Amsterdam) indicates to Bruyn that Rembrandt's shop 'may be expected to have turned out pictures in the master's style that were not necessarily from his own hand' and that were given his 'signature' by the master himself or by the assistant responsible for the execution' (*Rembrandt*, p. 70). (One of the organizers said in Berlin that 'we know Rembrandt signed paintings by his assistants, but no scholar, evidently, can name a single example'.) Another instance of this, for Bruyn (p. 72) is *Anna and the blind Tobit* (no. 10, in my view by Lievens), which is described as 'done by Dou when still working in Rembrandt's studio'. The slightly later engraving of the composition bearing the inscription *Rembr. van Rem. inv.* may be accounted for by assuming that here is a case where the master let a work executed by an assistant go under his own name'. (Other scholars assume that the printmaker Willem van der Leeuw, simply got the name wrong. His few engravings, as noted by Brown in *Rembrandt*, p. 300, include five after Rembrandt paintings [only two of which are now accepted] and one after Lievens.) Thus, Bruyn continues, we 'see how Rembrandt at the age of approximately twenty-four was apparently in a position to exercise his rights as the head of a workshop' (p. 72), even as he was passing by a printmaker's shop. This extraordinary *droit du seigneur* applied also to the ever submissive Jouderville, whose copy after Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait with a poodle* (*Rembrandt*, p. 73, Figs. 82, 83) must have been produced, 'no doubt at the master's behest, in or soon after 1631' (my italics). Finally, having proposed that Flinck, at Rembrandt's behest, may have finished *The Good Samaritan* in the Wallace Collection (p. 74, Fig. 85), Bruyn recalls one column later that 'just as Flinck turned out to have added colour to his master's sketch for the *Good Samaritan*, so other studio assistants were obviously instructed in the course of the 1630s to introduce new elements' (italics obviously mine). To some scholars this sort of art historical argument may seem remarkably undisciplined, but it is admirably disciplined in the manner of a legal brief: evidence is introduced with meticulous selectivity and then later stated as fact, and hypotheses are repeated until they merge with the jury's own memory. What the defendant actually did has nothing to do with it.

200

10



ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS

DR. ALFRED BADER

ESTABLISHED 1961

September 29, 1992

Mrs. Georgette D'Angelo
185 Vine
Highland Park, Illinois 60035

Dear Mrs. D'Angelo:

I am sorry that a trip to Spain has delayed by replying to your letter of the 8th of September.

I would very much like to purchase a painting by Antonello, but your painting, unfortunately, is not by him.

It is, in fact, an old copy after a painting in the Uffizi, Catalog No. P1052, with exactly the same figure, but with trees. Interestingly, the Uffizi painting was at one time attributed to Antonello.

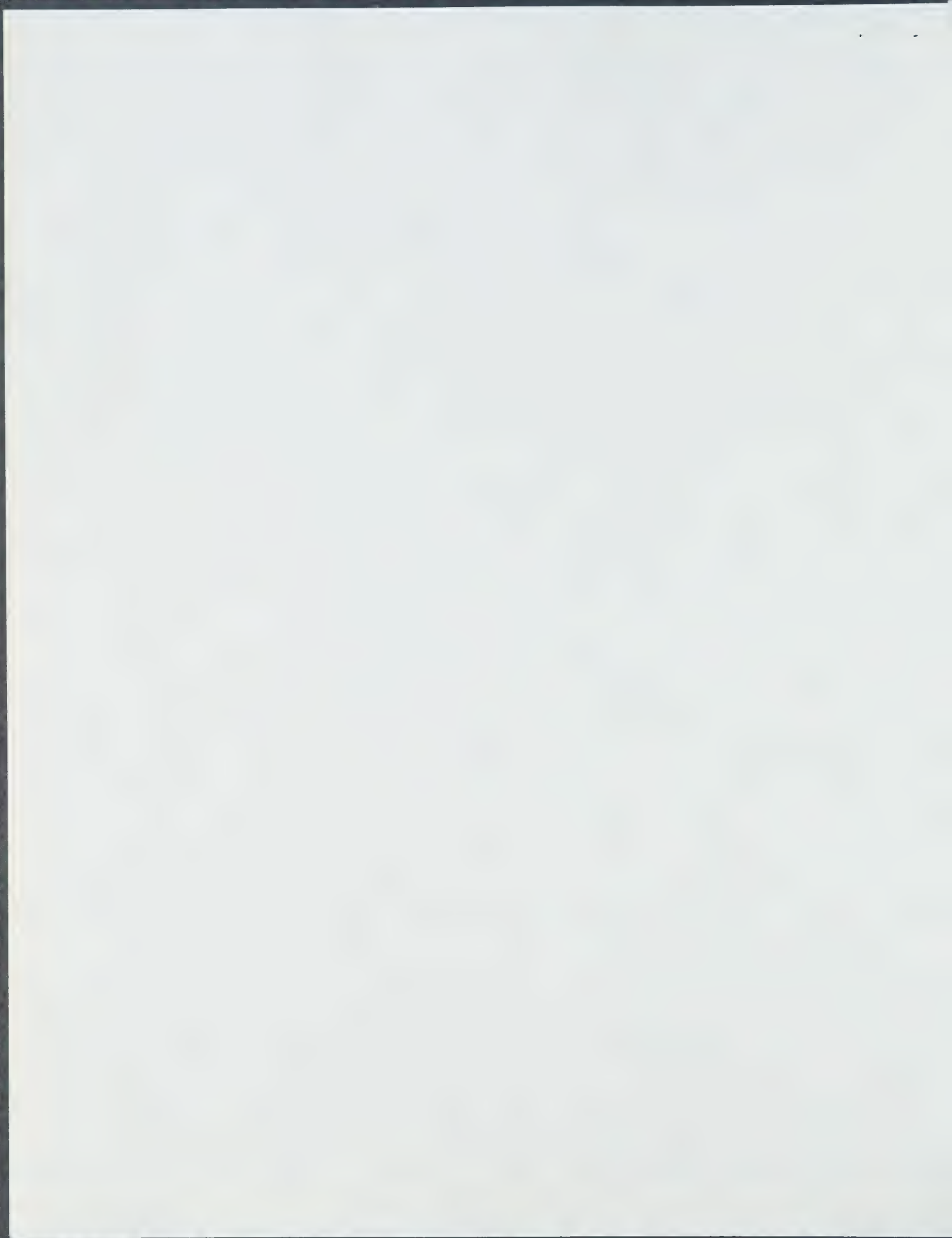
I don't know Mr. Lido Lippi, but the Harding Museum was a very curious place. They had a few good paintings, but many copies, and many overcleaned paintings.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Enclosures

By Appointment Only
ASTOR HOTEL SUITE 622
924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUE
MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202
TEL 414 277-0730 FAX 414 277-0709



DINO J. D'ANGELO

CASADONNA
CASTEL DI SANGRO
AQUILA, ITALIA

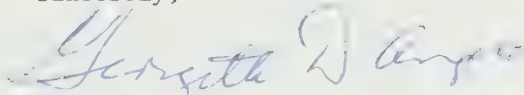
ONE EIGHTY-FIVE VINE
HIGHLAND PARK, ILLINOIS 60035

September 8, 1992

Dear Dr. Bader,

Received your letter of September 3rd and am enclosing a transparency of the Antonello as you requested. The painting is on wood and was purchased by my husband in 1978 from a Mr. Lido Lippi, who in turn purchased it from the John Harding Museum. The painting measures 14-1/4" x 10". This is all the information I have found in the files. If I can be of any further help, please let me know.

Sincerely,

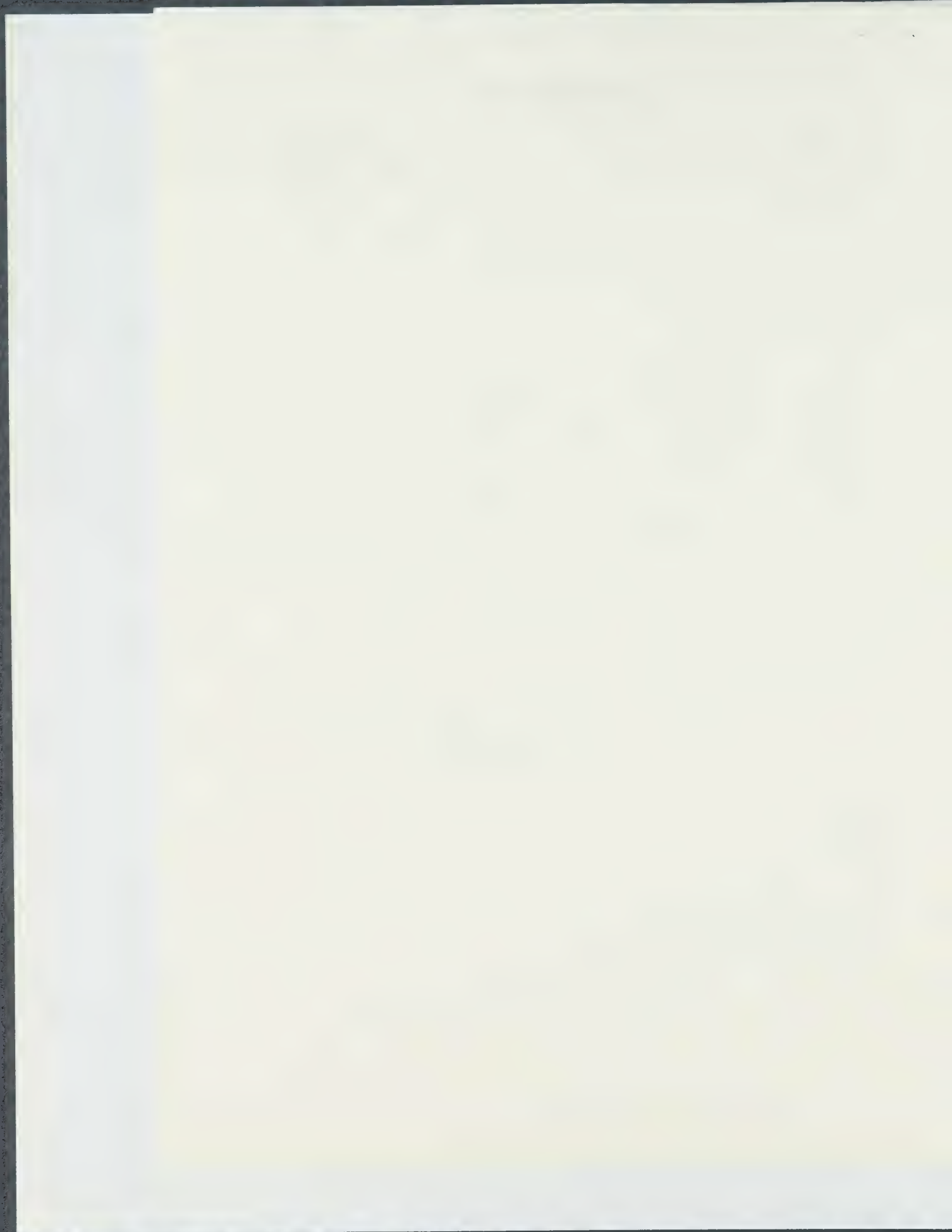


Georgette D'Angelo

GD:jc

enclosure

Dr. Alfred R. Bader
2961 North Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211



DINO J. D'ANGELO

**CASADONNA
CASTEL DI SANGRO
AQUILA, ITALIA**

**ONE EIGHTY-FIVE VINE
HIGHLAND PARK, ILLINOIS 60035**

September 8, 1992

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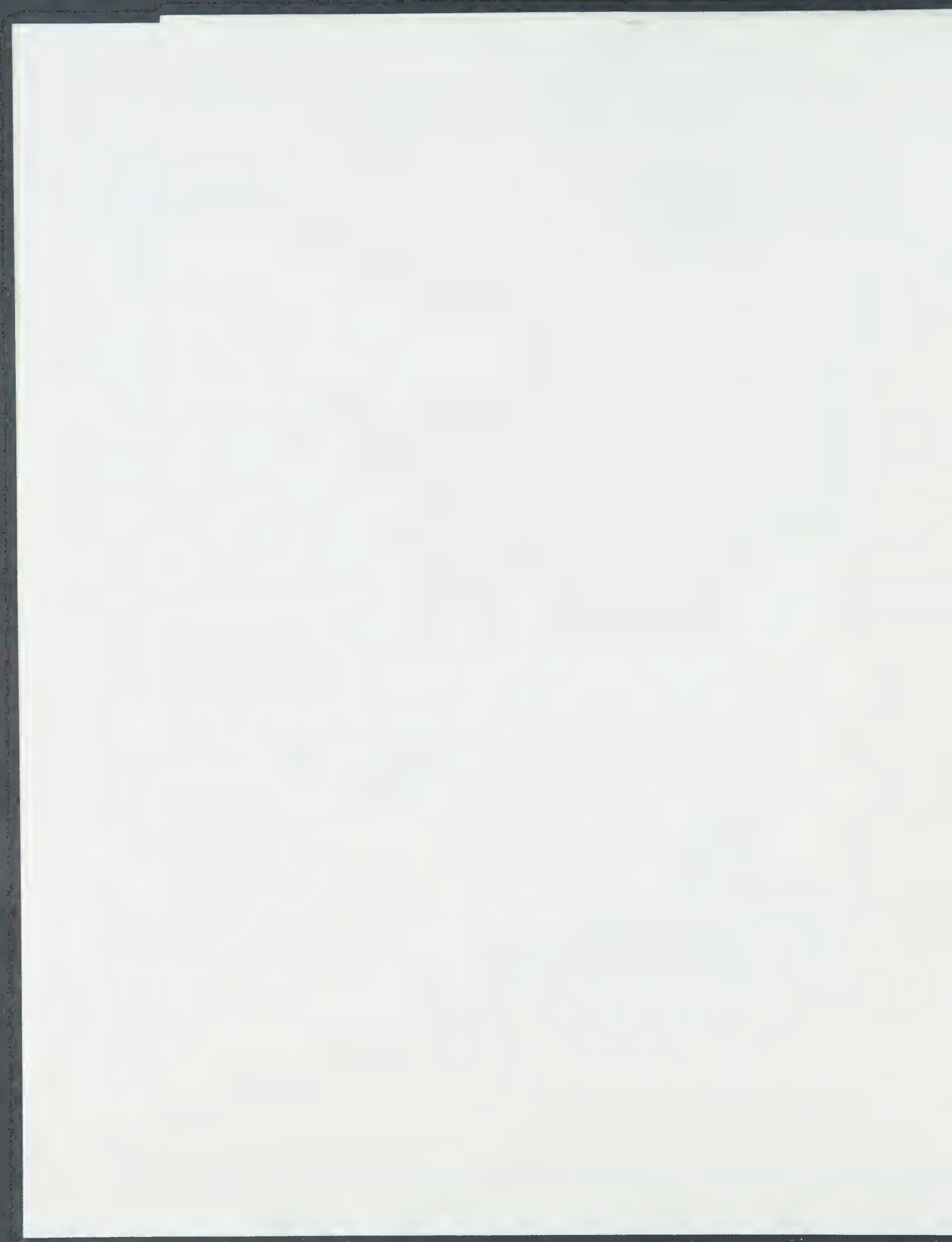
Sincerely,


Georgette D'Angelo

GD:jc

enclosure

Dr. Alfred R. Bader
2961 North Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211



Dr. Alfred R. Bader
2961 North Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

September 3, 1992

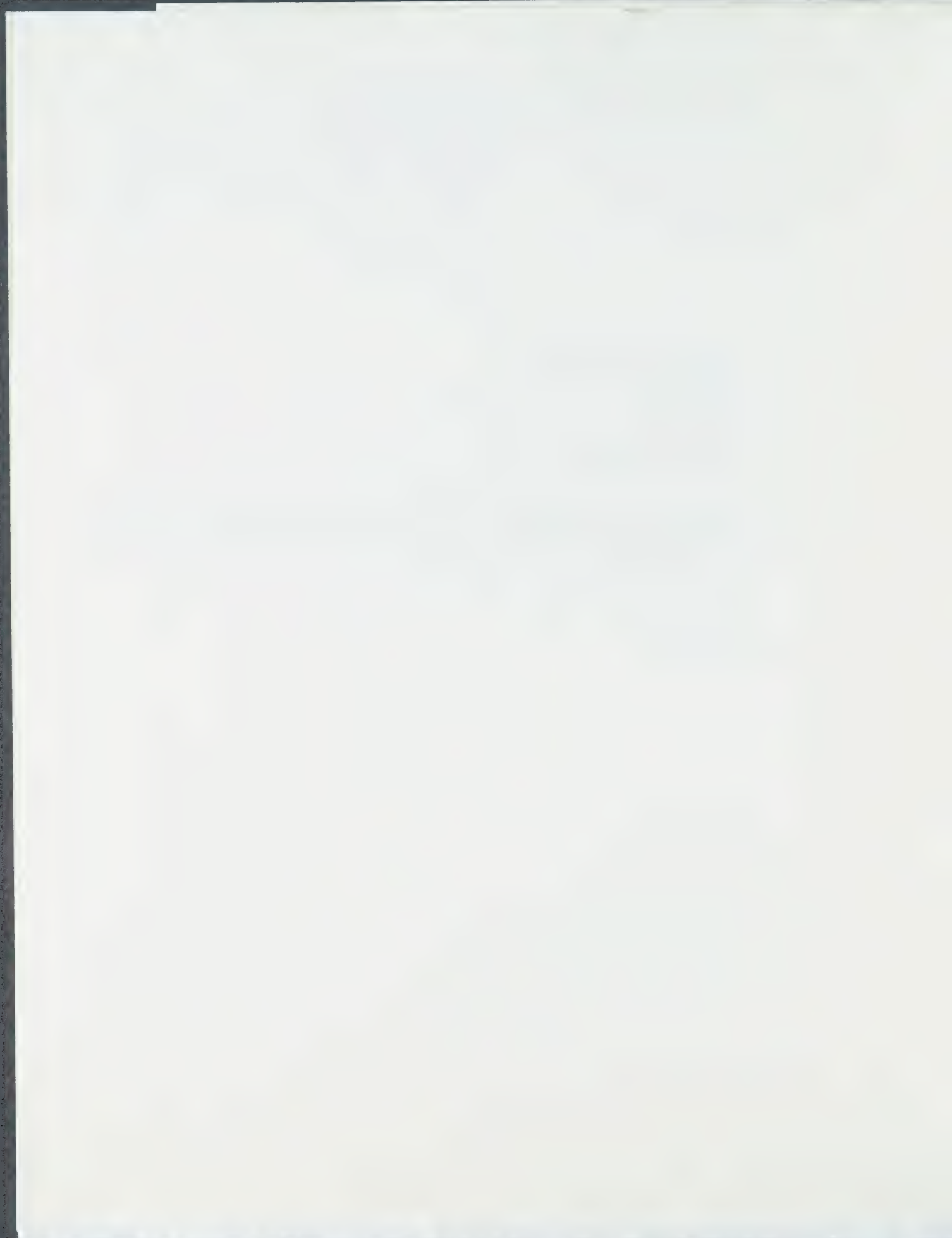
Mrs. Georgette D'Angelo
185 Vine
Highland Park
Illinois 60035

Dear Mrs. D'Angelo:

In response to your letter of August 31st, I very much like the works of Antonello da Messina, and I would appreciate your loaning me a color transparency and giving me literature references to your painting.

Best regards.

Sincerely,



DINO J. D'ANGELO

**CASADONNA
CASTEL DI SANGRO
AQUILA, ITALIA**

**ONE EIGHTY-FIVE VINE
HIGHLAND PARK, ILLINOIS 60035**

August 31, 1992

Dear Mr. Bader,

I noticed with interest in the July 10th issue of the NEW YORK TIMES of your purchase of the Old Master Rembrandt's "Portrait of Johanner Wyttenbagaert. I have in my collection an Antonello da Messina "Portrait of a Man" that is currently being researched by Christie's in London. If you have any interest in this painting, I will gladly send you a transparency, or perhaps meet with you to see the original as I am not too far from you. We have had this painting in our collection for many years, and with the death of my husband last year I am entertaining the possibility of selling it.

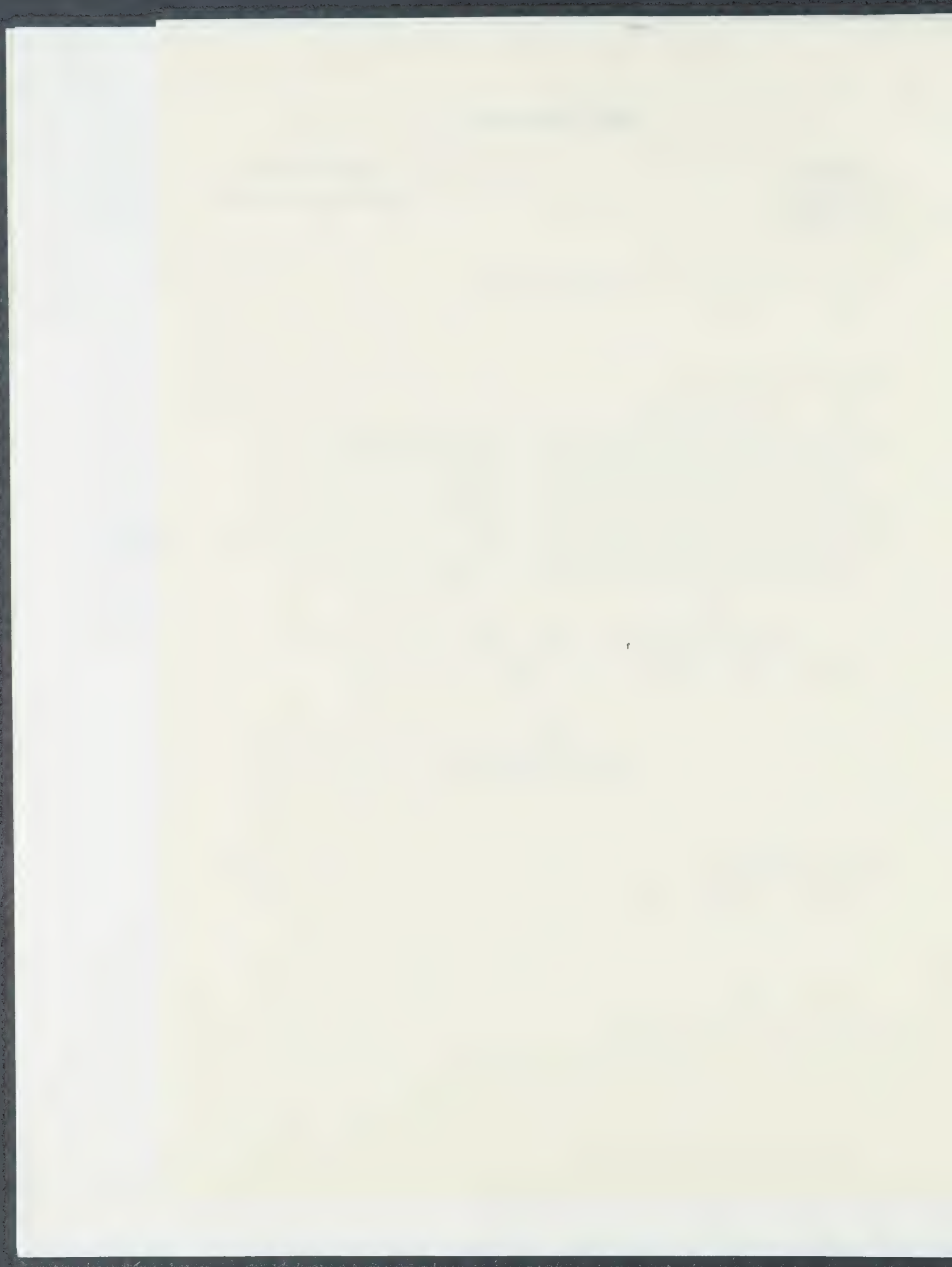
Please write or call, and I will be happy to give you any additional information. My home telephone number is 708/432-7330; my business telephone number is 312/922-0925.

Sincerely,


Georgette D'Angelo (Mrs.)

GD:jc

Mr. Alfred Bader
2961 North Shepherd
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211



OTTO NAUMANN, LTD.

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FAX (212) 535-0617

INVOICE: 15 October 1992

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940 West St. Paul Avenue
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For the following painting:

WILLEM EVERS DYCK
Portrait of a Man
Oil on canvas, 12 1/2 x 11 1/8 inches

TOTAL: \$15,000.00

Please pay the amount indicated above by check to "Otto Naumann, Ltd.", 4 East 74th Street, New York, New York 10021 at your earliest convenience. Title transfers automatically upon receipt of full and valid payment.

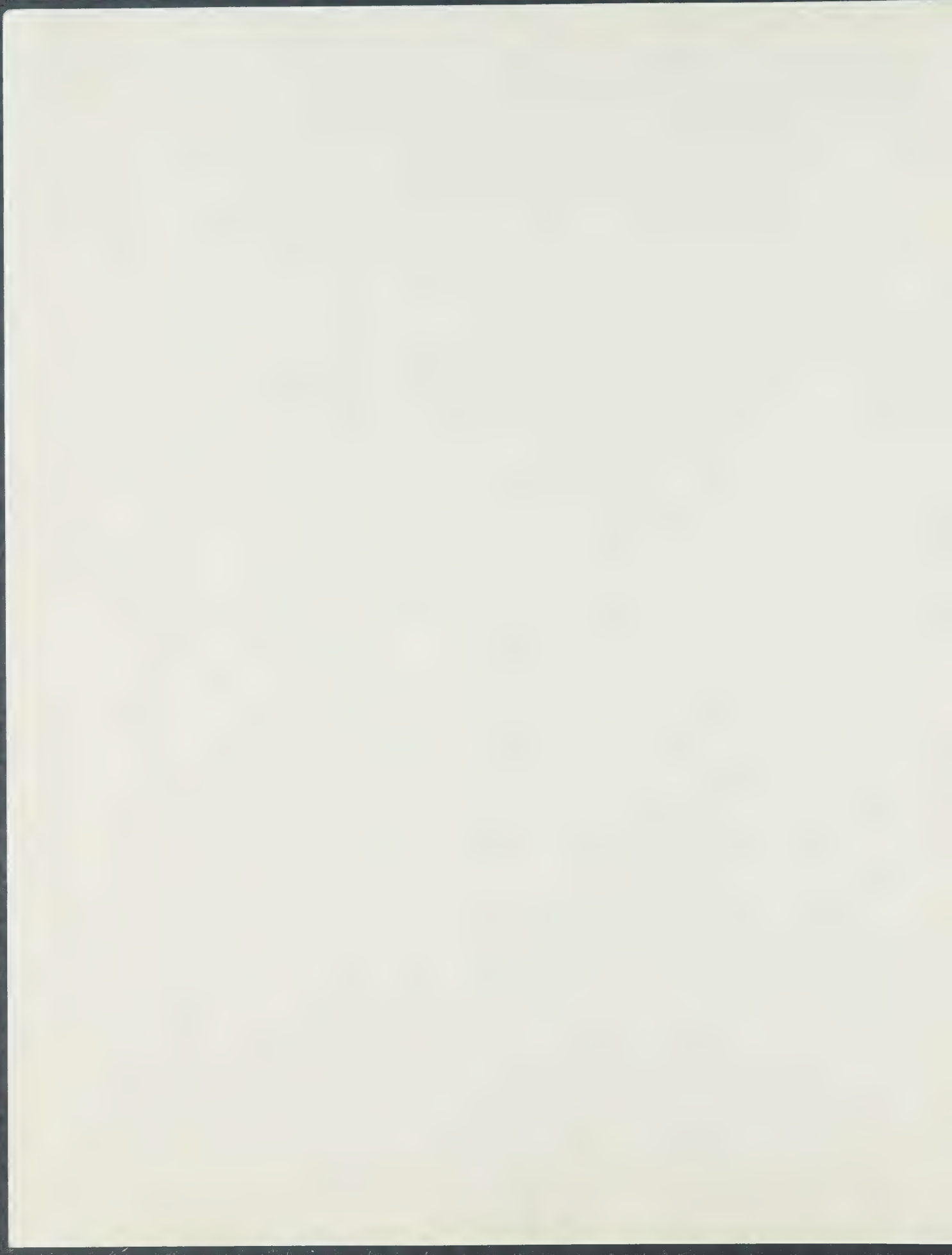
Sincerely yours,



Otto Naumann

**Payment received in full, 16 October 1992.

Check 418256



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NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021

TEL (212) 734-4440

FAX (212) 335-0617

INVOICE: 15 October 1992

Allied Bader Fine Arts
940 West St. Paul Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233

For the following painting:

CATHARINA VAN KNIBBERGEN
Mountainous Landscape with a Waterfall
Oil on panel, 10 x 14 1/4 inches

TOTAL: \$10,000.00

For the following painting:

WILLEM EVERS DYCK
Portrait of a Man
Oil on canvas, 12 1/2 x 11 1/8 inches

TOTAL: \$15,000.00

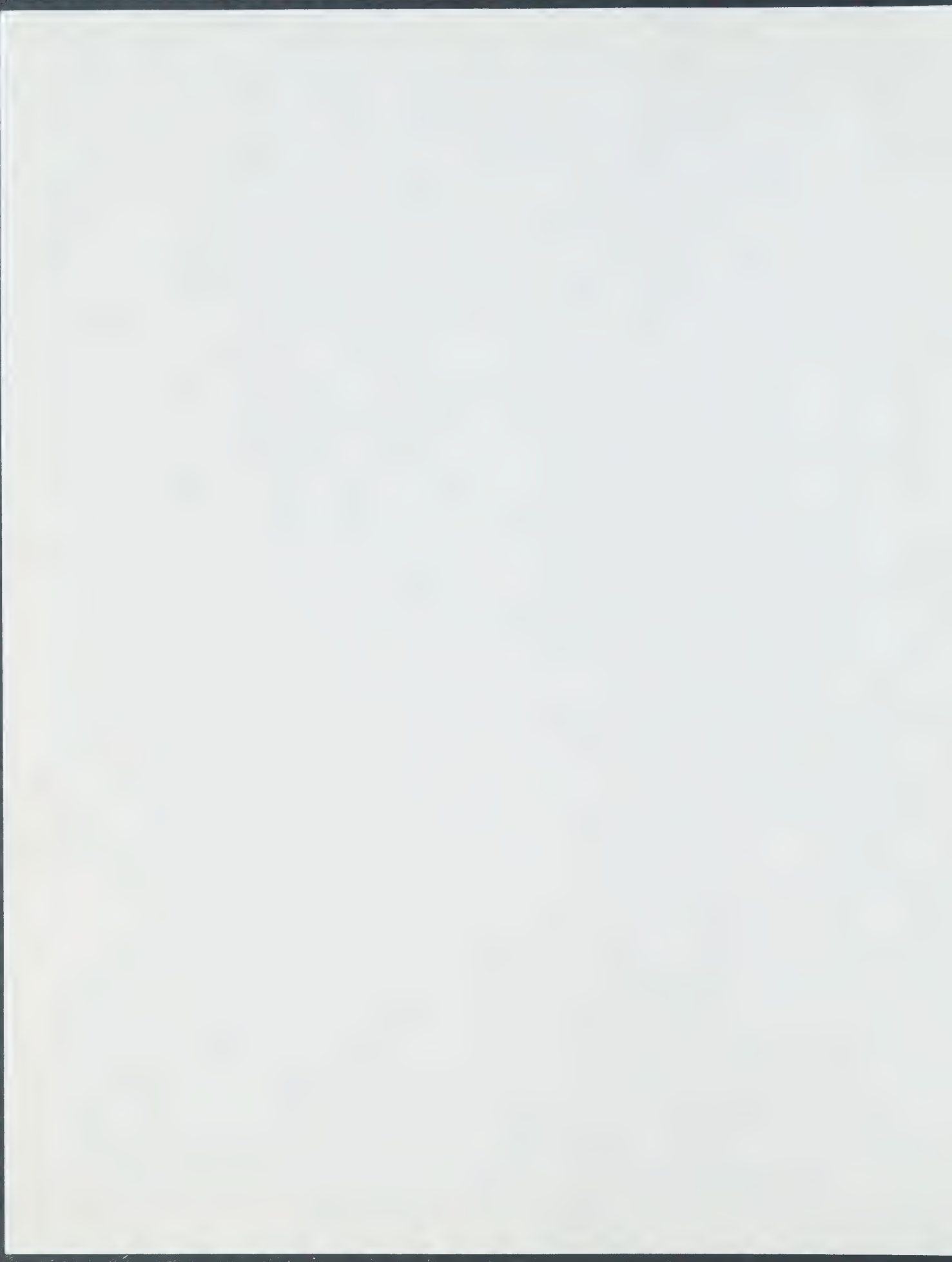
Please pay the amount indicated above by check to "Otto Naumann, Ltd.", 4 East 74th Street, New York, New York 10021 at your earliest convenience. Title transfers automatically upon receipt of full and valid payment.

Sincerely yours,



Otto Naumann

**Payment received in full, 16 October 1992.



OTTO NAUMANN, LTD.

*Dutch and Flemish Paintings
and Drawings*

4 EAST 14TH STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021

TEL (212) 734-4443

FAX (212) 535-0617

RECEIPT OF SALE: 16 October 1992

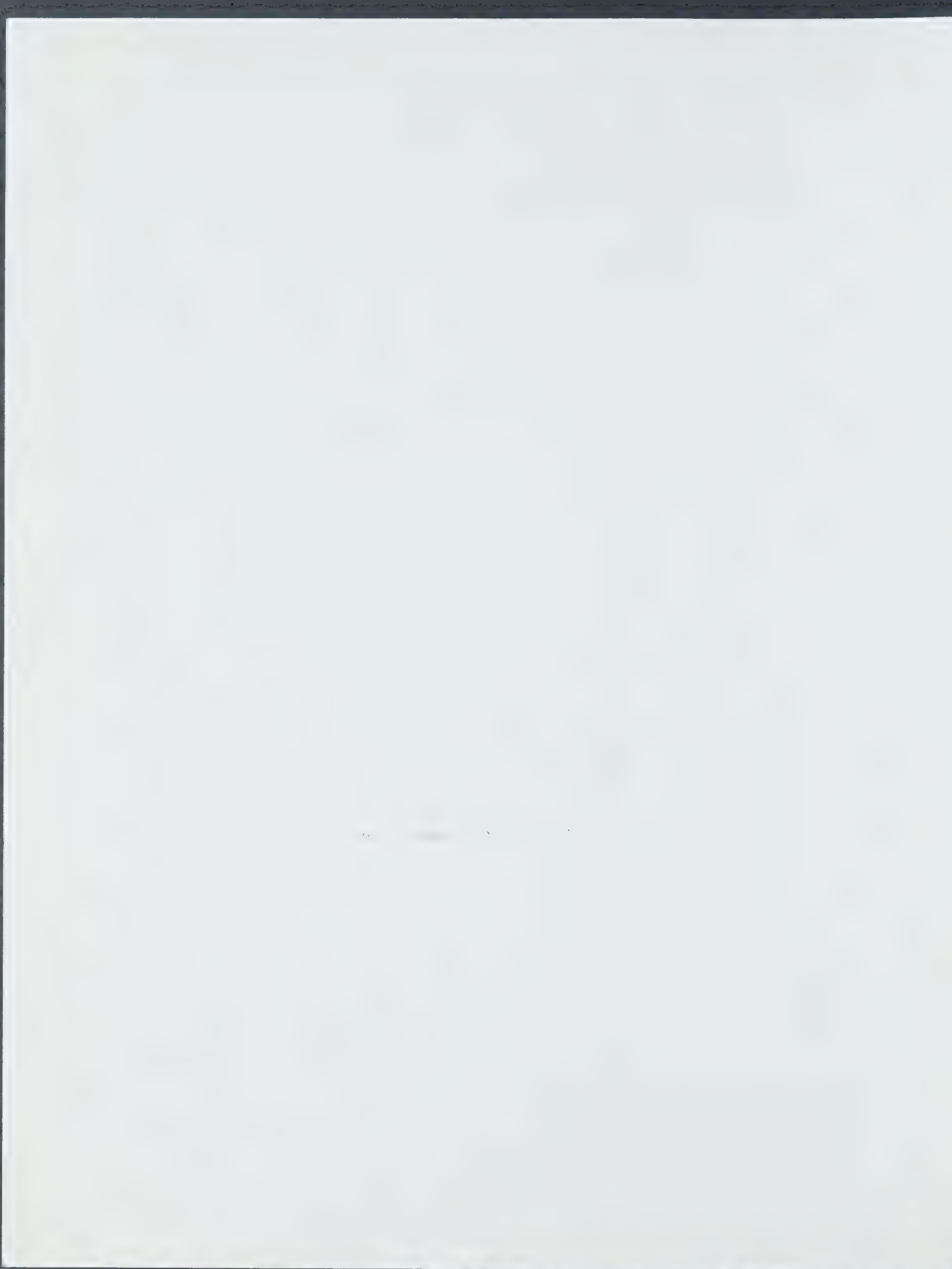
I, Renato Magalhães Gouvêa, hereby transfer title of the following paintings for the consideration of \$75,000.00, which I received in full on this same day, 16 October 1992:

1. WILLEM EVERS DYCK
Portrait of a Man
Oil on canvas, 12 1/2 x 11 1/8 inches
2. WILLEM VAN MIERIS
Hermit Praying in the Wilderness
Oil on panel, 8 1/4 x 6 3/4 inches
3. JOOST DE MOMPER
Mountainous Landscape with a Waterfall
Oil on panel, 10 x 14 1/4 inches
4. ADRIAEN VAN STALBEMT
Village Scene
Oil on panel, 4 1/4 x 7 inches

TOTAL: \$75,000.00


Renato Magalhães Gouvêa

10/16/1992
Date



Dr. Alfred Bader
2961 North Shepard Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211
October 20, 1992

Dr. Ruediger Klessmann
Voelkstrasse 25
8900 Augsburg 1
Germany

Dear Dr. Klessmann:

Isabel and I still remember with great pleasure our visit with you last summer and so appreciated your studying my Mocking of Ceres and confirming that it is the original, albeit in such sad condition.

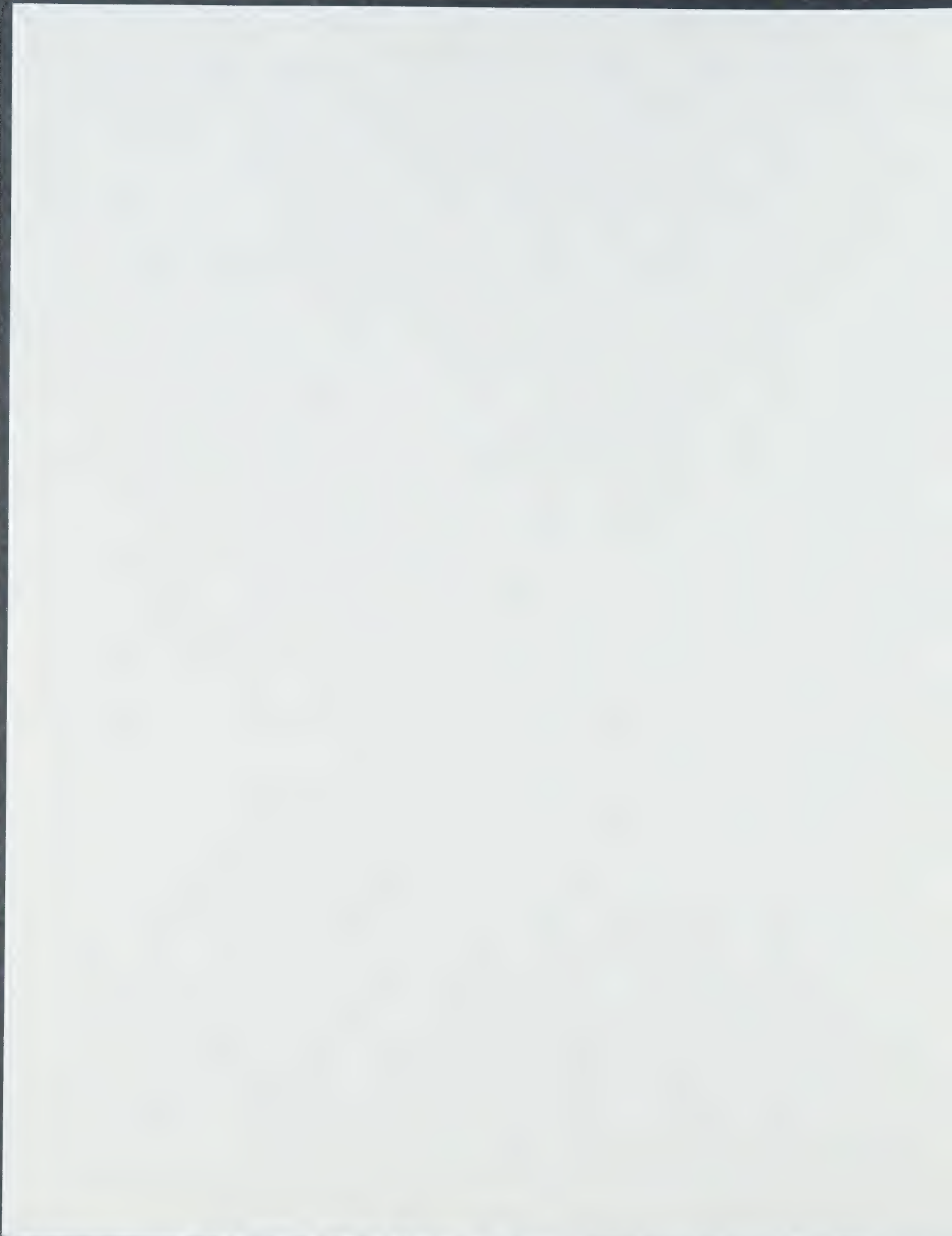
You mentioned that you might want to publish it and have some detailed photographs made in addition to the ones I left with you.

As you will see from the enclosed, the Chicago Art Institute has asked me for a loan, and I could probably have the photographs you require taken there. Alternately, I will be speaking at Harvard in May and could ask my friends at The Fogg Museum to photograph it there. Please just guide me exactly what you need.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Enclosures



James S. Horns
1313 Fifth Street S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414
Telephone: 612 379-3813

Dec. 17, 1992

Dr. Alfred Bader
Astor Hotel Suite 622
924 East Juneau Ave.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
53202

TREATMENT REPORT

Portrait of a Man by Eversdyck
oil on canvas

H: 12 3/4" W: 11 1/8"

1. Yellowed varnish was removed with isopropyl alcohol.
2. The surface was coated with polyvinyl acetate.
3. Minor losses were inpainted with polyvinyl acetate and pigment.
4. Final varnish of Acryloid B-72.



S. Martino, Naples. The kennel club would surely reject the dog in the foreground of the Russian picture, and I dare say that Castiglione's prime version of the design still awaits discovery. Scorza was represented by the *Latona* from Edinburgh (no.55) and a *Dido hunting* from the Pagano collection (no.56), which each enhanced the other, but were not apparently chosen to illuminate the nature of Scorza's supposed influence on the formation of Castiglione's style, a question that still requires further analysis. On the other hand Castiglione's subsequent influence in Genoa was nicely demonstrated through well chosen pictures by Clemente Bocciardo and Vassallo.

Neither Valerio Castello's dramatic power nor his skills as a decorator were much in evidence at Frankfurt (although his *Christ and the adulteress* from Dresden, no.73 is one of the best religious pictures in the exhibition), but there was immediate compensation in the room devoted to Domenico Piola. Ironically, in the picture which dominated this section, the vast and hitherto unpublished *Allegory of abundance* (no.80), Piola's figures are very nearly swamped by the extraordinary array of fruit, flowers, poultry and silverware which may well be the work of a specialist still life painter. It is unlikely that the issue of a possible collaborator will be resolved until after this dirty but well preserved picture, which incorporates all the most attractive elements of Genoese decorative painting, has been cleaned.

The most lasting impression that I took away from the Frankfurt exhibition (and indeed the earlier show in Genoa) is of the still underestimated brilliance and delicacy of Gregorio de Ferrari, both in religious works such as *Christ and the woman of Samaria* from a private collection (no.90) and in classical scenes including a large scale *Perseus and Andromeda* (no.91). Obviously no exhibition can do full justice to an artist whose finest creative efforts were directed towards fresco painting and the decoration of churches and palaces. The best possible legacy of this year's magnificent celebrations of Genoese art and patronage would be a campaign to open to public inspection at least some of the private palaces in Genoa where so many of the best Genoese artistic creations are concealed. The most generous tribute I can pay to the present exhibition is to say that I left it with an appetite to see more, and with a new determination to push politely but firmly on the doors of a magnificent, noble, often hospitable but still somewhat closed and mysterious city.

HUGH BRIGSTOCKE

¹ *Kunst in der Republik Genua 1528-1815*. By Mary Newcome Schleier with contributions by Edmund Howard, Michael Jaffé, Bettina-Martine Wolter, Rudolf Preimesberger, Franco Boggero and Farida Simonetti, Catherine Hess, Marzia Cataldi Gallo and Antony Alexander, Hella Preimesberger, Erich Schleier, Aline Hübner, Anja Petz and Ute Pühler. 638 pp. incl. over 200 col. pls. + num. b. & w. ills. (Schirn Kunsthalle, Frankfurt, 1992). No ISBN.

² See A. BREJON DE LAVERGNÉE: review of Genova nell'età barocca, *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, CXXXIV [1992], p.621, Fig.40 and p.622, note 5.

Stockholm Rembrandt and his Age

Fortunately, *Rembrandt och hans Tid: Människan i Centrum* at the **Nationalmuseum** (to 6th January) is less and more than another survey of paintings by Rembrandt or of works from the Rembrandt School, although it incorporates a bit of both, and many other Dutch pictures which bear out the catalogue's subtitle, 'Focus on Man'. Of the 130 portraits, genre scenes, and history paintings dating from c.1620-80 on show, slightly over half (sixty-eight) are from the Nationalmuseum's own collection, but many of them are not usually on view. This is also true, of course, of the Nationalmuseum's sixty-three drawings by Rembrandt and by artists of his circle that are exhibited and catalogued (as nos.131-93) by Börje Magnusson and several graduate students (mostly from Uppsala University). Görel Cavalli-Björkman, Curator and Head of the Department of Paintings and Sculpture at the Nationalmuseum, was the organiser of the exhibition and principal author of the catalogue (also with the help of graduate students).¹ Enthusiasts of Northern European art will recall the same scholar's exhibition, *Bruegels Tid: Nederländsk konst 1540-1620*, at the Nationalmuseum in 1984-85, and the related symposium, *Netherlandish Mannerism*, the papers of which were published in 1985. In the following year her catalogue, *Dutch and Flemish paintings I: c.1400-c.1600*, appeared. The present exhibition likewise began with a two-day symposium, *Rembrandt and his Pupils*, the papers of which will be published next year, and the exhibition anticipates the completion of Cavalli-Björkman's catalogue of seventeenth-century Dutch paintings in the Nationalmuseum.

Thus, the purpose of the exhibition is not to explore the theme of the human figure in Dutch art, but to display the strengths of the Nationalmuseum's collection of Dutch pictures and to borrow works that either complement or supplement them. Works in the latter category, for example Vermeer's *Woman with a lute* from the Metropolitan Museum, New York, are intended mostly for the enjoyment of the Swedish public, as are the 193 catalogue entries which are published in Swedish alone. However, all the preliminary material is printed in parallel Swedish and English texts and includes six essays: Cavalli-Björkman's on works by Rembrandt and his circle in Swedish collections, and on Dutch history paintings; Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann's review of the subject of Simeon and the Christ Child in Rembrandt's *oeuvre*, ending with the ruined canvas in the Nationalmuseum (cat.no.65); Albert Blankert's temperamental discussion of Rembrandt, his pupils, and the Rembrandt Research Project; Peter Sutton's survey of Dutch genre paintings in Stockholm; and my own essay on Vermeer's early development. The few dozen pictures that were borrowed from public and private collections in order to compare them to paintings in the collection of the Nationalmuseum (for example, Terbrugghen's *Boy singing* from the Göteborgs Konstmuseum, and Rembrandt's *Girl leaning on a stone pedestal* from the Dulwich Picture Gallery), and those that one is simply grateful to see whatever the pretext (such as Samuel van Hoogstraten's mural of the *Triumph of Truth and Justice*, from Finspongs Slott) provoke the most frustrating moments for non-Swedish readers who consult the catalogue.

Nonetheless, a visit to Stockholm is more



79. *Girl with a broom*, here attributed to Samuel van Hoogstraten. 1651? 109 by 92 cm. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; exh. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm).

than rewarded by the opportunity to see dozens of paintings (some newly cleaned, such as Cesar van Everdingen's exquisite *Lucretia*) and drawings normally in storage at the Nationalmuseum; paintings from thirteen other Scandinavian institutions and from several private collections; and key loans from cities as distant as Fort Worth (Rembrandt's overcleaned *Portrait of a young Jew*) and Bucharest. The centrepiece is the Nationalmuseum's greatest treasure, Rembrandt's late *Conspiracy of the Batavians under Claudius Civilis*, of which a complete X-ray assembly is also on view.

Despite the broad range of the exhibition, problems of attributions in the area of Rembrandt are a central concern. Rembrandt's three earliest known paintings, *Three singers*, the *Operation*, and the *Spectacles seller* (representing the senses of hearing, touch and sight, respectively; nos.46-48) of 1624-25, are seen together for the first time, and the first two have just had extensive repaintings and additions to their panels removed. Christopher Brown's catalogue entries transfer the three pictures from their B (uncertain) placement in the *Corpus* to the A (accepted) category in any reasonable person's book. A second significant trio of Rembrandts (nos.49-51) consists of the *Old woman at prayer* from Salzburg, the *Laughing man* from The Hague, and the *Self-portrait* from Stockholm, which figure in the RRP's *Corpus* as nos.A27, B6 and B5, respectively. All three are of about 1630 (the date inscribed on the *Self-portrait*), and are on gilded sheets of copper, 15.5 by 12.2 - 13 cm. For this writer, only the Lievens-like *Old woman*, not either of the B pictures, was in doubt, but the juxtaposition reveals that one extremely promising painter was responsible for the otherwise dissimilar faces. The same artist, Rembrandt, modified his own painting of 1651, the so-called *Kitchen-maid* in Stockholm (no.57), any doubts about which are dismissed by the comparison with the Dulwich *Girl* of 1645 (no.56). However, the Nationalmuseum's pendant portraits of an old couple (nos.58-59), each of which is signed and dated 'Rembrandt f. 1655', are surely by a contemporary follower, perhaps the same distinctive hand that painted the Metropolitan Museum's *Christ with a pilgrim staff* (Br.629) and not Cavalli-Björkman's choice of comparison, the *Man in the golden helmet* from Berlin (no.68).

Finally, comparisons with the superficially similar canvases from Dulwich and Stockholm strongly support Arthur Wheelock's rejection from Rembrandt's *œuvre* of the Washington *Girl with a broom* (no.83; Fig.79). However, his catalogue entry implausibly proposes that Carel Fabritius left the picture unfinished around 1646-48 and that someone in Rembrandt's workshop, perhaps Barent Fabritius (who, inconveniently, was probably never there), added the broom, some other passages, and the inscription in 1651. The hypothesis is a triumph of mind over matter, for what one sees in Stockholm (or Washington) is a brilliant but shallow essay in Rembrandt's style by only one artist, who is familiar from such recent revelations as *Haman recognises his fate* in St Petersburg,² and the

Young woman at an open half-door in Chicago.³ The linear definition of the eyes, the face shaded like an apple, the somewhat more fluid modelling of the hands and then the freely brushed planes of paint describing the costume and the setting are remarkably similar in the Washington and Chicago pictures and in yet another Hermitage painting, the *Portrait of an artist in a window (self-portrait?)* by Samuel van Hoogstraten.⁴

WALTER LIEDTKE

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

¹ *Rembrandt och hans Tid: Människan i Centrum*, by Görel Cavalli-Björkman, Börje Magnusson and 24 other contributors, with essays by G. Cavalli-Björkman, E. Haverkamp-Begemann, A. Blankert, P. Sutton and W. Liedtke. 414 pp. with 155 col. + numerous b. & w. ill. (Nationalmuseum, 1992), SEK 220. ISBN 91-7100-416-5.

² W. LIEDTKE: 'Dutch and Flemish Paintings from the Hermitage', *Oud Holland*, 103 [1989], pp.157-60, figs.4-6.

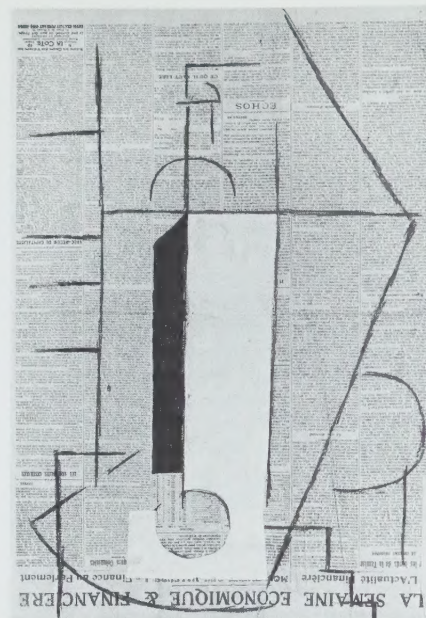
³ This was one of the few completely convincing attributions of a Rembrandt School picture in last year's exhibition in Berlin, Amsterdam and London: C. BROWN, J. KELCH and P. VAN THIEL: *Rembrandt: the Master and his Workshop*, exh.cat., New Haven and London [1991], no.72, as attributed to Samuel van Hoogstraten on the strength of comparisons with his *Self-portrait* in Vaduz (no.73) and his *Young man in a half-door* in St Petersburg (no.74).

⁴ *Dutch and Flemish Paintings from the Hermitage*, exh.cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art and Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago [1988], no.13.

Paris, Grand Palais Picasso still lifes

Picasso painted and drew literally thousands of still lifes, and he virtually invented that classic of the modernist tradition, the still-life sculpture. It comes, then, as a surprise to learn that this is the first Picasso retrospective ever to focus on his use of a genre which he interpreted with such intransigent originality and yet with all the insider's historical awareness (*Picasso et les choses. Les natures mortes*, **Grand Palais, Paris**, to 28th December).¹ As so often, the simplest ideas prove to be the best, for this is an enthralling, exciting and provocative show. My only serious reservation about the exhibition itself, in its Paris version, is that the selection of works from 1937 onwards becomes a little slack - several pictures look *de trop* - while the installation, which is imaginative and open in the first galleries, becomes increasingly congested towards the end.

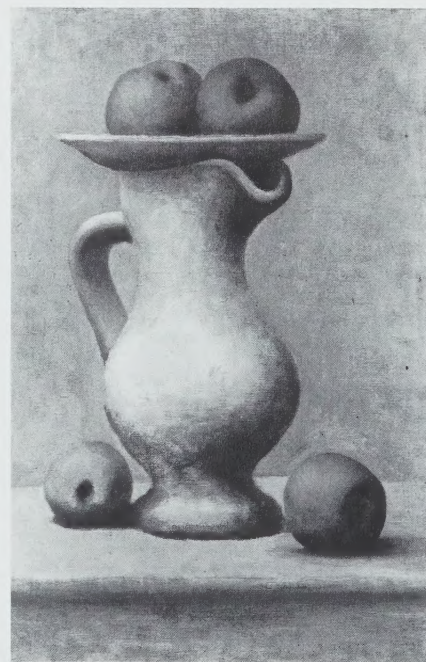
In no sense was still life a lightweight genre for Picasso. On the contrary, the intensity of his concentration on even the smallest details is formidable. The visitor has constantly to adjust to works which range from the tiny to the monumental, the sublimely meditative to the strident and raw; to acclimatise to an astonishing gamut of styles from the abstract to the naturalistic (Figs.80 and 81); to respond equally to the sophisticated wit of intricate visual puns and to searingly terrible images reflecting the artist's essentially tragic view of life. There are, it is true, some delightfully playful pieces, and some ravishing,



80. *Bottle on a table*, by Pablo Picasso. 1912. Pasted papers, charcoal and pencil on newsprint, 62.5 by 44 cm. (Musée Picasso, Paris; exh. Grand Palais, Paris).

shadowy cubist paintings. But on the whole this is not a Picasso toned down, civilised or made accessible, a Picasso for the drawing or the dining-room. In plenty of the works, indeed, an urgent, erotically charged human presence inhabits the still-life paraphernalia (Figs.81 and 82). Still life for Picasso was not asexual.

Throughout his life, Picasso was terrified and fascinated by death, and prone to all kinds of superstitious rituals. Inevitably he was drawn to the still-life tradition of the *memento mori*, and in *Picasso et les choses*



81. *Still life with jug and apples*, by Pablo Picasso. c.1920. 65 by 43 cm. (Musée Picasso, Paris; exh. Grand Palais, Paris).